UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

OU_216982

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

OSMANIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Call No. 954.0158/M48H Accession No. 35017

Author Mookerji, R.

Title Harsha (Calcutta University Readership Lectures, 1929)

This book should be returned on or before the date last marked below.

Rulers of India

H A R S H A

By the same author

A HISTORY OF INDIAN SHIPPING
LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN ANCIENT INDIA
THE FUNDAMENTAL UNITY OF INDIA
NATIONALISM IN HINDU CULTURE
MEN AND THOUGHT IN ANCIENT INDIA

ETC.

H A R S H A

[Calcutta University Readership Lectures, 1925)

BY

RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI
M.A., Ph.D., Itihasa-Siromani
PROFESSOR AND HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT
OF INDIAN HISTORY, LUCKNOW UNIVERSITY
HIS HIGHNESS SIR SAYAJI RAO GAEKWAD
MEDALLIST, PRIZEMAN, & LECTURER
1925-30

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON: HUMPHREY MILFORD
1926

TO

THE MEMORY OF

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

FOR HIS UNIQUE SERVICES

TO THE CAUSE OF LEARNING AND RESEARCH

AS VICE-CHANCELLOR, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

PREFACE

THERE are very few among the Rulers of India whose history is so rich in both contents and materials as the history of Harsa. ' When all sources are utilized,' as observed by the late Dr. Vincent A. Smith, 'our knowledge of the events of the reign of Harsa far surpasses in precision that which we possess respecting any other early Indian king, except Chandragupta Maurya, and Asoka. Indeed, the historical material is so abundant that it would be easy to write a large volume devoted solely to his reign.'

His early life and career form the subject-matter of the *Harsa-charita* of Bana, a writer of great repute in the history of classical Sanskrit, who wrote on Harsa as his court poet from his personal and intimate knowledge of his life and rule, and has given to Sanskrit literature one of its very few biographical works. Thus in Bana Harsa found his Boswell; but, though the historical value of the work as a whole is somewhat vitiated by its occasional outbursts of hero-worship and flights of fancy, to which a poet laureate's panegyric on his royal patron naturally lends itself, the line between fact and fiction is easily discernible, and the kernel of truth separated from its envelope of embellishments and exaggerations. And

on the facts that are thus extracted, or narrated as such, Bana's accuracy is surprisingly established by several specific and significant confirmations from other sources, all of which have been pointed out in the text. Moreover, it is to his poetical gifts that we owe some very real and valuable history in the graphic pictures they call up of the life of those days at different levels, in its different aspects and phases—the simple life of the lowly in the village, the busy and strenuous life of the camp, the high life of luxury and conventions at the court and the palace, or the ascetic and austere life at the hermitage. These descriptions of the manners, customs, and habits of the people of all ranks, and of the conditions of education and learning, culture and religion, of the times are not the least important and interesting part of history, for they enable us to realize the civilization of the age. What we thus lack of political history is amply compensated by what we get of social history in the *Harsa-charita.*

The India of Harsa is also described by another eye-witness, the famous Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Chwang, to whose account, which reads like a Gazetteer in the scope of its inquiry and its wealth of details, the history of ancient India perhaps owes more than to any other individual source for the reconstruction of some of its lost chapters. To add to these two unique sources, the reliable records of first-hand observation, we have several inscriptions of Harsa himself, a few of his great contemporary, Pulakesin II of the Deccan,

and the larger body of inscriptions of the Gupta and later kings of northern India, which together throw considerable light on the history of Harsa, especially on the interesting but imperfectly explored topic of the administrative system developed in that glorious age for the successful governance of extensive empires.

I am grateful to the Calcutta University for kindly asking me to deliver a Course of Readership Lectures embodied in this volume. My Lectures to my own post-graduate students at the Lucknow University have also expedited the preparation of the work.

The system of transliteration adopted here will be apparent from the following examples: Krisna, Lich-ehhavi, and Vamsa.

RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI.

THE UNIVEHSITY,
LUCKNOW,
September 1925.

CONTENTS

I. EARLY LIFE AND ACCESSION 9

II. CAMPAIGNS, CONQUESTS, AND SUZERAINTY . 22

Notes:

A. On some of the contemporaries of Harsa and their dynasties . 50

B. On some dates in the history of Harsa and his predecessors 69

C. On Sasaiika and Bhaskaravarman . 70

III. ASSEMBLIES 75

IV. ADMINISTRATION. 84

V. RELIGION AND LEARNING 119

Notes:

A. On the dramatic works of Harsa . 152

B. On the Art of the age . 159

VI. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS 165

VII, SOCIAL LIFE . . . 173

CONCLUSION 188

INDEX 191

Illustrations

I. The Coins of Harsa . . . . . *Frontispiece*

2. The Banskhera Copper-plate Inscription *To face p. 10*

3. Map—India under Harsa . . . . *at end*

CHAPTER I

EARLY LIFE AND ACCESSION

HABSA [1] is one of the few examples in our ancient annals of a king who by his conquests made himself a king of kings and achieved the political unification of a large part of India as its paramount sovereign. The principal source of his history is the *Harm-charita,* the *Life of Harm,* by Bana, one of the Court poets of the Emperor Harsa. This indigenous literary evidence is copiously supplemented and corroborated by the evidence of the famous Chinese traveller, Yuan Chwang, who has recorded his first-hand observations of what he saw of the emperor's life and work.

There are also three known inscriptions of Harsa which supply some very valuable information: these are the Sonpat Copper Seal (No. 52 in Fleet's *Gupta . Inscriptions),* the Banskhera plate of year 22 of'

[1] Sometimes called Sri Harsa without much justification. The *Sri* was not a part of his name; otherwise we should have the form *Sri Sri Harsa* which occurs nowhere. In the Kauthem grant of Vikraniaditya V, he is called *Harsa-mahdnripa [IA,* xvi, 22], while Bana's work is called simply *Harm-charita* [Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions,* p. 207, n. 3]. Some inscriptions call him *Harsa-deva* [e.g. the Nausarl grant and the Aphsad Stone Inscription (*IA,* [x]iii, 73, 79)], [a] name also occurring in the *Harsa-charita.*

Harsa era, i. e., of about A. D. *628,* and the Madhuban plate of year 25 or A. D. *631.* But the information derivable from these inscriptions directly bearing on Harsa is importantly supplemented by the entire body of the inscriptions of the age beginning with those of the imperial Guptas,, especially on the interesting subject of the administrative system of the times.

The founder of the house was Puspabhuti, a devoted worshipper of Siva, who came under the influence of a noted Saiva saint of the Deccan, Bhairavacharya by name. Once the king is said to have followed his guru to a cremation ground for purposes of Tantrika worship and won from his deity the boon that he would be 'the founder of a mighty line of kings' *[HC.*[1] 109-27].

The Madhuban Plate Inscription gives the names of the immediate ancestors of Harsa as follows:

Naravardhana m. Vajrinidevi

Rajyavardhana I m. Apsarodevi

Adityavardhana m. Mahasenaguptadevi

Prabhakaravardhana *on.* (Maharajadhiraja) Yasomati (daughter of Emperor Yasodharman Vikramaditya of Malava).

[1] **The translation of *Haraa-charita* by Cowell and Thomas has been mainly used for the citations from Bana.**

In the account of Bana, Harsa's father, Prabhakara-vardhana, beginning as a petty chief of a ' district called Sthanvisvara in the land of orikantha', very nearly attains the position of an emperor by subduing or overawing a number of countries and peoples all over northern India. He became 'a lion to the *Huna* deer, a burning fever to the king of the *Indus land,* a troubler of the sleep of *Gujarat,* a bilious plague to that scent-elephant the lord of *Gdndhdra,* a looter to the lawlessness of the *Lats,* an axe to the creeper of *Malwa's* glory' *[HC.* 133]. 'Levelling on every side hills and hollows, clumps and forests, trees and grass, thickets and ant-hills, mountains and caves, the broad paths of his armies seemed to portion out the eartli for the support of his dependants' *[ibid.].* Thus he became ' famed far and wide under a second name, Pratapaslla '. In the inscriptions also he is described as ' one whose fame spread beyond the four seas, and to whom submitted the other kings in power or love' [Madhuban Plate] and is given the title of ' Maharajadhiraja Paramabhattaraka', whereas his father Adityavardhana, and grandfather Rajya-vardhana I, are simply called Maharajas.

About the year A.D. 590,[1] Queen Yasovati or Yasomatl (according to the Sonpat Seal Inscription) gave birth to Harsa ' in the month Jyaistha, on the twelfth day of the dark fortnight, the Pleiads being in the ascendant, just after the twilight time '. The birth of the prince was announced to the king by

[1] **See Note B to Ch. I I , showing how these dates are arrived at.**

Suyatra, the daughter of ihe queen's nurse. When Prince Rajyavardhana was nearly six years old, his sister Rajyasii was born, about the year A. D. 593. At that time Harsa was old enough only ' to manage five or six paces with the support of his nurse's fingers', and ' tiny teeth were beginning to adorn his mouth', as Bana informs us (115, 116), so that he. could not be more than two years old at the most. As the royal children began to grow up, their maternal uncle, Queen Yasovatl's brother,[1] deputed his son Bhandi to serve the young princes. Later on. the king appointed as their companions the two sons of the Malwa[2] king, who were also their uncles [Note A, Ch. II], viz. Kumaragupta and Madhava-. gupta *[HC.* 154]. This probably shows that the Malwa king was subordinate to him.

Not many details are given of the education of the princes.[3] They grew up ' adamantine in the hardness of their frames', ' borne on horses and well-proportioned like Aruna and Garuda', with their hands daily begrimed with the marks of sword-play, while their

[1] **Emperor Siladitya of Malava, son of Yasodharman Vikramaditya; as explained in Note A, Ch. II, he deputed his son to the Court of Thanesar under terms of a treaty forced on him by his defeat by King Prabhakara. This event took place about A. D. 593.**

[2] **i. e. Eastern Malwa as distinguished from Malava proper under Emperor Yasodharman (A. D. 533-83), and his son and successor, Siladitya (A. D. 583-93; A. D. 604-6, as explained in Note A, Ch.** II.

[3] **Bana furnishes the information, hardly noticed, that Harsa had a third brother named Krisua (59), while he also credits Harsa himself with a son (101).**

recreation time was marked by the deep twang of their bows (151).

Their sister Rajyasri 'gradually grew up in daily increasing familiarity with friends expert in song, dance, &c, and with all accomplishments' (156). 'In a comparatively limited period she came to maturity' and was given away in marriage to Prince Grahavarman, son of King Avantivarman of the royal house of the Mukharas[1] (156), with due pomp and ceremony: 'even kings girt up their loins, and busied themselves in carrying out decorative work set as tasks by their sovereign', while 'from the farthest orient came the queens of all the feudatories '.

After some time, his old enemies, the Hunas,[2] again began to create trouble, but the king was too old to take action himself. So he summoned to his presence his eldest son, Rajyavardhana, 'whose age now fitted him for wearing armour, and, as a lion dispatches his

[1] **The Haraha Inscription *[Ep. Intl.* xiv, p. no] connects this dynasty with the Solar race and mentions as its founder King Asvapati of the Madras, the father of SatI Savitrl of the *Mahabharata.* The antiquity of the family is historically demonstrated by the fact that on a clay seal discovered at Gaya appears in the Mauryan Brahml characters the legend *Mokhalisa* = Maukhareh [Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions,* p. 14]. The term *Mukhara* is cited in the *Kasika* as an example of *Gotrdvayava,* i. e. insignificant gotras, kulas, or families, from which the formation *Maukharyd* is derived under Panini, iv. 1, 79.**

[2] **The Aphsad Inscription of Adityasena refers to the Maukharis of Kanauj being also troubled by, and chastising, the Hunas. Thus both the kingdoms of Kanauj and Thanesar must have been united as allies against their common enemy, the Hunas. The cause of this alliance is explained in Note A, Ch. I I .**

whelp against the deer, placed him at the head of an immense force and sent him attended by ancient advisers and devoted feudatories towards the north to attack the Hunas' (166). Harsa, then too young to be associated with this commission, would not, however, be left behind, but followed his brother with a cavalry force. While his elder brother was hunting out the enemy in the hills, Harsa engaged himself in hunting down 'the lions, sarabhas, tigers, and boars' plentiful in the forests at the foot of the hills. 'His bow drawn to the ear, he emitted a rain of shining shafts which in a comparatively few days left the forests empty of wild creatures' (167).

While the two brothers were thus engaged, the messenger Kurangaka came from the capital to Harsa with a letter conveying news of his father's serious illness,' a violent fever '. Instantly Harsa rode away back to the capital and did not take any food for three days until he found himself at his father's bedside. Among the physicians in attendance on the king are mentioned Susena (171), and Rasayana who had mastered the Ayurveda in all its eight divisions (177), while, passing on through the third court of the

[1] **It is interesting to note that the Chinese traveller, I-tsing, who visited India shortly after Yuan Chwang, also mentions the eight divisions of the Ayurveda of the times which he describes as treating respectively of (1) sores, inward and outward ; (2) diseases above the neck, and (3) below the neck, i.e., bodily diseasesj (4) demoniac diseases due to attack of evil spirits; (5) antidotes to poisons ; (6) diseases of the children from the embryo stage to the sixteenth year; (7) the means of lengthening life; and (8) the methods of invigorating the legs and body.**

palace, the prince perceived the smell of boiling oil, butter, and decoctions used in preparing medicines for the sick king. On arrival at the palace, Harsa dispatched express couriers and swift camel-riders one after another for fetching his elder brother, but in the meanwhile King Prabhakaravardhana died. His parting words to Prince Harsa were: 'Succeed to this world; appropriate my treasury; make prize of the feudatory kings; support the burden of royalty; protect the people; guard well your dependants; practise yourself in arms; annihilate your foes'[1] (188). A monument in brick was set up on the sepulchral pile of the dead king, while Harsa 'with longing heart awaited his brother's advent' (195)-

Rajyavardhana at last returns, with 'long white bandages bound about arrow wounds received in battle while conquering the Hunas' (197), and was so much affected by his father's death that he resolved to renounce the world and turn an ascetic, leaving the throne to his younger brother. But Harsa was too noble-hearted to accept this position, and forced the throne on his brother by his compelling arguments and attitude.

But the throne did not mean any peace to either of the ill-fated brothers. Suddenly, a distinguished

[1] **It is not clear whether these words indicate the king's preference of Harsa for the throne in supersession of the claims of his eldest son who was away. Such nominations by kings of their successors were not, however, unusual in those days, as shown in some of the Gupta inscriptions cited below.**

servant of Princess Rajyasri, Samvadaka by name, brought to the new king the tidings of a grave calamity: ' On the very day on which the king's death was rumoured, His Majesty Grahavarman was by the wicked lord of Malwa[1] cut off from the living along with his noble deeds. Rajya£rl also, the princess, has been confined like a brigand's wife with a pair of iron fetters kissing her feet, and cast into prison at Kanya-kubja.[2] There is moreover a report that the villain, deeming the army leaderless, purposes to invade and seize this country as well. Such are my tidings: the matter is now in the king's hands' (204). At this news, Rajyavardhana's grief yielded to a more violent passion, and, in a paroxysm of wrath, he burst out:

[1] **i. e. SIladitya, with whom was also associated Devagupta, king of eastern Malwa (mentioned in the Madhuban Plate Inscription). See Note A, Ch. I I .**

[2] **From this sentence has been inferred the fact that the Maukhari kingdom was Kanauj. There is also another passage in the *Harsacharita* (254) describing Kanauj as being a Maukhari city which had been seized by the Gupta king of Malwa [Guptanamnacha grihite Kusiisthale (i. e., Kanauj)] before Rajyasri was imprisoned there. It is, however, possible, and there are some who take this view, that Kanauj, where Rajyasri was kept in prison by the Malwa king, was a part of *his* dominion. That the Maukharis were *not* rulers of Kanauj is also supposed from the fact that their inscriptions were all found far away from Kanauj, in Magadha (Bihar Province). Against this, however, is to be considered the *provenance* of their coins which were all found associated with the coins of Siladitya (Harsa) and Pratapasila (Prabhakara) in a place near Kanauj—the Fyzabad district. Dr. Mark Collins (in his *Geographical Data of Roghuvathfa* and *Dafakumdracharita)* suggests the compromise that, while Avantivarman and Grahavarman were kings of Kanauj, the original Maukhari kingdom was probably Anga.**

' Malwas to maltreat the race of Puspabhuti!—this is the hind clutching the lion's mane, the frog slapping the cobra, the calf taking the tiger captive!' and delivered the following instruction to Harsa: ' Lot all the kings and elephants stay with you. Only Bhandi[1] here must follow me with some ten thousand horse'. So saying, he ordered the marching drum instantly to sound. But Harsa, not less excited over the incident, could not easily reconcile himself to his brother's order to remain behind, and earnestly entreated his brother to revoke it. He pleaded that he need not stay for the sake of keeping control over the feudatories, who were all ' secured by the bonds of his virtues', and argued : 'If you think it inopportune that two should go, gratify me with the commission '. In the end,, he sank his head to the ground and fell at his brother's feet, till he was upraised and consoled by his brother, saying: ' A concourse of lions in the

[1] **We thus find Bhandi going to fight against his father. But this circumstance 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 Bhandi 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 by King Prabhakara as a ' third son' (HC, 117), and by his own sons as *a fourth brother' *(ibid.).* It is not surprising that this affection under which Bhandi was being brought up in a foreign court for about twelve years overcame that for his natural father!**

We may also note in this connexion that Bhandi is also mentioned by Yuan Chwang as one of the leading figures of Harsa's court under the name *Bani* This is one of those vital confirmations which have established the historicity of Bana's narrative.

matter of a deer is too degrading. Be pleased to stay'. Thus kept back, Harsa ' could scarcely make the time pass, alone as he was like a wild elephant strayed from the herd' (204-8).

Very soon it was Harsa's turn to be confronted single-handed by a more serious calamity. One day, when in the audience chamber, he noticed Kuntala, a chief officer of cavalry, and a favourite of his brother, entering in haste with a dejected company, to deliver to him the heart-rending news that 'his brother, though he had routed the Malwa army with ridiculous ease, had been allured to confidence by false civilities on the part of the king of Gauda, and then, weaponless, confiding, and alone, dispatched in his own quarters' (208). The king of Gauda[1] was, according to the evidence of Yuan Chwang, ' Sasanka, the wicked king of Karnasuvarna in East India, a persecutor of Buddhism' [Waiters' translation, i. 343], who uprooted the Bodhi tree *[Life,* p. 171]. The inscription gives the following account of the incident: ' He in battle curbed Devagupta and all

[1] According to one MS. of the *Sri Havm-cliarita,* he is called Narendragupta [see *Ep. Ind.,* vol. i, p. 70], but according to the commentator on the *Harm-charita* he is named Sastn.ka [see Bombay edition 1892, p. 195]. The translators of the *Harsa-ckm-ita* very ingeniously find in the word S*asanka-mandalam* a veiled allusion to King Sasaiika. This SasLnka is identified with the Sasankaraja of a copper-plate inscription of the Gupta-samvat 300 (i.e, A. n. 619-20) who in that case must thus have reigned at least thirteen years after the murder of Rajyavardhana and the accession of Harsa [see *Ep, Ind,,* vol. vi, p. 143]. Harsa might then have shown a Buddhists forgiveness to his brother's murderer or was not able to bring him to book. See Note C, Chap. I I .

the other kings together and uprooted his adversaries ; then he, through his trust in promises *(scdydnuro-dhena),* lost his life in the enemy's quarters.' It thus admirably confirms the account of Bana. The commentator on *Harsa-charita* has stated that Sasaiika threw Rajya off his guard by his offer to marry his daughter to him as a token of his submission and friendship. But perhaps the real motive of the murder was inspired by the Machiavellian political maxim that ' if a frontier country has a virtuous ruler, this is the unhappiness of the mother kingdom !' [Beal, i. 210].[1]

At this point in the life of Harsa, Yuan Chwang interposes some interesting facts not fully mentioned by Bana. According to the Chinese pilgrim, when the throne of Kanauj fell vacant on the death of King Rajyavardhana, 'the statesmen of Kanauj, on the advice of their leading man Bani, invited Harsa-vardhana, the younger brother of the murdered king, to become their sovereign. The prince modestly made excuses, and seemed unwilling to comply with their request', until his hesitation was removed by the

[1] **In the *tiaudanijamdla,* Mr. A. K. Maitra makes the novel suggestion that Rajya died in an open conflict with J&a£&nka. He cites passages from the H*arsa-charita* (cited here also) to show that after his easy defeat of the Malwa king, Rajya put Bhandi in charge of the spoils of the victory, and himself proceeded to Kanauj with a reduced force, only to find himself overwhelmed by the much superior force with which the Malwa king's ally, Sasanka, had come all the way from his kingdom in Bengal to help him in the conquest of Kanauj. Thus Rajya had to surrender to Sasanka, who did not consider it prudent to spare his life.**

Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, who ' promised him secret help,but warned himnot to occupy the actual throne and not to use the title Maharaja. Thereupon Harsa-vardhana became king of Kanauj with the title Rajaputra and the style Siladitya' *[ibid.].* In the *Harsa-charita,* however, which gives a somewhat different[1] version of this episode, the Bodhisattva is replaced by ' the goddess of Royal Prosperity who took him in her arms and, seizing him by all the royal marks on all his limbs, forced him, however reluctant, to mount the throne—and this though he

[1] According to Bana, it was rather the old Commander-in-chief, Shhhanada, than Bhandi who was concerned with Harsa's accession to the throne. The latter was away from the capital when Rajyavardhana died, for he had accompanied him in his campaign against Malwa from which he returns victorious only to meet Harsa on the way among the Vindhyas where he was wandering in search of his sister. On the whole, as we shall see, Bana, as an historian, is sometimes more reliable than the Chinese pilgrim.

It may also be further noted that while Yuan Chwang mentions the hesitation of Harsa to occupy the vacant throne, Bana knows of no such hesitation. C. V. Vaidya *[Mediaeval Hindu India,* vol. i, p. 7] thinks that here also Bana is right, and that the hesitation referred to was in respect of the throne of Kanauj, and *not* of Thanesar with which it is confused by the Chinese traveller. The widowed Princess Rajyasri was the lawful heir to the throne of Kanauj on the demise, without leaving any male issue, of her husband Grahavarman. Thus Harsa could not possibly agree to misappropriate and ' occupy the throne of Kanauj ', but preferred rather to rule ' in conjunction with his widowed sister', as stated in the Chinese work cited below. Thus there seems to have been an amalgamation of the two kingdoms of Kanauj and Thanesar under Harsa, who now treated Kanauj as his head-quarters more than any other place in his empire. It may further be supposed that there was a combination of the military forces of the two kingdoms, which naturally helped Harsa in his *Digvijaya.*

had taken a vow of austerity and did not swerve from his vow' (79). We have no means of ascertaining what this vow of austerity exactly was. Watters takes it to mean that Harsa 'in the early part of his life had joined the Buddhist church and perhaps taken the vows of a bhiksu, or at least of a lay member of the Communion '. But, according to Bana, Harsa became an adherent of Buddhism only after the completion of his extensive conquests (288). As regards the suggestion that he did not occupy the actual throne, we may consider the statement contained in the Chinese work *Fang-ckih* that he administered the government in conjunction with his widowed sister [Waiters, i. 345].

CHAPTER II

CAMPAIGNS, CONQUESTS, AND SUZERAINTY

A double task now confronted the youthful king: the recovery of his sister and the punishment of his brother's murderers. The news of this double calamity upset Harsa so much that [1] like Janamejaya he became intent on burning all sovereigns' (209), while the Senapati, Simhanada, a friend of his father, added fuel to his fire by saying: 'Think not of the Cauda king alone: so deal that for the future no other follow his example'; and egged him on by calling up the example of Parasu-Kama, who, to avenge his father's death, 'one and twenty times cut down and eradicated the united power of the Ksatriya race' (215). Harsa responds to this call of his old commander-in-chief with equal enthusiasm: 'By the dust of my honoured lord's feet I swear that, unless in a limited number of days I clear this earth of Gaudas, and make it resound with fetters on the feet of all kings who are incited to insolence by the elasticity of their bows, then will I hurl my sinful self, like a moth, into an oil-fed flame' (218). So saying 'he gave instructions to Avanti, the supreme minister of war

and peace' that a proclamation should be engraved to the following effect: 'Let all kings prepare their hands to give tribute, or grasp swords; to seize the realms of space, or chowries; let them bend their heads, or their bows, grace their ears with my commands, or their bowstrings, crown their heads with the dust of my feet, or with helmets'.

Then the emperor summoned to his presence Skandagypta,[1] the commandant of his whole elephant troop, and Aasked him to call in the elephant herds out at pastu (222), 'commanding his march for a world-wide conquest' (225). In obeying his master's orders, Skandagupta, like the Senapati, did not forgo his right to admonish the youthful king. Said he; 'Loyal devotion requires of me a few words. . . . The story of His Majesty Rajyavardhana has given you some inkling into the despicable characters of vile men. Thus do national types vary, like the dress, features, food, and pursuits of countries, village by village, town by town, district by district, continent by continent, and clime by clime. Dismiss, therefore, this universal confidingness so agreeable to the habits of your own land and springing from innate frankness of spirit. Of disasters due to mistaken carelessness, frequent reports come daily to your Majesty's hearing '. He then gave to Harsa a long list of such disasters, mostly from legends, but

[1] This official's name is also mentioned in two inscriptions, Nos. 528, 529 in Kiel horn's List. This is a remarkable proof of the trustworthiness of Biina's work as a source of history.

in a few cases from history, such as that of the Maurya king Brihadratha slain unawares by his own general Puspamitra. Thus the idea of a regular *digvijaya* was urged on Harsa by all his officers in their loyalty to the best interests of his house. He was further encouraged in his conquests by the spirit of the subordinate princes accompanying him, who, in their war-fever, thus mapped out the field of their aggression : ' The land of the Turuksas is to the brave but a cubit. Persia is only a span. The Saka realm but a rabbit's track. In the Pariyaka country, incapable of returning a blow, a gentle march alone is needed. The Deckhan is easily won at the price of valour' (240). As we shall see, this threat was not completely realized, especially that about the Deccan, which administered to the emperor the greatest rebuff of his life!

Then on an auspicious day in which was ' fixed an hour of marching suitable for the subjugation of all the four quarters' (227), the king accompanied by his kinsmen *(kulapiitras)* and feudatories *(samantas)* 'issued forth from his house, like the Golden Foetus from Brahma's egg, to set on foot an age of gold'. His first halt on the march was near the Sarasvatl, whence he came to Kathaka where he was visited by a confidential messenger, Haiisavega by name, who had been sent to him by the new and young sovereign of Assam, Bhaskaravarman, with costly presents and proposal of an alliance[1] which was accepted by him.

[1] According to some historians, their alliance was a long-standing one. It was sought by Kamarupa as a protection against the

Then dismissing Haihsavega 'with a load of answering gifts in charge of [eminent envoys', he continued to 'advance by ceaseless marches against theyfbe until one day he heard from a letter-carrier that Bhandi had arrived with the Malwa king's whole force, conquered by the might of Rajyavardhana's arm, and was encamped quite near'. Soon Bhandi came in sight with a single horse and a retinue of a few nobles, and related to Harsa the whole story of his brother's death in full, and, on the king asking what was his sister's plight, said: 'Your Majesty, I learnt from common talk that after His Majesty Rajyavardhana was taken to paradise and Kanyakubja was seized by the man named Gupta, Queen Rajya^rl burst from her confinement and with her train entered the Vindhya forest' (254). Then, inspecting the Malwa king's army and the booty captured and brought by Bhandi, which comprised 'thousands of elephants, horses, ornaments of divers kinds, yaktail chowries, regal paraphernalia such as lion thrones, couches and settees, treasure chests with written records of their contents, and all the Malwa king's adherents with their feet restrained by iron fetters',

enmity of the Guptas of Magadha, one of whom, Mahasenagupta, defeated a king named Susthitavarman [Aphsad Stone Inscription, No. 42 of Fleet], who is supposed to be a predecessor of King Bhaskaravarman of Kamarupa. But it is more probable from the context of the epigraphic passage that this Susthitavarman was only a namesake of the Kamarupa king and was really a *Maukhari,* the ancestor of Avantivarman and Grahavarman of Kanauj. This was the view of Fleet *[Gupta Inscriptios,* Introduction, p. 15], which I see no ground for changing. See Note A to Ch. I I , below.

and appointing overseers to take charge of the booty, the king, accompanied by the Malwa prince, Madhavagupta, and tributary kings, set out with the horse in search of his sister, and in a comparatively few days march reached the Vindhya forest. There Harsa comes across Vyaghraketu, son of the tributary chief Sarabhaketu,[1] who introduces to him, as one familiar with every creek and corner of the hills, Nirghata, nephew of the Vindhyan chief, Bhukampa by name. Nirghata refers Harsa to a mendicant of the name of Divakaramitra whom the king identifies as a former friend of his sister's husband. Originally a follower of Vedic religion and of the Maitrayani Sakha, he turned a Buddhist and had his hermitage in the Vindhyan forests, which soon grew up to be a great centre of learning and religion, attracting students of different sects and communities. On the king relating to him the cause of his coming, one of the mendicants informed him that he had seen in the morning a young lady in despair mounting the funeral pile, surrounded by a troop of other women, and said further that he had himself come in haste to his

[1] We probably owe to this acquaintance of Harsa with a forest chief his introduction, in his drama of *Priyadarsika,* of the character called Vindhyaketu, the king of the Atavikas or Foresters, who is also associated with the heroine PriyadanSika as her protector in distress, just as in real life Harsa's sister, BajyasYl, becomes associated with the Vindhyan chiefs in her distress. The plot of Harsa's drama must have been suggested by the romances of his eventful life ! The name Vindhyaketu is itself suggested by the names of the actual Vindhyan chief, Sarabhaketu, with his son, Vyaghraketu.

teacher that he might intervene and prevent the lady from committing her contemplated suicide. Harsa, very much agitated at this information, implored the mendicant to show him where she was at once, and went on foot after him with all his tributary kings as well as the saint Divakaramitra. Following up some piteous cries, lie was able to find his way to Rajyasri, then 'fainting as she prepared to enter the funeral pile', and pressed her forehead with his hand. At that reviving touch she recovered from her swoon and recognized her brother, who tried to comfort her by covering her mouth with his hands. On overcoming her emotion she allowed her brother to lead her away from the fire and sat down at the foot of a tree close by (380). In the meanwhile Divakaramitra had water brought by one of his disciples, with which the brother and the sister refreshed themselves, and then Harsa said to his sister: 'My child, salute this holy man. He was your husband's second heart and is our guru'. Divakaramitra then presented the king with a pearl-wreath which he bound on his shoulder as an antidote to poison, whereupon the king reciprocated his kindness by saying: 'This body of mine is placed unreservedly at your disposal till death. You are now absolutely free to do with it what you please '. Rajyasri, who felt more attracted to the saint as her husband's friend, thus expressed her devotion: 'Your Holiness' coining stopped my resolution to die, even on the point of accomplishment; let me therefore in my misfortunes be allowed to

assume the red robe' (285). But the saint, not accepting her downright devotion, as being the outcome of a temporary emotion, dissuaded her by saying that she must act as her lawful guardian, her brother, now, as her guru or father, desires. Harsa said he could yield to her wishes subject to the condition that he must be permitted to cherish her for a while as his dearly loved sister lost and recovered, and must also be allowed time to carry out his own righteous vow of vengeance against his enemies. 'When I have accomplished my design/ the king said further, 'she and I will assume the red garments together'[1] (288).

On the accomplishment of that design the king now concentrated all his attention, energy, and resources. The series of troubles he had to face in his early life only burnt into his soul the supreme necessity for him of annihilating the system of things which could produce, or make possible, such troubles, the system[2] of too many small states in a condition of unstable political equilibrium, as well as of reviving and realizing the long-lost and traditional Ksatriya ideal for a king to

[1] At this point, so early in his career, ends the *Harsa-charila,* with the return of Harsa and Rajya3rl to Kathaka, the place from which he had set out in search of his lost sister.

[2] The existence of small states and of wars between them is also assumed by Harsa in his dramas, *Ratnavall* and *Priyadarsikd.* The latter describes a war between Anga and Kalinga, between Kausambl and Kalinga, and between Kau&Lmbl and the Vindhyan state, while the former mentions a war between Kausambi and Kosala whose king took shelter in a fort in the Vindhyas, supposed to have been within his dominion.

bring the whole country, as far as possible, under the 'umbrella' of one authority. Thus Rajaputra Siladitya launched forth his scheme of Digvijaya (the conquest of the quarters), for which he got together a large army comprising 5,000 elephants, 20,000 cavalry, and 50,000 infantry, but not including any chariots, which he probably condemned as useless. The details of his conquests are not fully available. According to Yuan Chwang, he first' proceeded eastwards, invaded the states which had refused allegiance, and waged incessant warfare until in six years he had brought the five Indias[1] under allegiance' [Watters, i. 343]. But we have no details even about the most important of Harsa's campaigns, that against the Gauda king, which supplied the motive of his digvijaya. Bana only tells us that Harsa put Bhandi in charge of that campaign, pending his quest of his sister, which he is more concerned to describe. He makes an indirect allusion to the campaign in a passage (200) where he speaks of 'the rise of the blotted moon, Sasainka, as symbolizing the rising power of the Gauda king, of the 'red sunset' as indicative of bloody wars, and 'the buzzing bees' of arrows. In another passage (238) we are told of

[1] The 'Five Indias' are stated to be Svarastra (Panjab), Kanyakubja, Gauda (Bengal), Mitliila (Darbhanga), and Orissa. That Orissa was part of Harsa's empire is indicated by the fact recorded in the *Life* (p. 154), that Harsa wanted to assign the revenue of eighty large towns of Orissa to Jayasena, the Master of the Saitras, who was too spiritually minded to accept the royal favour.

' riders intently occupied in rehearsing the approaching Gaucla war *(dgdmi-Gauda vigraham)* ', but nothing as to how that approaching war was fought and with what results! From Bana we gather further that Harsa had 'pounded *(pramathya)* a king of Sindh', and ' taken tribute from an inaccessible land[1] of snowy mountains' (which may mean Nepal) (100-I), while the king of Assam sought his alliance at the very beginning. In the West his conquests included the kingdom of Valabhl. At first ' the lord of Valabhl, who had been defeated by the great lord, the illustrious Harsadeva', sought the protection of Dadda II, the Gurjara king who belonged to the political system of the South under its paramount sovereign, Pulake&n II the Chalukya,[2] but later he got back his kingdom as a vassal of Harsa and even his son-in-law. As such he appears in the train of his father-in-law at the assemblies held by Harsa at Kanauj and Prayaga which will be described later [Grant of Dadda of Bharoeh and other epigraphs noticed in the *Indian Antiquary,* xiii. 70]. The name of this son-in-law of Harsa is given as Dhruvasena (Dhruvabhatta) II [Watters, ii. 246]. His campaigns in Western India seem to have resulted in the submission to his

[1] M. Ettinghausen *[Harsha-Vardhana,* p. 47], supposes this land to be a Tukhara country. The expression used by Bana is : ' atra paramesVarena tusara gailabhuvo durgaya grihltah karah'.

[2] The Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II *[Ep. Ind.,* vol. vi, p. 10] states how, ' subdued by his splendour, the Lfitas, Malavas and Gurjaras became as it were teachers of how feudatories, subdued by force, ought to behave '.

suzerainty of a few other states like those of Ananda-pura, Ki-ta or (?) Cutch, and Su-la-cha or Suratha (Surat), all of which on the eve of Yuan Chwang's visit were regarded as dependencies of Mo-la-po,[1] or Western Malava, formerly subject to Valabhi.[2] Some historians hold that Harsa's conquests or political influence extended also to Nepal, from the assumption that his era was in use there [Bhagwanlal Indraji and Buhler in I*A*, xiv, p. 420], but this is denied by S. Levi, who points out that Nepal at that time was a dependency of Tibet, which, after Harsa's death, helped Nepal in supporting the Chinese envoy Wang-hiuen-tse in his expedition against the usurper of Harsa's throned

[1] According to Yuan Chwang, sixty years before his visit Mo-la-po was ruled by a great king named Siladitya, identified by S. Levi with the Buddhist Siladitya T, surnamed Dharmaditya, of the Valabhi dynasty. The pilgrim also saw Dhruvabhatta reign in Valabhi as the nephew of Slladitya. Thus the inference may be made that fSiladitya Dharmaditya was also the original ruler of Valabhi to which he annexed Mo-la-po. The defeat by Harsa of Dhruvabhatta resulted in the submission of both these territories to the suzerainty of Harsa.

[2] The conquest of Valabhi justified the anticipation of Harsa's royal companions that 'in the Pariyatra (modern Aravallis) country, incapable of returning-a blow, a gentle march alone is needed' (Bana already cited). It is not certain, however, which country is meant by Bana by this name, whether Valabhi or some other part of Rajputana. Yuan Chwang refers to a country he calls Paryatra, which is identified by Reinaud with Bairat, of which the king was more military than religious [Watters, i. 300].

[3] The evidence for Harsa's conquest of Nepal is given as follows. Yuan Chwang mentions, as ' a recent king' of Nepal, Amsuvarman. whose inscriptions are dated Samvat 34, 39, and 45. It is believed **that the era used by Amsuverman and in the other later Nepal**

The only failure in his otherwise unbroken career of military success was that connected with his expedition to the south. As stated by Yuan Chwang [Watters, ii. 239], 'the great king Siladitya at this time was invading east and west and countries far and near were giving in allegiance to him, but *Mo-ha-la-cha* (i.e. Maharastra) refused to become subject to him' under its great king Pulakesln II, who made

inscriptions Nos. 9-15), is that of Sri Harsa which hogins in A. D. 606-7, and not his own, because in his own and some other inscriptions he is described as a mere *stimanta* or a *mahasamanta,* a great feudal chief, under some other overlord. That the Harsa era was in widest use in Northern India is testified to by Alberuni. No other era can meet tlie requirements of the case. There is further a definite statement in the VaihsTivalis of Nepal that just before Amsuvarman's accession to the throne Vikramaditya came to Nepal and established his era there. Though the name Vikramaditya and the era mentioned here are wrong, the statement probably points to Harsa's invasion of Nepal and to its result, the adoption of his era. V. A. Smith *[Early History of India,* 3rd ed., p. **341 n.]** accepts the theory of Harsa's conquest of Nepal against Sylvain Levi. The difficulty that Amsuvarman's inscription dated 34 Harsa Sam vat shows that he was living in A. D. 640 while Yuan Chwang, who was in India between 637 and **64a,** refers to him as a recent king, may be explained away by the consideration that the pilgrim's was only hearsay evidence, because he did not himself visit Nepal. That the Harsa era was used in Nepal may be inferred from the Nepal inscriptions dated 113 and 119 of Siva Deva, who, according to another inscription (No. 153 of Jayadeva), married the grand-daughter of Adityasena whose father, Madhavagupta, is mentioned as a contemporary of Harsa in the Aphsad Inscription [see *Gupta Inscriptions],* Now Adityasena lived about A.D. 672 (cf. Shahpur Inscription, *ibid.),* and if we take his time to be fifty years earlier than his grand-daughter (VatsadevI by name), his grandson-in-law, Siva Deva, should have lived about A. D. **720,** and thus his inscriptions dated 113 and 119 can have a reference only to the Harsa era to give that time for his life [see also K. M. Panikkar's *Sri Harsa* on this point].

himself the Lord Paramount of the south by his extensive conquests rivalling those of Harsa in the north. That the two emperors met in actual fight is also stated in the *Life* of Yuan Chwang: 'Slladitya raja, boasting of his skill and the invariable success of his generals, filled with confidence himself, marched at the head of his troops to contend with this prince but he was unable to prevail or subjugate him' [Beal, p. 147], although 'he has gathered troops from the five Indies and the best generals from all countries'. Probably this conflict was brought on by the aggression of Harsa, who, after vanquishing Dhruvasena II, king of Yalabhi, felt tempted to extend his conquests still further and try conclusions with Pulakesin II, whose dominions he had to invade in the course of his conquests running smooth and uninterrupted so long. But little did Harsa realize that on the other side of the Vindhyas there was a foernan worthy of his steel who, by his extensive conquests fully rivalling those of Harsa, had become powerful enough to repel his invasion.

The Chinese pilgrim's account of this great conflict between the two paramount sovereigns of northern and southern India is also corroborated by the evidence of inscriptions. Thus in the Aihole inscription of A.D. 634, in which the poet Raviktrti describes the exploits of his patron Pulakesin II, there is a reference to that event in the following passage: 'Harsa, whose lotus-feet were arrayed with the rays of the jewels of the diadems of hosts of feudatories prosperous with unmeasured might, through Pulakesin had his joy

(harm) melted away by fear, having become loathsome with his rows of lordly elephants fallen in battle '.[1] Another verse (24th) in the same inscription shows that the scene of the battle must have been somewhere about the Vindhya and the banks of the Reva (Narmada), forming the northern limits of the empire of Pulakesin, where his ' broad armies' were encamped and had checked the progress of Harsa [see Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts,* p. 350]. There Sare also several inscriptions in which Pulakesin is described as defeating the glorious Sri-Harsa, the lord of the whole northern country, in consequence of which he acquired the second title of Paramesvara[2] I [Inscriptions nos. 401 and 404 in *Ep. Ind.,* vol. v, ' Kielhorn's List and p. 202, and in I*A,* vi. 87, viii. 244, ix. 125, and xi. 68, in all of which the formula used is: samarasaihsakta sakalottarapathesvara Sri Harsavardlmnaparajayopalabddha paramesvaraparanamadheyah]. Another inscription refers to 'Pulakesi-Vallabha, who by the strength of his own arm had subdued the united strength of all hostile kings ' [Nausari plates of Sryasraya Siladitya in *Ep. Ind.* viii. 230], while another describes him as ' acquiring the banner of victory in battle with Harsavardhana, the lord of the region of the north' *[IA,* xiii. 74J.

[1] 'patita gajendranlkavlbhatsa bhuto bhayavigalita harso yena chakari Harsah.'

[2] According to the Haidarabad grant of A. D. 612, this title was acquired by Pulakesin ' by defeating hostile kings who had applied themselves (or a hostile king who had applied himself) to the contest of a hundred battles ' [Fleet, *Dynasties,* p. 351 n.].

The military success of Pulakesin was due to the character of his people and of his administration, which are thus described by the Chinese traveller [Watters, ii. 239]: 'The inhabitants were proud-spirited and warlike, grateful for favours and revengeful for wrongs, self-sacrificing towards suppliants in distress and sanguinary to death with any one who treated them insultingly. Their martial heroes who led the van of the army in battle went into conflict intoxicated, and their war-elephants were also made drunk before an engagement. Relying on the strength of his heroes and elephants the king treated neighbouring countries with contempt ... The benevolent sway of this king reached far and wide'. Indeed, his influence and reputation were not confined to India. According to an Arabic chronicle, in the 36th year of the reign of Khosru II of Persia (i.e. about A. D. *62,5),* letters and presents were exchanged between him and the Indian monarch; while a painting in one of the caves at Ajanta probably points to this fact in showing the presentation of a letter from a Persian to an Indian king *[JRAS,* N.S., xi, pp. 157, 165-7]-

Thus for a time the suzerainty of India was practically divided between two persons, Harsa and Pulakesin.[1] According to the Chinese traveller, when his wars and conquests were over, Harsa placed his army

[1] **The Yekkeri inscription of Pulakesin II *[Ep. Ind.* v, p. 8], definitely calls him Daksinapathaprithivyah svami, i.e. Lord of the whole country of the region of the south.**

on a peace footing by making it overwhelmingly large and strong against the aggressive designs of the states subdued. He brought his elephant corps (which had enabled Pulakesin to achieve his great victory over him) up to 6o,ooo and the cavalry to ioo,coo, and with such a force he was able 'to reign in peace for thirty years without raising a weapon'[1]

[1] This statement of Yuan Ghwang may be considered along with his other statement, that Harsa 'waged incessant warfare until in *six* years he had brought the Five Indias under allegiance',, in fixing the dates of Harsa's reign and conquests. As remarked by Waiters, ' it is against *text* and context to make him represent the king as fighting continuously for thirty or thirty-six years'. Considering that in about A.D. 642 the king told the Chinese pilgrim that 'he had been lord of India for thirty years and more' *[Life,* p. 183], we may assume that all his conquests were over by about A.D. 612 and that he had become king six years earlier (the period of his conquests) in A. D. 606, the year 1 of the Harsa era. This assumption is also strengthened by the fact that the quinquennial assembly held in the spring of A.D. 644 was the sixth held in his reign [Beal, *Life,* p. 184]. It is thus reasonable to conclude with Fleet, and against Vincent Smith *[Early History,* p. 340, n.], that Harsa's wars with Valabhl and Pulakesin took place within A.D. 612. Fleet's argument is based on the Haidarabad grant of A. D. 612, showing that Pulakesin had then already established himself at Bildami, and hence this consolidation of his power must have been subsequent to his earlier expeditions and successes (including the defeat of Harsa) described in the Aihole inscription of A. D. 634. The Haidarabad grant, though it does not mention Harsa by name, implies, by the title which Pulakesin acquired by his victory over him, that that victory had then already been achieved [Fleet, *Dynasties,* pp. 351 and 356]. It need not, however, be assumed from this that Harsa, as the ruler of an extensive empire, could be entirely free from the necessity of further military expeditions. Even as late as A. D. 643 we find him returning from a successful campaign in distant Kongoda (Ganjam), where his great rival Sa&lnka was recognized as

[Watters, ii. 343]. Thus his empire rested ultimately upon the basis of physical force.

We may now try to indicate the full extent of the empire under the direct and actual administration of Harsa as distinguished from the extent of his influence. The sphere of authority is, of course, less extensive than the 'sphere of influence' or suzerainty. But in the records of the times, direct rule is sometimes confused with the power and authority indirectly exercised over a larger area by a paramount sovereign or a king of kings. What adds to the confusion is that these old empires were not organized as centralized administrations or unitary states, but were always compatible with, and, indeed, largely made up of, any number of local kingdoms acknowledging the suzerainty of a paramount sovereign such as Harsa undoubtedly was in his age. Thus the problem of defining the extent of the old Indian empires is a problem connected with the peculiar lines on which Hindu political development generally proceeded. We know, besides, of many an instance in ancient Indian history of a great *Dlgvijayi* or conqueror like a Samudragupta reinstating vanquished kings in their

suzerain up to at least A. D. 619 [see Note C to this chapter]. Nor do we know how long he was engaged in trying to overcome Sasanka himself. Further, we learn from the Aihole Inscription of Pulakesln II, that he, too, had conquered both Kosila and Kalinga, and might thus have come into conflict with Harsa in that region, which was evidently a storm-centre in that age. This assumption is made by Mr. R. D. Banerji *[History of Bengal* in Bengali, 2nd ed., p. 109].

kingdoms when they acknowledged his overlordship and offered to remain as his friends and allies, with obligations to follow their overlord in his wars or help him in other waj's. Thus the king of kings builds up a political system of his own, a *mandala,* as it is called in the Hindu political treatises, the 'sphere-' or circle of states of which he is the centre[1] or paramount sovereign.

Firstly, then, as regards the territories directly administered and controlled by Harsa, they are to be gathered not only from his own acquisitions and annexations by conquest, but also from those of his predecessors. From the words used by Bana, it may be inferred that Harsa's father, Maharajadhiraja Prabhakara Vardhana, had by his conquests made his power felt in several distant countries, in Gandhara, the Indus land, the country of the Hunas, in Malwa, in Gujarat, and the land of the Latas. But we are not sure whether this meant the actual annexation of these countries to the empire of Prabhakara Vardhana. We also know from Bana how two of these subdued countries rebelled in his last days, and had to be subdued again by his successor, Rajya. These were the country of the Hunas, and Malwa. But it is not clear from the evidence whether these countries were annexed by Rajya and brought under his direct rule. Next as regards the state of things under Harsa, Yuan

[1] **A most luminous exposition of what he calls the Doctrine of Maudala appears *in* B. K. Sarkar's *Political Institutions and Thsories of the Hindus,* Leipzig, 1922,**

Chwang is our chief source of light. According to him, Gandhara, which was overawed by the might of Prabhakara Vardhana, was now a dependency of the state of Kapis (Kafiristan), to which were also subject 'more than ten of the neighbouring lands' [Watters, i. 123], among which are named Lampa (Laghman), Nagar (Jelalabad), and Fa-la-na (in the Kurum river district). Like Kapis, Kashmir was also a similar large state owning a number of dependencies, viz. Simhapura, Uras, Taxila, Kajapura, and Punach (Pan-nu-tso). The third large state in the North was Che-ka (with its city of Sakala), with its dependencies of Multan and Po-fa-to (Parvata). Perhaps from the manner of Yuan Chwang's statements we have to infer that these states were outside the limits of Harsa's dominion, but in two of these states, Kapis and Kashmir, the kings were at least Harsa's brethren in faith. The King of Kapis, like Harsa, held even the Moksa Parisad, 'at which he gave liberally to the needy', and had in his territories more than 100 Mahayana monasteries [Watters, i. 123]. Like Harsa, too, he sought the company of Yuan Chwang, whom he escorted for some distance on his return journey [bid., ii. 269]. The King of Kashmir was also a devoted Buddhist, who, like Harsa, had a high regard for the Chinese pilgrim who used to read and expound to him the Scriptures, and remained as his guest for two years for purposes of study. The king ' gave him 20 clerks to copy out manuscripts and 5 men to act as attendants' *[ibid.,* i. 259]. Yuan Chwang does not

name the king, but, according to R*ajalarahgini,* he should be Durlabha Vardhana, who ruled from A. D. 601-37. The *Life* tells of an episode narrated below which shows that Kashmir in a way acknowledged the suzerainty of Harsa: the episode of Harsa compelling the King of Kashmir to part with a relic of the Buddha. Bana refers to the ' land of the Indus' as being subdued by Prabhakara and ' the inaccessible land of snowy mountains' subdued by Harsa himself ; and these phrases might signify Kashmir also, as has been already stated.

Yuan Chwang also mentions states in other parts of India which were ruled by different kings, and on that ground might be deemed as being independent of Harsa's dominion. Thus Ujjain, Jajhoti (Chih-chi-to), and Mahesvarapura were each ruled by a Brahmin king; Paryatra (Bairat) had a Vaisya, Southern Kosala a Buddhist, and Ku-che-lo (Gurjara) also a Buddhist king. If the last place was Gurjara, it is to be noted that, according to Bana, King Prabhakara was a terror to these Gurjaras. Thus checked on the east by the empire of Harsa, they tried to expand westwards. First they established a dynasty at Bharoch under Dadda I (A. D. 528), who was succeeded by Jayabhata I and Dadda I I , Harsa's contemporary, who gave protection to a King of Valabhi against his attack. The second line of their expansion was towards the land of the Latas, where they fully established themselves by the middle of the seventh century, as will appear from their Kaira grants of the years A.D. 629

and 639 *[IA,* xiii. 88, also the Sankheda Charter of A.D. 595 *(EP- Ind.* ii. 19)]. The Latas, as already pointed out, were previously subdued by Prabhakara. The expansion of the Gurjaras southwards was, however, checked by Pulakesin II, whose suzerainty they accepted by about A. D. 634, as will appear from the Aihole inscription cited above.

Yuan Chwang mentions Sindh as being ruled by a Buddhist Sudra king. On the other hand, Bana tells us that Harsa ' pounded a King of Sindh'. If we may believe in the *Chaeh-iiamd,* the Brahmin dynasty of Sindh founded by Chach and made famous by Dahir was preceded by the dynasty whose last king was Sahasi Rai, whom it was accordingly that the Chinese pilgrim must have seen in about A.D. 641.

Matipur (near Hardwar) was also ruled by a non-Buddhist Sudra king, and Suvarnagotra (unidentified) by women; while in Eastern India, Monghyr was conquered by a neighbouring king and given over to the Buddhists, and Rajmahal (Kajangala) ' had come under a neighbouring state \ But elsewhere Yuan Chwang states that ' King Siladitya in his progress to East India held his court there ', which probably indicates that this country was really subject to Harsa after all.

Perhaps the only limitation of Harsa's dominion in **Bengal** was furnished **by** the kingdom **of Gauda** or **Karnasuvarna under** its anti-Buddhist **king S**asanka, the murderer of Harsa's brother. It is not clear from the evidence whether Harsa was able to punish him

and subdue his kingdom, for, according to the inscription already cited, he was quite prosperous as a Maharajadhiraja even in A. D. *619.* Later on, however, as is shown in a note below, his kingdom had to surrender to the power of Harsa's friend and ally, King Bhaskaravarman of Kamariipa. It may, however, be noted that Yuan Chwang, who had visited Karnasuvarna Some time between A. D. 636 and 639, does not mention the name of any king then ruling, from which we may infer with Mr. R. D. Banerji *[History of Bengal* in Bengali, and ed., p. 109] that since by that time its old king SaiSanka was dead and gone, the province came to be a part of Harsa's empire.

There is, again, evidence to show that Harsa's dominion extended up to Orissa. The *Life* tells of his expedition to Kongoda or Ganjam, and his camping in Orissa, in the course of which he tried to do some propagandist work on behalf of his faith, Mahayana Buddhism, by arranging to hold there a religious conference, for which he sent for learned Buddhists from distant Nalanda, as related below. That Orissa was a province of his empire is apparent from the fact that he made an offer to assign to Jayasena, the most learned Buddhist of that part, ' the revenue of eighty large towns of Orissa', as stated in the *Life.*

Thus even if we exclude from Harsa's empire the Countries for which the Chinese pilgrim assigns other rulers, the territory of that empire was undoubtedly much larger than that of any other individual state of the times in Northern India. It comprised prac*

tically the whole of the United Provinces,a large part of Bihar and Bengal (with the exception of only Karnasuvarna), Orissa, and such parts of the Panjab, Rajputana, Central and Western India, for which Yuan Chwang does not mention other rulers. The southern limit of his dominion must have been the river Reva or Narmada on which was fought the great battle between him and Pulakesin II. But as has been already stated, the Hindu political system did not favour much centralized control, but believed more in decentralization and local autonomy.[1] Thus the mere size of the territory directly governed by Harsa would not be at all a correct measure of his true political position and achievements, the sphere of his influence. With all the possible reservations, it cannot be doubted that Harsa achieved the proud position of being the paramount sovereign of the whole of Northern India. That the Indian public opinion[2] of the times held this view is clear from the description of Harsa as 'the Lord of the whole Uttarapatha' in even the South Indian inscriptions.

[1] The view taken here is also endorsed by Vincent Smith, according to whom ' the sway of Harsa was undisputed over the whole of the basin of the Ganges (including Nepal) from the Himalaya to the Narmada, besides Malwa, Gujarat, and Surastra. Detailed administration of course remained in the hands of the local Rajas, but even the king of distant Assam (Kamarupa) in the east obeyed the orders of the suzerain, whose son-in-law, the King of Valabhl in the extreme west, attended in the imperial train' *[Early History of India,* 3rd ed., p. 341].

[2] Bana applies to Harsa the following imperial titles, viz., Chakravarti, Lord of the field bounded by the five oceans, Paramesvara (85), Devadeva, and ' Sovereign of all continents ' (100).

Yuan Chvvang also records the same public opinion confirmed by his own observation when he says that ' Harsa reduced the neighbouring states to subjection, invaded the states which had refused allegiance', and ultimately ' brought the five Indias (of Svarastra, Kanyakubja, Gauda, Mithila, and Orissa) under allegiance ', and also that ' countries far and near were giving in allegiance to him' with the exception of Maharastra, which ' refused to become subject to him', although Harsa ' gathered troops from the five Indias and the best generals from all countries' against his enemy by his rights as suzerain.

We may measure, indeed, the extent and degree of his power and influence in Northern India by a few significant facts on record. His empire sometimes extended not by conquest or force, but by alliance and friendship. The king of distant Kamariipa (Assam) offered him allegiance of his own accord and was anointed king by his liege lord, as stated by Bana *(atra devena abhisiktah Kumarah).* We read of another king of 'North India' or the Panjab, King Udito of Jalandhara, who became a convert to Buddhism; ' thereupon the king of " Mid-India " appreciating his sincere faith gave him sole control of matters relating to Buddhism in all India' [Watters, i. 297]. The king of 'Mid-India' was, of course, Harsa, while the king of Jalandhara, according to the *Life* (p. 190), was also charged by Harsa to conduct the Chinese pilgrim in safety to the frontiers, and placed himself in command of the mounted escort

provided for the purpose. By virtue of his position as suzerain, Harsa further commissioned four official guides to accompany the escort with letters written by the emperor (on fine white cotton stuff and sealed with red wax), which they were instructed to present in all the countries through which they conducted the pilgrim, ' to the end that the princes of these countries might provide carriages or modes of conveyance to escort the Master even to the borders of China ' *[ibid.]*. The imperial wish, again, was complied with by the king of distant Kapis, who, as already narrated, had also escorted the Chinese pilgrim for some distance on his way home. Thus Harsa's influence and fame extended all over Northern India and even up to the borders of China. Embassies were exchanged between him and the Chinese Emperor. A Brahmin envoy sent to the Chinese court in A. D. 641 returned in A. D. 643 with a Chinese mission bringing the reply. This mission, which returned to China in A. D. 645, was followed by another mission from China under Wang-hiuen-tse, sent with an escort of thirty horsemen [Smith's *Early History of India,* 3rd ed., P-354[1]

[1] We may also recall here in this connexion the inauguration of the Harsa era as another proof of the superior political status achieved by Harsa in his times. Kielhorn mentions twenty inscriptions as being assigned to the Harsa era, of which Nos. 542 and 544 are now found to be connected with the Vikrama era. Of the rest, eleven inscriptions are in Nepal, one in Magadha, another in the Pan jab, and the others in places near Kanauj. [See E*p. Ind.* vol. v.]

There are also other accounts of the pomp and circumstance attaching to Harsa's position as paramount sovereign. Banabhatta describes[1] as an eyewitness how the royal camp pitched near Manitara along the Ajiravati river (on which stood oravastl), 'was tilled on every side with conquered hostile vassal chiefs' of whom 'some who could not find admission hung down their heads in shame', while others were permitted to present chowries or sword-blades in obsequious service to the emperor, and some others, 'honoured even in being conquered', were 'continually asking the servants of the different domestic porters who at intervals made their exits and entrances, and whose track was followed by thousands of various suppliants,—" Good sir, will it be to-day? Will the great lord give an audience in the hall after he has dined, or will he come out into the outer court?" and thus spending the day in the hope of an audience'. Besides the hostile chiefs, the emperor was attended by other kings 'who would come from the desire of seeing his glory'; 'natives of various countries who were waiting for the time when he would be visible'; 'Jains, Arhatas, Pasupatas, mendicants of the school

[1] This was Bana's second visit to the emperor, the first visit being apparently not very successful. Early morning, after the performance of the due rites (gamana-mangala), he set out from his native place, Prltikuta. On the first day he crossed the Chandika forest, and arrived at a village called Mahakuta, whence, next day, he crossed the river Bhagirathi, and rested for the night at a village. On the following day he reached Harsa's camp. (See *HC.)*

of Parasarya, Brahmin students, natives of every land, and savages from every forest that fringes the ocean-shore, and ambassadors from every foreign country '. Bana further informs us that the emperor's capital attracted as settlers even Andhras and Dravidians from the far south (170). That the feudatories (Samantas) were a constant feature of the court of the emperor has been already seen: when Rajyavardhana marches against Malwa he asks Harsa to stay behind with the feudatories; when Harsa wanders about the Vindhya hills and forests in search of his sister, he is accompanied by Madhavagupta, the prince of Malwa, and a troop of tributary kings. It was an Atavika Samanta or forest chief, again, who assisted Harsa in his search for his sister in the Vindhyan forests. We have already seen how these Samanta kings, forming the nobility of the imperial court and bringing dignity to it, were always in attendance even with their wives on ceremonial occasions such as birth or marriage in the royal household. We shall also see later how some of the highest administrative offices of the empire were offered to these Samantas. We are further told by the Chinese pilgrim, an eye-witness of the events, that in the royal progress from Kajughira (modern Kankjol, i.e. Rajmahal, according to Cunningham) to Kanyakubja, the emperor was accompanied by Kumararaja, king of Assam, with his full retinue from his kingdom [comprising 20,000 elephants and 30,000 ships *(Life,* p. 172)], while at the actual assembly at Kanauj ' there were present kings

of eighteen[1] countries of the five Indies' *[Life,* p. 177]. The same eighteen kings also followed in the suite of the emperor in his journey from Kanauj to Prayaga for purposes of his sixth quinquennial assembly at the confluence of the Ganga and Yamuna. We are further told *[Life,* p. 185] that while the emperor pitched his tent on the north bank of the Ganges, his two favourite vassal-chiefs, Dhruvabhatta, 'king of South India' (Valabhi), and Kumura-raja of Kamarupa, located themselves respectively on the west of the confluence and the south side of the Yamuna. ' On the morrow morning the military followers of olladitya-raja and of Kumara-raja embarked in ships and the attendants of Dhruvabhatta-raja mounted their elephants, and so, arranged in an imposing order, they proceeded to the place of the appointed assembly. The kings of the eighteen countries joined the cortege according to arrangement' *[Life,* p. 186], It is further stated *[ibid.,* p. 173] that as the emperor marched, he was accompanied by several hundred persons with golden drums, who beat one stroke for every step taken by him—a form of honour reserved only for him and not to be adopted by other kings.

But the pomp and power of the emperor were indicated not merely by his command of the tributary chiefs, but also by his army, by which he could overawe the whole of Northern India. The distant king

[1] The *Si-yu-ki* makes the number twenty, which probably counted, besides the eighteen kings, the kings of Assam and Valabhi.

of Assam, when Harsa sent for the Chinese pilgrim detained by him, at first thought of defying him, saying that the king could have his head but not his guest. ' I trouble you for the head/ came the prompt reply of Harsa, whereupon Kumara became submissive. A single word of the emperor was sufficient for the discipline of his subordinate chiefs. It was the army which made his power thus felt in the remotest parts of his empire. He commenced his conquests, as we have seen, with the initial army of 50,000 infantry, 2,000 horse, and 5,000 elephants [Beal, i. 213], by which he won the empire, and he maintained it by the increased force of 60,000 war elephants and 100,000 cavalry. Bana has given some interesting-details about this imperial army. The elephants which made up its main element and strength were ' acquired as tribute or as presents' by the emperor, or sent at the time of an embassy, or by the lord of a wild settlement. Some of them also came from ' the rangers of the elephants' districts'. They were, in the words of Bana, ' collected to conquer all continents like so many mountains to make a bridge over the ocean' *(65).* The emperor's 'favourite elephant, his friend in battle and sport,' was named Darpasata, who ' seemed to pour out again from his mouth the river which he had drunk up in his triumphal progress of conquest' (75). He had a strong contingent of horses. The royal stable was supplied with horses from different countries, 'from Vanayu, Aratta, **Kam**boja, Bharadvaja, Sindh, and Persia' (70). They

were guarded by the Chandalas, while ' the tutelary deity (Govinda) was worshipped before them' (72). The staff for elephants and horses included, as mentioned by Bana, (I) the *Katulea,* elephant rider; (2) *Nalivdhlha,* elephant groom or fodderer; (3) *Vattabhapala* or *Asvapala,* marshal or groom; (4) *Anayatta,* groom; (5) *Hastiparivaratol,* groom; and (6) *Qhasikd,* fodderer. Elephant manoeuvres were organized, and called *Karikarma.* Bana gives the further interesting information that the imperial army had also included troops of camels (66). The inscriptions always refer to ' the victorious camp of Harsa as being furnished with boats, elephants, and horses'.[1]

[1] In connexion with the extent of Harsa's empire, it may be noted that an old Kanarese Inscription has been recently found in the Shimoga District of Mysore, which states that ' while Sila-aditya, the light of the quarters, the most powerful, and a thorn in the way of the bravest, ascended the throne of the empire', his general, Pettani Satyanka, fell fighting in battle against the army of Mahendra. Dr. K. Shama Sastri, the Director of Archaeology in Mysore, considers [Mysore. Arch. Rep for 1928, pp. 8, 83] that this 'Silaaditya ' might be no other than Siladitya Harsa, whose suzerainty had probably thus extended as far south as Shimoga against Mahendra, who might be identified with his contemporary Pallava king, Mahendravarman I. It is. however, not easy to understand how Harsa could possibly have established any connexion with the far south, when its very beginnings were so effectively checked on the northern frontiers of the Deccan by his great adversary, Pula Kesin, as narrated in the text.

NOTES

A. *On some of the Contemporaries of Harsa.*

THERE are three names associated with the history of Harsa, of which the proper identification is still a subject of controversy. These names are Devagupta, King of Malwa, who, according to an inscription cited in the text, was defeated and killed in battle by King Rajya-

vardhana; and Kumiiragupta and Madhavagupta, the two princes of Malwa, who figure in the *Harm-charita* not as foes, but as the friends and companions of both Eajya and Harsa as princes. Kumaragupta is not subsequently heard of, but Madhavagupta, in Bana's account, accompanies Harsa, along with other tributary kings, in his wanderings in search of his sister, even after the defeat inflicted upon Malwa by Harsa's brother. We are, therefore, called upon to explain how a prince of Malwa was living at the court of Harsa as his friend, while another prince was cultivating a different relationship, and brought upon him the vengeance of the house of Harsa by his aggressions against the allied house of the Maukharis of Kanauj. We can only explain this apparent anomaly by tracing the historical relations between all the three powers concerned, viz. the Guptas of Malwa, the Maukharis of Kanauj, and the Vardhanas of Thanesar. The sources of their history are about ten inscriptions, besides some coins of a few apparently Maukhari kings, of which the precise significance still remains to be settled. The inscriptions are described in Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions* (vol. iii of *Corpus)* as follows:—

1. Aphsad Stone Inscription of Adityasena (No. 42).
2. Shilhpur Stone Image Inscription of Adityasena (No. 43).
3. Mandar Hill Inscription of Adityasena (Nos. 44 and 45).
4. Deo-Baranark Inscription of Jivitagupta II (No. 46).
5. Aslrgadh Copper Seal Inscription of Sarvavarman (No. 47).
6. Barabar Hill Cave Inscription of Anantavarman (No. 48).
7. Nagarjunl Hill Cave Inscription of Anantavarman (Nos. 49 and 50).
8. Jaunpur Stone Inscription of Isvaravarman (No. 51).
9. Sonpat Copper Seal Inscription of Harsavardhana (No. 52).
10. Haraha Inscription of the reign of Is'anavarman (studied in *Ep. hid.*, vol. xiv). Nos. 1, 4, 5, and 10 help us to fix the chronology of the Gupta and Maukhari kings as follows:—

Guptas.	*Maahharis.*
1. Krisnagupta[1]	1. Harivarman
2. Harsagupta	2. Adityavarman *m.* Harsa, sister of Harsagupta
3. Jlvitagupta 1	3. Isvaravarman
4. Kumaragupta I I I	4. Isinavarman
5. Damodaragupta	5. Sarvavarman[2]
6. Mahasenagupta	6. Stisthitavarman
7. Madhavagupta	7. Avantivarman
8. Adityasena	8. Grahavarman (mentioned by Bana but not in the inscriptions).
9. Devagupta	
10. Visnugupta	
11. Jlvitagupta II	

Of these kings, Nos. 1-8 of the Gupta list are-mentioned in the Inscription No. I and Nos. 7-11 in No. 4 ; in

[1] Dr. Bloch infers from a clay seal found in Basarh, which mentions Govindagupta as a son of Emperor Chandragupta II by his wife DhruvasvaminI, that Govindagupta was the same as this Krisnagupta, the founder of this second Gupta dynasty. The imperial line of Chandragupta II was continued by his other son Kumaagupta I. But the probable date of Krisnagupta does not tally with that of a son of Chandragupta I I , as noted by Dr. Bloch himself *[A.S.R. Annual,* 1903-4].

[2] The Haraha inscription mentions a brother of his, Stiryavarman by name, who might have predeceased his father or come after his brother and hence could not succeed to the throne.

the Maukhari list, No. 8 is not mentioned in any inscription, but in the *Harsa-charita.*

It is to be noted that the inscriptions themselves say nothing as to the territories of these kings. But they tell us of the hereditary feuds between the Guptas and Maukharis, of which the last stage is related by Bana when he tells us that the son of Avantivarman, Grahavarman Maukhari of Kanauj, was killed by a Gupta king of Malwa. The inscriptions do not mention Grahavarman, but they mention Avantivarman whom Bana mentions as his father.[1] Thus Bana helps us to locate the kings and understand their political relations.

Bana states that it was a Gupta king, and a king of Malwa, who had murdered Grahavarman, but does not mention his name; but we know from the Madhuban Inscription that a Gupta king named Devagupta was defeated by Kajyavardhana, and so we take Devagupta to be the adversary of Grahavarman. Bana names two princes of Malwa," Kumaragupta[3] and Madhavagupta, as being the companions of both Rajya and Harsa, while Inscription No. 1 mentions a Madhavagupta, and

[1] Bana (223; refers to an ancostor of the Maukhari kings, Ksatravarman by name, who in his foolish fondness for troubadours harboured some who were his enemy's emissaries and treacherously murdered him.

[2] This evidence of Bana is *very* important as proving that the later Gupta kings, whose list is given on p. 5a, are not to be regarded as the Gupta kings of *Magadha* but of *Malwa,* until we come to Madhavagupta, as explained below. This view is against the received opinion of most scholars on the subject, although vague conjectures about a Gupta dynasty in Malwa are sometimes made by them [e.g. R. D. Banerji's *History of Bengal* in Bengali, and ed., P. 105].

[3] Bana also refers to a curious story *{carta)* that Harsa rescued Sri Kumara of Malwa (probably this Kumaragupta) from the grasp of a mad elephant (100;.

describes him as ' wishing for the company of Sri Harsa Deva' (i. e. Harsa). Thus the statements of both Bana and the inscriptions again get connected, and throw their combined light on the obscure history of these kings.

If, with Hoernle *[JRAS,* 1903], we identify Madhavagupta, the friend of Harsa, with the king No. 7 of the same name in the Malsva list, we must work out Malwa history as follows: Devagupta must have been the elder brother of Madhavagupta (AS well as Kumaragupta), and succeeded to the throne of Malwa after his father Mahasenagupta. As King of Malwa, he followed in the footsteps of his predecessors in trying to extend his kingdom at the cost of his hereditary enemies, the Maukharis of Kanauj, who were then bidding for political supremacy in that region after the break-up of the Gupta Empire and the collapse of the Hunas after their defeat by Yasodharman and Baladitya. The imperial ambitions of the Maukharis were first embodied in Isvaravarman, who, according to Inscription No. 8, extended his conquests towards the west up to Dhara, to the Vindhya and Raivataka (Girnar) mountains in pursuit of the Andhras ; also in Isfinavarman, who, according to Inscription No. 10, before he ascended the throne had achieved three important victories in three different regions, viz. victorios over the Andhras,[1] the Salikas,-

[1] In Inscription No. 8 we find a reference to ' the lord of the Andhras wholly given over to fear, and taking up his abode in the crevices of the Vindhya mountains' at the expedition of I£varavarman. There is also a reference to the 'warrior of the Andhra army'..

[2] Probably connected with the country called *Saitlika* in the Brihatsamhita [xiv. 8], and the Markandeya Parana [lv], located in the south-east along with Kalinga, Vidarbha, Chedi, &c, as pointed out in the *Ep Ind.* [xiv. 112], The Sulikas might be the Chnlukyas. We know of a Chalukya king. Kirtivarman I,

and the Gaudas[1] of the sea-shore, and, according to Inscription No. I, a fourth victory over the Malwa king, Kumaragupta. For these victories Lsanavarman won the title of Maharajadhiraja, a title which was also deserved by his son Sarvavarman [who is called in Inscription No. 5 as Sarvavarman Maukhari, and in No. I only as Maukhari] by his victory over Damodaragupta of Malwa, who was killed in the battle. Malwa, however, avenged this insult by the victory achieved by her next king, Mahasenagupta, over the Maukhari king Susthitavarman,[2] and the fame of the victory was sung as far as the banks of the Lohitya ![3] But the fortunes of Malwa had a final set-back in the defeat of Devagupta by Rajya, followed by the annexation of that kingdom by Harsa, as related by Bana.

If this history is true, we have to suppose that the line of Gupta kings in Malwa came to an end with Devagupta, but continued under Madhavagupta and his successors in another part of the country indicated by the localities of the inscriptions. No. I is from Aphsad in Gaya District,

extending his conquests up to Variga, Anga, Magadha, &c. [Mahakiita Pillar Inscription].

[1] Are these the Gaudas of whom Sasahka, the invincible adversary of Harsa, was the king a few generations later?

[2] Some historians identify this king with a king of Kainarupa of that name, on the ground that the river of Kamarupa, viz. Lauhitya (Brahmaputra); is mentioned here as the limit of Mahasenagupta's conquests. But the content of the inscription rather shows that it is concerned more with the wars between the Guptas and the Maukharis than with their distant conquests, and so Susthitavarman may be a Maukhari. This view is also taken by Dr. F. W. Thomas (in his Introduction to the *Harm-charita* translation) and Fleet.

[3] This expression does not indicate that his actual conquests extended up to the Brahmaputra, or Assam, by the defeat of its king, Susthitavarman.

No. 2 from Bihar, No. 3 from Bhagalpur, and No. 4 from Arrah. It is also significant that No. 4 gives us only the genealogy of this new line of Gupta kings which starts from Madhavagupta. Thus the facts seem to be that, after the annexation of Malwa, Harsa provided for his friend, Madhavagupta, by placing him in charge of some eastern parts of his Empire, and on the death of Harsa this new kingdom rendered a good account of itself by reviving some of the lost glories of the Imperial Guptas of Magadha under the powerful successor of Madhavagupta, viz. Adityasenadeva, whose extensive conquests made him assume the imperial titles of Paramabhattaraka and Maharajadhiraja and perform horse sacrifices in celebration of his imperial status. A strong ground supporting this version of the facts is supplied by the date 66 of Harsa era, i. e. A. D. 672, given for Inscription No. 2 of Adityasena. For this date will fit in with that of his father Madhavagupta as the friend of Harsa. On this view of the facts it is also clear that, as Adityasena of Magadha had no direct connexion with Devagupta of Malwa, the name of the latter is not mentioned in the genealogy of the former[1] as given in Inscription No. 1. It is also significant that when Yuan Chwang visited Malwa or Ujjain, he saw there a Brahmin king who in that case must have replaced the Guptas whose line ended with Devagupta.

Regarding now the Maukharis, if we may take the localities of their inscriptions as indications of the extent of their power, it was the largest under Sarvavarman,

[1] The best precedent for such omissions is the Bhitarl Seal Inscription, which gives the genealogy of the Imperial Guptas from Gupta to Kumaragupta II without mentioning Skandagupta, because his line had ended with him and passed on to that of his brother Purngupta.

who is called in No. I as simply the *Maukhari* as the most distinguished scion of his house, and in Nos, 4 and 5 is described to have held sway from Arrah to Burhanpur, where the two inscriptions were found. The extent of this Maukhari expansion will be evident from the fact that originally they belonged perhaps to Anga or Bihar, as will be apparent from the Barabar and Nagarjuni Hill Cave Inscriptions, Nos. 6 and 7, of Anantavarman described as the son of Sardala 'of Maukhari family', himself the son of Yajfiavarman. Anantavarman achieved the status of a *Samantachuddmani,* i. e. of a chief rather than that of a king. The newly achieved political dominance of the Maukhari house is also reflected in its coinage. There have been found coins [1] issued by some of their kings, viz. by Isanavarman, on whose coins are read the figures 54, 55; Sarvavarman with the figures 58, 234 on his coins; and Avantivarman with his coins bearing the figures read as 67, 71, and 250. It is supposed that the figures in three digits stand for years of the Gupta era, in which case the dates of these kings would be between A. D. 553 and 569.[2] These dates will

[1]. **An important iind of these coins is described by R. Burn, C.S.I., I.C.S., in *JRAS,* 1906. It comprised nine coins of It&navarman, six of Sarvavarman, and seventeen of Avantivarman discovered for the first time. Besides coins, the Maukharis also issued seals, two of which were found in Nalanda along with Harsa's seals. One of these shows a part of its original inscription, giving the Maukhari genealogy in which can be read the names of the founder Harivarma, and of his wife Jayasvaminl. The inscription left on the other seal mentions ' King lsanavarma known for his knowledge of Varnaramadharma and keeping his subjects contented (ranjita prakriteh)'. On the top of both the seals appears the symbol of a well-moulded bull walking to left, with an attendant on either side *[Arch. Sur. Report,* Eastern Circle, 1917-18, p. 44].**

[2] **The year 611 of tho Haraha Inscription is taken to be a year in**

fit in with the known date of Avantivarman's successor, Grahavarman, who was married to Harsa's sister in the time of his father and was King of Kanauj before A D. 606, when Harsa became king. The numbers in two digits must point to years in some other era, and it has been suggested it might be a Maukhari era beginning from, say, A.D 553-54 = A. D. 499,[1] the time of either Isvaravarman or Isanavarman, who started the era in imitation of the Imperial Guptas whom they succeeded to political supremacy by their conquests. The beginning of the Maukhari conquests was made by Isvaravarman,[2] as will appear from his Inscription No. 51 from Jaunpur, which must have been already subject to his authority. The *Deo-Baranarlc* Inscription of Jivitagupta II (No. 4 on p. 51) also indicates that the authority of Sarvavarman and Avanti-

the Vikrama era and hence equivalent to A. D. 554, which is the same date for Isanavarman as is given by his coins too. This is a remarkable coincidence of epigraphic with numismatic evidence on Maukhari chronology.

The date A. D. 553 for Isanavarman leads us, however, to the position that both he and his successor were ruling and issuing coins in the same time. Cunningham even noticed a coin of Kanavarman bearing the date 257 A. D. =576. Thus there must be some error in the reading of the dates concerning Sarvavarman [sec *Ep. Ind.,* xiv, 114]. N. G. Majumdar *[IA,* 1917, p. 126] recently found that the date-marks on Sarva's coins had totally disappeared'.

[1] The date of the composition of his great astronomical work by Aryabhatta, and of the expiry of 3,600 years of the Kaliyuga. This circumstance also makes the starting of a new era from A. D. 500 probable *[JRAS,* 1906, p. 848].

[2] As pointed out by N. G. Majumdar *[IA,* 1917, pp. 126-7], ft is clear from the Haraha Inscription that the extensive conquests of Isanavarman were achieved during the reign of his father Isvaravarman, who, accordingly, must be regarded as the first Maukhari to have attained an imperial status (sec line 13 of the inscription).

varman extended as far as Arrah where the inscription was found, considering that the grant of Jivitagupta II is stated to be not an original grant, but only a confirmation of that of the two Maukhari kings, and also of Baladitya,[1] whom they had probably succeeded in power.

Besides the Guptas of Eastern Malwa and the Maukharis of Kanauj, Dr. Hoernle *[JHAS,* 1903, p. 545] introduces what he calls the Malava Empire as the third factor to be considered in the then political situation of Northern India. The founder of this Malwa Empire was Janendra Yasodharman Vikramaditya, originally a chief of the Malava Clan, and a feudatory of the early Gupta Empire, who rose into prominence by his crushing victory over the Hunas before A. D. 533, by which date he delivered the Gupta Empire from barbarian tyranny. Thus he easily supplanted the then Gupta Emperor (who might be either Bhanugupta or Baladitya), and in his Mandasor pillar inscription, he asserts that he not only conquered the Hunas but had won an empire larger than that of the Guptas, including, for instance, even Kashmir, as stated in the *lidjataravgini* [ii. 7 ; iii 125, with Stein's notes]. He had a long reign of fifty years from A. D. 533 to A. D. 583, and was succeeded by his son Slladitya, the King of

[1] This may be the same Baladitya as is mentioned by Yuan Chwang to have defeated and taken prisoner, as King of Magadha, the Huna king Mihirakula, which probably took place in about A. D. 525. This is fully explained below. There is, however, it may be noted, a point of serious doubt in the statement of Yuan Chwang when lie says that this Mihirakula (A. D. 502-30) had lived ' centuries' before his time. This inaccuracy has led many scholars to cast aside the history as presented by Yuan Chwang on this particular point. What adds to the confusion about Baladitya is that there are three Baladityas known from the Gupta Inscription No. 79 of about A. D. 600, the first of whom is supposed by Fleet to have been the same by date as Yuan Chwang's Baladitya.

Malwa, who, according to Yuan Chwang, had reigned sixty years before his visit, i. e. about 640-60 = A. D. 580. But Slladitya was not as powerful and successful a ruler as his famous father. The R*ajatarangint* [iii. 330] tells us that he was dethroned by his enemies but afterwards replaced in the kingdom of his father by the King of Kashmir, Pravarasena I I , a son of the infamous Toramana [R T. iii. 104-9], and hence a Hunic king. Thus while Vikranmditya was the deliverer of his country from the Hanas, his son Slladitya was a supplicant for their protection!

Now, who were the enemies of Slladitya against whom he could not prevail and sought the aid of the Hunas? They were all the neighbouring kings who did not forget the usurpation of imperial authority by the upstart Yasodharman, and had besides their own claims to it to assert. They were the Maukharis of Kanauj, the Vardhanas of Thanesar, and the Guptas of Eastern Malwa, an offshoot of the old Imperial Gupta House. Matrimonial alliances had further united them against their common enemies, the Empire of Malava and the Hunas. The Gupta princess, Harsa, as shown in Inscription No. 5, was married to the Maukhari king Adityavarman, while another Gupta princess, Mahasenagupta, was married to Harsa's grandfather, Adityavardhana.[1]

[1] On the analogy of Harsfi, and Mahasenagupta being the sisters of Harsagupta and Mahasenagupta, we may consider Bhanugupta, mentioned in Inscription No. 35 of Fleet, to have been a sister of the Emperor Bhanugupta (c. A. D. 500) whose date will tally with *her* date. In the inscription the date of her grandson, Daksa, is given as A. D. 533, when he was minister. If we assume that Daksa was born in A. D. 513, his father must have been born in A. D. 495, and his father's mother, Bhanugupta, married to his grandfather, Baviklrti, in A. D. 494. At that time Bhanugupta's royal brother Bhanugupta was not a king, but a prince under the

The leader of this combination against Siladitya was Harsa's father, Prabhakaravardhana, who regarded himself as a special rival of Siladitya from the fact that his wife, Queen Yasovatl, was the daughter of Yasodharman Vikramaditya. Thus it was a contest between a son and a son-in-law for the Malava imperial throne. The result of the contest is referred to by Bana (101). Prabhakara was 'an axe to the creeper of Malava's glory'. At the same time he had to punish the HQnas as the allies of Malava, and came to be regarded ' as a lion to the Hana deer '. The humiliation of Slladitya is further evident from the fact that he was compelled to surrender a son of his to Prabhakara: for Bana tells us that ' Yasovatfs brother (i.e. Emperor Slladitya) presented his son Bhandi, a boy of about eight years of age, to serve the young princes', i.e. Rajya and Harsa. The name Bhandi itself is a Hunic rather than a Sanskrit name.

Now we can work out from Bana the date of this first Malava war, which ended in the dethronement of Slladitya. The surrender of Bhandi marking that event was made, as Bana tells us, about the time of Rajyasrl's birth, which took place in A. D. 593 according to our calculation (see Note B).

But these old enemies of Prabhakara, viz. Malwa and the Hunas, troubled him in his last days. He had to send Crown-prince Rajya to fight the Hunas in the north, while Siladitya, having regained his throne in about A.D. 604 with the help of the Huna king,'proceeded against his old enemies, the Maukhari and Thanesar kings, with what results we have already narrated. The

emperor Budhagupta (A. D. 477-500). It is possible that after all Budhagupta was the father of both Bhanugupta and his sister. This assumption does not at least violate their chronology as worked out here.

second Malaya war was brought to an end by King Rajya in the summer of A.D. 606. The friend and ally of Emperor Siladitya in this war must have been the king named Devagupta of Malwa in the inscription, who is twice referred to also by Bana, once as 'a man named Gupta' (224), as implicated in the conspiracy to which Rajya fell a victim, and, secondly, as 'a noble called Gupta' (251). We have already examined the position of Devagupta in the list of Malwa kings.

Thus, according to Hoernle's theory, based mainly on the *Rajatarafiginl*, the King of Malwa against whom fought Prabhakara, his son-in-law, the Maukhari Grahavarman, and his son Rajya, was not a Gupta king of eastern Malwa, but King Slladitya of Malwa proper, among whose allies figured Devagupta of eastern Malwa and Sasanka, King of Gauda. The only fact, however, that does not readily reconcile itself to this theory is that the inscriptions dealt with above show a number of Gupta kings of Malwa who were on terms of hereditary hostility to the Maukhari kings of Kanauj, and do not name Slladitya at all in that connexion, while King Siladitya of Mo-la-po (Malwa), to whom Yuan Chwang refers, has been identified by S. Levi as the Buddhist King of Valabhl, known as Siladitya I Dharmaditya. Thus the version of Malwa history, and particularly of the connexion between that history and the history of Harsa as worked out by Hoernle, is not yet free from difficulties. The confusion may be cleared up to some extent by the table given on pp. 64-5, showing the chronological and other relations between the kings of the several houses figuring in that age.

The following points are to be considered in fixing the chronology of these kings:—

I. Nos. I l l , IV, a, 7, and *(h)* are contemporaries;

No. I l l defeated No. 7. From the known date of No. IV we count backwards towards the unknown.

2. Nos. I I , 6, and (f) are contemporaries. No. 6, described as King of Malwa by Bana, sent his sons to the court of No. II to be the companions of the latter's sons.

3. The date, A.D. 565, of the marriage of No. I is obtained by assuming that his son was king in his sixteenth year, A.D. 583.

4. No. 6 sent his sons to be the companions of Rajya and Harsa, who were only fourteen and ten years of age respectively in A.D. 600. Thus No. 6 is taken to have ruled up to A.D. 600 at least.

5. Nos. II and *(g)* are contemporaries and relations, the former marrying his daughter, Rajyasrl, to the son of the latter, No. *(h).* If Rajyasri was married at eight in accordance with orthodox ideals, No. *(g)* should have lived up to A.D. 600, Rajyasrl being born in A.D. 593, as already shown.

6. The dates of Nos. (d), *(e),* (f) , *(g)* are obtained from their coins or inscriptions already noticed.

7. The dates of Nos. 4, 5, 6 are obtained by their synchronism with *(d,* (e), (f).

8. Nos. 1-7 are to be taken as Gupta kings of eastern Malwa, as explained already.

9. No. a could have started as a king of Magadha only after the passing away from that region of the masterful personality of the Gauda king, Sasanka, i. e., after A. D. 630.

10. No. B could have been an emperor of Magadha only after the passing away of Harsa, i. e., after A. D. 650.

II. Inscription No. (46) of Fleet mentions as predecessors of No. B in the sovereignty of Magadha not only No. a, but also the Maukharis *(g)* and *(e),* as also Paramesvara, or emperor, Baladityadeva, probably the Baladitya of Yuan Chwang who defended his kingdom of Magadha

Malava Emperors

Yasodharman
(A. D. 533-83),

Siladitya
(A.D. 583-93; A. D. 604-5)

Imperial Gupta

Kumaragupta I (A. D. 414)

Skandagupta (A. D. 455)

Puragupta (A. D. 467)

Narasirahagupta (A. D. 469)

Kumaragupta II (A. D. 473)

Budhagupta (*c.* A. D. 477-500)

Bhanugupta)

(C. A. D. 500 28)

Baladitya J

Letter Gupta

1. **Krisnagupta**
2. **Harsagupta**
3. **Jivitagupta I (A. D. 540)**
4. **Kumaragupta III (A. D. 550,**
5. **Damodaragupta (A. D. 575)**

Harsngupta married to

defeated by

„

Maukhari

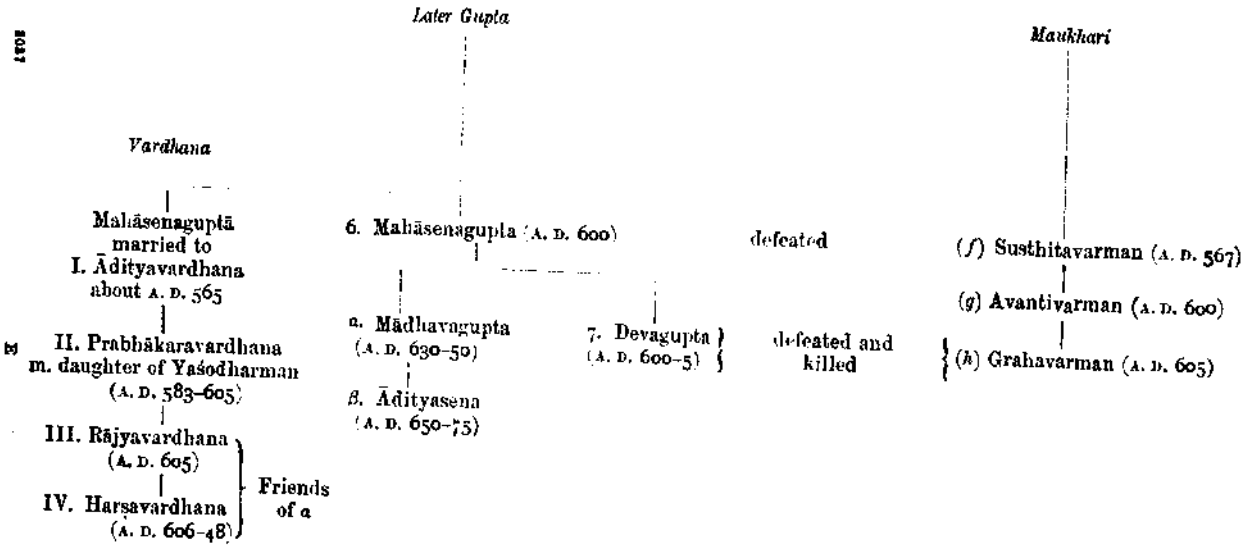
(a) Harivarman

(6) Adityavarman

(c) ISvaravarman

(*d*) ISanavarman (A. D. 550)

(*e*) Sarvavarman (A. D. 560)



[1] This chronology was first suggested by Mr. Panna Lal, I.C.S., and has been since accepted on all hands. It was fixed mainly by considering the earliest and the latest date for each king, as given either in his inscription or on his coin known up to now.

against the Hona Mihirakula, and made him prisoner about A. D. 525 and before A. D. 530, when he was finally crushed by Yasodharman. Thus Baladitya might be the same person as the Gupta emperor Bhanugupta, or his successor, the last of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty.

Its later history may be recalled *in* this connexion. The emperor Budhagupta (A. D. 477-500) exercised authority from Malwa to Magadha. His feudatory ruled between the Yamuna and Narmada in A. D. 485 [No. 19 of Fleet]. His silver coins dated A. D. 496 were found in Benares. The Sarnath Stone Image Inscription of A. D. 476 refers to him as the paramount sovereign in those parts, while the Damodarpur first and second plate inscriptions of the probable date of A. D. 481 *[Ep. Ind.* xv. 135-6] point to his sovereignty over Pundravardhana (North and parts of East Bengal). After him the Gupta sovereignty in Malwa was lost to the Hunas under Toramana (A. D. 500-2) and his son Mihirakula[1] (A. D. 502-30), who ruled for at least fifteen years (No. 37 of Fleet). An attempt was made in A. D. 510 by Emperor Bhanugupta and his vassal chief, Goparfija, of Malwa, to recover the lost ground, but it probably failed [No. 20 of Fleet]. The Huna supremacy in Malwa is attested by Nos. 36 and 37 of Fleet.

Thus the sovereignty of the Imperial Guptas over Malwa was finally lost. A successful stand against further extension of the Huna power towards Magadha was made by Baladitya, as related above.

The Huna supremacy in Malwa was destroyed by the Malava Janendra Yasodharman by his victories recorded in the inscriptions numbered 33, 34, and 35 of Fleet,

[1] **The date 502 for Mihirakula's accession we owe to Jain a sources cited by Pathak** *[Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume,* **p. 217].**

and dated A.D. 533.[1] He ruled as Emperor of Malava for fifty years, and was succeeded by his son Siladitya, as pointed out above.

Echoes of the imperial Gupta authority in Malwa come from inscriptions of some petty chiefs like the Parivrajaka Maharajas Hastin and Saiiiksobha of the years A.D. 518 and 528, in which the actual names of the then Gupta emperors are not given, but only a general reference to their rule[2] *[Ep. Inch* viii. 284-7, and No. 2g of Fleet]. It is, however, clear that Yasodharman did not become an emperor till after A. D. 528.

But we hear no longer of the Guptas in Malwa till we come to King MaliFisenagupta and his predecessors ruling in its eastern parts. This new dynasty of the Gupta kings of Malwa must have arisen under the suzerainty of Yasodharman after A. D. 533. The first two kings, Krisnagupta and Harsa, had to establish their position against powerful foes. The *driptarati,* particularly proud foe, of the inscription (No. 42 of Fleet) might be even Yasodharman himself. The third king, JTvitagupta I, made his power felt as far as ' seaside shores' *[ibid,],* i.e. on the Gaudas. The fifth copper-plate inscription of Damodarpur is dated 224 of Gupta era (not 214 as read usually), i.e. A.D. 543, and refers to the Gupta sovereignty

[1] **No. 35 referring to Ms suzerainty is dated A. D. 533 ; hence his conquests were achieved earlier, about say A. D. 530.**

[2] **R. G. Basak [Ep. *Ind.* xv] holds that these inscriptions point to continuance of imperial Gupta authority in Central India up to the time of the Uchchakalpa Maharaja Sarvanath described as a Gupta vassal in A.D. 533. He also thinks that Bhanugupta was not defeated, though Goparaja was killed in the battle in A. D. 510, since there was a Gupta vassal in that very region even in A.D. 518 and 528; and that Gupta authority was finally extinguished not by the Hunas, but by Yasodharman in Malwa, and in Surastra by the Maitraka Bhatftrka.**

over Pundravardhana. The sovereign's name is not legible, but he might be either Jivitagupta I or his successor Kumaragupta. An epigraphist actually reads the name as Kumara *[Ep. Inch* xvii. 193].

The Gaudas, however, were left to be subdued by kings more powerful than the Guptas, viz. the Maukharis, who also arrested the eastward expansion of these Guptas of Mahva.

Eventually both the Guptas and the Maukharis were lost in the Empire of Harsa.

The Gupta history in Magadha was, however, revived by Mfidhavagupta, and especially by his illustrious son, Adityasenadeva, who lived to perform the horse-sacrifice on achieving his imperial position. There are many gold coins found in different parts of Bengal which are described as imitation (Jupta coins, and traced to these later Guptas of Magadha of whom this Adityasenadeva was 'the first king'. These coins include some showing horse-sacrifice, and may be thus reasonably ascribed to the Gupta king who performed the horse-sacrifice after returning from the Chola country. According to the Deoghar Inscription [Fleet, p. 213], Adityasena after his conquests built a temple costing three lacs of gold *tarikakas.* The word tarikaka, used for silver coins, is used here with reference to 'these light-weight gold coins current during the time of these Guptas of Magadha', which were then known by this name, as ingeniously suggested by Mr. N. K. Bhattasali *[JASB,* NS, xix. 1923, No. C, pp. 57-64].

*

B. *On some dates in the history of Harm and his predecessors.*

THE *Harsa-cMrtta* contains some statements which Hoernle has cleverly utilized to arrive at some fairly precise dates in the history of Harsa and his predecessors. It is to be understood that the expedition of Rajya against the Hunas, Prabhakara's illness and death, Rajya's accession to the throne and his death, all took place in the course of a year, A.D. 605-6. Now when Rajya was sent against the Hiinas he was young enough to have shown but a ' faint growth' of his beard, as Bana tells us (166). He might then be only twenty years old at the most, for before that he received, as a companion of his age, the Prince of Malwa, Kunnira by name, then a youth of eighteen. Between Rajya and Rajyasrl was an interval of six years (115), while Harsa was only about two years old (as explained in the text) when his sister was born. Thus we may calculate that Harsa became king at sixteen, in A.D. 606, and was born in A.D. 590, Rajya in A.D. 586, and Rajyasrl in A.D. 593. Thus their father could not have married Yasovatl. daugliter of Emperor Vikramaditya, later than A.D. 585, and as he had married soon after his accession to the throne, the latter event took place about A.D, 583, the date of the death of Emperor Yikramaditya and of the resulting confusion. Thus Prabhrikara ruled between A.D. 583-606. He was engaged in a ten years' war against Malava whose king Siladitya, defeated and dethroned, had to surrender to his enemy his son Bhandi, in A.D. 593, the year that Princess Rajyasrl was born. Siladitya regained the throne of Malava about A.D. 604, when he proceeded against his old enemies, and finally brought on the second Malava war which ended fatally for himself and his dynasty in A.D. 606.

It may be noted that this chronology is also confirmed by other known dates of contemporary kings. The date of Isanavarman, the Maukhari king, is shown by his coin to be A.D. 565, while a comparison of their genealogies shows him to be a contemporary of Prabhakara's father, Adityavardhana.

C. *Sasaidca* (A.D. 600-25?) *and Bhaakaravarman.*

BANA calls Sasanka King of Gauda,[1] and Yuan Chwang, King of Karnasuvarna [4] in recent times [Watters, ii. 115], n persecutor of Buddhism *[ibid.,* i. 343], who broke up the Buddhist monasteries between Kusinagara and Varanasi *[ibid.,* ii. 43], threw the stone at Pataliputra showing

[1] The Gaudas probably first appear as a political power in connexion with the conquests of Jivitagupta I, as described in Inscription No. 42 of Fleet, where the king is represented as striking terror into the hearts of people on ' seaside shores'. We next hear of their subjugation by lsanavarman in his Haraha inscription of A. D. 554, in which he is described as keeping within their own limits the 'sea-faring' *(samudrasrayari)* Gaudas. The next landmark in Gauda history appears in four copper-plate inscriptions (considered by Mr. R. D. Banerji as spurious for their mixture of characters of different centuries) of Faridpur, which mention the names of three kings, Dharmaditya, Gopachandra, and Samacharadeva, as kings of Gauda, and also of their local governors and Visayapatis appointed to a province in their kingdom called Varakamandala *[JASB,* vii. 289-308; x. 425-37 ; *IA,* xxxix. 193–8]. Samachara is called a Maharajadhiraja in the fourth plate, and his existence is further attested by two coins preserved in the Calcutta Museum, which show, in characters of about A.D. 500, legends read by Mr. N. K. Bhattasali as *Samachra* on the obverse, and N*arendravinata* on the reverse, and also the bull-symbol used later by Sasaixka *[JASB,* NS, xix. 1923, No. 6, p. 55], Thus there can be hardly any doubt that Samachara was the predecessor of Sasanka as a Gauda king.

the Buddha's footprints into the Ganges *[ibid*, 92]*, cut down the Bodhi tree at Gaya, destroyed its roots down to the water and burned what remained *[ibid.,* 115], and tried to violate the Buddhist temple there by replacing the image of the Buddha by that of Siva *[ibid.,* 116][1]. Thus, though a king of Karnasuvarna, he made his power felt over a much larger area. He seems, however, to have begun as a mere chief, if he is to be identified with the 'Mahasamanta Sasankadeva' of an inscription [No. 78 of Fleet]. Soon he became powerful enough in A.D. 605 to enter, as we have seen, into a combination[2] with the Gupta king of eastern Malwa to overthrow the other rival combination ol the two powers of Kanauj and Thanesar. Sasankamandala was to replace the Prabhakara or Maukhari-mandala as the leading state! For a time his scheme was successful: Kanauj was seized, Rajya was murdered, and an advance against Thanesar was planned, till Harsa, a more powerful adversary, appeared on the scene, and completely outrivalled him in the race for supremacy in northern India. Bana tells us how Harsa's *digvvjaya* commenced with elaborate preparations for war against the Gauda king[2] stigmatized

[1] The cause of this combination might bo blood-relationship, Sasanka being himself perhaps a Gupta, the son or a nephew of King Mahasenagupta. As we have already noted, a MS. of the *Harsacharita* calls him Narendragupta. In that case, the Gupta who is stated in the *Harsa-charita* to have seized Kanauj might have been Sasanka himself, and Rajyasri s escape from her prison might have been under his orders, as inferred by Messrs R. D. Banerji and R. Chanda [see R. *D.* Banerji's *History of Bengal* in Bengali, 2nd ed., p. 106].

[2] Mr. R. *D.* Banerji suggests that the offer of alliance to Harsa at this stage from the distant King of Kamarupa was really due to the latter's hostility to the Gauda king, Sassaiika, a hostility which ultimately ended in the annexation of his kingdom of Karnasuvarna by the Kamarupa king, Bhaskaravarman, as related below. He

as 'this vilest of Gaudas', or 'the vile Gauda serpent'. But his narrative, following its own course, does not recount the results of those elaborate preparations. He, however, hints that Sasafika was forced not only to abandon his project of conquering Harsa's kingdom of Thanesar, but also to part with his new conquest of Kanauj, where we find Harsa installed with his sister. Harsa thus succeeded so far, but no farther, in his efforts to avenge himself upon the murderer of his brother. Sasaiika then transferred his ambitions in a different direction, towards the east, where he seems to have achieved an imperial status by A.D. 619, if he is to be identified with Sasanka Maharajadhiraja as mentioned in a Ganjam Plate Inscription of that year, recording a grant of one of his feudatories ruling on the east coast *[Ep. Ind.* vi. 143]. Thus if he was shining in full glory in his own sphere (aptly called Sasafikamandala by Bana) in A.D. 619, we must conclude that he had prevailed against the best efforts of Harsa to crush him. On this view there was then a second blot on the escutcheon of Harsa as a Digvijayl, the first being that cast by the Deccan overlord, Pulakesin I I .

The political importance of Sasahka is also indicated by his coins and seals. A seal he had issued as a Mahasa-manta was found at Eohtasgadh in Bihar, He issued gold coins under the title of Sri Sasanka. The obverse of these coins shows Siva reclining on his bull Nandi, and, behind him, the disc of the full moon signified by his very name of *Saidhka.* Thus he was a follower of the Sakti cult, which explains his antipathy to Buddhism

further suggests that Sasanka must have been defeated by this combination, and the result of this defeat was perhaps seen in those coins of Sasanka which are debased with a large proportion of silver mixed up with gold.

and his iconoclastic tendencies. The reverse shows Laksmi seated facing on lotus, holding lotus in left hand, and above, on either side, elephant sprinkling water over her [Allan, *Gupta Coins*, p. 147].

Thus Sasanka, as King of Karnasuvarna, established a sphere of influence which seems to have extended right up to Ganjam. How long he thus ruled may be gathered from some statements of Yuan Chwang. He refers to Sasanka as having already passed away in A. P. 637, when the Chinese pilgrim visited the Bodhi tree which was uprooted by Sasanka, but was afterwards revived by the Maurya king, Purnavarman, whom Sasanka had predeceased, being unable to stand the reversal of his wicked deed !

After his death, we find Harsa, in A. D. 643, launching a successful expedition against the Kongoda country on the east coast up to which, as we have seen, the suzerainty of Sasanka extended. As a result of that expedition, Harsa had his own dominion extended up to that limit, and was thus in a position to propose a gift of as many as eighty townships in Orissa to a local Buddhist divine, and to think of holding a conference in Orissa to propagate his own faith of Mahayana Buddhism. Thus we may conclude that it was only after Sasanka's death that Harsa was able to feed fat his ancient grudge against him. We have evidence also to show that Karnasuvarna, after Harsa, passed under the rule of his protege, Bhaskaravarman, King of Kamardpa. In the confusion following the death of Harsa, this worthy took the side of the Chinese invader, Wang-hiuen-tse, to overthrow the usurpation of Harsa's minister, Arjuna, in A.D. 648-9. Next, his triumphant entry into the capital of Karnasuvarna is celebrated in an inscription recording a grant made from his camp there *[Ep. Inch* xii. 65] and describing him as

the subduer of 'hundreds of kings'. It is interesting to note in passing that this inscription names as many as twelve kings of Kamarupa who were predecessors of Bhaskaravarman,[1] so that it carries back the history of Assam to the fourth century A.D., and of these twelve kings, the last five are the same as those mentioned by Bana—a remarkable proof of the trustworthiness of his narrative!

[1] A seal was found at Nalandii of Bhaskaravarman which mentions the names of eight of these predecessors of his *[JBORS, 1919* P- 302 ' 1920, p. 151]. The seal of Bhaskara was found along with the seals of his patron, Harsa.

CHAPTER III

ASSEMBLIES

WITH his suzerainty thus achieved, Harsa was able to reign in unbroken peace for more than thirty years, as stated by the Chinese pilgrim. During these years he achieved triumphs of peace which were not less than his triumphs of war. Thus his reign, like that of Asoka, was practically devoid of any political events, so to speak, but quite eventful in point of religion and culture. One of this latter class of events was the convocation of a religious assembly at Kanauj for the purpose of giving publicity to the doctrines of Mahayana, as expounded by the Chinese pilgrim in the Sastra composed by him, of which the contents and merits were known to the emperor at his very first meeting with the pilgrim at his camp in Bengal at Kajughira. From that place orders were sent throughout the different kingdoms that' all the -disciples of the various religious sects or schools, the Sramans, Brahmins, and heretics of the Five Indies, should assemble in the town of Kanyakubja to investigate the treatise of the Master of the Law from China'. The royal progress from the camp to Kanauj was marked by due pomp and magnificence. The king with his guest, the Chinese pilgrim, marched along

the southern bank of the Ganga, while his friend and ally, the King of Assam, who had come to him with his guest in response to the imperial summons, marched along the northern bank. The two kings, thus divided by the stream of the river, led the procession, followed by their gorgeous staff of soldiers, in boats and on elephants, sounding drums, blowing horns, and playing on flutes and harps, and by a crowd of several hundreds of thousand people, till they reached their destination in ninety days, to find there, already assembled for their reception, eighteen other kings, 3,000 Mahayana and Hinayana Buddhist monks, 3,000 Brahmins and Nirgranthas, and about 1,000 Buddhist scholars from the Nalanda monastery. Seating accommodation was provided beforehand for 2,000 persons in two thatched halls,[1] with a throne for the full-size figure of the Buddha in gold.

The state entry to the assembly was made from his travelling palace, improvised for the occasion, by Harsa represented as the god Sakra, and Kumara as the god Brahma, taking in procession the statue of the Buddha on an elephant, with a canopy and an umbrella in their hands respectively,[2] followed by two elephants carrying jewels and flowers, another carrying the Chinese pilgrim and the chief officers of the king, and as many as 300[3] other elephants carrying

[1] A great *sarighdrama* with a tower 100 feet high on its east side, according to the *Si-yu-ki* [Beal's *Records,* i. 218].

[2] According to the *Si-yu-ki [ibid.']* both Harsa and Kumara had an escort of 500 war-elephants.

[3] 100 elephants according to *Si-yu-hi* [*W<f.].

the princes, great ministers, and chief priests of the different countries. When the procession reached its destination, the Buddha statue was first conducted to the hall and installed on the throne, followed by the king and Yuan Chwang presenting it with offerings ; then in order were admitted the eighteen kings, 1,000 selected Bhiksus, 500 selected Brahmins and heretics, and 200 of the great ministers from the different kingdoms, while the rest of the assembly were seated outside the gate of the hall. Then the king opened the conference by inviting the Chinese pilgrim to take his seat on a couch and be the president of the meeting.

Yuan Chwang began by extolling the doctrines of the Mahayana, and, appointing a subject for discussion, called upon *Ming-hien,* a monk of Nalanda, to discourse upon it. The subjeqt was also announced on a placard hung outside the assembly hall, on which Yuan Chwang further announced that 'if there is any one who can find a single word in the proposition contrary to reason, or is able to entangle the argument, then, at the request of the opponent, I offer my head as a recompense '. Thus until night there was no one who came forward to say a word, when the emperor, well pleased at the event, adjourned the assembly and returned to his palace, while others returned to their appointed resting places. Next day they again escorted the image,[1] the king, and the

[1] According to the *Si-yu-ki (ibid.)* it was not the full-size image, as high as the king himself, installed in the assembly hall, but

others, as before. Thus had passed five days of the assembly when some followers of the Hinayana, seeing that the Chinese pilgrim had overturned their school, filled with spleen, plotted to take his life. Getting scent of this conspiracy, Harsa forthwith issued a proclamation that' if any one should hurt or touch the pilgrim he shall be at once beheaded, and whoever speaks against him shall have his tongue cut out, but that all others who would seek profit from his instruction need not fear this manifesto'. This had the effect of making the opponents disappear from the assembly, which went on smoothly for another eighteen days.[1]

The S*i-yu-ki* gives a somewhat different account of the assembly. According to it the assembly was convoked not for the exclusive discourse of Yuan Chwang, but for ' the different men of learning who discussed in elegant language on the most abstruse subjects' *[ibid.,* p. 219]. It does not also refer to any plot against the Chinese pilgrim, but against the emperor himself. It appears that on the last day of the assembly a fire broke out in the tower as well as in the pavilion over the gate of the hall. When it was extinguished by the king's intercession, as it was believed, Harsa with the kings went up to the top of the tower to have a view of the scene, and when descending the steps he was suddenly attacked by

a shorter image of gold, three feet high, and thus more portable as the *utsavamurti*.

[1] In the *Si-yu-ki* the session of the assembly comprised twenty-one days *[ibid.']* and not twenty-three, as stated here.

a heretic, knife in hand, whom, however, the emperor skilfully captured. The kings then demanded that the assassin should be instantly killed, but Harsa forbade it, and got from the assassin the confession that he was engaged to kill him by heretics who felt insulted at his treatment of them at the assembly. Harsa then straitly questioned the heretics, 500 Brahmans, summoned before him, who confessed to their setting fire to the tower by shooting burning arrows, expecting that in the resulting confusion they would be able to kill him ; but this plan having miscarried, they hired the assassin to do it. Then the kings and the ministers demanded the extermination of the heretics, but Harsa only punished the chief of them, and pardoned the rest, banishing the 500 Brahmins to the frontiers of India *[ibid.*, p. 221].

At the conclusion of this assembly the emperor offered to Yuan Chwang in recognition of his merits 10,000 pieces of gold, 30,000 pieces of silver, 100 garments of superior cotton, while the eighteen kings wanted to present him each with rare jewels. But all these costly presents the pilgrim in a true religious spirit declined to accept. Next the emperor, not minding his objections and protests, mounted him on an elephant and took him in a procession with the ministers of state to proclaim that he had established the standard of right doctrine, i.e., Mahayana, and overthrown all opposing doctrines.

The next important religious event of his reign was his institution of a quinquennial assembly for the

distribution of royal charities, called the *Moksa.* At the conclusion of his special assembly at Kanauj, Harsa found that it was time for him to hold the sixth session of the other assembly, for which the place fixed was Prayaga at the confluence of the Gafiga and Yamuna, where, according to tradition, ' it was more advantageous to give one mite in charity than a thousand in other places ', whence the place was called the ' Arena of Charitable Offerings '. On Harsa's invitation to Yuan Chwang to accompany him from Kanauj to Prayaga for the assembly there, the pilgrim, though homesick, could not but accept the invitation, saying that if His Majesty did not grudge his treasure for the good of others, how could he grudge a short delay in his homeward journey? Thus they came to Prayaga, attended by all the eighteen kings, to find there already assembled about half a million of people. The ' Arena of Charity' was the great sandy plain, about five miles in circuit on the west of the confluence, where even to this day is held the most important and most numerously attended religious Congress of India, the *Kumbha mela.* Invitation was issued ' through the Five Indies to the Sramans, heretics, Nirgranthas, the poor, the orphans, and the solitary (bereaved) to come to the Arena of Charity and receive the royal gifts'. A square enclosure was made with a bamboo hedge measuring 1,000 paces each side, with many scores of thatched buildings in the middle in which the valuable treasures like gold, silver, and pearls were

deposited, while less valuable articles such as the silk and cotton garments, the gold and silver money, were placed in hundreds of other store-houses within the same enclosure. Outside were made places for partaking of food. There were also erected some hundred long buildings where a thousand people might sit down for rest.

In addition to this, the emperor had his tent pitched on the north bank of the Ganga, the King of Valabhl on the west of the confluence, the King of Assam on the south side of the Yamuna, while to the west of the position of the Valabhl camp were gathered all the recipients of bounty.

The proceedings of the assembly were begun by a military procession of the retinues of the emperor, of Kumara Raja, embarked in ships, of Dhruvabhatta Raja, mounted on elephants, together with the eighteen kings.[1]

The first day's programme comprised the installation of an image of Buddha in a thatched building in the arena, followed by a distribution of the costlier kinds of clothing and other articles. The second and the third days were given to the installation of the images of the sun (Aditya) and Siva (Isvara), followed by a distribution of charity only half in value of what was given in honour of the Buddha. On the fourth day the distribution of gifts was reserved for 10,000 selected Buddhists, each of whom received 100

[1] This shows that the total number of kings assembled was wenty, as stated in the *Si-yu-ki*

pieces of gold, i pearl, i cotton garment, besides various drinks and meats, flowers and perfumes. The next twenty days were reserved for the gifts to the Brahmins, followed by gifts to the heretics during the next ten days. Another ten days were spent in gifts to the seekers of alms from distant countries, while the eighth distribution was to the poor, the orphans and the destitute, occupying a full month. ' By this time the accumulation of five years was exhausted. Except the horses, elephants, and military accoutrements, which were necessary for maintaining order and protecting the royal estate, nothing remained. Besides these the king freely gave away his gems and goods, his clothing and necklaces, earrings, bracelets, chaplets, neck-jewel, and bright head-jewel—all these he freely gave without stint. All being given away, he begged from his sister (Rajyasri) an ordinary second-hand garment, and, having put it on, he paid worship to the Buddhas of the ten regions,' rejoicing that all his accumulated wealth and treasure were thus bestowed ' in the field, of religious merit'. Thus at these quinquennial assemblies Harsa made a record in individual charity.

This assembly being over, the Chinese pilgrim was detained for another ten days, when both Harsa and Kumara Raja offered him ' gold coins and every sort of valuable', but he accepted only the gift of a fur-lined coat from Kumara as a protection against cold on the roads. Harsa then saw him oft* for a long distance. The pilgrim's belongings (books and

images) were carried on horseback under the military escort provided by a king of North India called Udhita, but the advance being slow, the emperor had at once a great elephant attached to the escort of Udhita-raja, and, himself taking several hundred light horsemen, overtook the pilgrim along with his companions, Kumara and Dhruvabhatta, so as to spend some more time with him and take a final leave.

Among the other known events of his reign may be mentioned his forcible appropriation of a tooth relic of the Buddha from Kashmir, where the congregation at first concealed it under the ground when the emperor came in person to that distant place to see and worship it. But the King of Kashmir fearing the exalted character of Harsa had the relic unearthed, and Harsa then carried it off by exercising force. Harsa enshrined the relic in a vihara in Kanauj *[Life,* p. 181].

CHAPTER IV

ADMINISTRATION.

THE predominance of these religious events in the reign of Harsa is but a testimony to its efficiency in maintaining peace and order and abolishing all sources of political troubles. . Unfortunately, not much evidence is available regarding the administrative system which could thus leave the country free for the pursuits of peace and religion. Its success was inevitably due very largely to the king himself, to his realization of, and capacity to carry out, the duties and responsibilities attaching to his position as the head of the administration in charge of an extensive empire, which was, moreover, won not by inheritance but by his own deliberately designed conquests. The first requisite for an administrator is that he must have an intimate knowledge of his charge. I Probably no one in the empire could equal the emperor in his knowledge of its different and distant parts, gained by his constant movements through them in course of his hunting, military expeditions, administrative tours, religious pilgrimages, or other adventures. His geographical knowledge of the northern parts of his empire was acquired in his early life, when he followed his brother in the campaigns against the Hunas, and hunted among the forests and hills of that part, **and**

also in connexion with his visit to Kashmir. Next, we find him wandering among the hills and jungles of the Vindhyas in search of his sister, followed by his campaigns against Malwa and Valabhi, and his misadventure further south on the banks of the Reva, where his aggressive advance was arrested by a sovereign of the south. The period of his personal campaigning was followed by one of religious progresses and administrative tours. Like Asoka, he believed in travelling as a necessity for the ruler as much as for his officials, so that he may have a first-hand knowledge of the conditions of the people committed to his care. ' If there was any irregularity in the manners of the people of the cities, he went amongst them,' observes the Chinese pilgrim [Beal, i. 215]. The inscriptions tell us of two places where Harsa was camping out while on tour, viz.' Vardhamanakoti ', from which the Banskhera plate grant was issued by the emperor, and 'Kapitthika' (same as Kapittha of Yuan Chwang, identified with SankaiSya near Kanauj), from which was issued the Madhuban plate grant. The Chinese pilgrim further tells us how at the time of his visit 'the emperor was visiting different parts of his empire' [Beal, i. 215]. He first met the emperor when he was in camp at a place called Kajughira in Bengal, already referred to. Here 'he held his court in his progress to East India' [Watters, ii. 183], He came to that place directly from his attack on Kongoda (Ganjam) *[Life,* p. 172], after spending some time in Orissa *[ibid.,* p. 159].

While camping out in Orissa he was interviewed by the adherents of Hinayana, who showed him a work by a teacher of a South Indian king, Prajnagupta by name, which challenged the doctrines of Mahayana. The king said they had not seen the best exponents of Mahayana, on which they suggested that he might call a conference to settle the matter. That very day the king sent a letter with a messenger to Silabhadra, the Abbot of Nfxlanda Vihara, asking him to send four learned monks for purposes of the conference. Harsa could not, however, tarry long in Orissa, and so sent another letter to Nalanda, stating: ' There is no immediate pressure for my former request: let them wait, and afterwards come here' *[Life,* p. 159]. While on tour the emperor was accommodated in what are called 'travelling palaces'. One such was improvised on the occasion of his stay at Kanauj for purposes of the assembly *[Life,* p. 177]. It is also called 'pavilion of travel' *[ibid.,* p. 173], such as that-built for him at Kajughira. These structures were made of cut grass like huts [Watters, *ibid.],* or 'built of branches and boughs', and were burnt on the emperor's departure [Beal, ii. 193]. That he was moving in great state is evident from the description already cited of his camp at Manitara along the Ajiravatl river,[1] as given by Bana. The imperial camp there

[1] **Peterson *[Kadambari,* introduction, p. 53 11.] has also pointed out that 'at the time of Bana's visit, Harsa was already supreme ruler in the north of India, and does not appear to have *any fixed* capital' and that in the *Harsa-charila* he is not represented, as he**

was surrounded by 'many camps of the renowned subject-kings', with all their several retinues. It comprised four different courts. In the fourth court the emperor gave audience under a pavilion, seated on a throne of pearl-like stone, with his feet resting on a footstool of sapphire and ruby. The approaches to the camp were marked by equal pomp and magnificence. Here the royal gate was all dark with crowds of elephants; there the place seemed all in waves with the plunging horses as they leaped up to the sky in their restless energy; in another part it was tawny with troops of camels; in yet another it was all white with its masses of white umbrellas or waving with thousands of stirring chowries. The entrance to the royal camp was regulated by door-keepers, the chief of whom was Pariyatra, the king's special favourite, ' whom one who pursues success should treat with suitable ceremony'. Inside the camp was a stable filled with the king's favourite horses, as well as the state elephant named Darpasata. The pomp of these 'travelling palaces' was also enhanced by that of the emperor's royal guests.[1] King Kumara of Assam visited him at his camp in Bengal, with his followers on 20,000 elephants and in 30,000 ships, as we have already seen. Yuan Chwang makes the following general remarks on this royal

is by Yuan Chwang, as having his capital at Kanyakubja, although the Chinese pilgrim gives frequent accounts of his ' progresses '.

[1] Harsa himself in his *Ratnavati* (Act iv) describes the King of Vatsa's camp as being marked by 'valued steeds, elephants of victory, and groups of feudatories' (*Ksitibhritdm gostha).*

practice of travelling as an administrative duty:' The king made visits of inspection throughout his dominions, not residing long at any place, but having temporary buildings erected for his residence at each place of sojourn, and he did not go abroad during the three months of the rain-season retreat' [Watters, i. 344]. Even while thus travelling viands were provided daily for 1,000 Buddhist monks and 500 Brahmins from the royal lodges *[ibid.']*.

(Thus the sovereign himself was one of the best travelled men in his empire,and we know of the following places at least at which he had camped out in his progresses through his dominions, viz. Rajmahal, Kanauj, Prayaga, Manitara (Oudh), and Orissa, besides Kashmir, Valabhl, the Reva and Ganjam (Kongoda), visited by him as an invader. The range of his travels may be also inferred from the fact that he had information about the martial fame and exploits of the Chinese emperor Tai-Tsung, to which he referred in his conversation with Yuan Chwang. Such information he could only gather from his travelling in the far north, as pointed out by Watters [i. 351].

\ But the sovereign was also one of the most hard-working officials. ' The king's day ', says the Chinese pilgrim,' was divided into three periods, of which one was given up to affairs of government, and two were devoted to religious works He was indefatigable, and the day was too short for him ' [Watters, i. 344]. ' He forgot sleep and food in his devotion to good works' *[ibid.]*.

How busy the emperor always was is graphically described by Bana in connexion with his interview with His Majesty at the royal camp 'pitched near Manitara along the Ajiravati river ' The emperor ' used to give audience after eating', and so Bana, ' having bathed and eaten his meal and rested, when only one watch of three hours remained of the day, and when the king had dined', proceeded leisurely to the royal gate conducted by Mekhalaka, the king's messenger. On the way he observed one by one ' the many camps of the renowned subject-kings', and 'conquered hostile vassal-chiefs'. It was difficult even for kings to obtain an interview with the emperor. Bana saw some of them ' spending the day in the hope of an audience', and others from afar, who had come there from the desire of seeing his glory, simply waiting for the time when the emperor would be visible. ' The track of the servants of the domestic porters, who at intervals made their exits and their entrances, was followed by thousands of various suppliants anxiously asking when they could possibly have a sight of the emperor' (68). ' Following the path indicated by the door-keeper,' the eunuch Pariyatra, Bana had to ' pass through three courts crowded with subject-kings, and in the fourth he saw King Harsa, in an open space in front of a pavilion, surrounded at a distance by his attendants in a line' and armed, with his special favourites, including a prince of Malwa, seated near him, and himself seated on a throne of stone, clear like pearl, resting the weight

of his body on his arm, which was placed on the end of the seat, and sporting with his subject-kings (78), with his left foot' playfully placed on a large costly footstool made of sapphires, girt round with a band of rubies' (81).

None of the authorities give a proper description of the royal palace. But its grandeur may be inferred from that of his travelling-palaces already described. Glimpses of the grandeur of the palace, and of the royal capital too, are, however, given in the *Harmcharita* here and there. We learn that the capital at Sthanvisvara resounded with sounds of triumph, booming of drums, songs of troubadours and minstrels, and bustle of business (170). Its principal street was. [4]the bazaar street' (171). The palace had a street wall which was whitewashed (158). We read of its stairs (171), and the prince descending from the palace (179). It seems to have had four courts (171), which were large enough to become ' seas of elephants and horses' on festive occasions (158). We read of its ' mosaic floors of red lead' and decorations with the painting of auspicious scenes and modelling of clay figures of fishes, tortoises, crocodiles, coconuts, plantains, and betel trees. An indication of its luxury is given by the fact stated that its ' crocodile-mouthed conduits[1] conveying scented water filled a variety of pleasure-ponds' (158). Within the palace grounds might be seen lions in their cages', upon which Harsa's mother loved to feast her eyes before he was

[1] The R*atnavati* mentions fountains called *dhurdyanfra.*

born; varieties of apes and orang-outangs (vana-manusah), rare birds, and mermen with necks bound in golden fetters; ' musk deer scenting the space all round them with their perfume; female *chamara* deer used to running about the house ; parrots, sarikas, and other birds enclosed in gold-painted bamboo cages, and chattering copious wit; partridges in, cages of coral ', which were some of the presents sent by the King of Assam to Harsa to seek his favour (245). Harsa's father, King Prabhakaravardhana, lay sick in his inner apartments called 'the White House', where numerous lackeys thronged the vestibule, a triple veil hid the salon, the inner door was closed, the panels were forbidden to creak, and closed windows kept out the draughts (171). In the Moon Chamber (the chamber above the *Dhavalagriha)* crouched the silent ministers of state, the screened balcony was occupied by the ladies, and the quadrangle by the servants (172). Queen Yasovati used to sleep in her 'chamber on the roof', the walls of which were decorated with ' painted figures of chowrie women' and the awning with other embroidered figures. Its furniture included a couch and jewelled mirrors (141).

The princes seem to have been given separate houses. We read of Harsa as prince descending from the palace and going on foot to his own quarters (179).

The pomp and luxury in which Harsa lived as emperor is indicated in the statement of Bana (227) that he bathed in golden and silvern vessels, and included among his gifts to Brahmins' vessels of precious

stones, silver and gold in thousands, myriads also of cows having hoofs and horn tips adorned with creepers of gold-work \ Even while he was on the march he was not without his full provision of luxuries. ' The king's hired porters carried his golden footstools, water-pots, cups, spittoons and baths, proud of being in charge of the sovereign's property; there were also bearers of kitchen appurtenances with goats attached to thongs of pig-skin, a tangle of hanging sparrows and forequarters of venison, a collection of young rabbits, pot-herbs, and bamboo shoots, butter-milk pots protected by wet seals on one part of their mouths which were covered with white cloths, baskets containing a chaos of fire-trays, ovens, simmering pans, spits, copper saucepans and frying-pans', while villagers awaited the touring king with presents of curds, molasses, candied sugar, and flowers in baskets (237). His dress comprised a snow-white lower garment radiant with shot silk-threads, a bejewelled girdle, and a thin upper garment spangled with worked stars (80). He wore a necklace of pearls and other ornaments, which made him look ' like a jewel mountain with its outstretched wings of jewels spread on both sides '. He had, like Chandragupta Maurya, women attendants, a chowrie woman, and even the shampooing attendant (83). Valahika and PadmavatI are mentioned among the shampooing attendants of King Prabhakaravardhana, who was attended in his illness by many nurses named Harini, Vaidehl, Lilavatl, Dhavalaksi, KantamatI, Avantika, &c. (177).

Queen Yasovatl had also her own attendants, of whom the chief was Vela (181), and Suyatra a favourite (142). At the time of her delivery she was attended by ' great physicians holding various herbs and stationed at proper places' (141).

The palace establishment included doorkeepers [the chief of whom was Pariyatra (70)], domestic porters with their servants (68), chowrie-bearers, chamberlains, chefs under a head, bodyguard, and the like. The higher staff'included physicians [of whom Susena and Rasayana are mentioned as treating Harsa 's father in his illness (171 and 178)], the king's advisers, the Purohita, Pandits [among whom Gambhlra is mentioned as the Brahmin attached to Prabhakaravardhana (161)], and the court-poets like Bana and Haridatta, raised to eminence by Harsa *[Ep. Ind.* i. 180].

For the transaction of state business, couriers *(dlrghddhvaga)* were employed who 'continually went and returned' [Beal, i. 215]. Bana was sent for by the renowned courier Mekhalaka (59). A courier was dispatched on a female camel to his son-in-law by King Prabhakaravardhana (160). We also read of 'footmen being sent ahead to secure a relay of villagers to show the way to Harsa', as he hurried from the Panjab to the capital at the news of his father's illness (170). The news itself was delivered to him by the courier Kurangaka with a letter from the king to Harsa (168). On arrival at the palace, and seeing the king seriously ill, Harsa ' in hot haste dispatched

express couriers and swift camel riders one after another to procure his brother's coming' (179). That communication by this method was pretty swift is shown from the fact that a messenger from Assam delivered a letter to Nalanda after two clays *{Life,* p. 169]. Bana also refers to the employment of spies, whom he calls *sarvagatah(P.* 40, Bombay ed.).

(We do not have much information regarding the ictiial system of administration. Next to the sovereign ranked the chief Ministers of State, who probably constituted a *Mantri-Parisad* or council. During the reign of Rajya vardhana, Bhandi, his. sousin, seems, to have been the chief minister for on his death it devolved upon him to call a meeting of the Council of Ministers to determine the succession. Addressing the assembled ministers, Bhandi said: ' The destiny of the nation is to be fixed to-day. The old king's son is dead: the brother of the prince, however, is humane and affectionate, and his disposition, heaven-conferred, is dutiful and obedient. Because he is strongly attached to his family, the people will trust in him. I propose that he assume the royal authority: let each one give his opinion on this matter, whatever he thinks.' They were all agreed on this point, and acknowledged his conspicuous qualities. On this the chief ministers and the magistrates approached Harsa and entreated him ,to assume the royal authority. (This account is also given by Yuan Chwang [Beal, i. 211], and it shows that the Council of Ministers wielded real power in the state

when the election of the king was in their hands.y Another evidence of the power of the ministers *is* shown by the fact that they seem to have been responsible for the mistaken policy which unfortunately led to the death of Rajyavardhana] 'Owing to the fault of his ministers he was led to subject his person to the hand of his enemy' *[ibid.].* This implies that his ministers decided that Rajyavardhana should respond to the invitation of King Sasanka to attend the conference where he was treacherously murdered Yuan Chwang goes so far as to assert that' a commission of officers hold the land' [Beal, i. 210].

That Bhandi was the chief minister of Rajyavardhana is also evident from the fact that he alone was directed to accompany Rajyavardhana in his expedition against Malwa with a force of 10,000 horse, and returned with the whole force of the King of Malwa, captured by Rajyavardhana in his campaign, 'with soiled garb and breast filled with the points of enemies' arrows' (223). (Bana mentions Avanti as Harsa's 'supreme minister of war and peace' through whom the emperor issued his proclamations (218). *)*

[1] That kingship in these days way not hereditary is shown from several cases) The emperor, Samudragupta, was chosen by his father to succeed him to the throne to the distress of ' others of equal birth , with the consent also of the king's council *(sabhd),* as stated in an inscription. Similarly, his successor was also chosen *(tat-pariyrihitma)* by Sainudragupta. The king's council is called *Partial* in No. 10 of Fleet [Bilsad Stone Pillar Inscription of KumSragupta].

There are also mentioned a few other chief officers or the state. Simhanada was Harsa's Senapati, or commander-in-chief, a friend of his father, foremost in every fight though far advanced in years. Harsa treated him with great respect as befitted his father's friend, and it was by the dust of his feet that he took the vow of vengeance against the King of Gauda, teaching a lesson to all other insolent kings *(212).* Kuntala was the chief officer of cavalry, a great noble high in his brother's favour (209). Skandagupta was Harsa's commandant of elephant force (220), probably the same officer as is mentioned in the inscriptions, where he figures as the *Dutaka,* charged with the conveyance of the imperial grants, and described as ' Mahapramatara Mahasamanta the illustrious Skandagupta '. The inscriptions also name ' the keepers of records ', Samanta Maharaja Isvaragupta (in the Madhuban Plate) and Bhana or Bhanu (in the Banskhera Plate, *Ep. Ind.* iv. 211). The names of the engravers are also given, viz. Gurjara and Isvara. Lastly, these commands of the emperor are spoken of as being issued to officers of different ranks and grades, such as 'the *Mahdsdmantas, Maharajas, Daussddhasddhauikas* (not explained), *Pramdtdras* (explained as " spiritual councillors "), Raj*atthdniyas, Kumdrdmdtyas, Uparikas, Vimyapatis,* and regular and irregular soldiers *(bhatachdta) '.* The status of some of these officers points to the dignity of Harsa's position as the paramount sovereign surrounded by officers who were themselves chiefs and kings.

Yuan Chwang tells us that both the ministers of state and the common officials received their salaries not in cash but in grants of land, being maintained by the cities assigned to them, The emperor set apart a fourth of the crown lands ' for the endowment of great public servants', and another fourth part for 'the expenses of government and state worship [Watters, i. 176]. We are further told *[ibid.']* that ' those who are employed in the government service are paid according to their work '. 'When the public works require it, labour is exacted but paid for.. The people were not subject to forced labour' [Beal, i. 87].

While payment in kind was the rule for the Civil Service, payment in cash was resorted to for military service. The soldiers were levied according to the requirements of service. Rewards were proclaimed after the issue of summons, and then the recruits were enrolled. The military were usejd to guard the frontiers, to punish the refractory, and mount guard at night round the palace [Beal, i. 87].

The standing army forming the National Guard was recruited from the heroes of choice valour with whom the military profession had become hereditary. Thus they could easily become experts in the arts of war. These hereditary soldiers were garrisoned round the palace to guard it in peace, and were called out to form the intrepid vanguard of the army in war.

Yuan Chwang saw the Indian army being still composed of the four traditional elements. (G) The Commander-in-Chief rode on the war-elephant covered

with coat of mail with sharp barbs attached to his tusks. He had a soldier on each side to manage his elephant.2*A* leader was also carried in a chariot drawn by four horses and guarded by the infantry on both sides. The cavalry spread themselves in front to resist the attack and were very useful in carrying orders hither and thither. (4The infantry for their quick movements were best at defence. They were the pick of the brave. They carried a long spear and a large shield, and some a sword or sabre to dash to the front of the advancing line of battle. With their hereditary skill they were perfect experts in the use of all the implements of war. These are enumerated as spears, shields, bows, arrows, swords, sabres, battle-axes, lances, halberds, long javelins, and various kinds of slings [Beal, i. 83; Watters, i. 171].

With all his military strength (represented by a standing army of 60,000 elephants and 100,000 horse) and administrative measures, the emperor could not give an equal protection to all parts of his extensive dominion. His government in this respect compares unfavourably with that of the imperial Guptas. During their time the Chinese pilgrim, Fa-hien, travelled through India in perfect safety without even for once being stripped by brigands (A. D. 405-11), but a similar felicity was not the portion of his successor, Yuan Chwang, during the regime of Harsa. Once in the Panjab after crossing the Chandrabhaga (Chenab) and leaving the city of Sakala he had to pass through a palasa wood where a band of fifty

robbers fell upon him, stripped him of all his clothes and goods, and pursued him sword in hand till a Brahmin ploughing the field rescued him by raising an alarm by blowing the conch and beating the drum, which brought together eighty men with arms *[Life*, p. 73]. At another time, not very far from the metropolis of Harsa's empire, leaving Ayodhya, the pilgrim with eighty fellow-passengers on board a vessel was sailing down the Ganges when ten pirate boats, taking his ship in tow, brought it to the bank. Then the pirates, struck by Yuan Chwang's appearance, seized upon him as the best human sacrifice for their deity Durga, bound him to the altar, and were sharpening their knives and the pilgrim was saying his last prayer, when a terrible typhoon arose which frightened the brigands as indicating the wrath of the gods and they set him free and remained to be his disciples *[ibid.,* pp. 87 f.]. On his return journey, the emperor had a military escort provided for his safety under a king of North India as has been already stated, but we are told that the country between Simhapura (Ketas) and Taxi la was ' frequented by robbers', and the pilgrim and his party were in constant fear of being spoiled on the way *[ibid.,* p. 191]. The comparative insecurity of the times is also hinted at by Bana, who tells us, of villagers who, ' despondent at the plunder of their ripe grain and bemoaning their estates, censured the *sovereign, as* he passed along,at the risk of their lives saying, " Where's the King? What right has he to be King? " '

(238); and also of complaints against the tax-collectors *(bhogapati)* and policemen *(chata) [HC,* p. 286].

These stray cases of violence were not, however, indicative of the normal spirit of the people at large. Yuan Chwang himself admits that ' as the government is honestly administered, and the people live together on good terms, the criminal class is small '. He thus estimates the character of the Indians: 'They are of hasty and irresolute temperaments but of pure moral principles. They will not take anything wrongfully and they yield more than fairness requires. They fear the retribution of sins in other lives, and make light of what conduct produces in this life. They do not practise deceit and they keep their sworn obligations.'

5 I Among such a peace-loving, law-abiding, and moral people, criminal administration did not present much difficulty. The violations of law were not very usual, We hear, however, of plots against kings. There was ' a plot against Harsa himself, to which a reference has been already made.7 Treason was punished by imprisonment for life, and not by any corporal punishment. ' For offences against social morality, and disloyal and unfilial conduct, the punishment is either mutilation of limbs or deportation of the offender to another country or into the wilderness.) Other*-offences can be atoned for by a money payment.' Trial by ordeal was also in force [Watters, i. 171-2]. Bana (143) mentions the custom of jail-deliveries marking auspicious occasions. Thus Harsa's birth

freed the prisoners. According to Bana (86), justice was in the hands of the *Mimamsakas.*

In spite of this severity of the Penal Code, the government, according to Yuan Chwang, was ' generous ', i. e., conducted on benign principles. It did not make any large demands either upon the liberties or the pockets of the people : ' Official requirements are few.' ' Families are not registered and individuals are not subject to forced labour contributions. Taxation being very light, and forced service being sparingly used, every one keeps to his hereditary occupation and attends to his patrimony.' This probably means that the people were comparatively left free from trie interference and control of the central authorities characteristic of unitary states and their systems of over-government at the expense of local liberty and self-rule.

As the central government left the people to govern themselves as far as possible, it rested on very light taxation and was satisfied with a small amount of revenue, main source of revenue mentioned is that derived from the crown lands, which amounted to a sixth of the crop according to the traditional standard [cf. Manu vii. 130,131 ; viii. 308]. Revenue was also derived from trade: ' light duties were levied at ferries and barrier stations' *[ibid.,* 176]. We have no information as regards other sources of revenue except some from the inscriptions. The Madhuban Plate shows that the king's dues from a village comprised the *tulya-meya,* i. e., taxes depending on the weight and measure of the things sold, and *bhdga*

bhoga-kara-hiranyddi, i. e., the share of the produce, payments in cash, and other kinds of income.

The generosity of Harsa's government is proved by its expenditure as much as by its light taxation. ' Of the royal land (the main sources of the sovereign's income) there is a fourfold division: one part is for the expenses of government and state worship, one for the endowment of great public servants, one to reward high intellectual eminence, and one for gifts to various sects' *[ibid.].*

The enlightened character of the administration is also shown in its maintenance of a separate Department of Records and Archives. Both good and bad were faithfully recorded in 'the official annals and state-papers', and ' instances of public calamity and good fortune are set forth in detail' *[ibid.,* 154].

Some glimpses of rural government we get from the *Harsa-charita.* While the emperor was passing through a village, ' the village notary (*aksapatalika,* i. e, one in charge of documents) appeared with his whole retinue of clerks *(Karani)* and said: " Let His Majesty, whose edicts are never void, even now bestow upon us his commands for the day ".' Then he ' presented a new-made golden seal with a bull for its emblem' (probably symbolical of the Saiva worship of the imperial house) on which the royal decree might be inscribed (227). It may be noted that the expression *Mahaksapatalddhikareriadhikrita,* ' one appointed to the post of notary-in-chtef', occurs in the inscription of Harsa too.

So far about the administrative system of Harsa as can be known from the records of his own life and times. But we may usefully supplement and extend our knowledge of it from the records of the age, the, entire body of the inscriptions of the Gupta kings and their successors, which reveal movements of thought and life, processes and institutions that continued up to, and even beyond, the time of Harsa. These inscriptions are well worth study in this connexion, as helping us to a more concrete and complete view of the administrative system under which, as agreed by all historians,[1] India had seen some of her best days for a period of wellnigh four centuries, the spacious times beginning with the Gupta emperors and ending with Harsa.

The emperor, the king of kings, is given in the inscriptions the titles of *Paramahhattdraka Maharajadhiraw* [applied to Harsa in his inscriptions], to which are added the titles of *Paramesvara* (as in No. 46 of Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions), Samrat,* (No. *33, ibid.), Ekddhirdj* (No. 32) or *Paramadairata* [in the Damodarpur copper plate inscriptions of Kumaragupta I, *Ep. Intl.* xv, 113], or *Chakravartin*[2] (No. 39 of Fleet).

1 The emperor is the centre of a group of subordinate kings who belong to his system and move round him

[1] According to Vincent Smith, for instance, ' India was never governed better after the Oriental manner than under Chandragupta I I '.

[2] In the *Ratnavati* Harsa gives to the emperor the epithet of *Sarrabhauma* [Act TV].

as his satellites. These have also certain special titles, such *BaMahdrajcn Mahasamanta, Mahapratihdra, Maltddandanayaka, and Mahakartakritika*of which we see applied to Dhruvasena I of Valabhi for instance (A.D). 535) [IA1, iv. 105]. We have already seen how these *Samanta rajas* or subordinate kings were always in attendance upon Harsa and their suzerain and even fought his battles. Of a higher status than these *Sanutntas* were the *Pralyania Nripatis,* as they are called in the Allahabad Inscription of Samudragupta.

From the feudatory chiefs were sometimes recruited the highest officers of the empire. An inscription gives the gradation of officials as Samanta—Bhogika—Visayapati [Grant of Jayabhata I I , I*A,* v. 114]. The Banskhera Inscription of Harsa mentions Mahasamanta Maharaja Bhana, and the Madhuban Inscription, Mahasamanta Skandagupta and Samanta Maharaja Isvaragupta as the emperor's officials.

The inscriptions present a hierarchy of officers, and of administrative divisions to which they are assigned.

The territory of the empire was called a *rajya* (No. 55 of Fleet), a *rostra, desa,* or *mandala* (see Fleet for the references). It was made up of a number of administrative divisions which are not always the same in the inscriptions. More usually they appear to be as follows in the descending order: Bhukti—Visaya—Grama. In the Damodarpur plates the Gupta empire appears divided into a number of *Bhuktis* or provinces, one of which is named as

Pundravardhana, which again was subdivided into a number of Visayas of which Kotivarsa (probably parts of Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Malda, and Bogra districts) is named as one. The Visaya had its administrative head-quarters called Adhisthana or town. An inscription of A. D. 766 [No. 39 of Fleet] gives the series *grama—pathaka—ahara-* [same as *Visaya* and first used in the Asokan edicts]. Other inscriptions consider the *grama* as part of a *Santaka* or a *Petha* (see Fleet). The Madhuban Inscription of Harsa mentions the *grama* of Somakundaka belonging to the *Visaya* of Kundadhani in the *Bhukti* of Sravastl, while the Banskhera Plate mentions the Ahichchhatra *Bhukti* in his empire.[1]

We shall now consider the officers assigned in the inscriptions to these administrative divisions. First comes the governor of the province designated as *Uparika-mahardja* in the Damodarpur inscriptions. To this highest office was sometimes appointed even the king's son. The Emperor Bhanugupta, imitating the system of the Maury an emperors, appointed his son named Devabhattaraka, and designated in the inscription *[Ep. Ind.* xv. 142] as *Uparika-mahdrdja rajaputra,* to the headship of the province or the *bhukti* of Pundravardhana. The governor is also called by other names such as *Gopta*[2] [No. 14 of

[1] Some of the names of the *Bhuktis* of the Gupta empire are given in theepigraphic records ; e. g., Tirabhukti, Pundravardhana-bhukti, and Nagara Bhukti.

[2] *'Sarvesu desem vidhaya Goptfin.'* Hero the term *Desa* stands for the province or *Bhukti;* other examples of this use are

Fleet], *Bhogika* (already referred to), *Bhogapati [Harsa-charita* (337)], *Rajasthdaiya* (literally, a Viceroy), and *Rdstriya* [in Rudradaman's Junagadh inscription] or *Rastapati [IA,* vii. 63].

The provincial governor appointed his subordinate officials, described as being *tan-niyuktakas.* He appointed his *Visayapati* (or the divisional commissioner) to whom the Damodarpur inscriptions apply the titles of *Kumaramalya*[1] [lit. the counsellor for a prince appointed as governor as distinguished from the *Rajamatya* (No. 46 of Fleet)] and *Ayuktaka,* also used in *Harm-charita* (237). We have also the terms *Ayuktapiirusa* [in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta] and *Vinlyuktaka* [No. 38 of Fleet, where it is mentioned after the a*yuktakas* to indicate its inferior status]. Probably these were general terms for all government servants [cf. the *Yuktas* of Asokan edict]. The Madhuban Plate of Harsa gives the following series of higher officers: *Mahdsdmantas, Mahdrdjas, Daussddhasddhanikas, Pramdfdras, Rdjadhdniyas, Kumdrdmdtyas, Uparikas,* and *Visayapatis.*

As has been already stated, the *Visayapatis* had their head-quarters in the *adhisthdnas* or ' civil stations' in which were located their own *adhi-*

Sukulidesa, Surastra-desa, or Dabhitlft-deSa of the Gupta Inscriptions. Similarly, the term *Pradesa* is sometimes used for *Visaya,* e. g., Arikina called a *Pradesa* in the Eran Inscription of Samudragupta.

[1] In the inscription on the Basarh seal appears the full title of the office, viz. *YuvardjapaiUimkumdnlmatiidrtftikarana,*

karanas, their offices or courts. *An* inscription on one of the Basarh seals refers to the district office of Vaisali *(Vaitdlyddhidhdhddhikarana).* We read of the *Drangikas* or the city magistrates (No. 38 of Fleet), and of a provincial governor appointing his son in charge of a city [No. 14]. The staff of the local government also included the following officers mentioned in different inscriptions: the *Mahattaras* (the village elders), the *Asta-Kuhtdhikara)ias*[1] (probably officers in charge of groups of eight kulas or families in the village), and the *Grdmikas* (the village head-men) [Damodarpur plates]; the *Saulklka* (in charge of tolls or customs), the *Gaulmika* (in charge of forests or perhaps forts; Manu uses the word g*ulma* for a fort), and the *Agrahdrlka* (in charge of the *agraharas* or villages dedicated to gods or Brahmins) [No. *12* of Fleet and also *Harsa-charita* (237); 5 the *DhruvddJtikaranas* (in charge of land-revenue) [No. 38 of Fleet]; the *Bhdnddgdrddhikrita,* the treasurer [*Ep. Ind.* xii. 75*]*; the *Talavdtaka,* probably the village accountant [No. 46 of Fleet] ; the tax-collector, called *utkheta-yita* in an inscription of Bhaskaravarman *[Ep. Ind.* xii. 75], and, lastly, the notaries on whose keeping of records depended the stability of the administration, who are called *pustapdlas* (in the Damodarpur inscriptions), *pustakakrit* in *Harsa-charita* (47), and *akmpatalikas* attached to the Records office called *Aksapatala,* under the departmental head called the *Mahaksapatalika*

[1] **Bana refers to *Panchakulah adhyaksah* (p. 286, Bombay ed.).**

[Nos. 39 and 60 of Fleet], The Department of Records included the clerks who wrote down the records or documents. The writers are called the *Diviras* [No. 27], and *Lekhakas* [No. 80, *ibid.],* and the documents, the *Karanas* [No. 55, *ibid."],* kept in the custody of the registrar called *Karanika.* The *Harsa-charita* calls a clerk *Kavani,* as we have already seen. The officer drafting the document is called the *Kartri* [No. 88 of Fleet] or *Sasayitri* [Inscription of Bhaskaravarman, *Ep. Intl.* xii. 75]. The duties of these record-keepers were to know the titles and boundaries of lands, and report on them to government in the case of lands under proposal of transfer, that' the lands may be given' (Damodarpur Inscriptions, 1 and *2)* or that 'the application (for transfer of land) is a proper one' *(ibid.* 3). It was on their report that the government would sanction the sale of lands. The Damodarpur Inscriptions show that the government also consulted the other rural officers, the *Mahattaras,* the *Astakidddhikaranas,* and the *Gramikas* in the inspection *(pratyavelcsya)* of the transactions relating to the transfer of land. Besides these officers with specified functions, there were also what are called 'general superintendents', *Survadhyalcsas* [No. 55 of Fleet], in whose offices were employed officers who were high-born, the kulaputras, evidently for the responsibility of their work. The *Harsa-charita* also mentions *Adhyaksas* (254),

Besides these officers, the machinery of Local Government provided a place also for the non-official

element to help in the administration. The *Visaya-pati* administered with the assistance *(puroge sam-vyavaharati)* of an advisory council consisting of (1) the *Nagara-Sresthin,* perhaps as representing the city; *(2)* the *Sarthavaha* representing the trade guilds; (3) the *Prathama-kulika* representing the craft-guilds; and (4) the P*rathama-kayastha,* the chief secretary, or the representative of the kayasthas or scribes as a class, as the expert in respect of the documents to be referred to [Damodarpur Plate Inscriptions], In the Madhuban Plate, Harsa announces his grant of an agrahara to two Samavedin and Rigvedin Brahmins in the presence of all his chief officers already mentioned and also of 'the regular and irregular troops', servants, and others, and ' the resident people ' *(bhutachatasevakadinprativasija-'iiapaddrh&cha),* who are called as witnesses to the transaction. This introduced a sort of democratic flavour to imperial administration.

When the king's orders were thus personally delivered, they were called *svamukhajna.* Sometimes they were also signed by the king himself. The Banskhera Plate grant of Harsa is signed by him and described as ' given under my own hand and seal'[1] *(svahasto mama mahdrdjadhirdjairl Harsasya).*

But more often the king's orders were delivered through the *Dutakas, Dutas,* or *Ajuddapakas,* to the local officers, who would then draw up the necessary

[1] **Bana calls a signet ring** *Sasana-valaya* **(seal bracelet)** *[HC,* **p. 227 Bombay** ed.].

charter and hand it over to the grantees or parties concerned [see Fleet for the references]. Thus the office of the *Duta,* as the mouthpiece of the sovereign, was one of great trust and responsibility, and was, accordingly, given to the higher officers of the rank of a *Rajasthaniya* or an U*parlka [ibid.].* The royal orders sanctioning grants of land were generally engraved on copper plates, the engraver being called the *Sehyakara [Ep. hid.* xii. 75].

Among other civil officers, we may note those attached to the royal household such as the *Pratlhara,* the *MahdpraWidra* (the chief guard or usher of the palace), the *Vinaydsura,* whose function seems to have been to announce and conduct visitors to the king[1] *[Arch. Stir. Report,* 1903, p. 102], the *frhapati-samrdt,* probably 'superintendent of the attendants of the women's departments' [No. 26 of Fleet; cf. *stri-adhyaksa-mahdmdtra* of the Asokan Edict], the *Pratinartaka* (No. 39 of Fleet), a bard or herald, and the like.

Law and order also claimed a variety of military and executive officers. The higher classes included *Mahdsendpatl* and *Sendpati; Mahabaladhikrita* and *Balddhikrita* also used in *Harm-charita* (228); *Malta-balddhyaJcsa,* and *Balddhyaksa; Bhatasvapati,* commander of infantry and cavalry (mentioned in a Basarh Seal inscription); *Katuka* [commander of elephants, mentioned in the H*arsa-charita* (228)];

[1] Bana calls the usher *Utsarana,* and the chamberlain *Pratihara, Utsaraka,* and *Samntsaraka.*

and *Brihadasvavdra,*' head cavalry officer ' (mentioned by Bana); *Mahdsandhivigrahlka* (officer to determine peace and war, and hence, Foreign Secretary) and *Sdndhivlgrahika [Harm-charita* (217)]; *Mahdsarva-daadandyaka* and *Sarvadandanayaka* ; *Mahadanda-ndyaka*[1] (chief justice or chief executive officer to dispense punishments) ; *Dandapdiika* (policeman), *Dandika* and *Ghauroddharanika* (officer apprehending thieves) [see Fleet for the references; specially No. 46]. One of the Basarh seals mentions a separate treasurer for the war office *(Raua-bhaiidagardahika-*n*y.a),and an executive officer for enforcing discipline and morals called *Vinayasthitisthapaka.* He was a provincial officer, mentioned in this epigraph as being appointed as censor for the whole province of Tirhut *(TirabJiuktaii).* The *Harsa-charita (228)* speaks of ' superintendents of soldiers' barracks' called *Pati-patis,* and also knows of ' women watchers of the night' called *Yama-chetis.*

Some of these high offices were combined in one and the same person. Harisena, under Samudra-gupta, was at once his Sandhivigrahika, Kumara-matya, and Mahadandanayaka. They were also held sometimes in heredity. The office of s*achiva* (foreign

[1] The term *Mahadandanayaka,* one of the commonest terms in the Gupta and later inscriptions, which has been in use for several centuries (from the fourth to the twelfth century as shown below), may be traced even to earlier times. It occurs, for instance, in a Mathura Inscription of the Kushan Emperor lluviska [Inscription No. 3 in *JRAS,* 1924, p. 402, giving the latest reading of its text].

minister) under Chandragupta II was thus held as well as that of *Goptd* (governor) of Dasapura under Kumaragupta I [Nos. 6 and 18 of Fleet].

We may now consider the evidence regarding fiscal administration and specially the sources of revenue. These last may bo gathered from the inscriptions recording the grants of land of the period. We may select for the purpose two typical grants for the years A.D. 571, and A. D. 766, between which lies the age of Harsa [Nos. 38 and 39 of Fleet]. The former mentions as the sources of revenue (1) *udrahga,* probably the land-tax ; (2) *iiparikara* [' a tax levied on cultivators who have no proprietary rights on soil' (Fleet)]; (3) *vdta* (unexplained); (4) *bhata* (probably what is grown as distinguished from withered, *vata)*; (5) *dhanya*; (6) *hirayya* (gold); (7) a *deya* (that to be surrendered); (8) *vistlka* (forced labour if necessary), to which the second inscription adds (9) *dasdparddhah* [fines from ten offences, viz. *(a)* three offences of the *body,* theft, murder, and adultery; *(b)* four offences of *speech,* harsh words, untruthful words, libellous words, and pointless words; and (c) three offences of *mind,* coveting others' property, thinking of wrong, and devotion to what is not the true] ; (10) *bhoga* (enjoyment); (11) *bhaga* (share). No. 55 of Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions* indicates very well, though negatively, the obligations imposed by the state on a village rendered free by the king's grant: 'It is not to pay taxes *(akardddyl)*; it is not to be molested by the regular troops *(bhata)* or police *(chhatra)*: it is not to

yield the increase in its cows and bulls ; nor in its flowers or milk, pasturage, hide and charcoal; nor any taxes on salt or wet salt, on sale and purchase, or produce of mines; it is not to contribute forced labour or surrender its hidden treasures and deposits, the *Idripta* and u*paklripta* (unexplained).' It would appear from this passage that even the best financial brain of modern times would be unable to improve upon the resources of taxation as explored and exploited in these olden times!

A sound system of local finance rested on a sound system of settlement'. An idea of the ' settlement' is given in No. 38 of Fleet of A.D. 571. (Land was surveyed, measured,- and divided into holdings called *pratyayas*[1] with their boundaries[2] defined. The measurement was by *pada* or pace, i.e., roughly two feet. The holdings were of different sizes, of 105, 100, and 90 *paddvartas,* and were served by common lands called *padraka* and had in certain cases the irrigation wells, *vapi,* covering an area of 28 *paddvartas.* The names of all the individual proprietors of the holdings were entered in the village records together with the boundaries of the holdings which were fixed by a separate class of officers called *simakarmakara* [mentioned in No. 46 of Fleet], or *simapradata* [named in an inscription of Bhaskaravarman, *Ep. Ind.* xii. 75]. The officer surveying and

[1] Bana calls small holdings *kedarikam.*
[2] Called *parihara* and *maryada* by Bana,

measuring the land was called the *Pramata.* There was also an officer called *Nydya-lcaranika [ibid:],* 'the adjudicator who had to inspect and decide if the boundaries were properly marked out or not, and to settle all cases of dispute '.

As the village was the unit of administration, a census seems to have been taken of all the villages comprised in its territory. The Aihole Inscription of Pulakefin II, Harsa's great contemporary and rival, states that his empire of Maharastra in its three divisions comprised as many as 99,000 villages.

The standard size of a village is also indicated in one inscription [No. 55 of Fleet], where it is stated that 'the village named Charmarika on the bank of the river MadhunadI in the Bhojakata kingdom measured by 8,000 *bhumis* according to the royal measure' was given to 1,000 Brahmins, so that an individual homestead would comprise 8 *bhumis.*[1]

[1] If we look before and after (as we ought in history) a little further, we shall find that the names of most of these administrative officers had been in use from the time of the Guptas through that of Harsa up to a still later period. For instance, an inscription assigned to the eleventh century A.D. [Belava Copper-plate Inscription of Bhojavarmadeva issued from the king's camp at Vikramapura in East Bengal *(Ep. Ind.* xii. 37)] mentions the following officers : Rajamatya, Purohita, *Plthikavitta* (unexplained), Mahadharmadhyaksa (Chief Justice), Mahasandhivigrahika, Mahasenapati, *Mahdmadrddhikrita* (Keeper of the Royal Seal), *Antarangabrihaduparika* [Chief Privy Councillor or Royal Physician —' Vidyakulasampanno hi visagantaranga ityuchyate' (Sivadasa's commentary on Chakradatta)], Mahaksapatalika, Mahapratihara, Mahabhogika, *Mahdvyuhapati, MahdpUupati* (Chief Elephant Keeper), *Mahdganastha* [Commander of a g*ana* squadron of 27 elephants, 27 chariots, 81 horses, and 135 foot soldiers ; a *gulma* squadron compris-

Lastly, in connexion with his administration may be discussed the question of Harsa's coins and the light they throw on his political status. Mr. R. Burn, C.S.I., I.C.S., has described *[JRAS.,* 1906,

ing 9 elephants, 9 chariots, 27 horses, and 45 foot-soldiers], Daussiidhika (-Porter or Superintendent of villages), Chauroddharanika, Inspectors of the fleet, elephants, horses, cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep, &c, Gaulmikas, Dandapagikas, Dandaniiyakas, Visayapati, and other dependants of the king mentioned in the standard list of *Adhyaksas.* The names of those officers are also repeated word for word in another slightly later inscription, the Naihati Grant of Vallala Sena *[Ep. hid.* xiv. 160]. Of these names, only the few in italics are new ones. It may he further noted that in these inscriptions, while the term for the province is still the old Gupta word *Bhukti,* there are new terms employed for the administrative divisions between the Bhukti and the Grama, viz. the *Manrtala* (district or circle) and the *Khandala* (subdivision).

Again, it is clear from the above account of the Imperial Administrative System of this age, that we have left far behind the age of the Mauryan Imperial System as described in the Arthaiastra of Kautillya, or the Edicts of Asoka, or other documents, where the technical terms used for the various officers or departments of administration are mostly very different from, and more archaic than, those in use under the later administrations. As examples, we may recall Kautillya's names for the eighteen *Tirthas* or Chief Officers of the State such as the Mantri, Purohita, Senapati, Yuvariija, Dauvarika, Antarvasika, Prasastri, Samahartri, Sannidhiitri, Pradestri, Nayaka, Pauravyavaharaka, Karmantika, Mantriparisadadhyaksa, Dandapala, Durgapala, Antapala, and Atavika ; or the names of the local and rural officers like the *Gopa* and *Sthanika* ; or the various classes of officers serving as secret agents (gudhapurusas) in the organization of espionage which was such a marked feature of the Mauryan government; or, lastly, such names of officers as Mahamafcra, Dharma-Mahilmatra, Strladhyaksa-Mahamatra, Anta-Mahamatra, Rajuka, Prativedaka, Prade&ika, and the Yukta, which we find mentioned in the Asokan Edicts. No doubt the *functions* of administration remained nearly the same from age to age, but the functionaries differed as regards their names and spheres of work.

p. 843 f.] a find of silver coins out of which nine are of Sra Pratapasala = Sri Pratapasila, 284 of Sri-Saladata, i.e., Siladitya, and one of Harsa (not spelt as Harsa). The full legend of these Siladitya coins reads as follows: 'Vijitavanir-avanipati Srl Siladitya divam jayati', Sri Siladitya, the conqueror, and master, of the world conquers Heaven. Thus these Pratapasila and Siladitya coins[1] may be taken to be those issued by Pratapasila, the name earned by King Prabhakaravardhana by his conquests, as Bana informs us, and also the coins issued by his son Harsa who was also known by his title of Siladitya, as Yuan Chwang informs us. This ascription of the coins is, however, doubted by Dr. Hoernle *[JRAS,* 1909, p. 446 f.] on the grounds (i) that the Kashmir Chronicle [ch. iii, v. 330] knows of a Pratapasila, also called Siladitya, who was the son of Vikramaditya whom he identifies with Yasodharman, the leader of the confederacy against the tyranny of Mihirakula, the Huna (A.D. 528), and (2) that the *Harsa-eharlta* does *not* know of the title Siladitya being assumed by Harsa. Though there is some force in these objections, it does not render inadmissible Mr. Burn's conclusion, which is supported by several strong considerations: first, the identity of PratapaSila with Prabhakaravardhana, as asserted by Bana; second, the identity of Siladitya with Harsa, as asserted by Yuan Chwang, a hardly less trust-

[1] **On some of these coins Mr. Burn *[JBAS,* 1906, p. 850] roads the dates 31 and 33.**

worthy chronicler than Bana; third, the legends on the coins pointing to the status of kings like Prabhakara and Harsa; fourth, the provenance[1] of the coins, all found within the limits of Harsa's direct dominion and in association with the coins of the allied house of the Maukharis. To these may be added the further consideration that the type of these coins, showing a large head on one side and a peacock on the other (with long inscriptions), also agrees with that of the coins of Isanavarman and other Maukhari kings and is modelled on the Gupta coin-types. Dr. Hoernle is, however, sure about one other coin being that of Harsa *[JRAS,* J903, p. 547]: it is the coin No. 21 given in Plate V of Cunningham's *Coins of Mediaeval India,* showing, on the obverse, the figure of a horseman, with the legend *Harm Deva,* and, on the reverse, that of a goddess seated on a throne with the cornucopiae in her left hand.' Harsa is called Harsa Deva in the H*arsa-charita* as well as in some inscriptions such as the Nausarl grant and the Aphsad Stone Inscription *[IA,* xiii. 73, 79]. The emblem of the ' Horseman with lance at rest' is taken by Hoernle to be 'the mark of the early Rajputs, i.e., the Hinduized Kushans, Hunas, and other invaders, and

[1] **This is, however, as a rule the weakest argument for proving the point. Coins and copper-plates, being small and portable, are liable to be carried to places far from those of their origin, and are hence much inferior evidence in this regard as compared with stone-inscriptions. As an instance, we may point to the seal of the Maukhari king Sarvavarman found at Asirgadh, a village in the Nimad district of the Central Provinces, and hence hundreds of miles remote to the west from the place of its origin.**

the chiefs of Thancsar were Rajputs' [*Ep. Ind.* i. 68]. The general type of the coin, which is a gold coin, with the enthroned goddess, corresponds to that in use among the Great and Little Kushans ruling from the third to the seventh century A.D. in Gandhara and the Panjab.

Besides coins, Harsa also issued his seals, two of wliich were recently unearthed by excavations at Nalanda in fragments, and bearing inscriptions very much mutilated. The inscriptions on both mention ' (para)ma Mahesvarah Mahesvaraiva sarvva (bhau-mah) (paramabha) itaraka Maharajadhiraja Sri Harsah' and evidently recited the names of Harsa's predecessors and ancestors whose names, except that of Rajyavardhana, are lost on the broken seals [Arch. Survey Report, Eastern Circle, 1917-18, p. 44]. The other seal known of Harsa is, of course, the well-known Sonpat Copper Seal which, originally, was a part of a copper-plate, as shown by traces of soldering left on its back. The seal also shows at the top a bull recumbent to the proper right (the same symbol as is found on the Maukhari seals of Nalanda described above).

CHAPTER V

RELIGION AND LEARNING

FROM an account of the reign and administrative system of Harsa, we now pass on to consider the state of the country during his time, for which, fortunately, ample evidence is available in the record of Yuan Chwang's travels. Yuan Chwang gives an admirable report on the Moral and Material Progress of India during that age, from which, voluminous as it is, we can but make only a few extracts for purposes of a general view.

The very visit of the Chinese pilgrim is a testimony to the moral progress and greatness achieved by India. It was not a mere pleasure trip upon which he came out to India. He came on a sacred and spiritual mission as a seeker after the saving knowledge of which India had then the monopoly in the whole of Asia. Thus no amount of dangers and difficulties presented by nature and man alike in the course of travelling by the land-route from China to India could damp the enthusiasm of Yuan Chwang and so many Chinese scholars before him for Indian learning and wisdom. Indeed from the time of Kaniska to that of Dharmapala of Bengal, during the period of wellnigh ten centuries, there had been

a steady stream of Chinese students towards India, towards her many seats of learning where they could drink at the very fountains of the wisdom they sought. The history of this cultural contact of China with India is only embodied in the three most conspicuous exponents and representatives of that movement, viz. Fa-hien, Yuan Chwang, and I-tsing, among numerous other students unknown to fame. Their pilgrimage to India is only a tribute paid by China to the sovereignty of Indian thought, whose influence extended beyond the geographical boundaries of India to many foreign countries and thus built up a Greater India beyond her northern mountains and southern seas.

Though Yuan Chwang was interested only in Buddhism, and that in one of its schools or sects, the Mahayana Buddhism, he has freely reported on the conditions as regards other Buddhist schools'and sects as well as Brahminical systems of religion and culture *then* prevailing in the country It would appear that Brahminism was then ascendant under the impetus given to it by the Gupta emperors. Yuan Chwang tells us that India was then known to foreigners as ' the country of the Brahmins', who were 'purest and in most esteem among the various castes and clans of the country' [Watters, i. 140]. The predominance of Brahminism was further demonstrated by the fact noticed by the Chinese pilgrim that Sanskrit was the language of the cultured classes in which wrote even the most famous Buddhist

teachers. The best Sanskrit of the times, both spoken and written, was current in 'Mid-India' where the people were 'pre-eminently explicit and correct in speech, their expressions being harmonious and elegant, and their intonation clear and distinct, serving as rule and pattern for others'. Outside 'Mid-India* there were variations from the original source and standard, 'The people of neighbouring territories and foreign countries repeating errors until these became the norm, and emulous for vulgarities, have lost the pure style' *[ibid.* 153]. The vigour of Brahininism further expressed itself in the numerous ascetic sects of the times distinguishable from one another by external marks: 'Some wear peacocks tails; some - adorn themselves with a necklace of skulls; some are quite naked; some cover the body with grass or boards; some pull out their hair and clip their moustaches; some mat their side-hair and make a top-knot coil. Their cloth is not fixed and the colour varies' *[ibid.* 148]. There were also some who 'smeared themselves with ashes' *[ibid.* ii. 47], as well as those called. Digambaras, Pamsupatas *[ibid.* i. 123]. The numer-, ous Brahminical sects and schools of thought are also mentioned by Bana as follows: viz., 'followers of Krisna, ascetics who pulled out their hair, followers of Kapila, Kanada, the Nyaya and the Upanisads, the Lokayatikas, and so forth.' In another passage Bana mentions ascetic widows, Parasara mendicants, Jain monks, and Saiva devotees as among his friends (48). Elsewhere he mentions such varieties of ascetics as

the Karpatin (ragged ascetic), Kastha-muni (hermit on a pillar), Dagdhamunda, Pandurin and Pindapat in.'There were also the worshippers of Siva and Sakti, the Kapalika sect *[Life,* p. 159], and the devotees of Durga *[ibid.,* p. 87]. The 'different heretical schools' are elsewhere thus described by Yuan Chwang *[Ibid.,* p. 161]: 'The Bhutas, Nirgranthas, the Kapalikas and the Jutikas or Chudinkas (ascetics with matted hair) are all differently arrayed. The Sankhyas and the Vaisesikas are mutually opposed The Bhutas cover themselves with cinders . . . the Nirgranthas go without clothing . . . the sect of the Kapalikas with their chaplets of "bones round their heads and necks, inhabiting holes and crevices of the rocks. . . . As for the Chingkias *(Chudinkas),* they wear garments soiled with filth, and eat putrid food.'

But the external marks of these various classes of ascetics were certainly less characteristic than their inner marks. The Chinese pilgrim is quite eloquent about these:

' There are men who, far seen in antique lore and fond of the refinements of learning, are content in seclusion, leading lives of continence. These come and go outside of the world and promenade through life away from human affairs. Though they are not moved by honour or reproach, their fame is far spread.

' Though their family be in affluent circumstances, such men make up their minds to be like vagrants and get their food by begging as they go about. With

them there is honour in knowing truth and there is no disgrace in being destitute,

' The rulers treating them with ceremony and respect cannot make them come to court. Now as the state' holds men of learning and genius in esteem, and the people respect those who have high intelligence, the, honours and praises of such men are conspicuously abundant, and the attentions, private and official, paid to them are very considerable. Hence men can force themselves to a thorough acquisition of knowledge.'

One of the best proofs of the moral progress of India was this growth of asceticism and the way in which it was esteemed and encouraged both by the rulers and the people at large. India could show in abundance men who renounced riches, the comforts of home, the many pleasures of social life and even the love of fame ('that last infirmity of noble minds'),-as so many impediments to the quest of Truth. And the moral sense of a society was strong and sound that showed all honour to those who thus beggared themselves for the uplift of society. For the ascetics were not against social service: they left the world to give the law unto the world. Attaining Truth, they were anxious to impart it to their fellows. This fact did not escape the observation of Yuan Chwang who remarks:

' Forgetting fatigue, they " expatiate in the arts and sciences"; seeking for wisdom while "relying on perfect virtue " they count not 1,000 *li* a long journey' (i l i = about 4 miles) [Watters, i. 161].

Thus in these travelling bands of ascetic teachers, ancient India found one of the best agencies of public instruction without any expense to the state which could not have tackled the problem in such an efficient manner departmentally.

Side by side with the various sects and schools of Brahminism flourished those of Buddhism and especially of Mahayana Buddhism, which in Yuan Chwang's time had proportionately extended more than Hinayana. Thus, at every centre of Buddhism he visited, he noticed both Mahayana and Hinayana monks living sometimes even in the same and sometimes in different monasteries, together with numerous 'Deva-temples' and Brahminical sects and devotees 'living pell-mell'.

Buddhism at the time of Harsa and Yuan Chwang, though on the wane, was still represented by as many as eighteen different sects, besides its main division into Mahayana and Hinayana. 'The tenets of the schools keep these isolated, and controversy runs high; heresies on special doctrines lead many ways to the same end. Each of the eighteen schools claims to have intellectual superiority' [Watters, i. 162]. Some of these schools developed special literature of their own bearing upon their particular tenets and practices and also owned monasteries where it was specially cultivated. Between the various schools there were about 5.000 monasteries seen by the Chinese pilgrim in India in working order as so many Buddhist colleges where Buddhist monks were

in actual residence, of whom the total number all over India, including Ceylon, works out to be something like 212,130 on the basis of Yuan Chwang's totals for different sects and monasteries in different centres.

The following table-has been prepared from the statements of Yuan Chwang to show the distribution of monks among the different schools and centres of Buddhism in India in the age of Harsa:

1. *Whavira:*

In Gaya (in the Vihfira of the Ceylones king)	1,000
. , Samatata	2,000
„ Kalinga	500
, , Dravida	10,000
„ Ceylon	20,000
" Bharoach	300
„ Swat	3,000
Total	367800

2. *Sammaftya:*

I n Aliichchhatra	**1,000**
, , Sarikasya	**1,000**
„ Hayamukha	**1,000**
, , Vi6oka	**3,000**
, , Kapilavastu	**3 0**
, , Benares	**3 000**
, , Sarnath	**1 , 5 0 0**
„ Monghyr	**4,000**
„ Karnasuvarna	**2,000**
„ Malava	**2o,coo**
, , Valabhi	**6,000**
„ N. Sindh	**10,000**
, , Karachi	**5,000**
, , Pitasila	**3,000**
„ Avanda (?)	**2,000**
„ Anandapura	**1,000**
Total	**63,530**

3. *Sarrdstivddin :*

In Gaz.	2,000
„ Tamasiivana Vihara	300
,, Matipur	800
,, Pigeon Vihara .	200
„ Navadevakula .	500
,, Gurjara	100
,, Monghyr .	2,000
Total	4,100

4. *Lokottararadin :*

In Baniian (several thousands)

5. *Illnaydna* (without mention of any sects" :

In Sakala	100
" Gandhara	50
" Sthanesvara	700
„ Srughna	1,000
" Govisana	100
" Kosamhi	300
„ Ghazipur	1,000
„ Magadha	50
" Champa	200
Total	3,500

C. *Mahdydna:*

In Kapis	6,000
„ Udyana	18,000
„ Taksassila	300
„ Kn-lu-to (on the Upper Beas) .	1,000
„ Pi-lo-shan-na	300
„ Magadha	10,000
„ Punyavardhana .	700
„ Orissa	'Myriads'
„ S. Kosala	10,000
„ Ti-lo-shi-ka Vihara .	1,000
„ Dhanakataka .	1,000
„ Fa-la-na (Clorna I valley) .	300
Total	48,600

7. Bhiksus who studied both Illnayana and Mahayana:

In Mathura	2,000
,, Jalandhara	2,000
,, Kanyakubja	10,000
,, Ayodhya	3,000
,, Vriji	1,000
,, Punyavardhana	3,000
,, Kankana	10,000
,, Mahfirastra	5,000
,, Catch	1,000
,, Ujjeni	300
,, Parvata	1.000
,, Mekran	6,000
Total	46,300

8. Bhiksus whose sects are not specified :

In Kashmir	5,000
,, Raj mail al	300
,, Tamralipti	1,000
,, Andhra	3,000
Total	9,300

Totals of above :

Illnayana :		
Sthavira	36,800	
Sammatiya	63,530	
Sarvastiviidin	4,100	
Unnamed	3,500	
		107,930
Mahayana		48,600
Both Hlnayana and Mahayana		46,300
Monks whose sects are not specified		9,300
Grand Total		212,130[1]

[1] The above computation is based on that of Rhys Davids *[JRAS,* 1891, pp. 418-20], from which, howover, it differs as regards several figures taken from Waiters.

It may be noted that there were, besides, many other monks and monasteries not counted by Yuan Chwang but only vaguely estimated by the words 'few', 'some tens', 'several thousands', or 'myriads'. Thus, granting that Yuan Chwang's census of Buddhist monks cannot be expected to be absolutely accurate, it cannot be denied that India supported quite a considerable number, several lacs, of ascetics of both Buddhist and non-Buddhist orders, wliich cannot but be taken as a convincing proof of her moral and spiritual progress in a particular direction.

It may be useful to note the most important of the Buddhist colleges as observed by Yuan Chwang. Kashmir could boast of being a great centre of Buddhism where the king appointed Bhadanta Ch'eng with his disciples to look after the needs of the pilgrim and twenty clerks to copy out the manuscripts he wanted from the Palace Library. He thus spent two years there, studying certain sutras and sastras. In the Nagaradhana Vihara of Jalandhara country he spent four months in study under a learned scholar, Chandravarma. In a monastery in the Srughna country he spent a whole winter and half of the spring in receiving instruction under the learned scholar Jayagupta. The monasteries in the Srughna country were so famous for the erudition of their monks that distinguished monks from other lands came to them to have their doubts solved. In a monastery in Matipur he saw a learned scholar, Mitrasena by name, ninety years old, and a disciple of Gunaprabha, one of whose works

he studied there for several months. 9The Bhadra-vihara was a noted college in Kanyakubja where Yuan Chwang stayed for three months, studying under the teacher Viryasena. In the Svetapura monastery in the Vaisali country the pilgrim obtained a copy of the Mahayana treatise. The Ti-lo-shi-ka monastery near Nalanda was then 'the rendezvous of eminent scholars who flocked to it from all regions '. The Mahabodhi monastery at Gaya was distinguished forthe perfection in the V in ay a observances on the part of all its 1,000 ecclesiastics. One of the monasteries of Punyavardhana attracted by its reputation many distinguished students from ' East India'. In Monghyr the pilgrim stayed for a year receiving instruction from the teachers, Tathagatagupta and Ksantisimha. The Raktamrita monastery in Karnasuvarna was the resort of illustrious brethren. Thus all these monasteries were then enjoying almost an all-Indian reputation as seats of Buddhist learning and culture.

But of course the most distinguished centre of learning in that age was the far-famed university of Nalanda, which then counted 10,000 students on its rolls. Even 'foreign students
end to their doubts and then become celebrated' [Watters, ii. 165]. Some of these came even from Mongolia [I-tsing, ed. Takakusu, p. 26]. The history of this university needs special treatment, but here it is relevant only to notice such facts and conditions as are connected with the time of Harsa. Residence

for 10,000 alumni was provided in six-storied monasteries, the gift of six kings, namely, Sakraditya, Buddhagupta, Tathagatagupta, Baladitya, Vajra, and a king of Mid-India. .Harsa's gift to the university was a Vihara or temple of bras or bronze about a liundred feet in height *[Life,* p. 159; Watters, ii. 171]. The university provided for its alumni not only free education but also free board, lodging, clothes, bedding, and medicines. Its expenses came out of its estates. 'The king of the country', says Yuan Chwang, 'remitted the revenues of 100 villages for the endowment of the convent', but he does not mention the name of this generous king. The university, comprising only 'Schools of Discussion\ was meant not for elementary instruction but for advanced studies and students. The method of learning there was mainly by discussion for which but few were fit. Yuan Chwang says that only two or three out of ten could succeed in gaining admission to the university and its 'Schools of Discussion'; 'the majority beaten by the difficulties of the problems (they had to answer before admission) withdrew'. And yet such advanced scholars who got admitted he counts as io,ooo! *[Ibid.* 165]. Of these, 1,510 were teachers who between them delivered 100 different discourses on different subjects every day.

The teachers and students at Nalanda were exponents and followers of different sects or schools of thought, and were always meeting in animated debates and discussions which so largely made up the intel-

loctual life of the university. Yuaa Chwang records a few actual cases of such discussions. Once, while he was deputed by SUabhadra to expound some aspects of Yoga-sastra, another learned man named Simharasmi was discoursing on quite contrary doctrines when he silenced him by his questions and drove him in shame to leave the convent and repair to the Bodhi monastery at Gaya, thence to bring his fellow-student, Chandrasimha of Eastern India, to Nalanda for discussion with Yuan Chwang, but Yuan Chwang prevailed over him at once. We are also told of a Lokayata philosopher who came to challenge the Nalanda monks, ' wrote out forty theses and hung them up at the gate of the Vihara with the notice : " I f any one within can refute these principles, I will then give my head as a proof of his victory." Yuan Chwang accepted the challenge, got the poster removed, and, in the presence of the Chancellor, and all students, overcame by a learned discussion his opponent who, spared his head, became his disciple' *[Life,* pp. 157-64].

The most distinguished scholars and teachers of the times were ' DhajrrrxapaJa (the predecessor of Silabhadra in the headship of the establishment), Chandrapala who gave a fragrance to Buddha's teachings, Gunamati and Sthiramati of excellent reputation among contemporaries, Prabhamitra of clear argument, and Jinamitra of elevated conversation, Jiianachandra of model character and perspicacious intellect, and Silabhaclra', by far the most learned man of his

time. Besides these specially mentioned, there ' were some thousands of Brethren, all men of great ability and learning, several hundreds being highly esteemed and famous'. Life at Nalanda was lived at high pressure: 'Learning and discussing they found the day too short; day and night they admonished each other, juniors and seniors mutually helping to perfection.'

The subjects of study at Nalanda were not confined to Buddhism alone. Though the university specialized in the study of Mahayana, it did not exclude the study of the works belonging to the eighteen other sects of Buddhism, nor of such Brahminical sacred and secular subjects as the Vedas, the Atharva Veda, Hetuvidya (logic), Sabdavidya (grammar and philology) Chikitsavidya (medicine), Sankhya, Nyaya, Yoga-£a$tra and the like. Yuan Chwang himself studied Yoga-sastra under Chancellor Silabhadra,' the highest living authority on the subject', as well as Nyaya, Hetuvidya, and Sabdavidya, including philological, legal, philosophical, and astronomical subjects together with the grammar of Panini. He remained as a student at Nalanda for five years, during which he completed a study of ' all the collections of Buddhist books as well as the sacred book of the Brahmins' *[Life,* pp. 112, 121, 125]. Thus Nalanda stood for the ideal of freedom in learning, and welcomed knowledge from all quarters, from all sects and creeds. It was a genuine university in the *xmiversal* range of its studies and not a mere sectarian, denominational school.

Comparable to Nalanda in the freedom of its academic life and the variety and catholicity of its studies, as described by Yuan Chwang, there was another seat of learning, the hermitage of the sage Divakaramitra, described by Bana (265, 266). To that solitary and sylvan retreat in the depths of the Vindhyan forests was attracted all the varied learning and culture of the age. Students differing widely and radically in doctrines and practices, followers of all possible sects and schools of thought, gathered together in a common fellowsliip in the quest of Truth, the supreme object of a university. They were all busy'pondering, urging objections, raising-doubts, resolving them, giving etymologies, disputing, studying, and explaining'. Truth was, indeed, sought to be seen here from every conceivable view-point! There were the different sects of Jains, the Arhatas (Digambara) and Svetapatas (Svetambaras); different classes of Brahminical ascetics such as Paturabhiksus (naked ascetics), the Maskarins (parivrajaka), the Varnins (brahmacharins), the Bhagavatas and Pancharatrikas (Vaisnava ascetics), the Saivas and Kesalunchakas; atheists like the Lokayatikas (Charvakas), philosophers like the Kapilas, Kanadas, Aupanisadas (Vedantins), and Aisvarakaranikas (Naiyayikas); experts in law (Dharmasastra), linguistics (Sabdika), and the Puranas; experts in rituals (Saptatantavas); and even experts in the material sciences, the metallurgists (Karandhamins). Nor were Buddhist learning and culture less in evidence there: the followers

of the Three Refuges (Trisarana) were busy performing the ritual of the chaitya *(chaitya-karma)*; there were students well versed in the *tidkya-idsanas* (Buddhist law): discourses were also forthcoming on Vasubandhu's Kosa or Bauddhasiddhanta ; while there were others who specialized in the study of the 'Bodhisattva-Jatakas' which they were always muttering.

We have in these accounts of educational institutions an indication of the literature and circle of knowledge available in that age. 'The Brahmans learnt the Veda treatises', including the Ayur Veda, Yajur Veda, Sama Veda, and Atharva Veda, as stated by Yuan Chwang (Watters, i. 159). According to I-tsing, who travelled in India a little later than Yuan Chwang (A.D. 672-688), 'the Four Vedas containing about 100,000 verses have been handed down from mouth to mouth, not transcribed on paper or leaves. In every generation there exist some intelligent Brahmans who can recite the 100,000 verses' [Takakusu's tr., p. 182]. As noticed by I-tsing, the first book of reading was called *Siddhirastu,* giving the 49 letters of the alphabet and 10,000 syllables arranged in 300 slokas. After this the student was introduced to elementary grammar, comprising *(a)* the Sutra of Panini in 1,000 slokas, *(b) Dhatu* and the three *Khilas, (c)* the commentary on Panini, called the *Kasikavriti,* in 18,000 slokas, of which the author Jayaditya, 'of great ability and striking literary power', flourished in the time of

Harsa; *(d)* composition in prose and verse. After this preliminary grounding in grammar and composition, students could proceed to a study of *subjects* or Yidyas, which, according to both Yuan Chwang and I-tsing, were five in number, viz. (I) Sabdavidya (grammar and lexicography), *(2)* Silpasthanavidyi, (the science of the arts and crafts), (3) Chikitsavidya (medicine), (4) Hetuvidya (logic), and (5) Adhyatmavidya (metaphysics). I-tsing mentions some of the text-books prescribed under these subjects. Under.. *Hetuvidya* , for instance, the text-book used was the Nyava-dvara-taraka-sastra written by Nagarjuna, As models of composition and standard literature are mentioned the Jatakamala, the *SahrUleJcha* of Nagarjuna, an epistle in verse addressed to his patron, King Jetaka Satavahana [Takakusu, p. 159], which was translated by I-tsing, and also the *Buddha-stotra* in 150 verses, which was also translated by I-tsing while he was studying at Nalanda. The study of these five subjects was followed by specialization. According to Yuan Chwang, the Buddhist student would specialize in the study of some branch of the religious literature connected with the sect to which he belonged. We are told of the famous Buddhist scholar Gunabhadra who, in addition to these five subjects, knew astronomy, arithmetic, medicine, and exorcism [Watters, i. 158]. One of the subjects of specialization was *Vyakartna,* under which the following text-books were then in use, as stated by I-tsing, viz. (1) *Churni* or Patanjali's Mahabhasya in 24,000 slokas which

' advanced students take three years to learn'; *(2) Bhartrihari-sastra* a commentary on the above work in 25,000 slokas, written by Biiartrihari, ' famous throughout the five parts of India', who died in A.D. 651 [Takakusu, p. 180]; (3) *Vdhyapadiya,* also by Biiartrihari, ' a treatise on the Inference supported by the authority of the sacred teaching and on Inductive Arguments' *9ibid.)*; and (4) p*ei-na* (probably Sanskrit Beda or Veda), a grammatical work of 3,000 slokas composed by Bhartrihari, with a commentary portion in 14,000 slokas attributed to his contemporary, Dharmapala. Among the sacred works of Buddhist literature in which the monks specialized at the monasteries, 1-tsing mentions the *Tripitaka [ibid.,* p. 120], the Vinaya, the sutras and sastras *(ibid.,* p. 181), the two hymns of 150 and 400 verses attributed to Matricheta, taught to monks throughout India (p. 157), and the *Buddha-charita-kdvya* of Asvaghosa, ' which is widely read or sung throughout the five divisions of India, and the countries of the Southern Sea' (p. 166). Under *Yoga* were studied the *Yogdchdrya-kistra* and the eight sastras of Asanga: under *Logic* are mentioned Jina's eight Sastras; while, under *Abhidharma,* I-tsing refers to six Padas or treatises, and, under the *Agamas.* four Nikayas.

This is what the Chinese travellers report on the Indian literature of the times. We notice several names as specifically belonging to the history of Sanskrit literature in the time of Harsa, viz. the

names of Bhartrihari, of the joint authors of the *Kasika,* viz. Jayaditya and Vamana, and of Dharmapala, who wrote the sloka portion of the *Beda-vriti* and was the predecessor of Silabhadra in the headship of the Nalanda college; Dharmakiri, the logician [referred to in the *Vasavadatta* (p. 235) and the Sarva-Darsana-Saiiigraha of Cowell (p. 24)]; Rahulamitra, chief monk of Eastern India at Tainralipti, author of the Ratnakiita Sutra; Chandra, autlior of a drama on Vessantara; Jinaprabha, Jiianachandra, Ratnasiihha, teachers at Nalanda in I-tsing's time, together with such other Buddhist teachers and scholars, both at Nalanda and elsewhere, as have been mentioned by Yuan Chwang and referred to above. A leading man of letters of the age was, of course, Banabhatta, the court poet of Harsa himself, while Bana himself mentions the vernacular poet (bhasakavi) Isana, the descriptive poet, Venlbharata, and the Prakrita poet, Vayuvikara, as among the literary celebrities of the times. The great poet Bharavi, author of *Kiratarjuniya,* also belonged to this age, since he already appears as famous in the Aihole Inscription of A. 634 while the absence of any reference to him by Bana should not make him precede Bana by a long interval [Keith's *Classical Sanskrit Literature,* p. 51]. To the same age are also assigned the poet Kumaradasa who wrote the *Janakiharana* epic, for he seems to know the Kasikavritti of about A.D. 650; and also the famous poet Magha, author of the Sisupalabadha p. 54], The romaucist, Subandhu, was a little earlier

than Bana, who refers to his *Vasavadatta* in the preface to the *Harsa-charita.* The *Kadambarl of* Bana,, left unfinished by him, was finished by his worthy son Bhusana Bhatta. We may further note another royal poet, 'almost a contemporary to a day of Harsa himself, named *Mahendravikrama,* the Pallava king of Kanchi, who wrote the play called the *Mattavllasa,* and ruled in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D.; also the court-poet of Harsa's great southern contemporary and rival Pulakesin II, Ravikirti by name, who celebrates his patron's exploits in the Aihole Inscription of A.D. 634 in the form of a poem which compares Ravikirti to Kalidasa and Bharavi, and shows him to be well up in the rules of the Alaiiikara Sastra, familiar with the R*aghuvanisa* of Kalidasa, and almost unsurpassed in some of his Utpreksa.... Lastly, we may also mention among the men of letters of this age the poet Mayura, father-in-law of Bana, and author of a Suryasataka, a work of great merit, and Matanga Divakara, of whom some poems are preserved [Keith's *Classical Sanskrit Literature,* p. 120].

Side by side with religion and learning as centred in these monasteries and hermitages noted for their strenuous discipline and intellectual life, we must consider the religion of the masses which, whether Brahminical or Buddhist, was given to the worship of idols enshrined in temples. The most popular deities, of Brahminical religion at that time were Visnu, Siva, and the Sun. Yuan Chwang noticed temples

of all the three gods at Kanyakubja, which was then a centre of both Brahmanism and Buddhism. Benares was then, as naw,ihe most important place of Saiva "worship. Yuan Chwang noticed there more than 100 temples of Hindu gods at which the majority of the worshippers were Sivites, ' some cutting off their hair, some going about naked, or smeared with ashes'. In one temple he saw an image of the deva (probably the Sivalingam)' nearly 100 ft. high ' [Watters, ii. 47 J. Some of these temples existed even at prominent Buddhist centres. Yuan Chwang speaks of an lsvara temple at Kapilavastu, the Bethlehem of Buddhism. Worship of Durga, the consort of Siva, was also popular. Yuan Chwang saw a Bhima Devi temple near Salatura in the Panjab near the Siva temple, attended by ' ash-smearing Tirthikas' [i. 221]. There were temples also of Earth-god even at Bodh Gaya [ii. 124]. The most famous Sun temple was that at Multan, where 'the image was of gold,ornamented with precious substances', and the daily worshippers counted ' constantly 1,000 pilgrims from various lands', with 'a constant succession of females performing music, with lights kept burning all night, incense and flowers continually offered', while ' the kings and grandees of all India gave precious substances as religious offerings, and erected free rest-houses, with food, drink, and medicine for the sick and peedy' [ii. 254].

Buddhism also was equally marked by the worship of images liberally introduced into it by the Malm-

yana school. There were topes in alt places, associated with incidents in the life, or enshrining the relics, of the Buddha, and even sometimes of his disciples. At Mathura, for instance, Yuan Chwang noticed worship of images of Sariputra,Maudgalaputra, Upali, Ananda, and Bahula [i. 302]. Fa-hien, in the fifth century, saw in the same locality topes erected even to the Buddhist Scriptures, to the Sutras, the Vinaya, and the Abhidharma. A typical Mahayana monastery in Magadha is thus described by Yuan Chwang [ii. 105]: 'The middle temple had a stone image of the Buddha, 30 feet high; the left-hand one had an image of Tara Bodhisattva; and the right-hand one had an image of Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva.'

India was thus pre-eminently a land of temples and worship of images on which all her different religions appear to agree, however much they may differ as regards their doctrines and deities. In all the chief cities of India, as we shall see, Yuan Chwang noticed abundance of what he calls 'Deva-temples', along with the Buddhist structures, whether temples, topes, viharas, or other monuments.

Much of the moral and religious progress of the country was of course bound up to some extent with the character and example shown by the reigning sovereign. Harsa was an example to his people in his pursuit and patronage of religion and learning. But it must be noted that he did not begin as a Buddhist, nor did he, as a Buddhist, only patronize Buddhism to the exclusion of all other religions in

a narrow spirit of sectarianism that would ill become an emperor having to deal with different creeds and communities. According to Bana, his ancestral religion was connected with Saivaism and Tantrika worship. The citizens of the capital included worshippers of Chandl and Mahakala. In the palace in his father's time were found people ' worshipping the family gods, performing the Six Oblation sacrifices, chanting the Maha-Mayuri hymn (i.e., Bauddhavidya according to the commentator), completing the rites for keeping out the spirits by offerings, earnest Brahmins occupied in muttering Vedic texts, Saivas bathing Viriipaksa's image with thousands of vessels of milk', while 'Siva's temple resounded with the murmur of the Hendecad to Rudra' (170-1). Similarly, the announcement of the birth of Harsa himself was followed by ' Vaitana fires blazing up with flames in the courts of sacrificers, and white-clad Brahmins approaching with Veda on their lips[1] together with the family priest' (143). We are also told that Harsa, before setting out on his conquests, ' with deep devotion ottered worship to the adorable Nilalohita' (i.e., Rudra-Siva) (226). Thus the atmosphere of

[1] **An idea of the religion as practised by the Brahmins of those days may be had from Buna's own account of it. The day he started on his visit to Harsa, he rose early, bathed, wore a piece of fresh and pure cotton cloth, with a rosary recited many times suitable Vedic mantras ; worshipped the idol of Siva by bathing it in milk and offering it flowers and incense ; then sacrificed to Agni by oblations of ghee, made gifts to Brahmins and went round the cow before commencing the journey.**

Brahminical religion and culture pervaded the palace. In the dramas *Rahul vail* and *Priyadariikd,* attributed toHarsa Ihe benedictory verses mention the chief deities of Brahmanism, viz. Siva (also called Sambhu and Hara) with his attendants, the Ganas, Gaun (or Girija), Ganga, Brahma, Krisna and Laksmi, Saras vati, together with the minor figures like Kumfira, or Dasamukha, or Daksa. Even in his frankly Buddhist drama of *Nagana ndu which* begins with an invocation to Buddha Jina, the Brahmanical deities, Gauri and Garuda, are given an important place. And there are, besides, passages in these dramas (see note to Chap. V) exhibiting the king's interest in the performance of sacrifices by Brahmins as the sign of the people's progress and efficiency of administration. The Sonpat Copper Seal and Madhuban Plate inscriptions of Harsa even describe his father as a devout worshipper of Aditya or Sun, and the upholder of Varnasrama-dharma. According to Bana, the conversion to Buddhism of Harsa and his sister took place only after the completion of his conquests, and this may be true, because a programme of wars and bloodshed would not be strictly consistent with a religion like Buddhism with its gospel of non-violence and peace. The conversion is attributed by Bana to the influence of the Buddhist ascetic Divakaramitra, who lived in his hermitage in the Vindhyan forests, as we have already seen. The Inscriptions, however, regard his elder brother as the first convert in his family to Buddhism and frankly describe him as a

parama-Savgata i.e., a prime devotee of the Buddlia and promoting public good like the Sugata. It was, however, Yuan Chwang who definitely gave both Harsaand Kis sister their faith in Mahay ana Buddhism by his discourse on its doctrines, and exposure of the deficiency of Hinayana, at the very first meeting between the emperor and the pilgrim. His enthusiasm for his new faith led him at once to organize the grand assembly at Kanauj to give publicity to the masterly treatise of Yuan Chwang on Mahayana and establish its supremacy over all other creeds of the times.

It was also on that occasion that Harsa unfortunately exhibited some amount of bigotry and intolerance not in keeping with the general tenor of his policy and administration, or the wide-hearted charity that distinguished him as a man. At that assembly, as we have already seen, the emperor cast a slur on Brahminical religion in many ways: he and his vassal, Kumara Raja of Assam, personating Indra and Brahma, the chief Brahminical gods, were in attendance upon the image of Buddha to exhibit the subserviency of the gods to the Buddha! Even within the fold of Buddhism he showed a bias against Hlnayana by interdicting freedom of speech in opposition to the discourse on Mahayana by Yuan Chwang in the assembly, by an angry proclamation that ' whoever speaks against him, his tongue shall be cut out', though the royal wrath was provoked by a plot engineered by the followers of Hlnayana. This proclamation had the effect of reducing what began

as a parliament of Indian religions into a mere sectarian assembly, for ' the followers of error withdrew and disappeared, so that there had been no one to enter on the discussion' *[Life,* p. 180]. According to another account [Beal, i. 219], the king's intolerant attitude at the assembly was answered by a plot on his own life designed by Brahmins who were in revolt because, while the king ' exhausted his treasury in offerings to the Sramanas, they coming from a distance had scarcely been spoken to'.

But tins exclusive patronage of Buddhism seems to have been only occasional and exceptional, and was not a part of his general policy. In the assembly at Prayaga which immediately followed that of Kanauj and was not, like the latter, a special assembly summoned in the interests of a particular religion, but a regular institution holding its sessions every five years, the king's open-handed liberality was shared by all classes, castes, creeds, and communities in the country, The royal invitation was extended equally to ' all the Sramanas and Brahmins of the five Indies, besides the poor, the orphans, and the destitute' *[Life,* p. 184], to partake of the king's phenomenal charities, though precedence in the order of their distribution was given to the Buddhists. On this occasion Harsa gave a further proof of his freedom from any sectarian spirit by officially recognizing and honouring the images of the Brahminical deities of the Sun and Siva along with that of the Buddha in deference to the then three most popular faiths of the times connected

with them. The inscriptions of Harsa record also his grants of villages to orthodox Rigvedin and Samavedin Brahmins who, according to Bana (84), looked up to him as their ' ready servant V

Harsa's special patronage of Buddhism is associated with several other institutions. He forcibly secured from Kashmir the tooth-relic of the Buddha which he enshrined in a monastery built by him to thejvv£at of Kanauj *[Life,* p. 181]. We have already referred also to his gift of a temple of bronze, a hundred feet high, to the Nalanda qonvent. While touring through Orissa, he noticed the prevalence of Hlnayana, to overthrow which he sent for four good preachers of Mahayana from distant Nalanda. The four preachers who were selected for this deputation to Orissa were Sagaramati, Prajnarasmi, Simharasmi, and Yuan Ohwang *[Life,* p. 160].

Some of his other measures for the promotion of Buddhism are also indicated by the Chinese pilgrim. Once a year he summoned all the Buddhist monks together and for twenty-one days provided them with all their requisites according to the rules. He was also fond of bringing together the Buddhist monks for discussion and examination followed by gifts to the meritorious: the best he would advance to the Lion's Throne (i.e., the highest place) and honour as

[1] Harsa seems to have had some touch with Christianity too. Dr. Edkins makes the statement that his court was visited by the Syrian Christians, Alopen, and his companions, in A.D. 639 *[Athenaeum,* July 3, 1880, p. 8],

his own teachers, from whom he would take his spiritual instructions. Others, if they were perfect in the observance of the ceremonial code, he would formally honour. 'But those who showed lapses in morality or monkish discipline he would banish from his presence and from the country too [Waiters, i. 344].

The Chinese pilgrim further tells us that he erected thousands of topes, ' each about 100 feet high', on the banks of the Ganges, and monasteries at the sacred places of Buddhism. ' He also furnished the chapels and liberally adorned the common halls of the monasteries ' *[Ibid.].* But very few of these monuments of Harsa have been unearthed by archaeological exploration.

Lastly, we may say that his legislation forbidding the use of animal food throughput the Five Indiea and the destruction of life under severe penalties was due to his interest in Buddhism.[1]]

[1] Harsa's Buddhist ideals find powerful expression in his drama *Ndgdnanda.* When assured of certain and easy victory over his enemies in battle, King Jimutavahana, the hero, firmly declared for the Buddhist principle of non-violence and self-sacrifice: 'Gladly, unasked, would I give my own life for another in compassion ; how then could I consent to the cruel slaughter of men merely to win a realm ?' [iii. 17]. In the same strain he addressed his last admonition to the cruel Garuda : ' Cease for ever from taking life ; repent of thy past misdeeds ; eagerly accumulate a store of merit, freeing all creatures from fear of thee, so that, lost in the infinite stream of thy goodness, the sin of slaying creatures, in number limited, may cease to fructify, even as a morsel of salt cast in the unfathomable depths of a great lake' [V- 25].

As a consequence of his special attentions, there was a great growth of Buddhism in Kanauj while it declined in other places. While Fa-hien could notice only two Buddhist monasteries at Kanauj, Yuan Ohwang could count as many as ico *[ibul].*

But a true estimate of Harsa's character must not regard him only as a Buddhist. He served other communities or the general public equally well. We have already seen how 'he regularly held the Quinquennial Convocation where he gave away in religious alms everything except the material of war' to about half a million of people of all classes and creeds! *[ibid]* That is a record in charity and liberality which is hardly beaten in history. His daily charity amounted to the feeding of 1,000 Buddhist monks and 500 Brahmins. Yuan Chwang further informs us that ' in all the highways of the towns and villages throughout India he erected hospices *(punyasalas),* provided with food and drink, and stationed there physicians with medicines for travellers and poor persons round about to be given without any stint' [Beal, i. 214]. Here also does Harsa beat all record,perhaps even the record of Asoka, whose rest-houses for travellers did not offer them free food and medicines and medical aid] It is interesting to find that Bana also furnishes similar testimony to the unique public works of utility executed under Harsa, a testimony which brings out the cosmopolitan character of the king's public gifts: ' Beneath his rule the golden age seemed to bud forth in close-packed lines of sacrificial

posts,[1] the evil time to flee in the smoke of sacrifices[1] meandering over the sky, heaven to descend in stuccoed shrines,[1] Dharma to blossom in white pennons waving over temple minarets,[1] the villages to bring forth a progeny of beautiful arbours erected on their outskirts for meetings, alms-houses, inns, and women's marquees' (133).

Along with religion, Harsa was also noted for his pursuit and patronage of Learning. Bana credits him with poetical skill and originality and wide learning: in poetical contests he poured out a nectar of his own which he had not received from any foreign source' (79); 'his poetical skill finds words fail'; 'his knowledge cannot find range enough in doctrines to be learned'; 'all the fine arts are too narrow a field for his genius'(86). This might be the exaggerated estimate of a courtier composing the panegyric of his patron, but we have some evidence in its support from an external source.

The Chinese traveller I-tsing who visited India after Harsa's death (A.D. 673-87) records that King Siladitya was exceedingly fond of literature and at one time called for poetical compositions by the literary men of his court, whereupon it was found that they had presented their sovereign with 500 poems dealing with the popular theme of the times, the Jatakas or previous births of the Buddha. The collection of

[1] Yuan Chwang mentions that 'there were more than 200 Deva-temples' in Kanauj as against 100 Buddhist monasteries [Watters, i. 340].

these poems was called *Jatakarnala,* of which one of the authors is supposed to have been the famous Arya Sura [Takakusu, *I-tsing,* p. lvi]. As regards his own compositions, I-tsing says that Harsa 'versified the story of the Bodhisattva Jlmiitavahana (cloud-borne) who surrendered himself in place of a Naga\ We are also told that the emperor had this play called Na*yananda* 'set to music and had it performed by a band accompanied by dancing and acting, and thus popularized it in his time' [ed. Takakusu, p. 163]. Historians of Sanskrit literature credit him with the authorship of two other dramas, the *Rat na ral I* ('Necklace') and the *Priyadariikd* (or 'Gracious Lady') together with a grammatical work. That literary criticism in ancient India thought highly of Harsa as a poet is evident from the fact that Jayadeva, the author of *G'ita-goc!ado'm,* names him along with Bhasa and Kalidasa as one of his illustrious predecessors. Harsa was also a skilled calligraphist if it is his autograph which is seen in the Banskhera Plate inscription, the last line of which consists of the sign-manual of the king written in elaborately ornamented characters. The emperor's sister, RajyasrI, also shared his intellectual tastes. 'Of great intelligence, she was distinguishedfor her knowledge of the Sammatlya school doctrine of Buddhism' and, 'sitting behind the king', was seen to follow with great appreciation the learned discourse of Yuan Chwang on Mahayana *[Life,* p. 176].

A lover and devotee of learning himself, Harsa was

one of the best patrons of men of letters. As Bana puts it, ' his learning at once suggests helping the learned' (62). Bana himself, the author of *Harmchar ita* and *Kadambari,* was the most distinguished of his literary proteges. But we know of the names of very few who received the royal patronage in appreciation of their learning. An inscription [*Ep. Ind.* i. 180] mentions one Haridatta raised to eminence by Harsa. while from the *Life* [p. 154'] we learn that the emperor wanted to settle in his province of Orissa one of the most learned men of the times, Jayasena by name, who had become the admiration of the age by the range of his knowledge, including subjects like Hetu-vidya, Sabdavidya, Yoga-sastra, the four Yedas, astronomy, geography, medicine, magic, and arithmetic, by an offer to assign to him ' the revenue of eighty large towns of Orissa '. The generosity of the donor was only beaten by the generosity of the donee, who calmly declined the repeated offer of the king on the ground that he should not trouble himself with the concerns of life or of the king! We may recall in this connexion the established maxim of Harsa's policy that a fourth of the revenue from the crown lands should be spent on rewarding high intellectual eminence and another fourth on gifts to the various sects [Watters, i. 176].

The example of the emperor was not without its influence upon some of his subordinate kings. Kumara, king of Assam, showed a commendable anxiety to profit by the learned company of Yuan Chwang, then

at Nalanda, whom he sent for by a special messenger with a letter[1] for Silabhadra, abbot of Nalanda, which was delivered to him after two days' journey from Assam. His request being not responded to, it was reuewed through another messenger. When this also failed, 'the king with great anger sent a third messenger with a personal dispatch for Silabhadra, earnestly asking him to depute the Chinese pilgrim for preaching Buddhism to him and his kingdom', failing which he would ' let the evil portion of himself prevail, and, like Sasanka, king of Central Bengal, who had recently destroyed the Law and uprooted the Bodhi tree, he would equip his army and elephants to raze to the ground the whole monastery of Nalanda '. This threat had the desired effect. Yuan Chwang followed his envoy to his country and stayed there for more than a month, after which King Kumara was forced to follow him to meet Harsa under circumstances already stated. Thenceforth Kumara stood out as the most prominent ally of Harsa in his support of Buddhism. At the time of parting with the Chinese pilgrim, his zeal for Buddhism showed itself in the following words addressed to him: ' If the master is able to dwell in my dominions and receive my religious offerings, I will undertake to found 100 monasteries on the master's behalf *[Life,* pp. 170,

[1] Dr. I). B. Spooner [Arch. Sur. Report, Eastern Circle, 1917-18] discovered at Nalanda a seal of Bhaskaravarman which might have been the very seal accompanying this letter, as guessed by K. N. Dikshit *[JBORS.* 1920. p. 151].

171, 187]. We have also seen how other kings like Dhruvabhatta of Valabhl, or the kings of Jalandhara Kashmir, and Kapis. followed Harsa's example in supporting Buddhism.

NOTES

A. *On the Dramatic Works of Harm.*

THE three dramas of *'Ratnavali, Priyadarsika,* and *Naga nanda* are generally attributed to Harsa, and this attribution rests on several grounds. In the first place, as Keith points out *[Sanskrit Drama,* 1924, p. 170], there is 'absolute similarity of style and tone in the three works which renders any effort to dissociate them wholly impossible'. The stamp of a common authorship is unmistakable throughout. The R*atnavali* and the *Priyadarisika* in special agree closely in both form and subject-matter; each is a Natika in four Acts; they have also a common hero, Udayana, and the common theme one oi his numerous amourettes *[ibid.].* All the three dramas put into the mouth of their Sutradhara practically the same introductory words with only the necessary modifications called for by the different titles of the Plays, and they have all in common a verse in the Prologue ascribing their authorship to Harsa described as an accomplished poet in the same set phrases. There is, again, internal evidence to the same effect in all the dramas in the form of veiled allusions to Harsa, and to his ideals and achievements.

The Prologue definitely mentions the assembly of kings *(rajasamuha)* from different quarters *[nanadigdesadagatena)* in attendance upon Sri Harsadeva as the king

of kings[1] *(asmatsvdmhia),* who had summoned them to his court on the occasion of the Spring Festival (or the Festival of Indra in *Nagananda)* by his rights as their paramount sovereign to which his history testifies, for it shows how he was always attended by such subordinate kings on occasions of his military adventures or religious assemblies.

But Harsa betrays himself in his dramas in other ways. The incident introduced in the *Batnavdli* of the princess driven to seek shelter in the Vindhyan forest under its chief Vindhyaketu seems to have been directly suggested by the actual fact of a similar connexion which Harsa's own sister, Princess Rajyasri, had with the same forest and its chiefs, Sarabhaketu and Vyaghraketu, father and son. Similarly, the following outburst of joy in which the king of his own creation in the *llatnavall* indulges, Harsa himself might indulge in under very nearly the same circumstances as are related in his actual history: ' Lo! What greater bliss can there be than this : this acquisition of an empire right up to the seas (sasFigaramahlprapti) coupled with the recovery of the sister (bhaginilabha)' [Activ. 39].

There are also a few more passages where his dramas

[1] This passage alone ought to dispose of the old theory that Sri Harsadeva was a king of that name in Kashmir, for no king of Kashmir attained to the political status signified by the phrase, ' princes from various realms recumbent at his feet '. The ascription of these dramas to Sri Harsa of Kashmir (A.D. 1113-25) cannot also be maintained against the fact pointed out by Keith that [4] in the *Kuttanimata* of Damodaragupta, who lived under Jayaplda of Kashmir (A. D. 779-813), a performance of the *Ratnavalt* ascribed to a king, is mentioned '. We may also note that citations from the *Ratnavali* are found in such works as *Sarasvati Kanthdbharana* of Bhoja, the *Daitarupa* of Dhananjaya, the *Dhvanydloka* of Ananclavardhana, which were earlier by centuries than the time of Sri Harsa of Kashmir.

seem to echo his history. Both the *Itatnavah* and the *Priyadarsika* end with the following verse in which one finds uttered Harsa's own hopes and aspirations as king:

' May the Lord Vfisava, sending down timely showers, make the earth yield a bumper harvest; may the best of Brahmins duly gratify the gods by their religious performances; and may tliere be available up to end of time the company of the Good as the source of all bliss!'

Harsa also personally worked for the material and moral progress of his country and people.

In nearly the same strain is delivered the following by his king in the R*atnavali* :

' Subdued are the enemies of the empire; on competent ministers rests the burden of administration ; freed are the subjects from all kinds of trouble ; and flourishing are they under peace and protection.'

Harsa also might equally give a similar review of his OWN achievements.

Again, one might read a veiled allusion to Harsa in the following verse occurring in the Prologue to the R*atnavali :*

'Victorious is the king of kings (literally, the Lord of the Stars, i.e. the Moon); freed be the Brahman leaders from all troubles ; productive be the earth of bounteous crops; shine the king of kings in all splendour' [Act i. 5].

Again, the descriptions of battle in both the *Itatnavah* and the P*riyadarsika* (in the former between Kumanvat, General of Vatsaraja, and the Kosalas, in the latter between Vijayasena, General of Vatsar&ja, and Vindhyaketu, the Vindhyan chief) are worthy of Harsa as the hero of hundred battles.

' Heads were cleft by the blows of swords on helmets sore smitten; blood flowed in torrents, fire flashed from

the ringing strokes; when his main host had been broken, Rumanvant challenged in the forefront of battle (lie Lord of Kosala who rode on a maddened elephant, and alone slew him with a hundred arrows.'

The king's appreciation of the heroism of his fallen foe in the *Pritjadariika* is also worthy of a conqueror like Harsa:

'Rumanvant. put to shame are we by the heroic death of Vindhyaketu who has now trod the true path of glory worthy of the most virtuous on earth: satpurusochitam infirgamanugachchhanto yat sat yam vrldita eva vayai'u Vindhyaketormaranena.'

In the R*atnavali,* too, there is excellent taste and propriety in Yatsa's address to the dead Kosala king: mrityur api te slaghyo yasya satravo 'pyevam purusa-karam varnayanti. " Even death for thee is glorious when even thy foes must thus depict thy manly prowess." Such a phrase may reveal to us the true Harsa himself, the winner of many victories, and the hero of one great disaster' [Keith, *op. cit.,* p. 178].

Again, the description given in the R*atnavali* of the pomp and magnificence of the camp or court of Vatsa recalls Harsa's camp as described by Bana: aksipto jayakunjarena turagan nirvarnayan vallabhan | sahglta-dhvanina hritah ksitibhritam gosthlsu tisthan ksanani II The camp is described here as being marked by the incomparable stud of steeds, the elephants bringing victory, the sound of music, and the assembly of kings, just the marks of Harsa's camp too.

The *Nagananda,*[1] however, evidently later than the

[1] **The N*agananda* seems to have been known to the poet Magha who belonged to the eighth century A.D., and also to the poet Sivasvanun, the court-poet of King Avantivarman of Kashmir who flourished before the end of the ninth century A.D. [Keith's *classical Sanskrit Literature,* pp. 54. 60.**

other two dramas, is conceived in a different spirit. It must have been composed in the later part of his reign when, having accomplished his conquests, he turned a Buddhist and devoted himself to the tasks of peace and religion. The plot is developed here on a different and higher plane: its main interest does not lie in the military and the violent, nor in the softer or frivolous emotions of love. The more serious and strenuous side of life, its sterner duties and more severe ideals, are brought before us. Harsa here devotes himself to 'the task of depicting the emotions of self-sacrifice, charity, magnanimity, and resolution in the face of death *[ibid.]*. His ideal is embodied in Jimutavahana, neither a gallant, nor a military man, but a moral hero who giveth his life for others under a profound conviction that self-saerilice is the highest duty of man, high or low. Thus his last play reflects the inner revolution wrought in Harsa by his adoption of Buddhism on the conclusion of his conquests and campaigns. With his military spirit now crushed out of him, he who had forcibly imposed his sovereignty over all the kings of his time, the violent conqueror, and the hero of hundred battles, now takes his stand upon non-violence as the principle of his life and policy and declares himself unfit now even for a single battle: He who is ready to give his very life for others out of his own feeling of compassion for them, unasked and unbidden,—how can he think of the cruel slaughter of men for the sake of winning a kingdom for himself ?' Thus exclaims JiniQtavahana against the assured prospect presented to him of the easiest victory bringing the richest result. Harsa here speaks through him as a changed man in the later days of his life when, no longer concerned or interested in battles and conquests,

he thinks only of the life spiritual, of charity and renunciation.[1]

We may now conclude by considering the allusions in later literature to Harsa as an author. Buna in the metrical introduction to his Harsa-*charita* refers to Harsa as Adhyaraja (lit. rich king) and to his achievements, literary and political *[utsahair).* We have also two other statements of Bana which definitely refer to Harsa's literary gifts: ' his gifts in poetry could hardly find expression in words' [Cowell and Thomas tr., p. 65]; Harsa 'pouring forth in art-poesy and in stories (kavya-kathfisu) a nectar unquaffed (from other sources)' *[ibid.*)). 58]. In the *Udayasundartlcathd* [Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. II] of Soddhala (eleventh century A.D.) is a passage which mentions Harsa along with Vikramaditya

[1] It may he noted that various other theories have boon advanced even from olden times on the authorship of these dramas. We have already disposed of the theory which fathers them on Sri Harsa of Kashmir. But the oldest theory is that of Mammata. who in his *Karyaprakasa* speaks of Harsa's gift of gold to Bana or Dhavaka in some MSS.) and the commentators connect this gift with the R*atnavali* which was passed off in Harsa's name by his own court poet. But it is difficult to believe in liana's authorship of these dramas, considering how very disparate are the styles of these dramas and the H*arsa-charita,* as rightly pointed out by Keith. There is again a passage in Rajasekhara's *Kavyanumdmsd* where these dramas are named in the order of their composition (*Priyadarisika* being named as the earliest and *Nagdnanda* the last; and ascribed to Dhavaka Bhasa, who from a poor washerman came to be the prince of poets (Dhavako'pi hi yad Bhasah kavlnamagrimobhavat) and was made his court poet by King Sri Harsa-Vikruma. Perhaps this passage was the source of Mammata's statement—'Sri Haisader Dhavakadinamiva dhanam ', of which an alternate reading was ' Sri Harsader Banadlnamiva dhanam', as pointed out above. The truth of the whole matter is that either Harsa composed the dramas himself or permitted their unknown author to compose them in his name.

[probably Chandragupta I I], Munja, and Bhoja, as being both *bhupala* and kavin*dra,* king and prince of poets, who presided over a literary court *(sabhal).* Another passage in the same work punningly refers to Harsa as one 'whose joy (harsa) lay in words (girharsa) in his own assembly (nijasamsadi), and who, as king, had honoured Bana with an offering of a hundred crors of gold' (sampujitah kanakakotisatena Banah). The famous poet, Jayadeva | who cannot be placed later than the eleventh century A. *IX* according to Sten Konow *(Das indische drama,* pp. 87- 8), and some of whose stanzas are cited in Sarngadhara's Paddhati (A. D. 1363]. mentions Harsa along with Bhasa and Kalidasa, his contemporaries, Bana and Mayura, and the later Chora, as authors of equal rank. Similarly, Madhusudana, writing about A.D. 1654, associates Bana and Mayura with Harsa's court and speaks of Harsa as 'the chief of the race of poets (Kavijanamurdhanyasya), the author of the Natika called *Ratnavali,* the lord of Malava and its capital Ujjayini'.

Again, besides the three dramas, there are a few other compositions traceable to Harsa's authorship. The inscriptions on both the Banskhera and Madhuban plates, of which the former is attested by Harsa's own signature, are evidently his own composition. They contain metrical stanzas which represent some fine poetry. One of these (Bans. 5-6 = Madh. 6-7) in the Sardulavilmdita metre refers with the warmth of a personal feeling to the death by treachery of his elder brother, Rajyavardhana. A second (B. 13 = M. 16) in the Vasantatilaka metre, describing Fortune as unstable, like lightning or a bubble of water, urges upon his family and others the faithful performance of the royal donative decree. Then follows the beautiful verse:

'By body, mind, and speech should good be done to

all creatures: this has been declared by Harsa as the best acquisition of Dharma or religious merit.'

There are, lastly, two short Sanskrit poems of Buddhistic content which are also attributed to Harsa. One of these called the Suprabhatastotra, a matin hymn in praise of the Buddha, mentions Harsa's name in the colophon [Dr. F. W. Thomas in *JRAS,* 1903, p. 703-22!, while the other, entitled Astamahrisrlchaityasaihskritastotra, a hymn to the Eight Great Buddhist Shrines, preserved in Chinese, is attributed by Yuan Chwang to an Indian king designated in Chinese as 'Sun of Virtue' = Slladitya, the title by which Harsa was known (Nariman, Jackson, and Ogden's *Triyadarsifol,* p. xlv, Columbia University Publication, to which I owe some of the references and suggestions utilized in this Note],

B. *The Art of the Gupta Age.*

IN connexion with the history of India under Harsa, it may not be amiss to consider the condition of Indian art in that age. In the time of Harsa what is known as *Gupta Art* had attained its full fruition and fruitage, although it is difficult to determine definitely which of its numerous and noted examples connect themselves with the reign of Harsa. A brief survey is therefore given here of the main characteristics of Gupta art as a whole with reference to the best examples known of each.

The Gupta period was the golden age not merely of Indian literature but also of Indian art. The renaissance was the result of the self-expression which India was enabled to achieve as a politically organized unit under

the paramount authority exercised for several centuries by a succession of brilliant Gupta emperors. Thus with a new sense of self-realization, India was even making herself felt among her neighbours. Her thought invaded the countries of the Far East by way of Central Asia, and Further India and Indonesia by sea, her relations with the east following the period of her relations with the west, by way of Bactria in the north, and of the Roman trade in the south, under the Kusanas and the Andhras.

The true spirit of Indian culture, its catholicity, and comprehensiveness, were represented in the Gupta emperors who, instead of making either Brahminism or Buddhism as the state religion, patronized equally the leading creeds of the times, their offshoots. These were Vaisnavi3m, Saivism, Saktism, and Mahfiyana Buddhism, centring respectively round Visnu, Siva, Devi, Buddha, or Bodhisattva. Images and temples connected with these creeds mark the artistic history of the period.

We may now briefly refer to the most important of the extant examples of each of these classes. The brick temple of Bhitargaon in the Cawnpore district assigned to the sixth century A.D., square in plan with a high tower, is decorated with carved brickwork and brilliant terra-cotta panels illustrating Saiva themes. Near Besnagar in Gwalior are cave temples in the Udayagiri hills, one of which bears an inscription of A.D. 401, where we find vigorous sculptures representing the incarnation of Visnu as Varaha and also the goddesses Gahga and Yamuna standing on the Makara. At Pathari in the same neighbourhood there is a massive relief on the nativity of Krisna showing the new-born babe lying by the side of the mother watched by five attendants. Beglar considered this as the finest and largest piece of Indian sculpture.

The temple at Deogarh in the Lalitpur subdivision of the Jhansi district assigned to the sixth century A.D, has sculptures of exceptionally good quality in panels. One of these representing Siva as a Yogi may, according to V. Smith, claim a place among the best efforts of Indian culture. Another panel represents Visnu reclining on Ananta, the serpent, the symbol of eternity. Beautiful Krisna scenes including the raising of Mount Govardhana are also depicted in fragmentary sculptures of the fourth century A. D. found at Mandor near Jodhpur. In Kosam in the Allahabad district was found a remarkable group in sculpture of Siva and Parvati with an inscription dated A. D. -158.

We may next note the Durga temple at Aihole showing the dancing Siva type of the fifth century and a few other temples of the sixth century showing Vaisnava reliefs which are closely related to the excavated architectural forms of the neighbouring Badami caves considered to be the finest Hindu sculptures by Havell and Coomarswami. Cave I is a Saiva temple with a Tandava sculptured relief. Caves II and I I I are Vaisnava temples. Cave IV is a Jaina cave with relief sculptures of the Jinas. Elura was another noted centre of Gupta Brahminical art. There is a Dasavatara or Ten Incarnations cave of about A.D. 700, including the Bhairava and Kali group, and the rescue of Markandeya by Siva. There is also a Kailasa temple at Elura of slightly later date, showing a beautiful Tandava.

But Gupta art is perhaps seen at its best in its Buddhist branch. Some of the earlier examples are the sculptures of Garhwa near Allahabad, bearing inscriptions assignable to Chandragupta I I , Kumargupta I, and Skandagupta, but the best examples are found at Sarnath. Though the sculptures discovered at Sarnath belong to

different periods, the great majority of them belong to Gupta times. We find in them clear proofs of emancipation of the indigenous art from the foreign influences. The Buddha image of the period, for instance, though descended from the Kushana image, exhibits 'a new and purely national development and indeed represents a new type which in artistic merit is infinitely superior to its predecessor. Some of the Buddha statues of this period, by their wonderful expression of calm repose and mild serenity, give a beautiful rendering of the Buddhist ideal. The indications of the drapery having been almost wholly discarded, the monastic robes are merely marked in outline. On the contrary, the halo encircling the head of the Master becomes lavishly ornamented with floral and foliated ornament. Evidently the real significance of this "Circle of Light" (prabhamandala) was completely forgotten. The Gupta sculptors thus went far to eliminate or modify those features which in the Kushfina period still indicated the foreign origin of the Buddha image' [Dr. Vogel in *Sarnuth Museum Catalogue*, p. 19].

The seated Buddha-image, showing him preaching his first sermon at Isipatana, is regarded as one of the masterpieces of Indian art, with its symbolism further developed in the position of the hands (known as Dharma-Chakra-Mudra), and in the wheel and the two deer carved on the pedestal to indicate the Wheel of the Law and the Deer Park where the Wheel was first turned.

In the Gupta period were also developed what are called the Mudras which play such a prominent part in later Buddhist iconography.

We also see in these Buddha sculptures a more critical sense of the importance of the principal figure of the Buddha, as compared with other figures which, though

associated with him in life, are now much reduced in size and subordinated in position.

While early Buddhist art avoided figuring the Buddha on principle, the Gupta art fashioned his figure in large numbers and a variety of forms. Images of the Master were installed in the monasteries, in their cells, special chapels, and temples, and even in their outer niches and relic towers.

Another marked feature of the Gupta sculptures is their domination by the cult of the Bodhisattvas which is now very pronounced. We have many an image not merely of Maitreya, but also, and in particular, of Avalokitesvara.

We also note a further development in the history of Buddhism by the introduction of the images of numerous other deities borrowed from the Brahminical pantheon, such as Vaisravana, god of wealth, the goddess of fertility. Vasudharfi, the goddess of plenty, TaiTt, Marichl, &c, of which the Sarnath excavations have yielded so many specimens.

With the expansion of the Buddhist pantheon and multiplication of divine images, there is noticed a decreasing tendency to produce sculptures directly bearing on the life of the Buddha. In this respect the Gupta art separates itself from the Graeco Buddhist art of Gandhara, which was at such pains to produce myriads of sculptures illustrative of every possible incident in the life of the Buddha. For the same reason, we find that the Jatakas no longer inspire the art of the period to the extent (0 which they have the earliest art.

Besides Sarnath, some of the best examples of the Gupta sculptures are being brought to light at Nalanda, as the result of the excavations there.

Besides sculptures, the progress of the Gupta art is

also exhibited in the seals and gold coins of the period, which are masterpieces of design.

In the British Museum is also preserved a small gold standing image of the Buddha of this period. A reference may also be made to the iron pillar of Delhi supposed to have been erected about the fifth century A.D. by King Chandra Varma, one of the kings of Aryfivarta, conquered by Samudragupta.

Lastly, some of the best examples of both sculpture and painting for the period are seen at Ajanta. The caves there are twenty-nine in number and range in date from about A.D. 50-642. No. XIII may even date from 200 B.C., as its figures are akin to those of Sanchi. Nos. VIII-XIII are assigned to 200 B.0.-150 A.D., as they are concerned with Hlnayana Buddhism. Nos. VI and VII were between A.D. 450-550. Nos. I-V, XIV-XXIX are believed to have been excavated between A.D. 500-642.

It may also be noted that Nos. IX, X, XIX, and XXVI are in the form of Chaityas or churches, while the rest are like Viharas.

Among the Ajanta sculptures may be noted :

(I) The Buddha with attendants on the gateway of Cave IX.

(2) River goddesses on the entrances of Caves XVI and XXII.

(3) The dying Buddha. 23¼ ft. in length, in Cave XXVI.

(4) The temptation of the Buddha in the same cave.

(5) Incidents in the lives of the Buddha figured in Cave I.

The paintings are too well known to be noticed here. They call for a special treatment.

CHAPTER VI

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

FROM the moral we now proceed to consider the material progress of the country as described by Yuan Chwang. The centres of prosperity were the cities, of which some new ones sprang into importance in the India under Harsa, while some of the older and historically important cities were on the wane, as the main currents of life in the country flowed away from them along new courses. Pataliputra was no longer the premier city of Northern India. Its place was taken by Kanauj on the Gauges, a cosmopolitan city where both Buddhism and Brahminism were flourishing with 100 monasteries accommodating 10,000 monks and 200 Deva-temples.) The city, about five miles in length and a mile and a half in breadth, was very strongly defended. Its prosperity was expressed in its ' lofty structures, beautiful gardens, tanks of clear water, and the museum of rarities collected from strange lands'. It was equally manifest in ' the refined appearance of its citizens, their clothes of glossy silk, their devotion to learning and arts, their clear and suggestive discourses, and the number of the well-to-do classes and families with greats wealth' [Waiters, i. 340]. It was in every way a fit

place for the great assembly held by Harsa. Prayaga or Allahabad had also become an important place with the revival of Brahminism with which it is associated, and claimed to be the seat of the most important of Harsa's institutions, his Quinquennial Convocation of Moksa, where the people from all parts of India gathered in their lacs for his charities. The decline of Buddhism meant that of its holy cities. 8ravasti, where even Fa-hien saw ninety-eight monasteries, was now seen as a mass of ruins by Yuan Chwang who found only one monastery there. Kapilavastu, the Bethlehem of Buddhism, which once boasted of more than 1,000 monasteries, now had only one with thirty monks] In the Vaisali country, another great stronghold of Buddhism, ' it must have been distressing for our pilgrim to go over the waste jungle-covered ruins of a district which he had known from the Buddhist scriptures to have been once very flourishing' [Watters, ii. 77]. Buddhism was, however, reviving in a few new centres like Nalanda in Eastern India and Valabhl in Western India, which were now at the height of their glory. The other flourishing cities of India under Harsa which Yuan Chwang did not omit to visit or to describe were *Mathurd,* twenty b*i* or four miles in circuit, famous for 'its fine striped cotton cloth and gold', its temples and viharas, its stupas built by Asoka, and those for the relics of the Buddha's chief disciples [Watters, i. 301-2] Sthanesvara, with its 100 temples, and prosperous trade bringing the rarities of other lands

3

[ibid., p. 314], originally the capital of Harsa; *Mali: para,* near Bijnor, with its 50 temples, its grain, fruit, and flowers *[ibid.,* p. 322] 10*Iayiira* or Hardwar, with its large population, and drawing, besides, ' constantly many thousands of people from distant regions for bathing in its sacred waters, its many *panyasalas* endowed by pious kings for free distribution, among the needy, of dainty food and medical requisites *[ibid.,* p. 328]; Govisana (modern Rampur and Pilibhit), with a flourishing population and 30 temples; *Altichclthatra* and *Pi-lo-shtui-na*; *Kupitha* or Sankasra; *Ayodhyd* with 100 Buddhist viharas and 10 temples; *Kosambi,* near Sravasti and north of Prayaga, according to Watters, with its 50 temples, but Buddhism in decay; *Viioka* (in the Barabanki district, according to Vincent Smith), with its 20 Buddhist monasteries and 50 temples; *Varanasi,* with its more than 100 temples ' with storeyed terraces and temple-eaves of carved stone and wood ', its ' city-wards close together, its very numerous inhabitants having boundless wealth, with their houses full of rare valuables'; *Champa* and *Rajamahal* in Bihar; *Puayavardhaua* (Rangpur) in Bengal, with its 100 temples, 20 viharas, flourishing population, and' tanks, hospices, and flowery groves alternating here and there'; *Samatata* (Faridpur in Bengal), which had more than 30 viharas and 100 temples; *Tdm-ralipti,* with more than 50 temples, the port of Bengal for voyages; *Karnasuvarna* (identified with Burdwan, Birbhum, and Murshidabad districts, the

territory of Sasanka), of which the capital (unidentified) was above four miles in circuit; and, lastly, *Kamarupa,* with hundreds of temples, under King Kumara, Harsa's ally.

The architecture of the cities and the methods of town-planning adopted point to the high degree of economic progress achieved. Architects are called *Orihachimtakats* by Bana. The cities were enclosed within quadrangular walls, broad and high. The walls were generally built of bricks, while the walls of houses and enclosures were wattled bamboo or wood, where the country was low and moist. The high-class houses had ' their halls and terraced belvederes which had wooden flat-roofed rooms, were coated with chunam, and covered with tiles burnt or unburnt'. They were also of great height. .As regards whitewashing, Bana describes how 'workmen mounted on ladders, with brushes upheld in their hands and plaster pails on their shoulders, whitened the top of the street wall of the palace' (158). The houses of the poor, ' thatched with coarse or common grass, were of brick or boards; their walls were ornamented with chunam, and the floor purified with cow-dung and strewn with flowers of the season '. Yuan Chwang considered the architecture of the public buildings, the Buddhist monasteries, to be ' most remarkable '. ' They have a tower at each of the four corners of the quadrangle and three high halls in a tier. The rafters and roof-beams are carved with strange figures, and the doors,' windows, and

walls are painted in various colours '.[1] But the private houses had 'a sumptuous inside but a simple outside '.

Among the furniture are mentioned seats which were corded benches, These were variously adorned according as they were used by the royal family, the grandees, officials, and the gentry. The frames of the seats were carved in different ways according to different tastes. The sovereign sat on a dais, very wide and high, and dotted with small pearls. On the dais was placed his actual throne, the 'Lion's Seat', as Yuan Chwang translates it, which was covered with fine cloth and mounted by a jewelled footstool. We have already seen that Bana also, like Yuan Chwang, noticed Harsa using a jewelled footstool.

Yuan Chwang mentions some details about town-planning too. The thoroughfares appeared to him as narrow, tortuous passages, but in other respects the town-planning followed certain principles. Shops were placed on the highways, and the booths or inns on the roads. Persons following unclean or disreputable occupations had to live outside the city. These

[1] **We may refer in this connexion to the buildings and architecture of the Nalanda monastery as described by- Yuan Chwang. He speaks of its storeyed buildings, richly adorned towers, upper rooms and turrets towering above the clouds. The massive external grandeur of the buildings contrasted with the delicate beauty of their interior, with 'the dragon-projections, coloured eaves, pearl-red pillars carved and ornamented, richly adorned balustrades, and roofs covered with shining tiles reflecting light in a thousand shades', while 'the sculpture was perfect' *[Life,* p. in, and Waiters, ii. 165].**

were butchers, fishermen, public performers, executioners, and scavengers. Their houses were also marked out by distinguishing signs. They would, when working within the city, sneak along on the left, as they went about in the houses. These regulations were laid down in the interests of the physical and moral well-being of the citizens, as provided for in the Brahminical law-books.

Besides architecture, sculpture, and the building industry, much progress was shown in manufactures. Yuan Chwang mentions various kinds of cloth then used. First, there were the *Kauseya* cloths made of silk and cotton. Secondly, there was the *Ksauma* or linen cloth made of fabrics derived from the stuffs from the three plants, the flax, the jute, and the hemp. The third variety of wearing material was the *Kambala*, woollen cloth or blanket. The fourth class of cloth was that made of the wool of a wild animal, which was~very fine, soft, and easily spun and woven. The people, however, used very simple dress comprising inner clothing and outward attire, which did not involve any tailoring work. ' The men wind a strip of cloth round the waist and up to the armpits and leave the shoulder bare. The women wear a long robe which covers both shoulders and falls down loose.' Close-fitting jackets were used in parts of Northern India in winter where the cold was severe. The Chinese pilgrim was glad to accept the gift of a fur-lined cape from the king of Assam as a protection against cold. Ornaments were freely

used by the kings and grandees. Garlands and bejewelled tiaras were used for the head, and rings, bracelets, and necklaces for the body. Wealthy merchants used only bracelets.

Industrial life was organized on the basis of castes, and larger corporations or guilds. The Brahmins had no part in the industrial life of the country, but lived as non-economic men concerned only with the spiritual interests of life. The work of administration was taken over by the Ksatriyas. Trade, inland and foreign, was in the hands of the Vaisyas. Agriculture, the main industry of the country, was in the hands of the Siidras. As means of irrigation, Bana refers to what he calls *taldyantra* or water-pump. Yuan Chwang also refers to the 'mixed castes', i. c., corporations admitting of a heterogenous composition, and hence guilds (as explained by Watters) which were numerous in the country [Watters, i. 147, 148, 168]. Bana (158) describes how on the occasion of Princess RajyasrI's marriage, 'from every country were summoned guilds of skilled artists' to decorate the palace, such as carpenters, painters, modellers, and the like. He also refers to the system of apprenticeship, the apprentices being called *uamsevakas.*

An idea of the variety and excellence of the manufactures of the times may be gained from a study of the royal presents as described by Bana and the Chinese pilgrim. The presents sent by the king of Assam to Harsa included an exquisitely-ornamented umbrella with jewelled ribs and the external wrapper

of white bark-silk; crest jewels; pearl necklaces; silken towels rolled up in baskets of variously coloured reeds; quantities of pearl, shell, sapphire, and other drinking vessels embossed by skilful artists; leather bucklers with charming borders and gold-leaf work winding about them : soft loin-cloths; pillows of deer's leather and other figured textures; cane stools; volumes of fine writing with leaves made from aloe bark ; carved boxes, and so forth (243). Yuan Chwang also refers to the full-size statue of the Buddha in gold made for worship at the Assembly of Kanauj, to which the king also presented as an ottering ' a golden dish, a golden cup, seven golden ewers, one golden staff* 3,000 gold pieces or coins, and 3,000 vestments of superior cotton-stuff" *[Life*, p. 178]. Yuan Chwang himself carried away from India, among other things, books and manuscripts, images of the Buddha in gold, silver, and sandal-wood. He also says that 'gold, silver, white jade, and crystal lenses were very abundant in India' [Watters, i. 178].

Lastly, we may note that the money or the medium of exchange in India in those days comprised, according to the account of the Chinese pilgrim, not merely the gold and silver coins, but also cowries and small pearls *[ibid.']*.

CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL LIFE.

IT remains now to consider the social life, the manners and customs of the people in that age. Society was based on caste and governed by its rules. Besides the four castes, Yuan Chwang also mentions the 'mixed castes'. 'The four castes form classes of various degrees of ceremonial purity.' The Ksatriyas and Brahmins are described by Yuan Chwang to be [1] clean-handed, and unostentatious, pure and simple in life, and very frugal'. He also says: 'among the various castes and classes of the country the Brahmins were purest and in most esteem', and they gave their name to the country; 'the name Brahmana-country had come to be a popular one for India.' There were no inter-caste marriages. 'Relations whether by the father's or the mother's side do not intermarry,' says Yuan Chwang.

The restrictions of caste as regards food and marriage were not, however, allowed to interfere with the free social intercourse between different castes in other respects Bana, for instance, came of an orthodox and learned Brahmin family, and yet the circle of his most intimate associates and dearest comrades included two *Pdraktva* brothers (who are first mentioned), two

Vandinas (bards), one *Katyayanika* (ascetic widow without any caste), one *Jangalika* (snake doctor), a betel-bearer, a goldsmith *(Kalada),* a supervisor *(Hairika),* a scribe *(Lekhaka),* a painter *(Chitrakrit),* a *Pustakakrit* (notary), a drummer *(Mdrdangika),* two musicians, one *Sairandhrt* (maid), two pipers *(Vamsika),* a music-master, a shampooer *(Sarhvdhika),* a dancer *(Ldsaka),fi* dicer *(Akslka),a* gamester *(Kitava),* an actor *(Sailai),* a dancing-girl *(Nartaki),* a Parasara ascetic, a Digambara Jaina *(Ksapaiuika),* a Saiva ascetic, a metallurgist *(Dhatuvadavvid),* a potter *(Ddrd-vrijca),* and a juggler *(Aindrajdlika).* We have thus evidence here not merely of free intercourse between different castes and crafts, but also between different sexes. Life in that age even for the strict and orthodox Brahmin was quite merry and free!

Yuan Chwang noticed the physical purity of the people. ' They are pure of themselves and not from compulsion. Before every meal they must have a wash ; the fragments and remains are not served up again; the food utensils are not passed on; the utensils that are of pottery or wood must be thrown away after use, but the metallic ones, those made of gold, silver, copper, or iron were used after cleansing.' Like Fa-hien, Yuan Chwang also observed the purity of diet used by the Indians. ' Onions and garlic are little used, and people who eat them are ostracized.' Meat was forbidden, except mutton and venison. Fish was also allowed, 3but the common food comprised milk, ghee, granulated sugar, sugar-candy, cakes, and

parched grain with mustard oil [Watters, i. 140, 151, 152, 168, and 178].

VlThe life at the court and of the upper classes does not seem to have been so pure and puritanical, if we may believe in the behaviour of the palace on the occasion of the festivities in celebration of the birth of Harsa, as described by Bana. The scene was one of unbridled mirth and licence to which contributed the 'drunken slave women alluring the favourites, old feudatories clasping in a dance the intoxicated bawds, naughty slave-boys betraying in songs the secret amours of the ministers of state, other slaves carrying on a war of foul language, king's women, frolicky young men, and harlot-women'. 'All womenkind being set dancing, even old ladies shouted like maniacs. Old men even lost all shame, as though bewitched. The wise forgot themselves, as if intoxicated. Even hermits' hearts were all agog for a dance' (144 f.). In the *Rat naval!,* too, Harsa gives a picture of the merriment and licence to which the citizens of towns abandoned themselves on the occasion of the spring festival. We read of drunken and dancing women, besmeared with vermilion, and bathed in water from syringes shaped like hoods of serpents, embracing their friends decked in their best garments, while the openings of highways resounded with their clappings. We also read of theatres *(Prehagriha)* musical saloons, and picture-galleries where the citizens enjoyed themselves. All this is no doubt a poet's exaggeration, but even the exaggeration is based on

a substratum of truth.6A11 that we may guess is that these features of court and city life had perhaps disappeared under the later austere regime of Harsa when he turned a Buddhist and 'assumed the red garments together with his sister' (289), just as many customs and practices of his predecessors ceased to be under Asoka.

We have some evidence indicating the status of women in those days. | The women of higher classes went in for education, and did not live in complete seclusion. Princess Rajyasrl, as we have seen, was educated enough to follow the learned discourse of Yuan Chwang on Mahayana, while Bana tells us how her royal brother had engaged the famous Buddhist sage Divakaramitra to discourse to her on Buddhist-doctrines (289). 7Admission to the royal harem does not seem to have been very strict. According to a passage in Bana's *Kddamhavl,* it freely included aged ascetic women of different sects, ' followers of the Arhat, Krisna, Visravasa, Avalokitesvara, and Viriii-cha', so as to make it quite catholic in its religious outlook and sympathies! 3There were also arrangements in the palace for training the princesses in the fine arts and accomplishments. RajyasrI, according to Bana, was trained up in song and dance by experts retained for the purpose. In Harsa's own drama of *Priyadarsika,* the king assigns to the queen the task of arranging for the instruction of the maid, Priyadarsika, in dancing, vocal and instrumental music (gitanrityavadyadisu). One of the accomplishments

of these ladies seems to have been painting. The *Ratnavali* represents the heroine drawing the portrait of her lover on the picture-board *(chitraphalaka)* with brush *(vartika)* and colours carried in a basket *{samudgaka).* There are also references in these dramas to the Schools for Painting and Music *(Chitra-idld* and *Gandharvaasala). 6*We may also note that early marriages of women were the order of the day. Princess RajyasrI was married before she had attained puberty. She also became widowed very early in her life, and remained a widow throughout."7 As Yuan Chwang informs us, 'a woman never contracts a second marriage '. That RajyasrI did not observe *purdah* is also evident from the fact that she [i] was sitting behind the king' as she heard the discourse of the Chinese pilgrim *[Life,* p. 176], and also from her freedom of movements among the Vindhyan jungles under circumstances already stated. 8 We may also note that the custom of *Sati* or the voluntary self-immolation of widows on the funeral pyres of their husbands was then known. Princess RajyasrI was herself following her husband unto death till she was stopped at the last moment by her brother's very timely intervention. B Queen Yasovati was the best example of a Sati as described by Bana (187): against the fervent protests of her worthy son, Harsa, she resolved she ' would die while still unwidowed', and declared in her devotion to her dying husband: ' Not to die, but to live at such a time would be unfeeling. Compared with the flame of wifely sorrow, whose fuel

is imperishable love, fire itself is chilly cold '. Then, having embraced her son and kissed his head, the queen, a queen over Death itself, went forth on foot from the women's quarter and in the midst of the citizens' lamentations proceeded straight to the banks of the Sarasvatl where, after worshipping the fire, she plunged into it, ' to go before, like the dust of her husband's feet, to announce his coining to the heavens'! , In his *Priyudariikii,* Harsa describes the case of a SatI, of the wife of Vindhyaketu following him to death. Inscription No. 20 of Fleet of A.D. 510 commemorates how the wife of the chief Goparaja who fell fighting for his Gupta overlord, Bhanugupta, died as a SatI. Such examples of wifely chastity and devotion in high places, in royal households, could not but purify and elevate the general moral atmosphere of the country.

Sea voyages were common.[1] We read of a Brahmin envoy sent by Harsa to China in A.D. 641. When Yuan Chwang was about to begin his return journey to China, Harsa inquired by what route he proposed to return, and said to him : ' If you select the southern sea-route, then I will send official attendants to accompany you' *[Life,* p. 188], thereby implying that Harsa's administration was more familiar with the sea-route to China, along which travelled the many

[1] The *Ratnavati* tells of the sea-voyage of its heroine from Ceylon to Kausambl, of the shipwreck on the way, and of her rescue from a plank on which she was floating by a sea-trader of Kausambl (*samitdreydnabhanganimagndyah phalakasadamnam).*

embassies, merchants, missionaries, and pilgrims who had helped during several centuries to bring the two countries closer in bonds of political, commercial, and cultural intercourse. This was the route taken, for instance, by Fa-hien in the fourth century A. D. both for his outward and return journey. From Tamralipti, the port of embarkation in India, Fa-hien reached Ceylon by a voyage of fourteen days. Thence he came to Java, the next halting-place, in a big vessel carrying more than 200 passengers. From Java, a similar vessel carried him to Kwang-Chow in fifty days, since the boat carried provisions for its passengers to last for that period. The passengers, more than 200 in number, were all 'Brahmins', i.e., followers of Brahminism, and were ail traders. But this sea-borne trade of India and her colonizing and missionary activities showed an increase during the spacious times of the Gupta emperors, and of Harsa, The Javanese Chronicles refer to a great emigration of about 5,coo Indians (including cultivators, artisans, warriors, physicians, and writers, i.e., the classes of workers who can build up a self-contained colony) from the west coast of India to Java about A.D. 603 in six large and 100 small vessels, followed by another contingent of 2,000 emigrants who were carvers in stone and brass.To these craftsmen from India we owe the great temples of Borobudur and Prambanam in Java which are some of the best examples of Indian art. It is inferred that these immigrants from the Gujarat ports might be the Sakas, whose power had

collapsed under the conquests of Chandragupta II, and also the white Huns whose defeat by the Sassanians and Turks between A.D. 550-600 intercepted their retreat northwards. Then there were also the conquests of Prabhakaravardhana who had defeated the Huns, the Gurjaras, the Latas, and the kings of Gandhara, Sindh, and Malwa, followed by the further conquests of Harsa himself, driving swarms of refugees towards the Gujarat ports, anxious to escape from a land of disturbance and confusion into fresh fields and pastures new. Thus these large movements and migrations opened up more fully the sea-routes to the farther east, the approaches to new fields of commerce and colonization. In the itinerary of I-tsing, who came to India shortly after Harsa's death, we notice how thoroughly these were explored and exploited. I-tsing set sail from China in a Persian ship in A.D. 671. Before sailing twenty days, the ship reached the first station named Bhoja, the capital of the country called Sribhoja. From there I-tsing embarked in another ship, and, after fifteen days' sail, reached Malayu, then a part of Sribhoja. Thence he set sail in another ship and came to Ka-cha, a port of Sribhoja, after another fifteen days. Then in another ship belonging to the king of this country, he arrived after ten days' sail at what was known as 'the country of the naked people' (probably the Nicobar Islands) whence, in a direct voyage towards India for about a fortnight, lie disembarked at the great port of Tamralipti. I-tsing gives the following further par-

ticulars for the return voyage: 'Sailing from Tamralipti two months in the south-east direction, we come to Ka-cha. By this time, a ship from Bhoja will have arrived there. But those who go to Ceylon must sail in south-west direction. We stay in Ka-cha till winter, thence start on board ship for the south, and we come after a month to the country of Malayu or Bhoja. We stay there till the middle of summer and we sail to the north. In about a month we reach Kwang-fu. I have thus shortly described the route and the way home, hoping that the wise will still expand their knowledge by hearing more' [see Takakusu's ed., Introd.].

These facilities of shipping and navigation were called for by the needs of commercial as well as cultural intercourse between the countries concerned. There was a brisk export of both goods and ideas from India to these distant countries beyond her borders, which figure as so many outposts of Indian culture in the record of I-tsing. The chief of these was the island of Sumatra then known as Malayu or Sribhoja, a colony of Java, itself the stronghold of Indian influence. I-tsing studied here both Sanskrit and Pali for years. In the capital he found more than J,OOO monks who studied all the subjects that were studied in the most cultured part of India, the Madhyadesa. Java, called Javadi by Fa-hien (A.D. 414), is called Kalinga in I-tsingie time. Brahminism was first established there, and then Buddhism. A Sumatra inscription of A.D. 656 names King Adityadharma as

the ruler of Java, while Sanskrit and Vaisnava inscriptions are found there, dating from the fifth century. I-tsing's general observation is that' many kings and chieftains in the islands of the Southern Ocean (of which he enumerates more than eleven) admire and believe Buddhism'; they are 'all under the influence of Buddhism' *[ibid.]*[1]

\ Indeed, the age of Harsa witnessed a considerable development of a Greater India beyond the limits of India both towards the islands of the southern seas and the eastern countries. Indian culture was spreading in all the neighbouring countries of India. Some of the best evidence of this for the time of Harsa is given also by the Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Chwang, On his way from China to India and back by the land-route, he noticed decisive marks of Indian influence in many of the countries he had to pass through. In the country of *Yenkl* he found ' above ten Buddhist monasteries with above 2,000 ecclesiastics of the Sar-

[1] The subject of Indian influence in these foreign countries demands a volume by itself. Perhaps the best recent account is given in Eliot's monumental work, *Hinduism and Buddhism,* in three volumes. We may cite in this connexion the evidence of some inscriptions discovered. In the Wellesley district of the Malaya Peninsula lias been found an inscription of the fourth century A.D. of a Buddhist naval captain (mahanavika) named Buddhagupta hailing from Raktamrittika (= Rangamati of Murshidabad district, Bengal). Several Saiva Hindu kings tracing their descent to Asvatthama, son of Drona, are mentioned as kings in Further India from the second to the seventh century A. D. in a series of inscriptions. An inscription of the fifth century A. D. in Pallava characters found at Koetei in East Borneo mentions King Mulavarman ruling there [see I*A,* 1921, p. 117].

vastivadin school of Hlnayana. Since as to the sutra teaching and Vinaya regulations they followed India, it is in its literature that students of these subjects study them thoroughly'. We are further told thai, besides literature, the very writing of this country is ' taken from that of India with slight modification ' [Walters, i. 48 f.]. Watters also informs us from Chinese sources that this country had the famous monastery known as Aranya-vihara where the great Indian sage, Dharmagupta, had lodged in the year A.D. 585 when on his way to China. Next, in the country of *Ku-chih*, the traveller noticed more than 100 Buddhist monasteries with above 5,000 brethren of the same Sarvastivadin school studied in the language and works of India, which also gave to this country its writing, though much altered *[ibid.*, p. 59]. Watters informs us from other Chinese sources that the number of Buddhist buildings and images throughout this land was very great. We are also told of two monasteries in the neighbourhood, Eastern and Western, with images of the Buddha ' beautiful almost beyond human skill', while the former had a slab of jade-stone bearing an impress of the Buddha's foot. Outside the city of *Ku-chih*, ' there were two standing images of the Buddha above 90 ft. high which marked the place where the great quinquennial Buddhist assemblies were held, and at which the annual autumn religious meetings of clergy and laity occurred. The ktter meetings lasted for some tens of days and were attended by ecclesiastics from all

parts of the country. While these convocations were sitting the king and all his subjects made holiday, abstaining from work, keeping fast, and hearing religious discourses. All the monasteries made processions with their images of the Buddha borne on vehicles '. Thus we find in this distant country established some of the chief Buddhist institutions of India, including the assemblies which Harsa himself used to celebrate with such pomp and magnificence. Close by was a very famous monastery known as *Akliarya Vihdra,* ' with spacious halls and artistic images of the Buddha and a place of resort for men of eminence from distant lands, who were hospitably entertained by the king and officials and people.' From the *Life* we learn that the host of Yuan Chwang in this monastery was Moksagupta, a Hinayanist who had studied above twenty years in India and was known for his knowledge of the commentaries and etymology. But even he yielded to Yuan Chwang in learning and became his disciple. Watters further informs us that Dharmagupta was also lodged in this Vihara about A. D. 585, and that among the students from distant lands who came there chiefly for the study of the Vinaya was the famous Vimalaksa, a contemporary of Kumarajiva [p. 64].

In the *Po-lu-ka* (Baluka, the sands) country were some tens of monasteries with above 1,000 brethren of the Sarvastivadin school.

Next the pilgrim passes by countries under Turkish rule such as *Tashleend, Samarkand,* and *Tokhara,* with

little traces of Buddhist influence, till he comes to *Termiz* with above ten monasteries and 1,000 brethren, and beautiful topes and images of the Buddha. There were a few other places in the neighbourhood witli monasteries, but the best centre of Buddhism in that locality was *Kunduz* where Yuan Chwang made the acquaintance of Dharmasarigha, a noted Hinayana scholar. The ruler of the place gave the pilgrim escort and 'post accommodation' (contributions of service imposed on subjects by government, such as supply of men and horses and accommodation for officials when travelling on duty) on his way southwards towards India, and asked him to visit *Balkh* (Fo-ho) as a Buddhist centre under his horde. Its capital itself was called 'Little Rajagriha City', with above 100 Buddhist monasteries and more than 3,000 brethren of Hlnfxyana school. Outside the capital was the Nava Saiigharama, 'the only Buddhist establishment north of the Hindukush, in which there was a constant succession of Masters who were commentators on the canon'. It had a costly image of Buddha and Vaisravana and other rarities, which made it a frequent object of plunder by the neighbouring barbarian chiefs. The monastery had also some relics of the Buddha—his washing basin, his tooth, and his broom—which were exhibited publicly on festival days, while there was a tope close by which also contained relics. There was a learned monk named Prajnakara in this monastery, with whom Yuan Chwang studied certain Abhidharma treatises and the Vibhasasastra.

Leaving *Balkh,* he came to the country of *Gaz>* with more than ten monasteries and 300 monks of the Sarvastivadin school, to *Bamian,* with tens of sucli monasteries and several thousands of monks of the Lokottaravadin school, and to *Kapisa* on the confines of India, which, as we have already seen, was an important centre of Buddhism, with its monasteries numbering more than 1,000, and its monks, chiefly Mahayanists, more than 6,000.

On his return journey by a different land-route Yuan Chwang found centres of Buddhism in the following places *Tsao-ku-Ca* with its capital Ghazni which had hundreds of monasteries and above io,occ Mahayana monks;" the country of *Kabul* under a Turkish king who was a zealous Buddhist; *Andural* in Tokhara country which, though Turkish, had a few monasteries and monks, including an Asokan tope the country of *Khost; Badalcshan,* with a few monasteries and under a king who had a ' profound belief in Buddhism '; *Kuran,* similarly under a king of Buddhist leanings; *Wiikhan* with above ten monasteries one of which had a stone image of the Buddha under a gilt-copper canopy set with precious stones; *Tash-hurghaa* (in the Pamir valley) where the people were ' sincere Buddhists', the reigning king, 'a patron of Buddhism and a scholar of culture', one of whose ancestors, according to tradition, was subdued by Asoka who built a tope in his palace there, whereupon he removed to another place where he erected a splendid monastery for the sastra-master Kumara-

labdha, forcibly brought to this land from his native place of Taxila, who was the founder of the Sautrantika school and ranked with Asvaghosa in the east, Deva in the south, Nagarjuna in the west, the great Buddhist luminaries; *Osh,* with more than ten monasteries and 1,000 monks of the Sarvastivadin school; *Kashgar,* with hundreds of monasteries and monks who memorized the entire Tripitaka and the Vibhasas or Commentaries without studying much their meanings, where the writing was also borrowed from India; *Ghe-ku-ka* which had a larger number of Mahayana texts ' than any other country to which Buddhism had reached ': and, lastly, *Khoten* (Sans. Gosthana, or Kustana), where Yuan Chwang found the Indian system of writing, the people as Buddhists, above ico monasteries with more than 5,000 monks, chiefly Mahayanists, and the reigning king also a Buddhist; also varieties of Buddha images, and monasteries associated with Vairochana and Yasas (' the great arhat in Asoka's time and the minister of Asoka who led a colony to Khoten') [Watters, ii. 302], and other traditions.

Thus we may reasonably state that, on the whole, India saw in the age of Harsa one of the most glorious periods of her history, when internally she was efficiently organized for a free and full self-expression under a sovereign who was an unbending idealist, while, externally, she was thus enabled more effectively'to impress her thought upon her neighbours who turned to her as the home of the highest wisdom and culture in those days.

CONCLUSION

ACCORDING to the *Life* (p. 156), Harsa died ' towards the end of the Yung Hui period', i.e. about A.D. 655, a date accepted by Takakusu *[I-tsing,* pp. lvi and 163]. But Chinese sources place the event in A.D. 648, as pointed out by Watters [i. 347], since that was the date when a usurper was found ,on the throne of Harsa by the Chinese envoy deputed to his court. Besides, according to Watters, it was in that year, too, that Yuan Chwang submitted the records of his travel to Tai Tsung, and ' Siladitya must have been dead before this work was drawn up in its present form'.

Let us now conclude with an estimate of Harm's character as given Jin the eloquent words of his best biographer, Bana: 'Through him the earth does, indeed, possess a true king! Wonderful is his royalty, surpassing the gods! His liberality cannot find range enough in suppliants, nor his knowledge in doctrines to be learned; his poetical skill finds words fail, as his valour lacks opportunities to exercise it; his energy wants scope and his fame sighs for a wider horizon; his kindly nature seeks in vain more hearts to win, his virtues exhaust the powers of number, and all the fine arts are too narrow a field for his genius.' It is difficult to describe more briefly and forcibly the different aspects of his supremely versatile genius

and complex character. He was at once a prince and a poet, a warrior and a man of letters, royal and kindly, with unbounded wealth given away in unbounded liberality, with the dignity of a paramount sovereign joined to the humility of a beggar, master of all the military as well as the fine arts, of all knowledge and virtues. Beginning as a militarist under the then prevailing political circumstances of the times which forced on him a career of vengeance and violence, campaigns and conquests, he soon returned to his normal state, his true self,and remained as a confirmed pacificist throughout his long reign, the most distinguished follower and preacher of the creed of non-violence in that violent age of warring kingdoms, so that in the spirit of his great predecessor in the same creed, viz. Asoka Maurya, he could thus speak of himself through the hero of his own creation [King Jimiitavahana of his *Nagananda*

स्वशरीरमपि परार्थे यः खलु दयामयाचितः कृपया।
राज्यस्य कृते स कथं प्राणिवधकार्यमनुमन्ये॥

'He who is ready, of his own motion, unasked, to give his life for the good of others, out of sheer compassion for them—how can he even think of the enormity of himself killing his fellow human beings merely to win an earthly kingdom ?' We need hardly say that in his actual history subsequent to his conquests we find very largely realized this lofty ideal laid down for kinga

INDEX

Abhidharma, 136, 140, 185.
Adilyasena, 51, 52, 56, 63, *6$,* 68.
Adityavardhana, 10, 60, 63, 65, 70.
Adityavarman Maukhari, 60.
Administration, knowledge and, 84 ; system and personnel of, . 94-7-
Agamas, 136.
Aihole inscription, 30n.. 33,36n., 37 n., 41, 114, 137; temple, 161.
Ajanta paintings, 35, 164.
Ajiravati river, 46, 86, 89.
Allahabad, 104, 106, 161 *(see* _ Prayaga).
Anandapura, 31.
Ananta, the serpent, 161.
Anantavarman Maukhari, 51, 57-
Andarab, 186.
Andhras, 47, 54, 160.
Animal food forbidden, 146.
Aphsad stone, 9*n.,* 13 n., 25 *n.,* 32n.,51, 52, 53,55, 57, 117.
Apprenticeship, 171.
Archaeological Survey, 110, 118.
Architecture, 168-9.
' Arena of Charity', 80-1.
Arhatas (Digambaras), 46, 121, I33, 176.
Arjuna, 73.
Army, Harsa's, 29, 35-6, 49, 97-8.
Arrah, 56, 57, 59.
Artist decorators, 171r.
Arts and crafts, 135, 173-4.
Arya Sura, poet, 149.
Aryabhatta, astronomer, 58n.
Aryavarta, 164.
Asanga, 136.
Ascetic sects, 121-2, 133, 176.
Ascetics, 122-4.
Asirgarh seal, 51, 57, 60, 117 *n.*
Asoka, 75, 85, 147, 176, 186, 187, 189.
Assam *(sec* Kamarupa).
Assassins, Harsa and, 78, 79.
Asvaghosa, 136, 187.
Aupanisadas, Upanisadas, 121, 133.' "
Avanti, war minister, 22-3, 95.
Avantivarman of Kaiiauj, 25n., 52, 53, 57, 63, 65.
Ayodhya, 99, 167.
Ayurveda, 14.

Bactria, 160.
Badakshan, 186.
Badami, 36 *n.* ; cave temples at, 161. .
Balkh (Fo-Ho), Buddhism in, 185.
Baladitya, 59, 63, 66, 130.
Bamian, 186.
Bana, biographer of Harsa, 5-6, 9, 10n., *28n.* ; court poet, 5, 9, 93, 137, 150, 158; Harsa's gift to, 157 n., 158 ; historical reliability of, 20n., 74 ; panegyric on Harsa, 188; quoted, 46-7 53, 61,89-90,147-8, 157 ; son of, 138; varied company of, 173-4.
Banerji, R. D., 37 n., 42, 53 n., 70 n., 71 n., 71-2 *n.*
Baiii (see Bhandi).
Banskhera inscription of Harsa, 10, 85, 96, 104, 105, 109, 149,. 158.
Barabar inscription, 51, 57.
Basak on Gupta history, 67 *n.*
Basarh clay seals, 52n., 107, no, 111.

Battle descriptions, Harsa's, 154-5-
Beglar, 160.
Benares, 66, 139, 162.
Bengal, 41, 43, 167 (*see* Gauda).
Bereaved, 80.
Bhadanta Ch eng, 128.
Bhagavatas, 133.
Bhagwanlal Indiaji, 31.
Bhairavacharya, 10.
Bhandi, cousin of Harsa, 12, 17, 19 n., 25, 29, 61, 69 ; minister of Rajya, 94, 95; proposes Harsa as king, 19, 94.
Bhanugupta, 59, 60-1 n., 64, 66, 105, 178.
Bharavi, poet, 137, 138.
Bharoch, 30, 40.
Bhartrihari, scholar, 136, 137.
Bhasa, Dhilvaka, prince of poets, 149, 157 n., 158.
Bhasknravarman, king of Kamarupa (Assam), 24, 25 n., 42, 73, 74, 107, 113, 151 n. (see Kumara).
Bhattasali, on coins, 68, 70n.
Bhitari seal inscription, 56 n.
Bhitargaon brick temple, 160.
Bhoja, Sumatra capital, 180, 181.
Bhukampa, Vindhyan chief. 26.
Bhusana Bhatta, poet, 138.
Bhutas, 122.
Bihar, 43, 56, 167.
Bloch on Guptas, 52 *n.*
Bodhi tree, 18, 71, 73, 151,
Bodhisattva cult, 160, 163.
Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, 20, 140, 163,176 ; Jimutavahana, 146 n., 149; Maitreya, 163; Tara, 140.
Bodhisattva-Jatakas, 134, 163.
Borneo, 182 n.
Brahma, god, 76, 142, 143.
Brahmin kings, 40, 41, 56; observances, 141 *n.* ; villages, 107, 109, 145.
Brahminical sects, 121, 133, 145; women ascetics, 176.
Brahmin ism predominant in Gupta times, 120 ; slighted by Harsa. 76, 143.
Brahmins,Brahmanas, 47, 75, 76, 77, 120, 154 ; function of, 171 ; gifts and food to, 82, 88, 91-2, 114, 144, 145, 147; plot against Harsa, 78-9, 144 ; sacrifices by, 141, 142; Yuan on, 173.
Brigands, 98-9.
Brihadratha, king, 24.
Buddha, creed of, 160; evolution of his image, 162; footprints, 71, 183 ; images, 76, 77, 81, 140, 161-3, 164, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187 ; relics, 140, 185 ; tooth relics, 40. 83, 145, 185.
Buddhas of the Ten Regions, 82.
Buddhism, Harsa and, 21. 40, 42, 44, 73, 140, 142, 143, 144, 145-7 ; in decline and revival, 124. 147, 166 ; in Java and southern islands, 181-2 ; Sasanka and, 18, 41, 70-1, 73; sects of, 124.
Buddhist art, images in, 163; hymns of Harsa, 159; kings, 39, 40. 41. 44, 62, 150-2, 186, 187 ; mendicants, 26 ; monks, 76, 88, 124-8 ; —, annual 'retreat' of, 145; —, honoured by Harsa, 145-6 ; monasteries, 39, 70, '124-5, 126, 128-9, H6, 147 ; — in foreign lands, 182-7 ; sculptures, 161-4; teachers, 128-9, 331-2.
Buddhists, alms to, 81, 88, 147.
Budhagupta, 61 n., 64, 66, 130.
Buhler, 31.
Burhampur, 57.
Burn, R., on coins, 57 n.., 115-17.

Calcutta Museum, 70 n.
Calligraphy, 149, 172.
Camels, 50, 93, 94.
Capital, the royal, 90.
Castes, 171 ; freedom of, 173-4.
Cavalry, 98.
Cave temples, 160, 161, 164.
Censor of Tirhut, in.
Ceylon, 125, 178 *n.*. 179, 181.
Chach-namu, 41.

Champa, 167.
Chandl, goddess, 141.
Chandra, dramatist, 137.
Chandrabhaga ^Chenab) river, **98.**
Chandragupta Maurya, 92.
Chandragupta I I , 52 *n.*, 161, 180.
Chandra pala, scholar, 131.
Chandrasimha, student, 131.
Cliandravarman, king, 164.
Charmarika, a standard village, **114.**
Che-ka and dependencies, 39.
Chekuka, 187.
Chief Justice, i n , 114 *n*.
Chief Privy Councillor, 114 *n.*
China, India and, 45, 119-20, 180-1, 188.
Chinese pilgrimages to India, **119-20.**
Chowrie women, 91, 92, 93.
Christianity, Harsa and, 145 *n.*
Chronology of Harsa's time, 31-2 n., 36 *n.*
Chudinkas (Jutikas,, Chingkias) **122.**
Cities of Harsa's India, 165-8.
City magistrates, *drangikas,* 107.
Cleanliness, 174.
Cloths and fabrics, 170, 172.
Coins, evidence of, 16n., 51, 57, 58n., 66, 68, 70 n , 71 n., 72-3 ; Gupta, 117, 164; of Piabhakara and Harsa, 115-18.
Cold, protection against, 170
Collins, Dr. Mark, 16 *n.*
Commander-in-Chief, *Seudpali,* 97-8, no.
Copperplates, no, 117n.
Council of Ministers, 94-5.
County, or provincial division, *visatja,* 104, 105; divisional commissioner, *visayapati, &c* , **106,** 115 n.; representative council of, 109.
Couriers, 93, 94.
Court life, 175, 176.
Oowell, 137.
Criminal administration, 100-1.
Crown lands, 97, 101,150.
Cunningham, 47, 58n.. 117.
Dudda I, 40 ; I I , 39, 40.
Daghdhamunda, 122.
Damodaragupta of Malwa, 55, 63, 64.
Damodaipur inscriptions, 66, 67-8, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109.
Dancing, 176.
Darpasata, Harsa's elephant, 49, 87.
Dasapura, 112.
Deccan, 24.
Delhi, iron pillar at, 164.
Deo-Baranark inscription, 51, 52, 56, 57, 63.
Deoghar, 68, 161 .
Destitute, 82, 144.
Deva, scholar, 187.
Deva-temples, 124, 138-9, 140, 148 n.
Devabhattaraka, 105.
Devagupta of Eastern Malwa, 16 n., 18, 25, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 62, 63, 65, 71.
Devi, goddess, 160.
Dharma, Harsa on, 158 9.
Dharmakirti, logician. 137.
Dharmagupta, sage, 183, 184.
Dharmapala of Bengal, 119.
Dharmapala, scholar, 131, 136, 137-
Dharmasangha, scholar, 185.
Dhruvasena (Dhruvabhatta) I I., of Valabhi, 30, 33, 48,' 81, 83, **152.**
Discussion, learning through, I30-I' 132-
District or Circle, *Mandcda,* 104, **115** ***n.***
Divakaramitra, Buddhist saint, 26, 27, 142, 176; hermitage-university of, 133 4.
Dramas of Haisa, 152-7 ; other theories of authorship, 153n, 157 n.
Dravidiane, 47.
Dress, 170-I; of Eastern king, 92.
Durga, goddess, 99, 122, 139.
Durlabha Vardhana, of Kashmir, 39-4o.

Earth-god, 139.
Eastern India students, 129, 131. 137-
Eight Great Shrines, 159.
Elephants, 33, 29, 34, 35, 47,49, 76, 79, 81, 83, 87, 98, 155; attendants and officials of, 50, 110, 114 n.
Elurn (Ellora), 161.
Engraver, no.
Ettinghausen, M.,30n.

Fa-hien, 98, 120, 147, 166, 174, 181 ; voyage of, 179.
Fang-chih 21.
Far East, India and, 160, 181, 182.
Fines as revenue, 112.
Five Indias, 29, 36 *n.*, 44, 75, 80.
Fleet and date of Harsa's wars, 36 n. ; and Baladitya, 5971.
Food, the people's, 174-5.
Foreign Minister, 111-12.
Foreign Secretary, i n .
Foreign trade, 160, 181.
Free university education. 130.
Free village, privileges of, 112-13-
Furniture, 91, 1*6g.*
Further India, 160, 182 n.

Gambhira, Brahmin, 93.
Ganas, gods, 142.
Gtindhara, 11, 38, 39, 118, 180 ; sculptures at, 163.
Gariga (Ganges) river, 48, 71, 76, 80, 81, 165 ; —, goddess, 142, 160.
Ganjam inscription, 72 (*see* Kongoda).
Garuda, god, 142.
Garhwa, 161.
Gauda (Karnasuvariia, Bengal), 18, 29 n., 41-2, 43' 129, 1678; history, 70-4.
Gaudas of the sea-shore, 55, 67, 68, 70 n.
Gaurl, goddess, 142.
Gay a, monastery at, 129, 131 ; temples at, 139.
Gaya seal inscription, 13 n.
Gaz, 186.
Gods of Harsa's India, 138-40.
Gold, works in, 76, 172.
Golden drums, 48.
Goparaja, *66* ; his widow's *sati*, 178.
Government, benevolent, 101, 102; revenue and expenditure, 101 2.
Govinda, god, 50.
Govisana (Rampurand Pilibhit), 167.
Grahavarman, Prince, 2571., 52, 62, 63, 65; marries Harsa's sister, 13, 58, 63 j murdered, 16, 53-
Grammar and philology, 132, 134. 135-
Greater India, Harsa's, 182-3.
Guilds, 171.
Gujarat (Gurjara, Ku-che-lo), 38, 180; emigration from, 179 ; expansion and kings of, 40-1 ; refugees in, 180.
Gunabhadra, scholar, 135.
Gunamati, scholar, 131.
Guptas, chronology and history of, 52-6, 60-1 *n.* ; imperial, 10, 60, 64, 66, 98 ; of Eastern Malwa, 12, 59, 60, 63, 64-5, 68; of Magadha, 25n., 52, 53 *n.*, 55-6, 68 ; of Malwa, 50, 51, 52. 53n., 54. 55. 56, 62.
Gurjara and Isvara, engravers, 96.

Haidarabad grants, 36 n.
Haiiisavega, messenger, 24. 25.
Haraba inscription, 13n., 51, 52 n., 57-8 n., 70 *n.*
Haridatta, court poet, 93, 150.
Harise'na, officer, 111.
Harsa: name, *gn.* ; ancestry, 10, i i ; birth, 11, 175; early years, 12-13, 63 ; follows brother to war, 14, 84; at father's death-bed, 14-15 ; pleads to go against Hunas, 17-18 ; informed of Rajya's murder, 18; succeeds to

throne, 19-20; vow of austerity, 21 ; joint ruler of Kanauj with Rajyasrl, 20 n., 21, 72; war of vengeance against Gauda, 22-3, 28, 29-30, 71-2; counsels of ministers, 23-4 ; scheme of conquest, 24, 29; alliance with Assam, 24-5, 30, 71-2n.; meets Bhandi with spoils of Malwa, and annexes Malwa, 25, 55, 56; seeks and saves Rajyasri, 26 8, 47, 85; doubt as to punishment of Sasanka. 29-30, 37 ., 41-2, 72, 73 ; conquers the Five Indias, 29-31, 43-4, 85 ; fails against Pulakesin I I , 32, 85 ; shares India with Pulakesin, 35 ; thirty years of armed peace, 36-7, 75; empire of, 38-43 ; Moksa Pari sad at Prayaga, 39, 79-82, 144-5, 147,166;; requisitions Buddha tooth from Kashmir, 40, 83, 145 ; Mahayana Buddhism of, 42, 143 ; imperial titles of, 43 *n.* ; honours Yuan Chwang, 44 5, 75-6,79,82-3, 178; relations with China, 45, 178, 179 ; camp luxury and pomp, 46-7, 80-7 ; army and discipline, 48-9 ; elephants, horses, and camels, 49-50 ; mad elephant story, 5 3 n ; chronology, 62, 63, 65, 69 ; Buddhist assembly at Kanauj, 75-9, 143--4; defeats plotters, 78-9, 144 ; travels and knowledge of dominions, 84-8 ; working day, 88-90 ; palace, servants and home life, 90-3; coins and seals, 115-18; gift to Nahinda, 130, 145 ; patron of religion, 140-1, 143-7; ancestral Brahminism, 141-2; charities and public works, 147-8; patron of learning, 148-50; conversion to Buddhism, 142-3, 176; intolerance of Hlnayana, 143-4, 145; builder of topes and monasteries, 146 ; poetical and literary gifts, 148; date of death, 188; character — a great peace-lover, 188 9.

Harsa empire, modern limits of, 42-3-

Harsa era, 32 *n*,, 36 n., 45 *n.*

Harsa, Gupta princess, 60.

Havel 1 and Coomarswami, 161.

Heretics, 75, 77. 80, 82; plot against Harsa, 78-9; sects of, 122.

Hlnayana Buddhism, art of, 164 ; Harsa and, 143, 145.

Hinayana Buddhists, 76; challenge Mah ay ana, 86 ; plot against Yuan, 78,143 ; monasteries, 124, 126, 127, 182-3, 184, 185, 187.

Hoernle, Dr., on Gupta history, 54, 59, 62,69, 116-17.

Horse sacrifice, 56, 68.

Horses of Harsa, 49-50, 98.

Hospices of Harsa, 147.

Hunas, Huns, 13, 38, 54, 59. 66, 117, 180.

Images, Brahniinical and Buddhist, 139-40.

Imitation Gupta coins, 68.

Imperial administration, 103-14 : Emperor and satellite kings, 103-4 ; Government officers and departments, 104 8; non-oflie'al element in local government, 108-9; orders of the king, 109-10; Koyal household and officers of law and order, 110 12; sources of revenue, 112-13; system of land settlement, 113-14 ; village as unit of administration, 114.

Imperial titles, 43, 103.

India : Asia's centre of winch m, 119-20; ' Brahmana-country', 173; divided between Harsa and Pulakesin I I , 35 ; golden age of, in Harsa[1] s time, 187 ; land of temples and image-

worship, 140 , moral progress of, 123.
Indian Antiquary, 30.
Indian empires, decentralized polity of, 37, 43; extent of, 37-8.
India's sphere of influence, 160.
IndraorSakra, god, 76, 143, 153.
Indus, land of the, 11, 38, 40.
Infantry. 98.
Inscriptions, 7, 9-10, 103; confirm Bana, 18-19, 23 n., 54; confirm Harsa's suzerainty of Northern India, 43; confirm Yuan Chwang, 33-4 ; *re* Gupta and Maukhari kings, 51-3 ; *re* Bajya's conversion to Buddhism, 142-3 ; *re* taxes, 101-3 ; Sumatra. 181-2.
Insecurity in Harsa's time, 98-100.
Intoxication in warfare, 35.
Irrigation, 171.
Isana, poet, 137.
Isanavarmnn Maukhari. 51, 54. 55, 57. 58, 63, 64, 70.
Isvaravarman Maukhari. 51, 52, 54, 58.
I-tsing, 14n.,120; on Buddhism in southern islands, 182 ; on Harsa as *litterateur,* 148-9: on Vedic and Buddhist studies. 134-5,135-6; studies in Sumatra, 181 ; voyage of, 180-1.

Jail-deliveries, 100-1.
Jains, 46, 121, 133, 174.
Jajhoti (Chih-chi-to), 40.
Jalandhara, 128, 152.
Janamejaya, 22.
Jatakas, poems of the, 148-9.
Jaunpur inscription. 51, 58.
Java, colonized by India, 179, 181-2.
Jayabhata I, 40.
Jayadeva, poet, 149, 158.
Jayftditya, grammarian, 134--5, 137.
Jayasena, Master cf the Sastras, 29.,42, 73, 150.
Jetaka Satavahana, king, 135.
Jlmutavahar.a, king, 146 n., 156, 189.
Jina, Buddha, 142; sculptures of. 161.
Jina, logician, 136,
Jinamitra, scholar, 131.
Jinaprabha, teacher, 137.
Jivitagupta I, 67, 68, 70 n. ; I I , *51,* 52, 58, 59-
Jnanachandra, scholar, 131, 137.

Kabul. 186.
Ka-cha, 180, 181.
Kaira grants, 40.
Kajughira (Kankjol, Rajmahal), 47, 75, 85.
Kalidasa, 138, 149, 158.
Kalinga, 37 n.
Kaniarupa (Assam, 73. 74, 94, 168 ; Harsa's alliance with. 21-5, 30; —suzerainty over. 43n, 44-
Kanadas, 121, 133.
Kanauj, assembly at, 30, 47-8, 75-9, 88, 143-4 ; Buddha relic at, 83, 145 ; Buddhist monasteries at, 147, 165; Deva-tempies at, 14871.. 165 ; Harsa and throne of, 19, 20, 21 ; kings of, 16 *n.*; premier city of Harsa's India, 165-6; RajyasrI and, 2on„ 71 w.; Saiankaand, *ign.*. 71.
Kaniska, 119.
Kanyakubja (Kanauj), 16, 25, 44, 75, 129, 139.
Kapalikas. 121, 122.
Kapilas, 133.
Kapilavastu, Buddhist Bethlehem, 139, 166.
Kapis (Kafirstan) and dependencies, 39; Buddhist centre, 186 ; king of, 37, 45 152.
Kapitthika (Sankasya), 85, 167.
Karnasuvarna *{see* Gauda).
Karpatin, 122.
Kashgar, 187.
Kashmir and dependencies, 39, 40, 83, 85, 88; Buddhism in, 39, 40, 83, 128, 145, T52 ; kings

of, 39, 153n., 155n. ; Vikramaditya and, 59.
Kastha-muni, 122.
Kathaka, 24, 28 n.
Kauthem grant, *gn.*
Keeper of the Royal Seal, 114 n.
Keith on Harsa's dramas, 152, 155 ; on Sanskrit poets, 137.
Kesalufichakas, 133.
Khosru I I , of Persia, 35.
Khost, 186.
Khotan (Kustana), Buddhism in, 187.
Kielhorn on Harsa inscriptions, 45 *n.*
King, election of, 19, 94, 95.
King's mouthpiece, *data,* 109-ro; orders, 109-10; working-day, 88-90.
Kings as gods, 76, 143; in Harsa's train. 47-8, 76, 77, 78. 79, 80, 81.
Kingship, not hereditary, 95 n.
Ki-ta (? Cutch), 31.
Kitchen appurtenances, 92.
Kongoda, Kongyodha (Ganjam), 36 n., 42, 73, 85, 88.
Konow, on Jayadeva, 158.
Kosala, 37 *n.*; —, Southern, 40.
Kosam, sculpture at, 161.
Kosambi, 167.
Kotivarsa, *visaya,* 105.
Krisna, brother of Hars.i, 12 *n. ;* —, god, 121, 142, 176 ; sculptures of, 160, 161.
Krisn igupta, 52, 64, 67.
Ks ttrlya, kingly ideal, 28-9.
Ksatriyas, function of, 171 ; Yuan on, 173.
Ku-chih, Indian culture and Buddhist assemblies in, 183-4.
Kumaradasa, poet, 137.
Kumaragupta of Mahva, 12, 50, 53, 54, 55, 69.
Kumaragupta I I I , 52, 63, 64, 68.
Kumaralabdha of Taxila, 186-7.
Kumanaraja of Assam, 47, 48, 76, 81, 82, 83, 87, 91, 143; forced visit of Yuan to, 48-9 ; 150-1; zeal for Buddhism, 151 *(see* Bhaskaravarman).
Kumbha mela, 80.
Kunduz, B.iddhism in, 185,
Kuntala, officer, 18, 96.
Kuran, 186.
Kurarijaka, courier, 14, 93.
Kushans, 117, 118, 160.
Kwang-chow, 179.
Kwang-fu, 181.

Labour, forced *(vittika),* 112 ; freedom from, 97, 101, 113.
Laksmi, goddess, 71 n., 73, 142.
Lal, Mr. Panna, I.C.S., chronology of, 65.
Land grants to public servants, 97.
Land settlement and officials, 113-14.
Land transfer, 108, no.
Latas, n, 38, 40, 41, 180.
Law experts, 133, 134.
Learning,subjects of, 132, 134-6.
Levi,S., on Nepal, 31, 32n.; on Siladitya of Mo-la po. 62.
Life, Buddhist care for, 146.
Linguistic experts, 133.
' Lion's Throne', 145, 169.
Local governors and staff, 105-8 ; non-official help, 108-9.
Logic, 132, 135.
Lohitya (Brahmaputra) river, 55-
Lokayatikas, atheists, 121, 131, 133.
Luxury, Imperial, 91-3.

Madhavagupta of Malwa, t2, 26, 32 n„ 47, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 62, 63, 65, 68.
Madhuban plate of Harsa, 10, 11, 53. 85, 96, 101, 103, 104, 105, 106, 109. 142, 158.
Madhyadesa, 181.
Magadha, 63, 66 ; monastery at, 140.
Magha, 137, 155 n.
Mahakala. god, 141.
Maha-Mayfill hymn, 141.
Mahasenagupta, 25 n., 52, 54, 55, 60 n., 63, 65, 67.
Mahasenaguptadevi, 10, 60.

Mahay ana Buddhism. 77. 79. 86. 124, 132, 160; Harsa and, 42, 73. 75, 143; images of, 139-40; monasteries of, 39, 124, 126, 127, 186, 187; treatise, 129 ; Yuan Chwangand, 75-9, 120, 124, 143.
Mahendravikrama, poet king, 138.
Mahesvarapur, 40.
Maitra on murder of Bajva,
Mai tray an I Sakha, 26.
Majumdar, N. G., 58n.
Malava empire. 59, 60, 61, 69. 158.
Malaya, 180, 182 n.
Malayu (Sribhoja. Sumatra). 180. 181.
Malwa. 11, 38, 66, 67, 85, 180; history, 54-5, 59-68; kings, 50. 51. 52. 53.
Mamniata, author, 157 *n.*
Mtmdala doctrine. 38.
Mandar Hill inscription, 51, 56.
Mandasor pillar inscription. 59.
Mandor, Krisna sculptures at. 161.
Manitura (Oudh), 46, 86, 88, 89.
Manu, revenue standard of. 101.
Marriage, caste and, 173 ; early, 177.
Maskarins, 133.
Matanga Divakara, 138.
Mathura, Buddhist images at, 140 ; fame of, 166.
Matipur, 41, 128, 167.
Matricheta, hymns of, 136.
Maukhari era, 58.
Maukharis of Kanauj, 13?!., 16 *n.* 51, 60, 61, 62, 68 ; chronology of, 52, 58^.; coins and seals of, 57 n., 117.
Mayura (Hardwar), city, 167.
Mayura, poet, 138, 158.
Medical aid, free, 147.
Medicine, 132, 135.
Mekhalaka, courier. 89, 93.
Menagerie, palace, 90-1.
Metallurgists, 133, 174.
Metaphysics, 135.
Mid-India, 121, 130.
Migrations, 179-80.
Mihirakula, Huna king, 59n., 66, 116.
Military service, 97; titles, 110-11.
Ming-hicn, Buddhist monk, 77.
Ministers of State, 94-5.
Mithila (Darbhanga), 29n., 44.
Mo-ha-la-cha (Maharastra), 32, 44.
Moksa Pari sad at Prayaga, 39, 79-82.
Moksagupta of Kuchih, 184.
Mo-la-po, Western Malava, 31, 62.
Money, 172.
Monghyr. 41, 129.
Mongolia, students from, 129.
Mudras, 162.
Mukharas of Thanesar, 13.
Multan, Sun temple at, 139.
Music, instruction in. 176.

Nagarjuna. logician, 135, 187.
Nagarjunl Hill inscription, 51. 57-
Nalanda. 42, 57 n., 74 n., 94, 118, 129, 166; — University-Monastery, 76, 86, 129-32, 145, 169 n., Kumara and, 151 ; sculptures at, 163.
Ndgananda, Buddhist drama of Harsa, 142, 152 ; non-violence and self-sacrifice in, 14691., 156; performed, 149, 153 *n.* ; self-expression in, 155-7, 189.
Naravardhana, 10.
Narbada, Narmada *(see* Beva).
National Guard, 97.
Nausarl grant, 971., 117.
Nan sari plates of Sryasraya, 34.
Nepal, 30, 31 ; inscriptions, 31-2 n., 45 *n.*
Nicobar islands, 180.
Nllalohita, god, 141.
Nirghata, chiefs nephew, 26.
Nirgranthas, 76, 80, 122.
Nyaya, 132.
Nyayas, 121.

Offences and punishments, 100; — subject to fines, 112.
Officers of State, 96 ; payment of, 97 ; relative rank of, 104, 106.
Oral transmission, J34.
Ordeal, trial by, 100.
Orissa, 29 n., 42, 43, 44, 73, 86, 88, 150 ; Mahayana mission to, 145.
Ornaments and jewellery, 82, 170-1,172.
Orphans, 80, 82, 144.
Osh, 187.

Pageantry at Buddhist conference, 48, 75-7 ; at Moksa assembly, 8T.
Painting, 177.
Palace and its staff, 90-1, 93, no ; birth festivities at, 175 ; decorators at, 171 ; family worship in, 141-a.
Pancharatrikas, 133.
Pandits, 93.
Pandurin, 122.
Panini, grammar of, 132, 134.
Panjab, 43, 93, 98, 118, 139.
Pariisaryamendicants, 46-7 121, 174.
Parasu-Rama, 22.
Pariyatra, doorkeeper, 87, 89.
Pariyatra (Aravallis, Bailat), 24, 31 n., 40.
ParvatI, goddess, 161.
Pasupatas, 46, 127, 195.
Pataliputra, 70, 165.
Pataftjali, scholar, 136.
Pathari, sculpture at, 160.
Paturabhiksus, 133.
Persia, 24, 35.
Physicians, 93, 147.
Pi-lo-shan-na, 167.
Pindapatin, 122.
Pirates, 99.
Poetry of Harsa, 158-9.
Poets and poetry, 137-8, 158.
Policemen, *dandapd ika,* 100, in, 115n.
Po-lu-ka (Baluka), 184.
Pomp of royal camp, 46-7, 86-8.
Poor, 80, 82,144 ; houses of, 168.
Prabhakaravardhana of Thanesar, 10, 63, 65, 69; conquests of, 11, 38, 180 ; father of Harsa, 11, 61 ; Hunas expedition, 13-14, 61 ; last illness and advice to Harsa, 14-15, 69,91, 93 ; religion, 141, 142; supposed coins, 141, 142.
Prabhamitra, scholar, 131.
Prajfiagupta, Hlnayana Buddhist teacher, 86.
Prajnakara, monk, 185.
Prajriarasmi, preacher, 145.
Prayaga (Allahabad), Harsa's charitable assembly at, 30, 36 n., 48, 80-2, 144, 166.
Priyadarsika, drama by Harsa, 26n., 28w., 149, 152; American edition, 159; Brahmanism in, 142, 153, 154; *satl* in, 178; self-revelation of, 154, 155 ; women's accomplishments in, 176-7.
Province, *bhukti,* 104, 105, 115n. ; governor of, 105-6, 112; officials of, 106.
Pulakesin II, of Maharastra, 30; chronology of, 36'//. ; repulses Harsa, 32-4; subdues Gurjaras, 30w., 41; success explained, 35.
Pundravardhana (N. Bengal, &c), 66, 68, 105.
Punyavardhana (Rangpur), 129, 167.
Puranas, experts in, 133.
rnrdah, not observed by higher classes, 176, 177.
Purohita, 93, 114n.
Puspabhuti, 10.
Puspamitra, general. 24.

Queen's attendants, 93.

Rahulamitra, author, 138.
Rajasekhara, author, 157 n.
Rajatmangini, 40, 59, 60.
Rajmahal (kajangala), 41, 47, 88, 167 (*see also* Kajughira).
Rajputana. 43.

Rajputs, early, 117. 118.
Rtijyasrl, sister of Harsa, 12, 13, 61, 69, 82 ; accomplishments, 176; becomes wife of Grahavarman, 13, 58, 63, 171 ; captured and widowed by Slladitya, 16; escapes to the forest, 25, 71 n., 153 ; found and saved by Harsa, 26-8, 177 ; intellectuality of, 149, 176; joint ruler of Kanauj, 20 *n.*, 21, 72 ; *purdah* not observed by, 177.
Rajyavardhana I, ro, n.
Rajyavardhana, elder brother of Harsa, *12,* 62, 65. 118, 143 ; chronology of 69 ; expedition against Hunas, 13-14, 38, 61 ; offers throne to Harsa, 15 ; rescue expedition against Malwa, 16-18, 25, 38, 47,50,53, 62, 63; treacherously murdered, 18-19, 23, 71, 95, 158.
Rasayana, physician, 14.
Ratnasimha, teacher, 137.
Ratndvali, drama by Harsa, 28n.. 87 w., 149, 152, 158 ; Brahminism in, 142, 153, 154; painting mentioned, 177 ; self-revelation of, 153, 154, 155; spring festival described in, 175; voyage and shipwreck, 178/1.
Raviklrti on Harsa and Pulakesin I I , 33-4, 138.
Reading, Brahmin first book of, 134-
Records Office and officials. 96, 102, 107-8.
Religious art: Bodhisattva, 163 ; Brahmin, 160-1 ; Buddhist, 161-4 ; mixed, 163.
Religious tolerance, 144, 160.
Renaissance, Gupta, 159-60.
Reva (Narmada, Narbada), river, 34, 43, 66, 85, 88.
Ritualists, 133, 134.
Roman trade, 160.
Royal gifts, 80-1, 81-2, 171-3; harem, 176; household, 93, no ; poets, 157-8.
Royal Prosperity, goddess of, 20.
Rudra, god, 141.
Sagaramati, preacher, 145.
Saliasi Rai, 41.
Saivaism, 141, 160
Saivas, 10, 121, 133, 139. 141, , 174.
Saka, 24.
Sakas, 179- 80.
Sakala, 98.
Sakraditya, king, 130.
Saktism, anti-Buddhist, 71 n., 73. 122, 160.
Salatura, 139.
Samachara of Gauda, 70 *n.*
Samarkand, 184.
Sdmanlas (feudatories) of Harsa. 47-8, 104.
Samatata (Faridpur), 167.
Sammatiya Buddhism. 125. 127. 149.
Samudragupta, 37. 95 a.. 104, 106, in, 164.
Samvadaka, officer, 16.
Sa.'.chi, 164.
Sankheda Charter, 41.
Saiikhya, 132.
Sankhyas, 122.
Sanskrit, 120-1, 181 ; literature of, in Harsa's time, 136-8.
Sarabhaketu, forest chief,26,153.
Sarasvati, goddess, 142; river, 24, 178.
Sarkar, B. K., on *Mandala,* 38 ft.
Sarnath inscription. 66; sculptures, 161-2, 163.
Sarngadhara, author, 158.
Sarvavarman the Maukhari, 51, , 52, 56-9. 63. 64-
Sasanka, kin. of Gauda, 18, 19, 29, 36-7 w., 41,42, 62, 63, 70-3. 95. 151.
Sassanians, 180.
Sastras, 136.
Satl of Queen Yasovati, 177-8 ; other examples, 178.
Schools for painting and music. 177.
' Schools of Discussion ', 130.
Sea voyages, routes and trade, 178-81.

Seals, evidence of, 10, 13 n., 51, 52 n., 56n., 57n., 72, 74n., 107, 110" in, 117n., 118; Gupta, 164.
Shah pur inscripf ion. 32n., 51,56.
Shampooing attendants, 92.
Ships and boats, 47, 48, 50, 76, 81, 87.
Sick nurses, 92.
Silabhadra, Chancellor, 86, 131, , 132, 137,. I41.
Siladitya of Malava, uncle of Harsa, 12n.., 16, 59-60, 61, 62, , 64, 67, 69, 116.
Siladitya I, of Valabhl, 3m.
Simhanada, commander - in-chief, 20 n., 22, 96.
Simhapura (Ketas), 99.
Simharasmi, preacher, 131, 145.
Sindh, 30, 180 ; kings of, 41
Siva, Isvara, Rudra, etc., i;od, 10, 71, 72, 81, 122, 138, 139, 141, 142,160; bull of, 72, 102, , 144 ; sculptures of, 160, i6r.
Sivasviimin, court poet, 155 *it.*
Si-yu ki, 48 n., 76n.. 77 n.. 78.
Six Oblation Sacrifice, 141.
Skandagupta, elephant commandant. 23, 96, 104; advises Harsa, 23-4.
Smith,' V. A., and date of Harsa's wars, 36 n. ; and Harsa's conquest of Nepal, 32 n. ; on extent of Harsa's empire, 43n. ; on sources of Harsa's history, 5.
Soddhala on Harsa, 157-8.
Soldiers, 97.
Sonpat copper seal, 10, 11, 51, 118, 142.
Specialist studies, 135-6.
Spies, 94.
Spring festival, 175.
Sramanas, 75, 80, 144.
Sravasti, 46 ; ruins of, 166.
Sri Harsa of Kashmir, 153 *n.*
Srughna monasteries, 128.
Sthanvlsvara, 11, 90, 166-7 ; Brahminical religion of, 141.
Sthiramati, scholar, 131.
Subandhu. remanent. 137-8.
Subdivision, *khandala,* 115n.
Sudras, function of, 171.
Su-la-chaorSuratha(Surat), 31.
Sulikas, 54.
Sun god, 81, 138, 142, 144.
Superintendentsof barracks, 111.
Susena, physician, 14.
Susthitavarman Maukhari 25 *n.*. 52, 55. 63, 65.
Sutras, 136, 140-
Suvarnagotra, ruled by women, 41.
Svarastra (Panjab), 29 u , 44.
Svetapatas, 133.
Symbolism in Buddhist art, 162.

Tai-Tsung, emperor, 88, 188.
Tamralipti, 137, 167, 180, 181.
Tantrika worship, 10. 141.
Tashkend, 184.
Tashkurghan, 186.
Tathagatagupta, king, 130; teacher, 129.
Taxation, 101, 102, 112-13.
Tax-collectors, 100, 107.
Taxi la, 99, 187.
Technicalities, old, 115 n.
Temples of Gupta Brahminical art, 160-1, 179.
Termiz, Buddhism in, 185.
Territorial divisions, 104-5.
Text-books, 134, 135-6.
Thanesar and Kanauj. 13"., 20 n., 71.
Tlieatres, music-halls and picture galleries, 175.
Thomas, Dr. F. W., 55 H., 159.
Three Refuges, 134.
Thrones, 89-90, 169.
Tibet, 31.
Tirthikas, 139.
Tokhara, 184, 186.
Topes, 140, 146, 185, 186.
Toramana, Huna king, 66.
Town, the *visaya's* headquarters, 105, 106-7.
Town-planning, 169-70.
Transliteration, 7.
Travelling palace, 76, 86-7, 90.
Treason, 100.

Tripilaka, 136.
Truth, followers of, 123. 133.
Tsao-ku-t'a, 186.
Turks, 180.
Turuksas. 24.

Udaygiri hills, 160.
Udito, orUdhita. of Jalandhara, 44, 83.
Ujjain, Ujjayinl, 40. 56, 158.
Unclean occupations, 169-70.
United Provinces, 43.
University life at Nalandn, 129-32.

Vaidya on Harsa and Kanauj. 2*011.*
Vairochana, 187.
VaitsalT, 107, 129. 166,
Vaisesikas, 122.
Vaisnavism, 160.
Vaisravana, 185.
Vaisyas, function of. 171.
Vaitana *fires,* 141.
Vajra, king, 130.
Valabhl, 30, 31 *n.,* 36n.. 40. 02, 81. 85, 88, 104, 15-', 166.
Viimana, author, 137.
Vara nasi, 167.
Vardhanakoti, 85.
Vardhanas of Thanesar. 10 51, 6o, 61.
Varnairama-dharma, 142.
Varnins, 133.
Vilsava, god, 154.
Vassals of Harsa, 46-8
Vasubandhu, 134.
Vayuvikara, poet, 137.
Vedas, Vedic studies, 132, 134 ; Vedic worship, 141.
Venlbharata, poet, 137.
Vibhasasastra, 185
Vidyas, the Five, 135.
Village, *grama,* 104, 105, 115n.; headman of, *gramikas,* 107, 108; notary, 102, 107; officials, 107; revenue and dues to the king, 101-2.
Villagers censure the king,.99.
Vimalaksa, student, 184.
Vinaya, 136, 140, 184 ; — observances, 129, 183.
Vindhya hills and forests, 25, 26, 33, 34, 47, 85, 153.
Viriiichas, 176.
Virupaksa, god, 141.
Visnu, god, 138, 160, 161.
Visoka, 167.
Vogel on Gupta sculptures, 162.
Vyaghraketu, chiefs son, 26, 153.

Wakhan, 186.
Wang-hiuen-tse, 31, 45' 73,188.
War Office Treasurer, 111.
Waiters on chronology, 36n., 188; on Harsa's Buddhism, 21.
Weapons, 98.
White Huns, 180.
Whitewashing, 168.
Widows and marriage, 177.
Women ascetics. 176 ; attendants, 92, 93 ; education and status of, 176-7 : watchers. 111.
Writing, 149, 172. 183. 187.

Yamuna, goddess, 160; river. 48. 66, 80, 81.
Yasas, minister of Asoka, 187.
Yasodharman Vikramaditya of Malava, 10, 12)n 39, 60, 61, 64, 66-7, 69, 116.
Yasovatl. Queen. 10, 61, 69, 91, 93 ; mother of Harsa, n, 90 ; *sail* of, 177-8.
Yenki, Indian culture in, 182-3.
Yoga-sastra, 131, 132, 136.
Yuan Chwang, an honoured guest, 39. 44 5, 75-6, 82-3, 99, 178 ; at Karnasuvarna, 42 ; attends Moksa at Prayaga, 80-2; authority on Harsa, 6, 9, 18; challenges .opponents, 77 ; confirms and supplements Bana, 17 n., 19; conspiracy against, 78, 143-4; declines gifts, 79, *82,* 170; experiences with robbers and pirates, 98-9, forced visit to

Kuniara of Assam, 48-9, 150-1 ; Kashmir, 39-40, 128 ; land travels and studies at, monasteries, 128-9, 182-7 ; Mahayana Sastra of, expounded at Kanauj, 75-9, 143, 149; Malwa, 56: mission to India, 119 ; Nalanda studies, 129-32 ;, Orissa mission, 145 ; quoted, 32, 33, 35, 36. 38, 41 44. 88, 95, 97, 100, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 165, 166, 167, 170, 172, 173, 174.

Printed in England at the OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
By John Johnson Printer to the University