

JOURNAL
OF THE
EPIGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF INDIA

[BHARATIYA PURABHILEKHA PATRIKA]
(BEING VOL. VI OF STUDIES IN INDIAN EPIGRAPHY)

VOLUME SIX : 1979



417.05-

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PUBLISHED BY
THE EPIGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF INDIA
MYSORE

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15846



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THE EPIGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF INDIA
MYSORE

Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India [Bhāratīya Purābhilēkha Patrikā
[Being Vol. VI of Studies in Indian Epigraphy]: Vol. VI, pp. iv+72. Editors: Dr. S.H. Ritti
and Dr. A.M. Shastri; Secretary and Executive Editor: Dr. K.V. Ramesh; Assistant
Editor: Dr. S.S. Ramachandra Murthy. Published by the Epigraphical Society of India,
C/o Old University Office Building, Mysore-570005.

First Published-1980

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PRINTED IN INDIA AT
Vidyasagar Printing and Publishing House
Saraswathipuram, Mysore-570009

ISSUED IN MEMORY OF

Late Dr. R.C. MAJUMDAR

Honorary Fellow of the Epigraphical Society of
India From Its Inception

PUBLISHED WITH THE HELP OF A GENEROUS
GRANT FROM THE INDIAN COUNCIL OF
HISTORICAL RESEARCH,
FEROZE SHAH ROAD,
NEW DELHI - 110 001

EDITORIAL

It is with a modest yet proud sense of accomplishment that we place this volume in the hands of the scholars. It is no mean achievement that the Society has brought out its sixth successive issue inspite of considerable fiscal pressures. In this context we remember with gratitude the Indian Council of Historical Research which has been enabling the Society to hold its Congresses as well as bring out its Journal through generous financial assistance. We also thank Shri S. K. Lakshminarayana of the Vidyasagar Printing and Publishing House for the printing of this Journal within a short time.

K.V. Ramesh

Executive Editor

For and on behalf of the Editorial Board

1 THE DATE OF TIVARADEVA

V. V. Mirashi

After our article on the above mentioned subject was published in this Journal, Vol. IV, pp. 1 ff., Ajay Mitra Shastri has dealt with the same subject in his article entitled "Were Mādhavavarman I and Tīvaradēva contemporaries?" published in this Journal, Vol. V, pp. 20 ff. We propose to examine his views in the interest of historical truth.

In the beginning of his article Shastri criticizes us for shifting our date of Tīvaradēva several times. We humbly accept this charge. We first tried to fix that king's date more than 45 years back, in 1933, while editing the Ṭhākurdiyā plates of Mahā-Pravararāja of the Śarabhapuriya family in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXII, pp. 22 ff. Till then scholars like Kielhorn¹ were dating Tīvaradēva in the middle of the 8th century. We discussed the question at great length and on the evidence of the Śarabhapuriyas, the Vishṇukuṇḍins and the Eastern Chālukyas, placed Tīvaradēva tentatively in the period 530-550 A. D. We reconsidered the question from time to time during the long period of 45 years as new evidence became available and slightly altered the previous date which was admittedly tentative. This is inevitable. And this has been done by all scholars who care for historical truth. There is no merit in sticking to one's previous view when fresh evidence shows it to be untenable. And the difference in the dates proposed by us at different times was only of about 15 or 16 years, and this was during a long period of more than 45 years. Now compare this with the change in Shastri's

own view about the date of Tīvaradēva. In the *Somasekhara Sarma Volume* he fixed it as 'not before 535 A.D.,' i.e. a little later than that date. Now in his second article on the subject in *JESI*, V, pp. 20 ff. he fixes it as 'the second half of the 7th century'. Let us take it as 660 A. D. The interval between these two dates proposed by Shastri is not less than a century. And this wide divergence between the two views propounded in the course of not more than half a dozen years! We do not blame Shastri for changing his earlier view about the date of Tīvaradēva. We only say that he should allow the same latitude to others. What is sauce for the gander is sauce for the goose!

As stated in our previous article, Tīvaradēva, his predecessors and successors have dated their grants only in their regnal years. They have not recorded them in any era. So their dates have to be fixed approximately on the evidence of the synchronisms of some dynasties. We have fixed the date of Tīvaradēva as 520-540 A.D. by utilising the evidence of the synchronisms of the Vākātakas, the Vishṇukuṇḍins and the Sōmavamaśīs. Shastri has utilised the evidence of the grants of the Śarabhapuriyas. Let us examine his view.

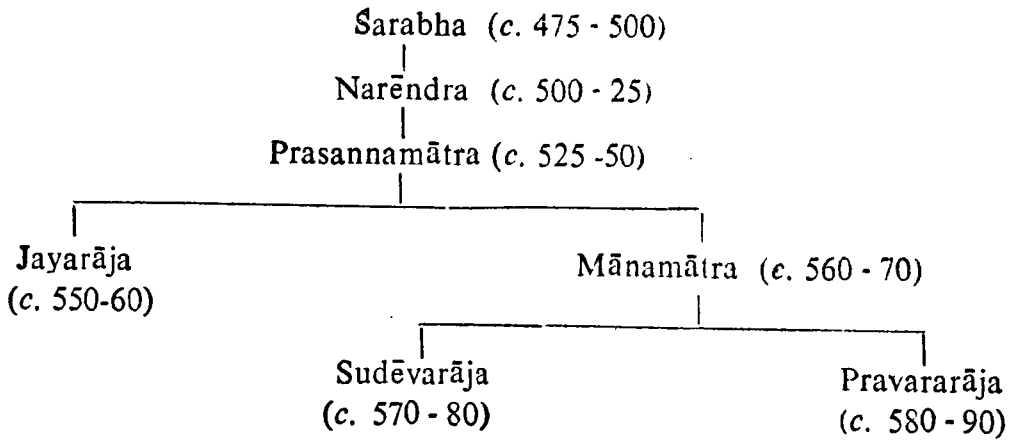
In our article on the Ṭhākurdiyā plates of the Śarabhapuriya king Mahā-Pravararāja we pointed out for the first time that Tīvaradēva flourished after the Śarabhapuriya kings, because one expression viz., *Yāvad=ravisasi-tārā-kiraṇa-pratihata-ghōr-āndhakāram jagad = avatishṭhatē tāvad = upabhōgyaḥ*,

which invariably occurs in the grants of the Śarabhapurīyas, is noticed in the grants of Tīvaradēva only, and not in those of his successors. This shows that Tīvaradēva flourished after the Śarabhapurīyas.

But what is the date of these Śarabhapurīyas? The early grants of this dynasty were issued from Śarabhapura. So in the absence of any other name for this royal family, scholars call it *Śarabhapurīya*. Śarabhapura was evidently founded by a king named Śarabha. Its location is not definitely fixed; but L.P. Pandeya's view² that it is

probably identical with modern Śarabhagaḍ in the former Gāngpur State in Orissa seems likely, because the early grants of this family were discovered in the area adjoining former Sāranggaḍh State. According to some scholars, this king Śarabha was identical with the homonymous person whose daughter's son Gōparāja fell fighting in the battle of Ēraṇ as recorded in the Ēraṇ inscription³ of Bhānugupta, dated 510 A.D. Adopting this view Shastri has tried to fix the date of Tīvaradēva. We shall examine his view in the sequel.

The genealogy of the Śarabhapurīya kings relevant for our present discussion is given below :-



Then there reigned Indrabala of Sōma-vaṁśa, his son Īśānadēva, then the latter's brother Nannarāja and next his son Tīvaradēva. If these reigns and also those of the rulers of the Amarārya-kula are taken into account Tīvaradēva must be referred to the period 660-680 A. D. This appears to be the calculation of Shastri.

This calculation of the date of Tīvaradēva appears quite plausible. But it rests on the identification of Śarabhārāja, the progenitor of the Śarabhapurīya family with the homonymous person mentioned in the Ēraṇ inscription dated 510 A.D. We have referred to that

identification in our own article on the date of Tīvaradēva in *JESI*, IV, pp. 1 ff., though we did not rest our view about the date of Tīvaradēva on it. Now on further consideration of the matter, we feel that the identification, like several others based on identity of names, is doubtful.

We have no information about the Gupta king Bhānugupta who fought in the battle of Ēraṇ in 510 A. D. much less about his ally Gōparāja who fell in that battle and his maternal grandfather Śarabhārāja. The latter was probably ruling somewhere near the Sagar

District about 40 or 50 years before 510 A. D. More than this cannot be validly inferred from that Ēraṇ inscription. He is not likely to be identical with Śarabharāja, the progenitor of the Śarabhapuriya royal family, who was ruling far away in the Gāngapur State of Orissa. These two regions are separated by hundreds of miles. We cannot identify the two rulers merely on the evidence of the identity of their personal names. As there were several kings named Vyāghra ruling in different parts of North and South India in the Gupta age,⁴ there may have been more than one prince named Śarabha in that age. Shastri's theory about the date of Tīvaradēva which is based on the evidence of this identity, rests on a weak foundation and is therefore unacceptable as it is invalidated by a stronger evidence.

In our article we have shown that our date of Tīvaradēva, c. 520-540 A. D., agrees with several other references to that king or his contemporaries and descendants. Let us see how far Shastri's date of the king, 660-80 A. D., agrees with them.

(1) *Contemporaneity of Tīvaradēva and Vishṇukuṇḍin Mādhavavarman*

Two grants of Vishṇukuṇḍin Mādhavavarman state that he delighted beautiful ladies in Trivaranagara or he himself felt delighted in sporting with them. These expressions can be explained satisfactorily if Tīvaradēva is placed in the period 520-40 A. D. for he then becomes a contemporary of that Vishṇukuṇḍin king. Shastri has not been able to explain these expressions satisfactorily.

(2) *Reference to the Maukhāri king Sūryavarman of Magadha*

If Shastri's date 660-80 A.D. for Tīvara-

dēva is accepted, that king's brother Chandragupta will have to be placed in 680-700 A.D.; the latter's son Harshagupta in 700-25 A. D. and Harshagupta's son Malēśivagupta *alias* Bālārjuna in 725-85 A.D.⁵ The Sirpūr inscription of Bālārjuna states that Harshagupta's queen Vāsaṭā was the daughter of Sūryavarman, the ruler of Magadha.⁶ History knows only one king of this name, *viz.*, he who is mentioned in the Harāhā stone inscription⁷ of the Maukhāri king Īśānavarman dated 554 A.D. He may have come to the throne in c. 560 A. D. His daughter Vāsaṭā could not have married Harshagupta, who, according to Shastri's theory, began to reign in 700 A.D. as shown above. No other Sūryavarman is known to have been reigning over Magadha towards the close of the 7th century. Shastri should explain this matrimonial alliance of the Sōmavamśis and the Varmans of Magadha.

We have shown in our previous article how this reference agrees with our date for Tīvaradēva.

(3) Hiuen Tsang (who toured in India in the first half of the 7th century) gives a description of the contemporary king of Dakṣiṇa Kōsala, which, for the most part, agrees with what we know about Mahāśivagupta-Bālārjuna. That king was not indeed a follower of Buddhism as stated by Hiuen Tsang, but he is known to have patronised Buddhism. We have shown elsewhere that he was ruling from Śīpur (modern Sirpur in the Raipur district) where several inscriptions of his reign have been discovered.⁸ In recent excavations the remains of *vihāras* and grand statues of the Buddha have been discovered there. If Tīvaradēva flourished in 520-40 A.D. Hiuen Tsang's description agrees with the state of things now brought to view. On the other hand, if he is referred to the

period 560-80 A.D. Shastri will have to show how Hiuen Tsang's description is relevant.

(4) If Tīvaradēva is placed in 560-80 A. D. his brother's grandson Mahāśivagupta-Bālārjuna will have to be referred to the period 720-80 A.D. Is it likely that Buddhism

was flourishing in Chhattisgaḥ towards the close of the 8th century as disclosed by the ruins at Sirpur?

If Shastri gives satisfactory explanations of the four queries mentioned above, we are quite willing to accept his date for Tīvaradēva.

Notes :

1. Kielhorn remarked, "The Rajim copper-plate inscription of Mahāśiva Tīvaradēva undoubtedly belongs to the middle of the eighth century." *EI*, IV, p. 258.
2. *Studies in Indology*, I, p. 250, n. 1.
3. *CII*, III, pp. 91 ff.
4. For instance, one Vyāghrarāja of Dakṣiṇāpatha was defeated by Samudragupta. Later, there was the Uchehkalpa king Vyāghradēva who was a feudatory of Vākāṭaka Pṛithivīshēṇa and ruled in Bāghēl-khaṇḍa.
5. He had a long reign of about 60 years.
6. See the following verse about her in this Sirpur inscription of Mahā-Śivagupta: *Nishpañ'ē Magadhādhipatya māha:ām jāt.ṅ kulē Varamaṇām puṇyābhiḥ kṛitibhiḥ kṛitīkṛita-maṇaḥ-kamphaḥ sudhābhōjinām yām = āsādya sutām Himāchala iva śrī-Sūryavarmā nṛipaḥ prāpa prāk-Paramēśvara-śvaśuratām garv-ānikharvaṁ padam* *EI*, XI, p. 191, v. 16.
7. *EI*, XIV, pp. 115 ff.
8. *On Yuan Chwāng's Travels in India*, II, pp. 200 ff.
9. See Hiralal's *Inscriptions in C.P. and Berar* (2nd ed), pp. 97 ff.

2. A NOTE ON THE DATE OF TIVARADEVA

Ajay Mitra Shastri

In an epigraphical note inserted elsewhere in this issue V. V. Mirashi has tried to reiterate his contention that Tīvaradēva, the well-known Pāṇḍuvamśin ruler of South Kosala, flourished 520 A. D. onwards¹ and called upon us to explain a few points which, in his opinion, lend support to his stand on the subject. The note in question aims at examining our view set forth in the previous volume of this journal² that Tīvaradēva has to be placed in the second half of the 7th century. This view is based on the unimpeachable epigraphic evidence brought to light during recent years which has an important bearing on the subject. Mirashi has, however, not cited any new evidence in support of his position. Still it is proposed in these pages to examine his arguments briefly.

Mirashi says that in the course of not more than half a dozen years we proposed for Tīvaradēva two different dates separated from each other by more than a century. Unfortunately, this is not a correct statement of facts. As pointed out in our earlier paper on the subject published in this journal,³ in our article in the *Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma Volume* it was not our intention to discuss the date of Tīvaradēva and we had taken for granted Mirashi's view on the subject (not later than 535 A.D.).⁴ We discussed this question for the first time in *JESI*, V, pp. 20-25 where after considering all the relevant evidence we proposed for Tīvaradēva a date in the second half of the 7th century. We

are still of the same opinion as nothing that would upset it has come to light so far. However, as fixed points in early Indian history are few, we cannot and need not be dogmatic and have always to be willing to give up a position if the same is contradicted by new evidence.

Since Tīvaradēva flourished after the Śarabhapura kings, the date of the former depends upon the period of the latter's rule. But as the Śarabhapurīyas dated their records only with reference to their regnal years and not in a known reckoning, their period has to be fixed on independent grounds. Mirashi himself proposed to identify Śarabha, the first member of the dynasty after whom its capital was named, with Śarabharāja whose daughter's son Gōparāja died in a battle fought at Ēraṇ in 510 A. D.⁵ And this identification is generally adopted by historians who have come to regard it as one of the grounds for fixing the period of the Śarabhapurīyas as well as of Tīvaradēva. Mirashi himself stuck to this identification till just about a couple of years ago.⁶ But as in the light of recent epigraphic evidence, whereto we invited attention in our earlier paper on the subject, which goes counter to his view of the date of Tīvaradēva, he now expresses doubt about the identification and rejects it on the grounds that it is based merely on the identity of names which is not quite dependable in such matters⁷ and that Ēraṇ, the find-spot of Gōparāja's inscription, and the

Chhattisgarh region where the Śarabhapuriyas ruled are separated by hundreds of miles. However, there are other evidences which lend support to the placement of the Śarabhapuriyas from about the end of the 5th to about the end of the 6th century and this general chronology is not affected adversely even if the identification of the two Śarabharājas is set aside. According to the Bālāghaṭ, Mahurjhari and Māndhal plates of Pṛithivīshēṇa II, the commands of his father Narēndrasēna were obeyed in, *inter alia*, Kōsala or Chhattisgarh region. If there is any substance in this statement, it will have to be admitted that the Chhattisgarh region came under Vākāṭaka influence during Narēndrasēna's reign. His son and successor Pṛithivīshēṇa II, was even more powerful and it may be reasonably assumed that he continued to wield influence in that area. His reign came to an end about the close of the 5th century. It is only after this that the Śarabhapuriyas, who were, to judge from their records, sovereign rulers, could establish their rule over South Kōsala. Śarabha, whose records are yet to be discovered, may have been a feudatory of Narēndrasēna and his son Pṛithivīshēṇa II, but his successors were independent for all practical purposes. Secondly, it is admitted on all hands that palaeographically the characters of the Śarabhapuriya records are more developed than those of the copper-plate charters of the Vākāṭakas. Moreover, it is noteworthy that according to Mirashi the use of box-headed characters in Kōsala was due to the influence of the Vākāṭakas and he tried to link it with the extension of Vākāṭaka Narēndrasēna's sway over this region.⁸ It would thus follow that our views regarding the general chronology of the Śarabhapuriyas and consequently about the date of Tivaradēva are based on valid conside-

rations and the rejection of the commonly accepted identification of the two aforesaid Śarabharājas does not militate against this position. Thirdly, even though our knowledge about Gōparāja's maternal grandfather Śarabharāja is derived from the Ēraṇ inscription recording the former's widowed wife's self-immolation on the funeral pyre of her husband, there is nothing in this inscription to show that Śarabharāja ruled in the Ēraṇ or Sagar area of Madhya Pradesh. For, are we not familiar with the fact that even in those days matrimonial relations were often contracted between families settled in areas situated hundreds of miles apart, particularly in royal families? Mere mention of Śarabharāja in an inscription found at Ēraṇ does not indicate that he ruled in that area. And if we look at the context, we cannot be quite sure that even Gōparāja, who lost his life in a war at Ēraṇ, ruled in the Ēraṇ area. For the inscription actually states that Gōparāja had come over to Ēraṇ with Bhānugupta and fought the battle there. It thus appears that Gōparāja and his maternal grandfather Śarabharāja had nothing to do with Ēraṇ. Then again, some of the earliest known records of the Śarabhapuriyas have been found in the Raipur District which, it may be argued, is comparatively nearer to Sagar than the former Raigarh area. The records intended to be referred to are the Kurud⁹ and Rawan¹⁰ plates of Narēndra.

We feel, however, that right from the time of Samudragupta's conquest Kōsala was under the influence of the Guptas and that the claim of Narēndrasēna that his commands were honoured by its ruler may at best indicate that he carried out a raid in Kōsala which, however, had no lasting effect and the supremacy of the Guptas continued to be acknowledged in this area till the very close

of the Gupta rule. The Śarabhapuriyas appear to have begun their career as the feudatories of the Guptas. This is clearly indicated by the Kurud plates of Narēndra. This inscription informs us that the *parama-bhaṭṭāraka-pādā* had granted a village in Kosala to a Brāhmaṇa named Bhāśrutasvāmin after taking an ablution in the Gaṅgā, that the palm-leaf charter by means of which the grant was made was burnt in a household conflagration and that after ascertaining by official investigation that the grant was being enjoyed uninterruptedly (by the donee's family) *mahārāja* Narēndra renewed the grant by means of a copper-plate charter issued in favour of the donee's son for the merit of the *parama-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda* himself. M.G Dikshit, who edited the inscription, took the expression *parama-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda* to refer to *mahārāja* Narēndra's father, Śarabharāja.¹¹ But D. C. Sircar rightly pointed out that the expression in question actually referred to the Gupta overlord who alone, during this period, could assume this imperial title.¹² The reference to the bath in the Gaṅgā on whose bank the Gupta capital Pāṭaliputra was situated is interesting in this connection. We may thus conclude that Śarabha made his debut on the political map of South Kosala as a feudatory chief under the Imperial Guptas and it was during his period that his Gupta overlord granted a village in South Kosala after taking bath in the Gaṅgā. The fact that Narēndra also renewed the grant for the merit of the overlord shows that he continued to owe allegiance to the Guptas. However, the non-mention of the name of the Gupta overlord and the absence of an expression like *parama-bhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudhyāta* seems to indicate that this acknowledgment of the suzerainty of the Guptas was only nominal. This state of affairs

clearly hints at a situation when the Gupta power was on the decline and erstwhile feudatories could afford to take liberties with their overlords while nominally acknowledging their suzerainty at the same time. This situation obtained in the first half of the sixth century. It must be remembered that the Later Guptas and the Maukharis, who also began their political career as subordinates of the Guptas during this period also acted in a similar manner. We can thus reasonably assign Narēndra to the beginning of the sixth century and his father Śarabha to the last quarter of the fifth century.

Mirashi then invites attention to four points which he takes as supporting his view about Tivaradēva's date and states that if we are able to satisfactorily explain these points he is 'quite willing' to accept our date for Tivaradēva. Let us now take note of these points one by one and see how far they are relevant to the issue under review.

I. The first point relates to the contemporaneity of Tivaradēva and the Vishṇukunḍin ruler Mādhavavarman. This point has been discussed by us at length in the previous issue of this journal¹³ and the arguments need not be repeated here. We have shown there that even if Mirashi's latest date for Tivaradēva, viz., 520-40 A. D., is accepted he could not be a contemporary of Mādhavavarman as the latter's reign came to an end prior to the earliest date of the former's accession proposed by Mirashi. We have already offered our interpretation of the reference to *Trivara-nagara* met with in the Īpūru and Polamūru plates.¹⁴ Some other recent writers on the Vishṇukunḍins have also not accepted Mirashi's interpretation of the expression in question.¹⁵ Mirashi has not adduced a single new argument against our position that

Tīvaradēva and Mādhavarman were not contemporaries. As such this question need not detain us any longer.

II. A verse in the Sirpur Lakshmaṇa Temple Inscription of Vasāṭā, mother of the Pāṇḍuvamśin ruler Bālārjuna, informs us that the latter's father Harshagupta married Vasāṭā who was the daughter of Sūryavarman who was a ruler of Magadha.¹⁶ This Sūryavarman is generally identified with the homonymous son of the Maukhari chief Īśānavarman who, according to the Haraha inscription of (V. S.) 611 (554 A. D.), got a temple of Śiva repaired¹⁷ and this identification is taken as an evidence of an early date for Tīvaradēva, uncle of Harshagupta. Mirashi reiterates his support to this identification on the ground that history knows of only this king of the name Sūryavarman. But this identification is not based on any solid ground. First of all, there is nothing to show that prince Sūryavarman, known from the Haraha inscription, ever came to throne. When he got the Śiva temple repaired, as stated in the Haraha inscription, he was only a prince and his father Īśānavarman was on the throne. Sūryavarman does not figure in the genealogy of the Maukharis found on the seals of the family nor is he mentioned in any literary work. Secondly, even though a feudatory Maukhari family is known to have ruled over a small principality in the Gaya District of Bihar,¹⁸ the family beginning with Harivarman to which Īśānavarman and his son Sūryavarman belonged had nothing to do with it. Till the time when Sūryavarman flourished the family of Harivarman had no pretensions to rule over Magadha and its territorial possessions were confined to Uttar Pradesh. It is true that Īśānavarman claims to have fought battles in Orissa and Bengal¹⁹

but these were in the nature of raids and do not represent any eastward expansion of the kingdom. Even though after Īśānavarman portions of Magadha are believed to have been annexed to the Maukhari dominions,²⁰ the Maukharis in question were primarily a political power of Uttar Pradesh with their metropolis at Kannauj and were never regarded as a Magadhan power. It is thus more than obvious that Vasāṭā's father Sūryavarman had nothing to do with the Maukharis of Kannauj and consequently the matrimonial alliance between him and the Pāṇḍuvamśins has absolutely no bearing on the date of Tīvaradēva. The Sūryavarman of the Sirpur Lakshmaṇa Temple inscription appears to have belonged to a hitherto unknown ruling family of Magadha. One is reminded in this connection of Yuan Chawng's reference to king Pūrṇavarman who is said to have revived the *Bōdhi* tree at Gayā after the cessation of Śaśāṅka's rule.²¹ Although the Chinese traveller refers to Pūrṇavarman as the last of the race of Aśōka-rāja, some of his descendants or collateral members of the family might have continued to rule in some part of Magadha or elsewhere with the memory of their former rule over Magadha still lingering in their mind and giving them a sense of pride in days of faded glory. Though it is difficult to be certain on this point in the absence of necessary evidence, the possibility of Sūryavarman belonging to this dignified lineage cannot be ruled out altogether. It must be noted in this connection that the verse referring to Sūryavarman speaks of him as 'born in the family of the Varmans' and there is absolutely no mention of the Maukharis. The Maukharis had attained such a position of pre-eminence in Indian mind that had Sūryavarman really had something to do with the Maukharis the author of the *praśasti*

would never have missed the opportunity of glorifying the queen-mother by making a specific reference to her father's Maukhari lineage.

III. Mirashi next invites attention to the Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang's description of South Kōsala which, he feels, tallies well if his date for Tivaradēva is accepted and wants us to explain as to how his description is relevant if our date for Tivaradēva is granted. Let us first see what Yuang Chwang has to say about the Kōsala king. He informs us that 'the king was a *kshatriya* by birth, a Buddhist in religion, and and of noted benevolence.' He adds that there were, evidently in the capital, 'about 100 Buddhist monasteries, and about 10,000 Brethern, all Mahāyānists'.²² The remaining description is not relevant in the present context. Mirashi thinks that this description applies well to the time of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna during whose reign some Buddhist structures were erected and who is known to have extended his patronage to the Buddhists.²³ But a close look at this account would show that it is partially erroneous and is so general in its contents as to be of no use in identifying the ruler in question. The statement that the king was a Buddhist is obviously incorrect as no ruler of South Kōsala from the time of the Śarabhapuriyas, the first known dynasty of the region, to the end of the Pāṇḍuvamśin dynasty was a Buddhist and that all these chiefs were the adherents of Pauranic religions is vouched for by their own records. Not even Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna was a votary of Buddhism. But in conformity with the age-old Indian tradition all these rulers practised religious tolerance and Mahāśivagupta did likewise. Such a liberal religious attitude could easily be mistaken as a formal affiliation to one reli-

gion or the other, in this case Buddhism, as has been done by Yuan Chwang in many cases. It is, therefore, obvious that Yuan Chwang's description of South Kōsala and its king has no bearing on the date of Tivaradēva.

IV. According to our date for Tivaradēva, Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna flourished in the 8th century. And, as stated above, the latter extended patronage to Buddhism. Mirashi is, however, doubtful if Buddhism was flourishing in the Chhattisgarh region as late as the close of the 8th century. We have definite archaeological evidence to show that Buddhism was in vogue in South Kōsala not just till the close of the 8th century but for a few centuries there after also. We learn from the Ratanpur inscription of the time of Kalachuri Jājalladēva I, dated Kalachuri 866 (= 1114 A.D.), that the king's spiritual teacher Rudraśiva was conversant with the writings of Diñnāga and others (*Diñnāg-ādi-pramāṇavit*).²⁴ According to the Kōni inscription of the time of Pṛithvīdēva II, dated Kalachuri 900 (1148-49 A. D.), its composer Kasēla had mastered the three jewels and the āgamas of Śrighana (Buddha) and others (*jñātā ratnatrayasya prathitatara-matiḥ Śraighan-āgam-āughē*).²⁵ The inscriptional evidence, though meagre, thus, leaves no doubt that Buddhism was prevalent till as late as the 12th century. This conclusion finds strong support from the finds in the archaeological excavations at Mallar, one of the most important towns of South Kōsala. The finds of Period IV, dated 600-900 A. D., included baked clay sealings sealings of the Buddhist creed.²⁶ Several Buddhist images like those of Buddha, Padmapāṇi Avalōkitēśvara, Hēvajra and Tārā, datable upto the 10th century have also been reported.²⁷ The evidence is quite eloquent and

leaves no doubt about the popularity of Buddhism in this area during the early mediaeval period.

It will be seen from the foregoing discussion that there is absolutely nothing against

a date for Tīvaradēva in the second half of the 7th century which accords well with all the known historical facts. On the other hand it is impossible to account for the extant historical evidence if Tīvaradēva placed as early as early 6th century.

Notes :

- 1 This date was first suggested by Mirashi in *JESI*, IV, pp. 1-5.
- 2 *Ibid.*, V, pp. 20-25.
- 3 *Ibid.*, p. 20.
- 4 *Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma Commemoration Volume (JAHS. XXXV)*, pp. 165-168.
- 5 *EI*, XXII, p.17. For the Ēraṇ inscription of Gōparāja which refers to this event, see J.F. Fleet, *CII*, III, p. 91.
- 6 *JESI*, IV, p. 1 where Śarabha is said to have been ruling in 484 A.D.
- 7 As an analogue Mirashi invites attention to the fact that there were several kings named Vyāghra ruling in different parts of North and South India during the Gupta period.
- 8 *EI*, XXII, p. 17.
- 9 *EI*, XXXI, pp. 263-66.
- 10 *Prāchya-pratibhā*, V, pp. 182-83 and plate.
- 11 *EI*, XXXI, p. 263.
- 12 *Ibid.*, pp. 267-68.
- 13 *JESI*, V, pp. 20-25.
- 14 *JAHS*, XXXV, pp. 165-68.
- 15 See, for instance, S. Sankaranarayanan, *The Vishṇukunḍins* (Delhi, 1977), pp. 56, 224-50.
- 16 *Nishpaṅkē Magadh-ādhipatyam mahatā jātaḥ kulē Varmaṇām puṇyābhīḥ kṛitibhiḥ kṛitī kṛita-maṇaḥ kampaḥ sudhā-bhōjinām | Yām= āsādyā sutām Himāchala iva śrī-Sūryavarmā nṛipaḥ prāpa prāk-Paramēśvara-śvaśurathḥ garv-ānikharvaḥ pādām || EI*, XI, p. 191, verse 16.
- 17 D. C. Sircar, *Select Inss.*, I (2nd ed., Calcutta, 1965), pp. 388-89, verses 16-20.
- 18 For the records of this family, see *CII*, III, nos. 48-50, and for its history, R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *The Classical Age*, p. 67.
- 19 D. C. Sircar, *op.cit.*, pp. 387-88, verse 13.
- 20 A Maukhari seal has been reported from Nalanda. See *EI*, XXIV, pp. 284 ff.
- 21 T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, II, p. 115. Elsewhere (*ibid.*, p. 171) Yuan Chwang refers to a huge copper image more than 80 ft. high, set up by Pūrṇavarman, in a six-storeyed building. Also see Shaman Hwui Li, *The Life of Hiuen Tsiang* (Delhi, 1973), p. 119. Pūrṇavarman is also said to have invited Yuan Chwang to come to his court and nominated him "Kwo-sse" (Master of the kingdom) and assigned for his support the revenue of 20 large towns which the Master of Śāstras (Yuan Chwang) declined to receive. See *ibid.*, pp. 153-54.
- 22 T. Watters, *op. cit.*, II, p. 200; Shaman Hwui Li, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-35.

- 23 See *EI*, XXIII, pp. 113 ff.; XXXI, pp. 197 ff.
- 24 *CII*, IV, part II, p. 412, text, line 27.
- 25 *Ibid.*, p. 470, text, line 27.
- 26 K. D. Bajpai and S. K. Pandey, *Malhar 1975-77* (Sagar, 1977), p. 36.
- 27 *Ibid.*, plates XV-XVI, XVII A, XVIII B. In the description on pl. XVII the image of Hēvajra is said to date from the 8th century while at p. 35 the temple of Hēvajra found in the excavations is described under period III which is dated from c. 300 to 650 A.D. There seems to be some confusion and the temple, if the image belonged to it, actually appears to date from the 8-9th century. The description of the temple complex seems to support this date.

(Discussions on this subject are closed.—Executive Editor)

3 NOTE ON THE MATHURA PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION OF KANISHKA, YEAR 14

G.S. Gai

This inscription which is engraved on the pedestal of a stone image was first published by Daya Ram Sahni.¹ It was discovered in 1927 in an elevated part of the Dalpat-kī-khiṛkī Mohalla in the city of Mathurā. Of the stone statue only the feet remain with the lower portion of a small standing figure at each side. However, from the tenor of the epigraph Daya Ram Sahni states that the central figure must have been a standing image of Gautama Buddha. The text and translation of this epigraph, as given by Daya Ram Sahni, are as follows :

TEXT

- 1 Mahārāja-Dēvaputrasya Kaṇishkasya saṁvatsarē 10 4 Pausha - māsa - divasē 10 asmim divasē Prāvarika-Ha[sthisya]
- 2 bha(bhā)ryyā Saṁghilā bhagavatō pitāmahasya Saṁmyasaṁbuddhasya svamatasya dēvasya pūjārtthaṁ pratima(mā)ṁ pratishṭhā-
- 3 payati sarvva-dukkha-prahāṇārtthaṁ-[!]*

TRANSLATION

On the 10th day of the month of Pausha in the year 14 of the Mahārāja Dēvaputra Kaṇishka, on this day Saṁghila, the wife of Prāvarika Hasthi (?), installs (*this*) image for the veneration of her favourite deity, the Bhagavat, the *pitāmaha*, Gautama Buddha (*lit.* who is truly and completely enlightened), for the cessation of all misery.

This inscription has been a subject of much controversy amongst the scholars during the last 50 years or so. There is difference of opinion regarding its date, the meaning or interpretation of some expressions and also regarding the identification and art-style of the mutilated images carved above the inscription.

Daya Ram Sahni has read the date as 10 4 *i.e.*, 14. The numerical symbol read as 10 here is, of course, somewhat unusual and is unlike the usual symbol for 10 which is found in this very inscription in the same line after the word *māsa-divasē*. This symbol consists of two small circles joined together and engraved in a slanting position, the left-hand circle being placed higher whereas in the usual symbol we find that a circle is placed to the left-side and is joined by a semi-circle on the right-side, both being carved in a straight line. However, the nearest symbol resembling that of the present record in the date-portion being 10, Daya Ram Sahni read it as 10 4 or 14. This reading of the date has been supported by Lüders² and D.R. Bhandarkar.³ D.C. Sircar was first inclined to read it as 94⁴ but, on mature consideration, reads it as 14 only.⁵ Thus, according to these scholars, king Kanishka mentioned in the inscription is Kanishka I who started the Kanishka line of the Kushāṇas and the era of 78 A. D. and the date of the record would, therefore, correspond to 92 A. D.

V. V. Mirashi, however, reads the date as 54 stating that the controversial numerical symbol, read as 10 by the above-mentioned scholars, really stands for 50.⁶ He further identifies Kaṇiṣhka of this inscription with Kanishka II and since Huvishka is supposed to have ruled from the year 28 to 60, he envisages the joint rule of Huvishka and Kanishka II at Mathurā in the years 50 to 58. Thus the date of the present record according to Mirashi would be 132 A. D. B. N. Mukherjee reads the date of this inscription as 94 (or 172 A. D.) and identifies Kaṇiṣhka with Kanishka III.⁷

F. W. Thomas thinks that the numerical symbol may stand for 100 or 200.⁸

J. E. Van Lohuizen-De Leeuw has commented in great detail on the date, the palaeography of the inscription as well as on the art-style of the mutilated figures above the inscription.⁹ Accepting Daya Ram Shani's reading of the date as 10 4 *i. e.* 14, Van Lohuizen thinks that this is one of the many epigraphs from Mathurā in which the figure 100 is omitted while mentioning the date.¹⁰ These epigraphs have been engraved on the pedestals of the Jaina images at Mathurā and they do not mention the name of the king. Hence, Lohuizen examined these inscriptions from the point of view of palaeography and the images from the point of view of art-style. She tried to show that the letters *n*, *d*, *m*, *y*, *h*, *s* and the bent cross-bar of the letter *k*, the box-head at the top of some letters, besides a dash instead of a dot indicating *anusvāra* exhibit late features and, therefore, the records have to be referred to the 2nd century A. D. and for that purpose, the dates mentioned in them should be considered as dates with the numeral 100 omitted

in them. Since none of these dates examined by her mentioned any Kushāṇa king, it was possible for her to argue like that. But in a paper¹¹ presented at the Seminar on Jaina Art and Architecture held at Ahmadabad in 1973 I have shown that the so-called late features of palaeography pointed out by Lohuizen are found in atleast two inscriptions at Mathurā mentioning the name of the king Kanishka and engraved on the pedestals of the images of Bōdhisattva and Buddha. In these inscriptions both the earlier and the so-called later features of letters like *m* and *h* are met with. Hence, it has been shown in my above-mentioned paper that the theory of dates with hundreds omitted is not tenable. Now, finding that the present inscription under discussion dated in the year 14 and mentioning the name of Kaṇiṣhka, Lohuizen, in order to stick to her theory of dates with hundreds omitted, suggests that the Kaṇiṣhka mentioned in the present inscription should be identified with Kanishka III.¹² This Kanishka III is stated to have succeeded Vāsudēva I. Thus, according to Van Lohuizen, the inscription under study belongs to the year 114 or 192 A. D. She has supported her view from the study of the art-style of the images above the inscription. While she agrees that the central or the main figure is that of Buddha, the two small standing figures on either side represent adorants or laymen and not Bōdhisattvas as thought of by some scholars.¹³ She further suggests that one of these figures represents a female adorant who is the donor of the main image while the other figure represents her husband. And since during the Kushāṇa period, the donor or adorants are represented as seated images and are carved on the front of the pedestal and since the examples of standing images

represent later features, the images carved above the present inscription belong to post-Kushāṇa period. Lohuizen also points out, in this connection, that the ankles of the main image of the Buddha in the centre are strikingly thick and that the right leg just above the ankle swells very quickly.¹⁴ Such peculiar features are stated to be found in the images of the early Gupta period.¹⁵ She has also drawn our attention to the object found between the feet of the central figure and suggests that it is a rolled-up offering of flowers from which the lower part has been broken away.¹⁶ Thus, after taking into consideration all the points about the art-style of the mutilated images above the inscription under study, Lohuizen comes to the conclusion that those images show a relationship with Kushāṇa art on the one hand and with the early Gupta art on the other so that they may be said to belong to the post-Kushāṇa period.¹⁷

As has been already stated above, it is not possible to agree with Lohuizen regarding the palaeographical study of the inscription. In our paper referred to above, we have conclusively shown that the so-called later features of palaeography such as a loop in the left side of the letter *y*, the cursive forms of *i* and *h*, the later form of *m*, the looped variety of *s*, etc., occur in the inscriptions of Kanishka I dated in his 4th and 23rd regnal years¹⁸ In fact, in these two inscriptions, both the regular as well as the so-called developed forms of *m*, *h* and *k*, occur side by side while the *anusvāra* is indicated by a dash instead of by dot.¹⁹ The characters of the pedestal inscription of the year 14 of Kanishka under consideration, are not different from the two inscriptions of his regnal years 4 and 23 mentioned above and hence we have to

conclude that this inscription belongs to the 14th regnal year of Kanishka I only or to 92 A. D. I would request the art-critics to express their considered opinion regarding the view of Lohuizen on the art-style of the mutilated images carved above the inscription which, if accepted, will go against our dating of the epigraph.

Now I would like to comment on a few expressions found in the inscription under study. While giving the details of the date, the epigraph mentions *Pausha-māsa* and, as pointed out by Daya Ram Sahni "this is the first Brāhmī inscription of the Kushāṇa period which quotes the month of its date by its Hindu solar name instead of by the season name."²⁰ This feature is also considered by some scholars as an evidence of the record belonging to post-Kushāṇa period wherein the custom of the Gupta period is anticipated. But it may be pointed out that this mention of the Hindu solar month may be due to the fact that the writer or engraver wanted to introduce the custom of the Kharōshṭhī records of the Kushāṇa period where the Hindu solar months are regularly mentioned. In this connection, attention of the scholars may be drawn to another Brāhmī inscription²¹ from Mathurā which is attributed to the reign of the Kushāṇa king Huvishka and dated in the year 28 and which mentions the month Guṃpiya *i.e.*, the Macedonian month of Gorpaios corresponding to the Indian Prōshṭhapada. And this is the only known example of the use of a Macedonian month in a Brāhmī inscription of the Kushāṇa period. The editor of this inscription, Sten Konow, has suggested that the person at whose request the inscription was drawn up was a foreigner from a country where that calendar was known and used. But

it may also be suggested that the writer of the inscription has used the name of this month in order to show that he was acquainted with the names of the Macedonian months.

As regards the expression *bhagavatō pitāmahasya* occurring in the inscription, Daya Ram Sahni says: "The substitution of the word *pitāmahasya* for *arahatō* in the inscription is inexplicable. Both in Buddhist and Brahmanical texts this word is commonly applied to the Hindu god Brahmā and I am unable to say why it is used here as an appellation of the Buddha."²² But Sahni was apparently not aware of the fact that the designation *pitāmaha* as applied to Buddha is also found in the Deoriya inscription noticed by Lüders.²³ In this record also, the same expression viz. *Bhagavatō pitāmahasya pratishṭhāpita* is used.²⁴ The expression *bhagavatō pitāmahasya* is also found in the Kōsam inscription²⁵ of Vaiśravaṇa (14th century). *Pitāmaha* as the name of Buddha seems to have survived till later times as it is found in the Nālandā inscription²⁶ of Vipulaśrīmitra of the 11th century. (cf *pitāmahasya vihārikāyām navakarmma chitraṁ*).

Lastly, the translation of the expression *svamatasya dēvasya pūjārtham* appearing in the inscriptions under study as 'for the veneration of her favourite deity' by Daya Ram Sahni is not correct. We may compare this expression with *bhagavatō samyak-sambuddhasya*²⁷ *sva matāviruddhasya* found in the Mankuwār Buddhist stone image inscription²⁸ of Kumāragupta I, dated in the Gupta year 129 or 448-49 A.D.²⁹ It will be seen that *sva-matasya* and *sva mat-āviruddhasya*, which are the epithets of the Divine One, mean the same thing and the latter word has been translated by Fleet as 'one who was never refuted in respect of his

tenets'. In other words, it means one who was consistent with his own teachings' or 'one who lived according to his own teachings.'³⁰ Accordingly, the expression *sva-matasya dēvasya* in our inscription would mean 'of the God who holds his own tenets' and not 'her favourite deity' as rendered by Daya Ram Sahni where 'her' refers to the female donor Saṅghilā who installed the image of Buddha on whose pedestal the inscription is engraved. Lüders has pointed out that the epithet *dēva* as applied to Buddha here is unique in which Buddha is called *Mahādēva* while the work *Mahāvvyutpatti* (1,16) cites *Dēvātīdēva* as one of Buddha's names.³¹

D.R. Bhandarkar who has commented on this inscription³² states that the reading *bhagavatō Pitāmahasya Sammya[k*] sambuddhasya sva-matasya dēvasya* is just one expression with a string of attributes in which the word *dēvasya* is the attributed word here while the rest are its attributes. According to him, the word *Pitāmaha* which is associated in the present record with Buddha, has to be taken in its primary sense, viz., 'the progenitor of progenitor' or, in other words, Buddha is understood like Hindu Brahmā as the Creator of the Universe. And in that case, the word *dēva* occurring at the end of the expression should be taken in the sense of 'God' and not 'a deity'. This would indicate that a new sect of Buddhism had sprung up which considered Buddha as God and Creator of the Universe. But what could be the name of this new sect? Bhandarkar tries to throw new light on this point on the basis of the expression *sva-mata* found in the Mankuwār image inscription of Kumāragupta referred to above. He thinks that *sva-mata* explains not only the origin of Sāmmitīya, the name of a celebrated sect and school of

Buddhism but also its principal doctrine. No scholar has yet been able to adduce satisfactory etymology of term Sāmmitīya. It occurs for the first time in a Sārnāth inscription¹⁸ of the early Gupta period, which is wrongly read as *Sa[mmi]tiyānām* by Vogel.¹⁴ It is to be transcribed as *svamyātiyānām* and corrected into *svāmātiyānām*, “of those who propound the doctrine of *sva-mata*.” *Svā-mātiya* can be easily Prakritised into *Sāmmitīya*. “The most important tenet of the *Sāmmitīya* creed”, says Poussin, “is the *Pudgalavāda*, the belief

in a *pudgala*, a sort of person or soul” so that *sva-mata* can be taken to mean “one to whom the human soul is something approved (*svam mataṁ yasya saḥ.*)” It will thus be seen that the Sammitīyas were so called because they promulgated the doctrine of *Sva-mata*, i.e. *Pudgala-vāda* and we learn from the present Mathurā pedestal inscription that these Sāmmitīyas looked upon Buddha not only as the perfectly Enlightened One (*samyak-saṁbuddha*) but also as God (*dēva*) and the Creator of the World (*Pitāmaha*).

Notes :

- 1 *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 96 ff.
- 2 *Mathura Inss.* (ed. Janert), p. 116.
- 3 *EI*, XXI, p. 2.
- 4 *Proc. Trans., All Ind. Or. Conf.*, 12th Session, (1943-44), Vol. II, P. 519.
- 5 *Sel. Inss.*, (1965), p. 518.
- 6 *EI*, XXVI, pp. 293-97.
- 7 B. N. Mukherjee, *Studies in Kushāṇa Genealogy & Chronology* (1967), pp. 71-72.
- 8 F. W. Thomas, *India Antiqua* (1947), pp.296-303.
- 9 *The Scythian Period*, pp. 302 ff.
- 10 *Ibid.*, pp. 263 ff.
- 11 *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, (ed.) U.P. Shah and M.A. Dhaky (1975), pp. 81 ff.
- 12 Lohuizen, *op. cit.*, p.306. N.G. Majumdar also thinks that it is not possible to refer this inscription to Kanishka I as its alphabet shows predominantly ‘Gupta’ forms.
- 13 *Ibid.*, p. 308.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 310.
- 15 Cf. the colossal Buddha image and the Katrā image in Lucknow Museum. (Vogel, *La sculpture de Mathurā*, plates XXIX and XXXI a).
- 16 Lohuizen, *op. cit.*, p. 312.
- 17 *Ibid.*
- 18 *EI*, XXXIV, pp. 9 ff. and plate ; *ibid.*, XXVIII, pp 43 ff. and plate.
- 19 Scholars used to call these developed forms of *m*, *l*, *h*, etc. as eastern or northern variety of Gupta alphabet, but, as pointed out by D.R. Bhandarkar while editing the Mathurā pillar inscription of Chandragupta II (*EI*, XXI, pp.1 ff.), we have no longer the right to speak of an eastern variety of Gupta alphabet in as much as these features are met with even in some Kushāṇa inscriptions. This view is also endorsed by H. Lüders (*Math. Ins.*, (ed.) Janert, p. 117). However it cannot be ruled out that the peculiar forms of *m*, *l*, *s* and *h* were the distinguishing features in the records of the eastern part.
- 20 *EI*, XIX, p.97. Lüders observes that the reason for this deviation from the common practice is not apparent (*Math. Ins.* p.119).
- 21 *Ibid.*, XXI, pp. 55 ff.

- 22 *Ibid.*, XIX, p.96. It is worthy of note that the epithet *piṭāmaha* is nowhere associated with Buddha in the Pali literature.
- 23 Lüders *List*, No.91.
- 24 Cf. Lüders, *Math. Inss.*, p. 118.
- 25 *EI*, XXIV, pp.47-148.
- 26 *Ibid.*, XXI, pp. 97 ff.
- 27 This expression is also found in the Kōsam inscription of Vaiśravaṇa (*ibid.*, XXIV, pp. 147-48) mentioned above.
- 28 *CII*, III, pp. 45 ff.
- 29 D.C. Sircar's reading of this date as 109 or 428-29 A. D. (*JAIH*, III, p 155) is not acceptable to us.
- 30 D.C. Sircar, *Sel. Inss.*, (1965), p. 295, No. 4.
- 31 Lüders, *Math. Inss.*, p.119.
- 32 Here I am referring to D. R. Bhandarkar's views as found in his forthcoming revised edition of the Gupta Volume.
- 33 *EI*, VIII, p. 172, Nos. 1, f.
- 34 *Ibid.* Lüders (*List*, No. 923) also gives the reading of this expression as *Sannitiya* and corrects as *Sammitīya*.

4 MACHINE RECOGNITION OF AN ANCIENT TAMIL SCRIPT OF THE CHOLA PERIOD

Gift Siromoney

R. Chandrasekaran & M. Chandrasekaran

INTRODUCTION

Even though computers are basically counting devices they can also perform a number of sophisticated operations. Today the computer is used as a powerful tool not only by scientists and engineers but also by social scientists and archaeologists. During the recent past scholars have made use of the computer in the area of epigraphy in India and abroad. First the computer has been used in studying the Indus script using techniques that are basically statistical in nature. Secondly, the computer has been used in photo-composing. Thirdly, it has been used for dating medieval Tamil inscriptions using numerical methods. Fourthly, the computer has been used for image enhancement. Fifthly, it has been used for recognizing letters of the Brāhmī script from Aśōkan inscriptions and the work is still in progress. Now we attempt in this paper to use the computer for recognizing the characters of the Tamil script of the period of the Rājendra Chōla I of the 11th century.

STATISTICAL METHODS

The work of Russian and Finnish scholars in applying statistical techniques with the aid of computers for the study of the Harappan script has been reported in the Journal of Tamil Studies. Mr I. Mahadevan has also made use of computers in

Madras and in Bombay for his study of the Indus or Harappan script. Using computers he was able to analyse a large quantity of data and test different hypotheses. A group of Japanese scholars have also been making use of computers in analysing inscriptions. They use direct methods of counting the frequency of certain words that occur in the inscriptions of different periods. The methods used are primarily data processing methods.

COMPUTER-ASSISTED PHOTO-COMPOSING

The concordance of the Indus script prepared by I. Mahadevan was printed with the assistance of a computer. This kind of computer technology is new to India and the National Centre for Software Development and computing techniques had made the preparation and printing of the concordance possible.

COMPUTER METHODS OF DATING

The authors of this paper have demonstrated the possibility of using computers for dating medieval Tamil inscriptions.¹ The techniques used are derived from the area of Computer Science known as Pattern Recognition. Starting with a set of firmly dated inscriptions we were able to date an inscription of unknown authorship. Work is still progressing in this area and we are trying to improve the results.

COMPUTER AND IMAGE ENHANCEMENT

For recovering good quality pictures from satellite photographs image enhancement techniques are used. One of us (Siromoney) was able to make use of what are known as line detectors for getting clearer pictures of estampages¹. Siromoney used a Pallava Grantha inscription from Kāñchīpuram for this experiment in 1974 at the Picture Processing Laboratory of the University of Maryland, College Park, in the United States of America.

COMPUTER RECOGNITION OF ANCIENT SCRIPTS

Normally when a computer is used for data processing, data would be fed into the computer through punched data cards, magnetic tapes or through a teleprinter or a CRT terminal. In contrast to this, in the recognition problem we try to make a computer recognize a letter and to distinguish it from other letters. As in the image enhancement methods, special equipment is necessary for converting the picture into some form which can be stored in a computer. Since

such devices are not available in Maḍras, at the moment, we have digitized the data manually.

We are asking ourselves the question whether in the foreseeable future, a computer can be fed directly with photographs of inscriptions and asked to give reading.

We have developed methods by which machine printed Brāhmī characters can be recognized.² That is each character must occur only in one form as in letters occurring in print using one style and size. To recognize Brāhmī from an inscription it is more difficult and work is in progress.

COMPUTER RECOGNITION OF TAMIL SCRIPT

We have successfully demonstrated that machine-printed Tamil letters can be recognized by the computer.⁴ In this paper we extend it to the Chōḷa script. Using the methods already developed it is possible to recognize machine-printed Chōḷa characters. What we are attempting is to recognize hand-printed letters of a Chōḷa inscription. Work is still in progress.

Notes :

- 1 Gift Siromoney, M. Chandrasekaran, (1977). Computer Methods of dating medieval Tamil inscriptions STAT 26/77, Department of Statistics, Madras Christian College:
- 2 Gift Siromoney (1975), Computer techniques of image enhancement in the study of a Pallava Grantha inscription, *Studies in Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. 2, pp. 55-58.
- 3 Gift Siromoney, R. Chandrasekaran and M. Chandrasekaran (1978), Computer recognition of an ancient common Indian script, STAT/36/78, Department of Statistics, Madras Christian College, Proceedings of the symposium on Linguistic Implications of Computer Based Information Systems (in press).
- 4 Gift Siromoney, R. Chandrasekaran and M. Chandrasekaran (1978), Computer recognition of printed Tamil Characters, *Pattern Recognition*, Vol. 10, pp 243-247.

5 SOME INTERESTING TERMS IN VIJAYANAGARA INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PUDUKKOTTAI REGION

C.R. Srinivasan

The most significant aspect of village administration was the prevalence and recognition of village assemblies that played a very conspicuous role in all aspects of rural administration. The people who constituted the assembly were called *ūravar*, *nāṭṭavar* and *sabhayār*. These assemblies which were the veins of the Chōḷa administration continued to maintain their impact and individuality on the rural masses of South India. The well-knit bureaucracy of the Chōḷas was deep rooted. It continued to enjoy an enviable position in the minds of the rustics of the Vijayanagara period. When the Vijayanagara power extended through the length and breadth of the South the activities of the *sabhas* were no doubt crippled but not totally annihilated in all the places of the empire. The decline of the *sabhas* was rapid in the southern districts of the Chōḷa empire but comparatively it took a longer time for Vijayanagara power to eradicate the system that was evolved by the Chōḷas in respect of taxation, temple affairs, village administration etc., atleast in the heart of the Chōḷa country. The Pudukkōṭṭai region was one among them.

In this paper an attempt is made to show a few interesting terms that occur in Vijayanagara inscriptions approximately numbering over 200 inscriptions (published in the *Inscriptions (Texts) of the Pudukkōṭṭai State* in the Pudukkōṭṭai region or former Pudu-

kkōṭṭai state. These terms, however, have not received the due attention of scholars.

The Chōḷa bureaucracy introduced an universally prevalent system of safeguarding the property of the village from theft by appointing select security officials. The pay and the allowances of the security personnel, *pāḍikāppār* were borne by the administrative unit of the village from the income of taxes or cess levied. Their dereliction of duty might cost their job or render them liable to compensate the loss incurred by the individual or by the village. The terms *siṅṅupāḍikāval*, *perumpāḍikāval* and *mērpāḍikāval* clearly indicate their sphere of duties in a narrow or wider area or their rank and file. In such cases, the officials were allowed or empowered to recruit men to assist them in their police duties of affording protection to person and property. Depending upon the patrolling area such as *ūr* or *nāḍu* these men enjoyed the right of *pāḍikāval-kūli* or *pāḍikāval kāṇi* or the privilege of levying stipulated tax or cess from the people towards their remuneration. The closing years of the Chōḷa rule witnessed the decentralisation of the central power due to the emergence of powerful vasals who began to exercise more independence or suzerain powers in their respective regions. In Vijayanagara period the term *pāḍikāvalkāṇi* seems to have undergone some changes and it appears to have been styled as *pāḍikāval-suvantaram*

with the suffix *suvartram*. Thus it has become a right to be conferred on an individual or a group of individuals. This right is generally associated with a gift of land obviously for his maintenance.

It can be inferred from an inscription (No. 681) that the *tānattār* and *ūravar* are some of the persons who are competent to bestow this right on persons and the incumbent in this case the *ūravar* of an adjacent village of the *pāḍikāval-suvantaram* is supposed to supervise the repairs of the tanks which have fallen into disuse or in a state of ruin for the purpose of lifting water for irrigational purposes. When a particular village was not in a position to protect itself the *pāḍikāval* rights are sold in an open auction to the neighbouring village by the village itself. By fixing 500 *chakram* as the sale price, it is gathered from an inscription, that the *ūravar* of Mēlūr, in addition to the amount agreed upon in the sale-deed (*vilai-pramāṇam*) resolved to pay 28 *kalams* of paddy as lease (*kuttagai*) in kind to god Tirubhūmīśvaram-uḍaiyanāyaṇār along with other taxes such as *māvaḍai*, *maravaḍai*, *kōyir-suvantaram*, *kuḷamīṇ-pāṭṭam*, *Āḍi-Kārttigai-suvantaram* and other perquisites of original *pāḍikāval* (*asarpāḍikāval*) with the stipulation that the vendee *i. e.*, the *ūravar* of Rājasīṅga-maṅgalam would reserve the right to sell or gift as the case may be. It is stated therein that the reason for selling the *pāḍikāval* was the failure of rain and the consequent famine (No. 801).

In another instance (No. 821), the villagers, out of sheer disgust and harassment by the officials who were demanding *kaḍamai* and *kāṇikkai* from the village, having seen that there was no alternative course of action and on account of the recurring impediments

right from the days of Viśaiyālaiyadēvar put the *pāḍikāval* of the village and its environs to auction for a sum of 200 *chakram*. The inscription mentions that Śiṅgappuli Vīradēvar was the *ex-pāḍikāppār* of the village and that the lands that were allotted for his service fetched 200 *paṇam*. The sale of right was in favour of Vāṇādarāyar. It is evident from this inscription, that the inefficiency of the old incumbent and the harassment of the tax-officials was one of the important factors for putting the *pāḍikāval* rights in auction. Another record refers to the sale of *pāḍikāval* to three persons by the headman of the village Kāraiūr for 300 *chakram-paṇam* (No. 703). The vendees were made eligible to receive a bundle (*kaṭṭu*) per *chēy* in the village probably at the time of harvest and at the rate of one *paṇam* during the months of Āḍi and Kārttigai. In another instance (No. 715) the same individual sold the *pāḍikāval* for 400 current coin called *chakram* to Araśukaṇḍadēvar who was given the privilege of 4 *mā* of lands, a well, two house-sites and certain presents from specified communities. Also a string of titles (*virudāvali*) was conferred on the beneficiary of the *pāḍikāval* right along with the extra privileges of blowing the conches, *ēraḥchaṅgu* and *iṅgaṅguchchaṅgu* perhaps to maintain the pomp and dignity of the office.

Another inscription (No. 729) states that the *pāḍikāval* right was sold as *tirunāmattukkāṇi* to the deity Ādichaṇḍēśvara by the *ūravars* of the villages Pālaikkuḍi, Kaḷanguḍi and Kiḷinallūr and also the Araiylars of Vallanāḍu who had purchased lands or in possession of mortgaged lands in the villages as they were not in a position to pay the *kaḍamai-paṇam* in respect of these three villages to Suvāmi Narasānāyakkār. It is worth

recalling here that Ādichaṇḍēśvara is the guardian deity of the Śiva temple. Thus this may be cited as an example that the *pāḍikāval* right was sold to the temple itself. An inscription (No 733) states that three *veḷḷāḷars* who were having the *pāḍikāval* right surrendered and raised loan in order to pay the dues (*kaḍimai-poṇ*) to Suvāmi Naraśānāyakkār. It also adds that their inability resulted in raising the loan from the temple treasury and selling the *pāḍikāval* lands as *sarvamāyanirṇayam* for conducting worship, service and car-festivals to god. The Araiyaḡ further agreed to collect and pay the poll-tax (*āḷvari*) and receive certain taxes on *dēvadāna* lands (No 733) to discharge the duties of *pāḍikāval* under the directions of the temple.

Thus the *pāḍikāval* rights underwent various changes in course of time during the Vijayanagara period in Puddkkōṭṭi region. It can also be seen that these rights are transferred, surrendered, leased and gifted according to the exigencies of those times. In proportion to the income from their estates on *kāval* tenure or *pāḍikāval*, the *pāḍikāppārs* were indulging in parading their vanity or piety by the bestowal of benefactions to the temples in their jurisdiction in varying degrees. It is believed that this system was the forerunner for introducing and organising *pāḷaiyams* in South India at a latter date.

We shall now take another interesting term, *marakkala-vilappiramāṇam* occurring in this region.

The word *marakkalam* denotes a vessel or a boat. The implication of the term here is ferry or boat-service. An inscription (No. 685) states that the *nāṭṭavars* of Kānāḍu executed a *nilavilappiramāṇam* (sale of land) according to which a sum of 5000 *paṇam*

was said to have been received as the proceeds of the sale and it was made over to god Viśaiyālaiyadēvar as *marakkalap-piramāṇam*. Thus, the *marakkaloppiramāṇam* seems to be the right of running the ferry-service. It is also discernable that the income accrued from the service was the prerogative of the person on whom the right was confirmed. From the mention of the sum of 5000 *paṇam* as the sale amount, it can be conjectured that the right was conferred *in lieu* of the sum paid. It is noteworthy that generally the imperial or central government would reserve the right over the territorial waters or the control over the movements of ships, boats and ferries in its own interest. Significantly here the *nāṭṭavar* who happened to be one of the units of the imperial government is allowed to exercise the control over the ferry-service. Another inscription (No. 700) avers that the *marakkala-suvantaram* was sold in public auction conjointly by the various *ūravars* to a certain Dēvaḡ-nāyinār as there was no recourse even after excluding the payment of *kāṇikkai* made by Aṇṇappa-uḷaiyāṇ.

Another interesting term which we often meet with in this region is *āśiriya-pramāṇam*. This connotes an inscriptional document to which apers on voluntarily submits to another's protection. An inscription (No 704) provides more details about *āśiriya-pramāṇam* according to which the agreement is between the *ūravars* and Viśaiyālaiya-muttaraiyar of Miśṅgiḷi-nāḍu. The donor appears to have quarrelled with his elder brother (*aṇṇāvi*) Pōttaraśar *alias* Sāmantar and apprehended danger to his life and property. In order to prevent this mishap or calamity, the donor executed the *āśiriya-pramāṇam* and thus sought the protection of the *ūravar* by institu-

ting some gift to the god of that place. Thus when a person desires to seek the protection of the *ūravar* under *āśiriyapramāṇam*, it seems that a gift of land or making provisions for food offerings to god becomes mandatory as gleaned by some more inscriptions of this region (No. 693, 696 and 765). However, there is a subtle difference between *āśiriyapramāṇam* and *añjināṇ pugaliḍam* as the latter is a colony for refugees.

The next term is *aḍaivu* or *adaippu*. This term refers to the schedule or allocation of duties to be performed by the *dēvaraḍiyārs* of the temple who are holding the *dēvaḍimaisuvantaram*. The inscriptions (Nos. 710 and 814) give the interesting details that the *Tirukkōyil paṇḍārattār* and the *ūravar* allocated the *mīdal-aḍaippu* of *dēvaḍimai* to Uḍḍiyammai as there was previously no such service in the temple. She was given some privileges of performing ceremonial rites for averting the evil eye at the close of daily worship or in festival in the temple, (*tiruvandikāppu*) including the conferment of the title, *nālu-dikkāmveṇṇamāṇikkam* (one who has conquered the four quarters) for her service in the temple. She was also allotted some *dēva-dāna* lands. (No 814) It can be inferred from this that *tiruvandikāppu* or performance of dance before the deity seems to be one of the items of the first *aḍaivu*.

Another inscription (No. 817) says that Māṇikki who was given to the temple as *dēvaḍimai* was branded with tridentmark along with her kith and kin in the *immediate presence* of the deity. She was given some *tirumukkāṇi* for the maintenance of her family. This inscription helps us to understand that branding of *dēvaraḍiyārs* was done in the very presence of the presiding

deity and necessarily before the initiation or assumption of the service. There is an inscriptional reference (No. 841) to the inquiry conducted into the affairs of the *dēvaḍimai* of the temple belonging to the members of a dissolved family, by the *ūravar*. It was held by verification of oral and written evidences and ascertaining from the elders of the village that those who bore both the branded marks *sūlam* and *pādasūlam* (on feet) were classified and apportioned to the Bhūmīśvara temple with allocation of duties of third and fourth *aḍaivu* to the available descendents of the run away family viz., Mēṇi and all her sons in the temple. This shows that they were branded in more than one place in their bodies and these marks were the valid proof for recognising the temple to which they belonged or for restoring their rights in case of doubts and disputes.

The third inscription gives a vivid account of the criminal investigation and punishment there on for the theft of a neck-ornament (*paṭṭaikārai*) of the goddess committed by Tittiyāṇḍi, a member of the second *aḍaivu*. The accused was imprisoned. One of his hands was ordered to be cut off. He was forced to forfeit his *kāṇiyāṭchi* and he was also expelled from his village. When the shareholders of the second *aḍaivu* to which the culprit belonged were also asked to pay a sum of 10 *poṇ* being the price of and fine for the ornament stolen, they expressed their inability to do so (No 867). Therefore the rights to perform the second *aḍaivu* alongwith the rights of *kāṇiyāṭchi* were legally transferred by a copper-plate document to Pallavarāya Māṇikkam daughter of Sōlaichchi, one of the *kōyil-parikalattār*. Thus the inscription gives the clue that a

particular *aḍivuvu* contained many members who were collectively responsible for any theft etc. Further we get references to the seventh *aḍivuvu* in inscriptions. This shows that the *dēvaḍimai* was subdivided into many *aḍai-vuvu* and each *aḍivuvu* was shared up by several members of their own family. At sometimes they are conferred with titles, (*Chaṇḍēśvaraya* etc., depending on their meritorious service or personal accomplishments.

The term *aḍaivuvu* is common to the classical dances of Tamil Nādu, Andhra and Karnataka. It is worth recording here the

observation made by Miss Padma Subrahmanyam. In her article on 'History, Technique and Notation for Aḍavu System in Dances', (*South Indian Studies*, 1978, p. 109), she observes that this word seems to have its root in the Tamil word 'āḍil' meaning dancing and the Telugu *āḍu* meaning a step or stamping with the foot. *Aḍavu* is a combination of three elements, namely, a posture for the body, a movement for the legs and gestures for the hands. In other words, it can be taken as the Southern terminology of the ancient Sanskrit term *karaṇa*.

6 THE "GIFT AFTER PURCHASE" IN VIJAYANAGARA INSCRIPTIONS*

Peter Granda

The presentation of gifts to religious institutions in India has long been recognized as an important act of worship. The thousands of stone and copper-plate inscriptions which dot the subcontinent and describe such donations in detail are clear illustrations of the frequency with which such transactions occurred. For an individual or organization to make a religious gift it was necessary to establish title to the property given.¹ Purchase (*vikraya*) was one of several methods acknowledged by the *Dharmaśāstra* to demonstrate title over property.² The inscriptional corpus reveals the close link between "gift" and "purchase" in those cases in which one party purchased land from another for the specific purpose of granting it to a temple. It is to this transaction epigraphists refer when they use the phrase "gift after purchase." An analysis of the underlying structure of these records during the Vijayanagara period reveals a complex web of social relationships involving South Indian temples, individuals and organizations in which the control of land proved to be an issue of considerable significance.

Actual inscriptional references to the "gift after purchase" originate from as early as the Gupta-Vākāṭaka period and are evident in the famous Dāmōdarpūr copper-plate grants.³ These records, which follow a common pattern, are essentially sale deeds in which the purchaser buys uncultivated (*khila*)

land in accordance with the established rates for the sale of such lands.⁴ The purchaser seeks either to increase his own religious merit⁵ or that of his parents,⁶ by granting the purchased land to Brahmins⁷ or by using its proceeds to build⁸ or renovate temple structures.⁹ Here the public purchase of land engraved on copper-plates, demonstrated title to property in a manner acceptable to the *śāstra* and publicized to the entire community. This public recognition became especially important in South India as population growth spurred demand for agricultural production thereby increasing the extent and value of land under cultivation. In addition, and perhaps because of its enhanced worth, land achieved a higher and higher standing as a gift¹⁰ in the minds of both donors and donees. By the 13th century even sale deeds (*kṛaya-sāsanas*) had taken on the appearance of gifts by incorporating standard imprecatory verses usually found in inscriptions registering the free donation of land.¹¹ This close connection between "gift" and "sale", already evident from the 5th and 6th centuries, grew stronger in later times as the incidence of land sales, gifts and "gifts after purchase", or more accurately inscriptional references to such conveyances, dramatically increased, particularly in South India.

Inscriptions from the Tamil country document in detail the widespread popularity

of the "gift after purchase" during the Vijayanagara period. These transactions emanate from all sections of the Tamil region¹² and encompass both big temple centers, such as Kāñchi¹³ and Śrīraṅgam¹⁴ as well as smaller, more isolated villages.¹⁵ Almost invariably on stone, many records exhibit an unmistakably "local" character in the sense that approval or supervision of these transactions by the Vijayanagara royal court was, in most cases, conspicuously absent.¹⁶ These inscriptions, while correctly dated, mention the king's name only in passing in the introductory portion, as if as a courtesy due to royalty. The monarch had no role in the actual legal undertaking whatsoever. This was so, in particular, with "gifts after purchase" which, after all, were essentially individual donations of wealth, one of whose main purposes was to acquire increased spiritual merit for the donor.

The geographical diversity of these records was paralleled by an equally varied clientele. Just who were the participants in these transactions—the vendors, vendees/donors and donees? While, not surprisingly, the vendees/donors were often individuals, they included Brahmins¹⁷ and non-Brahmins¹⁸ and those military chieftains, called *nāyakas* who exercised considerable political power during the Vijayanagara period.¹⁹ Occasionally certain temple officials, e. g. accountants (*kaṇṭakku*)²⁰ occupied a similar role. The vendors were an even more diverse assemblage: village headmen,²¹ cultivating tenants,²² Brahmins,²³ *nāyakas*,²⁴ members of assemblies: (mahājanas,²⁵ *nāṭṭārs*.²⁶ and *ūravaras*²⁷) and, interestingly enough, the temples and their officials.²⁸ The broad social spectrum which participated in the "gift after purchase" accents its wide appeal during this time. It

also suggests that the circumstances in which these transactions occurred may have been similarly varied and the "gift after purchase" more complex than it may first appear. A detailed study of a few select inscriptions will attempt to explore this situation.

The typical "gift after purchase" entailed the transference of both material benefits (land, money) and unseen, and often unstated, spiritual gains. Imbedded in the matrix of this transaction was a reciprocal relationship among its participants. Each one gave something and received something in return. The vendor sold land to the vendee/donor in exchange for an agreed sale price and the vendee/donor exchanged the land or its proceeds to the donee for spiritual merit.

An example of this symmetrical relationship occurs in an inscription from Tirukkaḷukkuṅṅam (Chingleput Taluk and District) dated in 1388 A. D.²⁹ The *nāṭṭār* of the territorial division Tirukkaḷukkuṅṅap-paṅṅu sell a village by auction to an individual, Toṇḍaṇaṅ Kāntaṅāyaṅ, for 250 *paṇam* who then grants it to the temple in the name of the god (*tiranāmāttukkāṇi*). Even though including two activities, sale and gift, the transaction as a whole is presented as a deed of sale: *nāṭṭavarōm kāṇi vilaiṅṅpramāṅam paṅṅik-kuḍutta pariṅṅāvadu*, perhaps in order to emphasize that the vendee acquired numerous rights when he purchased the village, i. e., he could sell, mortgage, exchange, gift or (give) as *dharma*.³⁰ From this generous donation the donor would receive the blessings of the temple and accumulate spiritual merit for himself and, indirectly, for his family. There were, of course, many variations on this theme. In some cases the proceeds of the land donated were earmarked

for a particular purpose, frequently either the construction or the maintenance of temple structures.³¹ The extension of temple complexes is a well-documented³² characteristic of the Vijayanagara period mainly because royal benefactions financed the building of *maṇḍapas* and ancillary shrines. In the same manner, the "gift after purchase" transaction provided one means for individual worshippers to follow a similar pattern and contribute significantly to the prosperity of Vijayanagara-period religious institutions.

Yet donors were not always content with pure spiritual enrichment. They might very well retain certain rights in the land they had purchased before making gifts to the temple. Such is the case in an inscription from Kāñchī issued during the reign of Tirumalaiyadēva in 1472 A.D.³³ The vendee/donor, Būmappanāyakar, purchases two hamlets (*upagrāma*) from certain Brahmins for 340 *poṇ*. From the proceeds of the land the donor states that he will make daily food offerings as well as a yearly contribution of paddy. Possibly to insure the continuity of the gift, he himself retains the perpetual right to cultivate the land in the two hamlets and will pay its annual tax. The donor's contribution to the temple is an interest-earning one (*poliyūṭtu*), and he obtains two *nāḷi* of *prasādam* as his share of the offerings.³⁴ One could speculate that the donor, in order to fulfill his obligations to the temple, would fully exploit the potential of the land and thereby achieve greater productivity than the former owners. Still the reciprocal relationship between vendor, vendee/donor and donee is maintained.

The reciprocity inherent in the "gift after purchase" transaction when there are

three participants disappears when the number is reduced to two. This occurs when the vendor and donee become the same, i.e., the temple not only "sells" rights to land for a price but also immediately reacquires the income from this same land or an agreed cash amount as a lease for its use. To illustrate, a record issued in the reign of the Ummattūr³⁵ chief, Vīra Nañjarāya Uḍaiyar from Avināśi (Avināśi Taluk, Coimbatore District) in 1499 A.D.,³⁶ states that one of the chief's ministers (*vīrappiradāpaṇ*), Oṇṇakkaṇ Seṭṭiyār, paid 15 *poṇ* to the temple treasury for 3 *salagai* of land.³⁷ The income from the land is then donated to the god with all "enjoyments."³⁸ As a result the temple not only receives 15 *poṇ* as sale price but the future income from the land as well. There is no mention of "ownership": the transaction is presented as a cash sale into the temple treasury (*paṇḍā-rattukkuk=kirayam patināñju poṇ kuḍuttu*) but no actual "sale" has occurred. The donor is in effect paying the temple for the right to use the land and donates the income therefrom to the deity. Indeed this philanthropic motive is primary since the inscription is an edict of *dharma* issued by the donor himself (*Oṇṇakkaṇ seṭṭiyār dharmaṃ sāsāṇam paṇṇik-kuḍuttapaḍiyāvadu*).

The entire relationship between temples and donors was a highly intriguing one. Unlike the circumstances when two individuals engage in a specific and finite exchange of land for money, the temple transferred property in a very different manner. Another inscription from Kāñchī, dated in the reign of the Vijayanagara king Śrīraṅgadēva (VI),³⁹ details the intricacies of these transfers. This record asserts that the temple treasury received 1500 *paṇam* in exchange for part of its holdings (*tiruvīḍaiyāṭṭam*) but the transaction, unlike

the common pattern of sale by one party and purchase by another, is not complete. The amount given is not merely a sale price but an interest-earning gift to supply the temple with substantial food offerings and to conduct important festivals.⁴⁰ In addition, the accrual of interest was perpetual,⁴¹ thus insuring the temple a permanent income. The temple has both the principal and annual interest at its disposal and the donor, both the use of the temple land and the comforting knowledge that his gift would earn spiritual merit for himself and all his future descendants.⁴²

Other transactions in which the temple acts as vendor illustrate the capacity of these institutions to expand their financial resources. While technically not "gifts after purchase" these conveyances have a similar effect. Three inscriptions from the Trivikrama Perumāl temple at Tirukkōyilūr in South Arcot district, all dated within a year of each other,⁴³ document the efforts of one particular temple to enhance its wealth. The pattern of all three inscriptions is similar: the temple issues a sale deed, not for the proprietorship of its land, but for the right to use it (*kāṇi-vilaiṭṭ-piṟamāṇam*). The temple receives a fixed amount in payment for the sale of this right but both vendees, members of the Gōpāla-śeṭṭi community, agreed to hold the land on permanent lease (*vāḍā-ottāga*) and pay an annual sum to the temple treasury. To emphasise its perpetuity this transaction includes a standard phrase, usually employed in gift-giving, binding the vendee's descendants to the obligations made in the grant.⁴⁴ For the three inscriptions as a whole the temple "sold" the rights to five villages for 40 *poṇ* and received in addition, in what virtually amounted to a perpetual

endowment, 51 *poṇ* as an annual payment from the vendee for the continued use of the land.

The residences of the vendees provide an interesting insight into the wide-ranging activities of Vijayanagara-period temples. Though from the same merchant community, they lived in different places; one on the southern bank of the Peṇṇai (i.e., probably near Tirukkōyilūr) and the other in Kāñchī. Two other records from the same period in North Arcot district⁴⁵ reveal that *Kaṇṇaḍiya nāyakas*, although now settled in the North Arcot region, continued to maintain their original titles. All five inscriptions, dated from the reign of Kṛishṇadēvarāya, when Vijayanagara suzerainty was at its zenith, suggest an active involvement of temples in land transactions which spread into various linguistic regions and attracted both local and distant partners.

The temple participated in such extensive land transfers because it usually had a specific purpose in mind, e.g., to acquire additional food offerings or a renovation of temple structures.⁴⁶ Even in those inscriptions which are presented as outright sale deeds (*vilaiṭṭ-pramāṇam*) what is actually sold is not the land itself but some right to its benefits. An anonymous (i.e. without reference to any particular king) inscription from Sēvalūr⁴⁷ (Tirumayyam taluk, pudukkottai district) records that in 1500 A.D. the merchants of Iḷaiyāttakkuḍi paid 140 *chakkaram paṇam* to the temple treasury and village residents to provide for perpetual worship, food offerings, decorations and all other items necessary for conducting rituals.⁴⁸ What is given in return for the 240 *chakkaram paṇam* is the right to use certain irrigation

water controlled by the temple. The deed, issued by the residents and temple treasurers (*Śrīpaṇḍārattārum ūravarum piṛmāṇam paṇṇik-kuḍutta pariśā[va]du*) represents a cash payment by the merchants for the *specific purpose* of enhancing temple wealth through the re-establishment of periodic offerings.⁶⁶

Temples acted not only as arbitrators and spiritual overseers of the property transactions of individuals and organizations but actively participated in the process themselves. They leased lands to those who directly contributed to the maintenance and expansion of temple activities. This freed them from the worry of collecting rents from their own potentially recalcitrant tenants and any accompanying administrative duties. Those who assumed these responsibilities for the temple did so as devotees eager to enhance their own spiritual merit. By fulfilling obligations publicly accepted through inscriptional pledges these "purchasers" would

assure a continuously beneficial relationship with the temple and their interest and determination abetted the important position that religious institutions occupied in the Tamil country during the Vijayanagara period.

At the same time that the "gift after purchase" transaction enriched temple treasuries it provided a means for redistributing property between different castes and associations. For those individuals who sought to increase their social prestige through the accumulation of temple honours it was not sufficient merely to accumulate additional landholdings for private use. Only those who purchased lands for the express purpose of supporting local temples demonstrated, through an act of public worship, economic power and spiritual duty. In the Vijayanagara period when both land sales and the giving of gifts became important activities for all levels of the social order, the "gift after purchase" transaction served varied, but complementary, purposes.

Notes .—

* I am grateful to Dr. C.R. Srinivasan and Prof. Thomas R. Trautmann for their suggestions and comments.

1. *Bṛihaspati.*, IX. 3; *Manu.*, VIII. 200, 201; P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. III, 2nd. ed., (Poona: 1973), pp. 317-18. See *EI*, XVII, pp. 345-348 for an instance when even kings declared that they first purchased land before granting it. See also *Hist. of Dharma*, Vol. II, 2nd. ed., (1974), p. 874.

2. *Gautama*, X. 30; *Manu*, X. 115; *Mitākshara*, I. 1. 8; *Bṛihaspati*, IX. 2; *Nārada*, IV. 8; *Hist. of Dharma*. Vol III, p. 472.

3. See *EI*, XV, pp. 113-145 in which all five inscriptions are edited and translated. The latter three are perhaps the most illustrative, i.e. 1) dated in Gupta year 124 (482 A.D.) 2) an undated record belonging to the time of Budhagupta (c. 476-494 A.D.) and 3) dated in Gupta Year 224 (543 A.D.). Slightly revised versions of these texts appear in D.C. Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, (Calcutta, 1965) 2nd. ed., pp. 332-34, 336-39 and 346-50. See also D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy* (Delhi: 1965), pp. 113-114.

4. *iha-viśhayē samudaya-bāhy = āprahata-khita-[kshē] ttrānām tri-dīnārikya-kulyavāpa-vikray = ōnuvṛitaḥ*. *Sel. Ins.*, p. 348.

5. *asmāt-phal = āsaṃsinō. Ibid., p. 337.*

6. *mātāpitrōs = sva-puṇy = āpy = āyanārtham. Ibid., p. 333.*

7. *kadi(ti)chid-brāhmaṇ = ānyān-prativāsayitum Ibid.*

8. *dēvakula-dvayam-ētāt-kōshṭikā-dvayaṅ = cha kārayitum-icchāmy = arhatha. Ibid., p. 338.*

9. *atr = āraṇyē bhagavataḥ śvētavarāha-svāminō dēvakulē khaṇḍa-phuṣṭa-prati[sam]skārakaraṇāya. Ibid. p. 348.*

10. *Hist. of Dharma., Vol. II, p. 858.* For an interesting discussion on the development of land as an object of gift-giving see Romila Thapar, "Dāna and Dakṣiṇā as forms of Exchange", *Indica*, Vol. XIII (1976), Nos. 1 and 2, pp. 37-48 reprinted in Romila Thapar, *Ancient Indian Social History: Some Interpretations* (New Delhi: 1978), pp. 105-121.

11. See D.C. Sircar, "Madras Museum Plates of the Time of Narēndradhavaḥ" in *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 44-50 and, in particular, his reference to the *Mitāksharā* on the introduction to *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti* II, 114. See also *India: Epigraphy*, pp. 111 and 17) and *Hist. of Dharma*, Vol. III, p. 567.

12. e.g. the modern districts of Coimbatore (*AREp*, hereafter cited only by year and number) 1908/315 (published in *SITI*. 264); South Arcot 1919/84; Chingleput 1911/356; Thanjavur 1913/79; Trichinopoly 1920/44; Madurai 1962/322 and Pudukkottai (e.g., *Inss. Pudukkottai* 723, 854). For examples of such transactions in an earlier period, see: Noburu Karashima, "Land Transfer as seen in the Later Chola Inscriptions of Vedaranyam" in *Homage to a Historian: A festschrift*, (ed.) 1976, pp. 167-173.

13. 1919/482, 653 (published in *SITI*. 390), 658-659 (published in *SITI*. 392), 660 (published in *SITI*. 391) : 1921/31; 1955/340 and *SITI*. 346.

14. 1937/58, 97; 1939/35, 92, 99, 155; 1951/288, 321 and 342.

15. e.g., 1942/211 and *Inss. Pudu*. 835.

16. e.g., 1919/653 and 1921/363, 375.

17. 1921/31

18. 1923/31

19. 1939/99; 1940. 322.

20. 1916/659 (published in *SITI*. 392).

21. 1947/217, 218

22. 1921/330.

23. 1955/340.

24. 1962/322.

25. 1925/506.

26. 1933/174 (published in *SITI*, 462).

27. 1943/104.

28. e.g., 1922/45; 1939/155 and 1951/288.

29. 1933/574 (published in *SITI*, 462). See also *Inss. Pudu*. 761.

30. In the corrupt Tamil version presented in *SITI*; *Ivvūr ivar virṭu orṭi pari-īndāya daṇmaṅgaḷukkum urittāvad = āgavum*. For other examples see *Inss. Pudu*. 761, a late record (1636 A.D.) also presented as a sale deed (hūnivilaip-piramāṇam) in which the vendee/donor, having purchased land from two nāyakaḥ for 70 *kalsmiḥṇaḷ poṇ*, grants it to the temple probably for the benefit of his mother: *Kaṇṅkapariṇālar (the donor)*

āviḍaiyār daṇnam = āga kallupoṣṭuk = kuḍukkaiyil deyvadāṇam = āgach = chandir-ādittiyavaraikku āṇḍu; aṇḍarittup = povār = āgavum. See also *Inss. Pudu*. 866; 1921/373, 375; 1997/217, 218; 1925/507; 1940/332; 1964/179, 180.

31. 1937/97; 1947/107; 1939/206; 1940/80; 1962/322.

32. See T.V. Mahalingam, *Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar: Part I* (2nd. ed.),

33. 1955/340.

34. indat-tāṅgal iraṇḍun nāṇe uḷḷuvuk[ā]ṇiy = āga uḷḷudu-vāḍāvottāgak = kāṇippaṟṟ = āga kaikkonḍu vāruḥāvdōrum kaṇḍāyap = piṟāttiyile selut[ti]-varak-kaḍaiven = āgavum poliyūṣṭu viṣṭavaṇ viḷukkāḍu piṟaṣādam iruṇāḷiyum.

35. These chiefs held sway in the Coimbatore area during the sixteenth century. See K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer, *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, Vol. I (Madras: 1917), p. 71; Vol. II, (ed.) K.S. Vaidyanathan (Coimbatore: 1967), p. 101 and Robert Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire* (2nd. ed.), (New Delhi: India, 1970), p. 126.

36. 1909/200 (published in *SITI*, 194).

37. avināṣiyil...ikkiḷ uḍaiy[a](va)ṟ ṇilattil uḍaiy[a](va)ṟ paṇḍārattukkuk = kiṟayam patiṇaṇju poṇ kuḍu-ttu ṇām koṇḍanilam sa[lā](l)gai mūṇṟu.

38. ...ādayamum uḍaiyavar andāvada bōga(vu)tukku [Read aṅgaraṅga bōgattukku] ṇaḍattak = kaḍavad = āgavum.

39. 1921/31.

40. iv-emperumāḷukku poliyūṣṭu appaḍ yūṣṭu tiruppaṇiy = āna polisammandam = āga upakshya dharmasāsaṇam paṇṇik = kuḍuttapaḍi...

41. indapaḍi putra-poutra-pāramparayam = āga āchandr = ārkam = āga inda poliyūṣṭu piṟakāram naḍatti-varakkaḍavōm = āgavum.

42. See 1939/155; 1951/321. In general the temple gave only the right to enjoy (*kāṇiyāṭchi*) certain lands or villages for a fixed price, see 1921/269.

43. 1921/321 (1521 A.D.) and 1921/325 and 333 (both dated in 1522 A.D.).

44. immaḍigārikku chandir-ādittavaralyum indak-kaṇḷākshi tāmum tammiḍa vaṟkattārum = āga aṇubavittuk-kollavum (1921/321).

45. 1941/75, 92.

46. 1929/407; 1942/183.

47. *Inss. Pudu*, 834.

48. .. nā[ch*]chlyāṟkum pūsal-mudalukkum samudupaḍi āttupaḍi uḷḷiṣṭa pala-veṅj(a)ṇ = āḍlgaḷukkum chandir ā[di*]ttavaralyum ivargaḷ daṇnam = āgach = cheluttuvadu.

49. kaylṟṟuk = kuḷattil = iṇṇila-viḷukkāḍu taṇṇi nirukkum āga vḷḷaḷ nihcheylṭta ehakkaram paṇam 140.

50. See note 44 and 1942/183; 1921/321.

7 A SOCIOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE MANDASOR INSCRIPTION OF KUMARAGUPTA AND BANDHUVARMAN, THE MALAVA YEARS 493 AND 529.

T.R. Sharma

The inscription refers itself to the reign of a king named Kumāragupta, who, from the description of him in line 13 as sovereign of the whole earth, can be no other than the well-known Kumāragupta of the Early Gupta dynasty.¹ Under him, the governor at Daśapura was Bandhuvarman, the son of Viśvavarman.

The inscription in question throws a bit of light on the administrative systems of the Guptas who appointed local governors. It seems that the mode of appointment was on hereditary basis.² The society most probably believed in the theory of the divine origin of kings. The rulers have been compared in virtues as equal to the gods and the epic heroes, givers of security to the frightened and easily approachable by the subjects, like relatives, in handsomeness equal to Kāmadeva.⁴ The poet is lured by erotic sentiment even while giving the description of Bandhuvarman. "Even today, when the long-eyed lovely women of (his) enemies, pained with fierce pangs of widowhood, think of him, they stagger about through fear, in such a way as to fatigue (their) firm and compact breasts." The city of Daśapura is stated to have been brought to a state of great prosperity under the reign of king Bandhuvarman. As the word shows the city of Daśapura must have been originally a conglomeration of ten localities.⁵ It

shows that for the appointment of a governor by a sovereign king, a bigger unit of administration was needed. The mode of payment to the king may have been part of the revenue of the city but for this there is no indication in the inscription.

The inscription depicts the important role played by the guilds in the social life of the period. It has been named as a eulogy (*Pūrvvā*) composed by Vatsabhaṭṭi, with particular care. This shows of contacts between scholars and members of the guilds. Whether poet Vatsabhaṭṭi was paid or he did this job honorarily for purposes of earning religious merit, is not clear from the inscription.

This record belongs throughout to the solar form of worship. It starts with the word *Siddham* (perfection has been attained) and ends with *svasti kartṛi-Jekhaka-vāchaka-srōṭṛibhyaḥ Siddhir=astu* i.e. 'hail to the composer and the writer and those who read on listen (to it); let there be success.' The first two lines in the inscription are devoted to the invocation of the sun-god whom the gods, the mythical beings and the people worship from different motives but the poet is mindful not to let lose a chance for bringing in the erotic sentiment even while worshipping the sun: "May that sun, decorated with glorious beams, protect you, who shines, day

after day, with the mass of (his) rays flowing down over the wide and lofty summit of the lordly mountain of dawn, who is of a darkred colour like the cheeks of intoxicated women."⁶

This epigraph is an illustrating example of not only social mobility for purposes of flourishing trade keeping in view the better environment but also of professional mobility in an age which was generally characterised by conservatism. It narrates, in the first place, how a number of silk-weavers migrated from the Lāṭa-vishaya, or central and southern Gujarat, into the city of Daśapura and how some of the band took up other occupations, while those who adhered to their original pursuit constituted themselves into a separate and flourishing guild.⁷ It has been remarked by historians⁸ that the members of the guild of silk-weavers found the city of Gujarat politically unsafe for the flourishing of their trade and hence migrated to this comparatively safer land of central India. But the volume of the trade *vis-a-vis* the source-material might have been a compelling reason for some members to leave their original profession and adopt other professions viz., archery, telling wonderful tales, astrology, warfare and of mendicants.⁹

The atmosphere pervades with erotic sentiment in the inscription. Even the city of Daśapura is described as looking beautiful (through) being embraced by two charming rivers (one is Siwana, on the north bank of which the town stands, and the other may be Sumli which now flows into the Siwana about three miles to the north-east of the town) with tremulous waves, as if it were the body (of the god) Smara (embraced) in

secrecy by (his wives Pṛiti and Rati, possessed of (heaving) breasts.¹⁰ The ladies of the city are depicted as perpetually singing. The houses have waving flags (and) are full of tender women, (and) are very white (and) extremely lofty, resembling the peaks of white clouds lit up with forked lightning (*chalat-patākāny=abalā-sanāthāny=atyartha-suklāny-adhikōnnatāni taḍil-latā-chitra-sit-ābhra-kūṭa-tuly-ōpamānāni gṛihāṇi yatra*).¹¹ This reminds one of the description of Viśhātā (Ujjayinī) in the *Mēghadūta* of Kālidāsa. And other long buildings on the roofs of the houses, with arbours in them, are beautiful-being like the lofty summits of (the mountain) Kailāsa, being vocal with songs (like those) of the *gandharvas*, having pictured representations arranged (in them) (and) being adorned with groves of waving plantain-trees. Here, clearing asunder the earth, there rise up houses which are decorated with succession of storeys, which are like rows of aerial chariots (and) which are as pure as the rays of the full-moon, (*Kailāsa-tuṅga-sikhara-pratimāni ch=ānyāny=ābhānti dirgha-valabhini sa-vedikāni gandharva-śabda mukharāṇi nivishṭa-chitra-karmmāṇi lōlaka-dali-vana-sōbhītāni* || *prāsāda-mālābhir=alam-kṛitāni dharām vidhāryy=aiva samutthitāni vimāna-mālā-sadṛiṣāni yatra gṛihāṇi pūrṇ-ēnduk-ar-āmalāni*). Thus the multi-storeyed buildings decorated with beautiful paintings and waving plantain trees (*lōla-kadati*), full of beautiful singing-women were a common feature of this city. This shows the popularity of decorative arts as well as music.

The brāhmaṇas were held in high esteem and were required to have the virtues of truth, patience, self-control, tranquility, religious vows, purity, fortitude, private study, good conduct, refinement, and stead-

fastness (and) abounding in learning and penances, and free from the excitement of surprise.¹² It may be inferred that the brāhmaṇa, the writer of the inscription associated with the guild was not a conservative who remained confined to his own circle and had leanings towards eroticism which frequently finds expression in the inscription.

Golden-necklaces, betel-leaves and flowers were the means of decoration for women, but above them were the silk-garments to which was attached special significance, being agreeable to the touch, variegated with the arrangement of different colours (and) pleasing to the eye. There is a description of an *abhisārikā* type of woman who does not dare go to secretly meet her lover if she has not put on a pair of coloured silken clothes, however endowed with youth and beauty she may be.¹³

The inscription then proceeds to record that, while Bandhuvarman was governing at Daśapura, the guild of silk-weavers built at that city a temple of the Sun, which was completed when 493 years (in words) had elapsed "by (the reckoning from) the tribal constitution of the Mālavas" and, therefore, when the 494th year was current, on the 13th day of the bright fortnight of the month Sahasya (December-January, 437-38 A.D.).

Afterwards, under other kings, part of this temple fell into disrepair and then it was restored by the same guild, when, 529 years (in words) had elapsed, and, therefore, when the 530th year was current, on the 2nd lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Tapasya (February-March, 473-74 A.D.). The Second date is, of course, the year in which the inscription was actually

composed and engraved. It needs attention that we have not discovered any inscription written when the temple was built by the same guild of silk-weavers but the inscription was only composed and engraved at the time of repair after about forty year shad elapsed since its original construction. The city of Lāṭa, wherefrom the members of the guild migrated, was also full of temples and assembly-halls of the gods and *Vihāras*.¹⁴ It is possible that the worship of the Sun was also prevalent at Gujarat which the members of the guild inherited from that place and got a temple built up in devotion to the lord when they flourished in their trade in their new place of immigration *i.e.*, Daśapura. The description of the season at the time of construction of the temple is given a romantic touch. "In that season (Hēmanta) which unites men with (their) lovely mistresses... (and) in which (the cold induced by) the falling of frost and snow is derided by the close embraces of the large and beautiful and and plump and bulky breasts and thighs of young men and (their) mistresses, completely under the influence of love."¹⁵

The cause of the falling of a part of the temple into disrepair, under other kings, is not made known to us since the period of 37 years is not a very long period for the decay of the temple. Again, the season of repair of the temple is given a romantic touch—"in the season when Kāma-dēva whose body was destroyed by Hara develops (his number of five) arrows by attaining unity with the fresh bursting forth of (their) flowers."¹⁷

The inscription gives the reckoning in the Mālava era. The Mālavas, who originally belonged to Panjab, had migrated to the

different parts of the country.¹⁶ The influence of the Mālavas in the Mandasor region is proved by the fact that they could impose their tribal era upon the Mandasor princes.¹⁶

The expression *Mālavānām gaṇa-sthiti* in the inscription has been translated by Fleet as "the tribal constitution of the Mālavas" in the sense of the event of some formal establishment of the Mālavas as a tribe, which he fixes up as 57-56 B.C. Thomas translated the expression as "the continuance (*sthiti*) of the tribal constitution (*gaṇa*) of the

Mālavas."²¹ He further amends his translation as "the usage of the Mālava tribe."²² Thus the expression *Mālavānām gaṇa* refers to the Mālavas as a tribe. In the Mandasor stone inscription of the time of Prabhākara dated in Mālava year 524 (467 A.D.),²³ we find the expression *Mālava-vaṃśa* which has been translated as "the race of the Mālavas" but we may better translate it as 'the dynasty of the Mālavas.' It seems that the Mālavas had established independent rulership and both words *vaṃśa* and *gaṇa* were synonymously used.

Notes:

- 1 *CII*, III, p. 80.
- 2 *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83, lines 13-16.
- 3 Junagadh Rock Ins. of Skandagupta, Gupta years 136, 137 and 138; *Ibid.*, pp. 59-60, lines 8-14.
- 4 *Ibid.*, lines 13-14. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 8, Allahabad pillar Ins. of Samudragupta, line 27.
- 5 T. R. Sharma, *Perso. and Geo. Names in the Gupta Ins.*, Delhi 1978, pp. 226-27.
- 6 *CII*, Vol. III, p. 84.
- 7 *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85, lines 3-10.
- 8 S. K. Maity, *Economic life in N. India in the Gupta period*, p. 179; Cf. Lallanji Gopal, *Economic life in N. India 700-1206 A.D.*, p. 81.
- 9 *CII*, Vol III, p. 85 lines 8-10.
- 10 *Ibid.*, lines 3-7.
- 11 *Ibid.*
- 12 *Ibid.*, line 8.
- 13 *Ibid.*, line 11.
- 14 *Ibid.*, lines 17, 18.
- 15 *Ibid.*, line 3.
- 16 *Ibid.*, line 17-18.
- 17 *Ibid.*, lines 19-20.
- 18 T. R. Sharma, *Op. Cit.*, p. 149.
- 19 *Ibid.*
- 20 *Ibid.* pp. 146-47.
- 21 *JARS*, 1914, p. 414.
- 22 *Ibid.*, p. 747.
- 23 *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 16, line 11.

8 A NOTE ON THE ORISSA STATE MUSEUM PLATES OF MAHASIVAGUPTA YAYATI I, REGNAL YEAR 4

B. K. Rath and Smt. S. Tripathy

These plates, now in the possession of the Orissa State Museum (Acc. No. 60), have been included by S. N. Rajaguru in the *Inss. of Orissa*, vol. IV, as No. 26 and edited by P. R. Srinivasan in the *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXVIII, pp. 186 ff. while Rajaguru's reading has been improved upon by Srinivasan in some places, his readings at few other places are not borne out by the text of the original plates and their facsimiles. On close examination of the plates it was found that some mistakes have crept into the readings of both the scholars. Besides, the importance of this record in the history of the Sōmavaṃśī kings (c. 890-1112 A.D.) of Orissa accounts for our attempt in giving a fresh and correct reading of the text and few suggestions about its historical importance.

The charter, which is a *triphalī tāmru-sāsana* or consists of three copper plates, is in a good state of preservation excluding a few words in certain lines of the plates 2-b and 3 which have become illegible owing to corrosion.

The script used in the charter is Nāgarī as prevalent in Orissa during the tenth century. They resemble the script used in other Sōmavaṃśī¹ records and the records of the records of the Bhañja kings of Khiñjali Maṇḍala.² The language of the grant is Sanskrit. The text is composed both in prose and as well as verses. As to the

palaeographical peculiarities found in the grant we have nothing more to add to that already noticed by Srinivasan.

The faint traces of two lines of inscription found at the end of the text on the third plate led Rajaguru to refer to this charter as a palimpsest copper plate grant.³ Further close observation of the third plate reveals traces of a single letter *vā* in between lines 50 and 61, near the ring-hole, and three other letters in line 51 (*la* before the ring hole and after the first letter of the text in line 51, a *śri* and a *ma* after the ring hole in the same line). All these writings occur in similar script as that of the grant. Besides, one can make out other letters such as *sa*, *jō*, *ta* and *mō* in the first line of these letters at the end of the third plate. It seems that these writings were probably the work of the same engraver. These were probably erased later owing to the modification or correction of the text of the grant.

The donor of the grant was *P. M. P.* Mahāśivagupta Yayāti, son of Mahābhavagupta Janamējaya. Mahāśivagupta Yayāti has been described in the grant as the ornament of the Sōmavaṃśa (*Sōmakulatilaka*)⁴ and lord of Trikaliṅga. Srinivasan has rightly identified Mahāśivagupta Yayāti with Yayāti I, the second king of the Sōmavaṃśa dynasty of Orissa. We know of other records of this king issued in his 8th, 9th,

15th, 24th and 28th⁵ regnal years. The date of the present grant is *chaturtha-samvatsariya-Kārttika-sita-paksha-pañchami* (lines 48-53) of the victorious reign of the king Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I. While repeating the date in figures two slanting strokes have been provided after the word *samvat* instead of the numeral for four. The two strokes would indicate the date as *samvat* 11 which is a peculiar thing to be noticed in this record. Possibly it was due to the carelessness of the scribe. But since it is clearly mentioned as *chaturtha* in words the date of the record is the 4th regnal year of Yayāti I. This grant is thus the earliest record of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I.

The place of issue of this record is Vinītapura, also known to us from his other records dated in his regnal years 8, 9 and 15. The last grant of Mahābhavagupta Janamējaya, father of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I, was issued from Suvarnapura-Vijayaṭaka.⁶ Thus it would seem that Yayāti I made Vinītapura his capital, after ascending the throne, and the city continued to be so atleast upto his 15th regnal year. Thereafter he changed his capital to Yayāti-nagara, so named after him.⁷ Vinītapura has been identified with modern Binka in Bolangir district of Orissa.⁸

The donee of the grant was Kākō, son of Madhu and grandson of Bhaṭṭaputra Dāmōdara and belonged to the Kauśika-gōtra with three ṛishi-pravaras. The donee is said to be an immigrant from the village Likhadiyā in Śrāvasti and presently a resident of Sadākaṭaka (lines 24-26). We find reference to the place Sadākaṭaka in the Kālibhana plates of Mahābhavagupta Janamējaya *alias* Dharmakandarpa (year 34).⁹

The donated village was a part of the village Kuḍukulō, mentioned in the inscription as Kuḍukulō-khaṇḍa-kshētra,¹⁰ located in the district of Gaṇḍitama in Ōḍra* country. The grant was made for the increase of religious merit and fame of the king's parents and himself. This grant is the first official record of the Sōmavamśa dynasty recording a land grant in Ōḍra or Coastal Orissa.

The officials referred to in the grant are Rāṇaka Śri Chhichhaṭṭēśvara, who was the *mahāsāndhivigrahi* or minister for war and peace,¹¹ the *mahākshapatala* or the record keeper¹² Śāntināga and the engraver Pannāka (lines 53-55). Of these names we come across the name of Pannāka described as Ṭhākura Pannāka¹³ in the Nibinna charter of the same king issued in his 15th year.¹⁴ Chhichhaṭṭēśvara is referred to in the Kaṭaka plates of Yayāti I (year 9)¹⁵ as Chhichchhaṭṭīśa.

As Rajguru has given the purport of the text and Srinivasan the gist of the text we do not repeat them in this paper except suggesting a few improvements in the reading which do not alter the purport basically.

Regarding the historical importance of the grant we observe the following. By the end of the 9th century the Bhaumakara power in the Utkala country or coastal Orissa was in decline. The last four rulers who sat on the Bhaumakara throne were all female members of the family. Among them Daṇḍimahādēvi was the most powerful and ruled over both the Tosalis. She had issued six charters during her reign.¹⁶ Five of her charters record land grants in South Tōsala,

comprising the present Ganjam, Puri and Cuttack districts, south of the Mahānadī river, in Orissa. The unpublished Arual Plate records land grants in North Tōsala. The latest Bhauma *Samvat* found recorded in in Daṇḍimahādēvi's charters was year 187¹⁷ (923 A.D.). The inscriptions of the last two rulers of this family, *viz.*, Vakulamahādēvi do not record land grants in South Tōsala.¹⁸ This leads us to believe that they had lost South Tōsala territory to the Sōmavaṁśī kings. The Brahmēsvara temple inscription, an unofficial record, reveals tha Janamējaya I killed the king of Ōḍra with a *kunta* and occupied the country.¹⁹ But the charter under discussion being the earliest official record of the Sōmavaṁśī kings to have recorded a land grant in Ōḍra, the territory earlier known as South Tōsala. Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I was the first Sōmavaṁśī king who occupied this territory from the Bhaumakaras. He must have occupied this territory sometime before his 4th regnal year which is not far removed from 923 A.D., the date of the Kumurāṅga plates of Daṇḍimahādēvi. This factor would no doubt be useful in ascertaining the chronology of the Sōmavaṁśī rule in Orissa. But we do not know the circumstances under which this occupation of the Ōḍra territory from the Bhaumakaras took place. Probably Yayāti I occupied South Tōsala, which obviously he refers as Ōḍra in his charter, taking advantage of the

weak Bhaumakara power after Daṇḍimahādēvi, who in all probability died soon after 923 A.D.

Secondly, the reference to the *mahāsāndhivigrahi* Chchichhaṭṭēsvara in Yayāti I's charters of 4th and 9th Regnal Years is significant. Srinivasan has rightly pointed out that the *mahāsāndhivigrahi* of both the above plates was the same person. Besides, both the grants record land donation in the Ōḍra country. In such case it would lead us to believe that immediately after the occupation of a part of Coastal Orissa Yayāti I appointed a separate *mahāsāndhivigrahi* for the administration of the newly occupied territory. We find a different *mahāsāndhivigrahi*, *Rāṇaka* Dhāradatta, in his charters issued in his 8th, 15th and 24th years. These charters record land grants in the S. Kōsala territory comprising the Sambalpūr-Sōnēpūr tract in present day Western Orissa.²⁰ Thus Yayāti I had two separate administrative units for Ōḍra and South Kōsala under different officials.

It would have been useful to identify Sadākaṭaka, Gaṇḍitama-vishaya, and Kuḍukulō mentioned in the present record. But owing to the absence of any information regarding the findspot of this charter it is difficult to suggest any identification.

TEXT²¹

Fist Plate

1 Siddham²² [!*] Svasti [!*] Śrī-Vini(ni)tapurāta(t) samāvāśi(si)ta-Śrīmata(tō) Vijaya-kaṭakāt²³ [sva]-

2 [sty] = astu[!*] samīsta-sa(śa)trī-n [ṛi*]pati-prāravdha(bdha)-sēvā-vidhī-vyagr-ākāra-vinīta-dūta²⁴-nichitasyām = āśrama-

3 [?] rataḥ dharmm-ārth-ōchita-śūstra-niśchita-naya-vyāpāra-paura-prajā-khya(khyā)t²⁵-
āmātya-ma-

4 tād = Vinītapuratō = nvartha-prasiddh-āhvayāt²⁶|| Sōmādi-svakul-ōdgata-kshitiru(bhu)-
jām dēvatva-

5 bhājām = api Kshma²⁷ yās = ch = ātmā-manō-bhivāñchita-pratiprēps-ānurūpa²⁸-śriyaḥ|
nāgānā-

6 m = atra(ti)bhūta-sauh[ri]dajushām = ākasmik-ānugrahā²⁹ (ha)[ḥ*] yaj - jatnā-grahaṇa³⁰
kshaṇas = tribhuvanē(na)kshē-

7 māya-[sam]lakshitā (ta) ḥ||Prakhyāt-ākshya-Yudhishṭhir-ānvaya-mahā-siṅghā(mhā)san-
ā-

8 rōhaṇa-vyāpyā(pā)r-āvasar-āhit-ōtsava-manō(nā) lōk-ābhinandyoḍdayḥ[!*] niḥ-

9 śēsh-āgama-tat[t*]va-vēṭṭri-vimala-prajñā-va(ba)lāla[m*]kṛitaḥsphūrjjat śaurya-vinirjjit-
ōrjji-

10 ta-ripu-kshmāpāla-vēl-ōdyamaḥ|| Sapta-dvīpa-vibhūshaṇam kshititslam yaprōd-ma³¹

11 pālam kṛitam[*]ta[t*]-prōta-sthita-Sōmarāja-Vibhutām = dhattē³² = tt[r*]a manyai(yē) =
dya³³ taḥ(t)| dēvaḥ Śrī-Jana-

12 mējayas = tad = adhunā tatr = āvatīrya svayam ta[t*] = kuryām = iti yaḥ kṛit-āvatarāṇaḥ
sa Śrī-Yayā-

13 ti-prabhuḥ|| Paramamāhēsva(śva)ra-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramē-

14 sva(śva)ra-Sōmakulatilaka-Trikaliṅgādhipati-Śrī-Mahābhavagupta-rā-

15 jadēva-pādānudhyāyī|| Paramamāhē[śva*]ra-paramabhaṭṭāra[ka]-[mahā]rājādhirāja-

16 paramēśvara-Sōmakulatilaka-Trikaliṅgādhipati-Śrī-Mahāśivagupta-rā-

17 jadēvaḥ kusa(śa)li | Ōdra-dēse(śē)³⁴ Gaṇḍitama-vishaya-kuḍukalō-khaṇḍakshētrē

18 tad-vishayīya-vrā(brā)hmaṇānā(n) (sam*)pūjya yathā-kālādhyāsinaḥ³⁵ samāhartṛiḥ³⁶
sannidhātṛiḥ³⁷ ni-

19 yuktak-ādihikārika-dāṇḍapāsi(śi)ka³⁸ chāṭa-bhāṭa-pisu(śu)na-vētrik³⁹ -āvarōdhajana-
rāṇaka-rā-

20 japutra-rājavallabh-ādīn samājñāpayatī⁴⁰ viditam = astu bhavatā[m*]⁴¹ Yath = āsmābhi-

21 r = aya[m*] grāmaḥ sanidhiḥ sadasā(śā)parādhaḥ sarvva-vā(bā)-

22 dhā-vivarjitaḥ [sa*]rvv-ōparikar-ādāna-sahitaḥ ścha(cha)tuḥ = simā-parya-

23 ntaḥ sa(sā)mra-madhukaḥ sagartt-ōsharaḥ sa-ja[la*]-sthala-sahitaḥ ddha(a)chāṭa-bhāṭa-
pravēsa(śa)ka-

24 ḥ| kausi(śi)ka-gōtrā[ya*]-tririshaya⁴² - pravarāya Śrāvasthā (sthī) - Likhaḍiyā-grāma-
vinirggatā-

25 ya| Sadākaṭaka⁴³-vāstavyāya Bhat[ṭa]putra-Dāmōdara-naptṛē Madhu-sutāya| Śrī-Kā-

26 kō-nāmnē salila-dhārā-purassaram ā-chandra-tārak-ārka⁴⁴ -kshiti-samakāl-ōpabhō-

- 27 g-ārtham mātā-pitrōr = ātmanaś = cha puṇya-yasō(śō)-bhivṛiddhayē trā(tā)mra-śāsanēn
= ākarīkṛi-
- 28 tya pratipādita ity = avagatya yathā-diyamāna-karabhara-hiraṇya-bhoga-bhā-gā-
- 29 [dikam]cha dadaḍbhiḥ bhavadbhiḥ sukhēna prativastavayam = iti! bhā-⁴⁶

Second Plate; Second side

- 30 vibhiś = cha bhūpatibhir-dd(d)attir = iyam = asmadiyā dharma-gauravād = asma[d-a*]-
nurōdhāch = cha⁴⁶! sva-datti-
- 31 r = iv = ānupālaniyā[!*] tathā ch = ōktaṁ dharmmaśāstrē[!*] Va(Ba)hubhir = vvasudhā
dattā rājabhiḥ sagar-[ā]-
- 32 dibhiḥ[!*]yasya yasya yadā bhūmis = tasya tasya tadā phalam[!*]Mā bhūd = aphala-
sa(śā)[nkā]
- 33 vaḥ para- [datt = ē]ti pā[rthivāḥ] s[va] -dattāt = phalam = ānu(na)ntyam para-datt-
ānupālnē⁴⁷ A-
- 34 sphōṭayanti [pitarah pravalganti] pitāmahāḥ[!*] bhūmi-jā(dā)tā kulē jātaḥ sa
- 35 nas = trātā bhavishya[ti] [!] [Shashṭim varsha-sahasrā]ṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmidā-
(da)ḥ[!*] a(ā)kshēptā
- 36 ch = ānumantā cha dvau tau naraka-gāminau⁴⁸ [!*] Agnēr = aṇatya[m*] prathamam su-
- 37 [varṇam bhūr] = Vau(vai)shṇavi Su(Sū)rya-sutās = cha gāvaḥ[!*] yaḥ kāñchanaṁ
= gām cha [ma*]hīn = cha
- 38 [da]dyād = dat[t*]a(ā)s = trayas = tēna bhavanti lōkaḥ⁴⁹ Bhūmim yaḥ pratigrihn(hṇ)āti
yaś = cha bhūmi-
- 39 mpra(m pra)ya[chchati] [!*] [ubhau] tau puṇya-karmmāṇau niyata[m*] sa (sva)rgga-
gāminau⁵⁰ Taḍāgā-
- 40 nā[m] [sahasrē] ṇa vājapēya-sa(śa)tēna cha[!*] gavā[m*]kōṭi-pradānēna bhūmi-hartā
na su(śu)dhya-
- 41 ti[!] [Harēta] hārayēd = yas = tun[ma]ḥ da-vu(bu)ddhis = tamō-vṛitaḥ [!*] su(sa) va(ba)
ddhō vāruṇau(ṇai) [ḥ*]⁴⁷ pāsai(śai)ḥ
- 42 tiryag-yōnishu gachchhati⁴⁸ [!] [Su]varṇam = ēkā(ka)m gām = ēkā[m*]⁴⁹ bhūmi(mē)r =
apy = arddham = angulam⁵⁰ haran = [n]arakam = āyā-
- 43 [ti] yā[va]d = ā-bhūta-sa[m*]plavam[!*] Sva-dattām = para-[dattām]vā (ttām vā) yō
narēta vasundharām!

Third Plate

44 [Sa] vishṭhāyam k[ri]m[r*]= bhūtvā pitribbis= saha pachyatē¹ Ādityō Varuṇō Vishṇu
[r*]= Vra(Bra)hm[ā] [Sō]-

45 mō Hutāśanaḥ[1*] Śūlapāṇis= tu⁵⁰ Bhagavāmn= abhinandanti⁵¹ bhūmidam¹ Sāmān-
yō= yam [dharmma]-

46 sētur = nṛipānā(ṇā)m kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ[1*] sarvvān= ētān bhāvinaḥ
pār[thi]-

47 vēndrān bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabhadraḥ¹ Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vi(bi)ndu-
lōlām śri-

48 yam= anuchintya-manushya-jīvitāñ= cha[1*] sakalam= idam = udābṛitañ= cha vu(bu)
ddhvā nahi pu[ru*]⁵² shaiḥ para-

49 [ki]rttayo vilōpyā¹ ⁵³ Paramamāhēsva(śva)ra-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājā-

50 dhirāja-paramēsva(śva)ra-Sōmakulatilaka-Trikaliṅgādhipati-

51 Śrīmad⁵⁴-Yayāti-rājadēva-vijaya-rājye chaturtha-Sāmva(sāmva)tsarī-

52 ya-Kārttika-māsa-sita-paksha-pañchamyām aṅkataḥ sam(m)vat¹ (?)⁵⁵ Kārttika-

53 śu⁵⁶ di 5 [1*]Likhitam= ida[m*] tāmra-sā(śā)sana[m*] mā(ma)hāsāndhivigrahi-rāṇa-

54 ka-śrī-Chchichhaṭēsva(śva)rasy= āvagatēna¹ mahā⁵⁷ akshapaṭala-śrī-Śānti-

55 nāg-ābhimatēna¹ Śrī-Pannākēna⁵⁸ utkirṇam= idam= iti⁵⁹

Notes :

1 Rajaguru, *Op. Cit.*, plates.

2 *IHQ*, X, pp. 473-77, plates.

3 Rajaguru, *Op. Cit.*, p. 163,

4 *IHQ*, XX, pp. 238-50.

5 *JASB*, I (1905) New Series, pp. 14-16 ff; *El*, III, pp. 351 ff; XI, pp. 95 ff; *JASB*, I (1905), New Series, pp. 7-8 and 16-18 ff.; *Ibid.*, pp. 8-12 and 19-23 ff. respectively.

6 *IHQ*, XX, pp. 245-50 ff.

7 *JASB*, I (1905) New Series, pp. 16-18 and 19-23.

8 *JASL*, XIX, No. 2, 1953, p. 118; ; *E.I.* IX, p. 189.

9 *IHQ*, XX, pp. 245-50, line 12.

10 D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epi. Glossary*, p. 155. According to some scholars Ōḍra and Utkala are identical and Ōḍra denoted the coastal districts of Orissa during the post 7th century. (P. Acharya, *Studies in Orissan History Archv. Archives*, p. 159). Some other scholars suggest that Ōḍra constituted the territory in between Utkal or coastal districts of Orissa and South Kōsala or Sambalpur-Sōnāpūr tract in Western Orissa. (N.K. Sahu, *Utkal University History of Orissa*, I, pp. 141-47 ff; D K. Ganguli, *Historical geography and dynastic History of Orissa*, pp. 54-55 and 57-58.) We accept the former view for our purpose.

11 D.C. Sircar, *Ind. Ep.*, p. 133 fn.

- 12 *EI*, XXVII, p 201.
- 13 *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, p. 187.
- 14 *Ibid.*, XI, pp. 95-8
- 15 *Ibid.*, III, pp. 351-5
- 16 U.K. Subuddhi, *The Bhauma-Karas of Orissa*, (1978), p. 19, Nos. 13-18.
- 17 *Ibid.*, p. 25, fn 18.
- 18 *EI.*, XXXVI, pp. 307-12; *IHQ*, XXI, pp. 213-22.
- 19 *JRASB* , Letters, XIII, pp. 63-74.
- 20 S.R. Nerra, *The Sōmavāṃśī Kings of South Kosala and Orissa*, (1978), pp. 205-07 fn.
- 21 From the original.
- 22 Expressed by a symbol.
- 23 Srinivasan reads *Kaṭākāta* and corrects the reading by adding a final *t*, but the final *t* is clearly written on the plate.
- 24 Srinivasan : *dūra-nichitadāmarga*
- 25 Rajaguru and Srinivasan : *Khyā*.
- 26 Srinivasan overlooks the final *t*.
- 27 Rajaguru reads *rmāyā* and corrects as *kshūpā* where as the letter looks like *rmā*.
- 28 Srinivasan overlooks the *ē mātrā* in *pratipēps-ā*.
- 29 He overlooks-*graha*.
- 30 He reads *Yajñatmā-prahaṇa*.
- 31 Srinivasan omits the word and Rajaguru reads *prōdda*.
- 32 The meaning is not clear. Srinivasan reads-*dhatte itamanvaidvaitaḥ* which is not there. Rajaguru reads *Vibhutāmunnettamanvai dyataḥ* which is also not clear.
- 33 Srinivasan omits *dya* which is clear in the plate.
- 34 He reads *Udra-dēsē*.
- 35 He reads *yathākālādhyayinaḥ*.
- 36 *Visarga* is superfluous.
- 37 Srinivasan reads *sva(sa) nīdaātṛi*. *r* is superfluous.
- 38 He reads *dāṇḍapāśikā* but the line indicates clearly a punctuation mark which is not necessary.
- 39 He reads -*vetṛi*-
- 40 He reads *samājñapayai*.
- 41 He reads *bhavataṃ (tam)*.
- 42 Read *try-ārshēya*.
- 43 Srinivasan reads *Yaśakaṭaka* while Rajaguru reads correctly as *Sadakaṭaka*.
- 44 *ā* sign is indicated by a very light stroke which Srinivasan has overlooked.
- 45 The space is left blank.
- 46 Srinivasan reads *asmad* = *anurodhāch* = *cha* and overlooks the punctuation mark.
- 47 He reads *Vāruṇai [h]*.
- 48 It should read as *jāyate*.

49 These letters are inserted in the next line in the diminutive size.

50 Srinivasan reads *Sūlapaṇiṣ* = *cha*.

51 Read *Bhagavān* = *abhinandanti*.

52 Srinivasan reads *Purushaiḥ*.

53 He reads *Villōpvāḥ*.

54 After this *Ṣi* there are few letters not very distinct and they do not have any link with the grant. Also at the end of the grant there are two lines of indistinct writings which indicate that the third plate is a palimpsest one which Srinivasan has overlooked

55 There are two slightly curved strokes indicating the numerical symbol for 11. But this may be a scribal error.

56 Srinivasan reads *sudi*.

57 *Sandhi* has not been observed in this case

58 Rajaguru reads *Yellākēna*.

59 There are two lines of indistinct writings of which two or three letters are legible and seem to be of the same period as this copper plate grant.

9 RAWAN PLATE OF MAHARAJA NARENDRA

Ku. Usha Jain

This copper plate was in possession of Shri Ram Gopal Vaishnava of the village Rawan in Bhatapara tahsil of the Raipur district in M.P. According to him, the plate was found in his field in the village Malhar (Bilaspur dt.), some 15 years ago. The plate has since been acquired for the government by Shri Anand Kumar Risbud, Registering Officer (Archaeology), Bilaspur from Shri Vaishnava and is now deposited in the Rānī Durgāvati Museum at Jabalpur. I edit the inscription here with the kind permission of the authorities of that museum.

This is the first plate of the set which probably consisted of three plates strung together by means of a copper ring. The other two plates and the ring are missing. The available plate measures 19 cms broad and 9 cms high and weighs 145 gms. There is a round hole in the middle of the left side of the plate for the seal-ring to pass through. The corners of the plate are rounded.

The extant plate, which is engraved on only one side, consists of 6 lines of writing and the last line contains only two letters. The characters are of the box-headed variety of about the 5th century. The letters are well-formed, neatly written and carefully engraved. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and the composition is in prose. Regarding orthography it may be noted that the consonant *v* following *r* is doubled (*asmā-*

bhir = *Vvaṭapadrakīya*).

The charter was issued from Śarabhapura by the king Narēndra, described as a *paramabhāgavata*, and records the grant of the village Ārāmaka¹ situated in the *bhukti* of Maṅṭarāja to the god Śrīdharasvāmin (Viṣṇu) of the temple built at Vaṭapadraka. The revenues of the village were to be utilized for the repairs of the temple and daily worship of the god besides free distribution of food. The donation was made for the increase of the merit of the family of Mātṛirāja.

Mahārāja Narēndra is known from two other charters found at Pipardula² and Kurud.³ The Pipardula plates were issued in his 3rd regnal year while the Kurud plates belong to the 24th year of his reign. Unfortunately the date of the plate under publication could not be known due to the loss of the third plate of the set which probably contained it. As already known from the seals of the Pipardula and Kurud plates, Narēndra was the son and successor of Śarabha, who appears to be the first king of the dynasty and also the founder of the city of Śarabhapura from where this charter was issued.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it mentions Maṅṭarāja in whose *bhukti*, the donated village was situated. A ruler named Maṅṭarāja is known from the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta. The country to which this

Maṅṭarāja belonged has been read as Kau-rāla by the scholars and identified with present Kerala. This inscription mentions the name of Kaurāla just after the names of Kōsala and Mahākāntāra, suggesting thereby that the country of Kaurāla was situated somewhere in the south-eastern Madhya Pradesh or Chhattisgaḥ. It is quite possible that the kingdom might have been reduced to a *bhukti* after the defeat of Maṅṭarāja at the hands of the Gupta emperor. However, nothing can be said with certainty unless we find further evidence.

As regards the place-names mentioned in the record, Śarabhapura, the capital city

remains unidentified although some scholars like K.D. Bajpai have tried to identify it with Malhar.⁴ Vaṭapadraka finds reference in the Baradula plates⁵ of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna. According to that inscription, Vaṭapadraka was situated in Kōśiranandapura-vishaya. Another village called Taṭapallikā was situated in Dōṅḍā-vishaya as mentioned in the Arang plates⁶ of Bhīmsēna II. The donated village Ārāmaka⁷ can not be identified until the location of Maṅṭarāja-bhukti is determined. However a village of the same name finds mention in the Indore plates⁸ of Pravarasēna II but that village would be too far to be identical with the village mentioned in the present record.

TEXT 9

- 1 Ōm[!]* Svasti[!]* Śarabhapurāt = paramabhāgavatō mātā-pittra(tṛi)-¹⁰ pād-ānuddhyāta-
- 2 śrī¹¹ -mahārāja-Narēndra[ḥ!]* Maṅṭarāja-bhuktō(ktī)tō(y-ā) rāmakē¹² brāhmaṇādi-
- prati-
- 3 vāsi kuṭumbinas = samājñāpayati[!]* viditam = astu vō yath = āsmābhir = Vva
- 4 ṭapadrakiya kāritaka dēvakulē bhagavatē Śrīdhara-svāminē Māttri(tṛi)¹³ rā
- 5 ja-kulānā(nām) puṇyābhivra¹⁴ (vṛi)ddhayē khaṇḍasphuṭita-saṃskāra-bali-charu
- 6 satra¹⁵

Notes :

- 1 See note 12 below [Exec. Ed.]
- 2 *IHQ*, XIX, pp. 131 ff.
- 3 *EI*, XXXI, pp. 263 ff
- 4 *ABORI*, Diamond Jubilee Volume, p. 436.
- 5 *EI*, XXVII, pp. 287 ff.
- 6 *EI*, IX, pp. 342 ff.
- 7 [See note 12 below—Exec. Ed.]
- 8 *CII*, V, pp. 38-42.
- 9 From original plate and photograph.
- 10 [Text reads : *mātāpiṭri* — Exec. Ed.]
- 11 [Text reads : *-ddh) ātaś = śrī* — Exec. Ed.]
- 12 [Text reads : *-bhuktau Tōrāmakē* — Exec. Ed.]
- 13 [Text reads : *-Māttri* and to be corrected as *Māttri*. — Exec. Ed.]
- 14 Text reads : *-vṛiddhayē* — Exec. Ed.]
- 15 [Text reads *-satṛi* to be corrected as *-satra* — Exec. Ed.]

10 AN UNPUBLISHED INSCRIPTION FROM KANHERI : CLUE FOR THE IDENTIFICATION OF AN ANCIENT ALMONRY

S. Nagaraju

The present inscription¹ is engraved at the top edge of a side wall of one of the water cisterns cut in rock in front of Cave No.2 at Kanheri, greater Bombay.

The record is in two lines and is fairly well preserved, with each of its letters about 4" high deeply and distinctly cut. The script used is Brāhmī and the language Prakrit. The palaeographical features are quite regular to the age and the area to which the record belongs. The letter-forms are closely comparable to those seen in the inscription (*Lüders' List*, No. 987) of Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi found in the neighbouring Chaitya-hall and hence this record too can be dated to the latter part of the 2nd century A.D.

TEXT :²

- 1 Kaliaṅasa negamasa Chita
- 2 kiyasa Puṇavasuyatasa poḍhi deya-
dhamam

TRANSLATION :

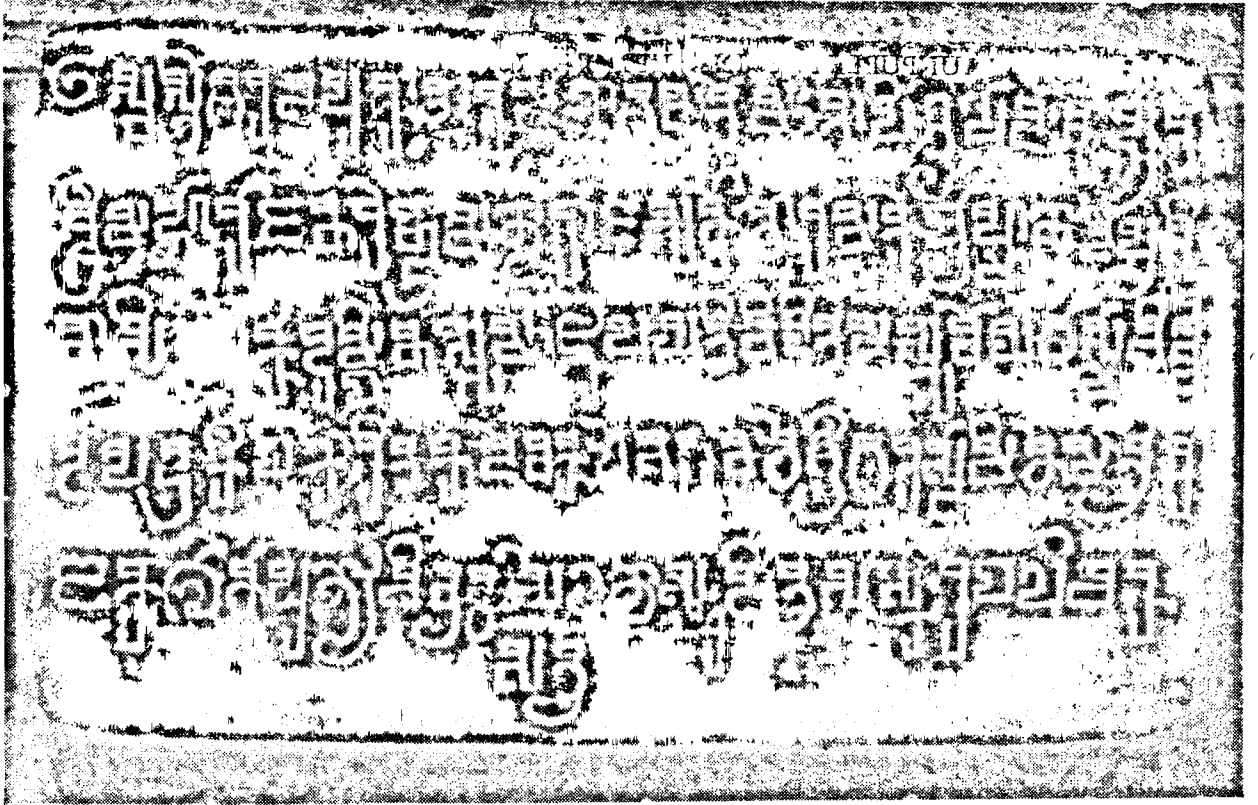
The cistern, the meritorious gift of Puṇavasuyata (son ?) of Chita kiya of the guild of Kalyāṇa.

This inscription is one of the several such private donatory records found in Western Indian caves, and as such does not call for any special attention. But we may note in passing that Chita and Puṇavasuyata

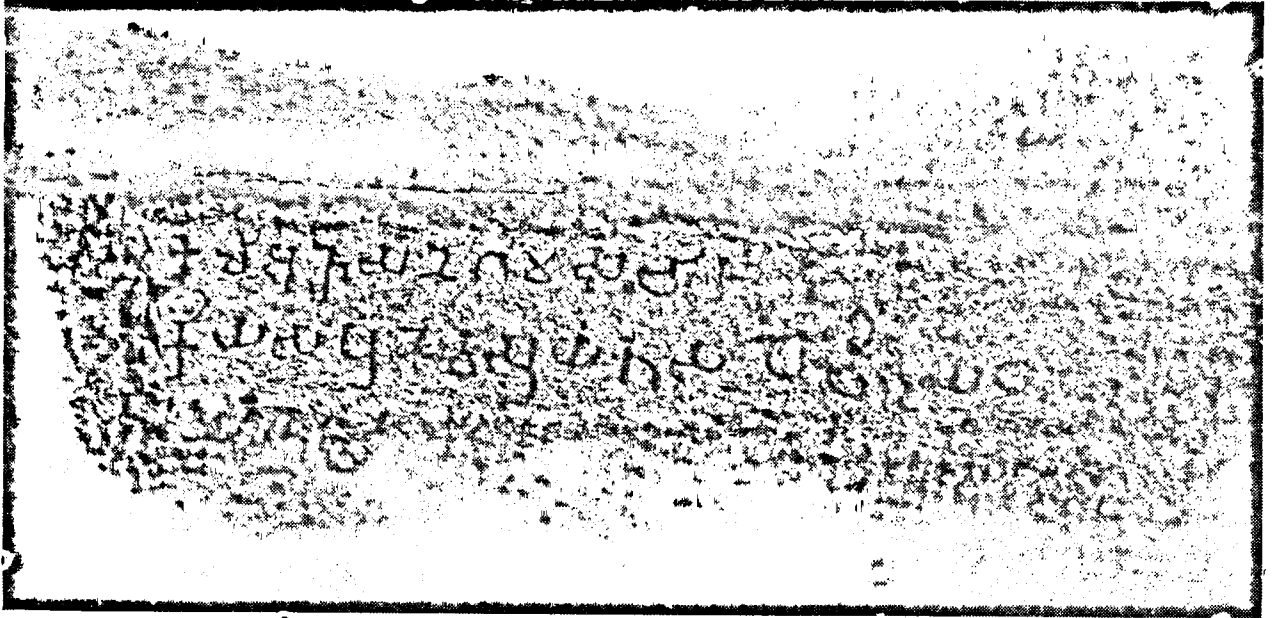
(yata)³ reveal the then prevalent practice of naming persons after the names of stars, and the reference to the existence of a *negama* at Kalyāṇa confirms the high status that city enjoyed during the period, which, of course are well known from other source too.

The present inscription, however, gains special importance when viewed together with two other inscriptions found in the nearby Cave No. 2, as this provides some clues for the proper understanding of the nature of that cave, which is peculiar in its plan and features, it not conforming to any of the well known architectural types like the *leṇa* and *chetiyaghara* found commonly in the rock-cut monasteries of Western India. This cave,⁴ situated adjacently to the right of the Great Chaitya-hall of the place, is a large pillarless hall of irregular shape and is about 54' wide at the back, 50' wide in front, and 34' deep. Its front side is completely open. A bench about 2' high and 2'6" broad runs all along the three inner walls of the hall. There are two rectangular cells hewn in the middle of the back-wall at a distance of about 10' from each other. Their door-sills are about a foot above the level of the bench. Both the cells are of the same size (about 7'8" deep, 7'1" broad and 7'6" high) and have a bench each (2' high and 3' broad) running along the right wall.⁵ On the back wall of the hall, to the right of the doorway of each of the above cells, at head level, an inscrip-

RAWAN PLATE OF NARĒNDRA



UNPUBLISHED INSCRIPTION FROM KANHERI



tion is carved (Lüders 985 and 986). The frontside of the hall is completely open and is approached from the foreground by a flight of four steps, by the side of which there are three huge rectangular cisterns (about 7' long, 4' broad and 3'6" deep) with open top. As stated already, one of these bears the first mentioned inscription.

In his account of the Kanheri caves, on the basis of the presence of stone benches in the cells, Burgess described this as a 'monastic abode', i e., a cave meant for the monks to reside (*leṇa*).⁸ But it is not likely to be so. Most of the general features seen in the composition of the contemporary *leṇas* are absent here, and those present are of an aberrant form. We may note that the benches inside the cells are very wide compared to the hundreds of sleeping benches known from Western Indian caves; the long bench inside the hall is quite high compared to others present in a similar position elsewhere, and most notably, the front is completely open, a feature unknown in the *leṇas* of this period.⁷ Further, had the cave been meant for a *leṇa*, with same expenditure of money and labour as has been done for making the present cave, accommodation for more number of monks could have been provided easily by resorting to the usual *leṇa* plans. It is likely that the adoption of the present plan here is deliberate and the large hall with its long bench and the two cells at the back with their broad benches were meant to serve a specific purpose for which the cave was intended. What could have been such a purpose may be inferred from the three inscriptions associated with this cave.

As stated already, the inscription on the cistern records the donation of a *poḍhi*. The

inscription on the cistern records the donation near the left cell (Lüders, 985) reads, *Nāsikasa Nākaṇakasa sata deya dhama*. The one near the right cell reads, *Kaliyaṇa suvaṇakārasa Samidatasa sāha sāghena pāniyaka deya dhama*. So the first cell inscription records the donation of a *sata* and the second one of a *pāniyaka*. Burgess, who edited these inscriptions, took these two words to mean 'a seat' and 'a cistern' respectively.⁸ He was probably led to understand them so because of a mistake in the addresses he noted for these inscriptions. The first inscription according to him is 'above a seat' and the second 'near a cistern.' But both these addresses are wrong, the inscriptions under reference being situated on the outer wall of the cells, to the right of their doorways, at head level, as stated previously.

Further, Burgess tries to support his interpretation by stating that *sata* may be the Prakrit form of the Sanskrit word *sadaḥ* which means 'a seat'. I have failed to find such a word in any of the well-known Sanskrit lexicons, though a distant relation with 'seat' may be drawn from Skt. *saḍas*. Lüders has simply adopted the above interpretation in his *List*. But while indexing the miscellaneous Prakrit words therein he suggested (with a question mark) the possibility of *sata* being the cognate of Skt. *satra*. In the present context, it appears, Lüders' suggestion is the right one. *Sata* as an equivalent of Skt. *satra* is a regular formation in contemporary Prakrit (cf. *putra* > *puta* *mitra* > *mita*, etc). Linguistically, this is more convincing than any derivation from Skt. *sadas*. A well-known Prakrit dictionary provides its meaning as a 'place where cooked rice etc. are given'.⁹ If so, the cell by the side of which

the above inscription is carved may be considered as one meant for keeping food for distribution. Similarly, the word *pāniyaka* mentioned in the inscription near the second cell, which is understood by Burgess as a cistern, also appears to mean something else. First of all the inscription itself is not near any water cistern, though stated so by Burgess. Further, the word generally used for a water cistern in Western Indian inscriptions is *poḍhi* and it is not imaginable why an uncommon word *pāniyaka*, to mean cistern, had to be used in the present case. The first inscription mentioned above, itself situated near a cistern and recording the donation of the same, uses the word *poḍhi*. So, this *pāniyaka* may have connoted something different from *poḍhi*. It is well-known that in India there is a widespread practice of distributing light food and water, often scented or sweetened (sometimes buttermilk too), to the pilgrims visiting holy places. It is considered to be an act of merit. Houses or sheds established permanently or set up during festival days for such a purpose are seen even to this day in many places of pilgrimage.¹⁰ In view of this custom it may be better to understand *pāniya* of the word *pāniyaka* in the very sense it is used in Sanskrit, that is 'beverage', which in the context could be scented or sweetened water (Kannaḍa *pānaka*). While one of the cells was meant to keep food, the other was meant to keep (sweetened or scented) water, for distribution.

Accepting these interpretations, the peculiar architectural form of this cave becomes meaningful. While the rooms in the back were meant to keep the items to be distributed, the long bench running along the three inner walls of the hall was meant to seat the people for whom those items were to be distributed. The three large open cisterns cut in a row in front of the cave (unlike single cisterns with square mouth with provision for covering them meant for storing drinking water, as seen in many caves in Kanheri itself) were to serve an important need in eating places, that is to provide water for washing hands. The fact that the front of the cave is completely open is also understandable because a public place like this would hardly need any front wall or doorway; rather without these the purpose would be served better in providing enough light for the diners sitting inside the hall.

With these considerations we feel that cave No. 2 at Kanheri may have served as a *sastra* for the free distribution of food and (sweetened or scented) water for the resident monks, or more probably for the pilgrims who came to visit the holy Chaitya-hall by the side of which this is appropriately situated. This was something like an almonry. If so, this happens to be a rare evidence available for the existence of such an institution in a Buddhist establishment in Western India, and possibly also the earliest evidence for the prevalence of this Indian custom.

Notes :

- 1 *AREp*, 1949-50, No B 156. Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in this article.
- 2 From the stone and the estampages.
- 3 It is also likely that no letter is lost in the end of the first line, and the name is Chitaki. The *yata* ending in *Paṇavasayata* is unusual. Could it be a scribal error for *data* or *mlta*?

4 A cluster of six independent excavations has been numbered as Cave 2 by the ASI. But in the present context we mean only the last unit of the above cluster which is located immediately to the next of the Great Chaitya-hall.

5 A plan of this cave is illustrated in Fergusson, J. and Burgess, J., *The Cave Temples of India*, London 1880, pl.

6 Burgess, J. *Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples and their Inscriptions*, ASWI IV, London 1883, p. 63;

7 There is no indication of the former existence of the front screen wall and that having been destroyed. The very presence of the inscriptions on the back wall of the hall shows that the front was open even originally; the normal place of carving the inscription in a cave with the front screen wall is the back or a side wall of the verandah rather than the dimly lit back wall of the hall, a feature known from a large number of instances in Western India.

8 Burgess, J., *Report on the Elora Cave Temples*, ASWI, V, London 1883, p. 75.

9 Seth, H.T., *Paiasaddamahāṅṅavo*.

10 Such places are called *aravaṭṭige* in Kannaḍa. Many Kannaḍa inscriptions refer to the donation of *aravaṭṭiges* and this meritorious act is called *aravaṭṭigeya-dharma*. Sri K.V. Soundara Rajan informs that an institution somewhat similar to this is called *taṅṅirpandil* in Tamil.

11 INTERPRETATION OF DVIRADA-DANAVA : A NOTE

S.P. Tewari, Mysore

The particular reference about the use of the term 'Dvirada-dānava' and its interpretation I have in sight is from the Deval Praśasti of Lalla, the Chhinda, which was first edited by Bühler in the pages of the Epigra-

phia Indica¹. In order to explain the context, it may not be out of place to cite the actual verse from the original text of the inscription where the term 'Dvirada-dānava' occurs as a compound. The verse is as follows :

Sūla-kshata-dvirada-dānave-kumbha-mukta-
muktā-kalāpa-kalitāmala-kamṭha-kāntiḥ
viśvaṁ punātu-girijā-vadan=āvadhūta
Chandr=ōpanīta parivesham=iv=ōdvahantī !

It is translated by Bühler as under: "May the daughter of the mountain purify the universe; she the spotless splendour of whose throat has been gained through a multitude of pearls fallen from the frontal globes of the Dānava (who assumed the shape of) an elephant (and was) wounded by (her) trident; she who wears as it were the halo surrounding the moon which is surpassed by her face". This translation was a foot-note saying that 'The demon who assumed the shape of an elephant is no doubt Mahishāsura.'² According to the Dēvimāhātmya *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, LXXIII, 30, the Asura turned himself also into a Mahāgaja. When speaking of the halo which surrounds the face of Pārvatī, the poet may have thought of representations, such as are found in Moor's Hindu Pantheon, plate VII, where her head is surrounded by a glory. *Chandropanīta* which I have taken as equivalent to *Chandrāya-upanīta*, may also stand for *Chandrēṇa-upanīta*.

In the latter case it would indicate that the moon found on Siva's crest transferred his halo to the goddess who is closely united with her husband in the form of Ardhanārī.'

About the statement that 'the demon who took the shape of an elephant', we may say that it can also be Mahishāsura, but with certain amount of doubt, and not 'without any doubt' as says Bühler. From the text of *Dēvimāhātmya*⁴ we know that during the course of battle Mahishāsura also assumed a form of elephant (*Mahāgajaḥ*) in succession with many more forms like that of lion etc.⁵ What is even more noteworthy, here is the point that the trunk of that elephant-shaped demon (Mahisha) was cut by the sword of the goddess⁶—and not the trident (śūla) or any other weapon.

If this Dvirada-dānava is interpreted as Gajāsura, who was killed by Siva, the *Siva-*

*Purāṇa*⁷ version of the story stands more relevant here. According to the story given in the *Śiva Purāṇa*, Gajāśura was the son of Mahishāsura, who, after the death of his father, tried to take revenge upon gods and, with, this aim in mind did a great penance. He was finally killed by Śiva with his trident and was hanged over his head. Gajāśura prayed Śiva for mercy and got a boon as a blessing from the Lord that his skin will cover the body of Śiva. This way Śiva came to be known as Kṛittivāsa.

At another place the term Dvirāda-dānava is substituted as *Dānava-gajaḥ* in an inscription of Lakshmaṇasēna.⁸ Here also the editor of the inscription has not been able to make this point clear. He even regrets his 'incapability in translating the relevant clause'⁹ and acknowledges his indebtedness to the editor of the *Epigraphia India* (N.P. Chakravarti) for that matter. Even

after the help of the editor of *Epigraphia Indica* the translation of the term 'Nirastadānava - gajaḥ' etc., could not be made satisfactory because even the improved translation of Chakravarti takes the compound 'dānava-gajaḥ' as a plural, though it is used in singular, in all probability.¹⁰ Thus, the interpretation of Chakravarti saying that 'Śiva (pañchānana) has vanquished the elephants who are the *dānavas*'¹¹ does not seem tenable.

15546 Besides, from the field of iconographic sculptures, where the same myth is used, we get plenty of references about Śiva - as the killer of Gajāśura I. I had occasion elsewhere¹² also to raise this point and believe that scholars will agree to interpret both, either dvirāda-dānava or dānava-gajaḥ as meaning the same, as a synonym of 'gajāśura' who was killed by Śiva with his trident and later on whose skin was hanged over by him.

Notes :

- 1 *EI*, Vol. I, No. XII, pp. 75-85:
- 2 *Ibid.*, p. 77, line 2, verse 2.
- 3 *Ibid.*, p. 81, fn. 45.
- 4 *Devīmāhātmya*, Ch. 80, V. 31.
- 5 *Ibid.*, Ch. 80, Verses 29-31 saying —
Tatyāja māhisham rūpaṃ ; and
 Tataḥ simhō = bhavat-sadyō yāvat tasy = āmbikā śiraḥ
 Chhinatti tāvat-purushaḥ khaṅga pāṅṅir = adṛiṣyata V. 30
 Tata ev = āśu-purushaṃ dēvi chichchhēda sāyakaiḥ
 taṃ khaṅga-charmaṇā sārdaṃ tataḥ sō = bhūn mahāgajaḥ V. 31
- 6 *Ibid.* Karshatatu karaṃ dēvi khaṅgēna nirakṛintata V. 31
- 7 *Śiva Purāṇa*, Vol. Ch. 57 ff.
 Śṛiṅ Vyāsa mahā prēmṇā charitaṃ Śaśimaulinaḥ
 yath-āvadhi triśūlēna dānavēndraṃ gajāśuram. V. 1
 Dānavē nihate dēvyā samarē mahishāsūrē
 Dēvānām cha hitārthāya purā dēvā sukhaṃ yauḥ. V. 2

Tasya puttrō mahāvīraḥ muniśvara Gajāsurah
Pitur-vadham hi saṁsmṛitya kṛitam dēvyā surārthanāt. V. 3

Sa tad-vairam = anusmṛitya tapō = rtham gatavān-vanē
samuddiśya vidhiṁ prītyā tatāpa paramam tapaḥ. V. 4

and Prōtastēna triśūlēna sa cha daityō gajāsurah

Chhattri kṛitam = iv = ātmānam manyamānō jagau haram. V. 50

8 *EI*, Vol. XXV, No. 1, pp. 1-13 (India Office Plate of Lakshmaṇasēna-edited by Dr. H.N. Randle, London).

9 *Ibid.*, p. 10 fn. 3.

10 Note that the term 'gajaḥ' is clearly used and also read by the editor as in singular and not in plural; so, to translate that as 'elephants' in place of 'elephant' may not be proper.

11 *Op. cit.*, p. 10, V. 1 (Translation).

12 *Hindu Iconography*, Tewari, S.P., p. 38 and references therein.

12 THE GENESIS OF TEMPLE IN INDIA AND ITS FORM AS GLEANED FROM EARLY COINS

Sheo Bahadur Singh

Man does not live by bread alone. He needs some religious, psychological and sociological satisfaction within his life. As a corollary of this he has developed some faith, mode of worship, philosophic thought, speculations and theistic religion from the earliest times. It appears that he was mystified and filled with awe-inspiring thought after seeing the wonders of nature and imagined the various forces of nature as the embodiment of numerous gods, thus developing aniconism or anthropomorphism. Even in the prehistoric times, the cave paintings have such mystic depictions or rituals to satisfy the religious cravings of the people. Moreover, the chalcolithic age in India had produced the symbolic and anthropomorphic representations of deities with some obscure mode of worship. However, as no shrines are discovered on any Harappan sites, it is difficult to ascertain the nature of the edifice for the devotional purpose.

The Vedic people were not idolators, as such there is no reference of temple.¹ But with the development of *bhakti* in the later Vedic period, the necessity of *ārchā* (image) or *dēvagṛiha* (abode of the god) was felt by the people. The *Gṛihyasūtras* for the first time refer to *Dēvāgāra*,² *Dēvāyatana* and *Dēvakula* denoting temples. It also refers to the installation of images.³ The *Āpastamba Gṛihyasūtra* refers about carrying the images

of deities by the householder and installing them in a hut built for them.⁴ This is an indication that the early temples were wooden structures erected in reed, bamboo and wooden frame. What was their architecture is a matter of guess, though their early forms may be visualised in the cave temples and *vihāras* of the Hīnayāna phase. The *Shāḍvīmśa Brāhmaṇa* also refers about temples and images, while dealing with miracles and various rites for removing evil effects of certain omens.⁵ This also attests that during the later Vedic period temples were erected in one or the other forms.

Kauṭilya also refers to the temples. "In the middle of the city, the abode of gods, such as Aparājita, Apratihata, Jayanta. Vaijayanta, Śiva, Vaiśravaṇa, Aśvina and of goddess Madirā shall be situated," Manu also discusses about images and temple-priests, the former being venerated and the later deprecated by people.⁷ This is an interesting statement as far as it shows the bad reputations of priests which, however, is a general belief even today.

The epigraphic records also corroborate the fact gleaned in the literature about the shrine. The Besnagar pillar inscription (c. 2nd cen. B.C.) records the installation of a *garuḍadhvaja* in honour of *dēvadēva* Vāsudēva by *Bhāgavata* Heliadora (Heliodorus), son of

Diya (Dion), an inhabitant of Taxila, who came as an ambassador from the Greek king Antialkidas to king Kāshiputra Bhāgabhadra of Vidiśā. J.N. Banerjea presumes that this pillar was erected before a shrine of Vāsudēva.⁸ Another inscription from Bhilsa also records the presence of a temple at Vidiśā.⁹

The Ghosundi inscription (near Chittorgarh) also refers to shrines of the two gods around which a stone enclosure was built in the 1st cen. B.C. "(This) enclosing wall round the stone (object) of worship, called *Nārāyaṇa Vāṅikā*, for the divinities Samkarshaṇa-Vāsudēva who are unconquered and are lords of all (has been caused to be made) by (the king) Sarvatāta, a Gājāyana and son of (a lady) of the Parāshara *gōtra*, who is a devotee of *Bhagavat* (Vishṇu) and has performed an *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice."¹⁰ It appears that a shrine was at the site, may be wooden or brick structure.

The Mora well inscription (c. 1st cen. B.C.) of the time of *Mahākshatrāpa* Rājuvula's son Svāmī (*Mahākshatrāpa* Śōḍāsa) records the establishment of the images of the worshipful *pañchavīras* of the Vṛishṇis in the stone shrine.¹¹ This clearly indicates the presence of the temple.

Another fragmentary inscription found incised on a door from Mathurā, records the gift of a *tōraṇa-vēdikā* (railing) and a *dēvakulam* in the *Mahāsthāna* (a large temple) of *Bhagavat* Vāsudēva during the time of *Mahākshatrāpa* Śōḍāsa.¹²

Thus by the time later Vedic literature was composed, images and temples had already been accepted by the higher section of the Vedic Indo-Aryans. The early shrines were

generally erected as wooden-thatch which later developed into brick temples. However, it is difficult to ascertain their architecture due to the perishable material used in the construction. The present tribal coins found at Sunet (Ludhiana, Punjab) give a clue to the architecture of early temples built as timber-structure in preceding centuries of the Christian era with a facade erected over wooden posts forming a porch and a pediment above. Similar types of huts are discernible even today in Punjab and that shows the continuity of the architecture in this very region.

The first lead coin (A) represented here is somewhat oval in shape and shows a standing female figure on the obverse who holds certain indistinct object in her raised left hand, while the right is akimbo. Legend in Brāhmī letters, probably *gaṇa* is traceable on the right.

The reverse of the coin is remarkable as it represents the architectural character of an early temple. The temples have been also represented on the coins of Audumbaras¹³ which are more complex in nature with double or triple-domed edifice, erected over pillars, occasionally showing three tiers, consecutively placed one above the other, denoting them as the prototype of the cave *viḥaras*. But the representation here is quite different and unique. It shows the facade of a shrine, erected over columns without base or capitals, forming a porch. The pillars appear to be square wooden posts supporting a horizontal beam and trabeates above. Thus a triangular pediment is formed above with a tympanum within. It appears to be like a tabernacle with a thatch above. The triangular tympanum, resembling the *chaitya*

window of the rock cut caves was necessary for the passage of light and air. It seems that this sanctuary represents the wooden chapel of the centuries preceding the Christian era, as referred to in the early literature and epigraphs with simple plan and architectural details.

The second lead coin (B), with obverse obliterated, is equally important as far as it represents the replica of a shrine on the reverse. It is a multi-columned (six columns are seen) open *maṇḍapa*, erected over a plinth with a roof in double tiers somewhat pyramidal in shape. The pillars, without base on capitals resemble wooden posts and support upper roof. This sanctuary also appears to be a prototype of a timber-structure used most plausibly, as an open chapel for the worship of the deity.

These two early coins, probably belonging to c. 1st century B.C., represent the

architecture of the early shrines found in India. These may represent either open *maṇḍapas* (halls) with multi-columns, occasionally erected over a plinth and bearing a pyramidal roof with lesser height, denoting a timber-structure with reed and thatch. Or it may represent an open portico erected over four pillars with a pediment and tympanum denoting triangular roof as on huts. Thus, the early temples actually represented a simple plan in architecture with a single apartment, frequently open, with triangular or pyramidal roof resembling thatch and occasionally constructed in timber and reed. Such huts are noticeable even in the present day in north India which shows the continuity of this type of construction. However, more work is to be done and research carried in the field to corroborate the fact gleaned from literature, coins and epigraphs in this regard before we are on sure grounds about the genesis of the temple.

Notes :

1 Max Müller says "The religion of Vedas knows no idols." *Chips from a German Workshop*, Vol. I, p. 38; H.H. Wilson remarks "The worship of the Vedas is for the most part domestic worship consisting of prayers and oblations offered, in their own houses, not in temples...the religion of Vedas was not idolatory" *Vishṇupurāṇa* (Preface), p ii; Macdonell also suggests that image worship was not known to the Indians of the early Vedic period...no mention of either images or temples is found in the *Rigveda*. *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 17-18.

2 *Baudhāyana Gṛihyasūtra*, III, 3, 9, 3.

3 *Ibid.*, III, 2, 13, 16.

4 *Ibid.*, VII, 20.

5 *Ibid.*, X, 5.

6 *Arthaśāstra*, trans. by R. Shamasastri, 2nd edn., p. 59.

7 *Manusmṛiti*, III, 152.

8 *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 92

9 *Ibid.*, p. 92.

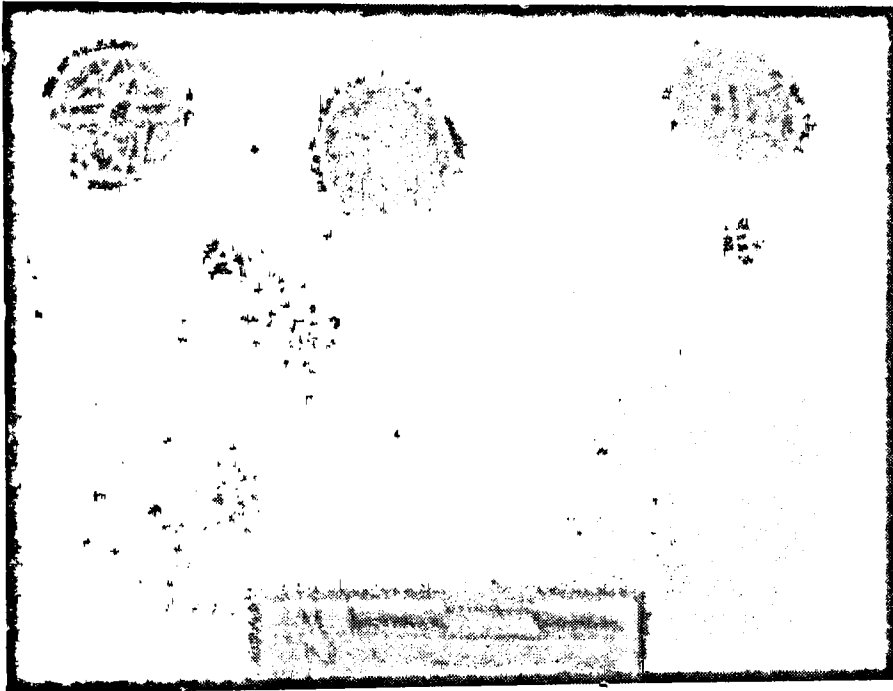
10 *EI*, Vol. XXII, p. 204.

11 *Ibid.*, XXIV, pp. 194 ff.

12 R.P. Chanda, *Memoirs, ASI*, No. 5, pp. 168-73.

13 A Cunningham (*Coins of Ancient India*, p. 68) and R.D. Banerji (*N.S.* XXIII, p. 249) refer to them as temples. But V. Smith (*JASB*, 1897, p. 8), K. P. Jayaswal (*HP*, Pt. I, p. 161) and J. Allan (*BMC-AI*, p. LXXXIII) denote them as a granary, a mote-hall and a two-storied *stūpa*, respectively. However, the statement of Sohoni seems to be more true who takes them as Saivite temples as they are shown along with *Paraśu-triśūla* (trident-battle-axe) (*JNSI*, IV, pp. 55 ff.).

GENESIS OF TEMPLE : EARLY COINS



KHAṆḌAVALLI PLATE OF GAṆAPATI
(SEAL)



KHANDAVALLI PLATE OF GANAPATI
(OBSERVE)

Handwritten text in Kannada script, likely a religious or historical inscription. The text is densely packed and appears to be a form of liturgical or commemorative text. It is written in a traditional style with some variations in character forms. The text is arranged in approximately 15 horizontal lines across the plate.

KHANDAVALLI PLATE OF GANAPATI
(REVERSE)

Handwritten text in Kannada script, likely the reverse side of the inscription. The text is densely packed and appears to be a continuation of the religious or historical text from the obverse. It is written in a traditional style with some variations in character forms. The text is arranged in approximately 15 horizontal lines across the plate.

13 KHANADVALLI PLATE OF GANAPATI OF THE KONA HAIHAYA FAMILY

C. Somasundara Rao

This copper-plate grant was discovered two decades ago at Khaṇḍavalli in the Tanuku taluk of the West Godavari District of Andhra Pradesh, along with two other grants viz. Uttarēśvara grant¹ and the Khaṇḍavalli plates of Pratāparudra² of the Kākatīya dynasty. The three sets have been given over to the Department of History & Archaeology, Andhra University, Waltair. The present grant was edited in Telugu by Sri T. Krishnamurti in *Bhārati*, November, 1959, pp. 35 ff. As the inscription calls for a few remarks and corrections in the reading, this is taken up for study.

The inscription is written on a single plate on both sides. The plate measures 28.3 cm x 15.8 cm. On the left margin, there is a hole through which passes a ring, the ends of which are soldered at the bottom of the seal. The ring has a diameter of 10.1 cm. The seal contains the figures of the sun and the moon in the top row, of a disc, star and conch in the middle row and of *Kūrma*, *Varāha* and *Matsya* in the last row. The last row represents three incarnations of Vishṇu. The plate along with the ring and the seal, weighs 1 kg 465 gms.

The characters of the inscription belong to the 13th Century Telugu script. They generally agree with those of the already published Khaṇḍavalli and Uttarēśvara grants

of the time of Kākatīya Pratāparudra. The dates of these grants are also not far removed. The inscription is written in Sanskrit verse, excepting the portion relating to the boundaries of the gift-land where Sanskrit and Telugu prose occur.

The object of the inscription is to register the gift of 30 *khāris* of land in the village Puluparti by Gaṇapati, ruler of Kōna, to the brāhmaṇa Viddanāchārya, son of Śrīraṅgāchārya and grandson of Dēvanāchārya of Kapi gōtra. The grant is dated in Saka 1218, Durmukhi, Śrāvaṇa śu. 10, Thursday. If Thursday is taken to be a mistake for Wednesday, the date corresponds to 11th July, 1296 A. D.

The first three verses are invocations to the Varāha and Kūrma-incarnations of Vishṇu and to the crescent-moon. In vv. 4-5, the family, tracing its descent from Kārtavīrya and ruling in Kōna-dēśa is introduced. Vv. 6-10 give the genealogy of the donor Gaṇapati. He was the son of Bhīmavallabha and grandson of Gaṇapati. They are described as having vanquished their enemies. Gaṇapati is stated to be a *kalpataru* to brāhmaṇas. He is stated to be as much devoted to Viddanācharya as to Śaṅkara. Viddana was considered to be an incarnation of Śiva. In vv. 16-17 and in the subsequent Sanskrit-Telugu passage, mention is made of the gift of 30 *khāris* of land in the village

Puluparti to Viddanāchārya who joined it to Uttarēśvarapura and distributed shares in the gift-land to a number of brāhmaṇas. Ll. 20-23 describe the boundaries of the gift-land. The grant ends with a benedictory passage and the words *Śri dēvyai namaḥ*.

The inscription is important in more than one respect. The donor of the inscription is Gaṇapati of the Kōna Haihaya family who is also known from his inscriptions at Pālakollu dated between 1262 A.D. and 1300 A.D. His father, according to the present grant as well as an inscription at Pālakollu dated Śaka 1197, was Bhīmavallabha. This Bhīmavallabha is the same as the king mentioned in a record at Pālakollu dated Ś. 1183 where he is described as the son of Rājapareṇḍu. The identity of Bhīmavallabha of both the records is certain, because in both his queen is mentioned as Anyamāmbā. Now the present grant states that one Gaṇapati was the father of Bhīmavallabha. As this Gaṇapati is not known from any other record the present inscription poses a problem whether he is the same Rājapareṇḍu. No specific answer can be given at present.

Viddanāchārya, the donee of this grant, is known from the Uttarēśvara grant and the Khaṇḍavalli plates of the time of Pratāparudra. The description of the qualities and achievements of the the donee is detailed more elaborately in the other two grants than in the present one. It may be recalled that the Uttarēśvara grant and the Khaṇḍavalli plates record that Viddanāchārya was a scholar in Vēdas, Vēdānta, Pūrva- and Uttaramīmāṃsās, Yōga-śāstra, Dharma-śāstras and Śaiv-āganas. He performed *agnishṭoma* and *sarvatōmukha*. He constructed a tank at Bhīmavallabhapura and installed the deity

Śivajñā.ēśvara there. His scholarship was acclaimed in the assemblies at Vāgiśaratnākara. He was the author of *Pramēyacharchāmṛita*. None of these is mentioned in the present grant.

Viddana seems to be the most honoured person in the reign of Pratāparudra. The monarch, according to the Uttarēśvara grant, gifted 100 *nishkas* and bestowed the privilege of using umbrella and palanquin on Viddana. The same grant records the gift of the village Uttarēśvara to Viddana by Induśekhara II of the Chālukyas of Niḍudaprōlu in February, 1290 A. D. The Khaṇḍavalli plates register the gift of 50 *khāris* of land in the village Marpaḍigam, renamed as Vināyakapuram, by Indulūri Annaya, one of the ministers of Pratāparudra in September, 1289 A. D. They also record another grant to Viddana, i.e., Onapalli by Chālukya Induśekhara, the donor of the Uttarēśvara grant, in January 1292 A. D. Again, in 1296 A. D., the same donee received the gift of 30 *khāris* of land in the Puluparti village from Gaṇapati of the Kōna Haihaya family.

This grant is important in giving a clue to the date of the post-script contained in the Uttarēśvara grant. In lines 18-19 of the present grant, Viddana is said to have joined this land of 30 *khāris* in Puluparti to the Uttarēśvara village and distributed the same to a number of brāhmaṇas. But no details are given here. In this connection, part of the Uttarēśvara grant should be read together with this information. In lines 149-74, there is reference to the fact that Viddana received 30 *khāris* in Puluparti and Onapalli and distributed these lands among 67 brāhmaṇas, besides keeping a few shares for himself and for the deities of the village. This list of

brāhmaṇas is in addition to the list given in connection with the distribution of shares in the Uttarēśvara village. So these lines recording the shares should have been written in 1296 A. D. We have already seen that the Khaṇḍavalli plates register the gift of the village of Onapalli in 1292 A. D. The present grant records the gift of land in Puluparti in 1296 A. D.

The land gifted in the inscription belonged to the village of Puluparti. Among the boundaries of the gift-land, the junction of the villages of Puluparti, Prēkēru and Uttarēśvara lay on the south-west. Puluparti was renamed in the Reḍḍi period as Anyamāvaram, according to the Annavaram plates of Kāṭaya Vēma.³ It is known at present as Annavarappāḍu near Khaṇḍavalli in the Tanuku taluk of the West Godavari District. Prēkēru is no doubt the present Pēkēru lying south-west of Khaṇḍavalli. It is difficult to identify Uttarēśvarapura, but it must have been adjacent to Khaṇḍavalli.

The seal of the grant is interesting. Though invocations are made in the inscription to different incarnations of Viṣṇu, a combination of figures of the incarnations like *Varāha*, *kūrma* and *Matsya* on a seal is a rarity. The Chāḷukyas and the Kākatīyas had the *Varāha* emblem. This seal is the only one available for the Haihayas of Kōṇamaṇḍala. The other copper-plate grant of the family, viz. the Kandikuppa plates of Manma Malla dated Ś. 1140, has a seal, but it is much worn out.⁴ The present seal shows the leanings of the family towards Vaishṇavism. The kings must have followed a policy

of religious toleration, as most of their records are found at Śaivite centres like Diākshārāma⁵ and Pālakollu.⁶ Very few inscriptions are found in the Vaishṇavite temples. They are limited to two inscriptions, one of King Lōka in the Bhāvanārāyaṇasvāmi temple at Bāpaṭla dated Ś. 1072⁷ and another at Piṭhāpuram which records the gift of a village to the Kuntī-Mādhava temple at Piṭhāpuram by Mallidēva and Manma Satya II in Ś. 1117.⁸

One feature that may be noticed in this copper-plate is that a few lines of the inscription are marked by a sign, resembling *kākapāda* at the end of the line. This occurs at the end of the lines 6, 14 and 15. The first occurs at the end of the line when the genealogy of the donor starts. The lines relating to the name of the donor and the date of the record are also marked with this symbol. Since there is no missing word here, it may be concluded that this sign was incised to indicate the important lines in the grant.

To conclude, the present grant brings out the following facts :

- 1) Gaṇapati was the name of the grandfather of the donor, Gaṇapati of the Kōṇa Haihaya family ;
- 2) The contents of the grant clarify some of the details given in the Uttarēśvara grant ; and
- 3) The seal of the grant shows the Vaishṇavite leanings of the family.

TEXT*

[Metres : Verses 1 to 8, 10, 11, 13-18 - Anuṣṭubh;
9, 12 - Upajāti; 19 - Śālinī.]

First side

1 Siddham¹⁰ Lakshmīpatir = asau yushmān pushṅātu kriḍyā¹¹ kiriḥ¹ Yasya
damśhṭrā-dale¹² dhātrī pushpē bhṛimḡī = va khēḷa (la)-

2 ti¹[11*] Kalyāṇam kalikā chāmdrī Śambhōr = bbhūshā¹³ karōtu vaḥ¹ Yasyā mayūkhā
rajamttē(ntē) kamdarppa-

3 sya śarā iva¹[2*] Sa pātu¹⁴ bhuvanādhāraḥ kamaṭhaḥ kamaḷāpatiḥ¹ Mamdā(thā)dri-
kashaṇair = yyasya kriḍā kamḍū-

4 tir = ābabhau¹[13*] Ādāv = ambhōja-bhū-sṛishṭa-mahī-vaḷaya-mamḍnam(nam)¹ Dēśaḥ
Kōna iti khyāś = chakāsti sukha-sam-

5 śrayaḥ¹[14*] Tatra kshatra-varēnyasya Kārtavīryasya gōtrataḥ¹ Asti rājakulam tanyā-
tyāga-bhōga-vibhūshaṇam(ṇam)¹[15*]

6 Rājā Gaṇapatis = tatra rarāja guṇa-sāgaraḥ¹ Yat = khaḍga-tīrtthē nirmmadhnā(gnā)
labhamttē(ntē) divya-sampadam(dam)¹[16*] Bhīmavallabha-

7 nām-ābhūt tasya rājās = tanūbhavaḥ¹ Sapt-ārṇṇavīm samulla[m*]ghya yasya kīrttiḥ
prakāśatē¹[17*] Tasya bhūmīpatē-

8 r = āsīt-putraḥ kula-vibhūshaṇam(ṇam)¹ Rājā Gaṇapatis = tyāga-bhōga-lakshmī-nijāśra-
yaḥ¹[18*] Virājatē yasya kṛi-

9 pāṇa-dhārā praphulla-nīḷōtpala-jāta-sakhyām(yām)¹ Kāmtin = nigīrṇām = iva śatru-
nārī-netrā-

10 mjanasthām punar = udvamaṃtti¹(nti)¹[9*] Asau Gaṇpati svīyam Kōna-dēśam
prapālayan¹(1)

11 Kalpavṛiksha iti khyātim bhūdēvānām samaśnutē¹[10*] Dēvanāchāryya-sambhūta-
Śrīraṃgā-

12 chāryya-sambhavē¹ Sa bhaktim Viddanāchāryyē¹ bhajatē Śamkarē yadhā(thā)¹[11*]
Pratyaksha-bhāvam pratipadya dātu-

13 m bhuktim chcha(chamuktim chcha(chasudhīśvaiṇām(ṇām)¹ Kṛit-āvatāram giriśām
gṛiṇamtti(nti) tam Viddanāchāryyam = aśē-

14 sha-lōkaḥ¹[12*] Rājā Gaṇapatis-sō-yam Śika-varshēshu jāgrati¹ Navaka-dvaya-
samyuktē sahasrē dvi-śa-

15 tādhiḱē¹[13*] Durmmukhi-vatsare māsi Śrāvaṇē dhavaḷa tvishi¹ Pakshē duṣumyām varē
cha Puram.lara-gurōḥ

16 sati¹[14*] Guṇinām = agragaṇyāya Kapi-gōtrasya mauḷayē¹ Manō-vāk-kāya-vandyāya
Viddanā-

17 chāryya-Śambbhavae/[15*] Pulupartti-purē kshētram tasya vāyavya-saṁsthitam(tam)᠑
Trimśat-khārī-mitam bha-

Second Side

18 ktyā prādād = uttama-sasyadam(dam)᠑ [16*] Tat-kshētram Viddanāchāryyas = trimśat-
khārī-mitam tataḥ᠑ Uttarēśapurā-mta-

19 stham kru(kṛi)tvā kuruta viprasāt᠑ [17*] Asya trimśat-khārī-parimitasya kshētrasya
simānaḥ/Prasiddhaye dēśa-bhāsha-

20 yā kathyaṁtē᠑Pūrvvataḥ kola-puṁta naḍimi-putṭa᠑Āgnēyataḥ Bbāliguṁṭa tūrpu᠑
Dakshinātaḥ gu-

21 ṛṛāla᠑Nairu(ṛu)ta(ti)ta[h*] Pulupartti Prēkēṭi Uttarēśvarapurapu muyyana-kuṭra᠑
jāvuru-gaḍḍa putṭa᠑ Paśchi-

22 m itaḥ᠑Uttarataḥ᠑Uttarēśvarapur-āṁtarbbhāvitatvāt = tat-samāna ēva simānaḥ᠑Īśānataḥ
jāvuru gaḍḍa.

23 llamu᠑ Idam = āchamḍram = āsūryyam susthitam kshētra-śāsanaṁ(nam)᠑ Astu svasti-
karam kāmam viprāṇam = am-

24 śa-bhājinām(nām)᠑ [18*] Sāmānyō'yam dharmma-sētur = nṛipāṇam kāla(lē) kālē pālanī-
yyō(yō) bhavadbhiḥ᠑ Sarvvān = ētān = bhā-

25 vinaḥ pārtthivēndrān = bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmachaṁdraḥ᠑ [19*] Śrī Dēvyē(vyai)
namaḥ᠑

Notes :

- 1 *EI*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 76-93; *Bhārati*, June 1976, pp. 20-37.
- 2 *JESI*, Vol. III, pp. 163-79; *Epigraphia Andhrica*, Vol. IV, pp. 103-19.
- 3 *Bhārati*, October 1960, text lines 124-25.
- 4 *Ibid.*, June 1938, pp. 555 ff.
- 5 *SII*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1011, 1046, 1080, 1081, 1082, 1098, 1104, 1145, 1150, 1156, 1161, 1162, 1249, 1253, 1267, 1286 and 1315.
- 6 *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Nos. 121, 123, 125, 127, 128, 150, 156, 157.
- 7 *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 175.
- 8 *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 83 ff.
- 9 From the plate.
- 10 Expressed by a symbol.

- 11 In *Bhārati*, November 1959, the word is read as *krīḍayā*. In other cases also, the sign for long medial *ī* was read as short *i*. But the difference in the medial sign *i* and *ī* is clear.
- 12 In *Bhārati*, November 1959, the long medial *ē* has been read as short medial *e*.
- 13 Read in *Bhārati* as = *bhūshā*.
- 14 Read in *Bhārati* as *dātū*.
- 15 Read in *Bhārati* as *divishat-padam*.
- 16 Read in *Bhārati* as *Viḍḍanāchāryyē* here and also in lines 13, 16 and 18.

14 SOME RECENT EPIGRAPHICAL DISCOVERIES IN MADHYA PRADESH

K.D. Bajpai

Several inscriptions of considerable importance have recently been discovered in Madhya Pradesh. Mention may first be made of the two inscriptions of emperor Aśōka found at a site called Pānguḍārī in the Sehore district. The place was on the route from Vidisha to Māhishmatī. There are some natural rock-shelters at Pānguḍārī overlooking the Bāṇagaṅgā river. Some of these rock-shelters bear interesting paintings. Remains of no less than 21 votive *stūpas* and of one big monastery are still preserved at the site. These indicate that there was a good Buddhist establishment at the site. 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.¹

Recent discoveries from Būrhīkhār (part of Malhār) of a set of three copper-plates and one single plate of another set are of great importance. In the first complete set of three plates² we find the name of Śūrabala, son of Bharatabala (the great grandson of the founder of the dynasty Jayabala). This name of Śūrabala is known for the first time and carries the dynasty of Jayabala further to a generation after Bharatabala. In the set of three plates referred to above Śūrabala is given another name Udirṇṇavaira (line 36). This king, according to the inscription, made

a grant of a village called Saṅgama-grāma, along with its usual privileges, to god Jayeśvara Bhaṭṭāraka (a name of Śiva). This grant was made to Śiva after the king Śūrabala had acquired it from Nārasiṅha, a son of Bōṭa and grandson of the merchant Manōratha.

I have identified the village Saṅgama-grāma with the village Tālā (also called Saṅgama) near the confluence of the rivers Maniārī and Śivanātha in the Bilaspur district. Near the confluence stood two Śiva temples (constructed in the Gupta period). The main temple was probably that of Jayeśvara Bhaṭṭāraka.

The single plate referred to above has recently come to my knowledge through the courtesy of its owner Sri Chhedi Lal Pandey of Malhār. He informed me that the plate was found by him at Būrhīkhār. It is the second plate of the complete set of three, which according to Sri Pandey were previously joined together and formed the entire record. Unfortunately the first and the last plate are now lost. The extant copper plate measures 17.50 x 10.75 x .03 cms and weighs 291 gms. The central hole on the plate, meant for fastening together the three plates, has a diameter of .06 cm. The plate bears 11 lines of writing, carved beautifully on it. The back is plain.

The Brāhmī characters of the plate are nail-headed of Central Indian type. They are cut quite deeply and carefully.

The earlier part of the inscription is in prose. There are two verses in the *upajāti* metre eulogising king Nāgabala. It may be mentioned here that in the previously two known copper-plate grants of the early Pāṇḍu ulers, only one verse is devoted to Nāgabala. After the 10th line (in prose) of the new inscription, an incomplete verse in the *Mālinī* metre is given about Indra-Bhaṭṭārikā, the queen of Nāgabala, and the mother of Bharatabala.

The specific purport of the copper-plate is not known, as the third plate containing the same is lost. It may have referred to some donation made by the queen of Bharatabala and some other members of her family.

It seems quite certain that the capital of the dynasty of Jayabala was Śarabhapura (earlier name of Malhār). Another set of three copper-plates of this dynasty was discovered in the Shahdol district of Madhya Pradesh. It was published by B. Ch. Chhabra,³ who discussed in some detail the problems pertaining to the early Pāṇḍava dynasty of Kōsala. The other plates (another set of three and one single plate) mentioned above, come from Būrkhīhār (a part of Malhār village). Both the areas of Mēkala and Kōsala were in the possession of this dynasty at the time of Śūrabala.

Recently a set of two copper-plates has been acquired from near Kaṭni in the Jabalpur 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 Ōghadēva

to Jayanātha and thereafter mentions about the donation of a village to the people of the three *varṇas*.

A new copper-plate inscription of king Śarvanātha of Uchchakalpa has been discovered in 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 Bharadvāja *gōtra*.

Another copper-plate from village Rāvā in the Raipur district (now in Durgavati Museum, Jabalpur) is inscribed in the box-headed Brāhmī characters of the late Gupta period. It was issued from Śarabhapura by king Narēndra. It mentions Maṅṭarāja-bhukti name of some significance, wherein donations were made for the upkeep of a temple of lord Śrīdharasvāmi.⁴

A new set of three copper-plates from Malhar of Sōmavaṁśī 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 Kōsalanagara (city of Ksōalā).⁵ The mention of Kōsalā as a city in this epigraph of the 7th cen. is significant. It shows that by that time Kosalā, an important town of South Kōsala, continued to retain its glory.

From Malhār another single copper-plate, being part of a set of three, has been published by B.C. Jain.⁶ It is dated in the regnal year 57 (of king Mahāśivagupta). The plate contains the name of the engraver Nāgadēva, son of Gōlārya, who in other records is mentioned as Gōlasimha and was

the *aksasālika* (keeper of the records) the royal house.

A set of three copper-plates of king Sudēvarāja from Mahāsamund also deserves mention here. It is dated in the regnal year 3 of the ruler. The plates were issued from Śrīpura (Sirpur in the Raipur district of M.P.). The name of Sudēvarāja's father, Durgarāja, is given in the inscription, which records the grant of a village called Khalapadraka (modern Khalārī in the Raipur district) to a Chaturvēdī Brāhmaṇa Mādhasvāmī in the Kāśyapa-gōtra.

From village Pāsadi (dist. Raipur) two sets of copper-plates of the Kalachuri rulers of Ratanpur⁷ have been obtained. One of these sets is of king Prithivīdēva II and is dated in Kalachuri Saṃvat 893 (1142 A.D.). It gives the genealogy of the rulers of the dynasty from the time of Kārtavīrya to Prithivīdēva II. It then mentions the grant of a village called Dugarā by the king to a Brāhmaṇa Dēvavarmā of the Pārāśara-gōtra.⁸

Another set of two copper-plates from Pāsidi was issued by king Ratnadēva III of the above-mentioned dynasty. It gives the genealogy of the dynasty and then records the grant made by the ruler, of a village Vanikā to his family priest Śaṅkara in Kalchuri Saṃ. 934 (1182-83 A.D.). The names of the Kōsala region and of Tummāna and Tripuri cities also find mention in this inscription. So far this is the only known copper-plate grant of king Ratnadēva III.⁹

Recently the present author has discovered and deciphered one stone slab at Korba (dt. Bilaspur).¹⁰ The inscription reads: *Om Ashṭadvāra visaya Vaidyaputra Śrī*

Vaṅkarēṇa (i.e. by Vaṅkara, son of Vaidya (Some religious work was done) 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.

During November, 1978 a fragmentary stone inscription was found at Bhāpēl (dist. Sagar). Only 8 lines of the inscription are now preserved. The record mentions the names of Avantivarmā and his son Harshavarmā, both with the titles of *paramabhaṭṭā-rakā mahārāja*. The Nāgarī script of the epigraph is of 11th cen. In the Bilhari inscription of the Kalachuri king Yuvarādēva II, the name of Avantivarmā occurs.¹¹ From the newly discovered inscription at Bhāpēl it can be assumed that Avantivarmā and, after him, his son Harshavarmā were ruling in the Sagar region, and they acknowledged the Kalachuris of Tripuri.

A new copper-plate inscription from Ramban (dist. Satna) of the Chandella ruler Traiōlkyavarmmadēva is dated in the Vikrama Saṃvat 1283 (1226 A.D.).¹² It records the donation by the ruler of a village in the *Vārāhī-vishaya* to the Brāhmaṇas of various gōtras. Vārāhī has been identified with the well-known village Barhi in the Mundwara tahsil of the Jabalpur district.

It is interesting to note that some of the historical rock-paintings in Central India have been found bearing Brāhmī inscriptions with them. One of the shelters at Bhīm-Baiṭhakā has *Simhakasa lēṇa* (Cave of Simhaka) written in the Aśōkan Brāhmī characters. Near Gwalior is another inscribed painted shelter bearing the Brāhmī letters *Dambukēna kāritam* (made by Dambuka). At a place

called Kolaji ki kui in the Kota district, on the border of dist. Mandsaur, Sri G.R. Kishore 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 2nd-1st century B.C. One of these is that of Bhikhuni(nun) Apābhasēnā of a village called Ghatasāsī. Another name is that of Śramaṇa (monk) Sipisēna, a resident of Aparadēśa vishaya according to the inscription¹

Recently two sealings of unusual importance have been acquired by me from Vidisha in Madhya Pradesh. They are made of red baked clay.

The first sealing is circular and measures 3.6 X 3.4 cms. The oval seal impression shows an ornamental *chakra* above flanked by two wavy lines. Below the *chakra* are two straight lines under which is written a Brāhmī inscription in two lines, which I have read as:

(Line 1) Śrī Viśālakūpa śaulkikānām
(i.e. of the Custom-Officers (stationed near) the big well (at Vidisha)

The back of the sealing shows clear impressions of a broad string with which it was tied.

The inscription indicates that the sealing belonged to the office of the tax-collectors, located near a big well which was probably on the outskirts of the ancient town of Vidisha. Vidisha was one of the great trade-centres of ancient India.

In Ancient Indian literature and inscriptions numerous references to the customs officers and tax-collectors are found. A very interesting description occurs in the Arthasāstra of Kauṭilya (II.21.1-2).

The epigraphical evidence in this connection is also quite interesting and valuable. In the Bihar stone pillar inscription of Skandagupta there is a reference to the Śaulkikas (tax-collectors) along with the Agrahārikas, the Gaulmikas, etc. In several other inscriptions of the Gupta and post-Gupta period references to such tax-collectors and customs officers are discernible.

The Brāhmī letters on the sealing are of the Northern style and are assignable to about 500 A.D.

The second sealing is oval in shape. It measures 3.8 X 2.7 cms. The Brāhmī legend written inside the rectangular incuse of the sealing, has been deciphered by me as:

*mahārāja mahā-
sēnāpati Sēna*

(i.e. of Sēna, king and commander-in-chief)

On palaeographic grounds, this sealing can be assigned to the latter half of the second or early third century A.D.

The contents of the inscription are important indeed. The titles 'mahārāja' and mahāsēnāpati had become well established by c. 200 A.D. Several rulers in the North and South India had assumed these titles, which later on came to be used by the feudatories of powerful monarchs.

- 1 For details see D.C. Sircar's article in *ABORI*, Diamond Jubilee Volume (1977-78),
- 2 *Studies in Epigraphy*, vol. III. pp. 183-93 and plates.
- 3 *EI*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 132 ff; *CII*, Vol. V, pp. 82 ff.
- 4 *Prāchya Pratibhā*, Vol. V, pp. 182-83 and pl.
- 5 *Ibid.*, pp. 48-53 and plates.
- 6 *Ibid.*, pp. 54-56 and plate.
- 7 Both these sets are now preserved in M.G.M. Govt. Museum, Raipur.
- 8 *Ibid.*, pp. 117-22 and plates.
- 9 *Ibid.*, pp. 105-11 plates.
- 10 See K.D. Bajpai and S.K. Pandey, *Mallār*, (1978), p. .
- 11 *CII*, Vol. IV, pp. 204 ff.
- 12 Now deposited in the Ramban Museum. See *Prāchya, Pratibhā* Vol. V, pp. 123-29 and plate.
- 13 The paintings seem to have been done by these persons. Some of the well-known paintings at Ajanta, Bāgh and several other sites are most probably the creations of the expert Buddhist monks residing at those places.

BOOK REVIEWS

Kausambi Hoard of Magha Coins by Ajay Mitra Shastri. Published by The Registrar, Nagpur University, Nagpur, 1979; pp. xvi+108+ix Plates; price: Rs. 60-00.

The above is yet another noteworthy contribution from the pen of Dr. Ajay Mitra Shastri whose earlier exertions in the fields of archaeology, epigraphy, numismatics, literature and religion all bear the mark of authentic scholarship.

In view of the fact that the little knowledge of the history of the Maghas which we possess is almost entirely based on numismatics, the discovery of this large Kausāmbi hoard as well as its systematic study and presentation by Dr. Shastri assume considerable importance. As the author has himself stated in his brief preface, the Kausāmbi hoard "is not only numerically superior to other hoards but contains material which has thrown new light on the history of the Maghas and helped in solving some of the baffling issues". The projection of Magha as the founder of the dynasty and the identification of two Śivamaghas in the Magha genealogy with the help of the Kausāmbi hoard have helped Dr. Shastri add two important points in our study of early Indian history.

The book under review is divided into two major parts, Part I dealing with the numismatic (Chapter I) and historical (Chapter II) background and Part II with the Kausāmbi hoard itself. In the first chapter there are brief but very useful discussions on the Magha hoards discovered earlier, on the importance of the hoard under study as well as on the obverse types of and the legends on

the Magha coins; also on the historical data furnished by the hoard as well as its contents. Chapter II contains a brief dynastic history of the Magha rulers reconstructed with the help of all available source materials.

In part II, representative coins of seven Magha rulers from the Kausāmbi hoard are discussed. This is followed by a descriptive list of illustrated coins. There are three appendices, the first one on the coins of the Magha kings not represented in the hoard under study, the second one on coins presumed to belong to the Maghas and not represented in the present hoard and the third one on the analysis of the metallic contents of the Magha coins. The bibliography as well as index provided at the end will be found useful for reference. 134 coins and the common as well as non-descript devices found on the Magha coins are illustrated in 9 plates. The quality of the illustrations needs to be improved.

Since the treatment of the subject is systematic and comprehensive, the fact that not all the coins of the hoard have been discussed has not detracted in the least from the authenticity or value of the work. On the other hand the pains taken by the author in making judicious selections has only highlighted his competence and his method could serve as a useful guideline to those scholars who would like to be discerning rather than tediously exhaustive. Dr. Shastri deserves to be congratulated for presenting the world of scholars such useful material on a subject regarding which our knowledge is yet very hazy and uncertain.

K. V. Ramesh

Studies in Indian Place Names (Bhāratīya Sthalanāma Patrikā). Vol. I, 1979, pp. 100, Edited by Madhav N. Katti. Published on behalf of the Place Names Society of India, Mysore by Geetha Book House, Mysore-1 Price not given.

Formation of 'The Place Names Society of India' is a welcome news for scholars and the laity alike. Since there is hardly a person or a place devoid of name, the scope of studying place-names automatically becomes as wide as humanity itself and to be unaware of such a great store of information is just like not being aware of one's own name. It is true that 'the formation of such an organisation has been a long-felt need' (President's note) and the founding-fathers of the Society indeed deserve all our thanks.

Studies in Indian Place-Names (Bhāratīya Sthalanāma Patrikā) is the first volume of the Society's journal which presents more than sixteen learned papers on the theme, contributed by well-known linguists, Epigraphists and literary luminaries from all over India. In such a short space of hundred pages, thanks to the editor, these articles represent almost every possible norm of place-name study. The paper-back cover and the production in general of the journal are equally good, though one may wish that the size would have been a little bigger than it is. But considering the fact that it is the first issue of the Society this does not diminish the utility of the journal in any way. We hope the Society will maintain its regularity and that in due course of time its membership as well as readership will swell.

S.P. Tewari

A CONCORDANCE OF THE NAMES IN THE COLA INSCRIPTIONS:

Vols. I, II and III. Rs. 105/- per set. Sarvasri Noboru Karashima, Y Subbarayalu and Toru Matsui. Sarvodaya Ilakkiyapannai, Madurai.

The computer has become indispensable in modern science and technology. Even in the field of Social Science and the humanities, the advantage of the use of the computer has already been well understood. Scholars have been using the computer to decipher the ancient Indus Script. Prof. N. Karashima and his associates have to be congratulated for using the computer to analyse the data obtained from the numerous Tamil inscriptions of the Chōla period as those are among the source materials for the study of South Indian history. Attention was mainly focussed on the chronological and genealogical aspects in the realm of Epigraphical Studies in the past and thus their study was confined to the reconstruction or the outline of political history. Now an awareness has set in to make the best use of the source material for the socio-economic conditions of the past. The application of the statistical method may some times seem arbitrary or too general if the inscriptions are not utilised properly or carefully. The present collaborators have collected all the names and designations from the published Chola inscriptions, analysed them statistically and compiled them in this concordance. They have listed 9,590 names collected from 3,500 published Chōla inscriptions for which they had prepared 50,000 computer data cards and these names are arranged topographically according to the District, Taluk and village in the first two volumes and the related information regarding the status, sex, etc. of the person and the

particulars of the transactions or intrinsic details such as sale or donation. Each name is brought under five categories as the meaningful segments of a name viz. (1) village name (2) gōtra (3) father's name (4) one's given name (5) title. In the third volume all the segments amounting to 20,835 are listed and arranged alphabetically and thus it serves as an index to the Name List of the first two volumes. To bring accuracy and to avoid the printer's devil these three scholars have made use of the technique of the special printer connected to the computer and these printed materials were handed over to the Press for offset printing. The get up of the book is excellent.

The utility of this concordance is considerable as it is bound to cater to the needs of the Sociologists, Linguists and scholars of other disciplines as it contains descriptive, analytical and phonetic materials for all. The authors have taken meticulous care to avoid mechanical application of Statistical methods. The present concordance is the first of its kind and we hope it will serve as a versatile tool for researchers on medieval South Indian History. For the amount of useful material provided, the volumes bear a very reasonable price.

C. R. Srinivasan

EARLY CHOLAS-MATHEMATICS RECONSTRUCTS THE CHRONOLOGY: by and published by N. Sethuraman, Kumbakonam.

Sri. N. Sethuraman has now brought out one more work on historical chronology constructed with the help of Mathematics, this time concerning the Early Chōḷa rulers who are known to have ruled from 850 to 985

A.D. We had the pleasure of highlighting the importance of Sethuraman's contribution to the chronology of the medieaval Chōḷas and Pāṇḍyas while reviewing his earlier works on the Chōḷas (above Vol. IV, pp. 111-12) and on the Imperial Pāṇḍyas (above Vol. V, pp. 144-45). In terms of improving our knowledge of dates of the different reigns, the present book is no less significant than his two earlier contributions. In the case of the Early Chōḷas too the author has eminently succeeded in considerably narrowing down the gap between the probable dates of a given ruler's accession as well as the end of the reign. In atleast one case, i.e. in the case of Rājaraāja, the Great, he has succeeded in fixing the exact date of the accession.

Among the significant points made out by the author his conclusion that Ariñjaya ruled for seven years and not for a mere two years as was hitherto supposed by the historians deserves special mention.

His reinterpretation of the Kumbakōṇam Nāgēśvarasvāmi temple inscription (pp. 57 ff) brings out the important fact that Viranāriyaṇiyār was the queen of the prince Uttama-chōḷa and not of Parakēśarivarman who got the inscription engraved. He has spared no pains in personally examining the inscriptions *in situ* in order to clear his doubts and before arriving at important conclusions. An instance on hand is the Uḍaiyārkuḍi inscription of Āditya II (pp. 63 and 64). An *in situ* examination has helped him to establish the fact that the star quoted in the inscription was Uttara-ṭṭādi, i.e. Uttarābhādrapada and not Uttarāshāḍha as was reported in the *A.R.Ep.*, 1920. The book teems with such instances proving beyond doubt that re-examination of already known inscriptions will improve our know-

ledge in history as much as the discovery of new ones.

Sethuraman has also succeeded in clearing the mist of confusion surrounding the personality of Pārthivēndravarma by establishing that he was a ruler of Pallava extraction who acquired power with the help of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III. There is, as a matter of fact, a useful chapter on the dates and doings of this ruler in the Tamil country.

It is not possible to mention all the significant points made out by the author in a brief review of this nature. Suffice it to say that Sri Sethuraman has given the world of historians one more extremely painstaking and dependable chronological treatise.

K.V. Ramesh
C.R. Srinivasan

TULUNADINA SASANAGALU (Epigraphs of Tuḷunāḍu), Vol. I (in Kannaḍa). Editors: Dr. K. V. Ramesh and Sri M.J. Sharma. Published by the Geetha Book House, Mysore on behalf of Rashtrakavi Govinda Pai Memorial Research Institute, Udipi: 1978. pp. 1-239 and 7 plates. Price: Rs. 50.

Tuḷu-nāḍu, or South Kanara district as it is known now, has a pride of place in Karnataka. It is rich in epigraphical wealth and certainly deserves a special treatment at the hands of the epigraphists. As has been mentioned in this work itself, a few hundreds of inscriptions have already come to light in the district and the texts of at least a couple of hundreds of them have already been published. However, all of them are not avail-

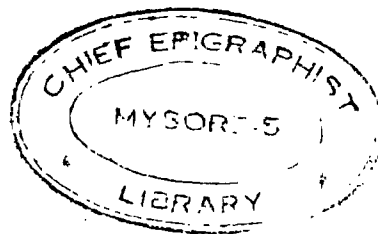
able at one place. Further, in the light of the availability of more epigraphs now, some of the records need reexamination. Bearing this in mind the editors have chosen 93 inscriptions, covering a long period from the 7th to the 18th century, and re-edited them in the present work. Important inscriptions like the Vaḍḍarse inscription of Āḷuvarasa I, the Beḷmaṅṅu plates of Āḷuvarasa II, the Kadire inscription of Kundavarma, the Varāṅga inscription of Sāntara Kuṇḍaṅga have been included in this work. Every inscription is introduced with its findspot, details of earlier publication, language and script and date. This is followed by the text of the inscription. The gist of each inscription is given at its end. The important copper plate grant of Beḷmaṅṅu has been illustrated. Thus this volume provides upto date source material to the students of the history and culture of Tuḷunāḍu in particular and of Karnataka in general.

The intention of the editor seems to be to provide researchers with the basic material and not to thrust their own conclusions on them. Probably that is why they have, of course rightly, discussed only the importance of some of the inscriptions included in this volume in the general introduction. However, since the entire book is in Kannaḍa the non-Kannaḍa-speaking people are deprived of the benefit of this scholarly work prepared by two eminent epigraphists. It is suggested that in the 2nd edition of this volume, as also in the subsequent volumes of this series, at least English gists of all inscriptions and a general introduction in English too be added. Further a detailed index to volumes of this kind will be of great help. Scholars are bound to feel the absence of more illustrations. It is fondly hoped that the editors

will give due consideration to these suggestions. The printing and get up of the book are good. The students of history and culture of Karnataka will naturally be eager to

receive the subsequent volumes and it is hoped that the editors will not disappoint them.

S.S. Ramachandra Murthy



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*Paper presented at the Fifth Annual Congress at Bangalore, February 1979.

↔Paper presented at the Fourth Annual Congress at Madras, January 1978.

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