CHAPTER IV

STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY IN MÄLWA
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Section - A

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The political history of Mālwa during the post-Maurya period is characterised by a long-drawn struggle for supremacy between the Śakas and the Śatavāhanas with intervention of short duration by the Kuśāṇas and the Sassanians.

The Śatavāhanas in Mālwa

It is stated in the Purāṇas that the Kāṇvas and the remnants of the Śunga power were overthrown by the Śatavāhanas. It has already been shown that the Kāṇvas were ruling at Mālwa. The first Śatavāhana ruler Simuka, therefore, overthrew the Kāṇvas in Mālwa. The Śatavāhana suzerainty over Mālwa seems to have been established about the third quarter of the 1st Century B.C. and probably continued till the beginning of the third decade of the 1st Century A.D.

2. See above, Ch. II, P. 56.
The continuance of the Śātavāhana rule over Mālwa is attested by the inscription and coins of Śrī Śatakarni, the third ruler of the dynasty. The first evidence at our disposal is the Sāñchi Stūpa Inscription. It is a donative inscription recording the gift of one of its architraves by a certain Ānanda, foreman of the artisans of King Śrī Śatakarni. 

There is difference of opinion with regard to the King's name found in the record. According to Rapson, the donation was made during the reign of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Śatakarni, whereas according to Cunningham the name of the king is 'Śrī-Śatakarni' and the metronymic 'Vāsiṣṭhīputra' is to be joined with the name of the donor Ānanda.

In accordance with the palaeography of the record the King referred to should be placed early in the dynasty. Bühler proposed to identify him with Śrī Śatakarni of the Nānāghāṭ and Hathigumpha Inscriptions on consideration of the

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5. Rapson's Catalogue, P. III.
palaeographic characteristics of the record in question. After a careful examination of all the inscriptions on the gateways of Sāñchī Tope and their comparison with other inscriptions of known dates, Lieutenant Maisey and Cunningham have expressed the opinion that the latest date of the record may be placed in the beginning of the 1st Century A.D. Śrī Śātakarnī of the record is, therefore, no other than the third ruler of the Śātavāhana dynasty, who ruled at the beginning of the 1st Century A.D. The probability that Vāsishṭhīputra Ānanda was not a resident of Sāñchī but migrated to the place to make the gift is hinted at by some. But it is a surmise only.

The epigraphic study is corroborated by the numismatic evidences. We have both potin and copper coins bearing the legend 'Raño-Śiri-Śātasa'. Like most of the Śātavāhana coins it is struck with a bigger die with the result that we miss a part of the legend and device. 8

8. Rapson's Catalogue., P. XCII.
MĀLWA FABRIC

Obv: Type uncertain

Rev: Elephant standing right, below symbolical representation of river with fish.

Raño Sīrī Sātasa. ⁹

Obv: Elephant standing to right, with tree within railing above, three peaked hill in front and river with fish below.

Rev: Man standing facing in the centre and Ujjayini symbol on its proper right and the legend. ¹⁰

The findspot of these coins is not recorded. But, on the basis of type and fabric, these coins may be attributed to Mālwa. It is unanimously held by scholars that the coins with symbolical representation of river with fish and Ujjayini symbol, are connected with the early cast and punch-marked coins of Erāṇ, Besnagar and Ujjayini in Mālava. Rapson is inclined to attribute the above coins to Mālwa.¹¹ According to Cunningham, the coins of Ujjayini are invariably round in shape, while

⁹. Ibid. P. 1. Other scholars like Ajay Mitra Sastri took the obverse side as reverse and reverse side as obverse on ground that the commonest practice of the Sātavāhana rulers was to give legends only on obverse and that as elephant occurs as a popular type of Sātavāhana coins he preferred to regard it as obverse. Cf. RJIU, 1975, P. 11, fn.18.

¹⁰. RJIU, 1975, P.11.

¹¹. Rapson's Catalogue., P.XCII.
those of Besnagar and Erañ "are nearly all square". Following this line of argument the above coins of Sātakarni which are round in shape may be attributed to West Mālwa.

Recently a coin of Śrī-Sātakarni has been discovered from the bed of the river Betwa close to the old mounds of Besnagar. The coin is made of copper and square in shape measuring 1.85 cm. and weighs 72.50 grains. It is a single type coin with blank reverse. On the obverse - In the centre from left to right the following three punched devices:

(i) three-arched hill, (ii) Ujjayinī symbol (better varja)
(iii) tree within railing

Below these devices the fourth punch,

viz., river with fish etc.,

in the upper part is punched the Brāhmī legend (ra) ṇo Sēri Sātakarni(Sa).

Rev : Blank.13

Like the majority of punch-marked coins, the coin in question bears a group of five punch-marks, the only difference

12. Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India (Vārāṇasī, 1963), P.95.
being that one of the five symbols is replaced by the legend giving the name of the issuing chief. This coin bears also close resemblance to the copper punch-marked coins belonging to Eran-Vidisa region in respect of fabric, devices and execution. Dr. P.L. Gupta has shown similarity of different series of punch-marked coins current in different localities with Mauryan silver punch-marked coins. In view of this the punch-marked copper coins are assigned to the post-Mauryan period that witnessed the growth of a large number of petty independent states on the ruins of the Mauryan empire. As such the Eran-Vidisa copper punch-marked specie are to be attributed to the Sungsas and the Kanyakas, who turned out to be local rulers with their seat of authority at Vidiṣā. According to Dr. Ajay Mitra Sastri, the above mentioned Satavahana punch-marked piece which is the geneological descendant of Eran-Vidisa punch-marked series, clearly indicates that the Satavahanas succeeded the Sungsas and Kanyakas in the Vidiṣā region and thereby lend a definite support to the Purānic tradition.

14. ARASI., 1913-14, PP. 220-25.
16. Ibid.
Some coins bearing the name of Śrī Śātakarni, although discovered in the Jabalpur and Hosangabad districts of Madhya Pradesh, are attributed by Dr. Sastri to Vidiśā. One such coin found near Jamunia in the Hosangabad district is described as follows:

Obv: In the centre from left to right,

1) elephant, 1i) crescented Ujjayinī symbol,

iii) triangle - headed standard (jayadhvaja) within a railing. Below - river with fish and tortoise and in the upper part the Brāhmī legend - Rañō Śīrī Śātakaṇaśa.

Rev: Ujjayinī symbol with solid orbs and crescent over one of its orb.\(^{17}\)

One of these coins found out from the ruins of Tripuri (modern Tewar) is described thus:

Obv: In the centre from the left to right,

1) elephant, 1i) crescent Ujjayinī symbol,

iii) triangle - headed standard (jayadhvaja) within a railing. Below river with fish and tortoise and in the upper part the Brāhmī legend - Rañō Śīrī Śātakaṇaśa.

Rev: Bhank.\(^{18}\)

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17. Katar described the coin in a different manner.
JNSI., XII, PP. 94-97.

18. RJIU., 1975, P. 5.
Dr. Shastri has reasonably suggested that those coins, being affiliated to the Erañ-Vidisā tradition, should have originally belonged to the Vidisā region. The common religious practice of throwing coins in the river provides us with an explanation for the discovery of coins in the bed of the river Narmadā.

A few coins discovered from the bed of the river Betwa near the old mounds of Besnagar and from Ujjayinī, are attributed to Śātakarnī I. The first one is a cast copper coin of round shape. It may be described as follows :-

Obv. : In the centre a female figure (probably Laksāmī) standing on a circular floral platform and Ujjayinī symbol with one of its orb surmounted by a crescent to her right and the Brāhma legend,

Raño Siri-Sātasa.

Rev. : Elephant walking to right between two, three-peaked hills, behind it a long arch and above it, a flowering tree within railing.

Another copper coin, rectangular in shape is found to be considerably worn out. According to Dr. Bajpai, it may be described thus :-

19. Ibid. P.5.
Obv.: In the centre elephant standing to left with uplifted trunk, below chakra and a wavy line and above legend - Rāṇo Sirī-Śātasa.

Rev.: Ujjayinī symbol, nandipāda and other devices.21

There is a striking similarity between the character of the coin-legends referred to above and that of the inscription referring to "Devi-Nāyanikāya Rāṇo ca Sirī Sātakamino" over the relief figures of the king and the queen in the Nānāghat Cave.22 This may be explained by supposing that they belong to the same period and refer to the same king, Śrī Sātakāṃi, the third king of the Sātavāhana dynasty who may have ruled in the second decade of the 1st Century A.D.

Mālwa which was brought under the possession of the Sātavāhanas in the last quarter of the 1st Century B.C. continued to be retained by them till the end of Śrī Sātakāṃi's reign. The chronology of the early Sātavāhana rulers is to be based upon the Purānic accounts. Accordingly, the Śungas/came to power 137 years after Chandra Gupta Maurya's accession, reigned for a period of


22. JBBRAS., XIII, P.311.
112 years and were overthrown by the Kāṇvas who ruled for 45 years. Simūka Sātavāhana, therefore, came to power about 30 B.C. by overthrowing the Kāṇvas and is known to have ruled for 23 years. The next ruler Krishṇa being assigned 18 years of reign-period, Sātakarni I, the third ruler of the dynasty, ascended the throne about 10-11 A.D. and ruled for 10 years till 20-21 A.D.

**Struggle between the Sātavāhanas and the Kusānās**

In the post-Sātakarni I and pre-Gautamiputra Sātakarni period, the history of the Sātavāhanas is enveloped in darkness due to dearth of evidences, either epigraphic or numismatic. The political fate of Mālwa seems to have been intimately related to that of the Sātavāhanas. We have hardly any evidence to throw light upon the history of Mālwa till the discovery of the Kuśāna records at Sāñchī.

It is generally maintained by scholars that the Sātavāhanas suffered a temporary eclipse of power during the time of Sātakarni I's successors due to the rise and growth of the Kshaharātas. The decline of Calliena and rise of Barygaza as ports, referred to in the 'Periplus of the Erythrean Sea' are
taken into consideration in this connection. But little attention has been drawn so far to the impact of Kusāṇa imperialism upon the position of the Śatavāhanas in Mālwa, an inland country, lying not far from the western coast of India.

The Imperial Kusāṇa ruler Kanishka I who is known to have come to power in the fourth quarter of the 1st Century A.D. made his conquests in all directions including the south. The legend of Kanishka's fight with the Śatavāhana monarch occurs in a Chinese Text called 'Yü-Yang-tsa-tsu' written by Chang-Che in A.D. 860. In Chapter XI of this work we find the following account:

"In Gandhāra (Kan-to) there reigned a king named Kanishka. He led his armies against all nations. Once during his campaign in India someone presented him two very fine fabrics, one of which he bestowed to his queen. The queen clothed herself and came forward before the king. Now, on the fabric, just over the breast of the queen appeared the imprint of a hand in saffron (colour). At the sight of this the king became angry and ordered

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the merchant who had sold it to appear before him. The merchant then told that in South India reigned a King Sātavāhana (Sotopo-hen); every year he accumulated fine fabrics brought to him as taxes; he imprinted his hands wetted in saffron on these stuffs, and this imprint penetrated through all the pieces heaped up in thousands and ten thousands.

Hearing this the king cried out and vowed that he would not sleep or take rest before he cut off the hands and feet of the Sātavāhana monarch."

Similar accounts about the Kushāna-Sātavāhana hostilities are preserved in some medieval texts. To this category should belong the well-known Persian work called "Muymachu-Tawa-rikh". In this work we find the name of the Sātavāhana monarch Hāla. Hāla appears in the Puranic list as the name of the Āndhra monarch. It is, however, not necessary to assume that this particular Sātavāhana king is referred to. The term 'Hāla' may be the same as 'Sāta'; as 'Sā' is actually noted to have changed into 'Hā' in certain legends on Sātavāhana coins. The 'sāta' may be an abbreviated form of Sālahana and the latter a Prākrt form of the name of Sātavāhana. So, Hāla may denote here a Sātavāhana monarch.

A similar narratives is to be found in 'Tahquq-i-Hind' written sometime before 1048 A.D. All these are characterized by the same theme of a quarrel over an imprint on a cloth. It seems that a tradition regarding an aggressive attitude of Kaṇishka towards the Śatavāhana monarch was current in North India since early times. Because it required sufficient time for the tradition to move outside India and be recorded in the medieval texts of China and Persia, the tradition may not be without some historical basis. The powerful Kuśāṇa king might have been envious of the position of the Śatavāhana king who had become rich with the support of the mercantile community. It has been said that every year the Śatavāhana king had brought to him thousands of fine fabrics as taxes. An inland market town like Vidiśā and a coastal port like Kalyan flourished under the Śatavāhanas.

However, it may be reasonably assumed that Kaṇishka I, following an aggressive policy against the Śatavāhana ruler ousted him from Mālwa and brought it under his own possession. The Kuśāṇa hold over Mālwa is vouchsafed for by the epigraphic evidence. At Śānci excavations have yielded an inscription engraved in Kuśāṇa Brāhmī on the pedestal of an image of "Buddha".

The epigraph is dated in the year 22 and refers to Vāskusaṇa, possibly Vāsiska-Kuṣāṇa. The year 22 falls within the reign-period of Kaṇishka, the duration of whose reign-period is known to have extended from his own era, that is, from A.D. 78 to A.D. 101. It is possible that he put his son Vāsiska in charge of the province of Eastern Mālwa.

Vāsiska is again mentioned in a record at Sañchi inscribed in Kuṣāṇa Brāhmaṇ on the pedestal of a Bodhisattva statue. The epigraph notes the dedication of the image and a shrine in the Dharmadeva monastery in the year 28 of Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Vāsiska. The year 28 of Saka era corresponds to A.D. 106. It appears most probable that Mālwa, at least the eastern part of it, was included within the Kuṣāṇa empire at the end of the 1st Century A.D. and remained under the direct authority of the Kuṣāṇa till at least 106 A.D., if not later.

**Rise of the Kshaharātas**

The rise of the Kshaharātas, a branch of the Sakas of Northern India was no doubt an important factor contributing to

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the decline of the Śātavāhana power. That the Kshaharātās had come to power in Gujarāt and Kathiwar region is evident from the fact that the coins of Bhūmaka, the earliest known ruler of this dynasty, were put in circulation in those areas. ²⁷ His coins are also to be found in Ajmer and Mālwa region.²⁸ It is doubtful whether Mālwa was conquered by Bhūmaka. Mālwa, once included within the dominions of the Śātavāhanas was lost to the Imperial Kuśāṇas. If Bhūmaka had conquered it, we have to assume that the Kshaharātās had to loose Mālwa to the Śātavāhanas from whom the Kuśāṇas conquered it. But the discovery of a few coins does not necessarily indicate the inclusion of Mālwa within Bhūmaka's kingdom. It is quite probable that in course of trade and commerce the coins of Bhūmaka were brought to Mālwa.

Some scholars are of opinion that Bhūmaka was appointed as the Viceroy of Mālwa by the Kuśāṇas of

²⁷ H.V. Trivedi, Notes on some Kshatrapa coins, JNSI., XVII, P. 89.
²⁸ Cunningham, Coins of Medieval India (Delhi, 1967), P. 6; JNSI., XVII, P. 89.
Kanishka's house. This seems improbable in view of the fact that Bhūmaka cannot be placed at such a late date as to serve under the Kanishka's house. The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, the date of which has usually been assigned to about 60-80 A.D. refers to Nahapāna, successor of Bhūmaka. This seems to suggest that Bhūmaka, the predecessor of Nahapāna flourished sometime earlier. It may be suggested that the Kshaharātās migrated from the North to settle in Western India when the Parthian rule had become consolidated in the North-West India.

The growth of the Kshaharātā power at the cost of the Sātavāhanas may be inferred from a statement in the "Periplus of the Erythrean Sea." "To the gulf of Barace ( Dwarska) succeeded that of Bargygaza ( Broach) and the mainland of Ariacae, a district which forms the frontier of the kingdom of Mambanu and of all India. "Mambanu" of the text was read by Schoff as "Nambanu", and he identified him with Nahapāna, the Kshaharātā ruler of western India. "Ariacae" (Aparānta), which formed the frontier of the kingdom of Nahapāna,

29. K.C. Jain, Mālwa Through the Ages (Delhi, 1972), P.166.
30. Periplus. Sec. 41.
was previously under the possession of the Śatavāhanaś, as it is proved by the findspot of the Nānāghāt Cave Inscription of Śrī Śātakarnī. This, no doubt, indicates a military victory of the Kshaharātas against the Śatavāhanaś.

This decline of the Śatavāhanaś leading to the rise of the western Kshatrapas is reflected in another statement of the "Periplus of the Erythrean Sea" : "The port of Calliēna (Kalyān) was raised to the rank of a regular mart in the time of elder Saraganus (identified with Śrī Śātakarnī) but since it came into the possession of Sandanes (Sundara Śātakarnī), the port was much obstructed, and the Greek ships landing there were taken to Bargygaza (Broach) under guard."31 Here we find a veiled reference to the commercial rivalry between the Śatavāhanaś and the western Kshatrapas. Kalyān and Bargygaza were the two important sea-coast ports which were under the possession of the Śatavāhanaś and the Kshaharātas respectively. The importance of Barygaza as a trade centre increased at the cost of Kalyan which gradually lost its position as a port-town at the time of Śātakarnī I's weak successors. The Periplus itself informs us that Barygaza lay on the frontier of the kingdom of Nahapāna.

31. Ibid. Sec. 52.
Nahapāna probably did not make any attempt to conquer Mālwa till the end of the reign of the Kuśāṇa emperor Kaṇishka. According to Rapson, the Kshaharātas were the feudatories of the Kuśāṇas. In support of his view he refers to the Nāsik Cave Inscription that mentions the rate of exchange between Kārsāpana and Suvarṇa as 1 to 35.  

But 'Suvarṇa' may not refer to the gold currency of the Kuśāṇas, as it is suggested by Rapson, for 'Suvarṇa' as a medium of exchange was known in India as early as the Vedic period. Even if it has got any reference to the Kuśāṇa gold coin, it cannot be taken as a sign of Kuśāṇa over-lordship in the absence of further evidences, for the Scythian kings of this period were not very particular about the stamp of the currency.

Prof. Bhandarkar has adduced another evidence to associate the Kshaharātas with the Kuśāṇas. One of the Nāsik Cave Inscriptions of Nahapāna (No.12) contains the following:

32. Rapson's Catalogue., P. CL XXXV.
Bhandarkar observes that "Kuṣāṇa" appears to have been a denomination of the silver coinage that Nahapāṇa issued to give cognisance to his Kuṣāṇa overlord. The purport of the passage does not admit of Bhandarkar's interpretation. "Kuṣāṇamūla" here evidently refers to "expenses of outside life" as pointed out by Senart. In fact there is little evidence to show that Nahapāṇa ever acknowledged the overlordship of the Kuṣāṇas or challenged their authority in Malwa, the southern most province of Kaṇishka's empire. The date of the conquest of Malwa by Nahapāṇa cannot be precisely determined. However, it may be suggested that Malwa was conquered by Nahapāṇa sometime after 106 A.D. Because, till at least A.D. 106 Malwa was under the authority of the Kuṣāṇas, as it has been shown above.

34. E.I., VIII, No. 12, PP. 82f.
35. D.R. Bhandarkar, Carmichael Lectures on Ancient India Numismatics, 1921 (Calcutta, 1922), P. 205.
36. E.I., VIII, P. 83.
That Mālwa was conquered by Nahapāṇa is borne out by the epigraphic evidences. The Nāsik Cave Inscription of Nahapāṇa records that his son-in-law Uṣavadāta performed many charitable works, made religious gifts and donations at 'Daśapura', 'Ujeni' and other places. 'Daśapura' is identified with Mandasor and 'Ujeni' with Ujjayinī in the West Mālwa. Of course, the record contains no direct reference to Nahapāṇa's conquest of those places. But the charitable activities like the establishment of rest-houses, wells, tanks and gardens, free ferries and the gifts of thousand villages and cows to the Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, which were performed by Uṣavadāta on behalf of his father-in-law Nahapāṇa, could not have been done at the places outside the boundaries of the kingdom of Nahapāṇa. The available evidences do suggest that Nahapāṇa enjoyed his authority over the western part of Mālwa.

Duration of Nahapāṇa's reign period

The duration of Nahapāṇa's reign period is generally determined by referring the dates of his records to the Saka era.

37. E.I., VIII, No. 10, 14a, PP. 79, 86.
The Nāsik Cave Inscription of Nahapāna are dated in the years 41, 42, 45 while his Junnar Cave Inscription is dated in the year 46. Rapson, Roychoudhuri and Sircar suggests, by referring the years mentioned in the records to the Saka era of 78 A.D., that Nahapāna enjoyed a short reign period from A.D. 119 to A.D. 124 (A.D. 78 + 41 years = A.D. 119; A.D. 78 + 46 years = A.D. 124). But a long reign of Nahapāna seems to be more probable in the light of the evidence at our disposal. It is more likely that the years 41, 42, 45, 46 are the regnal years of Nahapāna's reign. This suggestion may be made on the basis of the following evidences:

(a) The 'Periplus of the Erythrean Sea' (C. 60 A.D. - 80 A.D.) refers to Nahapāna. This suggests that Nahapāna began his career at least in the fourth quarter of the 1st Century A.D. if not earlier;

(b) the royal bust found on the long series of Nahapāna's silver coins was a close imitation of the bust found on the Roman coins dated between 30 B.C. to A.D. 150;

(c) a long reign-period of Nahapāna is indicated by the 'Jain Paṭṭāvalis' and 'Harivamsa'. Assuming that Nahapāna's
records are dated with his regnal years, it may be held that Nahapāna ruled for 46 years.

The numismatic evidences prove that Nahapāna was defeated by Gautamiputra Sātakarni. The Jogalthemi hoard of coins of Nahapāna, most of which were restruck by Gautamiputra as a mark of his victory over the former bears testimony to the fact that the career of Nahapāna was cut short by the Sātavāhana ruler, who claims to have conquered East and West Mālwa (Ākarāvantī) and other territories, previously held by Nahapāna, by destroying the family of the Kshaharātas (Khakharāta-Vasa-nirvasesa karasa), according to the Nāsik Cave Inscription of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Pulumāyi dated in the 19th regnal year.

Gautamiputra Sātakarni seems to have been involved in a long-drawn struggle with the Kshaharāta ruler Nahapāna, in order to achieve finally a victory against him. It is indicated by a gatha in "Nirukti", a commentary on "Āvasyakasūtra", thus: Naravāhana's capital was at Bharukachchha, Naravāhana had amassed great wealth while his adversary Sātavāhana of Paithān

38. E.I., VIII, P. 60f.
had mastered a powerful army. The latter was unable to capture Bharukachchha even after a seizure of two years. He then resorted to a stratagem and induced Nahapāna through one of his ministers to spend money on charities. When Naravāhana's treasury thus became depleted by these charities, Sātavāhana king attacked his capital and easily captured it. The Kshatrapa fell fighting and his empire was wiped off from the map.

However, the transfer of power from the Kshaharātas to the Sātavāhanas in Mahārāṣṭra is probably indicated by a Nāṣik inscription of the 18th year of Gautamīputra's reign, recording the grant of land that is stated to have been previously under the charge of Rishabhadatta or Ushavadātā, son-in-law of Nahapāna. Assuming that no part of Nahapāna's kingdom could be conquered before his defeat and death, it may be held that the year 18 of Gautamīputra's reign corresponds to the year 46 or the last year of Nahapāna's reign period.

We cannot determine the date of Nahapāna without determining that of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. The chronological position of

39. Ibid. PP. 71f.
the Sātavāhana ruler may be settled with the help of a significant evidence that can be derived from the Junāgaḍh Inscription of Rudradāman dated in the year 72, i.e. according to the Śaka era A.D. 150. 40

Identification of the twice defeated Sātavāhana ruler

It is stated in the record that Rudradāman twice defeated "Dakṣināpathapati" Śātakarni, but did not kill him owing to the nearness of their relationship. 41 The nearness of the relationship is explained by a statement in the Kanheri Cave Inscription, 42 that the queen of one (va) Śiṣṭhīputra Śrī Śātakarni was the daughter of Mahākṣatrapa Rudra who belonged to the Kārddamaka family. From this epigraphic record it appears that Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Śātakarni, son of Gautamīputra Śātakarni and co-uterine brother of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāyi, was the son-in-law of Rudradāman.

40. E.I., VIII, P.44f.
41. Ibid. P. 44, 11-12.
42. JBBRAS., V, PP.4f.
'Dakṣiṇāpathapati' Sātavāhana monarch, defeated by Rudradāman, may reasonably be identified with Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāyi who is described in his Nāsik Cave Inscription dated in the 19th regnal year as 'Dakṣiṇāpatheswara' or Lord of Deccan. Sātakarnī seems to have been a conventional name of the Sātavāhana rulers. Vāsiṣṭhīputra's claim to the title "Lord of the Deccan" is justified by the inclusion in his empire of the Krishna-Godavari region as well as Mahārāṣṭra. His inscriptions have been found at Nāsik, Karle in Poona district and Amaravati in the Krishna district, while his coins have been discovered at Amaravati and the adjoining regions.

From the 'Geography' of Ptolemy (c.140 A.D.) we come to know that while Chashtana (Tiastenes) was ruling having his capital at Ujjayini, Śrī-Pulumāyi (Siri Ptolemaious) was ruling with his capital at Paithān. Thus Chashtana and Vāsiṣṭhīputra-Pulumāyi were contemporary rulers, although the former was advanced in age and senior to the latter. It may be pointed out that Rudradāman was aged enough to rule conjointly

43. E.I., VIII, P.60f.
44. Ptolemy, P. 154.
with his grandfather Chashṭana in the year A.D. 130 (Andhau Inscription dated in the year 52 of the Šaka era). 45

It seems that Vāsiṣṭhiputra suffered defeat at the hands of Rudradāman sometimes before A.D. 150, the date of Junāgaḥ record. When the territories previously conquered by Gautamīputra, were lost by Vāsiṣṭhiputra, Gautāmī Balasrī recounted the glorious achievements of her son Gautamīputra Sātakāmaṇi in the Nāśik Prasasti of the 19th year of Vāsiṣṭhiputra's reign. If this record is studied along with the Junāgaḥ Inscription recording the achievements of Rudradāman, we may assume that the 19th year of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāyi almost corresponds to A.D. 150. In that case (A.D. 150 - 19 years) A.D. 130-31 marks the beginning of the reign of Vāsiṣṭhiputra. Gautamīputra, who is known from his records to have ruled for 24 years should have come to power about A.D. 106-7. As it has been pointed out above, the 18th year of Gautamīputra corresponds to the year 46 of Nahapāṇa. Therefore, Nahapāṇa's year 46 is to be equated to A.D. 124-125 A.D. (i.e. 106-7 + 18 = A.D. 124-125). Assuming that Nahapāṇa's records bear his regnal years, it may be held that he began to rule in A.D. 78-79.

45. E.I., XVI, PP. 23f.
Thus Nahapāna, the Kshaharāta ruler came to power in Western India sometime about 79 A.D. He conquered Mālwa sometime after A.D. 106 and continued his suzerainty over Mālwa and other adjoining regions at least up to 125 A.D., when he was finally overthrown by the Sātavāhana ruler Gautamīputra Śātakarnī.

After a long-drawn struggle, Mālwa again passed from the hands of Kshaharātas to those of the Sātavāhanas. So long as Gautamīputra remained in power, the Sātavāhanas retained their possession over Mālwa. But sometime after 130 A.D. Mālwa was lost to the Kārddamakas. About C.140 we find Chashtana, the Kārddamaka ruler, ruling over Mālwa. It appears that Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Pulumāyi, the Sātavāhana ruler, suffered a defeat at the hands of the Kārddamaka ruler Chashtana, though the battle was fought by Rudradāman on behalf of his grandfather Chashtana. As a result, Mālwa was occupied by the Kārddamakas. But it seems that after the death of Chashtana, Mālwa was re-occupied by Vāsiṣṭhīputra and Rudradāman had to conquer it from Vāsiṣṭhīputra. Thus the latter had to suffer defeat twice.
at the hands of Rudradāman. This seems to be the reason why it is stated in the Junāgaḍh record that the 'Dakṣinā-pathapati' was twice defeated at the hands of Rudradāman.

The whole of Mālwa (Pūrvā-Parākarāvantya-anūpa nivṛd), that is, east, west and southern Mālwa was at last wrested from the hands of the Sātavāhanas and was brought under the control of the Kārddamakas during the rule of its greatest ruler Rudradāman sometime about the middle of the 2nd Century A.D.
It is generally held by the scholars that the Saka rule in Ujjayini continued without break until Mālwa was annexed to the Gupta empire during the reign of Chandra Gupta II Vākramāditya. We have very few epigraphic records having bearing upon the history of Mālwa of the period concerned. We have depended mostly upon the numismatic evidence. The findspots of the coins indicate the territorial jurisdiction over which the particular issuer of the currency enjoyed his authority. We may, therefore, take into our account the coinages so far discovered in eastern or western Mālwa.

Evidence of Saka rule at Ujjayini

Coins of these Ksatrapa rulers, small in number, have been found at Ujjayini, Besnagar and Sāñchī. Excepting Sāñchī,¹ cities like Ujjayini and Besnagar have yielded some coins of Rudradāman's successors like Rudrasimha I,² Ājīvadāman,³

3. Ibid.
Rudrasena I, Dāmasena, Vīradāman, Rudrasena II. Merely on the basis of the findspots of coins it is difficult to ascertain that these territories were under the possession of the above rulers. Sāñcāri has yielded a series of coins of the Kṣatrapa rulers. There is little scope of doubt that Sāñcāri was under the Kṣatrapa rule for a long time. Evidence is, however, lacking to show the continuance of Saka rule at Ujjayini. A fresh study of the numismatic evidences is required to justify long-continued rule of the Mahākṣatrapas and Kṣatrapas of the Kārddamaka line over Mālwa.

The commonest devices to be found on the silver coins of Čaṣṭana's successors is 'Bust of King' on the obverse and 'Čaitya' symbol on the reverse. But all the silver coins of Čaṣṭana himself do not bear such devices as the 'Bust of King' on the obverse and 'Čaitya' on the reverse. The earlier issues

4. Cunningham, Coins of Medieval India (Vārānasī, 1967), P.7f.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. ARASI, 1914, P. 213.
of Ĉaṭana bear 'Bust of King' on the obverse and 'Crescent and Star' on the reverse. 9 'Ĉaitya' symbol is conspicuous by its absence on the earlier series of his coins, although Ĉaṭana was the first Kārddamaka ruler to introduce the 'Ĉaitya' symbol on his coinage. It seems that the coins bearing the 'Ĉaitya' symbol were Ĉaṭana's later issues.

The 'Ĉaitya' symbol may be traced on the coinage of the Śatavāhana rulers, specially on those of Gautamīputra Śri Śātakarnī, 10 and his son Vāsiśṭhīputra Pulumāyi, 11 who ruled contemporaneously with the Kṣatrapa ruler Ĉaṭana. It is not improbable that as a mark of his victory over the Śatavāhanas, Ĉaṭana introduced the 'Ĉaitya' symbol of the Śatavāhana coinage on the reverse of his own coins, following the numismatic convention that the victor and successor was the initiator of the vanquished and predecessor.

We might proceed further to associate the symbol of 'Ĉaitya' with Ujjayinī. From Ptolemy's 'Geography' it is learnt that

9. Ibid. P. 72, Var. a.
10. Ibid. P. 68f.
Caśțana had his capital at Ujjayini\textsuperscript{12}. This city previously was held under the possession of Gautamiputra Śri Sātakarni.\textsuperscript{13} Caśțana conquered this city from either Gautamiputra or his successor Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāyi. It is difficult to ascertain whether the Śaka ruler had any other conquest to his credit. The transformation of the reverse device of Caśțana's coins, no doubt, marks a remarkable change in his political career. Caśțana introduced the 'Ćaitya' symbol on the reverse of his coins most probably after he had wrested Ujjayini from the hands of the Sātavāhanas. 'Ćaitya' symbol is thus significantly associated with the city of Ujjayini. This accounts why the earlier issues of Caśțana do not bear the 'Ćaitya' symbol, while his later issues were marked by this symbol. The continuance of the 'Ćaitya' symbol on the coins of Rudradāman and his successors seems to be an evidence which reasonably indicates their association with Ujjayini. Once Caśțana made it his capital, Ujjayinī continued to be so during the rule of his successors.

\begin{enumerate}
\item Ptolemy, P. 165.
\item E.I., VIII, No. 2, PP.60f.
\end{enumerate}
Although the types of the silver coinage remained the same from the reign of Čašana to that of Swami Rudrasimha III, son of Satyasimha, for a period of about two centuries and a half, slight variations are to be observed in the art of workmanship at different stages. The nature of the variations has been utilised by Rapson as aid to the chronological arrangement of the satraps. It is to be noted that in case of lead and potin coins variations are to be observed on the obverse of the coins, although the reverse is found to have uniformly borne the 'Caitya' symbol. On the obverse of the potin and lead coins we find different devices like 'Humped bull', 'Elephant standing' etc., instead of 'Bust of King', which is to be found on the obverse of the silver coinages of the Kṣatrapas. The silver coins, meant for foreign trade, used to be stamped with a 'Bust of King', probably indicating the authenticity of the value and standard to the foreigners, whereas lead and potin coins, generally used for local transactions, having the dynastic symbol of 'Caitya' on the reverse allowed to replace the 'King's bust' by various devices.

Gaps in the duration of the Mahākṣatrapaship

It was customary in the conjoint rule system of the Sakas that the senior held the title 'Mahākṣatrapa', the junior
holding the title of 'Kṣatrapa'. Coins of the Western Kṣatrapas suggest at different stages, gaps of two or three years when the title of 'Mahākṣatrapa' was in abeyance. This indicates temporary decline of the Saka power that may have been caused by either internecine strife and struggle or some external dangers. Such eclipse of power is indicated from Saka Era 110-112, i.e. A.D. 188-190 and from Saka Era 158-160, i.e. A.D. 236-238. Attempts have been made to find out the factors responsible for this phenomenon of Saka history.

During the period from A.D. 188-190 the Sakas appeared to have lost their hold over Gujārāt, Kathiwar and Aparānta due to the revival of the power of the Śātavāhanas during the reign of Yajña Śrī Śatakarni who according to the Purāṇas, is believed to have ascended the throne more than thirty-five years after the reign of Gautamiputra Śatakarni, i.e. after A.D. 165-166. Yajña Śrī Śatakarni's records have been found at Nāsik (in Mahārāṣṭra), Kanheri (Aparānta) and Chīna (in the Krishnā district). According to Smith 14 his silver coins

imitating the coinage of the Saka rulers of Ujjayini, probably point to the victories over the later. Yajña Śrī Sātakarni's coins are found in Gujarat, Kathiwar, the Chanda district of Central Provinces and also in the Krishnā district. The unprecedented growth of power of the Sātavāhanas under Yajña Śrī Sātakarni seems to have had an impact upon the political position of the Sakas at Ujjayini.

During the period between A.D. 236-38 a threat to the power of the Sakas of Ujjayini was probably posed by the rise of an Ābhīra chief to power. We may take into account in this connection, the evidence of the coins of Īśvaradatta which have been found in Kathiwar region.15 These coins bear the title 'Mahākṣatrapa' and are dated in the (regnal) years 1 and 2. This may lead us to surmise, not unreasonably, that it was due to the rise of the Ābhīra chief Īśvaradatta that the Western Kshatrapa rulers suffered decline of their power. But it is doubtful whether the Sakas lost Mālwa to the later Sātavāhanas.16

15. Rapson's Catalogue., P. lxii.

16. One coin of Yajña Śrī Sātakarni has been discovered from the excavation site of Besnagar. Discovery of this single coin does not indicate that Yajñaśrī extended his sway upto Mālwa, ARASI., 1913-14, P.213.
and the Ābhīras. Because we have no evidence to prove that the Ābhīras over ruled in Mālwa. It may be suggested that taking an opportunity of some internal troubles among the Kṣatrapa rulers, the Ābhīra chief wrested Kathiwar from them. The loss of imperial authority over the westernmost part of their dominions justified the Saka rulers to keep the 'Mahāksatrapapaship' in abeyance. But there is nothing to show that they even lost their hold over Mālwa.

Sassanian expansion: an impact on Mālwa

But the Sākas could not enjoy their independent status in Mālwa uninterruptedly. The numismatic evidence suggests a long gap extending from A.D. 295 to A.D. 332, when the title of 'Mahāksatrapa' and even of 'Kṣatrapa' was in abeyance. This may reasonably be explained by the expansion of the Sassanians who challenged the supremacy of the Sākas in Western India.

The Sassanid dynasty arose in the province of Pars in A.D. 226 and within a remarkably short space of time, Ardashir,

17. Rapson's Catalogue., PP. CXL-I - CXL
the founder of the dynasty succeeded in completely overthrowing
the last of the Parthian rulers and bringing the whole of the
Parthian realm under his control. He extended his empire
further east and marched against India.

The Sassanid conquest of India was, however, successful
during the reign of Varhran II (A.D.276-93) who had his
authority over the whole of Sakastān and possibly also parts
of the dominions of the Saka Kshatrapas and made his son
Varhran III the Governor of Sakastān.

It is not known for certain whether Varhran II con-
quered himself any part of India. The Paikuli Inscriptions,
the main source of information, regarding Sassanian invasion
of India, mention the chiefs of Paradan (Paradas), Makuran
(Makaan), the Ābhiras and the Kshatrapas of Avanti (Avandikan
wāt (a) vya) as vassals under Varhran III (A.D.293). Mention
is made also of the Satrap Bagdat, Lord of Zuradian (Bhagadatta,
Lord of Surāṣṭra) and Mitr (Al) asen Lord of Boraspicin.

PP. 394f.

19. MAI., No. 38.
From the above epigraph it appears that the lord of Avanti lost his independence and was reduced to the status of a vassal under the Sassanian emperor. Further the disintegration of the Saka empire in western India is evident from the mention of the lords of Surāśṭra and Kathiwar separately in the Paikuli Inscriptions. Taking an opportunity of the weakness of the Western Kshatrapa rulers, the provincial lords of Surāśṭra and Kathiwar seems to have declared their independence.

It is further stated in the Paikuli Inscription that Varhran III was very soon dethroned by his uncle Narshe (A.D. 293 - A.D. 302). When Narshe vanquished his nephew in A.D. 293 "all kinds of satraps (Satrap Jonak-Jonak), a long list of Saka Satrapas, besides some princes of higher rank, came to congratulate the new king of kings. In the last group of princes were included the Satrapas of western India. In the last passage of the inscription all these Saka-Kshatrapas and the chiefs were enumerated as independent princes. 21

21. Ibid.
From this Herzfeld has concluded that the Sassanian sovereignty over the Sakastān was lost in A.D. 293 during the war between Varhran III and Narseh, and all the small principalities gained their independence about that time.

It appears that whatever independence the western Kshatrapa rulers had acquired towards the end of the third century A.D. was of circumscribed nature. Narseh's recognition of an independent status of the satrap seems to be a political concession granted with the aim of gaining their moral support in the struggle with his nephew. Incidentally after his victory over his nephew, Narseh probably revived his suzerainty over all those parts of India which had been previously occupied by Varhran II.

The duration of the Sassanian suzerainty over Mālwa cannot be precisely determined. It was probably of a temporary nature. It is doubtful whether Narseh's successors were able to maintain their hold over Indian territories.

Expansion of the Nāgas in Mālwa

If it is accepted that the Sassanians had no claim to the authority over Mālwa after A.D. 302 the last known date of the Sassanid King Narseh, the period of about thirty years remains a gap in the history of the Śakas, for which we have to seek further explanation in the expansion of the Nāgas in Mālwa.

By an excavation at Besnagar near Kham Baba, six Nāga coins have been unearthed. Two of them belonged to Gaṇendra or Gaṇapati Nāga while one to Bhīma Nāga. The coins of Gaṇapati Nāga are circular or rectangular in shape. On the obverse of the coins we find "Within date humped bull", i.e. "Traces of humped bull standing to left, while the legend 'rājā (Śrī) Ga (nendra)" or ........'ndra' is to be found on the reverse. The coin of Bhīma Nāga bears the device 'Bull standing to left' on the obverse, while the legend 'rājā Śrī Maī (madeva) on the reverse.

The numismatic evidence, however, may be corroborated by other evidences. On the same level, where had been discovered six Nāga coins, were found Ṣajjākunḍas or sacrificial pits

three in number. The Purāṇas inform us that the Nāgas performed ten Aśvamedha sacrifices. The Yajñakundas, found along with the coins of the Nāgas were probably caused to be constructed under the order of some Nāga ruler with the purpose of performing sacrifices.

The numismatic evidences suggest that not only Vidisā also Ujjayinī was incorporated within the Nāga Kingdom during the reign of the greatest Nāga King Gaṇapati. At Ujjayinī a number of Nāga coins have been collected by Shri V.S. Wakankar from the bed of river Śiprā. Among them the coins of Gaṇapati Nāgas are overwhelming in number. This seems to corroborate the statement of Bhāva-Śataka that the Kingdom of Gaṇapati Nāga was extended up to Dhārā in the south. He has been referred to as 'Dhārādhīsā'.

The downfall of the Kuśāṇa empire was brought about by the rise of some independent kingdoms and republics about the 3rd Century A.D. It was probably about this time that the different

24. Ibid. P.75.
26. H.V. Trivedi, Catalogue of Coins of the Nāga Kings of Padmāvatī and Narwar (Gwalior 1959), PP. XXXVIII.
branches of the Nāgas came to rule over different parts of Northern India. According to the Purāṇas27 Vīdīśā, Kāntipurī, Mathurā and Padmāvatī were the strongholds of the Nāga power. It is further stated that the seven Nāga Kings ruled at Mathurā and nine at Padmāvatī. The rulers of Padmāvatī were most probably known as the Bhārasīva Nāgas. 28

Identification of the city of Padmāvatī

As to the identification of the city of Padmāvatī there remains an uncertainty. In the Viṣṇu Purāṇa it is stated that nine Nāgas will reign in Padmāvatī, Kāntipurī and Mathurā and the guptas of Magadha along with the Ganges to Prayāg and Sāketa. Padmāvatī was at first identified with some unknown city in Berar far to the south of Narbadā and later on with Bhagalpur on the Ganges. But the mention of Mathurā precludes the possibility of either of those places belonging to the Nāgas.

for the identification of the city, the description in Bhavabhūti's 'Mālati Mādhava' is helpful to us. The scene of

'Mālati-Mādhava' is laid in the city of Pādmapatī in the Vindhya mountain. While giving the description of the city, it is stated that there were the rivers of 'Sindhu' and 'Pāra' on which the city of Pādmapatī was situated. This suits well with the geographical situation of Narwar in the midst of the Vindhya mountains and at a moderate distance, about 160 miles from Mathurā. 'Pāra' is identified with Pārvatī river and 'Sindhu' with 'Kāli Sindh' on which the city of Narwar is situated. Kāntipurī is identified with Kutwal on the Ahśim river, 20 miles to the north of Gwalior. The identification of the city of Pādmapatī with Narwar, the capital city of the Nāgas, is strongly corroborated by the coins. Most of the earliest specimens of the Nāga coins were found at Narwar, 29 and many of them at Gwalior.

According to Jāyawal 30 almost the whole of Northern India as well as large tract of southern India was included within the Nāga empire during the period extending from the 2nd Century A.D. to 4th Century A.D. This theory is not generally accepted by modern scholars. However, there is no denying the

fact that the two Nāga houses of Padmāvatī and Mathura, though they formed separate kingdoms at the initial stage were gradually united under the Bhārasiva Nāgas of Padmāvatī. They gradually became powerful and extended their suzerainty to the south. They might have extended their sway to Brañ also which has yielded some coins of the Nāga rulers. It seems that during the rule of Bhīma Nāga or his successor Gaṇapati Nāga Mālwa was included within their kingdom.

The Nāgas seemed to have extended their sway over Mālwa sometime about the 1st quarter of the 4th Century A.D. or still later. Gaṇapati Nāga who is said to have ruled over Mālwa is again referred to in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription as one of the Āryavarta kings defeated by Samudra Gupta. Of course, doubts have been expressed as to the identification of

31. This is proved by a statement of Champak Copper Plate Inscription of Pravarasena II, regnal year 18.


'Gaṇapati' of coins with Gaṇapati Nāga of the inscription. It is stated that the coins of 'Gaṇapati' do not bear the additional name of Nāga. James Prinsep has treated them as two separate names. But 'Nāga' only is never used as a name. But it is always used in conjunction with some other words, for example, Nāgasaṇa, Nāgāditya, Nāgadatta etc., or Skanda Nāga, Brhaspati Nāga, Deve Nāga of coins. The omission of the second part of the name of Gaṇapati Nāga in coin legends may be explained by the small size of the coins bearing such legend. A similar omission of family appellation may be observed on a large number of Gupta coins where the names of Chandra, Samudra, Kumāra appear. We have nothing to doubt the identification of 'Gaṇapati' or 'Gaṇendra' of the coins with Gaṇapati Nāga of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription. Palaeographical considerations also indicate that Gaṇapati Nāga was a contemporary of Samudra Gupta. The legends on the coins of Gaṇapati Nāga, and those of coins and inscriptions of the Gupta emperor bear almost the same characteristic features.

34. Cunningham, Coins of the Nine Nāgas and two other Dynasties of Narwar and Gwalior, JASB., XXXIV, 1963, P.115f.
Samudra Gupta is generally said to have ruled from C.325 or 330 A.D. to 375 or 380 A.D. The career of Ganapati Nāga was brought to an end sometime after A.D.330. The rule of Ganapati Nāga over Mālwa may be placed, therefore, sometime about the first quarter of 4th Century A.D. Bhīma Nāga, being the predecessor of Ganapati Nāga, may be placed about the beginning of the 4th Century A.D.

That the Nāgas conquered Mālwa from the hands of the western Kshatrapas is attested by the evidence of coins. The device found on the coins of the Nāgas are more or less similar to those found on Western Kshatrapa coins. The Obverse devices on the Nāga coinage are found to be either the figure of a peacock or that of a humped bull to right or left. Similar devices are to be found on the coins of the western Kshatrapas.35 Again the coins of the Nāga kings recall the silver coins of the western Kshatrapas of Mālwa and Surāshṭra showing the circular Brahma legend around the edge only with a few exceptions.36 The similarity of the

35. Ibid.
36. ARASI., 1913-14, P.212.
coin-devices of the Nāgas with those of the western Ksatrapas may give us to understand that the former succeeded the latter in Mālwa.

But a large number of coins issued by the Ksatrapa ruler Bhatrīdāman and his successors have been found at Sānchi. The dates of these coins show that they ruled over eastern Mālwa for sometime even after the Sassanian expansion and the supposed extension of Nāga influence over eastern and western Mālwa. In view of the discovery of the Śaka coins at Sānchi along with those of the Nāga coins at Besnagar in eastern Mālwa, it may be suggested that the authority over the same region was claimed by both. It implies a struggle between the two for sometime. The Nāgas who carved out an independent kingdom on the ruins of the Kuśāna empire and championed the cause of Brahmanism by performing ten horse sacrifices might have reasonably taken the role of the liberator of the land from the influence of the Śakas. The success they had achieved seems to have been of a temporary nature. For sometime after A.D. 332, we find again the Śaka.

rulers with the title 'Kshatrapa' or 'Mahākshatrapa'. It indicates that they had recovered their power and position. It would not be unreasonable to assume that the Sakas recovered Mālwa from the Nāgas, when the latter had suffered defeat at the hands of Samudra Gupta.

**Beginning of Gupta rule in Mālwa**

The Saka-Kshatrapa rulers were probably able to retain their position in tact during the reign of Samudra Gupta who did not annex Mālwa. The Eran Stone Pillar Inscription\(^3^9\) of Samudra Gupta shows that he expanded his power and influence upto the eastern frontiers of Mālwa. The Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta\(^4^0\) refers to the names of some foreign rulers who entered into diplomatic relation with the Gupta emperor: "...... whose (Samudra Gupta's) binding together of the (whole) world by means of the amplitude of the vigour of(his) arm, was affected by the...

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38. Rapson's Catalogue., P.179.
40. Ibid. P.8f.
act of respectful service, such as offering themselves as sacrifices, bringing presents of maidens (giving) Garuda tokens (surrendering) the enjoyment of their own territories, soliciting (his) commands and etc. (rendered, by the Daivaputa’s, Shahis, Shahanushahis, Saka and Murundas..."

There is uncertainty regarding the compound expression 'Saka-Murunda'. Konow has pointed out that the term 'Murunda' has twofold sense; first it refers to a particular branch of the Sakas, and secondly, it is equivalent to the Chinese term 'Wang' meaning 'King' or 'Lord'. Dr. S. Chattopadhyay is inclined to separate words 'Saka and Murunda'. The former was ruling over Malwa, while the latter, according to Dr. Chattopadhyay, had been ruling in Eastern India. There may have some doubt about the meaning of the word 'Murunda', but that the Sakas of Western India are referred to in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription cannot be questioned. From the above epigraph it is, however, clear that the Sakas enjoyed internal

42. S. Chattopadhyay, Early History of North India (Calcutta, 1968), P. 194.
autonomy; in return they paid homage and tribute to the Gupta emperor. The Gupta ruler did not claim authority over any part of the Kshatrapa kingdom.

Dr. D. C. Sircar\(^\text{43}\) is inclined to identify one Rudradaeva of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription with the Śaka king Rudradaeva III who ruled from A.D. 348-378. The Allahabad Pillar Inscription refers to Rudradaeva as one of the Āryavartā Kings who was exterminated by Samudra Gupta. During the reign of Rudrasena III we find a gap of about thirteen years. His silver coinages,\(^\text{44}\) bearing the dates ranging between the year 270 (348 A.D.) and 300 (378 A.D.) fall into two well-marked divisions. The first group of dates fall in the period extending from 270-273 (i.e. 348-351 A.D.) and the second group from years 286-300 i.e. A.D. 364-378 having an interval of 13 years. Rapson has observed\(^\text{45}\) "The period between the dates 273 (351 A.D.) and 286 (364 A.D.) which thus separates the earlier from the later coinages of Rudrasena III was probably marked by some political disturbance during which the coinage ceased." According to Dr. Sircar,

\[^{43}\text{D.C.Sircar, Ancient Mālwa and Vīkramāditya Tradition (Delhi, 1969), P.101.}\]
\[^{44}\text{Rapson's Catalogue., P. 179f.}\]
\[^{45}\text{Ibid. P.CXIV.}\]
the political disturbance during the reign of Rudrasena-III may have been the result of a crushing defeat that the Gupta emperor inflicted upon him.

The suggestion given by Dr. Sircar raises some problems. King Rudradeva who is mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription as one of the Āryāvarta kings, was completely uprooted by the Gupta ruler. In that case the question of his being reinstated does not arise. Dr. Sircar has probably assumed that Samudra Gupta did not completely exterminate the power of this particular Āryāvarta king, but only defeated him. That is probably the reason why he has suggested restoration of the power of the western Kshatrapas over Mālwa.

If we believe in the evidence furnished by the Allahabad Pillar Inscription, Samudra Gupta allowed the Śakas to rule over Mālwa. But it was the aim of Chandra Gupta II to crush and annihilate the western Kshatrapas who had so long been ruling over Mālwa. We have, however, no evidence at our disposal to show a direct conflict between the Gupta emperor Chandra Gupta II and the Western Kshatrapas.
Chandra Gupta II's campaign in Western India is alluded to in the Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Vīra-Sena-Sāba, a native of Pāṭaliputra and a Sachiva of the great Gupta monarch. This Vīra-Sena-Sāba was placed in charge of the Department of Peace and War and came at Udayagiri accompanied by the king in person, who was seeking to conquer the whole world. This shows that Udayagiri in Eastern Mālwa was the base of military operations of Chandra Gupta II against the Sakas. Eastern Mālwa seems to have been conquered by Chandra Gupta II as early as A.D. 401. We have an epigraphic record on the Udayagiri hill dated in the Gupta Era 82 i.e. 319 + 92 = A.D. 401, which records the dedications made by a 'feudatory Mahārāja Sāna-Kānīka' during the reign of Chandra Gupta II.

There were some rare silver coins of Chandra Gupta II which were more or less the direct imitation of the coins of the later Western Kshatrapas. Those coins have a date behind the king's head and traces of old Greek legend on the obverse.

48. Select Ins., P. 271.
while on the reverse the Gupta device of 'Peacock' is replaced by the Saka devices of hill or caitya, crescent and star. The earliest date which has been read with certainty on the coins of this class is the year 90 of the Gupta Era that is, A.D. 409 or 409 + x. The latest date, found on the coins of Svāmī Rādasena III, the last of the Kshatrapa rulers, is 310 of the Saka Era that is, A.D. 388 or A.D. 388 + x. There appears to be a gap of some 20 years between the latest dated coin of the Western Kshatrapas and the earliest dated coin of the Gupta monarch struck in Western India.

During this long period of 20 years Chandra Gupta II may have been engaged in a long-drawn struggle with the Western Kshatrapas with his military base in Eastern Mālwa. It is significant to note that the silver coinages of Chandra Gupta II which are close imitation of the coins of the Kshatrapa rulers, were found out, not in Mālwa, but in Kathīvar. The coins meant for circulation in Kathīvar

49. Rapson's Catalogue., P.CLI.
50. Ibid. P. 192.
suggest, no doubt, that Western Mālwa had been overrun by
the Imperial Gupta lord. The numismatic evidences, indicating
Chandra Gupta II's victory over the Sakas, are corroborated
by a number of literary texts. Chandra Gupta II assumed
the title of "Sakāri" and "Vikramāditya" and made Ujjainī
his second capital. Some scholars believe that he is to
be identified with Vikramāditya of Indian tradition.

51. Bāna, Harshacharita, translated into English
by Thomas and Cowell (Delhi, 1961).