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‘WHITE HUN’ COIN OF VYAGHRAMUKHA OF THE
CHAPA (GURJARA) DYNASTY OF BHINMAL.

By VINCENT A. SMITH.

IN the April number of the Journal (p. 413, *ante*), Mr. A. M. T. Jackson published a brief note stating that “the name Vyāghramuśa, read by Mr. V. A. Smith on one of his White Hun coins (see p. 95 of the January number of the Journal), is no doubt ‘Śrī Vyāghramukha of the Śrī Chāpa dynasty,’ under whom wrote the astronomer Brahmagupta.” I accept the correction in the reading of the name, which is clearly right. Not being previously familiar with the history of the Śrī Chāpa dynasty, I asked Mr. Jackson to explain his meaning. This he has kindly done, giving me references, which enable me to pursue the subject further. The shabby little coin which I published opens up side issues of considerable interest, which are worth following up.

Mr. Jackson writes:—

“Brahmagupta says that he wrote his *Brahma-sphuṭa-siddhānta* in Śaka 550 [A.D. 628] in the reign of Vyāghramukha of the Chāpa-vamśa.¹ The passage was first brought to notice in the *Journal of the Bo. Br. R.A.S.*, vol. viii, p. 27. It was Bühler, I think [*Ind. Ant.*, xvii, 192], who pointed out that Brahmagupta was known to later writers as Bhillamālavakāchārya, and that Bhillamāla is to be identified with Hiuen Tsang’s Pi-lo-mo-lo and the modern Bhinmāl or Śrīmāl. A full account of this place

¹ “Another distinguished astronomer was Brahmagupta, who, born in 598 A.D., wrote, besides a *karāṇa* [practical astronomical treatise], his *Brāhma Sphuṭa-siddhānta* when thirty years old [628 A.D.] (chaps. xii and xviii are mathematical)” (Macdonell, *Hist. of Sanskrit Lit.*, p. 435). See also Weber, *Hist. of Sanskrit Lit.*, 2nd ed., London, p. 259. Weber says that Albīrūnī gives the date of Brahmagupta as 664 A.D. Brahmagupta is said to allude repeatedly to Varāha-mihira (505–587 A.D.).

and its history is given in App. iii to part i (*History of Gujarat*) of the first volume of the *Bombay Gazetteer*. I have there proposed (p. 467) to identify Vyāghramukha with the Gurjara¹ king who was defeated by Pulakeśin II, and his successor with Hiuen Tsang's king of Bhinmāl. D. R. Bhandarkar has doubted Brahmagupta's connexion with Bhinmāl, but, I think, without sufficient reason."²

These observations show that the coin published by me suggests interesting problems in topography as well as in literary and political history. The existence of a great mediæval Gurjara kingdom, or 'empire,' as Dr. Hoernle calls it, has been recognized only lately by most people, although attention was drawn to it by Bühler in 1888 (*Ind. Ant.*, xvii, 192), and by Mr. Jackson in 1896 (*Bomb. Gaz.*). It is a special merit of Dr. Hoernle's historical work ("Some Problems of Ancient Indian History," *J.R.A.S.*, 1904, 1905; and Hoernle and Stark, *History of India*, Cuttack, 1904) that it takes adequate notice of the Gurjara kingdom. I must confess that when I was writing my *Early History of India* (1904) I had not fully grasped the meaning of the researches on the subject initiated by Bühler and Jackson, and prosecuted by D. R. Bhandarkar and Dr. Hoernle. My book, consequently, fails to give the reader a clear notion of the importance of the Gurjaras in mediæval history. This defect will be remedied, I hope, in a revised edition next year. Bühler devoted immense pains to the editing and discussion of "Gurjara Inscriptions." His paper on the copper-plate inscription of Dadda II, or Prasāntarāga, found at Bagumrā in the Barōdā State, although requiring correction in some points, is full of valuable matter, from which I quote the following passage, bearing directly on Mr. Rawlins' coin:—

"With a single exception, all the complete inscriptions call the princes enumerated above scions of the Gurjara race The name Gurjara makes it evident that this dynasty belonged to

¹ Authority exists for both spellings—Gurjara and Gūrjara.

² "Gurjaras," by Devadatta Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, M.A., read before Bo. Br. R.A.S., 13th Nov., 1902, p. 6 of reprint. I agree with Mr. Jackson.

the great tribe which is still found in Northern and Western India, and after which two provinces, one in the Bombay Presidency and one in the Pañjāb, have been named. The Gurjaras or Gujars are at present pretty numerous in the Western Himālaya, in the Pañjāb, and in Eastern Rājputāna. In Kachh and Gujarāt their number is much smaller. It would, therefore, seem that they came into Western India from the north. Their immigration must have taken place in early times, about the beginning of our era or shortly afterwards [? fifth century, V. A. S.]. In Western India they founded, besides the kingdom of Broach, another larger state which lay some hundred miles further north. Hiuen Tsiang mentions in his travels the kingdom of *Kiu-che-lo* and its capital *Pi-lo-mi-lo*. It has been long known that the former word corresponds to Gurjara *Pi-lo-mi-lo* corresponds exactly to Bhillamāla, one of the old names of the modern Bhīnmāl or Śrīmāl in southern Mārvād, close to the northern frontier of Gujarāt.¹ Another work, which was composed a few years before Hiuen Tsiang's visit to Gujarāt, contains likewise a notice of this northern kingdom of the Gurjaras. The astronomer Brahmagupta, who completed his Siddhānta in Śaka-Samvat 550, or 628 A. D., calls himself [this is an error] Bhillamālakakāchārya, 'the teacher residing in Bhillamālaka,' and is called so by his commentator Prīthūdakasvāmin. He further states that he wrote under king Vyāghramukha, who was 'an ornament of the Chāpa race.' This family [or clan], whose name recurs in the Haddāla grant of Dharaṇivarāha prince of Vadhvān (*ante*, vol. xii, pp. 190 ff.),² thus seems to have been [supplied] the reigning house of Bhillamāla, [as well as the dynasties of Anhilvād and Vadhvān (Vardhamāna)]. It is most probably identical with the Chāudās, Chāvōtakas, or Chāpōtkas, who from 756 to 941 A. D. held Anhilvād, and still possess various small districts in northern

¹ Watters spells the Chinese words as *Kü-che-lo* and *Pi-lo-mo-lo*. "Julien," he says, "restores the Sanskrit name of the country as 'Gurjara,' but the pilgrim probably transcribed a name like Guchala or Guchara. The name here given to the capital probably stands for a word like *Bhilmala*" (*On Yuan Chwang*, vol. ii, p. 250). The vernacular form *Gūjar* or *Gūjara* presumably was that heard by Hiuen Tsang rather than the Sanskrit *Gurjara* (*Gurjāra*, *Gūrjāra*) used in inscriptions. There is no doubt that *Kiu-che-lo* (*Kü-che-lo*) meant the Gurjara country. Mr. Watters' remark about the form *Bhilmala* strongly supports Mr. Jackson's identification of *Pi-lo-mi-lo* (*Pi-lo-mo-lo*) with Bhīnmāl; the more so, because he did not dispute Saint-Martin's and Cunningham's erroneous identification of *Pi-lo-mi-lo* with Bālmer.

² Haddāla is in eastern Kāthiāwār. The publication of this grant in 1883 first revealed the existence of "a hitherto unknown dynasty of feudal chiefs of Vardhamāna, called Chāpa." The grant is dated 839 Śaka = 917-18 A. D., and carries back the ancestry to about 800 A. D.

Gujarāt. The Gurjara kingdom of Broach was without doubt an offshoot of the larger State in the north; and it may be that its rulers, too, belonged to the Chāpa family" (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xvii (1888), p. 192).

The value of these remarks by Bühler is not affected by Dr. Fleet's decision that the Bagumrā plates are forgeries (ibid., p. 380; *Kanarese Dynasties*, 2nd ed., p. 312, note). The capital of the Southern Gurjara kingdom, while it lasted, that is, probably up to the middle of the eighth century, was Bharōch (Broach); that of the Chāudā (Chāvōṭaka) principality was Anhilvād (Anahilpattan).

There appears to be no doubt that the names Chāpa, Chāudā, Chāvaḍā, Chāvōṭaka, and Chāpotkaṭa are identical. Mr. Jackson regards Chāpa as being the original form, Chāpōtkāṭa being a Sanskritized variant, meaning 'strong bowman' (*Bhinmāl*, p. 466, note).

Inasmuch as Bhinmāl was the capital of the Northern Gurjara kingdom in Rājputāna, the Chāpa king Vyāghramukha of Bhinmāl commemorated by the astronomer must have been a Gurjara king of that state, and not a member of the Chāvaḍā dynasty of the principality of Anhilvād (Anahilavāḍa). The city of Anhilvād is said not to have been founded until 746 A.D. The Chāvaḍās seem to have been a branch of the Gurjaras who extended the power of the race in the south. Brahmagupta's patron, Vyāghramukha, apparently must be identical with the unnamed Gurjara king who was defeated by the Chalukya monarch Pulakesin II, as recorded in his inscription dated Ś. 556 = 634 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.*, viii, 237). The young king of Kiu-che-lo, a devout Buddhist, whom Hiuen Tsang visited in 641 or 642 A.D.,¹ must have been the immediate successor of Vyāghramukha.

¹ "The king is of the Kshatriya caste. He is just twenty years old; he is distinguished for wisdom, and he is courageous. He is a deep believer in the law of Buddha; and highly honours men of distinguished ability" (Beal, ii, 270). "The king, who was a Kshatriya by birth, was a young man celebrated for his wisdom and valour, and he was a profound believer in Buddhism, and a patron of exceptional abilities" (Watters, ii, 249). The Hūnas, Gurjaras, and other foreign tribes, which obtained by conquest the rank of Rājās for their chiefs, were assimilated by Hindu society as Kshatriyas. The same thing has happened with Goṇḍas and other so-called aboriginal tribes in modern times.

Thus, on the assumption that the Vyāghramukha of the coin is identical with the only known king of that name, Mr. Rawlins' coin proves to have been issued by Vyāghramukha, king of the Gurjara country, that is to say, Central and Northern Rajputāna, who was reigning at his capital Bhinmāl in 628, and shortly before 634 A.D. Its style and associations caused me to describe it as a White Hun or Ephthalite coin, and the discovery of its probable date and attribution does not necessarily require a change in its classification. The coin was associated with and is related to the undoubtedly White Hun coins of Tōramāṇa and Mihirakula. The fact that the coin of a Gurjara king can be described correctly as a White Hun piece simply means that the Gurjaras were a foreign race who entered the Indian territories along with the White Huns in the series of invasions which occurred during the fifth century. The great barbarian swarm which then overran the plains of India evidently was a mixed multitude composed of various more or less cognate and similar tribes, in the same way as the two earlier swarms of foreign invaders during historical times each included several distinct hordes or tribes.

“There is reason to believe that the Śaka (Sök) hordes included even Turks and Tibetans, and that the invaders, who in the middle of the second century B.C. penetrated Northern India by a route through the mountains of the Kāśmīr region, were a mixture of peoples similar to that which, under the name of Ta-Yüechi, entered India and Afghanistan at a later date. Care, however, must be taken not to confound these two events, which were quite distinct. The earlier invasion, which may conveniently be described as that of the Śakas, was from the north, and occurred about 150 B.C., while the later, distinguished as that of the Ta-Yüechi, or Indo-Scythians, was from the north-west, and occurred in the first century A.D.”¹

An insignificant-looking little coin has led me a long way, and it is time to stop; for a full discussion of the

¹ Author's paper, “The Śakas in Northern India” (*Z.D.M.G.*, Band lxi (1907), p. 413; following Franke, *Beiträge aus chinesischen Quellen zur Kenntniss der Türkvolker und Skythen Zentralasiens*, p. 60, Berlin, 1904).

Gurjara problem and all the subsidiary issues connected with it would require a volume. I may, however, add that the Ephthalite series of invasions, like the Ta-Yüechi, came from the north-west, and that Bhinnmāl lies in N. lat. $24^{\circ} 42'$, E. long. $72^{\circ} 4'$; while Hoshyārpur, in the neighbourhood of which Mr. Rawlins' coins were found, lies about seven degrees further north. This fact helps us to realize the wide extent of the dominion won by the Ephthalite group of hordes.