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EARLY INSCRIPTIONS OF MATHURĀ

—A STUDY

EARLY INSCRIPTIONS OF MATHURĀ
—*A STUDY*

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DR. KALYANI DAS (BAJPAYEE)

M.A. (double), Ph.D.

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Dedicated

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

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 upto 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 Mahākṣatrapa 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 Vāsudeva, 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.

D. C. SIRCAR

645 New Alipore,
Calcutta-700053,
February 10, 1980.

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, Archæology and Culture, Lucknow University for their valuable comments and appreciation as examiners of the works. The author is also indebted for kind incouragement 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.

KALYANI DAS

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U.S.A.
January, 1980

ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
Act. Or.	Acta Orientalia.
A. Imp. Un.	The Age of Imperial Unity, ed. R. C. Majumdar, Bombay, 1968.
Arch. Muse. Math.	Archaeological Museum at Mathurā by J.Ph. Vogel, Varanasi, 1971,
ASI, AR	Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report.
ASIR	Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Reports.
ASI, WC	Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle.
ĀSS	Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, Poona.
Bhandarkar's List	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.
BI or Bib Ind.	Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta.
Bib. Bud.	Bibliotheca Buddhika.
BMC	Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India (in the British Museum), by J. Allan, London, 1936.
BS	Bibliotheca Sanskrita.
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

CAI	Coins of Ancient India from the earliest time down to the seventh century A.D. by A. Cunningham, Varanasi, 1963.
CHI	Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, ed. E. J. Rapson, New Delhi, 1968.
CII	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
Comp. Hist. Ind.	A Comprehensive History of India, ed. K.A.N. Shastri, Calcutta, 1957.
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	Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, ed. J. Hastings, 1958.
Gött. Gel. Anz.	Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
Hist. Dharm.	History of Dharmaśāstra by P. V. Kane, Poona, 1930-46.
Hist. Imp. Guptas	A History of the Imperial Guptas by S. R. Goyal, Allahabad 1967.
HNEI	The History of North-Eastern India by R. G. Basak, Calcutta, 1967.
IA	Indian Antiquary, Bombay.
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.

IMC	Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. I, by V. A. Smith, Oxford, 1906.
Ind. Ep.	Indian Epigraphy by D. C. Sircar, Delhi, 1965.
Ind. Ep. Gloss.	Indian Epigraphical Glossary by D. C. Sircar, Delhi, 1966.
JAIH	Journal of Ancient Indian History, Calcutta University.
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Haven (U.S.A.).
JAS	Journal of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.
JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
Jāt	Jātaka.
JBBRAS	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.
JBORS	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patua.
JBRS	Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Patna.
JDL	Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University.
JIH	Journal of Indian History, Trivandrum.
JISOA	Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta.
JNSI	Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, Varanasi.
JOI	Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda.

JPASB	Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London.
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.
Math. Ins.	Mathurā Inscriptions by H. Lüders, ed. K. L. Janert, Göttingen, 1961.
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.
Oxford. Hist. Ind.	The Oxford History of India by V. A. Smith, Oxford, 1961.
PHAI	Political History of Ancient India by H. C. Raychaudhuri, Calcutta University, 1953, 1972.

PMC	Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore by R. B. Whitehead, Vol. I, Oxford, 1914.
Proc. IHC	Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.
Proc. Trans. AIOC	Proceedings and Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference.
Sans.-Eng. Dict.	A Sanskrit-English Dictionary by Monier-Williams, Varanasi, 1963.
Śat. Br.	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.
SBAW	Sitzungsberichte der Koeniglich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin.
SBE	Sacred Books of the East, Oxford.
Sel. Ins.	Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization by D. C. Sircar, Calcutta, 1965.
State Govt. Anc. Ind.	State and Government in Ancient India by A. S. Altekar, Delhi, 1958.
Stud. Ind. Coins	Studies in Indian Coins by D. C. Sircar, Delhi, 1968.
Stud. Soc. Adm. Anc. Med. Ind.	Studies in the Society and Administration in Ancient and Mediaeval India, Vol. I by D. C. Sircar, Calcutta, 1967.
Tai. Br.	Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa.
Tai. S.	Taittirīya Saṁhitā.
TSS	Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

Vaikh.	Vaikhānasa Smārtasūtra.
Vāj. S.	Vājasaneya Saṁhitā.
VIS	Viśveśvarānand Indological Series.
Viṣṇu. Dh. S.	Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra.
VOJ	Vienna Oriental Journal, Vienna.

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

आ = ā	ई = ī	ऊ = ū
ऋ = ṛ	ॠ = ṝ	ऌ = ḷ
	ङ = ṅ	च = c
छ = ch	ञ = ñ	ट = ṭ
ड़ = ḍ	ण = ṇ	श = ś
ष = ṣ		ळ = ḷ
Anusvāra = ṁ		*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 Brāhmī 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 uudated. They are written in the Brāhmī characters excepting the lion-capital inscriptions of Rañjuvula and Śoḍāsa 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 Kuṣāṇas. 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 Kuṣāṇas, 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 Hagāmaṣa should be placed earlier than the coins of Hagāmaṣa 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, Vamatakṣama, 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 Lakulīśa 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 Ḍiṇḍirāja *alias* Karka.

Chapter II is devoted to the administrative system. The inscriptions mention a number official designations such as *amātya, mahādaṇḍanāyaka, gañjavara, balādhikṛta, 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 Candragupta II, as already mentioned, refers to the existence of the Lakulīśa sect of the Pāśupatas. 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 Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā. The Jaina Church was divided and subdivided into several *gaṇas*, *kulas*, *śākhās* 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 *samitakaraśreṇī* and *mālākāranikāya* flourished in the area. References to the *śreṣṭhin, sārthavāha, vyavahārin, vaṇik* 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 *Varṇas* 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 upto date list of inscriptions discovered from the Mathurā region and utilised in the present work.

66430

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 *Gārgī Saṁhitā*, which form part of an account of the Yavana invasion of Madhyadeśa, run as follows :

Tataḥ Sāketam=ākramya Pañcālān Mathurāṁ tathā /
Yavanā duṣṭa-vikrāntāḥ Prāpsyanti Kusumadhvajam //

... ...

Dhamamīta-tayā vṛddhā janaṁ bhokṣa(kṣya)nti nirbhayāḥ /
Yavanā(ḥ) kṣāpayiṣyanti Nagare pañca pārthivā(n*) //*
Madhyadeśe na sthāsyanti Yavanā yuddha-durmadāḥ /
teṣām=anyonya-Saṁbhāvād=bhaviṣyati na saṁśayaḥ //
ātma-cakr-otthitaṁ ghoraṁ yuddhaṁ parama-dāruṇam //

---

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 Ayodhyā in the present Fyzabad District, U.P.), Pañcāla (Rohilkhand in a narrow sense), Mathurā and Kusumadhvaja (the same as Pāṭaliputra 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 Sāgaradvīpa 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[4] like Cunningham, Rapson and Smith who depend on the wide distribution of various types of his coins[5] 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 Puṣyamitra (c. 187-151 B.C.).[6] Other scholars[7] 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 Puṣyamitra. Moreover, the name Dharamīta mentioned in the *Yuga Purāṇa* section is, according to Jayawal, Tarn and Sircar,[8]

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4 Cunningham, *Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East*, 1970 (reprint), pp. 260-66 ; Rapson in *CHI*, Vol. I, ed. Rapson, 1968 (reprint), pp. 491, 497 ; Smith, *EHI*, 1962 (reprint), p. 229 and note.

5 Cunningham, *op.cit.*, pp. 258-60 ; Gardner, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, 1966 (reprint), p. xxxvii ; Rapson in *op.cit.*, p. 497.

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

7 Bhandarkar, 'Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population', reprint (*JAIH*, Vol. I), pp. 276-77 and note 11 ; Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 1953, p. 388 ; Jayaswal in *JBORS*, Vol. XIV, pp. 417-18 ; Sircar in *A. Imp. Un.*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, 1953, pp. 106-07 ; Banerjea in *Comp. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. II, ed. K. A. N. Sastri, 1957, p. 154.

8 Jayaswal in *op.cit.*, pp. 417-18 ; Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 1938, pp. 454-55 ; Sircar in *JRAS*, 1963, p. 18. Tarn (*op.cit.*, pp. 132-33, 135, 140, 145-46) suggests that Menander, a younger contemporary and general of Demetrius advanced far into the interior of India under

the same as Demetrius.[9] The *Yuga Purāṇa*[10] 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.[11]

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., 1. 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).

10 Cf. Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 228 ; *JBORS*, Vol. XIV, pp. 401-02.

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 Rañjuvula, 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[12] in his Geography mentions a city named Euthymedia, usually believed to be a mistake for Euthydemia, 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*,[13] was the capital of Menander. Justin (xli.6) says that Demetrius 'was the king of Indians'.[14]

Demetrius' association with India, known from the indigenous and foreign accounts, is corroborated by numismatic evidence.[15] 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.

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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.

12 McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, ed. S. N. Majumdar-Sastri, 1927, pp. 122-24.

13 *Milindapañha*, I. 2, 28 ; cf. *SBE*, Vol. XXXV, pt. I, pp. 2, 23.

14 *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p. 8, note 2.

15 Whitehead, *PMC*, Vol. I, 1914, p. 14, pl. I ; A. N. Lahiri, *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins*, 1965, p. 109, pl. xii. 10-11.

But the Yavanas' control over Madhyadeśa did not last for long. Very soon Puṣyamitra succeeded in liberating Kusumadhvaja, Mathurā, Sāketa, Pañcāla and other areas of Madhyadeśa.[16] According to the *Divyāvadāna*,[17] Puṣyamitra, after attacking the monasteries Kukkuṭārāma in Pāṭaliputra and being unsuccessful in destroying them directed his campaign towards the North-west and reached

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16 The Greek incursions against Sāketa and Madhyamikā (modern Nāgarī near Chitor, Rājputāna) during Puṣyamitra's time may be presumed from the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali who is usually regarded as the contemporary of Puṣyamitra. Patañjali has *Iha Puṣyamitraṁ yājayāmaḥ* (*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 Puṣyamitra, 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 Charmaṇvatī (Chambal) flowing within a hundred miles of Madhyamikā,...and the Sindhu, a tributary of the Yamunā'.

17 *Divyāvadāna*, ed. Cowell and Neil, 1886, pp. 433-34.

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 upto the Indus on the west is known from the *Mālavikāgnimitram*[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.)[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),[20] conquered more nations than Alexander."[21] Menander is also mentioned as an Indian king in the title of the lost forty-forth book of Justin's work.[22] It appears from the accounts of Plutarch[23] that his dominions included many cities. Besides, his coins[24] with great variety and wide

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18 Act V.

19 *A. Imp. Un.*, pp. 113-14.

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 Ikṣumatī, a river of the Pañcāla country 'often identified with the modern Kālīnadī 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,[25] 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 Hāthigumphā inscription[26] 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 Rājagṛha (modern Rājgir in the Gayā District, Bihar), the Yavana king Dimita fled away to Mathurā in fear. Scholars[27] generally identify Dimita with the Greek king Demetrius, son of Euthydemus. Raychaudhuri[28] is of the opinion that, if the reading *Dimita* is correct, he may be identified with Diyumeta or Diomedes. D. C. Sircar,[29] on

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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.

25 Tarn, *op.cit.*, pp. 323-24.

26 Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, 1965, p. 216 ; cf. Barua, *Old Brāhmī inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves*, 1929, p. 17 and note 17 ; R. P. Chanda in *IHQ*, Vol. V, p. 594.

27 Sten Konow in *Act. Or.*, Vol. I (1923), pp. 27-28 ; Jayaswal in *JBORS*, Vol. XIII, pp. 228-29 ; Jayaswal and Banerji in *EI*, Vol. XX, pp. 76-77 ; Tarn, *op.cit.*, pp. 457-59 ; Jagannath in *Comp. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 112, 114. According to these scholars, Khāravela flourished in the first half of the second century B.C.

28 Raychaudhuri, *op.cit.*, p. 420, note 1.

29 *A. Imp. Un.*, pp. 117-18, 214 ; *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 216

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'[30] in which he refers to a Yavana king (*Jauna-rāyā*) mentioned in the early Jain work *Niśīthasūtram*.[31] The association of the king, probably an Indo-Greek ruler, with Mathurā is alluded to in the commentary of this work called *Cūrṇi*.[32] 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.

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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.

31 *Niśīthasūtram* with *Cūrṇi*, ed. Amar Chandra and Kanhaiyalal, Agra, Vol. III, verse 3689.

32 The passage, in the commentary, runs—*Para-pakkho sa-pakkhe duṭṭho, jahā Madhurāe Jauna-rāyā* (in Sanskrit '*Para-pakṣaḥ sva-pakṣe duṣṭaḥ yathā Mathurāyāṁ yavana-rājaḥ*').

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] Viṣṇumitra[2] and Dhanabhūti.[3] Besides, mention is also made of another king named Bṛhatsvātimitra[4] who was not the ruler of Mathurā, but whose daughter Yaśamatā (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, Puruṣadatta, Uttamadatta, Rāmadatta, Kāmadatta, Śeṣadatta,

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1 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, ed. K. L. Janert, 1961, pp. 158-60.

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.

5 Allan, *BMC*, 1967 (reprint), pp. cviii-cxi, 169-82, Pls. xxiv. 1-18, 20-21 ; xxv. 1-24 ; xliii. 16, 18-20 ; xliv. 1, 6, 9-11.

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 Brahmamitras as one and same person.

Bhavadatta and Balabhūti.[8] The coins attributed to Gomitra, Brahmamitra, Dṛḍhamitra, Sūryamitra,[9] 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,

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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 upto 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 (*Summmaries of Papers, Spl*, Indian History Congress, XXXIII Session, p. 7) read a paper on 'an unpublished Brāhmī inscription from Mathurā' in which she refers to an inscription of the king Sūryamitra. It records the gift of a *pīṭha* (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[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.[11]

A Buddhist pillar inscription[12] of Mathurā records the dedication of a railing and gateway at the Ratnagṛha by [Vādhapā]la Dhanabhūti, the son of a Vātsī, ... 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 Bharhut. The first[13] of these records the erection of a gateway and a stone-work by *Vātsīputra* Dhanabhūti, the son of *Gauptīputra* Aṅgāradyut (i.e., Agaraju),[14] the grandson of *Gārgīputra* Viśvadeva during the reign of the Śuṅgas. The second inscription[15] mentions the gift of Nāgarakṣitā, the wife of king [Dhanabhū]ti. The last one refers to the gift of *Kumāra* Vādhapāla, the son of king Dhanabhūti. All the Bharhut inscriptions[16] taken together provide us

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10 Jayaswal, *History of India* (150-350 A.D.), 1933, pp. 12-13.

11 cf. Altekar in *JNSI*, Vol. V, pp. 111-17.

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 Bharhut*, 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 Bharhut record.

15 Lüders' List, No. 882.

16 Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, 1926, p. 30.

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 Brāhmī 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 Brāhmī legend *Dhanabhūtisa* has recently been found at Rājghāṭ, 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.

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17 Rapson in *CHI*, Vol. I, 1962 (reprint), pp. 471-72.

18 Cunningham, *Stūpa of Bharhut*, p. 16 ; Hultzsch in *IA*, Vol. XXI, p. 225 ; Bajpai in *JNSI*, Vol. XXVI, p. 4.

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.

24 Hultzsch in *loc.cit.* ; Rapson in *loc.cit.* ; Altekar in *JNSI*, Vol. IV, p. 16 ; U. N. Ghoshal in *Comp. Hist. Ind.*,

As regards the probable date of Dhanabhūti, Cunningham,[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[26] assigns the Bharhut inscriptions of Dhanabhūti to the second or first century B.C. and D. C. Sircar,[27] on the basis of palaeography, the second half of the first century B.C. K. D. Bajpai[28] places Dhanabhūti a little earlier, i.e., about 100 B.C.

The name of king Bṛhatsvātimitra occurs on the Morā (Mathurā) brick inscription[29] and the Pabhosā cave inscription[30] of the time of Ūdāka. The last mentioned inscription

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Vol. II, ed. K. A. N. Sastri, 1957, pp. 339-40. According to K. D. Bajpai (*JNSI*, Vol. XXVI, *loc.cit.*) Viśvadeva, Agaraju and Dhanabhūti belonged to the Śuṅga house of Kauśāmbī and were probably the descendants of king Śuṅgavarmā.

25 Cunningham, *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 *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.*

27 *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 87.

28 *JNSI*, Vol. XXVI, p. 5.

29 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 155.

30 *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 96.

records the excavation of a cave at Pabhosā near Allahabad by Āṣāḍhasena, maternal uncle of Bṛhatsvātimitra in the tenth year of the reign of Ūdāka. Bṛhatsvātimitra is known also from his coins[31] found at Kosam (about 30 miles South-west of Allahabad) and at Rāmnagar (Ahicchatra) in Rohilkhand. Some scholars like Vogel,[32] Rapson,[33] D. C. Sircar[34] and K. D. Bajpai[35] identify Bṛhatsvātimitra of the Morā record with his namesake known from his coins. Other

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31 V. A. Smith, *IMC*, Vol. I, 1906, pp. 146, 155. Scholars generally hold that the name of the ruler of Kauśāmbī 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 Hāthigumphā 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 Kauśāmbī coins. According to him, Bṛhatsvātimitra, the ruler of Kauśāmbī, flourished at about the middle of the first century B.C.; and the mention of Aṅga and Magadha in the Hāthigumphā 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 Hāthigumphā inscription with Bṛhatsvātimitra, the king of Kauśāmbī.

scholaras[36] like Allan, Jagannath, K. A. N. Sastri and Sm. B. Lahiri suggest the existence of two Bṛhatsvātimitras (Bṛhatsvātimitra I and Bṛhatsvātimitra II) as rulers of Kauśāmbī and suggest that Bṛhatsvātimitra of the Morā record was identical with Bṛhatsvātimitra 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[37] found at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā.

1 [*na*]*mo arahato Vardhamānasya*
Gotiputrasa Poṭhayaśa[*ka*]*sa*

2 *Kālavāḷasa*

3 [*bhāryāye*] *koṭikiye Śimitrāye āyāgapaṭo*
pra[*ṭ*]*i* [*thāpito*]

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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 Bṛhatsvātimitra are of two types : (1) cast coins, and (2) struck coins. Allan and his followers suggest that cast coins were issued by Bṛhatsvātimitra I, and struck coins by Bṛhatsvātimitra II. Bṛhatsvātimitra of the Pabhosā inscription, according to them, was identical with Bṛhatsvātimitra 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 Bṛhatsvātimitra is mentioned in the Hāthigumphā inscription. Allan reads the word as *bahu*(*s* . -)*idita*.

37 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 49.

Plate I

Courtesy : Asiatic Society of Bengal (CII, Vol. II)

According to some scholars[38] like Bühler, Smith, Jayaswal and Leeuw, the inscription refers to the fight of Gotiputra[39] with the Poṭhayas[40] 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 Kuṣāṇas. Fleet,[41] while accepting the reading and literal translation of the record given by Bühler, differently explains the word *Poṭhayaśaka*. 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 Poṭhayaśaka as a personal name Lüders[42] interprets the inscription in the other way. According to him, it records the setting up of a tablet of homage by Kośikī Śimitrā, the wife of *Kālavāḷa* Poṭhayaśaka, the son of Gotī. The exact meaning of *Kālavāḷa* 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[43] also suggests that *Kālavāḷa* is the 'designation

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38 Bühler in *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 393-94, 396; Smith, *The Jaina Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā*, 1969 (reprint), p. 20; Jayaswal in *JBORS*, Vol. XVI, p. 242; Leeuw, *The Scythian Period*, 1949, p. 336.

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 Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā.

40 Bühler (*ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 394) identifies the Poṭhayas with the Proṣṭhas mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (Poona Cr. Ed., VI, 10.60) and in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (trans. H. H. Wilson, Vol. II, 1961, p. 159) as a nation of Southern India.

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

42 *EI*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 203-04.

43 *Ind. Ep. Gloss.*, 1966, p. 139.

of uncertain meaning'. The word *Kālavāḷa* occurs on two other inscriptions[44] of Mathurā, one of which records the setting up of a tablet of homage by *Kālavāḷa* of Mathurā along with his Śivarakṣitā; while the other refers to the erection of an image by the *Kalavaḍā* (i.e. *Kālavāḷa*) of Mathurā during the reign of Kaṇiṣka. The designation *Kālavāḷa* here seems to denote 'some dignitary or high official' as snggested 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 Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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

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44 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 49, 154.

45 Indraji in *JRAS*, 1894, pp. 553-54; Jayaswal in *JBORS*, Vol. XVI, p. 242; Leeuw, *op.cit.*, p. 336.

46 Cunningham, *CAI*, pp. 85-89.

47 *JNSI*, Vol. VIII, p. 32, pl. IIC.3. The reading of the legend *Tijyavega(sa)* is regarded as doubtful by him.

Tijyavega(sa) on the reverse. He says[48] that Tijyavega 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, Dṛḍhamitra, Sūryamitra, Viṣṇumitra might be assigned to the first century B.C., and kings like Puruṣadatta, Uttamadatta, Rāmadatta, Kāmadatta, Śeṣadatta, Bhavadatta and Balabhūti were the vassals of the Kuṣāṇas, and belonged to the

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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.*

51 Allan, *op.cit.*, p. cxvi ; Jagannath in *Comp. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 108.

52 Cf. Sircar in *A. Imp. Un.*, p. 159.

53 *Ibid.*, p. 171.

second century A.D. P. L. Gupta[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 Kuṣāṇas. But his theory appears to be improbable, because Kaṇiṣka 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,[1] the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā Jaina votive tablet of the year 72,[2] the Jamālpur mound stone inscription,[3] the Morā door jamb,[4] the Morā well inscriptions,[5] and the Mathurā broken slab inscription.[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.[7] His earlier issues are closely imitated from

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54 P. L. Gupta in *Mem. AIHCA Dept.*, Banaras, ed. A. K. Narain, 1968, No. 2, pp. 153-54.

1 Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, 1965, pp. 114-18.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 120-21.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 121.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 123.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 122.

6 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, ed. K. L. Janert, 1961, p. 204.

7 Allan, *BMC*, 1967 (reprint), pp. 185-89, pl. xxvi. 7-13; pl. xliii. 21-22; pl. xliv. 1-5.

the coins of the Greek kings Strato I and Strato II and are more numerous. On the obverse of these issues,[8] he is represented with the title *Basitêi Basitêôs Sôteros* in corrupt Greek, while, on the reverse, the epithet *apratihatacakra kṣatrapa* (written in Kharoṣṭhī) is applied to him. The coins were circulated over a wide area between the valley of the Indus and the Gangetic Doab.[9] Another class[10] of his coins found in the Punjab bears, on the obverse, corrupt Greek legend and on the reverse, the Kharoṣṭhī legend *Mahakhatapasa apraticakrasa* (*apratihatacakrasa*) *Rajulasa*. His later issues[11] circulating in Mathurā are small in number and have, on the obverse, the Brāhmī legend *Mahākhatapasa Rājuvulasa* 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 Rañjuvula conquered Mathurā at the later part of his reign and ruled there for a short period.[12] 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.[13] However, on the basis of the recorded find-spots of his coins, it has been suggested that Rañjuvula ruled over a much wider area than Mathurā.

An interesting fact about Rañjuvula 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 Śaka ruler referred to in the contemporary Taxila

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8 *Ibid.*, pp. 185-86, pl. xxvi. 7-11.

9 *Ibid.*, p. cxv.

10 *Ibid.*, pp. cxv, 187-89, pl. xliii. 21-22 ; pl. xliv. 1-5.

11 *Ibid.*, pp. cxv, 187 ; pl. xxvi. 12-13.

12 *Ibid.*, p. cxv ; *A. Imp. Un.*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, 1968, p. 134 and note 1.

13 *Comp. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. II, ed. Sastri, 1957, pp. 271-72.

inscription[14] of Patika, year 78 (A.D. 21) who is generally identified by scholars with Maues.[15] But the actual relationship of Rañjuvula with Maues is not clear and the former is represented on his coins as *Basitie. Basilêôs Sôteros* and *apratihatacakra kṣatrapa* as we have seen. D. C. Sircar[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[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).[18] He is often described as *Svāmin Mahākṣatrapa* in his inscriptions. His rise to power from *Kṣatrapa* to *Mahākṣatrapa* is corroborated by numismatic evidence.[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 Brāhmī 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.

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14 Sircar, *op.cit.*, p. 124.

15 Fleet differentiates between Moga and Maues (see *JRAS*, 1907, p. 1024 ; *ibid.*, 1914, pp. 797-98).

16 *A. Imp. Un.*, pp. 134-35 and note 1.

17 *ASIR*, Vol. III, p. 40.

18 Sircar, *op.cit.*, pp. 120-23 ; Lüders, *op.cit.*, p. 204.

19 Allan, *op.cit.*, pp. 190-191, pl. xxv. 25 ; pl. xxvi. 14-18 ; pl. xliii. 15.

A dated inscription of the time of Śoḍāsa, i.e. the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā votive tablet, helps us to determine not only the date of Śoḍāsa, but that of his father Rañjuvula also. There is a controversy among scholars as to the reading of the date of said epigraph. According to scholars[20] 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.[21] 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 Vikrama era. In that case, Śoḍāsa was a *Mahākṣatrapa* in 14 A.D.[22] Rañjuvula, 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 Rañjuvula to

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20 Cunningham in *Academy*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 397. Bühler (*EI*, Vol. II, p. 199) at first suggested that the first figure of the date may be 40 ; but later on (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 55 and note 2) he regarded it as 70. Smith, *IMC*, Vol. I, 1906, p. 191 ; Sten Konow in *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 139 ; Lüders in *Act. Or.*, Vol. X (1931), pp. 118-25 ; Sircar, *op.cit.*, p. 120.

21 Rapson, *CHI*, 1968 (reprint), p. 519 ; also in *Act. Or.*, Vol. XI (1933), pp. 260-64 ; Jayaswal in *JBORS*, Vol. XVI (1930), p. 245.

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 Śoḍāsa 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 Kaṇiṣka. For a detailed discussion of the Śaka era identified with Kaṇiṣka'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[23] bearing the Brāhmī legend *Mahakhatapasa putasa khatapasa [Tora] ṇaḍāsasa* on the obverse. The reading of the name of the Kṣatrapa is uncertain and the name is sometimes taken to be Taraṇaḍāsa or Bharaṇaḍāsa who was the son of a *Mahākṣatrapa*. These coins bear close resemblance with Var. C. of the coins of Śoḍāsa. Allan[24] suggests that the ruler might be another son of Rañjuvula, while according to Sircar,[25] he might be a son of Śoḍāsa.

Some other Kṣatrapas of Mathurā are also known from the coin,[26] 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 Lakṣmī and the Brāhmī legends *Khatapāna Hagānasa Hagāmaṣasa, Khatapasa Hagāmaṣasa, Khatapasa Śivaghoṣasa, Khatapasa Śivadatasa* respectively. Scholars[27] like Smith, Rapson, Allan and Sten Konow suggest that Hagāna and Hagāmaṣa flourished earlier than Rañjuvula and Śoḍāsa. Cunningham[28] seems to place Hagāna and Hagāmaṣa after Rañjuvula and Śoḍāsa as he mentions the coins of Rañjuvula 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

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23 Allan, *op cit.*, p. c xii.

24 *Loc.cit.*

25 *A. Imp. Un.*, p. 135.

26 Allan, *op.cit.*, pp. cxi-cxii, 183-84, pl. xxv. 26; pl. xxvi. 1-6.

27 Smith, *op.cit.*, pp. 190, 195-96; Rapson, *op.cit.*, p. 474; Allan, *op.cit.*, p. cxvi; Sten Konow in *JIH*, Vol. XII, p. 21.

28 Cunningham, *CAI*, 1963 (reprint), pp. 85-87.

and D. C. Sircar to hold the view that Rañjuvula was the earliest Kṣatrapa of Mathurā, and Hagāna and Hagāmaṣa ruled after Rañjuvula and Śoḍāsa.[29] 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 Hagāmaṣa earlier than Hagāna as they assign the coins of Hagāmaṣa to a date earlier than that of the joint-issues of Hagāna and Hagāmaṣa.[30] But, as pointed out by D. C. Sircar,[31] the jonit-coins of Hagāna and Hagāmaṣa should be placed earlier than the coins issued by Hagāmaṣa alone in view of the fact that the coin-legend *Khatapāna Hagānaṣa Hagāmaṣaṣa* 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,[32] indicates their later date. Little is known about a Kṣatrapa named Ghaṭāka of the Kṣaharāta family mentioned in a fragmentary inscription[33] found at Gaṇeśrā 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.

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29 Banerjea in *Comp. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 261-69; Sircar in *IHQ*, Vol. XXIV, 1948, pp. 242-43; also *Stud. Ind. Coins*, 1968, p. 313.

30 Cunningham, *op.cit.*, p. 87; Rapson, *op.cit.*, pp. 474, 485; Allan, *op.cit.*, p. cxi, 183-84.

31 Sircar, *Stud. Ind. Coins*, p. 313.

32 *Comp. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 269.

33 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 157-58.

The introductory portion of the inscriptions, recording the installation of the relics of Lord Buddha and the establishment of a *stūpa* and *Saṅghārāma* 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[34] to which Indraji, Fleet, Sten Konow and Marshall belong, Ayasia Kamuia was the chief queen; but according to the other group[35] including Bühler, Rapson, Thomas, Lüders, N. G. Majumdar and Leeuw, the name of Rañjuvula's chief queen was Nada Diaka.

Indraji,[36] who is supported by Fleet,[37] 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 Kamuia was the chief queen, according to them, she was the daughter of *Yuvarāja* Kharaosta and the mother of Nada Diaka.[38]

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

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34 Indraji in *JRAS*, 1894, p. 546; Fleet, *ibid.*, 1907. p. 1025; Sten Konow, *CII*, Vol. II, pt. I, 1929, pp. 34-36; Marshall in *JRAS*, 1947, p. 23.

35 Bühler, *ibid.*, 1894, pp. 5 31, 534; Rapson, *ibid.*, p. 546; Thomas in *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 141; Lüders in *SBAW*, 1913, pp. 423-24; Majumdar in *JPASB, NS*, Vol. XX, p. 16; Leeuw, *The Scythian Period*, 1949, p. 333.

36 Indraji in *loc.cit.*

37 Fleet in *loc.cit.* Fleet takes Nada Diaka to be the mother of the heir-apparent Kharaosta.

38 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 Kamuia 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 suggest[40] that he was the same as Kharamosta (i.e., Kharaosta) mentioned on some coins[41] as the son of Arṭa. Sten Konow further suggests that Kharaosta belonged to the Imperial Śaka line. His father Arṭa, 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 Kamuia 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. Bühler[42] does not agree with the view that Kharamosta, known from coins as the son of Arṭa, was identical with *Yuvarāja* Kharaosta of the lion-capital inscriptions. *Yuvarāja* Kharaosta, according to him, was the son of Rañjuvula and the step-brother of Śoḍāsa. Thomas[43] states that the legend on the coins of Kharamosta indicates clearly that Arṭa was the son of Kharaosta and not the

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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 hose back and the Greek legend *XAPAMɯ ⊏ TEI ⊏ ATPA∩EI APTAY□Y* and on the reverse, the lion and the Kharoṣṭhī legend *Chatrapasa Kharamastasa Aṛtasa Putrasa.*

42 Bühler, *ibid.*, 1894, pp. 531-32.

43 *Gott. Gel. Anz.*, 1931, pp. 11-12.

latter's father. Leeuw[44] supports this view. But Thomas' suggestion does not tally with the Kharoṣṭhī legend where Kharaosta is described as the son of Arṭa.

In the lion-capital inscriptions there is a reference to *Mahākṣatrapa* Kusuluka Patika who has generally been identified with *Mahādānapati* Patika, son of Kṣatrapa Liaka Kusuluka mentioned in the Taxila Copper plate inscription of year 78. Scholars[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[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,[47] should be referred the Vikrama

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

45 Marshall, *ibid.*, 1914, p. 986 ; Rapson, *op.cit.*, p. 514 ; Sten Konow, *op.cit.*, p. xxxii ; Banerjea in *Comp. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 270-71.

46 Sircar, *Ind. Ep.*, pp. 243-49.

47 Fleet in *JRAS*, 1907, pp. 1036-38 ; Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 124.

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,[48] 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 Kuṣāṇas

Foreign domination in Mathurā did not end with the termination of Śaka Kṣatrapa rule. A number of inscriptions of the Kuṣāṇa rulers Kaṇiṣka, Vāsiṣka, Huviṣka, and Vāsudeva, found at Mathurā and dated in the years between 4 and 98, reveal that the Kuṣāṇas exercised sovereignty over the region for a considerable period of time. Kuṣāṇa 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*

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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-iśvarasa mahiśvarasa vima kaṭhphiśasa tratarasa* on the reverse.[1] The discovery of his coins in Mathurā[2] led many scholars[3] 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] Scholars[5] 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

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1 Whitehead, *PMC*, Vol. I, 1971 (reprint), pp. 183-85, pl. xvii ; B. Chattopadhyay, *The Age of the Kuṣāṇas*, 1967, pp. 36-49, 212-14.

2 *ASIR*, Vol. XX, p. 37 ; B. Chattopadhyay *op.cit.*, p. 235.

3 Cunningham in *NC*, 1890, pp. 115-16 ; F. W. Thomas in *JRAS*, 1913, pp. 629-30 ; Smith, *EHI*, 1962 (reprint), p. 267 ; Jayaswal in *JBORS*, Vol. XVI, p. 233 ; Leeuw, *The Scythian Period*, 1949, pp. 369, 373 ; J. N. Banerjea and Jagannath in *Comp. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. II, 1957, pp. 231-32 ; B. N. Puri, *India under the Kuṣāṇas*, 1965, p. 24 ; B. N. Mukherjee, *Studies in Kuṣāṇa Genealogy and Chronology*, Vol. I, 1967, pp. 52-54.

4 Cf. *A. Imp. Un.*, 1968, p. 141.

5 Sten Konow in *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 141 ; Smith, *Oxford Hist. Ind.*, 1961 (reprint), pp. 147-48.

Punjab, in Kandahār, in the Kabul region and also as far as Mathurā in the east.[6] 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 chief for governing it."[7] MacDowall[8] is of the opinion that the nameless king is to be placed between Kujula Kadphises and Wema Kadphises.

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6 Cunningham in *loc.cit.* ; Whitehead, *op.cit.*, pp. 160-62 and note 2, pl. xvi ; B. Chattopadhyay, *op.cit.*, pp. 49-52, 213-14.

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

8 MacDowall in *Papers on the Date of Kaṇiṣka*, 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 Āgniveśya prince, who, according to the *Gārgī Saṁhitā*, 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 Kaṇiṣka 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[9] 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[10] 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,[11] 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[12] takes him to be a subordinate under Wema Kadphises. Scholars[13] like Leeuw, J. N. Banerjea and Jagannath agree with Sten Konow. D. C. Sircar, B. N. Puri and others[14] 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-

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

9 Cunningham in *loc.cit.*

10 Kennedy in *JRAS*, 1913, pp. 661-63; Smith, *EHI*, 1962 (reprint), p. 268; Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. I, 1951, pp. 68-69.

11 Whitehead, *op.cit.*, p. 160, note 2.

12 Sten Konow, *CII*, VII, pt. I, 1929, p. lxix.

13 Leeuw, *op.cit.*, p. 375; Banerjea and Jagannath in *Comp. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 233.

14 Sircar in *A. Imp. Un.*, pp. 140-41; Puri, *op.cit.*, p. 26.

Plate II

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (Ep. Ind. XIX)

dently. Sircar further identifies him with the nameless Kuṣāṇa 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 Kadphises.

An image inscription[17] found in the Tokrī Ṭīlā 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 *bakanapati*[18] called Humaspala. Lines 1 and 2 of the record refers to a Kuṣāṇa king *Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Kuṣāṇaputra Ṣāhi* Vamatakṣama.[19] The titles adopted by the monarch shows his imperial status.

There are divergent opinions regarding the identification of the Kuṣāṇa ruler Vamatakṣama. Scholars[20] like Jayaswal,

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15 *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, 1965, p. 130.

16 Mukherjee, *op.cit.*, pp. 53-54.

17 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, ed. K. L. Janert, 1961, p. 135.

18 See *infra*, Chapter on Administration.

19 Variant readings of the word are given by different scholars. Vogel (*ASIAR*, 1911-12, pt. II, p. 124), Raychaudhuri (*PHAI*, 1972, p. 406, note 2), Sten Konow (*JRAS*, 1932, p. 963), D. C. Sircar (*A. Imp. Un.*, p. 148, note 3) and B. N. Puri (*op.cit.*, p. 24) take it as Vamatakṣama. But in other places Sircar (*Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 529) and Puri (*op.cit.*, pp. 69-70) refer to it as *Vamatakṣa*. R. Ghirshman (*Begram*, 1946, p. 140) deciphers it as *Vāmatakṣama*. According to scholars like Jayaswal (*JBORS*, Vol. VI, p. 14), V. S. Agrawala (*JUPHS*, Vol. XXIII, p. 75), Leeuw (*op.cit.*, p. 379), J. N. Banerjea (*Comp. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 231), the word is *Vematakṣama*. F. W. Thomas (*NIA*, Vol. VII, p. 100) apparently read it as *Vama Takṣa* (or *Kṣu)ma*. Lüders (*Math. Ins.*, p. 135) takes it as *Vema Takṣuma*, and B. N. Mukherjee (*op.cit.*, p. 57) as Vimotāksuma.

20 Jayaswal in *op.cit.*, pp. 13-16; Sahni in *JRAS*, 1924, p. 403; Bachhofer in *JAOS*, Vol. LXI, p. 249; Agrawala

D. R. Sahni, Bachhofer, V. S. Agrawala, Leeuw, J. N. Banerjea and B. N. Mukherjee identify him with Wema Kadphises. Lüders[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[22] states that the identity of the king is uncertain, the epithet *Devaputra* connects him with Kaṇiṣka group of kings. According to Sten Konow and Ghirshman,[23] Vematakṣama flourished in the period between Wema Kadphises and Kaṇiṣka I. Previously D. C. Sircar believed that Vamatakṣama like Vaskuṣāṇa of the Sāñcī inscription,[24] year 22 (= 100 A.D.) might have been the junior partner of Kaṇiṣka I.[25] But later on, he changed his opinion and took him as one of the successors of Vāsudeva I.[26] B. N. Puri[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 honorfic epithets adopted by Vamatakṣama, it is apparent that the king belongs to the Kaṇiṣka group of rulers.[28] In this connection, another inscription[29] written

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in *op.cit.*, pp. 74-75; Leeuw, *op.cit.*, pp. 379-80; Banerjea and Jagannath in *op.cit.*, p. 231; Mukherjee, *op.cit.*, pp. 58-59.

21 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 136-38, 141.

22 Raychaudhuri, *op.cit.*., p. 406, note 2.

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

24 Marshall, *Monuments of Sāñcī*, Vol. I, p. 386.

25 *A. Imp. Un.*, p. 148, note 3.

26 *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 529.

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

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

29 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 138-40.

in Sanskrit and in Brāhmī characters of the Kuṣāṇa 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[30] who assumed the epithets *Satyadharmasthita* and *nanayat Sarva Śaṁḍa-Virātisṛṣṭarājya*; 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 palæography, to the Kuṣāṇa period. Besides, while the first inscription records the erection of a *devakuta* along with the excavation of a tank, etc., during the reign of Vamatakṣama, 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,[31] that the two inscriptions taken together refer to one and the same *devakula* and Vamatakṣama was the grandfather of Huviṣka.

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

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30 F. W. Thomas' (*JRAS*, 1952, p. 116) interpretation of the passage *devakulaṁ 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.

31 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 141; B. N. Mukherjee, *op.cit.*, p. 61.

Most of the inscriptions of Kaṇiṣka and his successors, *viz.*, Vāsiṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva, discovered at Mathurā and elsewhere, are dated. In Kaṇiṣka's records the dates are given in the years from 3 to 23,[32] in Vāsiṣka's inscriptions the years from 24 to 28, in Huviṣka'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 Kaṇiṣka was continued by his successors. As regards the identification of the era instituted by Kaṇiṣka, there is no consensus of opinion among scholars.

Fleet[33] and Kennedy[34] advocate the theory once sponsored[35] and subsequently given up[36] by Cunningham that Kaṇiṣka initiated the era of 58 B.C. and, as its corollary, the other hypothesis that the Kaṇiṣka group of rulers was succeeded by the Kadphises group. But the above view about the chronology of the Kuṣāṇas is no longer upheld by recent authorities, and a careful study of the literary evidence and archæological data does support the theory. The priority of the Kaṇiṣka group goes against the Chinese annals,[37] according to which, Kadphises I was the first Kuṣāṇa king of the Ta-yueh-chi and Kadphises II, the first Kuṣāṇa ruler who extended his territory into the interior

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32 Sten Konow (*CII*, Vol. II, pt. I, p. 137) reads the date of the Peshawar Casket inscription as year I of the *Mahārāja* Kaṇiṣka. D. C. Sircar (*A. Imp. Un.*, p. 143, note 2) thinks that the reading of the date is erroneous. K. G. Goswami (*EI*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 211-12) reads the date of the Kosam image inscription as year 2 of the *Mahārāja* Kaṇiṣka. But Sircar (*Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, pp. 135-36) reads it as year 3.

33 Fleet in *JRAS*, 1913, pp. 913–20.

34 Kennedy in *ibid.*, pp. 921-27.

35 Cunningham in *ASIR*, Vol. II, pp. 67-68.

36 Cunningham in *NC*, 1892, p. 44.

37 Fan Yeh, *loc.cit.*

districts of India. Besides, Gandhāra was included within Kaṇiṣka'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 Kuṣāṇas, who ruled over Kipin, identified by some scholars with Kāpiśa-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 Kaṇiṣka 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 Kaṇiṣka and Wema Kadphises.[41] Kaṇiṣka 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 Kaṇiṣka'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 Kaṇiṣka group of rulers are found more in number than

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38 Cf. Raychaudhuri, *op.cit.*, p. 412.

39 Gardner, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, 1966 (reprint), pp. 122-23, pl. XXV, 3-5 ; Whitehead, *op.cit.*, pp. 178-82, pl. xvii.

40 Gardner, *op.cit.*, pp. 124-26, 129-33, pls. xxv. 6-10, xxvi. 1-19 ; Whitehead, *op.cit.*, pp. 183-84, 187-88, pl. xvii.

41 Cf. *A. Imp. Un.*, p. 144, note 2.

42 Whitehead, *op.cit*, pp. 186-93, pls. xvii, xviii.

43 *Ibid.*, pp. 178-81, 183-84, pl. xvii.

those of the Kadphises group in the upper strata[44] while in the lower stratum, the case is just the opposite.[45]

There are two other theories assigning Kaṇiṣka to the third century A.D. According to R. C. Majumdar,[46] he ascended the throne in 248 A.D. and was the founder of the Traikuṭaka-Kalacuri-Cedi era. R. G. Bhandarkar[47] ascribes his accession to 278 A.D. Both the views have been criticised by scholars on several grounds. D. C. Sircar[48] pointed out that the theory placing Kaṇiṣka 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 Kaṇiṣka 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 Kaṇiṣka, as observed by Sircar,[49] to a date more than a century after Rudradāman I middle of the 2nd century A.D.). From the accession of Kaṇiṣka to the close of the rule of Vāsudeva, the Kuṣāṇas held their sway over Mathurā for about a century (from 3 to 98 of the Kuṣāṇa era). Therefore, if Kaṇiṣka had ascended the throne in 248 or 278 A.D., then Vāsudeva ruled there upto 346 or 376 A.D. But, the above dates cannot be reconciled with events like the following :— (i) with the termination of the Kuṣāṇa rule, no less than seven Nāga kings ruled there as known from the Purāṇas ;[50]

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44 Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. I, 1951, p. 221.

45 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, 1951, pp. 785-88, 792-93.

46 *JDL*, Vol. I, p. 88.

47 *JBBRAS*, Vol. XX, pp. 385-86.

48 Sircar in *Papers on the Date of Kaṇiṣka*, p. 280.

49 Sircar in *JAIH*, Vol. II, p. 132.

50 *Nava-Nāgās=tu bhokṣyanti purīṁ campāvatīṁ nṛpāḥ /*
Mathurāṁ tu purīṁ ramyāṁ Nāgā bhokṣyanti sapta vai //
Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, 1962, p. 53.

(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 Kaṇiṣka to the third century A.D. goes against the Tibetan tradition[53] which speaks of Kaṇiṣka as a contemporary of king Vijayakīrti of Khotan who flourished in the second century A.D., and the Indian tradition[54] which mentions Huviṣka as a contemporary of the Buddhist teacher Nāgārjuna who flourished during the time of a Sātavāhana king of not later than the second century A.D. ; (v) According to the catalogues of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*, An-Shi-Kao (148-70 A.D.) translated the *Mārgabhūmisūtra* of Saṅgharakṣa who was a chaplain of Kaṇiṣka. Hence, Kaṇiṣka 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 Kaṇiṣka to the third century A.D.

Marshall, Sten Konow, Smith, Ghirshman and others suggest that Kaṇiṣka'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).

52 *Ibid.*, pp. 277-79.

53 *EI.*, Vol. XIV, p. 142.

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

55 *Ibid.*, pp. 414-15 and note 6.

56 Sten Konow, *op.cit.*, p. lxxvii.

57 Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. I, pp. 69-71. Sten Konow changed his views on the question. Once he took 134 A.D. to be the date of Kaṇiṣka's accession (*Act. Or.*, Vol. III, 1924, pp. 78-79). Later on, he mentioned 128-29 A.D. as the

(1) certain Tibetan and Chinese documents refer to Kaṇiṣka who flourished in the second century A.D., and Vāsudeva whose rule ended about a century after the accession of Kaṇiṣka, 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.).[58]

But the view ascribing Kaṇiṣka to the second century A.D. is regarded doubtful by the following facts : (1) Āra inscription[59] of the year 41 refers to a Kuṣāṇa king Kaṇiṣka, son of Vajheṣka, who, if we accept Kaṇiṣka's date of accession as 78 A.D., is placed in 119 A.D. Numismatic evidence[60] discloses the existence of a still later Kaṇiṣka 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[61] 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

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initial point of Kaṇiṣka's reckoning (*IHQ*, Vol. III, pp. 851-56). See Smith, *EHI*, p. 271 ; Ghirshman, *Begram*, 1946, pp. 105-08.

58 Cf. *A. Imp. Un.*, p. 145.

59 *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 154.

60 Smith, *IMC*, Vol. I, 1906, pp. 87-88.

61 *Ibid.*, pp. 64, 87.

had supremacy over the Punjab, the former North-Western Frontier Province and Afghanistan by the middle of that century.[62] (4)Rudradāman, the first independent ruler of the Kārdamaka family, had his hold over Ākara (East Mālwā, 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 Junāgaṛh inscription[63] of Rudradāman, dated in the year 72. Kaṇiṣka and Vāsiṣka, on the other hand, had their sway over East Mālwā as known from the Sāñcī inscription,[64] dated in the years 22 and 28. Besides, the Sui Vihār inscription[65] of Kaṇiṣka, dated in the year 11 proves his hold over the Lower Indus region. Hence, the assignment of Kaṇiṣka 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 Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi in the period c. 124-30 A.D.[66] Kaṇiṣka should therefore be placed to an earlier date.

In view of what has been said above, it appears that Kaṇiṣka 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,[67] Kaṇiṣka ascended the

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62 *A. Imp. Un.*, p. 146.

63 *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 178.

64 *Ibid.*, pp. 150-51.

65 *Ibid.*, pp. 139-40.

66 Sircar in *Papers on the Date of Kaṇiṣka*, pp. 291, note 5.

67 Fergusson in *JRAS*, 1880, pp. 261-68 ; Oldenberg in *IA*, Vol. X, p. 215 ; Banerji, *ibid.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 57 ; Thomas in *JRAS*, 1913, pp. 627-50 ; Rapson in *CHI*, Vol. I, 1955, p. 526 ; Raychaudhuri, *op.cit.*, pp. 411-17 ; Bachhofer in *JAOS*, 1941, p. 242 ; Leeuw, *op.cit.*, p. 65 ; Sircar in *A. Imp. Un.*, pp. 143-46 ; B. N. Mukherjee in *Papers on the Date of Kaṇiṣka*, pp. 200-04.

throne in 78 A.D. and was the founder of the Śaka era. The identification of Kaṇiṣka with the founder of the Śaka era of 78 A.D. may be regarded as probable on the following grounds : (1) Kaṇiṣka'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.[68] (3) We do not know who was the originator of the Śaka era ; but its epoch falls near about that of Kaṇiṣka's era as indicated above.

Mathurā formed a part of the dominions of Kaṇiṣka and his successors for about a century as is evident from a large number of inscriptions mentioning the names of rulers available from the region. A fragmentary inscription[69] on the pedestal of an image of a seated Bodhisattva, found at Mathurā, runs as follows :

Mah [*ā*] *r* [*ā*] *jāsa d* [*e*] *va* [*p*] (*utrasa*) [*ka*]

(*ni*) [*ṣka*]-*sa* [*sa*] *ṁ* [*4*] *h* [*e 4*] *di* [*10 4*]

According to Vogel,[70] the inscription refers to the name of the Kuṣāṇa king Huviṣka and the date 30. Lüders,[71] on the other hand, reads the name of the ruler as Kaṇiṣka. As regards the date, he[72] thinks that it is either 4 or 40. He further states that if the name of the king is Kaṇiṣka, the corresponding date must be 4 and not 40. B. N. Mukherjee[73] supports Lüders only in respect of the name of the king Kaṇiṣka, but not in respect of the date, in which case he accepts Vogel's reading. Regarding the identification of Kaṇiṣka mentioned in the record, he says that he was

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68 Sircar, *Ind. Ep.*, 1965, p. 248.

69 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 200.

70 *ASI AR*, 1923-24, p. 231.

71 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 200.

72 *Ibid.*, p. 200, note 6.

73 B. N. Mukherjee, *op.cit.*, pp. 77-79.

Kaṇiṣka II, the son of Vajheṣka of the Āra inscription[74] of the year 41. According to him, Kaṇiṣka II was Huviṣka's co-ruler at least for some years, i.e. from the year 30 to 41 of Kaṇiṣka's era.

Again, opinions widely differ regarding the reading of the date of an inscription[75] written in Brāhmī bearing characteristics of the third century A.D., found at Dalpat-ki-khiṛki Mohalla in Mathurā city. It mentions the name of *Mahārāja Devaputra* Kaṇiṣka. According to V.V. Mirashi,[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 Kaṇiṣka 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 Kaṇiṣka II and Huviṣks at least during the period from the year 41 to 54. D. R. Sahni,[77] D. R. Bhandarkar,[78] Lüders,[79] D. C. Sircar[80] read the date as the year 14. Therefore, Kaṇiṣka referred to in the epigraph, according to them, was Kaṇiṣka I. In disagreement with the scholars mentioned above, B. N. Mukherjee[81] read the date as the year 94 and suggests that Kaṇiṣka flourished in that year was Kaṇiṣka III.

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

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74 *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, pp. 154-55.

75 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 116-17.

76 Mirashi in *EI*, Vol. XXVI, p. 294.

77 *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 97.

78 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 2.

79 *Math. Ins.*, p. 116.

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.

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* Vāsiṣka. 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 Vāsiṣka have been discovered so far. His last two known records, one found at Sāñcī[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 Huviṣka 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 Vāsiṣka ruled, at least for sometime, conjointly with Huviṣka.

Vāsiṣka was succeeded by Huviṣka. He enjoyed a long reign and there are inscriptions ranging from the year 28 to 60 of the Kuṣāṇa era covering a period from 106 to 138 A.D. After Huviṣka, Vāsudeva came to the throne. His known dates range from the year 64 or 67,[90] to 98 corresponding to 142 (or 145,—176 A.D. There is no evidence of a conjoint

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82 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 126.

83 *Ibid.*, p. 63.

84 *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 369-70.

85 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 63.

86 *JRAS*, 1912, pp. 704-06.

87 *EI*, Vol. XXI, pp. 60-61.

88 This is the only known example of the use of a Macedonian month in the inscriptions of Mathurā.

89 *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 152, note 8.

90 *EI*, Vol. XXX, pp. 181-84.

rule of Huviṣka with his successor Vāsudeva. An inscription[91] of Huviṣka found at the Jamālpur mound begins with the expression *Saṁ 70 7 gṛ 4 di 4 mahārājasya rājātirājasya devapūtrasya Hūv* [*i*] *ṣkasya v* [*i*]*hāre dānaṁ*. This record does not indicate that Huviṣka 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.[92]

After Vāsudeva, the history of the Kuṣāṇas 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*[1] speak of seven Nāga kings holding sway at the region.

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91 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 68.

92 A small fragmentary inscription (Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 146) in Kuṣāṇa characters engraved on a standing figure was discovered from the Tokrī Ṭilā, near the village of Māṭ. B. Bhattacharyya (*JBORS*, Vol. VI, pp. 51-53) reads in it *Ṣastana* 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.

1 Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, 1962, p. 53. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* mentions nine Nāga kings ruling at Padmāvati, Kāntipuri and Mathurā apparently through confusion.

Nava Nāgāḥ Padmāvatyāṁ Kāntipuryāṁ Mathurayam (see *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, ed. H. H. Wilson, 1961, p. 385).

A powerful king named Vīrasena is known to have flourished after the Kuṣāṇas. His coins[2] 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[3] 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[4] reads the date of inscription as 113 which, according to him, is to be referred to the Kuṣāṇa 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.[5] According to Burn,[6] 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,[7] 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[8] assigns it to

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2 Smith, *IMC*, Vol. I, 1906, pp. 191-92, 197, pl. xxii. 14-15.

3 *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 86-87.

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. Sircar[9] is also of the opinion that he flourished in the third or fourth century A.D.

Scholars have suggested that Vīrasena 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 coins[12] 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 Vīrasena. According to Jayaswal,[13] the king's name should be Śiśu-candra-dāta who is identical with Śiśu-Nandi of the early Nāga dynasty. But his view has not been accepted.[14]

Numerous coins[15] bearing the name of *Mahārāja* Gaṇapati, also called Gaṇendra, Gaṇapatīndra and Gaṇapendra, have been discovered at Mathurā, Padmāvatī and Vidiśā. Mention of his name in the Allahabad pillar inscription[16] 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.*

10 Jayaswal, *op.cit.*, pp. 19-20, 23-24, 28.

11 *JNSI*, Vol. V, pp. 117-24.

12 Allan, *BMC*, 1967 (reprint), pp. cxi, 280, pl. xlv. 13.

13 Jayaswal, *op.cit.*, p. 12.

14 Cf. *JNSI*, Vol. V, pp. 111-14.

15 Smith, *op.cit.*, pp. 164, 178-79, pl. xxi. 10; H. V. Trivedi, *Catalogue of the coins of the Nāga kings of Padmāvatī*, 1957, pp. xxii-xxiii.

16 *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 265.

VI. The Guptas

With the overthrow of the Nāgas by the Guptas, political history of Mathurā entered into a new era.[1] Several Gupta inscriptions were discovered at the place, the earliest of them belonging to Candragupta II. The Mathurā pillar inscription[2] of Candragupta II is of considerable importance ; for it is the earliest known dated Gupta record. It (lines 1-2) mentions the name of *Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārāja Rājādhirāja* Candragupta who was the worthy son of *Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārāja Rājādhirāja* Samudragupta. The third and fourth lines contain the date. Bhandarkar[3] reads the passage as *Śrī-Candraguptasya vija[ya]-rājya-Saṁvatsa[re]...[Gupta]-kāl-ānuvarttamāna-Saṁvatsare eka-ṣaṣṭhe 60 1.* D. B. Diskalkar[4] restores the portion containing the regnal year of Candragupta II as *prathama.* According to D. C. Sircar,[5] the date portion reads *Śrī-Candraguptasya Vija[ya]-rājya-Saṁvatsa[re] [Paṁ]cam [e] [5] Kāl-ānuvarttamāna-saṁvatsare ekaṣaṣṭhe 60 1.* This reading has been generally accepted by scholars.[6] The inscription

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

2 Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, 1965, pp. 277-79.

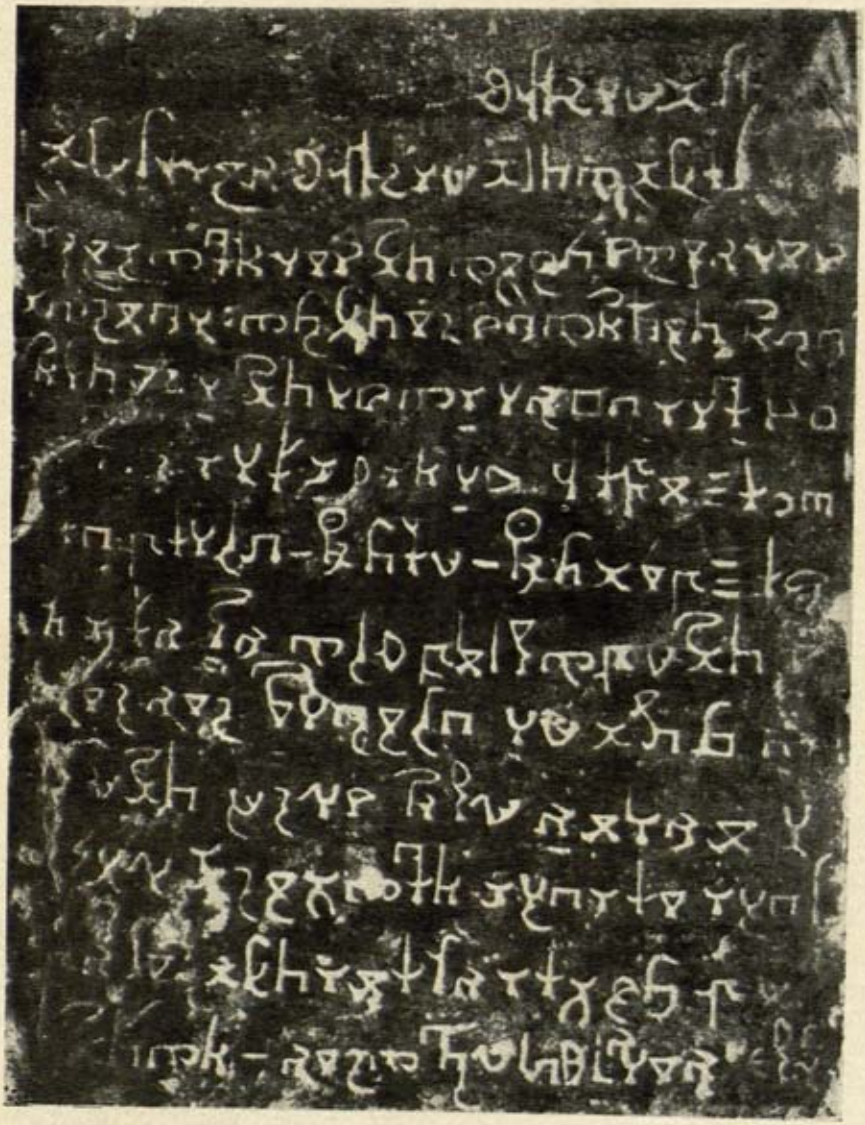
3 *EI*, Vol. XXI, p. 8.

4 *ABORI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 170.

5 *IHQ*, Vol. XVIII, p. 272.

6 Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 1972, p. 487, notes 2 and 3 ; R. K. Mookerji, *The Gupta Empire*, 1948, p. 45 ; R. C. Majumdar in *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, ed. Majumdar and Altekar, 1967, p. 166 ; S. Chattopadhyay, *EHNI*, 1958, p. 167 ; Goyal, *A History of the Imperial Guptas*, 1967, p. 103. Regarding the restoration of the lost date portion P. R. Srinivasan (*JAIH*, Vol.

Plate III



Courtesy : B. O. R. S (J. B. O. R. S. XVIII)

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 *Guptānāṁ* so as to read the passage as *Vija[ya]-rājya-saṁvatsa[re Guptānāṁ] kāl-ānuvartta-māna-Saṁvatsare*. But his view cannot be acceptable (cf. *ibid.*, p. 114, note 5).

7 *Devīcandragupta* (*JBORS*, Vol. XIV, pp. 225-53 ; Vol. XV, pp. 134-41) assigns the rule of Rāmagupta between the reigns of Samudragupta and Candragupta II. But some scholars think that the said drama like other classical Sanskrit works such as the *Mudrārākṣasa* and the *Alokāvadāna*, is fictitious by nature. Besides, the existence of a Gupta king named Rāmagupta in the intervening period between Samudragupta and Candragupta II is not supported by any unquestionable epigraphic and numismatic evidence (cf. Raychaudhuri, *op.cit.*, p. 488 and note 2 ; Sircar in *IHQ*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 272-73 ; R. C. Majumdar in *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, pp. 161-65). Recently some copper coins (*JNSI*, Vol. XII, pp. 103-06, pl. ix. 1-6 ; Vol. XIII, pp.128-30, pl. viii. 1-8 ; Vol. XVIII, pp. 108–09, pl. viii. 1 ; Vol. XXIII, Golden Jubilee Volume, pp. 340-44, pl. x. 1-12 ; D. C. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, 1968, pp. 222-23) and three Jaina image inscriptions (*JOI*, Vol. XVIII, No. 3, March, 1969, pp. 247-51) of a Rāmagupta have been discovered. Some scholars (P. L. Gupta in *JNSI*, Vol. XII, *loc.cit.* ; H. V. Trivedi, *ibid.*, Vol. XIII, *loc.cit.* ; K. D. Bajpai, *ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, *loc.cit.* ; G. S. Gai in *JOI*, Vol. XVIII, No. 3, March, 1969, pp. 249-50) regard him as identical with homonymous king of the *Devīcandragupta*. D. C. Sircar (*JAIH*, Vol. III, pp. 145-51), however is opposed to the view.

Another inscription[8] of Candragupta II found at Mathurā is of considerable importance in view of the fact that it, like several other Gupta records,[9] 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.[10] It is difficult to say whether they were feudatory chieftains. At the beginning of the Gupta period, the title *Mahārāja* did not indicate the feudatoty position of the rulers.[11]

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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8 Fleet, *CII*, Vol. III, 1963, pp. 26-27.

9 Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, pp. 267, 271, 273, 286, 321, 327, 329, 339.

10 Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties and of Śaśāṅka, king of Gauḍa* in the British Museum, 1967 (reprint), p. xiv ; Raychaudhuri, *op.cit.*, p. 468 ; R. D. Banerji, *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, 1933, pp. 1-4 ; Aiyanger, *Ancient India and South Indian History and Culture*, Vol. I, 1941, p. 181 ; S. Chattopadhyay, *op.cit.*, p. 141.

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 Kumāradevī was a memorable eveni in the history of the Gupta family.[12] Allan[13] 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[14] 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[15] suggests that Samudragupta was a *dvāmuṣyāyaṇa*, 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[16] states that it was Samudragupta and not Kumāradevī or Candragupta 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.

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12 The matrimonial alliance of Candragupta I with the Licchavi family is further corroborated by the Candragupta-Kumāradevī type of gold coins with the legends Candragupta and *Śrīkumāradevī* on the obverse and *Licchavayaḥ* on the reverse (see Altekar, *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, 1957, pp. 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.

15 Pathak in *JNSI*, Vol. XIX, pt. II, pp. 140-41.

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 Aśvamedha 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.

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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 Aśvamedha type of coins with the legend *Rājādhirājaḥ pṛthivīmavitvā* (or *Vijitya*) *divaṁ jayatyāhṛtavājimedhaḥ* on the obverse and *Aśvamedhaparākramaḥ* 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.

19 *EI*, Vol. II, p. 210 ; Vol. XXXVII, p. 153.

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[22] suggests that they exercised their suzerainty over the region till its conquest by the Hūṇa chief Toramāṇa (c. 500-15 A.D.).

An undated Sanskrit[23] inscription in Brāhmī characters incised on the pedestal of a broken image was found in Dudhwala'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[24] assigns it roughly to the end of the 4th or the 5th century A.D. Regarding the identification of king Nṛpamitra, he[25] 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[2] 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 Ḍiṇḍirāja *alias* Karka, mentions certain hitherto unknown

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22 Sircar in *EI*, Vol. XXIV, p. 13.

23 *Loc.cit.*

24 *Ibid.*, p. 12.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 13.

1 *EI*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 211-12.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 207-08.

rulers of the Maurya family who flourished in the early mediæval period. It refers to the Maurya king Kṛṣṇarāja who was succeeded by Candragupta, whose successor was his son Āryarāja, the predecessor of Ḍiṇḍirāja. The name Karka was given to Ḍiṇḍirāja 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,[3] bears a close resemblance with an inscription[4] found at Kaṇaswa in the Old Kotāḥ 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,[5] king Dhavala is identical with Dhavalappa, the overlord of *Guhilaputra* Dhanika of Dhavagartā known from the Dhoḍ inscription[6] 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,[7] were related to those

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3 *Ibid.*, pp. 209-10.

4 *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 57-59.

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.

7 *EI*, Vol. XXXII, p. 210.

of the Konkan in the South. Sircar[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 Ḍiṇḍirāja Karka of our epigraph.

8 *Loc.cit.*

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 Kuṣāṇa 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 archæological 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-legends[2] the names of some other *Rājans* are known. They are Rāmadatta, Kāmadatta, Śeṣadatta, Uttamadatta, Bhavadatta and Balabhūti.

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1 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, ed. K. L. Janert, 1961, pp. 159-60, 207.

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, Taraṇaḍāsa and Ghaṭāka enjoyed the title *Kṣatrapa* or *Mahākṣatrapa*. The lion-capital inscriptions[3] mention Śoḍāsa as *Kṣatrapa* and as the son of *Mahākṣatrapa* Rañjuvula ; while in his own records Śoḍāsa is found to enjoy the higher title *Svāmin 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 coins[6] 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 suggests[8] that "the relation between the *Mahākṣatrapa* and *Kṣatrapa* was something like that between the *Rājan* and the *Yuvarāja* ruling at the same time from the same station or from different stations".

The word *Kṣatrapa* is derived from old Persian *Khṣathrapāvan* essentially meaning 'protector of the land or realm', but usually indicating 'provincial governor'.[9] The title

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3 Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, 1965, pp. 116-17.

4 Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā Votive tablet ins. (*ibid.*, p. 120), Mathurā stone ins. (*ibid.*, p. 121), Morā well ins. (*ibid.*, p.122), Mathurā stone slab ins. (Lüders, *op.cit.*, p. 204).

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.

7 *Ibid.*, p. cxvi.

8 Sircar, *op.cit.*, p. 114, note 2.

9 Rapson, *Cat. Coins Andh. Dynasty*, 1967 (reprint), P.C. ; H. C. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 1953, p. 443 ; J. N. Banerjea in *Comp. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. II, 1957, ed. Sastri, p. 263 ; Sircar, *Ind. Ep*, 1965, pp. 333, 353.

Kṣatrapa, as pointed out by Rapson, is not found in Sanskrit or Prakrit literature.[10] Sircar suggests[11] that *chatrapati*, the late *Marāṭhī* 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.[12]

The title *Mahākṣatrapa* adopted by Rañjuvula was known not only from the lion-capital records and the Brāhmī coin-legend referred to earlier, but also from the legend *Mahakhatapasa apraticakrasa* (*apratihatacakrasa*) *Rajulasa* written in Kharoṣṭhī on the reverse of his coins.[13] 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 *Aṅgavijjā*. See *Aṅgavijjā*, ed. Punyavijaya, 1957, Ch. IX.i. 185-86; also S. Bandyopadhyay in *JAIH*, Vol. I, p. 30.

11 *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 114, note 2.

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 Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī in Art and Literature*, ed. D. C. Sircar, 1970, p. 164; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XX, 1965, p. 8.

13 Allan, *op.cit.*, p. 187, pls. xliii. 22; xliv. 1-5.

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 Śakas 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 Hagāmaṣasa* point to the joint-rule of two Kṣatrapas, named Hagāna and Hagāmaṣa, in Mathurā. 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 Spalirises as the senior using the Greek legend on the obverse, ruled jointly with Azes as the junior using the Kharoṣṭhī 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 Kharoṣṭhī 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 Kharoṣṭhī legend on the reverse.

The Kuṣāṇa rulers Vamatakṣama, Kaṇiṣka, Vāsiṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva usually accepted, as known from their inscriptions, high-sounding royal titles like *Mahārāja*, *Rājātirāja*, *Devaputra* and *Ṣāhi*. The title *Maharaja* (Sanskrit *Mahā-*

14 Sten Konow, *CII*, Vol II, pt. I, 1929, p. XXXIV.
15 Allan, *op.cit.*, pp. cxi-cxii, 184, pl. xxvi. 6.
16 Whitehead, *PMC*, Vol. I, 1914, p. 144, pl. xiv.
17 *Ibid.*, p. 132, pl. xiii.
18 *A. Imp. Un.*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, 1968, p. 127.

rāja) adopted by Eucratides and other Indo-Greek rulers on the reverse of their coins is the Prakrit transliteration of Greek legend *Basilêôs Mêgalou* 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 Kuṣāṇas from their Scytho-Parthian predecessors who are said to have assumed these in imitation of the old Achæmenian emperors called in their inscriptions, *Khshāyathiya Khshāyathiyānām* (modern Persian *Shāhān Shāh*, 'the king of kings').[20] The title *Ṣāhi* adopted by the Kuṣāṇa kings appears to be old Persian *Khshāyathiya* (modern Persian *Shāh*).[21] Kaṇiṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva, the Kuṣāṇa 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 *Mahārājadhirāja*. According to H. C. Raychaudhuri and U. N. Ghoshal, the using of such epithets by the Scytho-Parthian and the

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19 D. C Sircar, *Ind. Ep.*, pp. 330-31 ; A. N. Lahiri, 'Some Early uses of the title Mahārāja' in *Alumni Association's Souvenir* of 1968, Dept. AIHC, Calcutta University, pp. 17-20. 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.

20 Sircar, *Ind. Ep.*, pp. 331-32.

21 Sircar, *Ind. Ep. Gloss.*, 1966, p. 285.

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

23 Sircar, *Ind. Ep.*, pp. 330-35.

Kuṣāṇa kings tends to show the gradual exaltation of monarchy.[24] R. S. Sharma,[25] 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 Vamatakṣama, Kaṇiṣka, Vāsiṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva 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[26] that the said title of foreign origin was adopted by Kuyula-kara Kaphsa and that Kaṇiṣka 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[27] who reads the Kharoṣṭhī legend on Kujula-kara's coins as *Maharayasa Rayarayasa Devaputrasa Kuyula-kara-*

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24 Raychaudhuri, *op.cit.*, p. 516 ; *Comp. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 344-45.

25 *JBRS*, Vol. XXXXIII, pp. 188-90.

26 *A. Imp. Un.*, 1951, p. 138 and note 2 and pp. 140-41 ; *Prācyavidyā taraṅgiṇī*, ed. D. C. Sircar, 1969, pp. 165-66 and note 8. The 'nameless' king, known from the Taxila inscription of the year 136 = 79 A.D. (*Sel. Ins.*, p. 133), assumed the epithets *Maharajasa Rajatirajasa Devaputrasa Khuṣaṇasa*. The title *Devaputra*, according to Sircar, connects Kuyula-kara kaphsa with this unnamed king.

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-two 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[28] holds that "Devaputra was not a title but a complimentary epithet, current only among the Indian subjects of the Kuṣāṇas 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[29] of the Kusāṇas, it was not adopted by them as an official title. This view has been endorsed by U. N. Ghoshal[30] and R. S. Sharma.[31] But Sharma believes that it was adopted by the Kuṣāṇas as an official title. It is interesting to note that the epithet *Devaputra* was popular only with some of the Kuṣāṇa kings and not with other rulers who ruled either before or after the said Kuṣāṇas. 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 Kuṣāṇa kings to house the statues of their dead predecessors. An inscription[32] found near the village of Māṭ in Mathurā says that a *deavkula* was erected by a *bakanapati* during the reign of *Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Kuṣāṇaputra Ṣāhi* Vamatakṣama and another[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 Kuṣāṇa kings or to the apotheosis of dead kings in general and also to the placing

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28 *B. C. Law Volume*, Pt. II, 1946, pp. 305-20.

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 kaphsa.

30 *Comp. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 345 and note 1.

31 *JBRS*, Vol. XXXXIII, pp. 194-95.

32 Lüders, *op.cit.*, p. 135.

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 *Pratimānāṭaka*[34] ascribed to Bhāsa.

The tendency of the Kuṣāṇa kings to apotheosize themselves is also suggested by the coins[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 Kuṣāṇas, but became popular also with the Indian kings. According to Manu,[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,[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[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

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34 *Pratimānāṭaka*, Act III.

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. xxix. 4, 5, 7.

36 *Manusmṛti*, VII. 3-4.

37 *Ibid.*, VII. 8.

38 *Loka-samaya-kkriy-ānuvidhāna-mātra-mānuṣasya Lokadhāmno devasya* (*Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 267).

to the gods Dhanada, Varuṇa, Indra and Antaka'.[39] 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[40] of the time of the *Mahākṣatrapa* Śoḍāsa records the setting up of five images representing the ancient *Pañcavīras* of the Vṛṣṇis in a stone temple by a lady named Toṣā.

An inscription[41] found near the village of Māṭ in Mathurā refers to a Kuṣāṇa ruler Vamatakṣama who, as we have already noted, adopted the epithet *Kuṣāṇaputra* along with the other titles. Mention of the epithet *Kuṣāṇaputra* is found neither in other inscriptions nor in the coin-legends of the Kuṣāṇas. Scholars generally interpret the term as 'the scion of the Kuṣāṇa clan'.[42]

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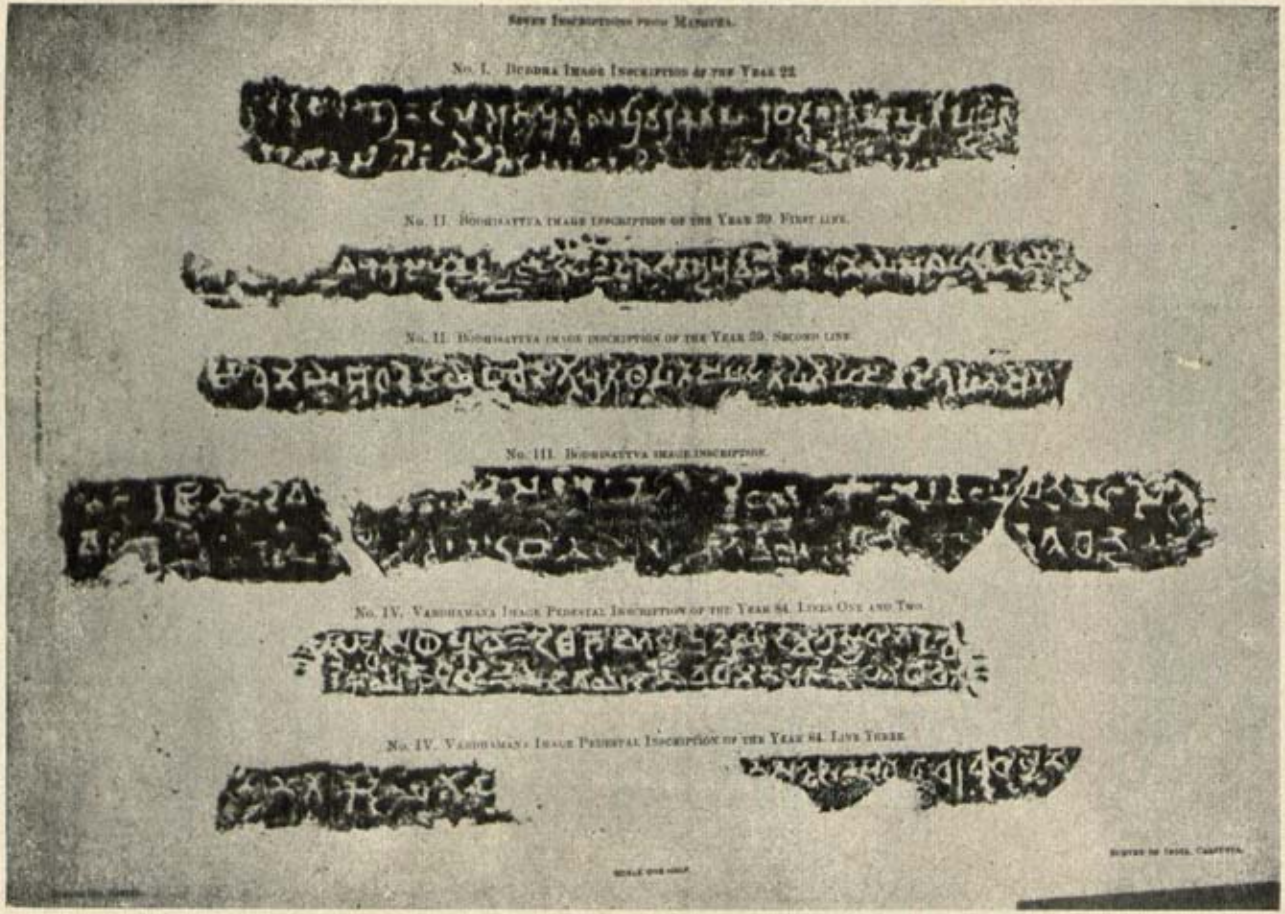
39 *Dhanada-Varuṇ-Endr-Antaka-samasya* [*ibid.*, pp. 267, 271, 273, 285, 321, 327; Fleet, *CII*, Vol. III, 1963 (reprint), p. 26]. As Sircar points out, Samudragupta is described in the Allahabad Pillar inscription as 'an incarnation of the Inscrutable Being (Viṣṇu)', 'who, being incomprehensible, was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

40 Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 122. According to Lüders (*EI*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 196-98), the five Vṛṣṇi princes are Baladeva, Akrūra, Anādhṛṣṭi, Sāraṇa and Viduratha, mentioned also in the Jaina Canonical texts. J. N. Banerjea (*Development of Hindu Iconography*, 1956, pp. 93-94; cf. also V. S. Agrawala, *JUPHS*, Vols. XXIV-V, pp. 131-32; D. C. Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 122, note 3), on the other hand, are inclined to identify the *Pañcavīras* with Saṁkarṣaṇa, Vāsudeva, Pradyumna, Sāmba and Aniruddha of the Vṛṣṇi lineage.

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.*,



Courtesy : A. S. B. (Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIV)

The Gupta rulers generally assumed the titles like *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Bhaṭṭāraka*, and in course of time *Bhaṭṭāraka* was changed to *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka*. In the Mathurā stone inscription[43] 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[44] of Candragupta II discovered at the same place, the names of two Gupta kings Samudragupta and Candragupta II are mentioned as *Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja*. In an inscription[45] of the time of Kumāragupta I found at Mathurā, Kumāragupta is mentioned as *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*.

Similar changes in the titles of queen are also noticed. In the Maurya period, the queens were styled *Devī*.[46] Later on, in the Gupta period, however, the queens were styled as *Mahādevī*.[47] The word *Mahādevī* isusually interpreted as 'the chief queen', i.e. the chief among the several queens. But to Vogel,[48] it is 'a title borne by the consort of ruling chief', and to Fleet[49] 'a technical title of the wives of paramount sovereigns'. Sircar[50] interprets it

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Vol. I. p. 529; Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. XXIII (1950), p. 75. Jayaswal states (*JBORS*, Vol. VI, pp. 17-19) that the word *Kuṣāṇaputra* indicates 'son of Kuṣāṇa'. To him, Kuṣāṇa is 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.

45 *EI*, Vol. II, p. 210.

46 Sircar, *Ind. Ep.*, p. 345.

47 Fleet, *op.cit.*, p. 27. The title *Mahādevī* 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-parigṛhīta* applied to the name of Candragupta II which occurs in the Mathurā stone inscription of Candragupta II[51] 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.[52] Scholars generally interpret *tat-parigṛhīta* as 'accepted [as his favourite son and chosen successor] by him (i.e. Samudragupta)'.[53] According to D. C. Sircar,[54] *parigṛhīta* 'refers to the selection or acceptance of a succession or appointment or receipt in one's fovour'. "The description of Candragupta II as *Samudraguptasya putras = tat-parigṛhītaḥ*", he suggests,[55] 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-parigṛhīta*, therefore, indicates the custom of selection.[56] We know that, according to the Allahabad Pillar inscription, Samudragupta was selected by his father Candragupta I in exclusion of

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51 Fleet, *op.cit.*, p. 27.

52 Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, pp. 321, 327, 330, 339.

53 See Fleet, *op.cit.*, p. 12, note 1 ; Alteker in *JBORS*, Vol. XIV, p. 225 ; Basak, *HNEI*, 1967, p. 43 ; R. K. Mookerji, *The Gupta Empire*, 1948, p. 46 ; Sinha, *The Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, 1954, p. 25 ; Goyal, *Hist. Imp. Gupt.*, 1957, pp. 227-28 and note 2.

54 Sircar, *Ind. Ep. Gloss.*, p. 238.

55 Sircar, *Ind. Ep.*, pp. 350-51.

56 The acceptance of the view probably militates against the story of Rāmagupta as narrated in the *Devīcandragupta* (*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.[57] Uufortunately, the Gupta inscriptions do not use either *tat-pād-ānudhyāta* or *tat-pāda-parigṛhita* in describing the relations between Candragupta I and Samudragupta.

In the Mathurā records references are found to several official designations, among which *Amaca*[58] (*Amātya*) is mentioned in the inscriptions of the Suṅga period. Most of the twenty-six inscribed bricks of the second Gaṇeśrā 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[59] bearing the legend : (1) *Amātyasya* (2) *Upalihamasa*. The *Amātyas* (ministers) were one of the seven constituent elements of the state[60] and occupied an important position in the administration and without their help a successful rule was impossible.[61]

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

Sn[e]ha-vyāluḷitena bāṣpa-guruṇā tattv-ekṣiṇā cakṣuṣā
yaḥ pitr=ābhihito ni[r]ikṣ[ya] nikhi[lāṁ] [pāhy=eva]-
m=[u]rv[v]īm=iti [//]

58 Lüders, *op.cit.*, p. 159 ; cf. Sircar, *Ind. Ep. Gloss.*, p. 16.

59 Cf. *Early Indian Political and Administrative System*, ed. Sircar, 1972, pp. 76-77.

60 For the seven elements, *viz. Svāmin* (ruler), *Amātya* (minister), *Janapada* (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 *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, VI. I ; *Manusmṛti*, IX. 294 ; *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, I. 353 ; *Viṣṇusmṛti*, III. 38 ; *Agni Purāṇa*, 213.12. D. C. Sircar (*Early Indian Political and Administrative System*, p. 130 and note 2) thinks that *Amātya* here means 'the official machinery'.

61 *Arthaśāstra*, 1.7.9 ; *Manusmṛti*, VII. 54-59 ; *Matsya Purāṇa*, 215. 2-6 ; *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, 1.312.

Relying on the early Pāli texts, R. S. Sharma[62] 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,[63] 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*.[64] Kauṭilya[65] 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[66] and epigraphic records[67] refer to the hereditary character of the post. An *Amātya* was possibly also called a *Saciva*; cf. *Mati-Saciva* and *Karma-Saciva* in the Junāgaṛh rock inscription[68] 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.*, 1.8.29; 1.15. 34-40.

66 *Manusmṛti*, VII. 54; *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, 1.310; *Bṛhaspatismṛti*, I.71.

67 Fleet, *op.cit.*, p. 35; *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 197-202; Vol. X, pp. 71-72.

68 Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 180.

the basis of some early Indian texts, K. K. Thaplyal[69] 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 Kuṣāṇas became popular with the indigenous Indian kings. A few titles of the said category like *Kṣatrapa*, *Mahākṣatrapa*[70] and *Gañjavara* are traced in the Mathurā inscriptions of the Śaka-kṣatrapa period.

The designation *Gañjavara*[71] is found in a Jamālpur mound inscription[72] in which it is recorded that a Brāhmaṇa of the Śaigrava gotra, who held the post of *Gañjavara* (treasurer) of *Mahākṣatrapa* Śoḍāsa, endowed a tank, a reservoir, a grove, a pillar and a stone-slab. The same epithet is found in the *Rājatarangiṇī*,[73] and the *Lokaprakāśa* ascribed to Kṣemendra.[74] *Gañjavara* is the same as Persian *Ganjwar* meaning 'treasurer' or 'store-keeper', derived from Persian *ganj* 'treasury', the Indianised form of which is *gañja*.[75] The word *gañja* meaning treasury is found in the *Rājatarangiṇī*, and also in Utpala's commentary on the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* where it is explained as *Kośabhavana* (i.e. treasury).[76] Sometimes, the Indian words

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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 Sarasvatī in Art and Literature*, p. 166.

72 Lüders, *op.cit.*, p. 99.

73 V. 177.

74 *Rājatarangiṇī*, Vol. I, trans. Stein, p. 210 and note.

75 Sircar, *Ind. Ep. Gloss.*, p. 112.

76 *Rājatarangiṇī*, IV. 589 ; *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* LII. 13 ; Cf. *EI*, Vol. XXXV, p. 95.

pati and *adhipati* are suffixed to it to indicate the same designation. *Gañjapati* is found in the Taleswar Plate of Dyutivarman[77] and *Gañjādhipati* in the *Lokaprakāśa*.[78]

Besides, mention may be made of two other officials, *viz. Balādhikṛta* and *Aśvavārika* recorded in the inscriptions of the Śaka-kṣatrapa period. *Baladhika*, a mistake for *Balādhikṛta*, is a military title meaning 'the commander of an army'.[79] It occurs in a Kṣatrapa inscription[80] from the Girdharpur Ṭīlā, which records the gift of a lady who was the wife of a *Baladhika*. Literally the word *Balādhikṛta* indicates one who is appointed to a command of the troops.[81] Superior to *Balādhikṛta* was *Mahābalādhikṛta* meaning a great commander.[82] The designations *Balādhikṛta* and *Mahābalādhikṛta* are mentioned in several records.[83] Their synonyms are *Balādhyakṣa* and *Mahābalādhyakṣa* respectively.[84]

The title *Aśvavārika* is mentioned in a Mathurā inscription[85] recording the erection of a railing by the *Aśvavārika* Bodhiyaśa, the son of Bodhila. *Aśvavārika* (Prakrit *Asavārika*;[86] cf. *Aastāraka*)[87] is the same as *Aśvavāra* meaning a

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77 *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 115.

78 Stein, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 210 and note.

79 Kane, *Hist. Dharm.*, Vol. III, 1946, p. 992; Sircar, *Ind. Ep. Gloss.*, p. 44.

80 Lüders, *op.cit.*, pp. 162-63.

81 Fleet, *op.cit.*, p. 210, note 2.

82 Kane, *op.cit.*, p. 997; Fleet, *op.cit.*, p 109, note 2; Sircar, *Ind. Ep. Gloss.*, p. 174.

83 For *Balādhikṛta* cf. Fleet, *op.cit.*, p. 210; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, p. 110; for *Mahābalādhikṛta*, see Fleet, *op.cit.*, pp. 108, 128, 134.

84 Lüders, *op.cit.*, p.163; Fleet, *op.cit.*, p. 109, note 2.

85 Lüders, *op.cit.*, p. 202.

86 Lüders' List. No. 728.

87 *Ibid.*, No. 381.

trooper or horseman.[88] The cavalry officers were known as *Aśvapati* and *Mahāśvapati*.[89]

In the inscriptions of the Kuṣāṇas available at Mathurā, we have reference to officers (like *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka, Viśvāsika, Kāyastha, Bakanapati* and *Grāmika* The designation *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* occurs in four Mathurā records. A Mathurā image inscription[90] mentions the *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* named Hummiyaka who installed a Buddhist image at the *sakka-vihāra* in the 4th year of Kaṇiṣka's reign. The Māṭ inscription[91] of Huviṣka refers to a *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* whose son reconstructed the temple of the grandfather of Huviṣka. Another inscription[92] ascribing designation to Valāna in the year 74 of Vāsudeva is found at the Jamālpur mound. Again, the same designation is noticed in a Gaṇeśrā inscription[93] which records the erection of a statue of *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* Ulāna. These persons appointed as *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* seem to be foreigners as their names Ulāna, Valāna, Hummiyaka, etc., suggest.[94]

The title *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* is superior to *Daṇḍanāyaka*. These two designations are, for the first time, traced in the Kuṣāṇa inscription.[95] The word *daṇḍa* means both the army and the rod punishment.[96] Hence the designation *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* may etymologically indicate, as suggested

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88 Sircar, *Ind. Ep. Gloss.*, p. 35.

89 Kane, *op.cit.*, p. 977 ; A. S. Altekar, *State and Govt. Ant. Ind.*, 1958, p. 343.

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. Sircar[99] 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 inscriptions[100] of the Kuṣāṇa 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 Aśyala and Ulāna respectively. As pointed out by Lüders,[101] the post of *Vaisvāsika* in the Kuṣāṇa period was enjoyed by foreigners. He further states that it was the designation of

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97 U. N. Ghoshal, *The Beginnings of Indian Historiography and other Essays*, 1944, p. 179 ; R. N. Saletore, *Life in the Gupta Age*, 1943, pp. 236-37.

98 See Fleet, *op.cit.*, p. 16, note 5 ; *ASI*, *AR*, 1903-04, p. 109 ; 1911-12, pt. II, pp. 54-55 ; 1914-15, p. 82 ; *EI*, Vol. XII, p. 43 ; Vol. XX, p. 32 ; Vol. XXIV, p. 206 ; Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, 1929, p. 185 ; Altekar, *op.cit.*, pp. 195-96 ; Stein's note on Kalhana's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VII. 951.

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 *Viśv[a]sik][a]*, *V[i]śvaśika*, *V[ai]śvasika*, *Viś[v]asika*, *[V]is[v]a[saka]*.

101 *EI*, Vol. XXIV, p. 207.

some functionary of high rank. D. C. Sircar[102] suggests that the titles *Vaisvāsika* and *Rahasyādhikṛta* are synonymous, both meaning 'a privy councillor' or 'private secretary'.

The term *Kāyastha* has been recently noticed in a Mathurā record[103] of the time of the Kuṣāṇa 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[104] of various areas as well as in literary works.[105] Kane[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,[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 mediæval lexicons, as pointed out by Sircar,[108] *Kāyastha* and *Karaṇa* (cf. also *Pañjīkāraka* and *Kūṭakṛt*) are synonymous, meaning the writer of documents. Sircar further says that the *Kāyastha*, as suggested by the literary and epigraphic

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102 *Ind. Ep. Gloss.*, pp. 269, 360, 379.

103 *EI*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 152-53.

104 Cf. Kane. *op.cit.*, Vol. II, pt. I, p. 77 ; Sircar, *Studies in the Society and Administration of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, Vol. I, 1967, p. 159.

105 *Viṣṇusmṛti*, VII. 3 ; *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, 1. 322 ; *Uśanaḥsmṛti*, 35 ; *Vedavyāsasmṛti*, I. 10-11 ; *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, V. 180-84 ; VIII. 131, 2383.

106 Kane, *op cit.*, Vol. II, pt. I, p. 76.

107 Sircar, *Studies in the Society and Administration of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, pp. 161-62.

108 *Ibid.*, pp. 158-59.

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 *Vakanapati*[110] occurs in three Mathurā inscriptions[111] 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 *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* and whose name began with Śaukra, reconstructed the temple of Huviṣka's grandfather. The third record refers to a *Vakanapati* who was *Kanasarukamana-putra and Kharasalera-pati* and endowed a *Puṇyaśālā*.

Scholars are not unanimous regarding the interpretation of *Bakanapati*. Sten Konow[112] 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 *Huṁ*...following *Bakana-patinā* in the Mathurā inscription is the old name of Wakhan represented in Chinese as *Hiu-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

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109 *Ibid.*, pp. 159-61.

110 S. Bandyopadhyay in *Foreigners in Ancient India and Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī in Art and Literature*, pp. 170-71.

111 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 135, 139-40; *EI*, Vol. XXI, p. 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 Varkas'. *Varka* and *Huma*, according to him, were the names of two amalgamated tribes of the Scythians.

112 *EI*, Vol. XXI, *loc.cit.*

113 Bachhofer in *JAOS*, Vol. LXI, p. 250 and note 201; Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vols. XXIV-V, p. 141; Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 152 and note 9.

regards it as a title, but makes no attempt to explain it.[114] Lüders[115] points out that *Bakanapati* or *Vakanapati* is probably an Iranian word denoting some functionary. H. W. Bailey[116] 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 *punyaśālā*. 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[117] 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[118] of Vāsudeva's reign, dated in the year 84

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114 Vogel in *ASI, AR*, 1911-12, pt. II, p. 124.

115 *Math. Ins.*, p. 137.

116 *BSOAS*, Vol. XIV, pp. 420-21.

117 Lüders' List, No. 48.

118 *Ibid.*, No. 69a. In this fragmentary inscription what Lüders reads doubtfully as *Grāmika*, R. D. Banerji reads *gadhika* (*JPASB, NS*, Vol. V, p. 277). In another record, V. S. Agrawala (*JUPHS*, Vol. XXIII, p. 111) reads *Padrapā* [*le*]*na* meaning 'by the chief of a village', which Lüders (*Math. Ins.*, p. 52) reads as *āḍīha*[*ke*]*na*. Again, *Patima Hastakena* (i.e. the image made by Hastaka) read by Sircar

(162 A.D.), refers to a *Grāmika* whose wife installed an image of the *Arhat* Ṛṣabha. 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.[119] According to Manu, the village headman was appointed by the king,[120] and that maintenance of law and order and collection of revenue from the village were the duties of the village-headman.[121] 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.[122] But according to Sharma,[123] in the Kuṣāṇa period, he was not performing military functions as we learn from Manu.[124] Mention is

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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 *Grāmaṇī*, 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[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.[126] Instead of wages, he enjoyed some daily needs, *viz.* food, drink, fuel, etc. from the villagers in the form of his remuneration.[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.

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125 *Early Indian Political and Administrative Systems*, p. 137, note 64.

126 R. S. Sharma, *op.cit.*, p. 172.

127 *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 inscription[1] of the time of Śoḍāsa records the enshrinement of the *Pañcavīras* (called *Bhagavat*) of the Vṛṣṇis in a stone temple by a lady named Toṣā. Regarding the identification of the *Pañcavīras*, Vogel[2] took them to be the five Pāṇḍava brothers ; but later he[3] changed his opinion and identified the statues with Yakṣas. R. P. Chanda[4] read the second line of the record as *Bhagavatā Vṛṣṇena Pañcavīrāṇāṁ pratimā* and followed Vogel in identifying the *Pañcavīras* with the Pāṇḍavas. *Bhagavat* Vṛṣṇi, according to him, is Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva of the Vṛṣṇi branch of the Yādava family. Lüders,[5] 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. Banerjea[6] identifies the *Pañcavīras* of the inscription with Saṁkarṣaṇa, Vāsudeva, Pradyumna, Sāmba and Aniruddha, all closely connected members of the Vṛṣṇi

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1 D. C. Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, 1965, p. 122.

2 Vogel in *JRAS*, 1911, pp. 151-52 ; *ASI, AR*, 1911-12, pt. II, p. 127.

3 Vogel, *La Sculpture De Mathurā*, 1930, p. 116.

4 *Mem. ASI*, No. 5, pp. 166-67.

5 *EI*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 196-98.

6 Banerjea in *JISOA*, Vol. X, pp. 65-68 ; also his *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, 1956, pp. 93-94.

dynasty. He draws our attention to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*[7] in which they are described as deified human beings (*manuṣya prakṛti devas*). Scholars[8] like V. S. Agrawala, V. M. Apte, D. C. Sircar agree with Banerjea. The appellation Toṣā, as suggested by scholars[9] 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[10] of the time of Śoḍāsa records the erection of a devakula,[11] a gateway (*toraṇaṁ*) and a terrace (*vedikā*) in honour of *Bhagavat* Vāsudeva so that god Vāsudeva may bestow dominion, longevity and strength on *Svāmin Mahākṣatrapa* 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 Besnagar pillar inscription[12] which records the setting

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7 Ch. 97, verses 1-2.

8 Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vols. XXIV-V, pp. 131-32; Apte, in *A. Imp. Un.*, 1968, p. 447; Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 122, note 3; Sircar, *Studies in the Religious Life of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, 1971, p. 17.

9 Lüders in *EI*, 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.

10 Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 123.

11 Of the word only *laṁ* is legible. R. P. Chanda (*Mem. ASI.*, No. 5, p. 171) restores it as *catuḥśālaṁ*, while Lüders (*EI*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 208-09; *Math. Ins.*, p. 155) regards it as *devakulaṁ* or more probably *Śailaṁ*. V. S. Agrawala (*JUPHS*, Vols. XXIV-V, p. 135) accepts *devakulaṁ*. D. C. Sircar (*Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 123) also restores it as *devakulaṁ*.

12 Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, pp. 83-89.

up a *garuḍa-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 Vidiśā.

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 *Aṣṭādhyāyī*[13] 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,[14] 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.[15]

There is some information on the Kuṣāṇa leanings towards the Bhāgavata religion. Some of the coins[16] of Huviṣka bear the representation of a four-armed deity named *Ooshna* in Greek characters. D. C. Sircar[17] identifies

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13 *The Aṣṭādhāyi of Pāṇini*, ed. S. C. Vasu, Vol. I, 1962, IV. 3.98.

14 Majumdar, *The Classical Accounts of India*, 1960, pp. 221-22.

15 Cf. *A. Imp. Un.*, pp. 437-39.

16 Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 160, note 6.

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.

Plate V

Courtesy : A. S. B. (Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIV)

the god with Viṣṇu. Huviṣka'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[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.[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*)[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[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' (*Sāddhv-asādh-ūdaya-pralaya-hetu-puruṣasy=ācintyasya*). These facts indicate that Sumudragupta was a devotee of Viṣṇu, but he was apparently not a Bhāgavata; for there might have been some doctrinal difference between his faith and that of his successors. D. C. sircar[22]

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18 Fleet, *CII*, Vol. III, 1963 (reprint, p. 27.

19 *JNSI*, Vol. X, pp. 103-04, pls. V. 9; vii 8, 10.

20 Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 266.

21 *Loc.cit.*

22 Sircar in *Bhārtiya Vidyā*, 1946, Sept., pp. 109-11; also in *EI*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 135-36; also his *Studies in the Religious Life of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, pp. 39-40.

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.[23] The identification was accomplished by the time of the composition of the *Bhāgavad-gītā* and is known from some late passages of the *Mahābhārata*.[24] The next stage of evolution is the conception of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu and Nārāyaṇa as one and the same being.[25] The earliest reference to the identification of Nārāyaṇa with Viṣṇu is traced in the *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*[26] (about the fifth century B.C.). In a passage of the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*[27] Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva and Viṣṇu are regarded as one and the same deity. Such identification is also known from several passages of the *Mahābhārata*.

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23 R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, 1965, pp. 33-35 ; Sircar, *Studies in the Religious Life of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, pp. 19-20.

24 *Mbh.*, pn, cr. ed., XII. 47. Sp. No. 93.

25 Sircar in *A. Imp. Un.*, pp. 435-36 ; Sircar, *Studies in the Religious Life of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, pp. 23-25.

26 *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, ed. 4, Srinivasacharya, II. 5. 24 ; H. C. Raychauchuri, *Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*, 1920, p. 62.

27 *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (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 inscription[29] which has been assigned by D. C. Sircar[30] to the latter half of the 7th century A.D. on palæographical grounds. The first section of the record reading *na*[*maḥ*] *kāl-āñjana-rajaḥ-puñja-dyuta* [*ye*]...[*Ma*]*hāvarāha-rūpāya jaṅgamā*[*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 Ḍiṇḍirāja. 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 Kuṣāṇa as well as in the Gupta period. On the reverse of Wema Kadphises' Coins[33] is found the figure

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28 Sircar in *A. Imp. Un.*, pp. 435-37 ; R. G. Bhandarkar, *op.cit.*, pp. 30-35.

29 *EI*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 211-12.

30 *Ibid.*, pp. 207-08.

31 Cf. *Classical Age*, 1962, pp. 422-23.

32 Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 420-21.

33 Gardner, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic kings of*

of Śiva and the Kharoṣṭhī legend *maharajasa rajadhirajasa Sarva-loga-iśvarasa mahiśvarasa Wima Kathphiśasa tratarasa*, 'of Wima Kathpiśa, 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 Maheśvara (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 Tokrī Ṭīlā image inscription[38] refers to Huviṣka's grandfather as *Satyadha[r]ma-sthitasya Nanaya(yā)t = Sarva-Śca(ca)ṇḍavīr-ātisṛṣṭa-rājyasya* according to Sircar's transcript.[39] Lüders[40] says that Ścaṇḍavīra and Caṇḍavīra 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 Caṇḍavīra and not Scaṇḍavīra. He cites the authority of the Sāhī

Bactria and India, 1966 (reprint), pp. 124-28, pl. xxv. 6-14; Whitehead, *PMC*, Vol. I, 1914, pp. 183-85, pl. xvii.

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, 205, 205, pl. xix.

37 Gardner, *op.cit.*, pp. 159-61, pl. xxix. 9-14; Whitehead, *op.cit.*, pp. 208-10, pl. xix.

38 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 138-39.

39 *JAIH*, Vol. II, p. 138, note 4.

40 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 143.

41 *JAIH*, Vol. II, p. 138 and note 4; also his *Stud. Soc. Adm. Anc. Med. Ind.*, p. 58.

inscription of Candeśvarahastin[42] and Mandasor[43] and Bihar-Kotra[44] inscriptions of the time of Naravarman to show that sometimes *śca* 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 Caṇḍavīra conferred kingdom on the king or that the king dedicated his kingdom to the gods Sarva and Caṇḍavīra.[45] The record thus shows the king's (Huviṣka's grandfather) devotion to Sarva and Caṇḍavīra. Similar examples of such epithets adopted by kings are mentioned in a Bhita seal in which the passage is *Maheśvara-Mahāsen-ātisṛṣṭa-rājya*[46] and in the Kesaribeḍā plates of the Nala king Arthapati-bhaṭṭāraka wherein the expression is *Maheśvarā-Mahāsen ātisṛṣṭa-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 inscription[48] has been discovered from the Delhi-Agra roadside, near Caurāsī in the western outskirts of Mathurā city, which have been assigned by R. C. Sharma[49] to the early Kuṣāṇa period on palæographical considera-

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42 *EI*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 66, 68.

43 Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, pp. 397-98.

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'.

46 *ASI AR*, 1911-12, pt. II, p. 51.

47 *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 13, notes 3 and 16.

48 *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. XXI, 1971, Sept.-Dec., Nos. 1-2, pp. 103-06.

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 inscription[50] written in Kuṣāṇa characters and engraved on a *Śiva liṅga* was discovered at the village of Gīglā (in the Sadabad *tahsil* of the Mathurā District). It records the erection of a *Śiva liṅga* representing the local deity named Jaṭeśvara 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 inscription[51] 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 *gurvāyatana* (teacher's shrine) by *Ārya* 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.

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50 *JUPHS*, Vol. XII, pp. 29-31.

51 Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, pp. 277-79.

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 *Vāyu* and *Liṅga Purāṇas*,[53] he[54] states that the great Śaiva saint Lakulin or Lakulīśa was the last incarnation of Maheśvara and flourished at Kāyāvarohaṇa or Kāyāvatāra (Karvan in the Dabhoi *taluk* of the Baroda District of Gujarat). He had four disciples, *viz.*, Kuśika, Garga, Mitra and Kauruṣya. Almost identical information is derived from the Cintra *Praśasti*[55] of the Cālukya king Sāraṅgadeva, originally engraved on the temple of Somanātha in Kāṭhiāwāḍ. 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 Pāśupata 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 *ācāryas* mentioned in our record were his successors. The descendants of Gārgya were settled in Kāṭhiāwāḍ as known from the Cintra *Praśasti* 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 *Ārya* Uditācārya who was tenth in descent from Kuśika, the disciple of Lakulīśa, belonged to the period 380-81 A.D.

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52 *EI*, Vol. XXI, pp. 4-5.

53 *JBBRAS*, Vol. XXII, pp. 154-55.

54 *Ibid.*, pp. 153-64 ; *EI*, Vol. XXI, p. 5.

55 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 272-87.

56 *Ibid.*, p. 281.

57 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 5-6.

58 *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Assuming an average of 25 years per generation, the date of Lakulīśa stand as 105-30 A.D.

Uditācārya, as it has already been stated, has the title *Arya*, while the other teachers namely Kuśika, Parāśara, Kapilavimala and Upamitavimala are styled as *Bhagavat* in the epigraph. Bhandarkar[59] 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 absorded into Śiva, he is not called *Bhagavat*, but *Ārya* only. In this connection, Bhandarkar, refers to the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, according to which, the word *ārya* stands for *prabhu*, 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[60] 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 *pratimāgṛha* in which the statues of the dead Ikṣvāku kings were kept according to Bhāsa's *Pratimānāṭaka* and to the *devakulas* commemorating the different Kuṣāṇa rulers found at Māṭ near Mathurā. P. R. Srinivasan[61] 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[62] 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[63] as not a part of the names but a

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59 *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

60 *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

61 *JAIH*, Vol. III, p. 117.

62 *IHQ*, Vol. XVIII, pp 273-75.

63 *EI*, Vol. XXI, pp. 8-9.

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=ai 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'.[64] P. R. Srinivasan[65] 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[66] 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'.

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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'.

65 *JAIH*, Vol. III, pp. 118-19.

66 *Ibid.*, p. 119.

A Kuṣāṇa inscription[67] dated in the 24th year of the reign of Vāsiṣka 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* school[68] to propitiate the three Fires, which, as suggested by V. S. Agrawala,[69] are *gārhapatya* (belonging to *gṛhapati*), *āhavanīya* (eastern) and *dakṣiṇa* (southern) well known in Śrauta rituals.[70] Similar examples of performance of sacrifice as well as the erection of a *yūpa* are found in several epigraphs. Two inscriptions[71] discovered at Nāndsā in the Sahārā 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[72] 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[73] from the same place, which, on palæographical grounds, may be assigned to the 3rd century A.D., commemorates the performance of *Āptoryāma* sacrifice. Two other *yūpa* inscriptions[74] 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

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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 Sāmaveda.

69 *JUPHS*, Vols. XXIV-XXV, p. 137.

70 Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, 1897, p. 95.

71 *EI*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 252-65.

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[75] 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.[76] This Vedic practice was popular in the Kuṣāṇa period.

In this connection mention may be made of a Mathurā inscription[77] dated in the year 28 of Huviṣka's reign which records the creation of a permanent endowment for the maintenance of a *puṇyaśālā* for catering free food to one hundred Brāhmaṇas per month for the religious merit of *Devaputra Ṣāhi* Huviṣka and for those who loved him. It shows that Huviṣka's relations with the Brāhmaṇas were cordial.

The archæological sources bear evidence to the popularity of the cult of Kārttikeya at Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period. An inscription[78] dated in the year 11 of the reign of Kaṇiṣka records the installation of the image of the god Kārttikeya by some persons. Besides, the coins[79] of Huviṣka bear on the reverse the different forms of the deity with the names Mahāsena, Skanda-kumāra and Viśākha in Greek

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75 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 245-51 ; cf. also *ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 152-57.

76 Macdonell, *op.cit.*, pp. 88-100 ; *The Vedic Age*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, 1965, pp. 376-77, 380-81.

77 Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, pp. 151-52.

78 *JUPHS*, Vol. XVI, p. 66.

79 Gardner, *op.cit.*, pp. 138, 149, pls. xxvii. 16; xxiii. 22-23.

characters. Unknown to the Vedas, Kārttikeya 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-Kārttikeya 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, Sammitīya 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 records[1] and the Bharatpur gate inscription.[2] The former states that Buddhila, 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

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80 *The Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhaṣya of Patañjali*, ed. Kielhorn, V. 3.99.

81 R. G. Bhandarkar, *op.cit.*, p. 150.

1 Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 118.

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 Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa.[6]

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

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3 *Ibid.*, pp. 114, 165, 170, 191 ; *EI*, Vol. XXX, p. 184.

4 N. Dutt, *Buddhist Sects in India*, 1970, pp. 12-36.

5 N. Dutt, *Three Principal Schools of Buddhism*, 1939, pp. 1-35 ; also his *Buddhist Sects in India*, pp. 73-104.

6 N. Dutt, *Buddhist Sects in India*, pp. 65-72.

they selected Mathurā as the field of their early activities under the leadership of venerable Upagupta.[7] The lion capital inscriptions[8] 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 *Mahākṣatrapa* 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 Khalamasa 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.[9] Yaśomitra in his *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*[10] 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 Budddist teachers.

Another inscription[11] 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[12] of Huviṣka dated in the year

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7 *Ibid.*, p. 135.

8 Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, pp. 114-18.

9 An inscribed clay seal mentioning the name of Buddhadeva in late Gupta characters was found at Śrāvastī (Set Mahet). See *ASI AR*, 1907-08, p. 128.

10 *Adhidharmakośavyākhyā*, V. 26 ; ix. 12.

11 Lüders, *op.cit.*, p. 32.

12 Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vo. I, p. 153.

33 of the Kuṣāṇa (Śaka) era corresponping to 111 A.D., refers to a nun Buddhamitrā and a monk Bala, both of whom knew the Tripiṭaka generally attributed to the Hīnayānists only. That the monk Bala was a Sarvāstivādin is evident from two records[13] of the time of Kaṇiṣka found at Saheth-Maheth 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.[14] Kaṇiṣka, 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 Sthaviravād. 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 *dharmas* 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.[15] In the latter period, it became popular as Vaibhāsika, because of the fact that it attached more importance to the Vibhāṣās (commentaries) than to the *Sūtras* (original sayings).

Another important branch of Sthaviravādins was the Vātsīputrīya-Sammitīya school, the existence of which in the Mathurā area is traced from an inscription[16] of the Kṣatrapa period. It records the enshrinement of an image of the Bodhisattva at the Śrīvihāra for the acceptance of the Sammitīya 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.

16 Lüders, *op.cit.*, p. 116.

tions, the school was established in the 3rd century B.C. by Mahākaccāyana, a famous monk of Avanti.[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 Sammitīya branch of the Vātsiputrīya 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 *mūlavijñāna* 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 Sarvāstivadins, they held another revolutionary idea that the non-Buddhists are also entitled to acquire supernormal powers (*ṛddhi*) and to attain Arhathood.[18]

The existence of another Buddhist sect named Dharmaguptaka, an offshoot of the Sthaviravādins and a branch of the Sarvāstivādins, is known from a Kuṣāṇa inscription[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[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-

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17 N. Dutt, *Buddhist Sects in India*, pp. 194-95.

18 L. De La Vallée Poussin in *Encylopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. XI, ed. J. Hastings, 1959, pp. 168-69; N. Dutt, *Buddhist Sects in India*, pp. 197-223.

19 Lüders, *op.cit.*, p. 187.

20 Przyluski, *Le Concile de Rājagṛha*, pp. 325-26; cf. N. Dutt, *Buddhist Sects in India*, p. 184.

Plate VI

Courtesy : Indian Museum, Calcutta (Ind. Muse Bull., Jan., 1972)

ghikas. Placing the Buddha higher than the Saṅgha, 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 Saṅgha are meritorious than those made to the Buddha since the latter is included in the Saṅgha.[21]

The expression *ācariyāna Mahopadesakānaṁ parigahe* in an inscription[22] written in Kuṣāṇa 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, Mahopadeśaka 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 Kuṣāṇa and it was in a most flourishing condition. It is interesting to note that Kaṇiṣka had on the reverse of some of his coins the representation of the Buddha with legends like *BO△△O* and *O△YOBOY CAKAMA*.[26] The

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21 G. P. Mallalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, Vol. I, 1960, p. 1138 ; N. Dutt, *Buddhist Sects in India*, pp. 183-85.

22 Lüders, *op.cit.*, p. 123.

23 Sahni in *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 68.

24 Lüders, *op.cit.*, p. 123.

25 Lüders List, Nos. 144-49 ; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 35, 197 ; Fleet, *CII*, Vol. III, 1963, p. 263.

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 communities. 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, Kaṇiṣka 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 Aśoka that it is difficult to distinguish between the fact and the mere echoes of older tradition. Hiuen-Tsang[28] says that the Buddhist king Kaṇiṣka built a magnificent *Stūpa* and a *Vihāra* in Puruṣapura (Peshāswar), his capital city. In the 11th Century, Al-Bīrunī[29] refers to the Kanik-caitya (Kaṇiṣka-caitya) at Purushāvar (Peshāwar). But it is not easy to determine whether the *stūpa* and the monastery were built by Kaṇiṣka I or one of his namesakes among his successors.

Besides Kaṇiṣka I, his successors had also leanings towards Buddhism as is evident from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. It mentions three Turuṣka kings of Kashmir named Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaṇiṣka (generally identified with Huviṣka, Vāsiṣka and Kaṇiṣka II of the Āra inscription[30] dated in the year 41 of Kaṇiṣka's era) as devout Buddhists.[31]

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

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27 Smith, *EHI*, 1962 (reprint), pp. 283-85.

28 Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. I, 1961, p. 208.

29 Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Vol. II, 1964 (reprint), p. 11.

30 Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, pp. 154-55.

31 Stein, *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I. 168-71.

religion. An inscription (c. 5th century A.D.)[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,[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[34] of Mathurā provide us with some of the appellations attributed to the Buddha. He is referred to as *Śākyamuni, Bhagavān Śākyamuni apratimaḥ, Bhagavān Pitāmahaḥ Sahmayasaṁbuddha svamata deva* and *Bhagavān Pitāmahaḥ svamatāviruddha.* The epithet *Bhagavān Pitāmahaḥ* is also attributed to the Buddha in two other records,[35] one from Deorīya (a small village about ten miles to the South-west of Allahabad) and the other from Nālandā. D. R. Sahni[36] observed that in the Buddhist as well as Brāhmaṇical texts, *pitāmaha* is generally Brahman of the Hindu pantheon. N. G. Majumdar[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[38] as 'her favourite deity'. Lüders[39] interprets it as 'the god

32 *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 13.

33 Giles, *Fa-hsien*, 1956, p. 20.

34 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 64, 117, 206 ; Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 115 ; *EI*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 152.

35 Lüders' List, No. 910 ; *EI*, Vol. XXI, p. 99.

36 *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 96.

37 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 100, note 5.

38 *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 97.

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 record[40] 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 inscriptions[41] and the *Mahāvyutpatti*[42] respectively.

A Buddhist image inscription[43] of Huviṣka's time, dated in the year 33, refers to a nun named Buddhamitrā and a monk named Bala, both of whom enjoyed the designation *traipiṭaka*. The name of the said monk is found also in some Kuṣāṇa records[44] discovered at Sārnāth and Set-Mahet and the nun is also known from two other Kuṣāṇa records[45] from Kosam and Sārnāth. The Tripiṭaka 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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40 Cunningham (*ASIR*, Vol. X, p. 7) reads the date of the inscription as 126, while Indrajit (*JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, p. 354) and Fleet (*CII*, Vol. III, pp. 45-47) read it as 129. Recently D. C. Sircar (*JAIH*, Vol. III, pp. 133-37) reads it as 109.

41 Lüders' List, Nos. 881, 902.

42 *Mahāvyutpatti* (Bib. Bud.), 1.16.

43 Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 153.

44 *Ibid.*, pp. 136-38, 144-45.

45 *Ibid.*, pp. 136-37.

underlying the doctrine respectively.[46] 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 *traipiṭaka* just as some Brāhmaṇas were called *caturvedin* in recognition of their proficiency in the four Vedas.

The words *caturvidya*, *cāturvidya*, *cāturvaidya*, *caturveda*, *caturvedin* are Brāhmaṇical terms and generally attributed to one who is well versed in the four Vedas.[47] A Kuṣāṇa inscription[48] at Mathurā applies the epithet *caturvidya* to the monk Buddhiśreṣṭha, a preacher who made some gifts to the *cātuddisa Saṅgha*. Lüders[49] tentatively suggests the reading *caturvidya* and states[50] 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., Dīrgha, Madhyama, Saṁyukta and Ekottara.

The practice of meditation (*padhānaṁ*) is the essential part of the daily routine of the monks and nuns. This has its fourfold factors, *viz. Saṁvarapadhānaṁ* (exertion consisting of the restraint of one's senses), *pahānapadhānaṁ* (exertion consisting of the abandonment of sinful thoughts), *bhāvanapadhānaṁ* (exertion consisting of the practice of meditation) and *anurakkhaṇāpadhānaṁ* (exertion consisting of the guarding of one's character).[51] The word *prāhaṇika* or *prāhāṇika* is found in a Mathurā epigraph[52] belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period. It

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46 Childers, *Dictionary of the Pali Language*, 1875, pp. 506-07 ; *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. VIII, ed. J. Hastings, 1958, pp. 85-87.

47 Sircar, *Ind. Ep. Gloss.*, 1966, p. 70.

48 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 69.

49 *Loc.cit.*

50 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 70.

51 Childers, *op.cit.*, p. 314 ; T.W. Rhys Davids, *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary*, 1959, p. 411.

52 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 82 and note 6.

records the gift of a pillar-base by the monks Śurīya and Buddharakṣita, who practised meditation (*prāhaṇikānaṁ*) for bestowing of health on all the fellow meditators. The Sanskrit form of *prāhaṇika* or *prāhāṇika* is *prādhānika*, *prahāṇa* being an Eastern Prakrit derivation.[53]

The word *arhat* is traced in two pre-Kuṣāṇa inscriptions[54] of Mathurā. The conception of the Arhat pertains to Hīnayāna 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.[55] But later on, in Mahāyāna Buddhism, this conception was considerably reoriented, the new idea being that a man, by practising austerities, can attain Bodhisattvahoood 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 Kaṇiṣka, 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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53 *Ibid.*, p. 83.

54 *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 200, 207.

55 *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, ed. J. Hastings, 1959, pp. 774-75 ; N. Dutt, *Early Monastic Buddhism*, 1960, pp. 265-71.

Besides, in a Kuṣāṇa record,[56] 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 Prāvārika-vihāra, Cutaka-vihāra, Śrī-vihāra, Suvarṇakāra-vihāra, Sakka-vihāra, Veṇḍa-vihāra, Koṣṭikīya-vihāra, Roṣika-vihāra and Guha-vihāra.[57] The reference to *Cātuddisa Saṅgha* occurs in two Mathurā records,[58] 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[59] 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. Kaṇiṣka 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.

57 *Ibid.*, pp. 110, 114, 123, 191, 206; Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 116; *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 10-11.

58 Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 115; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 69.

59 Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 118.

seated (*āsana*). In the Kuṣāṇa period, the head of the images is commonly shaven ; but it is, in the Gupta age, represented with curly hair along with the *uṣṇīṣa* (head-dress). The hands of the statues were in various postures (*mudrā*), *viz. dhyāna, abhayā, bhūmisparśa, dharmacakra-pravartana*, etc.

The inscription[60] 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 Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā (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 inscription[1] 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 inscription[3] of the Kuṣāṇa period dated in the year 49 of Kaṇiṣka (Śaka) era records the establishment of an image

60 *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 13.
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[4] at the Vodva *stūpa*, built by the gods (*Vodve thupe deva-nirmite*).[5] The *stūpa* seems to have been so old that it was believed by the people to have been built by the gods. The *Tīrthakalpa* 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,[6] the *stūpa*, originally made of gold and embellished with precious stones, was erected by the goddess Kuberā in honour of Supārśvanātha, the 7th Jina.[7] 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[8] holds that the *stūpa* is probably 'the oldest known

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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).

6 Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 13.

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 Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, 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*[9] referring to a jewelled *stūpa* at Mathurā.

The inscriptions of Mathurā indicate the cult of the Jaina *Tīrthaṅkaras*. Image of Ṛṣabha, the first of the *Tīrthaṅkaras*, are mentioned in Kuṣāṇa and Gupta records[10] and testifies to the popularity of his worship in the age in question. Besides, four other Kuṣāṇa inscriptions[11] speak of the installation of the statues of the four *Tīrthaṅkaras*, *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 Kuṣāṇa period[12] when Jainism was in a prosperous condition in Mathurā, but in the preceding age also.[13] Mahāvīra, more popularly called Vardhamāna, was the name given to him at birth.

The first twenty-two *Tīrthaṅkaras* 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. ahiṁsā* (non-injury), *satya* (truth), *asteya* (abstinence from stealing) and *aparigraha* (non-

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9 V. 27-28.

10 Lüders' List, Nos. 26, 69a, 117, 121 ; Lüders' *Math. Ins.*, p. 35. In a Kuṣāṇa record (*Math. Ins.*, p. 52) Lüders reads the name *Maha* [*ṣa-*]*bha* which he takes to be a mistake for *Maharṣabha*, i.e. Ṛṣabha (*loc.cit.*).

11 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 44-45 ; Lüders' List, Nos. 26-27, 110.

12 Lüders' List, Nos. 18, 28, 31, 34, 39, 50, 74, 76, 102, 115, 118-19 ; *Math. Ins.*, p. 53 ; *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 67.

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 Pārśvanātha's followers used to wear white garment, Mahāvīra prescribed nudity to his disciples who were ascetics. The adherents of Pārśvanātha 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 *Tirthaṅkaras*, 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

14 B. C. Bhattacharya, *The Jaina Iconography*, 1939, pp. 37-38.

15 *SBE*, Vol. XXII, p. 201.

16 *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. II, p. 187; B. C. Bhattacharya, *op.cit.*, pp. 19-20.

17 *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 390, 395, 397; Vol. II, pp. 199-200, 207.

18 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 383.

19 *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*, p. 281; *VOJ*, Vol. I, p. 172.

Arhat Vardhamāna',[20] 'adoration to the *Arhat* Mahāvīra',[21] 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 Hāthigumphā inscription,[22] 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,[23] supposed to be a Jina figure, found at Lohānīpur in Patna, has been assigned to the Maurya period. It has been suggested[24] 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 *Tīrthaṅkaras* mentioned above, a few more images, on which the names of the Jinas are not mentioned, were also discovered. The said records,[25] except the one[26] dated in the year 113 of the Gupta era, belong to the Kuṣāṇa period. Besides, some epigraphs[27] of the Kuṣāṇa age record the dedication of fourfold images (*sarvatobhadrikā pratimā*) of the Jinas.

The practice of setting up *āyāgapatas* for the worship of *Arhats* is mentioned in the inscriptions.[28] The word *āyāga*

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20 *EI*, Vol. I, p. 396 ; Vol. II, p. 199 ; *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 152.

21 *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 200, 205 ; *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 108.

22 Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, 1965, p. 217.

23 *JBORS*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 130-32.

24 U. P. Shah, *op.cit.*, pp. 39-41.

25 Lüders' List, Nos. 22, 57, 75, 96 ; *EI*, Vol. II, p. 204 ; *JUPHS*, Vol. XXIII, p. 49.

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'.[29] The word has been translated as a 'tablet of homage or worship'.[30] 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 *śilā-paṭas*, *āyāgasabhā*, *toraṇa*, etc., in honour of the *Arhats*, is mentioned in inscriptions.[31]

The words *bhagavā Nemeso bhaga...*(the divine Naigameṣa, the divine...)[32] 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,[33] Nemesa is mentioned as Hariṇegamesī in the *Kalpasūtra*, as Naigameṣin in the *Neminâthacarita* 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*.[34] The story is that Hariṇegamesī at the command of Indra, king of the gods, transferred the embryo of Mahāvīra from the womb of Devanandā, a Brāhmaṇa woman, to that of Triśalā, a Kṣatriya lady.

An inscription[35] of the time of *Mahākṣatrapa* Śoḍāsa dated in the year 72 (15 A.D.) records that Amohinī, a female lay-disciple of the Kautsa race, established a statue of an Āryavatī for the worship of the *Arhats*. Āryavatī, according to Bühler,[36] was a royal lady who had some importance

29 See V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. XVI, pt. I, p. 59.
30 See Bühler in *EI*, Vol. II, p. 314.
31 Lüders' List, Nos. 93, 102, 108.
32 *EI*, Vol. II, p. 200.
33 *Ibid.*, pp. 314-18.
34 *SBE*, Vol. XXII, pp. 226-29.
35 Lüders' List, No. 59.
36 *Academy*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 374.

in Jaina legends. U. P. Shah[37] suggests that the lady can be identified with the mother of a Jina, probably Mahāvīra.

Another inscription[38] incised on a large statue of an elephant surmounting the bell capital of a pillar records the erection of the image of Nandiviśāla by Rudradāsa, the son of Śivadāsa, for the worship of the *Arhats*. Scholars differ regarding the interpretation of the word *Nandiviśāla*. According to Cunningham,[39] it refers to the elephant as the great Nandi. Bloch[40] 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 Nandiviśāla 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[41] thinks that the word Nandiviśāla '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[42] dated in the year 54 of the Kaṇiṣka 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.[43]

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37 U. P. Shah, *op.cit.*, p. 11.

38 Lüders' List, No. 41.

39 *ASIR*, Vol. III, pp. 32-33.

40 *JASB*, Vol. LXVII (1898), pt. I, p. 276 and note 2.

41 *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 41 and note 30.

42 Lüders' List, No. 54.

43 *K. B. Pathak Commemoration Volume*, 1934, p. 41 ; U. P. Shah, *op.cit.*, p. 11.

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[44] of the Kuṣāṇa period dated in the year 62 of the Kaṇiṣka or Śaka era.

The Jaina *Kalpasūtra*[45] 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 Kuṣāṇa age not only contain the earliest reference to *Koṭṭiya gaṇa*,[46] but also mention it in a large number of cases.[47] The *Kulas* mentioned as belonging to this group include *Brahmadāsika*,[48] *Sthānīya*[49] or *Sthānikīya*,[50] *Vātsalīya*,[51] *P[r]a[śna]v[ā]ha[na]ka*[52] and its different *Śākhās* likewise

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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 ; *EI* 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.

49 *Ibid.*, Nos. 22, 27-28, 36, 39, 56, 75, 115 ; *EI*, Vol. X, p. 110.

50 Lüders' List, Nos. 53, 110 ; *JUPHS*, Vol. XII, p. 26.

51 Lüders' List, Nos. 25, 107f.

52 *Ibid.*, No. 73.

include *Uccenāgarī*,[53] *Āryaverī*,[54] *Verī*,[55] *Vairī* or *Vaira*,[56] *Majhomā*[57] and *Vidyādharī*.[58] The *Saṁbhogas* of *Koṭṭiyagaṇa* as mentioned in the epigraphs are *Śrīgṛha*[59] and *Śrīka*.[60]

The *Koṭṭiya gaṇa* is found in the *Kalpasūtra* as *Kautikagaṇa*.[61] The founders of which were Susthita and Supratibuddha. In the Mathurā inscriptions of different dates, the following heads of the *gaṇa*, styled *Gaṇin*, are mentioned : *Ārya* puśila, *Ārya* pāla, Ja-mitra (?), *Ārya* Māghahastin and *Ārya* kharṇṇa.[62]

Another *gaṇa*, called *Cāraṇa* in the *Kalpasūtra*[63] and stated to have been founded by Śrīgupta, is mentioned as *Vāraṇa* in the inscriptions.[64] Its *kulas*, mentioned in inscrip-

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53 *Ibid.*, Nos. 18-20, 23a, 29, 32, 45a, 46, 71, 77, 119, 121-22.

54 *Ibid.*, Nos. 27, 36, 56.

55 *Ibid.*, Nos. 28, 53.

56 *Ibid.*, Nos. 22, 39, 47, 54, 75, 89c ; *EI*, Vol. X, p. 110 ; *JUPHS*, Vols. XXIV-V, p. 219. *Āryaverī*, *Verī* and *Vairī* or *Vaira* are the appellations of *Vajrī* mentioned in the *Kalpasūtra* (*SBE*, Vol. XXII, p. 292).

57 Lüders' List, No. 73.

58 *EI*, Vol. II, 210.

59 Lüders' List, Nos. 19, 27, 29, 53-54, 122.

60 *Ibid.*, Nos. 28, 39 121. The *Kalpasūtra* does not mention the Saṁbhogas.

61 *SBE*, Vol. XXII, p. 292. According to the *Kalpasūtra*, this *gaṇa* was divided into four *kulas*, *viz. Brahmaliptaka*, *Vātsalīya*, *Vāṇiya*, *Praśnavāhanaka* and four *śākhās*, *viz. Uccanāgarī*, *Vidyādharī*, *Vajrī* and *Madhyamikā* all of which are referred to in the inscriptions of Mathurā.

62 Lüders' List, Nos. 23a, 29, 53-54, 56.

63 *SBE*, Vol. XXII, pp. 291-92

64 Lüders' List, Nos. 16 , 31, 34, 37, 42, 45, 48, 50, 58, 59a, 113, 116-17. Reference to the *Vāraṇa gaṇa* is found only in the Kuṣāṇa inscriptions, the earliest of which (*Ibid.*, No. 16) is dated in the Kaṇiṣka or Śaka year 4.

Plate VII

Courtesy : Arch. Sur. Ind. (Ep. Ind. Vol. XXXVII)

tions, are *Arya Hāṭṭakīya*[65] or *Arya Hāṭṭīya*,[66] *Naḍika*,[67] *Petivāmika*,[68] *Puśyamitrīya*,[69] *Ārya Kaniyasika*,[70] *Ārya Ceṭiya*[71] and *Arya Bhyista*,[72] while its *śākhās* are *Vajanagarī*,[73] *Haritamālakaḍhi*,[74] *Saṁkasiyā*[75] and *Saṁbhogas* are *Āryaśrīkiya*,[76] *Āryaśrīka*,[77] *Śrīya*[78] and *Śrīgṛha*.[79] According to the *Kalpasūtra*[80] the said *gaṇa* consisted of seven *kulas* and four *śākhās*. Amongst the *kulas* known from inscriptions, *Ārya Hāṭṭakiya*, *Petivamika*, *Puśyamitrīya*, *Ārya Kassiyasika*, and *Ārya ceṭiya* correspond respectively to *Hāridraka*, *Prītidharmika*, *Puṣyamitrika*, *Kṛṣṇasakha* and *Ārya ceṭaka* of the *Kalpasūtra*.[81] Amongst the *śākhās* mentioned in the *Kalpasūtra*, 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 *Arya Kanīyasataḥ*.

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 *Vātsalīya*, *Prītidharmika*, *Hāridraka*, *Puṣyamitrika*, *Mālyaka*, *Ārya ceṭaka*, *Kṛṣṇasakha* and the *Śākhās* were *Hāritamālākārī*, *Samkāksikā*, *Govedhukā*, *Vajranāgarī*.

81 *EI*, Vol. I, p. 378; B. N. Puri, *India under the Kuṣāṇas*, 1965, pp. 150-51.

inscriptions. *Arya* Datta, *Arya* Nandika and Dinara were the heads of the *Vāraṇa gaṇa* at different dates during the Kuṣāṇa age.[82]

The *gaṇa* called *Ārya odehikiya*, which is the same as *uddeha* of *Kalpasūtra*,[83] is mentioned with its divisions and subdivisions in the two Kuṣāṇa records,[84] dated in the Kaṇiṣka-śaka years 7 and 98 respectively. The *Kulas* of this *gaṇa* are *Ārya Nāgabhutikiya* and *Paridhāsika* while its *śākhā* is *Petaputrikā*. According to the *Kalpasūtra*,[85] the *gaṇa* founded by *Ajja* Rohaṇa is divided into six *kulas* and four *śākhās*. *Ārya* Devadatta and *Ārya* Buddhaśrī are known from the inscriptions to have occupied the heads of the *gaṇa* in the Kuṣāṇa period.

Besides, two other Kuṣāna inscriptions[86] refer to one *kula* entitled *Mehika* (*Maighika*) which, according to the *Kalpasūtra*, belongs to the *Vesavāḍika gaṇa*.[87] Thus the reference to the *Mehika kula* in the inscriptions points to the existence of the *Vesavāḍika gaṇa* in Mathurā. This *gaṇa* was divided into four *kulas* and subdivided into four *śākhās*, its pioneer being Kāmarddhi.[88]

The division of the church into several *gaṇas*, *kulas*, *śākhās* and also into *saṁbhogas* was a peculiarity of the Jainas and

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82 Lüder's List, Nos. 34, 37, 50.

83 *SBE*, Vol. XXII, p. 290.

84 Lüders' List, Nos. 21, 76. According to Lüders, *Ārya Odehikiya gaṇa* is also known as *Arya Dehikīya*.

85 Six *kulas* were *Nāgabhūta*, *Somabhūta*, *Ullagacca*, *Hastilipta*, *Nāndika*, *Parihāsaka* and four *śākhās* were *Udumbarikā*, *Māsapūrikā*, *Matipatrikā*, *Purṇapatrikā* (*SBE*, Vol. XXII, p. 290).

86 Lüders' List, Nos. 24, 70.

87 *SBE*, Vol. XXII, p. 291.

88 Four *kulas* were *Gaṇika*, *Maighika*, *Kāmarddhika*, *Indrapuraka* and the four *Śākhās* were *Sravastikā*, *Rājyapālikā*, *Antarañjikā*, *Kṣemaliptikā* (*loc.cit.*).

was not found among other Indian religious sects. *Gaṇa* means 'school', *kula* 'family' and *śākhā* 'branch';[89] but the actual meanings of the terms are doubtful.[90] 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[91] 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 Kuṣāṇa records mentioning one person as both *Gaṇin* and *Vācaka*.[92] 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,[93] 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

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89 See Bühler, The *Indian Sect of the Jainas*, 1963, p. 33.

90 See Jacobi, *SBE*, Vol. XXII, p. 288, note 2.

91 Lüders' List, Nos. 22, 27-30, 42, 45, 47, 50, 53-54, 56-58, 110, 122; *JUPHS*, Vols. XXIV-V, p. 219; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 39.

92 Lüders' List, No. 50 states that Dinara was a great preacher as well as the head of the *Vāraṇa 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*.

93 *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*, p. 281; *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 67.

to 162 A.D. Lüders[94] has pointed out that the said names are of foreign origin.

D. Worship of the Nāgas and Yakṣas

Several Mathurā inscriptions belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period and referring to the Nāga cult have been found. The Jamālpur mound stone slab inscription[1] dated in the year 26 of the Kaṇiṣka era corresponding to 104 A.D. records the installation of a stone-slab (*śilāpaṭṭa*) by some persons who are the sons of the actors of Mathurā at the *sthāna* of Dadhikarṇa, the lord of the Nāgas. Another inscription,[2] 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[3] at the shrine of Dadhikarṇa. The name of Dadhikarṇa is also engraved on the pedestal of a headless Nāga statue found in the Jamunā near Mathurā.[4] Thus the above epigraphs indicate not only the adoration of Dadhikarṇanāga, who was a local Nāga deity, but also the existence of his temple at Mathurā. As stated by Bühler,[5] his name is found in the *Harivaṁśa* (i.168.17) where he is invoked in the *āhnika-mantra*, and along with Nāgas he is mentioned in Hemacandra's commentary on the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* (verse 1311) as has been noted by Lüders.[6] An inscription[7] discovered from the Rāl-Bhaḍār mound, dated in the year 8 of

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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 Brāhmins by caste but even agriculturalists.

4 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 127.

5 *EI*, Vol. I, p. 381 and note 39.

6 *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 103.

7 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 148-49.

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[8] discovered at the village of Chargāon (five miles to the south of Mathurā) records that two persons named Senahastin and Bhoṇḍaka 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 *Harivaṁśa* speaks of the famous Kāliyanāga whose abode was in the Yamunā.[9] 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 *Harivaṁśa* 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.[10] Not only in the Mathurā area but in other places also, the Nāga cult was widely prevalent.[11]

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[12] which records the setting up of a statue of the Holy one by some persons who were members of the Māṇibhadra congregation. Cunningham[13] suggests that the image was that of a Yakṣa or attendant demi-god, who carried a chauri over the right shoulder. Vogel[14] identifies it with Kubera, the god of

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8 *Ibid.*, pp. 173-74.

9 cf. Vogel, *op.cit.*, pp. 89-90.

10 cf. *ibid.*, pp. 91-92.

11 Sircar, *Studies in the Religious Life of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, pp. 133-37.

12 Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 93.

13 *ASIR*, Vol. XX, p. 40.

14 Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, 1971 (reprint), p. 83.

wealth. Scholars[15] 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[16] assigns the image to the third century B.C. while Vogel[17] and Lüders[18] placed it to the second century B.C. Sircar[19] suggests the second half of the first century B.C.

The name of yakṣa Maṇibhadra occurs in the *Saṁyutta Nikāya.*[20] He is also mentioned along with other yakṣas in the *Mahāmāyūrī* of the *Pañcarakṣā.*[21] D. C. Sircar[22] identifies him with the Nāga deity Maṇināga. On the strength of the *Mahābhārata*[23] he states that Maṇibhadra or Māṇibhadra 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 Valituṇāi-nāyaṇār (Sanskrit *Mārgasahāyeśvara*), the South Indian god who was worshipped by traders 'for the safe transport of their commodities'.

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15 Gangoly in *Modern Review*, October, 1919, pp. 421-22; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 178; Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 93 and note. 1.

16 *ASIR*, Vol. XX, p. 41.

17 Vovel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, *loc.cit.*

18 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 179.

19 Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 93.

20 *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, Nālandā-Devanāgarī-Pāli Series, 1959, 10.4.5.

21 cf. *JAS*, Vol. IX No. 2, 1967, p. 179.

22 *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 330, note 5. According to D. N. Das (*JAS*, Vol. IX, No. 2, 1967, *loc.cit.*), Maṇibhadra, a Yakṣa deity and Maṇināga, a Nāga deity could not be identical.

23 *JBRS*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 43 and note 1. Sircar, *Studies in the Religious Life of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, pp. 145-46 and note 1.

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 (*maṇikāra*), goldsmith (*suvarṇakāra*), worker-in-metal (*lohikākāraka*), 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 (*naṭaka*), barber (*nāpita*) and prostitute (*gaṇikā*) who played an important role in the socio-economic life of the people.

A Jaina inscription[1] dated in the year 20 of Kuṣāṇa era (98 A.D.) discovered at the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā refers to a jeweller (*mānikara*, mistake for *maṇikāra*) 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 jewellers is noticed in the *Vājaseneyi Saṁhitā*[2] which mentions the workers in gold and manufacturers of jewellery in a list of human victims in the Puruṣamedha. The jewellers 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[3] in Śuṅga

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1 *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 383-84.

2 XXX. 7, 17.

3 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 198.

characters mentions the name of a goldsmith (*sovaṇika*) Uttara, the son of Gauptī. Reference to another goldsmith named Dharmaka is found in a Kuṣāṇa record[4] dated in the year 17 of the Kuṣāṇa era (95 A.D.), whose wife Nāgapriyā installed a Bodhisattva in her own *Caityakuṭi*. A Jaina inscription[5] from the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā records the setting up of tablets of homage (*āyāgapaṭas*) in a *bhaṇḍira* by the goldsmith[6] Nandighoṣa. The other Jaina inscription[7] from the Ṭīlā 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 (*hairaṇyaka*)[8] Deva. In addition to the names of individual goldsmiths mentioned in the epigraphs, reference is also found to a *sauvarṇakāra-vihāra* which probably testifies to the existence of a group of goldsmiths. A Buddhist stone inscription[9] in Śuṅga characters from Jamnā Bāgh records the gift of Ayala, the son of Indraśarman in the *sauvarṇakāra-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.[10] The *Lalitavistara*[11] mentions a goldsmith who was skilled in

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4 *Ibid.*, pp. 187-88.

5 Lüders' List, No. 95.

6 Bühler (*EI*, Vol. I, p. 397) reads [*te*]*vaṇikena* 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. *sauvarṇikena*) 'by the goldsmith'.

7 *EI*, Vol. II, p. 205.

8 Lüders (List, No. 74) explains the term *hairaṇyaka* as 'treasurer'.

9 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 123.

10 Cf. N. C. Bandyopadhyay, *Economic Life and Progress in Ancient India*, Vol. I, 1945, pp. 154-55.

11 Ed. Lefmann, Ch. VI (p. 63.12).

catering to the tastes of many. Aśvaghoṣa[12] describes the process of purifying gold and the making of various kinds of ornaments.

Side by side with the crafts of jewellers and goldmiths, the business of blacksmiths flourished considerably. The words *lohavāṇiya*, *lohikākāraka* are found in several Kuṣāṇa epigraphs from Mathurā. Mention of an iron-monger in a Kuṣāṇa record[13] has already been cited above. A Jaina inscription[14] from the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā dated in the year 52 of the Kuṣāṇa era (130 A.D.) records the dedication of an image by a worker-in-metal, the son of Śramaṇaka. Another Jaina image inscription[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 Sīha.

Mention is made of a cotton-dealer (*kārppāsika*) in a Jaina image inscription[16] of the time of Huviṣka dated in the year 60 of the Śaka era, discovered from the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, which refers to a religious gift made by Dattā, the wife of a cotton-dealer in order to propitiate *Bhagavān* Ṛṣabha. In addition to the cotton-dealer, reference to cloak-makers (*prāvārika*) is noticed in several epigraphs. A Buddhist image inscription[17] of the time of Kaṇiṣka dated in the year 14, found at the Dalpatki-Khīṛki Mohalla in Mathurā city records the setting up of a statue of the Buddha by Saṁghilā, the wife of the cloak-maker Hastin. Another fragmentary record[18] in Kuṣāṇa characters from the Giridharpur Ṭīlā mentions a cloak-maker whose name has not been restored.

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12 *Saundarananda*, XVI. 65.

13 Lüders' List, No. 29.

14 *Ibid.*, No. 53.

15 *Ibid.*, No. 54.

16 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 46-47.

17 *Ibid.*, pp. 116-17.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 164.

A stone inscription[19] from the Maholī-Usphār area of the Mathurā 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[20] dated in the year 22 of Kuṣāṇa era (100 A.D.) found in the city of Mathurā, 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 *Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra.*[21] Several varieties of cotton are mentioned in the *Ācārāṅgasūtra.*[22] Besides, the *Mahāvagga*[23] refers to *kappāsika* along with the other textile goods. In the ancient period, crafts like cloth-making, silk-weaving, etc., made a considerable progress.[24] The development of textile industry owed a great deal to the luxurious habit of the people. The sculptures of Barhut, Sāñcī, Sārnāth and Amarāvatī bear representations of various fashionable dresses. In the manufacture of Śāṭaka, a special kind of cloth, Mathurā earned great celebrity.[25] According to Manu,[26] taxes were levied on the produce of the weavers who became wealthy in the textile trade. A Jaina image inscription[27] 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.

24 R. S. Sharma, *Light on Early Indian Society and Economy*, 1966, p. 75.

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[28] reads doubtfully as *vaddhaddhini*, the meaning of which is uncertain, R. D. Banerji[29] reade *vaddha*[*ki*]*ni* meaning 'carpenter'.

Reference to a dyer is traced in a Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā Jaina image inscription[30] dated in the year 25 of the Kuṣāṇa era. It records the dedication of a Jaina statue by the wife of the dyer (*rayagini*) named Jayabhaṭṭa. The dyer and washerman (*rajaka*) were the same person who was different from the dye-manufacturer (*raṅgakāra*).[31] Kauṭilya lays down certain terms of business of a washerman. He shall be fined 12 *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.[32]

The perfumer (*gandhika*) is mentioned in three Jaina image epigraphs of the Kuṣāna period found at the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, one[33] 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 Kumārabhaṭi while another record[34]

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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 ; *JRAS*, 1912, pp. 170-71).

28 Lüders' List, No. 23a ; *JRAS*, 1912, pp. 171-73 and Note 12.

29 *EI*, Vol. X, p. 111.

30 Lüders' List, No. 32.

31 A. N. Bose, *Social and Economic Life of Northern India*, Vol. I, 1961, p. 251.

32 *Arthaśāstra*, IV. 1 (Munich Ms.) ; cf. A. N. Bose, *loc.cit.*, cf. also *Manusmṛti*, VIII. 396.

33 Lüders' List, No. 39.

34 *Ibid.*, No. 68.

of Vāsudeva's reign dated in the year 83 refers to the installation[1] of a Jaina image by Jinadāsi, the wife of a perfumer. The third one[35] 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.[36] Perfumes were greatly demanded by the people of the rich and fashionable society.[37]

Reference to a ferryman (*prātārika*) is noticed in a Jaina image inscription[38] of the reign of Kumāragupta dated in

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35 *Ibid.*, No. 76.

36 *Jāt.*, Vol. VI, tr. Cowell and Rouse, 1957, p. 162.

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 Kauśāmbī bearing on the obverse the Brāhmī legend *gadhikānaṁ* 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. Bandyopadhyay (*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 Gādhi 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 Kuṣāṇa era (118 A.D.) found at the village of Rawal near Mathurā records the digging up of a well at the Śalā 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 Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā. It records the erection of a Jaina image by the wife of the ferryman Grahamitrapālita.

Mention of some actors (*śailālakas*) it noticed in a stone inscription[39] of the year 26 of the Kuṣāṇa era (104 A.D.) from the Jamālpur mound. It records the setting up of a stone slab at the shrine of the Nāga named Dadhikarṇṇa by some persons who were the sons of the actors of Mathurā.

A Jaina record[40] discovered at the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā speaks of the erection of a tablet of homage (*āyāgapaṭa*) by Śivayaśā, the wife of the dancer (*naṭaka*) Phaguyaśa.

Reference to a courtesan (*gaṇikā*) is found in a Jaina stone slab inscriptton[41] in Kuṣāṇa characters which records the constructiou 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 *rājanāpita* Jāḍa. V. S. Agrawala[43] explains the term *rājanāpita* 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 *Puṇyaśālā* pillar inscription[45] of Huviṣka's reign dated in the year 28

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39 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 62.

40 *EI*, Vol. II, p. 200.

41 *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 152-53.

42 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 111.

43 *JUPHS*, Vol. X, p. 3.

44 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 111.

45 Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, pp. 151-52.

mentions two guilds (*śreṇis*),[46] the name of the first is broken away,[47] and the second is *samitakara-śreṇī* (flour makers' guild). A permanent deposit of 550 *Purāṇa* coin was made to each of the two guilds by some *vakanapati* so that from the interest of the total sum of money, a *Puṇyaśālā* (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 *mālākā[ranikāya]* (a guild of florists) is known from a fragmentary Maurya inscription[48] of the latter half of the 7th century A.D. which probably states that the Maurya king Ḍiṇḍirāja 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.

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46 According to K. K. Thaplyal (*JNSI*, Vol. XXX, pp. 133-50), *śreṇī* 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 *Nagara-śreṣṭhin* (the chief banker) assisted by the *Sārthavāha* (the merchant), *Prathama-kulika* (the chief artisan), *Prathama-kāyastha* (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 mediæval Rajasthan headed by the Nagar-seṭh aided by others. He has tried to show that the *nigama* or *nigama-sabhā* had some sort of jurisdiction over the *śreṇis*.

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 Jātakas[49] 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 Dharmaśāstras indicate the impotance 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 (*śreṣṭhin*) 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 *Dharmaśāstras* (2nd century B.C. to 3rd century A.D.) show how the state provided guarantee and assistance for the fullfledged development of the guilds. Manu[55] lays down certain usages of the guilds (*śreṇi-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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49 *Jat.*, Vol. VI, p. 14.

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 *Idid.*, pp. 23-25.

54 *Ibid.*, pp. 25-28.

55 *Manusmṛti*, VIII. 41.

guilds.[56] Inscriptions[57] 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.[58] 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.[59] In this connection, it is intresting to note that the members of guilds enjoyed complete freedom in respect of immigration according to the exigency of the economic requirements.[60]

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56 *Ibid.*, VIII. 219-20 ; cf. *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, II. 187-92.

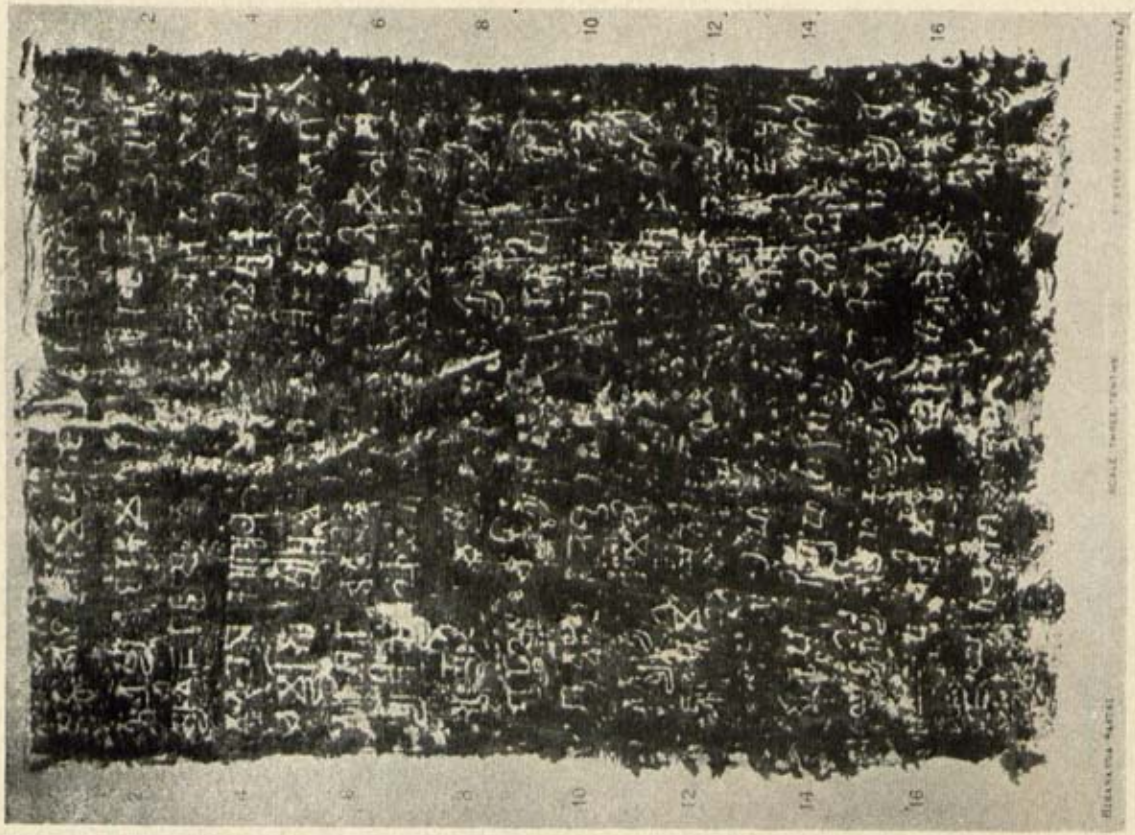
57 Lüders' List, No. 1162, 1165 ; *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 82-83, 88-89 ; Vol. XXXV, p. 5. The Nāsik cave inscription (*EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 82-83) of the time of Nahapāna dated in the year 42 of the Śaka era (120 A.D.) records that Uṣavadāta deposited 3000 *kārṣāpaṇas* to two guilds of weavers, the rate 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 (*satagabha*) cave and a cistern *poḍhī*). Again, the Mandasor record (Fleet, *op.cit.*, pp. 81-84) of Kumāragupta I and Bandhuvarman mentions the construction and repair of a magnificient 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

Plate VIII



Courtesy : Arch Sur. Ind. (Ep. Ind , Vol. XXI)

The term *śreṣṭhin* occurs in two Kuṣāṇa epigrapns discovered at the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā. The first[61] of them dated in the year 15 of the Kuṣāṇa era records the dedication of a Jaina statue by Kumāramitrā, the wife of the banker Veṇi, while the other[62] of Huviṣka's reign dated in the year 38 mentions the setting up of the elephant Nandiviśāla 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.[63] The earliest reference to *śreṣṭhin* occurs in the Vedic literature where the word donotes 'the headman of a guild'.[64] In later literature, he is represented to have enjoyed a special position among the members of the mercantile community.[65]

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[66] found at the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā records the installa-

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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.

63 Sircar, *Ind. Ep. Gloss.*, 1966, p. 317.

64 Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, Vol. II, pp. 403-04.

65 Fick, *The Social Organisation in North-East India*, 1920, pp. 283-84.

66 Lüders' List, No. 30.

tion of a Jaina image by Dharmasomā, the wife of a caravan leader. Another Buddhist image inscription[67] from Mathurā dated in the year 4 (82 A.D.) of Kaṇiṣka's reign mentions the caravan merchant Bhavaśrī whose wife set up a statue of Bodhisattva. Reference to some merchants (*vyavahārins*) is noticed in the Jamālpur mound stone slab inscription[68] in Gupta characters which records the putting up of a cooking stone of the Kakaṭikas in their *vihāra* by the commissioners of the community and some merchants. Besides, a Buddhist image inscription[69] in Kuṣāṇa characters refers to the trader (*vaṇik*) Dharmakāsa, 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.[70] 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 *vartanī*.[71] Their safe journey depended entirely on their leader who is required to be clever, sagacious and well-acquainted with the different routes.[72]

A Buddhist image inscription[73] of Vāsudeva's reign discovered at Pālikheṛā, 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*.[74]

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67 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 200.

68 *Ibid.*, p. 101.

69 *JUPHS*, Vol. XII, pp. 24-25.

70 Fick, *op.cit.*, pp. 272-74.

71 *Arthaśāstra*, 2.21. 24-26.

72 Cf. B. N. Puri, *India under the Kuṣāṇas*, 1965, p. 107.

73 *EI*, Vol. XXX, pp. 181-84.

74 D. C. Sircar suggests that *Kuṭumbikas* are agriculturalist householders (*EI*, Vol. XXX, p. 184).

Reference to a class of silver coins called *Purāṇa* is found in the *Puṇyaśālā* pillar inscription[75] which mentions 1100 *puraṇas* deposited perpetually in two guilds at a fixed rate of interest. According to Manu,[76] two *kṛṣṇalas* 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 *Kārṣāpaṇa*.[77]

The *Puṇyaśālā* pillar inscription mentions different weights, such as *Āḍhaka* and *Prastha*. *Āḍhaka* 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 *droṇa*[79] and one-fourth of an *Āḍhaka*.[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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75 Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, pp. 151-52.

76 *Manusmṛti*, VIII. 135-36 ; cf. *Viṣṇusmṛti*, IV. 11-12.

77 D. R. Bhandarkar, *Ancient Indian Numismatics* in *JAIH*, Vol. IV, pp. 465, 472-73 ; Sircar, *Ind. Ep. Gloss.*, p. 265.

78 Sircar, *Ind. Ep. Gloss.*, pp. 5-6.

79 *Ibid.*, p. 257.

80 Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 153, note 2.

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 Kuṣāṇas 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 Vāsiṣka, dated in the year 24 of the Kuṣāṇa or Śaka era, discovered from the bed of the Jamunā river at Īsāpur, records that Droṇala, the son of Rudrila, a Brāhmaṇa of the Bhāradvāja gotra and of the Māṇachandoga 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

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1 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 125-26.

2 Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, pt. I, 1941, p. 479.

Brāhmaṇas and the ancient Upaniṣads.[3] 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.[4]

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 *Sāmaveda*,[5] so that Droṇala was the follower of the *Chāndogya* branch of the *Sāmaveda*. The inscription refers to the performance of sacrifice by Droṇala which testifies to his respectable position in the society. According to Manu and Yājñavalkya,[7] 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.[8] A Brāhmaṇa was forbidden to earn his livelihood by service which is regarded as 'a dog's occupation'.[9]

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

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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 *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, i. 198-99.

8 *Manusmṛti*, X. 75-76 ; *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, 1. 118.

9 *Comp. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. II, 1957, pp. 459-60.

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 (*gañjavara*)[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 *Upsaṁpadā* ordination to the great Tissa Moggaliputta[14].

A fragmentary inscription[15] found at the Tokrī Ṭīlā near the village of Māṭ 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 *puṇyaśālā* of the Prācinīkas, 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.
11 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 99.
12 See *Supra*, Chapter on Administration.
13 II. IV. 67 ; IV. I. 104.
14 Cf. *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 248 ; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 100.
15 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 138-40.
16 *EI*, Vol. XXI, pp. 60-61.

In the previous chapter on Political History, we have seen that the Yavanas, Śaka Kṣatrapas and the Kuṣāṇas 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 Brāhmī scripts not only on their coins but also in their votive inscriptions, and some of the foreigners like the Kṣatrapas Śivadatta, Śivaghoṣa and Taraṇaḍāsa and the Kuṣāṇa king Vāsudeva assumed Indian names. The ancient law-givers accepted them as Indians. According to Patañjali[17], the Yavanas and the Śakas were *aniravasita* 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.[18] Though there is an apparent discrepancy between the *Mahābhāṣya* and the *Manusmṛti*, observes D. C. Sircar[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*[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 Kuṣāṇas, 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

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17 On *Pāṇini*, ii. 4. 10.

18 *Manusmṛti*, X. 43-44.

19 Sircar, *Studies in the Society and Administration of Ancient and Medieval India*, Vol. I, 1967, p. 66.

20 IV. 21.

people with the suffixes *pāla*[21], *sena*[22], *mitra*[23], *ghoṣa*[24], *datta*[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[26]. Mention is made of some cases in which the uniformity of the name-ending is disturbed by a few names. An inscription[27] in Kuṣāṇa characters found from the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā refers to a person named Grahasena whose grandsons were Śivasena, Devasena and Śivadeva. Another epigraph[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,[29] an *upapada* suggestive of *śarman* (happiness), *rakṣā* (protection), *puṣṭi* (prosperity) and *preṣya* (service) should be added to the names of the four *varṇas* respectively. Later on, *śarman* or *deva*, *varman* or *trāṭṛ*, *bhūti* or *datta* and *dāsa* were suffixed to the personal names of the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras

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21 *EI*, Vol. II, p. 201.

22 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 208 ; Vol. X, p. 114 ; Vol. XIX, p. 67 ; Vol. XXX, p. 184 ; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 50, 202.

23 *EI*, Vol. II, p. 201 ; Vol. X, p. 111 ; *VOJ*, Vol. I, p. 174 ; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 48, 80-81, 90, 195.

24 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 50 ; Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 120.

25 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 152-53, 199.

26 Sircar, *Ind. Ep.*, pp. 423-24 ; also in *Prācyavidyā-Taraṅgiṇī*, ed. Sircar, 1969, pp. 200-01.

27 *EI*, Vol. II, p. 208.

28 Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 120.

29 *Manusmṛti*, II. 31-32.

respectively in order to differentiate them.[30] The epigraphs of Mathurā mention several persons bearing names ending with *deva*,[31] *śarman*,[32] *varman*,[33] *trāṭṛ*,[34] *datta*,[35] and *dāsa*.[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 (*śreṣṭhin*),[37] merchant (*sārthavāha, vaṇik, vyavahārin*)[38] and agriculturalist (*kuṭumbika*)[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[40] and Yājñavalkya[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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30 Kane, *op.cit.*, pp. 250-51 ; Sircar, *Ind. Ep.*, pp. 422-23 ; also in *Prācyavidyā Taraṅgiṇī*, p. 200.

31 *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 387-88 ; Vol. II, pp. 209-10 ; Vol. X, p. 111 ; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 80, 88, 169, 184, 197.

32 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 123.

33 *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65, 113.

34 *EI*, Vol. II, p. 208 ; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 45-46.

35 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 152-53, 199.

36 *EI*, Vol. II, p. 201 ; *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 40-41 ; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 64-65, 81, 188, 202, 205 ; *JUPHS*, Vol. X, p. 1 ; Vol. XXIII, p. 43.

37 *EI*, Vol. I. pp. 381-82 ; *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 40.

38 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 101, 200 ; *EI*, Vol. I, p. 395 ; *JUPHS*, Vol. XII, p. 24.

39 *EI*, Vol. XXX, p. 184.

40 *Manusmṛti*, i. 90 ; viii. 410, 418 ; ix. 326-33 ; x. 79-80.

41 *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, 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 (*mānikara*, mistake for *maṇikāra*),[42] goldsmith (*hairaṇyaka*, *sovaṇika*, *suvarṇakāra*),[43] iron-smith (*lohikākāraka*),[44] iron-monger (*lohavāṇiya*),[45] cotton-dealer (*kārppāsika*),[46] cloak-maker (*prāvārika*),[47] dyer (*rayaka*),[48] perfumer (*gandhika*),[49] florist (*mālākāra*),[50] scribe (*Kāyastha*),[51] actor (*śailālaka*),[52] dancer (*naṭaka*),[53] barber (*nāpita*),[54] ferryman (*prātārika*)[55] 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 *uśanassmṛti*[56] as the offspring of union between a Kṣatriya

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42 Lüders' List, No. 29.

43 *EI*, Vol. II, p. 205; Lüders' List, No. 95; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 123, 187-88.

44 Lüders' List, Nos. 53-54.

45 *Ibid.*, No. 29.

46 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 46-47.

47 *Ibid.*, pp. 110, 116-17, 164, 169-70.

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.

53 *EI*, Vol. II, p. 200.

54 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 111.

55 *EI*, Vol. II, p. 210.

56 39-40.

male and a Vaiśya female. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā,[57] 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. *Karmāra* or *Kārmāra* (iron-smith) is mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*, *Atharvaveda*, *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, *Vājasaneya Saṁhitā*, *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā*, etc.[58] References to goldsmiths are found in the *Vājasaneya Saṁhitā*, *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, *Viṣṇu Dharma Sūtra*, etc.[59] According to Patañjali,[60] a blacksmith (*ayaskāra*) is a Śūdra by caste. The *Vaikhānasa smārtasūtra*[61] 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.[62]

Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya*[63] 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 *Vaikhānasa smārtasūtra* state that he is the offspring of the union between a Brāhmaṇa male and a Vaiśya female.[64] The *rajaka* (washerman), one of the seven *antyajas* according to several

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57 Cf. Kane, *op.cit.*, p. 90.

58 *Ṛgveda*, X. 72.2X]. 112.2 ; *Atharvaveda*, III. 5.6 ; *Tai.S.*, IV. 4.2 ; *Vāj. S.*, 16. 26-28 ; *Kāṭhaka S.*, 17.13 ; cf. also *Tai. Br.*, III. 4.1.

59 *Vāj. S.* XXX. 17 ; *Tai. Br.*, III. 4.14 ; *Viṣṇu Dh. S.*, X. 4.

60 II. IV. 10.

61 X. 14.

62 *Manusmṛti*, IV. 215 ; *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, I. 163.

63 On *Pāṇini*, 11. 4. 10.

64 *Uśanassmṛti*, 32-34 ; *Vaikh.*, X. 12.

writers,[65] is a scheduled caste in Bengal, Bihar and U.P.[66] Regarding his origin, the authorities differ. According to the *Vaikhānasa Smārtasūtra* and *Sūtasaṁhitā*, he is the offspring of a Pulkasa (or Vaideha) from a Brāhmaṇa woman,[67] while Uśanas regards him as the offspring of a Pulkasa male from a Vaiśya female.[68] In his *Mahābhāṣya*,[69] Patañjali regards him as a Śūdra.

The *naṭa* (dancer caste), one of the seven *antyajas*,[70] is a scheduled caste in Bengal, Bihar, U.P. and the Punjab.[71] He is regarded as different from *śailūṣa* (actor) who, though not a *naṭa* by caste, earns his livelihood by playing on the stage.[72] In the Buddhist Jātakas, reference is found to *naṭakula*[73]. Besides, the *Suruci Jātaka*[74] speaks of *naṭas* who are experts in jugglery. Kane[75] thinks that this caste is represented by the modern Kolhāṭis or Bahurūpīs of the Deccan. Literary works like the *Viṣṇudharmasūtra* and *Manusmṛti* distinguish *śailūṣa* from *raṅgāvatārin*.[76] Āpastamba[77] (9.32) speaks of *śailūṣa* in the same status with *rajaka* 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.*

73 Fick, *The Social Organisation in North-East India in Buddha's time*, 1920, p. 293.

74 *Ibid.*, pp. 293-94.

75 Kane, *op.cit.*, p. 84.

76 *Viṣṇu.*, 51.13-14 ; *Manu.*, IV. 214-15.

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[78] of Vāsudeva's reign dated in the year 93 which records the installation of an image of the Buddha by a *Kāyastha* named Śramaṇa. Frequent reference to the word is found both in the epigraphic and literary records from the age of the Imperial Guptas[79]. Originally used in the sense of an officer, the *Kāyastha* gradually came to denote 'a professional class of scribes[80]. According to medialeval lexicons, observes D. C. Sircar[81], the *Kāyastha* and *Karaṇa* (cf. also *Pañjīkāraka* and *Kūṭakṛt*) 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[82]. D. C. Sircar[83] 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 medialval times, the *Kāyasthas* were crystallised into a caste[84]. As a caste, they are mentioned in the *Uśanas smṛti*, *Vedavyāsa smṛti*, etc[85]. According to the *Vedavyāsa smṛti*, they are śūdras like the barbers, potters and others.

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78 *EI*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 152-53.

79 Kane, *op.cit.*, pp. 76-77 ; Sircar, *Stud. Soc. Adm. Anc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 159-60.

80 See *Supra*, the chapter on Administration.

81 Sircar, *Stud. Soc. Adm. Anc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 158-59.

82 *Ibid.*, pp. 159-61.

83 *Ibid.*, pp. 161-62.

84 Kane, *op.cit.*, p. 76 ; Sircar, *Stud. Soc. Adm. Anc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 158-59.

85 *Uśanas 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 Ṭīlā, 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 *dharmapatnī*

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86 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 55-56.

87 *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 383-84.

88 Lüders, *Math. Ins*, pp. 155-56. Lüders assigns the record to the third century B.C.

89 *EI*, Vol. II, p. 200; *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 151; Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 120; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 49, 162-63.

90 *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 204, 207; Vol. X, p. 120; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 98, 116-17.

and *kuṭumbinī* in the Kuṣāṇa[91] and Gupta[92] epigraphs. The word *sahacarī* occurs only in some Kuṣāṇa records.[93] 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 votvie 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., Vāchīputra[94] and Gotīputra[95] in the Śuṅga records and Kauśikīputra,[96] Gotīputra,[97] Hārtīputra,[98] Mogalīputra[99]

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91 For *dharmapatnī* see *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 382-84, 387-88; Vol. II, pp. 209-210; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 202. For *kuṭumbinī*, see *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 384, -89, 395-96; Vol. II, pp. 203, 205, 208; Vol. XIX, p. 67; *VOJ*, Vol. I, pp. 173-74; Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, pp. 66-67; *JRAS*, 1912, p. 157; *JUPHS*, Vol. XXIII, p. 49; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 47, 188, 199-200.

92 For *dharmapatnī* see Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 53. For *kuṭumbinī* see *EI*, Vol. II, p. 210; *ASIAR*, 1909-10, p. 147; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 197.

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.

96 *EI*, Vol. II, p. 207; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 155, 202.

97 *EI*, Vol. II, p. 201; Vol. X, p. 118; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 49.

98 *EI*, Vol. II, p. 199.

99 *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 151.

and Bhārgavīputra[100] in the Śaka kṣatrapa epigraphs. Besides, a stone inscription[101] discovered from the Delhi-Agra road side, near Caurāsī in the western outskirts of Mathurā city, mentions several metronymics like Gotīputra, Vāsiṣṭhīputra and Kotsīputra. R. C. Sharma,[102] on palæographical grounds, assigns the record to early Kuṣāṇa period.

On a study of similar metronymics in early Indian records, D. C. Sircar[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 ihe metronymic would suggest that it was different from one's father's *gotra*. Sircar showed that sometimes the metronymic of the father (Gautamīputra) was different from that of the son (Vāsiṣṭhīputra), 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' familly 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-Kuṣāṇa period, the donor often preferred to mention his mother's *gotra*, though in the later period, the fashion of the use of

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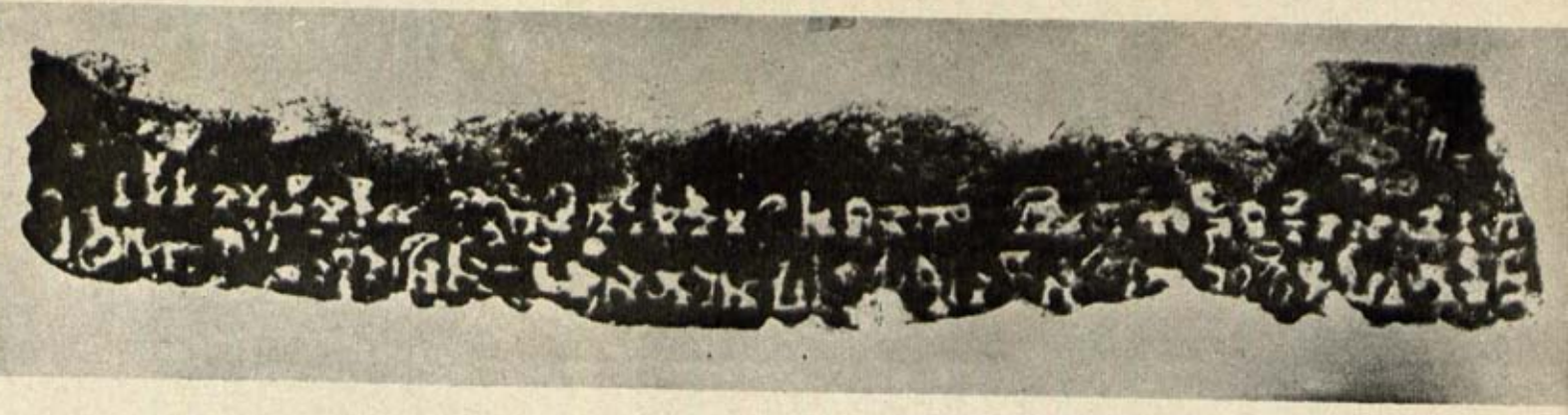
100 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 195.

101 *JOI*, Vol. XXI, Sept.-Dec., 1971, Nos. 1-2, pp. 103-06.

102 *Ibid.*, p. 104.

103 Sircar, *Stud. Soc. Adm. Anc. Med. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 207-209.

Plate IX



Courtesy : Arch. Sur. Ind (Ep Ind , Vol. XXXVII)

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.[104] The word *agramahiṣi* meaning the first or chief queen in the lion-capital inscriptions[105] hints to polygamy in the royal families. Bühler translates the term *dharmapatnī* occurring in several private records as 'the first wife'[106] 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 *antaḥpura*) in the lion-capital inscriptions[107] and *abhyaṁtaro* in a railing

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

105 Sircar, *Sel. Ins*., Vol. I, p. 114. In a Mathurā epigraph of the Gupta period (*CII*, 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 (*CII*, 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*.

106 *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 382-84, 387-88 ; Vol. II, pp. 209-10.

107 Sircar, *Sel. Ins*., Vol. I, p. 115.

pillar inscription[108] discovered from the Caubārā 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,[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.[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 *gaṇikās* who appear to have enjoyed some position in the society. Sometimes, the *gaṇikās* 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 *gaṇikā*. A Kuṣāṇa inscription[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 *gaṇikā* named Nādā who was the daughter of the *gaṇikā* 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[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

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108 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 57.

109 *EI*, Vol. II, p. 205; Vol. X, pp. 119-20; Vol. XXVIII, p. 44; *JUPHS*, Vol. XXI, p. 46; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 103, 205.

110 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 30, 38-39; *EI*, Vol. II, p. 202.

111 *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, p 153.

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. Śivarakṣita, Śivatrāta, Nāgapriya, Nāgadatta, Nāgadāsa, Buddharakṣita, 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 Kaṇiṣka or Śaka era of 78 A.D. and the Gupta era of 319 A.D.

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

A fragmentary inscription[1] found at the Giridharpur Ṭīlā which records the gift made by the wife of a *Balādhika*, is dated in the year 270 of the *Mahārāja*.[2] V. S. Agrawala[3] 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-kalā* (Sanskrit *mukhya-kalā*, 'the principal art') as *muriya-kāla* (Sanskrit *Maurya-kalā*, i.e. the Maurya era) in line 16 of the Hāthigumphā 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 imaginery.[5] Lüders[6] 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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1 Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, ed. K. L. Janert, 1961, pp. 162-63.

2 The name of the king is not mentioned in the inscription.

3 *JUPHS*, Vol. XII, p. 29.

4 Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, 1965, p. 218.

5 Sircar, *Ind. Ep.*, 1965, p. 324.

6 *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*, ed. B. C. Law, 1940, pp. 287-88

Another fragmentary inscription[7] found at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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[8] states that the inscription refers to the reign of one of the Kuṣāṇa rulers of the Kaṇiṣka group. Its characters, according to him, bear a close resemblance to that of several votive inscriptions of the Kuṣāṇas found at Mathurā. He suggests that the dates of the Kaṇiṣka era are abbreviated by the omission of hundreds,[9] 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[10] endorsed the view of Bühler. Thus, the record, according to them, belongs to the time of Vāsudeva. R. D. Banerji,[11] 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 Seleukidan era of 312 B.C.[12] corresponding to 13 B.C. Lüders,[13] on palæographical considerations, places it to the period intervening between Śoḍāsa and Kaṇiṣka. The era used in it, according to him,[14] is the Parthian era of 248-47 B.C. and, therefore, the date 299 corresponds to 52 A.D.

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7 Lüders' List, No. 78.

8 *VOJ*, Vol. X, pp. 172-74.

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.

11 *IA*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 40-41.

12 No reference to the Seleukidan era is known from Indian records (cf. *Ind. Ep.*, p. 281).

13 *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*, ed. B. C. Law, 1940, pp. 284-86.

14 *Ibid.*, pp. 288-89.

The following are his arguments in support of dating the two epigraphs (*viz.*, the Giridharpur Ṭīlā record and the Kaṅkālī 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[15] later on changed his opinion and supported Lüders' theory. D. C. Sircar[16] 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.[17]

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

A Jaina stone slab inscription[18] of the time of Śoḍāsa which records the setting up of an image of an Āryavatī by Amohinī, 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.[19] Opinions differ regarding the initial year of the era used in the record. Jayaswal[20] assigns

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15 *Act. Or.*, Vol. XX (1948), pp. 111-12.

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 Śaka era of 123 B.C.[21] D. R. Bhandarkar[22] is of the opinion that the date recorded in the inscription is to be referred to the Śaka era of 78 A.D. instituted by Vonones.[23] Most of the scholars[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 Kaṇiṣka was once sponsored,[25] but later on given up[26] by Cunningham. His theory has been endorsed by scholars like Fleet, Barnett, Kennedy and others.[27] According to them, the Kaṇiṣka group of kings ruled earlier than those of the

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21 The hypothesis of 123 B.C. as the initial year of the old Śaka 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 Śaka era of 78 A.D. identified with Kaṇiṣka's reckoning (cf. *Ind. Ep.*, p. 248).

22 *JBBRAS*, Vol. XX, pp. 283-93.

23 The Śaka era of 78 A.D. does not appear to have been introduced by Vonones, but was probably identical with the reckoning of Kaṇiṣka. See *infra*.

24 Fleet in *JRAS*, 1913, pp. 919-20; Marshall, *ibid.*, 1914, p. 986; Sten Konow in *K. B. Pathak Commemoration Volume*, pp. 263-64; Rapson in *CHI*, Vol. I, *loc.cit*; Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, 1968, p. 314; J. N. Banerjea in *Comp. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. II, 1957, p. 271.

25 Cunningham in *ASIR*, Vol. II, pp. 67-68.

26 Cunningham in *NC*, 1892, p. 44.

27 Fleet in *JRAS*, 1913, pp. 913-20; Barnett in *ibid.*, pp. 942-45; Kennedy in *ibid.*, pp. 921-27.

Kadphises group. But their suggestion is a mere hypothesis; for, a careful study of the literary evidence and archæological data does not support the theory.[28] Morover, 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,[29] while in the lower stratum, the case is just the opposite.[30] According to Marshall,[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[32] mentioning *Sa 136 Ayasa Aṣaḍasa masasa divase 15* as 'in the year 136 (of the era) of Azes'. His theory has been endorsed by Rapson.[33] But there is no evidence in favour of the conjecture.[34] Sten Konow[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.[36]

Regarding the origin of the era of 58 B.C., it has been suggested[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

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28 See *supra*, Chapter on Political History.

29 Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. I, 1951, p. 221.

30 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, 1951, pp. 785-88, 792-93.

31 *JRAS*, 1914, pp. 975-86.

32 Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 133.

33 *CHI*, Vol. I, 1968 (reprint), p. 515.

34 Cf. Fleet in *JRAS*, 1914, pp. 992-99; also in *ibid.*, 1915, pp. 314-18; Sten Konow, *CII*, Vol. II, pt. I, p. LXXXV; Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, p. 131 and note 2; also his *Ind. Ep.*, pp. 256-57.

35 Sten Konow, *op.cit.*, p. LXXXV.

36 Cf. Leeuw, *op.cit.*, p. 54.

37 Cf. Sircar in *A. Imp. Un.*, 1968, pp. 124-25 and note 1; also his *Ind. Ep.*, pp. 256-57.

ruler of Drangiana has been supposed to be the originator of the era which was meant to oust 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 Kaṇiṣka and his successors, as we have already seen, are dated. The dates mentioned in the epigraphs of Kaṇiṣka I range from the year 3[40] to 23, of Vāsiṣka from 24 to 28, of Huviṣka from 28 to 60 and of

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38 *Loc.cit.*

39 Sircar in *A. Imp. Un.*, *loc.cit.* ; *Ind. Ep.*, pp. 251-56.

40 Sten Konow (*CII*, Vol.II, pt. I, p. 137) reads the date of the Peshawar casket inscription as year I of the reign of Kaṇiṣka. D. C. Sircar (*A. Imp. Un.*, p. 143, note 2) thinks that the reading of the date is erroneous. K. G. Goswami (*EI*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 211-12) reads the date of the Kosam image inscription as year 2 of the reign of Kaṇiṣka. But Sircar (*Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, pp. 135-36) reads it as year 3.

Vāsudeva from 64 or 67 to 98. It is, therefore, clear that the regnal reckoning of Kaṇiṣka 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[41] advocate the view once held[42] but later on given up[43] by Cunningham that Kaṇiṣka started the era of 58 B.C. and the Kaṇiṣka group of kings preceded the Kadphises group. But the theory is not supported by literary or archæological evidence. The priority of the Kaṇiṣka group goes against the Chinese annals[44] which describe Kadphises I as the first Kuṣāṇa king of the Ta-yueh-chi and Kadphises II as the first Kuṣāṇa ruler who held sway over some interior districts of India. Again, the inclusion of Gandhāra within Kaṇiṣka'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 Kuṣāṇas ruled over the region as pointed out by Raychaudhuri on the basis of Chinese sources.[45] 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[46] of Kujula, which are only in copper and bronze, can not be placed between the extensive gold issues[47] of

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41 Fleet in *JRAS*, 1913, pp. 913-20; Barnett in *ibid.*, pp. 942-45; Kennedy in *ibid.*, pp. 921-27.

42 Cunningham in *ASIR*, Vol. II, pp. 67-68.

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.

46 Gardner, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India*, 1966 (reprint), pp. 122-23, Pl. XXV. 3-5; Whitehead, *PMC*, Vol. I, 1914, pp. 178-82, Pl. xvii.

47 Gardner, *op.cit.*, pp. 124-26, 129-33, pls. xxv. 6-10, xxvi. 1-19; Whitehead, *op.cit.*, pp. 183-84, 187-88, pl. xvii.

Kaṇiṣka and Kadphises II.[48] Again the Kadphises group of rulers used Kharoṣṭhī and Greek on their coin legends[49] like the earlier foreign rulers, while the Kaṇiṣka group used only Greek.[50] Varied reverse devices of the issues of Kaṇiṣka and Huviṣka are absent from the coins of Kadphises rulers. Moreover, excavations at Taxila show that the coins of the Kaṇiṣka group were found generally in the upper strata[51] while that of the Kadphises group mostly in the lower strata[52] of the earth.

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

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48 Cf. *A. Imp. Un.* p. 144, note 2.

49 Whitehead, *op.cit.*, pp. 178-81, 183-84, pl. xvii.

50 *Ibid.*, pp. 186-93, pls. xvii, xviii.

51 Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. I, 1951, p. 221.

52 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, 1951, pp. 785-88, 792-93.

53 *JDL*, Vol. I, pp. 65-112.

54 *JBBRAS*, Vol. XX, pp. 385-86.

55 *Papers on the Date of Kaṇiṣka*, ed. A. L. Basham, 1968, p. 280.

56 Sircar in *JAIH*, Vol. II, p. 132.

with the rule of seven Nāga kings of Mathurā[57] between the Kuṣāṇas and the Guptas, with the extirpitation of Nāgas by Samudragupta[58] (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 inscription[59] 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 tradition[61] represents Huviṣka 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 Tripiṭaka, An-Shi-Kao (148-70 A.D.) translated the *Mārgabhūmisūtra* by Saṅgharakṣa who was a chaplain of Kaṇiṣka.[62] Moreover, the Chinese evidence[63] 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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57 Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, 1962, p. 53.

58 *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, 1965, p. 265.

59 *Ibid.*, pp. 277-79.

60 *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 142.

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

62 *Ibid.*, pp. 414-15 and note 6.

63 Sten Konow, *CII*, Vol. II, pt. I, p. lxxvii.

64 Marshall, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 69-71.

65 *Act. Or.*, Vol. III (1924), pp. 78-79.

66 Sten Konow, *op.cit.*, pp. xcii-iv; also in *JIH*, Vol. XII, p. 44.

A.D. as the beginning of the era.[67] Finally, he arrived at the conclusion that the Kaṇiṣka era was started in about the year 200 A.D.[68] According to Smith, Kaṇiṣka ascended the throne in about 120 A.D.[69] Ghirshman[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-tchou were subject to the Ta-yueh-chi during the period of the three kingdoms (i.e. 221-77 A.D.).[71]

But the following points may be raised in respect of the said theory. A Kuṣāṇa king named Kaṇiṣka is known from the Āra inscription[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[73] disclose the name of a Kuṣāṇa king Vasu (i.e.,

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67 Leeuw, *op.cit.*, p. 16.

68 Konow in *India Antique*, 1947, p. 195.

69 Smith, *EHI*, p. 272. Scholars like Sten Konow (*EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 141), Smith (*Oxford Hist. Ind.*, pp. 147-48) and Marshall (*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.

70 *Begram*, 1946, pp. 105-08.

71 Cf. *A. Imp. Un.*, p. 145.

72 *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 154.

73 Smith, *IMC*, Vol. I, 1906, pp. 64, 87.

Vāsudeva) who flourished much later than Vāsudeva I probably in the 3rd century A.D. (3) Though Kuṣāṇa 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.[74] (4) In addition to that, the Junāgaṛh inscription of Rudradāman[75] dated in the year 72 informs us that Rudradāman ruled over Ākara, Sindhu and Sauvīra in 150 A.D. The Sāñcī records[76] dated in the years 22 and 28, on the other hand, refer to the rule of Kaṇiṣka and Vāsiṣka in East Malwa. The Sui Vihār inscription[77] dated in the year 11 indicates that the Lower Indus region was under the control of Kaṇiṣka I. The above considerations militate against the theory of assigning Kaṇiṣka I to the first half of the 2nd century A.D.

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

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74 Sircar in *A. Imp. Un.*, p. 146.

75 *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 178.

76 *Ibid.*, pp. 150-51.

77 *Ibid.*, pp. 139-40.

78 Fergusson in *JRAS*, 1880, pp. 259-68; Oldenberg in *IA*, Vol. X, p. 215; Banerji, *ibid.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 57; Thomas in *JRAS*, 1913, pp. 627-50; Rapson in *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 526; Raychaudhuri, *op.cit.*, pp. 411-17; Bachhofer in *JAOS*, 1941, p. 242; Leeuw, *op.cit.*, p. 65; Sircar in *A. Imp. Un.*, pp. 143-16; B. N. Mukherjee in *Papers on the Date of Kaṇiṣka*, pp. 200-04.

with the founder of the Śaka era is not improbable on the following grounds: (1) Kaṇiṣka'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 Kaṇiṣka'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 Kaṇiṣka 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

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79 Cf. Sircar, *Ind. Ep.*, pp. 259-62.

80 Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 262.

81 Sircar, *Ind. Ep.*, p. 284.

by scholars as the originator of the reckoning.[82] This is quite probable[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[84] dated both in his 5th regnal year and in the *Kāl-ānuvarttamāna* year 61. It is not altogether improbable, as suggested by some scholars,[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 insignificnt.[86] Again, if the spurious Nālandā[87] and Gayā[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.[89]

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

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82 Bühler in *VOJ*, Vol. V, p. 225 ; Smith, *EHI*, p. 296 ; Dandekar, *History of the Guptas*, 1941, p. 16 ; Basak, *The History of the North-Eastern India*, 1967, pp. 20-21 ; Sircar, *Ind. Ep.*, p. 285.

83 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 285.

84 *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, pp. 277-79.

85 Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 1953, p. 530 and note 2 ; Majumdar and Altekar in *The Vākāṭaka Gupta Age*, 1967, p. 159 ; cf. *Ind. Ep.*, p. 285.

86 Cf. S. R. Goyal, *A History of the Imperial Guptas*, 1967, p. 105.

87 *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 270-72.

88 *Ibid.*, pp. 272-74.

89 *Ind. Ep.*, p. 285 ; Goyal, *op.cit.*, pp. 105-07.

Gupta reckoning for a long time. That is why the said era came to be designated as the Valabhī-Saṁvat in that region.[90]

B. SUMMARIES OF INSCRIPTIONS

N.B.—The epigraphs have been entered in this list under different periods. The inscriptions bearing dates are arranged chronologically 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 Kuṣāṇas.

I. Maurya Period

Undated Inscriptions

1. Gaṇeśrā 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.

Vogel in *JRAS*, 1912, p. 121 ; V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. X, p. 4 ; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 157.

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-

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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 (Bṛhatsvātimitra).

Vogel in *JRAS*, 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-Ghāṭī) Buddhist pillar inscription :

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

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

2. Second Gaṇeśrā 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).

Vogel in *JRAS*, 1912, pp. 122-23 ; also in *ASIAR*, 1911-12, Pt. II, pp. 129-30 ; also *Sculpture de Mathurā*, 1930, pp. 18-19 ; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 158-60.

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 Brāhmī 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.
Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 153.

6. Ghosnā brick inscription :

This is a fragmentary inscription in Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Mathurā Museum. Only the name Vasaguta is legible.
Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 153.

7. Indian Museum (Calcutta) stone inscription :

The place of discovery of the record is not ascertained. It is a fragmentary record in Brāhmī characters. Only *ya dānaṁ* 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 Brāhmī characters, deposited in the Mathurā Museum. Only the word *rāñyo* is legible.
Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 124.

9. Īsāpur image inscription :

This is a fragmentary record, in Brāhmī chatacters, preserved in the Mathurā Museum. It mentions the gift of an image.
Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 124-25.

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 Iṁdrasama (Indraśarman), for the worship of all Buddhas in the *Suvarṇakāravihāra* and for the acceptance of the Mahopadeśaka teachers.

D. R. Sahni in *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 67-68 ; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 122-23.

11. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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 Vāchīputra (Vātsīputra) Uttaradāsaka who was the disciple of the ascetic Māgharakṣita.

Bühler in *Academy*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 373 ; also in *VOJ*, Vol. V, pp. 175-76 ; also in *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 198-99 ; Lüders' List, No. 93.

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 Gotīputra Uttara, the goldsmith.

R. D. Banerji in *EI*, Vol. X, p. 118 ; Lüders' List, No. 92[a] ; also his *Math. Ins.*, p. 198.

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 ratnagṛha by *Vātsīputra* 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 Brāhmī 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 Brāhmī 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 Brāhmī 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 :

It is a fragmentary record, in Prakrit language and Brāhmī characters, perserved in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription refers to the installation of an image of the Holy one by eight brothers who were the members of the Māṇibhadra congregation.

Cunningham in *ASIR*, Vol. XX, pp. 39-41 ; Sten Konow in *IA*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 147 and note 5 ; Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 83 ; Lüders' List, No. 150 ; K. P. Jayaswal in *JBORS*, Vol. VI, pp. 173-88 ; R. P. Chanda in *JDL*, Vol. IV, pp. 54-72 ; Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, pp. 92-93 ; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 175-79.

18. Patna Museum stone inscription :

The place of discovery of the record is not known. The epigraph in Prakrit-Sanskrit dialect and Brāhmī characters,

mentions the gift made by Mitrā, a Gautamī, the nurse of Indrāgnibhadrā who was the daughter of the king Viṣṇumitra.

N. G. Majumdar in *IHQ*, Vol. II, pp. 441-46 ; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 206-07.

III. Śaka Kṣatrapa Period

A. Dated Inscriptions

1. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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 Amohinī of the Kautsa gotra who was a female lay disciple of an ascetic and the the wife of Hārītīputra Pāla, together with her sons Pālghoṣa, Proṣṭhaghoṣa and Dhanaghoṣa for the worship of the *Arhats* during the reign of *Mahākṣtrapa* Śoḍāsa in the year 72.

Bühler in *Academy*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 374 ; also in *VOJ*, Vol.V, pp. 177-78 ; also in *EI*, Vol. II, p. 199 ; Smith, *The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā*, p. 21 ; Lüders' List, No. 59 ; Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, pp. 120-21.

2. Giridharpur Ṭīlā 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. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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 Brāhmī characters, records, after an invocation of all *Siddhas* and *Arhats*, the installation of an image of the *Arhat* Mahāvīra in the temple of the *Arhats* by Okhārikā, Ujhatikā, Okhā, Śīrikā and Śīvadīnā. The epigraph is dated in the year 299 of some *Mahārāja Rājātirāja*.

Bühler in *JRAS*, 1896, pp. 578-81 ; also in *VOJ*, Vol. X, pp. 171-72 ; R. D. Banerji in *IA*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 33-34 ; Lüders' List, No. 78 ; also in *D.R. Bhandarkar Volume*, pp. 282-86.

B. Undated Inscription

1. Bharatpur gate Buddhist pedestal inscription :

This inscription, deposited in the Mathurā Museum, is in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters. It records the dedication of something at the Ālānaka vihāra for the acceptance of the Mahāsāṅghikas and for the worship of all Buddhas.

V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, 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 Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription mentions the gift of Kaṭhika who was the servant in the royal harem.

Growse in *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 219 ; Lüders in *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 152 ; Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, pp. 143-44 ; Lüders' List, No. 98 ; also his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 55-57.

3. Circular Road mound (a quater 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 Brāhmī characters. The inscription speaks of the installation of a Bodhisattva image.

Growse in *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 219 ; Cunningham in *ASIR*, Vol. XVII, p. 108 ; R. D. Banerji in *JPASB*, Vol. V (1919), pp. 272-73 ; also in *EI*, Vol. X, p. 109 ; Lüders' List, No. 88 ; also his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 105-06.

4. Second Gaṇeśrā 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.

Vogel in *JRAS*, 1912, pp. 121-22 ; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 157-58.

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 Samitīya teachers and for the worship of all Buddhas.

D. R. Sahni in *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 67 ; V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vols. XXIV-V, pp. 146-47 ; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 115-16.

6. Giridharpur Ṭīlā lintel inscription :

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

Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 162.

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 Kauśikīputra Bodhiyaśa who was a trooper (*aśvavārika*) and the son of Bodhila.

R. P. Chanda in *ASI AR*, 1923-24, p. 101 ; Lüders in *Act. Or.*, Vol. XVIII (1940), p. 39 ; also his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 202-03.

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-kṣatrapa* Śoḍāsa.

Dowson in *JRAS*, 1871, p. 188 ; Cunningham, *ASIR*, Vol. III, p. 30 ; Lüders in *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 149 ; also in *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 246-48 ; also his List, No. 82 ; Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, pp. 121-22 ; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 99-100.

9. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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.

Bühler in *EI*, Vol. II, p. 200 ; Lüders' List, No. 111 ; also his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 51-52.

10. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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 Jivanandā.

Bühler in *EI*, Vol. II, p. 201 ; Lüders' List, No. 104.

11. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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.

Bühler in *Academy*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 373-74 ; also in *VOJ*, Vol. V, p. 176 ; also in *EI*, Vol. II, p. 199 ; Lüders' List, No. 99 ; also his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 49-51.

12. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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*.

Bühler in *EI*, Vol. II, p. 200 ; Smith, *The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā*, p. 19 ; Lüders' List, No. 100.

13. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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.

Bühler in *Academy*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 374 ; also in *VOJ*, Vol. V, p. 179 ; also in *EI*, Vol. II, p. 200 ; Smith, *The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā*, p. 25 ; Lüders' List, No. 101.

14. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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 *Kālavāḷa*.

Bühler in *EI*, Vol. I, p. 396 ; Smith, *The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā*, p. 20 ; Fleet in *JRAS*, 1905, pp. 635-55 ; R. D. Banerji in *IA*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 49 ; Lüders' List, No. 94 ; also in *EI*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 202-05 ; also his *Math. Ins.*, p. 49.

15. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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 *Kālavāḷa* of Mathurā along with his wife Śivarakṣitā.

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. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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 (*āyāgapaṭa*) by Kauśikīputra Siṁhanandika, the son of the *Vaṇik* named Siṁhaka, for the worship of the *Arhats*.

Bühler in *EI*, Vol. II, p. 207 ; Smith, *The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā*, p. 14 ; Lüders' List, No. 105.

17. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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*.

Bühler in *EI*, Vol. II, p. 199 ; Lüders' List, No. 83.

18. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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 Gotīputra Indrapāla for the worship of the *Arhats*.

Bühler in *EI*, Vol. II, p. 201 ; Lüder's List, No. 96.

19. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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 Mogalīputra Puṣpaka.

Growse in *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 218 ; Lüders in *ibid.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 151 ; Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 186 ; Lüders' List, No. 97 ; V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vols. XXIV-V, pp. 145-46.

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 Buddharakṣita, in her own *vihāra* for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.

Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, pp. 47-48 ; Lüders' List, No. 125[a] ; V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. XXI, pp. 48-49 ; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 30-31.

21. Lucknow Museum stone inscription :

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

R. D. Banerji in *JPASB*, Vol. V (1909), pp. 271-72 ; also in *EI*, Vol. X, pp. 107-08 ; Lüders' List, No. 89[b] ; also his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 194-95.

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 Brāhmī 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.

Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 203-04.

23. Mathurā slab inscription :

This record, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, is written in Sanskrit-Prakrit and Brāhmī characters. The inscription refers to the name of Jāḍa 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 Rañjuvula, Śoḍāsa, *Yuvarāja* Kharaosta, Kusuluka Patika, Mevaki Miyika. The record also refers to the name of two Sarvāstivādin teachers like Buddhadeva and Buddhila.
Bühler in *JRAS*, 1894, pp. 531-40 ; F. W. Thomas in *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 138-47 ; N. G. Majumdar's List, No. 42 ; Sten Konow, *CII*, Vol. II, pt. I, pp. 34-49 ; Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, pp. 114-18.

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.

V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vols. XXIV-V, p. 149 ; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 190.

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.
R. P. Chanda in *Mem. ASI*, No. 5, pp. 169-71 ; Lüders in *EI*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 208-10 ; V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vols. XXIV-V, pp. 134-36 ; Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 123 ; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 155.

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 *Pañcavīras* of the Vṛṣṇis at the stone temple by a lady named Toṣā in the reign of the *Mahākṣatrapa* Śoḍāsa, the son of the *Mahākṣatrapa* Rañjuvula.
Cunningham in *ASIR*, Vol. XX, pp. 48-49 ; Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 184 ; Lüders' List, No. 14 ; also in *EI*,

Vol. XXIV, pp. 194-200; V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. XXIV-V, pp. 130-32; Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 122; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 154.

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 Bhavaśrī, in the year 4 of the *Mahārāja Devaputra* Kaṇiṣka.

D. R. Sahni in *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 66; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 199-200.

2. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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 *Vāraṇa gaṇa*, *Ārya Hāṭṭakīya kula* and *Vajanagarī śākhā*, 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 *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* Hummiyaka at the Sakka Vihāra in the year 4 of the reign of Kaṇiṣka.

V. N. Srivastava in *JUPHS* (*NS*), Vol. VII, pp. 1-2; D. C. Sircar in *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 9-10.

4. Kaṅkālī 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. Kaṅkālī 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* Kaṇiṣka.

Bühler in *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 381-82; Lüders in *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 34-35 ; also his List, No. 18.

6. Kaṅkālī 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]

Cunningham in *ASIR*, Vol. III, p. 30 ; Bühler in *VOJ*, Vol. I, p. 176 ; also in *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 171 ; Lüders in *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 36-37 ; also his List, No. 19 ; Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 79 ; V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. XXIII, p. 37.

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1 Some scholars read the date as the year 35.

7. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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 *Koṭṭiya gaṇa*, *Uccenāgarī śākhā* and *Brahmadāsika kula*, in the year 5.

Cunningham in *ASIR*, Vol. III, p. 31 ; Lüders' List, No. 20 ; Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 80.

8. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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 *Gaṇin Ārya* Buddhaśrī of the *Ārya Odehikiya gaṇa*, *Ārya Nāgabhutikiya kula*, and *Arya* Goṣṭha, in the year 7 of the reign of *Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Ṣāhi* Kaṇiṣka.

Bühler in *VOJ*, Vol. II, pp. 141-42 ; also in *EI*, Vol. I, p. 391 ; Lüders' List, No. 2(.

9. Mathurā Museum Buddhist image inscription—Year 8 (= 86 A.D.)

The place of discovery of the record in not known. This fragmentary inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, mentions the gift of the nun Buddhadāsī, in the year 8, for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.

V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. V, p. 5 ; also in *ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 43 ; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 189-90.

10. Pālikheṛā 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 Siṁhaka, in the year 8, for the happiness of all sentient beings.

Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 167-68.

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 Brāhmī 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 Ṣāhi* Kaṇiṣka, for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.

Y. R. Gupte in *EI*, Vol. XVII, pp. 10-12 ; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 148-49.

12. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā Jaina image inscription—Year 9 (=87 A.D.)

This is a fragmentary inscription written in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters. It records the dedication of a Jaina image by Vikaṭa, the wife of Bhaṭṭimitra at the request of the preacher Nāganandin out of the *Koṭṭiya gaṇa, Sthānīya kula* and *Vairī śākhā*, in the year 9 of the reign of *Mahārāja* Kaṇiṣka.

Cunningham in *ASIR*, Vol. III, p. 31 ; Bühler in *VOJ*, Vol. I, pp. 173-74 ; Lüders in *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 37 ; Lüders' List, No. 22.

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 Brāhmī characters, records the installation of a Jaina image by Grahapāla who was the daughter of Grahamitra and daughter-in-law of Avaśrī, and also the wife of Kaḷala, at the request of the *Ārya* Taraka out of the *Koṭṭiya gaṇa, Sthānīya kula* and *Vairī śākhā*, in the year 9.

R. D. Banerji in *JPASB, NS*, Vol. V, p. 273 ; also in *EI*, Vol. X, pp. 109-10 ; Lüders' List, No. 22[a] ; also in *JRAS*, 1912, pp. 157-58.

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* Kaṇiṣka.

Lüders in *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 239-41 ; also his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 208-09 ; Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, pp. 138-39.

15. Kaṅkālī 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* Puśila out of the *Koṭṭiya gaṇa*, *Brahmadāsika kula* and *Uccenāgarī 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[a] ; also in *JRAS*, 1912, pp. 170-73.

17. Dalpat-ki-khiṛki 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 Saṁghilā, the wife of a cloakmaker Hastin, in the year 14 of the reign of *Mahārāja Devaputra* Kaṇiṣka.

D. R. Sahni in *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 96-97 ; Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 518 ; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 116-19.

18. Kaṅkālī Ṭilā Jaina image inscription—Year 15 (=93 A.D.)

The record, preserved in the Lucknow Museum is in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters. It records the installation of a four-fold Jaina image by Kumāramitrā who was the wife of the banker Veṇi, out of the *Mehika kula*, in the yeat 15.

Bühler in *EI*, Vol. I, p. 332 ; Smith, *The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā*, p. 46 ; Lüders' List, No. 24.

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 Brāhmī 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 16[1] of the reign of *Mahārāja* Kaṇiṣka.

V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. XII, pp. 23-24; also in *ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 45 ; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 191-92.

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 Brāhmī 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-kuṭi*, for the acceptance of the Dharmaguptaka teachers, in the year 17.

Vogel in *ASIAR*, 1909-10, pt. II, p. 65 ; also in *JRAS*, 1912, p. 119 ; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 187-88.

21. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā Jaina image inscription—Year 18 (=96 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 four-fold Jaina image by Māsigī (?), out of the *Kaṭṭiya gaṇa* and *Vātasaliya kula* for the welfare of all beings, in the year 18.

Bühler in *Academy*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 374 ; also in *VOJ*, Vol. V, p. 178 ; also in *EI*, Vol. II, p. 202 ; Lüders' List, No. 25.

22. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā Jaina image inscription—Year 18 (=96 A.D.)

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

Bühler in *Academy*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 142 ; also in *VOJ*, Vol. V, p. 62 ; also in *EI*, Vol. II, p. 202 ; Lüders in *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 33-34 ; also his List, No. 26.

23. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā Jaina image inscription—Year 19 (=97 A.D)

This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī 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 *Koṭṭiya gaṇa, Sthāniya kula, Śrīgṛha saṁbhoga* and the *Āryaverī śākhā*, in the year 19.

Bühler in *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 382-83 ; Lüders' List, No. 27.

24. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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* Saṅghasiṁha, out of the *Koṭṭiya gaṇa, Sthānīya kula, Verī śākhā* and *Śrīka saṁbhoga*, in the year 20.

Cunningham in *ASIR*, Vol. III, p. 31 ; Bühler in *VOJ*, Vol. I, pp. 170-71 ; also in *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 235 ; also in *EI*, Vol. I, p. 395 ; Lüders' List, No. 28.

25. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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* Siṁha, the pupil of the preacher *Ārya* Datta who was the companion of the *Gaṇin Ārya* Pāla, who was the pupil of *Ārya* Ogha, who was the pupil of the great preacher and *Gaṇin* Ja-Mitra (?), out of the *Koṭṭiya gaṇa, Brahmadāsika kula, Uccenāgarī śākhā* and *Śrīgṛha saṁbhoga* in the year 20.

Bühler in *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 383-84 ; Lüders' List, No. 29.

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.

D. R. Sahni in *JRAS*, 1924, pp. 399-400 ; V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. XXI, pp. 43-44 ; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 109-10.

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.

V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. X, p. 5 ; also in *ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 71.

28. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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.

Cunningham in *ASIR*, Vol. III, p. 32 ; Bühler in *VOJ*, Vol. V, p. 230 ; Lüders' List, No. 30.

29. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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 gaṇa* and *Petivāmika kula*.

Bühler in *VOJ*, Vol. III, p. 235 ; also in *EI*, Vol. I, p. 391 ; Lüders' List, No. 31.

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. D. R. Sahni in *EI*, Vol. XIX, p, 66 ; V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. XXI, pp. 44-45 ; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 110.

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 perserved in the Mathurā Museum. It records the setting up an image of Bodhisattva by Puśyadatā, the daughter of Matsyagupta who was the lord of the *Vihāra*, in her own *Vihāra*, in the year 23 of *Mahārāja* Kaṇiṣka.

D. R. Sahni in *JRAS*, 1924, pp. 400-01 ; V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. XXI, pp. 45-46 ; B. Ch. Chhabra in *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 42-44 ; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 172 ; Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 146.

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 propitiate the three fires during the reign of *Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Ṣāhi* Vāsiṣka in the year 24.

Vogel in *JRAS*, 1910, pp. 1311-14 ; Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 189 ; Lüders' List, No. 149[a] ; V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vols. XXIV-V, pp. 136-37 ; Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, pp. 149-50 ; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 125-26.

33. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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 *Ārya* Balatrāta, out of the *Koṭṭiya gaṇa*, *Brahmadāsika kula*, *Uccenāgarī śākha*, in the year 25.

Bühler in *EI*, Vol. I, p. 384 ; Lüders in *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 37-38 ; Lüders' List, No. 32.

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

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

Bühler in *EI*, Vol. I, p. 390 ; Lüders' List, No. 85 ; also his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 61-63.

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

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

Growse in *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 217 ; Fleet in *JRAS*, 1903, pp. 330-31 ; Lüders in *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 38-39 ; Fleet in *JRAS*, 1905, p. 358 ; Lüders' List, No. 33 ; Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 60 ; Lüder, *Math. Ins.*, p. 63.

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

This inscription, written in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. It records the endowment of a *puṇyaśālā* by the son of Kanasarukamāna, 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 *puṇyaśālā* 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 *puṇyaśālā*, for accruing the religious merit to *Devaputra Ṣāhi* Huviṣka.

Jayaswal in *JBORS*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 4-6 ; Sten Konow in *EI*, Vol. XXI, pp. 55-61 ; V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vols. XXIV-V, pp. 138-41 ; Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, pp. 151-53.

37. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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 *Ārya* Datta who was a *Gaṇin* in the *Vāraṇa gaṇa* and *Puśyamitrīya kula*, in the year 29.

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

38. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā Jaina image inscription—Year 29 (= 107 A.D.)

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

Bühler in *EI*, Vol. II, p. 206 ; Fleet in *JRAS*, 1903, pp. 332-33 ; Lüders in *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 38 ; Lüders' List, No. 35.

39. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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 Grahaśrī who was the daughter of Buddhi, and the wife of Devila at the request of a *Gaṇin*, out of the *Koṭṭiya gaṇa*, *Āryaverī śākhā* and *Sthānīya kula*, in the year 31.

Bühler in *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 202-03 ; Lüders' List, No. 36.

40. Rāl-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.

Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 65; Lüders' List, No. 13[a]; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 149-50.

41. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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 *Vāraṇa gaṇa*, in the year 32.

Bühler in *EI*, Vol. II, p. 203; Lüders' List, No. 37.

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 Madhuravaṇaka by the nun Dhanavatī who was the sister of the nun Buddhamitrā who knew the Tripiṭaka and who was the female pupil of the monk Bala who also knew the Tripiṭaka, during the reign of *Mahārāja Devaputra* Huviṣka in the year 33.

Growse in *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 217; Lüders in *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 39-40; Bloch in *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 181-82; Lüders' List, No. 38; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 54-55; Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, pp. 153-54.

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.

V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. X, p. 2; also in *ibid*, Vol. XXIII, p. 36.

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 Buddhadāsa, the companion of Saṅghamitra, in the year 35.

R. L. Mitra in *JASB*, Vol. XXXIX, pt. I, p. 122; Dowson in *JRAS*, 1871, p. 185; R. D. Banerji in *JPASB*, Vol. V, p. 241; Lüders' List, No. 40; also his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 81-82.

45. Kaṅkālī 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 Kumāramitrā who was a female pupil of *Ārya* Baladina of the *Koṭṭiya gaṇa, Sthānīya kula, Vairī śākhā, Śrīka Saṁbhoga*, installed an image of Vardhamāna in the year 35.

Bühler in *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 385-86; Lüders' List, No. 39.

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.

V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. XXI, p. 47.

47. Kaṅkālī 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 Nandiviśāla by the *śreṣṭhin* Rudradāsa, the son of the *śreṣṭhin* Śivadāsa, for the worship of the *Arhats*, during the reign of *Mahārāja Devaputra* Huviṣka in the year 38.

Cunningham in *ASIR*, Vol. III, pp. 32-33 ; Bloch in *JASB*, Vol. LXVII, pt. I, p. 276 and note 2 ; Lüders in *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 40-41 ; Lüders' List, No. 41.

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 Brāhmī characters. The inscription states that the nun Buddhadevā who was the female pupil of the nun Puṣyahastinī, installed a Bodhisattva image for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings, during the reign of *Mahārāja Devaputra* Huviṣka in the year 39.

R. P. Chanda in *ASIAR*, 1922-23, p. 168 ; D. R. Sahni in *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 66 ; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 165-66.

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

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

Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, pp. 88-89 ; also in *ASIAR*, 1908-09, pp. 160-61 ; Lüders' List, No. 149[b] ; also his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 173-74.

50. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā Jaina image inscription— Year 40 (= 118 A.D.)

This fragmentary record, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, is in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters. The inscription states that Siṁhadattā who was the first wife of the *grāmika* Jayanāga and the daugther-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, Vajanagarī śākhā* and *Śrīya saṁbhoga* in the year 40.

Bühler in *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 387-88 ; Lüders in *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 103-04 ; also his List, No. 48.

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.

Sten Konow in *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 206-09.

52. Kaṅkālī 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 gāṇa, Āryaceṭiya kula* and the *Harītamālakaḍhī śākhā*, during the reign of *Mahārāja* Huviṣka in the year 44.[1]

Bühler in *EI*, Vol. I, p. 387 ; also in *ibid*, Vol. II, p. 212 ; Lüders' List, No. 42 ; R. D. Banerji in *EI*, Vol. X, pp. 113-14 ; Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol., I, pp. 155-56.

53. Kaṅkālī 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.

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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 Āḷikā 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. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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 gaṇa* and the *Petivāmika kula*, in the year 47.

Bühler in *VOJ*, Vol. I, pp. 176-77 ; also in *EI*, Vol. I, p. 396 ; Lüders' List, No. 45.

56. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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 Saṁbhava by Yaśā, the daughter-in-law of Buddhika and the grand daughter of

Śivatrāta at the request of Dhañiśrī who was the female pupil of Dhañivala out of the *Koṭṭiya gaṇa*, *Brahmadāsika kula* and *Uccenāgarī śākhā*, during the reign of *Mahārāja* Huviṣka in the year 48.

R. D. Banerji in *JPASB*, *NS*, Vol. V, pp. 274-75 ; also in *EI*, Vol. X, p. 112 ; Lüders in *JRAS*, 1912, pp. 158-59 ; also his List, No. 45[a] ; also his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 44-46 ; Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, pp. 156-57.

58. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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 *Koṭṭiya gaṇa* and the *Vaira śākhā*, in the year 49.[1]

Bühler in *Academy*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 141-42 ; also in *VOJ*, Vol. V, pp. 59-62 also in *EI*, Vol. II, p. 321 ; Smith, *The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā*, p. 12 ; Fleet in *JRAS*, 1903, p. 327 ; Lüders in *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 244-45 ; also his List, No. 47.

59. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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.

Bühler in *EI*, Vol. II, p. 203 ; Lüders' List, No. 49.

60. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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 *Gaṇin* of the *Vāraṇa gana, Āryabhyista kula, Saṁkhasiyā śākhā* and the *Śrīgṛha saṁbhoga.*

Bühler in *Academy,* Vol. XXXIX, p. 374 also in *VOJ,* Vol. V, p. 179 ; also in *EI,* Vol. II, p. 209 ; Lüder's List, No. 50 ; also in *JRAS,* 1912, p. 170.

61. Mathurā Museum Buddhist[1] image inscription—Year 50 (= 128 A.D.)

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

Lüders' List, No. 51 ; Vogel, *Arch Muse. Math.,* p. 74 ; V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS,* Vol. XXIII, p. 37.

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 Brāhmī characters. It mentions the dedication of an image of Bodhisattva for the acceptance of the Mahāsāṅghika teachers, in the year 51.

Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.,* p. 63 ; Lüders' List, No. 12[a] ; also his *Math. Ins.,* pp. 170-71.

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

This record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī 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 *Tirthaṅkara.*

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 *Vihāra* of *Mahārāja Devaputra* Huviṣka, in the year 51.

Growse in *JASB*, Vol. XLVII, pt. I, p. 130 ; Cunningham in *ASIR*, Vol. XVII, p. 108 ; R. D. Banerji in *JPASB*, Vol. V, pp. 243-44 ; also in *EI*, Vol. X, pp. 112-13 ; Lüders' List, No. ; 52 also his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 64-65 ; Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, pp. 157-58.

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

This record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī 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. 52[a] ; also his *Math. Ins.*, p. 38.

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

This record, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, is written in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī 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 Śramaṇaka, at the request of the preacher *Ārya* Deva who was the companion of the *Gaṇin Ārya* Maṁguhastin and the pupil of the preacher *Ārya* Ghastuhastin of the *Koṭṭiya gaṇa*, *Vaira śākhā*, *Sthānikiya kula* and the *Śrīgṛha saṁbhoga*, for the welfare and happiness of all creatures, in the year 52.

Bühler in *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 203-04 ; Lüders in *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 104-05 ; also his List, No. 53.

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

This record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī

characters, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. The inscription states that Gova, the worker in metal, who was the son of Sīha, dedicated an image of Sarasvatī at the request of the preacher *Ārya* Deva who was the companion of the *Gaṇin Ārya* Māghahastin and the pupil of the preacher *Ārya* Hastahastin of the *Koṭṭiya gaṇa, Sthānīya kula, Vaira śākhā* and the *Śrīgṛha saṁbhoga,* in the year 54.

Bühler in *VOJ*, Vol. III, p. 235 ; also in *EI*, Vol. I, p. 391 ; Smith, *The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā*, pp. 56-57 ; Lüders, in *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 104-05 ; also his List, No. 54.

67. Sītalā-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]

Growse in *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 218 ; Cunningham in *ASIR*, Vol. XX, p. 36 ; Bühler in *EI*, Vol. II, p. 210 ; Lüders' List, No. 55 ; Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, pp. 69-70 ; V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. XXIII, p. 53.

68. Kaṅkālī 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 *Gaṇin Ārya* Kharṇṇa (?) who was the pupil of the preacher *Ārya* Vṛddhahastin of the *Koṭṭiya gaṇa, Sthānikīya kula* and the *Aryaverī śākhā*, for the pleasure of the *Bhagavat* Ṛṣabha, during the reign of *Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra* Huviṣka in the year 60.

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

Bühler in *EI*, Vol. I, p. 386 ; also in *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 204 ; Lüders in *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 105 ; also his List, No. 56 ; and his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 46-47.

69. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā Jaina inscription—Year 62 (= 140 A.D.)

This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī 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.

Bühler in *EI*, Vol. II, p. 204 ; Lüders' List, No. 58.

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

The place of discovery of the record in unknown. The inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī 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.

Cunningham in *ASIR*, Vol. XX, p. 37 ; Bühler in *VOJ*, Vol. I, pp. 172-73 ; also in *Academy*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 142 ; also in *VOJ*, Vol. V, p. 63 ; Lüders in *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 105-06 ; also his List, No. 57.

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

This inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. It states that Guhasena who belonged to a family of *Kuṭumbikas*, installed an image of Buddha in a shrine for the acceptance of the Mahāsāṅghika teachers, during the reign of Vāsudeva in the year 64 or 67.

D. C. Sircar in *EI*, Vol. XXX, pp. 181-84 ; M. M. Nagar in *Proc. IHC*, 1941, pp. 163-64 ; Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, pp. 161-62.

72. Kaṅkālī 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.

R. D. Banerji in *JPASB, NS*, Vol. V, pp. 275-76 ; also in *EI*, Vol. X, pp. 114-15 ; Lüders in *JRAS*, 1912, p. 179 ; also his List, No. 58[a] .

73. Bṛndāban 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]

Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 110 ; Lüders' Lst, No. 41[a] ; also in *EI*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 207-08 ; V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. XXIII, p. 77 ; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 152.

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 Valāna who was the *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* at Talakiya during the reign of *Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra* Vāsudeva in the year 74.[2]

R. L. Mitra in *JASB*, Vol. XXXIX, pt. I, p. 129 ; Dowson in *JRAS*, 1871, p. 183 ; Cunningham in *ASIR*, Vol. III, p. 32 ; Bühler in *EI*, Vol. I, p. 373 and note 7 ; Lüders in *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 106-07 ; also in *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 241-46 ; also his List, No. 60 ; also his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 65-67.

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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 Brāhmī characters, mentions the gift of Dharāvalā at the request of Arhadāsī who was the female pupil of a preacher in the *Vāraṇa gaṇa, Vajanagarī śākhā* and *Aryaśrīka saṁbhoga* in the year 74.

R. D. Banerji in *JPASB, NS*, Vol. V, p. 276 ; also in *EI*, Vol. X, pp. 115-16 ; Lüders in *JRAS*, 1912, pp. 169-70 ; also his List, No. 59[a] .

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

This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī 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, 64[a] ; 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 Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Indian Museum. It mentions the gift of the monk Jīvaka who was the native from Uḍḍiyāna, to the community of the four quarters, for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings, during the reign of *Mahārāja, Rājātirāja* Huviṣka, in the year 77.[2]

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1 According to some scholars, the year is 44.

2 Some scholars read the year as 47.

R. L. Mitra in *JASB*, Vol. XXXIX, pt. I, p. 127 ; Dowson in *JRAS*, 1871, pp. 182-83 ; Cunningham in *ASIR*, Vol. III, p. 33 ; Lüders in *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 101 ; also his List, No. 62 ; also his *Math. Ins.*, p. 68.

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]

Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 179 ; Lüders' List, No. 62[a] ; also his *Math. Ins* , p. 69.

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 Buddhiśreṣṭha who was a preacher, and who knew the fourfold scriptures, to the community of the four quarters, in the year 77.[2]

Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, pp. 175-76 ; Lüders' List, No. 62[b] ; also his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 69-70.

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.

R. L. Mitra in *JASB*, Vol. XXXIX, pt. I, p. 127 ; Dowson in *JRAS*, 1871, p. 183 ; Cunningham in *ASIR*, Vol. III, p. 34 ;

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1 Vogel reads the year as 47.

2 According to Vogel, the year is 47.

Lüders in *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 102 ; R. D. Banerji in *JPASB*, Vol. V, p. 238 ; Lüders' List, No. 63 ; also his *Math. Ins.*, p. 70.

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]

Dowson in *JRAS*, 1871, p. 184 ; Cunningham in *ASIR*, Vol. III, p. 34 ; Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 179 ; Lüders' List, No. 65 ; also his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 72-73.

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 Buddharakṣita, the *Vaḍakṣa*, to the community of the four qarters, in the year 77.

R. L. Mitra in *JASB*, Vol. XXXIX, pt. I, p. 130 ; Lüders in *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 155 ; Lüders' List, No. 132 ; also his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 75-76.

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. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā Jaina image inscription — Year 80 (=158 A.D.)

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1 According to some scholars, the date is 47,

This fragmentary record, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, is written in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī 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.

Bühler in *EI*, Vol. I, p. 392 ; R. D. Banerji in *ibid.*, Vol. X, pp. 116-17 ; Lüders' List, No. 66 ; Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 162.

85. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā Jaina image inscription — Year 81 (= 159 A.D.)

This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī 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 famale pupil of Ayikā Jīvā, 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 Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. It mentions only the date.

Cunningham in *ASIR*, Vol. III, p. 34 ; Lüders' List, No. 69 ; Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 66.

87. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā Jaina image inscription — Year 83 (= 161 A.D.)

This record, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, is written in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters. The inscription refers to the dedication of a Jaina image by Jinadāsī 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*,

Vol. III, p. 34 ; Bühler in *VOJ*, Vol. IV, p. 324 ; Lüders in *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 107 ; Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 66 ; V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. XXIII, p. 39.

88. Balabhadra Kuṇḍa 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* Ṛṣabha at the request of Kumāraka, during the reign of *Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Ṣāhi* Vāsudeva, in the year 84.

R. D. Banerji in *JPASB*, Vol. V, pp. 276-77 ; Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 67 ; Lüders' List, No. 69[a] ; V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 39-40.

89. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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.

D. R. Sahni in *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 67 ; V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. XXIII, p. 39.

90. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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 Ṭīlā Jaina image inscription — Year 87 (= 165 A.D.)

This fragmentary inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, mentions the reign of *Mahārāja Rājātirāja Ṣāhi* 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 Ṭīlā 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 *Uccenāgarī śākhā* in the year 87.

Bühler in *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 388-89 ; Lüders' List, No. 71.

93. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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 *Koṭṭiya gaṇa, Praśnavāhanaka kula* and *Majhamā śākhā*, in the year 90.

Cunningham in *ASIR*, Vol. III, p. 35 ; Bühler in *VOJ*, Vol. I, pp. 175-76 ; also in *EI*, Vol. II, p. 205 ; Lüders' List, No. 73 ; Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 68 ; V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 40-41.

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

The inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, records the erection of a *stūpa* after the Buddhist monk Grāmadāsika who was a resident of the Veṇḍavihāra

monastery for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings, in the year 92.

V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. XI, pp. 75-76 ; also in *ibid.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 79-80 ; D. C. Sircar in *EI*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 10-11.

95. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā Jaina image inscription—Year 93 (= 171 A.D.)

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

Bühler in *EI*, Vol. II, p. 205 ; Lüders' List, No. 74.

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

This inscription in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī 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.

V. N. Srivastava in *EI*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 151-53.

97. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā Jaina image inscription—Year 95 (= 173 A.D.)

This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī 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, Sthānīya kula, Vaira śākhā*, in the year 95.

Bühler in *VOJ*, Vol. III, p. 234 ; also in *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 327 ; also in *EI*, Vol. I, p. 392 ; Smith, *The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā*, p. 24 ; R. D. Banerji in *EI*,

Vol. X, pp. 117-18 ; Lüders' List, No. 75 ; also in *JRAS*, 1912, p. 154.

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

This fragmentary inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī 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 Odehikiya gaṇa, Paridhāsika kula, Petaputrikā śākhā*, during the reign of *Rājan* Vāsudeva, in the year 98.

Cunningham in *ASIR*, Vol. III, pp. 35-36 ; Bühler in *VOJ*, Vol. I, pp. 177-78 ; Lüders in *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 108 ; also his List, No. 76.

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

This fragmentary record, in Prakit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, and preserved in the Lucknow Museum, mentions only the date and the names of *Koṭṭiya gaṇa* and *Uccenāgarī śākhā*.

Bühler in *EI*, Vol. II, p. 205 ; Lüders' List, No. 77.

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

This inscription, in Brāhmī 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.

M. M. Nagar in *JUPHS*, Vol. XV, pp. 120-21.

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.

Cunningham in *ASIR*, Vol. XX, p. 49 ; Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, pp. 48-49 ; Lüders' List, No. 13 ; also his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 171-72.

2. Bharatpur State mound pillar inscription

This fragmentary record, in Brāhmī characters, is deposited in the Mathurā Museum. Only...*ṣṭ* [*i*] *chatraṁ* is legible.

Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 119.

3. Bhūtesar mound Jaina image inscription

This inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī 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* Ṛṣidāsa.

V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. X, pp. 1-2 ; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 38-39.

4. Bhūtesar mound railing pillar inscription

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

Cunningham in *ASIR*, Vol. III, pp. 21-22 ; Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 141 ; Lüders' List, No. 91[a] ; also his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 37-38.

5. Caubārā mound Buddhist stone inscription

This is a fragmentary record in Brāhmī 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.

Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 186 ; Lüders' List, No. 149[e] ; also his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 174-75.

8. Delhi-Agra Road side (near Caurāsī 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 Gotīputra who was the grandson of Rāhila. The record also mentions some other metronymics like Vāsiṣṭiputra, Kotsīputra.

R. C. Sharma in *JOI*, Vol. XXI, Sept-Dec., 1971, Nos. 1-2, pp. 103-06.

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. 89[a] ; 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.

Lüders, *Malh. Ins.*, pp. 121.

11. Gaṇeśrā 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.

Lüders' List, No. 14[d]; Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 122; Lüders in *EI*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 206-07; V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 77-78; Lüders, *Math Ins.*, p. 158.

12. Gāyatrī Ṭīlā 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 Vṛddhi.

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 Jaṭeśvara by some one.

V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. XII, pp. 29-31.

14. Giridharpur Ṭīlā stone slab inscription

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

V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. X, p. 5; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 164.

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

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

Lüders' *Math. Ins.*, p. 180.

16 Gopālpur Quarter (in Mathurā city) railing pillar inscription

The inscription in Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, mentions only the name of the sculptor Rama.

Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, pp. 156-57 ; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 112-13.

17. Govardhana mound image inscription

This fragmentary record in Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, mentions the gift made by some one 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 Brāhmī 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*.

Smith, *The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā*, p. 61 ; Lüders in *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 152-53 ; also his List, No. 102 ; Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, pp. 184-85.

19. Indian Museum Buddhist image inscription

The place of discovery is unknown. This fragmentary inscription in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, mentions the gift made by the monk Buddhanandin for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.

R. L. Mitra in *JASB*, Vol. XXXIX, pt. I, p. 129 ; Lüders in *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 150 ; Dowson in *JRAS*, 1871, p. 183 ; Lüders' List, No. 89 ; also his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 77-78.

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.

Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 203.

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.

V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. X, p. 3 ; also in *ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 48 ; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 125.

22. Jamālpur mound railing-pillar inscription

This record in Brāhmī characters, deposited in the Mathurā Museum, mentions only *d* [*i*] *10 8*.

Cunningham in *ASIR*, Vol. III, p. 22 ; Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 146 ; Lüders' List, No. 90 ; also his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 78-79.

23. Jamālpur mound railing pillar inscription

The record in Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, mentions only *d* [*i*] *20 9*.

Cunningham in *ASIR*, Vol. III, p. 22 ; Lüders' List, No. 91 ; also his *Math. Ins.*, p. 79.

24. Jamālpur mound railing pillar inscription

The epigraph in Brāhmī characters, deposited in the Mathurā Museum, mentions only *hā*.

Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 150 ; Lüders' List, No. 91 ; also his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 104-05.

25. Jamālpur mound railing pillar inscription

It is preserved in the Lucknow Museum and only the numeral 5 is incised on it.

Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 105.

26. Jamālpur mound railing pillar inscription

This epigraph in Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. No coherent sense of this fragmentary record is possible.

Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 104.

27. Jamālpur mound image inscription

This record in Brāhmī characters, deposited in the Mathurā Museum, mentions the names Śrīgatapara and Buddhadarśavīya.

Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 120 ; Lüders' List, No. 125[d] ; also his *Math. Ins.*, p. 102.

28. Jamālpur mound Buddhist pillar-base inscription

This record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, is deposited in the Mathurā Museum. It mentions the gift of the monk Saṅghadeva, the pupil of Vākuḍa.

Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 178 ; Lüders' List, No. 125[k] ; also his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 88-89.

29. Jamālpur mound Buddhist pillar-base inscription

This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription speaks of the gift of the monk, the Vojya-vaśika (?), for the worship of his deceased parents and for the bestowing of health on his companion Dharmadeva.

Cunningham in *ASIR*, Vol. XVII, p. 108 ; Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 177 ; Lüders' List, No. 125[l] ; also his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 79-81.

30. Jamālpur mound Buddhist pillar-base inscription

This record in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, deposited in the Mathurā Museum, mentions the gift of the monks Bhadra and Bhadraghoṣa.

Cunningham in *ASIR*, Vol. XVII, p. 108 ; Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, pp. 177-78 ; Lüders' List, No. 125[m] ; also his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 86-87.

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 Buddhamitra.

Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 179; Lüders' List, No. 125[9]; 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* Aśyala together with his wife and sons.

Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 178; Lüders' List, No. 125[q]; also his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 98-99.

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 Saṅghavarman and Vṛddha.

Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 178; Lüders' List, No. 125[x]; also his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 87-88.

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 Bhadraghoṣa, Saṅghadāsa, Buddhānanda, Saṅghadeva, Dharmapriya, Saṅghamitra and others.

Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 176; Lüders' List, Nos. 125[c], 137; also his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 83-84.

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 Bhadraghoṣa.

Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 177 ; Lüders' List, No. 125[t] ; also his *Math. Ins.*, p. 84.

36. Jamālpur mound pillar-base inscription

This epigraph in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, deposited in the Mathurā Museum, speaks of the gift made by the commissioners of the Community headed by Bhadraghoṣa.

Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 177 ; Lüders' List, No. 125[u] ; also his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 84-85.

37. Jamālpur monnd pillar-base inscription

This inscription in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, mentions the gift made by the commissioners of the Community headed by Bhaddila for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.

Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 179 ; Lüder's List, No. 125[w] ; also his *Math. Ins.*, p. 85.

38. Jamālpur mound pillar-base inscription

This inscription, in Brāhmī characters is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. Only *Laphalasya*[*bh*]*i*... is legible.

Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 179 ; Lüders' List, No. 125[x]; also his *Math. Ins.*, p. 90.

39. Jamālpur mound Buddhist pillar-base inscription

The inscription in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, mentions the gift of the monk Dharmadatta.

Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 179 ; Lüders' List, No. 135[y] ; also his *Math. Ins.*, p. 72.

40. Jamālpur mund Buddhist pillar-base inscription

This inscription in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, is deposited in the Mathurā Museum. It speaks of the gift of the pillar-base made by the monks Śurīya and

Buddharakṣita, the *prāhaṇikas*, for the bestowment of health to all *prāhaṇikas*.

Dowson in *JRAS*, 1871, p. 187; Growse in *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 218; Lüders in *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 155; Lüders' List, No. 126; Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 176; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 82-83.

41. Jamālpur mound pillar-base inscription

This inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, is deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. It speaks of the gift made by *Viśvasika* Vakamihira together with his son Horamurṇḍaga.

R. L. Mitra in *JASB*, Vol. XXXIX, pt. I, p. 128; Dowson in *JRAS*, 1871, p. 186; Lüders in *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 154-55; R. D. Banerji in *JPASB*, Vol. V, p. 242; Lüders' List, No. 127; also his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 91-92.

42. Jamālpar mound pillar-base inscription

This inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, is deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. It speaks of the gift made by *Viśvasika* Vakamihira together with his son Horamūṇaḍhvara (?).

R. L. Mitra in *JASB*, Vol. XXXIX, pt. I, p. 128; Dowson in *JRAS*, 1871, p. 186; Lüders in *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 154-55; R. D. Banerji in *JPASB*, Vol. V, pp. 243-44; Lüders' List, No. 128; also his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 93-94.

43. Jamālpur mound pillar-base inscription

This fragmentary inscription in Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Public Library in Allahabad, speaks of the gift made by the elder of the Community.

Dowson in *JRAS*, 1871, p. 187; Lüders in *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 155; Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 178; Lüders' List, Nos. 129, 130; also his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 90-91.

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.

R. L. Mitra in *JASB*, Vol. XXXIX, pt. I, p. 128 ; Dowson in *JRAS*, 1871, p. 186 ; Lüders in *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 155 ; Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 177 ; Lüders' List, Nos. 125[v], 131 ; also his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 85-86.

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 Buddharakṣita, the *Vaṇḍakṣa*, to the community of the four quarters.

R. L. Mitra in *JASB*, Vol. XXXIX, pt. I, p. 128 ; Dowson in *JRAS*, 1871, pp. 186-87 ; Lüders in *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 155 ; R. D. Banerji in *JPASB*, Vol. V, pp. 241-42 ; Lüders' List, Nos. 133-34 ; also his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 76-77.

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.

R. L. Mitra in *JASB*, Vol. XXXIX, pt. I, p. 128 ; Dowson in *JRAS*, 1871, p. 186 ; R. D. Banerji in *JPASB*, Vol. V, p. 241 ; Lüders' List, No. 135 ; also his *Math. Ins.*, p. 89.

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 Śurāna.

R. L. Mitra in *JASB*, Vol. XXXIX, pt. I, p. 129 ; Dowson in *JRAS*, 1871, p. 187 ; Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 166 ; Lüders' List, No. 136 ; also his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 103-04.

48. Jamālpur mound Buddhist pillar-base inscription

The inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, is deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. It speaks of the gift made by the *Viśvasika* Vagamihira together with his son Horamurdvaga (?).

R. L. Mitra in *JASB*, Vol. XXXIX, pt. I, p. 130 ; Lüders in *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 155 ; R. D. Banerji in *JPASB*, Vol. V, pp. 242-43 ; Lüders' List, No. 141 ; also his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 92-93.

49. Jamālpur mound Buddhist pillar-base inscription

This inscription in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī 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. 125[a] ; also his *Math. Ins.*, p. 87.

50. Jamālpur mound Buddhist stone inscription

This inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, is deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. It mentions the gift made by the monk Buddhanandin for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.

R. L. Mitra in *JASB*, Vol. XXXIX, pt. I, p. 129 ; Dowson in *JRAS*, 1871, p. 183 ; Lüders in *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 150 ; R. D. Banerji in *JPASB*, Vol. V, pp. 240-41 ; Lüders' List, No. 89 ; also his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 77-78.

51. Jamālpur mound Buddhist image inscription

This record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. This fragmentary inscription mentions some personal names like Mitraśarma, Ghoṣaka, Parohaśālika, 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 Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, mentions the name of the Nāga Dadhikarṇa.

D. R. Sahni in *ASIAR*, 1924-25, pp. 149-50 ; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 126-27.

53. Jamnā Buddhist image inscription

This record in Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, mentions the title *Mahārāja* only.

K. N. Dikshit in *ASIAR*, 1930-34, p. 227 ; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 127.

54. Jamnā Bāgh (in Mathurā city) Buddhist image inscription

This inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. It mentions the gift of the monk Buddhapāla for the worship of his parents and all beings.

V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. X, p. 4 ; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 124.

55. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā Jaina image inscription

This record in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, deposited in the Lucknow Museum, mentions the reign of *Devaputra* Huviṣka.

Bühler in *EI*, Vol. II, p. 206 ; Lüders' List, No. 80 ; also his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 47-48.

56. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā Jaina image inscription

This fragmentary record in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters preserved in the Lucknow Museum, mentions the name of Sena, the pupil of Chandin.

Bühler in *EI*, Vol. II, p. 206 ; Lüders' List, No. 81.

57. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā Jaina image inscription

This fragmentary record in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, mentions the name of *Koṭṭiya gaṇa*.

Bühler in *EI*, Vol. I, p. 389 ; Lüders in *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 154 ; also his List, No. 84.

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 *bhaṇḍira* 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 charecters, 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 af 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. 107[a] ; V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. XXIII, p. 45.

63. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā Jaina image inscription

The fragmentary record, in Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Muthurā 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. 107[h].

64. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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.
V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. XXIII, p. 45.

65. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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 *toraṇa* by a lay female pupil together with some of her relatives.
Bühler in *EI*, p. 390 ; Smith, *The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā*, p. 29 ; Lüders in *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 153 ; also his List, No. 108.

66. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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.
R. D. Banerji in *EI*, Vol. X, p. 210 ; Lüders' List, No. 107[b] ; also his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 48-49.

67. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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 *Sthānikīya kula*.
Bühler in *Academy*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 374 ; also in *VOJ*, Vol. V, p. 179 ; also in *EI*, Vol. II, p. 207 ; Lüders' List, No. 110.

68. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā Jaina image inscription

This fragmentary inscription in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, mentions the installation of an image Vardhamāna by some one.

Bühler in *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 389-90 ; Lüders' List, No. 112.

69. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā Jaina image inscription

This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, deposited in the Lucknow Museum, mentions the names of *Vāraṇa gaṇa* and *Ārya Kaniyasika kula.*

Bühler in *Academy*, Vol XXXV, p. 381 ; also in *VOJ*, Vol. III, p. 236 ; also in *EI*, Vol. I, p. 392 ; Lüders' List, No. 113 ; R. D. Banerji in *EI*, Vol. X, p. 119.

70. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā Jaina image inscription

This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters preserved in the Lucknow Museum, mentions the gift made by the Cīri, the son of I āsa.

Bühler in *EI*, Vol. I, p. 393 ; Lüders, List, No. 114.

71. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlī Jaina image inscription

This fragmentary record, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, is written in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters. The inscription refers to the setting up of an image of Vardhamāna. It also mentions the name of *Sthāniya kula.*

Bühler in *EI*, Vol. I, p. 393 ; Lüders in *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 35 ; also his List, No. 115.

72. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā Jaina image inscription

This fragmentary record, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, is in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters. It mentions, after an invocation to the *Arhat* and *Siddhas*, the *Vāraṇa gaṇa, Ārya Hāṭṭīya Kula, Vajanagarī śākhā* and the *Ārya Śrīkīya saṁbhoga.*

Bühler in *EI*, Vol. I, p. 397 ; Lüders' List, No. 116.

73. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā Jaina image inscription

This is a fragmentary record in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Lucknow Museum. The

inscription records, afteran invocation of the *bhagavat* Ṛṣabha, 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.*

Bühler in *Academy*. Vol. XXXIX, p. 374 ; also in *VOJ*, Vol. V, pp. 178-79 ; also in *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 206-07 ; Lüders' List, No. 117.

74. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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.

Bühler in *EI*, Vol. II, p. 208 ; Lüders' List, No. 118.

75. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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 *Uccenāgarī śākhā.*

Bühler in *EI*, Vol. II, p. 208 ; Lüders' List, No. 119.

76. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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.*

Bühler in *EI*, Vol. II, p. 208 ; Lüders' List, No. 120 ; V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 46-47.

77. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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 Ṛṣabha, at the request of Āryaśyāmā, the female pupil of *Ārya* Gāḍhaka who was the pupil of *Arya* Jeṣṭhahastin, out of the *Koṭṭiya gaṇa, Brahmadāsika kula, Uccenāgarī śākhā* and the *Śrīka saṁbhoga.*

Bühler in *EI,* Vol. I, p. 389 ; also in *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 197 ; Lüders' List, No. 121 ; also in *JRAS*, 1911, p. 1084.

78. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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 Varaṇahastin 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 preacher *Ārya* Kṣeraka, the pupil of *Ārya* Mihila who was the pupil of *Ārya* Jeṣṭhahastin, out of the *Koṭṭiya gaṇa, Brahmadāsika kula, Uccenāgarī śākhā* and *Śrīgṛha saṁbhoga.*

Bühler in *EI,* Vol. II, pp. 209-10 ; Smith, *The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā*, p. 47 ; Lüders, List, No. 122 ; also in *JRAS*, 1911, p. 1084.

79. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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.

Bühler in *EI,* Vol. I, p. 313 ; Lüders in *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 154 ; Lüders' List, No. 123 ; Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 69 ; V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. XXIII, p. 41.

80. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā 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. Katholī Kūā (in Mathurā City) image inscription

This inscription in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. It records the installation of the image of Mahaśabha by Āḍhaka, the *Rājapāliyaka*.

V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. XII, pp. 26-27; also in *ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 10-11; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 52-53.

82. Kaṭrā mound image inscription

This record in Brāhmī 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 Brāhmī characters, deposited in the Mathurā Museum, refers to the setting up of a Buddhist image for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.

Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 32-33.

84. Kaṭrā mound Buddhist image inscription

This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription mentions the gift made by a Kṣatrapa woman Naṅdā for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings and for the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādins.

Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 63; also in *ASIAR*, 1909-10, pp. 65-66; Lüders' List, No. 125[c]; V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. XXI, pp. 62-63; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 31-32.

85. Kaṭrā mound Buddhist image inscription

This fragmentary record in Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit and Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, mentions the dedication of an image of the holy Śākyamuni by a monk.

V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. X, p. 4; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 33.

86. Kaṭrā mound image inscription

This record in Brāhmī characters, deposited in the Mathurā Museum, mentions only *dakṣi*.

Lüders, *Math., Ins.*, p. 34.

87. Kaṭrā mound stone inscription

This record, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, mentions only *śya prāvāri*.

V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. X, pp. 4-5 ; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 34.

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.

Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 112 ; Lüders' List, No. 15 ; also his *Math. Ins.*, p. 151.

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.

Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 154 ; Lüders' List, No. 15[a] ; also his *Math. Ins.*, p. 151.

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*.

R. D. Banerji in *EI*, Vol. X, p. 120 ; Lüders' List, No. 107[a] .

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.

R. D. Banerji in *EI*, Vol. X, p. 121 ; Lüders' List, No. 124 ; also in *JRAS*, 1912, pp. 160-6 1; also his *Math. Ins.*, p. 196.

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. 107[c] ; 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 *Vajranāgarī śākhā*.

R. D. Banerji in *EI*, Vol. X, p. 120 ; Lüders' List, No. 107[d] ; also in *JRAS*, 1912, pp. 173-75.

95. Manoharpur Mohalla (in Mathurā city) Jaina inscription

The record, in Brāhmīcharacters, mentions the gift made in the monastery of the *Koṭṭiya gaṇa, Sthānikiya kula*.

V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. XII, p. 26.

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. Mātā Galī (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.

D. R. Sahni in *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 68-69 ; V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vols. XXIV-V, p. 148 ; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 114-15.

98 Mātā Maṭh Jaina image inscription

This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, mentions the names of *Koṭṭiya gaṇa* and *Vātsalīya kula*.

Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, pp. 70-71 ; Luders' List, No. 107f.

99. Mathurā Buddhist image inscription

This fragmentary inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, records the setting up of an image of *bhagavat* Śākyamuni.

Dowson in *JRAS*, 1871, p. 188 ; Lüders' List, No. 138 ; V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. X, p. 4 ; also in *ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 66 ; Lüders' *Math. Ins.*, p. 210.

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.

Smith, *The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā*, p. 56 ; R. D. Banerji in *EI*, Vol. X, p. 119 ; Lüders' List, No. 109 ; also in *JRAS*, 1912, p. 156.

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.

R. D. Banerji in *JPASB*, Vol. V, p. 238 ; Lüders' List No. 125[D].

102. Mathurā stone inscription

This fragmentary record in Brāhmī characters, is deposited in the Lucknow Museum. No coherent sense of the inscription is possible.

Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 199.

103. Mathurā image inscription

This record in Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, mentions only *ya*[*ṭ*]*asa*.

Lüders, *Math. Ins.* p. 197

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.

Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 202.

105. Mathurā stone inscription

This fragmentary record, in Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum, only...[*pra*]*tiṣ*[*ṭh*]*itaḥ* [*sa*]...is legible.

Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 198.

106. Mathurā stone inscription

This fragmentary record, in Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. Only...*ḥ savihito*...is legible.

Lüders *Math. Ins.*, p. 197.

107. Mathurā Jaina inscription

This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, mentions the name of *Koṭṭiya gaṇa*.

Bühler in *VOJ*, Vol. III, p. 233 ; Lüders' List, No. 124.

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.

V. N. Srivastava in *JUPHS, NS*, Vol. VII, pt. I, pp. 2-3.

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.

Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 61 ; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 183.

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. 125^{g} ; 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.

Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 70 ; Lüders' List, No. 107_{e} ; V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. XXIII, p. 42.

114. Mathurā Museum Buddhist railing pillar inscription

The findspot is not ascertained. This record, in Brāhmī characters, mentions only the name Śivara.

Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, pp. 152-53 ; Lüders' List, No. 125^{b} ; also his *Math. Ins.*, p. 186.

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. 125j . 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.
Lüders' *Math. Ins.*, pp. 190-91.

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 Śiśurikā, 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.
V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. X, pp. 35-38 ; also in *ibid.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 75-76 ; D. C. Sircar in *JUPHS*, *NS*, Vol, II, pp. 10-14.

121. Mathurā Museum Buddhist image inscription

The findspot of it is not known. This is a fragmentary record in Brāhmī 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 Brāhmī 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 Brāhmī characters, mentions the name of Joṭisa.

Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 152; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 185-86.

124. Merā image inscription

This fragmentary record, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī 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 *Māthuri Kalavaḍā*.

Lüders' List, No. 14[a]; Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 109; Lüders, in *EI*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 200-02; V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 81-82; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 154.

125. Naugavā (4½ miles south-west of Mathurā city) Buddhist image inscription

This fragmentary record, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, is in Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters. It records the erection of a Buddha image at some *vihāra* by the monk Dharmahastika.

Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 60; Lüders' List, No. 14[b]; also his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 160-61.

126. Pālīkheṛā (a village 3 miles south-west of the Kaṭrā) mound Buddhist stone-bowl inscription

This is a fragmentary inscription, in Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit and Brāhmī 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.

V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. XII, pp. 22-23; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 165.

127. Pālīkheṛā mound image inscription

This record in Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, mentions the name of Lavana or Lavaṇa.

Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 166-67.

128. Pālīkheṛā mound image inscription

This record in Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, mentions the *akṣara ry* [*a*].

Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 168.

129, Pālīkheṛā image inscription

This fragmentary record, in Brāhmī characters, is deposited in the Mathurā Museum. No coherent sense of it is possible.

Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 168.

130. Pālīkheṛā image inscription

This fragmentary record in Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, mentions the gift made for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.

Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 168-69.

131. Rāl Bhaḍār image inscription

This inscription, in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī 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. 13[b]; 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.

Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 123 ; Lüders' List, No. 14[c] also his *Math. Ins.*, p. 153-54.

133. Salempur well (about 3½ miles to the south-west of Mathurā city) inscription

This record in Brāhmī characters, deposited in the Mathurā Museum, mentions the name of Dharma.

Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 169.

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.

Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 121.

135. Tokrī Ṭīlā image inscription

This inscription in Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Mathurā, Museum, mentions the name of *Mahārāja Rajātirāja Devaputra* Kaṇiṣka

Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 133-34.

136. Tokrī Ṭīlā image inscription

This fragmentary record in Brāhmī characters, preserved in the Mathurā Museum mentions only *Mastana*. . .

Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 146-47.

137. Tokrī Ṭīlā 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 Rājatirāja Devaputra Kuṣānaputra 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*, Humaṣpala (?) by name.

J.H. Marshall in *ASIAR*, 1911-12, pt. I, p. 15 ; Vogel in *ibid.*, 1911-12, pt. II, pp. 124-25 ; K.P. Jayaswal in *JBORS*, Vol. VI, pp. 12-22; V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 74-76; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 135-37.

138. Tokrī Ṭīlā image inscription

This fragmentary inscription in Sanskrit and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. It states that *devakula* of Huviṣka's grandfather who was steadfast in the true Law, on whom, on account of his devotion, the kingdom was conferrrd by Sarva and Caṇḍavīra, became dilapidated and fell down. Having observed this, a Bakanapati, the son of a *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* reconstructed it in order to increase the strength and longevity of the *Mahārāja Rājatirāja Devaputra* Huviṣka.

D. R. Sahni in *JRAS*, 1924, pp. 401-03; V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vols. XXIV-V, pp. 132-34 ; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 138-145.

V. Gupta Period

A. Dated Inscriptions

1. Mathurā pillar inscription of Candragupta II—Year 61 (=380 A.D.)

The inscription. in Prakrit-Sanskrit and Brāhmī 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.

Bhandarkar in *EI*, Vol. XXI, pp. 1-9; also his List, No. 2034; D. B. Diskalkar in *ABORI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 160-70; D. C. Sircar in *IHQ*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 271-75; also his *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, pp. 277-79; V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vols. XXIV-V, pp. 143-45; P. R. Srinivasan in *JAIH*, Vol. III, pp. 113-22; R. C. Agrawala in *JOI*, Vol. XIX, No. 4, June, 1970, pp. 355-56.

2. Dasāvatarī Galī (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 *Nagarakīya* for the welfare of his parents, in the year 70.

Hirananda Sastri in *ASI AR*, 1930-34, pt. I, p. 208; V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. X, pp. 5-6; also in *ibid.*, Vols. XXIV-V, p. 149; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 113.

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 *Koṭṭiya gaṇa* and *Vaira śākhā*, in the year 97.

Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 74; Lüders' List, No. 89[c]; V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 53-54; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 53.

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 Bhaṭṭibhava and the house-wife of the *prātārika* Grahamitrapālita, at the request

of Datilācārya of the *Koṭṭiya gaṇa*, and the *Vidhyādharī śākhā*, during the reign of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* Kumāragupta in the year 270.

Bühler in *EI*, Vol. II, p. 210 ; Bhandarkar's List, No. 1268.

5. Mathurā Buddhist image inscription—Year 125 (=444 A.D.)

This fragmentary inscription, in Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, records the gift of an image of Buddha by a native of Mathurā, during the reign of Kumāragupta in the year 125.

V. N. Srivastava in *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 153.

6. Jamālpur mound stone inscription—Year 135 (=454 A.D.)

This inscription, written in Sanskrit language and Brāhmī 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.

Fleet, *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 262-64 ; Bhandarkar's List, No. 1275 ; V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. XXI, pp. 90-91.

7. Kaṭrā mound Buddhist image inscription—Year 280 (=599 A.D.)

This inscription, written in Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. It mentions the pious gift made by the Śākya nun Jayabhaṭṭā at the Yaśavihāra for the attainment of Supreme knowledge by all sentient beings, in the year 280.

Cunningham in *ASIR*, Vol. I, p. 238 ; Dowson in *JRAS*, 1871, p. 185 ; Cunningham in *ASIR*, Vol. III, p. 37 ; Fleet, *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 273-74 ; Lüders' *Math. Ins.*, pp. 34-35.

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 Brāhmī characters,

speaks of the gift made by the Śākya monk Dharmadāsa, for the attainment of Supreme knowledge by his parents and all sentient beings.

R. L. Mitra in *JASB*, Vol. XXXIX, pt. I, p. 129 ; Dowson in *JRAS*, 1871, p. 187 ; Fleet, CII, Vol. III, p. 280 ; Lüders in *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 156 ; also his List, No. 148 ; also his *Math. Ins.*, p. 205.

2. Jaisinghpur mohalla (in Mathurā city) Buddhist image inscription

This inscription in Brāhmi characters, preserved in the Lucknow Museum states that Dhavaśrīyā. the daughter of Buddha and the wife of Saṅghatrāta, dedicated an image of Dīpaṅkara 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 Kakaṭika vihāra was put up by some merchants who were the commissioners of the community.

R. D. Banerji in *EI*, Vol. X, pp. 118-19 ; Lüders' List, No. 140 ; also in *JRAS*, 1912, pp. 154-56 ; also his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 100-102.

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.

Growse in *JASB*, Vol. XLVII, pt. I, p. 130 ; Vogel *Arch. Muse. Math.*, 1910, p. 50 ; Lüders' List, No. 146 ; also his *Math. Ins.*, p. 103.

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...*mokṣi*..., 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.

R. D. Banerji in *EI*, Vol. X, p. 121 ; Lüders' List, No. 125[e] ; also his *Math. Ins.*, p. 197.

8. Lucknow Musuem 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.

Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 198-99.

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.

Vogel, in *ASIAR*, 1908-09, p. 163 ; Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 193.

10. Maholī-Usphār Rd. Nāga image inscription

This inscription, in Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. It refers to the name of Aśvadeva, the son of the cloakmaker Bhavanandin.

Vogel, *Arch. Muse. Math.*, p. 90 ; also in *ASIAR*, 1908-09, p. 162 ; Lüders' List, No. 14[e] ; also his *Math. Ins.*, pp. 169-70.

11. Mathurā Buddhist image inscription

This fragmentary record, in Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Only the title *Mahārājādhirāja* is legible.

R. P. Chanda In *ASIAR*, 1922-23, pp. 168-69 ; also in *ibid.*, 1923-24, p. 232 ; Lüders' *Math. Ins.*, p. 201.

12. Mathurā Buddhist image inscription

This is a fragmentary record in Brāhmī characters. No coherent sense of it is possible.

Dowson in *JRAS*, 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 Brāhmī 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 Brāhmī characters, mentions the gift made by the Śākya monk Brahmasoma for the attainment of highest knowledge by all sentient beings.

R. L. Mitra *JASB*, Vol. XXXIX, pt. I, pp. 128-129 ; Dowson in *JRAS*, 1871, p. 187 ; Lüders in *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 156 ; also his List, No. 149 ; also his *Math. Ins.*, p. 212.

15. Mathurā Buddhist image inscription

This fragmentary inscription, written in Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters, refers to the gift made by the Śākya monk Saṅgharakṣita.

Dowson in *JRAS*, 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 Brāhmī 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.

Fleet, *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 25-28 ; Bhandarkar's List, No. 1542 ; V. S. Agrawala in *JUPHS*, Vol. XXIV-V, pp. 141-43.

17. Mathurā Museum image inscription

This is a fragmentary record in Brāhmī characters. The only word of the text, that is ligible, is *Śākyabhikṣo(ḥ)*.

Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, pp. 188-89.

18. Mathurā Buddhist image inscription of Nṛpamitra

This fragmentary inscription, written in Sanskrit Language and Brāhmī 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.

D. C. Sircar in *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 11-13.

19. Parkham image inscription

This fragmentary record, in Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. It mentions the gift made by some one at the request of the *Ārya* Nahuṣamitra.

Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 140.

20. Parkham image inscription

This fragmentary record, in Brāhmī characters, is preserved in the Mathurā Museum. No coherent sense is possible.

Lüders, *Math. Ins.*, p. 179.

VI. Post-Gupta Period

Kaṭrā Keṣavadeva 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 Ḍiṇḍirāja *alias* Karka, all of whom belonged to the royal family of the Mauryas. The king Ḍiṇḍirāja 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.

D. C. Sircar in *EI*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 207-12.

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 Brāhmī 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 Kautsī, and by Ambādatta (or Tryambādatta), the son of Vāsiṣṭhī and by Rāhila, the son of Gouptī for the pleasure of God Maheśvara.

Lokesh Chandra in *Indo-Asian Art and Culture*, Vol. III (Acharya Raghubir Commemoration Volume), ed. P. Ratnam, 1973, pp. 77-82 & plate; D. C. Sircar in *Indian Museum Bulletin*, Jan. 1972, pp. 14-15.

IV. Kuṣāṇa 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 Kāśī clan and was the *pīṭhamada* of the king Sūryamitra born of a Queen Gopālyā (may be Gopāli or Gopālikā). *Pīṭhamada* stands for Sanskrit *pīṭhamarda* (a companion or assistant) or *pṛṣṭhamarda* (a massager especially of the back).

B. Lahiri, *Indigenous States of Northern India* (Circa 200 B.C. to 320 A D.), C.U., 1974, pp. 153-54.

134 (a). Sonkh Seal inscription

It is a fragmentary inscription in two lines in Sanskrit-Prakrit language and Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī script. The beginning of the upper line is damaged and read *putrasa*. The lower line contains the main name *ahikośikasa* or *ahikauśikasa*.

Herbert Hartel*, 'The Excavation at Sonkh', in *German Scholars on India*, Vol. II, 1976 Reprint, p. 96.

* 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 Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī characters, records *anaṅga-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.*

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* The index for the portion of the Summaries of Inscriptions has been left out inorder to avoid repeatation.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Page	3	Line	11	Read	Dharmamīta for Dharamīta.
,,	18	,,	4	,,	his wife for his.
,,	18	,,	8	,,	suggested for snggested.
,,	18	,,	19	,,	Śaka for Saka.
,,	21	,,	3	,,	*Basilêi Basilêos* for *Basitie Basitêos*.
,,	22	,,	4	,,	*Basilêi* for *Basitie*.
,,	24	,,	6	,,	Taraṇadāsa for Taraṇaḍāsa.
,,	24	,,	7	,,	Bharaṇadāsa for Bharaṇaḍāsa.
,,	25	fn.	29	,,	Vol. II, pp. 268-69 for Vol. II, pp. 261-69.
,,	27	,,	41	,,	horse for hose.
,,	28	line	21	,,	referred to for referred.
,,	35	,,	12	,,	*devakula* for *devakuta*
,,	43	,,	15	,,	Huviṣka for Huviṣks.
,,	45	fn.	1	,,	*Mathurāyāṁ* for *Mathurayam*
,,	51	line	5	,,	event for eveni.
,,	53	,,	27	,,	deeds for needs.
,,	57	,,	2	,,	Śivaghoṣa for Śivaghosa.
,,	57	,,	2	,,	Taraṇadāsa for Taraṇaḍāsa.
,,	60	,,	21	,,	*Mahārājādhirāja* for *Mahārājadhirāja*.
,,	71	,,	4	Omit	(
,,	75	,,	14	Read	not for were not.
,,	80	fn.	17	,,	Śiva for Siva.
,,	82	,,	26	,,	L for 4.
,,	84	,,	1	,,	*rajadirajasa* for *rajadhirajasa*.
,,	85	,,	11	,,	Bhīṭā for Bhita.
,,	88	,,	4	,,	*Ārya* for *Arya*.
,,	97	,,	8	,,	*parigaha* for *parigahe*.
,,	98	,,	15	,,	Peshāwar for Peshāswar.
,,	103	,,	11	,,	Guhā for Guha.

Page	108	Line	22	Read	*āyāgapaṭas* for *āyāgapattas.*
„	113	„	1	„	*Ārya* for *Arya.*
„	113	„	3	„	*Ārya* for *Arya.*
„	113	fn.	72	„	*Ārya* for *Arya.*
„	113	„	80	„	*Samkāsikā* for *Samkāksikā.*
„	113	line	4	„	Harītamālakaḍhī for Haritamālakaḍhi.
„	114	„	1	„	*Ārya* for *Arya.*
„	114	„	5	„	the *Kalpasūtra* for *Kalpasūtra.*
„	118	fn.	17	„	Vogel for Vovel.
„	119	line	22	„	*Vājaseneyī* for *Vajaseneyi.*
„	122	„	8	„	word for words.
„	123	„	1	„	Śaka for Saka.
„	123	„	4	„	reads for reade.
„	127	„	5	„	Frequent for Frequenty.
„	131	„	10 & 14	„	*Āḍhaka* for *Aḍhaka.*
„	134	„	14	„	Śoḍāsa for Soḍāsa.
„	135	„	12	„	Taraṇadāsa for Taraṇaḍāsa.
„	139	„	7	„	*Saṁhitā* for *Sahmitā.*
„	143	„	9	„	votive for votvie.
„	143	„	16	„	Hāriīputra for Hārtīputra.
„	144	„	13	„	'he for ihe.
„	148	„	15	„	*Kāla* for *Kalā.*
„	150	„	11	Omit	full stop.
„	160	„	17	Read	Maitrakas for Matitrakas.
„	167	„	10	„	*Inscriptions* for *Inscription.*
„	169	„	1	„	Śoḍāsa for Soḍāsa.
„	176	„	15	„	*Ārya* for *Arya*
„	177	„	27	„	Grahapalā for Grahapāla.
„	180	„	11	„	*Koṭṭiya* for *Kaṭṭiya.*
„	182	„	17	„	*Ārya* for *Arya.*
„	186	„	22	„	sister's daughter for sister.
„	187	„	4	„	113 A.D. for 115 A.D.
„	188	„	22	„	*Rājātirāja* for *Rājātrāja.*
„	190	„	16	„	lay for law.

Page	192	Line	4	Read	*gaṇa* for *gana*.
„	195	„	4	„	image inscription for inscription.
„	200	„	5	„	Sanakadāsa for Sanakdāsa.
„	201	„	9	„	an for and.
„	201	„	28 & 29	„	*Ārya* for *Arya*.
„	204	„	10	„	*Ārya* for *Arya*.
„	205	„	3	„	Brāhmī for Brāhmi.
„	207	„	3	„	*Math.* for *Malh.*
„	207	„	28	„	record for records.
„	208	„	5	„	Rāma for Rama.
„	211	„	17	„	125^{r} for 125$^{\times}$
„	217	„	6	„	*Ārya* for *Arya*
„	217	„	24	„	law for iaw.
„	218	„	3	„	Mathurā for Muthurā.
„	221	„	3	„	*Ārya* for *Arya*
„	223	„	19	„	takes for take.
„	229	„	11	„	49 for 59
„	229	„	17	„	Morā for Merā
„	231	„	32	„	*Rājātirāja* for *Rājatirāja*
„	231	„	33	„	*Kuṣāṇaputra Ṣāhi* for *Kuṣānaputra Ṣāhi*.
„	232	„	16	„	*Rājātirāja* for *Rājatirāja*
„	232	„	26	„	*Ārya* for *Arya*

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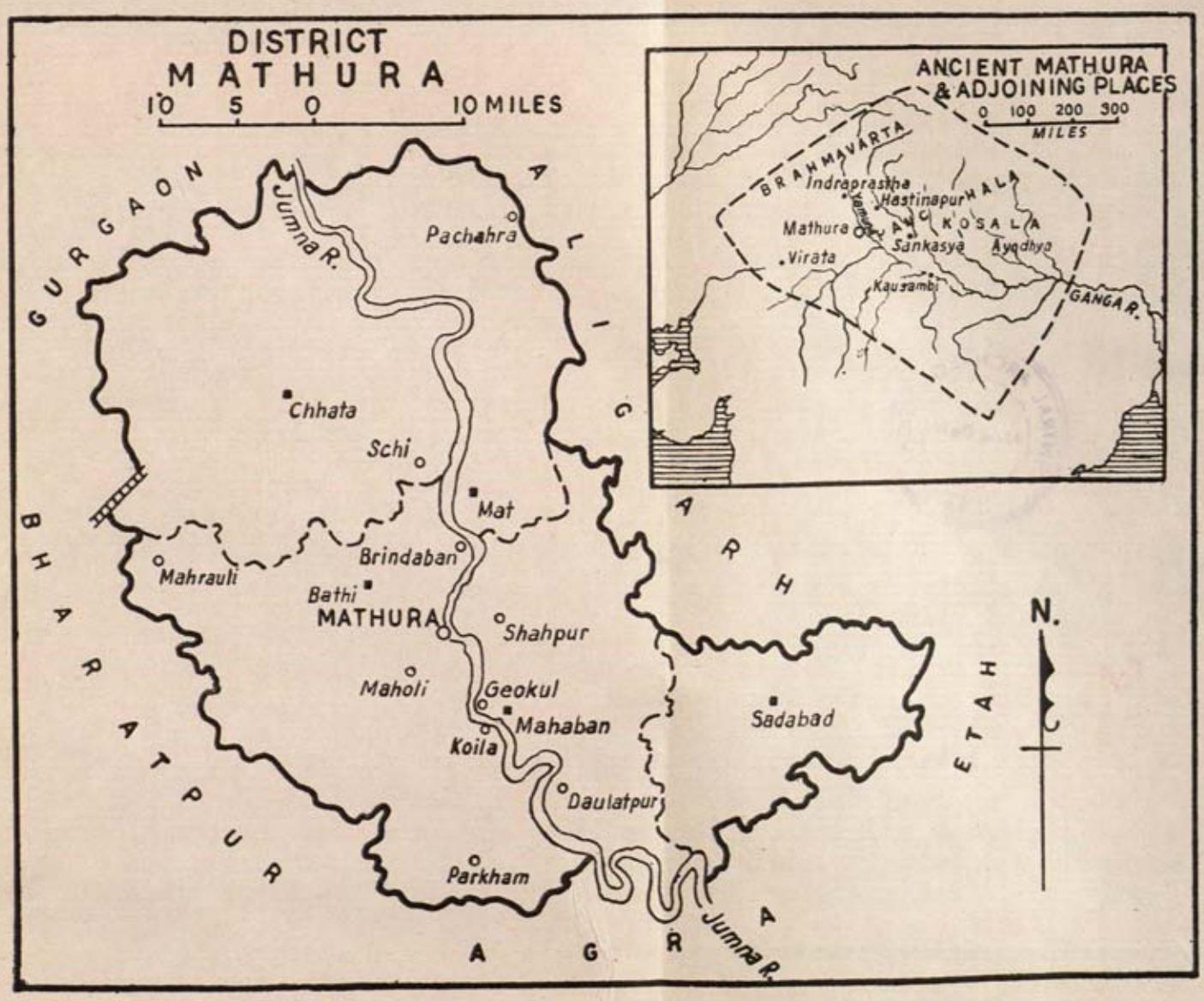
Plate X



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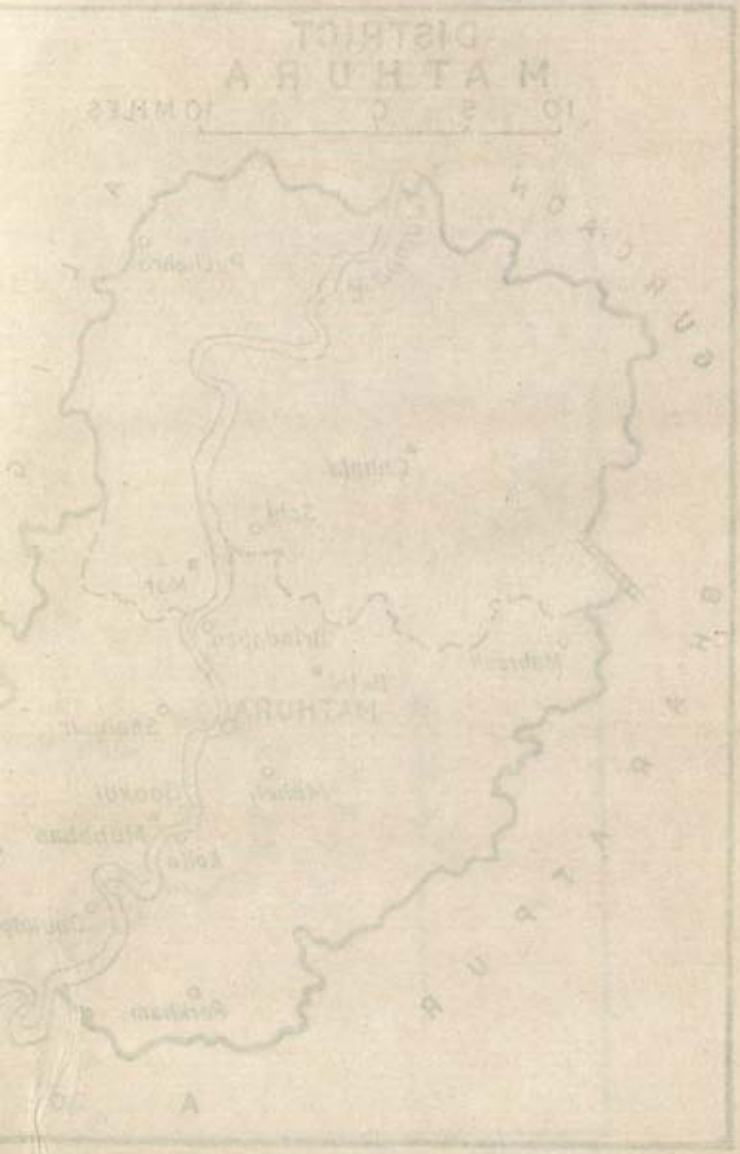
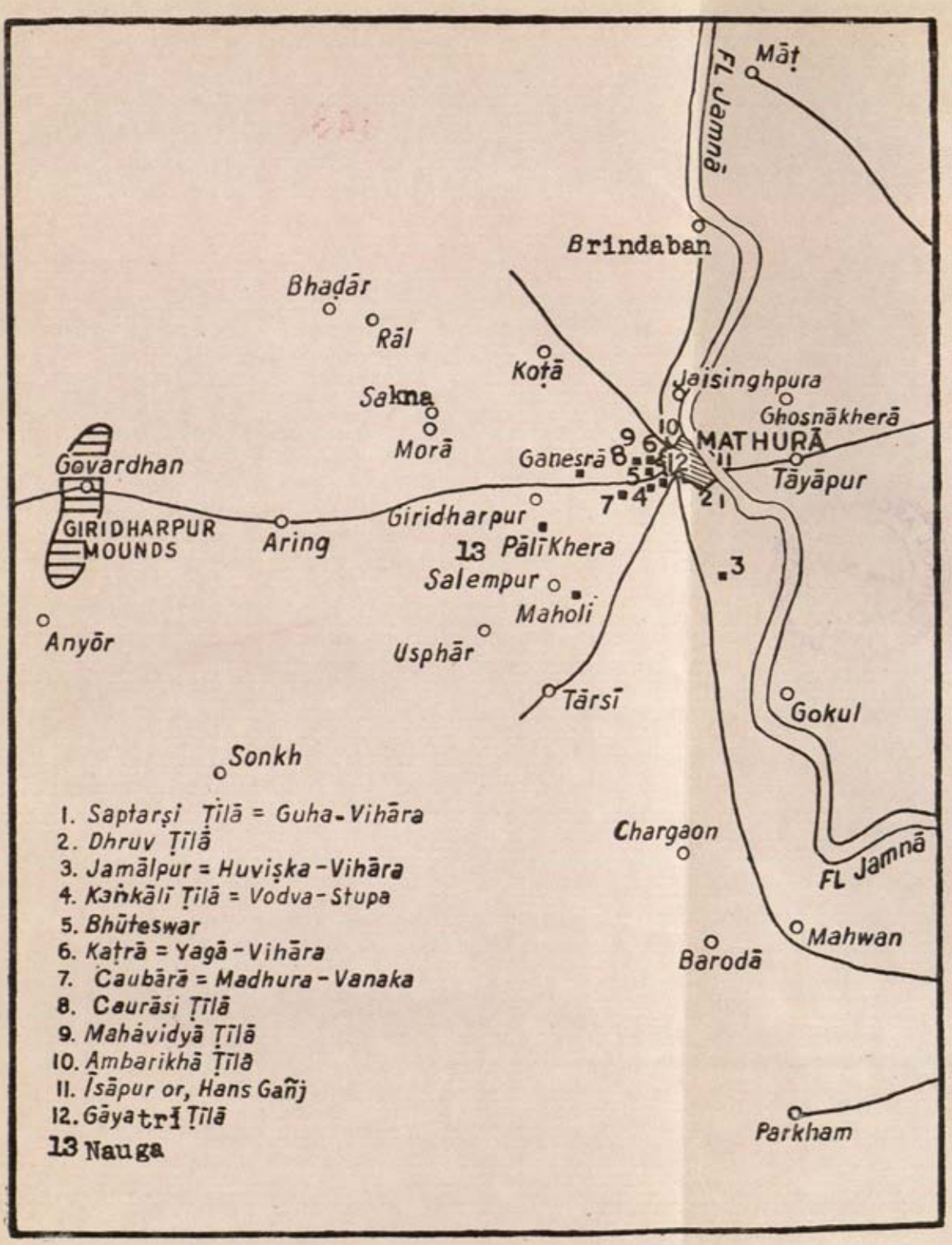


Plate XI



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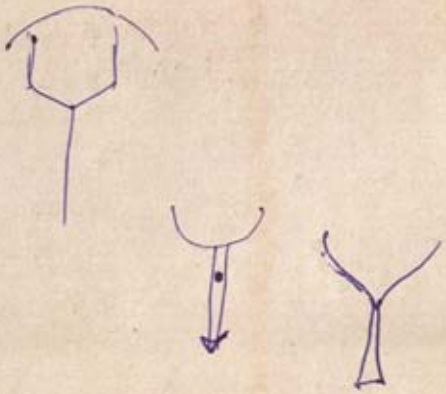

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