

JOURNAL
OF THE
EPIGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF INDIA

[BHARATIYA PURABHILEKHA PATRIKA]
(BEING VOL. VII OF STUDIES IN INDIAN EPIGRAPHY)
VOLUME SEVEN : 1980



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NAGPUR

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DHARWAR

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EDITORIAL

We are happy to place into the hands of the members the 7th Volume of our Journal. The volume contains 31 papers most of them read in the earlier annual Sessions of the Society. It was indeed our earnest desire to include in this issue all the papers pending with us up-to-date. But due to certain difficulties, especially the limitation of time and the facilities of press this desire could not be fulfilled. We are confident, however, that we will be able to achieve this goal in the next issue of our Journal.

FUTURE PLANS

In order to increase the usefulness of the Journal, it is thought of introducing a regular section in the Journal entitled *Bibliographical Studies*, listing articles bearing on Epigraphy published in other periodicals in the concerned year. Though attempts will be made by the Editorial committee to collect this information from different sources it is requested that the members may kindly bring to the notice of the Editor such articles published and/or noticed by them elsewhere.

It is also decided to regularly include from the next issue of the Journal, a gist of the proceedings of the preceding Annual Congresses. The cooperation of the members is earnestly sought in improving the Journal.

IMPORTANT EVENTS

The year 1980 witnessed two important events so far as Epigraphical Studies are concerned. One was the Seminar organised by the American Institute of Indian Studies, Banaras, on Epigraphy and Art. This was indeed a welcome attempt to expand the horizon of Epigraphical Studies. The papers read and the discussions held then amply proved that Epigraphy can be harnessed for the study of various aspects of Indian life and culture, in addition to the usual study of political history and chronology.

Another event was the 41st Session of the Indian History Congress held in Bombay in December 1980, wherein also Epigraphy is being given due recognition. It was heartening to note that the General President of the Congress happened to be the renowned Epigraphist, Dr. D.C. Sircar. He rightly pointed out the need for Epigraphical Studies if our researches in early Indian history are to be meaningful. The Section on Epigraphy along with Historical Archaeology and Numismatics was also headed by an Epigraphist, Dr. Shrinivas Ritti, who happens to be the Secretary and Executive Editor of the Society.

OUR GRATITUDE

The publication of the volumes of our Journal has been facilitated by the generous grant from the Indian Council of Historical Research. While expressing our gratitude to this highest academic body for historical studies in our country for their help so far, we earnestly hope that they continue to extend their helping hand for our future publications also.

Our sincere thanks are due to my predecessor in this Office, Dr. K. V. Ramesh and his colleague and former Assistant Editor Dr. S. S. Ramachandra Murthy who have willingly shouldered the burden of seeing this issue of the Journal through the press, efficiently and in record time. I also thank Sri S. K. Lakshminarayana, Proprietor, Vidyasagar Printing and Publishing House, Mysore for printing the Journal.

SRINIVASA RITTI

for and on behalf of the Editorial Committee

I feel extremely grateful to the Executive Committee of the Epigraphical society of India for electing me President for the Sixth annual session being held at Ahmedabad on the sacred bank of the Sabarmati.

The Gujarat Vidyapith, under whose auspices the present session is being held, was founded by the Father of the Nation Mahatma Gandhi in the year 1920. Since then the Vidyapith has been doing commendable work in various fields of higher learning. The subject of History and culture, including archaeology, comparative religion and philosophy, has been given high priority in the curriculum of higher studies and research in the Vidyapith. On the 22nd December 1920, the Gujarat Samsodhan Mandir, later renamed as Gujarat Puratattva Mandir, was established to give greater attention to historical studies. The Department has successfully organised several all India seminars on Indology and has brought out a number of useful publications.

The excavations and explorations conducted at Lothal, Dēvṇimōri and other sites in Gujarat by the Archaeological Survey of India, the Deptt. of Archaeology and Ancient History, M.S. University Baroda and the State Deptt. of Archaeology have brought to light much new evidence in the form of monuments, inscriptions,

coins and other relics* of the past. These have been very useful for reconstructing not only the history of Gujarat but also of other regions of the country.

The inscribed sealings discovered at Lothal in Gujarat in the excavations conducted by the Archaeological Survey of India under the direction of Dr. S. R. Rao are of special significance. These are similar to their prototypes found at several other Harappan sites. Dr. Rao has devoted several years to their decipherment and has arrived at the conclusion that the phoretic value of the Harappan writing is akin to that of Semitic script. According to him, the Harappan language comes under the Indo-Aryan family and has a close affinity with the early vēdic language although it is more archaic than the latter. The scientific approach of Dr. Rao and some of his conclusions have been endorsed by several scholars in the country and abroad.

Prof. R. N. Mehta of the M. S. University, Baroda conducted excavations at Dēvṇimōri in the Sabarkantha district of Gujarat. The Buddhist Casket inscriptions found during the excavation of the site mention a *mahāstūpa* and *mahāvihāra* built in the reign of Rudra-ēna III of the Western Kshatrapadynasty. The stone sculptures, terracottas, metal and glass objects,

*Delivered at the VI Annual Congress of the Epigraphical Society of India held at Ahmedabad on the 9th, 10th and 11th of March, 1980.

coins, inscriptions unearthed at the site indicate that Dēvṇimōri near Shamlaji was a great centre of Buddhist religion and art from the 2nd to the 4th century A. D.

The recent excavation at Dwārkā under the supervision of Dr. S. R. Rao has thrown welcome light on the antiquity of this famous religious centre of India. The excavator feels that the first occupation at Dwārkā may go back to an earlier epoch than c. 1000 B. C.

Students of Indian history are only too well acquainted with our nation's immense epigraphical wealth, which is the chief original source for the study of various facets of history and culture. So far more than one lakh of epigraphs have been discovered in various parts of the country. Every year new material is added to this vast number of records. For ancient and medieval history of India and her relations with the neighbouring countries in the past this source material has been found indispensable.

The importance of epigraphs was recognised by Indian Government more than a century ago and necessary measures were taken from time to time to collect, preserve and publish various types of inscriptions. From the second quarter of the last century several foreign and Indian scholars began to take more and more interest in this field. The publication of *Indian Antiquary*, *Epigraphia Indica* and later of *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* and the *Corpus* volumes proved very useful in this direction.

The Archaeological Department of Bhavnagar in Saurāshṭra, as early as the year 1883, published the *Corpus volume of inscriptions in Sanskrit and Prakrit*. The

next year another such volume entitled *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari* was published by the same Department. It included select inscriptions of Arabic and Persian. The latter was indeed the first notable volume on Indo-Muslim epigraphy. In 1886 B. L. Rice started the publication of *Epigraphia Carnatica*, several volumes of which were gradually published. Recently B. R. Gopal and his colleagues have revised this series of publication. So far they have published seven sumptuous volumes of the inscriptions of Karnataka under the auspices of the University of Mysore.

The Archaeological Survey of India, looking to the vast epigraphical material of the country, established a separate branch for epigraphy. Its office at Ootacamund was later shifted to Mysore. The Epigraphy Branch of the Survey has been taking all possible steps to cope with the gigantic work of Indian Epigraphy. In spite of several handicaps, including those of adequate staff and printing facilities, this major branch of the survey has appreciable achievements to its credit.

My predecessor, Dr Z. A. Desai, in his Presidential address, delivered at Bangalore last year, drew our attention to some genuine problems which the Epigraphy Branch has been facing from the very beginning. These problems have to be tackled in right earnest in order to do justice with the developing disciplines of epigraphy and palaeography. The Universities, research institutes and the state departments of archaeology in the country have to share the burden more actively and

earnestly. The present picture of epigraphical studies, particularly in North India, is dismal indeed. Unless we rise to the occasion, probably after some years, if not soon, the situation will get much more deteriorated. We have to remember the warning given by one of our previous presidents and the foremost epigraphist, Dr. D.C. Sircar, who sometime back had observed at our Indore Session: "There are very few successful epigraphists in India today. It is feared that soon there will be nobody to read and interpret an inscription correctly." Friends, we have to take this challenge.

It is not possible for me to give here even briefly the account of recent epigraphical investigations in various parts of the country. I shall, however, try to refer to only some important discoveries.

The excavation conducted by K. M. Srivastava of the Survey at Piprāhwā in the Basti district of U.P. has yielded a few reliquary inscriptions and baked clay sealings bearing the name of Kapilavastu. The new evidence has conclusively confirmed the old surmise of Fleet regarding the identification of Piprāhwā with the ancient Kapilavastu of the Śākya.

From Mathurā some important stone inscriptions have come to light. Two inscriptions of the time of Mahākshatrapa Śōḍāsa, (already known: Lüders' list, Nos 82 and 82a) refer to the construction of a shrine for Vāsudēva-Vishṇu along with excavation of a tank, creation of a reservoir, a garden, railing and

gateway, a pillar and stone statue by a person called Mūlavasu, who was the treasurer of king Śōḍāsa of Mathurā.

Recently a new stone inscription has been discovered near a hamlet called Mīrjāpūr in the Southern outskirts of the present Mathurā town. The inscription, incised in large and bold letters, has been published by R. C. Sharma, Director of the Mathurā Museum. It records that a lady named Pakshaka, who was the wife of Mūlavasu, the treasurer of the king Śōḍāsa, caused the excavation of the eastern water tank and the creation of a garden, assembly hall, a well, a pillar and a slab bearing the image of Śrī (Lakshmi). The new inscription shows that the image of Lakshmi was installed near the temple of Vāsudēva. This is significant evidence bearing on the early cult images of Vāsudēva-Vishṇu and Śrī-Lakshmi in Mathurā during the time of Mahākshatrapa Śōḍāsa.

Similarly another new stone inscription from Mathurā refers to the worship of the god Mahēśvara (Śiva). It is written in the Kushāṇa Brāhmī script and records the gift of a water tank, garden, assembly hall, stone tablet and a temple (of Śiva) by one Kautsiputa Magaka. This is a very early reference to the temple of Mahēśvara-Śiva at Mathurā.

On the pedestal of a newly discovered stone image of the Buddha is incised a two line Brāhmī inscription in the usual Kushāṇa characters. The Buddha is called Śākyamuni in the inscription,

according to which the image was set up by one lady called Yasa, wife of a *kāyastha*. This seems to be the earliest epigraphic reference to a *kāyastha*.

Another inscribed Buddha image from Mathurā is dated in the year 93 (171 A.D.) in the reign of Dēvaputra Vāsudēva. The inscription refers to the donation of the image along with a paraso by a Buddhist *śramaṇa* who also was a *kāyastha*. Here we get the second early occurrence of the word *kāyastha*.

From a site called Gōvindnagar near Mathurā, an important pedestal of the image of the Buddha has been recovered. A four line Brāhmī inscription on the pedestal gives us the information that in the year 28 (106 A. D.) an image of Amitābha-Buddha was set up by one Nāgarakshita of a merchant family. The Śaka year 28 (106 A. D.) here represents the very first regnal year of the Kushāṇa ruler Huvishka. Amitābha-Buddha is mentioned here for the first time in a Mathurā inscription.

From Gōvindnagar another inscribed Buddha image deserves mention. It is a standing Buddha image of high workmanship very similar to an exquisitely carved inscribed Buddha image (No. A 5) of the Mathurā Museum (Lüders' List, No 146). The inscription on the pedestal of the new image bears the date 115 in the Gupta era (434 A. D.). It gives the name of its sculptor, Dinna, whose name also occurs on the image No. A 5. This Dinna (Yasadinna) was a Buddhist monk. The workmanship of these two Buddha

statues carved during the time of Kumāragupta I of the Gupta dynasty shows that the monk-sculptor was a past-master in carving out excellent stone images at Mathurā.

As regards Central India mention may first be made of the two inscriptions of emperor Aśōka found at a site called Pāṅguḍāri in the Sehore district. The place was on the route from Vidiśā to Māhishmatī. It is proved by one of the inscriptions of Aśōka, beautifully incised on one of the rocks. In this rare record Aśōka gives instructions to a prince of his royal house to look after the comforts of the Buddhist monks who would assemble there from all the quarters.

Recently a set of copper-plates has been acquired from near Kaṭni in the Jaba'pur district. It is dated in the Gupta Saṁvat 182 (502 A. D.) and was issued by *mahārāja* Jayanātha of the Uchchakalpa dynasty. It gives the genealogy of the dynasty from Aughadēva to Jayanātha and thereafter mentions about the donation of a village to the people of the three *varṇas*.

A New copper-plate inscription of the king Śarvanātha of Uchchakalpa has been discovered in the district Panna of Madhya Pradesh. Only one plate of the entire set has been found. It gives the usual genealogy of the dynasty and mentions the donation of a village to *brāhmaṇa* Priyasēna and others of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra.

Another Copper-plate from village Rāva in the Raipur district (now in Durgawati Museum, Jabalpur) is inscribed in the box-headed Brāhmī characters of the late Gupta period. It was issued from Śarabhapura by the king Narēndra. It mentions Maṅṭarāja-bhukti, a name of some significance, wherein donations were made for the upkeep of a temple of lord Śrīdharasvāmi.

A new set of three copper-plates from Malhār of the Sōmavamśi king Mahāśivagupta is another important acquisition. The inscription records the grant of a village to the temple of lord Kapilēśvara, which was caused to be constructed by Śivanandi in the Kōsala-nagara (city of Kōsala). The mention of Kōsala as a city in this epigraph of the 7th century is significant. It shows that by that time Kōsala, an important town of South Kōsala, continued to retain its glory.

Another set of two copper-plates from Pasid was issued by the king Ratnadēva III of the Kalachuri dynasty. It gives the genealogy of the dynasty and then records the grant made by the ruler, of a village Vaṇika to his family priest Śaṅkara in Kalachuri Saṁ 934 (1182-83 A. D.) The names of the Kōsala region and of Tummana and Tripurī cities also find mention in this inscription. So far this is the only known copper-plate grant of king Ratnadēva III.

Recently I have discovered and deciphered one stone slab at Korba (Dist. Bilaspur). The inscription reads: *Om Ashṭadvāra-*

Vishaya Vaidyaputra sri Vaṅkarēṇa (i.e., 'by Vaṅkara, son of Vaidya (some religious work was caused) in the Ashṭadvāra-vishaya'). The word *Ashṭadvāra* can be identified with *Aḍbhār*, an ancient town in the district of Bilaspur, where several remains of temples and sculptures are scattered.

It is interesting to note that some of the historical rock-paintings in Central India have been found bearing the Brāhmī inscriptions with them. One of the shelters at Bhīm Baiṭhkā has *śimhakasa lēṇa* ('cave of Śimhaka') written in the Aśōkan Brāhmī characters. Near Gwalior is another inscribed painted shelter bearing the Brāhmī letters *Dambukēna kāritam* ('made by Daṁbuka'). At a place called Kolaji-ki-Kui in the Kota district on the border of district Mandsaur G. R. Kishor of the Vikram University, Ujjain has recently discovered some rock-paintings showing a deer, peacock, *kalasa-chakra*, etc. By the side of these paintings are written names in Brāhmī script of the 2nd-1st century B. C. One of these is that of *bhikhuni* (nun) Apabhasēnā of a village called Ghaṭasāsi. Another name is that of *śramaṇa* (monk) Sipisēna, a resident of *Aparadēs-vishaya* according to the inscription.

At Kanhēri in Maharashtra some important new inscriptions have been deciphered by (Mrs.) Shobhana Gokhale. From these inscriptions names of about 15 Buddhist teachers are known, in whose honour votive *stūpas* were constructed. From the new evidence it is clear that Kanhēri was an important centre of Buddhist learning

during the early centuries of the Christian era.

Name of a Buddhist monastery *Ambalika-Vihāra* has been found on a new epigraph in the Ambivale caves near Kalyāṇ.

Two Traikūṭaka copper plate grants discovered at Matvan in the Ratnagiri district of Koṅkaṇ have brought to light the names of two new rulers of Traikūṭaka dynasty, viz., Madhyamasēna and Vikramasēna.

From Malhāra near Achalpur in the Amaravati district a set of five copper plates has been obtained. The inscription refers to a *brāhmaṇa* royal family of Vidarbha credited with the performance of *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice. The record in box-headed characters is written in chaste Sanskrit and throws light on the political and religious history of Vidarbha before the rise of the Vākātakas.

More than half-a-dozen new inscriptions of the Rāshtrakūṭas from Maharashtra also deserve mention.

P. V. Parabrahma Sastry and his colleagues in the State Department of Archaeology and Museums, Andhra Pradesh have made some important new discoveries in the field. On a hillock near Guṇṭupalli in the West Gōdavari district an inscribed marble pillar has been discovered. The epigraph records the gift made by an officer of the Kaliṅga king Mahāmēghavāhana. This king has been identified with the Chēdi king Khāravēla of the well known Hathigūmpha inscription in Orissa.

A Prakrit inscription of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla I has been discovered near a *stūpa* at Kēsānapalli in the Guntur district. This is the only epigraph of this ruler known so far.

Two copper plate grants of the Viṣṇukunḍin kings Gōvindavarman and Vikramēndravarman II, found at Tummalagūḍem in the Nalgonda district, deserve special mention as they furnish some new information pertaining to the genealogy and chronology of the dynasty.

A long genealogical list of the Kākatīya rulers has been found in the Bayyāram (dist. Khammam) tank inscription set up by Mūlama, sister of Kākatī Gaṇapatiḍēva. The inscription mentions the town Kākatī, the original capital of Venna, an early Kākatīya ruler. From this and other allied evidence, Sastry thinks it probable that the Kākatīyas were originally the military generals of the Rāshtrakūṭa army and during their campaigns on the Vēṅgi region had settled in Talaṅgāṇā.

Discovery of four new Aśōkan edicts in Karnataka is noteworthy. Two of them have been found near Niṭṭūr and the other two near Uḍegoḷim, both sites being located in the Siriguppa taluk of the Bellary district. The total number of the Aśōkan edicts found in Karnataka is now ten, implying the importance of the region during the Mauryan period. The name of Aśōka occurs in some of these edicts. His name was previously known occurring in the Maski (Raichur district) and Gajarra (Datia dist. in M.P.) edicts.

Banavāsi, and the region around in Karnataka are very rich in inscriptions, coins and stone sculptures. Before the time of the Kadambas, vestiges of the Sātavāhana rule in this area have been discovered. Two inscriptions from a site called Sannati are of special significance. One of these mentions Vāsīthīputa Sirisa. On the other, name of Mahāsātavāhana occurs. Names of several officials and others who made religious donations have been found in a large number of inscriptions.

B. R. Gopal has brought to light one inscription from Guḍṇāpūr near Banavāsi. This inscription furnishes, for the first time, the names of the grandfather and father of the Kadamba king Mayūraśarma. The inscription refers to the *Vasāntōtsava* held at the temple of Kāmadēva and describes various localities and buildings of the town.

The early Brāhmī inscriptions particularly from the Madurai and Tiruchirappalli districts of Tamilnadu, are interesting from various points of view. Some years ago T. V. Mahalingam in his monumental work *Early South Indian Palaeography* discussed the evolution of the Brāhmī script in the South on the basis of these inscriptions. These along with new Brāhmī inscriptions found in the region furnish much valuable material for further study.

K. G. Krishnan has drawn our attention to the importance of the Jaina monastery (*palli*) at Sāttamaṅgalam in the South Arcot district with temples for

Jaina deities including a Yakshī. These temples were repaired from time to time. The inscriptions from the time of Nandi-varman Pallavamalla to the time of Rājarāja I have thrown light on this.

Vallam near Tanjāvūr was a treasury town of the Chōlas. One of the inscriptions found there belongs to the reign of Parāntaka I. It records the gift of sheep for a lamp in the temple of the goddess Bhaṭṭārakī at Vallam.

A fragmentary inscription from a temple at Uraiūr in the Tiruchirappalli district furnishes a significant information that the *brāhmaṇa* shareholders of the place were to be put under different categories on the sole basis of their proficiency in the one, two or three *Vēdas*. Similarly, the *brāhmaṇas* well-versed in *sūtra*, *bhāshya* and *sāstra* literature were also put under different categories according to their knowledge. They were given gifts of gold and *brahmaratha* (chariot) as determined by their academic position.

Some other regions of the country, not referred to in this brief survey, have also recently yielded useful epigraphical records.

With a very limited number of experts in the field, it has not been possible during the past several years to cope with the new source material. Due to this a large number of our post-graduate students and teachers have no knowledge even of some outstanding

epigraphical discoveries. The incorporation of these discoveries in our text books takes an abnormally long time. Even if the texts of the new inscriptions are made available, it is very difficult to get their correct translations and interpretations.

The Epigraphical Society of India has been established with the sole aim of diffusion of the knowledge enshrined in the discipline of Epigraphy. With its limited resources, it has been able to do some work in the field by publishing its journal regularly and also by holding its sessions in different parts of the country. In a way it has been assisting the Epigraphy Branch of the Survey, the State Departments of Archaeology, Universities and Indological Institutes in the country and outside.

The Epigraphical Society of India is grateful to the Indian Council of Historical Research for financial help to the Society towards the printing of the Society's journal. The ICHR has a scheme for publishing several volumes on the inscriptions of different regions. So far a few volumes have been completed by Prof. Mahalingam, Dr. A. M. Shastri and other scholars. It is hoped that they will be published soon. I have to offer a suggestion here: The ICHR has projects in hand pertaining to Indian history and culture. There are obvious difficulties in carrying out some of the major projects, that of Epigraphy being one of them. Now that Epigraphical Society of India has established its

stable academic position, it will be worthwhile if the scheme in regard to the volumes on inscriptions is entrusted to the Society by the ICHR. This may not only expedite the work but also is likely to ensure the requisite standard of the Series.

In December, 1979 the American Institute of Indian Studies organised at Vāraṇāsi an International Seminar on Epigraphy as a source of Indian art-history. Several eminent scholars from this country and abroad participated in the seminar. The papers presented in the Seminar touched almost all the facets of Indian art-history, and the discussions thereon were very fruitful.

More such seminars on epigraphy as a source of political and cultural history and on the relation of epigraphy with language, literature, philosophy and other allied subjects should be organised. The Epigraphical Society during its each annual session should select a particular theme for holding a full seminar. The proceedings of the seminar can be published in the Journal of the Society till a separate arrangement for the same is made.

The printing work of the Archaeological Survey of India, including that of its Epigraphy Branch, is badly held up due to acute problem of the press. It is essential that the Survey must have its own press as early as possible. The problem should be tackled at the highest level as an academic necessity of the entire country.

It is now high time for all the States of the country to pay proper attention to

their departments of archaeology and museums. The department should be provided with necessary funds and expert staff including atleast one specialized epigraphist. The example of Andhra Pradesh can be emulated by other States in this regard. No less than fourteen important publications on epigraphy alone have till now been brought out by the Department of Archaeology, Andhra Pradesh under the active stewardship of its Director, N. Ramesan. The State Departments of Karnataka and Tamilnadu have also been doing commendable work in epigraphy and other branches. Recently a useful exhibition showing development of the Brāhmī script was arranged in the Durgāvati Govt. Museum, Jabalpur by B.C. Jain, Dy. Director of the Deptt. of Archaeology, Madhya Pradesh.

The Departments of Archaeology, Indian history and classical languages in our Universities should be more alive to the importance of epigraphy. In this direction the lead taken by the University of Mysore and the Karnatak University, Dharwar may be followed by others. Our Universities and research institutes

have to do much more work in the field than has been done so far. The early inscriptions written in Pāli, Prakrit and Sanskrit have to be studied adequately. Similarly proper attention has to be paid to the Arabic and Persian inscriptions and those written in the regional languages. The elderly scholars have a duty to train and encourage young students in the field of epigraphy.

Friends, I am very thankful to you for kindly giving me a patient hearing. I close my address by quoting a verse from the Māṇḍasaur inscription of poet Ravila who invites all to drink the nectar-like sweet water of a well :

Yasmin suhṛit saṅgama śītalam cha
manō munīnām = iva nirmalam cha
vachō gurūṇām = iva ch = āmbu-pathyam

(People derive comfort by frequently drinking its water, refreshing as the meeting of friends, pure as the mind of sages and wholesome as the word of elders).

In our case, this ideal nectar-well is Epigraphy, the original source of history and culture.

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The discovery of early inscriptions always delights the hearts of any student of Epigraphy particularly when it happens to be a rare one. Recently I had the good fortune of laying my hands on such an inscription viz. , a stone inscription of the Early Chalukyas. This inscription was first noticed by a student of mine during the course of his survey, on a boulder of a hill situated about a mile to west of Arabaḷḷi in the Harapanahalli Taluk of Bellary district. Later, I tried to copy the inscription and also study it *in situ*. Although my efforts to decipher the inscription in full have not met with success, it is atleast possible to assign the inscription to a particular period and to identify the king tentatively.

Anybody is confronted with two major difficulties in getting at the full text of the inscription. One is the location. It is engraved on a lofty boulder out of reach, defeating all efforts to get a good estampage. Even if this is achieved through some contrivances, the insurmountable difficulty is the writing itself. The engraving is too shallow and is almost defaced in some places. Exposed to sun and rain for centuries, the boulder is waring out with small flakes of it coming out now and then, resulting in the loss of some letters. My best efforts to get a good estampage did not bear much fruit. Ultimately in order to get as much as possible I resorted to the method of over-writing the inscription with chalk and take a photograph. Even here, however much faithfully I tried to trace the letters and write on them, I am conscious that in some places atleast I have gone wrong. Because of the

effacement, it was almost impossible to trace some letters fully.

The inscription does not follow the conventional pattern. On the top there are four lines which contain the names of many Jaina āchāryas, some of which could be read as Thāṇi-āchārya, Indranandi, Śivanandi; and the expression *sallēgana keyiye*, following these lines, indicates that these and other Jaina ascetics mentioned herein, performed *sallēkhana-vrata* to free themselves from the bondage of this world.

From lines five to nine, which is the last line in the record, the letters are written in bolder type and with a deeper engraving, so much so, we are able to salvage the text to a great extent though not in full. The fifth and sixth lines appear to refer to the death of Dharmasēna, the son, *i. e.*, the disciple of Ajitasēnāchārya. Sirisēna is another name found in the sixth line.

The seventh line contains the reference to a king in the expression only *Śri Satyāśraya(ḥ) Pṛithvivallabha mahārāja[r] āḷe* *i. e.* the inscription was engraved during the rule of this king. There is no date. But on palaeographical grounds and the language of the inscription this *Satyāśraya Pṛithvivallabha* can be identified with Pulakēśi II of the Bādāmi Chalukya family.

The last but one line seems to sum up saying that the ascetics mentioned earlier performed *tapas* on this hill (*i parvataduḷe tupa keydar*). Thāṇi-āchārya is mentioned once again. But it is difficult to know the context.

In spite of this thoroughly unsatisfactory reading, the inscription has its own importance. It is one of the very few stone inscriptions of Pulakēśi II and perhaps the first to be discovered in the Bellary district. That the hill was an abode of the Jaina ascetics is clear enough from the inscription and this is corroborated by the natural caves that are there on the hill. It is likely that

these natural caves were used for performing *tapas*.

The form *sallēgana* is worth noticing here. We come across the word *sallēkhana* in many inscriptions. But this form is really peculiar. I wonder if this accounts for the influence of Tamil or if this form was common in the Dravidian languages. Further, may be, this is the earliest reference to *sallēkhana* in inscriptions.

TENTATIVE TEXT OF THE INSCRIPTION

1. Siddhaṇḍiyu [Siva]ṇḍiyu.....Jayaṇḍiyu
2. Thāṇi-āchāryya ī
3. ...ṇḍiyu [Siri]ṇḍiyu [Siva] ṇḍiyu Sivaṇḍiyu.....
4. sallēgaṇa keyiye.....
5. Śrī Ajitasēnāchāryyarā magandir Dharmasēnarendu alliyē vidaredu
6. [mu?] ḍipi sattāviṭṭar [° *] Sirisēna.....
7. Vālmika. mu aradaṭṭār [°*] Śrī Satyāśraya(ḥ) pṛithuvi-
8. vallabha Mahārāja[r] āḷe [ī] parvvataduḷe tapa keydar [°*] Thāṇi-āchā-
9. ryyar-inda [li?] ene toralandura si

3 A NOTE ON THE HISSE-BORALA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF VAKATAKA DEVASENA

B. N. Mukherjee

The Hisse-Borala stone inscription, found in the Akola district (Maharashtra), records the excavation of a lake named Sudarśana, caused by Svāmīlladēva, who was a "royal servant (*rāj-ājñākara*) of the illustrious (king) Dēvasēna of the Vākāṭakas" (*Vākāṭakānām Śrī Dēvasēnasya rājñah ājñākarēṇa Svāmīlladēvēna...*).¹ Several scholars have commented on the portion of the epigraph preceding the word *Vākāṭakānām* in line no. 1.²

The latest of these scholars, J.E. Mitchiner, has read the first line of the epigraph as follows:

Siddham (Andhra-) *tasya vṛittasya 220*
saptarshaya Uttarāsu Phalgunīshu 380
Vākāṭakānām śrī Dēvasēnasya.

The same scholar has translated the first line as follows :

"(In the year) 220 of the Andhra realm having elapsed, the Seven Ṛishis being in Uttara Phalgunī: (in the year) 380 of the Śakas, (in the year) of Śrī Dēvasēna of the Vākāṭakas."

Mitchiner thinks that the above reading and translation indicate the use of an era "based upon the ending of the Andhra dynasty" in [year 220 = (380+78)=] A.D. 238.³

A close scrutiny of the photograph of the Hisse-Borala inscription published in the *Epigraphia Indica* (vol. XXXVII) and an examination of the original inscription on stone, now kept in a fragmentary condition in the Nagpur museum,⁴ convinces one of the veracity

of Mitchiner's reading starting from the word *tasya*. There is no doubt that the figure following *tasya* may be considered as representing numeral 200, even though its appearance seems to be a little unconventional. A similar, though not exact, form of the figure for 200 may be noticed on some coins of the Kshatrapas of Western India.⁵ However, nothing can be read before the word consisting of or ending with the letters *ta* and *sya* (*tasya*). So there is no necessity for postulating the occurrence of the word *Andhra* before *tasya*. S. Gokhale observed that "the word *siddham* is written below the first line in the beginning of which three letters seem to have been lost, as the portion of the stone is broken away."⁶ Hence the letters *ta* and *sya* may have formed the word *tasya* or may have been included in a larger word, part of which has been effaced from stone concerned.

Of all the known meanings of the word *vṛitta*, those which suit most the term concerned appearing in the beginning of the portion containing the date of an inscription seem to be "past", "completed", "finished", "usage" and "custom".⁷ [cf. *atīta* (meaning "past", "elapsed", "completed", etc.) years mentioned in numerous epigraphs and also the expression *kālānuvartamāna-sahvatsara* (in the current usage of calculating dates) occurring in two Mathurā inscriptions].⁸ The expression.....*vṛittasya 220*, used along with the phrase *Śakānām 380* (meaning year 380 of the Śakas or Śaka era), in the present

record appears to allude to a usage or custom of calculation. If the word preceding *vṛittasya* is considered to have ended in *tasya*, and if three letters have been correctly guessed to have been lost before *tasya*, then the intended word may be taken to have been [*prachali*]tasya. The phrase *prachali-tasya vṛittasya 220* [the year 220 of the current usage (of reckoning)] would allude like the expression *kālānuvarttamāna-samvatsarē eka-shashṭhē 60+1* of a Mathurā inscription of the time of Chandragupta II, to a current or prevalent system of reckoning.

We can now read the first part of the Hisse-Borala inscription as follows :

Siddham [**] [*Prachali*]tasya *Vṛittasya* 200 [+*] 20 *Saptar-hayuttarāsu Pha*[*lguṇi*]su *Sakānām 380 Vākāṭakānām Śrī-Dēvasēnasya rājñah ājñakarēna Svāmilladēvena Āryyēṇa asmin =kālē [pra]tishṭhāpitam nāmnā Sudarśanam saraḥ sarvva-satva(ttva) hitāya [**]*

The above portion of the record in question can now be translated as follows :

“Accomplished. (The year) 220 of the (current) usage (of dating), (when) the seven Ṛishis are in Uttara Phalgunī, and when the year 380 of the Śakas. At this time the lake by the name Sudarśana (is) established (i.e., excavated) by the noble Svāmilladēva, the royal servant of illustrious Dēvasēna, of the Vākāṭakas.”

The year 220, which can hardly be taken as a regnal year, should be considered to refer to a reckoning known (officially or unofficially) in the kingdom of Dēvasēna, a monarch of the Basim branch of the Vākāṭaka family.* Since Dēvasēna is known to

have belonged to the sixth generation after Vindhyaśakti the founder of the ruling family,¹⁰ and since Vindhyaśakti may have ruled for a very long period,¹¹ the beginning of his rule and that of the reckoning concerned may be placed about the same time. This means that a system of dating, counted from the beginning of the Vākāṭaka kingdom, might have been atleast unofficially known in the area of the provenance of the record under review. No doubt, the Vākāṭaka grants are dated in regnal years. But this fact does not debar us from postulating the existence of a popular, though perhaps unofficial, reckoning in the Vākāṭaka territory. The Hisse-Borala epigraph is the first known inscription to allude to it, just as this is also the first known Vākāṭaka record to refer to the Śaka era.¹²

The Hisse-Borala inscription, which is dated in the Śaka year 380 (=380+77-78 =457-58 A.D.) and also in the year 220 of the reckoning in question, places the beginning of the latter in (457-58-220=) 237-38 A.D. If this line of argument is acceptable the Vākāṭakas may be considered to have begun to rule in c. 237-38. A.D. As the Purāṇas date Vindhyaśakti after the end of the rule of the Āndhras (i.e. Śātavāhanas), the hegemony of the latter should have ended by c. 237-38 A.D. The compatibility of this dating with the known data indicating the end of the Śātavāhana rule in about the second quarter of the 3rd century A.D. adds additional strength to the above interpretation of the evidence of the Hisse-Borala inscription.

Notes :—

1. *EI*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 3, and pl.
2. S. Gokhale *EI*, vol. XXXVII, pp. 1-4. V. B. Kolte. *ibid.*, pp. 3-4; G. S. Gai and S. Sankaranarayanan, *ibid.*, pp. 5-8; A. M. Shastri, *V. V. Mirashi Felicitation Volume*, pp. 372 f; D.C. Sircar, *JAIH*, 1967-68, Vol. I, pp. 94-98; J. E. Mitchiner, *Asiatic Society, Monthly Bulletin*, August, 1978, pp. 6-7: etc.
3. *AS, MB*, August, 1978, p. 7.
4. A part of the first portion of the inscription noticeable on the photograph published in *EI*, Vol: XXXVII, is now effaced and not visible on the stone bearing the epigraph.
5. G. H. Ojha, *Bhāratiya Prāchīna Lipimālā*, (2nd ed), pl. LXXIV: *AS, MB*, August, 1978, p. 6.
6. *EI*, vol. XXXVII, p. 4, n. 3.
7. M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 1951, p. 1009; V. M. Apte, *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, (3rd ed.), p. 884.
8. H. Lüders, *Mathura Inss*, p.113: *EI*, vol. XXI, p. 8 and pl.
9. R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *The Classical Age*, p. 185 f.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 186 and 712.
11. F. E. Pargiter, *The Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 48 and 72; R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 219.
12. A stone inscription, now kept in the Kutch Museum at Bhuj, refers to an Ābhīra called Īśvaradēva. It is claimed that the record refers to the Śaka era by name and is dated in the year 254 of the Śaka era. If this claim is correct, this inscription may be considered as the earliest known record referring to the Śaka era by name (*IA*, 1967-68, *A Review*, p. 52). An examination of a photograph of the record has led us to believe that its date may be deciphered as 100 (+) 50 (+) 4.

4 A SHELL CHARACTER INSCRIPTION ON A SEAL FROM RAJGHAT (VARANASI)

Richard Salomon

The accompanying photograph¹ shows a circular seal found at Rajghat (Varanasi), and a cast prepared from it. The original seal, which measures about 10.5 cms in diameter, is now kept in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi. The inscription on the seal consists of 7 letters in "shell characters" or *saṅkha-lipi*.

Though inscriptions in shell characters written on stone and other materials have been known since the time of James Prinsep,² they remain to this day highly problematic. To date I have collected more than 400 specimens of the script from over 60 different sites.³ The geographical range of these inscriptions covers most of India, from Akhnur (Jammu and Kashmir) in the north to Sandur (Bellary Dt., Karnataka) in the south, and from Junagadh (Gujarat) in the west to Susunia (Bankura Dt., West Bengal) in the east. Four specimens of shell inscriptions have also been found in the Indonesian archipelago, in Java and Borneo. As nearly as can be determined, the shell script was current in the Gupta era and the following centuries, that is to say from approximately the 4th to the 8th centuries A. D. All indications are that the shell script is derived from some form of the Brāhmī script, most probably that of the early Gupta period.⁴ It seems to be a highly stylized calligraphic development of the parent script, which may have been used primarily for signatures, and perhaps for other formal purposes.

Among other factors, the uniform brevity of the inscriptions, and the absence of repetition in the contents of the different inscriptions (as might have been expected if they contained ritual formulas or mantras) have led me to believe, as stated in the "Preliminary Report", that most or all of the shell inscriptions contain personal names. Herein lies the special importance of the new inscription described in this paper, which is the first shell inscription to be found on a seal. Since a short seal inscription could normally be expected to consist of a name, we may assume that such is the case here; and this may then be taken as virtual confirmation of the hypothesis that shell inscriptions in general record names.

Moreover, the inscription is an outstanding example of this unusual script, as it is both more carefully executed and better preserved than most of the stone specimens. Such characteristic features as the careful and graceful rendering of the central consonantal characters, and the elaborate decorative flourishes (which are probably extensions of vowel markers and subscript consonants) are beautifully exhibited here. The serif atop each letter has been elaborated into a semi-circular loop, and these loops have been connected to each other to give the effect of a flowing continuity to the inscription as a whole.⁵

In the present state of our knowledge of



RAJGHAT SEAL INSCRIPTION IN SHELL CHARACTERS

the shell script, it is not yet possible to give a definitive reading for this inscription. But on the basis of statistical characteristics and resemblances with Brāhmī forms,⁶ it is possible at least to attribute values to some of the characters of the shell script. Thus the first letter of our inscription is probably *s*, and the fifth character may be a slightly variant form of the same letter. The first *s* has a subscript mark, which seems to represent the vowel *u*. The third letter is possibly *t*, with an additional mark below which may be taken as a subscript *r*. The following character, consisting of a vertical line leading into a loop below (part of which runs outside the border of the seal) is probably *ra*. The sixth consonantal character seems to be *bh* with a vowel marker, probably *ā*, above.

The values of the remaining characters are far from certain, but they can be tentatively construed as follows: the second may be *ch*, with a vowel sign above, probably *i*; while the seventh and last character may be *j* with the vowel *i*.

If the proposed values are correct (which is admittedly far from certain), the reading of the inscription would be :

Suchitrarasabhāji

presumably the name of the seal's owner. It must be emphasized, however, that this reading is only tentative, and remains subject to confirmation or revision. It is hoped that the discovery and analysis of more shell inscriptions will clarify our knowledge of this difficult script.

Notes :—

1 Photograph copyright Archaeological Survey of India. Reproduced by the kind permission of the Survey. I am also very much indebted to Ms. Carol Lin-Bodien of the University of Chicago for bringing this important item to my attention.

2 It was Prinsep, in fact, who coined the term "shell characters" (later rendered into Sanskrit as *Śaṅkha-lipi*), referring to the similarity in form of many of the letters of the script to a conch shell (*śaṅkha*).

3 For a general discussion of the shell script and description of sites, see my "Preliminary Report on the Shell Inscriptions (Part I)," in *JAIH*, IX (1978), supplement, pp. 1-32. (Part II is forthcoming.) However, the data described in the "Preliminary Report" is incomplete, as a large amount of further material has been found since it was written in 1977. Such new materials and further analyses of the script will be published shortly. See also my paper on "Undeciphered Scripts of South Asia" in the forthcoming *Studies in Indology* (S K. Saraswati Commemoration Volume).

4 In the "Preliminary Report" cited above I expressed doubts as to the derivation of the shell characters from Brāhmī; but I have subsequently become convinced that it is so derived.

5 The top serif is characteristically subjected to a variety of imaginative calligraphic variations in different styles of shell script. The consistent appearance of such a top line in one form or other is one of the indications of the Shell script's connection with Brāhmī, this being a typical feature of the latter script and its descendants.

6 The details of these factors and their analysis will be explained in a paper entitled "Progress toward Decipherment of the Shell Inscriptions", to be published shortly.

5 A BRAHMI INSCRIPTION FROM HAMPPI

C. T. M. Kotraiah

A Brāhmī inscription¹ in Prakrit language has been found at Hampi during the course of excavations conducted by the Archaeological Survey of India in the year 1975-76.² Though it is fragmentary it is important for the reconstruction of the history of this place, particularly of the early centuries as can be seen below.

This inscription is engraved on a piece of greenish lime-stone of Palnad gneiss. At present it has six complete letters in the first line and two complete letters in the 2nd or the last line. Portions to the left and below are broken and missing. The first line reads *tarasa putasa* and the last one reads *dānam*.³ The available characters are clearly engraved and there cannot be any doubt in their reading. Hence it is decidedly a record making some donation,⁴ of course the other portions of the inscription and its details are missing. The characters are of the 1st - 2nd centuries A.D.⁴ This is, so far, the first and the only Brāhmī inscription noticed in 'Hampi (Vijayanagara) Ruins'.

Further, it must be noted, before discussing its importance, that it has not been found in a stratified layer. It can be said to have been found in a dump or debris of a pit.⁵ Again it has not been found in cultural context that can be considered to be contemporary to the period of the inscription. Of course, along with this inscribed fragment, a number of other lime-stone fragments, more than a

hundred, were also seen and they are of various sizes. All of them are of the same type of stone. Few of them bear, though not complete, lotus and other floral motifs familiarly seen at the centres of Buddhist art in the Lower Kṛishṇā valley, like Nāgārjuna-koṇḍa, Amarāvati etc.; all these can be considered to be contemporary to our fragmentary inscription. The present state of these might have been the result of wanton vandalism caused to complete pieces having carvings and engravings, originally used in a monumet of the period (1st-2nd century A.D.).

Similarly, there are three more long lime-stones (each about 12' in length) seen very close to the spot of the inscription and the fragments mentioned above. These long pieces have been used, rather reused, in the construction of a plinth of a structure of the Vijayanagara period decidedly. This may be the plinth of a civil building, probably a palace, the superstructure of which has all been destroyed. Here the point to be noted is that only three members of this plinth are of lime-stone while all others are of usual granite, the popular material of the Vijayanagara builders. These three lime pieces do not bear any carvings or mouldings as exposed and seen now; of course they are dressed to be in conformity with the other members of the structures. It is needless to state that the plinth is in the style familiar to the Vijayanagara period. This state of

these three stones indicates that they might have been collected from some other earlier monument and reused in the present structure, that too in the normal course and because of its ready availability but not for its easy receptiveness for carvings etc., since there are no carvings. This further indicates that these three pieces were readily available locally and could be utilised along with others.

It is also to be noted that this plinth with three lime-stones, the inscription in question and other fragments of lime-stones have all been found in front of the *Mahānavami-Dibba* in the citadel area of the Vijayanagara days.

Now it is reasonable to state that there might have been a Buddhist establishment or establishments at Hampi during the early centuries of the Christian era, say first and second centuries A.D. They were akin to the numerous Buddhist centres of the Lower Kṛishṇā valley, as evidenced by the above finds on stylistic grounds. The occupants of these establishments must have drafted sculptors and builders from the above centres because of their familiarity with the philosophy, art and architecture of that school. Some of the artisans must have taken pains to transport the lime-stone of the Palnad-gneiss, all the way from the Āndhra country to Hampi, for use in Buddhist monuments at this new place. They might have done so because of their familiarity to work in that media with ease and skill. As a result, today we have found some of their remnants presently discussed. Here it must be noted that this particular greenish lime-stone of Palnad-

gneiss is not available anywhere in Hampi or in its neighbourhood until one goes to Dāchēpalli-Piḍugurāḷla belt in Guntur district (A.P.). Hence this transportation of lime stone must have been restricted to the minimum and sufficient for one or a few structures because of the abnormally long distance from the quarry to the building spot. Of course, further excavations are likely to bring to light more such specimens and remains.

Now we are to examine the probable location of these Buddhist monuments in Hampi area. It is well known that the city of Vijayanagara (also called Vidyānagara) was founded around 1336 A.D. by Harihara and his brothers, in the neighbourhood of Hampi.⁶ This can be identified with the present citadel area of the 'Hampi Ruins'. This area, even after maximum utilisation of the on-the-spot available granite for various purposes, still looks rugged with the scattered boulders, rocks and hillocks. Besides, this area being at a higher elevation necessitated the construction of *anecuts* (small dams) across the river Tuṅgabhadrā for taking the river water into their city through canals, channels, aqueducts etc.⁷ All these facts show that this area was not fit for habitation before the founding of the Vijayanagara city but for the subsequent royal patronage and state efforts to make it habitable.

Further in the citadel area, there is no archaeological edifice to confirm habitation before the founding of the Vijayanagara city. All these factors lead us to conclude that around the beginning of the Christian era and also during the pre-Vijayanagara days habitation in its own degree must have been

confined to the site of present-day Hampi village. This site, in contrast to the above, has a plain hallow ground, and is right on the bank of the perennial river Tuṅgabhadrā. Therefore we may also conclude that the Buddhist establishments now under consideration must have been existing and flourishing at the site of present Hampi village, on the right bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā river. Study of the topographical map of this area further confirms that along both the banks of this river, both up-stream and down-stream for a few miles, there is no other area except this fit for human habitation. Besides such secluded and hallowed places were particularly selected for religious establishments, more so with the Buddhists. A comparison between this Hampi valley and the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa valley reveals much similarity except in extent. Now it can be surmised that the above lime-stone remains must have originally belonged to some Buddhist structures which must have been existing in the present village of Hampi.

This leads us to believe that the present Hampi was a place of Buddhist activities, if not a very important one in the days contemporary to this fragmentary inscription. In support of this point the topography of this region, within a radius of 100 kms around Hampi, should be taken into consideration. It presents, as already well reported, a series of places known to Buddhists⁸ in all directions, even from the 3rd century B.C. They are Maski, Koppal, Brahmagiri, Siddāpura, Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara, Niṭṭūr,⁹ Uḍegoḷam¹⁰ and Sannati.¹¹ All the above places except the last one are famous for the Brāhmī inscrip-

tions issued by Aśōka, the great Mauryan king, propogating the Buddhist creed.¹² And at these places some followers of Buddhist faith must have been living, professing and propogating Buddhism. Sannati (Gulbarga dt.), an established Buddhist site, flourished and nurtured the same school of art and architecture. It is at a distance of about 100 kms from Hampi. Again at Sannati the same type of lime-stone has been used lavishly as the media of art and architecture similar to that of the Lower Kṛishṇā Valley school. In this way, Sannati and Hampi might form the two western limits of that famous Lower Kṛishṇā Valley school of art and architecture. It has also been established recently that the cave monument *Aṅkāli-maṭha* near Brahmagiri (Chitradurga dt.) was once a Buddhist vihāra.

With so many Buddhist centres all around, the site of Hampi with its natural facilities and hallowness must have attracted some Buddhists who built Buddhist monuments for their use. All these might have been destroyed in course of time due to various factors including the religious upheavals, revival and popularity of Hinduism, royal patronage to Hinduism and or Jainism, unprecedented floods and so on.

However, only further excavations are likely to decide the point finally. And these excavations should be undertaken in the Hampi village and as near the river bank as possible. Possibly digging near the northern gate of the Virūpāksha temple may fetch the desired results. For, it is here that we see concentration of human activity including building enterprise decidedly from the 11th century onwards. We see here the temple

styles of Kadamba period in the temples of Mahishāsūramādinī, Chāmuṇḍēśvarī etc. (about 20 small temples).¹³ Also there is an inscription of 1199 A. D. recording some gift to the Virūpāksha temple.¹⁴ The door frame, pillars and ceiling of the later Chālukyan period of the temples of Bhuvanēśvarī and Paṃpāmbā etc., are here only.

Here an analogy seen in Amarāvati (Guntur dt., A.P.) may be taken note of. That is, the recent renovation works to the temple of Amarēśvara brought forth from the foundation trenches many Buddhist remains like *stūpa* slabs, drum slabs, slabs with Brāhmī inscriptions (as in Hampi), part of a Mauryan pillar with glossy polish etc.¹⁵

All the above factors go in support of our inference that there might have been Buddhist structural activities at Hampi village (a religious centre with natural facilities from the hoary past) in the early centuries of the Christian era and they got dilapidated or buried partly under the earth due to subsequent building activities of different schools of faith, philosophy, thought, art and architecture. Exposing these will definitely throw more light on the history of Hampi and Buddhist art at this place. Hence the assertion is that the present Buddhist art pieces and the only available Brāhmī inscription occupy an important place in our study of Hampi, its early history and archaeology.

Notes :—

1. *AREp.*, 1975-76, No. B 94 (to be published)
2. *IAR.*, 1975-76, pp. 20 and 62 ; pl. LXII-C.
3. *AREp.*, 1975-76, No. B 94.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *IAR.*, 1975-76, pl. LXII-C.
6. *EC*, X, Bagepalli No. 70.
7. Sewel, *Forgotten Empire* (London, 1900), pp. 51, 301 etc.
8. Sircar D.C., *Inss. of Asoka* (New Delhi 1975), pp. 28 ff.
9. *AREp.*, 1977-78, No. B 110 (to be published).
10. *Ibid.*, No. B 119.
11. Rao, M.S.N., *Panorama of Karnataka*, pp. 7, 15, 16 etc.
12. Sircar, D.C., *op. cit.*
13. Devakunjari, *Hampi*, (New Delhi, 1970), pp. 56 ; Also Francis, *Bellary District Gazetteer*, (Madras, 1916), pp. 284
14. *AREp.*, 1889, No. 31.
15. News Report in *The Hindu*, Madras, dt. 6-6-80 and *The Sunday Standard*, Madras, dt. 8-6-80.

6 THE SOCIAL STATUS OF THE PARAIYAS AS REVEALED FROM INSCRIPTIONS

K. R. Hanumanthan

The *paraiyas* form a significant segment of the scheduled caste population of modern Tamil Nadu. Until very recently (till the abolition of untouchability by the Indian Constitution) their status in the Tamil society was very low and they were generally regarded as untouchables by the high-caste Hindus. Were they treated in the same manner during the medieval period also? It is really difficult to give a categorical answer to such a question. However, we can have a glimpse into their social status and economic condition from the inscriptions of the medieval period. They reveal to us the existence of various sections of *paraiyas* not all of whom occupied a low position in society.

The medieval age in Tamil Nadu, especially the period of the Imperial Chōlas and Vijayanagara kings, was the heyday of Brahmanical Hinduism. *Varṇāśrama* or the fourfold class system became strongly entrenched in the minds of the people during this period and therefore the condition of the untouchables gradually deteriorated. But a study of the inscriptions of this period reveals the existence of certain privileges for these untouchable castes especially *paraiyas*. They bring out the truth that individual *paraiyas* were still occupying a dignified position in the society. They were educated and possessed wealth enough to be taxed by the state. They served in the army and in the village assemblies. They were engaged

in weaving and cultivation of lands. But at the same time the general position of the untouchables marked a definite decline. They were slowly being relegated to the position of agricultural slaves.

The *paraiyas* seem to have enjoyed certain privileges during the Chōla and Vijayanagara period. When the paddy was removed from the reeds, it was to be measured only by a *paraiyan*¹ and perquisites were paid to him. Those who worked in the fields were called as *uḷapaṛaiyar* and they lived in separate *chēris*.

An inscription of Rājarāja I, dated 1014 A.D., speaks of the *chēris* of *uḷapaṛaiyar* on the eastern and western ends of the main village, being exempted from taxation.² Certain *Paraiya* villages were taxed, perhaps owing to their comparative prosperity. Thus we hear of a gift of the income from a *paṛaichchēri* to a temple of Śiva even as late as the period of Vijayanagara king Immaḍi Bukka (1394 A.D.).³ Some of them served as *talaiyāris* or supervisors in the villages and since they were earning they were taxed. The tax on such village officers was called as *veṣṭi* or *talaiyārikkam*. An inscription dated 1406 A.D. of Vīra Bukkaṇṇa Uḍayar⁴ of Vijayanagara records the exemption of the *veṣṭivari*, tax on the oil mills, washermen, pipers (*uvachas*) etc. But the term *veṣṭivari* may be interpreted in different ways. It may mean the tax on the *veṣṭi* or *veṣṭiyāṇ*. The

word is usually derived from the Sanskrit word *Vishṭi* and interpreted as "fee for maintaining village servants".⁵ Most of the interpretations of tax terms in the medieval South Indian inscriptions remain only tentative. An inscription of Sundarachōḷa and Rājarājachōḷa I (985-1014 A.D.) refers to the exemption of such a tax from a gifted village.⁶ Buchanan who travelled widely through the Madras Presidency in the 18th century also makes mention of a tax on the *tōṭi* and *talaiyāri* ranging from $\frac{1}{4}$ *seer* to 10 *seer*.⁷ Some of the *paṛaiyas* seem to have been engaged in weaving during the medieval age. They were called *neṣavu-paṛaiyas* and they had separate looms called *paṛaittaṛi*. A tax called *paṛaittaṛiyiṛai* was levied on them. In *sarvamānya* villages (village gifted outright) granted by the Chōḷas (13th cen.) remission of a number of taxes including tax on *paṛaittaṛi* *śāliyattaṛi*, *achchu-taṛi* and *ūsaḡattaṛi* are spoken of.⁸ *Śāliya*s also seem to have been a section of the *paṛaiyas* for they are one of the Scheduled Castes of Tamil Nadu.

Another profession which the *paṛaiyas* occasionally took up was beating the drums on festive occasions, marriages and funerals. During the medieval period, we hear of a tax levied on those who performed such function. An inscription of Rājarāja III mentions a tax called *paṛaiyiṛai*.⁹

There were periods of tension between the *paṛaiyas* and other caste people when the former refused to beat the drums for the latter on specific occasions. The king used to settle the disputes at such moments through his officers. Thus we hear of a

quarrel between *paṛaiyas* and the residents of twenty four villages during the time of Virapāṇḍyadēva (1379 A.D.) in which there was some bloodshed on both sides. Gaṅgaiyaṛaiyan, one of the king's officers, intervened and effected an amicable settlement, that the *paṛaiyas* should beat the drums (*muraṣu*) for the caste Hindus on all occasions good and bad and receive in turn a *padakku* (measure) of paddy and fowl. Every resident of the villages (*paṛṛu*), who was entitled to the services of the *paṛaiyas*, should measure from the yield, a *kalam* and a *tūṇi* of paddy to them.¹⁰ This inscription reveals the fact that the drum beating *paṛaiyas* had no lands of their own and that they subsisted on the perquisites granted to them by the villagers. *Paṛaiyas* were sometimes granted rent-free lands called *paṛaituḍaimai*.¹¹ The drums used by the *paṛaiyas* for funeral and marriage purposes were called *paṛaittappaṭṭai* or *paṛaittampaṭṭam*.¹² According to a proverb current in Tamil Nadu, *paṛaichchēri-mēḷam* (drum) will be beaten on marriage occasion as well as in funeral procession.¹³

That the *paṛaiyas* had some privileges which they safeguarded zealously is known from another inscription¹⁴ of the year 1665 A.D. The *paṛaiyar* of the Śrīvilliputtūr village claimed, such as the right to use a white horse, a white parasol, and *paraṭṭi*, the right to carry torches in day-time, to wear *pāvāḍai* (under-garment), a pair of *silampu* (anklet) and two *koḍukku* (another ornament), to construct a 16 pillared *pandal* (a canopy resting on bamboos on festive occasions), to use three *tērs* (chariots), and 18 kinds of musical instruments during funeral proces-

sions. This was disputed by the *kuḍumbaṅs* whose leaders waited on the king and represented their case. It was then decided on the authority of certain copper plate grants that had been issued previously that the *paṛaiyas* were to enjoy only a few privileges such as three pillared *pandal* (canopy) for festive occasions, one *koḍukku*, one *silampu*, one *māppu*, one *pandam* (torch), a house without a second floor and the payment of fee for funerals. Some of the *paṛaiyas* were rich enough to make donations to temples. Thus we hear of one Paṭṭāra Nambi, son of Maṅgaḷanāṭṭup-*paṛaiyan* making a gift of a hall called *svapana-maṅḍapa* to a temple.¹⁶ Another inscription records a gift of 25 *kaḷaṅju*, for burning a perpetual lamp in the temple by one *vaḷḷuvan nām* (a *paṛaiya* sect) of the *Vēḷārpaḍai* who was a native of *Kuśakkuḍi* in *Eyil-nāḍu*.¹⁶ A *paṛaiya* devotee is said to have endowed a lamp to a temple.¹⁷ Sometimes hero-stones (fit for adoration by others) were erected in honour of heroic *paṛaiyas*. It is stated in one of the hero-stones that *Kalivīriya Muttaraiyan*, a *vaḷḷuvaṅ* of *Kākaḷūr*, lost his life while fighting against thieves on behalf of the *perumakkaḷ* (great men of the village assembly) of the village who made a grant of land called *kālippaṭṭi* to his son.¹⁸ From this inscription we may infer that many *paṛaiyas* were heroes who perhaps enlisted themselves in large numbers in the army. One *Pūvan Paṛaiyan* who provided irrigation facilities to a waste land and made it cultivable is described as *araiyan-aṅukkaṅ*.¹⁹ The title *araiyaṅ* is usually given to a soldier of the *Chōḷa* army and the title *aṅukkaṅ* is normally given to a private secretary of the

king or somebody who is very near the person of the king. Therefore, *Pūvan Paṛaiyan* might have been the body-guard of the king. The land which was made cultivable by the efforts of *Pūvan*, was renamed as *Paṛaiyan Vaśakkal*. The *Chōḷas* and *Pāṇḍyas* had a regiment by name *valaṅgai-māsēnai*.²⁰ Many of the soldiers of such a division might have been *paṛaiyas* because they are called *valaṅgai māṭṭrār*.²¹ *Rājarāja I* had a special regiment called *valaṅgai-vēḷaikkāra-sēnai*.²² We hear of plots of land being sold by *valaṅgai* regiment of *Peruṅguḷam* to the temple of *Peruṅguḷam* in which the god *Kuṅṛameṇḍa Piḷḷaiyār* was installed.²³ Even the British were much impressed with the military talents of the *paṛaiyas* and had a separate regiment of them.

The *paṛaiyas* were also included in village assemblies, specially organized to decide upon important matters such as revision of taxes, loyalty to a particular chief etc. The leaders of the *paṛaiya* community took part in such assemblies and they were called as *paṛai mudalis*.²⁴ The title *mudali* meaning the first among others or principal person seems to be a generic title given to the respectable people in all castes. In modern days this title is adopted only by a section of the *veḷḷāḷas* (cultivators) and *kaikōḷas* (weaving community).

Some of the *paṛaiyas* were educated enough to sign their names in documents which were later on engraved on stones as inscriptions. Among the signatories in many of the *Pudukkōṭṭai* State inscriptions we find the name of *paṛaiyas* like *Enṅaṅgalakkip-*

paṛaiyan. Uttamachōlap-paṛaiyan,²⁵ Kānāt-tup-paṛaiyan,²⁶ who was a *sēvaka* or government servant, Aiññūrup-paṛaiyan, Arasar Mīkāmap-paṛaiyan²⁷ etc. From the name Araśar Mīkāmap-paṛaiyan we may infer that some of the *paṛaiyas* were serving in the kings' navy as pilots of ships. Some of them seem to have served the king as policemen or *sēvakar*. The name Aiññūrup-paṛaiyan may have denoted a general of 500 (*aiññūru*) soldiers. In some inscriptions someone else has signed in the name of an illiterate *paṛaiyan* known as *taṛkuri*.²⁸ Therefore, only a few seem to have been educated during the medieval period. But some of them made donations to temples. We hear of one Ūrappaṛaiyan Maṇḍai Sōman *alias* Ēlīśai Mōgappaḍaichchan, endowing an evening lamp to a temple²⁹ in an inscription of Rājarāja II.

While describing the boundaries of some tax free lands donated to temples, the inscriptions of the medieval period describe the villages proper and their suburbs called *chēris*. Thus we hear of separate *chēris* and burial grounds for *paṛaiyas*, toddy tappers, goldsmiths, etc., in the inscriptions³⁰ of Rājarāja I (1014 A.D.). *Paṛaichchēris* are mentioned even in the period of Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (1216-38 A.D.).³¹ It is clearly stated in an inscription of Rājarāja I³² that the lands occupied by certain castes were exempted from taxation. Some of them are called untouchable *chēris* or *tīṇḍāch-chēris*. Since *paṛaichchēri* and *tīṇḍāchchēri* are mentioned separately in the same line of the inscription, we are led to doubt whether the untouchables were different from *paṛaiyas*. In another inscription *tīṇḍāchchēri* is men-

tioned separately.³³ That these *chēris* may have been occupied by some sections of *paṛaiyas* is inferred from their description in other inscriptions, where they are definitely pointed out as the lowest caste. But it cannot be asserted that the *tīṇḍāchchēris* were solely occupied by the *paṛaiyas*.

While describing the different kinds of people who attended an assembly, it is said in an inscription³⁴ that from the top-most *andaṇa* (*brāhmaṇa*) to the lowest *arippan* (one section of the *paṛaiyans*) all the castes were present. All these castes assembled to unite themselves against the enemy of their chief Karikālachōḷa Āḍaiyūr Nāḍālvār. They took a vow that if they did join with enemies who had marriage alliance with Piritigaṅgas they would agree to suffer the ignominy of giving their daughters to *paṛaiyas* who gather grass for the horses of *vaṇṇiars* (*pullu paṛikkirapaṛaiyan*) or that of becoming the husbands of their own mothers.³⁵ But in the same inscription the names of *pāṇar*, *paṛaiyar*, *paṛaimudali* are also found along with names of *śivabrāhmaṇas*, *chakkilis*, etc. Therefore, we are led to think that not all the sections of *paṛaiyas* were considered as the lowest in the society during this period. Sections like *arippan* and grass-cutting *paṛaiyas* were considered as the lowest while the others were regarded as somewhat higher than them. But they were all definitely lower in status to *veḷḷāḷas* and *brāhmaṇas* for whom separate burial grounds are spoken of.³⁶ *Paṛaiyas*, *pāṇas*, *chakkilis* and *iruḷas* are spoken of together in the same inscription. In another inscription two persons promising loyalty to their master swear that if they ran

away from their master they would suffer the same ignominy as that of the offering of their wives to the *chakkiliyans* and watching it without taking any action.³⁷ Thus *chakkiliyans* and *paṛaiyans* seem to have been regarded equally low in the society.

The cause for their lowliness in the society seems to be the growth of the conception of sacredness of the cow and hatred for those who ate beef. In an inscription of Rājārāja III the imprecation for violating the injunction of the inscription was to acquire the sin of eating the flesh of the cow.³⁸ In another inscription it is declared that a similar crime would bring on the violator the sin of killing a *kārām paṣu* (tawny cow) on the bank of Ganges.³⁹ Māṇavarman Sundarapāṇḍya is said to have organised *gōśālās* or cowsheds.⁴⁰ In the battlefield the soldiers were exhorted not to injure women, children, *andaṇars* (brāhmaṇas) and cows.⁴¹ Thus the cow, owing to its usefulness to the cultivators and the brāhmaṇas (since it supplied the five elements of the purifying agent i. e. *pañchagavyam*) became a venerable creature in the society and those poor sections of the society which consumed beef out of economic necessity became polluting castes and were kept segregated in the organized villages of the medieval age. Moreover giving equality to the set of agricultural labourers would not be in the interests of the

land-lord. Therefore, it can be presumed that the *paṛaiyas*, *paḷlas* and *chakkiliyans* were kept as slaves by the *veḷḷāḷa* and *brāhmaṇa* land owners of the medieval period in order to extract work from them with minimum expenditure. An inscription of Rājādhirāja II, dated 1177 A. D., says that those classes which are engaged as labourers shall not become *vēl* and *araṣu* (titles bestowed by kings on distinguished citizens). *Kāvidis*, potters, drummers (evidently *paṛaiyas*), weavers and barbers shall not keep locks of hair. During their mournings and joyous occasions big drums called *bērigai* shall not be beaten, and they shall not have sway over slaves, i. e. shall not keep any slaves.⁴² Further it says that a woman wedded to a slave shall on the demise of the latter become the property of the master of her husband along with the lands, jewels cattle or other valuables of the deceased. In one of the inscriptions of the former Travancore State (972-73 A. D.) a *pulaiyan* is described as a man of inferior caste left in charge of lands and fields. His duty was to cultivate and watch the fields. But when a land was transferred to the possession of another person the *pulaiyan* was also transferred along with the land.⁴³ Thus the *paṛaiyas* and *pulaiyas* of Tamil Nadu of the medieval days were virtually ground between two social mills i. e., untouchability and slavery.

Notes :

1. *IPS*, No. 591.
2. *SII*, Vol. II, No. 5. (p. 56)
3. *AREp*, 1911-12, B, No. 208.
4. *SII*, Vol. I (1890), p. 52.

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1. *IPS*, No. 591.
2. *SH*, Vol. II, No. 5, (p. 56)
3. *AREp*, 1911-12, B, No. 208.
4. *SII*, Vol. I (1890), p. 52.

5. Mahalingam, T.V., *S. Ind. Polity*, p. 447 (2nd ed. 1967); Subramanian T.N., *Glossary in S. Ind. Temple ins.* Vol. III, pt. ii.
6. *SII*, Vol. XIII, No. 240, and *SII*, Vol. II, No. 64.
7. Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, Vol. III, p. 449.
8. *SII*, Vol. III, No. 64.
9. *Ibid*, Vol. IV, No. 648.
10. *A.R Ep.*, 1924, No. 69.
11. *Periyapurānam, Tirunāḷaipūvarpurāṇam*, V. 13.
12. *Tamil Lexicon*, Vol. IV, p. 2563.
13. *Kaḷagapaḷamoḷi Agaravariśai*, No. 7779.
14. *AREp*, 1926, No. 588; *Ibid.* Part II, para 19.
15. *Ibid.*, 1940-41, No. 203.
16. *Ibid.*, 1931, No. 104; *SII*, Vol. XIX, No. 463.
17. *AREp.*, 1932-33, No. 31; *SII*, VII, Nos. 31, 32, 33.
18. *AREp.*, 1947-48, No. 54.
19. *Ibid.*, 1917, No. 480; *SII*, Vol. XIV, No. 4.
20. *AREp.*, 1932-33, part II, para 32.
21. *Itankai Valankai Chāṭi Varalaru*, p. 1 (Unpublished manuscript)
22. *SII*, Vol. II, intro. p. 9-10.
23. *AREp*, 1932-33, Nos. 229, 232.
24. *SII*, Vol. VII, No. 118.
25. *IPS*, No. 309.
26. *Ibid.*, No. 421.
27. *Ibid*, No. 534.
28. *Ibid*, No. 309.
29. *SII*, Vol. VII, No. 794.
30. *Ibid*, Vol. II, No. 5.
31. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 63.
32. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, No. 4.
33. *Ibid.*, No. 5.
34. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 118, p. 49.
35. *Ibid.*
36. *IPS*, No. 239. Separate burial grounds for Brāhmaṇas are mentioned in *I.P.S.*, No. 139 (Rājāḍhirāja II (A.D. 1168)).
37. *SII*, Vol. VIII, Nos. 8, 86.
38. *Ibid.*, Nos. 79, 80.
39. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, No. 54.
40. *EI.*, Vol. XXIV, No. 22.
41. *Silappadikāram*. 21, 1, 54.
42. *AREp*, Nos. 429, 538 of 1913, *Ibid.*, part II, para, 19.
43. *TAS*, Vol. III, No. 40.

7 MORE PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS FROM AMARAVATI

I. K. Sarma

Renewed digs near the *Mahāchaitya* at Amarāvati brought to light a rich variety of Brāhmī inscriptions in stratigraphical contexts.¹ Much new information is available now on the chronology of the *Mahāstūpa* as well as the early spread of Buddhism in Āndhra.²

The records edited here, for the first time, were found from the site during bulk clearance and levelling operations⁴ soon after the systematic excavations (1974-75). They form part of the sculptural embellishments of lime stone to the Buddhist establishment during the Sātavāhana period assignable to first-third century A.D. The inscriptions belong to the usual class of short donatory records (*dāna-sāsanas*).

NO. 85 (779) - INSCRIBED UMBRELLA SHAFT

An octagonal shaft with a rugged top tenon meant for receiving the mortise of the *chhatrāvaji*. The inscription engraved in the mid-region extended over the three facets of the shaft.

TEXT

- 1 *Nadayagāya duhutūya*
- 2 *Utaramitāya saduhu-*
- 3 *tukāya dānam chhata dabhō*

TRANSLATION :

Gift of an umbrella pillar (*dabhō*) by Uttaramitrā, daughter of Nandayajña, along with her daughter.

The proper names Uttaramitrā and Nandayajña are frequently⁴ met with.

The palaeography of the record calls for special attention. The verticals in respect of *da, ra, ka* and medial vowel *u* in *hu, du* are lengthy and tapering towards the bottom. The head-marks are thickened. The letter *ya* is anchor-shaped and the mid-vertical does not touch the trough, except in case of the fifth letter in the first line. The characters of the record very closely resemble those of the Sāñchī and Mathurā ones of early first century A.D.⁵ The word *thabhō*⁶ standing for *stambha* is an archaic expression usually found in earlier records, particularly of the pre-Christian era. The gift is mainly by the household ladies, who were perhaps converts to the faith.

NOS. 86 to 88-INSCRIBED LIME STONE COPINGS :

Three plain coping slabs (*ushñisha*) pertaining to the railing of the *stūpa* were found. In addition to these an uninscribed one, of the same size, was also found but omitted from consideration here. It may be seen that all these plain examples are of the same height and thickness and the mortises at the flat underside are uniformly alike in shape and size and doubtless belong to a single rail.

Palaeographically the records differ from the first example. The letter forms are cursive with the head-mark thickened or occasionally distinguished by a line. The

curves and notches characterize the verticals, ornamental flourishes are added to the medial vowels. These should be assigned to the later half of the 2nd century A.D.

NO. 86 (805)

The flat underside has three square mortises each measuring 10 x .8 and .5 cm depth. The inscription is horizontally engraved on the top semi-circular face of the coping. Only two letters are extant at the right side below in the second line. The script is Brāhmī.

TEXT

- 1..kasa Nāgabōdhikasa bhariyāya Budharakhitāya mātuyā Budhāya chadāsasa Māya cha dāna Bhagavatō
2 vēdi

TRANSLATION

Obeisance to the Lord; Gift of a rail (*vēdi*) jointly by Buddharakshitā, wife of Nāgabōdhi, his mother Buddhā and her servant Māya.

The proper names Buddharakshitā, Budhī or Budhā and Māya (applied for both the sexes) are of common parlance in the donatory inscriptions at Amarāvati of the same period.⁸

NO. 87 (807)

Extant length - 2.02; broken at the extreme right; There appear to be two inscriptions horizontally engraved in a single line, the second one at the right extreme precedes with an auspicious *triratna* but unfortunately incomplete as the end is broken.

TEXT

- 1 Gahapatikānaṃ Koḍakhasa Mūlasa

cha bhariyāya Mahākamāya Koḍakamāya cha bālikaya' haṃghāya cha dāna' tīni hathi

- 2 (*triratna*) Budhi gahapati putasa
Chānda..

TRANSLATION

Gift of three elephants for the Buddhist *Saṅgha* by the householder Mūla residing at Koḍakha, his wife Mahākāmā and daughter Koḍakāmāya. (gift) — Chandra, the son of householder Buddhī.

The proper names - Kāma or Kamma i.e., Kāmāya, Budhī are very familiar in Amarāvati records.⁹

NO. 88

Another plain coping of lime stone inscribed on the top horizontally.

TEXT

Purima Mahāvīnasēliyāna aṃtēvāsiniya Sidhathyāya dāna vētikāya¹⁰ tīni hathi

TRANSLATION

Gift of three elephants to the (*vētikā*) rail by Siddhārthā, a female disciple of Pūrva-mahāvīnaśāila school.

The proper name Siddhārthā¹¹ finds mention in Amarāvati records variously as male and female disciples. Of special significance is the mention of a disciple of Pūrva-mahāvīnaśāila sect. This is a sub-school among the *Chaitya-vādins* - the other three are *Aparaśāila*, *Rājagirika* and *Siddhārthaka* - collectively grouped under *Andhaka* school. It is doubtful whether *Pubha* (*Pūrva*) and *Avara* (*Apara*)-*śāila* schools had any difference except the *Śāila* (hill) on which the followers of the sects lived.¹²

NO. 89 (783)

The sculptured piece is a fragment of a cross beam (left end) and depicts the conventional Buddha in preaching posture. The inscription at the bottom is damaged.

TEXT

tasa sarva sattvānaṃ samātulacha

The language of the record appears to be mixed Sanskrit. Reduplication of consonants can be noticed in *Sarvva*. The palaeography of the record and the style of the sculptured relief favour an Ikshvāku date i.e., 3rd-4th century A.D.

In the reclassified sculptural stages¹³ these fragmentary records except the last mentioned one (89) fit into the stage-3 of period-III, ascribed to first-second century A.D., coeval to the later Sātavāhana times. It appears that the inscribed plain copings (*ushṇīsha*) (Nos. 86 to 88), do not belong to the high and elaborately sculptured *vēdikā*¹⁴ group depicting Buddhist Jātakas *Mālāvāhaka* frieze (Rhizome and bracket figures) etc. These plain examples appear to fill in the gaps at inconspicuous places of the *Mahāchaitya* rail or alternately may belong to different *stūpas* within the complex at Amarāvati.¹⁵

An interesting information is forthcoming from two inscriptions¹⁶ of the same period. One Buddharakshita was engaged to superintend the repair works (*vētikānavakāmaka*) and construction of the grand rail. In the second record he is described as *mahānavakāmaka*, the great super-

visor of renovation. The gift of elephants recorded in No. 89 for the *vētikā*, coupled with the above inscriptional evidence mentioning the large repair works throws interesting side-light on the constructional details of the *Mahā-stūpa* during the period. As Sivaramamurti had pointed out the evidence lends further support to the later writings of the Tibetan Historian Taranatha (17th century) that Nāgārjuna caused the rail at the *Mahāchaitya* to be made.¹⁷

It is for the first time that we come across the deployment of elephants in a Buddhist establishment. However, a subtle distinction may be made in these two donatory records. While in No. 88, the three elephants were specifically gifted to the *Samgha*, i.e., the Buddhist *Samgha*, another set of three elephants were meant for the rail (*vētikā*), if not for *Chetikā*. This indicates that the elephants were not only employed in the structural works relating to the great edifice but perhaps played a vital role in the regular worship at *Dhanakaṭaka-Chētiya*, the greatest among the *Chaityas* of the *Chaityaka-nikāya*. It is well known that *Dhamṇakaṭa* flourished as a main¹⁸ seat of these *Chaitya-vādins*, a prominent sect among the *Mahā-sāṅghikas*.

From the foregoing, it is clear that *Dhānyakaṭaka* enjoyed a prosperous time and pre-eminence in the country and the Buddhist establishment here maintained elephants (incidentally a very sacred animal to the Buddhists) simulating the royal 'Temple Elephants' of the later periods.

Notes :

1. I. Karthikeya Sarma, "Some more Inscriptions from Amaravati Excavations and Chronology of the *Mahāstūpa*" *Studies in Indian Epigraphy (JESI)*, I (1974), pls 1 to V.
2. *Bhārati*, Vol. 53, No. 11, (Nov. 76), pp. 6-10.
3. The inscriptions listed here bear serial Nos. 85 to 89 in continuation of my article cited in f. n. 1 above. The number within the brackets is the field register number of the excavator. The measurements are in metres.
4. Lüders' List, No. 1304, (*EI*, XV, p. 155) - No. 2352.
5. A.H.Dani, *Indian Palaeography* (Oxford, 1963), pp.80-85, Pl.VI a and b (So called 'dagger-shaped') [The inscription should properly be assigned to the 1st century B.C. Also, the last word in the text should be read as *daḍa* (Skt. *daṇḍaḥ*), meaning the umbrella shaft. Ed.].
6. See Lüders' list (*EI*, XV, pp.141, 157), No. 1241 refers to a gift of rail bar by Buddharakshita. See also Nos. 1224, 1250, 1271, 1280, 1295 and R.P. Chanda in *ibid.*, No. 55, p. 274.
7. *la* in the words *mūlasa* and *bālikāya* etc., is peculiarly written inverted in this record only but in No. 88 it has its usual form. This shows that the writing style differs within a specific time also.
8. *Haṁghā* might be the name of the daughter of the house holder (*bālikāya Haṁghāya*) and the expression *bhāriyānam* might qualify both *Mahākāmya* and *Koḍakāmya* and can thus be taken to refer to the wives of the donor. The elephants donated could be sculptures of the animal, like the *gajas* set up at the rail.
9. *Kāma* (male). C. Sivaramamurti - *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Govt. Museum*, (Madras, 1956), Nos. 38 and 85, pp. 280 and 294.
Kāmā, female lay worshipper; Cf. Lüders' list, No. 1252 (*aya*) *kāmāya*, male teacher - Lüders' list Nos. 1237, 1260 etc. *Budhī*, a male *gahapati* is mentioned in Lüders' list, nos. 1254 and 5205 (a), pp. 148-149.
10. It should be more appropriately *Chētikāya*. Similar doubts were expressed on earlier occasions also. See Burgess and Hultzsch - *The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, *ASSI*, (London, 1887), p.53, Pls.XX-2, LVI, No. 6.
Vetika - Cf. Lüders' list, No. 1261 Also *EI*, XXXV, p. 192.
11. *Purīma*, (adj.) preceding or former as opposed to *Paśchima* Cf. Lüders' list Nos. 1234-35, 1242, 1244 and 1247.
12. M.S. Sarma, *Amarāvati Stūpamu* (Telugu), (Madras, 1932), pp. 13-14.
13. I.K. Sarma, *op. cit.*, p.66.
14. C. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.* See the copings of the third period, Pls. XLI to LVII.
15. An inscription of the same period records a donation to *Khuḍachetiya* (*Kshudra-Chaitya*) i.e., smaller *stupa*. Burgess, *op. cit.*, p.72, Pl. XXXI, no. 6. It facts Rea dug many votive *stūpas* near the *Mahāchaitya*.
16. Lüders' list, No. 1250, p. 148 and R.P. Chanda, *EI*, XV, No. 55.
16. C. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pp. 6, 12-13 and 290.
18. Nalinaksha Dutt, *IHQ*, VII, no. 3, (Calcutta, 1956), pp. 633-653.

8 KANDHAR - THROUGH EPIGRAPHY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

Mrs. Shobhana Gokhale

Kandhar, the headquarters of the taluka of that name is 48 kms south-west of Nāndēḍ in Marathwada (Maharashtra State). The city of Kandhar was named after a Rāshtrakūṭa ruler called Kṛishṇa. The Sanskrit name Kṛishṇa appears in Kannaḍa as Kannara, Kanhara, Kanhāra, Kandara, Kandāra, Kandhara and Kandhāra.¹ The town of Kandhar abounds in many ruined structures as well as Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina images. Old images and Śiva-liṅgas came out while people dug for the foundation of their houses. The stone inscription which describes the meritorious activities of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III was found in a well at Kandhar.

Besides the meritorious activities of Kṛishṇa III, the inscription records the building activities of the king. At present in Kandhar we find the corroborative archaeological remains as described in the inscription. The scope of the paper is to put before the scholars the description in the inscription and its corroborative archaeological evidence.

The inscription refers to the construction of a *maṇḍapa* named *Sarvalōkāśraya* near the temple of the god Kshētrapālā and the construction of *sattrasāla* near the temple of Kālapriya. The name *sarvalōkāśraya* reminds us of the fact that Kṛishṇa III was called as *Samastabhuvanās-aya*.² The inscription further mentions that fire-places (*agni-sthitikā*) were constructed at five places for saving the poor

people from suffering from cold during winter. These five places were (1) the pavilion called *Sarvalōkāśraya*, (2-3) two places near the temple of Kālapriya, (4) the front of the god Sāgarēśvara and (5) the vicinity of the temple of the god Baṅkēśvara, situated in the north *i.e.*, to the north of the Sāgarēśvara temple. The people of Kandhar show the foundation of *Sarvalōkāśraya-maṇḍapa* and it is interesting to note that the location and the foundation of the fire-place in *Sarvalōkāśraya-maṇḍapa* could easily be noticed. It measures 1m x 2m. The other fire places were near the temple of Kālapriya and on the embankment of the tank called Jagattuṅga. The temple of Kālapriya could not be located but there are remains of a huge image which probably may be of Kālapriya. There are remains of gigantic hands, foot, fore-head and nose. The measurement of hands is 1.4m x 95cm. The forehead measures 1.2m x 69 cm, and the length and breadth of foot is 1.65m x 88 cm. With the help of these measurements it appears that the image may have been 70 to 80 feet in height.

As regards Kālapriya it is well-known that the dramas of Bhavabhūti were staged before the god Kālapriyanātha. The Rāshtrakūṭa king Indra III and his son Gōvinda IV, while marching against Mahōdaya, camped for sometime in the temple of the god Kālapriya before crossing the Yamunā. Sircar³ has suggested that Kṛishṇa III, in the course

of his northern expedition might had become so much devoted to the god that he conceived the idea of installing the deity of the same name in his own territory. It is to be noted that this is for the first time that we are getting the remains of the huge image of Kālapriya in Mahārāshtra.

The inscription refers to the lake *Jagattuṅga-samudra* which is named after the Rāshtrakūṭa king Jagattuṅga Gōvinda III. The embankment of this lake has retained its old embankment and foot-steps and even the foundation of Sāgarēśvara temple. It is generally believed that the Rāshtrakūṭas who created architectural splendours as those of Ellora have totally neglected the building of structural temples. The Kandhar inscription refers to the temples of Baṅkēśvara, Chhallēśvara, Tumbēśvara and Tuḍigēśvara Gōjjiga-sōmanātha. For the *pañchāmṛita* and *pañchōpachāra*, and flower offerings for the temple, the provision of 500 *drammas* per month was made by the king. There are remains of the foundations of the temples, pillars and Nandi, and therefore, there appears to be no reason to stick to Cousen's view that the Rāshtrakūṭas did not erect any temple. It may also be pointed out that a group of Rāshtrakūṭa temples have been found at Sirivāḷa, district Gulbarga, Karnataka State.⁴

The inscription further records the setting up of five water centres at five places *viz.*, (1) *Mukaratōraṇa* in the royal palace (*Rājagṛiha*), (2) *Yakshadvāra*, adorned with the image of the god Maṅḍalusiddhi-Vināyaka, (3) the front of the temple of Kāmadēva close to the area where the chief courtesans

of the king lived (*Pradhāna-rāja-vilāsini-pāṭaka*) near the Kāmadēva temple, (4) the courtyard of the temple of the god Kālapriya and (5) Sarvalōkāśraya. This reference to Kāmadēva temple would be the earliest in Mahārāshtra.

Out of these five *prapas* one is still flowing in the middle of the city and there is a huge mound on which the present habitation is located. The inscription records that the king appointed bards (*bandi-janas*) in the palace who used to praise his noble qualities. Each one of them received 200 *drammas* together with a pair of clothes per year.

It is interesting to note that arrangements were made for water and fodder for cattle at five different places. Out of these five two are worth noticing *viz.*, (1) the market of the *Gūrjjaras* (*Gūrjjara āpaṇa*) and (2) the much frequented market-place (*kasuṇṇa-haṭṭika*). Both the places with their old remains are pointed out by the local people.

The inscription further mentions a *Vidyāsthāna* on the bank of the river Nāndi, the tributary of the Gōdāvari. The river Nāndi is the same as the modern Manyad on which the city of Kandhar is situated. The inscription mentions the provision of two *prasthas* of oil and a *prastha* of salt daily to each student. Arrangements were made to store nine *khaṇḍikas* of oil and 4½ *khaṇḍikas* of salt. From these figures one can infer the number of students for whom these provisions were made. It, therefore, appears that it must have been a big educational centre.

The mention of palace bards, quarters of the king's chief courtesans, *vidyāsthāna*,

market-place, temples, water centres, fire places indicate that Kṛishṇa III probably ruled from Kandhar. Kṛishṇa III is called as *Kandhārapuravarādhisvara*⁵ in the Hannikēri (Belgaum district) inscription of the Raṭṭa chief Lakshmīdēva I. Kṛishṇa III in the earlier part ruled from Mānyakhēṭa whence he issued the Deoli⁶ plates (940 A.D.). But his close association with the building activities at Kandhar show that in the latter part of his reign he must have ruled from Kandhar, or as suggested by Sircar it must be his secondary capital.

Geographically Kandhar is ideally situated. It is surrounded by hills. To the north there is a huge lake named Jagattuṅga and to the south, there is the river Manyad. It is situated on the ancient trade route from Ujjayini to Pratiśṭhāna. It may be the south gateway of the Gōdāvarī Valley which was the cultural zone in ancient times.

Lastly, at Kandhar we find beautiful synchronism between the epigraphical evidence and the archaeological evidence.

Notes :

- 1 *EI.*, Vol 35, p. 104.
- 2 *Bomb. Gazet.*, p. 419.
- 3 *EI.*, Vol. 35, p. 104.
- 4 Nagaraja Rao M.S., *Rashtrakuta-temples at Sirivala* (paper read at Rāshṭrakūṭa Seminar, 1976, Bangalore)
- 5 *JBBRAS, O.S.*, Vol. X, p. 251.
- 6 *EI.*, Vol. V, p. 188-197.

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M. D. Sampath

The copper-plate inscription under study was originally found at Kaḍali, a village in Razole Taluk of East Godavari District. It is now preserved in the Victoria Jubilee Museum, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Vijayawada. This plate has been edited by Shri Musunuri Sambasivamurti in a Telugu journal *Bhārati*, November 1965, Vol. XLII, No. 11, pp 23-38 and plates. Unfortunately the letters in the first side of the third plate are damaged. The text of that part of the record is therefore very difficult to decipher and interpret. The readings of the verses in this inscription in the published transcripts are not satisfactory.

The characters of the inscription are of southern variety. The inscription may be assigned on palaeographical grounds to the 10th century. The composition of the record is in Sanskrit language except in regard to the names of places forming the boundaries of the gift village which are in Telugu. There are some orthographical errors in the text.

The present charter belongs to the Eastern Chāḷukya king Amma II who reigned from c. 945-70 A.D. The genealogical portion in this grant does not give us any new historical information about the kings that preceded Amma II.

The charter records the conversion of the village Siriyūru into an *agrahāra* which was granted as *sarvakaraparihāra*

on the day of *Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti* by king Ammarāja, also called Rājahamēndra, to a well-learned *brāhmaṇa* Dāriya-bhaṭṭa, son of Chakrapāṇi-bhaṭṭa and Dēnamāmbikā, probably belonging to Āpastamba-sūtra, for the merit of his parents. The boundaries of the aforesaid village (Siriyūru) were Vipparṭi on the east, Dēvapola on the south, Morambaṭṭi on the west and Nodali on the north. As regards the identification of the gift village, it has been suggested that it should be a village (the name of which is not clear) in the Tanuku Taluk of West Godavari District.

The present grant gives some interesting details in the genealogical portion of the family. In lines 11-12, Ammarāja (I) is given a reign period of 7 years and his son Arbhaka Vijayāditya a fortnight (*paksha*) of rule. The Māṅgallu grant¹ assigns Bēta Vijayāditya a reign of 15 days. The editor of this grant has followed Fleet's chronological scheme² in fixing the accession date of this ruler and thus explained the deposition of this boy king by Tāḷapa. The above grant does not refer to his tender age at the time of his accession while the Maliyapūṇḍi,³ Vēmalūrpāḍu⁴ and Kaluchūmbarṅgu⁵ grants mention him so. Since the present record clearly mentions that Arbhaka Vijayāditya ruled for only a fortnight without any reference to his ejection by Tāḷapa, it is not impossible that Vijayāditya of our

charter described as *arbhaka* Vijayāditya, the term *arbhaka* meaning 'youth' or 'child', and Bēta Vijayāditya or Vijayāditya referred to elsewhere as *bālam* are identical.

Sambasivamurti has not stressed the fact that even while king Amma II was studying he became the heir-apparent and he had been coronated at his early age. The text concerning this reads as :

Vāṇi-vadhūs = saṁgama-yōgya-kālē
 Lakshmis = tu yaṁ Rājamahēndram =
 āptā ।
 yukt-ābhishēkā kṛita-paṭṭabandh -
 ālamkāriṇi saṁgama-kāmkshay = ēva ॥

The Vēmalūrpāḍu plates* confirm the fact that he was 8 years old when he was anointed to the dignity of heir-apparent and that he was 12 years old at the time of his coronation. The exact date of his coronation viz., 945 A. D., December 5, Friday is recorded in several grants* besides the present one.

While editing the Kaḍali plates, the author had not pointed out the reference to the crowning of king Yuddhamalla* about which the other grants are silent.

The charter states that Yuddhamalla was anointed to the throne. The Paḍamkalūru grant of Amma II also gives seven years of rule to king Yuddhamalla, son of Tālapa.

yuddhamalla-dharādhiśas = sapta-
 varsha (rshā)ṇy = apād = bhuvam.*

The Maliyapūṇḍi grant of the same king takes no official notice of his reign at all. Hultsch who edited this grant pointed out that Yuddhamalla was fighting with his rival claimants like Rājamārtāṇḍa and Kaṇṭhika Vijayāditya and in the course of this war for supremacy, five years had elapsed.

The inscriptions like the Māṅgallu grant* refer to the overthrow of Tālaparāja by Vikramāditya (II), who ruled for a year and to the usurpation of the land by the forces of the *sāmantas*, *Sabaras*, *Vallabha* (i.e., Rāshṭrakūṭa Gōvinda IV) and others and state that in the midst of this confusion Mallapa (i.e., Yuddhamalla II) reigned for 7 years.

In the present charter the accession date of Amma II is expressed by the chronogram *muni-rasa-vasu* meaning (Śaka) 867. However, it does not mention the date on which it was issued. It only says that the grant was made on the day of *Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti*. We do not know in which year this day can be fixed. Sambasivamurti had suggested that the grant could have been issued between 965 and 970 A.D., which would fall in the last years of the king's reign. He interpreted the lines 37-38 of the record to mean that the king should have defeated all his adversaries within a span of two decades and then made this grant to his able minister. Just as Bṛihaspati (preceptor) to Indra, Dāriyabhaṭṭa was a minister to Rājamahēndra.

The passage of lines 18-20 does not refer to the inimical relationship with Dānārṇava of the other line. Therefore, it

does not warrant the above hypothesis. It can only be taken to mean that the king had obtained victory in wars.

In the following verse (lines 21-23) the anger of king Rājamahēndra is described at length in *Rūpak-ālamkāra*. Amma II is said to have conquered several of his kinsmen (*dāyādas*). This should have taken place only after he had ascended the throne and not either before his coronation or at the end of his career. Moreover, after the details of his accession, the text concerning the above fact appears. He vanquished his *dāyādas* by the prowess of his anger which is like a sun dispelling the darkness viz., his opponents; like a saw tip to the forest i.e., the thieves; like a dew to the lotuses viz., the bad; and like the air of *Kalpa* destroying the tips of mountains i.e., the heads of the kings.

We know from the inscriptions that he was 12 years of age when he ascended the throne. It is natural that his kinsmen (*dāyādas*) must have taken advantage of his tender age and tried to usurp his kingdom. Amma II was successful in suppressing his kinsmen within a few years and then effectively ruled for about 11 years. It is Dānārṇava who is mentioned in the Māṅgallu grant as the *dāyāda* whom Amma had put down. Thereafter when the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa turned his attention towards Vēṅgi, Amma II had to flee to Kaliṅga being unable to resist the anger of Kṛishṇa III. His step-brother Dānārṇava is stated to have obtained the kingdom from Vallabha i.e.,

Kṛishṇa when Amma took refuge at Kaliṅga. The Māṅgallu grant which mentions the rule of Amma II for 11 years states that this king proceeded to Kaliṅga on account of Kṛishṇa's anger (Kṛishṇa-kōpāt) and that at that time the kingdom "was protected by the king's step-brother (*dvaimāturaḥ*) Dānārṇava, to the great joy of the people".¹⁸

His departure to Kaliṅga has been placed around 956 A.D. It is not exactly known who the donor of the Māṅgallu grant was. V. Rangacharya suggested that Dānārṇava, who as a regent of Amma II is said to have issued the grant of Amma II, had another name Vijayāditya. It is nowhere found mentioned as the name of Dānārṇava. Had he issued this, it could have been so during the absence of Amma II when he was driven away to Kaliṅga. Alternatively, the grant could have been issued by Amma II, when Dānārṇava got reconciled to him after his return from Kaliṅga country. But it is not correct. If the latter is correct then the question arises as to why Amma II's flight to Kaliṅga should be found mentioned in his own grant? This is not normally done so. Until we get a reference to Dānārṇava as Vijayāditya, just as Bēta was called Vijayāditya in some of the records of Amma II, it is very difficult to postulate that Vijayāditya was a name or title of Dānārṇava or his immediate successor. This does not concern us much for our discussion.

From the above discussion it is clear that the king was engaged in the wars

against his *dāyādas* and it was in the course of these struggles that he was ably assisted by his minister (*mantri*) Dāriya-bhaṭṭa, son of Chakrapāṇi-bhaṭṭa. Therefore, the king conferred upon this learned minister the village Siriyūru for the services rendered by the latter. There are instances to show that the generals, chiefs or ministers have been duly rewarded by their overlords for their meritorious deeds especially in the wars. For instance, the Udayēndiram plates¹ of Pallava Nandivarman furnish the information that when the king was besieged in Nandipura by the Dramiḷa forces, Udayachandra, a hero, came to his rescue and killed with his own hand the Pallava king Chitramāya and others. The hostile opponents of Nandivarman were the relatives and followers of his predecessor. The king is said to have conferred upon the village granted to the *brāhmaṇas*, the name Udayachandra-maṅgalam at the request of Udayachandra in order to reward his meritorious acts.

Therefore, the grant could have been issued only within the period when the authority of Amma II seems to have been

opposed by his relatives (*dāyādas*) and other rebellious forces. After his coronation in 945 A.D., there are only two records that give us the date. The one that contains his rule of eleven years is the Māṅgallu grant of Vijayāditya while the Tāḍikoṇḍa grant gives a Śaka date in chronogram *viz.*, *nabha-vasu-vasu* i.e., 880, the other details being the same as the details of his coronation mentioned in various grants of this king. No definitely dated records of Amma II after 958 A.D., and before 970 A.D., the last date of his rule, are available yet. The Telugu Academy plates of Śaktivarman II,² a later king of the Vēṅgi dynasty attributes 25 years of rule to Amma II, younger brother of Dānārṇava. We know that Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III was active till 963 A.D., and hence, Amma II would not have attempted to raise his head till the above date.

Judging the above details, it may be said that our grant could have been issued within his first eleven or thirteen years *i.e.*, 956 A.D., or 958 A.D., which are his known dates.

References and Notes :

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1 *El.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 37 ff. and plates.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 38, f.n. 3.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 47 ff.

4 *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 226 ff.

5 *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 186, text-line 28.

- 6 *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 227 ff.
- 7 *IA.*, Vol. VII p. 15 ; *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 53 and p. 134
- 8 *IA.*, Vol. VII, p. 10, text lines 19-20.
- 9 *EI.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 41, text lines 18-20 and the plate facing.
- 10 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 162 ; Vol. XXXI, p. 42, text 11. 22-24.
- 11 *SII.*, Vol. II, pp. 367-68, text 11: 46-47, and 11. 61-64 and pp. 371-72.
AREp., 1914, part II, para 10 ; *JAHS.*, Vol. V, pp. 35-36 ; N. Venkataramanayya : *The Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgi*, p. 197.

10 ANCIENT FOUNTAIN STONE INSCRIPTIONS OF CHAMBA

B. K. Deambi

Chamba (Himachal Pradesh) has had the singular fortune of having escaped the wanton destructions that the successive foreign invasions from the North-west brought in their wake. Well confined as it is within the mountain barriers its ancient archaeological remains were not subjected to the onslaught of Muslim iconoclasts with the result that they are better preserved here than in the neighbouring hill states of Kashmir and Kangra.¹ Chamba again is the only place in that western Himalayas which has yielded a pretty large number of epigraphic records, more than 130 in number.² This wealth of inscriptions would give us an idea of the amount of epigraphical material which has been lost in Kashmir, Kangra, Kulu and Punjab, the states of much greater antiquity and historical importance.

Among the inscriptions of Chamba a very important group and unique of its type is formed by those engraved on the elegantly carved fountain slabs discovered from different parts of Chamba and now preserved in the Bhuri Singh Museum in Chamba town. These slabs, most common in the Churah and Pangi regions, were erected at springs and hill slopes by the pious donors for earning religious merit. The origin and purpose of erecting such stones is shrouded in obscurity. It appears that Chamba suffered from the scarcity of water

especially in the far-flung areas of Churah and Pangi and the inscribed slabs with the water spout in the middle were set up at the steep hill slopes in order to ensure easy flow of drinkable water from the underground hill streams. They thus served the two fold purpose. Besides being of general utility to the neighbouring population, they won the donor much cherished spiritual merit of the highest. However, the purpose of earning spiritual merit appears to have dominated the philanthropic spirit.

The contents of these records would show that people viewed the mundane world (*samsāra*) as a place of misery and sufferings and the next world or *parlōka* as an abode of eternal joy and bliss. Thus they set up fountain slabs to secure for themselves and for their relatives, mostly deceased, relief from the miseries of the mundane world and bliss in the world beyond. Thus the two individuals Bhōja and Paripūrṇa and two brothers Raṇasīha and Dhanasīha, fearing the sufferings of this world erected fountain slabs in order to open the way to heaven, the former for themselves and the latter for their brother Chanika. Queen Balhā, considering at every step the world of the living to be unstable, had a fountain stone set up for the sake of the bliss of her deceased lord. The figures of the deceased for whose sake the fountain stones were erected were sometimes

engraved on the slabs themselves. Thus the fountain stone at Sai³ contains the portrait of an individual Ranautra Phāhī for whose sake the stone was set up along with that of his wife. Both are depicted in the act of worshipping a liṅga. It is interesting to note that the name of Ranautra Phāhī is inscribed just below his portrait. The fountain stone erected at Naghai by Rājānaka Dēvaprasāda for the sake of the bliss in the next world of Rāṇi Mēkhalā, contains a female figure probably representing the Rāṇi accompanied by two children with the third one kneeling down at the feet of the figure of the god Varuṇa. This may indicate, as pointed out by Vogel,⁴ that Rāṇi Mēkhalā probably died in childbed and it was thus considered necessary to erect a fountain stone to ensure bliss to the deceased Rāṇi in the next world. The custom of setting up stones for women who died in childbed was known in Chamba till recent times and was based on the superstition that the souls of women who died in childbed became evil spirits.

The fountain stones are generally dedicated to god Varuṇa whose seated figure the stones generally contain in the centre. They are invariably designated after the god as *Varuṇa-dava*. The association of god Varuṇa with the water fountains would indicate that Varuṇa who held such a prominent position in the Vedic pantheon as the 'patron of waters' continued to be regarded as the overlord of waters even

so late a time as the period of our records viz. 11th-12th centuries A.D. In our inscriptions Varuṇa is described as Supreme God who is "higher than any other God known in the three worlds". The setting up of a water fountain in his honour is regarded as means of acquiring highest religious merit and is considered to accrue the same merit as the gift of ten million cows on the occasion of lunar or solar eclipse.

ARTISTIC VALUE

The fountain stones are remarkable for their profuse and elegant carvings. Besides the prominent figure of God Varuṇa in the centre seated on his *Vāhana Makara* (crocodile) sometimes with two and sometimes with four hands, we find figures of Indra, of Śiva and Viṣṇu and their pantheon, of Viṣṇu sleeping on Śēshanāga, of navagrahas, of the river goddesses Gaṅgā and Jamunā with their respective *vāhanas*, the makara and the porpoise and of deceased human beings. In the profusely carved fountain stone found at Salhi⁵ we find, besides the figures of the divinities, the figures of the five rivers of Panjab. An interesting feature of the carvings is that the figures including those of the rivers are labelled, thus obviating the difficulty on the part of the viewer to identify the figures engraved. The stones are elegantly decorated on their borders by various geometrical patterns, floral and vegetal designs. Describing the artistic value of the stone slabs N.R. Ray remarks, "Indeed such weaving of mere patterns in square

and rectangular panels with floral, vegetal and geometric designs and human and animal figures (serpent forms playing an important part) is unknown to 'classical conception'. This pattern making as we see in these fountain stones, seems to reflect a very ancient art practice and Kramrisch is right in assuming that 'the earliest and the simplest of these stones could be the ancestors of the roundels of Bharhut', although what we have cannot be dated earlier than the 10th century A.D."⁶

HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE

The fountain stone inscriptions are particularly important from the historical point of view. Most of these contain mention of the local chiefs and are dated in the regnal years of the overlords to whom the former owed allegiance. Besides the regnal years the inscriptions contain dates in the Śāstra era, the local designation of the Saptarshi era commonly used in Kashmir and the hills. The particulars of the date are given in full with the year, month, lunar tithi, the day and the constellation being given in detail.⁷ Sometimes the epigraphs contain dates in two distinct eras. Thus the Sai Fountain stone inscription is dated both in the Śāstra samvat and the Kali Yuga samvat. This is a unique feature and the only other instance of the type in the hills is furnished by the Khonamuh (Kashmir) stone inscription of Jayanolabadenasaha (Zain-ul-abidin) which is likewise dated both in the Laukika or the Sapartarshi Samvat and the Kali Samvat. It may be pointed out here that the dates in these inscri-

ptions are not always recorded correctly but they none the less help to a certain degree to build up the chronology of the ancient rulers of Chamba on more or less sound basis. Thus the fountain stone inscription discovered from Dadvar⁸ in the Churah subdivision which is dated in the 17th regnal year of king Trailōkyadēva and in (Śāstra) Samvat 17, Jyēsthā va. ti. 12, Bṛihaspativāra, Rēvatī nakshatra has, with the aid of supplementary information furnished by the Vamśāvalī and the Rājatarāṅgiṇī and the palaeographic evidence, has helped us to know with certainty the date of Trailōkyadēva of Billaur viz., Thursday, 30th April, 1041 A.D. Similarly the Luj Fountain inscription⁹ which is dated in the first regnal year of king Jāsaṭha and in Śāstra Samvat 81 in the month of Pausha and the Lyh Tikri inscription¹⁰ which is dated in the 9th year of the reign of Jāsaṭha on the 12th lunar day of the dark half of the month of Jyēsthā point to the fact that the year of accession of Jāsaṭha fell between 4th May and the end of December in A.D. 1105.

Most of our fountain slabs were set up by the local chieftains called Rājānakas in the records. This would show that the state was divided into small principalities ruled by Rājānakas who, however, owed allegiance to the rulers of Chamba or sometimes to the rulers of the neighbouring hill state of Billaur, in whose regnal years they dated their records. The Rājānakas mentioned in our records are Dēvaprasāda who ruled at Naghai in

Churah and owed allegiance to king Trailōkyadēva; Nāgapāla who ruled at Devi-ri-Kothi in Churah in 1160-81 A.D. and was a vassal of king Lalitavarma of Chamba who bestowed on him the title of Rājānaka; Ludrapāla who ruled at Salhi in Pangi in 1170 A.D. and owed allegiance to king Lalitavarma. The royal personages mentioned are Trailōkyadēva, Sōmavarman, Āsaṭa, Jāsaṭa, Lalitavarma and Ajaypāla.

TRAILOKYADEVA

Trailōkyadēva is mentioned in three fountain inscriptions discovered at the villages Dadvar,¹¹ Bhakund¹² and Naghai¹³ in Churah. In the Naghai inscription belonging to Rājānaka Dēvaprasāda he is mentioned with the sovereign titles of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *mahārājādhirāja* which would show that he was a liege lord of the chieftains of Churah.

The name of Trailōkyadēva does not figure in the Chamba *Vamsāvali* but is mentioned twice in the *Vamsāvali* of the rulers of the neighbouring hill-state of Billaur, ancient Vallapura. At one place he figures as the immediate predecessor of Kalaśapāla, the contemporary of Ananta (1028-63 A.D.) and Kalaśa (1063-89 A.D.) of Kashmir and at another place he is separated from the latter by two reigns. Vogel¹⁴ feels inclined to identify Trailōkyadēva of our inscription with Trailōkyadēva of the Billaur *Vamsāvali* who ruled sometime before Kalaśapāla in the first half of the 11th century. The Dadvar fountain inscription is dated in the Śāstra

year 17 corresponding to A. D. 1041 which shows that Trailōkyadēva ruled in the second quarter of the 11th century. If Vogel's identification be correct, it would follow that Churah was held by the ruler of Billaur in the second quarter of the 11th century.

SOMAVARMAN

Sōmavarman was the successor of king Sālavāhana of Chamba who, according to the *Rājatarāṅgiṇi*,¹⁵ was supplanted by king Ananta of Kashmir with a new king, probably Sōmavarman, being installed on the throne of Chamba by the Kashmir ruler. Sōmavarman is mentioned in the fountain inscription discovered at Bahnota¹⁶ in Churah. The record would show that Churah formed part of his empire. This is specially of interest as in the second quarter of the 11th century, Churah, as seen above, was ruled by a Billaur king Trailōkyadēva. It would seem that sometime in the second half of the 11th century Churah was wrested from Trailōkyadēva by Sōmavarman or may be by his father Sālavāhana and annexed to Chamba.

ASADA

He is mentioned in the Siya fountain inscription¹⁷ dated in his first regnal year. He succeeded his brother Sōmavarman to the throne of Chamba and appears to be identical with the ruler of that name mentioned in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇi*,¹⁸ who attended the court of king Kalaśa (1063-89 A.D.) of Kashmir evidently to pay him homage. It would thus appear that

Āsaṭa acknowledged the suzerainty of Kalaśa. The two royal houses of Kashmir and Chamba were also connected by matrimonial ties. According to Kalhaṇa,¹⁹ Āsaṭa's sister Bāppikā was married to king Kalaśa of Kashmir. During the troubles in which Kalaśa's son Harsha was involved the ruler of Chamba played a conspicuous role.

JASATA

Jāsaṭa succeeded his father Āsaṭavarman in 1104/5. A.D. Two fountain stone inscriptions of his reign have been discovered at Luj in Pangi and Loh-Tikri in Churah. No historical information about Jāsaṭa is forthcoming from the two records. The inscription from Luj, however, is as pointed out above, important in as much as it contains the earliest definite instance of the use of the Śāstra Saṁvat in Chamba and has, as such, provided a clue to the date of the accession of Jāsaṭa. The inscription is dated in the first regnal year of Jāsaṭa and in the Śāstra year 81. It gives, as seen above, 1104/5 A.D. as the year of Jāsaṭa's accession. The data of the Loh-Tikri inscription which is dated in Jāsaṭa's 9th year would correspond to A. D. 1114.

The two records would show that Chamba's supremacy over Churah established earlier in the reign of Sōmavarman continued during the reign of Jāsaṭa and that Jāsaṭa's dominions also included Pangi, the northernmost part of Chamba.

For further information about Jāsaṭa

we are indebted to Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. Kalhaṇa describes Jāsaṭa as the son of Harsha's maternal uncle.²⁰ It appears from Kalhaṇa's narrative that Jāsaṭa, even before his accession, took part in the civil war that broke out in Kashmir during the reign of Harsha (A. D. 1089-1101) and helped his kinsman in his struggle against the rival pretenders, the Lohara brothers Uchchala and Sussala.

Kalhaṇa next mentions Jāsaṭa among the five hill chiefs who met Bhikshāchāra, the grandson of Harsha at Kurukshētra while the latter was on his way to Kashmir to claim the ancestral throne.²¹ When Bhikshāchāra proceeded to Vallapura (Billaur) Jāsaṭa played a significant role in arranging his marriage with the daughter of the king of that State.²²

Bhikshāchāra stayed at Vallapura for a few years but when his own resources became exhausted his father-in-law began to treat him with scant courtesy.²³ Jāsaṭa then called him to his own capital and entertained him for four or five years.²⁴ Bhikshāchāra left Chamba soon after and it is not known if Jāsaṭa rendered him any assistance in his attempt to regain his hereditary throne.

LALITAVARMAN

Lalitavarman is mentioned as a ruling sovereign in two fountain records of Rājānaka Nāgapāla, discovered from Devi-ri-Kothi in Churah²⁵ and from the village Salhi in Pangi.²⁶

From the Devi-ri-Kothi inscription we learn that Lalitavarman conferred on Nāgapāla the title of Rājānaka. It also gives a brief conventional account of Lalitavarman's virtues. The Salhi record only supplies the king's name in connection with the mention of the date without giving any details about him. It, however, provides a clue to the year of accession of Lalitavarman. It is dated in his 27th year and in the Śāstra year 46 which correspond to A. D. 1170. The year of Lalitavarman's accession would as such be A. D. 1143-44.

No further details of Lalitavarman's reign are known. He is not mentioned in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. The two records, noted above, would show that during his reign the distant regions of Churah and Pangī were ruled by the local chiefs who owed allegiance to the Chamba ruler.

AJAYAPALA

The village Sai in Churah has yielded a fountain inscription which is dated in the reign of Ajayapāla.²⁷ From the inscription it is not clear whether Ajayapāla was the king of Chamba or of the neighbouring state of Billaūr. While the name Ajayapāla does not occur in Chamba *Vaṃsāvalī* a king of that name is mentioned in the *Vaṃsāvalī* of Billaūr kings as the son and successor of Aruṇamala. Vogel²⁸ proposes to identify Ajayapāla of our inscription with the Billaūr king Ajayapāla and takes the name of his father Aruṇamala to be the corruption

of Raṇapāla mentioned in an inscription discovered from Devi-ri-Kothi in Churah.²⁹ The inscription is dated in the Kali year 4270 and the Śāstra year 1, one of which is evidently wrongly recorded. Vogel³⁰ takes the latter date to be the more probable one and, on account of the script of the inscription, refers it to Śāstra year 4301 corresponding to A. D. 1225. If Vogel's suggestions are accepted it follows that in the first half of the 13th century Churah lay in the temporary sway of the Billaūr chiefs.

CULTURAL DATA

The fountain inscriptions are often fragmentary and brief in content and as such they do not throw much light on the cultural history of ancient Chamba. It is only occasionally that we get some information which may be important from this point of view. Thus we find brāhmaṇas who occupied an honoured place in the social hierarchy in ancient Chamba. They received royal charity and made gifts for works of public utility. We hear of a brāhmaṇa constructing a fountain of water at Dadvar.³¹

The people even in the far flung areas of Churah and Pangī seem to have been piously and charitably disposed. They enthusiastically took part in the acts of public utility. Thus we hear of persons constructing water fountains and erecting fountain slabs to commemorate the event.

There are indications that there were extremely affectionate and cordial relations

among the brothers of a family. They often gave expression to their fraternal love by constructing fountains of water for the sake of the bliss of their deceased brothers. Thus two brothers Raṇasīha and Dhanasīha constructed a cistern of water at the village Siya for the sake of the future bliss of their brother Chanika.³³ Again four brothers named Phīrī, Gōga, Dēva and Siha constructed a water cistern and set up a fountain slab for the sake of the bliss in the next world of their brother Tyāga.³⁴

POSITION OF WOMEN

Women in ancient Chamba occupied an honoured position in the society. They were the object of highest devotion and love of their husbands who often gave expression to their conjugal devotion by constructing fountains for the attainment of religious merit by their wives in the next world. Thus Rājānaka Gōga feeling deeply afflicted at the passing away of his wife Sūramatī had a cistern of clear water constructed to ensure bliss for her in the next world.³⁵ Similarly Rājānaka Dēvapasāda erected a fountain for the attainment of heavenly bliss of his consort Mēkhalā.³⁶ The conjugal fidelity of Indian women is proverbial and we find women in ancient Chamba never failing in their duty to reciprocate the love and devotion of their husbands by building religious institutions and donating liberally for works of public utility, for ensuring the heavenly bliss of their lords in the next world. Thus we hear of queen Balhā having erected a fountain for the sake of

the bliss of her lord in the next world.³⁷ The women seem to have had a pious outlook and were charitably disposed. Thus queen Dēlhā constructed a fountain for gaining the heaven of Śiva and Viṣṇu and for the sake of the joys of the paradise.³⁸

As regards the custom of *satī* our records indicate that though it was in vogue it was not universally practised. Thus Rājānaka Nāgapāla of Chamba at the death of his father prevented his mother from committing *satī*.³⁹ Widows after the death of their husbands led a life of austerity and piety and took part in religious donations. Thus the widowed queen Balhā after being dissuaded from consigning herself to flames, emaciated herself by prolonged fasting and increased her charity, her compassion to the poor and devotion to Kṛishṇa.⁴⁰

CONSTRUCTION OF ROADS

Well laid out roads seem to have been a luxury in some remote areas of Chamba as they are now. Thus construction of road, as one of our records would show, was considered a superior act of piety and charity and the merit accruing from the laying out of a road was considered superior to that accruing from such pious acts as construction of a bridge (*sēru-bandha*), sinking of a well, construction of a hospice, erection of a temple and consecration of an image of God.⁴¹

ADMINISTRATION

As regards the information furnished by our records regarding the administra-

tion in ancient Chamba we find mention of the following district officials: *sēgāna*, *pratihāra*, *daṇḍavāsika*, *kāyastha*, *baladhāra* and *sūtradhāra*.

SEGANA

Segāna is mentioned in the Salhi fountain inscription of A. D. 1170 as the designation of a local official of Paṅgi.⁴¹ The term is not known from any other source. It is obviously non-Sanskrit. According to a suggestion of A. H. Francke, quoted by Vogel, the word is perhaps a corruption of Tibetan *Sogampa* meaning 'a custom house officer or tax collector'.⁴² Vogel commenting on the term remarks "We may assume that the functions of the Segana were substantially the same as those of the head official of Pangī who until recent times bore the title of Palasara." He adds, "This term which is not found in other parts of Chamba, is the designation of the head of a pargana in Mandi state and is known to have existed in Kulu also, where it has been replaced by the term *negi*".⁴³

Thus though the exact functions of *sēgāna* are not quite clear it may be assumed that the distant districts like Pangī in ancient Chamba were placed under the charge of the officers who bore the designation *sēgāna*. It would seem that these officers were not only responsible for the internal administration of their districts but they were also required to collect customs and other royal dues.

PRATIĪARA

Pratihāra is mentioned in the Salhi,⁴⁴ Sai⁴⁵ and Nal⁴⁶ fountain inscriptions as the designation of a local official. In the Salhi inscription he is mentioned immediately after *sēgāna* and it would seem that he was subordinate to *sēgāna*. His functions, as a district officer are, however, not exactly known. The inscriptions, referred to above, do not furnish any information on this point. *Pratihāra* which literally means 'door keeper' is frequently mentioned in the copper plate inscriptions and denotes a 'palace guard' who guarded the entry into the royal palace and was responsible for its defence. But this meaning cannot obviously apply to *pratihāra* in our case. Vogel remarks, "We may perhaps conjecture that the *Pratihāra* of the three fountain inscriptions held the same position as modern *Likhnihara* who is the deputy of the Car, keeps the revenue accounts and does the clerical work".⁴⁷ However, he points out that he does not assume any etymological connection between the two words. *Pratihāra* is also mentioned in the *Sukranītisāra* among the six officers whom a king is advised to appoint in every town and village.⁴⁸ But unfortunately it does not specifically mention the functions of the official. According to V.V. Mirashi he was probably the head of the town or village police.⁴⁹ However, all that we can say is that *Pratihāra* in all probability was an official lower in status to the *sēgāna* and connected with village or town administration.

DANĀVASIKA

Danāvāsika is mentioned in the Salhi fountain inscription and occurs immediately after *sēgāṇa* and *pratihāra*.⁵⁰ Vogel feels inclined to take *danāvāsika* as a variant of *danāpāsika* meaning a 'police officer'.⁵¹ However, it may be mentioned here that the term occurs in the copper plate inscriptions of Chamba as well⁵² and is found in the same form and there does not seem to be any apparent justification for taking it as a variant of *danāpāsika*. The word *danāvāsika* is explained in the St. Petersburg and Monier Williams' dictionaries as a 'door keeper'.⁵³ However, it is doubtful if the meaning can be applied to the term in our case especially when it is mentioned as a designation of a district official in Pangti in our fountain inscriptions. The word seems to be represented by the modern Oriya *danāvāsi*, which means a 'village watchman'. We may, as such, assume that *danāvāsika* was a subordinate district official who was mainly charged with the duty of looking after the towns and villages in his jurisdiction during nights.

KAYASTHA

Kāyastha, a familiar term in the inscriptions, denotes a scribe or a clerk who drafted and composed the inscriptions. In our records too he figures as the composer of the inscriptions but often exhibits an inadequate knowledge of Sanskrit.

BALADHARA

Baladhāra is mentioned in the Sai fountain inscription as the designation of an official and occurs immediately before

sūtradhāra.⁵⁴ *Baladhāra*, not known from any other source, appears to denote the overseer who superintended the work of the construction of the fountains. *Sūtradhāra*, frequently met with in the inscriptions, denotes an artisan or a craftsman and in our records he figures as a man who carved the fountain stones.

INDUSTRY

The only industry of which we get ample evidence in our records is stone work. Stone work appears to have been a very popular industry in ancient Chamba. People engaged in this industry were called *sūtradhāras* as noted above. The superb excellence and extraordinary skill achieved in stone work is amply testified by some of our profusely carved fountain slabs as of Sai and Salhi which display craftsmanship of unique character.

GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Our records do not furnish any geographical data except the mention of two place-names Pangati and Salhi.

PANGATI

Pāṅgati is mentioned in the Salhi fountain inscription of *Rājānaka Ludrapāla*⁵⁵ and in the Bento Puhali fountain inscription.⁵⁷ In the former it is mentioned in connection with the mention of some officials who were in charge of Pāṅgati at the time a fountain slab was put up by *Rāṇi Dēlhā*, the wife of *Rāṇa Ludrapāla*. In the latter, its significance is not clear, the inscription being written in very corrupt and unintelligible Sanskrit. It is evidently the ancient name of the

modern sub-division of Pāñgi to the north-east of Chamba. It is a famous summer tourist resort of Himachal Pradesh and has yielded the largest number of inscribed fountain slabs.

SALHI

It is mentioned in the Salhi fountain inscription of *Rājānaka* Ludrapāla as the latter's place of residence. It is still known by its ancient name and is situated in Pāñgi in Himachal Pradesh seven miles from Sach where the Sechu stream flows into the Chīnāb.

LITERARY VALUE

The fountain stone inscriptions, though small in number, fragmentary in character and generally brief in content, throw interesting light on the contemporary state of Sanskrit learning in the remote places of ancient Chamba. In the absence of any extant literary records, these are particularly important for they form the only means of studying the nature and development of Sanskrit learning in this ancient hill state. The inscriptions are mostly in prose except two which are in verse. Those in verse include Devi-ri-Kothi fountain inscription of *Rājānaka* Nāgapāla and the Mul Kihar fountain inscription.

THE DEVI-RI-KOTHI-FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION⁸⁸

This inscription possessing considerable literary merit is unfortunately badly mutilated. Of the 17 verses the first 9 are completely lost while the rest are preserved in part but the missing portions have been admirably restored by Vogel.

The extant portion contains (i) a brief eulogy of certain *Rājānaka* Nāgapāla (2) a pathetic description of the *Rājānaka's* mother Balhā who was prevented by her son from committing *satī* after the death of her husband (3) an interesting statement that Balhā sought to ensure the future bliss of her deceased lord by erecting a fountain slab and (4) the date and the writer's name. The inscription is particularly remarkable for verses 12 and 13 which contain a fine description of the austerities and the acts of piety performed by Balhā after she was prevented by her son from following her husband into death and also for verse 15 which artistically describes the instability of the human world.

As regards versification we find each verse written in a separate metre. Thus while the 10th is in *Sikharīṇī*, 11th in *Upajāti*, the 12th is in *Mālinī*. The other metres used are *Vasantatilakā* (V.13), *Upajāti* (V.14), *Mālinī* (V.15) *Prithvī* (16) and *Āryā* (V.17.)

The figures of speech have been skilfully used, adding to the charm and elegance of the poem. The poem has all the qualities of an ornate *Kāvya* and *Kamala-lāñchhana*, its writer, can rightly be regarded a good poet with sound knowledge of Sanskrit language and rhetorics.

THE MUL-KIHAR FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION⁸⁹

This inscription too, like the one noted above, is badly defaced and only a few verses are preserved completely. The

mutilated condition of the inscription is much to be regretted as it appears to have contained a poem of considerable poetic merit. The inscriptions which originally must have contained 31 stanzas may be roughly divided into three parts. The first part contains three benedictory stanzas wherein we have invocation to various deities. The second contains the genealogy of *Rājānaka* Gayāpāla and the third gives an account of the setting up of a fountain slab by the *Rājānaka*. Of the three parts, the second is the most important as it contains a few specimens of beautiful Sanskrit poetry. Thus, for example, the description of the beauty of queen Bhappikā followed by the pathetic account of her passing away is very exquisite.

The cruelty of fate in separating the two lovers is exquisitely portrayed. Again the pathetic description of *Rājānaka*'s grief over the passing away of his beloved is equally worth admiring. The poem is written in a variety of metres but the selection of metres speaks of the chaste moderation of the writer. The long metre like *Sārdulavikriṣṭita* has been used only once while the graceful *Vasantatilakā* and simple and short *Anuṣṭubh* have been used in as many as 14 verses, each in 7 verses. Other metres used are *Mālinī*, *Upajāti* and *Mandākrāntā*.

The figures of speech, of which *Upamā* and *Rūpaka* have been more frequently used, have been judiciously used and they make the sense more clear than obscure it. The entire poem is couched in a

simple, lucid and elegant language which is remarkably free from mistakes.

Thus, the two inscriptions, noted above, impress us most as beautiful love poems with predominant sentiment of pious conjugal devotion eloquently expressed in a poetic language which is simple and refined and embellished with rhetorical ornaments. Possessed as they are with all the requisites of a good *Kāvya*, the inscriptions prove the existence of developed *Kāvya* literature in ancient Chamba, of which, unfortunately, only a few specimens have been bequeathed to us.

In contrast to poetical compositions noted above, the prose employed in the fountain inscriptions is hopelessly corrupt and full of vernacular influence. It appears that the scribal talent at the command of the donors of these fountain slabs was not as admirable as at the command of the donors of *Devi-ri-Kothi* and *Mul-Kihar* stone inscriptions noted above. The scribes betray very indifferent knowledge of Sanskrit language and grammar and the corrupt language at times renders the contents of the records completely unintelligible. However, this is understandable as these inscriptions were written not by the talented men of letters but by ordinary persons of remote corners of Chamba who cannot be supposed to have scholar-like command over Sanskrit language and grammar. The vernacular influence in these records is best illustrated in the text of the *Luj* fountain inscription⁶⁰ which is better preserved and carefully incised.

LINGUISTIC IMPORTANCE

The fountain stone inscriptions are particularly important from linguistic point of view. They contain a number of vernacular terms and for a student studying the origin and development of Chamyali, the modern dialect of Chamba, they furnish an interesting material for study. Quite interesting to note is the influence of Kashmiri language that we sometimes notice in these records. As an illustration may be cited the Kashmiri name 'Vyath' for the river Vitastā in the Salhi fountain inscription. It is also remarkable to note that the present denomination for the Vitastā in Kashmiri had already become

current as early as 1170 A. D., the date of the Salhi stone.

PALAEOGRAPHIC IMPORTANCE

The fountain stone inscriptions are written in the Sāradā script, the direct descendant of the western branch of the Brāhmī and once in popular use in an extensive area of North Western India and Pakistan. This alphabet shows three distinct stages of development and the second one is best illustrated by the script employed in our records. This script also represents the last phase of the Sāradā so far as Chamba is concerned, it being replaced by its descendant the Dēvaśēsha in the subsequent records.

Notes :

- 1 The vast wealth of the well preserved antiquities in Chamba were at first explored in part by Alexander Cunningham in 1810 and later fully by J. Ph. Vogel, the then Superintending Archaeologist of the area, who published his startling discoveries in his enlightening volume, *The Antiquities of Chamba State, Part I*, in 1905.
- 2 These have been edited by J. Ph. Vogel, in *Antiquities of Chamba State, Part I* and Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra in *Antiquities of Chamba State, Part II*.
- 3 Vogel, *Op. cit.*, pp. 232 ff.
- 4 *Ibid.*, p. 180.
- 5 *Ibid.*, pp. 216 ff.
- 6 *History of the Indian People, Vol. 4 (Struggle for Empire)*, pp. 664-65.
- 7 *Op. cit.*
- 8 Vogel, *op. cit.*, pp 176 ff.
- 9 *Ibid.*, pp. 202 ff.
- 10 *Ibid.*, pp. 205 ff.
- 11 *Ibid.*, pp. 176 f.
- 12 *Ibid.*, pp. 177 f.
- 13 *Ibid.*, pp. 178 ff.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 71.
- 15 vii. 218.
- 16 Vogel, *op. cit.* pp. 180 f.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 200 ff.
18. vii. 588.
19. vii. 319.
20. vii. 1513.
21. viii. 538-41.
22. viii. 542.
23. viii. 552.
24. viii. 553.
25. Vogel, op. cit, 209 ff.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 216 ff.
27. Vogel, op. cit., pp. 232 ff.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 208 f.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 176.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 202.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 243.
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 229-30.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 180.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 212.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 223.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 121.
39. *Ibid.*,
40. *Ibid.*, p. 236.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 222.
42. *Ibid.*
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Ibid.*, p. 222.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 234.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 241.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 135.
48. *Sukranītisāra* pp. 120-21.
49. *CII.*, Vol. IV, P. CXLIV.
50. *op. cit.*
51. Vogel, op. cit., 129-30.
52. *Ibid.*, pp. 166, 193, 199.

53. Petersburj, S. V. P. 204, Monier Williams, p. 467.
54. Sircar, D. C., *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 81:
55. *Op. cit.*
56. *Op. cit.*
57. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 244.
58. *Ibid* , pp. 209 ff.
59. *Ibid.*, pp. 244 ff.
60. *Ibid.*, pp., 202 ff.

Identification of inscriptional place-names is one of the problems generally faced by an epigraphist. If the geographical position of a place is clearly indicated in the inscription, it can be easily located on that basis. But in the absence of such indication the identification of that place becomes very difficult and sometimes it raises controversies. *Āmardaka* or *Āmardakapura* is one of such place-names.

The place-name *Āmardakapura* is mentioned in the *Ardhapur* inscription from Nanded district in Maharashtra.¹ The epigraph has introduced a hitherto unknown feudatory of the *Yādavas* of *Dēvagiri* named *Ballāla* of the *Raṭṭa* family. The inscription refers to *Ballāla* as *Āmardakapuravarēśvara*.

While editing the inscription we had suggested the identification of *Āmardakapura* with *Aundha Nagnath* in *Basmat* taluka of *Parbhani* district in Maharashtra, which is just 25 miles west of the findspot of the said inscription.

The late *M. G. Dikshit*, however, contradicted our suggestion.² His contention was that the place-name is mentioned in four other inscriptions the findspots of which are spread over in Gujarat, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. Hence *Āmardaka* should be located somewhere in Madhya Pradesh. He had cited the

following four inscriptions in support of his argument.

- 1) The *Sēnakapāṭ* inscription from Madhya Pradesh (7th cent. A.D.)⁴
- 2) The *Haddal* plates from Saurāshṭra in Gujarat (917-18 A.D.)⁵
- 3) The *Rājōrgaḍh* inscription from Rajasthan (V.S. 1016)⁶
- 4) The *Ranod* inscription from Madhya Pradesh (Śaka 729)⁷

The above mentioned epigraphs were edited by eminent scholars like *Bühler*, *Kielhorn*, *D. C. Sircar* and *M. G. Dikshit* himself. A minute study of the articles published by these scholars shows that none of them had identified *Āmardaka* satisfactorily. The relevant passages from the said articles are quoted below for ready reference.

THE HADDAL PLATES

"The object of our grant is to convey the village of *Vimkala* as a reward for his learning to *Mahēśvarāchārya*, the son of *Śivadēvāchārya*, who belonged to the *Āmardaka Santāna*. As *Āmardaka* is the name of *Kāla Bhairava*, and the title *Āchārya* shows that the two individuals mentioned possessed a religious character, it would seem that the word *Santāna* refers in this case to a spiritual family, the line of teachers of a Śaiva sect called *Āmardaka*".⁸

The above extract clearly indicates that Āmardaka was the name of a Śaiva sect. Bühler, who has edited the inscription has not expressed his opinion either with regard to its founders or its main seat. The present inscription therefore does not support Dikshit's view in any way.

THE RAJORGADH INSCRIPTION

"The administration of this grant in the first instance was entrusted to the holy ascetic Ōmkāraśivāchārya, (a disciple of Rūpaśivāchārya, who again was a disciple of Śrikanṭhāchārya) a member of the Sōpurīya line of school (of devotees) started at Āmardaka."

The present record is very important in this respect, because it refers to Āmardaka as a place-name and also as the original seat of the Sōpurīya school of the Śaiva sect. Kielhorn, who is editor of the epigraph has, however, expressed his inability to identify the place. Hence this record also does not help Dikshit's argument.

THE RANOD INSCRIPTION

"The inscription records that Śiva (Purāri) once pleased Brahman by offering him a sacrifice the result of which was the origin of the family or line of sages which will be treated in the sequel. In it there was a sage who is described as *Kadambaguhāvāsin* (the inhabitant of Kadambaguhā), from him sprang the sage Śankhamatikādhipati (the superintendent of Śankhamatika), next came Tērāmbipāla, (the protector of Tērāmbi), then Āmardaka-tīrthanātha (the lord of Āmardaka-tīrtha)

and after him Purandara, to whom King Avantivarman recorded donation in this inscription".¹⁰

The above inscription further confirms that Āmardaka-tīrtha was a place-name and it was the seat of a Śaiva sect. But Kielhorn, who has edited the inscription has not even tried to identify it. Ranod, which is the findspot of the inscription, is situated near Gwalior. It is probably on this ground that Dikshit presumed its location near Gwalior in M.P.¹¹ But while doing so, he has not shown any place in this area which could be taken as the present equivalent of Āmardaka. The record registers endowments to Purandara who might have lived in this area. The name Āmardaka-tīrtha occurs in connection with the residential places of the line of the *āchāryas* of a Śaiva sect to which Purandara belonged. Besides Āmardaka-tīrtha, the same inscription also mentions other place names such as Tērāmbi, Śankhamatika and Kadambaguhā as the native places of other *āchāryas*. Mention of different places indicates that the *santanāchāryas*, to which the donee Purandara belonged, hailed from different places. None of these places has been located in the vicinity of Ranod. It is thus evident that even on the basis of the Ranod inscription, Āmardaka cannot be located near Gwalior.

THE SENAKARAT INSCRIPTION

"Another geographical name in this part is the penance grove called Āmardaka where the Śaiva ascetic Sadyaśivāchārya

originally resided. Āmardaka, which is the name of Kāla Bhairava, a form of Śiva was probably derived from a locality where Bhairava was worshipped. A sect of Śaiva ascetics, associated with the same locality is known from the Haddal (Saurashtra) plates. Apparently the same place is mentioned as Āmardaka-tīrtha in the Rajorgadh inscription. The name of a Śaiva ascetic is given as Āmardaka-tīrthanātha in a record from Ranod. It is not possible to determine the exact location of Āmardaka in the present state of our insufficient information."¹²

The above extract is quoted from the article on the Sēnakapāṭ inscription edited by M.G. Dikshit and D.C. Sircar. In this passage all the earlier references to Āmardaka have been quoted. But none of them has helped to identify Āmardaka. At last the authors have expressed their inability to identify the place, and yet Dikshit is opposed to the identification of Āmardaka with Aundha Nagnath as suggested by us.

If the identification of Āmardaka is attempted on the basis of its meaning as Kāla-Bhairva, no definite place could be shown, because Kāla-Bhairva temples are found all over the country. If the findspot of the inscription is taken as the only criterion to solve the problem, then also the same difficulty occurs as the findspots of the inscriptions referred to above are spread over in Gujarat, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra. Therefore the identification of Āmardaka with Aundha Nagnath is the only alter-

native. The following points would further confirm this view.

1) The search for Āmardaka in Gujarat, Rajasthan or Madhya Pradesh (near Gwalior) will not yield any result. Because the *Padma-Purāṇa* refers to Āmardaka as a flourishing city in the Dakṣiṇa-deśa.¹³ The findspots of all the inscriptions referred to above (except Maharashtra) are beyond the limit of Dakṣiṇa-deśa. The place, therefore, will have to be located to the south of the Narmadā.

2) While locating an inscriptional place in the absence of its geographical position, such as boundary villages etc., its present namesake in the vicinity of the findspot of the inscription is taken to be its possible modern representative. No such place was found in the vicinities of the inscriptions referred to above while two inscriptions mentioning the place-name Āmardakapura were found in the vicinity of Aundha Nagnath.¹⁴

3) Old Marāṭhī works such as the *Riddhipura-māhātmya*,¹⁵ the *Nanditaṭasthala-māhātmya*¹⁶ and the *Āmardaka-sthala-māhātmya*¹⁷ refer to Aundha as Āmardaka and as the seat of Nāgēśa, one of the twelve *Jyōtirliṅgas* of Śiva.

4) The inscriptions quoted by Dikshit indirectly support the identification of Āmardaka with Aundha. The Ranod inscription refers to it as a *tīrtha* and the *Āmardaka-sthala-māhātmya* confirms it. The Sēnakapāṭ inscription calls the place as a penance grove. The *Riddhipura-māhātmya* mentions it as Āmardaka-tapōvana.

All these inscriptions indicate its association with the Śaiva sect. It is still one of the seats of the twelve *Jyōtirliṅgas* of Śiva.

5) Except Aundha Nagnath, no place is known so far claiming Āmardaka as its traditional old name.

6) Āmardaka's identification with Aundha is strengthened by epigraphic evidences also. The Ardhapur inscription refers to Ballāla not only as *Āmardakapuravarēśvara* but also as *Nāgēśa-pādāmbhōjabhramara*.¹⁸ Here the association of Āmardaka with Nāgēśa is significant. A Yādava inscription from Rañjna near Aundha also refers to Āmardaka and the Nāgēśa temple at the place.¹⁹ The same record further states that Āmardaka was situated to the north of Rātañjana *i.e.*, Rañjna, the findspot of the inscription. Even now Aundha is to the north of Rañjna.

7) Haddal plates refer to Āmardaka as a *Santāna* of a Śaiva sect which probably owed its name to its original seat. The

followers of this sect were spread over in Gujarat, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh and hence probably the name occurs in inscriptions from these states. Such cases are not rare. For instance the Gaṇēshvāḍi inscription of Vikramāditya VI from Osmanabad district of Maharashtra mentions the followers of the *Parvatāvali-āmnāya* (a sub-sect of the Kālāmukha sect) the main seat of which was Śrīparvata *i.e.*, Śrīśailam in Andhra Pradesh.²⁰

8) Philologically also the identification suggested by us seems to be sound. Āmardaka probably had undergone dialectic changes in the following manner. Āmardaka-Āvandaka-Avandā-Avandhā.

9) Eminent Indologists and research scholars such as V. V. Mirashi²¹ and V. A. Kanole²² also have suggested the same identification.

Thus on the basis of traditional evidence, literary and epigraphic sources and factual evidence Āmardaka can satisfactorily be identified with Aundha-Nagnath only.

Notes:

1. Pohnerkar and Thosar, *Raṭṭa Vamshīya Ballāla Yāchū Ardhapur Shilalekh.*
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid* (Forward).
4. *El.*, XXXI, p. 35.
5. *IA.*, XII, p. 190.
6. *El.*, III, p. 263.
7. *Ibid.*, I, p. 352.
8. *IA.*, Vol. XII, p. 190.
9. *El.*, III, p. 263.
10. *Ibid.*, I, p. 352.

11. Pohnerkar and Thosar, *Op. Cit.*
12. *Et.*, XXXI, p. 35.
13. *Padma Purāṇa*, 182, *Gītā Māhatmya*, 8.
14. Pohnerkar and Thosar, *Op. Cit.*
15. Ritti and Shelke, *Inscriptions from Nanded district*, Preface by Shri V. A. Kanole, p. v.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*
18. Pohnerkar and Thosar, *Op. Cit.*
19. *Shodhamudra*, pp 47-59.
20. V. B. Kolte, Ganeshwadi Inscription, p. 61.
21. *The Geographical Encyclopaedia of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 17.
22. V. A. Kanole, *Op. Cit.*

12 BIHAR STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTIONS OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS

S. R. Goyal

Two inscriptions engraved on a broken red sandstone pillar, which was originally found in front of the northern gate of the old fort of Bihar, the headquarters of a sub-division of the same name in the Patna District (Bihar), are regarded as two parts of one inscription and are usually assigned to Skandagupta. The pillar appears to have been discovered by Ravenshaw and was subsequently removed and set up in reversed position, with its base in the air, and its submit in the ground a little to the west of the same gate where it was found, fallen, by General Cunninigham. In 1871 it was set up on a brick pedestal opposite the Bihar Court-House by A.M. Broadley, the then S.D.O. of Bihar, in the same inverted position. Eventually in 1927 it was brought to the Patna Museum where it now stands.

The inscriptions engraved on the pillar were first noticed by Ravenshaw in 1839.¹ In 1866 Rajendra Lal Mitra published his reading of their text with a lithograph from a baked clay impression made by Major C. Hollings.² In 1871 General Cunningham³ published his own lithograph. In 1888 Fleet edited and published them in *CII*, Vol. III, as two parts of one inscription;⁴ but at that time the last eight lines of the second inscription, visible in the lithographs of R.L. Mitra and Cunningham, were completely hidden and rendered inaccessible

by a wooden structure placed on the top (i.e. the proper bottom) of the pillar in order to connect it with the roof of a house which was built around it after it was set up on the brick pedestal opposite the Bihar Court-House. In the twentieth century these records have been commented upon by a number of scholars, including R. C. Majumdar, D. C. Sircar, S. V. Sohoni, P. L. Gupta and many others.

The inscriptions engraved on the pillar are much damaged but the extant portions prove that the view of Fleet and D. C. Sircar that they are two parts of one record is wrong. Fleet regarded them as two parts of the same record and assigned them to Skandagupta because he believed that while the genealogy given in the second part of the record concludes with Skandagupta, the first part which mentions Kumāragupta in line 3, refers to a place, apparently a village, *Skandaguptabāṭa*, in line 11. But in line 11 Fleet himself only read the letters - *ndaguptabāṭe*, the restoration of *Ska* - before them being only his conjecture. As later pointed out by R. C. Majumdar the extant portion of this word is actually *ndraguptabāṭa* which may be restored as Chandraguptabāṭa or Indraguptabāṭa. Thus there is nothing in this part of the record which may be associated with Skandagupta. As regards the second part, its genealogical

portion after the name of Kumāragupta I is very much damaged. Fleet conjecturally restored this portion by inserting the name of Skandagupta and attributed the inscription to him. But, as R. C. Majumdar has pointed out, the facsimile reproduced by Fleet clearly shows that what he had read as *nda* to restore the name of Skandagupta, is actually *ru*.¹² This reading is supported by the plate published by R. L. Mitra which not only shows that letter in question is clearly *ru* but also reproduced the preceding letter. R. L. Mitra read it as *pta*; but it can easily be read as *pu*. The medial *u* is clear in Fleet's facsimile also. Thus it is almost certain that the name of the son of Kumāragupta I in the inscription is *Puru* and not *Skanda*. D. C. Sircar, B. P. Sinha and many others have accepted the conclusion of Majumdar. 1975.

Thus it would appear that while the first of these records mentions Kumāragupta and does not refer to anything which may be associated with his successors, the genealogy given in the second record goes atleast upto Purugupta. It strongly suggests that these are two different inscriptions, written at different times, and not two parts of the same document. The point is further proved by the facts that (i) the records are separated from each other by two vertical lines; (ii) the first record was engraved over four of the faces of the pillar, as is shown by the metres of the extant portion, while the second inscription was written over three faces, as is shown by the number of letters

lost in each line; (iii) the second record commences with the genealogy of the Guptas which would be inexplicable if it is regarded as the continuation of the grant mentioned in the preceding line which is the concluding line of the first record; and lastly (iv) the nature and object of both the records are different. The first refers to some donations made by a certain Anantasēna (*Anantasēnēna*) while the second records the gift made by the emperor himself at the request of a person whose name ended in *-varman* (line 31).

The conclusion that the two parts of the so-called Bihar pillar inscription of Skandagupta are actually two separate documents, makes it comparatively easier to understand the purport of their damaged portions and to identify the Kumāragupta of the first record. The legible portion of the concluding line (*viz.* line 13) of the first record refers to Anantasēna, an *agrahāra* and 3 shares, probably of the donated land (*agrahārē aṁśāni 3 Anantasēnēna*). The fact that the name of Anantasēna occurs in the third case ending shows that he was in some way responsible for this donation. Line 12 appears to explain his motive. Its legible portion, as given by Fleet and Sircar, reads: *pituḥ sva-mātur = yyady = asti hi dushkṛitam bhajatu tānē* meaning 'if there be any misdeed on the part of (*his*) father (*or*) his mother, let him share'. But a reference to the bad deeds of one's own parents is unthinkable. However, in this line R. L. Mitra had read *sukutam* instead

of *dushkṛitam* and *tatrē* instead of *tānē*; the first word may therefore really be *sukṛitam*. *Bhajatu* may obviously be corrected as *bhavatu*. Thus the reading of the extant portion of this line might have been like this: *pituh̄ sva-mātur = yyady = asti hi sukṛitam bhavatu tatrē*. It is far more meaningful and sensible.

In lines 4 to 11 occurs the description of the pious deeds of some one whose name was obviously mentioned in line 10 for the extant portion of verse 10 given in this line (*yūp-ōchchhrayam-ēva chakkrē*) involves a reference to a proper name standing for the subject in the sentence. It appears that it was he who offered oblations to the deceased ancestors and gods mentioned in line 4 (*pitṛīnscha devāms̄-cha hi havya-kavyaiḥ*); 'caused to be made a group of temples, (not rivalled) by anything else that could be compared with in the world' mentioned in line⁵ (*achikarad-dēvanikēta-maṇḍalam̄ kshitāv-anaupamya*); and erected a column mentioned in line 6 (*stambha-var-ōchchhrāyā*). Line 7 refers to the 'groups of fig-trees and castor-oil plants, the tops of which are bent down by the weight of (their) flowers (*Kusuma-bhar-ānat-āgra-suṅga-vyā-lamba-stavaka*). They were apparently situated in the temples mentioned in line 5. One of these temples belonged to the goddess Bhadrāryyā, as is apparent from line 8 (*Bhadrāryyayā bhāti gṛiham̄*). The line 9 refers to the god Skanda and the divine mothers (*Skanda-pradhānair-bhuvi mātṛibhis̄-cha*). In the verses 10 and 11 the poet has probably once again collectively referred to the construction of all

these temples of the goddess Bhadrāryyā and others (*Bhadrāryy-ādi*) and of the pillar (*here called yūpa*) in the village the extant portion of the name of which reads *ndraguptabāṭa*. The name of the village is followed by a reference to 35 shares of something.

From the above discussion it is apparent that a certain person, whose name has been lost in the damaged portion of verse 10, raised a pillar (almost certainly identical with the pillar on which the inscription is engraved) and constructed some temples of Bhadrāryyā and others and gave some donations to them. The word *yūpa* is significant, for it suggests the performance of some sort of sacrifice. In this connection the *yūpa* pillar inscriptions found at Badava, Nandasa, Barnala, Nagara etc. may be recalled. The identity of this person is not definitely known, but most likely he was no other than Anantasēna mentioned in line 13. It is indicated not only by the fact that he was apparently associated with the donation of the *agrahāre* mentioned in the same line, but also by another consideration. The first three verses of this inscription apparently describe the builder of the temples and the *yūpa*. S.V. Sohoni believes that these opening verses are presumably devoted to Samudragupta, Chandpagupta and Kumāragupta I respectively. But that is not likely. The first verse refers to somebody who is described as 'a very moon of a man; equal in prowess to (the god Vishṇu) the younger brother of Indra; unequalled in respect of virtuous qualities' (*nṛi-chandra*

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Indrānuja-tulya-vīryō guṇair=atulyaiḥ). This may or may not be a description of Samudragupta. But the second verse cannot at all refer to Chandragupta II, for its subject, who was a son of the person mentioned in verse 1, is described as 'docile towards (*his*) master on the earth' (*bhuvī svāmi-nēyaḥ*). Apparently he was in the service of somebody, probably the emperor. Verse 3 also does not describe Kumāragupta I, though it mentions him as the husband of the sister of some one, who is the subject of this description. Now from the Nalanda seal of Kumāragupta II etc., we learn that the name of the *Mahādēvī* of Kumāragupta I was Anantadēvī. We also know that in the Gupta age sisters were usually named after their brothers. In view of these facts what is more natural than to suggest (as we did about 14 years ago) that Mahādēvī Anantadēvī was the sister of Anantasēna of this record? It is therefore quite likely that verse 5 of this record refers to Anantasēna, the brother-in-law of Kumāragupta I, while verse 2 contains either his own eulogy or that of his father and verse 1 that of his father or grandfather.

The above discussion makes the purport of the whole inscription clear—its first two verses describe the father (and probably also grandfather) of Anantasēna. In verse 3 he is himself introduced as the brother-in-law of Kumāragupta I. Then follows the description (verses 2 to 10) of the construction by him of a pillar and several temples of Bhadrāryyā

and others and in the concluding lines reference is made to his donations for the said temples in the village, the extant portion of the name of which reads *ndraguptabāṭa*.

Here it may be noted that the occurrence of the name of the brother-in-law of Kumāragupta I should be regarded as conclusive proof of the fact that king Kumāragupta of this record is Kumāragupta I, of the Bhitari seal as suggested by P. L. Gupta. As the second inscription engraved on this pillar belongs to the reign of Purugupta himself (see below) the Kumāragupta of the first record can hardly be identified with Kumāragupta II, the grandson of Purugupta. The facts that Kumāragupta I was interested in the worship of Kārttikēya and this inscription refers to the Lord Skanda, also give additional strength to our suggestion.

As regards the second inscription engraved on this pillar, its first ten lines (lines 14-23) give Gupta genealogy upto Purugupta. As suggested by D. C. Sircar, they probably represent the seal of the original charter which has been copied on the pillar. But this genealogy is not without some interest. Though in these lines Purugupta has been mentioned as the successor of Kumāragupta I, yet it does not give the name of his mother; what is more, its damaged portion does not have sufficient space to contain her name. This fact is extremely inconvenient to those scholars, such as P. L. Gupta, who assign this record to Purugupta and yet argue that Skandagupta did not have

legitimate claim to the ancestral throne because his mother is not mentioned in the genealogy of his Bhitari pillar inscription.⁵

P. L. Gupta and S. V. Sohoni argue that the genealogy of this record did not end with the mention of Purugupta in line 23, but continued further, for in the end of line 24 the occurrence of the word *paramabhāgavata* suggests that the description of genealogy was continued for a generation more after him. On the strength of this conviction P. L. Gupta has attributed this record to Budhagupta while Sohoni assigns it to Narasimhagupta. But they have overlooked the fact that in line 23 the name of Purugupta occurs in the nominative case (the *visarga* occurring at the end of the line may be clearly read) while it should have been declined in the genitive singular if the genealogy was continued after him. Therefore it is better to assume as Sircar did that in lines 24 and 25 the name and titles of Purugupta are repeated because it was he by whose order the grant was issued.

The details of the grant made by

Purugupta are given in the subsequent lines (25-33). Unfortunately this portion of the inscription is very much damaged. However, it is obvious that the grant was made according to *akshayanivi* tenure (line 26) in favour of the shrine where Bhadrāryyā was worshipped. The reference to Bhadrāryyā in both these records should not be taken as a proof in favour of the view that both these records refer to the same grant. As the pillar was originally erected in the temple of Bhadrāryyā during the reign of Kumāragupta I, it was but natural that another grant made to the same shrine during the reign of Purugupta was engraved on it. This time the grant was made at the request of a certain person whose name ended in *varman* (line 31); from line 31 begins the petition of this person in which a reference is made to his grandfather (*mama pitāmahēna*), the temple of Bhadrāryyā and a certain Bhaṭṭa Guhilasvāmin (line 32). But as this portion is very much damaged and nothing is extant after line 33, the exact significance of these references is not clear.

Notes :

1. *JBAS.*, VIII, pp. 347 ff.
2. *Ibid.*, XXXV, pp. 269 ff. and 277 f.
3. *ASI.*, I, pp. 37 f. and Plate xvii.
4. *CIH*, III, pp. 47 ff. and Plate.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 52 ff. and Plate.

This unique designation of the post held by *Mahāsāmanta* Vijayasēna occurs in the Gunaighar grant of Vainyagupta (Gupta era 188) which was brought to the notice of scholars first by Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya along with the text of the plate and its translation.¹ The relevant lines in which the term *pāṭy-uparika* occurs along with other designations of the posts held by Vijayasēna run as follows:

.. *dūtakēna mahāpratihāra-mahāpilu-
pati-pañchādhikaraṇōparika-pāṭyuparika ...
purapālōparika mahārāja-Śrī-mahāsāmanta
Vijayasēnēn= aītaḍ²*

Out of these official titles of distinction, the titles *pañchādhikaraṇōparika* and *pāṭyuparika* are considered by Bhattacharya as two and new.³ He, however, interpreted the whole clause as one designation and rendered the title(s) as 'President of a Board of five (District) Court-Judges.'⁴ This interpretation as also the meaning of *pāṭyuparika* ('Court Judges') suggested by the editor seem to be incorrect for, if the titles were meant to be interpreted as one phrase there was no need for the repetition of the suffix *uparika* twice. Secondly, his interpreting the term *adhikaraṇa* once in the sense of a board and again as a district is also far from satisfactory.

Coming to the interpretation of the term *pāṭyuparika* as 'Court judges' or the

'Law court officer' as suggested by Bhattacharya, when we consider the prefix *pāṭi*, which is really somehow a new term in the whole title (because the suffix *uparika* is already well known) we do not agree with the suggestion made by the scholar. One really wonders how Bhattacharya, even though well aware of the fact that the title is somewhat new, took it to mean 'President of court-judges' without explaining the strange word *pāṭi* which, to the best of our understanding, has hardly any connection with the court of law.

Later on D.C. Sircar, after including the same record in his selections, paid attention to this term and interpreted it as the 'chief officer (*uparika*) of the accounts department' taking the meaning of the word *pāṭi* as arithmetic.⁵

The same interpretation has also been incorporated in the revised and enlarged edition of the Sanskrit-English Dictionary of Apte, with a reference to Bhattacharya's paper from the pages of *Indian Historical Quarterly*⁶ rather than to that of Sircar.⁷ In support of the term *pāṭi* being used in the sense of Arithmetic the Dictionary has also cited the references from a text called *Lilāvati* and the commentary thereupon which explains that *pāṭi* is the name for the modes (*krama*) like plus, minus or multiplication etc., through which the theorems of arithmetic are worked

out.⁹ In other words *pāṭī* is the term for the arrangement which helps in putting the objects into their desired sequences (i. e. *krama*) either in plus or minus or in multiplied forms, etc. Even a simple counting (*gaṇanā*) of something may also be included within the purview of this word and that counting may not invariably be that of accounts only. It may differ depending upon the context.

Besides the references cited above and interpretations based on them no other support, epigraphical or literary, is cited by Bhattacharya or Sircar. It is very interesting to note that in the *Harshacharitam* we have reference to the term *pāṭīpati* more or less in the same sense as in the copper plate record. Bāṇa, while describing the military camp of Harsha, which was preparing to march forward, says that in order to make a move the military 'Commanders (*balādhikṛita*) have mustered the crowds of barrack Superintendents'⁹ (*balādhikṛita badhyāmana-pāṭī-peṭake*).¹⁰ Śaṅkara in his commentary on the text has explained the word *pāṭī* as *bahu-parivāra-purusha-gṛihītō nivāsa-bhūbhāgaḥ* or as a *Kula-putraka-samūhaḥ* i. e., *pāṭī* is either the residential compartment of *parivāra-purushas* or that of *Kula-putrakas*.¹¹ This whole clause, probably on the basis of the the commentary of Śaṅkara, has been translated by Cowell¹² as 'the crowd (or a group) of barrack superintendents' which means that the *pāṭīpatis* of Bāṇa were the military officers who were in charge of the barracks of soldiers like the present day company commanders or the commanding officers of the battalions.

This interpretation as well as the translation of it has also been accepted by Kane¹³ and V.S. Agrawala.¹⁴ In fact Agrawala, while considering the term *pāṭīpati* of *Harshacharitam*, has also taken into account the *pāṭyuparika* of our copper-plate and concluded that 'in both the places the term *pāṭī* has been used in the sense of a military barrack whose officers-in-charge were called *pāṭīpati* or *pāṭyuparika*'.¹⁵

Thus, from the above it is clear that *pāṭyuparikas* were neither the court-judges as supposed by Bhattacharya nor was the term *pāṭī* rigidly used only in the sense of arithmetic or accounts. Thus, according to the context it has other connotations as well and the context in which Bāṇa has used it is nearer to the context in which it is used in the copper-plate charter under reference too. The proximity of the dates of the record and that of Bāṇa adds weight to this hypothesis.

Now, before proceeding further it would be necessary on our part to review the interpretations of the term *pāṭīpati* of Bāṇa as given by Śaṅkara, Cowell, Kane and Agrawala as all of them have suggested it to be the title of a 'Barrack Superintendent.' The doubt, which may be raised in this regard is: how the word *pāṭī* is supposed to mean a 'barrack of military soldiers', since the idea is not supported by the literal meaning of the term which, as we have seen before, provides the meaning related more to the mode of counting, its sequence or any other arrangement of the type.

However, the idea of counting something or its sequence etc., can hardly be ignored. Therefore, it seems more possible that the term *pāṭipati* was used as a title of those military officers who were commanding the battalions and whose main job, at the time when soldiers were asked to fall in, was to have their roll-calls taken. Since, at the time of the roll-call, all the soldiers (*i. e.* their group, *samūhapēṭaka*) stand in a desired sequence (*krama*) one after another which facilitates their counting (*i. e.* *pāṭi* or *gaṇanā*), the master (*pati*) or the superintendent in charge (*uparika*) would have rightly been designated as *pāṭyuparika*. The need for having information about the exact number of soldiers present in the army of the king would have certainly given a high status to this post. This is also the reason why Bāṇa has placed them next to *balādhikṛita*.

It may be noted that *pāṭyuparika* is found along with the other officials such as *Mahārāja* and *Mahāsāmanta*. Here Vijayasēna, besides being addressed as *Mahārāja*, *Mahāsāmanta* and *Pāṭyuparika* is also called *Mahāpratihāra* (*i. e.* chief of the door-keepers of the king's chamber, royal palace or the capital city),¹⁰ *Mahāpilupati* (the master of elephants), *Pañchādhi-karaṇōparika* (*i. e.* head of five administrative officers or departments) and *Purapālōparika* (*i. e.* chief amongst the governors of cities), etc. The title *pāṭyuparika* is placed before *purapālōparika* which is further followed by the titles of *Mahārāja* and *Mahāsāmanta*. Though it is difficult,

as rightly doubted by Sircar,¹⁷ to say whether the different posts were held by Vijayasēna at the same time or one after another, it may not be very difficult to say that the titles like that of *Mahārāja* and *Mahāsāmanta* he held, would have been conferred upon him when he was at the zenith of his career. In other words, once after assuming the titles of such a high order he would have certainly not been demoted to the rank of a *Mahāpratihāra* or a *Mahāpilupati*. Further, if the instances like that of a *yugarāja* becoming *Mahārāja* and *Mahārāja* in turn as *Mahārājādhiraja*, are any indication, it is also possible that all these different posts were held by Vijayasēna in succession, a possibility which cannot easily be ignored. In that case Vijayasēna would have begun his career from the humble post of *Mahāpratihāra*; then obtained the titles of *Mahāpilupati* and *Pañchādhi-karaṇōparika* and, after enjoying these posts successfully he would have been promoted the post of a *pāṭyuparika* which, in that case, should certainly be higher than his previous posts.

Now, after considering the martial nature of such jobs as *mahāpratihāra* and *mahāpilupati* as well as the high administrative status of an *uparika* who was in-charge of more than one *adhikaraṇa*, it seems somehow difficult to consider that he was entrusted with the post of a petty chief of the accounts department and that too with a strange title of *pāṭyuparika* which clearly is different from the already existing and better known titles like that of

Kōsādhyaksha, gaṇaka or *vyavahārapāla*, etc.

Therefore, in the light of the above arguments, it seems more possible that the title of *pāṭyuparika* was applicable to the designation of a military officer who was in-charge of the roll-call of the soldiers

of the army of the king and their numbers. The absence or the non-occurrence of such a title in the early records also suggests the ever growing number of the soldiers in the army of Indian kings and their feudatories which created the necessity of their roll-call parades and regular checks by counting their numbers, etc.

Notes :

1. *IHQ.*, Vol. VI, pp. 45-60 and plates.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 55, lines 15-16.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 50 and 58.
5. *Sel. Inss.* (1942). No. 37, p. 333, f. n. 7. Also see *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 343 and 358 (Delhi, 1965) where once with some probability and again with more confirmity Sircar has retained the same view about the interpretation of this term. As a ready reference, it also figures in his *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 243 (Delhi 1966).
6. *Op cit.*
7. Apte's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Vol. II. p. 1008, Poona, 1958.
8. *Ibid.*, see *Pāṭī nāma saṅkalita-vyavakalita-guṇana-bhājanādīnām kramah* and *tayā yuktaṁ gaṇitaṁ pāṭīgaṇitam*.
9. Cowell, *Harshacharita of Bana*, Ch. VII, p. 199.
10. *Harshacharitam*, with the commentary of Śaṅkara, p. 204 (N. S. edition, Bombay).
11. *Ibid.* Śaṅkara has also given a variant as *pāṭhipati* to the term which is not supported by others.
12. *Supra.*
13. *Harshacharita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa*, notes, p. 168 (Delhi 1973).
14. *Harshacharit, Ēk Sāmskṛitika Adhyayan*, pp. 143-44 (Patna, 1964)
15. *Ibid.* p. 144.
16. Sircar, *op. cit.*
17. *Ibid.*

14 SARKHEJ INSCRIPTION OF MUZAFFAR SHAH II

Z. A. Desai

I propose to invite the attention of scholars and historians through this paper to a short but extremely important new Nāgarī inscription from the premises of the Dargah of the great 14th-15th century saint Hadrat Shaikh Ahmad Khattu, situated at village Sarkhej which has now become almost part of the great city of Ahmadabad (Gujarat). The epigraph has remained unnoticed so far, though how it so far escaped the serious notice of the visitors to and scholars of the city as well as the officials of the State and Central Archaeological Departments, despite the fact that it occurs on an important building from this architecturally well-known and well-frequented group of monuments, is really surprising. It is not unlikely that the epigraph might have been known to local persons or to those connected atleast with these monuments. Even if it were so, apparently it was perhaps not deemed worthy of any serious attention or, being rather somewhat inaccessible, owing to its somewhat unusual prove ance, it was not very easy to obtain its rubbing. In any case, it was never described till it was listed in the *AREp*, for 1963-64 as No. B 101. Even then, surprisingly, its contents, which are, despite their brevity, quite important in their own way, as we shall presently see, have remained unknown to the fraternity of historians and scholars and not received the conside-

ration they otherwise deserve.

The above group of monuments centres round the splendid tomb of the Saint, which is the largest of its kind in Gujarat and perhaps India. The tomb to which a fine large stone mosque is attached, is believed to have been begun in 1445 A.D. by Sultan Muhammad Shāh II (1442-1451 A. D.) and completed in the reign of his son and successor Qutbud-Din Ahmad Shāh II (1451-58 A.D.). The mosque is also belived to have been built about the same time as the tomb, though its erection is traditionally ascribed to the saint himself. It is also generally believed and, it may be stressed, also accepted by scholars, historians and writers on the history of Gujarat like Manikshah Shapurshah Commissariat, Ratnamanirao Bhimrao Jote and others that, at a latter date, Sarkhej having become a favourite resort of the great Sultan Mahmud Shāh I, popularly known as Mahmud Shāh Begaḍa (1458-1511 A.D.), the latter excavated the great tank, and erected on its sides a magnificent palace and a mausoleum for himself, 'completing the noble group of monuments which have given to this spot so prominent a place for so many centuries in the history of Gujarat' and which still attracts thousands of visitors all round the year. On the other hand, according to Ali Muhammad Khān (*Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Baroda, 1930, p.34; *ibid.*, Eng. tr. Syed Nawab Ali and Charles

Norman Seddon, Baroda, 1928, p.337), the excavation of the tank also took place along with the Saint's tomb and the mosque. Both these views are erroneous according to the epigraph which is the subject of my paper.

The epigraph is incised not on any independent tablet as is usually the case, but it occurs on stone-masonry in the southern face of that portion of the stone bank-wall of the tank on its entire northern side (forming the plinth of the Great Mosque and the Royal Mausoleums) which extends further to the west, terminated by the wide flight of stairs provided for reaching the water, on the other side of which is the three-hole sluice or water inlet, ornamented in the typical Gujarat style of tank-sluices. It is on one of the blocks of stone used in the masonry of this tank-bank platform-wall extension between the mosque and the flight of stairs which is engraved with the record under notice.

The inscription is written in *Nāgarī* characters and the language is Gujarātī prose. It comprises five lines of writing occupying a space of 48 by 21 cms and is thus quite brief. But despite its brevity, the text furnishes quite an interesting piece of information on more than one count, to wit, it gives the name of the tank, its length and breadth in *gaj*, the length of its water-source-channel, the date of its construction, the name of the reigning monarch and the total cost in *ṭāṅkas*.

This inscription is dated in V.S. 1571, Mahā su di 5 corresponding to 1514 A.D., January 31. Thus, according to this, the

tank was built by Sultan Muzaffar Shāh II, son and successor of Sultan Mahmud Shāh Begaḍa, about two years and 2 months and a few days after the death of the latter which took place on 23rd November, 1511 A.D. This clearly invalidates the generally accepted belief that the tank was built by Sultan Mahmud Shāh Begaḍa. It may, however, be argued that while the inscription thus gives a date later than the generally accepted date of construction of the tank and assigns it to Mahmud Begaḍa's successor rather than to him, it does not make reference to or have a direct bearing on the other buildings viz. the tomb of the Saint, the Great Mosque, the Mausoleums of Mahmud Begaḍa and the queens, etc. As the inscription is engraved on a stone in the wall of the extended plinth of the mosque, it may be reasonably argued that the mosque, along with other buildings thereon, might have been erected earlier. This may or may not be correct as there is no authentic contemporary epigraph on any of the said buildings and even as to literary evidence, unfortunately, none of the quite a few historical works written during the Sultanate period has been published and as such it is difficult to say if any of them contained any definite information in this regard. The *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, written after the fall of the Sultanate, also does not directly refer to the construction, leave alone the authorship of the tomb of the Saint or the mosque attached to it, but from his account that Sultan Mahmud Begaḍa was buried in the Mausoleum which he had

caused to be built at the foot of the tomb of the saint,² it would appear that the complex comprising the mosque, the Saint's tomb and the Royal Mausoleum was already there before the inscription under notice was engraved. It may be noted that the *Mirat-i-Sikandarī* makes no mention, direct or indirect, of the construction of the tank as such. It is only in the 18th century work *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* that we find reference to the starting of the excavation of the tank along with the mosque and the tomb of the Saint by Muhammad Shāh II and their completion by his son and successor Qutbud-Din Ahmad Shāh I. Our inscription clearly ascribes the construction of the tank to Muzaffar Shāh II and there is no apparent reason to challenge or disbelieve its evidence. But judging from the high plinth and style of the group of buildings on its bank, one is inclined to feel that there must have existed a tank or a tank-like depression there earlier, which was properly excavated and lined with stone masonry all along in the reign of Muzaffar Shāh. It is also possible that the work was initiated in the time of or ordered by Mahmud Begaḍa but it would have been carried to completion by his son and successor. However, the epigraph under notice is quite silent on this point. Moreover, the possibility of some buildings in the complex or portions thereof having been also constructed at the later date—in the time of Muzaffar Shāh—cannot be ruled out.

In any case, it will be agreed that

the inscription is undoubtedly important in furnishing authentic evidence about the date of the tank. It may perhaps be worthwhile to recall here the fact that the generally accepted belief that the Jami Mosque of Champaner was built by Mahmud Begaḍa is also now proved to be incorrect by its inscription which assigns its erection to Muzaffar Shāh.³

The epigraph also gives the name of the tank. It was intended to be called Ahmadsar, a name absolutely unknown almost till this day. It may again be noted that from whatever few inscriptions have been found in Gujarāt-Rājasthān in which the names of tanks are given, it appears that they were named after the Prophet of Islam whose name was Ahmad-i-Mustafa *i.e.*, Ahmad, the Chosen One.⁴ For example, a record from Naraina in Jaipur District of Rājasthān, recording the excavation of a tank by Mujahid Khān of the Nagau line of rulers—collaterals of the Sultān of Gujarāt—in A.H. 848 (1444 A. D.) calls it Mustafasar.⁵ Likewise, the tank to the immediate west of the tomb of the famous saint Shāh Alam in Ahmadābād itself excavated a few years later than the Sarkhej tank in A.H. 93 (1531-32 A.D.) was also intended to be called Mustafasar according to the epigraph from the saint's tomb.⁶ In the present case, the name Ahmadsar seems to have been suggested for the tank on the additional consideration that the saint whose tomb was situated on its bank bringing eternal fame to the place also bore the name Ahmad.

TEXT

- 1 Ṭalāv Ahamadsar bāju uttar dashīṇ gaj 422
- 2 .. bāju talāvani pūrab paśchim gaj 271 saḥī
- 3 .. bāju talāvani Amad (?) dashaṇ gaj 449 ḥ saḥī
- 4 Saṁvat 1571 varashē Māhā su di paṁchamī...sulatān
- 5 Madāpharsāē baṁdhāpu ṭaṁkā lākha 900000 junā saḥī

The word-by-word translation of this record is as under:—

- (1) The Tank (named) Ahmadsar: Its North-South side (is) 422 *gaj*
- (2) And the East-West side of the Tank (is) 271 *gaj* which is correct
- (3) And the side comprising the inlet-channel on the south (is) 449 *gaj* which is correct
- (4) On Saṁvat Year 1571, Māhā Su di 5 ... Sultan Madapharsa (Muzaffar Shah) built (this Tank), (at the cost of) *ṭaṅka* (nine) Lacs 900000, old currency, which is correct.

Notes :

1. M. S. Commissariat, *History of Gujarat*, Vol. I (Bombay, 1938), pp 132-33, 235-37 ; R. B. Jote, *Gujarāt-no-Sānskṛitā Itihās*, part 2 (Ahmadabad, 1968), p. 668; R. C. Parikh and H. G. Shastri, Ed. *Gujarāt-no-Rajakīya āṇe Sānskṛitik Itihās* (Ahmadabad, 1977), p. 451. For a detailed description of the Sarkhej buildings, see James Burgess, *The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad*, Part I (London, 1900), pp. 46-51.
2. Sikandar bin Manjhu, *Mīrat-i-Sikandarī* (Baroda, 1961), p 150. See also Sir Edward Clive Bayley, *The Local Muhammadan Dynasties—Gujarat* (Reprint, Delhi, 1970), p. 227, also p. 91, note.
3. *Ep. Indo. Mos.*, 1937-38, p. 16.
4. But in an inscription dated A.H. 861 (1457 A.D.) a tank near Daulatābād in Aurangabad district of Maharashtra is called after the name of the Saint Shaik Zainud-Din Shirazi, as Zainsar.
5. *Ibid.*, 1923-24, p. 20.
6. Commissariat, *op. cit.*, p. 211; *AREp.*, 1967-68, No. D 179. The date of the epigraph is wrongly given as A.H. 888 (1483 A. D.) in M. A. Chāghtai, *Muslim Monuments of Ahmadabad* (Poona, 1842), pp. 64-65.
7. Jote, *op. cit.*, p. 668. These measurements are taken from Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

As is known well a good number of the coins belonging to the Sātvāhana dynasty were discovered in the Deccan as also in the coastal region of Andhra Pradesh. Many of these coins have been illustrated and discussed elaborately by eminent scholars.

The coins under study were collected by me near the mound, locally known as *pāṭimaṭṭi dibba*, opposite to the Nāgēś-varasvāmi temple at Chēbrōlu (Guntur District, A.P.). All the three coins are of lead.

COIN I: This is round in shape with a diameter of 2.1 cm. The weight is about 7 gms. On the obverse it contains the figure of a ship with two masts. Below the ship are the figures of a fish and a conch. The wavy line which can be seen below the ship represents the sea. The legend is engraved along the periphery of the coin, and though the letters are much worn out, it can be read as follows:

ñō samisa Sa(si) ri Ya

On the reverse, the coin contains the usual Ujjain symbol with four pellets. A *svastika* mark is observed in one of the pellets of the symbol. A crescent is also seen at the left corner of the coin.

It is already known that among the Sātavāhana kings, Pulumāvi II, and Gōtamīputra Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi issued the ship type coins. In the light of this, the

complete legend on the coin in question may be taken to read as follows:

Raṅō samisa siri Yaña Sātakaṇisa

Five coins of this type belonging to Yajña Sātakarṇi have been discovered, three in Krishna District¹ and one from Chēbrōlu² itself and the other one from Pune³ (Mahārāshṭra). The coin under study is thus the second to be discovered in Guntur District. As has already been suggested elsewhere⁴ the ship type coins attest to the maritime activities of the Sātavāhana kings.

COIN II: This is also round in shape with a diameter of 1.2 mm. The weight of the coin is about 5.5 gms. On the obverse it has a hill with six arches and a wavy line below it representing the sea. Two *svastika* marks can be seen on either side of the hill. The legend is engraved along the periphery of the coin. Though the letters are much eroded it may be read as:

Raṅō Ga (Gō)tama (mī) puta Ya

The writing subsequent to the letter *ya* is defaced and illegible.

On the reverse of the coin the Ujjain symbol can be seen. In one of its pellets a miniature *svastika* is depicted. This can also be attributed to Gōtamīputra Yajña-Sātakarṇi.

COIN III: This is the smallest of the present collection. This is oval in shape.

The weight of the coin is 23 gms. On the obverse of the coin is an elephant facing left with the trunk, which is slightly bent at the end, hanging. The legend is engraved along the periphery of the coin. The letters, especially the top portion of the first two, are much worn out. The legend may be read as :

[si] r [i] Sa

As is well known, a good number of coins of this type assigned to Śrī Sātakar are already discovered and discussed in the numismatic journals. As such this coin also can be assigned to the same king.

Notes :

1. *Bulletin of Madras Govt. Museum*, Vol. VII, No. 2 (1959).
2. *Studies in Indology*, Vol. III, pp. 18 ff., pl. 1, No. 15.
3. *JNSI.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 174, pl. X, No. 1.
4. *Coinage of the Sātavāhanas and Coins from Excavations* (1972), p. 38.

16 TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF THE
RATHODA BHARAMALLA, SAM. 1599

K. M. Bhadri

The two inscriptions (A and B) edited here with the kind permission of the Chief Epigraphist were copied by me in January 1977.

The inscription A is engraved on a rectangular marble stone fixed to the west wall of the pond (kuṇḍa) in the village Sābli, Idar Taluk, Sabarkantha District Gujarat, and B, on a similar stone fixed to the left wall of the step-well (vāv) in the village Sābalwāḍa of the same Taluk.

Record A consists of 12 lines of writing and B 6 lines. The writing of both the records is well-preserved. The characters of the records are late Nāgarī and the languages are Sanskrit and Gujarātī. In the first half of the record A, after the benediction, date and introduction, the object is written in Gujarātī. The second half, which repeats the same object, is in Sanskrit and contains four verses in the *upajāti* metre. Record B gives its purport only in Gujarātī while the rest of the text is in Sanskrit.

Record A is dated in Saṁvat 1599, Uttarāyaṇa, śiśira-ṛitu, Māgha śu. 5, Budhāvāsara regularly corresponding to 1543 A. D., January 10 and B, in Saṁvat 1599, Vaiśākha ba. 7, Budhāvāsara, regularly corresponding to 1543 A. D., April 25. Thus we find that there is a time gap of three months and a half between the dates of

these two records.

Both the records belong to the reign of Rāṭhōḍa Bhāramalla, son of Bhīma, who is styled as *mahārājādhirāja* in both the records. In record A he is described as an ornament of the family of Bhānu (*Śrī-Bhānu-bhūpāla-kul-āvataṁsaḥ*) and as the son of Bhīma. Bhānu-bhūpāla, mentioned in this record, may refer to Rāo Bhāṇa, the grandfather of the king.¹

Both the records are historically important. The very fact that they present Bhāramalla as the ruling king, and that record A informs us that he conquered the Adhīla-durga, are important for the political history of Idar State. We know of another unpublished inscription² of this king which also belongs to the same year as the two records under discussion and states that Bhāramalla was the then ruling king. After the death of Sūryamalla, his son Rāimal ascended the throne of Idar. Since he was a minor his uncle Bhīma usurped the throne and Rāimal was forced to take refuge under *Mahārāṇā* Saṁgrāmasimha (Sāṁgā) of Chitōḍ. The *Mahārāṇā* not only protected Rāimal, but also gave his daughter to him in marriage.

In 1515 A. D. Bhīma died and was succeeded by his son Bhāramalla.³ In 1517 A. D. Sāṁgā sent his army to Idar

and set up Rāimal on the throne.⁴ Thereupon Bhāramalla sought the help of Muzaffar Shāh, the Sultan of Gujarāt, who sent an army under Nizām-ul-mulk, which expelled Rāimal from the throne of Idar and restored it to Bhāramalla. Soon after, *Mahārāṇā* Sāmgā attacked Idar and reinstated Rāimal in 1520⁵. Thus, we find that right from the beginning of his career Bhāramalla had to struggle hard to retain the throne of Idar for himself. He occupied it twice and on both the occasions he was expelled by *Mahārāṇā* Sāmgā. All the history books dealing with the medieval history of Gujarāt give the above information. But none of them seems to mention anything about the efforts made by Bhāramalla to regain the throne of Idar after he was dethroned for the second time in 1520 A. D. But the present records clearly prove that in 1543 A.D. Bhāramalla was ruling over Idar state. Both the records style him as *Mahārājādhirāja*, thereby leaving no doubt about his being the king. What is more important is that the record A expressly states that the king conquered the fort of Idar (*Adhila-durgam jagadēkaratnam Śrī-Bhāramallō jayati kshitīsaḥ*). Here the fort is referred to as Adhila-durga which is a transformed form of Ilā - durga i.e., the fort of Idar. The

name Ilā-durga as connoting the fort of Idar occurs in the *Ēkaliṅga-māhātmya*⁶ and in the inscription of the time of *Mahārāvala* Āsakarāṇa, dated in 1561 A. D.⁷ We are also informed that "it was an old practice among the writers of Sanskrit in Rajputāna to substitute *la* for *ra* and *ḍa*. Accordingly, the the word *Ila* is written for *Iḍa* and Ilā-durga for the fort of Iḍa or Iḍar."⁸

Thus the present inscriptions throw new light on the political history of Idar state. Bhāramalla succeeded in re-occupying the throne after conquering the fort of Idar. The circumstances which favoured him to regain the throne which he had lost twice, who were his supporters in this achievement and the actual date of this conquest are, however, not known at present. But by 1543 A. D., which is the date of the inscriptions under discussion and of the one referred to above, he was the prosperous king of Idar. The huge size and the impressive architecture of the *kuṇḍa* at Sābli and the *vāv* (step-well) at Sābalwāḍ, which were constructed by the two sisters of his queen and which are being used even to this day for irrigation and other purposes, bear testimony to his prosperity at the time of the present records.

INSCRIPTION A : TEXT⁹

- 1 Siddham!¹⁰ (11*) śrī-Mahāgaṇapatayē namaḥ || śrī-Kṛishṇō jayati || śrī-Narasimhō jayati ||
svasti śrīr=jayō maṅga-
- 2 lam=abhyuda[ya*]ś=cha || Samvat 1599 varshē | Uttarāyaṇa gatē śrī-Sūryē |
Śīśira-ṛitau | mahā-maṅgalya-

- 3 pradē Māgha-māsē । Śukla-pakshē Pañchamyām tithau । Budha-vāsarē ॥ Gōpāla-guṇa-
mahārājādhirāja-
- 4 mahārāya-śrī-Bhāramalla-mahārāṇī śrī-Jīvaṇi-vijaya-rājyē । mahārāṇī śrī-Jīvaṇinī
- 5 bahina sakala-guṇavatī । parama-pavitrī bāi-śrī-Kuari-nāma । tēṇi samasta-viśvanā upakā-
6 rani arthi ॥ ē kuṃḍa-paripūṇṇī pajāryū ॥ sahi ॥ śrīr = astu ॥ Kalyāṇam sadā bhūyāt ॥ śrīḥ ॥
- 7 śrī-Bhānu-bhūpāla-kul-āvatamsaḥ śrī-Bhīma-bhūpa-prabhavō vadānyaḥ । Adhīla-durgam
jagad-ēka-ratnam śrī -
- 8 Bhāramallō jayati kshitiśaḥ ॥ । [*] Yaśāmsi yasya kshiti¹ pāla-maulēr = ddigamta-
kēlī-kalan-ōdyatā -
- 9 ni । saptāpi = sapt-āśva-ruchēḥ payōdhīn taraṃty = ayatnēna padaṃ yathā gōḥ ॥
2 [*] Tasy = āvanī-maṃḍala-maṃḍana -
- 10 sya pratyarthi-bhūbhṛit-kula-khaṃḍanasya । vibhāti saumḍarya-sudhā[bdhī]-simā rājñī
priyā Jīvaṇi-nama -
- 11 dhēyā । [*] Vibhrājamānā vividhair = guṇ-aughaiḥ prapūrit-ās-āṛthi-jana-śva-dānaiḥ ।
akārayat = kuṃḍam = a
- 12 dō(hō) = nuj-āsyāḥ । śriyōttamaḥ Kūmari-nāmadhēyā ॥ 4 ॥

INSCRIPTION B: TEXT²

- 1 Siddham³ [*] Svasti śrīr = jjayō maṃgalam = abhyudayaś = cha ॥ śrī-Kṛishṇō
jayati ॥ Saṃva-
- 2 t 1599 varshē । Vaiśāsha-vadi 7 Budhē । Gōpāla-guṇa-mahārājādhirā -
- 3 ja-mahārāya-śrī-Bhāramalla-vijaya-rājyē । mahārāya-śrī-Bhāramallani
- 4 prāṇa-priyā । guṇavatī । mahārāṇī śrī-Jīvaṇi । bahanī mātā bāi-śrī -
- 5 Dhyārāṇī । tēṇi i । ē vāvi viśvanā upakārani arthi pa[ripū]rṇa[ni]
- 6 pajāvī ॥ śrīr = astu ॥ śubham = astu ॥

Notes .

1. *History of Rajputana*, Vol. III, Pt. I, pp. 74-75.
2. *Rāsa Māla*, ii, p. 365.
3. *Delhi Sultanate* (The History and Culture of the Indian People), Vol. VI, p. 157.

4. *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. V, p. 799.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *IA*, Vol. 25, p. 25, p. 12, n. 11.
7. *History of Rajputana*, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 72.
8. *IA*, Vol. 25, p. 12, n. 12.
9. From Impressions.
10. Expressed by a symbol.
11. The letter *ti* is engraved above the line.
12. Expressed by a symbol.

17 THE DATE OF THE MALHARA PLATES OF ADITYARAJA

Ajay Mitra Shastri

The Malhara copper-plate inscription of the Muṇḍa-putra chief Ādityarāja sheds wellcome light on the early history of the Vidarbha region of Maharashtra.¹ Unfortunately, however, it does not contain date in any well-known reckoning and consequently its date has to be determined on other grounds. In an earlier volume of this journal² we argued for the date of this charter and consequently for the Muṇḍa-putra rule in this area in the post-Vākāṭaka period. Convincing arguments were adduced in support of this contention and it was suggested that the Muṇḍa-putra chiefs ruled either in the period intervening between the termination of the reign of the Vishṇukunḍin ruler Mādhavavarman and the only known date of Svāmirāja, 573 A. D.,³ or in the gap between the last-mentioned date and the occupation of the Vidarbha region by the Chalukya emperor Pulakēśin II some time prior to 634 A. D.⁴

This view about the date of the Muṇḍa-putras does not find favour with V.V. Mirashi who, however, only reiterates his position that the Malhāra charter in question should be placed in the pre-Vākāṭaka period without trying to meet any of our arguments or citing any fresh evidence in support of this view. The main line of his argument only amounts to the assertion that there exists no

chronological gap between the known facts of the post-Vākāṭaka history of Vidarbha sufficient enough to accommodate the Muṇḍa-putra rule whereas there is an interval of about four decades between the termination of the Sātavāhana rule and the establishment of the Vākāṭaka power, c. 230-70 A. D., during which the Muṇḍa-putra chiefs can be easily accommodated.⁵ He has not taken note of any of our numerous objections against this contention and the problem now seems to be confined merely to the availability of a period covering a few decades enough to accommodate the Muṇḍa-putra rule. Anyway, let us try to see how far Mirashi's arguments against a post-Vākāṭaka date for the rule of the Muṇḍa-putras are borne out by the relevant evidence.

Mirashi first argues that there is actually not much of a gap between the cessation of the reign of Vishṇukunḍin Mādhavavarman and the date of Svāmirāja known from his Nagardhan plates dated 573 A. D. He believes that the reign of Mādhavavarman ended in 528 A. D. and that Vidarbha came under the Kaṭachchuri king of Māhishmatī, probably Kṛishṇarāja, by about 540 A. D., thus leaving a gap of just about 12 years which is too short to accommodate the reigns of the Muṇḍa-putra chiefs Rāshṭra-mahārāja, Rājakula-mahārāja and Ādityarāja.

But a close scrutiny of the available evidence shows that neither of these assumptions is convincing. After examining the evidence of the Vishṇukunḍin records we have convincingly shown elsewhere that the reign of Mādhavavarman came to an end not later than 518-519 A.D.⁹ And the Vishṇukunḍin occupation of Vidarbha appears to have terminated shortly after this date. There is absolutely no evidence to vouch for Mirashi's date, 528 A.D., for the cessation of Mādhavavarman's reign. Likewise, Mirashi has not adduced any dependable evidence in support of his opinion that the early Kalachuris annexed Vidarbha in c. 540 A.D. From the use of the expression *Kaṣṭachuriṇām* instead of the usual *Traikūṭakānām* at the beginning of the Matvan plates of the Traikūṭaka king Vikramasēna, dated (Kalachuri) 284 or 533 A.D.⁸, Mirashi concludes that about this date there occurred a political revolution in western Maharashtra including north Koṅkaṇa which was occupied by the Kalachuri king, probably Kṛishṇarāja, after defeating Vikramasēna.⁹ He surmises that after conquering western Maharashtra Kṛishṇarāja extended his power to Vidarbha which had no powerful ruler after Mādhavavarman's death in c. 528 A.D. This episode is placed approximately in 540 A.D. As evidences of the Kalachuri occupation of Vidarbha are cited the finds of Kṛishṇarāja's coins and the use of Kalachuri-Chēdi era in that area. This historical reconstruction is based on certain surmises and assumptions which

cannot stand scrutiny. Firstly, it is not necessary to assume that what happened in one part of the present state of Maharashtra must have happened in other parts also. Secondly, the death of Madhavavarman took place not later than 518-19 A.D., and not in 528 A.D. Thirdly, the assumption that there was no powerful ruler in Vidarbha after Mādhavavarman's demise takes for granted what has to be proved on evidence. Is this assumption not motivated simply by the eagerness to eliminate the possibility of the Muṇḍaputra rule in the post-Vākāṭaka period rather than being forced by evidence? When the discovery of innumerable Kshatrapa coins in Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh is not admitted as a proof of the Kshatrapa occupation of these areas,¹⁰ how can the find of a hoard of Kṛishṇarāja's silver coins at Dhamōri in the Amravati District and a couple of his coins at Pattan in the Betul District¹¹ be taken to prove his occupation of Vidarbha? The use of the Kalachuri-Chēdi era is also not conclusive and that, too, appertains a much later date, viz., 573 A.D. And even if, for the sake of argument, finds of these coins are taken as an evidence of the occupation of Vidarbha by the Kalachuris, they need not necessarily be taken as referring to the earlier years of Kṛishṇarāja's reign for it is known that the *Kṛishṇarāja-rūpakas* were current for well over one and a half centuries after the issuer's reign. It is, thus, apparent that we have a period of an almost total political blank covering

nearly half a century between the close of Mādhavavarman's rule and the only known date of Svāmīrāja which would suffice to accommodate the Muṇḍa-putra rule.

Similarly, it is argued by Mirashi that there is no real gap between Svāmīrāja and the Chalukya occupation of Vidarbha. It is pointed out that the early Kalachuris maintained their hold over Maharashtra up to c. 620 A.D. Attention is further invited to the Akōla and Multai plates of Rāshtrakūṭa Nannarāja Yuddhāsura, dated Śaka 615 (693 A.D.) and 631 (709 A.D.),¹² which mention three generations preceding him Nannarāja's recorded dates being 693 and 705 A.D., it is reasonably assumed that he probably ruled from c. 693 to c. 715 A.D. and that allowing two decades for each generation his great-grandfather Durgaraja may be placed in c. 630-650 A.D. Though Nannarāja makes no reference to his overlord, Mirashi conjectures on the ground of the employment of the Śaka era by him that his great-grandfather Durgarāja was placed in charge of the Vidarbha region by Pulakēśin II after defeating the Kalachuri king Buddharāja which event probably took place in c. 620 A.D. A close look at these conjectures, however, reveals that this reconstruction, like the previous one, is far from convincing. Firstly, while in western Maharashtra the Kalachuris might have maintained their precarious position till about 620 A.D., it does not automatically lead to the conclusion that the Vidarbha region also continued to be under

them or their feudatories. While there is a lot of inscriptional evidence to prove the Kalachuri presence in western Maharashtra till about that date such an evidence is altogether lacking in case of Vidarbha. Secondly, the use of a common era by itself as the basis for determining political relationship between ruling families is, to say the least, problematic. Thirdly, even if it is assumed on the basis of the common use of the Śaka era by the Bādāmi Chalukyas and the Rāshtrakūṭas of Vidarbha that the latter owed allegiance to the former, how can the employment of this era by Nannarāja Yuddhāsura be taken to prove that his great-grandfather Durgarāja was a subordinate of the Chalukyas? As at present, there is absolutely no evidence to prove the Chalukya occupation of Vidarbha before 634 A.D., the date of the Aihole *prasasti*. And even if we assume that Svāmīrāja continued to rule for a few years more after his only known date, we get nearly half a century between the close of Svāmīrāja's rule and the Chalukya occupation of Vidarbha which is sufficient enough for the rule of the two generations and part of the third generation of the Muṇḍa-putras.

It will follow from the above that there is a long period of approximately one full century following the cessation of the Vishṇukunḍin rule and preceding the establishment of the Chalukya power in Vidarbha with the interruption of only a few years of the rule of Svāmīrāja in the third quarter of the 6th century, which still forms dark a age in the history of the

Vidarbha region. It is precisely during this period that the Muṇḍa-putras flourished,

Mirashi next refers to the use of the regnal years in the Muṇḍa-putra grants which, according to him, cannot be explained if these chiefs flourished in the post-vākāṭaka period and is actually indicative of an early, pre-vākāṭaka, date for them. It is argued that 'regnal years are noticed in inscriptions when the different eras were not in vogue'. It is accordingly urged that if the Muṇḍa chiefs flourished after Svāmīrāja, like the latter they would have dated their records in the Ābhīra (*i.e.*, Kalachuri-Chēdi) era, and if they were placed in charge of Vidarbha by Pulakēśin II, they must have employed the Śaka era as the early Chalukyas did. And since they did neither of these and dated their records in regnal years, they flourished in an earlier period. Then again, as they cannot be placed during the Vākāṭaka age, they must be assigned to the pre-Vākāṭaka period.

We find it difficult to accept this line of argument. We know that the Vākāṭakas and the Vishṇukuṇḍins who followed them employed regnal years for dating their records. So, if the Muṇḍa-putras flourished after them, there was nothing unusual in the use by them of the years of their reigns for dating their inscriptions, for it was merely a continuation of the age-old practice. And even if they are to be assigned to the post-Svāmīrāja period, we should not necessarily expect them to date their records in the Kalachuri-Chēdi era. The Nagardhan plates of Svāmīrāja afford the solitary

instance of the use of this era in the Vidarbha region and do not in any way indicate that it had become popular in this area. Secondly, we have numerous instances of the continuation of the use of regnal years for dating records even after an era came to be known in a given area. To give only a couple of examples, the Hisse-Borala inscription of Vākāṭaka Dēvasēna is dated the Śaka era.¹³ But the records of the Vākāṭakas of the subsequent period continued to be dated in regnal years. Similarly, the Arang plates of Bhīmasēna II¹⁴ are dated in the Gupta era, but the ruling chiefs of South Kōsala who flourished after Bhīmasēna II continued to use their regnal years, evidently because such a practice had become well established in that region.¹⁵ The use of the Kalachuri-Chēdi era in the Nagardhan plates is only an isolated phenomenon in Vidarbha and it is not impossible that Svāmīrāja who used it originally hailed from an area where it was in popular use. And lastly, as admitted by Mirashi himself, the performance of the Aśvamēdha sacrifice is indicative of the sovereign status of the Muṇḍa-putras and as such the question of their being feudatories of the Bādāmi Chalukyas or, for that matter, of any other power, does not arise. The use of regnal years for dating, therefore, cannot be considered as an evidence for determining the date of the Malhara plates.

Mirashi further draws our attention to the fact that in North Koṅkara and

western Maharashtra the fall of the Sātavāhana power was followed by two political revolutions and thinks that the same must have been the case in Vidarbha. There is sufficient numismatic evidence to indicate that Vidarbha continued to form part of the Sātavāhana empire to the very last and that the collapse of the Sātavāhanas was followed by the rise of the Vākāṭakas. Mirashi, like other historians, held so far that the Vākāṭakas occupied Vidarbha in c. 250 A. D. and that the chief who achieved this feat was none other than Vindhyaśakti I.¹⁷ But he now feels that the discovery of the Malhāra plates makes a reconsideration of this view imperative. He argues that as Vindhyaśakti I is mentioned only in a single inscription, *i. e.*, Ajanta Cave (XVI) inscription of Varāhadēva,¹⁸ while other official Vākāṭaka records begin the genealogical account of the family with Pravarasēna I, the latter and not Vindhyaśakti I, should be treated as the founder of the Vākāṭaka kingdom in Vidarbha. Support for this contention is sought to be found in the dynastic account of the Purāṇas which refer to Vindhyaśakti's son (*Vindhyaśakti-suta*) Pravarasēna I (actually Pravira), and not Vindhyaśakti himself, 'as the founder of the Vākāṭaka kingdom of Vidarbha.'¹⁹ And as Pravarasēna I began to rule in c. 270 A. D., we get a period of about 40 years from c. 230 (fall of the Sātavāhanas) to c. 270 A. D., when the Muṇḍa-putras ruled.

These arguments are difficult to follow. First of all, is it necessary to

postulate two political revolutions in Vidarbha also simply because an identical number of political changes occurred in North Koṅkaṇa and Western Maharashtra? Secondly, when the date of the Malhāra grant itself is a point to be determined, how can the discovery of this record force a re-construction of the pre-Vākāṭaka history of Vidarbha? The Puranic evidence about the Vākāṭakas that is now cited has been available to historians for a long time. But simply because the Purāṇas refer to Vindhyaśakti's son Pravira or Pravarasēna and not to Vindhyaśakti himself, no historian ever thought of ignoring Vindhyaśakti and regarding his son Pravarasēna I as the first king of the dynasty. Even though Vindhyaśakti is mentioned only in one record while other Vākāṭaka inscriptions are silent about him, this alone need not force us to exclude him from the list of Vākāṭaka rulers just as we cannot ignore Gupta and Ghaṭōtkacha, the first two members of the Gupta dynasty, only because they are not named in most of the Gupta records. And all this unnecessary exercise only to find out a period of political vacuum in which a few rulers of rather uncertain date could be accommodated? If we were to literally interpret the Puranic evidence and give it precedence over all other evidence, we would be landing ourselves in unsurmountable difficulties. To take only the Puranic statement about the Vākāṭakas in question as an instance, it does not explicitly name the Vākāṭaka dynasty, refers to Pravarasēna I by an otherwise altogether

unknown name, Pravīra, does not mention Vidarbha as included in his kingdom and speaks of him as ruling over Purikā and Chanakā which were outside Vidarbha. We have therefore to be extremely careful while interpreting the Puranic evidence

and need not stretch it beyond proportion.

To sum up, the Muṇḍa-putras known from the Malhāra plates of Ādityarāja must be placed in the post-Vākāṭaka period. The arguments against a pre-Vākāṭaka date for them are too strong to be ignored.

Notes :

1. *Vidarbha Saṁśōdhana Maṇḍaḷa Vārshika*, 1974. pp. 139-144; 1975, pp. 1-17; *JIH*, Vol. LVI, pp. 1-13.
2. *JESI*, Vol. IV, pp. 30-41.
3. This is the date of his Nagardhan plates. See *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 8-10; *CII*, Vol. IV, pp. 615-16.
4. The famous Aihoḷe *praśasti* of Pulakēśin II is dated in this year.
5. *JESI*, V, pp. 1-9.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 21. Also see *Sri Mullāmpalli Somasekhara Sarma Commemoration Volume, JAHRS*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 165-68. This date is arrived at by treating the last recorded regnal year of each chief as the closing year of his reign and allowing only a period of ten years for the reign of Mādhavarman's son Vikramēndravarman I. The end of Mādhavarman's reign will have to be dated earlier if some allowance for the extension of the reigns after the last recorded years is made.
7. Mirashi altogether ignores the reign of Vikramēndravarman I even though he is styled *Rājan* and *Mahārāja* in the records of his successors. This date is motivated by the desire to make Mādhavarman and the Pāṇḍuvarṁśi king Tivaradēva contemporaries.
8. See Shobhana Gokhale in *Itihāsa āṇi Saṁskṛiti*, Vol. IX, pp. 5-11.
9. V. V. Mirashi, *Literary and Historical Studies in Indology*, pp. 125-28.
10. In case of Vidarbha it has been suggested that since the Vākāṭakas had no coins of their own, they allowed the Kshatrapa silver coins to circulate in their dominions. See *JESI*, V, p. 6.
11. For details about these finds see B. C. Jain, *Inventory of the Hoards and Finds of Coins and Seals from Madhya Pradesh*, Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 6, pp. 13-14, nos. 15-16.
12. *EI*, Vol. XXIX, p. 109; *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 230.
13. *EI*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 1 ff.
14. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 342 ff.
15. All the records of the Pāṇḍuvarṁśis of South Kōsala without a single exception are dated in regnal years. The same is true of the Sōmavarṁśi records.
16. The inscriptions of the Śarabhapuriyas, who flourished before the Pāṇḍuvarṁśis, also give dates in regnal years.

17. V. V. Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Vākāṅkas*, CII, Vol. V, pp. vi, xviii.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 107, text lines 1-5.
19. *Vindhyaśakti-sutaś = ch = āpi Pravīrō nāma vīryavān |*
bhōkshyatē cha samāsh = shashṭīm Purikām Chanakām cha vai ||
Yakshyate vājapēyaiś = cha samāpta-vara-dakṣiṇaiḥ |
tasya putrāś = cha chatvārō bhaviṣhyanti nar-ādhipāḥ ||

F. E. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 50.

This inscription,¹ the estampage of which is from the old collections of the office of the Chief Epigraphist, is stated to be engraved on a boulder to the south of the small Sītā temple on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā, opposite to the Kōdaṇḍa-rāmasvāmi temple at Hampi in Karnataka.

The inscribed slab, consisting of four lines of writing, measures about 130 cm long and 40 cm wide. The characters are Nāgari and each letter measures about 12 cm to 15 cm in height. The text of the inscription is composed in a single verse in *anushṭubh* metre in Sanskrit.

This epigraph is dated in Śaka 1436 (*ṛitv-agn-īmdra*) and the cyclic year Bhāva, corresponding to 1514-15 A.D.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Kṛishṇarāya who does not, however, receive any regal titles, nor is there mention of any territory. On the basis of the findspot of the record in question and also with the help of the Śrīraṅgam copper plate² which was issued in the same Śaka and cyclic years by the king Kṛishṇadēvarāya, the ruler mentioned in this record may

safely be identified with Kṛishṇadēvarāya of the aforesaid copper plate who ruled the Vijayanagara empire during 1509-29 A.D.

The object of the inscription is to record the offering of a bull (*vṛisha*) to the god Śaṁkara (*i.e.*, Śiva) by a certain Śēshā-Dīkshita. This may be interpreted in two ways. On the one hand, it may be taken to mean that the donor donated to the temple, for ceremonious use, a live bull, such practice being in vogue from early times, giving rise to the institution of temple bulls. On the other, and less likely, it may mean that Śēshā Dīkshita had an image of a bull made and donated it to Lord Śiva.

It is interesting to note that the Śrīraṅgam charter of Kṛishṇadēvarāya, mentioned above and issued in the same Śaka and cyclic years, *viz.*, 1436 and issued in Bhāva, names the donee as Allāḷa-bhaṭṭa *alias* Śēsha. However, in the absence of additional information, it is not possible to say if this Śēsha and the Śēshā-dīkshita of the epigraph under study are identical.

TEXT³

- 1 Ṛitv-agn-īmdra Śakē Bhā-
- 2 vē Kṛishṇarāyē = vati kshitiṁ (tim) [!*
- 3 Vṛishaḥ Śēshā-Dīkshitēna Śaṁkarāya
- 4 samarpitaḥ [!*

Notes :

1. I am thankful to the Chief Epigraphist for kindly permitting me to edit this inscription.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 160 ff. and plate.
- 3 From inked impression.

19 TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF THE CHALUKYAS OF VATAPI

S. S. Ramachandra Murthy

A. RAMAPURAM INSCRIPTION OF VIKRAMADITYA I*

The subjoined inscription¹ is found engraved on a slab lying to the east of the village Nakkalapāḍu near Rāmāpuram in Alampur taluk, Mahboobnagar district, Andhra Pradesh. It is engraved in Telugu language and characters of the 7th century.

The following palaeographical features of the epigraph are noteworthy. The initial *ā* occurs in *Āyichasarmma* (line 4), initial *i* in *iruvatta* (line 4), initial *e* in *eṇumbādi* (line 6) and initial *ē* in *ēḷu* (line 6). The letter *k* occurs in closed and stunted form as can be found in *Kauṇḍinya* and *Saṁkarasvāmi* (line 3). The letter *r* occurs in two forms: in one the circle, which formed the frame of the letter with dents in the centre of the top and bottom lines, is divided into four equal quadrants by two lines—one vertical and the other horizontal—as can be found in *maṛuntuḷlu* (lines 4, 5 and 6). It should be noted that this form occurs when the letter is neither a superscript nor a subscript. In independent position this form occurs in this inscription consistently. The same type of form can be found in the Turimeḷla inscription of Vikramāditya I (year 2) as can be seen in *Ēḷuva* (line 2).² However, in the Turimeḷla epigraph another form of *r* also occurs in which

the circle is divided into three parts by “a horizontal diametrical line cut at its centre by a downward perpendicular line,” as can be seen in *tanayuhṅayina* (line 6). But this form does not occur in the inscription in question. The second type of *r* is broad at the base and the side lines are joined at the top and this form is divided into two equal parts by a horizontal line. It must be noted that this form is found only when the letter occurs as a superscript in the present epigraph. For example, the expressions *maṛuntuḷlu* (lines 4, 5 and 6) and *paṛreṇḍu* (lines 4 and 5) may be seen. The letter *l*, which occurs in *ēḷu* (line 6), is formed by a circle, with dents in the centre of the top and bottom lines, cut into two equal parts by a vertical line drawn from the top dent to the bottom dent.

Attention may be drawn to the following orthographical features of the inscription. Doubling of *k* and *t* in the forms *Vikkramāditya* and *Sattyāstraya* (line 1) may be considered as an orthographical peculiarity of the early period. Doubling of *m* when preceded by *r* can be observed in the forms *Āyicha-sarmmaḷku* (line 4), *Rēva-sarmmaḷku* (line 5) and *Vinaya-sarmmaḷku* (line 6). The form *paṛreṇḍu* meaning 12, is peculiar and does not seem to occur in the contemporary epigraphs

The usage of *y* glide to avoid *sandhi* can be observed in the expression *ṛṣṭivi-y-ēḷa* (line 2). Also the expression *nūṭa-iruvatta-ēḷu* (line 3-4) deserves notice. The expressions *Āyicha-śarmmaḷku* (line 4), *Rēva-śarmmaḷku* (line 5) and *Vinaya-śarmmaḷku* (line 6) are interesting in that they are different from the usual forms which have, before the dative case suffix *ku*, the vowel of the inflectional base either lengthened as found in *bhaṭā-ruḷāku*,⁴ or the vowel of the inflectional base retained short vowel as in *bhaṭā-raḷaku*.⁵ It is evident that the nominative form has been taken in these instances as *śarmmaḷ* with honorific plural and the case suffix was added without introducing any vowel in between. The form *muppā-diyadi ēḷu* (lines 6) may be compared with the form *iravadiyādināḷku*.⁶ It has been suggested elsewhere that "some compound numerals involving addition use the Sanskrit word *ādi* to express the idea of addition."⁷ The form *Āyicha* in the personal name *Āyicha-śarmma* is obviously to be derived from Sanskrit *Āditya*. From the syntactic point of view the expressions *Kauṇḍinya-gōtraja Rēvaśarmmaḷku* (line 5), *Kāśyāpa-gōtraja Vinaya-śarmmaḷku* (line 6) deserve notice in that Sanskrit and Telugu appear mixed. This feature may be compared with the expression *Ēḷuva-vishayamb = ēḷan tasya mātā dattam Gōvṛishāna-bhaṭṭārahō śata-pañchāsat kshētram* occurring in the Turimeḷḷa inscription of Vikramāditya I referred to above.

The extant portion of the inscription does not bear any date. However, it may be assigned to the 7th century on

the basis of palaeographical and certain orthographical features discussed above. In the light of this the king Satyāśraya-śrī-Vikramāditya mentioned in the epigraph may be identified with Vātāpi Chalukya king Vikramāditya I (654-81 A. D.). The inscription seems to be incomplete and records the grant of land by śrī-Bālāditya-mahārāju to the following *brāhmaṇas*:-

1) Śamkarasvāmi of Kauṇḍinya-gōtra: probably 127 *maṇunturḷu*; 2) Āyicha-śarmma, (gōtra not mentioned): 12 *maṇunturḷu*; 3) Rēva-śarmma of Kauṇḍinya-gōtra - 12 *maṇunturḷu*; 4) ri-svāmi of the same gōtra : 37 *maṇunturḷu* and 5) Vinaya-śarmma of Kāśyāpa-gōtra : 8 *maṇunturḷu*. Regarding the location of the gift-lands no details are available in the extant portion of the record.

No details are mentioned about the donor Bālāditya who is described only as *mahārāju*. Though the latter part of his name viz., *-āditya* tempts us to take him as belonging to the imperial Chalukya family no positive evidence is available as yet. In the present state of our knowledge we may only surmise that Bālāditya-mahārāju was in all probability ruling over the Ālāmpūr region as a subordinate of Vikramāditya I. The text of the epigraph, as read from the facsimile published in the *A.R.Ep.*, is given below :-

TEXT

1. Svasti [||*] Śrīmat Sattyāśraya-śrī-
- Vikramāditya-ṛṣṭivī-va-

- 2 llabha - mahārājādbhirāja - paramēśvara-
bhaṭāraḥ pṛitivi yēḥa
- 3 Śrī-Bālāditya-mahārajula datti [1*] Kau-
ṇḍinya-gōtrajul Śaṁkara-svāmi[ki].
- 4 ṭa iruvatta ēḷu maṅuntuḷlu pannāsa
[1*] Āyicha-śarmmaḷku paṅṅeṇḍu maṅun-
tuḷlu [1*]
- 5 Kauṇḍinya - gōtraja Rēva - śarmmaḷku
paṅṅeṇḍu maṅuntuḷlu Kauṇḍinya-gōtraja .
risvāmi..
- 6 muppādiyadi ēḷu maṅuntuḷlu ḷ Kāśyapa-
gōtraja Vinaya-śarmmaḷku eṇṁbādi
maṅuntu°

B. ARAKATAVEMULA INSCRIPTION OF
SRI-VALLABHA-MAHARAJA*

This inscription was found engraved on two sides of a pillar in the courtyard of the Vishṇu temple in the village Arakaṭavēmula in the Proddatur taluk in Cuddapah district, Andhra Pradesh. This is published in the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. X as No. 604 and in the *Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh: Cuddapah district*, Vol. I, as No. 45. A good facsimile of the inscription is also published in the latter work. The editor of the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu, took this inscription to be of the Chōḷa family. N. Lakshminarayana Rao in his appendix to that volume says "In the absence of the name of Chōḷa or of any known ruler of the Chōḷa family it does not seem proper to consider this inscription as a Chōḷa record. The late Rai Bahadur Venkayya was inclined to take the king Śrī-vallabha of the record as a Chāḷukya". But Lakshmi-

narayana Rao did not assign this record to any particular Vātāpi Chalukya king. P.V. Parabrahma Sastri, who edited the above referred to *Cuddapah district* volume, attributed the characters of the epigraph to the 9th century. He says "The inscription records the grant of *pannasa* to Vinnaśarma, son of Charuvaśarma of Vaṅganūḷlu, by Bhujāṅgadi Bhūpāditya of Perbāṅa-vaṁśa during the reign of Vallabha Mahārāja. Other details not clear." However, on the basis of the photograph published in that volume we can safely assign this inscription to the period of a century earlier. Since the importance of the inscription has so far not been brought to light it is proposed to re-edit and discuss it in the following pages.

The stone bearing this record is broken at the left end which, however, fortunately did not result in any considerable damage to the letters. The writing is well preserved.

The characters are early Telugu-Kannaḍa, palaeographically assignable to the first half of the 8th century and the language used is, with the exception of the imprecatory verse in Sanskrit at the end, Telugu prose. As regards palaeography, the letters are regular to the period and can be compared with the Suṅkēsula inscription° of Chalukya Vijayāditya. As regards orthography it is interesting to note that in *Charuva-śarmma-putra* (line 2), the Sanskrit word *putra* has been written as such instead of the more usual Telugu nominative form of this period *putrunṅu* (cf. *saṁyuktunṅu*, line 5). We can compare

this form with *priyatara-suta* (for *priyatara-sutunṛu*) occurring in the Koṇḍupalli inscription¹⁰ of Chalukya Vijayāditya and *Charuva-śarmmaṇa-putra* occurring in the Suṅkēsula inscription referred to above.

The purport of the inscription is to record the grant of a *pannāsa* (i.e., a land of a *pannasa* in extent) to Vinna-śarmma belonging to the village Vaṅganūrḷu probably by Bhujāṅgaḍi-Bhūpāditya of Perbāṇa-vaṁśa while the king Śrī-vallabha, who is endowed with the imperial titles *Mahārājādhirāja*, *paramēśvara* and *bhaṭṭāra*, was ruling. The gift land is stated to be situated in the village Niḍugaṭambu. Vēguḷūrḷa, Penṛukālu, Nārakōḷu and Kaṁchchaṛḷu were the witnesses to this endowment.

It is a well-known fact that the Chalukya kings of Vātāpi from Pula-kēśin II onwards are also referred to as Vallabha. Hence taking the palaeography and contents of the inscription in question into consideration it is proposed to identify Vallabha-mahārāja with Chalukya Vijayāditya who ruled from 996 to 733/34 A. D. It is a known fact that chiefs of the Bāṇa family served the Chalukya rulers including Vijayāditya as subordinates. Niṭṭūru-Guḍipāḍu,¹¹ Kottapalle¹² and Kottūru¹³ inscriptions of Vijayāditya, dated in his 2nd, 3rd and 4th regnal years respectively, refer to a Vāṇarāja ruling over Vaṅganūru-vishaya.¹⁴ The above Koṇḍupalli inscription of the same Chalukya king dated in his 23rd regnal year refers to Vikramāditya-Bali-Indra-Bāṇarāja, a dearer son (*priyatara-suta*) of *Balikulatitaka*

Narasimha-Bāṇādhirāja as ruling over Turamara-vishaya (modern Gutti taluk in Anantapur district). An undated inscription¹⁵ of this king, coming from Bētapalli, refers to a Bāṇarāja as ruling over Turamara-vishaya. Thus so far we know the name of only one Bāṇa chief viz, Vikramāditya-Bali-Indra-Bāṇarāja serving Vijayāditya in the Āndhra region. The inscription under study introduces Bhujāṅgaḍi-Bhūpāditya of the Perbāṇa family. Though the inscription does not specify whether he was ruling over any region it may not be improbable that he was ruling over Vaṅganūru-vishaya in view of the fact that the donee Vinna-śarmma hailed from Vaṅganūrḷu which may be same as the headquarters of the Vaṅganūru-vishaya mentioned in the inscriptions referred to above. If this is accepted it may be possible that Bhujāṅgaḍi-Bhūpāditya is identical with the un-named Vāṇarāja referred to in the inscriptions of Vijayāditya as ruling over Vaṅganūru-vishaya.

N. Venkatarmanayya opines that Vallabha of this record is identical with the Chalukya king Vikramāditya I and that Bhūpāditya, his subordinate, appears to have helped him in reducing the chiefs of the Perbāṇa-vaṁśa ruling somewhere in the neighbourhood.¹⁶ He further says: "Bhūpāditya to whom the title *Perbāṇa-vaṁśa-bhujāṅgādi* is applied could not have been a scion of the *Perbāṇa-vaṁśa* as supposed by the Government Epigraphist. The word *bhujāṅga* means a disgracer."¹⁷ However, the entire expres-

ssion *Bhujāṅgaḍi-Bhūpāditya* is to be taken as one personal name and there is no necessity to connect the word *Bhujāṅgaḍi* with *Perbāṇa* and to interpret it as a *bhujāṅga* to the *Perbāṇa* family, taking the meaning of *bhujāṅga* as 'a disgracer.'

The word *bhujāṅga* need not mean 'disgracer' in all contexts and in this context we may take this as a personal name. We have names like *Puliyāḍi* (*puli*, 'tiger') in the contemporary epigraphs.¹⁸ Further the suffix *ḍi*, as we have in the word *Bhujāṅgaḍi*, occurs in other personal names like *Puliyāḍi* and *Sāmaḍiyāru*.¹⁹ Hence it may not be incorrect to take *Bhujāṅgaḍi-Bhūpāditya* as one name and as that of a *Perbāṇa* chief.

Regarding the donee *Vinna-śarmma*,

no details except that he was the son of *Charuva-śarmma* and that he hailed from *Vaṅganūrḷu*, are available. The *Suṅkēsula* inscription referred to above mentions a certain *Vinna-śarmma*, son of *Charuva-śarmma* and belonging to *Kāśyapa-gōtra* as the donee. It is possible that *Vinna-śarmma* of the present inscription is identical with his namesake figuring in the *Suṅkēsula* inscription. The terms *Vinna-* and *Charuva-* in these personal names can obviously be derived from Sanskrit *Vishṇu* and *Śarva* respectively.

Of the geographical names, *Vaṅganūrḷu* can be identified with modern *Vaṅganūru* in *Tadpatri taluk* in *Anantapur district* while the other name *Niḍugaṭāmbu* can not be identified on the modern map.

TEXT²⁰

FIRST SIDE

- 1 Svasti [!]* Śrī-Vallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramahēśvara²¹-bhaṭṭāraḷ prithivi-rājya-
- 2 ṅchēyan Perbāṇa-vaṁśa Bhujāṅgaḍi-bhūpādityula kaḍān Vaṅganūrḷa Charuva-śarmma
putra
- 3 Vinna-śarmmaḷāku²² Niḍugaṭāmbuna pannāśa ichchiri [!]* Vēguḷūrḷu Penḷukāl²³
Nārakōḷu Kaṁchchaḷu
- 4 in=nalvuru sākshi [!]*

SECOND SIDE

- 5 dēniki vakra[m]bu vachchuvāṅḡu pañcha-mahāpātaka-samyuktunḡ=agun [!]*
- 6 Tribhir²⁴=ddattam tribhir = bhuktaṁ shaḍbhiś = cha paripālitaṁ [!]* ētāni na
nivarṭtaṁtē pūrvvarāja-kṛi-
- 7 tāni cha [!]* Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēti vasuṁdharāṁ [!]* shasṭiṁ
varsha-sahasrāṇi viṣṭā-
- 8 [yāṁ jāyatē krumiḡ] [!]*

Notes :

*Paper presented at the IV Annual Congress of the Epigraphical Society of India.

1. *AREp.*, 1963-64, No. B 63 and plate.
2. *EI.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 164.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 160 and 164.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 163.
5. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 12 ff; *SII.*, Vol. X, No. 22.
6. *EI.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 225 ff.
7. K. Mahadeva Sastri, *Historical Grammar of Telugu* (Tirupati, 1969), p. 274.
8. Continuation is lost.

*Paper presented at the VI Annual Congress of the Society.

9. *Inss. of A. P. : Cuddapah District*, Vol. I, ed., P. V. Parabrahma Sastri, No. 38 and plate.
10. *SII.*, Vol. X, No. 23.
11. *AREp.*, 1959-60, No. B 10.
12. *Ibid.*, No. B 7.
13. *EI.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 69 ff. and plate.
14. The name of this *vishaya* is given as Vaṅgūru-vishaya and Vaṅgaru-vishaya in *AREp.*, 1959-60, Nos. B 7 and 10 respectively which is obviously a mistake for Vaṅganūru-vishaya.
15. *SII.*, Vol. IX - 1, No. 47.
16. N. Venkataramanayya, *Cuddapah Inss.* (T. Nadu Govt. Oriental Series, No. LIX), pp. 18-19.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 19, n. 3.
18. *SII.*, Vol. X, No 610.
19. *AREp.*, 1959, No. B 15.
20. From the plate published in the *Cuddapah District Volume*.
21. P.V.P. Sastri : *Paramēśvara*.
22. *SII.*, Vol. X reads: - *śarmmaḷaku*: P.V.P. Sastri reads: -*śarmmaḷakum*.
23. *SII.*, Vol. X and P.V.P. Sastry ignore the *rēpha* subscript which is engraved below the *ṛ* subscript and to which the *ū* sign is attached. However, the *rēpha* subscript is superfluous.
24. P.V.P. Sasti reads *abhir*= *ddattam*.

20 HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY VIS-A-VIS INDIAN EPIGRAPHY

K. V. Ramesh

All archaeologists and epigraphists are only too well aware of the fact that excavations conducted at well-known historical sites have considerably enriched our nation's epigraphical wealth. One point which I would like to stress, if only because it has not so far engaged, to any appreciable extent, the attention of archaeologists and historians is the fact that an intensive study of known inscriptions, particularly of the grant portions of the normally informative donative charters and lithic records, will give us clues to the location of monuments or merely vestiges of monuments of proto-historic and historical importance. Much of this evidence is to be built up from those portions of the epigraphical texts in which landmarks are mentioned while enumerating the boundaries of lands or villages gifted. Such clue could be of a direct nature or may be of a more telltale nature requiring acceptable interpretation. The reference in an inscription from the Holenarsipur Taluk to *mōriyara mane*, i.e., the abode of the Mauryas is to be regarded as a direct clue, for it is a clear reference to a megalithic monument. In order to illustrate how an indirect clue could be interpreted so as to lead us to an archaeological site, I would like to discuss here a particular type of expression which occurs in some early Eastern Gaṅga charters.

In the Tekkali plates of Dānārṇava's son Indravarman, the southern boundary of the gift land is thus described: *dakshinēna purusha-chchhāyayā pāshāṇa-paṅktiḥ*¹ Hultzsch, whose contributions to Indian epigraphical studies are invaluable, translated the above passage to mean 'to the south, a row of boulders for (a distance which equals) the shadow of a man'.² And, as if himself unconvinced, he tried to add meaning to his rather fanciful, if not ludicrous, interpretation by saying that this description (*purusha-chchhāyayā*) appears to presuppose the position of the sun at an angle of 45° over the horizon.³

I believe that there is need to re-examine this expression *purusha-chchhāyayā* in the light of our improved acquaintance with the usage of technical terms in inscriptions. It is well known that in such expressions as *chhāyā-thabha*, *chhāyā-khabha*, *chhāyā-paḍimā*, etc., the word *chhāyā* means 'memorial'. *Chhāyayā pāshāṇa-paṅktiḥ* should, therefore, be interpreted to mean 'a commemorative row of stones' and the entire expression *purusha-chchhāyayā pāshāṇa-paṅktiḥ* should be understood as 'stones arranged in a row as human memorial'. If an archaeological explorer allows himself to be guided by the directions given in the charter in question, and if the *pāshāṇa-paṅkti* has not been disturbed beyond recognition in the subsequent

centuries, he may, for all that we know, stumble upon a hitherto undiscovered megalithic memorial.

Following the interpretation I have offered just now, I would like to understand the expression *purusha-chchhāyayā pāshānās*=*trayaḥ* occurring in the Purle plates⁴ of the early Eastern Gaṅga ruler Indravarman as "three stones (arranged) to commemorate a human being."

The credibility of the interpretation I have offered is to some extent eroded by such expressions as *purusha-chchhāyayā arjuna-vṛikshaḥ*,⁵ and *purusha-chchhāyayā timira-vṛikshaḥ*⁶ also occurring in the early Gaṅga charters. It may be that in many cases trees, instead of stones, were planted as memorials in order to symbolise the belief that death is only a transformation and not an end in itself.

One other technical term which, according to me can be profitably re-interpreted is *garttā*. In the context of enumerating boundaries the 11th century Boḍḍapāḍu plates⁷ of Vajrahasta contains the expression *vāyavyataḥ maṇḍal-ākāra-pāshāna-sahitā gar-*

ttā, which was translated as "in the north, west, a pit with a circular stone."⁸ But, if only one cares to consult Monier Williams' monumental dictionary, he will find out that, atleast from the times of the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the word *garttā* was being used also in the sense of a grave. Thus *maṇḍal-ākāra-pāshāna-sahitā garttā* should be properly interpreted to mean "a grave with circular stone(s)" or better still "a grave with stones arranged in a circle".

If, on the basis of what I have stated above, archaeologists and epigraphists should agree with me that a re-examination of epigraphical records will help them track down more archaeological monuments, they will also surely agree with me that there is all the need for archaeologists and epigraphists to get closer and compare notes. I have adverted here only to a few instances which probably contain references to megaliths. Innumerable are the epigraphical clues which promise to lead us to historical monuments, if they are in tact, or atleast to their vestiges if they have suffered damage or disturbance.

Notes :

1. *El.*, XVIII, p. 310, text lines 19-20.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 311.
3. *Ibid.*, III, p. 134, note 1.
4. *Ibid.*, XIV, p. 362, text line 17
5. *Ibid.*, text lines 15-16.
6. *Ibid.*, text lines 19-20.
7. *Ibid.*, XXXIV, p. 44, text 49.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

21 BHITARI STONE INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA

V. V. Mirashi

Recently the missing first plate¹ of the Indore inscription of Vākāṭaka Pravaraśēna II, dated in the 23rd regnal year, was discovered at Indore. It was issued from the king's camp at Tripurī (modern Tēwar, about 6 miles from Jabalpūr).² As this is the only inscription of the Vākāṭakas found north of the Narmadā we inferred from it that the relations of the Vākāṭakas and the Guptas had become hostile at the time. G. S. Gai, who has summarised our view, put forth in an article in a Marāṭhī periodical, does not agree with us in that inference. He says, "There is absolutely no evidence either in any records of Kumāragupta I or of Pravaraśēna II to indicate that there was rivalry between them... Pravaraśēna II may have gone to Tripurī in the course of a pilgrimage, for Tripurī was an ancient holy place (*tīrtha*). Had he gone there in the course of a victorious campaign, some expression like *vijaya-skandhāvārāt* (from the victorious camp) would have been added to *Tripurī-vāsakāt* in the present plate. He has also drawn our attention to the use of *vaijayikē dharmasthānē* in connection with the grant which shows that it was made at a holy place."³ This objection is not valid; for, the expression *vaijayikē dharmasthānē* occurs in almost all grants of the Vākāṭakas made at the capital such as Pravaraपुरा.⁴ On the other hand, it is

not noticed in a grant which seems to have been made at a holy place.⁵ Therefore, the use of that expression in the Indore plates does not indicate that the grant recorded in them was made at a holy place.

This is not the only evidence of a rift in the relations of the Vākāṭakas and the Guptas which commenced in that age. In all grants of Vākāṭaka Pṛithivīśhēṇa II, the grandson of Pravaraśēna II, his father Narēndrasēna is described as one whose commands were implicitly honoured by the rulers of Kōsalā, Mēkalā and Mālava.⁶ These countries were previously included in the empire of the Guptas. Gupta supremacy in Kōsalā or Chhattisgaḍh is indicated by the use of the Gupta era in the dating of the Āraṅg plates of c. 502-03 A. D.⁷ Mēkalā and (Eastern) Mālava are situated north of the Narmadā, and must have likewise been included in the Gupta empire. Further, in the time of Vākāṭaka Pṛithivīśhēṇa II (c. 470-90 A. D.), we find his feudatory Vyāghradēva acknowledging his supremacy explicitly in his Nachnā⁸ and Gañj⁹ inscriptions. The places are situated respectively in the former Jasō and Ajaigāḍh states in Central India. So we find that the relations of the Vākāṭakas and the Guptas had become hostile in the successive reigns of Pravaraśēna II, Narēndrasēna and Pṛithivīśhēṇa II.

Are these hostile relations reflected in any inscription of the Guptas? In this connection we invite the attention of scholars to the following three verses in the Bhitari stone inscription¹⁰ of Skandagupta:

Vichalita-kula-lakshmi-stambhanāy=
 ̄dyatēna
 kshiti-tala-śayanīyē yēna nītā triyāmā ।
 Samudita-bala-kōśān-Pushyamitrāms=
 cha jitvā
 kshitipa-charaṇa-pīṭhē sthāpitō vāma-
 pādaḥ ॥
 Pitari divam = upētē viplutām vaṃśa-
 lakshmīm
 bhujā-bala-vijit-ārīr=yaḥ pratishṭhāpya
 bhūyaḥ ।
 Jitam = iti paritōshān = mātarām sāsra-
 nētrām
 hata-ripur=iva Kṛishṇō Dēvakīm =
 abhyupētaḥ ॥
 Hūṇair= yasya samāgatasya samarē
 dōrbhyām dharā kampitā
 Bhīm = āvartta-karasya śatrushu
 śarā ।

There are references to three different victories of Skandagupta in this inscription. Each victory is described in two verses of which only one is given above. The second verse cited above contains a reference to the death of Skandagupta's father. So the first verse describes a conflict during Kumāragupta's life time. As Divekar has shown, *yudhy* = *amitrāms* = *cha* is a better reading than *Pushyamitrāms* = *cha*. While Skandagupta was engaged in restoring the fallen fortunes

of the family he was reduced to such straits that he had to pass one night on bare ground. But he ultimately vanquished the enemies who had great resources in army and wealth. This victory of Skandagupta occurred towards the close of Kumāragupta I's reign. Kumāragupta was then probably too old to take the field. So his son Skandagupta bore the brunt of the struggle. His victory was so memorable that the following verse in this inscription says that his fame was sung even by little boys in all quarters.¹¹ In view of the hostile relations of the Guptas and the Vākāṭakas in this period, it would not be wrong to suppose that Vākāṭaka Pravarasēna II was a member of the hostile confederacy. The third verse cited above refers to Skandagupta's memorable fight with the Hūṇa invaders.

D. R. Bhandarkar does not agree with this interpretation of the afore-cited three verses in the Bhitari stone inscription. His revised edition of the Gupta volume has not been completely printed, but G. S. Gai, who is seeing it through the press, has given us a glimpse of Bhandarkar's interpretation in the fifth volume of this Journal.¹² It is as follows:

Bhandarkar thinks that all the three verses cited above describe only one conflict, viz., that which occurred immediately after Kumāragupta I's death. The Gupta kingdom was invaded soon after Kumāragupta's death, when his son Ghaṭōtkachagupta had succeeded him. The enemies included the brother of a Nāga queen of the late Gupta king who espoused the

cause of another claimant for the throne, and the Hūṇas. Ghaṭōtkacha was killed in the battle. Then Skandagupta defeated the Hūṇas and other invaders and ascended the throne as stated in the first verse. Bhandarkar understands *kshitipa-charaṇa-pīṣhē sthāpitō vāma-pādaḥ* in that verse in the following sense: "Skandagupta's left foot was placed on the royal stool, *i.e.*, he occupied the throne and rested his left foot on the foot-stool which forms an integral part of the throne." The tenor of the wording is totally against this interpretation. If Bhandarkar's interpretation had been intended, the words *kshitipa* and *vāma* would not have been used in that verse. Does a king sit on the throne resting only his left foot on the foot-stool? *Vāma* implies Skandagupta's utter contempt for the kings who were his enemies. To place one's foot on the head of any person is a way of showing utter contempt for him.¹⁸ So the first verse cited above from the Bhitari inscription does not refer to Skandagupta's accession at all. It describes a conflict which occurred towards the end of Kumāragupta I's reign. The enemies cannot be definitely determined, but probably included the contemporary Vākāṭaka king.

We shall next take the second verse cited above. This refers to the situation immediately after Kumāragupta's death. There was a war of succession. It shattered the fortune of the Guptas. Who were the contenders? They are not named; but one of them may have been Ghaṭōt-

kachagupta, who, during the reign of his father, was ruling over a province.¹⁹ He may have succeeded Kumāragupta for a short time as a coin struck by him has been discovered. Another claimant was Skandagupta. The war of succession seems to have continued for some time and shattered the fortune of the Gupta empire. Skandagupta ultimately emerged victorious from it. This is explicitly stated in the following verse in the Junāgaḍh rock inscription of his reign (Gupa Saṁvat 138=457-58 A. D.):²⁰

Nṛipati-guṇa-nikētaḥ Skandaguptaḥ
 pṛithu-śrīb
 chatur-udadhi-jal-āntām sphīta-
 paryanta-dēśām |
 Avanim=avanat-ārīr=yaś = chakār =
 ātmasaṁsthām
 pitari sura - sakhitvaṁ prāptavaty =
 ātmasaktyā |

In this verse Skandagupta is said to have attained possession of the whole earth by his own power!²¹ after his father became a friend of the gods (*i.e.*, went to heaven or died). The expression *ātmasaktyā* shows that Skandagupta did not obtain the throne by succession, but had to wrest it from some one else by his own strength. His opponent may have been his brother Ghaṭōtkachagupta.

After scoring this victory over his rival, Skandagupta repaired immediately to break the news to his mother who had been eagerly awaiting it even as Kṛishṇa went to tell his mother Dēvaki

about his victory over Kaṁsa. His mother is mentioned here because his father had been dead. Some scholars' conjecture that his mother was named Dēvakī is absolutely baseless.

Bhandarkar, who takes all the three verses cited above from the Bhitari inscription as referring to only one conflict, viz., that with the Hūṇas, indulges in the following speculation: "Besides Hūṇas, one of the principal enemies of Skandagupta appears to have been a near relative of his on the mother's side, possibly a Nāga ruler of importance who revolted against the imperial rulers on the death of Kumāragupta." If the comparison of Skandagupta and his mother to Kṛishṇa and Dēvakī used in the second verse given above has any meaning at all, the enemy who had risen against the Gupta power after the death of Kumāragupta I and made it totter to its foundations must have been some relative of Skandagupta through his mother, possibly her brother." In support of this conjecture Bhandarkar drew attention to the following verse in the Junāgaḍh inscription of Skandagupta: "

Tad= anu jayati śaśvach= chhri-
parikshipta-vakshāḥ
sva-bhuja-janita-vīryō rāja-rāj-
ādhirājaḥ ।
Narapati-bhujagānām māna-darpp-
ōtphaṇānām
pratikṛiti-garuḍ-ājñām nir= vvishīm
ch= āvakarttā ॥

Bhandarkar argues as follows: "In this verse Skandagupta is said to have forged an order with an effigy, viz., Garuḍa, which rendered devoid of poison the serpent † (bhujaga) rulers. As bhujaga is synonymous with nāga, both meaning 'a serpent', and as royal Nāga families were in existence during the Gupta period, and as Garuḍa was an insignia of the Gupta dynasty, one comes to the irresistible conclusion that there was a rebellion set up by the Nāga rulers which was quelled by Skandagupta."

All this is mere speculation without any basis whatsoever. As the sources of ancient Indian history are very meagre, one has sometimes to rely on conjectures; but they must have some basis. Bhandarkar has carried the simile of Skandagupta and Kṛishṇa, and that of Skandagupta's mother and Dēvakī too far. What the drafter of the inscription wanted to convey is that Skandagupta hurried to tell his mother about his victory in the war of succession even as Kṛishṇa did to tell his mother about his killing of Kaṁsa as it was to result in her release from confinement. We should not carry an *upamā* too far. Otherwise, it may result in absurdities. Would it be valid to infer from this simile that Skandagupta's father Kumāragupta was in bondage as Kṛishṇa's father Vāsudēva was, when Kṛishṇa conveyed the news of his victory to his mother?

The inference about some brother of

Skandagupta's mother being of the Nāga lineage and supporting the claim of some other contestant for the throne is equally baseless. Chandragupta II had, no doubt, atleast two queens, one of them (Kubēra-nāgā) being of the Nāga race, but we have not a shred of evidence to suppose that Kumāragupta I also had a Nāga queen and her brother was supporting the claim of a rival contestant for the throne. The *rūpaka* in the verse *narapati-bhujagānām* etc., given above, has no historical significance. Generally, in an inscription the first verse is in praise of a deity, and the second is in glorification of the reigning king. The above cited verse from the Junāgaḍh inscription comes after the initial verse in praise of Vishṇu. That verse glorifies the reigning king Skandagupta, by means of a *rūpaka* suggested by the Garuḍa seal of the Gupta family.¹⁹ Just as a snake-charmer subdues serpents which raise their hoods, and makes them poisonless, so has Skandagupta brought the arrogant hostile kings under his control by his commands. There is absolutely no subtle reference to any arrogant Nāga rulers having defied Skandagupta's authority and having supported the claim of some one else for the throne, much less to their being related to the mother of Skandagupta. The whole structure described above is a figment of Bhandarkar's imagination.²⁰

The third verse cited above refers to Skandagupta's brave fight against the invaders. It may be noted in this connection that as in the Bhitari so in the Junāgaḍh inscription it is mentioned in a separate verse. See the following:

Api cha jitam = ēva tēna prathayanti
yaśāmsi yasya

ripavō = py = āmūla-bhagna-darppā
[nivasantō]²¹ Mlēcchha-dēsēshu

This verse refers only to Skandagupta's victory over the Hūṇas, which, even his enemies living in the far off Mlēcchha countries, whose arrogance was completely controlled, proclaimed by their submissive conduct.

So there were three different conflicts in which Skandagupta was engaged: 1) The first conflict occurred during the reign of Kumāragupta I. Among the enemies the contemporary Vākāṭaka king Pravarasēna II was involved; 2) the second was the war of succession in which Skandagupta had to fight with his brother Ghaṭōtkachagupta, and 3) the third occurred soon after the second and in it Skandagupta obtained a crushing victory over the barbarian Hūṇas. The second and the third conflicts happened soon after the death of Kumāragupta in c. 455 A. D., as they are mentioned in the Junāgaḍh rock inscription of 458 A. D.

Notes :

1. *CH. V*, pp. 38 ff.

2. See *Tripurivāsakāt*. When plates were issued from the capital its name only was used in the ablative, without any word like *śihānāt* or *vāsakāt* being added to it. See *Nandivardhanāt* in the Jamb plates. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
3. *JESI*, V, p. 100.
4. See eg. the Dudiā plates of Pravarasēna II, text line 23. These plates were issued from the then Vākāṭaka capital Pravarapura.
5. See the Tirōḍi plates of Pravarasēna II, which were probably issued from a holy place. They do not contain that expression. *CII*, V, pp. 48 ff.
6. See *Kōsalā-Mēkalā-Mālav-ādhipatibhir = abhyarchchita-śāsanasya... śrī-Narēndrasēnasya* in the Bālāghāṭ plates of Prithivishēṇa II. *Ibid.*, p. 81.
7. See *EI*, IX, pp. 342 ff. The date is wrongly read there as 'Gupta Saṁvat 282.' Its correct reading is G.S. 182. Bhīmasēna who issued it had a long pedigree of several generations.
8. *CII*, V, pp. 89 ff.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 92.
10. *Ibid.*, Vol. III (1st ed), p. 52.
11. See: Charitam = amala-kīrttōr = ggīyatē yasya śubhrah
diśi diśi paritushṭair = ā-kumāraṁ manushyaiḥ || *Ibid.*, p. 54.
12. *JESI*, V, pp. 191 ff.
13. See Bhaṭṭa-nārāyaṇa's *Vēṇīsamhāra*, Act III, verse 22.
14. *EI*, XXIV, p. 116.
15. *CII*, III (1st ed), p. 69.
16. *Āima-śaktyā* is not to be construed with *pitari sura-sakhitvam prāptavati* as has been done by Fleet, but with *yaś = chakār = ātma-saṁsthām*. The meaning is not that his father became a friend of the gods by his own power, but that Skandagupta made the earth his own by his own prowess. This means that he did not obtain the throne by succession, but had to secure it by fighting with other claimants.
17. There is absolutely no evidence that Skandagupta's mother was of the Nāga lineage and that her brother was a powerful Nāga potentate.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Pratikṛiti* in *pratikṛiti-Garuḍ-ājñām* has the same sense as *pratikāra*, counter-measure, requital. The sense is 'who issued counter-measures in the form of his commands stamped with the Garuḍa seal' against the arrogant hostile kings which were like eagles operating against serpents attacking with raised hoods. There is no reference to Nāga princes here.

20. Perhaps Bhandarkar got a hint for his fantastic suggestion from the following note of Fleet "There is possibly a secondary allusion to Skandagupta having overthrown some kings of the well-known Nāga or serpent lineage." (*Ibid*, p. 62, n. 2). However, no such allusion is intended.
21. The *aksharas* here are illegible, only the first *ni* is clear. Fleet suggested *nirvachanā* which makes no meaning. We suggest *nivasantaḥ* which is quite plausible in the context.

22 NEW EPIGRAPHICAL LIGHT ON THE HISTORY OF MADHYA PRADESH

S. K. Bajpai

For tracing the history and culture of country the written evidence in the form of inscriptions furnishes a reliable source-material. The epigraphs are extremely useful for reconstructing the past. They corroborate facts known from other sources such as literature, coins and plastic and pictorial monuments. Occasionally inscriptions provide valuable information about personages and events of history, about which nothing or very little is known from other sources.

The region of Madhya Pradesh is particularly lucky in preserving some records which have thrown welcome light on various facets of Indian history. During recent years the discovery of some new epigraphs has added abundant material on the political events or the geneology and the chronology of some of the dynasties of the rulers, such as the Maurya, Gupta, Vākāṭaka Uchchakalpa, Śarabhapuriya, Pāṇḍuvarṃśī, Sōmvarṃśī, Parivrājaka, Kalachuri and the Chandēlla dynasty.

At Pāṅguḍāri in Sehore district, a new stone inscription of the Maurya emperor Aśōka has been discovered, on which Aśōka's instructions given to a prince of the royal house are recorded. The inscriptions of Rāmagupta have conclusively proved his historicity as a Gupta ruler of eastern Mālwa. The inscriptions found at Māṅḍsaur and the adjoining region have thrown new

light on the Gaurī dynasty of Avanti. Some copper plate inscriptions found at Malhār in the Bilaspur district have added names to the list of early Pāṇḍuvarṃśī rulers of the South Kōsala. The name Kōsala for the capital town of this region has been found on a clay sealing of about 200 A. D. excavated at Malhār.¹ This name also occurs in a new copper plate grant of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna of the Sōmavarṃśī dynasty.² The Mahāsamuṇḍa plate of Sudēvarāja, dated year 3,³ makes substantial addition to our knowledge of the geography of South Kōsala in the 5th century A. D. The Śaṅkarapūr plate of Budhagupta and Harivarman (Gupta year 166)⁴ brings to light a hitherto unknown line of kings with Varman ending names, who were ruling in the Bāghēlkhaṇḍ area of Madhya Pradesh in the 5th century A. D. and who acknowledged the suzerainty of the Imperial Guptas.

Similarly the Rāvā plate of the Śarabhapuriya king Narēndra, the Indore plate of Vākāṭaka Pravarsēna I, the stone inscription of Yaśōdharman from Māṅḍsaur, the copper plates of Pṛithivīdēva II and Ratnadēva III from Pāsid, the Lēhaṅgābhaṭa stone inscription of the Kaurava dynasty and several other new epigr. phs have furnished remarkable material on the political events or the geneology and the chronology of these dynasties of rulers.

Fresh light has also been thrown on ancient historical geography.

Apart from these, the outstanding features of a few more important copper-plate inscriptions are briefly mentioned here which would open a field for further research on this subject.

1 KATNI COPPER PLATE OF JAYANATHA (YEAR 182)

A set of three copper plates was discovered by a local school teacher of Kaṭṇī, Jabalpur district, in 1979. Now it is preserved in the Rāṇī Durgāvati Museum at Jabalpur.

All the plates are inscribed on one side only. They measure 18½ cm in length and 15 cm in breadth each. There is a hole at the centre of the top of each plate for the seal and ring, which are missing.

There are 39 lines in all. The characters are of the Brāhmī script of the 5th century A.D. and the language is Sanskrit, which resemble those of the other known copper plate grants of Jayanātha.

The charter was issued from Uchchakalpa by the king Jayanātha, described as a *mahārāja*, on the 3rd day of the month of Pausha in the (Gupta) year 182 (501 A.D) and records the grant of the village Kalabhikuṇḍa by distributing it to several *brāhmaṇas*, *vaiśyas* and *dāsas*. The names of the donees and parts of donation are given here in detail. According to the genealogy given in the inscription, *mahārāja* Jayanātha was the fifth ruler of this

kingdom while the earlier four rulers mentioned are Aughadēva, Kumāradēva, Jayasvāmī and Vyāghra.

Before this, two copper plate grants of Jayanātha have been discovered in Kārītalāi and Khōh belonging to the years 174^s and 177^s respectively. The present plate belongs to the reign of Jayanātha and is dated in the year 182. His successor was Śarvanātha whose first copper plate charter, dated in the year 193, is known from Khōh. The location of Kalabhikuṇḍa village remains unidentified.

2 TWO NEW COPPER PLATE GRANTS OF RUDRADASA (YEAR 67)

These two records were first reported to me by the Curator of the Indore Museum in 1977. They are now in the possession of Govindji Mangal of Indore. These plates are dated in the Chaitra month of the year 67. They were issued on the 10th day and 12th day respectively. The inscription consists of eight lines in each plate. The writing is in a state of good preservation throughout. The characters are Brāhmī and the language is Sanskrit, similar to those of the plates of *mahārāja* Svāmidāsa. The signature of *mahārāja* Rudradāsa is engraved in the margin on the left side.

Both the grants refer to the reign of *mahārāja* Rudradāsa. He describes himself as *paramabhaṭṭāraka-pādānudhyāta*, which may be an indication of his feudatory status or that of his ancestors. These grants were issued from Valkha, which

was evidently then the royal capital. The object of the first inscription is to record the assent of *mahārāja* Rudradāsa, to the gift of a field situated on the south of Dāsīlakapallī which was in the possession of a potter named Māyādāsa. The donee was a *brāhmaṇā* Anādyā of the Kāśyapa-gōtra.

The Second plate mentions the grant of the land of Shuty village, situated on the way to Dāsīlakapallī. This *brahmadēya* gift of a fertile land was given to *brāhmaṇa* Nāgārjuna of the Kāśyapa-gōtra.

Besides these, only one copper plate of *mahārāja* Rudradāsa of the year 117 is known so far, which was found at Sirpūr.⁷ The Indore grant of Svāmidāsa⁸ is dated in the Jyēshṭha śu di 5 of the year 67. The new plates of Rudradāsa also belong to the same year, but they were issued in the *sukla-paksha* of Chaitra. It is now proved that there were two different rulers of the same name Rudradāsa who ruled in the years 67 and 117 respectively. Rudradāsa I ruled in Chaitra month of the year 67 and his successor Svāmidāsa ascended the throne during Jyēshṭha month of that very year. Rudradāsa II ruled during the year 117. Thus the following genealogy of these rulers is constructed :

Bhuluṇḍa I :	year 38
Rudradāsa I :	year 67
Svāmidāsa :	year 67
Bhuluṇḍa II :	year 107
Rudradāsa II :	year 117
Subandhu :	year 167

Majumdar⁹ and G.S. Gai¹⁰ referred these dates to the Gupta era, while V. V. Mirashi¹¹ referred the same to the Ābhīra era (248-49 A. D.).

As for the identification of the localities of Valkha and Dāsīlakapallī-rāshṭra, different views are expressed by scholars. I feel that these places should be located in the Baḍwānī Tehasil of the Kharagone district. Valkha seems to be the present Valan village (long 24°, 55' and Lat. 74°. 45') and Dāsīlakapallī may be Dēsvālya village, which lies 4 miles away from Valan (long 21°, 50' and Lat. 74°, 45'). Both these are situated on the south of the Narmadā.

3 INDORE PLATE OF BHULUNDA (YEAR 107)

At present this copper plate is in the possession of Prabhash Chandra Santosh Chandra Shastri of Indore. Its information was sent to me by the Curator of the Indore Museum.

The record is on a single plate and is incised on one side only. The plate has no ring hole. It has 9 lines of writing and is signed by *mahārāja* Bhuluṇḍa in the margin on the left. The script is Brāhmī of the 4th-5th century A. D. and the language is Sanskrit.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of *mahārāja* Bhuluṇḍa, who describes himself as *paramabhaṭṭāraka-pādānudhyāta*. Its object is to record the assent, by *mahārāja* Bhuluṇḍa, to the *brahmadēya* gift of a field, situated on the river-bank of Rānētak village. The donee was one *brāhmaṇa* Hariśa of the Kāśyapa-gōtra. The date of the present plate is Māgha

month of the Year 107, which corresponds to the January or February, 426 A. D.

Hitherto two copper plates of Bhuluṇḍa were found which refer to the years 38, 77¹³ and 107¹³ respectively. On the basis of these dates we may presume that Bhuluṇḍa I and Bhuluṇḍa II were two different rulers.

As for the places mentioned in the present record Valkha has already been identified while the gift village Rānētak remains unidentified for the present.

4 SIMARIA PLATES OF KARNADEVA (SAMVAT 807)

A set of two copper plates with a seal was found in the year 1971 at Simariā in Sirmaur Tehsil, Rewa district. The plates are now deposited in the Rānī Durgāvati Museum, Jabalpur. They measure 59 cm x 45 cm each and the total weight is 20.50 kgs. They contain an inscription of 59 lines in the Nāgarī script and in Sanskrit language. The inscription is dated in Kalachari Saṁvat 807 and records the grant of a village Vyāsand in Gōdavāhipaṭṭalā by *mahārājādhirāja* Karṇadēva, who distributed this donation in 57 parts to several *brāhmaṇas* and scholars residing in the temple of Śaṅkaradēviśvara at Śaṅkardēvipura. It gives the genealogy and description of the donees and mentions the names of important officials of the Kalachuri kingdom.

5 JHULPUR PLATE OF KALACHURI RULER VIJAYASIMHA (SAMVAT 949)

This copper plate of (Kalachuri) Saṁvat 949 (1197 A. D.) was found by a farmer

of Jhūlpur village in the Mandala district. In July, 1977 it was handed over to Dharmēndra, who collected it for the Archaeological museum of Mandla. This is the second and last plate of the whole set. The first plate is missing. It measures 40 X 27 cm and weighs 2.180 kgs. It contains 24 straight lines in Nāgarī, the language being Sanskrit. It is very much akin to those of Kumblī (Saṁvat 932)¹⁴ and Umariā plates. All these are written in the same style and mostly use similar verses.

Its object is to record the grant of a village Mātāmī of the Jaulipattala (*i.e.*, Jabalpur) region to one Vidyādhara-śarma. The grant was issued by *mahārājādhirāja* Vijayasimhadēva on the occasion of the birth-day of his son Trailōkyamalla. The donee Vājasanēya Vidyādhara-śarma is referred to as the great-grandson of Bhuvana-śarma, grandson of Pāhula-śarma and son of Janārdana-śarma. The names of several officials are also mentioned.

This inscription for the first time informs us about Ajayasimhadēva. Trailōkyamalla is called here as the son of Vijayasimha. Before this one Trailōkyamalla,¹⁵ or Trailōkyavarman¹⁶ was known as belonging to the Chandēlla dynasty. Thus the present record is quite important in that it furnishes details about the Kalachuri king Vijayasimha and his son Trailōkyamalla.

6 UMARIA PLATES OF VIJAYASIMA (SAMVAT 944)

This set of two plates with the seal was found in 1978 from Umariā Tehsil of

the Panna district and was recovered by the State department of Archaeology from Pawai police station of the district. The inscription refers to king Vijayasimha and gives the genealogy of the Kalachuri dynasty. Its object is to record the grant of three villages by *Rāṇaka* Kumārapāla to several *brāhmaṇas*. As in the Jhūlpur

plate Ajayasimhadēva is referred to here as the brother of Vijayasimha. It also provides the detailed genealogy of the donees and the name of important officials of the Kalachuri kingdom. The engraver of this charter was Kēśava, son of Dāmōdara and grandson of Vāharāja. The *sūtradhāra* was Simhadēva-Kārṇa.

Notes :

- 1 See *Maihar* (1978), p. 21.
- 2 *Prachya Pratibha*, Vol. V, No. 1, pp. 41-47.
- 3 *Ibid.*, pp. 48-53
- 4 *JESI.*, Vol. IV, pp. 62-66.
- 5 *CII.*, Vol. III, pp. 117-20.
- 6 *Ibid.*, pp. 121-25.
- 7 *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Pt. 1, pp. 10-12.
- 8 *Ibid.*, pp. 5-8.
- 9 *EI*, Vol. XV, p. 286.
- 10 Indian History Congress: Calcutta, 1974: Epigraphy Section: Presidential Address.
- 11 *Studies in Indian Epigraphy (JESI)*, Vol. II, pp. 42-46.
- 12 *Op. cit.* Indian History Congress: Calcutta, 1974.
- 13 *CII.*, Vol. IV., Pt.1, pp. 8-10.
- 14 *Ibid.*, Pt 2, pp. 645-52.
- 15 While editing the Dhureti plate of K. E. 963, V. V. Mirashi has referred to Trailōkyamalladēva belonging to the Chandēlla dynasty. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Pt. 1, p. 396. The Rēwā copper plate of V. S. 1298 also mentions the name of Trailōkyamalla. *IA.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 224 and 234-36.
- 16 Trailōkyavarmadēva is mentioned in the inscription of Rēvā (V. S. 1297). *Ibid.*, pp. 224 and 230-34.

23 A RARE BRAHMI SEALING OF WIMA (KADPHISES) FROM GANWARIA (KAPILAVASTU)

K. M. Srivastava
P. R. K. Prasad

Amongst the rich and varied finds from the excavation at Ganwāriā in Basti Dt., U.P., a terracotta sealing, with a legend in Brāhmī, happened to be of paramount importance in bringing to light certain new aspects of Kushāṇa rule in India. The sealing assumes far greater significance by its find-place which has been identified as the town-site of Kapilavastu on the basis of the terracotta sealings found at the adjoining *stūpa* and monastic site of Piprāhwā. Kapilavastu was the place where Buddha spent the first twenty-nine years of his life before he renounced the world in quest of salvation. Ganwāriā is 22 kms north of Maugarh, a tehsil headquarters and a railway station on the Gōrakhpūr-Gōṇḍā loop line of North-eastern Railway.

The terracotta sealing is a well baked clay lump 4 cms in width with the diameter of the circular flan of the seal impression restricted to 2.3 cms. In the process for achieving a flat base, the sides of the clay lump appear to have been pressed in an uneven manner rendering the surface a little slopy towards left. The surface is stamped with a seal bringing out a positive circular impression in relief. A deep groove on the right side of the base of the sealing with more lump of clay can be observed. Though

the sealing is partly damaged, the impression part of it has not been affected at all. The legend and the symbols of the impression are very clear.

The legend of the sealing within the circular flan is surmounted by a two-armed deity. Holding a combination of trident and battle axe in the left hand and *vajra* with three pointed ends on both sides in the right, the deity is sitting in a cross-legged fashion with a conical hair-knot. The combination of the symbols makes it evident that the deity represented on the sealing is unquestionably Śiva. The legend proper, engraved below the deity, comprises six letters in Brāhmī characters of the 1st-2nd centuries A. D., and has been read as *Kaphuputavimasa*. The text of the legend clearly indicates that the sealing was issued by Wima Kadphises, the son of Kujula Kadphises of the Kushāṇa family, who ruled over India during the middle of the 1st century A. D.

Similar representations of Śiva with the combined trident and battle axe are well known on the coins of Wima Kadphises. The sealing from Ganwāriā, however, differs from the coins fundamentally in one respect. The deity has been depicted on the sealing in a sitting position, whereas on the coins he has always been shown as standing. *Vajra*,¹ an additional

attribute on the sealing, is completely absent on the coins. Though the weapon is associated with Śiva, its representation is rare. The artist took the liberty of depicting the deity in a sitting position probably to accommodate the one line legend below without any break in between.

In accordance with the style of the script in 1st-2nd centuries A.D., the letters of the Brāhmī characters on the sealing are well developed and thickened to give a triangular effect. The characters in general are treated with an ornamental touch. The verticals in *ka*, *phu* and *ta* are lengthened. *Va* and *ma* are flat based with angular bends. The side strokes in *sa* are sharply bent. The vertical in *ka* is slightly turned towards the left to form a loop. It is not distinct, probably because of the depression of that part caused by the thumb impression during the course of manufacturing. The vowel *u* in the second letter *phu*, takes a sharp left turn. The serif of this letter spreads ornamentally on either side. The third letter is a conjunct of two viz., *pu* and *ta*. The vertical in *pu* has been lengthened at the bottom to accommodate the letters *ta* by the addition of a stroke to its left like a fork. Paucity of space might have been the cause for the use of this conjunct. The use of such a conjunct is no doubt unusual and rare but it cannot be said to be completely unknown in ancient times. The name of the king Phalgunimitasa engraved on a specific type of coins issued by him, can be quoted as a very good example in this respect.² The last

two letters *ta* and *sa* are combined into a new form in a similar manner. The left stroke in *ta* has been used as the left stroke of the next letter *sa* by bringing both the letters together to present a new conjunct.

In addition to the use of conjunct of the letters *pu* and *ta*, the skill of the artist to accommodate the entire legend within the limited available space is exhibited in the fourth letter as well. The fourth letter *vi* occurs just below the folded legs of the seated deity leaving practically no space to accommodate the sign of *i* over *va*. The artist was, therefore, forced to extend the serif over *va* towards right sufficiently to provide space for the sign of *i*. As a sequel to it the stroke for sign *i* happens to occur exactly over the left arm of the next letter *ma*. Certain scholars have raised objection over such a speculation and tried to read it as *vami* instead of *vima*. The reading of *vami*, however, cannot be accepted because the sign of *i* occurs on the left arm of the letter *m* when actually it should have been indicated on the right arm. Further, the sign for *i* does not originate from the top end of the left arm of *ma*.

The last two letters *ma* and *sa* have been duly accommodated in their proper places. The letter *sa* has been ornamented by adding double horizontal lines connected by a loop which very well covers the space below the length of the last three letters. Thus the whole legend can be read as *Kaphuputa-vimasa*.

The legend *Kaphuputavimasa* on this terracotta sealing is a very valuable and significant addition to the records of Kushāṇa kings, particularly Wima, on account of several facts enumerated below.

1 This is the first and foremost official record of Wima Kadphises discovered so far, other than those occurring on his coins. In this context it may be pointed out that the Panjitar inscription of the year 122 referring to *mahārāja* Gushaṇa and the Taxila Silver Scroll inscription of the year 136 referring to *mahārāja Rājātirāja* Dēvaputra-Kushāṇa do not mention the king by name. The reading of the Khalatse inscription of the year 187 connecting it with Wima (*Uvima Kavthisa*) is extremely doubtful, based mainly on conjectures. They are all recorded in Kharōṣṭhī script and are of a private nature.

2 This is the first record of Wima in Brāhmī script discovered as yet. The script used on the reverse of the coins issued by him is Kharōṣṭhī.

3 The king has been named as Wima instead of Wema.

4 The sealing is another evidence to support the information furnished by the annals of the Chinese Dynasty of the Hūṇas that Wima was the son and successor of Kadphises I.

5 Kadphises appears to have been known also as Kaphu in addition to Kapa and Kapha mentioned on his coins.

6 The devout faith of Wima in

Siva, revealed by the epithet of Mahēśvara used on his coins, is confirmed by the representation of the deity on this sealing.

7 The Brāhmī script on the personal sealing of the king indicates that Wima wielded control over the land where the script was in use.

8 Wima has been acknowledged in the Chinese annals as the conqueror of India. He happened to be the first king of the Kushāṇa dynasty who extended his rule over the main Indian territory. The coins of Wima occur at a number of sites in N. India as far as Bhita and Basaḥ in Bihar.⁸ It is not unlikely that all these places, as far as Pāṭalīputra, the capital of the Mauryas, were invaded and annexed to his empire. Of course, the scholars are of the opinion that the empire of Wima did not extend to the region of Bihar.⁴ According to these scholars, coins cannot be considered as a tangible evidence to determine the extent of an empire, because they can be easily carried to long distances.⁵ The empire of Wima was restricted upto Mathurā or at the most Sārnāth.⁶ Pāṭalīputra, they feel, was conquered only by Kanishka.⁷ These views are based probably on records from Sāhēt Māhēt, Kōsam, Sārnāth etc., supported by the tradition that Kanishka invaded Pāṭalīputra and took along with him the renowned Buddhist monk Aśvaghōsha. However, the evidence of coins to determine the extent of an empire cannot be ignored completely,

particularly when the number is not restricted to a few. The scholars may have to reconsider their views on the extent of the empire of Wima on account of the following facts.

In addition to the terracotta sealing under discussion, the ancient site of Ganwāriā also yielded a large number of Kushāṇa copper coins including those of Wima Kadphises, besides Kanishka and Huvishka. The reign of Kushāṇas over this territory is confirmed by the sealings with the legend *Dēvaputra* found in the eastern monastery at Piprāhwā. Square base of the *stūpa* in the last stage at Piprāhwā with the provision of niches at regular intervals for keeping sculptures corroborates the assumption. Kushāṇa coins in a large number have also been reported from Tilaurakot in Nepalese Tarai, not too far from Ganwāriā.⁸ Ganwāriā is about 300 kms from Pāṭaliputra and Kushāṇa coins have been reported from a number of sites falling in the region e.g., Gōpālpurā-*stūpa* site (Gorakhpur Dt.) and Basarh (Muzaffarpur Dt.). Large scale excavations at the sites may yield further evidence to establish the extent of the Kushāṇa empire. According to Cunningham, the title *Sarvaloga Isva-rasa*, mentioned on the coins, was assumed by Wima probably after he extended his conquest over N. India⁹ and gained control over Pāṭaliputra, may be for a very limited time.¹⁰

The terracotta sealing from Ganwāriā is a very good evidence to prove that Wima was, in one way or the other, associated in his royal capacity with the

establishment at the site. In addition, the sealing emphasises the great importance of the site during the ancient times so much so, as to attract the personal attention of a royal personality. Political factors alone might not have been responsible for Wima to attach so much of importance to the site. It was well known that the Śākyas received one-eighth share of the corporeal relics of Lord Buddha after his cremation at Kuśīnara. The Śākyas enshrined the relics in a *stūpa* at Kapilavastu after holding a befitting ceremony. Wima, it is not unlikely, was attracted towards the site on account of its great religious importance.

The excitement of pleasurable emotions of Wima towards Buddhism may be questioned by the scholars in general, because he was an ardent devotee of Śiva, as indicated by his epithet *Mahēsvara* and the depiction of Śiva on his coins. The devotion to Śiva, however, does not necessarily mean that he was averse and antipathetic to Buddhism, the religion adopted by his father, Kujula Kadphises, who was a devout Buddhist as revealed by the epithet *Sachadharmathidasa* used by him on his coins in addition to the depiction of Buddha in a seated yogic posture.¹¹ He is also said to have sent a mission to China with a Buddhist Book under Asanga (?) (I-tsuu-kiu).¹²

Wima considered it a great honour to record that he was the son of Kapu as is evident from the legend *Kaphuputavimasa*. In order to commemorate the

name of his father, a devout Buddhist, it is likely enough that he sanctioned liberal grants for the renovation and maintenance of the Buddhist establishments at Kapilavastu. Though Wima Kadphises was himself devoted to Śiva, instances are not wanting in which pilgrims of Brahmanical faith, both Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite, donated liberally to the Buddhist establishments. Records of such pious and sacred deeds are available in the inscriptions on the rail bars and the Buddhist caves in Central and Western India during the regime of Śuṅga and Sātavāhana rulers.

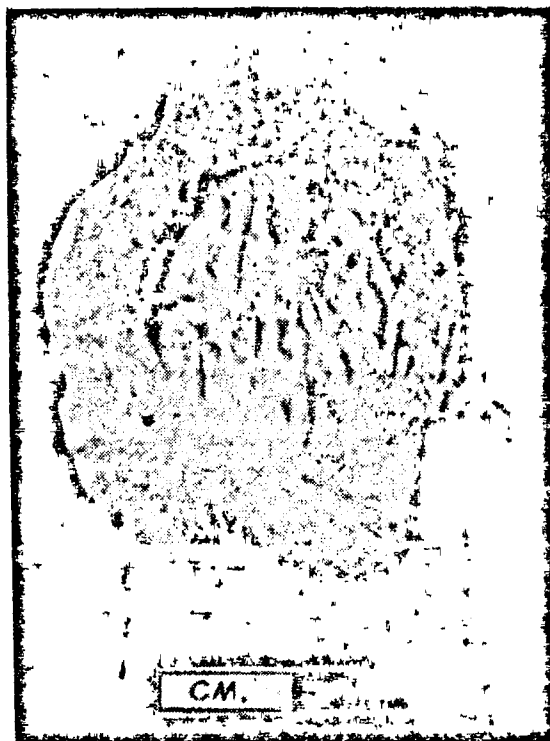
The *stūpa* at Piprāhwā as well as the monastery towards its east were

enlarged and embellished under the patronage of the great Kushāṇa king, Kanishka. These facts are revealed mainly by the legends *Ōm, Dēvaputra Vihārē, Kapilavastu Bhikku Saṅghasa* on the terracotta sealings found during the course of excavation in the eastern monastery. Of course, Kapilavastu received special attention at the hands of the devout Buddhist emperor Kanishka, but it is established by the sealing of Wima, from the main township, that the sacred site had the privilege of gaining patronage from earlier kings as well. The keen interest of the first Kushāṇa king in the development of the ancient site can also not be ruled out, particularly because of his faith in Buddhism.

Notes :

1. *Vajra* is one of the attributes of Sadāśiva and also the *samhāra-mūrti*. B.N. Sharma, *Iconography of Sadāśiva* (New Delhi 1976), p. 9, pl. X, p. 16, pls. XXVI-XXVII; Also T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography-samhāra-mūrti*, pl. XXXIII - *Kālāri-mūrti*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 159.
2. Allan, *A catalogue of the Indian Coins in British Museum* (London, 1936), pl. XXVII-11.
3. B. N. Puri, *India under the Kushāṇas*, (Bombay, 1965), p. 24; Cunningham, *ASR*, II p. 186, II Simla, III Calcutta.
4. B. N. Puri, *op. cit.* p. 24. Baldev Kumar, *The Early Kushāṇas* (1973), p. 42; *The Age of Imperial Unity*, Vol. II, p. 141.
5. D. C. Sircar, *Some Problems Concerning the Kushāṇas*, p. 30.
6. B. N. Puri, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
7. Baldev Kumar, *op. cit.*, p. 42. Also H. C. Raychaudhari, *Political History of Ancient India*, (1938 Ed.), p. 395.
8. Mishra, *The Location of Kapilavastu and Archaeological Excavations 1967-1972, Ancient Nepal*, Nos. 41-42, Aug-Nov. 1977. Reprint from *Ancient Nepal*, p. 22.
9. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, part III, p. 30. On his coins two varieties of legends are noticed :
 - (i) *Maharajasa rajadī rajasa Hima Kathpisasa.*
 - (ii) *Maharajasa Rajadirajasa Sarvaloga Isvarasa Mahisvarasa Hima Kathpisasa tradata.*

10. P. L. Gupta is of the opinion that in the Hāthigūmpha record of Khāravēta the name of the invader of Pāṭaliputra, who is said to have retreated at the approach of Khāravēta near the city is not Dimita but Wimika (Wima). *Studies in Indian Epigraphy (JESI)*, Vol. II, pp. 59-71.
11. D. C. Sircar feels that this epithet can also denote a devotee of god Sarva or Śiva and doubts its Buddhist significance. *op. cit.*, p. 2, fn. 4.
12. Cunningham, *Coins of the Indo-scythian, Saka and Kushāns*, p. 53.



Pādāvarta is often referred to in the inscriptions of the Maitrakas as a measure of land. While commenting on this term D. C. Sircar in his excellent work *Indian Epigraphy* observes "Monier-Williams understood a *pādāvarta* as one square foot, but the areas in inscriptions suggest a bigger unit. Fleet therefore thought that 100 *Pādāvartas* means 'a plot of ground measuring a hundred feet each way *i. e.*, 10,000 square feet rather than 100 square feet" pp. 418-19).

Similarly H. G. Sastri, writing in his *Maitraka Kālin Gujarāt*, expresses the same view on pp. 525-26. This is an interesting fact that requires an examination because a land donation of 100 x 100 would in reality mean only 1089 sq.

yards which is too small a field for any good use. Its size, about 25 acre or 920 sq. meters is too meagre to be recorded in copper plate. In the present day *vigha* it will be only about 50 *vighas*. In good season such a field could yield about a quintal of jowar, wheat etc. This is highly inadequate a measure, to maintain an individual or his family. The ordinary *chakariyat* land is also more than this area. Similarly it is impossible to construct a step well within 25 sq. ft. Looking to these inadequacies it is possible that our understanding of the term requires a second look. Some of the data giving the information of these measures is documented in a tabulated form as given below:

INSCRIPTION	FIELD	VAPI	KUPA	PUBLICATION
2. Pālitānā copper plates	140 140 100	16	—	IA, XI, 106
5. Pālitānā	100	12	—	<i>Bhārtiyavidyā</i> 6,248
6. Bhavnagar	100	—	—	IA, V, 105
7. Pālitānā	160	—	—	EI, 17,110
8. Gaṇēshgaḍha	300	20	—	<i>Ibid</i> , 3,320
9. Bhavnagar	50	—	Udumbav Kūpa-16	<i>Ibid</i> , 15,256
10. Pālitānā	— 50	amrilika Vāpī-12	—	<i>Ibid</i> .
11. Pālitānā	100	—	—	<i>Ibid</i> , 17,109
12. —	200	—	—	<i>Ibid</i> , 1,116
13. Pālitānā	30	12	—	<i>Ibid</i> , 11,113

16.	Vavdi-jōgiyā	700 100	51,6 16	—	<i>Viena</i> <i>Oriental Journal</i> , 7,297
17.	Vala	100	—	—	<i>JBBRAS</i> , (New) 1,18.
21.	Zar	100	35	—	<i>Pkt. and Skt. Inss.</i> , Pubd. by Bhavnagar Arch. Deptt. 31.
22.	Katpur	60	—	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , 35.
24.	Pālitāna	180	Naimba	—	<i>IA</i> , 39,130
25.	Maliya	100 15 120 10 90 100 100	28	—	<i>IA</i> , 13,160
26.	Sorath	200 220 35	—	—	<i>IA</i> , 7,68
27.	—	50 60 50 80	—	—	<i>IA</i> , 8,301
38.	Vala	120	Mochanika Vāpī-16	—	<i>JBBRAS</i> , (New) 1,29
41.	Dhanka	150	Yamal Vāpī-25	—	<i>IA</i> , 9,238
45.	Viradi	38	12	—	<i>AR of Watson Museum</i> , No. 7, 1931-32
46.	Amreli	—	Yamal Shravak- Dusa- Bhadra-	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , 1932-33, 7
47.	Bhavnagar	100 70	18	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , 21-183.
51.	Goras	100	—	—	<i>JBBRAS</i> (New), 1,53.

57. Bhavnagar	56	16	—	IA, 1,14
	28			
	14			
64. —	100	25	—	JBBRAS (New) 1,72,
65. —	50	Sirisavapi	—	Ibid (New) 1,73
	20	—25		
	20			
	10			
	50			
66. Kheda	83	20	—	JASB, 7,968
	49			
	34			
67. —	100	25	—	21,208.
		(Dhorik)		
68. Lusardi	55	—	—	EI, 4,76.
	70			
	90			
	23			
69. - do -	120	—	—	Ibid, 11,306
71. Jesar	104	—	—	Ibid, 22,114
118. Vala	100	—	—	Jnl. of the Bombay University 3,77

The table indicates that land was donated for wells, step-wells and fields. The reference to *kūpa* indicates 16 *pādāvarta*. The land donated for *vāpis* indicates the size varying from 5 to about 32 *pādāvartas*. The *kshētras* vary from ten *pādāvartas* to more than 700. Incidentally a well according to *Aparājita-prichchha* has the diameter of more than four hands=meters diameter=6 meters of circumference. The larger wells of a 10 *hasta*=5 meters=15 meters circumference were also built. Thus it indicates that only

the shafts would vary in their dimensions.

The *vāpis* are much larger than the wells. They are more than 10 meters in length and longer ones are much larger. Under both the conditions the equation of *pādāvarta* = a square foot will be inadequate. Under these circumstances and in the absence of written records, our savants were not able to explain the term. This problem was very much in the mind of the present author during the field work at Valabhi. It was a common experience that sometimes the

local traditions continue the old usage in a given area. So it was thought to give a trial to this method.

For this purpose inquiries were made at Valabhi, the capital of the Maitrakas, specially the dialogues with the Chairman of the Nagar Panchayat Shri Dharamsimha Kakadia proved very useful as he is a traditional worker who built temples and used to work at constructions. The data supplied by him were verified in dialogues with others.

This line of inquiry revealed that at Valabhi, a system of land measure was used which was noted as the *karam*. Further inquiry indicated that *karam* was a distance of two steps. It is calculated by walking at a normal step and it is counted at the return of the first leg that was lifted, so if one lifts his left leg first, the distance covered by left-right and left is considered to be one *karam*. For measuring the steps experiments were conducted by the author by taking the height and distance of the steps. The distance measure included the heel of the first step and the toe of the last step. The minimum height of the individual was 1.48 meters and maximum height was 1.75 meters.

The term *karam* seems to have been a shortened form of *pādākrama*, i. e., return of the same foot in walking. This term indicates the meaning of *āvarta* in the sense of the completion of one

circle. Thus the term *pādāvarta* would mean the return of the same foot or complete circle of the movement of feet.

If this meaning be accepted then the problem of the distance between two steps would require a little thought. The distance of steps is variable and is found to vary between 1.90 to 1.9 meters. This would mean that *karam* would be 1.90 to 2.90 meters. The *pādāvarta* also will be of the same distance. Its mean distance might be 2.50 meters. The other factor that emerged from the study is that when 100 *karam* is explained as area measure it means 100x100 and thus 100 *pādāvarta* will be equivalent 190 x 190 or 290 x 290 meters. It would therefore be equivalent to about 2.60 to 8.4 hectares of land. The conversion in acres would be equivalent roughly to 5 to 19 acres for the fields. This would give a mean figure of about 12 acres of land. The *kūpa* with about 16 *pādāvarta* would mean a large well with atleast 32 meters in circumference. This would be a large well, and the measurements for step-wells also will be satisfactory.

Thus the term *karam* that is in local use seems to explain the *pādāvarta* more satisfactorily than the explanation given by Fleet and other scholars. Though this is not very standardised term of reference from modern view point, it was a clear indication of good measure of a donated land.

25 ONE MORE EDICT OF JAHANGIR FROM MADHYA PRADESH

M. F. Khan

It can be claimed proudly that under the able guidance of Dr. Z. A. Desai, formerly Superintending Epigraphist and now Director of Epigraphy, the Epigraphy Branch, Nagpur, has explored almost all the places of Mālwā region now merged in the present Madhya Pradesh State and discovered a good number of outstanding inscriptions of the Mālwā Sultāns as well as of the Mughal emperors.

All these epigraphs had been brought to light in the respective *Annual Reports on Epigraphy*¹ and quite a few of them were published in the series of *Epigraphia Indica-Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*.

Of the inscriptions of the Mughal emperors three royal orders, engraved on stone and issued by Jahāngīr regarding remission of *zakāt*, found at Shivpuri, Kalās (in Shivpuri district) and Sirōñj (in Vidisha district), were earlier published by me and my former colleague S. A. Rahim in the *EIPAS*, 1964 and 1968 respectively.

In this paper I venture to study one more edict of Jahāngīr regarding abolition of levy of *zakāt* which was issued in his first regnal year (1606 A.D.) It was in 1970 when I visited Sirōñj and its adjoining villages that I was informed there by Abdul Wahid Bhai, a Zamīndār of Sirōñj, that he had seen a Persian inscription in the

vicinity of Bhoria, a small village 5 kms away from Sirōñj. On hearing this I visited that place next day and found a stone pillar standing on the ground near a well called *Qalandari Kuwān*.

Sirōñj, as mentioned in the record, is situated between 24°6' N and 77°43' E. It is now decayed and reduced to a tahsil headquarters of Vidisha district but once was having better days when it was on the direct route between Agra and Deccan. During Akbar's time it was one of the *maḥals* of the Chandēri Sarkār in the *Subā* of Mālwā and was granted as *jāgīr* by the emperor Akbar to Gharib Das Khichi Chauhan of Raghugaḍh as a reward for his meirtorious services.²

The importance of the inscription is manifold. Firstly, it registers a royal order of Jahāngīr issued in his first regnal year prohibiting the levy of *zakāt* throughout his kingdom and intimating the governors, *jāgīrdārs* and all the revenue officers not to charge the same. Secondly, it indicates that the levy of *zakāt* had lost its religious significance and become an ordinary tax. Thirdly, it informs that the emperors used to abolish some taxes from time to time but the *jāgīrdārs* continued to collect these cesses even after their abolition and then the emperors had to issue royal orders for their remission. Fourthly,

it shows that Mughal emperors were quite vigilant in their administration and whenever they were informed of any injustice or oppression by the *jāgirdārs* they used their good offices to curb it and provide possible facilities

to the people, particularly traders.

The text of the epigraph which consists of twelve lines in Persian in Nastaliq characters occupies a total space of 70 by 45 cm.³ It has been deciphered as under:—

TEXT

- 1 Farmān-i-Abu'l Muzaffer Nūru'd-Dīn Muḥammad Jahangir Bādshāh-i-Ghāzī
- 2 Ḥukkām-i-Karām-o-'Ammāl-o-Jāgirdārān-o-Karoriyān
- 3 wa Rāhdārān wa Guzarbanan-i-qasba Sironj bidānand kih
- 4 Chūn hum * himmati 'adālat pairay-e-ba rifah-i-ḥāl-i-Kāffah
- 5 'Ibādu'llah masrūfast Khususan tu'jjar dida-wa-dānista
- 6 Zakat dar ku'l mumālik-i-Maḥrūsa m'uāf farmūdand
- 7 wa abwāb-i-mutālaba-i-ūra masdūd sākhtand her kas
- 8 b'ad azīn nām-i-zakāt bar zubān ārad ba 'aqūbat-i-gūnāgūn
- 9 giraftār gardad agar kase b'ad azīn khilāfi-ḥukm-i-ashraf-i-aqdas-i-
- 10 'aāla khuwāhad? namūna-i-har-ā'ina baghadab-i-bādshāhī
- 11 kih namūna-i-ghadab-ilāhī ast giraftār khwāhad Shud
- 12 ba tārikh 22nd Shwwāl sana 1014 (Hijrī) (20th February, 1606 A.D.)

TRANSLATION

- 1 The royal order (*farmān*) of Abu'l Muzaffar Nuru'd-Din Muhammad Jahangir Badshah-i-Ghazi
- 2 The great governors, commissioners, *jāgirdārs*, *Kakoris*,⁴
- 3 *Rāhdārs*⁵ and *Guzarbāns*⁶ of the *qasba* of Sirōñj should note
- 4-5 that since whole of the wisdom decorating attention (of the employer) is engaged on the welfare of the general public (lit. all the creatures of Allāh), more particularly
- 6-8 the traders, we have, of our knowledge and experience, remitted *zakāt*, in the whole of the protected kingdom (and) have closed the doors of its levy. Whoever after this (order) utters (even) the word *zakāt* on his lips
- 9-10 he will be liable to different kinds of punishments. If any one should, after this, act contrary to the exalted (and) most holy royal orders he will be

- 11 prosecuted under the curse of the emperor which is like specimen of the Divine wrath.
- 12 Dated 22nd Shawwal year A.H. 1014 (i.e. 1606 A.D.).

Before we conclude, a note on the term *zakāt* may not be out of place here. The literary meaning of *zakāt* is, alms, obligatory on every Muslim possessed of capital or landed property or 'purification' as the alms and given, sanctity the use of the remainder. As a matter of fact it is one of the five columns of the religious edifice and the the corner-stone of the financial structure. According to Qurānic law the believer is required to pay a fortieth portion of his capital or one-tenth of the produce from the earth under his possession for an entire year. It is not leviable on instruments, residential houses, clothes, household effects, conveyance, precious stones and other objects which are not capable of production or increase. The underlying idea of *zakāt* is that the well-to-do members of the Muslim community should pay some share of their surplus money to the Islamic State to be used for charitable purposes.⁷ We are informed that the connotation of *zakāt* changed with the passage of time and, under the influence of jurists, it assumed a meaning which the Prophet and his immediate descendants had not visualized. These later developed principles changed *zakāt* into a tax. The information available in contemporary records is tantalizing in its meagreness and it is difficult, therefore, to arrive at any definite conclusion about the nature and imposition of *zakāt* during about Sultanate period.⁸ In all probability during the time of Mughal

emperors it was realized as a distinct tax payable by individual trader on import and export of commodities. The rate prescribed for the Muslim traders was two and a half percent on the value of the commodity imported. The Christians and Jews paid four percent while the Hindūs were required to pay five percent. In the seventh year of his reign the emperor Akbar abolished this levy on a number of articles which were of daily use such as foodstuffs, medicines, perfumes, textiles made of linen, cotton and wool, accessories made of leather, utensils made of wood, copper, canes and bamboos and anything else which was judged to be an article of necessity of the people. Jahāngīr continued the policy of his father and did not levy *zakāt*. We are informed by Jahāngīr that in his first regnal year (i.e., A.H. 1014= 1606 A.D.) the levy of *zakāt* was abolished by him in his kingdom.⁹ Even in the border provinces of Kandhār and Kābul, though the *zakāt* was the main source of revenue in these areas, it was ordered to be abolished. Under Aurangzeb it was given up so far as it concerned the non-Muslims because it was felt that *zakāt* could not be levied on them as it was purely an obligatory tax on the believers of God having religious significance. Hence all the money realised from *zakāt* from the Muslims was kept in a separate treasury and was earmarked for the charitable purposes.

Notes :

- 1 *AREp.*, 1952-53, Nos. C62-68; *Ibid*, 1954-55, Nos. C104-09; *Ibid*, 1955-56, No. D112; *Ibid*, 1957-58, Nos. D-123-37; *Ibid*, 1958-59, No. D-80; *Ibid*, 1960-61, Nos. D-76-156; *Ibid*, 1961-62, Nos. D-42-96; *Ibid*, 1963-64, Nos. D-96-159; *Ibid*, 1964-65, Nos. D-72-74; *Ibid*, 1965-66, Nos. D-115-57; *Ibid*, 1966-67, Nos. D47-132; 1968-69, Nos. D-348-77; *Ibid*, 1969-70, Nos. D-66-115; *Ibid*, 1970-71, Nos. D-63-105; *Ibid*, 1971-72, Nos. D-71-129; *Ibid*, 1972-73, No. D-46; *Ibid*, 1973-74, Nos. D-204-33.
- 2 A. R. Khan, *Chieftains in the Mughal empire during the reign of Akbar* (Delhi-1977), p. 136.
- 3 *AREp.*, 1970-71, No. D 93.
- 4 An officer-in-charge of circle yielding revenue of one karor of *dāms*.
- 5 A collector of levy on articles of import and export at the custom posts.
- 6 An officer-in-charge of collecting toll tax on the high roads and at ferries.
- 7 S. A. Siddiqi, *Public Finance in Islam*, pp. 8-9.
- 8 I. H. Qureshi, *The Administration of the Mughal Empire*, pp. 141, 146-47.
- 9 Jahāngīr, *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Aligarh-1864), p. 21.

فرمان ابراهیم مظفر نور الدین محمد صاحب کراچی
 حکام گرام و شمال و بیکر داران و کوریان
 و راهداران دکن در بامان قصه شروع بر آنکه
 چون یکی هست عدالت پر ای بر ما مان کانه
 صا و ادلا س و رفت خمر صا بخار و دیده و در
 زکوة در کل مکتب محروم و مانف و مورد ایم
 و ابراب مطالبه اثر اسید و و ساخته ایم هر کس
 بعد ازین نام زکوة بر زبان آورد بقدمت که اگر
 کرتا کرد اگر کسی بعد ازین خلاف دکم اثر
 اعلیٰ خوا
 که کونز نقض اعلیٰ امت کرتا رخه اعلیٰ
 تاریخ ۱۱۱۱۱۱۱۱

Kārkaḷa, in the district of South Kānara, is too well known as a great centre of Jainism and a place of pilgrimage. The imposing monolithic statue of Bāhubali, the sky-high *Mānastambha* and the massive Chaturmukha *basadi* are but a few monuments that speak to us of the grand political and religious history of this place.

From Hiriyaṅgaḍi, a suburb of Kārkaḷa, hails an inscription¹ belonging to the time of Lōkanāthadēvarasa. This is dated in Śaka 1256, Bhāva, Phālguṇa śu 5, Wednesday corresponding to 1334 A. D., February 9. This inscription is in Kannaḍa language and late Hoysaḷa characters. It contains 40 lines and is in a good state of preservation.

The inscription starts with usual Jaina invocatory verse. It gives a string of imperial epithets to the king Lōkanāthadēvarasa such as *samasta-bhuvanāśraya*, *Sri-prithvivallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Rāja-paramēśvara* and *Parama-Bhaṭṭāraka*. The king belonged to the Śāntara dynasty of Poṃbuchchaputra (Mod. Humcha in the Nagar Taluk of Shimoga Dt.). This is clear from his titles *Uttara-Madhurādhīśvara*, *Paṭṭi-Poṃbuchchu - puravarādhīśvara*, *Mahōgravaṃśa-lalāma* and *Padmāvati-dēvilubdha-vara-prasāda*. He was a worshipper at the feet of the Jaina preceptor Chārukīrti paṇḍitadēva. The record gives a

string of *birudas* to this preceptor, such as *Rāya-rāja-guru*, *Maṅḍalāchārya*, *Rāya-jīvarakshāpāla*, *Ballāḷu-rāya-chitta-chamatkāra* (i. e., an object of admiration for the Hoysaḷa emperor), etc.

This record states that Lōka.āthadēvarasa was a *Mahāmaṅḍalēśvara* (feudatory ruler), but never mentions the name or title of his overlord. Fortunately two of the Hoysaḷa records mention the name of a certain feudatory Lōkanāthadēva. The records hail from Hosāḷa² and Mēlaḍupu,³ both in Udupi Taluk of South Kanara district. The Hosāḷa inscription of Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa III (1291-1342 A. D.) belonging to 1334 A. D., Feb., mentions a Lōkanāthadēva of Dattāḷvara-baiḷ. The Mēlaḍupu inscription of Chikkāyi-Tāyi (queen of Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa III) belongs to 1344 A. D., Dec. 6. The record mentions Vīra-Lōkanāthadēvarasa as her subordinate. The Lōkanāthadēva of Hosāḷa inscription has been identified by K. V. Ramesh⁴ with Vīra-Lōkanāthadēvarasa of Mēlaḍupu and Hiriyaṅgaḍi records. Hence, it is clear that Lōkanāthadēvarasa of the Hiriyaṅgaḍi record was a feudatory of the Hoysaḷa emperor Ballāḷa III and later of his queen Chikkāyi-Tāyi. It has been surmised elsewhere⁵ that Lōkanāthadēvarasa, being a loyal feudatory of Ballāḷa III, was permitted to add the Kārkaḷa region to his own principality of Śāntalige-1000.

The record states that Lōkanāthadēvarasa was the son of Bommidēvarasa and his chief queen Siddhaladēvi. The purport of the record is to register the grant of lands by the elder sisters (*akkandiru*) of Lōkanāthadēvarasa, namely Bommaladēvi and Sōmaladēvi, and Allapaatikāri and others to the Sāntinātha-basadi. It is stated that this *basadi* was constructed by the pupils of Śrī-Kumudachandra-Bhaṭṭāraka who was the chief disciple (*agrasishya*) of Śrī-Bhānukīrti-Maladhāridēva. The pontiff belonged to Mūlasaṅgha and Kāṅūr-gaṇa. Lines 11-15 are in praise of the pontiff Maladhāridēva. He is stated to be the well-wisher of four castes (*chatur-varṇa-hitakāri*). The grant to the said *basadi* was made on the occasion of the birthday (*vaḍḍantiya dinadalu*) of the king Lōkanāthadēvarasa. Very rarely we come across inscriptions mentioning such events as the birth day celebrations of rulers. The grant was made as *sarvamānya*.

Besides, the king also made land grants to the *basadi* after purchasing it from a person in the place called Kavudūru (in Karkala taluk). Further, the king, along with the *pradhāni* (chief minister), the *halaru* of Kārkaḷa and the *ubhayanānādēsis* made another gift to the *basti* viz., the income from tolls on various goods like pepper, paddy, rice, ginger, etc. The record states that the income from these sources such as land, tolls and interest must be used for the daily worship and maintenance and repairs of the *basadi*. A person byname

Adamṇṇa took initiative and worked for this *dharmakārya*.

Recently I have discovered an inscription belonging to Lōkanāthadēvarasa inside the *prākāra* of the Gōpālakṛishṇa temple in Kābeṭṭu, a suburb of Kārkaḷa. It is dated Śaka 1260, Bahudhānya, Vṛiśchika 1, Bṛihaspativāra corresponding to 1338 A. D., October 29. This record is of special interest. Unlike the Hiriyaṅgaḍi record, it begins with the titles of the king viz., *Samasta-Bhuvanavikhyāta*, *Surakula-kamalamārtāṇḍa*, *Jaya-Śrī-Vallabha*, *Paramēśvara*, *Parama-Bhaṭṭāraka* and *parabaḷa-jagadaḷa*. It states that the king was a worshipper at the feet of Lord Kāntēśvara (*Śrimat-Kāntēśvaradēvara-divya-śrī-pāda-padmārādhaka*). The record mentions his mother Siddala-mahādēvi and the *pradhāni* (chief minister) Allappaatikāri. The purport of the inscription is, of course, to record grants made to certain *brāhmaṇas* (names mentioned) for the worship of god Gōpīnātha.

Some of the titles of Lōkanāthadēvarasa mentioned in this record, if compared, are new to the Hiriyaṅgaḍi record. The mention of Kāntēśvara and the king as His worshipper is a point to be noted. Kāntēśvara is the name of the god Śiva of Kāntāvara, a place in Karkala Taluk. The Mēlaḍupu record, referred to above, informs us of the other titles of the king such as *pāra-nāri-sahōdara*, *Rāyu-murāri* and *parabala-sādhaka*.

We come to know from the Kābeṭṭu record that Allappa-atikāri was the *pradhāni*

of the king. But the Hiriyāṅgaḍi record simply mentions his name.

The study of these two inscriptions reveals that Lōkanāthadēvarasa was a very powerful feudatory ruler. In the opinion of scholars Lōkanāthadēva must have been one of the descendants of Āḷupa-Sāntara alliance and the absence of any record belonging to the reign of Bommidēva (father of Lōkanāthadēva) in South Kanara itself suggests that he did not belong to the Tuḷu country.⁶

An attempt is made here to trace the whereabouts of Bommidēva which would help us know whether Lōkanāthadēva ruled over only Kārkaḷa territory or both Sāntaḷige-1000 and Kārkaḷa. Suryanath Kamath makes an inference that Lōkanāthadēvarasa must have succeeded his father Bommidēvarasa, who in turn must have succeeded Vīra-Pāṇḍya-dēva, son of Kāḷa-ladēvi. But according to P. Gururaja Bhatt Bommidēva was not the son of Vīra-Pāṇḍya-dēva but ruled on behalf of his wife Siddala-dēvi who may be the latter's sister.⁷

Very recently an inscription belonging to the time of Kāḷala-mahādēvi, the only one so far found in South Kanara, has been discovered in Nallūr, Karkala taluk. The so far known dates of this queen extend from 1270 to 1281.⁸ A. D. The new record extends the date further to 1286 A. D., July 3 (*i. e.*, of the record). The record is of utmost importance for the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa history. But it is silent about the persons under study.

We come across a Sāntara king Bommarasa in a few inscriptions⁹ from

Shimoga District of Karnataka. A record of 1265 A. D. from Hosagunda gives a long list of epithets to Bommarasa such as *Mahāmaṅḍalēśvara, Mūrti-nārāyaṇa, ativishama-hayārūḍha-rēkhā-rēvanta, Vilāsa-vallabha, maṅḍaḷikagaḷa-gaṅḍagattari, Saraṅagata-vajra-pañjara, Billēśvara-dēvara-labdha-vara-prasāda, Sri-prasanna-Sōmanātha-dēvara-divya-śrī-pāda-padmārādhaka, parabaḷa-sādhaka*. Another record of 1275 A. D. from the same place¹¹ gives a further list of titles of Bommarasa besides the above, such as *Tuḷurāya-pratishṭhāchārya, arirāya-jagaddaḷa* and the lord of the Western seas. The record states that Bommarasa, lord of Paṭṭi-Pombuchchapura was ruling from his capital Hosagunda.

The places Hosagunda and Humcha were well-nigh situated in the territory of Sāntaḷige-1000. The temple of Billēśvara was in the very capital Hosagunda. Then the problem of identification of Prasanna-Sōmanātha arises. Fortunately, we have a clue in one of the titles of the king mentioned above *i. e.*, *Tuḷurāya-pratishṭhāchārya*. This title must have been obtained by the king only after certain successful political acts which also resulted in the extension of territory below the Ghats (precisely Karkala taluk). Moreover, Sāntara influence and rule over Tuḷu-nāḍu can be traced from the time of the early Āḷupas.¹² Then, it is likely that Prasanna-Sōmanātha was none but Sōmanātha of Puttige, in Karkala taluk.

Kāntēśvara of Kāntāvara mentioned in the Kābeṭṭu inscription of Lōkanātha-

dēvarasa is also in Karkala Taluk. This brings the two persons, Bommarasa and Lōkanāthadēvarasa together. Mention has been made already that both Bommidēva and Lōkanātha did not originally belong to the Tuḷu country. Therefore, a suggestion is being made here that Bommidēvarasa of the Hiriyaṅgaḍi record was none other than Bommarasa, the Śāntara chief of Hosagunda. It is likely that even before the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa family of Śāntaras took over the Kārkaḷa territory, it was under the direct control of the Humcha-Hosagunda line of Śāntaras. To this line belonged Lōkanāthadēvarasa.

Bommarasa was the son of *Mahāmaṅḍalēsvara* Bīridēva (Bīrarasa) and queen Ponnaladēvi. This is stated in an inscription of Bommarasa belonging to 1269 A. D. Bīridēva was the lord of Śāntaḷige-

1000 (*Śāntaḷige - sāsirada-bhū-kāntege-pati-Bīridēva*).¹⁴ Bīridēva too had possessed the title of *Tuḷu-rājya-samuddharaṇa*, according to an inscription¹⁵ from Hosagunda belonging to 1254 A. D. By the time of his death in 1257 A. D.,¹⁶ he must have completed his fifty years of rule over Śāntaḷige, because in one of his records of 1254 A. D.¹⁷ his 47th regnal year has been mentioned. Probably then Bommarasa succeeded his father and ruled upto 1277 A. D.¹⁸ when he died while fighting. An inscription from Hosagunda, of 1265 A. D.,¹⁹ informs us that Bommarasa, son of Bīrarasa was second to none in valour, generosity, kindness and justice.

With the help of the inscriptions of Bommarasa and his son Lōkanāthadēvarasa the following genealogical table can be constructed:

Mahāmaṅḍalēsvara Bīrarasa (Qn. Ponnaladēvi)
(1207-57 A. D.)

Mahāmaṅḍalēsvara Bommarasa (Qn. Siddaladēvi)
(1257-77 A. D.)

Bommaladēvi

Sōmaladēvi

Lōkanāthadēvarasa
(C. 1277-1344 A. D.)

The known dates of Lōkanāthadēvarasa range from 1334 A. D., Feb. 9th to 1344 A. D., Dec. 6.th However, it will not be out of our scope to suggest that he

succeeded his father Bommidēvarasa soon after the latter's death in 1277 A. D. This provides a long reign to the king. The Kābeṭṭu inscription, belonging to 1338 A. D.,

refers to the king as *gojjappagaḷu*. Lexicon meaning of *gojja* or *gojjappa* is, 'elderly', 'old', etc.²⁸ It is thus clear that

when Lōkanātha issued this record in 1338 A.D., he was sufficiently old.²⁸

HIRIYANGADI GURUGALA BASTI INSCRIPTION : TEXT

- 1 Namas = Siddhēbhyāḥ [*] Śrīmat-parama-gāmbhīra syād-vād-āmōgha-lāmchhanam
[*] jīyāt-trailōkya-nāthasya
- 2 śāsanam jina-śāsanam | Svasti samasta-bhuvan-āśraya-śrī-pṛithuvivallabha - mahā-
rājādhīrā -
- 3 jam rājaparamēśvaram parama-bhaṭṭārakam samadhigata-paṁcha-mahāśabdām
mahāmaṇḍalēśvaram Utta -
- 4 ra-Madhurādhiśvaram Paṭṭi-Pombuchcha-puravarādhiśvaram Mahōgra-vaṁśa-lalā-
mam Pa -
- 5 dmāvatīdevī-labdha-vara-prasādāsādita-vipula-tulā-pūrushanum Pāriśvadēva-dibya -
- 6 śrīpāda-padmārādhakanum = appa śrīmatu Rāya-rājaguru maṇḍalācharyarum
- 7 Rāya - jīva-rakshāpālarum Ballājarāya - chitta - chamatkārarum mantravādi-makara-
dhvaja -
- 8 rum = appa śrīmatu Chārukīrti-paṇḍitadēvara divya-śrīpāda-padmārādhakanum =
appa paraba -
- 9 la-jagaddaḷa śrīman = Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara śrī-Lōkanāthadēvarasaru pṛithvī-rājyam
geyuttam = i -
- 10 ralu Saka-varsha 1256 neya Bhāva samvascharada Phālguna śuddha paṁchami
Budha-vārad = a -
- 11 ndu Rāya-rājaguru maṇḍalāchāryarum Tribhuvanavidyāchakravarttīgaḷum tapa -
- 12 rāja-rājarum tapa-chakravarttīgaḷum yati-śrī-nileyarum gurukula-jyōti -
- 13 rūparum gurukula-samaya - samuddharaṇarum madhyāmnha - kalpa-vṛiksharum vād-
ībha-va -
- 14 jrāmkuśarum khaṇḍasphuṭita-jirṇa-jinālayōddhārakarum | chaturvarṇa-hitakā -
- 15 rigḷum ubhaya-ratna-trayārādhakarum = appa | Śrī-Mūlasaṁgha Kāṇūr-gaṇa śrī-
Bhānukī -
- 16 rtti - Maladhāridēvara agra - śishyarum = appa | Śrī-Kumudachandra - bhaṭṭāraka-dēvara
Kāreka -
- 17 ḷada samasta-guḍḍugaḷu kaṭṭisida Sāntināthadēvara bastige | Svasti-śrīmatu Bom-

- 18 midēvarasara paṭṭada rāṇivāsa Siddhaladēviyar = avara kumāra Lōkanāthadeva-
rasar = a -
- 19 kkandiru Bommaladēviyarum Sōmaladēviyarum Allappa-atikāriḡaḡum
- 20 Sāliya baḡiya samarttha-sitagara-ḡaṇḡa Hosabaḡaḡharum Kukkudūra Śrī-bayelalu †
- 21 Katti-timaru bovim-baḡḡi Chemnayahaḡḡi antu ēkatra gadde 3 antu ēkatra mū-
22 ḡaṇḡugadalu bittuva mūḡe 30 [*] i bhūmiya ā-ūra horavinavarum Kāre-
23 kaḡada nāḡa-nakaraum śrī-Lōkanāthadēvarasara vaḡḡamtiya dinadalu amḡita-paḡivi-
24 ṇḡe dhārā-pūrvakavāḡi eḡadu koṭṡaru [*] i bhūmige sarvamānyavendu śāsanavanikki-
25 si koṭṡaru † Mattamā arasugaḡ kayinda Kavaḡūralu kaṡṡatila emba bayelanu adaku-
26 ḡantā kāḡu-kajeyanu beleyanikki hoḡna koṡṡu Hosabaḡaḡharum ā ūra horavinavaru-
27 m muntāḡi dhārāpūrvakavāḡi eḡadu i bhūmigeyum alli idda vokkaligeyum sarvva-
mānya-
- 28 vendu śāsanada kallanikkisi koṡṡaru † i bhūmiyoḡage kabeya Maindi-seṡṡi avara
tammandiru
- 29 Māchiseṡṡi Mādisēṡṡi dēvaru-um tamma kayinda hoḡna koṡṡu amḡitapaḡivige
saluva bhatta-
- 30 da mūḡe 36 varusha-prati 108 kalaśadali mahā-abhishēka gandha dīpa dhūpa allinda na-
31 ḡavudu [*] i bhūmiyinda migitada ādāya bastiya jirṇōddhārakke † mattam i
arasugaḡum pradhā-
- 32 narum Kārekaḡada halarum ubhayanānādēśiḡaḡum biṡṡa sumka seleya maḡavege
vuppina
- 33 hēriḡe meṇasina bhārakke soṡṡiya bhārakke bhattada hēriḡe akkiya hēriḡe eḡḡu-
34 hēriḡe ivu modalāda sarva sumka ivu dēvara bhōḡakke naḡavudu [*] i bhūmiyinda-u
baḡḡiya bha-
- 35 ttadinda-u alli banda ādāyavanu dēvara śrī-kārya jirṇōddhāravanu māḡi migilādadu
36 akshaya bhaṇḡārakke † i dharmma-kāryavanu Ādamṇṇamḡaḡu māḡisidaru † i śāsanakke
tappi-
- 37 davaru paḡcha-mahāpātaka māḡida dōsha † Vārāṇasiyalli kavileya konda dōsha † Suda-
38 ttam paradattam vā yō harētya vasumdhare shasṡtir-varusha sahasrāṇi viṡṡāyām
jāyatē krimi
- 39 † i śāsana baradava Nāḡa-maindi seṡṡi Ja jinali † vardhatām Jina-śāsanam † Maḡaḡa-
mahā-Śrī-Śrī-Śrī [**]
- 40 i śāsanavan=ōdi baradava Eragōjana maga Māyōja [*] Śrī-Ratnatraya-Śvāmigaḡa
Śrī-pāda-śaraṇu [**]

KABETTU GOPALAKRISHNA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION : TEXT

1 Svasti [*] Samasta-bhuvana-vikhyāta-surakula-kama-
 2 la-mārtāṇḍa jaya-śrī-vallabhaṁ Paramēśvaram Parama-
 3 bhāṭṭārakam śrīmat-Kāntēśvaradēvara divya-śrī-pāda-
 4 padmarādhakarum = appa parabala-jagadaḷa Śrī-vīra Lōkanā-
 5 tha-dēvarasaru avara tāyi Siddalamahādēviyarum ā
 6 pradhāni Allapa-atikāriyu Eraḍu-kōla baḷiya
 7 samasta-jana-parivāraru neradu sukha-saṁkathā-vinō-
 8 dadimdale ā gojjapagaḷu Śakha-varusha 1260
 9 neya Bahudhānya Saṁvachharada Vrichchika māsa 1 ne-
 10 ya Bṛihaspati-vāradandu Kāreyapalliya [Ha]-
 11 risha Lakshmaṇa-bhāṭṭaru Hari-Nāraṇa-bhāṭṭaru...
 12 bhāṭṭarum baḷiya bhāṭṭaru bhāṭṭara maga bhāṭṭaru
 13 dēvasyada kramaventendaḍe ā ūrologe .. naḍevan-
 14 tha samudāya beḍamgoḷa datha.
 15 . ru ā ūra Gōpināthadēvariṁgevu ā ūra mahā-
 16 janakkevum .. āvanobban-aḷupi-
 17 daḍem Vāraṇāsiyali [sahasra] kavileya konda dō-
 18 sha a ūra [mū]la-sthānadalli naḍevudu... Svadattām
 19 paradattām vā yō harēchcha vasundhara shasṭīrvaru-
 20 sha sahasrāṇi visṭṭāyām jāyatē krimi | naka.
 21 .. doḷage tonṭa-doḷage kaḷana konda dōsavakku | Yi
 22 .. va .. sa . Gōpana Sēnappa | Maṅgaḷamahā śrī [**]

Notes :

1. *AREp.*, 1901, No. 71 : *SII.*, VII, No. 24/
2. *AREp.*, 1931-32, No. 262.
3. *Ibid.*, No. 240.
4. K. V. Ramesh, *History of South Kanara*, pp. 139-40 and 142-43.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 134.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 139-140.
7. P. Gururaja Bhat : *Studies in Tuḷuva History and Culture*, pp. 83-84.

8. *EC*, VI, Nos. Mg. 67, 71, 73 and 75.
9. *Ibid.*, VIII, Sagar No. 128, 134, 137 to 140 etc., Nagar Nos. 1 to 6, 8 to 11, 20 etc.
10. *Ibid.*, Sagar No. 140.
11. *Ibid.*, No. 134.
12. *SII*, VII, Nos. 294 and 327
EI, XXXVII, pp. 269-76
EI, VIII, Nagar No. 35 etc.
13. *Ibid.*, Sagar No. 138. The Śaka year 1132 mentioned here is wrong for 1192. However Śukla fell in Śaka 1191.
14. *Ibid.*, Sagar 140
15. *Ibid.*, No. 150
16. *Ibid.*, Nagar 6
17. *Ibid.*, Sagar 150
18. *Ibid.*, Nagar 20
19. *Ibid.*, Sagar 140
20. *SII*, Vol. VII, No. 241
21. *AREp.*, 1931-32, No. 240
22. *Saṁkshipta Kannaḍa Nighaṇṭu*, pp. 302, ff.
23. I am very grateful to Dr. K. V. Ramesh for his kind help in reading the Kābeṭṭu inscription and in preparing this paper.

This copper plate was in the possession of Sri Ramachandra Pradhan, Sarpanch of the village Gatarēj in the Dhenkanal District of Orissa. The source from which it came to his family is not known. It was procured for the Orissa State museum on loan and returned to the owner after decipherment and taking some impressions from it.

This is a single plate having writing on both sides. The obverse contains 13 lines and the reverse 10 lines of writing. The inscription is on the whole well preserved. The letters are deep-cut and well formed. The plate measures 17.8 cm x 15.2 cm. It has a seal attached to its left side which resembles in form a full-blown lotus exhibiting two rows of petals and measures 6 cm in diameter. A lump of copper in the shape of a ball is superimposed at the centre of this lotus. Lotus petals are curved on the body of it. The legend in one line is engraved on the front of this ball. But the letters of the legend are not legible. The size of the letters engraved on the seal are much smaller in comparison to the letters on the body of the plate.

The characters used in the inscription may be assigned to the 10th century and resemble to some extent those of the Talchēr plate of Gayāḍatunḡa¹ and other inscriptions of the Tuṅga family to which the

donor belonged and the grants of the Nandōdbhavas and the Sulkis etc. They are also regular for the period and locality in which the plates were issued. As regards palaeographical peculiarities, some letters exhibit more than one form. *N* has two forms, one of which resembles *m* in shape (*pratipālanīyaṁ* in line 13). There is no difference between *p* and *y*, (*śrēya-prāpti*, lines 1 and 2; *Jayapura*, line 3 etc). The final consonant *m* at the end of a word is changed to *anusvāra* in many cases. Sometimes *anusvāra* has been unnecessarily used and final *n* is substituted by *anusvāra* (*rājasthānīyāṁ*, line 6). The signs for medial *ē* and *ā* *mātrās* are of different varieties, sometimes long and sometimes short (*śrēya*, line 1, *dattāyaiḥ*, line 19; *lōlāṁ*, line 21). In one case the medial *ā* is represented as small vertical stroke at the right (*vyavahāriṇāṁ* line 8). The initial vowels *a*, *i* and *u* occur in lines 12, 13, 14, 18, 20 and 23. The initial sign for *i* is represented by two ringlets placed side by side with a curved *ita* like sign below them (*iti*, lines 20 and 23). Punctuation is indicated by single or double *daṅḡas* in several cases unnecessarily. The medial signs for *ō* and *au* are sometimes not easily distinguishable (*Gōndrama*, line 5; *vōdhayati*, line 8; *yō*, line 17 and *vilōpyā*, line 22). The medial sign for *ē* is sometimes indicated by a curved stroke at the

top left of letter (*srēya*, line 1; *harē* line 17). The same is the case with *v* which is invariably pronounced as *b* in Oriya. There is no distinction between *p* and *y*. Final *t* occurs in lines 3, 9, 12 and 20 without top horizontal stroke on the letter. Final *n* and *m* occur in lines 8 and 21 respectively (*Janapadān* and *lōlām*). Sometimes the consonant *r* and punctuation marks are difficult to distinguish. The forms of some of the conjunct consonants are worthy of note, such as, *inā* and *kshu* in line 1, *rṇṇa* in line 3, *kshma* in line 10, *ś=cha* in line 11. The subscript *n* resembles *tu* and of modern Oriya style of writing. The language is Sanskrit and the record is written partly in verse and partly in prose.

As regards orthography, no distinction is made between the signs for *b* and *v*. Consonant after *r* is generally doubled. The influence of local dialect and local pronunciation of Sanskrit is noticed in some of the following words: *nimitāya* (line 2.), *bhaviṣhyam* and *sthānīyam* (line 6.), *daṇḍapāsinā* (line 7.) *vṛiddhayēḥ*, *śāsanēnaḥ* *pradattōsmiḥ* and *gaiṛava* (l.12). In some cases the rule of reduplication was not applied at all, such as *sarva* in line 8 and *pariyanta* in line 11. *Anusvāra* has been substituted for final *n* in line 6. Final *n* is omitted in lines 6 and 7. The *visarga-sandhi* and medial *i* for *ī* are not observed in cases like *chatu-simā* (line 11). *Visarga* has also been wrongly used in cases like *punyābhiḥ* (line 11), *vṛiddhayēḥ* (line 12). *N* is used for *n* in *punya* (line 11). The imprecatory and benedictory verses also

contain many errors. The metrical, grammatical and orthographical errors in the record are due to the carelessness and insufficient linguistic knowledge of the donor's officers who were responsible for the adaptation of some of the words in the introduction such as *Satvārthatyāyi* for *Sōmārddhadhāri*, *Traivēdi*, *Parama-Saugata* which is Buddhist religious title, for *Parama-māhēśvara* used in his other grant by the donor.

The grant was issued from Jayapura-kōṭṭa, apparently, the capital of the donor Gayāḍatuṅgadēva, The object of this inscription is to record the grant of the village Saḍaśṛṅga-grāma, situated in the Tālachēra-vishaya in favour of Śrī-Lakshmaṇastambha, son of Bhaṭṭa-Vāsudēva by Gayāḍatuṅgadēva, for religious merit of his parents and himself. The donee was an immigrant from Surāḍā in Madhya-dēśa. The declaration of the grant was addressed to the future kings, princes, governors, the officers of the royal court as well as the local people of the district of Tālachēra. The record ends with the quotation of a few of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses which are defective due to the ignorance of the writer.

The inscription throws welcome light on the history of the Tuṅgas of Yamagartta-maṇḍala and raises certain interesting problems.

Gayāḍatuṅga, the donor of the present grant also issued another charter from Jayapura-kōṭṭa.⁸ So far as the text, palaeography and style of the charter are concerned the present grant resembles to

some extent to this Tālchēr grant No.1 of the same donor. Both the grants do not contain any genealogy of the dynasty to which the donor belonged. In both he calls himself a *mahāsāmanta*, *mahārāja* and the lord of all *Gōndramas*. But in the present grant he has been endowed with the Buddhist religious title of *Parama-Saugata* whereas in his Tālchēr grant no.1 he is described as *Paramamāhēsvara* indicative of a follower of Saivism. The charters begin with the adoration of Śiva. The grants also do not mention the name of the kingdom ruled by Gayāḍatuṅga. Moreover, both the grants are not dated in any era.

There are two other charters of Gayāḍatuṅga⁴ of the Tuṅga dynasty who ruled from Mahāparvata and his kingdom was Yamagartta-maṇḍala. These grants contain a genealogy of the Tuṅgas who belonged to the Śāṇḍilya-gōtra and migrated from Rōhitagiri. The genealogy runs as follows:—

Jagattuṅga
|
Salōṇatuṅga
|
Gayāḍatuṅga

But, unfortunately, these grants do not tally with the charters mentioned above in respect of genealogy as well as the text and style of the inscription. Moreover, royal seals attached to these copper plate grants differ from the others mentioned above. Another interesting point to note is that Gayāḍatuṅga of these grants does not call himself the lord of all the *Gōndramas*. All these

points raise the problem whether Gayāḍatuṅga of the present grant belonged to the Tuṅga dynasty of Yamagartta-maṇḍala or to an altogether different dynasty ruling contemporaneously with the Nand-ōdbhavas, the Śulkis and other minor dynasties under the imperial Bhaumakaras in the Dhenkanal-Anugul region.

Another Tuṅga ruler named Vinītatūṅga of Yamagartta-maṇḍala mentions in his charter⁴ that he was the son of Khaḍgatuṅga. So the above two genealogical lists of the Tuṅgas indicate that there were atleast two collateral branches of the Tuṅga family ruling Yamagartta-maṇḍala. But, unfortunately, the present grant and the Tālchēr grant no.1 of Gayāḍatuṅga do not tally with charters mentioned above in respect of genealogy. Vinītatūṅga's charter has certain similarities with those of Gayāḍatuṅga whose capital was at Mahāparvata and who hailed from Rōhitagiri. It is interesting to note that Vinītatūṅga also granted a village in the Khēmvaī-vishaya of Yamagartta-maṇḍala. The name of the same *vishaya* also we find in the Tālchēr grant No.1 of Gayāḍatuṅga, His present grant mentions the name of Tālachēra-vishaya which was situated in the Yamagartta-maṇḍala as also revealed by a copper plate grant of Śāntikaradēva of an unknown dynasty, discovered at Anugul in the district of Dhenkanal.⁵ Palaeographically this grant also may be assigned to about the same period as the present one. Śāntikaradēva who claimed to have descended from the sage

Māṭhara also ruled Yamagartta-maṅḍala for some time. He was the son of Śubhākara and grandson of Dharmākara. Because of the *kara* suffix to their names these rulers probably belonged to a collateral branch of the imperial line of the Bhauma-Karas. It is also evident from this inscription that Gayāḍatuṅga of the present grant belonged to the Tuṅga family of Yamagartta-maṅḍala and he was the same ruler who had the capital at Mahāparvata. The Tuṅgas were semi-independent feudatories under the Bhaumakaras as known from their records.⁶ But they must have had a short rule in Yamagartta-maṅḍala which is revealed by a number of inscriptions of different ruling families including the above copper plate grant of Śāntikaradēva who were more or less contemporary and issued charters from Yamagartta-maṅḍala. A grant of Daṇḍimahādēvī of the Bhaumakara dynasty mentions one *Rāṇaka* Apsarōdēva of Yamagartta-maṅḍala who was a feudatory chief under her.⁷

A number of semi-independent feudatories of different dynasties like the Sulkis, the Nandōdbhavas and the Tuṅgas ruled contemporaneously under the Bhaumakaras and the rulers of these dynasties and earlier rulers like Jayasimhadēva⁸ of an unknown family claimed to have been the

lords of all or eighteen *Gōndramas*. It may be pointed out here that Śāntikaradēva of the Anugul copper plate grant mentioned above, calls himself *ashṭādaśa-maṅḍalādhipati* which was probably same as the title *ashṭādaśa-Gōndramanātha*. The significance of the expression cannot be established with certainty. It may be a geographical expression indicating eighteen tracts of land predominated by the Gōṅḍ tribals, comprising Yamagartta-maṅḍala which also sometimes included portions of the kingdoms of the Nandōdbhavas and the Sulkis. All these rulers and the Tuṅgas ruled this region more or less contemporaneously and were probably entangled in feuds with each other for the dominion of *Asṭādaśa-maṅḍala* or *Asṭādaśa-Gōndramas* and succeeded each other for a short period to rule over the region.

As regards the localities mentioned in the charter, Yamagartta-maṅḍala has been already identified by B. Misra with Jamagaḍiā⁹ in the Bantala P.S. of the Anugul Sub-division of Dhenkanal District. Tālachēra is the modern Subdivision of the same name in the above District. Its mention is also found in the Anugul copper plate of Śāntikara referred to above. The gift village Sadāśṛiṅga and Suraḍā in Madhyadēśa whence the donee's family hailed cannot be identified definitely.

TEXT.¹⁰

OBVERSE

1 Siddham ᳚ namaḥ[᳚*] Viśuddha-jñānā-dēhāyah¹² traivēdi-dī(di)vya-chakshushē᳚ (1) śrēya-prā-

COPPER PLATE OF GAYĀDATUṄGA



OBVERSE

- 2 pti-nimit[t*]āyaḥ¹² namaḥ Satvārthatyāyinē¹³ Svasti[*] vividha-vidagdhaḥ¹⁴-jan-ānēka-
 3 saṅki(ṅki)ṛṇṇaḥ Jayapura-Koṭṭāt para[ma*]saugatō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyātō(taḥ)¹⁴sa-
 4 madhigata-pañcha-mahā-śavda (bdō) mahā-sāmant-ādhipati [ḥ*]¹⁴ mahārājaḥ samastah¹⁵-
 5 Gōndrama-nātha[ḥ*]¹⁴ Śrī-Gayāḍatuṅgadēvaḥ kuśali | Tālachēra-vishaya-niva(ba)-
 6 ddhaḥ Saḍāśṛiṅga-grāmē¹³ bhavishyam(shyad)=rāja(jā)naka¹⁴ rājaputra¹⁴ rāja-
 sthāniyām(n)
 7 rāja-pād-ōpajivinām(nō) chātṭa(ṭa)-bhaṭṭa(ṭa)-daṇḍapāśin-ā-sāmanta-vyava-
 8 hārī(ri)ṇā(ṇō)¹⁴ sarvva-janapadān yathārham mānayati¹⁴ vō(bō)dhayati¹⁴ sa-
 9 mādishā(śa)yati ch=ānyat viditam=astu bhavatām grāmō-yaṁ Madhyadēśa-Sū-
 10 raḍā-vī(vi)nirggataḥ Bhaṭṭa-Vāsudēvasya-sutaḥ Śrī-Lakshmaṇa-stambhasya
 11 chatu [ḥ*]-si (sī) mā-paryantaḥ sa-nidhiḥ mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puny(ṇy)-ābhiḥ¹⁵
 12 vṛiddhayēḥ¹² [*] śāsanēnaḥ¹³ pradattō-smiḥ¹³ [*] asmat gaūravād¹⁶=dharmma-gaū¹⁷
 13 ravā[ch*]cha pratipālaniyam | [*]

REVERSE

- 14 api cha paṭhyatē¹⁴ dharmma-śāstrē | Va(Ba)hubhi[ḥ] vasudhā dattāḥ¹³ rājabhī (bhi)ḥ
 15 Sagar-ādī(di)bhiḥ[*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmiḥ sta(ta)sya tasya tadā phalam [*] Sva-
 16 dattā [t] = phalam-ānantyam para-datt-ānū(u)pālanam¹³ | sva-dattās=cha para-
 dattām vā¹³ ||²⁰
 17 yō harē[ta*] vasundharā[m*] | sva(sa) vishṭhāyām kṛimī(mi)r=bhūtvā¹⁴ pitṛibhiḥ
 saha pachyatē[*]
 18 Asthiram sarvvam-ālōchya śarīram yauvanam dhanam[*] satvasūḥ sūsutām-vu(bu)-
 19 ddhiḥ(ddhiḥ) sthir-ārambhā pravarttatē¹³ | [*] kva gatās-tē mahī-pālām¹⁴ dattāyaiḥ
 20 bhutṛi-pādhāyaḥ ētat [*] ukta bhūyō bhūyaḥ iti kamala-dal-ā-
 21 mvu-vindū(du)-lōlām(m) śṛi(śri)[ya*]m=anuchintya manushya-jīvitam²²[*] sakalam=i-
 22 dam=udābhītam¹³ dhūdhyā¹⁴ na bhiḥ(bi)¹⁶ pū(pu)rushai[ḥ*]¹⁴ para-kīrṇayō¹³ vilōs-
 (p)yā[ḥ*]
 23 itiḥ "

Notes :

1. *Or. Hist. Res. Jour*, Vol. VII, pp. 66-70 and re-edited by D. C. Sircar in *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 91. ff.
2. *Or. Hist. Res. Jour*, Vol. VII, pp. 66-70 ff.

3. (i) *JPASB, New Series*, Vol. V, 1909, pp. 347-50 and plates XVII-XVIII,
(ii) *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, 1916, pp. 291-95 and plates III-IV and re-edited by D. C. Sircar in *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 91-104.
4. *JBORS*, Vol. VI, pp. 238-40.
5. *Or. Hist. Res. Jour.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 1-14.
6. *EI*, Vol. XXIX, p. 183.
7. *EI*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 85-89 ff.
8. *JBORS*, Vol. II, pp. 417-19 ff.
9. B. Misra, *Dynasties of Mediaeval Orissa*, pp. 40-41.
10. From the original and impressions.
11. Expressed by a symbol.
12. The *visarga* is redundant.
13. Talcher Grant no. I reads *Sōmārddhadhāriṇē* which may be the intended reading.
14. *Daṇḍa* is superfluous.
15. Read *pradattō = smābhiḥ*.
16. Read *gauravād*.
17. Read *gau*.
18. Read *datt = ānupālanē*. The second half of the verse is omitted here.
19. Read *sva-dattāṃ para-dattāṃ va*.
20. *Daṇḍas* are not necessary.
21. The meaning of these two lines is not clear.
22. Read *jīvitāṅ = cha*.
23. Read *udāhṛitāṅ = cha*.
24. Read *budhvā*.
25. Read *hi*.
26. Read *para-kīrtitayō*.

SEAL OF COPPER PLATE OF GAYĀDATUṅGA



Several valiant but fruitless attempts have been made in deciphering the Harappan script, ever since the discovery of the seals and sealings bearing inscriptions at Harappa, Mohenjodaro, Chanhudaro, Kalibangan, Lothal and other places. Perhaps, one of the reasons for the failure is that the decipherers, while trying to decipher the script, have not taken significantly into account or sometimes entirely forgotten some of the aspects such as the people behind the script, their origin and movement, the possible prevalent language and the contemporary cultures. To read a script the knowledge of its language is necessary. To identify the language, the knowledge of the people who harnessed it, their ancestry, race, stock etc. is necessary. Thus, there is a triangle of inter-dependence among the script, language and the people and ignorance in regard to any one of them may result in non-understanding the other two. Such is the problem in the case of the Harappans, their script and language. In spite of the presence of vast materials uncovered as a result of explorations and excavations of a number of sites belonging to pre-Harappan, Harappan and late Harappan cultures and analytical researches during the last two decades, scholars are yet to determine definitely the origin and movements of the Harappans and hence the failure in making any headway in identifying their language

and in deciphering their script.

We may notice here, some of the observations made by scholars on the distinguishing features of Harappan culture, its origin, development, decline and fall.

A. Ghosh while commenting on its origin says, "With no known beginnings the Harappan culture reveals itself to us in a fully-developed form. This itself lends to it a peculiarly romantic charm; while death from unidentified causes is understandable, natural birth is an unnatural phenomenon." B.B. Lal, while differentiating the pre-Harappans and Harappans points out, "... the pre-Harappans do not seem to have the weights and measures nor the remarkable seals and sealings. And here lay the crucial qualitative difference which, at the same time, explains the *raison d'etre* of the Indus civilization." B. K. Thapar in his probing article entitled 'The End of the Indus Civilization and its Aftermath', observes that the principal chalcolithic cultures viz., (i) Jhukar culture in Sind and Baluchistan; (ii) Cemetery 'H' culture in the region of Harappa and a patch of middle Indus; (iii) 'Copper Hoard' Culture in Gunga-Yamuna doab; (iv) Banas culture in Southern Rajasthan and Kutch; (v) Lustrous Redware culture in Kathiawar; (vi) Central Indian Chalcolithic culture in Central and Western

India; (vii) Northern Deccan chalcolithic culture in northern Deccan and (viii) Kayatha culture in Central India, which, in time range, were either part contemporary with the later phase of the Indus Civilization or were posterior to it, present individually or collectively an altogether different picture than that of the Indus Civilization. He questions, 'What happened to the distinctive traits of the Indus Civilization after its collapse, particularly the art of writing, monumental and ceremonial architecture, evolved and disciplined civic life, organic solidarity and fulltime specialised craftsmanship?'

The Harappans are credited with the knowledge of the art of writing, weight and measures, monumental and ceremonial architecture, advanced metal forging technology and evolved disciplined civic life. Significantly enough, these qualities make their appearance in a matured form at the very dawn of the Harappan culture. As we know, the Harappan cities were filled with a mixed population of different classes or stocks of people and hence these qualities of intelligence can only be attributed to a certain set of people or a group of a certain set of people among the Harappans and not to the Harappans as a whole. The presence of a limited knowledgeable and literate community was evidenced by the non-occurrence of materials except seals and sealings and sometimes copper objects and pottery, revealing the use of the art of writing on a minor scale. Further in this connection it is apt to quote Thapar's

remarks on the rare occurrence of seals in the smaller sites. He says, 'Nevertheless, from the available evidence it would appear that the seals were used by a privileged literati, living mostly in the cities.' Anyway it was these accredited set of people who played a dominant role, having control over the urban and rural areas of the Indus valley and causing the growth of a unique civilization. It is not known what became of them when the fall came.

The end of the Indus Civilization is rather intriguing. Basing on different factors many reasons for the fall have been put forth by scholars. It has been thought that the end had come not all of a sudden but in different stages through invasion, prolonged floods, cultural fragmentation, progressive degeneration and so on. Among them a significant view put forth by Thapar deserves special mention. He, after analysing evidences obtained from Mohenjodaro, Harappa, Amri, Kot Diji, Lothal and Kalibangan, thinks that the civilization had broken internally before it was affected externally and he remarks, "the creative inspiration of the minority which, among other things, was responsible for the growth of the civilization and for setting it in motion, had failed giving way to a passive and jejune conservatism of the dominant minority which sequentially led to the fragmentation of the society. He further thinks, ".....all the urban elements of this civilization died simultaneously with the end of the cities, for no urbanised people were left to whom those

could be bequeathed; the dominant minority or the elite or the functional class had gradually been reduced and impoverished." This theory is partly acceptable. It is true that, in all likelihood, the end came because of the failure of the creative inspiration and support of the dominant minority but at the same time it may not be acceptable that such failure was due to a total disintegration of character or, come whatever the disaster, in such a long-lasting civilization with a vast area for movement, the people or the set of people could not have met with a total annihilation. Therefore, there must have been survivals and they must have moved into other places and along with them moved their specific knowledge too. Now the problem is to find out in which direction the devolution of these Harappans took place.

As noticed above, none of the principal chalcolithic cultures, of which some are partly contemporary with the later phase of Indus Civilization and some are posterior to it, reveals the distinctive traits of the Harappan culture. In other words, it has been proved from the available evidences that the devolution of the Harappans did not take place in Eastern or Southern direction or within the periphery of Indus Civilization or in any other parts of the Indian sub-continent. If so, it must have taken place in some other direction. A plausible theory which may be advanced here is that the devolution would have taken place in the westward direction, somewhere perhaps in the regions across Iran or Syria or in Mesopotamia. It will

be a natural reason for any one to move into a known territory when he loses his moorings in his own. There are ample evidences to show the Harappans' activities in these westward regions. Many scholars have tried to establish trade and cultural links between the Harappans and Westward cities on the basis of the discoveries of Harappan seals and other objects and also through a comparative study of cultural elements. Thus, in order to locate the exact region to which the Harappans would have moved in, we may have to turn towards the cities of Mesopotamia or other regions around. A number of seals and other objects of Indus origin were discovered in the excavations of the cities of Mesopotamia viz. Ur, Kish, Lagesh, Umma, Tell Asmar, etc. On the basis of these findings close trade and cultural contacts have been assumed. In fact, Wheeler determined the chronology of the Indus Civilization bearing on this close relationship.

Further it may be argued here by way of a simple logic that the very etching of script on the seals is to convey some meaning with some purpose. The different types of letters on the seals are meant to be recognised, read and understood by somebody. If that is so, who were those people who could read and understand and utilize them? Were they the trade-agents stationed by Harappans or were they the people who belonged to the ancestral stock of those dominant minority of Harappans with whom the latter might

have maintained constant relationship? The latter identification is more feasible for it can provide explanations to the problems of the beginnings and the end of the Harappan Civilization. Once the above view is accepted, we are to think of the civilization in terms of colonization and thereby we will be only reintroducing the theory of Western origin. In brief, the movement of the dominant minority of the Harappans may be narrated like this:

The dominant minority or a ruling class of people conquered and took control of the Indus Valley with their towns and cities. Soon, being equipped with advanced knowledge of building technology, arts and crafts, art of writing, etc., they expanded their interests in gaining territory, building fortified cities, setting up posts and ports for trade both by land and sea routes and transport of goods etc. Thus a fullfledged beginning for the Harappan Civilization is explained.

Trade, in the context of colonization, can be considered, in the strictest sense of export and import, as one sided. Though trade existed between the Harappans and other countries, when it came to homeland commerce, it was merely drainage of goods from their colonies to their original home. In this context we may allude to a reference made by Shashi Ashthana in her article on 'Indus-Mesopotamian Trade'. She points out, "in fact, Meluhha (which has been identified with Indus Valley) is referred to in cuneiform texts in the context of imports in Mesopotamia rather than exports. Dilmun

and Magan are the only two places which are repeatedly mentioned at commercial centres. It is extremely significant to mention that Meluhha's economic role, as we get the impression from the Mesopotamian texts, was important but not very important in comparison to Dilmun and Magan. It clearly shows that the role of the Meluhhans may have been of a kind grossly different from those of the Dilmunites and Maganians".

Through generations, this ruling class of Harappans seems to have been a secluded entity and dwelled separately as evidenced by the twin-city concept of settlement. They neither seem to have mixed with Harappan masses nor imparted their advanced knowledge to them as evidenced by the absence of their vestiges; and when the fall came due to prolonged floods, invasion or perhaps, a revolt, they, with their inability to get reinforcements from outside or from their own people, were forced to return to their main land. Thus a probable movement of these Harappans may be deduced in these lines and simultaneously it may be pointed out that these people may be neither Aryans nor Dravidians and had their own language and script, different from either.

It has already been stated above that, for knowing the continuity of this particular Harappan culture or the region to which the developed Harappans moved in, we may have to turn towards Mesopotamian or the regions around. In this context, though much work has to be

done, some of the interesting views of scholars are to be noted.

G.R. Hunter had suggested that the Indus script influenced the creation of the Phoenician and Sabaeen alphabets and of the Cypriote Syllabary, among others. G. de Hevesy suggested that the Indus script should be connected with the mysterious Easter Island writings, apart from some external resemblances. S. Langdon, on the basis of his study of the most archaic Sumerian script, found on the tablets which were found in excavations with a mass of painted pottery akin to the painted ware of Indus Valley which accompanied the Indus seals, opines that there is 'more definite connection between the most archaic Sumerian script and Indus Valley script.' He further suggests that obviously any comparison of the Sumerian signs with the Indus valley signs must be made after turning each Sumerian sign 90° to the right,

then bringing it into its original upright position. S. R. Rao observes, "The attempt to trace the Semitic alphabets to Hittite Hieroglyphic and Cretan syllabary has not been successful. On the other hand, fifteen signs out of twenty-three in the Semitic (i.e. Lachisch and Ahiiram inscriptions of the 13th century B.C.) are identical with the late Harappan alphabetic signs which had acquired single-sound status by 1800 B.C. The Semitic scribes must have found the late Harappan signs for consonantal value more distinct and simple than syllabic signs in other systems of writing and therefore took over most of the late Harappan signs."

In conclusion it may be said now that if the letters are assigned the phonetic values of a certain language, they should better be read in that language than in any other.

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29 COMPUTER METHODS FOR EPIGRAPHICAL STUDIES

B. S. Raman

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper is to create an awareness of the progress made so far by scholars adopting computer methods and to stress the need for the universal application of computer methods for epigraphical and correlated studies owing to the growing availability of computer and software equipment. It is also intended to caution the scholar that as against the modern methods conventional methods of approach to work on planned studies would become obsolete and inadequate for a comprehensive and detailed treatment of epigraphical source materials. The tedious and time-consuming task experienced in conventional methods has already given way to the advantageous computerised methods in other fields of science and technology. Epigraphy, and consequently, history should not lag behind in adopting quickly computer methods so that, besides saving of much time, labour and money in any projected work, the scope, field and depth of the studies may become well connected and extended to achieve levels of easier and clearer understanding far above those obtained so far.

COMPUTER METHODS

Computer methods are meant for the systematic storage of data, programmed arrangement of data, quick retrieval of data, processing and reprocessing data, and

easy preparation of data for publication. The advantage of a computerised data bank centrally situated can easily be made available to any institution or individual desirous of making use of the data bank. It would be the best facility and access that any one may hopefully and anxiously look forward to.

Working with a computer would require, generally speaking, the following stages to be undergone:—

- (i) Preparation of data for feeding the computer. Available data is reduced to a code language. It is then written by hand on a data sheet according to the requirements of a predetermined format;
- (ii) Key punching of the coded data in punch cards with the help of a key punching machine to facilitate input or feeding the computer;
- (iii) Feeding of data into the computer for storage in its memory in the order of files of magnetic tapes or discs;
- (iv) Preparation of a programme to instruct the computer for working and delivering the required output data;
- (v) Processing the output data for analyses and evaluation of results or findings;
- (iv) Preparation of data for publication.

Normally, the code for input data is either alphabetic or numeric. While

reducing the texts of inscriptions to a code language, since diacritical marks are not used in the language of any computer, there is a necessity of devising an alpha-numeric language *i.e.*, a language in which both the alphabetic and numeric characters run together and the alpha-numeric notations correspond to the phonetic value of vowels and consonants of the language of the source material. Since programming a computer requires special knowledge and training, scholars using computers for their work have invariably collaborated a computer technologist familiar with programming to assist in their work and give technical guidance. An awareness of the potential convenience of the computer technique may be made by citing instances of computerised epigraphical studies made hitherto.

PROGRESS OF COMPUTERISED EPIGRAPHICAL STUDIES

Desire for the computerised study of epigraphs has remained latent in me since 1965.¹ It became ardent during 1971 when a systematical and analytical study of revenue terms from the Chōla inscriptions² as well as a list of the Tamil inscriptions of the Chōla dynasty³ were prepared by me in collaboration with Noboru Karashima of Tokyo University. As a result of my frequent discussions and emphasis on the need for the computerised study of the Chōla inscriptions, Karashima and myself planned to initiate a programme of computerised study of the Chōla revenue system. For this work Karashima kindly arranged for my visit to Japan in

1972 but due to the preoccupation in the Archaeological Survey of India I could not proceed to Japan. However, the programme was started when I subsequently went to Japan during 1977-78 as a Visiting Specialist at the invitation of the Japan Foundation and on the kind request of Karashima for promoting Indian studies in Japan in general and South Indian studies in particular.

A computerised study of personal names in Tamil inscriptions made by Karashima in collaboration with Y. Subbarayalu and Toru Matsui has recently been published.⁴ Interim reports of statistical study of personal names in Tamil inscriptions, prepared by analysing data with the help of holesort cards,⁵ were published earlier.⁶

The Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, affiliated to the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, has installed computer services of its own in 1978 to facilitate researchers and storage of data. M. J. Hashimoto, incharge of the project on the Computational Analyses of Asian and African Languages at the Institute, has been guiding a programme of computerised study of inscriptions. Tokyo University has a capacious computer centre with modern amenities like separate wings for key punching, input and printed output as well as feeder terminals in different faculty buildings of the University for data input. Facilities like integrated computer network, computerised dissertation reference by scholars, etc., are now made

available in several of the universities and research institutions in the United States of America. In India too, computer facilities have now been introduced in higher research institutions like the National Centre for Software Development and Computing Techniques at the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research and are planned to be installed in more institutions in the near future.

Outstanding achievements in recent years have been the computerised concordance of Indus inscriptions prepared by the Finnish team of Asko Parpola and others,⁷ and Iravatham Mahadevan.⁸ Computerised method has rendered the task of preparing the concordance of Indus signs relatively easier and quick when compared to the earlier conventional methods of preparation of sign manuals.⁹ Moreover, it has made convenient any further study of the Indus script for an analysis and evaluation of external and internal evidence of the source materials.¹⁰

Highly commendable is the sustained work of Gift Siromoney of the Madras Christian College and his co-workers R. Chandrasekharan and M. Chandrasekharan done with a view to explore the potentials of computerised methods for determining intrinsic pattern to ascertain palaeographically evaluated chronological parameters and provide orthographically defined contextual passages.¹¹ Regarding the methods of objective approach, the above work has definitely shown the feasibility to diversify the scope of application and identify the standards of evaluation in comparative studies, especially when the isolated data

source material of the epigraph by itself is not easily understandable.

PLANNING COMPUTERISED EPIGRAPHICAL STUDIES

Primarily an epigraphist is concerned with the task of providing the correct text of an inscription by careful decipherment.¹² A reliable text of an inscription, thus, becomes the fundamental source material. The value of this source material gets enhanced when it is reliably, if not correctly, dated and its provenance as well as genuineness are above doubt. The interested researcher, whether in the field of history, linguistics, art, philosophy, numismatics etc., or epigraphy itself, has access to the epigraphical source material normally only when the material is published.¹³ Many of the publications over the years are now not easily available for reference. Therefore, if a computerised data bank is set up for storage of basic and vital epigraphical data, its facilities can be extended easily to cover relevant institutions for instantaneous access to the data stored in the bank.¹⁴ Such a data bank may be centrally located¹⁵ in a place where the largest collections of impressions of inscriptions are preserved like the Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, in order to facilitate the setting up of the data bank. The establishment of such a bank might prove to be more economical than the cost of reprinting books that are out of stock.¹⁶ The computer centre, necessarily in which data bank of epigraphy has to be housed, may also extend facilities for computerised studies of the data already stored in the memory of the computer.

Notes :

1. The need for computerisation of data from epigraphical source material was felt while I was preparing in 1965 a Topographical List of Inscriptions of Tamil Nadu and Kerala under the University Grants Commission scheme in Madras University.
2. A concordance of the revenue terms and results of a preliminary analysis were published in the *Jnl. of Asian and African Studies*, No. 5, 1976, Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo.
3. Since published in *Ibid.*, No. 11, 1976, Tokyo for which Y. Subbarayalu of Madurai University collaborated.
4. Noboru Karashima, Y. Subbarayalu and Toru Matsui, *A Concordance of the Names in the Cola Inscriptions*, in 3 Vols., Madurai, 1978.
5. A holesort card is a card of required size wherein basic reference data are arranged in a pre-determined printed format and relevant subject data are arranged according to a numerically coded order of punched holes set into a particular order of subject-blocks of space all around the printed format along with edges of the card. After filling the details of basic reference in the printed format of the card, the punched holes are cut by a hand-cutter towards the edge as the subject data would demand. When all the holesort cards are prepared, by inserting a needle-sorter through any particular hole or combination of holes, the uncut cards can be lifted up to separate them from the cut cards, thereby leaving the relevant cut cards only for study and analysis.
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8. Iravatham Mahadevan: *The Indus Script—Text, Concordance and Tables*, Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 78, New Delhi, 1977.
9. Hunter, G. R., *Script of Harappa and Mohenjodaro*, London, 1934; Gadd and Smith in *Mohenjodaro and Indus Civilization*, Vol. III, Pls CXIX-CXXIX; Vats, *Excavations at Harappa*, Vol. II, Pls. CV-CXVI, etc.
10. The work of the Russian team of Yu V. Knorozov *et al.*, may be cited. Cf. Arlene R. K. Zide and Kamil Zvelebil (Eds.): *The Soviet Decipherment of the Indus Valley Script: Translation and Critique*, 1975, The Hague, Mouton. The Russian team's work is also based on computer technique and the publication of texts of the Indus script as read by the team is awaited.
11. Gift Siromoney, 'Computer Techniques of Image Enhancement in Study of a Pallava Grantha Inscription,' *Studies in Indian Epigraphy (JESI)*, Vol. II, Mysore, 1976, pp. 55-58 and plates. Gift Siromoney, R. Chandrasekharan & M. Chandrasekharan: 'Machine Recognition of An Ancient Tamil Script of the Chola period', *JESI.*, Vol. 6, 1979. pp. 18-19.

12. This responsibility is reminded of professional epigraphists by K. G. Krishnan, Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, in his Presidential Address of the XL Session of Indian History Congress held at Waltair on December 28-30, 1979.
13. Transcripts of unpublished inscriptions in the collections of the Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, may be consulted by the permission of the Chief Epigraphist.
14. Instantaneous commercial banking facilities with a national network of computer circuit are already in vogue in industrially advanced countries. Likewise, if data banks could be integrated in a circuit, instantaneous reference facilities for students, scholars and researchers could be accomplished.
15. The suggestion of the establishment of a Central Depository of epigraphs in the Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, was made by K. V. Ramesh in his Presidential Address of the Indian History Congress, XXXVII Session, Calicut, 1976.
16. Moreover, if the data on unpublished inscriptions also is stored in the bank of computer memory, such data can be conveniently consulted from anywhere. Thus the inevitable problem of awaiting the publication of inscriptions can be resolved.

The inscription edited here was recently copied by me, in course of my tour, from a cave at Arvaḷēm, Territory of Goa. It is engraved on the shaft of a Śiva-liṅga. A further examination shows that the *liṅga* itself is fashioned out of a pillar, on which the inscription was originally engraved. While converting the pillar into a *liṅga*, the upper portion of the inscription was chipped off. Thus the extant portion of the inscription is incomplete.

The epigraph is in beautiful box-headed variety of the Southern characters and can be compared with the Kadamba epigraphs of the 5th century A.D.,¹ the language being Sanskrit. The text is in verse and indicates an accomplished literary style. It contains a beautiful description of a forest and garden (or a thick garden foliage like that of a forest - *ramy-ōpavana-kānaṇaḥ*, line 1) and refers to lord Śiva being present there always, evidently referring to a Śiva temple situated therein (*sadā sannihitō Haraḥ*, line 2). Further, it probably refers to a temple on the southern side (*dakṣiṇē=pi mahālayē*, line 6). There is also a reference to *japa, vīrāsana*, etc. (*jāpyais=*

cha sthāna-vīrāsana-dibhiḥ, line 4), which indicates the religious activities carried on in the temple. It also contains the praise of a king, in all probability, as the expression *nara vyāgrha* (line 6) indicates. It is difficult to say if the king meant is Mṛigēśavarman himself. Needless to say, if the inscription was complete, it would have provided a fine instance of masterly Sanskrit poetry and probably given interesting details about the architecture of the temple, etc. Though the area was under the sway of the early Kadambas during the period, it is not possible to say anything more about the dynasty or the king to whose reign the record belonged.

The inscription also provides an important clue in dating the cave, in that the cave shrine in which it is embedded (as the lower portion of the shaft of the Śiva-liṅga) can be dated to a slightly later period than the inscription as it was brought from elsewhere, converted into a Śivaliṅga and installed in the shrine when it was brought into worship. The epigraph refers to a different Śiva temple (and not the rock-cut one), from where the original pillar was brought.*

TEXT*

- 1 'ṛya-salilō raṁ (ra) my-ōpavana-kānaṇaḥ
- 2 [bha*] gavān-īśas=sadā sannihitō Haraḥ

- 3 ṅyēna tulyan = tad-abhigāminā[m]
 4 jāpyaiś = cha sthāna-vīrāsanādibhiḥ
 5 sau gatvā⁶ chēshṭayā = py = āgatas = tv⁶ = iha
 6 naravyāghra dakshinē = pi mahālayē
 7 ⁶yō himsyāt = sa pātaka-yutō bhavē[t]

Notes :

1. For e.g., the Banavāsi Inscription of Mṛigēśavarma and the Tāḷagunda Inscription of Kākutsthavarma, vide *EI*, VIII, pp. 24 ff.; *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 282 and ff., *Studies in Indian History and Culture* (Dharwar, 1971), pp. 57 ff.
2. S. Settar of the Karnatak University, Dharwar first noticed the inscription and wrote an article in *West Coast Express*, dated 3.12.78. Subsequently, I copied the epigraph. Settar's interpretation of the inscription in connection with the dating of the cave is different and requires much modification. I am thankful to the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore, for kindly deputing me for copying the inscription. The cave has one more inscription in another shrine which refers to *Sāmbalūravāsī Ravi* (vide *EI*, XXXVII, pp. 282 ff.) The last chamber on the proper left of the cave has a terrace, with seven sockets, which may have earlier contained the symbolic representations of the *sapta-māṭṛikās*. From the presence of the two inscriptions and the stylistic features, it can be said that the entire cave-complex came to be excavated from the middle of the 5th to the middle of the 6th century A.D.
3. Each line of the text is engraved on a dressed surface of the shaft and thus the pillar is faceted.
4. The beginning is lost. The lines run around the shaft. Therefore the actual beginning and end have to be only guessed, the inscription being incomplete. Originally each line appears to have been complete in itself. The metre is *anushṭubh*.
5. The subscript *v* is very interesting. It is more like *ch*.
6. The letter appears to be either *va* or *nō*.

31 RETROSPECTIVE REVIEW OF RECENT DISCOVERIES

C. R. Srinivasan

Addressing the Epigraphy section of the 37th Indian History Congress held at Calicut in 1976 Dr. K. V. Ramesh observed thus: "Epigraphy is a strange subject and what is more, it tends to become stranger and stranger even as we try to get more and more familiar with it. No sooner do we propound seemingly flawless, fool-proof and pet theories on such subjects as palaeography, chronology and history based on careful appraisals of the vast Epigraphical materials already available than they are disproved by fresh discoveries of inscriptions."

This definition holds good with reference to this present paper. Here an attempt is made to show how recent discoveries warrant radical revision of the chronology and reconstruction of history. The dominant feature of history is chronology. History is well founded only on this bed-rock. The frame work given by the giant historian, K.A. Nilakanta Sastry is now undergoing changes and modification through fresh discoveries and the interpretations offered from time to time by the dedicated band of scholars, both professional and non-professional.

The State Department of Archaeology, Tamil Nadu had the unique opportunity of discovering two sets of copper-plates which set at rest the long debated relationship between Kampavarman and Aparā-

jitavarman of the Pallava line and between his predecessors and Parāntaka I of the Chōḷa dynasty. Another covetable laurel which they have won in this direction is undoubtedly the discovery of a stone inscription at Pūlāṅkuṛichchi, Ramanathapuram District belonging to the Sangam period. These discoveries unfortunately have not gained the wide publicity which they deserve. The critical edition of their texts and translation is still a desideratum.

Among the non-professionals, N. Sethuraman, an engineer turned businessman, has set up good precedents by his uninhibited approach to the problems of decipherment and dating of inscriptions. This scientific researcher, proceeding on incontrovertible assumptions, has shown more convincingly than before that all calculations of the dates of inscriptions must be the basis of the Indian calendar system and unequivocally fixed the dates of accessions of the Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya kings. His substantial contributions are, *The Chōḷas*, *The Pāṇḍyas and the Early Chōḷas-Mathematics reconstructs the Chronology*. The Epigraphical material left behind by the later Pāṇḍyas is much less copious. Sethuraman, undaunted by the baffling problems of the later Pāṇḍyas, made a bold attempt to tackle the subject and has succeeded in considerably reducing the lower and upper limits of the periods in

which the accessions of the latter Pāṇḍya (1190-1380 A. D.) rulers must have occurred. Some important episodes such as the accession of Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara and the sequence of his occupation of the Northern parts of the Tamil country, Mālik Kāfur's invasion and its repercussions on the five anointed kings of the Pāṇḍya kingdom, the refutation of the theory that Sundara Pāṇḍa was the illegitimate son of Kulaśēkhara. Similar painstaking scrutiny from a chronological angle will necessitate the revision of South Indian history and the conservatism of the acknowledged professionals.

In his third book, viz., the *Early Chōlas*, the author has done a penetrating analysis and most convincing re-interpretation of the epigraphs. The important facts such as Ariñjaya's rule for seven years (and not for mere two years as it was hitherto supposed), Vīranārāyaṇiyār being the queen of the prince Uttamachōla, and the mist of confusion regarding Pārthivēndravarma's extraction compel the re-examination of already known inscriptions in the light of precise mathematical analysis.

An important and the latest discovery is the existence of a long inscription of Kōṇērīnmaikoṇḍān—five feet below the earth level on the *prākāra* wall of the Airāvātēśvara temple at Dhārāsura. It refers for the first time to the sepulchral (*paḷlippaḍai*) temples Rājagambhīra Īśvaram, Bhuvanamuḷudaiyāḷ Īśvaram, Tribhuvanamuḷuduḍaiyāḷ Īśvaram, Eḷulagamuḷuduḍai Īśvaram and Ulaguḍaimukkōkkilāṇaḍi

Īśvaram, probably named after Rājarāja II and the queens of the Chōla house, and to a special accountant to look after the maintenance of these temples. It will be not out of place, if I recall here the recent identification of a group of minor shrines as royal memorials of the Chalukyan kings dating back to the middle of the 8th century by Dr. K. V. Ramesh in one of his reconnaissance tours of the Chalukyan temple complexes. This is the earliest known instance of extant royal memorials including that of Vikramāditya II (733-45 A. D.). The word *karaṇḍa* (casket) in the inscription is noteworthy. This discovery, together with the Dhārāsura inscriptional reference to the *paḷlippaḍai* temples leads us to conclude that the practice of erecting shrines on mortal remains of the royal personages was in vogue in the remote past also.

N. Karashima and his associates herald a new era by trying to break a new ground with the application of computer technology for the study of socio-economic conditions of the past. The commendable results of their labour are recorded in the *Concordance of the Names in the Chōla Inscriptions* in three volumes. The statistical analysis and compilation of more than 9000 names collected from 3500 published Chōla inscriptions and the categorisation of these names into the meaningful segments will serve as a descriptive, analytical and phonetic source material for sociologists and linguists in addition to the epigraphists and historians.

A Similar attempt is consistently being made in the South by a band of scholars under the able guidance of Michael Lockwood of the Christian college, Madras and their painstaking efforts to apply computer technology for the study of palaeographical features of inscriptions have yielded laudable and fruitful results. The team-

spirit of these young pioneers is to be commended.

The discoveries which are highlighted above are bound to make a radical revision and will throw light in the dark alleys of South Indian History in the years to come.

A NEW EARLY CHALUKYA INSCRIPTION

(pp. 1-2)

PLATE 1

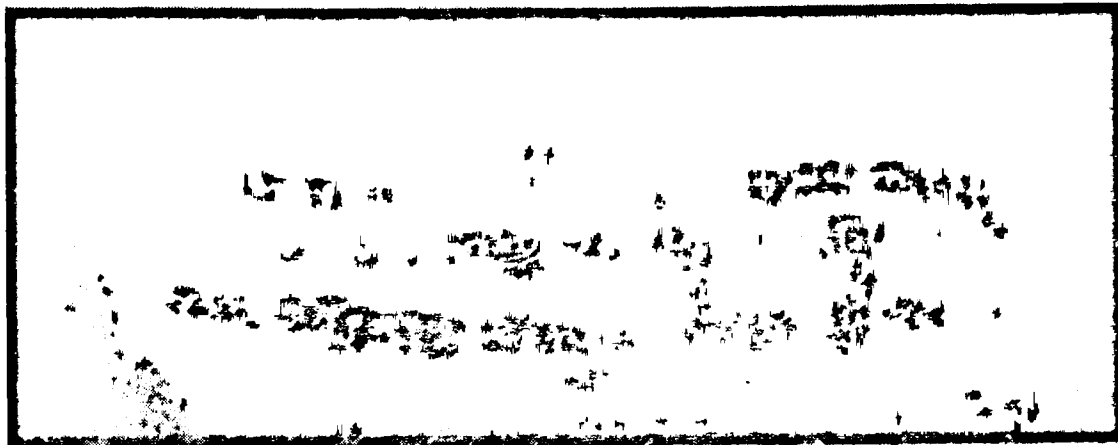
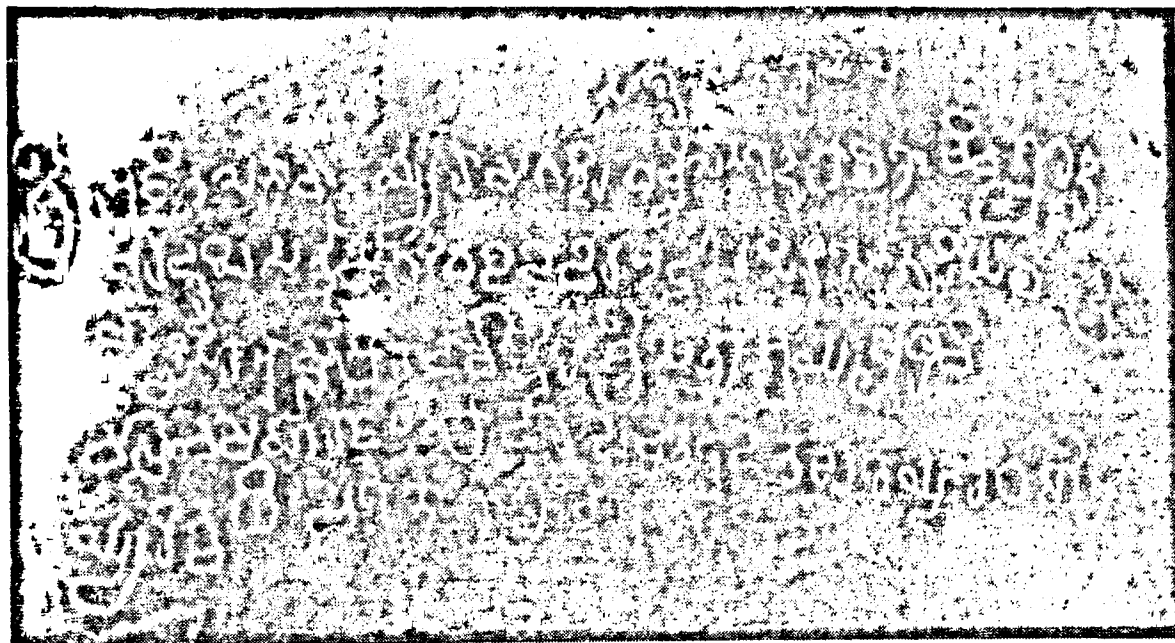


PLATE 2



MORE PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS FROM AMARAVATI (pp. 18-21)

PLATE 3 (No. 86-779)

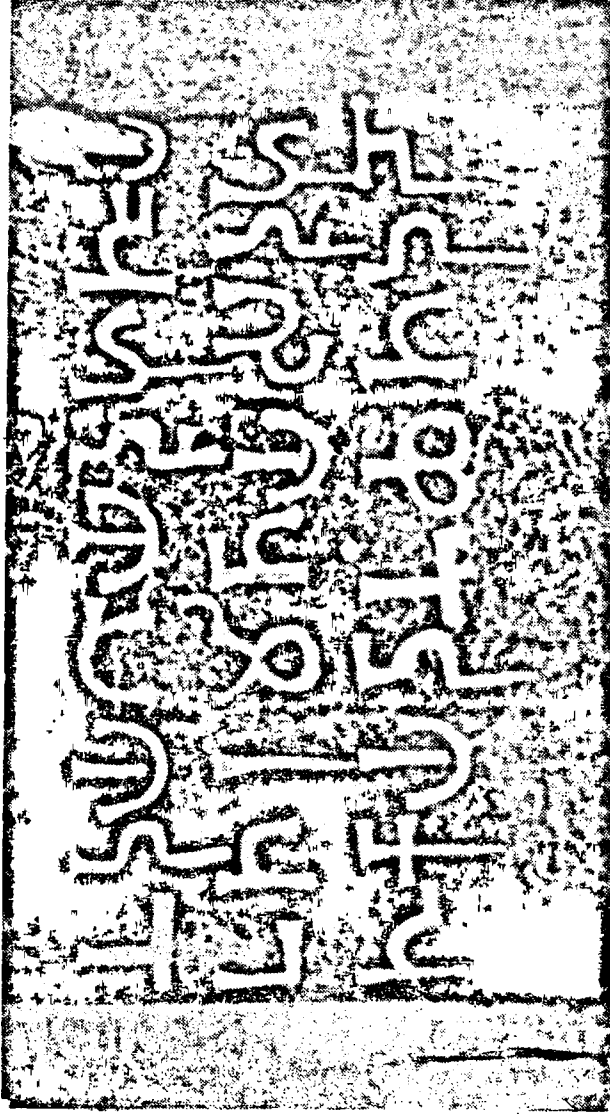


PLATE 4 (No. 86-805)

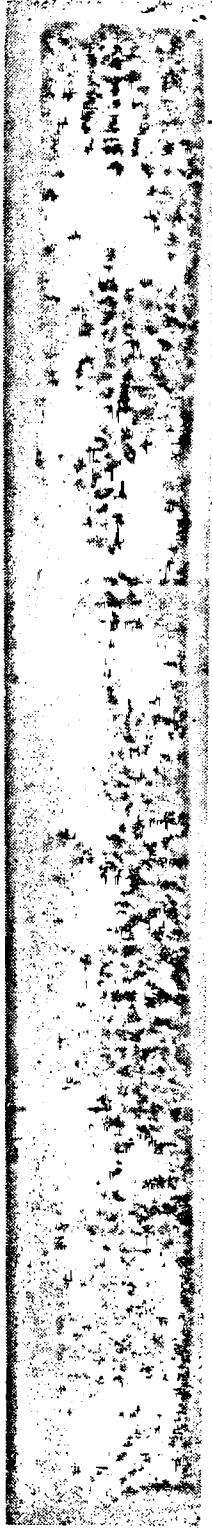


PLATE 5 (No. 88)

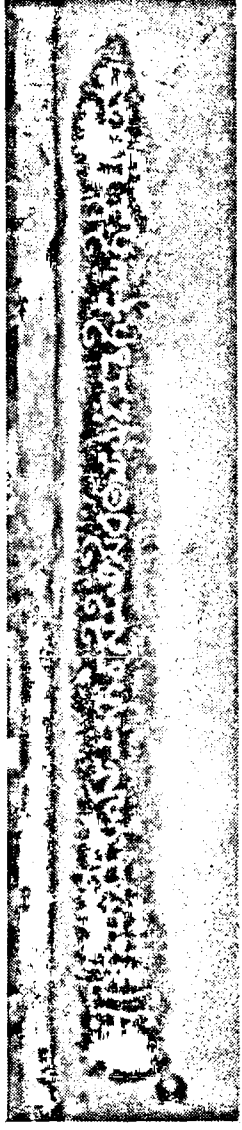


PLATE 6 (No. 89-783)



PLATE 7



NOSE OF THE KALAPRIYA IMAGE

PLATE 12 : REVERSE

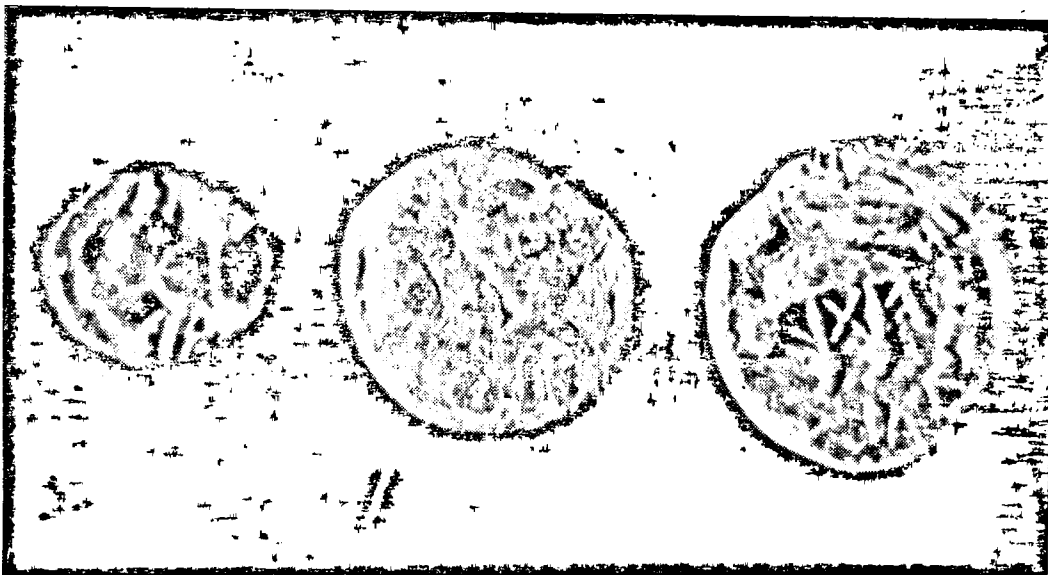
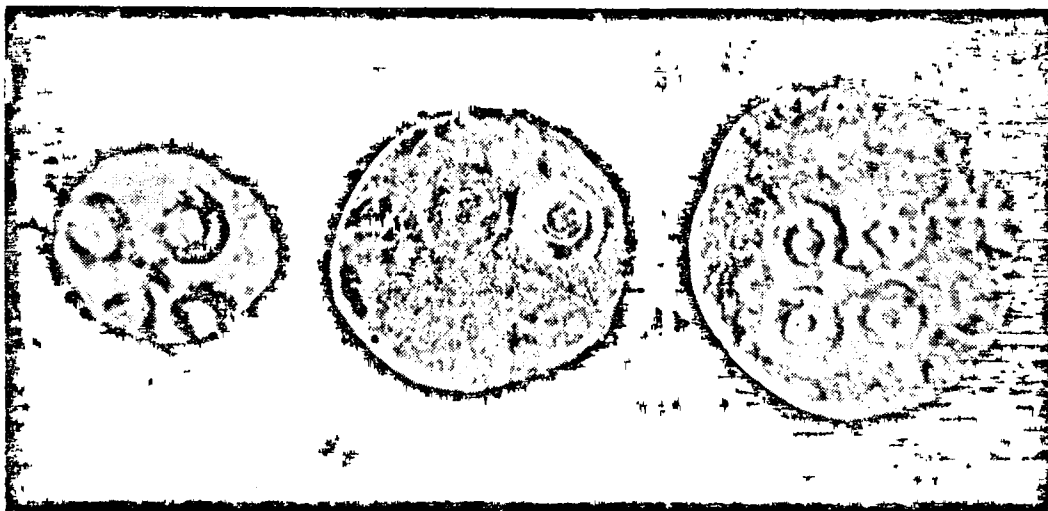


PLATE 11 : OBERSE

(p p. 63-64)

THREE SATVAHANA COINS

Image of Yaksha



PLATE 10

' Pepsa '



PLATE 9

KANDHAR THROUGH EPIGRAPHY AND ARCHAEOLOGY (pp. 22-24)

Remains of Pradhana-Rajavilasini-pataka and Kamadeva temple.

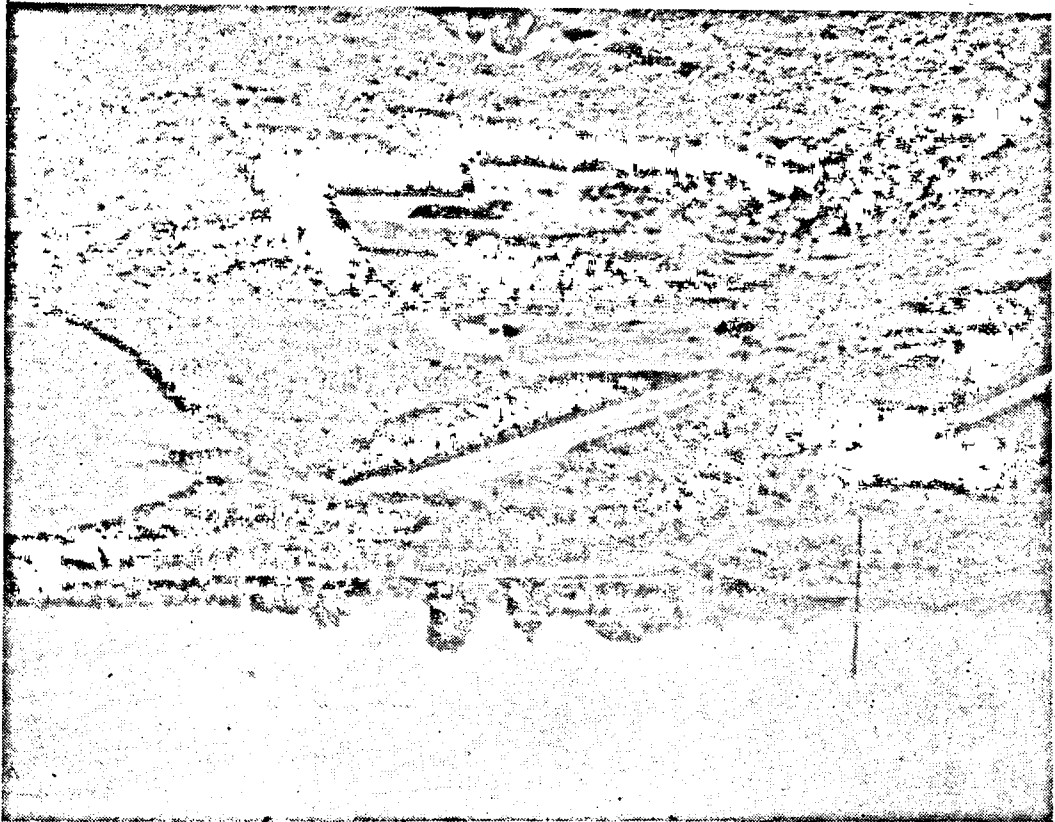
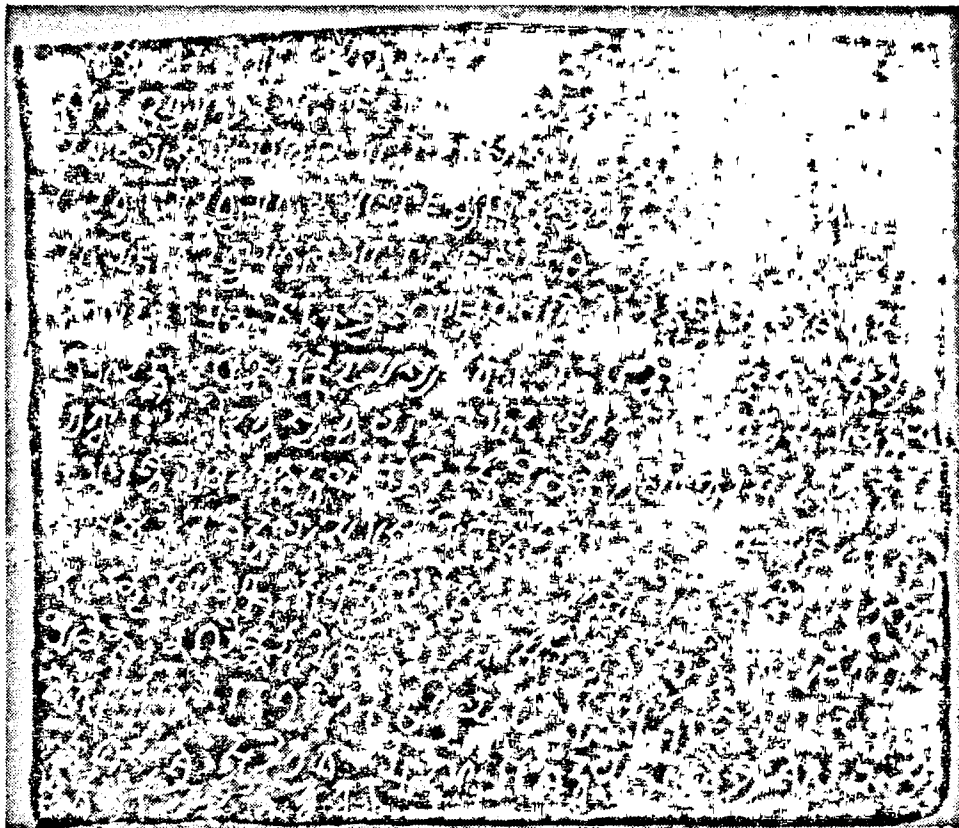


PLATE 8

KANDHAR THROUGH EPIGRAPHY AND ARCHAEOLOGY (pp. 22-24)

KATNI COPPER PLATE OF JAYANĀTHA (pp. 93-97)

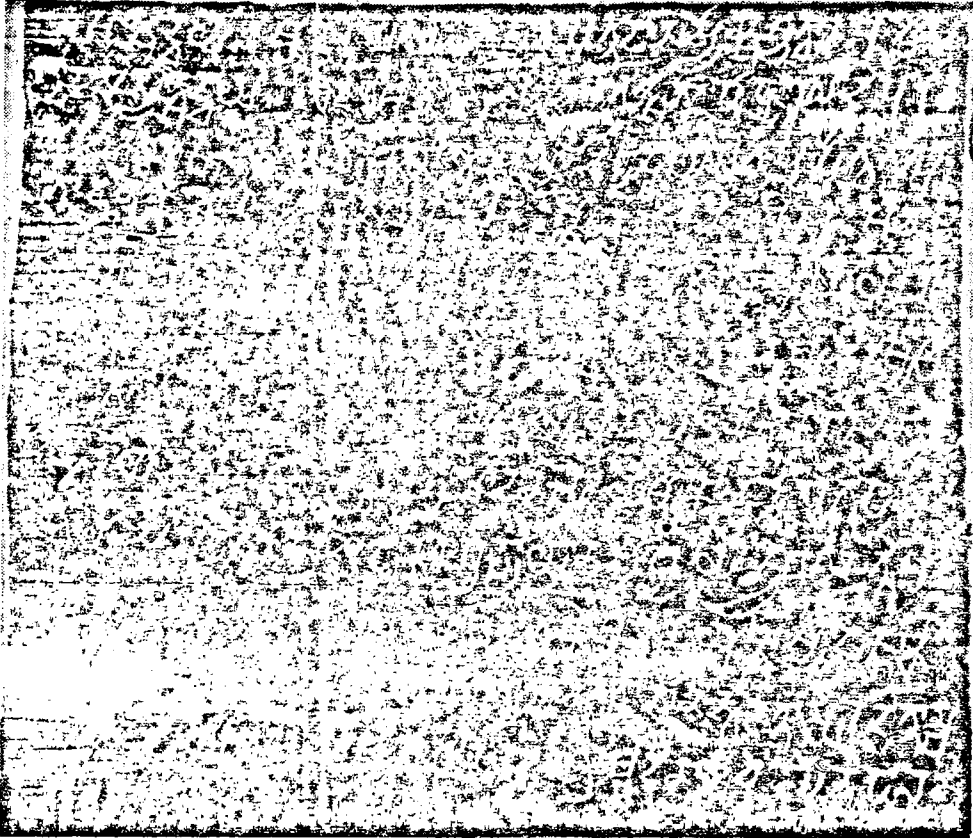
PLATE 13



(Side 1)

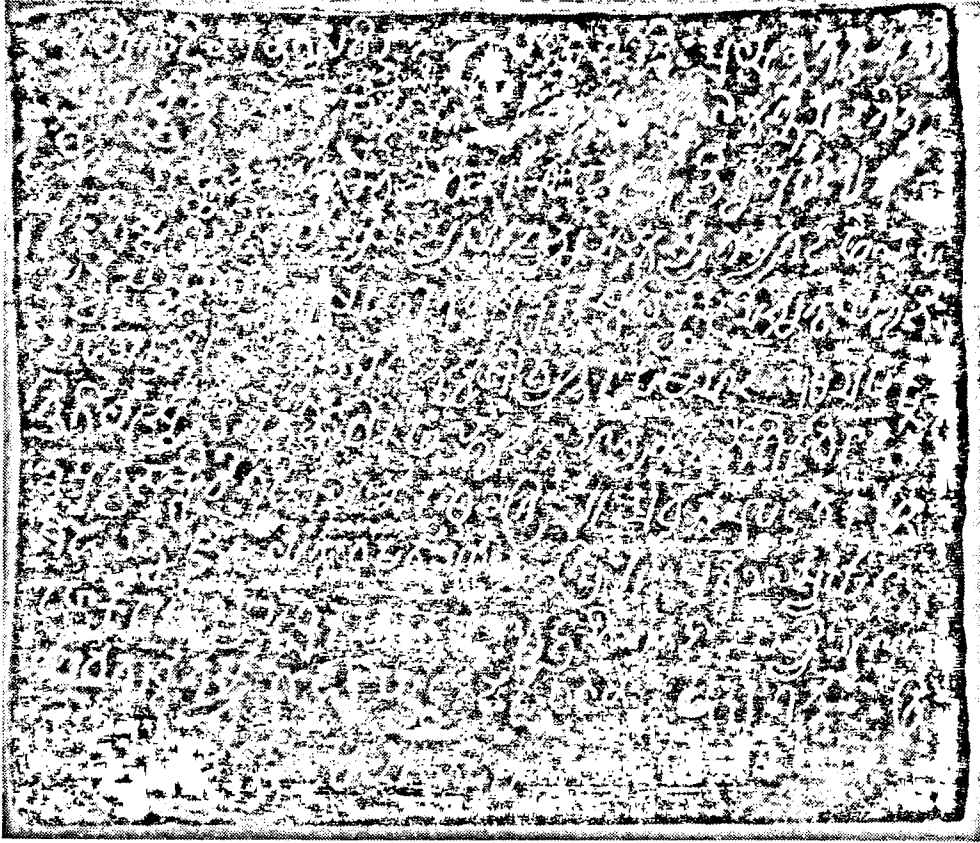
KATNI COPPER PLATE OF JAYANĀTHA

PLATE 14

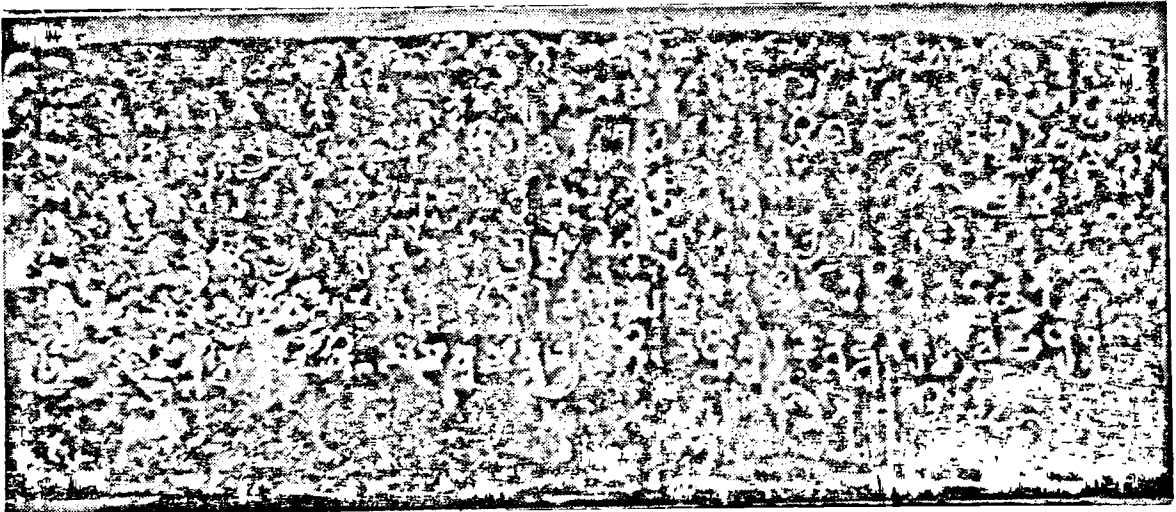


(Side ii)

KATNI COPPER PLATE OF JAYANĀTHA
PLATE 15 (Side iii)



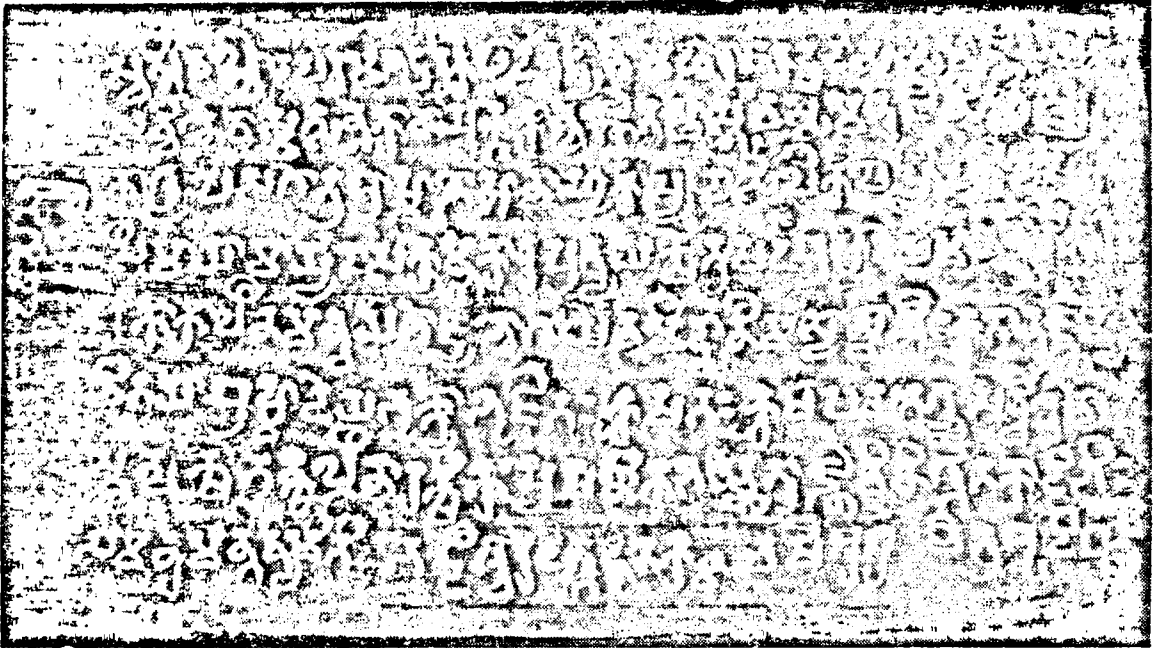
INDORE COPPER PLATE OF RUDRADĀSA (pp. 93-97)
PLATE 16



INDORE COPPER PLATE OF RUDRADASA

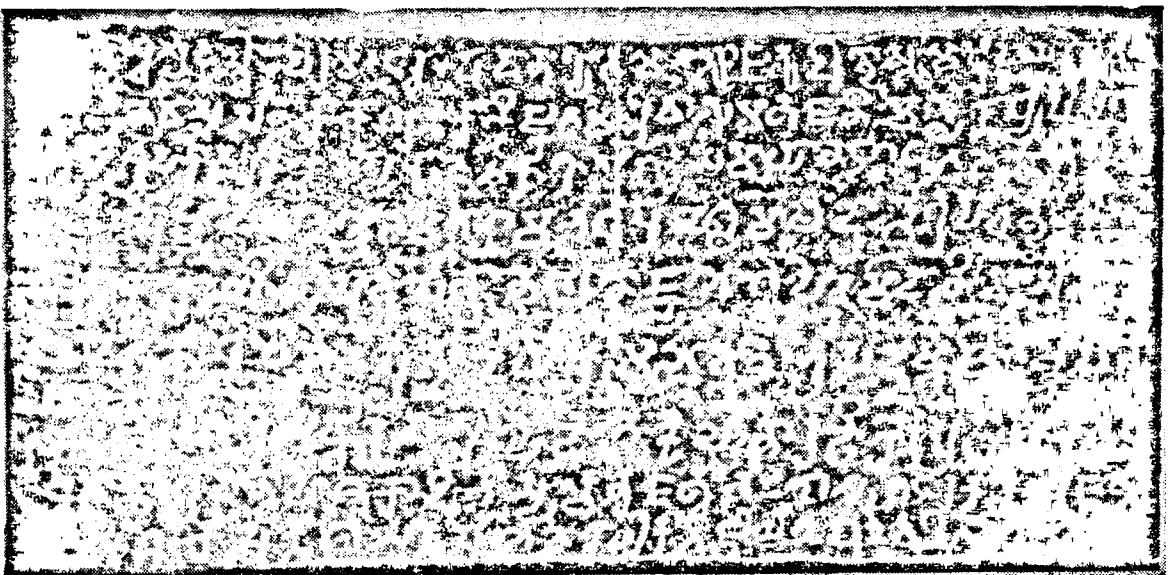
(pp. 93-97)

PLATE 17

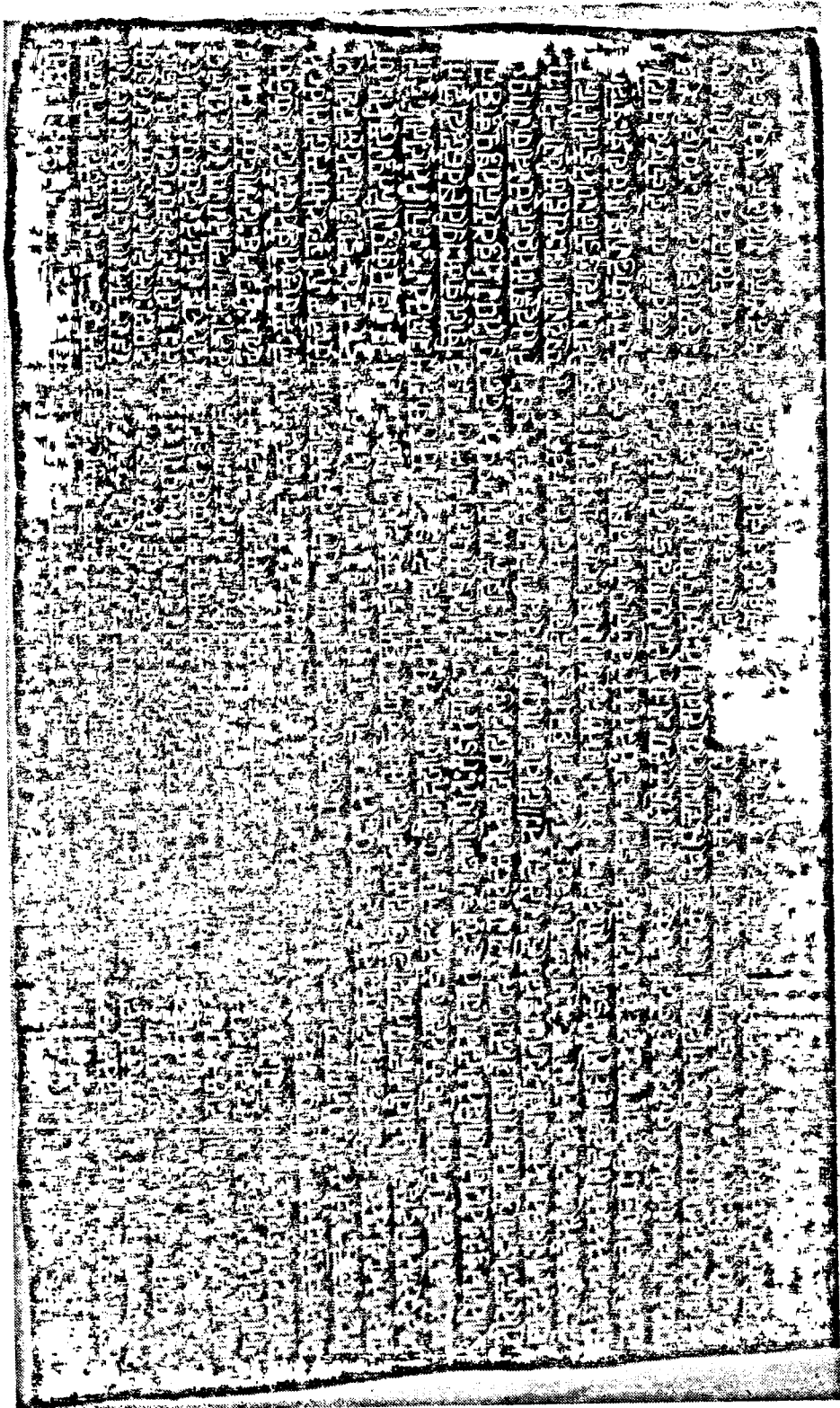


INDORE COPPER PLATE OF BHULUNDA (pp. 93-97)

PLATE 18

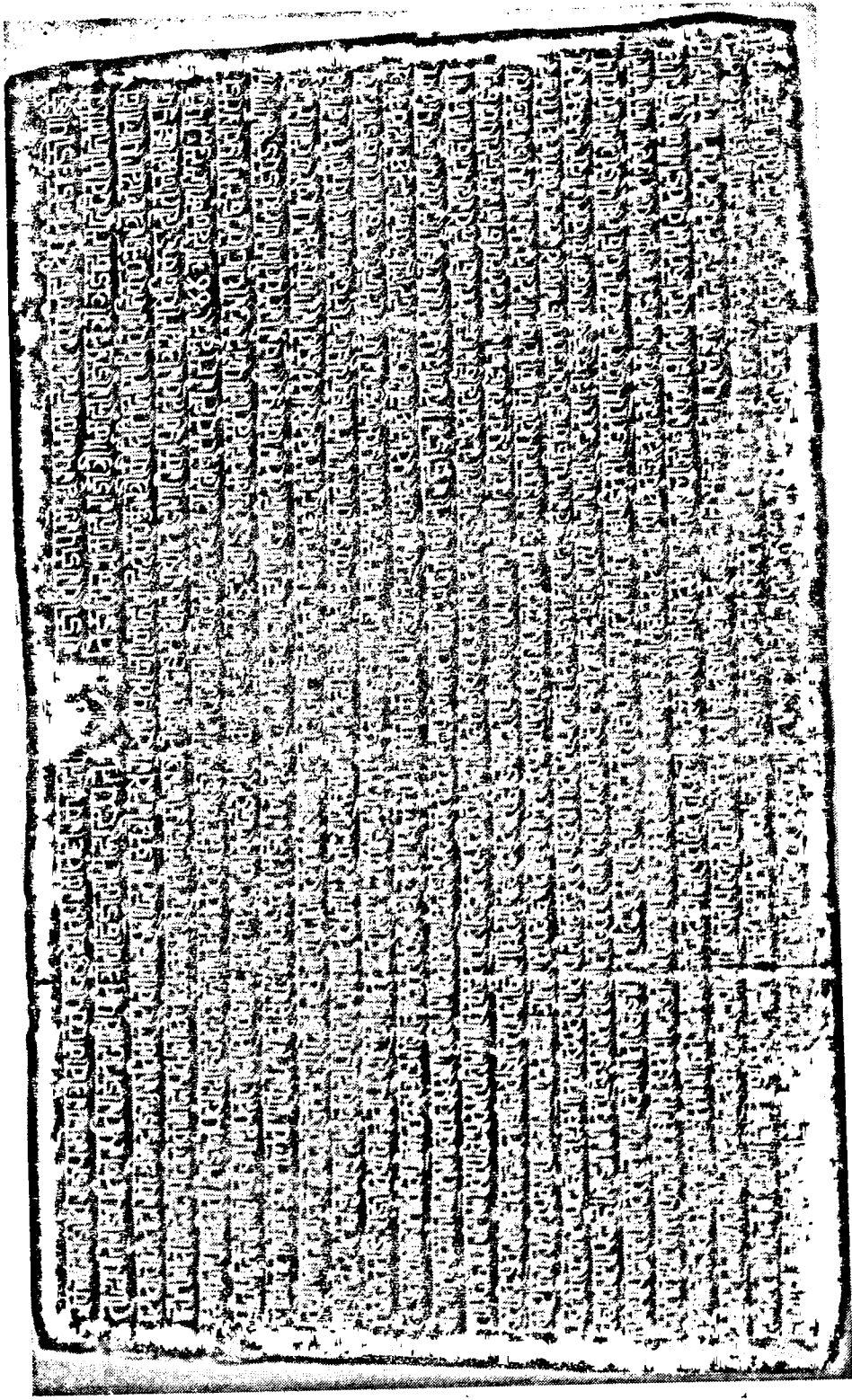


The image shows a highly degraded and noisy scan of a copper plate inscription. The text is arranged in approximately 25 horizontal lines. The characters are small and difficult to decipher due to the high contrast and noise. The script appears to be an ancient Indian language, possibly Sanskrit or a regional dialect, written in a style typical of copper plate inscriptions. The text is mostly illegible.



UMARIA COPPER PLATE OF VIJAYASIMHADĒVA (pp. 93-97)

(Side i)



UMARIA COPPER PLATE OF VIJAYASIMHADĒVA (pp. 93-97)
(Side ii)



SEAL (pp. 93-97)
PLATE 22

STONE BOX CONTAINING THE COPPER PLATES (pp. 93-97)

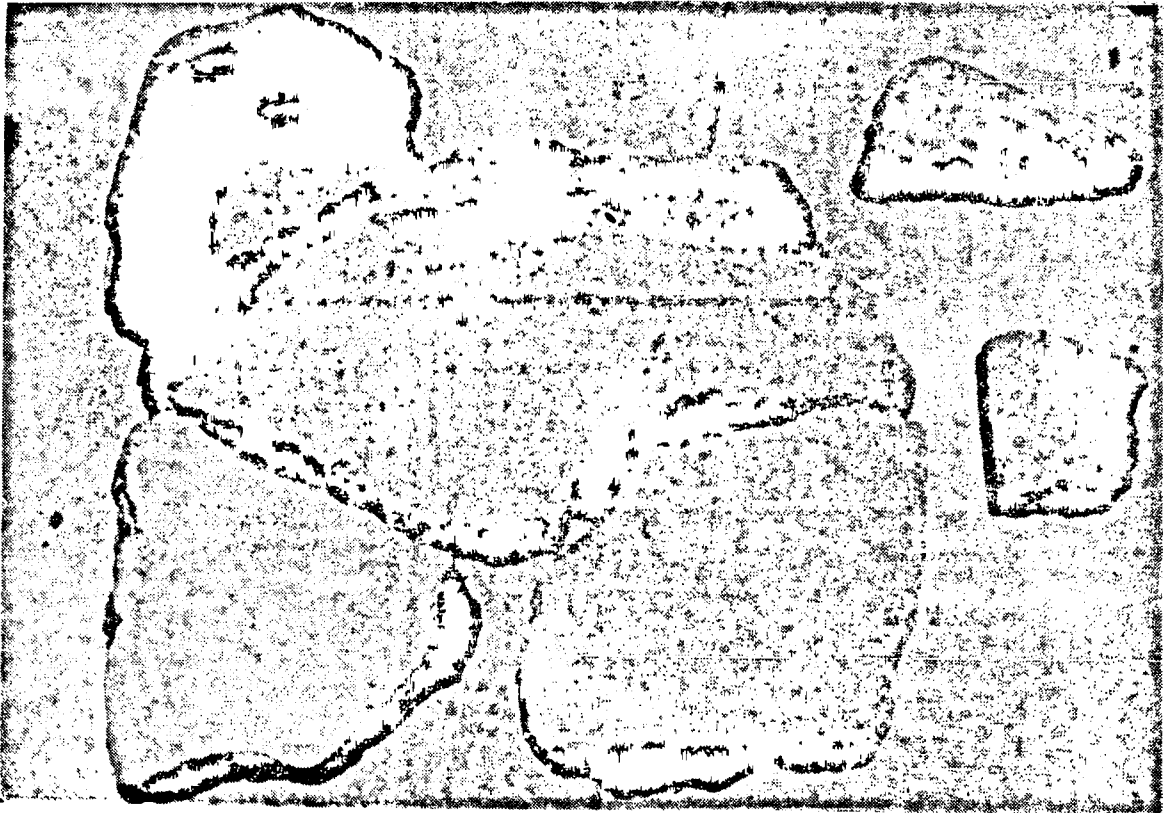


PLATE 23