THE HISTORY OF
NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

Extending from the foundation of the Gupta Empire
to the rise of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal,
(c. A.D. 320-760)

By
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To
The Sacred Memory
Of
My Revered Parents.
Preface to the Second Edition

The first edition of this book was published in January, 1934. No printed copy of the book is now available in the market. The first edition of the book was prescribed in certain universities of Northern India for the post-graduate Studies of the Students. Requests come from some educated quarters for preparing and publishing a second revised edition of the work. On account of some physical incapacity due to my old age (I being now 82 years old) I felt difficult to take up a revision of the book. But two of my very esteemed and learned friends and pupils, Dr. B. N. Mukherjee, M.A., Ph.D. (London), now Honorary Associate Research Professor, Sanskrit College, Calcutta, and Dr. K. K. Das Gupta, M.A., D.Phil., Lecturer in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture of the Calcutta University ungrudgingly lent their helping hands and restored my own self-confidence in preparing this revised and somewhat enlarged edition. I have no hesitation in recording here my deep gratitude to both these scholars, without whose kind assistance the book would not have gone through this second edition.

Since the publication of the first edition in 1934, many documents, epigraphic and numismatic, have been discovered in India. So I had to study them to enable myself to undertake this second edition of the book. The new changes made by me occur generally in chapters IV, IX and XI. In Chapter IV of the first edition of this book, I propounded a view that after Skanda Gupta's death, perhaps there ruled somewhere in Magadha a branch line of the Imperial Guptas through Purugupta. But after the discovery of the Nalanda Seals I have abandoned in this edition my former views and shown that the Guptas headed by Purugupta continued to rule yet for about half a century in an unbroken line of succession. In point I have in this revised edition in Chapter VII drawn also a pointed attention of scholars
to the two Introductory verses of chapter VI of the Harsha-
charita, the historical significance of which is very important
for discussing the murder of Rājyavardhana brought about
treacherously by Śaśāṅka, the king of Bengal. Again in
chapter IX some new additional matters have been introduced
and discussed regarding the rulers of the kingdom of
Vaiṅga-Samataṭa. But a very thorough revision has been
made by me for readjusting the contents of chapter XI
on the kingdom of Nepal and this chapter in the second
edition has somewhat been enlarged. The revision and
enlargement of this chapter has been necessitated because
of scholars being now in possession of new materials of
new history which can be obtained by study of the very
important and valuable edition of “the Nepalese Inscriptions
in Gupta characters” Part I, edited so admirably and in
so scholarly a manner, by Dr. Raniero Gnoli from Rome
in 1956. I have utilised Dr. Gnoli’s book with a grateful
heart and inserted in this chapter several new historical
facts that I could collect from my study of this treatise
of the Italian scholar. In this connection I have also derived
some help from D. R. Regmi’s recent book, ‘Ancient Nepal’
(Calcutta, 1960). I have, however, stuck to my own former
views as put forth in the first edition of my book on the
Nepal chronology resulting from the use of eras and dates
in the Nepalese epigraphs.

I shall be failing in my duty if I do not mention here
my gratefulness to the proprietors of the “Sambodhi publi-
cations, Private Limited, Calcutta” looked after by Sri R. N.
Mukherjee, for their kindly bearing all expenses for the
publication of this edition of my book. I am also thankful
to the Pooran Press, Calcutta, for their executing so neatly
the heavy printing work.

69, Ballygunge Gardens,
CALCUTTA-19.

December 12, 1966.

Radhagovinda Basak
Preface to the First Edition

This modest book is an attempt to write a connected history of North-Eastern India during the period falling approximately between 320 A.D. and 760 A.D. Discoveries of new materials of Indian history, specially epigraphic records, during the last quarter of a century throughout which I had the good fortune to work as a student of Indian epigraphy; and the learned contributions of eminent scholars on them in India and outside, have rendered it possible for me to undertake such a connected narrative. In this work I have, to some extent, drawn from some of my own earlier contributions, specially on the Gupta history, and embodied portions of them in some of the chapters. Experience as a Professor of Sanskrit and Sanskritic languages has extremely helped me in offering new interpretation, where deemed necessary, to many words and passages in some of the epigraphic documents studied for gathering materials this work, and this has been indicated at the proper places. The idea of getting this work tested by eminent scholars, as suggested by some friends in superior position in life, encouraged me recently to offer it as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Dacca, so that I may have the satisfaction of knowing from the remarks of my examiners how far my own views on and interpretation of historical facts, expressed clearly or hinted covertly in epigraphic records, and also some of my suggestions for the solution of controversial points, may be placed before the scholarly world. This work was, I am glad to say, approved as a thesis for that degree by my examiners, Professor F. W. Thomas of Oxford and Dr. L. D. Barnett and Mr. J. Allan of the British Museum, London, to whom I am deeply grateful for their kind adjudgment.
In my attempt to construct a history of North-Eastern India during the period under notice, I have mostly based my views on the results obtained from my prolonged study of the original inscriptional documents, though other sources, e.g. numismatic and literary, have also been utilised. It is evident that in a work like this, which largely concerns piecing together the stray and often fragmentary materials obtained here and thre, I am bound to reinvestigate the results of the researches of previous and contemporary workers in the same field and to criticise their views, either for endorsement or rejection, partial of full, or to expound entirely new ones.

The plan of this book, as is evident from the contents and the synchronistic table attached hereto, will show that I have ventured to write in the first four chapters a connected history of the imperial Gupta rule which, although a trodden path, required in my opinion a thorough revision in the light of the new knowledge obtained from such discoveries, as the five Damodarpur copper-plate grants of the Gupta period (already edited by me), the new Baigram (Bogra, more correctly, Dinajpur) copper-plate of the Gupta year 128 (edited and just published by me in the *Epigraphia Indica*), the Dhanaidaha copper-plate (re-deciphered by me) and Mr. K. N. Dikshit's Paharpur copper-plate grant of the same type.

I should acknowledge here that I am fully conscious of my omission to discuss, rightly at page 34 of this book, the important question of Rāmagupta, who is now being thought by some of my Indian colleagues, e.g. the late Professor R. D. Banerji and Professor A. S. Altekar of the Benares Hindu University, as belonging to the imperial Gupta family and as a son and successor of emperor Samudragupta. They think that his reign, though it might have been a short one, intervened between that of his father
and his younger brother Chandragupta II. But I regret to note here that Rāmagupta problem is a yet controversial one. It is indeed difficult, with the present stock of our knowledge on the point, to tie up Rāmagupta with the reigning sovereigns of the imperial Gupta dynasty. I felt it unfair to myself to accept Rāmagupta, at the present moment, as a reigning emperor of the Gupta house, chiefly on the evidence of the extracts from an old drama, named Devichandraguptam, which, itself however, has not yet been discovered and published in full. These extracts from the drama have been pointed out by M. Sylvain Lévi as occurring in a newly-discovered treatise on dramaturgy, the Nātyadarpaṇa, belonging to a late period of history, in which also Rāmagupta is mentioned simply as a king (rājā) without any of titles in vogue in the Gupta period for indicating lord-paramountcy, and Dhruvadevi is also styled simply as a devī and not a mahādevī that she really was. Want of full conviction in the theory, so far advanced, that Rāmagupta was a ruling Gupta monarch, whose wife Dhruvadevī (alleged to have been offered by this imbecile king to a contemporary Śaka king) was later married by his younger brother, the emperor Chandragupta II himself, by bringing about the death of his elder brother, has led me to omit reference in the main body of my book, to this hitherto unkown figure in Gupta history. We shall have yet to wait for the discovery of new epigraphic and numismatic evidence to corroborate such a theory before it can be accepted as a historical fact. I have not also referred to Kācha as being a number of the imperial Gupta family, although numismatic evidence is clear to ascertain the existence of a person of that name, whose relationship however, either with Samudragupta or his father Chandragupta I, is yet a matter of mere conjecture amongst historians.
The following are some of the chief points in the book to which attention of scholars may here be drawn, viz., (1) my interpretation of the Meharauli Iron Pillar Inscription and identification of King Chandra mentioned therein with Chandragupta I, and (2) my establishment, from my first decipherment of the peculiar land-sale documents discovered in North Bengal, of the important historical facts, (i) that the entire province of Puṇḍravardhana formed an integral part of the imperial Gupta empire, (ii) that Budhagupta’s reign was a long one and also not confined to the western portion of India alone, but included a large part of North-Eastern India, (iii) that the imperial Gupta dynasty continued to rule in full glory at least up to the first quarter of the sixth century A.D. through a succession of three or four more monarchs after Skandagupta, and (iv) that the district officer (vishayapatis), under the provincial governors, themselves appointed directly by the imperial Gupta sovereigns, had an excellent administrative machinery at the head-quarters, viz. an Advisory Board representing the various important interests of those days. I may add that I have also dealt with some controversial subjects in Gupta history and tried to offer new suggestions for their solution which will be evident to the readers at their proper places in the book.

Then with regard to the next few chapters in which I have dealt with the post-Gupta kingdoms in North-Eastern India, limiting myself to the rise of the Pāla kings of Bengal, it may be submitted that a new solution has been offered to the most vexed question of the chronology of the Śailodbhava dynasty of Orissa and that of the early Lichchhavi kings of Nepal. In trying to establish my own theories on these two important chronologies I was compelled to refute the views of some of the most eminent writers on the subject with due deference to their vast erudition. A word of apology is necessary here for the lengthy treatment of
the early history of Nepal in Chapter XI. I have felt that the history of this most interesting country was long neglected in India and excepting the admirable treatise of that great savant, M. Sylvain Lévi, no detailed narrative of the early history of Nepal, so far as I know, has been given in any work written in English (M. Sylvain Lévi’s book, the Le Népal, being written in French). I have attempted to construct a connected history of this kingdom in its very early days, by culling materials from the vast mass of its epigraphic records. I only regret that the summary of some these records, which I have laid down in the body of the chapter itself, has not separately formed an appendix to it.

I have refrained from dealing separately and in detail with the history of king Harshavardhana, as the geographical area adopted for treatment in this work precludes its possibility, and it is already too well-known a topic. But most of the chief events in that monarch’s life and career have been mentioned in the chapters on Śaśāṅka the king of Bengal and the Kāmarūpa kings. Other minor contributions to the knowledge of historical truths may be marked here and there in the different chapters, e.g. the identification of king Susthitaravarman, mentioned in the Apshad inscription of Ādityasena, with the Kāmarūpa king of that name and not with any imaginary king of the same name belonging to the Maukhari dynasty, and also the identification of king Devavarman of the Chinese records with King Devagupta of the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha. In Chapter VII I have endeavoured to adjudge properly the career of King Śaśāṅka and incorporate some new facts about him as obtained from a study of the Buddhist treatise, the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa. The chapter on the kingdom of Vaiga-Samataṭa is entirely a new addition to the early history of Bengal written in a connected form.
I quite feel that I could neither make the book solely a political history, nor a cultural one, but to some extent it may be taken as a blending of both. It was really not possible for me to treat the materials at my disposal for the particular period limited in this work, under separate headings, such as political, social, economic, religious, literary or otherwise, and to discuss fully all the cultural aspects of the people of North-Eastern India.

It may be stated here that the system of transliteration of Sanskrit and Prakrit words employed in this work is the one mostly adopted in the *Epigraphia Indica*. The abbreviations used in the references are too obvious to require any explanation.

In conclusion, I wish to record here a fact that the first inspiration and encouragement for attempting to undertake such works on ancient Indian history came to us from the illustrious trio, who founded the Varendra Research Society at Rajshahi (in the old Pundravardhanabhukti), I mean, my friend Kumar Sarat Kumar Roy of Dighapatiya, M.A., M.L.C., the late Mr. Akshaya Kumar Maitra, B.L., C.I.E., and Rai Rama Prasad Chanda Bahadur, B.A., to whom I take this opportunity to pay a tribute of high respects. My very hearty thanks are due to Mr. G. H. Langley, M.A., Vice-chancellor, Dacca University, and my erstwhile colleague in that university, Dr. S. K. De, M.A., D.Litt., for the great interest they have taken in this work which, on account of their very insistent exhortation, was submitted as a thesis for the doctorate of the Dacca University. Another friend who cannot be forgotten in this connection is Mr. N. K. Bhattasali, M.A., who never failed to keep me cheerful by words of encouragement during moments of despair while gathering together stray materials for this history. But the gratitude under which my friend and colleague, Dr. Basanta Kumar Roy, M.A., Ph.D., of the
Department of English of the Dacca University, has placed me is really very deep, as he ungrudgingly read through the whole manuscript and suggested corrections and improvements in the language which have been almost unhesitatingly adopted by me. Finally, I cannot let the opportunity here pass without making a thankful reference to my pupil, Mr. Sures Chandra Das M.A., for his undertaking the responsibility of printing this book in his press. I am sorry that despite all attempts to avoid typographical errors, some have crept in and I beg to draw the kind attention of my readers to the short list of corrections at the end of the book.

CALCUTTA,  
\textit{December 12, 1933.}  

\underline{Radhagovinda Basak}
Radhagovinda Basak

A renowned historian and epigraphist, Dr. Radhagovinda Basak was formerly Head of the Department of Sanskrit at the Presidency College, Calcutta, and a Lecturer in the Departments of Sanskrit and Ancient Indian History and Culture at the University of Calcutta as well. He also worked as a Lecturer in Sanskrit at the University of Dacca in the early part of his life. He is at present Chairman, Board of Editors for publication of Research books and bulletins of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta. The same College has honoured him with the title 'Vidyāvāchaspati'. He is also a recipient of President’s Award of ‘Certificate of Honour in Sanskrit’.

An eminent writer on Indological subjects, Dr. Radhagovinda Basak has to his credit a number of books which include: Aśokan Inscriptions and Indian Life as Revealed in the Buddhist Sanskrit work, Mahāvastu-Avadāna. He has edited and rendered into Bengali Rāmācharitam and Gāthā-Saptasatī and published the Bengali version of the entire Arthaśāstra. He has edited the Rāvaṇavaho or the Setubandha, with a newly discovered Sanskrit commentary. The Mahāvastu Avadāna, edited and translated into Bengali by Dr. Basak, has been published by the Sanskrit College.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTORY

Ancient India witnessed several forms of constitutional government monarchical, oligarchical, republican and tribal, working in different periods of her history, in different parts of the country. But the most prevailing form of Hindu constitution was monarchical. Generally speaking, in India, especially Northern India, there was a large number of small monarchical States which were ruled severally and independently by their own kings or chiefs, using such royal titles as mahārāja, rājā, nṛpara and the like, assisted by the necessary administrative machinery, viz., assembly of ministers and a body of State-officers in the various departments. Whenever any such local ruler of particular State, or any adventurer from a remote foreign land, having aspired, on account of the possession of adequate kingly virtues, to become a paramount suzerain—a samrāṭ or a sārva-bhauma emperor—succeeded in asserting his overlordship justly and legitimately on the several conterminous and distant States, that ruler or adventurer became the founder of some sort of an empire, keeping most of the kings and chiefs of the other States dependent on his imperial power either as feudal vassals or through other kinds of political alliances. Such
a great sovereign was generally the head of a great confederation of States having, however, reserved for himself some provinces under his own direct rule and placed some other under that of his own viceroys or governors. As long as such an emperor could hold his own superior position intact, by means of his exceptional ability as the executive head of the administration, the smaller local States or provinces could easily be kept under his sway and subjection. But when through causes, internal or external, such an empire once began to decay, the numerous States that had once formed its component parts tried to recover their own independence.

During such period of decadence of an empire, unity disappears for the time being, dissension prevails and anarchy plays havoc. Disorder, chaos and confusion rule supreme, for there remains no real danḍadhara (wielder of danḍa) for controlling the independent States and saving the whole country from the evils and perils of distemper. Cohesive political relation amongst the different States may again arise, if and when, suzerainty or overlordship can be enforced on them by a powerful ruler who can, as a veritable incarnation of kingly virtues of a high order, assume the title of an emperor and establish an empire by his supremacy. Such an anarchical period when, for the want of proper danḍadhara the weak are oppressed by the strong
and a struggle for supremacy amongst the various local rulers ensues, is called by the Hindu authors of the *Arthasastras, Niti-śāstras* (sciences and treatises on polity) and the *Smṛitis* (law-books) the period of *mātsyanyāya*¹ (a term of political philosophy expressing a state of anarchy, derived from the well-known natural phenomenon that large fish devour the small ones in water). It is a misnomer to call any period of history a blank, for, even then local powers exist and strive, as political rivals to attain a higher position, even that of a suzerain, if possible.

Such a course of disruption befell the great empire of the Mauryas in the remote past. A similar condition awaited the Kushān empire some time later. From whatever cause or causes the fall of that empire might have taken place, a period of *mātsyanyāya* prevailed in Northern India, during which the kings or chiefs of the various local centres, e.g. Girinagara in Surāshṭra, Ujjayinī in Avantī, Vaiśālī in Videha, Pāṭaliputra in Magadha


The word *daṇḍa* may refer either to the royal sceptre or one of the four political expedients mentioned in ancient Indian political treatises.
etc. must have entered into a struggle amongst themselves for supremacy and overlordship. The downfall of the Kushān empire in Āryavarta (Northern India) synchronised with that of the Andhra empire in Dakshināpatha (the Deccan). The disappearance of the rule of both these powerful dynasties from the stage of Indian history took place during the first half of the third century A.D. Then followed, except in the Panjab and the far North-West of India, a period of anarchy which continued for about one century, till all disorder settled down under the suzerain power of the Gupta monarchs, who succeeded in establishing a North Indian empire, which lasted in full glory for well-nigh two and a half centuries. During this long period—approximately from the first quarter of the fourth century A. D. to the second of the sixth—the Gupta emperors had under their unrivalled sway almost the whole of Northern India. The kings ruling during this period are styled the imperial Gupta rulers to distinguish them from those kings with ‘Gupta’ appendage to their names, who in a somewhat later period continued to reign in a circumscribed area in Magadha and the neighbouring countries even after the next period of mātasyaṅyāya, which followed the dissolution of Harshavardhana’s empire and almost till the rise of the Pāla kings of Bengal who enjoyed supreme power in North-Eastern India.
CHAPTER II

NORTH-EASTERN INDIA UNDER THE IMPERIAL GUPTA EM Emperors CHANDRAGUPTA I AND SAMUDRAGUPTA

The origin of the Imperial Guptas is yet shrouded in obscurity. Some scholars are of opinion that they probably belonged to the Dhāraṇa gotra; others say they were of Kāraskara origin. But these views are not yet worthy of full credence. Although it is true that some officials of the early Sātavāhana rulers of the south and some persons in the early Buddhist votive inscriptions bear names ending in Gupta title, we cannot safely connect them with the predecessors of the early Gupta rulers of Magadha. According to Dr S. Chattopadhyaya the Imperial Guptas were of Kshatriya origin.¹

Inscriptional records show that the founder of the Gupta dynasty was a king named Gupta, who had the use of the title mahārāja only and that his son and successor, bearing the same title, was named Ghaṭotkacha. The late Dr. V. Smith’s suggestion² that the name of the founder of the Gupta family was ‘Śrīgupta’ and not simply ‘Gupta’ is indefensible. Like the names of the other Gupta kings used in

inscriptions and coins, this first king’s name was also decorated with the honorific prefix, ‘Śrī’. It cannot be ascertained whether Dr. Rapson’s seal with the legend Guttasya (in mixed Sanskrit and Prakrit) belongs to mahārāja Gupta, but Dr. Hoernle’s clay-seal,³ with the legend Śrīguptasya inscribed on it, appears to belong to this king. The king Śrīgupta, referred to by the Chinese pilgrim, I-tsing,⁴ as the founder of a Buddhist temple with an endowment of twenty-four large villages for the benefit of Chinese pilgrims, and as reigning some five hundred years before his own time of travel in India (A.D. 673-695), can be identified with, the founder of the Gupta dynasty, if we make some allowance for the pilgrim’s calculation of the interval between his own time and king Gupta’s, which is only conjecturally put as five hundred years. He may have hazarded such a statement on hearsay evidence only. Another important argument in favour of the identification of I-tsing’s Śrīgupta with mahārāja Gupta, the founder of the Gupta dynasty, advanced by the late Allan⁵ is that “the lands of the patron of the Chinese pilgrims must have lain within the Gupta territory, and it is unlikely that we should

5. Allan—C. C. B. M. G. D., Intro., pp. XV-XVI.
have had two different rulers in the same territory of the same name within so brief a period; had the Gupta mentioned by I-tsing been an ancestor of and not identical with Gupta, he must have appeared in some of the genealogical lists". Hence the two may be regarded as identical. However, from the use of the title, mahārāja, both by Gupta and Ghaṭotkacha, it appears that they were small kings of the feudal type and were not paramount sovereigns. Pāṭaliputra in Magadha was most probably the political centre of their territory. It may be supposed with Allan and probably rightly, that "the Gupta kingdom was probably one of many which rose to practical independence with the decline of Kushān power". Following the view of the late Dr. V. Smith and other scholars we may place the rule of mahārāja Gupta conjecturally between A. D. 275 and 300 and that of Ghaṭotkacha between A. D. 300 and 320 respectively. A seal bearing the legend Śrī-Ghaṭotkachaguptasya inscribed on it, was discovered at Vaiśālī (Besarh). The identification of this Ghaṭotkachagupta with māharāja Ghaṭotkacha of the Gupta dynasty was advanced by the late Dr. Bloch and Dr. Smith. The seal in question was discovered along with other seals belonging to the Gupta period, the most remarkable

6. Ibid, Introduction, p. XVI,

of them being the one belonging to the chief queen of Chandragupta II, viz. mahādevī Dhruvasvāminī (undoubtedly the same as the queen named Dhruvadevī in the inscriptions), who was the mother of mahārāja Govindagupta who might have been a governor under some of the imperial Guptas. It cannot be stated with any degree of certainty whether the second Gupta ruler (Ghaṭotkacha) had any relation with Vaiśālī, the capital of the old clan of the Lichchhavis. His son and successor, Chandragupta I, who was the third king in the Gupta line, but the first mahārājādhirāja of the dynasty, married a Lichchhavi-Kumārī named Kumāradevī. It may be believed that Ghaṭotkacha, though a local king of Magadha ruling from Pāṭaliputra, might have, towards the close of his rule, become more powerful on account of the growing power of his worthy and accomplished son Chandragupta I, whose strong support must have helped the father to extend his own dominion by making a conquest of the northern state of Vaiśālī and to compel the Lichchhavi chief or chiefs to please him by entering into a santāna-sandhi⁸ (a kind of treaty or peace by the present of a maiden to a victor), by which the hand of Kumāradevī was probably won for his own son. So it appears that the expansion of the kingdom of Magadha was to a very large


“সন্তানসন্ধিবিন্দু দুর্বিরাণাগপুরবঞ্চ: ।”
extent due to the general weakening of the power of the Lichchhavis. An alternative theory may be advanced that after the death of Ghaṭotkacha, Chandragupta I himself, most powerful and rising as he was, began to extend his ancestral kingdom of Pāṭaliputra, and just as his renowned son and successor Samudragupta is known from his own record to have gained the services of the kings of different States by various conciliatory methods, one amongst which was kanyāpāyana⁹ (‘presentation of a daughter’), so also it is not improbable that his father Chandragupta I, should have, in course of his conquest, pushed his arms first of all into the neighbouring northern State of Vaiśālī and caused one of the Lichchhavi chiefs to offer him the hand of his daughter Kumāradevī. Matrimonial alliances between royal families for political purposes have been prevalent in all times in all countries, specially in India. In a still earlier period of Indian history we find an instance of such an alliance ratifying the incorporation of a country into an empire. Nāganika,¹⁰ the queen of the third Andhra king Śātakarni, was a Mahāraṭhi princess, (i.e a daughter of a king of the Rāshṭrikas). This marriage is regarded by scholars as a convenient way of extension of the Andhra empire upto the valley of the Godāvari (Nasik district). The marriage of Prabhāvatī,

daughter of Chandragupta II and his second wife Kuveranāgā with Rudrasena II, the Vākāṭaka king of the Deccan, (south of the Vindhyas) is another instance of a similar matrimonial alliance\(^\text{11}\). In a later period of Indian history we find several instances of political marriages. Karṇa of Chedi was obliged to make peace with Vigrahapāla III, king of Gauḍa by marrying his daughter Yauvanaśrī\(^\text{12}\) to his victorious enemy. Jātavarman, the powerful Varman king of East Bengal, who, we learn\(^\text{13}\) from the Belava copperplate inscription of Bhojavaran, began to spread his arms of conquest for securing overlordship, was pacified by the same Chedi king by the marriage with him of another daughter of his, named Vīraśrī. Other such alliances will be referred to in some of the subsequent chapters of this work.

The late Dr. Smith's theory\(^\text{14}\) that Chandragupta I, "by means of his matrimonial alliance" with the Lichchhavis, "succeeded to the power held by his wife's relatives", who, he thinks, "were masters of the ancient imperial city", Pāṭaliputra, cannot be accepted without some reservation. We have no evidence to show whether in the third century A. D. and during the first quarter of the fourth, the

13. Vide the author's paper in the *E. I.* Vol. XII, No. 8
Lichchhavis were in occupation of Pāṭaliputra, as well as their ancestral territory of Vaiśālī, or, only of Pāṭaliputra. We only know from one of the Nepal inscriptions (No. 15) that king Supuspa of the Lichchhavi family was born in Pushpapura (i.e. Pāṭaliputra) but he belonged to a period long before the Christian era according to the calculation of time of the events mentioned in that Nepal record. In any case there is no denying the fact that this matrimonial union of the two families was a great political achievement on the part of Chandragupta I, and it might have enabled him to extend his conquests and raise himself from the old position of a local mahārāja to the rank of a lord-paramount, a māhārājādhirāja and thus to lay the foundation of a mighty empire in Northern India.

CHANDRAGUPTA I

(c. 1—16 G. E. = c. A. D. 319-335)

Allan observed that in order to commemorate the famous union of the Guptas with the Lichchhavis treated above, it was Chandragupta I’s son and successor, Samudragupta who issued a type of coins which bore on the obverse the figures of his father

and mother, Kumāradevī, along with their names, and on the reverse the figure of a Devī (Goddess) seated on a lion, with the legend Lichchhayāh. But following the late Dr. V. Smith we may presume that it was probably Chandragupta I himself, and not his son, who struck such coins out of a sense of pleasant gratitude that his own power was much augmented by this matrimonial relation with the Lichchhavis. Had it been issued later by his son, Samudragupta, the name of the latter must have been inscribed thereon. We do not concur with the late Allan's view that these Gupta coins could not possibly be "a local development, in Magadha, of the late Kushān coins from which they are obviously derived"; but we think, as will be shown below, that the period "when the Guptas came into close contact with the late Great Kushānas whose eastern (Punjab) coinage they copy" may have belonged to as early a time of the Gupta history as the reign of Chandragupta I, who had spread his arms of conquest (may not be meant for an annexation) to the distant countries of the west frontiers washed by the Indus.

After his accession Chandragupta I began to extend his dominion by means of fresh conquests. Although we are not in possession of any definite

2. E. H. I., p. 290
4. C. C. B. M. G. D., Intro., pp. LXV-LXVI.
inscriptional literature for supplying us with details of the extent of his conquests we can ascertain from a reference to his son Samudragupta’s campaigns of conquests as described in the Allahabad pillar inscription that Chandragupta I ruled over eastern U.P., Bihar and Northern Bengal. In discussing the date of the compilation of the dynastic account in the Purāṇas Pargiter⁵ thus writes: “The Guptas are mentioned as reigning over the country comprised within Prayāga, Sāketa (Ayodhyā), and Magadha, that is exactly the territory which was possessed at his death by Chandragupta I, who founded the Gupta dynasty in A.D. 319-20 and reigned till 326 or 330 (or even till 335) perhaps before it was extended by the conquests of his son and successor Samudragupta”. This scholar also holds the view that as the Paurānic account does not take any notice of Samudragupta’s conquests, nor of the empire, the narrative was closed during the interval which elapsed between the time when Chandragupta I established his kingdom from Magadha over Tirhut, other parts of Bihar and Oudh as far as Allahabad and the beginning of Samudragupta’s reign. But there is reason to believe that this account of the Purāṇas⁶ with regard to the extent of the Gupta dominions had been compiled before

6. Cf, Vishṇupurāṇa—Bk. IV Chap. 24—चन्द्रगुप्त प्रवाह नागर
Chandragupta I made other glorious conquests (to be dealt with below) which probably took place towards the latter part of his reign. The passages in question in the various Purāṇas have, however, different readings which to some extent minimise their value. It may be presumed that the province of Puṇḍravardhana (North Bengal) was also brought under the rule of Chandragupta I, for, had the conquest of this province fallen to the lot of his son, Samudragupta, that event should certainly have found mention in his famous Allahabad record. It will not probably be correct to hold that North Bengal during this period formed directly a part of Magadha, and was ruled by the central government from Pāṭaliputra, but it was very likely placed under the charge of a governor appointed by the imperial monarch. This may seem to be evident from the records of the Gupta rulers in a later period.

It has been shown elsewhere in detail why we should identify the Chandra of the Meharauli Iron pillar inscriptions, written in North Indian script of the fourth century of the Christian era, with the

Also cf. V. Smith, I. A. 1902, p. 258 note.

7. Vide Chapter I.
8. The writer’s paper was published in I. A. 1919, pp. 98-101.
Gupta emperor Chandragupta I. A few remarks may be offered here by way of refuting the view of the late Mm. Dr. H. P. Sastri which was accepted by the late Dr. V. Smith\(^\text{10}\) and which Professor R. C. Majumdar\(^\text{11}\) also first felt inclined to accept, that this Chandra was not a ruler of the Gupta dynasty and that he should be identified with king Chandra-avarman mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta. Mm. Dr. H. P. Sastri based his arguments in favour of this identification, on two inscriptions, viz. the Mandasor Stone inscription\(^\text{12}\) of Naravarman of the year 461 of the Mālava era (=A. D. 404) and the Susunia Hill inscription\(^\text{13}\) of Chandravarman. It may be mentioned that in the first inscription king (pārthīva) Naravarman uses with his name the title mahārāja and in the second, Chandavarman also does the same. In the one, mahārāja Naravarman is described as the son of king Simhavarman and in the other mahārāja Chandravarman is mentioned as the son of the same king, attached to whose name we find another epithet


11. R. C. Majumdar in Early History of Bengal, published by the University of Dacca, 1924. His later identification of Chandra with Chandra-Kaṇishka (=Kaṇishka I) does not appeal to us.


Pushkaraṇādhipati which means that king Simhavarman was the ruler of Pushkaraṇ (probably, Pokaran in Rājasthāna). In Samudragupta’s Allahabad inscription there is a mention of a king named Chandravarman as one of the several kings of Āryāvarta (Northern India) who were violently extirpated by that Gupta monarch during his campaign of conquests. Naravarman appears to have ruled as a feudatory king in Western Malwa in A.D. 404 i.e. during the reign of Chandragupta II, son of Samudragupta. Hence the supposition is inevitable that Chandravarman was an elder brother of Naravarman. The identity of the Chandravarman of the Susunia Hill inscription as established by Pandit Sastri is quite correct, but there will be very great difficulties in proving conclusively that this Chandravarman and the Chandra of the Iron Pillar are identical. Let us now consider the following historical data supplied by the Meharauli inscription:—(i) King Chandra extirpated in battle in the Vaṅga countries (East and South Bengal) his enemies who offered him a united resistance and thereby he achieved fame; (ii) he, in course of war, crossed the seven mouths of the Indus (Sindhu) and over-

14. According to some scholar this Pushkarana is identified, with a place in Bankura district of West Bengal, named Pokhran, but this does not appear as a happy suggestion.
came the Vāhlikas\textsuperscript{15} (probably, some people of foreign origin in the upper Punjab); (iii) the Southern Ocean was "even to-day" (i.e. at the time of incision of the epigraph) "being perfumed by the breezes of his prowess" i.e. he probably proceeded also towards the South for making conquests; (iv) his majestic glory still lingered on earth in the shape of fame even after his death; \textsuperscript{16} (v) he enjoyed for a long time (suchiram) lord-paramountcy (aikādhirājyaṁ) on earth, earned by the strength of his own arms (svabhujārjjitaṁ) i.e. he was justified in calling himself a mahārājādhirājā, a title which he himself earned by his own prowess; and (vi) he was a Vaishnava and raised this pillar as a flag-staff (dhvaja) in honour of god Vishnu on the Vishṇupada hill.

From these data we find that king Chandra was

\textsuperscript{15}. It may be suggested that the Vāhlikas were the same as the Bāhikas (the country of the Bāhika people who had their capital in Sākala (Sialkot in the Punjab). See Prof. S. N. Majumdar's note on pp. 686-87 of Cunningham's \textit{Ancient Geography of India}, 1924. Varāhamihira mentions Vāhikas as one of the northern peoples. Allan thinks it "probable that the name Vāhlika had acquired a more general significance and used like Pahlavas, Yavana, and, of a body of foreign invaders of India" (\textit{Cat.}, Intro., p. xxxvi) and therefore it may not have any reference to the people of Bālkh. Also see 'Vāhlika and Vāhika' in D. C. Sircar's \textit{G.A.M.I.}, pp. 184ff.

\textsuperscript{16}. This datum indicates clearly that the inscription was a posthumous one and was probably got incised by the order of a successor of king Chandra.
a mighty monarch who acquired the title of mahārāj-ādhirāja (expressed for metrical exigencies as aikādhirājyam prāpta in line 5 of the inscription), whereas Chandravarman is simply mentioned in the Susunia inscription with the title mahārāja which during the Gupta period of Indian history and even earlier, was used by kings of small States and by feudatory rulers. The fifth datum noted above is very significant. The statement that Chandra earned supreme overlordship on earth by means of his own prowess and enjoyed it for a long time and that he led his arms of conquest to the distant countries (Vaṅga) in the east and those washed by the Indus on the west and also towards the south, applied more to an early Gupta ruler of the fourth century A. D. than to any local king of any of the smaller states then ruling independently in Northern India. There is no Paurānic or epigraphic evidence to show that any other family of kings made any attempt in the fourth century to assume imperial dignity by conquering distant countries. So the inevitable conclusion that forces itself upon us it that it was Samudragupta's father, Chandragupta I, the first mahārājādhirāja of the Gupta line of emperors, who began to establish the empire by marching out for achieving conquests in Eastern and Southern Bengal, in portions of the Punjab through Sind, and also towards the South. It cannot, however, be stated with any degree of certainty how far Chandragupta I
succeeded in incorporating these conquered provinces into his own central kingdom or in entering into any kind of political relation with their rulers or chiefs.

It seems quite probable that Samudragupta ordered this epigraph to be incised on this very costly pillar of wrought iron which his late father Chandragupta I had caused to be erected as a flagstaff in honour of Vishnu; and as the ancestors of his father were local chiefs (mahārājas), the emperor did not perhaps command the court-poet to refer to any pedigree in the inscription. To prove completely that king Chandravarman and the Chandra of the Iron pillar are identical, one must establish, first of all, that Chandravarman came to Vaṅga (East and South Bengal) “on a campaign of conquests”. The Susunia inscription offers not the slightest hint of any such conquest. It simply states that the dedication of the wheel on the back-wall of the cave (just below which the inscription is engraved) was a pious “deed (kīrtīk) of mahārāja Chandravarman, son of mahārāja Simhavaran, king of Pushkaraṇa”. It does not say “that Chandra of Pokarna did conquer that part of the country” as asserted somewhat unwarrantedly by Pandit Śāstrī. The Susunia hill is situated in Rāḍhā or Sumha (West Bengal), while king Chandra came to Vaṅga (East and part of South Bengal). Dr. Nalini Kanta Bhattachariī17 lent

some force to the opinion of Mm. H. P. Śāstrī by pointing out a solitary reference to one Chandra-
varman whose kotā or fort formed a boundary of a land, granted to a Brāhman by a king of the sixth
century A.D. somewhere near Koṭālipāḍā in the district of Faridpur. This view of Dr. Bhattasali led
Dr. R. C. Majumdar to think that Chandra-
varman of Pushkaraṇa subjugated Bengal and ruled
over it for some time. But the Faridpur inscription
does not in any way show that Chandravarman was
a king of Bengal. On the other hand, it can be easily
presumed that Chandravarman might have gone to
the Susunia hill on a pilgrimage to the hill-cave to
do honour in person to the god Chakrasvāmin and
that it was probably a very famous place of pilgri-
mage in old days. It may be advanced as an
argument that as the wheel in the Susunia hill-cave
and the flag-staff, viz. the Iron pillar, are both
sacred to the god Vishṇu, it favours the identity of
Chandravarman and Chandra. But were not the
Gupta emperors themselves devotees of Vishṇu or
Bhagavān (paramabhāgavatas) ? Hence we are still
inclined to believe with the late Dr. Fleet that the
Chandra of the Iron pillar is the first Gupta
mahārājādhirāja Chandragupta I, and this accounts
for the striking palaeographical similarity of this
inscription with the Allahabad pillar inscription
of his son Samudragupta.

The first year of this monarch's reign, reckoned
very likely from his assumption of the title of mahārājādhirāja after he had already extended to some extent his ancestral kingdom, was 319-20 A.D., and the era known to historians as “the Gupta era”, used in inscriptional and numismatic records in many parts of Northern India during the next few centuries, began from this date. It may be assumed that some conquests had been made by Chandragupta I before this date, and that he might have ruled simply as a mahārāja for a few years after his father mahārāja Ghaṭotkacha’s death, and that the ceremony for the celebration of his accession to the high office of aikādhirājya or the status of a mahārājādhirāja occurred in A.D. 319-20 whence his regnal year commenced to be counted.\(^\text{18}\)

SAMUDRAGUPTA-PARĀKRĀMĀṆKA

(c. 16-61 G. E. = c. A. D. 335-380)

Chandragupta I was succeeded by his son Samudragupta, who, it is clear from an epigraph of the latter’s reign, does not appear to have been the eldest son. He was selected by his father for the Crown-princeship. The events of the reign of this great Gupta ruler can only be known from a study

\(^{18}\) That the first year of the Gupta era should be 319-20 is definitely proved by the evidence of the Mathura Pillar Inscription of Chandragupta II. E. I., Vol. XXI, pp. 1-9.
of two inscriptions of his reign and the different types of his coins. The most famous of all documents of the Gupta period of Indian history, possessing historical value, is the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta. This inscription\(^1\) is engraved on a round monolith sand-stone pillar, which also contains a set of edicts caused to be incised by the imperial command of the Mauryya emperor Aśoka in the third century B. C. In spite of the ravages perpetrated by time and men, the pillar has preserved many passages of historical and geographical importance regarding the reign of Samudragupta.

It is a historical document of the praśasti type, forming a panegyric discourse on the avadānas or heroic achievements of the Gupta emperor Samudragupta, whose conquests in various quarters are vividly described in it by his court-poet Harishena, who calls himself the son of Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Dhruvabhūti. He belonged to a place called Khādyatapāka and had himself the right to use the three high titles of sāndhi-vigrahika (minister of Peace and War i.e. Foreign minister), kumārāmātya (either a minister to the princes, or himself a minister by right of birth), and Mahādaṇḍanāyaka (the chief administrator of daṇḍa, justice). It may be noted here that this pillar inscription is not a posthumous record as was long supposed by some scholars inclu-

ding the late Dr. Fleet. Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Tilabhāṭṭaka was the person who got the praśasti executed.

In order to get a comprehensive idea of this mighty monarch’s military achievements, it is necessary that we should give here a summary of the contents of this invaluable epigraph. It is a contemporary record of the aggressive campaign of conquests undertaken by Samudragupta and of his personal accomplishments. Geographically this campaign may be described under four heads,—(i) as led against the numerous kings of the South (Dakshināpatha), (ii) against the kings of some States in the North (Āryyāvarta), (iii) against the chiefs of some of the forest kingdoms (āṭavikarājas) and (iv) against some of the unorthodox frontier rulers (pratyantaripatis) and the republican communities. One verse (v. 4) in this inscription most graphically, though in an epigrammatic way, describes the manner in which Samudragupta was ordained by his father Chandragupta I to be his successor, as being the best fitted amongst all other princes to rule the earth—his choice having been decided in a ceremonious meeting wherein all members were anxiously breathing forth deep sighs to see the prince on whom the royal selection should fall, and all the other royal claimants were waiting to cast jealous looks of disappointment on the person selected. The emperor embraced his worthy son
Samudragupta, and made him the Crown-prince. It is very probable that he was not the eldest son of Chandragupta I, and it is clear that the law of primogeniture was not in operation during this period. Another most interesting touch by the poet-laureate in the picture of the triumphant expeditions of this aggressor is found in his description of the charming person of Samudragupta, disfigured, rather "beautified", as the poet would have it, by "the blows of battle-axes, arrows, spears, pikes, barbed darts, swords, lances, javelins, iron arrows" and many other weapons, which caused marks of innumerable wounds, when this Parākramāṇka (Samudragupta) engaged himself in battle with his own strength and prowess as his only ally.

The Gupta emperor's military expedition may be described as follows. In a half-mutilated verse (v. 5) some opponents are stated to have submitted to him and asked for shelter (ṣaraṇam = upāgatāḥ) after having been afflicted by his prowess; and in the next verse it is hinted that some of his great wrong-doers (ucchāpakārāḥ) were defeated by the king's own hands in battle (samgrāmeshu svabhūja-vijitāḥ) and that after expressing repentance for their wrong-doing they became the monarch's friends. It is recorded in another verse (v. 7) that Achyuta and Nāgasena were completely overthrown and that a descendant of the Kota family was made a captive by the soldiers of the emperor. The poet-laureate
then refers to the aggressive deeds of the emperor, who engaged himself in many battles of various kinds, for winning glory by a victory over the entire earth (sarva-prithivī-vijaya). Lines 19—20, written in excellent Sanskrit prose, record the defeat courted by the kings of the numerous States in the Deccan, viz. (1) Mahendra of Kosala, (2) Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra, (3) Manṭarāja of Korāla or Kurāla, (4) Mahendra of Pīṣṭapura, (5) Svāmidatta of Giri-Koṭṭūra, (6) Damana of Eraṇḍapalla, (7) Vīṣṇugopa of Kāṇchī, (8) Nīlarāja of Avamukta, (9) Hastivarman of Veṅgī, (10) Ugrasena of Pālakka (11) Kuvera of Devarāṣṭra, (12) Dḥānaṇ-jaya of Kusthalapura and others. Harisheṇa here speaks of Samudragupta as having attained "a great good fortune, mixed with majestic glory," by his first capturing these kings of the South and then favouring them with a release (graḥaṇa-mokṣh-ānugraha- janīta-pratāpa) This military progress through the Southern States was undoubtedly made at the final stage of the expedition. Lines 20-21 describe the emperor as having added to his majesty by a violent extirpation of a number of kings in Northern India (Āṛyyāvarta), viz. (1) Rudradeva, (2) Matila, (3) Nāgadatta, (4) Chandravarman, (5) Gaṇapatiṇāga, (6) Nāgasena, (7) Achyutanandin²,

2. Some scholars divide the word as Achyuta and Nandin, making them stand for two different persons, but Nandin seems to have been a surname. The name was probably used
(8) Balavarman and many others, whose territories, however, are not mentioned in the inscription. They perhaps ruled independently over some of the well-known neighbouring provinces and States of Northern India, such as Pushkaraṇa, Aṅga, Avanti, Anūpa, Śūrasena etc. existing from before Samudragupta’s time, as we infer from Kālidāsa’s mention of them in his great epic, the Raghuvamśā. There is hardly any doubt that those kings, at least those whose States were allowed to continue as separate States and were not brought by annexation under the direct jurisdiction of the central government, were forced to become feudatories of the Gupta monarch after their defeat. Some of these kingdoms were most probably incorporated in the Gupta empire. In all probability Samudragupta first turned his attention to the subjugation of these Northern kings before proceeding toward the South.

The inscription then describes the emperor as turning towards the forest kings, perhaps of modern Central India, and bringing them under his power (parichārakīkṛita-sarvāṭavika-rāja). In lines 22-23 it is mentioned that some of the neighbouring kings of pratyanta (frontier?) countries of the North and without the surname in V. 7 (L. 13—14) to meet the exigencies of metre.

3. Cf. Amarakosha—प्रत्यांतसेवको—व् च चच्छवण्यं। खासं i.e. those countries were called pratyantas which did not abide by the orthodox rules regarding the varṇas and the āśramas.
the North-East, viz. (1) Samataṭa, (2) Davāka, (3) Kāmarūpa, (4) Nepāla, (5) Kartṛipura etc. and some of the republican communities of the West and South-West, viz. (1) the Mālavas, (2) the Ārjunāyaṇas, (3) the Yaudheyas, (4) the Madrakas, (5) the Ābhīras, (6) the Prārjunas, (7) the Sanakānikas, (8) the Kākas, (9) the Kharaparikas and others, gratified the monarch by payment of all kinds of tribute (sarva-kara-dāna), by obedience to his commands (ājñākarana) and by approach for paying court to the monarch (praṇāmāgamana). Lines 23-24 mention some of the distant rulers, the representatives of the various races of foreign origin viz. the Daivaputras and Shāhis and Shāhānushāhis, the Śaka-Muruṇḍas, the people of Ceylon and the inhabitants of all other islands (Saimhalakādibhiṣ = cha sarva-dvīpa-vāsibhiḥ), as rendering the Gupta monarch service, by means of self-surrender (ātmanivedana), presents of maidenprincess (kanyopāyana), payment of tribute of gifts (dāna) and request for the issue of the royal charter marked with the Garuḍa symbol which guaranteed their enjoyment of their own territories (garutmad-anka-svavishaya-bhukti-śāsana-yāchana). The emperor is also described in line 23 as having won fame by re-establishing many royal families previously fallen and deprived of their kingdoms (aneka-bhrasṭa rājyotsanna-rāja-vamsa-pratishṭhāpana); and he is also said to have appointed his own State-officers (āyuṣṭa-
purushas) to restore the wealth of various kings who were conquered by the strength of his own arms (svabhujabala-vijit-âneka-narapati-vibhava-pratyarpana).

From the above details it appear to be very plain that there were differences in the nature of conquests and invasions made by the mighty Gupta emperor. Firstly, there was violent extermination of some kings of Northern India and permanent annexation of their kingdoms to the victor’s own dominions. Secondly, there was liberation after capture of some of the kings of Southern India and re-instatement of these kings in their own kingdoms. Thirdly, there was acceptance of some sort of service, monetary or personal, rendered by some of the kings of the neighbouring (pratyanta) countries, by some of the tribal republics, as also by some distant foreign powers, who, it appears, were all allowed to enjoy autonomy by acknowledging the sovereignty of the Gupta emperor. Fourthly, there was renewal of old administration of some ruined royal families that had been deprived of their power, perhaps, by former emperors. Lastly, there was a restoration of wealth to many kings who were conquered by the emperor himself.

It will not be out of place here to add a note on the identification of the names of places, kings and peoples mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription. The States of the Deccan were:—(1) Kosala,
—this is South Kosala in the Mahānadi valley, comprising parts of the modern districts of Jabalpur, Raipur, Bilaspur and Sambalpur. (2) Mahākāntāra,—this seems to be one of the Southern forest countries which constitute the tributary States of Orissa and the backward tracts of the Central Provinces. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri² locates this wild tract in Madhya Pradesh. (3) Korāla or Kaurāla—this is perhaps the district round the modern lake Kolleru. Dr. Raychaudhuri once identified it with Kerala which, he thought, was "the district of which the capital in later times was Yayātinagara on the Mahānadi," but later on he rejected this identification. (4) Pishṭapura—this is certainly Pīṭhāpuram in the Godāvarī district, the ancient capital of Kāliṅga. (5) Giri-Koṭṭūra,—this Koṭṭūra has been identified with Kothoor, 12 miles s. s. w. of the girī (hill) i.e. Mahendragiri in the Ganjam district. It is doubtful if Svāmidatta was to be taken as the ruler of two places viz. Pishṭapura and Mahendragiri-Koṭṭūra. The name⁵ of the king of the former place seems to have been Mahendra and that of Giri-Koṭṭūra was Svāmidatta. The last three states were situated within the boundaries of old Kāliṅga. (6) Eraṇḍa-

4. *P. H. A. I.*, p. 539

5. The clauses in this view are to be separated thus :-

[पिष्ठपुर]—महेन्द्र—[गीरीकोठुर]—स्वामिदत्त।
palla,—Professor Dubreuil\(^6\) is of opinion that Samudragupta’s military operations in the Deccan were confined only to the eastern parts of the country. So he thinks that the identification of this place with Erandol in Khandesh is wrong. In the opinion of this scholar Samudragupta did not turn westward, neither did he come home through Khandesh and the Mahāraṭṭa country. He identifies it with Eraṇḍapali, “a town probably near Chica-cole.” (7) Kāṇchī,—this is undoubtedly Conjeevaram to the s. w. of Madras; hence, Vishṇugopa was a Pallava king. (8) Avamukta—this has not yet been properly identified. (9) Veṅgī—this has been identified with Vegi or Peddavegi, situated between the eastern portion of the Godāvari and the Kṛishṇā. (10) Pālakka,—this is a place probably in the Nellore district, identified with Palakkada, the seat of a viceroyalty under the Pallava kings. (11) Devarāṣṭra—according to Professor Dubreuil it would be wrong to take it to refer to any place in Māhārāṣṭra in the western part of the Deccan; hence he thinks that this place is the tract Yellamaṇḍhili in the district of Vizagapatam. (12) Kusthalapura—Dr. L. D. Barnett identified it with Kuttalur, in North Arcot\(^7\).

As regards the identification of the northern States conquered by the Gupta emperor it may

be noted that the kingdom of Rudradeva is yet unknown. King Matila is said to be identical with Mattila whose name occurs in a seal found in Bulandshahr. Nāgadatta may not have been a member of any of the Nāga dynasties referred to in the Purāṇas, which ruled “in the Jumna valley and Central India in the fourth century A.D.” In the Gupta and post-Gupta period of Indian history we find different surnames, such as datta, sena, varman, nandin, nāga, etc. So we do not feel inclined to take Nāgadatta for a king of any of the Nāga States such as were ruled by Gaṇapatināga himself. As has been shown before, Chandravarman of this inscription may rightly be identified with the king of Pushkaraṇa, modern Pokharan, in Rājputana, who is mentioned as māhārāja Chandravarman, son of māhārāja Simhavarman. So he belongs to that family of Varman kings of western Mālava to which Naravarman (461 M.E.), Viśva-varman (480 M.E.) and Bandhuvarman (493 M.E.) were members, some of whom ruled afterwards from Daśapura. We have shown elsewhere⁸ that like his father Simhavarman and his grand-father Jayavarman before him, Chandravarman also might have ruled independently, before the Gupta conqueror advanced towards Mālava, and reduced the power of this Varman family

of Pushkaraṇa by defeating him. It is not unlikely that Chandravarman, the elder brother, was driven away from Mālava and proceeded towards the east. This may explain in a way why he came to the Susunia Hill (in the Bankura district). His younger brother Naravarman might also have been raised to the position of a Gupta feudatory ruling from Daśapura (modern Mandasor). Gaṇapatināga was undoubtedly a king of the Nāga dynasty, many of whose coins have been discovered. One cannot be sure that he was a prince ruling from Padmāvatī (Narwar in Madhya Pradesh). The Nāga families ruled from more than one place viz. Padmāvatī, Mathurā and Vidiśā. But we may easily concur with the view of Professor Rapson who has identified Nāgasena of this inscription with the Nāgasena of the Nāgakula ruling from Padmāvatī, mentioned in Bāṇa’s Harshacharita. We should not make two Nāga kings of the same family rule simultaneously from one place (Padmāvatī). In this inscription we read Achyuta and Nandin together. We do not accept the view that Nandin is the name of a person. It may be treated as a surname here. This Achyuta was very likely the king of that name represented only by the syllables achyu in a large number of coins found in Ahichchhatra in U. P. We cannot be very

10. H. C., Chapter VI. p. 50 (Kane’s edition pt. II.)
sure that the kingdom of Balavarman mentioned in this prāṣasti was Kāmarūpa. One Balavarman was the son of Samudravarman, whom we have shown in a separate chapter to have been a contemporary of Samudragupta himself. Probably this Balavarman of the Allahabad pillar has nothing to do with Kāmarpūpa, as it has been separately mentioned as one of the pratyanta kingdoms which entered into a subordinate alliance with the Gupta monarch. So in all probability, this Balavarman was a king of some country other than Kāmarūpa.

Regarding the identification of the pratyanta (or the so-called frontier) provinces and the republics referred to in the prāṣasti, it may be observed that Samataṭa stood for nearly the whole of the delta of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra including parts of the modern districts of Jessore, Khulna, Faridpur, Eastern part of Dacca and Tippera. Kāmarūpa is more or less represented by modern Assam. Ṣavāka has not yet been properly identified. Coming between Samataṭa and Kāmarūpa in the list, it may have corresponded to the northern part of Dacca and almost the whole of the Mymensingh district. We have pointed out in our paper on the Damodarpur plates that Ṣavāka should not be identified with portions of Bogra, Dinajpur and Rajshahi districts of North Bengal, which must have formed part of the vishaya of Koṭivarsha in the bhuktī of Puṇḍravardhana. The kingdom of Nepāla
is the well-known geographical unit forming the mountainous country north of old Magadha, Tīrabhukti, Ayodhya etc. The kingdom of Karṇīpura may have comprised the territories of the Katuria Raj of the Kumaon, Garhwāl and Rohilkhand, and also the Kangra and Jalandhar districts.

Of the tribal republics mentioned in the praśasti, Allan\(^{10}\) observes that “to the north-west were the Yaudheyas and Madrakas in the Punjab, with the Mālavas, Ārjunāyanas, and Ābhīras to the south of them”. He writes, moreover, that “the lands of the Prārjunas, Sanakānikas, Kākas and Kharaparakas lay to the south, probably in Mālwsā and the Central Provinces”. It may be added here that the Mālava tribe was at first in the Punjab and later on they proceeded towards Rajputana in the western Mālava portion. The Bijaygadh inscription (Fleet, C. I. I., No. 58, p. 251), literary references and the provenances of the coins of the Yaudheyas show that they were originally a tribe of the Punjab and subsequently extended into Western Rajputana.\(^{11}\) Śākala or Sialkot in the Punjab was the capital of the Madraka tribe. Dr. Ray Chaudhuri has drawn the attention of scholars to the Ābhīras having occupied the tract near Vinaśana (the river Sarasvati).\(^{12}\) The situation of the Sanakā-
nikas may be known from a reference to a tribal chief mentioned in the Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II dated A.D. 401-02. This Udayagiri is a well-known hill near Bhilsa in the present Madhya Pradesh. The Prārjunas, Kākas and Khara-parikas might have occupied respectively the Narasimhapur district, Kākapur and Damoh district. in M.P. 13

Dr. Raychaudhuri 14 thinks that the Vākāṭaka prince Prithivisheṇa I (father of Rudrasena II, a contemporary of Chandragupta II) was Samudragupta’s contemporary, and had a predominant sway over the region between Bundelkhand and Karnāṭa. He holds the view, moreover, that though Samudragupta did not invade the Western Deccan he deprived the Vākāṭakas of their possessions in Central India which were ruled by their vassal kings, one of whom was the Vyāghradeva of the Nachne-kitalai inscription. He identifies this Vyāghradeva with the Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra in the Allahabad praśasti who, as feudatory of Prithivisheṇa, was subdued by Samudragupta. Henceforward the Vākāṭaka power became extinct in Central India and it became a purely Southern power. Thus Central India came under the Magadhan empire. The enemies referred to in verse 6 of the Eran

inscription (C.I.I., No. 2) of Samudragupta, might have borne allusion to the Vākāṭaka feudatories.

The foreign king Daivaputra-Shāhi-Shāhānu-shahi, who entered into diplomatic relations with Samudragupta, was the Kushān ruler of the north-west, and Raychaudhuri takes him to be a member of the Kushān dynasty of the north-west. In his opinion the Kshatrapas of Ujjain were meant by the foreign powers under the name Śaka-Muruṇḍas (Muruṇḍa, a Śaka word = lord, Sk. svāmin). It is known from a Chinese source that the contemporary king of the Ceylonese (Saimhalakas) was named Meghavarṇa who, it is said, sent an embassy with presents to the Magadhan Gupta for seeking permission to found a monastery near the Bodhi-tree in Gayā, for the use of pilgrims from Ceylon.

Samudragupta performed the aśvamedha sacrifice, which was long in abeyance, undoubtedly after the completion of his round of conquests.

15. V. Smith’s Oxford History of India. cf. fn. 1, p. 149. It may be noted here with advantage that the latest article by Dr. Sten Konow on “Kalawan copper-plate inscription of the year 134” in J. R. A. S., Pt. IV, 1932, pp. 249 ff, has thrown a flood of new light on the question of the various Śaka eras and the Śaka invasion of India which “started from Seistan to Sindh, and thence extended southwards, finally reaching Ujjayini, where Wima Kadphises re-established Śaka power and in order to commemorate ‘the Śaka reconquest of Mālawa’ found an era which was practically identical with the Vikrama era”.
That Samudragupta was a king of highly exceptional ability, possessing varied gifts, can be believed, even if one refuses to accept without some reservation the courtly phrases of the poet-laureate Harisheṇa. The image of the emperor, seated as a lyrist on some of his gold coins, bears testimony to the description of the panegyrist that the monarch was a skilful master in the science of music and could by his performances “put to shame the heavenly musicians Tumburu and Nārada”. He possessed a very sharp and polished intellect by which he could even “surpass Brīhaspati, the preceptor of the gods”. He is also said to have been himself a poet of no mean order, for he obtained the title of Kavirāja (‘king of poets’), by his poetical compositions from which even learned people drew much inspiration. He was a patron of the Muses. On account of his good nature his people were always ready to show extreme loyalty to his person and throne and he was very compassionate towards all. His mind was always busy with the thoughts of “deliverance of the poor, the miserable, the helpless and the sick”. The celebrated Buddhist author Vasubandhu, to whom his father Chandragupta I commended Samudragupta in his early age, was highly honoured by this great king. To use the language of the late Dr. V. Smith, Samudragupta “was in fact a man of genius, who may fairly claim the title of the Indian Napoleon”.
APPENDIX I

Samudragupta’s accession and the Problem of Kācha

Chandragupta I does not seem to have abdicated in favour of his son Samudragupta. The reference in the particular verse in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription is simply to the selection the crown-princeship (pauvarājya) of Samudragupta by Chandragupta I and this can easily be done even by a reigning monarch.

In the first edition of this book I refrained from referring to Kācha as ever being a ruling member of the Imperial Gupta family, as it was not then possible to ascertain his relationship either with Chandragupta I or Samudragupta, which is yet a matter of conjecture amongst historians.

The coins bearing the name Kācha with the legend kacho gām = avajitya divāṁ karmabhīr = uttamair jayati are attributed by some scholars to a king who was an elder brother of Samudragupta and that the latter occupied the royal seat after having killed the former. This view does not seem to be reasonable. The epithet Sarvarājochchhetā found on ‘Kācha’ coins rather indicate that he was most probably identical with Samudragupta himself. We feel inclined to agree with the view on this topic held by Allan, H. C. Raychaudhuri and others that Kācha was very likely the original name of the
emperor Samudragupta who may have assumed the famous name Samudragupta after his conquest had extended up to the ocean.

APPENDIX II

The Problem of Rāmagupta

In the first edition of this book I consciously omitted to discuss in the main body of it the important question of Rāmagupta on account of want of full conviction that this person was ever a ruling member of the imperial Gupta family. But since then (1934) many historians such as Levi, R. D. Banerji, D. R. Bhandarkar, Altekar, Mirashi etc. have discussed this question in various books and journals¹, but the ultimate result of all discussions leaves the question yet an open one. We shall have yet to wait for the discovery of new epigraphic and numismatic evidence to corroborate the theory that Rāmagupta ever belonged to this royal family and that he also reigned though for a short time after Samudragupta and before Chandragupta II. It is yet difficult for us to tie up Rāmagupta with the

reigning sovereigns of the imperial Gupta dynasty. Considering the possible high moral condition in the country during the most golden age of the Guptas it will be very hard to believe the other part of Rāmagupta episode, which refers to his fight with a Śaka king who invaded his kingdom and his ignominious offer of the hand of his own queen Dhruvadevī to the Śaka king and his younger brother Chandragupta’s resentment at his imbecile elder brother’s dishonourable offer and also his ultimate assassination of him by Chandragupta who is alleged to have thereafter usurped the throne and married his brother’s widow, Dhruvadevī. The whole story has been based on the evidence of certain extracts from an old drama, named Devī-Chandraguptam by a poet Viśākhadatta, which itself however, has not been discovered and published in full. These extracts were first pointed out by Levi as occurring in a treatise on dramaturgy, the Nātyadarpaṇa, written by Rāmachandra and Guṇachandra belonging to a late period of history. But in that treatise also Rāmagupta is mentioned simply as a king (rājā) without any of the high titles in vogue in the Gupta period for indicating lord-paramountcy, and Dhruvadevī is also styled therein simply a devī and not a mahādevī that she really was. But the story cannot be dismissed wholly, as it, thus started, seems to have run also in later books and epigraphy such as the Harshacharita of Bāṇa and the Kāvyamīmāṁsā
of Rājaśekhara and the Sanjan plates of Amogha-varsha I (A.D. 871) and the Cambay (A.D. 930) and Sangli (A.D. 933) plates of Govinda IV. Bāṇa says\(^2\): “Chandragupta hidden in the guise of a female, killed a Śaka king, lustful towards another’s wife in his enemy’s capital”. The Sanjan plates (E.I. vol. XVIII, pp. 235 ff) state that “the donor in the Kaliyuga, who was of Gupta lineage, having killed his brother, we are told, seized his kingdom and wife.” And the Cambay and Sangli plates mention “one Sāhasāṇka who killed his elder brother and married his widow”. It may also be noted in this connection that though no epigraphic evidence of any king of the name of Rāmagupta is available, there was, however, a discovery of his name in some copper coins collected by Sri Advani and others at Bhilsa.\(^3\) The late Dr. Altekar was emphatic in taking these copper coins as evidence of suzerain power of Rāmagupta, as a member of the imperial Gupta line.\(^4\). The fabric and metal of these coins,

2. चन्द्रगुप्त व अर्जुनकुल कामिविजयसम्युक्त चन्द्रगुप्त शकपतिवशायते—१५\(^\text{वर्ष}-

3. Recently K. D. Bajpai also has found a good number of coins of one Rāmagupta which bear close resemblance to the coins of the Nāgas and other local rulers of Mālwa. He is of the opinion that “Rāmagupta of the coins was no other than the brother of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya” (Indian History Congress, 24th session, Summaries of Papers, p. 13).

however, indicate that they might have been issued by a local chief of Central India, called Rāmagupta. Rāmagupta of these coins did not necessarily have any connection with the Rāmagupta of the Gupta lineage. We agree with Dr. R. C. Majumdar that we must suspend our judgement upon the historical character of Rāmagupta, as it is not yet possible to pronounce it.  

CHAPTER III

NORTH-EASTERN INDIA UNDER THE IMPERIAL GUPTA EMPERORS CHANDRAGUPTA II, KUMĀRAGUPTA I AND SKANDAGUPTA

CHANDRAGUPTA II—VIKRAMĀDITYA
(c. 61-94 G.E = c. A.D. 380-413)

Having enjoyed a long reign over a vast empire established by the strength of his own arms, Samudragupta passed away from the earth in the beginning of the fourth quarter of the fourth century. A.D. He was succeeded by his son Chandragupta II, known in early history and traditions by his title Vikramāditya, a title which is found on coins of various type issued by the monarch. There is reason to believe that Samudragupta had chosen Chandragupta II to succeed to the imperial throne from amongst many sons, just as he himself was so selected by his own father Chandragupta I. In the genealogical passage of some of the Gupta inscriptions, Chandragupta II is described as *tāt-parigrihīta*¹ i.e. “accepted (as successor) by him” (Samudragupta). The duration of his reign may roughly be ascertained from three of the five epigraphic records belonging to his reign which are dated. His accession

may be taken to have occurred about A.D. 380$^2$ as is known from the Mathura pillar inscription which bears the date 61 G.E. (i.e. A.D. 380-81) and the regnal year 1$^3$. His last known date is 93 G.E. (A.D. 412-13) which is afforded by the Sanchi Stone inscription.

Two of the five inscriptions mentioned above are from the Udayagiri hill-cave, situated above two miles to the North West of Bhilsa, Madhya pradesh. One$^4$ of them is dated 82 G.E. (=A.D. 401-02). It records the dedication of two groups of sculptures, a four-armed Vishṇu and a -twelve-armed goddess made by a chief of the Sanakānika tribe, a feudatory of mahārājaḍhirāja Chandragupta II (Chandragupta-pādānudhyāta) but, unfortunately, his full name is not preserved, only the last component (ḍhala) of his name appearing legible. He describes himself as the son of mahārāja Vishṇudāsa, and grandson of mahārāja Chhagalaga. Probably, the latter two had some sort of political relation with Samudragupta, whose imperial sovereignty was acknowledged by this and other tribes (the Allahabad Pillar inscrip-


3. Dr. D. C. Sircar reads the regnal year, which is not clear, as pañchame and thus places the accession of the king in about A.D. 375-76. cf. I.H.Q. XVIII, p. 271.

4. Ibid—No. 3.
tion of Samudragupta, Ll.21-23). The second Udayagiri inscription is undated. Judged from the standard of palaeography and from the fact of the monarch having come in person, during his campaign of conquest of the whole earth (krśna-prithvi-jayārtha) to this particular hill, where the other dated inscription of Chandragupta II exists, there can be no doubt that the Chandragupta of this inscription must be Chandragupta II, and not his grandfather of the same name. There is a latent allusion to his using the title of vikrama in a verse of this inscription (verse 2), where we read that this monarch humbled down to slavery the rulers of the earth which was "won by him by the price of prowess" (vikrama). It records the excavation of a cave in honour of Bhagavān Śambhu, by a hereditary minister (anvaya-prāpta-sāchivyā) of this rājādhirāja (Chandragupta II), who held the office of the Minister of Peace and War (vyāprita-sandhi-vigrahaḥ). This minister, an inhabitant of Pāṭaliputra, whose name is Vīrasena, was a highly learned man, knowing fully the ways of society, and belonged to the Kautsa gotra; but he was known to people by the name of Śāba. It appears that he was a Brahman by caste. However, it is stated that Vīrasena caused

5. Ibid—No. 6.

6. The other titles used by Chandragupta II in his coins were Śrī-vikrama, Simha-vikrama, Ājita-vikrama, Vikramānka and Vikramāditya.
this cave to be excavated when he visited this place in the company of his sovereign, during his campaign of conquest of the earth. There seems to be no doubt that the campaign referred to here alludes to the one, during which Chandragupta II conquered Mālwa and Surāshṭra along with Gujarat, which had previously been ruled by foreign Śaka chiefs. The first Udayagiri inscription is a proof that Mālwa, specially Eastern Mālwa, was under the Gupta rule in A.D. 401-02. Had the second inscription of the same place been dated, we would have got further evidence as to the time, when he probably proceeded against the Western Kshatrapas of Surāshṭra and Gujarat. Some light on the time of Chandragupta II's conquest of these provinces is thrown by the evidence of coins. The only date found on coins of Rudrasimha III, probably the last of the Western Kshatrapas, is 310+X or 300+X=A.D. 388+X⁷ and the earliest date on the silver coins which Chandragupta II struck after his conquest of Surāshṭra, in imitation of the Kshatrapa coins of that province, is 90 or 90+X G. E. = A. D. 409 or 409-10. So, strictly speaking, it may be presumed

7. Allan—Catalogue Intro., p. XXXVIII and Rapson—C. A. & W. K. pp. cxlix-cli, 192-4 The Sonepur hoard has a coin of Rudrasena III dated in the year (3) 12, cf. Numismatic Supplement, Vol XLVII, p. 96. But this may be a freak coin. If so, 310+X, the last date of Rudrasimha III should be considered as the last landmark in Śaka chronology.
that the conquest of Surāshṭra and Gujarat by Chandragupta II must have taken place sometime between A.D. 388 and 409. And this conquest of Surāshṭra and western India appears to be indicated by the Lion-slayer type of gold coins of the Emperor, Surāshṭra being an abode of lions. Both these provinces which were formerly under the foreign Śaka rulers (the Western Kṣhatrapas) were very wealthy and fertile and their annexation to the Gupta empire "opened up to the paramount power free access to the ports of the western coast" through which sea-borne commerce was carried on between India and Europe via Egypt. The influence of Samudragupta's conquests of other provinces was felt even by the Śakas, to one of whose dynasties the western Kṣhatrapas belonged; but it remained for his son Chandragupta II to add Mālava and Surāshṭra to his paternal dominions. The name of the then Kṣhatrapa ruler slain by the Gupta emperor was most probably Rudrasimha III. Incidentally, as traditional scandal alluded to in the Harshacharita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa of the 7th century A.D., says that a Śaka king was slaughtered "in his enemy's city" by Chandragupta who hid himself in the dress of his mistress, while the former was eager to enjoy the company of another man's wife. But this incident should probably be referred to Rāmagupta episode.

The Mathurā pillar inscription, mentioned above,

8. Supra, p. 40, fn. 2
refers itself to the reign of Chandragupta II, son of Samudragupta, with the titles Bhaṭṭāraka, mahārāja and rājādhīrāja, for both the Gupta monarchs. The last two titles are, in the opinion of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, almost “an exact replica of mahārāja and rājādhīrāja which the Kushāṇa kings bore”. As Mathurā was “one of the most important districts of the Kushāṇa kingdom”, Dr. Bhandarkar thinks that this inscription indicates the fact that Mathurā and the surrounding region were wrested from the Kushāṇas for the first time by Chandragupta II. The object of the inscription, however, was the installation of two images (Śaiva liṅgas) called Kapileśvara and Upamiteśvara in a hall of statues by one Uditācharyya in the names of two former Māheśvara teachers. The Gadhwa inscription9 dated 88 G.E. (= A. D. 407-08), evidently belonging to the reign of Chandragupta II (though his name has disappeared from the stone), mentions Pāṭaliputra but the fragmentary nature of the record does not permit us to form any notion as to whether this city was the capital of Chandragupta II. We may agree with the view of the late Dr. V. Smith that “Pāṭaliputra probably continued to be the principal royal residence in the reign of Samudragupta, but there are indications that in the time of his successor, Ayodhyā was found to be more convenient as the headquarters of the government”. The issue of the

famous inscription of Samudragupta recording his conquests and its incision on the old Aśokan pillar situated in Kosām (in Allahabad district) make it all the more probable that the capital may have been removed towards Mid-India proper, probably to Ayodhyā, which was at best a secondary capital. Samudragupta might have had his own headquarters sometimes at Ayodhyā, where his son Chandragupta II probably had a mint; and it was really the premier city in the fifth century A.D. But even during Chandragupta II's reign Pāṭaliputra continued to remain a beautiful city with a very large population, and it was probably ruined by the second invasion of the Hūṇas in the sixth century A.D. in Northern India. Strangely enough "the city had long been a wilderness", when Yuan Chwang lived near it about A.D. 640 (i.e. about one century later). Another Gupta centre of administration was at Ujjain, which attained that position after Chandragupta II's conquests of Mālwa.

Epigraphic and numismatic evidences describe the monarch as paramabhāgavata. His leaning towards the god Vishṇu is indicated by his Chakravikrama type of coins. But the eclectic nature of the emperor's rule is clearly indicated by an inscription which bears the date 93 G. E. (=A.D. 412-13). It is on the railing of the great stūpa at Sāñchi, known in ancient times by the

name of Kākanādabota. The object of the epigraph is to record the gift of 25 dināras and of a place called Īśvaravāsaka which appears to have been purchased, for this noble purpose, by a payment of the usual price as fixed in the rājakula by a donor, named Āmrakārdava, son of Undāna. The donor granted the above gifts with the approval of the pānchamanḍali to the Buddhist monks of Ārya-saṅgha, who came from all quarters to the great monastery (mahāvihāra) of Kākanādabota. It appears to be clear that the donation of the 25 dināras was to be regarded as a capital contribution never to be wasted, but half of the interest on this money was to be spent on the feeding of five monks (bhikshus) and the maintenance of a lamp in the ratnagriha i.e. the shrine of the Buddhist triratna, for the enhancement of all the virtues of mahārājādhirāja Chandragupta, who, as it appears from this inscription, also bore the popular name of Devarāja. According to some inscriptions of the Vākāṭaka dynasty, Chandragupta II appears to have been known also by the name of Devagupta. The late Dr. Fleet wrongly took Devarāja of the inscription to be the name of the donor. The other half of the interest of the money mentioned in the above epigraph was to be spent for a similar purpose for augmenting his own merit. This Āmrakārdava seems to have been an officer in the service of mahārājādhirāja Chandragupta II, “whose favours gratified the object of his life” (mahārājādhirāja-Chandragupta-pādaprasad = āpyā-
yitajīvita-sādhanaḥ) and he has shown to the world how a royal dependant should properly behave. That he was an officer of high military rank is evident from the epithet anekasamar=āvāpta-vijayayāsaḥ-patākahaḥ, applied to him, which means that he “won the flag of fame of victory in many a battle.” The name of the place of his residence is also recorded, but it cannot be made out with certainty. We cannot in any case assert dogmatically that Āmrakārdava was in the service of Chandragupta II in any part of Mālwā11. From an inscription12 discovered in the Faizabad district in U.P., belonging to his son Kumāragupta I’s reign and bearing date A.D. 436-37, we know that the Imperial ruler Chandragupta II had a Brāhman minister (mantrin) named Śikharasvāmin, who had the title of Kumārāmātya, he being the son of Vishṇupālitabhaṭṭa and grandson of Kuramāravyabhaṭṭa of the Chandogas, whose gotras were Aśva and Vājin. In the year 461 of the kṛita era (=Vikrama era) traditionally used13 by the Mālava tribe (Śrī-Mālava-gaṇ=āmnāta) i.e. A.D. 404, a Varman king named Naravarman, using the title of mahārāja, was a ruler in western Mālwā region, having probably his headquarters in Daśa-

pura, modern Mandasor, where a stone inscription was discovered in 1913. From this inscription we learn that this king (pārthiva) mahārāja Naravarman, was the son of king (kṣitīśa) Simhavarman, and grandson of king (narendra) Jayavarman. From the use of the subordinate title mahārāja used by this king, it can be easily inferred that Naravarman was a feudatory ruler under the imperial sway of Chandragupta II, for, epigraphic records establish that in A.D. 404, the date of this epigraph, it was this emperor who was on the imperial throne.

Chandragupta II aggrandised his power by matrimonial alliances with important dynasties. He had a daughter of the name of Prabhāvatī, born of the queen, named Kuveranāgā, and he gave her in marriage with Mahārāja Rudrasena II of the Vākāṭaka dynasty in the Deccan. Such kind of santānasandhi (matrimonial alliance by offer of the hand of a princess) is of great political importance. The son-in-law might have been of great assistance to Chandragupta II, during his campaign against Mālwa and Surāśṭra.

This section of the present chapter should not be closed without some reference to the general condition of our country at this time, about which a vivid picture was given by the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien, who remained in Chandragupta II’s territories for six years (A.D. 405-11), deeply engaged in

studying Buddhism in the country of its birth and collecting Buddhist books and legends. The pilgrim took no proper notice of profane objects and events. It is not curious that, absorbed in his study of Buddhism and Buddhistic life in monasteries, the pilgrim did not mention in his account of India even the name of the great Gupta monarch Chandragupta II, not to speak of the feudatory kings under him, in whose territories he lived and moved. The only inference about the state of the country that can be drawn from a perusal of his account is that India enjoyed a most peaceful and prosperous condition, as a result of the Gupta sovereign's good administration, as the people were left to themselves without molestation of any kind, and allowed to enjoy liberty of conscience. He spent three years at Pāṭaliputra, where he studied Sanskrit. Although nowhere in his account did he describe this city as the capital of the reigning monarch, nor his palace in it, he did not forget to speak of the old Aśokan palace, still in existence there, as one which was, in his opinion, built with the assistance of spirits. He thought that the most elegant stone-carving and other sculpture-work in this palace could not be executed by human hands. He found two Buddhist monasteries there, one peopled by the Mahāyānists and the other by the Hīnayānists.15 The discourses

15. The recent excavations in Kumrahar (the old palace-site of Aśoka) reveal the existence of such monasteries in Gupta period.
by the monks of this city were attended by students from all quarters of India. He discovered several lost works on monastic discipline at this place. The splendid procession of images, which every year paraded through the city on the eighth day of the sacred month, attended by singers and musicians, is referred to in his work. The institution of free hospitals in the country can be inferred from Fa-Hien's account of the excellent arrangement of such a hospital in Pātaliputra, which was endowed by benevolent and educated citizens. "Patients suffering from all kinds of infirmities," who came there, "are well taken care of, and a doctor attends them, food and medicine being supplied according to their wants." While describing the condition and character of the people of the Gangetic plain, called Mid-India by him, the Chinese pilgrim writes—"They have not to register their households, or attend to any magistrates or their rules; only those who cultivate the royal land have to pay a portion of the gain from it. If they want to go, they go; if they want to stay on, they stay. The king governs without decapitation or other corporal punishments. Criminals are simply fined, lightly or heavily, according to the circumstances of each case". So we find that the administration of criminal justice was not harsh during Chandragupta II's reign, for we learn that men found guilty of repeated rebellion only

16. Legge—Travels of Fa-Hien, Chap. XXVII, p. 79.
suffered the amputation of their right hands. We are also told that the king’s body-guards and attendants were all salaried employees. The Buddhist rule of life played such a great part even in the reign of this Gupta monarch, who was himself a Brāhmaṇical Hindu, a paramabhāgavata as he calls himself, that “throughout the whole country the people do not kill any living creature, nor drink intoxicating liquor, nor eat onions and garlic,—the only exception is that of the Chaṇḍālas”. But it should be remembered that the revival of Brāhmaṇical Hinduism had already begun even before Fa-Hien’s travel in India, and Buddhism was losing its hold gradually in many parts of the country, though the Chinese pilgrim either could not observe the decadence, or became somewhat partial towards his own faith. The emperor, however, bore a tolerant spirit to all sects. The pilgrim stated a very strange fact, when he wrote that “in buying and selling commodities” the people “use cowries”. This must be interpreted to refer to the smaller transactions of daily life, which the Buddhist pilgrim probably observed. But scholars know that Chandragupta II struck gold coins of various types, of which the archer-type ones were common in currency. He saw a large number of Buddhist monasteries, where many monks resided, while he advanced in his travel from the Indus side to Mathurā. It is indeed a fact that Buddhism was still at its height in this part of India. He spoke very well of the administration in Mālwā, where
people lived in peace and happiness under its benignity.

The pilgrim also visited several other cities in Eastern India—Gayā, Śrāvastī, Kapilavastu and Kuśinagar, but he found most of these holy places in a desolate condition. From Pāṭaliputra he went to Gayā, and from the latter place to Champā, the capital of Aṅga. From Champā the pilgrim proceeded to the port-town of Suhma (in the Midnapore district of Bengal), the same as the old town of Tāmrālipti, (Tamluk), where he lived for two years, and arranged for the making of copies from manuscripts on Buddhist (Tripiṭaka) scriptures. At this place he saw 21 Buddhist monasteries. It is well known that just as Bhṛigukachchha (Broach) was the western port during the Gupta period for communication with the Egyptians, the Romans and other European nations of the West, so also Tāmrālipti was the chief port in Eastern India, through which trade and other communications were carried on between India on the one hand and Indonesia, China and other eastern countries of Asia on the other.

KUMĀRAGUPTA I-MAHENDRĀDIṬYA

(94-136 G. E. = A.D. 413-456.)

After the death of Chandragupta II his worthy son Kumārāgupta I, begotten on his chief queen
Dhruvādevī, acceded to the royal throne. The latest date\(^1\), hitherto known, as belonging to the reign of Chandragupta II is 93 G. E. (A.D. 412-13) and the earliest\(^2\) belonging to that of his son, Kumāragupta I, is 96 G. E. (A.D. 415-16). It is, therefore, very likely that Kumāragupta ascended the throne sometime during the interval between these two dates.\(^3\) The late Dr. V. Smith\(^4\) thinks that his accession

3. It may be noted here that in all likelihood Govinda-gupta, son of Dhruvasvāminī was the eldest brother of Kumāragupta I and he was placed in a high position of governorship in Mālwa and sometimes in Vaiśāli too, by his father Chandragupta II. But he might have died at an early age and thus Kumāragupta I got the opportunity of ascending the throne after his father's death (cf. I. A. XLI). Recently Professor Radhakrishna Choudhary has suggested that Govindagupta sat upon the throne after the death of his father which according to him took place sometime about G.E. 93, the last known date of Chandragupta II; subjugated Mālwa and ruled as an independent monarch till G.E. 96 when Kumāragupta I ascended the throne. In other words, Professor Choudhary wants to place Govindagupta, 'a regular Gupta Emperor' between the intervening period G.E. 93 and G.E. 96, i.e. A.D. 412-13 and 415-16, the history of which period is wrapped up in obscurity. The suggestion though not unlikely cannot be accepted as certain because of the absence of positive evidences. For Prof. Choudhary's article see *P. I. H. C.*, 23rd Session, Aligarh, pp. 50-55.
took place in the year A.D. 413. The latest known regnal year of this king as obtained from inscriptions is 129 G.E. (A.D. 448-49, and 136 G.E. (A.D. 455-56) from a silver coin. It appears, therefore, that this emperor enjoyed a very long reign, one of more than forty years. Details of political events of his reign are difficult to obtain, but the large number of inscriptions and coins of his reign, discovered in various parts of Northern India, render it possible to form an idea of the events during his rule. It will be apparent below that during this monarch's reign the Gupta Empire suffered no diminution in the Western, Central or Eastern provinces. Rather some additions to his inherited dominions might have been made by him, since we know that Kumāragupta I, like his grandfather the renowned Samudragupta, performed a 'horse-sacrifice' (aśvamedha), certainly as an indication of his assertion of lord-paramountcy by successful military operations. His 'Aśvamedha-type' coins with the legend Śrī-Aśvamedhamahendra are evidence in point. The vast extent of domi-


6. J. A. S. B., 1894, p. 175. Dr. A. L. Basham thinks that the date 136 (G. E.) on Kumāragupta's coin was due to an error on the part of the mint master and thus it is likely that "Kumāra died in A.D. 454 or perhaps even earlier."


nions ruled over by this emperor is described\(^8\) thus: he ruled over the earth, bounded on one side by the northern mountains (Sumeru and Kailāsa), and on the other by the borders of wood-lands, referring probably to the Vindhya forests on the south, and again by the seas on the remaining two sides. This definition of the extent of the empire refers itself to the year A.D. 436 i.e. about the middle of his reign. The single political event referred to in the inscription discovered at Mandsor in Madhya Pradesh is that king Bandhuvarman, son of king (nṛpa) Viśvavarman (also described as a goptā, governor), was the person who, as a subordinate to the imperial monarch Kumārgupta I, then governed (pālayati) the city of Daśapura, the capital of Mālwā, in the Mālava year 493 i.e. A.D. 437-38. In that year a magnificent and lofty temple of the sun-god was built with the wealth acquired by the exercise of their weaving craft, by the guild of silk-weavers, who had previously immigrated into that city from Lāṭa-vishaya (Central and Southern Gujarat), attracted by the virtues of the kings of that place. Another stone inscription\(^9\) discovered at a village called Gangdhar near Mandsor, dated the year 480 of the era known as the Kṛita era\(^10\) (= Mālava era), and therefore

corresponding to the year A.D. 423-24 (i.e. 104 G.E.), records the fact that one Mayūrākshaka, a very able minister of king Viśvavarman, built a lofty and beautiful temple of Vishṇu, an abode of the divine Mothers, full of female ghouls (dākinī-samprakīrṇaṁ) and a well. The present writer has expressed his opinion elsewhere\(^\text{11}\), that this Varman king of Mālwa, Viśvavarman, was a feudatory of Kumāragupta I, during the first part of the latter's reign and was later on (sometime within the next 13 years) succeeded on the throne of Mālwa by his son and successor Bandhuvarman. We cannot concur with the view of Mm. H. P. Śāstri\(^\text{12}\) that this Viśvavarman (and his father Naravarman) do not seem to have acknowledged any obligation or allegiance to the Guptas. Epigraphic evidence rather leads us to a contrary conclusion.

According to certain Chinese texts, an embassy from Yue-ai (Moon-loved), king of Ka-pi-li country was sent to China in A.D. 428.\(^\text{13}\) Mr. B. N. Mukherjee\(^\text{14}\) who identifies Ka-pi-li country with Ďavāka or Kāmarūpa suggests that one vassal of Eastern India might have tried to indicate his independence by sending an embassy to China.

\(^{11}\) I. A., 1919, pp. 98-100.
\(^{12}\) Ibid., 1913, p. 218.
He has also suggested that the Rhinoceros-slayer type of coins of Kumāragupta I may indicate that Kumāragupta I might have suppressed any such aspirant vassal. The late Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri\(^{15}\) observed that the assumption of the title of Vyāghraparākrama by Kumāragupta I may indicate his penetration into the tiger-infested forests beyond the Narmadā. Expansion of his empire toward the south may also be indicated by a find of 1935 coins in the Satara district. The late Dr. Altekar was of opinion that these coins might have been brought by some merchants.

Another historical information of almost the same period, furnished by an inscription\(^{16}\) dated 117 G. E. (= A. D. 436-37) and incised on a stone liṅga, excavated from an ancient site called Bhārāḍhī Dīh in the district of Faizabad in U. P., situated near Ayodhyā, the premier city of the period, and a centre of political activity (probably, the second capital of the empire) is that Prīthivīsheṇa was a councillor (mantri) decorated with the title of Kumārāmātya, and was subsequently raised to the position of mahābalādhikṛita (Commander-in-chief) by mahārājādhirāja Kumāragupta I. This minister was a Brāhmaṇa by caste, and his father Śikharasvāmin was also a councillor (mantri) with the same title of


Kumāramātya to mahaśrājādhīrāja Chandragupta II. In this inscription is recorded a gift made by Kumāragupta I’s minister, Pṛthivīśeṇa, for the worship of the Mahādeva, known as Pṛthivīśvara, dedicated after his own name, the donees appearing to have been certain Brāhmaṇas from Ayodhyā.

Four very important copper-plate inscriptions, not of the nature of ordinary royal grants of land, but forming a peculiar kind of land-sale deeds recording, as it were, the State confirmation of sale of land transacted between Government and the purchasers who had to buy land on payment of prices at the usual rate prevailing in different localities, were discovered some time ago in the districts of Rajshahi and Dinajpur in North Bengal. They throw a considerable flood of new light on the political relation of the province of Puṇḍravardhana bhukti (North Bengal) with the imperial Gupta house. All of them refer themselves to the reign of Kumāragupta I, whose paramount titles therein used are para-ma-daivata, para-ma-bhaṭṭāraka and maha-rājādhāraṇa. The first\(^\text{17}\) of them dated 113 G. E. (=A. D. 432-33) records the gift of a purchased piece of land by a royal officer (āyuktaka) to a Sāmavedin Brāhmaṇa, named Varāhasvāmin. The second\(^\text{18}\) records the sale by the Crown of one kulyavāpa of unsettled and untilled khila-kshetra to a

Brāhmaṇa named Karpaṭika, for the convenient performance of his agnihotra rites, and is dated 124 G. E. (=A. D. 443-44). The third,\textsuperscript{18a} recording a sale by the State of some land to a person, evidently a Brāhmaṇa, for the maintenance of his five daily sacrifices (pāṇcha-mahāyajñas), and the fourth\textsuperscript{19} recording a donation of a purchased piece of land to the temple of Govindasvāmin, are both dated 128 G. E. (=A. D. 447-48). The absence of any mention of the old, but neighbouring, country of Puṇḍravardhana, from the list of the countries of Āryāvarta in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta, led us at one time to believe that this province of North Bengal formed from the beginning a part of the Gupta Empire, and was under its direct jurisdiction. Such an inference has now been strengthened by the discovery of the Damodarpur and the new Bagram plates of Kumāragupta I, which prove beyond doubt that during this monarch’s reign the bhukti of Puṇḍravardhana (North Bengal) was a Gupta province, governed by the emperor’s agent Chirātadatta, who enjoyed the use of the title uparika, and was appointed to this high office by the emperor himself. This governor in his turn appointed Kumārāmātya Vetravarman to administer from the

\textsuperscript{18a} E.I., Vol. XV, p. 132; XVII, p. 193.

\textsuperscript{19} E.I., XXI, pp. 81 ff. The Kalaikuri copperplate inscription dated 120 G.E. (cf. I.H.Q., XXIX, No. 1, pp. 12 ff.) is of a similar nature and records the donation of lands as an akṣhayānivī to three Brāhmaṇas.
town (adhisthāna) of Koṭīvarsha the vishaya of the same name. This vishaya may be identified with the tract of country constituting the northern part of the modern district of Rajshahi and the southern part of Dinajpur; including also perhaps a portion of the district of Malda and Bogra. At least for four years (124-128 G. E.) we find uparika Chirātadatta acting as the governor of North Bengal under Kumāragupta I and Kumāramātya Vetravarman as the vishayapati (District Officer) of Koṭīvarsha. It appears to be an undoubted fact of history, therefore, that North Bengal formed an integral part of the Gupta empire. Hereby the north-eastern limit of the empire is definitely settled, North Bengal coming within the boundary of the empire, but Kāmarūpa (roughly the province of modern Assam) remaining as an outlying province ruled by pratyanta nṛipatis (as already known from the Allahabad stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta) who paid a certain kind of obedience to the Gupta sovereigns. The late Dr. V. Smith’s identification²⁰, once regarded as probably correct, of the province of Ḍavāka with the Bogra (Bograha), Dinajpur and Rajshahi districts to to the north of the Ganges must be incorrect; for these districts of North Bengal form the old bhūkti of Puṇḍravaradhana, governed by the agents of the Gupta emperors. From the mere use of the subordinate title of mahārāja with the name of Kumāra-

gupta I, in the Mankuwar (in Allahabad District) stone-image inscription\textsuperscript{21} of the year 129 G. E. (=A.D. 448-49), Dr. Fleet propounded the theory that towards the end of Kumāragupta I's reign the emperor was reduced to feudal rank, owing to the attacks of the Hūṇas and the Pushyamitras. Troubles the emperor must have had, in the western part of his vast dominion; but there is no clear evidence to show that he was actually reduced to the rank of a feudatory ruler. The two Damodarpur and the new Baigram plates, on the contrary, prove that even in 128 G. E., so near the end of his prolonged rule, Kumāragupta I was ruling in full glory, at least in eastern India, through the agency of governors. In the light of the evidences now available from these North Bengal inscriptions, it may be believed that the copperplate grant from North Bengal, dated 113 G. E. (=A. D. 432) and discovered in village Dhanaidaha (in Rajshahi District) referred to the province of Puṇḍravardhana being under a governor appointed by that Gupta monarch, and that the vishaya of Khāḍā (ता?)pāra formed, like the Koṭi-varsha vishaya, a part of the same province, but the mutilated condition of the plate does not permit us to be very confident on this point. This plate also appears to be a landsale document, recording the purchase of one kulyavāpa of cultivated land by a royal officer or āyuktaka (his name being lost),

\textsuperscript{21} C. I. I., Vol. III, No. 11, p. 46.
paying the price at the usual rate prevalent in the vishaya of Khāḍā (ťā ?)pāra and the donation of the purchased piece of land by the same person to a Sāmavedin Brāhman, named Varāhavāmin. The object of the newly discovered Bāgram charter dated 128 G. E. is to record the purchase of three kulyavāpas of revenue-free khila (fallow) fields and two dronas of sthala-vāstu (home-stead) land belonging to the State, in two localities connected with Vāyigrāma, viz. Trivṛtā and Śrīgohālī, by two persons named Bhojila and Bhāskara, for the purpose of making a donation thereof, for meeting the expenses of materials, such as perfumes, incense, lamp, flowers etc. for the daily worship of and occasional repairs to the temple of Govindaśvāmin (evidently a Vishṇuite deity), established by their father Śīvanandin. The name of the place from where the charter was issued is Pañchanagarī, and the chief administrative officer in charge of the vishaya Court (vishayādhikaraṇa), who had been approached by the two intending purchasers of State-land is named Kulavriddhi and styled Kumārāmātya. Their application was granted and land was sold to them in accordance with the determination of the Government record-keepers (pustapālas), after proper survey and measurement by the customary reeds (nalas). The members of the vishayādhikaraṇa, the other Government officers and the chief householders of the villages concerned were addressed by the head of the vishaya, regarding
this sanctioned transfer of land, on receipt by Government of price at the fixed rate of two dīnāras per kulyavāpa, which prevailed in that particular vishaya, and they were directed to maintain the grant as a permanent endowment, according to the principle of akshaya-nīvī.

It seems quite probable that, like Koṭivarsha of the Damodarpur grants and Khāḍā (tā?) pāra of the Dhanaidaha plate, this Paṅchanagarī was one of the vishayas, into which the old bhukti of Puṇḍravardhana was divided. It cannot be definitely ascertained if the village named here as Vāyigrāma is the village of the same name as mentioned in No. 4 of the Damodarpur grants. If that be so, this must have been situated somewhere on the boundary line between the two vishayas of Koṭivarsha and Paṅchanagarī. At the same time it seems quite certain that the village Baigram, where the plate was discovered, is identical with Vāyigrāma (L. 2), mentioned in the plate itself. Hence it may be assumed that the localities referred to in the plate belong to places in and near Hili in the district of Bogra.

The most striking point of historical importance that can be mentioned in this connection is that in this (Baigram inscription) also, as in the other North Bengal grants of the Gupta period, we find the same administrative system in force during the age, viz. that the vishayapati, who had the use of the usual title of Kumārāmātya, was appointed to be in
charge of the *vishayādhikaraṇas* by the Gupta emperor, undoubtedly on the advice and approval of the higher officer of the larger unit, the *bhukti*, who enjoyed the title of *uparika-mahārāja*. The prevalence of such an administrative relation between the different Government authorities, central and provincial, is supported more by the other North Bengal inscriptions of the period than by the new one. Thus Kulavṛiddhi the *vishayapati* is described as (directly) meditating the feet of His Majesty (referred to by the word *Bhaṭṭāraka-pāda*). But this probably alludes to the fact, that the appointment of such an administrative head of a *vishaya* by the *bhukti* governor required the sanction of His Majesty, the imperial Gupta monarch. The position of *Kumārāmātya* Kulavṛiddhi here must be exactly the same as that of *Kumārāmātya* Vetravarman of Koṭivarsha, appointed to his responsible post by *uparika* Chirātadatta, who himself enjoyed favour of the imperial ruler, *parama-daivata*, *parama-bhaṭṭāraka* *Mahārājādhirāja* Kumāragupta I, as mentioned in Damodarpur plates Nos. 1 and 2 of 124 and 128 G. E. respectively. Kulavṛiddhi and Vetravarman must, therefore, have been contemporary officers, under the same sovereign, in the two separate *vishayas* in North Bengal. Attention may be drawn to the curious fact that in this new grant we do not find any reference to the Board of Advisers mentioned in Damodarpur grants Nos. 1, 2, 4 and 5, as having aided the *vishayapatis* of
Koṭivarsha in the administrative work of the viṣhayādhikaraṇa, the four members forming that Board being (1) the Nagarā-breshṭhin (the President of the town guild of bankers), (2) the prathamasārthavāha (the representative of the merchant class), (3) the prathama-kulika (the representative of the artisan class) and (4) the prathama-kāyastha (probably, the chief scribe, the head of the Government officials). The absence of such reference in this new document of the year 128 G. E. (Damodarpur grant No. 2 of Kumāragupta I’s reign being also of the same date) belonging to a different part of Puṇḍravardhana bhukti is difficult to explain, excepting on the tentative theory that Koṭivarsha (of Damodarpur grant No. 2) was perhaps a more important viṣhaya where Government had to keep better administrative arrangement for the viṣhayādhikaraṇa than in Pañchanagarī of this grant, which may have been a newly formed district at the time. It may also be noted that in this inscription we do not come across the name of the bhukti governor, known from two of the Damodarpur grants (i.e. Nos. 1 and 2). Reference may here be made to some other epigraphic records belonging to the reign of Kumāragupta I. The earliest22 of these, discovered at village Bilsad (in Eta district in U.P.), is dated the year 96 “of the augmenting victorious reign” of Kumāragupta I (abhivardhamāna-vijayarāja-saṁvatsara) and

22. C. I. I. Vol. III, No. 10,
records the fact of accomplishment, in the temple of the god Svāmi-Mahāsena (Kārttikeya), of the erection of a ‘gateway with flight of steps’ (pratoli), and the establishment of ‘a charitable hall or alms-house’ (dharmasattra), by a certain person named Dhruvaśarman. Three partly broken stone inscriptions discovered in the same place, viz. Gadhwa (in Allahabad District), appear to refer themselves to the reign of Kumāragupta I—all recording certain gifts, fixed in dīnāras and suvarṇas, apparently as a contribution to the perpetual maintenance of sattras or charitable halls or alms-houses, or for the purpose of providing food and garments for people seeking shelter therein. One of these inscriptions (Fleet’s No. 9) is dated 98 G. E. (=A. D. 417-18) and another (Fleet’s No. 64) contains (in l. 5) the name of Anantaguptā, whom one may feel tempted to identify with Anantadevī, the name of Kumāragupta I’s queen, mentioned in the Bhitari seal inscripton as the mother of mahārājādhirāja Purugupta. The cave-temple inscription discovered in Udayagiri and dated the year 106 (=A.D. 425-26) during the ever-increasing rule of the family of kings (nṛipa-sattamānām) of the Gupta lineage (Guptānvayānām), records the installation by a Northerner, named Śaṅkara, a disciple of the ascetic āchārya

23. C. I. I., Vol. III, Nos. 8, 9 and 64.
Gośarman of the lineage of āchārya Bhadra, of the image of the chief Jina Pārśva, one of the 23 Tīrthaṅkaras, the immediate predecessor of Mahāvīra, who is regarded by Professor Jacobi to have been an historical personage and the real founder of Jain religion. The installation of another Jain image at Mathurā, during the reign of Kumāragupta I, is mentioned in an inscription dated 113 G. E. (=A. D. 432-33). Evidence of gifts made by different religious sects during this period can also be corroborated by such records as e.g., the Mankuwar inscription on the pedestal of a seated image of the Buddha installed by a Bhikshu of the name Buddhhamitra in the year 129 G. E. (=A. D. 448-49), during the reign of Kumāragupta I. Professor K. P. Pathak has proposed to identify this Buddhhamitra with the person of the same name, who was the teacher of Vasubandhu. Another Buddhist inscription recorded in 131 G. E. (=A.D. 450-51), which should be assigned to the reign of Kumāragupta I, refers to a grant of twelve dināras as akshayānīvī, made by a Buddhist upāsikā, named Harisvāminī, the wife of upāsaka Sanasiddha. The grant was made to the community of the faithful Buddhists

29. I. A., 1912, p. 244.
(Āryyaśaṅgha) coming from all quarters to the great convent of Kākanādavāta i.e. the great stūpa at Saṅchi—for the purpose of daily feeding one bhikṣu, who would enter the Āryyaśaṅgha; and this was to be done by means of the interest that would accrue from the investment. It also refers to certain other similar grants of three and one dināras respectively, for maintaining lamps in the ratnagriha and the Chatur-Buddhāsana (the seat of the four Buddhas). Another Buddhist inscription from Mathurā, incised on the pedestal of an image, which was the gift of one, named, Devatā, described as vihārasvāminī (either a lady-Superintendent of a vihāra or the wife of a vihārasvāmin), is dated 135 G. E. (=A. D. 445-55) and probably belongs to the end of the reign of Kumāragupta I. The above few grants indicate clearly that the Gupta monarchs who were themselves Vaishānavas (Paramabhadgavatas) showed a tolerant spirit towards all religious sects then prevalent in their dominions.

Towards the end of his rule Kumāragupta I had to face the invasion of the Pushyamitrās. It appears that he died on the battle-field and the message of victory was carried by his son Skandagupta to his bereaved wife (vide Bhītari Pillar inscription). In the light of contemporary evidence it is difficult to accept the theory of Altekar that the Apratīgha-

32. C. G. G. C. B. H., p. CXII.
type coins of Kumāragupta\(^{33}\) are indicative of his abdication.

**SKANDAGUPTA-KRAMĀDIYĀ.**

(136-148 G. E. = A. D. 455-467.)

From epigraphic records it appears that Kumāragupta I had more than one son. One of them was named Skandagupta, but his mother's name is nowhere found mentioned. Another was named Purugupta, whose mother's name occurs as Ananta devi the Mahādevī (Chief Queen), in the Bhitari seal inscription.\(^1\) Skandagupta was a prince endowed with kingly qualities (\(nṛpatiguna-niketaḥ\))—and renowned for his mighty intellect and heroic nature. Hence he was most dear to his father who, there is reason to believe, took him to the battle-field during his wars against the many external enemies, who had been threatening the stability of the Gupta empire in many parts, especially its western provinces, towards the close of his (Kumāragupta I's) reign. In

33. Prof. Kalyan Kumar Das Gupta who has shown that the Apratigha coins originated from the coin-type of the Kushāṇa king Huvishka representing Skanda-Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsena, draws our attention to an interesting fact "that the names Skanda-Kumāra of the coin-type of Huvishka were identical with those of the Gupta crown-prince and the emperor respectively" *I. H. Q.* Vol. XXXV, No. 3, pp. 265-70.

treatises on Hindu Politics\textsuperscript{2} we find it stated in clear terms, that as a general rule the king should appoint as Crown-prince a son, usually the eldest son begotten on the Chief Queen, if he be worthy, accomplished and duly trained. As installation on the royal throne is prohibited in the case of a wicked son, although the latter be the only son,—it will not be wrong to suppose that in case of want of a good son, the king could undoubtedly reserve the throne for any other meritorious prince, born of any of his other wives. Kaut\text{\text{"}}ilya\textsuperscript{3} advises a king to appoint a qualified and able son to the rank of an heir-apparent (yauvarājya) or to the office of the Commander-in-chief of the royal army (saināpatya). We have said before that Skandagupta as yuvarāja accompanied his father to the field of battle against foreign foes, especially the Pushyamitras. A careful study of the Bhitari Stone-pillar\textsuperscript{4} and the Junagadh Rock\textsuperscript{5} inscription will convince one that Kumāragupta I was killed in battle, during his strenuous conflict with the Pushyamitras. Skandagupta installed the image of Vishnū (Śārṅgin), and allotted a village to the god and raised the Bhitari pillar


3. Kaut\text{\text{"}}ilya’s Arthaśāstra—“पाकांपणं सेवापयं यौवराज्ञा वा ख्यापयत्।“ Bk. I, Chap. 17.


5. Ibid., No. 14.
bearing the inscriptive record, to commemorate his late father. Probably it was at Bhitari in the Ghazipur district of U. P. that one of the fights between the royal party and their enemies took place. The Hindu traditional idea^6 is that one killed in battle attains heaven. Here also there is explicit mention in the Junagadh inscription that Kumāragupta I did “attain the friendship of the gods” (pitari surasakhitvam prāptavatī = ātmaśaktyā, 1. 4) i.e. obtained heaven. The king himself could not live to witness the destruction of his powerful enemies which was wrought by his heroic son, Skandagupta. It is, therefore, that we find it so very pointedly described in the Bhitari epigraph, that Skanda had to run to his mother, who was full of tears (certainly on account of her husband’s death), and announce the news of his victory in the war, and his success in restoring “the shaken fortunes of the royal family” (viplutām vamśa-Lakshmīm), just as Kṛishṇa did to Devakī. The father was not then alive (pitari divam = upete), to congratulate his heroic son on this occasion.

Purugupta the son of Mahadevi Anantadevi might have thought, on receipt of the news of his father’s death, that he would have now a fair chance of

6. Cf. e. g. the Bhagavadgītā Chap. II, V. 37—“हतो वा प्राप्तस्वर्ग स्मृत” etc.
 Also Cf. the following verse from Kautilya’s Arthaśāstra, Bk. X. Chap. III, “धनं दयिनेन ब्रह्म मयोऽषिद्धम् पपत्तिः पारस्यप्रथेण यावचि। चचेन धनाहितियनि ज्ञाता: प्राप्तान्तु सुवृद्धे दुः परित्वज्जनः॥”
succeeding the king on the imperial throne, but that was not to be; for, Skandagupta had already estab-
lished his claim to it by restoring "the shaken royal fortunes of his family", and he had hence no diffi-
culty in occupying the throne, probably with the approval and consent of the counsellors and ministers, as also of the people. The implication of verse 5 of the Junagadh inscription is that after the death of the king and achievement of victory over the foreign enemies viz. the Pushyamitrās, the Hūṇas and Mlechchhas by Skanda, there arose a struggle for the succession amongst Skandagupta, Purugupta and other sons of Kumāragupta I, if there were any, and that "the goddess of royal fortune," on serious consideration of Skanda's virtues, selected him to be her lord "by discarding the other princes" (vyāpetya sarvān = manujendraputrān), as unfit for the royal office. It was his success in utterly defeating the enemies of the empire and re-establishing the imperial sway, that ultimately secured the throne for Skandagupta, although Purugupta and probably other princes could more legally stand as claimants for it. But the struggle referred to above does not appear to be a fratricidal one, as understood by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, whose view has been refuted by Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri. We agree with Dr. Ray Chaudhuri in his opinion that there was no bloodshed amongst the princes,

whether born of the same mother or not. This aspect of political affairs, in the beginning of Skandagupta’s reign, would, it was though corroborate the present writer’s former view that Purugupta was the first king of a new line of rulers (a branch of the imperial Gupta dynasty), who were allowed by Skandagupta and his successors to enjoy a small kingdom, somewhere in the eastern portion of the Gupta empire, perhaps in South Bihar. It may be remembered in this connection that Tīrabhukti had been under mahārāja Govindagupta (a son of Chandragupta II), and later on it must have passed into the hands of his successors or other imperial agencies, like governors (uparikas). It still continued as a Gupta province for a long period. We have seen before that Puṇḍravardhana (North Bengal) also was ruled during the former reign by a provincial ruler appointed by the imperial house. The evidence of the later Buddhist treatise, the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa is also clear that immediately after Kumāragupta I (Mahendra), his son Skanda (the king whose name commenced with the letter Sa) and not Puraguta, ascended the imperial throne. He is also described as tadpādānudhyāta in relation to


9. Cf. the following verse:—“समुद्रालोको द्वीपं विक्रमश्च व वैभवतः। महेन्द्र द्वारकेण मुखः सक्रायतनतः परम्॥” Chapter 53, p. 628 (ed. Gaṇapati Śāstrī).
Kumāragupta I, in the Bihar Stone Pillar inscription.\textsuperscript{10}

The Bhitari pillar inscription is unfortunately not a dated record, but it undoubtedly refers to the events of the early part of Skandagupta's reign. We have already discussed above his victory over his enemies as a Crown-prince. A few other points of historical importance yet remain to be mentioned. There is a clear hint in this epigraph that during the last year of his father's reign many enemies of the Empire "rose up with an agreeable desire for extending their conquests" (svabhimata-vijigīśhā-prodyatānām) against Kumāragupta I. These enemies troubled the emperor and the goddess of royal fortune became unstable, so the Crown-prince (Skanda) had to make preparations for meeting them on the field of battle. Skandagupta had "to restore the shaken fortunes of his family" (vichalita-kula-Lakshmī-stambhanāya), by fighting against two distinct sets of enemies, who threatened the Gupta empire by their attacks and incursions, viz. the Pushyamitras and the Hūṇas. These Pushyamitras (Yudhyamitras, according to H. R. Divekar, cf. \textit{A.B.O.R.I.}, Vol. 1., pp. 99 ff.) are identified by some scholars with the Pushpamitras of the \textit{Vishnu-purāṇa} and they are placed by Fleet in Central India, on the Narbuddā side, and by Smith further towards the North. They are described in

this inscription as very powerful and resourceful (samudita-bala-koshān). During Skanda's operations against these foes, he "had to pass a whole night by lying down on the earth as his couch" (kshiti-tala-
sayanīye yena nītā triyāmā). The terrible conflict with
the Hūṇas, referred to in this inscription (in lines
15-18), ended presumably in Skandagupta's victory.
It was after conquering the Hūṇas that he was
successful in finally establishing his rule in place of
his late father's, and this fact is evident from the
epithet supratisṭhita-śāsanaḥ (in line 18), as used by
the emperor at the time when he caused the pillar to
be erected in memory of his father. Mr. Allan's view
is that the invasion of the Hūṇas is possibly to be
dated about A. D. 455, and by no means later than
A. D. 458, if they are to be identified with the
Mlechchhas of the Junagadh inscription of Skanda-
gupta. If any case it appears to us that the victory
over the Hūṇas was achieved in the 'beginning of
Skandagupta's reign.¹¹

We have strong reasons to believe, on the evi-
dence contained in Damodarpur Plates Nos. 1 and 2
and the new Baigram plate, belonging to Kumāra-
gupta I's time, and in Damodarpur Plates Nos. 3
and 4 and the Paharpur plate, belonging to the

¹¹ The Bayana hoard includes many coins of Samudra-
gupta, Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta, but only one coin
of Kramāditya (Skandagupta). This indicates that the hoard
was deposited in the beginning of Skandagupta's reign,
probably due to the troubles created by the Hūṇas.
reign of Budhagupta, that the province of North Bengal (Pundravardhana) must have remained in the sole and direct possession of Skandagupta (136-148 G. E.), Kumāragupta I's son and successor, and of Kumāragupta II of the Sarnath inscription, who was probably Skandagupta's son and successor, and that the same system of provincial Government must have continued in North Bengal, for at least about a century, as will be shown later on. Skandagupta also kept his dominion intact in the West against the attacks and invasions of the Hūṇas and the Mlechchhas who were defeated by him sometime about 136-138 G.E.\textsuperscript{12} This rock inscription of Skandagupta's time also testifies to the fact, that under the Guptas the provincial governors were appointed by the emperors, and that the former again had the power to appoint local rulers. We learn from that inscription, that after having thoroughly defeated his enemies, and "having conquered the whole earth" (\textit{jitvā pṛthivīṁ samagrāṁ}), i.e. having regained his lost provinces, Skandagupta

\textsuperscript{12} C. I. I., Vol. III, No. 14. The Hūṇas and the Mlechchhas were the same and the former probably came to India through the Bolan Pass region in Quetta, as Prof. Jagannath believes (\textit{P. I. H. C.}, 21st session, pp. 160-161). In that case Surāśṭra would have been the first province of the empire to be exposed to the invasion of the Hūṇas. Hence Skandagupta had to think so much over the appointment of a worthy governor there.
set himself to appoint many provincial governors (śaroveshu deṣeshu vidhāya goptṛṇī—1. 6), especially for the western provinces, where the emperor required the services of able and trustworthy persons for the work of administration after the Hūṇa troubles. His anxiety to appoint a qualified governor for the proper protection of the land of the Saurāśṭras (Kathiawar), and his sense of relief and comfort when he succeeded in selecting one of his own officers (ministers), Parṇadatta by name, as the governor of that western province (pūrvetarasvāṁ diśi Parṇadattaṁ niyujīya rājā dhṛtimāṁ = tathā ābhūt, 1. 9) are graphically described in that inscription. There is also clear indication that Parṇadatta at first declined to accept the offer of the high post to which the emperor was pleased to appoint him. But the emperor’s repeated requests (arthanayā kathamichit) forced him to accept it. This governor Parṇadatta again appointed his own son Chakrapālita as the city governor (svayam=eva pitrā yaḥ samniyuṅko, 1. 12), just as we see from the Damodarpur plates that the rulers of the province of Puṇḍravardhana, themselves appointed by the emperors, used to appoint the vishayapatis of Koṭīvarsha, who had their headquarters in the town of that name. It is clear then that the position of the governors in the eastern provinces (e.g. Puṇḍravardhana) of the imperial Guptas corresponded to that enjoyed by the governor
of the western provinces (e.g. Surāshṭra and Mālwā). Skandagupta, while appointing the governors of his western provinces, did not apparently deviate from the principle followed by his father with regard to the eastern provinces (Damodarpur Plates Nos. 1 and 2) and perhaps also by his father’s ancestors. It must be remembered that this inscription is an eulogistic description of the work of reparation of the old and famous lake or dam named Sudarśana in the peninsula of Surāshṭra. The embankment of the dam burst, in consequence of excessive rains and rise of high floods in the Pālāśini and other rivers belonging to the neighbouring hills, Raivataka and Īrjayat (old name of mount Girnar), on the night of the sixth day of Bhādra in the Gupta era (Gupta-prakāla) 136 (= A. D.) 455-56. The restoration was effected in the next year 137 G. E. by the orders of the city-governor Chakrapālita, at an enormous expense of money (dhanasya kritvā vyam = aprameyaṁ) from the royal coffers, and the work was complete within two months’ time. One cannot forget in this connection the historical fact that this same Sudarśana lake was once destroyed a little over three hundred years before i.e. in A. D. 150 by a violent rain-storm in the reign of the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman. This dam was first ordered to be constructed by the Vaiśya Pushyagupta, provincial governor under

Chandragupta Mauryya, and afterwards adorned with conduits by the Yavana ruler, Tushāspha, under Aśoka. The first reparation was undertaken by Rudradāman's able minister Suvisākha by name, a Pahlava by race. However, it may be noted here that there is a latent hint in the opening verse of the Junagadh inscription that Skandagupta retrieved his royal fortunes from the hands of his enemies, just as the god Vishṇu (in his Vāmana incarnation) snatched away the same from the demon king Bali. It is true that the emperor had to establish his own rule with much difficulty, in those parts of his empire which slipped away from the hands of his father Kumāragupta I. There is a reference to the fact, that his fame, due to his grand victory over the barbarian races, was proclaimed even by his enemies residing in the countries of the Mlechchhas (Mlechchhadeśeshu 1. 4). It is not very easy to identify these Mlechchhas, but it appears they were the outlandish tribes of foreign origin living in the western parts of India as mentioned in the Purāṇas. Some scholars take them to be the Maitrakas or the Hūṇas. The latter identification seems to be most probable. Similar to the position of the vishaya-patis of Koṭivarsha was that of Sarvvanāga\(^\text{14}\), the vishayapati of Antarvedi (the country lying between the Ganges and the Yamunā) in 146 G. E.. Another

\(^{14}\text{C. I. I., Vol. III, No. 16.}\)
feudatory ruler, perhaps of some central province, under Skandagupta, who may be mentioned in this connection, was Bhimavarman ruling in 139 G.E.. The discovery of coins of Skandagupta, in some of the Lower Ganges districts, may be regarded as a proof, though somewhat insufficient, that his sway prevailed in parts of Bengal other than Puṇḍravardhana.

The Bihar inscription of Skandagupta's time indicates clearly the prevalence in Eastern India of the worship by the people of the deity Skanda (Kārttikeya, Mahāsena), and the divine Mothers. The existence of this broken pillar-inscription discovered at Bihar, the chief town of the Bihar sub-division of the Patna district, proves beyond doubt that Skandagupta's royal jurisdiction remained unabated in Magadha (at least in North Bihar including the modern Patna district). The second part of the epigraph is evidently a record of a village field granted as a perpetual endowment (akshayanīvī). Had it been preserved in its complete form, this record would have clearly proved, that

15. Ibid, No. 65.
18. The Supiya record which refers to Mahārāja Mahendrāditya and his son Vikramāditya (Skandagupta) indicates the existence of mother Shashṭhi in Central India, P.A.I.O.C., 1943-44, pp. 587-89.
the procedure of application for the purchase of Crown-land, made to the emperor by any officer or private person, was almost the same as we find in the Damodarpur and other North Bengal land-sale documents, discovered and explained by us. The first part of this mutilated epigraph seems to have recorded the name of Kumāragupta I’s wife,¹⁹ which is not found mentioned in any of the other inscriptions, and hence we are in the dark about the name of Skandagupta’s mother. It is not certain to which part of the country the town of Ajapura (1. 25) mentioned here belonged.

There is no doubt that the later years of the reign of Skandagupta were peaceful. Evidence in support of this fact can easily be supplied from two other records viz. the Kahaum (in Gorakhpur district, U. P.) Stone Pillar inscription²⁰ dated the year 141 G. E. (=A. D. 460-61) and the Indor (in Bulandshahr district, U. P.) Copper-plate grant²¹ dated the year 146 G. E. (=A. D. 465-66). The first of them states clearly in the introductory verse that the year 141 G. E. belonged to the peaceful (sānte) reign of the Gupta monarch Skandagupta, described herein as “equalling Śakra” (Śakrapa-masya) and “lord of hundreds of kings” (kshiti[p]aśata-


²¹. Ibid. No. 16.
\textit{pateh}), “whose hall of audience was shaken by the wind produced by the bowing heads of hundreds of kings”, “whose fame spread” in all directions and whose opulence was of the first order”. Such description only befits a monarch when his rule is in a settled condition. The epigraph records the installation of five stone images of the Jaina Tirthamkaras (\textit{arhatam} = \textit{ādikartṛīn}) by a person named Madra who was generally devoted to Brāhmaṇas, preceptors (\textit{gurus}) and ascetics (\textit{yatis}), on a lofty stone-pillar in the excellent village of Kakubha (ancient name of Kahaum).

The second inscription refers to the year 146 G.E., which belongs to the ever-increasing victorious reign (\textit{abhivarddhamaṇa-vijaya-sāmuvaṭsara}) of \textit{parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja} Skandagupta. During the administration of the \textit{vishayapati} Śarvanāga at Antarvedi, one Chhandoga Brāhmaṇa named Devavishṇu, who was versed in the four Vedas, made an endowment, out of which the expense of oil for an uninterrupted maintenance of a lamp before the image of the Sun-god, established in the east of Indrapura by two Kshatriya merchants of the same town should be met. The money was invested with the guild of oilmen (\textit{tailika-śreṇī}), living in that town, headed by their chief Jīvanta. The oil to be supplied perpetually was to weigh two \textit{palas} (for a day?).

The Gadhwa (in Allahabad district, U.P.) Stone
inscription\textsuperscript{22} which records the installation of an image of Vishṇu under the name of Anantasvāmin and the endowment of a grant, and which bears the date 148 G.E. but has the ruler’s name broken away in it, may be regarded as having reference “to the augmenting victorious reign” (pravarddhāna-vijaya-rājya-samsvatsara) of Skandagupta.\textsuperscript{23}

\textsuperscript{22} Ibid, No. 66.

\textsuperscript{23} In the opinion of Cunningham, some of the heavy-standard gold coins of Skandagupta are very much debased in metals. This fact has led some scholars to hold that the closing period of Skandagupta’s reign was undergoing financial stringency. Smith suggested that this economic crisis was due to the second Hūṇa invasion in Skandagupta’s time. Dr. B. P. Sinha, however, has pointed out that a chemical analysis of heavy-standard coin of Skandagupta carried out in the British Museum has shown that the coins concerned are not actually very much debased. Hence the theory of a second Hūṇa invasion is untenable. (D. K. M., p 426).
CHAPTER IV

THE SUCCESSORS OF SKANDAGUPTA AND THE DECLINE AND DOWNFALL OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTA RULE

In this chapter we should at the outset discuss the most controversial question of who reigned immediately after the emperor Skandagupta, whose last recorded date (on silver coins and on stone inscription) is known to be 148 G.E. One of the three Sarnath inscriptions, engraved on the pedestals of three Buddha images, examined personally by the present writer in March, 1916, bears the date 154 G. E., while Kumāragupta was ruling the country (bhūmiṁ śāsati Kumāragupte); and one of the other two belonging to the reign of Budhagupta (prithivīṁ Budhagupte praśāsati) bears the date 157 G. E. This Kumāragupta of the Sarnath inscription, whose reign has hitherto been unnoticed, appears to have succeeded Skandagupta on the imperial throne. He should now be called Kumāragupta II.¹ It may be supposed that like

¹ Dr. S. Chattopādhyāya’s view (E.N.H.I., p. 184) that the Kumāragupta of Sarnath inscription “was not a sovereign, but simply a goptā although he may have belonged to the Imperial family” does not seem to be convincing. It is to be noted here that the bhumi-śāsana by Kumāragupta is the same thing as prithivi-śāsana by Budhagupta, only metrical exigencies required the statement of the phrase bhumim
Chandragupta II, grandson of Chandragupta I, Kumāragupta II (of the Sarnath inscription) was a grandson of Kumāragupta I, grandsons being often called by the name of their grandfathers and this view reecives the support of dates also. It seems to be right to hold that his reign was a short one, circa 150-156 G. E. or even less. In all probability the relation between Skandagupta and Kumāragupta II was that of father and son, and Budhagupta is known as reigning in 157 G. E., i.e. within only three years of the Sarnath inscription of Kumāragupta II. It has now been clear from the Nalanda Seal inscriptions that Budhagupta was the son and successor of Purugupta. So the Kumāragupta of about A. D. 530, son and successor of Narasiṃhagupta, and grandson of Purugupta of the Bhitari seal and Nalanda Seal inscriptions² now becomes Kumāragupta III. The usual view, hitherto held by

śaśati Kumāragupta in Kumaragupta’s Sarnath epigraph. We also do not agree with Dr. Raychaudhuri (P.H.A.I., p. 591) that Kumāra of the Bhitari seal is identical with Kumāragupta of the Sarnath inscription of the year 154 (G.E.), as the former comes to reign after two or three more sovereigns, Kumāra being Narasiṃhagupta’s son and successor. So Kumāragupta of the Bhitari and Nalanda seals must necessarily be designated as Kumāragupta III.

2. Smith and Hoernle—J. A. S. B., 1889 (pp. 84-105); and Nalanda Seal of Vishṇugupta, E.I., Vol. XXVI, No. 30.
scholars, headed by Vincent Smith must now be abandoned. The numismatic evidence obtained from the Bharsar hoard, which contained coins of Sāmudragupta, Chandragupta II, Kumārgupta I, Skandagupta and Prakāśāditya led Allan³ (rightly, we should suppose), to draw "a natural deduction that Prakāśāditya succeeded Skandagupta, and that the hoard was buried in this reign". After refuting Dr. Hoernle's view that Skandagupta and Purugupta were identical, a view which long held the field of historical research in India, Allan thus concluded⁴: "It is highly improbable that Purugupta was called both Vikramāditya and Prakāśāditya so that we must attribute these coins (Prakāśāditya coins) to some king, probably a Gupta, whose name is not yet known, and who must be placed about the end of the fifth century A.D." It may be taken tentatively that it was Kumāragupta II, presumably son and successor of Skandagupta, who used the title Prakāśāditya in his coins. We suspect, as will be shown later on, that Kumāragupta II had a second āditya title (Śakrāditya). If our supposition proves after future discoveries to be true, the last clause of Allan's conclusion quoted above will have to be modified a little; for Kumāragupta II could not reign later than 156 G.E., as 157 G. E. refers to the reign of a later

sovereign, Budhagupta. Again, if the year 156 G.E. belongs to Kumāragupta II’s reign, it may rightly be supposed that the Khoh copper-plate grant of Mahārāja Hastin, wherein there is a reference to the endurance of the Gupta dynasty and sway (Gupta-nṛipa-rājya-bhuktau, Ll. 1-2), belonged to Kumāragupta II’s time. Any other contingency will assign this particular inscription to the time of Budhagupta, whose feudatory this Mahārāja Hastin (whose known dates range between 156-191 G.E.) undoubtedly was. One known event can, with some certainty, be attributed to the time of Kumāragupta II. The temple of the Sun-god at Daśapura (in Mālwā), which was built in Mālava era 493 i.e., 117 G.E., by the guild of silk-weavers immigrant from the Lāṭa vishaya, while Bandhuvarman was governing that city as Kumāragupta I’s feudatory, was restored (samskritam) by the same guild in Mālava era 529, i.e. 153 G. E. as we know from the Mandasor stone inscription. The late Dr. Fleet wrote thus: “This second date (529 Mālava era) is, of course, the year in which the inscription was actually composed and engraved; since we are told at the end that it was all composed by Vatsabhāṭṭi and the engraving throughout is obviously the work of one and the same hand.” Hence it may be taken as true that

the restoration of this temple of the Sun-god of Daśapura, which fell into disrepair under other kings (as described in the inscription), took place very probably during the reign of Kumāragupta II, when we have reasons to believe, the western provinces (e.g. Mālwā) were still under Gupta sway, and that the great poet Vatsabhaṭṭi, whose intellectual attainments are so evident from his excellent composition of this inscription, flourished in the same reign. We strongly believe that Purugupta reigned for a very short period not immediately after Skandagupta as some scholars think, but after the reign of Kumāragupta II.

We shall now show below that the genealogy of the imperial Guptas still continued through Skandagupta and Purugupta for a period of about three quarters of a century, and the Gupta empire did not perish after the death of Skandagupta, as has so long been held by historians. I think the presumption of a renewed attack on the Gupta dominions by the Hūṇas (c. A.D. 465-70), made by Smith⁷ and others, should be modified, as Professor S. Chattopādhyāya⁸ has shown that the Hūṇa rule could not have commenced in India before 190 G. E. i.e., A.D. 510. Skandagupta’s victory in his first battle with the Hūṇas was a very decisive one, and it secured the general tranquillity of all parts

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(western as well as eastern) of the Gupta empire till the time of Budhagupta (whose known dates range from 157 to 175 G.E.). The Sarnath image inscriptions, the Damodarpur plates and the Nalanda Seals may serve as evidence to show that the imperial Gupta line after Skandagupta ran through Kumāragupta II and later through Purugupta and his successors—Budhagupta, Narasimhagupta, Kumāragupta III and Vishṇugupta and also probably Bhānugupta (whose parentage is yet unknown) till at least 224 G.E., the date of Damodorpur plate No. 5, i.e. till A.D. 543-44, if not later. But the Bhitari seal inscription referred to above, which gives a genealogy of the early Gupta dynasty for nine generations, does not contain the name of Skandagupta, but carries the genealogy through Purugupta, described as a son of Kumāragupta I by his chief queen Anantadevi, down to Purugupta’s grandson named Kumāragupta (now Kumāragupta III), son and successor of his son Narasimhagupta. The Nalanda seal inscriptions also give a genealogy in the following order:—(1) Purugupta, (2) his three sons Budhagupta, Vainyagupta and Narasimhagupta, (3) the last one’s son Kumāragupta and (4) Kumāragupta’s son Vishṇugupta.

Budhagupta, son and successor of Purugupta held supremacy not only over North Bengal (Puṇḍravardhana) in the east (cf. Damodarpur Plates Nos. 3 and 4), Benares (cf. Sarnath image
inscription) in the middle, but also over Mālwā in the west. It has been stated before that Kumāragupta II held imperial sway over Central and Western provinces. It will be shown below that during Budhagupta’s reign the Gupta power was in full height of splendour. Then we have evidence of benefaction by Purugupta’s third son (Bālāditya), e.g. his building of the famous brick-temple in Nalanda, the chief seat of Buddhist learning in those days. The other parts of the Gupta empire, including North Bengal and perhaps the whole of Bihar also, continued under the sovereignty of the Guptas. 9

9. The following genealogical table may illustrate the relationship between the Gupta emperors according to our view:

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kumāragupta I</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Skandagupta</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Purugupta</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumāragupta II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budhagupta</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vainyagupta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narasiṁhagupta</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kumāragupta III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vishṇugupta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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May we suppose that the five patrons of Nalanda Vihāra mentioned in the Chinese records (the Si-yu-ki, the Life and the She-kia-fang-che) viz. (1) Śakrāditya, (2) Buddhagupta, (3) Tathāgataguiputra, (4) Bālāditya and (5) Vajra (-āditya ?) are to be identified respectively with (1) Kumāragupta II or Purugupta, (2) Budhagupta, (3) Vainyagupta, (4) Narasiṁhagupta, and (5) Kumāragupta III?
The Bālāditya, who is mentioned by Yuan Chwang\(^{10}\) as the father of another king named Vajra appears to have been the same person as Narasiṁhagupta of the Bhitari seal. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri\(^{11}\) is of opinion that these two were different persons, his reason being that Bālāditya, mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim, came immediately after one Tathāgatagupta. But the relation between them is not clear in the Chinese versions, and Watters’ rendering\(^{12}\) also does not point out any political or family relation. Depending on the genealogy obtained from the Nalanda seals\(^{13}\) of Budhagupta and Vishnugupta we think that the five kings mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim as having built and added to the structures in the Nalanda monastery, are all Gupta monarchs. Śakrāditya may have been an additional appellation of Kumāragupta II, son and successor of Skandagupta according to our view; or it may have been the āditya title of Purugupta. And we may be quite certain that Tathāgatagupta was Vainyagupta as suggested by some scholars.\(^{14}\) We also think that like the

14. See Dr. B. P. Sinha’s *D.K.M.*, p. 100 and Dr. S. Chattopādhyāya’s *E. H. N. I.*, p. 186.
biruda Bālāditya for Narasimhagupta, the appellation Vajra may have been an āditya title (Vajrāditya) of his son Kumāragupta III. But we must wait for future discoveries to verify such views.

We first fully expressed our own view on the question of the genealogy and succession of Gupta kings after Skandagupta, in our article forming an edition\textsuperscript{15} of the five Damodarpur copper plates. Since then it has been criticised by four scholars viz., R. D. Banerji\textsuperscript{16}, R. C. Majumdar\textsuperscript{17}, H. C. Raychaudhuri\textsuperscript{18} and N.K. Bhattachali\textsuperscript{19}. In support of his contention, Dr. Majumdar referred to the opinion of the late Vincent Smith\textsuperscript{20}, the late R. D. Banerji and Panna Lall\textsuperscript{21}. Mr. Panna Lall’s article was published in January 1918, and Smith’s acceptance of his conclusions was announced in 1919. But although the present writer, while contributing in 1916 to the pages of the *Ep. Ind.* his article (published in 1919-1920) on the above-mentioned Gupta plates, had no opportunity to go through their papers, we now feel inclined to abandon our

former view on the possible reconciliation between
the then apparently contradictory materials on
genealogy, obtained from the Sarnath and
Damodarpur inscriptions on the one hand and
the Bhitari seal text on the other. But after the
discovery of the Nalanda seals we shall have to
revise our former views about the relation and
place of the later Imperial rulers whose names
were disclosed chronologically from them and the
Bhitari seals. It now seems that the indication
is clear that the Imperial Gupta dynasty included
three Kumāraguptas. It may be held now that the
Imperial line, headed by Purugupta, and running
through his sons Budhagupta, Vainyagupta and
Narasiṃhagupta and his grandson Kumāragupta
III and his great grandson Vishṇugupta, continued
to rule yet for about half a century in an unbroken
line of succession. But it is to be pointed out here
that Budhagupta could not have come after
Narasiṃhagupta and his son Kumāragupta as
thought by Panna Lall, Smith, Raychaudhuri.
They all think that the name Kumāragupta in the
two sets of documents represents one and the same
person, and he must be called Kumāragupta II. To
us it seems quite abnormal that, between 148 G. E.
(the last known date of Skandagupta) and 157 G. E.
(the date of Budhagupta in the Sarnath inscription)
i. e. within the brief space of nine years, we should find
three reigns crammed in, viz. those of Purugupta,
Narasimhagupta and Kumāragupta. Dr. Raychaudhuri cites other cases of such short reigns, but they may be treated as entirely exceptional. We do not either consider the view of Mr. Panna Lall wholly supportable. The late Dr. V. Smith’s defence of his view, that the alleged defeat of the Hūṇa king, Mihirakula, by Bālāditya is to be discarded as unhistorical, undertaken only to push back the date of Kumāragupta II, is weak, and there is reason to believe that he was afterwards inclined to change his opinion. In his letter dated January 7, 1917, addressed to this author on the latter’s communication of the results obtained from the study and decipherment of the Damodarpur plates, he wrote: “It is clear that a hitherto unrecorded reign of Kumāragupta II, circa 150-156 G. E., came in after Skanda. This No. II in all probability was a grand-son of K.G.I. (Kumāragupta I), and died young and childless. The K.G. (Kumāragupta) of about A.D. 530 now becomes No. III........The Gupta list will require considerable revision”. In a second letter dated, Oxford, 12. 5. 18, and written to the present writer on receipt of the advance copy of the proofs of his paper on the Damodarpur plates, the learned Doctor remarked: “What you say deserves the utmost attention, I hope in time to be able to study your observations carefully”. The opinion of Dr. N. K. Bhattachari, that Purugupta was a child of 4 or 5 years, when Kumāragupta I died
and Skandagupta succeeded him seems reasonable. Purugupta came to the throne later only after Skandagupta's son Kumāragupta II had died young and childless. During the second quarter of the sixth century A.D. when the Imperial Gupta line was proceeding towards the decline of regal power the later Guptas of Magadha were aspiring to independence. The first few rulers of this dynasty appear to be only local chiefs, probably under the rulers of the imperial line. After the end of Kumāragupta III's reign, the dynasty began to grow in royal power. We shall also show subsequently that it was Jīvītagupta I, the third chief of the 'Later Gupta' line, who first found opportunity to assert his sovereign power in Magadha; and this he could do only after a complete disappearance of the imperial Gupta line. We also think that the first three Maukhari chiefs were probably vassals under the imperial Guptas, and held sway as local rulers in the Ayodhyā region, in the first half of the sixth century, during the troubrous times due to the fresh Hūṇa inroads and gradual rise of Yaśodharman of Mālavā.

It may be said that some sort of a solution of the hitherto most controversial question of later Gupta genealogy has now been possible to arrive at after a re-examination of new facts brought to light by the discovery of the Nalanda Seal inscriptions.

The next very important question that may now
be discussed is, who is the Budhagupta of Damodarpur Plates Nos. 3 and 4? These two plates, of which the dates are unfortunately cut off and lost, show that, like Kumāragupta I (Damodarpur Plates Nos. 1 and 2), Budhagupta also used the impérial titles of parama-daivata, parama-bhatṭāraka and mahārājādhirāja, and bestowed favours on his own dependants, the governors of the bhukti of Puṇḍravardhana who were appointed by the sovereign himself. We have evidence to show that during this emperor’s rule there was at least one change of government in North Bengal. From Plate No. 3 it is seen that uparika-mahārāja Brahmadatta was governor of Puṇḍravardhana whereas from Plate No. 4 we learn that uparika-mahārāja Jayadatta was so. We have shown that of the two governors of Puṇḍravardhana under Budhagupta, viz Brahmadatta and Jayadatta, the latter comes later in time than the former. Under the governorship of Jayadatta, the local administrator for the vishaya of Koṭivarsha was the āyuktaka Śaṅḍaka (or Gaṅḍaka). Here therefore we find the most important historical fact, that North Bengal continued under the royal jurisdiction of the imperial Gupta monarch Budhagupta. It remained a Gupta province even under the next emperor (Damodarpur Plate No. 5).

For the present the earliest limit for Budhagupta’s time cannot be put later than 157 G.E. (=A.D. 476-
77); for the Sarnath inscription shows clearly that Budhagupta was the reigning monarch, when the Gupta year 157 had expired,—thus,

Guptānāṁ samatikrānte saptapānchāśad = uttare
Śate samānāṁ prithivim Budhagupte praśasati.

According to Professor K. B. Pathak’s calculation,\(^\text{19}\) this inscription belongs to the current Gupta year 158. Another copper-plate grant\(^\text{20}\) (a landsale document of the type of Damodarpur grants) of the Gupta period, discovered in 1927 by the late K. N. Dikshit of the Indian Archæological Department, during the excavations of the great temple at Paharpur, in the Rajshahi district of North Bengal, is found to have been issued from Puṇḍravardhana (its head-quarters, adhishtāna), and dated the 7th day of Māgha, in the Gupta-Saṁvat 159 (=A.D. 478-79). Although the name of the reigning emperor at the time is not specified in it by name, but only referred to by the word paramabhāttraka, there can be no doubt that the charter belonged to the reign of Budhagupta. Before Hargreaves’ discovery of the Sarnath inscription, and ours of the Damodarpur plates, the only reference to Budhagupta that had been known was the mention of him as a king, on the Eran Stone


\(^{20}\) E. I., Vol. XX, No. 5, pp. 59 ff.
Pillar inscription\(^2\), bearing the date 165 G. E. (= A. D. 484-85), and on some silver coins,\(^2\) one\(^3\) of which bears the date 175 G. E. (= A. D. 494-95). This Eran stone pillar inscription contains two most significant and clear expressions, viz.,

(1) "Bhūpatau Budhagupte", 1. 2 ("while Buhagupta was the ruler on earth");

(2) "Kālindī-Narmadayor = mmadhymān pālayati lokapāla-guṇair = jjagati mahārāja - šriyam = anubhavati Suraśmichandre cha", Ll. 3-4 ("and while Suraśmi-

chandra, enjoying in the world the glory of a Mahārāja on account of his qualities as a Lokapāla, a regent of one of the quarters, was governing the country lying between the Kālindī and Narmadā").

The coins referred to above imitate the types of the silver coinage of the imperial ruler Skandagupta and have on the reverse the portrait of a peacock with wings and tail outspread, as first adopted by the imperial monarch Kumāragupta I, and on the obverse the legend, befitting a paramount sovereign, "Vijitāvanipatiḥ Śrī-Budhagupto divi jayati." The existence of these coins and the pillar inscription ought to have been sufficient warrant for historians to hold that Budhagupta was an imperial Gupta monarch, having feudatory chiefs like Suraśmi-

chandra and others, under him, to rule over different

\(^3\) C.C.B.M.G.D., p. 153 and Intro., p. cv.
\(^3\) Ibid, p. 153, Coin No. 617.
provinces of Northern India; and they ought to have examined Cunningham’s view that he was on the imperial throne of the Guptas and “may have reigned from about A. D. 480—510”\(^{24}\), and that “there is sufficient evidence to prove that his sway was equally extensive”\(^{25}\). These remarks of the great archæologist are now turning out to be approximately true; for the Sarnath inscriptions, the Damodarpur and Paharpur plates of Budhagupta’s time and the Nalandā seal also testify to the fact, that this emperor’s rule included the eastern as well as the western provinces of the extensive Gupta dominion. We have seen in Damodarpur plates Nos. 3 and 4 that Budhagupta held imperial sway over North Bengal, which was governed by his own dependent officers, and that he had in his imperial possession the kingdom of Mālwā (more particularly the vast tract of land between the Kālindī and Narmadā). It is easy to see that the position of mahārāja Suraśmichandra, governing the land lying between the Yamunā and the Narmadā, may have been exactly similar to that enjoyed by the uparika-mahārājās Brahmadatta and Jayadatta, the governors of the province of Puńḍravardhana. Just as, according to the Damodarpur Plate No. 4, the āyuktaka Śaṇḍaka (or Gaṇḍaka), carrying on the administration of

the *vishaya* of Koṭivarsha from the *adhishṭhāna* (town) of that name, was under the authority of Jayadatta, the governor of Puṇḍravardhana, so also, as we have reason to think, the *mahārāja* Māṭrivishṇu of the Eran stone pillar inscription of Budhagupta’s time, “who has been victorious in battle against many enemies” (*aneka-śattru-samara-jishṇunā*, l. 7) was a district officer (*vishayapati*) under the authority of Suraśmichandra, the governor of Mālwā. The truth of this remark may be ascertained from the other Eran stone Boar inscription²⁶ of Toramāṇa’s time, which discloses the fact that in the first year of this Hūṇa chief’s rule in that portion of Āravyāvarta (Mālwā), Dhanyavishṇu (now deceased, *svarggatasya*, l. 6) built a temple (in which the Boar-incarnation of Bhagavān (Nārāyaṇa stands); and that he built it in his own *vishaya* of Airikīna (*śīlā-śrā [śādaḥ] sva-vishay [e]=sminn Airikīne kāritaḥ l. 7). There seems then to be no doubt that the *mahārāja* Māṭrivishṇu, Dhanyavishṇu’s elder brother, was the *vishayapati* of the *vishaya* of Airikīna in the year 165 G. E. (i.e. A. D. 484-85), when Suraśmichandra was Budhagupta’s governor in Mālwā and the adjacent tracts of land. A city, also of this name, Airikīna, (the modern village Eran in the Khurai Sub-Division of the Sagar District in the Madhya Pradesh), is mentioned in the Eran Stone

inscription\(^{27}\) of Samudragupta. Hence we may say that this old \textit{vishaya} of Airikiṇa had continued to be a Gupta territory from the time of Samudragupta till at least 165 G. E. of Budhagupta’s reign; and it seems very probable that it afterwards passed into temporary possession of the Hūṇa \textit{mahārājā-dhirāja} Toramāṇa, whose supremacy was apparently acknowledged by Dhanyavishṇu, the younger brother of Māṭrivishṇu. So the imperial ruler Budhagupta’s supremacy in the western portion of the Gupta empire is proved. The historical insight of Fleet led him to presume\(^{28}\) that “these two kings Budhagupta and Bhānugupta were of the early Gupta lineage, though possibly not connected by direct descent with Skandagupta”, and that\(^{29}\) “Budhagupta comes chronologically immediately after Skandagupta, Bhānugupta somewhat later”. These remarks of the great scholar nearly approached the historical truth, as we have shown above. Budhagupta comes chronologically, though not immediately, after Skandagupta, but after Kumāragupta II, presumably a son and successor of Skandagupta and there is no reason why we should not now consider him to have belonged to the early Gupta lineage. But in no way was there

\(^{27}\) \textit{Ibid}, No. 2, p. 20.
\(^{29}\) \textit{Ibid}, Intro., p. 1.
any ground for the supposition that Budhagupta’s\textsuperscript{30} “territory lay between the Jumnā and Narbadā” only, or that there was ever a separate dynasty\textsuperscript{31} known as “the Guptas of Eastern Mālwa,” as wrongly believed by Hoernle, Smith, Allan and others. We should no longer be justified in holding the view\textsuperscript{32} that Budhagupta and Bhānugupta “were the heirs of Skandagupta in that (i.e. Mālava) region” only, and that “Budhagupta was a ruler of some importance”, having held part at least of the territory in which they (i.e. his coins) had been current”. Those views must now be rectified in the light of the new discoveries. All that we obtain as historical truth from the Eran stone pillar inscription mentioned above is that Budhagupta was the imperial “ruler of the earth”, and that it was his feudatory governor Suraśmichandra’s (and not his own) territory that lay between the Yamunā and the Narmadā. From the Sarnath inscription of this monarch’s time and from his coins obtained there, it may plausibly be concluded that Benares also was subject to his sovereign authority. The fact, discovered from the Damodarpur and Parharpur plates and the Nalanda seal of Budhagupta’s holding sway over North Bengal supplemented by the fact, already

\textsuperscript{30} J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 135 (vide Vincent Smith’s paper on the Coinage of the Early Imperial Gupta Dynasty of Northern India).

\textsuperscript{31} C.C.B.M.G.D., Intro., p. lxii.

\textsuperscript{32} E.H.I., p. 314.
known, that he held similar sway at least till 165 G.E., over Mālwa and over Benares, will enable us to revise the theory \(^{33}\) hitherto generally held by scholars, that the Guptas lost their sway over the western dominions from the time of Skandagupta.

From the various records in hand (cf. Nandanpur Copperplate grant of G. E. 169 = A. D. 488-489; Vide E.I., Vol. XXIII, pp. 52-56) we find that Budhagupta was on the imperial Gupta throne at least during the years from 157 G. E. to 175 G.E. (i.e. from A.D. 476-77 to A. D. 494-95). In the light of the new documents the most significant expression, "gupta-nripa-rājya-bhuktav" ("during the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings"), which occurs in some of the grants of the Parivrājaka mahārājas Hastin and his son Saṃkshobha, may now be rightly explained. These two subordinate kings were undoubtedly under Gupta allegiance, and the kingdom of Ṛabhāla or possibly Ṛabhala, the older form of Ṛāhala (modern Bundelkhand), which had come down to them by inheritance, together with all the country included in the eighteen forest kingdoms, was governed by them as contemporaries of Budhagupta, and probably of Bhānugupta also, as will be shown below. The Khoh plate \(^ {34}\) of Hastin, dated 163 G. E., must belong to the time of the paramount

33. E.H.I., p. 311, and Intro., p. xlix.
34. C.I.I., Vol. III., No. 22.
ruler Budhagupta. It is not unlikely that the mahārāja Jayanātha of Uchchhakalpa, near Hastin's kingdom, was also a feudatory chief owing allegiance to Budhagupta, although no mention is made in his inscriptions of the ruling imperial Gupta sovereign. The copper-plate inscription of this chief, dated the year 174, which was taken by the late Dr. Fleet to belong to the Gupta era, must have belonged to the reign of Budhagupta. However it may now be said with certainty that at least till the year 175 G.E. the western provinces of the early Guptas were intact, and that they had not begun to lose their sway and influence over them. It is evident that Budhagupta's reign was long and flourishing. Commenting on the expression Gupta-nripa-rāyaya-bhuktau, referred to above, Fleet propounded the view, that the Guptas were still in full power, during the fourth quarter of the fifth century A.D., and thus wrote: "This expression is of importance, in showing clearly that the Gupta dynasty and sway were still continuing." It may now be supposed without doubt that, except during the first few years, the reign of Skandagupta was as glorious as that of his predecessors, and the assumptions made by the late Smith, that Skandagupta was "forced at

38. E.H.I., pp. 310-11,
least to succumb to the repeated attacks of the
foreigner” about A. D., 470 and that his death may
have “occurred in or about the year 480 A. D.,” are
contradicted by the new discoveries at Sarnath,
Damodarpur and Paharpur. The Gupta empire
rather continued to flourish for many years in its
accustomed glory under Skandagupta’s successors,
Kumāragupta II, Purugupta and Budhagupta and
their successors.

In Damodarpur Plate No. 5 only a part of the
ruling emperor’s name is given, the most important
portion before the family surname Gupta being cut
off from the plate and lost. From the size of the
characters used, it appears that the portion of the
copper lost at the end of line 1 could not contain
more than two letters. This Gupta emperor is found
to have been ruling in 224 G. E. (= A. D. 543-44)
and, like Kumāragupta I and Budhagupta in the
different plates, to have used the imperial titles
para-ma-daivata, para-ma-bhaṭṭāraka and mahārāja-dhirāja.
It may be hoped that future discoveries will acquaint
us with his name. At first we presumed to take it
to be Bhānugupta, whose sovereignty may have
continued at least till A. D. 543-44 if not still later.
Whatever the name may have been of this Gupta
monarch, whose rule continued in the North-Eastern
provinces of the early Gupta empire, till some time
after the first quarter of the sixth century A. D., it
is now known that he also, like his predecessors,
bestowed his royal favours upon the governor of the bhukti of Puṇḍravardhana, who used the usual title of uparika-mahārāja, but who in this case appears to be the emperor's own son (Rājaputra-deva-bhaṭṭāraka). This royal governor, in keeping with the administrative system prevalent under the early Guptas, appointed Svayambhūdeva as the vishayapati of Koṭīvarsha. It is evident then that so late as A.D. 543-44 the early Gupta rule continued intact in the eastern province of the empire. But the emperor's appointment of his own son as governor of Puṇḍravardhana may be supposed to point to the fact, that the time was a troublous one for the empire, many parts of which, especially in the west, had by this time already been lost. We have seen before that in the Gupta year 165 Budhagupta wielded supremacy over the vast tract of land between the Yamunā and Narmadā, and that under his own governor Suraśmichandra, Mātrivishṇu, was the vishayapati of Airikīṇa. But we have also seen that this Mātrivishṇu's younger brother, Dhanyavishṇu owed allegiance to the Hūṇa mahārājādhirāja, Toramāṇa (whose first regnal year is mentioned in the Eran Boar-inscription39), and not to any Gupta ruler, who may have been on the imperial Gupta throne at that time. So it is quite reasonable to think that towards the close of Budhagupta's reign

(circa 180 G. E. according to Professor Pathak), the
decline of the glory of the imperial Gupta line could
be marked to some extent. The Hûnas, though once
utterly defeated about half-a-century before by
Skandagupta, may have continued from time to time
to disturb the Gupta rulers and in all probability,
made a fresh attack in the west under their chief
Tormāṇa, who succeeded in establishing himself in
Mālwā and Surāshṭra. It was perhaps during this
time that the old Gupta province of Surāshṭra threw
off the Gupta yoke, under Bhaṭāraka of the Maitraka
clan, who may have paid tribute to the Hûṇa chief.
But the Gupta sovereign had still some supremacy
over the central provinces of the empire; for in the
Majhagawan copper-plate inscription\(^{40}\) of mahārāja
Hastin, dated 191 G. E. (A. D. 510-11), and in the
Khoh copper-plate inscription\(^{41}\) of Hastin’s son,
Saṃkshobha, dated 209 G. E. (A. D. 528-29),
reference is made to the fact that the early Guptas
were still enjoying sovereignty. In the Eran posthu-
mous stone pillar inscription\(^{42}\), Bhānugupta is
mentioned as “the bravest man on the earth, a
mighty king, equal to Pārtha, exceedingly heroic”
(jagati praviro rājā mahān Pārtha-samo = ti-śūrah, 1.5);
and it is recorded there that Goparāja (undoubtedly
a feudatory of Bhānugupta) fought a “very famous

42. *Ibid*, No. 20.
battle" (y[u] ddham sumahat-prak [ā] ūam, 1. 6) by the side of Bhānugupta, but was killed in the action, and that Goparāja’s wife accompanied her husband, cremating herself on his funeral pyre. The pillar which bears this inscription was set up as a memorial at the very place where the battle was fought. Nothing, however, can be known from the record, as to who the enemy was, against whom Bhānugupta and his feudatory Goparāja, in the company of their other allies (mittrāni, 1. 6), fought, nor is it mentioned whether the emperor and his party were at all defeated. It is only stated that Goparāja was killed in the action. It may reasonably be supposed that this enemy must have been the Hūṇas who were now probably led by Mihirakula, but who had already under that chief’s father, Toramāṇa, succeeded in bringing under their occupation Mālwā and other tracts of land in the west. Considering the fact that 18 years after this “very famous battle”, which was fought in 191 G. E., the early Gupta supremacy was still prevalent in the neighbouring kingdom of Bhānugupta’s feudatory, Saṃkshobha43 (Hastin’s son), whose inscription bears date 209 G. E., one feels inclined to believe that Bhānugupta was victorious in 191 G. E., over the Hūṇas. Hence it is clear that the authority of the Hūṇa chief Tormāṇa or his son, the tyrant

Mihirakula, could not have penetrated into any kingdom east of Mālwā. But it is difficult to determine the relation between this Bhānugupta and the imperial Gupta monarchs revealed from the epigraphic and numismatic records and the Nalanda Seals. Both the Parivrājaka mahārājas Hastin and his son, Samkshobha, and the Uchchhākala mahārāja Sarvanātha, whose recorded dates are respectively 193, 197 and 214 G. E., and probably Sarvanātha’s father Jayanātha also, were contemporaries and feudatories of the imperial Guptas. At any rate Professor Pathak’s conclusion that the downfall of the Gupta empire, effected by the Hūṇa invasion, took place towards the close of the fifth century A. D., does not seem to be warranted by facts; for we have shown above that the Hūṇas occupied only a part of the Gupta empire in the west, the central and eastern provinces (e.g. Pundravardhana) still remaining under Gupta dominion. Professor Rapson’s view that during the last quarter of the 5th century A. D. “the northern and central provinces (E. Mālava), were held by different

44. Ibid, Nos. 28, 30 and 31 respectively.
branches of the imperial family; and in other parts of the empire powers previously subject or feudatory became independent" does not seem to be wholly correct; for as far as we can see the successors of Budhagupta wielded some royal authority in the east, and it does not appear that all the former feudatories became independent of Gupta supremacy. We cannot accept Professor Pathak's view\[47\] that the initial year of Mihirakula was A.D. 502, and we cannot say that this year "marks the end of the Gupta empire"; for we have a Gupta emperor still ruling as the "lord of the earth" in 224 G. E. (A. D. 543-44), having Puṇḍravardhana under a governor of his own appointing, and it is perhaps his rule that is referred to, in the inscription\[48\] dated 209 G. E. The only natural conclusion to be drawn in this connection is that the vast Gupta empire began to be circumscribed in extent, owing to the inroads of the Hūṇas, towards the close of the reign of the imperial monarch Budhagupta, and that it was from his successors' time that the diminution of Gupta power and glory actually commenced. It may be rightly said that Mihirakula, who reigned at least for 15 years\[49\] was a contemporary of Bhāṇugupta,

49. The Gwalior stone inscription, *C.I.I.,* Vol. III, No. 37, wherein the 15th regnal year of Mihirakula is mentioned,
the imperial Gupta sovereign, and was not a paramount sovereign of the rank of the early Guptas, as supposed by some scholars, dominating the whole of their former empire, but a king who had under his jurisdiction only some of its western provinces.

Both Budhagupta and Bhānugupta were contemporary overlords of many of the feudatory princes, who were not dependent on the Hūṇa chiefs, Toramāṇa or Mihirakula. The decadence of Gupta glory began, as remarked above, during the closing years of Budhagupta’s reign; but the complete overthrow of the imperial Gupta power, of both the main line and its feudatories was in all probability brought about not by foreigners, the Hūṇas, but by the ambitious chief Yaśodharman of Mālwā. From the three Mandasor stone inscriptions\(^50\) we learn of two kings, named Yaśodharman and Vishṇuvardhana, in the Mālwā region, when Bhānugupta was in all probability enjoying imperial sovereignty in the central and eastern provinces of the Gupta empire during the first quarter of the sixth century. The contents of these three inscriptions have been thoroughly discussed by Allan,\(^51\) according to whom Yaśodharman was the suzerain of Vishṇuvardhana, and this is, according to the renowned scholar, the natural explanation of the occurrence of their names

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in verses 5 and 6 respectively of the inscription (C.I.I. No. 35), dated the year 589 (expired) of the tribal constitution of the Mālavas, i.e. the expired Gupta era 213. Bereft of rhetorical embellishments, verse 5 simply states in substance that Yaśodharman was a janendra ("chief among men"), who had begun to acquire fame in battle, by himself plunging into the army of his enemies, whose reputations were eclipsed by his valorous deeds. The next verse again describes the other king as a narādhipatiḥ ("the king of men") and as a conqueror in war (ājau jīti), who had already acquired the supreme title of rājādhīrāja-parameśvara, so difficult of attainment, by subjecting, by policy peaceful and militant, the very mighty kings of the east and many kings of the north. This king’s minister, Abhayadatta, is described as having formerly held office in the tract of country, bounded by the Vindhyas and the Pāriyātra mountain and the (eastern) ocean. From this panegyric on Vishnupvardhana it seems very probable that Yaśodharman (according to Jayaswal the two kings were identical, vide his Imperial History of India) was then rising into prominence under the supremacy of Vishnuvardhana, who is to be regarded as the former’s suzerain, and not vice versa, as supposed by Allan. Some of the enemies, opposed by both Vishnupvardhana and Yaśodharman, were certainly the Hūṇas, who could no longer retain the tracts
of land (in the west), over which they had shortly before established their power, and which they had also ruled for some time as kings. But the kings of the east, who were brought under subjection by Vishnûvardhana, were probably feudatories of Bhanugupta, who was still ruling in the eastern provinces. The Vishnûvardhana-Yaśodharman inscription (C.I.I., No. 35) comes, it seems, a little earlier in point of time than the other two Mandasor inscriptions (C.I.I., Nos. 33-34) which state in a most exalted manner the heroic actions of Yaśodharman, who is said to have compelled even king Mihirakula to pay him homage by touching his feet with the forehead. If this statement is taken as literally true, Yaśodharman may have completely humbled the power of the Hûṇa chief some time after A.D. 533-34 and then proceeded towards the eastern province, where the supremacy of Bhanugupta (or his successor, if he had any) was still continuing. It may not be quite unlikely that Vishnûvardhana and Yaśodharman at first combined together, to drive away the Hûṇas under Mihirakula from the parts of the western provinces which were under Hûṇa sway, and then brought under subjection some of the Gupta feudatories in the east. But ultimately perhaps, by the superior strength of his arms, Yaśodharman overpowered his former suzerain Vishnûvardhana and acquired the title of a universal sovereign (samrāt, V. 3, C.I.I.,
No. 33). Hence it may be supposed that it was Yaśodharman, who usurped all the Gupta territories and brought about the actual downfall of the Gupta empire. It would be difficult in any other way to justify the panegyric, which contains Yaśodharman’s boast (V. 5, C.I.I., No. 33) that the sāmantas (feudatories) of the different parts of the land, from the Lauhitya (the Brahmaputra) in the east to the Western Ocean, and from the Himalayas in the north to the Mahendra Mountain in the south, did him honour. It is, therefore, not improbable that Yaśodharman overthrew Mihirakula some time after A.D. 533-34 and declared himself independent sovereign of Northern India. But the different account of the overthrow of Mihirakula, given by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, according to whom his tyranny was ended by Bālāditya (identified with Narasimḥagupta of the Bhitari seal inscription, who belonged to the imperial line of the early Guptas), makes it difficult to explain satisfactorily the story of the Mandasor inscriptions referred to above. According to the Chinese pilgrim, this Bālāditya, a king of Magadha, whose territory was invaded by Mihirakula, succeeded in defeating and taking him prisoner, but afterwards released him; and the Hūṇa chief’s ultimate fate was that he took refuge in Kashmir, where he made himself ruler. These two conflicting stories of the defeat of Mihirakula, as related in the
inscriptions and in the accounts of the Chinese pilgrim, have caused scholars to offer many suggestions regarding the truth. According to Vincent Smith\textsuperscript{52} "the native princes under the leadership of Bālāditya, the king of Magadha (the same as Narasimhagupta), and Yaśodharman, a rājā of Central India, appear to have formed a confederacy against the foreign tyrant." But Allan\textsuperscript{53}, following the view of Fleet\textsuperscript{54} that Mihirakula was overthrown by Yaśodharman in the west, and by Bālāditya in the direction of Magadha, suggests that Narasimhagupta (i.e. the Bālāditya of Hiuen Tsiang) was simply successful in defending Magadha against Mihirakula's aggression, and that Mihirakula was afterwards utterly routed and taken prisoner by Yaśodharman. The boastful statements about Yaśodharman in the Mandasor inscriptions lead us to believe that it was this powerful king, who succeeded in finally breaking the Hūṇa power in India declared himself independent samrāt of all Northern India and made his supremacy felt by the representatives of the imperial Gupta dynasty, still in possession of some power in the east, as well as by the Maukharis. Very likely Vishṇugupta, son and successor of Kumāragupta III and grandson of Bālāditya, who may have retained some power

\textsuperscript{52} E.H.I., p. 318.
\textsuperscript{53} C.C.B.M.G.D., Intro. p. lix.
\textsuperscript{54} I.A., 1889, p. 228.
in Puṇḍravardhana especially, acknowledged the authority of Yaśodharman. The rise of Yaśo-
dharman was, therefore, the cause of the downfall of the imperial Gupta rule in Northern India. This
king of Mālava may have continued to rule as Indian samrāṭ even after the complete downfall of
the Guptas by the middle of the sixth century A.D. No successor of Yaśodarman is, however, known
whereas we have epigraphic records of a local dynasty of eleven Gupta rulers in Magadha, beginning
with Krishṇagupta and passing through Mādhavagupta (Harsha’s contemporary) to Jīvitagupta II,
who continued to rule as local chiefs in Magadha till about the middle of the eighth century A.D.,
probably till the rise of the Pāla kings of Bengal, who brought Magadha also under their rule.
The history of Vainyagupta will be treated in Chapter IX.

55. For an analysis of the causes of the downfall of the Gupta Empire, see P. H. A. I., pp. 626 ff.
CHAPTER V

THE MAUKHARI DYNASTY

Before entering into particulars regarding the career of kings of the Maukhari dynasty, which attained a high political position in North-Eastern India in the sixth century A.D., we should first attempt to trace its origin. General Cunningham secured a clay seal at Gayā, inscribed in Mauryan Brāhmī script, bearing the legend Mokhalināṁ (=Maukharīṇāṁ).¹ The term Mukhara or Maukhari is believed to be very old. The Maukharis may have originally belonged to the country of Aṅga or a part of South Bihar, as is evident from the Barābar and Nāgārjunī Hill Cave inscriptions² of the time of Anantavarman. The group represented by the three chiefs Anantavarman, his father Śārdūlavaran and his grand-father Yajñavaran is earlier than the other group of Maukhari kings who ruled the Ayodhyā region of the modern Uttar Pradesh. It may be believed that both these groups probably belonged to the same stock.


2. Ibid, Nos. 48 and 49-50 respectively.
We have come across another family of the Maukharis from some inscriptions found at Baḍvā in Rajputana and they flourished in the 3rd c A. D.

Harshavardhana’s court-poet Bāṇa also hints that the family of the Maukharis was very old, and highly esteemed by all contemporary kings and people. In his Harshacharita we find use of both the terms Mukhara and Maukhari. That the usual form of the family-name is Maukhari is evident from its use in one of the introductory verses (v. 4) of Bāṇa’s Kādambarī. In the former book Bāṇa writes of the union of the two brilliant lines of Pushpabhūti and Mukhara, “whose worth like that of the sun and the moon is sung by all the world to the gratification of wise men’s ears”. As Pushpabhūti was the remote ancestor of the Vardhana family of Sthānviśvara, so Mukhara was probably the originator of both the Varman families of South Bihar (Gayā) and Uttar Pradesh (Ayodhyā and Kanauj). The Mukhara princes are said in the Haraha inscription of Īśānavarman’s

3. E. I., XXIII, pp. 42 ff; E. I., XXIV, pp. 252 ff;
5. Another form Maukharā is found in the Jaunpur stone inscription (C.I.I., No. 51) of king Īśvaravarman.
time to have descended from the family of king Āsvapati of the house of Vaivāsvata Manu. Hence the Maukharis claim their descent from the solar race. They were, however, Śaiva (māheśvara) by religion.

The sources which may profitably be utilised for gathering a history of the Maukhari chiefs and kings are their inscriptions and coins, Bāṇa’s Harshacharita and the Buddhist treatise Māṇjuśrīmūlakalpa.

Of the three princes, Yajñavarman, his son Śārdūlavaran and the latter’s son Anantavarman of the Gayā group of the Maukharis, made known to us by the Barābar and Nāgārjunī Hill Cave inscriptions, the first two enjoyed the status of a sāmanta (vassal) ruler. This is indicated by their use of the title nṛpa which indicates their lower political position of vassalage. The records being undated, we have no certain knowledge as to the paramount lords in the east, to whom they might have owed their allegiance. Palæographically these inscriptions are placed by scholars earlier (located by Varāhamihira in the N.W. part of India) bears the same name, Āsvapati. But it does not seem probable that the Maukharis had any connection with him as Pandit Hirananda Sastri thinks.

7. e.g. N. G. Majumdar in I. A., 1917. Incidentally it may be remarked that the theory of E. A. Piers (The Maukaris, pp. 25-40) that Maukharis were rulers of Magadha before the imperial Guptas lacks solid foundation.
than A.D. 554, the date of the Haraha inscription. In all probability they were feudatories under the last imperial Gupta monarchs. However, the first chief Yajñavaran of this branch is described as celebrating many sacrifices which appear to have then fallen into desuetude (ishṭa-samriddha-yajña-mahimā), and as teaching all other rules the duty of the warrior caste (kṣatra-sthīte = ddesikaḥ). He attained greatness by restoration of these time-honoured institutions. In respect of wisdom, high descent, liberality and prowess he surpassed other rulers, but yet he preserved a tranquil mind, through possession of modesty. His son Śārdūlavaran is mentioned as sāmanta-chūḍāmanī, establishing his fame by many wars with hostile kings who, however, cannot be rightly identified. It seems, however, undoubted that on the decline of the administrative glory of the imperial Guptas in East India, these vassal kings began to assert their independence and extend their political supremacy by fighting with their neighbours. That this second sāmanta’s son Anantavarman was of the greatest help to his father, in dealing with his enemies, is evident from his epigraphs. His skilfulness in archery is much stressed therein, as it wrought havoc among the elephant and horse troops of his enemies. But this prince is not referred to in these inscriptions as ever ruling as a sāmanta chief. Probably the rise of other and greater political powers, in the eastern
provinces, was responsible for the extinction of this eastern family of Maukharī sāmantas; and prince Anantavarman had therefore no opportunity to assume rulership even as a feudatory chief, with the use of the lesser appellation of nṛipa only with his name. Their vassalage could not have lasted for more than half a century. This Anantavarman and his father and grand-father were not probably sectarian Hindus, as the first is credited with installing the image of the god Kṛishṇa in one cave-temple and those of Śiva-Pārvatī (probably in their Arddhanāriśvara form) and Pārvatī alone, under the names of Kātyāyanī and Bhavānī, in others. These meritorious acts of prince Anantavarman were performed by him during the life-time of his father.

The family of the second group of the Maukharis, whose territories lay in the Upper Ganges valley, specially in and near the modern districts of Barabanki, Fyzabad and Jaunpur in U.P., was founded by a chief named Harivarman. The inscription on the copper-seal discovered in Asirgadh (in M. P.) gives a genealogy of these Maukharis down to the fifth king in the following order:

1. (Mahārāja) Harivarman = Jayasvāminī
   (Bhaṭṭārikā-devī)

2. ,, Ādityavarman = Harshaguptā ,,

3. ,, Īsvaravarman = Upaguptā ,,

4. (Mahārājādhirāja) Īsānavarman = Lakshmīvatī (?)
   (Bhaṭṭārikā-mahādevī)

5. ,, Śarvvavarman

We cannot confidently connect these Maukharis with Asirgadh, the place of discovery of the seal, situated in the Nimar district of M.P. Their kingdom appears to have lain some hundreds of miles to the north-east in U.P. It is of course not very easy, in the absence of any geographical data, even in the Haraha inscription of Īsānavarman's time, to ascertain exactly the part or parts of the country that this king or his predecessors governed. It is quite reasonable, however, to believe that in the first half of the sixth century A.D., during the troublous times of the empire under the later imperial Guptas, due to the inroads of the Hūṇas and the rise of Yaśodharman of Mālava, the first three Maukhari rulers, who had only the use of the title mahārāja, indicative of their feudatory position, held sway over the Ayodhyā region.

The first mahārāja Harivarman, alias Jvālāmukha brought other kings under subjection by the dual
policy of prowess and affection. He is credited to have employed his royal authority in regulating the different *varnas* and *āśramas*. This may rightly be taken as a clear hint of the historical fact, that there arose some social and religious disorder in every part of North-Eastern India during this period. The fourth ruler of this line is found in these epigraphic records to have been the first to assume the imperial title of *mahārājādhirāja*. The second and third Maukhari *mahārājās* married princesses of the Gupta lineage. Harshaguptā, queen of Ādityāvarman, was probably the sister of king Harshagupta of the Later Gupta family of Magadha, as scholars are apt to think. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri thinks, 9 quite plausibly, that such matrimonial relation with the Guptas in this period stimulated imperial ambition. We find that such ambition first embodied itself in the person of Īśvaravarman. The fragmentary nature of the Jaunpur inscription makes it impossible to refer, with any certainty, the historical information gleaned from it, to Īśānavarman or to any of his descendants. Both the father and grandfather of Īśvaravarman are described 10 therein as “having descended from the flourishing lineage of the Mukhara kings” (*udayini Mukharāṇāṁ bhūbhujām = anvavāye*). Ādityavarman strictly


observed the regulations for the right conduct of the varṇas and āśramas and offered many a sacrifice to the gods. The strictly orthodox Hindu sacrificial customs were also followed by his son, mahārāja Īśvaravarman, who possessed all the virtues expected in a king of the warrior caste. It is from the reign of this latter king that the Maukhari conquests began to be achieved. It is stated that this mighty king had to secure the throne by "allaying the troubles of his subjects that were created by the approach of cruel people." There is a clear reference, in a verse of this epigraph, to a defeat sustained by an Andhra king, about whom the description runs, that out of fear of the Maukhari king, this lord of the Andhras was forced to take shelter, in one crevice after another in the Vindhya mountains. (Vindhyāddreh pratirandhram = Andhrapatinā śaṅkāparen = āsitam). In the same verse there is a reference also to the Raivataka mountain in Surāshṭra (Kathiawad); but it is not clear if the Maukhari king had to proceed thither, or any king of that place proceeded towards the Maukhari realm and met defeat. There is in the next verse another description, though unfortunately injured by the mutilation of the stone, of the warriors of the Andhra army, "whose arms were studded with the lustre of (their) swords drawn out (of the scabbards)." The late Dr. Fleet found a reference to the city of Dhārā in verse 9 of this epigraph, but in our opinion there is no allusion to
any place-name there. In all likelihood the word dhārā refers to the edge of a sword used by the Maukhari king (?), from which sparks of fire came out (dhārā-mārgga-vinirgatāgniṇikaḥ). The next verses indicate the advance of the Maukhari king's army towards the Himālayan regions. In this connection a natural query arises as to who this king was, whose war-like exploits were directed against the Andhras, and probably also the Surāshṭra people. The late N. G. Majumdar's opinion\(^\text{11}\) that the defeat of the Andhra king is to be regarded as happening during the reign of Īśvaravarman, appears to be quite reasonable. He also thinks that the glorious campaign of conquests of this king's son Īśānavarman "preceded his sitting on his father's throne". If that view be correct, it is Īśvaravarman\(^\text{12}\) who must be taken as the first Maukhari king who paved the way to the imperial status, afterwards enjoyed by his illustrious son Īśānavarman and his grandson Śravavvarman.

The first imperial sovereign of the Maukhari


12. Dr. R. K. Mookerji in his *Harsha*, p. 58, (fn. 2) writes that Īśvaravarman was the first Maukhari "to have attained an imperial status." Had it been so, he would certainly have been described in his grandson Śravavvarman's seal as a mahārājādhirāja instead of a mahārāja only—the former status being achieved by his son Īśānavarman for the first time.
dynasty was Īśānavarman, whose date is now definitely known to scholars from the most important document of the period, the Haraha stone inscription\textsuperscript{13} referred to above, which records the rebuilding, by one of his sons, Sūryyavarman by name (not known from any other document), of a dilapidated Śiva-temple in the year 611, believed by all scholars to refer to the Vikrama era, and therefore corresponding to A. D. 554 when the Maukhari king (Īśānavarman) was ruling in full glory after vanquishing all his foes. That the country was really plunging into social and political chaos, and this great monarch had to make all efforts to restore order, is clear from the court-poet describing the then earth as resembling “a cracked boat” (sphuṭitanauḥ) which he “saved from sinking by means of the ropes (guṇas) of his kingly virtues.” He is, moreover, described as a great warrior, who scored three great victories in three different directions, viz. over the Andhra king, the Śūlikas and the Gauḍas. According to some scholars these victories had been achieved by Īśānavarman during the life-time and reign of his father, whom he might have assisted in the wars directed against these people. But it may be argued that if the expedition against the Andhra king by his father, Īśvaravarman, referred to above, was really an unsuccessful operation, his son might have led a second

\textsuperscript{13} E.I., Vol. XIV, pp. 110 ff,
expedition, after having ascended his father’s throne some time before A. D. 554. In any case these three victories of this Maukhari ruler made it easier for him to assume lord-paramountcy. The Haraha inscription gives a vivid description of them, stating that the victorious Īśānavarman occupied the throne after having defeated the lord of the Andhras, who had “thousands of three-fold rutting elephants”, vanquished the Śūlikas who had “a cavalry of countless galloping horses,” and made the Gauḍa people take shelter towards the sea-shore, “after causing their land territories to be deprived of their future prospects”. It is difficult to identify this Andhra king who, in the opinion of the late Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri, was probably Mādhavavarman (I, Janāśraya) of the Polamuru plates of the Vishṇukundin family, who “crossed the river Godāvari with the desire to conquer the eastern region”. Also it is not very easy to identify the Śūlika people in this inscription. It is however, generally agreed by scholars that they must be connected with Śaulika country, mentioned

14. Cf. V. I3 which runs thus:

“जिलायोषिष्ठिता सच्चारगढित-तेधा-शरद्विरार्ष
याहसंग्रहिताबितिसंपत्तिरामाण् भक्त्या रथे शुलिकाम् ( न् ।
हला जायतिमीरितत्तवसम्बो गौडाल भद्रद्वयसः
नायतित्तत्तवसम्बर्षः विलक्षण ( विष्णु ) सर्व यी सितो॥”

15. Op. Cit., p. 602,
along with other south-easterly countries, viz. Kośala (undoubtedly South Kośala), Kaliṅga, Vaṅga, Upavaṅga, Vidarbha, Vatsa, Andhra, Chedi etc. by Varāhamihira, the almost contemporary astronomer, in his Brīhatsaṁhitā. Dr. Raychaudhuri and following him Dr. R. K. Mookerji think that these Śūlikas were probably the Chālukyas, and they point out in this connection the name of Kirtivarman I of the Chalikya dynasty (as the name is spelt in the Mahākūta pillar inscription), who gained victories over the kings of Vaṅga, Aṅga, Magadha etc. We cannot also definitely conjecture who were particularly meant by the Gauḍa people in this inscription. To us it seems that the use of this term (Gauḍa) in the Haraha inscription is the earliest in old inscriptions discovered in Eastern India, although Varāhamihira (who

16. Vide XIV, 8. In the same treatise XI, 7 and XIV, 23 (Vangavāsi ed., Calcutta) we meet with the name Śūlika itself as associated with some countries in the W, N-W and N. But considering the Maukhari ruler’s expedition towards the east it seems more reasonable to identify the Śūlikas with any of the south-easterly countries of Varāhamihira. The argument advanced by Dr. S. Chattopadhyaya that the Śūlikas are to be identified with the Hūnas in the western or northern region of the Maukhari dominion (Vide E. H. N. I., pp. 222-23) cannot be considered as very convincing.

17. Harsha, p. 54, fn. 2.

died in A. D. 587) mentions it in his work as Gauḍaka, immediately followed by the name Pauṇḍra amongst the countries in the east. It may be suggested that during the sixth and seventh centuries A. D. the Gauḍa kingdom had its capital in Karṇasuvarna in Central Bengal. We know that mahārājaḥdhirāja Jayanāga once had his head-quarters in Karṇasuvarna and thence issued a copper-plate grant belonging, in our opinion based on its palæography, to the latter half of the sixth century A.D. There is, curiously enough, a clear mention in the Buddhist work Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, of a Gauḍa king whose name ended in Nāga and began with Jaya, which means that it was Jayanāga. It may be believed that Jayanāga and his son, who ruled only for a few months (as the Buddhist work narrates), preceded Śaśānka as kings of Karṇasuvarna. A guess may be ventured, that the Maukhari Isānavarman probably drove the Gauḍa people towards the sea-shore, after having forced them to quit their land territories in Central Bengal, during the reign of the “Gauḍarāja” Jayanāga. Of course further discoveries must be

21. As regards the location of the Gauḍas Dr. D. C. Sircar also observes: “Isānavarman drove out the Gauḍa people for the future (for all ages to come permanently) from the dry land and compelled them to take shelter into
awaited for the corroboration of such a view. The epithet nata-kṣitīṣa-charaṇah, applied to Īśānavarman in the same verse, signifies that on the results of these conquests the three kings of the Andhras, Śūlikas and Gauḍas recognised his imperial suzerainty. Thus the political power of Maukharis grew enormous in Uttarāpatha.

Inscriptional records bear witness to another most important historical fact that the Maukharis and the Later Gupta family of Magadha bore a relation of hereditary feud between themselves. The fourth king of the latter family, Kumāragupta, thought that the possibility of his attainment of suzerain power depended largely on his ability to keep in check the growing power of the Maukharis, specially during the rule of Īśānavarman. Hence that king of Magadha is credited by the poet of the Apshad inscription22 of Ādityasena, to have churned, acting as a veritable Mandāra mountain, “that formidable milk-ocean, the cause of the attainment of fortune, which was the army of the glorious Īśānavarman, a very moon among kings.” The

the waters of the sea” : J.A.S.B. (Letters), XI, p. 69. That is to say, Dr. Sircar is inclined to believe that the Gauḍas never lived on the sea-shore. How can the sea be said to be the shelter of a people who already live on the sea-shores?

22. C. I. L., Vol. III, No. 42. of the lines in v. 8 :

“भी: श्रीमानव्यांशिष्ठितमिश्रितस्व: संवरदुश्चौदिमिकम्
बुधे-संप्रासिद्धिह: सपदि विमयितो मन्दरौभूय वेन ॥”
Maukharī forces had a troop of ponderous and mighty rutting elephants, which the king used in his battle against the Magadhan army under Kumāragupta. It is also related in the same inscription that the mighty army of the elephants of the Maukharis which formerly succeeded in throwing aloft in battle the troops of the Hūṇas, was broken up by Kumāragupta's son and successor king Dāmodaragupta who, however, himself fell in that battle. This description indicates that the Maukharī chiefs, presumably some of the predecessors of Īśānavarman, with their elephant troops had often to confront the Hūṇa armies and had on some occasions inflicted on them crushing defeat. It seems to us that the king of Magadha was successful in the first battle against Īśānavarman, but his son met defeat at the hands of the Maukharī army in the second. The victory over Dāmodaragupta may have been scored either by Īśānavarman himself or by his son Śarvvavarman. Anyhow the Maukharī family was gradually gaining supremacy in Magadha too. We have seen above that Īśānavarman was succeeded on the throne by his son Śarvvavarman, who is also styled in the Asirgadh seal inscription a paramount sovereign bearing the imperial title mahārājādhirāja. This Maukharī king was one of the "previous" rulers, who had one after another confirmed the grant of a village to a sun-god under the name of
Varuṇasvāmin, the continuance of which was recorded on a pillar, by means of a royal charter\textsuperscript{23} of king Jīvitagupta II, of the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha.

There is numismatic evidence of the political supremacy, wielded in Eastern India at least by the three Maukhari kings, Īśānavarman, Śarvvavarman and Avantivarman. A hoard of coins, belonging to the reign of these kings (9, 6 and 17 in number respectively), was discovered in the Fyzabad district.\textsuperscript{24} According to Rapson,\textsuperscript{25} one of Śarvvavarman’s coins bore a date-figure representing 58 and some of his father Īśānavarman’s the figures 54 and 55. Burn read on a coin of Avantivarman 57 (or 67), and on another 250, a date believed to have belonged to the Gupta era. It is however probable, that a Maukhari era was started about A.D. 499-500 in imitation of the Gupta era, from the time when Īśvaravarman began to establish supremacy over kings of distant lands, by means of his conquests.

A second son of Īśānavarman, of the name of Sūryyavarman is found mentioned in the Haraha inscription whence it is learnt that this prince was in the enjoyment of full youth in A. D. 554 when his

\textsuperscript{23} \textit{Ibid.} No. 46.
\textsuperscript{25} \textit{Indian coins}, p. 257.
\textsuperscript{26} \textit{J.R.A.S.} 1906, pt. II, pp. 843.
notice was attracted, while he was out a-hunting, by the dilapidated condition of the old temple of Siva, which he caused to be reconstructed. There is as yet no epigraphic or numismatic document to indicate that this Sūryyavarman was ever a reigning monarch in the Maukhari list. Pandit Hirananda Sastri\textsuperscript{27} thinks that this prince, either predeceased his father in case he was the eldest son, or was a prince younger than the heir-apparent (Śarvva). Dr. Raychaudhuri\textsuperscript{28} has drawn the attention of scholars to a prince of the name of Sūryyavarman, who is described in the Sirpur stone inscription of Mahāśivagupta as "born in the unblemished family of the Varmans, great on account of their ādhipatyā (supremacy) over Magadha". This, however, contains information of the birth only of this prince in the Varman family and not of his position. If, this Varman family is taken to refer to the Maukharī dynasty and Sūryya is identified with the Maukhari prince of that name mentioned in the Haraha inscription, even then we cannot be sure that Sūryyavarman ever ruled as a king having political jurisdiction anywhere. If the identifications are correct, it may be thought that the Maukhari Varmans took possession, though temporarily, of Magadha, which they probably succeeded in occupying after

\textsuperscript{27} E. I., Vol. XIV. p. 111.

\textsuperscript{28} Op. Cit., p. 605, fn. 5.
Dāmodaragupta’s defeat by the Maukhari king. This view may find support from the discovery of some seals containing the name of Īśānavarman at Nalanda in South Magadha.

The Nalanda Seal of Avantivarman\(^\text{29}\) has now proved that Šarvvavarman the last king in the Maukhari list, obtained from the Asirgadh seal, was succeeded by his son Mahārājādhirāja Avantivarman. The latter is mentioned as paramēśvara in the Deobaranark inscription and as one of the early kings who had confined the grant of the village to the Sun-god referred to above.

From the fact that Avantivarman’s eldest son Grahavarman, the famous Maukhari king and son-in-law of king Prabhākaravardhana of Sthānviśvara (Thaneswar), was ruling from Kanauj before A.D. 606, the year of Harshavardhana’s ascension to the Vardhana throne, it appears that Avantivarman had removed his seat of government a little westward to the famous city of Kanauj. The rising political power of the Vardhana house of Pushpabhūti was responsible for a matrimonial union between itself and the famous Maukhari lineage. The manner in which Bāṇa\(^\text{30}\) has described the settlement and actual celebration of the marriage, performed at Thaneswar between Avantivarman’s son Grahavarman, and Prabhākaravardhana’s

\(^{29}\) E.I., Vol. XXIV pp. 283ff.

\(^{30}\) Harshacharita, Chap. IV.
daughter Rājyaśrī, clearly indicates that the bridegroom’s father was not alive at the time of his son’s wedding, and therefore Grahavarman himself sought the hand of the Vardhana princess, through an ambassador, and the marriage party arrived at the bride’s father’s court without any guardian to look after the affairs.

This matrimonial alliance between the two royal families enraged the Mālava king, once so friendly towards the Vardhana house, because the Mālavas and the Maukharis had all along been hostile to one another. Hence the Mālava house entered into a fresh alliance with the Gauḍa king, against the two newly allied powers, the Vardhanas and the Maukharis. We are told by Bāṇa[31] that afterwards the Mālava king, probably Devagupta by name, having taken immediate advantage of the death of king Prabhākaravardhana, marched against and put to death king Grahavarman, and treated his queen Rājyaśrī like a brigand’s wife. The villain put her in iron chains, cast her into prison at Kānyakubja, and “deeming the army of Thaneswar leaderless purposed to invade and seize that country as well.” What followed next forms the subject of a subsequent chapter. During the raid on the city by the Gauḍas, a Gupta nobleman

31. *Ibid*, Chap. VI, Cf. the passage:

"किंवद्वस्ती स यथा किञ्जनाथरं साधरं मला विद्युच्छः सुदर्शनिरितामचि मुर्मालिगामिषौति विश्वापिति प्रमुः प्रमवतीति।"
captured Kanauj, and helped Rājyaśrī in escaping from prison, and in entering with her attendants into the Vindhya forests, whence her brother Harshavardhana, with great difficulty, rescued her later on. Harsha probably assumed sovereignty over a realm, which included the Maukhari kingdom of Kanauj, where his sister's husband once ruled, and it is from the time of the rescue of his sister that he might have removed his capital from Thaneswar to Kanauj.

We hear of one Śrī Suva or Sucha, who, from his seal found at Nalanda\(^{32}\), is known to have succeeded his father Avantivarman. As the seal omits the name of Grahavarman, another son of Avantivarman, it appears that Avantivarman was not succeeded by Grahavarman, at least in Magadha. In other words, Śrī Suva became the imperial lord of Magadha, as his imperial titles would show, after his father. Another prince named Bhogavarman, perhaps belonging to the Maukhari dynasty, is also known from a Nepal inscription of Jayadeva II dated in H. E. 153 (=A.D. 759). This Maukhari Bhogavarman was the father of the Nepal king Jayadeva II's mother, Vatsadevi,\(^{32}\) who again was related to the Later Gupta lineage of Magadha,


33. *I. A.*, Vol. IX, pp. 178 ff (Bhagwanlal's Inscription No. 15), cf the line "“इंद्रि बान्धवान्यं मौखिरिक्ष—”"
being the *dauhitrī* (daughter’s daughter) of the “great” Ādityasena, the lord of Magadha. So, like Grahavarman marrying the daughter of the Vardhana king, Bhogavarman also contracted matrimonial relation with the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha, and became the son-in-law of Ādityasena. He was thus later by almost two generations than Harsha’s time. The *Maṇjuśrīmūlakalpa* however, gives a hint that the Maukharis lost their kingdom and royal rank after the time of “Graha-Suvra.” Graha may have stood for Grahavarman, and it is not unlikely, as Prof. Kalyan Kumar Das Gupta suggests, that Suvra of the *Maṇjuśrīmūlakalpa* may be identical with Suva of the Nalanda seal. It will be shown elsewhere that Śūrasena was probably the name of the husband of Bhogadevī, the mother of Bhogavarman. If that is a correct conjecture, Śūrasena was a Maukhari prince, perhaps ruling nominally at Kanauj after Harsha’s death.

34. *Vide* Chap. 53, p. 626, cf. the lines,—“‘दैवाल-मर्य-पक्किष्ठ रक्षा-मुन तथा परः ॥ तत्तथे उत्तरात्मा महासयंद्र वर्षदः’”

35. Also *vide* I, A., X, pp, 34 ff.
CHAPTER VI

THE LATER GUPTAS OF MAGADHA

In the present chapter will be described the history of another eastern dynasty of rulers, usually called by scholars "The Later Guptas of Magadha" comprising eleven members, who mostly wielded political power as local rulers of Magadha, during a period of about two hundred and fifty years, from the early part of the sixth century A.D. to the middle of the eighth. It is very likely that after the extinction of the line of the imperial Guptas ruling in Magadha i.e. after the death of Vishṇugupta, Kṛishṇagupta, the founder of the new dynasty, at that time a local chief, found an opportunity to assert his supremacy in Magadha. At this time the other parts of the imperial Gupta empire in Eastern India, including Tirhut and Puṇḍravardhana, were still under the direct administration of the latest imperial Gupta emperors. In the foregoing chapter it has been stated, that the first three Maulkari chiefs held feudatory position during the period of decline of the Gupta kings of the imperial main line in the first part of the sixth century A.D., when the empire passed through troublous times, on account of fresh Hūṇa inroads, as well as the threatening rise of the Mālava chief, Yaśodharman. The gradual weakening of the
Gupta power made their feudatories in the different parts of the country cherish a feeling of rivalry and hostility among themselves, through their desire for political supremacy. It was during such a time that the first two or three members of this family of the Later Guptas were struggling to extend their ruling authority.

The Apshad inscription¹ of Ādityasena gives a genealogy of these Gupta rulers for eight generations, from Kṛishṇagupta to Ādityasena; and the Deo-Baranark inscription² of Jīvitagupta II supplies us with names from the seventh ruler Mādhavagupta to the eleventh generation hitherto known. In the first epigraph the first nṛpa Kṛishṇagupta is described as being victorious over countless enemies, by crushing whom he rose to eminence. It may be supposed that these enemies were the princes of the neighbouring states who made efforts to assert their own power over one another. His army had a vast troop of elephants and he was attended by men of learning. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri³ is inclined to think that Yaśodharman was one of his enemies. His son, the next king Harshagupta, was a valiant warrior who offered a great resistance in terrible battles to those of his enemies, who foolishly

2. Ibid, No. 46, pp. 213 ff.
refused to tolerate the goddess of Royalty favouring him. This fact clearly indicates that the power of the new Magadhan house was gradually growing. This chief had a record of glorious triumph in many battles. After him ruled his son, king Jīvitagupta I, the crest-jewel amongst kings (Kṣitiṣa-chūḍāmaniḥ), who was a terror to his proud enemies. He performed warlike exploits, some of which were of such a superhuman character (atimānushaṁ karma), that for a long time they were regarded with astonishment by all mankind. Historical significance may be attributed to court-poet's description that this king's valour caused "terrible scorching fever (of fear)" to his great (uchchaiḥ) enemies, which the latter could not shake off even though they lived on the cool sea-shores or in the Himalayan regions. Very probably we shall have to identify these enemies living on the seashores with the Gaudas and the Vaṅgas of the period, and the Himalayan enemies with the people of Nepal under one of the Lichchhavi rulers. It has been related above, that the Gauda peoples were forced by the Maukhari Īśānavarman, in the middle of the sixth century, to quit their homes and seek shelter near the sea-shores. The Later Guptas probably succeeded in extending their political influence and jurisdiction over some portions of Bengal, specially towards the east and the south of Magadha. It
has been noticed before, that the army of the great Maukharı king Īśānavarman, at one time led a conquering expedition in all directions, was defeated in action by Jīvitagupta's son and successor Kumāragupta whose military strength and leadership in battle were well-known, and who always thought that no attainment of suzerain power was possible, without keeping the growth of Maukharı supremacy in check. It may reasonably be argued that these kings tried to establish a North Indian empire on the model of the Imperial Guptas. A sad occurrence is clearly hinted in the Apshad inscription regarding Kumāragupta, who entered into a fire “kindled with dry cow-dung cakes” after having gone to Prayāga (Allahabad). Was it a case of self-immolation as a sacred rite, just like the one performed by king Śūdraka, the alleged author of the Sanskrit drama Mrīchchhākaṭīka, who embraced death by leaping into a sacrificial fire? Or, was it a natural death that he died at Prayāga, where only the usual funeral rites were performed? It may not seem improbable that the king advanced towards Allahabad from Magadha in order to meet the army of the Maukharis.

The fifth king of the dynasty was Dāmodaragupta, son of Kumāragupta. He is reputed to have

4. Such death in fire or water was not rare in India. King Rāmapāla of Bengal, for instance, died by a dive into the waters of the Ganges.
split the heavy Maukhari army consisting largely of an array of mighty elephants, which had formerly kept at bay the Hūṇas; but unfortunately he himself fell\(^5\) in the battle. One of the most remarkable benefactions of this king was that he helped hundreds of virtuous Brāhmaṇas in giving away their daughters in marriage, by himself presenting rich dowries of agrahāra grants. After Dāmodaragupta’s defeat, there was cessation of hostility for some time between these two conflicting eastern powers.

But at this time the Magadhan house had to reckon with a rising eastern power, namely the Varman kings of Kāmarūpa. Dāmodaragupta’s illustrious son Mahāsenagupta, described as “the foremost amongst warriors who acquired in all assemblages of heroes”, a reputation of first rank for heroism, achieved a glorious victory in war over Susthitavarman. The court-poet\(^6\) graphically narrates in the epigraph, that the lofty fame marked by words of praise for this victory is “even to this day,” i. e. about half-a-century after the battle, constantly sung on the banks of the river Lauhitya (the Brahmaputra). It seems very curious, that following a genuine mistake, committed by the late


6. “मृत्युस्मातः-स्रिमत्वम्-सन्त्राचः-विजयः-नां-पदाधः मुँहेर्यंक्षरायापि…”कवित्तकस्तः तत्थते…”कौत यथे गीते ||”
Dr. Fleet, when he took Susthitavarman to be a member of the Maukhari dynasty, long before the discovery in 1913 of the Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman, king of Kāmarūpa, some of our Indian colleagues have endorsed the same view. But the clear mention, in the inscription, of the name of the river Lohitya or Lauhitya, should have set at rest any doubt about the identity of the king, who must be taken as the father of Bhāskaravarman mentioned both in the Harshacharita of Bāṇa and the Nidhanpur copper-plate grant. It is, therefore, apparent that there was no friendly political relation between the Magadhan Guptas and the Varmans of Kāmarūpa. There was, on the other hand, a very cordial association between the Varmans of Kāmarūpa and the Vardhana family of Thaneswar. From the Sonpat seal inscription, as well as the Banskhera and Madhuvana copper-plates of Harshavardhana, we find that the name of the mother of Prabhākaravardhana, the first paramount sovereign of Thaneswar, was Mahāsenaguptā, who was married to mahārāja Ādityavardhana. It seems

7. e.g. Dr. R. K. Mookerji in his Harsha, p. 65.
8. Vide Parab’s edition of the Book, p. 220, where the name is wrongly spelt as Susthiravarman.
quite likely that she was a sister of king Mahāsena-gupta of Magadha, and thus it may be believed that the Vardhana and the (Magadhan) Gupta dynasties entered into matrimonial connection with each other. Hence it was not unnatural for Mahāsena-gupta’s son Mādhavagupta, who was Prabhā-karavardhana’s maternal cousin, to have approached Harshavardhana (mentioned as Harshadeva in the Apshad inscription) for alliance. The good traits of Mādhavagupta’s character are fully dwelt upon in that epigraph. It is stated there that besides “finding pleasure only in prowess,” this king was “the leader of those who acquire renown in war, a very store-house of goodness, the best of those who excel in the collection and bestowal of riches, the natural home of wealth, truth and learning, and a firm bridge of religion.” The sphere of his political influence was extensive, and when he was successful in killing his foes and averting danger to his kingdom, his own people did him obeisance out of gratefulness. The most significant incident of his reign was his approach to Harsha, who was then attaining lord-paramountcy in the whole of Northern India, for alliance. This he did, after having uprooted his enemies by fighting them in battle, certainly with a view to strengthen his dominance in Eastern India. His idea of becoming an ally of Harsha is referred to in the inscription thus: the hero (Mādhavagupta) having determined
in his mind that "his mighty enemies have been slain" by him "in battle" and that "there remained nothing more" for him "to do," desired to enter into an alliance with Harsha. It is not clear who these enemies of Mādhavagupta were. In all probability they were the kings of the eastern countries, including Kāmarūpa, of which the king (Susthitavarman) had already been defeated in battle by his father Mahāsenagupta. It does not seem quite proper to assume that Mādhavagupta became a subordinate ally of the Vardhana house; his position rather was very high and independent in Magadha. This view may explain correctly why his son Ādityasena, perhaps the most prominent member of the Later Gupta dynasty, was successful, after the usurpation of the Vardhana throne by Arjuna, a minister of Harsha, and his defeat by a Chinese envoy, helped by the armies of Tibet and Nepal, shortly after the emperor's death in A.D. 647, in asserting his independence as a paramount sovereign. His father's position was already high and he himself made his own higher. The way in which the military capacity of this king is described, in eight verses (unfortunately in mutilated condition) in his own stone-inscription leaves do doubt, that during the period of confusion and anarchy in Northern India immediately after the death of Harsha, this Magadhan ruler succeeded in bringing other states under his
own royal subjection. The epithet applied to Ādityasena as “guardian of the world, by whose white umbrella the whole circuit of the earth is covered” (śvetātapatraṣṭhagita-vasumatī-maṇḍalo Lokapālaḥ), may be taken in its literal sense in this connection. The other epithet which suggests that “the darting fire of the prowess of (his) feet has the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of all (other) kings thrown into it” (nyastātesha - narendra - mauli - charaṇa - sphāra - pratāpā - nalāḥ) is not less significant. There is no doubt that his kingdom comprised some eastern countries, including those on the sea-shore. His fame as an imperial sovereign crossed over even to the other side of the ocean (yātā - sāgarapāram).

There is an inscription in the Vaiḍyanātha temple, most probably brought away from some building on the Mandara Hill in the old Aṅga country, which records the installation of the image of the god Nṛihari (Man-lion incarnation of Vishṇu) in a temple, which king Ādityasena with his queen Śrī-koṇadevi (apparently wrongly deciphered as Koshadevi by Fleet), caused to be erected on that hill. Here an image was also set up of Varāha (the Boar-incarnation of Vishṇu), by a person named Balabhada, who might have belonged to a much later age, when gold coins were called by the name of chāmikara-ṭaṅkaka. But

what is of great historical importance in this epigraph is the description of king Ādityasena, who is stated to have been “a ruler of the (whole) earth upto shores of oceans”, and “the performer of āsvamedha and other great sacrifices”. The Apshad (Gayā district), the Shahpur (Patna district) and the Mandar (Bhagalpur District) inscriptions show that mahārājādhirāja Ādityasena’s kingdom consisted not only of Magadha but also of Aṅga. But we must remember that neither Mādhavagupta nor Ādityasena could live in Pāṭaliputra, for we learn from Hiuen Tsiang14 that there “now nothing but the old foundations remains.” The extension of his conquests towards the shores of the ocean suggests that Bengal, specially the southern Rāḍhā and Vaṅga might have come under his domination. That during the next three generations the Later Guptas continued to enjoy sovereign power, in this large kingdom as established by Ādityasena, and also in the valley of the Gomatī river (in Arrah and other districts), till the middle of the eighth century A. D., is clear from the Deo-Bāranark inscription,15 issued from the royal camp at Gomatī-koṭṭaka by Jīvitagupta II. In that inscription the next three kings after Ādityasena

are also found using the imperial titles of paramabhatṭāraka and mahārājādhirāja. We know of only one date, the year 66 (believed to be of the Harsha era) i.e. A. D. 672, that certainly belonged to the reign of Ādityasena, one of whose high military officers (balādhikṛita), named Sālapaksha, made a religious gift in the agrahāra of Nālandā, situated in the neighbourhood of Shahpur, the place of discovery of the inscription. The genealogy after Ādityasena runs down to three more kings, viz. Devagupta, his son Vishṇugupta and the latter’s son Jīvitagupta II, bearing the two imperial titles parma-bhaṭṭāraka and mahārājādhirāja; but they were all parama-māheśvara by religion. Some antiquarians regard this Magadhan Vishṇugupta as identical with the Vishṇugupta who bears the āditya title Chandrāditya in the coin. The Kendur plates refer to a king of Northern India having the epithet sakalottarāpatha-nātha, who, it is said, was defeated by the Chālukya kings, Vinayāditya (about A. D. 680-696) and Vijayāditya. It may be conjectured that this Northern Indian king was either Ādityasena himself, or his son Devagupta. During the last quarter of the seventh century A. D., the Later Gupta kings held undisputed sway not over Magadha alone, but

16. Ibid, No. 43.
also other parts of Northern India, as has been shown above. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri has pointed out that, from the records of the Western Chālukyas of Vātāpi, it could be easily inferred, that there existed a "pan-North Indian empire, in the last quarter of the seventh century A. D.", and that the last few Later Gupta kings probably attempted to carve out such an empire.

The Chinese traveller I-tsing referred to the Corean traveller, named Hwui Lun,19 coming to India by the sea-route, during the latter half of the seventh century, and writing in connection with a temple built by king Ādityasena near an old one in Mahābodhi thus: "Recently a king called Sun-army (Ādityasena), built by the side of the old temple another which is now newly finished. Priests from the south occupy this temple". He also wrote about another temple of which only the foundations remained when he visited it, called "the Tchina (China) temple", thus: "Tradition says that formerly a Mahārāja called Śrīgupta built this temple for the use of Chinese priests. He was prompted to do so by the arrival of about twenty priests of that country, who had travelled from Sz’chuen to the Mahābodhi temple to pay their worship. Being

impressed by their pious demeanour, he gave them the land and the revenues of about twenty villages as an endowment. This occurred some 500 years ago. The land has now reverted to the king of Eastern India, whose name is Devavarman, but he is said to be willing to give back the temple-land and the endowment in case any priests came from China”. From this historically accurate description it is clear, that this king Devavarman, whom the contemporary Corean pilgrim found ruling in Eastern India, and possessing the right of disposal of land in Mahābodhi, must be identified with Devagupta, son of Ādityasena of the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha. Dr. R. C. Majumdar’s identification of this king with Devakhaḍga of Eastern Bengal seems to be unwarranted although the two kings, Devavarman (alias Devagupta) of Magadha and Devakhaḍga of East Bengal might have been contemporary or nearly so.

It appears clear from the description of the Prakrit epic, the Gaūḍavaho ("the Slaughter of the king of Gauḍa") composed by Vākpatirāja, who flourished during the reign of king Yaśovarman of Kanauj, sometime in the middle of the eighth century, as a contemporary of the poet Bhavabhūti, that the Gauḍa king must also have been

Magaha-nāha (Lord of Magadha). Dr. Raychaudhuri’s conjecture, that the Later Gupta line of Magadha “was probably finally destroyed by the Gauḍas, who could never forgive Mādhava-gupta’s desertion of their cause”, is not quite convincing, because at the time Gauḍa and Magadha formed a single kingdom, and the same ruler was both Gauḍādhipa and Magdhanātha. It was this Gauḍa-Magadha king, in all probability the last ruler of the later Gupta line Jīvitagupta II, who is described in that Prakrit epic21 as fleeing from Magadha, leaving that country at the mercy of the victor, when the ambitious Yaśovarman approached towards him. The Eastern people of Gauḍa and Magadha compelled their sovereign to face the adventurer from Kanauj, but unfortunately the eastern Indian king fell a victim to his western enemy, who succeeded in overrunning the whole of Bengal and Bihar upto the sea-shore. Thus ended a great Eastern Indian empire, after having played a short-lived part in history. The anarchy that followed this event led to the gradual rise of the Pāla kings of Bengal, who ruled over an extensive Eastern empire for several centuries.

21. vv. 414-417 of the poem (Bombay Sanskrit Series) pp. 119-120.
CHAPTER VII

THE AMALGAMATED KINGDOM OF KARṇASUVARṆA AND PUṆḌRAVARDHANA UNDER GAUḌĀDHIPA ŚAŚĀṆKA

It has been suggested in a previous chapter, that during the sixth and the seventh centuries A.D. the Gauḍa kingdom had its capital at Karṇasuvărṇa, which scholars identify with Rāṅgāmāṭi, a place situated in Northern Rāḍhā and on the western bank of the river Bhāgīrathī, near Berhampur, and that it included within its boundaries Puṇḍra- vardhana-bhukti (North Bengal). Vaṅga-Samataṭa i.e. South and East Bengal remained, of course, a separate political entity. But in the eighth century and probably later, the term Gauḍādhipa meant that the ruler was not only the king of

1. Recently the Department of Archæology of the University of Calcutta under the leadership of Dr. S. R. Das conducted excavations at a mound locally called Rājabāḍī- dāṅga (palace-mound) in a village called Jadupur, near Chiruti Railway Station in Murshidabad, West Bengal. Among many antiquities and structural remains, a terracotta sealing containing an inscription ‘Śrī-Raktamṛittikāmahāvihāra’ has come to light. On the strength of the combined testimony of that inscription and Hiuen Tsang’s description of Rakta- mṛittikā-vihāra standing in the suburbs of the city of Karṇasuvarṇa, Dr. Das is inclined to identify Karṇasuvarṇa with Chiruti and its neighbourhood. Vide Monthly Notice of the Asiatic Society, July, 1963.
North and Central Bengal, but had also the appellation of Magadhanātha, Magadha forming a part of the Gauḍa kingdom at that time. In the present chapter will be described the history of the Gauḍa kingdom i.e. the amalgamated kingdom of Karṇasuvarga and Puṇḍravardhana under Šaśāṅka and Jayanāga.

The sources utilised for gathering the history of Šaśāṅka consist chiefly of:—(1) the accounts of the Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsiang (Yuan Chwang) as we find in his Records and Life, (2) the historical romance Harshacharita of king Harshavardhana’s court-poet Bāṇa, (3) some of the epigraphic and numismatic records of the times, and (4) the Bodhisattva-piṭakāvataṁsaka or Mañjuśrī-mulakalpa. The 53rd chapter (Paṭalavisara) of this last treatise contains interesting and important material for the ancient history of the various parts of India. The accounts of kings and people, given in this unique treatise of Mantric texts, are found recorded, just as we find in the Brāhmaṇic Purāṇas, in a prophetic manner, as if the events described would be happening in future. The names of kings are often mentioned in a very abbreviated form (e.g. Rakārādyā and Hakārākhaya kings standing for Rājyavardhana and Harshavardhana respectively), and sometimes given in synonyms instead of in their originals (e.g. Somākhya for Šaśāṅka),
After the gradual decadence of the glory of the Imperial Gupta dynasty, on account of the incessant inroads of the White Hūṇas upon the empire, and its complete overthrow by Yaśodharman of Mālava, towards the middle of the sixth century A.D., the imperial title of a universal sovereign (samrāṭ) was assumed by that ambitious prince, after he had successfully usurped all the Gupta provinces and Hūṇa territories, and declared himself independent emperor of Northern India. This fact has already been referred to in a previous chapter in the exalting words of his own court-poet (Vāsula). After the unknown end of this monarch, the empire of Northern India, which he tried to consolidate, again broke up into several parts, each becoming independent with their respective rulers. So the Vardhana family of Sthāṇviśvara (Thaneswar), the Maukharis of Ayodhyā and Kanauj, the Later Guptas of Magadha and the people of Gauḍa gradually increased their power, and prepared themselves for entering into a contest for paramount supremacy in Northern India. The kings of Mālava in the south-west and Kāmarūpa (Assam) in the extreme east were not also sitting idle at the time as mere on-lookers.

All rulers of the Vardhana and Maukhari dynasties before Prabhākaravardhana and Īśāna-varman respectively used the title of mahārāja, implying that they were simply local chiefs (whether
or not they owed any allegiance to any liege-lord); and it is these two kings who first used the paramount title of mahārājādhirāja. They were making conquest of neighbouring and distant lands, and by defeating the rulers of those places were trying to bring them under their own vassalage. During the latter half of the sixth century A.D. we find the kings of these various dynasties entering into battle against each other. King Kumāragupta of the Later Gupta family fought a battle against the Maukhari king Īśānavarman, whose army he completely routed. A little later his son, Dāmodaragupta also had to fight against a Maukhari ruler, but he died on the battle-field. Still later, we find another conflict between Mahāsenagupta (son of Dāmodaragupta) of Magadha and a Kāmarūpa king named Susthitavarman (father of Bhāskaravarmān), in which the latter sustained a heavy defeat. We also know from the famous Apshad Stone Inscription of Ādityasena that this Mahāsenagupta's son Mādhavagupta made an alliance with Harshavardhana of Thaneswar, probably to fortify himself against his Kāmarūpa and other eastern enemies. It appears very probable that since the time when Īśānavarman, during a clash with Kumāragupta of Magadha, proceeded, as we learn from the Haraha inscription of this king dated A. D. 554, up to North Bengal (Gauḍa proper), and compelled the Gauḍa people
to find escape towards the sea wiping off the future hope regarding their landed properties \(Krítvā \ ch = āyati - mochita - sthalabhuvo Gauḍān samudrābrayān), the Bengali people lost their previous hold over North Bengal; and the Bengal kings reigning in the latter part of the sixth century did not wield much political influence there. All such influence that we find to have ever been exercised by mahārājādhirājas Dharmāditya, Gopachandra and Samāchāradeva was confined mostly to East, South and Central parts of Bengal (i.e. Samataṭa, Karṇasuvarṇa, etc.) and was scarcely felt in North Bengal (Punḍravaradhana). It was at a time, when a race was thus being run by the chief ruling houses in Northern and Eastern Indian provinces, for achieving paramount suzerainty, that Śaśāṅka, mentioned by Yuan Chwang as the king of Karṇasuvarṇa in Eastern India, extended his political jurisdiction by occupying North Bengal, and later assumed the lofty title of Gauḍādhipa. Harshacharita tells us that during this time (about the last quarter of the sixth century A. D.) Prabhākaravardhana of Thaneswar also made extensive conquests in all directions, by fighting successfully against the Hūṇas, and also the kings of Sindhu, Gurjara, Gāndhāra, Lāṭa and Mālava. Bāṇabhaṭṭa informs us that Prabhākara once entrusted to his eldest son, the crown-prince Rājyavardhana, then 18
years old, an expedition, in company of his hereditary ministers and loyal feudatories against the Hūṇas. In describing the setting of the sun and rising of the moon on that terrible day on which, on arrival at the royal court, Rājya met his younger brother Harsha, then aged only about 15 years, and learnt of the untimely death of the monarch and their mother, Bāṇa makes an allusion to the gradual rise into eminence of king Śaśāṇka’s maṇḍala (or circle of political jurisdiction). Nowhere in the whole of this book has Bāṇa made a clear mention of the name of the Gauḍādhipa, who was an inveterate enemy of his patron king’s family, except in the following sentence where, like the rise of the moon, the rise into political prominence of Śaśāṇka, the king of Gauḍa, has been noted, though in a veiled manner, in a few words involved in puns. The passage runs thus—

“प्रकटकःकःमुद्यमानम्...अकाशताकाशे शशाङ्कममङ्गलम्।” (Chap. VI).

“The rising political circle or sphere of (king) Śaśāṇka was attaining prominence in the (political) horizon (of India), but with its infamy manifested (before the world)”. There is a sly hint in many passages of Harshacharita, that the political power of this Bengal king could not be steady, as he could not attain greatness because of his mean
character and cowardice. Bāṇa emphatically, but in a covert way, gives the cause of the unsteady nature of Śaśāṅka's royalty which, according to him, was "not to last in its perfect fullness for more than two days", like the beauty of the moon in the sky. He says—

"कातरस्य तु शशिन द्रव हरिणहवयस्य नागर्प्रत्यय
कुतो द्विरात्रमपि निश्चला रक्ष्मी।"

(Chap. VI)

So Śaśāṅka is here described as possessing "as timid a heart as that of a deer" and also being insincere, though outwardly honest and pure.

Who this Gauḍādhipa Śaśāṅka was is a puzzling question to historians. Yuan Chwang has described Śaśāṅka as the "recent" king of Karṇasuvaraṇa. A commentator of Harshacharita has also given the Gauḍādhipa the same name, but the late Dr. Bühler mentioned (in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. I, p. 70) that in one manuscript of Harsha-charita the name of the Gauḍa king is stated as Narendragupta. Fitz-Edward Hall expressed his opinion that the king was a descendant of the Gupta family (whether Imperial, or Later, not being of course mentioned). The second of the three gold coins (the first being undoubtedly of Śaśāṅka), discovered in 1852, along with several others belonging to some of the Imperial Gupta rulers, in a village in the district of Jessore, bears
the legend, *Narendravinata*, inscribed on its reverse side. According to Allan, this coin also belongs to Śaśāṅka. The late Dr. N. K. Bhattasali read on the obverse of this coin the name Samāchārādeva, on the strength of which, as well as the bull-emblem used therein, he felt inclined to connect Śaśāṅka with the family of Samāchārādeva of East Bengal. The late Prof. R. D. Banerji, however, tried to prove with somewhat greater force of argument based on numismatic evidence, that Śaśāṅka’s second name was Narendragupta, and he thought that he was probably either a son or nephew (brother’s son) of King Mahāsenagupta of the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha. Dr. R. K. Mookerji went a step further, and accounted for Śaśāṅka’s combination against Rājya with the king of Mālava, by saying that he had blood-relationship with the latter, both being of the Gupta lineage. R. D. Banerji also referred to the opinion of some numismatist, who held that the inscription on the alleged Śaśāṅka coins reads Narendraditya; and he inferred, with some degree of probability, that Śaśāṅka, like the former imperial Gupta rulers enjoyed a second name with an āditya title. I have in this connection to offer a suggestion that the compound word “*durnarendra* = ābhībhava-roshītah”, meaning “enraged by the humiliation offered by that wicked Narendra”, used by Bāṇa as an adjective to Harshavardhana, refers under the garb of a
pun to Śaśāṅka. The allusion involved in the epithet had been used by the poet, when he described Harsha as having flown into a terrific rage, on hearing of the treacherous murder of his elder brother Rājayavardhana by the Gauḍa king. He compares Harsha with a snake (āśīvaisāḥ) who is also “durṇarendrābhībhavāroshitaḥ” i.e. whose anger has been excited by the repulse of a snake-charmer (Narendra). In the case of Harsha the word Narendra may mean either simply a ‘king’ or ‘a person of that name’, but in either case it refers to King Śaśāṅka. It will not be out of place here, if we try to connect Śaśāṅka with another king of Karnāsuvarṇa, named Jayanāga, whose Vappaghoshavāṭa inscription was published by the late Dr. Barnett. In this epigraph, written in characters of the well-formed upright Gupta type, prevailing in the latter half of the sixth century A. D., the king is described as possessing the epithets Mahārājādhirāja and Paramabhāgavata. The seal of this plate contains in an effaced condition the standing figure Lakshmi or Śrī with two elephants making Kumbhābhīsheka. As Dr. Barnett remarks, we know nothing of any king of the name of

Jayanāga from other sources. But in the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa we find a clear mention not only of a Gauḍa king of the name of Jayanāga ruling at such a time, but also the name of a city called Udumbara (Māgadhām janapadām prāpya pure Udumbarāhvaye), probably wrongly located here in Magadha (some portion of which might have also been included in the Gauḍa kingdom), which is mentioned in this copper-plate grant as being the name of a vishaya of which the administrator was Jayanāga's sāmanta called Nārāyaṇabhadra. A verse in the Buddhist book runs thus:—

"नागराजसमाह्यो गौडराजा भविष्यति ।
अन्ते तत्य नूपे तिछ्ये जयाव्या चर्णतथ्यो ॥"

The author, as it appears from the loose Sanskrit of the book, means to declare in the usual prophetic strain, that there will be a Gauḍa king, whose name will commence with the syllables "Jaya" and end in "Naga." It is clear then that Jayanāga, who is referred to in the above inscription as ruling in Karnasuvarna is described as a Gauḍa king in this Buddhist treatise, just as Śaśāṅka is mentioned by the Chinese traveller as king of Karnasuvarna, but at the same time described both by Bāṇa and the author of this Buddhist work as a king of Gauḍa. We may now plausibly identify those coins (as was suggested to Dr. Barnett by Mr. Allan), which resemble to a very great extent those of Śaśāṅka, but
bear the abbreviated name Jaya on the obverse, and a seated Lakshmi with an elephant sprinkling water on her on the reverse, as belonging to king Jayanāga of this inscription and the Buddhist work. The Mañjuśrimulakalpa makes Jayanāga almost a successor of Śaśāṅka, but in our opinion he and his son (stated to have reigned for a few months only) preceded Śaśāṅka as kings of Karṇasuvarṇa, at a time when Prabhākarvardhana or his father Ādityavardhana was ruling as a king of Thaneswar (See Supra, p. 164 f.n. 2). The Maukhari king Īsānavarman probably drove the Gauḍa people towards the seaside during Jayanāga’s reign. It cannot be stated definitely that Śaśāṅka had no blood-relationship with this Jayanāga of Central Bengal, and used only an āditya title, viz. Narendrāditya in the manner of the ancient Imperial Gupta monarchs. But this can only be more positively proved to be an historical fact by further discoveries, for which we must wait. Śaśāṅka might have been a Gupta or a Nāga, or neither of the two. It is not easy to ascertain or even to suggest the place of the original home of Śaśāṅka—the only correct view seems to be that he was an inhabitant of Bengal in the sixth-seventh century A.D.

Let us now examine how far Śaśāṅka succeeded in extending the sphere of his political influence. Though he had his first administrative centre established in Karṇasuvarṇa, he gradually extended his
power by occupation of Puṇḍravardhana in the north, and some places in South Bihar e.g. Gayā, Rohitāśvagiri (or Rhotas hill) even up to Benares in the west, and the whole country, in the south including Midnapur, up to Koṅgoda province, situated in the modern Ganjam district, south of Orissa.

The Doobi copper-plate of Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa, the son of king Susthitavarman bears a very important, though peculiar, historical information that the two princely sons of the latter viz. Supratishthitavarman and his younger brother Bhāskaravarman were invaded by a Gauḍa king and made captive by the latter who might have carried them both to Bengal and later on released. Scholars differ regarding the identity of this Gauḍa king. Some probably erroneously consider him to be Mahāsenagupta of the Later Gupta dynasty (though he is never known from any evidence to have ever been a Gauḍa monarch, or a conqueror of the Gauḍa kingdom). Others think more cogently that the Gauḍa King might have been Śaśāṅka him-

3. R. D. Banerji writes in his History of Orissa, Vol. I, p. 127, that “certain ruins associated with the name of Śaśāṅka in the Midnapur district tend to show that Śaśāṅka’s dominions extended from the Northern part of Murshidabad district to that of Balasore.”

self. If, however, the latter identification ever proves true, then we should accept the view that Śaśāṅka invaded Kāmarūpa, before, of course, Bhāskaravarman had entered into close alliance with Harsha. In that case we may infer that this alliance between the Kāmarūpa and and the Vardhana families owed its origin to Śaśāṅka’s earlier invasion of Kāmarūpa whose king Bhāskaravarman wanted to strengthen his own military power to be used against the Bengal King, Śaśāṅka, with the more helpful and mightier force of arms of Harsha. It may only be remarked in this connection that Harsha proceeded towards Bengal against the Gauḍa king, Śaśāṅka in A. D. 606.

Some important historical information has since been obtained by the publication by Dr. R. C. Majumdar of the two Midnapore copper-plates of king Śaśāṅka’s time containing some date-figures of which no definite reading could be deciphered and ascertained. Dr. Majumdar provisionally read the year figure in plate I as 309 or only 19, and he opined that if the reading be really 309 it may be referred to the Gupta era and the number therefore, becomes equivalent to A. D. 628-29. He also remarked that if the figure be read 19 only, it may be taken as the 19th regnal year of Śaśāṅka. Again the figure in plate II is taken by Dr. Majumdar as

8 Samvat, which may have recorded the 8th regnal year of Śaśāṅka. So according to such an assumption there is a difference of 11 years between the time of plate II and of plate I. We must not forget in this connection the date A. D. 619 of the Ganjam copper-plate. If, however, we take the date in Midnapore plate I as 309 G. E. (= A.D. 628-29) we have to assume wrongly that the Orissa region was conquered by Śaśāṅka first in A. D. 619 and the Midnapore region in A. D. 628-29. This will seem absurd, because Śaśāṅka must not have left the Midnapore region unconquered before proceeding towards South Orissa. Hence it is more probable that Śaśāṅka made his conquest before his 8th and 19th regnal year of his reigning period, and these years might have fallen between A. D. 594 and 605, i.e. before Harsha's succession to the Vardhana throne after Rājyavardhana's death. During this time Śaśāṅka was already a great ruler in the east (Śrī-Śaśāṅko mahīṁ pāti chaturjñaladhi-mekhalām) as mentioned in both the Midnapore plates. So it appears to be an historical fact that Śaśāṅka's supremacy as overlord extended throughout South Rādhā (i.e. the Midnapore region) reaching upto the Ganjam region in Southern Orissa.

But we must remember that at first Śaśāṅka was a feudal chief having the use of the title Mahāsāmanta only (used sometimes by smaller kings in place of the title Mahārāja), as is evidenced by the inscription
cut in reverse, found at the hill-fort of Rhotasgadh in the Shahabad district. It is a stone-mould or matrix for casting copper-seals in relief, meant to be attached to copper-plate charters. It bears the inscription Śrīmahāsāmanta-Śaśāṅkadevasya, the letters belonging to the 6th-7th century A.D. We are also told by the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa that the heroic king Soma (i.e. Śaśāṅka) will rule over the Gangetic valley up to Benares. This extension of his dominion and influence must have taken place before he came into conflict with king Harsha. Within about a decade after this conflict, i.e. in Gupta era 300, or A.D. 619 we find Śaśāṅka a powerful monarch enjoying an imperial rank, having feudal rulers acknowledging his suzerainty. For, we learn from the Ganjam copper-plate of Mahārāja-mahāsāmanta Mādhavarāja II, of the Śilodbhavakula, granting a village to a Brāhmaṇa, on the occasion of a solar eclipse in A.D. 619 (the charter having been issued from the seat of the provincial government in Koṅgoda on the river Śālimā), that he was the provincial ruler in that region under the suzerainty of Mahārājādhirāja Śaśāṅka, who was then ruling “on the earth encircled by the girdle of waves of the four oceans and containing islands, towns and ports.”

6. Cf. the phrases:—

“चतुर्दशिक्षार्थी-सिद्धांशज्ञानीनां दीपं-दग्नि-मन्नतनमां वर्षनचरामः मौसान्द्रे वर्ष-मन्नतनये वर्ल्मिकानि सदाराजाधिराज-दीपमाण्ड्रानि नामति” E. I., Vol. VI, p. 144.
Thus we see that Śaśāṅka was wielding great power as Gauḍādhhipa with right to the use of the epithet Mahāraja, at least, up to the year A. D. 619.

In his glorious days Prabhākaravarādhana of Thaneswar was able to keep the king of Mālava (probably Devagupta, and not Śilāditya of West Mālava as suggested by Dr. R. K. Mookerji) in check, and on one occasion compelled him to lend the services of his two sons, Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta, as companions of Rājya and Harsha, their other intimate companion being their maternal uncle’s son Bhaṇḍi. Owing to Prabhākara’s great political power, the Maukharis remained somewhat in submission to him for, we find him giving his daughter Rājyaśrī, in marriage with Avantivarman’s son, king Grahavarman, then ruling in Kuśasthala or Kānyakubja (Kanauj). But it appears that the Mālava king was not very obliging to Prabhākara and that he always harboured a spirit of rebellion. When Prabhākara died of fever and the news reached the ears of Śaśāṅka, he became anxious to enter into an alliance with the king of Mālava, in order to overthrow the kingdom of Thaneswar and, if possible, become the emperor of Uttarāpatha (Northern India). As soon as the news of

7. Cf. “संधिदृष्टः चविनिपत्तिकरत् प्रवमृद्वातां विधिः व दैवी वस्सवर्षां दुरास्माने मालवराजिन जीवलीकसामान: सुक्लेन सघ वाणिज्य:। भगुदिर्मिकायां प्रजाश्री: कालायासिनासुविनिलिङ्गसनां चौराङ्गा इव संयता काब्जकृत्य कारायां निषिद्ध।”

Harshacharita, Chap. VI.
Prabhākara's death spread, the Mālava king proceeded towards Kanauj, killed its king Grahavarman and threw his wife Rājyaśrī into a dungeon, putting iron fetters on her feet, as if she were a brigand's wife. Bāṇa further refers to the report that the Mālava king was planning an attack on Thaneswar also, for he thought that Prabhākara's demise had left the army of Thaneswar without a leader. On hearing of the disaster which had befallen his sister, Rājyavardhana placed Harsha in charge of the administration of the kingdom, and himself started, taking only Bhanḍi with him and a troop of ten thousand cavalry, to give battle to the Mālava king. Long after, a cavalry officer delivered to Harsha the message of the murder of his brother by the king of Gauḍa, who was no other than our Śaśāṅka. 

8. Cf. "तपासं इत्यानित्वं तमालवानीकमपि गौडाधिपेन मिथ्योपचारीपरिष्मितिविश्वसं
मुक्तभरस्मिन्किं विश्रवोः खंभव एव भातरं व्यापादितमग्रीवोः।"

Harshacharita, Chap. VI.

In the Banskhera (E.I., Vol. IV, pp. 208 ff) and the Madhuban copper plates (E.I., Vol. I, pp. 67 ff) of Harsha we have the following information—

"...परमसोगतः सुगत द्रव परशिलकरतः परमभदरक-सम्प्राराजाधिराज-श्रीराज्यश्रेणी—
राजानी सुपि दुष्टवाणिः द्रव श्रीदेवीकुमार्:
कल्पा वेन कल्पकारविमुखः सुखे सङ्गे संयथा।।
चन्द्राय विषयी विजय वसूलां कल्प प्रजानां दिन्य
प्राणार्थित्विनिवासस्तिभवनि सल्यार्थिपेन य: ||

तस्मातः...परमभदरक सम्प्राराजाधिराज—श्रीहरः..."
This messenger told Harsha that his brother (Rājyavardhana) had easily subdued the army of the Mālava king and that his trust had been increased by a show of false civilities by the Gauḍa king. Then unarmed and alone he had approached his enemy but had been slain by the king of Gauḍa in his own camp. We shall now examine whether Śaśāṅka did really assassinate Rājyavardhana 'treacherously.' Bāṇa has very cleverly avoided giving a clear account of the reason for Rājya's acceptance of an invitation for going to the camp of such a powerful adversary as Śaśāṅka. It has been stated before that the Bengal king combined with the Mālava king after Prabhākara's death, and the first fruit of this political alliance was the death of Grahavarman caused by the Mālava king. It is more likely that the alliance of these two kings took place after the death of Grahavarman. After this Rājya and Bhaṇḍi marched against, defeated and captured the Mālava king. It is not clear from Bāṇa's description whether the Mālava king was killed by them in action. On the presumption that the Mālava king's alliance with Śaśāṅka took place after the death of Grahavarman, it may be suggested that the Bengal king, after such an alliance, left Bengal and laid siege to the Maukhari capital Kanauj, and in that connection committed the foul murder of Grahavarman's brother-in-law, king Rājyavardhana, who had only recently succeeded
to the throne of Thaneswar, and was thinking of annexing more dominions to his already extensive hereditary kingdom. It seems that this murder of Rājya took place in or near Kanauj. Bāṇa says that a raid was made by the Gauḍa king and his followers on Kuśasthala or Kanauj. At this time Rājyaśrī, who had been kept enchained in the dungeon of her own capital by the Mālava king, was rescued by a Gupta nobleman, who seems to have been a kind-hearted person, though a partisan of the Mālava or the Gauḍa king. Or it may be that this Gupta kulaputra was a friend of the Maukhari family. After her release Rājyaśrī heard of her brother’s murder and then fled away towards some forests in the Vindhya ranges spreading here and there in the Madhya Pradesh. The Mālava king occupied the town of Kanauj after killing Grahavarman, and kept close vigilance on the ex-queen, but he was made to leave the city by the forces of Rājya and Bhaṇḍi. In the meantime, Śaśāṅka proceeded towards Kanauj, either to join the Mālava king on the way or to wrest the kingdom from the hands of Rājya who was now in charge of his sister’s kingdom. We have remarked before that Bāṇabhaṭṭa did not clearly state why Rājya accepted the invitation of Śaśāṅka for coming over to his camp. It is quite clear from Bāṇa’s record that Bhaṇḍi was not
with Rājya, when the latter was invited by Śaśānka. Bhāndi had already been sent back by Rājya⁹ to Thaneswar with all the booty, including the whole force and royal equipage of the Mālava king. On his being asked by Harsha,¹⁰ Bhāndi related later on that he had only heard from people of Rājyaśrī’s rescue and flight towards the Vindhyā forest. Elsewhere also¹¹ it is narrated, that during the raid by the Gauḍa king either on Kanauj or on a kingdom near about it, she was rescued by a nobleman named Gupta. We agree with the late R. P. Chanda¹²

9. Cf. “पशुतु देव: श्रीराज्यवईनमुहुबल्लाण्ति खाण्डन सपाजिन्द्र राजवराजस्”।

Harshacharita, Chap. VII.

10. Cf. “समतत्ताते च विविधापि काली भाषाराशकलामाप्राणीत्। बधदायेक यथाद्” भवे। भद नरपतित्समुखः—राज्यीयवतिकरः कः। स पुनरवदैत्ते—देवमुखः गते देवे राजस्ववदनि गुरुनाथा च गोतिते कुलखले देवी राजश्रीः परिवर्त्य राज्यालु विविधानी समानार्था चतुर्विंद्रि द्रव्यलोकी खाण्डलि राजस्यमयम्। धनेनारस्या तां गति प्रसूता प्रसिद्धा जना नामापि निबल्लाें। तथाकर्ता भुवैविववधी॥—धिनानारस्यपिदिभि: यव सा तत् परिवाक्षाक्षाछः सुवसंगे यासासि। भवानपि कठक्षमादाय प्रवर्त्तवा नृषार्थसुभस्तरः पुराणः चौधका जीवित्य खाण्डुममगात्।”

Harshacharita, Chap. VII.

11. Cf. सुधाबच बन्धनात् प्रभति विखरतः। स्मृ: कालाक्षाते नीरसंघम गुलिती गुरुनाथा कुलपूर्वेश निकासाम्, नगिनास्य राज्यवईमस्वरस्वव, स्वला चायानिर्माणचः, अनादारस्तित्वाय विविधानीयपुराणविदः, जातिमिविदाः: गुरुनाथशीक्षकर्थः यास्तु सुधे-समाधीत्व वितिकर परित्यानवः।

Harshacharita, Chap. VII.

that Rājya at first defeated the Mālava king, then sent back his cousin Bhaṇḍi to Thaneswar, and then marched towards Kanauj to effect the release of his sister. But we cannot accept that particular view of Chanda, which has been supported by Dr. R. C. Majumdar\textsuperscript{13}, that Rājyavardhana was possibly “defeated in a fair fight and subseuqntly killed by Śaśāṅka while in a captive state. Had it been a case of death in a fair fight,\textsuperscript{14} Harsha probably would not have started on an expensive and elaborate expedition against Śaśāṅka at this tender age. He undoubtedly obtained ready help from his vassals and other independent rulers, because of his appeal to them against the treachery committed by the Bengal king. There was no record of any fight fought between Rājya and Śaśāṅka, and it may be presumed that after the Mālava king’s defeat by the enormous army of Rājya, Śaśāṅka did not consider it expedient to enter into an open fight. Both these writers are reluctant to hold the view that there was at all any treachery played by

\textsuperscript{13} Early History of Bengal, p. 17. (Dacca University Bulletin).

\textsuperscript{14} The late Mr. R. D. Banerji, however, surmised (History of Orissa, Vol. I, p. 126) that Rājyavardhana II “himself was killed in a duel in the camp of the king of Gauḍa.” Dr. B. C. Sen also finds a probability of such a murder (S. H. A. I. B., p. 267).
Śaśāṅka in killing Rājyavardhana, in spite of the clear accounts of both Bāṇa and Yuan Chwang. Dr. Majumdar remarks that we should “revise the opinion about Śaśāṅka as handed down by the historians.” The spirit of Bāṇa’s work is to give vent to his patron king Harsha’s, as well as his own, wrath against Śaśāṅka for his foul action. It is only on account of his treachery that Bāṇa gives him contemptuous epithets like Gauḍādhama, Gauḍa-pāshāṇḍa and Gauḍabhujaṅga. According to R. P. Chanda and R. C. Majumdar it was not possible for Rājya to have entered his enemy’s camp with his weapons laid aside (muktaśastra). Let us in this connection refer to a very significant passage in the Harsha-charita in which Harsha declares that none but the Gauḍa king, who was a designer of black courses (Krishṇavartmaprasūtiḥ) could lay low such a king with past records of undissembling heroism to his credit, when he was unarmed. The passage runs thus—

“गौडाधिपपहाव कस्ताद्वरण महापुरुषं तत्तक्षण एव नित्याज्ञ-मुजनित्समस्त्राज्ञं मुक्तश्रवं कलसयोनिमव कुष्ठाधिपपस्तुति-रीढेश्नो सव्वेलोकविगदितेति मृत्युः श्रमवेदाय्यम्।”

(Harshacharita, Chap. VI)

The poet here alludes with the help of puns to the strategic death of Droṇa (Kalasayonī) who laid aside his arms and was forthwith killed by Dhṛṣṭa-
dyumna (Kṛṣihṇavartmaprasūti, lit. born of sacrificial fire). This is also a case of treacherous slaying engineered by Kṛishṇa.

From the statements of Bāṇa we find that neither Harsha nor Bhaṇḍi knew clearly about the allurement offered by Śaśāṅka to Rājya. Bāṇa in his book collects a series of historical and other traditional instances of political murders, brought about by enemies, by taking advantage of the foolishness or inadvertence on the part of murdered kings. These illustrations were placed before King Harsha, by one of his trusted and able officers, named Skandagupta, for his careful consideration on the eve of his preparation for an expedition against Śaśāṅka. He was specially requested “to dismiss universal confidingness”, so agreeable to the habits of the people of Thaneswar, and springing from their innate frankness of spirit. The officer states thus:—

“तव्यमात्रदेशाचारोचिता ख्रिबाब्बसराक्रद्यत्वा व्यजतां सर्वविश्वासितां।”

(Harshacharita, Ch. VI)

He cites these cases of “disasters due to carelessness” and lays special stress upon “the blunders of heedless men on account of women.” He would perhaps not have invited the special attention of Harsha to them, unless Bāṇa was conscious that Rājya’s own death must have been due to a cause which involved his heedless action concerning some
woman. An old commentator of the *Harshacharita*, Śaṅkara by name, while explaining the two introductory verses of the sixth chapter, speaks of Śaśāṅka as the murderer of Rājya and says that he enticed the Vardhana king through a spy by the offer of his daughter’s hand. Here we may draw the attention of scholars to the two introductory verses of chapter VI of the *Harshacharita*. The first of these two verses contains a suggestion as to why Rājyavardhana was brought to the camp of Śaśāṅka (cf. also the significant word arāti-bhavane of the Banskhera plate of Harsha) and murdered by that vijigīshu king. Herein Śaśāṅka is compared with Kṛitānta (the god of death). This king, being an aspirant conqueror, wanted to collect valiant men to his side, brought through his secret agencies, just as the god of death in Hindu mythology is described as sending out his own messengers to persons before their death. Collection of valiant heroes (Śūra-samgraha) to one’s side may be for

15. These two verses summarise the contents of the whole chapter (vi), called rājā-pratijñā-varnaṇam i.e. ‘the description of king Harsha’s resolve’ to proceed in expedition against Śaśāṅka to retaliate the treacherous murder of his elder brother, Rājyavardhana. The verses run thus—

भविष्योत्सवभविष्यमा।
भविष्योत्सवभविष्यमा।
भविष्योत्सवभविष्यमा।
भविष्योत्सवभविष्यमा।
भविष्योत्सवभविष्यमा।
भविष्योत्सवभविष्यमा।
the purpose of their annihilation or for compelling them to agree to a forced alliance. In the second verse, however, the incident of the murder of Rājyavardhana is pointedly expressed, though in a succinct manner through puns. Here Bāṇa asserts that the crime of murdering a confiding man (visrabdha-ghāta-doshah) by a treacherous man (khala) certainly produces resentment in the mind of a heroic man (vīrkopakaraḥ) and such a murder is sure to lead to the death of the murderer himself. The simile introduced is very apt. For, the poet latently compares, Śaśānka with an audacious elephant, Rājyavardhana with a young tree and Harsha with a lion and says that an elephant who wantonly breaks a young tree robs the sleep of a lion by the sound of the breaking of it and the latter proceeds to retaliate on the elephant.

In our opinion these two verses and their implied meaning escaped the notice of the late R. P. Chanda and Dr. R. C. Majumdar. There can be no doubt that the word khala (a treacherous man) refers clearly to Śaśānka who killed the visrabdha (confiding) person, king Rājyavardhana, whose ghāta (murder) raised the vīra i.e. Harsha to wrath and the latter proceeded to bring about the death of Śaśānka, if possible, by way of retaliation.

So the murder of Rājyavardhana was absolutely
a treacherous act on the part of Śaśāṅka. But some of our historian friends are averse to believing this story on the plea that Bāṇa and Yuan Chwang both nourished partisan spirit within them and they try to reject these facts expressed by contemporary writers and chroniclers by calling them disputable, incorrect, unreliable, conflicting and undependable, although they accept other parts of their records as reliable, because perhaps they suit their own favourite historical views. Such logic should not, however, be resorted to by historians.

As has been stated before that the first ball of doubt and suspicion in this connection regarding some statements of Bāṇa, Yuan Chwang and even of some epigraphic records was set rolling in Bengal by our late esteemed friends, R. P. Chanda and R. D. Banerji, and their views have been endorsed by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, both in the Dacca University’s *The History of Bengal* (Vol. I, pp. 72ff.) and in Volume III (*The Classical Age*) of ‘The History and Culture of the Indian People’ (pp. 121 ff.). Dr. Majumdar at first felt inclined even to reject the charge of murder of king Rājyavardhana by the Gauḍa king; but it was some relief to find him stating in *The Classical Age* (pp. 122-23) and that “while there is no doubt that Rājyavardhana was killed by Śaśāṅka, it is not just or reasonable to accept the view that this was accomplished by treachery.” But political murder of an adversary by a king
is not rare in history. Even such a murder is supported by ancient Indian political writers, such as Kauṭilyya and others who did not fail to justify treacherous methods to encompass the enemy's end. As a matter of fact, all sources supply clear evidence that Rājyavardhana was *treacherously* assassinated by Śaśāṅka. We may concede with Dr. Majumdar that militarily and diplomatically Śaśāṅka was great, but like the Śaśāṅka of the horizon (the moon) he might have had some black spots on his character. From the moral point of view he may be described as hard-hearted, cruel and treacherous. We must not have the predilection to exculpate Śaśāṅka from any misdeed perpetrated by him as an ambitious monarch and boost him up to full and undue eminence.

Now, Śaṅkara, the commentator of the *Harsha-charita* adds that while the unlucky king with his retinue was participating in a dinner¹⁶ in his enemy's camp, he was killed by the Gauḍa king in disguise. A famous verse in Harsha's own royal grants,¹⁷ Banşkhera and Madhuvana copper-plates, states that Rājyavardhana, after having defeated his enemies, and made Devagupta and others captive,

¹⁶. The commentator says:—"तदन्नीपाताः संयष्टित:। तद्वार्ष: क्तोतीपी बिनानी दीवं च मशास्नामा नौकानिधितः। युद्धाणां राज्यवधानानुक्षराणां तत्तत्वाहिताः संयष्टितेऽपि।।...तयाद्वार्य श्राह्नेन बिनानांवि दूतसृजिनेऽन्नामदनुक्षत्रं प्रतीबिभित्त राज्यवधनं। स्वसंपदी शुभनान एव ज्ञानं आवादितः।"

gave up his own life in his enemy's camp, where he went to keep his word of honour (satyānurodhena). It is quite plausible, that during a period of truce the offer of the hand of his daughter to Rājyavardhana was made by Śaśāṅka, and lest Rājyavardhana's heedless compliance with such an invitation sent through a messenger should tarnish the reputation of the king, Bāna refrained from giving full details of this incident in his book. But the poet did not fail to remind Harsha that his elder brother acted foolishly in placing confidence in the false courtesies of Śaśāṅka. The Chinese traveller, Yuan Chwang has also narrated that Rājyavardhana, "soon after his accession was treacherously murdered by Śaśāṅka, the wicked king of Karnaśuvārṇa in East India, a persecutor of Buddhism". So there ought not to remain any doubt about Bāna's statement that Śaśāṅka, in spite of his greatness as a conqueror adopted a very vile and treacherous method of killing Rājyavardhana.¹⁸ We do not also feel inclined to support the view of R. P. Chanda¹⁹ that

¹⁸. Dr. D. C. Ganguly also believes in the story of treacherous murder of Rājyavardhana by Śaśāṅka (I. H. Q., Vol. XII, p. 4.). Dr. B. C. Sen, however, thinks that "Rājyavardhana's death was a sequel to the unfinished peace talk, but Śaśāṅka's personal responsibility for this incident cannot be correctly determined." See S. H. A. I. B., p. 267.

¹⁹. Gauḍarājīmālā, p. 10.
the Gupta nobleman’s rescue of Rājyaśrī from prison was undertaken at the instance of Śaśāṅka who, in his opinion, in this affair showed a noble instinct of heart, so hard to expect during war-time. We rather think that the Gupta nobleman belonged to a family which was friendly to the house of the Maukharis or the Vardhanas or to both. Even supposing he was a partisan of Śaśāṅka, he did this noble deed at his own instance, and not at his king’s bidding.

Śaśāṅka could not succeed to the throne of Thaneswar and establish his universal suzerainty in Kanauj. He had to remain very much afraid of an attack on his eastern kingdom by Harsha, who on pressing requests from the State-ministers accepted the kingship after Rājya’s death. Bent on avenging his brother’s murder, he started with a vast army against Śaśāṅka. He issued a proclamation through his Minister of Peace and War (mahāsandnīvgrahādhikṛita) to all known kings, that they should either surrender or give him battle. When the first day’s march was over, Harsha received an emissary from the court of Bhāskaravarman, king of Prāgīyotisha (Kāmarūpa or Assam), who wanted to enter into an alliance with him, and sent him innumerable presents. Harsha accepted this offer of friendship, and sent back the messenger with many presents in return. It was an alliance for their mutual good, as they were neighbouring
adversaries of their common enemy, Śaśāṅka of Bengal. After Harsha had marched for a few days, he met Bhaṇḍi, who was returning with the booty obtained in his war against the Mālava king, and heard from him all in detail about his brother’s murder and Rājyaśri’s escape. The king requested Bhaṇḍi to proceed against the king of Bengal, and himself entered into the Vindhya forests in search of his lost sister, whom he at last succeeded in discovering there. Harsha rejoined his camp on the banks of the Ganges. Bāṇa abruptly closes his narrative here. From his account it is clear here that Śaśāṅka withdrew towards his kingdom without any success at Kanauj, which Harsha occupied and whence he administered the empire in co-partnership with his sister. Very probably, Harsha removed his own capital from Thaneswar to Kanauj, after his return from the first expedition against Śaśāṅka.

Now let us see what the results of the elaborate military expedition of Harsha against Gauḍa were. R. D. Banerji was of the opinion that Bhāskara-varman joined Harsha during the latter’s march, because he was himself hostile to Śaśāṅka, the king of Bengal. From the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, we find that in this great campaign against king Śaśāṅka, Harsha proceeded towards East India, reached the town of Puṇḍra and caused a great havoc amongst the Bengali people. Then this Buddhist
treatise sums up the results of the war in the following lines:—

“पराजयायामात्र सोमास्त्र् तुषक्षमान्तुचारियाम्।
ततो निषिद्ध: सोमास्त्रो स्वदेशनावतिष्ठत्॥
निवर्तयायात्र हुकाराश्य: मलेच्छराज्येम्युज्जितः॥
तुषक्षमा हुकाराश्यो नुप: श्रेयस्य जायथ्यािमिष्या॥
स्वदेशनेव प्रयात: यथेष्टगतिनापि भा।”

The author here means to say that Harsha defeated Soma (Śaśāṅka), the pursuer of wicked deeds, who was forced to remain confined within his own kingdom, and prevented him from moving further towards the west; and Harsha himself, not being honoured with welcome in these eastern frontier countries returned leisurely to his own kingdom, with the satisfaction that he had achieved victory. Smith’s inference that Śaśāṅka “escaped with little loss,” and that “his kingdom became subject to Harsha at a later date” appears to be correct. There is little doubt that as the result of the first campaign Harsha could not establish political supremacy over Gauḍa i.e. Puṇḍradvardhana and Karṇasuvraṇa. It was probably after Śaśāṅka’s death which must have taken place sometime between A.D. 619 and A.D. 637, when Yuan Chhwang travelled over Magadha and Karṇasuvraṇa that Harsha could take entire possession of his enemy’s kingdom. Hence the pilgrim
referred to Śaśāṅka as a ‘recent’ king. Śaśāṅka enjoyed overlordship in eastern provinces up to the Ganjam district in the south-east, because in Koṅgoda the Mahāśāmanta Mādhavavarman was his feudatory in A.D. 619.

That Karṇasuvāraṇa was later occupied by King Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa, is indicated by the fact that the Assam king issued his royal charter (copper-plate grants discovered in Nidhanpur, Sylhet), from his victorious camp in Karṇasuvāraṇa. We have shown elsewhere (Dacca Review, 1913) that “Harsha, after taking possession of the kingdom of his brother’s murderer from his own hands at some later date (during Śaśāṅka’s life time) or (after Śaśāṅka’s death) from those of his unknown successor, might have made it over to Bhāskaravarman”. If Harsha took possession of Karṇasuvāraṇa20 during Śaśāṅka’s life-time, he must have done so by his second campaign, with the help of his ally Bhāskaravarman. Later on Śaśāṅka, if still alive, lost his overlordship in Koṅgoda, for the Chinese pilgrim says that Harsha led an

20. R. D. Banerji says (vide History of Orissa, Vol. I, p. 129) that “there is no doubt about the fact that eventually he (i.e. Śaśāṅka) was driven out of Karṇasuvāraṇa. It is quite possible that this event had taken place before the date of the Ganjam plates and at that time he had lost his possessions in Bengal and was the master of Orissa only.” To us such a view seems to be doubtful indeed.
expedition in A.D. 643 against this country and succeeded in extending his own dominion up to that limit. Śaśāṅka’s defeat is also indicated by the gold coins which were debased by a large admixture of silver. So with his lofty aspirations Śaśāṅka achieved, in the beginning of his career, some success in establishing an extensive Gauḍa dominion, which lasted only 17 years and a few months and days (according to the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa verses no. 748-749). He passed away leaving probably no successor, his own kingdom of Karṇasuvāraṅa slipping into the hands of the neighbouring king of Assam. The kings of Assam could not retain it long, for we know how Bengal and Magadha gradually grew into a great empire under the Pāla kings about a century later. From Yuan Chwang’s accounts we find that our modern Bengal Presidency was divided into a number of smaller States, viz, Kajaṅgala, Puṇḍravardhana, Samataṭa, Tāmrālipti and Karṇasuvāraṅa. The pilgrim does not mention the name of any king of these States, probably because all of them, except Karṇasuvāraṅa which was subject to the king of Assam, formed parts of the empire of Harshavardhana.

Let us now proceed to examine another allegation against the character of Śaśāṅka, viz, that he was a persecutor of Buddhism. From the bull-emblem on his coins and Yuan Chwang’s statements, it is clear that this Bengal king was
a devotee of Śiva, like his Mahāśāmanta Mādhavarāja. The Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa calls him dvijāhvayaḥ, i.e. Brāhmaṇic, meaning thereby that he was a follower of the Brāhmaṇic faith. Śaśāṅka had all the ill-repute of being a hater of Buddhism, almost bent on a total destruction of that faith in the places where he went for victory. The Chinese traveller has said in one place of his accounts that king Harsha got an oracle, as it were, from the image of a Bodhisattva to the effect that he should accept the sovereignty, and “then raise Buddhism from the ruin to which it had been brought by the king of Karṇasuvvarṇa”. In another place he says that “at Kuśinagara he felt distressed because by Śaśāṅka’s extermination of Buddhism, the groups of brethren were all broken up”. It is also narrated by the pilgrim that “in recent times King Śaśāṅka, having tried in vain to efface the foot-prints, caused the stone to be thrown into the Ganges”. This refers to the stone with Buddha’s foot-prints at Pāṭaliputra. The pilgrim further relates that at Bodh-Gayā “in recent times Śaśāṅka, the enemy and oppressor of Buddhism, cut down the Bodhi tree, destroyed its roots down to the water, and burnt what remained”, and that the king had “the image (of Buddha) removed and replaced by one of Śiva”. Because the pilgrim was himself a Buddhist, Messrs. Chanda and Banerji could not fully rely on his statements. Chanda also suggested
that at the root of Śaśāṅka’s ill-feeling towards the Buddhists was probably the fact that Buddhists of these places in Magadha and elsewhere entered into some conspiracy with Harshavardhana against him, and he therefore wanted to punish them by such oppressive persecution. Otherwise, it is not quite possible to explain such persecution in the seventh century when followers of Brāhmaṇism, Buddhism and Jainism lived side by side in perfect peace and amity, almost in all places in Eastern India. The Chinese traveller refers to the existence of Buddhist monasteries side by side with Deva temples, not only in Magadha and other parts of Bengal, but also in Karṇasuvanna, the capital of Śaśāṅka. The Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa\textsuperscript{21} also states thus in a prophetic strain: "The person Soma (=Śaśāṅka) who will be a heroic king in countries on the bank of the Ganges even up to Benares, will destroy beautiful images of the great teacher (Buddha)." Relying on

\begin{quote}
21. Cf. "वीराधिकारि सदा सर्वोत्सवं निरूपणमवर्त्तित || ग्रामावर्त्तितं वर्षाधिकारितपरस्तर्म ||

नाशविष्णु दुष्कर्षेम्व शाशुभिः शाशुभिः मद्दरसम ||

जिनाःकेतु नास्ति पूर्व यदर्मिनेवतन्त्रपति ||

दाराणारिक दुष्कर्षेम्व तीक्ष्णं काश्च वचे रति: ||

ततोत्सवस्य मुख्यमानं मित्रावर्त्तितमवर्तम ||

विन्दुरासिनिः प्रकाश्य निर्यात्मां संघां भूषिति ||

प्राणेऽस्मातं च तदास्तं द्विपीणवर्त्तमकारः: ||"

\textit{Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, p. 634.}
the heretics he will also cause to be burnt many a holy trace (or relic). Then this irascible, greedy, self-sufficient and ill-esteemed man will break down all monasteries, gardens and shrines and also the dwellings of the Nirgranthis on earth, and thus put an obstacle to their religious profession". We think that the author of this Buddhist treatise, written approximately in the 12th century A.D., could not have cherished any special ill-feeling against Śaśāṅka, as has been ascribed by some scholars to Yuan Chwang and Bāṇabhaṭṭa. In our opinion, it will not be justifiable to exculpate Śaśāṅka from his cruel actions. We may admire his great heroism, but his impolitic and impious actions no one, much less an historian, should support.

We shall now state briefly the general social and economic condition of the people of Bengal and other adjoining kingdoms at the time of Śaśāṅka, as revealed in the accounts\(^{22}\) of the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang. The people of these parts of Eastern India lived both in villages and large towns. There were in the towns large structures made of stone and brick with artistic ornamentations, rendered more beautiful by the images of gods, both Buddhistic and Brāhmaṇic, carved on them. In Bengal, there were both Buddhist monasteries and Brāhmaṇic Deva temples. The

Buddhists in Bengal belonged to both the Hīnayāna (Sammitiyā) and the Mahāyāna schools.

The north-western portion of Bengal, then known as Kajaṅgala (Rājmahal side) was low and moist, yielding good crops. The climate was warm. The people were straightforward and esteemed learning.

North Bengal (Punḍravardhana) had a flourishing population with "tanks, hospices and flowery groves". Jack-fruits were available in plenty. Besides the Buddhists and the Brāhmaṇas there lived in north Bengal many Digambara Nirgranthas (Jainas) 23. Belief in oracles was current.

Further east in Assam (Kāmarūpa) the same climatic condition prevailed and the people were honest, small in stature and black-looking. Their speech differed a little from that of Mid-India. Their disposition was violent, but they were persevering students and were believers only in Devas and not in Buddhism. There was not one Buddhist monastery in Assam; and those who were devoted to Buddhism had to perform their acts of devotion in secret. Even the reigning king Bhāskaravarman is described by the Chinese traveller as "a Brāhmaṇ by caste", hinting thereby that he was also a believer in Brāhmaṇism.

23. This is testified to by some Jain relics discovered in North Bengal and deposited in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi.
Elephants of war were available in the south-west of Assam. On the western side of Karṇasuvarga also, i.e. in the woods of Champā (modern Bhagalpur) large wild elephants were found. Koṅgoda in south Orissa, "produced large dark-coloured elephants which were capable of long journeys."

East Bengal, then called Samataṭa, situated on the sea-side contained adherents of the Sthavira school of Buddhist monks and Digambara Nirgranthas and also followers of Devas. A place of trading and commercial importance of those days was the port-town of Tāmralipti (modern Tamluk) which stood on a bay. "Rare valuables" were collected here and as it was a trade-centre, people of this place were generally prosperous. Farming in this part of Bengal was quite good, and fruits and flowers abounded; the climate was hot and the people were rude but courageous. As regards Šaśāṇkā's own centre of administration in central Bengal, viz. the country of Karṇasuvarga, it is described as being "well-inhabited", full of rich people and having a temperate climate. The people were men "of good character" and "patrons of learning". The adherents of Buddhism belonged to the Sammitiya school; there were followers of various other religions with Deva temples in large numbers. In three of the Buddhist monasteries of this part of Bengal, milk-products were not taken as food.
in accordance with the teaching of Devadatta. By the side of the capital city was the Lo-to-mo-ti (Raktamṛittika-Rāṅgāmāṭi) monastery which was "a magnificent and famous establishment, the resort of illustrious brethren."

The hilly country of Koṅgoda is described by the Chinese traveller as "bordering on a bay of the sea, with regular harvests and having a hot climate". The people here, are described as "tall and valorous and of a black complexion, having some sense of propriety and not very deceitful". There were in this country many towns, in which there "was a gallant army which kept the neighbouring counties in awe, and so there was no powerful enemy". "As the country was on the sea-side it contained many rare precious commodities" and the currency was "cowries and pearls".

From this general survey we can say that the Bengali people and the neighbouring inhabitants of Assam and Orissa had a high standard of culture and civilisation in the seventh century A. D.

In conclusion, it may be remarked that when the Kāmarūpa rulers in the east, the Magadha kings in the middle and the Maukhari chiefs in the near west were measuring one another's military strength, there arose in the political firmament of Bengal a moon-like king (named Šaśāṅka) with some spot in his character, who aspired to outshine all of them, but who was ultimately forced to fade away in the
KINGDOM OF GAUṆADHIKA ŚAŚĀṆKA

glittering light of the sun-like Harshavardhana, who alone succeeded in establishing a very extensive North Indian empire, which unfortunately could not last longer than his own life, as was the case with Yaśodharman of Mālava, a century before him.
CHAPTER VIII

KINGDOM OF ORISSA (UḌRA-KOṆGODA-KALIṆGA)

Next we take up in this chapter the discussion of the history of the ancient kingdom of Uḍra (Orissa), KoṆgoda and Kaliṅga which conjointly passed by the name of Trikaliṅga in old days. The limited period of North-Eastern Indian history treated in this work, precludes us from entering into the details of the earlier history of this region, e.g. of the time when the Maurya emperor Aśoka extended his empire by a war-like campaign against Kaliṅga, or when king Khāravela and after him other kings ruled in these kingdoms, or of the period later than that of the Śailodbhava dynasty of kings. The sources of the history of this kingdom during the period are mainly the inscriptive literature of the Śailodbhava dynasty and the account of Yuan Chhwang. We may have to refer occasionally to other minor sources.

The old Kaliṅga country included within itself the south-western portion of modern Bengal (i.e. parts of the districts of Midnapur and Howrah), the whole of modern Orissa and some northern portion of the Madras Presidency, and it may, therefore, be described as a part of North-Eastern

1. For varying limits of ancient Kaliṅga, see J. N. Banerjea Volume, pp. 324-25, fn. 27,
India lying on the western border of the Bay of Bengal. The late Mr. R. D. Banerji, writing about the topography of ancient Kalinga, thought that roughly speaking the country lay in two parts viz. the tract lying between the Dāmodara and Mahānadi rivers in the north and that between the latter and the Godāvarī in the south. As regards, however, the political divisions of old Kalinga the distinguished writer was of the opinion that the country from Midnapur to the Brāhmaṇi-Vaitaraṇī was Utkala, and the central tract “consisting of the modern districts of Cuttack, Puri and the northern part of the Ganjam district, along with some of the small states on both banks of the Mahānadi, such as Ranpur, Nayagodh, Khandpara Daspalla, Tigiria and Athgadh, was called Tosala”. He says, moreover, that “most probably the country between the Chilka lake and Mahendragiri (in the Mandasa Zamindari) was called Koṅgoda, because one of the epigraphic charters makes it clear that Koṅgoda was situated in Southern Tosala”. Thus between Koṅgoda and the Godāvarī delta lay the beautiful country of Kalinga of Yuan Chwang.

The references to the kingdom of Kalinga in the Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas, the Pali Āṭakas and the Brīhatsamhitā testify to its existence in the early period of Indian history. It is one of the States in the eastern part of Northern India that are men-

tioned as having continued to exist after the Kurukshetra War,—the other States being Ayodhyā, Kāśī, the Maithilas (of Vidēha), Bārhadrathas (of Magadha “which probably included Aṅga”). Both Pāṇini and Kauṭilya also mention the name Kaliṅga and words derived from it e.g. Kāliṅgika, referring, of course to this country. The best class of elephants, according to Kauṭilya, is produced in Kaliṅga and Aṅga. This fact is borne out by the account of Yuan Chwang who writes that “the country (Kaliṅga) produced dark wild elephants prized by the neighbouring countries”; and the northern country of Koṅgoda situated to the north of Kaliṅga also “produced large dark-coloured elephants which were capable of long journeys”. There was a time in Indian history when for making a journey to Kaliṅga, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Pūṇḍra and some other countries, men were enjoined by Smṛiti authors to perform expiatory rites to purify themselves.

With the present stock of our knowledge of epigraphic and other historical records, it is not possible to write a connected history of the period between the fall of Khāravela’s family and the rise of the Śailodbhava dynasty. From the occurrence

4. Arthaśāstra, Bk. II, Ch. 2.
6. Recently an attempt has been made, though on very
of the Kushan type of coins in many places between the Singbhum and Ganjam districts, the late Mr. R. D. Banerji\(^7\) thought that along with Magadha, the Kushan foreigners conquered Orissa also. He wrote—“it is quite possible that when Northern and Southern Bihar were annexed to the empire of the great Kushans, Orissa and the Eastern sea-board as far as the Rushikulyā and the Lāñguliyā were also conquered”\(^8\).

Some light on the history of Uḍra-Koṅgoda-Kaliṅga during the Gupta period of Indian annals is thrown by the historical material found in the description of the famous campaign of conquests in Southern India (Dakshiṅāpatha) by the imperial Gupta monarch Samudragupta. In his Allahabad Pillar inscription,\(^9\) this king is described as having liberated after capture some kings of southern India, twelve of whom have been mentioned along with the names of their kingdoms. After the name of the first king, Mahendra of Kosala (identified with the Mahākosala i.e. portions of Jubbalpur, Raipur and Bilaspur of the Central Provinces), is mentioned Vyāghrarāja (or Vyāghradeva) of Mahākāntāra slender grounds, to postulate a period of Andhra supremacy in Orissa, see K. C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhuvaneswar*, pp. 207 ff.

(one of the southern forest countries constituting the old tributary Orissa States). The next kings in the list are Maṇṭarāja of Korāla or Kurāla territory (probably the country round the modern lake Koleru), Mahendra of Pishṭapura, the ancient capital of Kaliṅga (now Piṭhāpuram in the Godāvari district), and Svāmidatta of Girikoṭṭūra (identified with Kathoor about 12 miles S.S.E. from Mahendra-giri in the Ganjam district). These three kings appear to have been rulers of their respective States situated within the boundaries of old Kaliṅga. Two other kings of the south, seized and afterwards released by the Gupta conqueror, who belonged to territories lying within the province of Kaliṅga proper according to some scholars were the chiefs named Damana of Eraṇḍapalla (mentioned as Eraṇḍapalli in the Siddhantam plates of Devendra-varman of Kaliṅga), and Kuvera of Devarāshṭra (a province in Kaliṅga). Some other scholars including the late Dr. Vincent Smith formerly regarded these two territories as western parts of the Deccan, viz, the Khandesh and the Maharāṭṭa country. The late Mr. R. D. Banerji10 was of the opinion that very likely the three Kaliṅga kings Svāmidatta of Koṭṭūra, Damana of Eraṇḍapalla and Kuvera of Devarāshṭra “formed a confederacy with the powerful Pallava kings of the South” mentioned in the Allahabad inscription, namely Vishṇugopa

of Kāñchī (Conjeeveram), Hastivarman of Veṅgi (in the Godāvari-Kistnā Doab) and Ugrasena of Pālakka (in the Nellore District), against the Northern Indian emperor Samudragupta, during the latter’s expedition of conquests.

It cannot, however, be ascertained what happened to the Kaliṅga kings after Samudragupta had returned home from the South. No doubt, Harisheṇa informs us that he liberated the monarchs concerned. On the other hand one epigraph, speaking of Lokavigraha, is dated in the year 200 of the Gupta Era,11 i.e. A.D. 519-20. Another record, Sumandala inscription, refers to the rule of Pṛthivī-vigraha over Kaliṅga in the dominion of the Guptas, in the year 250,12 i.e. A.D. 569-570. It appears that either Harisheṇa’s information in question is not fully correct, or a part or the whole of the Kaliṅga was reconquered by the Guptas after the southern campaign of Samudragupta. Whatever may have been the fact, the Sumandala record indicates the suzerainty of the Guptas over the whole or a part of Kaliṅga at a time when their claim over other parts of India was lost.13 The


13. Loka-vigraha and Pṛthivī-vigraha were probably members of a feudatory family swearing allegiance to the Imperial Guptas, see R. C. Majumdar (editor), Classical Age, pp. 92-93.
same epigraph states that Mahārāja Dharmarāja, a subordinate to a descendant of Mahārāja Udbhaya, was a subordinate chief of Prīthivī-vigraha and had his head-quarters at Padmakholi.\textsuperscript{14}

The Gupta rule in Kaliṅga seems to have been supplanted by the Mānas.

A Soro plate (No. A) records a grant of eight timpiras of land by Paramabhāgavata Vappapādā-nudhyāta Mahārāja Sambhuyaśas of the Mudgala family, in a village called Ghaṇṭakarṇakshetra adjoining Sarepha in Uttarra-Tosalī. The grant, which is dated in the year 260, was issued from the royal camp at the Tambaravḍama, and was made in favour of a Brahmin named Bharanāsvāmin belonging to the Bharadvāja gotra and the Kaṇva-śākhā (of the Yajurveda)\textsuperscript{15}.

The Patiakella grant of Mahārāja Śivarāja, dated samvat 283, was discovered in the district of Cuttack in Orissa. It records the grant of a village named Taṇḍralvalu or Tuṇḍivaluja situated in the vishaya of Dakshīṇa Tosali, made on the principle of perpetual endowment (akshayanīvī) to thirty-nine Brāhmaṇas (some of whose names end in svāmin and others in deva) belonging to various gotras and charanās, by the feudatory chief, Mahārāja Śivarāja. The charter was issued from his residence at Varttanoka in Southern Tosali during the reign on

\textsuperscript{14} I.H.Q., Vol. XXVI, p. 77.
\textsuperscript{15} E. I., Vol. XXIII, p. 200.
earth of his suzerain not named, whose titles are described as Paramadevatādhidivaṅgana, Paramabhaftāraka and Paramamaheśvara, born in the spotless family of Mudgala. There is also the mention of a phrase pravarttamāna-Māna-vamsa-rājya-kāle referring to the date 283.\textsuperscript{16} It is, however, not clear whether we should connect the suzerain of Śivarāja with the Mānavamśa.

The dates of these inscriptions are to be referred to the Gupta Era,\textsuperscript{17} and so should correspond to \((260 + 319-20) = \text{A.D. 579-80}\) and \((283 + 319-20) = \text{A.D. 602-03}\) respectively. They indicate the authority of Sambhuvaśas over Northern and Southern Tosali, comprising probably the whole of Orissa from Balasore to the Puri district. As pointed out above, it is not clear whether Sambhuśyasas himself was a member of the Māna royal family. The fact that the Soro plate records a grant by Sambhuśyasas from a royal camp may perhaps hint at such a connection. However, even if Sambhuvaśas himself was not a scion of the Māna family, he must at least for some time in the last quarter of the sixth century A.D. ruled a part of Orissa on behalf of the dynasty in question.

Another Soro plate (No. D), dated in the year 5, refers to a grant in Sareph-āhāra-vishaya and

\begin{itemize}
\end{itemize}
alludes to the rule of Mahāpratihāra Mahārāja Bhānudatta. 18

We may here profitably refer to two other plates of the same locality. One (plate No. B) speaks of a grant in Sareph-āhāra-vishaya made in the year 15 in Uttara-Tosoli by Paramadevatādhidaivata, Śri Paramabhaṭṭāraka - pādānudhyāta, Mahābalādhiḥkṛita, Antaraṅga and Mahāsāndhi-Vigrahika Somadatta, 19 and the other (plate No. C) states about a donation of a place in Varukaṇā-vishaya in Sarephāhāra made in the year 15 by Mahābalādhiḥkṛita, Antaraṅga and Mahāsāndhi-Vigrahika Somadatta. 20

The titles attributed to Bhānudatta and Somadatta clearly indicate that they were viceroys. If this Somadatta is identified with Somadatta who according to Midnapore copper plate of Śaśāṅka, ruled Daṇḍabhukti together with Utkala under the suzerainty of the latter monarch, the Soro plates of Somadatta may indicate Śaśāṅka’s hegemony over at least the region of Uttara-Tosali. It seems that Śaśāṅka was responsible for extinguishing the rule of the Māna dynasty at least in the latter areas.

The extension of Śaśāṅka’s rule in the Ganjam region (ancient Koṅgoda) is indicated by the Ganjam plates of Mādhavarāja of the year 300

20. Ibid., pp. 202-03.
Gupta Era i.e. A.D. 619-20. Mādhavarāja, belonging to the Śailodbhava dynasty, acknowledged the supremacy of Śaśānika\textsuperscript{21}. Śailodbhavas themselves probably rose on the ruins of the Gupta empire. In fact other families like the Pitṛibhaktas of Simhapura, Sunagara and Bardhamanapura (modern Vadama in Vizagapatam district), the Māṭharas of Pīṣṭapura (modern Pithapuram in the Vizagapatam district), the Vaśisthas and the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga-nagara (modern Mukhalingam in the Ganjam district) began to rule even before the final dissolution of the Gupta rule, and continued to reign independently long after the Imperial Guptas had passed out of India’s political arena\textsuperscript{22}.

The Śailodbhavas themselves, however, probably did not continue to swear allegiance for a long time after A.D. 619-20. It is well-known that Harsha conquered the Koṅgoda region\textsuperscript{23}. This he probably did after the death of Śaśānika\textsuperscript{24}. If this is so, the

\textsuperscript{21} E. I., Vol. VI. pp. 143 ff.

\textsuperscript{22} For a reliable account of history of these families see Classical Age, pp. 212-217. We may here record that Dakšinakosala probably comprised modern Raipur, Bilaspur and Sambalpur region and so might have included a part of the area of modern Orissa. For history of Dakšinakosala in the early Christian centuries as well as in the Gupta Era and also for the annals of the Sarabhapuriyas and the and the Pāṇḍuvamśīs of South Kosala, see Classical Age, pp. 217-22.

\textsuperscript{23} S. Beal, The Life of Hiuen-Tsang, pp. 159-72.

\textsuperscript{24} Classical Age, pp. 106-08,
Śailodbhavas must have, at least for sometime, also served under him.

However, Śaśāṅka and also Harsha were no more than passing figures in the history of the Śailodbhavas who continued to rule independently even long after the death of these two kings. The genealogy and chronology of the Śailodbhavas can be constructed on the basis of the evidence of several inscriptions. In the Khurda plates we find a genealogy of three generations of kings in relation of father and son, viz. Mādhavarāja, his father Ayaśobhīta and his grand-father Sainyabhīta. The place from where the charter was issued was the royal residence of Koṅgoda. Mādhavarāja, the donor, is described herein as “born in the Śailodbhava family” and “the master of all Kaliṅgas.” The village, to which the granted land of Kumbhāra-cheḍa belonged, is named Āharaṇa situated in the vishaya of Thorana\textsuperscript{25}. Attention may pointedly be drawn in this connection to the genealogy of three generations of kings mentioned in Ganjam plates, dated 300 G.E.\textsuperscript{26} (A.D. = 619-20), which belongs to the reign of Mahārāja-mahāsāmanta Mādhavarāja, who was, as already noted above, at that time the feudatory chief ruling in the country of Koṅgoda under the suzerainty of Mahārājādhirāja Śaśāṅka.

\textsuperscript{26} E. I., Vol. VI, pp. 143ff,
undoubtedly the great Gauḍādhīpa, the powerful adversary of King Harshavardhāna and the treacherous murderer of that emperor's elder brother, King Rājyavardhana. This Mahārāja Mādhavarāja calls himself the son of Mahārāja Ayaśobhīta and grand-son of Mahārāja Mahāsāṃanta Mādhavarāja. It is difficult to suggest as to whose suzerainty was acknowledged by the donor's grand-father Mādhavarāja, ruling as a feudalatory sometime towards the last quarter of the sixth century A.D. Nor is it easy to say if he had any political relation with the rulers of Samataṭa. In all likelihood he had some connection with the Later Gupta emperors of Magadha. Whatever the truth may have been, we find that Mādhavarāja, the donor, the grand-son of the first Mādhavarāja, ruled in Orissa as feudalatory under the suzerainty of Śaśāṅka, King of Bengal (Karṇasuvvarṇa), who assumed the lofty title of Gauḍādhīpa, undoubtedly by his gradual occupation of North Bengal (Punḍravardhana), and also of parts of Magadha and countries still further west.

The family, whose greatness Mādhavarāja enhanced by his repulsion of the army of its enemies by the strength of his sword, is called in this epigraph the Śilodbhava-kula. This feudalatory ruler allowed his wealth to be enjoyed by the distressed, the helpless, the miserable and the mendicant people. He possessed all kingly virtues and was "endowed with learning, prowess and steadiness
which adorned the whole circle of the world.”. He was devoted to the feet of the Lord (Śiva) and calls himself a Parama-brahmanya (most well-versed in the Vedic lore). This charter was issued from Kōṅgoda (probably from its head-quarters) described as situated near the bank of the river Šālimā, which may be identified with the rivulet Salia in Bānpur. It records the grant of the village Chhavalakkhaya situated in the vishaya of Krishnagiri, made according to the principle of permanent endowment (akshayanīvī), to a Brāhmaṇa named Chharampasaśvāmin of the Bharadvāja gotra with the pravaras of Āṅgirasa and Bārhaspatya, for the increase of merits of the chief’s (Mādhavarāja’s) parents and himself on the occasion of a solar eclipse. It may be held, especially on the strength of the identity of the script used in both the Khurda and the Ganjam plate inscriptions, that the three generations of kings described in both are identical, though in the former inscription the donor Mādhavarāja’s grandfather is named Sainyabhīta, while in the latter he is named Mādhavarāja, which, in all probability indicates that Mādhavarāja (the grand-father) had a biruda, Sainyabhīta. It is clear, we repeat here, that these three Šailodbhava kings bore to each other the relation of father and son in order. This point is very important for a discussion of the chronology of this dynasty.

We have, however, a larger genealogy of the
Śailodbhava kings from the Buguda plates discovered in the Gumsur Taluka of the Ganjam district. It is not dated. The late Dr. Keilhorn, who calls the characters used therein the Ganjam variety of the Northern alphabet, confesses that it is impossible "to determine with confidence the exact time of these plates from the characters", but his "impression is that they cannot be earlier than about the 10th century A.D., and that probably they are much later". With due deference to the great palæographist, we feel inclined to disagree with him, and think that the characters belong to a period about two centuries earlier, i.e. the eighth century A.D. Nor can we on any account accept the opinion of R. D. Banerji, that the donor kings of the Khurda and the Ganjam inscriptions, as well as of the Buguda plates, are identical and that the characters of the Parikuda plates, are "very closely allied to those of the Khurda and the Ganjam plates". Dr. Sten Konow thought, rightly enough in our opinion, that palæography is hardly in favour of the early date (A.D. 694) as proposed by Mr. Banerji for the Parikuda plates of Madhyamarāja, on the strength of the uncertain date 88, which he referred to the Harsha era, but which seemed to

Messrs. Venkayya and Krishna Sastri a sign for the regnal year 26. Apart from palæographic consideration, the fact that there was the distinct relationship of father and son amongst the three generations of kings mentioned in the Khurda and the Ganjam plates viz. Mādhavarāja I (=Sainyabhīta I of Ganjam plates), Ayaśobhīta and Mādhavarāja II, stands in the way of late Mr. Banerji’s identifying the three kings of the Buguda and the Parikuda plates, viz. Sainyabhīta, Ayaśobhīta and Sainyabhīta (alias Mādhavavarman = Śrīnivāsa), as in both these grants, as also in some of the other grants of the Śailodbhava kings, the two latter kings are described as being “born in the first king’s (Sainyabhīta I’s) family”, that is to say, that the first two kings Sainyabhīta and Ayaśobhīta are not related to one another as father and son.

The historical material that is obtainable from a study of the Buguda plates may be summed up thus. This inscription records the rent-free grant of a village named Puipīno (more probably, Pūipīno), situated in the Khadirapatiṭaka of the Guḍḍa vishaya, made by King Mādhavavarman (mentioned also as Mād havendra in verse 2, probably to meet the exigency of metre), to the Bhaṭṭa Vāmana, son of Ādityadeva and grandson of Vāmana, who was a student of the Taittirīya charaṇa, of the Hārita gotra and with the three-fold pravaras Āṅgirasa, Āmbarisha and Yauvanāśva, for
the purpose of augmenting the religious merits of his parents and himself on the occasion of a solar eclipse. The charter was issued by the king from his residence at Kaiṅgoda (Koṅgoda of other plates). The donor king appears, from the invocation to the god Śambhu, to be a devotee of Śiva, like the preceding Śailodbhava rulers. Amongst the other glories of the donor king described in this inscription, he is specially given the epithet Kalimalak-
shālana i.e. one who can purge (the world) of the impurities of the Kali age. This evidently refers to the restoration of the varṇāśramadharma, which fell into disuse, not only in this part of Northern India, but also in other parts, on account of the Hūṇa invasion and the influence of the Mahāyāna Buddhism of the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. In the genealogical portion (vv. 3-12) of the inscription we read that there was a famous personage “amongst the people of Kaliṅga” (Kaliṅga-janatāsu), whose name was Pulindasena. This man, although endowed with many personal virtues, e.g. a lofty stature, strong arms and broad chest, did not covet sovereignty for himself (neshṭam bhūvo maṇḍalam), but he rather worshipped Brahman so that the god might be pleased to create a fit ruler for Kaliṅga. The god granted his wish and created, apparently out of pieces of rock (silā-ṭakala), the lord Śailodbhava who thus became the founder of a distinguished dynasty (parikalpita-sad-vamśaḥ). In
the family of Šailodbhava (Šailodbhavasya kulajāḥ) was Araṇabhīta who caused tears in the eyes of the wives of his adversaries (of course, by killing them in battle). His son was King Sainyabhīta I, who obtained victory by scaring away innumerable lines of elephants (of his enemies), and thus caused delight to the earth i.e. to Orissa. In his family again (tasy-āpi-vamśe) King Ayaśobhīta was born. He it was who succeeded in removing the impurities of the Kali age by his orthodox actions. Of him was born his son, Sainyabhīta,—the handsome, powerful and pious king, whose sword was “fit to split the forehead of the large elephants (of his enemies)” and whose foes faded away before him with their majestic glory abridged” (samkṣipta-maṇḍala-rucāḥ) by means of his own stronger glory. This king, who bore two other names viz. Mādhavavarman and Śrīnivāsa, is also described as heightening the glory of the gods in heaven by the restoration of the Aśvamedha and other sacrifices, the names of which other impious kings of the Kali age wanted to abolish from the earth, by allowing themselves to perform many a sinful act. The king’s favourite State-officer, Gaṅgabhadra (the Pratihārin) was the dūtaka in this grant.

While dealing with the chronology of the Šailodbhava kings, both the late Mr. R. D. Banerji and Mr. Vinayaka Misra31 omitted to take notice

31. I. H. Q., 1931, pp. 665 ff,
of another copper-plate inscription\textsuperscript{32} of King Mādhavavarman deciphered and published by the present writer in the (now defunct) Bengali monthly of Calcutta, the \textit{Sāhitya}. It is a single plate, undoubtedly the second one of a series of at least three such plates which contained the whole text of the charter. The other two plates are unfortunately missing. It commences after two letters from the third quarter of the seventh verse in the Buguda plates, and ends with the prose portion which concludes the sentence signifying the gift. A hole in the plate indicates that this and the other missing plates were held together by means of a ring. It is, however, difficult to say whether any seal was soldered onto it. This plate was made over at Puri by Mahamahopadhyaya Sadasiva Mishra to my distinguished friend the late Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda, when the latter with some other members of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, went out on their tour of research in the various places of antiquarian interest in Orissa, in the autumn of 1912 A.D. The Mahamahopadhyaya got it from the late Mr. Padma Charan Mahanti, formerly superintendent of the Puri Collectorate, an inhabitant of the village of Birobai in the Puri district. The provenance of the plate is not known.

32. \textit{Sāhitya}, 1319 B. S., pp. 889 ff with plates. The two missing plates were later discovered by the late Dr. N. P. Chakravarti and their estampages were given to this writer who edited all the three plates in \textit{E.I.}, Vol. XXIII (No. 19).
It may, however, be called the Puri plate of Mādhavavarman, because we of the above-named Society got it at Puri. The genealogical verses of this inscription (so far obtained) are exactly the same as those in the Buguda plates of the same king. It purports to be a charter addressed from his residence (niketa) at Koṅgeda (Koṅgoda) by King Mādhava-varman of the Šailodbhava dynasty to his officials, the Brāhmaṇas, the Karnas and others, regarding a rent-free grant of some land, made for the purpose of increasing the religious merits of his parents and himself, to a Brāhmaṇa named Bhaṭṭa Vittadeva of Kauśika gotra, a student of the Chhandoga charana, belonging to the Kauthuma śākhā with Utathyā and other pravaraś, who immigrated from a village called Śāla (or Māla ?)—grāma situated within the vishaya of Thoraṇa. The name of the same vishaya, as we have seen above, occurs also in the Khurda plate inscription. The following genealogical table of Šailodbhava rulers may be drawn from the contents of the Buguda and the Puri plate inscriptions:

Šailodbhava

| Araṇabhīta (tatkulajāḥ)
| Sainyabhīta
| Ayaśobhīta (tasya vaṁśe jātaḥ)
| Sainyabhīta (= Mādhavavarman = Šrīnivāsa)
The Parikuda plates of Madhyamarāja and the Kondenda and the Puri (Uttarapārśva Maṭha) plates of Dharmarāja carry the above genealogy down to two more generations of kings, namely to Madhyamarāja (alias Ayaśobhīta ?), son of Sainyabhīta, the last king in the above table, and then to Madhyamarāja’s son Dharmarāja. The only additional knowledge of history that we have from the Parikuda plates is that King Madhyamarāja was a capable and powerful member of the Śailodbhava dynasty, that his kingdom contained many hermits and that he himself was an ardent devotee of Śiva (parama-māheśvara). This king made a grant of a village in the vishaya of Kaṭakabhuki situated in the Koṅgoda-manḍala to twelve Brāhmaṇas. He is always described as having enhanced his own fame by the performance of the Vājapeya and the Aśvamedha sacrifices. We have referred above to our inability to accept the late Mr. Banerji’s reading of the numerical figures in this grant and his view of the date of the grant.

The genealogical verses of the Puri plates of Dharmarāja are exactly similar to those of the Parikuda plates of his father Madhyamarāja, up to the description of the latter king. King Dharmarāja, the donor, issues this charter from

34. Ibid., Vol. XIX, pp. 265 ff.
35. Sāhitya, 1319 B.S., pp. 889 ff.
Mātrichandrapāṭaka, and it records the grant by this king of a field in the village of Doṅgi, in the vishaya of Varttani in the Koṅgoda-maṇḍala, made to a Brāhmaṇa named Golasvāmin, alias Māsika, of the Kaṇva śākhā and of the Vājasaneyya charaṇa, belonging to the gotra of Jātukarṇa, and having the pravara, Vaśishṭha, Ātreya and Jātukarṇa. Mahāsāmanda Goshāladeva was the dūtaka in this grant and the writer of it was the Mahābhogin, Sāmanta Paṭapāla. It is a dated inscription, the date of which was read by Mr. Rājuguru as samvat 512 Vaiśākha sudi. The late Mr. R. D. Banerji36, however, contested the reading and thought, perhaps rightly, that it must be read either as samvat 812 (= A.D.756) or simply 12 indicating only the regnal year of this ruler.

The second copper-plate charter37 of Dharmarāja, alias Mānabhīta, which was issued from the royal residence at Somapura, records the rent-free grant of half the village Koṅḍenḍā in Khidiṅghāhāra vishaya, made to an agnihotṛin Brāhmaṇa named Bhaṭṭa Goṇadeva-svāmin, belonging to the Kauśika gotra and the Vājasaneyya charaṇa. It is an inscription dated 800 samvat (= A.D.743-44 ). The genealogical portion is common to both this grant and the Puri plates of Dharmarāja. There is a description of a most important historical informa-

tion common to both these grants, viz. the battle of Phāsika, which provides us with a definite clue to the solution of the chronology of the Śailodbhava kings. The incident is thus described in both (cf. v. 16). After Dharmarāja had ascended the throne by right of primogeniture, a person named Mādhava, probably Dharmarāja's younger brother, raised an insurrection, but in the attempt to wrest the throne from Dharmarāja he was defeated in battle at a place called Phāsika. Mādhava was then banished from the kingdom, but he made one Tivaradeva his ally, and with the latter's aid again fought against Dharmarāja with the result that the allies sustained a defeat at the hands of the king of Koṅgoda-maṇḍala. Since then Mādhava is reported to have passed his days at the foot of the Vindhyas.

Regarding the identification of this Tivaradeva, ally of Mādhava, there can hardly be any doubt that he must have been the king of the same name belonging to the Somavamsī dynasty of Śrīpur or Sirpur in Southern Kosala. Tivaradeva was the same as Mahāśivagupta Tivaradeva, who was the elder brother of Chandragupta and uncle of Harshagupta of that family of rulers. He was succeeded in the kingship by his younger brother Chandragupta, who was an opponent of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda III⁴⁸, and was defeated

⁴⁸. *E. I.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 240 and 245 (Sanjan plates of
by the latter. From the known dates of Govinda III it may be concluded with some degree of certainty, that Dharmarāja of Orissa flourished during the second and third quarters of the eighth century A.D., and had probably a long reign.

Lastly we come across the names of two or three more generations of Śailodbhava kings, in a single plate of a grant made by king Madhyamarāja. These names are Dharmarāja’s son, Madhyamarāja and the latter’s son Raṇakshobha. The name of the younger brother of this Raṇakshobha was prince Peṭavyālloparāja (Paṭṭyyalopa), who had a son named Madhyamarāja (also called Taillapa). But according to Mr. Vinayaka Misra, Taillapa was not identical with Madhyamarāja, but was the latter’s father.

The genealogical evidence supplied by the dated and undated epigraphic records of the Śailodbhava dynasty discussed above thus appears in connection with three different groups of rulers, who are put together and arranged below according to our idea of their chronological sequence. The first group of three kings, comprising Sainyabhīta I (=Mādhavarāja I), his son Ayaśobhīta (I) and his son Mādhavarāja II (=Sainyabhīta II?), is obtained from the Khurda and Ganjam plate inscriptions. The second group of four kings, viz. Araṇabhīta, Amoghavarsha, son of Govinda III) and *ibid*, Vol. XII, p. 253.
his son Sainyabhīta I and a descendant in the
latter's family named Ayaśobhīta II and his son
Sainyabhīta III (=Mādhava varman=Śrīnivāsa), is
found mentioned in the Buguda and Puri plate
inscriptions of Mādhavavarman, The third group
again of two more kings, viz. Madhyamarāja
(=Ayaśobhīta III ?) and his son Dharmarāja
(=Mānabhīta), can be had from a study of the
Parikuda, the Puri (Uttarapārśva-Maṭha) and the
Kondenda plates. In our opinion the whole
genealogical table should be drawn up in the
following chronological order :—

Pulindasena

Śailodbhava

1. Araṇabhīta

2. Sainyabhīta I (=Mādhavarāja I)

3. Ayaśobhīta I

4. Sainyabhīta II (=Mādhavarāja II, 619-20 A.D.)

5. Ayaśobhīta II

6. Sainyabhīta III (=Mādhava varman=Śrīnivāsa)

7. Ayaśobhīta III (=Madhyamarāja I)

8. Mānabhīta (Dharmarāja,
A.D. 743-44 and A.D. 756)

9. Madhyamarāja ( II ?)
It appears that the Šailodbhava kings of Orissa had their names ending in *bhīta* and their *birudas* ending in *rāja*. Nos. 2-4 in the above table belong to the first group, Nos. 1-2 and Nos. 5-6 to the second, and Nos. 1-2, Nos. 5-6 and Nos. 7-8 to the third. So the kings of the Šailodbhava dynasty headed by Arañabhīta ruled in Orissa for more than two centuries, beginning roughly from the sixth and ending about the middle of the eighth century A.D., or probably a little later.
CHAPTER IX

THE KINGDOM OF EASTERN BENGAL (VAÑGA-SAMATĀTA)

Of the different parts of modern Bengal, the one which consists of what should have properly been called South Bengal, but which was not thought of as a separate geographical division, formed part of the old province named Vaṅga, and the one which is now called Eastern Bengal formed part of the old province named Samataṭa. But in later days, probably during the 7th century A.D., when the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang visited India (A.D. 629-48), the name Samataṭa represented both these countries, i.e., Vaṅga as well as the territory which was generally known as Samataṭa. The name Vaṅga, however, is a very old one. In Vedic and Buddhist literature, Kauṭilya’s Arthaśāstra, Bṛihatsamhitā, Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas and also some of the works of Bhāsa and Kālidāsa, we come across the names of the eastern country, called Vaṅga and of its rulers.

The first historical reference to the people of Vaṅga is found in the Meharauli Iron Pillar inscription¹ of King Chandra, whom we have else-

where tried to identify with Chandragupta I of the imperial Gupta dynasty, and not with Chandra-varman of Pushkaraṇa, contemporary of Samudragupta. Since the conquest of those people by King Chandra, Vaṅga must have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Guptas.

But Samataṭa (as a separate kingdom, a pratyanta country in the east), like the other eastern kingdoms, viz. Ṭavāka. Kāmarūpa, Nepāla etc. paid tribute to the conquering Gupta monarch Samudragupta,² to whom they were all bound to pay allegiance. The kings of East Bengal continued to remain in this relation with the imperial house, till the end of its rule in the first part of the 6th century A.D., in consequence of the raid of the Hūṇas and the unexpected rise of the ambitious Yaśodharman of Malwa. The discovery of gold coins of Chandragupta II and Skandagupta, and also silver coins with the peacock symbol in or near Kotalipada in the Faridpur district is an evidence in point, for supporting the theory that the Eastern Bengal kingdom remained under the paramount power of the early Guptas. During probably the last portion of the reign of Budhagupta or the first of that of his successor, we have now epigraphic evidence of the existence of another king named Vainyagupta (once wrongly read as Vaiṇyagupta). The Nalanda

², Ibid., No, I,
seal\textsuperscript{3} of this monarch reveals that he was a monarch of the Imperial Gupta family. The seal further informs us that he assumed the title of Mahārāja-
dhirāja and this fact proves his independent status. The other record\textsuperscript{4} of the monarch, found at Gunaighar in the district of Comilla, now in East Pakistan, bears the date 188 G.E. and it thus shows that he was ruling in the Vaṅga-Samtaṭa region i.e. East Bengal in A.D. 507-08 (A.D. 506 according to my late lamented friend and pupil Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharyya who edited the inscription in \textit{I.H.Q.}, Vol. VI, pp. 45-60). This copper-plate, to which is soldered on the left side an almost oval-shaped seal with the emblem of a figure of a bull recumbent to the proper right, with the legend Mahārāja-Śrī-Vainyanguptaḥ, contains an inscription incised in letters of the Eastern variety of the Northern Gupta script, which have clear affinity to the script of the Faridpur plates; and it may be regarded as the earliest copper-plate record hitherto known to have been discovered in East Bengal. Professor Bhattacharyya has proved beyond doubt by means of palæographic, linguistic and other kinds of evidence that Vainyangupta's plate was found in some locality (in the district of Tippera) in or near which was situated the headquarters of the kingdom of this king. We shall

4. \textit{I.H.Q.}, Vol. VI, pp. 45-60; \textit{S.I.}, p. 531,
observe later that another plate of the 7th century A.D. was discovered in the Tippera district, the contents of which also led us to believe that the Eastern Bengal kingdom had its headquarters in or near about Dacca-Tippera districts. It may be pointed out in this connection, that the seals of some of the later copper-plate grants, belonging to the time of the other provincial kings viz. Śaśāṅka of Karṇasuvarna and the Maukhari ruler Śarvavavarman, as well as the seal (inscription No. 7) of the Nepal King Amśuvarman (contemporary of Harshavardhana) dated 39 H.E. (=A.D. 645), contain the same kind of bull-emblem indicating that almost all the kings of North Eastern Indian provinces were devotees of Mahādeva.

From the use of the mere title of Mahārāja by this Eastern Bengal king of the early sixth century, a title which during the Gupta period was used only by the Sāmantas and sometimes also by some of the States-officers, it may be surmised that Vainyagupta at first was a local Governor under an imperial Gupta monarch. But subsequently he became an independent ruler as his title Mahārājādhirāja in his Nalanda seal will show. If the evidence furnished by the Āryamaṇjuśrīmūlakalpa that after the death of Budha two kings in the Gupta line were crowned, one in Magadha and another in Gauḍa, is relied upon, we may assume that

5, E.I., Vol. XV, pp. 301-15,
Budhagupta's death was followed by a partition of the Gupta empire and Vainyagupta established himself as an independent ruler in the eastern flank (Gauḍa portion) of the Gupta empire.

Thus Vainyagupta, who had his victorious skandhāvāra (either touring camp or capital), situated in a place called Kripura in Eastern Bengal, was reigning about four years before the earliest known date (191. G.E.) of King Bhānugupta i.e. A.D. 510-11., and about a quarter of a century before the rise of Yaśodharman whose dominions are said to have included the valley of the Lauhitya or the Brahmaputra river.

Vainyagupta was indeed a ruler of considerable political importance as he had a number of high State-officers under him. This inscription mentions that on the request of Mahārāja Rudradatta, who is described as the king's pādadāsa i.e. his own dependent officer of the State (and not a vassal, as wrongly supposed by Prof. Bhattacharyya), the king sanctioned the grant, as an agrahāra gift of 11 pātakas of khila (fallow) land in five plots, as also some talabhūmi (home-stead lands) for meeting all kinds of expenses of such objects connected with worship, as perfumes, flower, lamps, incense etc. for the Buddha in the monastery (vihāra) of Avalokiteśvara which was being erected by that State-officer in honour of the great teacher (āchāryya) Śāntideva, the founder of the Vaivarttika congregation of monks.
belonging to the Mahāyāna school, and for the provision of food and raiment, beds, seats, and medicines etc. to the members of that congregation and also for the cost of future repair-work in the portion which will be broken and torn in that monastery. The dūtaka in this grant was the great (probably, the highest) State-officer, Mahārājāmahāsāmanta Vijayasena, who had the right of exercising the functions of four high officials, viz, the Mahāpratihāra (the chief officer of the Palace Police), the Mahāpilupati (the Superintendent of the royal stable for elephants), the Pañchādhikaraṇaparika (the head or presiding officer of the five royal courts or departments) and the Pātyuparika (cf. pāṭipati in the Harshacharita, Chapter VII—purapāloparika i.e., the head of the city governors and pāṭis) Probably Vijayasena was in charge of the portfolios of all these departments and was thus the chief officer of State during the reign of Vainyagupta. Three other officers bearing the title Kumārāmātya, whose position was surely inferior to Vijayasena’s own, are also named in this epigraph viz. Revajyasvāmin, Bhāmaha and Vatsabhogika; and they were informed of the royal order of the grant, by Vijayasena. One cannot be quite sure whether they were the vishayapatis of some districts (vishaya) under this king. Karanakāyastha Naradatta, who was the Sāndhivigrāhā [dhikā] rin, the Minister of Peace and War, was the writer of this document. That Eastern
Bengal has always been a country of water-courses, channels, river-beds, rivulets and alluvial char lands can be corroborated by reference to such an inscription of the sixth century A.D., wherein reference is made to such Bengali (non-Sanskritic words as) khādi (channel), jolā (a water-course, cf. Yeleta maṇḍala in Śrī-Chandra’s Dhulia copper plate), nauyoga (probably a haven for boats), hojjika (water-logged place) and vilāla (a large sheet of watery hollow).

The most interesting information of historical importance is that Vainyagupta, describing himself as Bhagavan = Mahādeva-pādānudhyāta i.e. contemplating the feet of Lord Mahādeva, thinks that the religious merit of his parents and himself will be enhanced, if he makes such a grant of land to a Buddhist vihāra. Professor Bhattacharyya has rightly pointed out that the name of the Vaivarttika saṅgha of the Mahāyāna school is known in this record for the first time, and it was established by the Mahāyānist Buddhāchāryya Śāntideva. It is indeed, interesting, as Professor Bhattacharyya says, that even a Brahmanic king allowed Mahāyāna Buddhism, to flourish under his broad patronage, even so early as one century before the time of Yuan Chwang (A.D. 629-45). Eastern Bengal seems to have been a great stronghold of that school of Buddhism.

If Vainyagupta’s identification with Tathāgata-
gupta (supra, p. 94) is accepted, Vainyagupta may be said to have extended patronage to the monastery of Nalanda. Vainyagupta’s seal found at Nalanda is also indicative of his association with the monastery.

On the obverse of a few gold coins cabinet of the British Museum, the late D. C. Ganguly detected in vertical legend the name of Vainya and so he attributed them to Vainyagupta of the Gunaiighar and Nalanda records. His attribution has been later on supported by a coin belonging to the collection of Mr. Narendra Singh Singhi of Calcutta on the obverse of which Prof. S. K. Saraswati also found Vainya, i.e. the Vainyagupta. Prof. Saraswati’s reading has been recently confirmed by Dr. B. N. Mukherjee. Thus numismatic evidence also establishes the independent position of Vainyagupta and tends to assign him to the imperial Gupta family.

From the contents of the Paharpur copper-plate of Budhagupta’s time (159 G.E. = A.D., 478-79.) it can be pointed out that 8 dronavapas of land make one kulyavapa and therefore the old lexicographers are quite right in stating such a formula. From the

Gunaiighar inscription it is now clear that one pāṭaka of land consists of 40 dronas. Hence the relation between a kulyavāpa and a pāṭaka is in the ratio of 1 to 5. This is important for an understanding of land-measurement as referred to in old epigraphic documents discovered in East Bengal.

That the old kings of East Bengal used to establish Buddhist monasteries is evident from the mention of Rājavihāras in connection with the boundaries of the granted land. Another vihāra under the supervision of a teacher of the Buddhist monks, named Jitasena, is mentioned in Vainyagupta’s charter.

We are quite in the dark about the successor of any other feudatory ruler in East Bengal (Samataṭa), acknowledging the suzerainty of any of the last imperial Guptas, or of the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha. But the six inscriptions,¹⁰ five copper-plate grants found in the

10. These are: (a) Grant of Gopachandra, year 2, (b) Second Grant of the same king, year 18; (c) Grant of Dharmāditya, year 3, (d) Second Grant of the same king; (e) Grant of Samāchāradeva, year 7 and (f) Second Grant of the same king, year 14. A seal of Samāchāradeva has been found at Nalanda, see M. A. S. I., No. 66, p. 31.

Faridpur district, East Bengal, and another at Mallasarul in the Burdwan district, West Bengal, as well as the discovery of a few of their coins disclosed the fact that three independent kings bearing the imperial title of Mahārajādhirāja, named Gopachandra, Dharmāditya and Samāchāradeva, ruled in Eastern Bengal, and were probably related to one another and formed a dynasty that took the place of the Guptas in Eastern India, as was thought by the late N. K. Bhattasali. It is difficult to agree with Bhattasali’s view that they were sovereigns reigning in the whole of Eastern India, but it seems quite probable that they were rulers in Samataṭa only, with full and independent power exercising jurisdiction over its different parts through the agency of governors, e.g. in the Vārakamandala, and also having feudatory chiefs under their suzerainty. Some may suggest that these three

Commemoration Volume, Vol. III, pp. 485ff. The inscription marked as e has not been published as yet and its whereabouts are also unknown.


12. E.I., Vol. XVIII, p.84.
imperial kings assumed independence in Eastern India, after the break-up of the imperial Gupta dominion towards the middle of the 6th century A.D., and ruled the different parts of Bengal, including even Puṇḍravardhana and Karṇasuvāraṇa by a system of administration through the agency of governors, and district officers working under them, as scholars have known from the Damodarpur copper plates of the Gupta period edited by the present writer. To us, however, it appears that these three kings ruled from the place, wherefrom Vainyagupta also had done, a few years before them. This locality was somewhere either in eastern Dacca or northern Tippera district, which formed the central part of the kingdom of these monarchs; and the Vārakamaṇḍala (which roughly comprises the modern Faridpur and Jessore districts) formed an additional part of their kingdom, ruled through their administrative agents, namely Governors and Vishayapatis. It may also be thought that after the downfall of the imperial Gupta dynasty, Central Bengal (i.e. the portion known a little later by the name of Karṇasuvāraṇa) and North Bengal (the old bhukti of Puṇḍravardhana) were annexed to the kingdom of the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha, and remained in that relation, till Harshavardhana’s subjugation of major portion of Bengal, and the establishment of his supremacy in the eastern region, before the first quarter of the seventh century
A.D. These three Eastern Bengal rulers may, therefore, be taken as reigning, very probably in succession, during the last three quarters of the 6th century A.D., when the three or four Later Gupta rulers just before Mādhavagupta, Harshavardhana's ally, ruled from Magadha. No great stress should be laid on the view\(^\text{13}\) of Dr. Hoernle that Dharmāditya is to be identified with Yaśodharman and Gopachandra with Prince Govi (pi ?) cited by Tāranātha in his 'Tibetan History of Buddhism in India', who, in the opinion of the learned writer, was, according to a tradition, "a grandson of Bālāditya and was son of the last Gupta Emperor Kumāragupta II (now, Kumāragupta III, in our opinion) whom Yaśodharman displaced". But this is certain that we cannot establish any connection, if there had been any, between these Eastern Bengal kings and the imperial Gupta dynasty. Nor have we been quite convinced by Bhattasali's arguments,\(^\text{14}\) based on the identical use of the bull-standard on the coin of both Samāchāradeva and Śaśāṅka, King of Karṇasuvāraṇa, that it is "almost certain that Samāchāradeva was a predecessor of Śaśāṅka in the kingdom of Gauḍa and of the same lineage, perhaps his father". All that seems probable to us is that Samāchāradeva and Śaśāṅka may have been contemporary rulers


for sometime, in two different parts of Bengal, viz. Samataṭa and Karṇasuvarna respectively.

We will now collect materials for the history of Eastern Bengal, so far as that can be done from a study of the six copper-plate grants mentioned above. Two of them, a and b, belong to the reign of Mahārajādhirāja Bhaṭṭāraka Gopachandra who was in power for at least 18 years (the reading the 19th year in the Faridpur plate of Gopachandra by Pargiter is wrong). It is interesting to find the same Nāgadeva, who had the titles of Mahāpratihāra, Kumārmātya and Uparika in Gopachandra’s Faridpur Charter (b), as having been mentioned in Dharmāditya’s undated Faridpur plate marked as d. Nāgadeva in Gopachandra’s record figures as the Governor of Navyāvakāṣikā. Another officer, Nayasaṇa, described as the Chief Secretary (jyesṭha-kāyastha) in Gopachandra’s Government also appears in Dharmāditya’s record. The name of the Vishayapati of Vārkaṃaṇḍala at the time of Gopachandra’s grant was Vatsapālasvāmin, probably a Brāhmaṇa. The name Nayasaṇa as the chief Kāyastha both in Gopachandra’s and Dharmāditya’s plates (b and d) reminds us of the chief State officer with several high titles named Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta Vijayasena (in the service of King Vainyagupta in A.D. 507-08 in both Faridpur and Mallasarul records Vijayasena is described as Mahārāja). Both have the
same surname Sena and probably the family they came from supplied hereditary chief State officers to the imperial monarchs in East Bengal. This remark is intended only to connect Vainyagupta and Gopachandra as rulers of the same kingdom of Eastern and Western Bengal. The Mañjuśrīmūla-kalpa\(^{15}\) mentions a king of the pṛāchya-janapadas, named Gopa (Gopākhyanṛipati). Probably that king is to be identified with Gopachandra.

The next king\(^{16}\) who ruled in Samataṭa was Mahārājaḥdirajā Dharmāditya, to whom belong the documents (c and d). The first of these (i.e. c) was issued in the third regnal year of the monarch. The other is not dated.

It has been fully shown by the author elsewhere, how these Faridpur charters were documents of the same type and form as the Damodarpur, the Dhanaidaha and the Paharpur inscriptions (including the Baigrama plate of the reign of Kumāragupta I), i.e. they were not ordinary royal grants of land, but were land-sale documents, the procedure of purchase, appearing to be almost the same in

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16. Pargiter thought that Dharmāditya was the first king and “Gopachandra succeeded him, with no one intervening unless it was for a very short interval” (I.A., 1910, pp. 206 ff). To our mind, Gopachandra was succeeded by Dharmāditya, and not vice versa.
almost all of them. In both these inscriptions (c and d) we find that the *vishaya* (district) of Vārakamandaḷa was administered by *vishayapatis*, named Jajāva in the first charter, and Gopaḷasvāmin in the second. These two officers, like the other *vishayapatis* in the North Bengal inscriptions of the previous and the same centuries, were appointed to their offices by still higher authorities, governors or viceroys, who were themselves favoured by the emperors, and who wielded administrative authority over an area larger than the *vishayas*. In the second record it is mentioned that Nāgadeva, who had the right of use of the two titles, *mahāpratihāra* and *uparika*, was in charge of the larger territorial division (probably of the same class as a *bhukti*) named Navyāvakāśikā, which, however was taken by Mr. Pargiter and Mr. Bhattachari as "the provincial capital" or "the Divisional head quarters." The local administrative court was called *vishayādhikaraṇa*, wherein the chief secretary was recognised by the title of *prathamakāyastha*. Mr. N. K. Bhattachari's conjecture that the ruins of Sabhar in the district of Dacca may be identified with Navyāvakāśika may not find favour with scholars. But the Vārakamandaḷa-*vishaya* must have been the district round about Kotalipada in the present district of Faridpur, and it may have comprised alluvial lands and islands or *chars* of the Ganges delta. The name of a

17. *Vide* the most important and interesting remark on
sādhanika (probably a military officer) in the service of the vishaya of Vārakamaṇḍala is named Vātabhoga in plate A. The name of the Governor in Plate c is Sthāṇudatta who enjoyed the right of use of the title mahārāja. He was not, however, a king as supposed by Pargiter, and although the name of the territory which he administered is not mentioned (probably through oversight), it seems that its name must have been Navyāvakāśikā. The opinion that this division was not in existence in the third year of Dharmāditya’s reign is not very convincing. What territorial division, in that case, was mahārāja Sthāṇudatta in charge of? The Chief Secretary under Gopālasvāmin in the latter part of Dharmāditya’s reign is mentioned as Nayasena.

The next king was Mahārājādhirāja Samāchāradeva. In his 14th regnal year one record (Plate f) was issued from the vishayādhikaraṇa of Vārakamaṇḍala, which was administered by vishayāpati Pavittrakā. Antaraṅgā (member of the inner council) Uparika Jīvadatta was in charge of the province of Navyāvakāśikā, which he obtained for administration through favour of the imperial monarch Samāchāradeva. It appears that Suvarṇāvīthi was the name of the head-quarters of the large territorial division of Navyāvakāśikā.  

the topography of the localities by Pargiter (in I.A., 1910, pp. 209-10).

18. H. C. Raychaudhuri takes the term vīthi to mean an
The chief official (secretary, adhikaranaika) of the district administration of Vārakamaṇḍala was a person named Dāmuka. We know of only two gold coins,19 one of the Rājalilā type discovered in Jessore district and the second of the common Archer type of Gupta coins (provenance unknown), belonging to the reign of Samāchārādeva, the reverse legend being recognised as Narendravināta. The bull-standard of these coins indicates that King Samāchārādeva was a devotee of Śiva. We know as yet nothing regarding any successor of Samāchārādeva in the East Bengal kingdom.

It is difficult to establish any connecting link between the kings of the Faridpur plates and those of the Khaḍga dynasty, mentioned in the Ashrafpur20 grants and the Deulbari bronze image inscription.21 The latter were local kings of Samataṭa acknowledging in all probability, the lord-paramountcy of the last few imperial rulers of the Later Gupta dynasty administrative area and is thus inclined to include Navyāvakāśikā in Suvarṇavīthī. According to him, Suvarṇavīthī may have reference to the entire area in the southeastern part of the Dacca district which includes besides Suvarṇa-grāma, such places as Sonarkandi and Sonarang, see H.B.R., p. 26 and fn 3.

21. E. I., Vol XVII, pp. 357 ff,
of Magadha. There remains little doubt that Samataṭa also yielded to the arms of Harsha-vardhana, and acknowledged his authority with the rest of Bengal. Hence probably we have no knowledge of any imperial successor to the throne of Samāchārādeva in East Bengal. In our opinion the Khaḍga dynasty of four rulers reigned during the last three quarters of the seventh century A. D., and must not have lived long beyond the first quarter of the eighth century; and they ruled in East Bengal contemporaneously with the last three or four rulers of the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha, ruling from about A.D. 650 to 730.

Between Harsha’s death, which broke up his vast empire in Northern India and the beginning of the rule in East Bengal of the Khaḍga dynasty, however, we shall have to place the history of another line of feudatory chiefs with the surname nātha, who must have been subject to the lord-paramountcy, either of the East Bengal rulers of the Faridpur grants or that of the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha. It is the copper-plate grant\(^{22}\) of Lokanātha, a feudatory chief (a sāmanta with the kumārāmātya title) which has disclosed the name of a hitherto unknown dynasty ruling in some part of East Bengal, owing allegiance to some imperial ruler. This plate was

\(^{22}\) Vide the writer's edition of it in E.I., Vol. XV, No. 19, pp. 301-315,
discovered somewhere in the district of Tippera, more than a quarter of a century ago, and deciphered and edited by the present writer for the first time. The seal attached to this plate bears on the obverse a figure of the goddess Lakshmī or Śrī in relief, standing on a lotus with two elephants on her two sides sprinkling her with water from two jars lifted by their trunks, the reverse bearing a full-blown lotus. This plate has affinity with the three Faridpur plates \((b, c \text{ and } d)\), in this way that the latter also had seals containing the same emblem. Like the Gunaighar inscription of Vainayagupta of the early sixth century, this plate was discovered in the Tippera district. Loknātha's seal had two legends on it, one in relief viz, \(kumārāmātyādhi karaṇasya\), written in characters of the early Gupta age, and the second, viz, \(Lokanāthasya\) in characters similar to those used in the writing of the whole of this inscription (in Sanskrit prose and verse of 57 lines) belonging to the Northern class of alphabets of the 7th century A.D. The inscription seems to have been dated in the year 44 which, as we ventured to suggest on palaeographic ground, may have belonged to the Harsha era, corresponding, therefore, to A.D. 650 i.e. three or four years after the death of Harshavardhana. D. R. Bhandarkar\(^{23}\) pointed out, from the use of the letter 'dhika' before

\(^{23}\) I. A., Vol. LXI, 1932, p. 44,
the letters signifying 44, that the date of this plate "was at least 144 and not 44" as supplied by the present writer and he, therefore, thought it to be equivalent to A.D. 750 of course by referring it to the Harsha era. But it could as well be argued that the date is 344 saṁvat, and the reference should in that case be to the Gupta era, as in Vainyagupta’s Tippera plate, and therefore it is equivalent to A.D. 663-64. We are not in favour of regarding the inscription as belonging to the middle of the eighth century A.D.; and probably palaeography accords with our view, that the plate should be referred to the middle of the seventh century A.D. The name of the place from which the charter was issued is unfortunately broken away and lost. The learned editor of the Epigraphia Indica remarked in a foot-note (p.303 of the writer’s article) that "from the opening words it would seem rather as if the documents were issued from the office of the Kumārāmātya of Lokanātha’s overlord and only countersigned by Lokanātha himself." But we maintain that during the Gupta age, the title Kumārāmātya used by officers of State was found to have been applied also to feudatory (sāmanta) chiefs just as the word Sāmanta generally used by feudatory chiefs was also sometimes used with other titles by officers of State. So the word Kumārāmātya in the opening prose portions of this inscription refers to the feudatory chief Lokanātha himself.
In this inscription we have a short history of four or five generations of Sāmantas of the Nātha family. They were Śaiva in religion. On account of corrosion and decay, the first king’s name ending in nātha is lost in the copper-plate but he is described as having sprung from the good family of the sage Bharadvāja and he was a renowned king, having right to the use of the paramount title of adhi-mahārāja (or mahārājādhirāja). It cannot be definitely stated when this king in this locality of East Bengal made an effort to assume independent imperial authority. He may have adopted a defiant attitude towards any of the sovereigns named in the Faridpur plates. However, as it is not safe to hazard a conjecture in this way, we should only cull what information we can from this grant, about the next three or four generations of kings, whose position was not as high as the first ruler of the line. The second feudatory of this dynasty whose name was Śrīnātha is stated to have acquired much fame as a hero on the field of battle. This king “repelled all misfortunes of the State through the delegates in possession of his own supremacy and displayed all attainable feats on earth.” The name of his accomplished and virtuous son was Bhavanātha who, being of a religious bent of mind, and having “the one thought as to how to cross the waters of the ocean of existence,” forsook royalty in favour of his
brother's accomplished son, whose name, however, is not found mentioned. The next king, (nripha), the donor of the grant is named Lokanātha. The text admits of some doubt whether he was begotten by Bhavanātha or his brother's son. From the fact of Bhavanātha's placing his brother's son in charge of the administration and passing his days like a rishi, we took him to have had no issue and constructed the text so as to make Lokanātha a son of Bhavanātha's brother's son and not of Bhavanātha himself. Lokanātha, described as a karaṇa by caste, was born of his mother named Gotradevi who was the daughter of Keśava mentioned as a pāraśava by caste and in charge of the army of the king (probably Lokanātha's father). The great-grand-father and grand-father of his mother are called dvijavara and dvijasattama respectively. But Keśava, the father of Lokanātha's mother, is described as a pāraśava. The prevalence of the anuloma form of marriage in Hindu society of the seventh century is also evident from the fact that Bāṇabhaṭṭa's orthodox father, Chitrabhānu of the orthodox Brāhmaṇa caste, married a Śūdra wife and had two sons, pāraśava by caste. We find here that the feudal king, Lokanātha, a pāraśava's grandson on the mother's side, was a karaṇa. It is, however, plain that the social status of a pāraśava in the seventh century was not at all low, otherwise Keśava could not exercise the function of an army officer and be esteemed by the
good, nor, could his daughter be married to a feudal chief's father. Regarding his achievements, it is described that Lokanātha was a very able king, "whose soldiers depended for victory chiefly on their own swords and on the intellect of his ministers". He was also in possession of a fine cavalry. There is also a reference (in v. 7) in this inscription to the fact, that a large number of soldiers belonging to the paramount sovereign (paramesvara) met with annihilation in a battle (?) fought on his behalf. Another battle, in which one Jayatuṅgavarsha seems to have been a party, is also referred to here (in v. 8). It is not clear what part Lokanātha took in it. Another significant fact is mentioned in a verse (v. 9), that a king named Jīvadhāraṇa took military action against Lokanātha, but he gave up hostilities on the advice of his ministers, because Lokanātha had obtained a royal charter (śrīpaṭṭa) from the imperial king, and he gave away to Lokanātha his own territories (vishaya) along with his army (sādhana). The court-poet says that king Jīvadhāraṇa decided upon this course by reflecting thus on the accomplishments of Lokanātha: "in the obstinate battle with Jayatuṅgavarsha he (Lokanātha) showed his readiness; he is expert in the matter of prescribing the right course to seekers (of instruction) in policy; his subjects are always pleased and he is happy in making alliance; this man of many qualities, dear
to the learned, a resort to good people, and prone to (doing) universal good, of sharp intellect, has achieved majesty and prosperity."

The battles referred to above raise several issues to be settled. Who was the lord-paramount, paramesvara? What do we know about Jayatunga varsha and King Jivadharaṇa? The recently discovered Kailan copper-plate grant of king Śrīdharaṇa-Rāta has been of great value to historians as serving an evidence that the feudatory king Jivadharaṇa is to be identified with the king of that time (Jivadharaṇa-Rāta) who calls himself Samataṭēśvara (the ruler of Samataṭa). The palaeography, the ornate Sanskrit language and the mode of address in the Rāta document and those in the Tippera plate of Lokanātha are almost similar. That both these plates are almost contemporary records admits of no doubt. Hence the Jivadharaṇa (of v. 9) in Lokanātha's plate must have to be identified with the Samataṭēśvara Jivadharaṇa-Rāta, father of Śrīdharaṇa-Rāta who was the grantor of the Kailan plate. We have stated above that this Tippera

24. First discovered by Dr. D. C. Sircar who published part of its text first in the Bengali journal, the Bhāratavarsha (Vaiśākha 1353 B. S., April 1946), and then contributed his English article on the same containing the full text and the plates in Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXIII, 1947, pp. 221-241. We are thankful to Dr. Sircar for the discovery of the hitherto unknown Rāta dynasty of Samataṭa.
inscription must be referred to the middle of the seventh century A.D. and therefore Lokanātha was probably a feudatory chief only a few years after Harshavardhana's death. This may have been just after the usurper Arjuna or Aruṇāsva's defeat by the Chinese envoy with the help of the Tibetan, Nepal, and Kāmarūpa armies, and when Ādityasena of the Late Gupta dynasty of Magadha asserted independence by assumption of the paramount title māharājādhirāja. It must be supposed, from Lokanātha's description as a king with the titles nṛṣa and kumārāmātya, that he was a feudatory chief in East Bengal under Ādityasena of Magadha. If it be ever found that there was no continuation of the rule in East Bengal of the imperial monarchs represented in the Faridpur plates during Harsha's reign or after his death, it is not unlikely that Lokanātha owed his allegiance to Ādityasena, and the paramesvara (paramount sovereign) who is described in the inscription (v. 7) as having lost a large number of soldiers in a battle, was Lokanātha's own liege-lord, who must have despatched an army to help his feudatory when the latter had to fight against another nṛṣa, named Jīvadhāraṇa. This last king later made over to Lokanātha his own province and army, giving up hostilities. So it seems that Jīvadhāraṇa seized and occupied Lokanātha's land. Like Lokanātha himself, this Jīvadhāraṇa was also probably a local
chief in some part of Eastern India, enjoying a somewhat independent position and he was forced to relinquish war against the other sāmantā, perhaps because the latter obtained the royal charter from his suzerain. We should guard against identifying uṇīpa Jīvadhāraṇa with the paramēśvara of the inscription and should not think that it was this Jīvadhāraṇa’s army that met with destruction in conflict with Lokanātha. As regards the identity of Jayatuṅgavarsha, we know that the Rāṣhṭrakuṭa kings of the mediaeval ages used various birudas, e.g. avaloka, tuṅga, varsha, and vallabha. Fleet was of the opinion that, as a result of inter-marriage, other families also adopted these birudas. Dr. R. C. Majumdar25 regards Jayatuṅgavarsha as a title rather than a proper name but such a view does not seem to be an acceptable one. At present it is very difficult to identify this Jayatuṅgavarsha, a contemporary of Lokanātha, and we shall have to await future discoveries for the final settlement of the questions.

Mahāsāmantā Pradoshaśarman, an orthodox Brāhmaṇa by caste, seems to have been a high officer of state under Lokanātha—a man of noble descent, whose resources were enjoyed by the Brāhmaṇas, the virtuous people and the community, and who was known for his prowess and the

strength of his arms. This officer approached the king, through his son Rājaputra Lakshmīnātha as dūtaka, with a prayer for a plot of land in the forest region (aṭavī-bhūkhaṇḍa) in the vishaya of the name of Suvvulīga, whereupon he wanted to erect a temple of Ananta-nārāyaṇa and settle more than a hundred Brāhmaṇas versed in the four Vedas, and whereby he desired to meet the recurring expenses of all materials for the daily worship of the deity.

The document explicitly mentions the amount of land in pāṭaka and drona, as in all East Bengal inscriptions referred to before, allotted individually and in some cases jointly to the grantees. We also find the name of Lokanātha’s Minister of Peace and War (Sāndhivigrahika) was Praśāntadeva, who executed the document, probably on the king’s behalf.

This plate refers to an age of anarchy (mātsyanyāya) in Bengal, i.e. the time after the death of Harsha, when the whole country plunged into political disorder and confusion, and before the rise of the Pāla kingdom in the 8th century A.D. The Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Chwang, found no prominent sign of Buddhism in Kāmarūpa. This East Bengal plate of Lokanātha also does not contain even a latent allusion to Buddhism in this part of the country. The king’s ancestors were devotees of Śaṅkara and his Brāhmaṇa officer Pradoshaśarman set up an image of Anantanārāyaṇa. The preva-
lence of Brahmanic religion in Eastern Bengal at the time may, therefore, be rightly inferred also from the mention in the inscription of the sacred fires, the Pauranic deities and Brāhmaṇas versed in the Vedic lore. According to Yuan Chwang who travelled south to Samataṭa from Kāmarūpa, the former country was on the sea-side and was low and moist. The East Bengal climate of to-day is exactly the same as in the Chinese pilgrim’s time. He, however, found more than 30 Buddhist monasteries, and also about 2000 Buddhist brethren, all adherents of the Sthavira school. But he found 100 Deva temples and numerous Digambara Nirgranthas. While he was at Samataṭa, he gathered information of six other countries not visited by him, but all lying near and beyond the hills on the sea-side in the east, viz. the Burmese lands, Pegu, Siam, Cambodia and perhaps Java also. No name of any king of Samataṭa is mentioned as reigning during his time.

As the Kailan copper-plate discloses the names of rulers at least during three generations in Samataṭa, belonging to a hitherto unknown Rāta dynasty, we should give here a summary of the contents of this important document. The copper-plate belonged to a Muslim cultivator of Kailan, a village under Police station Chandina in the Sadar subdivision of the Tippera district in East Bengal (now in Eastern Pakistan). The
village lies South-West of Comilla and 13 miles West of the Lalmai Railway Station. This copper-plate grant of the feudatory king Śrīdhāraṇa-Rāta who calls himself Samataṭeśvara (the ruler of Samataṭa) was issued from a place named Devaparāvata. His father's name was Jivadhāraṇa-rāta-bhaṭṭāraka who was also styled Samataṭeśvara and his mother's name was Bandhudevī. The first verse invoking the god Hari indicates that the family of the Rātas was Vaishṇava in religious faith. In line 13 of the document Śrīdhāraṇa calls himself Parama-Vaishṇava. This Prāptapāṇchamahāśabda ruler of Samataṭa, Śrīdhāraṇa-rāta-deva, was approached by his Mahāsāndhi-Vigrahādhikrita (the Chief Minister of Peace and War). Jayanātha, through the crown-prince Yuvarāja-prāptapāṇchamahāśabda Baladhāraṇa-rāta-bhaṭṭāraka, praying for the grant of 25 pāṭakas of land situated in two vishayas named Guptināṭana and Paṭalāyikā which he desired for some sacred purposes. He wanted to be favoured by the king with the grant of the land to him, so that he might himself make a division of the granted pāṭakas of land between two different kinds of religiously worshipful objects. The first purpose was to provide for the garlands, incense, light and unguents for the great merciful and all knowing lord Tathāgata (Buddha). His second purpose was to meet the expenses for the study and recitation of the Dharma, of which the way was taught by the
lord, and his third purpose was again to provide the various requisites such as robes and food-lumps and other materials for the noble Sañgha. The applicant minister Jayanātha's fourth purpose was to make a distribution of certain portions of the granted land to Sengal (name and number of them mentioned along with the shares alloted to them) Brāhmaṇas, versed in lores, for performing the five mahāyajñas. The king Śrīdhāraṇa granted the prayer of Jayanātha to whom 25 pāṭakas of demarcated land were given. The rulers of the Rāta dynasty of Samataṭa cherished the spirit of religious toleration which prevailed among most of the rulers of different states during all periods of Indian history. This copper-plate serves as an example of that kind of toleration as we find Śrīdhāraṇa granting land simultaneously for the purpose of worshipping the Buddhist triratna and also for the maintenance of sacrifices by learned Brāhmaṇas. Jayanātha wanted to perform this religious act for the enhancement of the merit of his own parents and his sons and grandsons and also for (all beings of) the world. King Śrīdhāraṇa issued this charter on the seventh day of the bright fortnight of the month of Śrāvana in the 8th year of the administration of Samataṭa and other places which he possessed on account of the blessing of his father's (Jīvadhāraṇa's) feet.

It may be noted here that the overlord (paramēśvara) of verse 7 of the Lokanātha's plate
(whoever he might have been) had at first two refractory feudatories Lokanātha and Jīvadhāraṇāraṭa, the ruler of Samatāta (of the Kailan plate). Lokanātha, however, had again to deal militarily against another king (?) Jayantuṅgavarsha who may or may not have been a third refractory feudatory trying not to submit to the same overlord (paramēśvara). But we are not in a position yet to know the identity of this Jayantuṅgavarsha against whom Lokanātha might have engaged himself in a very hard fight launched immediately (v. 8 of Lokanātha’s plate). This military action of Lokanātha and also the various other qualities of head and heart he possessed as disclosed in the same verse made Jīvadhāraṇāraṭa to pacify Lokanātha and return to the latter his territory (vishaya) previously usurped by the former by giving up battle against Lokanātha (v. 9 of Lokanātha’s plate) after he had succeeded in earning the favour of his overlord and obtaining the śrīpāṭṭa (royal charter). It is quite possible that Jīvadhāraṇa-rāta on many a former occasion rose against the overlord whose army met with heavy discomfiture, but later on he attained much favour with the overlord. Then, of course, Jīvadhāraṇa, finding Lokanātha very strong in men and money dislodged the usurped territory of of Lokanātha, his rival feudatory king. This Jīvadhāraṇa-rata, father of Śrīdhārana-rāta, was undoubtedly a contemporary of Lokanātha and so
it appears that the 8th year of Śrīdhāraṇa-rāta (mentioned in the Kailan plate, lines 26-27) might probably have fallen later than Lokanātha’s time. If the above remarks may be accepted as the true picture of the relationship between the Nāthas and Rātas, as also Jayatuṅgvarsha, we cannot agree with the cumbrous suggestion of the construction (anvaya)\textsuperscript{26} of verses 7-9 of Lokanātha’s Tippera plate by Dr. Sircar.

It is to the interval between Harsha’s death and the rise of the Buddhist dynasty of the Pālas of Bengal, i.e. the period approximately between A.D. 650 to A.D. 750 that we shall have to assign the

\textsuperscript{26} Vide fn. 7 p. 233 of Dr. D. C. Sircar’s article in \textit{I. H. Q.}, Vol. XXIII, 1947. Dr. Sircar’s anvaya of the three verses may lead to greater confusion in arriving at any proper and natural interpretation of them. He has overlooked the fact that the 4th foot of verse 7 should not be stretched from its own place and connected with the independently integral verse 8. The word \textit{yasmin} (v. 7) should not be made an adjective to \textit{Jayatuṅga-varsha-samare} of v. 8. It is rather a correlative of the word \textit{sah} in its own verse 7. Another point to be observed is that the word \textit{sādhana} used both in the 2nd foot of v. 7 and 3rd foot of v. 9 should be taken in the sense of ‘army’ (cf. Medini—\textit{sādhanaṁ mitasaṁskāre sainye} etc.) It may, however, be confessed that we, with the present stock of our knowledge, cannot properly identify the \textit{Paramēśvara} and also Jayatuṅgavarsha of the verses.
rule in East Bengal of the kings of the Khaḍga dynasty. Dr. R. C. Majumdar,\textsuperscript{27} relying on the palaeography of the Ashrafpur and Deulbari inscriptions and the Chinese evidence, thinks that the dynasty of the Khaḍga kings may be said to have established their supremacy almost immediately after Harshavardhana’s time.

All that we know definitely of the history of this dynasty can be learnt from two copper-plate grants\textsuperscript{28} discovered along with a bronze chaïṭya about eighty years ago, by a villager during the process of levelling a mound in the neighbourhood of a tank in Ashrafpur about 30 miles N. E. of Dacca and about 5 miles from the Sital-Lakhya river, and from the Šarvāṇī image\textsuperscript{29} of inscription of Queen Prabhāvatī, discovered sometime during the first decade of the present century, in or near a village called Deulbari, situated about 14 miles south of Comilla in the district of Tippera. We fully agree with N. K. Bhattasali in believing that these Khaḍga inscriptions cannot be assigned a date posterior to the beginning of the 8th century A.D. But we disagree with the view of the late Gangā-

\textsuperscript{27} Early History of Bengal, published by the Dacca University, 1924, p. 23 and \textit{J.A.S.B.}, Vol. XIX, 1923, p. 378.


\textsuperscript{29} E. I., Vol. XVII, No. 24, pp. 357 ff,
Mohan Laskar and late R. D. Banerji, regarding the time when this dynasty may have flourished in Eastern Bengal, as both of them put it later. It is also difficult to endorse Dr. R. C. Majumdar's reading of the year in Plate B as 73 or 79. Attention may be drawn to the fact that the day of the month in the plate, whether it be 25 or 28, is indicated by the system of letter-numerals, the first sign being a symbol for 20, and the second for either 5 or 8. The use of two different systems in two successive lines in the same inscription for indicating number cannot easily be explained, although one may admit that the first symbol in the reading of the year-number is really a puzzling one.

Let us now call what historical information we can about this dynasty from the texts of the inscriptions. The names of the three reigning kings of this Khaḍga dynasty, disclosed by these inscriptions, are Khaḍgodyama, his son Jātakhaḍga and his son Devakhaḍga. We have also learnt the name of the last king's son was Rājarāja or Rājarājabhatta. Both the copper-plate charters of Devakhaḍga were issued from his camp at Karmāntavāsaka, and both were written by a Buddhist scribe, Pūradāsa by name. The name of the dūtaka in the second plate is Yajñavarmā,—the dūtaka's name in the first plate, dated the (regnal) year 13, being illegible.

The date of the second plate is of doubtful reading. The Khaḍga kings were devout Buddhists. The Buddha has been invoked in the opening verse of both the plate. In a verse in the second plate Khaḍgodyama is said to have been successful in making conquests on earth after having shown devotion towards the Sugata (the Buddha), his Dharma and his Saṅgha. It is, however, not clear from this plate whether he was a king even before launching forth on these conquests. There can remain no doubt from the statement in the Śarvvāṇi image inscription that Khaḍgodyama was a māpādhi-rāja (overlord of rulers). This indicates that in this dynasty it was he who first made successful attempt to establish his royal supremacy in East Bengal. Dr. Majumdar feels inclined to connect these Khaḍgas, with the Khaḍgis, who existence can be traced, as he says, at least to a date as late as the 14th century A.D.; and he presumes that “this dynasty of Khaḍgas came to Eastern Bengal in the train of the Tibetans and the Nepalese during the troublesome days that followed the death of Harshavardhana.” In the absence of definite evidence regarding this point, we should hold this view of the learned Doctor as tentative, and think that the surname Khaḍga may have represented an indigenous Kshatriya family of East Bengal and is not an outlandish name. The second king of the line, Jātakaḥaḍga, son of Khaḍgodyama, is described
as "having annihilated his enemies by means of his prowess, just as wind destroys a straw and an elephant a number of horses." So this king had also to pass through stormy days. The third king of the dynasty was the second king's son and successor named Devakhaḍga, the donor of the two grants mentioned above. He is stated in the image inscription to have been "a maker of donations" (dānapatiḥ), "majestic" (pratāpi) and possessing a sword which could subdue his foes" (jitārikhadgah). The two plates from a muniment of the grant of some plots of land measured by the pāṭaka and dronavāpa area, made by king Devakhaḍga, whose kingdom seems to have been in the enjoyment of peace. His enemies are found to have been conquered and he had under him a host of feudal rulers who paid him court and hostile kings were also "forced to offer his obeisance at his footstool." The couchant bull (significant of Śaivism) in the seal of plate B indicates a kind of incongruity because the rulers of this dynasty are avowedly Buddhists. The donee in both the plates appears to be the revered Buddhist teacher, Saṅghamitra, and his monastery, to the support of which the proceeds of the land were to be applied. These instructions were issued for all vishayapatis, and other administrative agencies and the house-holders of the villages concerned. The first gift was made by king Devakhaḍga for the longevity of his son,
Rājarājabhaṭṭa, who is mentioned as simply Rājarāja (perhaps for the sake of poetical exigency) in the second plate, which only ratifies the grant already made by this pious prince for the sake of ratnatriya (the Buddhist triad), in order to destroy “the fears of three bhavas”. The mention of the four monastic institutions (vihāra-vihārikā-chatushṭaya) is important as affording a trace of the existence of Buddhism in East Bengal at such an early period. The chief queen Prabhāvatī’s name is mentioned in plate A as being in possession of some land which king Devakhaḍga gave away to the Buddhist monasteries. There is reference in the second plate to one king as Bṛihatparameśvara (the overlord) and one person named Udīrṇakhaḍga, as being the first disposers of some land to other donees, but which are now made into gifts again by the heir apparent Rājarājabhaṭṭa. The Śarvvaṇī image inscription also mentions these three kings, and announces that Mahādevī Prabhāvatī, the queen-consort of king Devakhaḍga, caused the image of the goddess to be plated with gold out of devotion. The reverence paid to an eight-armed image of Śarvvaṇī, undoubtedly a goddess of the Brahmanic pantheon, by the queen of a devout Buddhist monarch of East Bengal, clearly indicates that the different religious sects bore a spirit of religious toleration towards each other in a very high degree. Such religious toleration was also in evidence during the whole
period of administration of the North-Eastern empire of the Pālas of Bengal.

The name Devakhaḍga reminds us of the name of another king of the same name, Devagupta, of the Later Gupta dynasty. We feel tempted to regard them almost as contemporaries, as Devagupta was the son of Ādityasena who ruled in A.D. 672. We have stated in the chapter on the Later Guptas of Magadha that the Eastern Indian king of the name of Devavarman referred to by the Corean traveller, Hwui Lun, who visited India sometime during the latter half of the 7th century A.D., cannot be identified with Devakhaḍga.

I-ţsing also records that Seng-chi, another priest, came to India by the Southern sea-route towards the close of the 7th century A.D. and arrived at Samatāṭa. He writes\(^{31}\) —“The king of that country, named Rājabhata (pāţu), a upāsaka, greatly reverenced the three objects of worship, and devoted himself to his religious duties”. This description of king Rājabhata cannot but remind one of that\(^{32}\) of prince Rājarāja, son of Devakhaḍga, also called Rājarājabhaṭṭa in plate A “by whom, the destroyer of the fears of the three bhavas, the gift of his own land was given to the triad”. Hence there may be

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32. Cf. the line: —‘dattāṁ ratnatrayāya tribhava-bhaya-bhidā yena dānāṁ svabhūmeḥ.'
no doubt left about the identification of the Buddhist king Rājabhaṭa mentioned in the Chinese record as Devakhaḍga's son. So Devakhaḍga and his son Rājarājabhaṭṭa flourished towards the end of the 7th century A.D. The latter may also have lived sometime in the first quarter of the 8th century A.D. We are not aware of any other ruler of the Khaḍga dynasty after Rājarājabhaṭṭa or Rājabhaṭa. The condition of the country in all parts of Northern and North-eastern kingdoms at the time was quite unsettled, for we read of another ambitious king, Yaśovarman of Kanauj, starting a military expedition for making conquests in India, specially directed against the Magahanāha (king of Magadha), who is also called the Gauḍa (i.e. the king of Gauḍa), and this adventure of the conqueror is found recorded, as we said once before, in a Prakrit Epic called Gauḍavaho ("The slaying of the Gauḍa king"), written by a famous poet Vākpatirāja, living under the patronage of Yaśovarman. It has also been said before, that Gauḍa in the latter half of the 7th and the whole of the 8th century A.D. formed part of the kingdom of Magadha under the last few kings of the Later Gupta dynasty. Yaśovarman aspired to establish a lord-paramountcy in Northern India, and probably thought that the Later Gupta king then on the throne was a great enemy who must be subdued if he was to fulfil his dream of establishing an empire of the type of early
Gupta emperors, or that of Harshavardhana. After having defeated and killed in battle the Gauḍa-Magadha king, Yaśovarman is described as having proceeded towards the Vaṅga kingdom on the seashore in the south and compelled the Vaṅgas, strengthened by troops of unnumbered elephants, to submit to him. Historians of Bengal suppose that king Jīvitagupta II, the last known king of the Later Gupta dynasty, was perhaps the Gauḍādhīpa who was killed by Yaśovarman. We cannot, however, be sure that it was not Vishṇugupta, father of Jīvitagupta II. It may also be conjectured that Yaśovarman’s enemy in Vaṅga (Samataṭa) was Rājarājabhaṭṭa of the Khāḍga dynasty. If Tāranātha is to be believed, the Chandra dynasty had been ruling in Vaṅga (and occasionally also over Gauḍa) as early as the middle of the seventh century A.D. and on his statement, Dr. R. C. Majumdar surmises that one of the last kings of the dynasty named Govicandra supplanted the Khāḍgas and re-established the supremacy of his dynasty. Govicandra thus might have been the Vaṅga adversary of Yaśovarman. But it is very difficult to say who was the adversary of Yaśovarman at that time. One thing is certain, however, that there appeared again a period of anarchy in Bengal, as also in other parts of Northern India, when the meteoric career of

Yaśovarman (A.D. 731 the date of his Chinese mission) of Kanauj, was ended by Lalitāditya, king of Kashmir.\(^{35}\)

A stone inscription (praśasti) at the old monastery (vihāra) at Nālandā in Magadha\(^{36}\) states that Mālāda, a son of the prime minister (mantrin) of Yaśovarmmadeva, made certain gifts to the temple (prāśāda) which was built here by King Bālāditya in honour of the Buddha. The fourth monastery at Nālandā described by Yuan Chhwang\(^{37}\) belonged to King Bālāditya and at its formal opening Buddhist brethren were present from all quarters on the king’s invitation, amongst whom there were two Chinese pilgrims. In this eulogy Yaśovarman, the patron of the donor, is described as a king of great majesty, who rose to eminence “by stamping his foot on the heads of all kings,” and “dispelled the darkness in the shape of all its enemies by means of the canopy of rays of his sword.” He was regarded as a Lokapāla and could be well compared with the sun-god, “being the cause of the blooming of the lotus viz. the entire earth.” Such a description reminds us of the fact that Yaśovarman carried

35. Tāranātha also speaks of anarchical condition of Bengal, so to speak, of Eastern India. According to him, after Lalitachandra of the Chandra dynasty, who came after Govichandra, Gauḍa and Vaṅga again plunged into a state of anarchy and confusion.


on a campaign of conquest in Eastern Indian countries, and after killing the Magadhan ruler proceeded even against the king of Vaṅga. This account lends support to the brilliant description of the Prakrit epic the Gaūḍavaho. It appears that the monastery, erected by a king of Mid-India afterwards, situated to the north of the one built by Bālādityya, belonged probably to Yaśovarman who came up to Magadha and Vaṅga in connection with his conquering enterprise, when probably his minister’s son Mālāda, made the donation described above. It is interesting to mention here that there is a reference to a place named Yaśovarmapura in the 
praśasti of Vīradeva.\textsuperscript{38}

CHAPTER X

THE KINGDOM OF KĀMARŪPA

In the later Purāṇas as well as the Raghuvamśa of Kālidāsa both the words Prāgjayotisha and Kāmarūpa occur as the name of the old province of Assam. That province included in the past, within its own boundaries in the west, portions of North Bengal, viz. part (if not whole) of the Kuch-Bihar State and of the Rangpur district, with the river Karatoyā as the western boundary. Some portions of China and the Himalayan regions also formed its northern section and a portion of East Bengal was included in it towards the South-West. The Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, the Harivamśa and the Vishṇu-purāṇa, however, mention Prāgjayotisha as a town (pura) and not as a country. From his description of Raghu’s digvijaya, it appears that Kālidāsa intended to apply the name, Kāmarūpa, to the province and the name, Prāgjayotisha, to its capital. The most early and historically important mention of Kāmarūpa is found in the Allahabad pillar inscription¹ of Samudragupta, along with the names of other pratyanta States, such as Samataṭa, Ḍavāka, Nepāla and Karṇipura which lay outside the boundaries of the imperial Gupta empire, but which offered allegiance to that paramount house

and paid it some sort of tribute. Varāhamihira\(^2\) also mentions Prāgjyotisha amongst the countries in the east.

In almost all inscriptions records of the Kāmarūpa kings, their origin is traced from Vishṇu's son, Naraka, who was succeeded by his son Bhaga-
datta, after whom reigned his son (according to some epigraphs, his brother) named Vajradatta. After the last mentioned king there was an interval of about three thousand years, according to a statement\(^3\) in the Nidhanpur copper-plate grants of King Bhāskaravarman, during which ruled many a king of the same race in Kāmarūpa. The calculation of time in that inscription may be taken as roughly correct.

We learn from that inscription that the first prince of the Varman dynasty of Kāmarūpa who became prominent in the political arena of North-
Eastern India was Pushyavarman, who, according to the calculation of Mm. Padmanatha Bhattacharya,\(^4\) flourished about 1600 years before now i.e. in the first half of the fourth century A.D. Bhattacharya's conjecture has been proved to be not far from the truth by the discovery of the Badganga inscription of Bhūtivaran, the eighth

4. *Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvalī*, p. 28, fn. 6. Incidentally it may be mentioned that a Nalanda seal (*E. I.*, XXII, p. 10) describes Pushyavarman and his two successors as *Māhārājādhirāja*. 
member of the dynasty. The inscription bears, a date referable to the Gupta era, which has been read by N. K. Bhattasali as 234 and by D. C. Sircar as 244. Bhattasali’s reading seems to be a correct one, and allowing for each king an average of 25 years, we may place Pushyavarman’s accession in about A.D. 355. Thus in all probability, he was contemporaneous with Chandragupta I and his son Samudragupta. Pushyavarman’s son Samudravarman is compared in that inscription to a fifth Samudra (ocean), as it were, but only with this difference that unlike the latter which is always disturbed by larger fish swallowing the smaller ones, King Samudra was free from the mātṛyanyāya troubles (i.e. those of anarchy and disorder). Like the natural Samudra, this Samudravarman was a king “with his riches always displayed to view.” He is also described as “smart in single combats.” The reference to the mātṛyanyāya suggests that Samudravarman’s ancestor or ancestors had to pass through troublous times, but his own reign was comparatively peaceful. A natural conjecture may be made regarding the name Samudravarman. Probably he was so named by his father in imitation of the name of the great victor, Samudragupta of the imperial Gupta

dynasty. The *pratyanta* States of North and North-East India, including Kāmarūpa, which were forced by the Gupta conqueror to enter into a bond of subordinate alliance with him, are stated in the Allahabad inscription⁷ to have gratified that monarch by payment of all kinds of tribute (*sarpa-kara-dāna*), obedience to his commands (*ājñākaraṇa*) and approach for paying court to him (*praṇāmā-gamana*). It has been shown elsewhere by the present writer⁸ that the relation of the famous Raghu with the lord of Prāgjyotisha as described by Kālidāsa in the *Raghuvaṃśa* during his military expeditions is exactly similar to that of the Gupta monarch Samudragupta with the king of Kāmarūpa. For we are told in the *Raghuvaṃśa* that when Raghu crossed the Lauhitya river (the Brahma-putra), the lord of Prāgjyotisha began to tremble in fear but he later pleased the advancing conqueror by paying him homage by presentation of excellent war-elephants with which he used to encounter other conquerors and also “worshipped the shadow of his (Raghu’s) feet with the offerings of flowers in the shape of precious gems”. Kālidāsa’s poetical description was undoubtedly influenced by the actual historical occurrences of his time. The

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probability of the existence of such a relation between the imperial Gupta sovereign and the Kāmarūpa king can also be inferred from the description in the Nidhanpur plates of the opulence of Samudravarman, who is compared to the ocean “with all its riches displayed to view”. There seems to be no doubt that the Kāmarūpa king was rich enough to gratify the Gupta overlord with precious presents and thus save his own kingdom from being incorporated into a growing Gupta empire, so that Kāmarūpa could preserve its own autonomy as a frontier eastern province, attached, however, to that empire by bonds of subordinate alliance.

The king who succeeded Samudravarman was Balavarman⁹ who possessed a very strong army, which always kept the enemies engaged in warfare. Next ruled in Kāmarūpa his son, Kalyāṇavarman a king described as free from all kinds of vices. The name of the next ruler was Gaṇapati⁹ who was very virtuous and was known for his large charities. He was born, as the inscription records, to remove war and dissension from the land. After him reigned his son Mahendravarman who was a great supporter of sacrificial performances (yajñavidhīnām = āspadam). This is also testified to by a Nalanda

9. The naming of these two kings reminds us of their similarity with the names of Balavarman and Gaṇapati-nāga in Samudragupta’s Allahabad inscription.
seal which refers to the king as having performed two horse sacrifices. We have seen before that revival of sacrificial institutions by kings of other parts of North-Eastern India e.g. the Maukharis and the Later Guptas of Magadha, was a special social feature of those times. Mahendravarman’s son and successor was Nārāyaṇavarman who is reputed to have possessed a high knowledge of military and political affairs (adhigata-saṃkhyārtha). This king was a competent administrator and was able to maintain order in his kingdom. He may be believed to have been also a supporter of sacrifices, provided we adopt D. C. Sircar’s view that the horse sacrifice referred to in the Nalanda seal mentioned above was performed not by Mahendravarman but by his son Nārāyaṇavarman. However, the political sagacity and prowess of Nārāyaṇavarman passed on to his worthy son, named Mahābhūtavarman, so named in the Doobi and Nidhanpur grants. The latter is also referred to under the name of Bhūtivarman in the Badganga epigraph, Harsha-charita and in one place (1.51) of the Nidhanpur grant. Under that name he had at first made a grant of the land in Mayūra-śālmal-āgrahāra in the vishaya of Chandrapuri situated, according to Mm. P. N. Bhattacharyya, somewhere in North-

East Bengal near Rangpur in the vicinity of the Karatoya river. The recipients of this grant were a large number of Brāhmaṇas, exceeding two hundred, belonging to different gotras whose allotments were separately mentioned in the copper-plate document which was accidentally burnt by fire. In consideration of the fact that the loss of the original document might render the descendants of the original grantees liable to payment of state revenue, King Bhāskaravarman commanded the issue of a fresh copper-plate grant. It was a legalised renewal of the former grant by King Bhūtivarman which was made about a century before Bhāskara's own time. Mm. P. N. Bhattacharyya has very properly drawn the attention of scholars to the second verse of the Nidhanpur plates composed outwardly in honour of the great god Maheśvara, which, however, yields, on account of pun on a few words in it, a second interpretation which shows that Parameśvara (king) Bhūtivarman had a circle of feudatory rulers under his subjection (bhogīśvara-kṛita-parikaram) and that he was able to captivate the whole of Kāmarūpa by his (benign) glance (īkṣaṇa-jita-Kāmarūpam). It appears that for the first time after the decline of the power of the imperial Gupta monarchs in Northern India, to whom the rulers of Kāmarūpa had been bound by a tie of subordinate alliance since the time of Samudragupta, Bhūti-

13. *Ibid*, p. 27, fn. 8,
varman succeeded in assuming virtual independence in Kāmarūpa, and bringing other rulers under his political authority. This seems to be confirmed, to an extent, by the Badganga rock inscription which refers to Bhūtivarman as performing an Aśvamedha sacrifice. On the basis of this dated record we may place Bhūtivarman (or Mahābhūtavarman) sometime in the middle of the sixth century A. D. According to such a view, the next five generations of kings, after having freed themselves from the Gupta allegiance, appear to have ruled in Kāmarūpa with the same status as the Maukharis of the Ayodhyā region and the Later Guptas of Magadha.

After Bhūtivarman his son, Chandramukhavarman), reigned in Kāmarūpa. He possessed a good knowledge of various arts which enabled him to dispel the ignorance of his own people. It seems that he abdicated in favour of his son, named Sthitavarman, who had an abhisheka on his accession (Doobi grant 29-33). He enjoyed royal fortune of a high order and his treasury was always full of untold riches. After him his son, King Susthitavarman (alias Śrīmṛigāṅka; Suthira of Bhāskara’s Nalanda clay seal) ascended the throne. The way in which he is described in the inscription forces upon the readers the conclusion that he attained a supreme position of lordship in his kingdom. He used the imperial title mahārājādhirāja. He relied solely on his own power for carrying on the administration
of his realm. It has been noticed in a preceding chapter that an expedition was led against this Susthitavarman by the Later Gupta king Mahāsenagupta, a contemporary of King Prabhākaravardhana of Thaneswar, towards the close of the sixth century. It is clear that hostilities broke out at about this time between the kingdom of Magadha (including also Gauda) and that of Kāmarūpa. In the war that ensued between them, Mahāsenagupta achieved a clear victory over Susthitavarman, and as has been shown before, he advanced towards his eastern enemy's country and defeated him there. A hint, though veiled, to this defeat of the Kāmarūpa king, can be detected in a verse (v. 19) in Bhāskaravarman's Nidhanpur charter, where it is stated that King Susthitavarman "gave away the goddess of royal fortune, like the earth, to supplicants". This perhaps indicates that Susthitavarman, formerly so great a reigning monarch, who had deprived other kings of their high position and ruled over his hard-earned extensive dominion, surrendered his authority to Mahāsenagupta, his victor. The author of Harshacharita also describes this Kāmarūpa king (through the mouth of his own messenger to Harsha), as being very proud since his birth and also war-like, steady and majestic, though not harsh. The king's eldest son is named in the Nidhanpur grant as Supratishṭhitavarman, his younger brother being the famous king, Bhāskara-
varman. It now appears clear from the Doobi grant (v. 52) that Bhāskara’s elder brother ruled as king of Kāmarūpa, though for a short time. Besides the Doobi grant, some significance is also to be attached to the verse of the inscription in which he is, under the figure paronomasia, stated to have made use of his prosperity for the good of ‘another person’ (Yaśyonnatiḥ parārthā). We feel constrained to explain the word ‘para’ (= a foreigner) by referring it to the Later Gupta king, Mahāsenagupta, whose vassal he probably became. If he ever reigned as a king, he might have conducted the administration of Kāmarūpa on behalf of the king of Magadha, who occupied that kingdom after defeating his father, Susthitavarman. Mm. P. N. Bhattacharyya\(^4\) supposes that Supratisṭhitavarman reigned only for a few years after having augmented his royal fortune, but it was his younger brother, Bhāskaravarman who enjoyed the fruits of his actions. Hence he thinks that the word para in the compound parārthā alludes to this younger brother. Probably Supratisṭhita had no son to succeed him and Bhāskaravarman, on account of his military ability, good and pleasing manners and patriotic feeling was liked by the people of the province and was elected to the kingship.

A few verses of the Doobi grant (68-71, for this

grant see *E. I.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 1 ff.) reveal that immediately after the death of their father, Supratisthita and Bhaskara were involved in a war with the Gauḍas. Both of them, so says the grant, were carried to Gauḍa by the Gauḍa army due to their ill-luck (*vidhivaśāt*), but their good qualities (*guṇavattay = aiva*) soon enabled them to return home. Who the leader of the Gauḍa army was, is not mentioned in the grant, but he was most probably, as we have said earlier (pp. 167-68), the illustrious Gauḍa monarch Śaśānka.¹⁵ D. C. Sircar¹⁶ conjectures that the Gauḍa-Kāmarūpa battle took place near modern Tezpur in Assam.

Before entering into the detailed history of King Bhāskaravarman and his kingly career, we give below the genealogy of his dynasty, as obtained from a study of the Nidhanpur copper-plate grant, which contains the names of as many as twelve successive kings, reigning before Bhāskaravarman himself, during a period of nearly three centuries from the commencement of Gupta rule in India. The (broken) Nālandā seal also containing the names of eight predecessors of that king with those of their


queens. *Harshacharita* again corroborates this genealogy, with slight variations here and there in the spelling of some of the names, at least upto the fourth ancestor of Bhāskaravarman. The pedigree stands thus:—

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<td>4th century A.D. (probably the last three quarters).</td>
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<td>5. Gaṇapati (-varman)</td>
<td>5. Gaṇapati (-varman) (= Yajñavati)</td>
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<td>6. Mahendravarman</td>
<td>6. Mahendravarman (= Suvratā)</td>
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<td>7. Nārāyaṇavarman</td>
<td>7. Nārāyaṇavarman (= Devavati)</td>
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17. Mentioned simply as Gaṇapati in the Nidhanpur and as Gaṇendravarman in the Doobi plates.
8. Mahābhūtavarman, alias Bhūtivarman\(^{18}\) (=Vijñānāvati)  
9. Chandramukha(-varman) (=Bhogavatī)  
10. Sthitavarman\(^{19}\) (=Nayanadevī)  
11. Susthitavarman,\(^{20}\) alias Mrigānka (=Śyāmādevī)  

7th century A. D. (the first half)  
12. Supratiṣṭhitavarman  13. Bhāskaravarman, alias Kumāra\(^{21}\)

Bhāskaravarman, known also as Kumāra, was the greatest monarch of the Varman dynasty of Kāmarūpa. He was a contemporary of King Harshavardhana of Thaneswar-Kanauj and probably outlived the latter by a few years. It has been noticed in a previous chapter that there existed no friendly relation between the Magadhan and Kāmarūpa houses. But we also said that Mādhavagupta, son of Mahāsenagupta, made an alliance with

18. Mentioned under this second name in Harshacharita.
21. Mentioned by both names in Harshacharita and by Huien Tsiang simply as Kumārarāja.
Harshavardhana, probably to fortify himself against the hostile Kāmarūpa king, who had now become so assertive, and kings of other eastern countries. We have seen from a previous chapter how at such a time another aspirant for power in the political horizon of the East, viz. Śaśāṅka, King of Gauḍa, was attempting to rise. The gradual attainment of political supremacy by that king must have alarmed the Kāmarūpa king as it did even the North Indian suzerain Harsha, and therefore both of them hankered after combining with each other, and forming a confederacy, of which Mādhavagupta of the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha also became a member.

The most memorable event in the career of Bhāskaravarman was his friendship with Harsha, which is referred to by the latter’s court-poet by the most significant phrase *ajaryyam saṅgatam* i.e. “undying association”, and compared with the traditionally famous alliance between Arjuna and Kṛishṇa, and between Karṇa and Duryodhana. Before a full account of the nature of this alliance is given, it may be marked here that the description of a foreign potentate like Bhāskara and his powers, as given by Harsha’s court-poet, may be relied upon as making a near approach to truth. Such a view seems to be reasonable in consideration of the fact that Bāṇa’s tendency should naturally be to minimise the virtues of a distant foreign ruler, seeking
a friendly alliance with his own patron king. We propose to give here, with great caution, a summarised version of this episode as presented by Bāņa. It is quite natural to think that Bhāskara-varman must have felt it very difficult for him to tolerate the gradual rise into prominence of the king of the neighbouring province of Gauḍa, and he therefore might have cherished for some time past a longing for contracting a friendship with Harsha. Rather it was a reciprocal longing. An occasion for despatching a messenger to Harsha for the contrivance of such an alliance presented itself to the Kāmarūpa king when he heard that the Gauḍa king (Śaśāṅka) had combined with the king of Mālava against the Maukhari ruler Grahavarman, the husband of Harsha's sister. The news of the treacherous murder of King Rājyavardhana by the Gauḍa king might also have contributed towards the hastening of Bhāskara's despatch of an embassy to Harsha for seeking the latter's alliance against their common enemy. When Harsha completed, during his expedition at the head of a vast army against Śaśāṅka, one day's march after his first halt on the banks of the river Sarasvaṭī, not far from his capital at Thaneswar, he gave audience to Kumāra's (i.e. Bhāskara's) confidential messenger, who reached his camp with enormous loads of valuable presents from the lord of Prāgjyotisha, the chief amongst which

22. Cf. Harshacharita—Chap. VII.
was a miraculous parasol of very high worth and merit, the hereditary property of Kāmarūpa kings. This meeting took place somewhere in Northern India between Thaneswar and Kanauj. After exchange of cordiality, the messenger announced that his great master, Bhāskara, desired to form an everlasting friendship with the new chakravartin emperor (i.e. Harsha himself). The latter also heartily welcomed the offer. In course of delivery of the verbal message the chief of the embassy declared that Bhāskara had been cherishing since his boyhood a firm resolve never to bow down before the feet of anybody but the god Śiva.\textsuperscript{23} The messenger then gives his own idea as to the various means by which his master could fulfil such a unique boast. In his opinion, his king could not do so except in one of three ways\textsuperscript{24} viz. by (1) conquering the whole earth, (2) by courting death and by (3) accepting friendship with an unparallelled warrior like Harsha as an ally. The suggestion here is clear that, as neither of

\textsuperscript{23} This reminds one of similar boastful desire of Yaśodharman in the Mandasor inscription, cf. the line :

\begin{quote}
"स्वार्यध्यायः प्रतिपालयं प्राप्तिः नीतमस्तुः"
\end{quote}


\textsuperscript{24} Cf. the following passage from Harshacharita, Chap. VII :

\begin{quote}
"तथासूत्र शरिरवादार्थ संकेतः चाँहुः शरीरपदार्थविन्द्रवाचूऽ नाभम्बा नमस्व हृदिति। त्रैहश्वरयं स्वमात्यस्मिनमुनिर्देश्यायायमवतस्तति, सम्बद्ध, सकलमुनितिविचयेन वा, स्वता न वा, यदि वा प्रवचनश्रुताप्रववज्जित्वा जगतात्कारिष द्वितीयमेव सिद्धेय।"
\end{quote}
the first two alternatives is possible, Bhāskara must be anxious to try the third. The messenger then mentions the several purposes, such as collection of wealth and arms, annexation of territories and matrimonial settlement, which induce one king to contract friendship with another. But Harsha was so great a monarch and ruled such an extensive empire, that there was no chance of his falling a victim to these allurements. This was all the greater reason for Bhāskara to make an offer, through this messenger, of an undying alliance with Harsha. This might be properly interpreted as a hint that the Kāmarūpa king was anxious to offer his personal services and remain under obligations to the emperor of Northern India. The messenger expected to be honoured with a favourable reply to carry back to his own king, and added that in case of his compliance with the proposal Bhāskara would proceed to meet personally, the imperial sovereign. On the other hand Harsha himself, on having heard reports of the high accomplishments of king Kumāra, had for some time past been desirous of becoming his friend, and so on the arrival of the embassy with such valuable and rich presents from Kāmarūpa he began to regard that eastern king as a paroksha suhṛt i.e. ‘an ally without appointment.’ He, therefore, unhesitatingly gave his immediate acquiescence to the proposal, and eagerly looked forward to a personal interview with the Kāmarūpa ruler at an
early date. It seems very probable that Harsha wanted Bhāskara to assist him in his military campaign against his elder brother's murderer, the Gauḍa king. Moreover, the Northern emperor also planned a thorough military expedition for subjugating the other parts of India. Such was the nature of the alliance between these two rulers.

After having thus allied himself with Harsha in the first part of that king's reign, Bhāskara undoubtedly felt happy and secure in his own realm. R. D. Banerji\textsuperscript{25} guessed that, as a result of this alliance between the two kings, they both succeeded in defeating Śaśāṅka against whom Harsha had made elaborate military preparations. *Harsha-charita* ends abruptly at a point when we find Harsha returning to his moving camp on the banks of the Ganges after the recovery of his sister, Rājyaśrī, from the Vindhya forests. So Bāṇa could not mention the results of his patron's campaign against the Gauḍa king. As has been shown in a previous chapter, the results of this expedition can be learnt from the text of the *Maṅjuśrīmūlakalpa*,\textsuperscript{26} where it is described that Harsha in course of his pursuit of the king of Gauḍa came up to the beautiful city of Puṇḍra (in North Bengal), and then having


\textsuperscript{26} Cf. the lines from this book (written in loose Sanskrit), pp. 634-35, already quoted in this dissertation, Chap. VII, p. 185-86.
defeated that king (named in the book as Soma = Ṣaśāṅka), whom he forced at last to remain confined within the bounds of his own country so that he might not in future aspire to proceed again towards the West, he himself returned leisurely to his own country. But it must be remembered that this Buddhist treatise does not mention Bhāskara an ally of Harsha in this campaign. Smith's conjecture that the Gauḍa king "escaped with little loss" and that he being still in power in A.D. 619-20 "his kingdom probably became subject to Harsha at a later date," appears to be correct. Hence there seems to be no doubt that Harsha's first campaign against Bengal brought him partial success only, and that he could not at all raid and occupy Karṇa-suvarṇa, the centre of the Gauḍa kingdom at the time, during this expedition, and Ṣaśāṅka must have continued in power at that place at least till A.D. 619-20. It should be kept in mind that this expedition of Harsha and its results must have taken place shortly after his accession to the throne in A.D. 606 and the time taken by that achievement could not have been longer than a year or so.

On the other hand, it is known from the Nidhanpur copper-plate grants that King Bhāskaravarmān issued his royal charter from his victorious camp at Karṇa-suvarṇa. It has been pointed out before that

this place is now identified with Chiruti and its neighbourhood in Murshidabad (p. 156, fn. 1), which formed a part of the kingdom of Gauḍa with Puṇḍravardhana (North Bengal) amalgamated with it. The question arises, how and when Bhāskara could come to be in possession of Karṇasuvārṇa, which was at that time one of the four or five chief divisions of Bengal, as mentioned by Yuan Chwang. Bhāskara’s moving camp at this place is described as having all military resources, such as a fleet of boats, elephants, cavalry and infantry. Mm. P. N. Bhattacharyya is of the opinion that it cannot be stated with certainty that Karṇasuvārṇa was under the administration of Bhāskara, when the copper-plate grant to Brāhmaṇas was issued by him from there, and this happened at a time when the two allies (Harsha and Bhāskara) were probably celebrating their victory at that place, after having successfully expelled the Gauḍa king from there. Such a view does not seem to be very convincing. Mahāmahopādhyāya is rather right when he says elsewhere in his corpus of Kāmarūpa inscriptions that the conquest of Karṇasuvārṇa by the two allies could not be a lasting one, and that the Gauḍa capital was re-occupied by Śaśāṅka after whose death (about A.D. 625) Harsha might have subjugated it.

29. Ibid., Introduction, p. 16, fn. 2.
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To us it seems, however, reasonable that Bhāskara could not probably join his ally personally, when the latter marched against the Gauḍa king in his first campaign. At some later date Harsha might have marched a second time against Śaśāṅka’s kingdom in the company of Bhāskara and wrested it either from his own hands or from those of his yet unknown successor some time after his death. It cannot be stated without doubt that Śaśāṅka met his doom at the hands of his two combined enemies on such an occasion. Hence considering all probabilities, we may be justified in holding the view that Harsha was successful in a second campaign in taking possession of Śaśāṅka’s kingdom after the latter’s death, and made it over to his ally Bhāskaravarman who might have annexed it to his own kingdom. But we know that the successors of Bhāskara, or even the later kings of other dynasties of Kāmarūpa, could not permanently keep Karṇasuvarṇa under their subjection. The reason for Yuan Chwang not mentioning the name of any king ruling in any of the four or five political divisions of Bengal at that period may be sought in the fact that when he visited (in A.D. 648) these countries and also Kāmarūpa, he found most of them included in Harsha’s own dominion, and some in that of Bhāskaravarman.

R. C. Majumdar goes a step further than the

30. Ancient Indian History and Civilisation, p. 348.
Mahāmahopādhyāya and thinks that when Bhāskara "aided the Chinese expedition against the successor of Harshavardhana" and the latter was defeated, "he (Bhāskara) made himself master of Eastern India" and "pitched his victorious camp in the capital of his late rival Śaśāṅka, and thus increased the power and prestige of the kingdom of Kāmarūpa to an extent never dreamt of before". This seems to us to be an extreme view, according to which Bhāskara availed himself of the opportunity, offered by the utter confusion following the death of his former ally, the great Harsha, of "feeding fat his grudge", his grudge being, according to Dr. Majumdar, due to the fact that after Śaśāṅka's death and consequent absorption of his kingdom by Harsha, "Bhāskaravarman came to be looked upon more as a feudatory vassal than an ally." Have we any evidence that there was any weakening of the alliance that was formed so early in the reigns of both these monarchs and apparently continued undisturbed till so late as the early part of A.D. 643, when King Bhāskaravarman offended Harshavardhana by his indiscretion in refusing to comply with the latter's request to send Yuan Chwang immediately from Kāmarūpa to that emperor's camp? The visit too of Bhāskaravarman along with the Chinese pilgrim to Harsha which took place on the banks of the Ganges near Rājmahal in

Eastern India, when the latter was returning home after his attack on Kōngoda in the south-east, testifies to the temporary nature of the misunderstanding.

The Mahāmāhāpādhyāya considers it possible that Bhāskara had been at Karṇasuvārṇa very early in life, when he might have accompanied Harsha during his expedition against Śaśāṅka, while Dr. Majumdar thinks that the Kāmarūpa king was there for a long time, even after the death not only of the Gauḍa king, but also of his former ally Harsha. Having weighed carefully the two extreme views of these two scholars, we may take a middle course that Karṇasuvārṇa passed into the hands of Bhāskara, through Harsha’s conquest of it, at some date later than his first campaign against Śaśāṅka, which was led by him immediately after the murder of Rājayavardhana, and that this second campaign of Harsha might have taken place either during the life-time of Śaśāṅka or after his death. Another suggestion offers itself in this connection, that Karṇasuvārṇa might not at any time have formed any part of the Kāmarūpa kingdom at all, but Bhāskara might only have pitched his jaya-skandhāvāra (victorious moving camp) there, as an ally of Harsha during the latter’s second campaign referred to above, when the emperor came to Bengal for conquests. On this view both North Bengal and the Centr al Bengal were added to Harsha’s empire,
and not to the kingdom of Kāmarūpa even in part.

We give below a brief account of the Chinese pilgrim's visit to Bhāskaravarman's kingdom, of the temporary straining of the friendly relations existing so long between the Thaneswar and the Kāmarūpa houses, and of a happy compromise after a very short time. When Yuan Chhwang was residing at Nālandā monastery for the second time in A.D. 643, and attending the discourses of his teacher Śilabhadra, whom the Buddhist pilgrim often consulted regarding his philosophical doubts, an invitation by letter through a messenger reached that teacher from "Kumārarāja of Eastern India" (i.e. Bhāskaravarman), requesting the latter to send without delay the Chinese pilgrim to his court. But His Eminence, Śilabhadra, had to refuse the invitation because he had already arranged that the pilgrim should next go to the court of Śilādityarāja (i.e. Harśa-vardhana), before his return to China directly from there. A second invitation was sent by Bhāskara and that also could not be complied with. The king became displeased with the teacher of Nālandā monastery and renewed his invitation pointing out that by personal meeting with the learned Buddhist he expected "the opening of the germ of religion" within himself, and that he should not therefore, by such refusal, cause the world to remain plunged in ignorance, and thus hinder "the deliverance and
salvation of the world." The Kāmarūpa king even threatened to destroy the monastery of Nālandā, by swooping down on it with his equipped army and elephants, just as king Śaśāṅka in recent times brought about "the destruction of the Law" and "uprooted the Bodhi tree" at Gayā. The pilgrim, however, agreed to go to Kāmarūpa, specially because he learnt from Śīlabhadra that within its territories "the Law of Buddha has not widely extended." Śīlabhadra advised the priest to become a friend of Bhāskara and cause his heart to open to the truth (of Buddhism), so that in imitation of the king his own people might as well be converted. But it is a known historical fact, that as Bhāskara was a descendant of the Vaishnava family (Vaishnava-vamśaḥ, as Bāṇa describes) and a great devotee of Mahēśvara, the Chinese priest was not successful in his mission of converting him and his people to Buddhism. There is no doubt, however, that by calling this king a Brāhmaṇa by caste, what Yuan Chwang really meant was that Bhāskara was a Brahmanical Hindu in religion. For we know that he was a Kshatriya by caste, as he claimed his descent from the Kshatriya hero, Bhagadatta of Mahābhārata fame. The pilgrim was, however, well received by the king and the members of his court, and highly honoured during his stay in Kāmarūpa for over a month and a half.

We propose now to refer shortly to the
misunderstanding between Bhāskara and his ally, regarding this distinguished foreign pilgrim. When Harsha was on his way back home after his attack on Koṅgoda, probably his last recorded campaign on the people of the Ganjam district in the South-west coast of the Bay of Bengal, the emperor heard of the pilgrim then residing in the court of Kāmarūpa; and so he sent a messenger to King Kumārarāja requesting him to send Yuan Chhwang to his camp at once. Bhāskara, however, used rude language in reply to his ally, saying “he can take my head, but he cannot take the Master of the Law yet”. Abrupt came an answer through a messenger from the enraged monarch Harsha, saying “send the head, that I may have it immediately by messenger who is to bring it here”. Naturally Bhāskara got frightened and personally proceeded with a large troop of elephants and ships up the Gaṅges, taking the Chinese pilgrim along with him, and arrived at the country of Kie-shu-ho-ki-ło (Kajāṅgala, near modern Rajmahal). Here on the north bank of the river the two allies met each other, and a happy and joyful reconciliation took place, and the temporary misunderstanding was thus removed.

The three distinguished persons then advanced up the Ganges and arrived at Kanauj after a march of ninety days and there they attended the religious assembly, held by Harsha's commands, for the recitation of Yuan Chhwang's new treatise, extolling the
Mahāyāna doctrine, and "exposing the extreme poverty" of the Hinayāna. To this assembly the disciples of the various Buddhist, Brāhmaṇa and Nirgrantha schools throughout the different kingdoms had been invited; and the kings of eighteen kingdoms were present in it. But the Kāmarūpa king received the highest honour from the king of Kanauj as we find him, in the procession of the golden Buddha image, represented under the form of Brahmā with a precious parasol in his hand, and seated to the left of the image on the stately elephant, which he rode along with his friend Harsha, who himself was represented under the godly garb of Lord Śakra, carrying a white chowrie in his hand and seated on the right. The honoured religious guest (the Chinese pilgrim), the state-officers and other princes severally mounted other elephants and they all separately entered the hall of discourse. There the guest from China achieved unopposed the most brilliant success in expounding his thesis, to the greatest chagrin of the unbelievers. After the termination of these ceremonies at Kanauj, which lasted for many days, during which precious and rich gifts were largely made by King Harsha, the latter invited the pilgrim to accompany him to Prayāga, along with King Kumāra of Kāmarūpa, for taking part in the sixth quinquennial assembly to be held at the confluence of the Ganges and the

32. Ibid., pp. 177 ff.
Yamunā on the sands, for the distribution of wealth, food and apparel to indigent and needy people, as well as to the priests and believers in all sectarian religions, who would come there from different parts of Northern India.

The Chinese pilgrim though anxious to depart for homeland agreed to proceed towards Prayāga to attend this religious convocation of Harsha. The kings of other States, including Dhruvabhaṭa of Valabhi (Harsha’s son-in-law) and Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa, attended this magnificent ceremony, in which on several days the installation of the images of the Buddha, the Ādityadeva (the sun-god) and the Īśvara (the Śiva) took place, and the store of different kinds of wealth, accumulated during the past five years, was exhausted by distribution to the various recipients. On the break-up of the Allahabad convocation, which lasted for seventy-five days, the pilgrim wanted permission to depart homewards after yet another stay for ten days with Harsha, when King Bhāskaravarman earnestly requested Yuan Chwang to accompany him to Kāmarūpa and dwell in his dominions, and receive his religious offerings, promising in case of the pilgrim’s compliance, to “undertake to found one hundred monasteries on the Master’s behalf.” But the pilgrim could not make any more delay in leaving India. Both Harsha and Bhāskara offered him all sorts of gold coins and other objects, but he accepted
nothing but a cape, “made of coarse skin lined with soft down, which was designed to protect from rain whilst on the road”, a gift from the Kāmarūpa king. The latter with Harsha and Dhruvabhāṭa saw the pilgrim again, three days after the first separation, and they took final leave of the traveller. Both these allies were kindly disposed towards Yuan Chhwang and they therefore commissioned official guides to accompany the escort.

After this Bhāskara returned to Kāmarūpa, and we know of only another incident in his life. Immediately after Harshavardhana’s death, early in A.D. 647 or at the close of A.D. 646, Arjuna or Aruṇāśava, the minister of the late king of Kanauj usurped the throne, but he had to meet a disastrous defeat from the Chinese envoy led by Wang-hiuens-tse, who succeeded in storming the city of Tirhut with the help of the Tibetan and Nepal kings’ forces. During this foreign campaign against the usurper, Harsha’s former ally, Bhāskara, “sent in abundant supplies of cattle and accoutrements for the victorious army”. This help of the Kāmarūpa king was undoubtedly offered to the victor, to save his own kingdom from being plunged in the general political confusion, resulting from the death of Harshavardhana without a worthy successor able to keep intact the vast dominions of the Thaneswar-Kanauj house.

For a full account of Bhāskaravarman’s history a few words are necessary to describe his personal character. Although this king was always conscious of the glory of his own family and anxious to preserve its prestige before the eyes of the world, the other traits of his personal character were also of a superior order. It has been stated above how with his strong and orthodox faith in Brāhmānic religion he possessed a tolerant mind, eager to receive instruction on Buddhism even from the Chinese traveller. He was always anxious that the darkness of ignorance should be dispelled from the earth. Personally he was devoted to Śaivism which received State support, and his people also were considerably under its influence. The king abided rigidly by the injunctions of the Brāhmānic Śāstras, regarding the preservation of the different castes and social orders. He is described in the Nidhanpur grant as being created by the Creator for the purpose of re-establishing the institution of castes and orders, which had for a long time past become confused. He propagated, it is told there, the light of Ārya-dharma by dispelling the darkness of the Kali-age, by a proper expenditure of his revenue on good works of public utility. He caused the deep loyalty of his subjects to be heightened, on account of his power of keeping order, display of modesty and cultivation of close acquaintance with them. His gifts were bounteous, and he could be compared with Śibi for
offering succour to the needy by self-sacrifice, and in the matter of timely application of the six political expedients he was as skilful as Bṛihaspati himself. His prowess, perseverance and pride were well-known. Free from the usual vices of kings, Bhāskaravarman was always given to performing virtuous deeds. To quote the words of the inscription, he was, as it were, “the very life of Dharma, the abode of justice, the home of virtues, the treasury of supplicants, the shelter of the fearful and and the temple of plenty of Śrī”. In short, he was an ideal Hindu monarch of the seventh century in Eastern India.

From the same inscription we know of some State officers working under Bhāskara’s Government. The highest State officer who enjoyed the honour of conveying from his king hundreds of royal mandates was Gopāla, who had the distinction of using the five titles of rank beginning with the word mahat (prūpta-pañcha-mahā-sabdaḥ)34, which were certainly bestowed on him by the monarch. Either this Gopāla or a person named Śrīkshi (or Śrīrshi)-Kuṇḍa appears to have been appointed as the boundary-attester in the above grant, which concerned the demarcation of land to be divided amongst more than two hundred Brahmin grantees. The latter person appears to have been the mayor

34. Cf. Rājatarāṅgini, IV, 142-43, Mahapratihāra, Mahāsandhiyagaha, Mahāsvaśāla, Mahābhāṇḍāgāra, Mahāsadhanababhaṇa.
of the capital city of the district Chandrapuri. The title of his office is called nāyaka which, in Artha-
śāstra literature, sometimes stands for nāgarika. Janārdanasvāmin was the nyāyakaranika, probably a judicial officer for dispensing justice. There were also present at the time of the execution of the grant the representative of the mercantile interest (vyava-
hārins) named Haradatta and the head of the scribe-
class (kāyasthas) named Dundhunātha. Vasuvarṇa was the enactor of that royal sāsana and it was he who caused it to be composed (sāsayita and lekhayita). The name of the person who was in charge of the royal store-house (bhāṇḍāgārādhikrīta) was Divākara-
prabhā. Dattakāra Pūrṇa was the utkhetayita (probably a collector of taxes) and Kāliya was the sekyakāra, the engraver of the copper-plate grant.

Immediately or shortly after Bhāskaravarmān’s death, which probably followed that of Harsha-
vardhana after a few years, there was, as usual in political affairs, specially in ancient India, an
anarchy in Kāmarūpa which brought to an end the dynasty of kings which owed its origin to the ancient King Naraka, and ushered in a new Mālechchha

35. Vide Kauṭilya’s Arthaśāstra, Book I, Chap. 12 and Book II, Chap. 36.

36. This is the meaning attached to the word by Mm. P.N. Bhattacharyya in his Kāmarūpa-sāasanāvalī, p. 43, foot-
notes 6 & 7.
(i.e. nonorthodox) line headed by King Śālastambha, who must have reigned sometime in the latter part of the seventh century A.D. This new line of kings continued to rule in Kāmarūpa from their own capital, Harūppesvara, situated on the bank of the river Lauhitya (and not from Prāgjyotishapura), for more than three centuries, the last of them being named Tyāgasimha. In all probability the king who first overthrew the dynasty of Bhāskaravarman was Śālastambha, after whom his son, Vijaya reigned. Then ruled in succession kings Pālaka, Kumāra and Vajradatta. The genealogy of this family, so far indicated, brings us down almost to the middle of the eighth century A.D. For, we are told in Harjaravarman’s inscription that after Vajradatta there reigned in Kāmarūpa a king whose name was Harsha (or Harisha, the Prakritised form of the name), an accomplished and pious administrator, who ruled over his people without oppression because he regarded them as his own sons. That this Harsha, king of Kāmarūpa, was a great conqueror who conquered some other countries in Eastern India has been shown in a separate chapter from a stone inscription dated

38. Ibid, pp. 48-49 (Vide the copper-plate inscription of Harjaravarman).
153 H. E. (=A.D. 759) of the Nepal king Jayadeva II. Harsha is therein said to have gained mastery over the countries of Gauḍa, Udra etc., Kaliṅga and Kosala by subduing his enemies with the help of his elephant troops. This king gave his daughter Rājyamatī in marriage with that Nepal king. Harsha must have invaded these countries after the raid of the aspiring Yaśovarman of Kanauj and the march of Lalitāditya of Kashmir over the eastern Indian countries. But it cannot be ascertained whether these conquered countries ever formed any part of the dominion of Harsha, king of Kāmarūpa. The matrimonial relation with the royal family of Nepal indicates that he had much political influence in North-Eastern India. We have also seen before that the mother of this son-in-law of Harsha was the daughter of the Maukhari king, Bhogavarman, who had himself married the daughter of Ādityasena of Magadha. Within, therefore, a period of four generations we observed matrimonial relationship obtaining amongst four royal dynasties in North-Eastern India, viz, the Magadha, the Maukhari, the Nepal and the Kāmarūpa houses. We shall have to close this chapter on the Kāmarūpa kingdom at this point to keep within the limits prescribed for our discourse.
CHAPTER XI

THE KINGDOM OF NEPAL*

The present kingdom of Nepal is a vast mountainous country with valleys strewn here and there and is a State administered independently by a king belonging to an indigenous Gurkha dynasty, ruling through an advisory board of ministers. The kingdom, however, is very old and has passed through many a vicissitude, having been ruled at different periods of her history by kings of various dynasties, sometime independently and sometime as sāmantas or feudatory chiefs. In ancient times the province was confined within the limits of the valley or valleys near about Kāṭmāṇḍu, the capital. That the name of Nepāla is an old one can be attested by a reference to the adjective Naipālikam, meaning ‘belonging to Nepāla’, used in Kauṭilya’s Arthaśāstra¹ and applied to a special kind of blankets made of sheep’s wool (āvikaṁ).

* Since the publication of the first edition of this book much new information on the ancient history of Nepal has been obtained by scholars. In revising this chapter now, I have derived good help from D. R. Regmi’s recent book Ancient Nepal (Calcutta, 1960) and R. Gnoli’s invaluable corpus of Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Characters (Part I, Text, Rome, 1956).

The late Dr. Vincent Smith,² believing in the tradition that Nepal formed an integral part of the Mauryan empire under King Aśoka, thought that as it was not very far from Pāṭaliputra, it was probably administered directly from the Magadhan capital. But the first undoubted historical reference to the Nepal valley is found in Samudragupta’s famous Allahabad Pillar inscription³ of the fourth century A.D., whence it is learnt that, like Kāmarūpa and other eastern pratyanta countries, Nepāla also was brought under the allegiance of the Gupta emperor, and forced to remain subject to his lord-paramountcy by payment of tribute. According to our calculation the first king of the Lichchhavi family of the Nepal branch, Jayadeva I, ruled in the first century A.D. The inscriptions of Nepal do not record the names of kings for some generations. Jayadeva II’s inscription (No. 15 of Indraji), though of the eighth century A.D., is the central record round which revolves to a great extent the chronology of the early Nepal rulers. But it is known that during the first part of the 7th century A.D., this country was ruled, often simultaneously in two different portions of the country, by kings belonging to the Lichchhavi family and the Ṭhākurī dynasty and continued to be so ruled up to about the middle of that century. We

are not in a position, however, to establish the exact connection between the Nepal and the old Vaiśāli branches of the Lichchhavis. Yuan Chwang⁴ in the seventh century remarked that the Nepalese Lichchhavis were eminent scholars, believed in Buddhism and ranked themselves as Kshatriyas.

The early history of Nepal can be known only from two sources viz. the Nepal Vaišāvalīs and the stone inscriptions. Both these sources have been very fully discussed in a most able manner by antiquarians,—first by Bhagwanlal Indraji⁵ with the help of Dr. Bühler, afterwards by the late Dr. Fleet⁶ and then by M. Sylvain Lévi⁷ in his most admirable and comprehensive treatise entitled Le Népal. Lastly Raniero Gnoli⁸ has opened out a vast field for all scholars to work on by his corpus of Nepalese inscriptions. It seems that a most fundamental difference yet remains between the two former scholars (Indraji and Fleet), regarding the interpretation of the eras, to which the dates of the important inscriptional documents of Nepal are to be referred. We, however, reserve till a later stage

of this chapter the discussion on the chronology of the early Nepal rulers.

In order to understand clearly the chronology of the early Nepal kings, adjusted by us in this chapter, and to enable scholars to discuss the historical materials obtained from some of Bhagwanlal Indraji’s inscriptions⁹ Nos. 1-15, Bendall’s inscriptions¹⁰ Nos. I-IV, and some of M. Sylvain Lévi’s collections,¹¹ as well as of some of Ranier Gnoli’s¹² newly published inscriptions. We propose to give below their contents arranged chronologically, with a short note on the place of their discovery, for convenience of reference. We need make no apology for treating below these inscriptions in detail, for they have long been neglected by Indian scholars, although it will be plain that there is distinct cultural affinity between the Nepal people and the Indians from a remote past. M. Sylvain Lévi’s book is in French. It is generally felt by Indian scholars that a detailed chapter on the early history of Nepal, written in English, is a desideratum. In revising this chapter we derived some help from the scholarly work of D. R. Regmi also.

10. Ibid., Vol. XIV (1885), p. 98 (Text of No. I) and Bendall’s Journey in Nepal, pp. 72 ff., Plate VIII, pp. 74 ff. Plate IX, pp. 77 ff., Plate X, and p. 76, Plate XI.
11. Le Népal, tome 3, Nos. I-XX.

Treated as fragmentary, because the buried lower portion of the stone could not be laid bare by the Pandit. Incised in Northern Indian characters on the lower part of a broken pillar, placed near the door of the temple of Chāṅgu-Nārāyaṇa (old image of Vishṇu riding on Garuḍa) situated about 5 miles N.E of Kāṭmāṇḍu, and crowned by a lotus capital surmounted by a Garuḍa. The characters used closely resemble those of the early Gupta inscription. Language used in it is Sanskrit (prose and verse).

Verse 1 describes the great Hari with his chest marked by the Śrīvatsa sign as residing in Dolādri (the name of the hill on which the temple stands). In verse 2 is mentioned King Vrīshadeva who was surrounded by sons who were learned, proud, constant, famous and self-disciplined. His son (v. 3) was King Śaṅkaradeva, who was unconquerable in battles by enemies, and who enjoyed a prosperous kingdom, and protected the earth through the help of approved officials (*abhimata-bhṛityaiḥ*). The next virtuous king, Dharmadeva (v. 4), ruled the vast hereditary kingdom with justice. Verses 5 and 6 referred to his wife and the life of that king and his character. We know from verse 7 that his faithful wife was Rājyavatī, who gave birth to King Mānadeva of unblamable character. Verses 8-11
tell in a most pathetic way of the queen’s announce-
ment\textsuperscript{13} to his son of the death of his father, the king, 
and her firm desire to follow her husband as she 
felt life miserable without her lord, and they also 
refer to her appointment of Mānadeva to reign in 
his father’s place. One of these verses (v. 10) 
mentions the determination, out of filial devotion, 
of the prince to give up his own life, before his 
mother gave up her own; so the son succeeded in 
dissuading his queen-mother from self-immolation, 
and then both the mother and the son together 
performed the last rites of the deceased king. Verses 
12 and 13 state the personal qualifications of 
Mānadeva. It is learnt from verses 14 and 15 that 
the king sought and obtained his mother’s consent 
to his proposal to repay his debt to his late father, 
not by austerities, but by “true and rightly perfor-
med feats of arms” (yathāvad = astra-vidhinā), as he 
was well aware of his father’s military success and 
erection of high pillars of victory on earth. Inten-
ding, therefore, to become “initiated in the rites 
of the battle-sacrifice offered by Kshatriyas”, 
Mānadeva led an expedition\textsuperscript{14} to the east to crush

13. Cf. the fourth quarter of v. 8 running thus:—

“राज्ये पुत्र कार्यास्मनुयास्येत् भ्रमु मोनिमित्.”

14. Cf. v. 14:—

“युद्धाभिषेकसः सर्वसुभक्ति पिता ममात्मकर्ता
धातौ गोविष्मायण्येऽविधिना दीपाभिषेकं स्थितं [i]
याथाभिषेकसः सर्वा गोविष्मायणं संभवाय विष्णुपदिष्टम्
तृतीयाय भवेत् न मम तथा संहारयिष्यामि तात्” [॥ २१॥]
his enemies, declaring that he would instal on their thrones those princes who would remain obedient to him. In this expedition he reduced to obedience some of the rebellious sāmantas of the east and then marched back to the west (V. 17) where also he was informed of the misdeeds of a feudal chief\(^{15}\) whom he challenged to submit, on pain of being forced to submission by his valour. Ultimately he defeated Mallapuri by crossing the Gaṇḍaki river (Vv. 18-19) and then returned to his own country and began to offer gifts along with his mother to Brāhmaṇas.


This inscription records the installation of the image of a Vishṇu (in his dwarf incarnation, vikrāntamūrttim) by rājā Mānadeva for the increase of the religious merit of his mother, Rājyavatī, in the month of Vaiśāka (in the bright fortnight) of the saṁvat 389.

3. The Inscription No. IV of Gnoli states that one Naravarman set up according to the command (perhaps of the conquering king Mānadeva) a Śiva-liṅga at this place (Lajumapat) in saṁvat 388 (=A.D. 331).

4. There occurs the date saṁvat 399 (=A.D. 342) in a small inscription (Gnoli V) in the Temple

15. *Cf.* the third quarter of v. 17:

“भागीत सदि नैति विक्रांतमुर्त्तिः (व)वर्षी से बाजः”।
of Indal-devī, Kathmandu. In the same year, sāṃvat 399, one Ratnasāṅgha established a god named Ratnēśvara (liṅga) for the maintenance of whose temple he granted several pieces of land in Deo-Patan (Gnoli VI). This epigraph belongs to the reign of Mānadeva I.

5. Sylvain Lévi III, Gnoli VII—The inscription of To-bahal (Kāṭmāṇḍū), dated [Vikrama-] sāṃvat 402 (= A.D. 345).

This inscription records the installation of a sun-god by the name of Indra and the allotment of some field and land to the god, by the chief of a corporation of merchants, named Guhamitra, on the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Āshāḍha of the sāṃvat 402, during the reign of Mānadeva I.


[ Incised on a stone forming the base of a liṅga, placed opposite the northern door of the famous temple of Paśupati, 3 miles N.E. of Kāṭmāṇḍū. Characters belong to the early Gupta period. Language Sanskrit].

This epigraph records the erection of a liṅga of the name of Jayēśvara by a person named Jayavarman for the welfare of the people and their king, and mentions a permanent endowment (akshayanīvī) for defraying expenses of kāraṇa-pūjā (worship on
festive days and other occasions). This he does, as he says, by favour of king Mānadeva.

7. We have from Gnoli’s Inscription No. IX that during the reign of Mānadeva in the saṃvat 427 (A.D. 370) a man named Nirapeksha set up an image (now lost) near the entrance door of the temple of Chaṅgu-Nārāyaṇa.

8. Gnoli’s Inscription No. X contains a reference to the establishment of a liṅga named Prabhukeśvara by a person called Prasaṅgha during the reign of Mānadeva. The date of the epigraph is now illegible. The base of the image lies in a quadrangle of a house in Deo-Pātan near the Paśupati Temple.


This inscription forms a grant by Bhaṭṭārakamahārāja Śrī-Vasantadeva made to a lady named Jayasundarī. The boundaries of the village granted are given in it. This grant is almost of a type similar to later land-grants by issue of copper-plates. The dūtaka was Yājñika Virochanagupta. The grant was issued on the first day of the bright fortnight of the Mārggaśīrsha month of saṃvat 428.


[Incised on a slab of stone with a semi-circular top, adorned by a relief showing a chakra and two
śaṅkhas, not far from the temple of Jaist Lagantol Kāṭmāṇḍu. It is therefore a Vaishṇava epigraph. Fragmentary. Letters agree closely with forms of the early Gupta period. Language Sanskrit).

The famous king, Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja Vasanta-deva, who meditates on the lordly feet of the Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja, the parama-daivata Bappa (a term probably meaning the father i.e. ‘le successeur régulier de son père’, as M. Sylvain Lévi takes it, and not a general title used by chief priests as thought by Indraji), issued command from Mānagriha\textsuperscript{14} (the name of the capital or the royal residence, undoubtedly named after king Mānadeva) for a grant to somebody (not known by name owing to the destruction, in parts, of the inscription on the stone). The dūtaka (messenger) of the grant was the sarvadānaṇḍanāyaka\textsuperscript{15} mahāpratihāra (the chief administrator of criminal justice and the chief of the guards,

14. Mānagriha—"la maison de Māna". (Le Népal, t. 2 p. 106). M. Sylvain Lévi in the same page refers also to the words Śri-Mānnavihāra mentioned in one inscription, of Aṃśuvarman, as alluding to ‘le convent de Māna’, Māneśvara, a liṅga installed probably by King Māna and the word Śri Mānānka (written in Gupta characters on coins), meaning ‘a la marque de Māna’.

15. With due deference to Prof. Sylvain Lévi, we differ from the meaning he attaches to this word, viz. ‘commandant en chef’) vide Le Népal, t. 1, p. 281). In that case the right meaning he gives to the officer, mahābalāḍhyaksha, viz. “inspecteur des armées” loses its force, as being tautological,
lit. doorkeepers) Ravigupta. The name Mahīśila appears to be that of the local official head who transacted administrative business (vyavaharati) and had jurisdiction over the place of the grant.

11. Gnoli XI, Sylvain Lévi IV. Harigāon pilaster Inscription (date missing). The characters, according to Gnoli, reveal that it dates back to the times of Mānadeva or, at the latest, of Vasantadeva.

This epigraph is of a peculiar praśasti type. It consists of 34 stanzas composed in various metres by a person named Anuparama and forms an eulogium of Bhagavān Dvaipāyana (Vyāsa) who is highly praised for saving Brahmanic religion from the false arguments of sophisticators (Kutārkkikas) by writing the epic Kāvya, the Bhārata (Mahābhārata) for the people’s attainment of the muktimārgga. The writer records that none else was so very competent to speak of religious subject than Dvaipāyana himself.


This is a fragmentary inscription recording a grant in which reference is made to the payment of the customary taxes (probably to the grantees). The dūtaka was the sarvadanaṇḍanāyaka-mahāpratikhāra Ravigupta. It was issued on the first bright daśamī day of the month of Āshaḍha (prathamāśā [dh] a-ṣukla-daśamyām) in the saṁvat 449. The epigraph belonged undoubtedly to the reign of Vasantadeva,
M. Sylvain Lévi, however, takes the date to correspond with A.D. 559-60


It records the establishment of a liṅga symbol of god Śambhu of the name of Anuparameśvara by one Ābhīrī (a cowherd’s wife, or a woman of the Abhīra tribe) for the enhancement of merit of her dead husband and for the good of her children, Bhaumagupta and others and the gift by her of two pieces of kṣetra-land in Timpāgramain for the upkeep of the god’s daily necessities. The date is the 2nd tithi of the month of Jyeshṭha in the saṁvat year 462.


This epigraph was issued under the order of Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja Vasantadeva from Mānagriha. It records the ājñā about the grant of Kṣetra-land. The dūtaka was sarvā-daṇḍanāyaka-mahāpratihāra Ravigupta. It appears that pratihāra Bhavagupta was a local administrative officer at the time. The date is Jaishṭha 7th day of the bright fortnight of the saṁvat year 454. There also occurs the name of Mahārāja-Mahāsāmanta Kramalila.

15. Gnoli XVII—"Inscription in bad Sanskrit on the base of a liṅga on way to Mrigasthali, Deo-Pātan, dated saṁvat 469 (=A.D. 412)."
It records that a mahārāja-mahāsāmanta Kramalīla informs Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja Rāmadeva of the grant of a piece of kshetra-land by a lady named Mānamati to (the linga named) Nātheśvara on the Śukla-paurṇamāsi day of Vaiśākha month in Saṁvat 469.

16. Gnoli XVIII—An inscription on the base of an image of the Buddhist god Avalokiteśvara (named in it as Āryyālokiteśvaranātha) established during the reign of Rāmadeva by Mahendramati, wife of Paramopasaka Maṅigupta. Its date is missing.

17. Gnoli XIX—Stone-slab inscription at Chawkitar in Thankot. Decorated with a chakra and two saṅkhas. Date [Vikrama-] saṁvat 482 (= A.D. 425). Three other inscriptions at Luh-Mahādeva, Kulanchhe and Kisipidi respectively have identical text and date. Only the name of the locality differs in the last two inscriptions. It is named Kichapriciṅgrāme instead of Tegvalgrāme. They are grants made by Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja Gaṇadeva from Mānagṛiha residence. Mahāpratihāra Bhaumagupta is mentioned. The day is Śrāvaṇa-śukla pratipad of saṁvat 482 = A.D. 425.


It records an address issued by King Gaṇadeva, who is described as using the epithets, bappapādā-nuddhyāta and mahārāja, from the residence called
Mānagrīha, to the house-holders of the village of Kichaprīchīm regarding a grant. The administrator of the locality seems to have been one Prasādagupta. It is, however, not clear from the text of this record that Bhaumagupta exercised the function of a sarvvardaṇḍanāyaka and mahāpratihāra (1. 7.) under king Gaṇadeva, just as Rāṇagupta did under Vasanta-deva. The day was the bright pratipada of the month of Śrāvana of the saṁvat 482. It may be noted here that three other inscriptions in three different places about other such grants are of the same date and are composed in identical text.


It is a unique epigraph describing the establishment of the image of Hari-Hara (called in it also by the different names of Śūlabhṛt-chāṅgapāṇi, Arddha-Saurśvara, Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa-Svāmi, and Keśava-Śaṅkara) by Svami-Vārtta, son of Bhaumagupta, during the reign of Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja-Śrī Gaṇadeva, on the 2nd of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha in the saṁvat 489.


This is also a broken record about a grant by Bhaṭṭārakamahārāja named Gaṇadeva, issued from
the Mānagriha palace on the 12th day of the bright fortnight in the month of Śrāvana in the sāṃvat 489. The dūtaka in this grant is named Vṛshavarman styled Bhaṭṭārakapādiya i.e. an officer belonging (probably) to the personal staff of the king himself.


This inscription forms a record of the svayam=ājñā type (i.e. the ruler’s own voluntary order) issued from the Kailāsakūṭabhavana palace by the mahā-sāmanta Aṃśuvarman using the usual epithets, Bhagavat-Paśupatibhaṭṭāraka-pādānudhyāta and Bappa-pādāparigrihiṭa. It is a direction to the donees and the State-officers appointed to collect the dues of the people according to the limits prescribed (mārvāda-paṇa-grahān=ādhikrita). It contains a list16 of donations (prasāda) to beneficiaries of various kinds. The value of each donation in purāṇa and paṇa coins is mentioned in the epigraph. The date of the charter is the sixth day of a bright fortnight of the sāṃvat 30.


16. Vide the following passage of M. Sylvain Lévi, Le Népal, t. 3, p. 83: Aṃśuvarman, en qualité de mahā-sāmanta, institue un assez grand nombre de donations (prasāda) affecteés a des bénéficiaires de genres divers: divinités, fonctionnaires, animaux, porses, rues".
The form of the address in this record resembles that in following ones of the same king Śivadeva I. The king who is styled here bappa-pādānuddhyāta, Lichchhavikutakelū and. Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja issues the address from the Mānagriha residence to the householders of the village named Khṛipuṅgrāma and their chiefs, stating that on the advice of the mahāsāmanta Amśuvarman, of great fame, the destroyer of enemics, he issued the command of this grant, in which he inserts certain conditions for the entrance of Government officers into the granted land. It appears that Bhogavarmma-gomin was the dūtaka. The saṃvat number, read 500. 10.. by the French savant, does not seem to be correct. We, however, think that it was a date in saṃvat, numbering 317 and not 517 and it refers to the Gupta era.


[Bendall\textsuperscript{17} read and published this epigraph with the help of Bhagwanlal Indraji, but he hurriedly did so, as he himself acknowledges, because he was then preparing to leave India. Fleet\textsuperscript{18} wrongly took the date to be 316 and Gnoli reads it as 517, but Bendall’s reading of 300 was correct].

It records an address (almost similar in form to

\textsuperscript{17} Indian Antiquary, vol. XIV, p. 97 f, and Bendall’s Journey in Nepal, p. 72 ff, Plate VIII.

the one embodied in No. 5) issued to the householders of village led by their heads (pradhāna-janapurassarān), from the Mānagriha residence, about a royal favour regarding the right of entry there of Government officers, by Bhāṭṭāraka-mahārāja Śivadeva, the banner of the Lichchhavikula, on the advice of the mahāsāmanta Āmśuvarman, who quelled the unmeasured strength of the enemies by his own great and unsullied prowess (in wars). The dūtaka was Bhogavarmagomin. It is quite probable that this Bhogavarm was the same person as the sister's son of Āmśuvarman, who belonged to the Maukhari dynasty and later became the father-in-law of the Lichchhavi King Śivadeva (II).


[Incised on a stone-slab near Buddha Nilakaṇṭha tank, 5 miles north of Kātmāṇḍu. Characters closely resemble those of the inscription, Gnoli XL, dated 335 saṃvat = A.D 654-55].

It records an address issued by Bhāṭṭāraka-mahārāja Śivadeva (I), the banner of the Lichchhavi family (Lichchhavi-kula-ketu) from the Mānagriha residence to the inhabitants of a locality (name being lost), certainly about some grant made by the king for their welfare, at the instance of mahāsāmanta Āmśuvarman, who is herein described as "one

19. Cf. the epithets:—“भक्तिक-पुत्र-समर-सम्पत-विजयवाक्षिगत-श्रीयज्ञपतापाश्र-
who has destroyed the power of all enemies by his heroic majesty, obtained by victories in numerous great wars and whose brilliant fame, gained by the trouble he took in properly protecting the subjects, pervades the circle of the quarters". The dūtaka was Vipravarmagomin.


This inscription is also of the same mahāsāmanita Amśuvarman (described with his usual titles as in the preceding record). It is an address issued by him from the Kailasakūṭabhavana to the householders, cultivators and other heads of families regarding a number of donations (with values stated in individual cases in purāṇa and paṇa coins) to temples, establishments and persons, belonging to different religious sects, Śaivism, Vaishnāvism, Buddhism etc. then prevailing in Nepal. It is a record of allotments (maryādā-bandha). It contains the important information that the donor possessed a "pure heart which was engaged in work conducive to the welfare of his people" (prajā-hīt = ārtha = odyata-śuddha-chetasā). His only concern was how his people would feel happy (kathāṃ prajā me sukhita bhavet). Its date is the 13th day of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha in saṃvat 32. For a
study of the history of religious movement in Nepal such inscriptions are valuable.


This is also an inscription belonging to the reign of Amśuvarman. All the epithets usually mentioned along with his name occur here also. It is an address issued from the Kailāsakūṭabhavana by the mahā-sāmanta described in this record as kshititala-tilakabhūta and kutuhali-janat=ānimешanayan=āvalokyamāna i.e. “at which the winkless eyes of curious people are always cast”) to the pradhānas and other heads of families in the village Śaṅgāgrāma regarding certain kind of remission on the question of some contribution of oil by the village-people. (cf. the line :—nātaḥ pareṇātīd vastu-tailaṁ kasyachid deyam). The bestowal of this privilege by the mahāsāmanta was recorded in this charter of the svayam=ājñā type (direct order). In this inscription also we find Amśuvarman described as one always busy in bringing about the welfare of the people (prajā-hita-samā-dhāna-tatpara). The dūtaka was sarvadaṇḍanāyaka Rājaputra Vikramasena. The latter is also the dūtaka in inscription No. 4 above. Its date is the first day of the bright fortnight of the month of Bhādara of samvat 32.

27. Sylvain Lévi X, Gnoli XXIX—The

This is a fragmentary inscription, which preserves only the information that in the grant recorded, one Vipravarma-gomin acted as the dūtaka, and the charter was issued on the tenth day of a bright fort-night of a month (name lost) in saṅvat 519, as read by the French scholar. We feel certain that the date was 319 saṅvat, which is to be referred to the Gupta era, and which, therefore, will correspond to A. D. 638-39. Gnoli’s reading 519 saṅvat appears incorrect. It must have belonged to the reign of Śivadeva I.


[Incised on a stone-slab near a village called Bungmati, 4 miles south of Kāṭmāṇḍu, the top of which shows a sculpture of the Buddhist symbol of the wheel of Law between two deers. This stone, it may be noted, is taken out every 12 years on the occasion of the Rathayātrā festival of Avalokiteśvara, whose temple is situated in the centre of the village. Characters resemble those in the last few inscriptions. Language Sanskrit].

It forms a record of an order, issued from the Kailāsakūṭabhavana residence by the mahāsāmanta Aṃśuvarman, favoured by the feet of Paśupati Bhaṭṭāraka and meditating the feet of his Bappa
(father), to the inhabitants of a certain village. The epigraph is concerned with the preservation of cocks, pigs, fishes etc. The dūtaka is mahāsarva [daṇḍa-nā] yaka Vikra [masena]. The restoration of both the name and the title appears to have been rightly contemplated by Bhagwanlal Indraji. In our opinion (as against that\textsuperscript{20} of Fleet), this Vikramasena may be identical with the Rājaputra of the same name in No. 4. This inscription of A.D. 640 and that one (No. 4) of A.D. 654-55 to be almost contemporary records.


This is a samājñāpanā form of address found in fragments from the preserved portion of which it is only learnt that the king (Śivadeva) directed the householders of the village in which the land-grant was made, to respect the two-fold privilege granted to it and he also declares that his successors, dharmmagurus (‘teachers of justice’) as they are, should continue to maintain the donation made by their predecessors. The dūtaka in this charter was Vārta Bhogachandra, and it was issued on the twelfth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Māgha in the saṁvat 320. It may be noted here that the saṁvat number is not 520, as read by M. Sylvain

\textsuperscript{20} Fleet—C. I. I., Vol. III, Introduction pp. 178 ff, fn. 2,
Lévi. The symbol for 300 is clear to view even on the plate. It is to be referred, in our opinion, to the Gupta era.


It is a samājnāpanā form of address, issued from the Mānagriha residence, to the householders and the pradhānas of the village of Kurppāsī, by Bhaṭṭaraka-mahārāja Śivadeva I (herein described as Lichchhavi-kulānandakara). The king states that with his approval the mahāsāmanta Aṃśuvarman, who, it is mentioned,21 “removed the darkness of ignorance by means of the light of the rays of the gems in the shape of his own virtues”, “obtained prospects of welfare by his devotional obeisance to the lotus-feet of Lord Bhava”, and “uprooted the multitude of all enemies by means of the strength of the pair of his own arms”, granted to these villagers the privilege that in all affairs they shall not have to go to the adhikaraṇas, departments (of justice). The affairs shall be submitted to the local proprietor (svatalasvāmin) for settlement, and that they shall have the right of use of only one gate. There is also a direction that on the two occasions viz.

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Dvārodghāṭana and Kailāsakūṭa-yātrā, each villager should give fifty pieces of jāti-śukla-mṛittikā (genuine silver coins or lumps?). Then occur the usual warning to the interferers and direction to the future kings for preserving these privileges granted to the village. The dūtaka was one Deśavarmma-gomin, and the charter was executed on the fifth day of the dark fortnight of the month of Chaitra in the saṃvat 320. It may be noted here that as in the preceding inscription the symbol for the saṃvat is not 520 as read by M. Sylvain Lévi.


This is a charter issued from Kailāsakūṭabhaveṇa by the mahāsāmanta Aṁśuvarman (name restored), recording the grant of two fields for the purpose of making provision of repairs of some building. The dūtaka is the Mahābalādhyaksha Vindusvāmin.


[Incised on a stone-slab near a temple of Gaṇeśa, not far from the Paśupati temple. Characters same as in the few preceding inscriptions. Language Sanskrit].

This inscription, like the preceding ones, is one of the peculiar records embodying the samājñāpanā

22. Bendall, Journey in Nepal, p. 74 f, Plate IX,
of the king of Nepal regarding instructions on some dedications. The order in this record was issued from the Kailāsakūṭabhavana residence by Bhagavat-Paśupati-Bhaṭṭāraka-pādāṇugrihiṭa and Bappa-pādanudhyāta Śrī-Āmśuvarman, herein described as one who, on account of the destruction of “his false opinion (on religion) by pondering day and night over the meaning of various śāstras, considers the arrangement of preservation of religious and charitable institutions his greatest pleasure.” This king commands by this charter the non-interference (apraveśa) of the officials of the Western Court (Paśchimādhikarana-vṛitti-bhujāḥ) in the work of the members of the Adhāḥśāla-pañchālikās (committees for the administration of temples and their endowments) under whose protection were placed the three liṅga forms of Śiva installed by the king’s relatives as stated below. The liṅga named Śūrabhogeśvara was installed by his own sister, Bhogadevi, mother of Bhogavarman and wife of Rājaputra Śūrasena, for the increase of merit of her husband. The second liṅga called Laḍita-mahēśvara was installed by her daughter, the king’s niece, Bhāgyadevi by name, and the third liṅga named Dakshinēśvara by her (i.e. the latter’s) elder brothers [or her ancestors?] (etat-pūrva-jaiḥ) The dūtaka was the Yuvarāja named Udayadeva (probably the heir-apparent of Āmśuvarman’s suzerain viz, the Lichchhavi king
Dhuruvadeva). To us it seems that this Yuvarāja Udayadeva was of young age in A.D. 645 and belonged undoubtedly to the Lichchhavi dynasty and not to the Thākurī family as taken by Fleet.  

33. Indraji No. 8, Gnoli XLVIII—An Inscription of Vibhuvarmān, dated [Harsha-] saṁvat 45 (?) (= A.D. 651).

[Incised on the side of the mouth of a water-course on the road from Kāṭmāṇḍu to the Residency. Characters resemble those of the last few inscriptions. The second figure (5) of the date seems of doubtful reading. Language Sanskrit].

It is not a formal charter like the preceding ones, but records only the meritorious work of building a good conduit (pranāli) by one vārīta (an officer enjoying pay from the king’s treasury) named Vibhuvarmān, by favour of Aṃśuvarman. The word vārīta may also refer to an officer of the department of agriculture (vārttā). M. Sylvain Lévi24 thinks that this officer had probably to exercise “les fonctions de fermiers généraux.”

34. Indraji No. 9, Gnoli L—An Inscription of Fisḥugupta, dated [Harsha-] saṁvat 48 (= A.D. 654).

[Incised on a stone-slab near the temple of Chhinna-mastikā Devī in Lalitapattana (situated one-and-a-half miles east of Kāṭmāṇḍu). Characters resemble closely, with slight changes, here and there,

those of Amśuvarman’s time. Language Sanskrit prose, with slight poetry in lines 2 and 3].

It is the promulgation of a stone-slab edict (śilā-paṭṭaka-śāsanaṁ as described in the inscription itself) issued from Kailāsakūṭabhavana by Jishṇugupta, who was Paśupati-bhaṭṭāraka-pādānugrihitā and Bappa-pādānudhyāta, addressing the householders of some villages for whose benefit a tilamaka\(^\text{25}\) (water-course) was formerly led by orders of Bhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhi-rāja Amśuvarman, but which was destroyed for want of repairs. Jishṇugupta made over this repair-work to a sāmanta, named Chandravarman. The second favour done by Jishṇugupta to these villagers was the presentation of a few irrigable fields (vāṭikā). Out of the collective income (piṇḍam) from those fields the future repair-work of the water-course was to be done. None would be permitted to lead this water-course elsewhere. The dūtaka was Yuvarāja Vishṇugupta. There is an important reference to the name of the illustrious lord and great king (Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja) Śrī-Dhruvadeva in the first two damaged lines of the inscription, where Fleet finds the two letters Māna visible. In all probability these two letters formed

\(^{25}\) Bhagwanlal Indraji regards this un-Sanskrit word to mean some kind of water-course. He writes—“Probably it denotes a channel which leads the water from the hill-side over the fields which rise in terraces one above the other”. Vide I. A., Vol IX, p. 172, fn. 30.
the first component of the compound-word Mānagriha which, as we think, continued to remain the royal residence of the Lichchhavī rulers, one of whom was this Dhruvadeva, whose lord-paramountcy was acknowledged by Jīshnugupta. In this epigraph Jīshnugupta is described as "desirous of the welfare of his subjects, and one of pure conduct, whose orders were obeyed by all citizens and whose kingly prosperity has been got from a pure lineage" (samasta-pau[rāśri]ta-tāsanaḥ, and puṇy = ānvayād = āgata-rājya-sampat). These epithets as applied to him seem to be very important in this way that Jīshnugupta probably had no lineal connection with Aṁśuvarman but succeeded to his rank at Kailāsakūṭabhavana wherefrom he ruled all the people of the city. Kailāsakūṭabhavana now began to rise into greater prominence, Mānagriha gradually losing its former glory and importance and becoming non-existent within the next few years. The record is of the Svayamājñā type issued on Śuklakārtika 2, in 48 samvat.


[Be it noted first that the date of this inscription is not 535 as read by Bhagwanlal Indraji the symbol for 300 being clear and correct. See also Gnoli’s Plate no. XLI. Incised on a stone-slab, Lagantol, Kāṭmāṇḍu. Characters belong to Northern type of script used in the 7th century]
A.D. Language Sanskrit. Most of the parts illegible owing to letters being effaced].

It records a grant of a piece of land. The king's name is not found in the legible portions. Only the portions containing the text about the king's warning to the future interferers with the donees is preserved. The dūtaka was the Rājaputra Vikramasena. In our opinion this epigraph probably belonged to the time of either Śivadeva or his son Dhruvadeva.

36. Gnoli LI—Stone-slab inscription at Māltār west of the village Balambū in Thānkot district, Dated (Harsha) saṁvat 49 (=A.D. 655).

It is a record of a land-grant by Bhagavat-Paśupati-bhaṭṭaraka-pādānugṛihīta Bappa-pādun-dhyāta Śri-Jishṅugupta who issues it from Kailāsakūṭabhavana under the suzerainty of Lichchhavi-kulaketu Bhāṭṭāraka-mahārāja Śrī-Dhruvadeva of Mānagriha. The dūtaka was Yuvarāja Vishṅugupta in the saṁvat 49 (=A.D. 655.).

37. Indraji No. 10, Gnoli LII—An undated (mutilated) Inscription of Jishṅugupta (belonging to Dhruvadeva's reign).

[Incised on a black stone-slab near a temple of Vishṅu, called Mīna-Nārāyaṇa, near southern gate of Kāṭmāṇḍu. Characters same as in the preceding inscription. Language Sanskrit. The date is missing in the last worn-out lines.]

This record is an edict of Bhagavat-Paśupati-
Bhaṭṭārakapūḍānugrihiṭa and Bappa-pāḍānudhyāta Jishṅugupta, issued from Kailāsakūṭabhavana probably to the Pañchālikā named Gīṭā-Pañchālikā of the village of Dakshṇakolī. In the introductory portion of the edict Jishṅugupta is described as having acknowledged Bhaṭṭāraka-rāja Dhruvadeva, the banner of the Lichchhavi-kula, as his lord-paramount and engaged his mind in devising the means of freeing from calamity all the people headed by Dhruvadeva himself. The contents then refer to the leading of a tilamaka (water-course) by a former chief, a māhasāmanta (undoubtedly Amśuvarman, his name ending in deva, cf. No. 9) who attained good prospects by his knowledge of all political expedients etc. and who succeeded personally in quelling powerful enemies (balavatāh śatrūn=babhāṇja svayam), but who, having once commenced the digging of the water-course for the benefit of the people, could not probably finish the work. Hence the villagers were directed by the edict to complete the work (upasamhartavya) by paying one-tenth of their piṇḍaka revenue (piṇḍaka - daśabhūgam - pratyākalaśya). The edict further gives instructions to them for the worship of the deity (whose name appears to end in.... leśvara-svāmin) and the timely repair of the tilamaka, and then it ends in warning his own officers never to interfere in this holy right (punyādhikāra) and settlement (vyavasthā).

It is a record of the establishment of a shrine for the deity named Nātheśvara by Rājaputra-Nandavarman for the perpetual happiness in heaven of his father, Rājaputra Jīśhnuvarman, of his mother Vatsadevi and of his brothers Bhimavarman and others during the reign of Paśupatibhātṭāraka-pādānugrihiṭa Bappapādanudhyāta King Jīśhuugupta who issued a charter to this effect from Kailāsakūṭabhavana. The acknowledgement of the suzerainty of Lichchhavi-kulālāṅkārabhūta Bhāṭṭāraka-mahārāja Śrī-Dhruva-devī of Mānagriha is mentioned in it.

39. Gnoli LIV—Stone-slab inscription near the village of Kevalpur in West No. 1. Top decorated with a reclining bull. Date and some words in line 23 are lost.

This is also a record of a renewal, of a grant made by previous kings, by the same king Paśupatibhātṭāraka-pādānugrihiṭa Bappa-pādanudhyāta Śrī Jīśhuugupta who issued his order from Kailāsakūṭa-bhavana for the preservation of the worship of the deity Bhagavān Nārāyaṇa-svāmin. Herein also the suzerainty of Lichchhavi-kulaketu Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja Śrī-Dhruvadeva of Mānagriha is acknowledged. This inscription is very important because of the mention by Jīśhuugupta of the former royal personages, pūrvarājas who were
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donors by issuing Śilāpaṭṭaka-śāsanas (stone-slab epigraphs), namely, Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājas Vasurāja, Mahīdeva, Mānadeva and Gaṇadeva (certainly of the Lichchhavī lineage). He also mentions the name of his own grand-father as Bhūmagupta.

34. Gnoli LV—Stone-slab inscription situated on right bank of streamlet Indramatī near ruins of sanctuary of Mahā-Lakṣmi-piṭha, to the north of village Balambu. Date (Harsha) saṁvat 55 (= A.D. 661).

This is a religious grant to the grāmapaṇḍhālikā of a village regarding a water conduit made by Bhagavat-Paśupati-bhaṭṭāraka-pādānugrihiṭa Bappapādā-nudhyāta Śrī-Jishṇu-gupta. It was issued from the Kailāsakūṭa-bhavana on the 5th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Āsvayuja in the saṁvat 55 (= A.D. 671 in our opinion). The grantor king acknowledges the suzerainty of Lichchhavī-kulaketu Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja Śrī Bhimārjunadeva of Mānagriha.

35. Sylvain Lévi XVI, Gnoli LVI—The Thankot Inscription of Jishṇugupta, dated saṁvat 59 (= A.D. 665).

This is an address issued from the Kailāsakūṭa-bhavana palace by Jishṇuguptadeva (described with the usual epithets of Bhagavat-Paśupatibhaṭṭāraka-pādānugrihiṭa and Bappa-pādānuddhyāta) styled “the ornament of the Soma lineage” (Somānvayabhūshaṇa) to the head of families in the village of Kāchanṛasta on the decision of certain partial remission of
the people's dues. A śilāpāṭṭa-śāsana to this effect was ordered so that it may long endure (dūrarakālā-sthitaye). There is a reference to a pond excavated by the great-grand-father of Jīshñugupta, who is named Mānagupta-gomin. The dūtaka here was Yuvarāja Vishnugupta. The date in saṃvat read by Sylvain Lévi as 500 (?) is not correct. The most peculiar reference in this record is the mention of Bhaṭṭāraka Bhīmārjunadeva (in ll. 5-6) who is described as "the banner of the family occupying the throne" Mānagriha [Mānagrihāt singhā (ṁhā) san = ādhyāsi-kulaketu-bhaṭṭāraka Śrī-Bhīmārjunadevas = tatpurassarah]. It seems quite reasonable to think that when Jīshñugupta was ruling from Kailāsakūṭabhavana there was a king named Bhīmārjunadeva (of the Lichchhavi dynasty) who was only occupying the old palace at Mānagriha. But his overlordship was acknowledged by Jīshñugupta.

36. Gnoli LVII—Stone-slab inscription at a place called Māligāon, Kāṭmāṇḍu. Top indicates decoration by a chakra and two saṅkhas. Date (Harsha) saṃvat 59 (=A.D. 665).

The promulgator king's name is missing in the worn-out portion of the record issued from Kailāsa-kūṭa-bhavana. Most probably it was either King Jīshñugupta or King Vishnugupta who issued this peculiar charter barring succession to the sons of a lady who takes to a second husband whom she loves by discarding out of hatred her first husband.
The king has recorded that this charter of his is quite in accord with the custom approved by many a past king. The dūtaka is named yuvarāja Śrīdhara-gupta. The date was the 7th day of the bright fortnight of Phālguna of the saṁvat 59 (=A.D. 665).


It records an order to the people residing in the village named Dakšiṇakoligrāma about a land-grant, issued by king Jishṇugupta who has the epithets Paśupāti - bhaṭṭāraka - pādānugrihīta and Bappapādānudhyāta. This King’s overlord is mentioned as Lichchhavikutilakā bhaṭṭāraka-mahā-rāja Śrī Bhīmārjunadeva of Māṇagriha palace.

38. Indraji No. 11, Gnoli LIX—An undated (mutilated) Inscription of Jishṇugupta’s reign.

[Incised on a stone which supports a parasol over an image of Chaṇḍeśvara in the great temple of Paśupati. Characters same as in the preceding inscription. Language Sanskrit].

This inscription forms a record of certain grants of land of the Paśupata congregation called Muṇḍa-śrīṅkhalika-Paśupatāchāryya-parshad made by one Āchāryya-Bhagavat Pranaraddana-Prāṇakauśika, for the provision of repair-work in the temple of Chhatra-Chaṇḍeśvara and a conduit in a village, during the augmenting victorious reign (pravardha-māua-vijayarājye) of Jishṇugupta.
39. Gnoli LX—A small undated inscription (of one verse only) on the pedestal of an image of Kāmadeva in a corner of the quadrangle of Paśupati.

It appears that the image was dedicated by one ācārya Bhagavat Pranardana during the reign of Jishṇugupta.


This record was issued by Bhagavat-Paśupati-bhaṭṭāraka-pādānugrihiṭa Bappa-pādānudhyāta Śri Vīṣṇugupta from Kailāsa-kūṭabhavana palace. His suzerain monarch is named as Lichchhavikulaketu Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja Śrī Bhīmārjunadeva of the ancient Mānagriha residence. The word Nepāla is mentioned first by its name in this record (in the word Nepāla-bhūbhujāḥ, line 9). Its future kings also are the addressees in this record, which relates the story of making from a huge stone the image of Vīṣṇu lying for rest on the waters (jala-śayana-rūpa). The ruler Vīṣṭugupta directs the residents of the village, Dakshinakoli to abide by his directions with respect to the enjoyment of their properties which may be snatched away from them by the ruler in case of perpetration by them of heinous crimes and he may even bar their use by their successors. He will never tolerate the breach of his order. It is dated in saṁvat 64 (=A.D. 670
in our opinion), the day being the 2nd of the bright fortnight of Phālguna. The dūtaka is yuvarāja-Śrī-Dharagupta.


This record mentions both mahārāja Bhimārjuna-deva and Vishnugupta with the same epithets as in the preceding inscription (LXI). The word Nepāla-bhūbhujō is also mentioned here. Vishnugupta is the grantor of the land to the grāma-pāṭhālīka of village Nṛīmarigrāma. The epigraph appears to be of the same type as in the preceding one. The sāṃvat is 65 (= A.D. 671), the day being the 2nd of the bright fortnight of Phālguna. The dūtaka here also is the same yuvarāja-Śrī-Dharagupta.

42. Gnoli LXIII—Stone-slab inscription in the vicinity of Śaṅkata at Te Bahāl. Undated record. According to Gnoli the characters belong to the period of Aṁśuvarman and Narendradeva.

A Buddhist (Śākyā) yati named Priyapāla dedicated for the good of all beings and the bliss of his parents a well (kūpa) and a pipe of water (jaladravanika).


The one-line epigraph mentions only of a vihāra
(Buddhist monastery) as dedicated by Mahā-
pratihāra—Vārtta-Sujāta-prabhu.

44. Gnoli LXV—Inscription on the pedestal of a
Linga, Deopatan, near Pāṣupati temple. Date (Harsha-)
saṃvat 69 (=A.D. 675).

It is an inscription belonging to the reign of
Parama-bhaṭṭāraka Narendra-deva. It is an address
of the king to the people of Chuhuṇ-grāma about a
land-grant. The day is the 7th of the dark fort-
night of Jaishṭha of the saṃvat 69.

45. Gnoli LXVI—Inscription on stone-slab situated
in the water conduit of Yengā Hiti, Logan Tole,
Kāṭmāṇḍu. One chakra and two śaṅkhas are on
the top of the slab. Date (Harsha=) saṃvat 69
(=A.D. 675).

Narendra-deva is here described as Bhagavat-
Pāṣupati-Bhaṭṭāraka-pādānugrihiṭa Bappa-pādānudhyāta
and Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja. A single verse25a
in Śārdūla-vikrīḍita metre describes this king as one
who greatly adorned his valour by his political
qualities, his own self by brilliant attributes, his
strength of arms by power, his intellect by extensive
knowledge of the śāstras, his limits of propriety by

25a. The verse runs thus (lines 2-4) :—

शीर्षाय न भोगियं पदानुग्रीति हरसप्तिमकामुदासिकमः
शक्तिः पाटवलं सति भृतिमतिः प्रजासयमेव विमि: ।
सप्तास्य: श्रीतिलिमिदिविशीयं यशस्व राजर्षिनय मिशिनी:-
अत्य लिच्छ विशालप्रभुमधं वीर्यकर्मकरः।
orderly discipline, the different quarters by his fame, the lands by the glory of his rule, and the Lichchhavi lineage by his birth. He is addressing herein from Kailāsa-kūṭabhavana the future Nepāla kings (bhavishyato Nepāla-rājñaḥ) about the Dakshiṇakoli-grāmadraṅga stating that it was dedicated to the shrine of Bhuvanesvara probably by the ancient King Māneśvara (Mānadeva ?) and that for certain unknown reasons King Bhūmagupta later appropriated the area under his regal regime. But now the king (Narendradeva) re-granted the same to the shrine out of respect to the old grant made earlier. This grant is of the samājñāpana type and is incised on stone. The dūtaka of the grant is named Kumārāmātya Priyajīva. It is dated the 2nd day of the bright half of the month of Bhāḍrapāda in saṃvat 69.

46. Gnoli LXVII—A stone-slab inscription in the quadrangle of Luṇḍ Jhyā, Maṅgal Bazar, Pātan. One chakra and two śaṅkhas on the top of the stone, (Harsha-) saṃvat 69 = A.D. 675.

The same king with the same qualifying titles (i.e. Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja Narendradeva) of the Lichchhavi lineage (as in the previous inscription LXVI) issued this document on stone (śilāpatṭaśāsana) for granting land in Yūpagrāmadraṅga by revision of a previous settlement. The dūtaka Kumārāmātyo Priyajīva and the saṃvat (69) are also the same. Only the day of the document is the fifth of the
bright half of Pausha. The epigraph was also issued from Kailāsakūṭa-bhavana.

47. Gnoli LXVIII—A stone-slab inscription, near the temple of Nārāyaṇa in Deo-Patan. One chakra only on the top. Dated (Harsha-) saṅvat 71 (= A.D. 677).

The same king Narendradeva with all the titles as in the two previous inscriptions issues the grant in Navagriha village on the 2nd day of the bright half of Kārtika month in saṅvat 71. The name of one Madhusūdana, probably a member of the Pañchālika is mentioned in it. The dūtaka of the grant is danḍanāyaka Nṛpadeva. Most probably this charter is also issued from Kailāsakūṭabhavana occurring in the worn-out portions in ll. 1-10.


While Narendradeva-nṛpati was the sovereign (prithvīm pāti), one Vishṇudeva dedicated a well with machine for drawing water by all people, on the 9th day of the bright half of Kārtika month in saṅvat 78.

49. Gnoli LXXI—Stone-slab inscription in the temple of Vaṭuka Bhairava near Patan. Top adorned by a relief of the dharmachakra flanked by two deer. Date (Harsha-) saṅvat 89 (= A.D. 695).

This seems to be a Buddhist inscription in a mutilated condition. The dūtaka’s name only is
available in line 20 as being Rājaputra-Janārdana-
varmā. The day of the saṃvat 89 is the 13th day of a paksha of which the name is illegible. In all probability the epigraph belongs to the reign of King Narendradeva.


There is mention of the residential palace of the king as Bhadrādvīśa-bhavana in line 1. The king’s name is missing in the worn-out portion of the slab. The Dūtaka’s name is Śrī Yuvarāja Śauryadeva. The date is the 10th day of the bright half of the month of Pausha in saṃvat 95. In all likelihood the king’s name was Narendradeva.


This charter26 was issued from Kailāsakūṭa-
bhavana, during the reign of Narendradeva (lines 4-8 of the inscription being mutilated). It records the provision for the deity named Vajreśvara and some other religious purposes. Bhaṭṭāraka Yuvarāja, Skandadeva, acted at the dūtaka in this transaction.

52. Indraji No. 13, Gnoli LXXIII—A mutilated Inscription of Narendradeva, dated [Harsha-] saṃvat 103 (= A.D. 709).

26. Bendall, Journey in Nepal, pp. 77 ff and plate X.
[Incised on a stone outside the southern gate of the enclosure of the temple of Paśupati. Characters agree closely with those used in the preceding inscriptions of the first half of the eighth century A.D. Language Sanskrit. The reading of the date (103 sāmvat=A.D. 709) seemed doubtful even to Bhagwanlal. The day of the prasāda (grant) was the 13th of the bright prasāda half of Jaishṭha],

It records the grant of a village made by Paramamāheśvara, Parama-bhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Narendradeva to the fraternity of Buddhist monks residing in the Śivadeva-vihāra (monastery founded by Śivadeva). The king directs that this grant of an agrahāra should not be violated by his subjects who should obey this Ārya-saṅgha in respect of all matters relating to it. It is a voluntary command or direct order (svayam=ājñā) of the king and Bhaṭṭāraka Śivadeva was the dūtaka. The name of the place of issue of the charter is Bhadrādhiyāsa-bhavana.

53. Sylvain Lévi XX, Gnoli LXXIV—The Yag Bahal Inscription of Narendradeva (date broken away and lost).

This record is almost exactly similar in form to the inscription No. 13 (Indraji) of the same king, Narendradeva. This epigraph was issued by parama-Māheśvara - paramabhaṭṭāraka - mahārājādhirāja Narendradeva (using the other usual epithets, Bhagavat-Paśupati - bhaṭṭāraka - pādānugrhita, Bappa-
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padanudhyaṭa, Lichchhavikulaketu) from the residence, named herein as Bhadrādhivāsabhavana (as also in No. 13). It is an address to the villagers etc. of the village of Gullataṅgagrāma about the grant made to the fraternity of Buddhist monks coming from all directions and residing in the Śivadeva-vihāra. The special privileges of the donees are mentioned in detail. There is an allusion to Mānadeva-vihāra and other monasteries in it. The part of the name (the element Śiva) of the king is lost in the epigraph.

54. Gnoli LXXV—A fragmentary undated inscription relating to a grant (deya-dharma) to a (mahā ?-) sāṅghika-bhikṣhusāṅgha.


This inscription was issued from Kailāsakūṭa-bhavana by Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Śivadeva (II) of the ancient Lichchhavi race. The name Nepāla is also mentioned here. It is a grant of land in honour of Paśupatibhaṭṭāraka. This is also a svayam-ājñā document of the king. The dūtaka was Jayadevabhaṭṭāraka. The day was the 5th (of a fortnight whose name is lost) in saṃvat 109.

56. Indraji No. 12, Gnoli LXXVII—An Inscription of Śivadeva II [Harsha-] saṃvat 119 (= A.D. 725).

[Incised on a black stone-slab now situated in
a modern Vishnu temple in Lagantole, Kāṭmāṇḍu. A carved relievo representing a reclining bull adorns the top. Character almost the same as those in the preceding and the following inscriptions].

This inscription records the permanent grant, according to bhūmichchhidranyāya, of a village (Vaidyagrāma) as an agraḥāra made for the increase of religious merit of his parents and of himself by Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja Śivadeva II, who was favoured by the feet of Lord Paśupati Bhaṭṭāraka and who meditated on the feet of (his) Bappa (father), to the congregation of the Paśupatas named Vasu-Paśupatāchāryyas for the sake of the deity, Śri-Śivadevesvara, dedicated by himself, for making provision of repair of his temple (tad-devakula-khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-saṁskāra-karaṇāya). The king commands from Kailāsakūṭa-bhavana the headmen of the village and its householders to pay henceforward all kinds of taxes and other royal dues to this congregation whom they should obey in respect of all work they have to perform. The only condition regarding this granted village shall have to discharge an annual obligation for a supply to the tradesmen (vyavasāyins, translated as "authorities" by Bhagwanlal) of five porters (bhārika-jana) for the Bhoṭṭa27 transport service (Bhoṭṭavishṭi-hetoh). The

27. Cf. the passage in M. Sylvain Lévi's Le Nepal, t. 1, p. 280 where he writes:—"Enfin le village est ten u a la prestation annuelle de certaines corvees, par exemple, it doit fournirdes porteurs pour le transport au Tibet (Bhoṭṭa-viṣṭi)."
dūtaka in this transaction was Rājaputra Jayadeva. The date is the 10th day of bright half of Phālguna of saṃvat 119.

57. Gnoli LXXVIII—Stone-slab inscription in the temple of Bhṛṅgāreśvara in the village Sonāguthi (Harsha-) saṃvat 125 (= A.D. 731).

This epigraph records a grant in which Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājadhīrāja Śivadeva (II) addresses the pañcālikas along with the Brahmanas (of the village granted) for the permanence of the temple of the deity Bhṛṅgāreśvara. The record was issued from Kailāsakūṭa-bhavana. The dūtaka was Rājaputra Jayadeva. The date is simply mentioned as Bhādrapāda-Śukla in saṃvat 125 (of Harsha era in our opinion).

58. Sylvain Lévi, XIXL Gnoli XXXII—The Inscription of Śivadeva II (?), (date in year lost).

This is a fragmentary inscription which contains a donation (prasāda) arranged, in all probability, by Śivadeva II. As in the other inscription (Indraji No. 12, dated saṃvat 119 i.e. A.D. 725) of this king, there is reference to vishṭimanushyasaṃbandha (“rapport aux hommes de la corvee”) and to rājakuliyavyavasāyins. This is also a direct order (svayam = ājñā) of the king. The dūtaka is Rājaputra Jayadeva. The date is the 6th day of dark fortnight of the month Āśvina, in the saṃvat [?] (number illegible).

59. Sylvain Lévi XVIII, Gnoli LXXIX—The
Chasal-tol Inscription of Jayadeva II (?), dated [Harsha-] saṃvat 137 (= A.D. 743).

This is an address of the svayam-ājñā type (probably) issued by King Jayadeva II containing reference to certain donations (prasāda). It is a fragmentary inscription in which the names of several gosṭhīs occur in the portion referring to the boundaries of the grants. The dūtaka is Bhaṭṭāraka Vijayadeva (Cf. Indraji No. 14). The date of the inscription is dated the 5th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Jyaishṭha in the saṃvat 137.

60. Indraji No. 14, Gnoli LXXX—A mutilated Inscription of the time of Jayadeva II (?), dated [Harsha-] saṃvat 145 (= A.D. 751).

[Incised on a stone near a water-conduit in the neighbourhood of the temple Maṅjughosha of Minanātha in Lalitapattan. Characters almost the same as those in the foregoing inscription].

The first part of this epigraph, recording the name of the place whence it was issued and that of the king who was the grantor, is broken away and lost. It was most probably a charter issued by Jayadeva II and we should regard the dūtaka, Yuvarāja Vijayadeva, as the former’s son and not as a second son of Śivadeva II as thought by Fleet28 who took the latter to have been the grantor; for, there can be but one Yuvarāja (heir-apparent) of a king. Nor do we feel inclined to endorse the view

of Bhagwanlal\textsuperscript{29} taking the \textit{dūtaka} Vijayadeva, as a "vicarious" name of Jayadeva II, and the latter's father Śivadeva II, as the grantor.

It appears from the contents of the epigraph, gathered so far, that there occurred some disturbance amongst the people regarding the use of a \textit{tilamaka} (water-course) which was probably the gift of a \textit{kumārī} (princess?), and the king, with the purpose of preventing such disturbance by bad people in future, promulgates this order that in future the disturbers should be dealt with in the \textit{rājakula}. The grantee was directed to see to the repair-work out of the income of the village. It was further ordered that the \textit{tilamaka} should be used by the several \textit{pañchālikās} after it had been divided into seven parts (\textit{tilamakaś-cha saptadhā vibhajya paribhoktavyah}). The date was the 3rd day of the bright half of Pauṣa of the saṁvat 145.

61. Gnoli LXXXV—\textit{Stone-slab inscription placed in an old water-reservoir near the temple of Māṇjughośha or Minanātha at Pātan}. A chakra and two śāṅkhas are at the top. Date missing. After line 13, the epigraph is worn away and illegible.

It bears only the name of \textit{Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Jayadeva (II)}.

62. Bendall IV—\textit{An Inscription\textsuperscript{30} (of the time of Jayadeva II ?) ; dated [Harsha-] saṁvat 151 (= A.D. 757)}.

30. Bendall—\textit{Journey in Nepal}, pp. 79 ff and Plate XI.
This is not a formal charter of the usual type as in the preceding inscriptions, nor does it contain the name of any king. It is simply a record of a grant made to a Pañchaka or committee by a private individual in saṃvat 151.

63 Indraji No. 15 Gnoli LXXXI—An Inscription of Jayadeva II, dated [Harsha-] saṃvat 159 (= A.D. 765), inscribed on a stone-slab, standing behind the bull or Nandin, opposite to the western door of the temple of Paśupati.

Śiva is described as the highest Being in verse 1 and Rāvana and Bānāsura's worship of this god is referred to in the next verse. Verses 3-5 describe a few kings born to the sun-god (Sūrya), indicating that the kings of the Lichchhavi dynasty named in this inscription were Sūryavāṃśī kings. Manu, Ikshvāku, Kakutstha (Prithu), Vikukshi and Vishvagaśva, and (after an interval of a period for the rule of 28 kings not named in the inscription) Sagara, Asamaṅjasa, Amśumat, Dilīpa and Bhagīratha and (then again after a gap for the rule of a few other kings whose exact number could not be known owing to the portion of the stone containing it being broken away and lost) Raghu, Aja and Daśaratha are mentioned. Then after an interval during which eight other rulers reigned in succession, was born in this family the illustrious Lichchhavi (Śrīmān = ābhūl = Lichchhaviḥ). The eulogist then points out in verse 6 that a new great
and famous race bearing the pure name of Lichchhavi exists even now (i.e. at the time of the composition of this document). Some kings (the portion of the stone containing their number being broken away and lost) had passed away after Lichchhavi and then was born a king at Pushpapura (Pātaliputra) whose name was Supushpa.

Then after an interval covering the reigns of 23 kings, another famous king named Jayadeva I arose (v. 7). Eleven other kings’ reigns intervened and then was born the excellent king Vṛishadeva (v. 8) who was a follower of the Buddhist doctrine (Sugata-śāsana-pakshapātī). The next king was his son Śaṅkaradeva, after whom Dharmadeva succeeded to the throne. Then the latter’s son Mānadeva became king. After this king reigned his son Mahīdeva (v. 9). The next verse (v. 10) describes Mahīdeva’s son, King Vasantadeva, during whose reign wars with enemies came to a close (śānt = āri = vigrahah) and who was glorified by the vassal (sāmanta) chiefs subdued by him (dānta-sāmanta-vanditah). We feel inclined to take the controversial reading of the next verse30a (v. 11) to mean that after king Vasantadeva there was an interval during which eleven kings ruled and then came to the throne

30a. Gnoli’s reading of the verse (11) is :

भाषालेखप्रयवदं दृष्टि स्थितिस्माचातःकर्णीदेश द्वितेश नरेन्द्रस्तेसः ।
सानीस्वती नतनमववेशनस्मृतिमातिकार्जनिकरपायंश पादवादः ॥

N.B. भव and दत: in this verse refer to Vasantadeva.
Udayadeva, the twelfth king, who had as his son king Narendradeva, the thirteenth in the list after Vasantadeva.

King Narendradeva is described as having his foot-stool covered with the dust from the row of diadems worn by numerous prostrated kings. The next two verses are significant for the important historical information they contain. From them we learn that to Narendradeva was born his son, the lord of the earth, named Śivadeva II, who was rich and charitable and “who conquered his foes, protected his people, removed the distress of the good, delighted his relatives and always spoke the truth” (v. 12). The king married (v. 13) the illustrious Vatsadevi, who was the daughter of King Bhogavarman, the crest-jewel of the illustrious Varmans of the Maukhari dynasty, so rich in strength of arms and was the grand-daughter i.e. daughter’s daughter of the great Ādityasena, King of Magadha. The next verse (v. 14) describes Jayadeva (II) as the son of King Śivadeva II born of his queen Vatsadevi and states that he was a king who could never be vanquished by his enemies (ajayyah paraiḥ). Of his personal accomplishments and virtues, the court-poet describes him as liberal,

31. Cf. verse 13—“देवी भानुषाध्यस्मोचारिणिश्रीवर्माचन्द्रमध्ये—
श्वालिङ्गपितृ-वैरिमुप्तिमाण-श्रीरघुवर्माचन्द्रमध्ये
श्रीभूपणीसर्गार्धसर्गमध्ये—
मधुराद्यादिविषक्ष्मा श्रीरघुरघुवर्माचन्द्रमध्ये॥
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self-respecting, far-seeing, polite, learned, helpful to the virtuous and strong. He married the princess Rājyamatī, who was the daughter of King Harsha, the lord of Gauḍa, Uḍra and other countries and also of Kaliṅga and Kośala, who “crushed the heads of his hostile kings with the club-like tusks of his rutting elephants”. Being spoken of as a noble descendant of Bhagadatta’s royal line, Rājyamatī must have been a princess of the Kāmarūpa dynasty. The next verse (v. 16) is very important as it shows clearly the greatness of Jayadeva II whose extensive political influence was felt not only by the neighbouring countries of Aṅga in the south-east and Kāmarūpa in the east, but also by the distant places, Kāñchī in the far south and Surāśṭra in the south-west, and thus the king has been rightly

32. Cf. verse 14—“नायाहीनि-मुगुद-दन-मुखल-चुराइ-भूमिक्षिरी- 
गोधूड़ाटिलकिश्म-चौशंकयति-दीषयं दीवामला। 
देवी राज्यार्नी कुवीचंतग्नायुः तत्र प्रभुक्तकृले- 
देवीदा भगदवन-राजकुलजः लक्ष्मीरिं भासुला॥

33. Cf. verse 16—“क्षणियं परिवस्ती जितकामस्य: 
काशीमुखा-विमताभिश्पासमानः। 
कुवंन सुराई-परिपमन-कार्यसिन्नः 
व सार्ब्धाभूत-चरित्र प्रकटीकरित॥

In fn. 1 p. 170 t. 2 of Le Népal M. Sylvain Lévi has mentioned the ‘seconde interpretation possible’ as follows: —

“Il est paré du diadème Bengale (it should be Aṅga) ; il a vaincu le Kāmarūpa (Assam) ; less belles délicieuses de Kāñci (Conjeveram) le servent ; il set préoccupe d’assurer la protection du Surāśṭra (Kathiavari) ; toute sa conduite manifeste un empereur du monde”.

described as having displayed the career of a sārvavabhuma king (lord-paramount). It may be noted here that both Bhagwanlal and Fleet missed these historical references in the words, used as proper names viz. Aṅga, Kāmarūpa, Kāñchī and Surāśṭra, garbed in the rhetorical figure ślesha (double entendre) in the verse. The puns disclose the meaning that the king was endowed with the fortune of Aṅga (Aṅga-sriyā-parigataḥ); he conquered Kāmarūpa (jita-Kāmarūpaḥ); he was attended to by the accomplished women of Kāñchī (Kāñchī-gun = ādhyā-vanitābhir = upāśyamānah) and he applied his mind even to the work of administration in Surāśṭra (kuruvaṇ = Surāśṭra-paripālana-kāryya-chintām). That Jayadeva II’s political influence reached these distant countries is also evident from the description (in v. 17) of the king as having been known, on account of his prowess, by the second name

In this connection the learned historian also quotes a verse, containing an analogous instance from “Le Kāvyālāmkkāra de Rudraṭa (X, 10; ed. Kāvyamālā, p. 134). :—

“भायत्व मध्यदिशिः विद्रध्वनं संवाचनं तथाश्रानाम्।
पति सत्त्व कार्यशमि तव निर्जिलकामश्रयम्॥”

The following verse from Sandhyākaranandin’s Rāmācharita may also be compared here :—

“मुक्तिपविधित-कुलव-पिण्ड-विबिधलाट-कालिनवनमद्र[1]म्।
ययागिता-कष्टांशपक्क[1] न्यात्मजयमविनमानमियम्॥”

Also Cf. v. 8 of the Belava inscription (E.I., Vol. XII, p. 40).
Parachakrakāma ("desiring to win the dominions of enemies"). He administered a kingdom from which the misfortunes of his people vanished by the sacrificial offerings of the Brāhmaṇas who received bounteous gifts from the monarch himself,—a kingdom which was also free from internal trouble (kaṇṭaka-varjītam) and which was so much strengthened by the support of his own arms. It is then stated in the praśasti that this king of great and pure lineage caused to be made a silver water-lily, the grandeur and beauty of which are graphically described in the next few verses, five of which (viz. vv. 20, 25, 27, 28 and 29) were of the king’s own composition. This brilliant lotus was dedicated by King Jayadeva II’s mother, the illustrious Vatsadevī to the deity Pāṣupati in the famous temple of that god in four-faced liṅga form. The religious merit accruing from this act of the son and his mother was assigned to the credit of the deceased king, Śivadeva II (vv 31-32). In v. 33 the poet of this eulogy names himself Buddhakīrtti and states that although his patron King Jayadeva, was himself a true poet, the latter composed only five verses in the honour of the silver lotus dedicated to the god and refrained from composing verses in eulogy of his own family which was left to be done by the poet-laureate. Therefore, out of devotion to his Majesty, the court-poet himself composed the rest of the praśasti. The last verse (v. 34) is a
benedictory one in which Buddhakīrtti prays for the long life of the reigning sovereign, so anxious for the welfare and security of his subjects who, in their turn, were loyally devoted to the throne.

Names of several deities of the Hindu pantheon are found mentioned in portion of the inscription describing the silver-lotus, e.g., Brahmā, Shaṅmukha (Kārttikeya), Vāsuki, Sthānu, Śesha, Lakshmi etc. Names also occur in this portion, of the Demon Daśānana (Rāvaṇa) and perhaps of the Buddhist god, Lokeśvara.

We think the chronology of the Nepal rulers should be discussed at this stage. We only hinted above that there was a fundamental difference between Bhagwanlal and Fleet regarding the interpretation of the years (saṃvats) referred to in the Nepal inscriptions. They, however, rightly agreed to interpret the dates marked by the smaller figures 34, 39, 45 (?) 46, 48, 55, 59, 64, 65, 119, 153 and 172 as belonging to the Harsha era of A.D. 606. According to this view we are also to refer the smaller figures of the dates, viz. 30, 32 and 137 in Sylvain Lévi's additional collection (in Vol. III of his work Le Népal) to the same Harsha era. But as regards the larger figures viz. 318, 335 (not 535), 386, 413 and 435, the late Dr. Fleet expressed his opinion that they should all be referred to the Gupta era on the supposition that the date 318 (not 316 as he wrongly stated)
saniwat in Bendall No. 1 must refer to the Gupta era of A.D. 319-20, because it belongs to the reign of King Śivadeva I mentioned in it as a contemporary of Aṃśuvarman, whom he identified with the king of that name, said to have reigned in Nepal during, or shortly before, the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang’s visit in Northern India in or about A.D. 637. So the larger figures of dates, viz. 387, 402, 449, 489, 500 (?), 519 and 520 in Sylvain Lévi’s additional collection are, according to Fleet’s view, to be referred to the Gupta era. But Fleet should not have based his calculation of all those larger dates on that solitary case of Bendall No. 1 and prepared his Table No. XI *Gupta Inscriptions*, Introduction, p. 189) containing the list of the early rulers of Nepal according to it. It is unfortunate also that he could not discover the wrong reading by Bhagwanlal of the date of our No. 4 above, which the pandit took to be 535 and not 335 which is the clearly correct reading according to our view, the symbol for 300 being so clear in the published text even in Gnoiki’s plate for No. XL inscription. The dūtaka Vikramasena of this grant may be identified with the same name in No. 6 dated Harsha-era 34 i.e. A.D. 640. So the date 335 of No. 4 is to be undoubtedly explained as having reference to the Gupta era and therefore equal to A.D. 654-55. It would be a preposterous date if the reading 535 be taken to be correct, for it would then equate
with A.D 854-855 although to all appearances the characters belonged to the seventh century. It is very unfortunate again that a veteran palaeographer like the late Dr. Fleet\(^3\) should have committed the blunder of referring all the larger dates in the early Nepal epigraphs to the Gupta era by overlooking the nature of their scripts belonging to different period of history and misled himself into thinking that the date of the characters used, for example, in Mānadeva's inscription No. 1, which must have belonged to the imperial Gupta period of the fourth century A.D., should be pushed forward, more than three centuries. It is time that this astounding error of this savant was rectified in the interest of the adjustment of the chronology of the early rulers of Nepal and scholars gave their best consideration to, and accepted, the view so cautiously and conclusively put forward, with the help of the materials in his hand at the time, by Bhagwanlal that the larger dates (in our opinion, to the exclusion of those in Bendall I and Indraji No. 5 and in Sylvain Lévi's Nos. XI-XII) belonged to the Vikrama era commencing from 57 B.C.. After a very careful comparison of the forms of the letters used in Mānadeva's inscription No. 1 with those used in the inscriptions of all the first three or four imperial Gupta emperors, especially the forms of letters na, ta, pa,
bha, ya, la, sa and ha, we cannot but persuade ourselves to accept as true the view that the larger dates in the epigraphs of the early Nepal kings, upto at least the time of King Vasantadeva, should be referred to the Vikrama era. This view is also in keeping with the tradition current in Nepal that Vikramāditya (styled Vikramajit in Nepal) is said to have pushed his conquering arms into this mountainous country in the remote past and ruled it by introducing the samvat era there. Hence following Bhagwanlal and Bühler, Mr. C. V. Vaidya also thinks that "there is not the least doubt that the Vikrama era has been in use in Nepal since a very long time." But the late Dr. Fleet rejected totally the statement of the Nepal Vamšāvali with regard to the visit of the traditional Vikramāditya to Nepal and his establishment of his era and thought that such a statement must only have been "a reminiscence of the conquest of the country by Harshavardhana of Kanauj and the adoption of the Harsha era as the result." We have no doubt that the smaller dates are to be referred to the Harsha era, as stated before, but the larger dates hitherto discovered upto Vasantadeva’s time must be referred to the Vikrama era, if palaeography is to be relied upon. The dates in Mānadeva’s inscriptions must be referred to this era and never,

by any stretch of imagination, to the Gupta era as done by Fleet. Moreover, some of the political, social and religious thoughts and ideas prevailing in the Gupta period in Magadha and other North Eastern provinces are clearly found reflected in the early Nepal records of Mānadeva’s time. This also supports the theory of their use of the early Vikrama-era. With due deference to the great French savant, M. Sylvain Lévi, we have to differ from his interpretation of the larger numerical figures of three digits (exceeding 200), representing the dates in the early Nepal inscriptions hitherto discovered. He refers them to a Lichchhavi era\textsuperscript{37} (saṃvat) which commenced in his opinion in A.D. 110. So he adds 33 to the dates expressed in saṃvat in the Nepal records for equating them with the dates in the Śaka era (current) and then adds 78 for making them correspond to dates in Christian era. This result he obtains by an astronomical calculation\textsuperscript{38} based on the date mentioned in No. 1 of Bhagwanlal and No. 1 of his own, viz. “the first day of the bright half of the month of Jyesṭha of Saṃvat 386, while the moon was in the constellation Rohiṇī, in the excellent muhūrta called abhijīti” and he arrives at the conclusion that

\textsuperscript{37} Vide \textit{Le Nepal}, t. 3, p. 50.

\textsuperscript{38} Cf. the passage :—“La date du pilier de Changu Narayan correspond dans cette hypothèse au mardi 1er mai 496 J.—C”, \textit{Le Nepal}, t. 3, p. 9,
such a combination of astronomical phenomena was only possible on Tuesday, the 1st May A.D. 496. Hence he starts a working hypothesis that the dates in saṁvat in the early Nepal inscriptions are to be referred to a Lichchhavi era, then in vogue, which had its starting point ("le point de départ") in the year A.D. 110. If this view of M. Sylvain Lévi be fully endorsed, we shall have to fall into great difficulty in solving the dates in two inscriptions, viz. his own Nos. IX (Dharampur) and XII (Khopasi), both of which bear the same date 39 viz. 520 (as read by the French savant). The numerical figure however for the hundreds in these two inscriptions seems to be clearly a representative for 300 and not 500; hence the date should be read as 320 saṁvat. The same mistake was committed, as we have shown above, by Bhagwanlal regarding the date of his No. 4 which must be 335 saṁvat, and not 535, as his reading showed. M. Sylvain Lévi himself also doubted the reading 40 of the symbol for hundreds, specially the element 5 of 500 which seemed to him as written in the manner of 3 ("én maniere du 3"). From Plates XII and XIII of his inscriptions Nos. XI and XII respectively it can be clearly seen that the figure in question should represent 300 and not 500, exactly as we see the

40. Le Népal, t. 3, p. 68.
same symbol in plates illustrating Bhagwanlal's Nos. 1 and 4. On account of effacement of certain portions in the plate of his No. IX we are not in a position to clearly read the symbols for the date which he reads as 510 (?), but Gnoli reads it 517; and as no plate is enclosed for the illustration of his No. X, of which the figures for the date are read by him as representing the number 519, we were at first unable to verify the same. It is, however, also read as 519 by Gnoli. We feel, however, inclined to state, that these two dates were also 317 and 319 samvat. At any rate, if we convert the samvat 320 (of Nos. XI-XII), which we take to be the correct date, to a date in Christian era in accordance with the hypothesis M. Sylvain Lévi, we arrive at a date (A.D. 465) which is an impossible date for both Śivadeva I and Amśuvarman who are, without doubt, rulers of the seventh century A.D. So we think that we should refer this date, 320 (samvat) to the Gupta era and think that it corresponds with the date A.D. 639-40 just as the late Fleet explained the date 318 in Bendall No. 1 and we have interpreted the date 235 in Bhagwanlal No. 4. There is thus a difference of nearly 174-75 years between our calculation and that of M. Sylvain Lévi regarding the interpretation of some of the larger dates in old Nepal records.

A correct adjustment of the chronology of the
early kings of Nepal appears possible by adoption of a theory we venture to propound that three different eras were in vogue in Nepal in three different periods of her history. The group of kings of the Lichchhavi dynasty of the first period from Mānadeva to Vasantadeva used only the Vikrama-samvat in their records; the second group of kings of the same dynasty from Śivadeva I to Udayadeva and the kings of the Ṭhākurī family and their successors, e.g. Aṃśuvarman, Jīṣhṇugupta and Vishṇugupta, belonging to the middle period used respectively the Gupta-samvat and Harsha-samvat, simultaneously; while the third group of the Lichchhavi kings from Narendraśādeva to Jayadeva II used only the Harsha-samvat.

In this connection a note may be added on the order of succession of some of the rulers of the Lichchhavi dynasty and their head-quarters. We mark two important intervals in the list of Nepal kings as obtained from the text of Inscription No. 15 of Jayadeva II, one of eleven unnamed kings after Jayadeva I and the other of another eleven unnamed kings after Vasantadeva. From a careful reading and interpretation of verse 11 of this inscription, it may be inferred that the twelfth king, after the eleventh one who reigned during the second interval referred to above, was King Udayadeva, and his son King Narendraśādeva was therefore the thirteenth. The
reading of the first two lines of this verse as proposed by Bhagwanlal does not seem to have been quite correct. From his own annexed plate we clearly find that there is no ākāra sign after the word jāta which is used in the singular number and not in the plural. Gnoli also reads it as jātas in singular and he reads the next word as itascha. According to our view the word trayodaśa is to be regarded not as a cardinal numeral (thirteen) but as an ordinal one (thirteenth). So there can be no question of an interval of thirteen unnamed kings in this record after Vasantadeva but that of only eleven kings, including the names of Śivadeva I and his son Dhruvadeva and also of Bhīmārjunadeva who were not mentioned by the court poet of Jayadeva II, probably because these kings of the Lichchhavi dynasty had lost their regal position as suzerains by allowing the king of the Ṭhākuri family to rule collaterally with them from a different residence, Kailāsakūṭabhavana, during a period of more than a quarter of a century. However, according to our interpretation of this controversial verse, Udayadeva was the twelfth king and the thirteenth after Vasantadeva was Narendradeva. So altogether we have a list of

41. His reading was:—“श्वामरिशुद्धयदिब्रि दति विलीमा—

क्षत्रियोदश [प्रति] वरिष्ठदिब्रि:”

42. I. A., Vol. IX, p. 178,
thirty-three kings of the Lichchhavi dynasty in inscrip-
tion No. 15, the last of whom Jayadeva II ruled
even in the year A.D. 765. We have now no
difficulty in cramming 33 rulers from Jayadeva I
to Jayadeva II, both inclusive, within a period of
about 765 years. This furnishes us with a very
reasonable average of 23 years for each reign. So
Bhagwanlal was not probably wrong in assigning the
rule of Jayadeva I (the first Lichchhavi conqueror
of Nepal) to the beginning of the first century
A.D. It is interesting to note that Gnoli's inscrip-
tion No. LXXXIX discloses the name of another
Śivadeva (to be called Śivadeva III) reigning in
the [Harsha] saṁvat 172 (=A.D. 778).

It was Aṃśuvarman, the founder of the Ṭhākuri
family of kings, who first established his royal
residence at Kailāsakūṭabhavana from which he
and his successors ruled in the western division
as co-regents or collaterally, but who owed
allegiance (it may be nominal) to the contemporary
kings of the Lichchhavi dynasty ruling in the
eastern division from the old residence called
Mānagṛiha which, as remarked above, was probably
named after King Mānadeva I. From the omission
of the name of Mānagṛiha in inscription No. 15 of
Jayadeva II and in other contemporary or some-
what earlier records it appears that the last three
Lichchhavi rulers beginning with Narendradeva
had removed their administrative headquarters to
Kailāsakūṭabhavana, which was probably the only royal residence during nearly the last century of the rule of that dynasty. The reign of the Thākuri family extended only for three or four generations of kings. King Mānadeva, who was in all probability a contemporary of the imperial Gupta emperor, Chandragupta I or his son Samudragupta, and also a few of Mānadeva’s predecessors must have used the Vikrama-saṁvat in their epigraphs, as it was this era that was in vogue in many parts of India at that time. It seems quite probable that the descendants of Vasantadeva began to use, until the time of Harshavardhana’s occupation of Nepal (if it was really a historical fact) or of his political influence in that country, the Gupta-saṁvat from the time when Samudragupta forced the Nepal king to pay allegiance to his lord-paramountcy as mentioned before and to accept the era introduced by his family from the beginning of his father Chandragupta I’s reign (in A.D. 319-20).

With these few remarks on the question of the chronology of early Nepal kings and the order

43. Cf. the following passage from M. Sylvain Lévi’s Le Népal t. 3, p. 3:—‘C’est aux environs du ve siècle que la paléographie tendrait a ranger Mānadeva, comme avaient fait Bhagvanlal et Bühler qui interprétraient la date de l’inscription par l’ère vikrama (386 saṁvat—329 J. C.), a l’époque mene de Samudragupta “dont les édits sur piliers ressemblent totalement aux inscription de Mānadeva”’. 
of their succession we insert below a table largely based on the one prepared by Bhagwanlal and Bühler, with some small corrections here and there in accordance with some interpretation of the controversial verse (v. 11) and calculation of the two intervals of eleven unnamed kings in Jayadeva II’s inscription (No. 15).

The Lichchhavi Kings of Nepal

(Also called Sūryavaṃśī kings in the Nepal Vamśāvalī)

1. Jayadeva I, about A.D. 1 [No. 15].
2-12. Names not mentioned in No. 15.
14. Śaṅkaradeva, son of 13, c. A.D. 285 [Nos. 1 and 15].
15. Dharmadeva, son of 14, married to Rājyavatī, c. A.D. 305 [Nos. 1 and 15].
16. Mānadeva I, son of 15, [Vikrama-] samvat 386-413 (=Gnoli III), (=A.D. 329-356) [Nos. 1 and 15; and S. Lévi II (=Gnoli III), Gnoli IV, V, VII, VIII, IX and X].
18. Vasantadeva, or Vasantasena, son of 17, [Vikrama-] samvat 435 (=A.D. 378) and samvat 449 (=A.D. 392) [Nos. 3 and 15; and S. Lévi VI, Gnoli XIV].
19-26. Lineal descendants of 18 names not mentioned in No. 15. But out of these hitherto
unknown names, we have now known of five new names, viz. (1) Rāmadeva (Gnoli XVII) saṁvat 469 (A.D. 412), (2) Gañadeva (Gnoli, XIX, XXI) saṁvat 489 (A.D. 432), (3) Mānadeva II, (4) Guṇakāmadeva (Regmi’s Ancient Nepal pp. 69, 93), and (5) Vasurāja (Gnoli LIV).

27. Śivadeva I, c. A.D. 610. Sylvain Lévi IX-XII [Gupta-] saṁvat 310 (?), 319, 320, Bendall I [Gupta-] saṁvat 318 (A.D. =637-38 ) [No. 5—but not mentioned in No. 15; vide also Gnoli XXVII, XXXI-XXXIII.]

Co-regent, Aṁśuvarman, first a sāmanta, then a mahāsāmanta, mahārāja, [Harsha]-saṁvat 30, 32, 34, 39, 45 (?) (=A.D. 640-651) [Nos. 6-8, Bendall II and S. Lévi XIII-XV; vide also Gnoli XXVII-XXXI, XXXIII-XXXIX, XLI-XLIV, XLVIII].

28. Dhruvadeva (Harsha-) saṁvat 48 (= A.D. 654) [No. 9, but not mentioned in No. 15; Gnoli LI, LIII, LIV].

Co-regent, Jishṅugupta [Harsha-] saṁvat 46 (= A.D. 652). 55, 59, 64 (Gnoli LI, LIII, LIV) and 65. Harsha saṁvat in Gnoli LV, LVII, LXI and LXII. In LVII one yuvarāja Dhanagupta was dūtaka and he is mentioned as dūtaka in L XI and LXII. [Nos. 9-11 and S. Lévi XVI]. Harsha-saṁvat 49 (=A.D. 655).

N.B. Vikramasena, probably son of 28, not a reigning prince mentioned as Rājaputra in no. 4
of [Gupta-]saṃvat 335 (= A.D. 654-55), and not 535 as wrongly read by Bhagwanlal.

Co-regents, Jīshñugupta and perhaps Vishṇugupta, mentioned as heir-apparent in No. 9 and in Gnoli LI. Vishṇugupta was co-regent (LXI-LXII, in H.E. 64 and H.E. 65 with suzerain Bhīmarjunadeva (Harsha-saṃvat 49 = A.D. 655).

A. N. B. Amśuvarman, mentioned in the Nepal Vaṃśāvalī as the founder of the Thākurī dynasty, Kali 1000 = 101 B. C., was wrongly pushed back more than seven or eight centuries.

B. N. B. Kings Nos. 32 and 33 respectively were mentioned as the 7th and 12th princes of the Thākurī line. Probably this incorporation also is wrong in the Vaṃśāvalī.

No. 15 Jayadeva II's inscription is the central record though of the 8th century A.D. round which revolves to a very great extent the chronology of the early Nepal kings.

29. Bhīmarjunadeva (Gnoli LV, LVIII, LXI, LXII) was also suzerain for a few years of Jīshṇugupta. This royal name is also new at present and is mentioned in Gnoli's LV (H.E. 55), LVIII, LXI (H. E. 64), and LXII (H.E. 65), the date in LVIII being missing. [Not mentioned in Indraji's No. 15.]

30. Udayadeva, c. A.D. 670 [No. 15] mentioned as heir-apparent in No. 7 [Harsha-] saṃvat 39 = A.D. 645, of course of the Lichchhavi king who was the suzerain even of Amśuvarman, the grantor.

31. Narendradeva [Harsha] saṃvat 69 (= A.D. 675) in Gnoli (LXV, LXVI, LXVII), 71
(Gnoli LXVIII), 78 (Gnoli LXIX), 89 (Gnoli LXXI, name missing in worn-out portion), 95 (Gnoli LXXII, his name missing in worn-out portion), 103 (=A.D. 709) in Indraji 13, also perhaps in Gnoli LXXIV.

32. Śivadeva II, son of 31, married to Vatsadevi daughter of Maukhari Bhogavarman, and daughter's daughter of Ādityasena of Magadha, [Harsha-] saṁvat 119-134 (=A.D. 725-740) [No. 12 and S. Lévi XIX-XX]. [Harsha-] saṁvat 109 (=A.D. 715) in Gnoli LXXVI, 125, in Gnoli LXXVIII.

33. Jayadeva II, Parachakrakāma son of 32, married to Rājyamatī, daughter of Śri-Harsha who was king of Gauḍa, Uḍra and other countries, Kaliṅga and Kosala, a female descendant of Bhagadatta undoubtedly of the Kāmarūpa dynasty, [Harsha-] saṁvat 159 (=A.D. 765) [Nos. 13-15 and S. Lévi XVIII]]. Gnoli in LXXXI reads the date saṁvat 159 = A.D. 765. Date missing in Gnoli LXXXV.

The positive historical information about early Nepal kings, gathered from a study of the inscriptive details may be summarised here. The Lichchhavi kings of Nepal trace their descent from the sun-god and hence they are rightly described in the Vaṁśāvalī as Śūryavaṁśi. There were 33 rulers hitherto known beginning with Jayadeva I and ending in Jayadeva II, covering a period of at least 765 years with an average of 23 years for each
reign. The last known date of Jayadeva II is Harsha-saṅvat 153 i.e. A.D. 759. Gnoli LXXXIX has the name of Śivadeva III (?) in saṅvat (172 = A.D. 778). Hence Jayadeva I may be regarded as the first king who ruled Nepal sometime in the beginning of the Christian era and established the Nepal branch of the royal Lichchhavi dynasty.

After an interval of about two and a half centuries during which eleven unnamed rulers of the same dynasty reigned in Nepal, we come across the name of King Vṛishadeva, who was a Buddhist in faith and who being of a religious disposition did not trouble himself about political matters, although he possessed great valour and wealth. The Vamsāvalī also states that this king built monasteries (vihāras) and installed images of Lokeśvara and other Buddhist divinities. He was fortunate in having several learned and accomplished sons, one of whom, Śaṅkaradeva by name, succeeded him on the throne. The king had to measure strength in battle with his enemies (unknown by name), and was unconquerable. He carried on the administration of his prosperous kingdom with the help of his trusted officials. These two Nepal kings belonged probably to the period which is regarded by historians as one of the darkest in Indian history, namely that between the extinction of the Kushāṇa and Andhra dynasties in the first quarter of the
third century A.D. and the rise of the imperial Gupta line in the fourth.

Next reigned Śaṅkaradeva's virtuous son King Dharmadeva, who inherited a vast kingdom. He made a fresh campaign of conquests and erected high "pillars of victory" on earth. His wife was the faithful queen Rājyavatī. We think he was probably a contemporary of Chandragupta I of the imperial Gupta dynasty and his father Ghaṭotkacha. This Dharmadeva was succeeded by his famous son Mānadeva, who was a very great monarch of Nepal. His mother, Queen Rājyavatī, wanted to immolate herself on the king's death, and announced her determination to her able son Mānadeva, whom she appointed to the hereditary kingship, but she was prevented from putting an end to her life by the importunity of her son. His inscription dated A.D. 329 (=V.E. 386) informs us that he gave his mother great delight by a promise to repay his father's debts by launching into military feats as befits the Kshatriyas. The king kept his promise and led an expedition to the east for crushing his enemies, but during his military activities he was good enough to allow those kings to keep their own position, who remained obedient to him. After having forced to submission some of the rebellious sāmantas of the east, Mānadeva had to proceed to the west where also he wanted to subdue a misguided feudal chief. The mutilated condition of
this famous king’s inscription prevents us from forming our idea of his other historical achievements. In A.D. 331 (=388 V.E.) one Naravarman set up a linga probably at the instance of the king. In the year A.D. 332 (=389 V.E.) Mānadeva installed the image of Vishṇu (in his Vāmana incarnation) for the increase of the religious merit of his mother. In A.D. 342 (=399 V.E.) one small inscription was carved at the bottom of a relief representing a divinity in the temple of Indal-Devi. In the same year A.D. 342 when Mānadeva I was the ruler, one person named Ratnasarṅgha installed a linga named Ratnesvara and he made a gift of several pieces of land for the maintenance of the god’s temple in Deo-Patan. One Guhamitra, the chief of the merchants’ corporation, installed the image of the sun-god (of the name of Indra) in the year A.D. 345 (=402 V.E.). The king favoured a private person named Jayavarmman with permission to erect a linga of Śiva called Jayesvara in A.D. 356 (=V.E. 413) for the welfare of the king and his people. In A.D. 370 (=427 V.E.) during the reign of Mānadeva I a person named Nirapeksha set up the image of his parents (?) near the entrance of the temple of Chaṅgu-Nārāyaṇa. In another inscription (of which the date is illegible) belonging to the reign of Mānadeva I, we read of another person of the name of Prabhushiṅgha setting up a linga named Prabhukeśvara. His was a long reign covering a
period of not less than 39 years. It seems quite reasonable to suppose that the royal residence of Nepal, called Mānagriha, from where the successors, immediate and remote, of Mānadeva ruled Nepal, was established by this king or one of his descendants, and named after him (Māna).

After Mānadeva, his son Mahideva became king and the latter was succeeded by his son Vasantadeva who ruled Nepal from Mānagriha residence at least for 26 years ranging from A.D. 371 to A.D. 397. He used the title of Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja, which was also the title of his late father, mentioned as Parama-daivata Bappa. He was known for his learning, policy, compassion, charity, politeness and valour. He was the reigning sovereign of Nepal in A.D. 378 (=V.E. 435), when his chief administrator of (criminal) justice and Police officer (sarva-daṇḍa-nāyaka-mahāpratihāra) was Ravigupta. During Vasantadeva's reign (in A.D. 397) we also find the name of Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta Kramalila who is also mentioned as such in an inscription of king Rāmadeva (in A.D. 412). It also appears that Pratihāra Bhavagupta was also a local administrative officer, under Vasantadeva. The latter officer is also found to have acted in the same capacity in the year A.D. 392 and in A.D. 397. Under him acted a local official head of a place of a grant, transacting administrative business, and his name seems to have been Mahīśīla. His position appears
to have been like that of the *vishayapatis* under the Gupta rulers. We think that this Vasantadeva, or more probably his grand-father, was the Nepal ruler who had to yield to the Gupta emperor Samudragupta, and bow to his imperial authority, when the latter led his conquering expedition to most parts of India including Nepal. Vasantadeva enjoyed a long peaceful reign after having settled with his enemies and received the homage of subdued *sāmantas*. It cannot be determined with certainty if this king’s enemies were his own Lichchhavi kinsmen of the imperial Gupta line. It is very interesting to know that the Nepalese people during these early times were anxious to save the Brahmanic religion from the false arguments of the sophisticators. Evidence of such a view can be obtained from a peculiar epigraph (Gnoli XI) to be dated in either Mānadeva’s or, at the latest, in Vasantadeva’s reign according to Gnoli, which forms a *prāṣasti* written by a person named Anuparama in praise of Dvaipāyana Vyāsa, who, according to the writer, saved the Brahmanic religion by composing Bhārata (Mahābhārata) for the people’s attainments of the way to liberation (*muki-t-mārgga*) and was treated as the most competent authority to speak of religious subjects. We have remarked above on clear palaeographic evidence and other arguments that the first group of Nepal kings from Vṛishadeva to Vasantadeva used in their
records the Vikrama era and this explodes the theory that this era was not genuine and was an invention of the sixth century A.D.

We have clear reference to the next Nepal king in the name Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārāja Rāmadeva during whose reign in saṃvat 469 (=A.D.412) Mahārāja-mahāsāmanta Kramalila informed his sovereign of the grant of a piece of a kshetra-land by a lady named Mānamatī to (liṅga image of) Nātheśvara. The inscription on the base of an image of the Buddhist god, Avalokiteśvara established by Mahendramatī, wife of paramopāsaka Manigupta, seems to belong to the reign (date being missing) of king Rāmadeva. It seems evident that Gnoli’s Inscription No. XVI dated Saṃvat 462 (=A.D. 405) recording the installation of a liṅga symbol of god Śambhu of the name of Aṇu-paramesvara by an Ābhirī for enhancement of religious merit of her dead husband and for the good of her children, Bhaumagupta and others and the grant of two pieces of land for the upkeep of the deity’s daily necessities, must have belonged to either Vasantadeva’s or, more probably, to Rāmadeva’s reign. It is quite probable that mahārāja Gaṇadeva, (S. Lévi VII) whose name does not, however, occur in Bhagwanlal No. 15, ruled from Mānagriha after the reign of Rāmadeva. This ruler Gaṇadeva reigned for at least seven years from A.D. 425 to A.D. 432. During his reign
Prasādagupta was an administrator in a locality, Bhaumagupta was the Sarvadaṇḍanāyaka and Mahāpratīhāra. Svāmi-vārtta, son of Bhaumagupta established the image of Hari-Hara during Gaṇadeva's reign in A.D. 432. After this group's rule when the political influence of the Gupta was very great on Nepal, the second group of kings, e.g. Śivadeva I and Dhruvadeva of Mānągriha, used the Gupta era in their records. But when, reigning collaterally with them from the second residence, Kailāsakūṭabhavana, Aṁśuvarman of the Ṭhākurī line and his successors were influenced by Harshavardhana's conquest of, or only a conquering expedition into Nepal, they introduced, while at the same time owing allegiance to their suzerains of the Lichchhavi dynasty, the Harsha era in their documents.

Indraji No. 15 (Gnoli LXXXI) keeps a hiatus of eight Lichchhavi rulers after Vasantadeva. Out of these eight we have now found five names of kings viz. (1) Rāmadeva (Gnoli XVII), (2) Gaṇadeva (Gnoli XIX), (3) Mānadeva II, (4) Guṇakāmadeva, and (5) Vasurāja. We are not aware of the place of the last three rulers mentioned in inscriptions. Another king of the Lichchhavi dynasty of Māṇagriha (6), named Bhīmārjunadeva is newly found in some of Gnoli's inscriptions. He appears to have been the contemporary suzerain of Jishṇugupta and Vishṇugupta and his hitherto
known dates range from at least 55 H.E. (A.D. 661) to 65 H.E. (A.D. 671). As stated before, in our opinion, this king may have been the father of Udayadeva. We are yet in want of names of two more sovereigns of the Lichchhavi lineage within the whole period covered by Vasantadeva’s reign and that of Narendraadeva who was the thirteenth in the serial after Vasantadeva, to complete the full list of thirty-three Lichchhavi rulers as suggested in Jayadeva II’s famous inscription (Indraji No. 15).

Kings Śivadeva I and Dhruvadeva are two of the eleven kings (not thirteen, as shown before), who reigned during the interval between Vasantadeva (the 18th king) and Udayadeva (the 30th). Although these two kings are not found mentioned in Jayadeva II’s inscription No. 15 dated A.D. 769 they have their own and other contemporary records to tell us the story of their life and the events of their royal career. Śivadeva I, styled Bhāṭṭārakamahārāja and the banner of the Lichchhavikula ruled as suzerain in Nepal from the royal residence of Mānagriha, which was then more than three

44. Regmi refers to these two rulers in his Ancient Nepal (Calcutta 1960) thus:—

“The Aṁka coins of Mānadeva and Guṇakāmādeva have also resemblance with the Vikramāṅka coins of Chandragupta II” (p. 69). He also says: “Guṇakāmādeva who comes after Mānadeva II in the list of the chronicle should follow Vasantadeva” (p. 93).
hundred years old. Under his suzerainty ruled simultaneously King Aṃśuvarman of the Ṭhākurī family from the residence at Kailāsakūṭabhavana. On the advice of the latter, described as enjoying the position of a mahāsāmanta only, Śivadeva I issued in Gupta saṃvat 317 i.e. A.D. 636-37 an address to the heads and other householders of a certain village, regarding the right of entry thereinto of Government officers. In this charter the dūtaka was Bhogavarman, who may be identified with the nephew (sister’s son) of Aṃśuvarman, bearing the same name, who was a descendant of the Maukhari dynasty, and later became the father-in-law of Śivadeva II. So through this Bhogavarman, Aṃśuvarman’s sister’s son, whose daughter Vatsadevī (daughter of Ādityasena’s daughter) was married to Śivadeva II, we find a matrimonial union between the two royal families (the Lichchhavi and the Ṭhākurī) of Nepal. The latter two, the Maukhari dynasty and that of the Later Guptas of Magadha are, therefore, connected together by intermarriage. There is a reference in the Nepal Vamsāvalī also to the effect that Aṃśuvarman himself was the son-in-law of a Sūryavamśi king named Viśvadevavaranman, whose name, however, cannot be found in the hitherto known epigraphic records. The Maukhari Bhogavarman is mentioned in an inscription of Aṃśuvarman dated A.D. 645; so it can be easily believed that he was very young
when he acted as a dūtaka in A.D., 636-37 in his maternal uncle's palace at Nepal, where his mother Bhogadevi also installed a Śivalinga. If this view of ours be regarded as correct, Śūrasena, the husband of Bhogadevi, becomes a Maukhari prince, who might have ruled at Kanauj after Harsha's death, and his son Bhogavarman was probably the last Maukhari king known in history. This Bhogavarman acted also as a dūtaka in another charter (S. Lévi IX), of which the date is nearly of the same period, but which was issued by Śivadeva I on the advice of the mahāsāmanta Aṃśuvarman. The inscription of Thoka (S. Lévi X), which was dated in our opinion 319 Gupta era, and in which Vipravarmagomin was the dūtaka, also belonged to Śivadeva I's reign. The two charters (S. Lévi XI-XII) dated Gupta saṃvat 320, in which vārta Bhogachandra and Deśavarma-gomin respectively acted as the dūtaka, were samājāpanā forms of address issued from the Mānagriha palace by Śivadeva I. In some of Śivadeva I's inscriptions we find Aṃśuvarman described as a mahāsāmanta, who achieved fame by quelling the country's enemies by his heroism and victory in battles and administered properly the affairs of the kingdom. These services of AṃŚuvarman formed, according to the opinion of Bhagwanlal Indraji, the nucleus of his royal or quasi-royal position in Nepal politics and he gradually rose into prominence during his
suzerain Śivadeva I’s reign, by making a mark in the political life of Nepal by his warlike achievements. From his inscription dated A.D. 640 this prince, described as being favoured by the feet of Paśupati-bhaṭṭāraka and meditating those of his Bappa (father) who, however, is not mentioned as enjoying any dignity like that of a Bhaṭṭārakamahārāja, began to issue command from the second residence of Kailāsatēbhavana, probably established by himself. In an inscription (Gnoli XXXIII) of Śivadeva I the date of which is missing, we find Aṁśuvarman decorated with the titles of mahārājādhirāja and sāmanta. The Vamśavali relates that Aṁśuvarman transferred the seat of Government to a place called Madhyalakha; but we find that all his epigraphic records and some of those of his successors, were issued from Kailāsatēbhavana. It cannot be ascertained if the two places were identical. Anyhow the influence of the new residence was increasing from now, and the Lichchhavi suzerains were gradually losing their royal power and assuming, probably, the status of nominal rulers. Aṁśuvarman’s chief administrator of justice (sarva-danḍa-nāyaka) was Vikramasena, who acted as the dūtaka in an official transaction. The Chief justice, Rājaputra Vikramasena, was also the dūtaka in the charter (Lévi XV) dated 638 A.D., which was issued by the mahā-sāmanta as a direct order (svāyam = ājñā) bestowing
some privileges on the inhabitants of the village of Śaṅgāgrāma. It is almost certain that this Vikramasena should be identified with the dūtaka of the same name, having the use of the title Rāja-putra, in the inscription (No. 4) dated G. E. 335 (not 535 G. E. as read by Bhagwanlal), i.e. in 564-55 A.D. He may have been a son of Śivadeva I, though never a reigning prince. In 640 A.D. Aṃśuvarman issued a charter through his chief Army-officer (mahābalādhyaksha) named Vindusvāmin. It has been shown above from the contents of another charter, issued from Kailāsakūṭabhavana, that Paśupati-bhaṭṭāraka-pādānumgrīhīta and Bappapādānumudhyāta Aṃśuvarman gave directions to the officers of the Western Court (Paśchimādhikaraṇa) that they should not interfere with the working of the Committees called Adhāṃśāla-Paṇḍālikas, who were appointed by him to administer the estate of the liṅgas dedicated respectively by his sister, Bhogadevī, mother of Bhogavarman and wife of Rājaputra Śūrasena, by his niece Bhāgyadevī and by the other elder brothers (ancestors?) of the last-mentioned princess. Aṃśuvarman is herein described as a devotee of the god Śiva, and also as taking the greatest delight in making proper arrangements for the stability and preservation of religious institutions, as he was able by pondering over the meaning of the various śāstras to destroy false doctrines (asad-darśana) by which one must
mean in this context Buddhist philosophy. We have already seen from some of his inscriptions (e.g. S. Lévi XIII-XIV) how anxious Aṃśuvarman always remained for the welfare of his subjects. His constant aim was “kathāṁ prajā me sukhītā bhavet” —how his people would feel happy. He made benefactions to all sorts of religious and other institutions, as well as to several persons and villages. The list of donations in the above-mentioned inscriptions is evidence in point. Yuvarāja Udayadeva (probably the son of the Lichchhavi king Dhruvadeva) was the dūtaka who transacted the business regarding this arrangement of King Aṃśuvarman. If this identification be correct, it may be supposed that there was cordial relation yet intact between the two Nepal royal families.

Here we should pause for a while to consider what the Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Chwang, has stated about Nepal and its ruler at the time of his travels in India (A.D. 629-645). The pilgrim narrates that “the capital was above 20 li in circuit; the country yielded grain and much fruit, also copper, yaks, and francolins; copper-coins were the medium of exchange; the climate was cold; the people were rude and deceitful; good faith and rectitude were slighted by them; they had no learning but were skilful mechanics; they were ugly and coarse in appearance and they believed both in false

and true religion, the Buddhist monasteries and the Deva temples touching each other. There were above 200 Buddhist ecclesiastics who were attached to both 'vehicles' and the number of non-Buddhists was not ascertained." This is all that the Chinese traveller says of this country and the character of its people. In the opinion of the Buddhist pilgrim the false religion, in the above description, must refer to Brahmanism, but we have pointed out before that Amśuvarman was a devout believer in Brāhmaṇism having destroyed "fallacious philosophy" (asad-darśana) which again must refer to Buddhism. As regards the kings of Nepal, the pilgrim adds⁴⁶: "The kings of Nepal were Kshatriya Lichchhavis, and they were eminent scholars and believing Buddhists. A recent king whose name is given as Ang-shu-fa-ma or Amśuvarman in Chinese Kuing-chan or Radiant Armour, had composed a treatise on Etymology." This description of the kings of Nepal is largely corroborated by the evidence of inscriptions referred to above. The pilgrim's observations on Vṛijī and Nepal have made some of the annotators suspicious, and they think that the pilgrim may not have been to those two places and has described them as he heard from others and learnt from books, more specially because The Life does not mention a visit to this Vajji country or to Nepal between his travels in

⁴⁶. *Ibid*, p. 84.
Svetapur and Magadha which he personally visited. Watters, however, regards it “not impossible that Yuan Chhwang may have personally visited Nepal” and he adds, moreover, that “at this time, about A.D. 645, Nepal was a dependency of T’u-fan or Tibet, and it joined that country in sending a contingent to help Wang Hsüan-Tse in his trouble with the usurper of Magadha”. That the paramount rulers of Nepal belonged to the Lichchhavi dynasty admits of no doubt, but Aṃśuvarman described by the Chinese pilgrim as a “recent king” was himself not a Lichchhavi, but was first a sāmanta of that dynasty of rulers and later succeeded in assuming larger powers and even used the loftier title of Bhaṭṭaraka-mahārāja, as stated before. He even used later on the loftier title of mahārājadhirāja (cf. Gnoli XXXIII, line 7). It does not seem to be true that the rulers of the two dynasties (Lichchhavi and Ṭhākuri) in Nepal owed their allegiance to Tibet. Again Aṃśuvarman appears to have been reigning even up to the year A.D. 646, if not A.D. 651-52, in case the reading of the date 45 Harsha samvat in Inscription No. 8 of Vibhuvvarman, one of the king’s employees, be taken as correct. In that case he could never be described as a “recent king” by the pilgrim travelling there in A.D. 645. From these circumstances also it is indeed doubtful whether the Chinese traveller actually visited Nepal. Mr. Vaidya thinks that
Harshavardhana’s conquest of Nepal was a definite historical event and that this emperor forced Śivadeva I (the Lichchhavi king) to introduce in Nepal the Harsha era and this happened sometime about A.D. 610, after which Aṃśuvarman became ascendant in the other Court. This king ruled in Nepal from Kailāsakūṭabhavana contemporaneously with Harshavardhana during the latter part of the North Indian emperor’s rule, perhaps for a few years even after his death.

Nepal assisted the Tirhut army which proceeded to help the Chinese envoy, Wang-hiuen-tse against Arjuna (or Aruṇāśva) of Tirhut who usurped the throne of Harsha after his death. This defeat of the usurper was brought about by the combined forces of China, Tibet and Nepal, assisted by the force of the Kāmarūpa king, before A.D. 650 and we believe that the Nepal kings of the two dynasties who thus helped the Chinese and the Tibetan armies were Dhruvadeva of the Lichchhavi line and either Aṃśuvarman of the Ṭhākurī or his successor Jishṇugupta (who probably belonged to a different line).

The first date we know of Jishṇugupta is H.E. 48 (=A.D. 654). Like the preceding ruler, Aṃśuvarman, Jishṇugupta also styles himself Bhagāvat-Paśupati-Bhaṭṭāraka-pādāṇugrihiṭa and Bappa-pādāṇudhyāta and issues his charters from the new residence Kailāsakūṭabhavana. In a record (No. 9)
of this ruler dated 48 H.E. we find a reference to a repair-work of a tilamaka (water-course) which was laid by Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja Amśuvarman, but which was destroyed for want of earlier repairs. Yuvarāja Vishṇugupta acted as the dūtaka in this charter. He acted also as the dūtaka in the Thankot inscription (S. Lévi XVI). It seems quite reasonable to suppose that the higher title of mahā-rājādhirāja was assumed by Amśuvarman later in his reign, as he was called simply a sāmanta and a mahāsāmanta earlier, and since then he wielded more regal power causing proportionate reduction of the same to the suzerain family of Lichchhavi kings of Mānagriha, which seems to have continued as the royal residence during the reign of Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja Dhruvadeva, whose lord-paramountcy was acknowledged by this Jishṇugupta. Two epithets punyānvayad=-āgata-rājyyasampat and samastapau[rāśrī]ta-śasana as applied to this king are important as showing that his kingly position was obtained from a virtuous family and that his commands were obeyed by all citizens. This suggests that Jishṇugupta had no lineal connection with the preceding Ṭhākuri ruler, Amśuvarman, but only succeeded to his rank as a ruler in Kailāsakūṭabhavana, whence probably he fulfilled his administrative duty towards the people of the city. This view is supported by the epithet Somānvayabhūshana, as applied to Jishṇuguptadeva.
in Thankot inscription (S. Lévi XVI, Gnoli LVI), where he is not found using any title like mahā-sāmanta or mahārāja. It seems that after Dhruvadeva the nominal suzerain occupying the throne at the Mānagriha residence was king Bhīmārjunadeva as mentioned in that inscription. We have the name of one Chandravarman, who was a sāmanta under Jishṇugupta himself. Doubt will always remain in the minds of some scholars whether the the line of rulers represented by Amśuvarman, Jishṇugupta and latter's successor Vishṇugupta ruled from Kailāsakūṭabhavana, collaterally by division of power in the whole of Nepal between themselves and the rulers of the Lichchhavi family of Mānagriha. We shall see later on that Mānagriha ceased to play its part as the old royal residence during at least the reigns of the last two Lichchhavi rulers viz. Śivadeva II and Jayadeva II, both of whom seem to have their residence at the palace nemed Bhadrādhivāsabhavana (cf. S. Lévi XX). It appears that the rulers of Mānagriha had a troubulous time before the unknown date of inscription No. 10, and that Amśuvarman secured good prospects (upāttayatiḥ) by his success in quelling powerful enemies of his lord-paramount. His successor, Jishṇugupta, had also to devote his mind to finding out means for freeing the Nepalese people headed by his suzerain Bhaṭṭāraka Dhruva
deiva, from disturbing calamites. Constructive
works of public utility, such as leading water-courses and conduits, formed a special feature in Nepal, and both Amśuvarman and Jishñugupta are credited in their own charters with having undertaken such works for the benefit of the people whose representative committees were sometimes directed to spend money out of the collective taxes of their villages towards the upkeep of these benefactions. A donation to the Pāśupata congregation for the provision of repair-work of a temple of Chhatra-Chaṇḍeśvara and a conduit of water (pranālikā) was made during the prosperous and victorious reign (pravardhamānavijaya-rājya) of Jishñugupta. The king’s name in the charter dated 82 H.E. i.e. A.D. 688 (Bendall No. III) appears to be lost, but very probably the name was that of King Narendra-deva, father of Śivadeva II. The name of the dūtaka of this grant, however, is given as Bhaṭṭāraka Yuvarāja Skandadeva. King Narendra-deva again was the son of Udayadeva (according to our opinion stated above), and he was a great ruler having under his suzerainty a large number of vassal kings who used to pay him homage.

During the reign of co-regent Jishñugupta (Harsha samvat 49-65 i.e. A.D. 655-671) we find the names of two Lichchhavi overlords viz. Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja Dhruvadeva (mentioned 4 times), and Bhīmārjunadeva (also mentioned 4 times). For unknown reasons we do not, however,
find Bhimārjunadeva in Jayadeva’s famous No. 15 inscription. It is extremely important that in one inscription (Gnoli LIV) of Vishṇugupta’s time there is mention of four Lichchhavi rulers Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājas Vasurāja, Mahīdeva, Mānadeva, and Gaṇadeva. It is not easy to ascertain if this Mahīdeva and Mānadeva are the 17th and 16th rulers respectively in our list. But the names of Vasurāja and Gaṇadeva are obtained from some of Gnoli’s Inscriptions. Vasurāja’s place in the chronology is difficult to fix up.

King Bhimārjunadeva (Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja) of the Lichchhavi dynasty of Mānragriha was also suzerain for a few years of Jishṇugupta’s co-regency. This royal name is also newly obtained at present and is mentioned in Gnoli’s LV (H.E. 55), LVIII, LXI (H.E. 64) and LXII (H.E. 65), the date in LVIII being missing. This king must have to be placed before the famous king Narendradeva. He was suzerain of Vishṇugupta in 64 G.E. and 65 G.E. This king’s parentage is not known. Only the dates indicate that before Udayadeva’s reign, he ruled for at least about one decade (his dates ranging from 55 H.E. to 65 H.E.). His relationship with Udayadeva is not clearly understood. In all probability this Udayadeva was the son of Bhimārjunadeva. But the next king Narendradeva whose first regnal year in inscriptions is found to be 69 H.E. is described in Indraji’s No. 15 as the
son of Udayadeva, thirteenth in number from Vasantadeva. His long reign ranged at least from 69 H.E. to 103 H.E. It is this king of the ancient Lichchhavī lineage who restored the full glory of his family by probably abolishing the powerful co-regency of the Ŗākuri dynasty of Amśuvarman, Jīśuṇugupta and Vishṇugupta. Narendradeva is described (in Gnoli LXVI of H.E. 69) as Bhagavat-Paśupati-bhaṭṭāraka-pādāṇugrihiṇa, Bappāpādānudhyāta and Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja. The single verse in it describes this king as `one who greatly adorned his valour by his political qualities, his own self by brilliant attributes, his strength of arms by power, his intellect by extensive knowledge of the śāstras, his limits of propriety by orderly discipline, the different quarters by his fame, the lands by the glory of his rule and the Lichchhavi lineage by his birth'. He issued his charter to the future Nepāla kings from Kailāsakūṭabhavana, so long used as the residence of the Ŗākuri Kings. Kumārānātiya Priyajīva was the dūtaka in this grant, as also in another grant (Gnoli LXVII). One king Mānesvara (Mānadeva?) as well as king Bhūmagupta are mentioned in the former. It appears that the shrine of Bhuvaneśvara was dedicated by the former and that for unknown reasons the latter (who was most probably the father of Amśuvarman) appropriated the area of land granted by the previous king. King Narendradeva re-granted
the same area to the shrine. In the inscription of H.E. 71 (Gnoli LXVIII) of Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Narendradeva one Daṇḍanāyaka Nṛipadeva was the dūtaka. One Vishṇudeva’s dedication of a well took place in H.E. 89 (Gnoli LXIX) when Narendradeva was the ruler of the earth (a virtual emperor). It seems most probable that in H.E. 89 (Gnoli LXXI) most likely in Narendradeva’s reign, Rājaputra Janārdanaavarman was the dūtaka in the grant and in H.E. 95 (Gnoli LXXII) undoubtedly during Narendradeva’s reign Yuvarāja Śauryadeva was the dūtaka in the grant. This king issued his land-grant (Gnoli LXXIV) in which many vihāras (monasteries) are mentioned by name, from Bhadradhivāsa-bhavana (the auspicious residential quarters). We find in H.E. 103 (Gnoli LXXIII) in Narendradeva’s inscription the name of Bhaṭṭāraka Śivadeva as the dūtaka, but whose name seems, however, missing in Narendradeva’s inscription (Gnoli LXXIV) probably of the same Sāṃvat.

Narendradeva’s son and successor was King Śivadeva II, one of whose charters, issued from the residence at Kailāsakūṭabhavana, bears the date 119 in Harsha era (=A.D. 725); and this evidently indicates that he enjoyed a long reign in Nepal. During this and the next king’s reign no trace of the so-called double or collateral Government, which was prevalent during a portion of the last hundred
years, is found to exist. King Śivadeva II himself used the imperial titles parama-bhaṭṭāraka and mahārājādhirāja in addition to the usual epithets, used by all former kings, viz. Bhagavat-Paśupati-bhaṭṭāraka-pādānūgrihiṭa and Bappa-pādānudhyāta. That this king had a most tolerant attitude in the matter of religion is clearly seen from the fact that he established, on the one hand, the Śiva-god (in the liṅga form), named after himself as Śivadevesvara, for the upkeep of whose temple he granted a village as agrahāra, according to the dictum of bhūmichchhidrantaya, to a sect of the Paśupatāchāryyas and on the other, a Buddhist monastery named Śivadeva-vihāra for the benefit of the fraternity of Buddhist monks (Āryya-bhikshusamgha) to which also he granted a village. There is a reference to another grant (S. Lévi XX) made by this king to the fraternity of Buddhist monks residing in the same vihāra. In the former grant his son Rājaputra Jayadeva was the dūtaka and in the latter the king himself acted as such. His character and accomplishments as a sovereign have been very graphically described in the famous inscription (No. 15) of his son Jayadeva II. A conqueror and efficient administrator as he was, this king was easily offered the hand of Vatsadevi whom he married. This princess was the daughter of Bhogavarmā, the crest-jewel of the illustrious Varmans of the Maukhari dynasty, who were so rich in
strength of arms and who put all hostile kings to shame. She was also connected with the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha as being the daughter's daughter of the great Ādityasena, called in this record Magadhādhipa. The mutilated inscription No. 14 dated 145 Harsha era i.e. A.D. 751, of which the portion containing the names of the king and and the place of issue is broken away and lost, seems to have belonged not to the reign of Śivadeva II but to his son and successor Jayadeva II, whose reign, as we think, commenced about A.D. 740; and we also believe that the dūtaka mentioned therein as Yuvarāja Vijayadeva was very likely the actual heir-apparent, Jayadeva II's son. Bhaṭṭāraka Vijayadeva is also mentioned to have acted as the dūtaka in the inscription (S. Lévi XVIII) dated A.D. 743. If this inscription could be referred to Śivadeva II's reign as was done by Fleet, then this Yuvarāja was probably a second son of the king and hence a brother of Jayadeva II. In this case one may also hesitate to regard this as a "vicarious" name of Jayadeva II as was done by Bhagwanlal. Can it be true that all sons of early Nepal kings including those who were not really heirs-apparent to the throne were called Yuvarājas? We have a reference to an announcement in this epigraphic record to the people of Nepal, which clearly indicates that breakers of the public peace and obstructors of the use of public works, such as water-courses
etc., were produced in the royal courts (rājakula) for trial. The record dated 151 H.E. (=A.D. 757) announcing the grant by a private individual to a committee (Pañchaka) belonged in our opinion to the reign of Jayadeva II. There is an allusion in an inscription of Śivadeva II (No. 12) to a supply of labour from villages by Nepal kings for the Labour Service of Bhoṭṭa (Bhutān or Tibet?).

In a new inscription discovered by Gnoli (No. LXXVI) of H.E. 109 (=A.D. 715) Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja Śivadeva (II) of the ancient Lichchhavi lineage made a land-grant in honour of Paśupatibhaṭṭāraka by a document of Svayamājñā type. This charter was issued from Kailāsakūṭa-bhavana residence and it contained the name of Jayadeva-bhaṭṭāraka as the dūtaka and he is also mentioned as dūtaka in Gnoli LXXXIV the date in which is illegible. Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Jayadeva (II) is also mentioned in an utterly worn out inscription (Gnoli LXXXV) in which also the date is missing. Jayadeva is found mentioned as Rājaputra Jayadeva in Śivadeva’s (II’s) grant issued in H.E. 125 (=A.D. 731) from Kailāsakūṭabhavana.

Lastly we find the name of another Śivadeva, perhaps to be called Śivadeva III in Gnoli LXXXIX dated in 172 Samvat (if it has been correctly deciphered). He may have been Jayadeva II’s son and grand-son of Śivadeva II. In this
connection we may recall that Jayadeva II's famous inscription (Gnoli LXXXI i.e. Indraji no. 15) bears the date H.E. 159 (= A.D. 765).

As to Jayadeva II, the hitherto last known king of the Lichchhavi dynasty of Nepal, we first notice him as the dūtaka of a grant in the inscription dated 119 Harsha era (= A.D. 725), where he is named Rājaputra Jayadeva. In the mutilated inscription (S. Lévi XIX) in which we find reference to an information of labour people (vishṭimanushya-sambandha) and tradesmen carrying on business in royal courts (rājakula-vyavasāyins), the dūtaka was the same Rājaputra Jayadeva. More important historical information about this king who really became a lord-paramount can only be obtained from his own praśasti (No. 15). He was the son and successor of Śivadeva II and was born of the famous Queen Vatsadevī. He himself, however, married the daughter of Harsha, king of Kāmarūpa, who is described in that inscription as the lord of Gauḍa, Udra, and other countries, as well as of Kaliṅga and Kosala. It is also stated there, in the garb of puns, that King Jayadeva II extended his political influence over the Aṅga country with the fortunes of which he was endowed, conquered Kāmarūpa, approached Kāñchī in the south and bestowed his attention even on the work of administration of the distant Surāśṭra country. Hence the poet of the eulogy, Buddhakirtti, rightly
states that Jayadeva II displayed the career of a universal monarch (sārvabhauma-charitam prakāṭi-karoti) and was, therefore, known to people by his second name Parachakrakāma, “one desirous of winning the kingdoms of his enemies.” This king was very liberal, learned, far-seeing and self-respecting. His people were free from all sorts of misfortunes and internal disturbances. The Brāhmaṇas received bounteous gifts from his treasury for making sacrificial offerings to the god. This certainly speaks of the good administration of his kingdom. He caused to be made the famous silver-lotus which his mother Vatsadevi dedicated to the temple of the god Paśupati in honour of her deceased husband, King Śivadeva II. The king was also a poet of a very high order, as the five verses of his own composition in the praśasti may show. He is described as living in 159 H.E. (i.e. A.D. 765) in good health and the court-poet wished for him yet a very long life.

The chapter may be closed with the remark that the culture and civilisation of this mountainous country during the period under notice were exactly similar to those prevailing in the other parts of India on the plains. In this cultural respect Nepal may be assumed to have formed an integral part of India at the time. The society, religion and politics of this wonderful country—“an uninterrupted succession of hill and valley”—as represented in
her early epigraphic records are distinctly of the same type and order as in the rest of India, specially in North-Eastern India. Nepal enjoyed no civilisation alien to that of India herself.
CHAPTER XII
CONCLUDING REMARKS

We intend to bring the work to a close by making a few general remarks on some of the special administrative, economic, social and religious features of the period dealt with in the previous chapters. Much space, however, need not be devoted to this subject, for we have incidentally referred to the culture and mode of life of the people of North-Eastern India, in our treatment of the general political condition in the foregoing pages. A short reference to the Hindu (rather Brāhmanic) renaissance which was so clearly marked in the glorious period of the Imperial Gupta rule in India, the Periclean age of Indian history as some historians may call it, will be made in this connection. To put this matter in the briefest possible way, we may quote a line from the history of India, written by the late Dr. Vincent Smith, who says that in India, during this period,—

"Literature, art, and science flourished in a degree beyond the ordinary, and gradual changes in religion were effected without persecution." There is ample evidence to show that in spite of the fact that the Imperial Gupta emperors embraced

Brahmanical Hinduism and styled themselves *parama-bhāgavatas* or *parama-daivatas*, they adopted a general policy of perfect religious toleration. They seem to have officially recognised the worship of gods and goddesses of other Brāhmanical sects, and also showed patronage even to the religious institutions of the non-Brahmanical sects viz. Buddhism and Jainism, which were still, of course, believed in by many families, under a somewhat modified form. The people of the period enjoyed full liberty of making perpetual endowments to temples or monasteries; and one could even, irrespective of his own religious persuasion, make donations to institutions belonging to other faiths. As an illustration we may refer here to the donation of land, purchased from the Government by the Brahmin couple, Nāthaśarman and his wife Rāmī, for the worship of the Jinas (Arhats), in the great Jaina *vihāra* at Vaṭagohāli mentioned in the Paharpur inscription. This Jaina *vihāra* was an older institution existing probably in the same locality of Paharpur (in the Rajshahi district), situated in the old Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti*. The Brahmanical temple excavated out of the mound at that place belonged to the late Gupta period and according to archaeologists its type is similar to that of Brahmanical temples of Java. Many "Brahmanical and Buddhist bas-reliefs and

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terracotta plaques, dating from the late Gupta times” were also found at that place during the excavations. These North-Bengal relics speak of the prevalence of three different faiths in one and the same place, during the Gupta period, although we find that the influence of the non-orthodox religions was waning in this period on account of the growing renovation of Brahmanism under the patronage of the Guptas.

It may be noted here that during the four or five centuries before the rise of the Gupta dynasty, Brahmanism and along with it, the Sanskrit language and literature, suffered a good deal on account of the ascendancy of Buddhism and the cultivation of the Prakrits under the patronage of the Kushân kings. During that period people in many parts of the country ceased even to perform some of the Vedic rites, and to show veneration to gods and Brahmins. The kings did not care to to celebrate the aśvamedha sacrifice, even on the assumption of supreme sovereign power. R. G. Bhandarkar in A Peep into the Early History of India has shown that “the Brâhmanic revival may be understood to have truly begun” in the time of Wema-Kadhises, who styled himself a worshipper of Maheśvara. He also pointed out that some of the kings of foreign origin “were no doubt

Hinduized, but they were not Brāhmanized. And the Brāhmaṇa themselves complained of their being neglected by the Yavanas, Šakas and Pahlavas”. Hence he thought that “an all-sided revival and renovation could proceed only under the patronage of Hindu princes” like the Guptas.

We have seen before that the first few Gupta monarchs were great patrons of learning and all kinds of fine arts. The general consensus of opinion amongst scholars points to Kālidāsa, the greatest Sanskrit poet and dramatist, having flourished during the Gupta period. It is quite true that extensive royal patronage to the Muses made it possible for poets like Harisheṇa, Vatsabhaṭṭi and the like, to appear in such poetic glory. The Buddhist teacher and philosopher Vasubandhu, Asaṅga and the former’s pupil Diṅnāga also lived during this period. Sir Ramkrishna was also of the opinion that this period was “the age when metrical Smṛtis, Purāṇas and Bhāshyas or commentaries containing explanatory, apologetic, and controversial matter, began to be written; and the general literary impulse was communicated to other branches of learning including poetry”. Some chapters of the Mahābhārata, containing reference to the races and tribes who set the Brahmins at defiance and gradually ceased to perform their religious rites, were probably interpolated into the epic, and the prevalent Manusamhitā was also in all
probability composed, during this period. The Purāṇas were recast, and it is assumed that the Vāyu, the oldest of them, was written under Gupta patronage. The epigraphic records, from which we derived the materials for the previous chapters, show clearly how far the worship of the various deities, belonging to the three chief cults, viz. Vaishnavism, Śaivism and Śaktism, was adopted by the people of this age, and a study of the Purāṇas, supposed to have been written during the time, convinces us of the considerable progress made by these cults. It is quite probable too that Śabaravāmin, the great commentator on the Mīmāṃsā, and the great Prabhākara of the other school in the same branch of philosophy, who fought so hard against the tenets of the Buddhists and Jains and also Bharadvāja, the author of the Nyāya work called the Uddyota, wrote their works during the period between the fifth and seventh centuries A.D.

The progress of science in this period is attested by the scientific and mathematical works of the great Indian astronomers, Āryabhata (born A.D. 476), Varāhamihira (born A.D. 505-87) and Brahmagupta (A.D. 598). The practice of the various fine arts, specially music, architecture, and painting was extensive in this golden age. Temples of this period built of stone and bricks, discovered in whole or in parts, in different parts of the country, e.g. at Jhansi, Benares (Sarnath),
Kanpur and Paharpur (Bengal), the rock-cut caves of Ajanta with their excellent frescoes and the beautiful Buddhist images of the period indicate the perfection attained by these allied arts. The inscriptional records and the literature of the period have disclosed the existence of all kinds of artisans, artists, and craftsmen, of whom there existed various regulations of corporate industrial life. Metallurgy and coinage were two of the special features of Gupta civilisation. Foreign influence due to trade intercourse between India on the one hand, and on the other, the European countries, specially the Roman Empire in the west and China, Java and other Asiatic countries in the east, made a somewhat palpable impress on the civilized life of the people of India at that time; and Indians then knew how far to imitate and assimilate the excellent features in the art and culture of foreigners.

A few words on the system of provincial government during the Gupta rule, specially in North-Eastern India, will not be out of place here. We know incidentally from the edicts of Aśoka that the Mauryya emperor appointed his own viceroys to

4. It may be noted here that a fragmentary Mauryya inscription at Mahāsthāna in the Bogra district which conveyed an order of some ruler of the Mauryya period to a mañjāttra officer stationed in Puṇḍranagara for helping the famine-stricken people by advancing money and distributing paddy from the district granary (E.I., XXI, pp. 85).
rule over the large provinces in the north-west, the south, the east and the west, the central part of the empire having probably been kept under the direct rule of the emperor at Pātaliputra. A remarkable continuity of this policy seems to have prevailed among the rulers of India in later times, though they belonged to different dynasties. The eight earliest (North Bengal) copper-plate grants of the Gupta period known to archaeologists, six of which were deciphered and published for the first time by the present writer, reveal a most important fact of administration viz., that it was the central Government under the Gupta emperors, which used to appoint the provincial governors, who are described as being tat-pāda-parigrihīta (literally, accepted by the imperial majesty's feet), and have right of use of such titles as uparika-mahārāja. Their position may be compared to some extent with that enjoyed by the Divisional Commissioners of modern times, if the latter could be directly responsible to the Imperial Government. The present writer remarked while editing the Damodarpur inscriptions that these

According to D. R. Bhandarkar, this inscription, the earliest of those so far discovered in Bengal, establishes the identity of Puṇḍranagara with Mahāsthāna, and that Bengal, at any rate North Bengal, must have been included in the Mauryya empire. It may be mentioned incidentally that Kushān or pseudo-Kushān coins have also been found in North Bengal,
provincial governors of the Gupta period had power to appoint the *vishayapatis* (district officers), who are described as *tan-niyuktas* (literally, appointed by them), and as having right of use of such titles as *kumārāmātya* or *āyukta*. But it appears from the wording of the text in the Baigrama inscription⁵ that the *vishayapatis* were also sometimes appointed directly by the emperor’s court, and the component word *tat* in the compound *tan-niyuktaka* may in that case refer to the emperor himself. It may, however, be reasonably assumed that the emperor appointed them in consultation with the *bhukti* governors, whose own appointment, however, was directly in the hands of the emperor. It is also a most important and interesting point that the *vishayapatis* had their head-quarters in *adhishṭhānas* (towns), where they had their own *adhikaranās* (offices or courts). Another most interesting fact of administrative history, which was known for the first time from these North Bengal inscriptions, is that the *vishayapati* as the head of the *vishaya* was aided in his administrative work (*ṣaṃvyavahāra*) by a Board of Advisers, which seems to have been constituted by four members, representing the different interests of those days, viz., (1) the *nagara-śreshṭhin*, representing the various guilds or corporations of the town or the rich urban population, (2) the *sārthavāha* (the chief merchant),

representing the various trade-guilds and other mercantile professions of the vishaya, (3) the prathama-kulika (the chief artisan) representing the craft-guilds and (4) the prathama-kāyasthas (the chief scribe), representing either the kāyasthas as a class, or acting as a State official in the capacity of a Chief-Secretary of the present days. The same system of administration appears to have prevailed in the Tirabhukti province and the Vaiśālīvishaya, and this can be very easily gathered from the inscriptions of the innumerable stray clay-seals belonging to the 4th and 5th centuries A.D., discovered during the excavations\(^6\) at Basarh (old Vaiśāli in Tirhut). These have revealed to us the designations of some of the important State functionaries of the Gupta period. We read of both a vishaya and an adhishthāna of the name of Vaiśāli. The legend on the Basarh seal (No. 25), viz. Vaiśālyadhishthānaḍhikarana referring to the court (or office or department) of the vishayādhipati in the town of Vaiśāli, can be very well compared with the legend on the seal of Damodarpur plate (No. 5) viz., Koṭivarshādhishthānaḍhikarana, referring to the court at the head-quarters of Koṭivarsha. We have no doubt that the Kumārāmātyāḍhikarana and the uparikāḍhikarana mentioned in some of these Basarh seals, refer to the court of the vishayapati of Tīra (town) and the governor of Tīrabhukti respectively.

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The word *adhikarana* used with the word *kumāramātya* or such other words cannot mean "the chief", as the learned writer of the *Archaeological Survey Report* (1903-4) wrongly thinks. Tirabhūkti was at first probably under the direct administrative jurisdiction of the emperor (Chandragupta II) who had under him a *vishayapati*, and it was to the latter's office or court that the legend on some of the seals, standing thus *Śrī-parama-bhaṭṭārakapādiya-kumārāmātyādhikarana* (Seal No. 6), is to be referred. But when *mahārāja* Govinda-gupta (as *yuvarāja*) was appointed by the monarch to act as the Governor of Tirabhukti, presumably with the title *uparika* (cf. the legend *Tirabhuktyuparikādhikaranasya* on seal No. 20), the office or court of the *vishayapati* working under him must have been named *Yuvarāja*(or, *yuvarāja-bhaṭṭāraka*-pādiya-kumārāmātyādhikarana* (cf. seals on Nos. 4 and 6). When an empire expands through gradual territorial aggrandizement, it becomes impossible for the emperor to rule it directly with the help of the central executive alone, and therefore the outlying provinces are constituted into different units or divisions, for administrative purposes, presided over by princes or governors appointed by him. The success of the Magadhan government under the Mauryyas was undoubtedly due to the prevalence of a perfectly trained machinery of administration—almost a veritable form of modern bureaucracy—which included a
hierarchy of different kinds of officers, under the title adhyaksha, both civil and military. This is clear from the pages of the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya. The policy of maintaining such a constitution with necessary modifications, according to circumstances, was continued by the Gupta emperors and their successors, in all parts of India, specially in the North-Eastern provinces, such as Sāketa, Old Bengal (including Karṇasuvaraṇa-Puṇḍra- vardhana, and Vaṅga-Samattā), Orissa, and Kāmarūpa. In some of the Basarh seals, as in the inscriptions of the Gupta and post-Gupta period, we have reference to certain other administrative departments, such as balādhikaraṇa (Army office), raṇabhāṇḍāgarādhikaraṇa (Department of munition or military stores), daṇḍapāṣikādhhikaraṇa (Police Department), vinaya-sthiti-sthāpakādhhikaraṇa (the Department of the minister of Law and Order, or of the Superintendent of the moral conduct of the people, as some may translate the word). It seems that Vaiśālī was a large trading centre, as is clear from the occurrence on a large number of seals of the names of some individual kulikas and śresṭhins, as well as from that of such legends, as śresṭhī-śārthavāha-kulika-nigama (seal No. 29), which certainly refer to some corporate bodies of bankers, traders and artisans existing in the town. There seems to be no doubt that they were represented in the Bord of Advisers of the vishaya-
patīs at Vaiśālī, as in the Koṭivarsha vishaya in North Bengal. Names also occur in some of the Basarh seals of persons holding the high offices of the mahāpratīhāra (the Chief door-keeper, perhaps the chief of the palace Police), the daṇḍanāyaka (the administrator of justice), and the bhaṭāśvapati (master of infantry and cavalry). Another high State-officer, reference to whom is frequently found in early inscriptions, is the sāndhivigrahika (the Minister of Peace and War). The existence of village pañchāyet committees (cf. the term Parishad at Udānakūpa in one of the Basarh seals) can be proved from some of the records of the Gupta period in India, and of a somewhat later period of Nepal.

Another class of local officers, found mentioned in the North and East Bengal plates of the Gupta and post-Gupta period, are the pustapālas (the Government record-keepers), who, it seems, were possessed of the knowledge of the title to all lands. The Government would sanction land-sales only after these record-keepers had, on receipt of application from the bona fide purchasers, determined the title to the land under proposal of transfer, and sent in their report to Government. Other important bodies, presumably rural, are also mentioned in old epigraphic records of the period, viz. the Mahāttaras (the leading men of the villages), aśṭakulādhikaraṇas (probably small departments having supervising authority over eight kulas, which
may mean either the particular divisions of land of the same name, or families), and grāmikas (the heads of villages who had the special privilege of using a portion of the king's dues and the right to refer criminal offences to the heads of group of ten villages). These officers were often consulted by Government in making arrangement for land-transfer and inspection of the execution of the transaction.

There is evidence to show that there prevailed different rates in different parts of Bengal during the period discussed, in the valuation of the price of unsettled and untilled khila (fallow) land and vāstu (home-stead land). In the province of Puṇḍra-vardhana, we find that such land was sold by Government, in some places at the rate of two dināras for each kulyavāpa area, and in others three dināras; but in East Bengal it was sold at four such coins for the same area. We meet with the name of the coin rūpaka (silver coin) in the Baigram copper-plate grant; and we have clearly shown in our article in the Epigraphia Indica that the relative value of this silver coin as compared with the gold dināra is 1 to 16, i.e. one gold dināra or suvarṇa is equal to 16 rūpakas.

After the downfall of the imperial Guptas, Northern India suffered again from social and religious disorder, when the orthodox Brahmamic culture and cults received a set-back, probably due
to the spread of Mahāyāna Buddhism, which now embraced within itself a pantheon of deities almost Brahmanic in form, and to the gradual political darkness prevailing in many parts of the country, on account of fresh oppression by the Hūnas and other outlandish tribes. During the next two centuries we find the people of North-Eastern India enjoying State aid in the restoration of Vedic rites, and sacrifices, and the worship of several additional Brahmanic gods and goddesses was newly ordained. Hence it is easy to explain why some of the Maukhari rulers, some members of the Šailodbhava dynasty of Orissa and some of the Varman kings of Kāmarūpa are described, in their records, as the upholders of varṇāśramadharma. It may be remembered in this connection with what devotion the Nepal kings performed the phallic worship during this period.

All the special economic, social, political and religious features that marked the Gupta period were preserved, with slight modifications, here and there, by the kings and people of the next two centuries in all the North-Eastern provinces. It is indeed curious that, generally speaking, a unity of Hindu culture and civilisation was maintained almost unmodified throughout the period under our notice.

The typical Hindu village community in the North-Eastern part of India is even to-day self-contained, in the sense that we find therein the
same village-heads, the same agriculturist householders, the same hired labourers, the religious establishments under the same priests, and a whole host of artisans of various classes, carrying on their age-long functions for the common good. It seems as if a constant cultural and religious unity among the Brahmanic Hindus, which was so palpably evident during the Gupta and post-Gupta period of North-Eastern India, noticed in the above chapters, has been retained intact, though with certain modifications, down to the present day, while we are under the independent Sovereign Indian Union.
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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Addenda

P. 21, footnote 18: In this connection mention may be made of the spurious Nalanda (regnal year 5) and Gaya (regnal year 9) copper plates of Samudragupta. For these records see E.I., Vol. XXV, pp. 50-53, Vol. XXVI, pp. 135-36; also Select Inscriptions (second edition) by D. C. Sircar, pp. 270-74.

P. 57, footnote 3: Prof. Choudhary has practically reiterated the original suggestion of D. R. Bhandarkar, according to which Govindagupta ruled as a sovereign between G.E. 93 and 95 (96 sic) and was later ousted by Kumāragupta (Indian Culture, Vol. XI, p. 231). M. B. Garde while editing the Mandor inscription of the Mālava Saṁvat 524 (= A.D. 467) accepts Bhandarkar’s suggestion (E.I., Vol. XXVII, p. 14). R. D. Banerjee (Age of the Imperial Guptas, p. 51) and D. C. Sircar (S.I., second edition, p. 407, f.n. 2), regard Govindagupta as a Viceroy of Malwa. This view appears to be playsible. Later on Bhandarkar changed his view and on the basis of some dubious numismatic sources identified Govindagupta with Kumāragupta (E.I., XIX, App. 7). This identification is baseless and hence untenable (for a criticism of this view, see I.C., Vol. XII, pp. 169 ff, P.I.H.C., Vol. IX, pp. 78 ff).

P. 61, footnote 16: Another inscription of the time of Kumāragupta and Ghaṭotkachagupta of G.E. 116 found at Tumain may also be noted, see E.I., Vol. XXVI, pp. 115-18. Ghaṭotkachagupta of this record is known to have been ruling at Malwa as its imperial Viceroy. The exact nature of his relationship with Kumāragupta is unknown,
though some would like to take him as a brother of Kumāragupta. While seals from Vaiśālī bear
the name of one Ghaṭotkachagupta (A.S.R., 1903-07, p. 107), there is a solitary Archer type
coin in the St. Petersburg (Leningrad Museum; weight 141.2 grains) which bears the legend
Ghaṭo under the king’s left arm. Hence it may be attributed either to Ghaṭotkachagupta
of the Tumain record, or to Ghaṭotkachagupta
of the Vaiśālī seals, or to a hitherto unknown
later scion of Gupta family of that name ruling
towards the end of the fifth century, see C.G.E.,
pp. 264-66, 354.

P. 84, footnote 18: The reading Shashti in the ll. 14-15 of
the Supia record is wrong. It is yashți (i.e. ‘a
pillar’). Hence the theory relating to the
existence of the cult of Mother Shashthi in
Central India is untenable. For this record
see E.I., Vol. XXXIII, pp. 306-08.

P. 141, l. 12 For K. K. Dasgupta’s view see I.H.Q., Vol,
XXXVIII, pts 2 and 3, pp. 242-46.

P. 152: Put 16a as footnote number to Vishṇugupta and
add in the footnote: Two inscriptions of Vishnu-
gupta—the Mangraon (E.I., Vol. XXVI,
pp. 241 ff.) and the Kaulesvari hill (E.I., Vol.
XXX, pp. 84 ff.) inscriptions throw some light
on the history of this king. While the former
belongs to the 17th year of his reign, the latter
is important since “it is the first ‘Later Gupta’
epigraph discovered in the Hazaribagh district
and the second of Vishṇugupta’s records so
far brought to light.”

PP. 229, 233-34. The recently discovered Jayrampur plate
of king Gopachandra shows that the expansion
of Gauda power towards Orissa began consider-
ably earlier than the days of Śaśāṅka. It
contains the name of one Rājānaka Vijayavarman who was Gopachandra’s viceroy in the Midnapur-Balasore region and the donor of the grant recorded in the present plate. For this record, see *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. XI, No. 4, pp. 206 ff and *Select Inscriptions* (second edition) pp. 530-31.

P. 265, ll. 3-4: D. C. Sircar abandons his former reading of the first three signs of the third line as 244. He now reads it as āyūshkāmaṁ (S.I., second edition, p. 385). To us it appears that the signs probably represent numerical figures, and not syllables.

**Corrigenda**

P. 12, l. 12: Delete full stop after ‘the date’.

P. 28, l. 6: Read ‘it appears’ instead of ‘it appear’.

P. 56, l. 11: Delete comma after ‘Tāmralipti’.

P. 58, fn. 7: Add G.D. after C.C.B.M.

P. 63, l. 17 and 65, l. 10: Delete ‘new’ preceding ‘Baigram’.

P. 71, ll. 16-17: Read ‘K. B. Pathak’ instead of ‘K. P. Pathak’.

P. 72, l. 15: Read A. D. 454-55 instead of A.D. 445-55.

P. 80, l. 20: Read Samagraṁ instead of Samagrāṁ.

P. 121, fn. 1, ll. 3-4: Put ‘Cf’ after ‘Maukharis’. Delete ‘Cf’ before ‘The Kaveri, the Maukhari’ etc.

PP. 123, 125, 127: Folio headings would be ‘The Maukhari dynasty’ instead of ‘Under Imperial Gupta Emperors’.

P. 164, fn. 2, l. 5: Substitute ‘after’ by ‘before’.


ABBREVIATIONS

**ABORI** Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

**AHD** Ancient History of the Deccan by G. Jouveau-Dubreuil (translation from the French by V. S. Swaminadha Dikshitar), Pondicherry, 1920.

**AIG** Age of the Imperial Guptas by R. D. Banerji, Benares, 1933.

**ASB** Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

**ASR** Archaeological Survey Reports (Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports).


**Cal. Rev.** Calcutta Review.


**CCBMGD** Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum, Gupta Dynasty by J. Allan, London, 1914 (sometimes simply mentioned as *Cat.* or *Catalogue*).


**CGE** Coinage of the Gupta Empire by A. S. Altekar, Bombay, 1957.


**CII** Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Volume III by J. F. Fleet, Calcutta, 1888 (sometimes mentioned without the volume number).

**DKA** Dynasties of the Kali Age by F. E. Pargiter, London, 1913.
Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha by B. P. Sinha, Patna, 1954.


Early History of Northern India by Sudhakar Chattopadhyay, Calcutta, 1958.

Epigraphia Indica, Ootacamund (also mentioned as *Ep. Indica*).

Geography of Ancient and Medieval India by D. C. Sircar, Delhi, 1960.

History of Bengal, Volume I, edited by R. C. Majumdar, Dacca, 1943.

Harshacharitam by Bāṇa.

History and Civilization of the People of Assam by P. C. Chaudhury, Gauhati, 1959.

Indian Antiquary, Bombay.

Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.


Journal of the Assam Research Society, Gauhati.

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series, Calcutta.

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Numismatic Supplement, Calcutta.


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<td>New History of the Indian People, Volume VI (Vākataka-Gupta Age), edited by R. C. Majumdar and A. S. Altekar, Lahore, 1946.</td>
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- Vajpayagupta (507-541 A.D.)
- Gopachandra (c. 523-540 A.D.)
- Dharmāditya (c. 550-575 A.D.)
- Samāhāra-deva (c. 573-600 A.D.)

**Gandha kings:**

- Jayanāga (619 A.D.)
- Ākṣāna (619 A.D.)
- Bhavānātha (619 A.D.)
- Lokānātha (619 A.D.)
- Jivadhārana-rāja (619 A.D.)
- Śrīdhāra-rāja (619 A.D.)
- Khudagumaya (706 A.D.)
- Jātakārha (706 A.D.)
- Devakārha (706 A.D.)
- Rājasthāni (706 A.D.)
- Śilāstambha (706 A.D.)

**Kāmarūpa kings:**

- Bhasin (533-541 A.D.)
- Harinātha (533-541 A.D.)
- Jātaka (533-541 A.D.)
- Mānadeva (533-541 A.D.)
- Vajra (533-541 A.D.)

**Māleva:**

- Toramāna (c. 490-510 A.D.)
- Māhārāja (510-540 A.D.)
- Śilodhavāna kings of Orissa
  - Arapabhita (554 A.D.)
  - Sainyabhita (555 A.D.)
  - Māhāvarāja II (619 A.D.)
- Dāmodaragupta (587 A.D.)

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- Harinātha (533-541 A.D.)
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**Thākuri Kings of Nepal:**

- Sūryavarman (c. 533-541 A.D.)
- Māhārāja (533-541 A.D.)
- Vajra (533-541 A.D.)
- Bhagavān (c. 533-541 A.D.)
- Śrīnivasa (c. 533-541 A.D.)

**Śilāstambha:***

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- Jātaka (533-541 A.D.)
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**Śilāstambha:***

- Vajra (672 A.D.)
- Harinātha (619 A.D.)
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