

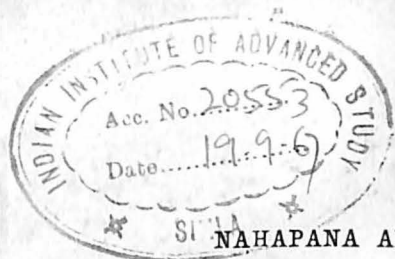
# NAHAPANA AND THE SAKA ERA

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## NAHAPANA AND THE SAKA ERA

BY RAKHALDAS BANERJI, M.A.

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AT the present moment scholars seem to be agreed about the date of Nahapāna, and some are of opinion that he was the founder of the Śaka era. This theory was propounded by M. l'abbé Boyer in his paper entitled "Nahapāna et l'ère Śaka".<sup>1</sup> Though the theory has not met with general acceptance, eminent scholars are still to be found who maintain this opinion even at the present date. In 1913, during the great debate on the date of Kanishka, Dr. J. F. Fleet said, "I hold that the era [Śaka era] was founded by the Kshaharāta king Nahapāna, who reigned in Kāthiāwār and over some of the neighbouring territory as far as Ujjain from A.D. 78 to about A.D. 125, and held for a time Nāsik and other parts in the north of Bombay, and who seems to have been a Pahlava or Palhava, i.e. of Parthian extraction."<sup>2</sup> There are others who, though they do not assert that Nahapāna was the founder of the Śaka era, maintain that the dates in the inscriptions of his son-in-law Ushavadāta at Nasik and Karle, and of his minister Ayama at Junnar, are Śaka dates. Mr. V. A. Smith says, "Almost all students are agreed that the inscriptions and coins of the Chashtana line of Satraps are dated in the Śaka era, and I see no reason for doubting that the Kshaharāta records are dated in the same way."<sup>3</sup> Mr. Smith holds that Nahapāna ascended the throne between 60 and 90 A.D., and that the Āndhras succeeded in extirpating the Kshaharāta dynasty and annexing

<sup>1</sup> *Journal Asiatique*, tom. x, pp. 120 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> JRAS. 1913, pp. 992-3.

<sup>3</sup> *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., p. 218.

their dominions about A.D. 124.<sup>1</sup> Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar in his latest statement on the subject has also tacitly assumed that the dates in the inscriptions of Nahapāna's son-in-law and minister are Śaka dates.<sup>2</sup> The materials for the reconstruction of the history are as follows:—

### I. Inscriptions

1. Inscriptions of Nahapāna's son-in-law Ushavadāta at Nasik and Karle. One of these contains the years 41, 42, and 45.<sup>3</sup>

2. Inscription of Ayama, the minister of Nahapāna, at Junnar. This is dated in the year 46.<sup>4</sup>

3. Inscription of the Āndhra king Vāśiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāyi at Nasik, mentioning that his father Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi rooted out the Khakhārāta race.

### II. Coins

Nahapāna was not the first ruler of this dynasty, having been preceded by one named Bhūmaka, whose coins exist and are regarded as being earlier than those of Nahapāna.<sup>5</sup> The existence of Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī legends on his bilingual coins proves conclusively that he or his family was of Northern origin.<sup>6</sup> The Northern origin of the Kshaharātas has also been proved by the discovery of a fragmentary Brāhmī inscription at Mathurā, bearing the name Kshaharāta, in the Northern Brāhmī of the first century B.C.<sup>7</sup> The prevalent theory about Nahapāna is that he continued to rule over Kathiawar, Gujarāt, Mahārāshtra, and the adjoining territory till the Śaka year 46 = 124 A.D. In that year or immediately

<sup>1</sup> *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., pp. 209-10.

<sup>2</sup> JBBRAS., vol. xxiii, pp. 66-73.

<sup>3</sup> *Epig. Ind.*, vol. x, App., p. 126, No. 1133.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 134, No. 1174.

<sup>5</sup> Rapson, *British Museum Catalogue of Indian Coins; Andhras and Western Kshatrapas*, p. cvii.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. civ.

<sup>7</sup> See *ante*, 1911-12, p. 128, pl. lviii.

afterwards the Āndhra king Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi drove out the Kshaharātas. About twenty-five years later another dynasty of foreigners drove out the Āndhra kings, and established a new kingdom in Gujarāt. The second king or Great Satrap of that dynasty, Rudradāman, claims to have twice defeated the "Lord of the South" in his celebrated inscription on the rock of Gīrnār.<sup>1</sup> Seven years ago, in my monograph on the Scythian Period of Indian History, I drew attention to the fact that the characters of the inscriptions of the son-in-law of Nahapāna are earlier than those of the records of princes who are regarded as his contemporaries, and that the dates in these inscriptions are to be referred to the same era as that used in the Taxilā Copper Plate inscription, or the Mathurā stone inscription of the time of Śōḷāsa.<sup>2</sup> Soon after this the discovery of a number of Brāhmī records proved the correctness of my statements. These are the Andhau inscriptions of the *Mahākshatrapa* Rudradāman.<sup>3</sup> The importance of this discovery has not as yet been fully realized by scholars. Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar has indeed published a short note on these records,<sup>4</sup> but certain defects in his arguments have in my opinion invalidated his conclusions.

The Andhau inscriptions are four in number, and all of them are dated in the year 52. Their wording is rather loose and the meaning ambiguous. They begin "*Rājño Chashṭanasa Ghsamotikaputrasa* <sup>5</sup> *Rājño Rudradāmasa Jayadāma-putrasa varshē dvīpamchāse, 50, 2*".

The absence of any connecting link between the two names makes these records ambiguous. Mr. Bhandarkar, however, has removed this difficulty by supplying the

<sup>1</sup> *Epig. Ind.*, vol. viii, p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, p. 63.

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, 1905-6, p. 166.

<sup>4</sup> *JBBRAS.*, vol. xxiii, pp. 66-73.

<sup>5</sup> [This is read by Professor Lüders as *Ysamotika* (Berlin, *Sitzungsberichte*, 1913, pp. 406 sqq.).—F. W. T.]

word *pautrasa*.<sup>1</sup> We know from the coins that Rudradāman's father Jayadāman was not a *Mahākshatrapa*. He is simply entitled Kshatrapa, and most probably had never come to the throne; consequently his name is not mentioned.

The era used in the coins and inscriptions of the descendants and successors of Chashtana is certainly the Śaka era of 78 A.D. The Andhau inscriptions were therefore incised in  $52 + 78 = 130$  A.D. If the Junnar record of Ayama, the minister of Nahapāna, was incised in the year 46 of the same era, then we find that only six years intervene between the latest date of Nahapāna and the earliest date of Rudradāman. Within these six years we have to crowd a number of events. In the first place, we find that Nasik, which was included within the dominions of Nahapāna, at least up to the forty-fifth year either of his reign or of the particular era used in the records of Ushavadāta, had passed into the hands of the Āndhra king Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi before the eighteenth year of the latter's reign, as a record incised by that king's order in that year of his reign is still to be found there. Now, in an inscription of Vāśiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāyi, the son of Gautamīputra, it is mentioned that the latter rooted out the Khakharāta race.<sup>2</sup> Therefore the defeat of Nahapāna or his successor must have taken place in or before the eighteenth year of the reign of Gautamīputra. Gautamīputra's occupation of Nasik must have lasted for six years more, as another record of this king was incised at Nasik in the twenty-fourth year of his reign.<sup>3</sup> Therefore Gautamīputra held Nasik when the Andhau inscriptions of Rudradāman were incised in the year 52 of the Śaka era. After Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi

<sup>1</sup> JBBRAS., vol. xxiii, p. 68. [The word is inserted in the Junagadh inscription. See Kielhorn's edition in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. viii, p. 42.—F. W. T.]

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. viii, p. 60.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73.

his son Vāśishthīputra Puḷumāyi continued to hold sway over Nasik till at least the twenty-second year of his reign, i.e. till the Śaka year 74 = 152 A.D., as there are records at Nasik incised in the sixth, nineteenth, and twenty-second years of his reign.<sup>1</sup>

In the Girnār inscription of Rudradāman, which must have been incised shortly after the Śaka year 72 (150 A.D.), it is stated that he twice defeated Śātakarṇi, the lord of Dakṣhiṇāpatha, but did not destroy him on account of the nearness of their relationship.<sup>2</sup> Now if, for the sake of argument, it be assumed that Nahapāna was defeated and dethroned in the year 46, the date of the Junnar inscription of Ayama, and that Gautamīputra defeated Nahapāna in the year 18 of his own reign, and that this year, again, coincided with the year 46 (of the Śaka era or of the reign of Nahapāna), even then it is impossible to cram all these events within the period of six years. Suppose we agree that Nahapāna was dethroned by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi in the year 46 of the Śaka era, which was also the eighteenth regnal year of the Āndhra king. Then we find that Gautamīputra held Nasik for six years at least and was, to some extent, the contemporary of Rudradāman. Then Gautamīputra's son Vāśishthīputra Puḷumāyi held Nasik in the year 6 of his reign. Between the sixth and nineteenth regnal years of Puḷumāyi, Rudradāman may have vanquished him once and occupied Nasik. But Nasik was regained by Puḷumāyi some time before his nineteenth regnal year, and he was certainly in possession of it in the twenty-second year of his reign. The year 22 of the reign of Vāśishthīputra Śrī-Puḷumāyi cannot be placed earlier than Śaka 74, and that is possible only if we admit the year 24 to be the last year of Gautamīputra's reign. But according to the Girnār inscription of Rudradāman the double defeat

<sup>1</sup> JBBRAS., vol. x, pp. 122-3, Nos. 1122-4.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., vol. viii, p. 44.

of Puḷumāyi was accomplished before the year 73 of the Śaka era. Consequently, this chronological arrangement must be regarded as faulty. Mr. Bhandarkar had fully recognized the difficulty created by the discovery of the Andhau inscription at the time he wrote his note on the subject entitled "Śātakarṇi of the Girnār Inscription". He himself has proved on two occasions that the present theories about Nahapāna, Gautamīputra, Puḷumāyi, and Rudradāman are faulty.

1. Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji and Dr. George Bühler held that the Śātakarṇi referred to in the Girnār inscription is posterior to Puḷumāyi. Now Nahapāna was possibly dethroned in the Śaka year 46. Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi reigned at least six years after that and Vāśiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāyi for at least twenty-four years, as shown by the Karle inscription of that year of his reign. Therefore Puḷumāyi could not have died before the year 76, nor could his successor have ascended the throne before that year. The Girnār inscription was incised shortly after the year 72. Therefore this theory of the chronology cannot be valid.

2. According to the theory of Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, Yajña-śrī Śātakarṇi is the Āndhra king referred to in the Girnār inscription. Sir Ramkrishna is of opinion that he was the immediate successor of Puḷumāyi and that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi did not reign in the Deccan at all. In this case, as Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi did not reign in the Deccan, we are to add only twenty-four years to the year 46, which is the latest date of Nahapāna. Puḷumāyi, therefore, must have been living in the year 70, and was followed to the throne by Yajña-śrī Śātakarṇi, who is the Śātakarṇi of the Girnār inscription according to Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar. But the Andhau inscriptions had shown that Rudradāman had vanquished Śātakarṇi and retaken his ancestral dominions before the year 52. Therefore the



Śātakarṇi vanquished by him must have come to the throne some time before the year 52, and cannot possibly have ascended it after the year 70.

3. Both Dr. Bühler and Pandit Bhagwanlal regard Chashtana (*Tiastanes*) as the contemporary of Puḷumāyi (*Siro-Polemaios*) on the authority of Ptolemy. Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar holds that they can be regarded as contemporaries only if Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and Puḷumāyi are taken to have reigned conjointly, one in Western India and the other in Southern India. If, however, this is not taken as granted, we find that Chashtana cannot be regarded as the contemporary of Puḷumāyi. The latest date of Nahapāna is 46. Then, according to Bühler and Bhagwanlal's theory, Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi must have reigned for at least six years before Puḷumāyi came to the throne. Puḷumāyi, thus, according to their view, must have ascended the throne in 53 at the earliest. But the Andhra inscriptions inform us that Rudradāman was on the throne in the year 52. His grandfather Chashtana must, therefore, have died sometime earlier. Consequently Puḷumāyi, who came to the throne in the year 53, cannot be regarded as the contemporary of Chashtana, who was dead before the year 52.

After these examinations Mr. Bhandarkar comes to the conclusion that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi must be the Āndhra king who was twice defeated by Rudradāman, and that he must have reigned simultaneously with his son Puḷumāyi. In this connexion he cites two arguments adduced by Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar in favour of his theory about the simultaneous reign of two Āndhra kings mentioned above:—

1. In the long inscription in Cave No. 3 at Nasik, dated in the nineteenth year of Puḷumāyi, his grandmother Gautamī Balasiri is called the mother of the great king and the grandmother of the great king. According to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar this statement would be pointless

if she were not both at one and the same time. If the object of the writer was to represent Gautamī's special claim to honour, that is better served by supposing that her son and grandson were great kings at one and the same time. Every queen belonging to a dynasty in power is the mother of a king and grandmother of a king; and there is nothing special in the fact if the son and grandson bore the title at different times.

2. If it was a fact that Gautamīputra was dead when the cave temple was dedicated and Puḷumāyi alone was reigning, we should expect to find the exploits of the latter also celebrated in the inscription, but there is not a word in praise of him. If Puḷumāyi became king only after Gautamīputra, the latter must have died nineteen years before the dedication of the temple, and it certainly is not what one acquainted with the manner and motive of Hindu inscription-writers would expect, that a king who had been dead for nineteen years should be highly extolled in the inscription and the reigning king altogether passed over in silence.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar concludes by placing the defeat and destruction of the Kshaharātas by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and the double defeat of the latter within the six years intervening between the latest date of Nahapāna and the earliest date of Rudradāman, which is absolutely impossible. It is quite true that in the Nasik inscription of the nineteenth year of Puḷumāyi the achievements of Gautamīputra are set forth in detail while those of his son Puḷumāyi are not even mentioned. It is quite true that Gautamī Balasiri is mentioned as the mother of a king and the grandmother of a king. Even then it is impossible to accept the suggestion of the Messrs. Bhandarkar about the simultaneous reigns of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and his son Puḷumāyi seriously. Many kings may have had their mothers living when they

<sup>1</sup> JBBRAS., vol. xxiii, p. 70.

occupied the throne, but very few kings have their grandmothers living at that time. It rarely falls to the lot of a queen who is also mother of a king to see her grandson on the throne, i.e. to be the grandmother of a king as well. It is not at all necessary to suppose that Gautamī Balasiri had her son and grandson both living at the time and both reigning in different parts of the country. The other objection is more serious. We do not know why Puḷumāyi is extolled, but there is one very serious objection against the suggestion made by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar. Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar is altogether silent on this point. If Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and Puḷumāyi reigned simultaneously in different parts of the country, then why do we find the names of both of these kings in the cave inscriptions at Nasik? If we take for granted that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi ruled in Western India, then we would expect to find his name alone in the Nasik cave inscriptions. If Puḷumāyi reigned in the South, why then do the Nasik inscriptions mention him and date in his regnal years? It may be suggested that Puḷumāyi succeeded his father in Western India after the death of the latter; but Mr. Bhandarkar has himself barred this possibility by stating that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi was twice defeated by Rudradāman. Moreover, we have at Nasik two inscriptions dated in the regnal years 18 and 24 of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. We have four inscriptions of Vāśiṣṭhiputra Puḷumāyi at the same place, dated in the years 2, 6, 19, and 22. If both father and son had reigned simultaneously it is natural to expect that they had done so in the earlier part of the reign of the son. In that case it is very difficult to explain how the inscription on the back wall of the verandah of Cave No. 2 and that on the front wall of an unfinished cave beyond No. 23 came to bear the name of Puḷumāyi instead of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi.

Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar expresses the following view.

In his opinion all inscriptions in Cave No. 3 at Nasik were incised after the nineteenth year of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāyi, because the cave itself was dedicated in that year. There are two great objections to this view. From the big inscription on the back wall of the verandah of this cave we learn that it was caused to be made by Gautamī Balasiri, the mother of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and grandmother of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāyi.<sup>1</sup> But, again, from another inscription on the eastern wall of the verandah we learn that the king Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi claims this cave to be his own religious gift (*amha-dhāma-dāne lene*).<sup>2</sup> Mr. Bhandarkar seeks to reconcile these conflicting facts by taking the year 24 of this inscription to be a year of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāyi's reign. But does this really reconcile them? In the inscription of the year 19 of the reign of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāyi, Balasiri distinctly calls the cave her own. How, then, can it be possible for her son to call it his own pious gift only five years later, even if we accept Mr. Bhandarkar's interpretation of the year 24? There is another difficulty here, which should not pass unnoticed. In the year 19, when Balasiri makes her donation, Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāyi was the owner of the tract in which Tiraṅhu or Triraśmi mountain was situated. In the year 22, when Puḷumāyi made a grant of land, he continued to be the ruler of Nasik. But in the year 24, which for argument's sake let us take to be a year of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāyi's reign, why do we find the name of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi instead of Puḷumāyi? The double claim of the benefaction of the cave both by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and by his mother the queen Balasiri can have only one possible explanation. This is, that a cave was dedicated either in the eighteenth or before the eighteenth year of the reign of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, and it was given to people for

<sup>1</sup> *Epiq. Ind.*, vol. viii, pp. 61-2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73.

whose benefit land previously enjoyed by Ushabhadāta was granted. Consequently Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi was perfectly justified in calling the cave his own benefaction in the second record which was incised, alongside the first, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign. Subsequently, after the death of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, his mother caused the cave to be enlarged by adding chambers, which she claims to be her own benefaction. I would take the verandah in Cave No. 3 at Nasik to be the original cave dedicated by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and the remaining parts of Cave No. 3 to be the work executed by the queen Balasiri.

Mr. Bhandarkar is inclined to think that "there is no cogent reason for assuming that this year 24 pertains to the reign of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. In many cave inscriptions the regnal year of the king is given immediately after the name of the king; but in many others the name is given just at the beginning of the record, while the date is given at the end, e.g. in No. 4".<sup>1</sup> Mr. Bhandarkar is inclined to think that this is really a copy of a charter issued before the dedication of Cave No. 3, which was incised in Cave No. 3 after its dedication in the nineteenth year of Vāśishṭhīputra Puḷumāyi, in order that the monks dwelling in this cave also might take advantage of the grant. It should be noted that no other copy of this inscription has come to light anywhere else either at Nasik or at any other place in India. Therefore it is evident that this was the original and the only copy of the order, which was incised for the special purpose of informing the inhabitants of this particular cave. Mr. Bhandarkar's explanation is thus not at all convincing. The irresistible conclusion therefore remains that at least one inscription was incised in Cave No. 3 a year before its dedication in the year 19 of Vāśishṭhīputra Puḷumāyi. Therefore Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar's

<sup>1</sup> *Epig. Ind.*, vol. viii, p. 71.

theory about the dedication of Cave No. 3 and the ante-dating of all records in that cave falls to the ground.

Besides these there is no evidence which may be relied on to show that certain members of the Āndhra family ruled simultaneously during the earlier part of that dynasty. In the face of this it cannot be seriously maintained that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and Vāsishtīputra Puḷumāyi reigned simultaneously. In fact, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's ingenious theory for the vindication of discrepancies in the dynastic lists in the Purāṇas has now as yet found a supporter. He writes: "Now the manner in which the two traditions are to be reconciled is by supposing that the longer period is made up by putting together the reigns of all the princes belonging to the several branches of the Āndhrabhṛitya dynasty. That the younger princes often reigned at Paiṭhān and the elder ones at Dhanakaṭaka appears clear when we compare the inscriptions with the statement in Ptolemy. When the throne at the principal seat became vacant the Paiṭhān princes succeeded. But some probably died before their elders and never became kings of Dhanakaṭaka."<sup>1</sup> In 1910 Professor Rapson wrote: "Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi was succeeded by his son Vāsishtīputra Śrī Puḷumāyi, who is known to have reigned for at least 24 years."<sup>2</sup> Later on, under the heading "Dynastic Lists", Professor Rapson does not even once mention the suggestion about the simultaneous reigns of some of the Āndhra princes.<sup>3</sup> Mr. V. A. Smith says: "Professor Bhandarkar's notion that the Āndhra dynasty comprised two distinct lines of kings, one western and one eastern, does not seem to be tenable. The evidence shows that most of the kings held both the western and eastern provinces."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bhandarkar's *History of the Dekkan*, 2nd ed., 1895, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> *Cat. of Ind. Coins, Andhras and Western Kshatrapas*, p. xxxvii.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, lxiii-lxx.

<sup>4</sup> *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., p. 201, n. 1.

The light thrown on this period by the discovery of the Andhau inscriptions shows clearly that, if the year 72 of the Girnār inscription of Rudradāman be a Śaka date, and if Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and his son Vāśiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāyi did not reign simultaneously, it must be admitted that the dates in the inscriptions of Nahapāna's son-in-law Ushavadāta at Nasik and Karle, and of his minister Ayama at Junnar, cannot be referred to the same era as that used on the inscriptions and coins of Chasṭana's dynasty. The evidence of Gupta inscriptions and coins found in Central and Western India has proved definitely that the kingdom of the Scythian Satraps in Western India came to an end in the early decades of the fifth century A.D. The latest coin of the Western Satrapas now preserved in the British Museum was issued in the year 310, and the earliest silver Gupta coin in that Museum of the Gujarat fabric was issued some time between the years 91 and 99 of the Gupta era, i.e. between 410 and 418 A.D.<sup>1</sup> Therefore it cannot be doubted that the era used on the coins and in the inscriptions of Chasṭana and his successors in Western India was the Śaka era of 78 A.D. Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar was certainly right when he said that Rudradāman had reconquered his lost ancestral dominions during the Śaka era 52 at the latest, which is the date of the Andhau inscriptions.<sup>2</sup> The Nasik inscription incised in the nineteenth year of the reign of Vāśiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāyi enumerates the provinces conquered by the father of that prince, Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi.<sup>3</sup> The Girnār inscription of Rudradāman mentions that he was the lord of the whole of Eastern and Western Ākarāvanti, the Anūpa country, Ānarta, Surāshṭra, Śvabhra, Maru, Kachehha, Sindhu-Sauvīra, Kukura, Aparānta, Nishada, and other territories gained

<sup>1</sup> *Cat. of Ind. Coins, Gupta Dynasties*, pp. 49-50.

<sup>2</sup> *JBBRAS.*, vol. xxiii, p. 72, 1910.

<sup>3</sup> *Epig. Ind.*, vol. viii, p. 60.

by his own valour (*Sva-vīryy-ārjjitānām*).<sup>1</sup> M. Senart, while editing the Nasik inscription, has noted that the following names are common to the Girnār inscriptions and the Nasik cave inscriptions: (1) Saurāshṭra, (2) Anūpa, (3) Ākarāvanti, (4) Kukura, and (5) Aparānta.<sup>2</sup> Surāṣṭha or Surāshṭra is, generally speaking, modern Kathiawar. Kukura is probably a portion of Western Rājputāna. Anūpa is a district on the upper Narmadā. Surāshṭra, Anūpa, and Ānarta, according to references in Sanskrit literature, were contiguous countries, and Anūpa lay beyond and south of Ānarta. Ākara is eastern Mālwā, the kingdom of which Vidiśā was the capital, and Avantī is Western Mālwā, the kingdom of which Ujjain was the capital. It is then certain that Western Rājputāna, Gujarat, Mālwā, and probably a part of Khandesh were conquered by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi from Nahapāna or his successors, and these were later on wrested from that Āndhra king or one of his successors before the Śaka year 52 = 130 A.D. by Rudradāman. The Girnār inscription of Rudradāman clearly states that he himself acquired the name of Mahākshatrapā, and that he acquired the countries mentioned in that inscription by his own prowess. As Kachchha or Cutch is one of the countries mentioned there, it must be admitted that Rudradāman had finished the work of conquering these provinces from the Āndhra king before the year 130 A.D., which is the date of the Andhra inscriptions. It has been argued that Northern Mahārāshṭra remained in the possession of the Āndhras after its reconquest from the Kshaharātas by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, whereas Northern Konkan, i.e. ancient Aparānta, had been first in the possession of the Āndhras, was wrested from them by the Kshaharātas, and was reconquered by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. But it was again recaptured by Rudradāman.<sup>3</sup> How can this

<sup>1</sup> *Epig. Ind.*, vol. viii, p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 62.

<sup>3</sup> *Cat. of Ind. Coins, Andhras and Western Kshatrapas*, pp. cxx-cxxi.



be possible? It is very difficult to follow the line of argument here. If the Northern Konkan had been recaptured by Rudradāman from Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi or any of his successors, then how can it be supposed that Northern Mahārāshṭra, i.e. the modern districts of Nasik and Poona, continued to be ruled by the Āndhras? Northern Konkan, which Professor Rapson takes to be the modern equivalent of the ancient Aparānta, is clearly mentioned in the Nasik cave inscription of the nineteenth year of Vāśiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāyi, as forming a part of the dominions of his father Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi.<sup>1</sup> Again, the Girnār inscription of Rudradāman clearly states that among other countries Aparānta was acquired by that prince. Therefore it is certain that Northern Mahārāshṭra was also conquered by Rudradāman from the Āndhra king, who was his contemporary. In another place Professor Rapson states: "the Nasik and Poona districts, which seem not to be mentioned in the inscription of Queen Balasiri, were, in like manner, conquered or reconquered from Nahapāna by Gautamīputra; but, unlike the territories to the north and west, they remained in the possession of the Āndhras and were not subdued by Rudradāman."<sup>2</sup> Professor Rapson is led to this conclusion by the Nasik inscriptions of Puḷumāyi and Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi, as in a foot-note on the same page he states, "this seems clear from the inscription of Rudradāman and from those of Puḷumāyi and Śrī Yajña." It is evident that the existence of the inscription of Puḷumāyi and Śrī Yajña at Nasik has deterred him from stating that Northern Konkan also was conquered by Rudradāman. But the fact is that it is hardly possible to conquer Aparānta, i.e. Northern Konkan, before subduing Northern Mahārāshṭra,<sup>3</sup> i.e. the Nasik and Poona districts. It is

<sup>1</sup> *Epig. Ind.*, vol. viii, p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> *Cat. of Ind. Coins, Andhras and Western Kshatrapas*, p. xxxvi.

<sup>3</sup> *The Imperial Gazetteer of India* gives the following description of the province of Konkan: "A name now applied to the tract of country

certain that Puḷumāyi was the contemporary of Chasṭana; therefore his father Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi belongs to a much earlier period than Rudradāman, the grandson of Chasṭana. It is quite possible that Rudradāman was the contemporary of the son or successors of Puḷumāyi, who himself was the contemporary of Rudradāman's grandfather. It is, of course, no longer tenable that the dates in the records of Nahapāna's son-in-law Ushavadāta at Nasik and Karle and that of his minister Ayama at Junnar are years of the same era as that used in the inscriptions and the coins of Chasṭana and his successors and descendants. Again, as the era used in the coins and inscriptions of Chasṭana and his line is the Śaka era of 78 A.D., therefore the era used in the records of Nahapāna's son-in-law and minister must be some earlier one. In my opinion the dates used in the inscriptions of Ushavadāta and Ayama are not years of any particular era but on the contrary are years of the reign of Nahapāna. Therefore, as the latest date of Nahapāna is no longer to be restricted to Śaka 46 = 124 A.D., it need not be supposed that Northern Mahārāshṭra and Aparānta passed into the hands of Rudradāman during the reign of Puḷumāyi. Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar has in a previous paper tried to prove that the characters of the inscriptions of Śoḍāsa found in Mathurā are later than those of the inscriptions of Nahapāna.<sup>1</sup> If this result be true, then Nahapāna has to be placed in the first century B.C. at the latest. It is also clear that a certain period, however small it may be, elapsed between the date of the Junnar inscriptions of his minister Ayama and his own death. It is also quite probable that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi did not fight with Nahapāna personally, but destroyed

below the Western Ghats south of the Daman-Ganga river, including Bombay, the Districts of Thana, Kolaba, Ratnagiri, the coast strip of North Kanara, the native states of Janjira, Savantvadi, and the Portuguese territories of Goa."—Vol. xv, p. 394.

<sup>1</sup> JBBRAS., vol. xx, p. 275.

the power of his descendants or his successors.<sup>1</sup> Mr. H. R. Scott's study of the great Jogalthembi hoard, which contained more than 13,000 silver coins of Nahapāna, proves that "the coinage extended over many years".<sup>2</sup> The Āndhras held the dominions conquered from the Kshaharātas for at least thirty-seven years (six years of Gautamīputra, twenty-four years of Puḷumāyi, and seven years of Yajña-śrī) before they were dispossessed by Rudradāman prior to 130 A.D. In these circumstances it seems that the true date for the beginning of Nahapāna's reign ought to be placed in the end of the last century B.C. or the beginning of the first century A.D. The suggestion that Nahapāna founded the Śaka era need not be regarded seriously, as there is not a single instance of a provincial governor founding a separate era in the history of ancient India. The Andhau inscriptions have not been published as yet. Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar has kindly lent me the transcripts which he made personally from the original stone and impressions of three of the inscriptions. I have also been informed by the same authority that Dr. Lüders, of Berlin, will edit these. I do not find anything in the palæography of these records which might go against my conclusions.

<sup>1</sup> *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., p. 217.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

