SECTION I

MAITRAKA KINGDOM
(C.470 A.C. to 788 A.C.)

CHAPTER I

THE KING AND HIS TITLES

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SECTION I

MAITRAKA KINGDOM

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CHAPTER I

THE KING AND HIS TITLES

Hereditary monarchy was the prevailing type of government in our period. Of all the states that arose out of the break-up of the Gupta Empire in the west, the kingdom of Valabhi period to be the most durable. Bhatärka was a Gupta general (Senāpati) of the Maitraka clan. He ruled the province comprising of Saurashtra and a part of Anarta from the new headquarters at Valabhipura. His descendants gradually made themselves sovereign ruler at the end of the fifth century A.C.

The titles of the Maitra-ka kings can be divided in the following categories:--

(a) Titles used by feudatory kings:--

1. Senāpati:-- The first two Maitraka kings, viz. Bhatärka and Dharasma I, had not used any other titles
but rules under the overlordship of Gupta Emperor. In the copperplates of their descendants we find the following words: 'śr̥r̥ svasti (iī) ṣvalabhītah 

\[ \text{followed by Copperplate phrases in Devanagari script} \]

From these times we can say that Senāpati Bhatārka established the Maitraka dynasty and Valabhipura became the capital. His son also continued the title of Senāpati. This simple title is explained by the learned scholars as 'the general of an army, leader of forces, the military governor of a district, or commander-in-chief, i.e. the chief officer in charge of the military department.

Pushyamitra, the founder of the Sunga dynasty, was called Senāpati even after his accession to the Maurya throne. Monier-Williams writes in his dictionary: "Senāpati, the general of an army - Senāpati, m. the chief of commander of an army."

Bhatārka was a Gupta general or Senāpati of the Maitraka clan. After establishing himself

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as an independent king, he continued the title of Senāpatī.

2. Maharāja: From Dronasinha to Dharasena II, Maitraka kings used this title, e.g. "Mahārāja Dronasinha." J.F. Fleet writes, "In the Mauryan times we hear titles like Rājan, Mahārāja and Kumāra applicable to kings and princes. The early princes of the imperial line like Śrī Gupta were satisfied with the title of Mahārāja. But soon it becomes an official title applied to feudatories and not to paramount rulers. To distinguish the feudatories from themselves the imperial Guptas adopted the title Maharājādhirāja indicative of their imperial power and position."

Here it is interesting to note the antiquity of this title and R.C. Majumdar and A.S. Altekar say, "..... In the south, even great kings were usually content with the title of Mahārāja; in the north, however, the Scythian title Rājātirāja was transformed into Maharājādhirāja, and it soon became popular with great conquerors and imperial rulers." D.C. Sircar, "(This is) a

4. Quoted in The Vakātaka-Gupta Age, P.269.
5. "The title Maharājādhirāja no doubt occurs in the Brahmana literature, but its popularity in Northern India at this period was due to the cognate title Rājātirāja brought into vogue by Scythian rulers."
royal title first assumed by the foreign rulers of India and later adopted by indigenous rulers; originally, an imperial title; later (when the emperors assumed more dignified ( titles), a title of feudatories and smaller rulers; Cf. Greek Basileos Megolon and old Persian Kshayatiya Vazrka, and he continues, "One of the designations sometimes included in the pancha-mahasabda is cf. the case of Maitraka Dhruva-sena I. R.N. Sastore, "The king, being the sovereign head of the state and the princes being of royal blood, were graced with certain titles of supremacy, power and grandiloquence. The Kautaliyan and the Sthyanian titles of Maharaja, given to the king, ...... can fortunately be found in the epigraphy of the Gupta Age. R.C. Majumdar and A.S. Altekar, "It is also to be noted that the governors of Bengal and Malwa are called Maharaja, and in the first case we definitely know that it to be an innovation introduced since the time of Kumāragupta I." Monier-Williams, "Raja, m. a. great king, reign by princes, supreme sovereign."

7. I.E.G., P. 163. 185
3. Mahāsāmanṭa, Mahāpratihāra, Mahādanāṇāyaka, Mahākārtakritika (Mahārāja):

These titles are separately or collectively used by the following Maitraka kings, viz. Dhrusena I and Dharasena II. These are titles of the different administrative officers.

Mahāsāmanṭa:—D.C. Sircar, "(It means) the great chieftain, title of a feudatory of a higher rank than the Sāmanṭa, or one of the designations sometimes included in the pañcha-mahāabāda as the case of Maitraka—Dhrusena I." G. Rihler writes, "It ought, however, to be noted that Dharasena II, receives in this grant also the epithet Mahāsāmanṭa, 'the feudal chief'."

Mahāpratihāra:—"He was the head of the door-keepers of the palace or the king's chamber, or of the capital city; sometimes explained as 'the chief usher', or he was the superior officer above all door-keepers, the great chamberlain, or one of the designations often included in the

11. I.A., VII. P.70
12. Quoted in I.E.G., P.184; Kādambari, Para 97; Rājatarangini IV, 142; E.I,x,75
13. Ibid., P. 184
pañcamañhaśabda, as indicated in Rājatarāṅgini." 14

Mahādaṇḍanāyaka: "W was the commander of forces; additionally, one of the designations sometimes included in the pañcha-mahāśabda; (i.e. Maitraka-Dhruvasena I, viz. Mahādaṇḍanāyaka, Mahāsāmanta, Mahāpratihāra, Mahākārtākritika and Mahārāja.)" 15

Mahākārtākritika: "This an official designation of uncertain import; probably, a reporter who informed the king about the progress of big undertakings; sometimes explained as 'the royal agent or judge'; one of the designations sometimes included in the pāñcha-mahāśabda of the case of Maitraka Dhruvasena I. 16 Also Matsya Purāṇa has given 'Krita - akritajñä bhṛityānām'." 17

The pāñcha - mahāśabdas used by Maitraka Dhruvasena I can be explained as "the sounds of five musical instruments, viz. horn, a tabor, a conch- shell, a kettle - drum and a gong; the use of which was allowed

15. Ibid., P. 175 (C. II, 3, 4; EL, XX, 7; IA., IV, 105)
16. Ibid., P. 177; (C. II, 3; HD., IA., XV, 306)
17. Ibid., P. 149; (Matsya Purāṇa c.c. XV, 17)
(7)

to persons of high rank and authority; usually a title of feudatories; c.f. tat-pradatta pañcha-mahāsabda, used in respect of feudatory rulers who received the right of enjoying the pañcha-mahāsabdas from their overlords." 19 This definitely applies to Dhruvasena I as in his copper-plate description we get these wordings:
"........ mahāsāmanta mahāpratihāra - mahādandanaśayaka -
mahākartaṅkriyika - mahārāja - Dhruvasena.... " 20

(b) Titles for Independent Kings and Emperors:

1. Paramabhattaraka: "'Paramabhattaraka' means the most worshipful one'. It is a vain-glorious title. The monarch wants to exhibit to the world that he is such a pious and godly man who would reverence virtue and spurn vice. He wishes to ponder to the religious spirit of the age. The same is the case with other monarchs who love such titles. It need not be considered entirely as a title of paramount sovereignty." 21 In the Udaiyagiri Cave inscription 22 of Chandragupta II, he is entitled Paramabhattaraka and maharajadhiraja. 23 This is one of the

20: Bühler, IA, IV, 104-107
21: G.P., p. 123;
technical titles of paramount sovereignty, closely connected with Mahārājādhirāja and Paramesvara.  

2. Mahārājādhirāja: "It may, however, be noticed here that in Gupta times some more high sounding and bombastic titles were given to the sovereign as can be noticed from their documents. The emperor in the Gupta inscriptions was called by various titles. Among them are Mahārājādhirāja (supreme king of kings) and Paramabhattāraka (one who is supremely entitled to reverence or homage) which signified the assumption of supreme power. Princes like Ghatotkachcha or Śrī Gupta, the founder of the imperial Gupta's called themselves simply Mahārāja. An emperor like Kumāra Gupta I, sometimes called himself Mahārāja only: while feudatory like Mātruvishākha also Mahārāja adopted the same title. The Parivrājaka rulers of Uchchhakalpa, styled themselves Mahārājān. More grandiose titles were adopted, Harasena IV of Valabhi.  

24. Eried, C.II., III., (i) PP. IV 17 : (3), 25  
25. Ibid: (13) P.54  
26. Ibid : (11) P.47  
27. Ibid : (11) P.47  
28. Ibid: (21)P.97; (22) P.164; (24) PP.111 -112; (38)P. 168 : (56)P.248.
is called Parames'vara (supreme lord) and Chakravartin (emperor), in addition to the two titles Maharājā - dhiraṇa and Paramabhaṭṭaraka, assumed by Gupta emperors. The Mandasor stone inscription of Yas'odharman and Vishnugardhana ascribed to A.C. 533 -34, reveals how the latter was called by the title of Parames'vara. 29 
These three titles mentioned above were evidently symbols of paramount sovereignty. S'ilādityadeva of Valabhi is given these titles. (c.f. Paramabhaṭṭaraka - mahārājā - dhiraṇa - parames'varah s'ri - S'ilādityadevaḥ ... ... ... ). 30 Sometimes even independent rulers like S'as'āṅkadeva called themselves Mahaśamanta. 31 This title was used together with the epithet Mahārāja in the case of the illustrious Varunasena, in about the seventh century. 32

3. Parames'vara: This is an imperial title; one of the technical titles of paramount sovereignty closely connected with Maharājā - dhiraṇa and Paramabhaṭṭaraka. 33 This title is used by the following Maitraka kings.

29. Ibid., (11)III, (35), P.156.
30. Ibid., (39) P.169.
31. Ibid., (78) P.284.
32. Ibid., (80) P.289.
viz. Dharasena IV, Siladitya III, IV, V, VI & VII.

4. **Chakravartin** : According to Monier-Williams, a chakravartin means, "a ruler the wheels of whose chariot roll everywhere without obstruction; emperor; sovereign of the world; ruler of a chakra or country described as extending from sea to sea; the state of a universal emperor." In Vishnu Purana, a discuss (chakra), the sign of (the god) Vishnu (is to be found among the marks) on the hands of all chakravartins; (and such a ruler is one) whose powers cannot be withstood even by the gods. John W. Spellman writes, "The most significant word for world conqueror, however, is chakravartin. The exact origin is unknown although a number of equally plausible theories exist. The term occurs as early as the Maitri-Upanishad — later than the word sarvabhauma. The primary meaning of the word 'chakra' is wheel. Another takes 'chakravartin' to mean 'one who wields lordships over a circle of kings' or 'one who makes the circle abide by

34. A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, P.381.
35. Archaeological Survey of India Vol. IX, P.92, verse 7
   Vishnu -chakra-kara chinnāi sarveshāri chakravartinām
   Bhavati = avyāhato yasya prabhastri - dasātī api
36. 1. 4., vide, Spellman, J.W. n, 39 below.
his orders. The chakra or wheel is also known as a symbol of the sun, which travels around the earth and rules over it. Thus chakravartin would hold a similar position in polity. The wheel itself has often been understood as a symbol of universal dominion and power... It may be here noticed that Kalidasa, too, refers to certain titles of royalty. In Abhignana Sakuntalam, the king is called chakravartin. A ruler, according to him, was considered a universal monarch, when he became the lord of twelve kings. H.N. Sinha writes, "He was 'chakravartin,' because he was the lord of a chakra-circle of kings, and that circle was what we may call a 'sphere of influence,' and Kautilya called a Mandala." Dharasena IV assumes the imperial titles Paramabhātṛkā, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramesvara and chakravartin. The first three titles were inherited by his successors; Dharasena IV was the only Maitraka sovereign who assumed the title 'chakravartin'. Even Harsha, the

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40. Raghuvamśa, IV, 52, P.85; C. R.N. Saletore, ibid.
41. The Development of Indian Polity, P.14.
paramount sovereign of North India (Uttarāpatha), refers himself only with the hereditary titles Paramabhattārka and Maharajādhiraṇāja. The 'Harsha-charita', however, refers to him also as 'Paramesvara' and 'chakravartin'. Did Dharasena inherit these imperial titles from Harsha, who was his maternal grandfather? H.C. Shastri explains the whole problem in the following manner: "...Harsha died in c.647 A.C., leaving no male issue behind him. According to his interpretation of the passage 844-849 in AMMK, Jayaswal, therefore contends that Dharasena had inherited the title 'chakravartin' as the heir of his grand father Harshavardhana. He further thinks that Dharasena assumed this title on the death of Harsha between the date (Magha ba.5) of the first edict and the date (Asadha 'Śa. 10) of the second edict in 'year 326.' The title is, however, given even in the first edict and, therefore, he assumed the title in 644 A.C. not as the heir of Harsha, whose death is dated 647 A.C. Hence

Jayaswal's interpretation of the whole passage seems to be doubtful. The really remarkable point in the (edicts) is that Dharasena represents himself as Śrī -Ajjaka -pād = śrīmadhyāta in the earlier edicts (of 644 -45 A.C.), while the phrase is omitted in the later edicts (of 648 A.C.). This is very significant, as his Ajjaka (maternal grandfather) was Harsha, who died between 645 and 648 A.C. It means that Dharasena assumed the title chakravartin during the life-time of Harsha and probably with his favours and good-will. It further implies that Dharasena might have been known as the heir-apparent of Harsha. He however, could not inherit the empire of Harsha.

44. According to Jayaswal the passage in the A.M.M.K. refers to Va (jra) Rājayavardhana, Dharasena IV and Va (?) -Dhruvasena III in an unbroken line of succession. The AMMK has already treated with Rājayavardhana and Harsha (P.127) - vardhana in a former passage 719-725. Here, however, there is no mention of Harsha, whom Dharasena could succeed as his heir. Again 'Dha' was simply a 'king (Rājā) and reigned only for three years, whereas Dharasena was a paramount sovereign and reigned at least for four years (644-48 A.C.). Moreover, 'Va' (V.1. 'Ja') cannot stand for Dharasena, who was not a 'paramount' sovereign (sārvabhūmika- bhūpati) as stated in respect to 'va'. According to the suggestion of Vemkataramanayya (I.H.M.Vol. XX P.189 ff ) this 'va' may stand for Vajrata (647 A.C.) represented as the lord of North India.

45. The period intervening the issue of the earlier edicts and that of the later edicts.
It was since the time of the decline of Harsha's paramounty that the Maitrakas who were very powerful in western part of India, could represent themselves as great sovereigns assuming imperial titles like 'Maharāja dhirastra.' They had already extended their sway over Surāshtra, Khetaka, Malava and probably Anandapura. The Maitraka power was once enforced even on Ujjayani. Dharasena annexed Bharukachcha into the Valabhi kingdom, as it may be implied by his victorious encampment at Bharukachcha in 648 A.C. The later Maitrakas donate villages from S'iva-bhāgapura Vishaya and the Suryapura Vishaya. These vishayas were situated between Khetaka - Bharukachcha and Malava. They might have been under the Maitraka sway by this time. Moreover, a Maitraka branch was ruling over the Vindhyā region. Thus the maximum extent of the valabhi kingdom stretched over Surāshtra, Khetaka, Bharukachcha, S'ivabhāgapura, Suryapura, Anandapura, Malava, and Vindhyā. With the possession of

46. The encampment may also imply that he imposed his supremacy upon the king of Nandipurī, but Valabhi grant of a village in the Bharukachcha vishaya issued in 'year 357' (647 A.C.) makes it certain that Bharukachcha was included into the Maitraka dominions.
such an extensive kingdom, Dharašena could rightly claim to be chakravartin, at least in the south-west of Uttarapatha. The Maitraka power attained its zenith in the reign of Dharašena IV and therefore he might be called a chakravartin of the western India.

(c) Secondary Names As Titles:

Some of the Maitraka kings used secondary names as titles or aparanāmas or dvitiyana-mas, viz., Dharmādītya Silādītya I, Silādītya Dhruvasena II, Dharmādītya Kharagraha II.

In the copperplate inscription Silādītya I was described as Dharmādītya, viz. 'He glorified his enjoyment of his wealth, felicity and prosperity by acting in accordance with Dharma and got the second name

47. 'Data supplied by the Sanskrit Inscriptions of the Valabhi kingdom', PP. 136 - 146.
Dharmaditya conferred on Paramamahes'vara s'ri S'iladitya.' 48.

Dhruvasena II used the only title of 'Baladitya'
It means a rising sun. H.G. Shastri writes, "The king was a great Mähes'vara. The most interesting in his eulogy is that he was proficient in Rājya-tantra and — S'alaturiya-tantra (Pāṇini's system of grammar) as well." 49 while D.C. Sircar and J. Sundaram writes, "It appears that Dhruvasena II was a subordinate ally of Harsha but that Dharmasena IV assumed imperial status before Harsha's death when the latter was probably not in a position, whatever be the reason, to extend full control over subordinate alters and feudatories in the outlying areas. It should be remembered that Pulakesin II, the powerful Shālukya emperor of the Deccan, died in 642 A.C., so that the Maitraka now had no fear from the south also." 50


50. ML, XXXV, Pt. VI. PP. 282 - 283.
Kharagara's copperplate inscription describes him as under: "Quite evidently Paramamaññeshvara Sāri Kharagraha (II) deserves second name Dharmaditya." 51.

Gupta sovereigns assumed titles denoting pride of military exploits viz. Kramaditya, Vikramaditya, Mahendraditya etc., while the Maitraka kings were generally proud of their devotion of Dharma.

From references made in the copperplate inscriptions it is found that all the last five kings of the Maitraka lineage assumed the common name Sīlāditya, though they bore other personal names as princes (i.e. Sīlāditya III to Sīlāditya VII). 52. It indicates

51. 'Yathārtha (= rthamī) — dharmaditya-āparanāma paramamaññeshvara Sāri — Kharagrahaah"—B.P., 103, March 1956, PP. 74, 76.

52. 'The edicts of Sīlāditya III and Sīlāditya IV refer to rajāpatras (princes) named Dhamasena, Kharagraha and Dharmasena as the Dūtakas. Perhaps any of them may be indicated with Sīlāditya IV, or Sīlāditya V, who succeeded those kings.'—H.G. Shastri, op.cit. P.153 fn F N 71.

Also the kings and Kārmā the rulers of Ancient Egypt, bare the names Ptolemy and Cleopatra.
that the Śilāditya became very favourite of the Maitraka kings during the reign of the last five kings. Śilādityas III to VII assumed the common name 'Śilāditya' after this accession to the throne presumably after the last king Śilāditya of the Vindhya branch, who was the father of Śilāditya III.

Śilāditya VII is described as Dhrūbhata, viz. "rājādhiraṇa - paramesvara - viśadhīṣa - jumās'ri - Dhrūbhata ...." 53 G. Bühler writes, "There is only one statement in this long rīgsmorale which is of great importance, viz. that Śilāditya VI (VII) was called Dhrūbhata. This word stands apparently for Dhruvabhāta - literally 'the constant warrior'. The first point of the compound has been contracted, because the pandit wanted a long syllable for his metre, and because Dhru was, no doubt, at the time of the composition of this φάντασμα poetry, just as now, the vernacular Gujarāṭī for Dhruva. Now this name Dhruvabhata resembles the form T'u - lu - p'o - po - tu, which 吳文 這個 54 gives as the name of the ruler of Valabhi whom he visited,

53. H.I.G., NO 296. PP. 294-295 ; C.II., III, 172-173
54. Memories, II. 163
more than any other royal name which has become known."

According to H.G. Shastri, "Dhruvabhata may be his original name before he ascended the throne."

(d) Religious Titles used by the Maitraka kings:

To suggest the first faith in the particular

55. As Bihler writes, "...... As the transcription of Sanskrit Abhidharma by Chinese opi-to-mo, of 'bhadra' by Po-ta-lo, and similar instances show, Tu-lu-p'o-po-tu may stand just as well for Dhruvabhata as for Dhruvapatu, the rendering which M.st. Julien had adopted. Against this it may be urged that the Chinese translation of the word 'Ch'ang-jui', 'constamment inteligent', does not suit the compound Dhruvabhata. But this translation may have been caused by a mistake of Hiwen Thsang's, who may either have mixed up the two words bhata 'a warrior' and bhajta 'a pandit', or have been told the name incorrectly. For the frequent mistakes on the plates by which Bhatarka is changed to Bhattarka, and Derabhata to Derabhata, shew that the valabhi's themselves were not very accurate in this respect." - LA. VII, PP. 80 - 81, xxxxxxx.

ascertain the religious titles. The following kings used this title, viz. Bhaṭārka, Dharasena I, Droupāsimha, Guhasena, Dharasena II, Śilāditya I, Kharagraha I, Dharasena III, Dhruvasena II. Dhruvasena IV, Dhruvasena III, Kharagraha II, Śilāditya III to VII. It seems that in Gujarat, at the time of Maitraka rule, Śivaism was a prevailing religious sect.

2. Paramabhāgavata: - Dharusena I has used this title in edicts, viz. 'Paramabhāgavatah ...... mahārāja-

Dhruvasenaḥ' 57. This king followed the Vaishnava religious sect, unlike his predecessors who were all Māheśvaras, he professed to be a Parama- Bhāgavata (= a great devotee of Vaishnava). 58

3. Parama-ūpasaka: - The grant represents king Guhasena as a 'Parama-ūpasaka' (= great devotee of Buddha). The Guhasena was Parama- māheś'vara 60 but

57. H.I.G. No.19; III, 44A, 44.
59. I.A., V. P.207 (copperplate)
afterwards he became 'Parana - upasaka'.

4. Parana-Adityabhakta: In the copper-plates inscriptions of Dharasena II we get the line, "Parama-
āditya-bhakta s'rī-mahārāja - Dharapattah." It means that Dharapatta was a great devotee of Sūrya.

Last Silādityas from III to VII meditate on the feet of the Bava and Bappa and they were assigned the royal titles of the kings. G. Biehler has explained this very interesting phenomenon in the following way:

"The last time Silādityas II & III of our grant are said to meditate on the feet of the supreme Bhattāraka, the king of kings the supreme lord Bāva, and of the supreme Bhattāraka the king of kings the supreme lord Bappa, respectively; and in the grant of Silāditya IV, that king also professes his devotion to Bappa."

The honourable Rao Saheb V.N. Mandlik expresses his belief that Bāva and Bappa were the gurus or religious teachers whom the three kings sat, and appeals to the Venga grant of Vijayānandī varma, as well as to unpublished Nepal inscriptions, where a Bhattāraka Bappa is mentioned. I regret that I have to enter my protest against this explanation. For as the Bāva and Bappa

61. H.A.G., Nos. 39 to 43.
of the Valabhī grants are both styled 'king of kings' and 'supreme lords' — in fact receive exactly the same epithet as the rulers of Valabhī — they cannot, it seems to me, have been mere priests or gurus, but must have been real kings. At least I should like to see a well authenticated instance where a guru receives exactly the same titles as a king.

"Secondly, the Bappa of Vijayanandi could not have been the Bappa of our grant. .......... even if the latter were a priest. For Vijayanandi —varma styles himself parama — bhāgavataḥ, 'the great or ardent worshipper of Vishnu', which our kings call themselves parama — māhes'varas, 'great or ardent worshippers of Siva.' The gurus must be of the sect of the worshipper, and the Valabhī Bappa must therefore have been a S'iva, whilst the Vengī Bappa must have been a Vaishaiva.

"In the present stage of our knowledge of the history of the kings of Valabhī, I do not think it admissible to hazard any conjecture, as to the country of king, Bava and king Bappa, or regarding their relations to those of Valabhī, though Hieun Thsang's account of the kingdom does seem to furnish us with materials for them." 52

H.G. Shastri has tried to clear out this problem in the following manner: "Like his predecessor this king also is styled Parama-bhattarakā Mahārājādhirāja Parames'vara - S'īrī - S'ilādityadeva", and represented as meditating on the feet of S'īrī - Bappa bearing the same imperial titles. Even all the succeeding Maitrakas represented themselves as meditating on the feet of Bappa bearing the same titles. Evidently this Bappa cannot be any single personage contemporary of these kings. 'Bappa' is an old common noun meaning Father or worshipful. According to Fleet, 'Bappa' here stands for the king's father, who also bore these imperial titles. But in that case it becomes inexplicable to represent S'ilāditya II, the petty king of the Vindhya territory as bearing these imperial titles according to the reference to Bappa of S'ilāditya III. As suggested by

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63. Some edicts use 'Bāva' instead of 'Bappa'. Bāva is the popular prakrit form of the older Prakrit 'Bappa'. (c.f.E.G. Vol.I. Pt. I. P.84)


65. 'It may, however, be noted that the reference to his Bappa is inserted in his successor's edicts and not in his own edict which mentions his imperial titles.'
Bhagvanlal, the most probable explanation of Bappa (or Bāva) is that it was applied to Śaivite pontiffs or ecclesiastical dignitaries.\textsuperscript{66} This use of the word may be traced to its modern derivative Bāpā or bāvā, which is used not only for the father but also for the recluse. Bhagvanlal confirms this view by quoting the parallel instances of the present use of 'Mahārāja' for all priestly Brahmans and reclues and of Bhattārka for Digambara Jain priests.\textsuperscript{67} According to this explanation the later Maitrakas paid their respects to the ecclesiastical dignitary or their royal family.\textsuperscript{68}

(c) **Kings without Royal Titles**

We can across six Maitraka kings who had not used even single royal titles, viz. Śilāditya I, Kharagraha I, Dharasena III, Dhruvasena II, Dhruvasena III, and Kharagraha II.

\textsuperscript{66} B.C., Vol. I. Pt. I. PP. 84 f. is applied also to Buddhist dignitaries, as in the name 'Bappapādiya vihāra'.

\textsuperscript{67} Ibid., P. 85

\textsuperscript{68} 'Data supplied by the Sanskrit Inscriptions of the Valabhi kingdom', PP. 175, 155-156.
The titles of Dharasena II, the father of Sīlāditya I were "Paramamāhesvaramahāsaṃantaśri Dharasenaḥ." However his younger brother Kharagraha I and the latter's son Dharasena III were not using any titles but only used 'Śrī.' Yet their extent of the kingdom remained intact. So the question is, why they were not using any royal titles? We can only surmise that either they did not like to use their predecessor's royal titles because those titles did not show their real prestige or they were unable to use the vain glorious titles due to the political condition of their time or they hesitated to use those titles. Presumably these kings, being almost independent, did not like to inherit their predecessors subordinate titles like Mahāsaṃanta and Maharāja on the one hand and on the other hand were not bold enough to assume the imperial titles like P. M. P. and that is why they remained satisfied to use only 'Śrī' as the title. Same is the case with Dhruvasena II, Dhruvasena III and Kharagraha II.

SECTION I (Conti.)

MAITRAKA KINGDOM
(C.470 A.C. to 788 A.C.)

CHAPTER 2

RAJADHARMA OR DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF
THE MAITRAKA KINGS.

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RAJADHARMA OR DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF
THE MAITRAKA KINGS

1. Introduction:

Rajadharma means the duties and responsibilities of a king. All works are agreed that the first and foremost duty of the king is the protection of subjects. S'āntiparva (68. 1-4) notes that all the seven expounders of polity (rajas'āstraprājneśāraḥ) named by it extol protection as the highest dharma of the king. Manu states that the protection of the subjects is the highest dharma and Kalidāsa in 'Raghuvaris'a alludes to this dictum of Manu. Protection consists in punishing internal aggression (such as by thieves and robbers and by persons

2. 14-67; vide, ibid.
who invade a man's rights) and in meeting external aggression, Gautama* prescribes that the special responsibility of the king is to protect all beings, to award just punishment and that he has to protect the several varnas and āś'ramas according to the rules of s'āstra and to bring them round the path of their proper duties when they swerve from it. Vasishtha states that the wise say that protection is a life-long 'Sattra' in which he has to give up fear and softness of heart. (Vas. 19. 7-8 and Vishnu Dḥ.S.III, 2-3 are familiar to granit XI, 9-10). Kautilya also lays emphasis on the duty to keep the varnas and āś'ramas to their duties.

Therefore the king should not allow the people to swerve from their duties. He, who keeps 'dharma' intact (without breach), enjoys bliss in this world and the next. Narada states "His duty is to protect the subjects, to (honour or) listen to the aged and the wise, to look into the dispute of people and to be energetic in his functions as king." Sukra* says that the highest

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3. Erihaspati, Quoted by Rājanitiprakās'a II, 254-255
4. X, 7-8; XI, 9-10; vād, ilid. (H.D.)
5. 19, 1-2; vād, ilid.
6. Quoted by Kane, H.D. P.67-57
7. Prakīrmaka -33; H.D., ilid.
8. I, 14; H.D., ilid.
Dharma of the king is to protect the subjects and to put down the wicked. According to Atri, to punish the wicked, to honour the good, to increase the treasury in the right way, to deal impartially with litigants and to protect the kingdom—these five are declared to be sacrifices in the case of kings. As an extension of the king's duty to protect, the works lay down that it is his duty to support students, learned brahmans and sacrifices. (Vide Gant. X, 9-12; XVII, 31; Kautilya II. 1; Anusasana 61. 28-30; S'anti 165. 6-7; Vishnu Dharma Sutra III, 79-80; Manu VIII, 82 and 134; Yaj I. 315 and 323 and III 44; Matsya 215-58. Atri -24)

The functions of Government were not supposed to end with the maintenance of peace and order, but Government must be an instrument of the diffusion of culture. The king is also called upon to support helpless and aged people, the blind, the cripple, lunatics, widows, orphans, those suffering from diseases and calamities, pregnant women by giving them medicines,
lodging, food and clothing according to their requirements.

( Vide Vas. 19-35-36; Vishnudharmasutra, III, 65; Matsya 215-62; Agni 22.5-26 Adipasha 49-11; Sabha 18-24, Viraṭaparva 18-24; S'ānti 77.18 ).

Extremely high ideal was placed before the king by the Kautilya, the Mahābhārata and other works. In the Arthasāstra (I.19), Kautilya proclaims the magnificent ideal “in the happiness of the subjects lies the happiness of the king, in their welfare lies his welfare, the good of the king does not consist in what is pleasing to himself, but what is pleasing to the subjects constitutes his good.”

In the light of the above description of the duties and responsibilities enumerated in the S'āstras, we try to study the duties and responsibilities or the Rajadharma of the Maitraka kings.

2. Education:

For the performance of Dharma and in practical life the study of various sciences is necessary. We learn

from the accounts of Hiuen Tsang and I-tsing (7th century) that the four Vedas were studied by the Brāhmaṇas.

In the eulogy of Śilāditya Dharmāditya the science is divided as Para and Apara. Para vidyā means to get the knowledge of the soul or the spiritual truth. It is the highest knowledge. Manu considers it as the fifth vidyā viz. Ātma vidyā. Apara-vidyā is considered to be of the lower type of science. It includes the long list of subjects of study which embraced various branches of sacred and secular learning extending from the four Vedas and the Itihāsa - Purāṇa down to snake charms and the arts of singing, dancing and preparing unguents. The different vidyās were held by some authorities to be fourteen, and by others, eighteen in number. In the eighteen branches of learning were included the four Vedas, the six Vedāṅgas, Purāṇa, Nyāya, Mīmāṁsa, Dharmas'āstra, Dharma-veda, Gandharvaveda and Arthas'āstra. A long list of vidyās is given by Bṛhaspati. The list comprises the arts of acting, painting, soothsaying, the knowledge of cocks, horses and elephants, the sciences

13. HJG., No. 53.
of politics, astronomy, grammar and mathematics, the knowledge of the supreme soul and so forth. \(14\)

The record of Dhruvasena I speaks of his scholarly attainment and his patronage to the learned, referring to his as 'Añabodhās'āstrārtha-tattvānām ...', 'he who knows the essence of the S'astras, the works authoritative marks on the different branches of learning.' \(15\)

The edicts of Dharasena III speak highly of his devotion to learning. His thoughts were deep in consequence of his having been thoroughly acquainted with various sciences, arts and the ways of the world. \(16\)

The detailed list of I-ting makes it clear, even more than the meagre sketch of Huien Tsang, that grammar formed the major part of the course of studies in India in the seventh century A.C. Dhruvasena II was described as in the edicts as that he was proficient both in politics and grammar, as he attached the best pratyaya (confidence), endowed with artha (wealth),

15. Dr. K.J. Virji, A.H.S. P.41.
16. Dr. H.G. Shastri - Thesis P. 125. See Appendix. 'Dharasena-III.'
aiming at numerous prayojanas (interests) and full of agama (acquisitions) to the 'prakritis' (subjects), was proficient in the ascertainment of sandhi (treaty), vigraha (war) and samāsam (army) gave the appropriate ṃdesa to sthanas, and accomplished the sanskāras of saints by means of guṇavṛiddhi (enrichments of virtues). The rise of the science of Arthasāstra led at an early date to the concentration of attention upon the education of the Prince who was regarded as the key-stone of the political arch. In consideration no doubt of the multifariousness of the king's duties, the Smrītis and the Arthasāstra prescribed for him a comprehension course combined of intellectual training contained with moral discipline.

The ears of Dhruvasena III were always adorned with great learning embellished with various varnas (syllabuses). Śilāditya I was a man of eminent wisdom and great learning and his skill in literature was profound. Śilāditya VII had learnt the vedas, and he was the abode of knowledge. He was waited upon by the vidyādharas (men of learning).

17. Dr. H.G. Shastri - Thesis - P.132. See Appendix II. Dhruvasena-III
18. " " " " P.147 " " Dhruvasena-III
20. Dr. H.G. Shastri- Thesis -P.177-178 See Appendix. Śilāditya-VII
Dharasena IV has mastered all arts with (actual) bow as with the science of archery. The compliments to his skill in archery echo similar expressions in other eulogies. Guhasena must have distinguished himself in military training from his early career. It is said that his sword was verily a second arm to him from his childhood. The edicts of Dharasena II eulogize that he astonished all archers by his inborn strength and special training. This eulogy implies some concrete reference to his training in archery. In the same way Duruvasesa III was described to defeat the enemies by means of his bows and arrows.

3. Virtues:

From the eulogies of the Maitraka kings and from the other sources, we get some idea about the virtues of the kings.

22. " " " P. 97 " Guhasena.
23. " " opp. cit. P. 101 " Dharasena II
24. " " " P. 147 " Duruvasesa III
Benevolence, liberality, charity:

Almost all the Maitraka kings were liberal, charitable and benevolent. Dharasena I had utilized his wealth for the livelihood of poor and miserable people. Dharasena II's wealth was spent in maintaining hundred thousands of suppliants. By means of liberal donations Dharasena III continued to break up the ambitions of his enemies. Dharasena IV was such a donor that his hands were constantly washed for making gifts. Kharagraha II had distributed Laxmi to the party of the pranayins (suppliants). At the time of making gifts S'Iladitya IV regarded the earth surrounded by the land-mark bounded by the four oceans, as insignificant as a blade of grass.

25. See Appendix No. 2 H.I., N.V. 17.
27. " " No. 10 H.I., N.V. 63, p. 143.
28. " " No. 12 H.I., N.V. 71, p. 171
Nearly all Maitraka kings are found to be good generals and statesmen but we get particular references of the few kings. Dronasimha is described as an ambitious man and a good general. Guhasena combined in himself the qualities of a warrior as well as a statesman. His statesmanlike qualities are obvious from the fact that he is reported to have governed his subjects according to the Smritis and other traditional laws.

Dhravasena I is described as a very brave king who can defeat the array of troops single handedly by the strength of his own army. By his own strength Dharapatta had destroyed the greatness of the enemy. Guhasena is compared with Krishna in point of

31. See Appendix. P.No. 3 H.I.C., Nov. 21
32. " " No. 4-6 H.I.C., Nov. 11
33. " " No. 3-4 H.I.C., Nov. 13
34. " " No. 3-5 H.I.C., Nov. 43
35. " " No. 6 H.I.C., Nov. 13
36. " " No. 8
prowess. Śīlāditya I \(^{36}\) fought and won hundreds of battles with his swords. Kharagaha I's \(^{37}\) power was such that he could set aside mere surrender (Lit. prostration), there was no way of counteracting him, even for enemies for their virility and arrogance. His securing the first rank among men of valour was manifested by the self-embrace of the wealth of numerous inimical kings on account of his renowned heroism and great skill in (the use of) weapons. Dharasena III \(^{38}\) fought many battles and defeated the enemies in such a way that they were unable to compete with him. Dhruvasena II accomplished such objects as could hardly be accomplished. He was, as it were, prowess incarnate. He possessed excessive prowess and yet his heart was soft with compassion. Kharagaha II \(^{39}\) acquired the land by means of matchless (lit. single) Vikrama (exploit). Śīlāditya VI \(^{40}\) is described as a valiant sovereign holding suzerainty.

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36. See Appendix No.10
37. No.11
38. No.14
39. No.18
40. No.1
over a number of kings. S'ładitya VII had immense strength which was hard to resist. He endeavoured to get rid of the hell. He was solely intent on the act of emancipating the earth. He had vanquished the hostile party. He was endowed with great merits of supremacy and prowess.

(3) Appearance:— Guhasena is compared with the full moon in point of loveliness and further he excelled enpid and the moon in points of appearance and loveliness. The Maitraka records are unanimous in representing him as a handsome man possessed of elegant bearing and refined and courteous manners, who resembled (the god) Smara. Though all these attributes are stereotyped and modelled on the 'Raghuvaris'a' of Kalidas, they nevertheless show that their Maitraka recipient was an important personality.

(4) Steadiness, Proficiency, Intellect:— Guhasena is

41. See Appendix No. 19 H.L.C., N0. q6.
42. " " No. 6 H.L.C., Nos. 33, 35.
43. " " No. 19 H.L.C., N0. q6.
44. " " No. 6 H.L.C., Nos. 33, 35, et al.
compared with Himalayas, (lit. the king of mountains), the ocean and Brihaspati (lit. the Preceptor of Gods) in points of steadiness, profundity and intellect.

(5) Nature :- ( Gratification, noble heart and character, affection, virtuous, free from anger, love of humanity etc.)

Guhasena well observed the path laid down by Smritis and made the 'Rajan' literally true by the gratification (rajan) of the hearts of his people. This reminds us of Raghu, about whom Kālidāsa says the same thing in his 'Raghuvamśa.' The Maitraka records are unanimous in representing him as a handsome man possessed of refined and courteous manners. Śilāditya I was a man of a very lively nature. In Hiuen Tsang's account he is described as a man who "from the time of his birth never crimsoned with anger, nor did his hands ever inquire a living thing. His elephants and

45. See Appendix—No. 6. H.I.C., No. 33, 35.
46. IV, 12; vidh, R.N. Salim, L.G.A.
47. See Appendix—No. 6. H.I.C., No. 51, P. 112.
horses," it is further said, "drank water that has been strained which he gave it to them, lest any creature living in water should be injured." In these words his love of humanity is described. Unaffected decorum and modesty were Dharasena III's ornaments. Dharasena II excelled all previous kings in his noble character. Like Manu he had received the assent of his subjects themselves, whose mind was full of affection for his enriched virtues. He was amiable and yet appealing. He was steadfast in affection and yet removed those who were faulty. He pervaded the world with people's love sprung at the time of his *udaya* and it made his renowned second name *Bālāditya* (rising sun) significant.

Virtues resorted to Dharasena II by making a rapid approach to him as if out of fondness for his form. Kharagraha I did not allow his noble

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48. Beal, Vol. II. P. 261
49. See Appendix No. 10. L. L. C., No. 63.
50. " " No. 11 L. L. C., No. 64.
51. " " No. 7 L. L. C., No. 61.
character to diminish either by fatigue or love of pleasure. His mind was affected by the fondness for arrogance or humiliation of others. In him were collected pure virtues which delighted the whole world. His noble heart was unaffected by all the blemishes which low men are prone to. The Mahāyāna work mentions Chapala as the successor of Śilāditya and Jayaswal identified him with Kharagraha. But Chapal's portrait does not apply to Kharagraha.

4. Duties:

(1) Law and order:— Dronasimha's dharma consisted in acting according to the precepts prescribed by Manu and others; like Dharmarāja, he organized the system of law and order. Kālidāsa says the same thing about Dilip. As Bhatarka and Dharasena I were more or less occupied with fighting, it was high time for Dronasimha to organize the

53. Jayaswal, I.H.I., p. 24
54. See Appendix No. 3, I.A. A.N. No. 21, Kānpitāmadāsa.
55. cf. K.R. II. Introduction p. VIII.
administrative system of the Valabhi kingdom. So he devoted himself to the Rajadharma (duties of kings) prescribed by Manu and other Smritikāras and established law and order among his subjects.

(2) **Vṛṣṇiśrama Dharma** : Even as a king, Kharagraha II is said to have promulgated the Vṛṣṇiśrama system of the Aryan society. It is said that like 'dharma' (religion) incarnated, he well established the duties of the various Vṛṣṇis and As'ramas.56

(3) **To fight with the enemies** : In Guhasena's records we are told that his strength was manifested by clapping (his) hands on the temples of the rutting elephants of (his) foes, and the heads of (his) enemies were made to bow down by his prowess.57

(4) **Righteous Ruler** : The perfectly righteous rule of the noble king's Ilāditya I reminded his people of the glorious reigns of the ancient kings like Rāma and others,58 and thus confirmed his second title 'Dharmāditya'.

56. Dr. K. J. Virji A.H.S. P. 84 See Appendix No. 14.
57. See Appendix No. 6 A.I.C., Vols. 31, et al.
58. " " No. 8 A.I.C., Vols. 52, et al.
The people felt as if the golden age was revived after a long interval of several centuries.

(5) **Levying light taxes** :- Dharasena IV enhanced the joy of the earth by levying light taxes. The reference to light taxes suggests some reduction in taxation, which is very probable when the kingdom was at the zenith of its glory.

(6) **Feudatories of Samanta Mandala** :- The commands of the Dharasena IV were treated by circle of his feudatories. The allusion to the Samanta Mandala is appropriate in relation to imperial sovereign especially to the paramount sovereign Dharasena IV.

(7) **Donations** :- The main subject of the Maitraka edicts is the donations and the purpose is religious. This type of donation, is known as Dharmadeya or Dharmadaya. It is considered to be meritorious.

The Dharmadaya donations are of two types, viz. Devadeya or donations given to temples and Brahmadeya or donations given to Brahmans. For the sake of

59. H.I.G., No. 70 etc.
60. ibid.
simplicity the Dharmadāya donations can be divided into (i) Donations to the Institutions and (ii) Donations to the individuals.

(i) Donations to the Institutions: The edicts allude to the great donorship of Dronasimha. The edicts mention donations of land to the temples of goddesses at different places. 61 One of the grants of Śilāditya I dated v.s. 290 (i.e. A.C. 609) was made to a temple of Mahādeva. 62 which is a rare instance, looking to the fact that though almost all the kings of the Maitraka line were Paramamahēśvaras, no other grant to a Śaivite institution is known to exist. This may be accounted for by the fact that such grants have been lost in the course of the centuries or, which is more probable, that Saivism being the religion of the rulers, the Śiva temples were state foundations and maintained from the state revenue.

But a Śiva temple referred to in one of the Valabha grants also shows that even private individuals undertook this

61. Dr. H.G. Shastri - op. cit. (Thesis) - P. 87
the building of S'iva temples. It may incidently be observed that one of these copper edicts records a grant made by Silāditya to a sun-temple in the year y.s. 292 (A.C. 611) — a unique instance of a Maitraka ruler's patronage of sun-worship. In y.s. 320 (A.C. 639) Daruvasena II (Silāditya) renewed a grant to the Hindu Temple of a goddess made by his ancestor Mahārāja Dronasiniha, which appears to have become null in the interim. This might either refer to the grant of Dronasiniha, made in the year y.s. 183 (A.C. 502) where, however, the name of the goddess is different or it might refer to some other gift which is not known to us. Kharagraha II was very generous like other Maitraka kings, in making grants, is clear from his edicts which mention him as one who, "imported wealth to the suppliants." He made not only grants but took special care to renew the old grants that had lapsed during the reign of his predecessors.

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63. Banerji, EL, XXI, P. 117 Banerji
64. Dr. K.J. Virji, AS, P. 71-72.
65. " " " " P. 84
Drhuvasena I was, with all, a man of liberal religious outlook. His grant dated य.स. 216°0 (A.C.535) is made for the benefit of a Buddhist Vihāra built by his niece (sister's daughter) Dādu who is called the Paramopāśikā and that य.स. 217 for benefit of another built by one Buddhādāsa. The expenses of providing the Buddhist monks with the necessaries of life, of feeding Buddhist pilgrims who flocked from all parts for worshiping the Buddhist idols, and of repairing the Vihāras, were to be met from the income accruing from these grants. Guhasena made donations to Buddhist monastaries. In addition to the usual purposes of providing for the monks and pilgrims, repairing the monasteries etc; one more purpose is mentioned viz. the purchase of books of 'good religion' i.e. Buddhism for the Vihāras. This proves the existence of a library, at least of Buddhist books. The eighteen Nikāyas or schools of Buddhism, are also mentioned in this plate. Sīlāditya I made grant to a Buddhist Vihāra in Vamsākata, which was built by the king himself. For Drhuvasena II (Balāditya), Hineu Teiaw

66. Bühler, I.A., IV, PP.104-107
67. Bloch, JRAS, 1895, P.379; HIG, I.P.40
68. Dr. K.J. Virji, A.H.S., P.33
69. Bühler cit., VII p.66.
states that, "quite recently he had attached himself sincerely to faith in the three precious ones," viz. the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. His esteem for Buddhism is evident from the grants he made to the Buddhist Vihāras, viz. V.s.320 (A.C.629) part of Dugga Vihāra, Punnabhaṭa at valabha (V.s.319, A.C.638). But this should not be understood to mean that he converted himself to the faith of Buddha; for in all his inscriptions he styles himself paramamahes'vara.71 Like other members of his line Dharasena IV was also distinguished for his charitā; viz., a grant is given to Buddhist Vihāra (i.e. V.s.326 A.C. 645).

(ii) Donations to the Individuals: Dhrusasena I made grants to Brāhmaṇas learned in different Vedas.72 S'ilāditya I's various grants have recorded his liberality towards the Brāhmaṇas.73 Dhrusasena II, Bālāditya made grants to

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70. Beal, Cat. Vol. II. P. 267
71. Dr. K. V. Virji, AH3, PP.71-72
72. " " " P.33
73. " " " PP.57-58
to individual Brahmanas. In years 320 & 321 (A.C. 639) he made over to them some villages in Malwa. With great simplicity of his mind Kharagraha II collected and sanctioned all the Devadeyas (gifts to deities) and Brahmadeyas (gifts to Brahmanas), which were confiscated by the former kings who were greedy for petty desires; his family was glorified with high banners of his stainless (lit. white) dharma, which was raised up and complimented by three worlds delighted with it. He was not content with the great gifts of udrainga and other (rights), which continued incessantly according to deserving, after worshipping the deities, the Brahmanas and the preceptors; he pervaded the entire religion of the quarters with the series of wide renown acquired by it. Quite evidently he bears the second deserving name Dharmaditya according to his worshipping. This shows that like Siladitya I, Kharagraha was also sincere in his contributions to the progress of religion.

74. Dr. K.S. Virji, A.H.S., P. 72
75. Dr. H.G. Shastri - Thesis - P. 151
5. Order of Succession:

Hereditary monarchy was the norm of government in ancient and medieval India. Kautilya expressly states 76 that the practice to make the eldest son the king is honoured except in case of calamity.

The genealogical table also depicts the actual order of succession followed by the Maitraka kings of Valabhi. Paramamāhes'vāra Senāpati Bhaṭārka was the founder of the Maitraka dynasty. A.S. Gadre writes, "Here I would draw attention to the late Dr. Jayaswal's comments wherein Dharasena I is said to be the founder of the Maitraka dynasty of Valabhi. 77 As is well known Bhaṭārka founded the dynasty as evinced from the 'Śrī Bhaṭārkah' engraved on all the seals attached to the Valabhi grants. Besides all the grants unanimously record that the royal dynasty ran in an unbroken line from the illustrious Bhaṭārka, a devout worshipper of Śiva. 78 It seems that Bhaṭārka was employed as the general commanding the Gupta forces in Kāthiāwāḍa.

76. Arthas'āstra, I, 17, 52.
77. An Imperial History of India, Skt. text p. 24.
under Skandagupta. The Maitrakas in their early days called themselves Senapatis and Samantas and used the Gupta era. In the reign of Skandagupta Parṣadatta was the governor of Saurashtra. After Skandagupta's death, the Gupta empire weakened. Bhāṭārka, it seems, not slow in taking advantage of the situation and became practically independent with headquarters at Valabhi, nominally owing allegiances to the Gupta governor at Junagadh.

The latest date of Skandagupta's reign is G.S. 148 (468 A.C.) So Bhāṭārka may have established his dynasty between 470 and 475 A.C., when anarchy prevailed on the death of the Gupta overlord.

Senapati Bhāṭārka had established his kingdom by force with the help of the royally devoted Maula, Bhrtra, Mitra and Srene forces as mentioned in his eulogy given in the copperplates of Dhruvasena I and other successors, Bhāṭārka was succeeded by his eldest son

79. C.II., III. P. 58
81. H.G., Shastri.No.26 (E.1.XI, 113 (Prof. St Know)
Dharasena I, but Dharasena I was succeeded by his younger brother Dronasimha, Dronasimha by his younger brother Dhruvasena I and Dhruvasena I by his younger brother Dharapatta. It seems strange that each of the elder sons by Bhatarka is thus succeeded by his next younger brother in turn. The edicts give no hint for this order of succession. The absence of evidence may give rise to different assumptions. Possibly all the three kings left no male issues behind them and were, therefore, succeeded by their younger brothers. Or the Maitrakas might have got a custom that all the sons of a king could inherit the throne in their successive order. If we have to look for the same types of instance, the genealogy of Kshatrapas is helpful here. It runs in the same way. So the genealogy of the Maitrakas is not the only instance. It may be suggestive that Maitrakas may have followed the Kshatrapas.

The omission of the eulogy of king Dharapatta in a copperplate grant of Guhasena has raised a controversy about the real status of Dharapatta. J.G. Bühler writes, "The most puzzling point in this passage is that Guhasena's..."

82. H.G. Shastrā Gujarātno Prāchīna Itihās (Guj.) P.311
own father, Dharapatta, is not mentioned at all, and that he is placed immediately after his uncle Dhruvasena I. This is so much the more curious as in the grants of Guhasena's son, Dharasena, Dharasena is not only named, but receives the title Maharaja, and is spoken of as if he had really ruled. It is perhaps premature to attempt a solution of this difficulty. But from the analogy of similar cases, e.g., that of the omission of Vallabharaja on some Chaulukya plates, I am inclined to conjecture that Dharapatta reigned for a very short time only, and that the writer for this reason did not think it worth while to insert his name. H.G. Shastri gives the following explanation, "Dronasimha and his younger brother Dhruvasena I called themselves a Paramabhattarakapadanudhyata. After him Dharapatta came on the throne, but upt to now not a single copperplate of his came to light but Guhasena's one copperplate did not give his father's name in the genealogy, yet his successors gave the title 'Maharaja' to Dharapatta. That means, Dharapatta must be a king. Then why in the copperplate of Guhasena his father's name

84. I.A. VII, 66.
85. J.G. Bihler: IA, V, P. 206
was not mentioned? Only one complete set of copperplates and another latter half of the copperplate of Guhasena is available and that latter half of the copperplate starts with the long 'Prasasti' of Guhasena. It is very difficult to decide without the first copperplate. In the first copperplate, genealogy is given from Bhatarka to Dharapatta as it is given in the copperplates of Dharasena I to Dharasena II. From this, it is clear that in the copperplate of Guhasena the name of Dharapatta was not dropped. Then what is the reason to drop the name of Dharapatta in his first copperplate? If the inscription is minutely observed, the prasasti of Dhruvasena I is finished in the eleventh line and twelfth line immediately starts with Tatpadao, so there is no relationship between these two prasastis. If the king Dharapatta's name is not mentioned than between the two lines some sentence like 'tasyanujasya s'riddharapattasya suta' must be necessary. If Guhasena

86. as 'tatpitāmaha - bhrāti - s'ī s'ilīdityasya ......
   āṅgajanmano ...... s'ī-derabhatṣyaāṅgajah ' and
   'tasyāgraṣya .... s'ī-s'ilīdityasya sūnuḥ.'
directly came on the throne after Drhuvasena I, than the phrase like 'tatpitrivyah' must be used to show their relationship but here some necessary words are lacking. It is clear from this that through oversight some portion between these two lines, is completely missed. From the successors copperplates the missing passage seems to commence with 'stasyanuja' and end with 'tastyatwaja'. H.G. Shastri seems to be correct in arriving at the above conclusion, still we have to wait for the more authentic Guhasena's copperplates to come to light.

The assumption that the Maitrakas might have got a custom that all the sons of a king could inherit the throne in their successive order, if they had no male issues, does not apply to the case of Kharagraha I, who succeeded his elder brother Siladitya I. In this case the younger brother definitely got 'a priori' right over the son, as Siladitya I had a son named Derabhatta, who was also qualified to be a king. The edicts of Kharagraha I give the following explanation for him his right of succession.

87. Maitrakakalina Gujaràt (Guj.) Pt.I.P.33 to 35.
88. For he was actually ruling over the vindo territory.
He was parrying on the shoulders, as if he were a most choice bullock, the goddess of sovereignty, which is very covetable indeed, with the only object of fulfilling the commands of his elder brother, who with high regard for him, behaved like the elder brother (i.e. Indra) of Upendra (Vishnu). This clearly means that Sīlāditya I himself selected his younger brother as his successor.

This is corroborated by the evidence that Kharagraha I also officiated as the Dītaka during the lifetime of Sīlāditya I. This evidently implies that the Māitraka kings could select their successors at their own discretion.

In the copperplates of Derabhata and Sīlāditya II, they are described as 'kshitiipati' and 'kshonipati', that means they must be the rulers. They were not the rulers of the Māitraka kingdom but they were the rulers of the place near the Vindhya. In the copperplates they are referred not as the direct descendants of the Māitraka throne but in relationship of the main branch as the predecessor and successor. Through Derabhata the relationship between Sīlāditya I and Dhruvasena III

89. H.I.G., No. 77 etc.
and through S'iladitya II the relationship between Kharagraha II and S'iladitya III is explained. Also the religious sects of these two kings were not mentioned, while it was mentioned in the names of the kings of the main branch. This clarifies the situation that these two kings were not the heirs of the Valabhi throne. 91

"Next Dharasena III was succeeded by his younger brother Dhruvasena II, but in this case the former seems to have left no male issue, as it seems probable when his nephew Dharasena IV turns to a distant line of cousins for selecting his successor. His choice falls upon Dhruvasena III, the grandson of S'iladitya I, who was the elder brother of his grandfather Kharagraha I. Most probably he had no male issue behind him. 92 Curiously,

90. All other kings names (viz. Bhagarika, Dharasena I, and Dharapatta) are in nominative case, while these two kings' names, ablutive case - this suggests that their names are simply given to suggest their relationship with predecessors and successors.

91. Maitrakalini Gujarat (Guj.) Pt.I. PP. 35 -36.

92. In his early edicts he entrusts the office of the Dutaka to the princess Bhupa, while in the later grants Dhruvasena III officiates as the Dutaka. It implies that he had already selected Dhruvasena III as his heir apparent by this time.
however, Dhruvasena III was succeeded by his elder brother Kharagraha II and the latter by his elder brother's son S'ładitya III. This order of succession by elder brothers absolutely corroborates the assumption that the Maitraka kings did not strictly observe the law of primogeniture, but selected their successors at their own discretion from among the nearest members of their family."  

SECTION I (Cont.)

MAITRAKA KINGDOM
(C. 470 A.C. to 788 A.C.)

CHAPTER 3

THE ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION

1. Officers
2. The Amātya
3. Kumārāmātya and Kulaputrāmātya
   (a) Civil Officers
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      (2) The Mahādandanāyaka
      (3) The Mahākārtākritika
      (4) The Mahākshapatalika
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      (6) Balādhikritīta
      (7) Rājasthāniya
      (8) Uparika
      (9) Lekhaka
(10) Māviraṇaṭi
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(12) Kāthebarika
(13) Pratinartaka
(14) Sūpakārapati
SECTION I (Contd.)

CHAPTER 3:

THE ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION

1. Officers:

The copper-edicts supply some data about the Valabhi administration. The king was the sovereign head of the state and executed its functions through several officers. In the administration of the state, the king was assisted by several officers. The edicts refer to the designations of the kings and only those officers who were rightly connected with the
The grant of Dronasimha, which is the earliest known edict of Valabhi, mentions eight officers, viz. the Ayuktaka, the viniyuktaka, the Mahattara, the Drangika, the Dhrupa, the Sthanadhikarakika, the Chatha and the Bhaṭa. To this the edicts of Harvasena I add only one officer, the Dandapasika. The grants of Guhasena mention five more officers, viz. the Choroddharanika, the Anutpadamasamudgrahaika, the S’aujika, the Rajaṭhaniya, and the Kṣumārāmatya. The edicts of Bharaṛena II make an addition of the Pratitaṛaka, the Avalokika, the Daspaṇḍāraṇika, the Bhogādhikaramika, the Vartmaṭāla, the Vishayapati, the Upari, the Hastyāroha, the Aś’varoha, and the Kāthebarika. Besides their royal titles Sāmanta, Mahārāja and Mahārajādhiraṇa, the kings held such official titles as Senāpati or Mahāsena (In the Earthen seal of the king Pushyaṇa; H.I.G. III, No. 257, P.98, vide A. I., Vol. 38, P.145), Mahāpratihāra, Mahācandanaṇayaka and Mahākartaṇaṇikita.

The grants regularly mention the Dātaka, who executed the royal edicts and the officer in charge of writing the edicts in its documental form. The official designations of the Dātakas make reference to the Bhogika, the Rajaṭhānīya, the Pramātra, the Mahāpratihāra and the Mahākaraṇaṇaṇa, while those of the Lakṣaka allude to the Sandhivigrahādhikrita (also styled Sandhivigrāhādhikaranādhikrita or Sandhivigrāhaṇa) , the Divirapaṇi, the Mahāpratihāra, the Balaṇdikrita, the Pratinaṇṭaka and the Kulaputraṇaṇa. In this way the copper-edicts contain references to thirtyseven officers in all.
There must have existed various grades of special officials whose duties can sometimes be made out from their designations. There were gradations among officers, distinguishing one from the other, and there were several types of officials the nature of whose duties is sometimes ambiguous and sometimes clear. It may be noted that the officers might be addressed in some order according to their concern with the edicts of land-gifts and may not be expected to give quite a regular order of their gradation in the administration.

The chief civil officers are mentioned in the order—the Vishayapati, the Rajasthaniya, the Uparikara  

2. The officers immediately concerned with the endowment of land were Ayuktaka and the Viniyuktaka. Next were the Mahattara and Drangika, heads of the village and the town, which were the smallest units of administration. Then there were the Dharmadhikaranika, Sthānadhikaranika, the Dāṇḍapās'ika, the Choroḍharaṇika, the Amuṭpannonasamudgrāhāka, the S'sulkika, the Pratisarasaka, the Avalokika, the Dasāparādhika, the Bhogādhikaranika, the Vartmapāla, the Chāta, the Bhāṭa, the Hastyāroha and the As'vāroha, who all belonged to the Revenue and the police Departments.
and the Kumāramātya. In Harsha's grants the Vishayapati is preceded by the Uparika, the Kumāramātya and the Rajasthaniya respectively, while the Gupta records mention first the Kumāramātya, then the Rajasthaniya and lastly the Uparika. The sequence of the civil officials in relation to the Vishayapati who is mentioned here first, implies that the officers are here enumerated in ascending order of their gradation. Accordingly we may put the Kumāramātya at the head of all officers and then pass to the Uparika and Rajasthaniya, and come down to the Vishayapati.

2. The Aṃṭya:

In the times of Nairakas, the highest officer of the state was the Aṃṭya. The grants neither mention him among the officers addressed, nor refer to him as the Dūtaka. But his office may be inferred from the references to the Kumāramātya and the Kulaputramātya. The reference is ascertained by a passage in the Udayasundarikāthā wherein the author (11th century) traces

3. EL, VII, P.158
4. Fleet, GII, III, P.126
the origin of his lineage to Kalādītya, who was the younger brother of Silādītya (VII) and was appointed in place of Amātya Kanakāyana. When the king realised that Kanakāyana had been a play to the enemy's policy of dissension among his officers, he deliberated for the appointment of a new faithful Amātya. 'Without the Amātya the state is, indeed, like a play without the Sūtradrāra, as the whole mass of its function depends upon the Amātya.' Then he cast a glance at the four Varṇas and made his choice for Kalādītya from Kshatriyas. Thus the Amātya could be appointed by the king from any one of the four Varṇas. The plays of Kalidāsa and Harana also represent the Amātya as the chief Minister of the king.

3. Kumāramātya and Kulaputra-mātya:

Scholars differ in interpreting these two terms.

Kumāramātyas were known as a class of officers who figure very prominently both in seals and inscriptions.

of the Gupta period. The Valabhi edicts of Guhasena, Dharmasena II and Siladitya I seem to put Kumaramatya at the head of all officers.

Scholars give the following interpretations of 'Kumaramatya', viz. (1) a counsellor of the heir apparent prince, (2) princes' minister, (3) 'Literally the term means princes as amātyas....' (4) ...an officer resembling the modern I.C.S. (I.A.S.) officer, who sometimes works in the districts, sometimes in the provincial or central secretariat and sometimes becomes a member of the government itself, and resembling the Amātya of the Maurya and the Satavāhana administration or an Amātya since his youth, i.e. since the times of

6. Dr. R.N. Saletor; Life in Gupta Age, P.236.
7. Prof. R. D. Banerji; The age of Imperial Guptas, P.71.
8. Prof. V. R. R. Dikshitar; The Gupta Policy (1952), P. 152. (The author has not accepted this meaning), vide, General Editor, R.C. Majumdar; The Classical Age, P. 358; 3rd Ed. 1970.
9. Dr. A.S. Altekar & Dr. R.C. Majumdar; The Vakāṭaka Gupta Age, PP. 281 - 282.
It is not always necessary that Kumaramatya belongs to the royal family and this can be definitely proved from the Jain Sutras. Here the word Kumaramachcha (= Sans. Kumaramatya) is used for civil officers. So we get three interpretations: (1) an amatya as a counsellor to the prince, (2) a prince officiating as an amatya, and (3) an amatya since his youth. But the third meaning 'an amatya since his youth' cannot in accepted usage because there are no other official technical titles of the Amatyas showing their age found in any of the inscriptions. The first two interpretations both appear to be probable. In this context the terms should be taken into consideration along with the other two corresponding terms, Rajamatya and Kulaputramatya. The second mode of interpretation would also apply to Kulaputramatya which may accordingly demote a Kulaputra officiating as an Amatya. But it

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11. S'abda aye Artha (Guj.) P. 159 (Vide Prākrit 'Amachā') Sans Amatya, El., VIII, pp. 71, 73; H.D., III, p. 976)
would not apply to Rajamātya, for a king would not officiate as an Āmātya. On the other hand the first mode of interpretation can well be fitting with all the three terms, Rajamātya, Kumāramātya and Kulaputramātya. Accordingly it seems more reasonable to interpret Kumāramātya as a counsellor to the prince.

The Valabhi edicts of Sīlāditya VII uses the term Kulaputramātya in connection with the titles of the edict—writer (= Lekhaka) and the word is translated by B. C. P. "the high born Āmātya," but we have to agree with the view of Dr. H. G. Shastrī. The Kulputramātya was similarly the Advisor to the Kulputra or rather the Kulaputraādhikrita who ranks among the high officials mentioned in the Vākātaka grants.

Thus these three technical official titles, viz. Rajamātya, Kumāramātya and Kulaputramātya should be

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12. Śe matas served as ministers or governors of their overlords but in that context they were not designated as kings.
taken as denoting as the advisor or counsellor to the
king, to the Kumām and Kulaputra respectively.

(a) Civil Officers:

The king in the Maitraka period carried on
the administration of the empire and in this onerous task he was ably assisted by a number of other
officials who constituted the several departments of his
state. According to Kalidāsa and incidently the Čhammak
copper-plates of the Vākataka ruler Pravarsena II as
well, there appears to have been seven specific
departments (or elements in modern terminology) of
administration. These after all, appear to have been
only traditional. In the age of the Maitrakas, however,
from their epigraphic records it may be seen how their

16. Raghu. I, 60, P. 20;
Saptāṅgasaṁu c f. Čhammak plates of Pravarasena II,
Fleet, C, III, PP. 239, 242. (provided that they
commit no treason against the kingdom, consisting of
seven constituent parts; F.N. The Saptāṅga, or
'aggregate of the seven constituent elements (of a
kingdom); consists of the king and his ministers,
alley, territory, fortunes, army and the treasury.)
administration was broadly divided into four main divisions or departments, viz., civil, revenue and police, military and judicial, pertaining to the central, provincial and local spheres of administration.

The honorific title 'maha' (great) was conferred on the heads of the departments as on kings. The Valbhi inscriptions mention two Maitraka kings, viz. Dhruvasena I and Dharasena II endowed with this title, viz. Mahāśamanta, Mahāpratiharā, Mahakārtaktikā, Mahādandakāyaka. The writer (or lekhaka) of the copper-edicts is endowed with the title Mahāpratiharā in the copper-edicts of Śilāditya III and Śilāditya IV, while the Dūtaka is endowed with the title of Mahākshapaṭalika and Mahāpratiharā in the edicts of Śilāditya VI and Śīk Śilāditya VII.

1) The Mahāpratiharā:

The Mahāpratiharā is a technical official title demoting the superior officer of Pratiharas or 'doorkeepers' or literally 'the Great Door-Keeper'.

17. I.E.G., P. 184; H.D., III, P. 996.
may be equated with the chief Kauchuki or chamberlain, whose duties are enumerated in the plays of Kalidasa and Harsha, then it may be inferred that he had to look after the inner apartments of king's women that he had a staff of office and that he had to report to the king the arrival of persons who sought his audience. In the times of Harsha he had to maintain the order of the women's apartments, guard against stumbling at every step by the guidance of a staff, maintain the order of towns within and guard them against steps by the administration of justice.

Mahapratihars who figure in the records of our period, were important officers in the royal court because it is one of the title of the kings, the Dutakas and the writers.

(2) The Mahadandagapana

The Mahadandagapana is one of the designations sometimes included in the panchamahas'abda, viz., in the case of Maitraka Dhruvasena I. He probably performed

21. Saletore, L.G.A., P.267
the combined duties of the Great Judge and General. The officer who held this rank was the superior of the Daŋdanayakas or 'leaders of the forces.' Princep translated Mahādaṇḍanayaka in the present inscription (IA, V, P.46) by 'administrator of punishments (magistrate)' and 'criminal magistrate' and this rendering has sometimes been adopted by other translators. As 'daṅga' means 'fine' and 'rod' (of chastisement) as well as 'army forces', the titles in which it occurs are capable of being explained as either judicial or military. Mahādaṇḍanayaka may mean 'the chief minister' as Manu states 'on the āmatya depends the control (of the government) and discipline (among subjects) depends on control (daṅda)."

(3) The Mahākārtākritika:

The Mahākārtākritika seems to be the great Superintendent, who superintended the Kṛita and the akṛita, i.e. the functions executed and not executed. This is an official designation of uncertain import.

22. I.E.G., P.175
24. H.D., III, PP. 985 - 986
probably a reporter who informed the king about the progress of big undertakings; sometimes explained as 'the royal agent or judge'; one of the designations sometimes included in the Pancha-mahas'abda'c. in the case of Maitraka Dhruvasena I. In all likelihood he was the Chief Secretary to the Government, and therefore the chief executive officer responsible for day-to-day administration in the Province. So he was the head of the Kartākritikas.

(4) The Mahākshapaṭalika :-

The Mahākshapaṭalika was 'the great Akshapaṭalika'. It is a technical official title denoting the superior officer of the Akshapaṭalikas or the 'keepers of records.' It is derived from akshapaṭala, which Monier-Williams gives in his Sanskrit Dictionary as meaning 'a court of law; a depository of legal documents'. He was the superintendent of land records, who kept an accurate record of different fields and their boundaries, must have worked under the supervision of

25. I.E.C., P. 177 (See also E 1, XV, 306)
The Mahākṣapatalika of the last Maitraka king Śilāditya VII was a member of the king's household, officiated as the Dūtaka of the royal edicts, and deputed the Kulaputramātya to prepare the charts of the grant.

(5) **The Mahāsandhivigrāhādhikrita** —

The term Mahāsandhivigrāhādhikrita literally means 'a great officer entrusted with the arrangement of peace and war', is a technical official title denoting an official superior to the sāndhivigrāhikas. On his shoulders fell the responsible duty of continuing an armed context or making terms acceptable to both. Anyway he was not war-minded. His counsel was always salutary and wholesome. Undoubtedly the king benefitted much by his considered advice. The copper-edicts of Śilāditya III mentioned the writer Sūra Skandabhata as the Mahāsandhivigrāhādhikrita and Divirapati. Sometimes styled as Mahāsandhivigrāhādhikarāṇādhikrita.

28. A.S. Altekar; State and Govt. in Ancient India, P.192.
30. Dikshitar; Gupta Polity, P.224.
31. As in Kātachchhuri grants, as in CAIL, IV, No.15.
Plate IX.
(6) **Baladhikrita** :-

This is a technical official title. It means 'the commander of an army'. According to some (cf. Baladh in LP), the Baladhikrita was probably the head of a territorial unit like the present Mamlatdar. But in the copper-edicts of S'ilâditya III and S'ilâditya IV, he was the father of the writer and in the copper edicts of S'ilâditya V, the writer was designated with this title. Therefore, it seems that the Baladhikrita was the administrative head of the military department.

(7) **Rajasthaniya** :-

In the royal edicts of Dharasena I, Rajasthaniya figures as Dutaka. Usually the function of Dutaka was executed by Rajaputa (or Rajaduhitri), Yuvaraja, Samanta, Pratihara, Mahâkshapâtalika, Supakârapati or Rajasthaniya. Rajasthaniya is also

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33. D.C. Sircar : I.E.S., P.44
34. HLG, No.28
mentioned amongst the officers addressed in the edicts of landgrants of Guhasena and Dharasena II. In these Edicts the officers concerned are enumerated as follows:

(1) Ayuktaka - Vinyuktaka - Drāṅgika - Mahattara - Chaṭabhata - Dhruvādhikaraṇika - Dāṇḍabhogika - Choroddharagika - Raḥasthāniya - Kumāramaṭya...

(2) Ayuktaka - Dāṇḍapāsika - Choroddharagika - Anutpaṃnaḍānasamudgrahaka - S'aulkika - Raḥasthāniya - Kumāramaṭya...

(3) From Ayuktaka to Dāṇḍapāsika (as in (2)) - Raḥasthāniya - Kumāramaṭya...

(4) From Ayuktaka to Dāṇḍapāsika (as in (2)) - S'aulkika - Avalokki - Pratisāraka - Choroddharanika - Dāśāparādhiṇa - Raḥasthāniya - Kumāramaṭya...

(5) Ayuktaka - Drāṅgika - Mahattara - Chaṭabhata - Dhruvādhikaraṇika - Dāṇḍapāsika - Bhoğādharmika - S'aulkika - Vartmapāla - Pratisāraka - Raḥasthāniya - Kumāramaṭya...

(7) From Ayuktaka to Dhruvādhikaraṇīka (as in (5))

Vishayapati — Rājasthāniya — Uparika — Kumāramātya  

(8) Ayuktaka & Viniyuktaka — Drūgika — Mahattara

Chāṭabhaṭa — Dhruvādhikaraṇīka — S’aulkika — Choroddharaṇīka—
Dāndapāsika — Kāthebarika — Vishayapati — Rājasthāniya —
Uparika — Kumārāmatya — Hastyaś‘vīroha.  

It follows that though the officers addressed here are especially those concerned with the grants of land, they seemed to have been addressed in an ascending order. It also follows that Rājasthāniya figures between officers like Choroddharaṇīka, S’aulkika, Dāndapāsika, Dāspāparādhika and Vishayapati on the one hand and higher officials like Kumārāmatya and Uparika on the other.

Thus Rājasthāniya appears to be an official higher than Vishayapati and lower than Uparika and Kumārāmatya. 

But it is very difficult to ascertain the exact sphere of his functions. Different views.

35. H.I.G., Nos. 33, 34, 36, 39, 40 to 47.

36. The contention that 'he was low one' cannot be applied here (see H.D., III, P.1002; C.L.II, III, P.157)
have been suggested in this respect. In *Rajatarangini*, this term occurs and M.A. Stein has translated it as 'chief justice'. Yet the officer Alankara who was designated with this title, was also assigned other titles in various places, viz. Bāhyarājasthānādikāra, Vishayādhnikīta, Mantri, Rājagrīhya. From the above references it is uncertain to translate Rājasthānīya as 'chief justice.'

Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji has translated this term as an officer acting for the king, or connected with (other) kings, something like our 'foreign secretary.' D.C. Sircar has rejected the suggestion about 'foreign secretary' and taken the term to mean as an officer indicating a viceroy in some areas and a judge in others, an officer who carried out the object of protecting subjects.

A record of king Vishnuvardhana who ruled Western Malā with the title of rajadhirāja parames'vara

37. VIII, 2618.
38. Rāj. VIII, 2557, 2702, 2737, 2924.
39. I.A.,XII, P.122, No.78.
40. I.E.G., P.273 (See also I A,V,P.207 ; C.II,III,P.157)
41. also see C.II,III, 152 ff; Sele.Ins. 386 -92.
mentions a certain Abhyadatta, who as Rajasthāniya (viceroy) governed the tract bounded by the (Western) Vindhya, the Pāriyātra (Western Vindhya) and the ocean. Abhyadatta was assisted in the administration of his many districts (des'as) by his own ministers (sachivas). It thus appears that like the Guptas provincial governors in North Bengal, the governor of Vishnudvaradana was at liberty to select his own subordinates in charge of districts. 42

The list of officers addressed includes Vishayapati that is the head of Vishaya, but does not include head of Rāśṭra unless he is mentioned as Rājasthāniya. Hence Rājasthāniya can well be taken as viceroy or officer in charge of the Rāśṭra or province.

42. The explanation of Rājasthāniya as viceroy suggested by Bühler (IA,V,207) on the authority of Kshēmendra's Lokapraśa'sa is supported in the present context by the reference to numerous des'as ruled by Abhayadatta through his own 'ministers'. Less probable explanations are 'Foreign Secretary' (Tripathi, Hist. of Kanauj, 138) and 'Political Agent' (Fires, The Maukharis, 170) - The Classical Age, P.355.
As regards foreign secretary he is already represented as Sandhivigrahika or Sandhivigrahādhikṛita. As the head of the Rāṣṭra, Rājasthāniya could officiate as viceroy as well and could also be invested with supreme judicial and protective powers.

(8) Uparika:

This term occurs in the copper-śrāvyas of Dharasena II. He is one of the officers addressed in the landgrants. He comes after Rājasthāniya and before Kumārāmātya. So he appears to be a high officer ranking near Rājasthāniya on the one hand and Kumārāmātya on the other hand.

'Uparika' is still a more perplexing term, the exact significance of which cannot be ascertained. The word literally means, 'one placed at the top' or 'a provincial governor.'

An Uparika was appointed by the emperor or king and the former himself appointed the governor.

43. Fleet, C.II, III, P.50, 1, 27.
of the district. Dr. Fleet took it as a technical official title but could not describe the exact functions of this official.

As appointed out by Dr. Chhabra, Vis'varupa in his commentary on the Yajñavalkya Smṛiti, specifies the qualifications of the Uparika as follows: 'A man who is resolute, sane, energetic, blissful, personable, genius, vigilant, dexterous and capable of administering justice in legal disputes (appointed as) the uparika in order to maintain impartiality and morality.' From this information Dr. Chhabra infers that it is obvious that an Uparika was invested with two-fold authority judicial and administrative. His office, may, therefore correspond to that of a magistrate." But not fully accepting the suggestion of Dr. Chhabra, Dr. R.N. Saletore remarks as follows, "This interpretation may be accepted

45. RL, XV, P. 130; vidh, H.D., III, pp. 919-919.
46. L. 307.; see note 47, ibid.
with some reservations. First it may be seen that the term Uparika obviously originated from the tax Uparika and it is therefore very likely that the Uparika was the official who was held responsible for the recovery and administration of that tax. \(^48\) Dr. R.N. Saletor's interpretation is refuted by Dr. V.R. Dikshitar in the following terms, "...The writer has imagined that there was one official for collecting every tax of the empire. This confusion of combining similarity of names is born of pure imaginations. The fact is that Uparika has nothing to do with Oparikara. \(^49\) His office was mainly interested in protecting Dākshinya Charitra. We are unable to know the exact purport of this term which seems to be a technical one. Charitra, according to Kautilya, is one head of law, which

\(^48\) Life in Gupta Age, P. 260.
\(^49\) Gupta Polity, PP. 157-160 F.N. 59.
\(^50\) Quoted in Ibid : Arth. 'customs, usages' which unlike Dharma, do not have the appearance of having a religious sanction.' 2, 7, 2,
deals with customs and precedents. Even if we take Charitra in this light, the difficulty arises about Dakshinyya which might even relate to sacrificial fees. That this officer might have to do something with sacrifices can be inferred from the terms Dikshita, Grihapati and Guru in the inscriptions."

"Perhaps one of his functions was to preserve the healthy conventions of society, by removing the difficulties which arose then and there. If on the other hand, we may stretch our imagination further, we may treat Charita a document and dakshinyam generally taken to be delicate matters. In that case it would be fitting that Uparika played the role of Dutaka who was closely associated in communicating the wish of the grantor to the local officials, whenever doubts arose in the exact execution of such documents, the Uparika came to the aid of the Dutaka or played the role of Dutaka if we are to be guided by epigraphic testimony."

51. Gupta Polity, PP. 157 - 160
52. Quoted in Ibid: Dr. Ch. Chhabra: ACC. to him the Uparika is made to correspond to a magistrate (D.R. Bhandarkar Comm. Vol. PP. 230 - 233).
There were classes of Uparika. The Gupta copper plate inscriptions throw further light on the status and functions of the Uparikas. From the inscriptions we find Uparika Chiratadatta as the Head of the Pundravardhan bhukti and who was responsible to the Emperor. He had also power to appoint the Vishayapati. Kumārāmatya Vetravaran was appointed to be in charge of Kotivarsha vishaya by Uparika Chiratadatta. In another place the Head of the government of the Bhukti was Uparika Mahārajā Brahmadatta who was responsible to the Emperor. In the same way the governor of the bhukti of Pundravardhana was under Uparika Mahārajā Jayadatta. Again the administration of Kotivarsha vishaya was under one Svayambhudeva, and of Pundravardhana under the Uparika Mahārajā Rājapuradeva Bhūtaraka. These titles at once point out that this Uparika was the son of the emperor himself.

Dikshitar writes, "From the study of these records it transpires that the uparikas who were imperial officials were sometimes appointed at the pleasure of His Majesty as heads of provinces when their services

were absolutely necessary. At least it was so in the case of the province of Pundravardhana under different emperors. These records further show that sometimes feudatories of the empire were drafted to the office of the Uparika and sometimes even the princes, sons of the reigning king were taken to it. The term Maharaja added to the word Uparika evidences the fact that a feudatory was appointed as Uparika first and then the provincial chief. The princes of the blood royal were also appointed to responsible posts that of an uparika and the head of a province. 54

Two seals of the Uparika of Tirabhukti of Tirhut contain the legend Tirabhukti - Uparika - Shikaranasya. 55

54. Gupta Polity, op. cit.

This term was interpreted by T. Block to mean "(The seal of) chief of Uparika of Tirabhukti." This interpretation was modified by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel into the (seal) of the court of (or office of) the Uparika of Tirabhukti (i.e. Tirhut) (Vogel, Antiquities of the Chamba State, P.123). But Block admitted that "Uparika means a class of officials, whose exact functions are not known." (ASIR, 1903-4, P.109). Fleet followed him saying that "exact purpose" of this technical term was unknown. (C.II, III, A.51 n.1.)
The Uparika under review was the executive head of Tijabukti, provinces. The Guanighar grant of Vainyagupta gives two of the titles of Dutaka and one of some interest. These are Panchadhikaranoparika — paryuparika and Purapaloparika. These have been interpreted 'President of the Board of five (district) court judges,' and 'President of the city governors.' Really speaking the context warrants three titles. Panchadhikaranoparika is a separate one and means the uparika who presided over the Panchadhikarana, probably the office dealing with law and constituting five members something like High Court of Justice. The Paryuparika may be the Accountant General or the Uparika in charge of accounts and audit.

The above survey betrays the fact that there was frequent transfer of officers, even of rank. Whenever circumstances demanded their services in a particular locality, the emperor appointed them personally to carry out the administrative duties. This need not be taken that the uparikas were only provincial officials. On the other hand, they were imperial officials who were drafted

to the responsible post of provincial officers sometimes or other. In later times we hear of Brihad-ajarika translated as Privy Councillor, and Dandoparika (Prefect of police).

Dr. Saleto suggest, "...That he must have been a high official can be seen from the fact that he has been mentioned next only to the emperor and like many of the high Gupta officials must have been entrusted with other responsible duties like those of the Purapāla, the Brihad-ajarika and Dandoparika. His high status is further established by the fact that he is styled in many inscriptions as a Maharāja and Mahāsāmanta." 59

The uparika had each his separate adhikarana.

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59. Life in Gupta Age, PP. 260 - 261.
60. Cf. Monier - Williams, Dictionary P.20. He says that Adhikarana means an act of placing at the head of an extraordinary government, supremacy, magistrate, court of justice etc—see also I, VIII, P.46, No. 7.
From one of the Faridpur copper-plates of Gopachandra dated A.D. 856 A.C. it can be seen that the heads of the district were sometimes called Amâtya-uparikas or vice-versa, that they were entrusted with the regulation of trade, that they were evidently appointed by the king, that they were to be apprised along with the representative of the merchantile and the Kayastha classes when any one applied for a plot of land. 61

The emperor was of course at the head of the administration and immediately below him was the governor of the province who was usually the Uparika. The official responsible to this Uparika was the Vishayapati, who, as his designation suggests, was in charge of the vishaya, and may be compared to the present day District collector. 62

In the copper plate edicts of Maitreka Dharasena II, uparika is mentioned in the list of officers. He is not found to be working as a Dutaka in any one of the Maitreka inscriptions. He appears to be an official higher than Rajasthaniya and lower than

61. Life in Gupta Age, P. 269
62. Ibid, P. 292
Kumāramatya. If Rajasthāniya can be taken as viceroy and Kumāramatya as a counsellor to the prince, then uparika can be taken as an imperial official who was appointed above the civil officers like Rajasthāniya and Vishayapati and was invested with high administrative, fiscal and judicial powers as required by circumstances.

(9) Lekhaka:

At the end of the copper edicts of the Maitrakas the name and designations of the person who composed the documents are specified.

The composition of the documents was entrusted mostly to the sandhivigrahādhikrita, sometimes to be occasionally Baladhikrita and accordingly to the Mahāpratihāra. This officer is sometimes also designated as Divirapati, that is, the head of Dīrāras. Here the word ' Lekhaka ', generally used in the sense of Lipikara (scribe) is not used, but the duty of composing the documents is introduced by the word ' Likhita '. In view of the high administrative designations of the person, it is obvious that this word denotes the act of composing rather than copying the documents. In this context the designation Divirapati seems to be very significant.
The official may himself composed the eulogistic passages pertaining to kings, while he may get the other usual technical items in the documents prepared by the divitas under him.

(10) Divirapati :—

This term occurs in the Maitraka copper-plate inscriptions of S’ilāditya I to S’ilāditya IV. In all these landgrants, however, the divirapati is used as a title, especially for the officers who draw up the S’asanas. In these inscriptions, the titles Balādhirīta, Sandhivigrāhādhrīta, Mahāpratihāra, Sāmanta and Divirapati are used side by side and sometimes the title Divirapati is used without any other title. Sometimes the post of Divirapati is hereditary. This shows that the word denoted the holder of some office.

According to G. Bühler, Divira or divēra is the Persian debir, 'writer'. Dr. Raj Bali Pandey has tried to find out the origin of 'divira' from the Indian Palaeography, P.101.
Ancient Indian Sources. 64 But as Dr. D.C. Sircar writes, "The Persian word dabir, 'writer', is found in Indian epigraph as dibira or divira." 65 'Divirapati' or 'divirapati' means the head of diviras. This term is domesticated only in Western India, and therefore, at this stage, we can only surmise that the term 'divir' may be originated from some Indo-Iranian language group. From the high official designations of the person, i.e. Mahapratihara, Sandhivigrahādikīrta, Samanta, Balādikīrta, it seems to be the composer of the edicts other than the scribe who copied it on the plates of copper.

(11) Dūtaka :–

According to Fleet, the term is the technical title of an officer employed in connection with formal grants. 66 In the copper-edicts of the Maitraka kings, the term is most commonly used in connection with copper-plate inscriptions. The royal order regarding the grant

64. Ibid, PP. 89 - 90.
66. C 11,III, P.100, No. 3; l A.VIII, P. 79.
of a village or land was not always directly issued by the king to the composer of the document, but was after conveyed to him through an intermediary who was generally a high officer (i.e. Pratihāra or Pratihāra, Mahāpratihāra, Rājasthānīya, Supakārapati, Pramāṭrī, Akṣashapāṭalika, Sāmanta, sometimes prince (i.e. Rāja-pūta, Rājaduhitī, or Yuvrāja) and sometimes son of the high officer in the Maitraka grants). He is called Dutaka (literally 'the messenger') 67. The word Dutaka is generally translated by the word 'executor' (of a grant), 68 though it is believed that the dignitary in question merely carried the king's order relating to the grant to the official by whom the charter was later drawn up and delivered to the donee. From the records it is clear that the Dutaka's office was to carry, not the actual charter itself, for delivery hands into the hands of the grantees, but the king's sanction and order to royal officials; whose duty it then was to have the charter drawn up and delivered. 67. D.C. Sircar, Indian Epigraphy, P.143. 68. See e.g. SII, I, P.23, n.1; Vid., 32, 343, n.1.
When the order emanated directly from the king, the fact is indicated in passages like 'Sva-mukha-ajña', 'the order (is) from the (donor's). own mouth' etc. And, in accordance with this, there is no mention of any Dūtaka.

(12) *Kāthebarika* :

This term is mentioned in one of the grants of Uparasena II, and it is mentioned among the officials addressed by the king in the preamble to the grant. According to Dr. H.G. Shastrī, "The term is inexplicable and so his duties cannot be made out." Presumably he may correspond to Karabhāri (manager).

(13) *Pratinartaka* :

The copper-plate inscription of Śilāditya VII, the term 'pratinartaka' is used with other official titles of the writer. He is described as 'tanniyukta -

69. Thesis: P. 235
According to Fleet, Salletore, Kane, D.C. Sircar and H.G. Shastri the term is used probably in the sense of 'a herald' and this term may correspond with the word 'Vaitālika' of Kālidāsa's time, whose duty was to look for the daily programme of the king.

(14) **Supakārapati**:

In one of the copper plates of Dhruvasena I, the designation of the Dūtaka is Supakārapati. P.V. Kane and D.C. Sircar interpret the term as the chief cook or the superintendent of the royal kitchen and H.G. Shastri considers that his post is important for the safety of the king.

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71. HIG, No. 96; C.II, III, 171-173
72. C.II, III, P.190
73. Life in Gupta Age, PP. 253, 254 f.
74. H.D., III, P. 991
75. I.E.G., P.260
76. Thesis, PP.234-35
77. HIG, No.29
78. H.D., III, P.1007
79. I.E.G., P.328
80. Maitraka - Kalīna Gujarātā (Guj.), P. 515.
SECTION I (Contd.)

CHAPTER 4

THE ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION (Contd.)

(b) Officers of the Department of Revenue:

(1) Ayuktaka
(2) Viniyuktaka
(3) Dhruvādhikārapīka or Dhruvasthānādhikārapīka
(4) Anmutpānndhānasamudgṛāhaka
(5) Saulkika
(6) Bhogādhikārapīka or Bhogādharaṇī

(c) Officers of the Department of Police:

(1) Dandapāśika or Dandapāśika or Dandabhogīka
(2) Chauroddharaṇīka or Choruddharaṇīka
(3) Dasāparādhika
(4) Vartmapāla
(5) Pratisāraka
(6) Avalokīka

(d) Officers of the Department of Justice:

(1) Pramāṭri
(2) Mahādāndanāyaka
(3) Mahākshapatalika
(4) Dandapāś'ika
(5) Daskparādhika

(e) **Officers of the Military Department** :-

(1) Chāta and Bhaṭa
(2) Hastyāroha & As'vāroha

(f) **Territorial Officers** :-

(1) Mahattara
(2) Drāṅgika
(3) Sthanādihikararika
(4) Vishayapati
(5) Rashtra pati
Section I (Conti.)

Chapter 4

(b) Officers of the Department of Revenue:

1. Ayuktaka
2. Viniyuktaka
3. Dhruvāḍnikaraṇika or Dhruvasthāṇāḍhikaraṇika
4. Anmutpannaśānasamudgrāhaka
5. S'aulkika
6. Bhogāḍnikaraṇika or Bhogāḍhārṇika
Section I (Contd.)

Chapter 4

(b) Officers of the Department of Revenue:

(1) Ayuktaka:

In some of the Maitraka copperplate edicts, the Ayuktaka and Viniyuktaka are invariably addressed first and, therefore, appear to be most concerned with the endowment of land.

The term Ayukta goes back to Pāpiṇī who alludes to ayukta. The Kāśika explains it as Vyāprita, "engaged". This may indicate that the term meant an officer who was engaged for a particular work. If the Yukta of the Arthasāstra be taken to be identical with ayukta of Pāpiṇī, it would seem that Ayuktas were officers entrusted with the running of different state departments.

The word Ayutta qualified by grameyika, in a South

1. Astādhyāyī, II, 3-40 quoted by Dr. D. N. Sha in RSMG.T. (P. 179)
2. El, XV, P. 140. n-1, do do do in R.S.P.M.G.T. (R179)
Indian Inscription, means that the āyukta was generally a village officer. In the two Gupta records we get some idea of the functions of the āyukta. In one of the records, we learn that on behalf of the person, willing to purchase state land for religious purpose, the āyukta of the vishaya placed the details of the case in the adhistanadhikarana. This shows that the applicant for a plot of the state land approached the āyukta, who was perhaps informed of all the details of the area required. Thus this officer placed the whole case before the city-council, which considered it and came to a decision. Moreover, in another record, the particular plot of land, that is sought to be granted in the inscription is described as situated in the vishaya and the āyukta is mentioned in the beginning of the record. This may imply that he was the most

3. Lader's List no. 1327 quoted by Dr. D. N. Jha in R.S.P.M.G.T. (P. 179)
4. E.R., XVII, no. 23, 1,11,1,7. do — do — do
5. E.R., ibid. no. 23, 1,7. do — do — do
concerned officer of this vishaya in the matter of land transactions. From these two records it appears that āyuktaka was an officer connected with the land administration. Nothing more is known from inscriptions about the duties and functions of an āyuktaka. But from a passage of the Kāmasūtra, which mentions āyuktaka together with grāmadhipati, it can be inferred that the former lifted upon a share of the agricultural produce of village people, probably sending the major portions thus realised to the king. 7

Āyuktaka was probably an officer in charge of the treasury and account departments and in charge of smaller division than vishaya. 8

6. V.5.5. — Dr. D.N. Jha : R.S.P.M.G.T. P. 179.

7. Sharma, op. cit. P. 211. do do do do

(2) **Viniyuktaka** :—

In several Maitraka records the Ayuktaka is followed by the Viniyuktaka. D.C. Sircar therefore suggests that the latter was probably a subordinate officer under the Ayuktaka.

(3) **Dhruvādhikaraṇīka or Dhruvasthānādhikaraṇīka** :

This officer, however, is mentioned only in some of the charters of the Maitrakas.

The expression dhruvādhikaraṇīka has been explained by Fleet as 'one who has superintendence of the Dhruvas.' The word Dhruva means 'fixed', 'firm', 'certain', etc., and therefore, in the context of the land grants with fiscal immunities, it may be taken to denote the basic land tax, consisting of the king's fixed share of the grain. The association of Dhruva with taxation supported by Buhler, who pointed out long ago that the term was applied in Kathiawad and Kutch to denote persons who superintended the collection of land revenue from the farmers on behalf of the king.

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11. IA, V, P. 205, c.f. Sankalia: The Archaeology of Gujarat. P. 200., n. 5 and also Bel, II. P. 40 N. n. 0. idem.

The surname Dhruva or Dhum is still current in some families in Gujarat. It probably owes its origin to this administrative office.
Some Maitraka inscriptions have in place of dhruvādhikaranika the expressions dhruvasthānadḥikaranika or dhruvasthānadḥikaranika, the import of which, according to Buhler, is different from that of the first mentioned term. In his opinion the term dhruvasthānadḥikaranika consists of two distinct titles, sthānadḥikaranika of the compound corresponding to the thanādars of the present day, who in Kathiawad and Rajasthāna combined police and magisterial functions till recently.

Dr. H.G. Shastri writes, "..... the sthānadḥikaranika was the officer in charge of the Sthāna, which resembles the Sthalī and is represented by the modern term 'thānā'.

Dr. D.C. Sircar considers dhruvādhikaranika and dhruva-sthānadḥikaranika as one and the same. According to P.V. Kane dhruvādhikaranika was the collector of the royal share of grain, which V.V.R. Dikshitar considers him to the superintendent of the collection of the royal share of the produce in grain but was under the District

12. R.S.P.C.T. F.174
15. Indian Epigraphy p.361.
Magistrate, D.C. Sircar has considered Shaśthādikrita and Dhruvadhikaranika or Dhruvasthāndikaranika practically the same and he further suggests that the designation shows that the king's share was one sixth of the produce at least originally. The term implies a technical official title. The officer was the head of the department of Dhruva or fixed tax which is to be collected from the farmers and his duties were to superintend the collection of land revenue.

(4) Annutpamādānasamudgrahaka

In one of the copper edicts of Guhasena, this word occurs. According to U.N. Ghoshal, the term means, 'one who is charged with the forcible collection of the unrealised so called voluntary gifts of the subjects.' He was the revenue officer who collected

17. Indian Epigraphy, P. 364
18. HIG, I.P. 60 (No.36); IA, V, P.207
the arrears, or unpaid taxes. The existence of this office evidently points to a regular administrative organisation for collection of the tax in question and it is clear that the officer was a revenue officer.

(5) S'aulkika -

Several Maitreka copperplate edicts refer to S'aulkika as one of the officers who are informed of land grants. The term is obviously from S'ulka which was an item of commercial tax, i.e. tolls or customs. Fleet, therefore, rightly points out that S'aulkika was a superintendent of tolls or customs. P.V. Kane, D.C. Sircar, V.V.R. Dikshit and others have accepted the interpretation of Fleet.

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See also, H.G. Shastri, Thesis, P.236; Dr.D.N. Jha, Revenue System In Post Mauryan and Gupta Times, P.76; Dr. R.N. Saletore, Life in Gupta Age, P.258; H.D. Sankalia, Archaeology of Gujarat, P. 200, F.N.(ii) U.N. Ghoshal, Hindu Administrative System, P.245.
(6) Bhogadhikaranika or Bhogaddharanika:

Bhogadhikaranika or Bhogaddharanika seems to be a wrong variant for Bhogadhikaranika. Bhogika figures as the designation of a Dītaka in Druvasena I's copperplate edict dated y.s. 216. The former is evidently a revenue officer in charge of collecting the 'Bhoga', which was a source of revenue like the 'bhaga'. According to Dr. H.D. Sankalia 'bhoga' was an administrative unit and the officer in charge of this unit probably called Bhogika. D.C. Sircar also is of the opinion that Bhoga was a territorial unit which was generally a subdivision of a district. In the Vaidrak copper edicts we come across 'Bhukti' as the territorial unit and so we can surmise that 'Bhogika' or 'Bhogadhikaranika' was the head of the 'Bhukti'.

27. Indian Epigraphical Glossary. B.P. 54
28. ClII, III, P.112 F.N. Fleet considered 'Bhoga' and 'Bhukta' probably of much the same purpose.
in this connection rightly remarks, "There is no source to ascertain whether the 'Bhogadhipika' was the same as the 'Bhogika', who was the officer in charge of the 'Bhoga', (a sub-division of the vishaya). Probably both officers were combined in one and the same officer and the 'Bhoga' presumably represented a revenue unit for collecting the 'Bhoga'."

Section I : Chapter 4 (Contd.)

(c) Officers of the Department of Police :-

1. Dandapasika or Dandapasiika or Dandabhogika
2. Chauroddharanika or Choroddharanika
3. Dasaparadhnika
4. Vartmapala
5. Pratisaraka
6. Avalokika
(c) **Officers of the Department of Police** :

1. **Dandapas'ika or Dandapas'ika or Dandabhogika** :

In several Maitraka land records we come across Dandapas'ika, Dandapas'ika and Dandabhogika. According to D.C. Sircar Dandabhogika, Dandapas'ika and Dandapas'ika are one and the same. Dandapas'ika literally means 'holding of the fetters or noose of punishment' and is used both of the head police officer and of the hangman or executioner. According to P.V. Kane, Dandapas'ika or Dandapas'ika was an officer in charge of punishment i.e. criminal justice. So it seems that Dandapas'ika was police officer in charge of punishment and was probably invested with judicial powers also and that is of the criminal justice and he

30. Indian Epigraphical Glossary : PP. 80, 81
Hangman may also represent the Chief Hangman or Executioner, as implied by the literal sense of the designation.

(2) Chaurodhdharapika or Choroddharapika:

Several Maitraka land records refer these terms in these two variant forms. Literally it means 'one who is entrusted with the extermination of thieves.' It is evidently the technical title of a certain class of officers. This term is translated by R.D. Banerji as 'with the right of extirpation of rubbers.' With this may be connected the explanation of Vogel who takes it to mean 'the special privilege

34. Fleet, C.II, III, P. 218. F.N.


of persecution of thieves * conferred upon the
grandee, corresponding to the infangthe of old
English law. This interpretation, which is not
supported by any independent evidence, must be rejected.

So the Choroodharamka or Chaurooddharamika was the
police officer responsible for the extermination of
thieves. The thieves were caught either by the system
of setting a thief for another or by the system of
tracking their course by the foot prints left by them.

(3) Das' aparadhika :

The word Das' aparadhika occurs in the Maitraka
copperplate edict of Dharasena II. Das' aparadhika
probably means an officer or a judge or a police
magistrate dealing with the ten offences and fine
persons found responsible for them. The ten offences are

   Thesis : P. 236.
39. H.I.G., I. (No. 40) P. 72; (ADORI IV, P. 38)
   P.V. Kane : H.D. PP. 264 - 265
40. D.C. Sircar : I.E.G. PP. 133 - 134
42. D.C. Sircar : Indian Epigraphy PP. 133 - 134
probably the ten sins, enumerated in three classes —
(1) three of the body, viz. Adattopadāna, anihita —
himsa and para-dāropāseṇa (2) four of the speech, viz. pārashya, anīta, pais'unya and asambaddha — prañapa, and (3) three of the mind, viz. paradravya — abhidhyāma , anānisha — chintana and vitatha — abhinivesa The aparādhas, according to Narada are: disobedience of the king's order, murder of a woman, confusion of varnas, adultery, theft, pregnancy from not the husband abuse and defamation, obscenity, assault (danda-pārāshya), abortion.

(4) Vartmapāla:

The term Vartmapāla only occurs in the grant of Dharasena II. Vartman means a way or a road.

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43. Fleet. C.III. III. PP. 189 -190, F.N. 4
45. HIG., I. (No. 43) P. 87.
46. Apt's Sanskrit - English Dictionary
It seems that the Vartmapāla might have been a military officer in charge of guarding roads.

(5) Pratisāraka:

The word occurs in the Vālabhī grant of Dharasena II. This word is explained as an officer who collects tax and allows carts to go out of the gate or a strip of low ground. The other meaning of the word is that the Pratisāraka was probably the chief night-guard or watch-man of fields and villages. But in light of L.P. the term must better be taken as denoting a tax collecting officer watching over octroi or tolls.

48. H.G., I. (B Nos. 40 - Pratisāraka, No. 43 -Pratisāraka)
(6) **Avalokika**

The word used in the grant of Dharaena II, is Avalokki who seems to be the spy, whose duty was to keep a constant watch on the movements of the culprits.  

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51. H.I.G. No. 40  
52. Dr. H.G. Shastri; Thesis, P.236.
(d) Officers of the Department of Justice:

(1) Pramatri
(2) Mahadandanayaka
(3) Mahakshapatika
(4) Danapasiika
(5) Dasaparadhika
(d) Officers of the Department of Justice:

(1) Pramātri:

In the grants of Dēṣṭhī III and Kharagraha II the Dūtaka was Pramātri S'rī Nāga or S'rī Nā. From this he obviously seems to be an official of high responsibility. The etymological meaning of this designation points to a person who must have been either a judge or an assessor of revenue. Pramātri means "having a right notion, competent to judge or ascertain; an authority, proof; demonstrating, civil judge." In the Mārñj Valabhi grants he is also entrusted with the responsible office of the Dūtaka. All this suggests the Pramātri to be sometimes a high official of justice. According to some he may have

53. HIG., I, P.199 (No,74); HIG., I, P.209 (No. 76)
54. R.N. Saletore : Life In Gupta Age PP. 267 - 268
55. Apt's Sanskrit - English Dictionary P. 1102 (Ref. EL, XVII, 321)
also been the superintendent of the measurement of the royal share of grains.  

Mahādandanaṇayaka, Mahākṣapatalika, Dandapās'īka and Daśāparādhika were also invested with judicial powers.
In the Maitraka period, the military organization of the state was well developed. In its civil aspects the department was supervised by the Mahābalāṇḍnikrita, while in its military aspects the army was commanded by the Senāpati or the Mahādanda-nāyaka.

The army traditionally consisted of four limbs, viz. Ratha, Gaja, Asiva and Padati but this time Ratha limb was no longer in work, while some new limbs like naval force had come into existence.

The divisions and subdivisions of military troops were known under different terms in the Ancient period, but we come across no references to them in the available sources of this period.

But from the administrative and political point of view the army was generally divided into several types: Maula, Dhrīta, Mitra & etc.

Nearly in all the records of the Maitraka kings, in the Prasasti of king Bhaṭārka, it is specifically mentioned that the Senāpati Bhaṭārka has established the Maitraka Dynasty with the help of the four kinds of troops, viz. Maula, Bṛīta, Mitra s'rerī. Kautilya mentions six kinds of troops, viz. Maula, Bṛīta, s'rerī, Mitra, śmitra and āṭavi. Maula is derived from mūla, the kingdom or the capital, of which the troops are natives. The word, however, conveys the sense of hereditary troops loyal to dynasty from generation to generation, whereas in bṛīta (bale) the soldiers are recruited individually or mercenaries, the s'rerī (bala) means the soldiers supplied by different groups and guild organizations in the state.

60. R.P. Kangle: The Kautilīya Arthasāstra; 9.2.1.
and Mitra (bala) means the contingents supplied by the ally. The maritime activities of the Maitraka kingdom show that it must have had a navy and also a nāvadhyaśaka in charge of it.

Among the various officers of the Military Department the high officers like the Señapati or Mahādandanāyaka, the Mahābalādhikṛita or Balādhikṛita and the Sandhīvigrāhika are already referred to.

The other officers of the department are as follows:

(1) Chāta and Bhaṭa

These are technical terms of constant occurrence in the Maitraka records among the officers concerned with the gifts of land. In the records, the

64. V.R.R. Dikshitar : Ibid.
65. See Ch. 1. (a) Bāhrora above
66. See Ch. 3(a) Civil Officers above
67. See Ch. 3(a) Ibid (b) above
68. See Ch. 3(a) Ibid (6) above
69. See Ch. 3(a) Ibid (5) above
Chaṭa and Bhata are always associated with each other. In the grants of the contemporary kingdoms of South Gujarat, these officers are specifically forbidden to intervene in the grantee's land (a - Chaṭa - bhata prāvesa). The Valabhi grants give an instruction to all the king's officers in general.

P.V. Kane discussing these two terms gives the following information, Yājñavalkya states that it is the duty of the king to protect people from the harassment caused by Chaṭas, robbers and Kāyasthas and the Mitakshara explains 'Chaṭas' as persons who deprive people of their wealth after producing false confidence in them. Three quarters of the same verse occur in the Pañchaśānta. Aparārka quotes Brihaspati that 'dangers common to all are those arising from Chaṭas and thieves.' Prof. Pathak while editing the Adbhone plates of S'ankaragana dated in

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70. I, 336 quoted in P.V. Kane : History of Dharmas'āstra III, PP. 792 - 793.

71. I, Verse 343, P. 72, quoted in P.V. Kane : Ibid.
Kalachuri samvat 347 quotes words of Śaṅkara-chārya (788 A.C. – 820 A.C.), (tārākika cāṭadhāta – rājapraves-s'yami) in his Bhāṣya of Brihadd Upanishada and Anandagiri's explanation thereon, viz. cāṭatas are those that transgress to rules of conduct for decent people and bhaṭatas are servants telling falsehood.

In the grants of the contemporary kingdoms of South Gujarat, the cāṭatas and bhaṭatas are mentioned separately (a cāṭa bhaṭa praves'yā) and are not included in the lists of officers addressed.

It seems probable that the cāṭa-bhaṭa forbidden to enter the land given in grant were the rogues and robbers or thieves as mentioned in the ancient literature, while cāṭatas and bhaṭatas included addressed among the officers by the royal donor as in Maitraka grants were the regular and irregular soldiers or policemen.

72. EI, IX, P.296, quoted in P.V. Kane : Ibid.
74. See HLG, Lekh Nos. 109, 110, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 118, 121, 122, 123 etc.
But this ambiguity of the terms would create confusion. It may therefore be suggested that the chaṭās and bhāṭās were originally rogues and cheats, many of them may have got themselves recruited into the army and officiated as regular and irregular soldiers. Nevertheless they remained wont to harass people of and on, and hence the king forbade them specially to enter the land given in grant, though they were employed in the army.

The Maitraka grants in a general way forbid all officers to interfere in the land given grant. It implies that all officers had to be forbidden in general and that in some kingdoms the Chaṭās and Bhāṭās were especially forbidden in particular.

(2) Hastyāroha & As'vāroha:

In the copper-edicts of Dharasena II the words Hastyāroha and As'vāroha occur. Hastyāroha means an elephant rider and As'vāroha means a horseman, evidently a military soldier. These are evidently soldiers of the elephants corps and cavalry respectively. But the army of the Maitraka kings seems to consist of the infantry, the elephant corps (hasti) and the cavalry (as'va).

75. H.I.G., I, Nos. 45, 47.
Section I : Chapter 4 (Conti.)

Territorial Officers:

(1) Mahattara
(2) Drāṅgika
(3) Śthānādhikaraṇika
(4) Vishayapati
(5) Rāṣṭrāpati
(f) Territorial Officers :—

(l) Mahattara :—

The Maitraka grants frequently mention Mahattara in the list of persons who are informed of land bestowed on the donors. It appears that mahattaras were associated with land transactions. Mahattara is the comparative formation of mahat, 'great,' and according to Monier-Williams the word means "the head or the oldest man in a village." The smallest units of administration were the grama (village) and the dranga (town). The Mahattara means the 'elder,' the seniormost man in the village and was probably superior to the Headman called Gramika, Gramaṇi, Gramakūṭa or Gramapati. The Mahattara is mentioned along with the Gramakūṭa in the Rashtrakuta grants and with Gramapati in the Saindhava grant of Jaika, where both terms are used to suggest

76. C.II, III, P.169.
different posts. The Mahattara may be the permanent de facto leader of the village. According to Stein, the term means a chamberlain, a village headman or head of a family or community and a member of the village council. 79

D.N. Jha writes, "It is strange that Mahattaras are nowhere mentioned in the law books of post-Maurya and Gupta times. Although they allow considerable authority to the senior inhabitants of a locality in deciding disputes, they do not use the word mahattara. In the law books senior man of the place are conceded the right of deciding cases arising out of land disputes, presumably because they know well the boundaries, titles etc. of land of their area. The mention of mahattara in the landgrants also may be due to the same reason. Therefore, it is quite likely that the expression signified what the law-books mention as senior of aged persons (Vridgas) of the locality." 80

Thus the term is generally taken by modern scholars as denoting the senior most man or head of the village, whereas the analogy of the Dharmasāstra

79. Pājaratarāgini, VII, 659

80. D.N. Jha: Revenue System In Post-Mauryan And Gupta times. PP. 178 - 179.
leads us to interpret the term as denoting the seniors or elders of a village. The first meaning refers to a single head or senior most person which the latter refers to several senior persons of the village. The comparative form degree in the *Mahattara* favours the latter interpretation. These elders probably administered jointly or by rotation. Their posts were hereditary. The members of *Mahattaras* were called *Mahattara*.\(^{81}\)

(2) *Drangika*:

In the list of officers addressed by the Maitraka kings in the copper-edicts of land grants, the word *drangika* occurs. It is already noted that the smallest units of administration were the *grama* (village) and the *dranga* (town). Bühler proposed to render *dranga* by 'township' and 'drangika' by 'head of a town'; and Monier-Williams in his Sanskrit Dictionary gives *dranga* as meaning 'a town, a city'. So *Drangika* apparently was an officer in charge of a town.\(^{82}\) P.V. Kane writes,

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"(Drangika was an) officer in charge of a city station or watch tower for collecting custom duties. 'Drangga' means either a 'town' or 'a watch station'. A.S. Altekar writes, "Department of commerce also required a large number of superintendents. In the first place markets themselves were in charge of government officers, called panyādhyakshas in the Arthasāstras, haṭṭapatis in Bengal and drāngikas in Kathiawar. It was their duty to put the government products in the market under favourable condition, to organise the import of goods required in the locality and to supervise their sales at reasonable rates and to export merchandise when this could be done at a profit. Rates were also controlled by them and cornering of articles was prevented." He is considered to be an octroi officer. It seems that drāngika was the head of the town in certain contexts and octroi officer in some other contexts.

83. E.I., XX, No. 810 of sake 1509 quoted in Hist. of Dharm.III. P.988.
84. Rājat.VIII, 2010 quoted in Ibid.
86. A.S.Altekar : State & Govt. In Ancient India P.195
The separate mention of the term S'aulkika favours the meaning of the head of a town in the context of the Maitraka records.

(3) **Sthanadhikaranika**

In some of the copper edicts of Dhruvasena II, we came across the word sthanadhikaranika. According to Manu among the subjects which a king daily should consider with his ministers was sthana, a word which according to some of his commentators meant the army, the treasury, the town and the kingdom. In the times of Maitrakas, it may represent a territorial unit resembling the sthali and is represented by the modern term 'sthala'. Therefore the sthanadhikaranika was the officer in charge of the sthāna or the outpost.

(4) **Vishayapati**

In the copperplate edicts of Dharasena II,
vishayapati occurs in the list of officers addressed by the king. Vishayapati is a technical official title meaning the head of the village or in charge of the village. In a grant of the Maitraka Pharasena II, the Vishayapati is placed immediately after dhruvādhi-karanika and before the rājasthānīya. According to D.N. Jha, "We have seen that the dhruvādhi-karanika was connected with revenue administration of villages, and hence he could not have enjoyed a higher administrative status than the vishayapati. Thus it is not possible to ascertain the administrative rank to which the vishayapati in Central or Western India belonged."
He may be either appointed by the Uparika or sometimes directly appointed by the emperor himself.

From the Gupta records we get some glimpses of his administrative functions. The vishayapati carried the administration of a vishaya in consultation with a board of advisers, consisting of the chief banker, the chief trader, the chief artisan and the chief Kayastha (writer). It is evident that the administrative board of the vishaya consisted of persons who mostly represented the merchantile and industrial class. The functions of these representatives could not have been anything more than advisory. Vishayapati was assisted by officers called Akshapatalikas. It seems that the office of the vishayapati was well organised and used to keep careful records and files of land transactions.

95. Majumdar and Altekar: op.cit; PP. 284 - 285.
The Valabhi records do not mention the Rashtrapati. The Saindhavas, who ruled in the same province of Saurashtra mention them among their officers. It appears that like Rashtrakuta kings the Maitrakas might have appointed to Rashtrapati for administration of the Rashtra. Rashtra seems to have been the largest unit of administration in their extensive kingdom. Thus the provincial and local Administration had a regular series of gradual officers from the Rashtrapati to the Mahattara.

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SECTION I (CONTD.)

CHAPTER 5

UNITS OF ADMINISTRATION

1. Rashtra
2. Bhukti
3. Vishaya
4. Patra
5. Anara - Khara
6. Pathaka
7. Bhumī
8. Sthali
9. Petha
10. Dranga : Nagara, Pura, Purī, Pattana
11. Grama : Gramaka, padra, padraka, pali, pallika
The Maitraka kingdom was very extensive, consisting of thousands of villages and towns, which formed the smallest units of administration.

Hence the kingdom was divided and subdivided into several administrative units.

(1) Rashtra

The Maitraka grants contain no direct reference to Rashtra as an administrative division. However, the probable existence of Rashtra among the administrative divisions of the Maitraka kingdom may be inferred from the oft occurring word 'Sa Surashtra', wherein its status as an administrative division is not specified, but

1. H.G. Shastri: Thesis: p. 205 notes, "... The grants nos. 53, 61 and 62 locate the Hastamapra Aharapî in Surashtra, while the grant No. 45 mentions it as situated in the Surashtra Vishaya. Here 'Surashtra Vishaya' in No. 45 seems to stand for 'Surashtra', in the other grants, for Surashtra which thus seems to stand for Surashtra, cannot be an administrative vishaya, as Surashtra was a larger unit which comprised Bhuktis and Vishayas."
the plural form of which indicates its being a Des'a. Probably Des'a is here equivalent to Rashtra. The assumption is possibly corroborated by the occurrence of the word Rashtra in the name of this peninsula.

From the available data about Saurashtra we come across three large divisions, viz. Vishaya, Bhukti and Aharani or Ahara. This makes it quite clear that Saurashtra formed a division larger than these three.

There is no hint about inter se relation between the three.

(2) Bhukti:

The 'bhukti' is mentioned in the Valabhi edicts, viz. S'ri Vardhamanabhukti and Malavaka uchyamanabhukti. 'Bhukti' means enjoyment and it is often referred to in inscriptions as a unit of administration. Malavaka is a 'bhukti' in the edict of 639 A.C. and a 'vishaya' in the edict of the next year shows that 'bhukti' was used synonymously.

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2. H.I.C., I.No. 93, 94.
3. Ibid, No. 68.
with the 'vishaya' c.f. 'Malavaka uchyamana - bhuktam' and 'Malavaka uchyamana - vishaya'. H.G. Shastri writes, "It is difficult to decide the exact connotation of the term 'uchyamana' in these two expressions, for 'uchyamana', meaning 'that which is being stated', is a present participle and the present tense in Sanskrit secondarily applies to both proximate tenses (the past and the future) according to the context c.f. Vartamanasāmphyaḥ vartamanavad -vā (Pāṇini, III, 3.171). The term 'uchyamana' is also used with reference to the places where the donees received their vedī education. Therein 'uchyamana' in relation to Kumārasvāmin and his son Agnisvāmin, who resided in Agastika-agrahāra, evidently refers to this place as their residences. Analogically, uchyamana in the expressions pertaining to Mālavaka, may be constructed with Mālavaka (I.I.VIII, P.188) as like Agastikā-agrahāra, Mālavaka also is the place that is mentioned just before 'uchyamana' in the original expression. Nevertheless it may be also constructed with the succeeding place-name Navagramaka or Chandraputraka. But the possibility of this assumption gets at once

rejected, when the two places are identified and located in the map. For Chandodia, which represents Chandraputtraka, is just adjacent to Nogava, which stands for Navagramaka, whereas the headquarters of two large divisions could hardly be in the immediate neighbourhood of each other. Hence 'uchyamāna' must be applied to the preceding place—name Mālavaka. It is then strange that one of the two adjacent places is located in 'the Mālavaka Bhukti.' while the other is located in the 'Mālavaka vishaya.' Thus Mālavaka is styled 'Bhukti' as well as 'vishaya.' The 'bhukti' and 'vishaya' of one and the same name may be either corroborated as a genus and species like the Kheṭaka Āhāra in the Kheṭaka Vishaya, or taken as used synonymously like the Hastavapra Āhāra and Hastavapra Āharani. Anyhow it is clear that the bhukti and vishaya formed a division of Mālavaka, which, therefore, must have been des'a like Saurāshṭra...

Here we may compare the use of Kheṭakāhāra and Kheṭaka Āhāra—vishaya in certain other grants of Valabhin.

It implies that if the word 'vishaya' were here intruded to denote a subdivision of Bhukti in Eastern India, the record may have used the expression like 'Malavaka vishaya bhukta'. It therefore follows that the two terms are most probably used synonymously in relation to Malavaka.

The 'Bhukti' seems to be synonymous with 'Bhoga'.

The officer in its charge was designated Bhogika or Bhogadhikaranika mentioned in the Valbhi edicts.

(3) Vishaya :-

From the Maitraka records we get the following subdivisions of the vishaya, viz. Vishaya - Āhāra - Pathaka - Grama; 7 Vishaya - Āhāra - Grama; 8 Vishaya - Patta - Grama; 9 Vishaya - Bhumi - Grama. It seems that a vishaya is larger than an āhāra, a patta and a bhumi. The following places are mentioned as the vishaya in the available records, viz. Kes'ahridavishaya; Khetakavishaya; S'ivabhāgapuravishaya;

7. H.I.C., I, No. 77.
8. EL, XXI, Pt.IV, PP.183-184.
Kaundinyapura which was divided into patta like the Sivabhagapura vishaya, also seems to be a vishaya. According to H.G. Shastri, "The Valabhi grants dated from 540 to 699 A.C. were issued to Brahmanas emigrated from Anandapura. The grant of 766 A.C. was issued from the victorious camp at Anandapura to the Brahmana residing at that place. This shows that Anandapura was included in the Valabhi kingdom. According to the Records of Yuan Chwang, Anandapura (o-nan-to-pu-lo) also denoted a country of 2000 li (about 222 miles) in circuit, which was an appanage of Malava (under Valabhi). It implies that Anandapura must have formed a vishaya in the Valabhi kingdom, though known copper edicts of Valabhi were not required to mention it, as they had not to record grants of any places situated in that domain."

11. H.I.G., No. 50.
12. Dvivedi Manilal; Puratan Dakshina Gujarat (Gujarati) quoted by H.G. Shastri: Maitrakalin Gujarat, P.207 (Gujarati).
The officer in charge of the vishaya was the Vishayapati who is mentioned in several inscriptions of the Maitrakas.

(4) Patta :

A Patta is a smaller than a vishaya. An edict refers to the south patta of S'ivabhagapura vishaya, which another refers to the North Patta of the Kaundinyapura division (probably a vishaya). This suggests that the pattas represented divisions in terms of the quarters, c.f. Patţa Padraka in South Patta in S'ivabhagapura vishaya and Bhattachapadra in the North Patta in Kaundinyapura. It may be inferred that in the Maitraka kingdom, vishaya was divided into northern and southern parts, each comprising several villages. According to D.N. Jha, "Patta was a group of villages, the head of which was known as Patta Padraka in South Patta in S'ivabhagapura vishaya and Bhattachapadra in the North Patta in Kaundinyapura."

patel is derived from it... This word (pattā) may also be connected with the term pāṭaka which usually means a splitter or a division, and thus may be interpreted to mean a subdivision of a vishaya.  

(5) आहार - आहारणि :

आहार is another technical territorial term. It finds frequent mention in the land grants of the Maitraka kings. In some of the records, there occurs आहरणि instead of आहार. आहरणि is evidently a synonym or rather a term of diminutive since the Hastavapara - आहरणि is mentioned in the Walar grant of Dharasena II of the year 269 while the Hastavapara आहार is spoken of in a grant of Dharasena IV of the year 2346.

It has been suggested by Saleto that there is "an apparent connection between the आहार, a territorial unit and आग्रहार, a village granted to a Brahma."  

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20. R.N. Saleto: Life in Gupta Age, P. 314.
Dikshitar adds that if there is any close relationship between the two, it is possible that āhāra, like the agrahāra, was one for the use of which the reason was partly religious, for the formation and grant of an agrahāra was considered to be an act of religious duty and charity." D.N. Jha, reft. refuting this highly conjectural statement, writes, "The āhāra is derived from ā + ḫṛ, meaning to offer, in the present context, some form of foods, the produce of land, later other taxes. The connotation of the term, thus appears to be more fiscal than religious. Hence in our opinion, āhāra was a unit of administration — both fiscal and political, having little to do with agrahāra, which was a technical expression denoting a gift — village bestowed upon a Brahmana." 

An āharā or āhāra was smaller than a vishaya and larger than a pathaka, cf. Konaka Pathaka in Khetaka

23. D.N. Jha, op. cit. P.143. In As'okan Ins. the word 'āhāra' occurs.
Ahara in Khetaka Vishaya.

The most important division of Surāśṭra was the Hastamapra Āharāṇī (or Āhāra). All the grants issued before 529 A.C. are related to places in the Hastamapra Āharāṇī. Thus the reference to Surāśṭra may be traced by the mention of the Hastamapra Āharāṇī, since the issue of the earliest edict of the Valabhi kingdom. Here it may be suggested that the Hastamapra Āharāṇī subsequently developed into Āhāra in course of time and so we come across Hastamapra Āhāra in the grants issued after 529 A.C. The significance of the numerous references to Surāśṭra in general and the Hastamapra Āhāra in particular may be explained by the predominence of the Maitrakas in the region round the capital Valabhi.

The Khetaka Vishaya was another important division of the Valabhi kingdom. Generally the grants refer to Khetaka Āhāra, but two grants25 style it as Khetaka - Āhāra - Vishaya. According to H.G. Shastri,

24. H.I.G., No. 64. In 'Surāśṭravishaye Hastamaprahāra Amakāra-kupagra śa', 'Vishaya' is used as a common noun. ("See EL, XXIX, Pt. IV, P.183-184)
25. H.I.G., Nos. 47, 64.
"This shows that 'vishaya' is here used as an administrative term and does not simply denote a territory in general. The expression, therefore, seems to mention the places as situated 'in the Khetaka Ahāra of the Khetaka Vishaya.' The grants, however, do not refer to any other āhāras of the Khetaka Vishaya." 26

(6) Pathaka

The term 'pathaka', denoting one of the territorial subdivisions, is found in the records of the Maitrakas of Valabhi.

The 'Pathaka' was commonly used in Surāśṭra and Khetaka. It is frequently mentioned in reference to Gujarat in the inscriptions dated from the 8th to the 14th centuries. 27 In the Gupta age it was also common in M.P. and U.P. 28

The grants mention the Ghāsaraka Pathaka, the Kaṭapaka Pathaka and the Rohanaka Pathaka in Surāśṭra.

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27. Cf. Sankalia, op. cit. Appendix PP. 37, 43, 44, 64.
28. Ibid, P. 197 n.7.
Thus the three pathakas lay in three different parts of Sutaśīstra; it is, however, not clear which āhāra or āhāras included these pathakas.

The Kheṭaka viṣhaya was another important division of the Valabhi kingdom. The expression 'Kheṭaka-āhāra - viṣhaya' in relation to two pathakas indicates that the Kheṭaka-āhāra lay in Kheṭaka- viṣhaya. Even the common name of their headquarters implies that Kheṭaka-āhāra must have been the subdivision of Kheṭaka-viṣhaya. The other five pathakas are referred in Kheṭaka-āhāra only, the reference to Kheṭaka-viṣhaya being left understood. The āhāra was subdivided into pathakas, such as the Bandarijidri pathaka, the Simhapallika pathaka, the Nagaraka pathaka and the uppaheṭa pathaka. Kolamba and Kās'ahradā also seem to be pathakas, though this territorial term is not specified in their relation.

From this it is clear that Pathaka is smaller than Ahara. Amongst the different administrative divisions of the Maitraka kingdom, the inter se relations between the Vishaya, the Ahara and the Pathaka can be established with certainty.

Khetaka Vishaya, Hastavapra Ahara and Nagaraka Pathaka suggest that the names of these divisions were the names of the headquarters. Another peculiarity of the records is to avoid to repeat the name of the headquarter in connection with the successive divisions and construe it with the compounded terms of the two divisions, viz. Khetaka - Ahara - Vishaya.

It is difficult to ascertain with certainty the number of villages in a particular division or sub-division.

(7) Bhumi :-

There is only one reference of the administrative term Bhumi, viz. Panglapallikarama in Ghritalaya bhumi in S'ivabhagapura Vishaya. 31

31. H.I.G., No. 76. (IA, VII, 76, Dr. G. Bühler.)
It is dear that a bhumi was smaller than a vishaya and larger than a grāma. We come across several subdivisions of the vishaya, viz. āharas, pāṭta, bhūmīs etc. It is difficult at the present stage of our knowledge to decide the inter-relation between them.

(8) Sthalī :

In the Maitraka records, we come across several references of the term sthalī. The sthalī is mentioned only with reference to Surāshṭra. Its use cannot be traced to any pre-Maitraka period. H.D. Sankalia writes, "Sthalī, particularly, appears to be the Maitrakas' contributions to our knowledge of the history of administration in India." The term 'sthalī'

implies that it originally represented a natural region, which subsequently turned into an administrative unit.

A sthali is larger than a petha cf. Vaṭagrāma in Dīpanaka petha in Bilvakhabha sthali. A sthali consists of several villages. K.J. Virji observes, "For, like the pathaka is Śrāṣṭra the sthali is also mentioned without any reference to the next large division to which it belonged. But two different references to Jambuvānara in two grants (Hultzsch, op.cit. XI, p.81, Durus, op. cit. VII, p. 968) imply that a sthali must have been included in a pathaka, for one refers to it as a sthali, while another mentions it simply as a village in the Kālapaka pathaka .... A Maitraka grant of Y.s. 290 also makes it evident that the sthalis mentioned in it were not far distant from each other. The headquarters Bilvakhaṭa, Ḫhari and Vaṭapallikā ley

34. H.I. G., No.52.
lay at a distance of about forty miles from each other. Accordingly sthalīs included in this region may have covered an area of about 100 sq. miles. From this D.N. Jha concludes, "In otherwords, sthalī perhaps comprised a comparatively smaller area than āhāra, vishaya and bhukti." It may have been under the jurisdiction of the sthānahādikaraṇa, as a 'sthalī' and 'sthāna' bear a close similarity in sense and sound to each other.

(9) Peṭha:

There is only one reference of the Peṭha in the Maitraka records, viz. Bilvakābhasthālya - Dipanakapetha - vatagrama. So a peṭha is smaller than a sthalī and a larger than a grāma. It was also current in Central India in the sixth century A.C. According to Sāletkar, "Here probably is to be traced the root of Karnatakaka influence for even now in Kannada,

35. K.J. Virji, op.cit. PP. 235 - 239.
37. H.I.G., No. 38
the word *patra* means a market town, a place of sale, or long street of shops in a town." 39 Yet D.N. Jha suggests, "It is however, surprising that a village should be said to be a part of market town. Dikshitar suggests that probably the market was the centre or the nucleus of a group of adjoining villages for purposes of the administration of local affairs. 40 Although this explanation appears quite plausible, it cannot be regarded as conclusive." 41

(10) Dranga : Nagar, Pura, Puri, Pattana :

In the Maitraka edicts, the large unit of the population is known as Nagara, Pura, Puri, and Pattana, viz. Vatanaagara, Das'apura, Sangapurī, Bhadrapattana etc, while as an administrative unit, it was called 'dranga' and it included some villages probably as suburbs,

e.g. The Mandali draṅga included the villages - Sangamanaka, Danturaputra and Chinchana. Monier-Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary gives draṅga as meaning 'a town, a city'.

The 'draṅga' is used only in the Maitraka records of Surāśṭra. The officer in charge of this unit was drāṅgika, who is also mentioned as an officer in the edicts of the Maitrakas. The office of Drāṅgika is peculiar to the Maitraka regime and is not to be found either under the Guptas or the remote predecessors of the Maitrakas.

K.J. Virji observes, "The Draṅga was one of the smaller units, but it is not specified to which larger unit it belonged. However, the location of these places must have been situated in the same sthālī in which Lusā and Daṇḍasa were situated. Thus it appears that the draṅga was a sub-division of the sthālī ....... "

It is true that certain villages are represented as

43. Ibid. P. 199.
44. K.J. Virji: Ancient History of Saurāśṭra, P. 239.
situated in a certain sthali in one grant and as situated in Mangali Dranga in another grant. But it is not possible to follow how this fact could lead Miss Virji to infer that the Dranga was the subdivision of the sthali, since none of the villages represents the headquarters of a dranga.

(11) Grama; Gramaka, padra, padraka, palli, pallika:—

A grama was the smallest unit of administration and for which we get many references in the epigraphs of the period. Gramaka, padra, padraka, palli or pallika often suffixed to names of villages; viz. Navagramaka, 45 Kadambapadra, Vedapadrakagrama, Visvapalligrama, Devabhadripallika, but from the viewpoint of administration all the various types of villages were known as 'grama'.

With the rise or fall in the administrative states (and hence naturally of the area and population as well), no corresponding modification in the old traditional names of the villages occurs in the known place-names of the Maitraka kingdom, i.e. A small

45. H.I.G., No.68; 2 H.I.G., No.41; 3 H.I.G., No.38,
4 H.I.G., No.73; 5 H.I.G., No. 45.
village like Simhapallika in the Kheṭaka - āhāra because the main centre of the Ṛathaka and in Surāshṭra, the small village like the Kadambaṭadra, Lonāpadraka and Vaṭapallika in course of time became the main centres of sthali. So it is difficult to decide from the name of the village in a particular period whether it was big or small. 46

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46. H.G. Shastri : Mitrakakālīnā (Gujarati) p.520.
SECTION I (CONT.)

MAITRAKA KINGDOM (C. 470 A.C. to 788 A.C.)

CHAPTER 5

MISCELLANEOUS MATTERS

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CHAPTER 6

MISCELLANEOUS MATTERS

(1) Ownership of land:

The edicts are records of the royal gifts of land for solely religious purposes. The edicts show that the king generally made gifts of villages, fields and walls. He could bestow the land upon the grantee, who was then entitled to receive its revenue for himself. The grants make it clear that the land given in gift would belong to the grantee not only for his whole life-time but would be enjoyed by the succession of his sons and grandsons, 'as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the land, the rivers and the mountains endure.' Naturally it is also specified that the land given in gift excludes the lands donated previously to the deities and Brahmanas.

But it is not clear whether the land given gifts was originally owned by the state or was purchased from its holder or owner (if any) for this purpose.
King Sūlāditya I made a gift of a field from the village Kalāsamaka which belonged to queen Janīka. But this instance does not solve the point, since the king could denote even on behalf of the holder, who would be his own queen. "A verse in the Manusmṛiti states that the king is the owner of treasures buried underground, because he is the owner of land; this suggests state ownership of all land, including the cultivable one. Bhāttavāmin, for the commentator on the Arthasāstra, quotes a verse averring that private ownership can have no application in the case of land, tanks and water pools. Diodorus states that land in India is the property of the crown and no private individual is permitted to own it. Against these three authorities, the testimony of none of whom can be regarded as conclusive on the point."

3. Arth. BK.II, Ch. 2.
"We have the definite evidence of the Purvamimansa stating that the king cannot dispose of lands of private individuals, when he is called upon to gift away all his possessions in charity at the end of certain sacrifices. The Arthasastra also clearly differentiates between the crown lands and private lands. Narada points out that it would be highly iniquitous if the king proceeded to interfere with the ownership and possession of houses and lands, for it would result in utter chaos. Milakantha definitely declares that although an emperor is the lord of the entire earth, the ownership in different fields belongs to their several private owners, and not to the state.

A.S. Altekar observes, "It is no doubt true that some state grants record the gifts of entire

5. (Sabara, VI, 7.3.) see note 9 below.
6. (UK.II, Ch. 23.) see note 9 below.
7. (Harada : Ch. XI, 42.) see note 9 below.
8. (Vayavaharamayukha, Svatvagama chapter) see note 9 below.
villages to Brahmānas or temples; but this procedure does not support the theory of the state ownership of the arable land. For what the grants assign in most of these cases is the state's right to receive the various taxes, including the land tax; they never effect any change in the private ownership of the landed property included in the village. The grant never calls upon private owners of the lands situated in the village to surrender their property to the donee; it simply exhorts them to show him proper courtesy and respect and pay all the state taxes in cash and kind, not to the state officers but to the new grantee. Future kings are requested to desist, not from taking possession of village land but from receiving the various taxes due from them. 10

We have also many records which transfer full ownership in land to the donee. In such cases, however, not the entire land in the village, but certain small pieces situated in it, often detached, are usually transferred. Thus Dhruvasena I of Valabhi  

wanted to give 360 padavartas of land to a temple in his kingdom; he gave four pieces of land situated to the north-west and four others situated to the north-east of the village, eight together measuring 300 padavartas; and two other fields, one of 40 padavartas and the other of 20 padavartas, both irrigated by wells.\textsuperscript{11}

"The donee in this case would certainly have preferred to get an entire, connected piece of land measuring 360 padavartas, and the king also would certainly have given such a piece, were he the owner of the entire cultivable land in the village. If he gave disconnected pieces, the reason must be that the state possessed only a few fields in the village, the ownership of which had accrued to it, either through failure of heirs or through the non-payment of the land tax. As in modern days so in ancient times, state used to acquire ownership in some such pieces of land in most villages; they have been expressly described as rajyavastu or state property in some records.\textsuperscript{12}"


\textsuperscript{12} (El, I, p. 235) ibid. p. 271.
to denote, not land revenues but landed property, they used to give such small and usually disconnected pieces under their ownership. Sometimes when kings did not own any land, they used to purchase the pieces they wanted to give; thus we find a Vaidumba king (c.950 A.C.) purchasing three vells of land from a village assembly in order to assign them to a temple. Some Chola records also expressly refer to the previous purchase of the rights of the former owners and hereditary proprietors, when the state wanted to assign, not land revenue but land itself, in villages where it possessed none of its own."

"Some records, however, supply still more convincing evidence on point. Thus, the emperor Amoghasvarsha of the Deccan (c.850 A.C.) is seen donating the village of Taleyur and also a flower garden 500 X 150 cubits in dimension, situated in the same village. 13

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13. (South Indian Inscriptions, III, PP. 104-6.)
King Govindachandra of the U.P. (c.1150 A.C.) is found giving the village Lolisapada along with the field named Tiyayi situated in it. If the donation of a village had meant the transfer of the ownership of the entire land situated in it, it would not have been necessary to specify the further gift of certain gardens or fields in it.  

In the Maitraka edicts we come across some technical words which may suggest the types of ownership and / or holding of land, viz. Satka, (as in Brahma - swamidatta - satka - kshetra), Prabukta (as in Brahma - vishakha - prabukta - karada - kshetra) and Pratyaya (as in Adityaka - Pratyayaka - kshetra.) In one record, it is mentioned, 'Devabrahmana Kshetra - uttaratah .... Brahma - skanda - satka - kshetra - uttaratah .... Adityaka - pratyaya - kshetra - padavartta - S'atan'  17; Pratyaya' means 'probably a lessee' or

17. H.I.G., No. 29.
holding: 'Satka' means 'belonging to'. So 'Brahmana - Skanda - Satka - Kshetra' means that the field of belonging to Brahmana Skanda; 'Adityaka - pratyaya - Kshetra' means the holder of the field is Aditya; and 'Vis'aka - prabhuktaka - Karada - Kshetra' means the field which was liable to payment of revenue and was enjoyed by Vis'aka. The words 'satka', 'pratyaya' and 'prabhukta' may be here used to suggest the various degrees of ownership and/or holding of land. But at this stage of our knowledge it is very difficult to state categorically the exact interpretations of these terms.

Nearly all edicts refer to the three words, viz. kṛishataḥ, karshayataḥ and pradīsatataḥ. These are technical terms denoting the privileges of cultivating the land (kṛishataḥ), getting it cultivated by others (karshayataḥ) and assigning it to others (pradīsatataḥ) respectively.

From the above narration we can only say that there may be private ownership as well as state ownership of lands, and the Maitraka kingdom was not the exception to the general conditions prevailing in India.

(2) Units of Land Measurements:

(i) Padavarta

The details of the measures given in the copper edicts, there were different units of measurement prevalent in the different parts of the Valabhi kingdom. The usual unit in Surasashtra was the padavarta. Monier-Williams interpreted the term as a square foot. But this measuring would render certain fields extremely small plots of land as pointed out by Fleet, for some fields are mentioned measuring 100, 70, 50, 20, 15 and 10 padavartas. If the padavarta is taken to mean only a square foot, the area of 10 padavartas would be too small a plot of land for cultivation. Fleet,

therefore, suggested that the padavarta may be taken to measure one foot each way i.e. one foot in length and one foot in width. According to this interpretation an expression like a hundred padavartas mean a plot of ground measuring a hundred feet each way i.e. ten thousand square feet.

The Valabhi grants contain many references to kshetras (fields) and vapas (step-wells) and a reference to a Kupa. The kshetras given in the gift were of the various sizes; the average kshetra of the large size measured 200 padavartas, that of medium size measured 100 padavartas and that of small size measured 50 padavartas; the size of individual kshetras varies from 700 to 10 padavartas. The Vapas given in the gift measured commonly 16 padavartas, sometimes 12, 18, 20 or 25 padavartas and occasionally 28, 32, 35, 40 or 55 padavartas. A Kupa given in gift measured 16 padavartas.

From the records, we get references that in khetaka and Bharukachchha there was a different measuring system of measuring land, e.g. Vrihipitaka. All the fields mentioned as situated in these territories are Kedaras or rice-field fields. Their measures are given in terms of their capacity for the sowing of a certain number of pitakas or basketfuls of Vrihi (paddy). It is not clear how much area of a plot was regarded to have the sowing capacity for one Vrihipitaka. The grants also indicate that the pitaka had a special measure in Khetaka, while Bharukachchha used the general measure for it. In the Eastern Bengal there was a measurement known as 'Kulyavapa'. One Kulya-paddy can be sown in the area of one acre. This suggests that

22. H.I.G., Nos. 64, 72.
23. BP., 1941, 3, P. 113.
one pitaka paddy to be sown requires a bigger area than one kulya paddy to be sown. One kulyavapa is equivalent to 38 to 48 bigas. 24

(iii) Bhakti —

Bhakti was the standard unit of land measurement prevalent in Malavaka.25 The two plots of land donated from Malavaka measured 100 bhaktis. It is not possible to know the exact extent of the bhakti. Possibly it may correspond to the Vakataka measure 'bhumi' 26 and padavarta.

(3) Types of Revenue —

(i) Udranga and Uparikara —

The udranga and uparikara are mentioned in almost all the Maitraka grants. According to Fleet, the word uparikara is derived from upari or upri and

means "a tax levied from the cultivators who had no proprietary rights in the soil," while udraṅga is also fiscal a technical fixed term. Bühler has brought to notice that in the Sīśvatākaśa, (Zacharia's edition, PP. XXIX, 250.) udraṅga is explained by uddhāra and udgranthā (ṛḥ udgrāha), and this seems to mean 'the share of the produce collected usually for the king.'

In the inscriptions, however, the word uparikara is recorded invariably with udraṅga and so Ghoshal has suggested that the two fiscal terms are used antithetically. He thus explains udraṅga as a revenue imposed upon the permanent tenants, and for uparikara that of a similar impost levied on the temporary tenants. According to Ghoshal these interpretations may be justified on the following grounds:

(a) As Bühler first pointed out, the lexicon of Sīśvatā gives for udraṅga the equivalent uddhāra and udgranthā. Now Marathi uddhāra means 'in the gross,' and udharjāmābandi means 'assessing the

28. Dr. Bühler, I.A., XII, P.189. n.39 quoted in Fleet, Ibid.
29. U.N. Ghoshal, H.R.S., P.120.
total revenue of a village upon the chief proprietor, leaving it to him to distribute the proportion. Again upari (commonly) (vulgo upri in Marathi) means the cultivator not belonging originally to a village, but residing and occupying land in it either upon a lease for a stipulated term of years or at the pleasure of the proprietor.  

(b) The above interpretation fits in with the obvious antithesis between udranga and uparikara which occur side by side in a large number of North Indian inscriptions. It also corresponds to the distinction between Khud-Kasht and pai-Kasht tenants of later times.

(c) In some of the states of Rajputana in later times permanent possessors (called mewadara) demesne existed in the royal side by side with the tenants

30. H.H. Wilson, Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms etc. s.v. udrar and upri quoted in U.N. Ghoshal H.R.S., PP. 210 - 211.
D.G. Sircar also holds similar views for fiscal these two terms.

D.N. Jha writes, "The evidence for this, it has been suggested, is very tenuous, since the Marathi language developed ten centuries after the date of our inscriptions, and it is rash to draw conclusions, from such feeble linguistic evidence. The same is true of Fleet's interpretation. Moreover, in most of the land grants two terms occur together, and if uparikara and udranga mean taxes on temporary and permanent tenants respectively, it would imply that a certain piece of donated land was cultivated both by permanent and temporary tenants simultaneously which obviously seems absurd. Of course, in the case of


village grants the presence of both types of tenants cannot be altogether discounted, but in case of charters which record the grant of pieces of land with the assignment of uparikara and udraṅga this could not have been possible. Nor is there any independent evidence to show that the government used to impose any extra special taxation on temporary and permanent tenants."

A.S. Altekar writes, "There was besides no reason why state records should distinguish the tax paid by the permanent from that obtained from temporary cultivators. The theory, therefore, that udraṅga was a tax on permanent and uparikara on temporary tenants yet remained to be proved and is not likely to be correct."

D.N. Jha writes, "Barnett rejects the view of Ghoshal, and suggests that uparikara is something

34. cf. C.L.I., Nos. 21,22,23,26 etc. quoted in D.N. Jha op.cit. PP. 51-54.
35. Ibid, No.38, quoted in D.N. Jha, Ibid.
like the Tamil melvaram, i.e. crown's share of the produce. According to Altekar, on the other hand, uparikara is identical with bhoga which consisted of contributions in the shape of articles of provisions. Both the contentions, however, appear erroneous in the context of the Gupta evident, in the Karthali copperplate inscription of the Maharaja Jayanatha dated A.C. 493-94, the terms uparikara and udranga occur as also the expression bhagabhogakara. Therefore, uparikara can neither be equated with bhaga, the crown's share of produce which is indicated by melvaram in Tamil, nor with bhoga. Since upari in Sanskrit, Hindi and Bengali means 'upon' or 'extra' it perhaps has led Sircar to explain uparikara as an 'extra cess'. But it must be acknowledged that none of the explanations so far is offered in conclusive. The interpretation of the term bristles with difficulty, particularly because of the

39. Ibid. P.216.
42. Select. Ins. P.256 n. quoted in D.N. Jha op.cit.
conspicuous reticence of the literary sources on the subject."

"It is equally difficult to interpret the term udraṅga, which like uparikara occurs only in the land grants and not in the literature of the period...\(^\text{43}\) Ghoshal interprets udraṅga as a tax on permanent tenants and has been supported by Sircar\(^\text{44}\) in this contention. But the explanation is untenable for the reasons given above. Maity offers two alternative explanations. According to the first, udraṅga may have been an anomalous derivative of the Sanskrit word udaka and thus may have meant something like a water tax.\(^\text{45}\) But as has been shown above we have no independent evidence to prove the prevalence of anything like water tax in the Gupta period. According to another explanation given by Maity,\(^\text{46}\) udraṅga may be

\(^{43}\) U.N. Ghoshal, op. cit. P. 210, quoted in D.N. Jha. Ibid.

\(^{44}\) Sel. Ins. P. 371 n.5. quoted in D.N. Jha. Ibid.


\(^{46}\) Maity, Ibid.; quoted in Ibid.
the same thing as dranga which according to the
Rajatarangini, a later work, is a watch-station,
and the term may have stood for police tax levied on the
district for the maintenance of the local police station.
This view is more or less endorsed by Puspa Niyogi.
It is difficult to say anything with certitude either
in favour or against the plausibility of this explanation.
Probably like uparikara, dranga also may have been
a levy over and above the usual grain share, though any
attempt to determine its exact nature will only be
conjectural unless some fresh evidence is forthcoming.

According to D.C. Sircar, (udranga is )
explained as 'the fixed tax', 'the land tax', 'the
principal tax' or 'the tax on the permanent tenants',
generally mentioned along with uparikara, i.e. minor taxes

47. Stein trans., II, pp. 291-292, quoted in D.N. Jha, op. cit.
48. Puspa Niyogi; Economic Hist. of North India
   P. 187. quoted in D.N. Jha, Id.; op. cit.
49. D.N. Jha; op. cit. pp. 53-56.
or the tax on temporary tenants; same as Klpā.

Uдра́нгā may have been paid in grains at least in some regions since the Aудра́нгика (collector of udráнга) is sometimes separately mentioned together with Hirа́нясамуда́йика (collector of revenue in cash).

In one case, the land is said to have been granted after making it udра́нга, i.e. s-udра́нга. 50, 51 "upаrіkara appears to be the same as Мaráthі upаrі 'a tax levied on cultivators having no proprietary right on the soil." 52, 53

(ii) Дhаnyаdеyа & Hirаnyаdеyа :

Almost all the Maitreka copper-plate grants mention 'Dhаnъa - Hirаnyаdеуа'. The terms

52. Wіlson's Glossary, quoted in D.C. Sircar Ibid. 349.
Dhanya' and 'Hiranya' have been variously interpreted by different scholars. The word 'hiranya' as occurring in the Arthasastra has been translated simply as gold. The 'hiranya' of the law-books is sometimes taken as gold and sometimes either as a tax on the hoard or a tax on the capital of the annual income. In view of its high value, it is highly probable that peasants paid taxes in gold. According to still further explanation, 'hiranya' refers to the right of the state to the gold and probably to other mines as well. None of the above interpretations, however, appears tenable. In the Smritis & texts 'hiranya' is usually joined with 'paṣṭu' (domestic animals), and it figures as a recognised source of revenue in the same context as the crops, trees, roots, fruits, flowers, leaves, grass and so forth. U.N. Ghoshal writes, "Turning to the next item, we may observe that

54. Shamasāstry: Arthasastra: (1, 13, 6).
55. cf. N.C. Bandopadhyaya: Kautilya. PP. 139-140.
   D.N. Jha, op. cit. P.49.
the term 'hiranya' (explained by Fusas 'contribution' in cash) has been usually translated both in the present context and that of the ancient Indian land grants as 'gold'. On the other hand 'hiranya' is translated as 'tax in money' by Senart, 'payment in money' by Kielhorn and 'tax in cash' by Vogel. This translation, however, has been found to be so little satisfactory that various attempts have been made further to throw light upon its meaning. Thus it has been suggested that it was a tax on the board or capital or on the annual income. A more desperate explanation that has been offered is that it refers to the right of the State to the gold and probably other mines.

57. cf. see U.N. Ghoshal: H S. P 60 f.n. 5.
59. Ibid P. 160.
Then U.N. Ghoshal refers the interpretation of the term 'hiranya' as gold and suggests that it was a tax in cash levied upon certain special kinds of crops as distinguished from the tax in kind which was charged upon ordinary crops.  

The term 'dhānya' also seems to have denoted the general land tax. A grant of Dharasena II bears the expression 'sa - dhānya - bhāga - bhoga - hiranyadeyaḥ'. D.N. Jha writes, "This may be taken to imply a distinction between 'bhāga - bhoga' on the one hand and 'dhānya' on the other." U.N. Ghoshal suggests that probably 'dhānya' was a fixed contribution in kind while 'bhāga' a share of the produce. D.C. Sircar has nothing new to suggest.

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63. U.N. Ghoshal. Ibid.
64. cf. IA., VII, P. 72. quoted in D.N. Jha, op. cit.
65. D.N. Jha: op. cit.
(iii) **Vata — bhūta — pratyāya**

The inscriptions of the Maitraka kings record the expression ‘sa — bhūta — vāta — pratyāya’ or ‘sa — vāta — bhūta — pratyāya’. The exact nature of the ‘vāta’ and the ‘bhūta’ which were two kinds of revenue is not explicable. Generally the ‘bhūta’ was taken to mean the produce of the soil and the ‘vāta’ to denote the wind-born produce. Fleet explains that ‘vāta’ is derived either from ‘vā’, ‘to blow’, or from ‘vai’, ‘to become dried or withered’ and ‘bhūta’ is the past participle of ‘bhū’, ‘to become’. But it does not elucidate the term any further. Dīkṣitar points out that according to T. Ganapati Sastrī’s *Sūrūlīya* commentary on the *Arthasastra*, ‘vāta’ includes the fruit and flower gardens from which revenue went to the king’s exchequer; and ‘bhūta’

may mean 'produced or obtained from'. Thus according to him 'vata - bhūta', treated as a compound, may indicate a tax on fruit and flower gardens. D.N. Jha writes, "But this view cannot be accepted, because no contemporary source refers to fruit and flower gardens as an independent source of revenue." U.N. Ghoshal, on the other hand, translates the term literally as "revenue derived from winds and elements." D.N. Jha comments on the point thus, "But it is difficult to imagine what such a mysterious income might have consisted of. Maity suggests that the two terms 'vata' and 'bhūta' should be taken separately as different kinds of cess for the maintenance of rites respectively for the winds (vata) and for spirits (bhūta). This view, however, is too conjectural to be accepted, for no contemporary source refers to such a levy realised by the priestly class for the

73. Maity, op.cit, P. 63. quoted in D.N. Jha. Ibid, PP. 76 - 77.
maintenance of rites." Altekar notices the variant terms 'bhuta' (manufactured) and 'sambhrita' (stored) as well as 'vata' (imported) and 'upāttā' (imported) and finally explain the entire phrase as indicating a tax upon the articles manufactured and stored and the goods imported. Accepting the view of Altekar, D.N. Jha writes, "Thus he thinks, perhaps rightly, that these expressions refer to general excise or customs duties which, as already noted, are denoted in earlier sources mostly as 'sulka'. This is further supported by the fact that 's'ulka' never occurs together with 'bhuta - vata - pratyāya'."

75. Ibid.
77. D.N. Jha : op.cit. PP. 76 - 77.
(iv) **Vishṭi**

In the majority of the Maitraka copper-plate inscriptions we come across *utpādyamanavishṭi*. Fleet has translated it as 'the right to exact forced labour (vishṭi), whenever an occasion arises.'

Kauṭilya refers to forced labour (vishṭi) as one of the branches of vārta. D.N. Jha writes, "He (Kauṭilya) lays down that sūdra labourers (karmakāras) and artisans (Karūs) and dasas should do manual labour for the state instead of paying taxes. This labour was recruited by some supervisor (vishṭivandhaka) and was paid.

He further observes that although 'vishṭi' was a source of income to the state in the Mauryan period perhaps it was not imposed on the independent peasantry in the villages. It seems that the practice continued

78. Fleet, O.II, III, P. 170.n. 25.
81. Probably this means that when the public works required, forced labour was paid for.
in the post-Mauryan times, for *Manu* ordains that S'udras, craftsmen and artisans discharge their dues by work. He also states that they may be made to work one day each month for the king. A passage of *Vishnu* may be cited to the same effect. There is, however, nothing in the legal texts to indicate that like the earlier period 'vishti' was paid for in post-Mauryan times. It is probable that forced labour was unpaid in this period. The Junagadh inscription of Rudradaman states that the Sudars'ana lake was reconstructed with resources from the king's own treasury without burdening the people, among other taxes, with forced labour (vishti). There is, however, nothing to show that the tax paying artisans were exempted from the usual corvee.

82. Quoted in *D.N. Jha; Ibid,; Manu X, 120.*
84. *Ibid; Vishnu, III, 32.*
On the contrary, an inscription states that smiths, chariot-makers (rathakaras), barbers (napitas) and potters (kumbhakaras) should be recruited for forced labour. Thus the nature of 'vishṭi' underwent considerable change in this period. First, whereas in the Mauryan period it was paid for, in post-Maurya and Guptan times it tended to become unpaid. However according to Hiuen Tsiang, the people were normally not subject to forced labour, but when the public works required it, labour was exacted but paid for. Secondly, unlike the earlier period, it seems to have been realised in addition to regular taxes. Due to these factors, vishṭi become highly oppressive in course of time.

From the evidence of Arthashastra and from a post-Mauryan epigraph it is clear that there was

86. Ibid; E.I, XXX, no.30, Law no. 72
88. Arth. II. 7; X, 15.
89. E.I, VIII, no. 6. 11, 15 - 16.
perhaps no hard and fast rule as to when a king could exact forced labour and when he could not.

As it is truly observed by D.N. Jha that the element of oppression may have been rendered stronger in the Gupta period, when the king's right to demand impressed or forced labour was transferred to the donees who were the rentship recipients of landgrants and we may add that this is also true in the Maitraka kingdom.

(v) Bhaga - bhoga

Very few Maitraka records refer to Bhoga -bhoga or bhoga - bhaga. Both these terms seem to be fiscal terms. The term 'bhaga' was familiar to Kautilya. He refers to the portion of produce payable to the government as 'bhaga'. To S'ukra 'bhaga' was one of the nine sources of revenue payable to the state.

90. D.N. Jha, op.cit. P. 69.
91. Arthasastra, Ek. II. 7.
92. S'ukraniti. Ch. II. 11.
In the 'Smrītis', the term 'bhaga' or its equivalent 'āmsā' stands for land-tax. From these references it may definitely be inferred that 'bhaga' was a tax on land, especially on the produce of cereals, which was generally referred to as one-sixth of the produce in inscriptions of the Gupta period. The Manusmriti prescribes the portion to vary from one-sixth to one twelfth. The VālŚhi records do not specify the royal bhaga levied on the land.

'Bhoga' literally means 'enjoyment'.

The term 'bhoga' can be traced to Manu and the commentator Sarvājña Narāyana explained it to mean 'daily presents in the form of fruits, flowers, vegetables, grass etc.' Therefore Sircar's interpretation of 'bhoga' as periodical supplies of fruits, firewood, flowers etc. which the villagers had to

93. As quoted in Saleatore: Life in Gupta Age. P. 352 n. 3.
94. Manusmriti, VII, 130.
furnish to the king, appears tenable. As D.N. Jha observes, "Moreover articles that are included in this category, are obviously provisions, and it is reasonable to suppose that the 'bhoga' may be the same as the right of enjoying a portion of flowers, milk, hide, charcoal etc. of the vākāṭaka inscriptions." 98

Dharasena's grants vaguely refer to relaxation in the rate of taxation on land.

(vi) Ṛṣaśāparadha :-

This is a technical fiscal expression occurs with considerable frequency in the Maitraka grants. Ṛṣaśāparadha means the ten offences. Fleet suggested that the offences are probably the ten sins enumerated in three classes: (1) three of the body viz., Adattopadāna, anihita - himsā and paraśāropaseva, (2) four of the speech, viz. parushya, anṛita, paisunya,


'It seems that such pariharās as apushpakshirasandohah, acharaśanachārmāngāraḥ, etc., mentioned in the vākāṭaka inscriptions are concrete substitutes for the term bhoga which is not used in them.'
asambaddhapralapa, and (3) three of the mind, viz. paradravyabhidhyana, amishtha - chintana and vitatha - abhinives'a. And the full technical expression evidently conveyed to the grantee of a village, the right to the proceeds of fines imposed for the commission of these, or similar, wrongful actions in the limits of his village. But Jolly connected them with the list of ten chief crimes mentioned by Narada and Hiralal identified them with a list of ten sins mentioned in the S'ukra'iti.

To the above we may add the explanation of B.C. Majumdar, who after mentioning (loc. cit.) that the phrase was till lately in vogue in permanent leases in the Sonepur State, quotes the opinion of some elders to the effect that it included ' adultery, assault, defamation and offences relation to village and water reservoirs.'


102. Hiralal, E l, IX, P.47.n.

103. Edi. by Desai I.S. S'ukra'iti P. 138. (Guj.)
According to Buddhists the ten sins were murder, theft, adultery, lying, calumny, insult, idle talk, hatred, covetousness, and dogmatic error. 104

Beni Prasad points justly to the improbability of offences of the mind being made the subject of legal punishment, is constrained to take the phrase in the sense of judicial fines in general. 105 U.N. Ghoshal writes, "The fundamental objection that may be urged against Fleet's interpretation of 'Das aparadha' in that there is no authority for the supposition that the grants of rights of jurisdiction were even contemplated in the case of holders of religious grants ...... It thus seems that the term 'Das aparadha', as used in the above and subsequent land grants, refers to the right of the donee to be exempted at least in part from the ordinary penalties for the commission of some traditional offences by the villages. The above sense,  

moreover, exactly fits in with the clause ' sąyā -
das'āparādha' (usually trans. as 'with toleration
ten for the sins') of some later grants." D.N. Jha disagrees
with the arguments put forward by U.N. Ghoshal in the
following words, "Apart from the differences of opinion
about the list of specific offences referred to in the
clause ' sadas'āparādha ', it has been generally taken
to involve the donee's right to the proceeds from the
fines for the commission of the offences by villages,
which presupposes his right of jurisdiction over the
offences concerned. Ghoshal, however, thinks that
the grant of is no authority for the supposition that
the grant of right of jurisdiction was even contemplated
in the case of holders of religious grants, and that
the term ' sadas'āparādha ' refers to the right of the
beneficiary to be exempted at least in part from the

106. U.N. Ghoshal : The State in Ancient
H.R.S., PP. 219 - 220 and n.1.3.
107. As quoted in D.N. Jha : cit. & B.C. Majumdar.
ordinary penalties for the commission of some
traditional offences by the villages. This view cannot be accepted. We have already seen that the
Brahmanas were often granted land with administrative power and in view of growing tendency of administrative
disintegration and decentralisation it is not improbable that the right to try some of the traditional officers
may have been made over to the recipients of the land
grants. Moreover, Ghoshal's contention that 'sadasā—
parādha' meant exemption from penalties for offences
does not appear plausible. The sources of the period
provide for certain privileges for the Brahmanas, but
they nowhere state that the Brahmanas were exempt from punishment if they committed an offence.
On the other hand Manu and Yajñavalkya both emphasise
that there is none who is exempt from punishment in the

108. op.cit.: H.R.S. P.220.
109. Ibid: Supra, 'Kane, however, does not think it possible
to hold that a king authorised a private individual
or individuals to exercise a judicial power in such
crimes as murder when the power of dealing with
'sāhasa' was not conferred on śreni or gana
tribunals': Hist. of Dharma,III,P.265.
110. Ibid : Manu VIII, 335.
king's court whether the persons be the king's father or teacher or friend or mother or wife or son or family priest or brother or father-in-law or maternal uncle. It is therefore not possible to agree with Ghoshal's view that the donees were exempted from penalties for certain offences. Besides, on the basis of late records Altekar points out that the expression 'sadāśāparādha' occurs also in the grants made to temples; and in such grants the use of the term in the sense of our opinion, therefore, the expression probably stood for the donee's right to the proceeds from fines for the offences. This, in turn, implies that fines constituted a source of income to the state.  

This will obviously seem to be more probably then that of Fleet but here we may feel to add P.V. Kane's opinion, "The real meaning appears to be that the fines levied by him for the commission of the aparādhas in the villages granted would be made over to the donees as part of the gift when recovered by the king." 

112. Ibid; Altekar : Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times. P. 236.  
113. D.N. Jha : op.cit. PP. 90-91.  
(4) Currency.

As regards the currency of the Maitraka Kingdom information is available in the form of (a) Actual coins, (b) Epigraphic Reference to coin.

(a) Actual Coins:

Coins bearing the bust of the king on the obverse and emblem of the trident on the reverse are found at several places in Gujarat. As they were found in large numbers at Valabhipura, they were commonly ascribed to the Maitraka kingdom or Valabhi and were known as Valabhi coins.

Stray coins were found from various places and are preserved in various museums. A special study of these coins, preserved in the Prince of Wales museum, Bombay, was made by G.V. Acharya.

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and those in the Baroda Museum by Shri B.L. Mankad.

In Rev. Father H. Heras, S.S. of St. Xavier's College collection, there were about 200 silver coins of this type. These are now probably located in the prince of Wales Museum, Bombay; and there are a few coins in the cabinet of that Museum. There are two distinct types of these coins. The coins of the first variety resemble the Kshatrapa coins as regards the shape, size and letters inscribed on them. The coins of the other type are more like the dumpy and irregularly shaped coins of the later Gupta period.

The Baroda Museum possesses about 80 Yalabhi coins of silver and one of copper. The coins can broadly be divided into two types.

One set resembles the Kshatrapa coins in fabric and epigraphy, and the other resembles the Gupta coins. Coins of the former type have a size varying from .5" to .6" and their weight varies from 26 to 51 grains. The coins of the latter type have a size varying from .45" to .5". The weight ranges from 28 to 31.2 grains. The Kshatrapa type of coins have a trident on the reverse, while the Gupta type has a trident combined with a battle axe. Both are crudely engraved.

Archaeological Excavations at two sites in Gujarat yielded Valabhi coins along with Kshatrapa coins, i.e. Śānanda and Devnimori.


118. R.N. Mehta & S.N. Chowdhary: Excavation at Devnimori, PP. 104 - 116 (1966)
These coins were first brought to notice by James Princep, but he was unable to decipher any part of the legend, which is running along the edge of the coins around the trident. They were meant considered by E. Thomas, who made slight advancement towards decipherment of the legend by reading 'Raja Mahākshatrapa' on some best preserved specimens. Subsequently, Newton reproduced the characters from the best preserved specimens and succeeded in reading 'Paramaditya - bhakta' after 'Mahākshatrapa.' He also read 'Śrī Salba (?!) bhattarakasa' at the end. Then after a long time an attempt was made by G. F. Acharya, who after an elaborate examination of the several letters of the legend

gave his reading as 'Rajño Mahākṣatrapa ...(Dhara)-nu dhyāta (ku) samara saha Śrī S'arva Bhāṭṭarakaśa (ṣya), which he translated as "This is coin of the illustrious Śaiva Bhāṭṭaraka who meditated on the feet of king Mahākṣatrapa .... and who was his associate in the battle-field" 122. V.V. Mirashi puts together the legend from the letters reproduced by Newton from three best specimens, which he had obtained in Kathiawad and Kaira, and found it corroborated with the enlarged facsimile of a coin reproduced by G.V. Acharya. After careful examination of these letters V.V. Mirashi arrived at the conclusion that the complete legend with the vowels supplied, on these coins is 'Rajño Mahākṣatrapa (pa) ramā-dītya -bhakta - Mahāsāmanta (on some coins 'Mahāsāmanta' seems to have rightly preceded 'paramādītya - bhakta' (see Newton's eye copy of variety No. 17 in J.B.B.R.A.S, Vol. VII, P. 14 and the accompanying plate ) - Śrī S'arva - Bhāṭṭarakaśa '.

122. N.S.,XLVII, P. 101.
which means ' ( This is a coin ) of king, Mahākṣhata-rāpa
and Mahāsāmanta, the illustrious lord S'arvva who
is a fervent devotee of the sun ' . Here it
is necessary to add the observation of B. L. Mankad.
He writes, " The Kṣhtrapa coins can be grouped into several varieties according to their
legends; some bear the name ' S'ri Bhattāraka,' some of ' S'arvva - Bhattāraka' with the title
' Mahāsāmanta,' some of ' S'arvva - Bhattāraka' without the title ' Mahāsāmanta' and some have
only the name ' Bhattāraka '. According to P. L. Gupta the reading of V. V. Mirashi is perfect and
correct and he further states, " .... as we have verified it from some of the best specimens
preserved in the prince of Wales Museum. "

123. J. N. S. I., VI, pp. 16-17
125. Bharatiya Vidya, of cit.
Newton was the first to attribute these coins to the kings of Valabhi. He wrongly took the word 'Bhattaraka' as the family title of the Valabhi kings. Next Cunningham identified 'Bhattaraka' of the coins with 'Senāpati Bhattaraka' the founder of the Valabhi dynasty. So is the case with G.V. Acharya who also identified the 'Bhattaraka' of the coins with the founder of the Maitraka dynasty of Valabhi; he however, did not state who was his overlord bearing the title 'mahākṣatrapa'. But in view of the final and correct reading of the legend by V.V. Mirashi, these suggestions are now no more acceptable and the coins cannot be attributed to the Maitraka dynasty of Valabhi and to its progenitor Bhaṭṭaraka. The legend as read by V.V. Mirashi shows that the coins belong to some king, who was Mahākṣatrapa, Mahāsāmanta and Bhattaraka and whose name was Sri Săravva and who was the fervent devotee of the sun.

128. N.S., No. XLVII, 1937. op.cit.
P.L. Gupta has well established on the basis of several grounds that these coins cannot be attributed to king Bhātārka the founder of the Maitraka Dynasty. Senāpati Bhātārka is obviously distinct from king Mahākṣatrapa Bhāṭjaraka S'arvva. Moreover the fabric and type of these coins clearly indicate that they should be dated anterior to the Maitraka period. S'arvva Bhāṭjaraka seems to be the immediate successor of the Western Kṣatrapa kings and probably preceded the Gupta power in Gujarat. 129

As assumed by A.S. Altekar S'arvva may be taken as a remote ancestor of the Maitraka kings of Valabhi. The coins of the Kṣatrapa type.

were obviously issued by him but the coins of the Gupta types were evidently issued after the Gupta regime. The entire absence of coins bearing the names of the Maitraka kings imply that the coins of the Gupta type were probably issued by the Maitraka kings. Just as the Maitraka kings retained the Royal seal of S'ri Bhattacha throughout this region, they probably also retained the coinage of S'arvva Bhattaraka, who seems to be their remote ancestor. The religious epithet of 'S'arvva' may better be read as 'Parama = māhesvāra' as suggested by H.G. Shastri. Combination of the battle-axe with the trident may imply the influence of the Vaishnavism through the Gupta sovereigns who were parama- bhāgavataś.

In the present state of our knowledge it seems probable that the Maitraka kings somehow

chose not only to continue the coins of S'arvva Bhaṭṭāraka but even to strike new coins under his name.

(b) Epigraphic Reference to coin:

Unlike the Kshaharata Kshatrapa of the Satavahana inscriptions, the inscriptions of the Maitrakas hardly contained references to coins. Only a single inscription, namely, The Mota Bhamodra copper-plate inscription of Dhruvasena II dated 639 A.C. contains a reference to the daily donation of one Rūpaka from the royal treasury. According to Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar, "The words rūpa and rūpya both signify coins. As rūpa means 'a symbol, a figure', rūpya must denote an object bearing this symbol or figure." So rūpa and rūpya signify

132. Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics, 1921, P. 175.
coins in general and here, in the inscription, rūpaka may be used to suggest silver coins in particular.

In chapter XII of Adhyaksha-prachāra Kautilya speaks of 'rūpya - rūpa' and 'tāmra-rūpa', which cannot but signify 'silver and copper coins' respectively. He also specifies an officer called 'Rūpadarshaka', whose duty was to examine the coins in actual circulation or received as revenue into the royal treasury. No doubt can, therefore, be entertained as to the term rūpa meaning 'a coin'.

"The words rūpa and rūpya both signify coins. As rūpa means 'a symbol, a figure', rūpya must denote an object bearing this symbol or figure. One can, therefore, easily understand how Rūpya can stand for coins, because coins are objects on which symbols or figures are impressed or imprinted." 134

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133. The Carmichael Lectures, 1921, PP. 68, 126-127.
134. Ibid, P. 175.
But the word 'Rupya' is sometimes also used in the sense of silver. In this sense we came across the term 'Rupya - rupa' denoting a coin of silver.

The word 'Rupaka' is obviously derived from 'Rupa'. As 'Rupa' generally means 'a coin', the same meaning can be applied to 'Rupaka' by taking its affix 'ka' as used in the original meaning of the term. Like 'Rupga', 'Rupa' also denotes 'silver' as well as 'a coin'. If 'Rupaka' be used in this combined sense, it should be taken as denoting 'a silver coin'. This sense was more specifically denoted by the term 'Rupya - Rupaka' used by Kshiraswamin in his commentary on Amarakosha.

The Baigram copper-plate inscription of the Gupta year 128 (= 448 A.C.) refers to the price of the land in terms of 6 Dinaras and 8 Rupakas. This apparently indicates the gold and silver Gupta coins respectively. According to D.C. Sircar

135. Select Inscriptions. P.343. f.n.5.
one दिनार was equal to 16 रुपाकas in this context, which according to Vishnugupta (quoted in Hemādri's Vrata -Khaṇḍa) one रुपाक is equal to $\frac{1}{70}$ of a षुवर्णa and $\frac{1}{28}$ of a दिनāra (P.V. Kane, History of Dharmas'āstra, Vol. III, P. 122, f.n. 1-2).

What is a dinar?
SECTION I (CONT.)

MAITRAKA KINGDOM (C.470 A.C. to 788 A.C.)

CHAPTER 7

DIPLOMATIC OF MAITRAKA COPPER-PLATE

GRANTS

(a) Preamble :

(1) Invocation

(2) The place of issue

(3) The name of the donor with his titles, family, and ancestry

(4) Address in respect of grant

(b) Notification :

(1) The specification of the land granted

(2) The name etc. of the donee
(3) The purpose and utility of the grant

(4) The rite of donation

(c) Conclusion:

(1) An exhortation

(2) The names of the officials responsible for the preparation of the document

(3) The date and the authentication

(4) The seal and the sign-manual.
B. Ch. Chhabra uses the word 'diplomatic' in the sense of 'a critical study of diplomas' and 'diploma' in that of 'documentary source of history.' The Raman 'diploma' (from a Greek verb meaning 'to double') was so called because it was formed of two sheets of metal, which were shut together like the leaves of a book. Similar is the case with the grants of Maitraka rulers, which were incised on the inner side, of two plates of copper. The plates were held together by means of two copper rings passing through holes made in the lower margin of the first plate and upper margin.

of the second plate. One of the two rings bore the impression of the royal seal on its joint.

The contents of the royal charters, which were generally engraved on copper plates, may be divided into three broad sections, viz. (a) Preamble (b) Notification (c) Conclusion.

(a) Preamble :-

Preamble generally comprises the following items : (1) invocation (2) the place of issue (3) the name of the donor with his titles and ancestry, and (4) the address in respect of grant.

(1) Invocation :-

Generally a Maitraka charter opens with a mangala or auspicious invocation, viz. Om or swasti or om swasti.

The place of issue:

The name of the place, from which the grant was issued, was mentioned after the mangala or invocation. Maitraka charters were generally issued from the capital Valabhi. Sometimes the place of issue happens to be a place of royal encampment in the course of a military expedition.

The name of the donor with his titles and ancestry:

The mention of the name of the donor in the preamble of a grant is an important source of historical information. The edict of king Dronasiniha which the earliest known edict of the Maitraka kingdom represents the donor simply as 'Maharaja Dronasiniha meditating on the feet of Paramabhattaraka'. In all the succeeding Maitraka charters the name of the donor is mentioned with a royal title or titles, but

3. Some intermediary kings, from Siladitya I to Dhruvasena II, are introduced simply with the honorific title 'Sri', probably the kings did not like to hold feudatory titles, but they were not yet in a position to assume higher titles.
religious epithet and eulogy of his virtues and exploits. The passage pertaining to the donor was preceded by similar passages about all his successive predecessors. These passages were in their turn preceded by an eulogistic reference to the name of the royal family. The eulogistic passages were composed in a high prose style. The military exploits of the donor and his predecessors received special attention in the prasasti or eulogy, but they are depicted simply in vague and exaggerated forms of poetic expressiveness. Physical charms and qualities of head and heart, sometimes real but often imaginary, were generally made the subject of description. The Maitraka grants also make mention of the royal lineage.

(4) Address in respect of grant:

The order in respect of a Maitraka grant was

4. In course of time, when the predecessors multiplied in numbers some of the intermediary minor kings were dropped for the sake of brevity in the edicts of Guhasena and his predecessors. They give the name Bhattarka and then start with Guhasena.

5. Only the eulogy of king Śilāditya VII is given in verse.
often addressed to officers concerned but not to villagers. D.C. Sircar writes, "According to the legal etiquette of those days, the donor is usually described as Mus'alin, 'in good health'. The implication is that the donation was made when the donor was in his full senses and was not under the influence of any disease or intoxicant and that therefore the deed issued in favour of the donee should have to be recognised as a valid document." A long list of higher and lower officers addressed by the donor in connection with a grant is found in the Maitraka Charters.

(b) Notification :–

The items in notification are the central theme of a charter. They are: (1) the specification of the land granted, (2) the name of the donee, (3) the purpose and utility of the grant (4) the rite of donation.

(1) The specification of the land granted :–

The gift generally consists of a plot of land (generally a field) or several plots and / or

a reservoir or reservoirs, a village or villages. The name and location of the gift land are often indicated with reference to the district and other territorial divisions such as grāma, pathaka, vishaya, bhukti etc. In the case of plots of land and reservoirs their dimensions and boundaries were often specified.

(2) The name etc. of the donee:

The party, in whose favour the grant was made, sometimes consisted of a single person and sometimes of a number of persons or a temple or a vihāra or viharas. The individual donees were generally Brāhmaṇas whose names are often mentioned along with those of their fathers as well as those of their gotras, the Vedic sākhās to which they belonged and the places of their residence. In the case of migration, inscriptions also mention the place from which a donee originally hailed.

When a religious institution like a temple or a vihāra was the recipient of a grant the name of the deity is also mentioned.
The royal donor usually issued a gift of land for the increase of religious merits of his parents or his parents and himself. Some kings added another purpose to it, viz., the attainment of the desired objects pertaining to this world and the other world.

The utility of the grant on the part of the donee is mentioned in the case of Brāhmaṇa as "for the maintenance of the five great sacrificial rites of the bali, charu, vaisvadeva, agnihotra and atithi; to endure for the same time with the moon, the sun, the ocean, the rivers and the earth; (and) to be enjoyed by the succession of (his) sons and sons' sons .....; in the case of a temple, " provision of perfume, incense, a lamp, oil, a garland etc., for bathing and worshipping the deity, and for conducting repairs to the temple, and a provision for instrumental and vocal music etc", and in case of vihāra, " provision of a lamp, oil, flowers etc., for bathing and worshipping Buddha or Buddhas; for conducting the repairs in the vihāra, and a provision of feeding, clothing and medicine for the monks and nuns."
The expenses involved by a Brahmin or a temple or a vihara as mentioned above, were met from the income derived from a gift land, and for this reason in the edicts the following rights have been mentioned, viz. "the udranga, the uparikara, the vatabhuta-pratyaya, the bhaga-thoga, the chanya-hiranadeya, the utpadyamana-visthi and das'aparadha." The land given in religious gift was legally known as a dharma-daya in general; it was styled Brahmadeya if it was issued to a Brahmana and Devadeya if it was dedicated to (the temple of) a deity. This land was ranked as akarada, i.e. which is not assessable, according to the maxim of 'Bhumichchhidra' (i.e. uncultivated but cultivable land, which was granted as 'akarada'). The land remained in the possession of the grantee perpetually and even passed to his successors from generation to generation, 'as long as the moon, the Sun, the Ocean, the Land, the Rivers and the Mountains endure.' The grantee was not only exempted from paying the revenue, but also endowed with the right of enjoying its revenue for himself.

(4) The rite of donation:-

It was also specified that the religious gifts was made with the rite of the libation of water.
(c) Conclusion :-

The concluding part of a charter is important. Its items are: (1) an exhortation, (2) the names of the officials responsible for the preparation of the document, and (3) the date and the authentication.

(1) An exhortation :-

The notification of the grant of land was followed by the royal donor's edict to the addresses that no persons should interfere with the donee while enjoying, cultivating, getting cultivated or assigning the plot of land concerned. This was further followed by an exhortation or admonition which was addressed by the donor to the future kings of the land whether of his own or of any other royal house. It was requested that the addresses should sanction and maintain the grant made by the donor. The appeal for the preservation of the grant was accompanied by passages referring to the transitory nature of wealth and human life, to the permanent character of meritorious deeds like the gift of land, to the merit accruing to the grant of land and to the maintenance of such a grant, and to the suffering that would befall the confiscators or
(214)
(262)

violators of it. Some immeditory and imprecatory verses are usually quoted in this context. They are ascribed to Vyāsa. They are mostly found in the Purāṇa. Here it is to be noted that in the earlier grants the number of verses quoted in the concluding portion depended upon the space left for them, while since the reign of the Siladitya I the number and sequence of the verses were fixed and they remained intact throughout.

(2) The names of the officials responsible for the preparation of the document:

The royal order regarding the gift of land was sometimes issued by the king directly to the officers responsible for drafting the document, but it was not infrequently conveyed to the latter through an intermediary who was generally a high officer, sometimes even a prince (or a princess). He is generally called Dūtaka.


Slokas: 'Bhambhirvasudhā bhuktā 'Yanīha dhāridryabhāyānnarendrai', and 'Sashtim varshasaharāni.'
(lit. 'the messenger'). When the order emanated from
the king himself, the order is indicated as 'sva -mukh -
ājña ', 'the order from the (donor's) own mouth'. etc.
The word dūtaka is generally translated by the word
'executor (of a grant)', though it is believed
that the dignitary in question merely conveyed the king's
order relating to the grant to the official by whom
the charter was later drawn up and delivered to the
donee. A high officer was generally entrusted with the
task of drafting or writing out a charter. His name is
mentioned, generally with the name of his father and
his designation. 8

It is almost certain that the word 'likhita'
('written') used in a Maitraka copperplate grant, refers
to the drafting or composition of the charter and not to
the copying of the draft on the plates for the guidance
of the engraver. The Maitraka grants do not specify
the name of the engraver.

8. The early grants specified merely his name.
The Maitraka grants are all dated. Curiously enough the Maitraka kings, in dating their documents, did not make use of the name of the era. They contended themselves with giving the bare samvat (i.e. samvatsara or year) of the inscription.

Maitraka grants also specify other particulars of the date, viz. the month, fortnight and lunar day. On the basis of available data it is well established that all these years belong to the Valabhi era, which was but a modified form of the Gupta era. The era commenced in 318 A.C. But the years of the Gupta era were chaitradi. Whereas those of the Valabhi era were kartikadi, the years of the latter commencing five months earlier than those of the Gupta era. The date is given at the end of the charter.

Generally the authentication of the royal charter is indicated by the impression of the royal seal affixed to the joint of the one of the two copper rings which fastened the plates of records together. The donor's signature on the original document later incised on the plates, is also copied and engraved at the end.

The royal seal of the Maitraka kings, whose family
generally professed Shaivism, bore the emblem of Nandi, the sacred vehicle, of Shiva in the upper half and the legend 'Śrī Bhaṭakkaḥ' (i.e. Bhaṭarkaḥ) in the lower half. Thus the legend on the seals of the Maitraka kings bears the name of the founder of the dynasty and not the name of the particular king who issued the charter bearing the seal.

The autograph (sva-hasta) of the royal donor contained the name and his titles in the early grants but these particulars were dropped in the later grants for the sake of brevity.
APPENDIX I

THE CHARTER OF VISHNUSHENA (Samvat 649)

In the office of the Government Epigraphist of India, Ootakamund, there are two sets of old impressions of an exceedingly interesting copper-plate inscription. The original document is not found. The impressions belong to a copperplate charter of Vishnushena.

The charter of king Vishnushena makes no reference to the name of his family or lineage, nor does it allude to any predecessors of the donor. Hence it is very difficult to determine the dynasty of this king and locate his realm.

On various grounds D.C. Sircar has suggested that the record under study was issued by a ruler of

Western India and from internal evidence he has tried to establish some link between Vishnushena and Maitraka kings of Valabhi. 2

The document records an order, issued from the Vasaka (residence) at Lohata, by a ruler named Vishnushena (called Vishnubhata in the endorsement) who is endowed with the subordinate titles Mahakarta-kritika, Mahadamdanayaka, Mahapratihara, Mahasamanta and Maharaja. These titles are already issued. It is interesting to note that precisely the same five feudatory titles, the 'pancha-mahahabdas' are also known to have been used by Maitraka Dhruvasena I of Valabhi. 3

The eulogy of the king is not given. The following officers are mentioned, namely; Rajan, Rajaputra, Rajasthaniya, Ayuktaka, Viniyuktaka, Saulkika, Choroddharanika, Vailabdhika, Drangika, Chahta and Bhatta,

2. For details see, ibid, PP. 163-170
3. (xx, xi, xxx, p. 358), HIG, No. 27.
and Dhruvādhikaranika. Here Rājan and Rājapuṭa apparently refer to subordinate rulers and their sons put in charge of administrative units. Vailabdhika may have been the custodian of recovered stolen property as the Yukta of Manu Smṛiti (VIII, 34), although the Rājatarangini (VII, 161-163) uses the word Vilabdhi probably in the sense of an assignment. The word Chhatra (= a court peon) has been actually used in line 12 of the inscription under study. Other officers are already discussed in the portion of 'officers' under the Maitraka kingdom. The designation of the dūtaka is 'sandhivigrāhādhikaranādhiṅkṛita' i.e. an officer of the department of war and peace.

Grāma is the only unit of administration mentioned in the charter.

There is no mention of units of land measurement as the king issued a 'sthiṭi-pātra' or 'āchāra-sthiṭi-pātra' for the protection and settlement of the people of his realm.

4. cf. EI, XXX, P. 167.
D.C. Sircar has noted that the record is highly interesting from the lexical unit of view, as it abounds in words which are not to be traced in the standard Sanskrit lexicons and are in many cases extremely difficult to interpret. Some of these words seem to be of Prakrit origin and may be explained with the help of the vocabularies of some forms of the Prakrit speech. So a number of obscure and technical words, which could not be traced to any other work, have been conjecturally explained.

Petavika - Varika (No. 27), Uttarakulika - Varika (Nos. 28, 29, 31) and Kalvapala - varika (No. 27) are mentioned as officers. The Varika seems to indicate a class of officials. It may be compared with Gujarati 'vāredāra' or tax-gatherer. The Brihaspati Smriti (B.O.S. ed. P.159) mentions Varika along with the Chaturvaidya, vanika, sarva-gramīpa, mahattara and others, while Rajatarangini (VI, 345) speaks of the Kaṭaka-varika. The meaning is, however, not clear. The word may be connected with 'vāra', probably meaning, 'the number of a committee.' and occurring in such expressions as vāra-gosṭhī, pañcha ś vāra and vāra-pramukha found
in inscriptions. Uttarakulika like Petavika, possibly meant another class of varika or official. The uttara-kulikas appear to have been associated with the law court. In cases of disputes in regard to the measurement, the measuring pot or the thing measured, such officers were possibly not allowed to go out of the court to be influenced by one party or the other. The varika of the Kalvapāla community was apparently in charge of a store-house of wine. The word Kalvapāla is found in the lexicon in the sense of 'a spirit-distiller' (cf. Rājaṭaramgini, iv, 467). It is also found in the form kulapāla in Vis'varūpa's commentary on the Yajñavalkya Smṛiti (Vyavahāra, verse 50) and is the same as Prakrit Kallāla and Hindi and Gujarati Kalāla. While measuring wine in chaturthas or quarter measures at the royal store-house with the measuring pot in hand, the Varika or officer of the Kalvapāla community was possibly not allowed to divert his attention to some other work.

Samanta, amatya or dūtāka are mentioned as visiting officers to a village. (Nos. 10-11).

5. cf. BL, XXX, PP. 171-172.
Karaṇa apparently means adhikaraṇa 'law-court' and 'Chhatra' seems to indicate a peon or a constable. (No. 29)

In No. 30, the clerks who had to write down the statements of cases in the law-courts are mentioned.

**Forced Labour:**

Forced labour is legalised in this period and it is specifically mentioned in the āchāras. The blacksmiths (lohakāra), carpenters (rathakāra), barbars (napita), potters (Kumbhakāra) and others could be recruited for forced labour. (No. 72) The dhenku, Kaḍdhaka and ḍumphaka were exempted from forced labour (No. 19). If dhenku is the same as Gujarati dhikvo (just as Dḥikvā chawki in Ahmedabad), Hindi ḍhekul, ḍhekli, in the sense of the contrivance (based on the principle of lever) for drawing water from well, the drawers of water for the irrigation of fields may be the persons indicated by dhenku-kaḍḍhaka.

The prapa-ḍūrakas and gopālas were not to be recruited for free labour on behalf of the king (No. 20).
Prapaśpuraka is a person entrusted with prapaśpurana, i.e. 'filling the cisterns with water on a place for watering cattle or supplying water to travellers.' It is mentioned that the cultivators coming out of their areas for sowing seeds during season were not apprehended or engaged by the king or landlord in free labour. (No. 24).

**Fines:**

In the 'āchāra-sthiti-pātra' various types of fines for different crimes are mentioned.

In cases of fraud in regard to the delivery of raj-argghika, the officers concerned were liable to a fine. (No. 32)

'Mudrapachāra' is the crime of using counterfeit coins (or, the misuse of official seals). (No. 33)

A subordinate ruler was liable to pay a fine if he disposed of a case involving landed property without informing his overlord (No. 34) and other conditions are also mentioned. (Nos. 35-36).
There was a fine for Karana-trotana i.e. cutting off of a bit from someone's ear (No. 237).

The fine for the offence of defamation and assault (or rough behaviour) is also mentioned (No. 38). In case of danda-parushya involving visible injury or infliction of wounds is also mentioned (No. 38).

The offence involving 'taundika' by cows caused a fine. The meaning of 'taundika' is 'biting of crops with mouth'. (No. 40). The offence involving taundika by a she-buffalo is also to be fined (No. 41).

Offences regarding wine:

One being found out with a vessel full of wine distilled illegally (No. 42-43); one being caught with a vessel full of wine for the second time (No. 44); one being caught while distilling liquor (No. 45) are to be fined. Ṭaṭāra No. 46 is apparently related to the distillation of wine. D.C. Sircar finds it extremely difficult to explain the Ṭaṭāra. He writes, 'If the king's share of these articles (articles for distillation of wine) was not delivered by the producers by the full-
mood day of Āshādha (which was according to Kautilya, the last day of the financial year, 'Arth, II, 7')
then to such objects of mortgage (grahanaka) was
applied and they were subject to the payment of interest
at the mortgage rate but no fine (danda) , or such
objects were confiscated and no fine was levied. 6

Currency :

Rūpaka and Vinīs'ıpaka are mentioned as
the names of the coins prevalent in the kingdom.
Divisions of the rūpaka are \( \frac{1}{2} \) and \( \frac{4}{4} \). 7 It is to be
noted that in time 32 of the record five vinīs'ıpakas
have been separately indicated by the symbols for \( \frac{4}{4} \)
(pāda). This shows that five vinīs'ıpakas were equal
to \( \frac{4}{4} \) rūpaka coin (No.40). Rūpaka coin is discussed
in the Maitraka kingdom and Vinīs'ıpaka coin is discussed
in the Chaulukya kingdom of Anahilapura.

7. ibid, āchāra Nos. 41 to 45, 48, 49, 51, 53 to 58, 60, 61, 65 to 69.
Weight measures:

Mana-bhānda, s'oti, pala, seti, pada-ghaṭa, sidhu-chaturtha are mentioned as the weight measures. Mana-bhānda seems to be a measuring pot or thing measured (No.28). S'oti seems to mean a pot for measuring liquids like wine. (cf. sotu, samtū, sortige etc. meaning a specific liquid measure in some early Kannada inscriptions, and savatu in modern Kannada in the sense of 'a laddle'). Quarter measure was also used for measuring liquid like wine by means of a pot (No.47). Pala is a weight measure for grains etc. A pala is equal to four Karshas (No.58). Setika is the same as Prakrit seī or seīgā indicating a measure equal to two prasṛiti. Prasṛiti means a handful of things regarded as equivalent to two palas in weight (No.63). Pada-ghaṭa probably indicates a jar holding a quarter measure of wine (No.69). Sidhu-Chaturtha means the quarter-measures of the liquor called Sidhu (No.70).

Various sources of state revenue:

The āchāras contained details about various sources of state revenue. The main types are as follows:
(i) Periodical offerings to be made to the king. (No.14).

(ii) Taxes levied on Nila-kuti or indigo factory (No.48); on sugar-cane plantation (No.49); or an alla-vata (ginger plantation) (No.50); or the oil mill (W Yantra-kuti) (No.51).

(iii) Merchants staying abroad for a year or for foreign merchants. (No.52) have to pay taxes.

(iv) Further, it is specified that a boat full of vessels probably a metal (No.53); a boat full of paddy (or grains in general) (No.59); the crossing fare for a boat full of dried ginger sticks (lakata) (No.60); a boat full of bamboos (No.51); a boat full of buffaloes and camels (No.54); a boat full of bulls (No.55); a boat full of asses (No.56) - all have to pay crossing fares or taxes.

(v) The taxes for bundles suspended from loops probably in shops (No.57); a bundle weighing 100 palas (No.58) are mentioned.
(vi) Two handfuls of cummin seed, black mustard and coriander seed could be taken as sample by royal officials (No.63).

(vii) In the possession of a bride-groom had to cross the boundary of the kingdom or district to reach the house of the bride, it had to pay the crossing fare (No.65).

(viii) Taxes on wine:

If a vehicle or boat of wine had to cross border, it was taxed (No.66).

There was a tax for 'Khalla' (lit. 'leather'; cf. Bengali -Hindi - Gujarati Khāl) measure. 'Khalla' seems to mean here a leather vessel for carrying a liquid like wine which is mentioned in No.65 (No.67).

There was a tax for a loop holding Kela. It may also mean a vessel for carrying wine, which was smaller than Khalla. (No.68).

Three Chaturthas or quarter measures of the liquor 'Idhu' were regarded as the tax for very strong liquors (No.70).
S'ulka or customs duties are also mentioned. (Nos. 26, 44, 65).

Professional tax:

The Chhipakas, Kolikas and Padakaras who appear to have been followers of particular professions, possibly had to pay as tax half the money that would be the price of the things produced by them according to the rate prevalent in the land. Chhipaka in Prakrit Chhipaya (Gujarati Chhipo) meaning 'a dyer of clothes'. Kolika may be the same as Sankrit Kaukika or a weaver and Padakara may possibly be a shoe-maker. If Padakara may possibly be is the same as Hindi paukara, he was a retailer hawking his goods on foot. (No. 71).

Other taxes:

The 'mana-pautava' had to be examined in the months of Ashadha and Pausha, and a tax of $\frac{1}{4}$ rupees was taken. It applied even to religious functions. The word 'mana-pautava' also occurs in Kautiliya's Arthasastra (2.19), where it is taken
to mean standardization of measurement. Here, however, D.C. Sircar takes it in the sense of a store-house where grains were measured and stored (No. 25). If one stored and disposed of grains etc. without informing the royal officials, one had to pay eight times the usual tax. (No. 26).

Exemptions and concessions in tax:

There was no tax for paddy (or grains in general) to be carried by a person on his shoulder (No. 62). Ceremonies such as marriages were not to be taxed. (No. 64).

In the ācharas Nos. 49, 52, 53, 55, and 66 there was some reduction in the tax if there was any religious cause behind it, but however in the ācharas Nos. 54, 56, 60, 61, and 69 there was no concession given in the tax even if the cause was religious.

Āchara-wyavastha regarding courts or legal action:

There are some ācharas regarding judicial actions. They are as follows:
The property belonging to a person who died without leaving a son should not be confiscated by royal officials disregarding the claims of any legal heir other than the son (No. 1). The royal officials are asked not to break open or violate the 'umāra', the meaning of which is uncertain. It may be related to the word 'umbara' (Pali umāra); Prakrit, umara; Gujarati umbro, umro, 'threshold'). The reference may be to the threshold or door of a house (No. 2).

The 'vyavahāra' and 'udbhavaka' is not to be accepted. The word 'vyavahāra' may here be taken in the case of a 'law-suit', but the real meaning of 'udbhavaka' is uncertain. It may, however, refer to a case carelessly put before the court (cf. udbhavaka 'neglect') or to one based on fabrication or false allegation (No. 3). The royal officials should not go in for the apprehension of persons or for taking up a case against one or for seizing one's things through mere suspicion (S'anka) of a crime (No. 4). The wid wife should not be apprehended for a husband's guilt (No. 5).
In the case of the rise of Kshemagni, chhala should not be accepted. The word chhala ordinarily means a pretext but technically it denotes careless declaration. If we follow the technical sense of chhala the achara may mean that no half-hazard allegation should be entertained against one's neighbour for the burning of one's house when, according to the accused, the conflagration resulted from the sacred fire (Kshemagni) kindled in his house. But if the ordinary meaning of a ward (chhala) is preferred, this may refer to a case involving the burning of a neighbour's house, in which the plea that the conflagration was due to the sacred fire kindled in the house of the accused would not be accepted. (No. 6)

The achara No. 7 means either that (1) there was no pretext for a man who was himself responsible for cutting a bit from a neighbour's ear, or that (2) no careless accusation was acceptable from a man in regard to the cutting of a bit from his own ears. If 'hrasita' may here be taken in the sense of 'sounded', the reference may also be to a case in which the details of a dispute had previously reached the ears of the judge who was thus in a position to detect the fabricated element in the statement put to
him without investigation (No.7). A law suit could be taken up for disposal only when the complainant and the defendant were both present and never in the absence of either of the parties (No.8). The next achara means either that (1) the pretext of being engaged in work at the shop should not justify the absence of a party to a law-suit from the court, or that (2) no careless statement of accusation was acceptable from a person who had been at the time of occurrence busy in a shop or market. (No.9).

A merchant belonging to another district or kingdom should not be accepted as a witness in a criminal case involving persons of a locality when he happened to be present on account of some reason or other. (No.16). A proper complaint and not mere wailing, was acceptable to court (No.17). The sārikā bird could not be allowed to be a witness in cases of defamation and assault. (No.18).

Persons engaged in work at home or at their shops should not be summoned to court by means of a seal-ring or a letter or by a messenger unless they were involved in a criminal case. (No.21).
Persons engaged in such works as a sacrifice or a marriage ceremony should not be summoned to court to refute the charges brought against them. Or, there may be reference here to two different sets of persons who should not be summoned namely, (1) one engaged in Yajña, (2) one already involved in another case. (No.22).

In connection with a written complaint about the realisation of borrowed money, the debtor, when he was not under wooden or metal handcuffs because of security having been furnished for him by somebody, should enjoy the protection of the court. This seems to say that in the case of a debtor, for whom security had been furnished, neither handcuffs nor guards at court were necessary. When no 'pratibhū' was furnished, the court had to arrange for the person's watch and the cost of it had to be borne by the parties (No.23).

Documentary form of the grant-edict:

The impressions show that the size of the plates was 43.688 cms (17.2") by 18.542 cms (7.3").
There are 16 lines of writing on the impression of the first plate and 18 lines on that of the second, but the last three lines of the impression written in letters of slightly smaller size, record an endorsement and were apparently engraved later than the main document. The letters of the document are very carefully and beautifully incised and are about .508 cms (2") in height. A scrutiny of the impressions shows that the inscription was incised on the inner sides of a set of two rectangular plates of the same size. There are two holes in the lower border of the writing of the first plate and also in its upper border on the second, the lines of writing running lengthwise. Two rings were necessary for the rather unusual length of the plates. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. The record is composed throughout in prose.

The charter opens with an auspicious invocation, namely, svasti. The next is mentioned the place of issue. The king is endowed with 'pañcha mahās 'abdas ' and they are separately mentioned.
The orders in respect of the charter are addressed to feudatories, princes and officials concerned with the locality.

This charter (achara-sthiti-patha) is issued by the king in protecting and favouring his own people. This is actually a long list of regulations. At the end the king also approved of other acharas that were handed down from ancient times.

The party in whose favour the charter was issued consisted of the people and particularly merchants of the Lohata grama.

The notification of the charter is followed by an exhortation which was addressed by the donor to the future kings whether they belonged to his family or otherwise to sanction and maintain the achara for the increase of fame, merit and fruits of his good deeds.

The charter is mentioned as perpetual and it is specified that it even passed from generation to generation 'as long as the moon and sun endure,' and it was to be observed from day to day life.
The executor or dutaka is mentioned.

The document is dated i.e. 5th day of the bright half of Sravana in the year 649 and the endorsement is also dated i.e. 7th day of the dark half of Karttika in the year 357. Both the dates are expressed in symbols instead of numerical figures of the decimal notation. It seems that the year 357 refers to a date later than that indicated by the year 649.

D.C. Sircar comes to the conclusion that the year 649 can only be referred to the Vikrama era and taken as corresponding to 592 A.C. The later date, year 357, which can only be referred to the Kalachuri-Chādi era or the Gupta-Valabhi era corresponds either to 605 A.C. or to 676 A.C.⁸ The main document ends with date and the representation of Vishnuśeṇa's signature.

This is followed by an endorsement.

Samanta Avanti issued an order from Darpapura to his

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⁸ See for further details. EI., XXX. PP. 166-167.
own officials informing them that he had given his
assent to the 'sthiti-vyavastha' granted by the
illustrious Vishnubhaṭa to the community of merchants
residing at Lohatakagrama and that persons conducting
their respective trades and following above 'sthiti-patra-vyavastha'
should not be disturbed in any way.
The endorsement ends with the second date referred
to above.

As the endorsement is added later on and
as Avanti refers to Vishnushena simply as S'ri
Vishnubhaṭa though he himself was mere Sāmanta, it appears
that Lohata area passed under the power of Sāmanta
Avanti shortly after the charter of Vishnushena.
Appendix II

The Gadhaiya Coins

Coins, probably known as Gadhaiya coins, were current in Gujarat since the Maitraka period. They were originally a Huna imitation of Sassanian coins.

(a) The Sassanian monarch Firuz reigned from A.C.457 & to 458, and the Huna imitations followed the type of coins of the latter part of this region, say from A.C. 470 to 484.

The Sassanian silver coins of Firuz are very thin, 1.2" in diameter and 59 grams in weight. Obverse (within circle): King's face in profile to right, pronounced nose, short head, ear-ring with triple pendant, rose over lobe of ear, tight-fitting necklace, sash over each shoulder, high crown with star on either. Legend: Kadi Piruzi (King Firuz); or Zadon Kadi Piruzi (the Ahura-mazda—worshipping Firuz);
outside circle) Above the crown a crescent with star in its bosom or some of the coins of Firuz the king's crown has two wings, one in front and the other behind. Reverse: (within circle) Fire altar narrow at middle and surmounted by four rows of flame, a wing on each side of altar, near its centre: standing on each side an attendant with sword to ground, to left of flame a star, and to right a crescent moon.

(b) The first imitations were current in Western Rajputana during the reign of Tormana in the first quarter of the 6th century. Subsequently through Mewar, Marwar and all Rajputana the later Huna imitations had a large circulation. They were also current in Gujarat and Kathiawad side by side with the Valabhi, coinage. This latter ceased to issue after the fall of Valabhi about the year A.C. 788 and thereafter the Huna imitations served as the currency for those provinces.
The description of the Buna imitations of the above mentioned coins which may be prevalent during the Maitraka period is as follows:

Silver coins, diameters reduced but thickness increased, average weight of five coins 57 grams. These coins probably represent the Greek drachma. (E.J. Rapson: Indian coins, P.34).

Obverse: Original design crudely copied with much blurring and loss of detail; face recognisable but attenuated; nose long and very alternated; in front of lips a snake like wavy line. Legend represented by mere strokes.

Reverse: Fairly clear outline of fire-altar, flame being represented by a pyramid of dots, attendants shrunk to curved lines.¹

The origin of the word 'Gadhaiya' is variously explained. One popular tradition ascribes it to Gardhabhilla who is mentioned in the Jain tradition in Kalakacharya Kathānaka as living in 1st century B.C. This does not seem to be plausible as these coins cannot be so early as seen above. The name Gadhaiya or as sometimes pronounced, Gadhiya, is said to be derived from the Skt. Gardabhiya, meaning 'asinine', 'of the Ass - dynasty'. For some twenty years the settlement of Hūnas on the banks of the oxus, the reigning Sassanian king was Varahran V (419 - 438 A.C.), who from his devotion to the chase, and especially to the chase of the wild ass, gained the nickname of Varahran Gur, or Bahran the Ass (-hunter). Now when his enemies, the Hūnas, having dabbed the term insignificant looking silver pieces 'Ass-money', a name that would readily 'stick'. Later on when imitations of coins of the same Sassanian type were struck by the Hūnas themselves in India, the name would fall to be translated by some Prakrit form of the Skt. equivalent, Gardabhiya, and this
designation, by the process of phonetic degeneration proceeding pari passu with the more and more degraded workmanship of the coins themselves, finally dwindled down to Gadhaiya, the term in use to-day by the common people. Taylor derived Gadhaiya in this way:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Gardabhiya} & = \text{Gaddahiya} = \text{Gadhaiya} \\
& = \text{Gadhaiya} = \text{Gadhaiya}\text{-ka} \\
& = \text{Gadhaiya}. \\
\end{align*}
\]