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(BHĀRATĪYA PURĀBHILĒKHA PATRIKĀ)

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VOLUME ONE



EDITED BY

Z. A. DESAI, AJAY MITRA SHASTRI, K. V. P.

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(Bhāratīya Purābhilēkha Patrikā)
Volume One

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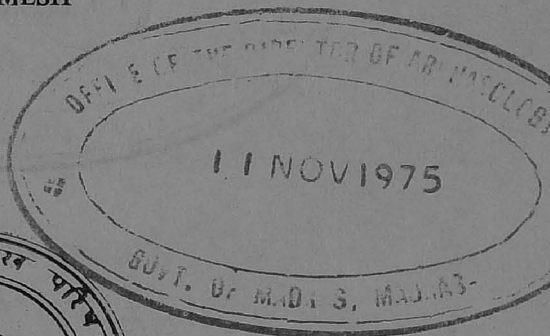
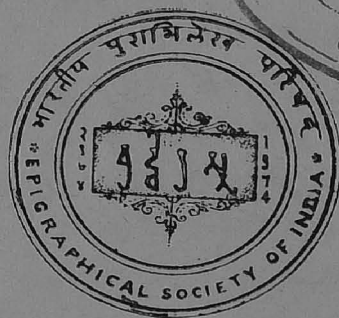
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Editors

Z. A. DESAI and AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

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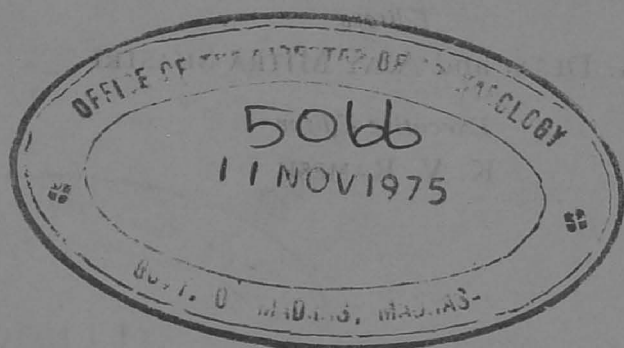
BY

GEETHA BOOK HOUSE

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FOREWORD

G. S. GAI, Chairman

The formation of the Epigraphical Society of India fulfils a long felt need for the creation of a common platform for scholars to meet and discuss various problems relating to the field of epigraphical studies in India. It was also necessary to create interest in this field amongst younger generation of scholars in view of the fact that the number of such scholars taking to the study of epigraphy seriously is dwindling. One of the main objects of the Society is to bring out a journal called *Bhāratīya Purābhilēkha Patrikā*, devoted to the study and publication of epigraphs. I am happy to state that the response to the formation of the society and the starting of this journal has been very encouraging since eminent scholars from all parts of the country have welcomed it. The very fact that scholars like Mm. Mirashi, Dr B. Ch. Chhabra, Dr Sircar, Shri N. L. Rao, etc. have sent their contributions to the pages of this journal ensures its standard and quality. At the same time, some younger scholars are also associated by their contributions with a view to encourage the future growth of the subject. In the absence of an all-India Journal of this type I hope *Bhāratīya Purābhilēkha-Patrikā* will be welcomed by all old and young scholars from all parts of the country.

The Society's motto *Vṛiddhirastu* in characters of the 6th century A. D. has been chosen from a terracotta seal and reflects the sincere desire of Indologists for inaugurating a period of abiding and growing interest in Indian epigraphical studies.

My thanks are due to the contributors to the Journal.

The Epigraphical Society of India is grateful to Messrs. Geetha Book House, Mysore, for undertaking the publication of this issue and I am thankful to Shri M. Satyanarayana Rao for evincing keen interest and for giving valuable suggestions regarding this publication.

EDITORIAL

Z. A. Desai, Ajay Mitra Shastri, K. V. Ramesh

We have great pleasure in placing before the world of Indologists 'Studies in Indian Epigraphy' (Bhāratīya Purābhilēkha Patrikā), the first issue of the Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India. We are particularly happy that the release of the Journal coincides with the inauguration of the First Annual Congress of the Society at Dharwar.

The fact that the very first issue of this Journal includes learned articles from the pens not only of reputed epigraphists but also of recent entrants into the field of epigraphical researches augurs well for the future of the Society and its Journal as well as for epigraphical studies in India. We sincerely thank all the contributors for promptly responding to our request for articles.

As at present envisaged the Journal is an annual issue. But we fondly hope that before long resources of the Society will enable us to bring out the issues more frequently.

It is our pleasant duty to thank those who have enabled us bring out this issue in its present shape. Sri S. S. Ramachandra Murthy of the Chief Epigraphist's Office, Mysore has rendered immense help. Sri V. S. Subrahmanyam of the same office has helped us edit some of the texts. We owe sincere thanks to them. We also thank the Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer of the Society for their willing help and co-operation. The Editorial Board places on record the Society's deep debt of gratitude to M/s Geetha Book House, Mysore and to Sri M. Satyanarayana Rao in particular for agreeing to publish the Society's Journal. But for Sri Satyanarayana Rao's keen and genuine interest in furthering the cause of epigraphy it would not have been possible for the Society to bring out the very first issue of its Journal on such a grand scale. Our thanks are also due to the partners of M/s Vidyasagar Printing and Publishing House for their neat execution of the printing work in a short time.

In conclusion we pray that the Society's motto *Vṛiddhirastu* may become universally true.

SECRETARY'S REPORT

A. V. Narasimha Murthy

The study of Epigraphy is one of the oldest branches of Indology, probably next only to Indian Philosophy. Right from the time of James Prinsep, it has attracted scholars of international fame, who have enriched the pages of the various journals by their epigraphical contributions. But there was not a single private academic organisation which devoted itself to the cause of Indian epigraphy. This state of affairs was being lamented by epigraphists in meetings, conferences and in writings but no serious attempt was made towards remedying this.

Mysore has been a great centre of epigraphic studies from a long time. The famous *Epigraphia Carnatica* volumes edited by Lewis Rice have been renowned all over the world. In recent years with the location of the Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, in Mysore, the city has again gained importance in the epigraphical map of the country. The University of Mysore has a department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology where epigraphy is taught as a Diploma course and also at the post graduate level. The Institute of Kannada Studies of the Mysore University has taken up the project of revising and reprinting *Epigraphia Carnatica* Volumes. The Karnataka Government State Department of Archaeology is also located in Mysore. Hence it is natural that lovers of epigraphy met at Mysore taking advantage of the presence of Prof. A. K. Narain who happened to be there at that time. This meeting gave a shape to fluid thoughts and soon was formed the Epigraphical Society of India in 1974. We received highly encouraging support in this new endeavour from Prof. B. B. Lal, Sri S. R. Rao, Dr N. Ramesan, Sri R. Nagaswamy, Prof K. D. Bajpai and a host of others. The formation of the Society has been hailed in scholarly circles both in India and abroad.

The society has sponsored jointly with the Asian Book Trust, Bombay, the preparation and publication of *Sētubandha*, based on Buhler's *Indian Palaeography* in English, German, Japanese and all major Indian and foreign languages. Preliminary work in this regard has been completed. The society has also planned to

publish Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* which has been out of print and in great demand. The Society has plans of honouring a scholar in epigraphy for his meritorious service, each year during the annual Congress. It has been decided to honour Sri N. Lakshminarayana Rao, former Government Epigraphist for India and a great Epigraphist, this year at Dharwar.

All these projects can be successfully completed only with the helping hand and encouragement from scholars and students of Indian epigraphy. Our appeal for membership in the first year itself, I should say, was highly encouraging. Today our membership is nearing 200. We hope in the years to come, the Society would grow from strength to strength and help us achieve our object.

During the first year after the formation of the Society we have not received any grants from governments and universities. I have great confidence that various state governments and the central government and the universities would appreciate our work and make generous grants so that we can serve the cause of Indian epigraphy further. I appeal to all these enlightened agencies for financial help.

As the secretary it is my pleasant duty to thank Dr G. S. Gai, Chairman, Sri K. G. Krishnan, Treasurer and Dr K. V. Ramesh, the Executive Editor for their valuable help and suggestions. The members of the executive committee, life, institutional and honorary members of the Society and others who have helped us also should be remembered with gratitude. My grateful thanks are due to Messrs. Geetha Book House, Mysore for publishing this journal.

We are meeting at Dharwar for our first Congress. The Department of Ancient Indian History and Epigraphy of the Karnatak University has already earned a great name by its contributions in the field of Epigraphy. It is right that that department should have extended an invitation to the Society to hold its first Congress at Dharwar. For this we are grateful to the Vice-Chancellor, Dr R. C. Hiremath, whose interest in and contribution to Kannada epigraphy is well known and also to Dr S. H. Ritti, Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Epigraphy. With the first Congress we complete our first year and enter into the second year with greater hopes of serving the cause of Indian epigraphy.



Umamaheshvara Image



Umamahēśvara Image Inscription

UMĀ-MAHĒŚVARA IMAGE INSCRIPTION FROM SKANDAR¹

G. S. GAI

SKANDAR OR TAPA SKANDAR is situated at a distance of about 30 km north of Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan. During the course of an excavation conducted at this place in 1970 under the leadership of Takayasu Higuchi of Kyoto University, Japan, a marble statue of Umā-Mahēśvara was found, with the head of Mahēśvara and the upper part of Umā's figure fallen down. The pedestal of this image has an inscription in three lines in characters of the post-Gupta period and Sanskrit language. A detailed description of this statue of Umā-Mahēśvara is given by Shoshin Kuwayama in the publication "Archaeological Survey of Kyoto University in Afghanistan—1970" (pp. 8-11) published in 1972. In the same report, on pp. 15-21, the inscription on the pedestal of this statue has been published by Meiji Yamada. P. L. Gupta and D. C. Sircar have also commented on this inscription.²

As pointed above, the inscription is engraved on the pedestal of the image. The characters belong to the North Indian alphabet or Siddhamātrikā and on palaeographical grounds, may be assigned to the sixth or seventh century A.D. They resemble the characters of the Gaṇēśa image inscription³ of Shāhi Khiṅgāla found some years ago at Gardez near Kabul. In both the inscriptions, the tripartite form of *y* is found. While Tucci assigns the Gaṇēśa image inscription to the 5th or 6th century A.D., Sircar refers it to the 6th or 7th century A.D. Yamada, however, assigns the Gaṇēśa inscription to the 8th century and the Skandar inscription to the 9th century A.D. We are inclined to agree with Sircar and hence would like to assign the Skandar

image inscription to the 6th or 7th century A. D. Except a few letters in the second line, the writing is in a good state of preservation. But the engraver is rather careless and has committed some errors.

The record consists of two verses in the *anushṭubh* metre with a short prose passage in between. Yamada, in the publication noted above, has read and interpreted the epigraph as follows :

Transcription :

- (1) ēka-mūtti(rti)-ttri(tri)-vāsanā brahmā vishṇu-
mma(ma)hēśvaraḥ
- (2) karttā(rtā) vi-snu(shṇu)ḥ kṛi(kri)yā brahma(hmā)
kāraṇa tu mahēśvaraḥ | ukta cha bhagavatā
mahādēvēna
- (3) ya[dā, dvā] [pi] ma[ti] [mū]ḍi[shya ?] vi [tsa,
sta ?]raṁ nē (nō, tēnō ?) palabhyatē [vā, dhā ?]
- (4) ta[dva]-haṁ daiva vishṇuśya(shya) brahmā cha
nilayaṁ gatā [?]

Translation : In One Body dwells the Trinity :

Brahman, Vishṇu, Mahēśvara

Vishṇu, the actor

Brahman, the act and

Mahēśvara, truly, the origin.

And by Lord Mahādēva it was declared.

To the dwelling of the God (Mahēśvara),

Vishṇu, Brahman

Unreachable for the foolish-hearted (?)

I went. (?)

Thus, according to Yamada, the Hindu Triad or Trinity, viz., Brahman, Vishṇu and Śiva, instead of their usual functions of creation, preservation, and destruction take on different functions according to this inscription. Here Brahman refers to 'action', Vishṇu to the doer or 'agent-actor' while Śiva represents the 'First Cause' of the World and the inner-most self of all beings. And these functions may perhaps be the special characteristics of the Śaiva faith in which 'Lord Śiva' performs the functions of creation, preservation and destruction. However, the reader is warned by Yamada that this explanation of his regarding the functions of the three gods is brief and that further study and investigation should be done in order to gain a better understanding of the meaning of the Skandar inscription.

While P. L. Gupta has noticed the image and given the transcript of the inscription published by Meiji Yamada, Sircar has given the reading and interpretation of the record⁴. The reading of the text, given by Sircar, is as follows :

1. Ēka-mū[r]ttis = tridhā jātā Pra(Bra)hmā
Vishṇ[u]r-Mahēśvaraḥ [| *] karttā Vi-
2. [shṇu]ḥ kṛi(kri)yā Pra(Bra)hmā [k]āraṇan=tu
Mahēśvaraḥ || uktañ=cha bhagavatā
Mahādēvēna [| *] Yē(ya)th=āg[n]im=
agi(bhi)prakshipya viś[ō]dhā(dha)n-
ōpalakshaṇam(ṇam)
3. kṛitv=āham ch=aiva Vishṇuś=cha
Vra(Bra)hmā cha nirayaṁ gatā[h*] ||

Thus, according to Sircar, the first of the stanzas states how the single form became triple in the shapes of Brahman, Vishṇu and Mahēśvara and that the words *karṭṛi* (actor), *kriyā* (action) and *kāraṇa* (cause) seem to have been used in the senses respectively of the creator, the creation and the motive behind the creation unlike in the Brahmanical mythology where these three gods are represented as the creator, the preserver and the destroyer respectively. He is, however, not correct in stating that in this stanza Brahman is *Karṭṛi* and Vishṇu is *Kriyā* for, the verse as read by him clearly describes Vishṇu as *Karṭṛi* and Brahman as *Kriyā*. The second verse which is quoted as the words of Mahādēva is, indeed, difficult to read and interpret. Sircar thinks that the purport of this verse is to say that in an attempt to purify themselves by throwing themselves into fire, the god Mahādēva as well as Vishṇu and Brahman went to hell. This interpretation is indeed strange and unconvincing.

I propose to read the text of this Skandar inscription as follows :

1. Ēka-mūtti (rtti) s = tri-dhā jātā Vra(Bra)hmā Vishṇur-
Mmahēśvaraḥ [| *] bharttā Vi-
2. shṇuḥ kṛi(kri)yā Vra(Bra)hma(hmā) hāraṇa[m*] tu
Mahēśvaraḥ || ukta[m*] cha Bhagavatā Mahādēvēna
[| *] ya[d-v-āgni]-ma(mū)ti(rti)[h*] pṛithivya(vyām)
visōramtēpa⁵-labhyatē ||
3. tad-vā = haṁ ch = aiva Vishṇuś = cha Brahmā cha ti
(tri)tayaṁ gatā[h*] ||

From this, it can be seen that the three functions of the Trinity, Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva are the traditional ones, viz.,

creation, preservation and destruction and not different ones as suggested by Yamada. Moreover, it is stated that One Supreme Form is manifested in the three different forms of Vishṇu Brahman and Mahēśvara. In the second verse Mahādēva says, "just as Agni is found to manifest or unfold in this world, so also Brahman, Vishṇu and myself manifest in three-fold forms". This means that just as Agni is originally having one form but found in different forms in this world, so also the Supreme Being is found in three different forms. Agni is also described as having three forms according to Indian mythology and Purāṇic tradition. The conception of the Trinity mentioned in the epigraph reminds us of the following references in Sanskrit literature. For example, in Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava* we get⁶ :

Ēk = aiva mūrttir = bibhidē tri-dhā sā sāmānyam = ēshām
pratham-āvaratvam |
Vishṇōr = Haras = tasya Hariḥ kadāchid = Vēdhās-tayōs =
tāv = api dhātur = ādyau ||

In the *Māhābhārata*, *Mōkshadharma-parva*, we get the verse⁷:

Paramātmā cha Bhūtātmā guṇa-bhēdēna samsthitaḥ |
ēka ēva tridhā bhinnāḥ karōti vividhāḥ kriyāḥ ||
Brahmā sṛijati bhūtāni pāti Nārāyaṇō = vyayaḥ |
Rudrō hanti jagan = mūrtiḥ kāla ēsha kriyā budhaḥ ||

In the Purāṇas, this identity of the three gods is expressed in some verses : eg.,

Brahmā Vishṇur = Mahēśas = cha trayō dēvāḥ śivāṅgajāḥ |
Mahēśas = tatra pūrṇ-āmśaḥ svayam = ēva Śivō = paraḥ ||⁸
Param Brahman Śivaḥ prōktas = tasya rūpās = trayāḥ surāḥ |
aham Vishṇus = cha Rudras = cha guṇa-bhēd-ānurūpataḥ ||⁹
Tridhā bhinnō hy = ayam Vishṇō Brahma-Vishṇu-Har-
ākhyayā |

Sarga-raksh-ālaya-guṇair = nishkalō = ham sadā Harē ||¹⁰

In the *Varāhapurāṇa*, Rudra says :

Vēda-vēdyō = smi viprarshē Brāhmaṇaiś = cha viśēshataḥ |
yugāni triṇy = aham vipra Brahma Vishṇus = tath =
aiva cha ||
trayō = pi sattvādi-guṇās = trayō = Vēdās = trayō = gnayaḥ |
trayō lōkās = trayō sandhyās = trayō varṇās = tath = aiva
cha ||¹¹

Kṛitv = ōchus = tam tadā Dēvaṁ kim = idam

Paramēśvaram |

ēkasyām = ēva mūrttau tē lakshyaṁtē chittē (cha tri)-
mūrttayaḥ ॥¹²

In the *Harivaṁśapurāṇa*, it is said¹³ that “the *mūrti* is one, the gods are three, Rudra, Viṣṇu and Pitāmaha” (Ēkā mūrtis = trayō dēvā Rudra-Viṣṇu-Pitāmahāḥ).

In the *Kālikāpurāṇa*, we get the following verses :

Brahman says :

Ēka-svarūpā hi vyaṁ bhinnā kāryasya bhēdataḥ ।
kārya-bhēdē na siddhaś = chēd = rūpa-bhēdō =
prayōjanaḥ ॥¹⁴
Ēka ēva tridhā bhūtvā vyaṁ bhinna-svarūpiṇaḥ ।
bhūtā Mahēśvara iti tattvaṁ viddhi sanātanam ॥¹⁵

Janārdana says :

Brahmā Viṣṇuḥ Śivaś = ch = ēti saṁjñām = āpa
prithak prithak ।
atas = tvaṁ cha Vidhātā cha tathā = ham = api
na prithak ॥¹⁶
Na Brahmā bhavatē bhinnō na Śambhur = Brahmanas =
tathā ।
na ch = āhaṁ yuvayōr = bhinnō = abhinnatvaṁ
sanātanam ॥¹⁷

We have seen above that in the second verse of our inscription the three-fold form of Mahēśvara, Brahman and Viṣṇu is compared with Agni and its different forms. In this connection, we may compare the verse

Agnir = yath = aikō bhuvanaṁ pravishṭō rūpaṁ rūpaṁ
prati-rūpaṁ babhūva ।
ēkas = tathā sarva-bhūt-āntar-ātmā rūpaṁ rūpaṁ prati-
rūpō bahiś = cha ॥

This verse occurs in the *Kaṭhōpanishat*, II, ii, 9. Mystically Rudra is Agni (Mbh. 13, 85, 88—Bombay ed. Hopkins, p. 221). But more appropriate is the three-fold nature of Agni described in the *Mahābhārata* (1, 229, 24 of Bombay edition) as *tvaṁ kartā chā = nta ēva cha tvaṁ dhārayasi lōkāms = trīn*) and explained as maker, sustainer and destroyer and thus a first Trimūrti.¹⁸

Thus the inscription shows that the three gods, viz., Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Mahēśvara are three different forms of the same original form and the comparison of this conception with Agni, and its forms was prevalent in the Skandar region of Afghanistan about the 6th-7th century A.D.¹⁹

Notes :

1. Based on the paper read at the XXIX International Congress of Orientalists held at Paris in July, 1973.
2. *Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist.* (Calcutta), Vol. VI, pp. 1-4 and also p. 294.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 44 ff. and plate ; *East West*, Vol. IX, p. 328.
4. *Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist.* (Calcutta), Vol. VI, pp. 2-4 and 294.
5. Read *Visaranty*=*upalabhyatē*.
6. *Kumārasambhavam* (Navayuga Prakasana, Delhi, 1966), *sarga* VII, verse 44.
7. *The Mahābhārata* (BORI, Poona, 1953), *Śāntiparvan*, App. 1, No. 26, lines 54-58.
8. *Śivapurāṇam* (Sri Venkateswara Press, Bombay), *Rudrasaṃhitā*, *khaṇḍa* 1, *adhyāya* 2, verse 17.
9. *Ibid.*, *adhyāya* 16, verse 48.
10. *Ibid.*, *adhyāya* 9, verse 28.
11. *Varāhapurāṇam* (Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1893), *adhyāya* 70, verses 44-45.
12. *Ibid.*, *adhyāya* 71, verse 5.
13. *Harivaṃśapurāṇam* (Sri Venkateswara Press, Bombay, 1893), *Vishṇuparva*, *adhyāya* 125, verse 31.
14. *Kālikāpurāṇam* (Chawkhamba Sanskrit Series, ed. by Visvanarayan Sastri, 1972), Chapter 9, verse 32.
15. *Ibid.*, verse 33.
16. *Ibid.*, Chapter 12, verse 38.
17. *Ibid.*, chapter 11, verse 51.
18. Cf. Hopkins : *Epic Mythology* (1915), pp. 102-03.
19. I am thankful to B. B. Lal, retired Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, for sending me the photographs of the image of Umā-Mahēśvara and of the inscription on the pedestal secured by him from Takayasu Higuchi. Higuchi was kind enough to send me a copy of the publication *Archaeological Survey of Kyoto University in Afghanistan—1970*. My thanks are also due to P. R. Srinivasan, S. Sankaranarayanan and V. S. Subrahmanian for some references and useful suggestions.

RELIGIOUS LEANINGS OF THE PALA KINGS OF EASTERN INDIA

D. C. SIRCAR

WE HAD OCCASION PREVIOUSLY to deal with the religious faith of the Chandra kings of Bengal¹. It is well known to the students of early Indian History that the Chandra dynasty professed Buddhism and that the Chandra kings are represented as *Paramasaugata* (devout Buddhist) in their charters which begin with a stanza in adoration of the Buddhist Trinity (viz., the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha) and bore the *Dharmachakra* seal indicating the turning of the Wheel of Law at Mṛigadāva (Sarnath)². It is also to be noted that they made their grants in the name of the Buddha-bhaṭṭāraka. However, we have shown that the latest two kings of the Chandra dynasty, viz., Laḍahachandra and Gōvindachandra, repudiated the religious policy of their forefathers, the former adopting Vaishṇavism and the latter Śaivism even though conventionally they may have sometimes been represented as *Paramasaugata*. Laḍahachandra issued his two Mainamati plates³ in the name of Viṣṇu bhaṭṭāraka, in favour of the god Laḍaha-Mādhava (a form of Viṣṇu) installed by himself while Gōvindachandra issued his Mainamati plate⁴ in the name of Śiva-bhaṭṭāraka, in favour of the god Nartēśvara (Dancing Śiva) worshipped by him. We have also drawn attention to the fact that Laḍahachandra visited, on pilgrimage, the Hindu *tīrthas* of Vārāṇasī and Prayāga and offered *tarpaṇa* to his ancestors and that, in this connection, the Buddhist holy spot of Mṛigadāva at Vārāṇasī has been passed over in silence.

Like the Chandras, the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar were Buddhists who were called *Paramasaugata* and used the *Dharma-*

chakra seal. However, historians have noted that they had regards for the *varṇ-āśrama* order of the Hindus and granted land in favour of the Hindu gods and Brāhmaṇas. The grants of Dēvapāla have, in the description of Dharmapāla, the passage—*varṇān pratishṭhāpayatā sva-dharmē*.⁵ The Khalimpur plate⁶ of Dharmapāla records a grant in favour of the god Nanna-Nārāyaṇa (a form of Viṣṇu) while the Manahali plate⁷ of Madanapāla was issued in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Vaṭēśvara-svāmin for reciting the *Mahābhārata* to the Pāla queen. That is why it is usually supposed that the Buddhists of Eastern India were considerably influenced by Hinduism during the age of the Pālas⁸. The matter is, however, not only this much because we now find that, like the Chandras, some of the Pāla kings also repudiated the Buddhist faith and adopted Śaivism.

An inscription, throwing light on the problem under study, was published about a century ago, though its full and proper implication was not quite clear to the historians⁹. It is the Bhagalpur plate¹⁰ of Nārāyaṇapāla (c. 855-910 A.D.), no other copper-plate grant of whom has as yet been discovered. It is interesting to note that the Bhagalpur plate does not describe Nārāyaṇapāla as a *Paramasaugata* while it was issued in the name of Śiva-bhaṭṭāraka and not Buddha-bhaṭṭāraka as in the case of the other Pāla grants. It is stated that the king himself caused the construction of a huge *sahasrāyatana* Śaiva temple at the village of Kalasapōta and granted the village of Mukutikā in the Kaksha-vishaya within the Tīrabhukti (modern Tirhut or North Bihar) in favour of the temple as well as the god Śiva installed therein and the Pāśupata Āchārya-parshad particularly for the repairs of the temple, worship of the god and maintenance and medical treatment of the *Āchāryas*. The above facts show that the Pāla king Nārāyaṇapāla had very strong Śaiva leanings and may have adopted Śaivism.

Recently a big stone inscription, discovered in the West Dinajpur District of West Bengal, has thrown considerable light on the religious faith of Nārāyaṇapāla's grandson's grandson Mahīpāla I (c. 990-1040 A. D.) and the latter's son Nayapāla (c. 1040-55 A. D.). I have read the inscription from a chalked photograph although the reading of a few words here and there cannot be decided from it. Unfortunately, inked impressions,

which are required for the proper decipherment and illustration of an inscription, are not easily available nowadays.

The new inscription shows that there was a large Śaiva religious establishment in North Bengal in the tenth century A. D. Its pontiff was *Āchārya* Vidyāśiva who was followed by his disciple Dharmaśiva and the latter's disciple Indraśiva. About this Indraśiva, the inscription says—

*Yasmai kāñchana-puñja-mañju-rachita-prāsāda-mēru-sphurat-
Kailāsābha-maṭhan=dadāv=iha Mahīpālō nṛipas=tattvavit/*

The passage says that the Pāla king Mahīpāla I dedicated a Kailāsa-like temple in favour of the Śaiva teacher. The same temple seems to be latter called the shrine of Bhavānī in which Śiva also resided. It appears that Mahīpāla I caused the temple to be built, and Indraśiva was made the head of the establishment. This fact no doubt proves Mahīpāla's Śaiva or Śaiva-Śākta leanings similar to those of his grandfather's grandfather Nārāyaṇapāla. In his copper-plate grants, however, Mahīpāla I is called *Paramasaugata* and is represented as making grants in the name of Buddha-bhaṭṭāraka;¹¹ but the records were issued in the early part of Mahīpāla's long reign covering about half a century, so that it is possible to think that the Pāla king became a devotee of Śiva and Śakti in the later years of his life. The inscription shows that Mahīpāla's son Nayapāla was a Śaiva.

Indraśiva's disciple was *Āchārya* Sarvaśiva about whom the inscription says—

*rājñah śrī-Nayapālasya gurus=tattvavidāṁ varah /
śrīmān Sarvaśivas=tasya śishyo'=bhūd=bhūshaṇam
bhuvaḥ //*

This verse says that the Śaiva teacher Sarvaśiva was the religious preceptor of the Pāla king Nayapāla.

The Tibetan tradition describing Nayapāla's struggle with the Chedi king Karṇa about 1042 A.D., i.e., about the beginning of the reign of both the kings, seems to represent the Pāla king as a Buddhist.¹² It is thus possible to think that even if Nayapāla was a Buddhist in the earlier part of his reign, he received initiation into the Śaiva *mantra* from Sarvaśiva afterwards.

About *Āchārya* Sarvaśiva, the inscription further says —

*yēn=āvarjita Gauda-rāja-gurutā-lakshmīr=nija-bhrātari
śrīman-Mūrtiśivē nivēśya vipin-āvāsaṁ svayaṁ vāñchata /*

Thus it is said that, in his old age, Sarvaśiva left his younger brother and disciple Mūrtiśiva in the position of the Gauḍa king's preceptor and went to the forest for penances. Nayapāla was, therefore, a disciple of Sarvaśiva; but Mūrtiśiva practically took his preceptor's place after the renunciation of the world by Sarvaśiva.

In this connection we have also to see whether one can argue that, during the age in question, religious life of the people was characterised by so much catholicity that it was possible to represent a person as the follower of different religions under different circumstances or on different occasions. We do not think it possible because often different members of the same royal family are represented in the same context as devotees of different deities so that such representation must have had some meaning to them. Thus in the Pushyabhūti family, Prabhākaravardhana was a *Paramādityabhakta*, his son Rājyavardhana a *Paramasaugata* and his younger brother Harsha a *Paramamāhēśvara*¹³. Likewise among the Gūrjara-Pratihāras, King Dēvaśakti was a worshipper of Viṣṇu, his son Vatsarāja a worshipper of Mahēśvara, his son Nāgabhaṭa a worshipper of Bhagavatī, his son Rāmabhadra a worshipper of the sun-god and his son Bhōja a worshipper of Bhagavatī.¹⁴ As for the kings of ancient Bengal, we may refer to the Irda plate in which two consecutive rulers of the Kambōja clan are represented, one as a *Paramasaugata* and the other as *Vāsudēva-pād-ābja-pūjā-nirata-mānasa*.¹⁵

The purpose of the inscription was to record a eulogy of Mūrtiśiva and the installation of his statue, apparently in the Śiva-Śakti temple mentioned above, for both of which Rūpaśiva, another disciple of Sarvaśiva and a close friend of Mūrtiśiva, was responsible. The construction of the image of a Śaiva teacher and its installation in a temple are not unknown in other parts of India; but the present inscription appears to offer an instance from Bengal probably for the first time.

Attention of scholars may be drawn to another important fact in this connection. The Śaiva teachers of the Mattamayūra community enjoyed great power and prestige in various parts of India—especially in the present Madhya Pradesh—during the period from the ninth to the thirteenth century A.D.¹⁶ They followed a religious system milder than that of

the communities known as Kāpālika, Kālāmukha, etc. The Mattamayūra teachers had names ending in the word *śiva* or *śambhu*; but the names of the teachers of the *atimārgika* schools ended with the words *rāśi*, *śakti* and *jīya*. As regards Bengal's relations with the Śaiva teachers of the milder schools we so long knew only of Viśvēśvaraśiva or Viśvēśvaraśambhu, who was an inhabitant of the village of Pūrvagrāma in Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha.¹⁷ He was the religious preceptor of many kings including Kākatīya Gaṇapati (1199-1260 A.D.) and founded a huge Śaiva establishment called Viśvēśvara-gōlakī on the southern bank of the Kṛishṇā river after receiving some village from the Kākatīya king and his daughter and successor Rudrāmbā (1260-91 A.D.).¹⁸ From the eulogy under study, we learn that the milder school of Śaiva teachers with names ending in *śiva* enjoyed great influence in North Bengal during the tenth century A.D.

Notes :

- 1 See Sircar, *Studies in the Religious Life in Ancient and Medieval India*, pp. 51 ff.
2. N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 1 ff.
3. Sircar, *Epigraphical Discoveries in East Pakistan*, pp. 45 ff., 69 ff.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 49 ff., 77 ff.
5. See verse 5 of the Monghyr and Nalanda plates (Maitreya, *Gauḍalekhamālā* p. 36; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 319).
6. Maitreya, *op. cit.*, pp. 9 ff.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 147 ff.
8. Sircar, *Religious Life*, etc., pp. 186 ff.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 187.
10. Maitreya, *op. cit.*, pp. 54 ff.
11. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 324 ff.; Vol. XXIX, pp. 1 ff.
12. *Hist. Beng.*, Vol. I, ed. Majumdar, pp. 144-45.
13. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 75-76.
14. Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions, No. 25.
15. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 155.
16. J. N. Banerjea, *Purāṇic and Tāntric Religion*, pp. 104 ff.
17. Sircar, *Stud. Rel. L. Anc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 156 ff.
18. *Journ. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc.*, Vol. IV, pp. 152 ff.

WAS PURĪ EVER A CAPITAL OF THE NORTHERN ŚILĀHĀRAS?

V. V. MIRASHI

THE MOST ANCIENT CAPITAL of North Koṅkaṇ was probably Śūrpāraka, modern Sopārā in the Thāṇā District. The lexicon *Vaijayantī* says that the Śūrpāraka country formed an important part of Aparānta or North Koṅkaṇ¹. Some rock edicts of Aśoka have been found there. The Traikūṭakas, who rose to power in the third century A.D., had their capital at Aniruddhapura. Hultzsch identified this place with Śūrpāraka² but this view seems to be untenable. Aniruddhapura, as I have shown elsewhere³, seems to have been situated somewhere in South Gujarat. The Mauryas, who succeeded the Traikūṭakas in North Koṅkaṇ, made Purī the capital. This is indicated by the Aihole inscription of Pulakēśin II,⁴ which describes graphically the storming of it by that Chalukya Emperor. It is described in that record as 'the Goddess of Fortune of the Western Ocean'. It seems that, as a result of the prosperous condition of Purī in that age, North Koṅkaṇ in which it was situated came to be known as *Purī-Koṅkaṇa*.

Purī has not yet been definitely identified. Since it has been described as a *dvīpa* or island, it is suggested that it was identical with Ghārāpurī or the Elephanta island near Bombay. The island is, however, too small to be the flourishing capital of a large kingdom like that of the Mauryas, and is not easily accessible for some part of the year. Hiranand Sastri tried to support the identification by reading an inscription on a copper-pot discovered at Ghārāpurī as *Śrī-Purī-vishayē-tra*⁵, but the correct reading appears to be *Śrī-Purī-vinirgata*, which points to a different conclusion. Another identification of Purī

suggested is that it is identical with Rājapurī near Janjirā⁶. Some copper plates of the Śilāhāras have, no doubt, been found nearby⁷ but Rājapurī is situated near the southern end of the kingdom of the Śilāhāras and not in its centre as a capital is expected to be for the convenience of the people. So Purī, if it was a capital of the Northern Śilāhāras, must have been situated in the Ṭhāṇā District. Cousens proposed to identify it with a site, about a mile north of Mārol village in the island of Salsette.⁸ He has shown that there are ruins of several ancient buildings in its vicinity. "The island is literally sea-girt, but at the same time the north and north-east sides are not so far separated from the mainland as to have made it difficult for the Śilāhāras to have transported their troops one way or the other."⁹ However, we have not so far had any definite inscriptional evidence to support this identification. The location of Purī must, therefore, be left for future research.

This Purī is supposed by several scholars to have been one of the capitals of the Northern Śilāhāras. Thus, Rev. Nairne, who first attempted to write the history of the Northern Śilāhāras, says,¹⁰ "The Ṭhāṇā Śilāhāras seem to have held the greater part of the present districts of Ṭhāṇā and Kolābā. Their capital seems to have been Purī". Fleet also, writing about the Northern Śilāhāras, says,¹¹ "Their capital was a town named Purī, which is doubtless identical with the Purī of the Mauryas of the Koṅkaṇ that is mentioned in the Aihole inscription of A. D. 634-35." Altekar, who last wrote on the Śilāhāras, says,¹² "Documents of their contemporaries describe the Northern Śilāhāras as rulers of Ṭhāṇā. Ṭhāṇā was, therefore, the main capital. They had a subsidiary capital at a place called Purī, which is not yet possible to identify satisfactorily."

The evidence on which this view is based is not difficult to find, though it is nowhere explicitly stated. The earliest record of these Śilāhāras, the Kānherī Cave inscription dated Śaka 765,¹³ describes the second king of the line, viz., Pullaśakti as ruling over the whole Koṅkaṇ country headed by Purī. So Purī was supposed to be the most important city or the capital of his country. Another mention of Purī as the capital of the Northern Śilāhāras was detected by Altekar in the description of the invention of the Śilāhāra

kingdom by the Later Chālukya prince Satyāśraya. Says he,¹⁴ "The Canarese poet Ranna claims that his patron Satyāśraya had routed the Lord of Koṅkaṇ and extended his kingdom as far as the sea. Aparājita fled to his sea capital, Purī." Ranna describes his plight graphically, "Hemmed in by the ocean on one side and the sea of Satyāśraya's army on the other, Aparājita trembled like an insect on a stick, both the ends of which were on fire." This description also states explicitly that Purī was a capital of the Northern Śilāhāras.

But this evidence is inconclusive. The expression *Purī-Koṅkaṇa* was used to designate North Koṅkaṇ as distinguished from South Koṅkaṇ, which was known as *Sapta-Koṅkaṇa*. Koṅkaṇa was also known as *Kapardi-dvīpa* or *Kavaḍi-dvīpa* being so named after Kapardin I, the founder of the Northern Śilāhāra branch. It was also known as Koṅkaṇa containing fourteen hundred villages. The expression *Purī-Koṅkaṇa* or *Purī-prabhṛiti-Koṅkaṇa*, therefore, does signify that Purī was a capital, if not the capital, of that Koṅkaṇ.

But then it may be asked, how is it that Ranna, while describing the campaign of Satyāśraya against Aparājita, describes the Śilāhāra king as taking shelter in his sea capital Purī? The answer is that Ranna has made no such statement. I cite below a passage from R. Narasimhachar's article in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XL, p. 42.—About Satyāśraya, Ranna says, "By order of Tailapa, he (*i.e.*, Satyāśraya), seated on an elephant, marched against the Gurjara army and defeated it. He also routed the lord of Koṅkaṇ and extended the kingdom as far as the sea . . . When Aparājita, seized with fear, fled and entered the sea, he desisted from slaying him, since it is not consistent with true valour to kill men who embrace a *liṅga*, enter water, put on a woman's garments or ascend an ant-hill. Hemmed in by the ocean on one side and the sea of Satyāśraya's army on the other, Aparājita trembled like an insect on a stick, both ends of which are on fire." In this passage Narasimhachar seems have to given a literal translation of Ranna's original Kannaḍa description. There is no mention of Purī here as the place where Aparājita took shelter. Like Sōmēśvara of a later age, Aparājita seems to have taken shelter in the sea. Ranna, therefore, says nothing about Purī being the second capital of the Northern Śilāhāras.

Again, if Purī had been even a subsidiary capital of the Northern Śilāhāras there would have been references to it in at least some of their records even as we find references to some subsidiary capitals in the records of the Kolhāpur Śilāhāras. But in none of the forty inscriptions of the Northern Śilāhāras that have been discovered so far, is there even a single reference to Purī as the place of royal residence at the time. Where references to Purī as the place of royal residence occur, it is invariably Sthānaka (modern Ṭhāṇā) that is mentioned. See, eg., the Janjira plates¹⁵ (Set II) of Aparājita, line 59; the Bhādāna grant¹⁶ of the same king, line 44, etc. When the Northern Śilāhāras are referred to in the records of other contemporary kings, they are invariably mentioned as rulers of Sthānaka or Ṭhāṇeya. See, eg., line 17 of the Kaśelī grant of Bhōja II of Kōlhāpur.¹⁷ While describing the visit of the Kadamba king Shashṭhadēva to the court of the Śilāhāra king Mummuṇi, the Narēndra inscription¹⁸ refers to the latter as 'the ruler of the famous Ṭhāṇeya,' No where in the contemporary records do we get any reference to Purī even as a subsidiary capital of the Northern Śilāhāras.

There is only a single reference to Purī in the records of the Northern Śilāhāras. The Ṭhāṇā plates of Mummuṇi,¹⁹ dated Śaka 970, mention Purī as the place of residence of a Brāhmaṇa douee in line 152. There is no reference to its being a capital or a place of royal residence. It shows that the place continued to exist in the age of the Śilāhāras, but it had lost all its past glory.

Notes :

1. See *Aparāntā* = *stu pāśchātyās = tē cha Śūrpārak - ādayaḥ* | *Vaijayanti* cited by Mallinātha on *Raghu.*, IV, 13.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, pp. 219 f.
3. *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 27.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 1 f.
5. *A Guide to Elephanta* by Hirananda Sastri, p. 22.
6. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Fourth Session, pp. 86 f.
7. *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, Vol. I, pp. 35 f.
8. *Mediaeval Temples of the Deccan*, pp. 79 f.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 81.
10. *Bom. Gaz.* (old ed.), Vol. I, parr ii, p. 16.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 540-41.
12. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. II, p. 418.
13. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 133 f.
14. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. II, p. 406.

15. *Important Inscriptions* etc., Vol. I, pp. 35 f.
16. *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 267 f.
17. *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, Vol. III, pp. 393 f.
18. *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 310,
19. This inscription is awaiting publication in *Ep.Ind.*

HONNUDIKE INSCRIPTION OF ŚRĪPURUSHA

LAKSHMINARAYANA RAO

A FEW MONTHS AGO, A YOUNG RELATIVE OF MINE, H. S. Gopala Rao, Proprietor, Vidya printers, Nelamangala, Bangalore District brought me a photograph of a stone inscription which he found at a place called Jalagāradibba, $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the village of Honnuḍike, Tumkur Taluk. This village is about 12 miles distant from the district town of Tumkur, Karnataka State. Though the last line of the inscription has not come out quite well in the photograph, I found it to be an interesting record, as it is an early inscription of the reign of Śrīpurusha of the Western Gaṅga dynasty of Talakāḍ.

The characters of the record are quite well formed and are regular for the period (i. e., 8th century A. D.) to which they belong as we know that King Śrīpurusha, to whose reign the record refers itself, ruled during 726-788 A. D.¹ We may note that both the regular and cursive forms of *l* are found in the record. The regular form is found, for example, in the word *vēḷvalli* (line 4) and the cursive form in the word *salguṁ* (line 6). The language of the whole record is Kannaḍa. The honorific plural in the word *Eṇeyappōr* (line 3) is noteworthy, as also the expression *kiṇu-tande* (line 2) for the father's younger brother. As regards orthography the use of *v* in the place of *b* may be noted in *vēḷvalli* for *bēḷvalli*, *bēḷ* meaning "to offer in the sacrificial fire", and *vappa* for *bappa*.

The inscription opens with the statement that Śrīpurusha-Mahārāja was ruling over the Koṅgeṇi kingdom, i. e., the Western Gaṅga territory. During his reign his father's younger brother named Śivamāra-Eṇeyappōr made a gift to the goddess of Ponni-

ḍuki of all the gold that was levied for making sacrificial offerings at the time of the harvest. Then follows an imprecatory passage against those who destroy the gift. This is followed by a benediction on those who protect the gift. At the end is given a list of the guilds, other organizations and citizens who are the witnesses to this grant. It bears no date.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it brings to light a hitherto unknown prince of the Gaṅga dynasty of Talakāḍ, named Śivamāra-Eṇeyappōr, who is described as the *kiru-tande* of King Śrīpurusha. As we know of only one Śrīpurusha of the Gaṅga family, the king mentioned here must be regarded as the same as the Gaṅga king Śrīpurusha. The fact that his own uncle was holding a subordinate position under him indicates that Śrīpurusha succeeded to the Gaṅga throne, evidently because Śrīpurusha was the son of the eldest among his father's brothers. Consequently Śivamāra-Eṇeyappōr had to be contended with a subordinate position under his own nephew. But that he held a very important position is evident from the fact that he had the power to make gifts of certain levies collected by the state as seen from the levy of gold mentioned in this epigraph. As the inscription states that out of what was received at the time of making sacrificial offerings, all that was gold was to form the gift, it may be surmised that there were other levies in kind collected by the state on occasions like harvests.

The title or surname *Eṇeyappa* seems to have been common among the Gaṅga rulers. Besides Śivamāra-Eṇeyappōr (the uncle of the king Śrīpurusha) mentioned in this record, we know of Durvinīta Eṇeyappōr, a prince of the Koṅguṇi (Gaṅga) family, who was a subordinate of the Chalukya king Vijayāditya. He is mentioned in a record of the 35th year of this king i.e., A.D. 730.² Śrīpurusha's own son Duggamāra-Eṇeyappar, who was ruling Kuvaḷālanāḍu-300, the Gaṅga-6000, Panne-nāḍu, Beḷattūr-nāḍu, the Pulvani-nāḍu-1000, and one or two other divisions under his father, is also another prince bearing this surname³. He also figures as a subordinate (probably) of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Dhruva; and Duggamāra-Eṇeyappa's territory extended from Nariyanūru to the Kirudoṇṇe.⁴ His name occurs also in the Salem plates of Śrīpurusha of A. D. 771.⁵ Śrīpurusha's grandson, Mārasiṅga Eṇeyappa was yet another member of this family who had this surname.⁶ Later we have another Eṇeyappa who ruled

the Gaṅga kingdom from A.D. 886 to 919.

The only two places, the names of which can be read with certainty in the epigraph, are Vāraṇāsi and Ponniḍuki. Vāraṇāsi is too well known to need any identification. Ponniḍuki is evidently the village Honnuḍike near which the inscription was discovered. As its name indicates it may have been a place containing deposits of gold. This surmise is strengthened by the fact that the find-spot of the inscription is called Jalagāradibba, and we know that *jalagāras* are a class of professionals who obtain particles of gold by washing the sand and earth (containing gold dust) in flowing rain water or in a stream.

TEXT

1. ...⁷Śrīpuruṣa-mahārājar Koṅgeṇi rā-
2. [jyaṁ ge]ye avarā kiṇu-tandeyar
3. Śivamāra-Eṇeyappōr-Ponniḍukiya Bhaṭṭarakige
4. suggiyuḷ-vēḷvalli vappa ponn-ādad-ellaṁ
koṭṭar-idān-a-
5. ḷivōr-Vāraṇāsiyā sāsirvvar-pārvvaruṁ sāsira
kavileyuṁ konda rī-
6. [tiy]-akkuṁ kādoḍ-ēḷun-tale abhivṛiddhi salguṁ
nālvadinvaruṁ
7. [paḷḷi]yuṁ...vaḷiyā mahājanamuṁ prajeyuṁ
nakki⁸ śāsana
8. ...vaḷi vandu ī enebaruṁ puyya.....ṛivanu

TRANSLATION

Lines 1 to 4 : Hail ! While Śrīpuruṣa-Mahārāja was ruling over the Koṅgeṇi kingdom, his younger uncle (i.e., his father's younger brother, named Śivamāra-Eṇeyappōr granted to the goddess of Ponniḍuki that which was in the form of gold (out of all the income that was) received at the time of making sacrificial offerings during the harvest.

Lines 4 to 7 : Those who destroy this will be following the path of those who kill one thousand Brahmins, and one thousand tawny cows at Vāraṇāsi. If the gift is protected, prosperity will accrue to the (protector's) progeny for seven generations. The (guild) of forty, the Nakara (merchants).....*Mahājanas* ofthe citizens are the witnesses to this.

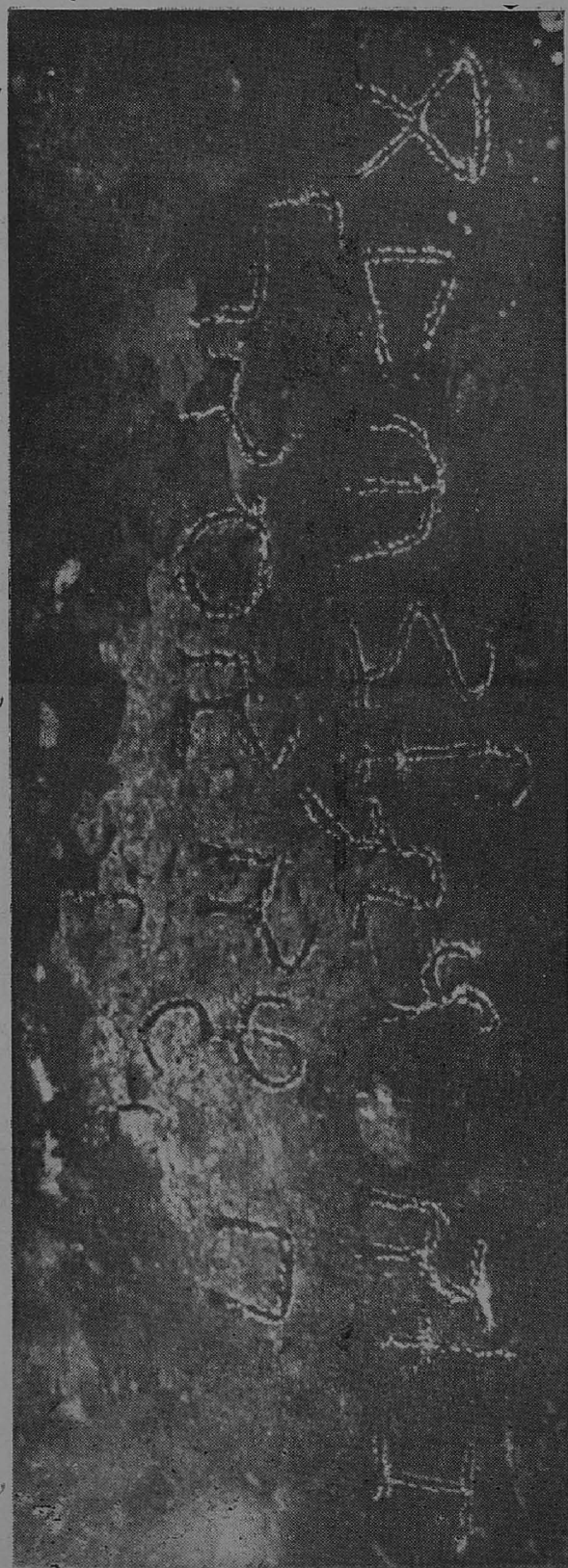
Line 8 : This line is damaged and has not come out clearly in the photograph. The only thing that is clear is *ī enebaru* which means “all these persons mentioned above”.

Notes :

1. *Karṇāṭakada Arasumanetanagaḷu* by N. Lakshminarayana Rao & R. S. Panchamukhi, p.153.
2. *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXX, pp. 288-89.
3. Rice, *Mysore & Coorg from Inscriptions*, pp. 39-40.
4. *A. R. S. I. E.*, 1939-40 to 42-43, p. 235, para 22.
5. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVII, p. 151.
6. Rice, *Mysore & Coorg from Inscriptions*, p. 42.
7. Two letters which seem to have been engraved before *śrī* are damaged and have not come out in the photograph. Apparently these letters were as usual *svasti*.
8. Probably a scribal error for *sākki*, which is Kannada for *sākshi*.



Honnuḍike Inscription of Śripurusha



Lake Inscription from Kanheri

LAKE
INSCRIPTION FROM
KANHERI

Mrs. SHOBHANA GOKHALE

KANHERI IS 9.6 KMS. FROM BORIVALI, the suburb of Metropolitan Bombay. The cluster of Kanheri caves is important in ancient Indian architectural history. It is especially noteworthy for its inscriptions which provide a mine of information regarding the life of Buddhist monks at Kanheri. The credit of the publication of the first inscription from Kanheri goes to Bird, who published eye-copies of 28 inscriptions in 1847.¹ Some attempts were made by Stevenson.² E. West³ in 1861 prepared eye-copies of nearly all the inscriptions and published the gist of almost all records. A few inscriptions were published by Bühler⁴ in 1883. The contents and short translations of those inscriptions appeared in the Bombay Gazetteer.⁵ But the stock of information offered by these inscriptions remained yet to be interpreted. In 1942 the late M. G. Dikshit⁶ in his thesis on the Buddhist settlements of Western India tried to study the Kanheri inscriptions once again with better readings but unfortunately his thesis has remained unpublished till today.

The present inscription is engraved on a detached rock standing between cave Nos. 21 and 22. The stone slab having the dressed portion where the inscription is engraved, measures 1.10 m. x 1.25 m. The sides of this detached boulder have remained vertical till today. This definitely indicates that it has not been moved since the inscription was cut. The stone is not far away from the remains of the ancient stone wall across the *nulla* which flows only in rainy season from the nearby catchment area at the foot of the hill. Across the *nulla* there are remains of an ancient stone wall which measures 32 m. x 2.75 m. x 4 m. In the broken wall

there is a conduit excavated in the rock which measures 7 m. x 7.5 m. x 1 m.

The inscription, which consists of three lines is deeply cut and distinct, but the major portion of the first line and a part of the second have peeled off.

Letters: Each individual letter measuring about 0.8 cm. x 0.1 cm. is boldly and neatly engraved but some of them are severely damaged.

Characters: The alphabets employed in the inscription under study decidedly belong to the middle of the 2nd century A. D. The characters resemble very closely those of the inscriptions from Nasik⁷ of the Sātavāhana king Vāsishṭhīputra Puṣumāvi (133-62 A. D.) and generally those of the Karle records of the time of Vāsishṭhīputra Puṣumāvi. It is noteworthy that the characters show South Indian influence.

Language: The language of the inscription is Prakrit and calls for no special remarks.

Orthography: There is not much that calls for special notice in the script. There is no case of reduplication of consonants or the use of conjuncts. The letter 'ka' denotes elongate form. The looped type 'ta' which is occasionally noticed in the Sātavāhana epigraphs is found. The flat-based 'pa' and 'ma', triangular 'da' and 'dha' clearly indicate the Southern influence.

As for the object of the inscription it records the construction of a reservoir by Sethi Puṇaka.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it offers the earliest evidence for dam construction in Maharashtra. At Kanheri there is a suitable catchment area behind the Kṛishṇagiri mountain. Almost every cell contains a 'poḍhi' where rain-water from the top of the hill is collected. One of the inscriptions at Kanheri refers to the fields around Kanheri which were under cultivation for the maintenance of Buddhist monks. The present inscription indicates that the poḍhis in the caves were sufficient for the occupants of the cells and that the dam was constructed across the nulla and the collected water was utilized for the watering of nearby fields. It is interesting to note in this connection that the Jangli Gundu inscription, which is assigned to Śrī Puṣumāvi, records the sinking of a reservoir. The inscribed rock⁸ lies midway between the villages Myākadoni and Chinnakaḍabūru, Bellary district (Karnataka). The reservoir was sunk by a householder in

Puṣumāvi's 8th regnal year.

It is well-known that the matrimonial relations between the Sātavāhanas and the Kshatrapas, which are recorded in one of the inscriptions at Kanheri, promoted cultural relations and they are reflected in various branches, such as the Sātavāhana coinage. One of the inscriptions at Kanheri, records the dedication of a cave by some merchant of Chemulya. The inscription mentions the gift of a village called 'Śakapadra'. It, therefore, seems that there must have been a colony of Śakas near Kanheri. But it is difficult to say anything about their role in the cultural activities at Kanheri.

In ancient India the Achaemenian tradition made a deep impact on the Mauryan architecture, but so far as dam construction is concerned, it seems have depended on the indigenous skill. The famous dam at Junagaḍh⁹ was constructed during the reign of Chandragupta. It was adorned with conduits during the reign of Aśōka when Yavana Tushāspa was the Governor of Sāurashrṭa. One is tempted to grant the credit for that engineering feat to this Śaka Governor who might have travelled even upto Kanheri. But it is to be noted that the principle of inletting and outletting the excess water and building of embankments was known even to the Indus people and the people of Lothal¹⁰. It can, therefore, be said that the engineering technique of dam construction was known in Maharashtra in the early parts of the 2nd century A.D.

The name of the donor of the present inscription is Seṭhi Puṇaka (from Sopara). The name Puṇaka is significant in the history of Buddhist legends. Pūrṇa was a chief merchant of Sopara. He was so affected by hearing Buddhist hymns that he determined to become a follower of the Buddha. He soon rose to a high place among the Buddha's followers. He asked leave of the master to preach law in Aparānta. The Buddha reminded him how fierce and cruel the people there were. He persisted and his quiet fearlessness disarmed the wild men of Aparānta. Numbers became converts and monasteries were built and flourished. Shortly after, Pūrṇa's brother and some merchants from Śrāvastī, on the point of shipwreck off the Malabar coast, called on Pūrṇa to help them and he, appearing in their midst, calmed the storm. On reaching Sopara they built a Buddhist temple with their cargo of sandalwood and its opening was honoured by the presence of

Gautama.

The present inscription records the name of Puṇaka who hailed from Sopara. Today actually the word 'Sopāraka' is not seen on the stone slab but 30 years ago the late Dikshit read these letters. It is most surprising to find out the parallel evidence of the Buddhist legend in the inscription. The Buddhist legend and the inscription have four common things viz., (1) the name 'Pūrṇa', 'Puṇaka', (2) both are traders i.e., 'śrēṣṭhis', (3) both hailed from Sopara and (4) both the personalities took active part in the architectural activities at Kanheri. On the basis of this parallel evidence the Buddhist legend could be clearly seen in its historical perspective. It is well known that Buddhism never spread in Aparānta during the life-time of the Buddha. Buddhism had its first footing in Aparānta during the reign of King Aśoka. In this instance there is the possibility that in the story of 'Puṇaka' the meeting of Puṇaka and the Buddha may be the legendary part.

The same story of 'Puṇaka' occurs¹¹ in the *Avadānakalpalatā* of the Kāśmīri poet Kshēmendra.

It may, therefore, be said that 'Puṇaka' flourished at Sopara in the middle of the 2nd century A.D. as the inscription records but that he was committed to writing in the middle of the eleventh century A.D.

TEXT

1.
2. patisa sēthisa Pu-
3. ṇakasa talāka dēya dhama

Notes :

1. Bird J. — *Historical Researches on the origin and principles of the Buddha and Jaina Religions*, Bombay, 1847.
2. Stevenson J. — *JBBRAS.*, Vol. V, 1857, pp. 1-34.
3. West E. — *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, 1862, pp. 1-14.
4. Bühler G. — *Archaeological Survey of W. India*, Vol. V.
5. *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. 14, p. 25.
6. Dikshit M. G. — *Buddhist Settlements of W. India* (Thesis submitted to the University of Bombay, 1942).
7. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII p. 61 ; Vol. VIII, p. 90.
8. *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 155.

9. *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 36.
10. Rao S. R. — *Lothal and the Indus Civilization*, p. 17
11. Vaidya P. L. — *Avadānakalpalatā*, Darbhanga, 1959, Vol. I, pp. 233-238.

BRĀHMĪ SCRIPT IN TAMILNĀḌU

K. G. KRISHNAN

NUMEROUS INSCRIPTIONS ENGRAVED in Brāhmī characters of three early centuries before and after the Christian Era are found in the caves and caverns in the southern districts of TamilNāḍu¹. The structure of the texts of these Brāhmī inscriptions and also the alphabet employed in them clearly suggest that the language of the records is Tamil, though the influence of Prakrit on them cannot be denied. There are a few letters of the alphabet like *ḷ*, *ḻ*, *ṛ* and *ṛ* not to be met with in their counterparts occurring in North India. Similarly the *varga* letters like *kh*, *g*, *gh*, etc., are generally absent except *s*, *ś* and *dh*. The Arikamēḍu graffiti have yielded a few Prakrit inscriptions having some of these *varga* letters². Even these few letters are not met with in later inscriptions among the cave records. This seems to indicate that an attempt was made to eliminate gradually such of the letters of the alphabet which do not belong to the Tamil alphabet. The significance of this development should not be lost sight of, as it is echoed in the most ancient Tamil grammatical work *Tolkāppiyam*. A *sūtra* in *Cholladikāram* of that treatise reading as follows :

Vaḍa-śoṛ-kiḷavi vaḍav-eḷutt-orī

eḷuttoḍu puṇarnda śoll-āgummē (No. 401)

defines the class of words called 'expressions (containing) northern words' as those that had assimilated (Tamil) letters. The context of this *sūtra* placed as the fourth among the four classes of words under use in Tamil literary tradition such as *iyar-chol* (natural words), *tiriśol* (modified words), *tiśaichchol* (words from border areas) and *vaḍaśol* (words from the north) indicates that this *sūtra* is meant for defining the Tamil words adopted from Sanskrit.

Nachchiṇārkkīṇiyar, one of the commentators, defines *vaḍav-eḷuttu* as those that are pronounced by giving a heavy accent (*urappiyam* as in *kh*, *ṭh* etc.), light but raised accent (*ēḍuttum* as in *g*, *ḍ*, etc.), and heavy but relaxed accent (*kaṇaittum* as in *gh*, *ḍh*, etc.). The *sūtra* refers to the elimination of these letters. But the example cited by all the commentators such as *vāri*, *kunkumam*, *Mēru*, *maṇi*, etc., fall short of the purport of this *sūtra*³. The relevant examples should be only those words which have sounds peculiar to Sanskrit but not present in Tamil⁴ and which are adopted in Tamil by substituting them with the first surd of the *varga* or any other letter which was considered to be the nearest to the original in Sanskrit, e. g., *mukha* of Sanskrit being written only as *mukam* substituting *k* for *kh*. This is the process which involves the elimination of the Sanskrit *kh* and the writing of *k* in its place, which is common for both. Some other examples like Skt. *pāda* as Tamil *pāta*, *añjana* as *añchana*, *āhuti* as *āvuti*, etc., fall under this category.

The next *sūtra* (No. 402) running as follows :

‘*Chidaindaṇa variṇum iyaindaṇa varaiyār*’ states that poets or authors do not exclude words which are agreeable, though they contain sounds in a modified, broken or corrupt form. Commentators have given the following examples to illustrate this : *aramiyam* (*ramyam*), *Irāmaṇ* (*Rāma*), *mēdāi* (*mēdhā*), *charumam* (*charma*), *sūttira* (*sūtra*), *śiṅgam* (*siṃha*), etc. They have given *āṇai* (*ājñā*), *Kaṇṇaṇ* (*Kanha*), etc., as examples from Prakrit as covered by this *sūtra*.

The Brāhmī inscriptions referred to above contain words which will serve as examples illustrating the process defined in the two *sūtras*. They are *nikama* (*nigama*), *tāṇa* (*sthāna*) and *atiṭāṇam* (*adhishṭhāna*) covered by the *sūtra* no. 401 and *āchiriya* (*āchārya*), and *upāchaṇ* (*upāsaka*) covered by the next *sūtra*.⁵ Thus we find that at a particular stage in the process of writing, the elimination of the letters of the northern alphabet which are not present in the Tamil language took place before the times of *Tolkāppiyam*.

Another aspect of Brāhmī script in TamilNāḍu is the bearing that the letter *m* has on the evolution of the script. This letter is written by forming a horse-shoe shaped letter with a straight cross-bar connecting the two arms on the upper half. But the Brāhmī inscriptions in the north present a form which is made up of a circle and a semi-circular form, the base of which touches the top

of the circle. The two merge in such a way that the arc form is not lost⁶. The difference is vital to the consideration of the evolution of the script. This letter alone is sufficient to prove that the two forms might have had independent evolution. Their apparent similarity is not supported by the possible ducts of writing in so far as their evolution is concerned. It is, therefore, possible that both these forms were derived from an earlier one at which stage the additional letters such as *n*, *!*, *!* were also formed. This horse-shoe shaped *m* evolved later into the Tamil and Vaṭṭeḷuttu *m* in which the cross-bar became a short bar on the upper half of the right arm and later changed into an inward turning curve from the top of the right arm. It is clear that Kannaḍa and Telugu *m* had nothing to do with this shoe-shaped *m* but that they were evolved from the Aśōkan *m* by tilting it to the right. The Grantha *m* also was derived from the Aśōkan form but by a change in the duct of writing. The upper right arm could have begun the letter, running down along the left and then turning to the right. This possible development has made it different from the Kannaḍa and Telugu forms, though all the three were evolved from the same source.

Tolkāppiyam contains a *sūtra* (no. 14) in its section of *Eḷutta-dikārm* reading as follows :

uṭ-peṟu pulḷi-uruv-āgummē

i.e., a dot inserted inside will become the form (of this letter). Nachchiṇārkkīṇiyar has commented on this rule to say that this deals with the form of the letter *m* as distinguished from *p* and that this *sūtra* is placed here on account of the context where the previous *sūtra* deals with one aspect of the sound value of *m*. It is difficult to agree with the commentator when he suggests indirectly that the insertion of a dot distinguishes *m* and *p* which will be otherwise alike. The former is written by drawing a vertical line with an upward hook added to its right at the bottom. The Brāhmī *m* in the North is totally dissimilar to this, while its counterpart in the South is a horse-shoe shaped letter with a cross-bar connecting the two arms. It is different from *pa* by virtue of the hook at the base being lengthened upwards. It is well known that this lengthening of the right arm upwards happened in the case of *p* in Tamil Nāḍu sometime about the 3rd century A.D. and is met with in the Arachchalūr inscription.⁷ But the cross bar for *m* was already there thus obviating the need for distinguishing *m*

from *p*. We may, of course, agree with the commentator that this deals with the form of *m* for which, even as he says in his gloss, the dot for *m* put inside is an integral part and is different from the dot to be put outside this as well as other consonants as defined in the next *sūtra* (No. 15). It is, therefore, possible that the dot put inside *m* was actually made into a dash resulting in a crossbar. It is well known that dots were rarely used on stones or copper and in such rare cases we find that the dot is shown as a short vertical or zigzag line above the letter.⁸

The *sūtra* no. 14 discussed above is considered by a few scholars to be concerned with the form of *makarak-kuṟukkam* i.e., shortened *m*.⁹ But it should be noted that we get the confirmation of all the other letters specified by Tolkāppiyar to have dots such as pure consonants, short vowels *e* and *o* in the Iruḷappattī (Pāppāmbāḍi) hero-stone inscriptions¹⁰ and the Madurai Vaigai river bed inscription of Śēndaṇṇ.¹¹ It is possible that the short *e* and *o* were the only two vowels required to be distinguished among the vowels of which the letters *i* and *ī* are dots by themselves and *a* and *u* are basic to the systems of any Indian alphabet. If some scholars consider that the dot is intended to be used to denote the short *mātrā* of the sound, the question of *a*, *i* and *u* having no dots will remain to be explained. Therefore, as explained above, the dot for the letter *m* to be put inside is an integral part of it and hence Tolkāppiyar prefaced this *sūtra* to the one which specifies the general characteristic of a dot over all the pure consonants. This use of a dot is germane to the system of the alphabet described by Tolkāppiyar. But we do not find the use of dots over the southern Brāhmī inscriptions probably due to the non-observance of the practice on the rugged undressed surface on which they were engraved. We meet, of course, with the initial attempt to write the pure consonants and the vowel *a* attached to it alongside instead of using the dot or dispensing with it¹². It seems that this may have to be dismissed as a stray attempt not to be considered seriously for the purpose of delineating the evolution of the alphabet. For, one would expect the dots to have been used in this case on the pure consonant even when the vowel sign *a* is written immediately alongside. The incongruity of this practice is clear also if we note that this is not done in the case of consonants with the other medial vowels such as *ā*, *ē*, etc.

The considerations detailed above may lead us to think that, in

the early times in the history of writing, the Brāhmī script which was current in India had a group of letters consisting of nine vowels (*a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, ē, ai* and *ō*) and fourteen consonants (*k, ṇ, ch, ñ, ṭ, ṇ, t, n, p, m, y, r, l* and *v*) common to all the areas irrespective of the language for which they were used. The additional letters such as the 15 aspirated letters and 4 letters (*s, ś, sh*, and *h*) in the case of the Northern alphabets, and 4 letters (*ḷ, ḻ, ṛ, ṟ* and *ṡ*) in the case of the Dravidian alphabets have been specially devised to serve the respective languages that used those alphabets. It will be seen that the forms of the 15 *varga* letters cannot all be derived from their primary letters, in spite of Bühler's sagacious attempts to connect them from the point of view of orthography and etymology but without considering their places of birth. In the case of the four letters used for Tamil referred to above only two letters *ḷ* and *ṛ* cannot be connected to their counterparts having the same place of birth. This seems to indicate that the additional letters in respect of both the alphabets were borrowed from a different source which remains to be explored.

Notes :

1. Mahadevan I, *Corpus of Tamil Brāhmī Inscriptions*, in *Seminar on Inscriptions*, Madras, 1966.
2. *Ancient India*, No. 2. An Indo-Roman Trading Station on the East Coast of India, section p. Inscribed Postsherds, pp. 109 ff.
3. Subrahmanya Sastri, P. S. *Tolkāppiyam-Collatikāram* with an English commentary, p. 249, where the statements of all the commentators are summarised.
4. Some of these sounds were present in speech form. See *Indo-Iranian Journal*, Vol. XIV, No. 314(1972)—“convertibility of Surds and Sonants—Historical Evidence”, pp. 239-46.
5. Mahadevan, *op. cit.*, nos. 1, 3, 6, 8, 17, 27, etc.
6. *Ancient India*, No. 2, see fig, 45, p. 110, where one of the Śittannavāśal forms looking like Aśōkan form should be considered as a freak occurrence. The Māmaṇḍūr form belongs to a later age.
7. *A. R. Ep.*, 1961-62, B No. 280 and plate.
8. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 135; *S. I. I.* Vol. II, plate facing p. 509.
9. Venkatarajulu Reddiyar V. *Tolkāppiyam, Eḷuttadikaravārāychechi*, 1944, pp. 18-20; Meenakshisundaram, T. P., “Is the Tamil alphabet system an adaptation?”—*Journal of Tamil Studies*, Dec. 1972, pp. 10-12.
10. *Damilica*, Vol. I, pp. 92 ff. and plate No. 26.
11. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 27 ff. and plate.
12. Mahadevan, *op. cit.*, Nos. 1 and 2.

SUGH TERRACOTTA PLAQUE

B. Ch. CHHABRA

THE TINY TERRACOTTA TOY that forms the subject matter of this short article is one of the most significant finds in recent years. In its present condition, its upper part is missing. The original is now exhibited as no. 68.193 in the Early Indian Sculpture Gallery of the National Museum at New Delhi.

On a special ceremony, held on the X-mas day in 1968, the piece was presented by the then Vice-Chancellor of the Panjab University, Chandigarh, to the Minister of Education and Culture, Government of India, for the National Museum. The ceremony was held in the auditorium of the said Museum at New Delhi, to which due publicity was given.¹

The terracotta in question was collected as a surface find by the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture², Panjab University, Chandigarh, in the course of its excavation operations during the winter of 1965 at the early historical site of Sugh, ancient *Srughna*, not far from Jagadhri in the Ambala District, now in Haryana. The writer of this article was then the Head of the said Department, after his retirement as Joint Director General of Archaeology in India in October, 1965.

The toy represents a tiny tot of a school boy, sitting naked, his *takhtī* or wooden writing-board in lap, proudly pointing, with the pointing finger of his right hand, to his well performed Writing exercise, showing off, at the same time, his triple jingling ornaments of beaded anklets (*nūpuras*), bracelets (*kañkaṇas*) and waist-band (*mekhalā*). We only miss the jovial expression of his face.

It is the writing exercise of the boy, which invests this toy with unique significance, especially to the students of Indian

palaeography. The writing-board shows four lines of writing, every one of which has the same contents, namely the *dvādaśāksharī* or *bārākhaḍī* as it is now called in North India, meaning 'twelve letters'. These 12 letters are the 12 vowels with which the Indian scripts begin : *a ā i ī u ū ē ai ō au am aḥ*. It is well known that all the present day scripts in India are the descendants of Brāhmī, the earliest phase of which is found in the edicts of the Mauryan Emperor Aśōka. Our *bārākhaḍī* represents the second earliest phase, commonly called as Śuṅga Brāhmī, dating from 200 B.C.

It may be noticed that the vowels *ṛi, ṛī, ḷi, ḷī*, are absent in our *bārākhaḍī*. And this is an additional evidence that they came to be included among the vowels at a much later date. This has been observed and commented upon by so eminent an authority on Indian palaeography as George Bühler³. It is admitted by Sanskrit grammarians, too, that these additional vowels possess elements more of consonants than of vowels. This can be illustrated by the following stanza, where the *sandhi n* = *aikō ṛishir* = makes the point clear :

tarkō = pratishṭhaḥ śrutayō vibhinnā
n = aikō ṛishir = yasya vachaḥ pramāṇam ।
dharmasya tattvaṁ nihitaṁ guhāyām
mahājanō yēna gataḥ sa panthāḥ ॥

The importance of learning the alphabet at school as the very first step has all along been recognised in India. We have references to that effect in the ancient literature of India, be it Brahmanical, Buddhist or Jaina. The most outstanding allusion of this nature is perhaps the one in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa*,

sa vṛitta-chūlaś = chala-kākapakshakair =
amātya-putraḥ sa-vayōbhīr = anvitaḥ ।
lipēr = yathāvad grahaṇēna vāṇmayam
nadī-mukhēn = ēva samudram = āviśat ॥ (III, 28)

This speaks of the child prince, Raghu, at school along with his class-mates of equally tender age, starting with learning the *lipi*, i.e. *alphabets* or *script*⁴.

Notes : -

1. Cf. *A School boy of Ancient Times*, by Santo Datta, in the daily *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, of December 26, 1968.

2. Later on renamed as Department of Ancient Indian Culture and Archaeology.

3. *Indian Palaeography* (English translation by John Faithful Fleet, Calcutta reprint, 1959), pp. 16-17.

4. The reader is referred also to two articles for some additional information on this unique plaque. *Learning the Alphabets*, by R. C. Agrawala, *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. XVIII, pp. 358-59; and *Sugh Terracotta with Brahmi Barakhadi*, by B. Ch. Chhabra, *Bulletin, National Museum*, New Delhi, No. 2, pp. 14-16.

BANAVĀSĪ INSCRIPTION OF SIVA SIRI PUḢUMĀVI

A. V. NARASIMHA MURTHY
H. R. RAGHUNATHA BHAT

BANAVĀSĪ IS AN IMPORTANT ancient city of India. A large number of antiquities of various periods have come to light at Banavāsi. Its antiquity can be traced to the Mauryan period as testified to by the *Mahāvamsa* wherein it is mentioned that Aśōka sent missionaries to spread Buddhism in Vanavāsaka. The Nāga stone inscription dealing with the Chuṭus is also found here. Recently Kadamba Mṛigēśavaraman's inscription was discovered.¹ The excavations conducted by the post-graduate department of Ancient History and Archaeology of the Mysore University have brought to light two apsidal brick structures of the Sātavāhana period along with Sātavāhana coins, terracottas and pottery of the contemporary times. Recently was discovered this Brāhmī inscription here and as it is a significant discovery, it is proposed to bring it to the notice of the epigraphists.

The South-Western circle of the Archaeological Survey of India, under the direction of S. R. Rao, has been doing active clearance and conservation work at Banavāsi. In one of these operations, in front of the famous Madhukēśvara temple was found this stone slab containing the inscription.² The inscribed slab is of ashy coloured basalt and measures 4·8'x 1·1'x 0·5'. The slab is artistically carved and the inscription is in the centre of the stone. There is a pointed tip at the bottom from which it becomes evident that it was intended to be fixed to a socket. At the top of the stone is seen a *chaitya* motif partly preserved.

The inscription is in two lines. Its language is Prakrit and it is written in Brāhmī script of the Second century A.D. The writing is well preserved and is very artistic. There are 14 and 15 letters respectively, in the first and second lines of the epigraph. From the point of palaeography the epigraph is more recent than the Nasik inscription of Queen Balaśrī.³ It is also more recent than the inscriptions of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Jaggayyapēṭa.⁴ The head of the letters is in the form of a triangle. But this triangular shape is not seen in the letters *dha* (*sidham*), *ṭhī* (*Vāsiṭhī*) and *tha* (*patharō*). In the letter *ñō* (*rañō*), only the right tip is triangle-headed. The flourish in writing is rudimentary and is not so developed as in the Ikshvāku inscriptions. The bottom of the flourish shows only a slight bend and does not end in a loop, eg. *ra*, *ri*, *pu*, *ḷu*, *rō*. In the letters *si*, *vi*, and *ri* the flourish showing the *i* sign is short.

The letters, which have no ornamentation, measure about $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 inches in length. Letters which have flourish at the bottom measure $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 6 inches. Letters which have flourish at the top measure $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 inches in length. Uniformity is not seen in writing some letters. While, *sa* is written in a uniform way throughout, it is not the case with *va*. In the first line, *va* (*Vāsiṭhī*) is not in the form of a triangle; the two sides of the letter are joined by a line at the top. But in writing *Siva*, *Puḷumāvi* and *dēvi*, *va* is in the usual form of a triangle. In *ṭhī* (*Vāsiṭhī*), *i* sign is not ornamental but is written by adding two small strokes at right and left. The letter *pa* shows greater uniformity. However, in *putasa* and *Puḷumāvi*, the right side is slightly bent while in *patharō*, it looks like a rectangle without a top. The letter *ta* occurs in this inscription once (*putasa*). This is different from the form met with in the Nasik and Karle inscriptions of the same period. The bottom, instead of being in the form of a circle, has assumed the form of a complete loop and hence appears distinct. The bottom of the letter *ma* is not roundish but flat. In *mā* (*Puḷumāvi*), the *ā* sign is shown in the middle of the letter and not at the top.

Among the vowels, *ā* is used once (*chhaā*). *Anusvāra* is shown by a thick dot at the top of the letter (*sidham*).

TEXT

- 1 Sidham [| *] Rañō Vāsiṭhīputasa Siva Siri

2 Puḷumāvisa mahādēviya chhaā patharō

TRANSLATION

This is the memorial stone of the queen of the king Vāsishthīputa Siva Siri Puḷumāvi.⁵

Though this is a small inscription, it is important for the history of the Sātavāhanas. There is no unanimity among scholars with regard to the number of kings who ruled in the Sātavāhana dynasty and as to the period of their rule. This is mostly due to the conflicting data supplied by the sources. The *Matsya* and *Vāyu-purāṇas* have been taken as the chief sources for Sātavāhana history by all writers. According to the *Matsya-purāṇa*, Puḷumāvi II was succeeded by Śiva Śrī.⁶ Some historians have assigned the date 114-121 A. D. for him.⁷ The *Vāyu-purāṇa* does not mention this king at all.⁸ According to it, Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi was succeeded by Yajña Śrī. Thus the *Vāyu-purāṇa* ignores the kings Vāsishthīputra Puḷumāvi, Śiva Śrī Puḷumāvi and Śivaskanda Puḷumāvi. But according to the *Matsya-purāṇa*, Śiva Śrī Puḷumāvi was the successor⁹ of Vāsishthīputra Puḷumāvi and was the 25th Sātavāhana king. He may be referred to as Puḷumāvi III.

According to Altekar, Vāsishthīputra Śiva Śrī was probably a brother of Vāsishthīputra Puḷumāvi and might have ruled as a sub-king in Āndhra-dēśa.⁹ He has come to this conclusion on the basis of some lead coins of 90 grains in weight which show a three-arched hill with a legend *rañō Vāsishthīputasa Siva Sirisa* on the obverse and ornamental *Ujjain* symbol on the reverse.¹⁰ These coins are found in Andhra. It is worth noting that these coins mention Vāsishthīputa Siva Siri and not Puḷumāvi.

According to Gopalachari, Vāsishthīputra Puḷumāvi was succeeded by Siri Sātakarṇi.¹¹ His reign period was 120-149 A. D. Then came Siva Siri Puḷumāvi who ruled from 150 to 156 A. D. He was the grandson of Puḷumāvi II and was the same as Sātakarṇi, the king of the Deccan, defeated by Rudradāman. According to the Girnār inscription, Rudradāman defeated the Sātavāhana king twice but did not destroy him fully as he was his relative. Gopalachari thinks that it

was Śiva Śrī who was defeated by Rudradāman twice, mostly as a retaliation for the defeat of Nahapāna at the hands of the Sātavāhanas. So he identifies Śiva Śrī Sātakarṇi with Śiva Śrī Puḷumāvi.

D. C. Sircar recognises the presence of the coins of Śiva Śrī Puḷumāvi in the Tarhala hoard (Akola district). According to him, Śiva Śrī Puḷumāvi does not belong to the main Sātavāhana line.¹² He treats him as a ruler in one of the branches of the Sātavāhana dynasty, the vice-regal families which might have extended their power in eastern Madhya Pradesh and ruled primarily in Berar. Further, he suggests that Śiva Śrī was the coronation name of Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi (159-166 A. D.).

When we examine these divergent views of the scholars mentioned above, it becomes amply clear that each scholar has made a presumption not acceptable to the other. This is largely due to the fact that no inscription of Śiva Śrī Puḷumāvi was discovered so far. In the absence of any inscriptional evidence, some scholars identified Śiva Śrī Puḷumāvi with Śiva Śrī Sātakarṇi. But the record under review clearly states that his name was Śiva Śrī Puḷumāvi. Hence, till we get additional evidence to prove the identity of Śiva Śrī Puḷumāvi with Śiva Śrī Sātakarṇi, we have to accept, on the basis of the present record, that his name was Śiva Śrī Puḷumāvi.

On the testimony of the *Matsya-purāṇa* which places Śiva Śrī Puḷumāvi in the main Sātavāhana line and the evidence of the present record in Banavāsi area itself, we have to accept him as a king of the main line and not as a sub-king in far off Madhya Pradesh.

Now let us examine the coins of this king. Rapson has not included any coins of this king in his British Museum catalogue.¹³ Hoernle first recognised a coin of this king in the Chanda hoard.¹⁴ Martin confirmed the reading of Hoernle from the coins in his collection.¹⁵ A lead coin discovered in Andhra contained the legend 'Rañō Vāsishṭhīputasa Śiva Śrī Puḷumāvisa'.¹⁶ This legend is exactly similar to the text of the inscription of Banavāsi. Some other coins contain the legend 'Śiva Śrī Puḷumāvisa' and the portrait of a man sitting on an elephant.¹⁷ On the coins of the Tarhala hoard is seen

the legend 'Rañō Siva Siri Puḷumāvisa'.¹⁸ From the similarity of the legends on these various coins and the present inscription, it becomes clear that all of them refer to the same king Siva Siri Puḷumāvi. Though so many coins of this king had been discovered, not a single inscription of this ruler had come to light till now. Hence the present record removes that lacuna.

There is no unanimity among scholars regarding the date of Śiva Śrī Puḷumāvi. Gopalachari places him between 150-56 A. D. Ramachandraiah thinks that he ruled from 114 to 121 A. D. The present record, though it does not contain a date, can be assigned on grounds of palaeography, to the second half of the Second century A. D. Hence it indirectly corroborates the opinion of Gopalachari.

This inscription throws some light on the Sātavāhana rule in Karnāṭaka. It is generally believed that Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi conquered most parts of the Deccan including the present Bellary district. This record, coming from North Kanara, shows that that area was also a part of the Sātavāhana empire. Though evidences for Sātavāhana rule in Banavāsi were already known, it was very curious that not a single inscription of their dynasty had been found there. The present record epigraphically confirms the Sātavāhana occupation of Banavāsi. Incidentally it may be mentioned that this is the earliest inscription found at Banavāsi so far.

Sātavāhana inscriptions are not many in Karnāṭaka. Similarly, Prakrit inscriptions are also not prolific here. The present record can be counted as a good addition to both these two categories.

Lastly, we examine the purport of this record. It records the setting up of a '*chhā patharō*' (*chhāyā prastara*) for the queen of Siva Siri Puḷumāvi. The word *chhāyā* has been used in inscriptions in the sense of a memorial. D.C. Sircar and K. G. Krishnan have edited an inscription from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa which mentions the erection of a *chhāyā-khambha* of the deceased queen Vammabhaṭā.¹⁹ A similar memorial inscription from Belvāḍigi has been edited by K. V. Ramesh also.²⁰ Hence the Banavāsi record should also be taken in the sense of a memorial and *chhāyā prastara* to mean a memorial stone. But the inscriptions from

Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Beḷvāḍigi, referred to above, contain the sculpture or image of the person intended to be commemorated while the Banavāsi inscription does not contain any image or carving. However, there are indications to say that the carvings might have been obliterated ; it may also be possible that it was not completed at all for reasons not known. Except the inscribed portion which is well dressed and polished, the other portions of the stone show irregular workmanship. However, a *chaitya* motif is seen at the top.

The inscription does not mention any geographical localities.

Notes :

1. *Prabuddha Kaṇṇāṭaka*, Vol. 52, no. 4, p. 25.
2. The authors express their gratitude to M. C. Wadeyar, Mokhtesar of the Madhukēśvara temple and to Srinivasa Bhaṭṭa, who drew their attention to this inscription. The inscription is now kept in the Madhukēśvara temple.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 60.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, p. 12.
5. Our grateful thanks are due to A.N. Upadhye and to K.V. Ramesh for their valuable suggestions.
6. Yazdani (ed.), *Early History of the Deccan*, p. 85.
7. *Ibid.*
8. But according to Pargiter (*Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 42), one of the manuscripts of the *Vāyu-purāṇa* contains the name of Siva Siri Puḷumāvi who is given a reign of seven years.
9. Yazdani (ed.), *Early History of the Deccan*, p. 794.
10. *Ibid.*
11. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (ed.), *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. 2, p. 322.
12. R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 210.
13. *Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra dynasty and the Western Kshatrapas in the British Museum*.
14. *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1903, p. 11.
15. *JASB.*, *Numismatic supplement*, 1931, article 318.
16. *JNSI.*, Vol. XX, *supplement*, p. 16.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 88.
19. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 20.
20. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 131.

DID KĀKATI RUDRAMADĒVI DIE ON THE BATTLE FIELD ?

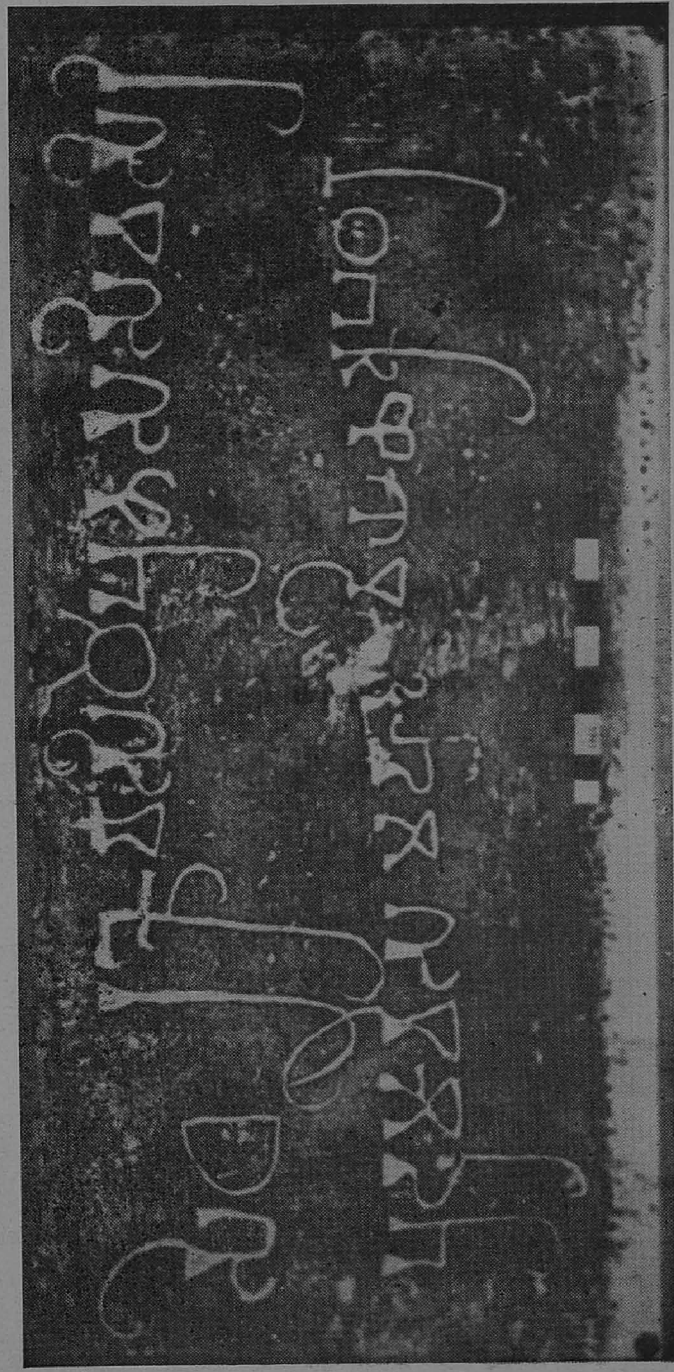
P. V. PARABRAHMA SASTRY

ON A STONE SLAB set up near the small shrine of Śiva outside the village Chandupaṭṭa on the road to its district headquarters Nalgonda from Nakarikallu, two separate records have been incised one on each side. One of these records belongs to the reign of Chāḷukya Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI and as such does not come under the purview of the present topic. The second one is historically of much value as it furnishes for the first time the exact date of the heroic death of Kākati Rudramadēvi on the battle field.

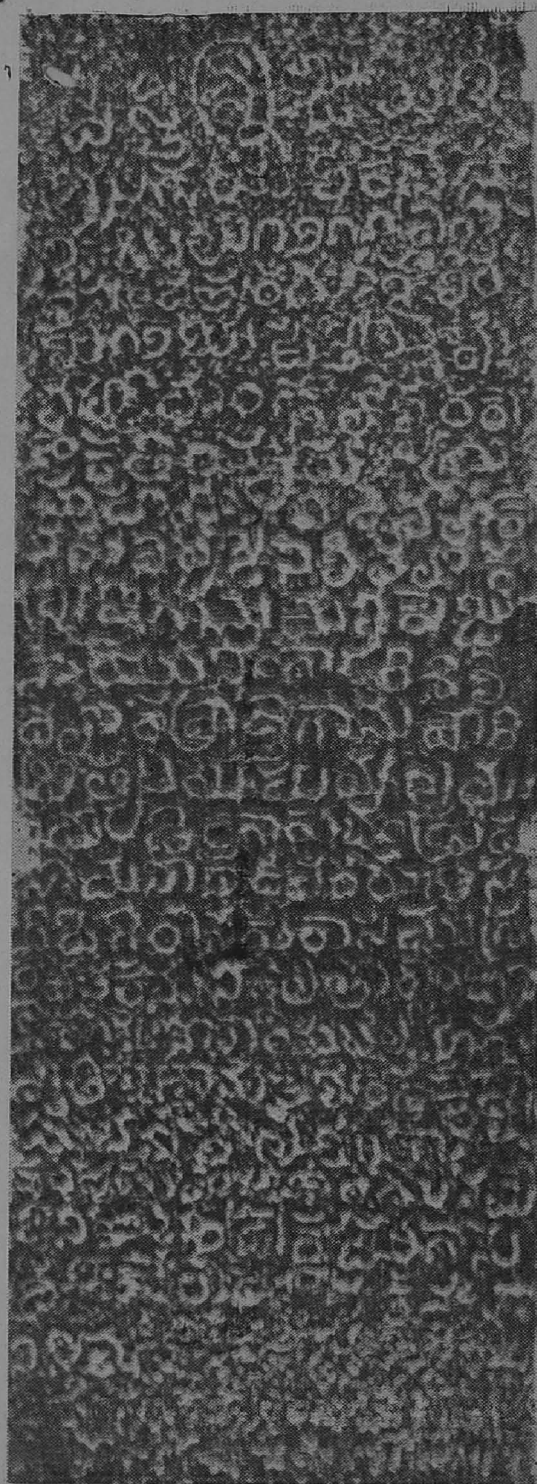
The inscription is very brief in its contents and calls for no remarks regarding its orthography. The language and script of the record are Telugu. Three out of twentyfour lines of the whole record are illegible owing to the negligence of the engraver. That portion being connected with the details of land-gifts does not come in our way of historical interpretation. It does not contain either invocatory or imprecatory portions which are customary in inscriptions other than epitaphs and the like.

Contents :

In the Śaka year 1211 corresponding to the cyclic year Virōdhi, on the twelfth day, of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśira month the week day being Friday, the record states that Śrīman Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kākatiyya Rudrama-mahādēvi having attained *Śivalōka*, for her attainment of *Śivalōka* and for the attainment of *Śivalōka* of Mallikārju-nāyunim-gāru, his servant Puvula Mummaḍim-gāru made the gift for the offering of *gosagi-ōgira* and the perpetual lamp to the god Sōmanāthadēva of Chamḍrupaṭṭa, of some wet land and one *puṭṭi* of dry land



Banavāsi Inscription of Siva Siri Puṣumāvi



Chandupatla Inscription

behind the tank Rāsamudra. The date of the record⁹ regularly corresponds to the 25th November, A. D. 1289, Friday.

TEXT

1. Svasti [||*] Śrī-jayā-
2. bhyudaya-Śaka-varsha-
3. m̐bulu 1211 Virō-
4. dhi-sam̐vatsara Mārgaśira
5. śu 12 Śu [|*] Svasti [||*] Śrīma-
6. n-mahāmam̐ḍalēśvara Kā-
7. katiyya Rudrama-
8. mahādēvi Śiva-lōkā-
9. naku vichchēs[tēni] Śiva-lōka-
10. prāptigānu Mallikārju-
11. nāyuniṁ-gāriki Śi-
12. va-lōka-prāptigānu vāri
13. bhri(bhṛi)tyulu Puvula Mu-
14. m̐maḍim̐-gāru Cham̐ḍrupa[ṭla*]
15. Sōmanātha-dēvaraku gosa-
16. gi-ōgirānaku Rāsamudra-
17. m̐ venakanu nīrnēla to[lli]m̐ṭi vri(vṛi)-
18. [tti kāchi..Nārāya] chēla mo[ga]
19. [.....] akham̐ḍa-dīpā-
20. naku velivolamu Rā[samu]-
21. [draṁ paḍumaṭi] koṁmuna pu-
22. ṭṭini āchandrārkkamugānu
23. vritti (vṛitti) dhārāpūrvvakamugā-
24. nistimi [||*]

The gift was made for the attainment of Śivalōka (*Śiva-lōka-prāpti*) simultaneously of both Mahāmam̐ḍalēśvara Kāka-tīya Rudrama-mahādēvi and Mallikārjuna-nāyaka by the latter's servant Mummaḍi-nāyaḍu. The gift is evidently intended for the attainment of Śivalōka (*kailāsa*) by both Rudramadēvi and Mallikārjuna-nāyaka. It is obvious that both of them died before the date of this record. Mallikārjuna-nāyaka is known from his son Immaḍi Mallikārjuna-nāyaka's Pānugallu record dated Śaka 1212, Vikṛiti, Jyēshṭha śu. 6, Maṁ., (Tuesday, A. D. 1290, May, 16) wherein he is mentioned as Niśśamka-vīra Mallikārjuna-nāyaṁkulu.¹ The date of this record which

is about six months later than the present Chandupaṭṭa epigraph confirms Mallikārjuna-nāyaka's death before this date, because it was set up by his son Immaḍi Mallikārjuna for the benefit of the king Kumāra Rudradēva. From the titles *Niśśam-kavīra* and *nāyaka* attributed to Mallikārjuna it is to be inferred that he was one of the military generals in the service of the Kākatiya rulers. In fact, his father Bollaya in the same Pānugallu inscription is referred to as *sēnāpati*. From the present Chandupaṭṭa epigraph it is clear that the Kākatiya queen Rudramadēvi and her general Mallikārjuna-nāyaka died at the same time. The reason for their death must be a common cause, most likely their joint venture in the battle; otherwise there is no possibility for the queen to die along with her general on the same day. The Chandupaṭṭa epigraph, therefore, reveals for the first time that Rudramadēvi died in A. D. 1289, just ten or twelve days before November 25th, the date of the gift recorded in the epigraph, that is on the 13th or so of November and secondly, that she died in a battle-field.

It is hitherto believed by scholars that Rudramadēvi was alive till A. D. 1295. The above cited Pānugallu epigraph of Immaḍi Mallikārjuna refers to the king Kumāra Rudradēva-mahārāja denoting Pratāparudra was a *kumāra* or prince in A. D. 1290, the date of that record. Similarly a record from Pērūru dated in the same year refers to the reign of Rudra Kumāra.² These and other few instances³ which represent the king Pratāparudra as Kumāra Rudra are to be treated as mere errors of the writers who inadvertantly followed the familiar usage. Those records which are datable to the period between A. D. 1290 and 1295 and mention simply Kākatiya Rudradēva Mahārāja, are hitherto generally assigned to Rudramadēvi's reign owing to the accepted assumption that she was alive till A. D. 1295. The reason for this assumption is mainly the presence of inscriptions mentioning Kumāra Rudradēva as well as simply Rudradēva till A. D. 1295, the former being supposed to represent Pratāparudra as a prince and the latter the queen Rudramadēvi. The Gaṇapavaram epigraph dated Śaka 1214, Nandana, Chaitra śu. 1, corresponding to 21st March, A. D. 1292 refers to the reign of Pratāpa Kumāra Rudradēva Mahārāja.⁴ Here the word Kumāra is misleading in that he was

a prince and not coronated as king. Quite contrary to this an inscription at Pinnali in Palnad taluk, Guntur district, dated in the same Śaka year and Nandana, Vaiśākha śu. 7, that is 25th April, A. D. 1292 refers to the reign of Rudradēva Mahārāja, generally understood to be Rudramadēvi.⁵ Pratāparudra is represented as Mahārāja in one of the Tripurāntakam inscriptions dated Śaka 1216, Jaya, Phālguna śu. 15, Thursday, corresponding to 3rd March, A. D. 1295⁶. In fact, this is the basis for the assumption that Rudramadēvi lived till the last part of A. D. 1294 and that Pratāparudra succeeded her in the early part of the following year A. D. 1295. But, surprisingly, the name Pratāparudra is noticed as early as Śaka 1202, in the Mallavōlu inscription of a certain Channayanāyaka the body-guard of that king who is stated as *Śrīmat-Pratāparudra-dēvēśē nityam sāmrajya-dīkshitē*.⁷ All the records dated from the beginning of A. D. 1290 to the end of A. D. 1294 mention either Rudradēva or Kumāra Rudra, the former being ascribed to Rudramadēvi and the latter to Pratāparudra. An epigraph found at Liṅgāla in Nandikotkur taluk, Kurnool district, is dated Śaka 1213, Phālguna (A. D. 1292) and refers to Pratāparudradēva Mahārāja.⁸ Basing on all these conflicting terms namely Rudradēva, Kumāra-Rudradēva and Pratāpa-Rudradēva, the historians, as a way of compromise, have agreed to the assumption that Rudramadēvi was alive till A. D. 1295 and that Pratāparudra ruled conjointly with her then under the name Kumāra-Rudra or Pratāpa-Rudradēva, both of them being represented in the records as independent monarchs. For the purpose of their chronology, historians generally assigned the last part of A. D. 1294 for the close of Rudramadēvi's rule and the beginning of A. D. 1295 for the commencement of Pratāparudra's reign. But it was not the case with regard to Gaṇapatidēva who, in the same manner, is noticed alive till A. D. 1267, but the last date of his reign in its beginning and end is thus increased by 7 and 5 years respectively. In the former case it is somewhat reasonable, because she took an active part in the administration of the kingdom while her father was too old to undertake the heavy responsibility. But in the later case it is quite unreasonable, in the light of the newly discovered Chandupaṭṭa epigraph, to extend the period of her

rule by five more years i.e., till the end of A. D. 1294 when she was actually no longer alive after the middle of November, A. D. 1289.*

Now, how to reconcile the conflicting opinions based on the occurrence of the names Rudradēva, Kumāra Rudra and Pratāparudra ? Some historians believe that Pratāparudra was the name acquired by him on the occasion of his coronation. But it is not true, because we notice it as early as Śaka 1202 (A. D. 1280) in the above cited Mallavōlu epigraph. Vidyānātha, the celebrated court-poet of Pratāparudra calls him *Pratāparudra* even before the coronation, while narrating the *Nāṭaka-prakaraṇa* in the *Pratāparudriya*. His original name was Rudradēva. It is only to distinguish him from his grandmother Rudramadēvi, who is also called for all practical purposes as Rudradēva⁹, that he is called, Kumāra Rudra, but not to signify his position of a prince. Therefore, only according to popular usage was he called Kumāra Rudra for some years even after the death of Rudramadēvi. The Pānugallu inscription of Immaḍi Mallikārjuna, for instance, names him as Rudradēva as well as Kumāra Rudradēva Mahārāja.¹⁰ In the beginning it states that Gaṇapati-dēva's son was Rudradēva and the latter's grandson was again Rudradēva. In its later portion it is said that the gift was made for the merit of Kumāra Rudradēva Mahārāja. In fact an unpublished epigraph found at Rājāram in Miryalaguda taluk, dated Śaka 1223, Plava = A. D. 1301 refers itself to the prosperous reign of Kākatiya Pratāpa Kumāra Rudradēva Mahārāja. It is interesting to notice in the Jaina work *Jinēndrakalyāṇābhyudaya* of Appayārya the statement that the author completed his work in Śaka 1241 (A. D. 1319-20) while Rudra-Kumāra was ruling the earth from Ōrugallu.¹¹ All the foregoing observations lead us to conclude that the attributes Kumāra or Pratāpa or Pratāpa Kumāra cannot be taken as deciding factors to denote Pratāparudra either as a prince or as a crowned king.

There is another name Vira Rudra which occurs as frequently as the word Pratāparudra in inscriptions and the literary work *Pratāparudriya* of Vidyānātha, who in the beginning of the *Nāṭaka-prakaraṇa* introduces the two words as synonymous names of that king :

*Tam sujātaṁ samudvīkshya kshōṇyāṁ Ravim iv=ōditam |
Pratāparudra= ity= ākhyāṁ akarōt Kākatiśvaraḥ ॥* [V. 12]
*Vishṇōr- viśv= aika= vīrasya Kākatiya= kulē sthitam
avatāram amuṁ jñātva Vīra Rudraṁ prachakshatē ॥* [V. 13]

[Seeing the baby born on the earth like the rising Sun the Kākatiya king named him Pratāparudra. Knowing him the incarnation of the god Vishṇu, the only valorous one in the universe, called him Vīra-Rudra].

The recently published Uttarēśvara copper plate grant¹² of the time of king Kākati Vīra Rudra dated Śaka 1211, Virōdhi, Phālguṇa śu. 15 is assigned by its editors to the reign of Kākati Rudramadēvi, stating the reason that the date falls in the reign of that queen whose reign lasted till A. D. 1294. Of course, they followed the hitherto prevailing assumption. The same record, in its latter part refers to Rudra Kumāra- Vīra and Rudranṛipāla¹³ both being identified by the authors with Pratāparudra as *Yuvarāja* or prince. There are one or two instances where Rudramadēvi is referred to as Pratāparudradēva Mahārāja¹⁴ but her being named as VīraRudra is doubtful, as it is not noticed so far.

The observation of Marcopolo who visited Mōṭupalli, the famous sea port in the Kākatiya kingdom in A. D. 1290, that Rudramadēvi ruled for forty years need not be taken into relevance, as the queen's death took place very shortly before the traveller's visit and as the popular belief regarding her rule still persisted.

Irrespective of the nomenclature which is rather confusing, in the light of the explicit statement of the present Chandupaṭla epigraph that as Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kākatiya Rudrama-mahādēvi went to *Śivalōka*, for her attainment of *Śivalōka* the said gifts were made, we have to set aside all the previous assumptions and arrive at the positive conclusion that she died a few days before 25th November 1289 A. D., the date of that record.

The second important inference that can be deduced from this record is that Rudramadēvi must have died in a battle along with her general *Niśśaṁkavīra* Mallikārjuna-nāyaka. From tradition and the above cited *Pratāparudriya* of Vidyānātha we know that Rudramadēvi though a woman fully justified the masculine name Rudradēva, given to her

by her father. Attired in male robes, she discharged all duties of the exalted office including valorous deeds like undertaking military expeditions personally. Among all the Kākatīya rulers she earned the unique credit of conducting a successful invasion into the Sēuṇa country followed by triumphant return with a heavy booty of coins and treasures exacted as war indemnity from king Mahādēva besides the annexation of Bidar fort to the Kākatīya kingdom.¹⁵ There remains no room for doubt regarding her marching into the field of a battle. Her father got her trained in all methods of warcraft. She did march to a battle-field accompanied by her general Mallikārjuna of Pānugallu and fell a prey to the enemy's arms along with the general.

Who that enemy was and in which battle she lost her life, we have no clinching evidence to ascertain. However, the epigraphic records of that period throw some light on these points. The inscriptions of the Kāyastha chief Āmbadēva, at Tripurāntakam in the Markapuram taluk, Prakasam (Ongole) district, indicate his independent position in that region which since Rudradēva's period was under the Kākatīya authority as evidenced by his inscription¹⁶ in the temple of Tripurāntakēśvara dated Śaka 1107 = A. D. 1185. The early members of the Kāyastha family Gaṅgayasāhiṇi, Jannigadēva and Tripurāri served Gaṇapatidēva with unfailing loyalty and won the favour of that monarch who conferred on them a vast region from Pānugallu in the Nalgonda district to Vallūru in the Cuddapah district, as fief. Āmbadēva, according to his inscription¹⁷ datable to A. D. 1287 found at Attirāla in the Cuddapah district was exercising authority over Gaṇḍikōṭa-sīma, Ēṇuva and Pottapi-nāḍu which all put together comprise a vast area in the present Kurnool and Cuddapah districts. The reason for his enmity with the Kākatīya queen is obscure. Probably her enemies, namely the Sēuṇas and the Pāṇḍyas, plotted against her by instigating Āmbadēva to rise in rebellion. His Tripurāntakam inscription¹⁸ dated Śaka 1212, Vikṛiti, Bhādrapada ba. 15 corresponding to 5th September, A. D. 1290, that is about ten months after Rudramadēvi's death, is almost a proclamation of his military victories that secured him independence. It is in no way inferior to the historical document installed by Kākatī Rudradēva in the Thousand Pillared Temple at Anumakoṇḍa,¹⁹ declaring his sovereign

power. It is clearly stated in it that he obtained assistance from the Pāṇḍya and Sēuṇa kings²⁰. To suppress the rebellion of Ambadēva Queen Rudramadēvi, accompanied by her general Mallikārjuna-nāyaka, marched against him and having taken the field in person fell a prey to the enemy. Among the several enemies whom Ambadēva is credited to have vanquished certain Mallikārjunapati also finds mention in that record, whose identity is not decided till now. The relevant portion in this connection reads as,

*Samyat = sīmani Mallikārjunapatēḥ pāpasya dharma-druhōḥ
dēva-brāhmaṇa-vairiṇaḥ pariharan yaś = śastra-pūtaṁ vadham |
sapt-āṅgaṁ parigrihya tasya.....lōkē prathām prāptavān* || ²¹

[He (Ambadēva), on the field of battle, depriving Mallikārjunapati, the evil doer of *dharma*, the enemy of gods and brāhmaṇas, of his seven *āṅgas* without killing him with the arms]

The word *saptāṅga* may mean either the seven constituents of a king or the seven limbs of the human body. In the present context, the latter sense that on the basis of the statement that without killing him, Ambadēva deprived Mallikārjuna of his seven limbs, two legs, two hands, two ears and nose seems more applicable. The objection that stood in his way of killing Mallikārjuna must be his caste, i. e. *brāhmaṇa*. It is also stated in it that Mallikārjuna was an enemy to the gods and brāhmaṇas. Does it mean that he was a Śaiva-ārādhyā as suggested by his name? The Chāndupāṭṭa inscription also refers the attainment of *Śivalōka*, the abode of Śiva, a term used only by Śaivites in such context. Śaiva-ārādhyas are generally treated on par with the *brāhmaṇas* as they believe in *Vēdas* and only *brāhmaṇas* were converted into the Śaiva persuasion preached by Mallikārjuna-paṇḍita. Ambadēva, therefore, to avoid committing the sin of *brahma-hatyā* deprived him of his limbs which, of course, amounted practically to killing him. The term *dēvabrāhmaṇa-druh* attributed to Mallikārjuna may indicate his leanings to the new order of Śaivism which Ambadēva perhaps did not like as it was against the principles of Pāśupata Śaivism and brahmanism of the old order.

About Rudramadēvi, the record does not contain any

direct statement ; but the statement “*Sarvān-Andhra-mahīpatīn raṇa mā'hē jētā yaśō labdhavān*”. [having vanquished all the kings of Āndhra in battle (Ambadēva) obtained fame] implies that he killed all the kings of Āndhra including Rudramadēvi. Her name is not explicitly mentioned, the reason being, the claim of killing a woman in the battle will tarnish the fame of a valiant warrior like Ambadēva. Although he actually killed Rudramadēvi, it is not stated in explicit terms in this historical document. Ambadēva in another inscription at the same place is credited with the epithet “*Mallikārjuna-saptāṅga-saṁharaṇa*” in which the last word *saṁharaṇa* essentially means to kill or destroy. Therefore, it is to be believed that Ambadēva killed or destroyed the seven bodily *aṅgas* of Mallikārjuna. Or, if the *rājyāṅgas* were meant they are *svāmin* (king), *amātya* (minister), *suhṛit* (friend), *kōśa* (treasury), *rāshṭra* (territory), *durga* (forts) and *bala* (forces) then all these *aṅgas* of Mallikārjuna are to be said to have been killed or destroyed by Ambadēva. Evidently the *svāmin* (king) of Mallikārjuna, that is Rudramadēvi is also included among the victims. Instead of naming the woman Rudramadēvi, Ambadēva mentioned her general Mallikārjuna. The Kākatīyas on their part, as it was a disgrace to their greatness, did not mention the event anywhere in their records. Although Rudra and Mahādēva lost their lives at the hands of the Yādava kings, the Kākatīya records seldom mention those events. It is only from the Yādava sources we gather this information. In the present case too, the Kākatīya records are silent about this great tragic event. It might be also possible that Pratāparudra did not perform his coronation till he wiped out the disgrace by inflicting a crushing defeat on Ambadēva and driving him away from not only Tripurantakam but also further south. Ambadēva's records noticed at Tripurāntakam are datable upto the middle of A. D. 1291, whereas Pratāparudra's inscriptions at the same place are dated from A. D. 1294. Till then he is called either Kumāra Rudra or simply Rudradēva Mahārāja. This latter name need not be mistaken to mean Rudramadēvi, for, Pratāparudra was also called as Rudradēva in some records like the above cited Rājāram epigraph of Śaka 1223 (A. D. 1301). In the light of the foregoing discussion it may not be unreasonable if we

arrive at the conclusion that Rudramadēvi in her endeavour to suppress the rebellion of Ambadēva met her death at his hands in the second week of November, A. D. 1289.

Notes :

1. *Corpus of Teliṅgānā Inss.*, Part 2, pp. 104-05.
2. *A. P. Arch. Series*, No. 38, p. 18.
3. See, eg., *SII.*, Vol. X, No. 469.
4. *Telaṅgāṇā Śāsanamulu*, Part I, p. 83.
5. *SII.*, Vol. X, No. 472.
6. *Ibid.*, No. 479.
7. *Ibid.*, No. 451.
8. *A. R. Ep.*, 1943-44, No. 55.
9. *Gaṇapati- mahārājēna . . putra iti vyavahārah kṛitaḥ tad-anu-
guṇā cha Rudra ity=ākhyā (Pratāparudriyam, Nāṭaka, I aṅka).*
10. *Corpus of Teliṅgānā Inss.*, Part 2, pp. 103-04.
11. *Telugu Vijñāna Sarvasvamu*, Vol. III, p. 552.
12. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 76 ff.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
14. *SII.*, Vol. X, Nos. 413 and 451.
15. *Select Epigraphs of A. P.*, pp. 61 ff.
16. *SII.*, Vol. X, No. 241.
17. *Ibid.*, No. 448.
18. *Ibid.*, No. 465.
19. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 9 ff.
20. *SII.*, Vol. X, No. 465, lines 66 and 78-79.
21. *Ibid.*, lines 32-35.

AGRICULTURE AND TRADE IN ANCIENT KARNATAKA

R. S. PANCHAMUKHI

KARNATAKA IS A BEAUTEOUS SPOT in the Deccan bountifully favoured by Providence with mountain ranges, caverns and caves, hills and dales, tanks, lakes and river-systems, thick forests, green verdure, rich black and red soil, temperate climate and adequate rainfall ensuring plenty of crops and rich harvest.

The rich soil and the beautiful natural sceneries and river-systems have brought to the country peace and plenty^o as is evidenced by the eye-witness accounts of the foreign travellers and itinerants who visited Karnāṭaka during the early Chalukya, Rāshṭrakūṭa and Vijayanagara periods. The earliest travellers to visit Karnāṭaka were the Chinese pilgrims Fahien and Huen Tsang who have left detailed accounts of their experience in Karnāṭaka during the early centuries of the Christian era.

Her natural wealth is augmented by the industry and hard labour intelligently applied in developing agriculture, trade and commerce, artistic works, poetic and scientific literature.

With this background of rich material resources, an attempt will be made in this paper to illustrate the rich contribution made by Karnāṭaka in agriculture, trade and commerce, from epigraphical evidence.

Karnāṭaka presents soils of different yielding capacities such as red soil, black soil, red-black soil, saltish land, marshy land, porous land (*khajjana bhūmi*), etc. Different crops suited to the land were grown. In the Altem Copper

Plate inscription¹ of Pulikēśin I, an illuminating description of the different crops grown at Ālaktaka-nagara, capital of the Kuhūṇḍi—700 district, is given. Though the record is considered spurious on the grounds of palaeography and language (of the 10th-11th century A.D.) the contents about the crops, etc., mentioned in it are true to the land for all ages. The text reads as follows:

Ālaktak-ābhidhāna-nagaryyāṁ grāma-saptaśata-rājadhānyāṁ
aśēsha-vishaya-viśēshakāyamānāyāṁ śāli-vrīh-ikshu-vanachanaka
priyaṁgu-varakōdraka-śyāmaka-gōdhūm-ādy-anēka-dhānya-sam-
riddhāyāṁ tad-dēśa-viḷāsini-mukha-kamaḷam = iva virājamānā-
yāṁ dhana-dhānya-paripūrṇa-kṛishīvaḷa-prāyāyāṁ ||

'In the town of Ālaktaka, which is full of agriculturists, quality paddy (*śāli-vrīhi*), sugar-cane, forest gram (*vana-chanaka*) *śyāmaka*, *gōdhūma* (wheat), etc., were grown in plenty. In the Sirōḍa grant² of Dēvarāja of the Bhōja family (4th century A. D.) it is stated that two brāhmaṇas, Gōvindasvāmi, and Indrasvāmi, were granted house-sites and grazing land for cows (cattle), fuel and grass (*gō-prachāra-kāshṭhādikaṁ cha supratibaddhavyam*) and the toll incomes levied on the imports of the articles of merchandise (*pari-vṛittēna ch = ānītēna yan-nishpadyatē tad-dattam*). The Bandora plates³ of the Maurya king Anirjitavarman, dated in the 29th year of his reign (5th-6th century A. D.), impose certain conditions on the grantee Hastyāryya while making a grant of the *khajjana* land on the sea beach:

khajjana-halam = ērākam = ēkataḥ ēkataś = cha rāshṭra-
kūṭa-taṭāka-vāṭaka-griha-sthāna-bhūmiḥ chaturbhiś = cha prē-
shya-kulair=yyad = atra sīmē brāhmaṇaḥ araṇya-karshaṇaṁ
kārapayati tēna sārddham ukta-niyōgāya grihīta-sahasrāya
Hārīta-sagōtrāya Hastyāryyāya sarvva-paṅga-parihṛita-parihāram
udakēna sampradattam [| *] jñātv = aivam brāhmaṇaḥ lavaṇa-
jalām sētunā nivāryya kshētram utpādy ch = ōpabhumja-
mānaḥ na kēnachid = vyamsayitavyaḥ [| *]

The land bounded on one side by Mēraka (?) and other by the tank belonging to Rāshṭrakūṭa, garden, house-site together with four families of servants, was granted to one Hastyāryya for a specific purpose, free from all charges (shares) of the State. It is further stipulated that the grantee should prevent the salt water by constructing an embankment and

make the land cultivable. This is a case of reclamation of land from the sea for agricultural purposes.

The high regard for the agricultural profession in ancient Karnāṭaka is conveyed by the royal proclamation in the Baḷagāmve inscription of Chalukya Vinayāditya that the people of Nāyarkhaṇḍa and Jeḍugūr should protect the gifts of certain incomes *paṛiya vosage*, *alavaṇa*, and the property of sonless persons dying intestate, made to Brahmans, failing which the agriculture establishment (*vokkaltana*) of the wrong doers would go to ruin while the protectors of the gift would prosper so that the people of the country and the brāhmaṇas (*pārvaru*) may live in peace. The Shigaon plates⁵ of Chalukya Vijayāditya, dated Śaka 630, mention a number of tanks and embankments at Guḍḍigere (*Guḍigeri*) the gift-village, namely Venya-taṭāka, Matkuṇa-taṭāka, Arasi-taṭāka, etc., which supplied water to the fields in the surrounding country. Karnāṭaka is noted for a large number of irrigation tanks which supplimented the seasonal rains for agricultural operations.

The Kuṇṭagāṇi plates⁶ of Kadamba Ravivarman record that "the king granted 24 *nivarttanas* of land situated on either side of a tank-bund which he caused to be constructed in the village Variyakā." The Kadamba King Kākusthavarman is stated to have excavated a large reservoir at Talagundā⁷ (*idam* = *uru-salil-ōpayōg-āśrayam bhūpatiḥ* = *kārayāmāsa Kaku-sthavarmma taḍākam* = *mahat* ||). Almost every village in Karnāṭaka maintained tanks outside the village from which channels were dug to the fields in the surrounding area and their upkeep and cleanliness were preserved by special gifts by the kings and the administrative bodies e.g., *Mahājanas*. The money recovered as fines from the offenders in a village was, it is stated in the Kōṭavumachgi inscription⁸ of Vikramāditya V (934 A. D.), to be utilized for the upkeep of the tank called *Dēyimgere*. It may be noted that the Javakhēḍa Copper Plate grant⁹ of Rāshtrakūṭa Amōghavarsha I, dated Śaka 742 (A. D. 820), suggests that brāhmaṇas were directly engaged in tilling and cultivating the land (*yataḥ asy* = *ōchitayā brahmadāya-sthityā bhūm̐jatō bhōjayataḥ karshataḥ karshayataḥ pratidi-śatō vā na kēn* = *āpi paripanthanā kāryyā* [| *] i.e., no one should create hindrance to the brāhmaṇa (grantee) who

personally cultivates or gets cultivated the land, etc.).

Thus, agriculture was regarded as a sacred profession by all sections of people in ancient Karnāṭaka as in the rest of India. Agriculture was the legitimate occupation of the vaiśyas according to the *Dharma-śāstras*. But, in times of distress persons of the upper classes i. e., brāhmaṇas and kshatriyas also were allowed to take to agriculture. In the ancient as well as the medieval periods, brāhmaṇas are found to be actually cultivating the land which practice still continues in the region of North Karnataka and the sea coast e.g., Koṅkaṇ, North and South Kanara districts, etc.

Cattle (cows) was the wealth of the nation. The status of a family was judged by the number of cows it maintained and the term for wealth in Kannaḍa is *dana* (Sanskrit *dhana*) = cattle. Inscriptions testify to the existence of large cattle-sheds in Karnāṭaka where thousands of cows were kept and protected. These sheds were managed by the headman called *mēṇṭi*. References to the gift of *gōsāsa* (*gōsahasra*) and the *mēṇṭis* over them are found in plenty. The raids on these cattle-sheds to lift away the cows are the subject matter of a large number of hero-stones (*vīragals*) which are consecrated to commemorate the death of heroes who fell fighting while rescuing the cows from the attack of the marauders. Karnāṭaka is famous for the large number of such hero-stones which depict the fight in graphic pictures with descriptive inscriptions carved on the intervening panels three or four as required by the context. The lowest panel shows the coming of the raiders on horse-back with spears and daggers in hand, cows running amock frightened at the attack. The upper panel depicts the fight between the raiders and the local rescuers in which the local hero falls to the ground smitten by the spear. The next upper space contains the carrying of the hero in a palanquin by the heavenly damsels amidst singing and dancing. The top most section shows the hero worshipping the Īśvara-liṅga with folded hands. In some hero-stones the story of the fight and the death of the hero are sculptured in greater details. Some Rāshṭrakūṭa inscriptions depict a ploughshare at the bottom of such agricultural gift inscriptions. Since agriculture was invariably associated with cows and cattle-wealth, Karnāṭaka lavished large sums of money and land to

maintain the *gōsāsa* establishments. Granaries to hoard corns were maintained as a measure of protection against famines, for distribution among the poor in times of distress. The Dāvaṇagere plates of Kadamba Ravivarman (6th century A. D.) mention the gift of one *nivartana* of land by the king for the preservation of a tank and for excavating a granary (*samādhi*) to stock food-grains. The king was collecting certain shares of the produce from the land from the agriculturists and hoarding them in such of granaries, and protests against this practice were put down by royal order. A Rāshtrakūṭa inscription of the time of Kṛishṇa III from Rōṇ, Dharwar district records the rising for the local agriculturists against the king's representative who had ordered the collection of food-grains at the point of sword. A fight between the people of Rōṇ and the king's officer ensued in which a hero named Pampayya died fighting, protesting that he would not give a single corn: (Kaṇanam pērōhiyaṁ bhattāyamaniya vēḷkum = endu kiḍisidāgaḷ Pampayyaṁ nān = ond = akshateyanappandam = iyam = endu taṛṣal). The hero-stone contains a graphic description of the fight of the contending parties pouncing upon each other with arms in hand on horse-back.

Man was the direct propeller of all industries, trade and commerce, machineries were only tools just to give shape to his thoughts, unlike the modern industrialisation in which man's faculties are subordinated to the machineries. Hence, trade and commerce in olden days were regulated by human agencies with very little of machinery. Groups of artisans were formed into guilds and they carried their goods to neighbouring villages or distant lands on the backs of horses, buffaloes, oxen, or mares or camels. Imports and exports of articles were controlled by these trade guilds and special duties were levied by them on the incoming and outgoing stuffs.

The merchants travelled in groups from place to place to distant lands and as a protection against the attacks of robbers and enemies, they maintained a battalion of trained scouts armed with weapons for defence. An inscription from Ranibennur Taluk tells us that the caravan of traders was waylaid by robbers when the scouts marched forward and dispersed them after a heavy fight. The trade guilds were administered by the Central Chamber of Commerce which had

its headquarters at Aihole in the Hungund Taluk, Bijapur District, Karnataka State. This Chamber had a number of branch offices which controlled the transactions of specific articles of merchandise. The term *nakhara*, *nakara*, *nagara*, etc., occurring in inscriptions denotes a commercial or trading organisation. It was empowered by the king to conduct its movements by its own rules and regulations in which the king never interfered unless there was a gross violation of their convention which affected the welfare of the common man. These commercial bodies had amassed enormous wealth by trade and this was a source of strength to the State. The share of the profits to which the king was entitled in the usual course enriched the royal exchequer and thus the trade guilds were considered as the backbone of the country's prosperity.

The enormous wealth which these corporate bodies earned by trade was mostly utilised in building temples and conducting *satras* (feeding houses) and hospitals as well as seminaries of education. They encouraged art and architecture. They were money-lenders to the smaller traders and maintained banks to deposit their earnings on a stipulated rate of interest fixed by the central body at Aihole. They maintained their own mints where coins were minted with their specific emblem. The ancient punch-marked coins (*Padma-taṅkas*) show the marks which help to locate the mints. *Lokki-gadyāṇa* occurring in the medieval inscriptions is a coin minted at Lokkiguṇḍi (Lakkuṇḍi).

The trade and commerce formed the chief occupation of the vaiśyas but it was almost a monopoly of the Jaina who being wedded to non-violence (*ahimsā*) by creed, were debarred from undertaking any occupation which involved injury to life. Agriculture entitled the killing of insects and other small creatures while ploughing the land. Fighting on the battle-field was tabooed as it involved the killing of human and animal life. The only innocent course which the Jainas could adopt was trade which they took to as their means of livelihoods. The most noted commercial bodies in India hailed from the Jaina community. In Karnāṭaka, the Central Chamber of Commerce with its centre at Aihole wielded tremendous influence in the whole of Karnāṭaka, Āndhra and Tamil

countries from the earliest times to the 12th - 13th centuries A. D. as evidenced by the inscriptions found in those regions.

An inscription¹² of the 7th century A. D. from the Lāḍkhān temple at Aihole mentions the Five Hundred members of the corporate body called *Mahāchāturvidya-samudaya*. It registers gifts of certain incomes to Bennamma Sōmayāji due to them on the occasion of *annaprāśana* (first feeding of a child), *pūsavaṇa* and *chaula* one *dharāṇa*, one *gadyāṇa* at thread ceremony and pre-marriage *samāvartana* ceremony, 2 *gadyāṇa* on marriage, bed ceremony and delivery, 3 *gadyāṇas* on *chātur-māsyā ishṭi*, and 4 *gadyāṇas* at *agnishṭōma* sacrifice. An inscription¹³ of Vikramāditya II at the Durgā temple at Aihole states that the gifts of toll incomes were made to Āditya-bhaṭāra with the sanction of the king and the *nakara*. From these two inscriptions, it may be inferred that the trade guilds had been empowered to levy certain perquisites from the people and to protect other gifts also. They were thus holding independent control over certain aspects of administration in the country and were collecting revenues to support their organisation independently.

The Central Chamber of Commerce at Aihole is introduced in inscriptions with the following descriptive preamble :

samasta-bhuvana-vikhyāta-pañchaśata-vīra-śāsana-labdh-
ānēka-guṇa-gaṇ-ālaṅkṛita-satya-śauch-āchārarum tritaya vina-
yarum Baladēva-Vāsudēva-Khaṇḍamaulī-indra-vaṁśōdbhavarum
Bhagavatīdēvī-labdhavaraprasādarumappa Śrīmad = Ayyāvoḷey
aynūrbba-svāmigaḷu.

The Five Hundred svāmigaḷ (members) were recipients of the boons from Bhagavatīdēvī and descended from Baladēva, Vāsudēva and Khaṇḍa-maulīndra. The subordinate bodies stationed in different trade centres like Sirasangi, Munavalli etc., were called *seṭṭiguttas*, *ubhayanānādēsis*, *birudaru*, *bīra-vaṇigāru*, *gavaṇegaḷu*, *gātrigarū*, *samasta-nakharaṅgaḷu*, *mudrā-dhikārigaḷu*, *samaya-chakravartigaḷu* etc. Each body had, it appears, a license to trade in particular articles. While making a gift to the temple of Nagarēśvara (Śiva) or Nagara Jinālaya (Jaina Basadi) representatives of these assemblies used to meet and transact business. Merchant princes known as *vaḍḍavyavahāri* were dealing in all kinds of jewels and were even selling them to kings and chiefs. One Sōvisēṭṭi was

such a trade magnate as described in an inscription¹⁴ at Muttagi (Bijapur District). The different bodies mentioned above are, it appears, graded one above the other from the slabs of wealth they possessed - *seṭṭi*, *vaḍḍavyavahāri*, *samaya-chakravarti* etc.

That these merchant guilds were purely Kannaḍiga and hailed from Karnāṭaka is evident from the Telugu inscriptions¹⁵ of Śaka 1162 where the portion describing them is given in Kannaḍa language while the rest of the inscription is couched in Telugu. A Tamil inscription¹⁶ of the 10th century A. D. from Ukkirankōṭṭai (Tirunneveli District) mentions the Five Hundred body of traders who are named as *ainūṟṟuvar svāmigaḷ of Ayyapoḷil*. Ayyapoḷil is the Tamilised form of the word Ayyāvoḷe (i.e. Aihoḷe). Several trading centres were called *Ayyāvoḷes* of the South apparently because they were branches founded by the merchants or agents of Ayyāvoḷi guild proper¹⁷.

The enactment of the laws of the trading corporations of Aihoḷe were made to accord with religious and local traditions and to the *Dharma-śāstras*. A cave inscription¹⁸ at Aihoḷe, of Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇarāja dated in Śaka 861 (A. D. 939), states that the *Nagara-samudāya* conducted its transactions in accordance with the *Dharma-śāstras*. (Pūrvōkta-munibhir = dṛiṣṭam dharmmaśāstra-prachōditam).

The Āñjanēri plates¹⁹ of Sēndraka Bhōgaśakti and Tējavarman dated in the year 461 (A. D. 710-11) of the time of Chalukya Vikramāditya II, throw new light on the activities of the trade corporation. Here the trade guilds to which certain gifts are made were empowered to collect the amount of fines from the offenders for specific crimes committed and to manage the affairs of the temples of Nārāyaṇadēva at Jayapura. The daily worship of the god and periodical festivals should be conducted as usual from the income thus collected from the village. The merchants of the village are exempted from the taxes to be paid to the king and from free service to the State officers (yad = ētaḍ = dēvakulaṁ vaṇiṅgarāya nirūpitaṁ taiś = cha sarvvair = bhagavatō śuśrūṣhā yōgakshēmaś = cha vōḍhavyaḥ). It is stated that the fines for specific offences should be fixed by the *nagara mahattaka*. The grant adds that the village Samagiri-paṭṭaṇa was depopulated

due to some catastrophe and it was now repopled by merchants by a special grant of privileges by a charter by the king Bhōgaśakti. The Kāsāre plates²⁰ of Sēndraka Nikumbhallaśakti of the year 404 mention among other officers 'Vaṇig-janapadān anyāms= cha'. This suggests that there were exclusive trading villages in the country.

The Tājikas (Mussalmans) who thrust into Gujarat from the North-West were driven out and exterminated from the land in a furious battle by the Chālukya King Avanijanāśraya Pulikēśivarman in A. D. 737. But after the downfall of the Chālukyas, they seem to have obtained access into the administration of the Deccan through the favour of the Rāshṭra-kūṭas who were more liberal to Mohemmadans, probably as required by the political conditions of the period. The Chīnchaṇi plates²¹ of Indrarāja, dated in Śaka 848 (A. D. 926), state that a Tājika Madhumati (Mahamūda) tactfully managed to get into the administration of Saṃyāna-maṇḍala in the West coast and won over the favour of King Kṛishṇa-rāja. He was very popular with the people on account of his benevolent acts of opening a feeding house for the travellers and installing a boat to cross the creeks of the sea. He had put down the master of the sea coast by his strong hand :

Kṛishṇarāja-day-āvāpta-kṛitsna-Saṃyāna-maṇḍalaḥ |
 āsīn = Madhumati[ḥ*]śrīmā[n*] nṛipatis = Tājik = ānvayē ||
 Vijitya kara-daṇḍēna sarva-vēlākulādhipān |
 nyavīviśat = samam kīrtyāsarvvatra kāraṇāni yaḥ ||

This appears to be the first occasion when the Moham-madans got access into the administration of the Deccan and South Indian territory. In course of time, history nar-rates how hordes of Mohammadans rushed into the South and ravaged the country and occupied it until the combined armies of the five Mohammadan states destroyed the Vijaya-nagara kingdom and laid waste the Hindu empire. During this political chaos, trade and commerce appear to have passed into the hands of the foreign traders.

In any case, Karnāṭaka was the centre of great comm-ercial organisations from the 6th century A. D. to the 13th century A. D., and maintained its glorious career as a great political and commercial power in South India.

Notes :

1. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 212, text lines 22-26.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 143 ff. and plate.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 295, text lines 4-9.
4. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 142 ff.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 317 ff. and plate.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 217 ff. and plate.
7. *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 33, text line 14
8. *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, pp. 64 ff. and plate.
9. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 129 ff., text lines 64-65.
10. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 87 ff. and plate.
11. *SII.*, Vol. XIII, pt. 1, No. 36, text lines 7-8.
12. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 287.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 285.
14. *SII.*, Vol. XV, No. 24.
15. *A.R. Ep.*, 1934-35, Nos. 277-78.
16. *Ibid.*, 1935-36, No. B 199.
17. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 285.
18. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 22, text lines 3-4.
19. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 232-33, text lines 46-48.
20. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 197 ff. and plate.
21. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 52, text lines 19-21.
22. The references are provided by Sri S. S. Ramachandra Murthy
—[Ex. Ed.]

SOME MORE INSCRIPTIONS FROM AMARĀVATI EXCAVATIONS AND THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE MAHĀSTŪPA

I. KARTHIKEYA SARMA

IN RECENT YEARS GHOSH¹ AND SARKAR² took stock of the earlier inscriptions on rail fragments, other architectural and sculptured pieces accessioned at the site museum at Amarāvati, including those obtained from the clearance operations conducted by R. Subrahmanyam in the year 1958-59³. This year the South-Eastern Circle of the Survey, under the direction of the author, conducted a small scale planned excavation at the old sculpture shed mound close to east and northwards of the *Mahāchaitya*. Although the inscribed antiquities recovered from the digs are extremely limited in number, they provide a good stratigraphical base to the chronology⁴ attempted by Ghosh and Sarkar. In the following paragraphs, while these new discoveries have been catalogued⁵ (items 72 to 84), a fresh discussion on the chronology of the *Mahāstūpa*, particularly of the pre-Christian eras, is attempted.

At the outset, it is necessary to state, in brief, various periods of activity recorded from the recent excavations.

I. CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE (Pl. I)

PERIOD-I (circa 4th-3rd century B. C.): It has two sub-phases; Period-IA and IB. The former is characterised by the occurrence of pits dug into natural soil. These pits yielded Black-and-red ware and Northern black polished wares, sometimes in association with iron. An inscribed potsherd no. 72 is a notable antiquity of this period. It appears that the *Mahāchaitya* complex, atleast in a smaller scale, had come

into existence, but the details of its components remain to be confirmed by further digging,

PERIOD—I B is associated with large quantity of Northern black polished ware of all shades—like the golden, silvery, steel-bluish, black and so on ; Black-and-red ware and Black polished wares. Granite rail uprights and some limestone cross bars belong to this period. Away from the *Mahāchaitya* an oblong structure built of fragmentary (bricks) and lime stone encasing slabs was found. These slabs with curved top, bear representation, in flat relief, of a three-barred rail. This is apparently re-used here and originally pertained to Phase-I A of the *Mahāchaitya* establishment. Thus period I by and large appears to be coeval with the Mauryan phase at the site.

PERIOD—II (2nd and 1st century B. C.) : The Northern Black polished ware and Black-and-red ware continued in this period though the red slipped ware and dull red showed greater profusion. Equally significant is the intensive structural and sculptural activity of this period. In this excavation has been laid bare, near the eastern *āyaka* platform, a great way in which bricks of large size (i.e., 47 x 30 x 9 cms and 42 x 21 x 9 cms) have been used. Other discoveries included inscribed cross bars, an upright carved with the figure of an elephant tusk below a *tāla* tree (no. 739) and a silver punch marked coin.

PERIOD—III (1st-2nd century A. D.) : The stratigraphical evidence-shows that the *stūpa* as it stands today, belongs to this phase, which is characterised by Rouletted ware, Red polished ware, polished black ware and polished red wares. It has yielded quite a good number of Sātavāhana coins of copper, potin and lead. Some sculptured cross bars and coping stones have also come to light.

PERIOD—IV (circa. 3rd-6th century A. D.) : Deposits of this period yielded coins of Ikshvāku and Vishṇukunḍin rulers, besides exposing some isolated structures built of re-used bricks.

PERIOD—V (circa. 6th-11th Century A. D.) : It is represented by stray *Vajrayāna* images, clay sealings, etc.

THE INSCRIBED SCULPTURAL AND ARCHITECTURAL COMPONENTS

The inscriptions are short label records (Pl. II) and for

dating them. apart from palaeography, stratigraphical evidence is considered here. This could not be resorted to by the earlier writers on the subject.

As obvious, no. 72 stratigraphically belongs to a pregranite rail phase and the record, though short, betrays very early characters comparable to the Aśōkan edicts. If as Ghosh said⁷, "the pillar and the granite railing almost unmistakably point to Aśōka as the founder of the Amarāvati stūpa", then the question would arise as to who could be the occupants of the Sub-Period-I A at the site? The deposits yielded rich evidence of iron, Black-and-red and Northern black polished wares along with other early historical wares. Further the inscribed pottery dish clearly points to its Buddhist affiliation. Could it then be that, at Amarāvati, Buddhism, if not the *Mahāstūpa*, had a pre-Aśōkan beginning? That quite a clear occupational deposit existed prior to the granite railing (say Aśōkan) phase at the *Mahāchaitya* area is established by the recent excavation (Pl. III).

Coeval with the granite rail phase i. e., Period-IB, two inscribed potsherds i. e., no. 73 (635 a, b), bearing identical records and a lime stone cross bar no. 74 (743) were found. Certain new facts call for a re-classification and arrangement of the earlier railing components of the *stūpa* listed by Ghosh (his items 4 to 37). The present dig has also brought to light three massive granite upright fragments (see appendix at the end). They were found on the floor level of Period-II (see pls. III to V) uniformly in all the cases. The reasons for their fall and break at the mid-region is not clear. It appears almost certain that the tops of this massive uprights got broken variously after the first rail phases i. e., sometime after the 2nd-1st century B. C. Further, my study revealed that many of the plain *sūchis* bearing short donatory inscriptions, and the plain coping i. e., the massive inscribed one (no. 57) with "*Rājakumāriya samaliyā*", etc., fit in exactly to the granite upright (no. 763). Thus lime stone *sūchis* bearing numbers⁸ 13 (532/333), 14 (541/241), 11 (537/323); 8 (150),⁹ 16 (543/352), 23 (552/310) and numbers 19 (547/310), 26 (556/336) containing identical records; numbers 30 (561/504), 33 (564/501) and the present 74 (743) belong to the granite railing and not to a slightly later, 2nd century B. C. lime

stone rail, as generally supposed. I am of the firm view that the unique stele, with labelled sculptures on each of its four faces belongs to this period although a slightly later date was assigned by its editors, basing on art¹⁰ depiction and palaeography of the records. This may be a free standing pillar flanking the entrance like the Sāñchi examples. Ghosh rightly took that the massive but plain lime stone coping i.e., 37 (104) stands apart and does not belong to a comparatively short and slender lime stone upright. The granite upright (no. 763) (Pl. VI a) recently recovered as a flattish top and tenon projection which admirably fits into the mortis of the above coping. The detailed analysis of the granite members (appendix) brings to light the following facts.

1. The granite railing has lime stone cross-bars and plain coping stones. The plain coping of Burgess (no. 70 b), found close to the *Muḍukatala* pillar at the eastern gateway also belongs to this period. The earliest sculptural activity was also of lime stone media, the most suitable and abundant raw material of the region.

2. The granite rail was only a partial one flanking the prominent entrances at the east as well as west and not all along the perimeter of the *Māhachaitya* during this period.¹¹ The present position of the granite verticals is only a made-up affair by the conservators of recent times.

IN PERIOD—II, however, it appears that a few massive and *in-situ* granite verticals were retained within an otherwise entirely lime stone rail, which now covered the full circle of of the *Mahāstūpa*. This was more elaborated and beautified with carvings, even on the individual members like *sūchis* and coping stones. Some of the verticals of this period had sculptured faces though in flat relief. An example recovered from the earliest level of period II depicted an elephant tusker (Pl. VI B) recalling the *Gajatama* of Kalsi in style but in different synoptic context. To this phace belong all the early railing components listed by Ghosh (other than those mentioned in the above and no. 75 (744) and 76 (670) below).

Ghosh pointed out, "there is thus ample material consisting of inscribed architectural pieces and sculptures, perhaps more copiously in the Amarāvati muesum than elsewhere, to establish the existence of a *stūpa* at Amarāvati in the 2nd

century B. C. But that is not the beginning, for there is evidence that the *stūpa* had an earlier origin"¹². In the light of the present evidence I would unhesitatingly add that the *Mahāstūpa* at Amarāvati, during the Aśōkan period itself, had a three barred railing consisting of granite uprights (at least partially); lime stone plain *sūchis* and coping, etc. The nucleus of the *stūpa*, perhaps had a still earlier origin, the nature of which remains to be ascertained by careful digging across.

Numbers 77 to 80 belong to Period-III i.e., Sātavāhna which heralds the rule of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and his son Vāsishṭhīputra Puṣumāvi. The palaeography well agrees with their stratigraphical position and is also amply supported by numismatic evidence. The earliest Sātavāhana coin belongs to the above monarch, and hence the period begins with the later half of the 1st century A. D. Sarkar's numbers 45 to 47, 53 to 57, 59 to 64 and 71 belong to this group.

Numbers 81 and 82 pertain to Period-IV representing the assemblage of Ikshvāku and Post-Ikshvāku affiliation wherein the inscribed records reveal developed *Brāhmī* characters. Sarkar's numbers 48 to 52 and 56 come under this group.

To the upper levels belong the *Vajrayāna* images and the inscribed Bōdhisattva image no. 83 and clay tablets (no. 84). R. Subrahmanyam's dig had also given a good crop of *Mahāyāna* images both of sand stone as well as lime stone.¹³ A few more examples are seen in the Museum.¹⁴

Douglass Barret's re-assessment in respect of the early history of the great *stūpa* suffers from certain bias, and meagre data. Dani's late dating¹⁶ of the Amarāvati inscriptions is quite untenable. These views are based on a piecemeal study of partial collections which had no recorded details of locus. The attempts made here are to post, upto date, the available data into a stratigraphical frame work arrived at by a careful study and classification of antiquities unearthed from excavations. May it be stressed here that no finality in the chronology of the *Mahāchaitya* and its various sculptural stages would be possible unless the early structural phases of the *stūpa* are peeled off by careful excavation and followed by a comprehensive study and classification of the entire collections irrespective of their location in different

AMARĀVATĪ: 1974, DIST. GUNTUR (AP)

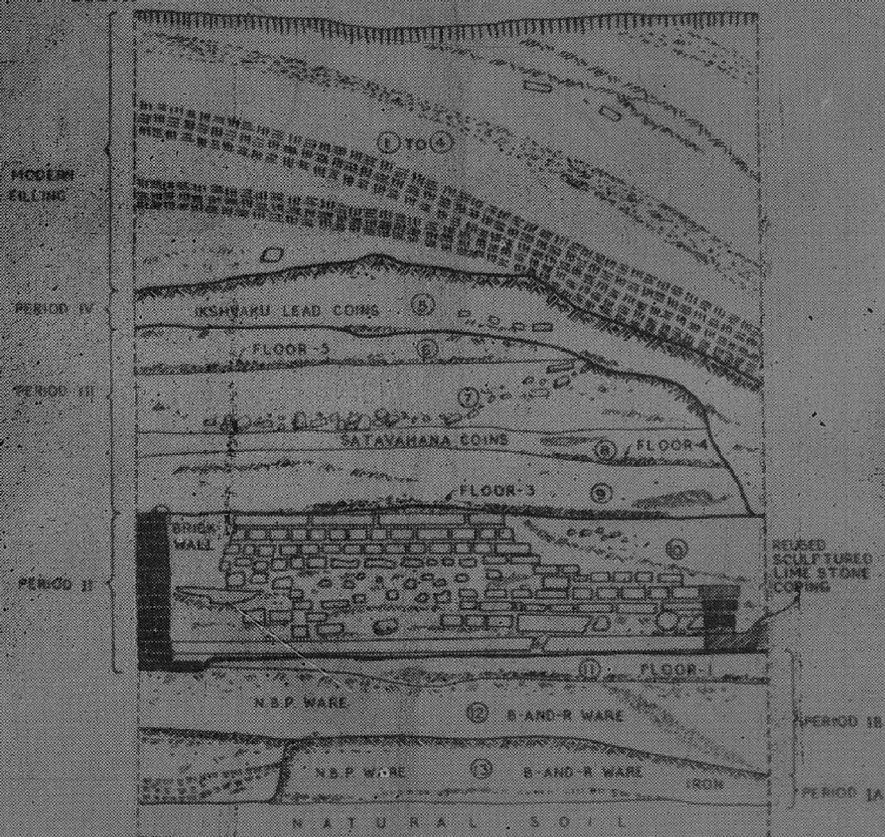
SECTION LOOKING WEST

0 1 2 METRES

(TR 1A2/2)

SOUTH

NORTH


M. Rama Reddy
Drawingman 9/8

Amarāvati : Chronological Sequence

PL. II



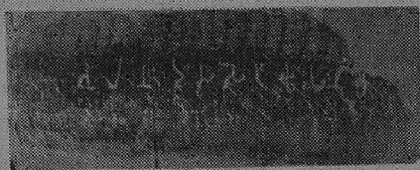
303/480



556



75



74



78



302/218

Amarāvati : Short Label Records

PL. III



Amarāvati : Granite Upright Fragment

PL. IV



Amarāvati : Granite Upright Fragment

PL.V



Amarāvati : Granite Upright Fragments

PL VI



B



A

Amarāvati : Granite Uprights

PL.VII

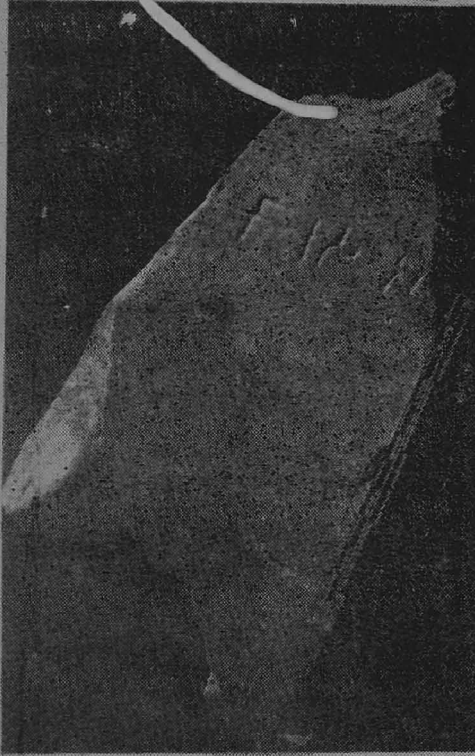


72

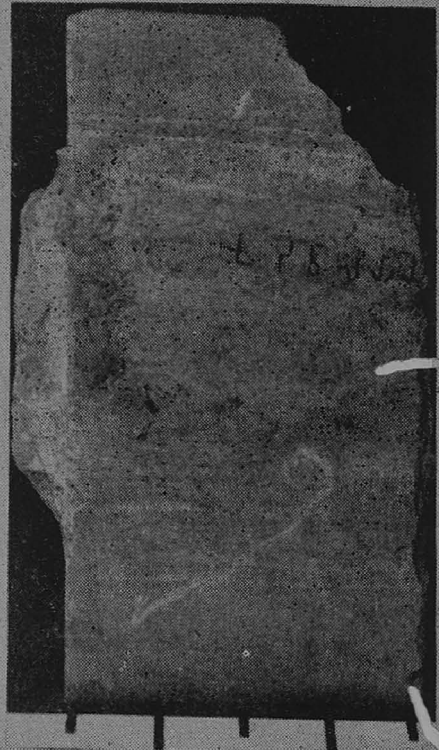


73

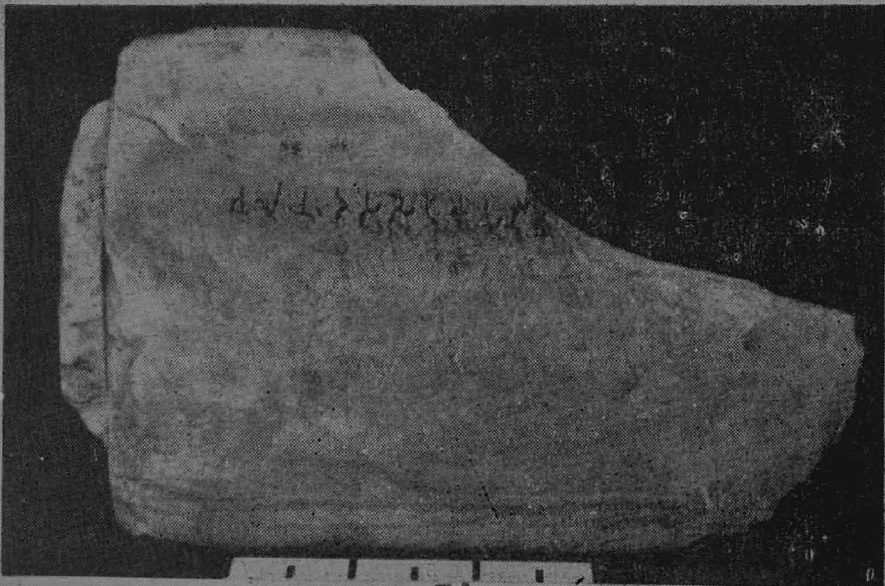
Amarāvati : Inscribed Pottery



76

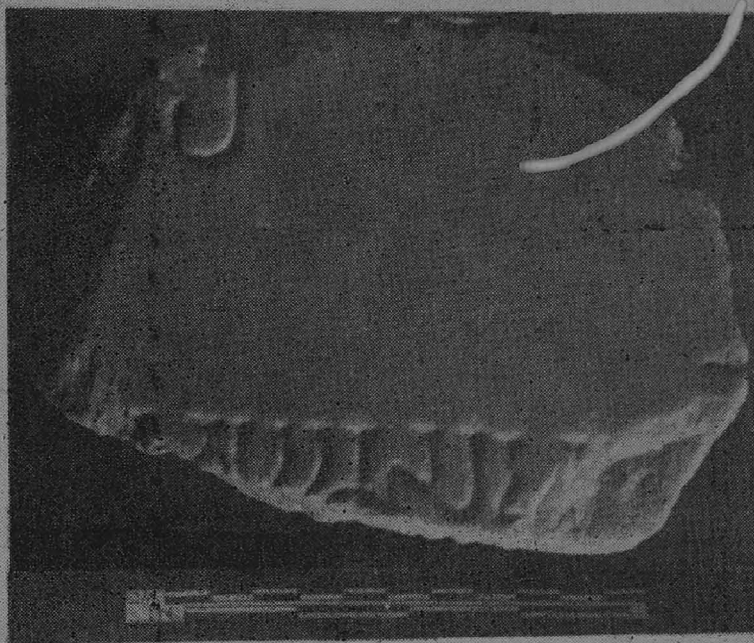


75

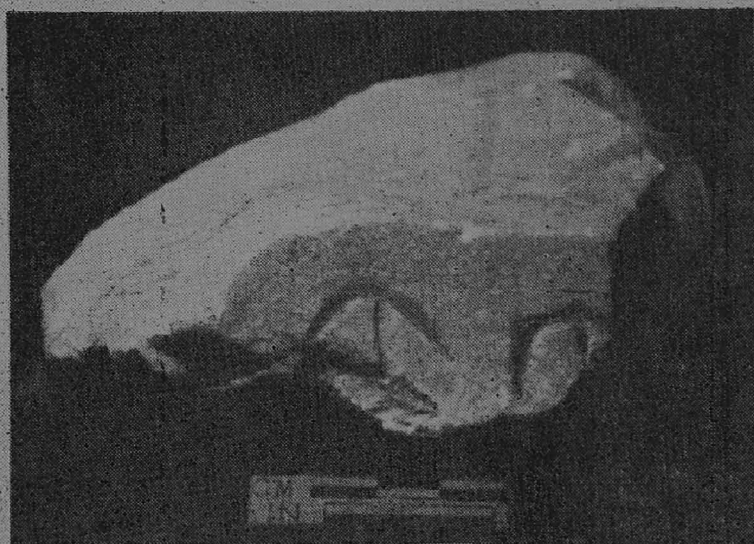


74

PL. IX

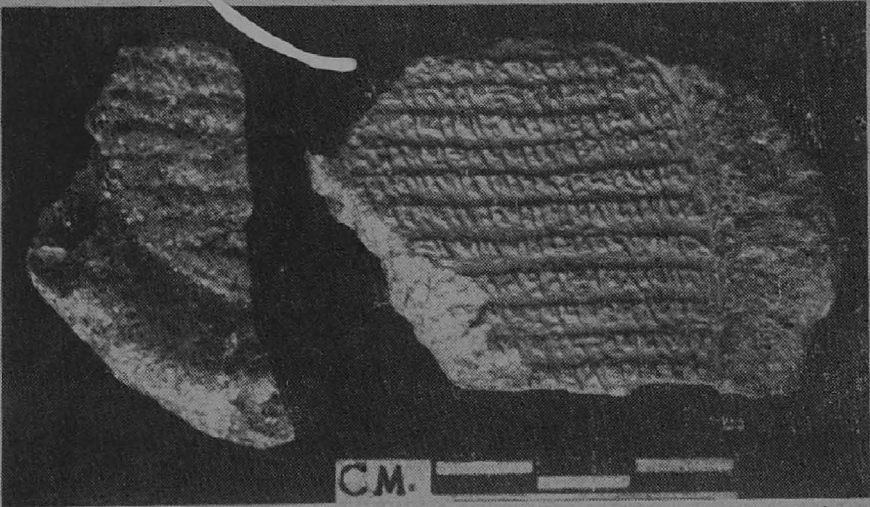


81



77

PL. X



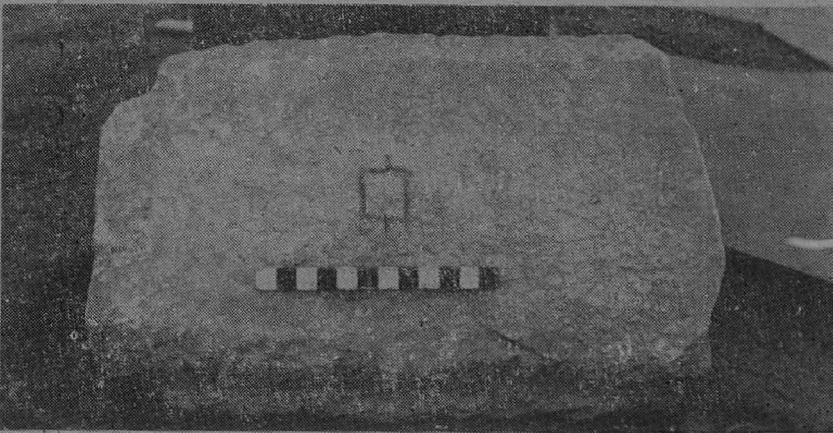
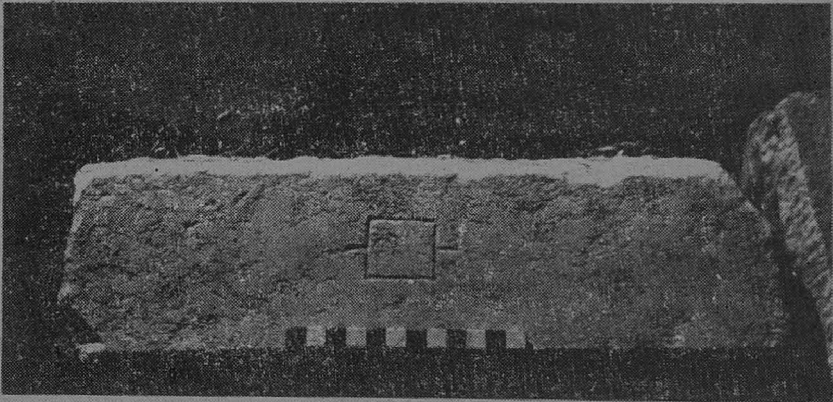
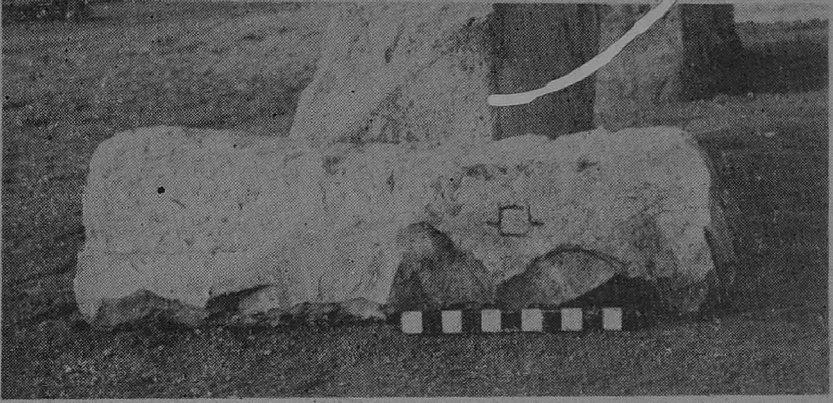
84



78

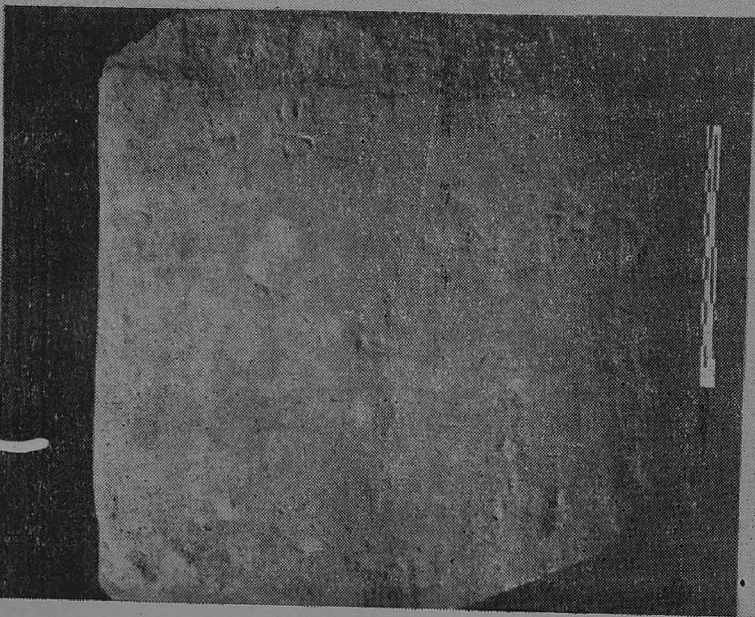
Amarāvati : Clay Sealing and Dome Slab Fragments

PL. XI

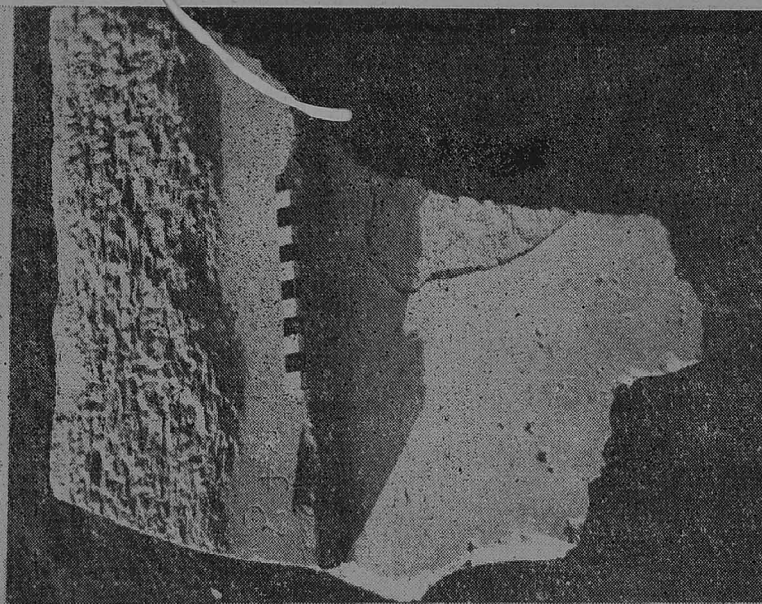


Amarāvati : Drum Slab Fragments

PL. XII



80



79

Amarāvati : Drum Slab Fragment and small Sūchis

PL. XIII



Amarāvati : Bōdhisatva Image and Inscription

PL. XIV



Amarāvati : Inscribed *thabhō*



Amrāvati : Restored Granite Uprights

museums, both Indian and foreign. This is indeed a stupendous task, but nevertheless, essential and my humble attempt testifies to the great potentiality of the site in this respect.

To recapitulate, the pre-Christian phase of the Amarāvati *stūpa* had atleast two main periods.

Period-I datable to the 3rd-4th century B. C. sub-divided into I-A associated with the pre-granite ~~rail~~ phase datable to the 4th century B. C., nature of the *stūpa* of this period is elusive but the inscriptional evidence (no. 72), though by itself is meagre, assumes significance due to the other associated finds like Northern black polished ware and iron at the earliest level of the site. An early Buddhist base at the site, though not actually a Mahāchaitya, can be envisaged, which factor perhaps led a great emperor like Aśoka (see also *JIH*, Vol. LI, Pt. 1, April, 73, pp. 102-03), to choose the place "for such proselytising activity" as the issue of the pillar edict and despatch of missionary Mahādēva to Mahisha-maṇḍala etc. The discovery of the silver punch marked coin in hoards datable to the pre-Mauryan and Mauryan series in coastal Āndhra as well as Deccan¹⁷, can, by no means, be set aside lightly in view of the consistent occurrence of Northern black polished ware and iron in pre-Aśokan levels at Amarāvati. Sub-Period-I B datable to the 3rd century B. C. characterising the granite rail phase and the Aśokan pillar edict, represents the Sculptural stage-1.

Period-II Post-Aśokan : dated to the 1st century B. C. and coeval with the Bharhut and early phase of Sāñchī, ended in elaboration and completion of large scale sculptural work and rail of the preceding period. This represents the Sculptural stage-2.

Vidya Dehejia¹⁸ prefers to classify the early activity prior to the 'first period or early phase' generally referred to by the scholars, into Post-Aśokan stage A and B. The inscribed architectural and sculptured pieces included in her post-Aśokan stage-A, virtually correspond to the earliest group (stage-1) which on clear stratigraphical analysis pertain to the granite rail phase. Her stage-B, though should like-wise tally our stage-2 included some earlier¹⁹ as well as later examples²⁰. As suggested by Sarkar a revision is necessary even in respect of the later phases of the Amarāvati *stūpa*²¹.

Period-III : 1st-2nd century A. D. Sātavāhana is stage-3, and Period-IV : 3rd-6th century A. D. represents Sculptural stage-4 of the Ikshvāku and Post-Ikshvāku period; period-V : 6th-11th century A. D. pertain to *Vajrayāna* and the later represents Sculptural stage-5.

III. (A) INSCRIBED POTTERY (72-73 : Pl. VII)

No. 72 (769) :— Flattish dish fragment of Black-and-red ware, inner surface containing roughly incised *Brāhmī* letters reading ... *thusa pāta* ... The example was found in pit-1 dug into the natural murrum and sealed by layer-13 at a depth of 9.20 meters B. S. The pit is ascribable to the earliest occupational activity at the site, i. e., period-I A. Along with this find notable antiquities are Northern black polished ware sherds and iron objects. Unlike the remaining examples, stratigraphically the levels belong to pre-granite rail phase. The characters of the letters recall Aśōkan edict, more specifically, the inscriptions recorded from the very site²² itself (see also 21, 22 below). The sherd represents the earliest extant example of writing recorded from the site.

73 (635 and 635 A) :— Two shoulder fragments of a red slipped ware vase of medium fabric contain three early *Brāhmī* letters reading ... *malasa* ... in both the cases. It cannot be said with certainty whether the two belong to the same vase or of the different ones. They come from Period-I B coeval with granite rail phase.

(B) LIME STONE *SŪCHIS* (Pl. VIII)

74 (743) : Lime stone *sūchi* fragment with inscription reading...*Chulanandasa sēṭika paṇika*... Ext. L = 67 cm. x Ht = 47 cm. x 14 cms., broken towards the right. Lenticular tenon : Ht = $36\frac{1}{2}$ cm. x Th = 9 cms. This donor's name occurs in no. 30 (561 / 504) and 33 (564 / 501) listed by Ghosh. The measurements of these lenticular tenon generally fit into the size of the mortises of the granite uprights of the group from Period I B.

75 (744) : Grey lime stone fragment left side and the top corner broken. Ext. L = 23 cm. x Ht = 43 cm. x Th. = 17 cm.; tenon Ht = 26 cm x Th = $5\frac{1}{2}$ cms.; Ext. inscription reads *Kurivāliyāna* ... The size of this cross bar fits into the 2nd

group from Period II.

76 (670) : Grey fragment broken at both the sides. Ext. L = 13 cm. x Ht. = 25 cm x Th = $4\frac{1}{2}$ cms. Ext. Inscription reads*Kārāsa a* ... The example comes from Period—II Post-granite rail phase.

(C) OTHERS. (77 to 83) (Pls. IX—XIII)

77 (671) : Lime stone, greenish fragment with only two letters extant reads *Sasa* comes from the mid-levels of the Sātavāhana Period III.

78 (709) (Pl. 13) : Broken lower part of a dome slab containing a seated figure in relief, mutilated and an inscribed label in two lines over the raised border below Ext. L = 37 x Ht = 15 x Th = 7 Cms. It reads :

[*gaha*]*patisa Chandamukhasa*

Nita Budha Vasa

Lime mortar is seen at the back of the slab. The piece comes from the Sātavāhana levels coeval with the *pradakṣiṇā-patha* i.e. Period III.

79 (762) : Grey plain drum slab a larger piece. Extant letters : *vikasa* ; in characters of the 1st-2nd century A. D. Ext. Ht = 1.10 m x L = 82 cms. x Th = 26 cms.

80 (701) : Small *sūchi*. Ext. L = 20 cms x Ht = 32 cms x Th = 7 cms. III defined lenticular tenon Ht = x $6\frac{1}{2}$ cms. At the extreme right corner, a *Brāhmī* letter *a* followed by a numeral - 2 in Ikshvāku characters i.e., 3rd century A. D.

81 (745) : Small lime stone fragment. Ext. L = $17\frac{1}{2}$, Ht = 15, Th = 5 cms. Inscription in two lines : *ka* (Lower part) *Chavakasa dā[nam ?]* It comes from Period-IV and datable to circa. 3rd-4th century A. D.

82 (761 a, b, c) (Pl. XI) : Drum slab fragments unworked lower portions with *Brāhmī* letters *bō* perhaps standing for mason's marks. Circa. 3rd century A. D.

For the first time, Amarāvati yielded inscribed records containing the Buddhist creed formula.

83 (74) (Pl. XIII) : A grey lime stone image of Bōdhisattva Padmapāṇi. Ht = 1.50 m. x L = 45 cms. x Th = 12 cms. Inscription in right mid-region in characters of the 10th-11th century A. D. containing the Buddhist formula :

1 Yē dharmā hētu pra[bha]-

- 2 vā hētum tēshām
- 3 Tathāgatō hyavō . .
- 4 . . cha yō
5. nirōdhō ēvaṃ vā-
- 6 dī mahāśramaṇaḥ

The characters resemble the Rājghaṭ clay seal from Bharat Kala Bhavaṇ, no. 6322²⁴.

CLAY SEALINGS (84)

84 (184 and 237 a) : Clay sealings (2 nos.) containing the Buddhist formula as above in Nāgari characters no. 184 is an unbaked one, where as no. 237 (a) is brick-red in colour and well burnt.

Such clay sealings are of frequent occurrence²⁵ in famous Buddhist centres of north like Sāñchī, Sāranāth and Nalanda. The above examples along with no. (83) were found from trench-A 3 from a huge brick and pottery debris. It is therefore clear that even at a quite later date, say, during the 10th-12th century A. D. the *Mahāchaitya* continued to be a prominent centre, a fact attested by later epigraphical evidences²⁶ as well.

APPENDIX

It must be admitted at once that no clear record is found about the discovery, the extant position, chronological horizon and composition of the granite rail. The earliest mention to the existence of massive blocks of brown granite was made by Burgess. He writes "to the south of the western entrance lie five massive blocks of brown granite which have at one time been pillars of the outer rail. The upper halves of all are broken off, but one of them is still over 7½ feet in length and all are 3 to 3½ feet broad above and carefully polished. Besides them were found the cross-bars, very much lighter than those used elsewhere in the circle where the uprights are of lime stone, being plain lenticular slabs, lent into the edges of the granite pillars and considerably more apart than the other ²⁷. It appears that Burgess found some of these plain cross-bars lying close to the granite verticals which confirm our view point expressed above as regards the composition of the granite rail. As

regards their dates, Burgess recalls "just at this point in the circle it is that more archaic sculptures are found than anywhere else round the circle.....The granite pillars may have been the commencement of an early rail never completed, but in place of which the outer marble one was after-wards erected". Burgess was very much nearer to the truth and the earliest rail was partly of granite, to commence with, but in the succeeding decades it was completed with more easily workable and available verticals and copings of lime stone media.

Rea's dig has thrown some light on the position of these uprights. He says "on each side of the east and west gates are a number of large granite slabs, in reality broad piers, pierced on each side for lenticular rails. These it is thought may have been used as buttresses, or are perhaps the remnants of an earlier *stūpa* never completed.....Lying as they were, in different directions, either wholly or partially buried in the ground, no definite idea of their use or actual position could be obtained. I, therefore, had the whole of them completely exposed, and found that they all lay with their bases roughly concentric with the circuit of the pavement and thought some had fallen outwards and others inwards, in the direction of the *stūpa* it was perfectly evident that they had originally stood against the outside of the great marble rail, forming another rail at a lower level, being in fact, buttresses to support the foundations at these points. This would have been necessary, as the ancient outside ground surface is much lower than the pavement of the procession path"²⁸. Rea also informs us that "one at the east gate, has a line of a Pāli inscription".

From this account we are able to gather that the granite rail was only at the eastern and western cardinals of the *stūpa*, and originally stood considerably away, from the marble rail and in much lower level than the latter, hence in point of time clearly earlier. Also it appears that the *stūpa* of this granite rail period was of a bigger dimension (i. e., more in diameter than perhaps the height of the dome).

Subsequently, as a result of the clearance work undertaken by R. Subrahmanyam, more details about this granite rail came to light and some of these were restored to their

assumed positions, by the conservators in latter times.

A. INSCRIBED GRANITE UPRIGHTS :— In addition to the inscribed one reported by Rea, two more were found at the eastern side of the *Mahāchaitya*. The inscriptions (Pl. II) on these three massive fragments (upper parts of the rail-pillars) betray clearly Aśōkan characters. All of them are called as *thabhō* or *stambha* and bear fine Mauryan polish. They are assignable to Period I-B, and Sculptural stage-1.

No. 303/480 :— The first example (see Pl. XIV) has, in addition a *triratna* in bold relief on one of its wider faces. The inscription reads : *Kalavaīra gāmasa thabhō*.

No. 302/218 :— This is again an upper part of the upright and the record is in two lines :

1 Kumārasa Avataka masa tha[bhō]

2 Māghavadatenāma kara ? [kārāpitō]

The characters are very close to the one on the pillar edict as well as the potsherd no. 73 described above.

No. 556 :— In this case the letters are fine and more systematically engraved, like in the Girnar edict of Aśōka. The record reads : ... *i . ānasa maukasa sēthnō thabhō*

(B) RESTORED GRANITE UPRIGHTS :—

i) Eastern Side (Pl. XV) :— In all 10 uprights (north-south) of granite are in standing position on the eastern side of the *Mahāstūpa*, presently.

The measurements of the lenticular mortises of these fall under the following size groups. The variation of the mortises is occasionally within a single upright itself but they conform broadly to the following size groups.

Size group	Height	Thickness
1	29 cms.	6 to 8 cms.
2	33 to 34 cms.	8 to 9 cms.
3	35 to 37 cms.	8 cms.
4	39 cms.	9½ cms.

Exceptionally in case of the inscribed example no. 3 (556), the measurement of the mortises differed considerably. On the left side the extant mortise is 37 cms. x 8 cms., whereas the right side one 29 x 8 cms. This example had a partly broken tenon on the top to receive the coping mortise. It is irregular and measured L= 23 cms. Th=5 cms.

ii) Western Side :— There are 13 uprights in all on

this side. Only the massive lower portions are existing. The lenticular mortises fall under the following size groups.

Groups	Sizes
1	33 to 34 x $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 8
2	37 to 39 x 8 to 9
3	40 to 41 x $8\frac{1}{2}$ to $9\frac{1}{2}$

In one example (third one from north) lime mortar is seen sticking to the sides which clearly indicates the manner of fixing the *sūchis* which in every likelihood were of stone only.

(C) UPRIGHTS FROM RECENT DIGS (Pls. III to V and XV) :—

In recent digs, three more massive fragments of granite uprights were found.

1. No. 763 ; Tr-XA-5/2 :— Ext. Ht=1.42 m. x L=1.00 m. Th=0.41 cm.

The lenticular mortises conform to group 2 and 3 above. The tenon L=19 cms. x Th=8 cms is well preserved and also the flattish top has a width of 40 cms.

2. No. 764 :- Lower part of the vertical. TR. XA-3 height worked 92 cms., Length worked 70 cms., Th=48 cms. approximately. (The mortise conformed to group 3).

3. The third one is a small fragment, XA-4/2, layer-3. Only tenon is partly preserved. Ext. L=12 cms. x Th= $9\frac{1}{2}$ cms. x Br=21 cms.

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GRANITE UPRIGHTS

1. None of the uprights is fully available. Their total height is to be worked out only through the available fragments. The approximate height, above the ground is 2.3 metres with three lenticular mortises on each side to receive the cross-bars. There are four examples in all, where the lenticular mortises occur on only one side, thereby indicating their use as terminal pillars at the entrance gate²⁹, which could be only two on each side i. e., east and west. Thus only two gateways existed.

Their present position cannot be taken as contiguous to their original locus.

2. In respect of stray fallen verticals, it cannot be said with cerainty that they are even nearer to their original locus. Recent digs yielded foundation pits indicating their fixation in a much lower level, a fact observed by Rae also

and slightly away from their present alignments at the eastern side of the *Mahāchaitya* (Pl. XV). On this analogy, we cannot be firm about their present position on the western side. It is held that these old granite uprights might have been used, at one stage, as buttresses³⁰ to the later railing of the Sātavāhana period by which date they had fallen to the ground.

3. None of the uprights is uniform in their thickness or height. They have tapering sides, gradually thickening towards the base which has an unworked portion set out for fixing into the ground. The lenticular mortises are not of uniform size or shape, even within a broad size group, minor deviations exist in respect of their lengths and thickness. It is curious to note that in no. 3 (556) the left side mortise is of 37 cms. height, and 13 cms. thickness whereas the right one is of Ht=29 cms. and L-8 cms.

4. It can be said that the cross-bars and coping of these granite rail were of lime stone right from the beginning and these components are fixed with the help of lime mortar. Evidence is clear in this regard. The suggestion that wooden *sūchis* were fitted appears untenable.

5. In one example of an upright, we have (Pl. VI-A) (no. 753) evidence of a flattish top of 41 cms. wide with a central tenon projection of L-20 cms, Ht=14 cms. and Th=10 cms. The *ushnīsha* no. 37 (104) which has a flat underside measuring 40 cms. width with the mortise of same shape and dimension undoubtedly served as a coping of this rail. The palaeography of the record fully substantiates their contemporaneity.

Notes :

1. A. Ghosh, "Early Inscriptions from Amarāvati, South-east India" *Proceedings of the Second Conference on Asian Archaeology*, (Colombo, 1969) Cyclostyled copy : (Ghosh, 1969).
2. H. Sarkar, "Some Early inscriptions in the Amarāvati Museum" *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, (University of Calcutta, 1970-71) Vol. IV, pp. 1-13, Pls. 1-2 (JAIH).
3. *Indian Archaeology*, 1958-59- A Review (New Delhi, 1959), p. 5 (IAR).
4. Ghosh, 1969, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6. Also H. Sarkar and S. P. Nainar, *Amarāvati* (New Delhi, 1972), pp. 11-16.
5. I have continued the documentation numbers followed by H. Sarkar after A. Ghosh. The inscriptions listed here bear serial

nos. 72 to 84. The number within the brackets is the field register number of the excavator ; however, in older examples cited here, the museum accession number is also referred.

6. The excavations were carried out during the months of January-March, 1974 by the author assisted by T. V. G. Sastri, B. Raja Rao, D. Hanumantha Rao and K. Venkateswara Rao.
7. Ghosh, 1969, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
8. These numbers are after A. Ghosh's article cited above.
9. Stern and Benisti include this (cross bar) among their earliest group of *Evolution du style Indian d' Amarāvati*, (Paris 1961). Pl. II-B. Barrett thinks that it possibly formed part of the coping of the *harmika* rail, which is not correct. This is clearly a major portion of a lime stone *sūchi* of the earliest period. *The British Museum Quarterly*, London, (1967), Vol. XXXII, nos. 1-2, p. 46.
10. A. Ghosh and H. Sarkar, "Beginnings of Sculptural Art in South-East India", in *Ancient India*, (New Delhi, 1967), nos. 20-21, pp. 168-77 (AI).
11. It may be pertinent to note that since the various components of the railing were caused to be made by the individuals or bodies and since their renovation (replacement, alike depended on many other factors strictly no time bracket can be given to the life period of a railing in its entirety. Nevertheless, it can be said that the entire scheme, its layout, etc., is a planned affair right from the beginning of the establishment and administered, perhaps, by guilds (*nigamas* or *gōshṭhis*) who sometimes saw to the completion of the left out portions as well (see R. P. Chanda, in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 262-63, nos. 4 & 5 and *A. I.*, nos. 20-21). As the evidence stands granite rail, the earliest of its kind, perhaps of Aśōkan times, was only partly extant to start with beautifying the western and eastern cardinal points of the *Mahāchaitya*. This was extended to cover the entire perimeter of the *stūpa* during the 2nd-1st century B. C. by adding uprights and other components in lime stone. After, say 200 years of life, this earliest rail was totally replaced by a much larger and ornate railing with lofty entrance gateways at the four cardinal points during the Sātavāhana period.
12. Sten Konow and also John Marshall expressed similar view basing on the early inscribed records (atleast eighteen such were found by Rea- *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, (1905-06), p. 165 and *Ibid.*, 1906-07, p. 40. (ASIAR).

13. M. Somasekhara Sarma (ed.), *Vijñāna Sarvasvamu*, (Madras, 1959) Vol. III, pp. 541-42.

Loughlass Barrett, "The Later school of Amarāvati and its influences". *Art and letters* (1954), Vol. XXVIII, no. 2, pp. 41-53, *IAR*, 1958-59, p. 5, Pls. I-B & C. II-D.

14. *Amarāvati*, 1972, pp. 16, 43-44.
15. "The Early phase at Amarāvati", *The British Museum Quarterly*, Vol. XXXII, nos. 1-2, pp. 35-47.
16. A. H. Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, (London, 1963), pp. 72 and 98. See A. Ghosh, 1969, *op. cit.*, pp. 3 and notes 7, 8.
17. G. Yazdani, (ed.), *The Early History of Deccan*, Vol II, pp. 86-87. Also I. Karthikeya Sarma : "NBP. C-14 dates", *Journal of Indian History*, (April, 1974).
18. Vidya Dehejia, "Early Activity at Amarāvati" : *Archives of Asian art*, Vol. XXIII, (1969-70), pp. 41-42.
19. For example she is inclined to include the *stele* as well as Burgess's much damaged pillar with label inscription *nirañjana gamanaṁ*, under this group., *Ibid.*, p. 45.
- 19 (a). *Ibid.*, p. 51.
20. *JAIH*, p. 13 foot note, no. 24.
21. A. Ghosh, 1969, *op. cit.*, nos. 1 (303/480), 2 (302/218), 3 (556). D. C. Sircar, in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 40-43,
22. For similar examples see *JAIH*, p. 5, nos. 48-52.
23. *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1908-09, Pl. XXVIII, No. d ; XXXI-d, h.
24. K. K. Thapliyal, *Studies in Ancient Indian Seals*, (1972), p. 219.
25. Sāñchi, *ASIAR*, 1914-15, p. 94, *Ibid.*, 1913-14. p. 22. *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology, Sāñchi*, (Bhopal State) p. 58, No. C 809, *Sarnath : ASIAR*, 1904-05, pp. 90-91; *Ibid.*, 1907-08, p. 53.
26. *Amarāvati*, 1972, pp. 7-8 and author's Dhanakataka in Kannada Encyclopaedia, (Mysore, 1974) (in the press).
27. J. Burgess, *Archaeological Survey, South India*, Vol. I (1887), pp. 22. 23.
28. *ASIAR*, 1905-06, p. 119.
29. *Amarāvati*, 1972, p. 12.
30. *Ibid*, p. 10- A. Rea also suggests like this. See *ASIAR*, 1905-06, p. 119.

31. I am grateful to H. Sarkar, Superintending Archaeologist, Temple Survey Project, for his valuable suggestions. Also I thank K. S. Mani and Edwin, Photographers, M. Rami Reddy, Draftsman and Krishna Rao, Stenographer for their valuable assistance.

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THE IDENTIFICATION OF KĀCHA : A FRESH STUDY

M. J. SHARMA

SEVERAL THEORIES HAVE BEEN advanced by scholars from time to time regarding the identification of Kācha of the gold coins which were discovered along with the coins of the early Gupta kings. Their different views which were based mostly on analysis of the numismatic data, the literary sources and the existing historical facts connected with the Guptas, besides resulting in controversies have also failed in their object of making a definite identification of this personage - Kācha. Before taking a brief look at these views, we can as well know something about the Kācha coinage.

Kācha, whose coins were found only in the hoards of the Gupta coins, particularly along with the coins of Chandragupta I, Samudragupta and Chandragupta II, is generally assigned to the early Gupta period. A. S. Altekar, who dealt with this problem in detail in the chapter 'Coinage of Kācha' remarks that the big Bayāna hoard of 1821 coins contained not a single coin of any non-Gupta ruler, and still it had 16 coins of Kācha and he observes that it, therefore, appears probable that Kācha was a Gupta ruler. The description of the two varieties of Kācha coins, which are not many in number, is as follows:

OBVERSE: King dressed as in the standard type of Samudragupta, standing to left holding *Chakradhvaja* (standard surmounted by wheel) in left hand and offering incense on altar with right hand. *Garuḍadhvaja* in front of the king in the second variety only. Under the king's left arm, Kācha, circular legend, commencing at left, *Kāchō gāma vajitya divam*

karmabhir-uttamaih-jayati ('Having conquered the earth, Kācha wins the heaven by excellent deeds').

REVERSE: Goddess (Lakshmī?) nimbate, standing to left on a circular carpet wearing sārī, bodice, upper garment, earrings, necklace and armlets, holding a flower in right hand in A (first variety) and a noose in B (second variety), and cornucopiae in left hand. Symbol on the left at the centre in A (first variety) and at the top in B (second variety). On the right the legend-*Sarvarājōchchhēttā* (Exterminator of all the kings).

Only one coin in the Bayāna hoard represents the second variety (B).

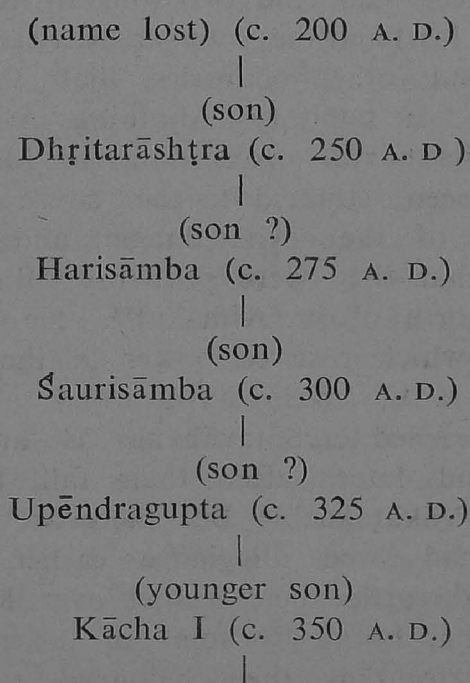
Earlier these coins were attributed to *Māhārāja* Ghaṭōt-kacha by some scholars³ on the basis of the similarity found in the second half of his name, but Fleet⁴ showed that Kacha and Kācha (which was found on most of the coins) have entirely different meanings. He (Fleet), followed by Allen and V. A. Smith, identified him with Samudragupta on the basis of the identical semblance, weight and legends of these coins. Rev. H. Heras⁵ held the views that Kācha was probably an elder brother of Samudragupta, who led a rebellion after the death of their father (Chandragupta I) and might have occupied the throne for a short time. Altekar⁶ suggests that Kācha was probably the predecessor of Chandragupta II and that, as such, he should be identified with Rāmagupta of the literary sources. P. L. Gupta⁷ suggests that Kāchagupta may have been Bhasma of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, a younger brother of Samudragupta, who had rebelled against him.

All the above views fall within the frame-work of identifying Kācha with one or the other of the early Gupta kings (i. e. Samudragupta or Rāmagupta). A different view, deviating from the above line of thinking, is held by B. S. Sitholey⁸ who poses a question whether Kācha was at all a Gupta monarch. After putting forth certain arguments against his identity with Samudragupta and Rāmagupta, he suggests that Kācha may have been a court-noble or an intriguing minister-offical of Samudragupta who may have seized the throne when the king was out on his wars of conquest, but routed on the latter's return. And, according to Sitholey, during that brief usurpation Kācha may have issued coins imitating those of Samudragupta⁹. The above view, like the

other ones, also proves to be improbable as it is not substantiated by any definite evidences. In this paper an attempt is made to make a fresh study of this 'Kācha problem' with the help of certain available epigraphical evidences.

Altekar refers to an inscription found in Ajaṇṭā Cave XVII which mentions the names of two Kāchas who, according to him, in contemporary times, were rulers of a family ruling at Ajaṇṭā as the feudatories of the Vākāṭakas.¹⁰ A closer study of this epigraph reveals certain facts relating to the Kācha problem.

This inscription, which is partly damaged, was edited first by Bhau Daji and Bhagavanlal Indraji and later edited in greater detail by V. V. Mirashi¹¹. It belongs to a prince (whose name is lost) who was ruling as a feudatory of the Vākāṭaka emperor Harishēṇa. It states that he had a younger brother named Ravisāmba and also gives an account of the ten members of his family who preceded him (as shown below). Since it is known that this prince was a contemporary of Vākāṭaka Harishēṇa whose date is generally accepted to be c. 475 A. D.,¹² the chronology of this family can be reconstructed roughly by allotting 25 years for each generation.



lineage, having their home land¹⁸ somewhere north of the Vindhya and they possibly migrated to the south during the political changes which occurred in the time of the Imperial Guptas (most probably during the time of Samudragupta). There are two Kāchas mentioned here, the first one, Kācha I, son of Upēndragupta, assignable to c. 350 A. D., and the second, Kācha II, son of Nīladāsa and grandfather of the donor, assignable to c. 425 A. D. Distinctively, unlike the other members of the family, these two do not bear any surnames. Now Kācha I, whose date is fixed approximately as 350 A. D., possibly can be taken as a contemporary of Samudragupta (320-75 A. D.). This contemporary and historical figure, Kācha I, unlike the other hypothetical figures of different scholars, stands on a parallel and more stronger ground for being identified with Kācha of the gold coins. And so, since this Kācha (Kācha I) is the of only contemporaneous personage with that name known to history, other than Kācha of the gold coins, it will be quite reasonable to identify him with the latter. As for his position in Gupta history and the significance of the coins bearing his name, two reasonable explanations can be given: a) Kācha I could have been a rebel who had the opportunity to occupy the Gupta throne for a short while and had issued coins independently imitating Chandragupta I or Samudragupta, or b) Kācha I was a feudatory who might have shown exceptional bravery and loyalty and could have occupied the highest position in the court of Samudragupta who may have issued the coins in the former's name as a gesture of appreciation.

According to the earlier explanation, if Kācha (I) is taken as a rebel or usurper, it has to be decided as to when he had the opportunity to seize the throne. In the first instance, it can be said that Kācha I who probably had a claim on the Gupta throne through some family connections with the Guptas¹⁹ or because of being supported by nobles who questioned the choice of Samudragupta as the successor on some other ground,²⁰ might have led the rebellion and occupied the Gupta throne immediately after the death of Chandragupta I. In the second instance, applying Sitholey's view (discussed above) it can be said that Kācha I, who was probably one of the court-nobles or an ambitious minister,

might have usurped the throne by taking advantage of Samudragupta's absence at the capital. In the former instance since Kācha I preceedes Samudragupta it has to be deduced that the coins were issued by him only by following the types of Chandragupta I which in the latter instance they have to be considered as mere imitations of Samudragupta's coins. The legends occurring on both sides of the coins cannot be taken as bearing much significance as he (Kācha I), under the above circumstances, could have ruled only for a short time.

The second explanation is that Samudragupta could have attributed these coins to Kācha I, who might have been won the closest intimacy, through his loyal support to the former, probably during the struggle of succession and in war-campaigns, and also possibly through his family relationship. A somewhat, similar view was held by R. D. Banerji²¹ who while discussing the Kācha gold coins, opines that they are either issues of some other Gupta prince of that name or memorial medals struck by Samudragupta for a relative of that name. And finally he concludes that Kācha was a brother of Samudragupta, who died in the war of liberation and in whose memory the latter issued coins. Taking note of the above view, Altekar²² comments that commemorative coins or medals are not known to Hindu tradition. But, on the contrary, it may be argued that the factor of commemoration and paying tributes is not new to Indian history or to Hindu tradition which is mainly reconstructed on literary and epigraphical sources which abound in eulogies of heroes or individuals of great virtues who were honoured and remembered through the ages. And the introduction of such an abiding factor in numismatics cannot be totally ruled out.²³ In the case of the Kācha coins, important features like their close resemblances with the coins of Samudragupta, in weight and style and particularly in the legend on reverse, *Sarvarājōchchhēṭṭa*, an epithet which was stated to have been borne only by Samudragupta,²⁴ had led many scholars to identify Kācha with Samudragupta and had prevented others from making any definite identification with kings other than Samudragupta. Hence, as an only reasonable solution, it may be held that these coins were the issues of Samudragupta with an attribution to Kācha

identified with Kācha I above. Thus it may be explained that the legend *sarvarājōchchhēttā* occurring on the reverse applies to Samudragupta the issuer, while the legend and the depiction on the obverse applies to Kācha (I) to whom the coin was attributed. And this representation of Kācha on the obverse may have to be taken as one of the important aspects in the life of Samudragupta which was similar to other aspects represented by different portrayals on the obverse of his various types of coins.

Kācha I has already been described as a follower of the *Bhāgavata* cult and so, the *chakradhvaja* occurring on the obverse can easily be connected to him. It is likely that Kācha might have had some relationship with Samudragupta²⁵ who was also known as *parama-bhagāvata*²⁶ and the latter's inclination towards the *Bhāgavata* cult might have resulted through the influence exerted by the former.

It may be further suggested that Kācha I could have been a very prominent figure during Samudragupta's reign. The Ajaṇṭā cave XVII inscription mentions that he became well-known as king Kācha (*kshitipah-Kācha iti prakāśanāmā*)²⁷. This may also mean that he was not an ordinary chief but had attained *de jure* and *de facto* status of a king. In this connection, attention may be drawn towards an interesting reference found in the Ēraṇ inscription of the time of Samudragupta²⁸. The fourth verse which was translated by Fleet as "[who], by ... satisfied by devotion and policy and valour, by the glories, consisting of consecration by besprinkling, etc., that belong to the title of 'king'. — (and) by ... combined with supreme satisfaction, — and ... (was) a king whose vigour could not be resisted; —"²⁹ R. N. Dandekar commenting on the above verse remarks, "It is more adequate to think of Samudragupta being pleased by the devotion and valour of some feudatory and granting him the title of *Mahārāja* and *Rājan*."³⁰ It is quite likely that this feudatory, who possessed exceptional qualities and, probably, occupied a prominent position in the court of Samudragupta, was none other than Kācha, *i. e.*, Kācha I of the Ajaṇṭā Cave XVII inscription. The subsequent verse (verse 5) in the Ēraṇ inscription, very probably refers to his wife and not to Samudragupta's queen Dattādēvī as believed by scholars. Consi-

dering the facts of the above inscription and the other points discussed above, it may be concluded that Kācha I, who had been praised in eloquent terms for his valour and devotion, might have been honoured by Samudragupta by naming him as a king and by entrusting him with the power to rule over the province Arikiṇa (modren Ēraṇ.) It is very probable that, on this occasion of honouring Kācha, Samudragupta issued the coins. The reference to the 'excellent deeds' (*karmabhir-uttamaiḥ*) in the legend here may be explained as pertaining to the valour and devotion shown by Kācha, to Samudragupta, most probably during the time of his accession to the throne.

And, consequently, the setting up of the inscription and the construction of the Boar temple at Ēraṇ may have to be ascribed to him. Needless to say, the very fact that the name Kācha was borne by another of the family (Kācha II) shows That he was a famed chief held in high regard by his successors. The Ajaṇṭā Cave XVII inscription is not of much help in giving further facts about him.

Notes :

1. *Corpus of Indian Coins*, Vol. IV, pp. 78 ff.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
4. *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 27, f. n. 4.
5. *ABORI*, Vol. IX, p. 83.
6. *Corpus of Indian Coins*, Vol. IV, pp. 84 ff.
7. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 36 ff.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 38 ff.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 40, see for Dr. A.S. Altekar's comments.
10. *Corpus of Indian Coins*, Vol. IV, p. 85 ; *A. S. W. I.*, IV, p. 129.
11. *C. I. I.*, Vol. V, pp. 120 ff. and plate.
12. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. iv.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 125.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 123.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 124. *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV., Introduction pp. xxxv-xxxvi.
16. While discussing the feudatories of the Ābhiras, namely, the Mahārājas of Valka whose names being Svāmīdāsa (316-17 A.D.), Bhuluṇḍa (356-57 A.D.) and Rudradāsa (366-67 A.D.), Mirashi thinks that this family mentioned in the inscription at Ajaṇṭā Cave XVII, is another branch like the former (*Mahārājas* of Valka) belonging to a common dynasty which ruled over parts of Khandesh. His identification is merely based on the similarity found, in the name-ending, *i.e.*, dāsa seen in Bhikshudāsa (c. 375 A.D.).

Nīladāsa (c. 400 A.D.) and Kṛishṇadāsa (c. 450 A.D.). But It may be noted here that none of these above princes can be placed as contemporaries of the above *mahārājas*. Further, on observation it can be said that most of their names are connected with the Viṣṇu or the Bhāgavata cult (unlike the name Rudradāsa).

17. The *Mahābhārata* mentions a Sāmba who was the son of Kṛishṇa and Jāmbavatī, belonging to the Vṛishṇi clan which is one of the branches of the Yādava family. The original home land of the Yādavas was known to be Mathurā (See : *Mahābhārata*, Vol. 19, *Mausalaparva* Introduction, pp. xxx-xxxi, Edited by V. S. Suktankar and S. K. Belvalkar). The Vṛishṇis are mentioned along with Lichchhavis and other tribes as *Vrātya Kshatriyas* (see, H. C. Rayachaudari : *Political History of North India*, pp. 138-42.)

18. Sāmba, son of Kṛishṇa was also known to have founded a city called Sāmbapura which is identified with modern Multan (See, N. C. Day : *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, p. 176).

19. The Ajaṇṭā Cave XVII inscription mentions Upēndragupta, the father of Kācha I, as of wide-spread fame (see *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 130). His name, ending in gupta, which was not borne by any other prince of his family, may signify that he might probably have had family relationship with the Imperial Guptas.

20. S. R. Goyal in his '*A History of the Guptas*', while discussing the Kācha problem (pp. 123 ff.), identifies Kācha with another son of Chandra-gupta I born to another queen who is other than the Lichchhavi princess Kumāradēvi and regards that the conflict between Kācha and Samudragupta was not a struggle for power between two individual princes but was at least partly ideological and basically a tussle between fractional interests. He thinks that the orthodox element in the Gupta family, which did not like to acknowledge the predominance of the *Vrātya* Lichchhavis, seems to have challenged the succession of Samudragupta who was born to the Lichchhavi princess Kumāradēvi. But it has been suggested above that the family to which Kācha I (who is identified with Kācha) belonged was of Yādava extraction, known as Vṛishṇi, which was considered as a *Vrātya-Kshatriya* tribe (see above foot note No. 17). Hence, the above reasoning given by S. R. Goyal cannot be applied to the case of Kācha I.

21. R. D. Banerji : *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 9-10.

22. *Corpus of Indian Coins*, Vol. VI, p. 82.

23. It may be pointed out that even modern coinage is not an exception to it.

24. Fleet : *C. I. I.* Vol., III, p. 27, f. n. 4.

25. It was not known so far as to which family Dattādēvi, the queen of Samudragupta belonged. It may be presumed here that she could have been a sister of Kācha and hence of the Yādava family.

26. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 265, Gayā inscription of Samudragupta, line 6.

27. *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 129, text line 4.

28. *CII.*, Vol. III, pp. 18 ff.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 21; See for verse p. 20, lines 73-76.
30. R. N. Dandekar : *A History of Guptas*, pp. 63-64.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 64 : D. C. Sircar : *Select Inscriptions*, p. 261, text line 17, f. n. 3.

KHANDPARA
PLATES OF MAHĀ-ŚIVAGUPTA
DHARMARATHA

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

THE SET OF COPPER-PLATES ON WHICH this charter is incised was found at the village of Mahulapada in the Khandpara Sub-division of the Puri District of Orissa. The inscription has been edited with facsimile by S. C. De in the *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. XII, pp. 60-71.¹ On checking the text given by him with the help of facsimiles I noticed that the grant has been edited very carelessly and a large number of proposed readings are not borne out by the original. Secondly, some of the historical deductions drawn from this inscription are uncalled for. Therefore in the following pages the record is edited afresh from the facsimiles accompanying De's paper. I have no doubt that the readers will be convinced that the subjoined edition marks a considerable improvement over that of De.

The grant is incised on a set of three plates, each of them measuring 26.1 cms. broad and 18.4 cms. high. The first and the last plate are engraved only on the inner side, while the second plate bears writing on both the sides. In all, the record comprises 63 lines; the first plate bears 15 lines while both sides of the second and the third plates contain 16 lines each. The concluding line on the third plate comprises only four *aksharas*.

The plates are suspended from a copper ring. The royal seal soldered on its joint is round in shape. Its upper portion is broken, but in the centre figures the motif of the goddess Lakshmī being bathed by a pair of elephants flanking her, carved in a low relief on a countersunk surface. The goddess

is seated on a lotus in the *padmāsana* attitude. On her either side rises upwards a lotus stalk. On the top of these stems are carved a couple of elephants flanking the head of the goddess on either side,

The characters are similar to those found used in other charters of the later Sōmavaṃśī rulers and do not call for any special observation. On the heads of the *aksharas* are seen small inverted triangles whose bases are formed by the top horizontal lines of the letters.

The language is Sanskrit, and with the exception of the grant portion and the mention of the date and the engraver at the end which are in prose the whole record is composed in verse. The engraver has done his work well; but there are several errors some of which may be due to the scribe while others appear to owe their origin to faulty pronunciation condemned in the *Śikshā* works. The following points of orthographical interest may be noted : (i) occasional reduplication of consonants following superscript *r*, as in *rjjātē* and *karṇṇō* (l. 4), *nirjjāta* (l. 5), *rddhvānta* (l. 6), etc.; (ii) the use of *ṇ* for *anusvāra* before the palatal sibilant (*ś*), as in *ratn-āṇśu* for *ratn-āmśu* (l. 14) and *dvātriṇśa* for *dvātriṃśa* (l. 17); (iii) the use of *n* in place of *anusvāra* before the dental sibilant (*s*), e. g. *dhvansanā* for *dhvaṃsana* (l. 7), *dhvans-aika* for *dhvaṃs* (l. 23); (iv) the use of *anusvāra* for the final *m*; (v) the lack of distinction between *b* and *v* and an invariable use of *v* for *b*; (vi) the use of *tt* for *nt*, e.g. *āsphōṭayatti* for *āsphōṭayanti* (l. 45), *bhvatti* for *bhavanti* (l. 45), *mattri* for *mantri* (l. 61); and (vii) that of the dental for the palatal sibilant, as in *visada* (l. 7) *sṛiṅga* (l. 8), *sasvad* (l. 13), etc.

The object of the record, which was issued from Yayāti-nagara, is to register the grant, by the Sōmavaṃśī king *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Trikaliṅgādhipati*, the illustrious Mahā-Śivagupta II Dharmaratha, of the village, Bhilli situated in the Abhaparā sub-division (*khaṇḍa*) in the district (*vishaya*) of Antaruda, in favour of the Brāhmaṇa *Rāṇaka* Abhimanyu, son of Vasu and grandson of Dāmōdara, belonging to the Kāśyapa-gōtra and the three *pravaras*. The gift-village was turned into a rent-free holding (*a-kaikṛitya*) and endowed with the usual privileges and exemptions attached to such grants.

The inscription was written by a certain Nētradēva, who was a minister (*mantrivara*) and occupied the position of the chief of the records office (*Mahākshapaṭalādhyaksha*), and whose qualities are vaguely described in verse 25. It was engraved by the smith (*viṣṇāni*) Sōṇṇāṅgaka². Verse 24 describes the royal preceptor (*rājaguru*) Sahadēva and one Kumbhaṇḍipāla, who is reported to have held the office of the minister of peace and war (*sandhi-vidyā-pada*). However, the function performed by them in connection with the execution of the grant is not specified. It must, however, be mentioned in this connection that the *Sandhivigrahin* played a very important role in respect of the preparation of the copper-plate charters. In several Sōmavamśī records it is stated that the charter was written by the *Kāyastha* attached to the office of the *Mahāsandhivigrahin*,³ whereas in some records we are told that the grant was written with the knowledge of the latter⁴. Some other grants inform us that they were written by the *Mahākshapaṭalin* with the permission of the *Mahāsandhivigrahin*⁵, while in a few records the latter is himself mentioned as the writer.⁶ There are a few records in which he is mentioned without specifying his role in connection with the execution of the grant⁷, whereas in some other charters after such a vague reference the *Kāyastha*, evidently attached to him, is specified as the writer⁸. In view of this it would appear that all such records where he is referred to in vague terms without any apparent connection with the grant were actually prepared with his permission or under his supervision and the same must have been the case with the record under study⁹.

It should be pointed out in this connection that Kumbhaṇḍipāla and Nētradēva, who occupied high offices under Mahā-Śivagupta II Dharmaratha, are not known from any other Sōmavamśī record.

The record is dated Phālguna vadi 3 in the 11th year of the reign of the king.

We may now turn our attention to the *praśasti* portion in the beginning of the inscription which contains some information of historical interest. The first four verses describe vaguely the town of Yayātinagara wherefrom the grant was issued. They contain nothing important except the information

that the town was situated on the Mahānadī. The next three stanzas describe King Yayāti (Mahā-Śivagupta I) who was born in the lunar family (verse 5). Verses 5-6 refer in very general terms to the wars fought and victories won by him and are of no value from historical point of view. Verse 7 states that having defeated a king named Ajapāla in battle he captured thirty-two superb war-elephants variously known as Kāmadēva, etc., after killing their riders. Unfortunately, we know nothing of Ajapāla from any other source.

These seven stanzas eulogistic of Yayātinagara and Mahā-Śivagupta I Yayāti, it must be pointed out, are not new to this record and are met with in some earlier copper-plate inscriptions of the dynasty¹⁰.

However, verses 8-10 describing the next two members of the dynasty are new and peculiar to this inscription as they are not noticed in any later record. They contain some new information bearing on the history of the family. Bhīmaratha (Mahā-Bhavgupta II), son and successor of Yayāti is described in verse 8. It refers to a certain Rudra, probably described as a ruler of the east (*pūrva-Rudra*), who is said to have been pleased to hear the account of the movements of Bhīmaratha's sword and looked at the latter with his crown somewhat tremulous as gesture of appreciation. The upshot of the narrative is that the two rulers had friendly relations. The Rudra of the east cannot be definitely identified, but Rajaguru's suggestion to identify him with King Rudra mentioned in the Boram (Manbhum District, West Bengal) inscription¹¹ is not unlikely. This is the only piece of information of some historical value about him found in our record. The verse also contains a vague allusion to his success against his enemies. Such vague references to his military successes are encountered in other records also. The Cuttack plates of Bhīmaratha (R.Y. 3), for instance, aver that he captured forcibly the glory of his enemies¹², whereas in the Balijhari (Narasinghpur) plates of Uddyōtakēśarin he is said to have planted columns of victory in all the eight quarters.¹³ The Brahmēśvara temple inscription of the last mentioned ruler vaguely credits him with the destruction of his enemies.¹⁴ The Ratnagiri plates of Karṇa repeat the above statement of the Balijhari plates¹⁵.

The next two verses describe Dharmaratha, son and successor

of Bhīmaratha. Verse 9 refers to him as a great source of the poetic nectar and as an abode of liberality and truth which had taken refuge with him out of the fear of Kali and, what is most important, speaks of the chain of smoke rising from the cities (capitals) of Āndhra and Gauḍa which were burnt by him with ease as if in a sport. Besides this there are some other allusions of a general nature to his military achievements as are also met with in some other later records. His success against Āndhra is referred to only in this record whereas his victory over the Gauḍa king is recorded in the Jatesinga-Dungri plates also¹⁶. However, the vagueness of the allusion to Dharmaratha's achievement against Āndhra and Gauḍa does not allow us to ascertain its exact nature. His adversaries in Gauḍa must have been the Pālas and in Āndhra the Eastern Chālukyas. The Pālas were in very critical straits immediately prior to and after the reign of Mahīpāla I, and Dharmaratha seems to have taken advantage of this political uncertainty and led a successful attack against his Pāla contemporary. The latter has been variously identified with Vigrahapāla II¹⁷ and Nayapāla¹⁸, who immediately preceded and followed Mahīpāla I. The latter view appears more probable. In Āndhra also he seems to have cashed on the rivalry between the Eastern Chālukya king Rājarāja and his half-brother Vijayāditya and carried out a military expedition. Whether these adventures resulted in any real success or territorial gain or were merely in the nature of raids cannot be ascertained in the present state of insufficient information, although the latter appears more likely.

Interest also attaches to the mention of the *Antaruda-vishaya* in which the gift-village was situated. It is pertinent to note in this connection that this district is also mentioned under the name *Antarudra-vishaya* in the Chaurasi plates of the Bhauma-Kara chief Śivakara II, dated in the year 73 of the Kara era¹⁹. It would thus follow that what was formerly a part of the Kara territory was now incorporated in the dominions under Dharmaratha. The Sōmavamśīs appear to have come into contact with the Karas from the very beginning. Thus the Brahmēśvara (Bhubaneswar) temple inscription of Uddyōtakēśarin credits him with the capture of the royal fortune of the Ōḍra king²⁰. Janamējaya's son and successor Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti is known to have granted the village of Chandragrāma²¹ situated in Dakṣiṇa

Tōsala²² which was comprised in the Kara kingdom. Matrimonial relations were also established between the two contending families, and the Kara queen Pṛithvīmahādēvī II ascended the Kara throne probably with the active assistance of her father Svabhāvatuṅga, who has been identified with Mahā-Śivagupta I Yayāti. It has been suggested that Yayāti's grant of the village Chandragrāma in the ninth year was connected with his successful campaign against his daughter's rivals for the Kara throne²³. Our record indicates that a part of the Kara dominion which was conquered by Mahā-Bhavagupta I Janamē-jaya and his son and successor Yayāti continued under the Sōmavamśis during Dharmaratha's reign.

Of the localities mentioned in our record, Mahānadī is well known. Yayātinagara, from where the charter was issued has been identified with modern Jajpur in the Cuttack District, Orissa²⁴. Antaruda, after which the district in which the village granted was situated was named, has been identified with the Antarodh Pargana in the Puri District, Orissa²⁵. Other localities cannot be identified.

TEXT

Metres : Vv. 1-10 : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; 11-13 : *Anuṣṭubh* ; 14 : *Indravajrā* ; 15-21 : *Anuṣṭubh* ; 22 : *Śalinī* ; 23 : *Pushpitāgrā* ; 24-25 : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

First Plate

1. Siddham²⁷ [1*] Svasti prēma-niruddha-mugdha-manasōḥ sphāribhavach-chakshushōr = yūnōr = yatra [vi][chi*]²⁸.
2. tra-nirbhara-rata-kriḍā-kraman = tanvatōḥ²⁹ | vichchhinno=pi kṛit-ātimātra-pulakair = āvirbhavat-sītḥṛi[tā]-
3. tair³⁰ = āślēshair = glapita-klamaiḥ smara-rasaḥ kāmam = muhus = tāyyatē ||[1*|| Yatr = āśēsha-viśēsha-ru (rū)-
4. pa-mahim-āpāst-āpsaraḥ³¹-kāntibhir = jjāt-ērpyā (rshyā)-kalahēshv = api praṇayinaḥ karṇṇ-ōtpalais = tāḍi-
5. tāḥ³² | jāyantē praviśat-sita-smara-śara-prōtthā-pit-āntar-vyathā³³[ḥ*] syandi³⁴-svēda-jal-āvasēcha-
6. na-vaśān = nirjjāta-rōm-āṅkurāḥ ||[2*|| Aty-uttuṅga-kar-indra-danta-musala-prōdbhāsi-rōchiś-chayair = dhdhvā (ddhvā)nta-

7. dhvansa(dhvaṁsa)na-nishphalīkṛita-śarach-chandrōday-
ais = sarvvada³⁷ | yatr=āsīd = asatī-janasya visa(śa)-
dam = muktā-
8. mayam = maṇḍanaṁ³³ saṅkēt-āspadam = apy=atīva dha-
vala-prāsādasṛi(śṛi)ṅg-āgrataḥ || [3 *] Mahānadi-tuṅga-
ta-
9. ³⁹raṅga - bhaṅga-sphār - ōchchhalach-chhīkaravadbhir =
ārāt⁴⁰ | yasmin⁴¹ = rat-āsaktimad-aṅganānāṁ śram-āpanō-
10. daḥ kriyatē⁴² marudbhiḥ || [4 ||*] Tasmāt Śrī Yayāti-
nagarāt | lōka-traya-prathita-śubhra-yaśō-
11. vitāna-vyāpt-āshṭa-dik-prasabha-nirjita-vairi--varggaḥ |
sōm-ānvayē kila va(ba)bhūva su-gīta-kīrtti-
12. ḥ śrīmān=sarōja-vadanō nṛipatir= Yayātiḥ || [5 *||]
Yat-khaḍg-āgra-vipāṭita-dvipa-ghaṭā-kumbha-
13. ⁴⁵sthalād = ullasan-muktā-jāla-vibhūshitaṁ prati-raṇaṁ
pṛithvī-vadh-ūraḥ-sthalaṁ(lam) | sa(śa)⁴⁶sva(śva)d-
dvāra-naman-narādhipa-
14. śirōratn-āñśū(ṁśu)⁴⁷-jāl-āmalā yat-pād-āmmu(āmbu)ja-
rēṇavas = samatayā tad-rasmi (smi)-lakshmīn=dadhuḥ⁴⁸
||[6*||] Mādyal-lō-
15. l-āli-māla⁴⁹ (l-ā)kula-karaṭa-puta-syandi-dāna-pravāhān⁵⁰
sindūr-ārakta-kum⁵¹bhān sita-pṛithula-

Second Platē ; First Side

16. radān⁵² Kāmadēv-ādi-saṁjñāṁ | jitv-Ājapālam = ājau
janita-sura-vadhū-vismaya-smēra-vaktraḥ⁵³ sa dvā-
17. triṅśa(trimśa)t-karīndrān⁵⁴ = śara-nikara-hat-ārōhakān =
agrahīd=yaḥ ||[7*||] Tasmād = vismaya-hētu-hēti-laḍita⁵⁵
prastāvan-āka-
18. rṇṇanair = ddhūt-ākampita-pūrvva - rudra - mukuṭa - prīt-
ēndu-nirvvarṇṇitaḥ | bhrāmyat-kīrttir = ajāyat = āhava-
hata-sva-
19. sth-āri-gīt-ōdayaḥ śrīmān=Bhīmarathō yataḥ svam=
udaran = tārā chirād = archchatiḥ(ti)⁵⁷ || [8 *] Yaḥ
kāvy-āmṛita-nirjjhara-
20. sya mahataḥ sōtā⁵⁸ mahībhṛit = patis = tyāgaḥ satyam=
iti dvayaṁ kali-bhayād = abhyētya yam = mōdatē | yat-
21. kēli-jvalit-Āndhra-Gauḍa-nagarī-dhūm-āvalīḍhaukitam=
vi(m = bi)bhrad = bhāti masīm = vidhun = nija-kula-
prītyā = tra la-

22. űkī ku(kṛi)taḥ || [9||*] Yō dharmēṇa cha vikramēṇa cha dhiyā ch = āścharya-kāryēṇa cha prāgalbhyēna cha Dēvarāja-pada-
23. vim prāptō mahī-maṇḍalē | sa śrī-Dharmmarathas⁶¹ = tato = ri-nivaha-dhvansai(dhvaṁs-ai)ka-hētuḥ kṛiti dān-āna-
24. ndita-vandi-vṛinda-mukhara-kshmā-maṇḍalō jātavān || [10||*] Paramamāhēśvara-paramabha-
25. ṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja - paramēśvara - Sōmakulatilaka-tri-Kaliṅgādhipati-śrī-Mahā-
26. bhavaguptarājadēva-pād - ānudhyāta - paramamāhēśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhi-
27. rāja-paramēśvara-Sōmakulatilaka-tri-Kaliṅgādhipati-śrī-Mahā-Śivaguptarājadē-
28. vaḥ kuśalī [1 *] Antaruda-vishayasa(sya) Abhaparākhaṇḍīya-Bhilli-grāmē⁶² | atas⁶³ = tad-vishayīya-vrā(brā)-
29. hmaṇānām pūjya⁶⁴ samāharṭṛi-sannidhāṭṛi-niyukt-ādhi-kārika-dāṇḍapāsi(śi)ka-piśuna-vē(vai)trik-āvarōdha-
30. jana-rājñī - rāṇaka - rāja-putra - rājavallabha-bhō⁶⁵ gijana-pramukha-samasta-janapadān-sam-ājñā-
31. payati | viditam = astu bhavatām yath = āsmābhir = ayaṁ grāmaḥ sa-pratihāraḥ⁶⁶ andhāruvāpadāti-

Second Plate : Second Side

32. jīvyā-hastidaṇḍavara - va(ba)līvardda - chiṭṭōla-adatt-ādi-sahitaḥ sa-nidhiḥ s-ōpani-
33. dhiḥ⁶⁷ sarvva-vā(bā)dhā-varjjitaḥ sarvv-ōparikar-ādāna-samētaś = chatuḥ-sīmā-paryantaḥ⁶⁸ s-āmra-madhū-
34. kaḥ sa-gartt - ōsharas = sa-jala-sthalaḥ Kāśyapa - sagōt-rāya⁶⁹ try-ārsha-pravarāya⁶⁹ Dāmō-
35. dara-pautrāya⁶⁹ Vāsū-putrāya⁶⁹ Rāṇa[ka*] śrī-Abhi-manyu-nāmnō(mnē) salila-dhārā-purassaram⁶⁹ ā-
36. chandra-tār-ārka-kshiti-sama-kāl-ōpabhōgārtham mātā-pitrōr = ātmanas = cha puṇya-yaś-ō-
37. bhivṛiddhayē⁶⁹ | sa-pratihārēṇa⁷² tāmra-śāsanēn = ākarī-kṛitya⁷³ pratipādita ity = avagatya sa-
38. muchita-kara - bhōga-bhāg-ādikam = upanayadbhir = bhavadbhiḥ sukhēna vastavyam = iti | bhā-
39. vibhiś = cha bhūpatibhir = ddattir-iyam = asmadiya⁶⁹ dharmma-gauravād = asmad-anurōdhā-

40. ch=cha sva-dattir = iv = ānupālānīyā | tathā ch =
ōktaṁ dharmma-śāstrē | va(Ba)hubhir-vvasudhā da-
41. ttā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=
tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) [11*]
42. Mā bhūd=aphala-śāṅkā vaḥ para-datt=ēti pārthivāḥ[1*]
sva-dattāt=phalam =ānāntyam=para-datt-ānu-pāla-
43. nē || [12 || *] Shapṭhi(shṭi)m = varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē
mōdati bhūmi-daḥ | ākshēptā ch = ānumantā cha dvau
tau nara-
44. ka-gāminau || [13*] Agnēr =apatyam prathamam suvar-
ṇnam bhūr = vvaishuvi ⁷⁴ sūrya-sutāś=cha gāvāḥ |
yaḥ kāñcha-
45. nam gāñ = cha mahīñ = cha dadyād = dattās = trayas =
tēna bhavatti(nti) lōkē (kāḥ) || [14 || *] Asphōṭayatti (nti)
pitarō va-
46. lgayanti pitāmahāḥ | bhūmi-dātā kulē jātaḥ sa nas =
trātā bhavishyati || [15 || *] Bhūmim yaḥ pra-
47. tigṛihṇāti yaś =cha bhūmim prayachchhati | ubhau tau
puṇya-karmṇāṇau niyataṁ svargga-gāmi-

Third Plate

48. nau ||[1 6||*] Taḍāgānām sahasrēṇa Vājapēya-śatēna cha
gavām =kōṭi-pradānēna bhūmi-harttā-
49. na śudhyati || [17 ||*] Suvarṇnam = ēkam gām =ēkām
bhūmēr =apy =arddham =aṅgulaṁ (lam) | haran =nara-
kam =āyāti yāvad =ābhūta-
50. samplavam (vam) ||[18 ||*] Haratē hārayēd =yas =tu
manda-vu(bu)ddhis =tamō-vṛitaḥ - su (sa) va (ba)ddhō⁷⁵
vāruṇaiḥ pāśais =tirya-
51. g-yōnim =sa gachchhati ||[19 ||*] Sva-dattām =para-dat-
tām =vā yō harēta vasundharām(rām)| sa vishtṭām
kṛimir =bhūtvā
52. pitribhiḥ saha pachyatē ||[20 ||*] Ādityō Varuṇō Vish-
ṇur = Vvra (Bbra)hmā Sōmō Hutāśanaḥ | Śūlapāṇiś-
53. =cha bhagavān =abhinandanti bhūmi-dam (dam)||[21 ||*]
Sāmānyō =yam dharmma-sētur-nṛipāṇām kālē kalē pā-
54. lānīyō bhavadbhiḥ | sarvvān = ētān =⁷⁶ bhāvinaḥ pār-
thivēndrān bhūyo bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabha-
55. draḥ ||[22 ||*] Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vi(bi)ndu-lōlām
śriyam =anuchintya manushya-jīvita-

56. ñcha | sakalam = idam = udāhṛitañ - cha vu(ba)ddhvā
na hi purushaiḥ para-kīrttayō vilōpyāḥ | 1 [23 11*]
57. Nishṇātau⁷⁷ (ta)s = saha Dēvarāja-guruṇā maitrim = ma-
nīshā-guṇair⁷⁸ = vvibhrāṇaḥ paramō⁷⁹ guṇ-aika-va-
58. satih⁸⁰ Kumbhaṇḍipālaḥ kṛitī¹ kurvvāṇaḥ⁸¹ kila Sandhi-
vighraha-padam yaś = chandra-sūry-ātmikām = ṛ(kām vṛi)-
59. ⁸²ttintatva (ttiṁ tattva)-nīviṣṭa-dhiḥ prakāṭayaty = āścha-
rya-varshī sataṁ (tām) || [24 11*] yat-kīrtti-prasara-prabhū-
ta-mā (ma)hima (mā)
60. pr-ōdvikshaṇ-āmilita-vrīḍā-vēga - vaśād = ayam = malina-
tām = antar-vvidhattē śasī (śī) | sa śrī-
61. mattri(ntri) varō⁸⁶ Mahākshapaṭal-ādhyakshaḥ satām =
agraṇīr = ēkaś = śāsanam = abhy-alilikha-
62. d = idam śrī-Nētradēvaḥ svayaṁ (yam) || [25 11*] Samva
(Samva)t 11 Phālguna vadi 3 || vijñāni-Sōrṇṇāṅgākēna⁸⁷
li-
63. khitam = iti⁸⁸ ||

Notes :

1. The text is also given by S. Rajaguru in his *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. IV, pp. 280 ff. But in most cases he has repeated the errors of De.

2. The intended name may be Svarṇṇāṅgaka. While referring to the engraving of the record, the term *likhita* is used in place of the usual *utkirṇa*, evidently by oversight.

3. E. g. Vakratentali (R. Y. 3.), Kalibhana (R. Y. 6.), Patna (R. Y. 6.), Patna Museum (R. Y. 6), Nagpur Museum (R. Y. 8), Gaintala (R. Y. 17) and Chaudwar (R. Y. 31) plates of Mahā-Bhavagupta I Janamējaya and the Patna plates of Mahā-Śivagupta I Yayāti (R. Y. 24).

4. Orissa State Museum plates of Mahā-Śivagupta I Yayāti (R. Y. 4).

5. Nibinna plates of Mahā-Śivagupta I Yayāti (R. Y. 15).

6. Mahākōsala Historical Society's plates of Mahā-Bhavagupta II (R. Y. 11), Balijhari (Narasinghpur) plates of Uddyotakēsarī, (R. Y. 19), etc.

7. Cuttack plates of Mahā-Śivagupta I Yayāti (R. Y. 9) and of Mahā-Bhavagupta II (R. Y. 3), etc.

8. Patna plates of Mahā-Śivagupta I Yayāti (R. Y. 28), etc.

9. S. N. Rajaguru, however, states that 'it was enshrined by Kumbhaṇḍipāla and issued in the presence of the Rājaguru named Sahadēva.' See *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. IV, pp. 280 ff.

10. The first six verses are noticed for the first time in the Cuttack plates of the 9th year of Mahā-Śivagupta I Yayāti's reign with the only difference that verse 5 is employed to describe Janamējaya (Mahā-Bhava-

gupta I), and not Yayāti as in the charter under review, and we have *Janamejaya-ākhyāḥ* in place of *nṛipatir-Yayatiḥ* Vide *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 351-52. The first five verses are found in the Patna plates of the 24th year of the same king, the sixth verse is omitted while the seventh stanza of the Khandpara plates is added for the first time. See *JASB*, N.S., Vol. I (1905), pp. 16 ff. Yayāti I (*Ibid.*, pp. 19 ff.) and Cuttack plates of the 28th regnal year of Mahā-Bhavagupta Bhīmaratha. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 356. After the Khandpara plates these verses were discarded.

11. Bhandarkar's List No. 1176.
12. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 356
13. *JBORS*, Vol. XVIII, p. 15 ; *IHQ*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 99-100.
14. *JRASBL*, Vol. XIII, pp. 63 ff. verse 4.
15. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 269-70, verse 3.
16. *JBROS*, Vol. p. 54.
17. Rajaguru, *op. cit.*, p. 375.
18. R.C. Majumdar (ed.), *The Struggle for Empire*, 2nd ed., Bombay, 1966, p. 27.
19. *JBORS*, Vol. XIV, pp. 29 ff.
20. *JRASBL*, Vol. XIII, pp. 63 ff., verse 2.
21. Called Chandagrāma in the inscription, it has been identified with Chandgaon some 32 miles from Cuttack. See Binayak Misra, *Dynasties of Medieval Orissa*, p. 68.
22. Fleet regards the reading *Dakṣiṇa-Tōsalāyām* as an error for *Dakṣiṇa-Kōsalāyām*. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 352.
23. D. C. Sircar, *The Age of Imperial Kanauj* (ed. R. C. Majumdar), pp. 148-49.
24. For a different view see *OHRJ*, Vol. XII, p. 67.
25. B. Misra, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
26. From *OHRJ*, Vol. XII, plates XV-XVIII.
27. De : Ōm Expressed by a symbol.
28. The portion of the plate where the letter *vi* and *Chi* were engraved is broken. *Vi* is partially preserved while *Chi* is altogether lost.
29. De : *Kraman—tandhatōḥ*.
30. Read *sītṛṇitai*.
31. De : *māyāst-āpsara*.
32. De : *tāḍitāḥ*.
33. De is wrong in suggesting to correct it as *vyathā*.
34. Read : *sāndra*.
35. De : *dhvaṃsana*.
36. De wrongly suggests to correct it as *nisphali*.
37. De : *sarvadā*. De is wrong in correcting it as *śarach-chandrodāyēḥ sarvadā*.
38. De : *muktāmayam maṇḍanam*.
39. Before *raṅga* De reads *tā* which is neither present in the plate nor necessary.
40. De : *r-ārāta*.
41. De : *yasmin-trāt-āsakti*.

42. De : *kriyatīḥ*.
43. De : *nāgarāta*.
44. De : *r-yāyati*.
45. De : *sthalōdu*.
46. De : *sasvadūra*.
47. De : *ratu-āmśu*.
48. Better read *dākshmiṁ dadhuḥ*.
49. De : *mālā*.
50. De : *sindurā*.
51. De : The letter *ku* is engraved below the line.
52. This punctuation mark is superfluous.
53. De : *vaktra*,
54. De : *karindrā*.
55. De : *laḍita*.
56. De : *rddhūt-ākāmpita-pūrva*.
57. De : suggests to correct it to *samudaran-tāraś-chirād-archhati*.
58. De : *snātā* Read *srōtō*.
59. Better read *yaṁ mōdatē*. De is wrong when he suggests to correct it as *yaḥ mōdatē*.
60. Better read *masīm vidhuṁ nija*.
61. De : *dharma*.
62. De : *Abhapparākhaṇḍaya-Bhilli-grāmē*.
63. The word *ataḥ* is superfluous.
64. Read *brāhmaṇān sampūjya*.
65. De : *bhōgi*.
66. De : *sa-pratihāraḥ*.
67. De : *srva*.
68. De : *paryanta*.
69. This mark of punctuation is superfluous.
70. De : *Rāṇō*.
71. Better read *purassaram-ā-*
72. De : *sapratīḍārēṇa*.
73. De : *n-ākariḥṛitya*.
74. Read *bhūr-vvaishṇavī*.
75. De : *subanddhō*.
76. De : *sarvān—ēṭā bhā*.
77. De : *shṇātan*. Read *nishṇāta*.
78. De : *maitrī manīshā-guṇa*. Read: *maitrī-manīshā-guṇai*.
79. De : *paramā*. But the sign of *ē* part of the medial is clear above the letter.
80. De is wrong in correcting it to *vasartti*.
81. De : *kurvāṇaḥ*.
82. De : *tmikīm*.
83. De : *varshō*.
84. De : *milita*.
85. De : *daya-malinatām-atuvidhittē*. Read *dayaṁ malinatā*.
86. De is wrong in suggesting the correction *mantrī*.
87. The intended name seems to be *Svarṇṇāṅgaka*.
88. Sincere thanks are due to my friend Dr. K. V. Ramesh for checking my readings.

ON THE
GREEK EPIGRAPHS
FROM AI KHANUM

A. K. NARAIN

AFGHANISTAN HAS VERILY BECOME a storehouse of archaeological wealth for South Asian history and civilization. Especially during the last decade much remarkable material has been discovered. In the field of epigraphy alone, for example, the two Aśōkan inscriptions from Kandahar and the Kushan Bactrian inscriptions from Surkh Kotal have already proved to be of great significance. And now, we have the Greek inscriptions excavated at Ai Khanum and the Kushan Trilingual found at Dasht-i-Nawur.¹

This paper will deal only with the four Greek epigraphs discovered in 1966 at Ai Khanum². The credit for their discovery goes to Paul Bernard of the Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan, under whose able direction the excavations at Ai Khanum were carried out. A thorough study of these epigraphs has been published by Robert, a very eminent scholar of France, and it will be presumptuous on my part to add to his most scholarly edition of the epigraphs³. My purpose here is only to summarize his results and offer some observations for whatever worth they are. These four epigraphs⁴ read as follows :

I

ΤΡΙΒΑΛΛΟΣ
ΚΑΙ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝ
ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ
ΕΡΜΗΙ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙ

II

ΑΝΔΡΩΝ ΤΟΙ ΣΟΦΑ ΤΑΥΤΑ
 ΠΑΛΑΙΟΤΕΡΩΝ ΑΝΑΚΕΙ[ΤΑ]Ι
 ΡΗΜΑΤΑ ΑΡΙΓΝΩΤΩΝ
 ΠΥΘΟΙ ΕΝ ΗΓΑΘΕΑΙ
 ΕΝΘΕΝ ΤΑΥΤ[Α] ΚΛΕΑΡΧΟΣ
 ΕΠΙΦΡΑΔΕΩΣ ΑΝΑΓΡΑΨΑΣ
 ΕΙΣΑΤΟ ΤΗΛΑΥΓΗ
 ΚΙΝΕΟΥ ΕΝ ΤΕΜΕΝΕΙ

III

ΠΑΙΣ ΩΝ ΚΟΣΜΙΟΣ ΓΙΝΟΥ
 ΗΒΩΝ ΕΓΚΡΑΤΗΣ
 ΜΕΣΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ
 ΠΡΕΣ ΒΥΤΗΣ ΕΥΒΟΥΛΟΣ
 ΤΕΛΕΥΤΩΝ ΑΛΥΠΟΣ

IV

ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦ —

The first epigraph consists of six words in four lines providing us with five proper names, three of men and two of gods. It is a dedication to Hermes and Herakles by two sons of a Strato, namely Triballes and Strato. The discovery of this epigraph "on the edge of a large courtyard which appears to be surrounded by rooms, makes it fairly certain that we have found here one of those establishments for physical and intellectual education, a gymnasium or a palaestra"⁵. Hermes and Herakles were regarded as the traditional protectors of gymnasiums and palaestras in the Hellenistic period.

The second epigraph is engraved on the base of a Stele, forming part of a funerary monument. It informs that a certain Klearchos had transcribed, in the temenos of Kineas, certain precepts of wisdom of the famous men of old which were exhibited in the holy Pytho, that is to say Delphi, where he, Klearchos, had copied them.⁶

The third epigraph consists of the last of the Delphic maxims. This is, in fact, inscribed on the right part of the same base which carries the text of the third epigraph⁷. The Stele on which almost the whole text of the famous Delphic maxims must have been inscribed has not been found. But it seems that the Stele did not have enough space to accommodate the entire text of all the maxims, and therefore the last of them had to be engraved on the base itself. The text is an exhortation to acquire the fundamental qualities of man at each stage of life. It may be translated as follows⁸ :

“Being a child, be well brought up,
Young man, be master of yourself ;
In the middle of life, be just ;
Old man, be of good counsel ;
On death, be without chagrin”

The fourth epigraph is only a fragment of inscription, consisting of only seven letters⁹. This was found one meter from the base of the Stele, and is probably the lower left angle part of the Stele. Robert has reasons to believe that its place of origin is the temenos of Kineas. He also argues that this fragmentary inscription is a part of the text of the 48th maxim¹⁰.

Robert and Bernard find in these epigraphs their substantial evidence for their theory that the city of Ai Khanum, which could be Alexandria Oxiana, was founded by Kineas, a Thessalion, on orders from either Alexander himself or one of his generals or perhaps Seleucos. Klearchos is identified with his namesake who was a well-known peripatetic and one of the direct or indirect disciples of Aristotle¹¹. Triballes of the first epigraph is also considered as a descendant of some one from Thrace in the army of Alexander.¹² The information that Klearchos travelled to Delphi on his mission to obtain a firsthand copy of the Delphic maxims for the purpose of getting them engraved on the funerary heroon of Kineas, “to whom was granted the privilege of being buried in the very heart of the city”, is considered indicative of the

pious concern of the Hellenistic colonies for the preservation of their cherished goal.

All these identifications, which are very tempting, indeed, help conjure up the Hellenistic imperium in all its glory in the image of Alexander. However, the fact remains that our material is not conclusive; it is more inclusive than exclusive.

The first epigraph mentions two brothers, Triballes and Strato. Robert has taken great pains to show the origin of Triballes but has nothing to say about Strato. If proper names must be discussed to find out the ethnic origin or a meaningful genesis of historical movement it is certainly not advisable to be so selective in favour of one against two, for we have Strato, the son, and also Strato, the father. I cannot help being not only reminded of the Indo-Greek kings Strato I and Strato II. Strato I was married to Agathokleia, probably a sister or a daughter of Agathokles, whose coins have been found in Ai Khanum.¹³ But Robert would like to date this inscription "around the middle of the 3rd century B. C., not too early," and he cannot say if the area was still under the Seleucid regime or already when the kingdom of Bactrian Greeks had been founded¹⁴. If Robert is right, the elder Strato of the epigraph cannot be the Strato I of the Indo-Greek coinage. But, could the epigraph be not a little later in date? There is hardly any epigraphic material in northern Afghanistan, other than the present set, to permit safe conclusion on relative chronology on the basis of palaeography alone. The two Greek inscriptions of Aśoka found in Kandahar belong to southern Afghanistan¹⁵. The Ai Khanum set, if the fragmentary inscription of seven letters is left out, consists only of three small epigraphs which are palaeographically different from one another. Robert himself has distinguished epigraph No. 1 from No. 2 in terms of time, and No. 2 from No. 3 in terms of style. In the present state of our knowledge, therefore, it is not advisable to have a definite opinion on date only on the basis of palaeography. A comparison with the Aśokan ones may not be rewarding for they come from extreme south of Afghanistan, whereas the Ai Khanum ones come from the very northern borders; one has to be very careful about regional variations.

Bernard has placed the temenos of Kineas in the Period I of Ai Khanum, dating from 330 to 303 B.C.¹⁶ One is immedia-

tely struck by this precise dating of an archaeological period which is generally so rare. But when this is also based on the dating of the Kineas epigraph on palaeographical grounds we must exercise caution again. Palaeographically, it has been considered as earlier than Aśōkan epigraphs of Kandahar. But whereas this leads Robert to date this inscription "from the beginning of the 3rd century B. C."¹⁷ it leads Bernard to place it in "the last quarter of the 4th century B. C."¹⁸ Kineas has been regarded as a Thessalian officer under Seleucus. And he is supposed to have been the founder of the city, because his burial has been found in the heart of the city, either on orders from Alexander or from Seleucus I who reconquered the eastern provinces of the empire in the years immediatly preceding 303 B.C. This is not the place to go into the whole discussion of the foundation of Alexandrian cities. But suffice it to say myth of of seventy Alexandrias has alre dy been cut to size and we have yet to find satisfactory evidence for the eastern ones among them. The fate of Seleucus in his encounter against Chandragupta hardly leaves ground for him to be so able as to order founding of cities anywhere in Afghanistan. Had he been so strong Bactria would not have become independent soon after his death and he would not have surrendered Aria, Arachosia, Gedrosia and Paropanisadae to the Mauryan king for a mere pleasantry gift of 590 elephants. The evidence about the Thessalian origin of Kineas and his administrative relationship with Seleucus, collected so assiduously no doubt show the erudition of Robert's scholarship but it fails to convince us. So also, while we can sympathize with the irresistible temptation to identify Klearchose as a disciple of Aristotle, I do not find any direct evidence to support it. He could very well have been a scholar citizen or a friend of Kineas or a trader who had made a pilgrimage to Delphi and had copied the maxims when he was there and provided with the text when the necessity arose after the death of Kineas. One thing which is clear from the inscription is that this Klearchos made the copy very carefully; this is indeed a defensive statement hardly befitting the famous Klearchos. It is understandable for a layman to assert it in a public document. Moreover, what evidence we have for close association of Kineas with the well-known peripatetic Klearchos? If Klearchos was one of the great peripatetics of Soli why should he be rememberd

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for merely copying the maxims of Delphi in Ai Khanum ?

Thus, much depends upon the correct identification of Triballes (and ignoring the two Stratos), Kineas and Klearchos, for which the evidence is unfortunately not conclusive. But we must point out to a small but a significant piece of evidence which is relevant to our discussion. Bernard has described the use of large size (53 cm x 49cm x 9cm) burnt bricks in the construction of the tomb of Kineas.¹⁹ These bricks have estampages consisting of individual Greek letters and monograms. One of them was used on the Seleucid coinage struck in Bactria and which might belong to the period when Bactrian Greeks were reaching out towards independence²⁰. If this is so the Kineas monument would be placed around the middle of the 3rd century. B. C. Kineas would then be a contemporary of, and perhaps an officer under, Diodotus I. Klearchos a citizen of the city was probably a 'friend, philosopher and guide' of Kineas and he helped in drafting of the text of the epigraph on the Heroon and paid, in this manner, his homage to a very important friend. Klearchos could have been a peripatetic, a well-read and well-travelled person of a latter date rather than the well known man from Soli. The date of the Kineas epigraph could thus be around the middle of the third century B. C. The dedicatory inscription of the two sons of Strato belongs to a later period, probably fifty to sixty years later than the Kineas epigraph. The Stratos mentioned in this inscription were probably ancestors, removed by two or three generations of the Stratos of the Indo-Greek coinage. Or, they were again citizens or officers in the Bactrian administration of the city.

Notes :

1. G. Fussman, "Documents Epigraphiques Kouchans", *BEFEO*, 1974 (in print). It was very kind of Fussman to have shown me the ms. of his paper which is expected to be out shortly. My observations on these inscriptions may be published in a later issue of the *Purābhilēkha*.

2. Paul Bernard and others, *Fouilles d 'Ai Khanoum*, 2 Vols. (*Mémoires de la Delegation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan*, Tome XIII) Paris 1973. Report for each season of work has also appeared in *Compte Rendus de l 'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969. Annual reports for work later than 1968 are published in 1970, 1971, issues of *CRAI*. See also *Proceedings of the British Aca-*

demy 1967 pp. 71-95, for an English version by Paul Bernard summarizing the results of his work up to 1966.

3. Louis Robert, *Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum*, chapter XII, pp. 207-237. See also his earlier articles in *CRAI*, 1968 pp. 419-457.

4. See plates, I and II.

5. Proceedings of the British Academy, 1967, p. 90.

6. Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

7. See plate, II.

8. Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

9. Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

10. Robert, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-17.

11. Robert, *op. cit.*, pp. 226 ff.

12. Robert, *op. cit.*, pp. 208-210.

13. Bernard, *CRAI*, 1971. Narain, *JNSI*, 1972.

14. Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

15. Robert, *Journal Asiatique*, 1958, pp. 7-17.

16. Bernard, *Fouilles D'Ai Khanum I*, pp. 104-106.

17. Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

18. Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

19. Bernard, *op. cit.* p. 9, *op. cit.*, vol. II pl.

20. Macdonald, *CHI*, pp. 435-7, Taru, *GBI*, pp. 72-74, Newell, *ESM*, p. 245. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, pp. 14-15 many need revision.

BRĀHMĪ

INSCRIPTIONS OF TAMIL NĀḌU :
A HISTORICAL ASSESSMENT

K. V. RAMAN

TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS DISCOVERED MAINLY in southern districts of Madurai, Tirunelveli and Ramanathapuram known as the Pandyanāḍu have rightly assumed importance in any discussion relating to the early history of Tamil Nadu. These inscriptions which came to light in the early twenties of this century, were till recently very vague and undefined. Great efforts were made by early doyens of epigraphy like H. Krishna Sastri, K. V. Subramania Iyer, Gopinatha Rao who did considerable pioneering work in the field and identified many words and read them with the help of the known Aśōkan and the Bhaṭṭiprōlu Brāhmī inscriptions. Yet some peculiar letters and word-formations presented a hurdle to their satisfactory reading. K. V. Subramania Iyer with his admirable insight could recognise that the language of these inscriptions as Tamil written in an adopted Brāhmī-script. Yet, many letters remained unidentified and hence the readings of word-formations were consequently fragmentary and incomplete. But, in the recent years, considerable improvement in their reading especially done by Iravtahaṃ Mahadevan¹ has enabled the scholars to identify clear Tamil words. Meaningful sentences, giving the names of persons, places, gifts etc. have come to light. There inscriptions, about 75 in all, form the earliest corpus of Tamil inscriptions available and datable to a period ranging between 200 B.C. to 300 A.D. A comparative study of these inscriptions, their scripts as well as their content with similar and well-dated epigraphs of Aśōkan times and the Buddhist sites at Bhaṭṭiprōlu in Āndhra enables us to arrive at this time bracket. In Tamil Nadu itself potsherds with the engraving in this script

have been found in well-dated strata in the Arikamēḍu excavations. Many more similar inscribed sherds have been found in the excavations at Aḷagarai, Uṟaiūr (Tiruchirappalli District), Korkai (Tirunelveli District), etc., thus confirming the same chronological horizon for these inscriptions. (T. V. Mahalingam, *Inscribed Potsherds from Aḷagarai at Uraiur*).

These inscriptions are fragmentary and their language colloquial Tamil with an admixture of Prakrit words record the donations or gifts made to the Jain monks who resorted to the natural caverns and cliffs for their severe penance. The donors were mostly merchants (probably some of the Jains) though kings, chieftains and the common folk were also there. The gifts were in the form of cutting or carving the smooth stone-beds for the monks to lie or to cut a drip-ledge (*tāra-aṇi*) in the face of the rock so as to prevent rain water from entering into the interior of the cave or putting up a country roof of palm leaves (*kūrai*) in front of the cave to protect from sunlight. Most of the caverns face east as in the morning direct sunlight would splash in the interior of the cave. In a recently discovered inscription at Ariṭṭāpaṭṭi, the cave is called Muḷakai. The donors considered it a pious duty to render some help or service to the monks undergoing the Supreme sacrifice.

Apart from their linguistic interest these inscriptions, present much valuable material for the early history of Tamil Nāḍu. We get in them the names of kings, chieftains, dynasties, personal names and titles, village and town names, the articles donated to the various classes in society etc. It is the purpose of this paper to discuss the significance of the data furnished by the inscriptions under various heads, mentioned above.

I. DYNASTIC NAMES :

1. Chaḷivan : This is mentioned as a prefix for the name Atana in the newly discovered inscription at Ariṭṭāpaṭṭi.² Chaḷivan is to be taken as another form of *Chaḷiyan* by which name Pāṇḍyas were known in the Saṅgam literature and also later. Chaḷiyan is also used in the name Neḍuñchaḷian, occurring in the Māṅkuḷam inscription.

2. Vaḷuti, Kaṭalan and Anavan : All these terms are as prefixes for Neḍuncheḷian. They are other names for the Pāṇḍyan

dynasty (Nagaswamy, *Kalvetṭial*, p. 53).

II. KINGS :

1. Neḍunchaḷiyan : Mentioned in the Māṅkuḷam inscription. It records his donation to the monastery (*pāḷi*) at Māṅkuḷam. Another donation to the same monastery by Chaṭikan, the father of Iḷan Chaṭikan, the brother-in-law (*sālakan*) of Neḍunchaḷiyan is also recorded.

This would show that the Pāṇḍyan king and his relatives extended patronage to the Jain monks. Since the inscription is datable to the 3rd century B. C. it is felt that Neḍunchaḷiyan of this inscription might be earlier than Talaiyalanganathu Neḍunchaḷian and Āriappaḍai Kaḍanda Neḍunchaḷiyan of the Saṅgam fame (Mahadevan).

2. Chēra King : Pukaḷūr inscription mentions the Chēra Kings Iḷankaḍuṅkō, son of Perunkaṭunkōn, the son of king Ātan Chelrumpurai. The first mentioned king donated a cave at Pukaḷūr to a Jain monk after he became the heir-apparent. When we bear in mind that same Chēra kings have been mentioned in the Sangam poem *Paḍirrupattu*, we will be excited to see contemporary inscriptional evidence and with all its implications on chronology and geneology (56 and 57)^{3a}.

1. Ātan : Probably the name of a family line used as a suffix in the name Peritan of Pakkanūr in Koṅgar Puḷiayanguḷam inscription.

Occurs in the name of the Chēra king Ātan-Chel-Irumporai (Pugaḷūr 56). Occurs as suffix in the name Atan Chāttan at Kunnakkuḍi (69). Occurs as a personal name of a goldsmith and also a cloth merchant as Aḷagarkōil (30, 35, and 43).

2. Atanan Chaḷivan veḷiyan : Donated the Cave at Ariṭṭāpaṭṭi.

3. Antai Chēndan (?) : Mentioned in Mēṭṭupaṭṭi inscription.

4. Kaniman : The chieftain who took Tēnūr, mentioned in the inscription at Māmaṇḍūr (71).

5. Peru Paraṇan : The chieftain of Erukṭṭaṭṭūr mentioned in the inscription at Piḷḷaiyārpaṭṭi (75).

6. Kīran-Ōri : Probably a member of the Ōri clan mentioned in Pukaḷūr inscription (59).

7. Pittan : Probably an officer under the Chēra (Pukaḷūr,

Ibid.) at Nalliyūr.

8. Tinnan Etiran Chēndan : Probably a chieftain or king mentioned in the Āṇḍipaṭṭi coins.

IV. Monks :

1. Kaṇṇiyananta Āsiriyaṇ : Occupied the monastery at Māṇkuḷam (1 and 2). Neḍuñheliyaṇ and his brother-in-law gave gifts to his monastery.

2. Kuvuṭi Iten : Mentioned in Śittanṇavāśal inscription as a monk who was born in Kumulūr in Eruminātu (27).

3. Ariti of Eḷaiyur had its monastery at Karunkālakkuḍi (28).

4. Kāsapan : the monk mentioned at Aḷagarkōil (41).

5. Nātan : living in the dormitory at Kuṇṇattūr (55).

6. Chenkāyapan : a Jaina monk (amaṇṇan) from Yaṇṇūr, who lived in the cave at Puḡaḷūr. The Chēra king Ilankaṭunkō caused the beds to be cut. (56 and 60).

7. Chenkāyipan : occupied cave at Tiruchi (68).

8. Chenkāyipan : his place of penance at Tirunātarkuṇṇu where he died observing fifty-seven days of fasting (76).

9. A nun of Sapamita.....(Alag. 36).

• 10. Ven-Kāsipan : donated a bed at Marukalatalai (29).

V. MERCHANTS AND GUILDS :

Majority of the donors to these caves were merchants and tradesman. Trade guilds called *Nigamam* were also active in the region. Even in the medieval times large sections of trading classes patronised Jainism.

1. Veḷarai-nikamatōr : The mercantile guild of Veḷarai donated a bed at Māṇkuḷam. The Village of Veḷlaraipaṭṭi which is very near Māṇkuḷam in Melur Taluk is probably mentioned here as Veḷarai (Mang. 6).

The same merchant guild caused a lattice to be given (Mang. 3).

2. Viyakan Kanatikan : the salt merchant (*uppu vāṇikan*) donated a stone-bed in the Aḷagarkōil cave (34).

3. Neṭumalan : the sugar merchant (*paṇita-vāṇikan*) gave some gift to the same cave (37).

4. Elachantan : the iron-monger gave some gift to the same cave (38).

5. Elava Atan : a cloth merchant (*aruvai-vāṇikan*) of Vēn-paḷi gave some gift (43).

6. Atti, a gold merchant (*poṇ-vāṇikan*) from Karūr gave a bed at Pugaḷūr (66).

7. Tēvan Chāttan : a merchant in precious-stones (*maṇiy-vaṇṇakan*) made seven beds (72).

8. Kāḷitika Antai : a merchant-prince of Veḷarai (Māṅg. 3).

VI. PLACE-NAMES :

1. Veḷarai : Probably Veḷḷaripaṭṭi near Māṅguḷam in Melur Taluk. A merchant-guild flourished here (see note V. 1. also)

2. Toṇḍi : Iḷavan a devotee from this (12) gave a gift to Kīḷaveḷavu cave, probably the famous Toṇḍi, the port on the east coast (9).

3. Pākkanūr : Peratan pittan of this village thatched a canopy at Koṅkarpuḷiyaṅguḷam. Perhaps identifiable with the present village of Pāganūr (12).

4. Petalai : Mentioned in the inscription at Vikkiramāṅgalam (14).

5. Patinur : Mentioned in the Meṭṭuppaṭṭi inscription (23).

6. Chirupāvil : Mentioned in the Chittaṇṇavāśal inscription.

7. Kumulūr : In Erumināṭu, Chittaṇṇavāśal inscription.

8. Elaiyūr : The monk Ariti was from this village (28).

9. Matirai : Common form for Madurai (Alag. 4)

10. Vēnpaḷ : A cloth merchant of this place mentioned in the inscription (43).

11. Erukkāṭṭūr : Pololaiyan of this place was from Ceylon (51).

12. Īḷam : Ceylon ; a householder from this place gave a gift at Tirupparankuṇṇam. (51).

13. Vintaiyūr : A Ceylonese (Chaiyaḷan) at this place gave a gift to cave at Muttupaṭṭi (52).

14. Nākapērūr : Mentioned in the same place ; probably it is an old name of the present village of Nāgamalai very near Muttupaṭṭi (53).

15. Yāṅṅūr : A Jain monk of this place Chenkāyapan lived in the cave at Pugaḷūr. The Chēra King gave gifts to this. Probably to be identified with the present Āṅṅūr near Salem which is not far away from Pukaḷūr (56-60).

16. Nalliyūr : Kīran and Ōri of this place mentioned in Pukaḷūr inscription (58-59). Probably Nallūr of the Kōsars. ⁵

17. Karūr : A gold-merchant from Karūr gave a bed to

Pukaḷūr (66).

18. Tēnūr : Captured by the hill-chieftain Kaṇiman (Māmaṇ-ḍūr, 71).

19. Erukkāṭṭūr : The chieftain of this place was Peru Paraṇan whose gift is recorded in Piḷḷaiyārpattī (75).

20. Nelvēli : Atanan of this place gave a gift to the Ariṭṭā-pattī Cave.

21. Erumi-nāṭu : Mentioned in Chittaṇṇavāśal inscription (27). This reference to the territorial division *nāṭu* is interesting.

VII. PERSONAL NAMES :—

Besides the names of kings, chieftains, monks and merchants, we get a few more personal names which are given here :

1. Chaṭikan : the father of Iḷaṇcaṭika and brother-in-law of Neṭuṇcheḷiyan (2).

2. Chantaritan : gave a bed at Māṅguḷam (5).

3. Aritan : gave a bed at Tiruvātavūr (7).

4. Iḷavan : a devotee for Toṇḍi (9).

5. Upparuvan : a lay devotee (10).

6. Chēruātan : gave plaited fronds for the canopy (11).

7. Antai-pikan (13).

8. Kuviran of Petalai (14).

9. Cheṇkuviran (15).

10. Kuviratan (16).

11. Chatan (17). also in Arikamēḍu No. 9.

12. Mutikularan (AKM, No. 15).

13. Yaduvalabhuta (AKM, No. 20).

14. Iravi and his son Kasi-nakan and Kaṇiy-nantan and their gifts (32). Iravi was used by the Chēras as prefix in later times.

15. Antuvan : Donar in Tirupparaṅkuṇṅam ins. (48). Name familiar to the Saṅgam literature.

ASSESSMENT : The foregoing analysis would go to show the historical value of the inscriptions. Firstly, they represent the earliest body of epigraphical evidence available in the Tamil country even as the Aśōkan edicts are to the rest of our country. It is a well-known fact that Aśōkan inscriptions are found only upto the Mysore country and none has been found in Tamil Nadu or Kerala. But the provenance of these inscriptions in more or less the same script (with certain modifications or adaptations to

suit the genius of Tamil language) and also closely following it in point of time is indeed significant. They certainly go to underline the scriptal unity of the Indian subcontinent in spite of the linguistic diversities. It is interesting to note in this connection that the same trend is seen in Ceylon also, where *Brāhmī* came to be adopted to Prakrit. South India was thus linked to the rest of the country by scriptal tie. Moreover, Prakrit terms were freely mixed in the local language. It was perhaps the most powerful and popular tongue that was widespread in the entire subcontinent and Ceylon, much earlier than Aśōkan times. Here again, the Tamil country partook in the great movement. The use of a number of Prakrit words in the *Brāhmī* inscriptions attests to the popularity of the language. Tamil people were familiar with the words long before the advent of the *Brāhmī* script. Their familiarity with the Prakrit language should be traced to the pre-Aśōkan times when Brahmanical tenets had arrived.⁶ That Prakrit language was well absorbed and assimilated is well reflected in these early inscriptions. Secondly, the *Brāhmī* inscriptions were widespread in the different parts of the Tamil country. We no longer dismiss them as the script adopted by a few Jainas who were learning the local language. The uniformity of the script available in Tirunelveli, Madurai, Tiruchi, South Arcot and Chingleput shows that it was well established and well understood over distant places. They were no longer confined to the Jain or Buddhist establishments alone. They are found used by the common folk on the pots and vessels as found in the recent excavations at Korkai, Uraiyūr, and Aḷagarai not to speak of Arikamēḍu near Pondicherry, the well-known site having inscribed potsherds in abundance. They have also been found in the coins recently discovered at Āṇḍipaṭṭi in North Arcot District. What do all these indicate? They certainly indicate a stage when this script was commonly understood and used in the day-to-day transactions. It was not the elite alone, it was the script of average lettered man to whom the inscriptions were addressed. Potters have used it to write their names on the vessels; King Neḍuñcheḷiyan had used the script for recording his donation at Māṅguḷam near Madurai; The Chēra heir-apparent has recorded his donation in the same script at Pukaḷūr near Tiruchi; again, the chieftain who took Tēnūr wrote his donation in the script in Māmaṇḍūr near Kāñchi (Chingleput Dist). Thus,

it can be seen that, in point of space, it was widespread from Kāñchi to Tirunelveli. In fact, it is found even beyond the sea in a big way in Ceylon. ⁷ Again, from the point of view of social strata, it was popular with the prince as well as the potter. ⁸ Moreover, the usage of certain letters like *! !*, *r* and *n* to suit the peculiar phonetic values in Tamil language would again show that the script had been consciously adapted and absorbed into the local matrix as could be done not by strangers but the local elite. If this script had been only for the outsiders for their own consumption, they would have carried on with the script with which they were already familiar as in other parts of India. But only people with deep insight into the linguistic or phonetic values of Tamil could have devised or evolved the letters to express the special sound values of the Tamil language not found in the contemporary scripts elsewhere. *Thirdly*, the provenance of the inscriptions has to be viewed in a larger perspective of the process of acculturation or cultural evolution. This aspect has been discussed admirably by Clarence Maloney ⁹. He has shown how it was during the Saṅgam age (first three centuries, A. D.) that South India was moving beyond the subsistence economy and entering a new phase marked by growth in trade, formalized religion, structured society, permanent buildings and writing. The well-developed literary forms of this Saṅgam period, according to him, had their roots in the earlier writings of *Brāhmī* inscriptions of the 3rd and 2nd centuries B. C. ¹⁰. "Here archaeology and epigraphy provide evidence antedating the literary sources by atleast three centuries and show something of the process of acculturation and development of civilization". This is a very significant point to be noted in evaluating the importance of the *Brāhmī* inscriptions. He has brought out strong evidence based on archaeological literary source to show how the adoption of script at that stage was natural and in keeping with the general process or acculturation. *Fourthly*, the naïve belief than the *Tamil Brāhmī* Inscriptinois stand in isolation and are unconnected to the later Tamil *Vaṭṭeḷuttu* script is no longer true. The recent discovery of a number of hero-stone inscripitons in North Arcot, South Arcot, Salem and Dharma-puri Districts clearly datable to the 5th 6th century A. D. has shown that they are derivations of the *Brāhmī* ¹¹. There is no break in the development or devolution of *Brāhmī* into the later

stages. This clearly shows the continuity of scriptal heritage. *Fifthly*, colloquialism used in these inscriptions has been taken by some as their besetting sin and therefore according to them they do not mean any stage in linguistic or literary evolutions of Tamil.¹² Nothing can be more unhistorical than this. Inscriptions are the only contemporary evidence which have come down to us without interpolation unlike literary works which were copied and recopied down the ages. The importance of the inscriptions in the linguistic studies is now widely recognised and can not be over-estimated. As T. P. Meenakshisundaram has rightly observed "in inscriptional records, we have more of the colloquial language as it was current in the varying ages to which the records belong"¹³. Colloquialisms and even scriptal errors underline the fact that the common folk were using the script to convey their ideas in their own colloquial manner. In fact, it is through inscriptions that scholars are able to see dynamic changes that have occurred in script as well as the phonetic values. From century to century the evolution is discernible more in the inscriptions than in standardised literature. Not only that, even the regional variations are reflected in the inscriptions. All these facts have to be borne in mind while evaluating the *Tamil Brāhmī* inscriptions, which can indeed be termed as the progenitors of the Tamil script. Last but not least are the contents of the inscriptions which are no less valuable than their form. They have already been analysed in their various subject-headings above. They throw useful light on the place-names, names of chieftains, kings, social and economic institutions like guilds, tradesmen and also religious sects and their practices. They provide interesting data comparable to the data available in the Saṅgam literature and other sources elsewhere like the Aśōkan, the Sātavāhana and Ceylon inscriptions. Let us look into them more closely and make the following general observations :

1. **KINGS :** Taking the names of the first kings, it is indeed significant to see the Pāṇḍyan king Neḍuñcheḷiyan issuing a record donating to the Jain monk at Māṅguḷam. Similarly, the Puḡaḷūr inscription records a grant to a Jain monk by the Chēra heir-apparent Iḷaṅ-Kaṭunkō. These two would be the two earliest royal documents available in Tamil country in their original contemporary script. Hence, they are very important in

their general pattern, language, form and script. They may also indicate *prima facie* that the script used was also the official script of the times. Importance of the Pugaḷūr inscriptions for the Chēra genealogy and the genealogy found in *Paḍiṟrupattu* has already been commented upon in detail by Mahadevan and the same need not be repeated here. One difference between the Māṅguḷam royal grant and the Pugaḷūr inscription may, however, be pointed out here. While the former does not mention the regnal year (as later inscriptions do), the latter specifically says that the grant was given by him on becoming the heir-apparent. Moreover, the Pugaḷūr inscription mentions the father (Perunkaṭuṅkōṇ) and the grandfather (Ātan Chel-Irumporai) of the donor in a manner very much reminiscent of the later royal copper plate grants, giving the genealogy of the donor. Hence, we can say that the Pugaḷūr inscription is nearer to the standard pattern of royal grants, which is in the true Indian tradition found in different parts of our country. (Also compare the royal grants of the early Sātavāhana kings).

2. DYNASTIC NAMES:- The occurrence of the various dynastic names in the inscriptions is also very interesting. The use of several names like *Valūti*, *Cheḷeyin*, *Kaṭalan*, *Paṇavan* to denote the Pāṇḍyas clearly shows how deep-rooted their knowledge was about the Tamil tradition regarding the Pāṇḍyas. Beginners in and strangers to a language could never use such telling and rare prefixes for the Pāṇḍyas. Similar, synonyms have been used such as *Dhammam* and *Tāna* (55), *tāna* (for *sthāna*) and *Irukkai*, *Chaiyaḷam* and *Īḷam* for Ceylon (52.)

3. JAINISM :- In the history of Jainism in Tamilnadu these inscriptions have thrown new light, almost unknown to literature. The provenance of these inscriptions in remote villages and hills shows the penetration of Jain faith into the interior places, right into the heart of the Tamil country. Places like Aḷagarmalai, Tirupparaṅkuṇṇam, Tiruvādavūr, Kuṇṇakkuḍi are known to us from literature only as centres of Vaishṇavism or Śaivism. Tamil literature does not speak a word about the Jain settlements and monasteries that were once there. It is through these inscriptions that we come to know that Jainism had considerable hold on the people, patronised by kings, traders and the common folk. The names of the Jain monks listed in the paper above are unknown to literature. Names like Ariṭṭan (of Ānaimalai),

recall well-known names like Mahā Ariṭṭan (of Ceylon fame), Hariti, etc. Similarly, the names like Cheṅkāyapan (at Puḡalūr) and Veṅkāyapan (at Maruḡāltalai) would seem to denote the denominational *white* and *red* sects of the Jains, so well-known in later days (K. V. Soundara Rajan). Further, the Jains were organised in *Saṅgams* having groups called *gaṇas*. The word *Kaṇi* occurring in the Māṅḡḷam inscription obviously stands for the *Gaṇa* (Nagaswami). Can *Kaṇiy-nanta-āsiriyar* be taken as the guru of *Nandi-gaṇa* which was one of the well-known Jain *gaṇas*? Sambandar, the *Tēvāram* hymner, refers to the existence of various such Jain *gaṇas* around Ānaimalai in his *Pādikam* on Madurai. I feel that Tamil Nāḍu, like Kalinga and Karnāṭaka, was more sympathetic to Jainism than Buddhism throughout its history. Even the *Saṅgam* literature is rather reticent on Buddhism.

4. LANGUAGE : Again, the vocabulary of the Tamil words used and the subtle differences in the words like *arutta* and *aruppitta* (56), *cheita* and *cheipitta* and *paṇvita* (71, 72), *kuṭutta* and *kuṭuppitta* etc., would point to the fact that the authors were well rooted in Tamil traditions. The use of a number of Prakrit words like *Dhammam*, *adhiṣṭānam*, *Nigammam*, *Upa-haka*, *nichitikai* etc., along with such pure Tamil words like *iruk-kai*, *urai*, *uppu* (salt), *aruvai-vaṇikan*, *-makan*, *aimpattēḷu* etc., would clearly show a stage when Prakrit and Tamil had already been well fused and assimilated and that the authors were strangers to neither of them. Examples of Prakrit words well assimilated into the Tamil form can be cited here. *Nigama* is the Prakrit word for 'guild' and the members of the guild are Tamilised into *Nigamattōr* (6); *Suta* for son is adapted as *sutan* (3); *Kuṭumbika* as *Kuṭumpikan* (51). All these would go to show clearly that the authors were the sons of the soil who had integrated the Prakrit language well into their system by the necessary adaptation. It is interesting to compare words used for various traders in these inscriptions with those found in the Sāta-vāhana Brāhmī inscriptions. *Tila-piṣṭakas* (oil mongers), *svaṇṇa-kāras* (goldsmiths), *maṇikāras* (dealers in precious stones), *Kumbhakāras* (potters), are used in the Sāta-vāhana inscriptions. But in the Tamil Brāhmī inscriptions *Kaluva-vāṇikan*, *pon-vāṇikan*, *aruvai-vāṇikan*, etc., have been used. This again shows that they were well-versed in Tamil language. Thus, we can envisage two

stages in this process of adaptation and assimilation : (1) Absorption of Prakrit words into Tamil matrix. The beginning of this process is shrouded in antiquity. All we can say is that it was part of sub-continental spread of Prakrit which must have started a long time before Aśōka. The language of the *Brāhmī* inscriptions of Tamil Nāḍu represents a well-integrated stage. Prakrit words have been very convincingly and satisfactorily adapted to the Tamil form and genius as has been shown above. (2) The second and the later movement was the adoption of the *Brāhmī* script in the wake of its spread all over India and Ceylon under the imperial patronage of Aśōka (3rd century B.C.). Tamil Nāḍu was no exception to this new wave. *Brāhmī* script was adapted to suit the peculiarities of the Tamil phonetics. Letters like *ḷ*, *ḻ*, *ṛ* and *ṇ*, hitherto unknown to *Brāhmī*, were introduced in Tamil inscriptions to express the peculiar sound-values. The adaptation could have been done not by strangers or beginners in a language but by the Tamil elite well nurtured in that language who were also already familiar with the Prakrit language (which had an earlier advent).

The free use of Prakrit words in the inscriptions should not therefore mislead us to think that the authors were immigrants or strangers. As pointed out earlier, Prakrit words had already become part of the day to day spoken Tamil language. Only the *Brāhmī* script was new and it was used to express the existing assimilated language. This will lead us to the inevitable conclusion that the language of *Brāhmī* inscriptions was well understood by the average lettered people of Tamil Nāḍu, to whom they were indeed addressed.

Once this script was adopted to the Tamil language, it had its own further evolution in subsequent times. Scholars have shown how the *vaṭṭeḷuttu* inscriptions found in the recently discovered hero-stones of Tamil Nāḍu are a logical evolution of the *Brāhmī* inscriptions.¹⁴ This will again prove that the *Brāhmī* inscriptions do not stand in isolation but had a continuous currency and evolution.

The comparison of the *Tamil Brāhmī* inscriptions with the data obtained in the ancient Tamil grammar *Tolkāppiyam* is absolutely relevant and it throws many interesting problems which have been discussed by scholars and which need not be repeated here again. Suffice it to say that the study has convincingly

shown that the earlier ones among these inscriptions are anterior to the *Tolkāppiyam* ¹⁵ and the later ones overlap with it. As such, they are helpful in building reliable land-marks in the scriptal and linguistic evolution.

5. CEYLON INSPIRATION : The location and distribution of these inscriptions also have an interesting story to tell us. All the earlier among the inscriptions are concentrated in the Pāṇḍyan country (e. g. Māṅkuḷam, Mēṭṭupaṭṭi, Vikkiramaṅkalam, Karuṅkālakkuḍi, Kīḷavaḷavu, Koṅgar-Puḷiaṅguḷam, Chittaṇṇa-vāśal, Tiruvātavūr etc.), whereas the two late ones are both found in Toṇḍamaṇḍalam (e. g. Māmaṇḍūr and Tirunātan-kuṇṇu). Those found at Erode (Arachchālūr) and Tiruchirāppaḷḷi (Pukaḷūr) are also of the later group. The available limited evidence shows that the earlier varieties are not found to the west or south of Tiruchirāppaḷḷi. This may indicate that the Madurai region was the epi-centre in Tamil country for the spread of this script whereas the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam region was the peripheral area. Where from Madurai received this impact? When we see the high concentration exactly similar *Brāhmī* inscriptions in Ceylon, we have to trace the impact to Ceylon which, in all probability, received the Prakrit and *Brāhmī* influences through the sea route (from Gujarat or Kalinga) ¹⁶. The mention of the donation by a house holder from Ceylon (*Iḷakkuṭambikan*) to the monastery at Tirupparankuṇṇam and yet another from Ceylon mentioned in the Muttupaṭṭi inscription would add credibility to this assumption that influences from Ceylon had played a vital role in the spread of these inscriptions to the Pāṇḍyan territory. Moreover, as pointed out by J. Sundaram, ¹⁷ there is commonness between the caves in Ceylon and Tamil country in that we find the inscriptions in brows of caves only in these regions. All these factors undoubtedly link up the *Brāhmī* inscriptions of Pāṇḍyanāḍu with those of Ceylon, which in all probability served as the source of inspiration for the former.

Tamil Brāhmī inscriptions also show closeness to the Bhaṭṭi-prōlu southern script variety, but they cannot be directly linked because of the seeming gap in the intervening area. As pointed out earlier, the northern portions of Tamil Nāḍu i. e. Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and even Chōḷamaṇḍalam upto Tiruchi have not yielded so far *Brāhmī* inscriptions of the early period, comparable to

Bhaṭṭiprōlu their presence only in the southern extreme would show that the impact was probably from their neighbourly island of Ceylon. This problem needs greater attention and the *Brāhmī* inscriptions of Ceylon have to be compared in detail with those of Tamil Nāḍu and studied in depth to get more precise information.

Thus, the *Brāhmī* inscriptions found in the cave resorts in different parts of Tamil Nāḍu and also increasingly found in potsherds in several excavations form an important source material for the early history of Tamil Nāḍu, throwing invaluable light on the evolution of the Tamil script, language, state of Jainism, and other various aspects of social, political and economic life of the Tamils. Especially, when we know that the earlier ones among them may well go back to the pre-Saṅgam times and many were co-eval with the Saṅgam literature, their value is heightened. The spectrum of Tamil society, its language, and its script that is pictured in its true historical setting in this inscriptions has to be studied with all the care it deserves.

There is every likelihood of many more cave-inscriptions coming to light. The inscriptions of the excavated potsherds are also on the increase. All these are opening up a new vista in the field of enquiry. Somehow, the early coins of Tamil Nāḍu are eluding us. Except for the Āṇḍipatti hoard of coins, and the Sātavāhana bilingual coin the early Pāṇḍyan and the early Chōḷa coins are without any script.¹⁸ But there is every possibility of finding coins bearing the *Tamil Brāhmī* inscription sooner or later. This will add a new dimension to the problem.

Notes :

1. I. Mahadevan, *Corpus of Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions* (Madras, 1968).
2. K. V. Raman and Y. Subbarayalu, *A new Tamil Brahmi Ins. at Ārittapatti*, *J. I. H.* (August 1971); Also K. V. Raman, *Some aspects of Pandyan History*, (Madras 1971) for a revised reading.
3. R. Nagaswamy, *Kelvetṭiyal*, p. 53.
- 3a. Numbers in brackets are the inscription numbers given in I. Mahadevan's *Corpus*, *op. cit.*
4. This form occurs in later inscriptions also. This was the common form and not an error as has been taken by a writer (*J. I. H.*, Vol. LI, pt. II).
5. I. Mahadevan reads it as Nalliyur but Nagaswamy reads it as Nalpiyur (*Kelvetṭiyal*, p. 68).
6. For the pre-Aśōkan times, we have the evidence of the *Artha-Sāstra* which speaks about Dakṣiṇāpatha abounding in a variety of trade

articles and particularly the pearls from the Tāmbraparṇī river in the Pāṇḍyan country (*Pāṇḍyakavāṭa*) and Cotton fabrics from Madurai. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India*, p. 84.

7. W. S. Kunaratne, as quoted by Clarence Maloney *Archaeology in South India*.

8. K. V. Soundara Rajan draws a line between the cave inscriptions and the pot inscriptions. He holds that the former may represent an earlier stage and the latter a stage when the script became popular and spread to the common folk. (*Journal of Kerala Studies* Vol. I, No. 2 & 3, pp. 144 ff.

9. Clarence Maloney, *Archaeology in South India, Accomplishment, and Prospects*.

10. The same trend of urbanisation, opening up of trade, introduction of script is said to have been prevalent in the Sātavāhana country in the last Centuries B. C. Their inscriptions are full of references to trade guilds, traders, urban centres like Pratishṭhāna, Amarāvati etc.

11. R. Nagaswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

12. J. I. H., *op. cit.*, p. 309. This writer applying the modern form of certain words calls many of the older forms found in inscriptions as 'errors' and 'mistakes' which is indeed very unscientific.

13. T. P. Meenakshisundaram, *A History of Tamil Language*, (Poona 1966), p. 7.

14. R. Nagaswami, *op. cit.*

15. Sa. Ganesan, *Seminar on Inscriptions*, pp. 54-55. This has been generally accepted by many other scholars too. One scholar, however, does not want to face the issue but simply says 'any comparative study of these epigraphs and *Tolkāppiyam* will take us nowhere' J. I. H. Aug. 73. p. 309.

16. For a discussion about the sea route influences see Clarence Maloney's *Beginnings of civil. in S. India*.

17. *Seminar on Inscriptions, op.cit.* 76.

18. This is indeed surprising especially when we see even the early Sātavāhana kings like Sātakarṇi I (877 B. C.) issuing coins with their names. The coins of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi (1st century A. D.) run into thousands (M. Rama Rao, *Studies in the early History of Andhradēśa* Madras 1971, p. 30 and 37).

ANVALDĀ PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SŌMĒŚVARA AND PṚITHVĪRĀJA

C. L. SURI

THE PILLAR ORIGINALLY FOUND AT ANVALDA near Jahazpur in the Bhilwara district, Rajasthan, and now preserved in the Pratāp Samgrahālaya in Udaipur, bears two inscriptions, one engraved at the top, called A for convenience, belonging to the time of the Chāhamāna ruler Pṛithvīrāja III (1177-1192 A. D.) and the other engraved in continuation of the first, called B, to that of his father and predecessor Sŏmēśvara (1168 - 1177 A. D.). These epigraphs first published by R. C. Agrawal in *Indian Historical Quarterly*¹, were subsequently edited by G.S.Gai in *Epigraphia Indica*.² Several other scholars who have noticed or dealt with these records have offered different readings of their date. As a reappraisal of the date and contents of the records is considered necessary, they are re-edited here.

The date of inscription A has been read as follows :—

1. V.S. 1244, Phālguna śudi 13, Friday. ³
2. V.S. 1245, Phālguna śudi 11, (without week-day). ⁴
3. V.S. 1245, Phālguna śudi 12, Thursday = 1188 A. D., ⁵
February 11.
4. V.S. 1245, Phālguna śudi 13, Śukravāra. ⁶

There is no doubt about the correctness of the last mentioned reading of the date as given by Gai. The date is verifiable and regularly corresponds to 1187 A. D., February 13, Friday. It may be pointed out that the corresponding English equivalent is arrived at only if the Vikrama year 1245 is taken as current.⁷ This fact is of significance and has a bearing on the date of inscription B.

The date of inscription B has been read by scholars as follows :

1. V. S. 1234, Bhādrapada śudi 4, Friday. ⁸
2. V. S. 1234, Bhādrapada śudi 5, Friday. ⁹

Gai has rightly pointed out that the *tithi* in the date of inscription B cannot be read as 4. His reading of the *tithi* as 5 appears to be correct though it renders the date irregular and hence open to doubt.

Now, this is the last known date of the Chāhamāna king Sōmēśvara, the father and predecessor of Pṛithvīrāja III whose earliest date is provided by the Bārlā Inscription which is dated V. S. 1234, Chaitra śudi 4. ¹⁰ This date is apparently earlier than the last known date of his father Sōmēśvara as given in inscription B. Scholars have variously tried to explain this anomaly of getting an earlier date for the son and a later one for the father. Thus U. C. Bhattacharya suggested that the Vikrama year of the date of the Anvaldā inscription B and Bārlā inscription, was Śrāvaṇādi. R. C. Agrawal also accepted this view ¹² according to which the anomaly is reconciled by making the month of Bhādrapada of the Anvaldā inscription occur earlier than the month of Chaitra of the same year, i. e. V. S. 1234 mentioned in [ehtBārlā inscription.

According to Sircar, who takes the *tithi* in the date of the Anvaldā inscription as 4 and equates the date to August 18, 1178 A. D., the Vikrama year 1234 began after the month of Bhādrapada. ¹³ He is, therefore, inclined to believe that the (Vikrama) year 1234 in the date of the Bārlā inscription of Pṛithvīrāja III was a mistake for the (Vikrama) year 1235. Gai, whose reading of the *tithi* in the date of the Anvaldā inscription B as 5 makes the date irregular, as stated above, doubts the genuineness of the date of the Anvaldā inscription B on the basis of its having been put up on stone along with the inscription A in V. S. 1245, i. e. 11 years after the actual date of the event.

It has been pointed out above that Vikrama year 1245 of inscription A is to be taken as current and not as expired as has been done by all the scholars. If this is accepted, there is no reason to doubt that the date of inscription B is in any reckoning other than current especially in view of the fact that both the inscriptions belong to the same family and are engraved by the same person. V. S. 1234 (current) of the

Anvaldā inscription B would thus correspond to V. S. 1233 (expired). If the Vikrama year 1234 of the Bārlā inscription of Pṛithvīrāja is taken to be expired (as is the case with most of the epigraphic records of the period including those of the Chāhamānas) it would be later than V. S. 1234 (current) = V. S. 1233 (expired) of the Anvaldā inscription B. This appears to be the only plausible explanation of the apparent anomaly in the dates of the Anvaldā Inscription B of Sōmēśvara and the Bārlā inscription of Pṛithvīrāja III. The date V. S. 1234, Bhādrapada śudi 5, Friday of the Anvaldā Inscription B is, however, not verifiable according to either the expired or the current reckoning. This should not be taken to go against the view expressed above as the possibility of the *tithi* having been wrongly given cannot be ignored.

Let us now turn to the object of the records under study. It would be convenient to give the reading of the text of the inscriptions which is as follows :

TEXT

Inscription A

1. Ōm Svasti śrī [1*] Mahārājādhirāja Pri(Pri)thvī-
2. rājadēva-mahārājyē Ḍoḍarā Jēhaḍa-dēva-
3. likā-ka(kā)rāpitā Saṁvat 1245 Phā-
4. [lgu]na-śudi 13 Śukravārē lihi(khi)ta (m = iti) [*||]

Inscription B

1. Ōm Svasti [1*] Mahārājādhirāja Śrī-Sōmē-
2. śvaradēva mahārājyē Ḍoḍarā Siṁgharā-sutaḥ
3. Jimḍarā-Ūdēvī duhitā patnī-sākha(na?) ¹⁴ sa-
4. hitaḥ ka(kā)rāpita(tā).....Saṁvat
5. [1]234 Bhādrapada śudi [5] Śukra-dinē
6. [ēvaṁ] likhitam = iti [11]

As regards the purport of inscription A, R. C. Agrawal suggests, following G. H. Ojha, that it records the death of Jēhaḍa, a Ḍoḍyā chief. As has been pointed out by Gai, this interpretation is based on the wrong reading of the word *dēvalikā* in lines 2 and 3 as *dēvalōka*. Gai, while reading the word *dēvalikā* correctly, takes it to stand for *dēvakulikā*. He, therefore, opines that the inscription records the construction

of a small temple by Jēhaḍa. The emendation of the word *dēvalikā* into *dēvakulikā* is unnecessary. The word *dēvalikā* is itself a Sanskritized form of the word *dēvalī* commonly used in some parts of Rajasthan to denote 'a memorial stone'. The word occurs in some other inscriptions of the period in question¹⁵. Inscription A thus appears to record the erection of the memorial pillar (on which the record is engraved) by a certain Ḍoḍarā for Jēhaḍa.

As regards the purport of inscription B, Gai suggests that it seems to record the construction of something by Ḍoḍarā-siṃgharā in association with son Jimḍarā, daughter (*duhitā*) Ūdēvī and wife (*patnī*) Sākharā. The text of the inscription does not seem to support this interpretation. According to me the inscription records some construction by Ḍoḍarā, son of Siṃgharā (*Siṃgharā-sutaḥ*) together with his wife Sākha(na?) (*patnī-Sākha[na]-sahitaḥ*) who was the daughter of Jimḍarā and Ūdēvī (*Jimḍarā Ūdēvī-duhitā*). As some words are lost in line 4, it is difficult to ascertain as to what exactly was done by Ḍoḍarā. But as he appears to be identical with the person of the same name mentioned in inscription A, it is likely that the reference here also is to the memorial pillar mentioned in inscription A though the word *dēvalī* and the name of the person for whom the memorial was set up have not been repeated here.

Notes :

1. *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 69-72.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 279 ff. and plate.
3. Cf. D. R. Bhandarkar, *PRAS, WC*, 1906, p. 62 (No. 2224) and his *List of Inscriptions of North India*, No. 412. H. C. Ray (*DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 1084) and D. C. Sircar (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 302, No. 7) follow the same reading.
4. G. H. Ojha, *Hist. of Rajasthan* (Hindi), Vol. I, p. 362.
5. *A. R. Ep.*, 1954-55, No. B 497. R. C. Agrawal also gives the same reading of the date (see, *op. cit.*, p. 69).
6. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 279.
7. Gai has not given the English equivalent of this date.
8. This is the reading given by Halder (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVI, p. 49, f. n. 14), D.R. Bhandarkar (Bhandarkar's list, no. 380), and G. H. Ojha (*An. Rep. Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, 1922-23, p. 2) which has been followed by R. C. Agrawal (*op. cit.*, p. 71) and D. C. Sircar (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 302, No. 5).
9. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 279-80.

10. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 302, No. 5.
11. *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Jaipur, 1951, p. 328.
12. *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 71.
13. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 302, no. 5.
14. Gai reads it as Sākharā (*op. cit.*). As the names ending in *rā* (i. e., *rāja*) are names only of males, this reading cannot be accepted.
15. Cf. the use of the word *dēvalī* in the sense of 'a memorial stone or pillar' in an inscription of Sōngirā Chāhamāna ruler Chāchigadēva, dated V. S. 1337 (*A. R. Ep.*, 1968-69, No. C 2056). Also see *ibid.*, No. B 463.

THE AHADANAKARAM PLATES: A CRITICAL STUDY

K. V. RAMESH

S. S. RAMACHANDRA MURTHY

NEARLY NINE DECADES AGO FLEET BROUGHT to light an interesting copper plate inscription which was stated to have been obtained from a place called 'Ahadanakaram' in the former Madras Presidency. He edited this inscription with plates in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIII (pp. 185-87) with a suggestion that the record may not be after all genuine¹. He had also confessed at that time that he was not able to get the Telugu portion of the text translated. In subsequent years a critical study of this inscription was undertaken by Veturi Prabhakara Sastri², Kunduri Iswaradatt³ and Chilukuri Narayana Rao.⁴ A veteran epigraphist, Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma also wrote a critical essay on this inscription, concentrating mostly on the palaeographical features of the record⁵. This was in the nature of a reply to Veturi Prabhakara Sastri's conclusions regarding the charter in question. It is unfortunate that K. V. Lakshmanarao who had also made a critical study of this record passed away before he could put in writing his considered conclusions. The present paper takes into account all earlier writings on this inscription and aims to give a new interpretation in the light of vastly improved epigraphical knowledge as at present.

To say a few introductory words about this inscription: It is engraved in Telugu-Kannaḍa characters which are palaeographically regular for the middle of the 9th century A. D. There are in all 34 lines of writing, the first 17 lines of the text being in Sanskrit and lines 17-34 in Telugu. The Sanskrit portion contains the formal *praśasti* of the family of the Eastern Chāḷukyas of Vēṅgi

and introduces the reigning king Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana-mahārāja who is obviously to be identified with Viṣṇuvardhana V (847-49 A.D.). Both the Telugu and Sanskrit portions of the text contain a number of orthographical errors but this does not necessarily render the record a spurious one. In the final analysis even if it turns out to be spurious, in view of the fact that the characters employed are positively of the 9th century A. D., it will not be unhistorical to make use of this inscription in the work of reconstructing the cultural and economic history of South India during those times.

The primary importance of this inscription as also the main points of controversy be in the interpretation of the Telugu portion of the text which alone is given below with corrections suggested by us wherever necessary. The grant portion of the text runs as follows:

Svasti [||*] Prithivīpallava-paṭṭanabuna
 ūri-vāru Karigaḷḷa-vaḍavariki ūri-
 svāmuḷ ichchina sthiti [I*] Reṇḍuvāḍala-
 paṭṭanāvuraku ariyu ḍagu-tereyu
 siddhāyabu daṇḍu-daśāparādhabunu
 sarvvabādhāpariyāruvu ūru dāya
 sēsi ichchi[ri ||*]

Fleet was of the opinion that the inscription seems to record either a grant by Viṣṇuvardhana of the village of Prithivīpallava-paṭṭaṇa or a grant by the inhabitants of that village. Veturi Prabhakara Sastri expressed his views regarding this portion of the text as follows: The officers of Prithivīpallava-paṭṭaṇa exempted the locality called Reṇḍuvāḍala-paṭṭu situated in Prithivīpallava-paṭṭaṇa or a separate village named Reṇḍuvāḍala-paṭṭaṇa from the taxes *ari*, *taggu*, *tere*, *daṇḍu* and *daśāparādhamu* without let and hindrance and granted the same village to the deity Karigaḷḷa-vaḍavaru of Prithivīpallava-paṭṭaṇa. Kunduri Iswaradatt tried to give the meanings of the various expressions occurring in this record but he did not offer any interpretation to the Telugu portion of this inscription as a whole. Chilukuri Narayana Rao suggests that the purport of the inscription is to record the agreement regarding the distribution of lands between the residents of two villages viz., Prithivīpallava-paṭṭanabu and Karigaḷḷavāḍa.⁶

However, as we understand it the grant portion is to be interpreted as follows:

The *ūri-svāmu!* granted to Karigaḷḷa-vaḍavaru of the town Pṛithivīpallava-paṭṭaṇa, the income from the taxes *ari*, *ḍagu-teṇe*, *siddhāyabu* and *daṇḍu-dasāparādhabu*, leviable on the residents of Reṇḍuvāḍala-paṭṭaṇa. The expression *ūrudāya sēsi ichchiri*, obviously means that the grant was made by the *ūri-svāmu!* on behalf of the *ūru*.

The name of the divine donee Karigaḷḷa-vaḍavaru is of considerable interest. The second half (*vaḍavaru*) of this name appears to be the corrupt or colloquial form of Sanskrit *bhaṭṭāraka*, or *bhaṭṭāra*. The suggestion offered by Veturi Prabhakara Sastri⁷ and accepted by Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma⁸ that *vaḍavaru* is to be derived from the Tamil word *uḍaiyavar* does not hold good since the available cognate forms of *uḍaiyavar* in Telugu and Kannaḍa are respectively *vaḍayaru* (*odayaḍu*) and *vaḍayar* (*oḍeyaru*) wherein the medial -v- is dropped and not medial -y-. Hence, according to us, *vaḍavaru* in Karigaḷḷa-vaḍavaru is to be derived from Sanskrit *bhaṭṭāra* or *bhaṭṭāra* only. So also, the suggestion of Veturi Prabhakara Sastri that *Karigaḷḷa* might be part of an epithet meaning 'he who hits at the cheeks of the elephants' can not be accepted. In the Sātalūru plates of Guṇaga Vijayāditya, Viṣṇuvardhana V is described as *varakarigallabhūmipa*⁹. We have to interpret this epithet as 'he who is efficient in taming the elephants' or 'he who forcibly takes away (or steals away) the elephants of the enemy kings'. Therefore it is possible that the deity Karigaḷḷa-vaḍavaru of the present inscription could have been named after the epithet *Karigaḷḷa* (Kannada: Karigaḷḷa from Karikaḷḷa) of Viṣṇuvardhana V, the reigning king. It is also possible that the king himself might have constructed the temple of Karigaḷḷa-vaḍavaru in Pṛithivīpallavapaṭṭaṇa.

Now, the question arises as to who were these *ūri-svāmu!*, the donors. Veturi Prabhakara Sastri was of the opinion that *ūri svāmu!* refers to the officers in charge of the town Pṛithivīpallava-paṭṭaṇa. But we feel that this interpretation is incorrect. Usually *paṭṭaṇa* is an appellation applied to mercantile towns situated by the sea. It is thus obvious that Pṛithivīpallava-paṭṭaṇa was, in the 9th century, an important commercial centre conducting commerce across the seas. After giving the name of the town as Pṛithivīpallava-paṭṭaṇa it is subsequently referred to by the common terminology *ūru* signifying a town. Thus *ūri-vāru Karigaḷḷa-vaḍavaru* means Karigaḷḷa-vaḍavaru of (i.e., installed in) the *ūru* called Pṛithivī-

pallava-paṭṭaṇa. So also *ūri-svāmuḥ* stands for the *svāmins* of the *ūru* called *Prithivīpallava-paṭṭaṇa*. In a number of Telugu and Kannaḍa inscriptions there are references to *Paṭṭaṇa-svāmi*, *seṭṭi-paṭṭaṇa-svāmi* and *paṭṭaṇa-seṭṭi* which stand for members of the merchant guilds in those mercantile towns. It is thus obvious that the donors of the present grant were the *paṭṭaṇa-svāmis* of *Prithivīpallava-paṭṭaṇa*.

After recording the grant portion in lines 17-20 the inscription states in lines 20-21 that the grant recorded therein should not be flouted and that those who flout it would become *persona non grata*. The passages in line 21 are not easy to interpret. We, however, feel that the following observations, made after careful consideration, deserve serious thought in the present state of our knowledge. According to us the passage following the word *dappina-vāru* in line 21 is made up of two sentences as indicated by us in the appended text. The first sentence states that the three administrators of *Reṇḍuvāḍala-paṭṭaṇa* have the power to take whatever action they deem fit against the bad elements which flout the grant. The second sentence adds that whoever makes bold to question the punitive action of the three administrators are also liable for any punishment prescribed by these administrators.

Now, the question naturally arises as to who these three administrators are. According to us the answer is to be found in lines 23-24 wherein the following persons are mentioned :

1. *Mahānabiyuḥ* *Naralōka mahāsatthavuḥ*,
2. *Virāpava mahanabiyuḥ* and
3. *Samasta-bhuvanāśraya* *Kanadiraju*, and agent (*naḍupuḥ*) of *Gajñabu-seṭṭhi*.

Again, the contents of lines 24-25 commencing with *Badrapereya* and ending in *vase* are difficult to interpret. According to us in the light of corrections we have suggested in the appended text, the text of the inscription was probably composed by *Badrapereya* on the orders of the *ūru* which probably stands here for *ūri-svāmuḥ* and that the text of the inscription was written down by *Vayyēḷi mahanabhiḥ*, whose name is inadvertently twice repeated, on the direct orders of the *ūru* or *ūri-svāmuḥ*. Thus, while here the composer and writer are respectively named as *Badrapereya* and *Vayyēḷi mahanabhiḥ*, in line 34 the work of actually engraving the text on the copper-sheets is attributed to *Jasṭi-pendatṭarṇa*.

The following 11 lines (lines 26-33) contain a number of names, probably of persons who acted as witnesses to the deed of grant by virtue of their being members of the merchant guild (*ūri-svāmuḥ*). Most of the names mentioned in lines 23-33 have the appellation either of *mahānabhiyuḥ*, *mahānabiyuḥ* or *mahāsatthavuḥ*. These appellations are of absorbing interest since they contribute much to the commercial and cultural history of South India. The interpretation of these terms has for long been a matter of controversy. Veturi Prabhakara Sastri and Kunduri Iswaradatt had taken these words to stand for *Mahadabhijña* and *Mahāsattva* respectively. Kunduri Iswaradatt further felt that the word *mahānabhiyuḥ* would indicate the 'headmen to mahānāḍu'. According to Chilukuri Narayana Rao *mahānabhiyuḥ* and *mahāsatthavuḥ* stand for *mahānabhijñul* and *mahāsattvul* or preferably *mahāsārthavāhul*, respectively ¹⁰. In our opinion, however, these two appellations are to be interpreted as follows: *Mahānabhiyuḥ* is the corrupt form of Sanskrit *mahānāvika* while *mahāsatthavuḥ* is derived from Sanskrit *mahāsārthavāha*. The above interpretation of the appellation *mahānabhiyuḥ* is further fortified by the expression *mahānavila* occurring in line 32 where the medial *v* is retained. So also the presence of *rēpha* in the expressions *mahāsartthavaḥ* (line 31) and *mahāsartthavaḥa* (line 33) supports our interpretation that *mahāsatthavuḥ* is to be derived from *mahāsārthavāha*. It can be observed that a Sanskrit inscription from Malaya, engraved in southern characters of the 5th century A.D., refers to *Mahānāvika* Budhagupta ¹¹. A Prakrit inscription, assignable to the early centuries of the Christian era, discovered at Ghaṇṭasāla (Krishna district, Andhra Pradesh) mentions *Mahānāvika* Sivaka ¹². Likewise, the Prakrit inscriptions from Mathura in Uttar Pradesh and Kuḍā in Maharashtra mention *sathavāha*, *sarttavāhinī* ¹³. Sanskrit works like *Kathāsaritsāgara* and *Pañchatantra* also contain references to *sārthavāha*. Prithivīpallava-*paṭṭaṇa* having been an important trading town, it is only natural that the guild of the *Paṭṭaṇa-svāmī*s had among its members marine traders (*mahānāvikas*) as well as in-land traders (*mahāsārthavāhas*). In this context it may be recalled that two of the three persons referred to as the administrators of Reṇḍuvāḍala-*paṭṭaṇa* had the appellations of *mahānabhiyuḥ* and *mahāsatthavuḥ* and that the third was an agent (*naḍupuḥ*) of Gajñabu-seṭhi (Sanskrit : *Śreṣṭhin*). Thus it is obvious that

these three administrators were also the members of the merchant guild. *Reṇḍuvāḍala-paṭṭaṇa* being a commercial centre as its very name suggests it is only natural to expect leading merchants put in charge of the town's administration. As a matter of fact the close participation of organised guilds and associations in the administrative field in South Indian history is amply borne out by available epigraphical evidence.

It is further interesting to note that in the course of listing the names a certain *Naraḷōka* is described both as *mahānabiyuḷ* and *mahāsarthavuḷ* and that *Nandi-mahānaviḷ* is described as the son of *Karigala-pṛithvī - mahāsarthavaḷ*. This clearly shows that these two appellations were strictly on professional basis and that they had not become mere hereditary surnames as was the case with a number of other such professional appellations.

Now, the names of the witnesses mentioned in lines 26-34 (with their appellations Sanskritised by us) are as follows :

- 1) *Vayyēḷi - mahānāvika*.
- 2) *Sarvalōkāśraya-mahāsāarthavāha*, the son of *Sakala*.
- 3) *Perddaḷ - Niravadya-mahāsāarthavāha*.
- 4) *Veṭandala Charuvayya* who was described as *Pasiṇḍi-muṭhlu*.
- 5) *Vishṇuvardhana - mahāsāarthavāha*.
- 6) *Pṛithvī-mahāsāarthavāha*, the agent (*naḍupuḷ*) of *Gajñabu-seṭhi*, the son of *Achchakurraṇaniyu*, the son of *Pasukshēvuḷ*.
- 7) *Niravadya-pṛithivī Kanadirāju*, the son of *Vishṇuvardhana-mahāsāarthavāha*, the agent of *Veṭandaḷ Ponika-kshēramukoḷ*.
- 8) *Gunavana-mahānāvika*.
- 9) *Muddakañchikoḷ*.
- 10) *Rāmēśvara-pṛithivī-mahāsāarthavāha*.
- 11) *Korinthikoḷ*, the son of *Apayajanuvakoḷ*.
- 12) *Sakalalōkāśraya Pṛithvī-mahāsāarthavāha*, the agent of *Nandi-mahānāvika*, the son of *Karigala-pṛithivī-mahāsāarthavāha* and
- 13) *Divākarayyapañchakoḷ*.

As has already been stated, the record ends with the statement in line 34 that it was engraved by *Jasṭi-pendaṭṭarra*. In the name of this engraver *pendaṭṭarra* is interesting. We find in the inscriptions of the *Talakāḍu Gaṅgas* some engravers having the appellation *Peruntaṭṭāra*¹⁴. *Peruntaṭṭāra* (Tamil :

26. Vayyēḷi-maha(hā)nabhiyuḷ [1*] Sakala koṇṭukaḷ Sa
[r*] vvalōka(kā)śraya-mahāsarthavaḷ [| *]
27. Perddaḷ - Ne(Ni)ravadya-mahāsarthavaḷ [| *] Pasiṇḍi
muṭṭhlu Veṭandala Charuvayya [1*] Ve(Vi)shṇuvarddha-
na-ma-
28. ha(hā)sarthavaḷ [* |] Pasukshēvula koṇṭukaḷ Achcha
kurṛavaniyu koṇṭukaḷ Gajñabu-seṭṭhla
29. naḍupuḷ Pri(Pri)thivī-maha(hā)sarthavaḷ [1*]
Veṭandaḷ Ponikakshēramukoḷa naḍupu Vishṇu-
varddhana-

Fourth Plate : First Side

30. maha(hā)sarthavala koṇṭukalu Niravadya-Pri(Pri)-
thivī Kanadira(rā)juḷ [1 *] Gunavana-maha(hā)nabhi-
yuḷ [| *]
31. Muddakañchikoḷ [| *|| Ramīśvarā (Rāmēśvara)-Pri
(Pri)thivī-maha(hā)sarthavaḷ [| *] Apayajanuvakola
(ḷa) koṇḍukaḷ Korinthikoḷ [| *]
32. Karigala-Pri(Pri)thivī-maha(hā)sarthavala koṇṭukaḷ
Nandi-maha(hā)navi[yu*] la naḍupu śrī maha[hā]-
33. sarthavaḷ Saka[la *]lōka[kā]srayya(ya) Pri(Pri)thivī-
maha(hā)sarthavala(ḷ) Diva(vā) karayya pañcha-
34. koḷ [||*] Śrī-Jasṭi-pendaṭṭarra ganṇāṇṇu [||*]

Notes :

1. This is also noticed in the *AREp.*, 1956-57, No. A 86 and 1962-63, No. A 17.
2. *Bhārati* (Madras), Vol. V (1928), pt. 2, pp. 96-110 with plates ; *Ibid.*, pp. 520-29.
3. *Āndhra Śāhitya Parishat Patrika* (Kakinada), Vol. XXII (1934), pp. 185-96.
4. C. Narayana Rao, *Āndhra Bhāshā Charitramu*, Vol. II (1937), p. 1310
5. *Bhārati*, Vol. V, pt. 2, pp. 286-301.
6. C. Narayana Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 1312.
7. *Bhārati*, Vol. V, pt. 2, p. 102.
8. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV (1948), pt. 2, p. 373.
9. *Ibid.*, Vol. I (1924), January issue, p. 104, text line 24.
10. C. Narayana Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 1315.
11. *JASB* (Letters), Vol. I, p. 17.
12. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 1 ff. and plates.
13. Lüders' List, Nos. 30, 1062, 1065, 1066.
14. *Mys. Arch.*, *Rep.*, 1912, p. 32 ; 1916, p. 37.
15. From the facsimiles published in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII.
16. Redundant.

ĀHADA JAINA INSCRIPTION OF ŚAKTIKUMĀRA

RAM VALLABH SOMANI

ĀHADA IS AN ANCIENT TOWN SITUATED NEAR Udaipur city. It served as the capital of the rulers of Mewar during the pre-medieval times. A group of Jaina temples situated near the ancient mound remained in worship there for a long time. The present inscription (Bhandarkar's list, No. 1592) is incised in one of these Jaina temples. It is a fragment in 5 lines and seems to form part of what originally may have been a big inscription. The text is being published here for the first time.

The inscription is engraved in Nāgarī characters of about the end of the 10th century A. D. and the writing has been executed with considerable care. Palaeographical and orthographical features are normal for the period in question and do not call for any special remarks. The language of the record is in chaste Sanskrit and the composition in the available part is in verse. Because of the fragmentary nature of the record only four verses are preserved in full, six more being available only in parts. The available verses are serially numbered in the appended text. The extant portion does not contain any details of date.

The first line of the inscription yields the interesting information that a certain Dēvapāla was killed probably by the Guhilōt prince Allāṭa. The identity of this Dēvapāla is by no means certain. G. H. Ojha's contention that he is identical with the Pratihāra king Dēvapāla has been accepted by a majority of scholars. The Guhilōt rulers of Mewar owed their allegiance to the Pratihāras of Kanauj. An inscription of the time of Pratihāra Bhōja I has been found at Chittor. The Pratihāra chiefs continued to hold sway over this area upto the time of Mahīpāla II.

During the closing years of the latter's reign, Bhartripaṭṭa, the ruler of Mewar, succeeded in recapturing Chittor with the help of the Rāshtrakūṭas. In his Ghōtarshi inscription of V. S. 999 (942 A.D.) Bhartripaṭṭa intentionally omits the name of his hereditary Pratihāra overlord. The last known date of Pratihāra Mahipāla *alias* Vināyakapāla is 942-43 A. D. as known from the Rakhetra inscription. He was succeeded by his son Mahēndrapāla II who was ruling in V. S. 1003 (946 A. D.) but did not enjoy a long reign. He was succeeded by Dēvapāla who, according to Siyadoni inscription was ruling in V. S. 1005 (948 A. D.). In Mewar the last known date of Bhartripaṭṭa is V. S. 1001 (944 A.D.) and two inscriptions of the reign of Allaṭa, his successor, are known so far. One is from Sāraṇēśvar, dated V. S. 1008-10 (951-53 A.D.) and the other is from Unawas, dated V. S. 1016 (959 A. D.). The Pipali inscription of V. S. 1005 (948 A. D.) can also be attributed to the reign of Allaṭa. It is thus clear that Pratihāra Dēvapāla and the Guhilōt prince Allaṭa, after slaying Dēvapāla, wiped out Pratihāra influence from Mewar.

Another valuable information furnished by this inscription relates to the names of the *akshapaṭalikas*. According to our inscription while Mayūra and his son Śrīpati served as *akshapaṭalikas* respectively under Allaṭa and Naravāhana, Śrīpati's sons Mattaṭa and Gundila held the the same office under Śaktikumāra. The Sāraṇēśvar inscription referred to above also mentions *akshapaṭalika* Mayūra. According to another fragmentary inscription found at Āhaḍa, Mattaṭa, the *akshapaṭalika* of Śaktikumāra made an annual grant of 14 *Drammas* for worship in some Sun temple at Āhaḍa.

The present inscription being damaged and fragmentary, we cannot definitely say whether it is *in situ* or whether it has been removed from some other temple.

TEXT

[Meters : Vv. 1, 3, 4, 7, 10 : Śārdūlavikriḍita ; vv. 2, 6, 9 : Anuṣṭubh ; vv. 5, 8 : Rathōddhata].

1. [Du]rddharam = ariṃ yō Dēvapālaṃ balāt | chaṃchach-
chaṃḍa-gad-ābhighāta-vidalad-vaksha-sthalaṃ saṃyugē |
nistriṃśa-kshata-kaṃdhar-ōdara-śira (rō)-baṃdhaṃ ka-
baṃdhaṃ vyadhāt ||[1*] Asy = ākshapaṭal-ādhiśō May-

- ūrō madhura-dhvaniḥ! abhūd = abhy = uddhṛita-svāmī
satpakshaḥ prabhu-saktibhṛit ||[2*] Utpattiḥ kula-bhū-
shaṇāya vibhavō dīn-ārtta vichchhi[tta].....
2. Ya karmma-sakalam dharmmāya śānt-ātmanaḥ! prajñā-
śāstra-vivēchanāya janatā-trāṇāya śāstra-grahaḥ kāyō
yasya parōpakāra-vidhayē satyāya gīḥ kēvalam || [3*]
Gambhīrān = mahataḥ śrīyō = dhivasatēr = amtaḥ sphurat
tējasaḥ satv-ādhyād = vibudh-ōpabhukta vibhavāt-sva-
chchh-ābhra-mukta-sthitēḥ!.....
- 3 Ya vapus-tāp-ārttibhṛit-prāṇinām kshīr-ābdhēr = iva
śīta-dīdhitir = abhūt = tasmāt = sutaḥ Śrīpatiḥ || [4*] Śrī-
mad-Allaṭa-narādhip-ātmajō yō babhūva Naravāhan-
āhvayaḥ | sō = dhyatishṭhata pituḥ-padam sudhīś = ch ||
ainam = akshapaṭalē || [5*] Dṛiṣṭas = tēn = ātmanā tul-
yaḥ sa prakṛityā samāśritaḥ [1*] karaṇḍān = iti yumj-
ānō.....[16*]
4. Viprēbhyō vidhivad = vitīrṇa-vibhavād = vaikuṇṭha-nis-
hṭh-ātmanaḥ śāntād-vākya-pada-pramāṇa-vidushas =
tasmād = abhūn = Mattataḥ! satya-tyāga-parōpakāra-
karuṇā-sau(śau)ryy-ārjav-aika-sthitiḥ śrīmān-Gundala
ity = a. . himā bhrāt-ānujō-sy-ābhavat || [7*] Tau guṇ-
ātiśaya śālināv = ubhau rājanīti-nipuṇau mahau[jasau]
[| *].....
5. rmmatau svapi padam = avāpnutaḥ kramāt || [9*] Sarva-
vyāpāra-karttārau tau dvau kaṭaka-bhūshaṇau [| *] rāj-
ñā Śaktikumārēṇa kalpitau svau bhujāv = iva || [9*]
Ētasmin = prañata-kshit-iśvara-śīraś-chūḍāmaṇi..... ta
pāda-paṁkaja-yugē Manv = ādi-mārggānugē! chaṁdr-
āditya-marut-kubēra-maghavad-vaivasvat-āgnē.....

RĀYĀPUR PLATES OF KALACHURI ĀHAVAMALLA AND KADAMBA PERMĀḌIDĒVA

R. N. GURAV

THE INSCRIPTION EDITED BELOW IS engraved upon a set of three copper plates secured by me temporarily about eighteen years back from one Basayya Mallayya Matapati of Rāyāpūr. Rāyāpūr (long. 75° 4'; lat. 15° 24') is a small village situated half way between Dharwar and Hubli on the National Highway No. 4 in the Dharwar Taluk of the Dharwar district. The set is strung together by a circular copper ring. The diameter of the ring is 41" horizontally and 4½" vertically. The ends of the ring are soldered onto a 2¾" square copper seal. On the top side of the seal there are three triangular projections one in the centre and two at the extremes. The face of the seal has an upraised rim. The ring is not cut. The seal depicts a couchant bull facing proper left, with two chains round the neck. Above the bull there is a *ḍamaru* in the middle, the sun to the proper left and the crescent moon to the proper right. There is an *aṃkuśa* on the proper right side along the ridge and a flag-staff on the proper left side also along the ridge. The rims of the plates are raised so as to preserve the writing. The first plate is inscribed on the inner side while the other two plates carry writing on both sides. The plates measure 8¾" in breadth and 12¾" in length.

The characters are *nāgarī* of the twelfth century and do not call for any special remarks. The letters are well cut and the inscription is in good preservation. A few orthographical errors and inconsistencies, common for the period in question, are noticed in the present document also. The language is Sanskrit. As far as line 55 the text is in verse, with a few short connecting passages in prose. The grant proper (ll. 55 to 68) is in prose.

The comminatory passages are in prose and verse (ll. 68 to 88). Regarding palaeography, it is found that no distinction is made between the letters *v* and *b*, the letter *b* being represented by the former. This letter has been read as *v* or *b* according to the context. The object of the present charter is to register the gift of the village Bellavura by the Kalachuri king Āhavamalla to 102 brāhmaṇas of Huppavalli-agrahāra and the charter is dated Śaka 1104 (in words), Śubhakṛit, Śrāvaṇī (i.e. Śrāvaṇa śu. 15), Saturday, the details regularly corresponding to 1182 A. D., July 17, f. d. t. 43.

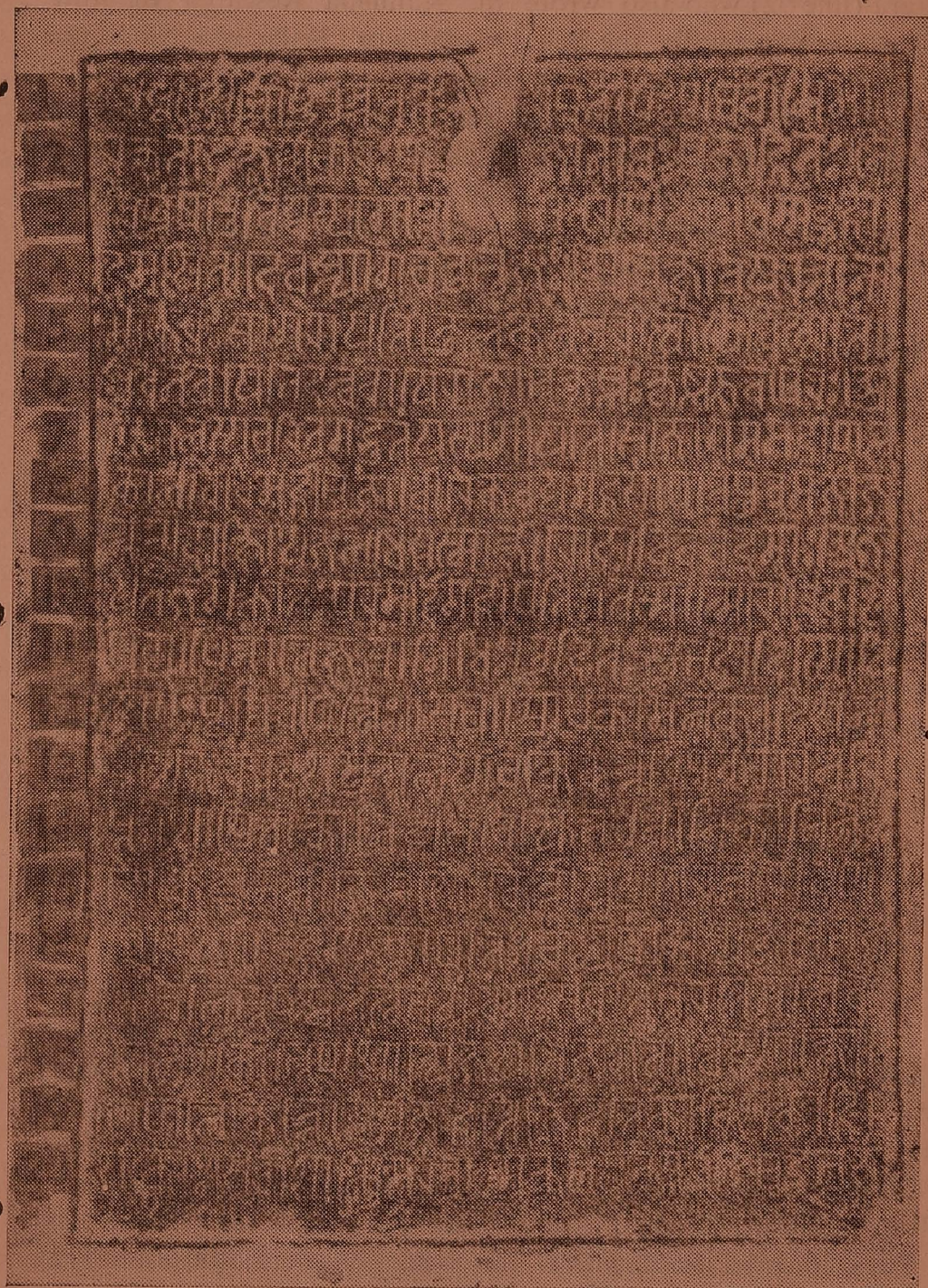
After two invocatory verses, the charter introduces the royal family of the Kalachuris (verse 3). The first king named is Kṛishṇa (v. 4). Then comes his son Jōgama (v. 5) and the latter's son Paramarddi (Peramāḍi) (v. 6). Verse 7 introduces Vijjaṇa, son of Permāḍi. His exploits are described in verses 8 and 9. His son, Sōma is mentioned next (v. 10). The virtues and bravery of Sōma are described in verses 11 and 12. Saṁkama, younger brother of Sōma, is introduced in verse 13, and the ruling emperor Āhavamalla in verse 14. From line 32, the charter shifts on to the royal family of the Kadambas of Goa. Śivachitta Permāḍi-dēva, the ruling king is introduced with glowing tributes. Identifying him with the desire-yielding creeper (*kalpavalli*), his virtues are brought home in a poetic manner in verses 16 and 17; and with equally pleasing poetic fancy and elegance, his younger brother Vijayāditya is introduced in the next eight verses. With the same poetic felicity the prince's mother Mailaladēvi is described in verses 26-29. Then comes the grant proper. King Āhavamalla, an ornament to the family of the Kalachuris, granted the village Bellavura in Navilugumda Forty, situated in Beluvala Three-hundred on the date cited, to 102 brahmins of different *gōtras*, permanently residing in the great *agrahāra* of Huppavalli, which was enjoying the patronage of the illustrious Vijayāditya. Commi-natory passages follow, containing a lengthy discourse as to how Rāma considered it necessary to reiterate the precept of protecting the gifts by future kings at all times. The last verse 34 and the prose passage (ll. 90-93) mention the composer, the writer and the engraver.

According to verse 34 and the following prose passage (lines 88-92) the text of the charter was composed by *tribhuvana-vidyāchakravartin* Ādityadēva who is already known as the

composer or the Badachi and Kannada Research Institute plates of Āhavamalla and the Behaṭṭi plates of Kalachuri Siṅghanadeva. The present charter was written on the plates by *paṇḍita* Lakshmi-dhara (line 92) who also wrote the Kannada Research Institute plates of Āhavamalla, the Behaṭṭi plates of Kalachuri Singhana as also the Muragundi and Dhōkēgāli plates of Chālukya Sōmēśvara IV. The letters were engraved by the *rājaviññānin* Pandaya, who is the engraver of the Behaṭṭi plates referred to above.

The interesting point about the record is that it mentions two dynasties, both independent of each other. The Kadāmbas of Goa ruled independently since the time of the usurpation of the Chālukyan throne by Bijjaḷa, i. e. from A. D. 1156 and continued to do so till their downfall during the third quarter of the thirteenth century². This is borne out from the fact that there is no indication in the charter that the Kadāmbas were feudatories of the Kalachuris. On the other hand, the reference to the Kadāmba royal house is couched in very respectful language and all the three personages, the ruling king Permāḍidēva, the heir-apparent Vijayāditya and their mother Mailaladēvī, are described in glowing terms. The reason why the Kadāmbas figure in the record, which is one of the Kalachuri king Āhavamalla, is that the grantees come from Huppavalli, a place in the dominion of the Kadāmbas. The grant by the Kalachuri king to citizens of the Kadāmba dominion would indicate that the two powers were at that particular time on cordial terms. Such mention of two dynasties, both independent of each other, is not unusual in the records of the Kadāmbas of Goa; e. g., two inscriptions at Mukkal in Kalghatgi Taluk mention the rules of the Kadāmbas of Goa and Hāngal in rather similar circumstances³.

Some scholars have held the view that king Permāḍidēva of the Kadāmba dynasty of Goa was no longer living by A. D. 1179⁵. The reason assigned by them for such belief is that the inscriptions of this period, unlike earlier ones, speak of Vijayāditya alone without mentioning the name of Permāḍidēva. This is, however, not the case. The Sadāśivagaḍ plates, themselves, mention the name of Permāḍidēva. They do not state that Vijayāditya was ruling the Kadāmba dominion. The usual Kadāmba *praśasti* of a reigning king of the dynasty is absent in the plates. It is true that Vijayāditya



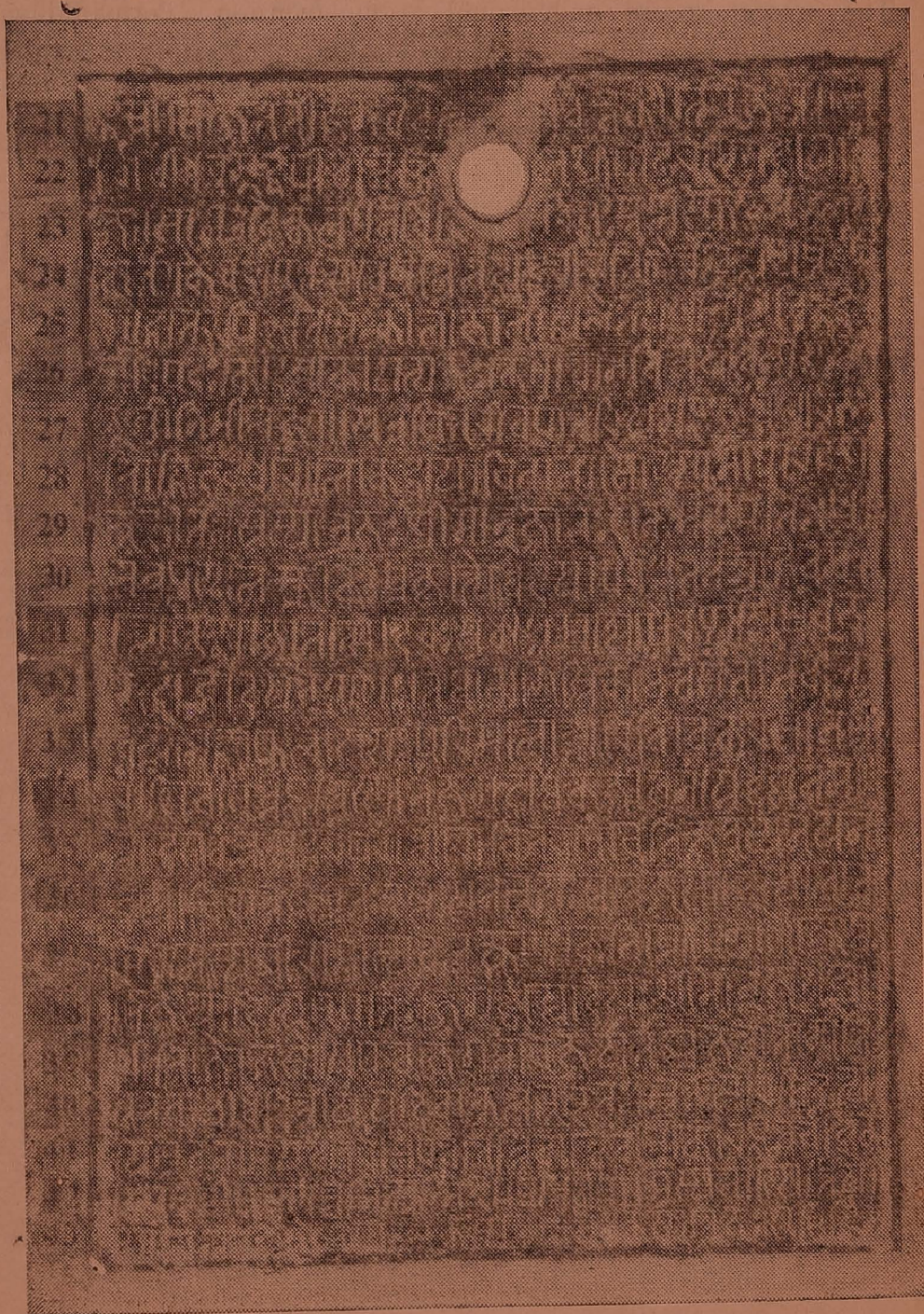
makes a grant. But such grants by members of a family, while the reigning king was different are quite usual and normal. The present record under publication mentions Permāḍidēva along with Vijayāditya. We have a later record from Nūlvi in the Hubli taluk dated in A. D. 1185 which mentions the rule of Permāḍidēva⁵. Besides, two gold coins, one of A. D. 1181-82, *Plava*⁵ *saṁvatsara* and another of A. D. 1182-83, *Śubhakṛit*⁷ *saṁvatsara*, assigned to Śivachitta Permāḍidēva, are available. The view, therefore, does not hold force and requires to be given up. Permāḍidēva was living upto A. D. 1185 at least.

The geographical names mentioned are (1) Beluvala-triśata, (2) Naviluguṁda-chatvāriṁśat, (3) Bellavura-grāma, (4) Huppavalli-mahāgrahāra. Beluvala-triśata is the well known Belvola-mūnūru in Kannaḍa, adjoining the Palasige Twelve-thousand country to its east. Naviluguṁda-chatvāriṁśat is the division comprising forty villages, headed by Naviluguṁda, modern Navalgund. It would correspond to the present Navalgunda taluk, except the northern part, which formed part of the Benedaḍi Seventy. Bellavura would be Belhār, about four miles south of Navalgund. Huppavalli is Dēvarhubballi in the Dharwar taluk, about eight miles to the south-west of Dharwar.

TEXT

1. Svasti || Dīrgh-āyur = unnatātara-pratāpaḥ prithivīm = imām ।
2. rakshatād = akshat-āchāraḥ prajā-nāthaḥ prajā-hitaḥ । (||) [1*] Ni-
3. rvighnam pātu viśvasya gōptā sa dharāṇi-dharaḥ । dharmma-druhām
4. damayitā dēvas = tyāga-Chaturbhujaḥ । (||) [2*] Asti kṣatriya-ratnānā-
5. m = ākaraḥ sāgar-āyati । kulam Kalachur - ity = ākhyam vikhyātam
6. bhuvana-trayē । (||) [3*] Tad-anvavāyē rāj = ābhūt = Kṛishṇaḥ Kṛishṇa iv = āparaḥ । a-
7. pi bālasya charitam = adbhutam yasya giyatē । (||) [4*] Sa Jōgama-mahīpālam

Second Plate : First Side

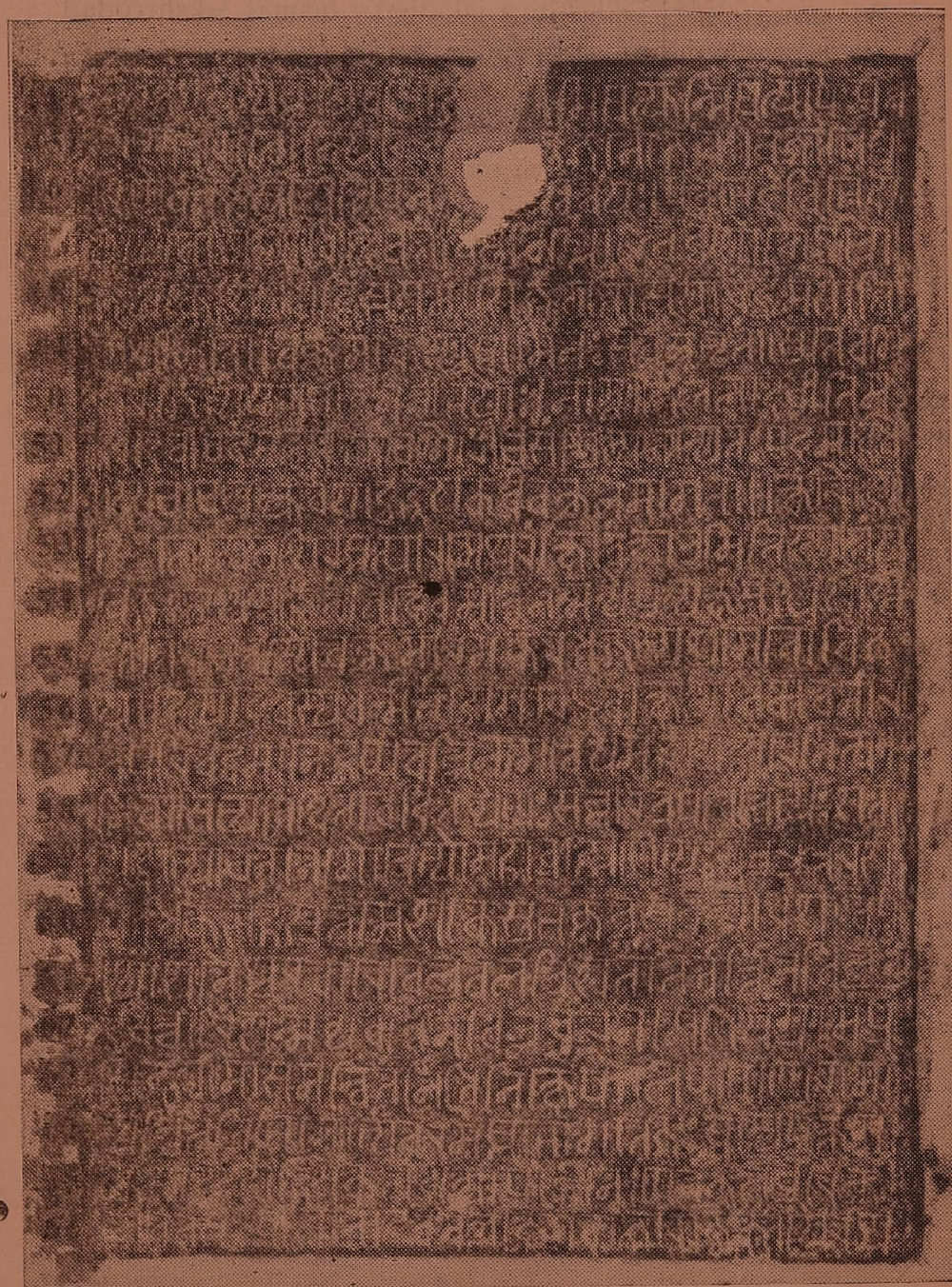


8. Kālaṁ vairi-mahībhujāṁ | vīr-aika-vadya-mahasāṁ
pātraṁ putram = ajīja -
9. nat | (||)[5*] Dākshīṇya-jaladhēs = tasmāt = kshīrōdād
= iva chaṁdramāḥ¹ ajā -
10. yata jagat-kāṁtaḥ-Paramarddi-mahīpatiḥ [6*] Tasmān =
Mērōr = āśē-
11. sha-vyāpināṁ tējasāṁ nidhiḥ¹ uditaḥ su-bhaṭ-ādityō Vi-
12. jjaṇaḥ pṛithivīpatiḥ || [7 *] Sa cha || Āchakrāma na kā[m]
diśaṁ na
13. bubhujē kaṁ dēśam = unmūlayāṁchakrē kan = na
(kaṁ na) ripuṁ babhāra na ri-
14. pūn = apy = āśritān = kān = iha¹ saṁchikyē na dhanāni
kāni na da-
15. dau kiṁ dānam = ījē makhaiḥ kair = nn = āyam guṇa-
ratna-Rōhaṇa-
16. giriḥ śrī-Vijjaṇa-kshmāpatiḥ¹ (||)[8*] Chāṁḍyam¹²
Pāṁḍyas = tyajati bhaja-
17. tē Chōla-bhūpaś = chalatvaṁ bhaṁgaṁ Vaṁgaḥ sarati
bharatē Mālavaḥ
18. Kāla-śaṁkāṁ¹ bhūpāś = ch = ānyē jayati jagatīm Vijj-
aṇa-kshō¹⁰
19. ṇi-pāḷē kin = nō (kiṁ nō) durggaṁ jahati jihatē kām
diśaṁ kām di-
20. śikāḥ¹ (||) [9*] Sarv-āśā-timiram nudan = mukulayan
sar-va-dvishad-bhūbhujam

Second Plate : First Side

21. hast-āṁbhōja-tatīr = jagad = dhavalayan sarvaṁ sva-
kīrty-ōjasā¹ sa-
22. rv-ōrvīdhara-mūrdha-pīṭha-nihita-śrī-pāda-ramy-odayō
rā—
23. jā Sōma udait = kalā-nidhir = itaḥ pūrṇa-sphuran-
maṁḍalaḥ¹ (||) [10*]
24. vārttā k = aiva raṇ-ōtsavēshu ninadad-bhērī-ravē bhāi-
ravē dūshyēshu drugha-
25. ṇ = āhatēr = api kṛitais = taiḥ kīla-kōlāhalaiḥ¹ yad =
yātrāsu vidudruvu-
26. r = nna ripavaḥ kē dēśa-kōśa-tyajaḥ kēśhām vā na
vidīryatē sma hṛidayam

Second Plate : Second Side



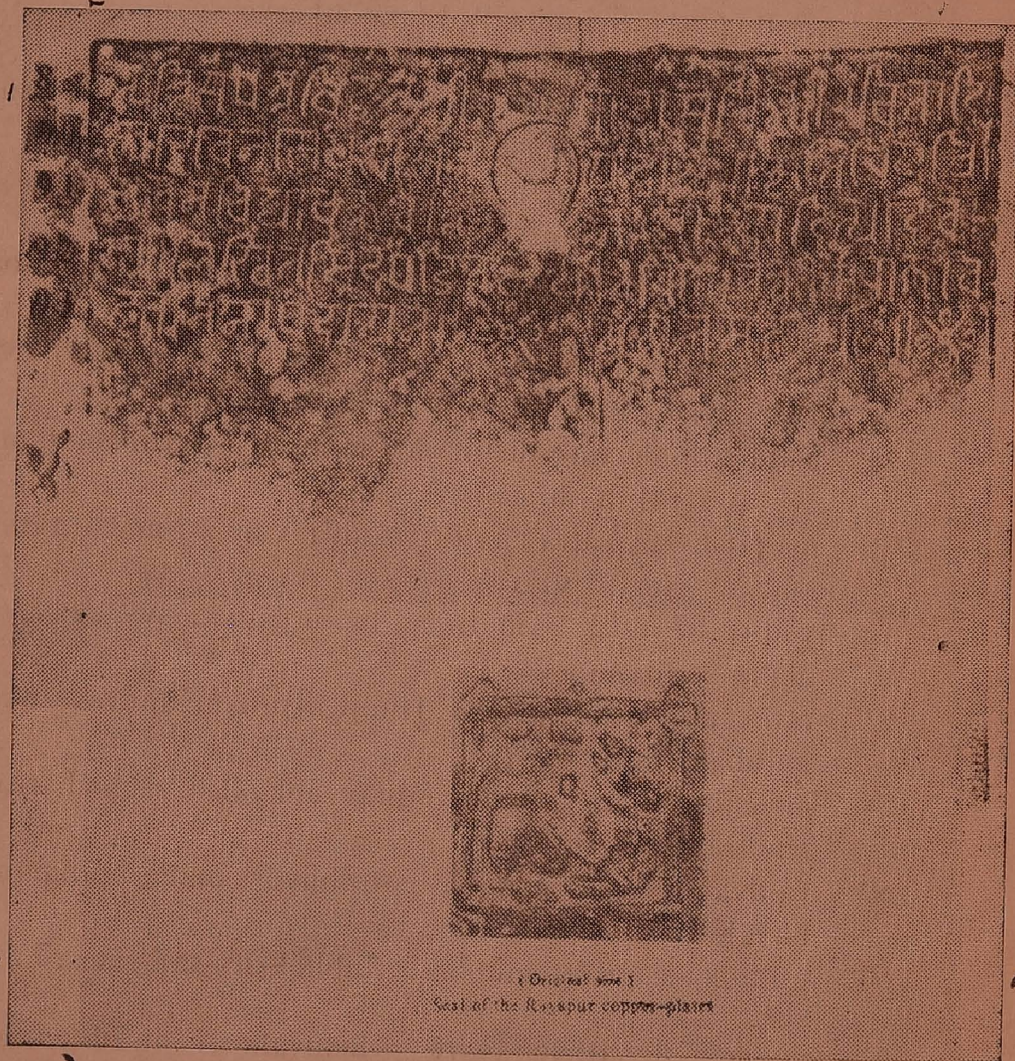
27. mūrchchhā-nimīlad-dṛiśāṁ | (11)[11*] Yatra¹⁴ pitar=īva pātari yama iva yaṁtari ja-
28. nō hi daṁḍa-dharē lōka-dvay-ōchitānām saukhyā-nām pāradṛiśv =ā-
29. bhūt || [12*] Tatas¹⁵ = tasy = ānujaḥ śrīmān jātaḥ Saṁ-kama-bhūpatiḥ | pra-
30. sanna-puṇya-lakshmikaḥ prakṛity = aiva dayāparaḥ | (11) [13*] Tata Āhavamā-
31. llō = bhūt rājā tat-sōdaraḥ sudhīḥ | aśēshair = apy = aśēshaṁ cha ja-
32. gad = āhlādayan guṇaiḥ | (11) [14*] Tathā cha || Asti Kādāmba-saṁtāna-kalpa-
33. vallī-mahā-phalaṁ | yaśaḥ-parimal-ōdgāri vivēka-rasa-nirbha-
34. raṁ | (11)[15*] Śivachitta iti khyātāṁ jagad-artha-aika-jīvanam | yad-darśanam = api
35. svādu savam klama-haram param | (11) [16*] Virō vitaranam ch = ēti kshatrasya nayana-
36. dvayam | chirān = nashṭam punaḥ sṛishṭam yēna bhūyah sva-tējasā | (11) [17*] Tasya lōk-ā-
37. bhirāmasya śrī-Rāmasy = ēva Lakshmaṇaḥ | kanishṭō(shṭō) = pi guṇair = jyēshṭhaḥ
38. Vijayāditya-bhūpatiḥ | (11) [18*] Jagad-vamdy-ōdayaḥ śrīmān jagad-vyā-
39. pī nij-aujasō(sā) sa ēva jagatām chakshur = yataś = cha jagatām gatiḥ [19*]
40. Bhūta-dhātrī-dhapi(ri)tr = iyaṁ yadi vā kula-bhūbhṛitaḥ | Bhūja-sāram vidamty = a-
41. sya bhuvan-ābhayadam param | [20*] Sa ēva vētti-vāg-dēvīm¹⁶ chakōra iva chamdrikā [m]
42. | sarasvatī bhūshaṇatvam = ity = asmin paprathētarām | [21*] Asya n = āsy = ēti ya- | ¹⁰
43. sy = āmgē na bhēda upalasyatē kasya tatr-aiva tat = kasya tējaḥ śuchi Hima-

Second Plate : Second Side

44. dyutēḥ ll [22*] Yasy = ēchchhay = aiva saujanyaṁ nimishaty = unmishaty = api [| *] ata-
45. s = tasy = āmtarātm = ēti yaṁ vēda sujanō janaḥ ll [23*] Vajr-ābhēdyam

46. ripōr= vakshaḥ sukhēn= aiva nakhēna yaḥ patra-bhē-
daṁ bibhēd= ā-
47. yaṁ dēvō yasy= ādhidaivataṁ || [24*] Vasur= Viṣṇōr
= iva dṛisau tau putrau
48. Jayakēśinaḥ himśras= tamāmsi jagatāṁ sūrya-cham-
dramasāv= i-
49. va || [25*] Śrīmatō Vikramāṁkasya svāminaḥ sarva-
sū(bhū) bhṛitāṁ sut= ēva Gi-
50. rirājasya sut= āsīj= janani tayōḥ || [26*] Nāmnā
Mailaladēv = iti ma-
51. hādēvī padam mahatḥ yā cha Gaurīm cha samśritya
n = ānyataḥ padam = ādadhē || [27*]
52. Sā cha ḥ Chalukya-vaṁśād = udbhūya Kadaṁba-
kulam = āgatā || (1) kshīrōdā-
53. d = imdu-lēkhēva śiras= tat= Pāramēśvaraṁ ḥ (11) [28*]
Kshātram kshātram= iti khyātāṁ ya
54. t-tējaḥ puṇyam= ūrjjitāṁ ḥ tad-ēva mūrttiman= ma-
nyē pratyakshaṁ sā yaśasvi-
55. nīḥ (11) [29*] Tatra cha tasy= aiva kumāra-makara-dhv-
ajasya śrīmatō Vija-
56. yādityadēvasya dharmma-bhām dāgāra iv= ākshaya-
nidhāv= anāmra-¹⁷
57. taṁ parivarddamānē Huppvalli-nāmadhēye mah-
āgrahārē nitya¹⁰
58. nivāsibhyaḥ [ḥ*] vidita-vēditavyēbhyaḥ sach-charitra-
pavitṛēbhyaḥ satā-
59. ya dvābhyām cha nānā gōtrēbhyō mahā-brāhmaṇē-
bhyaḥ chatur-uttara-śa-
60. t-ādhika-sahasratamē Śakē Śubhakṛitu-samvatsarē Śrā-
va-
61. ṇyām Śanaiścharavārē Beluvala-tri-śat-āmtarvartti
Navilugum-
62. da-chatvārimśan-madhyavarttinam Bellavura-nāmādhē
yam grāmaṁ pra-
63. siddha-śīmā(sīmā)-samanvitam nidhi-nikshēpa-jala
pāshāṇ-ārām-ā-
64. dy-anvitam tri-bhōg-ābhyāmtaram = amśhat(ashṭa)-
bhōga-tējaḥ-svāmyayuktaṁśu-
65. lka-sāda-daṁ d-ādi-sakala-dravy-ōpārjjan-ōpēta m
Kaḷachuri-ku-

Third Plate : Second Side and Seal



(Original size)
Seal of the Ratapur copper-plate

66. l-āvataṁsaḥ śrīmān = Āhavamalla-dēvō rājā rāja-
kīyair = apy=a

Third Plate : First Side

67. n-aṁguli-prēkshaṇīyaṁ sarva-namasyaṁ kṛitvā dhārā-
pūrvakaṁ paramayā
68. bhaktyā dattavān||
[lines 68-88 contain the usual imprecatory verses and
prose passages]

Third Plate : Second Side

- 88.....śakti vyu-
89. tpatti-saṁpanna-vidvat-śrī-pāda-sēvinā | rachit = Ādi-
90. tyadēvēna's = ēyaṁ śāsana-paddhatiḥ || [34*]
Kṛitir = iyaṁ tri-
91. bhuvana-vidyā-chakrāvarttinaḥ śrīmad-Ādityadēva |¹⁰
92. sya || Likhitam = idaṁ paṁḍita-Lakshmīdharēṇa | Utkī-
rṇṇaṁ rāja-vi-
93. jñāninā Paṁdayēna || Maṁgala mahā-śrīḥ ||

Notes :

1. The term *Nāgarī* is found in the form *Nāgara* in an inscription from Hirehadagalli as *tilu-tivuḷa-kaṁnaḍa-nāgarad=akkaramgaḷ*. *SII*, Vol. XI—1, No. 118.

2. The point has been brought home in my Ph. D. Thesis '*The Kadambas of Goa and their Inscriptions*', Chapter, VII. (Not yet published).

3. *Ibid.*, pt. III, Texts of Inscriptions, No. 8, pp. 533-39 and No. 16. pp. 554-56.

4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 29-32. Also *The Kadamba Kula*, p. 201.

5. *The Kadambas of Goa and their Inscriptions*, pt. III, No. 7, pp. 529-33. This inscription is also noticed in the *A. R. Ep.*, 1941-42, No. 52.

6. *The Kadamba Kula*, opp. to p. 384, plate No. 52.

7. *Bomb. Gazett.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 570. This coin seems to be the same as mentioned in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. I, p. 320. This latter coin is also of the same cyclic year *Subhakṛit*.

8. From ink-impressions, verified from the original plates.

9. Metre : This and the next six verses are in *anushṭubh*.

10. This *daṇḍa* is redundant.

11. Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

12. Metre : *Mandākrāntā*.

13. Metre : This and the next verse : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

14. Metre : *Aryā*.

15. Metre : This and the next sixteen verses : *anushṭubh*.

16. The superscript *g* is engraved like subscript *n*, horizontally instead vertically. But such mode of writing is found elsewhere also as in line 19 (durggam).

17. This *anusvāra* is redundant.

18. Metre : This and the next two verses : *anushṭubh*.

19. Metre : *Śālinī*.

20. Metre : *Anushṭubh*.

BOOK REVIEWS

JAINA LITERATURE IN TAMIL : A. Chakravarti, revised by Dr. K. V. Ramesh. Pub : Bharatiya Jnanapitha, New Delhi, 1974. Price : Rs. 20/- pp. 254.

This book is a revised version of Jaina Literature in Tamil by A. Chakravarti, first published in 1941. This was out of print for long and the authorities of the Jnanapitha have reprinted this work in a completely revised form. The revision was entrusted to Dr. K. V. Ramesh, well known epigraphist and Tamil scholar and was published on the occasion of the 2500th Nirvana Anniversary of Bhagavan Mahavira. As one of the learned general editors of the series, Dr. A. N. Upadhye, states Dr. Ramesh has discharged the responsibility quite satisfactorily.

In a short span of 137 pages the authors have given a vivid survey of Jaina literature in Tamil. It encompasses the Sangam age and goes on to review famous Tamil works like *Tolkāppiyam*, *Kural*, didactic works, lexicons, *Kāvyas*, *Śilappadikāram*, *Śrīpurāṇa* and works on prosody and grammar. Minor and miscellaneous works by Jaina authors have also been taken note of. Thus the whole literature has been surveyed with a masterly sweep which is by no means easy. At the same time Dr. Ramesh has added not only new information but has given copious foot notes for research scholars to consult the original texts themselves. Where necessary he has extensively quoted from the Tamil texts to prove his point, making it authenticated and well documented.

The date and the route of the entry of Jainism into Tamilnad is still a problem. Dr. Ramesh dismisses the latter problem as of mere academic interest. However, one would like to know whether Jainism entered Tamilnad through Karnataka or Andhra so that its history could be traced. This is particularly interesting to students of Karnataka history in view of the Bhadrabāhu tradition strongly current here. On the basis of tradition as rendered by Ratnanandi of the 15th century, it had been concluded that Jainism entered Tamilnad, at the latest by 3rd century B. C. This is supported by some Jaina vestiges such as natural caverns with beds

and pillows cut on the floor. But Ramesh cautions us that some of them contain inscriptions which can be dated only to the 3rd century A. D.

The most interesting part of the work to a student of epigraphy is the appendix wherein Dr. Ramesh has given 85 Jaina epigraphs in Tamil with short notes on each of them. This has enriched the usefulness and scope of the work. It is interesting to note that the Jaina epigraphs are discovered only in some districts of Tamilnad. Further the earliest inscription can be dated to the 2nd-1st cen. B. C. and not earlier. This should be taken into consideration while reviewing the origin of Jainism in Tamilnad. The book contains an exhaustive index, highly useful. In view of the epigraphs included in the book, it would have been better to name it "Jaina literature and epigraphs in Tamil". So much new material has gone into the work in the name of the revision, it almost appears to be a new book. Dr. Ramesh deserves our congratulations for this service. The authorities of the Jnanapitha may take this work as a model and bring out monographs for Telugu, Kannada and other Indian languages.

The printing of the work is good.

A. V. Narasimha Murthy

SOME ASPECTS OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LIFE IN KARNATAKA (A. D. 1000-1300): Dr. S. Gururajachar. Prasaraṅga, University of Mysore, Mysore, pp. 328, price: Rs. 20.

Until recently scholars working in the field of epigraphy were more or less wholly confining themselves to the study of inscriptions from the point of political history. Inscriptions were consulted more for settling details of dates and conquests. In recent years, however, there has been a welcome shift in that inscriptions have come to be studied for gaining reliable information on the economic, social and religious history of our country. Dr. Gururajachar's work under review is the result of one such learned study of inscriptions found in Karṇāṭaka and belonging to the period 1000-1300 A. D. The special merit of the book lies in the fact that there is a judicious mingling of the epigraphical and literary sources as well as of accounts by foreign travellers. Omitting the rather touchy subject of religion for obvious reasons, the

author has confined himself to a study of some aspects of the economic and social life of Karnāṭaka during the period in question, at the same time drawing copiously from secular as well as religious literature, *vachana-sāhitya* not excluded. As a matter of fact the authour deserves to be congratulated for exploiting *vachana* literature without going into the religious development of the period which would have merely resulted in numerous yet necessary repetitions. The book contains eight chapters in all: (1) Survey of the Sources, (2) Land: Types and Tenures, (3) Agriculture, (4) Industries, (5) Trade and Commerce, (6) Finance: Sources of Revenue, (7) The Educational System and (8) The Position of Women in Society. While in all these above chapters the author has discussed various aspects of topical interest with a systematic and studied approach, many useful points are found mentioned particularly in the chapters on industries, trade and commerce, education and the position of women in society. The discussion of literary and epigraphical informations side by side helps us get a clear picture of agreements and deviations in the precepts and practices of those days. The references, bibliography and index have added to the reference value of this work. There are a few illustrations which seem to be more a formality than of topical interest. The printing and binding are good though the quality of the paper used leaves much to be desired.

As a contribution to the study of the social and economic history of mediaeval Karnāṭaka, Dr. Gururajachar's work is a well-studied, well-presented and therefore most welcome addition which is bound to be of lasting value.

S. S. Ramachandra Murthy

THE COINS OF KARNATAKA—Dr. A. V. Narasimha Murthy, Pub : Geetha Book House, New Statue Circle, Mysore, pp. 1-254.

It is true that numerous catalogues of Indian coins in various museums and collections have been published from time to time. These catalogues have been tapped by historians time and again for solving problems in Indian history. It is also true that no serious attempt has so far been made to study coins issued or found in any geographical division having its own political and territorial

definition. Dr. Narasimha Murthy's latest work 'The Coins of Karnataka' is, therefore, clearly a trend-setter in this sphere. He has spared no pains in gathering and compiling the vast information that is available, scattered in the pages of various publications brought out at different times. In his book divided into twenty chapters the author has made a systematic survey of coins pertaining to Karnataka bringing to bear upon his study the influence of welcome historical perspective. Starting his narrative with a discussion on Punch-marked coins (Chapter 1), the author goes on to discuss the Coins of Mahārathi and Ānanda (Chapter 2), of the Sātavāhanas (Chapter 3), of the Romans (Chapter 4), the Kadam̄bas of Banavāsi (Chapter 5), Gaṅgas of Talakāḍ (Chapter 6), Chalukyas of Bādāmi (Chapter 7), Rāshtrakūṭas (Chapter 8), Chālukyas and Kalachuris of Kalyāṇa (Chapter 9), Hoysalas (Chapter 10), and Sēvuṇas of Dēvagiri (Chapter 11). Chapters 12 and 13 deal with the coins of the Goa and Hangal Kadam̄bas and the Ālupas respectively. The next four chapters being devoted to the study of the Vijayanagara (14), Bahmani (15), Ādil Shāhī (16) and Barid Shāhī coins (17). This is followed by the chapter (18) on the coins of the Keḷadi and other chiefs, a chapter (19) on the coins of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan, the last chapter (20) dealing with the coins of Mysore Oḍeyars. The work is thus comprehensive in its scope, commencing from the earliest times down to the year 1881 A. D., in which the coinage of British Government became legal tender in Karnataka.

The author must be congratulated for making use of the latest available writings on the coins of the region in question. To quote an example or two, chapter 7 contains a discussion on the coin of Śrī Vikramarāja assigned by the author to Vikramāditya I (655-81 A. D.). In chapter 13, Dr. Narasimha Murthy has rightly assigned the gold coins with the legends *Pāṇḍya Dhanañjaya* to the Ālupa dynasty of South Kanara on the strength of the latest writings on the subject.

The book carries a number of linedrawings which considerably enhance its reference value. It should, however, be pointed out that the work would have become more useful if diacritical types had been used in printing.

The Author has rightly lamented in his preface the lack of connected and coherent studies on Indian Numismatics resulting in a gap in our knowledge of the coins of Karnataka. The present

publication largely remedies this situation atleast as far as Karnataka is concerned and the learned author deserves the thanks of all those interested in the study of Karnataka Numismatics and history.

K. V. Ramesh

EPIGRAPHIA CARNATICA, Volume III, Institute of Kannada Studies, University of Mysore, Mysore, 1974, pp. 125 and 990 and XVII plates, Price Rs. 80. Copies available from Director, Prasara-nga, University of Mysore, Mysore-6.

The volumes of Epigraphia Carnatica edited by Lewis Rice, are a rare achievement in the world of epigraphical scholarship. These volumes are justly renowned for their copiousness of material and have been an authentic source for the writing of the history of the dynasties of southern Karnataka. These volumes had been out of stock for the last many years but were in great demand by scholars all over the world. Realising this, Dr. H. M. Nayak, Director of the Institute of Kannada studies of the University of Mysore undertook this difficult task of revising and reprinting the twelve volumes of the work. The work was started in 1971 and within a short period of three years three volumes have been published and two are in the press.

The volume under notice is the third one in the revised series of Epigraphia Carnatica. It confines itself to the inscriptions found in Gundlupet, Nanjangud and Heggadadevankote taluks of Mysore district. The total number of epigraphs in the volume is 786, including 68 new inscriptions discovered and edited for the first time. In addition to these new inscriptions, many of the old texts of the inscriptions have been checked and new and more satisfactory texts have been provided. The volume contains an introduction by Dr. B. R. Gopal. It discusses the new material relating to the political history of the various dynasties such as the Gangas of Talkad, Kadambas of Bayalnad, Rashtrakutas, Cholas, Hoysalas, Vijayanagar and Mysore Wodeyars. There is also a note on the metres by Dr. T. V. Venkatachala Sastri and Sri Sitaram Jagirdar. The text of each inscription is given with a small introduction where details of date, script and purport are noted. Roman transliteration is provided for non-Kannada inscri-

ptions. English translations of inscriptions are given at the end followed by an exhaustive word index. Dynastic and topographical indexes are also provided. The volume also contains photographs of some inscriptions.

Discovering, copying, deciphering an inscription is a tedious and difficult job. The Editorial staff of this project have done an admirable job in bringing out this volume.

Special mention should also be made of the excellent printing and get up of the work done at the Mysore University printing press. The volume should be a prized possession of every library and individual scholar in the field of Indian epigraphy. Students and scholars in Indian epigraphy should be grateful to the Project Chief Dr. H. M. Nayak and his colleagues and to the government of Karnataka for a generous grant, in bringing out this valuable publication on inscriptions.

A. V. Narasimha Murthy

THE COINS OF KARNATAKA

A. V. NARASIMHA MURTHY

This is the first work on the coins of the dynasties that ruled Karnataka. Starting with an elaborate discussion on the antiquity of the coinage, the author deals with the coins of all the dynasties in twenty chapters. His horizon extends from the earliest punchmarked coins to the coins of the Mysore Odeyars. Roman, Satavahana, Kadamba, Chalukya, Hoysala, Sevuna, Alupa, Vijayanagar, Bahmani, Barid Shahi, Adil Shahi, Keladi, Hyder, Tipu and the Mysore Odeyar coins are discussed at length in this volume in a connected way for the first time. In the words of Dr A. K. Narain, Professor of History and South Asian Studies, University of Wisconsin, U.S.A., Dr Murthy's work 'will long remain a handy standard work of reference on the coins of Karnataka'.

SOUTH INDIAN REBELLION

The First War of Independence, 1800-1801

K. RAJAYYAN

This work brings out of oblivion the thrilling story of the heroic struggle, organized and waged by the patriots of South India against British imperialism, in the memorable years 1800-1801. The insurrection born in the caverns of the hills of Dindigul, spread far and wide, from Tirunelveli to beyond the Kaveri, from Madurai to beyond the Krishna along the western region. The spectacular discovery of this great rebellion relegates 'Eighteen-Fifty-Seven' to the background and throws a new vista of consequence into the history of freedom struggle in the past.

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS AMONG THE HINDUS

S. K. RAMACHANDRA RAO

Attention has been focused, in this volume, on the psychological significance of the fundamental institutions like caste, marriage, sacraments and ceremonies. The author has traced the genesis of these institutions from original sources, and interpreted them from the standpoint of the spirit of Indian history; he has attempted to reconstruct the ideological approach behind the formation of Hindu society.

VIRASAIVA SAINTS: A STUDY

H. THIPPERUDRA SWAMY

Viraśaiva saints of the twelfth century brought about a renaissance in the Kannada country in the fields of religion, socio-economic thinking and literature of the people. Their writings, which are mostly in the form of *vacanas* (prose-poems), are didactic in character and reveal their profound mystic experience. Dr Thipperudra Swamy's comprehensive survey of the Śaraṇa's life and thought is a significant contribution to literature on Indian mysticism besides serving the purpose of a handbook on Viraśaivism.

GEETHA BOOK HOUSE

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