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EDITED BY

SHRI K. G. KISHNAN,
Chief Epigraphist (Retd.)

ISSUED BY

DR. K. V. RAMESH, M. A. Ph. D.
Director (Epigraphy)



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No. 33—NEW INSCRIPTION OF SODASA FROM MATHURA

(1 Plate)

R. C. SHARMA, MATHURA

The Mathura Museum has recently acquired a stone inscription (No. 79.29) belonging to the reign of Śoḍāsa and it is of great significance in many respects. Measuring 96 cm in length and 44 cm in width this rectangular buff sand-stone slab with red patches records a five line epigraph in the pre-Kushāṇa Brāhmī characters. It was an accidental discovery as the result of levelling of the ground for long jump by the boys of a hamlet Mirzapur, in the Southern outskirts of Mathura beyond the Delhi-Agra National Highway. The find was made from the ground of which the slab was unearthed.

The inscription preceded by a beautifully carved Śrīvatsa motif is sharply incised in large and bold letters and can be read easily. The language of the epigraph is Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit as was generally the case in the inscriptions of Kushāṇa and pre-Kushāṇa period. Rules of grammar have been ignored as indicated by the use of *Svāmisya* instead of *Svāminah* etc. The document does not refer to any era or year but from the name of the reigning king Svāmi Mahākshatrapa Sumḍāsa (Śoḍāsa) we can infer that it was recorded in the later half of the 1st century B.C. This is fully supported by the palaeography of the record. The synopsis of the succession of levels as drawn by Prof. Harbert Hartel¹ on the basis of his excavation at Sonkh, in Mathura District, suggests that the Kshatrapas held their sway in the Mathura region towards the end of the 1st century B.C. The scribe had a set hand for calligraphy as the writing is sharp and perfectly legible.

The author of the epigraph has not hesitated in adopting the foreign words which had become current in the local dialect. Gāñjavara which connotes the meaning of treasurer is a Persian term received in India from Central Asia. The use of this word with slight variation as *gamñavara* is noticed in a Kharōshthi inscription discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan². The name appears to have survived in many places, names suffixed with *gañj* mostly in north India.

The inscription records that the eastern tank of the twin tanks, a grove, an assembly hall, well, pillar, a stone-slab bearing the image of Śrī were caused to be made by Kauśiki of Pākshakā³, the wife of Mūlavasu and the mother of Vasu. Mūlavasu is described as a brāhmaṇa of the Segrava-gotra and as the treasurer of Svāmin Mahākshatrapa Śumḍāsa.

So far the Mathura region has yielded seven inscriptions pertaining to Śoḍāsa. Of these two were set up in the reign of his father and predecessor Rājula who has been designated as Mahākshatrpa while Śoḍāsa is referred to as Kshatrpa. The first inscription in Kharōshthi script incised on a Lion Capital was unearthed at the Saptarshi mound in 1869 by Bhagwan Lal Indraji. It was installed by Kamuia, the chief queen of Mahākshatrpa Rājula and refers to the erection of a Buddhist monastery and stūpa and other religious deeds at the instance

¹ *Some Results of the Excavations at Sonkh, German Scholars on India*, Vol. II, 1976, fig. 10.

² Janert K. L., H. Lüders, *Mathura Inscriptions*, 1961, p. 100. Our attention is drawn to its occurrence also in *Rajatarangini* and Kshemendra's *Lokaprakāsa*.

³ [Pākshakā is better understood as the name of the lady and Kauśiki refers to her *gotra* affiliation (cf. *Kosikiye śimitraye*, above, XXIV, p. 204).—Ed.]

Acc. 26205

of the Sarvāstivādin Āchāryas.¹ The second inscription is recorded on a large stone slab acquired from village Morā in Mathura District. It records the installation of statues of the five Vṛishṇi heroes in the reign of Mahākshatrpa Rājuvula. The title of his son 'Svāmi, is intact but the remaining part is damaged and we are not in a position to restore his name. But as revealed by other epigraphs the son of Rājula associated with Mathura region was certainly Śoḍāsa². The third now deposited in the Lucknow Museum dated in the year 72 of (the reign of) Śoḍāsa records the installation of Āryavatī for the worship of Arhat³. The fourth inscription was discovered at Jail or Jamalpur mound during the last century and it has almost a similar draft as that of the present record. Due to the loss of a few letters, possibly on the right side we are not able to know the name of the donor and other details. Although the epigraph was reported by Dowson, Cunningham, Lüders, Janert, etc. its present whereabouts are not known and we have to remain content with the facsimile reproduced in different publications.⁴ The contents of this inscription will be discussed later.

The fifth epigraph⁵ is carved on the adjacent side of a temple doorjamb carved with beautiful lotus creeper and some vertical bands. It informs us that a gateway and a railing were erected at the great temple of Lord Vāsudeva by Vasu for the increase of the prosperity of Svāmin Mahākshatrpa Śoḍāsa.

The sixth inscription is seen on a fragmentary architectural piece representing a male with a bow and a female with a quiver on one side and a woman and a child on the other. The incomplete Brāhmī epigraph informs that a gateway was erected by the wife of a minister of Śoḍāsa. It was acquired by the Mathura Museum in 1954⁶ from the site of Katra Keshavadeva, the birth place of Kṛishṇa. The present record is the seventh and the last known epigraph of the reign of Mahākshatrpa Śoḍāsa.

The fourth epigraph referred to above, though fragmentary, yields some interesting details. It mentions the creation or gift of a tank described as the western one of the two tanks, well, garden, pillar and a stone-slab and also refers to a brāhmaṇa of Śegrava-gotra, the treasurer of Svāmin Mahākshatrpa Śoḍāsa.

If we compare the contents of this epigraph with the contents of the present inscription we are apt to derive the conclusion that both the documents belonged to one establishment and the charitable deeds recorded in the inscriptions were of the same nature and were performed by the same family.

Although the previous inscription does not mention the proper name of the donor or his kins but whatever is left, affirms our line of thinking. The person under reference is to be identified on the basis of the titles referred to in the epigraph. He is a brāhmaṇa by caste and his gōtra is Śegrava. The same details are given in the new document. Again in both the epigraphs his designation has been recorded as *gañjavara* i.e. treasurer of Svāmin Mahākshatrpa Śoḍāsa. Moreover, in both the inscriptions two watertanks have been described out of which the eastern tank was erected by the lady while the western tank was completed by the gentleman. The other items i.e., well, garden, pillar and slab are similar. We are not

¹ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 114 ff.

² *ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 194 and plate.

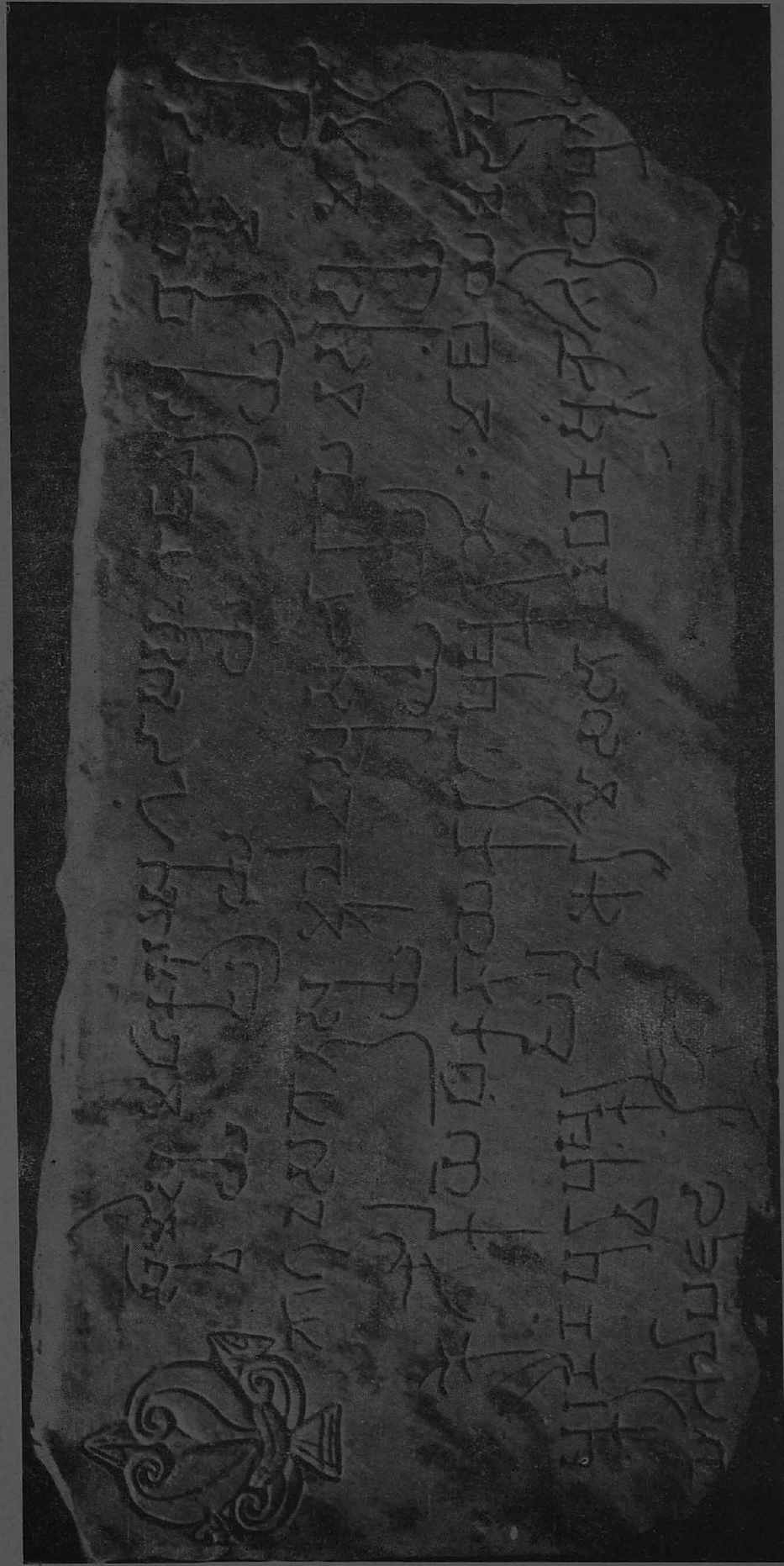
³ *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 199 ff.

⁴ *ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 246-248 ; for the facsimile see *Mathura Inscriptions* by Lüders, edited by Janert, p. 286, No. 64.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 208. This is the earliest archaeological evidence regarding the construction of a shrine for Vāsudeva (i.e., Kṛishṇa). See also Memoir No. 5, *Archaeology and Vaishnava Tradition*, Arch. Sur. of India, pp. 169-173.

⁶ Mathura Museum, No. 54.3768.

INSCRIPTION OF SODASA FROM MATHURA



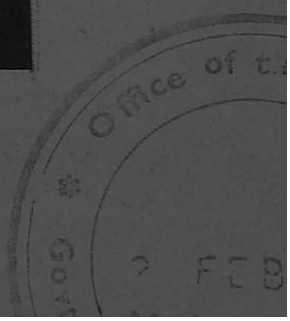
2

4

2

4

SCALE : One-fifth



sure about the sectarian nature of the shrine in the previous document as a portion of the inscription is missing but the new one definitely records that it was dedicated to Śrī or Lakshmī. On the basis of these similarities we can safely conclude that one and the same family was responsible for performing these charitable deeds. It can also be confidently suggested that both were husband and wife. The new epigraph clearly refers that Kauśikī Pākshakā was the wife of Mūlavasu who was the treasurer of Soḍāsa. The western tank (*paśchimā pushkarinī*) was erected by Mūlavasu himself as indicated by the use of instrumental affix while the eastern tank (*pūrvā pushkarinī*) was the creation of his wife. It is not known whether the eastern tank of Kauśikī was meant only for women while the western tank of her husband Mūlavasu was for the use of men.

The distance from the collectorate to the village Mirzapur is about 2 kms. and it is quite likely that one slab was moved from one site to the other site. There is no justification to assume that several deeds of the same nature were simultaneously performed just at a distance of two kilometers. This seems further improbable in the light of the fact that the same person or persons are responsible for these activities. So either the slab discovered in the 19th century was removed from the site of Mirzapur to Jail mound or the recent epigraph was shifted from Jail mound to Mirzapur.

During the extensive survey of the area Shri K. Deva pointed out that the depression to the western side of the Mathura-Achnera railway line is the location of the western tank of the fourth epigraph. It should, therefore, be admitted that this inscription was removed from the site of Mirzapur to Jail or Jamalpur site wherefrom it was unearthed during the last century.

This new inscription does not necessarily refer to the installation of a separate image of Lakshmī and the slab itself has been designed to serve this purpose. This can be corroborated by two facts, firstly by the use of words in genitive form i.e. *Śriye pratimāye Śilāpaṭṭā cha* meaning the stone slab of or for the image of Lakshmī. Secondly, the inscription is preceded by a beautifully carved Śrīvatsa motif in bas-relief, thus indicating that this motif represents Śrī on the *śilā-paṭṭa*.

Another interesting issue arising from the present epigraph is a figure of a headless bull carved at the end of the epigraph. In comparison with the beautiful carving of the Śrīvatsa motif it is a crude hand sketch and to me it first appeared to be a later addition. But Shri K. Deva drew my attention to the letter *ra* which cuts the tail and the hind part of the bull and in that case the figure has to be accepted anterior to the inscription. The absence of the bull's head further indicates that the slab was of larger dimensions and the figure was continuing but the scribe cut it suiting to his requirement. The remaining portion of the stone probably bore more figures. It is not known whether it was extracted from some (Śaiva?) shrine nearby.

It appears that Kauśikī Pākshakā had a high social status and was a devout *bhāgavata*. Besides the complex referred to in the two inscriptions of this family she and her son Vasu appear to have constructed some shrine with a door at the site of the present Janmabhūmi. The temple door-jamb in Mathura Museum (No. 13.367) about which we have already discussed, in every probability bears the same name.¹ The name of his son Vasu also appears in the new epigraph and the door-jamb inscription which, however, omits the name of Mūlavasu.

Pākshakā appears to be the name of a place and Pākshakāye should mean a lady belonging to that place.²

¹ Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 208-10.

² See note 3, p. 171 above.

Acc. 26205.

TEXT¹

- 1 Svāmīsyā Mahākshatrapasyā Śumḍāsasyā Gāmjavārasya brāhmaṇasya
- 2 Śēgrava-sagōtrasyā Mūlavasusya bhāryāye Vasusya mātare
- 3 Kauśīkiye Pākshakāye kārītā pushakarīṇi imāshām ye(ya)maḍa-pu-
- 4 shkaraṇīnām pūrvā-pushkaraṇi ārāmo sabhā udapānō stambhō śiriye prati[mā].²
- 5 ye śilāpa[ṭṭā] cha³

¹ From photograph and impressions.

² The lines from 1 to 5 begin progressively ahead with a lesser margin and the space of margin to the left of the lines has been utilised to have a symbolic form of Śrīvatsa carved in a decorative manner [cf. above, Vol. XXXIX, p. 9 and plate where an inscription of similar text is preceded by a crude representation of Śrīvatsa in a totally different manner.—Ed.].

³ See p. 173 above regarding the thinly carved sketch of a bull, partly visible.

No. 34—THREE EARLY CHARTERS FROM SANJELI IN GUJARAT

(3 Plates)

K. V. RAMESH, MYSORE

The three important copper-plate inscriptions, edited here with the kind permission of the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, were discovered in 1974 in a field on the outskirts of the town of *Sañjēli*, situated in the Zalod Taluka of the Panchmahal District of Gujarat. The plates have since been acquired by the Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, Faculty of Arts, M. S. University, Baroda, Gujarat. They were first critically studied by R. N. Mehta, Professor in Archaeology and A. M. Thakkar, Professor of Surgery, both of the same university and were published in 1978 as monograph of *Maharaja Sayyajirao University Archaeology series No. 14* under the title of *M. S. University Copper plates of the Time of Toramana*. In view of their extreme importance to the political, social and economic history of North India, during the 6th century, immediately following the collapse of the Gupta power, they are being re-edited here.¹

Of the three charters, one belongs to the reign of *Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Tōramāna*, the second to *Mahārāja Bhūta* and the third to *Mahārāja Mātridāsa*. They are dated respectively in the years 3, 6 and 19, and will be referred to in the sequel as A, B and C, in that order, for the sake of convenience.

A. Copper Plate Inscription of Tōramāna, Year 3

This single sheet of copper measures 36.5 cms long, 19.6 cms broad and 3 mm thick. It weighs 1079 grams. A triangular piece of the plate has broken off from the top left corner resulting in the loss of 5 letters in the first line and three in the second. There is writing on only one side of the plate and the text consists of 16 lines in all, the last one being the shortest of all.

The script employed is what may be properly described as the Western variety of the Southern alphabet of the early 6th century A. D. This is in marked contrast with Tōramāna's *Ēraṇ* stone Boar inscription² the script used in which is the forerunner of the Northern class of alphabets which did away with the southern features from the Malwa-Rajasthan region and, instead, initiated new styles allied to northern characters. The Kurā stone inscription³ of Tōramāna, hailing from the Panjab region of Pakistan, is engraved in Nail-headed variety of Northern Brāhmī of the 6th century A. D. It is but natural that the scripts used in writing far-flung inscriptions of one and the same reign differed in so far as different regions had developed their own strains of the parent script. The script which was in vogue during the 6th century in the area which has yielded the plates under study was the box-headed western variety of the southern alphabet and we do perceive clear box-heads on top of the letters of plate A, though the boxes are not as pronounced here as in the Vākāṭaka and Śarabhapuriya charters. As far as the solid-square box-heads are concerned, we may place

¹ I am thankful to my colleague Shri S. P. Tewari for some very useful suggestions and observations made by him in the course of the decipherment and interpretation of these charters.

² *CII.*, Vol. III, pp. 158-61 and plate.

³ Above, Vol. I, pp. 238-61 and plate.

Acc. 26205
2

Plate A midway between the Vākāṭaka-Śarabhapurīya style of writing on the one hand and, on the other, the style of writing as seen in the Maitraka charters some of which betray what may be called miniature solid box-heads as head-marks. As for general palaeographical features, the letter forms, which very closely resemble Vākāṭaka characters as, for instance, found employed in the Chammak copper plate inscription¹ of Pravarasēna II, show a tendency to both angular and round shapes. The angular shapes are marked in the forms of *ka*, *kha*, *ḍa*, *pa*, *ba*, *ya*, *ra* and *va*, though in the case of *ka* and *ra*, the round variety is also employed in some instances as in *kārita* (line 2). The letter *ta* is not of the angular Vākāṭaka variety but is closely akin to the round shape as seen in the Mandasor inscriptions² of Naravarman. Of the initial vowels, *a* occurs four times, once each in lines 6, 8, 12 and 15; *ā* occurs once in line 5; *ū* once in line 8; *ē* twice in lines 8 and 10 where, in both cases, an additional vertical stroke is attached to the head-mark; *au* which is of very rare occurrence in early inscriptions, occurs once in *Aujjēnaka* in line 11. This letter is formed by adding a top curve to the main letter *ō*. While in the Pipardula plate³ of Śarabhapurīya Narēndra, the additional top curve rises above the top of the main letter *ō*, in the present case it is in line with the main letter *ō*. The medial vowel signs and the subscripts do not call for any remarks.

The language employed in the charter is Sanskrit and the text is throughout in prose. The language is mostly faultless though the diction is highly involved; the subject dealt with in the record being of a technical nature and many of the technical terms used being long obsolete or obscure, the text does not render itself to easy interpretation in parts. Of the names of the signatories to the charter enumerated towards the end, in lines 10-15, many ring an unfamiliar note and at least a few of them like *Kaṁgghuśūra*, *Bhaśśama*, *Bhakkala*, *Bhannitya*, *Bhakkūra*, *Bhāraṇa*, *Bhadvija* and *Bhagguṇa*, sound un-Indian and may have to be attributed to the fact that the Hūṇas were an alien tribe. The most noteworthy orthographical peculiarity is the overwhelming occurrence of the *ka-pratyaya*, a feature common to Plates B and C also.

Quite a few words and phrases of lexical interest occur in the text. One such phrase occurs in the context of enumerating those who got the details of the donation written down as *chatur dḍig-abhyāgata-vaidēśya-vāṇijakāḥ vastavyāḥ pōṭṭalikā-putrāś=cha lēkhayanti* (line 4). The first part of this phrase no doubt refers to foreign traders who converged on Vādrapālī with their merchandise from all the four quarters. Of the remaining part of the phrase, *vastavyāḥ* and *pōṭṭalikā-putrāḥ* are obviously to be read together and taken to stand for local or 'resident' traders as opposed to itinerant merchants coming from outside. For it is only natural that in a pious act involving traders from outside, merchants locally resident also associate themselves. According to the lexicons⁴ *pōṭṭalikā* or *pōṭalikā* means 'a bundle' or 'a packet' and when used with the suffix *putra*, stands for 'a small bundle' or 'a small packet'. It therefore, seems likely that by the phrase *vastavyāḥ pōṭṭalikā-putrāḥ* were meant those locally resident traders who sold their merchandise in small quantities. In effect, the phrase seems to stand for small-time or retail traders who were residents of Vādrapālī. The word *pōṭṭalikā* is also written in our record once as *pāṭṭalikā* (line 7) and once as *puṭṭalikā* (line 9). Being a derivative of *pōṭṭala*, the etymology of which is not known, it is interesting to note that the word is, current in all the major Dravidian languages (Tamil : *pōṭṭalam*, Kannaḍa : *pōṭṭana*, *pōṭṭala* *poṭṭa*, Telugu : *poṭṭa*, Malayālam : *pōṭṭalam* and Tuḷu : *poṭṭa*) in the same sense of 'a bundle' or 'a packet'.

¹ *CII.*, Vol. III, pp. 235-43 and plate.

² Above, Vol. XII, pp. 315-21 and plate.

³ *IHQ.*, 1943, pp. 145-46 and plate.

⁴ Monier William's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s. v.

Another interesting usage is the word *akshayaṇī* to indicate the permanent nature of the grant made. While the correct form of the word is *akshayaṇī*, the spelling as given in one record may have been influenced by the more technical usage *akshaya-nīvī* meaning 'a permanent endowment'.

In the grant portion proper occur the words *sētaka* (line 7) and *sētīnaka* (line 6) as also their respective feminine forms *sētikā* (line 8) and *sētīnikā* (line 6). None of these forms is met with in Sanskrit lexicons. It may, however, be safely related to the word *sētikā* occurring in one of the Anjaneri grants¹ of Prithivīchandra Bhōgaśakti (7th century A. D.) as a liquid measure. Commenting on this word N. P. Chakravarti observes² "Sētikā is apparently connected with *sētakā* of the *Purāṇas* which is equivalent to 4 *palas* or approximately 14 *tolas*". In our record the word *sētaka* and its derivatives occur in the sense of a grain measure.

Another interesting grain measure mentioned in our charter is *kaṭubika* (line 7). This form is either wrong for or was an accepted variant of *kaṭavika* which is a derivative of *kuḍava*, an ancient grain and linear measure.

It is interesting to note that in all the three charters under study the divine recipients of the grants recorded therein are mentioned with the rather intriguing suffix *pādāḥ*. In charter A, the divine donee is mentioned as Jayasvāmipādāḥ (line 3), in charter B as Bhagavatpādāḥ (lines 3 and 5) and in charter C as Nārāyaṇadēvapādāḥ (line 3). It is well known that *pādāḥ*, the respectful plural form, is suffixed to personal names as a mark of veneration. Thus in Indian tradition *Śaṅkara-Bhagavat-pādāḥ* and *Śrīpādāḥ* are used as religious appellations for saints owing allegiance to the various schools of philosophy whereby their abject surrender to the presiding divinity of their respective schools of thought is implied. It is rather strange that in our three records *pādāḥ* is suffixed to the names of the deities themselves. On the other hand it is possible that the usage had local sanction. On the other hand, it is more likely that the objects of worship in these temples were the venerable foot-prints of the deities named. The practice of worshipping the consecrated foot-prints of the gods was a recognised tradition both in the Hindu and Buddhist creeds, not only in India but also in South East Asia.

As for the contents of charter A, as has been pointed out above, line 1 may have commenced with the auspicious word *Syasti* as is the case with charters B and C. Next are given the details of date, viz. Year 3, Śrāva[ṇa*] śu. di. 2. The text then refers the charter to the rule over the earth of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja śriḥ Tōramāṇa*. From what follows in lines 1-3 we learn that while *Mahārājā Bhūta*, the *vishaya-pati*, was enjoying his life at Śivabhāgapura, through the grace of his overlord, certain grants were made to the god Jayasvāmipādāḥ (or, to the sacred foot-prints of the god Jayasvāmi) caused to be made by the queen-mother (of Bhūta), *Virāḍhyikā* by name, to the east of *Vadrapālī*.

The details of the grant, given in lines 3-8, are as follows : In order that greater merit may accrue to themselves, in order to enable the offering of propitiatory oblations (*bali*, *charu* and *sattra*), frankincense (*dhūpa*), sandal or perfume (*gandhu*), flowers (*pushpa*), lamps (*dīpa*) and oil (*taila*) and in order to provide for carrying out repairs to the temple, foreign traders converging from the four quarters as also retail traders locally resident got recorded (*lēkhayanti*) the perpetual grant of ten times one-twentieth of the contents of each of the vessels filled to capacity (or, of each of the carts laden to capacity) with molasses (*guḍa*), salt (*lavana*) and cotton (*karppāsa*), the details (adding up to the ten *vimśopakas*) being as follows :

¹ Above, Vol. XXV, p. 232, text line 37 : *ghṛitasētikā*.

² *Ibid.*, p. 234, foot note 3.

Acc. 26205.

- 1 For every full vessel (or cart-load), one half and a quarter. (i.e., three-fourths of one-twentieth) ;
- 2 For every full unit of salt, one *sētinaka* ;
- 3 For every grain-load, one *sētīnikā* ;
- 4 For every cart-load of grain half *kautubika* ;
- 5 For every donkey-load, 1 *viśōpaka* and 2-1/2 *sētakas* ;
- 6 For every vessel (or cart) filled with retail merchandise, one *viśōpakīnikī* ;
- 7 For every vessel (or cart) filled with grains one *sētīkā* and over that half ;
- 8 For every donkey-load of cotton threads spun by the female slaves, three fourths of a *rūpīnaka*.

Since these proportionate grants total up to ten ($3/4+1+1+1/2+3-1/2+1+1-1/2+3/4$), it is obvious that each of the eight quantities granted amounted to 1/20th or a *viśōpaka* of one unit of capacity.

The passage (lines 8-10) immediately following the narration of the above details of grant declares that if anyone, who is within the boundaries of that mercantile village (having gone thither from outside) or is a locally resident retail merchant, renders this grant ineffective, he would have committed, in effect, the five great sins.

We learn from lines 10-15 that the following merchants gave effect to the grant by themselves getting the charters written ; Gōmika and Dēmatta, residents of Dāgapura ; Sēnavar m m ā residing at Māthurikā near Māthurā ; Pitriyaśa and Chirāyusha of Kanyakubja ; Kaṅghuśūra and Bhaśśama of Ujjēna; the retail traders Drōṇa, Sōma and Bhakkala, residents of Varuṇōdarī; Bhannitya, Dhruvabhakshaṇa and Agniśarmma of Mahishahrada; Bhakkūra and Sūra of Prachakāsa; Rudradatta and Priyajña of Goṇḍatara; Bhāraṇa and Bhaṭṭi-Īśaśarmma of Rayaśa; Bhaṭṭi-Vāstavya of Kālōṭṭiya; Yajña of Saṅgādhyā; Bhagavadvinīta, Skandavarmma, Bhāhasti, Harimata, Mōha, Bhadvija and Bhagguṇa of Gōggabhāṭṭi; the merchants Vāstavya, Datta, Gujjara, Bhaṭṭi, the son of Bharō, Bhaṭṭi-mahattara, Bhaṭṭi-Rudra, Mahēśvara-svāmika, Mahēśvara-mallaka, Saṅgama, Karkkaṭa and Dēvaṭa of Rivāsula.

The brief statement in lines 15-16, probably in the form of a post-script, says that towards the same permanent grant, the house-site of the merchant Shashṭhi¹ (was added).

As has been pointed out above, the charter belongs to the reign of Tōramāṇa, who is known to have been of the Hūṇa stock and who is endowed in our charter, with the imperial titles of *Paramabhāṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*. The epithet *Paramabhāṭṭāraka* as given to Tōramāṇa is of the utmost significance in relation to the history of the period of the decline of Gupta power. It is well known that the imperial epithets of *Paramabhāṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja* were brought into popular use by the Gupta emperors. Of the two epithets, the former appears to have gained precedence over the latter in symbolising imperial status and thereby as the official form of addressing the Gupta emperor in much the same way as the term *Vallabha* came to denote the emperor of the Karnataka empire from the time of the Chalukyas of Vātāpi. This is amply borne out by the fact that the charters of *Mahārāja*

¹ Probably identical with the merchant Shashṭhidatta figuring in a similar context in Charter B below.

Svāmidāsa (386 A.D.),¹ *Mahārāja* Bhulūṇḍa (426 A.D.)² and *Mahārāja* Rudradāsa (436 A.D.)³ refer to the ruling Gupta emperor merely as *Paramabhāṭṭāraka* without mentioning him by name. So also the Bhamodra Mohta plate⁴ of 502 A.D. and the Kurud plates⁵ of about the beginning of the 6th century A.D. refer to the then ruling Gupta monarch merely as *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*. It will be seen that charters B and C below mention respectively *Mahārāja* Bhūta and *Mahārāja* Mātridāsa as the feudatories of a *Paramabhāṭṭāraka* whose name is not mentioned. Since charter A belongs to the reign of *Paramabhāṭṭāraka* Tōramāṇa and mentions his feudatory *Mahārāja* Bhūta, since charter B mentions the same *Mahārāja* Bhūta as meditating at the feet of an unnamed *Paramabhāṭṭāraka* and since Bhūta's son *Mahārāja* Mātridāsa is referred to in charter C as meditating at the feet of a *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, again unnamed, it is obvious that the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka* of charters B and C is the same as Tōramāṇa of charter A. And since in all the three charters under study he is endowed with the title *Paramabhāṭṭāraka* which, as far as the Guptas were concerned, was specially indicative of their imperial status, we learn for the first time from our charters that Tōramāṇa had come to regard himself as *de facto* as well as *de jure* successor to the imperial hegemony of the Guptas.

With the help of the three charters under discussion and the two already known inscriptions of Tōramāṇa, one from Kurā and the other from Ēraṇ, we are in a position to identify, in three stages, his arrival on the Indian political scene and his quick ascendancy to imperial status. His Kurā inscription, dated in the month of Mārgaśira probably in his very first regnal year⁶ names him as Tōramāṇa-Shāhi-Jaūvla, a name which has its foreign components still intact, and also endows him with the title *Mahārāja* indicative of rudimentary royal status. His Ēraṇ stone Boar inscription, dated in the month Phālguna, also in the first year of his reign and hence over three months later in date, endows him with the imperial title *Mahārājādhirāja*, implying that in a short span of a few months, he had gained mastery over a large tract of North India, a point well substantiated by the provenance of the Kurā inscription (in Panjab, Pakistan) and the Ēraṇ inscription (in the Sagar District of Madhya Pradesh). His being named merely as Tōramāṇa in the Ēraṇ inscription further implies that he had not lost much time in shedding his foreign identity. The earliest of the three charters edited here, which clearly gives the name of Tōramāṇa and also endows him with the title *Paramabhāṭṭāraka* is dated in his third regnal year. Thus we can conclude that the third and final stage of his ascendancy to imperial status, supplanting, if not totally replacing the Guptas, ran its course during the period following the date of the Ēraṇ inscription and preceding the date of Charter A issued in his third regnal year. And, from charter C, which also mentions the ruling emperor only as *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, we learn that Tōramāṇa had successfully retained his imperial supremacy in the north for no less than nineteen years.

The present charters provide the first direct evidence for the inclusion of parts of the Gujarat region in Tōramāṇa's empire. His feudatory *Mahārāja* Bhūta, as well as his father and son who bore the identical name of Mātridāsa, as known from Charters B and C, are known for the first time. They were probably ruling over the region in and around Sañjēli, the findspot

¹ Above, Vol. XV, p. 286 and plate.

² *Ibid.*, p. 290 and plate.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 99 f., and plate.

⁴ Above, Vol. XVI, pp. 17-19 and plate.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 263-66 and plate.

⁶ Though some letters in the date portion, in lines 1 and 2, are worn out, their outlines are traceable and the portion in question could be restored as *rājyaśvarya-saṅgatsarē varḥē pratīanē*. See plate opp. p. 246 of above, Vol. I.

of our charters. Though Bhūta enjoyed the royal title of *Mahārāja*, he was ruling as an official of Tōramāna with the designation of *Vishayapati*.

One other member of the royalty figuring in charter A is the Queen-mother Virāḍhyikā the mother of *Mahārāja* Bhūta. She is also mentioned as such in charter B and is merely referred to as *pitāmahi* in charter C. According to charter A she was responsible for (the construction of the temple and for the installation of) the god Jayasvāmipādāḥ (or of His sacred footprints).

The following place-names occur in charter A : Śivabhāgapura (line 2), Vadrapālī (line 2), Dāgapura (line 10), Mathurā (line 10), Māthurika (line 10), Kanyakubja (line 11), Ujjēna (line 11), Varuṇōdarī (line 11), Mahishahrada (line 12), Prachakāsa (line 12), Gōṇḍātara (line 12-13), Rayaśa (line 13), Kālōṭṭiya (line 13) Saṅgāḍhyaka (line 13), and Rivāsula (line 14).

Of these Śivabhāgapura may be safely identified with modern Shivarajpur, a Railway Station in the southern extremes of the Panchmahals region and lying to the north of Saṅkhēda headquarters of a Taluka of that name. Vadrapālī has been wrongly identified by Mehta and Thakker with Varuṇḍa lying 8 kms to the west of Sañjēli. The place should be properly identified with modern Vadphalī in the north-western extremes of West Khandesh, about 50 kms. to the south-east of Saṅkhēda. Dāgapura is not identifiable though Mehta and Thakkar have suggested that it may be a mistake for Daśapura, the same as modern Mandor. While Mathurā is too well known, Māthurika was obviously a hamlet of that famous and ancient township. Kanyakubja and Ujjēna are respectively the well-known historical cities of Kanauj and Ujjain. While foreign traders are stated to have come from such far off places as Mathurā, Kanauj and Ujjain, the retail or local traders Drōṇa, Sōma and Bhakkala are stated to be residents of Varuṇōdarī. This place must, therefore, have lain in the Vadrapālī region and hence, may be identified with Varuṇḍa, about 8 kms to the west of Sañjēli. Of the other places, Mahishahrada may be the same as Mahiśa in the Nadiad Taluka of Kaira District. Prachakāsa may be identified with Prakāsha on the Tāpī, about 16 kms to the south-east of Taloda, the headquarters of the Taloda Taluka to the north of Nandurbar; Gōṇḍātara with Gōdhra, a Taluka headquarters in the Panchmahals District; Rayaśa with Raychha in Chhota-Udepur Taluka, Baroda District; Kālōṭṭiya with Khilodi, to the east of Gōdhra Saṅgāḍhyaka with Saṅkhēda, a Taluka headquarters in the Baroda District and Rivāsula with Rasela in the Nandod Taluka of Broach District.

TEXT¹

- 1² rē 3 Śrāva śu di 2 Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-śrīs-Tōramānō
prithivīm=anuśāsati tat-prasādād=Vishayapati-
- 2³ja-Bhūtasya Śivabhāgamu(pu)rē bhujyamānakē Vadrapālyāḥ pūrvvasyān=diśi
ētad-rājamātu [r*]=Vvirāḍhyikā⁴-kārita-
- 3 ka-⁵dēva-Jayasvāmipādānām bali-charu-satra(ttra)-dhūpa-gandha-pushpa-dīpa-taila-khaṇ-
ḍasphuṭita-pratisaṃskāraṇā (ṇ-ō) payōgyam(gya)-

¹ From inked estampages.

² The lost letters may be restored as *Svasti* [| *] *Sarivatsa*°.

³ The lost letters may be restored as *Mahārā*°

⁴ Mehta and Thakkar : °*mātu Virāḍhyikā*. Only differences in important readings are pointed out here.

For the rest see *op. cit.*

⁵ Mehta and Thakkar : *sva*.

A—COPPER PLATE INSCRIPTION OF TORAMANA, YEAR 3



SCALE : One-half

- 4 m=ātmanah puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē chaturddiśā (g-a)bhyāgataka-vaidēśya-vāṇijakāḥ vastav-
yāḥ pōṭṭalikāputrās=cha lēkhayanti
- 5 yatra guḍa-lavaṇa-karppāsa-bhāṇḍa-bharakēshu ā-chandr-ārkk-ārṇṇava-kshiti-sthiti-
sama-kāli (lī) yaṁ daśa-vimśōpa-
- 6 kīnakāḥ bhāṇḍa¹-bharakāḥ arddha-pādīnakāḥ lavaṇa-bharakāḥ sētīnakāḥ dhānya-
bhallā sētīnikā dhānya-śakāṭa-
- 7 m=arddha-kau²ṭubikaṁ garddabha-bhāṇḍa-bharakō vīsōpaka-divarddha-³sētakāḥ bh-
āṇḍa-pā (pō) ṭṭalikā vimśōpaki(kī)niki dhānya-bharakēshu
- 8 dhānya-sētīkā atō=rddham garddabha-bharakēshu dāsī-guṇṭham pad-ūna-rūpīnakāṁ
[[*]ē⁴tām ch=ākshayaṇīm⁴ upari-likhita-nyāyēna
- 9 diyamānām yaḥ vaṇi[g*]-grām-ābhyantrah pu(pō)ṭṭalikāputrō vā kaśchid=apramāṇi-
karishyati saḥ pañchabhir=mmahāpātakaiḥ sam-
- 10 yuktō bhavishyanti(ti) [[*]ēvaṁ ch=āśya pramāṇam vāṇiyakāḥ svahastēna lēkhay-
anti Dāgapura-vāstavya-Gōmika-Dē⁵matta-Māthura-samnihi-
- 11 ta-Māthurika-vāstavya-Sēnavarmmā-Kanyakuldā(bjā)ka⁶-Pitṛiyaśa-Chirāyusha-Aujj⁷ēna
[ka*]-Kaṁgghuśūra-Bhaśśama-Varuṇōdarī-vāstavya pōṭṭa-
- 12 likāputra-Drōṇa-Sēma-Bhakkala-Mahishahradaka-Bhannitya-Dhruvabhakshaṇa-Agni-
śarmma-Prachakāsaka-Bhakkūra-Śūra-Gōṇḍ⁸ata-
- 13 raka-Rudradatta-Priyajña-Rayaśaka-Bhāraṇa-Bhaṭṭ-Īśaśarmma-Kālōṭṭiyaka-Bhaṭṭi-vās-
tavyā(vya)-Sa⁹ṅgāḍhyaka¹⁰-Yajña-Gōggabhṭṭiyaka-
- 14 Bhagavad-vinīta-Skāndavarmma-Bhāhasti-Harimata-Mōha-Bhadvija-Bhagguṇa-Rivā-
sula-Vāṇijaka-vāstavya-Datta-Gujjara-Bharō-
- 15 putra-Bhaṭṭi-mahattara-Bhaṭṭirudra-Mahēśvara-Svāmika-Mahēśvara-Mallaka-Saṅgama-
Karkkaṭa¹¹-Dēvaṭa [l*] atr=aiva ch=ākshayaṇi-hētōḥ vāṇija-
- 16 ka-Shashṭhi-gṛiha-va(vā)stu ch=ēti ||

B. Copper-plate Inscription of Mahārāja Bhūta, Year 6

This single sheet of copper measures 51 cms long, 22 cms broad and 3 mm thick. It weighs 2005 gms. A triangular piece of the plate has broken off from the top left corner though this has not resulted in the loss of any letters. There is writing on only one side of the plate and

¹ Mehta and Thakkar read *bhāṇḍa* and correct it to *bhāṇḍa*.

² Mehta and Thakkar : *kō*.

³ The intended reading seems to be *dvy-arddha*.

⁴ The *anusvāra* is engraved on top of the letter *ya* instead of on *ñi*. Better read *ākshayaṇīm*.

⁵ Mehta and Thakkar : *vē*.

⁶ Mehta and Thakkar : *°kulyāka*.

⁷ Mehta and Thakkar read *Chirāyushaṇu*.

⁸ Mehta and Thakkar : *Gōṇya*.

⁹ There is an unnecessary *anusvāra* mark on top of the letter *sa*.

¹⁰ Mehta and Thakkar read *Samajñāḍhyaka*.

¹¹ Mehta and Thakkar read *Sadgāmakakauṭa*.

the text consists of 12 lines in all. In the centre of the top margin is a round hole, 1.5 cm in diameter, for the ring of the seal to pass through. However, neither the ring nor the seal is now available.

The **script** employed here belongs to the same class as found used in charter A above and does not call for any special remarks. The **language** employed is Sanskrit and but for a solitary imprecatory verse in *anushtubh* (lines 11-12), the entire text is in prose. Though, as in charter A, here also the diction is highly involved, since the subject matter involved is relatively simpler viz. to register the grant of two villages, the text is free from obsolete or obscure terms and lends itself to easy understanding.

The text commences with the auspicious word *Svasti* (line 1) and introduces *Mahārāja, Bhūta* as meditating at the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and as ruling from (or encamped at) *Vadrapālī* (line 1). He next addresses his order to all his officers stationed at *Śivabhāgapura*, viz. the *āyuktakas*, the *adhikaraṇas*, the *vishayapatis* and scions of the royal family (*kulaputrakas*) the *chāṭas* and the *bhaṭas* who have jurisdiction within that district (lines 1-2). It is then stated that for the sake of (the merit of) his mother, the queen *Vīrāḍhyikā*, who was a great devotee of the god *Viṣṇu* (*parama-daivata*), and who was deserving of worship and honour, he (i.e. *Mahārāja Bhūta*) elevated to the status of *agrahāras* the two villages of *Tāntiyaka* and *Āmrilaka* (and donated the same) permanently to the temple of the god *Bhagavatpāda* caused to be constructed by her. The *agrahāras* were made over to the temple along with (the incomes from taxes and levies such as) *upari-kara*, *udrcṅga* and *bhūta-vāta-pratyāya*. The grant was made with the pouring of water, in order to facilitate services to the deity such as the offering of propitiatory oblations (*bali* and *charu*), sandal or perfume (*gandha*), frankincense (*dhūpa*), flower garlands (*mālya*), lamps (*dīpa*), oil (*taila*), covering (*chhādyā*), ointment (*lēpya*) and for carrying out repairs to the temple (lines 2-4).

It is then stated (lines 4-5) that having thus secured the gift the itinerant mendicants who arrive at the temple (or the habitation) the male and female attendants of the deity and the deserving devotees and menial servants of the god should be provided with medicines and wholesome food.

Also was granted, according to what follows in lines 5-6, a field of the extent of being sown with five *piṭakas* (or baskets) of seed, along with the well and marshy ground, belonging to *Bhaṭṭi*, located to the north-east of the temple of the god *Bhagavatpāda* and bounded by the house in *Āṇukkikā-vāṭaka* and the foaming waters of the tank caused to be excavated by the goldsmith.

Further (lines 6-7), the merchant *Shashṭhidatta*¹ donated his own house-site in the presence of his pious neighbours (*kula-sāman-ta-samakṣam*).

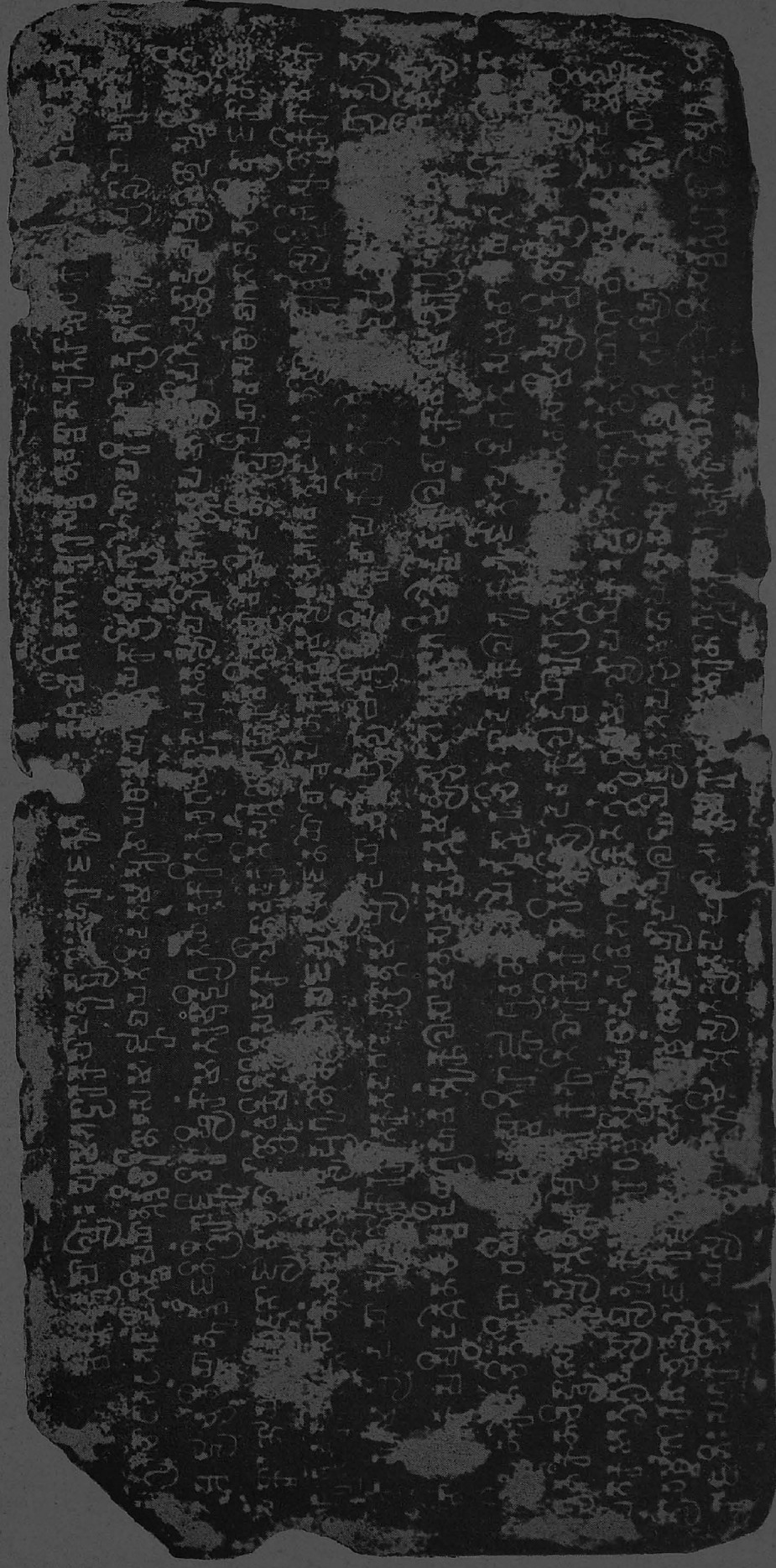
Lines 7-8 contain the stipulation that none including the irregular (*chāṭa*) and regular (*bhaṭa*) soldiers should interfere with (the affairs pertaining to) the temple, the garden, the habitation, fishing, the entrance to the stream (*vēṇi-vēṣi*), forced labour (*viṣṭi*), etc. (in the gift villages).

Lines 8-9 stipulate that, in obedience to the order promulgated, none should cause obstruction to those who enjoy, direct, inhabit and protect (the gift-villages) in accordance with the (rules governing the) enjoyment of *dēvakula* (lands).

According to lines 9-10, the gift registered in the charter was also to be used in as much proportion as was possible and necessary for the offering of perfume, frankincense, garland

¹ Probably identical with the merchant *Shashṭhi* mentioned in a similar context in Charter A above.

B—COPPER PLATE INSCRIPTION OF MAHARAJA BHUTA, YEAR 6



2

4

6

8

10

12

2

4

6

8

10

12

SCALE : Two-fifth

and repairs in the 'House of the Mother' (*mātri-griha*)¹ consecrated by the *ārakshika* Bhūtila of Undura, at a site close to and to the south of the temple of the god Bhagavatpāda, in front of the two temples of the god Āditya, caused to be built by the same Bhūtila.

Lines 10-11 : This should be consented to by other rulers too out of regard for the donor and out of respect for the sanctity of law.

Line 11 : Whoever breaks this *dharma-sētu* convention would have incurred, in effect the sin of committing the five great sins.

This is followed, in lines 11-12, by the solitary imprecatory verse, the well-known *Bhahubhir=vasudhā bhuktā*, etc.

It is then stated (line 12) that the grant was executed by the *Kumārāmātya* Kumāranāga in the presence of the *ārakshika* Bhūtila. The record concludes (line 12) with the details of the date, viz. year 6, Jyēshtha śuddha 10.

As has been pointed out earlier, the unnamed *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* of this charter is none other than Tōramāṇa himself and the charter was issued obviously in his sixth regnal year. The donor, *Mahārāja* Bhūta figures in the same capacity as in charter A above. His mother *Vīrādhīkā* is credited here with the construction of the temple of the God Bhagavatpāda whereas in charter A above the construction of the temple of the god Jayasvāmipāda is attributed to her.

The expression *dharma-sētu-maryādā* occurring in line 11 is of some interest. While *dharma-sētu* primarily means 'barrier of law or justice' the allusion here seems to be to the accepted convention that a grant made by any one ruler should be protected by all his successors, to whichever family they may belong. The above reference thus appears to be a veiled allusion, to the convention as found enunciated in the well-known verse *sāmānyō=yam dharmasētur=nrīpānām*, etc.

The following place-names occur in charter B : Vadrāpālī, Śivabhāgapura, Tāntiyaka and Āmrilaka and Undura. Of these, the identification of Vadrāpālī and Śivabhāgapura has been discussed above under charter A. The gift-villages of Tāntiyaka and Āmrilaka have been identified by Mehta and Thakkar respectively with Tisānamuvāḍā lying 4 kms to the east of Sañjēli and Amaliā in Limkheda Taluka, lying at a distance of about 8 kms to the south of Sañjēli. However, it is more likely that these two gift-villages are the same as modern Tan khala (for Tāntiyaka) and Amroli (for Āmrilaka), the latter lying about 7 kms to the north-west of the former, and both of them situated to the north of Vadrāpālī, within a distance of 30 kms. Undura is perhaps the same as modern Undara in the Lunawada Taluka of Panchmahals District.

The description of the officials listed in lines 1-2 of the text as *tad-vishay-āntarvichārins* is at once indicative of their jurisdiction within the *vishaya* and the itinerant nature of their duties. For, it is very likely that the word *vichāra* is used here in its two technical meanings, one related to investigation, i.e. administration and the other related to official visits to the different parts of the *vishaya*.

TEXT²

1 Svasti [1*] Vadrāpālyāḥ Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānuddhyātō Mahārāja-Bhūtaḥ³ kuśalī
Śivabhāgapurē saryvān=ēva svān-āyuktakān-s-[ā]dh[i]karaṇān-vishayapati-kula-

¹ This may have been a temple dedicated to one or all the seven of the divine mothers (*sapta-mātrikās*).

² From inked estampages.

³ The *visarga* is engraved after the hole meant for the ring to pass through.

- 2 putrakāmchātā¹-bhaṭ-ādīmtad²vishay-āntar-vvichāriṇaḥ samājñāpayati viditam-astu
vō yathā mayā Tāntiyak-Āmrilaka-grāmau s-ōparikara-s-ōdraṅga-sa-bhūta-vāta-pratyā-
yau Parama-daiva—
- 3 ta-pūjy-ārchchanīyāngu(ṅ=gu)rvvīm (rvvīm) janitrīm rājñī-Virādhyikām mātaram=
uddīśya tay=aiva kāritaka- Bhagavatpād-āyātanasya³ bali-charu-gandha-dhūpa-mālya-
dīpa-taila-chchhādyā-lēpya-khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-prati-
- 4 saṁskāraṇāya parivrāja-bhōjyāv-ā-chandrārkk-ārṇṇava-kshiti-sthiti-samakālīnāv=udak-
ātisarggēṇ-āgrahārāv=atisriṣṭāv=ē[va]m=idānīm⁴ tat-prāpīy=āvasath-ōpagatānām cha
parivrājakānām dēva-
- 5 śuśrūshaka-dāsi-dāsānām cha bhakta-chailādyā-praguṇānām cha bhaiṣṭhaja-patthya-bhō-
jana-yō[g]-ōdvahanām karttavyam=asy=aiva cha Bhagavatpād-āyatanasy=ōttara-pūrvva-
syān=diśi āṇukkikā-vāṭaka-
- 6 gṛiha-maryyādayā suvarṇnakāra-kāritaka-taḍāga-phēn-ākrānta-maryyādayā cha paśchāt=
pañcha-vṛīhi-piṭaka-vāpaka-kshētraṁ sa-śaivaram bhaṭṭi-pratyaya-kūpa-kachchhaś=ch=
ānya⁵ch=cha
- 7 vāñijaka-Shashṭhidattēna cha svadī(kī)ya-gṛiha-va(vā)stuṁ kula-sāmanta-samaksham
dattam=anyach=chāṭa-bhaṭa-gaty-āgamikair=ddēvakulā-vāṭak-āvāsa-maścha(tsya)ka-
grahaṇa-vēṇi-vēṣi-viṣṭay-ā-⁶
- 8 dishu na kēnachit=paribādhayitavyas=tad=yushmābhir=ājñā-śravaṇa-vidhēyair=bhūtvā
u⁷chitayā dēvakula-bhuktyā bhuñjatām⁸ pradiśatām⁹ samāvāsayatām paripālayatām-
- 9 ś=cha na kēnachid=vyāsēdhaḥ=kāryyas¹⁰=tan=nikṛiṣṭ-ōnduraka-Bhūtil-ārakshika-kāritak-
Āditya¹¹-dēvakula-dvayōr=agrata¹²[h] Bhag¹³avat-pād-āyatana-sāmīpyē dakṣhiṇa-dik-
pradēṣē tat-pratishṭhā-
- 10 pitaka-māṭri-gṛihasy=ābya(py=a)nukram-āchāra dharmma-sthityā yath-ārha¹⁴-saṁvibhāga-
śaktitarggandha¹⁵-dhūpa-mālyōpayikah¹⁶ pratisaṁskār-ārttham¹⁷ cha yōgō bōdha
(ddha)vyas=tad=ētat=asmat=prī-
- 11 tyā dharmma-gō (gau)ravāch=ch=ānya-rājabhir=apy=anumantavyam=ētām cha dharmma-
sētu-maryyādām yē laṅghayishyantah(ṅti) ta(tē) pañcha-mahāpātaka-saṁyuktā
bhavishyanti [| *] bhavati hy-api¹⁸ Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā

¹ Read *putrakāmś-chāṭa*.

² Read °*ādīms=tad-*

³ There is an unnecessary *anusvāra* mark on top of the letter *sya*.

⁴ The *anusvāra* mark is engraved on top of the letter *dā* instead of on *nī*.

⁵ There is an unnecessary *anusvāra* mark on top of the letter *nya*.

⁶ Mehta and Thakkar read *vindyā*°.

⁷ There is an unnecessary *anusvāra* mark on top of the letter *u*.

⁸ Mehta and Thakkar read *bhuñjatam*.

⁹ Mehta and Thakkar read *pradiśatam*.

¹⁰ Mehta and Thakkar have mistaken the *jihvāmūliya* mark for superscript *m* and hence read °*dhamkā*°.

¹¹ Mehta and Thakkar read *tadanya*, mistaking the medial *i-mātrā* of the letter *di* to be the letter *ta* engraved above the line.

¹² Mehta and Thakkar read *atrata* and correct it to *atratya*.

¹³ There is an unnecessary circular mark attached to the top of the letter *bha*.

¹⁴ Mehta and Thakkar : *yathālam*.

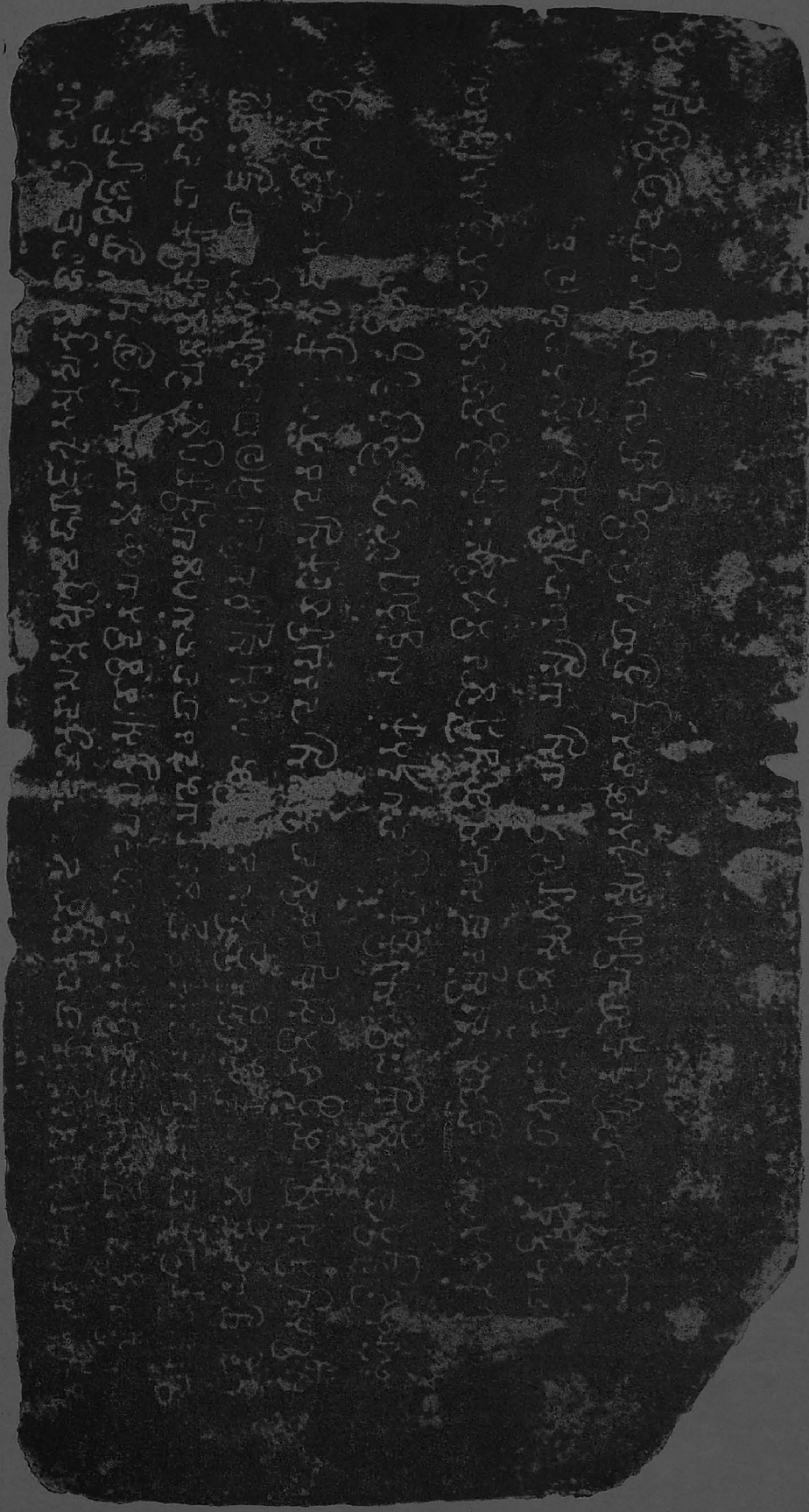
¹⁵ Read *śaktitō gandha-*

¹⁶ The intended reading seems to be °*māly-ōpayōgikah*.

¹⁷ The *anusvāra* mark is engraved on top of the letter *rā* instead of on *rttha*.

¹⁸ A word such as *ślōkah* needs to be supplied here.

C—COPPER PLATE INSCRIPTION OF MAHARAJA MATRIDASA (II), YEAR 19



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SCALE : One-half

12 rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ [| *] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam¹ || Kumā-
rāmātya-Kumāranāga[h*] dūtaka[h*] mā(Ā)rakshika-Bhūtila-samakshañ=ch=ēti [| *]
Savvatsare-² 6 Jyēshṭha śuddha 10 [||*]

C. Copper-plate Inscription of Mahārāja Mātridāsa (II), Year 19

This single sheet of copper measures 36.4 cms long, 18.7 cms broad and 1.5 mm thick. It weighs 635 gms. Its bottom left corner is broken off though this has not resulted in the loss of any letters of the text. There is writing on only one side of the plate and the text consists of 9 lines in all.

The script employed here belongs to the same class as found used in the charters A and B above and does not call for any special remarks. It may, however, be pointed out that of initial vowels *ā* occurs twice (in lines 6 and 7), *i* once (in line 6), *u* once (in line 7) and *ē* once (in line 5). The language employed is Sanskrit and, barring two imprecatory verses in *anushtubh* (lines 7-8), the entire text is in prose. Of the three charters dealt with here, the text of C is the briefest and since the object is to record the grant of a village, its diction is also the simplest and most lucid.

The text commences with the auspicious word *Svasti* (line 1) and introduces *Mahārāja Mātridāsa* (II) the son of *Mahārāja* Bhūta and grandson of *Mahārāja* Mātridāsa (I), as meditating at the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and as holding his sway from Śivabhāgapura (lines 1-2).

He (i.e. Mātridāsa II) next addresses his order to his officials bearing the designations of *āyuktaka* and *adhikaraṇa* (line 2) :

The order, as recorded in lines 2-5, is to the effect that he granted the village of Saṅgama-pallikā to the god Nārāyaṇapādāḥ of the temple (*dēvakula*) caused to be constructed on the eastern side of Vadrāpālī by him in memory of the queen who was his grand-mother in order that merit may accrue to her.³ The grant, which was of a permanent nature, was made in order to provide for services such as offering perfume, flowers, frankincense, lamps, oil and propitiatory oblations (*bali*, *charu* and *sattra*) and also for carrying out repairs in the temple.

It is then stipulated (lines 5-6) that none should interfere with those servants of the god who, in accordance with the convention governing gifts to the god, enjoy and administer the grant registered therein.

According to the line 6 the executor (*dūtaka*) of the grant was *ārakshika* Rudradāsa and the charter was issued on the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Chaitra in the year 19.

In lines 7—8 are quoted two well-known imprecatory verses attributed to the sage Vyāsa, viz. *Shashṭim varsha sahasrāṇi*, etc. and *Bahubhir=vasudhā bhuktā*, etc.

In the last line (line 9) it is stated, as an afterthought, that the gift-village was granted along with the income from taxes such as *udraṅga* and *uparikara* and privileges such as *bhūta*, *daṇḍa* and *vāta-pratyāya*. The donation was governed by the *bhūmichchhidra-nyāya* and the entry of the *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas* was prohibited.

The most interesting passage in the above text concerns the temple of the god Nārāyaṇapādāḥ. The passage (lines 2—3) *mayā...rājñī Pitāmahikāyikā-pāda-kārāpitaka-dēvakula* needs to be studied in depth and detail. According to charters A and B *Virāḍhyikā* was the queen-mother of *Mahārāja* Bhūta. Since, according to charter C, *Mahārāja* Mātridāsa (I) was Bhūta's father and *Mahārāja* Mātridāsa (II) his son, *Virāḍhyikā* is to be considered

¹Metre : *Anushtubh*.

²Read *Savvatsarē*.

³[See note 1, p. 186-Ed.]

to have been the queen and grandmother respectively of Bhūta's father and son. The expression *Pitāmahikāyikā* of charter C is made up of two units, viz. *pitāmahī* meaning 'grandmother' and *Kāyikā* meaning 'belonging to or pertaining to the body'. Thus the temple caused to be constructed by Mātrīdāsa pertained to the corporeal remains of his grandmother (*Pitāmahī*) who is not named here but who, as we know from charters A and B, bore the name *Virāḍhyikā*. From this it is clear that the temple (*dēvakula*) of the god Nārāyaṇa was built in order to commemorate the deceased grandmother of *Mahārāja* Mātrīdāsa.¹ That is also the reason why the gift-village was granted to the temple in order that merit may accrue to the deceased queen. That the queen-mother *Virāḍhyikā* was no longer alive at the time of the registration of charter C is further highlighted by the venerable term *pādāḥ* suffixed to *Pitāmahikāyikā* to indicate the fact that she had merged with divinity.

As has been pointed out above, the overlord of Mātrīdāsa (II), who is merely referred to as *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, is to be identified with Tōramāṇa of charter A, and charter C should be taken to have been issued in his 19th regnal year.

Of the place-names which find mention in this charter, Śivabhāgapura (line 1) and Vadrāpālī (line 2) have already been discussed above. The gift village Saṅgamapallikā (line 3) may be safely identified with Sañjēli, the findspot of the present charter.

TEXT²

- 1 Svasti [I*] Śivabhāgapurāt=Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pād-anuddhyātō Mahārāja-Mātrīdāsas=tat-putra Mahārāja-Bhūtas=tat-putra-Mahārāja-Mātrīdāsaḥ
- 2 kuśalī sarvvān=ēva svān āyuktakān=adhikaraṇāmcha³ samājñāpayaty=astu vō viditam yathā mayā Vadrāpālyām pūrvvasyām diśi rājñi
- 3 Pitāmahikāyikāpāda-kārāpitaka-dēvakula-svāmi-Nārāyaṇadēvapādānām Saṅgamapallikā-grāmaḥ Pitāmahikāyikāpādānām
- 4 puṇy-āpyāyan-ārttham=ā-chandr-ārkk-ārṇṇava-sthiti-kshiti⁴-samakālli(lī)ṇa(naḥ)⁵ gandha-pushpa-dhūpa-dīpa-taila-bali-charu-satr-ōpayōjyaḥ khaṇḍa-
- 5 sphuṭita-pratisaṁskāraṇ-ārttham ch=ātisriṣṭa ēvam=idānīm=asya dēva-parichāraḥasya dēva-bhōga-bhuktyā bhūmjataḥ pradīśataś=cha
- 6 na kēnachit=pratishēdhaḥ=kāryya⁵ iti [I*] Ārakshika Rudradāsa[h] dūtakaḥ⁶ [I*] Savvatsarē⁷ 10 9 Chaitra śuddha di 5⁸
- 7 uktaṁ cha Bhagavata(tā) Vyāsēna⁹ [I] Shasṭim varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmidah [I*] āchchēttā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt [I*]
- 8 Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [I*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam [I*]¹⁰
- 9 yath=aisha grāmas=s-ōdraṅga[s*]=s-ōparikaras=sa-bhūta-daṇḍa-vāta-pratyāyō bhumi[ch*] chhidra-nyāyēn=āchāṭa-bhaṭa-pravēśyō=tisriṣṭa iti [I*]

¹ [The facts that the word *kārāpitaka* follows immediately and that the word *Pitāmahikāyikāpāda* is repeated in the same line where it is not necessary, indicate that this word is composed of *ka* and *ika* *pratyayas* of which the author of the charters is too fond of. Moreover the *anvaya* of the passage should run as follows: *mayā* (line 2) *grāmaḥ* (line 3) and *ātisriṣṭaḥ* (line 5)—Ed.]

² From inked stampages.

³ Read °*karaśārnṇ*=*cha*.

⁴ The usual order is *kshiti-sthiti*.

⁵ Mehta and Thakkar have mistaken the *jihvāmūliya* symbol for superscript *m* and read °*dhamka*° and correct it to °*dhaḥ kā*°.

⁶ Mehta and Thakkar read *dūtakaḥ* because the upper dot of the *visarga* is slightly misplaced.

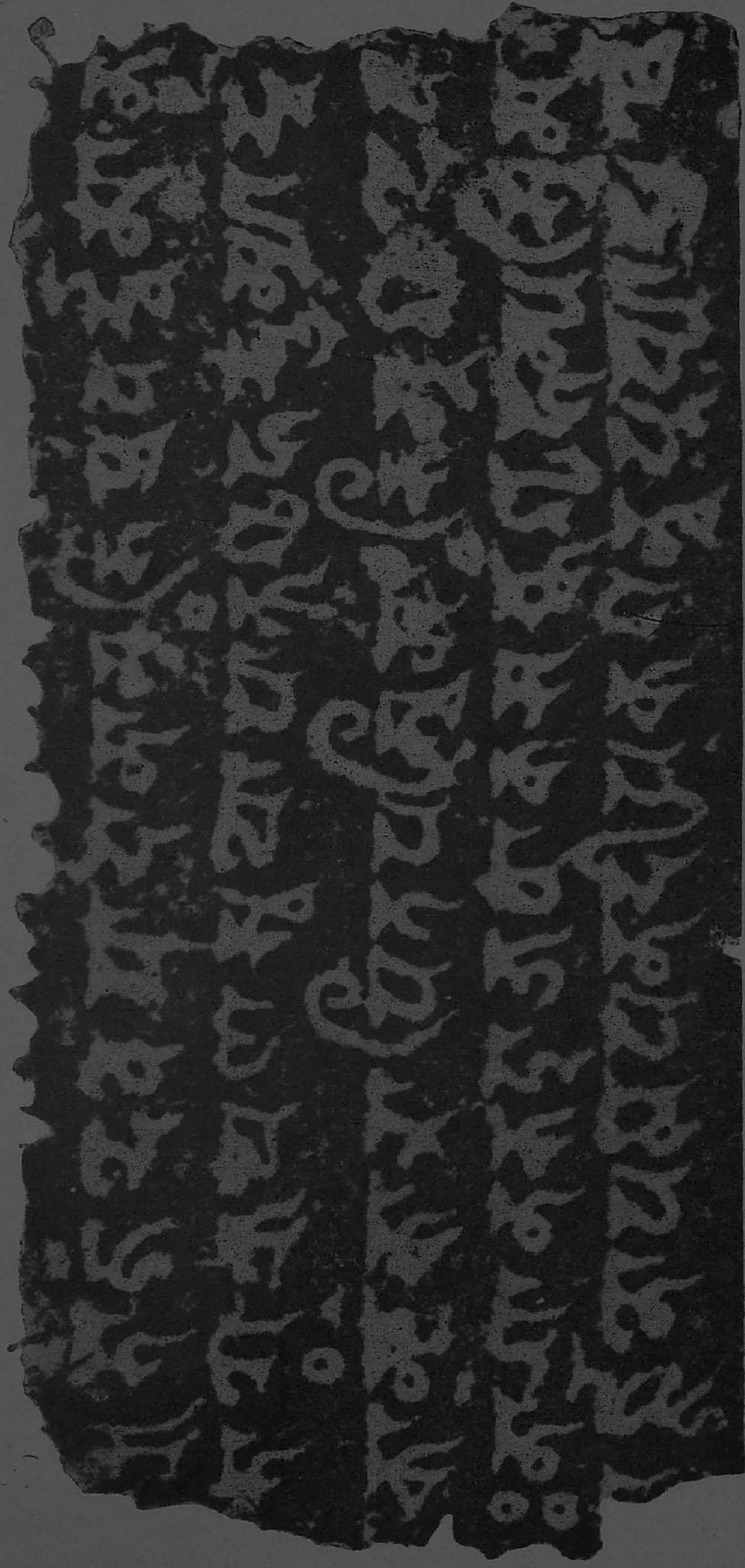
⁷ Read *Savvatsarē*.

⁸ Mehta and Thakkar misread the numerical symbol 5 as *nā*.

⁹ There is an unnecessary dot after the letter *na*.

¹⁰ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

INSCRIPTION OF BHOJA



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Actual Size

No. 35—FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION OF BHOJA

(1 Plate)

VENKATESHA, MYSORE

The impression of the inscription under examination belongs to the old collection of estampages preserved in the Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore. This inscription was first noticed by Shri G. H. Ojha¹ and later on by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni.² It still remains unpublished, and hence is edited here with the kind permission of the Chief Epigraphist.

This inscription, it is stated, was found built into a modern flight of steps inside the Talaqi gate of the Pāṇḍavom-kā-kilā or the Indrapat Fort now Purānākilā at Delhi.³

The available portion of the slab measures 7.8cm. × 17cm and contains five lines of writing. The characters of the record are Nāgari of about the 9th century and the language is Sanskrit.

As regards palaeography, the formation of the letter *bh* is not uniform, cf. *bha*^o (lines 1 and 4), *bhu*^o (line 2) and *bhi* (line 3). Instead of *hrasva*, *dirgha* is employed in the word *pūshpa* (line 5).

The inscription, in its present state of preservation, is fragmentary, unknown numbers of letters being lost on all the four sides. The preserved portion of the text does not contain any details of date and it is not possible to state with any certainty if the record was at all dated. It refers itself to the prosperous reign of the illustrious Bhōjadēva, who is no doubt identical with the famous Pratihāra king of that name.

The object of the record in question seems to be to register a grant of half a house-site obtained by purchase by the donor himself for a temple and also to provide for services and offerings to a deity, such as cleaning and plastering the temple and providing for lamps, sandal paste, flowers, etc. There seems to be a reference to the temple as facing west (*paśchim-ābhimukha dēva-griha* ?) and also to the founder, the details being lost. However, it may safely be asserted that the king mentioned in the present record was none other than the famous Imperial Pratihāra ruler of Kanauj,⁴ whose reign, according to the Barah Copper plate,⁵ commenced in 836 A. D.

This inscription is important for the history of the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty inasmuch as it furnishes the important solitary evidence that the area around Delhi was included in the Pratihāra Empire. A number of inscriptions of this king are already known. They are found in Barah,⁵ Deōgaḍh,⁶ Vhār,⁷ Gwalior⁸ and Peheva.⁹ Amongst these findspots of his inscriptions,

¹ *An. Rep. Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, 1923-24, p. 3.*

² Above, Vol. XIX, p. 54.

³ *ibid.*, p. 54, f.n. No. 1.

⁴ Above, p. 53.

⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 15 ff. and plate.

⁶ *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 310.

⁷ *ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 52 ff. and plate.

⁸ *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 156 and p. 159 ; *ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 99 ff.

⁹ *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 186.



Pehevā is nearest to Delhi. With the inclusion of Delhi the Pratihāra empire during the time of Bhōja would have stretched from Narmadā in the South to the Himālayas in the North. Thus a vast stretch of North India came under the control of Bhōja, who consolidated the Pratihāra empire following the foot-steps of his predecessors Vatsarāja and Nāgabhata.

TEXT¹

- 1 śrī-Bhōjadēva-pādānām=abhipravarddhamāna²
- 2 bh[ō]gē krayēṇa svay-ōpāttam ḡriha-bhu(bhū)my-ārddha
- 3 kānām kārāpita paschi(śchi)m-ābhimū(mu)kha-dēva
- 4 ḡ Nāgānaka Drāivāka satkam ḡriham paschi(śchi)ma
- 5 [mā]rjjan-ōpalēpana-dīpaka-gandha-pū(pu)shp-ādy=arthē

¹ From impressions.

² Portions of the inscription probably on all sides have been lost.

MUDHOL INSCRIPTION OF AKALAVARSHA SUBHATUNGA

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SCALE : One-half

No. 36—MUDHOL INSCRIPTION OF AKALAVARSHA SUBHATUNGA

(1 Plate)

MADHAV N. KATTI, MYSORE

The inscription¹ edited below with the kind permission of the Chief Epigraphist, is found engraved on a herostone kept near the Mallikārjuna temple in the village Mudhōḷ, Yalburga Taluk, Raichur District.

The epigraph is in Kannada characters and language of the 9th century, which are regular for the period. However, amongst the palaeographical peculiarities, the mode of writing the consonant *y* in words like *dayeyim* (line 1), *yathā* (line 2), *saptamiyum* (line 4), *Santaya* (twice in line 5) and *bēdiy-aṭṭi* (in the same line), *maṇiyam kaseye* and *aliye* (line 6) is worth noticing here. In lines 1 and 2 and in one case in line 5 (in the word *Santayam* in the first instance) the letter is of tripartite type, whereas in other cases its left loop is more developed. The letter *kha* in *sukha* (line 2) has its lower loop more roundish and thus shows a much developed stage. Amongst the orthographical features, it is interesting to mention that both the *anusvāra* and the class nasal, where the class nasal was alone used in the earlier centuries, or where *anusvāra* is more frequently used in the succeeding century and ultimately exclusively used after the 12th century in place of the class nasal, are met with in the present epigraph being of the transitional period. However, *anusvāra* is used only once in the word *Śubhatuṅga* (line 1), while the class nasal is used in a number of cases viz. in words like *Śrīmantam* (line 2), *eṇṭu* (line 3) *Piṅgaḷa* (line 4), *Santaya* (twice in line 5) and *endu* (twice in line 6) in the words *iyem=endu* and *baḷen=endu*. The word *baḷen* occurring in line 6, is of lexicographical interest. *Baḷ* means 'to live'.² The word changes into *bāḷ* in the later period. The root *bāḷu* which is in use at present owes its derivation to *bāḷ* (*bāḷ*).

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Akālarsha Śubhatuṅga and states that with his blessings (*dayeyim*-line 1), Mahā-śrīmantam was administering Beḷvola-300. It records the death of *sammagāra* Chanda, when Muduvoḷalan conducted a raid demanding the surrender of Santaya (lines 5 and 6).³

The herostone inscription is dated in Śakaṅripakāl-ātīta-samvatsara 820, Piṅgaḷa Chaitra śu. 7, Sunday (lines 3 and 4). The details of date correspond to 897 A. D., March 13, Sunday, f.d.t. 74. The Śaka year is to be taken as current and not expired (*atīta*).

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that this is the earliest inscription of the king Akālarsha Śubhatuṅga, dated in the Śaka year 820. The king is Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II who ruled from 878 to 914 A.D.⁴ and it is a well known fact that he bore the titles *Akālarsha* and *Śubhatuṅga*.⁵ The record falls within the known period of his reign. It does not mention his other usual titles like *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *paramabhaṭṭāraka* or the customary epithet *prithvīvallabha*. Being a herostone inscription, we have to presume, it is brief in this respect. It is however worth mentioning here that full details of date are furnished by our epigraph, though a number of herostones, especially of this period, do not give such details.

The inscription further states that Mahā-Śrīmantam was administering Beḷvola-300. An inscription from Yali-Sirūr⁶ and another from Veṅkaṭāpūr,⁷ both in Gadag Taluk, Dharwar

¹ *A.R.Ep.*, 1955-56, No. B 214.

² F. Kittel, *Kannada English Dictionary* (Mangalore 1894), p. 1097.

³ The word *sammagāra* points out to the fact that Chanda was a cobbler or shoe-maker by profession, Kittel, *s.v.*

⁴ P. B. Desai, *A History of Karnataka*, pp. 129 ff.

⁵ G. Yazdani, *Early History of the Deccan*, pp. 280-81 and J. F. Fleet, *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 410.

⁶ *SII.*, Vol. XI, pt. I, No. 25.

⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 28.

District, belonging to the reign of the same emperor viz. Kṛishṇa II and dated, respectively, Śaka 823, Durmukhi (901 A.D.) and Śaka 828, Prabhava (other details of date given) corresponding to 907 A.D., November 3, Tuesday, state that Mahā-Śrīmanta *alias* Mahā-Sirivanta¹ was administering the province of Beḷvola-300 on the dates mentioned by these records. It is, therefore, evident that Mahā-Śrīmanta of our record is the same as his namesake mentioned by the two records viz. from Yali-Sirūr and Veṅkaṭāpūr. Thus he seems to have been in charge of the administration of this province for about a decade from the date of our record, though it is not possible to state the extent of the period up to which he continued to be the administrator of this province. None of the above three inscriptions, including ours, give any particulars of his family or parentage, which for the present remain a mystery. The fact that he administered this province for about a decade indicates that he was a chieftain of much standing. The Kannaḍa version of the name viz. Sirivanta seems to have been as much in vogue as its Sanskrit counterpart Śrīmanta, which reflects a popular connotation. It is possible that Mahā-śrīmanta was a very rich person, with another proper-name and must have been very popular as such (*i.e.* mahā-Śrīmanta or Sirivanta), which (*i.e.* the popular name) must have been therefore used more commonly than his proper name itself, as is clear from the three inscriptions referred to above.

The portion containing the reference to the siege and the death of the hero is equally interesting. The record states that Muduvoḷalan laid a siege, asking for Santaya (*Santayam*=*bēḍiy*=*aṭṭidoḍe*-line 5). Obviously the siege was laid in a different village other than Muduvoḷal². The hero *Sammagāra* Chanda died in the attack of the village, which was destroyed (*ūr*=*aḷiye*), stating that they (the enemy) could take their lives but not Santaya (*prāṇamane koḷvod*=*allade Santayam*=*īyemendu*). Chanda was determined not to live in an insulting condition if Santaya was to be handed over to the enemy and so preferred to die³.

The phrase *maṇiyam kaseye* (line 6), indicates that the enemy seized the *maṇi* which was symbolic of the status and bravery of Chanda, who must have been in the service of Beḷvola-300, under Muduvoḷala. Therefore Chanda's act is more a reflection of his chivalry, rather than his capacity to repulse the enemy. Muduvoḷala, the local chieftain was evidently named after Muduvoḷal, the present day Mudhōl, where the inscription is found. The herostone must have been set up in this village as it was the headquarters of the area. Beḷvola-300⁴, is of geographical interest and comprised the area around Gadag (Gadag Taluk, Dharwar District), Nargund, Nargund Taluk, Dharwar District) and parts of Bellary and Raichur Districts) (including the place Mudhōl).

TEXT

1 Svasty=Akālavarsha-śrī-Śubhatumṅgadōvara dayeyim Mahā-

2 Śrīmantam=Beḷvola-mu(mū)n[ū]ḡumam yathā-sukham=a(mā)ḷuttire [|*]

3 Svasti S(Ś)aka-nṛipa-kāl-ātīta-samvatsaraṅga=entū-nu(nū)ḡa ippattaneya

4 Piṅgaḷam=embe varsha[m] prava[r]ttise Chaitra su(śu)ddha saptamiyūm=Ādityava(ā)
radandu

5 Muduvoḷalana(n) Santayam=bēḍiy=aṭṭidoḍ=emma prāṇamane koḷvod=allad[e] Santaya

6 m=lyem=endu maṇiya[m] kaseye ūr=aḷiye baḷen=endu sammagāra Chanda sattō[n] [|*]

¹ The inscription from Yali-Sirūr addresses him as Mahā-Śrīmanta, whereas the one from Veṅkaṭāpūr refers to him as Mahā-Sirivanta.

² Cf. *A. R. Ep., op. cit.*, where the attack is stated to be on Muduvoḷal. But the actual reading is *Muduvoḷalan* and the word denotes the chieftain of the place. We have to take that the attack took place in another village because Mudhōl was directly under the control of this chieftain Muduvoḷala and he could have summoned Chanda to his place instead of sending the army.

³ The name *Santaya* is to be derived from the word *Santa* (*Santa*+*ayya*=*Santayya* > *Santaya*).

⁴ The word *Beḷvola* can be derived from *beḷ*+*vola* *i.e.* *beḷ*+*pola* (*hola*) *i.e.* white field or farm. In the area around Gadag cotton is grown in plenty and the fields appear white during the cotton-growing season. The name *beḷvola* must have originally meant area consisting of white fields and thus the territorial division must have come to be named after the white farms or fields.

No. 37—AN UNPUBLISHED INSCRIPTION IN THE GWALIOR MUSEUM
SAMVAT 1038

(1 Plate)

K. V. RAMESH and C. L. SURI, MYSORE

The text of the subjoined inscription has been prepared from inked estampages lying in the Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore, who has kindly permitted us to edit the same in the pages of this journal. The inscription was first noticed¹ by Hirananda Sastri who wrongly attributed it to the 'reign' of Kakkuka. The findspot of the inscribed slab, which is now deposited in the Gwalior Museum, is not known.

The writing covers a square area of 47×47 cm. The text must have been written in 25 lines though no traces of the last line are seen on the slab as it is now preserved. Lines 17-21 appear to have been deliberately erased. Barring these lines and lines 16 and 24 which are partly damaged and line 25 which is completely lost the writing on the slab is in a fairly good state of preservation. The inscription is written in Nāgarī characters which are, palaeographically regular for the period to which the record belongs viz. the second half of the 10th century A. D. and the language employed is Sanskrit, verse.

As regards palaeography, it is interesting to note that not only in the cases of *dh* and but also sometimes in the case of *r* (lines 6 and 9) the *ā-mātrā* on the right side is connected to the main letter by a short horizontal bar in the middle. The sign for medial *ū* in *bhūshana* (line 7), with an additional downward stroke to the right of the sign for *u*, is different from signs for the same *mātrā* occurring elsewhere in the inscription. The sign for medial *ē* is of two types, one a slanting *śirōmātrā* ending in an upward curve and the other a fully developed *prishṭhamātrā*. Medial *ō* is likewise indicated either by a *śirōmātrā* as in *Lōkapālaiḥ* (line 2), or by a *prishṭhamātrā* as in *surair=yō* (line 1). Medial *ai* is indicated by a combination of one *śirōmātrā* and one *prishṭhamātrā* except in the case of *vibhavaiḥ* (line 6) where two *śirōmātrās* are employed. Palatal *ś* occurs in two different forms—(i) one with a vertical stroke in the middle resulting in a somewhat triangular left limb as, for instance, in *śaśīya* (line 9) and (ii) the other without the middle vertical stroke as, for instance, in *Vaiśākha* (line 1). The only difference between *v* and *dh* is that the former has a top horizontal bar.

As regards orthography, the following two features may be noticed here—(i) *b* is invariably denoted by the sign for *v* : (ii) the consonant immediately following *r* is generally doubled but not in all cases.

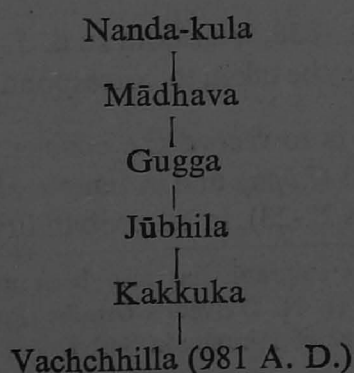
The inscription is dated Samvat 1038, Vaiśākha śu di 5. Though the given details of date are insufficient for verification, it may be taken to correspond to Monday, 11th April, 981 A. D.

The purpose of the inscription is to record the construction of (a number of) wells with tasteful water, a pond (*vāpi*), a well (*kūpa*) and a temple of god Viśvamūrtti surrounded by twelve other temples (verse 14 ; lines 22-23), in all probability, by Vachchhilla, son of Kakkuka.

¹ ASI., A. R., 1903-04, p. 287. This epigraph has also been noticed in Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, as No. 88 and in H. N. Divedi's *Gwalior Rājya kē Abhilēkh*, p. 6 as No. 23. Both these notices are, however, based upon that of Hirananda Sastri.

As for the contents, the inscription begins with the symbol for *siddham* followed by the auspicious word *svasti* and two *daṇḍas*. The details of the date, discussed above, are next given (line 1) followed by verses 1-3 (lines 1-5) invoking the deities Gajānana (*i.e.* Vināyaka), Sarasvatī and Mahēśa (*i.e.* Śiva) in that order. Verse 4 (lines 5-7) alludes to the incarnation of Viṣṇu as Mādhava (*i.e.* Kṛiṣṇa) in the Nanda-kula in order to rescue the helpless earth from under the trampling feet of the demons and states that he raised the nomadic tribe of Ābhīras to the status (or office) of *drāṅgikas* by granting to them the *uddraṅga* (rights). Verse 5 (lines 7-8) states that in this (*i.e.* Nanda) family was born the great (*mahān*) and merciful (*dayāvān*) chief (*prabhuh*) Gugga who was extremely intelligent and was revered by the rulers of the earth and whose advice was constantly sought by the kings of the Kachchhapa dynasty. His son was Jūbhila, the vanquisher of foes who was as pure as the moon and was a great benefactor of all kith and kin (verse 6 ; lines 9-10). According to verse 7 (lines 10-12) the innumerable virtues of the righteous Jūbhila, who had made gifts of cows, land and gems to the *brāhmaṇas* and was greatly concerned with the welfare of the weak and the destitute, defied easy description. His son was Kakkuka whose fame had brightened all the three worlds, who was respected by kings and was foremost among the good ; he hunted down, even as a tiger would, the elephant-corps of his enemies on the battle-fields (verse 8 ; lines 12-14). The next verse (verse 9 ; lines 14-15) states that many temples and step-wells were caused to be constructed by this Kakkuka. To him was born a son, named Vachchhilla, who had obtained the fruit of the merits earned by him (*i.e.* Vachchhilla) in his previous birth (first half of verse 10 ; lines 15-16). The second half of this verse (lines 16-17) is incomplete owing to the damaged nature of the slab, but seems to be in praise of this Vachchhilla. Only the first half (line 17) of verse 11 (lines 17-18) is somewhat legible, the rest of the letters being erased. It eulogises an individual (in all probability Vachchhilla himself) as the store-house of good qualities and as a source of bounty to the learned. The whole of lines 18-20 and the first half of line 21 do not lend themselves to any plausible reading. A part of line 18 belongs to verse 11 and the second half of line 20 forms the first quarter of verse 13. It is likely therefore that only one verse, in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, is totally lost in lines 18-20. Verse 13 (lines 20-22), of which only the second half is preserved, seems to record the construction of a temple (*surasadma*) and expresses the wish that this strong temple, built without joints (or built with its joints invisible) may endure through the ages, causing happiness to the immortal and mortal beings. It is likely that the builder of this temple was Vachchhilla. The next verse (verse 14 ; lines 22-23) records the construction (obviously by Vachchhilla himself) of (a number of) tanks with tasteful water, a pond and a well and the temple of god Viśvamūrtti, surrounded by twelve (subsidiary) temples. Verse 15 (lines 23-24) is badly mutilated but seems to contain a benediction that works of piety may endure for ever.

We thus find that the inscription gives the genealogy of the Nanda family for four generations :



Of these, Gugga is stated to have served as a minister (*san-mantrin*) to the rulers of the Kachchhapa dynasty (verse 5). This is the earliest mention of the family name Kachchhapavāṁśa which appears to be the same as the Kachchhapaghāta dynasty.¹ Three branches of this family are known from inscriptions of the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries viz. those of Gōpādri (i.e. Gwalior), Chaḍōbha (i.e. Dubkund) and Nalapura (i.e. Narwar).² Lakshmana and his son Vajradāman are the earliest known rulers of this dynasty and the latter's inscription³ from Gwalior is dated V.S. 1034 (977-78 A.D.) Since the known date of Vachchhilla, as given in the inscription under study, falls in 981 A.D., his great-grandfather Gugga, who, according to our inscription was a minister of the Kachchhapa rulers, may be considered to have lived towards the end of the 9th century A.D. This would carry back the antiquity of the Kachchhapaghāta family even beyond Lakshmana. The claim made for Gugga in our inscription is therefore, subject to confirmation by future epigraphical discoveries. The expression *bhūpaiḥ Kachchhapa-varṁśajaiḥ* implies that Gugga was the contemporary and minister of more than two Kachchhapa kings.

The reference to Gugga as *prabhu* (chief) and the description of Gugga (*mānyō bhūmi-bhujām*) and Kakkuka (*kshitibhṛitām vandyah*) as respected by kings show that the members of the Nanda family were influential and powerful rulers of some principality. Also the reference to the military exploits of Jūbhila (*ripujana-kshaya-dhūmakētuḥ*), Kakkuka (verse 8) and Vachchhilla (*ahita-bhūpa-chaḍdah*) goes to show that they were actively involved in the political developments of their times.

The contents of verse 4, which, as stated above, also contains an allusion to the incarnation of Vishnu as Kṛishṇa, are of historical significance. It is stated therein that the members of the Ābhīra clan were mere nomads, shifting from place to place (*valgan-aika-chaturāḥ*) and that Mādhava (i.e. Kṛishṇa) granted to them the *uddraṅga* and made them *drāṅgikas* (thus enabling them to settle down to a life of responsibility.) The reference here appears to be to the ancient tribe of Ābhīras who were mostly cow-herds and hence nomadic. *Uddraṅga*, from the context in which the term occurs in inscriptions, may be explained as the 'fixed tax', 'the principal tax' or 'the tax on permanent tenants'.⁴ *Drāṅga* means 'a town' or 'a watch-station' and 'a *drāṅgika*' is usually an officer in charge of a city-station or watch-tower for the collection of customs duties. In our inscription, however, the designation *drāṅgika* appears to denote an officer meant for collecting *uddraṅga* and is therefore equivalent to the *audraṅgika*. The sum and substance of the verse appears to us to

¹ It may be observed that the name of this family occurs in inscriptions only as Kachchhapaghāta or Kachchhapāri, meaning 'slayers or enemies of the Kachchhapas' (cf. above Vol. II, p. 237, text line 10; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, pp. 36 and 39, verses 5 and 57; and *JAOS.*, Vol. VI, p. 543). The mention of the family name Kachchhapa-varṁśa in our inscription is interesting. Can it be inferred from this that the Gwalior region was earlier under the sway of a ruling family called Kachchhapa-varṁśa and that it was subsequently put down and superseded by another ruling family which came to be known by the casual form of Kachchhapaghāta? The other and more probable explanation is that the shorter form of *Kachchhapa* was necessitated by the requirements of the metre. In this connection, it may be pointed out that the name of the Kachchhavāhā family is also given as Kachhawā or Kūrma-kula in some inscriptions (cf. Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 623, 870, 938 and 1038; also cf. *A. R. Ep.*, 1959-60, No. C 542) which goes to show that Kachchhapa-varṁśa mentioned in our inscription is the same as Kachchhapaghāta family.

² See *The Struggle for Empire*, pp. 56-58.

³ D. R. Bhandarkar, *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 86. See also *ibid.*, pp. 391-92. Though the inscription does not give the family name, *Mahārājādhirāja* Vajradāman of this record is generally identified with Kachchhapaghāta Vajradāman of the Śāsbanu temple inscription of Mahīpāla dated in V. S. 1150 (cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, pp. 33-46.).

⁴ See D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 349. The officer in charge of collecting this tax is mentioned in the inscription as the *audraṅgika*.

be that Mādhava helped the nomadic Ābhīra tribesmen to settle down by appointing them to the responsible posts of *drāṅgikas*,

Viśvamūrti the god for whom according to our inscription, a temple was built, is an epithet of Viṣṇu-Kṛiṣṇa, since his family descent is traced back to Mādhava it is only natural that Vachchilla had a temple for Viśvamūrti built.

TEXT¹

[Metres : Verses 1, 9 *Upajāti*; verse 2 *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 3 *Mālinī*; verses 4-5, 7-8, 10, 12 *Śārdūlavikṛīḍita*; verses 6, 14 *Vaśantatilakā*; verse 11 *Upēndravajrā* (?), verse 13 *Indravajrā*.]

- 1 Siddham² svasti || Samvat 1038 Vaiśākha śudi 5 [*] Abhishta-siddhyai sa-sur-āsuirair-yyō na [ta] ś= cha Vidyā[dhara]—
- 2 Lōkapālaih | pāyāj=jaganti prasabham sad=aiva Gajānanō vighna-vināśa-hētuḥ | [*] Sarasvatī mudē vō=stu vi-
- 3 dyā-dīpēna bhāsvatā | ajñāna-timirē chchhanam jagad=u [d*] dyōtitaṁ yayā || [2*] Kumudāsita-ghan-ābha [ś=Cha]ndra-bimb-ārddha-m[auli]r=vṛi-
- 4 shabha-gatir=[aghō] ras=sarppa-yajñōpavitāḥ | avatu vishama-dṛishṭir=[vvō] bhayēbhyaḥ sa Sōmaḥ sura-vara-namit-ām[hriḥ(ghriḥ)śūla]-pā-
- 5 nīr = Mmanēśaḥ || [3*] Ākrāntām pṛi[thu]-dānav-ēndra-charaṇaih kshōṇīm=anāthām=(thā)m=imām dṛishṭvā Nanda-kulē=vatīrya nibhṛitaṁ . .³
- 6 [vya] tē yas = [sa] dā | ābhīrāḥ khalu valgan-aika-chaturā yē = sya sthitāḥ sannidhāv = ud-draṅgair = akarōt = sa dāna-vibhavaḥ=tā [n=drā]ṅgi-
- 7 kān=Mādhavaḥ || [4*] Vaṁ [śē]=smin=bhuba(va)n-aika-bhūsha[ṇa-ma] nī [ś=ch]=āsīd=dayāvān=prabhur=mmānyō bhūmi-bhu[jām va(ba)bhūva sukṛitī Guge-ābhi[dhā]nō
- 8 ma[h]ān [*] buddhir=yasya Vṛi (Bṛi) ⁴hasptaēr=i [va] suraih san-māmtriṇaḥ sā [dā] raṁ (ram) ⁴ bhūpaiḥ Kachchapa-vaṁśajair=anudinam samgrihyatē sādhubhiḥ | [15*]
- 9 Tasy=ābhavat=prakāṣa-śukla-guṇ-ābhīrāmō vaimalyavān=amṛita-sāra-mayaḥ Śās=iva | sūnuḥ samasta-kula-kānana-Kalpa-vṛikshaḥ śrī-
- 10 Jūbhilō ripu-jana-kshaya-Dhūmakētuḥ || /6*] Yasy=ādharma-parānmukha [sya sa] tataṁ daurgatya-dusthā dvijā gāvō bhūr=mmaṇayō⁵ dhanā-
- 11 nī va(ba)budhā gṛihṇanti tushyanti cha | dīnānātha-parigraha-vyasaninas=tasy=ākhilān=bhō guṇānvṛū (n=brū) yād=yō [na] Vṛi (Bṛi) haspatir=nna cha Hariḥ
- 12 Śēshaḥ phaṇ-iśō=thavā || [7*] Tasy=ābhūt=sva-yaśaḥ sudhā-dha[va]lita-trailōkya-pīṭhaḥ sutāḥ śrīnān=Kakkuka-samjñakāḥ kshiti-bhṛi-

¹ From inked estampages.

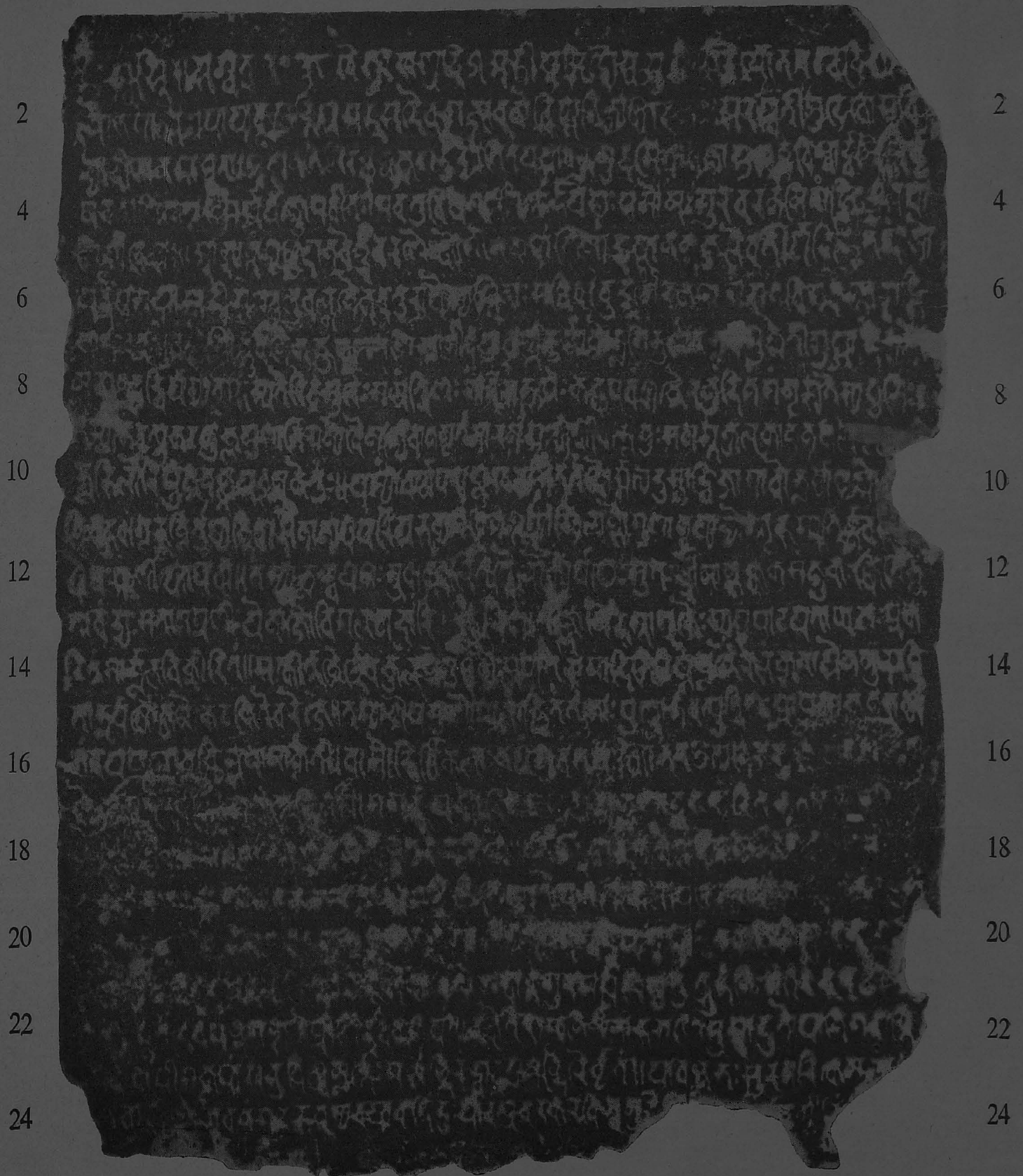
² Expressed by symbol.

³ Two *aksharas* which are partly peeled off cannot be made out.

⁴ This *danḍa* is unnecessary.

⁵ The words *gāvō bhūr=mmaṇayō* have been wrongly given here in the nominative case instead of the accusative case.

INSCRIPTION IN THE GWALIOR MUSEUM



SCALE : One-third

- 13 [tām] vaṁdyah satām=agraṇīḥ | [||*] yēn=ājau vigala [d]=yad-āri-¹ [ka]riṇām [tīksh]
n-āsi-hast-āgrajaiḥ spa[shṭam] pātayatā ghaṭāḥ prakā-
- 14 ṭitam sārḍūla-vikrīḍitam || [8*] Sat-kīrttanair=ddēvakula-pramu[khyai]ḥ prapā-taḍāg-
ādhībhīr=ishṭa-pūrttair=a(rttaiḥ | a) lamkṛitā yēna mud-ānvi-
- 15 tā bhūr=yaśō=mkuraiḥ kaṁṭakit=ēva rējē || [9*] Tasy= āśēsha-guṇaughā-lāñchchita tanōḥ
putrō=bhavat=putriṇaḥ prāp [ta-prāktana-karmma-
- 16 saṁchaya-phalō Vachchilla-nāmā kṛiti | vāsōbhir=vvikalāḥ katham yuvatayaḥ sōbhanta
ity=ādarād=u - - - - -
- 17 - - - - - || Agarjjayad=yō=[hita-bhūpa-chamḍaḥ] nriṇā - - [paṁḍita-
ka[lpā] - -² [||*] - -
- 18 - - - - - [||] [11*]
- 19
- 20 [12*] - - - - -
- 21 - - - - - [||] Kalp-āntam sura-sadma tishṭhatu
śubham niḥ-saṁdhi-[va (ba)] ddham dṛiḍham - -
- 22 - [yuta]-dēva-pannaga-nriṇām prītim dadach=chakshushām || [13*] Chakrē taḍāgāni
manōharāṇi susvādu-tōyāni mahāntikā-
- 23 ni [||] vāpim sa-kūpām khalu Viśvamūrttēḥ san-mandiram dvādaśa-mandirair=vṛitam
(tam) || [14*] Yāvan=nabhaḥ Sura-sarit=kama - -
- 24 - - - - - cha yāvad=induh yāva=prachamḍa[kara] - - - - - [||*]
- - - - -
- 25 - - - - - [||] [15*]

TRANSLATION

(Verse 1) May Gajānana (i.e. Gaṇēśa), the destroyer of impediments, who is worshipped by gods and demons and demigods and sovereigns for the fulfilment of their desires, for ever protect this world per force.

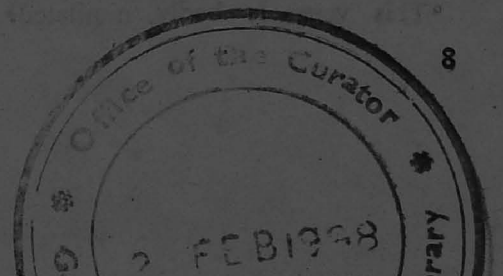
(Verse 2) May (the goddess) Sarasvatī, who, with her bright lamp of learning, has enlightened this world which had been enveloped by the darkness of ignorance, cause you rejoice.

(Verse 3) May that three-eyed Mahēśa (i.e. Śiva), who is accompanied by Umā (Pārvatī), who holds the trident in his hand, whose feet are worshipped by the gods, who has the snake for his sacred thread, who has the bull for his conveyance, who is not fierce-looking, whose fore-head is adorned by the crescent moon and who is resplendent like white lilies, protect you from fears.

(Verse 4) Mādhava (i.e. Viṣṇu-Kṛishṇa) who, on beholding this earth rendered destitute and trampled under the feet of the lord of the demons, was born incognito in the Nanda family and is always being worshipped, bestowed on the Ābhīras, who were till then adepts only in jumping (from place to place i.e. were merely nomads), and who were in his court, gifts such as Uddraṅga and thus made them drāṁgikas.

¹ There is a blank space, enough to accommodate one letter, in between the letters *ri* and *ka*.

² The last *aksharas* may be restored as *vrikshaḥ*.



(Verse 5) In that family (i.e. Nanda-kula) there was the chief (*prabhu*) Gugga the great (*mahān*) (who shone like) the unique jewel of the world, who was compassionate, who was revered by kings and was pious; even as the gods seek the wisdom of (their minister) Brihaspati, so did the eminent kings of the Kachchhapa dynasty seek every day the wisdom of (their) virtuous minister (*Gugga*).

(Verse 6) To him was born a son, Jūbhila (*by name*) who was pleasing on account of his manifest virtues, who was pure like the moon, the very essence of nectar, who was (*like*) the wish-fulfilling-tree in the forest that was his entire family and also who was like fire (*or an* ominous falling star) *dhūma-kētuḥ* causing the decline of (his) enemies.

(Verse 7) The *brāhmaṇas* who were afflicted by dire circumstances always received from him who was averse to injustice, manifold (*gifts of*) cows, lands, gems and wealth¹ and (*thus*) became happy; Oh! who indeed can recount all the good qualities of Jūbhila who was deeply concerned with the protection of the weak and the destitute ! Not Brihaspati, nor Hari; not even (*the thousand-tongued*) Śēsha, the lord of serpents.

(Verse 8) He had an illustrious son named Kakkuka who had become established in all the three worlds whitened by the nectar of his own fame, who was venerated by rulers of the earth and who was foremost among the good; he vividly demonstrated on the battle-field the prowess of a tiger by boldly piercing the line of his enemies' elephants with his sword which was sharp like the nails (of the claws of the tiger)².

(Verse 9) The sacrifices performed (*ishṭa*) by him and his acts of pious liberality (*pūrta*)³ like the construction of beautiful temples and prominent shrines, centres for distributing water to the travellers and tanks delighted the earth so much that she (i.e. *the earth*) appeared as if horripilated with the sprouts of his (i.e. *Kakkuka's*) fame.

(Verse 10) To him, whose body was marked by all the good qualities, was born a blessed son, Vachchhilla by name who had obtained the fruit of the merits earned by him (i.e. *Vachchhilla*) in his earlier births; how the young women, devoid of clothing, appear to advantage⁴

[Verse 11 is badly mutilated; verse 12 is totally lost].

(Verse 13)⁵. May this auspicious temple of god which has been constructed with invisible joints and which is strong stand till the end of the world, pleasing the eyes of gods, serpents and men.

(Verse 14) He (i.e. *Vachchhilla* ?) caused to be constructed large and beautiful tanks with sweet water, a pond, a well and a temple of god Viśvamūrṭti, surrounded by twelve (*other*) shrines.

(Verse 15) As long as the sky, the divine river as long as the moon and the scorching⁶.

¹ See note 2, p. 195.

² The poet employs the word *Śārdūla-vikriḍita* here not only to highlight the prowess of the hero but also to indicate the name of the metre.

³ *Ishta-pūrta* is the same as *ishta-pūrtam* which means 'performing sacrifices and digging wells and doing other acts of charity' (Apte, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, q.v.) *Ishta* is defined by Atri as :

Agnihōtram tapaḥ satyaṁ vēdānām ch=aiṅva pālanam |

ātithyaṁ Vaiśvadēvaś=cha ishṭam-ity-abhidhiyatē ||

Pūrta is defined in *Manusmṛiti* (Chapter 4, verse 226).

as : *Vāpī-kūpa-taṭāg-ādi dēvat-āyatanāni cha |*
anna-pradānam-ārāmaḥ pūrtam-ity-abhidhiyatē ||

⁴ The second half of this verse is partly damaged.

⁵ The first half of this verse is lost.

⁶ This verse is badly mutilated.

No. 38.—TWO KUSHANA INSCRIPTIONS FROM GOVINDNAGAR,
YEAR 12 AND 25

(1 Plate)

S. P. TEWARI, MYSORE

It was sometime in the year 1976 that a big hoard of antiquities including a Buddha head, a few inscribed pedestals, with their images either broken or missing, and a base of an inscribed pillar were accidentally unearthed, during the course of a drilling operation for building houses, from the area of Govindnagar a site close to the present township of Mathura. In due course of time these antiquities were acquired by the State Museum, Mathura, where presently they are housed in a special Govindnagar gallery. Out of this a pillar-base containing the inscription of Kanishka (I) and a pedestal bearing another inscription of Huvishka were published with their texts and translations in the pages of the *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U.P.*, No. 17-18, June-December 1976 (pages 1 and 10) by Mr. R.C. Sharma, Director, State Museum, Mathura¹. While examining the records, I found that some of the readings of Mr. Sharma needed to be improved². A particular instance on hand is the reading of the date of Huvishka's record which he has doubtfully read as 20 + [8] but which is very clearly engraved and is distinctively readable as 20 5 (i.e. 25). Other relevant points which needed attention are dealt with in the main body of the paper. With due courtesy to Mr. R. C. Sharma who kindly allowed me to examine the records *in situ* and with the kind permission of the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, I am editing the said two inscriptions here. For the sake of chronology and also the maintenance of the sequence I have numbered the record of Kanishka as 1 and that of Huvishka as 2.

1. Inscription of Kaniska's Reign, Year 12

This inscription is engraved on the base of a pillar. On the front side of this pillar there are three lines of writing. The inscribed area covers about 22 cm in length and a little over 10 cm in height. The wooden frame in which the base of this pillar is encased for display hampers not only the taking of exact measurement but also the work of copying the inscription. Because of this hurdle line 3 of the record hardly shows up in the impression. Individual letters are about 2 cm or a little more in height except the conjuncts and consonants endowed with medial vowels and particularly the letters *ra* and *ka* which are longer in size. Letter, *ra*, which occurs twice in the record, is about 4 cm in height whereas *ka*, which occurs only once, measures a little more than 3 cm in height. Amongst the conjuncts *sya* used three times, measures about 4 cm; *shka*, about 4.5 cm and *tra* about 4.4 cm in height. Letter *pu* (in *putrasya*, line 1) measures about 3.5 cm in height. All the lines are straight but unequal in length. Line 1 measures about 18 cm and the second, which also includes, the symbols for numerals at the end, measures 22 cm. Line 3 which is not clear in our impression and which probably contains only two words measures a little more than 10 cm.

The characters of the writing belong to the Brāhmī alphabet as used in the inscriptions of the Kushāna age. The style of letters like *ma*, *ha* and *sa* is identical with the early variety of the 'Western type'. Interesting from the palaeographic point of view is the conjunct letter

¹ *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U.P.*, Nos. 17-18, June-December 1976, pp. 1 and 10 ff.

² Noticed in *A. R. Ep.*, 1976-77, No. B 259 and 1977-78, No. B 301.

sya where the sub-script *ya* is joined only half way like a semi-curve twisted to the right, which is not the case in the other records of Kanishka where either the sub-script *ya* is conjoined in the full form of letter *ya* or its curve taken all the way to the left and then brought towards right.¹ It is possible that the scribe has done it so in a casual way. Besides, there is no occurrence of any initial vowel in the record; only consonants like *ka*, *na*, *da*, *pa*, *ra* and *ha* are endowed with medial vowel marks for *ā*, *i*, *u* and *e*² respectively. Numerical symbols for 10 and 2 occur at the end of the second line.

The language is an admixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit as noticed in many other records of the age of the Kushāṇas. In this short record of three lines it is the word *saṁvachchhara* of line two which retains the clear characteristics of a Prakrit form. The name of the king is spelt as Kāṇishka as in the case of some other epigraphs also³.

The record is dated in the Hemanta season⁴ in the year 12 of the reign of *Mahārāja Devaputra Kāṇishka* [I]. This date is to be referred to the year 12 of the Kanishka era which is now generally identified with the Śaka-kāla of 78 A.D. and thus corresponds to 90-91 A.D. It may be interesting to note that so far as the published and known records of Kanishka are concerned it is for the first time that we come across a record of his 12th regnal year.

From a mere mention of the name of the ruler and his regnal year on the pedestal of a Buddha image it is difficult to deduce whether the image was a donation of the king himself to the monastery, or was the creation of some lay devotee-artist who got the image made and as a part of the convention of the time, and also for the sake of keeping his identity unknown, gave away the image.

TEXT⁵

- 1 Mahārājasya Devaputrasya
- 2 Kāṇishkasya Saṁvachchhare⁶ 10 2
- 3 [Hemanta māse]⁷

2. Inscription of Huvishka's reign, Year 25

This inscription, belonging to the reign of Huvishka, is engraved on the front side of the pedestal of an image of Buddha Amitābha. As is the case with many other findings from Govindnagar here also the image is found missing leaving only traces of the *Buddha-pādas* behind. On the inscribed surface of the pedestal there are four lines of writing which cover an area of about 48 cm in length and about 10 cm in height. Out of the four lines only three are on the front side of the pedestal whereas the first line is engraved on the horizontal surface of the pedestal intercepted by the Buddha's feet. Except the conjuncts and the consonants with medial vowels the average size of the individual letters remains within the height

¹ For instance see the 'Inscription of Kanishka's reign, year 4', above Vol. XXXIV pp. 9-10 and the plate; for the more commonly used second type of conjunct *ya* as a subscript see Dura Inscription of the time of Kanishka, year 16 (above, Vol. XXXV, pp. 190-91 and the plate)

² Macron over *e* and *o* is not used in this article.

³ For instance see the 'British Museum' Stone Inscription of Kanishka I, year 10, above, Vol. VIII, pp. 175 ff; IX, p. 240, and XXV, 26 (ii), p. 190.

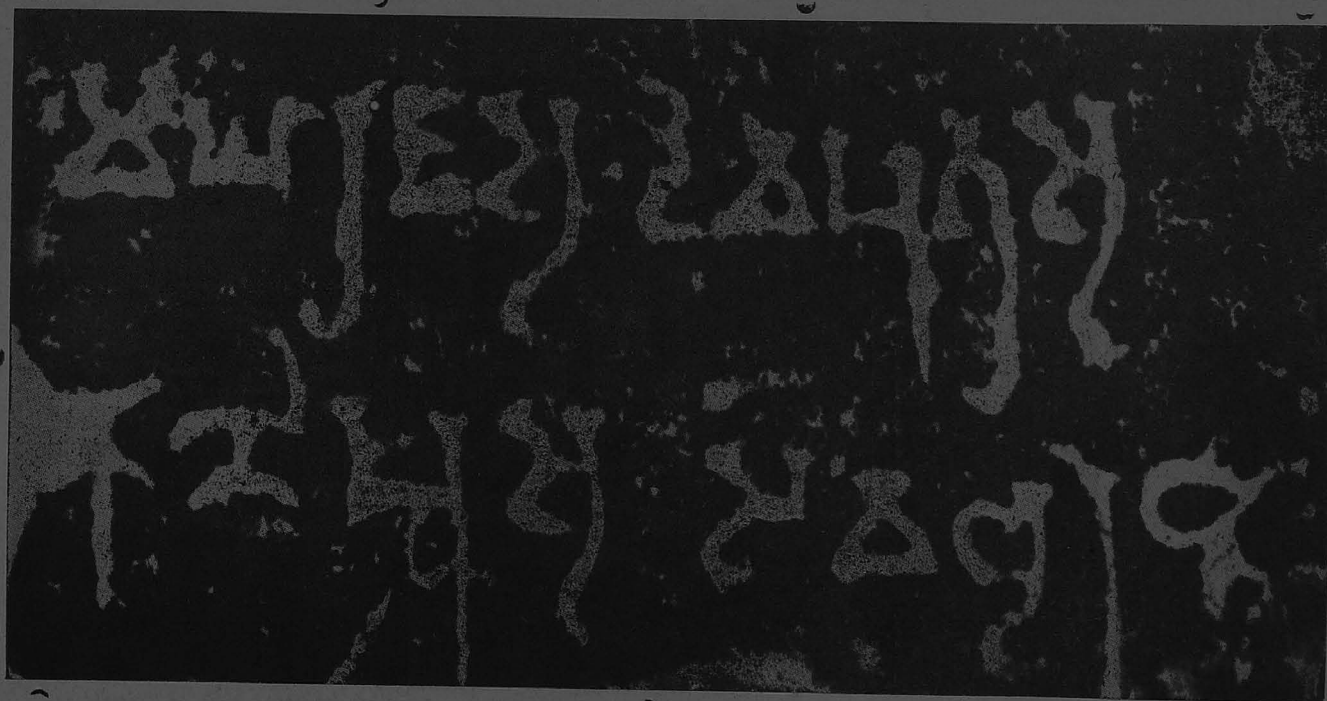
⁴ No trace of any numerical symbol is seen after the word, *māse* in line 3.

⁵ From impressions.

⁶ Only half of the subscript of letter *chha* is visible.

⁷ For this restoration I have relied more on the reading of Mr. R. C. Sharma since the impression cannot show this on account of the wooden frame.

INSCRIPTION OF KANISHKA'S REIGN, YEAR 12



SCALE : One-third

INSCRIPTION OF HUVISHKA'S REIGN, YEAR 25



SCALE : Two-fifth

of 2 cm barring the size of letters *ra*, *ka*, and *a*, etc. which measure about 2.5 cm each. Amongst the conjunct letters *sya*, *ddha*, *ksha* and *stha* measure about 3 cms and a little more, whereas the consonants endowed with vowels like *ke* (of *nattikena*, line 2) and *bu* (of *Buddhasya*, line 2) are about 3 cm in height. Except the first line which is interrupted because of gaps, the rest of the lines are quite straight and the engraving is done satisfactorily. So also, barring line 4, which is disturbed at more than two places other lines are in a good state of preservation and the record does not pose any serious trouble in reading.

The Brāhmī alphabet of the record belong to the class of characters generally used in the inscriptions of the Kushāna age. On the palaeographical side there is hardly any trace of a letter which shows the tendency of the 'Eastern type' and thus the characters of this record can be easily assigned to the so called 'Western type'. Very clearly stressed angular shapes of the letter *ma* (in *Mahārājasya*, line 1 and *imena*, line 4) and the form of the vowel *a* (in *Amitābha* line 3) prove the characters to be of the early Kushāna period. Like other records of the Kushānas the subscript form of the letter *ya* is expressed in full shape (as in *Buddhasya* and *Amitābhasya*, line 3). Of the initial vowels, letter *e* (in *etaye* line 2) and *a* (in *Amitābhasya* line 3) alone occur in the inscription. Numerical symbols for 20 and 5 and 20 and 6 are engraved in the first line. The symbol for 20, which occurs twice, has an early form which is also noticed in other records of Kanishka I and Vāsishka.¹ Besides these points of common knowledge there is hardly much to be remarked on the part of its palaeography.

As is usual with most of the Kushāna records the text of this record contains many rightly used and correctly spelt Sanskrit words but, over all, it is an admixture of both Sanskrit and Prākṛit. A remarkable usage of the words is seen in the distinctive mention of *pautreṇa* and *nattikena* (both in line 2) which, in a general sense give the meaning of a 'grandson'.² Who actually is a *pautra*? and who is a *nattika*? Though no clear definitions are available in our modern Sanskrit-English Dictionaries,³ yet, from the record it is clear that the two words in their broad sense were used for two kinds of relationships. In the case of *nattika* (Skt. *napṭrikā*) it seems that the relationship stemmed not from the side of a father (*ka-ṭiṇī* / *lc*) but from that of the mother.

From the point of view of chronology the mention of year 25 of Huvishka's reign is a noteworthy point in this record which deserves our attention in the first place. Hitherto it was merely a conjecture based on very thin evidence⁴ that Vāsishka and Huvishka ruled jointly from the year 24 to the year 28; but the discovery of the present inscription, dated in the year 25 of Huvishka's reign, provides the first known epigraphical confirmation of this assumption.

¹ Cf. Mathura Museum (No. 1558) Bodhisatva image inscription of Kanishka, year 20—vide *J. R. A. S.* 1924, No. 1, p. 399 f., and Isapur pillar inscription of Vasishka, year 24, vide *JRAS.*, 1910 (pp. 1311-14, 1315-17, etc.).

² The word *nattikēna* which seems to be the corrupt form of Sanskrit *napṭrikēna*—is noticed only as 'Natta' in Pali-English Dictionary of P.T.S. (p. 182) but from the word *nattika* we know that both the Sanskrit forms of *napṭr* or *naptra* and *napṭrika* were current in Prakrit, during this period.

³ See *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* of Monier Williams, p. 527 and Apte, pt. II, p. 877.

⁴ *Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 148 fn. 2. As between the year 23 of Kanishka's reign (vide Sonkh Ins. cription published in *J.R.A.S.*, 1924, No. 2 p. 400 f.) which marks the end of his period and year 28 of Huvishka's time (vide his Mathurā Stone Inscription, above Vol. XXI, p. 60 f.) which was considered to be the start of his reign; so far only the records of Vasishka's reign, year 24, above, Vol. II, pp. 369-70 and IX, p. 244; Lüder's list No. 16, etc.) and year 28 (*Indian Antiquary*, No. 6, 1877, No. 1, p. 217 *J.R.A.S.* 1903, p. 330 f; 1905, p. 358, etc.) were available which on the basis of internal details showed an overlapping of merely three months (i.e. Bhādrapada-of Huvishka's record to Mārgaśīrṣha of Vāsishka) and on the reference of *Rājatarangīni* (I. 168, Ed. A. Stein) it was first assumed that Vāsishka and Huvishka ruled jointly for some time. Now, since the discovery of this record we have more solid basis for such an assumption.

Another noteworthy point of the record is the reference to the image of the Buddha as *Amitābha* who is one of the five *Dhyānī Buddhas* in the *Mahāyāna* cult of Buddhism and who is only known in Northern Buddhism. There are literary references and art finds basing on which, so far, scholars¹ have supposed that the cult of *Amitābha* with *Avalokiteśvara Padmapāṇi* as his *Bodhisatva* would have originated some times around the beginning of the Christian era. But all the evidences they relied upon were not free from doubts and controversy. Now, since this inscription of year 25 (corresponding to 103-04 A.D.) mentions the installation of the image of *Amitābha* for the first time, the suppositions of the art historians and the scholars of Buddhist iconography find a more trust-worthy evidence to that effect.

The name of the donor of the image was *Nāgarakshita* (line 3) who was the grandson (on father's side) of *Sārthavāha Satvaka* (line 2); *nattika* (i.e. grandson of mother's side) of *Śreshṭhi Balakīrti* (line 2) and the son of *Buddha[pā]lita* (line 3). Along with the installation of the image he also endowed the monastery with unspecified (mentioned only as *imena* line 4) amount as a token of *kuśala-mūla* (i.e., pious deed)² (line 4) for the public to listen to the words (*Buddhajñānam*) of the Buddha and derive benefit from it.

Among the names mentioned in the record, though all sound familiar to the ear, none has occurred before in any other Brāhmī record known to us except that of *Buddhapālita* who appears in Lüder's list (No. 576) as a banker in a Sanchi inscription. But the gap of time clearly precludes any relationship between the two.

TEXT³

- 1 Mahārājasya **Huveshkasya** sam 20 5 Val⁴ di 20 6
- 2 Eta [ya] puvaya Satvakasya sathavahasya pautrena Balak[ir]tt[i] sya-śreshṭhisya nattikena
- 3 [B]uddha[pā]lita-putreṇa Nāgarakshitena Bhagavato Buddhasya Amitābhasya pratimā pratishthāpi-
- 4 [tā] Buddha pūjāye imena kā (ku) śala-ma (mu) lena⁵ sa [rvva satvānām] anuttaram⁶ Buddha-jñānam [śrāvitam]⁷

¹ *The gods of Northern Buddhism*, by A. Getty pp. 38-39 and the references cited therein.

² *CIL.* II, Part I, pp. 149-50 ; 158 ; *JASB* (NS) Vol. XX, 1924, p. 37. Also see Sircar, *Ind. Ep. Glossary*, p. 168.

³ Read from the impressions.

⁴ Possibly the reading is *Vai* for *Vaiśākha* which also suits the context of *Amitābha* who is said to be the presiding deity of summer (See *grīshmarṭurūpaḥ* quoted from *Advayavajra-sangraha*, by B. Bhattacharya in *Buddhist Iconography*, p. 3).

⁵ The stone below the letter *ma* is chipped off ; probably it was originally written as *mū*.

⁶ I am not certain about the reading of the first letter *a*.

⁷ It can also be read as *prā*^o.

CHALUKA INSCRIPTION FROM KURNURU



2

4

6

2

4

6

SCALE : One-fourth

No. 39—CHALUKYA INSCRIPTION FROM KURNURU

(1 Plate)

M. D. SAMPATH, MYSORE

The subjoined inscription¹ was copied from Kurnūru in Pattikonda Taluk, Kurnool District, Andhra Pradesh. It is being edited here with the kind permission of the Chief Epigraphist.

The inscription is engraved on a hero-stone lying in the field of Patnam Ramayyasetti in the village Kurnūru. The stone is broken and bears seven lines of writing, of which the first few letters of six lines are lost and the last line (line 7) is indistinct on account of its being damaged. Yet it yields sufficient information for consideration.

The inscription is in Kannada language and is engraved in Telugu-Kannada characters of about the 8th century A.D. Regarding palaeography the following features may be noticed here. The medial *u* sign is a 'U' shaped stroke attached to the bottom of the letters as in *prithu* (lines 1 and 2), °l=iṛidu in line 3 and *kalnāḍu* in line 4, while the length in *ū* is marked by the addition of a downward curve from the left of the *u* sign as in *Dhūrta* (line 2). The final *r* in lines 2 and 4 are interesting. The *i* sign for *k* in line 1 is rather faint but its top is shown in a curved form. There is no clear distinction between medial *ī* and *i*. As regards orthography, the doubling of the consonant after the *rēpha* in °varmma (line 1) and *Dhūrta* (line 2) may be noted. The expression *pri* (line 2) is a mistake for *pri* as in line 1. The word *kal-nāḍu* (line 4) is of lexicographical interest. It means the planting of the stone implying along with it the associated grant, if any. It can be compared with *kal-nāḍu* occurring in the Tamil inscriptions of this period from North Arcot and Dharmapuri districts².

The inscription records that while Pṛithuvī-Vāṇarājar was governing, and when the servant (*āl* for *āḷu*) of Dantiyamma belonging to the Raṭṭa family attacked Chandatti, a *kalnāḍu* is stated to have been given probably in memory of a hero whose name is not available.

The palaeography of the record and the identity of the king make the record an important one in many respects. It refers to the reign of Kiṭtivarmma who receives the usual titles *pri-thuvivallabha*, *mahārājādhirāja* and [*para**]mēśvara³. The name Kiṭtivarmma is only a colloquial form of Kīrtivarman even as the names Kattirāju and Kattiyara respectively in the inscriptions from Chandana⁴ and Diḍgūr⁵ are. Kīrtivarman in whose reign it is dated may be identified with the second king of that name among the Chālukyas of Bādāmi who ruled from c. 746-47⁶ to c. 757 A.D.⁷ The inscription has been assigned to him on the basis of the titles borne by him and the style of characters.

¹ *A.R.Ep.*, 1976-77, No. B 17.

² *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 581 ; R. Nagaswamy : *Cheṅgam Naḍukaṅkaḷ*, (1972).

³ *Above*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 340 ff.

⁴ *A.R.Ep.*, 1958-59, No. B 15. The name Kattirāju applied to Kīrtivarman II may be compared with the name Katti-arasa (See above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 59 ff).

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 309 ff.

⁶ *Bombay Gazetteer (KD)*, Vol. I, pt. I, p. 376 ; above, Vol. IX, pp. 202 ff. and plates.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 200 ff and plates ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 23.

Kirtivarman's Rāshtrakūṭa contemporary was Dantidurga, who is known to have issued the Ellora plates¹ dated Śaka 663 (742 A.D.) and the Samangad grant² of Śaka 675 (753-54 A.D.) The latter grant credits Dantidurga with the conquests of Vallabha, Kāñchī, Kalinga Kōsala, Śrīśaila, Mālava, Lāṭa and Ṭaṅka. In spite of the Rāshtrakūṭa's claim Kirtivarman, the Vallabha continued to hold his sway over the territories of his empire through his numerous subordinates like the Bāṇas. We learn further from the Vakkalēri plates, that Kirtivarman was encamping on the banks of the Bhīmā river in 757 A.D.³ It was during this period of Chālukya-Rāshtrakūṭa fight, that the Bāṇa feudatories of the Chālukyas who were governing Turamāra (or Suramāra)-vishaya and Vaṅganūra-vishaya (or nāḍu) are known to have borne the brunt of the attack by Rāshtrakūṭa Dantidurga.⁴

The name Dantiyamma of the present record tempts one to identify him with the Rāshtrakūṭa Dantidurga who has been credited with the above said achievements as the former is described as a Raṭṭa.⁵ But it is very difficult to identify this Dantiyamma with the Rāshtrakūṭa ruler Dantidurga or Dantivarmma, from which name the form Dantiyamma is apparently derived. The name Dantiyamma mentioned in our record recalls to us the name of a chieftain Dantiyamma Maṅgu with whom a certain Arivarajamma fought and fell after piercing the former. The dynastic name of this chief Dantiyamma Maṅgu is not disclosed in that record from Būdidigaḍḍapalle in Anantapur District assigned to the Telugu-Chōḷa king Mahēndra (II)⁶. It is very likely that both are identical and the chief was probably a Raṭṭa subordinate of Rāshtrakūṭa Dantidurga. If this identification is accepted it may be surmised that this Raṭṭa Dantiyamma-Maṅgu could have followed Dantidurga in the course of the latter's campaigns to the south.⁷

Dhūrtta may be the title of the Bāṇa chief in whose territory, the servant of Dantiyamma intruded.

Chandatti, the place where the hero died could not be identified.

TEXT⁸

- 1 [Svasti Śrī*] [Ki]ltivarmma Pṛithu (thi) vīvallabha mahārājādhirā-
- 2 [ja para*]mēsva(śva)rar Pri(Pṛi)thu(thi)vī-Vāṇarājar Dhūrttarā-rājya[m*]-keyye
- 3 [ṇa] ka Raṭṭa[ra] Dantiyamman-oḷ (āḷ)⁹= Chandattiyōḷ=iṛidu sva¹⁰-
- 4 [ṭṭi]yān=kalnāḍu koṭṭar
- 5 Vāraṇāśi¹¹
- 6 sāsira ka
- 7

¹ Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 26 ff. and plates.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 111 ff. and plates.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 200 ff. and plates.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 338-40 ; *A.R.Ep.*, 1940-41, Nos. B 418-19.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 178.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 244 ff.

⁷ The name Maṅgu need not stand in the way of the identification of this chief with Maṅgi made in the reference cited above as names are known to have migrated between dynasties due to matrimonial connections not always recorded.

⁸ From inked estampages.

⁹ The syllable *ḷcha* is written as a conjunct letter though it is not necessary.

¹⁰ This syllable *sva* may be part of the expression *svargastha* or some such expression followed by the name of the hero which is lost.

¹¹ This and the following lines contain only the usual well-known imprecations.

No. 40—UMADI INSCRIPTION OF KALACHURI SOVIDEVA—YEAR 9

(1 Plate)

K. V. RAMESH and M. J. SHARMA, MYSORE

The subjoined inscription,¹ edited here with the kind permission of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore, was found engraved on a broken slab lying near the house of Ramanna Kulakarni at the village of Umadi in the former Jath State now forming a part of Maharashtra.

The inscription consists of 54 lines of writing. Though, for the most part, the letters are well preserved, a break across the slab has resulted in a few letters being damaged in lines 34-39. The record is written in Kannaḍa characters of the second half of the 12th century and the languages employed are Sanskrit (verse) and Kannaḍa (prose). As regards palaeography, which is regular for the period, it may be pointed out that the cursive as well as the regular types of *m* and *v* occur in the inscription and that the *anusvāra* generally replaces the class nasal. Initial *au* is employed in line 47 (*aurasō Lumṭṭukaḥ*, etc.). The writing of Sanskrit *saṃjñakaḥ* as *saiñakaḥ* (line 36) and *ājñayā* as *āñayā* (line 9) are orthographical peculiarities worth noticing. The consonant immediately following *r* is, in most cases, doubled both in the Sanskrit and Kannaḍa portions.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Kalachuri Sōvidēva who is stated to be ruling from Maṅgaḷivēḍa. It is dated in his 9th regnal year, Manmatha, Phālguna śu. 15, Thursday. The details of date regularly correspond to 1176 A. D., February 26.

The purpose of the record is to register some grants by *Mahāpradhāna Mahāvādḍavyavahāri* Nāgadēvayyanāyaka for worship etc., to the main deity Jalaśāyi Anantanārāyaṇa at the village of Ummade.

The inscription starts with the *siddham* symbol followed by a verse (verse 1; lines 1-2); in *double entendre*, in praise of the selfless Nāgadēva (i.e. the lord of the *Nāgas* on the one hand and the donor Nāgadēvayya-nāyaka on the other), the beloved of Nīlakaṇṭha, (Lord Śiva) and the warder of the difficulties of good men. Line 3 commences with the auspicious word *śrī* and contains verse 2 which is in praise of Kapardin (Lord Śiva). Verse 3 (lines 3-5) is in praise of Ananta (Lord Viṣṇu) who is victorious in his twelve forms² while the next verse (verse 4; lines 5-6) eulogises his ten *avatāras*, from that of *Matsya* to that of *Kalki* which were for the purpose of the preservation of the *sanātana-dharma*. Verse 5 (lines 6-9) lists the nine pre-*Kalki avatāras* of *Matsya*, *Kamaṭha* (*Kūrma*), *Varāha*, *Narasimha*, *Kharva* (*Vāmana*), the three *Rāmas* (i.e. *Parasūrāma*, *Rāma* and *Balarāma*) and the *Buddha* while verses 6-9 (lines 9-14) are devoted to the praise of Lord Viṣṇu.

Sōvidēva is then introduced with the usual Kalachuri titles in lines 14-18 and the details of date, discussed above, are given in lines 18-19. The inscription then states that *Mahāpradhāna*, *Mahāvādḍavyavahāri* Nāgadēvayya-nāyaka (line 19), accompanied by the *Mūligas*, *eṃṭuhiṭṭu*, *Paṃcha-maṭha-sthāna*, *aṇuvattoḱkalu* and all the merchant guilds (*samasta-baṇamju*) of the *maḷige* of Ummade (lines 21-22), made a number of grants on the orders of the king

¹ This is B. K. No. 117 of *A.R.Ep.*, for 1940-41.

² The 12 forms of Nārāyaṇa are : Kēśava, Nārāyaṇa, Mādḥava, Gōvinda, Viṣṇu, Madhusūdana, Trivikrama, Vāmana, Śrīdhara, Hṛishikēśa, Padmanābha and Dāmōdara.

(*Ballahadēva*; line 21) and with the approval of the council of ministers (*pañcha-pradhānar*; line 21) to the deity Jalaśāyi-Anantanārāyaṇadēva (line 20), whose image had been installed in the midst of those of the twelve Nārāyaṇas. The details of the grants given in lines 22-29 are as follows :

1 Land of the extent of 25 *hiriya-mattar*. Of this, 4 *mattar* were granted to Rāmayya, son of Nārāyaṇa-upādhyāya, as *brāhmaṇa-vṛitti* and 2 *mattar* to the person providing flower garlands to the deity (*mālagāra*); 2 The income from the *siddhāya* tax collected from the fields of Hosakōṭe, excluding those which belonged to the *brahmapurī* created (earlier) by our donor (i.e. Nāgadēvayya-nāyaka); 3 Four oil mills; 4 One garden; 5 The income from the *dasavandha* (Sanskrit *daśabandha*, one tenth of the produce) tax from the same place (i.e. Hosakōṭe); 6 The *siddhāya* tax collected from the calf pens (*bachcha-haṭṭi*); 7 One *salike per annum* for transactions involving (the sale of) calves (*bachchara-bēra*); 8 Two *hāgas* from each shop; 9 The following quantum of betel-nuts provided by the merchant community (*baṇamju*) : 20 betel-nuts for every buffalo-load; 10 betel-nuts for every donkey-load; 5 betel nuts for every sack (*hasube*) load; 10 One *māna* of paddy for each given quantity¹ to be collected from the paddy sellers; 11 Fifty leaves per load from the body of the Thousand (*sāsirvaru*), the basket-and mat-makers' guild; 12 Once in 8 days, oil at the rate of 5 *aḍḍasollage* per *hāda* from the oil men (*telligaru*); 13 One *salika* for the sale of each (local) horse; 14 Two *hāgas* for the sale of each outside horse; 15 Two *hāgas* for each of the looms from the guild of weavers.

The passage in line 29 states that the above grants as also other tax-incomes (*āyadāya*) from the place thus granted should be protected. Verses 10-11 (lines 29-31) are imprecatory stanzas usually met with in such donative records.

Verses 12-33 (lines 31-54) give a detailed genealogical account of the family, of the donor Nāgadēvayyanāyaka. While verse 12 (lines 31-32) declares that his family was of the solar race (*sūrya-varṇśa*), the next verse (verse 13; lines 32-34) alludes to the creation of the four *varṇas* from His limbs by Brahmā. Verses 14-24 (lines 34-44) give the names of the following puranic figures as the ancestors of Nāgadēvayya-nāyaka: Marīchi, his son Kaśyapa; his son Sūrya; his son Ikshvāku; his son Vikukshi; his son Bāṇa; his son Anaraṇya; his son Pṛithu; his son Viśaṅku; his son Dhundhumāra; his son Yuvanāśva; his son Māndhātā; his son Susan-dhi; his son Dhruvasandhi; his son Bharata; his son Sagara; his son Asamañja; his son Amśumān; his son Dilīpa; his son Bhagīratha; his son Kākutstha; his son Raghu, Kalmāshapada and Aśmaka; Raghu's son Sudarśana; his son Agni-prabha; his son Śīghraga; his son Muni, his son Prasuśru; his son Ambarīsha; his son Nahusha; his son Yayāti; his son Nābhāga; his son Aja; his son Daśaratha; his sons Rāma, Bharata, Lakshmaṇa and Śatrughna.

In this illustrious solar dynasty was born Nāhaḍa-Bhāskara (verse 25; lines 44-45), at whose birth his ancestors attained great happiness even as the lotuses which bloom at the rising of the sun (verse 26; lines 45-46). From him was born Varsha who was comparable to (the land of) Bhāratavarsha in being embellished by qualities of mercy, munificence and self-restraint, born out of noble pursuits (verse 27; line 46). From this Varsha, whose chest was adorned by a garland of clinking pearls, was born Lumṭṭuka, the protector of his kinsmen (verse 28; lines 46-47). According to verse 29 (lines 47-48) Lumṭṭuka had a son named Śrīdhara whose daughter was known as Lakshmādēvī. She, in course of time, became the mother of three sons of untarnished glory (verse 30; lines 48-49). The eldest of these was Nāgadēva, the very incarnation of Pradyumna, his younger brother was Gaṅgādhara and the youngest was Vāmanā (verse 31; lines 49-50).

¹ Details lost due to damage.

other things, a calf. Since *haṭṭi* means 'a pen', we have taken *bachcha-haṭṭiya siddhāya* to stand for tax collected from such pens meant for housing calves and *bachchara bēra* (*bēra*=Sanskrit *vyāpāra*) to mean the selling and purchase of calves.

Of the place names occurring in the record Ummade is the same as Umadi, the findspot of the present inscription. It is described as *Jāmbudvīpaśikhāmaṇi* and *Dēsiya-paṭṭana*, the latter evidencing the fact that the village was an important business centre. Besides, Ummade was important enough to have bodies such as *mūligaru*, *eṃṭu-hiṭṭu*, *paṃcha-maṭha-sthāna*, *aṛuvattokkalu* and *maḷigeya samasta-baṇamju*. Of these, *mūligaru* and *aṛuvattokkalu* were agricultural guilds, the former representing the land-owners and the latter those who held land tenancies. *Paṃcha-maṭha-sthāna* was probably a religious body (consisting of representatives from five different religious establishments) while *maḷigeya-samasta-baṇamju* stood for the merchant-guild. We are unable to explain the term *eṃṭu-hiṭṭu* satisfactorily.

Of the other geographical names, Maṅgaḷivēḍa, the Kalachuri capital, is the same as modern Maṅgaḷivēḍha, in the former Sangli State, now forming a part of Maharashtra. Hoṣakōṭe, which we are unable to identify, must have been a village not far removed from Umadi.

TEXT¹

[Metres : Verses 1, 5-6, 13 and 32-33 : *Śārḍūlavikrīḍita*; Verses 2, 7-8, 10-12, 14-15, and 29-31: *Anuṣṭubh*; Verses 3-4, 16 and 19 : *Upajāti*; Verse 9 : *Vasantatilakā*; Verse 17 : *Āryā*; Verse 18 : *Anuṣṭubh* and *Āryā*.]

- 1 Siddham² [|*] Sa-dvīp-āṃka-tanuḥ pavitra-karaṇaḥ śrī-Nīlakaṇṭha-priyaḥ śauch-āchāra-tapō-nvitō-guṇa-gaṇādhāras=sadā nisṛihaḥ [|*]
- 2 Sō=yam sajjana-tāpa-nud=vijayatē śrī-Nāgadēvaḥ kalau jāmbūvaj=jāḷa-bimduvaj=jāḷada-vaj=jābālivaj=jāḷavat ||³ [1*]
- 3 Śrī [|*] Yasmin=prasannē sakaḷam bhuvanam bhavaḥāyatē | siddhyamti sarva-kāryyāṇi namas=tasmai Kapardinē || [2*] Yasmi-
- 4 n=prabuddhē sakaḷam prabuddham |⁴ suptē jagat=suptam= iv=āntarastham | jayaty=asau dvādaśa-mūrtti-mū-
- 5 rttah |⁴ kshīr-ābdhi-śāyī bhagavān=Anantaḥ || [3*] Ajō=pi yō=bhūd=daśadhā dharitryām trāṇāya dharmmasya sa-
- 6 nātanasya | sa pātu vō viśva-srig(sṛig)=avyay-ātmā |⁴ Matsy-ādi-Kalky-amta-kri(kṛi)t-āvatāraḥ || [4*] Mātsyam sri (sṛi) sṭi-kri (kṛi) tē kri (kṛi)-
- 7 tam kamaṭhatām=ādihāra-kāryyē gataḥ |⁴ Krōḍēn=ōdhri (ddhṛi) tavān=mahīm Nri (Nṛi) hariṇā vakshō ripōḥ=pāṭitam | Kharvvō=

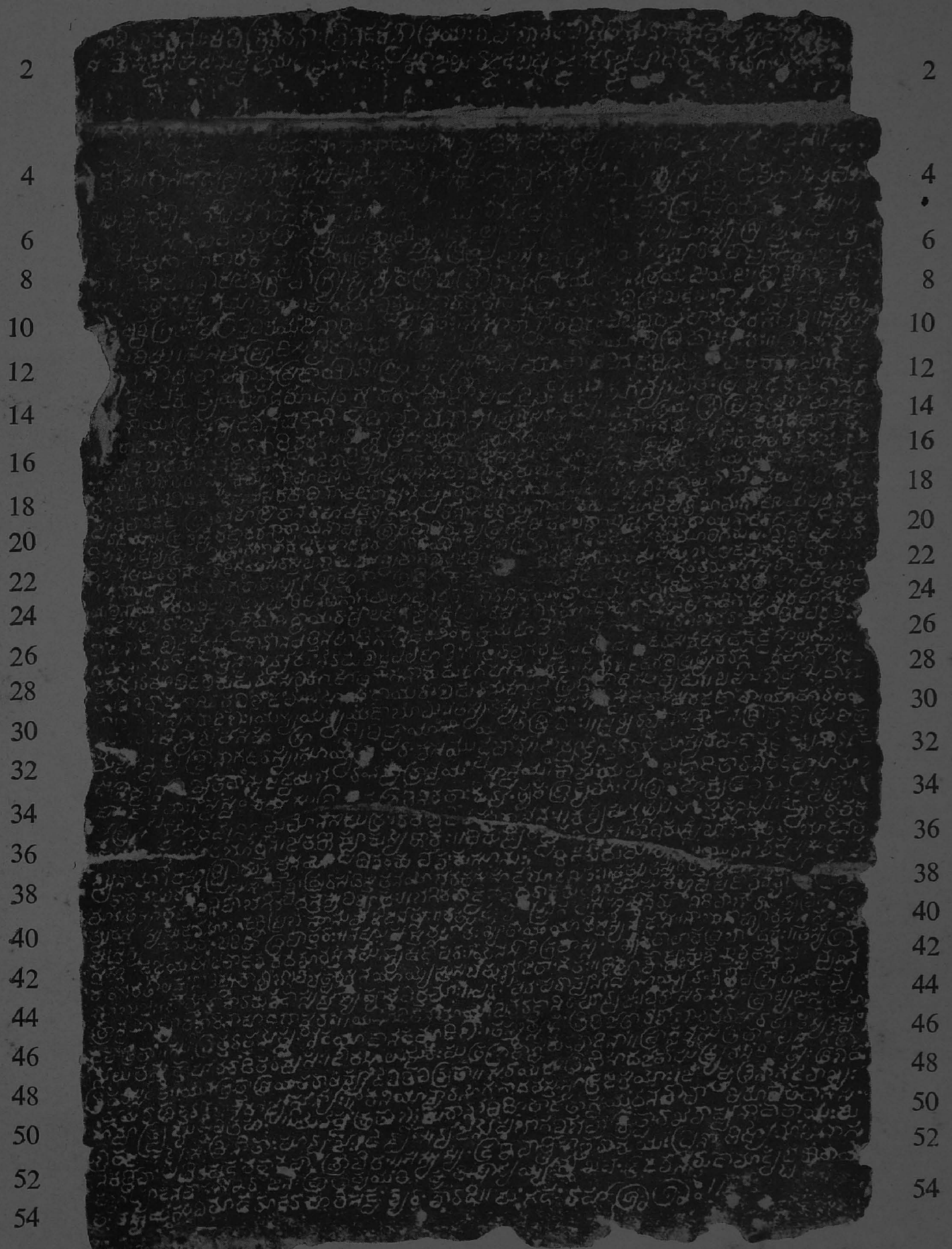
¹ From inked impressions.

² Expressed by a spiral symbol.

³ There are four ornamental designs after the *daṇḍas*. This and the first line are engraved at the top of the slab, over a panel of figures.

⁴ This *daṇḍa* is redundant.

UMADI INSCRIPTION OF KALACHURI SOVIDEVA, YEAR 9



SCALE : One-Seventh

- 8 bhūd=Balī-baṁdhanē nri(nṛi)pa-Daśagrīv-Augrya-sainyaṁtakritu¹ |² śrī-Rāma-tritayaṁ guṇa-traya-jayē Buddhō=śvagōm (gō) mlēchchha-
- 9 hā || [5*] Itthaṁ dushta-bhayāṁ(y-ā)ña(jña)yā para-vaśaṁ viśvaṁ yadā varttatē |² tat-tad-rūpa-dharō viśriṁ (śriṁ) khaḷa-khaḷān hatvā Vri (Vṛi) shaṁ rakshati |
- 10 [ēva]ṁ viśva-sri(sri) jaḥ pravri(vṛi)tti-viśa(sha)yaṁ jānāti yaḥ paṁditaḥ |² saṁsār-ārṇava-vighna-vīchi-vidhuraṁ pāraṁ paraṁ ga[ch*]chhati || [6*] Na saṁsma-
- 11 [rati] yō Vishṇu³=aniśaṁ hri(hṛi)di-saṁsthitaṁ | nakshatra-paṭavat=tēshāṁ kāḷō yāti vri (vṛi) thā ksharaḥ || [7*] Śrīmam(mā)n-nāthē
- 12 [Ramā]-nāthē |² vāṁchhit-ārttha-pradāyini | hri (hṛi)tssthē=py=ajñāninaṁ muktvā |² dēhi dēhī=ti vakti kaḥ || [8*] Mālōka-
- 13 [ya]-prakāṣa-kuḍya-kuśūḷa-maula |² vastv-aṁtaraṁ ghaṭa-paṭ-ādi-vikaḷpa-śūnya[m] | chētaḥ prasīda Kamaḷā-dhava
- 14 [viksha]nā(ṇā)ya |² drashtavya-darśana-phalāni hi lōchanāni || [9*] Svasti [1*] Samasta-bhuvan-āśrayaṁ śrī-pri (pṛi) thvīvallabhaṁ Mahārā-
- 15 [jādhi]rājāṁ Kālāmjara-pura-varādhiśvaraṁ suvarṇna(rrṇṇa)-vri(vṛi)shabha-dhvajaṁ Damaruga-tūryya-nirgghōshaṇaṁ Kaḷachuryya-kuḷa-kamaḷa-mārttaṁḍam
- 16 kadana-prachāṁḍam mānakanakāchalaṁ subhaṭar-ādityaṁ kaligaḷ-aṁkuśaṁ gaja-sāmaṁta (taṁ) śaraṇāgata-vajra-paṁjaraṁ pratāpa-Laṁkēśvaraṁ Chaladaṁka-
- 17 rāmā (maṁ) vairībha-kaṁthīraṁ Niśaṁkamallaṁ nāmādi samasta-prasa (śa) sti-sahitaṁ śrīmatu bhujā-baḷa-pratāpa-chakravartti Rāyamurāri Sōvidēvaṁ Mam-
- 18 gaḷivēḍada nelevīḍinoḷu sukha-saṁkathā-vinōdadiṁ rājyaṁ-geyyuttam-ire || 9 neya Man-matha-saṁvatsarada Phālguṇa śuddha Puṇṇami Bri(Bṛi)ha-
- 19 spati-vārad-aṁdu śrīman-mahāpradhānaṁ mahāvaḍḍa-vyavahāri Nāgadēvayya-nāyaka-ru Jambūdvīpa-śikhāmaṇi Dēsiya-paṭṭanaṁ Um-
- 20 madeyalu pratishṭhita Dvādaśa-Nārāyaṇa-parivri(vṛi)tav-āgi mukhya-pratishṭhita-Jalaśāy [i]-Anantanārāyaṇadēvargge gandha-dhūpa-
- 21 dīpa-naivēdya-chaitra-pavitr-āṁgabhogakkam Ballahadēvara hēḷikeyiṁ paṁcha-pradhān-ānma(ānuma)tadiṁ Ummadēya mūligaru emṭu-niṭṭu paṁchama
- 22 ṭha-sthāna aḡuvattokkalu maḷigeya samasta-baṇaṁju-mukhyavāgi biṭṭa datti || Chārada hiriya-mattaru 25 adaḷoḷage Nārāya-
- 23 ṇu (ṇ-ō) pādhyāyara magam Rāmayyaṁge brāhmaṇa-vri (vṛi) ttige koṭṭa mattaru 4 naḍava mālagāraṁge mattaru 2 Hosakoṭeya bhūmi-

¹ Read *Augrasēny-antakṛit* the reference here being to Kṛishṇa as the slayer of Augrasēni (*i.e.* Kaṁsa the son of Ugrasēna).

² This *daṇḍa* is redundant.

³ There is an unnecessary *daṇḍa* after *Vishṇu*.

- 24 yalli nēyakaru biṭṭa brahmapuri hoṟagāgi mēlāda nivēśaṇa-manisaṟa siddhāyamaṁ dēvargge
| mattam gāṇa 4 tōmṭa 1 mam ā va[ṭṭara]-
- 25 dalli dasa (śa) vandhamam | bachcha-haṭṭiya siddhāyamaṁ ā bachchara bērakke prativarsha
salikey-ōmd-ōmdumam | ellā aṁgaḍigam pratyēka hāgav-era [ḍu]-
- 26 mam baṇamju biṭṭ-aḍake kōṇana ettina hēṟimam aḍake 20 katteya hēṟimge 10 hasubege
5 mam | bhattamaṁ māṟidavaralli..
- 27 ge māna | gavaṟe-gātra-sāsirvvarum neredu biṭṭa ele hēṟimge 50 telligaralli emṭ-emṭu
devasakke hāḍakk-aḍḍasollag-enṇe 5 . . .
- 28 da kudure māṟidalli kudurege salike 1 hoṟagaṇa kudurege hāgav=eraḍu | sēṇigad-eḍarall
pratyēka maggakke hāgav=eraḍu-
- 29 mam | int=iv-oḷagāgi mattav=illimdam mēle āya-dāyavam biḍuvantu huṭa(tṭa)m pratipāli-
suvudu || Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhu-
- 30 ktā |¹ rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhumiḥ² |¹ tasya tasya tadā phaḷam(lam)
|| [10*] Sva-dattam para-dattam vā |¹ yō harēta va-
- 31 sumdharam | shashṭhi (shṭi) r-vvarsha-sahasraṇi |¹ vishṭhāyam jāyatē kṛimi[h] || [11*]
Avyavachchinna-santāna-vri (vṛi) ddhān=pitru (ṭri)-pitā-
- 32 mahān | vakshē³ śrī-Nāgadēvasya |¹ Sūryya-vaṁśa-samudbhavam (vān) || [12*] Utpādy=
ōttama-varṇam=asya-kamaḷāt=tad-rakshaṇa-vyāku-
- 33 lam |¹ Srashṭā nirmmitavām (vā) n=bhuja-dvaya-bhavam (vam) kshatr-ānvayam sānvayam |
kāmam yad-bhuja-pālit-āvani-talē hy=ūrū-ja-
- 34 pād-ōdbhavāḥ | svam svam karmma suvri (vṛi) tta-vri (vṛi) tti-niratāḥ kurvamty=atamdr-
ōdyamāḥ | || [13*] Brahma-kshatra-viśuddhy-arttham | pra-
- 35 jā-prasava-hētavē || (l) nirmm an ē mānasam putram |¹ Marīchim Chaturānaḥ || [14*]
Kaśyapas=tat-sutas=tasmāt=Sūryyō vaṁśaka-
- 36 [ro=bhavat | tasmān=Manur]=a bhūt=tēna |¹ jāta Ikshvāku-saiṇakah⁴ || [15*] Vikukshir=
Ikshvāku-[su]tō Vikukshēr=Bāṇas=tatō=bhūd=Anara-

Acc. 26205.

¹ This *daṇḍa* is redundant.² *Sandhi* has not been observed here. Read *bhūmis=tasya*.³ Read °mahān | vakshyē.⁴ Read *saijñakah*.

- 37 nya-nāmā | tasmāt Pri (t=Prī) thus=tat-tanayō Viśamkur=Viśamku-sūnuḥ kiḷa Duṁdhu-
mārah || [16*] Yuvañāsvas=tasya sutō Mā-
- 38 m̄dhātā tat-sutaḥ Susam̄dhiś=cha | Dhruvasam̄dhis=tat-tanayō Bharatas=tasmād=abhūd=
Asitaḥ || [17*] Tat-sutas=Sagaras=tasmād [=Asamañjō=tha Am̄śu]-
- 39 m̄an | tasy=ātmajō Diḷipō Bhagīrathas=tasya vikhyātaḥ || [18*] Bhagīrathād=vañśadharō¹
Kakutsthō Raghus=tu Kalmāshapadō=Śmakaś=cha | 'kramā-
- 40 t=sutas=tasya Sudarśanō=bhud=Agniprabham̄ sūnum=ajījanat=sah || [19*] Tat-sutaḥ²
Sighragas=tasmān=Munir=mmunir=iv=ā bhavat | Prasusru (śru)-
- 41 shus=tasya sūnur=Am̄barīshō nri (nri) p-ōttamaḥ || [20*] Nahushas=tat-sutaḥ khyātō Yayā-
tis=tasya nam̄danaḥ | Nābhāgō hy=aurasas=tasmād=Aja-
- 42 s=tasmād=ajāyata || [21*] Jātō Daśarathaś=sūras=tēna puṇya-phaḷ-ōpamaḥ | yēna Sauri-
grahas=sam̄khyē jitō lōka-prabādhaḥ || [22*] Tasya śrī-
- 43 Rāma-Bharatau Lakshmaṇ-Ārighnakāv-ubhau | chatvāras=tanayā yais=tu sa chaṭur-
bbhujatām̄ gataḥ || [23*] Ikshvākv-ādyāḥ Kuś-āntās=cha tasmād=utpam̄na-
- 44 bhūbhujāḥ | dharmm-ārttha-kāma-kuśalās=sarvvē=py=adhyātma-vittamāḥ || [24*] Ēvam
param̄par-ōtpam̄nē |³ Sūryya-vañśē=ti-viśrutē | jātaḥ ksha-
- 45 tr-ānvay-ōdyōta-kārī Nahaḍa-Bhāskaraḥ || [25*] Yēn=ōditēna bhūyō=pi kamalānī=va
pūrvvajāḥ | vikāsam̄=anusaṁprāpya jagmur=āmō-
- 46 da-pātratām̄(tām) || [26*] Suvri(vri)tta-varttan-ōtpam̄na-dayā-dāna-dam-ādibhiḥ |
tasmāt=s-ālam̄kri (kri) tī (tō) jātō Varśo(rshō) Bhārata-varshavat || [27*] Tasy=ōtpam̄
- 47 nō luṭhan-muktā-hāra-mam̄dita-vakshasaḥ | aurasō Lum̄ttukaḥ putras-trātā svakuḷa-
śālinām̄(nām) || [28*] Prāg-janma-sukri(kri)tāl=labdha-sthāna[:] śrī-
- 48 Śrīdharas=sutaḥ | yēna prattā priyatarā Lakshmrādēvī=ti viśrutā || [29*] Samayē putriṇī
sā=tha jātā putrair-anim̄ditaḥ | tribhir=dha-
- 49 rmma-yaśō-vri(vri)tta-varttibhiḥ sahajair=gguṇaiḥ || [30*] Kanīyān=Vāmanō Gaṁgā-
dharas=tasy=āgrajas=tayōḥ | jē (jyē)shṭha[h*] śrī-Nāgadēv-ākhyah

¹ Read *vañśadharah*.

² Sandhi is not observed here.

³ This *daṇḍa* is redundant.

E. 6899.

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- 50 sākshāt-Pradyumna-vigrahaḥ || [31*] Yēn-ēshtaṁ kratubhiḥ purāṇa-vihitā dattā svayaṁ
dhēnavō vāpī-kūpa-ṭaḍāga-saṁ-
- 51 bhir(bhṛi)ta-jalaḥ saṁprīṇitāḥ pūrvvajāḥ | urvvīm sarvva-jan-ōpabhōga-vibhavām kri
(kṛi) tvā Makhē(he)ś-ārppaṇaṁ dātā yaḥ pu-
- 52 nar-artthi-vāṁchhita-phalaṁ tat-kāla-pātr-ōchitaṁ || [32*] Sasyasy-Ēmdra iv-artthi-sārtta
(rttha)-m-uru yaḥ prīṇāti haim-āmbunā gu-
- 53 hy-āchhyā(chchhā)dana-vāsasī iva janaḥ prāvri(vṛi)tya yaṁ tishṭhati | paurair-yan-
mukha-chandra-darśana-mudā mādyach-chakōrāyi-
- 54 taṁ tasy-ēyaṁ suvirūḍha-mūla-mahatī sad-vaṁsya-vaṁśāvali[h*] || [33*] Maṅgalaṁ-
mahā-śrī-śrīḥ ||
-

Acc-26205.

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4. *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No. 10 : *The Gavimāth and Pālkigunḍu Inscriptions of Aśoka* (pages 24 and 18 plates), by R.L. Turner, 1952 (second impression). Price Rs. 10.
5. *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume V (1898-99), with a list of the Inscriptions of Northern India from about A.D. 400, by Prof. F. Kielhorn, C.I.E. Göttingen. Edited by E. Hultzsch, Ph. D. (Reprinted). Price Rs. 35.
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