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THE HŪṆAS IN INDIA

by

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P R E F A C E

For the various reasons the subject of the Hūṇas is seldom well-understood in the context of Indian history. It deserves to be treated in its full scope, as here conceived, and only so can it be given its due. A few articles have been written on some parts of the subject, but these are insufficient to cover such a vast and complex topic. Dr.J.F.Fleet wrote an article on the history of Toramāṇa (the first great Hūṇa king of India) as early as A.D.1889 in the Indian Antiquary. Among later articles on different aspects of the subject we may refer to the essays of M.A.Stein - 'White Huns and kindred tribes in the history of Indian north-western frontier' (J.R.A.S.,1907), R.B.Whitehead - 'A find of Ephthalite or White Hun coins'(J.P.A.S.B.,1913.num.suppl. XXI.122), Sten Konow -'Note on Toramāṇa' (I.H.Q.,1936.), H.W.Bailey - 'Harahūṇa' (Asiatica.1954) and others. In these articles it has been generally understood that only two Hūṇa kings, Toramāṇa and Mihirakula, ruled in India and their power was confined to the north-western frontier regions. Their invasion of the interior parts of ~~India~~ the Indian sub-continent was a temporary aggression, and after these two Hūṇa kings, the tribe vanished from the

scene of Indian history. A few scholars like A.Cunningham (N.Ch.1894.;Coins of Mediaeval India, 1894) tried to trace some vestiges of the Hūṇas after Mihirakula, with the help of the coins and the Rājataraṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa. But no serious attempt has been made to relate the history of the later Hūṇas. J.F.Fleet (Bom.Gaz.1896,I.pt.2); G.Campbell (Bom.Gaz.1901,IX) and D.R.Bhandarkar (I.A.,1911) suggested that the Rājpūts of mediaeval times were the descendants of the ancient Hūṇas and other foreign tribes. But they failed to draw a systematic chronological history of the descendants of Mihirakula, who may have gradually became the Rājpūts. During the early mediaeval period(c.A.D.800 - 1200) a number of inscriptions refer to the Hūṇas. Whether these people were the descendants of the early Hūṇas or were purely Indian kṣatriyas, who adopted this tribal name as their title, forms another problem connected with the subject. Miss Pushpa Neogi read an article on 'Later references to the Hūṇas' at the All India Oriental Conference, Nagpur, 1950, but she merely reviewed the references to Hūṇas and did not suggest anything positive about their identity.

Since some new source material has been found in recent years it is necessary to reinterpret the earlier known original documents in the light of this new evidence. We have here, attempted to write a comprehensive history of the Hūṇas of India. With such inadequate

and ambiguous evidence, it has been a difficult enterprise and afterthoughts came crowding in the study of a subject of such complexity. By its very nature the history of the Hūṇas in India ramifies in every direction to the borders of the unknown. The original sources are of every kind and value and are open to being variously interpreted in many important matters. Owing to these difficulties, we have limited ourselves mainly to the political history of the tribe. But Appendices I and III are purely numismatic studies, and Chapter VII is chiefly concerned with the problems of social history, since it discusses the assimilation of the Hūṇas into Indian society.

We have tried to frame a full dynastic history of the Hūṇa family of Toramāṇa and Mihirakula. Our chronological list starts not with Toramāṇa, but with his father Tuñjina. We have given the history of the descendants of Mihirakula, as far as literary and epigraphical documents have allowed us. In this we may claim some originality, although our conclusions, based as they are on rather ambiguous evidence, must be taken as tentative and provisional. We hope that this first attempt to write a history of the Hūṇas, from their earliest invasion to India, until they were assimilated into Hindu society, will encourage others to fill up the gaps, which may be found after reading this work, by a redoubled search for new evidence and further study of the sources already known.

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A B S T R A C T

The history of the Hūṇas before their invasion of India, when they came in relation with China, Europe and Persia, is an extremely controversial and elaborate subject, and is not examined in full detail in this thesis, which is mainly related to the Hūṇas in India. We have given a short sketch of their origin and earlier history as our Introduction, in order to provide background knowledge.

As the Huns in general comprised several nomadic hordes, apparently of divergent ethnic stocks, we need to decide which particular clan of the Great Hunnish tribe invaded India. The first chapter contains our attempt to solve this problem.

We start the Hūṇa invasion on India not with Toramāṇa, but with his forefathers, who made preliminary raids on the Indian borders and who suffered defeat at the hands of Skanda Gupta. In this second chapter we include the study of Toramāṇa's father Tuñjina, who was given the title Pravarasena I, by Kalhaṇa.

The third and fourth chapters deal with the history of Toramāṇa and Mihirakula respectively. We refute in these chapters the theory of their being indigenous kings, as some scholars believe.

The fifth and sixth chapters comprise the history of the later Hūṇas, who were probably the descendants of Mihirakula, and who ruled in some parts of Kashmir and its adjacent provinces till the mediaeval period, when they gradually lost their identity. The sixth chapter also discusses the references to the Hūṇas in the inscriptions of the Rājpūt period.

The seventh chapter studies the Hindu social laws which permitted the amalgamation of foreigners in Indian society. In this last chapter we discuss the problem of the origin of the Rājpūts and try to establish how large a contribution was made by the Hūṇas and other foreign tribes like the Gurjaras to Rājpūt society. Finally we attempt to show some possible vestiges of the Hūṇas in Modern India.

The work contains three appendices. Appendix I, is a study of the coins of the Hūṇa kings. The Appendix II gives the background of northern Indian politics, in the 6th and 7th centuries, which may help the readers to understand better the history of the later Hūṇas. Appendix III consists of a discussion on the Yaśovarman coins of Kashmir, which have long created much controversy. We conclude with a bibliography, which includes a select list of books and articles we have consulted in writing this thesis.

INTRODUCTION

The History of the Huns before their invasion of India.

The history of the Huns in its entirety is one of the most complicated and elaborate subjects to be dealt with by one historian. Yet it is necessary, as an introductory chapter of our thesis, to give a thumbnail sketch of this vast history, which is related to the histories of China, Persia, Europe and India.

In the last two centuries many works have been produced in an attempt to solve the problem of the Huns. But no scholar could have dared to say that he had finally accomplished the task. Deguignes[1] has remarked in the preface of his voluminous book on the Huns that their history "is the history of a nation nearly ignored". This judgement, though made more than two centuries ago, is still largely true and much work remains to be done on the subject.

The Hsiung-nus in relation with China:-

On the Northern frontier of China, there were a few nomadic tribes, whom the Chinese regarded as barbarians. The earliest Chinese records seem to call them Ti. Later on another word Pei was added to the word Ti. As Pei means northern, the two words together denoted the Northern Ti.

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1. Deguignes.- Histoire générale des Huns. Tom.I.pt.i,p.5,1751.

Whether ~~these~~ Pei-ti signified any single ethnic group,is very doubtful. Klaproth[1] thinks that under the denomination of Pei-ti various northern barbarian tribes were included, though originally of different ethnic groups. Another word used to designate the untamed people of the northern borders of China was Shan-jung or Jung (i.e.the barbarians)of the mountains.

All these various nomadic tribes were probably originally different from each other. During the time of the first Chinese dynasty(the Hsia) the northern barbarians were called by the name Hsün-yü. Then,about 1000 B.C.,the designation of Hsien-yün was given to them. And finally the Chinese annalists under the Ch'in and Han dynasties named these northern nomads Hsiung-nu. As a sound similar to Hsün occurs in all three words it is thought that the Hsün-yü, Hsien-yün and Hsiung-nu, were all of the same ethnic stock. Moreover, we see that the Chinese emperors sometimes changed the spelling of the word to suit their changing attitudes towards these people. For example,in about A.D.10 emperor Wang-mang substituted the word Hsiang-nu for Hsiung-nu which implied the submissive state of these savages. Later on he again changed the spelling to Kung-nu, because now he was in friendly relations,with the Hsiung-nus and the

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1. Klaproth.-Tableaux historiques de l'Asie.p.102.1826.

word Kung-nu denoted their position of respect[1]. Thus it would not be far-fetched to regard the words Hsün-yü Hsien-yün and Hsiung-nu as designations of the same group. But this does not imply that the Hsiung-nu was a thoroughly homogeneous race. They may well have comprised Turkish, Mongolian and other racial elements. For as the Hsiung-nu power grew stronger and their empire extended from the Japanese sea to the Volga region, various nomadic tribes submitted to them, and gradually they were all called by the single name of Hsiung-nu, though originally they differed from each other. It is interesting to note that the great Hunnish ruler Mo-tun, who created a vast empire, prided himself in being " the leader of all those who shoot arrows from horseback"[2]. This statement simply shows that the word Hsiung-nu was a term applied to nomads in general.

When and from where the Hsiung-nus came to the north of China, is not known to us. But the Chinese tradition[3] has a story, which connects at least the royal family of the Hsiung-nus with the Hsia dynasty of China, founded by the great Yü, son of the minister Kun, according to the legend, in c.2205B.C. After the fall of this Chinese dynasty a prince of the family named Ch'un-wei migrated with 500 followers

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1. Buddha Prakash.-Studies in Indian History and Civilization. p.283. 1962.
2. McGovern.-The Early Empires of Central Asia. p.103. 1939.
3. Burton Watson.-Records of the Grand Historian of China. ii, p.155. 1961.

to the northern parts of China, and there he was not only cordially welcomed by the barbarian Hsiung-nus, but was selected as their ruler and became the founder of a dynasty.

After this tradition of the origin of the Hsiung-nu royal family there is a long gap in their history. In the 4th century B.C.the northern barbarians were mentioned as divided into three groups : Tung-hu, Yüeh-chih and Hsiung-nu. All these nomadic tribes were then too weak and insignificant to play any important role in the history of Central Asia or China. Gradually the Hsiung-nu tribe took the leading part in unifying the barbarians and in extending their power and influence over the Chinese feudal lords. In 321 B.C.,the Hsiung-nus accompanied by some Chinese feudal lords,started to attack the Ch'in kingdom of North China. But gradually the allies were overpowered by the Ch'in, and after completely defeating them Shih-huang-ti, of the Ch'in dynasty proclaimed himself the universal emperor in about 246 B.C. He drove the Hsiung-nus out of the neighbourhood of China and forced them to settle down in Mongolia. To protect the Chinese empire from the nomadic raids, he built the Great Wall of China, extending from the sea to the farthest western frontier of Kansu province. This consolidation of China by Shih-huang-ti weakened the position of the Hsiung-nus and prevented them from extending their empire into China for the time being. This event diverted their attention and interest towards the other nomadic tribes.

After the originator of the Hsiung-nu royal family Chun-wei[1], we hear the name of T'ou-man as the first Shan-yü (or supreme chief) of the Hsiung-nus. In 209 B.C.T'ou-man was murdered and succeeded by his valiant son Mo-tun as Shan-yü(209-174 B.C.)[2].

In the meantime the emperor Shih-huang-ti died and China was plunged in internal conflicts between the princes of Han and Ch'u. The Shan-yü Mo-tun took advantage of this and started strengthening himself. He attacked and defeated the Yüeh-chih living in the extremity of Kansu. He was successful against the Wu-sun tribe in the west and subjugated the Tung-hu or the Eastern Barbarians and brought under his sway the vast country of the Mongolian plateau. With the help of his strong army,he conquered all the northern parts inside the Great Wall,including Chihli,Shansi and Shensi. He forced the Han emperor Kao-tsu to pay him regular tribute and to give him a royal princess in marriage. Mo-tun thus extended his empire and prestige and conferred upon himself the respectful title of "the great Hsiung-nu emperor installed by heaven" in the letter addressed to emperor Wen-ti of the Han dynasty.[3]

Mo-tun was succeeded as Shan-yü by his worthy son Liu-shang in about c.174 B.C. He not only attacked and defeated the Yüeh-chih kingdom but made a drinking bowl of the skull of the Yüeh-chih leader and drove them out of western Kansu

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1. See above,p.12.
2. Burton Watson.-The Records of the Grand Historian of China, ii,p.160-61.
3. K.Shiratori,-On the Territory of the Hsiung-nu prince Hsiu-t'u-wang,etc.(Toyo Bunko,p.3-4.1930,No.5.)

province. The Yüeh-chihs were forced to migrate westwards. Crossing the northern Gobi, they fell upon the Śakas inhabiting the Tarim basin and by 163 B.C. acquired it. In c.120 B.C. the Yüeh-chih dispossessed the Śakas of Bactria also and started to settle there. Thus the threat given by the Hsiung-nu tribe to the Yüeh-chihs resulted in a gradual migration of various tribes towards the western and south-western regions of Central Asia. The Shan-yü Liu-shang took a more haughty attitude than his father had done and referred to himself as "the great Hsiung-nu emperor installed by the heaven and the earth and born of the sun and the moon" in his letters addressed to Wen-ti[1]. After the death of the Han emperor Kao-tsu there was no emperor of that dynasty to prevent the Hsiung-nu raids and to organise a strong Chinese expedition to destroy their growing power, until the emperor Wu-ti came to the Celestial Throne(140-87 B.C.). The emperor Wu-ti was determined to overthrow the Hsiung-nu power and to crush their aggressive activities. To fulfil his plan, he tried to make allies of all those northern and north-western tribes who were oppressed by the Hsiung-nus and who wanted to liberate themselves from Hsiung-nu supremacy. According to this plan in 129 B.C. Wu-ti sent the ambassador Chang-ch'ien to arouse the Yüeh-chihs against the common enemy[2]. While

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1. Wen-ti, the Han emperor. ibid, p.4.
2. Encyclopeadia of Ma-touan-lin, Bk.CCCXXXVIII.(Ref.taken from St.Martin,-Les Hun Blancs-Les Ephthalites.1949, p.42.)

travelling towards the newly acquired kingdoms of the Yüeh-chihs, Chang-ch'ien had to go through the Hsiung-nu territory, where he was arrested and remained a prisoner for ten years. But at last Chang-ch'ien succeeded in reaching Bactria, the newly won Yüeh-chih possession[1].

Wu-ti propagated military activity against the Hsiung-nus. He designed to recapture Ho-hsi from the Hsiung-nu lords. This region was then under the supremacy of the Hsiung-nu chief "Hsiu-t'u-wang, who is noted for his heaven worship by making use of the metal statues, and Hun-yen-wang, who later murdered the former and surrendered to the Han army[2]. Wu-ti sent his generals Wei-ch'ing and Ho-chü-ping against the Hsiung-nus and they were successful in defeating their army in Shao-fang(124 B.C.) and in Kansu(121 B.C.). They shattered the Hsiug-nu power and penetrated into Outer Mongolia, which was occupied by the Hsiung-nus. Ho-chü-ping entered into upper Tula and the Orkhan region and on the top of a mountain of that country he carried out the mass execution of eighty Hsiung-nu chiefs[3]. But after the reign of Wu-ti, the success and prestige of the Celestial Empire once again declined. Internal conflicts started in the royal family and these ended in the temporary overthrow of the Han dynasty and the establishment of the new Sin dynasty of Wang-mang, the nephew of the queen mother Tehsing-ti.

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1. Klaproth.-Tableaux historique de l'Asie.p.57. 1826.
2. K. Shiratori.- op.cit. Toyo Bunko,No.5,1930.p.7.
3. E. Chavannes.-Les Memoires des Se-ma-ts'ien.i.Intd.p.LXVII.

Wang-mang declared himself emperor in A.D.9 and sent an ambassador to the Hsiung-nus. He sent a seal with the ambassador which was inscribed with these words -"the seal of the Shan-yü of the Hsiung-nus,subjects of the Sin"and ordered them to use it. The Hsiung-nus objected because it put them in the position of a mere vassal tribe[1]. This inspired them to revolt[2] and by A.D.10 their Shan-yü had seized and plundered Turfan and the frontiers of the Chinese empire. At the same time,other barbarian tribes,who had submitted to emperor Wu-ti,refused their allegiance to China and again became faithful to the Hsiung-nus. Wang-mang was now forced to take military action against the mutineers. The operation was costly and the Chinese people were burdened by the heavy taxes. The weight of taxation made the Chinese resolve to overthrow the Sin dynasty. A large scale revolt broke out and the Sin dynasty was overthrown. Wang-mang took refuge in a fort but the soldiers and angry mob of Chiang-nan cut off his head and hacked his corpse to pieces[3]. (A.D.23.)

After the murder of Wang-mang,China was greatly disturbed by internal troubles and the external raids of the barbarians. This period of turmoil was brought to an end by Kuangwu-ti,who reestablished the Han dynasty in A.D.25. About the beginning of the Christian era,under the leadership

1. Ts'ien-han-chu.ch.xciv,b. p.8.
2. E. Chavannes.-Les pays d'occident d'après les Heou-han-chou 1907, p.157.
3. Klaproth.-Tableaux historique de l'Asie.p.61. 1826.

of Shan-yü Yü we find the Hsiung-nus once more establishing their suzerainty over Mongolia and western Manchuria. But this period of recovery soon ended with the death of Shan-yü Yü . Chinese records tell us that after his death the Hsiung-nu territory was ravaged for several years by a prolonged drought and was attacked by huge swarms of locusts,which destroyed men and property. The destruction was so large that the Shan-yü Bonu,the successor of Yü,lost all hopes of conquering more neighbouring areas and was terrified by the fear of possible Chinese aggression in this time of difficulty. To avert the Chinese danger he sent an embassy to China and proposed a friendly treaty. The Chinese emperor returned the embassy with a favourable reply and Sino-Hunnish relations for the time being became cordial.

But the Hunnish confederation fell into internal conflict,which resulted in the division of the Hsiung-nu tribe. A Hunnish chief Pi,who was supported by the eight southern Hsiung-nu tribes,revolted with the aim of making himself the Shan-yü. He was formally invited by these eight tribes and elevated to the position of the Shan-yü. Shan-yü Pi offered his allegiance to the Chinese court. Emperor Kuangwu-ti resettled the Hsiung-nus along the limes of Kansu and Shansi. This branch of the Hsiung-nu was thenceforth called the southern Hsiung-nus. They served as a buffer state between the Chinese and the Northern Hsiung-nu kingdom and as long as the northern Hsiung-nus were in the neighbourhood

of China,they quarrelled with them and helped the Chinese.

The reign of the Chinese emperors Ming-ti (A.D.58-75),Chang-ti(A.D.76-88),and Ho-ti(A.D.89-105), marked the golden age of Chinese expansion. Under the powerful command of Pan-ch'ao,the Chinese army not only advanced up to Khotan but by A.D.74 had penetrated into the province of Kashgar,which was them under the sway of a nobleman of Kucha,Douti. The capture of Kashgar was the climax of Pan-Ch'ao's career. He himself made no further attempt to win the other parts of northern Kashgaria, but he opened the way for the other Chinese commanders to establish Chinese power over this whole region. In A.D.74 a Chinese official was appointed as the protector general of the whole of Kashgaria and marched forward to conquer the remaining parts of the Tarim basin.

By A.D.75, when Manchuria and east and south Mongolia were in the occupation of either the friendly Wu-huan and Sien-pi tribes or the submissive southern Hsiung-nus,China overpowered all the Central Asian countries and was at the height of its prestige. In the reign of emperor Ho-ti,a general Teou-hsien(A,D.89),brother of the empress Dowager,was sent against the norther Hsiung-nus, and the southern Hsiung-nus gave him a helping hand. He marched victoriously up to the mountain Yin. He built a monument there on the top of a hill with an inscription mentioning his victory, After this success over the

Hsiung-nus of Mongolia, Teou-hsien came back to China. But his victory had such an effect upon the northern Hsiung-nus that about five hundred of them surrendered to the southern Hsiung-nus and thus indirectly accepted the supremacy of China. Even the Shan-yü of the northern Hsiung-nus was so terrified that he ultimately opened negotiations for submission, although for the moment these negotiations led to no definite results.[1] Teou-hsien opposed the idea of unifying the northern and southern Hsiung-nus. Consequently, in A.D.92, he proposed to select a member of the Hsiung-nu Shan-Yü's family, who had once fled from the Hsiung-nu territory, as the Shan-yü of the northern Hsiung-nus. But as the young emperor Ho-ti grew older, he seized all power from the hands of the empress Dowager and banished the mighty Teou-hsien. With the end of Teou-hsien, the Chinese emperor gradually lost his supremacy over the northern Hsiung-nus, and China had now no hand in the selection of their Shan-yü[2]

But the northern Hsiung-nus, though nominally independent, were in no position to quarrel with China or the growing Sien-pi tribe. They lost their supremacy over Mongolia and now were confined to Zungaria alone. But despite the capture of Mongolia by the Chinese, the policy of Emperor An (A.D.107) who ruled after the death of Ho-ti (A.D.105), gave a severe setback to the expansion of the Chinese empire.

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1. Tung-gien-gang-mu, A.D.89; Hou-han-shu, 4, 5, ibid 53, 25; ibid 119.19. (Ref. taken from McGovern.-The Early Empires of Central Asia. p.281).
2. Tung-gien-gang-mu, 92-93.; Hou-han-shu, 4, 8, 11; ibid 53, 26-27; ibid 119-20 (Ref. taken from McGovern.op.cit.p.284).

He had no interest in the far-off western countries and regarded their conquest as a gainless pursuit causing China a heavy expenditure. He therefore abandoned the idea of maintaining the post of protector general in the newly conquered regions[1].

The Chinese interest in the north-western territories flared up again about A.D. 119, when a Chinese patrol was sent to occupy the strategic town of Hami. The kingdoms of south Gushi and Shan-shan voluntarily offered themselves as vassals to the Celestial Empire. With the appointment of Pan-yung (son of Pan-Ch'ao) in A.D. 123, Chinese expansion was renewed. He marched against the combined army of the Hsiung-nu and the southern Gushi and won an overwhelming victory. The northern Hsiung-nus were driven north of the T'ien-shan mountain and the Gushi once more submitted to the Chinese army. By A.D. 127, the Chinese occupied Karashahr, Khotan and Yarkand. We find mention of the northern Hsiung-nus fighting the Chinese army for the last time about A.D. 153, when they helped the northern Gushi, whose chief was deposed by the Chinese emperor.

Shortly after A.D. 150 a leader named Tan-shih-huai of the Sien-pi tribe was gaining power, through the conquest of Mongolia, Dingling and south

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1. Edouard Chavannes - Les pays d'occident d'apres Heou-han-chou. 1907. p. 14

Siberia. He captured all the territories possessed formerly by the Hsiung-nus. McGovern[1] believes that this implies not only his conquest of Mongolia, which was already in Sien-pi possession, but also the expulsion of the northern Hsiung-nus from parts of Zungaria. The same scholar strengthens his point with the mention of the conquest of the Wu-sun by Tan-shih-huai. He says that because Tan-shih-huai attacked the Wu-sun, who occupied south Zungaria, we have to admit that before this the Sien-pi leader had to conquer the Hsiung-nus of Zungaria, to make his way to the Wu-suns. The Sien-pi tribe for a considerable period occupied this region of Outer Mongolia and thus ended for ever Hsiung-nu supremacy in the neighbourhood of China.

As to the history of the southern Hsiung-nus we need not say much. Being also suppressed by the Sien-pi tribe, they settled down inside the great bend of the Yellow river in the Steppes of Ordos. By A.D.215, their last Shan-yü abdicated in favour of the Chinese emperor. In the third and fourth centuries of the Christian era, when the Chinese empire became weaker, they tried to restore their fortunes, which were at a very low ebb, and for a few years created troubles for China. But finally they were absorbed into the Chinese population and it is doubtful whether they ever migrated westwards to disturb

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1. McGovern. op.cit. p.306.

the history of the rest of the world.

The migration of the northern Hsiung-nus to the west:-

After the defeat of the Hsiung-nus by the Sien-pis many of their tribesmen submitted to the conquerers and dwelt as a subject nation under the supremacy of the Sien-pis. But another section of the Hsiung-nus, braver and more aggresive, did not admit defeat and started to migrate westwards through Turkistan, with the hope of finding new habitation. But there is hardly any historical data by which to trace the steps of their movement towards the west. From merely A.D.170 to 370, the history of the Hsiung-nus remains in complete darkness. The reason for the absence of records of this famous tribe is perhaps that on the one hand they lost contact with the Celestial Empire, and on the other hand they were in this period moving through areas where the western historians could not obtain news of them. Thus neither in Chinese histories nor in classical sources is there any mention of the migration of this tribe.

But we can imagine that perhaps in many groups, these fearful nomads were moving towards the west, gradually mixing and mingling with various nations, whom they met. Intermarriage and interbreeding must have been the natural result of this slow migration. They adopted the customs, habits and beliefs of the many nations they encountered on their way, and left their own impression on them. Thus

moving westwards they came in contact with the European nations and were designated as Huns.

The Huns in Europe:-

The above sketch is based on the assumption that the Huns who invaded Europe were successors of the Hsiung-nus, who created troubles in the north-west parts of China for more than three centuries and were finally uprooted from their original home and driven towards the west. Though this theory is the most widely accepted one, we must here consider how far it is acceptable.

The problem is not easy. No direct information is available to us which can unquestionably be approved. Moreover Maenchen-Helfen[1] has remarked that the resemblance of the two names "is not the decisive proof for the identity of the Huns and Hsiung-nus, on which it has been widely accepted. If the sameness of a group name were sufficient to equate its bearers the Walloons would be Welsh and the Venetians Wends". He has shown that in the Syrian chronicles the word Hun sometimes means Ostrogoths and Byzantine writers occasionally referred to the Magyars[2] and Seldjuks as Huns. These objections of Maenchen-Helfen seem at first sight quite substantial. But even admitting this possibility of misunderstanding these names, we cannot completely ignore the linguistic evidence. The identification of the Huns of Europe

1. O.Maenchen-Helfen.-Pseudo-Huns C.A.J.,i,No.2,1955.p.101.
2. Encyclopaedia Britannica;11th ed.xiii.-seems to accept that the Magyars were the descendants of the Huns.

with the Hsiung-nus of the northern frontier of China was first suggested by Deguignes[1] and was accepted by scholars such as Gibbon[2], Hirth[3], Kalman Némati[4], Parker[5] and Chavannes[6].

Hirth's main arguments, based on the Chinese texts Wei-shu and Pei-shih, are as follows:-

1. The region called Sû-te was known in ancient days as Yen-ts'ai.
2. The Hou-han-shu (Ch. 118) and the Wei-shu remark that the Yen-ts'ai was also designated by the word Alan.
3. The author of the Wei-shu based his account on the reports of Tung-wang and Kao-ming who after their journey to the Caspian sea came back to China c.A.D. 440: thus his account was written between A.D. 440 and A.D. 450.
4. The conquest of the Sû-te (i.e. the Yen-ts'ai or Alans) by the Hsiung-nus took place three generations before this date (A.D. 450) or in the last decades of the first half of the fourth century.
5. This was the time, as we are informed by classical writers, when the Alans were conquered by the Huns. The result is that the Huns and the Hsiung-nus are identical.

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1. Deguignes - Histoire Générale des Huns. Tome I, pt.1, p.5.
2. Gibbon - The decline and fall of the Roman empire. 5th ed. vol. III, p. 87
3. Fr. Hirth - 'Mr. Kingsmill and the Hsiung-nu'. J.A.O.S. 1909. p. 32-45; Sitz. Ber. Philo. U. Hist. Classe, Akad. Wiss. Munich. II (1900). p. 245-278
4. I.A.Q.R. April 1910. p. 352-367.
5. E.H. Parker - A thousand years of the Tartars. 1924. p.93
6. E. Chavannes - Documents sur les Tou-kiue occidentaux. 1942. p.16, 250

This view of Hirth was criticised by Shiratori[1] and Maenchen-Helfen[2]. Shiratori raised an objection to Hirth's identification of Sû-te with Yen-ts'ai. He thinks that from the evidence of the Heou-han-shu and Shih-san-chan-chih(written by K'an-yin in A.D.430) it can be suggested that they were different countries having different capitals. He identified Sû-te with Soydak or Sogdiana while Yen-ts'ai is identified by Haloun[3], with the middle Sir-Darya. Maenchen-Helfen doubts the authenticity of the information given by the Wei-shu and the Pei-shih, because it is well-known that chapter 102 of the Wei-shu was lost and the Sung editors of the eleventh century substituted for it the corresponding Pei-shih text. More objectionable is the fact that even the Pei-shih text is not a homogeneous but a composite document. Maenchen-Helfen, tries to disprove the Hun- Hsiung-nu theory from archaeological evidence as discovered by the exacavations made by the Noin-Ula[4] in northern Mongolia and by Warner in Transbaikalia[5]. He thinks that the archaeological remains of the Huns found in these regions have no link with the culture and civilisation of the Hsiung-nus as known from the Chinese sources. But this scholarsseems to overlook the significance of time and distance. It cannot be denied that by the time the Huns

1. K.Shiratori.-A Study of Su-te. Toyo Bunko, No.2,1928, p.94-100.
2. O.Maenchen-Helfen.-'Huns and Hsiung-nus' Byzantion.1947, Vol.xvii-xviii.p.228-30.
3. Haloun.-Zur Ue-tsi-Frage. Z.D.M.G.1937.p.252.
4. C.Trever.-Excavations in Northern Mongolia.1932.p.15-25.
5. J.Warner.-Ein Hunnisches lager der HanZeit. tr.Baikalien.

reached this region they were considerably modified in ethnic and cultural character. In their migration period they undoubtedly mixed with various tribes, adopted their culture and built up a civilisation of their own, which was a mixture of Central Asian and European elements. In such circumstances it is not surprising that Maenchen-Helfer finds no close resemblance between this new Hunnish civilisation and the old Hsiung-nu civilisation.

Kalman Némati[1] gives historico-geographical proofs of the identity of the Huns with the Hsiung-nus. His arguments can be summarised as follows :-

1. We find in Strabo's geography the mention of the people called Fauni in the neighbourhood of CHina.
2. The Gothic historians in the Historia Miscella give the information that the paternal stock of the Huns were the forest men who were called Fauni Ficarii.
3. In the history of Jornandes the paternal stock of the Huns does not occur as Fauni-Ficarii, except with the expression Spiritus Immundi (i.e. impure spirits.).This phrase can well mean 'demons'.
4. The Chinese text Tsin-shu refers to the Hsiung-nus as Kwei-fang. Kwei means demons and among the various meanings of'fang', the conception of 'district'is the most important.
5. Thus he concludes that since the folk name fauni besides occurring in Strabo's geography is found also in the Gothic tradition of the paternal

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1. I.A.Q.R.,April 1910.p.352-365.

> stock of the Huns, and since this name both phonetically and metaphorically carries with it the idea of'demon' just as in the Chinese tradition Kwei-fang, another designation of the Hsiung-nu, the meaning of demon is found, it may therefore be assumed as proven that the paternal stock of the Huns played an historical part in country districts to the northern side of the Chinese Great Wall of their time, which is demonstrated by the map of St.Hieron [1].

The Gothic historian Jordanes[2] and Ammianus Marcellinus[3] noted that the Huns were excellent horsemen, and always ready to use the bow and arrow. This nomadic characteristic was also prevalent amongst the Hsiung-nus of the northern frontiers of China[4].Jordanes further gives a detailed sketch of the origin,nature and physiognomy of the Huns. The Huns are described by him as having a "sort of shapeless lump, not a head,with pin-holes rather than eyes... and they grow old beardless." We know certainly that these features,allowing for obvious exaggerations,are characteristic of Mongolian peoples. The informations of Jordanes is supported by the ~~Greek~~ writer Claudian[5], who wrote about the time of the fall of the Roman empire.

In this way various scholars have tried to prove that the Huns who invaded Europe had some ethnological relationship

1. The map of St.Hieron.(B.M.,Ms.No.Add. 10049, f.64.)
2. ~~The~~ Jordanes.-The Gothic History;tr.by C.C.Mierow.p.85-87.
3. Ammianus Marcellinus.-Loeb Classical Library.iii,XXXI.2.7.
4. See above,p.12.
5. Lib. I. vs. 325

with the Hsiung-nus of north China.

The first western author to mention the name of the Huns was Eratosthenes(who died in c.196 B.C.), who was cited by Strabo and who named the four tribes inhabiting Central Asia as the Scythians, the Huns (ΟΥΛΤΙΟΙ) the Caspians and the Albanians[1]. Ptolemy, who lived in the second century A.D.,mentioned the Huns in between the Bastarnes and the Roxolans. Moses of Khoren(traditionally held to be a fifth century author) refers to the Armenian king Tiridate, who with his troops went to the land of the Huns[2]. Zosimus (fifth century writer) writes that they attacked the Scyths on the Ister(Danube) and afterwards spread towards Europe and Asia[3].

The Hun attack on the Goths is related by Jordanes. Crossing the river Don,the Huns attacked the Goths in A.D.374. They were of fearful appearance. We have been told that during this invasion the Huns were led by a leader named Balambir. Tolstov[4] gives information about the ~~xxx~~ excavation in 1954-56 at Igdy-kala on the bank of the river Uzboi,Kanga-kala and Kunya-uaz, where he found the remains of the barbarian

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1. Eratosthenes - Die Geographischen Fragmente; ed by H.Berger, ~~XXXXX~~. p.314,fragm.III.B.63. Strabo. XI.C.513.f.
2. V.Langlois.- Histoire d'Armenie- Moise de Khorene, Bk.2,Ch.85
3. Zosimus.- Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae. ed.by B.G.Niebuhr . 194,10.
4. S.P.Tolstov.-Po drevnim del'tam Oksa i Yaksarta. Moscow, 1962. p.235-36.

Hunnish tribes. The pottery and the fortresses found in Barak-tam(in the northern delta of Akchadarya c.4th, 5th centuries ... of the Christian era.) were, according to him constructed by the Hunnish people.

The Huns then started their attacks on the Roman Empire. Uldis was the first Hunnish ruler, whose name is known as the invader of Rome in A.D.400-408. At the beginning of the fifth century, we meet with the name of a certain Hunnish chief Rua, who was sharing his leadership with his two brothers Mundiuch and Octar. Both of his brothers died a few years before the death of Rua and so Rua enjoyed the uncontested leadership of the Huns for at least two years (A.D.432-34). Rua was succeeded by his two nephews Belda and Attila. In A.D.445 Attila murdered his elder brother Belda and userped the undivided suzerainty. Thenceforward Attila was the sole ruler of this group of Hunnish tribes till he died in A.D.453. Priscus[1] the Roman ambassador to the camp of Attila, has left us some information about the manners and customs of the Huns. Attila's camp, according to him, was made of logs and planks. He had many wives who used to prepare showy dresses for the soldiers. The dinner was served with royal grandeur, starting with the wine. In the evening the king relaxed amidst the music of the courtesans. After the death of Attila his sons proved to be weaklings.

1. Priscus.-Byzantine History;ed by B.G.Niebuhr ..p.203-06

They distributed the inherited empire amongst themselves. But soon started quarrelling. It was during this time, in c.A.D.455, that the Huns were severely defeated by a rebellious Germanic army under Ardaric, along the banks of an unknown river Nedao in Pannonia. Ellac, the elder son of Attila, was killed in this conflict, and Ernac, the younger son fled to outlying parts of Scythia minor. Thus the continuous fear of the troublesome Huns in Europe came to an end.

The Huns in Persia:

The Hunnic tribes arround the Persian border can be divided into numerous hordes,e.g.the Tchols, in the north of Gurgan, the Kidarites, in the east of Talakan, and the Ephthalites of Tokharistan[1] and Bactria.Among all these divisions, the Ephthalites or the White Huns were the most prominent. Abulfeda[2] in the geography states that Warwaliz is the capital of Tokharistan, which was the home of Hayalitah(Ephthalites) in older times. This was the ancient teritory, called by the Chinese,Ta-hsia. The Trans-Oxiana people were known to Firdusi by the name Haital[3]. The Ephthalites have been known in history by different names. The Arab and Persian writers called them Heyatel[4],Hayatalah[5]

1. i.e. Tu-hu-lo, in the west of mountain Ts'ong-ling and to the south of river Oxus:(ref.:Chavannes.-Documents sur les Tou-kiue Occidentaux.p.155.)
2. M.Reinaud.-Geographie d'Abulfeda.tom.IIpt.2.p.207. 1848
3. M.J.Mohl.-Firdusi.1877-78.(Ms.inedits de la Bib.Nat.,Paris) VI,iii,89,97;VII,77,145,etc.
4. Zotenberg.- Tabari,pt.2,Ch.XXV,p.133.
5. Rehatsek -Mirkhond -Rauzat-us-safa. 1892 .pt.I.vol.ii.p.363.

and Heiathel.[1] Menander calls them Ephthalitae[2]. The other form of the name of Ephthalites is Nephthalite, given by Theophone the chronograph[3] and Cedrenus[4]. Theophylactes Simocatta gave them the name Abdele which is the same as Ephthal or Ephthalite[5]. According to the Armenian writer Elise Vardaped, of the fifth century, the land in the east of the Caspian sea was inhabited by the Hephthalite Huns.[6] Lazarus of Pherb(fifth century)[7] called them Hephthal. Michael(a Syrian writer of the ninth century) named the people Hunni Neuthalitae.[8] Oriental writers often designate them by the general term Turk or Hun[9]. It is the term White Hun or simply Hun which points to the fact that the Ephthalites considered themselves as a part of the Hunnish people. And yet their real ethnic origin is shrouded in confusion, not because we find no references to them in the old documents but owing to the contradictory character of these ancient references. In ancient days, historians and especially eastern historians were not very particular about the strict use of the ethnic terms.

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1. Meynard.- Dictionnaire Geographique historique de la Perse. p.75. 1861.
2. Menander Protector. - Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae; ed. by B.G.Niebuhr. . p.295. 1829.
3. Theophone Chronograph. ; ed. by B.H.Niebuhr. .(Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae.) p.188, 14. 1839.
4. Georgius Cedrenus.- ibid, i.p.623. 1838.
5. Theophylactus Simocatta. ibid . p.282. 1834.
6. V.Langlois. op.cit. p.186.
7. ibid. p.350-51.
8. Michael Attaliota ; ed by B.G.Niebuhr. .(Corpus Scriporum Historiae Byzantinae)pp43,21. 1853.
9. Deguignes.-Histoire Générale des Hun.p.325.

Just as the terms Turk, Śaka or Scythian were used without rigidity to describe ethnic stocks, whc, in reality were completely different from each other, so in the same manner the word Hun was used in classical or oriental documents.

From the seventeenth century onwards scholars have been trying to solve this problem. The Ephthalites were noticed for the first time in 1697 when D'Herbelot published his Bibliothèque Orientale and wrote about the Haitelah or Ephthalites[1]. Then Assemani mentioned these people ~~xxxxxx~~ in his Bibliotheca Orientalis published in 1719-28[2]. But no serious study of them could be made until Deguignes attracted the attention of other scholars to them by his work Histoire Générale des Huns[3]. Then gradually various theories regarding the origin of the Ephthalites were put forward. Gibbon[4] propagated the theory that they were related to the Huns of Europe, but their identity was denied ny Rawlinson[5]

About the origin of the Ephthalites the testimony of Chinese chronicles is quite important. But the difficulty is that they do not present any unanimous opinion. Moreover,

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1. B.D'Herbelot.-Bibliothèque Orientale,2d.ed.A.La Haye.p.179.1777
2. ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~. Vol.iv. p.872.
3. op.cit.tom.I,ii.p.282,325.
4. Gibbon.- The Decline and fall of Roman Empire; 5thed.. iii, p.91-92.
5. Rawlinson.-Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy.p.295.p 1876.

their descriptions are sometimes vague and based on arbitrary identifications. Liang-shu (Bk.54) states that the Ephthalites originated from the Che-shih tribes and gives their direct ancestor as Pa-hua the son of Nung-ch'i. But it is explicit enough as Enoki[1] has pointed out, that they based their statement only upon the imaginative identification of the name Hua by which the Ephthalites were known under the Liang, with the Pa-hua. Another theory of their origin connects them with the K'ang-chü; this is based on the information given by Wei-shih in the Hsi-fan-chi. But besides this information the same text admits that the origin of the Ephthalites was in fact not certain and it is almost impossible to decide it.

The next theory is that identifying the Ephthalites with the Ta-yüeh-chih. This is derived from various Chinese sources. St.Martin[2], on the basis of the information given by the Encyclopaedia of Ma-touan-lin propagated this theory of the origin of the Epnthalites, who were known to the Chinese as Ye-tha,from the Ta-yüeh-chih tribe. He thought that the Yüeh-chih,whose original home was in Tangout (the modern Tibet),and the Ye-tha were the same people. His conception is supported by the Chinese

1. K.Enoki.-On the Nationality of the Ephthalites. Toyo Bunko.1959.p.1.
2. St.Martin.-Les Huns Blancs ou Ephthalites.p.52.1849.

chronicles. Moreover it is explicitely mentioned by the Chinese annalists that the language of the Ephthalites was completely different from those of the Jouan-jouan and Gaogü who were the descendents of the Huns and the ancestors of the Uighurs - which were Turkish ones. If the Ye-thas did not speak either a Mongolian or a Turkish language what language did they use? According to Ghirshman[1], they used a language of the Iranian family, as can be proved by the names found on their coins. St Martin believed that their language was related to Tibetan. In further support of his view he gives a sociological argument. It is well known that polyandry prevailed in Ye-tha society and this is still manifest in Tibet[2]. This prevalent custom may also strengthen the view that the Ye-thas were of the Tibetan origin and related to the Yüeh-chih tribe, which originated from the same region.

The theory of St.Martin was accepted by Reinaud[3], Von Richthofen[4], Kingsmill[5] and Drouin[6] but was criticised by scholars like Specht[7] and Nöldeke[8]. Specht puts forward the

1. R.Ghirshman.-Les Chionites Hephthalites, p.117. 1948.
2. M.Klaproth;tr.& ed..- Description of Tibet(Fr.ed.)(tr.from Chinese text in Russian by P.Hyacinthe).p.90. 1837.
3. J.T.Reinaud.-Mem.sur l'Inde. p.81-103. 1849.
4. F.F.von Richthofen.-China. Vol.I,p.439. 1877.
5. T.W.Kingsmill.- Migration and early history of the White Huns. J.R.A.S.,1878. p.285.
6. E. Drouin.-Memoire sur les Huns-Blancs.p.8-14. 1895.
7. E.Specht.-Etudes sur l'Asie centrale d'apres les Histoire Chinoise. J.A.1883,II.p.335.
8. T.Nöldeke.-Geschichte der Sasaniden. 1879.p.115.n.2.

view that Ye-tha was not their original name. It is the abbreviation of the full original name: Ye-ta-i-li-to, which easily corresponds to Ephthalite. In the history of the Liang it is clearly stated that Ye-ta-i-li-to was the king of the tribe named Hua. They were a nomadic tribe. They did not know the use of money and they practised polyandry, whereas we know that the Yüeh-chihs knew the use of money and we have no evidence that their women had more than one husband. These are not the only arguments to contradict St. Martin's theory, for we have other positive proofs to indicate that the Ephthalites were not different from the Huns. Elise[1] many times uses the word Hounk[2] to designate the Ephthalites. Abulfeda[3] also mentions the Ephthalites under the name Hunih. Theophylactus Simocatta[4] does not differentiate in his use of the names Ephthalites and Huns. Procopius[5] said 'the Ephthalites are the Hunnish race and bear the Hunnish name'. Stein[6] argues that the fact that the Ephthalites in India were designated Hūṇas, indicates that they accepted their Hun affinity.

Thus, after a brief survey of the various theories, about the origin of the Ephthalites, it is now clear that

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1. V.Langlois.-Histoire d'Armenie:Elise Vardaped,p.186,206,208,&c
2. The 'K' of 'Hounk' signifies the plural form in Armenian.
3. M.Reinaud. Geographie d'Abulfeda.Tom.II,pt2,p.194,207,212.
4. Theophylactus Simocatta: ed.by B.G.Niebuhrii.(Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae),p.282.
5. Procopius.- De Bello Persico. I.3.
6. A.Stein.-White Huns and kindred tribes. I.A.,1905.p.83-84.

until further evidence for their origin is discovered, it is impossible to accept any theory as beyond criticism.'In view of the whole situation',McGovern[1] remarks,'however,especially because of the fact that the word Hun was a general rather than a specific term, and always included peoples of widely different racial and linguistic stocks, we may well let the Ephthalites remain in the general category of the Huns.' There is no doubt that , while living in the same regions with the Huns, there may have been a considerable admixture of the blood of these two people. But it is wrong to assume that the European Huns and the Ephthalites were one and the same people. Procopius[2] says that, though the Ephthalites were Huns 'they are different from the Huns we know'. Ephthalite culture and civilisation were definitely more advanced than those of the Huns who invaded Europe. Their complexion was fairer and their physiognomy more attractive than that of the Huns[3]. These differences may easily be due to the wide mixture of various bloods and contact with various peoples, during their long migration from the East to the West.

Next comes another tribe named Chionitae, who fought with Persia from the time of Shapur II. The question

1. McGovern.-The early Empires of Central Asia. p.406.
2. Procopius.- De Bello Persico.I.3.-Procopii Caesariensis Opera Omnia; ed.by G.Wirth. i.De.Bellis Libri.I-IV. 1963.
3. Ibid.

arises whether they were a branch of the Huns or not ? Cunningham[1] and Christensen[2] believe that they were the remnants of the Kuṣāṇas in the north west frontier of India. But Ammianus Marcellinus[3] makes a clear cut distintion between the Chionitae and the Euseni, and the latter we believe were most probably Kuṣāṇas. On the contrary we suggest that the Chionitae were akin to Ephthalites or Huns and not Kuṣāṇas. To prove it we can quote Ammianus' description of the funeral rites of the Chionitae, at the time of the death of Grumbates' son[4]. The funeral custom of'beating the breast in their wonted manner' can be reasonably equated with the Central Asian funeral rites as described by Hsüan-tsang and with the Hūṇa funeral customs given by Kālidāsa[5]. Moreover there is an Ephthalite coin bearing a head wearing a diadem in a complete imitation of Shapur II's crown, with the inscription in debased Greek [6].Cunningham[7] could not give any reading of the coin. The first word was read by Herzfeld[8] as beginning with 'X' and probably with . He believed that it corresponded either to the name Grumbates

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1. Cunningham.- N.Ch. 1893. p.93-166.
2. A.Christensen.-L'Iran sous les Sassanides. p.282. 1936.
3. Ammianus Marcellinus.-The Loeb Classical Library Vol.I.xvi. 9.4.
4. Ibid. xix.1.11.
5. See below p.75-76
6. See Appendix-I, p.316-17 and pl.I,fig.1.
7. op.cit. N.Ch. 1893. p.93-166.
8. E.Herzfeld.-Arch.Surv.Ind.Mem.38. 1930.p.19.

or to the title Khaqan. the second word was read by him as 'OIONO', corresponding to Avestan Hyaona and Latin Chionitae. We propose that the first word was 'XIONOOΘ' i.e. Chionite. About the second word we cannot be absolutely certain - it is either'OZONO' or'OIONO'. The latter reading as supported by Herzfeld, may be more sound. In that case 'OIONO' may easily be the corrupt form of Hiono, as ooнpko stands for Huviṣka, with the initial 'H' corrupted into simple'O'. If the reading is correct we can read the coin 'Chionite Hiono'. The coin thus corroborates our hypothesis that the Chionitae were Hiono or Hūṇas and not Kuṣāṇas. Ghirshman[1] accepts the view that the Chionitae were Ephthalite Huns. He refers to the text of Liang-shu which says that Ye-ta-i-li-to was the name of the king of the people called Hua. Later in the history of the Wei dynasty the word Hua is written like Hua-tun. Ghirshman thinks that it stands for H+un, that is Hion or Hun.

These different Central Asian Hunnish tribes had numerous conflicts with the Sassanian kings of Persia. Ammianus Marcellinus[2] says that in c.A.D.354 Shapur II was involved in wars with the wild tribes on his frontiers, who, with inconsistent policy, often made hostile raids upon his territories, but sometimes aided him when he made wars upon Romans. Shapur spent the winter in the territory of Chionitae

1.R.Ghirshman.-Les Chionitaes-Hephthalites. 1948. p.69-74.115.
2.Ammianus Marcellinus. xvi.9,3-4.

and Euseni, then succeeded in making a treaty with the Chionitae and Gelani, who were the fiercest of warriors[1]. The fact that Shapur spent winter on the eastern frontiers is confirmed by an inscription at Persepolis[2], dated in the year 48 of Shapur II(i.e., A.D.356). In this inscription Slok, the high judge of Kabul, prays for the safe return of Shapur II to Kabul. The Chionitae fought under Shapur II during his war with Rome. At the siege of Amida, Ammianus Marcellinus says that Shapur II was accompanied by Grumbates, the king of the Chionitae. This battle cost the life of Grumbates' son, whereupon the city was burnt to avenge the death of the prince[3].

The relations of these barbarian tribes with the Sassanians probably remained quite cordial for sometime after the treaty of Shapur with Grumbates, for we find no reference to any disturbances created by them till the reign of Bahram Gur. The only possible exception, as Wilson[4] has suggested, was during the time of Shapur III. He was entitled 'the warlike', and as his relations with Rome were peaceful, he may have indulged his martial propensities at the expense of his Eastern neighbours. Otherwise a long period elapsed before the hostile barbarians again broke the peace and the Sassanians were forced to pay full attention to them.

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1. Ammianus Marcellinus. xvii.5.1.
2. Herzfled – Paikuli. 1924. I. p. 12.; H. S. Nyberg.- A Manual of Pahlavi. 1964 ff. I (Pahlavi Text.)
3. Op. cit. xix. 1.i.3.5-11.
4. Wilson.- Ariana Antiqua, p.387.

Bahram Gur (c.A.D.420-438) was the first victim to suffer the rage of their expansion. Mirkhond[1], who writes a detailed description of this war, described it as an invasion of the Khaqan of China. This ruler, having crossed the Jaihun plundered Eran and marched victoriously up to Merv. Bahram Gur was informed of their advance but left his capital and government in the hands of his brother and, having lost his senses, hurried away on a hunting expedition. The plundering Khaqan continued his expedition till he reached the province of Rai. The Persian officers of the government, frightened by the disaster despatched an ambassador to persuade the Khaqan to return with the offered tribute. Hearing the news, the Khaqan halted his advance and was prepared to return quietly. Suddenly Bahram, who was ready and waiting in ambush, ordered his cavalry to make a lightning attack on the army of the Khaqan, defeated the enemy and killed him. To complete his victory he followed his enemies across the Oxus and showed such marvellous bravery and prudence that the enemy never dared to invade Persia again during the remainder of Bahram's long reign. Marquart[2] ascribes this invasion of Persia in the reign of Barham Gur to the Chionitae. Nöldeke[3] and McGovern[4] think that it was the

1. Mirkhond. tr. by Rehatsek. 1892. Vol.II,pt. 1.p.357.
2. Marquart. - Eransahr. p.57.
3. Nöldeke.- Études Historiques sur la Perse ancienne.p.161-63.
4. McGovern.- The early Empires of Central Asia. p.409-10.

Ephthalite or White Hun King who attacked Bahram Gur. But as we have identified the Ephthalites with the Chionites[1] we find no distinction between the views of the above scholars.

Bahram was succeeded on the throne by his son Yazdigird(c.A.D.438-57). During his period, especially from A.D.443 to 451, fights with the barbarians occurred quite often. But on most occasions the Sassanians took the offensive role. Christensen[2] and Marquart[3] believe that Yazdigird defeated the Hunnish tribe of Tchols, who were living in the north of Gorgo in about the second half of the fifth century and in the conqured land he established a town called Shahristān-i-Yazdgard. McGovern[4] thinks that the people with whom Yazdigird fought were Ephthalites(White Huns). These wars did not lead to a permanent expansion of territory on either side till A.D.454, when Yazdigird embarked upon a new invasion of the Ephthalite territories, and was ambushed, escaping only after a heavy defeat. The death of Yazdigird in A.D.457 opened a new era in the relations between Sassanians and Ephthalites, for after this the Ephthalites became more offensive and powerful and occupied the place of principal interest in Sassanian politics. Yazdigird left behind him his two sons Firoz and Hormuzd.

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1. See above, p. 38.39
2. A.Christensen.-L'Iran sous les Sassanides. 1936. p.282.
3. Marquart.- Eransahr. p.56.
4. McGovern.- The Early Empires of Central Asia. 1939. p.410-11.

Hormuzd, in the absence of his elder brother Firoz, occupied the throne. Hearing of this usurpation Firoz departed to the country of the Ephthalites to crave assistance, stating that his father had unjustly appointed Hormuzd as the king. On condition of leaving Turan with its dependencies in his possession, the White Hun Chief supported the cause of Firoz and sent one thousand mercenaries to help him. Hormuzd was vanquished by the army of Firoz and the latter ascended the throne with feelings of gratitude towards the Ephthalites which he showed by sending presents to them[1]. During this time the Ephthalites were under the rule of their king Khusnevaz[2], the high minded, whose empire extended according to Tabari[3] from Gurjistan(Khvarism) to Tokharistan including Balkh(Bactriana) and Badakshan[4]. Dinawari states that Zabulistan was also seized by the Ephthalites[5]. Firoz, who possessed an adventurous character, was not content, with his treaty with them, for in it he was given a position inferior to that of Khusnevaz. So in spite of all the objections raised by his officers and all the advice given by his well-wishers, he determined to attack the Ephthalites. Tabari, Mirkhond and Procopius are the main sources for the story of this invasion. Tabari[6] and Mirkhond[7] give the account of the

1. Mirkhond.- tr. by Rehatsek. p.363.
2. Khusnevaz was called by Theophane of Byzantine as Ephthalans
3. Zotenberg.- Chronique de Tabari.pt.2.p.131-34.
4. Menander says that Sogdiana surrendered to Hephthalites (Fragm. Hist. Graec.iv.p.225.)
5. Nöldeke .-Geschichte der Perser und Araber,p.159.note 1.
6. Op.cit.p.134.
7. Op. cit p.365-

first battle of Firoz with Khusnevaz, thus - 'Once to escape the oppression of Khusnevaz, a group of people came under the protection of Firoz. Firoz hearing their grievances, wrote to the Ephthalite king telling him not to behave tyrannically towards the poor. But Khusnevaz paid no attention to the appeal of the messanger. Four years elapsed. Then Firoz mobilized a great army and led it against the Ephthalites. When Firoz reached Merv, one of the Ephthalite officers put forward a plan to their king. He told the king to cut off his hands and feet and leave him in the path of Firoz's advance, when the Persian king arrived he would lead them into the desert,after winning the Persians' confidence by persuading them that he had been mutilated and left to die by Khusnevaz because he had dared to give him unacceptable advice. Everything was done according to this plan. When Firoz's army arrived at the spot where the mutilated officer lay, Firoz asked him how he had come to be in this lamentable condition. The Ephthalite replied that he had been punished because he had advised Khusnevaz not to oppress the people. Firoz felt pity for him. The man suggested that if they would carry him he would show them a way through the desert which would lead the army to the country of the Ephthalites within five days. Firoz without any suspicion of treachery followed the man, with his army, through the desert. The days passed by and, whenever asked

about the distance,'not very far now' was the reply. Thus twenty days passed. Many of the Persian army were dying of thirst. The soldiers became suspicious but they dared not speak for fear of Firoz. At last the man without hands and feet himself died. Firoz found himself in the midst of calamity. Most of his soldiers were already dead or dying. Only he and a few officers succeeded in saving themselves by reaching a small village. Firoz had now no strength to attack Khusnevaz and so he opened negotiations. A column was erected to mark the boundary line between the two nations and Firoz promised not to transgress it in future." The same type of story of Firoz's disaster was related by Procopius[1], who said that the army of Firoz was trapped in a forest surrounded on three sides by hills, by the army of Khusnevaz, which pretended to retreat before Firoz. These stories show that Firoz was defeated and lost his army in his first attack on the Ephthalites. But the shame which he suffered in that disaster pained him, and he waited to find an excuse to take revenge. During the later part of Firoz's reign the Ephthalite army took up position at Gorgo on the frontier of Persia. So Firoz collected a powerful army and marched against the Ephthalites. All his sons joined him, except the youngest, Kubad, who was left behind. The Ephthalite king again planned to win the war by treachery. He dug a deep and wide trench but in the centre he left a small portion of ground intact, enough to serve as a way for ten horses. Over the trench he

1. Procopius.-I.iv. 1-15.; ~~Mirkhond.-tr.by Rehatsek. p.365.~~

placed reeds and covered them with a layer of earth... When he heard that the Persians had reached the city of Gorgo and were advancing against his army he sent forward a small detachment with instructions to allow themselves to be seen at a distance by the enemy, and when once they had been seen, to flee at full speed, keeping in mind his command concerning the trench. They did as they were instructed. The Persians gave chase at full speed - and fell with their horses into the trench. Every man of them, even the officers in charge, the princes and Firoz himself fell into it and died[1]. This story is also alluded by Lazarus of Pherb[2]. After the death of Firoz, according to Tabari, his favourite general, Souferai, proceded to take vengeance on Khusnevaz. His troops killed the Ephthalite vanguards with their arrows and Khusnevaz was compelled to retreat. Souferai succeeded in recapturing all the booty previously seized by Khusnevaz, and then returned[3]. This story of the Persian victory is not given by other authors. Mirkhond says that after hearing of the defeat and death of Firoz, Sukher, his general came with his army and made a peace treaty with Khusnevaz[4]. On the other hand Procopius stated that after Firoz, Kubad, the youngest and only surviving prince, was enthroned and Persia

1. Procopius.- I.IV. 1-15.; Mirkhond.- tr. by Rehatsek. p.365.
2. V.Langlois.- Faustus of Byzantium. II.p.351.
3. Zotenberg.- tr. of Tabari. p.134.
4. Mirkhond.- tr. by Rehatsek. p.365 32-35.

became subject and tributary to the Ephthalites[1].
Most modern authorities,prominent amongst them Christensen believe that these stories, incredible in their details, imply that owing to the defeat of Firoz, Persia lost the provinces of Merv-i-rud and Herat, and was forced to pay an annual tribute[2].

Firoz was succeeded by his son Kubad. Procopius[3] states that Kubad became highhanded in his administration, with the result that people rebelled against him and chose his uncle Ballash as king. Kubad was kept in prison, but with the help of his wife, managed to escape. He took refuge with the Ephthalites and made an abortive attempt to seize the throne. He married the daughter of the Ephthalite chief, who welcomed Kubad quite cordially, but it was not until three years after his arrival that he succeeded in getting military help from the Ephthalites. Then he preceded against Ballash. But no war ensued, for Ballash opportunely died in A.D.487 and Kubad was then recognised as the monarch of Persia. He continued to pay annual tribute to the Ephthalites in order to maintain peace with them. According to Procopius[4], some time later Kubad was unable to pay the king of the Ephthalites this tribute and he therefore requested the Roman emperor Anastasius to lend him the money. The friends of the Roman

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1. Procopius.- De Bello Persico. I.IV. 32-35.
2. Christensen.-Iran sous les Sassanides. p.289.
3. Procopius.- De Bello Persico. I.V. 1-3; VI.10-12.
4. Ibid. I.VII. 1-3.

king pointed out that he should not make such a loan, for it would strengthen the friendship between his enemies and the Ephthalites. It was for this reason that Kubad broke the eighty years peace with Rome. This Perso- Roman war was followed by another war with the Ephthalites, about which we lack details. But it seems that from now on the Ephthalites gradually ceased to be of primary importance in the politics of Persia. During the period of Noshirwan, the Ephthalites appear once again in connection with Persia, though not as invaders but as defenders.

The fact that during the later part of the reign of Kubad the Ephthalites became uninterested in Persia suggests that they had found some other outlet for their expansion. It can be thought that they became involved in the politics of the North Western frontier of India. It is evident from the history of the Liang[1] that the Hua (tribal name of the Ephthalites) carried their arms not only to Persia but to other countries including Kapiśā, Kārāshahr, Kāshgar, Bai and Khotan. The text Pei-shih[2] corroborates the vast empire of the Ephthalites and states that Sogdiana, Khotan, Kāshgar and Bukhara also submitted to their supremacy. The same source further enumerates a few more countries occupied by the Ephthalites : Kougiar, Wakhan, Zebak and Gandhāra. Thus these Chinese sources provide us with the

1. Liang-shu. Ch.LIV.p.13 . Ref.: Chavannes.- Documents sur
2. Pei-shih. Ch.XCVII.p.11 . les Tou-kiue.p.224-25.

most helpful evidence to prove that the Ephthalites gradually conquered the whole Oxus valley and then proceeded to Gandhara i.e. the North Western frontier of India.

C H A P T E R - I

ORIGIN AND ETHNOLOGY OF HŪṆAS OF INDIA

Hūṇa is undoubtedly the Sanskritised form of the Western Hun. But the Hun people in themselves contained a great variety of racial types, with prominent ethnic differences and can be identified as numerous distinctive hordes. The Hsiung-nu of China, the Hyon of the Avesta, the Hun of Europe, the Ephthalite or Chionite (χιονες, χιωνες, OIONO) of Persia, the Xun of Sogdia, the Hwn of Chorasm, the Hon of Armenia were all known as Huns, yet they differed considerably from each other. Procopius[1] in his History of the Wars differentiated clearly between them

The varities of the Hūṇas, based probably on ethnological differences, were recognised by the ancient Indian scholars as well. We have in Indian literature references to Śveta - Hūṇa or Hāra Hūṇa. The words Hāra and Śveta, with the variants Hala and Sita, as applied to the Hūṇas, are found chiefly in the Bṛhat Saṁhitā and in the Mahābhārata.

The Bṛhat Saṁhitā in various ślokas enumerates certain tribal people on the north and north western frontiers of India, amongst whom are the Hūṇas, sometimes accompanied by the adjectives Hāra and Śveta. We quote some examples.

1. Procopius.-History of the Wars.(Loeb Classical Library) Vol.I,Ch.III,p.2-7.

While commenting on the influence of the comets Varāhamihira refers to the Śveta Hūṇas, who, he says, will be unhappy, if the tails of the comets are crossed by the fall of the meteors[1]. Later while describing the 'countries of the Earth, beginning from the centre of Bhāratavarṣa and going round'[2] he refers to the Hala Hūṇas in the north of India[3]. Elsewhere Varāhamihira tells the influence of planets on different tribes. In this context he says that Ketu presides over the Pahlavas, Śveta Hūṇas, Colas, Avagānas, Maru Cīnas and the land of the Mlecchas[4].

In the same way, while referring to the tribes of the north and north western frontier of India, the Mahābhārata mentions the Hāra Hūṇas or simply Hūṇas. Thus Duryodhana after his return from the capital of Yudhiṣṭhira, describes the latter's prosperity. In that context he says that the Hāra Hūṇas and the other tribal peoples were waiting at his door and being refused permission to enter[5]. Further during Nakula's pratīcī(western) conquest the name of the Hāra Hūṇas occurs again with that of other tribes - Ramaṭhān hārahūṇāmśca pratīcyāścaiva ye nṛpāḥ tānsarvānsa vaśecakre śāsanādeva Pāṇḍavāḥ[6].

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1. ch.XI.śl.61.
2. ch.XIV.śl.1
3. ch.XIV.śl.27.
4. ch.XVI.śl.38.
5. Mahābhārata.-Poona ed.-Sabhāparva.Dyutaparva.Adhyaya 47, śl.19.
6. Ibid.-Sabhāparva.Digvijayaparva.Adhyāya.29. śl.11.

The Mahābhārata counts the name Hūṇa among the barbarous peoples created from the froth of the mouth of Vaśiṣṭha's cow[1]. The word Hāra Hūṇa occurs in some other Indian literature, with the variant Hāra Hūṇa. But in these cases the Hāra Hūṇa has a completely different meaning. Kautilya[2] dealing with intoxicating drinks, named Hāra Hūṇa -

mṛdvikā - raso madhu; tasya svadeśo vyākhyānam Kāpīśyāyanaṁ hārahūrakam iti.

"The juice of grapes is termed Madhu. Its own native place (svadeśa) is the commentary on such of its various form as Kāpiśāyana and hārahūraka."

In Hemacandra Koṣa we find the mention of the word Hāra Hūra as an intoxicating drink:

Śuṇḍā hālā hārahūraṁ prasannā vāruṇī surā[3].

and again: -

mṛdvikā hārahūra ca gakṣura sktatrikaṇṭakaḥ
svadaṁṣṭrāsthalaśṛṁgāṭogirikarṇyaparājitāḥ.[4]

The origin and meaning of the words Hāra Hūṇa and Śveta Hūṇa is suggested by Sir H.W.Bailey[5]. He has shown that in Bahman Yasht - Karmir Hyon and Spet Hyon come side by side. Karmir means red and Spet white and thus these two adjectives differentiate between red Huns and

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1. Mahābhārata; Poona ed. Ādiparva, Adhyāya 165, śl.36.
2. Kautilya's Arthaśāstra. Bk.II, Ch.25.
3. Hemacandra Koṣa. Kāṇḍa III, śl.567.
4. Ibid. Kāṇḍa IV. śl.222.
5. Bailey. -Hārahūṇa. Asiatica, 1954. pp.12-16 ; B.S.O.A.S., 1932. p.945.

White Huns. The identification of the Indian Śveta Hūṇa with the Persian Spet Hyon is quite probable. This Karmir Hyon can be reasonably equated with the Pazand Xarmara hayun, Greek ΚΕΡΜΙΧΙΩΝΕΣ, and ΕΡΜΙΟΝΕΣ of Theophanes (6th century). Bailey further points out that in the Avesta there is another word Harəda, meaning red, which is probably equivalent to Hāra, also meaning red. And he suggests that the Hāra Hūṇas of Indian sources are the Karmir Hyon of the Avesta. Another [illegible] parallel theory was produced by Marquart[2] and supported by Pelliot[3], Renou, Filliozat[4] and Lévi[5]. They all think that the word Hāra is corrupt form of the Turkish word qāra, meaning black. Whether it is derived from the Avestan Harəda or Turkish qāra, it is clear that the word Hāra was originally meaning coloured (red or black). On the basis of this discussion, it can be said that Indians and Persians regarded the Hūṇas as divided in two groups - coloured Huns and White Huns.

This division of the Hūṇas was not arbitrarily made. If we look at the records of the European writers, it will be clear enough that they also knew these divisions of this tribe. They made a clear cut distinction between the Huns

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2. J.Marquart.- Uber des Volkstun der Komanen. p.70-71.
3. P.Pelliot. J.A. 1920.i.p.140.
4. L.Renou & J.Filliozat.-L'Inde Classique.1947.p.254.
5. S.Lévi. B.E.F.E.O.,ii.p.250.

who invaded Europe and the Hunnish tribes who struggled with Persia.

The poet Claudian[1], who wrote about the time of the fall of the Roman Empire, gives a sketch of the Huns. "The Huns are a tribe who live on the extreme eastern borders of Scythia, beyond frozen Tanais; most infamous of all the children of the north. Hideous to look upon/their faces are and loathsome their bodies, but indefatigable is their spirit. The chase supplies their food; bread they will not eat. They love to slash their faces and hold it a rightous act to swear by their murdered parents.... Disorderly, but of incredible swiftness, they often return to the fight when little expected." The Gothic writer Jordanes, gives a detailed sketch of the origin, nature and physiognomy of the Hūṇas. He says "Filimer, king of the Goths, who invaded Scythia with his tribe, found among his people certain evil women who were called Halirunnae. Suspecting these women he expelled them from the midst of his race and compelled them to wonder in solitary exile afar from his army. There the unclean spirits who beheld them as they wandered through the wilderness, bestowed their embraces upon them and begot this savage race, which dwelt at first in the swamps - a stunted, foul and puny tribe, scarcely human, and having no language, save one which bore but slight resemblance to human speech.

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1. Claudian.-The Loeb Classical Library. tr.by M.Platnauer. I,p.49.(Original ref.:Libre I.vs.325)

Such was the descent of the Huns, who came to the country of the Goths ... By the terror of their features they inspired great fear in those whom perhaps they did not really surpass in war. They made their foes hec in horror, because their swarthy aspect was fearful and they had a sort of shapeless lump, not a head, with pinholes rather than eyes. Their hardihood is evident in their wild appearance and they are beings who are cruel to their children on the very day they are born. For they cut the cheeks of the males with a sword so that, before they receive the nourishment of milk, they must learn to endure wounds. Hence they grow old beardless and their young men are without comeliness, because a face furrowed by the sword spoils by its scars the natural beauty of a beard. They are short in stature, alert horsemen, broad shouldered, ready in the use of bow and arrows and have firm-set necks, which are ever erect in pride. Though they live in the form of men, they have the cruelty of the wild beasts.[1]

The same description is given by Ammianus Marcellinus. He refers to a tribe of Huns dwelling beyond the Maeotic sea. "The cheeks of their children were deeply furrowed with steel, from their very birth, in order that the growth of hair, when it appears at the proper time,

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1. Jordanes.- The Gothic History; tr.in Eng.by C.C.Mierow. 1915. p.85,87.

may be checked by the wrinkled scars. They grow old without beards and without any beauty, like eunuchs. They all have compact limbs, thick necks, and are ugly and mishapen. But they are hardy in their mode of life. They have no need of fire,nor of savoury food, but eat the roots of the wild plants and the half raw flesh of any kind of animal; this they put between their thighs and the back of their horses, and thus warm it a little ... When they have once put their necks into a faded tunic it is ~~it is~~ not taken off or changed until by long wear or tear it has been reduced to rags and fallen from them bit by bit. They cover their heads with round caps and protect their hairy legs with goatskins. Their shoes are not formed upon lasts and so prevent their walking with free steps. For this reason they are not at all adapted to battles on foot but are almost glued to their horses, which are hardy, it is true, but ugly. From their horses by day and night every one of that nation buys and sells, eats and drinks and,bowed over the narrow neck of their animal, relaxes into sleep. And when deliberation is called for about weighty matters they all consult in that fashion(i.e. on horseback). They are subject to no royal restraint but they are content with the disorderly government of their important men. No one in their country ever ploughs a field. They are all without

fixed abodes, without hearth or law or settled mode of life, and keep roaming from place to place accompanied with their wagons in which their wives live and cohabit with their husbands. In truces they are faithless and unreliable; like unreasoning beasts they are utterly ignorant of the differences between right and wrong and ambiguous in speech, never bound by any reverence for religion, and superstition. They burn with an infinite thirst for gold and they are so fickle and prone to anger that they often quarrel with their allies[1]."

The description tallies surprisingly with that of Jordanes especially in the details concerning physiognomy and they may have had a common source of information. There is no doubt that both authors are describing the same horde of Huns in Europe. But this does not imply that the Huns of Europe had no varieties in themselves. Ammianus makes the distinction between this horde of Huns and the other Hunnic horde named Halani(or sometimes known as Massagetae). He states that "the Halani were also Huns but were less savage in their manner of life and their habits. These Halani in a barbarious manner worshipped a naked sword as the god of war[2]." About the difference between the Huns and the Massagetae,

1. Ammianus Marcellinus.iii,xxi, .2,1-12.
2. Ibid. xxxi. .2.13,21-23.

Procopius also gives detailed accounts. He says that during his period they were called Huns[1]. They had a great love of wine[2]. They fought in the army of Aetius[3] and joined the army of Belisarius in his African expedition[4]. He mentions the Huns(i.e. the Massagetae) under the Roman army of Constantinus[5]. As the chief characteristics of the Massagetae he gives two features - that they do not give any heed to bodily comforts ; and that they are at all times covered with filth[6]. There are more references to them in relation to Rome, which we need not notice here.

On the other hand the Hunnish tribes in Persia were never described as having ugly looks and a terrifying appearance. Procopius[7] emphasises the fact that the Ephthalites or the White Huns, though they were of the stock of the Huns, in fact as well as in name, did not mingle with the Huns of Europe. They were located against the Persian frontier in the city of Gorgo and were not nomads like the other Hunnic people. They differed from the Huns of Europe in their appearance. The colour of their skin was white and their countenances were not ugly. They did

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1. Procopius. III,XI,9,
2. Ibid.III. XII. 8.
3. Ibid. III. IV. 24.
4. Ibid. III. XI.11;XII.8-10;XVII.3;XVIII.3,12,17;XIX.18,33; IV.XVIII.2.
5. Ibid. V.III.15;V.4;XXVII.2-27;VI.1.4-10.
6. ibid. VII.XIV. 28.
7. Ibid. I.III. 2-7.

not live in the manner of their kinsmen. They did not lead a savage life, but were ruled by a king, were guided by a lawful constitution and observed right and justice.

These preliminary discussions permit us to think that the people called Huns in ancient days were divided distinctly into two broad groups. The one was ferocious completely nomadic, and ugly in appearamce, where as the other was more civilised, whiter in complexion, and of manly physique. The former horde had no kings, laws or constitutions of their own, whereas the latter group had regular rulers and observed law and order.

Now the question arises as to whether these Hunnish people were Mongolian, as can be supposed from the documents of Claudian, Jordanes and Ammianus, or whther they belong to some other ethnic group. The theory of their Mongolian origin is also strengthened by the linguistic sources discussed by ~~such~~ such scholars as Shiratori, Bergmann, Bichurin etc. Shiratori at first propagated the Hsiung-nu Turk theory[1] but afterwards changed his views and now believes that the Hsiung-nus were a Mongolian people[2]. Shiratori takes such Hsiung-nu words from the Chinese annals as the Che-ki and the Ts'ien-han-shu and tries to decide whether these words can be derived from Mongolian ,Turkish or Tunguz. He concludes that among the

1. K.Shiratori.-Ueber die Sprachen der Hsiung-nu und der Tung-hu stämme.
2. K.Shiratori.-Sur l'origine des Hsiung-nus. J.A.1923.p.77-80.

twenty three Hsiung-nu words which he examined , four can be derived from any one of the three linguistic groups, Turk, Mongol or Tunguz, fourteen which can be derived from Mongolian and one word which is certainly of Turkish etymology. However, even this word of Turkish origin may also be derived from an Iranian language. Thus probably the Hsiung-nu language was principally related to the Mongolian, having also adopted some words from the Tunguz. It has very little affinity with Turkish, in the same way Bergmann tries to explain the Hunnish Name Mountsak from the Mongolian words mou ='bad'and tsak ='time'[1]. Yakint Bichurin[2], a Russian sinologist, notes that Hunnu is the old national name of the Mongols. For the transaction of the word Hunnu, the Chinese used two characters (i) Hun- wicked and (ii)nu = slave.

But this Hsiung-nu - Mongol theory has been refuted by another group of scholars, most of whom believe that the Hsiung-nus were Turks.

They argue that, following the Gothic historians it had been supposed that the Huns lacked beards which is a Mongolian characteristic. But this view cannot be accepted, for Ammianus[3] refers to the Huns as having hairy legs. Moreover the Chinese scurce Chin-shu (107-8-a) states

1. M.Bergmann.-Nomadische Streifereien under denKalkuken. Riga. 1904. i.p.129.
2. Y. Bichurin.- Sobranie Svedeniy o Narodakh Obitavshikh v sredney Azii v Drevniya vremena. St. Petersburg. v.I, p.1. n.1.
3. Ammianus.-XXXI.2,6.

that 'the Hsiung-nus were recognised by their high noses and full beards'. The stone figure at the tomb of the famous Ho-chü-ping, discussed by Carl Hentze[1] includes a Hsiung-nu, who is being trampled upon by the horse of Ho-chü-ping and who has a moustache and full beard. The face bears no Mongoloid feature except somewhat high cheek-bones.

These references contradict the picture drawn by Gothic writers. Moreover, it is to be noted that Jordanes states that the Huns were beardless because they practised scarification, a custom not attributed to them while they were in the neighbourhood of China. Perhaps, while migrating westwards, they adopted this practice, which resulted in preventing the growth of beards. It is rather difficult to believe that the practice of scarification would completely inhibit the growth of beards, for unless the whole skin of the face was scarred, the growth of the beard would not be checked in the unaffected area, and such an inhuman prctice is unthinkable. It is because of Jordanes' ignorance of physiology that he considered such a custom to be the cause of their beardlessness. Nevertheless, Jordanes' description does not necessarily imply that they grew not a single hair on their face: it may simply mean that because of such

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1.C.Hentze.-Les influences etrangeres dans le monument de Houo k'iu-ping. - Artibus Asiae, 1925.No.1.p.31-35.

practices their beards were not full. In this case the scars must have been quite prominent to attract the attention so strikingly. Moreover, the ancient authors tended to depict exotic people and things with numerous exaggerations and this was no doubt the case with the detailed descriptions of Jordanes.

Why western writers depicted the Huns as ugly and ferocious can also be easily explained. Before the invasion of the Huns the Roman empire was attacked by the Goths and Vandals who were of Indo-Germanic origin. Then suddenly came these Huns, who were completely different from any people European writers had previously seen. Thus they appeared to the classical writers to be more ugly and ferocious than they really were.

This Hsiung-nu - Turk theory has been confirmed by some scholars from linguistic evidence. Hirth explains that Hsiung-nu word ching-lu(sword) which occurs in the Han-shu as related to the Turkish word kyngyrak meaning 'a knife' and tries to prove that the Hsiung-nu language was akin to Turkish[1]. McGovern[2] discusses the same question from a different angle. He says - "In fact it is now generally believed that it was not until many centuries

1. Dr. Hirth.-Ahnentafai Attilas. p.223.
2. McGovern.- The early empires of Central Asia. p.99.

after the fall of the Hunnish empire, that the Mongolian speaking group constituted more than a small minority in the 'Mongolian population'. Incidentally this conclusion, which is arrived at by purely linguistic reasoning fits in very well with what we know regarding the racial affinities of the early Huns, in as much as enabled us to believe that these Huns were both 'Turks' in race and 'Turkish' in language". Klaproth[1] has pointed out that the Chinese historians of the middle ages stated that the Hoei-he were the descendants of the Hsiung-nu and their language was Turkish. The same sources say that the Tu-kiu or the Turks were the descendants of the Hsiung-nus who used to attack the Chinese empire.

We have seen that the Ephthalites were a branch of the Huns. Marquart and Grousset think that they were of Mongolian race. Enoki[2] has tried to prove them akin to the Iranians. He has explained the word Hua, another designations of the Ephthalites, purely as a geographical name. He regards it not as an ethnic term but as a version of the name Gur, a region of Afghanistan. According to him, another place under the domination of this tribe was the Hsimotalo (Himatala) of Hsüan-tsang. He thinks Hsimotalo

1. Klaproth.- Tableaux Historique de l'Asie. p.122.
2. Enoki.- On the nationality of Huns. Toyo Bunko, 1959.

to be the place of origin of the Ephthalites. It is well known that the Ephthalites practised polyandry. He believes that such a matrimonial system testifies to their remaining long in an isolated mountain region. The belief that Hsimotalo was their original abode may easily fit in with this hypothesis. Because the Ephthalites were first heard of in these regions of Central Asia it seems right to conclude with Enoki, that they originated from these places and so probably had Iranian affinities. In the review by the Russian sinologist Mandel'shtam[1] the theory of Enoki is rightly criticised. First of all Enoki has completely disregarded the statement in Liang-shu that the Hua before their rise to political eminence were a minor power subject to the Jouan-jouan. This definitely challenges the theory of Enoki that the Ephthalites were first heard of in Central Asia and thus must have originated there. Secondly Enoki's supposition that Hua was a version of the name Gur , can also be refuted with the help of the Liang-shu's statement, which clearly testifies that the Hua were a people who extended their empire far and wide. Another objection can be raised that if Hua is one of the regions where the Ephthalites had their original kingdom, why should a subordinate region specifically figure as the Ephthalite state ? Enoki failed to reply to this question. Moreover it is not an acceptable hypothesis that the system of polyandry originated from their

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1. Mandel'shtam .— Narodi Azii i Afriki. pt. 3. Moscow. 1962. p. 231-32.

having in an isolated region like Himotalo. Geographical reasons could not be the only cause of this system.

Stein supported Karabacek's etymological explanation of the title Jauvla, used by the Indian Hūna princes, as of pure Turkish origin and so concluded that the Ephthalites were Huns and that both originated from Turkish stock[1].

From the above discussions about the origin and ethnology of the Huns and kindred tribes, it is now quite clear that there is no positive proof to establish the exact pedigree of this race. The linguistic evidence is hardly enough to solve the problem of the Hun's origin conclusively. The Hsiung-nu empire which extended over a considerable part of Central Asia would undoubtedly borrow words from various languages. Moreover, we have only a limited group of Hsiung-nu words, as so few words would not be enough to determine the racial and linguistic origin of any nation. In addition to this it cannot be denied that in the veins of the Huns there must have been a good deal of mixture of Mongolian and Turkish blood, which resulted from the intermarriage or at least interbreeding of the Hsiung-nus with the Chinese, when they were on the northern frontier of China, and with the Persians when they fought with them. Incidentally this assumption is strengthened by the skeletal remains from the Hunnish graves of Hungary and other parts

1. A.Stein.-White Huns and kindred tribes in the history of India. I.A.,1905. p.83-84.

of Europe, which show undoubtedly that the Huns were a mixed race in which a Mongolian strain was one of several prominent elements. O.Franke[1] considers the Hsiung-nus "as mostly Turkish blood but also mixed with Iranian, Scythian and Sarmatian." This sort of diversity in one great tribe is not unique. The tribe which was migrating continuously from one country to another, naturally acquired the blood and language of the various nations that it mixed with. Our question is which particular horde amongst these various groups of the Huns invaded India? Tentatively we can suggest that they were the Ephthalites or the White Huns (i.e. the Śveta Hūnas of Indian literature). In support of our assumption we can forward a few arguments :-

The ferocious Huns, whom we equate with the Indian Hāra Hūṇa, probably did not penetrate the south of the Oxus. The Hunnish tribes which fought with the Sassanian emperors were White Huns[2]. Therefore, there is hardly any chance of an invasion by the fierce-looking Huns on India. It is more likely that the White Huns, after crushing the Sassanian prestige, became interested in attacking the Indian territories. We have seen that the Ephthalites or White Huns paid less attention to Persia from the later part of Kubad's reign[3]. It is, therefore, quite possible that from

1. O.Franke.-Geschichte des chinesischen reiches.1930.p.328.
2. See above p.40-42.
3. See above p.47-48

then on they became engrossed in Indian politics.

Furthermore, the advance of the White Huns to the N. W.frontier of India, is indicated by the Chinese sources, which point out that the Hua(or Ephthalite) conquered Gāndhāra[1]

The coins of the Indian Hūṇa princes give the most solid basis of their identification with the White Huns. The portraits of the Hūṇa coins closely resemble to the features of the Ephthalites, as described by Procopius[2]. They do not show Mongolian features but rather Persian. It seems clear that the Hūṇa kings who struck these issues were extremely influenced by the Persians. As the White Huns, and not the ferocious Huns, came into contact with Persia, it is reasonable to think that the Hūṇa kings who issued coins in ~~the~~ India were of White Hun stock.

Now, if we assume that India was never invaded by the Hāra Hūṇas, the question arises as to where the Indians got their knowledge of them. Though India did not show very keen interest in the political changes outside its own boundaries there is some evidence of Indian knowledge of the historico-geographical position of the wider world. With regard to the Hāra Hūṇas it may be suggested that it was when the Huns were in the Oxus region and were going towards the west the Indians heard of their existence.

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1. See above p. 48.
2. See above p. 37.

Aiyangar[1] has put forward a theory that the Hūṇas were known to the ancient Indian writers from a very early period, though not by the designation Hūṇa but by the name Uttarakurus. He locates the latter in the valley of the Tarim on the north-west margin of what is now known as the Taklamakan desert. We read of the Hsiung-nus in this area in the Chinese annals. This location of the Hsiung-nus near the Uttarakuru region is supported by the evidence of Orosius[2]. Thus Aiyangar believes that the authors of the Purāṇas, the Mahābhārata[3] and the Aitáreya Brāhmaṇa[4] knew about a trans-Himalayan people, to whom they sometimes gave a legendary status, in Uttarakuru, and most probably these Uttarakuru people were the Hsiung-nus of Chinese histories and Huni of the geographer Orosius.

This sort of knowlege about the wider world, though quite rare is not completely absent in Indian literature. Kālidāsa evidently knew of the Hūṇas when they were residing in the Oxus valley. While describing Raghu's digvijya, he mentions the Hūṇas in that region, though there are many manuscripts in which the word Sindhu occurs in place of Vāṅkṣu(Oxus). The generally accepted text[5] runs as follows:-

1. I.A.Vol.48,1919.p.74-5.
2. King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version of 'The Compendious history of the world' by Orosius.London,1859,(see the map).
3. Ādi Parva Ch.128.
4. Haug's tr. VIII-14-29.
5. Kālidāsa,-Raghuvaṁśa,ed. by Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara.sarga 4th śl.60-71.

Pārasīkānstato jetuṁ pratasthe sthalavartmanā
Indrīyākhyāniva ripūn tattva-jñānena saṁyamī //60.
Yavanīmukhapadmānāmsehe madhu-madaṁ na saḥ
bālātapam ivābjānāmakāla jaladodayaḥ //61
saṁgrāmas tumulas tasya pāścātyairaśvasādhanaiḥ
śāraṅga-kūjita-vijñeya-pratiyodhe rajasya=bhūt //62.
bhallāpavarjjitais teṣāṁ śirobhiḥ smaśrulodirmahīm
tastāra saraghāvyāptaiḥ sa kṣaudra-paṭalairiva //63
apanīta-śirastrāṇāḥ śeṣāstaṁ śaraṇaṁ yayuḥ
praṇipātapratikāraḥ saṁrambho hi mahātmanām//64.
vinayante sma tatyodhāḥ madhubhir vijaya-śramam
āstīrṇājinaratnāsu drākṣāvalaya-bhūmiṣu //65
tataḥ pratasthe kauverīṁ bhāsvāniva Raghur diśam
śarairmastrairivodīcyān uddhariṣyan rasāniva //66
vinītādhvaśramāstasya Sindhu-tīra-viceṣṭanaiḥ
dudhuvurvājinaḥ skandhān lagna-kuṁkuma-keśarān //67
tatra Hūṇāvarodhānāṁ bhartṛṣu vyaktavikramam
kapolapāṭalādeśi babhūva Raghuceṣṭitaṁ //68.
Kāmbojāḥ samare soḍhuṁ tasya vīrya manīśvarāḥ
gajālāna parikliṣṭair akṣoṭaiḥ sārddham ānataḥ //69
teṣāṁ sadaśvabhūyiṣṭhāḥ tuṅgā draviṇarāśayaḥ
upadā viviśuḥ śaśvata notsekāḥ kośaleśvaraṁ //70
tato gaurigurum śrī śailaṁ ārūrohāśva-sādhanaḥ
vardhayanniva tatkūṭān uddhūtair dhātu-reṇubhiḥ //71.

Translation:- 'In order to conquer the Persians he started by land just as an ascetic possessing self restraint subdues his enemies called the senses, by true knowledge/60/ He could not bear to see the flush of wine in the countenance of Yavana women just as an untimely cloud does not allow the rising sun to shine on the lotuses./61/ He had a tumultuous

contest with the western Yavanas, who were strong with their cavalry, and so dense was the dust raised that an adversary could only be guessed, except by the twanging of his bow./62/ He covered the ground with their bearded heads cut off with the spears(bhallas),resembling honey-comb over-spread with bees./63/ The survivors, taking off their turbans from their heads, sought his protection; for surely submission is remedy to the anger of the high-minded./64/ His warriors overcome the fatigue of their victorious fight by drinking wine in the vineyards spread over with the finest deerskins/65/. Then Raghu,intent on extirpating the people of the north with arrows, started for that quarter of the globe which is presided over by Kuvera, just as the sun proceeds on his northern route to draw up moisture with his rays./66/ Having relieved the fatigue of their journey by rolling themselves on the banks of the Indus, the steeds shook their shoulders with their manes besmeared with saffron./67/. The Hūṇas were made to feel the effect of his power and the cheeks of their wives turned red at his exploits./68/. The Kāmbojas unable to withstand his valour in fight bent together with their walnut trees, weighed down by the fastening of the elephants./69/ Huge heaps of riches accompanied with fine steeds

The passage as given by Kālidāsa, though set against the background of a mythical story, has some historical significance. When a poet writes this sort of poem he has two courses open to him. He can collect all the available historical information about the age of his hero and then present his hero against that background; or he may just project anachronistically the political condition of his own age. Which path will be followed by a certain author depends on his free will and the customs of the time. Nearly all ancient and mediaeval societies had no sense of the past as we have, and imagined it was just like the present or better. Nearly all ancient historians followed the second alternative. In regard to the digvijaya description Kālidāsa had followed the second practice, as can be gathered from a comparison with the conventional descriptions of Raghu's conquest in the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa. The passage cited above, when critically examined, appears to be in need of emendation. Many modern historians accepted the passage as it is quoted above, and have tried to infer from it a few historical facts. M. Chakravarty[1] presumes that the description of Raghu's digvijaya indicates that in Kālidāsa's time the Persians were on the north-west frontier of India, because to their north were living the

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1. J.R.A.S., 1903. p. 183-6.

Kāmbojas and the Hūṇas on the bank of the Sindhu or Indus. He suggests that as we know from the Chinese and Persian historians that the region of Gandhāra was conquered by the White Huns or the Ephthalites from Ki-to-lo at about A.D.475 so the description of Kālidāsa of Raghu's conquest of the Hūṇason the Sindhu reflects the political situation of a period round about this date. Pathak[1] follows the interpretation of Chakravarty. He believes that Kālidāsa specifically mentioned the saffron fields, on the banks of Sindhu where the horses of Raghu's army relaxed. He cites the Amarakośa in which Kuṁkuma-kesara has the synonym Kāśmīraja. Therefore the Sindhu was the Indus and the Hūnas were ruling in Kashmir where saffron is grown, during the period of Kālidāsa, or shortly before him, so that the fact must have been still fresh in the recollection of the great poet.

But instead of accepting the reading as it is quoted above we need to investigate further. A critical analysis of the passage reveals the following facts:-

1. Raghu proceeded by land to conquer the Pārasikas.
2. He could not bear the sight of the redness of wine on the face of Yavana women. It seems that the tern Yavana was used for the same Pārasikas.
3. The Yavanas were strong in cavalry.
4. They used to wear beards.

1. J.B.B.R.A.S.,vol.XIX.p.35-37.

5. The defeated Yavanas surrendered to Raghu with the turbans removed from their heads.
6. The land was flourishing and contained numerous vineyards where Raghu's army relaxed.
7. Then Raghu intended to march northwards.
8. The horses relieved their fatigue by rolling on the banks of the Indus, and shook off the saffron clinging to their manes.
9. There Raghu defeated the Hūṇas.
10. The cheeks of the wives of the Hūṇa warriors turned red with the display of Raghu's valour.
11. He subjugated the Kāmbojas whose country had an abundance of walnut trees.
12. He received a huge quantity of riches from these victories.
13. Then he ascended the Himālāyas.

Raghu is described by Kālidāsa as conquering the Pārasikas i.e. Persia, but the people whom he encountered are simply mentioned as the Yavanas. It would be wrong to suppose that the Pārasikas and the Yavanas alluded to here were not the same people. The three characteristics ascribed to the Yavanas corroborates the hypothesis that they here stand for the Pārasikas. The Yavana women are described as flushing with the redness of wine. Again the warriors of Raghu's army are mentioned as overcoming the fatigue of their

victorious fights by drinking wine in the vineyards. We know that the vine was cultivated in Afghanistan[1], which was no doubt under Persian supremacy for a long time. The expression apanītaśirastrāṇām gives valuable information. It was a well known custom of the Persians that when the defeated party surrendered to the victor, they would remove their turbans and throw them around their necks as supplicants[2]. It appears that the compound apanītaśirastrāṇām carries this idea. The fact that these Yavanas ~~that they~~ used to grow beards also suggests that they were the Pārasikas themselves, because beards were in fashion amongst the Persians.

Point No.7 has exceptional importance which most of the writers who believe that the reading 'Sindhu' is correct fail to consider. We should keep in mind that ~~tha~~ after the conquest of Pārasika Raghu went northwards (tataḥ pratasthe kauverīṁ) and then reached the banks of the Sindhu. As the Indus is not to the north of Persia, there is a strong possibility of a misreading in this particular word. Though many manuscripts of Raghuvaṁśa give the reading Sindhutīra[3], some manuscripts give the readings Vāṅkṣu or Vaṅku. Aiyangar found the reading Vāṅkṣu in six manuscripts out of nine he consulted. The reading Sindhutīra was supported by the well-known southern

1. Ghisholm .-Handbook of commercial geography.1954.p.143.
2. Aiyangar.- Hūṇa problem in Indian history, I.A., 1919.p.68
   (He does not mention the original source.)
3. Raghuvaṁśa, B.M.Ms. No.Add.26450 a (W.Erskine's ms.)

commentator Mallīnātha[1] but the reading Vāṅkṣu was given by another commentator, Kṣīrasvāmī[2]. Vallabha[3], a native of Kashmir, gave the reading Vāṅkṣu though in some of his manuscripts it is written as Vánku(Vāṅkunāmnī nadīty āha). The word Vanku or Vāṅkṣu is the Sankrit equivalent of the Greek word Oxus, as the 'O' in Greek always corresponds to 'va' in Sanskrit(eg. Peukelaotis = Puṣkalāvati). Thus when we find in many manuscripts the reading Vāṅkṣu it is better to accept this reading instead of Sindhu because the Oxus is to the north of Persia. The other two features mentioned by Kālidāsa with regard to the conquest of Vāṅkṣu are that the place was cultivated with saffron and the valley was inhabited by the Hūṇas, whose wives' cheeks became red through the display of Raghu's valour. Bactria or Vālhīkadeśa of Indian literature was equally famous for the saffron cultivated there as was Kashmir. Kṣīrasvāmī in his commentary on Amarakoṣa explains Vālhīka as meaning saffron, thus - Vālhīka-deśajaṁ yad Raghor uttara-digvijaye dudhuvur vājinaḥ skandhānllagnakuṁkumakeśarān. He was a writer of the 11th century. The synonym for Kuṁkuma was not only given as Kāśmīraja but also as Valhīkam and varavālhīkam[4]. It is explained in Śabdakalpadruma that the saffron was named in three ways according to its place of origin -

Deśabhede tatra trividham yathā

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1. Raghuvaṁśa, ed. by Jibananda Vidyasagara. 1880. p. 161, f.n. 68.
2. Amarsiṁha.- Nāmāliṅgānuśāsanaṁ, with the commentary of Bhaṭṭa Kṣīrasvāmin; ed by Hara Datta Sharma. 1941. p. 159. para 124.
3. Raghuvaṁśa.- Narayana Rama Acarya's ed. 1948. p. 101. note i.
4. I. A. 1912. p. 266.

Kāśmīradeśaje kṣetre kuṁkumam yadbhaveddhitat
Sūkṣma keśaramāraktam padma gandhi taduttamam
Vālhīka deśa saṁjātam kuṁkumam pāṇduram bhavet
Ketaki gandha yuktam tanmadhyam sūkṣma keśaram
Kuṁkuma pārasīkeya madhugandhi tadīritam
Īṣat pāṇdurvarṇam taddhamam sthūlakeśaram.

Thus there would arise no difficulty in the reference to saffron if we accept the reading Vāṅkṣu.

As regards the explanation of the expression kapola-pāṭalādeśi - we would suggest, following Pathak[1] that it is Kapolapāṭaṇādeśi as given by Vallabha[2]. He wrote - Kapola pāṭaṇāma hi(di)śatiti ... pativadhāt bhāryā rudantyaḥ kuca kapola nakhairvidārayati (cutting the cheeks is intended - on the death of husbands the wives used to weep and tear by their nails their breasts and cheeks). Cāritravardhana and Sumativijaya accpted the reading and said -Hūṇayositaḥ kuca-kapola-vidāraṇapūrvam rūdantīti tad deśācāraḥ (tr.: the Hūna women weep, tearing their breasts and cheeks, it is the custom of the country). Ammianus Marcellinus[3] while depicting the mourning of the Chionites when the son of Grumbate died during the siege of Amida, said - "The women for their part woefully beating their breasts and weeping after their

1. I.A. 1912, p.266-
2. D.C.Ms. No. 150 of A.1882-83.
3. Ammianus Marcellinus.(Leob Classical Library, ed.).XIX.1.11

wonted manner,loudly bewailed the hope of their nation cut off in the bloom of their youth." In the same way we read in the Hsüan-Tsang about the funeral custom of Central Asia. "They burn their dead and have no fixed period of mourning. They flay the face and cut off the ears ... among some tribes it apparently was the custom to tear or gash the face at the funeral of a parent or a chief ... we find it recorded moreover, that when the death of T'ang-tai-tsuang was announced, the barbarians sojourning at the capital expressed their sorrows by wailing, cutting off their hair,gashing their faces and cutting their ears until the blood washed the ground[1]." This peculiar custom of the Central Asian peoples was evidently the same as that referred to by Marcellinus. It seems quite reasonable to accept that Kālidāsa was describing the same custom when he wrote of of the Hūṇa women that they gashed and tore their faces because of Raghu's display of valour. The explanation of Vallabha is more historically accurate and no doubt the southern commentator Mallināṭha changed the reading into Kapolapāṭalādeśi with the modified Indian notion of funeral mourning.

Next Raghu conquered the Kāmbojas, whose country was well planted with walnut trees. As the context

1. Watter.- Hsüan-Tsang. I.p.40-42.

suggests, these were also a northern people. Generally Kāmboja country is believed to be situated in the northern part of Afghanistan. Stein locates it in the eastern part of Afghanistan[1]. We may regard them as somewhere not very far from the Hūṇa country in the Central Asia where walnut trees are quite prevalent[2].

In the succeeding verses there is no reference to a further northward advance by the armies of Raghu. The next verse simply says that Raghu was presented by the defeated tribes with a huge amount of riches. It seems that Kālidāsa now made Raghu return with his riches and perhaps it was on his return journey that he ascended the mount Himālaya with his cavalry.

A further argument for Vāṅkṣu in preference to Sindhu is the well known principle of textual criticism known as Porson's Law - that in a choice of readings the less common word is likely to be correct. A copyist with inadequate geographical knowledge might well emend Vāṅksu to Sindhu; but it is hardly likely that he would emend Sindhu to Vāṅkṣu.

This detailed analysis of Kālidāsa's verse makes it clear that Kalidasa intended to refer to the Hūṇas as in the Oxus valley, not on the banks of the Sindhu(the Indus). As modern historians make Kālidāsa the contemporary of the Candra

1. Chisholm.- Handbook of commercial geography.1954.p.143.
2. Rājatarangiṇī .I.p.136.

Gupta II,Vikramāditya, we can assume that during the 4th century Hūṇas did not come directly in contact with the Indians but educated people like Kālidāsa knew of them as living around the Oxus to the north of Persia. It is moreover significant to note that the Hūṇas many times occur in Indian literature especially in the Epics, as the neighbours of the Persians. For example - being asked by Dhritarāṣṭra about the division of tribes in Bhāratavarṣa,Saṁjaya refers the Hūṇas and the Pārasikas in the north[1].

To conclude,we are now fairly certain that the ancient authors of India had some idea of the geographical distribution of the tribes of the contemporary Central Asia, even though they had never come in close contact with them. The Hāra Hūṇas of the Epics and Bṛhat Saṁhitā, and the Hūṇas of Kālidāsa refer to the Hūṇas in the Oxus valley and not to the Hūṇas of India proper. The Hūṇas who invaded in India were the White Huns who had also fought with the Sassanian kings of Persia. Gradually as they become more and more familiar to the Indian people the adjective ~~śvēta~~ Śveta was dropped and they become known simply as the Hūṇas, without qualification.

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1. Mahābhārata; Poona ed. Bhīṣmaparva,Adh.X,śl.64.

Chapter II

The Early Hūṇas of India

When the Hūṇas came to the north-western borders of India, it was dominated by a particular people generally known as Kidāra Kuṣāṇas. The exact period of their occupation of Gandhāra and its surrounding areas is not yet finally settled. The Chinese text Wei-shu[1] records the history of their preliminary raids. According to it - 'due to the frequent troubles from the Jouan-jouans, who were living to the north of Luchienshih[2], the capital of the Yüeh-chihs, the latter tribe migrated to the west and established themselves in Polo[3]. Then their king Ki-to-lo[4], who was brave, raised an army and led it to the south of the Great Mountain[5] and attacked the north of India. He occupied Kant'olo[6] and five other adjacent kingdoms. Later on this king Ki-to-lo was pursued by the Hsiung-nus[7].

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1. Wei-shu. Ch. C.11. fol.15. (Ref. taken from E. Specht - Etudes sur l'Asie Centrale. J.A. 1883. p. 327-28. We have checked the translations of Specht from the original text).
2. Luchienshih, according to this same text was to the west of Fotisha. The capital of the latter was Pomao (Bamiyan). Hence Luchienshih was to the west of Bamiyan.
3. Though Polo is generally identified with Balkh, Specht here rejects the identification, for Polo should be to the west of Bamiyan, as this Wei-shu text says.
4. Ki-to-lo - i.e. Kidāra
5. Great Mountain is the Hindukush
6. Kant'olo is Gandhára
7. T'ungtien (Bk. 192. fol. 18) and Ma Tuan-lin (Bk. 338. fol. 2) says that it was the horde of Jouan-jouan who invaded the Ki-to-lo

He then left his son in Fulousha[1] and went to fight with the invading swarms. His son and successors were thus established in Fulousha and were thence onwards known as the Little Yüeh-chihs'. What happened to Ki-to-lo and who was his son, king of Fulousha, is not known. But in any case this Wei-shu text records the event which led the Kidārites to come to the north-western frontier provinces of India.

The date of this advance is not given by the Chinese chronicle, but it can be well ascertained by the help of the Kidāra coins. Wei-shu testifies that the Kidarites knew the use of the coins.[2] In the hoard of Tepe Marinjan[3] one Scyphate of Varahran I and eleven of Kidāra were found together with a Sassanian drachm of Shapur II (A.D. 310-88). As the hoard includes the coin of Shapur II, it can be fairly deduced that they were buried at the latest in A.D. 388. And hence possibly the Kidāra invasion of Gandhāra occurred some time around this date. The son and successors of Ki-to-lo continued their rule for a few more generations. Martin[4] describes a type of Kidāra coin, with the Brāhmī inscription Kidāra Kuṣāṇa Śāh, on the obverse.

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1. Fulousha is mostly identified to Pulushapulo of Hsüan-tsang i.e. Puruṣapura or modern Peshawar.
2. See Specht. op. cit. p. 330
3. A.D.H. Bivar. The Kuṣaṇa Sassanian coin series. J.N.S.I. Vol. 18. pt. 1. p.13.
4. M.F.C. Martin - Coins of Kidāra and the little Kuṣāṇas. J.R.A.S.B. Supp. to Vol. 47. 1937. p. 31.

Cunningham[1] reads on the reverse of these coins some numerals, either 239 or 339 and interprets them as a date in the Śaka era of A.D. 78, which would correspond to A.D. 317 or 417. If the latter reading is correct, it may corroborate the above hypothesis that Ki-to-lo entered Gandhāra and its neighbouring province, sometime in the later part of the reign of Shapur II and then left his kingdom of Puruṣapura to his son.

The question arises of who were the immediate predecessors of the Kidarites? Fortunately, the famous Allahabad Pillar inscription[2] comes to our aid. It mentions the voluntary submission of the Daivaputra Śāhānuśāhis who were living in the north-west frontier region. There is no doubt that these were the titles of the great Kuṣāṇas of the Kaniṣka group.[3] It is therefore, quite probable that the remnants of Kaniṣka's family, were living in the north-western parts of India, at the time of Samudra Gupta i.e. c.A.D. 340-80. We have seen[4] that Ammianus Marcellinus[5] refers to a war of Shapur II with the Eusenis or the Kuṣāṇas, who were living on his Eastern frontiers. Thus on the evidence of

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1. N. Ch. 1893. p. 184
2. C.I.I. III. i. line 23
3. The title Śāhānuśāhi was given to Kaniṣka Vāsudeva etc. on their coins (e.g. see N. Ch. Vol. 13. p. 118) their Daivaputra title can be seen in Kaṇiṣka's & Huviṣka's inscriptions, for example, in the Suivihara inscription of Kaniṣka, year 11 and Mathura Image inscription of Huviṣka year 51 (Sircar. Sel. Ins. nos. 41 & 54).
4. See above p. 40
5. Ammianus Marcellinus. XVI. 9. 4.

this Greek writer and of Samudra Gupta's inscription, can presume that when Ki-to-lo came to Gandhāra and its adjacent provinces it was then occupied by the remnants of the successors of Kaniṣka.

The Wei-shu text specifically mentions Ki-to-lo, as a Ta-Yüeh-chih king. Was he really a Kuṣāṇa? We doubt the authenticity of the information, because Priscus[1] says, on the other hand, that the Kidarites were Huns. As Priscus, was a contemporary writer, it seems that his information is more authoritative. It is very difficult to reconcile these two contradictory statements. The only possible explanation, we think, is that the writer of Wei-shu gathered ~~xxxxxx~~ his information about the Kuṣāṇa origin of the Ki-to-lo with the help of his and his successor's coins. Their coins are definitely struck with the inscription Kidāra Kuṣāṇa Śāh.[2] It seems that author of the Wei-shu drew this conclusion because they found or had heard that their coins were struck with this legend. We have seen that when the Kidarites reached the Indian frontier, the place was occupied by the remnants of the Kuṣāṇas[3] and therefore, it is reasonable to assume that they

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1. Historici Graeci Minores. Ed. by L. Dindorf. 1870. Vol. I. p. 342
2. J.N.S.I. no. 18. pl. 1. p.19; J.R.A.S.B. Supp. to 1937. p.31; N. ch. 1893. p.184
3. See above p.81

adopted the title Kuṣāṇa Śāh because they occupied the country of the Kuṣāṇas. This Kuṣāṇa influence on the new Kidarites is remarkably shown on their later issues, which not only take the Kuṣāṇa titles but imitate the Kuṣāṇa style of standing king and seated goddess. If this explanation is acceptable then we can fairly conclude that the Kidarites were Huns and came to Gandhāra sometime around A.D. 388 under the leadership of their king Ki-to-lo and occupied the provinces from the Kuṣāṇas, and hence their king took the title Kuṣāṇa Śāh. The descendants of Ki-to-lo ruled in those provinces including Peshawar, for a long period. A number of Kidarite coins, with the standing king on the obverse, are proof of this. Kidāra was accepted as a family name. The chiefs who struck the coins with the family title Kidāra were Śrī Kṛtavīryya[1], Śrī Viśva[2], Śrī Kuśala[3], Śrī Śīlāditya[4], Śrī Prakāśa[5], Salona[6] etc. About the chronology of these princes we are still in the dark.

The Hūṇas, who invaded India were Epthalites or white Huns and not Kidarites, though Kidarites themselves were a branch of the great Hunnish tribe. The Kidarites were

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1. E.J. Rapson. Indian coins. 1897. pl.II 16; N. ch. 1893. p. 201. pl. VI. 11
2. N. ch. 1893. pl. VI. 10
3. Ibid. pl. VI. 12
4. Ibid. pl. VI. 14
5. Ibid. pl. VI. 15
6. Prayag Dayal - 'A new Kidara chief'. J.R.A.S.B. 1934. Num.Sup. XXX. art. 322

in fact supplanted by the new White Hun invaders.

The first Hūṇa invasion, which attracted the attention of the Imperial Guptas, is recorded in the Bhitaṛi Pillar inscription.[1] At the present stage of our knowledge we cannot decidely say whether these Hūṇas were the ancestors of Toramāṇa and Mihirakula or not. But because soon after this invasion we find the grandfather of Mihirakula ruling in Gandhāra, it is quite possible that the Hūṇas of the Bhitari pillar inscription also consisted of the same horde.

The undated Bhitari pillar inscription states that when Skanda Gupta was still a crown prince he had to encounter a sea of troubles. The Puṣyamitras[2] became powerful and the prince had to pass a whole night lying on the earth in order to win a battle against his formidable enemy.[3]

The danger being averted, he rushed to tell his mother, but he found her a weeping widow. Skanda Gupta was soon called back to the battle-field, for the Hūṇas closely

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1. C.I.I. III. no.13. pl.VII. Bhitari is near Benaras. The inscription discovered in 1834.
2. It is not certain who were these people and where they were residing. Fleet identifies them with the people mentioned in the Purāṇas and locates them in Persia (I.A. 1889 p.228); Smith locates them in the North (E.H.I. 4th ed. p. 326); Hoernle regards them to be the same as the Maitrakas (J.R.A.S. 1909 p. 126); R.D. Banerji thinks that they were the first wave of the Hūṇas (Age of Imperial Guptas. p.46); H.R. Divekar tries to emend the reading into Yudhyamitra (Bh. An. 1919-20. p.99); Jagannath places them around Mekala (I.H.Q. 1946. p.112)
3. C.I.I. III. p.53-4 line 10,11

followed the Puṣyamitras. He proved to be a worthy hero in a time of extreme crisis, for we are told that by crushing the invading horde he created a whirlpool. The inscription runs thus -

Hūṇairyyasya samāgatasya samare dorbhyām dharā kampitā bhīmāvartta-karasya.[1]

"By whose two arms the earth was shaken, when he, the creator of a terrible whirlpool, joined in conflict with the Hūṇas".

The fact that Skanda Gupta fought with the Hūṇas in the very beginning of his reign is corroborated by the Junagadh inscription[2] of the same king, dated G.E. 136, 137 and 138. It refers to the vast conquests of Skanda Gupta, over all his enemies, including the Mlecchas. The earliest possible date in this long inscription is A.D. 455. Before this the king is represented as choosing Parṇadatta for the post of governor of Saurāṣṭra, after considerable deliberation; he on his part appointed his son Cakrapālita as the protector of the city of Mandasor. After this because of heavy rainfall the Sudarśana lake suddenly burst on the sixth day of the month Prauṣṭhapada, year 136. The date is calculated by Dr. Fleet[3] to be August 455. He suggests that if all these

1. Line - 15
2. C.I.I. III. no.14. Junagadh is in Kathiawar. Discovery of it was first announced in J.R.A.S. Vol. I. p.148
3. C.I.I. III. p.58. See A.L. Basham - The date of the end of the reign of Kumāra Gupta I. - B.S.O.A.S. 1955. Vol. XVII. pt.2. p.366-69

activities were completed within the limit of this date, Skanda Gupta should have been raised to the throne by the end of A.D. 454. Agreeing with the calculations we can date Skanda Gupta's victory over the Mlecchas at the end of A.D. 454. We have no information of foreign inroads during the early years of Skanda Gupta's reign, except that of the Hūṇas. Therefore, it is most probable that the Mlecchas are the same tribe. The Junagadh inscription tells thus[1] -

> nṛpati-guṇa-niketaḥ skandaguptaḥ pṛithu-śrīḥ pitari sura-sakhitvaṁ prāptavaty ātma-śaktyā // api ca jitameva tena prathayanti yaśāṁsi yasya ripavo=api āmūla bhagna-darppāniva ... Mlecchadeśeṣu.
>
> "Skanda Gupta of great glory, by his own power, the abode of kingly qualities who when his father had attained the position of being a friend of the gods (i.e. had died); - whose fame, moreover, even (his) enemies, in the countries of the Mlecchas ... having (their) pride broken down to the very root, announce with the words -'verily the victory has been achieved by him".

Thus the above two inscriptions prove beyond doubt that Skanda Gupta defeated the Hūṇas in the beginning of his reign or A.D. 454. The exact spot where Skanda Gupta

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1. C.I.I. no. 14. Lines 3-4

inflicted this crushing defeat on the invading swarms, is impossible to ascertain. The only possibility can be gleaned through the above Junadagh inscription[1], which says that Skanda Gupta was extremely worried by the task of appointing a worthy governor of Saurāṣṭra. It may suggest that the peace was threatened by the Hūṇas and the Puṣyamitras somewhere around this area, so that we find the emperor seriously perplexed over the matter of the appointment. But as it is not a very sound hypothesis that the Hūṇas, at the very beginning of their invasion could have reached upto Saurāṣṭra, it is better to suppose that Skanda Gupta fought the Hūṇas in the north-west frontier of his empire and the Puṣyamitras somewhere near Kathiawad.

During the period between A.D. 454 and 465, we are ignorant about any more Hūṇa invasions of India. Most probably during this period the Hūṇas remained quiet, as we find Skanda Gupta ruling peacefully for the rest of his reign. The evidence of Junagadh inscription which says that Skanda Gupta ruled with tranquility over a country bounded by the four oceans is strengthened by the Mañjūśrī Mūlakalpa[2] a work of 8th century A.D. The data given by it is as follows -

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1. op. cit. Lines - 6 to 9
2. Mañjūśrī Mūlakalpa - tripañcāsa paṭalavisaraḥ. Ed. by Ganapati Shastri. p. 628. - Trivandrum Sanskrit series, no. LXXXIV. 1925

Madhyakāle samāsvāsā madhyamā madhya dharminaḥ
anante va yuge nṛpendrā śṛnu tattvataḥ
Samudrākhyo nṛpaścaiva Vikramaścaiva kīrttitaḥ
Mahendra nṛpavaro mukhya sakārādyo mataḥ paraṁ
Devarājākhyanāmāsau (bhaviṣyati) yugādhame
nirddhākhye nṛpaḥ śreṣṭha buddhimāndharmavatsalaḥ

"Listen about the mediaeval and Madhyadeśa kings, who will be for a long period emperors and will be confident and followers of via-media (in religious policy). (They are -) Samudra, the king; Vikrama the well-famed; Mahendra the excellent king, the leader; 'S' initialled the exceedingly honoured one. His name will be Devarāja. He will be the best, a wise and religious king in that low Kali age".

The text of Mañjūśrī Mūlakalpa definitely suggests a list of the kings, starting with Samudra, Vikrama, Mahendra, 'S' initialled Devarāja etc. We can agree with Jayaswal[1] in recognising them as the well-known emperors of the Gupta dynasty. Mahendra of Mañjūśrī Mūlakalpa is no doubt Kumāra Gupta Mahendrāditya of whom Bilsad stone inscription of the year 96, Gadhva stone inscription of the year 98,

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1. K.P. Jayaswal - The Imperial History of India. 1934. p.36 -

Mankuwar stone inscription of the year 129 are found.[1] Unfortunately the title used for Kumāra Gupta in the last inscription mentioned above, is simply Mahārāja Śrī Kumāra Gupta. Fleet[2] on the basis of this feudatory title suspects that Kumāra Gupta in his later life might have been reduced to a mere chieftain of feudal rank, by the Puṣyamitras and the Hūṇas of the Bhitari pillar inscription. But the Mañjūśrī Mūlakalpa here does not refer to any loss of position to the Gupta emperors, during Mahendra's reign. It seems that the reduced title of the Mankuwar stone inscription was due to carelessness or ignorance on the part of its drafter. The Mañjūśrī Mūlakalpa characterises Skanda Gupta ('S' initialled) as 'nṛpaḥ śreṣṭha dharmavatsalaḥ buddhimānaḥ' and thus probably indirectly refers to his victory over the Hūṇas.

We can corroborate the above description with another Buddhist text Candragarbha sūtra[3]. "King Mahendrasena ... had a son with arms of irresistable might. After he had passed the age of 12, Mahendra's kingdom was invaded by three foreign powers in concert - Yavanas, Vāhikas, Śakunas - who first fought amongst themselves. And then they took possession in Gandhāra and countries to the north

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1. Fleet. C.I.I. III. nos. 9,10,11
2. Ibid. p.46
3. Jayaswal . op. cit . p.34

of the Ganges. The young son of Mahendrasena asked for permission to lead his father's army ... . The prince broke the enemy army and won the battle - on his return his father crowned him king ... . After that he ruled peacefully as the emperor of Jambudvīpa". Mahendrasena is no doubt Kumāra Gupta Mahendrāditya. The three enemies have been recognised by Jayaswal.[1] Vālhika is used for Pārasika many times in Indian literature. Śakunas seems to be a corrupt spelling for the Kuṣāṇas and the Yavanas are the Yaunas or Hūṇas of the Purāṇas.[2] It is well known that duri g the last quarter of the fourth century or the early part of the fifth the Persians, Kuṣāṇas and Hūṇas quarrelled with each other outside the Indian borders and at last the Hūṇas defeated the Pārasikas[3] and the Kuṣāṇas[4] and invaded India. The Candragarbha Sūtra says that Mahendra's son defeated them and thereafter ruled the kingdom of his father in peace. The same information, as we have seen, is given by Junagadh inscription and by Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa. The Kahaum stone inscription[5] of the year 141 also refer to this tranquil reign of Skanda Gupta.

This first stage of the Hūṇa inroads in India (i.e. c.A.D. 454-465) is marked by their coins,[6] which continue

1. Jayaswal. Ibid. p.34-37
2. See below p.189-90
3. See above p.47
4. See above p.84
5. Fleet. C.I.I. III. no.15. Ancient Kakubha in Gorakhpur district
6. see Appendix I - p. 312-14

to imitate the Sassanian style. After this first Hūṇa invasion, recorded in the Bhitari pillar inscription, we do not possess any source material, except the coins, which may help us to frame the history of this period. These coins lack the crowns on the portraits. The headdresses are in the form of helmet and sometimes are decorated with the crescent in front. It seems that the absence of the crown represents the changing political status of the chiefs who struck them. Presumably they were governors and had no royal status. But as they progressed farther from the central authority of the Oxus valley[1], practical necessity demanded that these local chiefs should issue their own coins. Their constitutional status as governors is indicated in their issues by the lack of any crown on the portraits. The findspots corroborate this series as the earliest Hūṇa coins of India. In 1911, during the course of excavation made by Hargreaves, at Kaniṣka's Caitya, Shahji-ki-dheri, N.W. frontier province, a rouleau of sixteen Hūṇa coins was found[2]. Very similar to these we find a series of the coins represented in our plates[3]. With their south-eastward advance the Hūṇas were influenced

1. See above p. 49
2. The study of these coins was made by - R.B. Whitehead - A find of Ephthalite or White Hun coins. Num.Supp. no.XXI, art. no.122 in J.P.A.S.B. 1913. p.48, pl.X, fig. 1-9. Coin no.10 of this plate had been previously studied by A. Cunningham. N.ch. 1894. pl.VIII, fig.14
3. See appendix I, pl. I, figs. 7-13

by Indian religion and language, as is indicated on their coins, which bear the religious symbols of Hinduism and by their attempts to adopt the Brāhmī script.[1] But they endeavoured to keep their originality by striking the Ephthalite symbol on their issues. Unfortunately we cannot ascribe any particular date or name to the chiefs who minted these coins, but it is beyond doubt that they were struck by the early Hūṇa chiefs who led their armies towards India, and who were most probably the predecessors of Sung-Yun's first Ye-tha king of Gandhāra.

The Chinese pilgrim Sung-Yun[2] who visited India between A.D. 515 and 520 says that two generations had passed since the Ye-thas had conquered Gandhāra and set up Lae-lih to be a king over the country. Beal interprets the name Lae-lih as probably a man of the Lāra dynasty, though he admits that the context is absurd. Cunningham[3] and Rapson[4], accepting this reading, identify this first Ye-tha king Lae-lih with Lakhaṇa Udayāditya of the coins[5] and the Lakhaṇa Narendrāditya of the Kashmir Chronicle of Kalhaṇa.[6]

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1. E. Drouin - Le type monétaire Sassanide et le monnayage Indien. - Mem. de Con. International de Num. de Paris. 1900. p.p. 159-162
2. S.Beal. Si-yu-ki. Vol. I. Introduction. p.100. 1884
3. A.Cunningham. N.ch. pp. 247,251,279. 1894
4. E.J. Rapson - Indian coins. p.28. 1897
5. The coins of Lakhana are read in 'Prinsep's 'Essays' ed. by Thomas as the coins of Lamata. Vol. I, p, 411, coin no.4
6. Rājataraṅginī Vol. I. ch.III. vs. 383

Chavannes[1] and Paul Pelliot[2] corrected the reading by substituting chracters representing the word Tigin in place of Lae-lih. Tigin was a Turkish title used by the governors of provinces. We have seen[3] that the Hūṇas in India were led by governors and thus their coins had no crowns. It seems that the official title Tigin, meaning governor, was accepted by Sung-yun, who came two generations after the event, as the personal name of the chief who established the Ye-thas permanently in Gandhāra. The presumption is corroborated by the Chinese history of Liang, which tells of Gandhara as a subordinate province, under the supremacy of the Ephthalites of the Oxus valley.[4]

The Tigin of Sung-yun should be the grandfather of Mihirakula and father of Toramāṇa, because the Chinese writer especially mentions him as holding power two generations previously. Sung-yun came to India c.A.D. 515-20, and met a certain Ye-tha king in Gandhāra. He does not mention the name of the king, but his description of his character, when compared with the description of Mihirakula, and the chronology, suggests very strongly that it was he who gave a cold reception to the Chinese pilgrim. His first Ye-tha chief Tigin should be then reigning in c.A.D. 465 (about two generations before).

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1. Chavannes - Voyage de Song-yun - B.E.F.E.O. III.p.518-22
2. Paul Pelliot - Documents sur les T'ou-kine Occidendaux. B.E.F.E.O. 1904. p.479
3. See above p.91
4. See above p.48-49

Now following the above coin series, which we ascribe to the Hūṇa leaders earlier than the Tigin, the father of Toramāṇa, we can point to a coin very similar in execution, but boldly inscribed in the Brāhmī script. This is our coin plate I, no.14[1]. It is clearly inscribed with the word ϘEI = Ṭhujana, which we would emend to Ṭhujina, probably the correct Hūṇa pronunciation of the Tuñjina of the Rājataraṅginī[2]. We presume that the original name Ṭhujina was afterwards Sanskritized with an inserted nasal and retroflex tha softened into ta. We find in Kalhaṇa's chronicle three Tuñjinas. The first Tuñjina of Kashmir is the son of Jalauka and father of Vijaya[3]. He and his queen were devotees of Śiva and favoured the Brahmins. Tuñjina II of Kashmir is the most appropriate as the Ṭhujina of our coin. He is given two other names by Kalhaṇa - Śreṣṭhasena and Pravarasena. The most interesting point in Kalhaṇa's account of him is that he is described as the father of Toramāṇa and the originator of a new dynasty. We can equate Kalhaṇa's Tuñjina, the father of Toramāṇa with the Tigin of Sung-yun. Thus we suppose that Tigin - Tuñjina and Ṭhujina were the various spellings of the same name. Third Tuñjina of Kalhaṇa had a second name

1. See Appendix I. p. 314
2. Rājataraṅginī. Vol. I, ch. III, vs. 97-101
3. Ibid. Bk. II, vs. 11-61

Ranāditya, he was probably a later descendant, of Toramāṇa[1a].

The next series of coins, répoussé, closely resemble the Ṭhujina coins.[1b] This series is inscribed in the Brāhmī script and can be read as Śrī śāhi, Śāhi Jabula[2], Śāhi Javuvla[3], Śāhi Jarukha[4] etc. A hoard of these coins was excavated during Marshall's work at Taxila[5]. They are either of Toramāṇa, who took the title of Śāhi Jauvla (in the Kura inscription) or of his father Ṭhujina (Tigin or Thnjina), for his coins are very similar to these.

To conclude the study of Ṭhujina we can enumerate the bare facts thus -

1. Ṭhujina (Tuñjina or Tigin) was the father of Toramāṇa and was the first Ye-tha chief or Tigin, who established the White Huns or Ephthalites permanently in Gandhāra and probably extended his empire up to Kashmir.

2. We can date him c.A.D. 465 for he was living two generations before Sung-yun's visit (c.A.D. 520).

3. He struck his coins, following the style of previous Ephthalite leaders, who had made preliminary raids before him, but about whose histories we are still in the dark. Tuñjina's coins are prominently inscribed with the

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1a. Rājataraṅgiṇī. Bk.III, vs.386. see below p. 234
1b. See Appendix I, pl. II, fig. 1-2
2. A. Cunningham. N.ch. 1894. pl.VIII, no.13; pl.IX, no.1
3. E.J.Rapson - Indian coins. 1897. pl.IV, no.18
4. Whitehead - A find of the Ephthalite coins. J.P.A.S.B. 1913 Num.Supp. XVI, art. 122. p.483
5. J. Marshall - Taxila - an account of the archaeological excavations. Vol.II. 1951. ch. 39, p.824. serial nos. of the coins 301-311

letters Thujina. Another series of coins, closely resembling these, is inscribed with Śāhi Jabula, Jarukha etc. They may represent a second varety of the coins of Tuñjina, with his tribal title Śāhi Jauvla, or they may be the issues of his son Toramāṇa.

4. From the beginning of their settlement in India proper, the Hūṇas tended to adopt Indian culture and they showed a remarkable interest in Indian religion and language, as is evident from the coins. Kalhaṇa gives Tuñjina the credit for the construction of the shrine of Pravareśvara together with other holy shrines at Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna. We need not accept these details of Kalhaṇa as true, for his history especially in this period is not very reliable, but the adoption of Brāhmī letters in his coins, supports our assumption that Ṭhujina (or Tuñjina) made efforts to adopt Indian culture.

Chapter III

Toramāṇa

Tuñjina (Ṭhujina or Tigin) was succeeded by his son Toramāṇa. He was a chief of considerable importance, who strengthened and extended the Hūṇa kingdom. His history is based on diverse sources which depict the various phases of his life and career. Their data are not identical but they complement each other. A mere look at these sources will show why doubts have been raised by many modern historians, about identifying the Toramāṇa of all these sources as one and the same person.

The Eran stone boar inscription of Toramāṇa[1] reads - "Varṣe prathame prithivīṃ prithu-kīrttau prithu-dyutau mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Toramāṇe praśāsati".
"In the first year, while the Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Toramāṇa, of great fame and of great lustre is governing the earth".

Another inscription engraved during the reign of Toramana is found from Kura.[2] It records his title as Mahārājādhirāja Toramāṇa Śāha Jauvlaḥ. The Rājataraṅgiṇī refers to one Toramāṇa, the younger son of Tuñjina, as an ill-fortuned prisoner, because he struck coins of his own, disregarding the authority of his elder brother

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1. Eran - in Sagor dt. M.P. C.I.I. III, no.36; Sircar - Select Inscriptions. Vol. I, p.396. no.55
2. Kura - in the Salt Range of the Punjab. Bühler. E.I. Vol. I. p.238-39; Sircar's Select Inscription. Vol. I, p.398. no.56

Hiraṇyakula, the successor of Tuñjina. The text runs thus[1] -

Hiraṇya-Toramāṇākhyau vyadhattam atha tat sutau
Sāmarājña yuvarājatva bhājane raṅjanam kṣiteḥ //
Bālāhatānāṁ prācūryaṁ vinivāryā samañjasaṁ
Toramāṇena dīnnārāḥ svāhatāḥ saṁpravartitāḥ //
Mānavajñāyaya rājñeva kasmādetena valgitaṁ
iti taṁ pūrvvajo rājā krodhano bandhane vyadhāt //

The title given to Toramāṇa in the Kura inscription is undoubtedly different from the title in his Erāṇ inscription. And the description of Toramāṇa in the Rājataraṅgiṇī certainly does not make him a king at all. These differences make modern historians suspicious about accepting the identity of all the Toramāṇas. Bühler[2], while editing the Kura inscription, said - "I am not able to assert that the Toramāṇa of our inscription is identical either with the Toramāṇa of Kashmir, who is mentioned by Kalhaṇa and who has left behind so many coins inscribed with Gupta characters. The fact that this Toramāṇa bears the title or surname Śāha or Śāhi and receives the epithet Jauvla, which may be a tribal name or biruda, is, it seems to me, sufficient to prevent the identification with the other Toramāṇas, who are not characterised in this manner. All I would say regarding him is that he ruled over

1. Kalhaṇa - Rājataraṅgiṇī III. 102,103,104
2. E.I. Vol. I. p.239

north-western India and that he was an independent king". Jayaswal[1] propagated another theory based on the difference of the titles of Toramāṇa in the Kura and Eraṇ inscriptions. He presumes that they were completely different persons, belonging to two distinct dynasties, with a difference of two generations between them. Toramāṇa of the Kura inscription is, according to him, a Kuṣāna chief, for he is endowed with the title Rājādhirāja mahārāja Śāhi, which is equivalent to the Kuṣāṇa title of Mahārājātirāja[2] and the Śāhānuśāhi of the Allahabad pillar inscription[3]. He identifies this Toramāṇa with the Laka Toraman of Alberuni[4], who is said to have been the last Śāhi king of Kabul, in the line which had produced the great Kaniṣka. Laka the first half of the name of Laka Toraman is similar to the Śaka word Liaka. Jayaswal thinks that he may be the Śaka emperor of Devī Candraguptam or his immediate successor and that he can be dated as the contemporary of Candragupta II of the Imperial Gupta family, who, according to the drama, killed a Śakādhipati.

In the same manner the mere difference of titles has

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1. K.P. Jayaswal - The Yaunas of the Purāṇas and the last Kuṣāṇa emperor in India. J.B.O.R.S. 1932. p.201-5.
2. Taxila Silver scroll inscription of a Kuṣāṇa king dated in the year 136, gives the title Mahārajasa Rajatirajasa (Sircar - Select Ins. no.34); Sui Vihar cop.pl.ins. of Kaniṣka year 11 mentions the title 'Mahārajasa Rajatirajasa' (Ibid. no.41). The Sanchi ins. of Vasiṣka year 28 states the same title (ibid. no.48).
3. C.I.I., No.1. lines 23-24
4. Alberuni -Sachaus tr.;ii,p.10-13.

induced Shankar[1] and K.B. Pathak[2] to think that the Toramāṇa of the Kura inscription is different from the Toramāṇa of the Erān inscription. They doubt his foreign origin on the basis of the title of Toramāṇa given by the latter inscription and on the basis of the description of the Gwalior inscription[3] of Toramāṇa's son Mihirakula; which give no indication of such origin. Both inscriptions picture the rulers as Indian kings of fame and respect, ruling the country with justice and love towards the Hindu religion. To strengthen his supposition Shankar adds - "Yaśodharman (of the Mandasor Ins.) ruled over land that the world conquering Gupta-nāthas never won, and that did not recognise the suzerainty of the Hūṇādhipas whose edicts were obeyed by many kings ... and claims to have subdued even Mihirakula. The reference to the Guptas and Hūṇas is separated from the reference to Mihirakula, by the mention of the extent of his realm. This inscription, therefore, not only fails to support the theory of Mihirakula having been a Hūṇa, but seems to indicate clearly that he was neither a Gupta nor a Hūṇa. Unlike the Guptas and the Hūṇas, Mihirakula was a powerful contemporary king". As

1. K.G. Shankar - Hūṇa invasion of Hindustan. N.I.A. 1941. p.38
2. K.B. Pathak - New light on Gupta era and Mihirakula. I.A. 1918. p.19
3. Fleet - C.I.I. III. p.162

the Gwalior inscription of Mihirakula definitely states that Toramāṇa was his father, the refusal of Shankar to admit Mihirakula as a Hūṇa, excludes the possibility of even Toramāṇa being one. He is identified by Shankar as the Kalkirāja of the Harivaṁśa Purāṇa[1].

Furthermore Shankar[2] and Pathak[3] suggests that the Hūṇas only advanced towards India during Skanda Gupta's reign and once defeated by the Gupta monarch never again crossed the Indus. The only area in the vicinity of India, which we may assign to the Hūṇas, is Gandhāra. And in this case the idea of Toramāṇa and Mihirakula being Hūṇa kings is baseless.

The opinion of the above scholars is not fully justified. In agreement with most eminent indologists such as Fleet[4], Stein[5] and Sircar[6], we believe that there were not two Toramāṇas within a short interval but that the Toramāṇas of the Erāṇ inscription, the Kura inscription, the Gwalior inscription, the Rājataraṅgiṇī, the Kuvalayamālā Carita[7], the Chāch nāmā[8] were all one and the same person.

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1. Harivaṁśa - Ed. by M.A. Langlois. Vol. I. p.196
2. I.A. 1941. p.38
3. I.A. 1918. p.19
4. J.F. Fleet - The coins and history of Toramāṇa. I.A. 1889. p. 225-229
5. A. Stein - White Huns and kindred tribes in the history of Indian north west frontier. I.A. 1905. p.74-85
6. D.C. Sircar - Select inscriptions. p.398. f.n.4
7. Udyotana Sūri - Kuvalayamālā. J.B.O.R.S. 1928. p.28
8. Chāch nāmā refers to a certain Jibawin, king of Multan (Elliot - History of India. Vol. I. p.206). Cunningham identifies him with Jauvla Toramāṇa. N.Ch. 1894.

This Toramāṇa we believe was a Hūṇa and was the father of Mihirakula.

To refute the objections we will take them one by one. The main argument for distinguishing the Toramāṇas of the Erāṇ and Kura inscription is the difference of titles. But we should not forget that the Erāṇ inscription, though commonly called the 'Erāṇ Inscription of Toramāṇa', is really of Dhanyaviṣṇu. And it would not be absurd to think that irrespective of the real title of Toramāṇa, Dhanyaviṣṇu might well have called his new overlord Mahārājādhirāja simply on Gupta precedent. If any of our critics thinks that it is not possible to give a different title to a certain king, especially when he is alive we may put forward another possible explanation for this difference of title in the Erāṇ inscription. Toramāṇa, as we believe, was the leader of the Hūṇas, who were more or less barbarians and had no high culture of their own. It is a remarkable feature of the Central Asian invading swarms, that they could never preserve their civilisation when they came in close contact with other superior cultures. Wherever they went they adopted the local traditions, beliefs, language and customs and changed according to their new environments. This strong quality of assimilation persisted when they entered India. They found there a culture and civilisation superior to their

own, and so they imitated the local customs. We have seen that the north-west frontier of India was occupied by the local Kidāra chieftains, when the Hūṇas arrived there. Toramāṇa and his father Tuñjina (or Tigin, Ṭhujina) found the Kuṣāṇa coins and titles prevalent there. This was the sole reason why they adopted the Kuṣāṇa title śāhi in their coins and inscriptions. The title Rājatirāja Mahārāja of the Kuṣāṇas was adopted by Toramāṇa in the Punjab and thus was inscribed on his Kura inscription. But the Hūṇa chiefs endeavoured to retain their separate identity to some extent, by keeping their title Jauvla, Javuvla or Jauvṇa. Gradually the lust for conquest led Toramāṇa to the interior of India and we find him in Erāṇ. Reaching the central provinces, the country of the Guptas, he encountered the Gupta culture and was influenced by it. He then started imitating with accuracy, Gupta coins and adopted Gupta titles, besides his earlier imitations of Kuṣāṇa style. Now we find his coins with the Gupta design .[1] All these coins show the face of the King on the obverse and a fan tail peacock on the reverse with the legend Vijitāvaniravanipati śrī Toramāṇa deva jayati. This same type of coin was issued by Kumāra Gupta[2], - - - - (cont. in the next page)

1. See for detailed studies Appendix 1.p.328 Prinsep's Essays Ed.by Thomas. p.338

2. Ibid. XXVII figs. 10-12

Skanda Gupta, Budha Gupta etc.[1] Thus if at Erāṇ we meet with the pure Indian title Mahārāja-dhirāja śrī Toramāṇa, as compared with the Rājādhirāja Mahārāja Toramāṇa śāhi Jauvla of the Kura inscription, it is because of the influence of changing events and the Hūṇa tendency to assimilation. For the same reasons, the Gwaliar inscription[2] depicts Mihira-Kula and his father Toramāṇa in purely Indian style. This inscription further corrobates our assumption that in the central parts of India, the Hūṇas never tried to represent themselves as foreigners. Therefore, the doubt raised by Shankar and the others that the titles of Toramāṇa and Mihirakula present them as Indian Kings and not as foreigners is not serious. Their opinion can further be refuted by the parallel examples of Bactrian Greek, Śaka-Kṣatrapa and Kuṣāṇa Kings. The Bactrian Greek Kings inscribed their coins with Indian titles: we can cite the instances of Heliocles[3], Apollodotus I[4], Antialcidas etc.[5] who took Indian titles

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1. J.RAS. XII.pl.LI.fig. 52,53,55,57; JRASB. 1855. num.Sup.no. LXXXVI.

2. Sircar - Select inscriptions p.400. no.57; C.I.I.III. p.162.

3. Percy Gardner. Catalogue of Indian coins in the B.M. 1886. p.23. coin nos. 22-31.

4. Ibid. p.34.

5. Ibid. p.28.

and struck coins with the sacred symbols or animals of Hindu religion. Heliocles[1] adopted the bull, the sacred mount of Śiva on the reverse of his coins. The Śaka-Kṣatrapa Kings also followed the Indian tradition, disregarding their foreign origin. Rañjubala took the title apratihata[2] and Śivadatta[3] struck the Indian goddess Lakṣmī on the obverse of his coins. The Kuṣāṇa King Kadphises II took the title Maharajasa rajatirajasa sarvaloga Īśvaraṣa... tratarasa[4]. But these examples do not indicate that these kings were not foreigners. In the same way the title Mahārājādhirāja of Toramāṇa does not suggest that he was not a Hūṇa.

Toramāṇa itself is a foreign name. Karabacek[5] states that the word is originally from the Turkish Tûramān or Töreman meaning 'a rebel or an insurgent'. In the same way the title Jauvla given to him in the Kura inscription is a positive proof to link him with Tigin of Sung-yun, who possibly issued the coins bearing either his name Ṭhujina or his title Śāhī Javula[6]. Jauvla was a title

1. Ibid. p. 23
2. Ibid. p. 67
3. J. Allan - A catalogue of the Indian Museum coins 1936. p.183 no.85.
4. Percy Gardner - op. cit. p. 124.
5. E.I. vol.I. p.239.
6. See above p. 96.

adopted by the Hūṇas even before they came to India , from the time of Bahram Gur[1]. Karabacek is inclined to connect it with the Turkish word Jəvl- 'a falcon'.

Shankar's objection to identifying Mihirakula as a Hūṇa chief is not sound, as proved by Jagannath[2]. He states that - "Shankar contends that even in the Mandasor pillar inscription which mentions the Hūṇas, Mihirakula has not been called a Hūṇa. But while we may admit that there is no expressed statement in that inscription regarding Mihirakula's being a Hūṇa, we can hardly concede the implication that he was not a Hūṇa, because he is said to have been defeated by Yaśodharman and the erstwhile contemporaries cannot be changed into bygone predecessors. The reference to the Guptas and the Hūṇas in the Mandsor pillar inscription was purposely made by the poet for they were the immediate predecessors of Yaśodhorman and their rule had been witnessed by the people of Yaśodharman's days and they could appreciate the comparison. When Mandasor pillar inscription was put up, the Gupta and the Hūṇa empires had been broken, though these dynasties had not been wiped out, but still lingered as purely provincial powers."

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1. See appendix 1.p.319

2. Jagannath - The Hūṇas in India. N.I.A. 1943.p.250-51.

Shankar's[1] and Pathak's[2] hypothesis that the Indus was the limit of the Hūṇa expansion towards India is false and based on insufficient knowledge. We have sound grounds to suggest that the Hūṇas came beyond the Indus. Bāṇa[3] differentiates the Hūṇas from the people of Gandhāra, as is indicated in this passage - Hūṇaharinakeśarih Sindhu-rājajvaro - Gāndhārā dhīpagandhadvīpa-Kūṭapākalo - pratāpaśīla iti Prabhākaravardhano nāma rājādhirāja.

The Hūnas in Prabhākaravardhana's time, were neither living in Gandhāra nor in the Sindhu valley. They were probably in the region of Kashmir or the Punjab. Somadeva's Nīti vākyāmṛta[4] (C.A.D. 959) refers to the Hūṇas in Citrakūṭa. This was either Chitor in the former Udaypur state or Chitrakūṭa in Banda district. Moreover the later inscriptions of the Rājpūt age mention various kings of the Pāla, Kalacuri and Caḷukya dynasties fighting with the Hūṇas or sometimes marrying their princesses.[5] With these references we will deal later but here we want to show that it is wrong to think as Shankar and Pathak thought that the Hūṇas never extended their power beyond the Indus.

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1. I.A. 1941. p.38
2. I.A. 1918. p.19.
3. Harṣa carita tr. by Cowell. p.101.
4. Somadeva Sūri-Nītivākyāmṛta. Durggasamuddeśa. Sam 1979. p. 200. 201
5. See below p. 251

Shankar with his doubts about Toramāṇa's foreign origin endeavoured to identify him with Kalkīrāja of the Jaina literature, only on the basis that the Jaina chronicles put Kalkīrāja as the immediate successor of the Guptas and from inscriptions we know that Toramāṇa followed the Guptas almost directly. We should be cautious in accepting this imaginative theory, for in Jaina literature the name Toramāṇa has never occured. Guṇabhadra[1]. says that Śiśupāla was the father of Kalkīrāja who on his part was succeeded by Ajitañjaya. While from the Rājatarañginī, coins and inscriptions, we know that Toramāṇa's father was Tuñjina and his son was Mirhirakula. Shankar should have forced his imagination still

/further /cont. next page.

1. Guṇabhadra - Uttarapurāna. parva 76 Line 398-399 and parva. 76. Line 428.

further and identified Tuñjina with Śiśupāla and Mihirakula with Ajitañjaya, otherwise the mere identification of Toramāṇa with Kalkīrāja is not convincing enough. Moreover, the Jaina tradition on which the historian based his hypothesis seems utterly worthless and self-contradictory. Bhide[1] and Jagannath[2] have proved this by a comparison of Śvetāmbara and Digambara traditions. Guṇabhadra assigned Śiśupāla and Pṛthvīsundarī as the parents of Kalkīrāja, while Trilokya Prajñapti a Digambara work of A.D.1200 says that he was the son of Indra. According to Digambara tradition Kalkī would come 1000 years after the Vīra Nirvāṇa; while Śvetāmbara tradition gave the date as 1915 years after making a difference of 915 years. According to Digambara chronicles Kalkī would die at the age of seventy and be succeeded by Ajitañjaya; while Śvetāmbara writers say that he would die at the age of eighty-six and be followed by his son Datta. There is no doubt that the Kalkī of the Jainas was not a historical person and cannot in any case be identified with Toramāṇa. He is definitely an interesting character and has behind him such a variety of traditions that he could be equated with almost anybody according to the fancy of the historians. Therefore Pathak[3] identifies Kalkī with Mihirakula and Jayaswal[4] with Yaśodharman, the antagonist of Mihirakula.

1. H.B. Bhide - Is Kalkīrāja a historical personage? I.A.1919.
2. Jagannath - The Huṇas in India. N.I.A. 1943.
3. I.A. 1918. p.19
4. K.P. Jayaswal - An historical position of Kalkī and his identification of Yaśodharman. I.A. 1917.p.145.

Besides these Jaina legends the Purāṇa and epic writers sketched the character of Kalki as they liked. The Matsya Purāṇa[1] reads - Tasminneva Yugekṣīṇe sandhyāśiṣṭe bhaviṣyati /Kalkīstu viṣṇuyaśaśah Pārāśaryyapurah sarah /Daśamobhāvya saṁbhūtô yājñavalkyapurasarah./The Purāṇic data may be summarised as follows ---

1. Kalkī's proper name was Viṣṇu Yaśas
2. He was born in the village of śaṁbhala
3. He was an ordinary man, who gradually became a village leader through his valour and courage.
4. He conquered a vast land and overthrew the Mlecchas.

The Mahābhārata[2] gives a detailed description of Kalkī resembling very closely those of the Purāṇas. The simple fact is clear from this summary that Purāṇic and Epic Kalkī was a different person from the Jaina Kalkīs. Kalkī in later literature was described as the incarnation of Viṣṇu. Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana's Kalkī-Purāṇa[3] states Kalkī Paramātmā Hariḥ.

These various data concerning Kalkī from Jaina and Hindu sources lead us to suspect the authenticity of Kalkīrāja. We believe that all efforts of Shankar, Pathak and Jayaswal to establish Kalkī as the historical personage and to identify him with Toramāṇa, Mihirakula and Yaśodharman respectively are mere flights of the imagination and that

1. Matsya Purāṇa - Adh. 245 - vs. 47.
2. Mahābhārata - Vanaparvan. 190 Adh sl.93-97
3. Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana - Kalki Purāṇa 1st ed. śaka. 1821 1st Aṁśa vs.3.

the Kalkī of the Indian literature is definitely a mythical hero, surrounded by contradictory backgrounds, containing no grain of truth.

This criticism of the Kalkī hypothesis wipes out the possibility of interpreting Toramāṇa and Mihirakula as Indian princes and successors of Śiśupāla. Thus, contradicting all the arguments of Bühler, Jayaswal, Shankar and Pathak, we can now proceed to our description of Toramāṇa, on the assumption that he was the Hūṇa king and father of Mihirakula.

The earliest date of this king can be deduced with the help of the Erāṇ[1] and Kura[2] inscriptions. The former inscription was engraved in the first regonal year of Toramāṇa and he is represented as the overlord of the local chief Dhanyaviṣṇu, whose elder brother Mātṛviṣṇu is dead. Another Erāṇ stone pillar inscription[3] was raised during the reign of Budha Gupta and is dated in the G.E. 165; at this time the brothers Mātṛviṣṇu and Dhanyaviṣṇu were both alive. The text, reads --

Line two: śate pañcaṣaṣty=adhike varṣāṇāṁ bhupatau ca Budhagupte āṣāḍha-māsa śukla dvādaśyāṁ suragurôr divase.

1. C.I.I.III. no.36. Sircar, Select inscriptions no.55.

2. Bühler, E.I.vol.I p.238-39. Sircar. Select inscriptions no.56.

3. C.I.I. III. p.89; Sircar, Select inscriptions no.35.

Line four -- Asyām saṁvatsara māsa divasa pūrvvāyāṁ....

Line eight -- Mahārāja Mātṛviṣṇunā tasyaivānu-jena tad anuvidhāyinā tatprasāda parigrihitena Dhanya viṣṇunā ca /mātri pitroḥ puṇyāpyāyanārthamesa bhaqavataḥ puṇyajanārd-danasya dhvajastambho bhyucchritaḥ ,

Trans --" In the century of years increased by 65, while Budhagupta is king, on the 12th lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month āsādha on the Thursday... On this day specified as above, by the year and month and day, by the Mahārāja Matṛviṣṇu and by his younger brother Dhanyav-iṣṇu, who is obedient to him and has been accepted with favour by him-- this flag-staff of the divine Janārdana, the troubler of the demons has been erected for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (their) parents."

These two inscriptions are of considerable importance for they show that Toramāṇa followed Budhagupta in Erāṇ within a short period in which the brothers Mātṛviṣṇu and and Dhanyaviṣṇu belonged. The boar inscription was engraved in the first year of his occupation of this province and he is given high sounding royal titles. It is almost impossible to believe that Toramāṇa ,could have gained the victory over Erāṇ, the heart of Gupta empire, in the very first year of his reign. It is more probable that he succeeded his father Tuñjina (or Ṭhujina, Tigin) in the Punjab and Kashmir, a few years before his occupation of the central parts of India and the boar inscription is dated on the first year

of his occupation of Erāṇ. Though, the Erāṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta is dated in the G.E.165= A.D.484, his last known date may be ascertained by his silver coins as 174 = A.D. 493[1]. In these circumstances there are only two possibilities -- a). Toramāṇa occupied Erāṇ soon after A.D. 484 and Budhagupta continued his rule somewhere outside this province, from where he issued his coins dated 174. b) Budhagupta's domination of Erāṇ did not conclude before A.D.493 and Toramāṇa only occupied the province after his death.

Which possibility is more sound is difficult to decide, until more evidence comes to light. Previously, while discussing the first Hūṇa chief Tuñjina, we decided that his earliest probable date was about A.D. 465, on the basis of Sung-yun[2]. If we assign him 15 or 20 years reign, this would terminate by C.A.D. 480-84, when Toramāṇa would have begun to reign.

But the Hūṇas cannot have occupied Erāṇ for long. By A.D. 510. (=G.E. 191) another pillar was raised in that province in memory of the Gupta chief Bhānugupta and his deceased friend Goparāja. The inscription states thus[3] -

śrī Bhānugupto jagati pravīrô rājā mahān pārtho samo ati śūraḥ / Tena atha sàrddhantviha Goparājô mittrānuṛatyena kilānuyātaḥ / kṛtvā ca yuddhaṁ sumahat prakāśaṁ svarṛgaṁ gato divyanarendra kalpaḥ /bhaktānuraktā ca priyā ca kāntā bhāryyā-valagnānu gatāgnirāśiṁ

1. N.Ch. 1894 p.252.
2. Beal - Si-yu-ki- vol I.intro.p.100
3. C.I.I. no.20 p. 92-3 lines, 5.6.7; Sircar, Select inscription no.38. This is the first epigraphical record which mentions the Sati custom in India.

Trans.- "There is the Mahārāja śrī Bhānugupta, the bravest man on earth, equal to Pārtha, exceedingly heroic; and along with him Goparāja, followed (his) friend (and came) here. (And) having fought a very famous battle he (who was but little short of being equal to) the celestial (King Indra), (died and) went to heaven; and (his) devoted, attached, beloved and beauteous wife, in close companionship accompanied (him) unto the funeral pyre."

The inscription does not mention the name of the king against whom the battle was fought, but as we have seen that Toramāṇa was occupying Erāṇ, after the decline of Budhagupta, it was most probably he, as Sircar has suggested, who encountered the Gupta chiefs. The coins of Toramāṇa, struck in the Mālava design, with the dancing peacock and, the head of the king, are inscribed with a numeral. Fleet[1] first thought that it may represent 80, turned half round on the die, but later he corrected it with the reading 52[2] as is supported by Cunningham[3]. It is rather absurd to think that the year 52 implies his regnal year. Cunningham suggests that "the only era that seems possible is that of Śaka which a Scythian might be supposed likely to adopt. By adding the omitted hundreds to make 452 śaka, we get A.D.530, which is a possible date, although I should prefer an earlier one. The only

1. C.I.I. III p. 11f.
2. I.A. 1889. p.226.
3. N. ch. 1894. p.252 .

remarkable date in the history of the White huns, which I can suggest is the final expulsion of the Sassanians from the countries to the north of the Oxus by Chukhan in A.D. 456-57. If the year 52 be reckoned from this period we get A.D. 508-9 for the establishment of Toramāṇa's rule in Mālwa". And thus it is nearly settled that when Bhānugupta and Goparāja came to Erān, Toramaṇa was still ruling there. The erection of the pillar by Bhānugupta in Erāṇ confirms that Toramāṇa suffered defeat and the province was re-occupied by the Guptas. There is no mention of Toramāṇa's death in battle and hence he probably returned to the Punjab and Kashmir.

The kura inscription[1] found in the salt ranges of the Punjab is proof of his empire in that part. The inscription was engraved during the period when Toramāṇa was reigning but because of damage the date is unreadable. The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a Buddhist monastery, by one Roṭṭa Siddhavṛddhi, the son of Roṭṭa Jayavṛddhi. The donor wished to share the merit gained by his pious gift with Toramāṇa, the reigning prince, and his sons and daughters.

Line 1 - Rājādhirāja mahārāja Toramāṇa śāhi Jauvlasya abhivardhamāna rājye saṁvatsare- ---

Line 8-- Roṭṭa Jayavṛddhi anekavihārasvāmino satputreṇa---

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1. Bühler. E.I. vol.1. p.238-39; Sircar-Select inscriptions. no.56

Line 10-- Roṭṭa Siddhavṛddhi sarveṣāṁ bhrātarāṇāṁ bhaginīnāṁ patnīnāṁ putrāṇāṁ duhitrāṇāṁ Mahārāja Toramāṇa.

Line 11-- Śāha Jauvlaḥ sarveṣāṁ devīnāṁ rājaputrāṇāṁ rājaduhitānāṁ ca sarvastīnāṁ ---

Toramāṇa's occupation of Kashmir is recorded by kalhaṇa in his Rājataraṅgiṇī[1]. Unfortunately this interesting passage has suffered corruption. There is a dispute among scholars about the word bālāhatānāṁ of this verse.[2] Cunningham[3] has suggested that "Toramāṇa only collected the old coins called Bālāhats and recoined them as Dīnāras in his own name." He presumes that the term Bālāhat had some connections with the Kashmir coins called Hat (meaning a hundred), a term which was current there till quite recent times, as the designation of the small copper coins, perhaps originally meaning 'a hundred Kauṛis.' [4]

We should be cautious of accepting any account of Kalhaṇa relating to the earliest period. Though supposed to be a historical record, his chronicle is extremely corrupt in its account of early kings of Kashmir. We cannot accept the dates given by Kalhaṇa and often the

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1. Rājataraṅgiṇī. vol.1. Bk.111 102-103. (see above p.98)
2. Stein in the Translation of the Rājataraṅgiṇī leaves the word untranslated.vs.103 (see above p. 98)
3. A Cunningham. Transactions of IX International Congress of the orientalists. 1892.p.232.
4. Cunningham - Coins of Mediaeval India p.34.

events reported by him are confused and misrepresented. In the case of Toramāṇa and Hiraṇyakula we suppose that Kalhaṇa or his sources blundered by inverting the actual story. There is no doubt that Toramāṇa was the father of Mihirakula and son of Tigin, whom we have equated with Tuñjina of Kalhaṇa. It seems that in fact Hiraṇyakula was the unfortunate person who was imprisoned because he struck coins of his own. The elder brother was Toramāṇa and he reigned long and successfully over a vast kingdom. A few coins of Hiraṇyakula and the large number of coins of Toramāṇa found in Kashmir, corroborate this hypothesis. We cannot identify these coins with those referred to in the Rājataraṅginī, for their abundance appears to speak rather for their having been struck by a powerful king than by an ill-fated pretender.

To strengthen the theory that Toramāṇa reigned in Kashmir we can cite other evidence. A Jaina Prākrit work Kuvalayamālā,[1] which was completed by Uddyotana Sūri on

1. There are two manuscripts of the work Kuvalayamālā- (a) Jaisalmir Manuscript of Sam 1139 (b) Poona Manuscript of the 15th cen . We have consulted the Jaisalmir MS. photostat copy. see plate 5. The reference was first pointed out by Muni Jina Vijayaji of Gujarat Vidyāpitha, in a sectarian quarterly Jaina Sāhitya Saṁśodhaka for v.$. 1983 later the article was translated by N.C. Mehta in J.B.O.R.S.1928 vol.XIV.p.28.

the 14th day of the dark half of Caitra, śaka saṁvat-699= A.D.621, It states--

Atthi puhaipasiddhā doṇṇi pahā doṇṇi ceyadesatti tatthatthi paham nāmeṇe Uttarāvaham buhajjaṇāinnām / suidiacār usohā viasiaka malānaṇā vimal dehā tatthatthi jalahidaiā sariā aha Camdabhāya tti| Tīrammi tīya payadā pavvaiyā nāma rayaṇasohillā/ṭhie bhuttā puhaim siritorarāeṇa

jatthatthi

Statements---

1. There are but two countries famous on earth of which Uttarāpatha is known as the land of the wise.
2. Through it flows the river Candrabhāgā.
3. On its bank is the well-known town of Pavvaiya, where lived śrī Torarāya (Jaisalmir Ms) or śrī Toramāṇa (Poona Ms.) enjoying the sovereignty of the world.

The passage contains more historical value than is generally attributed to it. Torarāya or Toramāṇa most probably was Toramāṇa, son of Tuñjina. The Pavvaiya, the town where he was ruling, is the Prākrit from of Sanskrit Parvātikā, meaning mountain region. The Candrabhāgā river i.e. modern Chenab, according to our ancient literature flowed through Kashmir. Amarasiṁha mentions the Śravati, Vetravati, Candrabhāgā and Sarasvati as rivers of Kashmir.-- Cāndrabhāgā śāradā tu kāśmīreṣu srasvati[1] . In Keśavasvāmis

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1. Amarasiṁha - Amarakoṣa - Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana, Vāri varga. 10. Kāṇḍa.1. śl.33. (Trivandrum Ssk.Series.no.38.)

Nānārthārnavasaṁkṣepa[1] the river Candrabhāgā is mentioned again. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa[2] states-- śatadru candrabhāgādyā Himavat pādanirgatāh. Kalhaṇa in his Kashmir chronicle refers to the river Candrabhāgā in connection with Tuñjina Raṇāditya[3] and to Candrakulya in connection with Mihirakula[4]. The Canrakulya of Kalhaṇa is evidently the same as Candrabhāgā, for Kulya simply means 'river'. The rule of Hūṇa or Mleccha princes in the Kashmir region can be supported by the Purāṇas[5], which mention the region of Candrabhāgā connected with Kashmir as the subjugated lands of the Mlecchas-- Candrabhāgā Kāśmīra viṣayān vrātyā mlecchādayah śūdrāh bhoksyanti. Thus it is now clear enough that the Kuvalayamālā refers to Toramāṇa as ruling in the Kashmir mountains, on the banks of the Candrabhāgā river. Toramāṇa who enjoyed a vast empire and a successful career, most probably died between A.D. 510 and 515 and was succeeded by his valiant son Mihirakula.

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1. Caturākṣara Kāṇḍa v. 225 (Trivandrum Ssk.series.no.31)
2. Aṁśa II. Adh.II.vs.19.
3. Rājataraṅginī. Bk.III vs.468.
4. Ibid.Bk.I vs. 318.
5. Viṣṇu Purāṇa . IV. 24. 18.

Chapter IV

MIHIRAKULA AND HIS ADVERSARIES.

Mihirakula was the greatest Hūṇa monarch of India and is depicted by many writers, both Buddhist and non-Buddhist, as a man of cruel disposition. The picture we are given of him is of an arrogant king, persecuting the people, oppressing Buddhists and devastating their shrines and monasteries, subduing neighbouring kings and leading his army to distant lands. How far this picture is historically accurate is a question which troubles critical historians. There is no lack of stories about the career of Mihirakula; what we need is a careful arrangement of the evidence. His interesting career has attracted a few eminent Indologists, but not enough attention has yet been paid to him, and more thorough study is required.

Among the first attempts to write the history of Mihirakula and his father Toramāṇa were those made by Fleet in 1889[1], and Cunningham in 1894[2] . The problem thus introduced was enthusiastically taken up by historians of

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1. Fleet - The coin and History of Toramāṇa. I.A. 1889 p.229.
2. Cunningham - N.Ch. 1894. vol.14.p. 243.

the early twentieth century, such as Konow[1], Stein[2], Pathak[3], Aiyangar[4], Bhide[5], Rev. Heras[6], Poussin[7], etc. The lastest efforts to solve the problem are those of Shankar[8], Upadhyaya[9], and Jagannath[10].

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1. Sten Konow - Note on Toramāṇa. I.H.Q. vol.12.p.532.

2. M.A.- Stein - White Huns and Kindred tribes in the history of the Indian north west frontier. I.A. 1905.vol.34.p.73.

2. K.B. Pathak - The new light on Gupta Era and Mihirakula- I.A. vol.46 and 47 1918.p.16-22 and 296 respectively.

4. K.Aiyangar - The Hūṇa problem in Indian History. I.A. vol.48. 1919.

5. H.B. Bhide - Kalkirāja the historical personage-I.A.vol.48. 1919.p.123.

6. Rev. Fr.H. Heras - The final defeat of Mihirakula,I.H.Q. vol III 1927.

7. Poussin, Louis de La Vallée - Dynasties et histoire de l'Inde depuis Kaniṣka jusqu'aux invasions Musalmanes. 1935.

8. K.G. Shankar - The Hūṇa problem of Hindustan. N.I.A.vol.4. p.36.

9. B.Upadhyaya - The final defeat of Mihirakula. I.H.Q. 1939. p.302-6.

10. Jagannath - The Hūṇas in India, N.I.A. vol.6.1943.p.249.

A few further efforts have been made by numismatists to elucidate the history of the Hūṇa chiefs in India, but these are more relevant to a later chapter, in which we shall discuss the coins of our princes[1] .

Mihirakula was the son of Toramāṇa, as is proved by the evidence of the Gwalior inscription[2], which refers to the reign of Mihirakula. It records the building of a temple of the sun, by a person named Mātṛceṭa. Part of the inscription reads -

śrī Toramāṇiti yaḥ prathito bhūcakrapaḥ prabhūta guṇaḥ satyapradāna[3] śauryyodyena mahīnyāyataḥ śāstā // 3

Tasyôdita Kula-kīrttaiḥ putro=tula vikramaḥ patiḥ prthvyāḥ.

Mihirakuletikhyāto=bhaṅgo yaḥ paśupatiṁ //4

Translation - 'There was) a ruler of (the earth) of great merit, who was renowned by the name of śrī Toramāṇa, by whom, through his heroism (that was specially characterised by) truthfulness, the earth was governed with justice.

'Of him, the fame of whose family has risen high, the son (is) he of unequalled power, the lord of the earth, who is renowned under the name of Mihirakula (and) who (himself) unbroken(?)worships) Paśupati.'

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1. See. Appendix 1.

2. R.L. Mitra. J.R.A.S.B vol.XXXI p.391; C.I.I. III .p.162.; Sircar, Select Inscriptions. no.57.p.400.

3. Fleet. C.I.I. III p.162. He suggests the correction - pradhāna.

Against this clear statement from contemporary record, the hypothesis of Pathak[1] Shankar[2] and Majumdar[3] cannot stand, and their efforts to identify Mihirakula or his father Toramāṇa with Kalkī-rāja of Indian tradition are nothing more than fanciful inventions[4], as is proved by the criticism of Bhide[5] and Jagannath[6]. Mihirakula was the son and successor of Toramāṇa. Whether there was any other competitor at the time of his accession is not certain, but it seems that Mihirakula was not the only son. Hsüan-Tsang[7] refers to a brother of his, who, taking advantage of Mihirakula's imprisonment by the Magadhan king Bālāditya, captured his capital. The story of the Chinese pilgrim suggests the existence of a brother. The possibility

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1. K.B. Pathak. I.A. 1918. p.19.
2. K.G. Shankar. N.I.A. 1941.p.39-40.
3. Majumdar Raychaudhari and Datta - An Advanced History of India. 1960. p.153.
4. See above p. 110-111
5. I.A. 1919.p.123.
6. I.A. 1943. p.249.
7. S. Beal Si-yuki.p.171.S.Julien. Voyage des pélerins Buddhists. vol.1.p.195-6.

is strengthened by the evidence of the Kura inscription[1] which refers to the sons and daughters of Toramāṇa, in the plural. However, Kalhaṇa, whose chronological account of Toramāṇa and Mihirakula[2] is extremely defective, does not refer to any brother of Mihirakula, but gives two names, very closely resembling his name. They are Hiraṇyakula[3] and Vasukula[4], his grandfather and father respectively. About Hiraṇyakula we can say that he is erroneously presented as the grandfather of Mihirakula, in this particular passage; for in a later passage a prince named Hiraṇya is presented as the brother of Toramāṇa[5]. It is quite possible that the Hiraṇya and Hiraṇyakula of Kalhaṇa are identical, and that he was the uncle of Mihirakula and not his grandfather. We have seen that a few coins bear his name, and that he was probably the younger brother of Toramāṇa[6].

After Hiraṇyakula comes Vasukula. Kalhaṇa's statement that he was the father of Mihirakula cannot be accepted, as we are informed by the Gwalior inscription that his

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1. E.I. vol.I.p.239. Line.11; Sircar. Select Inscriptions. no.56.
2. Rājataraṅgiṇī - vol.I.Bk.I vs.289
3. Ibid. vs.287.
4. Ibid. vs.288. In some manuscripts the variants Mukula or Vamakula occur.
5. Ibid. III vs.102.
6. See above.p. 117

father was Toramāṇa[1]. As far as we know no coins of Vasukula have yet been discovered. But the form of his name, and the fact that he is linked in Kalhaṇa's chronicle with Mihirakula, suggest that he also belonged to the same family. It is just possible that he was one of the younger brothers of Mihirakula.

Even if we accept the existence of two sons of Toramāṇa, called Mihirakula and Vasukula, there must have been at least one more prince, for the Kura inscription refers to his sons in the plural, as more than two. A possible explanation can be adduced with the help of Kalhaṇa, who refers to a king named Pravarasena[2] . as the son of Toramāṇa. If we accept the statement that Pravarasena was in fact Toramāṇa's son, there are two probabilities. Either he should be identified with Mihirakula, who, we know was the son of Toramāṇa, or he was the brother of Mihirakula. Pravarasena could not be Mihirakula, for there are no resemblances in the careers of these two. So he might be another son of Toramāṇa, probably a younger brother of Mihirakula. If we accept the hypothesis that Mihirakula had two brothers, Vasukula and Pravarasena, the gaps in the account of Hsüan-tsang and the Kura inscription, which refer to his brothers, but do not give their names, can be filled up.

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1. See above - p. 122

2. Rājataraṅgiṇī Bk. III 104-378.

The date of Mihirakula is now approximately settled. The Gwalior inscription[1], inscribed on his 15th regnal year, refers to him as a king in that province. This inscription is probably earlier than the Mandasor inscription[2] of Yaśodharman, which boasts of the victory of Yaśodharman over Mihirakula. Yaśodharman is known to have been reigning in C.A.D. 533[3]. Therefore the latest probable date of the Gwalior inscription is C.A.D. 530, two or three years before the Mandasor inscriptions, for in one of these Mandasor inscriptions the Hūṇas are pictured as predecessors. If C.A.D. 530 is the date of Mihirakula's Gwalior inscription he must have become king fifteen years before the event, for the inscription is engraved in his 15th regnal year. This gives the approximate period of A.D., 515-530 to Mihirakula, with the possibility of the extension of a few years on either side. When discussing Toramāṇa we assigned the end of his reign to C.A.D. 510, when he probably lost control over Erāṇ[4]. What happened to him after his withdrawal from Erāṇ is not at all certain. He may have continued to reign in his western dominions in the Punjab and

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1. C.I.I. III. p.162
2. C.I.I. III. no.33.
3. The first Mandasor inscription is undated, but its approximate date can be guessed with the help of another Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman(C.I.I.III.no.35)which is dated in the M.S. 589=A.D. 533-34. As the writer of both the inscriptions was Govinda and as both the inscriptions were written in the lifetime of Yaśodharman, they were possibly engraved more or less in the same period.
4. See above, p. 119. Rev.Heras (I.H.Q.1927.p.8.)and Vasudeva Upadhyaya (I.H.Q.1939.p.302-6) believe that Mihirakula succeeded his father at A.D.502, but they do not give any reason for it.

Kashmir, or may have died soon after his defeat. The exact date when sovereignty passed from Toramāṇa to Mihirakula is impossible to ascertain until new evidence is brought forth.

We have no reference to Toramāṇa's empire anywhere in the central provinces of India, after he retired from Erāṇ in C.A.D. 510. It is probable that Mihirakula succeeded his father in the north west regions. To strengthen this hypothesis, we can adduce the record of Sung-yun[1]. During his travels in A.D. 520. he entered Gandhāra, where found a Ye-tha king, who did not believe in Buddha, who had 700 elephants in his army, and who was very warlike. Sindhu and Peshawar[2] were on his frontier, and he had been engaged in war for three years with the king of kipin, over boundary disputes. The Chinese pilgrim visited the royal court to deliver his credentials. The king treated him rudely and roughly. Sung-yun was deeply offended by the cold reception given to him by the Ye-tha king. Sung-yun's Ye-tha king was most prbably Mihirakula for he clearly depicts him as the grandson of Tigin - whom we have equated with Tuñjina, the father of Toramāṇa. This information of Sung-yun, makes the date of Mihirakula's reign in that north-west region from C.A.D. 517 or earlier to A.D.520.

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1. S. Beal - Si-yu-ki. Intro.p.100.

2. The word which Sung-yun gives is Fo-sha-fu which Beal equates with Po-lu-sha of Hsüan-tsang. Po-lu-sha is generally considered as Purushapura, modern Peshawar.

Thus through Sung-yun we can confirm that Mihirakula came to power at about A.D. 515 and that he succeeded his father in the north-western parts of his kingdom.
As Sung-yun says that Sindhu and Peshawar were on the frontier of the empire of Mihirakula, it is quite probable that in the last phase of Toramāna's reign all his dominions to the east of the Indus were lost and the Hūṇas were confined only in the north-west frontier.

Whether Mihirakula obtained Kashmir from his father is not absolutely certain. Sung-yun refers to his war with the king of Kipin, over boundary disputes. Kipin is generally understood to be Kashmir. If this is so, Mihirakula might have had to reconquer Kashmir from a certain local chief. But Mihirakula soon acquired this province, as is clear from the statement of Kalhaṇa[1], who introduces him as a valiant king of Kashmir. The Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman[2] confirms the extension of Mihirakula's power up to the Himālayas. The inscription refers to Mihirakula in the following terms - "Yasyāśliṣṭo bhujābhyām vahati himagirir durgga-śabdābhimānam". Translation - "Through the embraces of whose arm Himālaya carries no longer the pride of the title of being (an unaccessible) fortress." This may well imply the inclusion of Kashmir in his empire, and therefore at the time when Yaśodharman defeated Mihirakula he was king of the Himālayas.

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1. Rājataraṅgiṇī vol.1. Bk I.vs.289-30
2. C.I.I. III. no.33.

The empire which Mihirakula inherited from his father was not remarkably extensive. But the king was brave, and so from the beginning of his reign he pursued a policy of constant warfare, with the aim of extending his empire. Hsüan-tsang refers to the king Mo-hi-lo-kiu-lo[1], who established his authority on She-kie-lo (Śākala)[2]. He fought battles to subdue the neighbouring provinces and then ruled over a vast country. Tārānātha[3] in his history of Buddhist India relates the story of a king named Hūnimanta. His description of Hūnimanta bears a close resemblance to the story of Mihirakula given by Kalhaṇa and Hsüan-tsang. In giving the story of the jacket of the queen of Hūnimanta, imprinted with the footprints of a certain king, he is simply following Kalhaṇa[4]. And in describing the defeat of Hūnimanta by the Magadhan king, he is influenced by the record of Hsüan-tsang[5]. These two resemblances make it certain that Hūnimanta of Tārānātha is the Mihirakula of Kalhaṇa and Hsüan-tsang. The only difference is that he does not give the proper name but calls him the king (manta) of the Hūṇas (Hūni).

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1. S. Beal - Si-yu-ki p.167. The translator comments that the interpretation of the name is given by the Chinese editor as Ta-tsoi.e. 'great tribe or family'; as the word Mihira signifies the sun, the meaning of the full name Mihirakula may be 'The family of the sun'.
2. She-kie-lo is equated with Sialkot. Cunningham identified it with Sangalawala Tibba to the west of the Ravi river. (Ancient Geography of India. p.180).
3. N.Ch.1894.p.248.
4. See below p.131
5. See below p.154

The Hūnimanta of Tārānātha is described as the ruler of Lahore and Multan. It seems that he very quickly established himself in Sindh and the Punjab (i.e. Śākala, Multan, Lahore etc.) and then he went on to gain victories in the interior of India. The chief role in his army was always played by his elephants. Kalhaṇa[1] mentions the great number of the elephants in his army, so that merely for sadistic amusement he could afford to roll down by force hundred precious war elephants from a high-cliff. Sung-yun[2] gives a detailed description of the elephant troops of Mihirakula. According to him, the king possessed 700 war elephants, each of which carried ten men armed with sword and spear, and the elephants were themselves armed with swords attached to their trunks, with which they fought when at close quarters[3]. Kosmas Indikopleustes[4] also lays stress on the elephant army of Gollas, and states that the king goes to war with no less than 2000 war-elephants. He also mentions the large number of cavalry in the army of the white Hun king.

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1. Rājatarangini. vol.I.Bk.I.305.
2. S. Beal-Si-yu-ki. Intro.p.100
3. We do not have any reference to this being done. This does not seem to be historically true, as the elephants with swords may harm themselves or the men of their own side.
4. The Christian Topography of Kosmas. Tr. by J.W.McCrindle p.370-71.1897. Gollas of Kosmas is universally identified with Mihirakula for he has some of his coins inscribed with the name Mihiragula and so it is quite probable that Kosmas has abbreviated the full name into the last half. Moreover he calls Gollas a white-Hun king and he must surely be the same as Sung-yun's Ye-tha king. Believing the origin of the word Mihira from Avestan Mithra, or Persian Mihir, meaning 'Sun' , it can be suggested that Kula of the name was originally Gula. Gula could be as well derived from a Turkish word Gül meaning 'rose'. Thus the name as a whole could mean 'sun rose'.

The numbers and significance of the elephants in his army are extremely interesting. This increased number of war elephants may indicate the growth of Mihirakula's power, and shows that he had adopted not only Indian religion, as we shall see later, but also the Indian mode of warfare.

Kalhaṇa[1] refers to the conquests of Mihirakula, but the countries named by him do not seem to be correct. He gives an incredible story as the reason behind his conquests. One day the king perceived the marks of footprints on the breast of his queen. He was told that the queen wore a jacket made of cloth from Sinhala; which was marked with the golden footprints of the Sinhalese king. The king flamed up with anger, and with his large army of elephants marched towards Sinhala to give a lesson to the king. He subdued the country, deposed the reigning monarch and enthroned a new chief. While returning from Laṅkā, Mihirakula conquered the Cola, Karṇāṭa, Lāṭa and other kingdoms. When he reached the gates of Kashmir, he suddenly heard the terrifying cry of an elephant, which had fallen over a precipice. The king was delighted and thrilled at the sound of the agonised brute and rolled down by force

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1. Rājataraṅgiṇī - Bk.- I-294-303.

a hundred more elephants to join the chorus[1]. A persian writer of the 13th century, Muhammad Vali[2] in his Majmū'al Tawārīkh gives the same story, but in his version the footprints were of a Sindh king named Hāla. It seems to us that the story of the footprints on the jacket of Mihirakula's queen is introduced by Kalhaṇa only to illustrate the fantastic nature of the king's character. The later writers of the story blindly follow Kalhaṇa.

Though the case of Mihirakula's attack, as given by the above authors, is unbelievable, it is beyond doubt that he did invade the interior parts of India, crossing the borders of Kashmir, Sindh and the Punjab. How far the mention of the countries of Simhala, Coḷa, Karṇāṭa and Lāṭa is accurate

1. The story of the elephant is preserved in the local tradition of a place called Hastivañj, which is located, as Stein and Rama Chandra Kak inform us, on the Bhimbar Rajauri Road, which after crossing Pir-pantsal pass at an altitude of 11500 feet, debouches into the valley of Kashmir ('Notes on the Ancient Topography of the Pir-Pantsal route, J.A.S.B. 1895.p.376; Stein - Rājataraṅginī translation. F.N.p.44; R.C. Kak- Antiquities of Bhimabar and Rajauri. M.A.S.I. no.14. 1923 preface p.i..) The story and the name Hastivañj is reproduced in Abu-al-Fazal's Āin-ī-Akbari (Gladwin's Trans.vol.i.p.432.1877); Though the name of the place is by mistake recorded as Hasti-vatar.

2. Muhammad Vali.- Majmū'al Tawārīkh. Fragments Arabes et Persans - M.Reinaud. p. 42. ; Elliot. History of India vol. I . p. 107.

cannot be ascertained through such imaginative accounts. Simhala is modern Ceylon, Cola is probably the modern Tanjore, Karnāṭa is still known by the same name and Lāṭa is central Gujarat. The only corroboration of Kalhaṇa's account is the report of Tārānātha[1], who says that during the later period of the Hūṇa chief, the kings of South India joined hands with those of the north to fight a battle against him. And it can be thought that the only cause of unique confederation was that Mihirakula in his earlier career defeated many kings of the north and the south of India, and therefore they united to bring about his downfall. But these possibilities fade, when we find a contemporary king Yaśodharman, as a ruler of central India. Yaśodharman, who ultimately defeated Mihirakula, says in his Mandasor inscription that his empire extended from the river Lauhitya (Brahmaputra) in the East, to mount Mahendra (Ganjam district) in the south and from the Himālayas on the north to the ocean of the West[2]. - ā lauhitya = ôpakaṇṭhāt = tala vana - gahana-ôpatyakād ā Mahendrād ā Gaṅgāśliṣṭa sānôs tuhinaś- -ikharinaḥ = paścimād = ā payôdheḥ'. Translation - 'From the neighbourhood of the river Lauhitya up to (the mountain)

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1. Tārānātha - op.cit.p.248.
2. C.I.I. III. no.33. line 5. Sircar. Select Inscriptions. no. 54.

Mahendra, the lands at the foot of which are impenetrable through the groves of palm and from Himālaya, the table lands of which are embraced by Gahgā, - up to the western ocean.'

The exact date when Yaśodharman acquired such a vast empire cannot be ascertained but his empire building was probably completed before the two Mandasor inscriptions were raised i.e. C.A.D. 530-33. There is no doubt that the inscriptions contain much laudatory exaggeration, such as most of the court poets were used to compose. But on the other hand we should admit that even if Yaśodharman did not subdue countries extending from the Brahmaputra to the Western ocean and from the Himālayas to the Mahendra mountain, he must still have had a considerable empire. Such laudatory poems have always some degree of truth in them. And in that case Mihirakula could not have gained the victory over Southern countries like Simhala, Coḷa, Karṇāṭa and Lāṭa, for the empire of Yaśodharman lay in the way.

It may be suggested that Mihirakula conquered the south before Yaśodharman accomplished his empire building. But this is not very probable, since a reign of only 15 or 20 years can be assigned to Mihirakula. We have already seen that he started his campaign from the North West in about A.D.515. To subdue the neighbouring provinces took him at least five years, as Sung-yun says that in A.D. 520, he had been fighting with Kipin for three years and that his power was still

centered in Gandhāra. Thus he could only have commenced his campaign against the interior parts of India after C.A.D. 520. But he was defeated by Yaśodharman before C.A.D. 532-33. Within the two limits of C.A.D. 520 and 532-33, it is very difficult to place so many events. If the story of Mihirakula's conquest as far as Sinhala and his subsequent retirement is true, there could be hardly any time for Yaśodharman, who also boasts of conquering a vast empire before A.D. 532-33. Thus we can reasonably assume that Kalhaṇa's account of his victory in the south is imaginative and has hardly any significance.

Even after contradicting the exaggerated accounts of the Kashmir Pandit, we must admit that Mihirakula succeeded in reaching the central parts of India, if not the south. Yaśodharman's Mandasor inscription states clearly that the Hūṇas held a vast area, like the Guptas[1]. Hsüan-tsang also states that Mihirakula was ruling over the whole of India[2], which can be taken to mean that he had a vast empire. Kosmas[3] gives an account of the siege of a certain fortress in India by Gallas. He states that once Mihirakula

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1. C.I.I. III. NO.33; Sircar - Select Inscriptions. no. 54.p.393.

2. S. Beal (Si-yu-ki p.167) translates the clause 'ruled over India', while Julien (p.190) translates - 'et devint le souverain des cinq Indies'.

3. Kosmas Indikopleustes - Christian Topography - trans by J.W. McCrindle.p.370-71. 1877.

laid siege to an inland city of the Indians, which was on every side protected by water. A long while he sat down before it, until by his elephants, his horses and his soldiers all the water had been drunk up. He then crossed over to the city dry shod and took it". The description merely indicates that the king had a huge army. But unfortunately the Topographer does not give the name of the fortress. The only thing we are told about its location is that it was in the interior of India. In the absence of any further evidence, our attempts to identify it are useless. While we cannot believe the fantastic story of Gollas's method of capturing a city, Kosmas's account in general is historically quite reliable. He himself says - "all the matters I have described and explained partly from personal observation and partly from accurate enquiries which I made when in the neighbourhood of the different places". His information thus should not be wrong even if in some cases it is incomplete. About Gollas he remarks that "he is the lord of India and, by oppressing the people forces them to pay tribute". It seems that sometimes Mihirakula made raids on certain cities only with the aim of pludering them.

We may allude here to an interesting passage, from a Jaina text Nītīvākyāmṛtaṁ[1], composed by Somadeva Sūrī

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1. Somadeva Sūrí - Nītīvākyāmṛtaṁ-Durggasamuddeśa p.200. 201. Bombay Edition of Saṁ 1979.

in Śaka Saṁvat 881. The work does not name our Hūṇa king Mihirakula; but the passage tells of the event in the reduplicated perfect tense and thus according to the strict Pāṇinian rule, it did not occur in the lifetime of Somadeva, he only heard of it at second hand. The work says - "śrūyate hi kil Hūṇādhipatih paṇyaputavhibhih subhaṭaiś = citrakūṭaṁ jagrāha". The author thus had heard that previously a certain Hūṇa king had occupied the city of Citrakūṭa. This king's name is not mentioned. But as we know that among the Hūṇas Mihirakula was the most successful monarch, whose forces reached far into India, it is very probable that the Hūṇādhipati mentioned here is he, and that Citrakuta is Citor, which is not far from Gwalior, which was beyond doubt in the possession of Mihirakula. The assumption is in accord with the tradition that he possessed a vast empire.

The most reliable and positive proof of the extent of his empire up to the central provinces of India is the inscription found in Gwalior[1]. This records the building of a sun-temple in the 15th year of Mihirakula's reign, by a certain Mātṛceṭa, who was the grandson of Mātṛtula and the son of Mātṛdāsa. --

Line 4. Tasminrājani śāsati prthvīṁ prthu vimala locanertthare abhivardhamāna rājye pañcadaśābde nrpa vṛśasya

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1. C.I.I. p.162 f., Sircar. Select Inscriptions. no.57.p.400; J.A.S.B. XXXI.p.391.

Line 5. Mātṛtulasya tu putraḥ putraśca tathaiva Mātṛdāsasya nāmnā ca Mātṛceṭaḥ parvvatadurgānu vāstavyaḥ

Line 6. nānādhātu vicitre Gopāhvayaṁ[1] nāmni bhūdhare ramye kāritavān śailamayaṁ bhānoḥ prāsāda vara mukhyaṁ

Translation -

"While (the king), the remover of distress, possessed of large and pellucid eyes, is governing the earth, in the augmenting reign (and) in the fifteenth year of (him) the best (of the kings)..... The grandson of Mātṛtula and the son of Mātṛdāsa, by name Mātṛceṭa, an inhabitant of the hill, has caused to be made, on the delightful mountain, which is speckled with various metals and has the appellation of Gôpa, a stone temple, the chief among the best of the temples." This inscription thus records the extension of Mihirakula's empire up to Gwalior.

Mihirakula failed to retain his supremacy over such a vast country, for long. We do not know the cause that led to such a quick decline of his empire, but we can see some of the steps by which he suddenly plunged into insignif-cance.

We have two different sources referring to the down-fall of Mihirakula, the Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman[2] and the record of Hsüan-tsang[3].

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1. Gopāhvaya is the same as Gopàdrī and Gopagiri, i.e. Gwalior.

2. C.I.I. III No.33.

3. S. Beal- Si-yu-ki. p.171.

The inscription which refers to the vast empire and the power and prestige of the king, and also his success over the Hūṇa chief Mihirakula, needs to be quoted.-

Ye bhuktā Gupta-nāthairnna Sakala vasudhākkrānti dṛṣṭa - pratāpaiḥ/ nājñā Hūnādhipanāmkṣitipati mukuṭāddhyāsinī yānpraviṣṭā/ deśāmstāndhanva - śaila-druma-gahana-saridvīr-abāhūp-gūḍhān/ vīryyāvaskanna rājñaḥ svagṛha parisarāvajñayā yo bhunakti/ ā Lauhityôpakaṇṭhāttalavana gahanôpatyakādā Mahendrād/ā Gaṅgāśliṣṭa=sānôs-tuhinaśikhariṇaḥ=paścimādā-payodheḥ/ samantairyasya bāhu dravina hṛta madaiḥ pādayôr= ānamad/bhiś=cūḍāratnāṅśu rājivyatikara-śabala=bhūmibhāgāḥ kṛyante sthānôr-anyattra yêna praṇati kṛpaṇatām prāpitām n=ôttā-/ māṅgam yasyāśliṣṭo bhujābhyām vahati Himagirir durgga-/ śabdābhimānam / nicais=ten=āpi yasya praṇati bhuja bal= āvarjjana kliṣṭa mūrddhnā cûḍā-pusp=ôpahā rair Mihirakula nṛpenārccitam pād yugmam //

Translation—"He (i.e. Yaśodharman) who spurning (the confinement of) the boundaries of his own house, enjoys those countries, thickly covered over with deserts and mountains and trees and thickets and rivers and strong armed heroes, (and) having their kings assaulted by (his) prowess,- which were not enjoyed (even) by the lords of the Guptas, whose prowess was displayed by invading the whole (remainder of the) earth , (and) which the command of the chiefs of the Hunas, that established itself on the tiaras of (many) kings, failed to penetrate." // 4

"He, before whose feet chieftains, having (their)arrogance removed by the strength of (his) arm,bow down, from the neighbourhood of the river Lauhitya up to the mount Ma - hendra, the lands at the foot of which are impenetrable through the groves of palmyra-trees, (and) from Himālaya, the peak of which are embraced by the river Gaṅgā, up to the western ocean, - by which all the divisions of the earth are made of various hues through the intermingling of the rays of the jewels in the locks of hair on the top of (their) heads" !! 5 !! "He, by whom (his) head has never been brought into the humility of obeisance to any other save the (god) Sthānu, he, through the embrace of whose arms Himālaya carries no longer the pride of the title of being a place that is difficult to access, - he, to whose feet respect was paid with complimentary presents of flowers, from the lock of hair on the top of (his) head, by even that (famous) king Mihirakula, whose forehead was pained through being bent low down by the strength of (his) arm in (the act of compelling) obeisance." !! 6!'.

The inscription depicts Yaśodharman, as a king of the whole Uttarāpatha, possessing a country larger than the empires of the Guptas and the Hūṇas. It is unfortunate that we possess very limited knowledge about the family background of this important king. This inscription refers to Yaśodharman as Janendra.Hoernle[1] thinks that

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1. A.F.R. Hoernle - Inscribed seal of Kumāra GuptaII.
J.A.S.B.1889.
p.96.

the word means that he was originally a tribal chieftain. Fleet[1] also interprets Janendra as 'a tribal ruler'. But Allan[2] thinks that Janendra and Narādhipati are synonymous and they mean neither more nor less than 'a king'. The last named author, also doubted whether Yaśodharman and Viṣṇuvardhana, referred to in another inscription of Yaśodharman were the different names of the same person or whether Yaśodharman was the suzerain of Viṣṇuvardhana[3]. We need not plunge into this controversy for it has been conclusively proved by Hoernle that they were identical. He holds the view that 'the identity is explicitly affirmed by the sanskrit phrase "sa eva narādhipatiḥ' i.e. 'the very same sovereign', used in the inscription with reference to Viṣṇuvardhana' 4. This identification is confirmed by the Mañjūśrī Mūlakalpa, which after the Guptas refers to the rule of a certain chief Viṣṇu, whom Jayaswal[5] equates with Yaśodharman Viṣṇuvardhana of the Mandasore inscription. The

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1. .Fleet. C.I.I. III. p.151.
2. Allan- Gupta coins. 1914.p.Iviii..
3. Ibid. p.IVii.
4. J.A.S.B. 1889.p.96.f.n. J.R.A.S. 1903.p.550;Ibid 1905.p.90.
5. K.P. Jayaswal - The Imperial History of India. p.28.

identification seems to support Hoernle's view that Viṣṇu-vardhana was the title or another name of Yaśodharman.

On the basis of the Bihar Kotra inscription[1] of Naravarman, inscribed in the M.E. 474, it has been suggested by, Sircar,[2] Sharma[3] and Mirashi[4] that Yaśodharman was connected with the Varman kings of Mandasor. In this inscription, Naravarman is described as Aulikara; and Yaśodharman in his Mandasor inscription of M.E. 589, is depicted as having Aulikara, Lāñcana[5]. Fleet has suggested the meaning of Aulikara as 'hot rayed (sun)' or 'cool rayed (moon)'; Lāñcana is a technical term for the principal emblem struck by the kings on the seals attached to their charters, and it is completely distinct from the emblems on their banners. A list of the Varman kings of Mandasor and its adjacent areas, can be drawn from the Gangadhar[6] ins. of M.E.480 and Mandasor inscriptions[7] of M.E. 493 and 529. The names of these kings and thier known dates are thus-

Jayavarman → Simhavarman → Naravarman (known dates M.E. 461 and 474) → Viśvavarman (known date M.E.480) →

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1. E.I.vol.26.no.17 p.130. Ed. by S.N.Chakravarti.
2. D.C. Sircar. E.I. 1960.Jan.vol.33.p.205-6.
3. Dasharatha Sharman. J.B.O.R.S. vol.29.p.127-28.
4. Mirashi - I.H.Q. 1957.p.314-18.
5. C.I.I. III no.34.
6. Gangadhar Stone inscription of Viśvavarman. Yr.480. C.I.I. III.17
7. C.I.I. III no. 18.

Bandhuvarman (known date. M.E.493).

The connection of Yaśodharman with this Varman family seems to us doubtful. The first remarkable point is that Yaśodharman's name does not end in 'Varman', as it should have done if he had been related to the above Varmans. The second difficulty is that the meaning of the word Aulikara is not certain. It may not have such remarkable significance as Fleet and other scholars ascribe to it. It may have some very general meaning and thus could describe the emblem of more than one dynasty. Moreover it is also possible that the Aulikara may have been the symbol of Mandasor rather than the emblem of the ruling dynasty. And furthermore it is always possible for a usurper or a new ruler to take over the insignia of the old one. Therefore, we think, it would be rather rash to conclude, only on the basis of this word, that Naravarman and Yaśodharman belonged to the same family.

The third objection is derived from the Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman himself. The record does not mention anything about his predecessors, except that he belonged to a family which was worthy to be eulogised[1]. The inscription is lengthy enough, and the writer has no lack of space to mention Yaśodharman's ancestry. The absence of any such mention suggests that Yaśodharman was the creator of his own fortune and he was the first person to raise his family to political importance. This objection again reduces the possibility of a relationship with the

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1. C.I.I. III. no.33. Line.8. (Ślāghye janm=āsya vaṁśè)

famous Varman feudal lords, for the Varmans give much chronological data in their own inscriptions.

On the basis of the Nalanda stone inscription of Yaśovarmadeva[1], Hirananda Shastri proposed to emend the name of Yaśodharman to Yaśovarmadeva. He thinks that if Bālāditya, mentioned in this Nalanda stone inscription, was the contemporary of Yasovarmadeva, then the latter should be identical with Yaśodharman of Mandasor, for we know through the Chinese sources that Yaśodharman was the contemporary of Bālāditya. But this is extremely improbable, for the Nalanda inscription refers to Bālāditya as having lived in the past and not as a contemporary of Yaśovarmadeva. This king is almost certainly Yaśovarman of Kanauj of the 8th century and is not the same as Yaśodharman of Mandasor. Shastri's theory is far-fetched and we cannot merely on this basis emend the name of Yaśodharman, which is boldy inscribed without the possibility of a palaeographical mistake, into Yaśovarman. Yaśodharman of Mandasor seems to have had no relationship with the Varman family.

About Yaśodharman's predecessors another possible analogy can be produced with the help of two Mandasor inscriptions of Gauri[2]. One inscription of Gauri, was discovered at Mandasor while the other inscription dated v.s. 547 (A.D.491) was found in Neemuch, nearly thirty-two

1. H.N. Shastri - Nalanda stone inscription of the reign of Yaśovarmadeva. E.I.xx. p.37.
2. E.I. vol.xxx pp.120., 132.

miles from Mandasor. The first inscription of Gauri preserves the name of a certain king Āditya vardhana. It says - 'Jitvā ripubalaṁ saṁkhye ramyaṁ puraṁ daśādikaṁ .....nara vyāghre narendra Āditya Vardhane.' Sircar[1] imagines that the lost word in the stanza may be pālayati or praśāsati. The sentence Ādityavardhane daśādikaṁ puraṁ praśāsati, plainly signifies that Ādityavardhana was the overlord of the local ruler Gauri, and was ruling over the country of Mandasor in about A.D. 491. The name, ending in Vardhana, naturally strengthen the case for supposing that he may be an ancestor of Yaśodharman Viṣṇuvardhana. There is another king named Dravyavardhana, who is mentioned by Varāhamihira.[2] The astronomer says in his chapter on Śakunas (omens) that he has consulted a work of Mahārājādhirāja nṛpa Dravyavardhana of Avanti. Dravyavardhana was thus a predecessor of Varāhamihira. The approximate date of Varāhamihira is Śaka 427(A.D.505)[3],

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1. D.C. Sircar -'A note on the Mandasor inscription of Gauri.' E.I. 1960. January. vol.33. p.205, 'Capital of the later Aulikaras'. I.H.Q. March. 1959. p.73-75.

2. Varāha Mihira - Bṛhat Saṁhitā Śakunādhyāya śl.1.2. (Vidyabhavan samskṛt granthamālā no.41.-1959.Benares) Mirashi - 'New lights on the ancient history of Mālava' I.H.Q. 1957.p.314-18 ; 'Ujjayani was the capital of the later Aulikaras'. I.H.Q. 1958.p.254-258.

3. He took the Śaka year 427 as the initial year for his calculations.

when most probably he composed his famous work Pañca Siddhāntikā. The name Dravyavardhana of Avanti suggests a possibility that he was a member of the family of Āditya-vardhana. At the time of Varāhamihira the text was already well known, which suggests that he wrote his book not exactly at A.D. 505, but a few years earlier, for in those days any book could have only been popularised after a considerable period. Thus we think that he was a predecessor of Ādityavardhana and not his successor as Sircar and Mirashi believe. It is possible, as the ending of the name Vardhana suggests, that these two kings were the predecessors of Viṣṇuvardhana Yaśodharman of Mandasor. Āditya-vardhana was undoubtedly a ruler of Mandasor; Dravyavardhana was not directly connected with this particular town, but is mentioned as the king of Avanti. Mirashi[1] tries to argue that Avanti was Ujjain, and that Dravyavardhana was ruling from Ujjain and not from Mandasor. But we think that Sircar[2] is right in pointing out that Avanti was primarily the name of Western Mālava, and only secondarily used as the proper designation of Ujjain. As we have definite proofs that Ādityavardhana and Viṣṇuvardhana were rulers of Mandasor, it is more likely that Dravyavardhana also ruled from the same town. Sircar and Mirashi both

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1. I.H.Q. 1957.p.314-18; I.H.Q. 1959.p.254.
2. I.H.Q. 1959.p.73-5; E.I. 1960.p.205.

connect this Vardhana family with the Varman feudal lords, whom we have discussed above. We differ from these scholars. The two endings Vardhana and Varman are completely different and there is no reason to connect them. The only means of connecting the Vardhanas with the Varmanas is the argument of Aulikara, ~~used by Naravarman and Yasodharman~~ Vishnuvardhana. But the emblem Aulikara was not taken by earlier Vardhana kings. It was only Yaśodharman Viṣṇuvardhana who accepted the Aulikara Lāñcana. It is not improbable that he borrowed the emblem from the Varmanas, who predeceased his family, only after strengthening his position. It is explicitly mentioned in the Mandasor stone inscription of Bandhuvarman[1] that after his reign Daśapura went through a troublesome period during which other kings ruled -

Line. 16 -"While he, the noble Bandhuvarman .. was governing the city of Daśapura.. a noble unequalled temple of the sun was caused to be built by the silk-cloth weavers."

Line. 17 - "When, by (the reckoning from) the tribal constitution of Mālavas, four centuries of years increased by 93 had elapsed...

Line 19 - "And in the course of a long time, under other kings, part of this temple fell into disrepair; so now, in order to increase their own fame, the whole of this most noble house of the Sun has been repaired again by the munificent corporation... when five centuries of years increased by 29 years had elapsed". It is very likely that

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1. C.I.I. III no.18.

this troublesome period (i.e.M.E. 493-529) resulted in the change of dynasty from the Varmans to the Vardhanas. Furthermore it is interesting to note that an inscription has been discovered at Mandasor dated V.S.524 (=A.D.467-8), of a prince named Prabhākara[1]. Mirashi[2] believes that Prabhākara was another Aulikara king who reigned during this disturbed period of the history of western Mālava. We cannot find any reason to connect this Prābhakara with the Aulikara family, when he is not mentioned as an Aulikara. On the other hand, we think that Prabhākara of V.S. 524 was an opportunist who sought for fortune during the troublesome period in Mandasor, but failed to establish any permanent occupation of the province, for as early as A.D.491[3], the Vardhana family was ruling there.

The Mandasor inscription of Gauri ascribes to Ādityavardhana, the title Narendra. In the same way, Dravyavardhana bore no royal title but was remembered by Varāha-Mihira as śrī Dravyavardhana. These comparatively humble titles of the predecessors of Visṇuvardhana Yaśodharman, probably explains why his lengthy inscriptions do not mention anything about his ancestors, except remarking that 'he belonged to a family which is worthy to be eulogised[3]

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1. E.I. XXVII p.145.
2. op.cit.
3. C.I.I. III. no.33.line.8.

Yaśodharman, thus, belonged to the ordinary family of the Vardhanas. And during the period when Hūṇas were repelled by Bhānu Gupta and the Guptas succumbed to many difficulties, he took the opportunity to carve out his own independent principality. The Mandasor inscription of M.E. 589 gives him the credit for establishing a big empire by the strength of his own arms. He gradually conquered provinces which had never been subdued by the mighty Guptas or powerful Hūṇas.

Hoernle[1] believes that Yaśodharman was the famous Vikramāditya of Ujjaina and it was his achievements which gave the name 'Vikrama era' to the Mālava era. To corroborate his hypothesis that Yaśodharman was the king of Ujjain, he gives him the credit of striking the Prakāśāditya coins, Which have the letter U at the bottom of the obverse[2], According to Hoernle Prakāśāditya was another title of Yasodharman Viṣṇuvardhana Vikramāditya and U signifies the Ujjain mint. To confirm the extent of his empire, he ascribes the coins of Yaśovarman found in Kashmir and in the Punjab to Yaśodharman. As the Brāhmī letters Dha and Va are apt to be confused, he thinks that there is no improbability in accepting these coins as those of the Mandasor king, in spite of the differnce of name. Yaśodharman's inscription makes him the conqueror of the Himālayas and it is possible that after reaching Kashmir (i.e. the Himālaya

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1. Hoernle - 'The identity of Yaśodharman and Vikramā-ditya and some corollaries. J.R.A.S. 1909.p.89-144.

2. I.M.C.C. p.119.(Hoernle has in another place accepted that Prakāśāditya coins were of Puru Gupta.J.R.A.S.B. 1889.p.93-94.)

he struck these coins, on which owing to the carelessness of the engraver his name was corrupted into Yaśodharman.

All these views have been strongly criticised by the scholars such as Allan[1] and Rayachaudhuri[2]. Hoernle committed a blunder by accepting the Mandasor inscription as strictly true. All his hypothesis is based on this inscription, which says that Yaśodharman was the conqueror of the country extending from the Himālayas to the Brahmaputra. So much faith in a eulogistic inscription is absolutely unwarranted. His ascription of the Kashmir coins to Yaśodharman has now been fully disproved. Though there are various opinions as to whom these coins should be assigned to, it is certain that they were not those of Yaśodharman[3].

In the same way the ascription of Prakāśāditya coins to Yaśodharman is not firmly grounded. These coins were most probably struck by Pūru Gupta, though the view is based only on the inconclusive evidence of the Bharasar hoard[4]. The hoard contains the coins of Samudra Gupta, Candra Gupta II, Kumāra Gupta I, and Skanda Gupta and Prakāśāditya. The natural assumption is that Prakāśāditya closely followed Skanda Gupta. After the discovery of the Bhitari seal of Kumāra Gupta and the report on it published in 1889[5], it has been generally believed that Pūru Gupta, who is described

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1. Allan-Gupta Coins. p.lvi - lix.
2. H. Rayachaudhuri PHAI. p.504. f.n.3.
3. See Appendix. III.p.378.
4. J.R.A.S.B. 1852.p.390-400.
5. J.R.A.S.B. 1889. p.84-105.

as the son and the successor of Kumāra Gupta I, was the full or half brother of Skanda Gupta, and probably closely followed him. Thus the Prakāśāditya coins which are found with Skanda Gupta coins were probably struck by his immediate successor and may be the coins of Pūru Gupta[1]. But because of the absence of further evidence in support of this, numerous other theories have been put forward. Allan[2] assigns these Prakāśāditya coins to a king who was probably the son and successor of Skanda Gupta, and not to his brother. Though these coins still remain a matter of controversey their attribution to Yaśodharman is in no way plausible. The legend Vijityavasudhām divam jayati which is inscribed on them, is similar to the formulae on other Gupta coins, and thus should refer to a Gupta king. This type of formula had by then long lost its verbal significance and there is no ground in Hoernle's argument that Pūru Gupta, who was a weak king, could not have struck coins with the titles Prakāśāditya, which means 'the sun of splendour'. Allan suggests that the style and the fineness of the gold of all the specimens show that the Prakāśāditya coins were of Gupta origin and could not be dated earlier than Kumāra Gupta I or later than Narasimha Gupta. Moreover that the letter U signifies the Ujjain mint is not

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1. A. Ghosh. 'Nalanda seals of Budhagupta and Vishnu Gupta I. H.Q 1943.p.121-22

2. Allan. Gupta coins p.lii.

corroborated by any other source. And even if it is accepted that U stands for Ujjain, it cannot be believed on this evidence that Yaśodharman was the Ujjain king Vikramāditya, for it seems that Mandasor was the capital of Yaśodharman and not Ujjain[1]. The coins of the later Guptas always bore a similar single letter at the bottom of the obverse. According to one opinion these letters were the initials of the second name of the king and according to another view they were mint-marks. But nothing conclusive can yet be decided about them.

The extent of Yaśodharman 's empire, as described in his own record, seems to be exaggerated. For if we accept the description as strictly true, it will mean that during his rule the Gupta and Hūṇa Kingdoms ceased to exist. It is quite possible that the Guptas lost their hold over the western parts of India soon after A.D. 510[2], and that the province passed into the occupation of the Hūṇas and then to Yaśodharman. But the Guptas held Bihar and Bengal for a longer period. Seals of the successors of Nara-Simha Gupta have been found in Bhitari[3] and Nalanda[4]. The Nalanda seal of Visnu Gupta shows that the Guptas remained in these parts until the reign of the grandson of Narasimha Gupta. Thus, Yaśodharman could not in fact have reached the Brahmaputra,

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1. See above . p.146; I.H.Q. 1959.p.73-4.
3. J.R.A.S.B. LVIII.pt.1.p.89.
2. . see above p. 112-113
4. E.I. vol. XXVI p.235.

for the remnants of the Guptas who were still strong enough to resist Mihirakula, were ruling in parts of Bihar and Bengal and would have stood in his way. Yaśodharman mentions only his defeat of Mihirakula. If he had actually defeated the Guptas, he would surely have said so, since the prestige of such a victory over the dynasty which for 200 years had been paramount in North India, would have been even greater than that of the conquest of a despised barbarian invader. The statement that Yaśodharman ruled region where even the command of the Guptas had not been acknowledged, does not necessarily imply that he conquered them, and it is probably true, since his power, based on Mandasor, may well have extended into parts of Rajasthan which had never been included in the Gupta empire.

Yaśodharman's inscription refers to the Hūṇas as a people whose greatness is past, but it is absurd to believe that he completely put an end to Hūṇa rule in India. We know from Hsüan-tsang[1] that Mihirakula, even after his defeat by Bālāditya, conquered Gandhāra, Sindh and Kashmir. We have further references in the Rājataṅgiṇi[2] which tells of the successors of Mihirakula, who reigned in Kashmir. This is corroborated by their coins.[3]

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1. S.Beal. Si-Yu-Ki p. 168-172
2. See below. P. 191
3. See Appendix 1.

All this evidence confirms the survival of the Hùṇas in India even after their downfall at the hands of Yaśodharman. Therefore, his inscription, which mentions the Hùṇas and the Guptas as though they were his predecessors, greatly exaggerates his achievments.

The second king who defeated Minirakula was the Magadhan king Bālāditya, whose fame has been recorded by Buddhist writers and by an inscription of the 8th century found at Nalanda[1]. Hsüan-tsang[2] says that soon after Mihirakula had consolidated his empire, he started to oppress the Buddhists. The news of his cruel deeds reached the Magadhan king Bālāditya, who cared for the Buddhists very tenderly. Hearing of the atrocities he mounted guard on the frontier of his kingdom and refused to pay tribute to Mihirakula. Mihirakula was furious and marched against Magadha. Bālàditya Rājā knew the strength of the Hūna monarch and he dared not fight with him. With the permission of his ministers he concealed himself among the bushes of a marshy land. He was popular with his people and thus his followers amounted to many myriads and all of them fled with him and hid themselves in the Islands of the sea[3].

1. E.I. XX. p.37.

2. S. Beal. Si.Yu-ki. p.168-72.

3. The marshy land on the sea, may be the Gangetic delta, called Samataṭa in ancient days, for there are no marshy Islands of the sea near Magadha except this region. Moreover in later inscriptions there is ample evidence that a certain group of the Hūṇas was residing in or near Bengal

(See below.p.244-45

Mihirakula reached Magadha and found that the king had departed and so, leaving his army under the command of his younger brother, he himself pursued Bālādhitya. In the marshy region Mihirakula was suddenly captured alive by the followers of Bālāditya. He was brought to the Magadha court. Ashamed of his misfortune he covered his face with his mantle. Bālāditya ordered his execution. But everything had been overheard by Bālāditya's mother. She asked to see Mihirakula. Pleased either by his disposition or out of affection, she asked her son to liberate the Hūna chief, for it was clear from his horoscope that he would not again rule over a vast kingdom and thus would not be able to trouble Magadha. Bālāditya, who was obedient to his mother, followed her command and Mihirakula was saved. He went back to his kingdom but found that his younger brother had usurped the throne at Śākala. He entered Kashmir, not as an overlord but as a refugee. Mihirakula, who was clever and extremely ambitious, was able to stir up rebellion against the ruling Kashmir chief and, killing the king who had given him protection in his misfortune, he enthroned himself in Kashmir. Then once again from his newly acquired kingdon, he started his campaigns and very soon reconquered Gandhāra and the Sindhu valley, where he persecuted the thousands of Buddists and devastated many saṁghā rāmas.

Thus there are records of two different kings, who inflicted decisive defeats on Mihirakula. Hoernle[1] and Modi[2] gave the whole credit to Yaśodharman, believing that the local contemporary record of Mandasor should be more reliable than the later account of a foreigner like Hsüan-tsang. Hoernle thinks that the statement that Mihirakula's head was bowed down by the strength of Yaśodharman's arms in the act of compelling obeisance, as recorded in the Mandasor inscription, evidently means that Yaśodharman took Mihirakula prisoner. Thus the story of the Chinese pilgrim that the Hūṇa chief was imprisoned by Bālāditya is in fact the flase attribution of the achievement of Yaśodharman. Hoernle's argument is not effective, for the above phrase does not necessarily imply Mihirakula's imprisonment. It simply says that Mihirakula was defeated by Yaśodharman. There is no improbability in this if we assume that he and Bālāditya both defeated Mihirakula. We can agree with Heras[3] when he says that " an account written one century later would have to be rejected if ~~wmx~~ it were evidently contradictory to a contemporary account.

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1. J.R.A.S.,1909,.p.91-98.
2. Modi.-'Early history of the Hūṇas'. J.B.B.R.A.S. XIX, p. 594 -595.
3. Rev. Fr.H. Heras.-'The final defeat of Mihirakula', I.H.Q.,1927. III.p.5.

But the Chinese pilgrim's narrative does not contradict any statement of the inscription of Yaśodharman and so there is no ground for the rejection of Hsüan-tsang's account."

On this assumption the question arises as to who defeated Mihirakula first. Mookerji[1], Allan[2] and Vasudeva Upadhyaya[3] believe that he was first defeated by Bālāditya and then his final defeat came through Yaśodharman. Heras[4] seems to reverse the two defeats. According to him Yaśodharman's conquest of Mihirakula was not final. Hsüan-tsang's account says that after being defeated by Bālāditya, Mihirakula lost his empire and fled to the north, and this relates to his final expulsion from mid-India. The defeat of Mihirakula by Yaśodharman might have weakened him and given to Bālāditya the opportunity for insurrection, as Hsüan-tsang admits. Smith[5] Havell[6] and Pathak[7] think that Bālāditya and Yaśodharman defeated Mihirakula as allies in a single battle. Fleet[8]

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1. Mookerji.- Harsa. p.59.
2. Allan.- Gupta Coins. p. LIX,LX.
3. I.H.Q., 1939.p.302 -6.
4. Rev.Fr.H.Heras.-The final defeat of Mihirakula.,I.H.Q. 1927.III.p.6.
5. E.H.I., p.337.
6. Havell .-Aryan rule in India. p.175.
7. K.B.Pathak.-On the date of Kidara.J.B.B.R.A.S.,XIX.p.35-43.
8. I.A.,XVIII. p.228.

seems to reconcile both views and puts forward a suggestion closely supported by Smith and his followers, that Mihirakula was defeated in the west by Yaśodharman and in the east by Bālāditya. We propose to reconsider the problem in the light of the original sources, which have led the historians to so many contradictory views.

The story of Hsüan-tsang about the final expulsion of Mihirakula from his empire of central India, seems to have some degree of truth. The same story is repeated by the later Buddhist writer Tārānātha [1]. He also gives to the Magadhan chief the credit of defeating the Hūṇa king. But unfortunately he gives the former the name Dharmacandra and says that he killed the Hūṇa monarch in battle.

The Magadhan king was no doubt Bālāditya and not Dharma-Candra, for we know of a certain king Bālāditya, who was remembered for his valour and his conquests in a later inscription found at Nalanda[2]. In this inscription he is said to have erected a gracious temple of the Buddha. Hsüan-tsang also says that Bālāditya Rāja, the subduer of Mihirakula, was a sincere worshipper of Buddha. So there is little doubt thst Bālāditya of the Nalanda inscription is identical with Bālāditya of the Chinese traveller [3]. Dharmacandra of

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1. N.Ch.1894.p.248
2. E.I. XX. p.40.
3. Majumdar. - Ancient India. p.256

Tārānātha is identified by Cunningham[1] with Yaśodharman. As there is a similarity of name between (Yaśo)dharman and Dharma(candra), and as both are described as the subduer of Mihirakula it is not unbelievable that these two names are of the same person. But unfortunately we do not have any other source to confirm the assumption. It can also be suggested that Tārānātha made this confusion between the Magadhan king and Yaśodharman, for these two kings both fought with Mihirakula. Tàrānātha, who wrote his history as late as A.D.1608[2] in another country and using sources already much later than the events they described, may have erroneously regarded (Yaśo) Dharman (i.e. his Dharma Candra) as a Magadhan king. Tārānātha further remarks that a certain king of Benares named Buddha Prakāśña and princes of west and south united to defeat the Hūṇa chief. Due to the absence of any other source in support of the evidence of this Buddhist chronicler, we cannot accept his information uncritically but it is at least reasonable to think that some sort of confederation would have been made against Mihirakula. Mihirakula in his early career subdued a number of princes and drew tributes from them, as Kosmas[3] confirms. It is quite probable that, owing to his oppresive policy, especially towards Buddhism, the Indian princes conspired against him and as soon as Bālāditya refused to pay tribute, the other princes rallied to his cause and attacked Mihirakula from all sides. It is unlikely that Mihirakula, who was very

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1. N.Ch.1894.p.254
2. R.C.Majumdar 'Lāmā Tārānātha's account of Bengal.I.H.Q.XVI.p. 219
3. See above p.136

powerful, could be defeated by a single petty chief such as Bālāditya; to defeat him Bālāditya would have to take help from other kings. There is no intrinsic improbability in the theory that Bālāditya and Yaśodharman defeated the Hūṇa chief in confederation. Both had equal credit and both took pride separately in this victory. One obejction to the theory of Bālāditya and Yaśodharman defeating Mihirakula in a single battle would be that Hsüan-tsang speaks of the victory of Bālāditya occuring in the Gangetic delta, far from Yaśodharman's capital. Assuming that Mihirakula held the Western half of the Gaṅgā basin and Bālāditya the Eastern half, while Yaśodharman ruled parts of Rājasthān and Mālwa, it would be natural for Bālāditya and Yaśodharman to form a temporary alliance according to the Doctrine of Maṇḍala.

Bālāditya has been identified as Narasiṁha Gupta Bālāditya by many eminent Indologists including Hoernle[1], Smith[2], and Allan[3]. But owing to the very controversial nature of later Gupta chronology, this view has not been accepted by all. After the last known date of Skanda Gupta i.e. A.D.467 (derived from the Indor copper plate of G.E.146[4] and one of his silver coins dated in G.E. 148) the history of northern India as a whole is extremely ambiguous.

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1. Hoernle - 'Inscribed seal of Kumāra Gupta II'. J.R.A.S.B. 1889.p.93-95.
2. E.H.I. p.329
3. Allan - Gupta coins p.lv.
4. C.I.I. III no.16.

Allan[1] long ago proved through the evidence of coins that there is a good reason to blame the successors of Skanda Gupta for the decay of Imperial power and the swift loss of their empire. According to him the scarcity of the Garuḍa reverse type silver coins of Pūru Gupta and his successors, in comparison to coins of the same type of Kumāra Gupta I, makes it clear that Western India, where these types of coins were in circulation soon ceased to be under Gupta sovereignty. In the same way the general stagnation in the design of the coins, only the archer type being issued, and the comparatively small amount of gold in the coins are other indications of the decaying state of Gupta power. In these circumstances, when we have distinct evidence of their decline, we find the names of many Gupta kings whose chronological position is hard to ascertain. To fix the date and identification of Hsüan-tsang's Bālāditya Rāja, king of Magadha, who was a devotee of Buddha, who built monasteries in Nalanda and who defeated and imprisoned Mihirakula 2, we must examine, if not in very great detail, the views of various historians regarding the chronology of the later Guptas.

After the discovery of the Bhitari seal of Kumāra Gupta II[3], Smith and Hoernle[4] proved that Imperial Gupta dynasty

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1. op.cit. p.Xlix.
2. S. Beal. Si-yu-ki.vol.p.168.vol.II.p.168.
4 V. Smith and Hoernle - 'Inscribed seal of Kumāra Gupta', J.R.A.S.B. 1889. p.84-8., 88-105.
3 J.R.A.S.B. lviii. pt.i.p.89.

continued after Skanda Gupta for at least two more generations. The seal gives the genealogy of the later Gupta dynasty in lines 6.7.8. ---

" Mahārājādhirāja śrī Kumāra Guptas Tasya puttras tat pādānudhyātô Mahādevyām Anantadevyām utpanno Mahārājādhirāja śrī Pūru Guptas tasya puttrastat pādānudhyātô Mahādevyām śrī Vatsadevyām utpanno Mahārājādhirāja śrī Narasiṁha Guptas tasya puttras tat pādānudhyātô Mahādevyām śrīmati devyām utpannaḥ paramabhāgavato Mahārājādhirāja śrī Kumāra Guptas."

It has been proposed by Hoernle that Kumāra Gupta I was succeeeded by Pūru Gupta, Narasiṁha Gupta and Kumāra Gupta II . The inscription contradicts the Bhitari inscription[1] of Skanda Gupta, which makes him the son and successor of Kumāra Gupta I. But it has now been recognised by most historians that Pūru Gupta was the younger brother or half brother of Skanda Gupta and succeeded to the throne after him.[2] The absence of the name of Skanda Gupta in the Bhitari seal of Kumāra Gupta is probably due to the fact that the seal gives a genealogical list, and not a chronology of the

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1. Sircar- Select inscriptions no. 28.p.312;C.I.I.III.p.53.

2. Majumdar tries to show the identity of Skanda Gupta and Pūru Gupta(I.A.Vol.XLVII. p.161).But R.D.Banerji has proved beyond doubt that they were two different kings and the latter succeeded the former. Their coins are solid evidence for their being different persons (Bh.An.1918.p.72-3) The specimens of the archer type coins of Pūru Gupta are preserved in the collections of Dr. Hoey (now in B.M.) and Rai Radhakrisman Jalan Sahib of Patna.S.K.Sarasvati reads these coins as of Budha Gupta(I.C.I.691-2)Majumdar and P.L. Gupta could not find the reading Pūru on them.(I.H.Q.1959. p.254.)

successors to Gupta throne. It is also possible that he had not been on good terms with Skanda Gupta and therefore he and his successors omitted Skanda's name from their inscription. Narasimha Gupta, mentioned in the seal, is described as the son and successor of Pūru Gupta, who was himself the son and successor of Kumāra Gupta I. Hoernle[1] has identified this king with the king Nara of the coins. These Nara coins are struck with the title Bālāditya on the reverse. Up to this point the historians are more or less in agreement. But controversy starts with the identification of this Narasimha Gupta Bālāditya of the Bhitari seal[2] and of the coins, with the Magadhan king Bālāditya of Hsüan -tsang, who defeated Mihirakula.

The problem became more and more complex as new inscriptions were found, for these gave names of further Gupta kings, for whom room has to be found in the chronology of the imperial Guptas, without any clarification of their lineage. The Sarnath inscription of G.E. 154= A.D. 473[3] , refers to a certain king named Kumāra Gupta, without mentioning the name of his father or his son. Then come the Sarnath inscription of G.E.157=A.D.476[4] , the Dāmodarpur copper plate of G.E.163 = A.D. 482 [5], the Erān inscription of G.E. 168 = A.D.484 [6],

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1. Hoernle Inscribed seal of Kumāra Gupta II. J.R.A.S.B.1889. p.93.
2. J.A.S.B. LVIII. pt.i. p.89.
3. Arch.Sur. Ind. Anc.Rep. 1914-15. p.124.
4. Sircars - Select Inscriptions. no.33.p.323.
5. Sircar. op.cit. no.34. p.324.
6. C.I.I. III.p.88.no.19. ; Sircar op.cit.no.35.p.326.

and silver coins of G.E. 175= A.D. 494[1] , all mentioning a king Budha Gupta. The discovery of the Gunaighar inscription of G.E. 188= A.D. 507[2] and the Erāṇ stone pillar inscription of G.E. 191=A.D. 510[3] give two more names, Vainya Gupta and Bhānu Gupta respectively.

Pannalal[4], Pandey[5] and Banerji[6] are of the opinion that the Bhitari Kumāra Gupta was identical with the Sarnath Kumāra Gupta of G.E. 154= A.D. 473. The last known date of Skanda Gupta is A.D. 467 (G.E. 148 on a silver coin).Therefore between these two limits of A.D. 467 , when Skanda Gupta's reign ended and A.D. 473, when Kumāra Gupta was king, they have tried to fit in two more kings: Pūru Gupta, the successor of Skanda Gupta and Narasiṁha Gupta the successor of Pūru Gupta. According to Banerji[7] , there is a sound possibility that Budha Gupta, of whom we have so many inscriptions, followed and succeeded Kumāra Gupta, son of Narasiṁha. Kumāra Gupta II may have reigned from A.D.473 to 476, when he was succeeded by Budha Gupta. The copper plate inscriptions discovered at Dinajpur and edited by

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1. Allan. Gupta coins. p.153.
2. Sircar. op.cit. no.37. p.331.
3. C.I.I. III. no.20.p.91; Sircar op.cit.no.38.p.335.
4. H.R. Jan. 1918.
5. J.B.O.R.S. IV. 344.412.
6. J.B.O.R.I. Vol.I. 1918.p.69-71.
7. R.D. Banerji- Chronology of the later Imperial Guptas., J.B.O.R.I. 1918. p.77

Basak, contain two grants of the reign of Budha Gupta and mention the district of Pundravardhana as included in his empire. Consequently it is recognised that Budha Gupta, who followed Kumāra Gupta, held sway from Mālava to Bengal. Banerji believes this king to have been originally a governor of Mālava in the time of Skand Gupta. He probably did not acknoweldge the legitimacy of Pūru Gupta, Narasimha Gupta and his son Kumāra Gupta II, and as soon as the minor Kumāra Gupta II came to the throne he removed him and raised himself to the kingship. According to this chronological scheme, the Bàlāditya who defeated Mihirakula must have been different from the Narasimha Gupta Bālāditya of the Bhitari inscription and of the coins.

Jayaswal[1] approves and supports this theory. He tries to prove that Bālāditya, the conqueror of Mihirakula, was a Bàlāditya II, different from Bālā(ditya) of Mañjūśrī Mūlakalpa[2] , who is described as the successor of s-initialled i.e. Skanda Gupta and the predecessor of Kumāra and consequently identical with the Narasimha Gupta of the Bhitari seal. Jayaswal thinks that the name of Pūru Gupta is probably omitted in Mañjūśrī Mūlakalpa because he had a very short reign or because the text of this passage is fragmentary. Kumāra of Mañjūśrī Mūlakalpa was immediately succeeded by U ,

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1. K.P: Jayaswal. Imperial History of India. 1934. p.37-40.

2. Mañjūśrī Mūlakalpa - Tripañcāśapaṭalavisaraḥ. Ed. by Ganapatè Shastri. Trivandrum Sanskrit series. no.Lxxxiv. 1925. p.628.

whom Jayaswal identifies with Budha Gupta of the inscriptions and Prakāśāditya of the coins, for these coins bear the letter U on the bottom of the obverse. Thus he also thinks that Bālāditya Narasiṁha Gupta and Hsüan-tsang's Bālāditya were different. The former had a very short reign and was succeeded by his son Kumāra, who started his rule in A.D. 473 and ended in A.D. 476. The Bālāditya of the Chinese pilgrim was, according to Jayaswal, the son of Tathāgata Gupta and father of Vajra, as Hsüan-tsang himself confirms[1].

Raychaudhuri[2] follows the trend of the above authors and differentiates between Narasiṁha Gupta of the Bhitari seal and Bālāditya of Hsüan-tsang, identifying the Kumāra Gupta of the Bhitari seal with the Kumāra Gupta of Sarnath[3]. He thinks that Hsüan-tsang's Bālāditya was specially described as the son ~~of~~ Tathāgata Gupta and the grandson of Buddha Gupta, i.e. Budha Gupta of the Sarnath[3] and Erāṇ[4] inscriptions, in order to avoid ambiguity. Bālāditya is referred to by Hsüan-tsang as the father of Vajra and therefore, is conclusively a different person from Narasiṁha Gupta Bālāditya, who was the son of Pūru Gupta, the grandson of Kumāra Gupta I and the father of Kumāra Gupta II.

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1. S. Beal, Si-yu-ki vol.II p.168.
2. P.H.A.I. 1938 ed. p.494-501,505.
3. Sircar. Select inscriptions. no.33.
4. Ibid. no.35.

Raychaudhuri gives the reign of Kumāra Gupta II as from A.D. 473 to 476, when he was succeeded by his grand-uncle Buddha Gupta (i.e. Budha Gupta of the inscriptions). The Chinese traveller gives the name of the predecessors of Buddha Gupta as Śakrāditya. The only predecessor of Budha Gupta who had a title that may be equated with Śakrāditya, was Kumāra Gupta I Mahendrāditya (Mahendra=Śakra). The chronological table according to Raychaudhuri can be drawn thus--

1.Kumāra Gupta I Mahendrāditya (=Śakrāditya)

2.Skanda Gupta

3 Pūru Gupta

4.Narasiṁha Gupta
(Bālāditya of the coin)

5. Kumāra Gupta
(Bhitari and Sarnath seals)

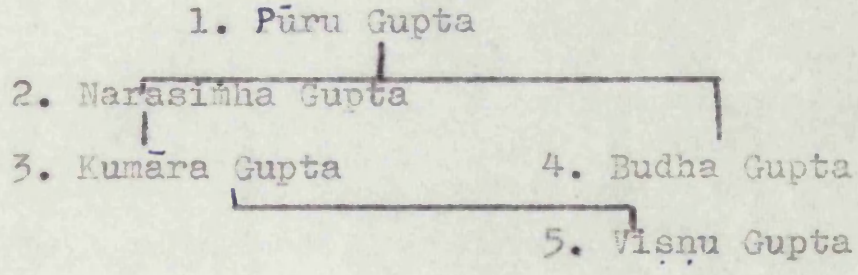
6.Buddha Gupta (Erāṇ, Sarnath and other inscriptions)
(Buddha Gupta of Hsüan-tsang)

7.Tathāgata Gupta

8.Bālāditya (of Hsüan-tsang)

9.Vajra.

With the discovery of the Nalanda seals of Budha Gupta[1] and Viṣṇu Gupta[2], one more prince of the imperial Gupta family could be fitted into the dynastic chronology with certainty. The Nalanda seal of Viṣṇu Gupta shows that he was the son of Kumāra Gupta and grandson of Narasiṁha Gupta[3]. The Nalanda seal of Budha Gupta states clearly that he was the son of Pūru Gupta, born from his queen Candradevī. It has been suggested by A. Ghosh[4] that he followed Kumāra Gupta, the son of Narasiṁha. This supposition is based on the identification of Kumāra Gupta of the Bhitari seal with Kumāra Gupta of the Sarnath inscription of A.D.473. Budha Gupta might have followed him in A.D.476. Viṣṇu Gupta, the son of Kumāra Gupta could only have succeeded after Budha Gupta whose latest date is A.D. 495. The genealogical table according to Ghosh can be given thus-



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1. Arch-sur. Ind. Mem. no.66.
2. E.I. vol.26.p.235.
3. J.N.S.I. Vol.III.1941.p.103-4.
4. A. Ghosh - Nalanda seals of Budha Gupta and Viṣṇu Gupta, I.H.Q. June. 1943.p.119-122.

All the above views, are primarily based on the identification of the Kumāra Guptas of the Sarnatha inscription and the Bhitari seal. Therefore they exclude the possibility of Narasiṁha Gupta being identical with the Bālāditya of Hsüan-tsang. This identification is substantially untenable, for otherwise it will mean a very crowded period of succession between A.D. 467, the last known date of Skanda Gupta and 476, when Budha Gupta was reigning. The father and grandfather of Skanda Gupta had long reigns, the former probably from A.D. 376(or 380) to 413/14 and the latter from A.D. 415 to 453/54. In such circumstances it is almost certain that Skanda Gupta was approaching middle age when he inherited the empire. A twelve years reign (A.D.455-to 467) is generally assigned to him. His younger brother Pūru Gupta must have been at least thirty when he succeeded his brother, within an approximate period of three years, for we can roughly divide the period from A.D. 467 to 476 into three years for Pūru Gupta, three for Narasiṁha Gupta and three for Kumāra. Next a difficulty arises in accepting Kumāra Gupta as succeeding his father within three years (i.e. A.D.473). It is very doubtful whether Narasiṁha Gupta could have had a son at such an early age and even if he had had a son he must have been a baby in arms. Therefore in such circumstances we find it impossible to support the view that Kumāra Gupta of the Sarnath inscription was identical with Kumāra Gupta, son of Narasiṁha Gupta of the Bhitari seal. The most important point against the

supposed identifications of the Kumāra Guptas, is that if Narasiṁha was the father of Kumāra Gupta and Kumāra ruled in 473, Narasiṁha Gupta could not have been a contemporary of Mihirakula. Thus owing to this difficulty it is better to assume two Kumāra Guptas rather than two Bālādityas. If we do not accept the view that Narasiṁha Gupta Bālāditya, the father of Kumāra Gupta, was identical with Bālāditya of Hsüan-tsang, we must postulate another later Gupta King with the title Bālāditya. But we have no inscription or coin bearing this title except that of Narasiṁha Gupta. Raychaudhuri suggests that we can differentiate Hsüan-tsang's Bālāditya and Narasiṁha Gupta Bālāditya on the ground that the Chinese pilgrim states him to be successor of Tathāgata Gupta and father of Vajra [1]. Hsüan-tsang's chronology and Raychaudhuri's identification is as follows:-

Śakrāditya	=	Mahendrāditya (Kumāra Gupta I)
Buddha Gupta	=	Budha Gupta (Erān, Sarnath inscriptions)
Tathāgata Gupta	=	Tathāgata Gupta
Bālāditya	=	Bālāditya II (Subduer of Mihirakula)
Vajra	=	Vajra

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1. see above p. 165-166

Sudhakara Chattopadhyaya [1] has shown, with the help of P.C. Bagchi, who translated the original Chinese text of Hsüan-tsang for him, that the Chinese account of the Gupta kings only refers to the patrons of the Nalanda Vihāra and does not give the chronological succession. Gupta kings who did not give any donations to the monastery were left out of the list and therefore it does not mean that Bālāditya was the son of Tathāgata Gupta. ~~on that Budha Gupta was the son of Śakrāditya(=Mahendrāditya Kumāra Gupta I).~~ To elucidate his views we can quote the letter of P.C. Bagchi, who examined the text himself and sent his conclusions to Chattopadhyaya."I have looked into the original Chinese passage of the Si-yu-ki of Hsüan-tsang and the 'Life'. Of the five kings mentioned Budha Gupta and Vajra are clearly stated to be sons of Śakrāditya and Bālāditya respectively. But Tathāgata Gupta and Bālāditya are not described as sons but simply as 'descendants' or 'successors'. In regard to Tathāgata Gupta it is said that he vigorously continued the tradition of the former kings. This portion is probably omitted by Beal[2]. There is another account in the She-kia-fang-che, written by Tao-si-yan, a disciple of Hsüan-tsang, better known than Hui-li. The She-kia-fang-che has not been translated into English, but I am giving below my translation. You will see that there is no mention of the relationship between the various kings. 'In earlier and later

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1. I.H.Q. 1953. p.156.
2. S. Beal. Si-yu-ki. II.p.168.

times five kings joined together and built it. The first was Śakrāditya - he started building this monastery. The second king was Buddha Gupta - the third was Tathāgata Gupta - the fourth was Bālāditya - the fifth was Vajra.' Under these circumstances it must be presumed that, Hsüan-tsang simply meant 'successor' or descendant' and nothing more. The She-Kia-fang-che would support such an interpretation."

The conclusion of Bachi can be further strengthened by the Nalanda seal of Budha Gupta [1]. This important seal gives the chronology after Kumāra Gupta thus--

"Śrī Kumāra Guptas = tasya putras tatpādānudhyātô mahādevyāṁ Anantadevyāṁ=utpanno mahārājādhirāja śrī Pūru Guptas= tasyaputtras tatpādānudhyātô mahādevyāṁ Candradevyāṁ utpannah [parama Bhāgavato mahārājādhirāja] śrī Buddha Guptah".

The inscription finally proves that Budha Gupta was another son of Pūru Gupta and therefore Hsüan-tsang's statement that he was a son of Śakrāditya is wrong and can only be accepted as meaning that he was the next successor of Śakrāditya to make significant donations to Nalanda Vihāra. In the same way we do not find any reason to accept Vajra as the son of Bālāditya, when the Bhitari seal[2], the evidence of which deserves more respect than that of Hsüan-tsang, states that

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1. Hirananda Shastri- 'Nalanda and its epigraphic materials' Arch.Sur. Ind. Mem. no.66. ; I.H.Q.1943.p.119.
2. J.R.S.S.B. LViii.p.t.i.p. 89.

Kumāra Gupta was the son and successor of Narasiṁha Gupta. We would correct the theory of Raychaudhuri[1] and Chattopadhyaya[2] on this point of the successor of Narasiṁha. He was the father not of Vajra (in this matter the Chinese She-kia-fang-chc is in our support) but of Kumāra Gupta (Bhitari seal). Vajra may have been a later king who patronised the Nalanda monastery and, though with some hesitation, we would express our doubt whether Vajra was a Gupta monarch at all, for no coin, no inscription and no imperial title can be attributed to him and even the surname'Gupta' is not connected with him. Hsüan-tsang states that Vajra was defeated by a certain king of mid-India. We have seen in Yaśodharman's inscription that he boasts to have conquered an empire larger that that of the Guptas. On this basis Raychaudhuri and Chattopadhyaya believe that Vajra was the immediate successor of Bālāditya, and that it was he who was subdued by the central Indian king Yaśodharman. But there is no proof that this Central Indian king was Yaśodharman. This general term can be applied to any mid-Indian king of later origin and in this case Vajra can be placed in a later period. Our theory has the advantage that it causes no difficulty in finding room for Kumāra Gupta of the Bhitari seal, who is distintly said to be the son of Narasiṁha Gupta Bālāditya.

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1. P.H.A.I. 1938.p.505.
2. I.H.Q. 1953.p.159.

The above discussions have made it clear that it is rather absurd to believe Hsüan-tsang in the matter of the chronology of the later Guptas. On the evidences of their coins and inscriptions we can form a more reliable chronology of the successors of Kumāra Gupta I.

We are in accord with Drs. Bhattasali[1] and Basak[2] who originally showed that the Kumāra Guptas of the Sarnath inscription and the Bhitari seal were distinct individuals. We have already seen that there is no possibility of a second Bālāditya after Narasimha Gupta. If Narasimha Gupta Bālāditya was a contemporary of Mihirakula and had defeated him by C.A.D. 530 or a little earlier, his son Kumāra Gupta of the Bhitari seal could not be the Kumāra Gupta of the Sarnath inscription, for the latter is described as ruling in G.E. 154 = A.D.473. Parameshwari Lal Gupta[3] has shown that the Kalighat hoard[4] contains the coins of Vainya Gupta, Narasimha Gupta, Kumāra Gupta and Viṣṇu Gupta, and thus presumably these kings appeared on the scene successively. Moreover, he has pointed out that a few coins of Kumāra Gupta in the British Museum, not originating from the Kalighat hoard, are different in fabric from the Kumāra Gupta

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1. Dacca Review . May-June. 1920.p.54-57.
2. R.G. Basak- The History of the North Eastern India. 1934. P.65,73.
3. I.H.Q. 1950. p.256-57.
4. Allan-Gupta coins. p.141-42;p.145-46

Chronological table of the later Guptas.

(on the basis of the above discussions)

(1) Kumāra Gupta I (A.D.414-454/5

(2) Skanda Gupta (A.D.454/5 - 467

(3) Pūru Gupta (C.A.D.467-472)

(4) Kumāra Gupta II (A.D. 473-476)
(relation not settled)

(5) Budha Gupta (A.D.476-494)

(6) Vainya Gupta (C.A.D.494(?)-

(7) Narasiṁha Gupta
(C.A.D.507/10=530/32

(8) Kumāra Gupta (date?)

(9) Vishṇu Gupta (date?)

coins of this particular hoard. Though both types are struck with the title Kramāditya, it is remarkable that the Kalighat Kumāra Gupta coins have the prefix śrī added to Kramāditya, while the British Museum coins do not have it. To quote P.L. Gupta's own words "it is very likely that the later Kumāra Gupta adopted the same viruda of the earlier king of his own name, for the sake of similarity, but to avoid the confusion in the identification of the two, he had added the prefix śrī to his viruda." Thus these coins also suggests that there were two Kumāra Guptas, other than Kumāra Gupta I, one ruling in A.D. 473 and the other succeeding his father Narasiṁha Gupta, sometime after C.A.D. 530-32.

Our reconstructed chronology of the later Guptas can be given thus----

Kumāra Gupta I was succeeded by Skanda Gupta, who was followed by his brother Pūru Gupta in about A.D. 467, the last known date of Skanda Gupta. But Pūru Gupta did not hold his throne for long for we find a Kumāra Gupta II of the Sarnath inscription ruling in A.D. 473. who was this Kumāra Gupta and what were his relations to Pūru Gupta and Skanda Gupta are not yet known. He may have been the son of Skanda Gupta. He evidently did not last long for we find the sovereignty going to Budha Gupta. Budha Gupta was the ruler in Sarnath by A.D. 476 and so by this time Kumāra GuptaII must have vanished from the scene. Budha Gupta is described as a son of Pūru Gupta in a seal found

in Nalanda. He seems to have been a powerful king who kept the empire intact. His inscriptions are found in Erāṇ, Sarnath, Rajghat (Benares) and Damodarpur. He struck silver coins which prove his occupation of Mālava and Saurāṣṭra where these types were generally in circulation. The last known date of Budha Gupta is A.D. 494, from his silver coins. After him most probably Vainya Gupta succeeded to the throne. The coins of the Kalighat hoard[1], the Gunaighar inscription[2] and the Nalanda seal[3] are the proof of his succession. The Gunaighar inscription gives him the date A.D. 507. The Nalanda seal makes him the son of a king whose name is not very clear but of which the last syllable can be seen to be U . Majumdar[4] has shown that the father of Vainya Gupta was probably Pūru Gupta. If it is so then Budha Gupta, a son of Pūru Gupta, was succeeded by his brother Vainya Gupta sometime between A.D. 494 and 507. The Kalighat hoard which contains the coins of Vainya Gupta, Narasiṁha Gupta, Kumāra Gupta and Viṣṇu Gupta suggests that Vainya Gupta preceded Narasiṁha Gupta and his successors. We have a record of another Gupta King Bhānu Gupta, whose stone pillar inscription of A.D. 510 is found in Erāṇ[5]. As Bhānu Gupta is mentioned as śrī Bhānu Gupta and there is no proof of his being related to

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1. See above p.174.
2. Sircar. Select Inscriptions. p.331. Gunaighar in Tippera district Bengal.
3. Arch. Sur.Ind.Mem.no.66. p.67.
4. R.C. Majumdar. The seal of Vainya Gupta. I.H.Q.1948. p.67-70
5. C.I.I. III. no.20.

the Imperial Guptas, we can suggest, that he was a petty chief of secondary importance, or a junior member of the family who never rose to become emperor and thus we exclude him from our chronology . Vainya Gupta was succeeded by his brother Narasiṁha Gupta, as is evident from the Kalighat horad. As Narasiṁha is also mentioned in his own Nalanda seal and the Bhitari seal of his son, as the son of Pūru Gupta, we can conclude that Pūru Gupta was succeeded by his three sons one after another- Budha Gupta, Vainya Gupta and Narasiṁha Gupta. The latter was succeeded by his son Kumāra Gupta III, and not by the Vajra of Hsüan-tsang as we have seen already. The discovery of the Nalanda seal of Visnu Gupta[1] adds one more generation in the line of the Imperial Guptas for he is described there as the son of Kumāra Gupta III.[2]

Thus Bālāditya of Hsüan-tsang who defeated Mihirakula was Narasiṁha Gupta, the son of Pūru Gupta, the successor of Vainya Gupta and the father of Kumāra Gupta III. The Chinese pilgrim has depicted him as a devout worshipper of Buddha, who made donations to the monastery of Nalanda. This statement seems to be true and has special significance, for nearly every record which mentions him depicts him as a Buddhist. Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa[3] whose account of the succession of Bāláditya is not very reliable, for it records him as a successor of Skanda Gupta (i.e. 'sinitialled') is at least true in describing his character.

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1. E.I. vol.26.p.235.

SEE NEXT PAGE FOR FOOT NOTES 2. 3.

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2. Besides these Gupta kings we find the coins of Candra Gupta III Dvādaśāditya and Ghaṭotkaca Gupta (Allan Gupta coins p. lii , lii). The coin attributed to Candra Gupta III, according to one theory belonged to Vainya Gupta (I.H.Q. IX . p.784).

3. Mañjuśrī Mūla Kalpa:- ed. by. Ganapati Shastri. Trivandrum sanskrit series. no. LXXXIV. 1925.p.628.

It refers to him as a zealous Buddhist and as the constructor of many monasteries, Caityas and Buddhist images , He seems to have been of cold temper, interested in religion and public welfare. The text says --

Tasyāpyanujô Balādhyakṣya śāsane ca hite ratah prācīm samudraparyantām caityālamkṛta śobhanām karisyati na sandehah kṛtsnām vasumatīm tadā vihārārāmavāpiśca udyānā mandavakām sadā !!

This confirms the story of the chinese pilgrim that after hearing of the advance of Mihirakula, Bālāditya leaving his capital fled to the marshy land, and indicates a weak unmilitary character. This comparison of the Mañjūśrī Mūlakalpa and Hsüan-tsang is significant, for it leads us to the conclusion that the Bālāditya of both stories is the same person.

Another complication has been raised by a work of Paramārtha [1]. In his 'Life of Vasubandhu' he states that king Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā, who was a patron of Buddhism, sent his queen and crown prince Bālāditya to study Buddhism under Vasubandhu. Afterwards, when Bālāditya came to the throne, he invited his teacher to Ayodhyā. The identificatin would not have been a problem, if scholars had been of one opinion regarding the date of this Buddhist teacher.

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1. J. Takakusu - A study of Paramārtha's Life of Vasubandhu. J.R.A.S. 1905. p.3.

Unfortunately, the ramifications of the problem of the date of Vasubandhu are so great that to deal adequately with it would involve a separate thesis, and so we must mainly rely on the views of other scholars. Takakusu[1] gives the date of Vasubandhu as from A.D. 420 to 500. Kern[2] has suggested a date in the sixth century of the Christian era. Bühler[3] thinks he lived in the 4th century. Sylvain Lévi[4] first believed him to have lived in the first half of the sixth century but later he revised his views and thought him to have lived in the later half of the same century. Thus the date of Vasubandhu is an extremely controversial topic. But the identification of Vikramāditya and Bālāditya is not difficult, for we do not have any solid proof for the existance of two Bālādityas. The only Bālāditya who was reigning in the later period of the Gupta dynasty was Narasiṁha Gupta Bālāditya. As Narasiṁha Gupta is described as a sincere Buddhist by many sources, it is very probable that he was identical with the Bālāditya, who favoured Vasubandhu. Moreover the discovery of Pūru Gupta's archer type coins, with the title Vikrama on the reverse[5] makes the supposition quite sound. It can be objected that it is

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1. J. Takakusa - 'A study of Padamartha's 'Life of Vasubandhu' and the date of Vasubandhu.' J.R.A.S. 1905. p.49.
2. H. Kern - Manuals of Indian Buddhism 1896.p.10.
3. Bühler - Die indischen inschriften und des Alter der indischen Kunst-poesis in sitzungsberrichte der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 1890.p.79.
4. S. Lévi. La Theatre Indien. I.165.et II 35;J.A.1890.II. p.552-3

generally agreed, as originally shown by Allan[1], that the Prakāśāditya coins were issued by Pūru Gupta; and thus it is not sound to ascribe the Vikramāditya coins to Pūru Gupta, if he already had the title Prakāśāditya. But there is no substantial proof that Prakasaditya was the title of Pūru Gupta and of nobody else. This ascription, as we have already seen, is solely based on the evidence of the Bharasar hoard. The presence of Prakāśāditya coins in a hoard along with Skanda Gupta coins, can only show that this king was ruling after Skanda Gupta. The name might equally well be a title of Kumāra Gupta II, of the Sarnath inscription, whom we have placed as a successor of Skanda Gupta. The Prakāśāditya coins of Bharasar hoard still remain sub-judice and we cannot be sure that this title was that of Pūru Gupta. On the other hand, the archer type coins of Pūru Gupta gives on the obverse the name of the king and on the reverse the distinct title śrī Vikramah. Raychaudhuri[2] thinks that even if we ascribe the Prakāśāditya coins to Pūru Gupta, there is no inherent improbability in his having an additional Āditya title. That the same king might have two Āditya titles is proved by the cases of Skanda Gupta Vikramāditya and Kramāditya and Śilāditya Dharmāditya of Valabhi. We can thus accept the conclusion of Allan and

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1. Allan - Gupta coins. p.134.
2. P.H.A.I. p.496.

Raychaudhuri that Vikramāditya was the title of Pūru Gupta. If this evidence is to be believed, we need have no hesitation in accepting the Bālāditya of Paramārtha, the son of Vikramāditya as identical with Narasimha Gupta Baladitya the son of Pūru Gupta Vikramāditya[1].

Bālāditya's Buddhism is further confirmed by the account of Tārānātha[2] and a later inscription found at Nalanda[3]. Tārānātha says that the Magadhan chief who defeated the Hūṇa king was a Buddhist. The Nalanda inscription of Yaśovarmmadeva (8th century?) records the erection of a Buddhist temple of Nalanda by a certain king of the past named Bālāditya. There is hardly any doubt that this Bālāditya was Narasimha Gupta.

There is one more reference to Narasimha Gupta under his title Bālāditya, in the Deo Barnark inscription[4] of Jīvita Gupta II, of the later Gupta dynasty, which refers to Bālāditya as a remote predecessor. Because of the difference of nearly 200 years between Bālāditya and Jīvita Gupta II the expression 'remote predecessor' is certainly valid.

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1. D.R. Bhandarkar suggests the identification of this Vikramāditya with Candra Gupta II Vikramāditya and Bālāditya with Govinda Gupta of Basarh seal (I,A.1912.p.21)
2. N.Ch.1894.p. 248
3. E.I. XX. p.37.
4. C.I.I. III. no.46.p.213.

What happened to Mihirakula after this decisive defeat is difficult to ascertain. Yaśodharman's inscriptions do not throw any light on this point, though they claim that the Hūṇa power ceased to exist after Yaśodharman's victory[1]. Lāmā Tārānātha[2] states that the Hūṇa king died while fighting against the confederation led by the Magadhan king. But Hsüan-tsang's account as we have seen tells a somewhat different story, According to this, Mihirakula after his defeat retired to the north western regions of his empire, and once again established his supremacy over these and Kashmir[3]. But he was not destined to live long and died in Kashmir. The cause of his death is not recorded by the Chinese pilgrim. Kalhaṇa[4] says that "This terror of the earth became afflicted in his body with many diseases and immolated himself in the flames."

Mihirakula, as is clear from all the records of his reign and activities, was a king of strong personality and vehement character. The Buddhist writers have depicted him as an oppressor of Buddhism. We believe that the ancient writers have done an injustice to him by exaggerating his atrocities. His anti-Buddhist fanaticism is only referred to by the writers like Sung-yun, Hsüan-tsang and Tārānātha,

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1. C.I.I. III.no.33.34; see above p.153
2. Tārānātha op.cit.p.248
3. See above p.155; Beal. Si-yu-ki.vol.I. p.172.
4. Rājataraṅgiṇī. Bk.I.vs. 309.

who were themselves Buddhist monks. Kalhaṇa, though he depicts Mihirakula as a wicked and cruel despot, does not say a single word about his anti-Buddhist activities. In the same way Kosmas who is expected to be neutral in this matter, for he himself did not belong to this particular sect, is completely silent about Gollas' persecution of Buddhists. He describes him as a military leader of an adventurous character. We should not forget that Buddhist writers have always shown this propensity to exaggerate the cruelty of their opponents and have been inclined to depict a king who was not a Buddhist and who chiefly supported one or other sect of Hinduism, as a severe oppressor of Buddhism; for instance, Aśoka before his conversion, Puśyamitra Śuṅga and Śaśāṅka. We believe that some injustice has been done to Mihirakula and that he was not such a cruel oppressor as he is depicted.

The chief depicted by Suṅg-yun, who said that he was willing to stand in the presence of the emperor but not for the sake of a mere piece of paper suggest a man of sturdy independence with something of a sense of humour. The Gwalior inscription, admittedly composed on behalf of a vassal gives no indication that Mihirakula was more arrogant and ruthless than other rulers of the time.

In the Kura inscription[1], we find the Buddhist donor wishing to share the merit, gained by his pious gift, with Toramāna and his sons and daughters. The inscription suggests that in the early years of Mihirakula, the son of Toramāna, he was not anti-Buddhist. Hsüan-tsang also says that in his early career Mihirakula liked to spend his hours of leisure in examining the law of Buddha. He commanded that one among the Buddhist priests of superior talent should wait on him. But the priests sent a royal servant to discuss Buddhism with the king. This enraged Mihirakula and he became anti-Buddhist. The story may have some basis of truth, but stories of this type are quite often introduced by Buddhist writers when they depict a king becoming anti-Buddhist[1]. Probably Mihirakula showed some inclination towards Buddhism early in his career, and owing to some insult by the Buddhist priests he lost his love for the religion for ever.

Kalhaṇa[2] tells us that Mihirakula bestowed a thousand Agrahāras on the Brahmins of Gandhāra. Besides this he founded at Shrinagar a shrine of Śiva named Mihireśvara[3] and in Haloḍa[3] the large town called Mihirapura. Thus

1. The story of Śākya prince Viḍuḍabha can be referred here as a parallel example of the same type of stories.
2. Rājataraṅgiṇī Bk.I.vs.306.307.
3. No present day information is available regarding the temple of Mihireśvara
4. Haloḍa is generally regarded to be the parganā of Vular.

he was inclined towards Śaivism and favoured Brâhmanas. Mihirakula's Śaiva favouritism is confirmed by his coins[1], which clearly represent the royal standard surmounted by the bull, Nandi, the celestial mount of Śiva, according to Hindu mythology. He inscribed coins with Jayatu Vṛṣaḥ or Jayatu vṛṣadhvajaḥ. The triśula is engraved behind the king. The Mandasor pillar inscription[2] of Yaśodharman confirms the affection of Mihirakula for Śaivism. It refers to Mihirakula, whose head had never previously been brought into the humility of obeisance to any other save Śiva'. The Gwalior inscription[3] of Mihirakula also depicts him as a devotee of Śiva. Thus we are certain that he was a follower of Śaivism. He may at times have persecuted the Buddhists in some way or other, but it is hardly believable that the extent of the cruelty ascribed to him by the Buddhist priesthood is altogether true.

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1. See Appendix 1.327.
2. C.I.I. III.no.33.
3. C.I.I. III p.162.

CHAPTER - V

PRAVARASENA - II.

Mihirakula was defeated and humiliated by the allied forces of central India in c.A.D.530, and descended into insignificance. After the death of Mihirakula, the so-called formidable enemy of humanity, the ancient documents become ambiguous about the later Hūṇas.

It has generally been thought that there were only two kings of the Ephthalite Huns of India, Toramāṇa and Mihirakula, and with the death of the latter the Hūṇa dominion suddenly came to an end. However, as early as the late 19th century or early 20th century, a few eminent historians such as Cunningham[1], Hoernle[2] and Stein[3] recognised a few other names which occur in the Rājataraṅgiṇī, and can be deciphered in some coins, as probably the names of other Hūṇa princes. But no attempt has been made to determine their approximate dates, their chronological position and the possible extent of their empire.

The Purāṇas first inspired interest in the later Hūṇa kings. The Purāṇas consist of the accumulation of legendary stories about ancient kings, mostly written as prognostica

1. A.Cunningham.-Mediaeval Indian coins. p.226.
2. A.F.R.Hoernle. J.R.A.S.,1903.p.567-8.
3. A.Stein.-Tr. of the Rājataraṅgiṇī.f.ns.Bk.I,347;Bk.III, 265-324;Bk.III,379;Bk.III,383,386,etc.

Some of the stories are deeply rooted in the ancient annals, but later interpolations are numerous. The Purāṇas, in the form in which they are accessible today, seem to have been composed not later than the Gupta epoch, but interpolations continued even during the Rājpūt period. Unfortunately the Hūṇa references occuring in the Purāṇas cannot supply us with any exact information. The only thing we can glean from them is that during the period of their composition a tradition about a number of Hūṇa kings was prevalent. But the Purāṇas can help to correct the views of most modern historians, who enumerate only Toramāṇa and Mihirakula as Hūṇa monarchs and ignore the others.

The Purāṇas give in chronological order the reigns of the foreign tribes in India. We may compare their descriptions :- Matsya, Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa[1], Viṣṇu[2] and Bhāgavata[3] all agree that there will be eight Yavana kings ruling the world, who will be succeeded by fourteen Tuṣāras, thirteen Muruṇḍas and eleven Hūṇas. The terms Muruṇḍa and Hūṇa are variously spelt in the Purāṇas.

For the former the Matsya gives 'Guruṇḍa' and the Bhāgavata 'Śuruṇḍa'; the Viṣṇu gives 'Muṇḍa', while the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa give the right reading 'Muruṇḍa'. We can equate these Muruṇḍas with the Muruṇḍas of the Allahabad pillar

1. Pargiter.-Dynasties of Kali age(for Matsya, Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas.) 1913.p.46.
2. Viṣṇu Purāṇa; ed. Jivanānda Vidyasagara.IV.24,13-16. 1882.
3. Bhāgavata Purāṇa ;ed.Ramanarayana Vidyaratna.Ska.12.Adh.1. śl.14-15. Sam.1300.

inscription of Samudra Gupta. Then come the Hūṇas. The Vāyu Brahmāṇḍa, and Matsya spell them as 'Maunā' but sometimes the Vāyu gives the reading 'Yauna'[1] and the Matsya,'Jana'! The Viṣṇu gives'Maunā'and the Bhāgavata'Maula'! The correct reading Hūṇa is given by some manuscripts of the Matsya. To prove that all these variants Maula, Maunā, Yauna and Jana are in fact Hūṇas and not different names but only later misspellings, we would quote the texts :-

Matsya : - śatāni trīṇi bhokṣyante Hūṇāhyekadaśaiva tu.

Vāyu,Brahmāṇḍa :- śatāni trīṇi bhokṣyante Maunāhyekadaśaiva tu

Viṣṇu:- Ekādaśa Maunāḥ ete pṛthivīṁ trayodaśa varṣa śatāni bhokṣyanti.

Bhāgavata :-Maulā ekādaśa kṣitiṁ bhokṣyantyabda śatānyaṅga trīṇi taiḥ saṁsthite.

Thus all Purāṇas confirm that eleven Hūṇas, reigned for three hundred years, except Viṣṇu, which assigns a period of a hundred and thirty years to them. This would give each king approximately twenty-five years, which is acceptable[2].

We have already said[3] that the history of the Hūṇas does not start with Toramāṇa. Tuñjina Pravarasena I, the father of Toramāṇa, can be placed at the head of the list. These two, father and son, were succeeded by Mihirakula.

1. K.P.Jayaswal reads the word Jauva and equated it with the Jauvṇaḥ of Kura inscription, which he suggests is the genitive of the nominative stem Jauvā(J.B.O.R.S.,1930 & 1932.) But Bühler's reading Jauvla is nowadays mostly accepted.
2. We must not confuse the Hūṇas of this list with the Hūṇas of Kālidāsa,whom we have already shown to have been residing in the Oxus.(See above p.67-77)
3. See above p.92-96.

After them the Rājataraṅgiṇī gives the names of a few more kings, who were recognised either as the successors of Toramāṇa or of Mihirakula. Kalhaṇa first gives the following names of the successors of Mihirakula[1] -

1. Baka
2. Kṣitinanda
3. Vasunanda
4. Naralla
5. Akṣa
6. Gopāditya
7. Gokarṇa
8. Narendrāditya(Khiṅkila)
9. Yudhiṣṭhira.

The last named was deposed by a chief named Pratāpāditya, who crowned himself and established a new dynasty. Unfortunately, there is absolutely no evidence regarding the kings from Baka to Gopāditya. There is every possibility that they were not independent kings but mere petty chiefs,who, due to the mistake of Kalhaṇa or his sources, were enumerated as Mihirakula's descendents. Ignoring these names, whose existence ~~historically~~ is not confirmed by other evidences, we turn to the remaining kings of the list. Gokarṇa and Khiṅkhila have left proofs of their being Hūṇa rulers in their coins[2], which resemble those of earlier Hūṇa kings of Kashmir and the north west of India. But even in the case of the last three kings of the above list, there is no certainity that they succeeded Mihirakula immediately, for Kalhaṇa's chronology of this period is full of errors and

1. Rājataraṅgiṇī . Bk.I 325-373.
2. Cunningham.-Mediaeval Indian coins.p.43.pl.III,figs.v,vi.; Smith.-I.M.C.C.Vol.I,pt.IV,sec.xvii.p.267; Whitehead.-J.P.A.S.B.1913. Num.Supl.XXI,art.122.p.482.

and before accepting his chronological list we should compare it with other available documents.

In the Rājataraṅgiṇī the successors of Toramāṇa occur in the third book. Here the list is given thus[1] --

1. Hiraṇyakula (Torāmaṇa)[2]
2. Pravarasena II.
3. Yudhiṣṭhira.
4. Narendrāditya Lakhaṇa.
5. Raṇāditya Tuñjina,
6. Vikramāditya.
7. Bālāditya.

Besides these Hūṇa kings of the Kashmir Chronicle, coins provide us with some more names either wholly or partly deciphered. Among these are :(1) Jara(Jarana or Jarīva ?)[3], (2) Pūrvvāditya[4], (3) Pūrmmāditya[5], (4) Maboma śāhi[6], (5) Bayasara[7], etc.

Thus without much effort we can trace the names of a number of Hūṇa kings. Their chronological sequence is not established, but still they corroborate the assumption, as we have seen in the Purāṇas, that a number of Hūṇa kings, not just two, ruled in India.

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1. Rājataraṅgiṇi . - Bk.III. 106,265-530.
2. We believevthat in this period Torāmaṇa was actually the ruling king. See above.p.117
3. N.Ch. 1894.pl.viii &Nos.11,12; pl.ix,Nos.2-3.
4. Ibid. pl.ix.No.7.
5. Prinsep's Essays;ed.by Thomas.p.411.no.2.
6. N.Ch. 1894.pl.ix.no.15.
7. J.P. A.S.B.,1913.Num.Suppl.XXI,art.122.p.482.

To attempt a chronological account of these numerous kings, we should start from the Rājataraṅginī. This book was written in the 12th century. For the earlier history Kalhaṇa based his account primarily on prevalent traditions, though he obtained help from many works of previous historians, whom he mentions in his first book - Suvrata, Kṣemendra, Nīlamaṇi, Helārāja, etc. Kalhaṇa's account of the ancient history of Kashmir is extremely puzzling. As the basis of his account, he had a few names of kings together with some stories. Without knowing their exact chronological sequence, he arranged these kings as he thought fit, assigning to each of them some few years for his reign. His account fails to attain the standards of scientific or critical history, but at least he gathered the contemporary legends. His chronology is defective, but the stories he tells about a certain king may be more or less reliable. Knowing all these deficiencies of Kalhaṇa, we are in an unavoidable position of uncertainty. As far as we have other evidence about the later Hūṇas we can test Kalhaṇa's account. But where no other source material is available our sole authority is the Rājataraṅginī. In such cases nothing can be said with certainty till further discoveries reveal new information.

Pravarasena II is described as the son of Toramāṇa, while from epigraphical evidence we know that Mihirakula was the son and successor of the latter. There are only

two possibilities to account for this contradiction, if Kalhaṇa is correct. Either Pravarasena is to be equated with Mihirakula or he was another son of Toramāṇa. The second possibility is more likely[1], and it accords with the career of Pravarasena as given by Kalhaṇa.

Kalhaṇa says that some time after Toramāṇa's death when Pravarasena was wandering in far off regions as a mendicant, pleasing the pitṛs by offering them the water of the various tīrthas and when the throne of Kashmir was vacant the Ujjain king Vikramāditya, alias Harṣa, sent a poet named Mātṛgupta to rule in Kashmir[2]. Mātṛgupta reigned in peace over Kashmir for five years,less three months and one day, and then Pravarasena heard the news that his motherland was occupied by a foreigner who was a puppet in the hands of Vikramāditya of Ujjain. Anger flamed up in his heart and he returned to Kashmir to rescue it from foreign occupation. He was planning to advance with his force to depose Mātṛgupta and to destroy the arrogant Vikramāditya, when perchance Vikramāditya died. No battle took place,and the generous Mātṛgupta of his own accord abandoned the Kashmir throne, for he said that when the pious monarch Vikramāditya, who gave him the throne, was no longer alive, he had no interest

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1. See above,p.125.
2. Rājataraṅgiṇī.Bk.III.265 - 320.

in occupying it. And he took the path of pilgrimage to Vārāṇasī[1].

This account of Kalhaṇa raises a few questions. The first point to decide is who ruled during the gap between the death of Toramāṇa and the occupation of Kashmir by Mātṛgupta. The second problem is, who was this Mātṛgupta ? And the third riddle is who was the Vikramāditya of Ujjain, surnamed Harṣa, who appointed Mātṛgupta to the Kashmir throne ? If we take Hsüan-tsang's account and Kalhaṇa's chronicle as complementary to each other, these questions can be answered with reasonable probability.

After Toramāṇa Mihirakula ruled; of this there is no doubt at all. Pravarasena, was probably born towards the end of Toramāṇa's reign and therefore he was kept in hiding for fear of his arrogant and violent brother Mihirakula, since Kalhaṇa states that because of the fear of the ruling chief of Kashmir, Pravarasena, the dear and good son of Toramāṇa, was kept in a potter's house by his uncle Jayendra[2] and mother Añjanā. Kalhaṇa gives the name of the ruling

1. The story of the king Lakṣadatta and his dependant Labdhadatta in Kathāsaritsāgara resembles very closely the story of the Ujjain king Vikramāditya and his dependant Mātṛgupta (See Tawney's trans. p.515.)
2. There is corroborative evidence of the existence of Jayendra. When Hsüan-tsang came he was lodged for two years, in the convent known as Jayendra Vihāra (Beal.- Si-yu-ki. I.p.96) which is mentioned also in the Rājatarangiṇī (III.355) and was built by this Jayendra, the maternal uncle of Pravarasena. This information of the Chinese pilgrim supports Kalhaṇa's account.

Kashmir chief as Hiraṇyakula, but as we have already seen this is a mistake and Hiraṇyakula never came to the throne[1]. In telling of the relations of Hiraṇyakula and Toramāṇa the poet seems to have inverted the actual story. The truth may well be that Toramāṇa was the king and Hiraṇyakula was an ill-fated pretender who was thrown into prison[2]. We suggest that during the early childhood of Pravarasena, Mihirakula and not Hiraṇyakula was on the throne. Pravarasena is said in his early years to have gone abroad on pilgrimage, and therefore during his absence Mihirakula ruled uninterruptedly over Kashmir and the conquered provinces.

Kalhaṇa says that just before the accession of Pravarasena, Mātṛgupta was ruling in Kashmir and when Pravarasena returned he abandoned the throne immediately[3]. Hsüan-tsang's account also mentions a benevolent king of Kashmir who gave asylum to Mihirakula[4]. The character of Mātṛgupta as represented by Kalhaṇa accords well with the character of this chief of Hsüan-tsang. Only a poet and a man of broad mind would be likely to offer refuge to one who had earlier been his formidable enemy. We suggest that Mātṛgupta was the chief who was enthroned in Kashmir during the time of Mihirakula's disgrace.

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1. See above, p. 116.
2. See above, p. 117.
3. See above, p. 194-5.
4. See above, p. 155.

Many theories have been put forward about the identity of this poet Mātṛgupta. Dr.Bhau Daji[1] suggests ~~suggest~~ that Mātṛgupta was Kālidāsa himself. But there is hardly any sound basis for the theory. To disprove it we may refer to the fragmentary remains of Mātṛguptācārya's compositions which have been collected from citations in later works and have been published by T.P.Chintamani[2]. This collection has ~~destroy~~ destroyed the possibility of his being Kālidāsa. Hoernle[3] on the other hand believes that Mātṛgupta is identical with Sandhimati, a name which occurs in the Rājataraṅginī[4] itself. The only basis of his argument is that both Mātṛgupta and Sandhimati were regarded as belonging to a different race ~~and~~ and their names occur in the list of the successors of Mihirakula. This argument seems feeble, for Sandhimati's name does not occur among kings of the Huṇa race, but in those of a different dynasty occuring in the second book of the Rājatara~~ṅ~~ṅiṇī. This book contains ~~xxy~~ hardly any Hunnish name, save that of Tuñjina, which seems to be a mistake. We suggest that Mātṛgupta was neither Kālidāsa nor Sandhimati but an independent poet who was cited by later Sanskrit literary men. He was sent by Vikramāditya of Ujjain to rule Kashmir ~~when~~ when it was in a state of anarchy, till Pravarasena came back

1. Dr. Bhau Daji.-'On the Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa.J.B.B.R.A.S., 1861.p.208.
2. T.P.Chintamani.-J.Or.Res.Mad.1928.p.118-28.
3. Hoernle.-J.R.A.S.,1903.p.567-8.
4. Rājataraṅginī. Bk.II.117.

and reoccupied his paternal throne. Mātṛgupta was the Kashmir chief who gave asylum to Mihirakula during his utmost disgrace. He was cheated by the Hūṇa king, but after the latter's death possibly occupied Kashmir again. Kalhaṇa gives him about five years' reign, which ended with the return of Pravarasena.

The next and the most complicated problem concerns the identification of this Ujjain king Vikramāditya, alias Harṣa. At the time of Pravarasena's accession, which definitely took place after the death of Mihirakula, Vikramāditya of Ujjain could only be Yaśodharman Viṣṇuvardhan of Mandasor. It is true that no inscription of Yaśodharman gives the title Vikramāditya to him, but as he was the foremost ruler in this period, who had conquered a vast territory, which he claimed was greater than that of the Guptas and that of the Hūṇas, he could in the public mind easily have been given the status of a Vikramāditya king. We should keep in mind that the title Vikramāditya was one of the most popular epithets given to numerous kings in ancient India, who accomplished glorious victories, especially against foreigners. Kalhaṇa also credits Vikramāditya with conquest over the Mlecchas, though he calls them Śakas. It is well known that the hero of Ujjain Vikramāditya had the epithet Śakāri. It is quite possible that Kalhaṇa or his sources, who had heard about Yaśodharman, the conqueror of the Hūṇas, confused him with the Ujjain Vikra-

māditya Śakāri of popular legend and therefore gave this Vikramāditya the credit of conquering the Śakas. As we have seen that Pravarasena was the son of Toramāṇa and the brother of Mihirakula, his contemporary of Ujjain can only be Yaśodharman.

It is known that Yaśodharman defeated Mihirakula. It was probably after this decisive defeat, when Mihirakula became prisoner of Bālāditya, that Yaśodharman Vikramāditya of Mālava appointed Mātṛgupta as ruler of Kashmir. His inscription tells that his power extended upto the Himālayas.[1]

Ā Lauhityôpakaṇṭhāt talavana gahanopatyakādāmahendrād
ā Gaṅgā śliṣṭa sānostuhina śikhariṇa paścimādāpayodhe
-ḥ

The Rājataraṅgiṇī also remarks that Mātṛgupta had hardly enjoyed the Kashmir realm for five years, when suddenly Vikramāditya the King of Ujjain died. We know from the inscription of Yaśodharman that the climax of his success was reached within the years A.D.530-32. It seems that he did not live long after this date, for otherwise we should have had more evidence of his increasing power and prestige. It is quite possible, as Kalhaṇa says, that he died within five years of his nomination of Mātṛgupta to the Kashmir throne. We conclude that Yośpdharman's death occured some time arround A.D.537. Our whole theory however has one week point : this

1. Mandasor pillar inscription. C.I.I.,III,No.33;Sircer. Select Inscriptions.p.394,line 5.

Vikramāditya king of Ujjain is given another name, Harṣa, and we cannot prove in any way that Harṣa was a secondary name of Yaśodharman. Possibly Kalhaṇa was in some uncertainty about the name of this king, and confused him with Harṣavardhana, who later occupied Ujjain.

Our calculation that the reign of Yaśodharman of Mālava came to an end by A.D.537 is however against the theory of Hoernle[1], which Mukherji[2] is inclined to support. Hoernle assigns c.A.D.580-83 as the latest date of Yaśodharman of Mālava, who, according to him, was succeeded by his son Śiladitya. Kalhaṇa says that a certain Śīlāditya of Mālava obtained help from Pravarasena[3]. Hoernle believes that Śīlāditya of Rājataraṅgiṇī was the son of Yaśodharman. To establish the date c.A.D.580-83 for the accession of Śīlāditya, on the throne of his father, Hoernle and Mukherji point to the information given by Hsüan-tsang. The Chinese pilgrim says that Śīlāditya was ruling in Mālava sixty years before his visit to this country and that he ruled it for fifty years[4]. To suit his theory Hoernle ascribes this rule of fifty years to Yaśodharman Vikramāditya himself and says that as Yaśodharman's rule in A.D. 533 is recorded in his inscription, therefore he must have continued to rule upto A.D. 583 (i.e. A.D.533+ 50 years) when he was succeeded by his son

1. Hoernle. J.R.A.S.,1903.p.545.
2. Mukherji.- Harṣa.1926.p.169.
3. Rajatarangini. Bk.III.330.
4. S.Beal. Si-yu-ki. II.p.260.

Śīlāditya. If this is believed, he argues, it will accord with the statement of Hsüan-tsang, who says that Śīlāditya was ruling sixty years before his visit to Mālava(A.D. 640-60=580). Mukherji tries to establish this date with the help of his assessment of certain statements in the Harṣacarita. He argues that the Harṣacarita points out that the expedition of Rājyavardhana against the Huṇas took place when he had grown only a faint beard. He might then have been not more than twenty years old. Moreover, just before this event the Harṣacarita records that he received a friend and follower, Kumāra Gupta, from the king of Mālava. Kumāra Gupta was 18 years old at this time and was the same age as Rājyavardhana. Rājya, then a prince of about 20, came into conflict with the Huṇas not more than a year before the accession of Harṣa in A.D.606. That will fix the date of Rājya's birth at c.A.D. 585-86. Thus Rājya's father Prabhākaravardhana could not have married Yaśomatī later than A.D. 585 and as according to the Harṣacarita he married her soon after his accession the event must have taken place around A.D. 583, the date when, according to the calculation of Hoernle, Yaśodharman of Mandasor died. The suggestion can be made that Yaśomatī was the daughter of Yaśodharman and was given to Prabhākaravardhana shortly before the death of her father Yaśodharman Vikramāditya of Mālava in c.A.D. 585. This idea arises from

the similarity of the names of Yaśomatī and her supposed father Yaśodharman. Hoernle thinks that if this hypothesis is accepted, it can be further presumed that Śīlāditya, son of Yaśodharman, was the brother of Yaśomatī. The Harsacarita states that Yaśomatī's brother brought his son Bhaṇḍi to be the playmate of her sons[1]. Śīlāditya, being the brother of Yaśomatī, must thus be the father of Bhaṇḍi. Hoernle elaborates his hypothesis that the enemies of Śīlāditya of Mālava, against whom Pravarasena sent mercenaries, were headed by Prabhākaravardhana, i.e. his brother-in-law. The Harsacarita applauds Prabhākaravardhana as Hūṇa-hariṇa-keśari and Mālava-latā-parasu[2]. This suggests a sort of alliance between the Hūṇas and the Mālavas (i.e. between Pravarasena and Śīlāditya) and their defeat by Prabhākaravardhana as the result of which Mālava king Śīlāditya had to surrender his eight-years-old son Bhaṇḍi. Hoernle suggests that a ten years' war continued between Śīlāditya of Mālava and Prabhākara of Thanesar. In the beginning of this war Śīlāditya got help from Pravarasena as the Rājataraṅgiṇī confirms; and in the last phase of the war he was allied to Deva Gupta of East Mālava. This last phase occured after the death of Prabhākara. Śīlāditya and Deva Gupta of West and East Mālava and Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa made an attack on

1. Harṣacarita; tr. by Cowell.p.116.
2. Ibid. p.101.

Grahavarman Maukhari, whose queen was the Thanesar princess Rājyaśrī. Rājyavardhana came to take revenge on the Mālava princes, in which Bhaṇḍi joined him. Mukherji, confirming Hoernle, says -"we thus find Bhaṇḍi going to fight against his father. But the circumstances would not appear to be very strange in view of the estrangement that had inevitably grown up between father and son during a long period of separation. We must recall that Bhaṇḍi was sent away by his father to a foreign court in A.D. 593, when he was a boy of only eight years of age and was treated there as a third son and by his sons as the fourth brother. It is not surprising that this affection under which Bhaṇḍi was being brought up in a foreign court for about twelve years overcome that for his natural father". Mukherji says that the action of Bhaṇḍi in Mālava, during this period of calamity, was recorded by Hsüan-tsang[1] as well, which strengthens the historicity of Bāṇa's assessments.

These theories of Hoernle and Mukherji though they seem at first glance attractive, have serious defects. A study of the contemporary politics of North India[2], can show us that there is hardly any possibility of Śīlāditya being the son of Yaśodharman Vikramāditya of Mālava. Mālava had been occupied by the Guptas, since the time of Krsna Gupta

1. Hsüan-tsang, mentions a minister Po-ni, generally identified with Bhaṇḍi, who offered the crown of Kanauj to Harsa.
2. See Appendix II.

of the Aphsad inscription[1]. The Guptas, from the very beginning of their Mālava occupation, showed remarkable strength and prestige in the politics of the time. Gupta princesses were welcomed as the consorts of the princes of the growing dynasties of the Maukharis and the Vardhanas. The Asirgadh copper seal inscription of Śarvavarman Maukhari[2] records that Ādityavarman had a queen named Harsa Gupta who was most probably the sister of the Mālava king Harṣa Gupta[3]. In the same way the Madhuban grant and the Sonpat copper seal[4] of Harṣavardhana say that the name of the mother of Prabhākaravardhana was Mahāsena Gupta. It is probable that she was the sister of the Mālava king Mahāsena Gupta. As the Guptas grew stronger, they had a series of clashes with the Maukharis of Kanauj[5], who became their traditional enemies. Similarly the relations of the Guptas with the Vardhana family of Thanesar did not remain cordial. Though Mahāsena Gupta and his successor Mādhava Gupta of the Aphsad inscription and Harṣacarita[6] were friends of Prabhākaravardhana and his sons Rajya and Harṣa, there was a certain Mālava king, who reigned between these two and who is described as an evil-doer.

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1. C.I.I.,LLL. no.42.
2. C.I.I.,III.no.47.
3. E.I., V.i.p.72.
4. C.I.I.,III. no.52.
5. See Appendix II.
6. Harsacarita; ed.by Cowell. p.119.

Bāṇa speaks of Prabhākara as 'an axe to the creeper of the Mālava glory'[1]. This wicked king of Mālava caused the death of the Maukhari king Grahavarman, the brother-in-law of Rājya and Harṣa. He is no doubt identical with Deva Gupta of Madhuban[2] and Banskhera[3] inscriptions. This certainly indicates that if there had been an emperor Śīlāditya, son of Vikramāditya Yaśodharman, somewhere in Mālava, we should have records of his clashes with the Mālava Guptas. It is not possible that the Guptas of Mālava, who were either making matrimonial alliances or were fighting with the Maukharis of Kanauj and the Vardhanas of Thanesar, did not pay any attention to their nearest neighbour Śīlāditya. Thus it is fairly certain that there was no king of this name in the period which closely followed the death of Yaśodharman Vikramāditya of Ujjain.

The next important proposition of Hoernle, that Yaśodharman ruled from A.D. 533 to A.D. 583, is baseless. The Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman dated A.D.533 present the climax of his power. Yaśodharman, we know[4], did not inherit any empire from his predecessor to start his rule as an emperor. He had to build his own empire by his own power and skill and in this task his whole youth was spent. In c.A.D.533, when he claimed an empire larger than those of the Imperial Guptas

1. Harṣacarita; tr. by Cowell. p.101.
2. E.I., V, i.p.72.
3. E.I., IV, p.208.
4. See above, p.148-49.

and the Hūṇas, he must have been a considerable of age. Therefore A.D. 533 was not the starting point of his career; but rather at this date he was approaching his end. We know from the Rājataraṅgiṇī that he sent Mātṛgupta as his protegé in Kashmir when its throne was vacant. Such could only have been the case after the death of Mihirakula. These various arguments make us believs that Mātṛgupta ascended the Kashmir throne in c.A.D.533. Kalhaṇa[1] further remarks that Vikramāditya of Mālava died in the 5th year of Mātṛgupta's accession, which will suggest c.A.D.537, as the latest date of Vikramāditya Yaśodharman of Mālava. On this basis we reject the proposal of Hoernle that he was alive till A.D. 583.

Hoernle's other arguments are similarly based on weak logic. Prabhākaravardhana's queen Yaśomatī cannot have been a daughter of Yaśodharman. Vaidya[2] has argued intelligently on this point. He says - "In the first place we find the names of a sister and a brother have some portions in common but not of a father and a daughter. And secondly, Yaśomatī's brother is described by Bāṇa as bringing Bhaṇḍi to Prabhākara, he simply says Yaśomatyā bhrātā. Had he been a king, and king of so great fame as Śīlāditya, Bāṇa, the contemporary of Harṣa would certainly have mentioned the name of the king or at least affixed some epithet indicating his high position. It

1. Rājataraṅgiṇī, III.,264,285.
2. C.V.Vaidya.-History of Mediaeval Hindu India. I,p.38.

appears from this plain reference that Yaśomati was not a daughter of a great king but of a certain Sāmanta. Moreover, from Yaśomatī's lamentations at the time of burning herself her father and mother appears to have been then alive[1]. Bhaṇḍi was thus the son of a mere Sāmanta and so we are not reduced to the necessity of believing that he fought against his own father Śilāditya and had the hardihood or inhumanity to present to Harṣa the family and dependants enchained and the treasure and even the throne of his own father, without any feeling.

Having criticised most of the theories of Hoernle and his supporters, we may now give our own interpretation of the events in north Indian politics from the death of Mihirakula to the death of Pravarasena, his successor.

Yaśodharman of Mālava died in c.A.D.537 without leaving any descendant of significance. His empire was then occupied by the growing families of the Guptas and the Maukharis who were already the local rulers in Mālava, Kanauj and Magadha

Śarvavarman Maukhari became very powerful and claimed the overlordship of north India as it had once been claimed by the Imperial Guptas and by Yaśodharman of Mālava. The Aphsad inscription[2] ascribes to him victory over the Huṇas.

1. Harṣacarita; tr.by Cowell.p.230.
2. C.I.I.,III,no.42.

His exact period is not known, but as his father Īśānavarman was ruling in A.D. 553, according to the Haraha inscription[1], the period around A.D. 560 can be assigned to Śarvavarman. Kalhaṇa[2] gives Pravarasena a period of sixty years (i.e. c.A.D.537 to 597), which would make him a contemporary of Śarvavarman Maukhari. Thus Pravarasena was the Hūṇa king who was defeated by Śarvavarman.

Prabhākaravardhana of Thanesar also claims to have been "a lion to the Hūṇa deer"[3]. Whether there was any direct battle between the Hūṇas and Prabhākara is not clear from the statement of Bāṇa. But the evidence of the grammatical Sutras of Candragomin may throw some light on this matter. Candra gives as an example of the imperfect tense - the tense which indicates that an occurrence happened in the lifetime of the writer:-

'Parokṣe ca lokavijñāte prayoktūr darśanaviṣaye darśana yogyatvāt parokṣatvasyāvivakṣāyām laṅ bhavaty eva Ajayaj Jarto Hūṇāniti'[4]

The sentence Ajayaj Jarto Hūṇān has been regarded as a mistake. S.K.Belvalker[5] thinks that 'Jarto' should be

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1. E.I. Vol. XIV. p.120
2. Rājataraṅgiṇī. III. 364
3. Harsa-Carita tr. by Cowell. p.101
4. Candra Vṛtti. Adh.I. Pāda - 2. Parokṣe liṭ. 81
5. S.K. Belvalker - System of Sanskrt grammar. 1915. p.58

corrected to Gupto. This victory over the Hūṇas can refer either to their temporary defeat by Skanda Gupta, before A.D. 467[1] or less probably, to their final expulsion by Yaśodharman of Mandasor. He prefers to give the approximate date of Candragomin as A.D. 470. Liebich[2] also thinks that as Ajayaj Jarto Hūṇān makes no sense, it should be emended to Gupto. According to him, the earliest date of the text is about A.D. 650, as Candragomin is mentioned by Bhartṛhari who died according to I'tsing about that date. In the same way the commentary of Hemacandra's Siddha Hemacandra Śabdānuśāsana, entitled Siddhaprabhā, says that the above sentence of Candra is Ajaiṣīd Garto Hūṇān[3], Garto may stand here for Gupto. But on the other hand H.P. Shastri has checked minutely the manuscripts of Candragomin's work, brought from Nepal, and finds nothing but Ajayaj Jarto Hūṇān.[4] We cannot support the view of the above authors who try to change the whole word. We can cite Kilhorne[5], Hoernle[6] and Konow[7] who regard the word not as a misspelling but as the ancient name of the people who are today called Jāṭs. They believe that this victory over the Hūṇās was in fact the conquest of the Mandasor king Yaśodharman, who was probably a Jāṭ. But the view that Yaśodharman was Jāt is not very credible,

1. Smith - Oxford History of India. p.171
2. Dr. E.Liebich - Cāndra Vṛtti. p.43. 1918
3. Sūtra 5.2.5 (see also I.H.Q. 1953. p.181)
4. Nachrichten der Goettinger Gesellschaft. 1895. p.272-321
5. Aca. de. Goettingue. 1903. p.305
6. J.R.A.S. 1903. p.142
7. Sten Konow - Das Indische drama. 1920. p.72

because the Jāṭs of modern times are not inhabitants of Mālava but of the Punjab. Therefore we should look towards the Punjab or near that area to discover the Jarta of Candrogomin. Saletore[1] has tried to prove that this reference indicates the victory of Rājyavardhana over the Hūṇas. It is interesting that in the Mahābhārata[2], Jartika occurs as the designation of a certain people. Probably these Jartikas were the same as the Jartas of Candra. If they were the predecessors of the modern Jāṭs, they may have lived in north India and may well have been the Vardhanas of Thānesar. In this case Candragomin might be referring to a victory of Prabhākaravardhana or Rājyavardhana over the Hūṇas. The exact date cannot be settled because even the last limit of Candragomin is not finally determined. De la Vallée Poussin[3] points to a Chinese source which says that he was posterior to Siṁhacandra, who was himself a contemporary of Hsüan-tsang. In this case the date of Candragomin should be extended to the middle half of the seventh century or even later. Belvalker[4] points to another source which says that Vasurāṭa, the preceptor of Bhartṛhari, acknowledged Candrācārya (Candragomin) as his master[5]. Candra must

1. R.N. Saletore - Life in the Gupta age. 1943. p.484
2. Mahābhārata. Poona edition. - Karṇaparva. Adh. 30. Śl.14
3. De la Vallée Poussin - Histoire du Monde. tom.VI. pt.2 Dynasties et histoire de l'Inde. 1935. p.65
4. Op.cit.
5. Vākyapadīya. Kāṇḍa II. Stanza 489-90 and commentary there on.

have lived, therefore, two generations earlier than Bhartṛhari. If Bhartṛhari died in c.A.D.650, as I'tsing[1] says, then Candragomin must have been alive in c.A.D. 590-600. This calculation supports the view that he refers to the conquest of Prabhākaravardhana, if not that of Rājyavardhana over the Hūṇas. All the above discussion suggests that if Prabhākara fought in his early career with the Hūṇas, as the Harṣacarita tells us, he may have defeated Pravarsasena, the Hūṇa king, for Candra says that the Hūṇas were decisively beaten.

Another activity of Pravarasena, and presumably his last, in the interior parts of India, is recorded in the Rājataraṅgiṇī[2]. According to this, Pravarasena fought in Saurāṣṭra and helped to establish Śīlāditya on his paternal throne. As the identification of Śīlāditya, with the son of Yaśodharman Vikramāditya, as suggested by Hoernle, is not firmly grounded, we may suggest another identification for this king. He may be Śīlāditya Dharmāditya of Valabhi.

Śīlāditya Dharmāditya was the son and successor of Dharasena II. The earliest inscription of this king is dated Val. Saṁ. 286[3] (A.D. 605) and the latest, Val. Saṁ 292[4] (A.D.611). The last known date of his predecessor was

1. I'tsing - A record of the Buddhist religion as practised in India. Ch.XXXIV, para VII. Trans. by J. Takakusu. 1896
2. Rājataraṅgiṇī. III 330
3. I.A. I. p.46; E.I. XI. p.115
4. E.I. XXI. p.116

Val. Saṁ. 270[1] (A.D.589). The first record of Śīlāditya's successor Kharagraha I is dated Val. Saṁ. 297[2] (A.D.616). This gives the earliest and latest limits of Śīlāditya as c.A.D. 589-90 and 615-16. The Mañjūśrī Mūlakalpa[3] assigns a period of thirty years rule to this particular king, which is undoubtedly a round number.

This Śīlāditya Dharmāditya has been rightly identified by Sylvain Lévi[4] with Śīlāditya of Mo-la-po, mentioned by Hsüan-tsang[5]. Hsüan-tsang describes him as "a man of eminent wisdom and great learning". He says "his skill in literature was profound. From the time of his birth to his last hour his face never crimsoned with anger, nor did his hands ever injure a living thing. By the side of his palace he built a Vihāra". Inscriptions of Śīlāditya of Valabhi give him the same religious character. They record "he was of very benevolent disposition as shown by his good deeds - whose enjoyment of the sweets of affluence was refined by his adherence to justice, and thus procured for him his other name, Dharmāditya"[6]. His grants not only testify to his religious turn of mind, but also present him as a valiant soldier who fought

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1. I.A. VII. p.71
2. Important inscriptions of the Baroda State. p.7; Proceedings of 7th All India Conference. Baroda. p.659
3. Jayaswal. Imperial History of India. p.24
4. Journal des savants. 1905. p.544-48; Smith. E.H.I. p.344
5. S. Beal. Si-yu-ki. II. p.260
6. I.A. Vol. I. p.45-6

numerous battles. His grant of Val. Sam. 290 [1](A.D. 609) was actually issued from his camp of victory, at Hamba(?) situated on the open space before the gates of Valabhi. Inscriptions, therefore confirm that he not only patronised religious foundations but also pursued warlike activities which may well have resulted in the occupation of Mālava, as Hsüan-tsang suggests. The Virdi plates of his successor Val. Sam. 297[2](A.D.616) strengthen the evidence for the occupation of Mālava by the Maitrakas. This supposition is supported by the fact that no sooner was Harṣa free from the menace of Śaśāṅka, than he turned his attention towards the Maitraka kingdom as is shown by an inscription of a Gurjara king[3] who states that he gave help to the Maitraka king. The last point which confirms the identification of Hsüan-tsang's Śīlāditya with Śīlāditya of Valabhi is that the Chinese pilgrim says that his Śīlāditya was the uncle of Dhruvasena II, son-in-law of Harṣa. It is well known from the inscriptions that Harṣa's son-in-law Dhruvasena, was of the Maitraka family and was the nephew of Śiladitya Dharmāditya.

The only difficulty about the above identification is that Hsüan-tsang refers to Śīlāditya as ruling 60 years before his own visit to the country, which should give us his

1. I.A.,IX,p.237.
2. Proceedings of the All India Conference Baroda, p.659.
3. I.A. XIII,p.79; Acharya.-Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat; II, p.42,no.117.

date as about A.D. 580. But, being a Buddhist pilgrim and a foreigner, Hsüan-tsang was not much inclined towards collecting exact historical data about the local rulers. He was more interested in Śīlāditya's religious character than in his exact date and position. Therefore, it is not necessary to accept as accurate the information of Hsüan-tsang concerning the dates. Moreover Hsüan-tsang's information on chronology was often exaggerated. For instance, he states that Mihirakula lived "some centuries ago" when in fact he had been dead for no more than one century.

There is also mention in the Rājataraṅgiṇī of a certain Śīlāditya who got help from Pravarasena, the successor of Mihirakula. The question arises whether he can be identified with Śīlāditya of the Maitrakas. Pravarasena's activities in the interior parts of India are recorded by the Rājataraṅgiṇī thus - "By his armies which spread to the brink of the horizon he uprooted the inhabitants of Saurāṣṭra on the shore of the western ocean and destroyed other kingdoms. He replaced Śīlāditya, also called Pratāpaśīla, who had been dethroned by his enemies, in the kingdom of his father."[1]

With the help of Dharasena II's grant of Val. Saṁ. 252[2]; which gives him the title Sāmanta it can be gathered that he was reduced to the position of a mere local chief through the intervention of a certain alien power[3]. Thus

1. Rājataraṅgiṇī. III.328,330.
2. I.A. XV.p.187.
3. See Appendix II. P.374-376.

when Śīlāditya succeeded his father Dharasena II, he was not in a very favourable situation. This explains why Pravarasena is said to have established Śīlāditya on his paternal throne, after going to Saurāṣṭra and defeating his enimies. It is quite possible that Śīlāditya soon after his accession took help from the Hūṇas and thus reestablished the prestige of his family in Saurāṣṭra. later on Śīlāditya was able to conquer even Ujjain. Śīlāditya's accession, as we have seen, can be dated c.A.D.590. According to Kalhaṇa Pravarasena lived up to A.D. 597, reigning for 60 years after his accession in A.D. 537. And therefore Pravarasena's adventure in Saurāṣṭra and his help to Śīlāditya must have been the last important occurence of his long and eventful life.

Another event of Pravarasena's career is recorded by Kalhaṇa alone. He says that Pravarasena defeated king Mummuni seven times and set him free again and again[1]. The identity of this king Mummuni is impossible to determine. Stein remarks - " The name must have been an old puzzle.... The name recurs in IV.167 and 516.... In the first passage Mummuni is mentioned as having been three times defeated by Lalitāditya ; in the second he is said to have formed, with other kings, the night-guard of Jayapīḍa. The three different kings under whom Mummuni is named are according to Kalhaṇa's

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1. Rājataraṅgiṇī, III, 328.

chronology separated by centuries. Hence it is clear that Kalhaṇa could not have meant the same persons in all three passages. Was Mummuni possibly the title or family name of the rulers of some country or tribe, analogous to Śāhi, Khakān or similar terms ? The word is evidently of non-Indian origin and in IV.167 Mummuni is named between the Tukhāras and the Bhauṭṭas."[1].

Pravarasena is said to have undertaken benevolent constructive works, as well as conquests[2]. He founded a city of his own name[3] and adorned it with markets. It was situated on the bank of the Vitastā[4]. The new city named Pravarasena-pura can be traced through the works of Kṣemendra, Bilhaṇa and Kalhaṇa. It occupied the site of the present Shrinagar. The most convincing proof of this is furnished by the long list of the buildings and localities which are mentioned by the Chronicle as being in the new capital and which, beginning with Pravarasena's own great temple Pravareśa, were actually identified by Stein as lying within the modern Shrinagar or in its immediate vicinity. Hsüan-tsang[5], when he arrived in Kashmir, spent only a single night in Huṣkapur (modern Ushkur) and his next two years in Kashmir were spent in the Jayendravihāra which is also named in the Rājataraṅgiṇī[6]

1. Surprisingly the title (or name) Mumuni is very similar to the famous Cola title Mummudi.
2. Rājataraṅgiṇī. III. 336.
3. Ibid. III. 358.
4. Ibid. III. 354.
5. Beal.- Si-yu-ki. I.p.158.
6. Rājataraṅgiṇī. III. 355.

Rājataraṅgiṇī[6]

s Cola title Mummudi.
See H.I.S.I. p 55, 147

as built by Jayendra, the maternal uncle of Pravarasena. This Vihāra stood 10 li (2 miles) to the south of the new city. The socalled old city, according to the Rājataraṅgiṇī, was founded by Great Aśoka[1] and remained the capital of the Kashmir kings till Pravarasena II founded the new city. Stein shows that Po-lo-ou-lo-po-lo of the T'ang Annals is a correct reproduction of Pravarapura.

The next benevolent work of the king was the erection of a great causeway or bridge (Bṛhat setu)[2]. The same phrase recurs in the Chronicle[3]. But the exact situation of the bridge is not given. The second passage says that it was somewhere near Mākṣikasvāmin. It is interesting to note that Bāṇa[4] in his Harṣacarita remembered a certain Pravarasena, who built a great bridge (Bṛhat setu). We wonder if this can be the same Pravarasena of Rājataraṅgiṇī or a different man, possibility a poet, who composed a work named Bṛhat setu ?

Pravarasena struck coins, imitating the coins of his ancestors. They bear on the obverse, the figure of a standing king and two figures seated below right and left, with the legend Śrī Pravarasena. On the reverse is Lakṣmī seated on a lion, and to left the legend Kidāra[5].

1. Rājataraṅgiṇī. I.104.
2. Ibid. III. 378.
3. Ibid. VIII. 1171.
4. Harṣacarita, tr. by Cowell. p. 3.
5. Cunningham.- Mediaeval Indian coins. pl.III. 3,4.
See, Appendix - I, p.328.

This king favoured by Kalhaṇa did not die natural death according to the chronicler. He says that Pravarasena ascended to heaven bodily at his own temple. This popular legend was also known to Bilhaṇa, who while describing the Pravarasena temple says that it "shows to his day a gap above resembling the gate of heaven, through which king Pravarasena bodily ascended to heaven."[1] Pravarasena ~~thus~~ died after a long reign of probably sixty years. He, though a Hūṇa, gained fame and reputation as a wise and benevolent monarch.

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1. Vikramāṅkadeva carita . xviii . 28.

Chapter VI

The Later Hūṇas.

After Pravarsena we again face difficulty about his successor. Kalhaṇa in his third book[1] gives Yudhiṣṭhira as the son and successor of Pravarasena. But in his first book[2], he puts Khiṅkhila Narendrāditya as the immediate predecessor of Yudhiṣṭhira. There is quite a possibility that the two Yudhiṣṭhiras were the same. The first Yudhiṣṭhira is said to have been deposed by his minister Pratāpāditya who founded a different dynasty. While the third book gives a list of the successors of Yudhiṣṭhira reigning without interruption until Bālāditya, who was followed by Durlabhavardhana and Pratāpāditya of the usurping Kārkotaka dynasty. The enthronement of the new dynasty of Pratāpāditya after the reign of Yudhiṣṭhira of the first book, accords well with the rest of our data if we postulate that the two Yudhiṣṭhiras were the same. In such a case there is a possibility that Khiṅkhila ruled between Pravarasena and his son Yudhiṣṭhira.

Khiṅkhila was probably a direct descendant of Mihirakula, because he is grouped together with him. His father is

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1. Rājataraṅgiṇī ---- Bk. III 379-382
2. Ibid. Bk.I. 347-49

said to have been Gokarna, a few coins of whom have been discovered[1]. They are similar in type to Pravarasena's coins. These few rare coins would suggest that he ascended the throne, at least for a few years. The Chronicle does not furnish us with any elaborate data about Khiṅkhila. It says[2] "Gokarṇa's son Narendrāditya, who bore the second name of Khiṅkhila, consecrated shrines to (Śiva) Bhūteśvara and founded a permanant endowment. His Guru was Ugra... After having ruled the earth during 36 years and a hundred days this pious king attained the sinless world."

Fortunately a short inscription of a king named Khiṅgala has been found in Kabul. In 1956, when the government of India sent an archaeological delegation to Afghanistan, its members came to know about a certain image of Vināyaka (Gaṇesh), then situated in Dargah Pir Ratan Nath, but originally from Gardez, 70 miles to the south of Kabul. The image is 28 inches in height and 14 inches in breadth. There is a short inscription of two lines on its pedestal in a North Indian alphabet which seems to date from not later than the middle half of the 7th century. The epigraph was first reported by Sharma and Ramachandran, who gave the report of the delegation. It was also referred to in an article of

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1. Cunningham. Mediaeval Indian Coins. pl.III. fig.6.
2. Rājataraṅgiṇī. Bk. I. 347-349.

Tucci[1]. Recently the inscription has been republished with critical notes by D.C. Sircar[2]. It states that an image of Mahā Viñayaka was installed by the Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahā-rājādhirāja Śāhi Khiṅgala on the 13th day of the bright half of the month of jyeṣṭha in the year 8 (presumably his regnal year) when the constellation was Viśākha and the lagna siṁha. Text - Line1 - Siddhaṁ saṁvatsare aṣṭatame (aṣṭame) saṁ 8 jyeṣṭha māsa śukla pakṣa tithau trayodaśyāṁ sudi 10 3 ji(ri) kṣe viśākhe śubhe siṁhe caitraka.

Line 2. -- Mahat pratiṣṭhāpitāṁ idaṁ Mahāvināyaka parama bhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja śrī śāhi Khiṅgala Ô dyā (tyā)na śāhipādaiḥ ."[3]

The reading of the inscription is controversial only as regards the last word but one. Ramachandran and Sharma read it as "Khiṅgalaiḥ Khyāta śāhipādaiḥ, Tucci thinks that it is "Khiṅgala Ôtyāna śāhi pādaiḥ" and Sircar believes that it is "Khiṅgālautyāta śahi pādaiḥ". The meaning of Ramachandran's reading is quite understandable, but the reading itself cannot be approved, at least as far as one can gather from the photograph of the inscription. Tucci on his own reading comments-- "I am not absolutely sure

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1. Tucci - Preliminary reports on an archaeological survey in Swat. East and West vol.9 no.4. 1958.p.276.
2. D.C. Sircar -- E.I. 1963.p.44.

about the reading Ôtyāna, it could also be Ôdyāna. If the reading is confirmed, we have here the first mention of a king of Udyāna (i.e. Swat valley)". Sircar maintains that one cannot believe that in the earlier half of the 7th century Gardez (or Kabul) formed a part of a kingdom of which the centre was the Swat valley. He suggests that the reading is Ôtyāta, which was a second name of Khiṅgala. In support of this suggestion he refers to a few names revealed by the Gilgit manuscripts-- Paṭola deva śāhi Vajrāditya Nandin , Śrī Deva Śāhi Surendra Vikramāditya Nandin , Śāhānuśāhi Paṭola śāhi śrī Nava Surendrāditya Nandi Deva etc.

The argument of Sircar does not seem quite sound. In the cases he has given as examples, one name is in a foreign language and the other is Indian. His examples thus show that at that time there was a trend among the kings of the north west region of India to adopt a name of their own language and also to take an appellation in Sanskrit. We have some coins with the inscription śāhi Khiṅgala, which presumably belonged to Khiṅkhila of the Kashmir chronicle. The name Khiṅgala on the coins suggests a good possibility that this Gardez inscription of śāhi Khiṅgala was of the same king. We know well that Khiṅkhila had another name, Narendrāditya, which either corresponds to the translation of his Hunnish name, or was purely an

Indian appellation. In this case there is hardly any possibility that Khiṅgala had two names, both in his own language, one Khiṅgala Śāhi and the other Ôtyāta Śāhi.

Sircar's main objection to Tucci's reading is that he cannot believe that Swat formed a kingdom whose power extended up to Kabul, during the early 7th century. We do not accept this argument. We have already seen that Pravarasena was alive C.A.D.597 . After him came Gokarṇa and his son Khiṅkhila Narendrāditya. Kalhaṇa assigns Khiṅkhila 36 years reign. We admit that the reign lengths given by Kalhaṇa for kings of this period are often erroneous but where there is an absolute lack of any other material, we may tentatively accept them as approximately, if not loterally, true. Therefore Khiṅkhila might have ruled for about 30-36 years. This will place him between C.A.D. 597-633. We can confirm these dates from two other sources.

Hsüan-tsang who visited Kashmir in A.D. 631-33 says that the king was of Ki-Li-Lo race and was not a Buddhist. He is of low caste [1]. Lassen and Stanislas Julien [2] interpreted the Chinese syllables as Kritiya and Cunningham [3] thought that it applied to the Kārkoṭaka dynasty. But we may suggest another possibility. Pravarasena on his coins adopted the title Kidāra [4]. It is significant that some other kings

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1 S. Beal. Si-Yu-Ki. vol.I. p.156.

2. Julien. Voyages des Pelerins Buddhistes.p.178.

3. Cunningham. Ancient Geography. p.92.

4. See Appendix I.p.328. Catalogue nos. 59-60.

who succeeded him also struck this legend on their coins [1]. Pravarasena and his successors may have taken over the Kidāra title from earlier kings of the north-west, where it had lost its ethnic significance. A dynasty would sometimes adopt the title of an earlier one - e.g. the Cālukya title Vallabha taken by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. If this is the case, we may further suggest that Hsüan-tsang's Ki-li-lo king of Kashmir is a rather inaccurate transliteration of Kidāra and thus it indicates the descendants of Pravarasena, who adopted the title. Hsüan-tsang's comment that the king was of low origin and not a Buddhist accords well with the facts. The Hūṇa kings were foreigners, Mlecchas, so naturally they would be counted in the orthodox community as of low origin. They all seem to have been worshippers of Śiva and Vināyaka, and consequently not Buddhists. This whole discussion strengthens our view that during the time of Hsüan-tsang the Hūṇas were still ruling in Kashmir and the north west parts of India.

The Tang Annals[2] inform us that the first embassy from

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1. See Appendix I. catalogue - no. 65 .
2. Remusat's translation of the corresponding extract in Ma Tuan-lin's Encyclopaedia. Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques. vol.I.Paris 1829 p.196; Chavannes-Itineraire d'Ou-Kong. J.A. vol.VI.1895.p.354;Reinand-Memoires sur l'Inde.p.189. Klaproth.-Memoires relatifs à l'Asie.vol.II.p.275.
3. Rājatarangiṇī. IV.45-118.

Kashmir to the Chinese court arrived shortly after A.D.713. In the year 720 Tchen-t'o-lo-pi-li, i.e. Candrapīḍa of the Kashmir chronicle[1], was accorded by the imperial decree the title of ~~king~~ king. Next, in a year between 736 and 747, another delegation from the court of the Kashmir king Muktāpīḍa arrived in China to crave assistance. The embassy was warmly welcomed but no contingent of troops was supplied to the Kashmirian monarch, though Muktāpīḍa was also accorded the title of king. This passage in the Chinese Annals precisely dates Candrapīḍa at c.A.D. 712. Only two of his ancestors are recorded by Kalhaṇa in his third book, his father Pratāpāditya and his grandfather Durlabha. Now we find in the first book of the Rājataraṅgiṇī that a certain minister Pratāpāditya of a different dynasty dethroned and deposed the king Yudhiṣṭhira, the successor of Khiṅkhila, and founded his own kingdom. It is possible that Pratāpāditya of the first and third book was the same person. Pratāpāditya, the father of Candrapīḍa may have reigned until c.A.D. 712 or a little earlier, when he was succeeded by his son (as the T'ang Annals say). If we presume that Khiṅkhila governed Kashmir till c.A.D. 633, there is a gap of 79 years (i.e. c.A.D. 712 minus A.D. 633), to be distributed between Yudhiṣṭhira Durlabhavardhana and Pratāpāditya. Of those 79 years, we read in the Rājataraṅgiṇī that Yudhiṣṭhira ruled for 40 years. This would date ~~him~~

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1. Rājataraṅgiṇī. IV 45-118.

~~that Yudhisthira ruled for 40 years. This would date the~~ the conclusion of his reign in C.A.D. 670, when he may have been dethroned by the Kārkoṭakas.

One manuscript of the Rājataraṅgiṇī [1] ~~(see Stein-Rajatarangini. p.105 footnote.III. 379)~~ tells that Yudhiṣṭhira reigned for 24 years. If this reading is accepted, there are more years available to be assigned to the originator of the Kārkoṭaka dynasty. In this case, Yudhiṣṭhira might have been dethroned by C.A.D.657. As Candrapīḍa was ruling in C.A.D. 712, there is a gap of 55 years between Yudhiṣṭhira and Candrapīḍa. In this period of 55 years, the reign of Durlabhavardhana and Pratāpāditya can easily be adjusted. The coins of both Durlabhavardhana and Pratāpāditya have been found.[2] ~~(see Cunn. coins.M.I. p.III.7.,10,11.~~

The third book of the Rājataraṅgiṇī gives a 36 years reign period to Durlabhavardhana and 50 years rule for Pratāpāditya [3]. The second book gives a 32 years reign to Pratāpāditya, the usurper of the throne of Yudiṣṭhira. The data is contradictory and we cannot completely believe them.

The chronology of the history of Kashmir is more or less clear after Candrapīḍa. But the period when his predecessors reigned cannot be precisely decided.

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1. See Stein - Rajataraṅgiṇī p. 105. f.n. 8.
2. Cunningham - Mediaeval Indian coins. pl. III figs. 7, 10, 11
3. IV. 6. 41

Thus reconstructing the confused data of Kalhaṇa, we may presume that Khiṅkhila was the ruling chief of Kashmir when Hsüan-tsang visited it. Hsüan-tsang gives a more or less clear idea of the extent of the Kashmirian empire. It seems that the Kashmir king had a vast empire which was divided into provinces. These were governed by kings who could act independently where internal matters were concerned. One of these provinces was Kapiśā. The pilgrim records a few towns under the direct rule of Kapiśā and a few others under the direct control of Kashmir. If one reads the account critically he will recognise that in fact Kapiśā was under Kashmir. When Hsüan-tsang[1] was returning, he says that he could not go to Kashmir but went through Kapiśā. The Kashmir king invited him, but, because of the difficulty of taking his heavily laden elephants over the Kashmir mountains, he did not accept the invitation. Ultimately, after a few days, the Kashmir king came himself to visit him, when he was residing with the king of Kapiśā. If the Kapiśā king was not under the king of Kashmir, it is unlikely that he would have made this visit possible. One king does not normally visit the territory of another independent king without preliminary diplomatic exchanges leading to an official invitation. That this was the case in north west India at that time is evident from further

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1. S. Beal - The Life of Hsüan-Tsang. 1911. p.191.-192.

statements of Hsüan-tsang [1]. On his return journey Hsüan-tsang was escorted by the king of Kapiśā while he was travelling through Lan-po, Varaṇa, Avakan, Tsakūṭa, which were in the king's own territory, but when they reached Vardhasthāna, the frontier of Kapiśā, the king could not accompany the pilgrim further. This suggests that the Kashmir king only had an easy entrance into Kapiśā, because it was subordinate to him.

This view is strengthened by another factor. Hsüan-tsang states the names of the places which were under the direct control of Kapiśā. Amongst them occurs Fa-la-no [2]. The country is placed to the south-east of Ghazni and at 15 days journey to the south of Lamghan. It was 4000 li (666 miles) in circuit and was mostly composed of mountains and forests. Cunningham[3] identifies the place with Po-na of Fa-hian and Banu of modern days. It seems that the old name of Banu was Varaṇa, of which Po-la-no is the Chinese translation, and the alternative Chinese form Po-na was formed from the shorter vernacular name. Cunningham[4] found a coin of Khiṅkhila in the Koram valley i.e. Banu. This find suggests that in the countries subject to Kapiśā, the coins of the Kashmir king Khiṅkhila were current. This would not be likely to have happened if Kapiśā had been a

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1. Ibid. p.192.
2. Ibid. p.192.
3. Cunningham . Ancient Geography. p.84-5.
4. Cunningham. Mediaeval Indian Coins. pl.III.fig.5.p.43.

separate and independent country.

On the hypothesis that Kashmir and Kapiśā were under one ruler, we can determine the countries which formed the Hūṇa empire. According to Hsüan-tsang the following countries were included in Kapiśā and Kashmir:-

under Kapiśā [1]	under Kashmir [2]
1. Lan-po (the Sanskrit name Lampaka, modern Laughan)	1. Ta-cha-shi-lo (Takṣaśīlā modern Taxila)
2. Na-ka-lo-ho (Nagarahāra, modern Jalalabad district)	2. Sang-ho-pu-lo (Siṁhapura)
3. Hi-lo (Modern Hidda, Jalalabad district)	3. Wu-la-shi (Uraśā)
4. Kant'elo (Gandhāra, the capital of which was Purushapura)	4. Pun-nu-tso (Punach)
5. U-chang-na (Udyāna-, Capital Mang-kie-li, modern Mungli)	5. Ho-lo-she-pu-lo (Rājapuri).

The pilgrim counts all the countries under Kapiśā and Kashmir and then says [3] "From the countries of Lan-po till Rājapuri the men are of a coarse appearance. Their disposition is fierce and passionate, their language vulgar and

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1. S. Beal. Si-Yu-Ki vol.I. p.90,91,95,97.119.
2. Ibid. pp.136,143,147,156,163.
3. Ibid. p.164.

uncultivated. They do not probably belong to India but are frontier people, with barbarous habits". This concluding sentence of the pilgrim helps our hypothesis that Kapiśā and Kashmir were populated by foreigners such as the Hūṇas at the time of his visit.

Through the above description it appears that the empire of Kashmir included the Kabul valley, the Swat valley and the mountain regions of Kashmir proper and in the south-east extended as far as Śākala on the Chenab river. If the king of Kashmir had hold over Swat, the Kabul valley and Bannu, it is possible that his empire extended even to Gardez. The Gardez inscription of Khiṅgala was probably thus of the Kashmir king Khiṅkhila, who was also the ruler of Udyāna. This conclusion supports the reading of Tucci, who believes that the inscription gives the name Khiṅgala śāhi of Udyāna.

The final interesting piece of evidence which points to the extension of the Hūṇa empire in the west, is the Bamiyan cave paintings[1]. Their style suggests, that they are later than the period of Chosroes II. They can therefore be approximately dated between A.D. 590 and 628, - the time when Khiṅkhila was on the Kashmir throne. Curiously enough, the paintings represent figures surmounted by the headdresses

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1. B. Rowland. --- The wall paintings of Central Asia and Ceylon. See-Paintings under group 'D'.

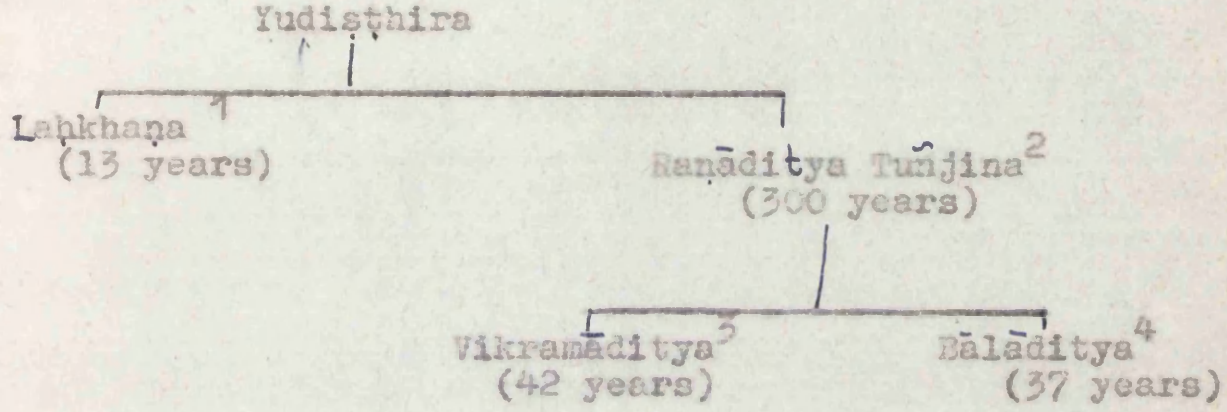
peculiar to the Hūṇa coins of India. It can be suggested that Khiṅkhila, whose power extended to the Kabul valley, had some influence even as far as Bamiyan, where the Buddhist cave paintings depict Hūṇa kings.

To summarise our tentative findings regarding Khiṅkhila and Yudiṣṭhira we can conclude thus:-

1. Khiṅkhila (or Khiṅgala) was the successor of Pravarasena and predecessor of Yudhiṣṭhira in Kashmir. His father Gokarṇa may have had a short reign before him.
2. He ruled between C.A.D. 597 - and 633. He was the contemporary of Hsüan-tsang.
3. His empire extended up to Lamghan in the West, Gardez and Banu in the South West, the Swat valley in the North and the Jhelum and Chenab rivers in the South and South East. It comprised all the hilly regions of Kashmir.
4. He was succeeded by Yudhiṣṭhira, who possibly reigned up to C.A.D. 657; if we accept the variant reading of the Rājataraṅgiṇī that he ruled for 24 years.
5. Yudhiṣṭhira was dethroned by Pratāpāditya who established the Kārkoṭaka dynasty in Kashmir.

The Rājataraṅgiṇī in its third book continues the dynasty of Yudhiṣṭhira for a few more generations. We cannot accept these rulers as the paramount kings of Kashmir for this position was held by the Kārkoṭakas. These kings may well be taken as the local rulers. According to the

Chronicle the lineage after Yudiṣṭhira is:-



Should we accept Rājataraṅgiṇī's history and chronology of the descendents of Yudhiṣṭhira literally? The unbeliev - - able length of the reign of Raṇāditya Tuñjina, makes the historicity of Kalhaṇa unsustainable. It was evidently intended to cover a great break of which no record was available to him.

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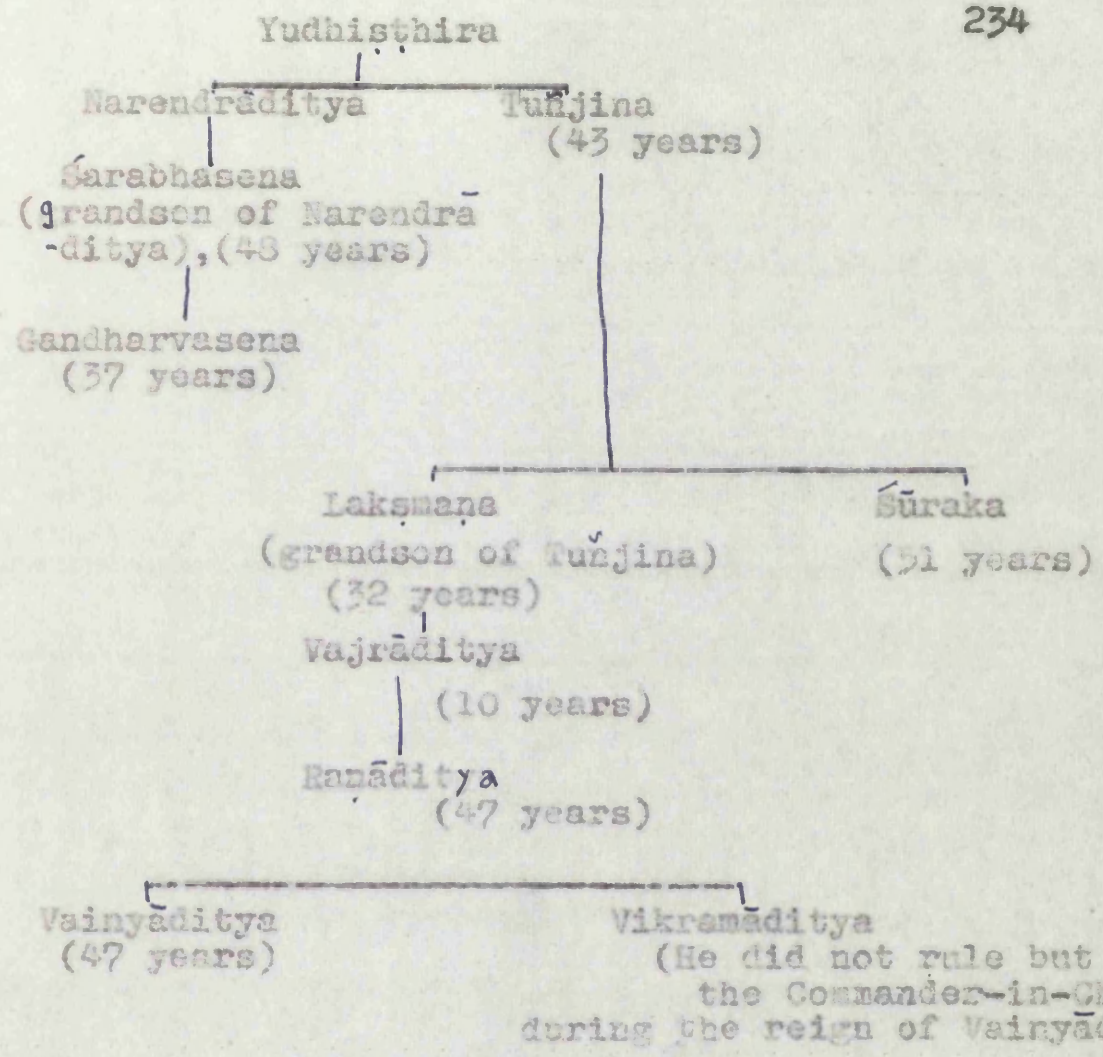
1. Rājataraṅgiṇī. Bk.III.383-385.
2. Ibid. Bk. III. 386-473.
3. Ibid. Bk. III. 474-476.
4. Ibid. Bk.III. 477-526.

Fortunately the Persian history of Maulavī Hasan Shāh comes to our aid [1]. Hasan Shāh wrote his History of Kashmir on the basis of the History of Kashmir written by Mulla Ahmad. Mulla Ahmad's history is said to be a translation of an ancient book, the Ratnākara Purāna, which had been discovered in Kashmir during the reign of Zain-ul-ābidīn (A.D. 1422-74), who ordered his poet laureate, Mulla Ahmad, to translate it into Persian. Hasan once went to Pindori, in the Rawalpindi district and came to know about the history of Mulla Ahmad. On the basis of this he wrote a history of Kashmir. Subsequently the copy of Mulla Ahmad's history was lost by Hasan. The Ratnākara Purāna is untraceable. Therefore we are left only with the history of Hasan Shāh, who died in 1893. His work is recent in date but claims to be based on earlier sources now vanished.

Hasan Shāh assigns a reign of 60 years and three months to Raṇāditya; he mentions six names of the kings who preceded him and one name of a king who succeeded him. According to this historian, all these kings covers a period of 329 years. His chronology after Yudhiṣṭhira is given thus:---

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1. We have no record of its publication but a manuscript has been partially translated by Pandit Ananada Kaul- J.P.A.S.B. 1913.p.195-203. We have no evidence of the whereabouts of the Manuscript at present.



We have no record of the further chronology according to Hasan's history we may compare this history of Hasan with the Rājataraṅginī of Kalhaṇa.

Narendrāditya :- Both Hasan Shāh[1] and Kalhaṇa[2] say that

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1. J.P.A.S.B. 1913 p.198.

2. Rājataraṅginī. Bk. III. 383.

he was the son of Yudhiṣṭhira. The Kārkoṭaka dynasty was on the throne at this time [1]. Narendrāditya could not have been then more than a local chief.

We have some coins with the name Śrī Narendra on one side and Kidāra on the other[2]. The degeneration of style suggests that they were issued by a later Hūṇa king. They might have belonged to this Narendrāditya. Kalhaṇas Narendrāditya, son of Yudhiṣṭhira seems to be the same person as that of Hasan, though he has confused him with Lahkhaṇa, who seems evidently the same Lakṣmaṇa of Hasan Shāh, and was thus a later king. Narendrāditya is given a rule of 13 years by Kalhaṇa. There is no further evidence to support this statement. But if there is any truth in it, he may have ruled in C.A.D. 657-670.

Tuñjina - According to the accounts of Kalhaṇa [3] and Hasan Shāh [4] this prince was the younger brother of Narendrāditya. Kalhaṇa is confused here and gives his name as a second title of Raṇāditya, whilst through Hasan, we can see that Raṇàditya was a different person and a later descendant of this family. Hasan says that he appointed his nephew

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1. See above p. 225-6.
2. See App. I. coin nos. 66.67.
3. Rājataraṅgiṇī. Bk. III. 386.
4. op.cit. p.198.

as his minister. Later on he quarrelled with him and caused his murder. The murdered nephew's son Śarabhasena, who was a boy of seven, left Kashmir with his mother and sought refuge in the court of the Nagarkot chief. There he later married the princess of Nagarkot and subsequently fought with Tuñjina, defeated him and enthroned himself. We have a few small copper coins with the inscription Tuñjina. In one issue the title Prakāśāditya is given to him[1]. It is possible that these copper issues belonged to this king. Hasan assigns him a rule of 43 years, which if true will date the end of his reign in A.D. 713. We have no other source to approve or disapprove this date.

Śarabhasena — The name only occurs in the history of Hasan[2]. According to this history Śarabhasena established law and order in the country and defeated the chieftains of the neighbourhood, who had become independent after the death of Pravarasena. He ruled for 48 years i.e. to c.A.D. 762, if we believe Hasan. We do not possess any coin of this king.

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1. See Appendix.1.coin nos. 6869 (these coins cannot belong to Tuñjina I, for the palaeography and the type of these small coins of Tuñjina Prakāśāditya forbid such a possibility).
2. Op.cit. p. 198.

Gandharvasena:- He succeeded his father and was a king marked with slothfulness and cruelty. In this time anarchy prevailed. As a result, Laksmana, the grandson of Tuñjina, was induced to capture this king and to occupy the throne himself. Gandharvasena's rule ended within 37 years, according to the above dating in C.A.D. 799. His career is recorded by Hasan[1] alone. No coin of this king has been found.

Lakṣmaṇa or Lahkhaṇa:- According to Hasan Shāh[2] Lakṣmaṇa restrained the mis-government and chaos to some extent. He tried to subdue the neighbouring chiefs, who had once been under the domination of his predecessors. In this effort, he advanced against the Multan king Sukarmapāla. When he arrived in the Punjab a mishap occured. He was sleeping under a tree, covering his eyes with a red handkerchief. An eagle, thinking it a piece of red flesh, pounced on his face and picked out his eye. The pain was terrible and the king died within four days. This king maybe identified with Lahkhaṇa[3], who is confused in the Rajatarangini with Narendrāditya. We have a few coins of a certain Lakhaṇa, who is given a title Udayāditya.[4]

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1. Op.cit.p.198.
2. Ibid. p.199.
3. Bk. III. 383.
4. See Appendix I. coin no. 70.

As we have already seen[1] that Kalhaṇa's attribution of the title Narendrāditya to Lahkhaṇa is wrong, it is possible that he had his title Udayāditya and if this is so, these Lakhaṇa Udayāditya coins may belong to him. Curiously enough, two royal seals discovered in Nalanda mention the name of a certain king Lavkhaṇa.[2] The name does not belong to any known dynasty of Eastern India. The similarity of this name with Lahkhaṇa of Kalhaṇa, Laksmaṇa of Hasan Shāh, and Lakhaṇa of the coins suggests the possibility of their being identical. The genealogy of the Nalanda seal is extremely fragmentary. But after a close study of the seals A. Ghosh[3] has endeavoured to reconstruct it thus:-

(Mahārāja) Lavkhaṇa
|
(Mahārājādhirāja) Name missing (m. Vittavvā Devī)
|
(Mahārāja) Jariva or Jaravva (m. Melyādevī)
|
(Mahārājādhirāja) name missing
|
name missing (author of the seal).

Amongst this list the name Jariva or Jaravva is very interesting. Cunningham has pointed out a few coins of a

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1. See above p. 235
2. Arch. Sur. Ind. Mem. no. 66. pl. IX. p. 70.
3. I.H.Q. 1943. p. 188.

certain king, Jara or Jarana[1] . The coins, because of their fabric and style, have been grouped together, with the Hūṇa coins. If this Jarana or Jara is identical with the Jariva or Jaravva of the Nalanda seal, it may be thought that the seal belonged to a descendant of the Hūṇa family. Palaeographically, the coins and the seal belong to the same period. Here Jariva is given as the second successor to Lavkhaṇa, while in Hasan's history, this position is given to Vajrāditya [2]. This difference of succession in the two lists makes us rather suspicious in identifying the Lavkhaṇa of this seal with our Lahkhaṇa or Lakṣmaṇa. Further, how a petty chief of a Kashmir region, like Lahkhaṇa could have reached Nalanda is not clear. The only possibility is that the donor was a scion of this family, who could have come on pilgrimage or later migrated to Nalanda and dedicated this engraved seal as a commemoration of his predecessors. If this happened, there is no need to seek the cause, and circumstances which might have led Lahkhaṇa himself to Nalanda. The inscription is extremely fragmentary and the genealogy has no connection with the lists of Hasan or Kalhaṇa. In such a doubtful case, we should leave our minds open until new discoveries elucidate this point.

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1. See Appendix I. coin nos. 71-72.

2. Op.cit. p.198-99

Lakṣmaṇa ruled for 32 years and 6 months according to Hasan Shāh, which, if true, will lead us to C.A.D. 831, for the end of his reign.

Śūraka:- Then came his younger brother Śūraka (called by Hasan, Surak). Apart from the history of Hasan, we have no other source to prove his existence. Hasan says that he succeeded in exacting tribute from the Multan King Sukarma Pāla. Later on he was disturbed by a rebel chief, Dārdu and went to subdue him. Dārdu, together with his men, retreated. Śūraka followed him too far and was ultimately entrapped by Dārdu's troops. He was kept prisoner in a fort at Paṭṭaṇa. His nephew Vajrāditya, the son of king Lakṣmaṇa, went to rescue him and managed to subdue Dārdu. When he reached his uncle Śūraka however, he found him murdered by Dārdu's men. Śūraka's reign ended after 51 years, which, if true, will lead us to C.A.D. 883, for the date of his death.

Vajrāditya:- He, according to Hasan Shāh, had to fight with Jayendra, the son of Śūraka, at the time of his accession. For nearly one year this indecisive war continued. Later he made a truce with Jayendra and invited him to his camp, where he basely murdered his opponent. As a result, the friends and followers of Jayendra continued the war with Vajrāditya, until 10,000 troops were lost on both sides. Vajrāditya was at last victorious and the rest of his reign was peaceful and prosperous. He ruled for ten

years, according to the above calculation, up to C.A.D.893.

Raṇāditya:- Raṇāditya succeeded his father Vajrāditya and appears to have been a famous king. He is mentioned by both Hasan[1] and Kalhaṇa[2]. The story about his previous birth, when he was a gambler, and the story of his marrying Raṇārambhā in this birth, when he was known by the name of Raṇāditya, is the same in both the accounts. The stories may have some literary value, but from the historical point of view we can gain nothing from them. Kalhaṇa gives him a rule of 300 years, which is obviously wrong, whilst Hasan gives him a reign of 60 years, which may be right. No coin of this king has been discovered. If Hasan Shāh's date is acceptable he may have ruled up to C.A.D. 953.

Vainyāditya:- Hasan[3] mentions Vainyāditya as the son and successor of Raṇāditya. He is described as a benevolent and saintly person, who ruled the country with compassion and justice and built a temple called Vainya-svāmin. The historicity of Vainyāditya is strengthened by Kalhaṇa's mention of a temple of the same name[4], though he does not say who built it. The name of the temple itself suggests that there must have been a king of this name, and, therefore, Hasan's Vainyāditya seems to be

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1. Op.cit. p.200
2. Bk.III. 386
3. Op.cit. p.202
4. Bk.III. 474.

historical. Hasan gives him a reign of 47 years, according to our calculations up to C.A.D. 1000.

Vikramāditya:- Kalhaṇa[1] mentions him as the son and direct successor of Raṇāditya, while ~~we have seen that~~ Hasan mentions Vainyāditya as the immediate successor to Raṇāditya. Hasan, however, gives Vikramāditya, as the brother of Vainyāditya and states that he was the Commander-in Chief during the reign of his elder brother[2]. It is possible that the two Vikramādityas were identical and he succeeded to the throne of his father after his elder brother Vainyāditya. He built a temple in his own name and a Vihāra was constructed under the name of his wife Ratnāvali. Kalhaṇa ascribes a rule of 42 years[3] to him, which, if true, will bring us down to C.A.D. 1042.

Bālāditya:- He was the last king of the family recorded by Kalhaṇa[4]. No other record or coin mentions this king. According to Kalhaṇa he had no male issue and, therefore, gave his only daughter Anaṅgalekhā to Durlabha-Vardhana, a chief of his court, who later on founded the Kārkoṭaka dynasty. We have already seen[5] that, at this point Kalhaṇa is extremely muddled. Durlabhavardhana's son Pratāpāditya founded this new dynasty during the time of

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1. Bk. III. 474.
2. Op.cit.p.203.
3. Bk. III. 475
4. Bk. III. 477.
5 See above p. 225-26.

Yudhiṣṭhira, and his successor, Candrapīḍa, is mentioned in the Chinese annals as ruling in Kashmir in C.A.D. 712. Therefore, the whole story about the son-in-law of Bālāditya is misleading. We believe that Bālāditya was the last member of this family and left no male issue to continue his lineage. Kalhaṇa assigns him a reign of about 37 years, which, if true, takes us down to C.A.D. 1080.

These kings show hardly any trace of Hunnish descent. They were practically Hindus. Their names, the names of their queens, and their life stories all indicate their Hinduised character. But we regard them as the descendants of the Hūṇas for two reasons:--

(1) Up to Pravarasena and Khiṅkhila there is little doubt of their being Hūṇa kings, as they are closely linked by Kalhaṇa with the famous Hūṇa kings Toramāṇa and Mihirakula. The later Hūṇa kings of the list which ends with Bālāditya were regarded both by Kalhaṇa and Hasan as the descendants of the same line and therefore should have been originally Hūṇas.

(2) The coins of these kings (for instance Narendra, Tuñjina and Lakhaṇa coins) are of the same type as those of their predecessors. The fabric and style of the coins, therefore, link them up with the line of the Hunnish kings Mihirakula, Pravarasena and Khiṅkhila.

Apart from these later descendants of the Hūṇas of the family of Toramāṇa, who probably lived in Kashmir as local chiefs, there were a few other Hūṇa families, residing in different regions of India[1]. Most probably they had no family connection with the descendants of Toramāṇa and Mihirakula, but they may have been the descendants of the Hūṇa captains or soldiers who were left behind in different parts of India, after Mihirakula's vast empire shrank to the confines of Kashmir. About these various Hūṇa families no chronological account, no detailed evidence of their exact localities, no trace of the names of their kings has yet been discovered. They have been recorded by their contemporaries simply as Hūṇas. We shall deal now with the remnants of these Hūṇa people.

The Pāla king Devapāla has been praised as the victor of the Hūṇas. The Bādal pillar inscription of Guravamiśra[2] says that ~~the~~ Devapāla defeated the Utkalas, Hūṇas, Dravidas and Gurjaras. Who were these Hūṇas and where they were residing is not indicated in any Pāla record. Dr. R.C. Majumdar suggests that they were the inhabitants of the outskirts of the Pāla empire[3]. This suggestion is possible, as we cannot imagine that Devapāla led a campaign to defeat the Hūṇas in the north-west Punjab or in Kashmir. Moreover, in

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1. P. Neogi. - Later references to the Hūṇas'. Proceedings and Transaction of all India Oriental Conference. 1950. Nagpur Session.

2. E.I. vol.I. no.10.p.160.

3. R.C. Majumdar-History of Bengal. vol.1.p.118.

many records of the Pāla dynasty the Hūṇas are counted with the officers and rank-holders, before whom a grant was to be declared[1]. They are mentioned after various officials among a number of other peoples who were apparently not natives as - original inhabitants of Bengal "Viṣayapati, Grāmapati, Tārika, Gauḍa, Mālava, Khasa, Hūṇa, Kulika....etc". What exactly these references indicate cannot be deduced from such ambiguous data. Were the Hūṇas here referred to regarded as members of the original tribe of invaders, some of whom remained in Bengal after their defeat by Bālāditya? Or was it just the custom to name all these people in the grants, the list being therefore of no special significance? Curiously enough, in the present day there is a headquarter of a subdivision named Mihrpur in the Nadia district of East Bengal, which reminds us of the name of Mihirakula. There is a faint possibility that some Hūṇa chieftains were left in Bihar and Bengal when Mihirakula was imprisoned by the Magadha king Bālāditya. Later, after the fall of the Guptas, they may have established this town in commemoration of their leader Mihirakula. Perhaps they were the Hūṇas who appear in the above mentioned Pāla records. But these suggestions are nothing more than feeble ——————

1. E.I. XXIX no.7; Ibid. XVIII. no.30; Ibid.XVII.no.17;Ibid XXIX. no. 1.a; Ibid.1.b; Ibid XV no.18. Ibid.XIV.no.23.

possibilities. In fact we must admit that our evidence for the identification of the Hūṇas of Pāla records is almost nil.

Very similar to the style of Pāla records, which mention Hūṇas amongst the list of the officials, are three plates from Pāṇḍukeśvar (situated in the North East of Śrīnagar), 1) Plate of Lalitāsuradeva year 22; 2) Plate of Subhikṣajjadeva dated year 4; 3) Plate of Padmaṭadeva dated year 25, which enumerate Hūṇas in the same way[1].

In the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records a few references to the Hūṇas occur. In the fragmentary Naser inscription[2] of a certain Śulki chief, valuable information is given. The record might have been of considerable importance, if the portion of interest to us had not been damaged. This inscription refers to a hero (whose name is probably Keśarin) son of Narasimha, who at the command of Kṛṣṇarāja (identified with Kṛṣṇa III of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, A.D. 939-67)defeated the Hūṇa army, sent by Lolikya, in the battle of Paṭṭaṇaka. The army consisted of horses, elephants and infsntry, and was utterly destroyed. There is a further reference to Hūṇas in verse 24 of this inscription, but nothing except the word Hūṇa can be deciphered because the epigraph is destroyed.

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1. E.I. vol.XXXI. no.38.p.277
2. E.I. vol.XXIX. no.3. p.18.

Who was this Lolikya? Where the town Pattanaka was situated is still unknown. About Lolikya we cannot offer any suggestion, but the name of the town of Pattanaka suggests two possibilities 1) Pattanaka may be another form of Pāṭaṇa. 2) The name Pattnaka also reminds us of the fort of Pattana, where Śūraka, the successor of Lahkhana, was kept imprisoned by a certain chief Dārdu[1]. But, as neither of these suggestions can be supported by any other evidence we must leave the question unsolved until later discovereis occur.

An undated Rāṣṭrakūṭa charter from Chinchani, referring to the reign of Krsna III, praises the ruling king for his victories over the Hūṇas[2]. The editor, Professor Sircar, thinks that the Hūṇas mentioned here were probably ruling in the Punjab. We cannot pass any comment on this view as nothing definite is known about such Hūṇas. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa Karkkarāja II Amoghavarsa is also praised for fighting a battle with the Hūṇa lords, according to the Khareda plate of A.D. 972[3].

Later even in 13th century records, the Hūṇas are mentioned as defeated people, but nothing except their name is inscribed. The Chebrolu inscription of Jaya[4] (inscribed

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1. See above p. 240
2. E.I. no.XXXII no.4. line 11.
3. I.A. vol.XII p.265. Khareda is in Khandesha
4. E.I. vol.V. no.17. line. 53.

after A.D. 1213-14) mentions a certain king Gaṇapati son of king Mahadeva at whose door the Hūṇa king is stated to have waited. Nothing can be suggested about the identification of these Hūṇas because of the absence of sufficient evidence.

The Cālukya inscriptions sometimes record the Hūṇas as a defeated people. The Una plate of Avanivarman II Yoga, dated in v.s. 956[1] (A.D. 899) refers to the father of Avanivarman, Balavarman, as victor over the Hūṇas. The Hūṇas fought with him under their leader Jajjapa. The Cālukyas at this time were the feudatories of the Pratihāra Mahendrapāla I. It seems that Balavarman was appointed to this task of subduing the Hūṇas by his overlord Mahendrapāla I. Tripathi thinks that the Hūṇas mentioned here were living somewhere in the north west frontier of the Pratihāra empire[2] . The Yewur inscription of the western Cālukya king, Vikramāditya VI also refers to Vikramāditya as victor over the Hūṇas[3] . No more details about these people are given.

In the same way as those of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Cālukyas, the Paramāras of Mālava had conflicts with the Hūṇas. The Udepur Prasasti of Bhoja[4] and the Navasāha-

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1. E.I. vol.IX. no.16.
2. Tripathi - History of Kanauj. p.251.
3. E.I. vol.XII.no.32. line. 50.
4. E.I. vol.1. p.223.

Sāṅkacarita of Padmagupta [1] attribute to Sīyaka a victory over a Hūṇa prince, "whose harem was turned into a dwelling place for the consecration of widowhood !. The Kautham plate of Vikramāditya V [2] refers to Muñja as conqueror of the Hūṇas. Muñjas brother Sindhurāja is also praised for his victory over the Hūṇas, in the Udepur Praśasti. There are two plays, Lalita Vigraharāja Nāṭaka and Harikeli Nāṭaka, engraved by Bhāskara on stone slabs, later used in the building of the Aḍhāī-dīn-Kā-jhoprā mosque at Ajmir. The characters are the Nāgarī of the 12 century. The lines 37 and 38 of the second inscription give the history of the ancestors of the engraver Bhāskara. According to this, Bhāskara's grandfather Govinda was a son of a Hūṇa prince, and, because of his excellent qualities was favourite of king Bhoja, most probably of the Paramāra dynasty[3]. Therefore, we see that the Paramāras had continuous relations with the Hūṇas for four generations - starting from Sīyaka and finishing with Bhoja. All the Hūṇas referred to in connection with the Paramāras seem to be of the same family and possibly were living somewhere in Central India.

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1. I.A. 1907. p.149.
2. I.A. vol.XVI.p.15
3. I.A. vol.XX.p.201.

Burgess[1] is of the opinion that the Hūṇas who came in contact with the Paramāras were not the descendants of the Hūṇas but were Hindu Kṣatriya families. F.E. Hall[2] originated this theory that the Hūṇas of Mediaeval India had no Hunnish elements but were a division of a tribe of Kṣatriyas. We cannot agree with their theory. There is no doubt that the Hūṇas of mediaeval India were considered as Hindus, their customs marriages and social status were like other Kṣatriyas, but we still think that they were the remnants of the Early Hūṇas, who became Indianised. The word Hūṇa never had an honorary significance. On the other hand the Hūṇas were always considered cruel and among the worst people in the world -- Durlabhā khalu Hūṇebhyaḥ kutsitatamā loke[3] . In such a case the Kṣatriyas who were called Hūṇas could not have taken this epithet with the aim of improving their social status. The natural assumption is that, even though they were thoroughly Indianised and considered themselves as the Kṣatriyas they were forced to bear the low designation of the Hūṇas. It is further remarkable that the Kṣatriya houses, who made matrimonial alliances with the Hūṇa family, mostly took daughters of the Hūṇas. We have no reference to their giving their own daughters to Hūṇa chiefs. Hindu śāstras have accepted the anuloma marriages, but have regretted the pratiloma marriages. This suggests that, even though the mediaeval Hūṇa families were marrying with

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1. I.A. 1907.p.168
2. J.R.A.S.B. 1863.p.117-8
3. Viśvaguṇādarśa. Bombay edition of Śaka. 1774.fol.22.

the Kṣatriyas, they were still looked on as lower in status. The Atpur inscription of Śaktikumāra[1] refers to a prince of Guhila family (who were originally Brahmins) as marrying a Hūṇa princess, Hariyādevī. In the same way three Kalacuri inscriptions - the Totwali plate of king Jayasimha-deva (K.E. 918)[2], the Jabbalpur copper plate inscription of Yaśaḥkarṇadeva (A.D. 1122)[3], and the Bheraghat stone inscription of Queen Alhaṇadevi (K.E. 907)[4] say that the Kalacuri king Karṇadeva married the Hūṇa princess Āvalladevī.

The Hūṇas were included in the mediaeval bardic lists amongst the 36 Rājpūt clans. Candbardaī refers to the Hūṇas as one of the 36 Kṣatriya tribes[5]. A later work of the 18th century the Ballāla caritaṁ written by Ānanda Bhaṭṭa, which gives the life story of the Sena king of Bengal

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1. I.A. 1910 p.186.(The name Hariyādevī suggests a combination of a foreign and an Indian name. What the word Hairyá means is not known. Interestingly we have a reference of a small Huriya clan of the Somavaṁśī Rājpūts in Athganwan and Mariyahu in the province of Benares- H.M. Elliot - Mem. and the hist. folklore and distribution of the races of the N.W. provinces of India. vol.I.p.127.)

2. E.I., xxi, no. 15.

3. E.I. vol.II.no.1.p.1.

4. E.I. vol.II.no.11.

5. Candbardaī - Pṛthvīrājarāso. Ādiparvva. Kavitta. 132.

Ballālasena, refers to the Hūṇas as one of the Kṣatriya tribes[1] . — Cāhamānaśca mallāśca chindāścāpoṭkaṭāstathā Caulukyāśca śilāhārāśca hūṇāśca brahmabāhujāh

But the Hūṇas appearing in the literature of the later mediaeval period perhaps had no ethnic relationship with the Hūṇas of early age. At that time the term Hūṇa was quite often used for any people of foreign origin. The Hūṇa invasion, like that of the Śakas, remained fresh in the memories of Indian writers for a long time, and many times whilst describing their hero as a Vikramāditya king, they attributed to him victories over the Hūṇas. This became a customary description and had practically no historical value. To cite a few examples, we can refer to a later writer, Kṛṣṇa Kavi, who composed Bharatacaritaṁ and says that Bharata, the brother of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, conquered the country occupied by the Hūṇagaṇanṛpa[2] . Another drama named Dharmavijayanāṭakaṁ, written by Bhūdeva Śukla, refers to its hero Kūṭapaurāṇika as the conqueror of the Hūṇas[3] . Another later work, Śiva-bhāratam, composed by Kavīndra Paramānanda , attributed to Chatrapati Śivāji a victory over the Hūṇas[4].

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1. Ānanda Bhaṭṭa- Ballālacaritaṁ Ed. by H.P. Shastri. 1904. Vs.8
2. Kṛṣṇa Kavi - Bharatacaritaṁ -Trivandrum sanscrit series.no. 86.Sarca 11.vs.45
3. Bhūdeva Śukla . Dharmavijayanāṭakaṁ . Grantharatnamālā .1890 Bk. III . pt. 7 . Anka. II . p. 31
4. Paramānanda..- Śrī Śivabhāratam . Adh. 6. śl. 74.

The word Hūṇa became such a general designation that later authors used this word even for the Portuguese[1] and the French.

1. E. H. I.; 4th ed. P. 339–40.

C H A P T E R - VII

THE ASSIMILATION OF THE HŪNAS INTO INDIAN SOCIETY.

Generally speaking " it is held that Hinduism is a non-proselytizing religion, that is, a Hindu means an individual born of Hindu parents and not converted to Hinduism, and thus consequently Hinduism is always a barrier to foreign races being incorporated into Hindu society"[1]. Hindu society is divided into castes and the caste system is another obstacle to Indianisation. Ketkar defines caste as " a social group having two characteristics; (i) membership is confined to those who are born of members and includes all persons so born;(ii) the members are forbidden by an inexorable social law to marry outside the group"[2]. Likewise, N.K.Datta[3] emphasises that caste rules prohibit an individual from marrying outside his own caste. The Hindu laws are based on 'the Vedas, the Smṛtis, the practice of righteous men, what is acceptable to one's own soul and a desire produced by a virtuous resolve'[4]. The Smṛtis and their commentaries, which form the principal source of Hindu law, favour marriage inside the caste and

1. D.R.Bhandarkar.-The foreign elements in Hindu population. I.A.,XL.p.8.
2. Ketkar.- History of castes in India.1909.p.15.
3. N.K.Datta.-Origin and growth of the castes in India. 1931.p.3.
4. Manu.VIII.41;II.12.

and discourage intercaste marriage. Yājñavalkya's[1] first rule is - "Savarṇebhyaḥ savarṇāsu jāyante hi sajātayaḥ" i.e.'children of the same caste are only born from fathers and mothers of the same varṇa.' But most of the ~~Indian~~ ancient Smṛtis admit inter-caste marriages, if the wife is one class lower. Manu[2] says -"from wives belonging to the immediately next varṇa sons of dvijas are treated as equal, though they are blemished by the defect of their mothers." Pratiloma marriages on the other hand, were vehemently criticised by all lawgivers. But we should notice that there are numerous references to such prohibited Pratiloma marriages. According to tradition, numerous mixed castes were originated due to these Anuloma and Pratiloma marriages,and thse are duly referred to in the Smṛtis. For example, Manu[3] remarks - "from a Brāhmaṇa with the daughter of a Vaiśya is born (a son) called an Ambaṣṭha, with the daughter of a Śūdra a Niṣāda, who is also called a Pāraśava." The progeny of mixed-caste marriages were always regarded as of lower origin than their parents and were despised in society.

Though these social laws restrained intermingling in Indian society, it is questionable how far they were adhered to. Early European observers like Abbé Dubois[4] regarded these laws as artificial, a device of the clever

1. Yājñavalkya.- Dharmaśāstra. Ācārādhyāya. Ch.I.śl90.
2. Manu. X. 6.
3. Manu X. 8.
4. A description of the people of India. 1817.

pristhood. But this is not so. The caste system is deeply rooted in the popular beliefs of the Indian people, and is not something superimposed but something organic. It has been part of the Indian social structure since the Vedic period. At that time the grades of society were built on the basis of men's occupations[1]. The origin of the four main divisions of society from the primeval man is stated in the Ṛgveda[2] thus : Brāhmaṇosya mukhamāsīdbāhu rājanyaḥ kṛtaḥ guru tadasya yadvaiśyaḥ padābhyām śūdro=jāyataḥ.
"The Brāhmaṇa was His mouth, the Kṣatriya was made His arms, what is called Vaiśya (was) His thighs and from His feet sprang the Śūdra." The same idea reappeared in Manu[3] -
Lokānām tù vivṛdhyarthaṁ mukhabāhūru pādataḥ
Brahmānāṁ Kṣatriyāṁ Vaiśyāṁ Śūdrāṁ ca nirvavartayat.
"But for the propagation of the worlds, He caused the Brāhmaṇa, the Kṣatriya, the Vaiśya and the Śūdra to issue from his mouth, arms, thighs and feet respectively".

This original division became more complex when the Aryans had relations with the non-Aryans, whom they regarded as Śūdras. Consequently, with the idea of retaining purity of blood, the Aryan lawgivers made restrictive social laws and claimed that these laws were based on the Śrutis. The Vedas themselves do not contain any social regulation on the pattern of Manu, Yājñavalkya, etc., but as they preserved

1. Nesfield.-Brief view of the caste system.1885.pp.88-89. (He believes that occupation was the exclusive basis of the caste distinctions.)
2. Ṛgveda. Maṇḍala. X.90,12.
3. Manu. I. 31.

the stories of the ancient sages they formed the basis for the later Hindu laws. But certain loopholes in these laws permitted inter-caste and inter-racial marrigaes.

Theoretically, there are clauses in Hindu laws which permitted the incorporation of different castes and foreigners in the Hindu society. Manu, Yājñavalkya and Gautama lay down that the exaltation of a lower caste to a higher caste is possible in seven generations, by marrying a lower caste daughter to a higher caste man. Yājñavalkya[1] says -

Jātyutkarṣo yuge jñeyaḥ pañcame saptame=pi va.

"The exaltation of a caste in the (Kali)yuga should be understood to take place in the fifth or seventh generation". Manu says[2]- "If (a female) sprung from a Brāhmaṇa man and a Śūdra woman, bear(children) to one of the highest caste, the inferior(tribe) attains the highest caste with the seventh generation."

In practice this law made possible the complete assimilation of foreigners or aboriginals who were regarded as Dasyus, and therefore of the lowest class. Broadly interpreted, it was applicable to a community as a whole and was not limited to an individual only. By applying this rule in the case of the Hunas we can suggest that they elevated themselves as a Kṣatriya community, by marrying their

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1. Yājñavalkya. Ch.I.śl.96.
2. Manu. X. 64.

daughters to the higher caste princes. The inscriptions which mention the marriages of the Hūṇa prificesses Hariyā-devī and Ávalladevī to the Guhila prince Śaktikumāra, who was of Brāhmaṇa descent, and the Kalacuri prince Karṇadeva, who was a kṣatriya, respectively, present evidence in support of this view.[1] These marriages, which raised them to a higher caste, gave them the opportunity to possess various Hindu Gotras. For instance the Ratnagiri plate of the Somavaṁśī Karṇa[2] says that "a grant of a village - (was given) to Rànī Karpūraśrī, who was the daughter of the son of Udayamati, and the daughter of Mahàrimā Hūṇadevī and who belonged to the Kāśyapa Gotra having three pravaras (Kāśyapa - sagōtrāyai try-ārsha-pravarāyai Udayamati nāmnyāḥ pautryai Mahārìmā Hūṇadevìnàmnyāḥ putryai ràni śrì Kàrppūra-rìnāmnyai). Evidently the name Hūṇadevī was given to this queen because of her Hūṇa origin, but she also belonged to the orthodox Kāśyapa Gotra. This example demonstrate the working of the above law, which says that a caste or a tribe can be exalted by marrying its daughters to higher class men.

Theoretically, in Hindu law and in the Vedas it has always been considered that caste depends on profession and therefore if a lower caste man has the profession of a higher caste, he may be raised to the higher status. The famous

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1. See above, p.251.
2. E.I., XXXIII.1960. no.50, line 42. Ratnagiri is in Cuttack district, Orissa. The inscription is undated. Palaeography is of 12th century A.D.

discussion in the Mahābhārata[1] is appropriate here -"Who is a Brāhmaṇa", asked Nahūṣa. Yudhiṣṭhira replied, "One who is endowed with truthfulness, liberality, forgiveness, good conduct, equality of feeling towards all, austere life and compassion."But the four castes do exist", rejoined Nahūṣa, "What then if truthfulness, liberality, forgiveness, etc. are found in a Śūdra ?" Yudhiṣṭhira answered -"If these marks exist in a Śūdra and do not exist in a Brāhmaṇa that Śūdra is not a Śūdra and that Brāhmaṇa is not a Brahmana. O great serpent, where these marks exist is a Brāhmaṇa where they do not the person is a Śūdra". "If O king", said Nahūṣa, "you think that a man's demeanour makes him a Brāhmaṇa then the fact of belonging to a particular caste is of no avail unless a man's actions entitle him to that caste." Yudhiṣṭhira said,"The caste, O great serpent, in the presence of the general species of mankind is at present indistinguishable in consequence of the great intermixture of races. Men of all castes beget children on women belonging to all castes indiscriminately. Men are common only in speech, sexual intercourse, birth and death. I will quote a further argument, viz.,the verse "ye yājamaha" Therefore those who have an insight into the essence of things believe that conduct is the chief thing. Castes are

1. Mahābhārata, Āraṇyaparva. Adh.177.śl.15-32.

useless if suitable conduct does not exist, for the intermixture of races has been very great indeed."

The influence of character on caste is accepted even by the orthodox Manu, who says - "Jāto nāryamanāryāyāmaryādāryo bhavedguṇaiḥ". "A son born of an Ārya from a nonĀrya woman will become an Ārya by his qualities."[1]

All these theories had some practical value. For example, according to tradition, the sage Vaśiṣṭha, who was himself of low origin, the son of a harlot, became a Brāhmana, because of his qualities, and originated the Vaśistha Gotra of the Brāhmaṇas, which is looked upon as of equal purity to the other Gotras[2]. The same low origins are attributed to Vyāsa and Parāśara, who were the sons of a fisherman and a Caṇḍāla respectively but who through their good qualities became Brāhmaṇas. Manu[3] gives the example of Viśvāmitra, who was a Kṣatriya and was exalted to Brāhmaṇahood. The Harivaṁśa[4] says that the two, sons of Nābhāgariṣṭa, who were Vaiśyas, attained the status of a Brāhmaṇa. There is no need to remark that these examples are all traditional, for even in comperatively modern days similar cases are known, in respect of exceptional individuals. An interesting example has been pointed out by H.P.Shastri[5], in the Marāṭhā Śivāji. He was

1. Manu. X. 67.
2. Rgveda. Maṇḍala.VII.hymn.33,vs.11.
3. Manu -VII, 42.
4. Harivaṁśa; tr. by V.Langlois. I.52,55.
5. H.P.Shastri. -Absorption of the Vrātyas. D.U.P.,1926,no.VI, p.1-2.

of the low caste; when he established an independent principality he wanted a coronation. The Brāhmaṇas objected to the coronation of a low caste man as a king. So a genealogy was manufactured, declaring the Bhońslā family, from which he claimed his descent, to be a branch of the Sisodias of Citor, and it was declared that the family by neglecting the duties of the Kṣatriyas had become Vrātyas. Later on a Marāṭhā pandit from Banares arrived to crown him, but because Śivājī was a Vrātya, he had to,go through a long ceremony of purification. This example makes it clear that when Śivājī acquired power, nothing could prevent him from becoming a Kṣatriya.

The Pokhar Sevak Brāhmaṇas of Rājasthān claim their descent from a Mer of low caste. This Mer ancestor was tought Yajurveda by a muni and thus his descendants were called Brāhmaṇas[1]

Furthermore, Manu[2] believes that a king is composed of particles drawn from the essence of the Gods. This rule is not confined to Hindu kings only. Any king, even if of foreign origin, contains such superhatural elements in him. Therefore,if a king of alien descent should claim a Kṣatriya origin, theoretically he cannot be prohibited from making this demand. Hoskyn[3] believes that the Marāṭhā families, who were probably of foreign

1. Wilson. - Indian caste. II.p.172.
2. Manu. VII. 4,5.
3. I.A., 1922. p.116.

origin, present examples of the above rules, for now they are considered to be Kṣatriyas.

In the case of Hūṇas, theoretically there were means of incorporating them into Hindu Kṣatriya society. The kings and the military class of the Hūṇas could have been accepted as Kṣatriyas. In the beginning they may have had to go through some kind of purification, but infact since they were kings and had considerable power, they may have raised their status to that of Kṣatriyas from that of Mlecchas without such formalities.

The Hindu law, as we have seen, is based on the Smṛtis and on local customs. Local custom is a very general term under which many divergent practices can be included, which in one place are prohibited and in another locality are legitimate. The Smṛtis, which claim the Vedas as their ultimate authority, are not unanimous on every issue of the social law. Moreover, different interpreters may interprete a certain law in varying ways. The result is that sometimes many usages which are prohibited in the Smṛtis became common in local practice, while some customs which are allowed in the law-books became obsolete in practice. Banerjee[1] pointed to an example - In the institutes of Manu it is prohibited to marry daughters of a maternal uncle[2], while anuloma marriage is allowed. Yet in the present day the former is

1. G.Banerjee.- The Hindu law of marriage and Stridhana. 1879. p.8.
2. Manu. III.5.

a common practice in South India and the later is prohibited completely.' Contradictory interpretations gave birth to different schools of law. Sometimes schools of law arose, as Ayyar[1] remarks, "due to a deliberate effort on the part of ~~the~~ glossators to comment on the ancient texts in such a way as would, them ~~the~~ to squeeze out therefrom principles and rules supporting the usages prevalent in their respective provinces at that time." Thus we see that though at first glance the restrictions of Hindu law which, the intermixture of castes seem to be very restrictive, they were not so in fact. The Indians always had ample opportunity to mould their laws and customs according to emerging necessities. We have the evidence of the Magas, who, though foreigners, were accepted as Brāhmaṇas in Indian society, only because by profession they were priests of the sun.[2] In the same way the Hūṇas had opportunities to become Hinduised, if they were willing to accept the Hindu dharma. They could have been counted as Kṣatriyas as they mostly belonged to the worrior class.

~~The second general belief is that Hinduism is that Hindu is a non-proselytizing religion. In practice this is not true.~~ Though Hinduism does not emphasise the conversion of the people of an alien religion to the Hindu dharma, if

1. V.Ayyar.-Outlines of Hindu Law. 1931. p.47.
2. The Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, Adh.117 and 139; the Viṣnu Purāṇa, Aṁśa 4.Adh.3; The Kūrma Purāṇa,Adh.48,śl.35;the Agni Purāṇa,Adh.27,śl.21; the Padma Purāṇa, Adh.8,śl.33-34; the Sāmba Purāṇa, Adh.26,śl.87-88 - all of them say that the Magas were Śākadvīpī Brāhmaṇas.

any foreigner ever desires to adopt Hinduism, the doors are open to him. In this field, two branches of Indian religion, Buddhism and Śaivism, played the foremost part, though some foreigners were converted to Bhāgavatism as well. To cite a few examples we may refer ~~them~~ to the inscriptional evidence of some of foreigners who were in ancient days converted to these sects - Meridaskh Theodoros who accepted Buddhism[1]; Moyika, son of Urumuja who built a Śiva temple[2]; Heliodorus the Bhāgavata, who caused the erection of a Garuḍa dhvaja of Vāsudeva[3]; Vima Kadphises who became a Śaiva[4]. Śaivism played a very big part in converting the Hūṇas to Hinduism. Mihirakula, as his coins and Kalhaṇa's account show, was an enthusiastic Śaiva and most of his descendants took this sect as their family religion[5]

Thus we can conclusively say that the Hūṇas who remained in India after their unsuccessful effort to gain political supremacy became Hindus, and were included in the Kṣatriya caste. They adopted Śaivism, they gave their daughters in marriage to Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas, they took Indian names, they accepted the Hindu political ideas about the duty of a king and thus they gradually became Hindus. The mediaeval inscriptions and literature therefore do not indicate that they had any foreign characteristics except their old designation Hūṇas.

1. Swat relic vase inscription. Sircar. Select Inscriptions, p.20.
2. Panjtar stone inscription of year 122. Sircar. Ibid.no.32.
3. Besangadh Garuda pillar inscription. Ibid.p.90.
4. Gardner. C.I.C. in B.M. p.124.
5. See above. p. 187

We know that at the time when the Hūṇas were becoming Indianised, new groups of Kṣatriyas later known as Rājpūts were emerging politically. Can it be that these Rājpūts families were the outcome of the infusion of the Hūṇas and other foreign tribes in Hindu society ?

Tod[1] in his Annals introduced this theory that the Rājpūts were the descendants of the foreign invaders, who from time to time entered India and gradually became Hindus. The theory was further elaborated by Smith. We quote Smith for the sake of argument[2] -"Clans or families which succeeded in winning the chieftainship were admitted readily into the frame of Hindu polity as Kṣatriyas or Rājpūts and there is no doubt that the Parihāras and many other famous Rājpūt clans of the north were developed out of the barbarian hordes which poured into India during the fifth and sixth centuries. The rank and file of the strangers became Gurjaras.[2]" Crooke[3], the editor of Tod's Annals, confirms these ideas. He says - "A wide gulf lies between the Vedic Kṣatriyas and the Rājpūts of mediaeval times, which is now impossible to bridge. It is now certain that the origin of many clans dates from the Śaka and Kuṣāṇa invasions or more certainly from that of the White Huns." D.R.Bhandarkar was another supporter of this theory. According to him the Rājpūts, amongst whom stood in the topmost rank the Pratihāras, Paramāras, Caḷukyas and Cāhamānas,

1. J.Tod.- Annals; I.1920.p.29.
2. E.H.I.,3rd.ed. p.322.
3. J.Tod.- Annals; Intd. by Crooke,p.xxxi.

where the descendants of the Gurjaras who were originally called Khaẓars and came along with the Hūṇas in the beginning of the 6th century[1]. His theory, grouping together the four Rājpūt dynasties, is based on the tradition given by the Bardic tale of Cand [2], which derives their origin from the sacrificial fire-pit(agni-kunda) at Mount Abu. The same legend of the Agni-kula was continued in the later bardic literature. For instance, Sūrajmal Bhaṭṭa of Būndikoṭa[3] gives the fire descent to his patron and elaborates on the story of Cand; and the Āin-i-Akbarī[4] preserves the story of the fire-origin of the Paramāras. This myth of the Agni-kula led scholars such as Smith and Bhandarkar to believe that it is not purely imaginative but contains some historical truth, referring to an act of purification that established the foreigners in Indian society. Crooke[5] comments "the legend which tells that on the sacred mount Abu the sage Viswāmitra produced these septs out of the holy fire-pit now becomes intelligible. It represents a rite of purgation by fire, the scene of which was in southern Rajputana, whereby the impurity of the foreigners was removed and they became fitted to enter the Hindu caste system." The four tribes mentioned by Cand are the Pratihāras, the Paramāras, the Caulukyas and the Cāhamānas. The Pratihāras are referred to in the Rajore

1. J.B.B.R.A.S.,1903,p.413; [illegible]
2. Candbardai.- Pṛthvīrājarāso. Ādiparva. Kavitta.124-129.
3. A.K.Forbes.-Rāsamālā, 1869. II. p.234.
4. H.S.Jarrett.-Āin-i-Akbarī(trans.) II.p.214.
5. J.R.A.S.of G.B. XI,p.42.

stone inscription of Mathanadeva dated in A.D.959[1] as Gurjaras (Gurjara Pratihārānvayaḥ). That the Pratihāras belonged to the Gurjara stock is also corroborated by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records and the accounts of Arab writers such as Abu Zaid[2] and Al Masūdī[3]. Bhandarkar believes that as the Pratihāras, one of the four Agnikula tribes, were Gurjaras, it is possible that the other three families, the Caulukyas, the Paramaras and the Cahamanas, belonged to the same tribe.

To support the view that the Caulukyas were Gurjaras, Bhandarkar[4] remarks - "It was evidently in the time of the Caulukya sovereigns that Gujrat came to be called after Gurjaras. The Dohad inscription[5] of A.D.1140, speaks of the Caulukya king Jayasimha as a ruler of Gurjara-mandala ... The conclusion is therefore irresistible that the Caulukyas were Gurjaras." Bhandarkar could not find any evidence for the Gurjara origin of the Paramāras but believed that "it is morally certain" that they were also Gurjaras, for they were grouped together with the Gurjaras, as were the Pratihāras and the Caulukyas.

To prove that the Cāhamānas were Gurjaras he has taken the evidence of a few coins found in northern India and inscribed on one side with the Nāgarī legend -Śrī Vāsu-

1. E.I., III.p.263-67.
2. Elliot.- History of India. I.p.4.
3. Ibid. p.25.
4. J.B.B.R.A.S., XXI.p.425-27.
5. I.A., XII.p.59.

deva Vahman and on the other side the Pahlavi legend Takkān, Jabulistān, Sapādlakshān. He first suggests that the obverse legend should be read Śrī Vāsudeva Cahman, as the letters Ca and Va are very similar. Cahman he believes stands for Cāhamāna, and therefore the coin is of a Cauhān king Vāsudeva. He refers to the Pṛthvīrāja Vijaya and Rājaśekhara's Prabandha-koṣa, which mention Vāsudeva as the originator of the Cāhamānas. Bhandarkar thinks that Sapādlaksha means the Siwalik hills of the Himālayas. The conclusion he draws is that these coins give evidence that the Cāhamāna king Vāsudeva came from the north west Himālayas and was probably a foreigner like the Gurjaras.

Among other supporters of the theory who regarded the above four tribes as Gurjaras is J.W.Watson[1], who quotes a legend in which Cāvaḍa ~~king~~ Vanarāja was called a Paramāra ~~king~~ ~~Vikramaditya~~. ~~He~~ for he belonged to the family of the Paramāra king Vikramāditya. He argues that it is well known that the Cāvaḍas were Gurjaras, as Brahmagupta says that he wrote his work in A.D.628, Bhīnmāla, when the Gurjara Vyāghṛarāja(who was the Cāvaḍa king) was ruling[2]. Furthermore, Forbes points out that the Cāvaḍa ruler Jayaśekhara was a Gurjara[3]. Thus Watson concludes, the Paramāras were connected with the Cāvaḍas, who were Gurjaras.

1. I.A. IV., p.147.
2. Bom.Gaz.I,pt.1,p.139,f.n.1.;J.R.A.S.1907.p.927.
3. Forbes. - Rāsamālā. I,p.34.

Hoernle[1] refers to the Pehva inscription[2] of the Tomaras and observes that in this inscription the Tomaras are regarded as the descendants of Jaula. It is quite possible that they were the descendants of the Hūṇas, whose king Toramāṇa had the title Jauvla in the Kura inscrition[3]. He further argues that the word Tomara was probably an Indianised designation for the descendants of Toramāṇa, because in one manuscript of Rājataraṅgiṇī his name occurs as Tomarāṇa[4]. Hoernle tries to connect these Tomaras with the four Agni-kula tribes, and regards all of them as the descendants of the Hūṇas and the Gurjaras.

The same author connects the Kachwāhā Rājpūts with the Agni-kula tribes on the basis of the Bundelkhandi tradition, which traces their connections with certain Toramāṇa who won Erāṇ[5].

Fleet[6], Bhagvanlal Indraji[7] and Campbell[8] believe that the Mers(Meds) of modern days are the descendants of the Maitrakas of Valabhi, who who themselves were the successors of the Mihiras, the family of Toramāṇa and Mihirakula. Hoskyn[9] thinks that the Mers were not a different foreign tribe but were the ruling class of the Gurjaras, for the

1. J.R.A.S., 1905,no.III,p.1-2.
2. E.I.,I.p.244.
3. E.I., I,p.239.
4. Rajatarangini .trans. by Stein. Bk.I,vs.233.
5. J.A.S.B.,LXXI.p.102.
6. C.I.I., III.Introduction.p.12.
7. Bom.Gaz. I,Pt.1,p.135-147.
8. Bom.Gaz. IX.Pt.1,p.488.
9. I.A.,1922.p.117.

latter still refer to their headman as 'Mīr'. According to him "the army or horde(which entered India in the 5th century) was composed mainly of two tribes, the Gurjaras from Gurjistan(Georgia) and the Mihiras from Mihirastan, the land of the sun - Media. In Kathiawar Mihiras appear to have remained while the Gurjaras moved on and settled in the adjacent provinces, now known as Gujarat. The name of the former tribe is variously written as Maitraka, Mihira, Med, or Mand[1]. He further argues that most of the chiefs of Kathiawar, for example the Jethwa Rājpūts, were from branches of the Mers. The Maga Brāhmaṇas were the priestly class who came with the Mers by special favour of their king Mihirakula. These Mers, he thinks caused the formation of the name Merwar. In the same manner it has been suggested that the geographical name of Gurjara Maṇḍala or modern Gujarat is not an Indian name, but was given by the foreign Gurjaras.

The advance of the Gurjara tribe from the north-west frontier of India to Gujarat is believed to be marked by a succession of place names. A Gujarat kingdom existed in the Punjab as late as A.D.890, when some of its territories were annexed by the Kashmir king Śaṅkaravarman[2]. Another stage of Gurjara migration is recorded by Hsüan-tsang[3], who says that in Pi-lo-mi-lo(Bhīnmāla) the Gurjaras had a kingdom.

1. I.A.,1922. p.115.
2. Rājataraṅgiṇī,Vol.I,p.99;Bk.V,vs.152.
3. S.Beal.- Si-yu-ki, II,p.270.

The further advance of this tribe is known through the the grants of king Dadda of Broach, which locate the Gurjaras in Nandipura, early in the 7th century[1]. The Gurjaras at the time of their fight with the Rāṣṭrakūtas, according to Altekar[2] were residing in Rājasthān. All these examples suggest that the gradual migration of the Gurjara tribe from the Punjab to Gujarat. That they gave their name to the countries where they went is confirmed by the statements of the Arab writers. Al Idrīsī[3] quoting from Ibn Khurdādbah states that Juzr(Gurjara) was both the title of the king and the name of their country. To Firishta[4] Gujarat stood for the south-west corner of Rājasthān. A commentary of the Kāmasūtra entitled Jayamaṅgalā[5] refers to the Kotah and Daulatpur territory, called Daṇḍavānaka viṣaya, as in Gurjaratā Bhūmī. The land to the north of the Mahi river was called Gurjara Maṇḍala after the 10th century. The Dohad inscription[6] records Siddharāja Jayasiṁha as the ruler of Gurjara Maṇḍala. This evidence suggests that the Gurjara people gave their name to different territories in different periods. Ganguly[7] on the other hand, thought that the Pratihāras and the Gurjaras were not identical, but that the former was the name of a family and the latter the name

1. I.A.,XIII.p.82. Nandipura is identified by Bühler with an old fort of that name just outside the Jhadeśwar gate to the east of Broach(I.A.,VII.p.62) & by Indraji with the modern Nandod in the Rajpipla State(I.A.,XII,p.73).
2. I.A. 1924.p.6.
3. Elliot.-History of India. I.p.86.
4. J.Briggs.-History of the rise of the Mohamedan power in India till the year A.D.1612. I.p.170.
5. Jayamaṅgalā. V.1.30.
6. I.A.,X,p.158.
7. J.B.O.R.S.,1938,p.221.

of a country, which seems less probable than the contrary arguments above.

Smith[1] also puts forward numismatic evidence in favour of the foreign origin of the Gurjaras. He thinks that the Gadhaiya paisa and other Indo-Scythian coins, which are found in the provinces where the Gurjaras ruled, were the issues of the Gurjaras. As those pieces are degraded offspring of the later Hūṇa coins, it is very probable that the Gurjaras were related to the Hūṇas. The Gurjara migrations can be shown by their scattered traces in modern India. Their colonies are found from the Indus to the Ganges and from the Hazara mountain to the Narmada river. Many Gurjaras still reside in Kashmir, the Upper Jamuna and the Doab.

All the theories which try to prove the foreign origin of the Rājpūts can be summarised thus :-

1. The Rājpūts were foreigners, for there is no mention of these people in any literary or epigraphical records of ancient India, prior to the 5th century A.D.
2. Many Rājpūts who trace their origin from the Agni-kula are purified foreigners, who were admitted into the Hindu society by the Brāhmaṇas, at a time when the Vedic Kṣatriyas alone became unable to protect cows and Brāhmaṇas from foreign incursions.

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1. J.R.A.S. 1909, p.60-61.

3. These Agni-vaṁśīs were probably the descendants of the Gurjaras, a subordinate tribe of the Hūṇas.
4. Many other tribes, like the Tomaras, Cāpas, Kachwāhās, Mers and Jethwas, were also descendants of the Gurjaras, and the Hūṇas, though they were not counted as Agni-kula Kṣatriyas.
5. The Gurjara advance from the north-west frontier to Gujarat is marked by the names of various places, for they gave their name to the countries where they stayed.
6. These Hūṇas and Gurjaras were adopted into the Indian society. The military class of these foreigners was accepted as Rājpūts, i.e. Kṣatriyas; their priestly class was accepted as Maga and Gurjara Brāhmaṇas and the rank and file of these hordes became the Jats[1] and ordinary Gurjaras, who are now cultivators and cattle-grazing classes respectively.

These theories of the foreign origin of the Rājpūts have been critically examined by many Indian historians. Vaidya, Munshi, Ojha and Aiyangar oppose the theory of foreign descent and regard the Rājpūts as the offshoots of pure Vedic Kṣatriyas.

Vaidya[2] argues in favour of the Vedic Kṣatriya origin of the Rājpūts in this way -

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1. I.A., 1911, p.85-86.
2. C.U.Vaidya.- History of mediaeval Hindu India, pp.7-16, 27-31, 43-51.

1. The Rājpūts are always praised as the defenders of the cow and Brāhmaṇa, against the invasion of the Muslims. None but the Vedic Āryans could have opposed so vehemently the foreigners to protect their ancestral faith.
2. The anthropological measurements of the Jats, Rājpūts and ~~the~~ Gurjaras favour their Āryan and not their Hūṇa origin. The Rājpūts have straight noses, ~~and~~ long heads and long stature, quite unlike the Hūṇas who were Mongolian by blood.
3. He charges scholars like Bhandarkar, who accept the possibility of the incorporation of the foreigners, that they have misunderstood the social laws of early mediaeval Hinduism. He thinks that the Hindus of 6th-and 8th centuries were firmly opposed to the infusion of the foreigners in Indian society.
4. He points to the Sanskritised names of the Pratihāras like Vatsarāja, Nāgabhaṭṭa, and so on, and thinks that there is possibility that the Pratihāras were Gurjaras or foreigners, as their names were purely Indian.
5. He quotes the Mahābhārata and Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī[1] ~~for the~~ for the sake of the argument that the word Rājaputra was in vogue even as early as the dates of the above texts. He denies the suggestion that the Rājpūt clans suddenly emerged in the mediaeval period, as the supporters of the foreign origin of the Rājpūts believe.

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1. Pāṇini.- Aṣṭādhyāyī, IV. 2.39.

6. According to him the Rājpūt traditions and their inscriptions refer to them as belonging to the solar and lunar Kṣatriya race. They are not referred to as Agni-vaṁśis or as foreigners in their own records.
7. The story of the four warrior clans, Pratihāra, Caulukya, Paramāra and Cāhamāna, having been created by Vaśiṣṭa out of the sacrificial fire, was first originated by Cand. Its historicity is doubtful, he was of a much later period, about the 16th century. Previous to this no inscription of the Rājpūts claimed them to be Agni-vaṁśis.

Munshi[1] presents the same type of reasoning in favour of the indigenous origin of the Rājpūts and it is unnecessary to repeat all his arguments. We will here mention a few which have not been put forward by Vaidya.

1. If the Gurjaras were foreigners and if they were absorbed into Hindu society completely, why did they continue to maintain their badge of foreign origin by calling themselves Gurjaras ? This suggests that the Gurjaras were not foreigners and they were called Gurjaras because they were the inhabitants of the Gurjara land.
2. Rājasthān, Gujarat and Mālava, where the Gurjaras, if they were foreigners, went were not empty countries, Descendants of ancient Vedic Kṣatriyas were certainly ruling there. Can it be believed that the Gurjaras overcame them in such

1. K.M.Munshi.- The glory that was Grjaradeśa.1944.p.1-22.

a way that the original Kṣatriyas were extirpated ? This also supports the point that the Gurjaras were not foreigners immigrants but indigenous people and were so called because the name of their counry was Gurjara Maṇḍala or Gujarat.

G.H.Ojha[1] agrees with these views. He thinks that the word Rājpūt was an ancient general term, meaning son of a king, which later, in the time of the Muslims, became the designation of a class of martial people. He also emphasises that the marriage rules in Hindu society do not permit inter-racial mixture. He points to the śloka of Manu[2], which says :-

Śanaikastu kriyālopādimāḥ Kṣatriyajātayaḥ
Vṛsalatvaṁ gatā loke Brāhmaṇādarśanena ca
Pauṇḍrakāścoḍadraviḍāḥ Kāmbojā Yavanā Śakāḥ
Pāradāḥ Palhavāścīnāḥ Kirātā Daradāḥ Khaśāḥ //

That the 'tribes like Paunḍraka, Coḍa, Draviḍa, Kāmboja, Yavana Śaka, Pārada, Palhava, Cīna, Kirāta, Darada, Khaśa etc were in fact Āryans who lost their Kṣatriyahood, because they disobeyed the Brāhamaṇa Śāstras and thus became Vrātyas.' If the tribes enumerated were Āryans ,then no question arises about foreign blood in the Rājpūt races. If Vrātyas, who were previously Āryans, mixed with other Kṣatriya Āryans, no intermixture of blood can be thought of[3]

We have seen the arguments of both sides. Against the theory of the foreign descent of the Rājpūts our

1. G.H.Ojha.- Rājputānā-kā-itihās. 1927, I.p.36.
2. Manu. X, 43,44.
3. Ojha. Op. cit. p.43.

main objection is to the conception that they chiefly consisted of Gurjaras. According to this theory the Pratihāras, the Paramāras, the Caulukyas, the Cāhamānas, the Cāpoṭakaṭas and the Maitrakas were all Gurjaras. Indeed most of the Rājpūt clans were the offshoots of the Gurjaras and so it can fairly be concluded that the Rājpūts as a whole were foreigners. In arguing all these possibilities scholars have unfortunately disregarded much other evidence.

We cannot believe that the Gurjaras palyed such an important part in the formation of the Rājpūt population as is acribed to them. We agree that a few tribes of the Rājpūts may have had Gurjara descent, for instance the Pratihāras and the Cāpoṭkaṭas. The arguments which have been given in favour of their Gurjara descent by Smith[1], Bhandarkar[2], Forbes[3] and Indraji[4] are very logical. But as far as the other clans are concerned the arguments of Bhandarkar and his fellows are rather unfounded, as we shall see later.

Our second criticism is that the suggestion that the Gurjaras were the descendants of the Khaẓars is not very firmly grounded. The only foundation of this identification is the similarity of the two words Khaẓar and Gurjara. But it is not reasonable to connect the Gurjaras with the Khaẓars

1. J.R.A.S., 1907, p.927; E.H.I, 1924,p.428.
2. J.B.B.R.A.S.,1903,p.416-17.
3. Forbes.- Rāsamālā , I.,p.34.
4. Bom.Gaz.,I,pt.1,p.138,f.n.1.

especially when the nature, occupation and type of the two tribes are completely different. While the Khazars mainly remained stationary in and were traders by profession, the Gurjaras were of roving habits and were cattle grazers by profession. Therefore we cannot accept that the Gurjaras were Khazars. But this criticism does not indicate that the Gurjaras were indigenous. As the gradual migration of the Gurjaras from the North West frontier to Kathiawar is marked by many towns named after them, and as there are no references to Gurjaras before the Hūṇa invasion, we admit that there is a fair chance of their being foreigners. But at this stage of our knowledge, no positive proof can be offered to link them with a particular foreign tribe.

Puri[1] has raised a doubt against the foreign origin of the Gurjaras, asking why, if they were foreigners like the Hūṇas, they were never despised by the ancient Hindus. Throughout the ages of Indian history we see that any foreign tribe such as the Yavanas, Śakas, Hūṇas, etc. was discredited and hated by the Hindus unless and until it lost its identity. But about the Gurjaras no such attitude has ever been recorded. On the basis of this argument Puri believed that the Gurjaras were not foreigners. We cannot agree with him. We suggest that the Gurjaras were not despised or hated during their early immigration because they were not a

1. B.N.Puri.-The history of the Gurjar Pratihāras. 1957 p. 4.

militant people like the Śakas or the Hūṇas. On the other hand, as their present character shows, they probably consisted of comparatively humble foreigners and were chiefly cattle grazers. They entered India as ordinary immigrants and not as invaders and therefore the Indians did not have any particular hatred of them, as they had for foreign invaders like the Śakas and the Hūṇas. The Gurjaras mixed with the ordinary Indians and became Indianised to such an extent that they included Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas. But as they were foreigners, so the name Gurjara remained with them for ever, as the Magas, even after being accepted as Brāhmaṇas, retained their Iranian name. After the down-fall of the Guptas, many Indian states were disrupted. At that time the Gurjaras gradually carved out a few principalities, profiting from the chaos. Most of these principalities were very small, except that of the Pratihāras, which grew into a big empire. The fact that the Gurjaras were never a warlike people is even recorded by the later author Cand, who describes the Pratihāras, a branch of the Gurjaras, as not efficient in fighting with the foes of the Brāhmaṇas and only competent to act as door-keepers.

If these arguments are correct, then we cannot agree that all ~~that all~~ the prominent Rājpūt clans were Gurjaras. The rank and file of a foreign tribe , who were called Gurjaras could not have played such a prominent place in the militant Rājpūt population as Bhandarkar wants to ascribe to it

Therefore we do not believe that the Paramāras, Caulukyas, Cāhamānas and Maitrakas were Gurjaras. In considering their lineage Bhandarkar neglected the epigraphical evidence. None of these clans was called Gurjaras in its own records or in the records of its contemporaries, and therefore they should not be considered as Gurjaras. The arguments of Bhandarkar in this respect are flimsy. If the Caulukyas, since their occupation the Lāṭa country are to be considered Gurjaras because was named Gurjara Maṇḍala, why were not other provinces, where other Cāḷukya families dominated, named after the Gurjaras ? In the Āndhra and Kalinga countries there were ~~xixx~~ settlements of the Deccan Cāḷukyas, whose name must be akin to ~~that~~ that of the later Caulukyas of Gujarat, but they never bore a name having any reference to Gurjara. On the other hand the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin of Badami dated A.D.634[1] refers to the Caḷukyas as fighting against the Gurjaras. This suggests that the Caḷukyas of the family of Pulakeśin at least had no connection with the Gurjaras and that Gurjara Mandala was so named for some other reason and not because of the Caulukya (Calukya) or Cālukya occupation[2].

In the same way Bhandarkar's argument that "it is morally certain" that the Paramāras were the Gurjaras is

1. E.I.,VI. , p.11.
2. D.C.Ganguly.-The Eastern Calukyas. 1937.p.3.

absurd. No'moral certainty' can be accepted as historical evidence.[1]

The case of the Cāhamānas is likewise unproven. First, there is no reason to alter the inscription of the coin from Vahman to Cahman. Second, there is no ground for locating Sapādlaksha in the Siwalik hills, when it is well known that Śākambara, where the Cāhamāna had their headquarters is called Sapādalakṣa in the Skanda Purāṇa. The evidence of the coin, therefore cannot support the theory of Bhandarkar that the Cāhamāna came from the Siwalik hills and that they were the Gurjaras[3].

Fleet[4], Indraji[5], Campbell[6] and Hoskyn[7] regarded the Maitrakas as Mihiras and therefore a branch of the Gurjaras. They think that the modern Meds(Mer) are their descendants and the country of Medawar took its name from these people. Again we differ from these views. The origin of the Maitrakas we have discussed elsewhere[8] in detail and have concluded that they were not foreigners but of an indigenous family. Moreover, we have grave doubts whether the Meds were the descendants of the Maitrakas. We should keep in mind that Manu[9] says - "If a Karavara's daughter marries a Vaideha, their son is a Meda"(i.e. Mer.). Mers were mentioned in the

1. C.V.Vaidya.-History of the mediaeval Hindu India.II.p.34.
2. ~~Skanda Purāṇa~~.
3. C.V.Vaidya.-Op.cit. p.35-37.
4. C.I.I.,III.Introduction,p.12.
5. Bom.Gaz.I,pt.1,p.135-47.
6. Ibid, IX,pt.1.p.4888.
7. I.A.,1922.p.117.
8. See Appendix II, p.368
9. Manu. X.36;Rose.-Manu's mixed castes.I.A. 1923.p.25.

Kumaon plates of the 8th century A.D. as settlers of the Punjab[1]. Whether they were foreigners, who came through the Punjab or were an Indian sub-caste cannot be settled with only such vague data. But there is no proof to show that the Maitrakas were Mers and that they were also Gurjaras.

Thus we have certain grave objections to the theory of the foreign origin of the Rājpūts. But we have even stronger criticisms against those who believe that the Rājpūts had no strain of alien blood and were the descendants of the Vedic Kṣatriyas.

The first argument of Vaidya[2] is nothing but the out come of a nationalist feeling that the Rājpūts who protected the cows and the Brāhmaṇas could not possibly be foreigners. But its supporters forget that indigenous blood is not an essential element of a Kṣatriya. Those foreigners who were accepted as Hindus, who had adopted the Hindu religion and who were ruling in Indian territories would naturally protect their land and its cows and its Brāhmaṇas for their own ends. Furthermore, at the time of the Muslim invasion, these Rājpūts had no recollection of their foreign descent, and neither did the Indian people regard them as foreigners. They had been Hindus for many generations and so they protected the country and its religion as did the native kings.

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1. S.B.Chaudhuri.-Ethnic Settlements in ancient India.1955. Pt.1,p.28.

2. See above, p.274.

The second argument of Vaidya is based on the anthropological data of the 1901 Census Report of Risley and Gait[1] and the Punjab Census Report of Rose[2]. We do not object to the scientific measurements of these scholars which suggest that the Rājpūts have Indo-Āryan features. Our only criticism is that the anthropological measurements of a certain tribe cannot help us to determine its origin with precision. There had been a great deal of intermingling between Āryan and non-Āryan for a long period. Kennedy[3] has pointed out that all the invaders, such as the Śakas, Yüeh-chihs and Hūṇas had spent at least a century in Turkistan before they invaded India; hence they were all profoundly influenced by their Iranian environment, had to some extent absorbed Iranian blood, and were largely Persianised in culture. Thus even if the Rājpūts were the descendants of the Śaka, Kuṣāṇa and Hūṇa hordes, there would be hardly any Mongolian features left in them when they came to India. Vaidya forgets that nearly 1500 years have elapsed since the Hūṇas came to India and therefore it is foolish to conclude anything about the origin of the Rājpūts from modern anthropological measurements. On the other hand, if we look at the portraits of Kuṣāṇa and Hūṇa chiefs on their coins they may be of some use to determine whether they had Āryan

1. India Census Report, 1901, I, p.500.
2. India Census Report, 1901, XVIII (Punjab & N.W. Provinces) p.159
3. See J.R.A.I. of G.B., XI.p.45.

or Mongolian features at the time of their entry into India[1]. The portraits have straight big noses, large eyes, protruding foreheads, thick beards and heavy moustaches and chins like those of the Rājpūts and the Jats of the present day. There is no certainty that these are the exact portraits of the Hunnish kings, for they may be simply imitations of the heads of the Persian coins; but their features tally very closely with the accounts of the Byzantine historians[2], who say that the White Huns had more Turkish traits than Mongolian. Hence we suggest that these coins give better anthropological data about the ancient Hūṇas than the modern measurements of Risley and Rose. To conclude our point we may remark that the Kuṣāṇas and the Hūṇas when they arrived in India had hardly any Mongolian features left and whatever Mongolian blood they might have had at the time of their early adventures, became extinguished during their long stay in the Punjab. Therefore no anthropological measurements of modern days can help us to trace the Mongolian strain in their supposed descendants.

The third argument of Vaidya is related to the rigidity of marriage rules of Hindu society, which do not permit the amalgamation of different castes and races. We have dealt with this question in detail, and there is no need

1. See plate I, fig. 7-14.
2. See above, p. 58

to repeat our arguments here. We have seen[1] that from our point of view, both theoretically and practically Hindu society throughout the ages had ample opportunity to Indianise any foreign tribe.

We also differ from Vaidya's fourth argument . The fact that the names of a certain king are of Sanskrit origin cannot decide whether he was of Indian or of foreign descent especially once the foreign king was Hinduised. We have numerous examples of foreigners, who after becoming Hindus Hindus or Buddhists took Indian names, for example the Kuṣāṇa king Vāsudeva and the Hūṇa king Pravarasena. The Gurjara Pratihāras at the time of Vatsarāja and Nāgabhaṭṭa were completely Hinduised, why then should they be precluded from taking Sanskrit names ? Furthermore, if Vaidya relies on the evidence of names, he should have noticed the early names of this family. The Jodhpur inscription of Bauka[2] gives another name of Haricandra, the originator of Pratihāra family, as Rohillāddhi and another name of Narabhaṭa was Pellāpelli. These names are not Indian, but of an unknown tongue. This gives a strong argument against the contention of Vaidya that the Gurjara Pratihāras were originally Indians.

Vaidya and Ojha both argue that Rājpūt was an old name, found in ancient Indian literature. Therefore the argument of the 'sudden emergence' of the Rājpūts as given by Crooke and Smith is baseless. We cannot agree with the logic

1. See above, p. 254-64
2. E.I., IX, p.252.

of Vaidya and Ojha. Rājpūt in the sense in which we are using it , was never in vogue in ancient days. The word Rājpūt with its special meaning of a whole martial class was only used in the mediaeval period. This certainly favours the suggestion of Smith and Crooke that the newly emerged Kṣatriya class adopted this name.

Before replying to the other arguments of Vaidya which form the main object of our criticism, we will consider the arguments of Munshi and Ojha. Munshi's first view has no sound basis. The Gurjaras need not have maintained the badge of their foreign origin on their own will. The Pratihāras show no evidence of being inclined to continue their foreign appellation but they could not prevent the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and others from continuing to call them Gurjaras. This case is very similar to that of the Hūṇas and Magas. All these Gurjaras, Hūṇas and Magas gradually became Indians by accepting Hindu religion and social usage. They were counted as Kṣatriyas and Brāhmaṇas, but for long they had to retain their foreign names like Gurjara Brāhmaṇa, Gurjara Kṣatriya, Hūṇa Kṣatriya, Maga Brāhmaṇa and so on. Therefore, after being Indianised, they formed sub-castes of Indian society.

The second argument of Munshi is quite logical. We admit that when the Gurjaras and Hūṇas went to Rājasthān, Mālava and Gujarat, these places were not empty. And so we agree that the Rājpūt blood contains considerable pure ~~Kṣaṣ~~

Kṣatriya as well as foreign elements. But the invaders helped to form a new ruling class amongst them.

Ojha point to the ślokas of Manu, which say that the Kāmbojas, Yavanas, Pāradas, etc. were originally Āryans and became Vrātyas through the negligence of their duties[1]. Our interpretation of this extract is different from that of Ojha's. We think that these ślokas of Manu refer to the purification of non-Āryan peoples, by which they were admitted into the Indian society as Kṣatriyas. We have cited previously[2] the example of Śivājī. He was a Śūdra and when he wanted to be crowned a kṣatriya king, he was first proclaimed a Vrātya. Then he underwent a purification ceremony which allowed him to enter the Kṣatriya caste. Therefore when Manu says that the above tribes, amongst which some are certainly foreigners, were Vrātyas, we think that they were considered to be in the same state as Śivājī before his purification.

Now we return to our discussion of Vaidya. He emphasises that the Agni-kula myth is a later invention and had no historical significance, for before the birth of this story of Cand, all the so-called Agni-vaṁśīs i.e. Pratihāras, Paramāras, Caulukyas and Cāhamānas used to call themselves Sūrya - or Càndra- vaṁśīs[3]. Let us now see how far the contemporary records of the above families throw light on their real origin.

1. See above, p. 276.
2. See above p. 260.
3. See above, p. 275.

The Pratihāras are the first Agni-kula tribe referred to by Cand. The Gwalior inscription of Bhoja[1] says that the originator of this dynasty was Lakṣmaṇa, brother of Raghuvaṁśī Rāma, and because he was appointed as a door-keeper (pratihāra) of Rāma his descendants were called Pratihāras. The same tale is told in the Jodhpur inscription of Bauka[2]. Rājaśekhara in his Viddhaśālabhañjikā[3] ascribes the same Raghuvaṁśīya lineage to them. All the above inscriptions and literary works certainly suggest that they were Raghuvaṁśī Kṣatriyas. But on the other hand a different stanza of the Jodhpur inscription of Bauka tells that the Pratihāras originated from the Brāhmaṇa Haricandra. It is also notable that the Pratihāras in the beginning held their family to be more important than their Raghuvaṁśa. Expressions like Śrī Prattihāra(sic) Vaṁśa or Prattihāra-(sic)svagotra - Śrī Bapuka[4] confirm this idea.

The second Agni-vaṁśī clan was that of the Caulukyas of Gujarat. There were several families who called themselves Cālukyas or Caulukyas. Whether they were all originated from the same family is not finally settled. As this forms a completely separate problem we may leave the question undiscussed. The Chellur plate of Vīracoḍa[5] tells the origin

1. Arch.Sur.Ind.Rep.1903-4.p.280-83,vs.3; E.I.XVIII.p.107.
2. J.R.A.S.,1894.p.4,vs.4; E.I.XVIII.p.95-7.Arch.Sur.Ind. Prog.Rep.W.Circle.1906-7.p.30.
3. Viddhaśālabhañjikā;ed by Arte.Canto.I,stanza 6.
4. E.I.,XVIII.p.95.
5. South Indian Inscriptions, I.p.49.

of the Āndhra Cālukya dynasty, which was a branch of the main line, thus - "the earliest personage of the family was Buddha. He was followed by Pururavas and Āyu. They were followed by 40 kings who ruled in Ayodhyā. When their reign had passed, Vajrāditya of this race migrated to Dakṣiṇāpatha. His fifth descendant was Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana, who originated the Cālukya dynasty." In the Dvāśrayakāvya[1] of Hemacandra, the Gujarat Caulukyas are said to be sprung from the lunar race. Jayasimha Sūri[2] traced the descent of his hero's ancestors from the Culukya, who was a great warrior and one of whose successors was Mūlarāja. Various sources tell the story that the Gujarat Caulukyas originated from the Culuka of Brahmā[3]. Fleet[4] and B.V.Krishnarao[5] believe that the Deccan Cālukyas adopted the pedigree of the Kadamba kings, whom they had conquered and supplanted in Kuntala.

The Cālukyas also gave prominence to their particular family as the expression 'Caulukikānvayo' will suggest.[6]

The third Agni-kula family was the Paramāras. Their fire-pit origin is strongly supported by their own inscriptions and by contemporary and later literature. The Udepur Praśasti[7] tells of their origin in the fire-pit of Vaśiṣtha.

1. Hemacandra.-Dvāyaśrayakāvya, I.vs.2.
2. Jayasimha Sūri.-Kumārapālabhūpālacarita, I.vs.16-21.
3. A.K.Majumdar.-Caulukyas of Gujarat. p.6-7.
4. Fleet.-Dynasties of the Kanarese districts. p.336-7.
5. B.V.Krishnarao.-The origin and original home of the Cālukyas.Proc.Ind.Hist.Cong.1939.p.386.
6. G.Bühler.-Grants of the Anhilwad Calukyas.I.A.,VI.p.191. pl.1.
7. E.I., I.p.236.

Several other inscriptions refer to the same story[1]. Padmagupta in his Navasāhasāṅkacarita[2] tells the same tale. Another bard[3] narrates that Indra made an image of dhūba grass, sprinkled it with water of life, threw it into the fire-pit and muttered the Saṁjīvani-mantra. Thence emerged a hero with a mace shouting mār-mār 'slay, slay'. He was the originator of the Paramāras. The bardic poet Mūkjī[4] refers to the Paramāras as originated by Śiva. But against all these mythical stories of the origin of the Paramāras, comes the Harśola grant[5] which says that Vappairāja (Vākpatirāja the Paramāra king) was descended from Akālavarṣa (i.e. the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III).

The next Agni-kula family is that of the Cāhamānas. Before Cand, there is no reference which connects them with the fire-pit. About the lineage of these kings, there are two main traditions, the first, that they were Vatsa gotra Candravaṁśīs. For the first tradition we have the evidence of Pṛthvīrājamahākāvya[6], Hammīramahākāvya[7] and an unpublished inscription in the Rājputānā Museum, Ajmer[8]. The second pedigree is traced in an inscription dated Vikrama Saṁvat 1224 of the

1. E.I.,II p.180;Ibid.IX,p.11; Ibid.VIII.p.200 ;Ibid.IX.p.148 I.A.XLIII.p.193.,f.n.2;Ibid.XLV.p.77;E.I.XIV.p.295.
2. Navasāhasāṅkacarita.- Sarga XI.vs.64-76.
3. Bom.Gaz.IX.pt.1.p.8485.
4. Arch.Sur.Ind.Rep.II.p.255.
5. E.I. XIX.p.239-40.
6. Pṛthvīrājamahākāvya .Canto II.śl.15,16,17.
7. Hammīramahākāvya. Canto.I.śl.15,16,17.
8. R.R.Halder.The Cauhans.J.P.A.S.B.,1929.p.185.

time of Pṛthvīrāja[1], The Bijoliya inscription[2], the inscription of Chachigadeva dated in V.S. 1319[3] and the Mt.Abu inscription of V.S.1377[4].

There is a third story about their origin, which is preserved in the Sevadi grant of Ratnapāla; this states that the Cāhamāna vaṁśa sprang from the eye of Indra, Lord of the East[5]. The name of the family, according to Cand, came from their primeval hero, who is stated to have had four limbs[6]. They add more importance to their own family than to the Agni-vaṁśa or any other mythical lineage, as is explicit in the expression - Cāhamāna-nṛpati-prakhyāta-vaṁśa.[7]

We have thus seen what the inscriptions and court literature of the Pratihāras, Cālukyas(or Caulukyas), Paramāras and Cāhamānas say concerning the beginnings of their respective lines. The main fact which is clearly indicated by these different stories is that none of these four families was very sure about its origins. The contradictory lineages of the Pratihāra dynasty make us inclined to think that all these alleged connections were the inventions of the court poets. It seems that as soon as the Pratihāras occupied a kingdom, they attempted to adopt a noble and well-known

1. E.Thomas.-Chronicles of the Pathan kings of Delhi.p.60-1.
2. J.A.S.B., LV.pt.1.p.41,vs.12.
3. E.I.,IX.p.71.
4. E.I. IX.p.79.
5. E.I..c[illegible] XI.p.304.
6. Candbardi.-Pṛthvīrājarāso.
7. E.I. XII.p.59.

pedigree. The Pratihāras were often called Gurjaras. So it is possible that they were Gurjara foreigners, who invented fabulous stories about their origin to prove themselves pure Hindus. In their time, therefore, the Agni-kula stories would not have been appreciated, for this tale might have reminded them of their previous purification.

Next came the several families of Cālukyas and Caulukyas. The simple significance of the lengthy account of the Chellur plate is that the Āndhra Cālukyas were also trying to find an old pedigree, connected with famous heroes. The divergent stories of the origin of these several families of the Caulukyas and Cālukyas indicate their uncertainty about their pedigree and their efforts to connect themselves ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ with well-known families. Thus their case is similar to that of the Pratihāras. It is possible that they were either also foreigners, or lower class Hindus, who were newly elevated to the Kṣatriya caste, after a purification by fire, as Cand's story would suggest. But there is no evidence that they were Gurjaras.

The third clan is that of the Paramāras. Most of the tales of their origin recall their birth from their fire-pit. Therefore, they also may have been newly created Kṣatriyas. There is no solid proof that they were Gurjaras. Lassen[1] thinks that the Paramāras were the successors of the Porvarai mentioned by Ptolemy. But except for the similarity of name

1. Dr. Lassen.-Ind-Alterthumsk. III.p.822.

there is no evidence to prove this. The Porvarai were, moreover, a tribe, while all the above stories of Paramāras say that they were a family and not a tribe. Dikshit and Diskalkar[1] and Ganguly[2] want to prove that the Paramāras were a branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Deccan on the basis of the Haraśola grant[3]. Ganguly and Raychaudhuri regard them as direct descendants of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa stock. As the Vaṁśa and the Gotra of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Paramāras are not the same, we are doubtful about this. But the suggestion of Dikshit and Diskalkar, who believe that the Paramāras may have been descended from a Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess, is more appropriate.

The last Agni-kula tribe is the Cāhamānas. This family, like those of the Caulukyas and Paramāras, derived its name from an eponymous ancestor, Cāhamāna. The later kings of the family under whom all the above inscriptions or poems were composed, were not unanimous about their own origin, and therefore different traditions developed, all aimed at elevating their social status. And it is quite possible that they also were newly created Kṣatriyas, as Cand's description would indicate.

After this detailed study of the information in their own records we can now give our conclusions :-

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1. E.I.,XIX.p.236-241.
2. Ganguly.-History of the Paramāra dynasty.1933.p.7-25.
3. E.I. XIX.p.239-40.

1. As the family records of these Agni-kula tribes are contradictory, they are not very reliable. It is possible that they were invented to hide their real pedigrees. They are evidently inclined to trace a family link with the old and well-known Kṣatriyas of Epic fame.
2. The Agni-kula legend would not be acceptable in these families in the early mediaeval period, for it would remind them of their purification. Families which are anxious to prove themselves pure, old Kṣatriyas, would not have liked this new Agni-vaṁśa lineage. This tradition, therefore, could only have become current when there was no clear and widespread recollection of their foreign or aboriginal origin. In such circumstances the descent from the supernatural heroes born of the fire-pit of an eminent Ṛṣi, would be regarded as honourable.
3. Most of these Rājpūt families derived their names from eponymous heroes and therefore attributed considerable importance to their respective families. Sometimes they took family names equivalent to their gotras. This is explicit from expression like Prattihāra(sic) sva-Gotra-Śrī-Bapuka. This invention of primeval heroes indicates the comparatively recent origin of the families. Perhaps these heroes, named Pratihāra, Cālukya, Cāhamāna etc. represent ancestors who were personally purified and whence their descendants derived their new family names and origin,

Besides these four Agni-kula clans, There were other Rajput clans, whose origins have some significance. Among them was the family of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. R.G.Bhandarkar, on the basis of the Deoli plates, says that they belonged to the Tuṅga family[1]. Fleet suggests that they were the ancestors of the Rathods, who bear the same name in a modern form, and that they came originally from Rājasthān[2]. Burnell thinks that they were the Reddis of Andhra[3]. Vaidya believes that they belonged to a Marāṭhā-speaking family[4]. Altekar thinks that they were the descendants of a Rathika family[5]. A few inscriptions ascribe a Yaduvaṁśī origin to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas[6]. According to a Wardha plate, they were the descendants of Sātyakī, in whose family was born a prince named Rāṣṭrakūṭa, whence the family received its name. On 800 silver coins of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇarāja I, found at Dhamori, he is styled Mahāditya. Reu believes that this signifies their solar origin[7]. The above theories plainly indicate that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas also were not sure of their origin. Smith thinks that the Gāhaḍavālas were of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa stock[8].

Another important Rājpūt family was that of the Candellas. The Bateswara inscription declares them to be the descendants of the sage Candrātreya, who was the son of Atri

1. E.I.,V.p.192.
2. Bom.Gaz.II.p.384.
3. Burnell.-South Indian palaeography.p.10.
4. Vaidya.-History of mediaeval Hindu India.Marathi ed.II.
5. Altekar.-Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their times.p.18.
6. J.B.B.R.A.S.,I.p.217;IV.p.111.;XVIII.p.239.
7. J.R.A.S..,1930.p.113.
8. E.H.I.;4th ed. p.429.

and was of the lunar race[1]. A direct genealogy from the moon is given in the Mahoba inscription[2] and the Ajayagadh rock inscription[3]. The Mahobā khaṇḍa of Cand's Pṛthvīrājarāso gives the detailed story of the origin of the Candellas from a Brāhmaṇa maiden Hemavatī, who was embraced by the moon-god[4]. All the legends about the parentage of this family are without historical importance. Smith[5] calls them "silly legends" and thinks that the Candellas were of low origin, and probably were originally tribal people like the Gonds. As they wanted elevation to the Kṣatriya caste, they initiated these stories to connect them with the lunar Kṣatriyas. Russell[6] supports this view, but he believes that the Candellas were originally Bhārs. Vaidya[7] criticises the theories of Smith and Russell. We need not consider these discussions in detail. Modern scholars are inclined towards the views of Smith and Russell, as there seems no doubt that the stories of their origin were simply developed to hide their low origin.[8]

Thus in the mediaeval period, hardly any Rājpūt family was sure of its own genesis. It depended on the ingenuity of their court poets to invent their lineage, and to relate them to the Solar, Lunar or other races. This uncertainty was probably due to widespread social remodelling.

1. E.I.,I.p.208,vs.3,4.;p.138,vs.8-11.
2. E.I.,XX.p.127,line 9.
3. E.I.,I.p.325.
4. S.K.Mitra.-Early rulers of Khajuraho.1958.p.14.
5. J.A.S.B.,1877,p.233-34;I.A.,1908.p.136;E.H.I.1924.p.430.
6. Tribes and castes of Central Provinces of India.IV.p.441-3.
7. Vaidya.-History of mediaeval Hindu India.II.p.130-33.
8. N.Bose.-History of the Candellas.1956.p.7-8.

S.K.Aiyangar[1] refers to an old tradition in South India, where a ruler known as Puli Kaḍa Māl Irungôvêl of Arayaṁ is addressed as 'having come out of the sacrificial fire-pit of the Ṛṣis'. Aiyangar thinks that this event took place some time in second century A.D. From this example, we can suggest that throughout India there was a movement by a number of priests to Aryanize the aboriginal tribes or foreign invaders. Thus there is a strong possiblity that the Agni-kula myth is not purely fictional but preserves the memory of the purification of aboriginals and new-comers.

We have criticised both theories of Rājpūt origin the first, of which maintains that the Rājpūts were foreigners and were mainly derived from the Gurjara clans; and the second of which holds that they were the descendants of Vedic Āryans. Our view can be summarised briefly thus:-

1. The Rājpūts were of mixed stock. They comprised of some Indianised foreigners, some Āryanized aboriginals and some ancient Hindu Kṣatriyas. All these classes were mixed up in such a way that we cannot trace which family was descended from original Kṣatriyas and which from newly created Kṣatriyas.
2. The Gurjaras did not have such a significant part in this new society of the Rājpūts as Bhandarkar believes. They may have helped in the construction of a few clans, but not of all.

1. I.A.,1905.p.262. Source of Aiyangar is Puranānūru. 200, 201; Ed.by pt.Swaminatha Iyer.

3. The Gurjaras were foreigners, as their sudden emergence suggests. They migrated to many parts of India and left their mark on the place names. They were not very warlike people. Their identification with the Khaẓars is doubtful.
4. Purification and Āryanization by fire is not against the Hindu social laws, which have many clauses which admit the assimilation of foreigners.
5. The Agni-kula myth is therefore not purely fictional but commemorates the days when immigrants and lower-caste natives were elevated to the higher castes by purification rites.
6. We believe that in this society of Rājpūts, where many divergent racial elements were fused into one, the Hūṇas also had their part. Being Hinduised, they gradually became Rājpūts, but they hardly succeeded in maintaining their individual character in this very mixed Rājpūt society. Gradually, references to the Hūṇas in literature and inscriptions are applied very loosely, sometimes even for the French and the Portuguese.[1]

It may be asked whether there are any vestiges of the Hūṇas in modern Indian society. The Hūṇas who became completely amalgamated in the Hindu society of the Rājpūts could hardly have left distinct traces in the later period. We have no historical or traditional proof to suggest that a certain clan or subcaste of modern Indian society are the descendants

1. See above p.253.

of the old Hūṇas. It is impossible to find such a definite connection. But, solely on the linguistic evidence, a few groups of people in the 19th and 20th centuries may have had some connections with the Hūṇas. Indraji[1] refers to three tribes 'Honots';Hūṇāls' and 'Hūṇis'. The Honots were said to be Rāksasas. The Honots and Hūṇāls were found in Kathiawar. While the Hūṇis are a subdivision of the Kunbis of Marwar. The names of these tribes suggest a possible connection with the Hūṇas. In the same way we find a mention of a tribe 'Hans' in the Montgomery district[2]. This clan traces its origin from Arabia and Afghanistan. In Gujarat there is a group of people called'Jhālās'. Campbell[3] regards them as descendants of the White Huns and suggests that the name is a degraded form of Jauvla, the title of the old Hunnish kings. A place in the upper Indus, forming a part of Gilgit, is named Hunza[4]. If 'za' is equal to 'ja', meaning 'the place', it may mean 'country of the Hūṇas'. The people are warlike and speak a language of uncertain affinity. They call their local ruler 'Mirs'. We know that the Hūṇas had a kingdom in Kashmir. So it is possible that some Hūṇas established themselves in Hunza, whence it derived its name. There is another caste named 'Golla'or 'Gollaru' spread throughout India.[5] Cosmas called

1. Bom.Gaz.,I.Pt.1.p.465.
2. Punjab Gaz.Montgomery district.1883-4,p.28.
3. Campbell.Bom.Gaz.,1901.IX,i.p.127 and 155.
4. J.Clark.-Hunza, lost kingdom of the Himalayas.1957.p.20,22; H.Wilberforce Bell.-History of Kathiawar.1916.p.32,37,40; Encyclopaedia of Islam.1927.p.326.
5. India. Census Report. 1901.,I.p.325.

the Hūṇa Mihirakula 'Gollas' and some of his coins call him Mihiragula. Can it be that these Gollas are his descendants?

These are the feeblest of possibilities and are the best we can offer in our effort to trace the vestiges of the Hūṇa tribe in modern India. Unfortunately, no history or tradition is left to support these suggestions and the problem can only be finally settled by means of new discoveries.

APPENDIX - I.

HŪṆA COINS IN INDIA

Throughout our account of the Húṇas, we have regarded the coins of the tribe as one of the principal sources of our evidence. They are of immense value in clearing up the obscure history of the Húṇas of India. In respect of the early Húṇa rulers and the later Hūṇa princelings, our account is primarily based on their coins.

In describing the main characteristics of these coins we must regard their lack of originality as the primary importance. This nomadic tribe had hardly any culture of its own. The natural result was their adoption of the customs of the nations whom they vanquished. On their way to India, they had clashed with Persia. Although they had been able to conquer the Sassanians by brute force, in the long run they themselves had become largely imbued by the higher culture of the Persians, which they adopted as their own. This adoption is clearly exemplified by their coins. They did not have previously any coinage of their own. But as soon as they came into contact with the Persians, they took over their style of coinage with little or no modification.

The White Huns made their first appearance in the eastern Persian Empire during the reign of Shapur II[1]. The earliest Hūṇa coins are in imitation of those of Shapur[2]. The only visible change is that in place of the Palhavi script they used the local corrupt Greek script, as found on the coins of later Great Kuṣāṇas, or to be more exact, on the posthumous coins of Bazodeo Kosano. Hsüan-tsang[3], while roaming in the Oxus valley, noticed that the script of the place differed considerably from that of its neighbourhood. It consisted of twenty-five letters. It was rightly recognised by Cunningham[4] that this script was no other than the corrupt Greek script, which has an extra letter '  ' added to the Greek alphabet, making the total 25. The script had prevailed in this region since its occupation by the Kuṣāṇas. When the Hūṇas arrived, they found it as the local alphabet and therefore adopted it for their own use.

The second feature of most of these coins is that they are struck with the Ephthalite sumbol '  ' on the obverse. It is very difficult to determine where they found the design of their symbol. Whitehead[5] suggests that it was originally Sassanian. He says "the White Hun symbol must have been adopted by the Ephthalites from the Sassanians

1. See Introduction, p.39-40.
2. See Pl.I.figs.1,2.
3. Beal.- Si-yu-ki.I.p.38.
4. Cunningham.N.Ch. 1893. P.114.
5. R.B.Whitehead.-A find of Ephthalite coins.J.P.A.S.B.,IX. 1913.Num.Suppl.xxi.art .122.p.481-82.

because this nomadic tribe had no money or written language of its own, at the time of its collision with the Sassanians, and it was customary with the victorious White Huns to adopt the coinage of the conquered races to their own use... The distinctive symbol is akin to that found on Sassanian coins '  ', very likely the planetary symbol '  ' used by the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares." The former symbol '  ' may be the origin of the White Hun symbol, but there is a distinct and remarkable difference between the two. On the other hand we may suggest another possibility. In a gem bearing the name of Varahran there is a symbol '  ' behind the portrait[1]. This is very similar to the Ephthalite symbol '  '. The symbol '  ' occurs again on a small amethyst, which has the inscription '  '[2] It is quite possible that the White Huns took this symbol '  ' of the Sassanian kings as their own. It is remarkable that this symbol was never struck on any coin of the Persian princes. It may be a symbol designed only for engraving on jewels or precious stones and evidently it was used for other purposes than monetary ones. It can be argued that on some rare coins of Shapur II we find the symbol '  '[3]. But as we shall see later, these specimens are not the original pieces of Shapur II but are Ephthalite coins, struck in close imitation of those of the Sassanian king.

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1. See Pl.I,fig.5;N.Ch.XIII,pl.IV,fig.10;Ariana Antiqua.pl Pl.XVII.fig.20.
2. See Pl.I,fig.6;N.Ch.XIII.pl.ix.fig.11.
3. The coin is illustrated by H.Wilson.Ariana Antiqua,Pl.XVI, fig.9,10;Cunningham.N.Ch.1894.Pl.VII.1.;E.Herzfeld.-Kushano-Sasanian coins;Table I.24-25.p.19. etc.

The third remarkable characteristic of the Hūṇa coins is that they very rarely have a mint mark. In a few coins - described in catalogue as nos. 6,15,16,19,32,38, 45,and 47 - we find some letters which might be regarded as mintmarks, as they have no connection with the main inscription, which gives the name or the title of the king who struck them. The coins numbered 15,16,38,45 and 47 have only a single letter on the field viz.,(reversed) 'Thai'(?), Sa, or Se, Ja, Bra, Tu or Dha respectively. It is impossible to guess the mints merely from these monograms. There may have been many places with these initial letters in the north-west region of India, where the coins were found. Coin no.6 of the catalogue has the corrupt Greek inscription (B)axda, which might be a corrupt rendering for Bakhla or Balkha i.e. Bactria. Coin no.19 is clearer as it has two letters Kara and these may represent the place in the Punjab Salt Range called Kura, which is known to have been one of the important seats of Toramāṇa. Coin no.32 again preserves two letters, prati. This may stand for the mintmark of the city of Pratiṣṭhāna (near modern Allahabad in the U.P.).

The suggestion that these are mintmarks is nothing more than a possibility. We should have been more certain if there existed a systematic record of the places where the coins were found. Unfortunately most of the Hūṇa coins

were collected by English military men, who bought them from local dealers. Sometimes these dealers may have told false stories about the sources, with the purpose of raising the coins' value. Except for the few excavation of Taxila, Marshall[1] and Hargreaves[2], where finds of Ephthalite coins have been made, no other coins can be reliably located.

Leaving aside the few coins bearing letters which may be mintmarks, no other Hūṇa coins bear evidence of the place of their issue. These coins can only be divided among different mintings on the basis of their fabric and style. The coins with the standing sacrificing king on the obverse and seated goddess on the reverse may have been issued from Kashmir or its adjacent provinces, for this style prevailed in the Kashmir coins even after the destruction of the Hūṇa power. The coins with the Sassanian bust on the obverse and fire-altar on the reverse must have been struck in the north-western frontier region of India, for these represent the continuance of the imitation of Persian prototypes. Toramāṇa's small silver coins, with the head of the king on the obverse and fan-tail peacock on the reverse, encircled by Brāhmī inscription, must have been issued from western Mālava or Saurāṣṭra, for it is well known that this style is typical of that region.

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1. J.Marshall. Taxila, Archaeological Excavation Account Ch.38.,p.791.
2. J.P.A.S.B.,1913.p.481.

Another important criterion in determining the place and time of issue of these coins is how far they were Indianaised. The coins which show more Sassanian influence and bear inscriptions in corrupt Greek were presumably issued earlier and struck nearer to the north-west of India, than those which are more Indianaised and have clearer Brāhmī inscriptions. These were definitely struck later and in the more eastern provinces of the Hūṇa empire. Otherwise there is no means of determining their dates or places of issue, for the coihs bear no numerals, with the exception of one issue of Toramāṇa with the date 52. The era is not mentioned. Numerous suggestions have been put forward about this date. Dr. Fleet suggests that it is the regnal year of Toramāṇa, which does not fit in with the rest of our evidence and is totally rejected. Cunningham's suggestion that it might be a Hūṇa era, is the most convincing one. He thinks that the era started from the final expulsion of the Sassanians from the countries to the north of the Oxus by Chu-khan in A.D.456 or 457. If the year 52 be reckoned from this point we get A.D.508 or 509 for Toramāṇa's rule in Mālava, which corresponds in all respects with known history of the province and of Toramāṇa himself.

We can divide the coins of the Hūṇa tribe roughly into three groups :-

a) The Early Hūṇa Coins - including the coins of the early Hūṇa leaders, whose names and histories are unknown to us,

and who invaded the Indian frontier.

b) The Hūṇa Coins of India proper - including the coins of Tuñjina I, Toramāṇa and Mihirakula.

c) The later Hūṇa Coins - the coins of Pravarasena, Khingala, Lakhaṇa Udayāditya and the other later Hūṇa kings, whose control was confined to Kashmir and a few regions of Punjab and the North-Western Frontier.

a) The Early Hūṇa Coins:-

In this division there are two subdivisions -
(i)The Ephthalite coins struck to the north of the Hindukush.
(ii)The coins issued by the early Hūṇa military commanders or governors who led their armies towards India, crossing the Great Mountain . The first five coins of our catalogue can be put in group (i) and the coins numbered 6 to 19 in group (ii).

(i) Hūṇa coins struck in the north of the Hindukush :-

No. 1 of our catalogue(Pl.I,fig.1) is entirely an imitation of a coin of Shapur II. The coin, with the bust of the king to the right, Sassanian headdress like Shapur II and the Ephthalite symbol in front of the face, bears a small inscription, which is the sole evidence that it is not an original Sassanian piece[1]. Most of the scholars who have dealt with this particular coin agree that the inscription is in corrupt Kuṣāṇo-Greek script,but there are various readings

1. Parruck believes that these coins were the original coins of Shapur II, struck probably in the distant provinces. But as the size of these particular coins is different from that of the original coins of Shapur II,Parruck's suggestion is feeble. Parruck - J.A.S.B. 1917. ——.NumSuppl.xiii.p.59-61.

of the legend. Masson's excavation at Hidda tope first revealed one of these coins and this has been reproduced by Wilson, Cunningham and Ghirshman. Cunningham possessed two similar specimens, but without the lunar crescent on the back field of the portrait of the king, which he thinks were intended for this same type[1]. Wilson[2] recognises the 'legend in peculiar character, differing mostly from Pahlavi'. He makes no comment on the possible reading of the inscription. He thinks that though the script is unusual it may be a coin of Shapur II, for the headress resembles that of Shapur's crown;or otherwise it may be a coin of Shapur III, for on the reverse the bust emerging from the fire-altar is characteristic of the latter's coins. Cunningham[3] also failed to read the coin. Ghirshman[4] interpreted it in the Tokharian script as KTVΛAΦ HIONO ="Katuphe Chionite". We have examined two coins of this fabric presented by Cunningham to the British Museum and we are sure that the inscription is in the corrupt Greek script. The transcription of it is as follows - ΧΓΟLOCΩ ΟΙΟΝΟ The first half can be read as XIONOOΘ (Khionooth) perhaps intended for Chionite, another designation of the Ephthalites[5] The latter half of the inscription seems to be OIONO, perhaps

1. N.Ch.1894.p.263.
2. Ariana Antiqua. p.398.
3. N.Ch.,1894.Pl.I.fig.2.
4. Ghirshman.Op.cit.p.9-10.
5. See above p. 38-39

intended as Hiono or Hūṇa. Thus the whole inscription, we think, reads Chionite Hun in a corrupt spelling.

Another coin of very similar fabric can be assigned to the same period. This has been examined by Parruck[1] and Ghirshman[2]. It differs from the former only in its head-dress. The crown is the same as that of Shapur II, but there is a drapery attached to the crown which flies upwards from the back. There is no crescent on the back field of the portrait(See Pl.I.fig.2). Parruck thinks that the inscription is in Pahlavi and he reads it Ma(zda)yasn Bagi (Shāpūrī) Malkān Malkā Ai(rān), the common legend on Shapur's original coins. Ghirshman thinks that it is in Tokharian script and can be read as HΠTΛA ŚAHO HIO(NO) i.e. Hepthal roi Chionite. We examined this coin in the British Museum. The legend can be reproduced thus - ⅄ⅠⅠ⅄ ..... ⅄ⅢσϒXOωO7I7 but we could not make any sense of it. The Ephthalite symbol, the design of Shapur's crown and the corrupt Greek script, with the same type of reverse as that of the former coin, suggest that this is a mere variant of the previous type and was issued in about the same period.

There are two more specimens, which bear the name of Shapur written as ÞO8OPO (Śoboro) in corrupt Greek letters(See Pl.I.fig.3). They are copper coins of smaller size than, and of different fabric from those of the above

1. Parruck.-Sassanian Coins.Pl.XI.244 and p.350.
2. Ghirshman. Op. Cit.p.10,fig.7,Pl.II,fig.2.

silver coins with the design of Shapur II's crown.These coins have the Ephthalite symbol on the altar-shaft. The fire-altar on the reverse is of the type of Ardashir I. They may be Ephthalite coins of the time of Shapur II or a little later. Unfortunately we have not had the oppertunity to examine the coins personally. Parruck[1] includes them in the list of Shapur's coins, though admitting the Kuṣāṇa-Greek script and Ephthalite symbol. Merely from the photographs given by him nothing definite can be presumed.

Next to the coins of Shapur II's type, is the specimen with the headdress of Bahram IV(See Pl.I,fig.4). This coin was examined by Cunningham[2]. It is a faithful copy of Bahram's coinage in almost every detail. The only difference is in the inscription, which is in the corrupt Greek script in place of the Pahlavi of the Sassanian kings. Cunningham reads the legend as Shoono Zobol. He gives another possible reading of the same legend. He says ' it might be read by taking the two lines, boustrophedon fashion, as Sholono Bozino, for Shulopachin, the famous Khushnewaz of Persian history, who defeated the Sassanian Firoz in A.D.482. He is called Fizun by Firdausi.' This second suggestion of Cunningham is rather far-fetched. The coin which we examined, clearly gives the reading ꭾOXO ᚢIZOᛒOᚱ , possibly intended for Shoho ni Zobol. The middle letter ni may be a genitive and thus the

1. Parruck.-Op.Cit.nos. 256-257.(Pl.XI.)
2. N.Ch.,XIV.Pl.vii.2.p.263,276.

inscription may mean 'king of Zobol'. This coin with Bahram's crown on the portrait of the king has two differences from the original coin of Bahram IV: 1. The legend is in corrupt Greek letters and not in Pahlavi. 2. The coins are larger than the original coins of Bahram IV.

Another coin, which can be read in corrupt Greek script as Hephtal Shaho Hio(no), according to Ghirshman[1] belongs to the Ephthalite kings. Parruck[2] regards the coin as one of the original specimens of Yazdigird I. He thinks that the script is Pahlavi and the inscription is, on the obverse, - Yazdakarti Malkān Malkā, and on the reverse Malkā. In this case again we are restricted to photographs of the coin. Parruck's assignment cannot be accepted without criticism. The head is wearing a crown which is not like that of Yazdigird I. The globe of the headdress is evidently based on a big crescent which is lacking on the crown of Yazdigird I, but which occurs in the headdress of Firoz I. Moreover, on the reverse the Mobeds or the attendants of the fire-altar bear no lances in their hands as was usual on the coins of Yazdigird I. Here again, this coin resembles those of Firoz I. The legend is not very clear in the photograph but the fabric indicates that it is wrong to accept the interpretations of Parruck. Ghirshman's view also is

1. Ghirshman.- Op.Cit.p.11,fig.8;pl.II.fig.3.
2. Parruck.- Op.cit. Pl.XIII.303 and p.361.

not tenable. The coin has nothing to indicate that it is an Ephthalite issue. It bears no Ephthalite symbol and the script does not seem to be Greco-Kuṣāṇa. The Pahlavi script is enough to dispose of the arguments given by Ghirshman. It is extremely doubtful whether this coin should be put in our catalogue of Hūṇa coins.

The coins discussed above were most probably struck by the Ephthalites before their advance to the Indian ~~border~~ frontier. We have seen that these coins imitate those of Persian kings and have no peculiarities of their own, except -(a)they are mostly inscribed in corrupt Greek script,(b) they mostly bear the Ephthalite symbol, (c) they are mostly broader and thinner than the original Sassanian pieces, (d) in many specimens the reverse is indistinct. The places where they were found are very rarely recorded and there are no mint marks on the coins themselves. But we know that during their wars with Shapur II and Bahram IV the Ephthalites were to the north of the Hindukush, and so we may fairly presume that this series of coins was issued from that region.

(ii) Early Hūna coins struck to the south of the Hindukush:- In the reign of Firoz I, the Ephthalites inflicted successive defeats on the Persian king and, with the death of Firoz in battle with the White Huns, Persia became tributary to them[1].

1. See above. p.47

Then gradually they lost interest in Persia. The only explanation of this ~~xhxt~~ is that the Hūṇas under some of their generals or governors interested themselves in the politics south of the Hindukush and this gradually weakened their relations with the Sassanians. The next series of coins has no crown on its portraits. The portraits without crowns suggest that they were struck not by the Ephthalite kings but by military chiefs who led the army to the south of the Hindukush.[1] In the beginning of this new advance they continued to use the Greco-Kuṣāṇa script. The general fabric of the coins still shows the predominant Persian influence. They preserve the Sassanian bust, diadem, fillet, crescent and Ephthalite symbol(See catalogue 7,8.). Gradually the Hūṇas become more under the influence of the Indian way of life. Now they display a tendency to adopt the Brāhmī script (in which some of their early attempts show flagrant errors) and to use Indian symbols like the caurī(fly-whisk) śaṅkha(conch), cakra (wheel), triśūla(trident), etc. Most of the coins have portraits of the chiefs facing right (See catalogue 10-14 and Pl.I fig.8,9.). But in one coin(Pl.I,fig.7) it is curious that the bust is turned towards the left. This may be due to carelessness on the part of the engraver, but there is another possibility, which, though faint, has a special significance. Herzfeld[2] while discussing the Sassanian coins, pointed to the importance

1. See above ,p. 91.
2. Arch.Sur.Ind.Mem.no.38.1930.p.4.

of the change of direction of heads. He said "I emphasise sufficiently that the direction of heads has a definite meaning ...The opposite direction of the head proves a greater degree of independence and hence is (sic) adopted by the Sassanides immediately after they had thrown off the Arsacidan yoke." The same thing might have recurred at this time. The Ephthalite governors imitated the Sassanian style; but the ruler who struck this piece may have wanted to rebel against it and attempted to be more Indianised. To manifest his anti-Persian feelings he had his head struck facing the opposite direction. The coin has the face of the king with more Indian features. It is turned towards the left and has a triśūla in front of it. The inscription is very defective, the legend on the left side cannot be read, but might be in Brāhmī script. The legend on the right field is in corrupt Greek and can be read as Śoho zobol[1]. After this issue there seems to be neither any anti-Persian tendency nor zeal to become Indianised, for now the coins adopt the Indian letters and symbols, but they retain their own style. Many of these coins were found in the tope of Hidda and a great number also at Beghram. Further coins of this type were discovered in Shah-ji-ki-dheri by Hargreaves. Most of these coins are repoussé and slightly concave on the reverse. The inscriptions are indistinct and incomplete. It is difficult to say anything about the rulers who struck them or the dates of their issue. The only means of determining their chronological sequence is how far they are Indianised[2].

1. Wilson thinks that the characters are intended for Pahlavi Ariana Antiqua. p.399.
2. See above, p.306

With time the coins become more and more Indianised and the Brāhmī script found its place by the side of Greco-Kuṣāṇa inscriptions. The Brāhmī legends consist of only one or two letters. Whether they were mint-marks or not is not easy to decide.[1] This group of coins bear no details of the chiefs who struck them and can only be classed as the early coins of Hūṇa immigrants who invaded the north west frontier of India.

b) The Hūṇa coins of India proper :-

Gradually the obscurity comes to an end and Hūṇa coins are found which can be assigned to definite rulers. We will deal in this context with the coins of (i) Ṭhujina,(ii)Toramāṇa and (iii) Mihirakula.

(i) Ṭhujina coins : One coin in fabric and general execution is a member of the above series, but contains a distinct inscription on its left field (See catalogue no.20, Pl.I,fig. 14). It is a repoussé coin. It has been published by Prinsep[2], Cunningham[3], Specht[4],Morgan[5] and Ghirshman[6]. According to Wilson[7], the coin, accompanied by others, was found in the tope of Hidda and Beghram. Cunningham fails to give any reading of the coin. Ghirshman thinks that it is ΗΠΤΝΑ ΗΙΟΝΟ (Hephthal Chionite), written in Tokharian letters

1. See above, p.304.
2. Prinsep's Essays; ed. by Thomas.pl.xxxiii.fig.5.
3. N.Ch.,1894.pl.vii,fig.14.
4. J.A.,1901. p.502.
5. J.de Morgan.- Manuel de numismatique orientale.fig.594.
6. Ghirshman. Op.cit. p.19.fig.17;pl.ii. fig.10.
7. Ariana Antiqua. p.399.

On the other hand, we believe that the inscription ~~xxxxxx~~ of the left field is in Brāhmī and that on the right field in corrupt Greek script. The Brāhmī letters can be read from top to bottom as Ṭhujana ǫ , and the Greek letters are nothing more than ΘΕΙ the imitation of the old legend OXO = oksho. This coin can be ascribed to the Tuñjina of Kalhaṇa, or the Tigin of Sung-yun, the father of Toramāṇa[1].

Very similar in ~~the~~ style is the next series of coins inscribed with Śahi Javuvṇa, Jauvla, etc.(See catalogue no.23, 24;Pl.II,fig.2,3.). Their fabric suggests that they may be of another variety of Ṭhujina coins. We know from the Kura inscription of Toramāṇa that he adopted the title Śāhi Jauvla It is possible that these Śāhi Jauvla(with variant spelling) coins were those of Toramāṇa; another possibility is that Toramāṇa's father had the same title and struck these coins. Nothing can be finally decided till we find further evidence.

The next series of coins in the catalogue have a horseman on the obverse(See catalogue no.38-40;Pl.II,figs.10,11) The style is quite unique among the Hūṇa coins. It is very difficult to trace the origin of the technique. There are only a few Gupta coins bearing a horseman on the obverse. No Sassanian or Kuṣāṇa coin displays this motif. May we then presume that the style was imitated by the Hūṇa leaders from the Gupta coins, which they might have seen during their early clashes with the Guptas ?

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1. See above, p. 92-94.

The coins bear a unique mixture of scripts. The Greco-Kuṣāṇa letters on the obverse, suggest their being early Hūṇa coins. But the BrāhmI script on the reverse and many Indian symbols contradict this supposition. As the coins bear the obverse legend Zobol and the reverse legend Jayatu they must be listed in the catalogue as the series following the Śāhi Jabula coins, with the helmetted head of the king turned right. Cunningham[1] and Smith[2] attribute these horseman type coins to Toramāṇa. The suggestion is quite plausible but not absolutely certain, for no other coin of Toramāṇa bears the corrupt Greek script.

A hoard of coins was found in Marwar in the last decade of the 19th century; these are similar to the Sassanian bust type of Śāhi Jabula coins, but cruder in execution. Hoernle and Smith ascribed these coins to Toramāṇa. Hoernle[3] argues that in the coins of this hoard the style of the head-dress of the portrait resembles that ~~of~~ of Firoz's crown. The coins of the Sassanian king Firoz have two styles. On the second group of his coins,(struck between A.D.471-486) the king wears a tiara to which two eagle's wings are attached and which is surmounted by a crescent enfolding a globe or star. Hoernle thinks that as the coins of the Marwar hoard resemble those of Firoz they must have been struck by a king who was Firoz's contemporary. As Toramāṇa was the Hūṇa king reigning in

1. N.Ch. 1894.Pl. VII. fig. 6,7,8,9.
2. J.A.S.B. 1894.p.181-90.
3. J.A.S.B., 1889.p.229; Ibid.1890.p.41-47,pl.v.

A.D.470-80, he should therefore be the ruler who issued them. But Hoernle's comparison of the Marwar Hoard with this type of Firoz's coins is incomplete. As far as his no.41 is concerned it is quite similar to the coins of Firoz but nos.44 to 47 have the headdress surmounted by two horns, which are not similar to the wings of Firoz's crown(See catalogue no.49). Moreover, the coins of this Marwar hoard do not contain any name or inscription at all,while all the coins of Toramāna, however rough and degenerate they may be in execution, bear the title,name or at least the initial letter of the king. We think that the coins of Marwar are not the issues of Toramāna but are later Hūna coins and were struck when their power and prestige were about to collapse. They adopted the old Sassanian type coins without caring about the significance of the headdress.

(ii) Toramāṇa coins : These can be divided into two categories according to their metal - (a)silver,(b)copper. No gold coin has yet been found. The silver coins are not as difficult to sort out as the copper coins. The latter ~~xxixx~~ contain different designs, each with numerous variants.

(a) Silver coins - All the silver coins of Toramāṇa are of better execution than his copper coins. If the Śāhi Jabula coins are of Toramāṇa, then his silver coins can be divided into three categories. 1. Śāhi Jabula coins or only Śāhi coins of broader and flatter fabric with the Sassanian bust on the obverse and the fire-altar design on the reverse.[1]

1. See above. p.316.

2. Śāhi Jabula coins (sometimes written in corrupt Greek letters) with a horseman device on the obverse[1].

3. The coins of Toramāṇa struck in Saurāṣṭrian type similar to those of Kumāra Gupta, Skanda Gupta, etc.[2] This type of coin has the head of the king on the obverse. The Gupta kings struck their portraits facing right but the later kings who ruled in that area after the Guptas fashioned their coins with heads facing left. Toramāṇa's coins also have the face turned left. In front of his face there is a numeral, usually read 52[3]. The reverse of this coin has a dancing peacock in the middle and an inscription in Brāhmī script encircling it. Formerly Prinsep read it - vainivayakavarda Śrī Toramāṇa. But now it has been accepted unanimously that it is the typical Gupta legend with the difference of name only. It can be transcribed thus ΔΕΛΔΙΙΔΙЦЛЧЛΙ ЧЦΣΔΕЧЛ . It contains no vowel marks but it is easy to understand, reading vijitāvaniravanipati Śrī Toramāṇa deva jayati. The coin has been often quoted and depicted e.g. by Cunningham[4], Rapson[5], Smith[6], etc. We have seen two specimens in the British Museum known as the coins of Mr.Bush and of Miss Baring. Nothing new or suggestive about them caught the eye.

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1. See above. p. 316-17
2. Prinsep's Essays. p.338,Pl.XXVII.fig.10,11,12.
3. See above p.306.
4. Cunningham.-Mediaeval Indian Coins. Pl.II.fig.11.
5. Rapson.- Indian Coins.p. 29.
6. J.R.A.S..1889. p.136.

(b) Copper coins - We can divide them into two categories, 1.Kuṣāṇa type, standing sacrificing king on the obverse and seated goddess on the reverse. Usually the obverse contains the name of the king. The various specimens have minute differences. Cunningham describes two coins of this type[1]. The dress of the king on these two coins is peculiar. On the first he wears a long tunic-type dress coming below the knees (See catalogue no.41.) and the other wears a frilled dress reaching to the knees. Cunningham reads the obverse of the first specimen as Śrī Turyamāṇa and of the second as Śrī Toramāṇa. Both the coins have a seated Lakṣmī on the reverse, holding a lotus in her left hand. The same author reads the Brāhmī letters Kidāra on the left field of the reverse. Smith[2] refuses to ascribe the first coin described by Cunningham to Toramāṇa. He and Stein believes that the reading is wrong and that it is in fact Śrī Tuñjina) and should be ascribed to Raṇāditya Tuñjina. Besides disputing the reading of the coin, Smith says that the design of this long tunic is alien to the type of Toramāṇa. But we have seen one coin in the British Museum on which the king is dressed in a tunic very similar to that of Cunningham's coin and with the distinct inscription Tora on the reverse (See P. 420. Pl.II,fig.14.). Therefore we cannot accept the view that

1. Cunningham- Mediaeval Indian Coins.Pl.III.figs.,1.2.
2. J.A.S.B.,1897,p.6,Pl.I,fig.9.

as the portrait in Cunningham's coin is not wearing a frilled tunic, it is not of Toramāṇa. Cunningham's photograph does not give a clear reading. But Smith's plate has the clear letters Turya. Therefore we cannot understand why Smith nevertheless gives the reading Tuñjina. Turya is probably a shortened form of the name Toramāṇa, though we admit that this spelling is unique. Apart from this particular coin of Toramāṇa, most of his coins with the standing king on the obverse show him wearing a frilled dress. In the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Catalogue[1] we find two specimens of such coins, in which the standing king is offering incense in the Kuṣāṇa manner. The Brāhmī legend reads Śrī Tora. The goddess on the reverse is seated in the Gupta fashion, holding a lotus, in the right field is Ja(ya) and to the left a vessel. The same type of coin is found in Taxila and is described by Marshall[2], although, he denies the possibility of its being the coin of Mihirakula's father Toramāṇa, and searches for another king of this name. In the supplementary catalogue of the Indian Museum, Calcutta[3], a specimen of very similar type occurs which has the letters ra and ja on the reverse. We have examined another coin of this type in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, (See catalogue no.42) which has the clear

1. I.M.C.C., I.Pl.XXVII.fig.23.
2. Marshall.-Taxila - Archaeological Excavation Account.1951. Serial no.315. Ch.39.
3. B.B.Bidyabinod. I.M.C.C., Non Mohammadan Series, I.1923. Ref.no.7443.p.67.

inscription Śrī Toramāṇa on the obverse. The reverse is of the seated goddess type but she is also wearing a frilled skirt, very like the figure on the coins of the Varman dynasty of Kashmir[1], which ruled in the 9th century A.D. The coin bearing the standing sacrificing king, seen in the British Museum, has no inscription on the obverse and contains a different style on the reverse; - the solar wheel above, a horizontal line in the middle, and the letters Tora written in bold script below. This type of reverse is found in the other type of Toramāṇa's copper coins. The coins of Toramāṇa with the seated goddess on the reverse have mostly the standing sacrificing king on the obverse. But there is one unique specimen referred to by Smith[2] which has the rude seated goddess design on the reverse and on the obverse contains an outline of a fire-altar above and the Brāhmī letters Śrī To below. Smith in the same plate presents a standing lion facing left on a horizontal line and the letters Toramāṇa below.

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1. Cunningham.- Mediaeval Indian Coins. Pl.IV.
2. J.R.A.S., 1907.Pl.I.

The second variety of Toramāṇa's copper coins has the Sassanian bust decorated with diadem on the obverse, and solar wheel, horizontal line and Tora in bold letters on the reverse (See catalogue no.45- 47). The obverse mostly contains in the front field a letter 𑀢 or 𑀡 . Prinsep in his Antiquities illustrates three coins of this type. He doubts very much whether they belong to Hūṇa Toramāṇa. Rapson[1] also reproduces the same coins in his monograph. We have seen many coins of this type in the British Museum. Most of them have the bust facing right but one specimen bears the bust facing left[2]. Another variety presented by Cunningham has the face towards the right but bears a helmet decorated with a crescent.

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1. E.J. Rapson.- Indian Coins. 1897. Pl.IV.fig.19.
2. This coin is at present uncatalogued. It was presented to the British Museum by G.P.Rawlins in 1922.

(iii) Mihirakula coins : After Toramāṇa Mihirakula ascended the throne. He struck coins in many styles as his prestige demanded. They can be divided into two groups according to their metals : 1.Silver, 2.copper. No gold coin has been yet discovered. His coins fall into numerous classes and each contains sub-classes.

(a) Silver coins - The silver pieces, which are the most characteristic coins of Mihirakula, are struck with the bull on the obverse. There are two sub-classes;(i) with the legend Jayatu Mihirakula; (ii) with Jayatu vṛṣadhvaja. The obverse of the first group has the face of the king turned right, with the triśūla behind, and the bull standard in front. They bear the legend Jayatu Mihirakula or Jayatu Mihiragula. On the reverse the remains of the old fire-altar are visible[1](See catalogue no.50,51.). The other variety of this type is that with the seated bull facing the king and the legend Jayatu Vṛṣadhvaja on the obverse. These coins have the fire-altar design on the reverse[2](See catalogue no.52.).

(b) Copper coins : Mihirakula's copper coins are more common. a) He maintained the style of his bust type silver coins on his copper issues, though he omitted the bull-standard and trident on the obverse. The inscription Śrī Mihirakula is written in front of the king.

1. N.Ch.XIV,pl.viii.3; Rapson.Op.Cit.pl.iv.fig.20. Many specimens in the British Museum. P.J.A.S.B. 1913.p.482.no.1
2. N.Ch. XIV.Pl.viii.no.4.

The reverse is marked by a horizontal line in the middle. Above the line the bull is walking or running. Sometimes there is a cakra or triśūla in front of the bull's front leg. The lower part of the coin is inscribed with a legend Jayatu vṛṣa[1] (See catalogue no. 53). This type of coin was first studied by Prinsep, who read it as Śrī Maharaja. Thomas in his edition of Prinsep's Essays corrected this to Śrī Maharakusa[2]. In the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Catalogue there are two coins which present a blurred device, due apparently to an attempt to strike the bust over Toramāṇa's wheel[3]. In the Supplemantary Catalogue of the Indian Museum, there are two coins which have the Sassanian bust on the obverse, without any inscription and on the reverse a humped bull walking on the left, a horizontal line in the middle and below the Brāhmī letters Jayatu Vṛṣa. They are quite probably a variety of this type of the copper coins of Mihirakula. In the same catalogues of the Indian Museum[4], a few coins appear without legend either on obverse or on reverse. But the style and the execution is the same and in a few specimens there is the Ephthalite symbol in front of the face. There is no certainity that they belong to the same group of Mihirakula's coins, but it is possible that they were his posthumous issues.

1. N.Ch.XIV,pl.viii.1 ; I.M.C.C. XXV.fig.5.
2. Prinsep's Essays; ed. by Thomas.p.417.
4. I.M.C.C., p.237 ;Suppl.I.M.C.C.,Coin.nos.15557,15562, 15566.
3. I.M.C.C.,p.236.nos.7,8.

The second group of Mihirakula's copper coins is the Kuṣāṇa type. The standing king is wearing the long Scythian tunic as on a few coins of Toramāṇa, holding a staff in his left hand and sacrificing with his right hand in a small fire-altar. The legend in the left field is Śāhi and in the right field Mihiragula[1](See catalogue no.55). Fleet and Cunningham[2] believed that the -gula form of the name always occured with the prefix Śāhi and the -kula form with the prefix Śrī. But there is a coin of Rawlins, illustrated by Smith[3] which has the Śāhi form with the marginal inscription Mihirakula and not -gula, and therefore Cunningham's suggestion cannot be accepted. Among the copper coins there is a unique variety with the inscription Mihi(ra)data[4]. It has a completely different device. The letters Mihi are written above, while below there is a fire-altar and the letters da and ta on the two sides of the altar The reverse is marked with a standing elephant. The coin was found in a hoard of Hūṇa coins in the plateau of Manaswal in the Siwalik hill range, Hoshiyarpur district of Punjab, which was explored by Rawlins. Though Smith counts it among the Hūṇa coins, we are doubtful about it because of its different style. The name of the king, moreover,is Mihira-data and not Mihirakula. There is no other evidence ~~to~~

1. I.M.C.C., p.237.
2. N.Ch.,1894,p.281.
3. J.A.S.B.,1897,p.7.pl.I,fig.11.
4. Smith.- White Hun coins from the Punjab.J.R.A.S.,1907, pl.I, fig.3.

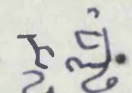
to confirm this name as being that of our Hūṇa king. These descriptions of Mihirakula's coins show one peculiarity. Most of his coins, both silver and copper, bear the bull ~~on~~ either on obverse or on reverse and the bull standard, the triśula and the legend Jayatu vṛṣa or Jayatu vṛṣadhvaja. This evidence manifests his adherence to Śaivism, a most important step in the progress of the Indianisation of the ~~barbarian~~ barbarian tribe of the Hūṇas.

After the defeat of Mihirakula at the hands of Bālāditya of Magadha and Yaśodharman of Mandasor, they became insignificant factors in Indian history. According to Hoernle Yaśodharman's victory over the Hūṇa kings resulted in the ~~ext~~ extension of his empire upto Kashmir[1]. He regards the famous Yaśo varman coins as those of Yaśodharman of Mandasor. Besides many other difficulties, the simple reason that the coins are inscribed with the name of Yaśovarman and not Yaśodharman contradicts such a proposal, and we have no reason to believe that these coins have any connection with the Hūṇas. A detailed consideration of this problem will be found in Appendix - III.

c) Later Hūṇa coins :-

After Mihirakula, the Hūṇa throne passed to Pravarasena, another son of Toramāṇa. His coins belong to the Kuṣāṇa style, with the standing king and the seated goddess (See catalogue no. 59-60). The legend on the obverse

1. J.R.A.S.,1903.p.551;1909,p.105-108.

is Śrī Pravarasena and on the reverse Kidāra. In a coin, now in the British Museum, the legend is just the opposite, i.e. on the obverse, to right Sena, under the left arm Kidāra, to left below Ratna (?) while the reverse has the inscription Śrī Pravara[1]. There is another coin ascribed to this king in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford[2]. We have examined this and find ~~max~~ no reason for its ascription to Pravarasena. It bears the standing king facing right, with helmet-like headdress, holding a staff in his left hand, with the inscription in the right field  . We think that this may be intended for Rudrasāhi (?). The reverse has the same style of seated goddess but no inscription at all (See catalogue no.61).

There are two points to notice about the coins of Pravarasena. Firstly, however, few the coins, they are ~~so~~ of gold. We have already seen that the earlier Hūṇa rulers issued no gold coins whatever, as far as is known. In the reign of Pravarasena the Hūṇas became settled in Kashmir and some parts of the north west Punjab and practically ceased their attempts at aggrandizement to the east. Therefore, they may have been in a better position to issue gold coins. Tuñjina I, Toramāṇa and Mihirakula apparently spent their whole lives fighting with their neighbours and this naturally resulted in a great deal of expenditure and prevented them

1. Cunningham. Mediaeval Indian Coins.pl.III.figs.3,4.
2. The coin is uncatalogued.

from issuing gold coins. The second interesting point is that from the time of Pravarasena, the Kidāra title was adopted by his successors on the Hūṇa throne, and gradually it became a family name[1]. Pravarasena had as his successor Khiṅkhila or Khiṅgala, who adopted the Indian title Narendrāditya. There are many of his coins struck with his Hunnish names Khiṅgala. Among the successors of Khiṅgala, Lakhaṇa Udayāditya and Tuñjina II left coins. The popular style of these coins bears the beardless head of the king on the obverse, usually helmeted, and they very closely resemble the early Hūṇa coins of the Sassanian bust type. The reverse contains either a wheel with the inscription below it (as in the coins of Toramāṇa), or the seated goddess(found in the coins of Toramāṇa, Mihirakula and Pravarasena) or the indistinct fire-altar(as in the early Hūṇa coins and in some coins of Mihirakula and Khiṅgala). Therefore these coins which are undoubtedly of Hūṇa origin, corroborate the hypothesis that these kings were the successors of Mihirakula. More difficulty arises with some other names that can be read on the same type of coins - of which there is no other evidence than their style and fabric to link them with the Hunnish chiefs. These names are Śāhi Jara, Maboma Śāhi, Bayara Khotalana, Baladhara(Whitehead reads it Bayasara) etc. We can only suggest that either they belonged to Hūṇa

1. See above p. 223-24.

chieftains of these names who were reduced to the status of local chiefs, or they belong to the remnants of Kidārites, who were living side by side with the petty Hūṇa rulers. Before ending this account of the Hūṇa coins, the last important point which deserves notice is the Uditāditya and Prakāśāditya coins. A few coins link the title Udayāditya with Lakhaṇa and Prakāśāditya with Tuñjina II, while a few coins with the name Uditāditya, Pūrvāditya, and Pūrmāditya do not bear any accompanying Hunnish name. In such cases it would be useless to argue about to whom they belong.

	Metal & Wt.	Obverse	Reverse	Findspot & Refs.
1.	AR. 3.5	Head of the king to r. with crenellated crown and globe, like that of Shapur II. Crescent behind the head. Ephthalite symbol in fron of the face. Diadem springing from the r.shoulder and flying upwards at the back of the portrait. Hairs tied in ball fashion. Inscription in corrupt Greek script. Chiolooth Olono Perhaps intended for Chionite Hyono(Hun)	High fire alter guarded by two men with the lances, facing towards the altar. An indistinct bust emerging from the fire like that of Shapur III.	Found in Hidda tope. Two specimens presented by Cunningham to B.M.(See Ar.Ant. p.398,pl.16.no.9, 10;Cunn.N.Ch.XIV pl.vii.no.1.p.278 Ghirshman.-Les Chionites Hephthalites.p.10, fig.5,6.pl.ii.1. (See.Pl.I,fig.1.)
2.	AR. 3.89.	Bust of the king r. surmounted by the crown of Shapur II,moustached, curly beard tied in middle, diadem,drapery, earring & necklace. Ephthalite symbol in front of the face.Insc. behind the bust ש ב ר In front of the face ω o ץ x o ω o ץ 17	indistinct fire altar guarded by attendants.	B.M.specimen given by Cunn. (See.Ghirshman. op.citp.10,fig.7. pl.ii.2.;Parruck. Sassanian coins, pl.xi.244.&p.350) (See. Pl.I,fig.2)
3. 4.	AE. 71.5 AE .62	Bust of Shapur II.r. wears mural crown surmounted by globe, adorned with dots. Koshano Greek inscription in front of the face ро8оро =Shoboro = Shapur	Fire altar as depicted on the coins of Ardashir I. Ephthalite symbol on the altar shaft, no insc.	Two specimens belong to Parruck.(see op.cit pl. XI. 256;257) (See Pl.I,Fig.3)

Metal & Wt.	Obverse	Reverse	Findspots & Ref
5. AR 3.153.	Sassanian bust to r.;surmounted by the crown fashioned with one wing and globe on the head-dress, like that of Bahram IV. King's hair tied behind in bun fashion.Legend in corrupt Greek letters ро≻ондzоβоl =śoho ni Zobol. Ni possibly stands for the genetive.	High fire altar, attended by two guards.	B.M.specimen presented by Cunn.(See.N.Ch. 1894,pl.VII.2) (See.Pl.I.fig.4)
6. AR.	Beardless head to r.; with prominent nose, wears small conical hat,plume in front of the face.Legend (B)ахda =Bakhia, might be intended for Baxla or Balkh(? mint mark).	Indistinct fire altar with attendants. Bust of the deity emerging from the flames.	[illegible] Found in Taxila excavation,done by Marshall,6ft below surface. (See.Marshall.- Taxila - an account of the excavation.1951. Serial no.300).
7. AR 3.23.	Bust without crown to r.;helmet like head-dress,on the back, field-moon crescent and the monogram ⊎ (?) On the front field Ephthalite symbol. Illegible inscription.	Indistinct fire altar with attendants.	B.M.specimen presented by Cunn.
8. AR. 2.76.	Bust facing r.,diadem, Ephthalite symbol in front of the face. Inscription ɐlo ---- ꟽ0ωo2ɔ unreadable.	Fire altar guarded by two attendants holding lances facing the fire.	B.M.specimen presented by Whitehead in 1922.

Metal & Wt.	Obverse	Reverse	Findspots & Referenees.
9. AR 3.52.	Head facing l.,with tall helmet.Beaded necklace & earring. Face more Indianized than the previous ones. Diadem on r. side,Triśūla in front of the face. To the l.side some unreadable characters probably corrupt Greek script, but might be Brāhmī. The inscription to the r. reads Soho zobol.	Almost répoussé. Indistinct remains of fire altar and attendants.	BM.specimen presented by Cunn (See. N.Ch.,1894. VII.3;Ar.Ant.XVI. 20;Specht. J.A., 1901.p.494;H.Junker -Die Hepthalitischen Münzinschriften 1930.p.650;J.de Morgan.-Manuel de numismatique Orientale,fig.589; Ghirshman.pl.IV.2) (See.Pl.I.fig.7)
10. AR. 3.64.	King without crown facing r.diadem or chauri emerging from the two shoulders. Inscription behind head UNO and in front of the face OXXO =OKSO.	Indistinct impression of the fire altar and attendants	B.M.specimen presented by Whitehead in 1922.
11. AR. 3.20. 2.93. 3.20.	Head of the ~~king~~ king facing r. Crescent on helmet. Ephthalite symbol on the back field of the bust and solar wheel(or chakra) on front. Illegible inscription. Sign of corrupt Greek script.	répoussé coin.	We have seen three specimen:- a)India Office Col. Ref=no.2370; b)B.M.specimen presented by Whitehead,ref.no. 3748;c)B.M. coin presented by Cunn. ref.no.XII.260. (See.N.Ch.1894.VIII. 17.) (See.Pl.I.fig.8).
12. AR. 60.	Bust of the king turned r.Helmet decorated with crescent, Cauri(or tufts of feather) springing from the shoulders.Ephthalite symbol in front of the face. Insc.inGreek poro intended for Soho.	Fire altar design with the attendants holding lances, not very clear.	B.M.specimen presented by Cunn. Ref.no.XII.215. (See.Cunn.op.cit. pl.VII.15;Ghirshman.op.cit.p.21. fig.19.pl.II.12) (See. Pl.I.fig.9)

Metal & Wt.	Obverse	Reverse	Findspot & Referenc-es
13. AR.	Bust of the king facing r. Caduris emerging from the shoulders, helmet on head Incomplete insc. in Greek --ΡΟΡ--C--- probably intended for Śaho ---	Fire altar design with the attendants wholding lances not very clear.	See. Ar.Ant.pl.XVI 19; Ghirshman. op.cit.p.21.fig. 20.
14. AR. 3.49 3.36. 3.40	Beardless head of the king to r. Crescent in the front of the helmet. Diadems spring from the shoulders. Ribbon tied in the helmet. Ephthalite symbol at the back and conch or shell at the front of the bust.	indistinct fire altar.	We have seen three specimens: a)B.M. presented by Cunn. ref.no.XII.255.; b)India Office Col. ref.no.2371.; c)India Office Col. ref.no.2374. (See.N.Ch.1894. VIII.15.)
15. AR. 3.69.	Bust of the chief facing r.diadem springing from his r.shoulder; crescent on the r. field;a monogram ϕ (? inverted 'thai' in Brāhmī script)on the r. field. Ephthalite symbol on the l.field. Indistinct insc. in corrupt Greek script from r.to l. ΟΡΔΟΟΧΟ ?[1]	répoussé. indistinct fire altar.	One specimen found in Kaniska Caitya, Shah-ji-ki-Dheri, in Dec.1911,during the course of excavation made by H. Hargreaves.B.M. specimen presented by Cunn.ref.no.XII. 254.(See.N.Ch.1894. VIII.14;J.de Morgan fig.602;Ghirshman p.21.fig.21.pl.II. 13.) See.Pl.I.fig.10.
16. AR. some copper mixed	Head of the chief crowned with helmet, facing r., crescent behind head, bearded border, Ephthalite symbol in front of the face,Brāhmī Śrī on the back field of the bust,illegible insc. probably in corrupt Greek script.	indistinct fire altar, attended by guardians.	Find in Shah-ji-ki-Dheri.Kaniska Caitya,during the excavation of Hargreaves.(see. Whitehead.J.P.A.S.B.1913.N.Suppl. XXI.art.122.pl.x. fig.2-5.are of similar type. (See.Pl.I.fig.11)

1.Ghirshman reads 'HIONO' which he thinks is for Chionite.

Metal & Wt.	Obverse	Reverse	Findspots & Refs.
17. AR. 3.02	Bust facing r.,no Ephthalite symbol. Solar wheel in front of the face. Diadem. Crescent on the back field.The letters 𐨪𐨯 on the l.field. Possibly intended for Brāhmī 𐨯𐨪𐨫 Vahi(for Śahi ?). Insc.in Greek on the r.field. ΟΧΧΟϹ = Oϱsho.	répoussé	B.M.specimen presented by Murphy. ref.no.47. (See.Pl.I.fig.12)
18. AR 3.03.	Bust of the chief with helmet on his head. Fillet rising from the shoulder. Front field vacant. In the left field Brahmi inscription 𐨪𐨫	Répoussé indistinct fire altar.	B.M.specimen presented by Cunn XII.288. (See.N.Ch.1894. pl.IX.14;Ar.Ant. XVI.18). (See Pl.I.fig.13)
19. 3.39.	Beardless head of the chief, helmeted, diadem behind. Obscure inscription in the front field 𐨪𐨫 Brāhmī Kara(?) intended for Kura (?).	Fire altar design.	B.M.specimen presented by Rodgers.xxxvi.30.
20. AR 3.60 3.79 3.95	Beardless bust of the chief facing r. Two ribbons attached to the helmet hanging behind. Crescent on the helmet. Cauris springing from the two shoulders. Beaded necklace. Ephthalite symbol on the right field.Brāhmī insc. r.read perpendicularly 𐨪𐨯𐨫 =Ṭhujina (intended for Tigin of Sung-yun.) The insc.in the r.field is in corrupt Greek ΧΟ intended for Okso(?)	répoussé	Three specimens in B.M.presented by Cunn.XII.1164 & XII.214.(N.Ch. 1894.pl.vii.14; Prinsep's Essays, pl.33.fig.5; Ghirshman. II.10. Wilson records the find spots in the Tope of Hidda & Beghram.) (See.pl.I.fig.14)

Metal & Wt.	Obverse	Reverse	Findspots & Refs.
21. AR Wt. varies between 2.65-3.49	Beardless head of the chief to r.with crescent in front of the helmet. Crescent on shoulders, hand extended before bust holding a flower. Three horizontal strokes on the left field. Insc. illegible (Ghirshman reads Mihira, which seems to be wrong).	Indistinct fire altar & attendants	11 specimens were seen in B.M. collection, all presented by Cunn. (See N.Ch.,1894. IX.17;Ghirshman. p.36.fig.38.iv.3) (See. Pl.II.fig.1.)
22. AR. 3.03, 3.14.	Beardless head of the king facing r. crescent in front of the helmet Ribbons hanging behind from helmet. Diadem springing from shoulders.Club in front of face. Ephthalite symbol behind. In Brāhmī script Śāhi to l. & Śāhi to r. side of the bust.	Indistinct fire-altar.	9 specimens in B.M 6 presented by Cunn One India Office Library 2375;and two Whitehead,- 2736 & 3737. (See Cunn.VII.13) (See Pl.II.fig.2) B.M.specimens presented by Cunn. (XII.256) (See N.Ch.1894. pl.VIII.16.)
23. AR. Wt. Varies between 2.54 -3.52.	Beardless bust of the king r.helmet with crescent in front. Diadem from the shoulders, ribbons tied to helmet hanging behind;club in front, faint Ephthalite symbol behind. Insc. in Brāhmī written vertically behind, read from r.to l.: 𑀲𑁂 =Śāhi in front 𑀚𑀯𑀡𑀺 =Jauvana(possibily a variant of Jauvla)1.	Indistinct fire-altar.	9 specimens in B.M. given by Cunn., One India Office Library,2375; and two from Whitehead, 2736,3737. (See Cunn.VII.13) (See.Pl.II.fig.2)

1. See Marshall.- Taxila.Arch.Sur.Acc.II,p.824; Whitehead.- J.P.A.S.B.1913.artl.122.pl.ii.17.

Metal & Wt.	Obverse	Reverse	Findspots & Refs.
24 AR. 3.24.	Beardless face of the chief to r. crescents on the headdress fillet on the back shoulder. Ribbons attached to the helmet. A dotted flower & conch (shell) in the front field. Insc. in the front in Greek script. ZOBOA. There is some legend on the l. field probably in corrupt Greek script, difficult to read. Ghirshman thinks it Śāhonaśa.	faint imprints of fire-altar with attendants.	B.M. specimen presented by Cunn XII.1287. (N.Ch., 1894.VII.4.; Ghirshman, p.36-7. fig.39. pl.iv.4; E.Specht. op.cit. p.496.; H.Junker.- op.cit. p.651. J.de Morgan. op.cit fig.590) (See.Pl.II.fig.3)
25. AR. 3.27	Beardless face of the chief to r., trident and shell on the r. field, crescents on the head-dress. Similar in execution to no.24. Insc. in corrupt Greek, incomplete and indistinct. Possibly intended for the same letters as the above.	Indistinct	B.M. one specimen (Cunn. N.Ch. 1894. VII.5; Specht. op. cit. p.497; Junker. op.cit. p.651; Ghirshmam. op.cit. p.37. fig. 40) (See.Pl.II.fig.4)
26. AR. 3.07.	Beardless head with- ~~out~~ helmet facing r. Cauri on the back of shoulder. Trident in front. Insc. in Brāhmī script. Indian legend Śāhi...na Śāhi	Indistinct fire-altar.	B.M. specimen presented by Cunn. XII.210. (N.Ch.1894 IX.11.) (See Pl.II.fig.5)
27. AR. 3.75 3.09.	Crescent headed helmet, Beardless bust, moustached face of the chief to r., in front of lotus. Insc. in Brāhmī script. 𑀰𑀭 =Śāhi	Indistinct.	Two specimens seen in B.M. Ref. nos. Cunn XII.274, Whitehead 3741. (N.Ch.1894. IX.10) (See.Pl.II.fig.6)
28. AR. 3.45.	Beradless head of the king, moustached, crescent on the helmet. On.r.field a vessel on a stand. Holding a trident. Traces of Brāhmī characters on the r.field.	Indistinct.	B.M. one specimen (Cunn., N.Ch., 1894 IX.8; Ghirshman. p.37. fig.41. pl.IV no.6. (See.Pl.II.fig.7)

Metal &.Wt.	Obverse	Reverse	Findspots & Refs.
29. AR. 3.57.	Another specimen of the above coin.The lotus is not very clear.	Indistinct.	B.M.specimen is from India Office Library collection 2376.
30. AR. 3.26.	The same as the above Vessel is indistinct. In the back field there is a monogram ? (?)	"	B.M.specimen given by Whitehead 3744.
31. AR 3.26	Beardless face of the chief to r. Helmet with crescent on the head. Three flowers in a vase in the r.field. Ribbon tied with the helmet. Indistinct insc.on r. field.	Indistinct fire-altar.	B.M.specimen given bu Cunningham. XII.272.
32 AR	Beradless face of the king with moustache.Crescents on the helmet. Ribbon hanging from the head-dress. A tiny figure of a standing woman, holding a flower, on the r.field. The Brāhmī legend on r.field 𑀧𑀭 =prati (?)	"	"In Swiney's possession" (Prinsep's Essays ~~Antiquities~~. pl.XXXIII.4.)
33 AR .55.	The same as the above But the tiny standing figure in r.field is wearing a beaded head-dress and is folding his hands in front-Seems to be a man. Insc. in Brāhmī 'Ṣāhi'	"	~~B.M.specimen given by Cunning-ham. XII.273.~~ (N.Ch.1894.IX.5) (See.Pl.II.fig.8)
34. AR. 3.79.	The beardless face of the king,moustached; crescent above helmet. Ephthalite symbol on l. Triśūla on r field. Insc. in front of the face 𑀤𑀢 & below the trident 𑀭. Intendent for (De)va Ṣāhi (?)	"	B.M.specimen given by Cunn. XII.273. (N.Ch.1894.pl.IX. 9.) (See.Pl.II.fig.9)

Metal & Wt.	Obverse.	Reverse	Findspots & Refs.
35. AR 4 spec. Wt. varies between 3.07 to 3.68.	Beardless king with prominent moustaches, facing r., long helmet tied up with a fillet. Beaded long ear-decoration. Ephthalite symbol in front. Brāhmī insc. in r.field 𑀰𑀮𑀕 May be intended for Śrī Ṣāhi (?).	Indistinct fire-altar.	Three specimens of B.M. are given by Cunningham, and one is of India Office Col. 2369.
36. AR. 3.13.	Beardless face of the king turned r. Crescent mounted headdress. Beaded garland and long hanging beaded earrings. Floral design in r.field ⚹ Insc. on the top incomplete. ~~In front can be traced~~. Possibly the full insc. is intended to be (Ṣā)hi (Jau)va(la)	"	B.M. specimen given by Cunningham XII. 267.
37. AR. 3.28.	Beardless face towards r. helmet with crescent, fillet behind. Small indistinct fire-altar in front ground. Insc. behind head 𑀇𑀧𑀰 and in front 𑀚𑀬 =Jaya Ṣāhi.	"	India Office Collection in B.M. 2368.
38. AR.	The prince on horseback facing right, a flower vase on the r.field. Ephthalite symbol behind. Marginal insc. indistinct. Prinsep thinks it Pahlavi(?) A monogram resembling Indian 'Ja'.	"	Prinsep' Essays-~~ties~~.Pl.XXXIII. fig.1.
39. AR. 55.	Horseman facing r. large crescent on the top of helmet. Ephthalite symbol on the r.field. Greco-Kushāṇa legend, on the l. side Zobol and in r. field Sohanaśa(?)	Large ornamented wheel, traces of Jayatu in Brāhmī script.	(N.Ch.1894.VII.7; Ghirshman.p.38, fig.43.pl.IV.8.) (See.Pl.II.fig.10

Metal & Wt.	Obverse	Reverse	Findspots & Refs.
40. AR. 53.	King on horseback to r.; shell with star on it in the r.field; Ephthalite symbol on the left field. Brāhmi legend Śāhi Janbula	Fire-altar with attendants.	(N.Ch.1894.VII.8. Ghirshman.p.38.fig. 45.IV.10.) (See.Pl.II.fig.11)
41. AE. 101.	Sacrificing king standing in Kuṣāṇa manner. Extending his left hand holding staff. Wearing a skirted tunic. Śrī Tu ...	Seated Lakṣmī holding a lotus. Monogram on the r.field.	Comes from Khotan (Med.Ind.Coins.pl.III fig.1. Smith.J.A.S.B. 1897,pl.I.9.) (See.Pl.II.fig.12).
42. AE 5.66.	The standing king. Frilled upper dress and frilled pyjama, coming up to the knees. The left hand is placed on the waist and the r.hand hanging below as though sacrificing. Insc. Śrī Toramāṇa	Seated Lakṣmī	Ashmolean Mus.Oxford specimen given by Cunn.& Elliot. (Stein.N.Ch.,1899.X. 14;I.M.C.NC.pl.27, figs.2,3;Taxila.- Arch.Exca.Acc.rare coins.no.315;Supl. I.M.C.C.no.7443). (See.Pl.II.fig.13)
43. AE 3.22.	Standing king.3/4 of his figure is visible Wearing long tunic. R.hand turned in the manner of sacrificing The altar is not seen. No inscription.	Wheel above, horizontal line in between. Letters =Tora below.	B.M.specimen given by J.P. Rawlins. (See. Pl.II.fig.14).
44. AE	Out line of fire altar above, Śrī To in large letters below.	Rude throned goddess.	Found in Plateau of Manaswal situated in the outer range of Siwalik hills.(Smith J.R.A.S.,1907.p.91-99.pl.I.1.)
45. AE. 16 specimens. Wt.varies between 2.29 to 4.43.	Rude face of the king turned r., with diadem on the back and on the front field letter 𑀩 or 𑀢 ='Bra'or 'tu'	Wheel above horizontal line and below letters Tora.	Mostly found in the Punjab and in the countries between the Sutlaj and Jamuna (N.CH.1896.p.253) B.M.specimen given by Whitehead,Cunn,Smith,

Metal & Wt.	Obverse	Reverse	Findspots & Refs.
			R.Cornac, Rawlins, Swiney, Armitage, etc. (Rapson.I.C.IV.19; I.M.C.C.pl.XXV.4.; Prinsep.pl.33.15.& 16, pl.34.6.) (See. Pl.II.fig.15).
46. AE. 3.25.	Another variety of the above coins. The bust facing left, which is unique.	Wheel above horizontal line and below letters [illegible] Tora.	B.M.specimen presented by Rawlins.1922.
47. AE. 3.42.	Another variety. King wearing helmet, decorated with crescent, facing r.; front field ꠇ and on back field ꠇ.	"	B.M.specimen presented by Cunningham.XII. 1177.
48. AR. 2.13. 2.47.	Gupta style of Saurāstra and Mālava variety. King facing r. On front field numeral 52.	Dancing peacock. Insc. around. ꠀꠄꠇꠀꠉꠀꠉꠇꠊꠎ ꠃꠇꠉꠊꠊꠀꠄꠀꠉꠄꠀ Vijitāvaniravani pati Śrī Toramāna devajayati.	B.M.specimens given by Bush & Baring. (Smith.J.R.A.S.,1889. M.I.C.Pl.II.fig.11.) (See.Pl.II.fig.16.)
49. AE. 7.77 8.16	King standing to left holding spear in l. hand. Insc. Śāhi Hiranyakula.	Seated Lakṣmī.	B.M.two specimens presented by Cunn. XII,248,249.(N.Ch.1894 pl.VIII.10.) (See. Pl.II.fig.17.)
50. AR 2.66 3.51	The king facing r. trident behind. Bull standard on front field, crescent on the headdress. Insc. above the portrait of the king ꠄꠄꠇꠀꠄꠀꠉꠊꠎ Jayatu Mihirakula.	Indistinct fire altar.	B.M.two specimens given by Cunn.XII.266, and India Office Col. no.2372.(N.Ch.1894. VIII.3; Rapson.op.cit. IV.20; Whitehead.J.P. A.S.B.,1913.p.482, coin.13) (See. Pl.II.fig.18.)

Metal & Wt.	Obverse	Reverse	Findspots & Refs.
51. AR 3.77	A variety of the above. King facing r., crescent above helmet. Triśūla and Bull seated on front field. At his back a spear. Insc. Jayatu Mihirakula.	Long fire-altar guarded by men holding spears.	B.M. specimen presented by Whitehead. no. 3730.
52. AR. 3.43 3.51	Bust of the king turned r., crescent above headdress, Ribbon hanging behind, beaded earring and garland. Bull on front field and trident behind head. Insc. Jayatu Vṛṣadhvaja.	Fire-altar.	B.M. two specimens given by Cunningham. XII.288,299. (N.Ch., 1894.VIII.4.) (See. Pl.II.fig.19)
53. AE. many specimens in BM. Wt. varies between 2.36 to 3.73.	King with crescented helmet, turned r., dotted border. Insc. on front field Śrī Mihirakula.	Humped bull walking to l., Triśūla or wheel in front of the bull. Insc. Jayatu Vṛṣa. (In some specimens there is a wheel below bull & no insc.)	B.M. specimens presented by Cunningham, Clive, Bayley, Rawlins, Cornac, etc. (N.Ch. 1894, VIII.1; I.M.C.C.XXV.5.) (See. Pl.II.fig.20.)
54. AE. .42.	Bust facing r. Ephthalite symbol on front field (Possibly posthumous coins of Mihirakula)	Humped bull walking r.	I.M.C.C.p.237.pl.XXV. no.7.
55. AE. Thick coins wt. varying between 6.86-7.63.	Standing king in Kuṣāṇa style, wearing Scythian tunic, holding the staff in his left hand and sacrificing with his r.hand. On the left field insc. Śāhi, and r.field Mihiragula	Seated Lakṣmī with cornucopiae.	B.M. many specimens presented by Cunn. and Spink. (N.Ch.1894.VIII.8; I.M.C.C.p.237.) (See. Pl.III.fig.1.)
56. AE. 12.2.	'Mihi' above, below fire-altar. On the two sides 'Da' & 'Ta'	Elephant standing r.	Found in plateau of Manaswal. (Smith, J.R.A.S., 1907.)

Metal & Wt.	Obverse	Reverse	Findspots & Refs.
57. AV. 7.25.	Standing king. Under l. arm Kida(ra).(degraded style).	Seated Laksmī inscription Yaśovarman.	Found in Manikyala Stupa(Cunn.C.M.I.C,p.44.Pl.III.11.;Rapson I.C.IV.22.;Sup.I.M.C.C. p.67.no.9133.) (See.Pl.III.fig.2.)
58. AV. 7.409. 3.226.	Standing degraded figure of the king. Insc. on the r.field Śrī Yaśova(rma),on the l.field in small letters Kada(?)	The king standing facing r.dotted & head. The insc. on the r.field 'Kida' on the l.field small 'ra'.	Ashmolean Mus. legs Oxford. two specimens given by Cunningham. (See. Pl.III.fig.3)
59. AV.	King standing facing front. Left hand on hip, r.hand raised; two figures seated below on r.& l. Insc. on l.field Śri Pravarasena.	Laksmī seated on lion.lotus in l.hand. Vase of flower to l.Legend on l.written perpendicularly - Kidara	(Cunn.,M.I.C.Pl.III., 3.) (See.Pl.III..fig.4.)
60.AV. .120	Degraded figure of king standing to l. Triśūla on l.field.He holds a sceptre,surmounted by a crescent by his l. hand.Under l.arm perpendicular insc.Kida(ra)	Laksmī seated lotus in her l. hand.Insc.on the l.field.'Śrī Pravara.'	B.M.specimen given by Cunningham. (M.I.C. pl.III.4) (See. Pl.III.fig.5.)
61. AV 5.49.	Standing king facing r. helmet-like headdress. A Triśūla in the l.field Holding a staff in his l.hand. R.hand turned in the fashion of sacrificing on the altar. The insc. on the r. field [illegible] =Rudra Sāhi(?)	Seated Laksmī wrapped in a long dress, reaching down to the ankles. Scratches on the field.No.insc.	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford,specimen given by Cunn. (See.Pl.III.,fig.6)
62. AR.	Beardless head of the king to r.,crescent on helmet.Large crescent behind shoulders, long	Indistinct.	B.M.specimen given by Cunn.XII.273. (Cunn.N.Ch. 1894, Pl.VII.11.)

Metal & Wt.	Obverse	Reverse	Findspots & Refs
62.(cont.)	earrings. Ornamental wheel before face. Ephthalite symbol behind head. Legend: Deva Śāhi Khiṅgila.		(resembles the Śāhi Jabula coins & Lakhana Udayāditya coins (See.Pl.III.fig. 7.)
63. AR. 7 specimens. Wt.varies between 3.40 to 3.72.	Beradless head of the king towards r. ~~crescent on helmet~~. Ephthalite symbol on the back field. In front देव .There is a monogram on l. field. which in most of the specimens is blurred, but in some specimens characters like ल which may be a corrupt form of Brahmi ला ल If this is correct the whole inscription would be Khi(ṅ)gila.	Indistinct.	Found from Hidda Tope.(Ar.Ant., XVI.8.p.395; N.Ch.1894.IX.1. very similar to the old Jabula coins. (See.Pl.III., fig.8.)
64. AE. .45	Bust to r.,diademed.	Vessel. Insc.l.- Khi to r.-ṅgi.	Rawlins collected coins of this ~~xxx~~ class,some circular, some square from the Punjab.(now in A.S.B.collection I.M.C.C.Pl.XXVII i.p.267.)
65. AV. .115	Rude figure of king standing. Under l.arm Kida(ra).	Rude seated goddess to r. Śrī Narendra.	Found from Kuram valley. (M.I.C.,III.5, p.43.) (See. Pi.III., fig.11.)
66. AE. 19 specimens examined Wt.varies between 2.58 to 3.85.	Bust of the king facing r.crescent on headdress, fillet hanging behind. Legend: Jayatu Narendra.	Fire-altar on a two wheeled platform. Two guards on the two sides.	Many specimens in B.M.(similar to Mihirakula's Jayatu Vṛṣadhavaja' coins). N.Ch.1894.IX.12) (See.Pl.III.fig.9.)

Metal & Wt.	Obverse	Reverse	Findspots & Refs
67. AE .57.	King seated to front, r. hand on hip, l. hand holding a sceptre.	Seated Lakṣmī holding lotus in l. hand. Legend: Jayatu Śrī Narendra.	(Cunn.N.Ch. Pl.IX.13.) (See.Pl.III. fig.10.)
68. AE. 10 specimens examined Wt varies between .99 to 1.92	Rude face of the king turned r. Dotted line below the inscription. ⊓EI T(u)jina = T(uñ)jina?	Wheel above, below 'Śrī Prakāśāditya'	B.M. specimens given by Rawlins in 1922. (J.R.A.S 1907, Smith.p.91 -99. pl. I, fig.4.) (See. Pl.III., fig.12.)
69. AE. 1.11, 1.62.	Face of the king turned right; helmeted; in front inscription ⊓EI Not very clear, Probably intended for Śrī T(uñ)j(i)na.	Wheel above, in the middle horizontal line below an indistinct inscription - ...⊔⊓ = (Ja)yat(u)?	B.M. two specimen presented by Rawlins in 1922 and 1928.
70. AR 3.63 3.81 3.42	Beardless bust of the king to r., moustached, crescent on long helmet, fillet hanging behind. Long hanging beaded earring. Beaded necklace. Inscription.-(rā)jā Lakhṇa Udayāditya.	répoussé	B.M. three specimens. Two given by Cunn.XII,211, XII.1160. One by R.Burn in 1949. (Prinsep's Essays I.411. Thomas proposes to read Jamala; Cunn. N.Ch.VII.12.p.279 (Very similar to the coins of Śāhi Jabula & Devaśāhi Khiṅgila) (See Pl.III.fig.13
71. AE. 7.94	Seated king facing l. holding a flower in his l. hand and r. hand placed on his chest. Insc. on left field :- Śāhi Jara. (Another variety: standing sacrificing king holding a staff. Insc.:- Śāhi Jara.)	Seated Lakṣmī with lotus in her r. hand.	B.M. specimen given by Cunn. XII.249. (Very similar to N.Ch. 1894.VIII.11,12.) (See Pl.III.fig.14, 15.)

Metal & Wt.	Obverse	Reverse	Findspot && Refs.
72. AR. 2.73. 3.06 3.36	Beardless king to r. Helmet with trident & fillet hanging behind, shell on the l.field, flower in front. Inscription: Jayatu Jarana	Indistinct, fire-altar.	B.M.specimens given byMajor Hay & Cunn. XII.1170.(Very similar N.Ch. 1894.IX.2-3.) (See.Pl.III.fig.16)
73. AE. 1.93 2.07 2.23	Rude face of the king, in front. Club(?) dotted border.	Wheel above,in the middle horizontal line below Uditāditya.	B.M.specimens given by Rawlins in 1922,(Smith. J.R.A.S.1907. p.91-99.fig.9.)
74. AR. 3.77.	Beradless head ~~xxxx~~ to r.Crescent on helmet; fillet hanging behind; on front field a shell with bust of an animal;inscription:- Pūrmāditya.	Indistinct.	~~I~~ndia Office Col.no.2373. (Prinsep's Essay p.411.)
75. AR 53.79	Similar to the above In front field a wheel on lotus & Ephthalite symbol behind. Legend Pūrvāditya.	Indistinct fire -altar.	Three specimens in B.M.given by Rodgers,Cunn, and India Office Col.(N.Ch.1894, IX.7.) Very similar to the early Śāhi coin (See Pl.III.fig.17)
76. AR 3.55 3.25 AE 3.71	Beardless king with moustache, facing r., Crescent on helmet, fillet hahging behind. Inscription above:- [illegible] Jayatu Baya(la?)dara.	"	B.M.silver specimens given by Whitehead and a copper one by Cunn. (~~xxx~~.XII. 301.(J.A.S.B.1913 p.483.pl.XI.no. 15.) (See.Pl.III.fig.18)

Metal & Wt.	Obverse	Reverse	Findspots & Refs
77. AR. 3.63. 3.86 3.70	Beardless head of king to r.;altar to r.to l. Swastika; legend? Jayatu Bayara Khotalana.	Fire-altar.	B.M.specimens given by Cunn. XII.1169,290. and ~~Collection~~ of H.I.Jones, 1912.(N.Ch.1894. IX.16.
78. AR. 1.1	Beardless head of the king to l. Ephthalite symbol behind. Small fire-altar on front field. Inscription:- Sahi Maboma.	Indistinct	B.M.specimen given by Cunn. XII.289. (N.Ch.1894.IX. 15).

APPENDIX - II

CONTEMPORARY POLITICS OF NORTHERN INDIA DURING THE TIME OF PRAVARASENA - II.

The Guptas of Mālava:- H.C.Raychaudhuri[1] is of the opinion that the Guptas of Málava were the descendants of the Imperial Guptas. He refers to the Damodar plate of A.D. 533-34[2], which mentions a certain Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Pṛthvīpati as governing the Puṇḍravardhana Bhukti. The name of this emperor is lost. Raychaudhuri tries to identify this king with the ancestors of the Gupta king Ādityasena. The Aphsad inscription[3] of Ādityasena however, reveals the names of a number of Gupta kings who were his ancestors. The fourth of these Gupta kings was Kumāra Gupta who is mentioned in the Harha Haraha inscription[4] as the contemporary of the Maukhari king Īśāṇavarman, and therefore, must have been ruling about A.D.554. The three predecessors of Kumāra Gupta were Kṛṣṇa Gupta, Harṣa Gupta and Jīvita Gupta, as disclosed by the same Aphsad inscription. Raychaudhuri believes that amongst these three Gupta kings one must be the

1. H.C.Raychaudhuri.- Gupta empire in 6th and 7th centuries A.D.,J.A.S.B.(new series),XVI.p.317-18.
2. E.I. XV.p.115.no.7.
3. C.I.I.,III.no.42.
4. E.I.,XIV.p.120.

Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Pṛthvīpati of Puṇḍravardhana Bhukti, ruling there in A.D.533-34.

Raychaudhuri's supposition is not beyond criticism. The chief objection is that none of the early ancestors of Ādityasena had manifestly royal titles, such as Paramabhaṭṭāraka, etc. They were simply called Śrī[1]. This certainly makes us doubtful about identifying any of them with the king of the Damodar plate of A.D. 533-34.

The second criticism is that we have a good deal of doubt whether the earlier predecessors of Ādityasena had anything to do with the eastern province of Magadha. There is no mention of the territory of these kings in any records of the family. On the other hand, from the Deobarnark inscription[2] of Jīvita Gupta II it is quite clear that after the Imperial Guptas Magadha was dominated by the Maukharis and not by the later Gupta kings, which shows that they had nothing to do with that area. The Harṣacarita[3] on the other hand locates the Guptas in Mālava. Thus it is probable as R.K.Mukherji[4] has suggested, that Kṛṣṇa Gupta and his successors, till the overthrow of Deva Gupta in A.D. 605, were ruling in Mālava. It was only after Deva Gupta that Harṣavardhana appointed his friend and ally Mādhava Gupta[5]

1. C.I.I., III,no.42.
2. Ibid. III, no. 45.
3. Harṣacarita; tr. by Cowell. p.119.
4. J.I.H.,1925.p.19.f.n.i.;R.D.Banerji.-History of Bengal (in Bengali). p.105.
5. The Aphsad inscription says that Mādhava Gupta had the desire to associate himself with Harṣadeva.(C.I.I.,III. p.207.)The Harṣacarita mentions Mādhava Gupta as a friend of Harṣa.(Tr. by Cowell,p.224-5.)

in Magadha, whence the later Gupta family became associated with ~~the~~ Magadha. If it is accepted that Kṛṣṇa Gupta and his successors up to Deva Gupta were ruling in Mālava, this will definitely contradict the theory of Raychaudhuri who thinks that one among the first three predecessors of Ādityasena, as described in the Aphsad inscription, was identical with the king of the Damodar inscription of A.D. 533-34.

According to the Aphsad inscription, the first king of the later Gupta dynasty was Kṛṣṇa Gupta. Dr. Bloch[1] infers from a clay seal, discovered in Vaiśali and inscribed with the name of Govinda Gupta, son of emperor Candra Gupta II and Dhruvasvāminī, that Govinda Gupta was identical with Kṛṣṇa Gupta of the Aphsad inscription, because the names Govinda and Kṛṣṇa refers to the same deity. The identification is absolutely unacceptable because the date of Kṛṣṇa Gupta cannot tally with that of Govinda Gupta. No details are known about this Kṛṣṇa Gupta of Mālava. He is described in the Aphsad inscription as a man of learning and valour.

The Aphsad inscription says that the next king was Harṣa Gupta,"who,raining down a terrible flight of arrows from his firm bow ... was always displaying a glorious triumph."[2] Nothing else is known about him from the records of his family, but interesting information is given by the

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1. Arch.Sur.Ind. Annual Rep. 1903-4. p.102.
2. C.I.I.,III.p.205.

Asirgadh copper seal inscription[1] of Śarvavarman, which says that Ādityavarman, father of Īśvaravarman, had a queen named Harṣa Guptā. It is well known that in those days it was a prevalent custom among royal families to give the same name to a brother and a sister. Thus it is very probably that Harṣa Guptā, wife of Ādityavarman, was a sister of Harṣa Gupta. The title of the Guptas, may still had have some halo from the glory of past history, and this encouraged the growing royal dynasties to marry the daughters of the Gupta family, and stimulated their imperial ambitions.

The successor of Harṣa Guptā was Jīvita Gupta, who was almost certainly a contemporary of Īśvaravarman Maukhari, as his father Harṣa Gupta was the contemporary of Ādityavarman and his son Kumāra Gupta boasts of his fight with Īśvāṇavarman. The Aphsad inscription is eloquent about Jīvita Gupta's valour and refers to him as the "crest jewel of kings" (Kṣitiṣa-cūḍāmaṇi).

The fourth king in the succession was Kumāra Gupta. He was apparently a stronger king and according to the Aphsad inscription he "quickly churned that formidable milk ocean, which was the army of Śrī Īśāṇavarman." His victory over the Maukhari Īśāṇavarman is further confirmed by the following lines of the inscription, which say that he went to Prayāga and sacrificed himself in the sacred fire. As Prayāga was

1. C.I.I. III, no. 47.

previously under the Maukharis, the Aphsad inscription proves its occupation by the Gupta king Kumāra Gupta.

In the next generation came the king Dāmodara Gupta. He also boasts of "breaking up the proudly-stepping array of mighty elephants belonging to the Maukharis." As Īśānavarman was the king who fought with Kumāra Gupta, his son Śarvavarman must be the ~~king of~~ Maukhari king who clashed with Dāmodara Gupta. In this battle between Dāmodara Gupta and Śarvavarman, the Gupta chief "became unconscious", which apparently implies that he was killed.

His son and successor was Mahāsena Gupta. He is described in the Aphsad inscription as defeating Susthitavarman, "the fame of which (victory) was still constantly sung on the banks of the (river) Lauhitya." As the river Lauhitya is the Brahmaputra it is thought by many writers such as Raychaudhuri[1], that Susthitavarman was a king of Kāmrupa, which is on the banks of the Brahmaputra river. Susthitavarman was certainly the name of the predecessor of Bhāskaravarman of Assam. The Madhuban grant[2] and the Sonapat copper seal inscription[3] of Harsa say that the name of the mother of Prabhākaravardhana was Mahāsena Guptā. It is very probable that this princess was the sister of the Malava king Mahāsena Gupta. In this case Mahāsena Gupta was the

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1. J.A.S.B., 1921. p.321.
2. E.I. , I.p.72.
3. C.I.I.,III.no.52.

contemporary of Ādityavardhana.

In the Aphsad inscription, the next king mentioned in the Gupta chronology is Mādhava Gupta. We know from Harṣacarita[1] that two Gupta princes, Mādhava Gupta and Kumāra Gupta, were sent to Thanesar to wait upon Rājya and Harṣa. This Mādhava Gupta ,the companion of Harṣa, may be identical with Mādhava Gupta of the inscription, for there he is referred to as cherishing the desire of associating himself with Harṣa.

When Prabhākaravardhana came to the throne, he was not on good terms with the Guptas of Mālava, for Bāṇa speaks of him as 'an axe to the creeper of the Mālava glory'[2]. It is not likely that Prabhākara would have fought with his maternal uncle Mahāsena Gupta. So there should be another Gupta king between Mahāsena and Mādhava Gupta. In the Harṣacarita itself a certain Mālava king is mentioned,whose disposition was wicked and who, soon after the death of Prabhākara, caused the death of the Maukhari king Grahavarman, the husband of Rājyaśrī. This wicked Mālava chief has been identified with Deva Gupta of the Madhuban[3] and Banskhera[4] inscriptions of Harṣa, who 'resembled wicked horses' and who was killed by Rājyavardhana. In the short rule of Rājya as depicted in the Harṣacarita, he conquered only this Mālava king.

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1. Harṣacarita; tr. by Cowell. p.119.
2. Ibid. p.101.
3. E.I.,I.p.72.
4. E.I.,I.p.208.

Rājya's companion Bhandi is depicted as bringing "the Mālava king's whole force conquered by Rājya"[1], when after Rājya's death he met Harṣa. This account of the Harṣacarita therefore confirms the Madhuban and Banskhera inscriptions of Harṣa, and it is thus beyond doubt that it was Deva Gupta who was ruling during the period of Prabhākaravardhana, and it was he who created trouble in the Maukhari house, in consequence of which he was killed by Rājya. Rājya heard the news of Deva Gupta's wicked deeds at the very time of his accession. This indicates that at the time of Prabhākara's death Deva Gupta had long been ~~as~~ settled in Mālava. Probably after Mahāsena Gupta, who was the maternal uncle of Prabhākara, this wicked prince Deva Gupta occupied the Malava throne, and turned Prabhākara against the Guptas. Prabhākara therefore became "an axe to the creeper of Mālava" and forced Deva Gupta to surrender Mādhava and Kumāra. The question arises as to how and why Mādhava and Kumāra became friends of the Vardhana family while another member of their own family and possibly their elder brother Deva Gupta was the Vardhana's bitter enemy ? Vaidya's[2] suggestion is quite plausible. He thinks that "Kumāra and Mādhava were not merely the younger brothers of Deva Gupta but were his half-borthers. There is always ill feeling even in ordinary families between half-brothers, and in royal families in India such brothers are usually at deadly enmity". Thus on this assumption we

1. Harṣacarita; tr.by Cowell.p.223.
2. C.V.Vaidya.-History of Mediaeval Hindu India.1924.I.p.35

may presume that Deva Gupta, being defeated, or threatened by Prabhākara, surrendered his two half-brothers, Mādhava and Kumāra, who were in fact dengers to his own comfort. Prabhākara on the other hand was pleased to have them, and regarded them as his own sons, thinking it good to save them from their wicked elder brother Deva Gupta. About the later history of Kumāra Gupta we do not have much evidence, but about Mādhava Gupta we know from Bāṇa that he accompanied Harṣa in search of Rājyaśrī when she fled to the Vindhyas[1]. In the Aphsad inscription[2] of Ādityasena, Mādhava Mx is regarded as the successor of Mahāsena Gupta. It is interesting that the Deobarnark inscription[3] refers to Mādhava Gupta as the first king of the dynasty. None of the Gupta records mentions the name of Deva Gupta. It has generally been thought that, after the death of Deva Gupta, the Guptas ceased to rule in Mālava, which was then occupied by Harṣa. When Hsüan-tsang came to Ujjain he saw there a Brahmin king, who was possibly appointed by Harsa as a governor, or who occupied Ujjain during the troublesome period which followed the death of Deva Gupta and was accepted by Harṣa as the local ruler. Later Harṣa appointed Mādhava Gupta as the ruler of Magadha. It was Mādhava Gupta who originated the Gupta rule in Magadha

1. Harṣacarita; tr. by Cowell. p.224-5.
2. C.I.I., III.no.42.
3. Ibid, III, no.45.

and therefore his successor Jīvita Gupta did not find it necessary to record his relationship with the earlier members of his family who had no connection of Magadha. It is also suggested that as Ādityasena was not directly descended from Deva Gupta, he omitted his name from the chronological list of his family and mentioned only his own father Mādhava, Gupta, immediately after his grandfather Mahāsena Gupta.

This brief account of the Guptas, up to the death of Deva Gupta, makes it clear that soon after the downfall of Yaśodharman Vikramāditya of Mālava the province was occupied by these Guptas who ruled in succession over the country. Śīlāditya of Mālava recorded by Hsüan-tsang in fact reigned there after the death of Deva Gupta.[1] During this whole period, we have seen that there is no mention of a second Mālava king Śīlāditya. And therefore there is hardly any possibility that there was any successor of Yaśodharman, to continue his lineage in Mālava after him.

THE MAUKHARIS OF KANAUJ :-

The Maukharis of Kanauj, who came to prominence in the 6th century A.D., had an ancient history, for we can trace their existence to much earlier times. Kaiyaṭa and Vāmana, in citing a rule of Pāṇini's grammar, refer to the word Maukharyā in the aphorism[2] explaining the formation of a word with the Śyañ suffix. This example had led scholars, such

1. See below p. 377.
2. Pāṇini. IV.i.79.

as Pires[1] and Tripathi[2] to believe that the Maukharis were known even to Pāṇini. Fleet[3] further refers to a clay seal, inscribed with the word Mokhalinām, written in the Mauryan Brāhmī character, and found by Cunningham at Gaya. This gives evidence of the existence of the Maukharis during the period of Aśoka. A few years ago Altekar found in Kota state some stone inscriptions of a Maukhari family, and these yield the date Kṛta era 294. As the Kṛta era is an earlier name of the Mālava era, which was still later known as Vikrama, the inscriptions give evidence of the Maukharis in the 3rd century A.D.[4] Vāmana and Kaiyaṭa take the term Maukharyā as signifying the descendants of Mukhara. Similarly the Harṣacarita refers to Grahavarman as belonging to the family of the Mukharas[5]. It is not certain whether Mukhara was a personal name or a dynastic epithet. Hirananda Shastri takes it as a surname[6]. The Haraha inscription appears to connect the descent of the Maukharis with "the descendants of the hundred sons whom king Aśvapati got from Vaivaśvata [7]. N.R.Ray[8] and Pires[9] regard the Maukharis as the Somavaṁśī kṣatriyas on the basis of a comment of Harṣacarita. Bāṇa says "Soma-sūrya-vaṁśaviva Puṣpabhūti-Mukhara-vaṁśau"

1. Pires.- The Maukharis. 1934. p.10-11.
2. Tripathi.- History of Kanauj. 1937. p.26.
3. Fleet., C.I.I., III, Introduction. p.14.
4. Tripathi. op.cit. p. 27, f.n.3.
5. Harṣacarita; tr. by Cowell. p.122, 128.
6. E.I., XIV, p.111.
7. Ibid., p.119, vs.3.
8. Cal.Rev., 1928, No.2, p.208.
9. Pires.- op.cit. p.12.

Pires thinks that as the Puṣpabhutis were Sūryavaṁśis, the Maukharis must have belonged to the lunar race. But the hypothesis is gratuitous, as there are definite grounds for believing that the Puṣpabhutis were not Sūrya-vaṁśi Kṣatriyas. Their names ending in Bhūti and Vardhana and the comment of Hsüan-tsang that they belonged to the Fei-shê (vaiśya) caste, throw doubt on the statement of Bana as far as it applies to the Puṣpabhūtis. This weakens the case of the Maukharis as well. But even if this is so, it is not clear to which particular Kṣatriya group they belonged, though it is probable that they were Kṣatriyaa, as their names ending in Varman suggest.

The Maukharis had two distinct branches, one of which, composed of the descendants of Harivarman, most probably ruled in Kanauj, as the last recorded member of this family, Grahavarman is clearly said by Bāṇa to have been a Kanauj king. The other family resided in the Gaya district. The Barabar and Nagarjuni hill inscriptions[1] reveal the names of three Maukhari kings of Gaya - Yajñavarman, Śārdūlavarman, and Anantavarman. These Maukharis are given unpretentious general title like 'nṛpa', and the second king of the family is certainly mentioned as Sāmanta Cūḍāmaṇi which suggests that this branch of the family never produced more than the local chiefs.

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1. CI.I., III.nos. 48, 50.

The branch of the Maukharis, which attracts our primary attention was that ruling in Kanauj. Harivarman appears to have been the founder of the Maukhari house there. The Haraha inscription[1] gives him the proud epithet of Jvālāmukha or 'flame-faced'. The Asirgadh seal inscription calls him "The illustrious Mahārāja" and proclaims that his fame "stretched out beyond the four oceans"[2] Allowing for the exaggerations of the Praśasti it seems that Harivarman was of considerable importance, because he for the first time endowed the Maukharis with an imperial ambition, though he himself could not attain a higher status than Mahārāja, which signified in those days of imperial grandeur, nothing more than a petty king. The Asirgadh seal gives the name Jaya-svāminī for the queen of Harivarman. On the basis of the Aphsad stone inscription, Pires[3] is of the opinion that Kṛṣna Gupta of Mālava was the contemporary of Harivarman. Aravamuthan[4] suggests that Harivarman was possibly ruling around A.D. 480. Pires also thinks that as the Aphsad inscription credits Kṛṣna Gupta with "bruising the foreheads of the array of rutting elephants of his haughty enemies"[5], it is quite possible that these haughty enemies were Maukharis. According to Pires the contest was a draw and as the result

1. E.I., XIV, p.120.
2. C.I.I., III, no. 47.
3. Pires.- The Maukharis. p.62-3.
4. Aravamuthan.- The Kaveri, the Maukharis, the Sangam age. p.108
5. C.I.I., III, p.205.

of the truce Kṛṣṇa Gupta had to give his daughter Harṣa Guptā in wedlock to Ādityavarman, son of Harivarman. The suggestion is plausible, as we definitely know that Harṣa Guptā was the queen of Harivarman's son and successor. But the laudatory inscription of Aphsad is not very solid evidence of a battle between the two families.

The Maukhari sceptre passed to Ādityavarman after the death of Harivarman. As we have seen, he married the sister of the Mālava king Harṣa Gupta. He is chiefly represented as a religious man, through whom 'the creator obtained the full result of his laying down the regulations of right conduct for the four castes and the stages of life"[1]. Again in the Jaunpur inscription he is mentioned as acquiring "religious merit arising from sacrifices[2]". He also remained throughout his career a Mahārāja.

About the next king Īśvaravarman, a dubious theory has arisen from the fragmentary inscription of Jaunpur. It refers to some victorious engagements of a certain Maukhari king, whose exact identification is not clear, because of the damage of the inscription. But we can agree with Pires and Tripathi that the military achievements recorded here were most probably those of Īśvaravarman. The record says "a spark of fire that had come by the road from (the city of) Dhāra ... the lord of the Āndhras ... wholly given over to

1. E.I., XIV, p.119.
2. C.I.I., III.p.229-30.

his abode in the recesses of the Vindhya

fear took up mountain ... went to the Raivataka mountain ... among the worriors of the Āndhra army who were spread out among the troops of elephants (and) whose arms were studded with the lustre of (their) swords drawn out."

Even if we ascribe all these contests to Īśvaravarman, who emerged triumphant in the trial of arms, we cannot say that in his career he reached the status of a paramount master. The Asirgadh seal calls him Mahārāja[1], the Haraha inscription gives him the appellation Kṣitipati[2], the Jaunpur inscription styles him as a nṛpati[3]. But while accepting his status as a secondary king, we must recognise that he raised the imperial ambitions of the Maukharis. The Haraha inscription says that "to obtain martial glory" Ādityavarman "caused the birth of Īśvaravarman". He was married to Upaguptā, who was, as her name suggests, apparently a member of the Gupta family. In the period of this monarch no contest with the Mālava Guptas is recorded.

Īṣāṇavarman was the son and successor of Īśvaravarman. He was the first king with whom the Guptas of Mālava broke their amicable relations and entered into enmity. The wife of Īśvāṇavarman is recorded in the Asirgadh seal as the Mahādevī Lakṣmīdevī. The matrimonial alliances between the Guptas and the Maukharis being terminated ,

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1. C.I.I., III, no.47.
2. E.I., XIV. p.120.
3. C.I.I., III. p.229-30.

Iṣāṇavarman attempted to gain imperial status. The Haraha inscription which is dated in Vikrama/saṁ 611 and engraved during the period of Īṣāṇavarman's supremacy records xx his victories over the Āndhra, Śulika and Gauḍa chiefs.[1] According to Raychaudhuri, the Āndhra king was probably Mādhavavarman II, of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin family who "crossed the Godāvari with the desire to conquer the eastern region".[2] Pt. H.Shastri thinks that the Śulikas were connected with the family of Śaulika of the Brhat Saṁhitā and Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa and resided somewhere in the Kalinga country[3]. Raychaudhuri regards these Śulikas as xxxxxx Cālukyas and the Gauḍas as the people of West Bengal who were living in a region bordering the sea. These victories permitted Īṣāṇavarman to assume imperialist titles. The Asirgadh seal gives him the title Mahārājādhirāja. It is quite clear from the Aphsad inscription that the majestic rise of the Maukharis increased the enmity of the Mālava Guptas and therefore we find xxxxxxx Kumāra Gupta claiming a successful fight against the glorious Īṣāṇavarman. The Aphsad inscription also says that Kumāra Gupta's funeral rites took place in Prayāga, which makes us believe that owing to the antagonism of the Guptas, the Maukharis suffered a temporary set-back in their newly

1. E.I. XIV. p.120 vs. 21
2. P.H.A.I. p. 370
3. E.I. XIV. p.112

acquired prestige and for the time being Prayāga was occupied by the Guptas.

The next king in the Maukhari genealogical list was Īśānavarman's son Śarvavarman. Īśānavarman's known date from the Haraha inscription is V.S. 611 = A.D.533-34. On the basis of the reading of some Maukhari coins of Īśāna, Śarva and Avantivarman, Burn and Mukherji[1] have proposed that in the last year of Īśānavarman, Śarvavarman was also ruling jointly with him, for both of them struck coins, showing the figures 54 and 55. Śarvavarman's other coins read 58 and 234. They think that the ~~fi~~ figure~~s~~ in three digits stands for the Gupta Era ~~based~~ on A.D. 319 and thus it gives the date of Śarvavarman as A.D. 553. On the other hand N.G. Majumdar says that there is no date at all on the coins of Śarvavarman[2] and in this case we hesitate to accept the theory of Burn and Mukherji that Īśānavarman and Śarvavarman ruled jointly[3]. It is known from the Haraha inscription that Īśānavarman had another son Sūryavarman, who during the lifetime of his father raised a temple of Siva. No other record mentions the rule of Sūryavarman. It seems that either he predeceased his father or was worsted by his brother Śarvavarman in

1. J.R.A.S. 1906. p.849; J.I.H. 1925-6. p.22
2. I.A. Vol. XLVI. p.126
3. We have not been able to check these readings by a study of the coins, as no specimen are available in London

a fight for political ascendancy. The Asirgadh seal gives the rank of Mahārājādhirāja to Śarvavarman. He took revenge on the Guptas and established his supremacy over a vast area. The Aphsad inscription records that Dāmodara Gupta "breaking up the proudly-stepping array of mighty elephants, belonging to the Maukharis ... became unconscious"[1]. The natural significance of this is that Dāmodara Gupta lost his life in battle. The epigraph does not give the personal name of the Maukhari king who slew him. In the Asirgadh seal Śarvavarman is the only king who is specially styled Maukhari. Moreover, Dāmodara Gupta was apparently a contemporary of Īśāṇavarman. Therefore Śarvavarman's alleged victory over Dāmodara Gupta is not probable. Another of Śarvavarman's achievements is recorded in the Aphsad inscription. It praises the Maukhari king as "having thrown aloft in battle the troops of the Hūṇas" in order to trample them to death with elephants. The natural question arises, who was this Hūṇa king, who fought with the Maukharis? The Harṣacarita locates the Hunas in Uttarāpatha[2]. Bāṇa used the word Uttarāpatha when he mentioned an expedition sent by Prabhākaravardhana against the Hūṇas. In the Divyāvadāna, Taxila is described as a city of Uttarāpatha[3] and Rājaśekhara locates the country

1. C.I.I. III. p.203-6
2. Harṣacarita trans. by Cowell. p.150
3. Divyāvadāna; trans. Cowell. 1886. p.407

of Uttarāpatha to the west of Pṛthudaka i.e. modern Pehwa, in the Karnal district of the Punjab[1]. It is clear that in Prabhākara's time the Hūṇas were still powerful in Uttarāpatha, that is in the Taxila and the north-west Punjab. The dates of Prabhākara and Śarvavarman are not very far apart. It is probable that during Śarvavarman's time also the Hūṇas were ruling in at least parts of Uttarāpatha. We have seen that after Mihirakula's discomfiture and Mātṛgupta's abdication, Pravarasena was on the Hūṇa throne of Kashmir and north-west Punjab. Kalhaṇa, when describing the conquests and achievements of Pravarasena II, said "he thereafter caused the kings of the earth to bend low, and thus easily made his fame pervade all regions. By the flow of the (black) temple juice of his war-elephants he gave the splendour of a junction with the Kālindi to the Eastern Sea embraced by the Ganges"[2]. Pravarasena II is thus credited with a vast expeditionary force and with a powerful force of elephants. The Aphsad inscription,,which speaks of the greatness of Śarvavarman, attributes to him a victory over the war elephants of the Hūṇa army. It is quite possible that Śarvavarman clashed with Pravarasena II.

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1. Kāvyamīmāṃsā - XVII. 25 (Ed. & trans. N.Stchoupak et L. Renou, 1946. p.248)
2. Rājataraṅgiṇī - III. 324, 327
3. C.I.I. III. no.45

Sarvavarman's authority extended to Magadha, as is clear from the Deobarnark inscription[1], in which one Sarvavarman, identified with our Maukhari king, confirms a grant that was previously made by Bālāditya, most probably of the imperial Guptas.

About the successor of Sarvavarman, somewhat contradictory theories have been propounded on the basis of the Aphsad inscription. The inscription mentions a certain Susthitavarman who was defeated by Mahāsena Gupta. Fleet[2], Vaidya[3] and Mukherji[4] believe that this Susthitavarman was a Maukhari king and Mahāsena Gupta only continued the anti-Maukhari campaigns which his father and grandfather had pursued. On the other hand Raychaudhuri[5], Banerji[6], Aravamuthan[7], Tripathi[8] and Pires[9] suggest that this Susthitavarman was the Kāmarūpa king, whose existence is proved by the Harṣacarita[10], and by the Nidhanpur copper plate[11] and the Nalanda seal of Bhāskaravarman[12]. The Aphsad inscription indirectly supports the view that Susthitavarman was a Kāmarūpa king, as it says that the

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1. C.I.I. III. no. 45
2. Ibid. introduction. p.15
3. C.V. Vaidya - History of Mediaeval Hindu India. Vol. I, p.33.
4. J.I.H. 1925-6. pt.2. p. 18.
5. P.H.A.I. p.408
6. J.B.O.R.S. 1928. p.254
7. Aravamuthan - The Kaveri, the Maukharis, the Sangam age. p.93-4
8. Tripathi - History of Kanauj. 1937. p.47
9. Pires - The Maukharis. p.95-102
10. Harṣacarita trans. Cowell. p.217
11. E.I. XII. p.69
12. J.B.O.R.S. VI. p.151-2

praises of the victory gained by Mahāsena over this king were heard on the banks of the Lauhitya. Thus, rejecting the possiblity of Susthitavarman being a Maukhari king, we see that Śarvavarman was succeeded by Avantivarman. He was the contemporary of Prabhākaravardhana and he was praised by Bāṇa as the pride of the Mukhara race, which stands at the head of all royal houses. He took the daughter of Prabhākara for his son Grahavarman Maukhari.

When the Maukhari throne passed from Avantivarman to Grahavarman is not certain. We find Grahavarman as the Maukhari king at the time of Prabhākara's death. At this time the Gupta-Maukhari rivalry again flared up and resulted in the overthrow of both dynasties and the rise of Harṣa as the emperor of north India. The Mālava king Deva Gupta made an alliance with the Gauḍa king Śaśāṅka against Grahavarman Maukhari. The plan to attack him was devised before the death of Prabhākara, and as soon as Prabhākara expired the two kings attacked Kanauj and killed Grahavarman. Some account of this conpiracy was given by Bāṇa. He says "on the very day on which the king's death was announced, His Majesty Grahavarman was by the wicked lord of Malava cut off from the living, along with his noble deeds"[1] Prabhākara's death initiated a chain of tragedies in the four families of the Guptas, the Maukharis, the Gaudas and the Vardhanas. On the news of Grahavarman's murder, Rājyavardhan, who had only just

1. Harsacarita; tr. by Cowell. p. 173.

succeeded to the throne of Thanesar hurried towards Mālava to take revenge on the Mālava king. He was accompanied by his friend and general Bhaṇḍi. He defeated Deva Gupta, as the Madhuban and Banskhera inscriptions of Harṣa[1] inform us. The Gauḍa king Śaśāṅka, with a false cordiality asked the young Rājyavardhana to come to his camp, where he was treacherously assassinated, as the Harṣacarita[2] and Hsüan-tsang[3] record.

After the murder of Rājyavardhana the entire responsibility for maintaining resistance to the Gauḍas lay on Harṣa. Bhāskaravarman of Kāmrūpa sent him a mission. Encouraged by this new ally, Harṣa vowed revenge on Śaśāṅka, with the results that we have already seen.[4]

MAITRAKAS OF VALABHI : -

Who were the Maitrakas ? Earlier scholars like Fleet[5], Indraji[6], etc. believed that they were a sun-worshipping tribe, who were originally foreigners and were defeated by Bhaṭārka, an indigenous commander. This interpretation was given on the basis of a mistranslation of the Valabhi grants. But nowadays it has been accepted by all scholars that Bhaṭārka was not different from the Maitraka family but was its originator.[7]

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1. E.I., VII.p.155-60 ; Ibid. IV.p.208-11.
2. Harṣacarita; tr. by Cowell. p.178.
3. S. Beal .- Si-yu-ki. I.p.210.
4. See above p.354-55 There is evidence of some later survivors of the Maukharis like Pūrṇavarman(Arch.Sur.Ind., Rep.XV.p.166); Bhogavarman(C.I.I., III.p.187; E.I., V, p.74.) who continued Maukhari line after Harṣa.
5. I.A., VIII, p.303.
6. Bom.Gaz. IX.p.479.
7. J.B.B.R.A.S., XI.p.346; E.I., III, p.320.

The view that the Maitrakas were a sun-worshipping tribe is based on the assumption that the word Maitraka is derived from the name of the Vedic solar god Mitra, which was connected with the word Mihira, meaning the 'sun'. While ofcourse the the words Mitra and Mihira, both mean the 'sun', the derivative Maitraka ~~is b never used~~ is never used in Sanskrit for a sun-worshipper[1]. Moreover, the grants of this dynasty clearly show that the family were not the worshippers of the sun, but of Śiva and they cannot necessarily be linked ~~the Maitrakas~~ with the Mihira and thus with foreigners. The Maitrakas were apparently an indigenous tribe and their family name was derived from Sanskrit like those of the Maukharis and the Guptas[2]. Hsüan-tsang mentions this family as Kṣatriyas[3]. The Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa represents them as Vārāvatya Yādavas[4] and this is confirmed by the Jaina tradition recorded in the Śatruñjaya Mahātmya[5], which says that Śīlāditya of Valabhi a later descendant of the Maitrakas, belonged to the Yādava family of the lunar race. According to the Bardic legends the family of a certain Kanakasena migrated from Ayodhyā to Iahokot and went from there to Bīrnagar in Saurāṣṭra. Kanakasena's date is generally considered to be about A.D. 144. His fourth descendant is

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1. Jagannatha.-Early history of the Maitrakas of Valabhi. I.C.,V.p.408.
2. Vaidya.- History of Mediaeval Hindu India. p. 243.
3. S.Beal.- Si-yu-ki.II.p.246.
4. Jayaswal. - Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa p.24,vs.605-9.
5. Dhaneśvara Suri.- Śatruñjaya Mahātmya, sarga I, vs.14.

said to have been Vijayasena, who founded Vijayapura and subsequently Valabhipura, the capital of the Maitrakas.[1]

The first two kings of this family were Bhaṭārka and Dharasena I. Both assumed the title Senāpati. Their dates and the extent of their power are not known but can be guessed through the copper plate grant of Droṇasiṁha, successor of Dharasena I, issued in Val. Saṁ.183 =A.D.502.[2] As Droṇasiṁha had two predecessors we can say that they ruled approximately in c.A.D.480-500, and c.A.D.500-519, respectively. Droṇasiṁha was the first ruler who adopted the title Mahārāja, which gives evidence of his gaining more independence and power. In a Valabhi inscription it is mentioned that his coronation was held in the presence of the paramount sovereign himself[3]. The question arises as to who was the paramount master during this period from A.D.500 to 503 ? Commissariat[4] and Smith[5] suggest that he was the Hūṇa chief Toramāṇa, who occupied west Mālava. Bhagvan Lal Indraji[6] suggests that he was the Mandasor king Yaśodharman. K.K.Virji[7] thinks that this supreme lord was the Vākāṭaka king Harisena. Jagannath[8] and Majumdar[9] believe that this title could only have been used ~~only~~ for

1. Bom.Gaz. IX.p.462-495.
2. I.A.,I.p.312.
3. J.B.B.R.A.S.,XX,p.1 ; E.I.,XVI.p.17.
4. Commissariat.- History of Gujarat.p.49.
5. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~. E.H.I.,p.335
6. Bom.Gaz.I.i.p.88.
7. K.K.Virji.- Ancient history of Saurāṣtra.1955.p.28-9.
8. I.C.,V.p.407-414.
9. Majumdar.- The Classical Age. p.61.

the Imperial Guptas, in which dynasty, king Bhānu Gupta or Budha Gupta was ruling at this time. We think that the last suggestion is the most logical, because Yaśodharman could not have held the status of paramount ruler as early as A.D.500-03 The case of the Hūṇas and the Vākāṭakas is weak since the Maitrakas would not have remembered this event so gladly if a foreigner like a Hūṇa king or an invader like a Vākāṭaka king had to be mentioned. The imperial Guptas, though decaying, still had the halo of paramountcy attached to their names and it would have been gratifying for feudal lords like the Maitrakas to be enthroned by a Gupta monarch. No other event of Droṇasiṁha's reign is recorded in their epigraphs.

After Droṇasiṁha, his younger brother, Dhruvasena I ascended the throne. A number of grants dedicated by this king are found. They are dated and bear the various titles of Dhruvasena. The titles show the ups and downs in the career of this king. The exact year of his coronation is not specified in any record. We have seen that his elder brother started his rule around A.D.500 - 503. Therefore he may have died c.A.D.520, when Dhruvasena I ascended the throne as the Maitraka king. Dhruvasena's earliest grants are dated in Val.Saṁ.207[1](A.D.526) and Val.Saṁ.210(A.D.529)[2]. In these grants he is styled'Mahāsāmanta' and'Mahārāja'. Soon after these dates he seems to have been involved in external

1. An unpublished grant. It is in the collection of Mr.Sarabhai,Nawab of Ahmedabad.(Ref.:K.K.Virji - Op.cit. p.34.)

2. E.I. XVII.p.108; Ibid,XIX.p.125.

troubles and lost his title 'Mahārāja'. His grants dated Val.Saṁ 216 (A.D.535)[1] and Val.Saṁ.217[2] (A.D.536) were actually issued from his war-camp (vijaya-skandha-vārāt). What was the war in which he was involved ? We know that at this time Yaśadharman Viṣṇuvardhana of Mandasor was claiming the status of paramount master of north India. He overcame all the petty state in his neighbourhood. It is possible that the growing state of Valabhi also became a victim of his expansion. From now on, the tiiles given to Dhruvasena I are Mahāpratihāra Mahādaṇḍanāyaka, Mahākārttika, etc. These humiliating terms show that probably Dhruvasena had to bend before the imperialist aspirations of Yaśodharman.

But Yaśodharman did not long keep his neighbouring chiefs in subordination. His power must have collapsed in c.A.D.537, for in the grants of Dhruvasena I , dated Val Saṁ. 221[3] (A.D.540) to Val. Saṁ 226[4] (A.D.545) we find him regaining his old titles of Mahārāja and Mahāsāmanta. Not only this, but we have now two copper grants of a certain Garulaka family, one of which, dated Val.Saṁ.230[5], mentions Dhruvasena as the overlord. The generals of this family claim victory in many battles and boast of conquering Dvārikā. It is most probable that the Garulakas won these battles with the help

1. E.I. IV.p.104-7.
2. J.R.A.S. 1895.p.382.
3. Vienna Oriental Journal, VII.p.297.
4. J.B.B.R.A.S.,(N.S.) I.p.18.
5. E.I.,XI.p.17 ;Bom.Gaz.,VIII.p.590.

of the Maitrakas and obtained new territory for them. We should point out here that the down-fall of Yaśodharman which resulted into the reestablishment of the old titles of the Maitrakas, and the extention of their empire, leave little place for a powerful successor of Yaśodharman Vikramāditya. These points support us in contradicting the suggestion of Hoernle that Śilāditya of Hsüan-tsang and the Rājataraṅgiṇī was the son and successor of Yaśodharman and followed him as emperor in A.D.580-83.[1] The last grant of Dhruvasena I is dated Val.Saṁ.230(A.D.549)

The next king in succession was Dharapaṭṭa, the younger brother of Dhruvasena I. No grant was issued by this king has been discovered. But his approximate date can be settled by the last grant of his predecessor dated Val.Saṁ. 230(A.D.549) and the first grant of his son and successor dated Val.Saṁ.240[2](A.D.559). This gives a reign of a decade or less to Dharapaṭṭa. We have seen that after Bhaṭārka his three sons ruled one after another. Dharapaṭṭa was the youngest son of Bhaṭārka and come to the throne after the deaths of his two elder brothers. Naturally at the time of his accession he was rather old and could not in any case have ruled more than ten years.

Guhasena's earliest grant was of Val.Saṁ.240(A.D.559) He may well have ascended the throne a few years before that

1. see above p. 200-205
2. Bhavanagar inscriptions.p.31; I.A.,XV.p.187.

date. The earliest grant of Guhasena's successor is dated Val.Saṁ.252[1](A.D.571). Guhasena possibly ruled up to about A.D. 570. His other grants are dated in Val.Saṁ.246[2] (A.D.565) and Val.Saṁ.248(A.D.567)[3]. These grants give no details of Guhasena's political career. He is described as 'the ocean of possessing wealth' and 'a great warrior'[4] But we know of xxx no battles which he won. In his earlier grants he is described as Parama-Māheśvara, but later he xxxx seems to have been attracted towards Buddhism, and he gave a number of donations to the monks of his newly acquired faith. In the later records of the Maitraka family, issued from the reign of Śīlāditya I, Guhasena is mentioned in the genealogical lists immediately after Bhaṭārka, all his three predecessors being omitted. This suggests the greatness of Guhasena, which gave him such a magnificient status in the memories of his successors, that his xxxxxxxx immediate predecessors were forgotten.

Guhasena's son and successor Dharasena II ruled for about twenty years. The earliest grant of this king is dated Val.Saṁ.252[5](A.D.571) and the latest in Val.Saṁ.270[6](A.D.589). The latest known date of his father was Val.Saṁ.248 and the earliest record of his successor was

1. I.A.,XIV.p.187.
2. I.A.,IV.p.174 ; E.I.,XIII,p.338
3. I.A.,V.,p.207.
4. C.I.I.,III.p.168,line.1-15.
5. I.A.,XIV.p.187.
6. I.A.,VII.p.68,70 ; Ibid. VIII.p.301.

in Val.Saṁ.286[1](A.D.605). Therefore a reign of at least twenty years from A.D.570 to A.D.590 can be ascribed to him. The total number of epigraphic records of this king is sixteen. But as they do not contain any interesting data of historical importance, the career of Dharasena II is not clearly illuminated. The earliest grant of this king dated Val.Saṁ.252 records him as a Sāmanta. When and how he was reduced to the status of Sāmanta is not known. It seems that during the period when the Maitraka throne passed from Guhasena to Dharasena II, some alien power gained influence over the Valabhi country and forced Dharasena to give up his title of Mahārāja, but only for a short time, Dharasena II soon resumed his old paternal title of Mahārāja, for, in the month of Vaiśakha of Val.Saṁ.252 he is no longer called a Sāmanta[2]. This status of Mahārāja continued for atleast two years, upto Val.Saṁ.254[3](A.D.573). Dharasena's misfortunes were not finished in his early career, for we find his grants of Val.Saṁ.269 and 270[4], style him only as Mahāsāmanta. This shows that except for a couple of years, this unfortunate king remained in subordination throughout his career. The question arises as to who was the king, who was overshadowing the Maitrakas. We have seen[5] while discussing the Guptas of Mālava and the Maukharis of Kanauj

1. E.I.,XI.p.115 ; I.A.,I.p.45.
2. I.A.,VII.p.68.
3. E.I., XXI,p.179.; Watson Museum Report.1926.p.13.
4. I.A.,VI.p.9; VII.p.68-70;VIII,p.301.
5. See above p. 352, 264-66.

that during this period they were growing powerful. The Maukharis especially, after the ascendancy of Īśāṇavarman, were acknowledged as the paramount masters of the North and many princes bent low at their feet[1]. It can be presumed that the loss of prestige by the Maitrakas was the outcome of Maukhari# imperialism.

The son and successor of Dharasena II was Śīlāditya, who had another title Dharmāditya. His earliest and latest limits are A.D.589/90 - 615/16 known from the various inscriptions. The Mañjūśrī Mūlakalpa[2] assigns a period of thirty years to this king, which is undoubtedly an approximation. He is identified with the Śīlāditya of Hsüan-tsang and Kalhaṇa[3].

On the basis of the Abhona plate of the Kalacuri king Śaṅkaragaṇa[4], dated Kal.Sam.347, it has been suggested by Dr. Virji[5] that Ujjain at this period was occupied by him. The Kalacuri occupation does not seem to us to have been a permanent one, neither do we think that it influenced Mālava politics in such a way as Virji suggests. The Mahakuta inscription of the Cālukya king Maṅgaleśa gives the definite date A.D. 602, when Śaṅkaragaṇa's son Buddharāja is said to have been defeated by the Cālukyas. It is most probable that before A.D. 602, the Kalacuri power was withdrawn from Ujjain. There seems

1. E.I.,XIV.p.119.
2. K.P.Jayaswal.-Mañjūśrī Mūlakalpa . p.24.
4. E.I.,IX.p.299.
5. Virji.- Ancient history of Saurāṣṭra.p.47-9.
93. See above, p. 356.

to be no doubt that Śaṅkaragaṇa's inscription was issued during his temporary occupation of Ujjain. After A.D.602, the whole of Mālava remained under Gupta supremacy with Deva Gupta as the monarch[1]. In the year 605-6 occurred the chain of events which resulted ~~to~~ in the ascendancy of Harṣa, the king of Thanesar[2]. After the death of Deva Gupta what happened to Mālava is not completely explained by Bāṇa or by Hsüan-tsang or by any inscription of Harṣa himself[3]. Harṣa took the royal sceptre, with the pledge to take revenge on Śaśāṅka, the Gauḍa king. The Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa[4] further confirms Harṣa's campaign towards the east. Śaśāṅka's defeat at the hands of Harṣa was not as easy as the Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa describes it. For it is now demonstrated by the inscription dated A.D.619-20[5], in which the Śailoḍhohavā family of Orissa accept the supremacy of Śaśāṅka, that he was ruling in eastern India with full prestige at least up to this date. We believe that Harṣa remained occupied in the east up to A.D.619-20. In the meantime between A.D.606 and 619-20, Mālava came under the Maitraka kings of Valabhi. All the grants of Śīlāditya Dharmāditya were issued between Val.Saṁ.286(A.D.605) and Val.Saṁ. 292(A.D.611). This discussion convinces us that Hsüan-tsang's Śīlāditya of Mo-la-po was none other than Śīlāditya of the ~~Mxxxhxxx~~ Maitrakas.

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1. See above, p. 354-55.
2. See above, p. 354.
3. See above, p. 355.
4. K.P.Jayaswal.- Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa, vs. 725-27.
5. E.I., VI.p.143, no.14.

A P P E N D I X - III

THE COINS OF YAŚOVARMAN

Prisep[1] and Cunningham[2] attribute the coins of Yaśovarman to the Yaśovarman of Kanauj, who according to the Rājataraṅgiṇī, was the antagonist of Lalitāditya, and who might have brought these coins to the Punjab, where they were mostly found, during his battles with the Kashmir king. This suggestion would date these coins in the 8th century A.D. But there are some technical difficulties in accepting this theory. It is well-known that the Yaśovarman coins were only found in the Punjab. One specimen was discovered during Ventura's excavation of Manikyala Stupa[3]. Yaśovarman the king of Madhyadeśa, left no coins, as far as is known to us, in the country which was the centre of his empire. It is difficult to answer this objection if we accept Cunningham's identification, for we cannot explain why and how the coins of Yaśovarman are found only in the Punjab and not in central India. A second question arises: if these coins are of Yaśovarman, king of Kanauj, why did he strike his coins in the design and technique of the Kashmir coins and not in the

1. Prinsep's Essays; ed. by Thomas. p.99.
2. Arch.Sur.Ind,Rep.,II.p.159-60.
3. I.M.C.C..p.266.

style of the coins of central India? All this evidence plainly indicates that the coins do not belong to him. In the chronological list of the Kashmir chronicle, there is no king of this name who could have issued these coins. The only Yaśovarman of the Rājataraṅgiṇī is the son of Mamma, but he did not enjoy any independent status[1]. The question remained unsolved till the discovery of a Jaina manuscript of Patan[2]. The manuscript contains a drama named Āgamaḍambara, written by Jayanta Bhaṭṭa. He mentions a king of Kashmir named Yaśovarmadeva, and identifies him with Śaṅkaravarman, the husband of Sugandhādevī, whose history is recorded by Kalhaṇa[3]. The king ruled soon after the downfall of the Kārkoṭaka dynasty. It is interesting to note that the coins of Yaśovarman are very similar in execution to those of the Kārkoṭaka dynasty. Therefore, it seems quite plausible, as S.C.Ray[4] suggested, that the Yaśovarman coins of the Punjab were struck by Śaṅkaravarman of Kashmir, who had another name Yaśovarmadeva, as revealed by the Jaina drama. But on this hypothesis certain questions remained to be solved. First, why did not Kalhaṇa mention this name Yaśovarmadeva, while describing Śaṅkaravarman ? And second, why are the coins of the Kashmir king found in the Punjab and not in Kashmir proper ? Both

1. Rājataraṅgiṇi, Bk.IV.vs.706.
2. A copy of it is preserved in Jain Bhandar of Patan.(Ref. Descriptive catalogue of the Jain Manuscripts of Patan. G.O.S., Vol.LXXVI.p.51.)
3. Rājataraṅgiṇī.Bk. V vs. 128 – 222.
4. J.A.S.B., 1951. p.1.

questions have been answered by S.C.Ray with the help of the Rajatarangini. Kalhana makes it clear that Śankaravarman spent most of his life not in his capital but in his frontier provinces, fighting with the neighbouring states. Therefore it is quite reasonable to suggest that he brought these coins during his expeditions, and thus why they are found in the Punjab. Moreover, it is also known that Kalhaṇa did not hold a favourable opinion of Śaṅkaravarman because of his fiscal policy. It is possible that he did not ascribe the second name Yaśovarman to him, because it indicates of his greatness. Thus the drama of Jayanta Bhatta has provided a good suggestion to solve this long-standing problem and we can with some certainty refer these coins of Yaśovarman to Śaṅkaravarman Yaśovarmadeva of Kashmir. The Yaśovarman coins cannot be placed in the Hūṇa coin series, as they do not belong to Yaśodharman of Mandasor, who dethroned Mihirakula and may have gained the upper hand in Kashmir politics. But as the coins have long attracted the attention of scholars studying the history of the Hūṇas, we mention them in our catalogue (See catalogue no.58.).

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A B B R E V A T I O N S

A.K.G.W.G. = Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu G"ottingen.

Arch.Surv.Ind.Mem. = Archaeological Survey of India Memoirs.

Arch.Surv.Ind.Prog.Rep.= Archaeological Survey of India Progress Report.

A.S.S. = Anandasram Sanskrit Series.

B.E.F.E.O. = Bulletin de l'École Française d'extrême Orient.

Bh.An. = Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

Bom. Gaz. = Gazatteer of the Bombay Presidency.

B.S.O.A.S. =Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.

B.S.P.S. = Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series.

B.S.S. = Benares Sanskrit Series.

C.A.J. = Central Asiatic Journal.

Cal. Rev. = Calcutta Review.

C.I.C. in B.M. = Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum by Gardner.

C.I.I.= Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.

C.M.I. =Coins of Mediaeval India, by Cunningham.

C.S.H.B. = Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae.

Cunn. = Cunningham,A.

D.U.B. = Dacca University Bulletin.

E.H.I.= Early History of India, by Smith.

E.I. = Epigraphia Indica.

H.G.M. = Historici Graeci Minores.

H.R. = Hindustan Review.

H.I.S.I. = Historical Inscriptions of South India, by Sewell & Aiyangar.

H.S.G. = Haridasa Sanskrit Granthamala

I.A. = Indian Antiquary.

I.A.Q.R. = Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review.

I.C. = India coins by Rapson

I.H.Q. = Indian Historical Quarterly.

I.M.C.C.= Indian Museum, Calcutta,Catalogue.

J.A. = Journal Asiatique.

J.A.O.S. = Journal of the American Oriental Society.

J.A.S.B. = Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal.

J.B.B.R.A.S.= Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

J.B.O.R.S.= Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

J.I.H. = Journal of Indian History.

J.N.S.I.= Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.

J.Or.Res.Mad.=Journal of the Oriental Research, Madras.

J.P.A.S.B.= Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

J.R.A.I.of G.B.= Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain.

J.R.A.S.= Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society .

J.R.A.S.B.= Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

K.S.S.= Kashi Sanskrit Series.

L.C.L.= Loeb Classical Library.

M.D.J.G.= Manikchandra Digambara Jain Granthamala.

M.I.C.= Mediaeval Indian Coins, by Cunningham.

N.Ch. = Numismatic Chronicle.

N.I.A.= New Indian Antiquary.

O.T.F.= Oriental Translation Fund.

P.H.A.I.=Political History of Ancient India,by Raychaudhuri.

P.O.S.= Poona Oriental Series.

Proc.Ind.Hist.Cong.=Proceeding of the Indian Historical Congress.

S.B.E.= Sacred Books of the East.

S.I.A.L.= Sources of Indo-Aryan Lexicography.

Sitz. ber.Philo.Hist.Klasse Akad.Wiss.- Sitzung berichte der Philosophich-historichen Klasse der Käiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften,München.

S.P.M.R.G.M.= Sri Pratapsimha Maharaja Rajyabhishekha Granthamala.

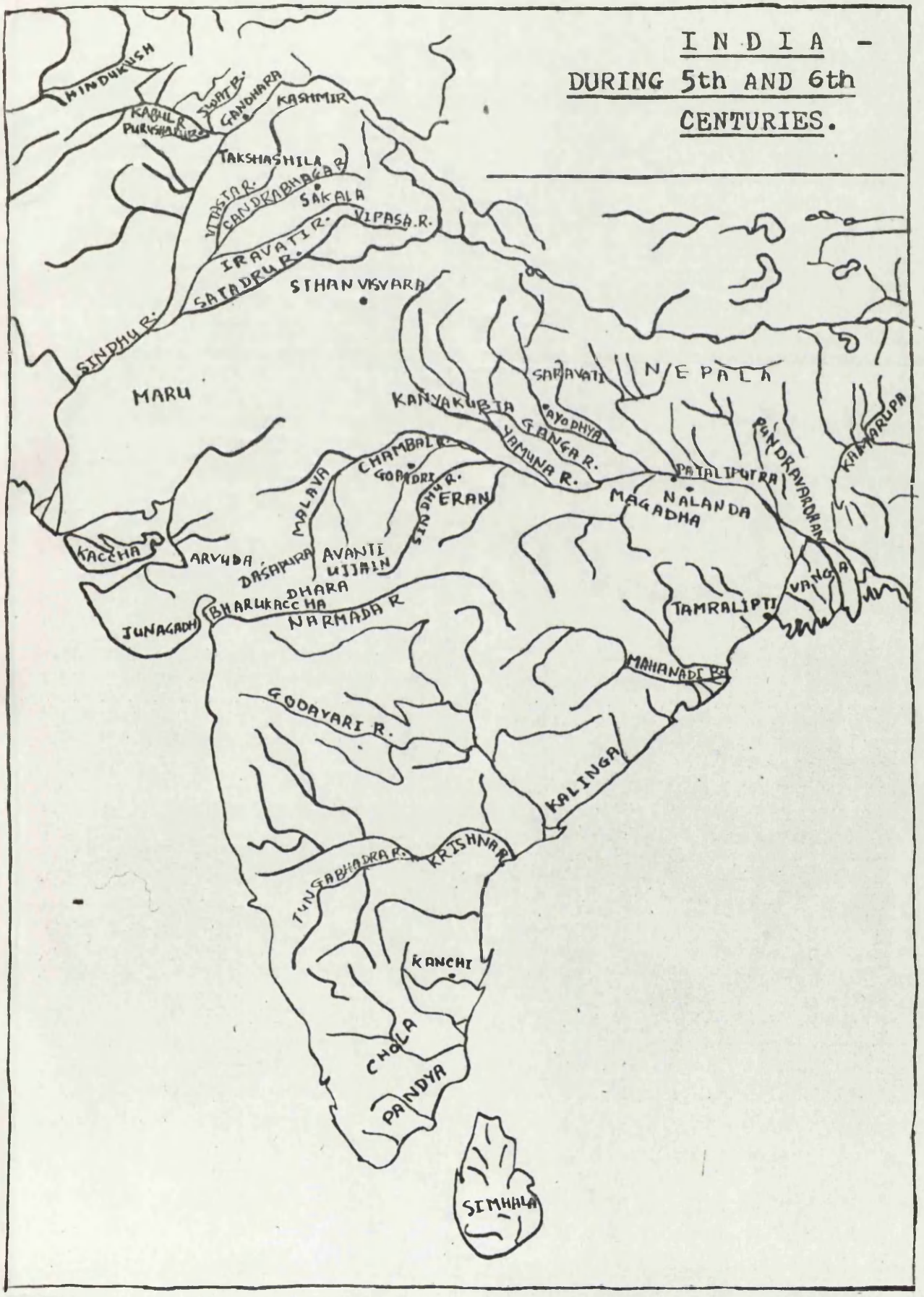
Toyo.Bunko. = Memoirs of the Research Department of Toyo Bunko, Tokyo.

T.S.S. = Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

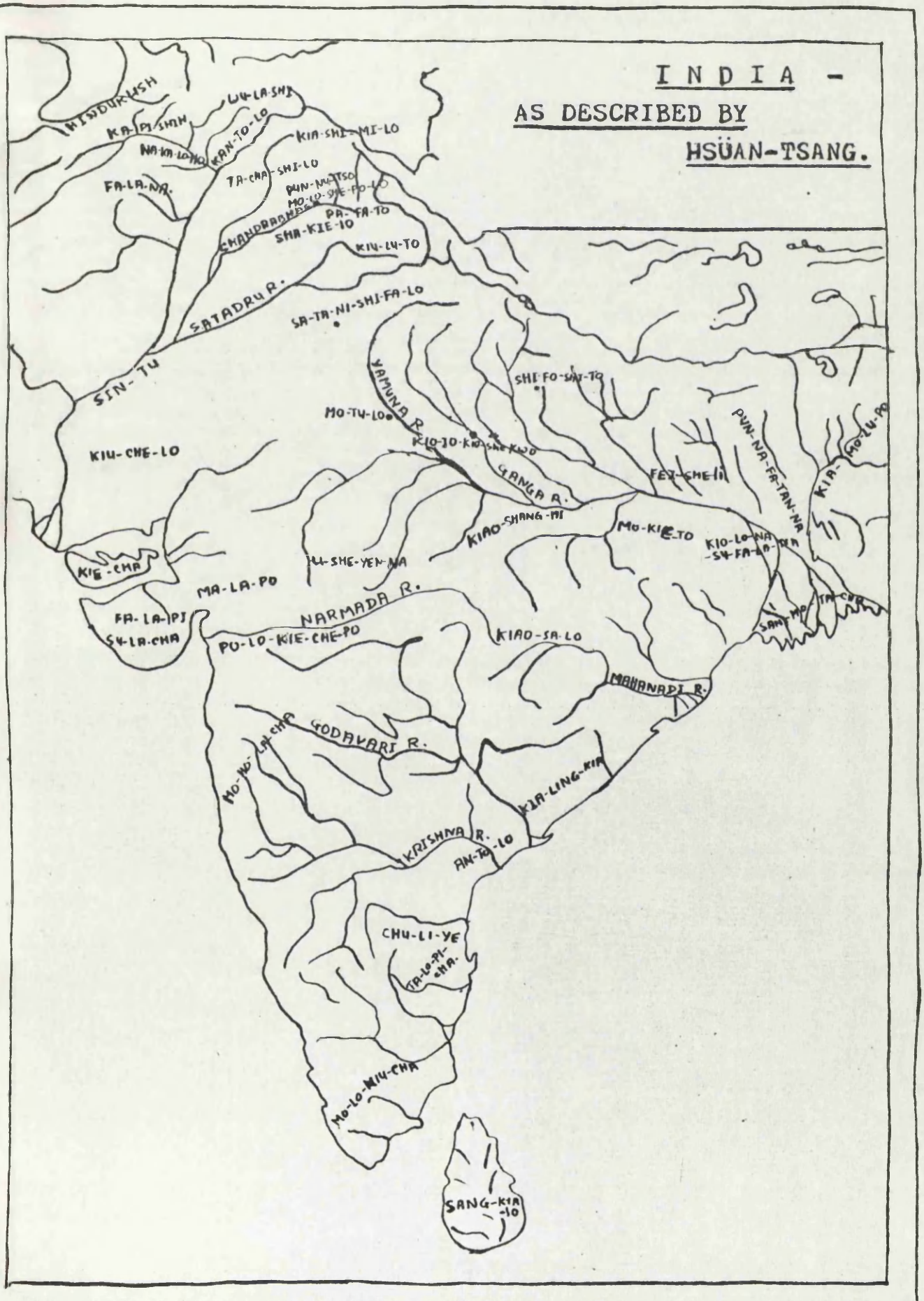
V.S.G.= Vidyabhavan Sanskrit Granthamala.

Z.D.M.G.= Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

MAP - 1.


INDIA -
DURING 5th AND 6th
CENTURIES.
HINDUKUSH
KABUL R.
PURUSHAPURA
SWAT R.
GANDHARA
KASHMIR
TAKSHASHILA
VITASTA R.
CANDRABHAGA R.
SAKALA
IRAVATI R.
VIPASA R.
SATADRU R.
SINDHU R.
STHANVISVARA
MARU
SARAVATI
NEPALA
KANYAKUBJA
AYODHYA
GANGA R.
YAMUNA R.
CHAMBAL R.
GODAVARI R.
SINDHU R.
MALAVA
ERAN
PATALIPUTRA
NALANDA
MAGADHA
PUNDRAVARDHANA
KAMARUPA
KACCHA
ARVUDA
DASAPURA
AVANTI
UJJAIN
DHARA
BHARUKACCHA
JUNAGADH
NARMADA R.
TAMRALIPTI
VANGA
MAHANADI R.
GODAVARI R.
KALINGA
KRISHNA R.
TUNGABHADRA R.
KANCHI
CHOLA
PANDYA
SIMHALA

MAP - 2


INDIA -
AS DESCRIBED BY
HSÜAN-TSANG.
HINDU-KUSH
KA-PI-SHAN
LO-LA-SHI
KIA-SHI-MI-LO
KAN-TO-LO
NA-KA-LO-HO
TA-CHA-SHI-LO
FA-LA-NA.
PUN-NU-TSO
MO-HO-SHE-PO-LO
CHANDRABHAGA
PA-FA-TO
SHA-KIE-LO
KIU-LU-TO
SATADRU R.
SA-TA-NI-SHI-FA-LO
SIN-TU
YAMUNA R.
SHI-FO-SHI-TO
MO-TU-LO
KIO-JO-KIO-SHE-KIO
GANGA R.
KIU-CHE-LO
FEI-SHE-LI
PUN-NA-FA-TAN-NA
KIA-MO-LU-PO
KIE-CHA
LI-SHE-YEN-NA
KIAO-SHANG-MI
MO-KIE-TO
KIO-LO-NA-SU-FA-LA-NA
MA-LA-PO
NARMADA R.
FA-LA-PI
SU-LA-CHA
PU-LO-KIE-CHE-PO
KIAO-SA-LO
SAN-MO-TA-CHA
MAHANADI R.
MO-HO-LA-CHA
GODAVARI R.
KIA-LING-KIA
KRISHNA R.
AN-TO-LO
CHU-LI-YE
TA-LO-PI-CHA
MO-LO-KIU-CHA
SANG-KIA-LO

MAP - 3.

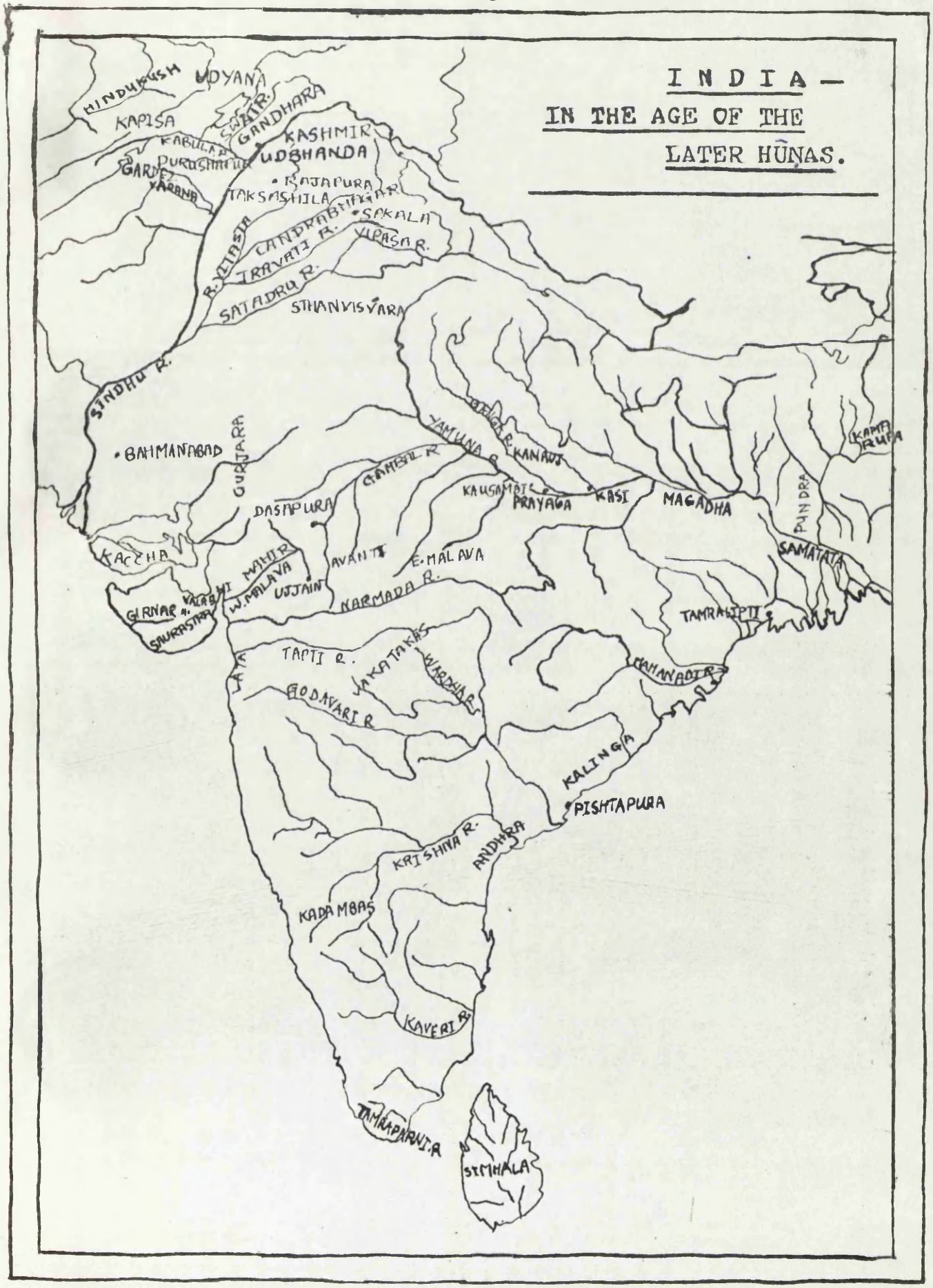

INDIA —
IN THE AGE OF THE
LATER HŪNAS.
HINDUKUSH
UDYANA
KAPISA
SWAT R.
GANDHARA
KABULA R.
KASHMIR
PURUSHAPURA
UDBHANDA
GARDEZ
VARNA
RAJAPURA
TAKSASHILA
CANDRABHAGA R.
SAKALA
VITASTA R.
CANDRABHAGA R.
IRAVATI R.
VIPASA R.
SATADRU R.
STHANVISVARA
SINDHU R.
BAHMANABAD
GURJARA
YAMUNA R.
GANGA R.
KANAUJ
CHAMBAL R.
KAUSAMBI
PRAYAGA
KASI
MAGADHA
PUNDRA
KAMARUPA
SAMATATA
DASAPURA
KACCHA
MALAVA
AVANTI
E. MALAVA
W. MALAVA
UJJAIN
NARMADA R.
GIRNAR
VALABHI
SAURASTRA
TAMRALIPTI
LATA
TAPTI R.
VAKATAKAS
WARDHA R.
MAHANADI R.
GODAVARI R.
KALINGA
PISHTAPURA
KRISHNA R.
ANDHRA
KADAMBAS
KAVERI R.
TAMRAPARNI R.
SIMHALA

Plate I



1



2



3





4



5



6



7





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14

Plate II



1



2



3



4



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6



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12



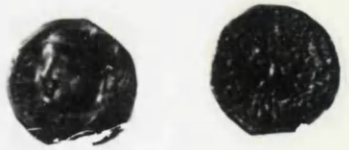
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Plate III



1



2



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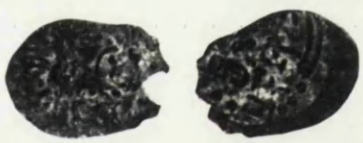
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