EARLY INSCRIPTIONS OF MATHURA

—A STUDY
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— A STUDY

Dr. Kalyani Das (Bajpayee)
M.A. (double), Ph.D.

Punthi Pustak
Calcutta : : 1980
Dedicated

to my mother
Sm. Bimala Devi
who is all source of inspiration to me
Dedicated

To my mother

Jean Hamilton

May it be sent of restoration to

the

world
FOREWORD

When I was Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, and Director of the Centre of Advanced Study attached to the Department, I was associated with several projects, one of them being a List of Indian Inscriptions. It was found to my great disappointment that the work of all the Research Fellows available for the said project and also others was not up to my expectation. I then conceived the idea of training some of the aspirants for the Ph.D. degree by advising them to take up for their thesis the study of the inscriptions of a particular area and the preparation of a list of the inscriptions in question as a part of the task. Among such seekers of the doctor's degree, Dr. Mrs. Kalyani Das (née Bajpai) succeeded in completing her thesis and obtaining the degree. I am very glad that her thesis is going to be published now.

The list of the inscriptions appended to Dr. Mrs. Das's work is of interest to me. It may be mentioned in this connection that an important inscription that has been recently discovered and acquired by the Mathurā Museum throws welcome light on a damaged Mathurā inscription discovered long ago and noticed by Dr. Mrs. Das. The old inscription says how two tanks were excavated side by side at a site of the locality, one in the east and the other in the west, and now a Brāhmaṇa of the Śaigrava-gotra, who was Mahākaśatrapa Śoṇḍāsa's treasurer, was responsible for the excavation of the western tank as well as for the creation of a reservoir, a garden, a pillar and a stone slab. The Brāhmaṇa's name was broken away together with the description of the stone slab. The recently discovered inscription says that the eastern of the two tanks was excavated by Pakṣakā, the Kauśikī, who was the mother of Vasu and the wife of the Brāhmaṇa of Mūlavasu of the
Śaigrava-gotra, who was Mahākṣatrapa Śoṇḍāsa’s treasurer and also made a garden, a hall, a reservoir, a pillar and a stone slab bearing the image of Śrī (Lakṣmī). It is clear that the name of Mūlavasu was broken away from the stone in the old record and it is possible to think that the stone slab was described there as bearing the image of Vāśudeva, the husband of Śrī (Lakṣmī), the Brāhmaṇa family devoted to the Vaiṣṇava faith.

Dr. Mrs. Das’s work will be useful to the students of early Indian history.

645 New Alipore,
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February 10, 1980.

D. C. SIRCAR
PREFACE

The aim, scope and subject matter of the book have been explained in the Introduction. It is an unfailing courtesy on my part to pay my sincere respect, gratitude and thankfulness to those who rendered me assistance in various capacities in the preparation of the manuscript.

The present work *Studies in the Early Inscriptions of Mathurā* is the outcome of a thesis prepared by me while working as a Junior Research Fellow of the Centre of Advanced Study, Dept. of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, and this work was done under the supervision of Prof. D. C. Sircar, the then Carmichael Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University. The said thesis was duly approved by the University of Calcutta in 1974 for the Degree of the Doctor of Philosophy in Arts.

I do not find words to express my gratitude and reverence to Prof. D. C. Sircar for his guidance and valuable suggestion. In spite of his several preoccupations, he was kind enough to spend his valuable time to enlighten me whenever I found any difficulty. Again, I consider it to be a great honour to have an eminent indologist like Prof. Sircar to kindly write a ‘Foreword’ for my book. I do have an opportunity to express my indebtedness to Dr. G. S. Gai, Government Epigraphist for India and Prof. B. N. Puri, Head of the Dept. of Ancient Indian History, Archaeology and Culture, Lucknow University for their valuable comments and appreciation as examiners of the works. The author is also indebted for kind encouragement and valuable suggestion of Drs. R. C. Majumder, K. K. Ganguly, B. C. Sen, K. D. Bajpayee, A. M. Sastri, B. N. Mukherjee, N. S. Bose, S. K. Maity, A. N. Lahiri, and others. My sincere thanks are also due to Dr. S. Bandyopadhyaya
who helped and inspired me a great deal during my research work.

My thanks are also due to the Librarian and Staff of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta; National Library, Calcutta; Central Library, Calcutta University; Library of the Centre of Advanced Study of the Dept. of A. I. H. & C., Calcutta University; Indian Museum, Calcutta; Mathurā Museum, Mathurā, U.P.; Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta and others. The author is also grateful to the Dy. Superintending Archaeologist and the photographer of the Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, Calcutta for kindly providing her with a photograph of the Mathurā inscription. Mr. S. Chaudhuri, Librarian and Mr. A. Sinha, photographer of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta were kind enough to supply me with some microfilms of the Mathurā inscriptions and thereby laid the author under a debt of gratitude.

The author further thanks Sri Sankar Bhattacharya of M/s Punthi Pustak for publishing and designing the get up of the book.

I have the opportunity to pay respect to my parents who are constant source of encouragement to me in completing the work.

In fine, I am thankful to my husband Dr. S. K. Das who saw the manuscript through the press and rendered substantial help in preparing illustrations, maps, indexes and keeping my morale throughout the period.

While the manuscript was going through the press, the author was far away from Calcutta, in the United States of America. Under the circumstances, the author has not been able to avoid misprints and other blemishes for which she craves the indulgence of the readers. Many of the errors have been noticed in the Addenda-et-Corrigenda appended in the book. Any suggestion for the betterment of the work
would be most welcome and will be carefully and sympathetically considered when the author may get a chance of revising the book for a future edition.

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January, 1980  

KALYANI DAS
## ABBREVIATIONS

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<tr>
<td>ABORI</td>
<td>Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASI, AR</td>
<td>Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASIR</td>
<td>Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Reports.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASI, WC</td>
<td>Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle.</td>
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<td>ĀSS</td>
<td>Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, Poona.</td>
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<td>Bhandarkar's List</td>
<td>A List of Inscriptions of Northern India in Brāhmī and its Derivative Scripts, from about 200 A.C., Appendix to Epigraphia Indica, Vols. XIX-XXIII.</td>
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<td>BI or Bib Ind.</td>
<td>Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta.</td>
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<tr>
<td>BS</td>
<td>Bibliotheca Sanskrita.</td>
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CAI

Coins of Ancient India from the earliest time down to the seventh century A.D. by A. Cunningham, Varanasi, 1963.

CHI


CII

Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.

Comp. Hist. Ind.


Cr. ed.

Critical edition of the Mahābhārata, published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

EHI

The Early History of India by V. A. Smith, Oxford, 1962.

EHNI

The Early History of North India by S. Chattopadhyay, Calcutta, 1968.

EI

Epigraphia Indica, Delhi.

ERE


Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.

Hist. Dharm.

History of Dharmasastra by P. V. Kane, Poona, 1930-46.

Hist. Imp. Guptas


HNEI


IA

Indian Antiquary, Bombay.

IHQ

Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.


JAIH  Journal of Ancient Indian History, Calcutta University.


JAS  Journal of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

JASB  Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

Jāt  Jātaka.


JBORs  Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patua.


JDL  Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University.

JIH  Journal of Indian History, Trivandrum.


JNSI  Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, Varanasi.

JOI  Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda.


JUPHS  Journal of the Uttar Pradesh Historical Society, Lucknow.

Lüders’ List  A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions from the earliest times to about A.D. 400 by H. Lüders, Appendix to Epigraphia Indica, Vol. X.

Majumdar’s List  A List of Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions by N. G. Majumdar, Appendix to JPASB, Vol. XX, 1924.


Mbh.  Mahābhārata.

Mem. AIHCA Dept.  Memoirs of the Ancient Indian History Culture, and Archaeology Department, ed. A. K. Narain, Varanasi.

Mem. ASI  Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.

NC  Numismatic Chronicle, London.

NIA  New Indian Antiquary, Bombay.

NS  New Series.


Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.

Proceedings and Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference.


Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.

Sitzungsberichte der Koeniglich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin.

Sacred Books of the East, Oxford.

Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization by D. C. Sircar, Calcutta, 1965.

State and Government in Ancient India by A. S. Altekar, Delhi, 1958.

Studies in Indian Coins by D. C. Sircar, Delhi, 1968.


Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa.

Taittiriya Saṁhitā.

Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.
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<tr>
<td>Vaikh.</td>
<td>Vaikhānasā Smārtasūtra.</td>
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<td>Vāj. S.</td>
<td>Vājasaneyā Saṁhitā.</td>
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<tr>
<td>VIS</td>
<td>Viśveśvarānanda Indological Series.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viṣṇu. Dh. S.</td>
<td>Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOJ</td>
<td>Vienna Oriental Journal, Vienna.</td>
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</table>
SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

आ = ā  ह = ś  ऋ = ō
इ = ī  क्र = ṇ  ऋ = ō
ऋ = ē  क्र = ṇ  ऋ = ō
ॠ = ṍ  ह = ṃ  च = c
ऌ = ०  ष = ş  ष = ş
ॡ = s  ष = ş  ष = ş

Anusvāra = m  Visarga = ḥ
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INTRODUCTION

When I was studying epigraphy and numismatics as my special papers in the M.A. course in Ancient Indian History and Culture at the University of Calcutta I nourished an idea of devoting myself to the study of inscriptions. Fortunately, I was shortly afterwards offered a fellowship at the Centre of Advanced Study, Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, and Prof. D. C. Sircar advised me to prepare a thesis entitled 'Studies in the Early Inscriptions of Mathurā'. He also kindly agreed to supervise my work.

The early history of Mathurā, one of the oldest centres of Indian Civilization, is mainly derived from inscriptions and coins discovered in the area. Many of the records discovered long ago have been noticed by H. Lüders in his 'List of Brāhmi Inscriptions' and also edited by him in his Mathurā Inscriptions, ed. K. L. Janert, 1961. Quite a good number of epigraphic records from Mathurā have also been published recently. Excavations have been conducted at the Sonkh region in Mathurā by Prof. Härtel of the Berlin Museum and a report on his work has been published.¹

In the present work, I have attempted a critical study of the available epigraphic and numismatic materials for the reconstruction of the political and cultural history of ancient Mathurā, although no other possible source, e.g. archaeological and literary, indigenous and foreign, accessible to me has been left out in my attempt at a proper interpretation of the information from inscriptions. Since there is no comprehensive work on the subject, the present study is expected not only to remove the want, but also throw fresh light on some of the problems.

¹ Herbert Härtel, 'The Excavations at Sonkh' in German Scholars on India, Vol. II, 1976 (Reprint).
The epigraphs discovered from the Mathurā region are mostly small and fragmentary private records of a dedicatory nature and are engraved on statues, pillars, arches, votive tablets, etc. Some of them are dated and others undated. They are written in the Brāhmī characters excepting the lion-capital inscriptions of Rañjuvula and Ṣoḍāsa which are in Kharoṣṭhī. Besides, there is one spurious inscription discovered from Rawal, which is also written in Kharoṣṭhī. I have utilised inscriptions as the principal source of my study and have often tried to come to a conclusion after carefully examining the readings of controversial passages offered by different scholars with the help of facsimiles wherever available. In this work of examination I have been greatly helped by my teacher, Prof. Sircar, to whom I rushed to solve my problems. In spite of his various pre-occupations, he always welcomed me, sympathetically heard my difficulties and offered his suggestions.

The whole work is divided into five chapters, the first of which is sub-divided into seven sections. Section I deals with the Yavanas whose invasion of Mathurā and occupation of territories as far as Pāṭaliputra in the east took place shortly after Śāliśūka (c. 200 B.C.) and before Puṣyamitra’s capture of the Maurya throne (c. 185 B.C.). Demetrius and not Menander was probably the first Yavana ruler who extended Greek sway in the east. After Demetrius, Menander also seems to have led an expedition against U.P. and Bihar.

Section II centres round the local Hindu rulers, among whom those without royal epithet seem to have been succeeded by others who assumed the title Rājan. Some scholars suggest the revival of Hindu power in the intervening period between the Śaka Kṣatrapas and the Kuśāṇas. It, however, seems that the kings without any royal title may be assigned to the first century B.C. and those with royal epithet, who were probably the vassals of the Kuśāṇas, to the second century A.D.
The next section has been devoted to the Śaka Kṣatrapas. We have taken Rañjuvula to be the earliest Kṣatrapa ruler of Mathurā. Among his successors, Hagāna was the senior partner and the joint issues of Hagāna and Haçāmaṣa should be placed earlier than the coins of Haçāmaṣa alone. A dated inscription of Śoḍāsa suggests the date of himself and his father Rañjuvula who seems to have flourished about the beginning of the first century A.D. and the close of the first century B.C.

In the next section dealing with the Kuṣāṇas, Vamatatakṣama, who belonged to the Kaṇiṣka group of kings, has been regarded by us as the junior partner of Kaṇiṣka I and as the grandfather of Huviṣka. There is no consensus of opinion regarding the date of Kaṇiṣka I. He may, however, be regarded as the originator of the Śaka era of 78 A.D.

Section V deals with the Nāgas whose inscriptions have not been found in Mathurā, though literary and archaeological data point to the fact that they ruled over the region for a considerable period of time and that the last ruler of the dynasty was subdued by Samudragupta who annexed the region to his domain.

In the next section on the Guptas, the most important record is the Mathurā Pillar inscription of Candragupta II, not only because it is the earliest known dated Gupta record, but also because it speaks of the popularity of the Lakuliśa sect of Śaivas. From the fall of the Guptas, little is known of the history of Mathurā from inscriptions which are rare. A stone slab inscription of the Kaṭrā Keśavadeva temple in Mathurā city, assignable to the 7th or 8th century A.D., refers to some hitherto unknown rulers of the Maurya family. viz. Kṛṣṇarāja, Candragupta, Āryarāja and Dīṇḍirāja alias Karka.

Chapter II is devoted to the administrative system. The inscriptions mention a number official designations such as amātya, mahādaṇḍanāyaka, gaṇjavara, balādhikṣta, aśvavārika,
viśvāsika, grāmika, bakanapati (or vakanapati), etc. In addition to the above, a recently discovered epigraph of the time of Vāsudeva, dated in the year 93 (171 A.D.), refers to the kāyastha which may be taken as the earliest known reference to this official designation.

Religious life is dealt with in Chapter III which is divided into four sections, viz., Brāhmaṇical Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism and the worship of Nāgas and Yakṣas. The epigraphs of Mathurā provide us with evidence regarding the prevalence of the Bhāgavata cult as well as the cult of Śiva. The Mathurā pillar inscription of Caudragupta II, as already mentioned, refers to the existence of the Lakulīśa sect of the Pāṣupatas. Besides, the performance of sacrifice, the erection of sacrificial yūpas and the cult of Kārttikeya were popular.

The next section deals with Buddhism which was in a flourishing condition, a number of sects such as Mahāsaṅghika, Sarvāstivādin, Sammitiya and Dharamaguptaka being mentioned in the inscriptions. There are a number of epigraphs recording the dedication of the Buddha image for the attainment of Supreme knowledge of all sentient beings. Mathurā has yielded a large number of Buddha and Bodhisattva images of the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta periods. It became famous as an important centre of art. In this connection, mention may be made of a reputed sculptor of Mathurā named Dinna, whose fame as a great artist spread far beyond the region.

Jainism was in a flourishing condition in Mathurā in the first and second centuries of the Christian era, most of the Jaina records coming from the Kańkālī Tīlā. The Jaina Church was divided and subdivided into several gaṇas, kulas, sākhās and saṁbhogas—a peculiarity associated only with the Jainas.

In Chapter IV which is devoted to the study of the economic life, we have discussed some crafts organised by
persons belonging to various professions, e.g., jewellers, goldsmiths, workers-in-metal, iron mongers, cotton-dealers, cloak-makers, dyers and perfumers. Of the other professional groups mention may be made of ferrymen, actors, dancers, barbers, and prostitutes. Many guilds such as the samitakaraśreṣṭha and mālākāranikāya flourished in the area. References to the śreṣṭhin, sārthavāha, vyavahārin, vaṇīk and kuṭumbika are also found in the records. The coin called Purāṇa and the weights called Āḍhaka and Prastha were prevalent in the region.

Chapter V deals with the social life in which references to the four Varnas and the professional castes and groups have been discussed. Donations are often represented as made by women.

Among the Appendices at the end of the work, Appendix A deals with the eras used in the records, which are four in number, viz., the Indo-Parthian era of 248-47 B.C., the Scytho-Parthian or Vikrama era of 58 B.C., the Kaṇiṣka or Śaka era of 78 A.D. and the Gupta era of 319 A.D. Appendix B contains an exhaustive and up to date list of inscriptions discovered from the Mathurā region and utilised in the present work.
CHAPTER ONE

POLITICAL HISTORY

I. The Yavanas

Mathurā, from the time of Candragupta down to that of Aśoka, remained under the direct control of the Maurya Imperial authority. After the death of Aśoka (about 236 B.C.), the disintegration of the Maurya empire started and the cities of Mathurā, Sāketa and the country of Pañcāla which had once formed an integral part of the Maurya empire, appear to be governed semi-independently. The advent of the Yavanas or Indo-Bactrian Greeks introduced a new element into the history of Northern India.

The Yavana occupation of the Mathurā region is suggested by the literary and numismatic evidence. Some verses of the Yuga Purāṇa section\(^1\) of the Gārgi Saṁhitā, which form part of an account of the Yavana invasion of Madhyadeśa, run as follows:

```
Tataḥ Sāketam - ākramyā Pañcālāṃ Mathurāḥ tathā |
Yavanā duṣṭa-vikrāntāḥ Prāpsyanti Kuśumadhvajam //
...
Dhamamita-tayā viḍdhā janāṁ bhokṣa(kṣya'nti nirbhayāḥ |
Yavanā(h*) kṣāpavyaśyanti Nagare paṁca pārthivā(n*) //
Madhyadeśe na sthāsyanti Yavanā yuddha-durmadāḥ |
teśām = anyonya-Saṁbhāvād = bhaviṣyati na saṁśayaḥ //
ātma-cakr-otthitaṁ ghoraṁ yuddham parama-dārunam //
```

----

\(^1\) JRAS, 1963, p. 17. The language of the Yuga Purāṇa section is often corrupt and scholars differ regarding the interpretation of the passages.
The aforesaid verses speak of the military expedition of the Yavanas against Sāketa (near Ayodhya in the present Fyzabad District, U.P.), Pañcāla (Rohilkhand in a narrow sense), Mathurā and Kusumadhvaja (the same as Pātaliputra in Bihar). But the Yavanas did not stay for a long time in Madhyadeśa due to the internal dissensions culminating into a terrible civil war among themselves in their own country, meaning no doubt the struggle between the houses of Euthydemus and Eucratides.

Unfortunately, however, some scholars think that the name of the Greek ruler who was responsible for the invasion is not mentioned in the text. Strabo (c. 54 B.C.—24 A.D.), who refers to the authority of Apollodorus of Artemita, states (xi. xi. I) that the Greeks became masters of Ariana and India. He further says that the Bactrian chief, particularly Menander, conquered more nations than Alexander and that these conquests were achieved partly by Menander and partly by Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, king of the Bactrians. It is also said that they conquered Patalene (the Sindhu delta), the kingdoms of Saraostos (Surāṣṭra i.e., Kathiawar or South Kathiawar) and Sigerdis (probably Sāgaradvipa meaning Cutch), and that they extended their sway even as far as the Seres (i.e. the land of the Chinese and Tibetans in Central Asia) and Phryni (probably another Central Asian tribe).² Thus Strabo gives the credit partly to Menander and partly to Demetrius for the expansion of the Bactrian kingdom towards the east.³ The Greek conquest in the east is attributed to Menander

² Ancient India as described in Classical Literature, Trans. McCrindle, 1901, pp. 100-01.
³ Mention of the name of Menander at first, who actually flourished after Demetrius, seems to go against chronological sequence.
by scholars like Cunningham, Rapson and Smith who depend on the wide distribution of various types of his coins over a large territory extending from the Kabul Valley and the Punjab to the western districts of U.P. In their opinion, Menander was a contemporary of Puşyaṃitra (c. 187-151 B.C.). Other scholars like Bhandarkar, Raychaudhuri, Jayaswal, D. C. Sircar and J. N. Banerjea are of the opinion that Demetrius was the first Yavana ruler who extended Greek sway in the east. According to them, Demetrius and not Menander was a contemporary of Puşyaṃitra. Moreover, the name Dharamita mentioned in the Tuga Purāṇa section is, according to Jayawal, Tarn and Sircar,


6 Cunningham, op.cit., pp. 262-63; Rapson in op.cit., pp. 491, 497; Smith, op.cit., pp. 227-29.


the same as Demetrius. The *Yuga Purāṇa* while dealing with the Yavanas, refers, in the preceding stanza, to the Maurya king Śāliśūka, one of the descendants of Aśoka, who flourished about 200 B.C. So the Yavana invasion against Sāketa, Pañcāla, Mathurā and Kusumadhvaja took place shortly after Śāliśūka and not long before Puṣyamitra’s capture of the Maurya throne by killing Bhṛadratha, the last Maurya king.

Demetrius and occupied Mathurā, Sāketa, Pañcāla and Kusumadhvaja about c. 175 B.C.

9 Demetrius has been identified by some scholars with king Dattāmitra of the *Mahābhārata* (Poona cr. ed., i. Appendix No. 1, p. 929), the ‘grete Emetreus, the king of Inde’, mentioned in Chaucer’s *Knightes Tale*, and Timitra of a Besnagar Seal (*ASIWC, Progress Report*, 1914-15, p. 64).


11 Cf. *A. Imp. Un.*, p. 113. Whitehead (*NC*, 1923, pp. 305-06) and Allan (Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. II, 1951, p. 862) hold that the stray specimens of the coins of Menander or any other Yavana ruler available in some places of Northern India including Mathurā do not suggest their rule over these regions but only the popularity of their money. According to them, Mathurā was never included in the Indo-Bactrian domain and it remained in the hands of the local kings till its conquest by Raṇjuvula, a Śaka-kṣatrapa chief. A. K. Narain (*The Indo-Greeks*, 1962, pp. 82-87) interprets the historical section of the *Yuga Purāṇa* in a different way and supports the views of Allan and Whitehead. According to him and D. R. Mankad (*JUPHS*, Vol. XX, p. 38), the passage speaks that the Pañcāla and Mathurā powers formed a confederacy with the Yavanas and attacked Sāketa and Kusumadhvaja. Narain further
The wide extent of Demetrius' conquests is proved by the existence of several cities in India and Afghanistan which appear to have been named after him or his father Euthydemus. Ptolemy in his Geography mentions a city named Euthymedia, usually believed to be a mistake for Euthymenia, founded by Demetrius and supposed to be named after his father. It was identical with Sagala or Śākala (modern Sialkot in Pakistan) which, according to the Milindapañha, was the capital of Menander. Justin (xli.6) says that Demetrius 'was the king of Indians'.

Demetrius' association with India, known from the indigenous and foreign accounts, is corroborated by numismatic evidence. Wide distribution of his silver and copper coins with Greek legend on the obverse and Kharoṣṭhī on the reverse indicates the great extent of his Indian possessions.

states that the invasion took place during the reign of Puṣyamitra, and that, at that time, Menander was the Yavana ruler in India. After a careful consideration of the views put forward by Whitehead, Allan and Narain, R. C. Majumdar (JNSI, Vol. XXII, pp. 50-55) says that their theories are not less plausible than those entertained by Tarn and other scholars. D. C. Sircar (JRAS, 1963, pp. 10, 17), on the other hand, points out that the evidence of the Yuga Purāṇa shows no alliance of the Yavanas with the Pañcāla and Mathurā powers.

14 Ancient India as described in Classical Literature, p. 8, note 2.
But the Yavanas’ control over Madhyadeśa did not last for long. Very soon Puṣya-mitra succeeded in liberating Kusumadhvaja, Mathurā, Sāketa, Pañcāla and other areas of Madhyadeśa. According to the Divyāvadāna, Puṣya-mitra, after attacking the monasteries Kukkuṭārāma in Pāṭaliputra and being unsuccessful in destroying them directed his campaign towards the North-west and reached

16 The Greek incursions against Sāketa and Madhyamikā (modern Nāgarī near Chitor, Rājputāna) during Puṣya-mitra’s time may be presumed from the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali who is usually regarded as the contemporary of Puṣya-mitra. Patañjali has Iha Puṣya-mitraṁ yājayāmah (The Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali, Vol. II, ed. Kielhorn, p. 123) as an example for the use of the present tense, and aruṇad yavanaḥ Sāketam : aruṇad yavanaḥ Madhyamikām (ibid., pp. 118-19) as examples for the use of the immediate past tense. Besides, Kālidāsa in his Mālavikāgnimitram (Act V) refers to a conflict between Vasumitra, the grandson and general of Puṣya-mitra, and the Yavanas on the right bank of the river Sindhu, in which the Yavanas, are said to have been defeated. Scholars are not in one accord regarding the identification of the river Sindhu mentioned in the drama. H. H. Wilson (Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus, Vol. II, 1871, p. 353) who is followed by R. C. Majumdar (IHQ, Vol. I, pp. 215-18) and others, takes it to mean the Indus. On the other hand, Cunningham (NC, 1870, pp. 226-27) and following him Smith (EHI, p. 211) and others identify it with the river of the same name that flows from the Yamunā. Rapson (CHI, Vol. I, p. 469), however, holds that ‘the choice seems to lie between the Kāli Sindhu, a tributary of the Charmaṇvati (Chambal) flowing within a hundred miles of Madhyamikā,...and the Sindhu, a tributary of the Yamunā’.

the city of Śākala where he declared a prize of one hundred gold coins on the head of each monk. From the above narrative, it is permissible to conclude that Mathurā which lay along the routes of Puṣyamitra’s campaign was incorporated in his dominion. Besides, the extension of his empire up to the Indus on the west is known from the Mālavikāgnimitram\(^\text{18}\) also. Due to lack of evidence, it is difficult to say accurately how long Madhyadeśa remained as a part of the Śuṅga empire.

After Demetrius, Menander (c. 115-90 B.C.)\(^\text{19}\) also appears to have extended his rule over Madhyadeśa. Classical accounts speak of him as one of the great kings of India. We have seen that according to Strabo (xi.xi.i), the Bactrian chiefs “particularly Menander (if he really crossed the Hypanis (i.e. Beas) to the east and reached Isamus),\(^\text{20}\) conquered more nations than Alexander.”\(^\text{21}\) Menander is also mentioned as an Indian king in the title of the lost forty-fourth book of Justin’s work.\(^\text{22}\) It appears from the accounts of Plutarch\(^\text{23}\) that his dominions included many cities. Besides, his coins\(^\text{24}\) with great variety and wide

18 Act V.
20 As the name Isamus does not mention elsewhere, some scholars substitute for it Imaus, others Iomanes, that is, the Jumna. But Raychaudhuri (PHAI, 1972, p. 338 and note 3) identifies Isamus with Trisāmā and Sircar (A. Imp. Un., p. 114) with Ikṣumati, a river of the Pañcāla country ‘often identified with the modern Kālinadī running through Kumaun, Rohilkhand and the Kanauj region’.
21 Ancient India as described in Classical Literature, p. 100.
22 Cf. A. Imp. Un., p. 112.
23 Plutarch, Moralia, ed. H. N. Fowler, 1936, 821 D-E.
24 Cunningham, op.cit., pp. 260, 269; Gardner, op.cit.,
diffusion, were found over a wide area from Kabul in the west to Mathurā in the East.

It is not an easy task to reconstruct the history of the Yavana rule in Mathurā after Menander. Tarn, on the basis of coins, suggests that the last Indo-Greek king to rule over Mathurā was Strato I in conjunction with his grandson Strato II.

Mention may be made of the doubtful occurrence of Dimita or Ḍimita in the Hāthigumpha inscription of Khāravela. The title Yavanarāja prefixed to the name Dimita or Ḍimita clearly shows that Dimita was a Yavana ruler. The inscription records that when Khāravela destroyed Gorathagiri, a hill fortress, on the Barābar hills, and attacked the city of Rājaigrha (modern Rājgir in the Gayā District, Bihar), the Yavana king Dimita fled away to Mathurā in fear. Scholars generally identify Dimita with the Greek king Demetrius, son of Euthydemus. Raychaudhuri is of the opinion that, if the reading Dimita is correct, he may be identified with Diyumeta or Diomedes. D. C. Sircar, on pp. xxxvii, 44-50, pls. xi. 7-13; xii. 1-7; SBE, Vol. XXXV, pt. I, pp. xx-xxi; Raychaudhuri, op. cit., p. 381; A. Imp. Un., p. 114.

the other hand, suggests that Dimita (? Demetrius) was probably a later Yavana ruler of the Eastern Punjab, who flourished about the close of the first century B.C. He further thinks that Dimita fled to Mathurā probably because it was his capital.

Recently D. C. Sircar read a paper on ‘The Yavanas and Mathurā’ in which he refers to a Yavana king (Jaunarāyā) mentioned in the early Jain work Niśīthasūtram. The association of the king, probably an Indo-Greek ruler, with Mathurā is alluded to in the commentary of this work called Cūrṇi. It is unfortunate to note that both the works are undated. Sircar assigns the original work to the age of the Imperial Guptas and suggests that the traditions recorded in it and its commentary were borrowed from some earlier source.

From what is said above, it appears that the nature of the Yavana invasion on Madhyadeśa was short-lived. Mathurā did not remain under the sway of the Yavanas for a long time.

and note 5. Sircar (A. Imp. Un., pp. 215-16) ascribes Khāravela to the latter half of the first century B.C.

30 In the Monthly Seminar held on 21st December, 1972 at the Centre of Advanced Study, AIHC Dept., Calcutta University.


II. The Local Rulers

Several local Hindu chiefs ruled over Mathurā for a considerable period of time. Inscriptions reveal the names of a few such rulers like Gomitra,¹ Viṣṇumitra² and Dhanabhūti.³ Besides, mention is also made of another king named Bṛhatsvātimitra⁴ who was not the ruler of Mathurā, but whose daughter Yaśamata (Yaśomitrā) was given in marriage to a king of Mathurā. Coins,⁵ on the other hand, disclose the names of rulers like Gomitra,⁶ Brahmamitra,⁷ Dṛḍhamitra, Sūryamitra, Viṣṇumitra, Puru-ṣadatta, Uttamadatta, Rāmadatta, Kāmadatta, Śeṣadatta,

2 Ibid., p. 207. Scholars like Lüders (loc.cit.) and N. G. Majumdar (IHQ, Vol. II, pp. 445-46) are of the opinion that Viṣṇumitra of the inscription might be identical with Viṣṇumitra known from a coin (Cunningham, CAI, 1963, reprint, p. 84, pl. VII.21) found in Rohilkhand.
3 Lüders, Math. Ins., p. 212.
4 Ibid., p. 155.
6 Allan (ibid., pp. 169-72, pls. xxiv. 20-21 ; xxv. 1-2, 4-11), on strength of numismatic evidence suggests the existence of two Gomitras (Gomitra I and Gomitra II) at Mathurā. He assigns Gomitra I to the late third century B.C. and Gomitra II to the early second century B.C.
7 Brahmamitra has been identified by some scholars (T. Bloch in ASI AR, 1908-09, p. 147 ; Marshall in CHI, Vol. I, ed. Rapson, 1955, reprint, p. 568) with the king of the same name known from an inscription (ASI AR, 1908-09, loc.cit.) engraved on a pillar at Bodh Gayā. But the identification seems to be improbable. The distance between Mathurā and Bodh Gayā militates against the identification of two Brahmamitrās as one and same person.
Bhavadatta and Balabhūti. The coins attributed to Gomitra, Brahmamitra, Drḍhamitra, Sūryamitra, Viṣṇumitra and Puruṣadatta bear only the names of the rulers without any royal title, while legends on the coins of the other group of chiefs mention the title Rājan prefixed to the name of the issuer. The kings without royal epithet seem to have been succeeded by those who assumed the title Rājan. The rulers whose names ended with datta, e.g., Puruṣadatta,

8 Powell Price (JUPHS, Vol. XVI, pp. 223-24) is of the opinion that rulers like Gomitra, Viṣṇumitra and others were not the local chiefs of Mathurā, but members of the Mitra dynasty of Pañcāla. His argument is that the Greeks under Menander and his successors exercised their suzerainty over Mathurā up to 100 B.C. Then the Śaka Kṣatrapas extended their sway over the region about 77 B.C. It is, therefore, difficult, according to him, to allot time for the Hindu kings of Mathurā in the intervening period between the Greeks and the Kṣatrapas. But his view is untenable. In the preceding section, we have seen that the Yavanas ruled over Mathurā as late as c. 90 B.C. Further, in the third section, it has been pointed out that the Śaka Kṣatrapas began to rule as early as the first century A.D. Therefore, the intervening period between the Yavanas and the Śaka Kṣatrapas may well be allotted to the local Hindu rulers of Mathurā.

9 Recently Sm. B. Lahiri (Summaries of Papers, Spl, Indian History Congress, XXXIII Session, p. 7) read a paper on 'an unpublished Brāhmi inscription from Mathurā' in which she refers to an inscription of the king Sūryamitra. It records the gift of a pītha (Pedestal) by Rājan Gopāliputra Sūryamitra. Sm. Lahiri assigns the epigraph to about the beginning of the 1st century B.C. and identifies the king with the person of the same namesake known from the coins.
Uttamadatta, Rāmadatta, Kāmadatta, Śeṣadatta, Bhavadatta, are regarded by Jayaswal\(^\text{10}\) as belonging to the early Nāga dynasty. In the coin-legends of these kings, he reads dāta instead of data and explains it as ‘liberal’, ‘sacrificer’, ‘protector’ and ‘donor’. But Jayaswal’s reading appear to be untenable.\(^\text{11}\)

A Buddhist pillar inscription\(^\text{12}\) of Mathurā records the dedication of a railing and gateway at the Ratnagṛha by [Vādhapā]la Dhanabhūti, the son of a Vātsi, ... of Dhanabhūti, together with his parents and the four sections of the Buddhist community for the worship of all Buddhas. The name Dhanabhūti occurs also in three inscriptions of Bharhat. The first\(^\text{13}\) of these records the erection of a gateway and a stone-work by Vāṭṣiputra Dhanabhūti, the son of Gauptiputra Aṅgāradyut (i.e., Agaraju),\(^\text{14}\) the grandson of Gārgiputra Viśvadeva during the reign of the Śuṅgas. The second inscription\(^\text{15}\) mentions the gift of Nāgarakṣitā, the wife of king [Dhanabhūṭi]. The last one refers to the gift of Kumāra Vādhapāla, the son of king Dhanabhūti. All the Bharhat inscriptions\(^\text{16}\) taken together provide us

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12 Lüders, Math. Ins., p. 212.

13 Lüders’ List, No. 687.

14 Some coins bearing the name of Agaraja have been discovered from Kauśāmbī (Cunningham, Stūpa of Bharhat, 1962, reprint, p. 17; JNSI, Vol. IV, pp. 137-38, pl. xii, 10-11; Vol. XXII, pp. 131-32, pl. VI. 21). The king Agaraja of the coins has been identified with Agaraju, the father of Dhanabhūti mentioned in the Bharhat record.

15 Lüders’ List, No. 882.

with a genealogy of Dhanabhūti from his grandfather king Viśvadeva to his son Vādhapāla. Dhanabhūti of the Mathurā inscription, as held by scholars, belonged to the royal family of Bharhut. According to Rapson,\(^{17}\) he was identical with Dhanabhūti of the Bharhut inscriptions; while other scholars\(^ {18}\) like Cunningham, Hultzsch, K. D. Bajpai hold that he was later Dhanabhūti. According to Cunningham, and Bajpai, he was Dhanabhūti II, son of Vādhapāla and grandson of Dhanabhūti of the Bharhut inscriptions. In this connection, reference may be made to a clay seal\(^ {19}\) from Kauśāmbī, containing the Brāhmi legend Dhanabhūtisa. K. D. Bajpai\(^ {20}\) attributes the seal to Dhanabhūti of the Bharhut inscriptions, whom he regards as a ruler of Kauśāmbī. Another clay seal\(^ {21}\) bearing the Brāhmi legend Dhanabhūtisa has recently been found at Rājghāt, and on the basis of palaeography, it is attributed by scholars\(^ {22}\) to Dhanabhūti II.

The occurrence of words 'during the reign of the Śuṅgas' (Śuṅgānāṁ rājye)\(^ {23}\) in one of the Bharhut inscriptions led scholars\(^ {24}\) to suggest that Dhanabhūti was a feudatory of the Śuṅgas.

19 JNSI, Vol. XXVII, p. 188, pl. III. 6.
20 Loc. cit.
21 Ibid., Vol. XXXI, pp. 145-45, pl. II. 5.
22 Ibid., pp. 146, 182.
23 D. C. Sircar (Sel. Ins., Vol. I, p. 87 and note 4) states that the absence of the name of Śuṅga king in the inscription indicates the declining stage of Śuṅga power.
As regards the probable date of Dhanabhūti, Cunningham,\textsuperscript{25} taking an average of 30 years to be the reign-period of each ruler, suggests that he flourished at about 180 B.C. Hultzsch\textsuperscript{26} assigns the Bharhut inscriptions of Dhanabhūti to the second or first century B.C. and D. C. Sircar,\textsuperscript{27} on the basis of palaeography, the second half of the first century B.C. K. D. Bajpai\textsuperscript{28} places Dhanabhūti a little earlier, i.e., about 100 B.C.

The name of king Bṛhatśvātimitra occurs on the Morā (Mathurā) brick inscription\textsuperscript{29} and the Pabhosā cave inscription\textsuperscript{30} of the time of Udāka. The last mentioned inscription


25 Cunningham, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 16. He assigns Viśvadeva to 300 B.C., Agaraju to 270 B.C., Dhanabhūti I to 240 B.C. and Vādhapāla to 210 B.C. But the fashion of mentioning the name of the ruler in the coin-legend became popular in India with the advent of the Greeks, i.e., in the period later than the early decades of the second century B.C. (cf. Sircar in \textit{A. Imp. Un.}, ed. R. C. Majumdar, 1968, reprint, p. 159). Therefore, Agaraju identical with the coin issuing Agaraju bearing his name on the coin-legend, should be placed not before the first half of the second century B.C. Dhanabhūti I, the son of Agaraju, Vādhapāla and Dhanabhūti II flourished at a later date. So Cunningham’s theory appears to be improbable.

26 Hultzsch in loc.cit.
28 JNSI, Vol. XXVI, p. 5.
records the excavation of a cave at Pabhosā near Allahabad by Āśādhasena, maternal uncle of Bṛhatsvātimitra in the tenth year of the reign of Üdāka. Bṛhatsvātimitra is known also from his coins found at Kosam (about 30 miles southwest of Allahabad) and at Rāmnagar (Ahicchatra) in Rohilkhand. Some scholars like Vogel, Rapson, D.C. Sircar and K. D. Bajpai identify Bṛhatsvātimitra of the Morā record with his namesake known from his coins. Other

31 V. A. Smith, *IMC*, Vol. I, 1906, pp. 146, 155. Scholars generally hold that the name of the ruler of Kauśāmbi was Bṛhaspatimitra.

32 *JRAS*, 1912, p. 120. According to Vogel, Bṛhatsvātimitra flourished in the third or second century B.C.

33 *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 473. Rapson states that Bṛhatsvātimitra of the Pabhosā inscription was identical with Bṛhatsvātimitra of the Morā epigraph. He was a feudatory of the Suṅgas, and flourished about the middle of the first century B.C.

34 *A. Imp. Un.*, pp. 174-75, 214. Sircar states that Bṛhatsvātimitra of the Pabhosā record and the Magadha ruler of the same name (Prakrit Bahasatimita), a contemporary of Khāravela mentioned in the Hāthigumpha inscription (*Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 217), seems to be the same person and may be identical with his namesake known from the Morā inscription and the Kauśāmbi coins. According to him, Bṛhatsvātimitra, the ruler of Kauśāmbi, flourished at about the middle of the first century B.C.; and the mention of Aúga and Magadha in the Hāthigumpha inscription indicates that his dominions included both the countries as well (*ibid.*, p. 217 and note 6).

35 *JNSI*, Vol. XXVI, p. 2. He also identifies Bṛhatsvātimitra of the Hāthigumpha inscription with Bṛhatsvātimitra, the king of Kauśāmbi.
scholars\textsuperscript{36} like Allan, Jagannath, K. A. N. Sastri and Sm. B. Lahiri suggest the existence of two Bṛhatśvātimitras (Bṛhatśvātimitra I and Bṛhatśvātimitra II) as rulers of Kauśāmbī and suggest that Bṛhatśvātimitra of the Morā record was identical with Bṛhatśvātimitra I of the coins, who may have flourished not later than the first half of the second century B.C. and even as early as the third century B.C. The Morā inscription shows that the ruling houses of Mathurā and Kauśāmbī were connected with each other by matrimonial alliance.

Scholars have different opinions about the interpretation of the following Jaina stone-slab inscription\textsuperscript{37} found at Kaṅkāli Tilā.

1 [na]mo arahato Vardhamānasya
   Gotiputrasa Pothayaśa[ka]sā

2 Kālavālasa

3 [bhairāyē] kośīkiye Śimitrāye āyāgapato
   pra[t]i [thāpito]

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{36} Allan, op.cit., pp. xcvi-xcviii; Jagannath in Comp. Hist. Ind., Vol. II, p. 107; Sastri in Ibid., p. 133; B. Lahiri in JNSI, Vol. XX, p. 127. The coins attributed to Bṛhatśvātimitra are of two types: (1) cast coins, and (2) struck coins. Allan and his followers suggest that cast coins were issued by Bṛhatśvātimitra I, and struck coins by Bṛhatśvātimitra II. Bṛhatśvātimitra of the Pabhosā inscription, according to them, was identical with Bṛhatśvātimitra II of coins who belonged to c. 125 to 100 B.C. Further, Allan (op.cit., p. xcviii) and Sastri (loc.cit.) do not agree with the view that the name Bṛhatśvātimitra is mentioned in the Hāthigumphā inscription. Allan reads the word as bahu(s - -)idita.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{37} Lüders, Math. Ins., p. 49.}
According to some scholars like Bühler, Smith, Jayaswal and Leeuw, the inscription refers to the fight of Gotiputra with the Poṭhayas and Śakas, in which he proved to them as destructive as the black cobra is to mankind in general. Bühler, on basis of palaeography, assigns the inscription to the first century B.C., and alludes to the revival of a Hindu dynasty at Mathurā before the advent of the Kuśānas. Fleet, while accepting the reading and literal translation of the record given by Bühler, differently explains the word Poṭhayāsaka. The Poṭhayas, according to him, were the Digambara Jainas, and Śakas were the Buddhists. Gotiputra who was a Śvetāmbara Jain was as deadly in disputation as a black serpent to Digambara Jainas and Buddhists. Taking Poṭhayāsaka as a personal name Lüders interprets the inscription in the other way. According to him, it records the setting up of a tablet of homage by Kośki Śimitrā, the wife of Kālavāla Poṭhayāsaka, the son of Gotī. The exact meaning of Kālavāla is unknown to him. He says that the word refers to ‘some dignitary or high official’—but not ‘a black serpent’ as held by others. D. C. Sircar also suggests that Kālavāla is the ‘designation


39 Bühler (EI, Vol. II, p. 196) identifies Gotiputra of the record with Gotiputra Idrapāla or Idrapālita mentioned in a Jaina image inscription (ibid., p. 201) from Kaṅkāli Tīlā.


41 Fleet in JRAS, 1905, pp. 635-55.


of uncertain meaning. The word Kālavāla occurs on two other inscriptions\(^{44}\) of Mathurā, one of which records the setting up of a tablet of homage by Kālavāla of Mathurā along with his Śivarakṣitā; while the other refers to the erection of an image by the Kālavadā (i.e. Kālavāla) of Mathurā during the reign of Kaṇiṣka. The designation Kālavāla here seems to denote ‘some dignitary or high official’ as suggested by Lüders. In view of the above, Bühler's interpretation of the word as ‘a black cobra’ appears to be improbable. The Jaina stone slab inscription of Kaṅkāli Tīlā does not prove that the Hindu king Gotiputra defeated the Śaka-kṣatrapas and the power of the local Hindu dynasty was revived for the time being.

Some scholars,\(^{45}\) on the basis of numismatic evidence, try to show that there was a revival of the Hindu dynasty in the intervening period between the Kṣatrapas and Kuṣāṇas. Indraji, Jayaswal and Leeuw assign the coins of the Hindu rulers like Gomitra and Viṣṇumitra in the period between the Saka-kṣatrapas and Kuṣāṇas, and suggest the suzerainty of the Hindu kings over Mathurā at that time. Indraji says that the conflict between the two alien races, i.e., the Śaka-kṣatrapas and Kuṣāṇas, offered an opportunity to the rise of the Hindu power. Cunningham\(^{46}\) places the coins of the Śaka-kṣatrapas earlier than those of the Hindu kings probably because, according to him, the local Hindu rulers were preceded by the Śaka-kṣatrapas.

M. Nagar published a copper coin\(^{47}\) discovered at the old site of Kaṭrā Keśavadeva at Mathurā, bearing the legend


\(^{46}\) Cunningham, *CAI*, pp. 85-89.

\(^{47}\) *JNSI*, Vol. VIII, p. 32, pl. IIC.3. The reading of the legend *Tijāvēga(sa)* is regarded as doubtful by him.
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Tijayavega(sa) on the reverse. He says\(^{48}\) that Tijayavega of the coin might be a ruler of Mathurā who flourished in the last quarter of the third century B.C.

A copper coin\(^{49}\) bearing the legend Satamitasa on the obverse was found at Mathurā. The coin testifies to the existence of a new ruler named Satamita (Śatamitra) at Mathurā. K. D. Bajpai,\(^{50}\) on the basis of palaeography, assigns the coin to a period between 150 to 50 B.C.

Due to lack of evidence, it is difficult to determine the reign periods of local Hindu rulers of Mathurā. Scholars\(^{51}\) like Allan and Jagannath, on the basis of palaeography, state that they flourished in the period extending from the second to the middle of the 1st century B.C. But the Hindu rulers should not be placed so earlier, i.e., in the beginning of the second century B.C. because of the fact that the style of mentioning the name of the kings in the coin-legends was introduced into India only after the advent of the Greeks.\(^{52}\) D. C. Sircar,\(^{53}\) therefore, holds that kings without any royal title like Gomitra, Brahmamitra, Drdhamitra, Sūryamitra, Viṣṇumitra might be assigned to the first century B.C., and kings like Purusadatta, Uttamadatta, Rāmadatta, Kāmadatta, Seśadatta, Bhavadatta and Balabhūti were the vassals of the Kuśāṇas, and belonged to the

\(^{48}\) Loc. cit.

\(^{49}\) JNSI, Vol. XXVIII, p. 42, pl. II.7. Sm. B. Lahiri (Mem. AIHCA Dept., Banaras Hindu University, ed. A. K. Narain, 1968, No. 2, p. 41) suggests that the name Satamita can be Śatamitra in Sanskrit, but not Satyamitra as held by Bajpai (JNSI, Vol. XXVIII, loc. cit.).

\(^{50}\) Bajpai in loc. cit.


\(^{52}\) Cf. Sircar in A. Imp. Um., p. 159.

\(^{53}\) Ibid., p. 171.
second century A.D. P. L. Gupta\textsuperscript{54} suggests that the local Hindu chiefs and the Śaka-kṣatrapas ruled probably from 216 B.C. to 152 A.D., and were, in turn, succeeded by the Kuśāṇas. But his theory appears to be improbable, because Kaniska who had his stronghold over Mathurā, flourished, as is usually held, in the last quarter of the first century A.D.

III. The Śaka Kṣatrapas

The Kṣatrapas who were originally viceroys of the Imperial Śakas, ruled over Mathurā for a considerable period of time, enjoying a varying degree of political importance. The literary evidence pertaining to their history is scanty, and its reconstruction is rendered possible to a great extent by inscriptions and coins. Of the inscriptions throwing light on the satrapal family of Mathurā, mention may be made of the lion-capital inscriptions of the time of Rañjuvula and Śoḍāsa,\textsuperscript{2} the Kaṅkali Tilā Jaina votive tablet of the year 72,\textsuperscript{2} the Jamālpur mound stone inscription,\textsuperscript{3} the Morā door jamb,\textsuperscript{4} the Morā well inscriptions,\textsuperscript{5} and the Mathurā broken slab inscription.\textsuperscript{6}

The name of Rañjuvula occurs in the lion-capital inscriptions and the Morā well epigraph which call him a Mahākṣatrapa. He is also known from a number of coins issued by him.\textsuperscript{7} His earlier issues are closely imitated from

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 120-21.
  \item \textit{Ibid.}, p. 121.
  \item \textit{Ibid.}, p. 123.
  \item \textit{Ibid.}, p. 122.
  \item Allan, \textit{BMC}, 1967 (reprint), pp. 185-89, pl. xxvi. 7-13; pl. xliii. 21-22; pl. xliv. 1-5.
\end{itemize}
the coins of the Greek kings Strato I and Strato II and are more numerous. On the obverse of these issues, he is represented with the title Basitei Basitodos Soteros in corrupt Greek, while, on the reverse, the epithet apratihatacokra ksatraipa (written in Kharosthi) is applied to him. The coins were circulated over a wide area between the valley of the Indus and the Gangetic Doab. Another class of his coins found in the Punjab bears, on the obverse, corrupt Greek legend and on the reverse, the Kharosthi legend Mahakhatapasa apraticakrasya (apratihatacakrasya) Rajulas. His later issues circulating in Mathurā are small in number and have, on the obverse, the Brāhmī legend Mahākhatapasa Rājyulasā with the local device 'Lakṣmī and tree', and on the reverse, the abhiṣeka of Lakṣmī. The scarcity of this class of coins led some scholars to suggest that Rāṇjūvula conquered Mathurā at the later part of his reign and ruled there for a short period. But other scholars are of the opinion that the small number of these coins does not indicate his short rule over Mathurā, but shows his imitation of the local coin-type of Mathurā at the later part of his reign. However, on the basis of the recorded findspots of his coins, it has been suggested that Rāṇjūvula ruled over a much wider area than Mathurā.

An interesting fact about Rāṇjūvula is that no overlord is known either from his inscriptions or from his coins. In this connection, mention may be made of Moga, the Imperial Šaka ruler referred to in the contemporary Taxila

8 Ibid., pp. 185-86, pl. xxvi. 7-11.
9 Ibid., p. cxv.
10 Ibid., pp. cxv, 187-89, pl. xlili. 21-22; pl. xliv. 1-5.
inscription\textsuperscript{14} of Patika, year 78 (A.D. 21) who is generally identified by scholars with Maues.\textsuperscript{15} But the actual relationship of Rañjuvula with Maues is not clear and the former is represented on his coins as Basitie, Basilēs Sōteros and apratihatacakra kṣatrapa as we have seen. D. C. Sircar\textsuperscript{16} suggests that Rañjuvula ruled the easternmost province of the Śaka empire as a semi-independent military governor of Maues.

Śoḍāsa, the son of Mahākṣatrapa Rañjuvula, as suggested by Cunningham\textsuperscript{17} and confirmed by both epigraphic and numismatic evidence, ruled over Mathurā at first jointly with his father as a Kṣatrapa (as known from the lion-capital records) and after his father’s death as a Mahākṣatrapa (as revealed by several inscriptions).\textsuperscript{18} He is often described as Svāmin Mahākṣatrapa in his inscriptions. His rise to power from Kṣatrapa to Mahākṣatrapa is corroborated by numismatic evidence.\textsuperscript{19} He issued coins like those of his father’s Mathurā type with three forms of legends: (a) Mahakhatapasa putasa khatapasa śoḍāsasa, (b) Rājuvulaputasa khatapasa śoḍāsasa, (c) Mahākhatapasa śoḍāsasa in Brāhmi on the obverse. The first two types were issued during his father’s life-time and the third when he succeeded Rañjuvula. The scarcity of the third type suggests his short rule as Mahākṣatrapa. His coins are also found at Mathurā, Pāḍham and Sankīsa and this seems to indicate that he ruled over a limited area much smaller than his father’s dominions.

\textsuperscript{14} Sircar, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 124.
\textsuperscript{15} Fleet differentiates between Moga and Maues (see \textit{JRAS}, 1907, p. 1024; \textit{ibid.}, 1914, pp. 797-98).
\textsuperscript{16} \textit{A. Imp. Un.}, pp. 134-35 and note 1.
\textsuperscript{17} \textit{ASIR}, Vol. III, p. 40.
\textsuperscript{18} Sircar, \textit{op.cit.}, pp. 120-23; Lüders, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 204.
\textsuperscript{19} Allan, \textit{op.cit.}, pp. 190-191, pl. xxv. 25; pl. xxvi. 14-18; pl. xliii. 15.
A dated inscription of the time of Śodāsa, i.e., the Kaṅkāli Tilā votive tablet, helps us to determine not only the date of Śodāsa, but that of his father Raṅjuvula also. There is a controversy among scholars as to the reading of the date of said epigraph. According to scholars like Cunningham, Bühler, Smith, Sten Konow, Lüders and Sircar the date is 72. Rapson and following him Jayaswal, on the other hand, read the date as 42. As in the case of the decipherment of the date, so also in the fixation of the initial year of the era used in the inscription, there is no unanimity of opinion among scholars. It is often suggested that the year belongs to the Vikrāma era. In that case, Śodāsa was a Mahākṣatrapa in 14 A.D. Raṅjuvula, therefore, ruled before 14 A.D., either about the beginning of the 1st century A.D. or the end of the 1st century B.C. Hence Sircar’s suggestion of attributing Raṅjuvula to


22 Jayaswal (ibid., pp. 245-46) is of the opinion that the year 42 of the inscription belongs to the old Śaka era of 123 B.C.; thus he places Śodāsa in 81 B.C. According to D. R. Bhandarkar (JBBRAS, Vol. XX, pp. 291-94), the date 72 is of the Śaka era. But this is improbable (cf. A. Imp. Un., p. 134) on the ground that Śaka era is identified by most scholars with the reckoning of Kaṇişka. For a detailed discussion of the Śaka era identified with Kaṇişka’s reckoning, see infra, Chapter on Era.
c. 1-15 A.D. and his son Śoḍāsa to c. 10-25 A.D. is quite probable.

There are some coins bearing the Brāhmī legend *Mahakhatapaśa putasa khatapaśa [Tora]ṇaḍāsasa* on the obverse. The reading of the name of the Kṣatrapa is uncertain and the name is sometimes taken to be Taranāḍāsa or Bharanaḍāsa who was the son of a Mahākṣatrapa. These coins bear close resemblance with Var. C. of the coins of Śoḍāsa. Allan suggests that the ruler might be another son of Raṇjuvula, while according to Sircar, he might be a son of Śoḍāsa.

Some other Kṣatrapas of Mathurā are also known from the coin, though no inscription referring to them has yet been discovered. They are Hagāna, Hagāmaṣa, Śivaghoṣa and Śivadatta. Their coins retain the local obverse type of Lakṣmi and the Brāhmī legends *Khatapaṇa Hagānasa Hagāmaṣasa, Khatapaśa Hagāmaṣasa, Khatapaśa Śivaghoṣasa, Khatapaśa Śivadatasasa* respectively. Scholars like Smith, Rapson, Allan and Sten Konow suggest that Hagāna and Hagāmaṣa flourished earlier than Raṇjuvula and Śoḍāsa. Cunningham seems to place Hagāna and Hagāmaṣa after Raṇjuvula and Śoḍāsa as he mentions the coins of Raṇjuvula and Śoḍāsa first and then those of Hagāna and Hagāmaṣa. A careful consideration of the coin-types of the Kṣatrapas of Mathurā led J. N. Banerjea

23 Allan, *op. cit.*, p. xii.
24 Loc. cit.
26 Allan, *op. cit.*, pp. cxi-cxii, 183-84, pl. xxv. 26 ; pl. xxvi. 1-6.
and D. C. Sircar to hold the view that Rañjuvula was the earliest Kṣatrapa of Mathurā, and Hagāna and Hagāmaśa ruled after Rañjuvula and Śoḍāsa. Their main argument is that Rañjuvula’s earlier coins bear legends in Greek and Kharoṣṭhī, but that his later issues follow the local coin-type of Mathurā and contain the legends only in Brāhmī, the script prevalent in the area, all the later coins of the other Kṣatrapas of Mathurā exhibiting the local obverse type and the Brāhmī legend. Another fact is that numismatists like Cunningham, Rapson and Allan favour to place Hagāmaśa earlier than Hagāna as they assign the coins of Hagāmaśa to a date earlier than that of the joint-issues of Hagāna and Hagāmaśa. But, as pointed out by D. C. Sircar, the joint-coins of Hagāna and Hagāmaśa should be placed earlier than the coins issued by Hagāmaśa alone in view of the fact that the coin-legend Khatapāṇa Hagānas Hagāmaśas indicates Hagāna as the senior partner. The adoption of Indian names by two other Kṣatrapas named Śivaghoṣa and Śivadatta, as suggested by J. N. Banerjea, indicates their later date. Little is known about a Kṣatrapa named Ghaṭāka of the Kṣaharāta family mentioned in a fragmentary inscription found at Gaṇeṣrā in Mathurā. He is not known from any other source.

The lion-capital inscriptions which belong to an early stage of the history of the Śakas of Mathurā, throw a considerable light on the genealogy of the family of Rañjuvula.

30 Cunningham, op.cit., p. 87; Rapson, op.cit., pp. 474, 485; Allan, op.cit., p. cxi, 183-84.
The introductory portion of the inscriptions, recording the installation of the relics of Lord Buddha and the establishment of a stūpa and Saṅgharāma for the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādin monks of all quarters by the chief queen of Rañjuvula, is rather ambiguous and has been explained differently by scholars. Regarding the name of the chief queen of Mahākṣatrapa Rañjuvula, scholars are divided into two groups. According to one group\(^3\) to which Indraji, Fleet, Sten Konow and Marshall belong, Ayasia Kamūia was the chief queen; but according to the other group\(^4\) including Bühler, Rapson, Thomas, Lüders, N. G. Majumdar and Leeuw, the name of Rañjuvula’s chief queen was Nada Diaka.

Indraji,\(^5\) who is supported by Fleet,\(^6\) thinks that Nada Diaka, the foundress of the lion-capital was the daughter of the chief queen of Mahākṣatrapa Rañjuvula. In his opinion, Abuholā was the second queen of the Mahākṣatrapa and, therefore, the step-mother of Nada Diaka.

Though Sten Konow and Marshall follow Indraji and Fleet in believing that Ayasia Kamūia was the chief queen, according to them, she was the daughter of Yuvarāja Kharaosta and the mother of Nada Diaka.\(^7\)

Bühler regards Ayasia Kamūia as a masculine proper name and takes him to be the husband of Abuholā. Most


\(^5\) Indraji in loc.cit.

\(^6\) Fleet in loc.cit. Fleet takes Nada Diaka to be the mother of the heir-apparent Kharaosta.

\(^7\) Sten Konow, loc.cit.; Marshall in loc.cit.
scholars including Rapson, Thomas, Lüders and Leeuw agree with Bühler in this respect. According to them, Nada Diaka, the chief queen of Rañjuvula was the daughter of Ayasia Kamuía and the mother of Kharaosta.39

Regarding the identification of Kharaosta who is mentioned twice in the lion-capital records, Cunningham, Fleet, Lüders and Sten Konow suggest40 that he was the same as Kharamosta (i.e., Kharaosta) mentioned on some coins41 as the son of Arţa. Sten Konow further suggests that Kharaosta belonged to the Imperial Śaka line. His father Arţa, Konow thinks, was most probably the brother of Maues, the Śaka emperor, and after Maues Kharaosta laid his claim to the throne. Rañjuvula married Kharaosta’s daughter Ayasia Kamuía in order to strengthen his claim to the throne. However, Kharaosta’s membership of the Imperial Śaka line as suggested by Sten Konow is not accepted by many scholars. Bühler42 does not agree with the view that Kharamosta, known from coins as the son of Arţa, was identical with Tuvarāja Kharaosta of the lion-capital inscriptions. Tuvarāja Kharaosta, according to him, was the son of Rañjuvula and the step-brother of Śoḍāsa. Thomas43 states that the legend on the coins of Kharamosta indicates clearly that Arţa was the son of Kharaosta and not the

39 Bühler in loc.cit.; Rapson in loc.cit.; Thomas in loc.cit.; Lüders in loc.cit.; Leeuw, loc.cit.
40 Cunningham in NC, 1890, pp. 127, 170-71; Fleet in JRAS, 1907, pp. 1028-29; Lüders in loc cit.; Sten Konow, op.cit., pp. xxxv-xxxvi.
41 NC, 1890, pp. 127, 170; JRAS, 1894, pp. 549-50; ibid., 1905, pp. 792-93. The coins have, on the obverse, the king on horse back and the Greek legend XAPAMυς TEI AΠNAEI AΠTAY Y and on the reverse, the lion and the Kharoṣṭhī legend Chatrapasa Kharamastasa Aṣṭasa Putrāsa.
42 Bühler, ibid., 1894, pp. 531-32.
latter's father. Leeuw\textsuperscript{44} supports this view. But Thomas' suggestion does not tally with the Kharaṣṭhī legend where Kharaosta is described as the son of Arṣa.

In the lion-capital inscriptions there is a reference to Mahākṣatrāpa Kusuluka Patika who has generally been identified with Mahādānapati Patika, son of Kṣatrāpa Liaka Kusuluka mentioned in the Taxila Copper plate inscription of year 78. Scholars\textsuperscript{45} like Marshall, Rapson, Sten Konow and J. N. Banerjea, who are in favour of this identification, do not think that the votive inscription of year 72 and the Taxila copper plate epigraph of year 78 are dated in the same era. To them the Taxila copper plate inscription mentioning Patika as Mahādānapati belongs to an earlier period, though their opinions regarding the era of the Taxila epigraph vary. A close scrutiny of the ancient Indian documents, both indigenous and foreign, however, leads D. C. Sircar\textsuperscript{46} to conclude that the earliest extant historical reckonings of India are the two epochs of foreign origin, the Vikrama era of 58 B.C. and the Śaka era of 78 A.D. The date of the Taxila epigraph of year 78, according to some scholars,\textsuperscript{47} should be referred the Vikrama

\textsuperscript{44} Leeuw, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 333, note 36; Indraji (\textit{JRAS}, 1890, p. 641; \textit{ibid.}, 1894, pp. 546, 549) thinks that Kharaosta is not a personal name but a family or tribal name. He further says that Kṣaharāṭa of Nahapāna’s coins and of the Taxila Copper Plate of year 78 is the Sanskrit form of Prakrit Kharaṭhā, a dynasty ruling at Mathurā. These suggestions have not been accepted by anybody.


\textsuperscript{46} Sircar, \textit{Ind. Ep.}, pp. 243-49.

era of 58 B.C. and corresponds to 21 A.D. Hence, the difficulty of accepting the identity of the two Patikas of the two records, as pointed out by scholars like Fleet and Sircar, is that Patika who is designated as Mahākṣatrapa in the lion-capital records, is represented as Mahādānapati (donor) under his father Kṣatrapa Liaka Kusuluka in the epigraph of the later period, i.e. the Taxila record of year 78 (21 A.D.). Therefore they are of the opinion that Mahākṣatrapa Kusuluka Patika of the lion-capital records was the father of Kṣatrapa Liaka Kusuluka and the grandfather of Mahādānapati Patika mentioned in the Taxila record.

Mention of a few chiefs like Mahākṣatrapa Kusuluka Patika, Kṣatrapa Mevaki Miyika and Kṣatrapa Khardaa in the lion-capital epigraphs point to the existence of Śaka houses in different parts of North-Western India, and to their connection with Rañjuvula's family.

IV. The Kuśānas

Foreign domination in Mathurā did not end with the termination of Śaka Kṣatrapa rule. A number of inscriptions of the Kuśāna rulers Kaṇiṣka, Vāsiṣka, Huviṣka, and Vāsudeva, found at Mathurā and dated in the years between 4 and 98, reveal that the Kuśānas exercised sovereignty over the region for a considerable period of time. Kuśāna coins also of Wema Kadphises, Soter Megas, Kaṇiṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva have been discovered at Mathurā.

Wema Kadphises issued a large number of coins with the Greek legend Basileus Ooemo kadphises or Besileus Basileon Soter

48 Fleet in *ibid.*, pp. 1034-35; Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 117, note 1. Raychaudhuri is of the opinion that the two inscriptions are dated in the same era and the two Patikas are identical in view of the fact that the position of Patika had been reduced in latter years from Mahākṣatrapa to Mahādānapati. See *PHAI*, 1953, pp. 448-49.
Megas Ooemo kadphises on the obverse and the Kharoṣṭhī legend Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarva-loga-īśvarasa mahīśvarasa vima kathphīṭasa tratarasa on the reverse.¹ The discovery of his coins in Mathurā² led many scholars³ to suggest that he extended his sway as far east as Mathurā. But the inclusion of the region within his domain cannot be regarded as proved until further evidence is forthcoming.⁴ Scholars⁵ like Sten Konow and Smith give credit to Wema Kadphises for instituting the era of 78 A.D. But there is no evidence that this king started an era. The introduction of an era requires continuation of the regnal reckoning of a king by his successors which is inapplicable in Wema’s case. We have no inscriptions and coins of Wema Kadphises that bear any date and no era of his is known to have been continued by his successors.

A large number of copper coins with the Greek legend Basileus Basileon Soter Megas, sometimes with the Kharoṣṭhī legend Maharajasa rajadirajasa mahatasa tratarasa without mentioning the name of the issuer are found all over the

² ASIR, Vol. XX, p. 37; B. Chattopadhyay op.cit., p. 235.
Punjab, in Kandahār, in the Kabul region and also as far as Mathurā in the east. The extraordinary abundance of such coins over a wide stretch of country shows great power and long reign of the nameless king. His coins bear peculiarities which are common to those of the coins of Wema Kadphises: (1) the use of the nominative instead of the more usual genitive in the Greek legend, (2) the use of the title Soter Megas, (3) the similarity in form between certain letters both in the Greek and Kharoṣṭhī legends. This fact points to his close association with Wema Kadphises.

Scholars differ regarding the identity of the issuer of these coins. According to the Chinese annalists, “K’ieou-tsieou-K’io (Kujula Kadphises) died at the age of more than eighty. His son Yen-Kao-tchen (Wema Kadphises) succeeded him as king. In his turn he conquered T’ien-tchou (India) and established there a chieftain governing it.”

MacDowall is of the opinion that the nameless king is to be placed between Kujula Kadphises and Wema Kadphises.


7 Fan Yeh, Hou Han-Shu (Ssu-pu pie-yao ed.), ch. 118, p. 9.

8 MacDowall in Papers on the Date of Kaṇiṣṭha, ed. A. L. Basham, 1968, p. 136. Von Gutschmid (cf. Rapson, Indian Coins, 1898, p. 17) places the nameless king in the intervening period between Kadphises I and Kadphises II, and regards him as an Indian prince—the Āgniyeśya prince, who, according to the Gārgi Saṃhitā, ruled over India for twenty years between the two Śaka dynasties. But this hypothesis is not acceptable; for, a careful study of the numismatic data clearly shows that the nameless king was a foreigner. Similarly, the identification of this ruler with Kaṇiṣṭha I by D. D. Kosambi (Marg, Vol. XV, No. 2, pp. 5-6) and with Kujula Kadphises by scholars like Masson (cf. Papers on
Cunningham suggests that the king with the initial vi in Kharoṣṭhī on some of his coins might be identified with one of the early Kuṣāṇa kings and the coins without the syllable vi were issued by his different Kṣatrapas. According to him, vi stands for Vima (i.e., Wema) or Vikramāditya. Scholars like Kennedy, Smith and Marshall are of the opinion that the nameless king was a viceroy appointed by Wema Kadphises to govern his Indian provinces. Marshall further suggests that during the interval between Wema Kadphises and Kaṇiṣka, the Indian possessions of the former was ruled by one or more viceroys under the name of Soter Megas. According to Whitehead, he was probably a contemporary of either Kujula Kadphises or Wema Kadphises; and the coins were issued by more than one ruler who might have been subordinate to a single suzerain. He further states that different types represent different localities. Following Whitehead, Sten Konow takes him to be a subordinate under Wema Kadphises. Scholars like Leeuw, J. N. Banerjea and Jagannath agree with Sten Konow. D. C. Sircar, B. N. Puri and others suggest that the issuer of coins was the semi-independent governor of Wema of his Indian possessions. After the death of Wema, he seems to have ruled indepen-

the Date of Kaṇiṣka, p. 302) and A. K. Narain (ibid., p. 211) are equally unwarranted.

9 Cunningham in loc.cit.
Plate II

Courtesy: Arch. Surv. Ind. (Ep. Ind. XIX)
dently. Sircar further identifies him with the nameless Kuşāṇa ruler mentioned in the Panjtar inscription\(^{15}\) of the year 122 (65 A.D.). B. N. Mukherjee\(^{16}\) ascribes the Soter Megas series to Wema Kadiphises.

An image inscription\(^{17}\) found in the Tokri Ţilā near the village of Māṭ records the erection of a devakula, a garden, a tank, a well, an assembly hall and a gateway by a bakapanata\(^{18}\) called Humsapala. Lines 1 and 2 of the record refers to a Kuşāṇa king Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Kuşāṇaputra Śahi Vamatakšama.\(^{19}\) The titles adopted by the monarch shows his imperial status.

There are divergent opinions regarding the identification of the Kuşāṇa ruler Vamatakšama. Scholars\(^{20}\) like Jayaswal,

\begin{itemize}
  \item 16 Mukherjee, op.cit., pp. 53-54.
  \item 18 See infra, Chapter on Administration.
  \item 20 Jayaswal in op.cit., pp. 13-16; Sahni in JRAS, 1924, p. 403; Bachhofer in JAOS, Vol. LXI, p. 249; Agrawala
\end{itemize}
D. R. Sahni, Bachhofer, V. S. Agrawala, Leeuw, J. N. Banerjea and B. N. Mukherjee identify him with Wema Kadphises. Lüders\textsuperscript{21} thinks that the identification may be acceptable, though the evidence is scanty. The other group of scholars who do not support the view held by the above scholars are H. C. Raychaudhuri, Sten Konow, Ghirshman, D. C. Sircar and B. N. Puri. Raychaudhuri\textsuperscript{22} states that the identity of the king is uncertain, the epithet *Devaputra* connects him with Kañiška group of kings. According to Sten Konow and Ghirshman,\textsuperscript{23} Vematakṣama flourished in the period between Wema Kadphises and Kañiška I. Previously D. C. Sircar believed that Vematakṣama like Vaskuṣāṇa of the Sāñci inscription,\textsuperscript{24} year 22 (=100 A.D.) might have been the junior partner of Kañiška I.\textsuperscript{25} But later on, he changed his opinion and took him as one of the successors of Vāsudeva I.\textsuperscript{26} B. N. Puri\textsuperscript{27} suggests that he was a scion of the Kuṣāṇa family who usurped the throne at Mathurā after Vāsudeva. He further states that he might be the first ruler of the third Kuṣāṇa family.

From the honorific epithets adopted by Vematakṣama, it is apparent that the king belongs to the Kañiška group of rulers.\textsuperscript{28} In this connection, another inscription\textsuperscript{29} written


23 Sten Konow in *JNAS*, 1932, p. 963; Ghirshman, *loc. cit.*


27 Puri, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

28 The title *Devaputra*, as known from the epigraphic records, is a common appellation assumed by Kañiška and his successors, *viz.*, Vāsiṣṭka, Huviska and Vāsudeva.

in Sanskrit and in Brāhmi characters of the Kuśāṇa period, discovered from the same mound, may be taken into account. The inscription records the erection of a *devakula*, the excavation of a pond, etc., during the time of Huviṣka's grandfather\(^3\) who assumed the epithets *Satyadharmanāsthita* and *nanayat Sarva Ścauḍa-Virāṭisṛṣṭarājya*; and in course of time when the *devakula* was dilapidated, it was reconstructed for the increase of the longevity and strength of *Mahārāja Rājātiraja Devaputra Huviṣka*. Two inscriptions discovered from the same mound, belong, on the evidence of paleography, to the Kuśāṇa period. Besides, while the first inscription records the erection of a *devakula* along with the excavation of a tank, etc., during the reign of Vamatakasama, the second mentions the restoration of a *devakula* during Huviṣka's rule, which along with a tank, etc., was constructed at first during the time of Huviṣka's grandfather, but in course of time became dilapidated. Hence it is fair to assume, as held by some scholars,\(^4\) that the two inscriptions taken together refer to one and the same *devakula* and Vamatakasama was the grandfather of Huviṣka.

From the analysis of the two inscriptions referred to above, it is permissible to hold that Vamatakasama who is connected with the Kaṇṭīśka group of kings, and identified with the grandfather of Huviṣka, was no other than junior partner of Kaṇṭīśka.

\(^3\) F. W. Thomas’ (*JRAS*, 1952, p. 116) interpretation of the passage *devakulāṁ Mahārāja-Rājātirāja-Devaputrasya Huviṣkasya Pitāmahasya* as the temple of ‘ . . . Huviṣka, the grandfather’, and his suggestion that this Huviṣka was the grandfather of another Huviṣka during whose reign the inscription was recorded are improbable.

Most of the inscriptions of Kaṇiśka and his successors, viz., Vāsiśka, Huviśka and Vāsudeva, discovered at Mathurā and elsewhere, are dated. In Kaṇiśka’s records the dates are given in the years from 3 to 23, in Vāsiśka’s inscriptions the years from 24 to 28, in Huviśka’s epigraphs the years from 28 to 60 and in Vāsudeva’s records the years from 64 (or 67) to 98. This indicates that the regnal reckoning of Kaṇiśka was continued by his successors. As regards the identification of the era instituted by Kaṇiśka, there is no consensus of opinion among scholars.

Fleet and Kennedy advocate the theory once sponsored and subsequently given up by Cunningham that Kaṇiśka initiated the era of 58 B.C. and, as its corollary, the other hypothesis that the Kaṇiśka group of rulers was succeeded by the Kadphises group. But the above view about the chronology of the Kuśāṇas is no longer upheld by recent authorities, and a careful study of the literary evidence and archaeological data does support the theory. The priority of the Kaṇiśka group goes against the Chinese annals, according to which, Kadphises I was the first Kuśāṇa king of the Ta-yueh-chi and Kadphises II, the first Kuśāṇa ruler who extended his territory into the interior


33 Fleet in JRAS, 1913, pp. 913-20.
34 Kennedy in ibid., pp. 921-27.
36 Cunningham in NC, 1892, p. 44.
37 Fan Yeh, loc.cit.
districts of India. Besides, Gandhāra was included within Kaṇiṣṭa’s territory as testified by the coins, inscriptions and the accounts of Hiuen-tsang. But the Chinese annalists\(^{38}\) speak of Yin-mo-fu but not of the Kuśāṇas, who ruled over Kipin, identified by some scholars with Kapiśa-Gandhāra, in the second half of the 1st Century B.C. Moreover, a close study of the coins issued successively by the alien rulers of India upto Vāsudeva I shows that the coins of the Kadphises group of rulers were issued just after those of the Śakas and Pahlavas and before those of the Kaṇiṣṭa group of kings. Kujula issued coins only in copper and bronze\(^{39}\) but not in gold, which could hardly have intervened between the extensive gold issues\(^{40}\) of Kaṇiṣṭa and Wema Kadphises.\(^{41}\) Kaṇiṣṭa introduced some innovations in issuing coins with the Greek legend on both the obverse and reverse\(^{42}\) instead of issuing coins with the Greek legend on the obverse and Kharoṣṭhī on the reverse as it had been the case of the earlier foreign rulers and also of the Kadphises group.\(^{43}\) Another interesting feature of Kaṇiṣṭa’s coins was the representation of various deities on the reverse which was not found on the issues of the Kadphises rulers. In this connection, mention may be made of the excavations at Taxila where the coins of the Kaṇiṣṭa group of rulers are found more in number than

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\(^{42}\) Whitehead, *op.cit.*, pp. 186-93, pls. xvii, xviii.

those of the Kadphises group in the upper strata while in the lower stratum, the case is just the opposite.\footnote{Marshall, \textit{Taxila}, Vol. I, 1951, p. 221.}

There are two other theories assigning Kañiśka to the third century A.D. According to R. C. Majumdar,\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, Vol. II, 1951, pp. 785-86, 792-93.} he ascended the throne in 248 A.D. and was the founder of the Traikuṭaka-Kalacuri-Cedi era. R. G. Bhandarkar\footnote{\textit{JDL}, Vol. I, p. 88.} ascribes his accession to 278 A.D. Both the views have been criticised by scholars on several grounds. D. C. Sircar\footnote{\textit{JBBRAS}, Vol. XX, pp. 385-86.} pointed out that the theory placing Kañiśka in the first century B.C. or the third century A.D. cannot be justified on palæographical grounds. The interval between the latest records of the Kañiśka group of rulers and the Gupta inscriptions of the later half of the 4th century A.D. seems to be not so long as three centuries or so short as a few years only. Besides, palæography goes against the ascription of Kañiśka, as observed by Sircar,\footnote{Sircar in \textit{Papers on the Date of Kañiśka}, p. 280.} to a date more than a century after Rudradāman I (middle of the 2nd century A.D.). From the accession of Kañiśka to the close of the rule of Vāsudeva, the Kuśāṇas held their sway over Mathurā for about a century (from 3 to 98 of the Kuśāṇa era). Therefore, if Kañiśka had ascended the throne in 248 or 278 A.D., then Vāsudeva ruled there up to 346 or 376 A.D. But, the above dates cannot be reconciled with events like the following:—

(i) with the termination of the Kuśāṇa rule, no less than seven Nāga kings ruled there as known from the Purāṇas;\footnote{Sircar in \textit{JAIRH}, Vol. II, p. 132.}

\begin{verbatim}
Nava-Nāgās = tu bhokṣyanti purīṁ campāvatīṁ nṛpāḥ
Mathurāṁ tu purīṁ rāmyāṁ Nāgā bhokṣyanti sāṭha vai //
\end{verbatim}
(ii) the region was subjugated, after extirpating the Nāgas by Samudragupta as evident from the Allahabad pillar inscription;\(^{51}\) (iii) the earliest Gupta record at Mathurā is an inscription\(^{52}\) of Candragupta II dated in the Gupta year 61 corresponding to 380-81 A.D.; (iv) the theory ascribing Kanişka to the third century A.D. goes against the Tibetan tradition\(^{53}\) which speaks of Kanişka as a contemporary of king Vijayakirti of Khotan who flourished in the second century A.D., and the Indian tradition\(^{54}\) which mentions Huviška as a contemporary of the Buddhist teacher Nāgārjuna who flourished during the time of a Sattavāhana king of not later than the second century A.D.; (v) According to the catalogues of the Chinese Tripitaka, An-Shi-Kao (143-70 A.D.) translated the Mārgabhūmisūtra of Saṅgharakṣa who was a chaplain of Kanişka. Hence, Kanişka must have ascended the throne long before 170 A.D.\(^{55}\); (vi) The fact that the Chinese sources\(^{56}\) assign Po-t’iao (Vāsudeva) in 230 A.D., also goes against the ascription of Kanişka to the third century A.D.

Marshall, Sten Konow, Smith, Ghirshman and others suggest that Kanişka’s rule began about 125 A.D. or 144 A.D.\(^{57}\) Their two main arguments, in this respect, are:

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51 *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 265. Daivaputra-Ṣāhi-Ṣāhānuṣāhi (i.e., the contemporary Kuṣāṇa king) was a subordinate ally of Samudragupta according to the Allahabad pillar inscription (*ibid.*, p. 266).


54 Raychaudhuri, *op.cit.*, p. 414 and note 5.


(1) certain Tibetan and Chinese documents refer to Kaṇiśka who flourished in the second century A.D., and Vāsudeva whose rule ended about a century after the accession of Kaṇiśka, seems to be the Ta-yueh-chi king Po-t’iao who sent an embassy to China in 230 A.D. (2) According to Yu-houan, author of the Wei-lo, a history of the Wei dynasty (220-64 A.D.), Ki-pin (Kafiristan and the adjoining eastern region), Ta-hia (Tokharistan), Kao-fu (Kabul) and T’ien-tchou (North-Western Bhāratavarṣa) were subordinate to the Ta-Yueh-chi during the period of the three kingdoms (i.e., 221-77 A.D.).

But the view ascribing Kaṇiśka to the second century A.D. is regarded doubtful by the following facts: (1) Āra inscription of the year 41 refers to a Kuṣāṇa king Kaṇiśka, son of Vajheška, who, if we accept Kaṇiśka’s date of accession as 78 A.D., is placed in 119 A.D. Numismatic evidence discloses the existence of a still later Kaṇiśka probably of the third century A.D. (2) As regards the identification of Po-t’iao with Vāsudeva it may be pointed out that coins suggest the existence of a Kuṣāṇa king named Vasu (i.e., Vāsudeva) who flourished much later than Vāsudeva I, probably in the third century A.D. Thus, Po-t’iao who ruled in 230 A.D. might not be Vāsudeva I. (3) Regarding the evidence of the Wei-lo, it may be mentioned that though the Kuṣāṇas, by the second quarter of the third century A.D., lost their hold over many parts of their possessions in India, it cannot be denied that they exercised at least nominal suzerainty over all their feudatory chiefs. Moreover, they


61 Ibid., pp. 64, 87.
had supremacy over the Punjab, the former North-Western Frontier Province and Afghanistan by the middle of that century. Rudradāman, the first independent ruler of the Kārdamaka family, had his hold over Ākara (East Mālwa, with the capital at Vidiśā), Sindhu (West of the Lower Indus) and Sauvīra (east of the Lower Indus) in 150 A.D. as is evident from the Junāgārh inscription of Rudradāman, dated in the year 72. Kaṇīśka and Vāsiśka, on the other hand, had their sway over East Mālwa as known from the Sānci inscription, dated in the years 22 and 28. Besides, the Sui Vihār inscription of Kaṇīśka, dated in the year 11 proves his hold over the Lower Indus region. Hence, the assignment of Kaṇīśka to the first half of the second century A.D. is difficult to reconcile with the rule of Rudradāman. Moreover, Ākara was included within the dominions of Gautamiputra Sātakarni in the period c. 124-30 A.D. Kaṇīśka should therefore be placed to an earlier date.

In view of what has been said above, it appears that Kaṇīśka flourished in the second half of the first century A.D. According to Fergusson, Oldenberg, R. D. Banerji, Thomas, Rapson, Raychaudhuri, Bachhofer, Leeuw, D. C. Sircar, B. N. Mukherjee and others, Kaṇīśka ascended the

66 Sircar in *Papers on the Date of Kaṇīśka*, pp. 291, note 5.
throned in 78 A.D. and was the founder of the Śaka era. The
identification of Kaṇiṣṭha with the founder of the Śaka era
of 78 A.D. may be regarded as probable on the following
grounds: (1) Kaṇiṣṭha's regnal reckoning was continued by
his successors. (2) Early indigenous kings of India did not
use any era, and the earliest historical reckonings of India
were the Vikrama era of 58 B.C. and the Śaka era of 78 A.D.
apparently instituted by foreign rulers. 8 (3) We do not
know who was the originator of the Śaka era; but its epoch
falls near about that of Kaṇiṣṭha's era as indicated above.

Mathurā formed a part of the dominions of Kaṇiṣṭha and
his successors for about a century as is evident from a large
number of inscriptions mentioning the names of rulers avail-
able from the region. A fragmentary inscription 9 on the
pedestal of an image of a seated Bodhisattva, found at
Mathurā, runs as follows:

\[ Mah \,[\, a\, ]\, r\,[\, a\, ]\, jāsa\, d\,[\, e\, ]\, va\,[\, p\, ]\, (utra\, sa)\, [\, ka\, ] \\
(ni)\,[\, ška\, ]\, -\, sa\,[\, sa\, ]\, m\,[\, 4\, ]\, h\,[\, e\, 4\, ]\, di\,[\, 10\, 4\, ] \]

According to Vogel, 10 the inscription refers to the name
of the Kuṣāṇa king Huviṣṭha and the date 30. Lüders, 11 on
the other hand, reads the name of the ruler as Kaṇiṣṭha. As
regards the date, he 12 thinks that it is either 4 or 40. He
further states that if the name of the king is Kaṇiṣṭha, the
corresponding date must be 4 and not 40. B. N. Mukherjee 13
supports Lüders only in respect of the name of the king
Kaṇiṣṭha, but not in respect of the date, in which case he
accepts Vogel's reading. Regarding the identification of
Kaṇiṣṭha mentioned in the record, he says that he was

70 ASI AR, 1923-24, p. 231.
72 Ibid., p. 200, note 6.
73 B. N. Mukherjee, op. cit., pp. 77-79.
Kaṇiṣṇka II, the son of Vajheska of the Āra inscription\textsuperscript{74} of the year 41. According to him, Kaṇiṣṇka II was Huviṣka’s co-ruler at least for some years, i.e. from the year 30 to 41 of Kaṇiṣṇka’s era.

Again, opinions widely differ regarding the reading of the date of an inscription\textsuperscript{75} written in Brāhmī bearing characteristics of the third century A.D., found at Dalpat-ki-khiṟki Mohalla in Mathurā city. It mentions the name of Mahārāja Devaputra Kaṇiṣṇka. According to V.V. Mirashi,\textsuperscript{76} the epigraph was dated in the year 54. The proximity of the Āra inscription of the year 41 and of the Mathurā record of the year 54 led him to suggest that Kaṇiṣṇka of the former epigraph is identical with the king of the same name mentioned in the latter. He further suggests that there was conjoint rule of Kaṇiṣṇka II and Huviṣkṣ at least during the period from the year 41 to 54. D. R. Sahni,\textsuperscript{77} D. R. Bhandarkar,\textsuperscript{78} Lüders,\textsuperscript{79} D. C. Sircar\textsuperscript{80} read the date as the year 14. Therefore, Kaṇiṣṇka referred to in the epigraph, according to them, was Kaṇiṣṇka I. In disagreement with the scholars mentioned above, B. N. Mukherjee\textsuperscript{81} read the date as the year 94 and suggests that Kaṇiṣṇka flourished in that year was Kaṇiṣṇka III.

Kaṇiṣṇka ruled upto 23rd year of his regnal reckoning (i.e. 101 A.D.). He was succeeded by Vāsiṣṇka in 102 A.D.

\textsuperscript{74} Sel. Ins., Vol. I, pp. 154-55.
\textsuperscript{75} Lüders, Math. Ins., pp. 116-17.
\textsuperscript{76} Mirashi in EI, Vol. XXVI, p. 294.
\textsuperscript{77} Ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 97.
\textsuperscript{78} Ibid., Vol. XXI, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{79} Math. Ins., p. 116.
\textsuperscript{80} Sel. Ins., Vol. I, p. 518. Formerly, Sircar read the date as the year 94 (see Proc. Trans. AIOC, 12th Session, 1943-44, Vol. II, p. 519). But he is now convinced that no other reading except 14 is correct.
\textsuperscript{81} B. N. Mukherjee, op.cit., pp. 71-72.
as testified by an inscription\(^{82}\) of the year 24, discovered at Īsāpur. It records the erection of a sacrificial post by a Brāhmaṇa named Droṇala, the son of Rudrila, during the reign of Mahārāja Rājātiraja Devaputra Vāsiśka. He ruled for a short period of four years, and his last known epigraph\(^{83}\) found at Mathurā was dated in the year 28. It is significant that no coins of Vāsiśka have been discovered so far. His last two known records, one found at Sānci\(^{84}\) and the other at Mathurā,\(^{85}\) are dated respectively in the first month of Hemanta of the year 28 and at the third month of Hemanta of the same year. Fleet\(^{86}\) proved that the first month of the Hemanta season is Mārgaśīrṣa and should fall in November-December. On the other hand, the first known inscription\(^{87}\) of Huviska is dated in the month of Gurppiya (i.e. Gorpiaios)\(^{88}\) of the year 28. The Macedonian Gorpiaios approximately corresponds to Indian Bhādra-Āśvina\(^{89}\) and should fall in August-September. Thus Vāsiśka ruled, at least for sometime, conjointly with Huviska.

Vāsiśka was succeeded by Huviska. He enjoyed a long reign and there are inscriptions ranging from the year 28 to 60 of the Kuśāna era covering a period from 106 to 138 A.D. After Huviska, Vāsudeva came to the throne. His known dates range from the year 64 or 67,\(^{90}\) to 93 corresponding to 142 (or 145,—176 A.D. There is no evidence of a conjoint

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86 *JRAS*, 1912, pp. 704-06.
88 This is the only known example of the use of a Macedonian month in the inscriptions of Mathurā.
rule of Huviśka with his successor Vāsudeva. An inscription\footnote{1} of Huviśka found at the Jamālpur mound begins with the expression Saha 707 gr 4 di 4 mahārājasya rājātirājasya devapūtrasya Huś [i] ṣkasya v [i]hāre dānam. This record does not indicate that Huviśka was at that time a reigning prince, but it means that in the year 77, some gifts were made in his monastery. The inscriptions of Vāsudeva were discovered only from Mathurā.\footnote{2}

After Vāsudeva, the history of the Kuśāṇas in Mathurā is obscure. The circumstances under which the Nāgas rose into prominence in the region cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge.

V. The Nāgas

Due to lack of sufficient data, it is difficult to reconstruct the history of Mathurā under the Nāgas. The Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas\footnote{1} speak of seven Nāga kings holding sway at the region.

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92 A small fragmentary inscription (Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 146) in Kuśāṇa characters engraved on a standing figure was discovered from the Tokrī Tilā, near the village of Māt. B. Bhattacharyya (*JBORS*, Vol. VI, pp. 51-53) reads in it Śastana which he regards as the name of Mahākṣatrapa Caṣṭana, According to Vogel (*ASI AR*, 1911-12, pt. II, p. 125) the reading is Mastana...Lüders (*Math. Ins.*, pp. 146-47) reads mastana...and regards it as a part of some foreign designation. He says (*ibid.*, p. 147) that Bhattacharyya's interpretation cannot be supported from linguistic or palæographical grounds.


A powerful king named Vīrasena is known to have flourished after the Kuśāṇas. His coins with the legend Vīrasenasa in Brāhmī characters have been found in the Mathurā, Bulandshahr, Etah and Farrukhābād Districts of U.P. and a few specimens also in the Punjab. Besides coins, a dated fragmentary inscription of the king was discovered at the village of Jānkhat in the Tirwa tahsil of the Farrukhābād District. Thus Vīrasena’s dominions extended over the large tracts in the Central Doab, between the Ganges and Jumna.

Scholars are not unanimous about the date of Vīrasena. V. A. Smith reads the date of inscription as 113 which, according to him, is to be referred to the Kuśāṇa era of 120 A.D. and corresponds to 233 A.D. Burn, Pargiter, Jayaswal and Sircar, on the other hand, read the date as 13. According to Burn, the era used in the record is the Vikrama era of 58 B.C. The epigraph, therefore, belongs to 45 B.C. Pargiter, Jayaswal and Sircar think that the inscription is dated in Vīrasena’s own regnal reckoning. According to Jayaswal, it belongs to about 180-85 A.D., not much later than the time of Vāsudeva. He suggests that Vīrasena occupied Mathurā immediately on the termination of the rule of Vāsudeva at about 180 A.D. and enjoyed a fairly long reign of about 40 years from 170 to 210 A.D. On the basis of palæography, Pargiter assigns it to

4 Smith, op.cit., p. 192.
5 Burn in JRAS, 1900, p. 553; Pargiter in EI, Vol. XI, p. 86; Jayaswal, History of India, 1933, p. 21; Sircar in A. Imp. Un., p. 171.
6 Burn in Loc.cit.
7 Jayaswal, op.cit., p. 23.
8 Pargiter in loc.cit.
the latter part of the 3rd century A.D. Sircar⁹ is also of the opinion that he flourished in the third or fourth century A.D.

Scholars have suggested that Virasena was a Nāga who ruled with his capital at Mathurā. According to Jayaswal,¹⁰ he was a scion of the Bhāraśiva Nāga family and succeeded its founder named Nava Nāga. These views have not been accepted by scholars.¹¹

Some coins¹² bearing the name of Rājā Śasacandrāta were discovered at Mathurā. Considering the fabric, shape, size and palæography exhibited by these coins scholars regard them as closely connected with the issues of Virasena. According to Jayaswal,¹³ the king’s name should be Śiṣucandra-dāta who is identical with Śiṣu-Nandi of the early Nāga dynasty. But his view has not been accepted.¹⁴

Numerous coins¹⁵ bearing the name of Mahārāja Gaṇapati, also called Gaṇendra, Gaṇapatiṣṭhārṣa and Gaṇapendra, have been discovered at Mathurā, Padmāvatī and Vidiśā. Mention of his name in the Allahabad pillar inscription¹⁶ indicates that he was possibly one of the latest Nāga rulers, who was extirpated by the Gupta king during his northern campaign.

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⁹ Sircar in loc.cit.
¹³ Jayaswal, op.cit., p. 12.
VI. The Guptas

With the overthrow of the Nāgas by the Guptas, political history of Mathurā entered into a new era. Several Gupta inscriptions were discovered at the place, the earliest of them belonging to Candragupta II. The Mathurā pillar inscription of Candragupta II is of considerable importance; for it is the earliest known dated Gupta record. It (lines 1-2) mentions the name of Ḍhatāraka Mahārāja Rājādhirāja Candragupta who was the worthy son of Ḍhatāraka Mahārāja Rājādhirāja Samudragupta. The third and fourth lines contain the date. Bhandarkar reads the passage as Śrī-Candraguptasya vija[ya]-rājya-Sahvatsa[re]...[Gupta]-kāl-ānuwart-tamāna-Sahvatsare eka-śaṣṭhe 60 I. D. B. Diskalkar restores the portion containing the regnal year of Candragupta II as prāthama. According to D. C. Sircar, the date portion reads Śrī-Candraguptasya Vija[ya]-rājya-Sahvatsa[re] [Pañ]cama [e] [5] Kāl-ānuwarttamāna-sahvatsare eka-śaṣṭhe 60 I. This reading has been generally accepted by scholars. The inscription

1 D. R. Bhandarkar (EI, Vol. XXI, p. 3) thinks that Mathurā was wrested from the Kuśānas by Candragupta II. But, as we have seen, the area seems to have been taken away from the Kuśānas by the Nāgas who, in their turn, were defeated by Samudragupta as can be inferred from the Allahabad Pillar inscription.

is thus dated in the fifth regnal year of Candragupta II and in the year 61 of the Gupta era corresponding to 380 A.D. Accordingly, Candragupta II ascended the throne in the year 56 of the Gupta era, i.e. in 376 A.D. The date not only points to the commencement of the reign of Candragupta, but also the end of the rule of his illustrious father Samudragupta.7

III, pp. 113-17] suggests the word Guptánām so as to read the passage as Vijā[ya ]-rājya-sañvatsa[ re Guptánām ] kāl-anuvartta-māna-Sañvatsare. But his view cannot be acceptable (cf. ibid., p. 114, note 5).

Another inscription of Candragupta II found at Mathurā is of considerable importance in view of the fact that it, like several other Gupta records, supplies not only a conventional genealogy of the Gupta rulers upto Candragupta II, but also some information about them. It refers to the first two Gupta kings. Gupta and his son Ghaṭotkaca as Mahārāja only, while their successors Candragupta I, Samudragupta and Candragupta II as Mahārājādhirāja. The title Mahārāja assumed by the first two kings in comparison with the higher title Mahārājādhirāja adopted by their successors, indicates a distinction of rank and status. They are generally regarded as small rulers. It is difficult to say whether they were feudatory chieftains. At the beginning of the Gupta period, the title Mahārāja did not indicate the feudatory position of the rulers.

The assumption of the higher title Mahārājādhirāja by Candragupta I, son of Ghaṭotkaca, shows that he was undoubtedly a more powerful king than his predecessors. Samudragupta, the son and successor of Candragupta I, introduces himself in this inscription from Mathurā and also in several other Gupta epigraphs as Licchavi-dauhitra, the son of the daughter of the Licchavi. Reference to such

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11 Cf. The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age, p. 127 and note 1; Goyal, op.cit., pp. 83-84. The Licchavis of Nepal, the Maghas, the Bhāraśivas and the Vākāṭakas, who were independent rulers, enjoyed the title Mahārāja.
relationship in epigraphic records is rather unusual. The
epithet indicates that Samudragupta is very proud of his
relation with the Licchavis. The marriage of Candragupta I
with the Licchavi princess Kumārādevī was a memorable
eveni in the history of the Gupta family. Allan thinks
that the Guptas might have been proud of their association
with the Licchavis due to their ancient lineage. Scholars
like Smith, Altekar, Majumdar and others hold that the
matrimonial alliance of Candragupta with the Licchavis led
to the amalgamation of the Gupta principality with the
Licchavi state. Regarding the epithet Licchavi-dauhitra,
V. S. Pathak suggests that Samudragupta was a
dvāmuyāyāna, a natural son of Candragupta I and a
subsidiary son of his maternal grandfather, and thus, he
belonged simultaneously to two families of the Guptas and
Licchavis. Endorsing the view of Pathak, Goyal states
that it was Samudragupta and not Kumārādevī or Candra-
gupta I, who inherited the Licchavi dominions. Though
Candragupta I might have acquired the actual control over
the Licchavi state long before the accession of Samudragupta,
he was not the de jure sovereign of that principality, and
during his time, it became a separate entity. It is difficult to
accept such suggestions without further evidence.

12 The matrimonial alliance of Candragupta I with the
Licchavi family is further corroborated by the Candragupta-
Kumārādevī type of gold coins with the legends Candragupta
and Šrikumārādevī on the obverse and Licchavayaḥ on the
26-35, pl. i. 8-13).
13 Allan, op. cit., pp. xviii-xix.
14 Smith, EHI, 1962 (reprint), p. 295; Altekar, op.cit.,
p. 2; Majumdar in The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age, p. 129.
16 Goyal, op.cit., pp. 96-97.

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The epithet Sarvarājocchettā, 17 'exterminator of all kings' invariably given to Samudragupta alone in Gupta records including the present one, is appropriate to him as he is credited with great military achievements known from the Allahabad pillar inscription. After several successful military campaigns, Samudragupta performed the Āsvamedha sacrifice 18 (Cirotsannāśvamedhāharttuḥ) as known from the present and several other Gupta records.

Candragupta II was succeeded by his son Kumāragupta I. He enjoyed a long reign of about 40 years (c. 414-55 A.D.). Two inscriptions 19 dated respectively in the years 113 and 125 failing in Kumāragupta's reign, corresponding to 432 and 444 A.D., were found at Mathurā, indicating his hold over the region. Another record 20 of the same area mentions the year 135 of the Gupta era corresponding to 454-55 A.D., and not the name of the king. Fleet 21 suggests that it belongs to the time of Skandagupta.

17 The epithet Sarvarājocchettā associates him closely with the controversial Gupta king named Kāca who assumed, on the reverse of his issues, the same epithet (see Altekar, op.cit., pp. 87-89, pl. iv. 1-4).

18 Samudragupta issued Āsvamedha type of coins with the legend Rājādhirājāḥ prthivimavitvā (or Vijitya) divah jaya- tyāhṛtavājimadhāḥ on the obverse and Āsvamedhaparākramah on the reverse to commemorate the celebration (see Altekar, op.cit., pp. 61-69, pl. iii. 6-12). The absence of any reference to the sacrifice in the Allahabad pillar inscription is supposed to indicate that it was not performed before the issue of the pillar inscription or may have been mentioned in the lost lines.


20 Fleet, op.cit., p. 263.

21 Loc.cit. It is difficult to say whether the record belonged to Skandagupta whose reign started from 455 A.D. or to Kumāragupta whose rule ended in the same year.
No other Gupta record referring to the reign of Skandagupta or his successors has been unearthed at Mathurā. But it does not indicate the termination of the Gupta suzerainty over the region. Mathurā remained within the Gupta empire during Skandagupta's reign (455-67 A.D.). It is difficult to say when it ceased to be ruled by the Guptas. D. C. Sircar\(^2\) suggests that they exercised their suzerainty over the region till its conquest by the Hūṇa chief Toramāna (c. 500-15 A.D.).

An undated Sanskrit\(^3\) inscription in Brāhmi characters incised on the pedestal of a broken image was found in Dudhvala's well near the city of Mathurā. It records the installation of a Buddha image by udāka for the welfare of Nṛpādhipa Nṛpamitra. On palæographical grounds, Sircar\(^4\) assigns it roughly to the end of the 4th or the 5th century A.D. Regarding the identification of king Nṛpamitra, he\(^5\) suggests that he flourished in the Mathurā region possibly about the end of the fifth century A.D. as a semi-independent feudatory of the Guptas.

**VII. The later Mauryas**

From the fall of the Guptas little is known of the history of Mathurā from inscriptions which are rare. A Sanskrit inscription\(^1\) engraved on a stone slab was found at the Kaṭrā Keśavadeva temple in Mathurā city. D. C. Sircar\(^6\) assigns it, on palæographical considerations, to the latter half of the 7th or the first half of the 8th century A.D., preferably to the former period. The epigraph while recording the pious needs performed by the Maurya king named Ṛṅḍirāja *alias* Karka, mentions certain hitherto unknown

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23 *Loc.cit.*
rulers of the Maurya family who flourished in the early mediæval period. It refers to the Maurya king Kṛṣṇarāja who was succeeded by Gandragupta, whose successor was his son Āryarāja, the predecessor of Dīṇḍirāja. The name Karka was given to Dīṇḍirāja in recognition of his success in burning the city of Kānyakubja (modern Kanoj in the Farrukhābād District, U.P.). Reference to Kānyakubja in the record probably indicates that these early mediæval Mauryas had their hold over some of the South-western areas of Uttar Pradesh.

Palæographically, the present inscription, according to Sircar, bears a close resemblance with an inscription found at Kaṇaswa in the Old Kotāt state of Rajasthan, dated in the year 795 of the Vikrama era corresponding to 738 A.D., which refers to a Brāhmaṇa prince named Śivagaṇa, a feudatory of king Dhavala or Dhavalātman of the Maurya lineage. Further, the Malwa-Rajasthan region is close to Mathurā. It appears to Sircar that the Mauryas mentioned in our epigraph had some relation with the Maurya king Dhavala of the Kaṇaswa record. According to D. R. Bhandarkar, king Dhavala is identical with Dhavalappa, the overlord of Guhilaputra Dhanika of Dhavagartā known from the Dhoṇ inscription probably dated in the year 407 of the Gupta era corresponding to 726 A.D. Dhavalappa seems to be a South-Indian name. Dhavalātman is a sanskritisation of Dhavalappa. If Bhandarkar's identification is accepted, the Mauryas of the Malwa-Rajasthan region, Sircar says, were related to those

5 Bhandarkar's List, No. 1371 and note.
6 *EI*, Vol. XX, pp. 123-25. The record has been published under the name 'Dabok inscription of the time of Dhavalappadeva'; Bhandarkar's List, No. 1371.
of the Konkan in the South. Sirca\textsuperscript{8} also holds that Dhavala of the Kaṇaswa inscription was a descendant of one of the Kumāra viceroys of the Western Province of the ancient Maurya empire, and belonged to the branch of the Maurya family referred to in the present epigraph. He further suggests that as the Kaṇaswa inscription is slightly later, Dhavala was one of the successors of Īṇḍirāja Karka of our epigraph.
Chapter Two

Administrative System

The happiness and prosperity of the people depend largely upon efficient administration and good government. Let us see what light epigraphic records throw on the administrative history of Mathurā.

The inscriptions of the period under review acquaint us with only one form of government, viz. monarchy, and the region around Mathurā is found to have been ruled either by local dynasties or by governors of Imperial houses. In the early part of our period, the region was administered successively by the local rulers like the Dattas and Mitras whose rule was later supplanted by that of the Śaka Kṣatrapas; in the years following the extinction of the above rulers, the Kuśāṇa and Gupta monarchs held sway over the region.

Numismatic and epigraphic records bear testimony to the fact that there was a group of early local rulers at Mathurā, whose names are only known, and who bore no royal epithet nor even the title Rājan. Besides these Hindu rulers, there were, as evident from the archaeological source, some others who adopted the title Rājan which is generally prefixed to their names. The rulers without any royal title seem to have been succeeded by those who had enjoyed the royal epithet Rājan. The title Rājan assumed by Gomitra and Viṣṇumitra is known from inscriptions,¹ while from the coin-legends² the names of some other Rājans are known. They are Rāmadatta,³ Kāmadatta, Śesadatta, Uttamadatta, Bhavadatta and Balabhūti.

2 Allan, BMC, 1967 (reprint), pp. CX, 178, 180-82, Pls. xxiv. 9-10, 13-14 18 ; xxv. 22 ; xliii. 19.
The Śaka rulers, *viz.* Rañjuvula, Śoḍāsa, Hagāna, Hagāmaṣa, Śivadatta, Śivaghosa, Taranadhāsa and Ghaṭāka enjoyed the title *Kṣatrapa* or *Mahākṣatrapa*. The lion-capital inscriptions⁴ mention Śoḍāsa as *Kṣatrapa* and as the son of *Mahākṣatrapa* Rañjuvula; while in his own records Śoḍāsa is found to enjoy the higher title *Śvāmin Mahākṣatrapa*⁴ and is described also as the son of *Mahākṣatrapa* Rañjuvula.⁵ Thus Śoḍāsa was a mere *Kṣatrapa* when his father Rañjuvula was the *Mahākṣatrapa*; and later on, probably after his father’s death, he became *Mahākṣatrapa*. The coins⁶ issued by Śoḍāsa bear the following legends in Brāhmī script on the obverse: (a) *Mahakhatapasa putasa khatapasa Śoḍāsasa*, (b) *Rājuvulaputasa khatapasa Śoḍāsasa*, (c) *Mahākhatapasa Śoḍāsasa*. The coins of the first two types were issued, as rightly suggested by Allan,⁷ during the life-time of his father, and the coins of the third group during his own rule. Sircar suggests⁸ that “the relation between the *Mahākṣatrapa* and *Kṣatrapa* was something like that between the Rājan and the Ūvārāja ruling at the same time from the same station or from different stations”.

The word *Kṣatrapa* is derived from old Persian *Kīṣathra-pāvan* essentially meaning ‘protector of the land or realm’, but usually indicating ‘provincial governor’.⁹ The title

5 Morā well ins. (Sircar, *op.cit.*, p. 122).
6 Allan, *op.cit.*, pp. 190-91, Pls. xxv. 25 ; xxvi. 14-18 ; xliii. 15, 17.
**Kṣatrapa**, as pointed out by Rapson, is not found in Sanskrit or Prakrit literature. Sircar suggests that *chatrapati*, the late Marathi royal title ‘is an echo of *chatrapa*, the Prakrit form of *Kṣatrapa*’. In the Persian administrative system, the designation *satrap* indicates the head of a province who was entrusted with many powers and responsibilities.

The title *Mahākṣatrapa* adopted by Raṅjuvula was known not only from the lion-capital records and the Brāhmi coin-legend referred to earlier, but also from the legend *Maha-khatapasa apraticakrasa (apratihataacakrasa) Rajulasā* written in Kharoṣṭhī on the reverse of his coins. As he seems to be the first *Kṣatrapa* who assumed the title *Mahākṣatrapa*, Sten

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10 Rapson, loc. cit.; see also D. R. Bhandarkar, ‘Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population’ (reprinted) in *JAIH*, Vol. I, p. 282. Our attention is drawn by S. Bandyopadhyay to the Prakrit word *Khattapaka* which may be Sanskritised as *Kṣatrapaka* and is a coin-name used in the recently published *Aṅgaviļa*. See *Aṅgaviļa*, ed. Punyavijaya, 1957, Ch. IX.i. 185-86; also S. Bandyopadhyay in *JAIH*, Vol. I, p. 30.


12 He collected taxes, controlled the local officials, subject tribes and cities, and was the supreme judge of a province. He was also responsible for the safety of the roads and had to put down the brigands and rebels. There was a council to help him and his power was checked by a royal secretary and by emissaries of the king. He had his own troops no doubt; but the army and fortresses of the province were commanded by the royal officials. On the decline of the empire, it became customary to appoint the satraps as generals-in-chief of their army district, contrary to the original rule and they often enjoyed political independence. See *Foreigners in Anc. Ind. and Lakṣmi and Sarasvati in Art and Literature*, ed. D. C. Sircar, 1970, p. 164; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol. XX, 1965, p. 8.

Konow suggests\(^{14}\) that the title *Mahākṣatrapa* 'was not introduced long before the time of the lion-capital'. This title does not indicate an independent position, though the Sakas of Western India appear to have continued to use the epithet *Mahākṣatrapa* even when they ruled independently.

The coins\(^{15}\) with the legend *Khatapāna Hagānasa Hagāmaṣa* point to the joint-rule of two Kṣatrapas, named Hagāna and Hagāmaṣa, in Mathura. The real significance of such joint-rule cannot be determined. One of the striking features of the Scytho-Parthian administration, as gleaned from the numismatic evidence, was the 'conjoint rule of a king and a sub-king, of a senior and a junior ruler, and of a governor and a subordinate governor'. From one series of coins\(^{16}\) it is evident that Spalirisas as the senior using the Greek legend on the obverse, ruled jointly with Azes as the junior using the Kharaṣṭhī legend on the reverse of the coins. Both of them bore the subordinate title 'the great king' and were probably ruling under Vonones. From another group of coins,\(^{17}\) it is clear that Azes, whose name is given in the Greek legend on the obverse, ruled conjointly with Azilises whose name occurs in the Kharaṣṭhī legend on the reverse. Both of them used the title 'great king of Kings'. In a third series of coins,\(^{18}\) Azilises, as a senior using the Greek legend on the obverse, is associated with Azes II as the junior using the Kharaṣṭhī legend on the reverse.

The Kuśāna rulers Vamatakasama, Kaṇīśka, Vāsiśka, Huviśka and Vāsudeva usually accepted, as known from their inscriptions, high-sounding royal titles like *Mahārāja*, *Rājāti-rāja*, *Devaputra* and *Ṣāhi*. The title *Maharaja* (Sanskrit *Mahā-*

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15 Allan, *op.cit.*, pp. cxi-cxii, 184, pl. xxvi. 6.
rāja) adopted by Eucratides and other Indo-Greek rulers on the reverse of their coins is the Prakrit transliteration of Greek legend Basilēos Megalou on the obverse, which was adopted from the old Persian title Khshāyathiya Vazraka, ‘the great king’. 19 Similarly, the more dignified royal titles Mahārāja Rājātirāja (‘the great king of kings’) were taken by the Kuśāṇas from their Scytho-Parthian predecessors who are said to have assumed these in imitation of the old Achaemenian emperors called in their inscriptions, Khshāyathiya Khshāyathiyānām (modern Persian Shāhān Shāh, ‘the king of kings’). 20 The title Śāhi adopted by the Kuśāṇa kings appears to be old Persian Khshāyathiya (modern Persian Shāh). 21 Kaniśka, Huviśka and Vāsudeva, the Kuśāṇa rulers, as known from their coin-legends, adopted the title Shaonano Shao. 22 Thus the assumption of high sounding titles in India indicates foreign influence.

One of the characteristics of Indian rulers, as pointed out by D. C. Sircar, 23 is that the imperial title of the earlier period became the feudatory title of the later period. The Maurya emperor Aśoka enjoyed the simple title Rājan which later made way first to Mahārāja and then to Mahārājadhīrāja. According to H. C. Raychaudhuri and U. N. Ghoshal, the using of such epithets by the Scytho-Parthian and the


Khāravela, who flourished about the last quarter of the first century B.C., was regarded as the first indigenous king to accept the title Mahārāja, see *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 214.


22 The later Kuśāṇa king referred to in the Allahabad Pillar inscription (Sircar, *Sel. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 266) is called by the epithets Daivaputra-Śāhi-Śāhānuṣāhi.

Kuṣāṇa kings tends to show the gradual exaltation of monarchy. R. S. Sharma, on the other hand, is of the opinion that "the above Kuṣāṇa titles perhaps betray a tendency towards decentralisation rather than the exaltation of royal authority".

The Kuṣāṇa rulers Vamataksama, Kaniska, Vasiska, Huviska and Vasideva enjoyed the title Devaputra ('Son of Heaven') as we have already noted. The question naturally arises whether the title is of Indian or foreign origin. Scholars generally think that the epithet was borrowed from the Chinese imperial title T'ien-tsu ('Son of Heaven'). D. C. Sircar says that the said title of foreign origin was adopted by Kuyula-kara Kaphsa and that Kaniska defeated him and annexed his territory in the north-western areas of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent and its neighbourhood and also appropriated his title Devaputra. Sircar depends on Cunningham who reads the Kharoṣṭhī legend on Kujula-kara's coins as Maharayasa Rayarayasa Devaputrasa Kuyula-kara-

27 NC, 1892, pp. 66-67. According to B. N. Mukherjee (JNSI, Vol. XXX, pp. 190-93) the word Devaputra occurs on the reverse legend of at least twenty copper coins of Kuyula kara kaphsa. He holds that the term Devaputra was a royal title and not a mere complimentary epithet.
kaphsasa. F. W. Thomas\textsuperscript{28} holds that “Devaputra was not a title but a complimentary epithet, current only among the Indian subjects of the Kuśāṇas and therefore with its Indian meaning”. To the Indians, in his opinion, Devaputra denotes a class of divinities having distinctive functions. As it never occurs on the coins\textsuperscript{29} of the Kuśāṇas, it was not adopted by them as an official title. This view has been endorsed by U. N. Ghoshal\textsuperscript{30} and R. S. Sharma.\textsuperscript{31} But Sharma believes that it was adopted by the Kuśāṇas as an official title. It is interesting to note that the epithet Devaputra was popular only with some of the Kuśāṇa kings and not with other rulers who ruled either before or after the said Kuśāṇas. The title seems to indicate that they believed in the divinity of kingship.

Mention may be made, in this connection, of the practice of building devakulas by the Kuśāṇa kings to house the statues of their dead predecessors. An inscription\textsuperscript{32} found near the village of Māṭ in Mathurā says that a devakula was erected by a bakanapati during the reign of Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Kuśāṇaputra Śāhi Vamatakṣama and another\textsuperscript{33} at the same place records that the devakula of Huviṣka’s grandfather was repaired by a Mahādaṇḍanāyaka of the Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Huviṣka in order to increase the longevity and strength of the king. The practice perhaps betrays the tendency to the deification of the Kuśāṇa kings or to the apotheosis of dead kings in general and also to the placing

\textsuperscript{29} Thomas, Allan (Ibid., p. 307 and note 2) and J. N. Banerjea (JNSI, Vol. IX, pp. 78-79) do not think that Devaputra occurs on the reverse legend of the coins of Kuyulakara kaphs.
\textsuperscript{31} JBRS, Vol. XXXXIII, pp. 194-95.
\textsuperscript{32} Lüders, op.cit., p. 135.
\textsuperscript{33} Ibid., pp. 138-40.
of their statues in devakulas being also known to Indians. Reference to a devakula housing the dead kings of the Ikṣvāku dynasty is found in the Pratimānātaka\textsuperscript{34} ascribed to Bhāsa.

The tendency of the Kuśāṇa kings to apotheosize themselves is also suggested by the coins\textsuperscript{35} of Wema Kadphises, Kaṇiṣka I and Huviṣka, on the obverse of which, sometimes the royal bust is found as rising from the clouds, with flames issuing from the king’s shoulders, the royal head being shown inside a frame.

The conception of divinity of kings is, however, not confined to foreigners like the Kuśāṇas, but became popular also with the Indian kings. According to Manu,\textsuperscript{36} “The Lord created a king for the protection of the whole [creation], taking [for that purpose] eternal particles of Indra, the Wind, Yama, the Sun, Fire, Varuṇa, the Moon, and the Lord of Wealth (Kubera)”. He further says,\textsuperscript{37} “Even an infant king must not be despised, [from the idea] that he is a [mere] mortal; for he is a great deity in human form”. This statement may be compared with the Allahabad Pillar inscription\textsuperscript{38} describing Samudragupta as a ‘mortal only in celebrating the rites and observances of mankind, [but otherwise] a god dwelling on the earth’. Besides, Samudragupta claims to be one ‘who was equal

\textsuperscript{34} Pratimānātaka, Act III.
\textsuperscript{35} P. Garner, The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India, 1966 (reprint), pp. 124-26, 129-32, 136-53, 156-58; pls. xxv. 6-10; xxvi. 1-18; xxvii. 8-24; pl. xxxviii. 2-32; pl. xxxix. 4, 5, 7.
\textsuperscript{36} Manuṃṣṭī, VII. 3-4.
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid., VII. 8.
to the gods Dhanada, Varuṇa, Indra and Antaka’. The apotheosis of kings may probably be related to the deification of dead ancestors which was prevalent in India even in much earlier times. The Morā well inscription of the time of the Mahākṣatrapa Soḍāsa records the setting up of five images representing the ancient Pañcaviras of the Viṣṇis in a stone temple by a lady named Toṣā.

An inscription found near the village of Māṭ in Mathurā refers to a Kuśāṇa ruler Vamataṅkṣama who, as we have already noted, adopted the epithet Kuśāṇaputra along with the other titles. Mention of the epithet Kuśāṇaputra is found neither in other inscriptions nor in the coin-legends of the Kuśāṇas. Scholars generally interpret the term as ‘the scion of the Kuśāṇa clan’.

39 Dhanada-Varuṇ-Endr-Antaka-samasya [ibid., pp. 267, 271, 273, 285, 321, 327; Fleet, CII, Vol. III, 1963 (reprint), p. 26]. As Sircar points out, Samudrāgupta is described in the Allahabad Pillar inscription as ‘an incarnation of the Inscrutable Being (Viṣṇu)’, ‘who, being incomprehensible, was the spirit that was the cause of the prosperity of the pious and the destruction of the Wicked’ (Sādhu-asādh-udaya-pralaya-hetu-puruṣasya = ā-cintyasya, (Sel. Ins., Vol. I, p. 266).


41 Lüders, op.cit., p. 135.

42 Fleet in JRAS, 1914, p. 370; Sten Konow in EI, Vol. XXI, pp. 59-60; Lüders, op.cit., p. 136; Sircar, Sel. Ins.,
The Gupta rulers generally assumed the titles like Mahārājādhirāja and Bhaṭṭaraka, and in course of time Bhaṭṭaraka was changed to Parama-bhaṭṭaraka. In the Mathurā stone inscription of Candragupta II, the first two Gupta rulers Gupta and Ghaṭotkaca are described as Mahārāja, while the next three kings, viz. Candragupta I, Samudragupta and Candragupta II as Mahārājādhirāja. In another inscription of Candragupta II discovered at the same place, the names of two Gupta kings Samudragupta and Candragupta II are mentioned as Bhaṭṭaraka Mahārājādhirāja. In an inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I found at Mathurā, Kumāragupta is mentioned as Parama-bhaṭṭaraka and Mahārājādhirāja.

Similar changes in the titles of queen are also noticed. In the Maurya period, the queens were styled Devi. Later on, in the Gupta period, however, the queens were styled as Mahādevi. The word Mahādevi is usually interpreted as ‘the chief queen’, i.e. the chief among the several queens. But to Vogel, it is ‘a title borne by the consort of ruling chief’, and to Fleet, ‘a technical title of the wives of paramount sovereigns’. Sircar interprets it as a personal name or viruda.


43 Fleet, op.cit., pp. 26-27. This is also the case in many other inscriptions.
44 Sircar, Sel. Ins., p. 277.
46 Sircar, Ind. Ep., p. 345.
47 Fleet, op.cit., p. 27. The title Mahādevi also occurs in many other Gupta inscriptions.
48 EI, Vol. XX, p. 32.
49 Fleet, op.cit., p. 16, note 2.
50 Sircar, Ind. Ep., p. 345.
merely as ‘the queen’. He thinks that Mahādevī is a modification of Devī just as Mahārāja is from Rājan.

The epithet tat-parighita applied to the name of Candragupta II which occurs in the Mathurā stone inscription of Candragupta II is worthy of consideration in view of the fact that it signifies the nature of succession to the throne. The same epithet is found with Candragupta’s name also in other Gupta inscriptions. Scholars generally interpret tat-parighita as ‘accepted [as his favourite son and chosen successor] by him (i.e. Samudragupta)’. According to D.C. Sircar, parighita ‘refers to the selection or acceptance of a succession or appointment or receipt in one’s favour’. The description of Candragupta II as Samudraguptasya putras = tat-parighitah, he suggests, indicates “that Samudragupta selected Candragupta II as his successor out of his many sons, or atleast Candragupta II preferred to represent himself as such”. The epithet tat-parighita, therefore, indicates the custom of selection. We know that, according to the Allahabad Pillar inscription, Samudragupta was selected by his father Candragupta I in exclusion of

51 Fleet, op.cit., p. 27.
56 The acceptance of the view probably militates against the story of Rāmagupta as narrated in the Devicandragupta (Journ. As., Vol. CCIII, pp. 201-08 ; IA, Vol. LII, pp. 181-84) unless it is supposed that Rāmagupta was raised to the throne after Samudragupta’s death against the dead king’s desire.
other princes as the most suitable person to succeed him.\textsuperscript{57} Unfortunately, the Gupta inscriptions do not use either tat-pāda-ānudhyāta or tat-pāda-parighīta in describing the relations between Candragupta I and Samudragupta.

In the Mathurā records references are found to several official designations, among which Amaca\textsuperscript{58} (Amātya) is mentioned in the inscriptions of the Suṅga period. Most of the twenty-six inscribed bricks of the second Gaṇeshā mound are broken; but there is mention of king Gomitra’s Amātya Rohadeva Kohaḍa (Gomitasa amacena Rohadevena kohaḍena). Amātya is mentioned on a Mathurā Museum sealing\textsuperscript{59} bearing the legend: (1) Amātyasya (2) Upalihamasa. The Amātyas (ministers) were one of the seven constituent elements of the state\textsuperscript{60} and occupied an important position in the administration and without their help a successful rule was impossible.\textsuperscript{61}

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57 The latter half of verse 4 of the inscription (Sircar, \textit{Sel. Ins.}, p. 263) runs as follows:

\begin{quote}
Sn[e]ha-uyālūṣitena bāspa-guruṇā tattu-ekśiṇā cakṣuṣā
yah pitr = ābhīhito ni[r]iks[y]a nikhi[ś]i[l]īn] [pāhy = eva]-
\[m = [u]ro[v]im = iti \[//
\end{quote}


60 For the seven elements, \textit{viz.} Svāmin (ruler), Amātya (minister), Janaṇapada (the territory of state and its people), Durga (fortified city or capital), Kośa (accumulated wealth in the ruler’s treasury), Daṇḍa (army), and Mitra (friends or allies), see \textit{Kauṭiliya Arthashastra}, VI. 1; \textit{Manusmṛti}, IX. 294; \textit{Yājñavalkyasṛiti}, I. 353; \textit{Viṣṇusṛiti}, III. 38; \textit{Agni Purāṇa}, 213.12; D. C. Sircar (\textit{Early Indian Political and Administrative System}, p. 130 and note 2) thinks that Amātya here means ‘the official machinery’.

61 \textit{Arthashastra}, 1.7.9; \textit{Manusmṛti}, VII. 54-59; \textit{Matsya Purāṇa}, 215. 2-6; \textit{Yājñavalkyasṛiti}, 1.312.
Relying on the early Pāli texts, R. S. Sharma suggests that the Amātyas in the pre-Maurya times were officers of a general category; in the beginning, they were the king's friends, companions and courtiers; but gradually, they were appointed in large numbers as supervisors of sale-transactions, judges, guides in worldly and spiritual matters, surveyors, village headmen, etc. According to Kauṭilya, the Amātyas were appointed in charge of various fields of administration such as agricultural operations, fortifications, welfare of the territory, prevention of adversities, punishment of the criminals, collection of royal dues, etc. The king's high officials such as the chief-priest, ministers, collectors, treasurers, officers engaged in civil and criminal administration, officers in charge of the harem, envoys and superintendents of various departments were to be recruited from among the Amātyas. Kauṭilya further states that they should be appointed in sufficient number according to the requirement of the administration, though the Mantrins should be only three or four. As regards the qualifications of the Mantrins, noble birth was essential, and hereditary holding of post was preferable, though not indispensable. Besides, some other literary works and epigraphic records refer to the hereditary character of the post. An Amātya was possibly also called a Saciva; cf. Mati-Saciva and Karma-Saciva in the Junāgarh rock inscription of Rudradāman, who are described as endowed with the qualities of the Amātya. On

62 Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India, 1959, pp. 16-17.
63 Arthaśāstra, VIII. 1.8, 23.
64 Ibid., I. 9-10, 16.
65 Ibid., I.8.29 ; I.15. 34-40.
66 Manuṣmṛti, VII. 54 ; Yājñavalkyasmṛti, 1.310 ; Bryhaspati-
smṛti, I.71.
the basis of some early Indian texts, K. K. Thaplyal holds that the words Amātya, Mantrin and Saciva have sometimes been regarded as synonymous, and sometimes as different.

One of the striking features of the foreign rule in India is the introduction of a number of foreign designations in Indian administration. Some such designations prevalent in the age of the Scytho-Parthians and Kuśānas became popular with the indigenous Indian kings. A few titles of the said category like Kṣatrapa, Mahākṣatrapa and Gaṇjavara are traced in the Mathurā inscriptions of the Śaka-kṣatrapa period.

The designation Gaṇjavara is found in a Jamālpur mound inscription in which it is recorded that a Brāhmaṇa of the Śaigrava gotra, who held the post of Gaṇjavara (treasurer) of Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa, endowed a tank, a reservoir, a grove, a pillar and a stone-slab. The same epithet is found in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, and the Lokapraṅkaśa ascribed to Kuśendra. Gaṇjavara is the same as Persian Ganjwar meaning ‘treasurer’ or ‘store-keeper’, derived from Persian ganj ‘treasury’, the Indianised form of which is gaṇja. The word gaṇja meaning treasury is found in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, and also in Utpala’s commentary on the Brāhatsāṁhitā where it is explained as Kośabhavana (i.e. treasury). Sometimes, the Indian words

69 Early Indian Political and Administrative Systems, p. 79. There is a distinction between Amātya and Mantrin, see Sircar, Ind. Ep., p. 356, note 5.
70 See above.
71 See S. Bandyopadhyay in Foreigners in Ancient India and Lakṣmī and Saraswati in Art and Literature, p. 166.
72 Lüders, op.cit., p. 99.
73 V. 177.
76 Rājatarāṅgiṇī, IV. 589; Brāhatsāṁhitā LII. 13; Cf. EI, Vol. XXXV, p. 95.
\( \text{pati and adhipati} \) are suffixed to it to indicate the same designation. \( \text{Gaṅjapati} \) is found in the Taleswar Plate of Dyutivarman\(^77\) and \( \text{Gaṅjādhipati} \) in the \( \text{Lokapakṣa} \).\(^78\)

Besides, mention may be made of two other officials, \textit{viz. Balādhiṅkṣa} and \( \text{Aśvavārika} \) recorded in the inscriptions of the Śaka-kṣatrapa period. \( \text{Balādhika} \), a mistake for \( \text{Balādhiṅkṣa} \), is a military title meaning ‘the commander of an army’.\(^79\) It occurs in a Kṣatrapa inscription\(^80\) from the Girdharpur Tilā, which records the gift of a lady who was the wife of a \( \text{Balādhika} \). Literally the word \( \text{Balādhiṅkṣa} \) indicates one who is appointed to a command of the troops.\(^81\) Superior to \( \text{Balādhiṅkṣa} \) was \( \text{Mahā-balādhiṅkṣa} \) meaning a great commander.\(^82\) The designations \( \text{Balādhiṅkṣa} \) and \( \text{Mahā-balādhiṅkṣa} \) are mentioned in several records.\(^83\) Their synonyms are \( \text{Balādhyaṅkṣa} \) and \( \text{Mahā-balādhyṅkṣa} \) respectively.\(^84\)

The title \( \text{Aśvavārika} \) is mentioned in a Mathurā inscription\(^85\) recording the erection of a railing by the \( \text{Aśvavārika} \) Bodhiyāsa, the son of Bodhila. \( \text{Aśvavārika} \) (Prakrit \( \text{Aśavārika} ;\)\(^86\) cf. \( \text{Aṣṭāroka} \))\(^87\) is the same as \( \text{Aśvavāra} \) meaning a

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80 Lüders, \textit{op.cit.}, pp. 162-63.
84 Lüders, \textit{op.cit.}, p.163 ; Fleet, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 109, note 2.
86 Lüders' List. No. 728.
87 \textit{Ibid.}, No. 381.
trooper or horseman. The cavalry officers were known as Aivapati and Mahāsvapati.

In the inscriptions of the Kuṣāṇas available at Mathurā, we have reference to officers (like Mahāḍaṇḍanāyaka, Viśvāsika, Kāyastha, Bakanaṭapati and Grāmika. The designation Mahāḍaṇḍanāyaka occurs in four Mathurā records. A Mathurā image inscription mentions the Mahāḍaṇḍanāyaka named Hummiyaka who installed a Buddhist image at the sakkavihāra in the 4th year of Kaniska's reign. The Māt inscription of Huviśka refers to a Mahāḍaṇḍanāyaka whose son reconstructed the temple of the grandfather of Huviśka. Another inscription ascribing designation to Valāna in the year 74 of Vāsudeva is found at the Jamālpur mound. Again, the same designation is noticed in a Gaṇesā inscription which records the erection of a statue of Mahāḍaṇḍanāyaka Ulāna. These persons appointed as Mahāḍaṇḍanāyaka seem to be foreigners as their names Ulāna, Valāna, Hummiyaka, etc., suggest.

The title Mahāḍaṇḍanāyaka is superior to Daṇḍanāyaka. These two designations are, for the first time, traced in the Kuṣāṇa inscription. The word daṇḍa means both the army and the rod punishment. Hence the designation Mahāḍaṇḍanāyaka may etymologically indicate, as suggested

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90 EI, Vol. XXXIV, p. 10.
91 Lüders, Math. Ins., p. 139.
92 Ibid., pp. 66-67.
93 Ibid., p. 158.
94 Ibid., p. 67; EI, Vol. XXIV, p. 206; Vol. XXXIV, p. 10. Lüders takes Ulāna and Valāna to be different forms of the same name.
95 Cf. PIHC, 1958, pp. 61, 68.
96 Monier-Williams, Sans.-Eng. Dict., s.v.
by some scholars, a military and a judicial officer.97 Others have taken it to mean a judge, a chief officer of police, a high judicial officer, a great general, a magistrate, officer of the status of a colonel stationed in different districts in charge of local units, prefect of police, etc.98 D. C. Sircar99 thinks that the Daṇḍanāyaka is probably a translation of Greek strategos meaning 'a military commander', and that Mahādaṇḍanāyaka was primarily a commander of forces.

Another official designation Vaisvāsika is found in five Mathurā inscriptions100 of the Kuśāṇa period. In three out of the five records, it is the designation of a person named Vakamihira, while in the two other cases it is applied to Aṣyala and Ulāna respectively. As pointed out by Lüders,101 the post of Vaisvāsika in the Kuśāṇa period was enjoyed by foreigners. He further states that it was the designation of

99 Ind. Ep. Gloss., pp. 80-81, 175, 325. He further states that in the South Indian inscriptions, Mahādaṇḍanāyaka seems to be the designation of a governor and not a military title as indicated by the early North Indian inscriptions. He also thinks that official designations may have developed different meanings in different ages and areas. See Early Indian Political and Administrative Systems, pp. 5-6.
100 Lüders, Math. Ins., pp. 92-94, 98, 158. The terms occurred in the inscriptions are Viśu[asik][a], Viś[asika], Vi[asika], Viṣ[asika], [V]is[v][asika], Vi[asika].
some functionary of high rank. D. C. Sircar\textsuperscript{102} suggests that the titles Vaisvāsika and Rahasyādhikṣa are synonymous, both meaning ‘a privy councillor’ or ‘private secretary’.

The term Kāyastha has been recently noticed in a Mathurā record\textsuperscript{103} of the time of the Kuśāṇa king Vāsudeva, dated in the year 93 (171 A.D.). The inscription records the dedication of a statue and an umbrella of Lord Pitāmaha (Buddha) by a Kāyastha named Śramaṇa during the reign of Vāsudeva. It is the earliest extant epigraphic reference to this official designation. In the later periods, it occurs very often in inscriptions\textsuperscript{104} of various areas as well as in literary works.\textsuperscript{105} Kane\textsuperscript{106} suggests that Kāyastha is a foreign word meaning an officer, and was used in the early centuries of the Christian era in the said sense. The meaning of the designation, as explained by Sircar,\textsuperscript{107} suggests that he was ‘an official, who usually sat beside his master in discharging his duties and was often the chief intermediary between the master and the latter’s clients or subjects’. The official was generally considered as ‘the professional scribe’. According to mediaeval lexicons, as pointed out by Sircar,\textsuperscript{108} Kāyastha and Karaṇa (cf. also Pajjikāraka and Kūtakṣṭ) are synonymous, meaning the writer of documents. Sircar further says that the Kāyastha, as suggested by the literary and epigraphic

\textsuperscript{103} *EI*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 152-53.
\textsuperscript{105} *Viṣṇusmṛti*, VII. 3; *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, l. 322; *Uttanahsmṛti*, 35; *Vedavyāsasmṛti*, I. 10-11; *Rājatarāṅgini*, V. 180-84; VIII. 131, 2383.
data, was not merely the writer of documents, but that he
was like the secretary or private secretary of modern times;
he was engaged also in the service of the king's officials like
the collector of revenue, minister, magistrate, judge, etc.109

The designation Bakanapati or Vakanapati110 occurs in
three Mathurā inscriptions111 of the Kuṣāṇa age. In one of
them, it is stated that a Bakanapati of Takṣuma (?), probably
Humaspala by name, constructed a temple, a garden, a tank,
a well, an assembly hall and a gateway. In another epigraph,
it is recorded that a Bakanapati, who was the son of a
Mahādanāṇḍanāyaka and whose name began with Śaukra,
reconstructed the temple of Huviśka's grandfather. The
third record refers to a Vakanapati who was Kanasarukamanapa-
putra and Kharasalera-pati and endowed a Punyaśālā.

Scholars are not unanimous regarding the interpretation
of Bakanapati. Sten Konow112 identifies Bakana and Vakana
with Wakhan, a district of North-East Afghanistan which,
according to him, is referred to in literature as Vokkāṇa, so
that Bakanapati was 'the ruler of Wakhan'. He further
thinks that the damaged expression Hum...following Bakan-
apatinā in the Mathurā inscription is the old name of Wakhan
represented in Chinese as Hiū-mi or that of its capital Hu-mo.
The suggestion of Sten Konow has been accepted by
L. Bachhofer, V. S. Agrawala and D. C. Sircar.113 Vogel

109 Ibid., pp. 159-61.
110 S. Bandyopadhyay in Foreigners in Ancient India and
Lakṣmi and Sarasvati in Art and Literature, pp. 170-71.
60. Jayaswal (JBORS, Vol. VI, p. 16) reads the word as
Barkanapati and interprets it as 'the king of Varka' or 'the
Lord of the Varks'. Varka and Huma, according to him,
were the names of two amalgamated tribes of the Scythians.
113 Bachhofer in JAOS, Vol. LXI, p. 250 and note 201;
Agrawala in JUPHS, Vols. XXIV-V, p. 141; Sircar, Sel.
regards it as a title, but makes no attempt to explain it. Lüders points out that Bakanapati or Vakanapati is probably an Iranian word denoting some functionary. H. W. Bailey goes a step further and states that Bakanapati or Vakanapati is of Iranian origin meaning ‘official in charge of temples (or a temple)’. His argument is that Pati indicates not only ‘Lord’ but also ‘official in charge’ in both the Indian and Iranian languages. Iranian baga, indicating god, with the suffix-ana becomes bagana meaning ‘connected with the gods’. Bakana or Vakana being the same as bagana, the designation means ‘official in charge of temples (or a temple)’ in the inscriptions mentioning devakula or punyasala. An interesting fact revealed by the inscriptions of Mathurā is that the high officers appointed by the Kuṣāṇas were generally were not Indians.

Village was the smallest administrative unit and was in charge of the traditional headman (Grāmika). Grāmika who seems to have a regular place in the Kuṣāṇa administrative setup, is mentioned in two Mathurā inscriptions. One of them, dated in the year 40 (118 A.D.) records the dedication of a Jaina image by Sihadattā, the wife of the village headman (Grāmika) Jayanāga and the daughter-in-law of the village headman (Grāmika) Jayadeva. The other inscription of Vāsudeva’s reign, dated in the year 84

115 Math. Ins., p. 137.
117 Lüders’ List, No. 48.
(162 A.D.), refers to a Grāmika whose wife installed an image of the Arhat Rṣabha. The post of the village officer appears to have been sometimes hereditary as is evident from the first of the inscriptions mentioned above. The evidence of the village headman in the earlier period can be traced in literary and epigraphic sources. According to Manu, the village headman was appointed by the king, and that maintenance of law and order and collection of revenue from the village were the duties of the village-headman. If the law and order were at stake, he could, according to the exigency of the situation, approach the headman of ten villages for the maintenance of peace. But according to Sharma, in the Kuśāna period, he was not performing military functions as we learn from Maṇu. Mention is in one inscription (JUPHS, Vol. II, New series, 1954, p. 12) had been previously read and interpreted by Agrawala (ibid., Vol. XXI, p. 75) as padra-mahasthakena, 'by the village headman'.

119 Grāmany, a synonym of Grāmika, is mentioned in the Vedic literature (see Ṛgveda, X. 62. 11; 107.5; Atharvaveda, III. 5.7; XIX. 31.12; Tai. Saṁ., II. 5.4.4; Śat. Br., V. 4.4.19). King Bimbisāra is said to have appointed 80,000 Grāmikas in his kingdom (see Mahāvagga, V. 1). See also the Arthaśāstra (3.10.16, 18); Manusmṛti, (VII. 115-16), etc., and the Bhaṭṭiprolu Buddhist casket inscription (Lüders' List, No. 1333), Damodarpur plates of the Gupta period [EI, Vol. XV, No. 7(3)], etc. D. C. Sircar states that Grāmika was an all-India institution and is traced in the inscriptions from all parts of India (see Early Indian Political and Administrative Systems, p. 6).

120 Manusmṛti, VII. 115.
121 Ibid., VII. 116-18.
122 Ibid., VII. 116-17.
123 Sharma, op.cit., p. 172.
124 VII. 114.
made of a separate official who was appointed by the king for defence of two, three, five or hundred villages. In connection with Manu not mentioning the military duties of the Grāmika, D. C. Sircar\textsuperscript{125} states that there was really no clear division between 'civil' and 'military' in ancient Indian administration. Further, Manu throws light on the fact that the village official was paid neither in the form of fines exacted from the villagers nor in cash as it had the custom of paying in the pre-Maurya and the Maurya period respectively.\textsuperscript{126} Instead of wages, he enjoyed some daily needs, \textit{viz.} food, drink, fuel, etc. from the villagers in the form of his remuneration.\textsuperscript{127}

Unfortunately, no record of the Gupta period, discovered so far from Mathurā, mentions any official designation. At any rate, the Guptas seem to have maintained the traditional form of bureaucratic government followed by their predecessors.

During the period under review, the queens did not take any part in the administration at least in Mathurā. Throughout the period, the king seems to have been the pivot round which all military, political, administrative and judicial powers evolved. He was assisted by the ministers and several other officials to carry on the administration systematically and for the welfare of the people.

\textsuperscript{125} \textit{Early Indian Political and Administrative Systems}, p. 137, note 64.

\textsuperscript{126} R. S. Sharma, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 172.

\textsuperscript{127} \textit{Manusmṛti}, VII. 118.
CHAPTER THREE

RELIGION

A. Brāhmaṇical Hinduism

Epigraphic records bear testimony to the prevalence of the Bhāgavata cult which gained a considerable popularity in the Mathurā region. The Morā stone inscription¹ of the time of Śoḍāsa records the enshrinement of the Paṅca-vīras (called Bhagavat) of the Vṛṣṇi in a stone temple by a lady named Toṣā. Regarding the identification of the Paṅca-vīras, Vogel² took them to be the five Pāṇḍava brothers; but later he³ changed his opinion and identified the statues with Yaksas. R. P. Chanda⁴ read the second line of the record as Bhagavatā Vṛṣṇena Paṅcavrāṇāṁ pratimā and followed Vogel in identifying the Paṅca-vīras with the Pāṇḍavas. Bhagavat Vṛṣṇi, according to him, is Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva of the Vṛṣṇi branch of the Yādava family. Lüders⁵ following Alsdorf thinks that the five Vṛṣṇi princes of the epigraph are identical with those mentioned in the Jaina canonical list. They are Baladeva, Akrūra, Anadhṛṣṭi, Sāraṇa and Viduratha. J. N. Banerjea⁶ identifies the Paṅca-vīras of the inscription with Saṅkarṣaṇa, Vāsudeva, Pradyumna, Śamba and Aniruddha, all closely connected members of the Vṛṣṇi

3 Vogel, La Sculpture De Mathurā, 1930, p. 116.
4 Mem. ASI, No. 5, pp. 166-67.
5 EI, Vol. XXIV, pp. 196-98.
dynasty. He draws our attention to the *Vāyu Purāṇa* in which they are described as deified human beings (*manuṣya prakṛti devas*). Scholars like V. S. Agrawala, V. M. Apte, D. C. Sircar agree with Banerjea. The appellation Toṣā, as suggested by scholars like Lüders and Banerjea, is of foreign extraction which is a clear proof to show that foreigners sometimes had their leanings towards the Bhāgavata religion.

The Mathurā stone door-jamb inscription of the time of Śoḍāsa records the erection of a devakula, a gateway (*toranaḥ*) and a terrace (*vedikā*) in honour of Bhagavat Vāsudeva so that god Vāsudeva may bestow dominion, longevity and strength on Svāmīn Mahākṣetrapa Śoḍāsa. It thus appears from the epigraphic records that the foreigners played an important role to the growth and development of the Bhāgavata religion. In this connection, mention may be made of the Bēṣnagar pillar inscription which records the setting

7 Ch. 97, verses 1-2.
9 Lüders in *El*, Vol. XXIV, p. 200; Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 94. According to Lüders, Toṣā is the Iranian name while Banerjea suggests it to be of Śaka origion.
up a *garuda-dhvaja* at Besnagar (in Vidisha District, Madhya Pradesh) in honour of the god Vāsudeva by Heliodorus, who was an ambassador of the Indo-Greek king Antialkidas and was deputed to the court of king Kāśīputra Bhāgabhadra of Vidišā.

The cult of Vāsudeva, a theistic devotional creed, is centred round Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa as the object of veneration. The earliest reference to the doctrine is found in the *Aṣṭā-dhyāyī* of Pāṇini (5th century B.C.) which speaks of the rule for the formation of the word *Vāsudevaka* meaning ‘a person whose object of bhakti, is Vāsudeva’. In the fourth century B.C., Vāsudeva was held in veneration by the people of Mathurā as is known from the account of Megasthenes, who says that the Sourasenoi, i.e., the people of Mathurā, held the god Herakles (i.e. the Greek form of the Indian god Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa) in high esteem. The Vāsudeva cult originated in the Mathurā region which is regarded as the birth place of Lord Kṛṣṇa. Later on, about the later half of the 2nd century B.C., it spread far beyond the place of its origin, to Western India and the Northern Deccan as we know from epigraphic records.

There is some information on the Kuśāṇa leanings towards the Bhāgavata religion. Some of the coins of Huviṣka bear the representation of a four-armed deity named *Ooshna* in Greek characters. D. C. Sircar identifies

17 *A. Imp. Un.*, p. 150; Sircar, *Studies in the Religious Life of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, p. 22. But the deity is generally identified by scholars with Siva.
the god with Viṣṇu. Huviśka’s successor whose dominion was included Mathurā, an important centre of Bhāgavatism, assumed the significant name Vāsudeva though he seems to have been a devotee of Śiva.

The assumption of the epithet Parama bhāgavata by Candragupta II is known not only from his Mathurā stone inscription\(^\text{18}\) but also from several other records of his successors as well as some of his own coins also. Further, he is represented on the obverse of the Cakravikrama type of his coins as receiving a gift from the god Viṣṇu.\(^\text{19}\) The coins and inscriptions of his successors bear testimony to the fact that they called themselves Parama bhāgavata. All this clearly indicates that Candragupta II and his successors were devout followers of the Vaiṣṇava religion. Although Samudragupta did not assume the said title, he is known to have adopted the Garuḍa seal (garutmad-aṅka)\(^\text{20}\) as the emblem of his family according to the Allahabad pillar inscription. Ever since the days of Samudragupta, the early coins as well as characters of the gupta emperors bear the representation of Garuḍa as the emblem or crest of the family. Besides the Allahabad pillar epigraph\(^\text{21}\) represents Samudragupta as the Acintya-Puruṣa or Inscrutable Being, i.e., Viṣṇu, who is ‘the cause of the prosperity of the pious and the destruction of the wicked’ (Sādhu-asādhu-udaya-pralaya-hetu-puruṣasya = acintyasya). These facts indicate that Sumudragupta was a devotee of Viṣṇu, but he was apparently not a Bhāga-vata; for there might have been some doctrinal difference between his faith and that of his successors. D. C. sircar\(^\text{22}\).

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\(^\text{19}\) \textit{JNSI}, Vol. X, pp. 103-04, pls. V. 9; vii 8, 10.
\(^\text{21}\) \textit{Loc.cit.}
suggests that in a narrow sense, Bhāgavatism seems to refer to the worship of Vāsudeva as Viṣṇu, originally advocated by the Vṛṣṇi People or a section of them. The Gupta rulers from the days of Candragupta II were the votaries of this form, i.e., the Bhāgavata form of Vaiṣṇavism. Their predecessors including Samudragupta were, according to Sircar, the supporters of some other forms of early Vaiṣṇavism like the original worshippers of Vedic Viṣṇu and of the deified ancient sage Nārāyaṇa. The patronage of the Gupta kings towards the Bhāgavata form of Vaiṣṇava religion contributed immensely for its popularity all over the country.

The first stage of the evolution of Vaiṣṇavism was the identification of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa with the Vedic God Viṣṇu. In the epics, Viṣṇu attained the position of Supreme Being and Vāsudeva is identified with him. The identification was accomplished by the time of the composition of the Bhāgavad-gītā and is known from some late passages of the Mahābhārata. The next stage of evolution is the conception of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu and Nārāyaṇa as one and the same being. The earliest reference to the identification of Nārāyaṇa with Viṣṇu is traced in the Baudhāyana Dharmaśūtra (about the fifth century B.C.). In a passage of the Taittirīya Āranyaka Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva and Viṣṇu are regarded as one and the same deity. Such identification is also known from several passages of the Mahābhārata.

27 Taittirīya Āranyaka (Bib. Ind.), X. 1. 6.
Thus, in course of time, the three religious ideas, one derived from Viṣṇu, the other from Vāsudeva and the third from Nārāyaṇa were synthesised and this gave rise to Vaiṣṇavism.28

An important feature of the Bhāgavata religion from the Gupta period onwards was the popularity of the conception of Avatāra, i.e., descents or incarnations of Viṣṇu. The prevalence of the Boar incarnation in Mathurā is indicated by a fragmentary Maurya inscription29 which has been assigned by D. C. Sircar30 to the latter half of the 7th century A.D. on palaeographical grounds. The first section of the record reading na[mah] kāl-aṃjana-rajah-puñja-dyuta [ye]...[M]ahāvarāha-rūpaya jāhgamā[ya] speaks of the adoration to the Boar incarnation of the god Viṣṇu. The inscription records the putting up of garlands around the head of the god Śauri, i.e. Viṣṇu, worshipped by the Maurya king Dīṇḍirāja. It also records that arrangement was made to supply garlands for adorning the deity's head everyday so long as the sun and moon would shine in the sky. The popularity of the worship of Varāha Avatāra also in other religions is evident from epigraphic data.31 The literary source also corroborates the worship of Boar as well as other incarnations of Viṣṇu signifying the evolution of the conception of the Avatāravāda in the age in question.32

The popularity of the cult of Śiva was no less important in Mathurā in Kuśāṇa as well as in the Gupta period. On the reverse of Wema Kadphises' Coins33 is found the figure

30 Ibid., pp. 207-08.
32 Cf. Ibid., pp. 420-21.
33 Gardner, The Coins of the Greek and Scythic kings of
of Śiva and the Kharosṭhī legend maharajasa rajadhiraṇa
Sarva-loga-īśvarasa mahiśvarasa Wima Kathphīṣasa tratarasa, 'of
Wima Kathphīṣa, the great king, the king of kings, the lord of
the whole world, the Mahiśvara, the saviour'. The epithet
Mahiśvara here probably stands for Sanskrit Māheśvara\(^{34}\)
indicating that Wema Kadphises was a devotee of Māheśvara
(Śiva). Some of the coins of Kaṇiṣka\(^{35}\) and Huviṣka\(^{36}\) and
most of the issues of Vāsudeva\(^{37}\) bear on the reverse the
representation of Śiva with the legend Oesha, i.e. Śiva in
Greek characters. The figure of Śiva on most of the coins
of Vāsudeva indicates, as has been suggested by scholars,
that he, like Wema Kadphises, was a devotee of that god.

The Tokri Ṭilā image inscription\(^{38}\) refers to Huviṣka's
grandfather as Satyadhara[ṛ]ma-sthitasya Nanaya(yā)t = Sarva-
Śaca(c)ṇḍāvir-ātisasya-tājyasya according to Sircar's transcript.\(^{39}\)
Lüders\(^{40}\) says that Ścaṇḍāvīra and Caṇḍāvīra are apparently
one and the same god belonging to the 'circle grouped
round Śiva', and he may have been 'a lesser deity'. According
to D. C. Sircar,\(^{41}\) the name of the deity is Caṇḍāvīra
and not Ścaṇḍāvīra. He cites the authority of the Śāhri

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Bactria and India, 1966 (reprint), pp. 124-28, pl. xxv. 6-14;

34 Cf. A. Imp. Un., p. 140.
35 Gardner, op. cit., pp. 132, 135, pls. xxvi. 13, 18;
xxvii. 7; Whitehead, op. cit., pp. 187, 192-93, pls. xvii, xviii.
36 Gardner, op. cit., pp. 147-48, 155, 158, pls. xxviii.
14-16, xxix. 7; Whitehead, op. cit., pp. 199-200, 201, 205,
pl. xix.
37 Gardner, op. cit., pp. 159-61, pl. xxix. 9-14; White-
head, op. cit., pp. 208-10, pl. xix.
40 Lüders, Math. Ins., p. 143.
inscription of Candeśvarahastinī⁴² and Mandasor⁴³ and Bihar-Kotra⁴⁴ inscriptions of the time of Naravarman to show that sometimes śa was read for śa. Sarva as one of the variant names of Śiva is often mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, the Mahābhārata and elsewhere. The above passage suggests either that the gods Sarva and Caṇḍāvīra conferred kingdom on the king or that the king dedicated his kingdom to the gods Sarva and Caṇḍāvīra.⁴⁵ The record thus shows the king’s (Huviśka’s grandfather) devotion to Sarva and Caṇḍāvīra. Similar examples of such epithets adopted by kings are mentioned in a Bhita seal in which the passage is Maheśvara-Mahāsen-ātissīta-rājya⁴⁶ and in the Kesaribeḍā plates of the Nala king Arthapati-bhaṭṭāraka wherein the expression is Maheśvara-Mahāsen ātissīta-rājya-vibhava.⁴⁷ If the above interpretation is to be accepted, the epithet Satyadharmasthita meaning ‘steadfast in the true Law’ loses its Buddhistic significance as held by numismatics.

Recently an inscription⁴⁸ has been discovered from the Delhi-Agra roadside, near Caurāśi in the western outskirts of Mathurā city, which have been assigned by R. C. Sharma⁴⁹ to the early Kuśāṇa period on palæographical considera-

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⁴² El, Vol. XXXV, pp. 66, 68.
⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 399.
⁴⁵ D. R. Sahni (JRAS, 1924, pp. 402-03) corrects nanayat to ānunayat and translates the passage as ‘who restored (their) kingdoms to fierce heroes when they entreated mercy’. But this translation cannot be accepted (cf. Lüders, Math Ins., p. 143). Sircar (JAIH, Vol. II, p. 138, note 4) corrects nanayat to Nanayāt, ‘from [the place called] Nanaya’.
⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 104.
tions. It records the erection of a water tank, a garden, an assembly hall, a stone tablet and a temple by some persons in order to propitiate the god Maheśvara.

The phallic emblem, one of the variant forms of Śiva, was very common in the Kuṣāṇa period. A fragmentary inscription⁵⁰ written in Kuṣāṇa characters and engraved on a Śiva liṅga was discovered at the village of Giglā (in the Sadabad tahsil of the Mathurā District). It records the erection of a Śiva liṅga representing the local deity named Jaṭēśvara by some one for the welfare and happiness of himself, his parents and of those who assented to the gift. It is the earliest reference to the custom of assigning Īśvar-ānta names to local forms of Śiva so far known from epigraphic records.

The Mathurā pillar inscription⁵¹ of Candragupta II dated in the year 61 of the Gupta era corresponding to 380 A.D. throws a considerable light on the existence of the Lakulīśa sect, a branch of the Pāśupatas, in the Mathurā region. It records the installation of two liṅgas, viz., Upamiteśvara and Kapileśvara after the name of Uditācārya’s teacher Bhagavat Upamitavimala and his teacher’s teacher Bhagavat Kapilavimala in a ġuruvāyatana (teacher’s shrine) by Arya Uditācārya who was tenth in descent from Bhagavat Kuśika and fourth from Bhagavat Parāśara, with the object of obtaining merit for himself and for the glory of his preceptors. In conclusion, Uditācārya said that it was written not for his own glory but to request the worshippers of Maheśvara to protect the property without fear and to offer worship, knowing that it would be the property of the ācāryas, viz., Upamitavimala and Kapilavimala in the due course of time. Thus, the inscription provides us with the names of four successive Māheśvara (devotee of Śiva) teachers, viz., Parāśara, Kapilavimala, Upamitavimala and Uditācārya.

As the name of Kuśika is mentioned in the record and not of the five successive teachers intervening between him and Parāśara, Bhandarkar\(^{52}\) thinks that Kuśika was at least the founder of a line of teachers, though he was not an originator of any new doctrine or sect. On the basis of the \(\texttt{Vāyu}\) and \(\texttt{Liṅga Purāṇas}\),\(^{53}\) he\(^{54}\) states that the great Śaiva saint Lakulīn or Lakulīśa was the last incarnation of Maheśvara and flourished at Kāyāvarohaṇa or Kāyāvatāra (Karvan in the Dabhoī taluk of the Baroda District of Gujarat). He had four disciples, \textit{viz.}, Kuśika, Garga, Mitra and Kauruṣya. Almost identical information is derived from the \textit{Cintra Prāṇastī}\(^{55}\) of the Cālukya king Sāraṅgadeva, originally engraved on the temple of Somānātha in Kāṭhiāwād. It mentions\(^{56}\) the names of pupils of Lakulīśa as Kuśika, Gārgya, Kauruṣya and Maitreya and states that they were the founders of four lines of the Pāṣupata sect. Thus, the literary account corroborated by epigraphic evidence led Bhandarkar\(^{57}\) to suggest that Kuśika was the first disciple of Lakulīśa, and the four āstāryas mentioned in our record were his successors. The descendants of Gārgya were settled in Kāṭhiāwād as known from the \textit{Cintra Prāṇasti} while those of Kuśika in Mathurā. As regards the date of Lakulīśa, Bhandarkar\(^{58}\) suggests that he flourished about the beginning of the second century A.D. His argument is that \(\text{Ārya} \text{Uditācārya}\) who was tenth in descent from Kuśika, the disciple of Lakulīśa, belonged to the period 380-81 A.D.

\(^{52}\) \textit{EI}, Vol. XXI, pp. 4-5.
\(^{54}\) \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 153-64 ; \textit{EI}, Vol. XXI, p. 5.
\(^{56}\) \textit{Ibid.}, p. 231.
\(^{57}\) \textit{Ibid.}, Vol. XXI, pp. 5-6.
\(^{58}\) \textit{Ibid.}, p. 7.
Assuming an average of 25 years per generation, the date of Lakuliśa stand as 105-30 A.D.

Uditācārya, as it has already been stated, has the title Ārya, while the other teachers namely Kuśika, Parāśara, Kapilavimala and Upamitavimala are styled as Bhagavat in the epigraph. Bhandarkar is of the opinion that the epithet Bhagavat prefixing to the name of teachers indicate that they had already died. As Uditācārya was still living and was not yet absorbed into Śiva, he is not called Bhagavat, but Ārya only. In this connection, Bhandarkar, refers to the Abhidhānacinīlāmaṇi, according to which, the word ārya stands for prabhū, a master, an owner. He says that Uditācārya was undoubtedly an ārya or owner of the two memorial structures of his teachers installed by him in the gurvāyatana. He takes the gurvāyatana as the shrine where the two liṅgas, one in the name of Upamita and the order of in that of Kapila, bearing their portraits, were established. He compares it to the pratimāgya in which the statues of the dead Ikṣvāku kings were kept according to Bhāsa’s Pratimānāṭaka and to the devakulas commemorating the different Kuśāṇa rulers found at Māṭ near Mathurā. P. R. Srinivasan is also of the opinion that both successive teachers, Kapilavimala and Upamitavimala were dead when the inscription was engraved and the two liṅgas were established to commemorate them.

D. C. Sircar differs from Bhandarkar regarding the interpretation of some of the passages. The term Vimala suffixed to the names of Upamita and Kapila is taken by Bhandarkar as not a part of the names but a

59 Ibid., pp. 6-7.
60 Ibid., pp. 4-5.
separate word meaning ‘stainless’. But Sircar thinks that Vimala is the component part of the names Upamitavimala and Kapilavimala. He again differs from Bhandarkar in regard to the idea that Upamitavimala and Kapilavimala passed away when the inscription was incised. According to him, the title Bhagavat is not sufficient to prove that they were deceased. It was natural for Uditācārya who said that the inscription was not written for his own fame (n-āi tat-khyatya-artham-abhilikhyate) to attribute the title Bhagavat to his superiors while he himself assumed the simple epithet Ārya. Sircar further states that the representations of the two teachers Kapilavimala and Upamitavimala were figured respectively in the lower part of the two liṅgas Kapileśvara and Upamiteśvara in such a manner that, it appears, they bore the liṅgas on their heads. On the completion of the gurvāyatana as well as the liṅgas, Uditācārya requested the Śaivas of the locality to protect and worship them until the Ācāryas Kapilavimala and Upamitavimala would come to take charge of their property ‘in due course of time’. P. R. Srinivasan refers to the practice of installing a Śiva-liṅga on the grave of a dead ascetic and suggests that the memorial liṅgas as referred to above do not bear the representation of the ascetics carved on them. He restores the last portion of the line 10 of the epigraph as samādhau so as to give the meaning of the passage ‘in the Teachers’ shrine, on the graves of the teachers, the two were installed’.

64 The expression yathā-kālena is translated by Bhandarkar (EI, Vol. XXI, p. 9) as ‘for the time being’, while according to Sircar (IHQ, Vol. XVIII, p. 274), it means ‘in proper time, in due course of time’, and according to P. R. Srinivasan (JAIH, Vol. III, p. 119), ‘in the course of [their] time’.
66 Ibid., p. 119.
A Kuṣāṇa inscription dated in the 24th year of the reign of Vāsiṣṭha records the setting up of a sacrificial post after performing a sacrifice lasting for twelve days by Droṇala, the son of Rudrila, a Brāhmaṇa of the Bhāradvāja gotra and of the Māṇachanda school to propitiate the three Fires, which, as suggested by V. S. Agrawala, are gārhapatyā (belonging to gṛhapati), āhavaniya (eastern) and dakṣiṇa (southern) well known in Śrauta rituals. Similar examples of performance of sacrifice as well as the erection of a yūpa are found in several epigraphs. Two inscriptions discovered at Nāndsā in the Saharā District of the former Udaipur State record the celebration of a sacrifice lasting for 61 days and the erection of a yūpa by the king Soma in the year 282 of the Kṛta or Vikrama era corresponding to 224 A.D. Besides, three Maukhari inscriptions on yūpas dated in the Kṛta year 295 (237 A.D.) are found at Baḍvā in Kotah State in Rajputana. Each of the three records refers to the Trirātra sacrifice. Another yūpa inscription from the same place, which, on palaeographical grounds, may be assigned to the 3rd century A.D., commemorates the performance of Āptoryāma sacrifice. Two other yūpa inscriptions dated in the Kṛta years 284 (226 A.D.) and 335 (277 A.D.) respectively have been discovered at Barnāla in the Jaipur State. The first of the two inscriptions refers to the

67 Lüders, Math. Ins., p. 126.
68 Lüders (loc.cit.) says that the meaning of Māṇachandoga is not yet known, while according to V. S. Agrawala (JUPHS, Vols. XXIV-XXV, p. 136), it indicates the Chandoga branch of Sāmaaveda.
69 JUPHS, Vols. XXIV-XXV, p. 137.
70 Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, 1897, p. 95.
72 Ibid., Vol. XXIII, pp. 42-52.
73 Ibid., Vol. XXIV, pp 251-53.
74 Ibid., Vol. XXVI, pp. 118-23.
erection of seven yūpas, while the second records the commemoration of the five Trirātra sacrifices. Besides, the Allahabad Museum yūpa inscription dated in the 23rd regnal year of a certain king records the erection of seven yūpas to commemorate the performance of seven Soma sacrifices. The performance of sacrifice was a common practice among the Vedic Aryans to please the divinities. The sacrificial fire was regarded as the intermediary through whom oblations were offered to gods. Great homage was paid to the god Agni, a personification of the sacrificial fire, who was regarded as next to Indra in importance. This Vedic practice was popular in the Kuśāna period.

In this connection mention may be made of a Mathurā inscription dated in the year 28 of Huviśka’s reign which records the creation of a permanent endowment for the maintenance of a punyāśālā for catering free food to one hundred Brāhmaṇas per month for the religious merit of Devaputra Śahi Huviśka and for those who loved him. It shows that Huviśka’s relations with the Brāhmaṇas were cordial.

The archaeological sources bear evidence to the popularity of the cult of Kārttikeya at Mathurā during the Kuśāna period. An inscription dated in the year 11 of the reign of Kaṇiśka records the installation of the image of the god Kārttikeya by some persons. Besides, the coins of Huviśka bear on the reverse the different forms of the deity with the names Mahāsena, Skanda-kumāra and Viśākha in Greek.

75 Ibid., Vol. XXIV, pp. 245-51; cf. also ibid., Vol. XVIII, pp. 152-57.
78 JUPHS, Vol. XVI, p. 66.
79 Gardner, op.cit., pp. 138, 149, pls. xxvii. 16; xxiii. 22-23.
characters. Unknown to the Vedas, Kārttīkeya is a popular deity in the Epics. He is known under seventeen names including those mentioned above from the Amarakoṣa. In the Mahābhāṣya,80 Patañjali refers to the images of the gods Skanda and Viśākha. It is interesting to note that some of the names of the god originally indicated independent cult-objects. Skanda-Kārttīkeya is represented as the son of either Śiva or Agni and as born of Pārvatī or Gaṅgā or the Kṛttikās or Svāhā.81

B. Buddhism

A study of the Mathurā epigraphs, which are generally of a dedicatory nature and are engraved on the statues and architectural pieces, reveals that Buddhism was in a flourishing condition. Its gradual progress is marked by the growth of a number of sects, some of them, e.g., Mahāsaṅghika, Sarvāstivādin, Saṃmitiya and Dharmaguptaka being mentioned in the inscriptions so that the said sects were popular in the Mathurā region.

The earliest epigraphic reference to the reformatory sect called Mahāsaṅghika which separated from the followers of the orthodox Theravāda doctrine, is found in two Mathurā inscriptions of the Kṣatrapa period, i.e., the lion-capital records1 and the Bharatpur gate inscription.2 The former states that Buddhala, an adherent of the Savāstivāda, was an opponent of the Mahāsaṅghika school, while the latter records the dedication of an objects at the Ālānaka vihāra for the acceptance of the Mahāsaṅghikas and for the worship of all the Buddhas. Reference to the sect is also noticed

81 R. G. Bhandarkar, op.cit., p. 150.
2 Lüders, Math. Ins., p. 121.
in several Kuṣāṇa epigraphs\(^3\) which generally record the dedication of objects at some Buddhist vihāra for the acceptance of the Mahāsaṅghikas. It appears, therefore, that the school became much popular in the region especially during the time of the Kuṣāṇas.

Due to the disciplinary and doctrinal differences in the monastery a schism took place in the Buddhist church, at the time of the Second Buddhist Council held at Vaiśālī about a century after Buddha’s death, probably under the auspices of Kālāśoka, splitting the church into two communities—Mahāsaṅghika and Sthaviravād (Pāli Theravād).\(^4\) In some respects the Mahāsaṅghikas deviated from the Theravādins. They asserted the supramundane (lokottara) character of the Buddha who was considered to be infallible. The Bodhisattvas are also regarded as supramundane. Contrary to the Sthaviravāda doctrine, the Mahāsaṅghikas did not regard the Arhats as fully emancipated beings, and maintained that every man should aim at the attainment of Buddhahood and not Arhathood. They believed also in the conception of mind (vijñāna) which is originally pure but becomes impure by contact with impurities. These were the cardinal principles of the Mahāsaṅghika sect which paved the way to the Mahāyāna (Great vehicle) in future.\(^5\) Since its inception in Vaiśālī, the Mahāsaṅghika community developed in the east from where it fanned out to the South, particularly to the regions of Amarāvati and Nāgārjunikonda.\(^6\)

One of the most important branches of the Sthaviravādin school was the Sarvāstivādin sect. According to tradition,

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5 N. Dutt, *Three Principal Schools of Buddhism*, 1939, pp. 1-35; also his *Buddhist Sects in India*, pp. 73-104.
they selected Mathurā as the field of their early activities under the leadership of venerable Upagupta. The lion-capital inscriptions which bear the earliest reference to the community in Mathurā, record (a) the enshrinement of the relics of Buddha in a stūpa by the chief queen of the Mahā-kṣatrapa Rañjuvula and persons associated with her for the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādins; (b) the religious gift made by Udaya, a disciple of Ācārya Buddhadeva along with the princes Kalamasa and Maja to Buddhila of Nagaraka in the Guhā vihāra for the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādin monks in the reign of Kṣatrapa Śoḍāsa; (c) the donation of some piece of land to Ācārya Buddhila of Nagaraka who refuted the arguments of the Mahāsaṅghikas during the reign of Kṣatrapa Śoḍāsa. Thus, the early Śaka-kṣatrapa rulers of Mathurā are represented as supporters of Buddhism, particularly of the Sarvāstivāda doctrine. Besides, two Sarvāstivāda teachers named Buddhadeva and Buddhila are known. Yaśomitra in his Abhidharmakośavyākhya refers to the name of Buddhadeva who was an authority on the Sarvāstivāda philosophy. But it is difficult to identify him with his namesake mentioned in the inscription; for, the assumption of identical appellation is a common practice amongst the Buddhist teachers.

Another inscription in archaic characters, found in the Kaṭrā mound, records the installation of the statue of a Bodhisattva for the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādins. The Buddhist image inscription of Huviśka dated in the year

7 Ibid., p. 135.
9 An inscribed clay seal mentioning the name of Buddhadeva in late Gupta characters was found at Śrāvasti (Set Mahet). See Asi AR, 1907-08, p. 128.
10 Abhidharmakośavyākhya, V. 26; ix. 12.
11 Lüders, op.cit., p. 32.
33 of the Kuṣāṇa (Śaka) era corresponing to 111 A.D., refers to a nun Buddhāmitrā and a monk Bala, both of whom knew the Tripiṭaka generally attributed to the Hinayānists only. That the monk Bala was a Sarvāstivādin is evident from two records of the time of Kanishka found at Sahet-Mahet in U.P. These epigraphs bear the same texts recording the gift of an umbrella, a staff and an image of Bodhisattva made by Bhikṣu Bala and a disciple of Puṣpabuddhi for the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādins.

The Sarvāstivādin sect flourished in Northern India. Kanisṭha, the greatest of all the Kuṣāṇa kings, was a patron of the school. As regards the doctrinal and disciplinary issues there is a general agreement between this sect, an orthodox group and Sthāvira Vāda. The Sarvāstivāda school, as the name implies, believed in the existence of all elements—sarvaṁ asti. According to the school, a being is composed of 5 dharmaḥ and sub-divided into 75 elements which are permanent. The school advocates that the composite of the elements is impermanent, not the elements themselves. Like the Mahāsaṅghikas, they did not consider the Buddha as an infallible being, but a historical figure. In the latter period, it became popular as Vaibhaṣika, because of the fact that it attached more importance to the Vibhāṣas (commentaries) than to the Sūtras (original sayings).

Another important branch of Sthāvira Vādins was the Vātsiputriya-Sammitiya school, the existence of which in the Mathurā area is traced from an inscription of the Kṣatrapa period. It records the enshrinement of an image of the Bodhisattva at the Śrīvihāra for the acceptance of the Sammitiya teachers. It is the earliest epigraphic reference to the said group. According to the Pāli and Sanskrit tradi-

13 Ibid., pp. 144-45.
14 N. Dutt, Buddhist Sects in India, pp. 136-44.
15 Ibid., pp. 158-83.
tions, the school was established in the 3rd century B.C. by Mahākaccāyana, a famous monk of Avanti.\textsuperscript{17} It was popular at Sarnath about the 3rd or 4th century A.D. and later on, during the reign of Harṣavardhana, spread in various places of the North.

Contrary to the views held by other Buddhist sects, the Sammitiya branch of the Vātsiputriya school believed in the theory of transmigration of soul. They maintained that pudgala meaning ego transmigrates; for, it is neither the Skandhas nor different from them. The theory of ego is more or less identical with the Brāhmaṇical conception of ātman and the idea of mūlaviñāna of the Buddhist Mahāsaṅghikas. That is why the sect was regarded as heretical by some schools, who believed that pudgalavāda stood in the way of the attainment of Nirvāṇa. Like the Sarvāstivādins, they held another revolutionary idea that the non-Buddhists are also entitled to acquire supernormal powers (ṣddhi) and to attain Arhathood.\textsuperscript{18}

The existence of another Buddhist sect named Dharmaguptaka, an offshoot of the Sthaviravādins and a branch of the Sarvāstivādins, is known from a Kuśāṇa inscription\textsuperscript{19} from Mathurā dated in the year 17. It records the setting up of a Bodhisattva image by a lay worshipper for the acceptance of the Dharmaguptaka teachers. Przyluski\textsuperscript{20} observes that the school gained considerable popularity in Central Asia and China. The Dharmaguptaka philosophy bears a close resemblance to that of the rival sect of the Mahāsaṅ-

\textsuperscript{17} N. Dutt, Buddhist \textit{Sects in India}, pp. 194-95.
\textsuperscript{19} Lüders, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 187.
ghikas. Placing the Buddha higher than the Sāṅgha, it lays special emphasis on the person of the Buddha; for, the Dharmaguptaka school considered him sacrosant. According to them, the worship of stūpa is meritorious. Contrary to the views held by the Mahāsaṅghikas, they maintained that gifts made to the Sāṅgha are meritorious than those made to the Buddha since the latter is included in the Sāṅgha.\(^{21}\)

The expression ācāriyāṇa Mahopadesakāṇaṁ parīgahe in an inscription\(^{22}\) written in Kuśāna characters is explained by Sahni\(^{23}\) as 'of the teachers who were great preachers'. But Lüders\(^{24}\) states that, as in other records ācārya is invariably connected with the name of a Buddhist school, Mahopadesaka of the epigraph must be the name of a school which is, however, not yet known from literature.

No reference to particular Buddhist sects is found in Mathurā inscriptions of the Gupta period, though mention may be made of several Buddhist inscriptions\(^{25}\) recording the dedication of some image by the monks or lay worshippers for the attainment of supreme knowledge of all sentient beings.

Thus, it appears that during the period of foreign domination Buddhism received liberal patronage of the Śaka Kṣatrapa and Kuśāna and it was in a most flourishing condition. It is interesting to note that Kanishka had on the reverse of some of his coins the representation of the Buddha with legends like BO△△O and O△YOBOY CAKAMA.\(^{26}\)

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26 Gardner, *op.cit.*, pp. 130, 133, pls. xxvi. 8; xxvii. 2.
representation of various deities including the Buddha on
the reverse of his coins seems to suggest that he maintained
a catholic attitude towards the different religious commu-
nities. But the occurrence of the Buddha figure on his
coins does not mean that he was a staunch Buddhist.
Simply it indicates his inclination towards Buddhism.

According to Buddhist tradition, Kaniska was a devout
follower of the Buddha and a great patron of Buddhism.
He is credited for convening the Fourth Buddhist Council
probably in Kashmir.27 The story of his conversion and
his zeal for Buddhism bear such a striking similarity with
that of Asoka that it is difficult to distinguish between the
fact and the mere echoes of older tradition. Huen-Tsong28
says that the Buddhist king Kaniska built a magnificent
Stupa and a Vihara in Purusapura (Peshawar), his capital
city. In the 11th Century, Al-Biruni29 refers to the Kanika-
caitya (Kaniska-caitya) at Purushâvar (Peshawar). But it
is not easy to determine whether the stupa and the monastery
were built by Kanisika I or one of his namesakes among his
successors.

Besides Kaniska I, his successors had also leanings
towards Buddhism as is evident from the Râjatarângini. It
mentions three Turushka kings of Kashmir named Huska,
Juška and Kaniska (generally identified with Huviška,
Väsiśka and Kaniska II of the Āra inscription30 dated in
the year 41 of Kaniska’s era) as devout Buddhists.31

Buddhism also flourished during the rule of the Imperial
Guptas, who were generally devoted to the Vaiṣṇava

28 Watters, On Yuan Chwang’s Travels in India, Vol. I,
31 Stein, Kalhana’s Râjatarângini, I. 168-71.
religion. An inscription (c. 5th century A.D.)\textsuperscript{32} of King Nṛpamitra, a semi-independent feudatory of the Guptas, found at Mathurā, records the installation of an image by his Buddhist officer named Udāka or Udoka for the welfare of the king. The epigraph shows that, even in the 5th-century A.D., Buddhism received patronage of ruling families. Fa-hsien,\textsuperscript{33} the Chinese traveller who visited Mathurā, states that there were twenty monasteries having a total strength of about 3000 monks and the religion was very popular at that time.

The epigraphs\textsuperscript{34} of Mathurā provide us with some of the appellations attributed to the Buddha. He is referred to as Śākyamuni, Bhagavān Śākyamuni aprətimaḥ, Bhagavān Pitāmahaḥ Saṁmayasaṁbuddha svamata deva and Bhagavān Pitāmahaḥ svamatāviruddha. The epithet Bhagavān Pitāmahaḥ is also attributed to the Buddha in two other records,\textsuperscript{35} one from Deoriya (a small village about ten miles to the South-west of Allahabad) and the other from Nālandā. D. R. Sahni\textsuperscript{36} observed that in the Buddhist as well as Brāhmaṇical texts, pitāmaḥ is generally Brahman of the Hindu pantheon. N. G. Majumdar\textsuperscript{37} is of the opinion that the appellation is here applied to Ādi-Buddha who occupies an important position in the Buddhist pantheon almost analogous to that of Brahman. The term Svamata deva is explained by Sahni\textsuperscript{38} as ‘her favourite deity’. Lüders\textsuperscript{39} interprets it as ‘the god

\textsuperscript{32} EI, Vol. XXXIV, p. 13.
\textsuperscript{33} Giles, Fa-hsien, 1956, p. 20.
\textsuperscript{34} Lüders, Math. Ins., pp. 64, 117, 206; Sircar, Sel. Ins., Vol. I, p. 115; EI, Vol. XXXVII, p. 152.
\textsuperscript{35} Lüders’ List, No. 910; EI, Vol. XXI, p. 99.
\textsuperscript{36} EI, Vol. XIX, p. 96.
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid., Vol. XXI, p. 100, note 5.
\textsuperscript{38} Ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 97.
\textsuperscript{39} Lüders, Math. Ins., p. 119.
who holds his own tenets' and the appellation *Svamatāviruddha* as 'one who was never refuted in respect of his tenets'. The epithet *Svamatāviruddha* assigned to the Buddha is traced also in a dated record⁴⁰ of the reign of Kumāragupta discovered at Mankuwar near Allahabad. Lüders further states that the title *deva* attributed to the Buddha is unique but not an innovation; for, the epithets *Mahādeva* and *Devātideva* are applied to Buddha in the Bharhut inscriptions⁴¹ and the *Mahāvyutpatti*⁴² respectively.

A Buddhist image inscription⁴³ of Huviṣka's time, dated in the year 33, refers to a nun named Buddhhamitrā and a monk named Bala, both of whom enjoyed the designation *traipurītaka*. The name of the said monk is found also in some Kuṭāṇa records⁴⁴ discovered at Sārnāth and Set-Mahet and the nun is also known from two other Kuṭāṇa records⁴⁵ from Kosam and Sārnāth. The Tripitaka is the Buddhist canonical literature consisting of the three *Piṭakas* or Baskets, viz., *Vinaya Piṭaka*, *Sutta Piṭaka* and *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* in several languages. The Buddha did not leave behind him any written sermons. After his death, his disciples collected his teachings and the rules of conduct prescribed by him. The *Vinaya Piṭaka* meaning Basket of discipline is a literature of the rules and regulations for monastic life, while the *Sutta Piṭaka* or the Basket of discourses and the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* or the Basket of metaphysics contain the religious principles as preached by the Buddha and the metaphysical principles.

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⁴¹ Lüders' List, Nos. 881, 902.

⁴² *Mahāvyutpatti* (Bib. Bud.), 1.16.


underlying the doctrine respectively. The inscription referred to above suggests that some monks and nuns of the period under study were well versed in the religious texts and were called traiṣṭika just as some Brāhmaṇas were called caturvedin in recognition of their proficiency in the four Vedas.

The words caturvidyā, cāturvidyā, cāturvaidyā, caturveda, caturvedin are Brāhmaṇical terms and generally attributed to one who is well versed in the four Vedas. A Kuśāṇa inscription at Mathurā applies the epithet caturvidya to the monk Buddhīśreṣṭha, a preacher who made some gifts to the cātuddisa Saṅgha. Lüders tentatively suggests the reading caturvidya and states that it was used by the Buddhists probably in imitation of the similar Brāhmaṇical terms to indicate proficiency in the four Āgamas of the Buddhist canon, e.g., Dirgha, Madhyama, Saṁyukta and Ekottara.

The practice of meditation (padhānam) is the essential part of the daily routine of the monks and nuns. This has its fourfold factors, viz. Saṁvarapadhānam (exertion consisting of the restraint of one’s senses), pahānapadhānam (exertion consisting of the abandonment of sinful thoughts), bhāvanapadhānam (exertion consisting of the practice of meditation) and anurakkhaṇapadhānam (exertion consisting of the guarding of one’s character). The word prāhaṇika or prāhāṇika is found in a Mathurā epigraph belonging to the Kuśāṇa period. It

48 Lüders, Math. Ins., p. 69.
49 Loc.cit.
50 Lüders, Math. Ins., p. 70.
52 Lüders, Math. Ins., p. 82 and note 6.
records the gift of a pillar-base by the monks Šuriya and Buddharakṣīta, who practised meditation (prāhaṇikānāṁ) for bestowing of health on all the fellow meditators. The Sanskrit form of prāhaṇika or prāhaṇika is prādhamika, prahāna being an Eastern Prakrit derivation.\(^5\)

The word arhat is traced in two pre-Kuṣāṇa inscriptions\(^6\) of Mathurā. The conception of the Arhat pertains to Hinayāna Buddhism according to which a man, by following the Eight-fold path dictated by the Buddha, can acquire supreme knowledge and attain Arhathood, but not Buddhahood. An Arhat has no more birth and obtains Nirvāṇa.\(^7\) But later on, in Mahāyāna Buddhism, this conception was considerably reoriented, the new idea being that a man, by practising austerities, can attain Bodhisattvahood and then Buddhahood. As a Bodhisattva, his aim is the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings and not his own salvation as in the case of the Arhats. Though the Mahāyāna Buddhism seems to have assumed considerable dimension in the Fourth Buddhist council during the time of Kaṇiṣṭha, its origin may be traced to a much earlier period.

The donative Buddhist inscriptions of Mathurā bear, in many respects, a close resemblance with Mahāyānist benedictory records. The following are the purpose behind such inscriptions:

(i) the installation of the image of the Bodhisattva or the Buddha;

(ii) the worship of all the Buddhas;

(iii) the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings and

(iv) the acquisition of supreme knowledge of sentient beings.

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Besides, in a Kuṣāṇa record, the erection of an image of the Buddha is mentioned as a means for the attainment of Nirvāṇa by a teacher named Saṅghadāsa, as well as the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings. The epigraph thus hints at the idea of Nirvāṇa and its attainment as held by the Mahāyāna Buddhists.

The name of several Buddhist monasteries are mentioned in the epigraphs of Mathurā. These are the Prāvariṣṭa-vihāra, Cutaka-vihāra, Śrī-vihāra, Suvarṇakāra-vihāra, Sakka-vihāra, Veṇḍa-vihāra, Koṣṭikiya-vihāra, Rośika-vihāra and Guha-vihāra. The reference to Cātuddisa Saṅgha occurs in two Mathurā records, i.e., the lion-capital records and the Jamālpur mount pillar-base inscription. Cātuddisa Saṅgha (the universal congregation of bhikkhus) is used in connection with a monastery where the monks of the four quarters, irrespective of their adherence to a particular sect, could reside.

The expressions ‘adoration to all the Buddhas’, ‘adoration to the Dharma’ and ‘adoration to the Saṅgha’ in the lion-capital records remind us of the fact that the Buddhist monks, nuns and lay-disciples, had their refuge in the triratna, viz. Buddha (founder), Dharma (his principles) and Saṅgha (the monastic order).

The images of the Buddha and Bodhisattva found at Mathurā would suffice to indicate that during the time of the Kuṣāṇas and Guptas, the region became one of the most prolific centres of art. Kanīśka was not only a supporter of the Buddhist religion but of art as well. The statues are generally of two types, standing (sthānaka) and

56 Lüders, Math. Ins., pp. 64-65.
seated (āsana). In the Kuśāṇa period, the head of the images is commonly shaven; but it is, in the Gupta age, represented with curly hair along with the usṇīṣa (head-dress). The hands of the statues were in various postures (mudrā), viz. dhyāna, abhayā, bhūmisparśa, dharmačakra-प्रवर्तन, etc.

The inscription⁶⁰ of Nṛpamitra mentions a reputed sculptor of Mathurā, named Dinna who flourished during the Gupta period. The image of the Buddha referred to in this record, bears the specimen of his skill in craftsmanship. His fame as a great artist, however, spread far beyond the Mathurā region. At Kasia, two statues of the 5th century A.D., one of the standing Buddha and the other a colossal figure of the dying Buddha were made by this famous sculptor, and his name is engraved on these images.⁶¹ This bears evidence to the pre-eminence of the Mathurā school of sculpture.

C. Jainism

In Mathurā, we come across a large number of small dedicatory inscriptions incised on the images of Jinas as well as on votive tablets, arches, etc. Some of the epigraphs are dated. Most of these come from the Kaṅkāli Tilā (mound), show that, in the first and second centuries of the Christian era, Jainism was in a flourishing condition in that region. However, the earliest Jaina inscription¹ recording the erection of an ornamental arch of the temple by a layman named Uttaradāsaka, the disciple of the ascetic Māgharakṣita, has been assigned to 150 B.C.² Another inscription³ of the Kuśāṇa period dated in the year 49 of Kaṇiṣka (Saka) era records the establishment of an image

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⁶¹ Ibid., Vol. XXXV, p. 200.
¹ Lüders' List, No. 93.
² Bühler in Academy, Vol. XXXIX, p. 373.
³ Lüders' List, No. 47.
of Arhat Nāndyāvarta at the Vodva stūpa, built by the gods (Vodva thupe deva-nirmite). The stūpa seems to have been so old that it was believed by the people to have been built by the gods. The Tirthakalpa or Rājaprasāda of Jinaprabha, a fourteenth century work based on ancient materials, narrates the construction and repair of the 'stūpa, built by the gods'. According to this work, the stūpa, originally made of gold and embellished with precious stones, was erected by the goddess Kuberā in honour of Supārśvanātha, the 7th Jina. Later on, at that time of Pārśvanātha, the 23rd Jina, the golden stūpa was surrounded by enclosure made of bricks, and a stone temple was built outside. Smith holds that the stūpa is probably 'the oldest known

4 Arhat Nāndyāvarta is, as translated by Führer (Progress Report of the Lucknow Museum, 1891, p. 16), 'The Arhat whose mark is the Nāndyāvarta symbol', that is to say, Aranātha, the 18th Tīrthaṅkara who had said symbol of cognisance. The reading Nāndyāvarta is accepted by scholars like Bühler (EI, Vol. II, p. 204), Smith (The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā, 1969, p. 12) and Lüders (List, No. 47). K. D. Bajpai (JUPHS, Vols. XXIV-V, p. 220), reads the word as munirsuvrata referring to the 20th Jina.

5 According to D. C. Sircar Deva-nirmita probably means 'built by the king' (Religion and Culture of the Jains, ed. Sircar, 1973, p. 36, note 4).


7 U. P. Shah (Studies in Jaina Art, 1955, p. 12 and note) is of the opinion that, since the beginning of the excavations at the Kaṅkāli Tīlā, not a single specimen exposed the name of Supārśvanātha as a popular Jina there, and there is reference to Pārśvanātha in an inscription (Lüders' List, No. 110) at Mathurā, which suggests that the stūpa was originally dedicated not to Supārśvanātha but probably to Pārśvanātha.

8 Smith, op.cit., p. 13.
building in India'. In this connection, mention may be made of the Vyavahārabhāṣya referring to a jewelled stūpa at Mathurā.

The inscriptions of Mathurā indicate the cult of the Jaina Tirthaṅkaras. Image of Rṣabha, the first of the Tirthaṅkaras, are mentioned in Kuśāṇa and Gupta records and testifies to the popularity of his worship in the age in question. Besides, four other Kuśāṇa inscriptions speak of the installation of the statues of the four Tirthaṅkaras, viz., Sambhavanātha (3rd), Śāntinātha (16th), Ariṣṭnemi (22nd) and Pārśvanātha (23rd). Of course, Mahāvīra, the last Jina, was much more popular, and inscriptions referring to the dedication of his image are numerous not only in the Kuśāṇa period when Jainism was in a prosperous condition in Mathurā, but in the preceding age also. Mahāvīra, more popularly called Vardhamāna, was the name given to him at birth.

The first twenty-two Tirthaṅkaras are considered to be mythical figures, and only the last two, viz., Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra, are regarded as historical personages. Mahāvīra is supposed to be the prophet and reformer, but not the originator of the creed. It is believed that Pārśvanātha preached the four vows, viz. ahiṃsā (non-injury), satya (truth), asteya (abstinence from stealing) and aparigraha (non-

9 V. 27-28.
10 Lüders' List, Nos. 26, 69a, 117, 121; Lüders' Math. Ins., p. 35. In a Kuśāṇa record (Math. Ins., p. 52) Lüders reads the name Maha [ṣa]-bha which he takes to be a mistake for Maharṣabha, i.e. Rṣabha (loc.cit.).
13 D. R. Bhandarkar Volume, ed. B. C. Law, 1940, p. 281; Lüders' List, Nos. 59, 94, 103.
attachment to worldly things). To the four, Mahāvīra added a fifth, *i.e.* brahmacarya (chastity). Further, while Pārvanātha’s followers used to wear white garment, Mahāvīra prescribed nudity to his disciples who were ascetics. The adherents of Pārvanātha and Mahāvīra are known as Śvetāmbara and Digambara respectively. The development of the two communities appears to be later. The difference between the two sects was more in the matter of conduct rather than in doctrine.

In several Mathurā records, the Jaina prophets are addressed as *Arhat*, *Jina*, *Siddha*, *Bhagavat*, all of which tend to show that they conquered their passions and become omniscient. To the Jainas, the 24 *Tīrthaṅkaras*, freed from the circles of births and deaths, are superior to all gods and are the highest objects of veneration.14 “When the venerable one had become an *Arhat* and *Jina*, he was a *kevalin*, omniscient and comprehending all objects, he knew all conditions of the world, of gods, men and demons.”15 It is interesting that the Jainas worshipped their prophets neither for the acquisition of some earthly possessions, nor for the spiritual bliss to be conferred by the saints, but only followed them to be purified and sanctified.16 In this connection, mention may be made of some phrases occurring in the inscriptions, which express the devotion of the Jainas to their prophets, *e.g.*, ‘adoration to the *Arhats*,’17 ‘adoration to the *Arhats*, the highest ones in the whole world’,18 ‘adoration to the *Siddhas*, to the *Arhats*,’19 ‘adoration to the

Arhat Vardhamāna, adoration to the Arhat Mahāvira, etc.

In the period under review, image-worship was very popular among the Jainas although worship of the Jina image was in vogue as early as the fourth century B.C. According to the Hāthigumpha inscription, a Jina statue which had been carried away from Kaliṅga to Magadha by some Nanda king, was taken back to Kaliṅga by king Khāravela of the Cedi clan. Besides, a nude torso, supposed to be a Jina figure, found at Lohānīpur in Patna, has been assigned to the Maurya period. It has been suggested that the worship of images was borrowed from the Brāhmaṇical Hindus first by the Jainas and later on by the Buddhists. However, in addition to a number of Mathurā images of the Tirthanākaras mentioned above, a few more images, on which the names of the Jinas are not mentioned, were also discovered. The said records, except the one dated in the year 113 of the Gupta era, belong to the Kuśāṇa period. Besides, some epigraphs of the Kuśāṇa age record the dedication of fourfold images (sarañṭobhadrikā pratimā) of the Jinas.

The practice of setting up āyāgapatas for the worship of Arhats is mentioned in the inscriptions. The word āyāga

25 Lüders' List, Nos. 22, 57, 75, 96; EI, Vol. II, p. 204;
26 Bhandarkar's List, No. 1268.
27 Lüders' List, Nos. 24-25, 37, 122; Math. Ins., p. 39.
28 Lüders' List, Nos. 94, 100, 103, 105, 107.
is supposed to be derived from the Sanskrit word āryaka meaning ‘honourable’ or ‘worthy of reverence’. The word has been translated as a ‘tablet of homage or worship’. It is an ornamental slab with the statue of a Jina or some other venerable objects at the centre. The slabs are usually of considerable artistic merit. Besides, the erection of śālā-śātās, āyāgasabhā, toraṇa, etc., in honour of the Arhats, is mentioned in inscriptions.

The words bhagavā Nemesa bhaga... (the divine Naigameṣa, the divine...) in archaic characters are engraved on a sculptural panel representing a seated male figure with goat’s head, and a male and some female figures standing, one of the latter with a child in her lap. As suggested by Bühler, Nemesa is mentioned as Hariṇegamesi in the Kalpasūtra, as Naigamesin in the Nemināthacarita and as Nejameṣa or Naigameya in other works. Sometimes he is figured with the head of a ram, or goat or antelope. He is connected with the procreation of children, and his representation in the inscribed panel, according to Bühler, illustrates a legend in the Kalpasūtra. The story is that Hariṇegamesi at the command of Indra, king of the gods, transferred the embryo of Mahāvīra from the womb of Devanandā, a Brāhmana woman, to that of Trīsalā, a Kṣatriya lady.

An inscription of the time of Mahākṣatrapa Śodāsa dated in the year 72 (15 A.D.) records that Amohini, a female lay-disciple of the Kautsa race, established a statue of an Āryavatī for the worship of the Arhats. Āryavatī, according to Bühler, was a royal lady who had some importance

31 Lüders’ List, Nos. 93, 102, 108.
33 Ibid., pp. 314-18.
35 Lüders’ List, No. 59.
36 Academy, Vol. XXXIX, p. 374.
in Jaina legends, U. P. Shah suggests that the lady can be identified with the mother of a Jina, probably Mahāvīra.

Another inscription incised on a large statue of an elephant surmounting the bell capital of a pillar records the erection of the image of Nandivīśāla by Rudradāsa, the son of Śivadāsa, for the worship of the Arhats. Scholars differ regarding the interpretation of the word Nandivīśāla. According to Cunningham, it refers to the elephant as the great Nandi. Bloch is of the opinion that the word is either a technical term of uncertain meaning or indicates the pillar which was ‘as big as Nandin’. Further, he says that the apellation Nandivīśāla and the donor’s and his father’s names in the record allude to the fact that ‘Jainism apparently already in those early times was as much mixed up with Śaivism as its great rival Buddhism’. Lüders thinks that the word Nandivīśāla ‘is the proper name of the elephant represented in his sculpture’ and does not accept Bloch’s theory about the mixing up of Buddhism and Jainism with Śaivism. In his opinion, Rudradāsa was probably a convert from Śaivism to Jainism.

The Jainas pay homage to a class of divinities called Vidyādevī. According to their tradition, these goddesses, headed by Sarasvatī, are sixteen in number. An epigraphic record dated in the year 54 of the Kaṇiṣṭha or Śaka era mentions the dedication of a statue of Sarasvatī by a Jaina lay-disciple. This is supposed to be the earliest image of Sarasvatī discovered so far.
Jainism like Buddhism is a monastic religion and its adherents are divided into ascetics and lay disciples. The Jainas have no specific regulations restricting women from becoming followers of this faith. A good number of names of female ascetics and lay disciples are mentioned in inscriptions. In this connection, mention may be made of the caturvarṇa-saṅgha (community of the four classes, viz. ascetics and lay followers of both sexes) referred to in an inscription of the Kuśāṇa period dated in the year 62 of the Kaṇīška or Šaka era.

The Jaina Kalpasūtra states that the monastic order was divided and subdivided into several gaṇas, kulas and śākhās. This is supported by the early inscriptions of Mathurā, which mention certain gaṇas, kulas and śākhās and also saṁbhogas. The gaṇas called Koṭṭiya, Vāraṇa and Ārya Odehikiya are mentioned in several records. Inscriptions of the Kuśāṇa age not only contain the earliest reference to Koṭṭiya gaṇa, but also mention it in a large number of cases. The Kulas mentioned as belonging to this group include Brahmādāsika, Sthāniya or Sthānikiya, Vātsaliya, and its different Śākhās likewise

44 Lüders' List, No. 57.
45 SBE, Vol. XXII, pp. 286-94. There are altogether nine gaṇas with their various kulas and śākhās.
46 Lüders' List, Nos. 18-19.
47 See Lüders' List, Nos. 17, 20, 22, 23a, 25, 27-29, 32, 36, 39, 45a, 47, 53-54, 56, 73, 75, 77, 84, 89c, 107f, 121-122, 124; EJ Vol. II, p. 210 mentioning this gaṇa belongs to the Gupta period.
48 Lüders' List, Nos. 18-20, 23a, 29, 32, 45a, 46, 121-22.
51 Lüders' List, Nos. 25, 107f.
52 Ibid., No. 73.
include Uccena-gari,\textsuperscript{53} \textit{Arvari},\textsuperscript{54} \textit{Veri},\textsuperscript{55} \textit{Vairi} or \textit{Vaira},\textsuperscript{56} \textit{Majhamā}\textsuperscript{57} and \textit{Vidyādhari}\.\textsuperscript{58} The Sāṃbhogas of \textit{Koṭṭiya-ganā} as mentioned in the epigraphs are \textit{Śrigha}\textsuperscript{59} and \textit{Śrika}\textsuperscript{60}.

The \textit{Koṭṭiya ganā} is found in the \textit{Kalpasūtra} as \textit{Kautika-ganā}.\textsuperscript{61} The founders of which were Susthita and Supratibuddha. In the Mathurā inscriptions of different dates, the following heads of the \textit{ganā}, styled \textit{Gaṅin}, are mentioned: \textit{Ārya} puśila, \textit{Ārya} pāla, Ja-mitra (?), \textit{Ārya} Māghahastin and \textit{Ārya} kharṇa.\textsuperscript{62}

Another \textit{ganā}, called \textit{Cāraṇa} in the \textit{Kalpasūtra}\textsuperscript{63} and stated to have been founded by \textit{Śrigupta}, is mentioned as \textit{Vāraṇa} in the inscriptions.\textsuperscript{64} Its \textit{kulas}, mentioned in inscri-

\textsuperscript{53} \textit{Ibid.}, Nos. 18-20, 23a, 29, 32, 45a, 46, 71, 77, 119, 121-22.
\textsuperscript{54} \textit{Ibid.}, Nos. 27, 36, 56.
\textsuperscript{55} \textit{Ibid.}, Nos. 28, 53.
\textsuperscript{57} Lüders' List, No. 73.
\textsuperscript{59} Lüders' List, Nos. 19, 27, 29, 53-54, 122.
\textsuperscript{60} \textit{Ibid.}, Nos. 28, 39 121. The \textit{Kalpasūtra} does not mention the Sāṃbhogas.

\textsuperscript{61} \textit{SBE}, Vol. XXII, p. 292. According to the \textit{Kalpa-sūtra}, this \textit{ganā} was divided into four \textit{kulas}, viz. \textit{Brahmaliptaka}, \textit{Vātsaliya}, \textit{Vāniya}, \textit{Prāśavāhanaka} and four \textit{sākhās}, viz. \textit{Uccena-gari}, \textit{Vidyādhari}, \textit{Vajri} and \textit{Madhyamikā} all of which are referred to in the inscriptions of Mathurā.
\textsuperscript{62} Lüders' List, Nos. 23a, 29, 53-54, 56.
\textsuperscript{63} \textit{SBE}, Vol. XXII, pp. 291-92
\textsuperscript{64} Lüders' List, Nos. 16, 31, 34, 37, 42, 45, 48, 50, 58, 59a, 113, 116-17. Reference to the \textit{Vāraṇa ganā} is found only in the Kuśāṇa inscriptions, the earliest of which (\textit{Ibid.}, No. 16) is dated in the Kañśika or Śaka year 4.
tions, are *Arya Hāṭṭakiya* or *Arya Hāṭṣiya*, *Nāḍika*, *Petivānika*, *Puṣyamitrīya*, *Ārya Kaniyasika*, *Ārya Cetiya*, and *Ārya Bhāyista*, while its sākhās are *Vajana gaṇa*, *Haritamālakaṅghī*, *Saṁkasiya* and *Saṁbhogas* are *Ārya śrīkiya*, *Āryaśrīka*, *Śrīya* and *Śrīgha*. According to the *Kalpaśūtra*, the said gaṇa consisted of seven kulas and four sākhās. Amongst the kulas known from inscriptions, *Ārya Hāṭṭakiya, Petivānika, Puṣyamitrīya, Ārya Kasiyaśīka*, and *Ārya Cetiya* correspond respectively to *Hāridraka, Pritidharmīka, Puṣyamitrīka, Kṛṣṇasakha* and *Ārya Cetaka* of the *Kalpaśūtra*. Amongst the sākhās mentioned in the *Kalpaśūtra*, except *Gavedhukā*, three others are known from the Mathurā.

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65 Lüders’ List, Nos. 16, 48.
66 Ibid., No. 116.
67 Ibid., No. 117.
68 Ibid., Nos. 31, 45, 107d.
69 Ibid., No. 34.
70 Ibid., No. 113.
71 Ibid., No. 42.
72 Ibid., No. 50; Lüders thinks it to be a mistake for *Ārya Kaniyasataḥ*.
73 Ibid., Nos. 16, 48, 59a, 107d, 116.
74 Ibid., No. 42.
75 Ibid., No. 50.
76 Ibid., No. 116.
77 Ibid., No. 59a.
78 Ibid., No. 48.
79 Ibid., No. 50.
80 SBE, Vol. XXII, pp. 291-92. The *Kulas* were *Vatsaliya, Pritidharmika, Hāridraka, Puṣyamitrīka, Mālyaka, Ārya Cetaka, Kṛṣṇasakha* and the *Sākhās* were *Haritamālakāri, Samkāksikā, Govedhukā, Vajranāgari*.
inscriptions. Arya Datta, Arya Nandika and Dinara were the heads of the Varaṇa ganā at different dates during the Kuśāṇa age.82

The ganā called Ārya odehikiya, which is the same as uddeka of Kalpasūtra,83 is mentioned with its divisions and subdivisions in the two Kuśāṇa records,84 dated in the Kaṇiṣka-śaka years 7 and 98 respectively. The Kulas of this ganā are Ārya Nāgabhutikiya and Paridhāsika while its sākhā is Petaputrikā. According to the Kalpasūtra,85 the ganā founded by Ajja Romaṇa is divided into six kulas and four sākhās. Ārya Devadatta and Ārya Buddhāṣri are known from the inscriptions to have occupied the heads of the ganā in the Kuśāṇa period.

Besides, two other Kuśāṇa inscriptions86 refer to one kula entitled Mehika (Maighika) which, according to the Kalpasūtra, belongs to the Vesavādika ganā.87 Thus the reference to the Mehika kula in the inscriptions points to the existence of the Vesavādika ganā in Mathurā. This ganā was divided into four kulas and subdivided into four sākhās, its pioneer being Kāmarddhī.88

The division of the church into several ganās, kulas, sākhās and also into saṁbhogas was a peculiarity of the Jainas and

82 Lüder’s List, Nos. 34, 37, 50.
84 Lüders’ List, Nos. 21, 76. According to Lüders, Ārya Odehikiya ganā is also known as Ārya Dehikiya.
85 Six kulas were Nāgabhūta, Somabhūta, Ullagacca, Hastilipta, Nāndika, Parīhāsaka and four sākhās were Udumbarikā, Māsāpūrikā, Matipatrikā, Purṇapatrikā (SBE, Vol. XXII, p. 290).
86 Lüders’ List, Nos. 24, 70.
88 Four kulas were Gaṇika, Maighika, Kāmarddhika, Indrapuraka and the four Sākhās were Sravastikā, Rājyapālikā, Antaraṇjikā, Kṣemaliptikā (loc.cit.).
was not found among other Indian religious sects. Gaṇa means ‘school’, kula ‘family’ and śākhā ‘branch’; but the actual meanings of the terms are doubtful. Jacobi suggests that gaṇa meaning ‘school’ is derived ‘from one teacher’, while kula indicates ‘succession of teachers in one line’, and śākhā ‘the lines which branch off from each teacher’. He further holds that the modern gaccha is the same as the ancient gaṇa.

In addition to the Gaṇins, the inscriptions record the names of several Vācakas (Preachers) of the Jaina community. That there was perhaps no restriction for a single person to hold the two positions simultaneously, is suggested by two Kuśāna records mentioning one person as both Gaṇin and Vācaka. Thus the Jaina church was a well organised community in the early centuries of the Christian era.

Inscriptions show that the followers of the Jaina creed belonged mostly to trading class. That the foreigners were sometimes converted to Jainism is evident from two inscriptions, the first of which records the dedication of an image of Mahāvīra by Okhārikā, Ujhatikā, Okhā, Śirikā and Śivadinā in the year 292 of the Parthian era, while the second mentions the setting up of an image of Vardhamāna by Okharikā, the daughter of Damitra and Dattā, the wife of a householder in the year 84 of the Śaka era corresponding

92 Lüders’ List, No. 50 states that Dinara was a great preacher as well as the head of the Varaṇa gaṇa, while in another record (ibid., No. 29) Ja-mitra (?) was at the same time the great preacher and the head of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa.
to 162 A.D. Lüders has pointed out that the said names are of foreign origin.

D. Worship of the Nāgas and Yakṣas

Several Mathūrā inscriptions belonging to the Kuśāṇa period and referring to the Nāga cult have been found. The Jamālpur mound stone slab inscription dated in the year 26 of the Kaṇiśka era corresponding to 104 A.D. records the installation of a stone-slab (ṣilāpāṭha) by some persons who are the sons of the actors of Mathūrā at the sthāna of Dadhi-karṇa, the lord of the Nāgas. Another inscription, dated in the year 77 of the same era corresponding to 155 A.D., records the erection of a pillar by Devila, the servant or priest at the shrine of Dadhi-karṇa. The name of Dadhi-karṇa is also engraved on the pedestal of a headless Nāga statue found in the Jamunā near Mathūrā. Thus the above epigraphs indicate not only the adoration of Dadhi-karṇanāga, who was a local Nāga deity, but also the existence of his temple at Mathūrā. As stated by Bühler, his name is found in the Hariśka (i.168.17) where he is invoked in the āhni-ka-mantra, and along with Nāgas he is mentioned in Hemācandra’s commentary on the Abhidhānacakāmaṇi (verse 1311) as has been noted by Lüders. An inscription discovered from the Rāl-Bhaḍār mound, dated in the year 8 of

94 D. R. Bhandarkar, Volume, pp. 283-84.
1 Lüders, Math. Ins., p. 62.
2 Lüders’ List, No. 63.
3 Vogel (Indian Serpent Lore, 1926, p. 248) suggests that the attendants of the Nāga temples (pūjārī or priest) were not generally Brāhmīns by caste, but even agriculturalists.
4 Lüders, Math. Ins., p. 127.
6 IA, Vol. XXXIII, p. 103.
Kaṇiṣka’s reign, records the establishment of a tank and a garden in honour of Bhagavat Bhūmināga for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings. Similarly, another inscription discovered at the village of Chaṛgāon (five miles to the south of Mathurā) records that two persons named Senahastin and Bhonḍaka installed the Nāga in their own tank desiring the deity’s pleasure.

Besides the epigraphic evidence, the popularity of the Nāga cult in Mathurā is known from legends as well as folklore. The Harivamśa speaks of the famous Kāliyanāga whose abode was in the Yamunā. Balarāma of the same region was widely adored as an incarnation of Anantanāga. The episode of Akrūra in the world of serpents is known from the Harivamśa and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. He is stated to have found the worship of Anantanāga in the nether region (rasātala) by other nāgas with Vāsuki as their head. Not only in the Mathurā area but in other places also, the Nāga cult was widely prevalent.

The worship of Nāgas is associated with that of Yakṣas, a semi-divine class, which was also popular in ancient India. The prevalence of the Yakṣa cult in the Mathurā region is known from the Parkham image inscription which records the setting up of a statue of the Holy one by some persons who were members of the Māṇibhadra congregation. Cunningham suggests that the image was that of a Yakṣa or attendant demi-god, who carried a chaouri over the right shoulder. Vogel identifies it with Kubera, the god of

8 Ibid., pp. 173-74.
10 cf. ibid., pp. 91-92.
wealth. Scholars, like O. C. Gangoly, Lüders and D. C. Sircar identify the statue with that of a yakṣa sometimes the popular yakṣa deity supposed to be Maṇibhadra. Cunningham assigns the image to the third century B.C. while Vogel and Lüders placed it to the second century B.C. Sircar suggests the second half of the first century B.C.

The name of yakṣa Maṇibhadra occurs in the Sāhyutta Nikāya. He is also mentioned along with other yakṣas in the Mahāmāyūri of the Pañcarakṣa. D. C. Sircar identifies him with the Nāga deity Maṇināga. On the strength of the Mahābhārata he states that Maṇibhadra or Maṇibhadra was regarded as the protector of the caravans and was greatly adored by the merchants of ancient India. In this connection, he compares the deity with Valituṇai-nāyaṇār (Sanskrit Mārgasahāyeśvara), the South Indian god who was worshipped by traders 'for the safe transport of their commodities'.

16 ASIR, Vol. XX, p. 41.
18 Lüders, Math. Ins., p. 179.
20 Sāhyutta Nikāya, Nālandā-Devanāgarī-Pāli Series, 1959, 10.4.5.
CHAPTER FOUR
ECONOMIC LIFE

A good deal of information is derived from the epigraphic data regarding the economic life of the people of Mathurā. Inscriptions testify to the existence of some crafts and guilds in the region. The remarkable feature of the age was the spirit of co-operation which contributed immensely to the organisation of guilds indicating the economic progress and prosperity of the country.

Crafts were organised by persons belonging to various professions, e.g., jeweller (maṇīkāra), goldsmith (suvarṇakāra), worker-in-metal (lohitkāraka), iron-monger (lohavāṇiya), cotton-dealer (kārppāsika), cloak-maker (prāvārika), dyer (rayaka) and perfumer (gandhika). In addition to these craftsmen, inscriptions refer to other professional groups, such as ferrymen (prātārika), actor (śailālaka), dancer (nāṭaka), barber (nāpita) and prostitute (gaṇikā) who played an important role in the socio-economic life of the people.

A Jaina inscription dated in the year 20 of Kuśāna era (98 A.D.) discovered at the Kaṅkāli Tilā refers to a jeweller (māṇikara, mistake for maṇīkāra) whose daughter named Mitrā, the wife of Haggudeva and the daughter-in-law of an iron-monger (lohavāṇiya), installed a Jaina statue. The earliest reference to jewelers is noticed in the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā which mentions the workers in gold and manufacturers of jewellery in a list of human victims in the Puruṣamedha. The jewelers and goldsmiths satisfied the demand of the rich and wealthy section of the society.

Several inscriptions referring to goldsmiths are available in the region. A fragmentary inscription in Śuṅga

2. XXX. 7, 17.
characters mentions the name of a goldsmith (sovaṇika) Uttara, the son of Gaupti. Reference to another goldsmith named Dharmaka is found in a Kuśāṇa record dated in the year 17 of the Kuśāṇa era (95 A.D.), whose wife Nāgapriyā installed a Bodhisattva in her own Cāityakuti. A Jaina inscription from the Kaṅkāḷi Tilā records the setting up of tablets of homage (āyāgapātas) in a bhaṇḍīra by the goldsmith Nandīghoṣa. The other Jaina inscription from the Tilā dated in the year 93 of the same era corresponding to 171 A.D. records the setting up of a Jaina image by the daughter of the goldsmith (hairanyaka) Deva. In addition to the names of individual goldsmiths mentioned in the epigraphs, reference is also found to a sawaraṇakāra-vihāra which probably testifies to the existence of a group of goldsmiths. A Buddhist stone inscription in Śuṅga characters from Jamnā Bāgh records the gift of Ayala, the son of Indraśarman in the sawaraṇakāra-vihāra for the worship of all the Buddhas. The Vedic Saṁhitās state that wealthy men and women adorned themselves with varieties of golden ornaments. Besides, gold was largely used in ceremonies including sacrifices. The Lalitavistara mentions a goldsmith who was skilled in

5 Lüders’ List, No. 95.
6 Bühler (EI, Vol. I, p. 397) reads [telvaṇikena and considers it (ibid., p. 394) to be derived from the name of a nation or country called Trivarṇa or Traivarṇa. But according to Lüders (IA, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 150-51), the correct reading of the word is sovaṇikena (Skt. sawaraṇikena) ‘by the goldsmith’.
8 Lüders (List, No. 74) explains the term hairanyaka as ‘treasurer’.
9 Lüders, Math. Ins., p. 123.
11 Ed. Lesmann, Ch. VI (p. 63.12).
catering to the tastes of many. Aśvaghoṣa\textsuperscript{12} describes the process of purifying gold and the making of various kinds of ornaments.

Side by side with the crafts of jewellers and goldsmiths, the business of blacksmiths flourished considerably. The words lohavāniya, lohikākāraka are found in several Kuśāṇa epigraphs from Mathurā. Mention of an iron-monger in a Kuśāṇa record\textsuperscript{13} has already been cited above. A Jaina inscription\textsuperscript{14} from the Kaṇḍāli Ṭilā dated in the year 52 of the Kuśāṇa era (130 A.D.) records the dedication of an image by a worker-in-metal, the son of Śramaṇaka. Another Jaina image inscription\textsuperscript{15} from the same mound dated in the year 54 of the same era corresponding to 132 A.D. mentions the dedication of an image of Sarasvatī by a worker-in-metal named Gova, the son of Siha.

Mention is made of a cotton-dealer (kārppāsika) in a Jaina image inscription\textsuperscript{16} of the time of Huviṣka dated in the year 60 of the Śaka era, discovered from the Kaṇḍāli Ṭilā, which refers to a religious gift made by Dattā, the wife of a cotton-dealer in order to propitiate Bhagavān Rāshabha. In addition to the cotton-dealer, reference to cloak-makers (prāvārika) is noticed in several epigraphs. A Buddhist image inscription\textsuperscript{17} of the time of Kuṇiṣka dated in the year 14, found at the Dalpatki-Khīrki Mohalla in Mathurā city records the setting up of a statue of the Buddha by Saṅghilā, the wife of the cloak-maker Hastin. Another fragmentary record\textsuperscript{18} in Kuśāṇa characters from the Giridharpur Ṭilā mentions a cloak-maker whose name has not been restored.

\textsuperscript{12} Saundarananda, XVI. 65.
\textsuperscript{13} Lüders’ List, No. 29.
\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., No. 53.
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., No. 54.
\textsuperscript{16} Lüders, Math. Ins., pp. 46-47.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., pp. 116-17.
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., p. 164.
A stone inscription from the Maholi-Uspahar area of the Mathura District refers to the name of Aśvadeva, the son of the cloak-maker Bhavanandin. Besides, reference to their vihāra is noticed in a Buddhist image inscription dated in the year 22 of Kuśāṇa era (100 A.D.) found in the city of Mathura, which records the installation of the image of the Buddha in the vihāra in question.

The words Kārpāsa does not occur in the Vedic literature. The earliest reference to it is traced in the Ātvalīyana Śrauta Śūtra. Several varieties of cotton are mentioned in the Ācāraṅgasūtra. Besides, the Mahāvagga refers to kappāsika along with the other textile goods. In the ancient period, crafts like cloth-making, silk-weaving, etc., made a considerable progress. The development of textile industry owed a great deal to the luxurious habit of the people. The sculptures of Barhut, Sāñci, Sārnāth and Amarāvatī bear representations of various fashionable dresses. In the manufacture of Śaṭaka, a special kind of cloth, Mathura earned great celebrity. According to Manu, taxes were levied on the produce of the weavers who became wealthy in the textile trade. A Jaina image inscription bearing

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19 Ibid., pp. 169-70. On palaeographical considerations, Lüders (Ibid., p. 170) suggests that the record is not earlier than 400 A.D.
20 Ibid., p. 110.
21 Cf. N. C. Bandyopadhyay, op. cit., p. 152.
22 II. 5. 1. 4.
23 I. 23. 73; I. 69, 128.
25 Loc. cit.
26 Manusmṛti, VIII. 397.
27 Lüders' List, No. 23a. Regarding the findspot of the inscription, both R. D. Banerji and Lüders are different in opinions. According to Banerji (EI, Vol. X, pp. 110-11)
the date 12 of the Saka era is worthy of consideration. In this epigraph what Lüders reads doubtfully as \textit{vaddhaddhini}, the meaning of which is uncertain, R. D. Banerji reade \textit{vaddha[k]i[ni} meaning ‘carpenter’.

Reference to a dyer is traced in a Kaṅkālī Tilā Jaina image inscription dated in the year 25 of the Kuṣāṇa era. It records the dedication of a Jaina statue by the wife of the dyer (\textit{rayaginī}) named Jayabhaṭṭa. The dyer and washerman (\textit{rajakā}) were the same person who was different from the dye-manufacturer (\textit{rāṅgakāra}). Kauṭilya lays down certain terms of business of a washerman. He shall be fined 12 \textit{paṇas} for selling, mortgaging and letting out other’s clothes. Besides, he prescribes certain period after which the clothes should be delivered to the respective customers. In the event of failure, the charges demanded for cleansing are to be forfeited.

The perfumer (\textit{gandhika}) is mentioned in three Jaina image epigraphs of the Kuṣāṇa period found at the Kaṅkālī Tilā, one of which dated in the year 35 of the Kuṣāṇa era (113 A.D.) records the dedication of the statue of Vardhamāna by the perfumer Kumārabhaṭṭi while another record

it came from the ancient site of a Digambara temple at Rāmnagar in Rohilkhand, while, Lüders in disagreement with Banerji, included it in the List of Mathurā inscriptions (Lüders’ List, No. 23a; \textit{JRAS}, 1912, pp. 170-71).

28 Lüders’ List, No. 23a; \textit{JRAS}, 1912, pp. 171-73 and Note 12.
30 Lüders’ List, No. 32.
32 \textit{Arthaśāstra}, IV. 1 (Munich Ms.); cf. A. N. Bose, \textit{loc.cit.}, cf. also \textit{Manusmṛti}, VIII. 396.
33 Lüders’ List, No. 39.
34 \textit{Ibid.}, No. 68.
of Vāsudeva's reign dated in the year 83 refers to the installation of a Jaina image by Jinadāsi, the wife of a perfumer. The third one of Vāsudeva's reign dated in the year 98 records the setting up of a Jain statue by the daughter-in-law of the perfumer Varuṇa. Perfumery was a highly specialised art. Perfumes were greatly demanded by the people of the rich and fashionable society.

Reference to a ferryman (prātārika) is noticed in a Jaina image inscription of the reign of Kumāragupta dated in

35 Ibid., No. 76.
37 A. N. Bose, op. cit., pp. 242-43. K. D. Bajpai (JNSI, Vol. XXV, pt. I, pp. 19-20, pl. i.i.) has published two copper coins from Kauśāmbi bearing on the obverse the Brāhmī legend gadhikānān in Maurya characters. He interprets the legend as 'of the Gandhikas' (dealers in perfumes) and attributes these issues to the Gandhikas who played an important role to the economic life of the country. He further says that after the disintegration of the Maurya empire, the guilds of traders were empowered to issue coins in some parts of the country. His view has been endorsed by S. Bandyopadhyaya (ibid., Vol. XXVIII, pt. II, pp. 153-56). R. S. Tripathi, on the other hand (ibid., Vol. XXVII, pp. 84-85) reads the legend as Gadhikana and interprets it as 'of the Gādhikas'. He attributes these issues to the Gādhī clan that, according to him, might have assumed power temporarily in the 3rd-2nd century B.C. in the region between Kanauj and Kauśāmbī.

38 EI, Vol. II, p. 210. Bühler (ibid., pp. 210-11, note 28) translates prātārika as 'ferry man'. A spurious Kharoṣṭhī inscription (ibid., Vol. XIX, pp. 205-09) dated in the year 40 of the Kuśāna era (118 A.D.) found at the village of Rawal near Mathurā records the digging up of a well at the Śālā ferry station as the gift of the ferry-village associates. It is interesting to note that the epigraph refers to a village which was inhabited by a group of ferrymen.
the year 113 (432 A.D.) discovered at the Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā. It records the erection of a Jaina image by the wife of the ferryman Grahamitrapālita.

Mention of some actors (ṭailātakas) it noticed in a stone inscription\(^{39}\) of the year 26 of the Kuśāṇa era (104 A.D.) from the Jamālpur mound. It records the setting up of a stone slab at the shrine of the Nāga named Dadhikarnṇa by some persons who were the sons of the actors of Mathurā.

A Jaina record\(^{40}\) discovered at the Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā speaks of the erection of a tablet of homage (āyāgaṭa) by Śivayaśā, the wife of the dancer (naṭaka) Phaguyaśa.

Reference to a courtesan (gaṇikā) is found in a Jaina stone slab inscription\(^{41}\) in Kuśāṇa characters which records the construction of a shrine, a hall of homage, a reservoir and stone-slabs for the worship of the Arhats by a courtesan named Nādā, the daughter of the courtesan Daṁdā.

Besides, a stone slab inscription\(^{42}\) in Kṣatrapa characters refers to the name of the rājanāpīta Jāḍa. V. S. Agrawala\(^{43}\) explains the term rājanāpīta in the same of ‘the chief of barbers’. But Lüders\(^{44}\) takes it as the king’s barber.

All these craftsmen and professional groups discussed above are figured as donors which testifies to the fact that their crafts were in a flourishing condition.

Not only the crafts but the guilds of the craftsmen also flourished considerably in the region. The Punyaśālā pillar inscription\(^{45}\) of Huviśka’s reign dated in the year 28.

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mentions two guilds (śrenis),⁴⁶ the name of the first is broken away,⁴⁷ and the second is samitakara-śreni (flour makers' guild). A permanent deposit of 550 Purāṇa coin was made to each of the two guilds by some vakanaṇapati so that from the interest of the total sum of money, a Punyaśāla (free feeding house) was endowed to feed one hundred Brāhmaṇas every month and to distribute every day some necessary articles of food to the hungry and thirsty. The existence of another guild named mālakā[ranīkāya] (a guild of florists) is known from a fragmentary Maurya inscription⁴⁸ of the latter half of the 7th century A.D. which probably states that the Maurya king Diṇḍirāja deposited permanently a good sum of money with a guild of florists for the supply of garlands regularly for adorning the head of the deity Śauri (i.e. Viṣṇu) whom he worshipped.

⁴⁶ According to K. K. Thaplyal (JNSI, Vol. XXX, pp. 133-50), śreni and nigama refer to guilds of two different types, the first being formed by persons of one or more communities having the same profession, and the second by persons following various crafts or merchants dealing in various commodities. In disagreement with Thaplyal, D. C. Sircar (Indian Museum Bulletin, Vol. IV, No. 2, pp. 7-9) suggests that the nigama or nigama-sabhā denotes an administrative board of the Pañcāyat type headed by the Śreṣṭhin. The Nagarā-śreṣṭhin (the chief banker) assisted by the Sārthavāha (the merchant), Pratham写作-kuṭika (the chief artisan), Prathamakāyastha (the chief of the scribes) and others are known from Bengal records of the Gupta age to have formed similar administrative boards. Sircar compares such boards with the Cauthia of mediaeval Rajasthan headed by the Nagarsēth aided by others. He has tried to show that the nigama or nigama-sabhā had some sort of jurisdiction over the śrenis.

⁴⁷ The last two syllables of the name have been read by scholars as [r]āka.

⁴⁸ EI, Vol. XXXII, p. 211.
Guilds occupied an important position in early Indian economy. The prosperity of economic life is indicated by the successful guild organisation in which the individual craftsmen find an opportunity of developing their skill and ingenuity. Frequenty references to guilds are found not only in the epigraphs, but also in the literature, both Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical. The Jātakas⁴⁹ speak of the existence of ‘the eighteen’ guilds. This is a conventional number; for, in practice, we get a considerably larger number and there is no doubt about the wide spread nature of the organisation.⁵⁰ However, it appears from the description of each guild that craftsmen of a locality following different professions formed different guilds. The Dharmasastras indicate the impotence of guilds which were invested by the state with certain powers to frame rules and regulations for themselves.⁵¹ The guilds also possessed some executive and judicial authority. By virtue of his position, the headman of a guild (ṣreṣṭhin) reserved the right to arbitrate between members and represent the guild at the royal court.⁵² Scattered references to guilds in the Arthaśāstra clearly point to their powers and influence.⁵³ Guilds maintained their own armies both for defensive and offensive purposes.⁵⁴

The Dharmasastras (2nd century B.C. to 3rd century A.D.) show how the state provided guarantee and assistance for the fullfledged development of the guilds. Manu⁵⁵ lays down certain usages of the guilds (ṣreṇi-dharma) as having the force of law. In some cases, when the exigency of the situation so demanded, the king interferes in the affairs of the

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⁵⁰ R. C. Majumdar, Corporate Life in Ancient India, 1969, pp. 15-17.
⁵¹ Gautama Dharmasūtra, 11. 21.
⁵² R. C. Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 22-23.
⁵³ Ibid., pp. 23-25.
⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 25-28.
⁵⁵ Manusmṛti, VIII. 41.
guilds. Inscriptions of our period testifies to the fact that the guild received deposits of public money and paid regular interest, the rate of which fluctuated from one guild to another. Not only money, but endowment of land was also received by the guilds. It appears that the ancient guilds performed some of the functions of modern banks. In addition to the professional functions, the guilds used to undertake work of social utility. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the members of guilds enjoyed complete freedom in respect of immigration according to the exigency of the economic requirements.


57 Lüders’ List, No. 1162, 1165; EI, Vol. VIII, pp. 82-83, 88-89; Vol. XXXV, p. 5. The Nāšik cave inscription (EI, Vol. VIII, pp. 82-83) of the time of Nahapāna dated in the year 42 of the Śaka era (120 A.D.) records that Uṣava-dāta deposited 3000 kārṣāpaṇas to two guilds of weavers, the rate of interest being one per cent per month in one guild and .75 per cent per month in the other.

58 Lüders’ List, No. 1162.

59 The Junnar Buddhist cave inscription (Lüders’ List, No. 1180) refers to a guild of corn-dealers, which made an endowment of a seven-celled (satagabhā) cave and a sīstern (podhi). Again, the Mandasor record (Fleet, op. cit., pp. 81-84) of Kumāragupta I and Bandhuvarman mentions the construction and repair of a magnificent temple of the sun by a guild of silk-weavers.

60 The Mandasor inscription (Fleet, op. cit., pp. 81-84) of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman states that a guild of silk-weavers migrated from Lāṭa (on the Lower Narmadā) to Daśapura (Mandasor). Some of its members changed their vocation of weaving to other professions, but that did not affect the internal cohesion and corporate spirit of the guild. The Indore c.p. inscription (ibid., pp. 70-71) of
The term śreṣṭhin occurs in two Kuṣāṇa epigraphs discovered at the Kaṅkālī Tīlā. The first of them dated in the year 15 of the Kuṣāṇa era records the dedication of a Jaina statue by Kumāramitra, the wife of the banker Veṇī, while the other of Huviṣka’s reign dated in the year 38 mentions the setting up of the elephant Nandivisāla by the banker Rudradāsa, the son of the banker Śivadāsa for the worship of the Arhats. Inscriptions discovered in other regions also record the valuable gifts made by the merchants, their wives and families in favour of religious establishments. The donations made by them indicate their prosperity.

The term śreṣṭhin denotes ‘a banker or merchant or the foreman of a guild’. He is sometimes mentioned in the list of king’s officials and subordinates addressed by the king while making a grant. He is also referred to as representative of the banker class in the council of the local administrators of a town. The earliest reference to śreṣṭhin occurs in the Vedic literature where the word denotes ‘the headman of a guild’. In later literature, he is represented to have enjoyed a special position among the members of the mercantile community.

Another class of traders referred to in the inscriptions discovered in the Mathurā region is Sārthavāha (caravan merchants) who carried his merchandise in far off lands. An inscription found at the Kaṅkālī Tīlā records the installa-

Skandagupta mentions the guild of oil-men who used to move from one place to another.

61 Lüders’ List, No. 24.
62 Ibid., No. 41.
66 Lüders’ List, No. 30.
tion of a Jaina image by Dharmasomā, the wife of a caravan leader. Another Buddhist image inscription from Mathurā dated in the year 4 (82 A.D.) of Kañīśka's reign mentions the caravan merchant Bhavaśūri whose wife set up a statue of Bodhisattva. Reference to some merchants (vyavahārins) is noticed in the Jamālpur mound stone slab inscription in Gupta characters which records the putting up of a cooking stone of the Kakāṭikas in their vihāra by the commissioners of the community and some merchants. Besides, a Buddhist image inscription in Kuśāna characters refers to the trader (vaṇīk) Dharmakāśa, whose wife set up a Bodhisattva image in the sanctuary of her own caitya for the acceptance of the Dharmaguptika teachers.

The caravan traders used to travel on land from one region to another only in groups in order to avoid the danger of being robbed off by the forest tribes or dacoits. It was the duty of the state to protect the caravans within its jurisdiction and in lieu thereof received from the traders certain road-cess called vartani. Their safe journey depended entirely on their leader who is required to be clever, sagacious and well-acquainted with the different routes.

A Buddhist image inscription of Vāsudeva's reign discovered at Pālikheṛa, 4 miles from Mathurā, dated in the year 64 or 67 of the Śaka era records the installation of a Buddha image in a shrine by Guhasena who belonged to a family of kuṭumbikas.

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68 Ibid., p. 101.
69 JUPHS, Vol. XII, pp. 24-25.
70 Fick, op.cit., pp. 272-74.
71 Arthaśāstra, 2.21. 24-26.
73 EI, Vol. XXX, pp. 181-84.
74 D. C. Sircar suggests that Kuṭumbikas are agriculturallist householders (EI, Vol. XXX, p. 184).
Reference to a class of silver coins called Purāṇa is found in the Punyaśālā pillar inscription⁷⁵ which mentions 1100 purāṇas deposited perpetually in two guilds at a fixed rate of interest. According to Manu,⁷⁶ two krṣṇalas of silver are equal to one Māṣaka of silver and sixteen of such Māṣakas make one Dharaṇa or Purāṇa. Thus Purāṇa also called Dharaṇa weighed 32 Ratis. Sometimes Purāṇa was also called Kārṇāpana.⁷⁷

The Punyaśālā pillar inscription mentions different weights, such as Ādhaka and Prastha. Ādhaka is equal to 264 handfuls and is one-fourth of a droṇa which is 16 to 20 seers according to Bengali authors.⁷⁸ Prastha is often regarded as one-sixteenth of a droṇa⁷⁹ and one-fourth of an Ādhaka.⁸⁰ But the above terms indicated measures in different areas and ages. Ghaṭaka (jar) and Mallaka (bowl) found in the records, were also used as measures.

Most of the donations and dedications, as known from the inscriptions, were made by the ordinary people which bear testimony to the fact that the people of the region were economically well off.

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⁷⁶ Manusmṛti, VIII. 135-36; cf. Viṣṇusmṛti, IV. 11-12.
⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 257.
CHAPTER FIVE

SOCIAL LIFE

The epigraphs of Mathurā throw a considerable light on different aspects of social life which are rich in contents and comprehensive in outlook. The people of India even under the alien rule of the Yavanas, Śakas and the Kuśāṇas did not lose their cultural heritage and followed their age-old social customs, etc. The varṇāśrama-dharma and the realisation of caturvarga which constituted the key-note of the social organisation of ancient India, were the characteristics of social life of the people of Mathurā during the period in question.

The society of Mathurā, to begin with, was primarily divided into four varṇas and subdivided into several castes. A yūpa inscription\(^1\) of the reign of Vāsiṣṭha, dated in the year 24 of the Kuśāṇa or Śaka era, discovered from the bed of the Jamunā river at Īsāpur, records that Droṇāla, the son of Rudrila, a Brāhmaṇa of the Bhāradvāja gotra and of the Māṇachandogya school, performed a sacrifice lasting for twelve days and erected a sacrificial post (yūpa) to propitiate the three Fires. The earliest references to the word gotra having different meanings are to be traced in the Vedic literature. What is derived from their various interpretations is that the word indicates a group of men connected together.\(^2\) Primarily a Brāhmaṇic institution, the gotra was named after ancient sages from whom the Brāhmaṇas claimed their descent. The system of gotras with several subsections was well established in the period of the

Brāhmaṇas and the ancient Upaniṣads. The Brāhmaṇa Droṇala of our epigraph was of the Bhāradvāja-gotra named after the sage Bharadvāja and regarded as one of the seven or eight primeval gotras mentioned in the religious texts.

The epithet Māṇachandoga applied to the Brāhmaṇa shows that the Brāhmaṇas claimed to have belonged to some branch of the Vedas. Scholars are silent about the interpretation of Māṇa. The Chāndogya is one of the Brāhmaṇas of the ŚāmaVEDA, so that Droṇala was the follower of the Chāndogya branch of the ŚāmaVEDA. The inscription refers to the performance of sacrifice by Droṇala which testifies to his respectable position in the society. According to Manu and Yājñavalkya, the Brāhmaṇas occupied a prominent position over all other Varṇas. The ancient law-givers enumerate their manifold duties which include the study and teaching of the Vedas (adhyayana, adhyāpana), sacrificing for himself and for others (yajana, yājana), making and accepting gifts (dāna, pratigraha), etc. A Brāhmaṇa was forbidden to earn his livelihood by service which is regarded as 'a dog's occupation'.

Though the Brāhmaṇas, by virtue of their birth, occupied the first place in the order of castes, there are references to their deviations from the sacred duties. In spite of the rigidity of the rules prescribed by the early law-givers, Manu and Yājñavalkya feel it necessary to allow, according to the exigencies of situation, certain concessions to the Brāhmaṇas

3 Ibid., pp. 480-81.
4 Baudhāyanaśrautasūtra, Pravarādhyāya. 54 ; cf. A. L. Basham, The wonder that was India, 1954, p. 154.
5 Macdonell, A History of Sanskrit Literature, 1961, p. 212 ; Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, s.v.
6 Manusmṛti, 1. 96 ; x. 3.
7 Yājñavalkyasṛṇī, i. 198-99.
8 Manusmṛti, X. 75-76 ; Tājñavalkyasṛṇī, 1. 118.
such as the assumption of professions of the lower castes—particularly when reduced to distress.\(^{10}\) But the divergence from the code of discipline and ordained standard was viewed with discredit and rendered them to become ineligible for invitation to śrāddha. Reference to the deviation of Brāhmaṇas from the rules regarding the adoption of professions generally assigned to the other castes is traceable in a stone slab inscription\(^{11}\) discovered at the Jamālpur mound. The epigraph speaks of a tank, the western out of two tanks, a reservoir, a grove, a pillar and a stone slab which were constructed by a Brāhmaṇa of the Śegrava (Sanskrit Śaigrava)-gotra who was a royal officer serving in the post of treasurer (gaṇjavara)\(^{12}\) of Svāmin Mahākṣatrapa Soḍāsa. The Śaigrava-gotra is mentioned in the Gaṇapāṭha of Pāṇini\(^{13}\), and as H. Kern has shown, is traceable in Pali Siggava, the name of the patriarch who conferred the Upaniṣadā ordination to the great Tissa Moggaliputta\(^{14}\).

A fragmentary inscription\(^{15}\) found at the Tokri Țilā near the village of Māț refers to the reconstruction of a dilapidated temple by some official of Huviṣka for the increase of the longevity and strength of the king and the making of something for the Brāhmaṇas who were regular guests. Another Mathurā inscription\(^{16}\) of Huviṣka’s reign dated in the year 28 states that, at the puṇyaśāla of the Prācinikas, one hundred Brāhmaṇas were to be fed once a month on the 14th bright day for acquiring the religious merit by the king Huviṣka and others. These instances show that the Brāhmaṇas at the period enjoyed a respectable position.

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10 Manusmṛti, X. 80-94 ; Yājñavalkyasmṛti, iii. 35.
12 See Supra, Chapter on Administration.
13 II. IV. 67 ; IV. I. 104.
In the previous chapter on Political History, we have seen that the Yavanas, Śaka Kṣatrapas and the Kuśāṇas held sway over Mathurā for considerable period of time. The advent of these foreigners introduced a new element in the social order of India. Though they were often held responsible for generating a large-scale degeneration in the society, they could not upset the age-old social order and were ultimately merged into the indigenous social system. They adopted the Prakrit language and the Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmi scripts not only on their coins but also in their votive inscriptions, and some of the foreigners like the Kṣatrapas Śiśadatta, Śivaghoṣa and Taranaṅgāsa and the Kuśāṇa king Vāsudeva assumed Indian names. The ancient law-givers accepted them as Indians. According to Patañjali\(^\text{17}\), the Yavanas and the Śakas were anirvasita or pure Śūdra with the right to perform sacrifices. In the Manusmṛti, they are included in a list of Kṣatriya people who were gradually degraded to the level of Śūdras.\(^\text{18}\) Though there is an apparent discrepancy between the Mahābhāṣya and the Manusmṛti, observes D. C. Sircar\(^\text{19}\), the social position of the pure Śūdra and degraded Kṣatriya in the Indian social order appears to be the similar. According to the Gautama Dharmasūtra\(^\text{20}\), the Yavanas were sprung from the union of Śūdra female and a Kṣatriya male.

In addition to the foreigners like the Yavanas, Śakas and Kuśāṇas, references are found to several rulers holding sway over Mathurā whose names were ended in datta, mitra and gupta. Besides, we have several names of the common

\(\text{17}\) On Pāṇini, ii. 4. 10.
\(\text{18}\) Manusmṛti, X. 43-44.
\(\text{20}\) IV. 21.
people with the suffixes pāla\textsuperscript{21}, sena\textsuperscript{22}, mitra\textsuperscript{23}, ghoṣa\textsuperscript{24}, datta\textsuperscript{25}, etc. These suggest that there was a tendency to frame family names out of name-endings. But the process was just developing in the early centuries of the Christian era\textsuperscript{26}. Mention is made of some cases in which the uniformity of the name-ending is disturbed by a few names. An inscription\textsuperscript{27} in Kuśāṇa characters found from the Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā refers to a person named Grahasena whose grandsons were Śivasena, Devasena and Śivadeva. Another epigraph\textsuperscript{28} of the reign of Śoḍāsa dated in the year 72 discovered at the same place mentions a person named Pāla, whose sons’ names were Pālaghoṣa, Proṣṭhaghoṣa and Dhanaghoṣa.

Similarly, in course of time, there developed a tendency to distinguish persons belonging to different social grades by their names. According to Manu,\textsuperscript{29} an upapada suggestive of ṣarman (happiness), rakṣa (protection), puṣṭi (prosperity) and presya (service) should be added to the names of the four varṇas respectively. Later on, ṣarman or deva, varman or trāty, bhūti or datta and dāsa were suffixed to the personal names of the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras.

\textsuperscript{21} EI, Vol. II, p. 201.
\textsuperscript{24} Lüders, Math. Ins., p. 50; Sircar, Sel. Ins., Vol. I, p. 120.
\textsuperscript{25} Lüders, Math. Ins., pp. 152-53, 199.
\textsuperscript{26} Sircar, Ind. Ep., pp. 423-24; also in Prācyavidyā-Taraṅgini, ed. Sircar, 1969, pp. 200-01.
\textsuperscript{27} EI, Vol. II, p. 208.
\textsuperscript{28} Sircar, Sel. Ins., Vol. I, p. 120.
\textsuperscript{29} Manusmṛti, II. 31-32.
respectively in order to differentiate them.\textsuperscript{30} The epigraphs of Mathurā mention several persons bearing names ending with \textit{deva},\textsuperscript{31} \textit{śarman},\textsuperscript{32} \textit{varman},\textsuperscript{33} \textit{trāṭ},\textsuperscript{34} \textit{datta},\textsuperscript{35} and \textit{dāsa}.	extsuperscript{36}

Inscriptions of Mathurā testify to the existence of professional castes following various occupations which are generally assigned to the Vaiśyas. They were the banker (\textit{jreṣṭhin}),\textsuperscript{37} merchant (\textit{sārthavāha, vaṇik, vyavahārin})\textsuperscript{38} and agriculturalist (\textit{kutumbika})\textsuperscript{39} whose wives have been mentioned as making some donations and appear to have some influence in the socio-economic life. In the order of castes, the Vaiśyas occupied the third position. Repeating the old smṛti rule, Manu\textsuperscript{40} and Yājñavalkya\textsuperscript{41} state that the duty of the Vaiśyas includes the study of the Vedas, performance of sacrifices and making of gifts. The authorities also prescribe certain avocations for them, e.g. agriculture, cattle-rearing, money-lending and trade. Distinguished from the humbler caste of artisans, the Vaiśyas, by virtue

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\textsuperscript{30} Kane, \textit{op.cit.}, pp. 250-51; Sircar, \textit{Ind. Ep.}, pp. 422-23; also in \textit{Prācyavidyā T araṅgiṇi}, p. 200.


\textsuperscript{32} Lüders, \textit{Math. Ins.}, p. 123.

\textsuperscript{33} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 64-65, 113.

\textsuperscript{34} \textit{EI}, Vol. II, p. 208; Lüders, \textit{Math. Ins.}, pp. 45-46.

\textsuperscript{35} Lüders, \textit{Math. Ins.}, pp. 152-53, 199.


\textsuperscript{39} \textit{EI}, Vol. XXX, p. 184.

\textsuperscript{40} Manusmṛti, i. 90; viii. 410, 418; ix. 326-33; x. 79-80.

\textsuperscript{41} Yājñavalkya manusmṛti, 1. 119.
of their avocations, enjoyed a position in the society and were, sometimes, consulted by the king in some matters of importance.

The inscriptions of Mathurā mention a number of craftsmen, artisans and professional groups. They were the jeweller (mānikāra, mistake for maṇikāra), goldsmith (hairanyaka, sovanika, suvarṇakāra), iron-smith (lohiyakāraka), iron-monger (lohaśāla), cotton-dealer (kārппāsika), cloak-maker (prāvārika), dyer (rayaka), perfumer (gandhika), florist (maḷākāra), scribe (Kāyastha), actor (śailālaka), dancer (nataka), barber (nāpita), ferryman (prātārika) who, according to the ancient law-givers, were born either from the anuloma or the pratiloma marriage and played an important role in the society.

Maṇikāra, whose main occupation was to work on jewels like pearls, corals, conch-shells, etc., is mentioned in the uṣanasmṛti as the offspring of union between a Kṣatriya

42 Lüders' List, No. 29.
44 Lüders' List, Nos. 53-54.
45 Ibid., No. 29.
48 Lüders' List, No. 32.
49 Ibid., Nos. 39, 68, 76.
50 EI, Vol. XXXII, p. 211.
51 Ibid., Vol. XXXVII, pp. 152-53.
52 Lüders, Math. Ins., p. 62.
54 Lüders, Math. Ins., p. 111.
56 39-40.
male and a Vaiśya female. According to the Sūtasaṁhītā, he is the clandestine offspring of a Vaiśya male from a Vaiśya female.

The earliest references to some workers in different metals are found in the Vedic literature. Kārmāra or Kārmāra (iron-smith) is mentioned in the Rgveda, Atharvaśeda, Taṅtirīya Saṁhitā, Vājasaneyya Saṁhitā, Kāthaka Saṁhitā, etc. References to goldsmiths are found in the Vājasaneyya Saṁhitā, Taṅtirīya Brāhmaṇa, Viṣṇu Dharma Sūtra, etc. According to Patañjali, a blacksmith (ayaskāra) is a Śūdra by caste. The Vaiṅkhaṇa Saṁrta Sūtra speaks of the blacksmith, goldsmith, worker in bell-metal and the carpenter (takṣaka) as the offsprings of a Brāhmaṇa girl from a Cūcuka. Law-givers like Manu and Yājñavalkya regard both the goldsmith and blacksmith as equal in status with the Niṣāda.

Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya speaks of the gandhikas as belonging to the community of the Śūdras and treats them on the level of the Śakas and Yavanas who were, as we have noted above, regarded as pure Śūdra in the Indian social system. As regards nāpita, the Uśanassmṛti and Vaiṅkhaṇa Saṁrta Sūtra state that he is the offspring of the union between a Brāhmaṇa male and a Vaiśya female. The rajaka (washerman), one of the seven antyayās according to several

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57 Cf. Kane, op.cit., p. 90.
58 Rgveda, X. 72.2X. 112.2; Atharvaśeda, III. 5.6; Tai.S., IV. 4.2; Vāj. S., 16. 26-28; Kāthaka S., 17.13; cf. also Tai. Br., III. 4.1.
60 II. IV. 10.
61 X. 14.
62 Manuṣmṛti, IV. 215; Yājñavalkyaṁśmṛti, I. 163.
63 On Pāṇini, 11. 4. 10.
64 Uśanassmṛti, 32-34; Vaiṣkh., X. 12.
writers, is a scheduled caste in Bengal, Bihar and U.P. Regarding his origin, the authorities differ. According to the *Vaikhānasas śāstrasūtra* and *Śūtaśāṁhitā*, he is the offspring of a Pulkasa (or Vaideha) from a Brāhmaṇa woman, while Uśanas regards him as the offspring of a Pulkasa male from a Vaiśya female. In his *Mahābhāṣya*, Patañjali regards him as a Śūdra.

The *nāṭa* (dancer caste), one of the seven *antyujas*, is a scheduled caste in Bengal, Bihar, U.P. and the Punjab. He is regarded as different from *śālīṣa* (actor) who, though not a *nāṭa* by caste, earns his livelihood by playing on the stage. In the Buddhist Jātakas, reference is found to *nāṭakula*. Besides, the *Suruci Jātaka* speaks of *nāṭas* who are experts in jugglery. Kane thinks that this caste is represented by the modern Kolhātis or Bahurūpis of the Deccan. Literary works like the *Viśnudharmasūtra* and *Manusmṛti* distinguish *śālīṣa* from *raṅgāvatārin*. Āpastamba (9.32) speaks of *śālīṣa* in the same status with *raṅaka* and *vyādha*.

The term *Kāyastha* occurs neither in the ancient dharmasūtras of *Gautama*, Āpastamba, *Baudhāyana* or *Vasiṣṭha* nor in

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65 Kane, op.cit., p. 70 and note 170.
66 Ibid., p. 93.
67 *Vaikh.*, X. 15; cf. Kane, op.cit., p. 93.
68 Uśanas *smṛti*, 18.
69 *Pāṇini*, 11. 4.10.
70 Kane, op.cit., p. 70 and note 170.
71 Ibid., p. 84.
72 Loc.cit.
74 Ibid., pp. 293-94.
75 Kane, op.cit., p. 84.
77 Cf. Kane, op.cit., pp. 96-97.
the *Manusmṛti*. The earliest extant reference to the word is traced in a recently discovered Mathurā Buddhist image inscription\(^7\) of Vāsudeva's reign dated in the year 93 which records the installation of an image of the Buddha by a *Kāyastha* named Śrāmaṇa. Frequent reference to the word is found both in the epigraphic and literary records from the age of the Imperial Guptas\(^9\). Originally used in the sense of an officer, the *Kāyastha* gradually came to denote 'a professional class of scribes'\(^8\). According to medieval lexicons, observes D. C. Sircar\(^1\), the *Kāyastha* and *Karana* (cf. also *Paṇjikāraka* and *Kūtaṅki*) are synonymous, meaning 'the writer of documents'. But he was not merely a document-writer as is evident from the literary and epigraphic data. He was also an accountant and formidable oppressor of the people as a collector of revenue. He was engaged also in the service of the royal officers like a minister, a magistrate and a judge\(^2\). D. C. Sircar\(^3\) says that *Kāyastha* was an official 'who usually sat beside his master in discharging his duties and was often the chief intermediary between his master and the latter's clients or subjects'. In medieval times, the *Kāyasthas* were crystallised into a caste\(^4\). As a caste, they are mentioned in the *Uṣanas smṛti*, *Vedavyāsa smṛti*, etc\(^5\). According to the *Vedavyāsa smṛti*, they are śūdras like the barbers, potters and others.

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80 See *Supra*, the chapter on Administration.
85 *Uṣanas smṛti*, 35; *Vedavyāsa smṛti*, 1.10.11.
An inscription\(^86\) in Kṣatrapa characters discovered at the Caubārā mound records the gift of Kaṭhika, the servant in the royal harem (abhyaṁtaro-Pasthāyaka). It is difficult from this to say whether it points to the employment of eunuchs in royal harems and therefore to the rigid seclusion of their inmates.

Though anuloma and pratiloma forms of marriage leading to the formation of various castes were not uncommon in the ancient Indian society, no such reference is traced in the epigraphs of Mathurā. Marriage relationship between the same caste and among the members of different professional groups is known from an inscription\(^87\) dated in the year 20 of the Kuṣāṇa era (98 A.D.) discovered at the Kaṅkālī Tilā, which records the installation of a Jaina statue by a lady named Mitrā who was the daughter-in-law of iron monger and the daughter of a jeweller.

Inscriptions of Mathurā give an idea that donations of a religious kind were often made by women, particularly in the Kuṣāṇa period. Such women appear to have occupied a significant position in the society. The epigraphs supply us with information that the wife of a person is known in different names. The term bhāryā for wife is mentioned in an inscription\(^88\) of the Maurya period and in many other records of the time of the Śaka-kṣatrapas\(^89\) and Kuṣāṇas\(^90\); whereas we have the terms dharmapati

88 Lüders, Math. Ins., pp. 155-56. Lüders assigns the record to the third century B.C.
and kūṭumbinī in the Kuśāṇa and Gupta epigraphs. The word sahaçari occurs only in some Kuśāṇa records. The inscriptions recording gifts made jointly by several members of a family probably indicate a happy family-life. A girl after marriage must have lived in her husband's family. Often, however, she participated in the dedication made or pilgrimages undertaken by her parents or brothers. Sometimes the mother-in-law, father-in-law, husband, wife, sons and daughters are mentioned in votive documents. There are cases in which the names of the parents of girls are mentioned first and then those of her father-in-law, mother-in-law, husband, sons and daughters.

The use of metronymics in which the mother was mentioned by her gotra name was popular. We have, e.g., Vāchhiputra and Gotiputra in the Śuṅga records and Kauśikiputra, Gotiputra, Hārtiputra, Mogaliputra.


93 Lüders' List, Nos. 16, 18. Lüders translates it as 'the female companion'.

94 Lüders' List, Nos. 93, 125.
95 Lüders, Math. Ins., p. 198.
and Bhārgaviputra\textsuperscript{100} in the Śaka kṣatrapa epigraphs. Besides, a stone inscription\textsuperscript{101} discovered from the Delhi-Agra road side, near Caurāśi in the western outskirts of Mathurā city, mentions several metronymics like Gotiputra, Vāsiṣṭhiputra and Kotsiputra. R. C. Sharma,\textsuperscript{102} on palaeographical grounds, assigns the record to early Kuşāṇa period.

On a study of similar metronymics in early Indian records, D. C. Sircar\textsuperscript{103} has come to a few interesting conclusions. In the first place, they were intendent to distinguish a person from his many step-brothers, so that the custom of polygamy characterised the contemporary social life. Secondly, the very use of the mother's gotra in the metronymic would suggest that it was different from one's father's gotra. Sircar showed that sometimes the metronymic of the father (Gautamiputra) was different from that of the son (Vāsiṣṭhiputra), so that the said ladies of the Gautama and Vāsiṣṭha gotras apparently continued to use their paternal gotra without changing them to the gotra of their husbands' family at the time of their marriage. Sircar also pointed out that gotrāntara or the change of bride's gotra was not an essential feature of the marriage in such cases and that these marriages may have been of the Rākṣasa, Gāndharva and other forms in which gotrāntara did not take place. Mentioning one's name along with the metronymic was a fashion among different classes of people. In the pre-Kuşāṇa period, the donor often preferred to mention his mother’s gotra, though in the later period, the fashion of the use of

\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{100}] Lüders, Math. Ins., p. 195.
\item[\textsuperscript{101}] *J0I*, Vol. XXI, Sept.-Dec., 1971, Nos. 1-2, pp. 103-06.
\item[\textsuperscript{102}] *Ibid.*, p. 104.
\end{itemize}
metronymics lost its popularity and the donor liked to represent himself as the son of his father whose name was mentioned along with his own.

If the metronymics were used to distinguish one from his step-brothers as suggested by Sircar, then polygamy was not uncommon in the society, as said above. It was prevalent not only in the families of kings and high officials, but also among the ordinary people. This seems probable from references to several wives of a man especially of the richer section of the society. The word agramahiṣi meaning the first or chief queen in the lion-capital inscriptions hints to polygamy in the royal families. Bühler translates the term dharmapatnī occurring in several private records as ‘the first wife’ which may be taken to indicate the prevalence of polygamy.

Though there are a few scattered references to polyandry in early Indian literature, we find no evidence of it in the epigraphs of Mathurā.

The reference to the words ateura (Sanskrit antahpura) in the lion-capital inscriptions and abhyantaro in a railing

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104 Arthaśāstra, III. 2. 38-46; Manu, iii. 13; Tārā, 1.57; Viṣṇu, XXIV. 1-4.

105 Sircar, Sel. Ins., Vol. I, p. 114. In a Mathurā epigraph of the Gupta period (CH, Vol. III, p. 27) occurs the word mahādevī usually interpreted as ‘the chief queen’, i.e. the chief among several queens. But to Vogel (EI, Vol. XX, p. 32), it is ‘a title borne by the consort of a ruling chief’, and to Fleet (CH, Vol. III, p. 16, note 2) ‘a technical title of the wives of paramount sovereigns’. Sircar (Ind. Ep., p. 345) interprets it merely as ‘the queen’. He thinks that Mahādevī is a modification of Devī just as Mahārāja is of Rājan.


pillar inscription\textsuperscript{108} discovered from the Caubāra mound hint at the existence of the purdah system in the royal family.

In a few inscriptions, a girl mentions only her father’s name along with her own,\textsuperscript{109} while in most cases, a woman refers to her husband’s name along with her other relatives. In some other records, however, the woman refers to only her son’s name, but not the name of her husband.\textsuperscript{110} These cases probably illustrate the story of woman as living under the protection of her father, husband and sons in different parts of her life.

A large number of literary and epigraphic records make mention of the gaṇīkās who appear to have enjoyed some position in the society. Sometimes, the gaṇīkās were highly accomplished and educated ladies, skilled in the sixty-four arts. Courtesans with a high intellectual attainment, skill in the arts and a trained mind attained the position of gaṇīkā. A Kuṣāṇa inscription\textsuperscript{111} from Mathurā records the erection of a shrine for the Arhats, a hall of homage, a reservoir and stone-slabs for the worship of the Arhats by a gaṇīkā named Nādā who was the daughter of the gaṇīkā Daṁdā.

Some of the donations made by Buddhist and Jaina monks and nuns testify to the fact that they held a respectable position in the society. But the literary works\textsuperscript{112} bear examples that some of them were of questionable morals and their position in the society was degraded.

Epigraphic records of the region help us a great deal in forming an idea about the dress, ornaments as well as the

\textsuperscript{108} Lüders, Math. Ins., p. 57.
\textsuperscript{111} IA, Vol. XXXIII, p 153.
\textsuperscript{112} M Bloomfield in JAOS, Vol. XLIV, pp. 202-42.
refined taste of the people. Reference to cotton-dealers indicates that cotton fabrics were commonly used by the people. Besides, mention may be made of goldsmiths, jewellers and washermen who played an important part in the life of the people. Sculptures of the period bear representations of the use of ornaments by people of both sexes. Reference to the perfumers and garland-makers is also interesting in this connection since it signifies the people’s refined taste. The mention of professional actors and dancers shows that the people enjoyed dramatic performances, music, dancing, etc. It appears that the people of Mathurā enjoyed a healthy social life during the period in question.

The social life of the people was influenced by religious practices including gifts made to holy establishments. People were fond of naming their children with reference to the names of gods, goddesses and other divinities; e.g. Śivaraksīta, Śivatrāta, Nāgapriya, Nāgadatta, Nāgadāsa, Buddharaḵṣita, Buddhadāsa, Buddhaghoṣa etc. People, known from the epigraphs, were mostly disciples of the Buddhist or Jaina monks or nuns.
APPENDIX

A. THE ERAS IN USE IN MATHURĀ

Some of the inscriptions discovered at Mathurā are dated. The eras used in the records are four in number, viz. the Indo-Parthian era of 248-47 B.C., the Scytho-Parthian or Vikrama era of 58 B.C., the Kaniska or Saka era of 78 A.D. and the Gupta era of 319 A.D.

I. Parthian Era of 248-47 B.C.

A fragmentary inscription¹ found at the Giridharapur Tilā which records the gift made by the wife of a Balādhika, is dated in the year 270 of the Mahārāja.² V. S. Agrawala³ is of the opinion that the era used in the record is the Maurya era of 322 B.C. and, therefore, it belongs to 52 B.C. But there is no evidence of the existence of any Maurya era. Some scholars wrongly read the expression mukhiya-kālā (Sanskrit mukhya-kālā, 'the principal art') as muriya-kāla (Sanskrit Maurya-kālā, i.e. the Maurya era) in line 16 of the Hāthisgumpha inscription,⁴ and suggested the existence of an era introduced by Candragupta Maurya. Really, Candragupta Maurya is not known to have started an era. Thus, the existence of the Maurya era is Imagery.⁵ Lüders⁶ suggests that the epigraph is dated in the Parthian era of 248-47 B.C. which corresponds to 23 A.D.

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2 The name of the king is not mentioned in the inscription.
3 JUPHS, Vol. XII, p. 29.
6 D. R. Bhandarkar Volume, ed. B. C. Law, 1940, pp. 287-88
Another fragmentary inscription found at Kaūkāli Tilā which records the installation of an image of Mahāvīra in the temple of the Arhats by Okhārikā, Ujhatikā, Okhā, Śirikā and Śivadinā, is dated in the year 299 of an unnamed king who assumed the title Mahārāja Rājātirāja. Bühler states that the inscription refers to the reign of one of the Kuśāṇa rulers of the Kaṇiśka group. Its characters, according to him, bear a close resemblance to that of several votive inscriptions of the Kuśāṇas found at Mathurā. He suggests that the dates of the Kaṇiśka era are abbreviated by the omission of hundreds, i.e., years from 3 to 98 are equivalent to 203 to 298. He refers them and the date 299 to the same era which occurs in the old Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions with initial point in the first half of the 1st century B.C. Sten Konow endorsed the view of Bühler. Thus, the record, according to them, belongs to the time of Vāsudeva. R. D. Banerji, on the other hand, assigns it, on palæographical grounds, to the archaic period. According to him, the date 299 refers either to the Maurya era corresponding to 22 B.C. or to the Seleukid era of 312 B.C. corresponding to 13 B.C. Lüders, on palæographical considerations, places it to the period intervening between Śoḍāsa and Kaṇiśka. The era used in it, according to him, is the Parthian era of 248-47 B.C. and, therefore, the date 299 corresponds to 52 A.D.

7 Lüders’ List, No. 78.
9 The use of date with the omission of hundreds is doubtful (cf. Sircar, Ind. Ep., p. 250).
10 K. B. Pathak Commemoration Volume, 1934, pp. 265-68.
12 No reference to the Seleukid era is known from Indian records (cf. Ind. Ep., p. 281).
14 Ibid., pp. 288-89.
The following are his arguments in support of dating the two epigraphs (viz., the Giridharpur Ṭīlā record and the Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā Jaina stone inscription) in the Parthian era. The mode of mentioning the date without referring the personal name of the king but only the title, is the style parallel to Greek inscriptions dated in the Parthian era. Besides, some of the donors mentioned in both the inscriptions are foreigners. Sten Konow\(^1\) later on changed his opinion and supported Lüders' theory. D. C. Sircar\(^2\) also supports this view. The Parthian era was instituted to commemorate the establishment of the independent Parthian kingdom by Arsaces I in 248 or 247 B.C.\(^3\).

II. The Scytho-Parthian or Vikram era of 58 B.C.

A Jaina stone slab inscription\(^4\) of the time of Śoḍāsa which records the setting up of an image of an Āryavatī by Amohini, the wife of Pāla and a female lay disciple of the ascetics, along with her sons for the worship of the Arhats, is dated in the year 72.\(^5\) Opinions differ regarding the initial year of the era used in the record. Jayaswal\(^6\) assigns

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16 Sircar, Ind. Ep., p. 281.
17 Loc. cit.
18 Lüders' List, No. 59.
19 Rapson [CHI, Vol. I, 1968 (reprint), p. 519; also in Act. Or., Vol. XI (1933), pp. 260-64] and Jayaswal (JBORS, Vol. XVI, p. 245) read the first figure of the date as 40, and therefore, to them it is 42. Bühler (EI, Vol. II, p. 199) at first read 40 2, but later on, changed his opinion and accepts 72, (ibid., Vol. IV, p. 55 and note 2) as the correct reading of the date.
20 JBORS, Vol. XVI, pp. 245-46.
the date to the old Šaka era of 123 B.C.\textsuperscript{21} D. R. Bhandarkar\textsuperscript{22} is of the opinion that the date recorded in the inscription is to be referred to the Šaka era of 78 A.D. instituted by Vonones.\textsuperscript{23} Most of the scholars\textsuperscript{24} ascribe the date to the Vikrama era of 58 B.C.

Scholars differ regarding the origin of the era of 58 B.C. The theory of instituting the Vikrama era by Kaniska was once sponsored,\textsuperscript{25} but later on given up\textsuperscript{26} by Cunningham. His theory has been endorsed by scholars like Fleet, Barnett, Kennedy and others.\textsuperscript{27} According to them, the Kaniska group of kings ruled earlier than those of the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{21} The hypothesis of 123 B.C. as the initial year of the old Šaka era is based on no historical evidence. Some scholars advocate the introduction of several reckonings with a view to place the kings in a chronological order as suited the theories they wanted to propound. But a careful study of eras used in Indian epigraphs shows that the earliest extant historical reckonings in India were the Vikrama era of 58 B.C. which may be identified with the old Scytho-Parthian era and the Šaka era of 78 A.D. identified with Kaniska’s reckoning (cf. Ind. Ep., p. 248).
\item \textbf{22} JBBRAS, Vol. XX, pp. 283-93.
\item \textbf{23} The Šaka era of 78 A.D. does not appear to have been introduced by Vonones, but was probably identical with the reckoning of Kaniska. See infra.
\item \textbf{25} Cunningham in ASIR, Vol. II, pp. 67-68.
\item \textbf{26} Cunningham in NC, 1892, p. 44.
\item \textbf{27} Fleet in JRAS, 1913, pp. 913-20; Barnett in \textit{ibid.}, pp. 942-45; Kennedy in \textit{ibid.}, pp. 921-27.
\end{itemize}
Kadphises group. But their suggestion is a mere hypothesis; for, a careful study of the literary evidence and archaeological data does not support the theory.\textsuperscript{28} Moreover, excavations at Taxila show that the coins of the Kaṇiṣka group are found more in number than those of the Kadphises group in the upper strata,\textsuperscript{29} while in the lower stratum, the case is just the opposite.\textsuperscript{30} According to Marshall,\textsuperscript{31} the origin of the era of 58 B.C. was associated with Azes I. His theory is based on his interpretation of the date of the Taxila silver scroll inscription\textsuperscript{32} mentioning Sa 136 Ayasa Aṣaṣa maṣaṣa divaṣe 15 as ‘in the year 136 (of the era) of Azes’. His theory has been endorsed by Rapson.\textsuperscript{33} But there is no evidence in favour of the conjecture.\textsuperscript{34} Sten Konow\textsuperscript{35} is of the opinion that Vikramāditya, the ruler of Mālava, inaugurated the era of 58 B.C. in order to commemorate his victory over the Śakas. But his view appears to be untenable.\textsuperscript{36}

Regarding the origin of the era of 58 B.C., it has been suggested\textsuperscript{37} that the reckoning is of Parthian origin and it probably marks the foundation of a new kingdom in East Iran. Vonones, the earliest independent Parthian

\textsuperscript{28} See supra, Chapter on Political History.
\textsuperscript{30} \textit{Ibid.}, Vol. II, 1951, pp. 785-88, 792-93.
\textsuperscript{31} \textit{JRAS}, 1914, pp. 975-86.
\textsuperscript{32} Sircar, \textit{Sel. Ins.}, Vol. I, p. 133.
\textsuperscript{35} Sten Konow, \textit{op.cit.}, p. LXXXV.
\textsuperscript{36} Cf. Leeuw, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 54.
ruler of Drangiana has been supposed to be the originator of the era which was meant to ousted the use of the Imperial Parthian era of 248 or 247 B.C. As Vonones flourished sometime after the Parthian emperor Mithridates II (123-88 B.C.), as Sircar points out, it is not unreasonable to assume that he ascended the throne in 58 B.C. 38

According to Sircar, the Scytho-Parthian era of 58 B.C. started from the accession of Vonones about the middle of the first century B.C., and it is identical with the Vikrama-Saṁvat of 58 B.C. He points out that it was, at first, known as the Kṛta era and was prevalent in Rajasthan and Malwa where it was carried by the Mālavas from their original home in the Punjab. Sircar further suggests that later on, about the eighth century A.D., it was associated with the name of Vikramāditya who, after extirpating the Śakas of Western India enjoyed the epithet Śakāri and who was no other than the Gupta king Candragupta II. Thus, according to Sircar, the Scytho-Parthian era of 58 B.C. gradually came to be known as the Vikrama Saṁvat. 39

III. Śaka era of 78 A.D.

Most of the inscriptions of Kaṇiśka and his successors, as we have already seen, are dated. The dates mentioned in the epigraphs of Kaṇiśka I range from the year 340 to 23, of Vāsiśka from 24 to 28, of Huvikṣa from 28 to 60 and of

38 Loc.cit.
Vāsudeva from 64 or 67 to 98. It is, therefore, clear that the regnal reckoning of Kaniška I was continued by his successors. There is difference of opinion among scholars regarding the initial year of the era introduced by him. Fleet, Barnett, Kennedy and others advocate the view once held but later on given up by Cunningham that Kaniška started the era of 58 B.C. and the Kaniška group of kings preceded the Kadphises group. But the theory is not supported by literary or archaeological evidence. The priority of the Kaniška group goes against the Chinese annals which describe Kadphises I as the first Kuśāna king of the Ta-yueh-chi and Kadphises II as the first Kuśāna ruler who held sway over some interior districts of India. Again, the inclusion of Gandhāra within Kaniška’s dominion is known from the coins and inscriptions and also from the accounts of Hiuen-Tsang. But, in the second half of the 1st century B.C. Yin-mo-fu and not the Kuśānas ruled over the region as pointed out by Raychaudhuri on the basis of Chinese sources. Besides, a careful scrutiny of coins of the two groups of rulers also demonstrates the improbability of the theory of Fleet and his supporters. The coins of Kujula, which are only in copper and bronze, can not be placed between the extensive gold issues of

41 Fleet in JRAS, 1913, pp. 913-20; Barnett in ibid., pp. 942-45; Kennedy in ibid., pp. 921-27.
43 Cunningham in NC, 1892, p. 44.
44 Fan Yeh, Hou Han-Shu, Ssu-pu Pie-yao ed., Ch. 118, p. 9.
45 PHAI, 1972, p. 412.
Kaṇiṣṭha and Kadphises II.\textsuperscript{48} Again the Kadphises group of rulers used Kharoṣṭhī and Greek on their coin legends\textsuperscript{49} like the earlier foreign rulers, while the Kaṇiṣṭha group used only Greek.\textsuperscript{50} Varied reverse devices of the issues of Kaṇiṣṭha and Huviṣka are absent from the coins of Kadphises rulers. Moreover, excavations at Taxila show that the coins of the Kaṇiṣṭha group were found generally in the upper strata\textsuperscript{51} while that of the Kadphises group mostly in the lower strata\textsuperscript{52} of the earth.

According to R. C. Majumdar,\textsuperscript{53} Kaṇiṣṭha was the inaugurator of the Traikutṣaka-Kalacuri-Cedi era of 248 A.D., while R. G. Bhandarkar\textsuperscript{54} attributes the accession of Kaṇiṣṭha to 278 A.D. But the theory of assigning Kaṇiṣṭha to the third century A.D. is not accepted by scholars on several grounds. D. C. Sircar\textsuperscript{55} observes that palæography does not support the theories placing Kaṇiṣṭha in the first century B.C. or in the third century A.D., and it militates against the idea that Kaṇiṣṭha flourished more than a century after Rudradāman I (middle of the second century A.D.).\textsuperscript{56} The Kaṇiṣṭha group of rulers held their sway over Mathurā for about a century (from 3 to 98 of the Kuṭāṇḍa era). If we accept the accession of Kaṇiṣṭha in 248 A.D. or 278 A.D., it is difficult to reconcile the above dates

\begin{footnotes}
\item[49] Whitehead, \textit{op.cit.}, pp. 178-81, 183-84, pl. xvii.
\item[50] \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 186-93, pls. xvii, xviii.
\item[52] \textit{Ibid.}, Vol. II, 1951, pp. 785-88, 792-93.
\item[54] \textit{JBBRAS}, Vol. XX, pp. 385-86.
\item[56] Sircar in \textit{JAIH}, Vol. II, p. 132.
\end{footnotes}
with the rule of seven Nāga kings of Mathurā⁵⁷ between the Kuśāṇas and the Guptas, with the extirpitation of Nāgas by Samudragupta⁵⁸ (c. 335-76 A.D.) about the middle of the 4th century A.D., and with the date (61 G.E. = 380-81 A.D.) of Candragupta’s inscription⁵⁹ found at Mathurā. Besides, according to the Tibetan tradition,⁶⁰ Kaṇiṣka was a contemporary of king Vijayakīrti of Khotan, who belonged to the 2nd century A.D., and the Indian tradition⁶¹ represents Huviśka as a contemporary of the Buddhist teacher Nāgārjuna who flourished not later than the 2nd century A.D. According to the Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka, An-Shi-Kao (148-70 A.D.) translated the Mārga-bhūmisūtra by Saigaharakṣa who was a chaplain of Kaṇiṣka.⁶² Moreover, the Chinese evidence⁶³ places Po-t’iao (Vāsudeva) in 230 A.D.

Some scholars ascribe the accession of Kaṇiṣka to about the first half of the second century A.D. According to Marshall,⁶⁴ Kaṇiṣka ascended the throne in 128 A.D. Sten Konow changed his views repeatedly on the question. Once he took 134 to be the date of Kaṇiṣka’s accession.⁶⁵ Later on, he mentioned 128-29 A.D. as the starting point of Kaṇiṣka’s reckoning.⁶⁶ In 1947, he suggests the year 138

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⁶⁶ Sten Konow, *op.cit.*, pp. xcii-iv; also in *JIH*, Vol. XII, p. 44.
A.D. as the beginning of the era.\textsuperscript{67} Finally, he arrived at the conclusion that the Kaṇiṣka era was started in about the year 200 A.D.\textsuperscript{68} According to Smith, Kaṇiṣka ascended the throne in about 120 A.D.\textsuperscript{69} Ghirshman\textsuperscript{70} is of the opinion that 144 A.D. is the starting point of Kaṇiṣka’s reign. The following are the arguments in support of their theory. The Tibetan and Chinese sources speak of Kaṇiṣka who belonged to the 2nd century A.D. and Vāsudeva (Po-t’iao) to the third century A.D. (2) Yu-houan, the author of the Wei-lo dealing with the history of the Wei dynasty (220-64 A.D.), states that Ki-pin, Ta-hia, Kao-fu and T’ien-chou were subject to the Ta- yüeh-chi during the period of the three kingdoms (i.e. 221-77 A.D.).\textsuperscript{71}

But the following points may be raised in respect of the said theory. A Kuśāṇa king named Kaṇiṣka is known from the Āra inscription\textsuperscript{72} of the year 41, who, if we accept Kaṇiṣka’s date of accession in 78 A.D., is placed in 119 A.D. (2) Coins\textsuperscript{73} disclose the name of a Kuśāṇa king Vasu (i.e.,

\textsuperscript{67} Leeuw, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 16.
\textsuperscript{68} Konow in \textit{India Antique}, 1947, p. 195.
\textsuperscript{69} Smith, \textit{EHI}, p. 272. Scholars like Sten Konow (\textit{EI}, Vol. XIV, p. 141), Smith (\textit{Oxford Hist. Ind.}, pp. 147-48) and Marshall (\textit{Taxila}, Vol. I, p. 69) are of the opinion that the era of 78 A.D. was started by Wema Kadphises. But their hypothesis is a mere conjecture; for, there is no evidence that this king started an era. The introduction of an era requires the continuation of the regnal reckoning of a king by his successors which is inapplicable in Wema’s case. We have no inscriptions and coins of Wema Kadphises that bear any date and no era of his is known to have been continued by his successors.
\textsuperscript{70} \textit{Begram}, 1946, pp. 105-08.
\textsuperscript{71} Cf. \textit{A. Imp. Un.}, p. 145.
\textsuperscript{72} Sel. Ins., Vol. I, p. 154.
\textsuperscript{73} Smith, \textit{IMC}, Vol. I, 1906, pp. 64, 87.
Vāsudeva) who flourished much later than Vāsudeva I probably in the 3rd century A.D. (3) Though Kuśāṇa supremacy over many parts of their Indian possessions was diminished by the first half of the third century A.D., they enjoyed nominal suzerainty over all the feudatory chiefs, and had control over the Punjab, the former North-Western Frontier Province and Afghanistan by the middle of that century.\(^7\)\(^4\) (4) In addition to that, the Junāgarh inscription of Rudrādaman\(^7\)\(^5\) dated in the year 72 informs us that Rudrādaman ruled over Ākara, Sindhu and Sauvira in 150 A.D. The Sānci records\(^7\)\(^6\) dated in the years 22 and 28, on the other hand, refer to the rule of Kaṇiška and Vāsiška in East Malwa. The Sui Vihār inscription\(^7\)\(^7\) dated in the year 11 indicates that the Lower Indus region was under the control of Kaṇiška I. The above considerations militate against the theory of assigning Kaṇiška I to the first half of the 2nd century A.D.

In view of what has been said above, it appears more probable that Kaṇiška flourished in the second half of the first century A.D. Scholars\(^7\)\(^8\) like Fergusson, Oldenberg, R. D. Banerji, Thomas, Rapson, Raychaudhuri, Bachhofer, Leeuw, D. C. Sircar and B. N. Mukherjee are of the opinion that Kaṇiška ascended the throne in 78 A.D. and was the founder of the Śaka era. The identification of Kaṇiška

74 Sircar in *A. Imp. Un.*, p. 146.
with the founder of the Śaka era is not improbable on the following grounds: (1) Kaṇiśka’s regnal reckoning was continued by his successors; (2) though the originator of the Śaka era is unknown to us, its initial year falls near about that of Kaṇiśka’s reckoning.

No era received an appellation as soon as it was instituted. In course of time, when it became popular, a specific name was attached to it in order to distinguish from others. The Śaka Kṣatrapas of Western India, who were subordinate to the Imperial Kuṣāṇas, used the reckoning of their overlords and continued its use for a long period (i.e. from the beginning to 310), even when they ruled independently. That is why the era introduced by Kaṇiśka came to be known as the Śaka era.79 It should also be remembered in this connection that the Kuṣāṇas appear to have been confused with the Śakas and were not mentioned by their own clan name in India.80

IV. Gupta era of 319 A.D.

Several inscriptions dated in the Gupta year indicate that the reckoning, used by the Imperial Guptas of Magadha and their feudatories, was also used by some of their successors also. In the early Gupta records, the era is mentioned in connection with the reigns of particular kings, without giving any specific name to it. But after a century of its inception, about the middle of the 5th century, it was known as the year or reckoning of the Guptas.81

The name of the person to whom the Gupta era of 319 A.D. owed its origin is yet to be known. Candragupta I, the first Imperial ruler of the family, is generally regarded

by scholars as the originator of the reckoning.\textsuperscript{82} This is quite probable\textsuperscript{83} in view of the fact that his grandson, Candragupta II ascended the throne in the year 57 as is known from his Mathurā pillar inscription\textsuperscript{84} dated both in his 5th regnal year and in the \textit{Kāl-ānuvarttamāna} year 61. It is not altogether improbable, as suggested by some scholars,\textsuperscript{85} to give the credit either to Gupta or Ghaṭotkaca or Samudragupta as the founder of the era. But it cannot be denied that the status of the first two Gupta rulers Gupta and Ghaṭotkaca was rather insignificant.\textsuperscript{86} Again, if the spurious Nālandā\textsuperscript{87} and Gayā\textsuperscript{88} inscriptions dated respectively in the 5th and 9th regnal years of Samudragupta are considered as forged copies of his two genuine documents, the possibility of Samudragupta as the founder of the era cannot be disregarded. But these records seem to have been copied long afterwards from those of his successors.\textsuperscript{89}

The Matitrakas of Valabhi in Kathiawar who were formerly feudatories of the Guptas, continued the use of the


\textsuperscript{83} Cf. \textit{ibid.}, p. 285.

\textsuperscript{84} \textit{Sel. Ins.}, Vol. I, pp. 277-79.


\textsuperscript{87} \textit{Sel. Ins.}, pp. 270-72.

\textsuperscript{88} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 272-74.

\textsuperscript{89} \textit{Ind. Ep.}, p. 285; Goyal, \textit{op.cit.}, pp. 105-07.
Gupta reckoning for a long time. That is why the said era came to be designated as the Valabhi-Saṁvat in that region.  

B. SUMMARIES OF INSCRIPTIONS

N.B.—The epigraphs have been entered in this list under different periods. The inscriptions bearing dates are arrangedchronologically and the undated records according to the find-spots alphabetically arranged. It may be pointed out that there is little palæographical difference between the records of the Kṣatrapas and the early Kuśāṇas.

I. Maurya Period

Undated Inscriptions

1. Gaṇeṣrā stone inscription:

This is a fragmentary record, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, in Brāhmī characters assigned by Lüders to the third or second century B.C. Only the word bhagavaprasādā is legible.


2. Morā brick inscription:

It is a fragmentary inscription preserved in the Mathurā Museum. It is in Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters belonging to the third century B.C. according to Lüders. The inscription records the establish-

90 Ind. Ep., pp. 285-86. Al-Bīrunī (Sachau, Alberuni's India, Vol. II, 1964, p. 7) stated that the Gupta era was introduced to mark the end of the rule of the Guptas who were wicked and powerful people. But his conjecture appears to be improbable for the Maitrakas did not start any new era, and simply followed the reckoning started by their overlords (cf. Ind. Ep., p. 286).
ment of something by Yaśamatā, the king’s consort, whose son was living and the daughter of Brahāsvātimita (Brḥatsvātimitra).

Vogel in J.R.A.S., 1912, p. 120; also in ASIAR, 1911-12, pt. II, p. 128; Lüders in EI, Vol. XXIV, p. 199 and note 2; also his Math. Ins., pp. 155-56.

II. Śuṅga Period

Undated Inscriptions

1. Arjunpura Mohalla mound (to the north-west of Śitalā-Ghāṭi) Buddhist pillar inscription:

This is a fragmentary record in Prakrit language and Brāhmī characters. The inscription mentions the gift of Amoghārahkitā (Amoghārakṣitā).

Cunningham in ASIR, Vol. XX, p. 36; Lüders’ List, No. 92; also his Math. Ins., p. 122.

2. Second Gañḍara mound brick inscriptions:

These are the fragmentary inscriptions incised on 26 bricks and brickbats, preserved in the Mathurā Museum. These inscriptions, written in Prakrit language and Brāhmī characters, speak of the erection of something by Rohadeva, the Kohaḍa who was the minister of Gomita (Gomitra).


3. Ghosnā (about 3½ miles to the east of the city of Mathurā) brick inscription:

This inscription, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, is written in Prakrit language and Brāhmī characters. It records the name of Nāgadata (Nāgadatta), who was the son of Ānada (Ānanda).

Lüders, Math. Ins., p. 152.
4. Ghosnā brick inscription:
   The inscription, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, is
   in Prakrit language and Brāhmi characters. It refers to the
gift of something by Nāgadata (Nāgadatta) and his mother.
Lüders, Math. Ins., p. 152.

5. Ghosnā brick inscription:
   This inscription, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, is
   the same as that of the above No. 4.

6. Ghosnā brick inscription:
   This is a fragmentary inscription in Brāhmi characters,
   preserved in the Mathurā Museum. Only the name
   Vasaguta is legible.

7. Indian Museum (Calcutta) stone inscription:
   The place of discovery of the record is not ascertained.
   It is a fragmentary record in Brāhmi characters. Only ya
   dānā is legible:
   R. P. Chanda in ASIAR, 1922-23, pp. 166-67; Lüders,
   Math. Ins., p. 201.

8. Īsāpur stone inscription:
   It is a fragmentary record, in Brāhmi characters,
   deposited in the Mathurā Museum. Only the word rāṇyo is
   legible.

9. Īsāpur image inscription:
   This is a fragmentary record, in Brāhmi characters,
   preserved in the Mathurā Museum. It mentions the gift
   of an image.
10. Jamnā Bāgh (on the right bank of the Jamnā just outside Mathurā city) stone bowl inscription.

The inscription, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, is in Prakrit language and Brāhmī characters. It records the gift of Ayala, the son of Iindrásama (Indrasarman), for the worship of all Buddhas in the Suvarṇakāraṇa-vihāra and for the acceptance of the Mahopadeśaka teachers.

11. Kaṅkāli Tiḷā Jaina stone inscription:

The inscription, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, is in Prakrit language and Brāhmī characters. It records the dedication of an arch for the temple by the lay-hearer Vāchiputra (Vātsiputra) Uttaradāsaka who was the disciple of the ascetic Māgharaksita.

12. Lucknow Museum stone inscription:

The place of discovery of the record is unknown. It is a fragmentary record in Prakrit language and Brāhmī characters. The inscription refers to the gift made by Gotiputra Uttara, the goldsmith.

13. Mathurā railing pillar inscription:

This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit dialect and Brāhmī characters, speaks of the dedication of railing and arches at the ratnagrha by Vātsiputra Dhanabhuti together with his parents for the worship of all Buddhas.
Cunningham in ASIR, Vol. III, p. 36; also his Stūpa of Bharhut, p. 130; Lüders’ List, No. 125; also his Math. Ins., p. 212.
14. Mathurā terra-cotta dabber inscription:
   This record, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, is in Brāhmi characters. It mentions only the word kacipasa. N. G. Majumdar in ASIR, 1930-34, pt. II, p. 261; Lüders, Math. Ins., p. 120.

15. Mathurā Museum stone inscription:
   The place of discovery of the record is unknown. This is a fragmentary record in Brāhmi characters. No coherent sense can be discerned. Lüders, Math. Ins., p. 192.

16. Mathurā Museum stone inscription:
   The place of discovery of the epigraph is not known. It is a fragmentary record in Brāhmi characters. Only the name of Gomitra is known from the inscription. V. S. Agrawala in JUPHS, Vol. X, p. 4; Lüders, Math. Ins., pp. 192-93.

17. Parkham (15 miles south of the city of Mathurā) image inscription:

18. Patna Museum stone inscription:
   The place of discovery of the record is not known. The epigraph in Prakrit-Sanskrit dialect and Brāhmi characters,
mentions the gift made by Mitrā, a Gautamī, the nurse of Imādagnibhadra who was the daughter of the king Viṣṇumitra.


III. Śaka Kṣatrapa Period

A. Dated Inscriptions

1. Kaṅkāli Tilā Jaina Votive tablet inscription of the time of Śoḍāsa — Year 72 (= 15 A.D.)

The inscription, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, is in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters. The epigraph, after an invocation of the Arhat Vardhamāna, records the setting up of an āryavatī by Amohini of the Kautsa gotra who was a female lay disciple of an ascetic and the wife of Hāritiputra Pāla, together with her sons Pālghośa, Praṅghośa and Dhanaghōsa for the worship of the Arhats during the reign of Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa in the year 72.


2. Giridharpur Tilā stone inscription—Year 270 (= 23 A.D.)

This fragmentary record, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, is in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters. It states that a gift was made by a lady who was called Gautamī and the wife of some person who was designated as balādhika. The inscription is dated in the year 270 of the Mahārāja.

V. S. Agrawala in JUPHS, Vol. XII, pp. 28-29; also in ibid., Vol. XXIV-V, pp. 147-48; Lüders in D. R. Bhandarkar Volume, pp. 286-88; also his Math. Ins., pp. 162-64.

3. Kaṅkāli Tilā Jaina stone inscription—year 299 (= 52 A.D.)

This is a fragmentary record, preserved in the Lucknow
Museum. This inscription, written in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhma characters, records, after an invocation of all Siddhas and Arhats, the installation of an image of the Arhat Mahāvira in the temple of the Arhats by Okhārikā, Ujhatikā, Okhā, Śirikā and Śivadina. The epigraph is dated in the year 299 of some Mahārāja Rājātirāja.


B. Undated Inscription

1. Bharatpur gate Buddhist pedestal inscription:

This inscription, deposited in the Mathura Museum, is in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhma characters. It records the dedication of something at the Alānaka vihāra for the acceptance of the Mahāsāṅghikas and for the worship of all Buddhās.

V. S. Agrawala in JUPE, Vol. XII, p. 123; also in ibid., Vol. XXI, p. 73; Lüders, Math. Ins., p. 121.

2. Caubārā mound railing pillar inscription:

The epigraph, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhma characters, is preserved in the Mathura Museum. The inscription mentions the gift of Kaṭhika who was the servant in the royal harem.


3. Circular Road mound (a quarter mile to the south-west of the Jamālpur mound) Buddhist image inscription:

This fragmentary record, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, is written in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhma characters. The inscription speaks of the installation of a Bodhisattva image.
4. Second Gañeśrā mound stone inscription:

The fragmentary record, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, is written in Prakrit Language and Brāhmī characters. It records the erection of a stūpa by some female relative of the Kṣatrapa Kṣaharāta Ghaṭāka.


5. Gau-Ghāṭ well (in Mathurā city) Buddhist stone slab inscription:

This record, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, is in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters. It speaks of the installation of a Bodhisattva image by some one at the Śrīvihāra for the acceptance of the Samitiya teachers and for the worship of all Buddhas.


6. Giridharpur Tīlā lintel inscription:

This is a fragmentary inscription in Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit and Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Mathurā Museum. Only Golāśvasta Buddhayaśa is known from the record.


7. Indian Museum stone inscription:

The place of discovery of the record is unknown. This inscription, in Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit language and Brāhmī characters, refers to the erection of the railing of the holy Noble-souled one by the Kauśikiputra Bodhiyaśa who was a trooper (*āśvakarika*) and the son of Bodhila.

8. Jamālpur mound stone inscription of the time of Soḍāsa:

This inscription is in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters. It records the erection of a tank, the western out of two tanks, a reservoir, a grove, a pillar and a stone slab by the treasurer (gañjavara) of Svāmin Mahā-ksatrapa Soḍāsa.


9. Kaṅkālī Tīlā large slab inscription:

This fragmentary record, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, is in Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters. No coherent sense of the record is possible.


10. Kaṅkālī Tīlā Jaina sculptural panel inscription:

This record, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, is written in Prakrit language and Brāhmī characters. It mentions only the name of Jīvanandā.


11. Kaṅkālī Tīlā Jaina toraṇa inscription:

The inscription, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, is in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters. It records the erection of a temple at the gift of Dharmaghoṣā who was the female disciple of Jayasena.


12. Kaṅkālī Tīlā Jaina tablet inscription:

This fragmentary record, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, is written in Prakrit language and Brāhmī
characters. It records the setting up of a tablet of homage (āyāgapaṭa) by Śivayaśā, the wife of the dancer Phaguyaśa for the worship of the Arhats.

13. Kaṅkāli Tīlā Jaina frieze inscription:
This fragmentary inscription, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, is in Prakrit language and Brāhmī characters. It mentions only the name of divine Nemesa.

14. Kaṅkāli Tīlā Jaina stone slab inscription:
This fragmentary record, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, is written in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters. The inscription, after an invocation of the Arhat Vardhamāna, mentions the setting up of a tablet of homage (āyāgapaṭa) by Śimitrā, the Kauśikī who was the wife of Gotiputra Poṭhayaśaka Kālavāla.

15. Kaṅkāli Tīlā Jaina stone slab inscription:
This is a fragmentary record preserved in the Lucknow Museum and written in Prakrit language and Brāhmī characters. The inscription, after an invocation of the Arhat Mahāvīra, speaks of the gift of a tablet of homage (āyāgapaṭa) by Kālavāla of Mathurā along with his wife Śivaraksitā.
Bühler in EI, Vol. II, p. 200 ; Smith, The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā, p. 15 ; Lüders’ List, No. 103 ; also in EI, Vol. XXIV, pp. 205-06 ; also his Math. Ins., p. 49.
16. Kaṅkāli Tilā Jaina sculptural panel inscription:
This record, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, is written in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters. The inscription, after an invocation of the Arhats, mentions the setting up of a tablet of homage (āyāgaṇa) by Kauśikiputra Sinhanandika, the son of the Vaṇīk named Sinhaka, for the worship of the Arhats.

17. Kaṅkāli Tilā Jaina image inscription:
This fragmentary record, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, is written in Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters. The inscription, after an invocation of the Arhats, refers to the title Mahārāja Mahākṣatrapa.

18. Kaṅkāli Tilā Jaina image inscription:
This fragmentary record, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, is in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters. The inscription refers to the dedication of an image by Gotiputra Indrapāla for the worship of the Arhats.

19. Kaṅkāli Tilā stone inscription:
This fragmentary inscription, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, is written in Prakrit and Brāhmī characters. It records the gift made by Puṣyā, the wife of Mogaliputra Puṣpaka.

20. Kaṭrā mound Buddhist image inscription:
This inscription, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, is in Prakrit dialect and Brāhmī characters. It records the installation of a Bodhisattva image by Amoghādāsī, the mother of Buddhharakṣita, in her own vihāra for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.

21. Lucknow Museum stone inscription:

The place of discovery of the record is not known. It is a fragmentary inscription in Sanskrit language and Brāhmi characters. No coherent sense of the record is possible.


22. Mathurā broken slab inscription of the time of the Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa:

This is a fragmentary inscription, preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, in Sanskrit and Brāhmi characters. It refers to the gift of a stone palace, halls and stone slabs. The record also mentions the name of Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa, the son of Mahākṣatrapa Rañjuvula.


23. Mathurā slab inscription:

This record, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, is written in Sanskrit-Prakrit and Brāhmi characters. The inscription refers to the name of Jāda who was the rājanāpita. V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. X, p. 3; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 111.

24. Mathurā lion capital inscription of the time of Rañjuvula and Śoḍāsa:

The inscription, preserved in the British Museum, is in Prakrit language and Kharoṣṭhī characters. It records the installation of a Buddhist relic and the establishment of a stūpa and a monastery by the chief queen of the Mahākṣatrapa Rañjuvula along with other members of the royal family for the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādin teachers. The inscrip-
tion also mentions the name of some Kṣatrapas like Raṅjuvula, Śoḍāsa, Yuvarāja Kharaocta, Kusuluka Patika, Mevaki Miyika. The record also refers to the name of two Sarvāstivādin teachers like Buddhadeva and Buddhila.


25. Mathurā Museum stone inscription:

The place of discovery of the record is not ascertained. This is a fragmentary inscription written in Sanskrit-Prakrit and Brāhmī characters. No coherent sense of the record is possible.


26. Morā (seven miles west of Mathurā city) door-jamb inscription of the time of Śoḍāsa:

This is a fragmentary record, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, in Sanskrit-Prakrit and Brāhmī characters. The inscription records the erection of a gateway and a railing at the great temple of Vāsudeva by Vasu for the welfare of Svāmin Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa.


27. Morā well inscription of the time of Śoḍāsa:

This inscription, in Sanskrit-Prakrit and Brāhmī characters, is in the Mathurā Museum. It records the installation of the image of the holy Paṅcaviras of the Vṛṣṇis at the stone temple by a lady named Tošā in the reign of the Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa, the son of the Mahākṣatrapa Raṅjuvula. Cunningham in ASIR, Vol. XX, pp. 48-49; Vogel, Arch. Muse. Math., p. 184; Lüders’ List, No. 14; also in EI,
IV. Kuṣāṇa Period

A. Dated Inscriptions

1. Indian Museum (Calcutta) Bodhisattva image inscription—Year 4 (= 82 A.D.)

The place of discovery of the record is not stated. This is a fragmentary inscription in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters. It records the installation of an image of Bodhisattva by the wife of the caravan merchant Bhavaśri, in the year 4 of the Mahārāja Devaputra Kaniṣka. D. R. Sahni in EI, Vol. XIX, p. 66; Lüders, Math. Ins., pp. 199-200.

2. Kaṅkāli Tīlā Jaina Image inscription—Year 4 (= 82 A.D.)

This fragmentary inscription, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, is in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters. It records the making of some gifts by some one together with Grahaceta and Grahadāsa, out of the Vāraṇagana, Ārya Hāṭṭakiya kula and Vajanagari sakhā, in the year 4. Bühler in EI, Vol. II, p. 201; Lüders in IA, Vol. XXXIII, p. 33; also his List, No. 16.

3. Mathurā Museum Buddhist image inscription—Year 4 (= 82 A.D.)

The place of discovery of the record is not ascertained. This inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, records the installation of a Buddhist image by the Mahādānānāyaka Hummiyaka at the Sakka Vihāra in the year 4 of the reign of Kaniṣka.

4. Kaũkāli Ṭīlā Jaina image inscription — 5 Year (= 83 A.D.)

This fragmentary inscription, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, is written in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters. The record mentions a preacher out of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa in the year 5.

Bühler in EI, Vol. II, p. 201; Lüders in IA, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 33-34; also his List, No. 17.

5. Kaũkāli Ṭīlā Jaina image inscription — 5 Year (= 83 A.D.)

This fragmentary record, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, is written in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters. It records the dedication of an image of Vardhamāna by the daughter of Pāla at the request of Kṣudrā who was the female companion of Sena out of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa, Brahmadāsika kula and Uccenāgarī śākhā, in the year 5 of the reign of Devaputra Kanīṣka.


6. Kaũkāli Ṭīlā Jaina image inscription — years 5 (= 83 A.D.)

This is a fragmentary record, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters. The inscription refers to the installation of a Jaina image by some one at the request of some one out of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa, Brahmadāsika kula, Uccenāgarī śākhā and Śrīgṛha saṁbhoga in the year 5.¹


¹ Some scholars read the date as the year 35.
7. Kaṅkāli Ṭilā Jaina image inscription—Year 5 (= 83 A.D.)
This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription records the installation of a Jaina statue by some one at the request of Ārya Kṣeraka, out of the Koṭṭīya gaṇa, Ucchenāgari śākhā and Brahmadāsīka kula, in the year 5. Cunningham in ASIR, Vol. III, p. 31; Lüders’ List, No. 20; Vogel, Arch. Muse. Math., p. 80.

8. Kaṅkāli Ṭilā Jaina image inscription—Year 7 (= 85 A.D.)
This fragmentary inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. It mentions Ārya Jaya who was the sister of the preacher Ārya Sandhika and the pupil of the Gaṅin Ārya Buddhāśri of the Ārya Odehikiya gaṇa, Ārya Nāgabhutiṇīya kula, and Ārya Goṣṭha, in the year 7 of the reign of Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Śāhi Kaṇiṣka.

9. Mathurā Museum Buddhist image inscription—Year 8 (= 86 A.D.)
The place of discovery of the record is not known. This fragmentary inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, mentions the gift of the nun Buddhādāsī, in the year 8, for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.

10. Pālikheṛa mound Buddhist image inscription—Year 8 (= 86 A.D.)
This fragmentary inscription, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, is in Sanskrit-Prakrit language and Brāhmī characters. It speaks of the installation of a Bodhisattva image by Śimhaka, in the year 8, for the happiness of all sentient beings.
11. Rāl-Bhaḍār mound Nāga image inscription — Year 8 (= 86 A.D.)

This inscription, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, is written in Sanskrit-Prakrit language and Brāhmi characters. It records the erection of a tank and a garden for the Nāga deity named Bhuma by some one who was the Niyavaḍaki of Mathurā, in the year 8 of Rājātirāja Śāhi Kanishka, for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.


12. Kanikāli Tīlā Jaina image inscription—Year 9 (= 87 A.D.)

This is a fragmentary inscription written in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmi characters. It records the dedication of a Jaina image by Vikaṭa, the wife of Bhaṭṭi-mitra at the request of the preacher Nāganandin out of the Kotṭiya gaṇa, Sthāṇiya kula and Vairī śākhā, in the year 9 of the reign of Mahārāja Kanishka.


13. Lucknow Museum Jaina image inscription—Year 9 (= 87 A.D.)

The place of discovery of the record is not stated. The inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmi characters, records the installation of a Jaina image by Grahanapāla who was the daughter of Grahamitra and daughter-in-law of Avaśri, and also the wife of Kaḷāla, at the request of the Ārya Taraka out of the Kotṭiya gaṇa, Sthāṇiya kula and Vairī śākhā, in the year 9.

14. British Museum stone slab inscription—Year 10 (= 88 A.D.)

The place of discovery of the record is unknown. This inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, records the dedication of a temple in the northern Navamikā in order to propitiate the goddess of the village, in the year 10 of the reign of Mahārāja Devaputra Kaṇiṣṭa. Lüders in EI, Vol. IX, pp. 239-41; also his Math. Ins., pp. 208-09; Sircar, Sel. Ins., Vol. I, pp. 138-39.

15. Kaṅkāli Ṭilā image inscription—Year 11 (= 89 A.D.)

The record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, refers to the installation of an image of the god Kārttikeya by four brothers who were the sons of Viśvala, the Kṣatriya, in their own house, in the year 11. M. M. Nagar in JUPHS, Vol. XVI, pt. I, pp. 65-66.

16. Lucknow Museum Jaina image inscription—Year 12 (= 90 A.D.)

The find-place of the record is not ascertained. This fragmentary inscription written in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, refers to the dedication of an image by some female lay-hearers (sāvikā) at the request of the sister of Nandin, who was the female pupil of the Gaṇin Ārya Puṣila out of the Koṭṭiyā gaṇa, Brahmadāsika kula and Uccenā-gari śākhā, in the year 12. R. D. Banerji in JPASB, NS, Vol. V, pp. 273-74; also in EI, Vol. X, pp. 110-11; Lüders' List, No. 23; also in JRAS, 1912, pp. 170-73.

17. Dalpat-ki-khīrīki Mohalla (in Mathurā city) Buddhist image inscription—Year 14 (= 92 A.D.)

This inscription, preserved in the Patna Museum, is in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and developed Brāhmī characters of Eastern variety. It records the installation of the image of the holy Pitāmaha who was the Supremely Enlightened
and also the god who holds his own tenets, by Saṅghilā, the wife of a cloakmaker Hastin, in the year 14 of the reign of Mahārāja Devaputra Kaṇiṣka.


18. Kaṅkāli Tīlā Jaina image inscription—Year 15 (−93 A.D.)

The record, preserved in the Lucknow Museum is in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmi characters. It records the installation of a four-fold Jaina image by Kumāramitrā who was the wife of the banker Veñi, out of the MehiKA kula, in the year 15.


19. Mathurā Museum Buddhist image inscription—Year 16 (−94 A.D.)

The place of discovery of the record is not ascertained. The inscription, in Sanskrit-Prakrit language and Brāhmi characters, records the dedication of a Bodhisattva image in the Kāṣṭhikīya vihāra by the monk Nāgadatta, for the worship of all Buddhas, for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings and for the acceptance of the Mahāsāṅghika teachers. This was in the year 161 of the reign of Mahārāja Kaṇiṣka.


20. Mathurā Museum Buddhist image inscription—Year 17 (−95 A.D.)

The place of discovery of the record is unknown. The inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmi characters, records the installation of a Bodhisattva

1. Agrawala reads the year as 10.
image by Nāgapriyā, the housewife of the goldsmith Dharmaka, in her own Caitya-kūṭa, for the acceptance of the Dharmaguptaka teachers, in the year 17.


21. Kaṅkāli Ṭilā Jaina image inscription—Year 18 (=96 A.D.)

This fragmentary record, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, is in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhma characters. The inscription records the installation of a fourfold Jaina image by Māṣigī (?), out of the Kaṭṭīya gāṇa and Vāṭasaliya kula for the welfare of all beings, in the year 18.


22. Kaṅkāli Ṭilā Jaina image inscription—Year 18 (=96 A.D.)

This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhma characters, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. It refers to the setting up of an image of bhagavat Ariṣṭanemi by Mitāśrī, in the year 18.


23. Kaṅkāli Ṭilā Jaina image inscription—Year 19 (=97 A.D.)

This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhma characters, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. The inscription mentions the setting up of an image of bhagavat Śāntinātha by the first wife of Sucila, out of the Kaṭṭīya gāṇa, Sthāniya kula, Śrīgītha saṁbhoga and the Āryaveri jākhā, in the year 19.

Bühler in EI, Vol. I, pp. 382-83; Lüders’ List, No. 27.
24. Kaṅkāli Ṭīḷā Jaina image inscription—Year 20 (= 98 A.D.)

The fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. The inscription speaks of the dedication of an image of Vardhamāna by the female lay-worshipper Dinā, the wife of Motila at the request of the preacher Ārya Saṅghasimha, out of the Kottīya gaṇa, Sthāniya kula, Veri śākhā and Śrika saṁbhoga, in the year 20.


25. Kaṅkāli Ṭīḷā Jaina image inscription — Year 20 (= 98 A.D.)

This fragmentary record, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, is in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters. The inscription records the installation of a Jaina image by Mitrā who was the first wife of Haggudeva and the daughter-in-law of an ironmonger, and also the daughter of a maṇikāra, at the request of the preacher Ārya Simha, the pupil of the preacher Ārya Datta who was the companion of the Gaṅin Ārya Pāla, who was the pupil of Ārya Ogha, who was the pupil of the great preacher and Gaṅin Ja-Mitra (?), out of the Kottīya gaṇa, Brahmadāsika kula, Uccenāgari śākhā and Śrīgṛha saṁbhoga in the year 20.


26. Mathurā Buddhist image inscription — Year 20 (= 98 A.D.)

This inscription, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, is in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters. It records the installation of the Bodhisattva image at the temple (?) by some one in the year 20 of the reign of Mahārāja Kaṇiṣka.

27. **Mathurā Jaina Votive tablet inscription — Year 21**

(= 99 A.D.)

The inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, mentions the setting up of a tablet of homage by some one for the worship of the *Arhats*, in the year 21.


28. **Kaṅkāli Ṭīḷā Jaina image inscription — Year 22**

(= 100 A.D.)

The inscription, in Prakriti-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, records the dedication of a Jaina image by Dharmasomā, the wife of a caravan leader, at the request of the preacher *Arya Mātridina*, in the year 22.


29. **Kaṅkāli Ṭīḷā Buddhist image inscription — Year 22**

(= 100 A.D.)

The inscription, in Prakriti-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. It speaks of the installation of an image of Vardhamāna, in the year 22. It also mentions the names of *Vāraṇa gana* and *Petiavāmika kula*.


30. **Mathurā Buddhist image inscription — Year 22**

(100 A.D.)

This fragmentary inscription, in Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. It speaks of the dedication of an image of Buddha in the
Prāvārika-vihāra by the daughter of some one, in the year 22.

31. Sonkh mound (14 miles to the south-west of the Mathurā city) Buddhist image inscription — Year 23 (101 - A.D.)

This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. It records the setting up an image of Bodhisattva by Puṣyadatā, the daughter of Matsyagupta who was the lord of the Vihāra, in her own Vihāra, in the year 23 of Mahārāja Kaṇiṣka.

32. Īsāpur Yūpa inscription — Year 24 (=102 A.D.)

The inscription in Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, records the setting up of a sacrificial post after performing a sacrifice lasting for twelve days by Droṇala, the son of Rudrila, a Brāhmaṇa of the Bhāradvāja gotra and of the Māṇachandoga to propiti ate the three fires during the reign of Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Śāhi Vāsiṣka in the year 24.

33. Kaṅkāli Tilā Jaina image inscription — Year 25 (=103 A.D.)

This fragmentary inscription, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, is written in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters. It refers to the setting up of a Jaina image by Vasu (?) who was the wife of a dyer named Jayabhaṭṭa and
the daughter-in-law of Jabhaka at the request of a female pupil of Sandhi who was the pupil of Ārṣya Balatrāta, out of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa, Brahmadāsika kula, Uccenāgari śākha, in the year 25.


34. Jamālpur mound stone slab inscription—Year 26 (= 104 A.D.)

The record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmi characters, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. The inscription mentions the setting up of a stone slab at the temple of the Nāga deity Dadhikarna by the sons of the actors of Mathurā for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings, in the year 26.


35. Jamālpur mound Buddhist image inscription—Year 28 (= 106 A.D.)

This record, written in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmi characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription mentions only the reign of Vāsiška in the year 28.


36. Mathurā stone inscription—Year 28 (= 106 A.D.)

This inscription, written in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmi characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. It records the endowment of a punyāśāla by the son of Kana- sarukamāna, the lord of Kharāsalera and the lord of Vakana, in the year 28 of the month of Gorpiaios. The inscription further states that for the maintenance of the punyāśāla 1100 Purāṇa coins were deposited to the two guilds and from the interest of the capital one hundred Brāhmaṇas were to
be fed once in a month and necessary articles of food were to be distributed to the hungry and thirsty at every day from the puṇyaśāla, for accruing the religious merit to Devaputra Śāhi Huviṣka.


37. Kaṅkāli Ṭilā Jaina image inscription—Year 29 (= 107 A.D.)

This record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. The inscription states that a married lady named Bodhinandi (?), the daughter of Grahahastin, installed an image of Vardhamāna at the request of a pupil Arya Datta who was a Gaṇin in the Vaṭaṇa gaṇa and Puṣyamitriya kula, in the year 29.

Bühler in EI, Vol. I, p. 385; Fleet in JRAS, 1903, pp. 331-32; Lüders’ List, No. 34.

38. Kaṅkāli Ṭilā Jaina image inscription—Year 29 (= 107 A.D.)

This fragmentary record in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. It mentions a pupil of Nāgadatta in the year 29 (?)..


39. Kaṅkāli Ṭilā Jaina image inscription—Year 31 (= 109 A.D.)

This fragmentary inscription, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, is in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters. It mentions the setting up of a Jaina image by Grahaśri who was the daughter of Buddhī, and the wife of Devila at the request of a Gaṇin, out of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa, Āryaveri sākhā and Sthāniya kula, in the year 31.

40. Rāḷ-Bhaḍār mount Buddhist image inscription—Year 31 (= 109 A.D.)

This inscription, written in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. It mentions the gift of Kṣudrā who was the female pupil of the nun Dinnā, during the reign of Huviṣka in the year 31.


41. Kaṅkāli Tīlā Jaina images inscription—Year 32 (= 110 A.D.)

This fragmentary inscription in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. It mentions the installation of a four-fold image of the Arhat by Jitāmitrā at the request of the Gaṇin Ārya Nandika, out of the Vārāṇa gaṇa, in the year 32.


42. Caubārā mound Buddhist image inscription—Year 33 (= 111 A.D.)

This inscription, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, is in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters. It records the setting up of a Bodhisattva statue at Madhura-vanaka by the nun Dhanavatī who was the sister of the nun Buddhāmitrā who knew the Tripitaka and who was the female pupil of the monk Bala who also knew the Tripitaka, during the reign of Mahārāja Devaputra Huviṣka in the year 33.


43. Mathurā Jaina image inscription—Year 33 (= 111 A.D.)

This fragmentary record in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription mentions only the date and a disciple of a preacher.

44. Jamālpur mound Buddhist pillar-base inscription—Year 35 (= 115 A.D.)

The inscription written in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. It records the setting up of a pillar-base by the monk Buddhādaśa, the companion of Saṅghamittra, in the year 35.


45. Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā Jaina image inscription—Year 35 (= 113 A.D.)

The inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. It states that a perfumer named Kumārabhaṭi, the son of Kumāramittra who was a female pupil of Ārya Baladina of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa, Sthāniya kula, Vairi ṭākhā, Śrika Saṁbhoga, installed an image of Vardhamāna in the year 35.


46. Mathurā Buddhist image inscription—Year 35 (= 113 A.D.)

This record in Brāhmī characters, mentions only the reign of Mahārāja Devaputra Huviṣka in the year 35.


47. Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā Jaina elephant capital inscription—Year 38 (= 116 A.D.)

This inscription, Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, records the setting up of the elephant Nandivīśāla by the Sreṣṭhin Rudradāsa, the son of the Sreṣṭhin Śiva-śāla, for the worship of the Arhats, during the reign of Mahārāja Devaputra Huviṣka in the year 38.

48. Pālikheṛā mound Buddhist image inscription—Year 39 (=117 A.D.)

This record, preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, is in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhma characters. The inscription states that the nun Buddhadevā who was the female pupil of the nun Puṣyahastini, installed a Bodhisattva image for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings, during the reign of Mahārāja Devaputra Huviṣka in the year 39.


49. Gaṅgāon village (ten miles south of Mathurā city) Nāga image inscription—Year 40 (=118 A.D.)

This inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhma characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. It records the setting up of a Nāga statue by two comrades Senahastin and Bhonḍaka at their own tank in order to propitiate the Lord Nāga, during the reign of Mahārāja Rājātrāja Huviṣka in the year 40.


50. Kaṅkāli Ṭilā Jaina image inscription—Year 40 (=118 A.D.)

This fragmentary record, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, is in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhma characters. The inscription states that Simḥhadattā who was the first wife of the grāmika Jayanāga and the daughter-in-law of the grāmika Jayadeva, dedicated a Jaina image at the
request of the female pupil of Nanda (?) of the Vāraṇa gaṇa, Ārya Hāṭṭakiya kula, Vajanagari śākhā and Śrīya saṁbhoga in the year 40.


51. Rawal (near Mathurā) spurious inscription—Year 40 (= 118 A.D.)

This record, in Kharoṣṭhī characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. It speaks of the digging up of a well at the Śalā ferry station as the gift of the ferry-village associates, in the year 40.


52. Kaňkālī Ṭīlā Jaina image inscription—Year 44 (= 122 A.D.)

This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. It speaks of the dedication of a Jaina statue by some one at the request of Nāgasena who was the pupil of the preacher Bhaganandin out of the Vāraṇa gaṇa, Āryacetiya kula and the Haritamālakadhi śākhā, during the reign of Mahārāja Huviṣka in the year 44.¹


53. Kaňkālī Ṭīlā Jaina image inscription—Year 45 (= 123 A.D.)

This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. It mentions only the daughter-in-law of Buddhi, the name Dharmavṛddhi and the date.

Bühler in EI, Vol. I, p. 387; Lüders’ List, No. 44.

¹ R. D. Banerji read the year as 58.
54. Prince of Wales Museum (Bombay) Buddhist image inscription—Year 45 (= 123 A.D.)

The inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, states that a female lay-worshipper Khvasicā set up an image of the holy incomparable Śākyamuni at Ālikā in the Rośikavihāra, for the bestowment of health to herself, and for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings during the reign of Huviṣka in the year 45.

D. R. Bhandarkar in JBORS, Vol. XX, pp. 269-70; Lüders’ List, No. 43; also his Math. Ins., pp. 205-06.

55. Kaņkāli Ţilā Jaina image inscription—Year 47 (= 125 A.D.)

This fragmentary inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, records the installation of a Jaina image by the housewife of Giha, the mother of Puṣyadina and the daughter-in-law of the law-hearer Puṣya, at the request of Sena, a teacher in the Vāraṇa gana and the Petivāmika kula, in the year 47.


56. Kaņkāli Ţilā Jaina image inscription—Year 48 (= 126 A.D.)

This fragmentary inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, mentions only the names of Brahmadāsika kula and Uccenāgarī śākhā and the reign of Mahārāja Huviṣka in the year 48.

Cunningham in ASIR, Vol. III, p. 34; Lüders in IA, Vol. XXXIII, p. 103; also his List, No. 46.

57. Kaņkāli Ţilā Jaina image inscription—Year 48 (= 126 A.D.)

This inscription, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, is written in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters. It records the dedication of an image of Saṃbhava by Yaśā, the daughter-in-law of Buddhika and the grand daughter of
Śivatrāta at the request of Dhaṇīṣrī who was the female pupil of Dhaṇīvala out of the Kōṭṭīya gaṇa, Brahmadāsika kula and Uccenāgari śākhā, during the reign of Mahārāja Huviśka in the year 48.


58. Kaṅkālī Tīlā Jaina image inscription Year 49 (= 127 A.D.)

This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. It records the dedication of an image of the Arhat Nāndyāvarta at the Bodva stūpa by the female lay-worshipper Dinā at the request of the preacher Ārya Vṛddhahastin out of the Kōṭṭīya gaṇa and the Vaira śākhā, in the year 49.1


59. Kaṅkālī Tīlā Jaina image inscription—Year 50 (= 128 A.D.)

This fragmentary inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. No coherent sense of the record is possible.


60. Kaṅkālī Tīlā Jaina image inscription—Year 50 (= 128 A.D.)

This fragmentary record, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, is written in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters. The inscription states that Vijayaśrī,

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1 Some scholars read the year as 79.
the daughter of Bubu, the first wife of Rājyavasu and the mother Devila, erected an image of Vardhamāna. It also mentions the name of Dinara who was the great preacher and also the Gaṅin of the Vāraṇa gana, Āryabhyista kula, Saṃkhāsiyā śākha and the Śrīgṛha saṃbhaga.


61. Mathurā Museum Buddhist image inscription—Year 50 (= 128 A.D.)

The find-place of the record is not ascertained. The inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmi characters, mentions the reign of Mahārāja Devaputra Huviśka in the year 50.


62. Anyor (a village at the S.E. foot of the Govardhan hill) Buddhist image inscription—Year 51 (= 129 A.D.)

This fragmentary record, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, is written in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmi characters. It mentions the dedication of an image of Bodhisattva for the acceptance of the Mahāsāṅghika teachers, in the year 51.


63. Jamālpur mound Buddhist image inscription—Year 51 (= 129 A.D.)

This record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmi characters, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. The inscription states that an image of the bhagavat Śākyamuni was

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1 According, to some scholars, the image represents a Jaina Tirthāṅkara.
installed by the monk Buddhavarman for the worship of all Buddhas and for the attainment of Nirvāṇa of the teacher Saṅghadāsa, and for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings, in the Vihaṇa of Mahārāja Devaputra Huviśka, in the year 51.


64. Bhūtesar mound (a hill south of Kaṭrā) Nāga image inscription—Year 52 (= 130 A.D.)

This record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmi characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum and it refers to a Nāga image in the year 52.

Vogel, Arch. Muse. Math., p. 91; Lüders’ List, No. 52a; also his Math. Ins., p. 38.

65. Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā Jaina image inscription—Year 52 (= 130 A.D.)

This record, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, is written in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmi characters. It speaks of the installation of a Jaina image by Śura who was the worker-in metal, the member of the committee and the son of Śramaṇa, at the request of the preacher Ārya Deva who was the companion of the Ganin Ārya Maṅguhastin and the pupil of the preacher Ārya Ghaṭuhastin of the Koṭṭiṣṭha gana, Vaira śākhā, Sthāṇikiya kula and the Śrīgṛha saṁbhoga, for the welfare and happiness of all creatures, in the year 52.


66. Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā Jaina image inscription—Year 54 (= 132 A.D.)

This record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmi
characters, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. The inscription states that Gova, the worker in metal, who was the son of Siha, dedicated an image of Sarasvatī at the request of the preacher Ārya Deva who was the companion of the Gaṅin Ārya Māghahastin and the pupil of the preacher Ārya Hastahastin of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa, Sthāṇiyya kula, Vaira sākhā and the Śrīgha saṁbhoga, in the year 54.


67. Sitalā-Ghāṭī (in Mathurā city) Jaina image inscription—Year 57 (= 135 A.D.)

This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters preserved in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription mentions only the date.¹


68. Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā Jaina image inscription—Year 60 (= 138 A.D.)

This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. The inscription states that Dattā, the wife of a cotton-dealer installed a Jaina statue at the request of the Gaṅin Ārya Kharnṇa (?) who was the pupil of the preacher Ārya Vṛddhahastin of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa, Sthāṇiyya kula and the Āryaverū sākhā, for the pleasure of the Bhagavat Rṣabha, during the reign of Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Huviṣka in the year 60.

¹ According to Vogel, the date is of the Gupta era.

69. Kaṅkāli Ṭilā Jaina inscription—Year 62 (=140 A.D.)

This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmi characters, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. It records the installation of a Jaina statue at the request of ātapika Grahabala who was the pupil of the preacher Ārya Karkuhastha of the Vāraṇa Gaṇa, in the year 62.


70. Indian Museum, Jaina image inscription—Year 62 (=140 A.D.)

The place of discovery of the record is unknown. The inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmi characters, after an invocation of the Arhats and Siddhas, states that Vaihikā (?) installed a Jaina statue at the community of the four orders at the request of the ātapika Garhabala who was the pupil of the preacher Ārya Kakasaghasta, in the year 62.


71. Pālikherā Buddhist image inscription—Year 64 or 67 (=142 or 145 A.D.)

This inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmi characters, is preserved in the Mathura Museum. It states that Guhāsenā who belonged to a family of Kutum-bikas, installed an image of Buddha in a shrine for the acceptance of the Mahāsaṅghika teachers, during the reign of Vāsudeva in the year 64 or 67.

72. Kañkāli Ṭīlā Jaina image inscription—Year 71 (−149 A.D.)

The record, in Brāhmī characters and preserved in the Lucknow Museum, is fragmentary. Apart from the date, the inscription is void of no sense.


73. Bṛndābān Road image inscription—Year 72 (−150 A.D.)

This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. It mentions the gift of an image in the year 72.¹


74. Jamālpur mound stone slab inscription—Year 74 (−152 A.D.)

This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, refers to the name of Vālāna who was the Mahādaṇḍanāyaka at Talakiya during the reign of Mahārāja Rājātīrāja Devaputra Vāsudeva in the year 74.²


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¹ Some scholars read the year as 42.
² According to some scholars, the year is 44.
75. Lucknow Museum Jaina image inscription—Year 74 (=152 A.D.)

This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brähmi characters, mentions the gift of Dharāvala at the request of Arhadāsi who was the female pupil of a preacher in the Vāraṇa gaṇa, Vajanagari śākhā and Aryaśrīka saṁbhoga in the year 74.


76. Jamālpur mound Buddhist pillar-base inscription—Year 77 (=155 A.D.)

This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brähmi characters is preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. It mentions the gift of the monk Dharmadatta to the community of the four quarters, for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings, in the year 77.¹

R. L. Mitra in JASB, Vol. XXXIX, pt. I, p. 130; Dowson in JRAS, 1871, p. 183; Cunningham in ASIR, Vol. III, p. 33; Lüders in IA, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 101-02; also his List, Nos 61, 64, 64a; also his Math. Ins., pp. 71-72.

77. Jamālpur mound Buddhist pillar inscription—Year 77 (=155 A.D.)

This record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brähmi characters, is preserved in the Indian Museum. It mentions the gift of the monk Jivaka who was the native from Uḍḍiyana, to the community of the four quarters, for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings, during the reign of Mahārāja, Rājātirāja Huviska, in the year 77.²

1 According to some scholars, the year is 44.
2 Some scholars read the year as 47.

78. Jamālpur mound Buddhist pillar-base inscription — Year 77 (=155 A.D.)

The record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. It mentions the gift of a monk in the year 77.¹


79. Jamālpur mound Buddhist pillar-base inscription — Year 77 (=155 A.D.)

This inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. It mentions the gift of the monk Buddhīśreṣṭha who was a preacher, and who knew the fourfold scriptures, to the community of the four quarters, in the year 77.²


80. Jamālpur mound Buddhist pillar-base inscription — Year 77 (=155 A.D.)

The record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. It mentions the gift of Devila who was the devakulika at the shrine of Dadhikarṇa, in the year 77.


1 Vogel reads the year as 47.
2 According to Vogel, the year is 47.
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81. Jamālpur mound Buddhist pillar-base inscription — Year 77 (=155 A.D.)

This record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. It records the gift of the monk Datta, in the year 77.¹


82. Jamālpur mound Buddhist pillar inscription — Year 77 (=155 A.D.)

This record, preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, is written in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters. It mentions the gift of the monk Buddhakṣita, the Vaḍakṣa, to the community of the four quarters, in the year 77.


83. Jamālpur mound Buddhist pillar-base inscription — Year 77 (=155 A.D.)

The inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters. It mentions the gift of the monk Datta to the community of the four quarters in the year 77.

Dowson in JRAS, 1871, p. 188; Vogel, Arch. Muse. Math., p. 179; Lüders’ List, No. 139; also his Math. Ins., pp. 73-75.

84. Kaṅkāli Tīlā Jaina image inscription — Year 80 (=158 A.D.)

¹ According to some scholars, the date is 47,
This fragmentary record, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, is written in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmi characters. The name of the Mahārāja Vāsudeva, and the year 80 are recorded. Besides, it refers to the gift made by the daughter of Sanakdāsa.


85. Kaṅkālī Tilā Jaina image inscription — Year 81 (±159 A.D.)

This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmi characters, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. The inscription records the installation of a Jaina image by some one at the request of Datā, the female pupil of Ayikā Jivā, in the year 81.

Bühler in EI, Vol. II, pp. 204-05; Lüders' List, No. 67.

86. Jamālpur mound Jaina image inscription — Year 83 (±161 A.D.)

This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmi characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. It mentions only the date.


87. Kaṅkālī Tilā Jaina image inscription — Year 83 (±161 A.D.)

This record, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, is written in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmi characters. The inscription refers to the dedication of a Jaina image by Jinadāsi who was the daughter of Sena, and the daughter-in-law of Datta and also the wife of a perfumer, during the reign of Mahārāja Vāsudeva, in the year 83.

Dowson in JRAS, 1871, p. 184; Cunningham in ASIR,
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88. Balabhadrakunḍa Jaina image inscription — Year 84 (=162 A.D.)

This record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription states that the wife of a village headman installed and image of the Arhat Rṣabha at the request of Kumāraka, during the reign of Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Śāhi Vāsudeva, in the year 84.


89. Kaṅkāli Tīlā Jaina image inscription — Year 84 (=162 A.D.)

The inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. The record speaks of the installation of an image of Vardhamāna by Okharikā, the daughter of Damitra, and the wife of an householder, in the year 84.


90. Kaṅkāli Tīlā Jaina image inscription — Year 86 (=164 A.D.)

This is a fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Lucknow Museum. The inscription speaks of the setting up of a Jaina image by a female lay-disciple at the request of Arya Vasulā who was the female pupil of Arya Saṅghamikā of the Mehika kula, in the year 86.

Bühler in EI, Vol. I, p. 388; Lüder’s List, No. 70.
91. Kaṅkālī Ŭḷā Jaina image inscription — Year 87 (=165 A.D.)

This fragmentary inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, mentions the reign of Mahārāja Rājātirāja Śahi Vāsudeva in the year 87.

Cunningham in ASIR, Vol. III, p. 35; Lüders in IA, Vol. XXXIII, p. 108; also his List, No. 72.

92. Kaṅkālī Ŭḷā Jaina image inscription — Year 87 (=165 A.D.)

This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. The inscription refers to the name of Mitra who was the pupil of Ārya Kumāranandin of the Uccenāgari śākhā in the year 87.


93. Kaṅkālī Ŭḷā Jaina image inscription—Year 90 (=168 A.D.)

This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. It states that the daughter-in-law of Dina installed a Jaina image at the request of some one out of the Kottiya gana, Praśnavāhanaka kula and Majhamā śākhā, in the year 90.


94. Maholi Village (about two and a half miles south-west of Mathurā city) Buddhist image inscription — Year 92 (=170 A.D.)

The inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, records the erection of a stūpa after the Buddhist monk Grāmadāsīka who was a resident of the Veṇḍavihāra
monastery for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings, in the year 92.


95. Kaṃkāli Tīlā Jaina image inscription—Year 93 (=171 A.D.)

This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmi characters, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. The inscription, after an invocation of the Arhat Mahāvira, refers to the erection of an image of the Arhat Vardhamāna by the daughter of the goldsmith Deva at the request of the Ganin Nandin, in the year 93.


96. Mathurā Buddhist image inscription—Year 93 (=171 A.D.)

This inscription in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmi characters, states that the Kāyastha named Śramaṇa installed an image and an umbrella of the holy Pitāmaha, the god who holds his own tenets, during the reign of Mahārāja Devaputra Vāsudeva, in the year 93.


97. Kaṃkāli Tīlā Jaina image inscription—Year 95 (=173 A.D.)

This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmi characters, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. The inscription records the dedication of a Jaina image by the daughter of Grahadatta at the request of a female pupil out of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa, Sthāṇīya kula, Vairā śākhā, in the year 95.

98. Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā Jaina image inscription — Year 98 (=176 A.D.)

This fragmentary inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmi characters, records, after an invocation of the Arhat Mahāvīra, the installation of a Jaina image by some woman who was the daughter of Pravaraka and the daughter-in-law of the perfumer Varuṇa, at the request of the Gaṇin Arya Devadatta of the Arya Odevikiya gana, Paridhāsika kula, Petaputrikā śākhā, during the reign of Rājan Vāsudeva, in the year 98.


99. Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā Jaina image inscription — Year 98 (=176 A.D.)

This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmi characters, and preserved in the Lucknow Museum, mentions only the date and the names of Koṭṭiya gana and Uccenāgarī śākhā.


100. Gāyatrī Ṭīlā Buddhist bowl inscription — Year 192 (=270 A.D.)

This inscription, in Brāhmi characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. It records the installation of a bowl in some monastery by two persons named Bhadrapāla and Pālaka, in the year 192.

B. Undated Inscriptions

1. Anyor Buddhist image inscription

The inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmi characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. The record states that the Śākya lay brother Suṣa Hāruṣa installed a Buddha image at the convent of Uttara Hāruṣa, for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.


2. Bharatpur State mound pillar inscription

This fragmentary record, in Brāhmi characters, is deposited in the Mathurā Museum. Only...ṣ [i] charāṁ is legible. Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 119.

3. Bhūtesar mound Jaina image inscription

This inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmi characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. It mentions the installation of a Jaina image by a native of Abhisāra, at the request of the preacher Ārya Rśidāsa.


4. Bhūtesar mound railing pillar inscription

The inscription, in Brāhmi characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. Only [te] is known from the record.


5. Caubārā mound Buddhist stone inscription

This is a fragmentary record in Brāhmi characters. Only the word 'of the Buddhas' is legible.

Lüders' List, No. 142.
6. Caubārā mound Buddhist stone inscription
   It is a fragmentary record in Brāhmī characters. No coherent sense is possible.
   Lüders’ List, No. 143.

7. Chaṛgāon (10 miles south of Mathurā city) stone slab inscription
   This inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. No coherent sense of this fragmentary record is possible.

8. Delhi-Agra Road side (near Caurāśi in the western outskirts of Mathurā city) stone inscription
   This inscription, written in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, records the erection of a water tank, a garden, an assembly hall, a stone tablet and a temple by a Gotiputra who was the grandson of Rāhila. The record also mentions some other metronymics like Vāsiṣṭiputra, Kotsiputra.

9. Dhūnsārpārā Quarter (in Mathurā city) Buddhist image inscription
   This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, is deposited in the Mathurā Museum. It mentions the gift made by the daughter-in-law of Phalguyaśa, for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.
   Vogel, Arch. Math., p. 62 ; Lüders’ List, No. 89a ; also his Math. Ins., pp. 111-12.

10. Dig Gate (in Mathurā city) image inscription
    This fragmentary record, in Brāhmī characters, is pre-
served in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription mentions the gift made by the housewife of Dāsa.


11. Gaṇeṣṭrā mound image inscription

This inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. It speaks of the setting up of a statue of the *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* Ulāna.


12. Gāyatrī Tilā image inscription

This fragmentary record, in Brāhmī characters, is deposited in the Mathurā Museum. It mentions the gift made by the daughter-in-law of Dāsa and the sister of Vṛddhī. Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 120.

13. Gigla (a village about 3 miles from Sadbad tahsil) Śiva liṅga inscription

This fragmentary record, in Brāhmī characters, mentions the installation of a Śivaliṅga named Jaṭēśvara by some one. V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. XII, pp. 29-31.

14. Giridharpur Tilā stone slab inscription

This inscription, in Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. It refers to a cloakmaker.


15. Gookhroli (Gukharauli, about 17 miles to the southeast of Mathurā) image inscription

This fragmentary records, in Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. Only...[ṣa] *Senas* [ṣ] a śi... is legible.

16. Gopālpur Quarter (in Mathurā city) railing pillar inscription


17. Govardhana mound image inscription

This fragmentary record in Brāhmi characters, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, mentions the gift made by someone for the happiness of all sentient beings.

M. M. Nagar in *JUPHS*, Vol. XV, pp. 119-20

18. Holy Gate (in Mathurā) Jaina stone slab inscription

This record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmi characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription records, after an invocation of the Arhat Vardhamāna, the setting up of a shrine of the Arhat, āyāgasabhā, a reservoir and a stone slab by the courtesan Nādā who was the daughter of the courtesan Daṁdā and a lay-disciple of the ascetics, for the worship of the Arhats.


19. Indian Museum Buddhist image inscription

The place of discovery is unknown. This fragmentary inscription in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmi characters, mentions the gift made by the monk Buddhahanandin for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.

20. Indian Museum image inscription

The find-spot of it is not known. This is a fragmentary record in Brāhmī characters. No coherent sense is possible. Lüders says that the inscription is a modern forgery.

21. Īsāpur Jaina image inscription

This fragmentary record, in Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription refers to the gift made by housewise of Bhavananda at the request of the pupil of Nāganandin.

22. Jamālpur mound railing-pillar inscription

This record in Brāhmī characters, deposited in the Mathurā Museum, mentions only *d [i] 10 8*.

23. Jamālpur mound railing pillar inscription

The record in Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, mentions only *d [i] 20 9*.

24. Jamālpur mound railing pillar inscription

The epigraph in Brāhmī characters, deposited in the Mathurā Museum, mentions only *hā*.

25. Jamālpur mound railing pillar inscription

It is preserved in the Lucknow Museum and only the numeral 5 is incised on it.
26. Jamālpur mound railing pillar inscription
   This epigraph in Brāhmi characters, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. No coherent sense of this fragmentary record is possible.

27. Jamālpur mound image inscription
   This record in Brāhmi characters, deposited in the Mathurā Museum, mentions the names Śrīgatapara and Buddhadasaśāya.

28. Jamālpur mound Buddhist pillar-base inscription
   This record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmi characters, is deposited in the Mathurā Museum. It mentions the gift of the monk Saṅghadeva, the pupil of Vākuḍa.

29. Jamālpur mound Buddhist pillar-base inscription
   This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmi characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription speaks of the gift of the monk, the Vojyavāṣika (?), for the worship of his deceased parents and for the bestowing of health on his companion Dharmadeva.

30. Jamālpur mound Buddhist pillar-base inscription
   This record in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmi characters, deposited in the Mathurā Museum, mentions the gift of the monks Bhadra and Bhadraghoṣa.
31. Jamālpur mound Buddhist pillar-base inscription

This inscription in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, deposited in the Mathurā Museum, mentions the gift of the monk Buddhāmitra.

Vogel, Arch. Muse. Math., p. 179; Lüders’ List, No. 125°; also his Math. Ins., p. 90.

32. Jamālpur mound pillar-base inscription

This inscription in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, mentions the gift of Viśvasika Āśyala together with his wife and sons.


33. Jamālpur mound Buddhist pillar-base inscription

This inscription in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, speaks of the gift of two monks named Saṅghāvarman and Vṛddha.


34. Jamālpur mound pillar-base inscription

This inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. It records the gift made by the commissioners of the Community headed by Bhadragnāra, Saṅghādāsa, Buddhānanda, Saṅghadeva, Dharmapriya, Saṅghāmitra and others.


35. Jamālpur mound pillar-base inscription

This inscription in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, speaks of the gift made by the commissioners of the Community headed by Bhadragnāra.
Vogel, Arch. Muse. Math., p. 177; Lüders' List, No. 125<sup>i</sup>; also his Math. Ins., p. 84.

36. Jamālpur mound pillar-base inscription

This epigraph in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmi characters, deposited in the Mathurā Museum, speaks of the gift made by the commissioners of the Community headed by Bhadrāghoṣa.

Vogel, Arch. Muse. Math., p. 177; Lüders' List, No. 125<sup>u</sup>; also his Math. Ins., pp. 84-85.

37. Jamālpur mound pillar-base inscription

This inscription in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmi characters, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, mentions the gift made by the commissioners of the Community headed by Bhaddīlā for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.

Vogel, Arch. Muse. Math., p. 179; Lüder's List, No. 125<sup>w</sup>; also his Math. Ins., p. 85.

38. Jamālpur mound pillar-base inscription

This inscription, in Brāhmi characters is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. Only Laphalasya[bh]ji... is legible.

Vogel, Arch. Muse. Math., p. 179; Lüders' List, No. 125<sup>x</sup>; also his Math. Ins., p. 90.

39. Jamālpur mound Buddhist pillar-base inscription

The inscription in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmi characters, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, mentions the gift of the monk Dharmadatta.

Vogel, Arch. Muse. Math., p. 179; Lüders' List, No. 135<sup>y</sup>; also his Math. Ins., p. 72.

40. Jamālpur mound Buddhist pillar-base inscription

This inscription in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmi characters, is deposited in the Mathurā Museum. It speaks of the gift of the pillar-base made by the monks Śūriya and
Buddharakṣita, the prāhaṇikas, for the bestowment of health to all prāhaṇikas.


41. Jamālpur mound pillar-base inscription

This inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmi characters, is deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. It speaks of the gift made by Viśvasika Vakamihira together with his son Horamurṇḍaga.


42. Jamālpur mound pillar-base inscription

This inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmi characters, is deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. It speaks of the gift made by Viśvasika Vakamihira together with his son Horamūṇḍhvara (?).


43. Jamālpur mound pillar-base inscription

This fragmentary inscription in Brāhmi characters, preserved in the Public Library in Allahabad, speaks of the gift made by the elder of the Community.

44. Jamālpur mound pillar-base inscription

This fragmentary record in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, refers to the gift made by the commissioners of the Community headed by Bhadila.


45. Jamālpur mound Buddhist pillar-base inscription

This fragmentary record in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, refers to the gift of the monk Buddhakṛṣṇa, the Vaiṣṇavā, to the community of the four quarters.


46. Jamālpur mound Buddhist pillar-base inscription

This record in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, refers to the gift made by the monk Buddhaghoṣa.


47. Jamālpur mound Buddhist stūpa inscription

This inscription in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, refers to the gift made by Muśāpriyā, the daughter of Śūrāna.

48. Jamālpur mound Buddhist pillar-base inscription

The inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhma characters, is deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. It speaks of the gift made by the Viśvasika Vagamihira together with his son Horamurdvagā (?).


49. Jamālpur mound Buddhist pillar-base inscription

This inscription in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhma characters, deposited in the Mathurā Museum, mentions the gift made by the monks Bhadra and Bhadraghoṣa.

Vogel, Arch. Muse. Math., p. 178; Lüders’ List, No. 125a; also his Math. Ins., p. 87.

50. Jamālpur mound Buddhist stone inscription

This inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhma characters, is deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. It mentions the gift made by the monk Buddhanaṇandin for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.


51. Jamālpur mound Buddhist image inscription

This record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhma characters, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. This fragmentary inscription mentions some personal names like Mitraśarma, Ghosaka, Parohasālika, the father of Cikkaka. It also refers to the name of the Mahārāja, Rājātirāja Kaṇiṣka.

R. L. Mitra in JASB, Vol. XXXIX, p. 129; Cunningham in ASIR, Vol. III, p. 31; Lüders in IA, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 149-50; also his List, No. 79; also his Math. Ins., pp. 60-61.
52. Jamnā (near Mathurā) Nāga image inscription
   The record in Brāhmi characters, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, mentions the name of the Nāga Dadhikarṇa.

53. Jamnā Buddhist image inscription
   This record in Brāhmi characters, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, mentions the title Mahārāja only.

54. Jamnā Bāgh (in Mathurā city) Buddhist image inscription
   This inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmi characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. It mentions the gift of the monk Buddhapāla for the worship of his parents and all beings.

55. Kaṅkāli Tilā Jaina image inscription
   This record in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmi characters, deposited in the Lucknow Museum, mentions the reign of Devaputra Huviṣka.

56. Kaṅkāli Tilā Jaina image inscription
   This fragmentary record in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmi characters preserved in the Lucknow Museum, mentions the name of Sena, the pupil of Chandin.

57. Kaṅkāli Tilā Jaina image inscription
   This fragmentary record in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmi characters, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, mentions the name of Kōṭṭiya gana.

58. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā Jaina image inscription

This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. It mentions a female pupil of *Arya* Sukara and *Ārya* Nāgadattā. Bühler in *EI*, Vol. I, p. 396; Lüders’ List, No. 86.

59. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā Jaina image inscription

This fragmentary record in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, mentions only the date portion. Bühler in *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 392-93; Lüders’ List, No. 87.

60. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā Jaina image inscription

This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. It records the setting up of tablets of homage in a *bhāṇḍira* by the goldsmith Nandighoṣa. Bühler in *EI*, Vol. I, p. 397; Lüders in *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 150-51; also his List, No. 95.

61. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā Jaina stone slab inscription

This record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. It records, after an invocation of the *Arhats*, the setting up of a tablet of homage by Acalā, the daughter-in-iaw of Bhadrayaśa and the wife of Bhadranandin, for the worship of *Arhats*. Bühler in *EI*, Vol. II, p. 207; Smith, *The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā*, p. 18; Lüders’ List, No. 106.

62. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā Jaina image inscription

This fragmentary record in Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, mentions ... *ka bhaginīya gho* ... only. Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 78; Lüders’ List, No. 107a; V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. XXIII, p. 45.
63. Kaṅkāli Tīlā Jaina image inscription

The fragmentary record, in Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription in one line cannot be read due to the bad preservation of the letters. Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 79; Lüders’ List, No. 107b.

64. Kaṅkāli Tīlā Jaina image inscription

This record, in Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. It is a fragmentary record and no coherent sense is possible.


65. Kaṅkāli Tīlā Jaina pillar inscription

This is a fragmentary record in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Lucknow Museum. The inscription records, after an invocation of the Arhats, the dedication of a torana by a lay female pupil together with some of her relatives.


66. Kaṅkāli Tīlā Jaina stone-tablet inscription

This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. It refers to the setting up of a tablet of homage by the daughter of Dhanamitra.


67. Kaṅkāli Tīlā Jaina image inscription

This is a fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. The inscription records the dedication of an image of the Arhat Pārśvanātha. It also mentions of the preacher Gnoṣaka, the pupil of Uggahini of the Sthānikiya kula.

68. Kaṅkāli Īlā Jaina image inscription
This fragmentary inscription in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmi characters, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, mentions the installation of an image Vardhamāna by some one.

69. Kaṅkāli Īlā Jaina image inscription
This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmi characters, deposited in the Lucknow Museum, mentions the names of Vāraṇa gaṇa and Ārya Kaniyasika kula.

70. Kaṅkāli Īlā Jaina image inscription
This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmi characters preserved in the Lucknow Museum, mentions the gift made by the Cīrī, the son of īśa.

71. Kaṅkāli Īlī Jaina image inscription
This fragmentary record, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, is written in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmi characters. The inscription refers to the setting up of an image of Vardhamāna. It also mentions the name of Sthāniya kula.

72. Kaṅkāli Īlā Jaina image inscription
This fragmentary record, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, is in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmi characters. It mentions, after an invocation to the Aḥat and Sīdhas, the Vāraṇa gaṇa, Ārya Hāṭṭiya Kula, Vajanagara śokhā and the Ārya Śrikiya saṁbhoga.

73. Kaṅkāli Īlā Jaina image inscription
This is a fragmentary record in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmi characters, preserved in the Lucknow Museum. The
inscription records, after an invocation of the bhagavat Rśabha, the making of some gifts by some one at the request of Sāditā, the female pupil of a preacher in the Vāraṇa gaṇa, Nāḍika kula.


74. Kaṅkāli Tilā Jaina image inscription

This fragmentary record in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, mentions the dedication of an image of Vardhamāna by Dinā.


75. Kaṅkāli Tilā Jaina stone slab inscription

This is a fragmentary inscription in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Lucknow Museum. The epigraph records the dedication of an image of Vardhamāna by Jayā, the daughter of Navahastin, the daughter-in-law of Grahasena and the mother of Śivasena, Devasena and Śivadeva, for the acceptance of Ārya Sandhi, the pupil of Ārya Balatrāta, at the request of a female pupil of Ārya Balatrāta, out of the Uccenāgari śākhā.


76. Kaṅkāli Tilā Jaina image inscription

This is a fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Lucknow Museum. It records the installation of a Jaina image by some one. It also mentions the name of Śrīka saṁbhoga.


77. Kaṅkāli Tilā Jaina image inscription

This is a fragmentary record in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Lucknow Museum. The inscription states that Gulhā, the daughter of Varmā
and the wife of Jayadāsa, installed an image of Ršabha, at the request of Āryaśyāmā, the female pupil of Ārya Gādhāka who was the pupil of Ārya Jeṣṭhahastin, out of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa, Brahmadāsika kula, Uccenāgari śākhā and the Śrīka saṁbhoga.


78. Kaṇkāli Tiḍā Jaina image inscription

This is a fragmentary record in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Lucknow Museum. The inscription states that Sthirā, the daughter of Varṇa-hastin and Devī, the daughter-in-law of Jayadeva, and the first wife of Kuṭha Kasutha, dedicated a four-fold Jaina image at the request of the precher Ārya Kṣeraka, the pupil of Ārya Mihila who was the pupil of Ārya Jeṣṭhahastin, out of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa, Brahmadāsika kula, Uccenāgari śākhā and Śrīgṛha saṁbhoga.


79. Kaṇkāli Tiḍā Jaina image inscription

This fragmentary record in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, mentions some gift made by some one at the request of the preacher Siṁha who was the pupil of Datta.


80. Kaṇkāli Tiḍā Jaina image inscription

This fragmentary record in Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, mentions the reign of Mahārāja Rājātirāja Kaṇiṣka.

V. S. Agrawala in JUPHS, Vol. XXIII, p. 47.
81. Katholi Kūa (in Mathurā City) image inscription

This inscription in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmi characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. It records the installation of the image of Mahaśabha by Āḍīhaka, the Rājaśāliyaka.


82. Kaṭrā mound image inscription

This record in Brāhmi characters, deposited in the Mathurā Museum, is fragmentary. Nothing can be said as regards its contents.

Lüders, Math. Ins., pp. 33-34.

83. Kaṭrā mound Buddhist image inscription

This record in Brāhmi characters, deposited in the Mathurā Museum, refers to the setting up of a Buddhist image for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.


84. Kaṭrā mound Buddhist image inscription

This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmi characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription mentions the gift made by a Kṣatrapa woman Naṇḍā for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings and for the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādins.


85. Kaṭrā mound Buddhist image inscription

This fragmentary record in Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit and Brāhmi characters, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, mentions the dedication of an image of the holy Śākyamuni by a monk.

86. Kaṭrā mound image inscription

This record in Brāhmī characters, deposited in the Mathurā Museum, mentions only daksi.


87. Kaṭrā mound stone inscription

This record, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, mentions only śya prāvāri.


88. Koṭā (3 miles to north of Mathurā) mound image inscription

This record, in Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters and preserved in the Mathurā Museum, mentions the name of Ghoṣa, the son of Jayadeva.


89. Koṭā railing pillar inscription

This, in Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. Only two letters are legible. Lüders take it to be the signature of the sculptor.


90. Lucknow Museum Jaina tablet inscription

The find-place of it is not ascertained.

This fragmentary record in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, states that the wife of Kautsīputra Amoghadatta set up a tablet of homage for the worship of the Arhats.


91. Lucknow Museum stone inscription

The place of discovery of the record is not known. This is a fragmentary inscription in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters. No coherent sense of the record is possible.

92. Lucknow Museum stone slab inscription

The find-place is not known. The epigraph, in Brāhmī characters, mentions only...Vakasya Najika Lüders, Math. Ins., p. 196.

93. Lucknow Museum stone slab inscription

The find-place of the record is unknown. This fragmentary record in Brāhmī characters mentions the gift of Mitrā, the daughter of Gośāla.

R. D. Banerji in EI, Vol. X, pp. 119-20; Lüders’ List, No. 107a; also in JRAS, 1912, pp. 159-60.

94. Lucknow Museum Jaina image inscription

The place of discovery is unknown. This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, speaks of the gift made by some one at the request of a native of Ahicchatra, who belonged to the Petivāmika kula and Vajranāgari śākha.

R. D. Banerji in EI, Vol. X, p. 120; Lüders’ List, No. 107d; also in JRAS, 1912, pp. 173-75.

95. Manoharpur Mohalla (in Mathurā city) Jaina inscription

The record, in Brāhmī characters, mentions the gift made in the monastery of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa, Sthānikiya kula.


96. Māṭ image inscription

This record in Brāhmī characters, deposited in the Mathurā Museum, mentions the word Nāyasa only.

Lüders, Math. Ins., p. 147.

97. Māṭa Gali (in Mathurā city) Buddhist stone inscription

This inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. It speaks of the
setting up of something for the Mahāsāṅghika in the Cutakavihāra.

98. Mātā Maṭh Jaina image inscription

This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, mentions the names of *Koṭṭiya gana* and *Vatsaliya kula*.

99. Mathurā Buddhist image inscription

This fragmentary inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, records the setting up of an image of bhagavat Śākyamuni.

100. Mathurā image inscription

This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. It mentions the gift made by Puṣyabalā, the wife of Dharmavardhaka.

101. Mathurā Buddhist pillar-base inscription

This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. It refers to the gift made by some monk.

102. Mathurā stone inscription

This fragmentary record in Brāhmī characters, is deposited in the Lucknow Museum. No coherent sense of the inscription is possible.
103. Mathurā image inscription

This record in Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, mentions only ya[p]asa.

104. Mathurā image inscription

This fragmentary inscription in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The epigraph refers to the gift made by the daughter-in-law of Sandhi, the daughter of Matisena and also the first wife of Nāgadāsa.

105. Mathurā stone inscription

This fragmentary record, in Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum, only...[p]ra[tis][th]itah [sa]...is legible.

106. Mathurā stone inscription

This fragmentary record, in Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. Only...ḥ savihito...is legible.

107. Mathurā Jaina inscription

This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, mentions the name of Kottiya gaṇa.

108. Mathurā Buddhist image inscription

This fragmentary record, in Brāhmī characters, refers to the installation of a Buddha image by some one in the Saddha vihāra.
109. Mathurā Museum image inscription
The find-place of the record is not known. This is a fragmentary inscription in Brāhmī characters. No coherent sense of the record is possible.
Vogel, Arch. Muse. Math., p. 122; Lüders' List, No. 81a; also his Math. Ins., p. 183.

110. Mathurā Museum image inscription
The place of discovery is not known. This is a fragmentary record in Brāhmī characters. No coherent sense of it is possible.

111. Mathurā Museum railing pillar inscription
The place of discovery of the record is unknown. The inscription, in Brāhmī characters, mentions the name of Joṭisa.
Vogel, Arch. Muse. Math., p. 147; Lüders' List, No. 125f; also his Math. Ins., pp. 185-86.

112. Mathurā Museum, Buddhist railing pillar inscription
The find-place is not known. This record in Brāhmī characters, mentions the name of Dāsa.
Vogel, Arch. Muse. Math., pp. 149-50; Lüders' List, No. 125c; also his Math. Ins., p. 185.

113. Mathurā Museum Jaina image inscription
The place of discovery of it is unknown. The record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, mentions the gift made by the daughter-in-law of Dharmamitra.

114. Mathurā Museum Buddhist railing pillar inscription
The findspot is not ascertained. This record, in Brāhmī characters, mentions only the name Śivara.
115. Mathurā Museum Buddhist railing pillar inscription

The place of discovery of it is unknown. This record, in Brāhmī characters, mentions only the name of Saṅghadeva. Vogel, Arch. Muse. Math., p. 145; Lüders' List, No. 125; also his Math. Ins., p. 184.

116. Mathurā Museum stone inscription

The place of discovery is not known. This is a fragmentary record in Brāhmī characters. No coherent sense of it is possible.

117. Mathurā Museum Buddhist image inscription

The find-place of it unknown. This fragmentary record, in Brāhmī characters, refers to the gift made by some one for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.
Lüders, Math. Ins., p. 189.

118. Mathurā Museum stone inscription

The find-place of it is not known. V. S. Agrawala reads the sign as the numerical symbol for 100.
Lüders, Math. Ins., p. 192.

119. Mathurā Museum image inscription

The place of discovery of it is unknown. This fragmentary record, in Brāhmī characters, mentions the gift made by Śiṣurikā, the house-wife of Jayadāsa.
V. S. Agrawala in JUPHS, Vol. XII, p. 28; also in ibid., Vol. XXIII, p. 49; Lüders, Math. Ins., p. 188.

120. Mathurā Museum Buddhist image inscription

The place of discovery of it is not ascertained. This inscription, in Brāhmī characters, mentions the gift of the image of Devaputra Magha and Buddha Kāśyapa made by some one. These statues were made by Hasthaka.
121. Mathurā Museum Buddhist image inscription

The findspot of it is not known. This is a fragmentary record in Brāhma characters. No coherent meaning of the record is possible.
V. S. Agrawala in JUPHS, Vol. XXI, p. 73.

122. Mathurā Museum Jaina image inscription

The find-spot of it is not ascertained. This inscription, in Brāhma characters, record the dedication of a Jaina image by the wife of some one.
V. S. Agrawala in JUPHS, Vol. XII, p. 27; also in ibid., Vol. XXIII, p. 59.

123. Mathurā Museum railing pillar inscription

The place of discovery is not known. This record, in Brāhma characters, mentions the name of Joṭisa.

124. Merā image inscription

This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhma characters, preserved in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription refers to the installation of an image by some one during the reign of Mahārāja Kaṇiṣka. It also mentions the words like Mahurā Kalavaddā.

125. Naugavā (4½ miles south-west of Mathurā city) Buddhist image inscription

This fragmentary record, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, is in Sanskrit and Brāhma characters. It records the erection of a Buddha image at some vihāra by the monk Dharmahastika.
126. Pālikherā (a village 3 miles south-west of the Kāṭrā) mound Buddhist stone-bowl inscription

This is a fragmentary inscription, in Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit and Brāhmi characters, preserved in the Mathurā Museum. It records the gift of the bowl by some one for the acceptance of the Mahāsāṅghikas, and for the welfare and happiness of the parents of the donor.


127. Pālikherā mound image inscription

This record in Brāhmi characters, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, mentions the name of Lavana or Lavaṇa. Lüders, Math. Ins., pp. 166-67.

128. Pālikherā mound image inscription

This record in Brāhmi characters, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, mentions the aksara ry [a].


129. Pālikherā image inscription

This fragmentary record, in Brāhmi characters, is deposited in the Mathurā Museum. No coherent sense of it is possible.


130. Pālikherā image inscription

This fragmentary record in Brāhmi characters, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, mentions the gift made for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.


131. Rāl Bhadār image inscription

This inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmi characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. It mentions the gift made by some one to propitiate the Siddha.

Vogel, Arch. Muse. Math., p. 92; Lüders’ List, No. 13b; also his Math. Ins., p. 150.
132. Saknā (about 3 miles west of Gaṇeśrā and 6 miles west of Mathurā) image inscription

This record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. It mentions the gift made by some one for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.


133. Salempur well (about 3½ miles to the south-west of Mathurā city) inscription


134. Sītalā Ghāṭī (in Mathurā city) Buddhist image inscription

This record, in Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. It mentions the gift made by some one for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.


135. Tokrī Tīlā image inscription

This inscription in Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Mathurā, Museum, mentions the name of Mahārāja Rajātirāja Devaputra Kaṇiśka


136. Tokrī Tīlā image inscription

This fragmentary record in Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Mathurā Museum mentions only Mastana. . .


137. Tokrī Tīlā colossal seated image inscription

This is a fragmentary record, in Sanskrit-Prakrit and Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription mentions the name of Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Kuśānaputra Sāhi Vematakṣuma. It also states that a
temple, a garden, a tank, a well, an assembly hall and a gateway were constructed by a Bakanapati, Humaśpala (?) by name.


138. Tokri Tīlā image inscription

This fragmentary inscription in Sanskrit and Brāhmi characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. It states that devakula of Huviśka’s grandfather who was steadfast in the true Law, on whom, on account of his devotion, the kingdom was conferred by Sarva and Caṇḍavira, became dilapidated and fell down. Having observed this, a Bakanapati, the son of a Mahādāṇḍanāyaka reconstructed it in order to increase the strength and longevity of the Mahārāja Rājatrāja Devaputra Huviśka.


V. Gupta Period

A. Dated Inscriptions

1. Mathurā pillar inscription of Candragupta II—Year 61 (=380 A.D.)

The inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmi characters, states that Arya Uditācārya who was tenth in descent from bhagavat Kuśika, fourth from bhagavat Parāśara, a disciple’s disciple of bhagavat Kapilavimala and a disciple of bhagavat Upamitavimal, installed two Śiva liṅgas called Upamiteśvara and Kapileśvara, for his teacher Upamitavimala and teacher’s teacher Kapilavimala and he requested the local Śaivas to take charge of them without fear of molestation and of being turned out even when the Ācāryas
would come to stay there. The record is dated in the fifth regnal year of Candragupta II and in the year 61 of the Gupta era.


2. Dasāvatāri Gali (in Mathurā City) lintel inscription—
Year 70 (= 389 A.D.)

This inscription in Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, mentions the gift made by the son of Mitra-Varman, the Nagarakiya for the welfare of his parents, in the year 70.


3. Mathurā Museum Jaina image inscription—Year 97
(= 416 A.D.)

The place of discovery of the record is unknown. This fragmentary inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, states that Dāmini, the first wife of some one erected a small pavilion for Vardhamāna, at the request of some one out of the Kotṭiya gaṇa and Vaira ṣākhā, in the year 97.


4. Mathurā Jaina image inscription—Year 113 (= 432 A.D.)

This inscription in Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. It records the installation of a Jaina image by Śāmāḍhyā, the daughter of Bhāṭṭībhava and the house-wife of the prātārika Grahāmitrapālīta, at the request
of Datilācārya of the Kottīya gaṇa, and the Vidhyādharī śākhā, during the reign of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Kumāragupta in the year 270.

5. Mathurā Buddhist image inscription—Year 125 (= 414 A.D.)

This fragmentary inscription, in Sanskrit language and Brāhmi characters, records the gift of an image of Buddha by a native of Mathurā, during the reign of Kumāragupta in the year 125.

6. Jamālpur mound stone inscription—Year 135 (= 454 A.D.)

This inscription, written in Sanskrit language and Brāhmi characters, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. It records the religious gift made by the wife of a Vihārasvāmin for acquiring the supreme knowledge by all sentient beings, in the year 135.

7. Kaṭrā mound Buddhist image inscription—Year 280 (= 599 A.D.)

This inscription, written in Sanskrit language and Brāhmi characters, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. It mentions the pious gift made by the Śākya nun Jayabhaṭṭā at the Yaśavīhāra for the attainment of Supreme knowledge by all sentient beings, in the year 280.

B. Undated Inscriptions

1. Indian Museum, Calcutta, Buddhist image inscription

The place of discovery of the record is not known. This inscription, in Sanskrit language and Brāhmi characters,
speaks of the gift made by the Śākya monk Dharmadāsa, for the attainment of Supreme knowledge by his parents and all sentient beings.


2. Jaisinghpur mohalla (in Mathurā city) Buddhist image inscription

This inscription in Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Lucknow Museum states that Dhavaśrīyā, the daughter of Buddha and the wife of Saṅghatrāta, dedicated an image of Dipaṅkara Buddha for the attainment of Buddhahood by all sentient beings.

R. D. Banerji in *ASI AR*, 1909-10, pp. 146-47

3. Jamālpur mound Buddhist stone slab inscription

This fragmentary inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit (?) and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. It records that a cooking stone of the Kāṭāṭika vihāra was put up by some merchants who were the commissioners of the community.


4. Jamālpur mound Buddha image inscription

This inscription, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, is written in Sanskrit language (?) and Brāhmī characters. It refers to a religious gift made by the Śākya monk Yaśadatta for acquiring the religious merit by his parents, teachers, preceptors and all sentient beings.

5. Kaṭrā mound Jaina image inscription

This record in Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, refers to an image of Ṛṣabha as the gift of Saṅgāraka to Samudra and Sāgara.
V. S. Agrawala in JUPHS, Vol. XII, pp. 25-26; also in ibid., Vol. XXIII, pp. 56-57; Lüders, Math. Ins., p. 35.

6. Kaṭrā mound stone inscription

This fragmentary record, in Brāhmī characters is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. Only...mokṣī..., is legible.
Lüders, Math. Ins., p. 36.

7. Lucknow Museum Buddhist image inscription

The place of discovery of the record is not known. This inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, refers to the gift of an image of Buddha by the house-wife of Buddhadeva.

8. Lucknow Museum door-jamb inscription

The place of discovery of the record, is unknown. This fragmentary record, in Brāhmī characters, mentions the gift made by a son of a householder.

9. Lucknow Museum Nāga inscription

This inscription, in Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit and Brāhmī characters mentions the gift made by Viṣṇu, the son of Govinda and the grandson of Hakudatta.

10. Maholl-Uspḥār Rd. Nāga image inscription

This inscription, in Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. It refers to the name of Āśvadeva, the son of the cloakmaker Bhavanandin.
Vogel, Arch. Muse. Math., p. 90; also in ASIAR, 1908-09, p. 162; Lüders’ List, No. 14e; also his Math. Ins., pp. 169-70.
11. Mathurā Buddhist image inscription

This fragmentary record, in Brāhmi characters, is preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Only the title Mahārājādhirāja is legible.

12. Mathurā Buddhist image inscription

This is a fragmentary record in Brāhmi characters. No coherent sense of it is possible.
Dowson in J.RAS, 1871, p. 188; Lüders’ List, No. 145; also his Math. Ins., pp. 210-11.

13. Mathurā Buddhist image inscription

This fragmentary record, in Sanskrit (?) and Brāhmi characters, mentions the dedication of an image of Buddha by a woman for the attainment of the condition of the Buddha by all sentient beings.
Growse in IA, Vol. VI, p. 219; Lüders in IA, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 155-56; also his List, No. 144.

14. Mathurā Buddhist image inscription

This fragmentary record, written in Sanskrit language and Brāhmi characters, mentions the gift made by the Śākya monk Brahmasoma for the attainment of highest knowledge by all sentient beings.

15. Mathurā Buddhist image inscription

This fragmentary inscription, written in Sanskrit language and Brāhmi characters, refers to the gift made by the Śākya monk Saṅgharaksita.
Dowson in J.RAS, 1871, p. 188; Lüders in IA, Vol. XXXIII, p. 156; also his List, No. 147; also his Math. Ins., p. 211.
16. Mathurā stone inscription of Candragupta II

This fragmentary inscription, preserved in the Lahore Museum, is written in Sanskrit language and Brāhmi characters. It records the conventional genealogy of Candragupta II. *Mahārājādhirāja Paramabhāgavata* Candragupta II was the son and chosen successor of *Mahārājādhirāja* Samudragupta who adopted the epithet *Licchavidauhitra*, and who was the son of *Mahārājādhirāja* Candragupta I and grandson of *Mahārāja* Ghaṭotkaca and also the great grandson of *Mahārāja* Gupta.


17. Mathurā Museum image inscription

This is a fragmentary record in Brāhmi characters. The only word of the text, that is legible, is *Śākyabhikṣo(h)*.


18. Mathurā Buddhist image inscription of Nṛpamitra

This fragmentary inscription, written in Sanskrit Language and Brāhmi characters, states that a Buddhist officer named Udāka or Udoka installed an image of Buddha on behalf and for the merit of king Nṛpamitra. The epigraph also refers to the name of Dinna who might have been a poet at the court of king Nṛpamitra.


19. Parkham image inscription

This fragmentary record, in Brāhmi characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. It mentions the gift made by some one at the request of the *Ārya* Nahuṣamitra.


20. Parkham image inscription

This fragmentary record, in Brāhmi characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. No coherent sense is possible.

VI. Post-Gupta Period

Katrā Kesāvadeva temple (in Mathurā city) stone slab inscription.

This fragmentary inscription is written in Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters. D. C. Sircar, on palæographical considerations, assigns the record to the latter half of the 7th century or the first half of the 8th century A.D. preferably to the former period. The record, after an adoration to the Boar incarnation of the god Viṣṇu, refers to the name of some kings, viz. Kṛṣṇarāja, Āryarāja, the son of Candragupta and Dīṇḍirāja alias Karka, all of whom belonged to the royal family of the Mauryas. The king Dīṇḍirāja performed many pious works at the cost of a large sum of money. The purpose of the inscription is to put the garlands around the head of the deity whom the king worshipped, regularly so long as the sun and moon would exist on the sky.

11. Mathurë. 10.30.16.0.0.

This fragmentary inscription, carved in ancient language and Brahmi characters, states that a certain person named Deva or Deva inscribed a tablet of Ekanbha on behalf of the son of king Asamapati. The inscription also refers to the name of Deva and records the gift of a pair of gold earrings.

12. Parshuram image excavated.

This fragmentary inscription, in Brahmi characters, is preserved in the Mathurë Museum. It details the gift made by some one as an offering to the deity Shiva.

13. Mathurë. 10.30.16.0.0.
SUPPLEMENT TO THE SUMMARIES OF INSCRIPTIONS

III. Śaka-Kṣatrapa period

undated inscriptions

20(a). Kulūta inscription from Mathurā

This inscription in two lines is in Sanskrit-Prakrit language and Brāhmi characters. It records the gift of a tank, a pleasure garden, a pillar, a stone slab and a shrine by Mārgaka, the Kulūta, who is the son of Kautśi, and by Ambādatta (or Tryambādatta), the son of Vāsiṣṭhī and by Rāhila, the son of Gouptī for the pleasure of God Maheśvara.

IV. Kuśāṇa period

_undated inscriptions_

123(a). Mathurā Frieze Sandstone inscription

The inscription in Sanskrit-Prakrit language and Brāhmī characters belongs to about 2nd century A.D. The inscription says that it was made by Yaśaka who was the son of a lady of the Kāśi clan and was the pīṭhamāda of the king Sūryamitra born of a Queen Gopālyā (may be Gopāli or Gopālikā). _Pīṭhamāda_ stands for Sanskrit _pīṭhamardā_ (a companion or assistant) or _pīṭhamardā_ (a massager especially of the back).


134 (a). Sonkh Seal inscription

It is a fragmentary inscription in two lines in Sanskrit-Prakrit language and Kuśāṇa Brāhmī script. The beginning of the upper line is damaged and read _putrasa_. The lower line contains the main name _ahikośikasa_ or _ahikausikasa_.


* Excavations have been conducted at the Sonkh region in Mathurā by Prof. Herbert Hartel of the Berlin Museum and a report on his work has been published in _German Scholars on India_, Vol. II, 1976.
134 (b). Sonkh Seal inscription

The epigraph is in two lines, the first of which in Prakrit language and Kuśāṇa Brāhmī characters, records anāṅga-balasa, while the second line, in Prakrit language and Kharoṣṭhī characters, also records Anaṅgabalasa. It is, therefore, a seal of a person named Anaṅgabala.

Hartel, loc.cit.
THE OCCURRENCE OF HEREDITARY

123 (9) Spade formation.

The frequency of two unusual forms of spade in the
individual and Kuehne infusorians Opalina reveals that
some white and some black in the infusorians. In
its various regions, the rosetta formation is
notable for its cable-like arrangement and
the positions of the spades. The spades are
arranged in a series of whorls, with the
spade at the top of the series. The
spade is in the form of a club, and
the spade at the top of the series is
always the largest. The spade at the
bottom of the series is the smallest.

In some infusorians, the spades are
arranged in a series of whorls, with the
spade at the top of the series. The
spade is in the form of a club, and
the spade at the top of the series is
always the largest. The spade at the
bottom of the series is the smallest.

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arranged in a series of whorls, with the
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spade at the top of the series. The
spade is in the form of a club, and
the spade at the top of the series is
always the largest. The spade at the
bottom of the series is the smallest.
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118 fn. 17 Vogel for Vovel.
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127 5 Frequent for Frequently.
131 10 & 14 Ādhaka for Ādhaka.
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143 9 votive for votive.
143 16 Hārīputra for Hārīputra.
144 13 'he for ihe.
148 15 Kāla for Kalā.
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160 17 Read Maittrakas for Maittrakas.
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Courtesy: Asiatic Society of Bengal (Ars Asiatica, Vol. XV)