CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

VOL. V

INSCRIPTIONS
OF
THE VĀKĀṬAKAS
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

VOL. V

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OF
THE VĀKĀṬAKAS

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EDITED BY
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PREFACE

SOON after the publication of the *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era* (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. IV) in 1955, I thought of preparing a *corpus* of the inscriptions of the Vakataka dynasty; for the Vakataka dynasty was the most glorious one in the ancient history of Vidarbha, where I have spent the best part of my life, and I had already edited or re-edited more than half the number of its records. I soon completed the work and was thinking of getting it published, when Shri A. Ghosh, Director General of Archaeology, who then happened to be in Nagpur, came to know of it. He offered to publish it as Volume V of the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Series. I was very glad to avail myself of the offer and submitted the work to the Archaeological Department in 1957. It was soon approved. The order for printing it was given to the Job Press (Private) Ltd., Kanpur, on the 7th July, 1958. Owing to various difficulties, the work of printing went on very slowly. I am glad to find that it is now nearing completion.

During the course of this work I have received help from several persons, for which I have to record here my grateful thanks. For the chapter on Architecture, Sculpture and Painting I found G. Yazdani’s *Ajanta* very useful. I am grateful to the Department of Archaeology, Government of Andhra Pradesh, for permission to reproduce some plates from that work. Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Joint Director General of Archaeology, went through my typescript and made some important suggestions. The Government Epigraphist for India rendered the necessary help in the preparation of the Skeleton Plates. Shri V. P. Rode, Curator of the Central Museum, Nagpur, supplied the photographs of some panels recently discovered at Pavinar. Prof. N. R. Navlekar of Jabalpur kindly read a proof of the Introduction and made some important suggestions. To all these friends I feel deeply indebted. Finally, I thank Shri A. Ghosh, Director General of Archaeology, for having included this work in the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Series and the Director, Eastern Circle, Survey of India, for the excellent plates which illustrate the records in this Volume.

NAGPUR:
20th April, 1963.

V. V. MIRASHI.
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ABBREVIATIONS

A.janta G. Yazdani, A.janta.
A.S.W.I. Archaeological Survey of Western India.
C.A.S.I.R. Cunningham, Archaeological Survey of India Reports.
C.I.I. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
C.T.I. Burgess, Cave Temples of India.
D.K.A. Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali Age.
Ep. Ind. Epigraphia Indica
G.O.S. Gaekwad’s Oriental Series.
H.C.I.P. R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalkar, History and Culture of the Indian People.
I.C.P.B. Hiralal, Inscriptions in C.P. and Berar (Second ed.).
Ind. Ant. Indian Antiquary.
Ind. Cul. Indian Culture.
Ind. Hist. Quart. Indian Historical Quarterly.
J.N.S.I. Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.
M.A.S.I. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.
M.Bh. Mahābhārata.
M.S.M. Manusmiti.
N.H.I.P. R. C. Majumdar and A. S. Altekar, New History of the Indian People.
N.I.A. New Indian Antiquary.
P.I.H.C. Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.
P.T.A.I.O.C. Proceedings and Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference.
S.I. V. V. Mirashi, Studies in Indology.
CORRIGENDA

Page viii, para. 2, line 6—For tādṛṣṭā. putrā. read tādṛṣṭāḥ putrāḥ.
ix, line 14—For Mahārāja-Dāmodarāśīna read Mahārāja-śrī-Dāmodarāśīna.
ix, foot-note 1—For Prithivishēna read Prithivivēśēna.
xi, para. 2, line 5—For 'bhāgā read 'bhāgā.
xii, line 2—For Sātpūḍā read Sātpūḍā.
xviii, foot-note 2—For amendment read emendation.
xixi, para. 2, line 6—For Rāmagirī read Rāmagirī.
xxix, para. 5, line 5—For the sons Pravarasēna I read the sons of Pravarasēna I.
xxxix, para. 3, line 4—For explicitly read explicitly.
xlix, line 6—For Jūjaka read Jūjaka.
li, para. 1, line 5—For -śīlaka read -śīlaka.
lii, line 12—For prāsātī read prāsātī.
lxviii, line 12—For sarī read sarī.
lxix, para. 3, last line—Insert an inverted comma at the end.
lxxiv, para. 2, line 2—Substitute a comma for the full point after bases.
For octagon read octagonal.

19, text-line 8—For सुन[.] read सुन[.]  
19, text-line 17—For छ त read छत—
21, foot-note 1, line 2—For p. 63 read p. 64.
24, text-line 21—For धर्म(च)री— read धर्म(च)री—
29, foot-note 5, line 2—For Mārkandaśayapurāṇa read Mārkandaśayapurāṇa.
32, line 2—Insert Phālguna in after of.
35, para. 1, line 3—For Mujumdar read Majumdar.
39, foot-note 4—For -ātātīṣṭhāt read -ātātīṣṭhāt.
40, text-line 5—For बृह— read बृह—
40, text-line 10—For ब read ब—
40, text-line 11—For विशाल read विशाल—
40, text-line 14—For प(व)वर read प(व)वर—
41, text-line 22—For औष्ध- read औष्ध—
41, foot-note 1—For मले read मूले—
44, text-line 3—For अष्णार read अष्णार—
44, text-line 6—For भागावान read भागावान—
49, foot-note 7, line 2—For Vēṇātaṭa read Vēṇātaṭa.
50, text-line 10—For सुभुस्त read सुभुस्त.
50, text-line 16—For गाज read गाज—
50, text-lines 19 and 20—Insert a hyphen after the last letter.
51, text-line 21—For विलष्ठ read विलष्ठ—
53, para. 3, line 5—For klipt-lopakāptih read klipt-lopakāptih.
57, para. 4, line 6—For sunō read sunō—
58, foot-note 2, line 1—For Rajamāni read Rajamāni.
58, foot-note 2, line 2—For vishaya-mūna read vishaya-mūna—
58, foot-note 3, line 2—For ox Mahāpuruṣa read or Mahāpuruṣa.
60, text-line 18—For vākṣātānā read vākṣātānā.
CORRIGENDA

Page 62, line 9—For kārttika read Kārttiika.

  "  67, text-line 54—For न प read माण्य.
  "  71, text-line 9—For तवीमानत- read तवीमानत-.
  "  83, line 18—For -vīśēha read -vīśēha.
  "  85, text-line 24—Insert a danda at the end.
  "  86, text-line 43—For [पा*बक्षस: read [पा*बक्षस:.
  "  86, foot-note 7—For सोभणु read सोभणु.

Page 87, line 6 from the bottom—For peoples read people.

  "  88, line 32—For son the goldsmith read son of the goldsmith.
  "  96, text-line 2—For न read न-.
  "  97, foot-note 1—For Ajānpti read Ajānpti.
  "  107, line 3—For Sātārā read Sātārā.
  "  107, text-line 5—For [डै read [डै-.
  "  108, text-line 16—For मेत [ऩ * read मेत [ऩ *]
  "  116, text-line 5—For घण्डयान- read घण्डयान-.
  "  123, para. 3, line 2—For Rāmayāṇa read Rāmayāṇa.
INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

THE DISCOVERY OF THE VĀKĀṬAKAS

The Vākāṭakas were one of the most glorious dynasties that flourished in South India in ancient times. Their empire at one time extended from Mālwā and Gujārāt in the north to the Tungabhadrā in the south and from the Arabian Sea in the west to the Bay of Bengal in the east. They were great patrons of literature. The liberal patronage they gave to Sanskrit and Prakrit poets soon brought the Vaidarbhī and Vachehāṃti vītis into prominence and induced great poets like Kālidāsa to adopt them for their works. They themselves composed kāvyas and subhāshitas which have evoked praise from famous poets and rhetoricians like Bāna and Daṇḍin, Kuntaka and Hēmachandra. The temples they erected are no longer in existence, but the sculptures found in their ruins have attracted the notice of art-critics, who rank them among the best specimens of ancient times. The magnificent vihāra and chaitya caves which their ministers and feudatories excavated out of solid rock at Ajanta and Gulwāḍā still excite the admiration of the world. In view of these achievements there is hardly any exaggeration in the following observation\(^1\) of Prof. J. Dubreuil: “Of all the dynasties of the Deccan that have reigned from the third to the sixth century, the most glorious, the most important, the one that must be given the place of honour, the one that has excelled all others, the one that has had the greatest influence on the civilization of the whole of the Deccan is unquestionably the illustrious dynasty of the Vākāṭakas”.

Still, the existence and even the name of this illustrious dynasty had passed into oblivion and became known only when the Siwāṅ copper-plate grant\(^2\) of Pravarasena II was discovered in Madhya Pradesh in 1836. Vindhyaśakti, the founder of this dynasty, was indeed mentioned in the Purāṇas, but partly owing to bad readings and partly due to misconstruction, he was believed to have belonged to the Yavana or Greek race. Even after deciphering the inscription in Ajanta Cave XVI which gives the royal genealogy from the earliest time to the last Vākāṭaka king Harishēṇa, Dr. Bhau Daji remarked in 1862 that “the Vākāṭakas were a dynasty of the Yavanas or Greeks who took the lead in the performance of Vedic sacrifices as well as in the execution of most substantial and costly works for the encouragement of Buddhism\(^3\)”. It has since been pointed out that Vindhyaśakti, the founder of the dynasty, is described in that inscription as a deva, which usually means a Brāhmaṇa. The gōra Vishnuvṛiddha of the Vākāṭakas is also mentioned in almost all their copper-plate grants. It is now generally accepted that like the Sātavāhanas, the Vākāṭakas also were a Brāhmaṇa family that rose into prominence in the early centuries of the Christian era.

The period during which the Vākāṭakas flourished had long been uncertain. Unlike the Guptas, they did not start any era, but dated all their grants in regnal years. Their age had therefore to be conjectured from the characters of their inscriptions.

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INTRODUCTION

Almost all the Vākāṭaka grants are incised in box-headed characters, which soon became stereotyped. Experts therefore differed on the interpretation of their palaeographic evidence. Dr. Bühler referred the Vākāṭaka grants to the fifth century A.C., while Fleet and Kiellhorn, whose opinion Sukthankar cited with approval, assigned them to the eighth century A.C. The latter view appeared to be supported by the mention, in Vākāṭaka grants, of Mahārājādhirāja Dēvagupta as the maternal grandfather of Pravarasena II. Fleet identified this Dēvagupta with Mahārājādhirāja Dēvagupta of Magadhā, the son of Adityasena, mentioned in the Dēo-Barṇāraka inscription, who flourished towards the close of the seventh century A.C. The Vākāṭakas were therefore believed to have ruled in the seventh and eighth centuries A.C. This estimate of their age proved to be wide of the mark by the discovery, in 1912, of the Poonā plates of Prabhāvatīgupta, which Prof. K. B. Pathak and Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit first briefly noticed in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XLI, (1912), pp. 214 f. and later edited fully in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XV, pp. 39 f. These plates explicitly mention that Prabhāvatīgupta, the chief queen (agra-mahishī) of the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena II and mother of the crown-prince Divākarasena, was the daughter of the illustrious Gupta king Mahārājādhirāja Chandragupta II. These plates, though discovered with a coppersmith of Poonā, really belong to the Hīṅgānghāta tahiṣṭi of the Wardhā District in Vidarbha. The places mentioned in that grant could not be identified at the time, but the matrimonial relation of the Vākāṭakas and the Guptas explicitly stated therein placed Vākāṭaka chronology on a sound basis. Thereafter, Vincent Smith, who had not written a single line on this dynasty in his Early History of India (third edition, published in 1914), wrote a long article on it in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (1914), pp. 317 f., setting forth, with his characteristic precision and clarity, the available evidence of copper-plate grants and stone inscriptions, and giving a history of the dynasty based on it. Later, Prof. J. Dubreuil and Dr. S. K. Aiyangar threw more light on the history of this royal family. It was, however, the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal who brought the Vākāṭakas into prominence and assigned them their rightful place in the ancient history of India. In the book History of India, 150 A.D. to 350 A.D., to which he gave the significant name ‘Nāga-Vākāṭaka Imperial Period’, Jayaswal tried to show that ‘imperial rule and paramount sovereignty had been in the hands and keeping of the Vākāṭakas full sixty years before Samudragupta’. According to Jayaswal, Pravarasena I, the son of Vindhyasakti, evolved a clear political thesis. ‘His thesis was a Hindu Empire for the whole of India and the enthronement of the Śāstras. Secondly, a great literary movement in favour of Sanskrit begins about 250 A.D. and in 50 years reaches a pitch at which the Guptas take it up. . . . Thirdly, revival of Varṇāśramadharma and Hindu orthodoxy is emphasised very pointedly; it was the cry of the time. The society under the Vākāṭaka imperialism was seeking to purge the abuses crept in under Kusāna rule. It was a Hindu Puritan Movement which was greatly fostered and which received a wide imperial implication under Pravarasena I. . . . Fourthly, under the Vākāṭakas the art of sculpture and the graphic art of Ajanta which lay under their direct government

1 A.S.W.I., Vol. IV, p. 119.
5 Below, p. 7.
6 Dubreuil, Ancient History of the Deccan, pp. 71 f.
7 Aiyangar, Ancient India (published by Sardesai), Vol. I, pp. 91 f.
8 Jayaswal, History of India, 150 A.D. to 350 A.D., p. 5.
were vivified. . . . The credit of the revival of Hindu art which had been universally attributed by the present-day writers wholly to the Guptas, like the credit of Sanskrit revival, really belongs to the Vakāṭakas. 1 Many of Jayaswal's theories about the Nāgas, Vakāṭakas and Pallavas have been shown by sober criticism to be untenable, but there is no doubt that his powerful advocacy of the Vakāṭakas brought that dynasty into prominence and served to obtain recognition for their achievements.

Further progress in our knowledge of the history of the Vakāṭakas was made in 1939 by the discovery of a copper-plate grant of the Vākāṭaka king Vindhyāśakti II at Bāsim (or Vāśīm) in the Akōlā District of Vidarbha. Before this discovery all writers who wrote on the Vakāṭakas believed that there was only one line of succession in the Vakāṭaka dynasty, 2 notwithstanding the explicit statement in the Purāṇas that Pravira, the son of Vindhyāśakti, who is plainly identical with the Vakāṭaka Samrāt Pravarasena I, had four sons, all of whom came to the throne, 3 and the discrepant evidence of the inscription in Ajanṭā Cave XVI which, multilated as it is, did not seem to give quite the same line of succession as the copper-plate grants. 4 From the Bāsim plates, which I edited in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXVI, pp. 137 f., I showed for the first time that the Vakāṭaka family branched off after the death of Pravarasena I. The statement in the Purāṇas that he had four sons is probably correct. Two of these are known—(i) Gautamiputra, who predeceased his father and whose son Rudrasena I succeeded Pravarasena I; and (ii) Sarvasena, whose son Vindhyāśakti II issued the Bāsim plates. I also showed from the inscription in Ajanṭā Cave XVI, which I re-deciphered from a fresh stammpage, 5 that the record contained the names, now partly multilated, of the princes Sarvasena and Vindhyāśakti, the latter being evidently identical with Vindhyāśakti II, who issued the Bāsim plates. It would seem, therefore, that the extensive empire of Pravarasena I was divided among his sons after his death. His grandson Rudrasena I obtained Northern Vidarbha as his patrimony, and ruled from the old capital Purikā. Sarvasena, the second son, obtained Southern Vidarbha extending to the Gōdāvari. Where the other two sons were ruling is not yet known. They may have held the country south of the Gōdāvari as well as Dukshīna Kōṣala. Their rule seems to have come to an end by the rise of the Early Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Śakas in Kuntala, and the Nalas and others in Dukshīna Kōṣala. In my article on the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānapura, 6 published in 1944, I showed that Māṇāṅka, the progenitor of this Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, flourished about 375 A.C. and ruled from Mānapura which is probably identical with the modern village Māṇ on the Māṇ river in the Sāṭārā District of the Mahārāṣṭra State. Later, from some coins discovered in the excavations at Kōṅḍāpur and other places I showed that a Śaka dynasty flourished in the Mahisha country comprising the southern portion of the former Hyderabad State and the adjoining territory. It was founded by the Śaka king Māṇa who rose to power after the downfall of the Sāṭavāhanas. These Early Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Śakas were thus the southern neighbours of the Vakāṭakas.

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1 Jayaswal, History of India, 150 A.D. to 350 A.D., pp. 95 f.
2 Aiyangār thought that there was a dispute about succession after the death of Pravarasena II, and Narėndrasena probably took the kingdom from an elder brother. Ancient India, p. 114.
3 Pargiter, Dynasty of the Kali Age, p. 50.
4 For this see A.S.W.I., Vol. IV, p. 126. The names of Vakāṭaka princes mentioned in this Ajanṭā inscription have to be revised as shown below, pp. 104 f.
5 Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. 14.
INTRODUCTION

Some more light on the history of the Vākāṭakas was also thrown by the inscriptions⁴ and coins⁵ of the Nalas, who once invaded their territory and occupied some portion of their dominion, and also by the records⁶ of the Sāmavaṁśis, who were their feudatories ruling in Mēkalā.

From this résumé of Vākāṭaka history it will be seen how our knowledge of this royal family has increased gradually during the last hundred and twenty-five years. There are still some dark corners of its history on which more light may be thrown by future discoveries, but it is now possible to give a fair outline of that history and to form a rather rough estimate of the achievements of the Vākāṭakas. For this an attempt is made in the following pages.

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CHAPTER II
VĀKĀṬAKA CHRONOLOGY

THE Vākāṭaka chronology is still more or less conjectural, but there are a few fixed points. Though Dr. Jayaswal’s view that the Kaḷachuri-Chedī era was originally founded by the Vākāṭaka king Vindhyāśakti I is untenable as none of the records of the Vākāṭakas themselves are dated in it, it is not unlikely that Vindhyāśakti I rose to power about the same time as the Ābhīra king Īśvarasena i.e. in circa 250 A.C. He may have ruled for about twenty years (c. 250 to 270 A.C.)². His son Pravaraśena I is credited in the Purāṇas with a reign of sixty years⁸. This is not unlikely in view of his performance of four Asvamedhas and several Vājapēya and other Śrauta sacrifices. He may therefore have flourished from c. 270 to 330 A.C. Pravaraśena I’s long reign is also indicated by the fact that he was succeeded in the elder branch not by a son, but by a grandson, viz. Rudraśena I. This latter prince may have ruled for about twenty years (c. 330 to 350 A.C.)⁵. When his son Prīthivivēṣaṇa I succeeded him, his family had been ruling over the kingdom for about a hundred years (250 to 350 A.C.) and this is in keeping with the description in the Vākāṭaka grants that his treasure and army had been accumulating for a hundred years⁵. Prīthivivēṣaṇa I seems to have had a long reign, for he is said to have lived to see a succession of sons and grandsons. Besides, his son Rudraśena II was a junior contemporary of the Gupta king Chandragupta II-Vikramādiyā (c. 380-413 A.C.), whose daughter Prabhāvatiguptā was married to him. Vincent Smith’s conjecture that this matrimonial alliance of the Guptas and the Vākāṭakas occurred at the time of Chandragupta II’s invasion of the territory of the Śaka Satraps of Gujarāt and Saurāśṭra ‘somewhere about 395 A.C.’⁶ appears quite plausible. Rudraśena II therefore may have come to the throne in c. 400 A.C. He had a short reign of about 5 years (c. 400 to 405 A.C.); for his dowager queen Prabhāvatiguptā was acting as a regent for her son Trayarāja Divākaraśena for at least 13 years. Divākaraśena seems to have died soon after the issue of the Poonā plates of his mother Prabhāvatiguptā; for, no other grant of his reign has come down to us. He may therefore be referred to the period c. 405 to 420 A.C. He was succeeded by his younger brother Dāmōdaraśena alias Pravaraśena II, who had a long reign of about thirty years⁶ (c. 420 to 450 A.C.). His son Nareṇdaraśena and grandson Prīthivivēṣaṇa II may have each ruled for about twenty years, the former from c. 450 to 470 A.C., and the latter from c. 470 to 490 A.C. The period thus conjecturally assigned to Prīthivivēṣaṇa II’s reign is corroborated by the date of his feudatory, the Uchchakalpa prince Vēṅghra⁷, whose stone inscriptions have been found at Nachnā and Ganj in Madhya Pradesh. The latter’s son Jayaṇātha was ruling in the Gupta years 174 and 1778. His reign may have extended from G. 170

¹History of India, etc., pp. 109 ft.
²I adopt the reading समन्तशिष्य भूषा भूष्यित्रिः तु समस्थिति given by a MS. of the Vīṣṇupurāṇa. D.K.A., p. 48, f. n. 86.
³Cf. विनायकाःपदवितिः प्रवर्तको नाम चरणवनामाः. मोकंतं न समां: पादं पुराणकं जनकां च वै. Ibid. p. 50.
⁴Cf. चर्चमाियिक निर्माणकोशस्य ग्रामस्य लोकावलाः ओल्मययोगिणां. in No. 3, line 11.
⁶His Pāṇdhūmā plates (No. 14) are dated in the twenty-ninth regnal year.
⁷Vēṅghra was not a feudatory of Prīthivivēṣaṇa I as supposed by some scholars. See below, pp. 89 f.
⁸For a detailed discussion of the identification of the era in which the dates of the Uchchakalpa kings are recorded, see my article entitled ‘The Dates of Uchchakalpa Kings ’ in Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIII, pp. 171 f.
to G. 190. Vyāghra, his father, was therefore probably ruling from c. G. 150 to G. 170, i.e. from c. 470 to 490 A.C. He was thus a contemporary of the Vākṣṭaka Prīthvishēṇa II, to whom we have conjecturally assigned the same period 470-490 A.C.

As regards the Vatsagulma Branch, its founder Sarvaśēna was a contemporary of Rudrasēna I of the Main Branch. He may therefore have flourished from c. 330 to 355 A.C. His son Vindhyasēna or Vindhyasakti II had a long reign of more than 37 years. He may have ruled for 40 or even 45 years. He may therefore be placed in the period c. 355-400 A.C. His successor Pravaraśēna II appears to have died young; for his son, whose name is unfortunately lost in the mutilated Ajanṭā inscription, came to the throne at the early age of 8 years. Pravaraśēna II of this branch may therefore have ruled from c. 400 to 410 A.C., and his son from 410 to 450 A.C. Dēvasēna, who succeeded the latter, may be referred to the period 450 to 475 A.C., and his son Harisēna to c. 475 to 500 A.C. If the story in the eighth chapter of the DasaśīvatūratīŚa has a historical basis, Harisēna may have been succeeded by his son, who ruled for about ten years (c. 500 to 510 A.C.). Thereafter, the country was conquered by the Kālachuri king Kṛṣṇarāja.

The Vākṣṭaka chronology may therefore be stated as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vindhyasakti I</th>
<th>(250 A.C.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Main Branch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Gautamiputra)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rudrasēna I</td>
<td>(330 A.C.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prīthvishēṇa I</td>
<td>(350 A.C.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rudrasēna II</td>
<td>(400 A.C.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dīvākarasēna</td>
<td>(403 A.C.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pravaraśēna II</td>
<td>(420 A.C.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narḍrasēna</td>
<td>(450 A.C.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prīthvishēṇa II</td>
<td>(470 A.C.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vatsagulma Branch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sarvaśēna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vindhyasakti II or Vindhyasena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pravaraśēna II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son (unnamed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēvasēna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harisēna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son (Name unknown)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The chronology given above agrees generally with that fixed by Dr. Altekar, but differs from the one suggested by Dr. R. C. Majumdar and adopted by Dr. D. C. Sircar. I have examined the latter in an Appendix.

1No. 23.
2See below, Chapter VI.
3The years in the brackets give the approximate dates of accession.
APPENDIX

A NOTE ON DR. R. C. MAJUMDAR’S GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE VĀKĀTAKAS

Dr. R. C. Majumdar has discussed the question of the genealogy and chronology of the Vākātakas in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XII, pp. 1 f. He gives the following genealogy with the duration of each reign:

Vindhyāsakti I
(250 A.C.)

Pravarasena I
(270 A.C.)

Main (Branch)

(Gautamiputra)

Rudrāsena I
(330 A.C.)

Prithivishēna I
(375 A.C.)

Rudrāsena II
(400 A.C.)

(Vatsagulma Branch)

Sarvasena
(330 A.C.)

Vindhyāsena or Vindhyāsakti II
(350 A.C.)

Pravarasena II
(390 A.C.)

Son (name lost)
(410 A.C.)

Divākarasena
(420 A.C.)

Dāmodarasena
(435 A.C.)

Pravarasena II
(450 A.C.)

Narēndrasena
(480 A.C.)

Prithivishēna II
(505 A.C.)

Dēvasena
(450 A.C.)

Harishēna
(475 A.C.)

This chronology is based on the following evidence:

(i) The Riddhapur plates dated in the 19th regnal year of Pravarasena II describe the dowager queen Prabhavatiguptā as sāgra-varsha-sata-diva-putra-pautra. This passage means that Prabhavatiguptā lived for more than a hundred years and had sons and grandsons. She appears to have survived her brother Kumāragupta whose reign came to an end in 365 A.C. She was probably born about 365 A.C. She became a widow about 420 A.C. when she had three minor sons Divākarasena, Dāmodarasena and Pravarasena. She acted as regent for Divākarasena for thirteen years. As the 100th year of Prabhavatiguptā fell before the 19th regnal year of Pravarasena II, working backwards we get the following approximate years of the accession of her three sons—Divākarasena 420 A.C., Dāmodarasena 435 A.C. and Pravarasena 450 A.C.

(ii) Narēndrasena of the Main Branch and Harishēna of the Bāsim Branch were contemporaries, being sixth in descent from their common ancestor Pravarasena I. Narēndrasena’s son Prithivishēna II was therefore junior to Harishēna. From the list of conquests attributed to Harishēna it seems that he overran the territory of the main Vākātaka branch. Prithivishēna II, who is said to have rescued the fortunes of the family, possibly defeated Harishēna or his successor. He was the suzerain of Vyāghradēva who ruled in the Nachmā-Ganj territory.

I now proceed to examine this chronological scheme.
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The main plank in the chronological structure raised by Dr. Majumdar is the description of Prabhāvatiguptā in the Riddhapur plates. The expression actually occurs in the following form:—sāgara-varsha-sata-diva-putra-paunrā. This has been variously interpreted. The editor of the grant suggested the following two renderings: (i) one who has sons and grandsons, a life of full hundred years and will (in the end) live in heaven, and (ii) who has renowned sons and grandsons and who has lived a life of full hundred years. Of these, the first rendering is unacceptable, as the simple word diva in that expression cannot yield the meaning ‘who will in the end live in heaven’. The second rendering (with the change of diva into jīva) is also equally open to objection as jīva means ‘heavenly’, not ‘renowned’. Dr. Majumdar has ingeniously suggested the reading jīva in place of diva. He takes the expression sāgara-varsha-sata-jīva-putra-paunrā to mean that Prabhāvatiguptā lived for more than a hundred years and had sons and grandsons living at the time. As this expression is pivotal for his theory, it requires to be examined carefully.

Dr. Majumdar apparently takes the expression sāgara-varsha-sata-jīva-putra-paunrā as a compound consisting of two adjectival expressions sāgara-varsha-satā and jīva-putra-paunrā, the first referring to her own age of full hundred years and the latter stating that her sons and grandsons were living at the time. As the compound stands, the expression sāgara-varsha-sata-jīva appears to be connected with putra-paunrā, the intended dissolution being sāgara-varsha-sataḥ jīvam iti tāḍāśāḥ putrā paunrāḥ=cha pāyāḥ sā. To have living sons and grandsons is regarded as a sign of good fortune and so the epithet jīva-paunrā is often noticed in the description of women in literature and inscriptions. The preceding expression indicating long life must evidently be connected with jīva. The expression refers to the long life of her sons and grandsons, not her own. To a Hindu widow like Prabhāvatiguptā, a long life of a hundred years is most distasteful. It is not a source of joy. No widow is likely to boast of it. We must note in this connection that the expression occurs in Prabhāvatiguptā’s own grant. The long life mentioned in it must therefore be taken to refer to her sons and grandsons.

It may, however, be asked, ‘How could the sons and grandsons of Prabhāvatiguptā have been a hundred years old in the 19th year of Pravaraśena II?’ The question is easily answered. The intention is to express the wish that they would be long-lived. It is like the attributive adjective āyushman or dirghāyus noticed in the description of small children. It would be wrong to infer from it that the children were then long-lived. The expression in Prabhāvatiguptā’s grant is of the same type. The only difference is that instead of an indefinite expression indicating long life like dirghāyus, one denoting a life of full hundred years is used. The expression must therefore be taken to mean that Prabhāvatiguptā had at that time sons and grandsons who, it was hoped, would be long-lived. It does not refer to the long life of Prabhāvatiguptā herself at all.

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1 This was first pointed out by Prof. Jagan Nath in P.I.H.C., Vol. IV, pp. 58 f.
2 Cf. (i) ज्ञानम् ज्ञानस्वम् अनात्मा: रिगोदा, X, 36, 9.
   (ii) महाभारतम् V, 144, 2.
   (iii) वैदिकवर्णनम् रामायणम् भाषान्तरम् Rāmāyana, IV, 19, 11.
3 See e.g. the words of Kausalya in the Uttara-rāma-charita, when she sees Lava being dragged away by the boys of Vālmiki’s hermitage, eager to see the horse of Āśwavēda—नववर्ष रामायणम् अवभासोढ़ नववर्ष रामायणम् अवभासोढ़. Here Kausalya uses dirghāyushkham (long-lived) as an attribute of Lava, who was in his teens.
The foundation on which Dr. Majumdar’s theory is based is thus extremely shaky. I shall now proceed to examine the subsidiary evidence adduced by him.

(i) To account for Prabhāvatigupta’s age of more than a hundred years in the nineteenth regnal year of Pravarasena II, Dr. Majumdar supposes that the Vākāṭaka queen had three sons, Divākaraśena, Dāmodaraśena and Pravarasena. According to him, she was born about 365 A.C. and became a widow in 420 A.C., i.e. when she was in the advanced age of 55 years. Her eldest son was then about six years old. If this is correct, we shall have to suppose that Prabhāvati had no male children till she was nearly fifty years old, or that all her sons born before had died, and that after that age she had these three sons in close succession. This appears very unlikely. As Dr. Majumdar has himself said, ‘in all cases where nothing definite is known, we shall proceed on the basis of a reasonable and probable state of things’. No grants made by Dāmodaraśena have been discovered. Besides, the description in the Riddhapur plates seems to point to his identity with Pravarasena II. The expression Vākāṭakānāṁ Mahārāja-Dāmodaraśena-Pravarasena-janani occurs in the description of Prabhāvatigupta. It uses the phrase Vākāṭakānāṁ Mahārāja in connection with the name of Dāmodaraśena, but not with that of Pravarasena II. When we remember how particular the drafters of Vākāṭaka grants were about the use of this title in connection with the name of every Vākāṭaka king who actually reigned, it looks strange that the title should not have been prefixed to the name of Pravarasena II, who was actually ruling at the time. Again, there is no reason why the name of Divakarāśena should have been omitted. It seems probable therefore that Dāmodaraśena and Pravarasena II were identical, and that the latter name was adopted by the prince at the time of his accession. From the Jāmb plates dated in the second regnal year of Pravarasena II it seems clear that this prince had come of age when he began to reign. Prabhāvatigupta’s regency does not seem to have continued long after the issue of the Poonā plates dated in the thirteenth year evidently of the boy-prince Divakarāśena’s reign. It does not therefore seem likely that Prabhāvatigupta was a hundred years old in the nineteenth regnal year of Pravarasena II.

(ii) Dr. Majumdar says that Narēndrasena of the main branch and Harishēna of the Vastagulma branch were contemporaries, because both of them were sixth in descent1 from their common ancestor Pravarasena I. We cannot, however, be certain about the contemporaneity of princes by counting generations; for, the reign-periods of kings vary greatly. Besides, though Narēndrasena was sixth in descent from Pravarasena I, one of his ancestors, vīcè, Gautamiśuta did not reign. Narēndrasena was therefore probably a contemporary of Dēvasena. Consequently, Prīthivishēna II and Harishēna may have ruled in the same period. As the latter claims to have conquered Avantī or Mālwā, he must have overrun the territory of the main branch. He had probably annexed it after the death of Prīthivishēna II.

(iii) As for the restoration of the fortune of his family by Prīthivishēna II, that need not refer to any struggle with Harishēna. We know that there were wars between the main branch of the Vākāṭakas and the Nalas of Pushkari. Bhavadatta of the Nala dynasty had overrun the Vākāṭaka territory and occupied Nandivardhana, the erstwhile Vākāṭaka capital. The Nalas admit that their own capital was devastated by the enemy some time before the reign of Skandavarman, the son of Bhavadattavarman, who resettled it. It

1Really speaking, it was Prīthivishēna II who was a contemporary of Harishēna. See the Genealogical Table on p. vi.
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is easy to surmise that this enemy, though not named in the inscription, was the contemporary Vākāṭaka king. The restoration of the fortune of the Vākāṭaka family mentioned in the Bālāghāṭ plates probably refers to the reoccupation of Northern Vidarbha by Pṛthivīśheṇa II.

The scheme of the genealogy and chronology of the Vākāṭakas proposed by Dr. Majumdar thus goes against the available evidence of the Vākāṭaka and other inscriptions and is therefore untenable.
CHAPTER III

THE HOME OF THE VĀKĀṬAKAS

The Vākāṭakas are generally believed to be of northern origin. Thus, Vincent Smith, in his article on the Vākāṭakas, says, 'If Vindhyāśakti and Pravaraśena are the same persons as Vindhyāśakti and Pravira of the Purāṇas, the origin of the family must be sought somewhere in the area now known as Central India'. Jayaswal went one step further and derived the dynastic name Vākāṭaka from Vākāṭa or Vākāṭa on the analogy of Traikūṭa, which is plainly formed from Trikūṭa. He identified this Vākāṭa, the supposed home-land of the Vākāṭakas, with Bāgāt, a village in the northernmost part of the former Īrghā State, six miles east of Chirgaon in the District of Jhānsi. 'The Brāhmaṇa', says Jayaswal, 'who, according to the Purāṇas, was the first appointed king and the founder of the dynasty and who assumed the appropriate appellation of Vindhyāśakti, adopted the name of his own town as his dynastic title'. The northern origin of the Vākāṭakas has been tacitly admitted by almost all scholars who have written on this subject.

I therefore propose to examine critically the evidence on which it is based.

(1) The main basis of this theory of the northern origin of the Vākāṭakas is the following passage in the Purāṇas:

This passage is introduced with the words, 'Hear also the future rulers of Vidyāśā', and mentions towards the close the names of Vindhyāśakti and Pravira, who are undoubtedly kings of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. It has, therefore, been supposed that Vindhyāśakti and Pravira ruled somewhere in Central India, not far from Vidyāśa, modern Bensagar near Bhilsā. This passage mentions several kings; but none of them, with the exception of the two mentioned above, are known from any other source. Besides, it is not clear how far the scope of the introductory statement नुपरंश्रेसितकाकाष्ठापिन्य भविष्यास्तु निर्विभास्त्रेभि ends. That all the kings mentioned in this passage were not of Vidyāśa was realised by Pargiter also, who gave the heading 'Dynasties of Vidyāśa, etc.' to it. It is noteworthy that the passage introduces Siśuka, the ruler of Purikā, in verse 5. Purikā, we know from the

1See e.g. N.H.I.P., Vol. VI, p. 96. The southern origin of the Vākāṭakas was first pointed out by me in N.U.2, No. 3, pp. 22 ff.
Harivendra, was situated at the foot of the Rikshavat mountain, which is usually identified with the Sātpuḍā range. The town was therefore situated south of the Vindhyas. Pravīra (or Pravarasena I), the son of Vindhyaśakti, is mentioned in this passage immediately after Śiṣuika, probably because that Vakṣṭaka prince succeeded the latter in that territory. It may be noted in this connection that Purīkā appears to be mentioned as a capital of Pravīra in the next verse. Pargiter gives the following reading of it:—

किन्नरसिंहदूल्स्थानम् प्रवीरी नाम वीरवतनोः।
भेदधिरे तत्तथा: रक्षो पूरी शाल्यवतनकः।

If this reading is adopted, the name of the Vakṣṭaka capital would be Kāṭchanakā, but this reading would make the particle cha meaningless and inserted in the line merely for pādaśastra. I, therefore, adopt Jayaswal's ingenious emendation भेदवधिरे तत्तथा: रक्षो पूरी शाल्यवतनकः न च च meaning that Pravarasena ruled from two capitals Purikā and Chanakā. The verse, if thus read, would satisfactorily explain why the Vakṣṭaka king is mentioned immediately after Śiṣuika. He evidently annexed the latter's kingdom and made Purikā a second capital of his empire, which thus extended to the Vindhyas in the north. This passage in the Purāṇas does not, therefore, give any indication that the Vakṣṭakas originally belonged to Central India.

(2) Another argument which is sometimes advanced to prove the northern origin of the Vakṣṭakas is the identification of Rudradeva mentioned in the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta with Rudrasena I of the Vakṣṭaka dynasty. This implies the existence of the Vakṣṭaka empire in North India during the reigns of the early kings, Rudrasena I and his grandfather Pravarasena I. The identification is, however, extremely unlikely. Rudradeva, who is mentioned in that inscription as a king of Aryavarta exterminated by Samudragupta, must have been previously ruling north of the Vindhyas. We have, however, no inscription of the reign of the Vakṣṭaka Rudrasena I or of any earlier king of the dynasty from North India. The only record of Rudrasena I discovered so far is the stone inscription found at Deočik in the Chāndā District of Vīdarbha.3 Rudrasena I was, therefore, ruling in Vīdarbha, not in Central India. Besides, as Dr. Altekar has already observed, 3 if Rudrasena I had been exterminated by Samudragupta, it is extremely unlikely that his son Prithivisrēṇa I would ever have selected a Gupta princess (viz. Prabhāvatiguptā) to be his daughter-in-law. For all these reasons, the identification of Rudradeva of the Allahābād pillar inscription with the Vakṣṭaka Rudrasena I is extremely unlikely and it cannot substantiate the northern origin of the Vakṣṭakas.

(3) The surest indication of the rule of any king in a particular territory is the original findspot of his stone inscriptions. Copper-plates and coins are easily carried from place to place and are sometimes found hundreds of miles away from their original places. Stone inscriptions are generally not transported in this manner. Now, there is not a single inscription of any Vakṣṭaka king found north of the Vindhyas. Two stone inscriptions4 of a prince named Vyāgrarādēva, who describes himself as 'meditating on the feet of the Vakṣṭaka Prithivisrēṇa' have, however, been discovered in Central India—one at Nachnē-ki-talāi in the former Jāśo State, and the other at Gānj in the former

1 Cf. Harivamśa, Vālmīkīparvan, 38, 22, रक्षो पूरी शाल्यवतनकः। निनिकाता साप पूरी राजा पूर्वकाः।
2 No. 1.
4 Nos. 20-21 and 22.
THE HOME OF THE VĀKĀṬAKAS

Ajaigañḍha State. This Pṛthivivishēna is identified by some scholars with the first Vākāṭaka king of that name, who flourished in the period 350-400 a.c. These records are sometimes cited to prove that the Vākāṭakas had an empire north of the Vindhyas prior to that of the Guptas. The paleographic evidence which has been recently adduced to prove the early age of these inscriptions¹ is not conclusive. Besides, there is no other vestige of the extension of Vākāṭaka supremacy in that region as early as the reign of Pṛthivivishēna I. On the other hand, Vyāghradēva of the aforementioned Nachna and Ganj inscriptions is probably identical with the Uchchakalpa prince of the same name mentioned in the grants of his son Jayañātha who flourished in the last quarter of the fifth century a.c.² His suzerain Pṛthivivishēna was therefore the second Vākāṭaka king of that name who flourished from about 470 a.c. to 490 a.c. That the Vākāṭakas had extended their supremacy north of the Vindhyas during the reign of Pṛthivivishēna II’s father Narēndrasēna is also known from the expression Kōnal-Mekalā-Māla-abhyañchēhā-sāmanah used in the Bālāghāt plates to describe Narendrasēna.³ This is again confirmed by the evidence of the Paṇḍavavahīṣi king Bharatala who covertly refers to his suzerain Narēndrasēna.⁴ This Bharatabala ruled over Mēkalā as stated expressly in the grant. No other king of the name of Vyāghra is known to have ruled in Central India in the age of the Vākāṭakas. Vyāghradēva of the Nachna and Ganj inscriptions therefore belonged to the Uchchakalpa dynasty and was a feudatory of the Vākāṭaka Pṛthivivishēna II and not of Pṛthivivishēna I, who flourished nearly 120 years earlier. These inscriptions do not, therefore, evidence any early rule of the Vākāṭakas, much less their home-land, north of the Vindhyas.

⁴ As stated before, the find-spots of copper-plates and coins afford no sure proof of the rule of any dynasty in a particular territory. Still, their evidence also has to be considered in the absence of other proofs. The only copper-plate grant of the Vākāṭakas said to have been found in North India is that recorded on the so-called Indore plates⁵ of Pravarasēna II. These plates were found in the collection of the late Pandit Vāmanasāstrī Islāmpurkar. It is well known that the Pandit was engaged in collecting old Sanskrit manuscripts and historical records from different parts of the country. I have shown elsewhere that two other grants⁶ found in his collection at Indore were originally from Khāndēśa and the places mentioned in them can also be located in Khāndēśa. As all other copper-plate grants of the Vākāṭakas discovered so far originally came from Vidarbha, the Indore copper-plate grant also, in all probability, belongs to the same part of the country. None of the places mentioned in it have been located in North India.⁷

As for coins, Jayaswal drew attention to some coins of North Indian fabric which he attributed to the Vākāṭakas. The coin with the legend Pravarasēnasya⁸ bears, according to Jayaswal, the date 76, and that having the legend Rudra,⁹ the date 100. Jayaswal referred these dates to the so-called Kalachuri-Chēdi era commencing in 248 a.c., which, according

¹In H.C.I.P., Vol. III, p. 179, n. 1. D. C. Sircar has drawn attention to the triangular 6 and the old forms of 7 and 1, which, according to him, evidence an early date for Vyāghradēva’s feudatory Pṛthivivishēna, but the evidence is inconclusive. See below pp. 89 ff. See also my article on this subject in Dr. S. K. Belovkhar Felicitatio Volume, pp. 286 ff.
³No. 18, pp. 27-28.
⁴No. 19, lines 31-34.
⁵No. 9.
⁷I have identified some of them in the Bālāghāt District. See below, p. 40.
⁸History of India, etc., pp. 52 ff.
⁹Ibid., pp. 108 ff.
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ing to him, was really started by the Vākṣṭakas. If his readings of the legends and dates and the identification of the era are correct, these coins may indicate the extension of Vākṣṭaka rule north of the Vindhyas during the reigns of the early Vākṣṭaka rulers Pravarasena I and Rudrasena I. But Jayaswal's readings and interpretations have been disputed by other scholars. Dr. Altekar has shown that the coin attributed to Pravarasena is really of Viraśena. The symbols which Dr. Jayaswal supposed to be the date 76 are really the branches of a tree in railing. As for the coins of Rudrasena I, what he took to be the letters Rudra is really the tri-ratna symbol. The symbol supposed to denote the date 100 is clearly a swastika.1 So these coins cannot be attributed to any Vākṣṭaka king. In fact, the Vākṣṭakas did not strike any coins, but used the currency of the Guptas throughout their kingdom. Several gold coins of Chandragupta II have been found in Vidarbha. The silver coins of the Western Kshatrapas also may have been current in their territory. Some hoards of Kshatrapa coins have been found in the Chhindwāḍa and other districts of Madhya Pradeś. Again, even supposing that the readings of the dates on these coins are correct, they cannot be referred to the era of 248 A.C. That era was not started by the Vākṣṭakas2 and has not been used in dating any Vākṣṭaka grant. All inscriptions of the Vākṣṭakas are dated in regnal years. As a matter of fact, the era was introduced in Vidarbha after the downfall of the Vākṣṭakas. The only date of that era found in Vidarbha occurs in the recently discovered Nandivardhana plates of Svāmirāja, who was probably a feudatory of the Kalachuri king Kriṣṇarāja.3

The foregoing discussion must have made it plain that neither the era nor the coins are of the Vākṣṭakas. There is thus not an iota of evidence to prove that the Vākṣṭakas originally hailed from North India.

I shall now proceed to state some evidence which indicates that the original home of the dynasty was in the Deccan.

(i) The earliest mention of the name Vākṣṭaka occurs in the following record4 incised on a fragment of an octagonal pillar at Amaravati in the Guntur District of Andhra State. It is in Prakrit and is in characters of about the third century A.C.

Inscription No. 126—

Line 1.........गामे बाच्छक पहसलिता बाॅकासक पहसलिंदिं
” 2.........मा बेते सोपिकेन महिसाय बधुपाय समपुरुषिं
” 3.........राख तनालितमसवं च अपने अयुवचाँत

The inscription is unfortunately fragmentary, but its extant portion shows that it was intended to record the gift of a grīhapati (householder) named Vākṣṭaka and his two wives, one of whom was named Chamunā. The gift was made by them at the instance of a Thēra (Buddhist Bhikshu) named Bōdhika and for the longevity of themselves and theiragnates (jātis), friends and relatives. Vākṣṭaka is used here as a personal name and not as a family name. This record shows that the grīhapati Vākṣṭaka had gone to Amaravati with his wives to make donations there for the longevity of himself, his wives and relatives. The name of the native village was mentioned in the beginning of the first line, but it is now lost. In view of the difficulties of travelling in those days it would not be

2 It was probably started by the Abhīra king Īsvarā. C.I.I., Vol. IV, pp. xxii f.
3 Ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 611 f.
5 This number is cited from Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum, p. 304.
THE HOME OF THE VĀKĀṬAKAS

wrong to infer that this grihapati Vākāṭaka was the resident of a country not very far from Amarāvatī. It may be noted in this connection that the inscriptions discovered at Amarāvatī generally mention countries, rivers and places of South India such as Draviḍa, the Kṛishṇa, the Godāvari, Dhanakāṭaka and Kaṇṭakaśāila.1 The only places of North India which I have noticed in the 126 inscriptions of Amarāvatī that have been published so far are Rājagriha and Pātaliputra, mentioned as places of residence of monks who or whose disciples made certain donations at Amarāvatī. The inference that the grihapati Vākāṭaka mentioned in inscription No. 126 was a resident of South India would thus appear reasonable.

On palaeographic grounds this inscription has been referred to the third century A.C. The grihapati Vākāṭaka mentioned in it was not therefore far removed in time from Vindhyāśakti I, who seems to have come into prominence about 250 A.C. This grihapati was in all probability the progenitor of the Vākāṭaka family even as Gupta was of the Gupta family. What social or official status he had, we do not know; but he was apparently of sufficient importance to be regarded as the progenitor of the family. This Vākāṭaka was then a follower of Buddhism, but later on he or his descendants seem to have changed their religious faith and become staunch supporters of the Vedic religion. Several instances of such change of faith can be cited from the ancient history of India.

(2) There are several other indications of the southern origin of the Vākāṭakas. In the formal portions of Vākāṭaka grants there occur several technical terms which are noticed in the Hirahāḍgallī and Mayidavōḷu plates of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman. Some of these may be given here.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expressions in the Bāsim plates</th>
<th>Corresponding expressions in the Pallava grants</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. अद्रुतस्विनिविष्ट</td>
<td>अद्रुतस्विनिविष्ट</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. अतवस्थापनस्वतन्त्र</td>
<td>अतवस्थापनस्वतन्त्र</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. अनुप्यक्षस्वरूप</td>
<td>अनुप्यक्षस्वरूप</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. अनुप्यक्षस्वरूप</td>
<td>अनुप्यक्षस्वरूप</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. अस्वस्वरूपिकायां</td>
<td>अस्वस्वरूपिकायां</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. अस्वस्वरूपिकायां</td>
<td>अस्वस्वरूपिकायां</td>
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These similarities are surely not accidental. They presuppose some connection of the Vākāṭakas with the Pallavas. It is also possible that both these dynasties borrowed these expressions from earlier Sātavāhana inscriptions. No such technical terms have, however, been noticed in any early grants of North India.

(3) Again, the titles Hāriṇiputra and Dharmaṇahāraṇa, mentioned in connection with the earliest Vākāṭaka kings Pravarasena I, Sarvasena and Vindhyāśakti II in the Bāsim plates, unmistakably point to the southern origin of the family; for, these titles are noticed in the early grants of only southern dynasties such as the Vinhukaḍa Sātakarnis, the Pallavas, the Kadambas and the Early Chālukyas. They are not found in the early grants of any northern dynasty.

(4) Finally, the patronage that the Vākāṭakas extended to a ministerial family of South India for several generations may also indicate their southern origin. This family was named Vallūra after the village Vallūra in the southern region which was its original place of residence. This place has not yet been definitely identified, but it may be the same as modern Vēlur which lies about 30 miles north by east of Hyderābād in the Yelganḍal

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1 See the list of geographical names, ibid., pp. 332 ff.
District of the former Hyderābād State. The progenitor of this family was Yajñapati. His son Dēva, who was a contemporary of Vindhyāśakti and perhaps also of his son Pravarasēna I, is described in the Ghaṭōkacha cave inscription as a very pious Brāhmaṇa, at whose instance the whole kingdom including the king engaged itself in the performance of religious rites. From Vākāṭaka inscriptions also we have evidence of a phenomenal religious activity in this period. Pravarasēna I, who was the real founder of Vākāṭaka imperial power, is said to have performed several sacrifices such as Agnīṣṭōma, Āptōryāma, Uktīya, Shōḍāsin, Atūrātra, Vājapēya, Brīhaspatisava and Sādyaskra, besides four Āsvamēdhas. No other early king of North or South India, except Mādhavavarman I of the Vishnukūḍin dynasty, is known to have performed so many Śrauta sacrifices. It is not unlikely that he was encouraged in this by this pious Brāhmaṇa minister Dēva. Ravi, the grandson of Dēva, is said to have established his sway over the whole territory (kṛit-ādhipatyaṁ viśayē samagrē). He was a contemporary of the Vākāṭaka king Sarvasēna who founded a separate kingdom with Vatsagulma as its capital. Ravi may have assisted Sarvasēna in extending the limits of his patrimony by making fresh conquests. The last two known members of this family, Hastibhōja and Varāhadēva, were the capable ministers of the Vākāṭaka kings Dēvasēna and Harishēna respectively. It will be seen that the two families—ministerial and royal—which were intimately connected with each other for several generations, rose to distinction in the same period. The ministerial family hailed from Vallūra which, as shown above, may be identified with Vētur in the Central Deccan. The original habitation of the grihapati Vākāṭaka cannot be determined owing to the unfortunate mutilation of Inscription No. 126 at Amarāvatī, but it was also probably situated in the Central Deccan. This also affords the most plausible explanation of how the Vākāṭakas rose to power in Vidarbha or Central Deccan immediately after the downfall of the Sātavāhanas.

The evidence adduced above will, I hope, convince readers that the original home of the Vākāṭakas was in South India.
CHAPTER IV

EARLY RULERS

THE middle of the third century A.C. marks the commencement of an important epoch in the history of South India. The Sātavāhanas, who had held a major part of the peninsula for an unusually long period of more than four centuries and a half, disappear from the stage of history about this time. Pulumāvi IV is the last known king of the Andhra (i.e. Sātavāhana) dynasty mentioned in the Purāṇas. His rock inscription has been found at Aḍōni in the Bellāry District of Andhra State, while his potin coins have been discovered at Tarhāḷā in the Akōla District of Vidarbha. He therefore probably ruled over an extensive kingdom stretching from the Narmadā in the north to the Tuṅgabhadra in the south. After his downfall in circa 250 A.C., several small kingdoms appear to have risen in the different provinces which had previously been under his sway. The Purāṇas say that on the dismemberment of the Andhra Empire the servants of the Andhras, viz. the Śrīparvatiyas, Andhras, Ābhīras, Gardabhilas, Śakas, Yavanas, Tushāras, Murunḍas and Hūnas would rise to power. This statement has, to a certain extent, been corroborated by the discovery of inscriptions and coins. We know that the Ābhīras carved out a kingdom for themselves in Northern Mahārāṣṭra, Kōkaṇ and Gujurāṭ, and the Śrīparvatiyas or the Ikshvākus did the same in the lower Krishṇā valley. Again, we have numismatic evidence of the rise of a Śaka dynasty in the southern parts of the Hyderabad State after the overthrow of the Sātavāhanas. The founder of this dynasty was Māna Mahisha, whose power and prestige entitled him to a mention in the Purāṇas. He had the status of Mahāsenāpati probably under the Sātavāhanas. Later, he threw off their yoke, but continued the title for some time on his coins. The Purāṇic statement about the rise of the Gardabhilas, Yavanas, Tushāras, Murunḍas and Hūnas remains to be verified by the discovery of inscriptions and coins. They may have usurped power in the provinces north of the Narmadā. As regards the Śakas, who also are mentioned in the same context, we have evidence of an independent Śaka kingdom in Central India, different from that of the Western Kshatrāpas of Saurāṣṭra. It was founded by the Mahārāna Kumbhakarna. Strange as it may appear, the Purāṇas make no mention of the Vākāṭakas among the dynasties that rose after the downfall of the Sātavāhanas. They no doubt mention Vindhyāsakti, but they place her rise after the Kālikā (or Kōlikā) kings who succeeded the Sātavāhanas. We have, however, no other evidence of the rule of these Kilakila or Kōlikā kings.

Vindhyāsakti I is the earliest known king of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. He is mentioned in the aforementioned passage of the Purāṇas and also in an inscription in Cave XVI at Ajanṭā. The latter record calls him ‘the banner of the Vākāṭaka family’ and gives the

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1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 133 f. The editor of this record ascribes it to Pulumāvi II, Vāsishṭhīputra, but the palaeographical evidence shows that it belongs to the reign of the last king, Pulumāvi IV.
9. No. 25, line 1.
valuable information that he was a dōjja, which usually means a Brāhmaṇa. Later Vakāṭaka inscriptions mention Vishnuvirdhha as the gētra of the Vakāṭakas. How Vindhyāsakti I was related to the grīhaṇātī Vakāṭaka mentioned in an inscription at Amarāvatī we do not know; but it is not unlikely that like the Śaka Mahāsenāpati Māna, he also had previously occupied a position of power and vantage under the Sātavahānas, which facilitated his rise to royal power.

Scholars are not agreed about the original home of this Vindhyāsakti. The Purāṇic passage referred to above is supposed to indicate that he was a ruler of Vidiśā. ¹ This is not correct. The Purāṇas mention not Vindhyāsakti I, but his son Pravarasēna I (under the name Pravīra) in connection with the rulers of Vidiśā, because, as shown below, the latter annexed the kingdom of Purikā where a scion of the Nāga family of Vidiśā was ruling. Vindhyāsakti's home was probably situated in the Central Deccan not far from Vallūra, the original habitation of the ministerial family which faithfully served the Vakāṭakas for several generations. The Purāṇas mention two capitals Purikā and Chanakā of his son Pravarasēna I. ² Of these, Chanakā was probably the older capital from which Vindhyāsakti was ruling. It has not been identified.

The Ajāntā inscription highly glorifies Vindhyāsakti I. He is said to have augmented his power by fighting great battles. When enraged, he was irresistible. He had a large cavalry, by means of which he exacted submission from his enemies. We have no reliable information about the extent of his kingdom. His name is supposed to be a biruda, suggesting the extension of his kingdom to the Vindhyāyan region, but according to the Puranic account this was achieved not by him but by his son Pravarasēna I. We may, however, well believe that starting from his base in the Central Deccan he raided and occupied parts of Vidarbha. The Sanskrit and Prakrit charters of the Vakāṭakas omit Vindhyāsakti's name and start the genealogy of the royal family invariably from his son Pravarasēna I. Again, no regal title is prefixed to his name even in the Ajāntā inscription. From this it has been surmised that Vindhyāsakti I received no formal coronation. ³ This is hardly convincing. The reason for the omission of his name seems to be that the real founder of Vakāṭaka power was not he, but his son Pravarasēna I, who greatly extended his dominion. The Ajāntā inscription which mentions his name is in verse. It mentions no regal titles in connection with the names of other rulers also. So there is no reason to doubt that Vindhyāsakti carved out an independent kingdom for himself in ancient Vidarbha. He probably flourished in the period 250-270 A.C. In some Purāṇas he is credited with a reign of 96 years, but the period, if correct, may rather represent his long life. ⁴ Pravarasēna I, who succeeded Vindhyāsakti I, was the most renowned king of this dynasty. He extended his dominion in different directions. He carried his arms to the Narmadā in the north and annexed the kingdom of Purikā. The Purāṇas say that a king named Śiśuka, who was the daughter's son of a Nāga king of Vidiśā, was ruling there. Pravarasēna deposed him and incorporated his kingdom into his own dominion. He then transferred his capital to Purikā. This city was situated somewhere at the foot of the Rikshavat or Sātpuḍa mountain. ⁵ We have no definite knowledge about the other

¹ N.H.I.P., p. 96.
² D.K.A., p. 50. I adopt Dr. Jayaswal's amendment मिछले च समा: परिषुरिक अनाको च वै।
⁴ Cf. त्रिक्र: वाजमति नुस्तात् गृहयित्रेः समानंतिः। in a Ms. of Vārṇaparāṣ. D.K.A., p. 48.
⁵ Cf. Hariśvantra, Vishnuparvan, 98, 22.—दु:सुरिक नामंतस्तरम व नितायम। निवितां शीते यथा: पुरस्कारं नाम नामकोः। Rikshavat is mentioned in the Vishnuparāṣa as the source of the Tāpi, Payāshni and Nirvindhya, and therefore corresponds to the Sātpuḍa mountain.
campaigns of Pravaraśena. It has been suggested that he succeeded in imposing his suzerainty over the Western Kshatrapas Rudrasinha II and Yaśodāman II, who were his contemporaries, and who, unlike their predecessors, did not assume the title of Mahākṣaṭrapa.\(^1\) There is, however, as yet no definite proof of this. The break in the use of the higher title by the Western Kshatrapas may be due to the rise of an independent kingdom in Central India under the Śaka king Śrīdhāravarman. There is also no evidence to show that Pravaraśena I carried his victorious arms beyond the Narmadā and incorporated Baghelkhand into his dominion.\(^2\) The only proof of Vākāṭaka suzerainty in Baghelkhand in this early period is furnished by the literary records, at Nachā and Ganj, of Vyāghradēva, who calls himself a feudatory of the Vākāṭaka Prithivīśeṇa; but as shown elsewhere, these records belong to a much later age, Prithivīśeṇa mentioned therein being the second Vākāṭaka king of that name who flourished in circa 470-490 A.C.

It is also unlikely that Pravaraśena I made any conquests in Northern Mahārāṣṭra, Gujarāt and Konkān, which were ruled by the powerful Ābhīra kings. He may have succeeded in conquering parts of North Kuntala comprising Kolhāpur, Sātārā and Sholāpur Districts of the Mahārāṣṭra State. Eastward, he may have carried his arms to Dakṣiṇa Kōsāla, Kalīṅga and Andhra, which were ruled by petty princes in this period. The paucity of records of this age makes it difficult to state his conquests or the exact limits of his dominion.

Pravaraśena I was a pious man and a staunch supporter of the Vedic religion. He performed a number of Vedic sacrifices. The records of his successors almost invariably mention his performance of the seven Sōma sacrifices\(^3\) as well as four Asvamedhás. The Purāṇas make a special mention of his Vājapeyā sacrifices which were marked by liberal gifts to Brāhmaṇas.\(^4\) Thereafter he assumed the unique imperial title Samrāṭ, which is mentioned in several records of his descendants.\(^5\) Like the early Pallava kings, he took also the title Dharmamahārāja indicative of his pious and righteous conquests.\(^6\) Like the Vīñhuṇaḍa Sātakarnī, he called himself Hāritīputra, a descendant of Hāritī. These two titles are indicative of his association with southern kings.

By his conquests and performance of Asvamedha sacrifices Pravaraśena I proclaimed his supremacy in the Deccan. He sought to strengthen his position still further by means of a matrimonial alliance with the Bhārāśivas of North India. The latter belonged to the Nāga race and may originally have been reigning in Vidarbha; for, an early stone inscription of a Bhāra king named Bhagadatta (circa second century A.C.) has been found at Pauni in the Bhaṇḍāra District of Vidarbha.\(^8\) Subsequently they appear to have raided North India, where they established themselves. Copper coins of their Adhirāja (Emperor)

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2. Ibid., p. 100. There is also no evidence that the empire of Pravaraśena I extended to Bundelkhand in the north as stated in H.C.I.P., Vol. II, p. 220.
3. The seven Sōma sacrifices (called sepha Sōma-satisthā) are usually named as follows:—Agniṣṭhōma, Atyagniṣṭhōma, Ukthya, Shoḍāsin, Vājapeyā, Aitṛātra and Aśṭoṃgya. Vākāṭaka inscriptions mention all except Atyagniṣṭhōma and add Bhaṃaspatisva and Śādyaskra to them. Cf. No. 3, lines 1 ff. No. 23 mentions Jyotisthōma, but omits Ukthya, Shoḍāsin and Aitṛātra.
5. The performer of a Vājapeyā sacrifice is entitled to assume the title Samrāṭ. Cf. Nāgarā Ḍ. Aṣṭoṃgya Parāśiva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, V, I, 1, 3.
6. The title Dharmamahārāja, which Hindu kings assumed in the early centuries of the Christian era, may have been suggested by the title Dharmamahārāja borne by some high officials of Asōka. We find it for the first time in the Hirahadagallī grant of the Pallava king Sivakandavarman. Some northern kings assumed the title of Dharmamahārāja or righteous conqueror. C.I.I., Vol. IV, pp. 15 and 609.
INTRODUCTION

Bhavanâga have been found at Padmâvatî, the well-known capital of the Nâgas. From Vâkâṭaka records we learn that the Bhârârásivas were staunch Śaivas. They carried on their shoulders the emblem of Śiva (perhaps his triśûla or trident) and believed that they owed their royal position to that god's grace. They performed as many as ten Āśvamēdhas and were consecrated with the water of the Gaṅgâ, which they had obtained by their valour. The description plainly shows that the Bhârârásivas had driven away the Kushânas from Central India and recovered from them the tīrthas of Prayâga and Kâśi, which are regarded as sacred by all devotees of Śiva. Bhavanâga, the Mahârâja of the Bhârârásivas, was a contemporary of Pravarasena I. He gave his daughter in marriage to Gautamîputra, who was probably the eldest son of the Vâkâṭaka Emperor. This alliance with the powerful Nâga family of the North appears to have greatly strengthened the power and prestige of the Vâkâṭakas; for, it is invariably mentioned in all grants of Gautamîputra's descendants. The Purânas credit Pravarasena I (whom they call Pravira) with a long reign of 60 years, which is not unlikely in view of his performance of four Āśvamēdhas and several Vâjapēya sacrifices. He may have ruled from about 270 A.C. to 330 A.C.

Pravarasena I had a very pious, learned and active Prime Minister named Dēva, who is eulogised in the Ghaṭotkacha cave inscription. It is said that by his influence the whole kingdom including the king engaged itself in the performance of religious duties. The phenomenal religious activity noticed in the reign of Pravarasena I may have been mainly due to the influence of this learned and pious statesman.

According to the Purânas, Pravarasena I had four sons, all of whom became kings. Until recently this statement of the Purânas appeared incredible; for, there was no evidence that the Vâkâṭaka family had branched off so early. The discovery of the Bāsim copper-plate grant in 1939 showed for the first time that besides Gautamîputra mentioned in several Vâkâṭaka grants, Pravarasena I had at least one more son named Sarvasena. His name has also been noticed in the inscription in Cave XVI at Ajanta. It seems therefore certain that the extensive empire of Pravarasena I was divided among his four sons after his death. The eldest branch probably continued to reign from the old capital Purikâ. The second son Sarvasena established himself at the holy city of Vatsagulma, modern Bāsim in the Aklâ District of Vidarbha. One of the remaining sons may have been ruling over North Kuntala comprising the upper Kṛishṇa valley, and the other may have been put in charge of Dakshīna Kōsala, if that was included in the dominion of Pravarasena I. No records of these two branches have yet come to light probably because they were short-lived. The Kuntala branch may have been crushed out of existence by the Rāśhrakūṭa family which was founded by Mānānka in the upper Kṛishṇa valley in circa 375 A.C. The branch ruling in Dakshīna Kōsala may also have been ousted by the Nalas and others who rose to power about the middle of the fourth century A.C.

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2 Cf. No. 3, lines 4-5 etc.
3 Cf. नाराजक राजनारास वर्षिन नामाँ तिसरा पार्व इत्यत्र ।। No. 26, line 5.
4 Cf. तेल वृत्ततु चंतितो रूपां रूपितमि गर्वितोऽऽ।। D.K.A., p. 50.
5 No. 23, line 4.
6 No. 25, line 6.
8 For the Nala kings see my article 'Gold Coins of Three Kings of the Nala Dynasty', J.N.S.I., Vol. I, pp. 29 f. For the family ruling in Dakshīna Kōsala, see Araṇg Plates of Bhūmaśena II. Eph. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 342 f. As I have shown (ibid., Vol. XXVI, pp. 227 f.), the date of this grant is G. 182 (501 A.C.), not G. 282 as taken by the editor.
CHAPTER V

THE MAIN BRANCH

GAUTAMIPUTRA, the eldest son\(^1\) of Pravarasena I, predeceased his father. The latter was therefore succeeded by his grandson Rudrasena I in circa 330 A.C.

In later Vakataka records Rudrasena I is invariably described as the daughter's son of Bhavanaga, the Maharaja of the Bharaivas, which indicates that the young prince had the powerful support of the Nagas of Padmavati. Only one inscription of his reign has been discovered, viz., that at Deotik in the Chandasi District of Vidarbha.\(^2\) It is incised on a large slab of stone after chiselling off an earlier record, issued probably by a Mahamatra of Asoka the Great, prohibiting the capture and slaughter of animals. The Vakataka inscription on the slab records that the shrine where the slab was put up was the dharma-sthana (place of religious worship) of the Rajan Rudrasena. Rudrasena I was a fervent devotee of Mahabhairava, the terrific god created by Siva for the destruction of Daksha's sacrifice. He had no regard for the doctrine of ahinsa preached by Asoka. He therefore apparently had no scruples in getting his own inscription incised on the same slab which contained an old proclamation of the great Buddhist Emperor prohibiting the capture and slaughter of animals.

Rudrasena I was a contemporary of the mighty Gupta king Samudragupta. His age was therefore a period of great convulsion in the country to the north of the Narmadha. Samudragupta, with the powerful support of the Lichchhavis of Vaishali, embarked upon a career of conquest and annexation in North India. His Allahabad pillar inscription mentions a large number of princes of Aryavarta or the country to the north of the Narmadha whom he forcibly dethroned and whose kingdoms he annexed.\(^3\) Among these rulers were the Nagas Nagaadatta, Gaapatiti Naga and Nagasena. Of these, Gaapatiti Naga was probably the contemporary ruler of Padmavati; for, his coins have been found there. He was evidently the successor of Bhavanaga. The other Naga princes were probably ruling over smaller states in Central India. We do not know what measures Rudrasena I took to help his relatives in North India, but there is no doubt that their final defeat and overthrow deprived him of the support of a powerful confederacy of the Nagas states.

After subduing the princes of North India, Samudragupta led his expedition to the south. The first king who felt the weight of his arms was Mahendravarman, the lord of Kosalas, i.e. Chhattisgarh. This king may previously have been a feudatory of the Vakatakas, his

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1 Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, drawing attention to the faulty construction in the stereotyped form of the Vakataka genealogy, suggested that Gautamiputra was the grandson, not the son, of Pravarasena I. If this view is accepted, the successor of Pravarasena I would be his great-grandson as Gautamiputra did not evidently come to the throne, the expression Vakatakamaharaja, which occurs invariably in the description of every Vakataka king, being absent in his case. Again, if Gautamiputra was the grandson, not the son of Pravarasena I, who was the son of the latter? Why is his name omitted? These questions cannot be satisfactorily answered. For further discussion of this question, see my article in Ind. Cult., Vol. XI, pp. 232-33.

2 No. 1.

3 Some scholars identify Rudradeva mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription as uprooted by Samudragupta with the Vakataka Rudrasena I, but the former was a ruler of Aryavarta or North India, while the Vakatakas had, in this early period, no foot-hold north of the Narmada as shown above. Again, as Dr. Altekar has shown, if Rudrasena I had been killed by Samudragupta, his son Prthivishena I would not have accepted Prabhavatigupta, the grand-daughter of Samudragupta, as a bride for his son Rudrasena II. Ind. Cult., Vol IX, pp. 103 f.
powerful neighbours to the west. It is not known if Rudrasena lent him any aid in resisting the aggression of the Gupta Emperor, but Mahendras was ultimately defeated and had to allow Samudragupta to pass through his territory for invading the kingdoms of Vyaghrasara of Mahakanta (the Great Forest Country, now called the Bastar District of Madhya Pradesh) and other southern kings.

These Gupta conquests dealt a severe blow to the power and prestige of this senior branch of the Vakataka family. Vyaghrasara of Mahakanta, who probably belonged to the Nala family, Mantrara of Kurtha, Mahendragiri of Pithapura (modern Pithapuram) and a host of other princes who were ruling in Kalinga and Andhra, threw off the Vakataka yoke and submitted to the Gupta Emperor. The kingdom of this Senior branch, therefore, came to be confined to Northern Vidarbha which lay between the Narmada and the Indhyadri range.

Though Rudrasena I's kingdom was thus much reduced in size, he maintained his independence and did not submit to the mighty Gupta Emperor. Perhaps Samudragupta, like Alexander, grew wiser by the resistance he encountered in his southern campaign, and avoided a direct conflict with the Vakataka king. He may also have thought it prudent to have friendly relations with his southern neighbour who occupied a strategic position with regard to the kingdom of the powerful Western Kshatrapas, whom he had not yet subdued. In any case, there are no signs of Gupta supremacy in the Vakataka records of the age. The Vakatakas did not adopt the Gupta era, but throughout dated their grants in regnal years. As they had no coins of their own, they were not loth to use Gupta currency as they had used Saka coinage before, but that was certainly no indication of Gupta suzerainty. Their relations with the Guptas seem to have been very friendly.

Rudrasena I was succeeded in circa 350 A.C. by his son Prithivisena I, who is eulogised in the grants of his successors as a fervent devotee of Mahesvara and is endowed with such noble qualities as truthfulness, compassion, self-restraint and charity as well as with heroism and political wisdom. He is compared with Yudhishtira, the great Pandava hero of yore, who was famous for such virtues. Prithivisena I appears to have pursued a peaceful policy which brought happiness and contentment to his people. Across the northern frontier of his kingdom, the Guptas Emperors Samudragupta and Chandragupta II were following an aggressive policy, subduing their neighbours and annexing their territories. Prithivisena wisely refrained from being entangled in these wars and devoted himself to the consolidation of his position in the south and the amelioration of the condition of his subjects. The results of his policy are summed up in official Vakataka records in the following words:—Prithivisena I had a continuous supply of treasure and army which had been accumulating for a hundred years.

Prithivisena I had probably a long reign, which seems to have terminated in circa 400 A.C. Some years before the close of it, in circa 395 A.C., Chandragupta II, who had

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1 That Gupta supremacy was acknowledged in South Kosala is shown by the use of the Gupta era by the descendants of Mahendra. See Arasig plates of Bhimasena II, E.R. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 342 ff., with the correction of their date by me in Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 228.

2 Rudrasena I mentions his title Rajan in the Deotek inscription. In the records of his descendants he is styled Maharanja. These titles, as contrasted with that of Samraj assumed by his grandfather Pravarasena I, may be supposed to indicate a feudatory status. But, as Dr. Altekar has shown, this distinction was not observed in South India. The title Maharanja was adopted by paramount sovereigns as well as feudatory princes in South India. It was, for instance, assumed by the Vishnukundin Emperor Mahishavarma I, who performed as many as eleven Aisvamedhas as well as by the rulers of Vakhra who 'mediated on the feet of their Great Lord'. C.I.I., Vol. IV, pp. 5 ff.

3 No. 3, lines 11-12.
by that time become the lord paramount of a large part of North India, launched his attack on the Śaka Kshatrapas of Mālāvś and Saurāshṭra. 1 The causes of this war are not known. The Kshatrapas were the northern neighbours of the Vākāṭakas. They had held the fertile provinces of Mālāvś, Northern Gujarāt and Saurāshṭra for more than three centuries and had become very powerful. It is therefore not unlikely that Chandragupta II sought the alliance of his powerful neighbour, the Vākāṭaka king Prthivīvarśa I, in his war against the Kshatrapas. The combined strength of the Guptas and the Vākāṭakas was sufficient to wipe out the Western Kshatrapas, who disappear from history about this time. Chandragupta II then annexed Mālāvś and probably made Ujjawalī a second capital of his vast empire. He sought to cement the political alliance with the Vākāṭakas by giving his daughter Prabhāvatīguptā in marriage to the Vākāṭaka prince Rudrasena II, the son of Prthivīvarśa I. This matrimonial alliance between the ruling families of Mālāvś and Vidarbha recalled a similar event which had occurred more than five centuries earlier in the time of the Śautpāgas. Kālidāsa’s Mālavikāgīnīmītra, which draws its theme from the latter event, was probably staged first at Ujjayainī on the occasion of the marriage of Prabhāvatīguptā and Rudrasena II. 2

Like his father, Prthivīvarśa I was a Śaiva. During his time the Vākāṭaka capital seems to have been shifted to Nandīvardhana, modern Nandhar (also called Nagardhan) near Rāṃṭek, about 28 miles from Nāgpur. This place is surrounded by strongly fortified forts like Ghugliusgadh and Bihigaḍi, which may have been the reason for its selection as a site for the royal capital. 3

Prthivīvarśa I was succeeded by his son Rudrasena II, the son-in-law of the illustrious Gupta king Chandragupta II-Vikramādiya. Unlike his ancestors who were all Śaivas, this prince was a devotee of Chakrapāṇi (Vīṣṇu), to whose grace he ascribed his prosperity. This change in religious creed may have been due to the influence of his wife Prabhāvatīguptā, who, like her father, was a devotee of Vīṣṇu. She greatly venerated the pādamūlas (foot-prints) of Rāmachandra on the hill of Rāmgiri, where she made both of her known grants. 4 This Rāmgiri is modern Rāṃṭek, a well-known place of pilgrimage near Nāgpur, which lay about three miles from the then Vākāṭaka capital Nandīvardhana.

Rudrasena II died soon after his accession, in circa 405 A.C., leaving behind two sons, Divākaarāsena and Dāmodarasena, who succeeded him one after the other. 5 Divākaarāsena was a minor at the time of his father’s death. The dowager queen Prabhāvatīguptā therefore looked after the affairs of the State as regent for her little son. Her Poonā plates, which were issued from Nandīvardhana in the thirteenth year evidently of the boy prince’s reign, revealed for the first time that she was a daughter of the famous Gupta king Chandra-

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1 The last known date of the Western Kshatrapas is S. 310 or S. 31x (i.e., 388 A.C. or 388+x A.C.) while the earliest date of Chandragupta II noticed in the inscriptions of Mālāvś is G. 82 (401-2 A.C.). V. Smith therefore conjectured that the war against the Kshatrapas must have occurred in circa 395 A.C.
2 There are other instances of Sanskrit plays being staged on similar occasions. See e.g., Rajaśākhara’s Viddhāśatābhaṇīkā (C.I.I., Vol. IV, pp. lxxix f).
4 Rāmagiri is explicitly mentioned as the place of issue in her Riddhapur plates, No. 8, line 1. The grant recorded in her Poonā plates was also probably made at Rāmagiri. See No. 2, line 14.
5 Some scholars say that Rudrasena II had three sons, viz., Divākaarāsena, Dāmodarasena and Pravarāsena, who ruled one after another. H.C.I.P., Vol. III, p. 181. But we have no records of Dāmodarasena as we have those of Divākaarāsena and Pravarāsena. Again, if Dāmodarasena was different from Pravarāsena II it is strange that the title Vākāṭakasina Mahārāja should not have been prefixed to the name of the latter in the Riddhapur plates, though he was reigning at the time.
gupta II, and thus placed Vākāṭaka genealogy on a sound basis. Unlike other charters of the Vākāṭakas, this grant is inscribed in nail-headed characters and in its initial portion gives the genealogy of the Guptas and not of the Vākāṭakas. This clearly indicates that Gupta influence was predominant at the Vākāṭaka court during the regency of Prabhāvatigupta.1 Chandragupta II had evidently sent some of his trusted officers and statesmen to assist his daughter in governing her kingdom. One of these was the famous Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa, who seems to have stayed at the Vākāṭaka court for some time. He composed his world-famous lyric Meghadūta probably during his sojourn in Vidarbha; for, he describes therein Rāmagiri² as the place of the exiled Yaksha’s residence. This place, as already stated, is undoubtedly identical with Rāmṭek near Nagpur. His graphic description of the six-year old Sudarśana in the 18th canto of the Rāghuvamśa was probably suggested by what he saw of the boy prince Divākarasena at the Vākāṭaka capital.

Divākarasena also seems to have been short-lived. He was succeeded in circa 420 A.C. by his brother Dāmodarasena, who, on his accession, assumed the name Pravarasena of his illustrious ancestor. Several grants of this prince have come down to us. They record his donations of fields or villages in the modern districts of Amarāvatī, Wardhā, Nāgpūr, Bēṭul, Ckhindwaḍa, Bhāṇḍara and Bāḷaghat in Vidarbha and Madhya Pradeś. The latest of these grants is dated in the 29th regnal year. Pravarasena II had therefore a long reign of about thirty years from circa 420 A.C. to 450 A.C.

Pravarasena II continued to reign from the old capital Nandivardhana till his 11th regnal year; for, his Bēḷōra plates³ dated in that year were issued from that city. Thereafter, he founded a new city which he named Pravarapura after himself and shifted his seat of government there. The earliest grant made at Pravarapura is dated in the 18th regnal year⁴, which shows that this change of the capital must have occurred some time between the 11th and 18th regnal years. Pravarapura is probably identical with Pavnār near Wardhā in the Wardhā District of Vidarbha.

Pravarasena II was a devotee of Śambha, by whose grace he is said to have established on earth the reign of the Kṛita-yuga or Golden Age. He was a very liberal king; for more than a dozen grants of his reign have been discovered so far. Having come into contact with such a great poet as Kālidāsa, he naturally acquired a taste for poetic composition. Some of his Sanskrit verses are preserved in Sanskrit anthologies. Several Prakrit gāthās composed by him have been included in the Gathasaptati. Though himself a Śaiva, he composed the Prakrit kāya Sētubandha in glorification of Rāma, probably at the instance of his mother Prabhāvatigupta.⁵ He began to compose this kāya soon after he came to the throne⁶ and evidently received considerable help in its composition from his friend Kālidāsa.⁷ This kāya has been highly eulogised by Sanskrit poets and rhetoricians.

¹Prabhāvatigupta repeated the same genealogy in her later Rīḍhāpur grant also. She was evidently more proud of her Gupta descent than of her marriage in the Vākāṭaka family.
²For the location of Rāmagiri, see my article in N.U.J., No.IX, pp. 91f. Also S.I., Vol. I, pp. 12f.
³No. 5, line 29.
⁴No. 6, line 60.
⁵Pravarasena II’s authorship of the Sētubandha is doubted on the ground that ‘while the theme of the kāya is Vaishnavya, the king was a devotee of Śiva’. H.C.I.P., Vol. III, p. 84. The argument has little force. We might as well doubt Kālidāsa’s authorship of the Rāguvaṃśa on the ground that he was a Saiva.
⁷According to Rāmadikā, a commentator of the Sētubandha, the kāya was composed by Kālidāsa for the sake of Pravarasena by the order of Mahārājāḍhirāja Vikramādiya. It is not, however, likely that Kālidāsa actually composed the kāya, though he may have revised it.
Pravaraśeṇa built a magnificent temple of Rāmachandra at Pravarapura when the capital was shifted there. This also was evidently done at the instance of his mother who was a worshipper of that god. Some beautiful panels which decorated the temple have recently been found in excavations at Pavnār.

Narendrasēṇa, who succeeded his father Pravaraśeṇa II in circa 450 A.C., is known from the unfinished Bālāgāḥṭ plates of his son. His feudatory Bharatabala also makes a covert reference to him in his Bamhani plates. The Bālāgāḥṭ plates state that he enticed the ancestral fortune by means of the confidence which he had created by his already acquired noble qualities. This was taken to mean that there was some trouble about his succession. Dr. Kielhorn thought that he might have superseded his elder brother. It has also been suggested that there was a division of the kingdom between Narendrasēṇa and his brother whose name is lost in the inscription in Ajanṭā Cave XVI. This view is now proved to be untenable as the princes mentioned in the Ajanṭā inscription belonged to the Vatsagulma branch. There is no clear indication of a disputed succession in this period, the description in the Bālāgāḥṭ plates being only a poetic way of stating that Narendrasēṇa attracted royal fortune by his noble qualities.

Narendrasēṇa married Ajjhitabhaṭṭārikā, a princess of Kuntala. She probably belonged to the Rāṣṭrākūṭa family of Mānapura, which was ruling over the Southern Maratha Country, comprising the Sātārā, Kōlhāpur and Shōlāpur Districts of the Mahārāṣṭra State. The Pândarangapalli plates discovered in a village near Kōlhāpur describe Mānānka, the founder of the family, as the ruler of the prosperous Kuntala country. This royal family appears to have wielded considerable power and sometimes came into conflict with the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākāṭaka family. During the time of Chandragupta II it came under the sphere of Gupta influence and, as tradition says, its government was carried on under the direction of the Gupta Emperor. Kālidāsa, the famous Sanskrit poet, was sent as an ambassador to the court of the contemporary Kuntala king who was probably Dēvarāja. Ajjhitabhaṭṭārikā, married by Narendrasēṇa, may have been the daughter of Dēvarāja’s son Avidhēya, mentioned in the Pândarangapalli plates, who flourished in circa 440-455 A.C.

Narendraśeṇa followed an aggressive policy in the east and the north. The Bālāgāḥṭ plates of his son Prithiviv śeṇa II state that he had, by his prowess, subjugated the enemies and that his commands were honoured by the lords of Kōsalā, Mekala and Mālavā. Of these countries, Mālavā had till then been under the direct administration of the Guptas since the overthrow of the Western Kshatrapas. About the middle of the fifth century A.C.,

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1 No. 18, line 30.
2 No. 19, lines 31-34.
4 S. K. Aiyangar, Ancient India, p. 132.
5 D. C. Sircar interprets the expression śrīmat-Kuntalānāṁ pradāsitā in these plates as 'the chastiser of the prosperous Kuntalas' and makes Mānānka not the ruler but the vanquisher of the Kuntala country. He further identifies the Kuntalas with the Kadambas of the Kanarese country. H.C.L.P., Vol. III, p. 200. It is difficult to accept these views. As I have shown elsewhere, the root pradāsitā, when used with the name of a country, usually means to rule when used with persons, it means to chastise. That this was the intended meaning is also clear from the contrast in the two expressions sar-Vidarbha-Āśmakapalēṣṭa and śrīmat-Kuntalānāṁ pradāsitā used in the plates to describe Mānānka. The Dakshinimārācharita, in its eighth utchikotasa, mentions the ruler of Kuntala separately from that of Vanavāsī. This shows clearly that the ruler of Kuntala did not belong to the Kadamba family which held Vanavāsī (modern Bānavāsī in North Kānāda).
6 No. 18, line 27-28.
the Gupta empire was convulsed by the invasions of the Hūnas and though Skandagupta fought bravely to stem the tide of these invasions, there was a feeling of unrest and uncertainty in the land. This is indicated by the statement in the Mandasūr inscription of V. 529 that in the short period of 36 years (between V. 493 and V. 529) several princes held the country of Daśapura.\(^1\) The recently published Mandasūr inscription of V. 524 also states that Prabhākara, a feudatory of the Guptas ruling at Daśapura, had to fight with several enemies of his lord.\(^2\) Some of these may have sided with the Vākataka Narēndrasena and sought his help in throwing off the Gupta yoke. What success Narēndrasena achieved ultimately in extending the sphere of his influence to Mālwā is not known.

Mekalā is the country near Amarakunțak, where the Narmada, called Mekala-sutā, takes its rise. Before the rise of the Guptas this country was included in the dominion of the Maghas, which extended from Fatehpur in the north to Bāndhagāḍh in the south.\(^3\) After overthrowing them Samudragupta annexed the fertile territory of the Vatsa country and parcellled out the hilly tract of Baghelkhand among a number of feudatories such as the Pārivṛṣṭakas, Uchchakalpas and Pāṇḍavas. The last of these appeared to have previously owed allegiance to the Magha kings. An inscription at Bāndhagadh mentions Rājañ Vaiśravana and his father Mahāśēṣapati Bharatabala, who probably belonged to the Pāṇḍava lineage and were feudatories and army commanders of the Maghas. Later, they transferred their allegiance to the Guptas.\(^4\) The Bhamanti plates\(^5\) of the Pāṇḍavavarnash king Bhatabala alias Indra give the following genealogy of the prince—Jayabala, his son Vatsarāja, his son Nāgabala, and his son Bharatabala. The first two of these were probably feudatories of the Guptas. Nāgabala, who seems to have come to the throne when the Gupta empire was tottering owing to the onslaughts of the Hūnas, first assumed the title of Mahārāja, indicative of his rising power and prestige. He formed a matrimonial alliance with the ruler of Kōsalā (modern Chhattisgarh) by getting the latter’s daughter Lōkaprakāśa married to his son Bharatabala.\(^6\) She was probably a daughter of the king Bhimaśeṇa I, mentioned in the Āraṅg plates\(^7\) of his grandson Bhimaśeṇa II, dated G. 182 (501-2 A.C.). Bharatabala, who flourished in circa 460-480 a.C., makes a veiled reference to his suzerain, the Vākataka Narēndrasena. He appears to have transferred his allegiance from the Guptas to the Vākatakas. This confirms the statement in the Balāghāṭ plates that the commands of Narēndrasena were honoured by the ruler of Mekalā.

Kōsalā is of course of Dakśiṇa Kōsala or Chhattisgarh, comprising the modern districts of Durg, Raipur and Bilāspur. As we have seen above, Mahēndra, who was ruling over this country in the fourth century A.D., was defeated by Samudragupta and forced to acknowledge his supremacy. His successors used the Gupta era in token of their submission to the Guptas. As the Gupta power was tottering about this time, the ruler of this country also may have submitted to the Vākatakas. The aforementioned Āraṅg plates of Bhimaśeṇa II, dated in G. 182 (501-2 a.C.) show that his family had been ruling over Kōsalā for at

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3. For coins of the Maghas found in the Fatehpur District, see *J.N.S.I.,* Vol. II, pp. 95 f. Several stone inscriptions of the Maghas have been found at Bāndhagadh, Ginja and Kōsam.
4. For a fuller discussion of this matter see my article ‘The Pāṇḍava Dynasty of Mekalā’ in the *Silver Jubilee Volume* of the Indian Historical Research Institute, pp. 268 f.
5. No. 19.
least six generations. Narèndrasêna's contemporary may have been Bhimasaña I. Narèndrasêna may also have annexed the Anûpa country, the capital of which was Mâhishmati, modern Maheshvar, when he extended his suzerainty to Mâlwâ.1

Narèndrasêna, who was probably a grown up man at the time of his accession,2 may have had a reign of about 20 years (450-470 a.C.). Towards the end of his reign the Vâkåta-ka territory was invaded by the Nala king Bhavadattavarman. According to the Purânas,3 the Nalas ruled over the Kösalâ country. This statement is corroborated by the find-spots of their inscriptions and coins. Gold coins of three kings of the Nala family, Varâha, Bhavadattavarman and Arthapati have been found at Eçêngâ in the Kôndegaon tahsil of the Basur District of Madhya Pradesh.4 Of these Varâha was the earliest. He may have been defeated by Narèndrasêna and forced to pay tribute. His son Bhavadattavarman seems to have taken revenge. He invaded the Vâkåta-ka territory and pressed as far as Nandivardhana, the erstwhile capital of the Vâkåtakas, which he occupied for some time. A copper-plate inscription discovered at Riddhapur in the Amarâvati District records the grant of a village in the Yeotmâl District which the king Bhavadatta had made at the holy tirtha of Prayâga (Allâhâbâd) for the religious merit of himself and his wife.5 The plates were actually issued by his son6 Arthapati from Nandivardhana. This inscription clearly shows that a considerable portion of the Vâkåta-ka dominion was occupied by the Nalas.

The Vâkåtakas also admit this disaster to their arms. The Bâlaghât plates state that Prathivîshêna II, the son of Narèndrasêna, raised his sunken family.7 At this time he seems to have been forced to move to the east and fix his capital at Padmapura, modern Padampur near Amgaon in the Bhandâra District, from where an unfinished Vâkåta-ka plate was intended to be issued.8 Prathivîshêna consolidated his power at this capital and after a time drove the enemy from his ancestral country. He even carried the war into the enemy's territory and stormed and devastated his capital Pushkarâ, as admitted in an inscription of Arthapati's brother Skandavarman found at Pôjâgadh in the Vizagâpâtam District.9

It is not known whether Prathivîshêna II continued to rule from Padmapura or again shifted his capital to some other place in Vidarbha. In any case Padmapura retained its importance for a long time; for, it attracted learned Brâhmaṇas like Gopâla, an ancestor of the famous Sanskrit dramatist Bhavabhûti, who performed the Vâyâpâyana and other sacrifices there. In his plays Bhavabhûti mentions Padmapura situated in Vidarbha as the home of his ancestors.10

Prathivîshêna II soon retrieved his position in the north also and even pressed farther than his father. Two stone inscriptions of his feudatory Vâyâhradêva, who explicitly acknowledges his suzerainty, have been discovered at Nachnâ and Ganj in the former Vindhyâ

1The Doûkumûracharita, eighth uchchhâusa, shows that Mâhishmati was included in the dominion of the Vâkåtakas about this time.
2His father Pravarasêna II had a long reign of about 30 years.
5Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, pp. 100 f.
6Arthapati was the son, not the grandson, of Bhavadattavarman as supposed by Dr. D. C. Sircar, See Ind. Hist. Quart., Vol. XXXIV, pp. 142 f.
7No. 18, line 33.
8No. 17, line 1.
9Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, p. 156.
INTRODUCTION

Pradēśh.¹ This Vyāghradēva probably belonged to the Uchchakalpa dynasty; for, several records of this dynasty mentioning his name have been found in the Nāgōd District. As Jayanātha, the son of Mahārāja Vyāghra was ruling from circa G. 170 to G. 190 (490 to 510 A.C.),² Vyāghradēva may be referred to the period from 470 to 490 A.C. He was thus a contemporary of Prithivīśēṇa II. The Uchchakalpa kings were previously the feudatories of the Guptas, whose era they used. When the power of the Guptas declined in the second half of the fifth century A.C., they seem to have transferred their allegiance to the Vākāṭakas.

Unlike most of his ancestors, Prithivīśēṇa II was a worshipper of Vishṇu; for, he is described as parama-bhāgavata in the Bālāghat plates.³ He is the last known member of this senior branch of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. He may have closed his reign in 490 A.C. After him, the kingdom was probably annexed by Harishēṇa of the Vastagulma branch, who made extensive conquests in all directions.

Thus ended this senior branch of the Vākāṭaka dynasty after a glorious rule of about 160 years (circa 330 - 490 A.C.). It produced a series of illustrious kings who were capable rulers of men, wise administrators, and liberal patrons of learning and art. No lithic monuments of their age have survived in Northern Vidarbha, but the few panels that have recently been brought to light at Pavnār show the excellence of the plastic art of the time. Their age was equally distinguished in literature. Two kāvya, the Meghadūta and the Sūtubandha,—the former in Sanskrit and the latter in Prakrit—have immortalised it. Many other Sanskrit works which gave the Vaidarbhī līti the place of eminence among all lītis must have been composed during this period, but they have all passed into oblivion.

¹Nos. 20-22.
³No. 18, line 34.
CHAPTER VI

THE VATSAGULMA BRANCH

The existence of this branch was unknown till the discovery of the Bāsim plates in 1939. Several members of it were indeed mentioned in the inscription in Cave XVI at Ajañtā, but owing to a sad mutilation of the record, their names were misread. These names have since been restored and it has been conclusively shown that the princes who ruled the country to the south of the Indhyādri range belonged to a different branch of the Vākāṭaka family.

The founder of this branch was Sarvasēna mentioned in both the Bāsim plates and the Ajañṭā inscription as a son of Pravarasena I. He was presumably one of his younger sons. The country under his rule seems to have stretched south of the Indhyādri range up to the bank of the Godāvari. In the establishment of his authority over this territory he appears to have received considerable help from his minister Ravi, the son of the Brāhmaṇa Sūma from a Kṣatriya wife.1 Ravi's descendants became the hereditary ministers of the Vākāṭaka kings of Vatsagulma and served them faithfully for several generations.

Sarvasēna selected Vatsagulma, modern Bāsim in the Akola District of Vidarbha, for his capital. This was an ancient city. The country round it called Vatsagulmaka is mentioned in the Kāmasūtra of Vatsyāyana. Vatsagulma was regarded as a holy tīrtha and according to a local Mahāmya it was so called because the sage Vatsa, by his austerities, made an assemblage of gods come down and settle in the vicinity of his hermitage.2 In the Vākāṭaka age it became a great centre of learning and culture, and gave its name Vachchihāmi to the best poetic style.3

From the Bāsim plates we learn that Sarvasēna continued the title Dharmamahārāja which his father Pravarasena I had assumed in accordance with the custom in South India. The description that the Ajañṭā inscription gives of him is conventional. Sarvasēna is, however, known as the author of the Prakrit kavya Harivijaya, which has been eulogised by Sanskrit poets and rhetoricians.4 He also composed many Prakrit gāthās, some of which have been included in the well-known Prakrit anthology Gāthāsaptaśati. He may be referred to the period 330–355 a.e.

Sarvasēna was followed by Vindhyāsēna, called Vindhyāsašakti (II) in the Bāsim plates. He pursued a more vigorous policy and defeated the lord of Kuntala, who was his southern neighbour. As stated before, a Rāṣṭrakūṭa family rose into prominence just about this time. Māṇāka, its founder, made considerable conquests and annexed the territory to the south of the Godāvari,5 which was previously ruled by one of the sons Pravarasena I.

1 No. 26, line 7.
2 The Jayamataigāla, a commentary on Vatsyāyana's Kāmasūtra, gives another derivation of this place-name. According to it, Vatsa and Gulma were two princes of Dakśinapatha. The country settled by them came to be known as Vatsagulmaka. The Brihatkathā also mentions Vatsa and Gulma who were sons of a Brāhmaṇa and maternal uncles of Guntāhiya, but it does not state that they founded a city named Vatsagulma. See Brihatkathāmānagāra, I, 3, 4, and Kathāsaritsāgara, I, 6, 9.
3 Vatsagulma retained its importance as a centre of learning and culture for a long time; for Rājaśekhara describes it as the pleasure resort of the god of love, where the mythical Kāvyapuruṣa married Sāhityavidvī. It was probably the native place of Rājaśekhara. C.I.I., Vol. IV, pp. cxxiv f.
4 See below, Chapter X.
INTRODUCTION

In an inscription of his descendants, Māṇāṅka is described as the ruler of the prosperous Kuntala country and as the conqueror of Aśmaka and Vidarbha. Māṇāṅka founded the city of Mānapura which became the capital of these Early Rāṣṭrakūṭas. This Mānapura is probably identical with Māṇ, the chief town of the Māṇ tālukā of the Sattāra District in the Mahārāṣṭra State.

Māṇāṅka was thus ruling over the Southern Maratha country. His kingdom was contiguous to those of Aśmaka and Vidarbha. Aśmaka lay along the bank of the Gōdāvari and comprised the Ahmadnagar and Bhīr Districts of Mahārāṣṭra. The ruler of Aśmaka was probably a feudatory of the Vākāṭakas.

From the palaeographical evidence afforded by the grants of his successors Māṇāṅka seems to have flourished towards the close of the fourth century A.C. He was thus a contemporary of Vindhyasēna. As both Māṇāṅka and Vindhyasēna claim a victory over each other, neither of them appears to have emerged completely victorious from this war. During the reign of Māṇāṅka's successor Dēvarāja, however, the kingdom of Kuntala came under the sphere of the influence of the Guptas; for, its government was carried on under the direction of Chandragupta II. It therefore ceased to be a menace to the Vatsagulma Vākāṭakas.

Vindhyasēna made the Bāsim grant in the 37th regnal year. The plates were issued from the royal capital Vatsagulma, and register the grant of a village situated in the territorial division of Nāndikāta, modern Nāndī in the Mahārāṣṭra State. The genealogical portion of the grant is written in Sanskrit and the formal portion in Prakrit, which shows how the classical language was gradually asserting itself. Vindhyasēna, like his father and grandfather, assumed the title Dhamamahārāja. His minister Pravara is mentioned in the Ghaṭotkachā cave inscription. Vindhyasēna was probably a contemporary of Pṛithivīśeṇa I, and, like the latter, may have closed his reign about 400 A.C.

Vindhyasēna was followed by his son Pravaraśeṇa II, about whom little is known. The Ajanṭā inscription states that he became exalted by his excellent, powerful and liberal rule. He seems to have had a short reign (400-415 A.C.); for when he died, his son was only eight years old. His minister Śrī-Rāma is mentioned in the Ghaṭotkachā cave inscription.

The name of this boy prince, who is said to have ruled well, is lost in the Ajanṭā inscription. His minister was Kṛiti. He was succeeded in cira 450 A.C. by his son Dēvasēna, whose fragmentary copper-plate inscription discovered somewhere in South Berar has since then been deposited in the British Museum. This plate also was issued from Vatsagulma, which shows that the place continued to be the royal capital to the last.

Dēvasēna had a very righteous and capable minister named Hastibhoja. He looked after the affairs of the State and pleased all subjects. Dēvasēna entrusted the government of

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1D. C. Sircar takes Vidarbha and Aśmaka in the expression sa-Vidarbhā-Aśmaka-vijēta descriptive of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Māṇāṅka as referring to 'the Vākāṭakas of Berar' and 'the Vākāṭakas of Vatsagulma' respectively. This view cannot be accepted; for the country round Vatsagulma also was included in Vidarbha as explicitly stated by Rājaśēkara. This is also corroborated by the statement in the Gaṇeśpurāṇa that Kadambapura (modern Kalamb in the adjoining Yeotmal District) was included in Vidarbha. See Ind. Hist. Quart., Vol. XXIII, pp. 320 f.; S.I., Vol. II, p. 164 f.

2See the tradition mentioned in several ancient Sanskrit works that Kālidāsa was sent as an ambassador to the court of Kuntalēśa. He reported to his master that the lord of Kuntala was spending his days in enjoyment leaving the governing of the kingdom to the care of Chandragupta. See A.B.O.R.I., Vol. XXV, pp. 45 f.; S.I., Vol. I, pp. 186 f.

3No. 24.
his kingdom to him and gave himself up to the enjoyment of pleasures. Hastibhōja is eulogised in the Ajanṭa and Ghatūtkacha cave inscriptions which were caused to be incised by his son Varāhādeva.

Dēvasena was succeeded in circa 475 A.C. by his son Harīshēṇa, who is the last known king of this line. He was a brave and ambitious prince and carried his victorious arms in all directions. Unfortunately the Ajanṭā inscription, which in lines 14-15 describes his conquests, is very sadly mutilated; but the extant portion mentions several countries which he had either overrun or forced to pay tribute. These countries lay in all the four directions of Vīdarbha, viz., Avanti (Mālwā) in the north, Kōsalā (Chhattisgarh), Kālinga (between the Mahānadi and the Gōḍāvari), Andhra (between the Gōḍāvari and the Kṛishṇa) in the east, Lāta (Central and Southern Gujārāt) and Trikūṭa (Nāsil District) in the west, and Kūntala (Southern Marātha Country) in the south. It would thus seem that Harīshēṇa became the undisputed suzerain of the entire country extending from Mālwā in the North to Kūntala in the south and from the Arabian sea in the west to the Bay of Bengal in the east.

Harīshēṇa’s conquests do not seem to have resulted in the permanent annexation of this vast territory. The rulers of these countries were probably allowed to retain their respective kingdoms on condition of regular payment of tribute. Harīshēṇa’s subjugation of Mālwā plainly shows that he had already incorporated the kingdom of the senior branch into his own dominion. In Kālinga and Andhra Harīshēṇa’s incursions seem to have led to the establishment of new royal families; for, just about this time in 498 A.C. the Gaṅga era was started marking the foundation of a new power in Kālinga. In Andhra Harīshēṇa appears to have supplanted the contemporary Śalāṅkāyana king and given the kingdom to the Vīshnukūṇḍin king Gōvindavarman. The latter’s son Mādhavavarman I married a Vākāṭaka princess who may have been Harīshēṇa’s own daughter. In Kōsalā or Chhattisgarh also we find that the old family mentioned in the Āraṇī plates was supplanted by the kings of Sarabhāpura. That Harīshēṇa’s suzerainty was recognised in the west beyond the confines of Vīdarbha is shown by the inscription which a ruler of Rishika (modern Khānḍesh) has left in Cave XVII at Ajanṭā. In the south the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king of Kūntala continued to rule his kingdom for a long time after submission to the Vākāṭaka king. Harīshēṇa probably ruled from circa 475 to 500 A.C.

Harīshēṇa had a pious, liberal and capable minister named Varāhādeva, who was loved alike by the king and his subjects. He was the son of the aforementioned Hastibhōja who had served Dēvasena. Varāhādeva was a devout Buddhist. He caused Cave XVI at Ajanṭā to be excavated and decorated with sculptures and picture galleries. The inscription which he caused to be incised on its wall is our chief source of information.

1 This description was taken by K.P. Jayaswal to mean that Dēvasena abdicated in favour of his son Harīshēṇa; but verses 12-16 of the inscription convey no such idea. The inscription is merely intended to glorify Hastibhōja, to whom Dēvasena consigned the cares of government. Similar statements occur in some other records also. They are not to be taken literally.

2 No. 25.


4 Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, pp. 103 f.


6 No. 27.

7 No. 25.
for the history of this Vatsagulma branch. He caused also the Ghaṭākacha cave at Gulkända, a few miles from Ajanṭā, to be excavated and decorated, where he has left an inscription, instructing his ancestors.

Harisīhena is the last known king of this line. He may have been followed by one or two others, but even their names have not come down to us. In any case the dynasty seems to have been overthrown by circa 550 A.C. by the Kāṭachchuris or Kalachuris of Mādhyaśat. The coins of Kṛṣṇaśāra, who heads the genealogical list in early Kalachuri grants, have been found all over the country extending from Vidiśā in the north to Nāsik and Karhāḍ in the south and from Bombay in the west to the Districts of Amaravati and Bātul in the east. This Kalachuri king seems therefore to have reigned over the ruins of the Vākṣṭaka dominion. Svāmirāja whose plates dated in the Kalachuri year 322 (573-74 A.C.) were issued from Nandivardhana was probably a feudatory of the Kalachuri Kṛṣṇaśāra.

The causes which led to the sudden disintegration of the mighty Vākṣṭaka Empire have not been recorded in history, but Danḍin's Daśākumāracharita, which was written within about a hundred and twenty-five years after the fall of the Vākṣṭakas, appears to have preserved a living tradition about the last period of Vākṣṭaka rule. This Sanskrit work in its last chapter called Viśrutacharita narrates the adventures of Viṣrut, one of the Kumāras who were followers of Rājāhāna, son of Rājāhāma, the dethroned king of Magadhā.

The narrative points to the existence of a large southern empire. The emperor ruled directly over Vidarbha which comprises the Mārāthi-speaking districts of the former Madhya Pradēṣh and the Hyderābād State. Vidarbha had a number of feudatory kingdoms, viz. Kuntala (Southern Māhārāśṭra), Asmaka (the country on the southern bank of the Gōdāvāri), Rishikā (Khāndēsh), Mūrala (country near the Gōdāvāri), Nāsikya (Nāsik District) and Koṅkaṇa. The Empire thus extended from the Narmadā in the north to the Tuṅgabhadrā in the south and from the Arabian Sea in the West to at least the Waingaṅgā in the east. A young prince succeeded to this large empire after the death of his illustrious father. This prince, though intelligent and accomplished in all arts, neglected the study of the science of politics. His father's old minister counselled him again and again to apply himself to the study of the dāṇḍānī, but he, coming under the influence of his licentious courtier, treated the advice with contempt, gave himself up to the enjoyment of pleasures and indulged in all kinds of vices, neglecting the affairs of the State. His subjects imitated him and led a vicious and dissolute life. Consequently, disorder and lawlessness became rampant in the kingdom. Finding this a suitable opportunity, the crafty ruler of the neighbouring Asmaka country, sent his minister's son to the court of Vidarbha. The latter ingratiated himself with the king and egged him on in his dissolute life. He also contrived to decimate his forces by various means. Ultimately, when the country was thoroughly disorganised, the ruler of Asmaka instigated the king of Vanavāsī (modern Banavāsī in North Kāṇḍā District) to invade the kingdom of Vidarbha. The latter advanced with a large force and occupied some portion of Southern Vidarbha. The young Emperor of Vidarbha then mobilised his forces and called all feudatories to his aid. Among those who rallied under his banner were, besides the treacherous prince of Asmaka, the rulers of Kuntala, Mūrala, Rishikā, Nāsikya and Koṅkaṇa. Aided by these feudatories, the Emperor of Vidarbha decided to give battle to the enemy on the bank of the Varādā (modern Wardhā). The ruler of Asmaka, however, secretly conspired...
with the king of Kuntala and caused disaffection among other feudatories also. They treacherously attacked their suzerain in the rear, while he was fighting with the invading forces of the king of Vanavāśi. The emperor was killed in the battle. The cunning Āśmaka king then contrived to cause dissensions among the feudatories also. They fought among themselves for the spoils of the war and destroyed one another. He then appropriated the whole booty and, giving some part of it to the invader, induced him to return to Vanavāśi, and himself annexed the kingdom of Vidarbha. In the meanwhile the old faithful minister of Vidarbha safely escorted the queen of Vidarbha with her two small children—a prince and a princess—to Māhishmati, where the late emperor’s half-brother was reigning. The latter made advances to the widowed queen, but was repulsed by her. He then wanted to kill the little prince of Vidarbha, but was himself murdered by Viśrūta, who espoused the latter’s cause and placed him on the throne of Māhishmati.

The narrative ends abruptly here. So we do not know whether the boy-prince ultimately succeeded in ousting the ruler of Āśmaka from Vidarbha and regaining his ancestral throne.

The narrative seems to reflect faithfully the actual political conditions in Vidarbha in the period which followed the death of Harishēṇa in circa 500 A.C. In later centuries the centre of imperial power in the Deccan shifted successively to Māhishmati, Bādamī, Māñyakēṭa and Kalyāṇa, but it was never in Vidarbha. Some of the geographical names also went out of use in later times. One such instance is that of Rishika. This country is mentioned in the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa and Bṛhaspatiśāstra and in the Nāśik cave inscription of Pulumāvi, but it is unknown to later works and inscriptions. All these indications point to the sixth century A.C. as the age in which the incidents described in the Viśvalakṣitī happened. Dandin, whose ancestors originally belonged to Vidarbha, had evidently reliable sources of information, as he gives details about the kingdoms flourishing in the period which are substantiated in all material points by contemporary inscriptive evidence. His narrative clearly shows that the great Vākāṭaka empire which once extended from beyond the Narmadā in the north to the Tungabhadrā in the south suddenly crumbled to pieces owing to the incompetence of Harishēṇa’s successor and the treacherous defection of his feudatories. As Dandin’s narrative ends abruptly, we do not know whether Harishēṇa’s grandson regained the throne of Vidarbha with external aid. He may have succeeded in doing so with the assistance of the Vishnuṅkuṇḍin Mādhavavarman I, the mightiest king of the age, who was ruling over Andhra and who is credited with the performance of eleven Aśvamedhas. The latter had married a Vākāṭaka princess who was probably Harisēṇa’s own daughter. But the Vākāṭaka prince could not evidently have retained his hold over Vidarbha for a long time; for, as we have already seen, the Kālachuri Krishnārāja, who in the meanwhile established himself at Māhishmati, extended his sway over Vidarbha as well as over Northern Mahārāṣṭra by 550 A.C. The Somavarnā, Gaṅgas and Vishnuṅkuṇḍins asserted their independence in the east, while the Raṭhrakūṭas must have gradually gained strength in the south. Thus disappeared the last vestiges of Vākāṭaka power after a glorious rule of nearly 300 years.

1 See A.B.O.R.I., Vol. XXV, pp. 167 f.
2 According to the Avanitisundarikātā and the Avanitisundarikāthāśāstra, Dandin was the great-grandson of the Sanskrit poet Dāmodara who originally hailed from Achalapura and was later patronised by the Gaṅga king Durvinita and the Pallava king Simhavishnu. Dāmodara must therefore have lived in the last quarter of the sixth century. A.C. His great-grandson Dandin can consequently be referred to the third quarter of the seventh century A.C. Dandin thus appears to have flourished about a hundred and twenty-five years after the fall of the Vākāṭakas. It is therefore not unlikely that he had fairly reliable information about the closing period of the Vākāṭaka age.
CHAPTER VII
ADMINISTRATION

THE country under the direct rule of the two branches of the Vākāṭaka dynasty extended roughly from the Narmadā in the north to the valley of the Godāvari in the south and from the eastern boundary of Rishikā (Khandesh) in the west to the western boundary of Dakṣiṇa Kōsala (Chhattisgarh) in the east. This vast territory was divided into a number of rāṣṭras, also called rājyas, corresponding to the modern Commissioners' Divisions, some of which find a mention in our records. We have thus the Pākkaṇa rāṣṭra mentioned in the Belorā plates, the Bhōjakāta rāṣṭra in the Channaka plates, Varuchha rāṣṭra in the Pāṇḍhurāṇa plates and the Arāmmī rāṣṭra in the Dudia and Pāṇḍhurāṇa plates. In the records of contemporary feudatory families, whose kingdoms were comparatively smaller, the rāṣṭras were named after the directions in which they were situated. Thus we find the Uttara rāṣṭra or Northern Division mentioned in the Bamhani plates of the Pāṇḍavavainiś king Bharatabala, and the Purva rāṣṭra or Eastern Division named in the Ārang plates of Mahā-Jayarāja and the Rāipur plates of Mahā-Sudēvarāja. No such divisions are, however, noticed in the Vākāṭaka grants. The rāṣṭras were next divided into a number of vishayas or districts. This appears clear from the statement in the Bamhani plates that the Paṇchagartā vishaya in which the donated village was situated was included in the Uttara rāṣṭra (division) of Mekalā. The names of vishayas generally ended in kāṭa or kāṭaka. Four such vishayas are named in our records viz. Bhōjakāta comprising roughly the territory of the modern Amaravati District, Bennākaṇa corresponding to the modern Bhāndāra and Bālahāṭ Districts, Nāṅgaraṇaṇa, the exact location of which is uncertain, and Nāndikāṇa which comprised the territory round modern Nāndē in the Mahārāṣṭra State. When a vishaya was too large, it was divided into parts which were named after the directions in which they were situated. We thus find the opara-patā or western division of the Bennākaṇa mentioned in the Tīrōḍi plates. The vishayas were further sub-divided into āhāras and bhōgas or bhuktes. Only one āhāra viz. the Supratiśtha āhāra is mentioned in our records. It seems to have comprised parts of the modern Hīṅganganātha, Varūḍa and Yeotālī talukās of Vidarbha. The relation of āhāra to bhōga is not known. Our records mention three bhōgas viz. Bennākārparabhōga, Lōhanagarabhōga.

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1 No. 5, line 13.
2 No. 6, line 18.
3 No. 14, line 20.
4 No. 10, line 13; No. 14, lines 26 and 29.
5 No. 19, line 34.
7 Ibid., p. 198.
8 No. 19, lines 34-35.
9 Bhōjakāta is said to have been founded by Rukmin, the brother-in-law of Krishṇa. See Harśarāṇa, Vishnuparvan, ch. 60, v. 32.
10 No. 11, line 13.
11 No. 24, line 2.
12 No. 22, line 5.
13 No. 11, line 13.
14 No. 2, line 10; No. 3, line 17; No. 12, line 17.
15 No. 7, line 17-18.
16 No. 13, line 20.
and Hiranyapurabhâga, and one bhukti, viz., Asibhukti which was probably included in the Pâkkaṇa râṣṭra. The bhâgas contained cities, towns and villages. The names of the cities and towns generally ended nagara or pura, such as Aśvatthanagara, Pravarapura, Hirnâyapura, Chandrapura, Padmapura, etc. Sometimes towns were named after the princes who founded them. Compare Pravarapura founded by Pravarasena II. The names of villages ended grāma (cf. Daṅguṇa-grāma, Sirshagrāma, Maṇḍuki-grāma, etc.), keśa or kētaka (cf. Varadâkheṣa, Aśvatthâkheṣa, vâtaka (cf. Bûnhikâvâtaka, Pavaraṇjavâtaka, etc.) or vâraka (cf. Karaṇjavâraka, Darbhavâraka, etc.). Some territorial divisions were named after the number of villages included in them. Such was Pravrârāśvara-shadviṁśati-vâtaka. It appears to have been a group of twenty-six villages which received this name after a shrine of Śiva under the name of Pravrârâśvara erected by Pravarasena I.

In the earlier records of the Sâtvâhanas, geographical names occur in Prakrit. As the Vâkâṭakas adopted Sanskrit for writing their charters, the names of mountains, rivers, towns and villages are given in that classical language. It is interesting to note that the Sâtmâla range in which the Ajanṭâ caves are situated is called Sahya-pâda in an inscription at Ajanṭâ. In some cases the names of rivers have since been changed quite out of recognition. Thus the river Umâ mentioned in the Jâm plates is now known as Wannâ. Similarly the Madhunabhi, on the bank of which the village Charmâhika (modern Chhâmmbak) was situated, bears now the name of Chandrabhâgâ. The names of the Bênâ, and the Hiranyâ mentioned in the Tirodî and Waḍgaon plates can, however, still be recognised in the Wainganâgâ and Erâl of modern times.

The form of government in the Vâkâṭaka age was monarchical. The king had supreme authority which was, however, checked considerably by the dictates of religious works like the Smritis. There is no reference to any Mantri-parishad or Council of Ministers in Vâkâṭaka grants. It is needless to say that there was no popular assembly also. Still, the rule of kings was not despotic or oppressive to the people. The ideal of a Welfare State has always been kept before Indian kings by the writers of Smritis and Arthaśâstras and it has also been preached by great Sanskrit poets like Kâlidâsa. Many of the Vâkâṭakas must have attempted to reach it. Our records are unfortunately lacking in details about the

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1 No. 10, line 16.
2 No. 4, line 13 and No. 5, line 13.
3 Mârga, which is generally translated by 'way', seems also to have denoted a territorial division. The records of the Sâthrapurâya kings, which use tadēllata forms from words denoting territorial divisions (e.g. vaśayika, bhâgâya etc.) contain the expression Sundarikâ-mârgâya derived from Sundarikâ-mârga. This shows that like vaśaya and bhâga, mârga also meant a territorial division. We have several such divisions in Vâkâṭaka grants. See e.g. Sâlápura-mârga mentioned in the Belorâ plates (Nos. 4 and 5, line 13), Kausika-mârga in the Rûddhapur plates (No. 8, line 12), Gîpurâka-mârga in the Indore plates (No. 9, line 8), Varadâkheṣa-mârga, in the Paṭṭan plates (No. 13, line 20), Sundhâti-mârga and Yaśapura-mârga in the Pâtmâ Museum plates (Nos. 15, lines 2 and 6), Uttara-mârga (which is specifically mentioned as situated in Nândikâta) in the Bâsim plates (No. 23, line 5) and Uttara-mârga (in Nânga-rakatakâ) in the India Office plates (No. 24, line 1). Mârga corresponds to the territorial division pathaka mentioned in other records.
4 No. 5, line 14.
5 No. 27, line 23.
6 No. 3, line 17.
7 No. 6, line 18.
8 No. 11, line 13.
9 No. 12, line 1.
administration of the kings, but the description they give of Prithivíšhepa I is significant. He was marked out not only for his personal bravery, intelligence and political wisdom but also for such virtues as truthfulness, straightforwardness and compassion. He took pride in being Dharmācayin i.e. a righteous conqueror.¹ This means that he never waged any war for self-aggrandisement. He conferred his gifts on worthy recipients. He strove to follow in his life the example of Yudhishthira, the well-known Pāṇḍava king of yore, whose name has been held in great veneration throughout the ages. We have no account of the lives of other kings of this dynasty, but in the absence of any evidence to the contrary we may suppose that they also tried to rule in the same manner. Pravarasena II in particular is said to have established Krišna-Yuga (Golden Age) by his wise rule. It may also be noted in this connection that Harishcena, the last known Vākāṭaka king, is described in an Ajanṭa inscription of his feudatory as one who secured the well-being of his subjects.²

Unlike the Kushānas and the Guptas of North India, the Vākāṭakas did not assume high-sounding titles like Śahānusūṭhi or Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājaḍhirāja, Paramēśvara, etc.,³ but contented themselves with the older modest style of Mahārāja.⁴ They did not also claim any divine origin,⁵ but believed that they owed their royal fortune to the grace of their ishta-dēvatā. Thus, Rudrasena II is described as one whose royal fortune was due to the grace of the god Chakrapāni (Vishnu).⁶ His son Pravarasena II is said to have obtained his weapon of Śula by the special favour of the god Śambhu (Śiva).⁷ Their feudatories, the Pāṇḍava kings of Mekalā, however, who had come into contact with the Guptas, describe themselves in their grants as paraṇa-guru-dēvatā-ādhipati-varāha⁸ i.e. highly venerable personages, deities and supreme divinities. They thus claimed superhuman power. Again, Lokaprakāśa, the queen of the Pāṇḍavarnā king Bharatabala, is described as born in a family descended from gods.⁹ The Vākāṭakas did not claim for themselves descent from any god or eponymous hero, but these feudatories of Mekalā proudly proclaimed their birth in the venerable Pāṇḍava-varāha descended from the Moon. The contemporary rulers of Mahākāntāra (modern Bastar District and the adjoining territory) similarly claimed that they were descended from the king Nala of epic fame.¹⁰

The Vākāṭaka grants mention three kinds of feudatories, viz., (i) those who submitted to the Emperor when they came to know of his resolve to subdue them; (ii) those who

¹ Cf. No. 4, line 8; No. 6, line 10 etc. His ancestor Pravarasena I and some members of the Vatsagulma branch assumed the title of Dharmamahārāja indicative of their piety and their support to the Vedic religion.
² No. 27, line 21.
³ C.I.I., Vol. III, No. 1, line 8; No. 5, lines 2-3 etc.
⁴ It has been supposed that the title Mahārāja assumed by the Vākāṭakas as contrasted with Mahārājaḍhirāja mentioned in connection with the Gupta Emperors indicates the inferior political status of the former. H.C.I.P., Vol. III, p. 180. It should, however, be noted that the kings of the Vatsagulma branch had assumed the same title even before the time of Samudragupta and Chandragupta II, when there could have been no question of subordination to the Guptas. See No. 22, line 1-3. Pravarasena I's title samrāj was due to his performance of Vājapeya sacrifices. His title Mahārāja is also sometimes mentioned along with it.
⁵ The epithet Hāritiputra applied to Pravarasena I in the Bāsim plates (No. 23, line 3) perhaps originally meant 'a son of (i.e. favoured by) the Buddhist goddess Hāriti.' Later, it came to mean a descendant (or disciple) of the sage Hāriti. Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 31; Vikramādityascharita, I, 58.
⁶ No. 3, line 13.
⁷ No. 15, line 1.
⁸ No. 19, line 9 and 14. The Guptas assumed the title of Paramadaivata also. See Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, p. 130.
⁹ No. 19, line 29.
submitted on being attacked; and (iii) those who were vanquished by valour. The imperial yoke on these feudatories must have been lighter than in North India; for, they do not usually mention their overlords. They must, of course, have been required to pay tribute and to join the imperial army in all wars of offence and defence.

We do not get much information about the administrative organization of the Vākāṭakas. Unlike the grants and seals of copper-plate charters of the Guptas, the Vākāṭaka inscriptions do not generally mention the names of the consorts of the ruling kings. The only exceptions known are Prabhavatigupta, the agra-mahishti (crowned queen) of Rudrasena II, and Ajhita-bhatśarikā, the queen of Narēndrasena. The former acted as Regent for her minor son Tuarāja Divākaraśena for at least thirteen years. Other queens do not appear to have taken any part in the administration of the kingdom. The Tuarāja may have assisted his father in governing the kingdom, but of this there is no specific mention in the grants.

The administration of the kingdom must have been carried on with the help of a large number of officers, civil and military, but few of them find a mention in our records. The Daśakumāra-charitā, which in its eighth wheelhāśa gives us a picture of the political and social conditions in the age of the Vākāṭakas, mentions the mantrin (Counsellor) and the adhyakṣas (Heads of Departments), but they are not noticed in our records. The inscription in Ajana Cave XVI mentions the sahākṣa or Minister. The officers who were appointed to govern the rājas or provinces of the kingdom were known as rājādikrītas or Governors. Chamidāsa, mentioned in the Tirōḍi plates, was an officer of this rank. The Sarādhyakṣa, who is usually mentioned in Vākāṭaka grants, was probably the head of the Secretariat. He was invested with authority to appoint subordinate officers called kulapatras and direct them for the execution of royal orders. The Kulapatras had various duties. Their primary function was of course the maintenance of law and order. For this purpose they had a number of bhātās and chhātras under them. The bhātās were soldiers, while the chhātras, who correspond to the chātas mentioned in some inscriptions, were policemen.

The Kulapatras, Chhātras and bhātās, like the takasildars and police officers of modern times, toured in the districts for the collection of land-revenue and various taxes due to the State. They could seize the treasure trove, work salt and other mines, and make village people work free of charge for the State. They were entitled to free boarding and lodging while touring in the districts for the work of the State. They must, no doubt, have been exacting and

1 No. 8, lines 26-27.
2 The Vākāṭaka suzerain is explicitly mentioned in No. 27, line 21, while his name is covertly suggested in No. 13, lines 32-34. The Sarabhapuriya kings, who were probably feudatories of the Vākāṭakas, do not, however, name their overlords.
3 In the eighth Uchchhāśa of the Daśakumāra-charitā, the feudatories of the king of Vardhamaṇi come to his help when he was attacked by the ruler of Vanavāśi.
4 No. 2, line 9.
5 No. 18, line 31.
6 The Riddhupuri plates of the Nala king Bhavadatta Varman were actually granted by his son Mahārāja Arhipati, who was probably Tuarāja at the time.
7 No. 25, line 15.
8 No. 11, line 33.
9 See e.g. No. 3, line 20.
10 Loc. cit.
11 No. 19, line 37.
13 No. 3, line 26.
oppressive in their dealings with the village people. They were therefore expressly forbidden to enter agrahāra villages donated to Brāhmaṇas, and could not claim from them any of the privileges allowed to them in other places except when they had to apprehend persons accused of high treason, the murder of a Brāhmaṇa, theft, adultery or such other heinous crimes. So long as the donees of these land-grants did not rebel against the king and did not commit any offence against the residents of other villages, they were free from the molestations of these bhūjās and Chhāṭras. The Kulapatras, bhūjās and Chhāṭras had therefore to be specially informed of every land-grant made by the king.

Another officer, who is, however, mentioned in a solitary grant of the Vākāṭakas, was Rajuka. His name is derived from rajjā ‘a rope’, which shows that he was originally a Settlement Officer who measured land for the assessment of revenue. The Rajukas are mentioned in the edicts of Aśoka. In the Mauryan times they were high officers of the State who were placed in charge of many hundreds of thousands of men and who could at their discretion inflict punishment or confer a reward. They seem to have lost their high rank in course of time; for, the rajuka is mentioned in the aforementioned Vākāṭaka grant only as a writer of the charter. The Rāhokāsita mentioned in the Bambhāt plates was probably the Private Secretary who acted as the confidential clerk of the king.

The only military and police officers mentioned in Vākāṭaka grants are the Senāpati and the Dandaśāyaka. The Senāpati is almost invariably named in charters of land-grants as they were drafted in his office. His title, like that of his lord, was a modest one. In North India, the Guptas introduced grandiloquent titles for their civil and military officers such as Kumārānāyaka, Sândhaṇīgrahika and Mahādandaśāyaka, but the Vākāṭakas preferred to continue the humbler titles of the earlier age. There were apparently frequent transfers of officers; for, we find that the post of the Senāpati was held by different persons or by the same person at different times during the reign of Pravaraśena II. Thus, the Senāpati of the king was Chitravarma in the 11th and 13th regnal years, Bāppa in the 18th and 25th years, Namidāsa and Chamidāsa in the 23rd year, Kātēyāna in the 27th year, and Madhappa in the 29th year. Sometimes the order for a land-grant was personally given by the king and this was indicated by the words ājñā svayam (ordered personally), recorded in the charter. In other cases the name of the Dātaka (called Ajñapti in the Bāśim plates) who communicated the royal order to the Senāpati’s office was mentioned at the end of the charter. In one grant the names of the persons who got the charter drafted are also recorded. Sometimes the name of the goldsmith who inscribed the copper-plates was also written at the end of the grant.

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1 No. 6, line 42-43.
2 No. 9, line 34.
3 No. 19, line 48.
4 See e.g., No. 5, line 30.
5 No. 24, line 2.
6 A smṛiti verse cited in the Mitākṣarā on the Tājñavalkyasvaita, II, 319-20, states that the charters were to be written by the Sāndhaṇīgrahika or Minister for Peace and War.
8 No. 5, line 30 and No. 6, line 60.
9 No. 7, line 35 and No. 12, line 42.
10 No. 10, line 28 and No. 11, line 33.
11 No. 13, line 44.
12 No. 14, line 54.
14 No. 13, lines 46-47.
15 No. 13, lines 45-46; No. 19, line 49.
The Bamhāni plates give the names of some village officers. The Gṛānakūṭa was the head of the village administration. The Drōṇāgrakonājayaka, who also was informed of a land-grant, may have been the head of the Drōṇāgraka (also called Drōṇamukha), the larger territorial division in which the donated village was included. The Dēvāvīra, who apparently helped the Gṛānakūṭa in the management of the village affairs, may be identical with the Dauvāvīra (or Pratihāra), who was the head of the village Police. The Gaṅgakas were probably not different from the bhātus or soldiers mentioned in Vākkātaka land-grants. These officers and their subordinates collected land-revenue and other government dues and maintained peace and order in the village.

Sources of State Revenue—Our records shed some light on the sources of royal income. The main sources were of course the land revenue and other direct taxes. They are mentioned as klīpta and upa-klīpta in Vākkātaka inscriptions. Klīpta, which means a fixed assessment, is mentioned also in Kautilya’s Arthasastra. It probably signified the land-tax. Upaklīpta probably meant minor taxes such as are mentioned in the Manusmrti, VII, 131-132. Besides these, the State claimed the right to confiscate the treasuries and deposits accidentally discovered. Digging for salt was again a royal monopoly. Salt mines existed in Berar until recent times, Loṇār (Sanskrit Lavaṇākara), a village in the Buldhānā District of VidARBha, being specially noted for them. Fermenting of liquors was also a royal prerogative. The village officers were authorised to collect miscellaneous taxes in kind which are indicated by the expression pushpa-khāra-sandha in Vākkātaka grants. These were evident this the same as those mentioned in the Manusmrti, VII, 118, for which the head the village was authorised to collect on behalf of the king and appropriate in lieu of his pay. The State had again the right to make people work free of wages for work of public utility. The villagers had to provide all amenities to touring royal officers, such as grass for feeding their horses or bullocks, hides for their seats and charcoal for their cooking. The agrahāra villages were exempted from all these taxes and obligations.

We have no record of any dissensions in the Vākkātaka family as we have in the case of some other contemporary royal families. The administration of the Vākkātakas appears to have been very efficient and it secured peace and prosperity to their subjects. As the inscription in Ajanta cave XVI states explicitely, the ministers of the Vākkātakas, by their good government, became always dear and accessible to the people like their father, mother and friend. They governed the country righteously, shining by their fame, religious merit and excellences. In describing Vidarbha as saurāja-rāmya (attractive through good government) Kālidāsa was probably paying a tribute to the excellent administration of the Vākkātakas.

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1 No. 19, line 35.
2 Kautilya mentions Drōṇamukha as the chief village in a territorial division of 400 villages. See Arthasastra (second ed. by Shama Sastri), p. 46.
3 Pratihāra, which is a synonym of Dauvāvīra, is used in this sense in the Śukumārttisāra, II, 120-21; 170-75.
4 See e.g. No. 3, line 28. No. 19 mentions udaranga and uparikara and also bhāga and bhōga in the same sense.
5 Arthasastra (second ed.), p. 60.
6 आदिवीर originates from दुरुभासुबीक्षा, भवनाविरित्रातीत भवनुमोचककत्रय तत्त्वसाधुविभाग तत्त्वसाधुविभाग तत्त्वसाधुविभाग तत्त्वसाधुविभाग
7 See e.g. No. 5, line 20.
8 Ibid., lines 20-21.
9 No. 25, lines 12 and 15.
10 Raghunāti, canto V, v. 60. In v. 40 of the same canto Kālidāsa describes the capital of Vidarbha as prosperous (ṛidhā).
CHAPTER VIII

RELIGION

There was unprecedented religious activity in the age of the Vākāṭakas. The founder of the royal family was the Gṛthopati Vākāṭaka, who was a follower of Buddhism. He went on a pilgrimage to the distant holy place of Amarāvatī in the Guṇṭur District of Andhradesa, where he has left an inscription recording his gift of a stone pillar for the longevity of himself, his two wives, friends and relatives. The gift was made at the instance of the Thēra (Buddhist Bhikshu) Bōdhika. The descendants of this Gṛthopati Vākāṭaka changed their religious faith and became staunch supporters of the Vēdic and Purānic religion. They were guided in this by a pious Brāhmaṇa family of Vallūra. This family maintained its reputation for Vedic learning for several generations. Its founder was Yajñapati, who was probably a contemporary of the Vākāṭaka king Vindhyāsakti. His son Dēva had great influence with the ruling prince; for, we are told that on account of him the whole kingdom including the king engaged itself in religious activities. As a matter of fact, we find a phenomenal religious activity in that age. Pravarasena I, the son of Vindhyāsakti I, who had made extensive conquests, performed a large number of Vedic sacrifices such as four Śvamēdhas and the seven Soma sacrifices including the Vājapēya. Thereafter we have no record of Vedic sacrifices being performed by later Vākāṭaka kings, but they must have extended liberal patronage to learned Brāhmaṇas and helped them in the performance of Śrauta sacrifices. Thus, one grant of Pravarasena II records the gift of 8000 nivartanas of land to as many as a thousand Brāhmaṇas. Several other grants of this prince and his mother as well as of some princes of the Vatsagulma branch have been discovered, which record gifts of land and even of whole villages to learned Brāhmaṇas.

Purānic Hinduism also received a fillip during the age of the Vākāṭakas. Several temples dedicated to Hindu gods were erected throughout their dominion. Most of the Vākāṭaka princes were devotees of Śiva. So the temples of that god must have been much larger in number than those of other deities. Owing to paucity of inscriptions we do not, however, notice many references to them. Pravarasena I, the great Emperor who distinguished himself by his numerous Vedic sacrifices, is known to have constructed a temple of Śiva under the name of Pravaracāvara. The territorial division of twenty-six villages in which it was situated came to be known by its name. His grandson Rudrasena I, who succeeded him, also constructed a dharmasthāna (temple) at Chikkamburi, modern Chikmārā in the Chândā District, which was probably dedicated to his ishta-dēvatā Mahābhairava.

2No. 26, line 8.
3Ibid., line 5.
4See e.g. No. 3, line 1.
5They are known to have performed Gṛitya rites like the Ganayāga. The Jāmb plates of Pravarasena II record his gift to a Brāhmaṇa who is described as Gaṇa-śūya. No. 3, line 19.
6Ancestors of the famous Sanskrit poet Bhavabhūti, who were learned and pious Brāhmaṇas and originally belonged to Udumbara, were probably invited by the Vākāṭakas to their capital Padmapura, where they settled down and performed several Vedic sacrifices. See Ep. Ind., Vol. XXII, pp. 210 f.
7No. 6, line 20.
8No. 4, line 13; No. 5, line 14; No. 14, line 1. The names of Śiva generally ended in śvara and those of Vishnu in śvamin. So the temple of Pravaracāvara was probably dedicated to Śiva.
9No. 1, line 6.
Temple dedicated to Vrishnī also were not rare. Rudrasēna II, the grandson of Rudrasēna I, became a devotee of Chakrapāni (Vrishnī)² probably through the influence of his chief queen Prabhāvatīguptā, who, like her illustrious father Chandragupta II, was a devout worshipper of that god.² She frequently visited the temple on the holy hill of Rāmagiri situated not far from her capital, where the foot-prints of Rāmachandra, an incarnation of Vrishnī, were installed. Both her known grants⁴ are made on Kārttikeya śu. di. 12, evidently at the time of the pāraṇa after the completion of the fast on the preceding Prabhodhini Ėkādaśi. One of them specifically mentions the foot-prints of Rāmagirīsvāmin, near which the grant was made.⁴ Some other grants of her son also appear to have been made at the same place. In one grant⁶ a half of the village donated was given by a merchant named Chandra. There was another famous temple at Āvathākhetaka (modern Patṭan in the Bēṭul District), in which also the object of worship was a pair of the foot-prints of Mahāpurusha (Vrishnī). Pravarasēna II made a munificent donation of 400 nivartanas of land for the maintenance of the charitable feeding house (sastra) attached to the temple.⁶

Another temple of Rāmachandra probably existed at Pavnār near Wardhā, just at the place where Vinobāji's āśrama now stands on the bank of the river Dhām. It appears to have been decorated with beautiful panels depicting scenes from the Rāmāyana, some of which have recently been discovered at the place.⁷ These panels were probably built into the walls of the temple as in the case of the Gupta temple at Dēvagāḍh. As shown above, Pavnār is probably identical with Pravarpura, which Pravarasēna II founded and made the seat of his government some time after the eleventh regnal year. This temple may have been constructed by him at the instance of his mother, the dowager queen Prabhāvati-guptā. So long as the capital was at Nandivardhana, Prabhāvatiguptā could have had darśana of her ishta-devatā, (i.e. Rāmachandra) at Rāmagiri which was only about 3 miles away; but when the capital was shifted to Pravarpura, she, having gone to stay there, must have felt the need of a temple of Rāmachandra there. At her instance her dutiful son Pravarasēna II appears to have erected this temple and got it decorated by the best artists of the age. Vinobāji's āśrama, which is situated on an artificial mound and the area round which yielded the panels mentioned above, probably marks the site of this temple.⁸

Buddhism also was flourishing in the kingdom of the Vākāṭakas. It had perhaps a greater attraction for those who on account of some calamities befalling them were convinced of the transitoriness of health, worldly possessions and life. Varāhādēvi, minister of the Vākāṭaka king Harishēṇa, who was so convinced, caused a magnificent vihāra cave to be excavated at Ajanta in memory of his father and mother.⁹ He got it adorned with windows, doors, beautiful picture-galleries, ledges, statues of the nymphs of Indra, etc. It contained a temple of the Buddha inside and was provided with a large reservoir of water as also with a shrine of the lord of the Nāgas. He presented the magnificent cave to the Community of Buddhist Monks at Ajanta.

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¹No. 3, line 13.
²Note the expression atyanta-bhagavat-bhikṣa descriptive of her in her grant. No. 2, line 8.
³No. 2, line 14; No. 8, line 31.
⁴No. 8, line 1, रामचरितमाला: रामचरितमाला.
⁵No. 9, line 20.
⁶No. 13, lines 22-23.
⁷For a description of these panels, see below, pp. lxxi f.
⁸For a full discussion of this matter see my article entitled 'Pravarpura: An ancient Capital of the Vākāṭakas' in Sāraṇā-Bhāratī, pp. 271 f. See also S.T., Vol. II, pp. 272 f.
⁹No. 25 line 18.
INTRODUCTION

Varāhadēva caused another cave to be excavated at Gulwāḍā, 11 miles west of Ajanṭā. Like Cave XVI, this cave also is of the Vihāra type, with a shrine of the Buddha in the dharma-chakra-pravartana-mudrā at the farther end. It is decorated with beautiful sculptures and well-carved pillars and pilasters, but contains no paintings. As the inscription in which Varāhadēva gave an account of his ancestors is sadly mutilated in its lower portion, the purpose for which the cave was excavated remains unknown. Nearby is another smaller cave of the vihāra type which also was probably excavated by the same minister and dedicated to the Buddhist Saṅgha.

Two other caves at Ajanṭā belong to the age of the Vākāṭakas. They are the Vihāra Cave XVII and the Chaitya Cave XIX. Both were excavated by a feudatory of Harīsha, who ruled over the Rishīka country. His name is unfortunately lost, as the inscription in Cave XVII, in which he had given an account of himself and his ancestors, is now very much mutilated. From the extant portion of it we learn that this prince was overwhelmed with sorrow at the premature death of his younger brother Ravisāmba. Being convinced of the transitoriness of worldly existence, he began to lead a pious life. Realizing that wealth causes an obstacle in the attainment of siddhi, he adorned the earth with stūpas and vihāras. He caused the excellent monolith maṇḍapa (i.e. Cave XVII) containing the chaitya of the Buddha to be excavated and provided it with a water-cistern. To the west of it, in another part of the hill he caused a gandhakuti (i.e. Chaitya Cave XIX) to be excavated. These two are known for their excellent paintings and sculptures respectively.

As this inscription states, there must have been many such vihāras and chaityas excavated or constructed in other parts of the Vākāṭaka empire, but they have now passed into oblivion.

An analysis of the grants of the Vākāṭaka kings and their feudatories would shed interesting light on the religious tendencies of the age. Of the 27 inscriptions edited here, as many as nine are either incomplete or record no gift. Of the remaining eighteen grants, three record donations of vihāra and chaitya caves to Buddhist Saṅghas, and fifteen, gifts of some land or village to Hindu gods and Brahmāṇas. This shows that Buddhism was gradually losing ground and Hinduism was asserting itself. It would again be interesting to see on what occasions the gifts were made. The grants to Buddhist Saṅghas mention no particular occasion. Again, two of the grants to Brahmāṇas contain only season dates and therefore afford no basis for conjecture. Of the remaining thirteen grants also, only three state explicitly the tithi of the gift, while the others contain only the dates when the gifts were actually recorded. From these latter, however, we can in some cases conjecture the occasion of the gift. For instance, if a gift is recorded on the 12th or the 13th of the bright or dark fortnight of a month, it would not be wrong to conjecture that it was made on the occasion of the pāraṇā after observing a fast on the preceding ēkādaśī (11th tithi). We thus find that of the aforementioned thirteen grants, as many as nine were made at the time of the pāraṇās of the following ēkādaśīs:

1 No. 26 lines 3 f.
2 No. 27 lines 12 f.
3 Viz. Nos. 23, 26 and 27.
4 In the preceding age of the Sātavāhanas, most of the inscriptions recorded gifts to Buddhist Saṅghas.
5 Nos. 10 and 23.
6 Nos. 2, 7 and 14.
**Name of Ėkādaśī**

1. Jyeśṭha śū. di. 11 (now called Nirjala)  
2. Bhādrapada va. di. 11  
3. Āśvina śū. di. 11 (now called Pāśūkṣa)  
4. Kārttika śū. di. 11 (now called Prabodhini)  
5. Māgha va. di. 11 (now called Śaṭ-tilā)  
6. Phālguna śū. di. 11 (now called Āmalaki)

**Total no. of grants**

- One
- One
- One
- Four
- One
- One

This shows what importance the Ėkādaśī vrata had attained in that age. Again, even among the Ėkādaśīs, that called Prabodhini Ėkādaśī was regarded as most sacred. It is interesting to note that Kālidāsa also mentions this tithi in the Meghadūta as the day of deliverance for the exiled Yaksha. It was believed that on that tithi the god Vishnu rose from his serpent couch after a sleep of four months.

One grant (No. 12) recorded on Jyeśṭha śū. di. 10 was made to a Brāhmaṇa who is described as Vishnava-vāchana. It seems therefore to have been made on the occasion of the Mēśa Sānkṛanti. In the case of the two grants, no particular sacred tithi seems to have been the occasion of the gifts. One grant (No. 14) was made on the occasion of tila-vāchana, i.e., probably a śrāddha.

The foregoing analysis reveals certain surprising facts. Most of the Vākāṭaka kings were Paramamāheśvaras i.e., devout worshippers of Mahēśvara or Śiva. Still, apart from No. 1 which may have recorded the construction of a temple of that god there is no single inscription which records a gift in honour of him. Similarly, there is no mention of any gift having been made on a solar or a lunar eclipse. It may be noted in this connection that eclipses and sāṅkṛantiś were the usual occasions when land-grants were made to Brāhmaṇas in later times, while gifts on completion of the Ėkādaśī vrata were very rare.

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1No. 6.  
2No. 19.  
3No. 3.  
4Nos. 2, 4, 5, and 8.  
5No. 11.  
6No. 7.

7Cf. धार्मिकम् में मुद्रिप्रमाणबिप्रविद शास्त्रविद्या 1 v. 120.
8Nos. 9 and 15. In the case of the former grant which was recorded on Vaiśākha va. di. 5 it is possible to say that it was made on the preceding tithi sāṅkṛanti-schaturthi, which is sacred to Ganapati, but it is doubtful if that god had attained such importance in the Vākāṭaka age. There is generally no obeisance to him in the beginning of early grants.
CHAPTER IX

SOCIETY

OUR records do not yield much information about the social condition in the age of the Vākāṭakas. Hindu society was then no doubt divided into castes, but the caste system had not become quite rigid. Some of the royal families of that age belonged to the Brāhmaṇa, and some to the Kshatriya caste. The Vākāṭakas were Brāhmaṇas of the Viṣṇuṛđha gotra. Their feudatories who ruled over the Mekalā country traced their descent from the Pāṇḍavas of the lunar race and evidently claimed to be Kshatriyas. The rulers of Mahākāntāra (modern Bastar District of Madhya Pradesh and the adjoining territory) claimed descent from the famous king Nala. They also must have been regarded as Kshatriyas. In some other cases such as those of the rulers of Śarabhapura and Rishika we have no means to ascertain their caste.

Though people generally married within their caste, inter caste marriages of the anulōma type sanctioned by the Smrītis were not unknown. The Brāhmaṇa prince Rudrāśena II married the Vaiṣya princess Prabhāvatīguptā. This marriage brought no inferior status to her and her children; for she became the agra-mahīṣī (crowned queen) of the Vākāṭaka king and her sons Divākaraśena and Pravaraśena II succeeded to the throne one after the other. Another inter-caste marriage of that age is mentioned in the Ghaṭīkachā Cave inscription. Śoma, a learned Brāhmaṇa of Vallūra, married wives of both the Brāhmaṇa and Kshatriya castes. His sons from the Brāhmaṇa wives devoted themselves to the study of the Vēdas and made their native place famous by their learning. His sons from the Kshatriya wife, on the other hand, took to the military profession and distinguished themselves by their valour. Some of them became ministers of the Vākāṭaka kings.

The Brāhmaṇas who devoted themselves to the study of the Vēdas and Śāstras were highly venerated. Some of them mastered more than one Vēda. This was indicated by epithets like Īvītātmanī prefixed to their names, which had not yet become mere surnames. Some Brāhmaṇas officiated as priests at Śrauta sacrifices and Gṛihya rites. Those who performed certain rites like Gana-yāgas were looked down upon and were not invited to a śrāddha. The Brāhmaṇa who officiated at such rites received a munificent gift. Some Brāhmaṇas preferred to lead a celibate life and were known as vaiśībhāvyas Brāhmaṇachārins. Kālūṭaka, who received the Jāmbu, was a Brāhmaṇa of this type. Some Brāhmaṇas were known for their pious and saintly life. Such was the Āchārya Chanālāsvāmin who is described as Bhagavat-bhakta (a devotee of Vishnu) in the Poona plates of Prabhāvatīguptā. He was probably staying at Rāmagiri and appears to have been in charge of the temple of Rāmachandra there; for, the village Dańguṇa which Prabhāvatīguptā granted to him was first offered to the feet of the god on Kārtūka śu. di. 12.

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1 No. 3, line 2.
2 No. 19, line 1.
3 Manusmrti, III, 13.
4 No. 26, lines 7-8.
5 No. 12, line 22.
6 No. 3, line 19.
7 No. 2, line 14.
From our records we get some interesting details about the Brāhmaṇas of Vidarbha in that age. Their names usually ended in śarmā, ārya, ṛṣārya or śrāmin. They belonged to different Vēdas and śākhās or charanas. Unfortunately, all records do not give details about the Vēdas and śākhās of the donees. So the information is meagre. We can nevertheless make some gleanings. It is noteworthy that among the donees of copper-plate grants the Rīgvedins and the Śamavēdins are conspicuous by their absence, not a single grant being made to them.¹ Among the Yaḍurēdins, the followers of the Taittiriya śākhā predominate, as many as six grants having been made to them.² One grant is made to a Brāhmaṇa of the Mādhyandina śākhā of the White Yaḍurēda.³ He was residing in Mēkalā. In three other cases also the donees probably belonged to the Vējasanēya or White Yaḍurēda as shown by the word vāji being prefixed to their gōtra.⁴ The Brāhmaṇas of the Atharovēda are now extremely rare, but they were not so in those days; for, two grants, viz. those recorded in the Tirōdi and Bāsim plates,⁵ were made to them. One of the donees belonged to the Rājāghīṭ District and the others to the Akōlā District.

Some Brāhmaṇas may have risen to a high rank in the administration of the State. As the castes of the officers are nowhere mentioned in copper-plate grants, our information in this respect is very meagre, but judging by his name, Dēvanandavāmīn, who is named as Dātaka in the Riddhapur plates of Prabhāvatīgūpā, probably belonged to the Brāhmaṇa caste.⁶ Some of the scribes of the grants whose names ended in dāsa may also have been members of the same caste.⁷

The Kshatriyas, who ranked next to the Brāhmaṇas in social hierarchy, occupied high positions in the administration of the State. Thus, Chitravāman, who held the high office of the Sēnāpata in the 11th and 13th regnal years⁸ of Pravarasēna II, was probably a Kshatriya. Other Sēnāpatis such as Chāmīḍāsā, Namīḍāsā, Bāppāḷēva, Kātayāṇa, and Mādhappā may also have been of the same caste, but we have now no means of ascertaining this. Judging by his name, Prabhūsurimha, the scribe of the Riddhapur plates,⁹ may also have been of the Kshatriya caste.

Our records do not yield much information about other castes. The Indore plates mention a merchant (vāṇijaka) named Chandra, who could afford to purchase a half of the village which was granted to certain Brāhmaṇas by the Indore plates of Pravarasēna II.¹⁰ Some records mention the suvarṇakārās (goldsmiths) who engraved the copper-plates. As no large stone inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas have yet been discovered, we do not get the names of any sūrāḥkārās (artisans). The artisans, sculptors and painters who built the temple at Pavnār and excavated and decorated with sculptures and paintings the Caves XVI, XVII and XIX at Ajantā and the Gхаṭotkacha Cave at Kulwāḍā have also remained unknown.

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¹Some of the donees of the Chammak plates which recorded grants to a thousand Brāhmaṇas of various gōtras and charanas may have belonged to these Vēdas. The Vēdas and śākhās of the few donees who are named therein have not been recorded.
²Viz. Nos. 3-5, 7, 8, 15.
³No. 19, line 39-40.
⁴Nos. 9, 12 and 14.
⁵Nos. 11 and 22.
⁶No. 8, line 31.
⁷It is well known that the great Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa, who belonged to the Brāhmaṇa caste, has a similar name. It is noteworthy that the scribe of No. 19 bore the same name.
⁸No. 5, line 30; No. 6, line 60.
⁹No. 8, line 32.
¹⁰No. 9, line 20.
INTRODUCTION

The inscription in Ajanṭā Cave XVII states that a feudatory of Emperor Harishēṇa, whose name has, unfortunately, been lost, being moved by compassion, released, by expenditure of wealth, (persons) whose eyes were suffused through fear, as though they were his (own) sons. As this verse, like several others in that record, is very sadly mutilated, it is not possible to say who these persons were. Perhaps they were domestic slaves. The institution of slavery was, no doubt, prevalent in ancient India. A slave had no right to property. He had to do menial work. He was generally treated with kindness and so foreign observers like Megasthenes have recorded that none of the Indians employed slaves. The Tājūvalkya Śṛiṇiti lays down that a king should release from bondage those who have been enslaved by force or have been sold by thieves. He who saved the life of his master was also set free. Those who were sold for money could be released by payment of the required amount to their master. In the Mrīchēkhabhakatka Śārvilaka attempted to release his lady-love from servitude by this means. The slaves referred to in the aforementioned Ajanṭā inscription were probably of this type. Harishēṇa’s feudatory took pity on them and released them from bondage by paying ransom-money and made them free citizens.

Inscriptions generally do not contain any particulars about the people’s mode of living, their costume, jewellery, head-dresses, weapons, dwelling places, furniture, utensils, musical instruments and so forth. For these, we must turn to contemporary literature, sculpture and painting. The Vākātaka age produced several Sanskrit and Prakrit kāyas, but most of them are now lost. The Meghadūta of Kālidāsa and the Sūtabandha of Pravarasena II are the only kāyas of the age, produced in Vidarbha, now extant. As the other kāyas and nāṭakas of Kālidāsa were produced in Mālwā outside Vidarbha, the description in them may not be exactly true of Vidarbha. Still, these works also could be utilised with due caution. The best sources of information about the social condition of the time are the sculptures and paintings in Caves XVI, XVII and XIX at Ajanṭā, which were excavated and decorated in that age. Fortunately, many of these sculptures and paintings are still in a fairly good condition. They furnish considerable information about the customs and manners of the people of Vidarbha in that age.

As shown elsewhere, the custom of building temples and vihāras in stone and brick was coming into vogue in the age of the Vākātakas, but these materials do not seem to have been generally used for constructing dwelling places for the rich or the poor. Ajanṭā paintings show that palaces, houses as well as shops in market places were constructed of wood. As is well known, early Indian architecture was in wood. When Vihāras and Chaityas came to be excavated in hills, many of the features of wooden architecture such as beams and rafters, unnecessary as they were in such excavations, were carved in stone. Wooden ribs can still be seen in some early caves such as the Chaitya Cave at Kārāla.

Ajanṭā paintings show that the palaces and mansions of rich persons were constructed on wooden pillars which were decorated with carvings or paintings in three places, at the bottom, in the middle and at the top. The pillars had stone pedestals and either round or elongated capitals. The lintels were decorated with Chaitya windows. The assembly halls were either square or round in shape with a small verandah in front. For the latter type,

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1No. 27, line 17.
2Manusmṛiti, IX, 416.
3Adhīyāya II, v. 182.
4Ajanṭā paintings occasionally show some small stone structures crowned with a dome, an amalaka and a finial resembling those of the original temple at Bodh Gaya. They may be dēvakulis or small temples. See Ajanta, Part III, Pl. LXI and IV, Pl. XLIV (a).
see the circular pavilion where queen Māyā is relating her dream to her husband.¹ The halls were decorated with awnings and tapestries of various colours.² Some buildings had dove-cots with gabled roofs³ such as are described by Kālidāsa in the Meghadūta, v. 40.⁴ The gateways leading from one part of a building to another had barrel-shaped roofs which were decorated with the designs of Chaitya-windows at both the ends.⁵ When necessary, shamanas (paṭa-maṇḍapas) and tents (uṇakārīya) were erected. They are mentioned by Kālidāsa in the description of the grand reception of prince Aja in Kuṇḍinapura, the capital of Vidarbha.⁶ Shops were generally square in shape and small in size, equipped with chhaṣṭās of cloth orickerwork in order to protect them from the sun and rain. The dwellings of the poor had thatched roofs as at present.⁷

The furniture in the halls was of a simple type. Low square seats with round cushions for reclining against were used. A stool called pūda-piṭha was placed in front for resting the feet on. The custom of placing pots one over another in slings suspended from the roof of a kitchen, which is even now in vogue, is noticed in some paintings.⁸ While dining, people sat on low square seats, with the plate placed in front on a low stool.⁹

Ajanta paintings give us a glimpse into the various strata of society in Vidarbha. Some people are shown black in complexion and short in stature, with a flat nose. These may be the aborigines residing in Vidarbha and may have belonged to the Nāga race. Those who excavated and painted the caves at Ajanta were probably of the same extraction.¹⁰ They have, therefore, sculptured and painted in several places Nāga-rājas with hoods of serpents over their heads.¹¹ On the other hand, kings, queens, Brahmans as well as male and female servants, noticed everywhere, are of the Aryan race. They are fair in complexion, tall in stature and graceful in features. Besides, there were several foreigners such as the Śakas, Pārthians and Kushāṇas, who had settled in Mahārāṣṭra. Some of these are portrayed in the Ajanta caves. In the fresco in Cave XVII which represents the Buddha preaching to a congregation, we notice among the audience some persons with a conical head-dress, who are apparently of foreign origin.¹² Elsewhere there appear others with a flat face and small eyes, dressed in a long robe, who, according to Mr. Yazdani, may be Chinese.¹³ Pilgrims from China used to come to India to visit the sacred places of Buddhism.

Ajanta paintings give us a clear idea of the costume and jewellery worn by men and women in Vidarbha in the age of the Vākṣṭas. Most of them are shown dressed in a short antariyaka or lower garment. As it did not cover the knees, it was called ardharūka. In the Harshacharita Bāṇa has described it as one which left uncovered a third part of the thighs.¹⁴ This cloth had stripes of different colours. The lower garments of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and

¹Ajanta, Part III, Pl. LXI.
²Ibid., Part IV, Pl. XVII (a).
³Ibid., Part III, Pl. LXIII.
⁴Cf. तो कला रविवर्षीयनि सुपत्रांगवस्या रेलवा राज्यि etc.,
⁵Ajanta, Part III, Pl. I; Part IV, Pl. XXI.
⁶Rāghuvaṁśa, Canto V, vv. 63 and 83.
⁷Ajanta, Part IV, Pl. IV (c).
⁸Ibid., Part IV, Pl. V.
⁹Ibid., Part IV, Pl. XXXVI.
¹⁰Ibid., Part IV, Pl. XV.
¹¹See below, pp. Ixviii f.
¹²Ajanta, Part IV, Pl. XXXIX.
¹³Ibid., Part IV, Pl. XXXIII.
¹⁴Harshaḥarita (Nṛpayasāgar Press ed.), p. 22.
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Sitā in the panel called 'Meeting of Bharata' from Pāvnār are of the same type, but they are much broader, reaching down to the ankles. One end of this cloth which covered the left thigh was tucked behind like a kachhehha, while the other, after covering both the legs, was taken behind and after being tucked a little, was kept dangling like a tail. The lower garment was worn in a different manner in North India. Its pleats were gathered in front as seen in the sculptures at Sāṅchī and Bharhut. Such pleats or nīśis are seen nowhere in the paintings of the Vākāṭaka age at Ajanṭā, while the dangling end at the back is noticed almost everywhere. In the Rājataranginī Kalhana has given the following humorous description of this mode of wearing the lower garment by the southerners:—'The king (Lalitāditya) made the tail of the lower garment of the southerners touch the ground in order to show that they were beasts.'

Women also wore their lower garment in a similar fashion. This is clear from one end of it dangling behind when they are shown seated or standing with the back turned towards others. Some women, however, wore their lower garment in the vikachheha fashion i.e. without the ends of it being tucked up behind. Some men wore a pair of shorts which were tied with a band called kaṭibandha. This kind of lower garment was called chaṇḍāṭaka. From the Harshacharita we learn that women also used to wear such a chaṇḍāṭaka or underwear inside a long robe or kaṭhaka.

While engaged in active exercise, such as horse-riding or hunting, men used to put on trousers and a long coat with full sleeves over them. In the fresco representing the Mriga-Jātaka, the king who has gone a hunting is shown dressed in this manner. Many Gupta kings appear clad in the same fashion on their coins. Some servants also are shown with long-sleeved robes in Ajanṭā paintings.

Men usually wore an upper garment (uttariya) which, like the sacred thread, went over the left shoulder and below the right arm pit. This mode of wearing it kept the right arm free for movement. In some paintings the uttariya is seen turned over on the left shoulder. Some persons used to fold it and wore it as a vaṭakakshaka across their breast. Some others took a long cloth and used it both as a lower and an upper garment. In some cases we find the uttariya worn over a long-sleeved coat.

In many paintings at Ajanṭā, the upper part of the bodies of kings, queens and rich persons appears to be bare, while their servants, male and female, are clad in garments. This prima facie appears strange, but the painter's intention was to show that these men and women of high social status were wearing diaphanous clothes. Sanskrit poets describe these garments as nihšeṣa-hērya (such as could be blown away by mere breath) or as sarpa-nirmāka-laghunatarā (thinner than the sloughs of serpents). They also state that even

1 See Plate B.
2 In the earlier paintings in Cave IX at Ajanṭā also such pleats are shown. See Ajanṭā, Part III, Pl. XVI.
3 Rājataranginī, IV, 180.
4 Ajanta, Part IV, Pl. LXIV(b).
5 Ibid., Part IV, Pl. LI(c).
7 Ajanta, Part IV, Pl. LXVIII(c).
8 Ibid., Part IV, Pl. IV(c).
9 Ibid., Part IV, Pl. XV.
10 Ibid., Part IV, Pl. XVII(a).
11 Ibid., Part IV, Pl. XVII(a).
12 Kāvaṇavīma, Canto XVI, v. 43.
13 Harshacharita, pp. 31-32.
when they were worn, the inside limbs of the body such as the breasts and thighs, ornaments, sandal paste etc. were clearly seen through them. The painters have shown in their pictures what the poets described in their kāyas.

Some women used to wear a band called payōdhara-paṭa to cover their breasts. In the scene representing dying Sundarī, in Cave XVI, the maid who is fanning the princess has worn such a breast-band. Again, in the fresco of the Visvanta-Jātaka where Jujaka is receiving the ransom-money, the queen who is sitting beside the king has also worn a similar payōdhara-paṭa. In the Śākuntala, when Śākuntalā complains that Priyamvadā had tied her bark-garment tightly and asks Anasūyā to loosen it, Priyamvadā retorts, "You should rather blame your youth which has developed your breasts." In this scene also a similar payōdhara-paṭa is evidently referred to. As its knot used to be tied on the back, Śākuntalā had to ask her friend to loosen it. The kaśchukā or half-sleeved bodice, now usually worn by Mahārāṣṭrian ladies, though not much in evidence, is noticed in some paintings. For instance, the maid, standing near queen Māyā, as she is relating her dream to her husband, is shown to have worn such a bodice. Again, the woman with a child on her waist, who appears in the midst of suppliants assembled to receive alms in the fresco representing the Visvanta-Jātaka, has put on a half-sleeved jacket of the modern type with the floral designs painted on it. In a scene of the Sīnhaśana in Cave XVII, a woman is shown to have worn a green bodice of the same type as is worn by Mahārāṣṭrian ladies at present. Women of the Śaka and Kushāna descent used to wear a half-sleeved jacket instead of a bodice.

Boys dressed themselves in the same manner as men. This appears clear from the frescoes representing prince Siddhārtha and his young companions. Some of them have one end of their lower garment dangling at the back, while some others are shown with a scarf on their shoulder, placed like an uttariya.

After his enlightenment, the Buddha used to wear three garments, (i) the antarāvāsaka (which Yuan Chwang calls nivāsana) or lower garment which was tied at the waist with a girdle, (ii) the uttarāsaṅga, also called saṅkakṣhikā which was worn like an uttariya and (iii) the saṅghāṭi or long cloak. In the frescoes in Caves XVI and XVII, the Buddha appears in some places to have worn an uttarāsaṅga and in others a saṅghāṭi.

Several modes of hair-dressing and coiffure are noticed in these paintings. In the frescoes in Caves XVI and XVII, men nowhere appear with a turban such as is seen in the earlier frescoes at Ajanṭā. The ruling princes are marked by a high jewelled diadem. Sometimes a single golden band worn across the forehead served to distinguish a royal personage. Others such as ministers, royal officers and common men generally wore their hair loose, which fell on their back, neck or chest. Some wore a cotton or silken band

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1 Priyadarśikā, Act II, v. 7.
2 Ajanta, Part III, Pl. LII.
3 Ibd., Part IV, Pl. XXVI.
4 Śākuntala, Act I.
5 Ajanta Part III, Pl. LXII.
6 Ibd., Part III, Pl. LXIV.
7 Ibd., Part IV, Pl. LXIV(a).
8 Ibd., Part III, Pl. LXVI.
9 Ibd., Part III, Pl. LXIII.
10 Ibd., Part IV, Pl. XXXIX.
11 Ibd., Part III, Pl. LIII and LXXIV; Part IV, Pl. XLI.
12 Ibd., Part IV, Pl. XV.
across their forehead, which Bana also has noticed. In the scene in Cave XVII representing the Buddha preaching to a congregation, a person of high social status who is sitting near king Bimbis"ara among the audience is shown as wearing such a white silken band, under which his curling hair appears in small clusters. Foreigners like the Sakas and Kushanas are shown with a conical head-dress or with a low round skull-cap. The Brahmana were marked by a tied tuft of hair on the crown of their head. In the school-scene in Cave XVI some of Sihdhartha's companions have a similar tuft of hair. Boys generally had clusters of hair called kākapaksha kapas above their ears. In some sculptures, Purpabhadra, Panchika and such other semi-divine beings are shown with a wig-like coiffure. Buddhist monks shaved their heads clean, but they do not appear in this manner in Ajantha frescoes. In the scene representing the miracle at Sravasti the naked Kshapa"akas are, however, shown with clean shaven heads, whereas the Buddha, as also sages, wear mantled hair.

Women dressed their hair in a variety of ways. The Ajantha frescoes exhibit a great many exquisite styles of coiffures. It is, however, noteworthy that nowhere in the frescoes in Caves XVI and XVII is any lady shown to have covered her head with the hem of her upper garment as Marath"a ladies of noble birth do at present. Male and female servants of foreign descent are in some places shown to have worn a conical cap. See, for instance, the picture of such a maid servant with rough features who attends on a royal pair in a scene of the Vishantara. Jataka in Cave XVII. She has worn a green jacket and a conical cap with a tuft at the top. Again, we do not see women of the age using a veil. Only in one picture has Mr. Yazdani noticed what appears like a veil. In the scene which represents the Buddha preaching to his mother in the Tushita heaven, one of the devis appears to have worn an embroidered head-dress to which is attached a veil of white gauze such as is worn by brides in European countries. Everywhere else women appear without a veil as in Mahurashatra at present.

It is, however, noteworthy that women of Vitarbha did not apply a tilaka to their forehead in the Vakataka age as they do at present. That this custom was, however, prevalent in some places is clear from Kailasha's description in the Raghuvarsha, XVIII, 44.

Men and women were very fond of jewellery in the Vakataka age. Merchants, middle class people and servants generally appear without jewellery on their person, but kings, princes, high officers, queens and wives of rich people as also their maids are represented with a variety of ornaments. As stated before, kings used to wear a high jewelled diadem. They also put on jewelled ear-ornaments (kunda kapas) and necklaces of pearls or gems. Their arms were adorned with jewelled armlets (anigudas), with strings of pearls hanging from them. In his description of the sanyaniwara of Indumati, Kalidasa describes how one of the princes who

1 Cf. the paintings in the Harshacarita.
2 Ajanta, Part IV, Pl. XXXIX.
3 Loc. cit.
4 Ibid., Part IV, Pl. XXIII.
5 Ibid., Part III, Pl. LXIII.
6 In the Uttararamcharita, Bhavabhuti describes Lava as having five chanda of this type.
7 Ajanta, Part IV, Pl. LXXXV(a).
8 Ibid., Part IV, Pl. XLIII (b).
9 Ibid., Part III, Pl. LXVI.
10 Ibid., Part IV, p. 67, Pl. XL (a).
11 In the paintings of the earlier caves at Ajantha, however, such a tilaka is noticed on the forehead of women. See Ajanta, Part III, Pl. XXIV.
12 Ibid., Part IV, Pl. XXXIX.
attended it had to extricate his necklace which had got entangled in his armlet1. Rich men wore golden wristlets (kanaka-valayas). In the Mēghadūta Kālidāsa describes how the forearm of the exiled Yaksha, who had become emaciated owing to separation from his beloved, appeared bare by the fall of a golden wristlet2. The fingers were adorned with rings. The confusion caused in the Śāktantala by the loss of the signet ring of Dushyanta is well known. Rich people wore a many-stringed pearl necklace after the manner of a yajñopavīta. The pictures of kings and princes assembled to hear the sermon of the Buddha or that of the flying Indra in Cave XVII3 give us a fairly clear idea of the jewellery worn by rich men in the Vākāṭaka age. That boys also wore similar ornaments will be clear from the picture of Rāhula, who goes forth to welcome the Buddha.

Women too put on very varied and beautiful jewellery. In many of the frescoes at Ajanta women are shown with a head-ornament called lalāṭikā, one string of which followed the parting line of hair. Bāna has described it as ‘a tilaka-maṇi kissing the simanta’. This lalāṭikā had, in some cases, a cluster of pearls or a round golden disc suspended on the forehead, which gave it the name chaṭulā-ṭilaka4. Boys also wore this kind of ornament. See, for instance, the pictures of Yaśodhara and Rāhula welcoming the Buddha in Ajanta Cave XVI5. Some women wore a network of pearls in their hair, which Kālidāsa has mentioned in the Mēghadūta, v. 65. They also put on pearl-necklaces of one or more strings. In the Mēghadūta Kālidāsa mentions a pearl-necklace with a large sapphire woven in the middle6. Some women used to wear kaṇṭhikās (necklaces) of rubies and emeralds, while others liked those made of gold coins (nīshkās). Several Indian and Roman coins have been found in excavations, with a hole at the top, which shows that they were worn in such necklaces.

Nowhere in Ajanta frescoes do we notice the nose-ornament now worn by Mahā-rāṣṭrīan ladies. It had not, evidently, come into vogue in that age. The main ornaments of women then were the lalāṭikā in the hair, round ear-rings, jewelled armlets with pearl-strings suspended from them and bracelets of gold. They also wore jewelled girdles called maṇimēkhālas. When these girdles were equipped with small bells, they were called kāṇčhis. Kālidāsa describes how women wearing such a girdle used to attract domestic swans. They also wore anklets, which, however, were not thick like those used by women of North India. The ornaments worn by women of Vidarbha showed a much more refined taste.

Men used a footwear which was tied with straps near the ankle.7 When they went to fight or hunt, they had a sword suspended from their belt and a dagger fixed in it. The accoutrement of horses such as the saddle, bridle etc. was just as at present,8 but the stirrups are nowhere noticed. Horses for riding were well decorated. The warrior’s quiver of arrows was fastened to the saddle. Foot-soldiers used to tie it on their back. Elephants were adorned with gold ornaments and pearl strings, with large discs suspended on their trunks, but their bodies are nowhere noticed painted as described by Kālidāsa in the Mēghadūta, v. 19. Nor do we notice a howadah on the back of any elephant.

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1Raghuvamśa, Canto VI, v.14.
2Cf. कालक्रमं भक्ष्यसिद्धान्तकारोः: 1 मीघदुता, v. 2.
3Ajanta, Part III, PI. LXVII.
4Cf. नृत्यसुदशलवरं नानाकरणीमयिकः: 1 नक्षत्रद्यायकारंहथतामितिको नमस् C. on the Harshacharita, p. 32.
5Ajanta, Part IV, PI.XLI.
6Mēghadūta, v. 48.
7Ajanta, Part III, PI. LXII.
8Ibid., Part IV, PI. LXVIII (b).
Among weapons of war we find swords, spears, daggers, arrows etc. Swords were generally curved in shape, though straight ones sheathed in scabbards are also noticed. The latter were suspended from the girdles of warriors or were tied to the saddles of riding horses. Shields were rectangular and curved, though round ones also are noticed in some places.

Among household articles we may mention umbrellas which were either rectangular or square. The royal umbrella held over the heads of kings and queens was, however, round in shape. Fly-whisks were like those now in use, but fans were rectangular and elongated.

Among musical instruments are noticed tabors (mridangas), conches, symbals, flutes and lutes with one or more strings. The tabor, while being played upon, was suspended from the neck.

Among animals we notice elephants, horses, cows, bullocks, tigers, lions, deer, monkeys, and dogs. The camel is, however, nowhere seen. Among aquatic animals we find the fish, the tortoise and the crocodile painted. Other animals have not been painted evidently for want of occasion.
CHAPTER X

LITERATURE

It is well-known that in the fourth and fifth centuries A.C. Sanskrit literature flourished as it had never done before. This was no doubt mainly due to the liberal patronage which the Gupta kings extended to Sanskrit authors at their court. Some of these kings were poets of no mean order. From the Allahābād stone pillar inscription we learn that the great Gupta Emperor Samudragupta had obtained the title of Kaviṛāja, ‘King of poets’, by his several poetical compositions which even learned men found fit to draw upon.1 His son Chandragupta II—Vikramāditya was probably the author of several subḥāśitas current under the name of Vikramāditya, collected in some Sanskrit anthologies.2 According to a tradition recorded by Rājaśeṅkhara, he submitted himself to a test in the assembly of learned men at Ujjayinī.3 When kings themselves took such an active interest in poetry, it is no wonder that their officers and subjects also did likewise.4 Some of the officers of the Guptas are known to have been poets. Besides Harīšeṇa, the famous author of the Allahābād prāsaṣī of Samudragupta, who held the high offices of Sāndhivigrahika, Kumārāṇāya and Maha-daṇḍanāyaka during the reign of Samudragupta, we know of Śāba of the Kautṣa gōira, the Sāndhivigrahika of Chandragupta II, who is described as the poet of Pātaḷiputra in the Udayagiri cave inscription. Several other princes and officers must have similarly distinguished themselves in that age by their practice of the poetic art.

This state of things was not, however, confined to the north. In the south also poetry as well as other fine arts flourished at the Vākāṭaka court. The first thing that strikes us is that almost all Vākāṭaka grants are throughout written in Sanskrit. The only exception is the Bāsim grant of Vindhyāsakti II, but in this case also the genealogical portion is in Sanskrit. This grant shows how Sanskrit began gradually to supplant Prakrit in the drafting of royal charters. Most of the Vākāṭaka grants are written in prose and in a matter-of-fact manner, and are therefore wholly devoid of poetic embellishment. This does not however, indicate that the Vākāṭakas took no interest in Sanskrit poetry. From the Sadukittikārṇāṅara of Śrīharadāśa we know of a subḥāśita composed by Yuvārāja Divākarasena who is probably identical with the homonymous boy-prince for whom Prabhāvatigaupta was acting as a regent.5 Some other subḥāśitas are ascribed to Pravarasena. Several good Sanskrit kāvyas must have been written in that age in Vidarbha under the liberal patronage of the Vākāṭakas, though they have now passed into oblivion; for, otherwise, early rhetoricians like Danḍin would not have regarded Vaidarbha as the best style of Sanskrit poetry, and Kālidāsa, the poet of Mālava, would not have adopted it for the composition of his works.6

1C.I.I., Vol. III, p. 8. Fleet’s translation of vidooj-jau-opaṭyayana-kāvyā-kriyābhikṣi as ‘by various poetical compositions that were fit to be the means of subsistence of learned men’ is evidently incorrect.
4Cf. राजिनि कवीं धृतीलेखे छलि: स्थान्, Ibid., p. 54.
7That Kālidāsa composed his works in the Vaidarbha viśī is well known. Cf. तिर्थना समुद्रवेणासन सन्निधयव निर्देशः, ततेनदि कवम् वै सदस्म् तालिकासनो शोभितन्, Avantismuddatakathā, p. 2.
INTRODUCTION

One of Kālidāsa’s works, the lovely lyric Mēghadūta, may be regarded as a kāśya of Vīdarbha, since it was probably composed during the great poet’s sojourn at the Vākāṭaka court. The subject matter of the kāśya is the message which a yaksā, exiled from Alakā because of dereliction of duty, sends by a cloud-messenger to his beloved at the approach of the rainy season. The yaksā gives a graphic description of the places, mountains and rivers on the route of the cloud from Rāmagiri, where he was staying, to his home in Alakā. As I have shown elsewhere,¹ this Rāmagiri is undoubtedly modern Rāmṭēk, 28 miles from Nāgpur, which has maintained its reputation as a holy place to this day. Several grants of the Vākāṭakas were made at the temple of Rāmchandra, called Rāmagiri-svāmī,² on that hill. As Rāmagiri was only about three miles from the then Vākāṭaka capital Nandivaradha, Kālidāsa must have visited it many times. It was evidently at this place that the theme of the Mēghadūta suggested itself to him. This kāśya composed in Vīdarbha has evoked unstinted praise from all critics. “It is difficult to praise too highly,” says Keith, “either the brilliance of the description of the cloud’s progress or the pathos of the picture of the wife, sorrowful and alone. Indian criticism has ranked it highest among Kālidāsa’s poems for brevity of expression, richness of content and power to elicit sentiment, and the praise is not undeserved.”³

As stated before, the inscriptions of the Vākāṭaka kings are in prose, but those of their ministers and feudatories are either wholly or partly in verse. They are composed in a lucid style and are, in many places, embellished with figures of word and sense.⁴ Some of their verses would be good illustrations of the Vaidarbha style.

Prakrit poetry also received a fresh impetus during the enlightened regime of the Vākāṭaka kings. These kings were not only patrons of learned men, but also authors of excellent Prakrit kāyasas and subhāsītās. Of these the earliest is Sarvasēna, the founder of the Vatsagulma branch, who composed the Prakrit kāya Harivijaya. Sarvasēna had indeed long been known as the author of this Prakrit kāya from the references to him in the works of Ānandavaradha, Ṣīmacandra and other rhetoricians, but that he was a king became known only from a mutilated verse in the fragmentary Avantisundarīkathā, to which I drew attention recently. History knows only one king of this name, vīt, he who founded the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. He must therefore have been the author of this kāya.

The Harivijaya is not now extant, but we can form a fair idea about its theme, nature, etc. from the quotations and references in the works of later rhetoricians. In the Dhṛṅyāstaka Ānandavaradha states that Sarvasēna had altered the original story and introduced some imaginary incidents in it in order to make it suitable for the delineation of the intended sentiment.⁵ Ānandavaradha does not state what the story was, but here his commentator Abhinavagupta comes to our help. He states that the Harivijaya had for its theme the removal of the Pārijāta tree from heaven, which was done by Kṛṣṇa for the appeasement of his wife (evidently Satyabhāmā).⁶ Elsewhere Ānandavaradha cites a Prakrit verse from the Harivijaya, which shows that the work was written in the Māhārāṣṭrī dialect.⁷

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²No. 6, line 1.
³Keith, History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 86.
⁴See Nos. 25, 26 and 27. It was the use of yamakas in the inscription in cave XVI at Ajaṇṭā that enabled me to restore the mutilated name of Sarvasēna in line 6.
⁵Cf. अत्र थोर्थप्रभुष्णि, Avantisundarīkathā, p. 2.
⁶As the kāśya has not come down to us, it is not possible to specify the incidents added by Sarvasēna, but one of them may have been the sending of Sātyaki as a nāris̄thārtha-dūtata to Indra. See below, p. lv.
⁷See Dhṛṅyāstaka (Nirṇayasāgar ed.), p. 148.
⁸Ibid., p. 127.
Some other Prakrit verses in the Dhvanitāloka appear to have been taken from the same work, though this has not been explicitly stated by Anandavardhana.1

The next writer who mentions Sarvasēna is Kuntaka, the famous author of the Vakroktītiya. He classifies Sarvasēna with Kālidāsa among writers of the sukumāra-mārga (elegant style).2 Bhōja, the author of the Sarvasatikāntakābhavana, cites two Prakrit verses, which from their contents appear to have been taken from the Harivijaya. The first of these states why Satyabhāmā alone in the midst of the other wives of Kṛishṇa got enraged by humiliation (when the Pārijāta flowers obtained from heaven were presented by Kṛishṇa to Rukminī). The second verse seems to have been addressed by Kṛishṇa to Satyabhāmā. Says he, ‘If I had appeased you, who had become enraged by (the presentation of) flowers (to Rukminī), by offering the same flowers to you, it would not have been in keeping with either my love for you or my offence against you. (Hence I am honouring you with the gift of the Pārijāta tree itself).’3 In his other work Śrīpāravakāśa also Bhōja cites several verses from the Harivijaya. Thus in the prakāśas xxii-xxiv, which have been published, as many as six verses have been quoted from that kālya as stated by the editor in the Index of Prakrit verses of those chapters. Several more verses must have been cited in other chapters which are still unpublished.

Hēmachandra,4 the Jain polymath, has referred to the Harivijaya in several places in his vīrtī on the Alankāraśāstra, which gives us several bits of interesting information. For instance, he tells us that like the Sūtbhandha, the Harivijaya was throughout written in one metre (viz., Skandhaka) and that the verses in the Gaṅgita metre found therein were later interpolations. The last verse of each canto contained the word uṣṭha, just as that in the āśvāsas of the Sūtbhandha contains amrāga. Its theme, as stated above, was the forcible removal of the Pārijāta tree by subduing Indra for the appeasement of Satyabhāmā. It seems that Kṛishṇa had at first sent Śatyaśi as a nīśśāśā-śāś, i.e., as a Commissioner invested with full powers of negotiation. Like other mahākāyas it contained the description of the city (Dvārakā), the hero (Kṛishṇa), the season spring, sunset, horses, elephants, drinking parties and so forth. Ultimately, Kṛishṇa invaded heaven, vanquished Indra and forced him to part with the celestial tree Pārijāta, which he presented to Satyabhāmā to appease her anger.

The Harivijaya is probably the earliest Prakrit kālya known so far.5 It fully conforms to the norm of the mahākāyas and seems to have served as a model for the Sanskrit and Prakrit kāyas of Kālidāsa and Pravarasēna II, who flourished in a later age. It seems to have been current in India down to the twelfth century A.C.; for, Daṇḍin (7th cen.), Anandavardhana (9th cen.), Kuntaka (10th cen.), Bhōja (11th cen.), Abhinavagupta (11th cen.) and Hēmachandra (12th cen.) either refer to Sarvasēna by name or cite verses referring to incidents in that kālya. I have not seen references to it in later works and no manuscripts of it are known to exist anywhere.

Sarvasēna seems to have composed some Prakrit gāthās also. Gaṅgādhara-bhēṣṭha, whose commentary has been published in the Nirvāṇaśāgar edition of the Gāthāsaptapati, does

1 For instance the verse sajīje surahī-māśa, etc., which has been cited in more than one place (ibid., pp. 106, 236 etc.) as descriptive of the vernal season, is also probably taken from the Harivijaya, which, as shown below, did contain a description of that season.
3 See Hēmachandra’s Kātyūmāśāsa, ed. by Rasīk Lal, pp. 457 f.
4 The Pārumcharī of Vimalasūri was, according to a statement in that work, composed in the year 530 after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra i.e. in 64 A.C., but this date is regarded as doubtful. Prof. Jacobi places the kālya 4 in the third century A.C. or somewhat later.
not name Sarvasena among the known authors of the gāthās, but, as Weber has shown, another commentator Bhuvanapāla ascribes two verses, viz., 217 and 234 to him. Pīṭhāmbara, a third commentator, whose commentary on the gāthās has been published recently, mentions Sarvasena's name in connection with two more verses, viz. 504 and 505. The attribution of these gāthās to Sarvasena furnishes additional evidence for the identification of that author with the homonymous king who ruled over Southern Vidarbha.

During the reign of Sarvasena and his successors, Vatsagulma appears to have become a centre of learning, and the Prakrit kāya and subhāṣitas composed there evolved a style called Vachchhomi (Vatsagulmi), which became a synonym of Vaidarbhi. Rājaśekhara mentions Vachchhomi in this sense in the opening verse of his Karpūramāthīri.

Like Sarvasena, Pravarasena II of the Senior branch of the Vākṣṭaka family distinguished himself by the composition of Prakrit poetry. He is the reputed author of the Prakrit kāya Sūtabandha, also called Rāvaṇavah, in the Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit. According to some scholars1 this Pravarasena was Pravarasena II of Kāśmir, and the kāya was composed to commemorate a bridge of boats constructed across the river Vitastā. This theory is, however, untenable; for, the Rājatarangini, which mentions the construction of the bridge, makes no reference to this kāya.2 Rāmadāsa, a commentator of the kāya, has, on the other hand, recorded the tradition that the work was actually composed by Kālidāsa, who ascribed it to Pravarasena by the order of Vikramāditya. This tradition can be satisfactorily explained only if this Pravarasena is identified with Pravarasena II of the Vākṣṭaka family; for, the latter was the daughter's son of Chandragupta II-Vikramāditya. We have seen above that Kālidāsa, who enjoyed the patronage of Chandragupta II, probably stayed at the Vākṣṭaka capital Nandivardhana for some time, and while there, composed his Mīghadūta, which mentions the holy place Rāmagiri, situated not far from that capital. It is therefore not unlikely that he helped his patron's daughter's son Pravarasena II in composing the kāya during his sojourn in Vidarbha. This explains also the tradition3 preserved by Rāmadāsa that Pravarasena was called Bhūjadêva; for, Bhūja was the name of the ancient dynasty of Vidarbha. Verse 9 of the first canto of Sūtabandha states that the work was commenced by Pravarasena soon after his accession and that he occasionally found it difficult to carry it on.4 On such occasions he must have received help from Kālidāsa, which is recorded in the aforementioned tradition as well as in the colophons of the cantos of the Prakrit kāya.

The Sūtabandha has for its theme the epic story of Rāma from his advance against Rāvaṇa and the building of a bridge of stone to Lankā to his return to Ayodhyā after the extermination of the demon king. The work is divided into fifteen cantos called kāyasas, and contains 1362 verses. The prevailing metre is Skandhaka, but verses in other metres also are interspersed in the middle and also added at the end of each canto.

The Sūtabandha is composed in an artistic style considered suitable for a mahākāya, with the use of puns and long compounds. It was plainly written for a public which was well versed in Sanskrit, and contains a description of all the topics considered essential in a Sanskrit mahākāya. It has been highly praised by Sanskrit poets and rhetoricians. Bāṇa says in his Harshacharita that by means of this Sūta (i.e. Sūtabandha) the fame of Pravarasena crossed the ocean, as the army of monkeys had done before by means of the bridge (of Rāma).

1Macdonell, History of Sanskrit Literature, pp. 331-332; Keith, History of Sanskrit Literature, pp. 132 f.
2Rājatarangini, III, 354.
3Sūtabandha, I, 9.
4Cf. अश्रुवाकाचर्य षुष्ककक्ष्यबल्यु विहितकारियविवृतिः नरसिंहसिंहा स्वयं होऽसुक्रष्ट्य ज्ञनक कालकालयोऽहि नुकरः कालकालयोऽहि

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Ānandavardhana, the famous critic of the 9th century A.C., bestows high praise on the section of the kāvyā which describes how Śītā was overwhelmed with grief at the sight of the illusory head of Rāma.¹

Pravarasēṇa II wrote, besides this kāvyā, stray Prakrit verses, some of which have been preserved in the aforementioned Prakrit anthology Gāthāsaptasati. The index of the gāthās in the Nīrṇayaśāgar edition of this work ascribes five verses vīz. 45, 64, 202, 208, and 216 to Pravarasēṇa, and Pīṭāmbara adds two more to them, vīz., 481 and 565.² Further, Bhuvanapāla mentions Pravara, Pravaraśāja or Pravarasēṇa as the author of the following gāthās—46, 126, 158, 203, 209, 321, 341, 567, 734. This Pravarasēṇa or Pravaraśāja can be none other than the Vākāṭaka Pravarasēṇa II, the reputed author of the Sēṭubandha.

It may prima facie seem strange that these gāthās of the Vākāṭaka princes Sarvasēṇa and Pravarasēṇa II should be included in the Gāthāsaptasati, traditionally ascribed to the Śatavāhana king Hāla, who flourished more than three centuries earlier. We should, however, remember, that the Gāthāsaptasati has not come down to us in its original form. As Weber pointed out long ago, the work has undergone six or seven recensions. Only 430 verses are common to all recensions. They may have been the original kernel of the anthology. Several additions and omissions appear to have been made in it from time to time. As I have shown elsewhere, it contains some gāthās of Vākpatirāja, who was a junior contemporary of Bhavabhūti and therefore flourished nearly three centuries after Pravarasēṇa II. It should therefore cause no surprise if some gāthās of the aforementioned Vākāṭaka princes are found included in it.

The existence, in the Sēṭuṭāsati, of several gāthās composed by the two Vākāṭaka kings Sarvasēṇa and Pravarasēṇa II, raises the interesting question whether that anthology contains any other gāthās composed by other Vākāṭaka princes. We now possess complete lists of the princes of the Nandivardhana and Vatsagulma branches of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. None of these except Sarvasēṇa and Pravarasēṇa (II) figure in the list of the authors of verses of the Sēṭuṭāsati. But there were two other branches of the family ruling perhaps in Kuntala and Dakhina Kōśala. They had no doubt a short life of about 50 years (circa 330-380 A.C.), but they must have produced some princes. As the names of the members of the Nandivardhana and Vatsagulma branches invariably end in sēṇa, the names of these princes also may have ended in sēṇa. The Gāthāsaptasati mentions five such names vīz. Jayaśēṇa (v. 170), Makarandaseṇa (vv. 6, 80, 90), Satyaseṇa (vv. 233, and 298), Mallaseṇa (v. 237) and Vasantaśēṇa (v. 323). The conjecture may therefore be hazarded that some of these poets, if not all, belonged to the Vākāṭaka family. Its corroboration will have to be left to future research.

Besides the Sēṭubandha of Pravarasēṇa II, there was another work called Sēṭu which also was probably produced in the Vākāṭaka age. The Avanitundarikākathā has the following verse in its introductory portion eulogising early Sanskrit and Prakrit poets:—

श्लोकसूचना तिउन्नी सोने भाषायाध्ययन: 1

वदत्तनकाव्यस्तु देशस्य ग्रंथस्य तान्त्रिकम्: 2

This verse mentions fifty-six poets, who are described as kavi-purāṇistam ‘eminent poets’. They had an insight into the real nature of things and attained the position of authority in their own sphere. Another piece of interesting information that this verse gives is that these

¹Dharmayātaka (Nīrṇayaśāgar ed., 1911), p. 148. Ānandavardhana says that the figures of sense (arthaśāntākāra) vie with one another in pressing themselves on the attention of the author while his mind was engrossed in describing the pathetic scene.

²The numbers of gāthās cited here refer to those in the Nīrṇayaśāgar edition, of the Gāthāsaptasati.
poets, though dead, continued to live in this world in the form of Śētu. This was therefore the name of their work which was quite well known in the time of Daṇḍin.

The poets and works eulogised in the introductory verses of the Avatīsamudarīkathā appear to have been mentioned in the chronological order. The aforementioned verse about the Śētu occurs immediately after that describing Sarvasena's Hariśījaya and before another eulogising Kālidāsa. This work therefore appears to have been produced in the Vākāṭaka age. Since it was composed by fifty-six poets, it could not have been identical with the Śīlubandha of Pravarasena II. Curious as it might appear, we have a similar name viz., Chhappanṇaya (Sanskrit, Shatpanchashat) mentioned among those of Prakrit poets in the following verse of the Kuvalayamālā of Uddyotanasūri (778 A.C.):

चन्दुमुखः सर्वस्वं वेशलेख्यं तत्त्वं वे श्रीमान्

'How can I take any steps, being, like a simple deer, terrified by the roar of the lions, viz., Pālittaya, Sālāhaṇa and Chhappanṇaya?'

This verse speaks of three poets Pālittaya, Sālāhaṇa and Chhappanṇaya. Pālittaya (or Pādalipita) and Hāla are well-known Prakrit poets. Like them, Chhappanṇaya also was probably a Prakrit poet. The Kuvalayamālā eulogises him as follows:

छन्दलयायि कि न मानी क्षयुद्धरथ नुस्र्यविष्णु
अन्तः वि क्षेत्रशैलश्री वि उधवमलयं बोधरन्

'What need be said about the Chhappanṇayas, the eminent poets, with whom even now a poet of clever sayings is compared in this world!'

The first thing that strikes us in this eulogy is that Uddyotana has used the plural number in praising Chhappanṇaya. That this is not for the purpose of showing respect to the poet appears clear from other verses in which Uddyotana has used the singular in referring to such great poets as Pālittaya, Hāla, Bāpa, Dēvagupta, nay his own teacher Haribhadra. Chhappanṇaya, which means fifty-six, was therefore probably the name of a group of poets. These fifty-six poets probably formed a Kavi-maṇḍala and published a work under their collective name.

As stated before, this Śētu could not have been identical with the Śīlubandha. The latter is a Prakrit kāyya of the same type as the Kumārasambhava, Kirāṭārjunīya and Sīṣūpālabādha. Its several cantos have a unity of purpose and a uniformity of style such as one can hardly expect in a heterogeneous work composed by as many as fifty-six poets. Besides, none of the later writers who have referred to it have even hinted that it was a compilation of verses composed by several poets. There must therefore have been another work named Śētu, which was of the type of an anthology. This is also suggested by the eulogy of Uddyotana. He says that the fifty-six poets were famous for clever sayings (Chhēka-bhanitas) so much so that they became the standards of comparison for later poets. Their verses were probably of the same type as the Sanskrit suhāsikas, in which by means of a few strokes they depicted an interesting situation.

It is not unlikely that there was such an anthology in the Vākāṭaka age. As we have seen, the Vākāṭaka princes Sarvasena and Pravarasena II composed gāthās which were later incorporated into the Gāthāsaptāśati. Several other poets, not known to history, whose gāthās are included in the Gāthāsaptāśati, must have flourished in the same age. It should therefore cause no surprise if a compilation of such gāthās was made in that age under the name of Śētu. The anthology seems to have become current as the work of fifty-six poets who

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1 See C. D. Dalal's Notes to his edition of the Kāvyamīmāṁsā (G.O.S.)
contributed to it, and by its excellence became the standard by which the work of subsequent poets was judged. When the anthology went out of vogue in later times, some of its verses seem to have been incorporated into the earlier anthology of Hāla. This appears to be the only satisfactory explanation of the statements of Daṇḍin and Uddiyōtanasūri regarding the fifty-six poets and their work Sīla.
CHAPTER XI
ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE AND PAINTING

In architecture, sculpture and painting the achievements of the Vākāṭaka age were as outstanding as in literature. There were several temples erected in that age, some of which are mentioned in the inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas such as the Dharma-sthāna at Chikamburi, the temple of Pravarēśvara which gave its name to the territorial division Pravarēśvara-śaḍvimśati-vāṭaka, the temple of Rāmagirisvāmin on Rāmagiri (modern Rāmṭḍēk) and the temple of Mahāpurusha (Vishnu) in Aśvatthakāṭaka (modern Paṭṭan). Besides, there was a beautiful temple of Rāmachandram built by Pravarasēna II at his new capital Pravarapura, evidently at the instance of his mother Prabhāvatīguptā. But none of these structures is now extant. There is indeed a temple of Rāmachandram on the hill near Rāmṭḍēk, but it has not retained its original shape. As the territory under the rule of the Vākāṭakas has not yet been thoroughly surveyed, we have no knowledge of the remains of the structures of that age if any still exist. The only place where we find some remains is the hill at Rāmṭḍēk. On a spur of that hill north-east of the Varāha Gate, there are still some remains of an ancient building which may go back to the Vākāṭaka age. There seems to have been a large structure erected at this place, but of it only a small mandapa open on all sides is what now remains. As in the case of the Gupta temples, it has a flat roof supported by six pillars, four of which are decorated with the lotus motif. We have no knowledge of the image installed in this temple, but it seems to have been some incarnation of Vishnu; for, there is still by its side what appears to have been originally a beautiful image of Trivikrama, now sadly mutilated. The god has a crown on his head, with a halo round his face. He wears the kuṭḍas on his ears and a pearl-necklace with a large pendant round his neck. His vaiśājāntī garland is shown falling on both his legs. He wears an udara-bandha. His lower garment, which is fastened at the waist with a girdle, hangs down in folds in front. His arms are now broken on both the sides, but their jewelled aṅgadas (armlets) can still be seen. His left foot is planted on the ground, while the right foot, which was raised to measure the sky, is now broken at the knee. The pose shows his determination to rescue the three worlds from the demon king Bali. The latter is standing in the trikhaṅga pose at the god’s feet in an attitude of reverence. The image of his queen who was standing by his side is now very much mutilated. In its original condition this panel must undoubtedly have been reckoned among the best products of the Vākāṭaka age.

As stated before, there was a temple of Rāmachandram at Pravarapura, modern Pavnār near Wardhā. It was decorated with several panels, some of which were discovered from time to time while digging in the fields. round Śrī Vinōbāji’s āśrama on the left bank of the river Dhām. As these sculptures were not seen by any archaeologists, their importance was not realised for several years. When I visited the place in 1949, they attracted my attention at once. I photographed them and brought them to the notice of scholars at the fifteenth session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Bombay in that year. Later, some more panels were discovered at the same place. I have described them elsewhere. ² Here I shall take up some of the important ones.

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¹See Plate A.
THE IMAGE OF TRIVIKRAMA FROM RĀMTEK

(from photograph)
THE PANEL "MEETING OF BHARĀTA" FROM PAVNĀR
One of these panels is now housed in a small hut erected for the purpose near the āśrama. It is 3' 8" by 3' 5" in size and is named Bharata-bhiṣṭa. (Meeting of Bharata). There are four figures in this panel, viz., Sītā, Rāma, Bharata and Lakṣmana. One other figure appears by the side of Śiṣa, but it is partially cut. This panel, being more than 1500 years old, is now much worn out; but still the figures are fairly clear. Śiṣa has clasped the arm of Rāma, who is speaking to Bharata. He has affectionately placed his left hand on the right palm of Bharata. Rāma’s face has a serene look. Bharata, who has slightly bent down his face, appears delighted to meet his revered elder brother. Lakṣmana, on the other hand, has turned his face away and appears disconsolate. All of them are clad only in a lower garment which appears striped as in the frescoes at Ajanta. Rāma and Lakṣmana wear matted hair. Bharata’s hair has fallen on both his shoulders. All the figures are very well modelled. Rāma’s body appears graceful and Lakṣmana’s muscular. There is no artificiality seen anywhere in the modelling or pose of any of the figures. Naturalness, restraint and simplicity, which are known to be the characteristics of the sculptures of the Gupta age, are noticed in the figures of this panel. It must therefore be referred to the Vākaṭaka-Gupta age.

This panel is rightly named Bharata-bhiṣṭa by Śrī Vinōbā, but this meeting of Rāma and Bharata is not the one which took place at Nandīgrāma after Rāma’s return from Lāṅkā. It is the earlier one which occurred at Chitrakūṭa. We know from Vālmīki’s Rāmāyana that Bharata, on his return to Ayodhya, came to know of the exile of Rāma and the death of Daśaratha. He at once decided to bring Rāma back, and for that purpose started in search of him, accompanied by his ministers and army as well as the people of Ayodhya. Rāma was then staying at the Chitrakūṭa hill. When he noticed a large cloud of dust in the distance, he asked Lakṣmana to find out the cause of it. The latter climbed a tree, and from the banner marked by the kāvidāra tree, he inferred that Bharata was coming towards them. He suspected that Bharata’s object in coming with a large army was to do away with them and thus to get the throne permanently. Rāma could, however, guess the real purpose of Bharata’s visit. He tried to disabuse Lakṣmana’s mind of that suspicion by telling him that Bharata must be coming there to take them back to Ayodhya. But Lakṣmana was not convinced. This attitude of Lakṣmana’s mind is skilfully shown by the sculptor in the present panels. While Rāma and Bharata are engaged in a heart-to-heart talk, Lakṣmana is looking in the opposite direction. Indifference, if not positive hostility, is imprinted on his face.

This panel, the interpretation of which is quite certain, affords a key to the understanding of the other panels found near the āśrama. It shows that the temple to which it was affixed must have been dedicated to Rāma. The other panels also must, evidently, have been related to some incident or other in the life of Rāma. And this is what we actually find to be the case; for, some of the other panels portray such events as the birth of Rāma, the death of Daśaratha, the departure of Rāma and others to the forest, the fight of Sugrīva and Vālīn, etc. Most of these are now sadly mutilated. But there remains one which is fairly intact.

This panel, 4’ 4” by 2’ 11”, in size, portrays the scene when, in the course of the fighting between Sugrīva and Vālīn, the latter fell down, being hit by an arrow of Rāma, who, together with Lakṣmana and Hanumān, had concealed himself behind some palm

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1 See Plate B.
2 Rāmāyana, IV, 17, 35-43; 18, 6-7; 18, 21.
3 See Plate C.
trees. When Vālin fell down, Rāma, Lakshmana and Hanumān approached him. Vālin then rebuked Rāma for attacking him while he was engaged in fighting with another. Rāma justified his action on the ground that Vālin deserved the extreme punishment as he had violated his brother’s wife in utter disregard of the eternal law of moral conduct. This scene is portrayed in the panel. It shows four figures. Vālin has fallen on the ground. With his right hand he is supporting his head which was reeling with the loss of blood caused by the wound. He is looking up to accost and rebuke Rāma. The latter is seen in the pratyālīṭha posture, with the left knee advanced and the right leg drawn back. His left hand is placed on the forward thigh, while the right hand is holding something. He wears a small necklace and has an udarabandha and a katibandha. His body is gracefully modelled. He has a haughty demeanour as he flings back the accusation of Vālin and justifies his own action. Lakshmana and Sugriva are standing behind Rāma. The trees from behind which Rāma shot his arrow are shown by means of the conventional large flowers in the upper right corner. They are of the same type as those in the well-known panel of Ahalyādāhāra (Redemption of Ahalyā) in the Gupta temple at Deogad in Madhya Pradesh. This beautiful panel undoubtedly belongs to the Vākāṭaka-Gupta age.

The conjecture about the erection of a temple dedicated to Rāma by Pravarasena II at his new capital Pravarapura, which was made by me several years ago, was based only on the evidence of these panels and was not substantiated by any inscription. That evidence has now become available unexpectedly. Recently, while digging in the courtyard of Vinobāji’s aśrama, the image of a female deity, about 6 ft. in height, was discovered. Originally it was four-armed, but now all the arms are broken. The goddess wears several beautifully carved necklaces, a vaṭakakshaka, an exquisitely carved mekhalā (girdle) and anklets. Her hair is modelled in a coiled fashion which was in vogue in the Gupta-Vākāṭaka age. Her face is serene. She is standing on a crocodile, which marks her out as the river goddess Gaṅgā. The identification is placed beyond doubt by the inscription carved to the proper right side of her legs, viz. Gaṅgā Bhagavati (i.e. Goddess Gaṅgā). The characters of the inscription closely resemble those of the Paṭṭān plates of Pravarasena II and leave no doubt that the image is of the Vākāṭaka age. This find clearly shows that there was a magnificent temple of that age just where Vinobāji’s aśrama is now situated.

As stated before, none of the temples built by the Vākāṭakas is now extant, but two shrines erected by their feudatories are still standing, from which we can form a fair idea of the religious buildings of that age.

The first of these is at Tigōwā near Bahuribandh in the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh. Tigōwā is probably a corruption of Trīgrāma (Three Villages), the other two of the triad being Anōṛā and Déori. It is reported that there was, in ancient times, a large town at Bahuribandh, which had Tigōwā and the other villages as its suburbs. There is still at Bahuribandh a colossal statue of the Jain Tīrthaṅkara Sāntinātha, with an inscription of the reign of the Kalachuri king Gayākarna (11th century A.C.) on its pedestal, which testifies to the importance of the place in old days. When Cunningham visited Tigōwā in 1873-74, he noticed there, besides two Gupta temples, the foundations of as many as thirty-six shrines which had been utterly destroyed by a railway contractor.

1 Rāmāyana, II, 96, 18; 23-24.
2 The Gupta Temple at Deogarh (M.A.S.I., No. 70), plate XVI.
3 See Plate D.
THE PANEL "KILLING OF VĀLĪ" FROM PAVNĀR

(from photograph)
(i) The Image of Gaṅgā from Pavnār

(ii) The Inscription on the Image of Gaṅgā

Scale: One-half
Fortunately, there is still at Tingōwā an old temple of the Gupta age in a good state of preservation. It possesses all the common characteristics of the early Gupta temples noticed at Sānci and Éran and may therefore be referred to the middle of the fifth century A.C. Tingōwā lies about 65 miles from Bāndhāgadh, which was probably the capital of the Pāṇḍavaśāna kings of Mekalā. The temple may have been erected during the time of the Pāṇḍavaśāna king Bharatabalā, who flourished in circa 450 A.C. As already shown, he was a feudatory of the Vākaṭaka king Naréndraśēna. The temple at Tingōwā may therefore be supposed to represent the temple architecture and sculpture of the Vākaṭaka age.

This temple is now dedicated to the goddess Kākāli. It measures 12 ft. 9 in. in length and breadth and has a flat roof. In front there is a portico supported on four pillars. The middle intercolumniation is 2 ft. 9 in., while that on either side is only 2 ft. 6 in. Such a difference is noticed in the porticos of the early temples at Sānci, Udayagiri and Ėran, and is, therefore, supposed to be one of the minor marks of the Gupta style. All the four pillars are exactly of the same type with a slight difference in their capitals. Each has a plain square base. Above this it has an octagonal portion which is beautifully decorated with lotus and other designs. The shaft then becomes sixteen-sided and thereafter circular. This is surmounted by a fluted bell. From each corner of the square portion above the bell a small foliated turnover hangs gracefully down. The square capital of each pillar is decorated with two chaitya-window bosses, having the head of a man or a lion peeping through them. The upper portion of the capital shows two couchant lions back to back with some tree like the mango or the palm between them. The lions at the corners of two adjacent sides have a common face. Similar capitals are noticed in the case of the pillars of the Gupta temple at Ėran.

The garbhagriha of this temple measures 8 ft. by 7½ ft. Its entrance door is decorated with the designs of the custard-apple. Immediately above the door-frame there is a line of 7 square bosses, which, though used for decoration here, originally represented the ends of the beams of a wooden structure. There is another line of thirteen square bosses just below the roof. The architrave over the door frame is extended beyond the jambs of the two sides, below which appear the panels of the river-goddesses, the Gaṅgā on the left and the Yamunā on the right. The Gaṅgā is shown in the tribhanga posture, standing on a crocodile which is swallowing a human being. On her right is standing a female attendant with some offerings which the goddess is touching with her right hand in token of acceptance. On her left there is a male chowri-bearer. In her left hand the goddess has a fruit of the custard-apple tree which has spread its branches over her head.

1 These are thus stated by Cunningham:—(i) a flat roof without a spire; (ii) prolongation of the door-lintel beyond the jambs; (iii) statues of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā guarding the entrance door; (iv) pillars with massive capitals, ornamented with two lions back to back with a tree between them; (v) continuation of the architrave of the portico as a moulding all round the building etc. C.A.S.I. Vol. IX, pp. 42-43.

2 Above, p. xxvi.

3 In later times the territory round Tingōwā was included in the dominion of the Parivrajaka kings. This is indicated by the Bētul plates of Sankshāha dated in the Gupta year 199 (518 A.C.), which record the grant of two villages in the vīhāra of Tripūrī (modern Tēwar near Jabalpur). There is no reason to suppose that the Parivrajakas had extended their authority so far to the south as early as 450 A.C., to which date the Tingōwā temple may be referred on the evidence of its architecture. In this earlier age the country was probably included in the dominion of the Pāṇḍavaśāna of Mekalā, who were feudatories of the Vākaṭakas.

4 See Plate E.

5 See Plate F.
The figure of the goddess is beautifully modelled. She has a multi-stringed pearl lalājikā in her hair, round kundalas on the ears, jewel and pearl necklaces, one of which hangs down between her plump breasts, as well as a beautiful raṣānā, bracelets and anklets. A long garland hangs down over her left leg. Her face shows perfect grace. This is one of the best sculptures of that age.

There is a similar panel of the river goddess Yamunā to the right of the entrance door. She is standing on a tortoise under a mango tree. She has held its branch with her raised left hand and is plucking a fruit with the right. She has a male and a female attendant on her right and left respectively. Both of them are standing on lotus stalks.

This temple at Tīgowā has a flat roof and is therefore of an earlier age than the Gupta temple at Dēōgādh which had a low piramidal spire. The latter is referred to the early part of the sixth century a.C. The temple at Tīgowā may therefore be dated about the middle of the fifth century a.C. Some time later its portico was turned into a mandapa by closing the opening on both the sides by means of sculptured slabs, and another portico was added in front. The latter has now totally disappeared except for a slab on the right with the sculptured image of the Buddha incarnation of Viṣṇu, which appears to have been added in a still later age.

Of the sculptured slabs used to close the opening of the original portico on the left, the upper one contains an image of the eight-armed goddess Kālī. She holds in her hands a bow, a paṭṭika and other weapons as also two shields. She is surrounded on both the sides by skeleton figures who are praying or making offerings to her. The lower panel on the same side shows the four-armed god Viṣṇu sleeping on the coils of the serpent Śeṣha, who has spread his hoods over the god’s head. The god holds the discus and the conch in his left hands. His upper right hand supports his head, while the lower one is in the abhaya-mudrā.

On the lotus which has sprung from his navel sits the god Brahmā. Lakṣmi, the consort of Viṣṇu, is shampoosing his feet. The upper slab on the right side has another panel of the goddess Kālī, while the lower one shows the Bear incarnation of Viṣṇu. On one of the pillars of the portico there is the following inscription in three lines; Śiddhiḥ Śeṭhāha-dāśānā-sāmānya-bhaṭṭa-puṭra-Uma-devaḥ. Karnakurja-sānāpah. On the evidence of paleography this inscription appears to be of about the eighth century A.C., which may also represent the age when these sculptured slabs were added to close the openings on the two sides of the original portico. As stated before, the panel of the Buddha incarnation must have been added in a still later age.

Another temple of the Vākāṭaka age exists at Nachnā in former Vindhya Pradesh. Both at Nachnā and Ganj which lies only about two miles to its east, stone inscriptions of Vyaḥradēva, a feudatory of the Vākāṭaka king Pṛthivīṣeṇa II, have been discovered. As shown before, this Vyaḥradēva is probably identical with the Uchchakalpa prince Vyaḥgra who flourished in the last quarter of the fifth century A.C. This territory was, therefore, undoubtedly included in the empire of the Vākāṭakas in that period. Cunningham found two temples at Nachnā, of which the earlier one, said to be dedicated to the goddess Pārvatī, probably belongs to the Vākāṭaka age. The garbhagriha has now no image on its pedestal.

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1 See Plate G.
2 The Gupta Temple at Desgarh (M.A.S.I., No. 70), p. 11.
3 See Plate H.
4 Nos. 20-22.
5 C.A.S.R., Vol. XXI, p. 96. Banerji thought that this temple was decidedly of the early Gupta period, i.e. 4th-5th century A.C. P.R.A.S.I., W.C. for 1918-19, p. 61.
THE TEMPLE AT TİGÖWA

(From photograph)
THE IMAGE OF GANçA ON THE DOOR-WAY OF THE TEMPLE AT TIGÔWA

(from photograph)
THE IMAGE OF YAMUNĀ ON THE DOOR-WAY OF THE TEMPLE AT TIGŌWA

(from photograph)
THE TEMPLE AT NACHNA

(from photograph)
ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE AND PAINTING

This temple also is flat-roofed like that at Tigowā, but it is two-storeyed, the place of the later spire being taken by a small chamber constructed over the garbha-griha. There is no staircase to reach this upper chamber. It seems, therefore, to have been intended to indicate the position of the sanctum. The roof of this chamber also is flat, clearly showing that there was no sikhara over it. This chamber, in course of time, developed into the sikhara, of which we find the earliest form in the Gupta temple at Dēogaḍh.1 The temple at Nachnā is thus somewhat later than that at Tigowā, but earlier than the one at Dēogaḍh. It may therefore be referred approximately to the last quarter of the fifth century A.C.

Another peculiarity of the Pārvatī temple at Nachnā is that it has a covered pradakṣiṇā-patha (path of circumambulation) which is not noticed in the earlier Gupta temples at Sāñchi, Éraṇ and Tigowā. Its garbha-griha is nearly square in plan, measuring 15 ft. 9 in. by 15 ft. It is surrounded on all sides by a roofed verandah, 5 ft. in width, closed by a wall, three ft. thick, which serves as a path for circumambulation. The front wall has an entrance opposite the door of the garbha-griha. In front of the entrance there is an open unroofed court, nearly 12 ft. in length and breadth, which is approached by a flight of steps.2

The doorway of the garbha-griha is very richly decorated. The door-frame has two bands.3 The inner one has at the bottom a halos paper male door-keeper (pratīthēra). Above this there is a beautiful scroll of a creeper issuing from the navel of a squatting male figure. The outer band has at the bottom the figure of the river goddess Gaṅgā on the left and the Yamunā on the right, above which there are small decorative panels of mithunas. The pillars outside this door-frame are decorated with horizontal bands of various designs, while the lintel over them has three beautiful chaitya-windows. The uprights of the lintel are large figures of goddess standing over a lotus and attended by a female. The figures of this temple, says Cunningham, are much superior to all mediaeval sculpture, both in the ease and gracefulness of their attitudes as well as in the real beauty of form.4

The upper chamber is quite plain, both inside and outside. It is lighted by means of two chaitya-windows, one in each side wall. The garbha-griha receives its light through two windows of simple square holes fixed in its side walls just opposite the chaitya-windows in the outer walls of the pradakṣiṇā-patha. The outer faces of the walls are carved to imitate rock-work, lions, bears, peacocks, monkeys, deer, yakṣas, gopās, etc. being sculptured here and there in small niches to give them the appearance of caves.

The external appearance of the temple at Nachnā shows that its form was imitated from a rock-cut cave. In fact the earliest existing shrines in India are in the form of rock-cut vihāras and chaityas. The artists of ancient Vidarbha excelled in this art also. Some of the most magnificent caves at Ajaṇṭā hewn out of solid rock, which still exist in a fair condition, testify to the skill of the artisans of that age. The Vihāra caves XVI and XVII and the Chaitya Cave XIX—all of which belong to the Vākāṭaka age—are, according to Burgess, both from their architecture and their paintings, as full of beauty and interest as any caves in the West of India.5

Of these three caves, Cave XVI was excavated by Varāhadeva, who was a minister.

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2 See the plan of the temple, *C.A.S.R.*, Vol. XXI, pl. XXV.
3 See Pl. XVI in *P.R.A.S.I.*, W.C. for 1918-19. See also Plate H.
4 These river goddesses appear just below the prolonged lintel of the temple at Tigowā.
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of the Vākāṭaka Emperor Harishēṇa. It is in some respects the most elegant of all caves. Its verandah, 65 ft. long by 10 ft. 8 in. wide, has six plain octagonal pillars and two beautifully carved pilasters.¹ The hall inside is entered by three doors, of which the middle one is larger than the two side ones. There is also a window on each side, between the middle and the side door. The pilaster on either side of the main door has the figure of the river goddess Gāṅgā standing on a crocodile.

The mandapa or hall inside is 66 ft. 3 in. long, by 65 ft. 3 in. deep and 15 ft. 3 in. high. It is supported by twenty pillars, sixteen of which are of plain octagonal shape, while the remaining four—two in the middle of each of the front and back rows—have square bases and change first to 8 and then to 16 sides, with square heads and bracket capitals. The front aisle is somewhat longer than the back one. Its roof is cut in imitation of beams and rafters, supported by brackets in the form of kinnaras and apaśaras. There are six cells on each side, two in the back wall, and one at each end of the verandah. There is no antechamber, the chaitya-mandira (shrine) being entered from three doors in the back aisle. The latter contains a gigantic statue of the Buddha in the dharmachakra-pravartana-mudrā, sitting in the prahlampāda posture on a lion seat. He is attended by Vajrāpiṇī on the right and Padmapāṇi on the left, with chaurs in their hands. There is space for pradaksināṇā round the image of the Buddha.

The inscription at the left end of the verandah describes this cave in the following words:—²

'This dwelling which is adorned with windows, doors, beautiful picture-galleries, ledges, statues of the nymphs of Indra and the like, is ornamented with beautiful pillars and stairs, and has a temple of the Buddha inside'.³ The picture-galleries referred to as su-vātī in this verse covered the walls of the verandah and the hall inside, but many of them have now been very sadly mutilated.

Both Cave XVI and XVII were excavated and decorated with paintings in the same period, viz., the reign of the Vākāṭaka king Harishēṇa. The artists appear to have done the work with a definite plan. The paintings in Cave XVI mostly describe the incidents in the last life of the Buddha, while those in Cave XVII generally illustrate the events of his past lives. There are indeed a few Jātaka scenes depicted in Cave XVI, but they are confined to the walls of its verandah and the front corridor. For instance, the story of the Sutasāma Jātaka, in which Sutasāma, by his spiritual power, compels the cannibal king Saundāsa to give up his evil habit, is painted on the architrave above the front pillars of the verandah. Similarly, the stories of the Hasti Jātaka, in which an elephant sacrifices himself in order to save the lives of hungry travellers, and the Mahā-Ummagga Jātaka, in which the child Mahāsādha solves difficult riddles, are painted on the walls of the front corridor.

The incidents in the life of Gautama Buddha can be divided into two parts, viz., (i) those that happened before he turned the Wheel of the Law, i.e., preached his doctrine in the Deer Park at Sārnāth and (ii) those that occurred subsequent to that event. As stated before, the chaitya-mandira or garbhagṛha of Cave XVI has an image of the Buddha in the dharmachakra-pravartana-mudrā. It therefore furnishes the dividing point of the paintings in this cave. Those on the wall of the right corridor are chronologically arranged, commencing from the scene of Conception.⁴ In the painting above the first and second cell-doors

¹See Plate I.
²No. 25, v. 24.
³AJanta, Part III, pp. 44 ff.
⁴The chronological sequence of the paintings becomes quite evident if we commence at the right end of the right corridor and walk round the hall from right to left. It also helps in the interpretation of some of the frescoes. In his excellent work AJanta Mr. Yazdani has, however, followed the opposite order in describing the paintings of this cave. It is, of course, the usual order of pradaksināṇā.
THE PLAN OF CAVE XVI AT AJANTA

Index of Paintings in Cave XVI at Ajanta
(The Numbers are as in the Plan of the Cave.)

1. The Dream of Queen Māsā.
2. The Visit of the Sage Aśoka.
3. Siddhārtha at School and his Practice of Archery.
4. Scenes from the Life of the Buddha: the Four Signs.
5. The Offerings of Tissada and Bhadra: the Offering of Bujjīa.
6. The Buddha preaching to the Congregation.
7. The Visit of Aśita-adatu to the Buddha.
10. The Buddha's Visit to Kapilavastu: Nanda's Coronation: His Conversion.
11. Dying Suddhā.
12. The Maha-Ummagga Jātaka.
13. The Hasti Jātaka.
from the right, queen Māyā is shown sleeping on a bed. As the fresco is very much damaged, we notice only one of her feet resting on a round pillow. Two maids are sleeping near her feet. This is evidently the scene in which Māyā saw in a dream a celestial white elephant enter her womb. The roof of the chamber in which she is sleeping is supported on high wooden pillars decorated with horizontal bands at the bottom, in the middle and at the top. The roof is further ornamented with chaitya windows with lotus designs in the centre. To the left of this chamber there is a low gate with a barrel-shaped roof which leads to a circular pavilion where we notice Māyā relating her dream to king Śuddhodana. Some of her maids are sitting on the ground, eagerly listening to the account. The figure of the maid who is standing nearby is specially graceful.\footnote{Ajanta, Part III, pl. LXII.}

In the painting on the left we notice the sage Asita holding the infant Siddhārtha in his arms and predicting his future career. To the left of this there is another scene in which we find Siddhārtha taking lessons from his guru, with his companions sitting round him. He wears a long coat and a conical cap with a ribbon tied round it. In the scene below we find the prince practising archery. His companions are sitting on low stools, watching his skill.\footnote{Ibid., Part III, pl. LXIII.}

On the wall between the third and fourth cell doors are painted later events in the life of young Siddhārtha, such as his first meditation during the Ploughing Festival and his seeing the four signs of old age, disease, death and renunciation.\footnote{Ajanta, Part III, pl. LXIII.}

On the wall above the third and fourth cell-doors we notice some events which happened soon after Siddhārtha attained enlightenment, i.e. became the Buddha. Two merchants named Trapusha and Bhallika, who saw the Buddha after his trance, made offerings of honey and rice-cakes to him. On the left of this scene we notice the noble lady Sujātā cooking milk-rice for the Buddha and later offering it to him and to four other hermits who were with him.\footnote{Ibid., Part III, pl. LIX}

As the garbhagriha has the image of the Buddha in the teaching attitude, the paintings on the walls of the back corridor to the right and left of the doorway appropriately portray the scenes of the Buddha preaching to congregations. The frescoes here are very much damaged, but from what remains of them we can conjecture the occasions. On the left wall the Buddha is shown sitting on a lion seat, with his feet resting on a full-blown large lotus, the stalk of which is held by two Nāga kings who are marked out by the hoods on their heads. He is attended by a Bōdhisattva on either side. Among the congregation are seen on the left several young ladies and a prince sitting in a reverential attitude. He is probably Ajātaśatru, the king Magadha.\footnote{Ibid., Part III, pl. LVII} On the right are noticed some hermits with shaven heads as well as some men and women. On the wall to the right of the doorway there was probably the scene of the Buddha preaching to the gods in the Tushita heaven.

We shall next proceed to describe the paintings on the wall of the left corridor. The frescoes on the right side of the fourth cell door are very much damaged, but the figure of a flying āpsaras to the right of the Buddha is still in a fairly good condition. She is dressed only in a striped loin cloth (ardhāruka). She wears a lalatikā with a pendant hanging over her forehead. Her curly hair, dangling kūndalas, ēkāvali of large pearls, armlets and bracelets are drawn with skill. Her pose shows movement in the air. She is looking
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eagerly towards the Buddha. Her inward feeling is suggested by the gestures of her hands.\(^1\)

The original painting above the third cell door was probably damaged in course of time and was replaced by another containing figures of the Mānushī Buddhas in two rows. The lower row has four Buddhas sitting on round seats with cushions behind their back and triple umbrellas over their heads. The upper row has seven or eight Buddhas of the same type. All of them are in the teaching attitude. The figures appear conventional and may have been drawn by the monks Bhadanta Dharmadatta and Bhadanta Bappuka whose names are mentioned in the painted records below.\(^2\)

The frescoes over the first and second cell-doors of the left corridor as well as those on the left wall of the front corridor narrated the story of the conversion of Nanda, the half-brother of the Buddha. The paintings here are very much damaged, but some of the scenes can still be recognised. After his enlightenment the Buddha visited Kapilavastu. Nanda was then about to be consecrated as heir apparent. When the Buddha came to the royal palace he was greeted by his wife Yasodharā and son Rāhula. The Buddha then met Nanda and handed him his begging bowl. Nanda followed him and consented to join the order. His head was therefore shaved and he was ordained. But he began to pine for his beautiful wife Sundarī. So the Buddha took him to heaven and showed him celestial nymphs. They were so superior to his wife that he consented to continue in the order for obtaining one of them. The story is narrated in the Buddhist canon as well as in the Saundarananda of Asvaghōsha.

Some of the incidents in this story such as the visit of the Buddha to Kapilavastu, the consecration of Nanda, his conversion and subsequent pining for his beautiful wife are illustrated in the extant frescoes. But the painting which has evoked unstinted praise from art-critics is that of the last incident in this story. When Nanda decided to continue in the monastic order, his crown was brought to his wife Sundarī. At its sight the latter sank with grief. This scene which has long been known as that of ‘the dying princess’ is painted in the fresco in the left corridor between the pilaster and the first cell-door.\(^3\) Sundarī is sitting on a low seat, her back resting on a round cushion. Her drooping head, half-closed eyes and languid limbs indicate the great shock she has received at the sight of the crown brought before her. A maid is supporting her from behind lest she might fall down, while the lady who is sitting beside her is looking into her face with a sorrowful gaze, and is holding her wrist as if to feel her pulse. Another maid with a pankhā who is standing nearby has shown her grief by the contortion of her body as she looks askance at her sinking mistress. Behind the pavilion, two other maids are anxiously discussing the condition of the lady. The peacock on the top of the pavilion appears also to feel the grief and to share in the anxiety of the maids. It has lengthened its neck as if to listen to what the maids outside the pavilion are saying about the condition of its mistress. Mr. Griffith has paid a well-deserved tribute to this fresco. Says he, ‘For pathos and sentiment and the unmistakable way of telling its story this picture, I consider, cannot be surpassed in the history of art. The Florentines could have put better drawing, and the Venetians better colour, but neither could have thrown greater expression into it.’\(^4\)

A flight of steps leads down from the front of Cave XVI and turns to the left into a

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1 Ajanta, Part III, pl. LV(c).
2 Ibid., Part III, pp. 55 f.; 94 f.
3 Ajanta, Part III, pl. LIi. The credit of identifying ‘the dying princess’ with Nanda’s wife belongs to Mr. G. Yazadvani. The order of the fresco shows that the identification is probably correct.
4 C.T.I., p. 307. See Plate J.
DYING SUNDARI
small excavation, on the back wall of which is carved the figure of a Nāga-rāja, seated on the coils of a serpent, whose hoods spread over his high flat-topped mukula. This is probably the dwelling of the Lord of the Nāgas (Nāgendra-vēśma), to which a reference is made in the inscription in Cave XVI. 1 As the artisans and painters who excavated and painted the caves at Ajanṭā belonged to the Nāga race, such images of the Nāga-rāja are found sculptured in the caves there.

As stated before, two other caves at Ajanṭā, viz., the Vihāra Cave XVII and the Chaitya Cave XIX belong to the Vākāṭaka age. They were excavated by a ruler of Rishīka (modern Khāṇḍesh) who owed allegiance to the Vākāṭaka Emperor Harisīṃha. His name is unfortunately lost, as his inscription in Cave XVII is now very badly mutilated. From the extant portion of it we learn, however, that by the premature death of his younger brother Raviśāṃba, this prince became convinced of the transitoriness of worldly existence and so he got these caves excavated and dedicated them to the Buddhist Saṅgha at Ajanṭā.

Cave XVII, which is of the Vihāra type, generally resembles Cave XVI described before. Its verandah in front measures 64 ft. in length and 10 ft. in breadth and is supported by six plain octagonal pillars with a pilaster at each end, which is exquisitely carved. 2 The hall is entered by a large central door and also by a smaller one at the left end. There is a window on the left between the large and the small door and two more on the right, one large and the other small. The mandapa or Hall inside is 64 ft. wide by 62 ft. deep and 13 ft. high. Its roof is supported by twenty pillars, of which sixteen are octagonal and plain, while the remaining four—two middle ones in each of the front and back rows—have square bases with shafs changing into octagonal and sixteen-sided, which are decorated with exquisite carving and painting. Behind the mandapa there is an ante-chamber (antarāla), 17 ft. 9 in. in width and 8 ft. 5 in. in depth, leading into the chaitya-mandira (shrine), which measures 17 ft. 9 in. in width and 19 ft. 6 in. in depth. The door-frame of the shrine is decorated with three bands, of which the inner and the outer have beautiful scroll work, while the middle one has alternating figures of seated and standing Buddhas. On either side of the lintel there is a figure of the river goddess Gaṅgā standing on a crocodile. Inside the shrine there is a large image of the Buddha sitting cross-legged in the Togasana posture, with his hands in the Dharmachakra-pravartana-mudrā. He has a halo round his face and his hair is arranged in schematic curls. The lobes of his ears are extended. He wears an antarāddhakāra or lower garment and a sankakshikā which goes over the left and under the right arm. At the back of the throne there is a crocodile at the top on either side, from the mouth of which a man is trying to leap out. On the front face of the throne are carved two crouching deer with a wheel between them, symbolising the deer-park at Sarnāth, where the Buddha first turned the Wheel of the Law. On the proper right side of the Buddha stands Padmapāṇi and on the left Vajrapāṇi, both carrying a chauni or fly-whisk. There are two more attendants near the throne; that on the right carries the Buddha’s begging bowl, while that on the left has something in his hand which is not quite clear. Above, two flying vidyādharas are seen—one on each side—carrying offerings to the Buddha. 4

This cave has, in all, eighteen cells—one at each end of the verandah, six in each of

1 No. 25, v. 25.
2 No. 27.
3 See Plate K.
4 Ajaṇṭa, Part IV, pl. III, (b).
the walls of the right and left corridor, and two on each side of the back door of the hall. It is also provided with a fine cistern of water which is approached by a flight of steps between this cave and Cave XVI. It is specifically mentioned in the inscription\(^1\) at the left end of the verandah.

As stated before, this cave was excavated by a prince who was overwhelmed with sorrow at the premature death of his younger brother. It is stated in the afore-mentioned inscription that he used to wait upon persons who possessed great learning, liberality, compassion, contentment, friendship, forgiveness, courage and wisdom. It is therefore not surprising that the paintings in the cave excavated by him should illustrate the tales preaching these virtues. We have seen above that the frescoes in Cave XVI mostly describe the incidents in the last life of the Buddha. This cave contains very few paintings of that type, while it abounds with those describing the past lives of the Buddha, in which one or other of the afore-mentioned virtues was exemplified. The paintings may also have been utilised by the monks in illustrating their sermons.

Cave XVII contains now more paintings than any other cave at Ajanta, and most of them are in a fairly good condition. It is not possible to describe them all in detail, but we may indicate their position briefly and point out the salient features of a few of them.

On the back wall of the verandah to the left of the main door there are some paintings which are supposed to illustrate the Visvanata Jataka, though there are more and detailed pictures of this Jataka inside the Hall. There are indeed some incidents portrayed here which support this identification, viz., the distribution of gifts including costly necklaces to suppliants, the exile of a prince and a princess (Visvanata and Madri), the flying Indra, who, according to the story, came to Visvanata to ask for the gift of his wife, etc. The picture of flying Indra, gandharvas and apsarasas is specially noteworthy. Indra is fair in complexion and has a noble mien. He wears a high crown and beautiful jewelled necklaces, armlets and bracelets. His vaikakshaka is thrown backward as he flies through the air. He wears an ardhornaka which is fastened round his waist by means of a beautiful jewelled katibandha with a dagger and a sword fixed in it. The clouds through which he and his attendants fly are shown by means of white and blue curves and patches. This is one of the most fascinating small paintings at Ajanta and well illustrates the artist's skill in portraying flying figures.\(^2\)

On the back of the verandah, above the two windows to the right of the main door, is painted an incident in the life of the Buddha, in which he calmed a furious elephant named Nālagiri which was let loose against him in Rājagriha at the instigation of DeVadatta. The infuriated elephant running through the streets of Rājagriha, demolishing wooden structures, lifting up men and animals with its trunk and causing consternation among the people, is vividly portrayed. In the next scene it is seen kneeling down meekly before the Buddha, who blesses it with his hand. The men and women in the shops and galleries of the houses nearby are filled with amazement and reverentially fold their hands.\(^3\) The whole scene is very realistic and testifies to the imagination and skill of the artist.

On the left wall of the verandah, above the cell-door, is painted a huge wheel which was supposed to represent the Zodiac and so this cave was called 'the Zodiac Cave'. The correct view, however, is that it is the wheel of Sāṃsāra (worldly existence).

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2. Ajanta, Part III, pl. LXVII.
3. Ibid., Part III, pl. LXXIV.
THE PLAN OF CAVE XVII AT AJANTĀ

Index of Paintings in Cave XVII at Ajantā
(The Numbers are as in the Plan of the Cave.)

1.-2. Scenes from the Visavantara Jātaka.
3. Flying Indra and Anantarasa.
4. The Māruṇī Buddha.
5. Ganacharas and Anantas adoring the Buddha.
6. The Taming of the Furious Elephant Nālakāri.
7. The wheel of Sāṁśāra.
8. The Shad-danta Jātaka.
10. The Hāsti Jātaka.
11. The Hamsa Jātaka.
12. The Visavantara Jātaka.
13. The Sutasoma Jātaka.

15. The Buddha, Yashodhāra and Rāhula.
16. The Miracle at Śrāvanītī.
17. The Sarabha Jātaka.
18. The Mātrijñāna Jātaka.
20. The Śyama Jātaka.
22. The Simhakālaśāna.
23. The Śūkl Jātaka.
25. The Śrīkha Jātaka.
26. The Nyagrodha-mrīga Jātaka.
GREEDY JUJAKA RECEIVING RANSOM MONEY
ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE AND PAINTING

Buddhist as in Hindu literature, worldly existence is conceived as a gigantic wheel which revolves all creatures through a series of life and death.¹

The present wheel was designed to have eight divisions marked by its spokes (ashtāra-chakra), but only five of them can be made out, the remaining three not having been completed owing to the position of the cell-door. The wheel contains various scenes of village and town life. It is shown as revolved by the hands of some being of colossal size, probably representing Karman.

As stated before, the stories of the past lives of the Buddha are illustrated in the frescoes on the walls of this mandapa. We find, for instance, the stories of the Shad-danta Jātaka, the Mahākapi Jātaka and the Hasti Jātaka painted on the outer wall of the front corridor inside the Hall to the right of the main entrance,² the Hamsa Jātaka on the left wall of the same corridor and the Viśvantara Jātaka, the Mahākapi Jātaka (II) and the Sutasūna Jātaka on the wall of the left corridor.³ Some scenes of the Viśvantara Jātaka were, of course, painted on the back wall of the verandah, but its whole story could not be narrated there probably for want of space. It is, therefore, repeated on the wall of the left corridor from the first to the fourth cell-door. The different incidents of the story such as Viśvantara taking leave of his father and mother before proceeding into exile, the departure of the prince and the princess, the giving away of the little children Jālin and Krishnājinā to the Brāhmaṇa Jūjakā, and finally, their restoration by the latter to the king, their grandfather, in consideration of a large sum of money paid as ransom, are all painted with great skill. The last scene when Jūjakā appears in the royal court to receive the ransom money is specially noteworthy. Mr. Yazdani has described it in the following words:—“The artist has delineated all the ugly features of Jūjakā—the broken teeth, the goaty beard, the parrot-like nose and small, uncanny eyes, combined with the brightness which has come over his face at the jingle of the money which the royal treasurer is pouring into his outspread scarf. The expression of joy may also be perceived from the treatment of his eyes, and the artist has further enhanced it by placing high lights on the nose and lips of the Brāhmaṇa.” The king holds the last coin in his hand which he is apparently throwing into the Brāhmaṇa’s scarf with a contemptuous look. The artist has shown, with evident humour, the Brāhmaṇa with an open umbrella even when he appears in the royal court.

As shown below, the frescoes on the wall of the right corridor also relate Jātaka tales. The only paintings which narrate incidents in the last life of the Buddha inside this cave are noticed on the right and left walls of the antarāla (antechamber) and those of the Chaitya- mandirā (sanctum). As stated before, the sanctum contains an image of the Buddha in the teaching attitude. The frescoes outside, therefore, fittingly describe the incidents which happened soon after the Buddha turned the Wheel of the Law.

On the left wall of the antarāla we see a painting in which the Buddha is discoursing upon the Law to his mother and the gods and goddesses of the Tushita Heaven. He is next shown to have descended to the world of men by means of a ladder. He then preaches the Law to the kings, queens, noblemen and others who have come to see him. The Buddha is seated on a throne in the prelamāṇapāda posture and dharmachakra-pravartana-mudrā, with Padmapāṇi and Vajrapāṇi attending upon him. To his right are Bimbisāra, the

¹ Ajanta, Part IV, pl. IV-VI.
² Ibid., Part IV, plates X-XIV.
³ Ibid., Part IV, pl. XVII.
⁴ Ibid., Part IV, pl. XIX-XXXVII.
⁵ Ajanta, Part IV, p. 49. See Plate I.
king of Magadha, his son Ajātaśatru, his queen and some other chiefs with round or conical head-dresses. One of them who has prominent mustaches and a beard and also a conical head-dress may represent a Śāka or Kushāṇa chief, such as may occasionally have been noticed at the Vākāṭaka court. To the left of the Buddha are several monks, of whom two who are prominent may be identified with Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. The eyes of all are turned towards the Buddha who is expounding the Law. The monk next to Sāriputra may be Ānanda, the chief disciple of the Buddha, who, from the gestures of his hand, seems to be answering the questions put to him by the Buddha. The artist has been able to paint this great composition with perfect ease and consummate skill.

On the back wall of the antarāla to the left of the shrine door, there is the well-known painting of the Buddha greeted by his wife and son, Yaśōdhara and Rāhula. Having received the intimation that the Buddha has come to Kapilavastu and may visit the palace in the course of the begging round, Yaśōdhara has put on her best garments and ornaments and stands at the door with her son Rāhula, who also is similar dressed, expecting the arrival of the Buddha. In the present fresco the Buddha is shown in a very large size, suggestive of his spiritual greatness. The figures of Yaśōdhara and Rāhula are purposely drawn much smaller in size as compared with him. The Buddha has matted hair on his head and a halo round his face. He is clad in a reddish long gown and carries a green begging bowl in his right hand. His head is slightly inclined towards Yaśōdhara. His face shows philosophic calm, mingled with compassion for Yaśōdhara, whom he finds still attached to worldly life. Yaśōdhara has placed Rāhula in front, suggesting thereby that for his sake, if not for hers, the Buddha should come back to the householder’s life. Rāhula has spread both his hands to ask for his heritage as instructed. Both he and Yaśōdhara have fixed their eyes on the Buddha’s face, anxiously awaiting to hear what he would say to them. A vidyādhara has held an umbrella over the Buddha’s head and flowers are being showered over him from the sky. This painting has evoked highest praise for its sublimity, suggestiveness and skilful delineation of human emotion.

On the right wall of the antarāla there is a painting of the miracle which the Buddha performed at Srāvasti at the request of king Bimbisāra. Accepting the challenge of some naked śramaṇas who wanted to cause a schism in the Saṅgha, the Buddha assumed numerous forms to confound his opponents. The artist has shown considerable humour in drawing the burly figures of the naked śramaṇas.

On the rear wall of the back corridor to the right of the antarāla are painted the following Jātakas in order—the Sarabha Jātaka, the Mātrīpūshaka Jātaka, the Matsya Jātaka and the Śyāma Jātaka. The story of the last of these is similar to that of Śrīvaṇa in the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki. Next, the Mahisha Jātaka is painted on the right wall of the back corridor.

On the whole wall of the right corridor is painted the story of the Sītuhala Avadāna. The story is told in the Divyāvadāna, but, as Mr. Yazdani has shown, the frescoes here

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1 Ajanta, Part IV, pl. XXXVIII-XL.
2 Ibid., Part IV, pl. XL-XLI.
3 See Plate M.
4 Ajanta, Part IV, pl. XLIII.
5 Ibid., Part IV, plates XLIV-XLIX.
6 Rāmāyaṇa, II, 63, vv. 22 ff.
7 Ajanta, Part IV, pl. LI a.
8 Ibid., Part IV, plates LI b-LXIV a.
THE BUDDHA, YASODHARĀ AND RĀHULA
show some deviation from it. Further, on the right wall of the front corridor is painted the story of the Sūhā Jātaka1 and on the front wall of the same corridor to the left of the main entrance are painted those of the following Jātakas, viz., the Rutu Jātaka, the Rūkha Jātaka and the Nyāgarākṣamita Jātaka.2

Besides, the ceilings of the Hall and the right and left corridors are decorated with painted designs of various kinds. The ceiling of the Hall has, inside a large square, seven concentric circular bands with a circular pattern in the centre. The bands have various decorative designs such as those of jewellery, creepers with leaves and flowers, pearl strings, etc. The space at the corners of the square is filled with flying figures with offerings of flowers. In the decorative designs round the large circle and elsewhere on the ceiling of the Hall the heads of animals such as lions, elephants, horses, buffaloes, deer, etc. as well as some fabulous creatures are ingeniously interwoven in the scrolls of creepers. As Mr. Yazdani has observed, ‘the colour-schemes of these subjects also show a highly developed art, since the different colours are most harmoniously blended and are most pleasant to the eye’.4 In view of the magnificent architecture, sculpture and painting in this cave there is hardly any exaggeration in the description in its inscription that ‘the Vihāra cave is such as cannot be even imagined by little-souled persons’.5 It is undoubtedly ‘the finest monument of its kind in India, and perhaps in the whole world’.6

Like Cave XVII, Cave XIX at Ajanta was excavated by the ruler of Rishika who was a feudatory of the Vākāṭaka Emperor Harishena. It is one of the four Chaitya caves at Ajanta and is referred to as Gandhakuti in the inscription in Cave XVII. It is regarded as ‘one of the most perfect specimens of the Buddhist art in India’. In front of it was an enclosed court, 33 ft. wide by 30 ft. deep, but the left side of it has now almost entirely gone. It has an elegant porch in front supported on two pillars which are decorated with horizontal bands of the lotus motif, and have finials of the āmalaka type. The lintel over them is decorated with two horizontal bands of chaitya windows, with another of kītīmukhas between them. The whole façade of the cave is covered from top to bottom with figures of the Buddhas in various attitudes, standing or seated, single or in pairs, as also with floral designs and chaitya windows with pairs of lovers (mithunas) dallying with each other. In the centre there is a large horse-shoe arch, with horizontal ribs carved in stone, which lights the interior of the Gandhakuti. On each side there is a yaksha—Pancharika on the left and Pūrṇabhadra on the right. They are dressed in transparent garments and have beautiful

1 Ajanta, Part IV, plates LXVI-LXVII.
2 Ibid., Part IV, plates LXVIII-LXXX.
3 Ibid., Part IV, plates LXXXI-LXXXIV.
5 No. 27, v. 25.
6 Ajanta, Part IV, p. 11.
7 This cave lies to the west of Cave XVII and thus answers to the description of the Gandhakuti mentioned in the inscription. Mr. Yazdani doubts this identification and suggests that the Gandhakuti may have been ‘an insignificant chapel’ which has now disappeared owing to the disintegration of the rock above Cave XVIII. This is, however, in direct opposition to the description in the inscription that the Gandhakuti was udāra or magnificent. We have no reason to suppose that there was exaggeration in this. As for the argument that this cave appears to be later than Cave I on the evidence of the decorative features of the trilobium, we may cite the opinion of Burgess—‘From its position and its style of architecture, there can be little doubt that it is of about the same age as the two Vihāras XVI and XVII which are next to it’. C.T.I., p. 317.
8 See Plate X.
coiffures and jewellery. Outside, in a niche at the bottom of the left wall of the court there is a beautiful panel of the Nāgarāja and his wife. A serpent has spread its seven hoods over the head of the Nāgarāja. Another hood is seen over the head of his wife. Both of them wear high jewelled crowns and several ornaments. To the proper right of the Nāgarāja there is an attendant with a chaurī. As stated before, there is a similar panel of the Nāgarāja and his wife in a small excavation near Cave XVI also.

Inside, the Gandhārakūṭi is 24 ft. wide by 46 ft. long and 24 ft. 4 in. high. The earlier caves of this type were perfectly plain, but this is elaborately carved. The nave has 15 pillars, 11 ft. high. They have a square base, above which their shaft becomes first octagonal and then circular, with horizontal bands of beautiful tracery. The circular portion is either plain or decorated with perpendicular or spiral flutes. Above this is the āmalaka portion which is surmounted by a bracket capital with the figure of the seated Buddha in the middle and elephants, sārālas or flying gandhāras on the brackets. Above a plain architrave there is an entablature, 5 ft. high, which is divided into compartments by vertical bands of various designs. The compartments contain images of the Buddha, standing or seated. The dome rises 8 ft. 4 in. high.

The Chaitya contains, inside a niche and under an arch resting on two beautifully carved demi-pillars, a bas-relief figure of the Buddha clad in a long robe. Above the dome is the usual harmikā with a small image of the seated Buddha surmounted by three umbrellas one over another, each being upheld by four figures on four sides. The roof of the aisles is flat and is decorated with flower scrolls, figures of the Buddha, etc. The walls also have paintings of the Buddhas with halos, seated or standing.

This is the first instance of a chaitya cave wholly in stone. In earlier caves like that at Karle the ribs of the nave and the umbrellas over the chaitya were in wood. Here they are all in stone. Nothing in or about it is ever was in wood, and many parts are so lithic in design that if we did not know to the contrary, we might not be able to detect at once the originals from which they were derived. The transformation from wood to stone is complete in this cave.

Some more caves of the Vākāṭaka age exist near the village Gulwāḍā, about 11 miles west of Ajanta. They are known as the Ghatōṭakacha caves and were excavated, like Cave XVI at Ajanta, by Varāhadeva, a minister of the Vākāṭaka king Harishceno. They are situated in a deep gorge.

There were apparently three caves excavated here, of which only two are now extant, the third being known only from some traces left behind. Both the caves that are still standing were of the vihāra type, but the pillars and pilasters of the smaller one are now almost entirely destroyed, only the bracket of a pillar and a pilaster still remaining. The bracket has the curious representation of four deer with common head. It will be remembered that the capitals of the pillars of the temple at Jigōwā had at the corners the representations of two lions with a common head.

The larger cave, however, is in a fairly good state of preservation, though in its case also, the front pillars of the verandah are completely destroyed. There is a mutilated inscription on the back wall of the verandah at the north end, from which we learn that it was

1 Ajanta, Part IV, pl. LXXV (a).
2 Ibid., Part IV, pl. LXXVI (b).
3 Ibid., Part IV, pl. LXXV (b).
5 No. 26.
THE FRONT VIEW OF CAVE XIX AT AJANTA

(from photograph)
THE PLAN OF THE GHATÔTKACHA CAVE
ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE AND PAINTING

excavated by Varāhadēva, a minister of Harishēna. It gives his pedigree from the beginning, but as its lower part is sadly mutilated, all information about the purpose for which it was excavated and the Buddhist Sangha to which it was dedicated is now lost. Another inscription carved over the figure of the Buddha on one of the pillars of the cave contains the well-known Buddhist creed, Tē dharmam kētu-prabhavāh, etc.

The larger cave generally resembles Cave XVI at Ajāntā, though there are some minor differences in its plan. At either end of the verandah there is a chapel, with two pillars between pilasters in front and a small cell at the back. The hall is entered by three doors, the central one being larger than the two side ones. Between the central and the side door there is a window on either side. The central door is decorated with two bands of scroll work and a third one containing seated and standing Buddhas, mithunas etc. At either end of the lintel there is a goddess standing on a boar, not a crocodile as in the caves at Ajāntā, the change being introduced here probably with reference to the name Varāhadēva of the minister who got the caves excavated. The side doors and windows are decorated with chaitya-vādiyayanas containing figures of the seated Buddha, with globular forms on the finials.

The hall inside is supported on twenty pillars, disposed in four rows. The two middle pillars and those at the corners have square bases, changing into octagon, sixteen-sided and thirty-two-fluted and then returning through the sixteen and eight-sided forms to the square under plain bracket capitals. The remaining pillars have octagonal shafts and square heads with brackets. There are pilasters in the side walls in line with the front and back rows of pillars, those behind being decorated with full or half medallions. The front pilaster in the left side wall has a figure of the seated Buddha with an attendant on either side and the aforementioned Buddhist creed carved upon it.

In the middle of the back wall of the hall there is an antarāla (antechamber) with two pillars in front, and the chaitya-mandira (sanctum) behind. On each side of it in the back wall and also in the middle of the left wall of the hall there is a chapel with two pillars in front and a cell behind, like that at each end of the verandah mentioned before. There are six other cells in the left wall and five on the right. In the chaitya-mandira behind the antarāla there is a large image of the Buddha, seated in the yōgasana posture and the Dharmachakra-pravartana-mudrā, with a Bōdhisattva carrying a chaurī on either side. The Bōdhisattva on his proper left is Vajrapāni as he has the vajra in his left hand; that on the right should be Padmapāni as in the caves at Ajāntā, but his sign, viz., the lotus has not been carved. On the pedestal of the Buddha’s lion-seat there are the usual figures of the crouching deer with a wheel between them, symbolising the Buddha’s first sermon in the Deer Park at Sārnāth. Some devotees are also seen kneeling on either side of the wheel. The Buddha has a large round halo round his face, beyond which are seen some flying vidyādharas and vidyādharīs with garlands for the worship of the Buddha.

1. See Plate O.
2. G.C.I., pl. 4.
4. G.C.I., pl. 5.
5. G.C.I., pl. 8.
6. Ibid., pl. 9.
7. The middle one on the right has the appearance of a chapel with two doors in front, but there is no cell behind it as in the case of the other chapels in this cave.
8. G. C. I., pl. 3.
At the right end of the front aisle of the Hall there is carved a chaitya in half relief and on the other two walls appear a number of seated and standing Buddhas. According to Burgess, these were carved at some later date.

The present cave differs in certain respects from Cave XVI at Ajanṭā. It is supposed by some to be anterior to the latter on the basis of the general architectural style and the sculpture in it, but the inscription of Varāhadeva incised therein leaves no doubt that it is of the same age as the aforementioned caves at Ajanṭā. Any differences that may be noticed in the architecture and sculpture of the two caves must be attributed to individual workmanship and not to a difference in their age.

\[G.C.I. \text{ p. } 4.\]
DÉÔTEK STONE INSCRIPTION OF RUDRASENA I

DÉÔTEK is now a small village, about 50 miles south-east of Nágpur. It has an old temple in a dilapidated condition and a large inscribed slab. The place was visited by Cunningham’s assistant, Beglar, in the year 1873-74. He has described the temple and the inscribed slab in Cunningham’s Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. VII, pp. 123-25. From the pencil impressions Beglar took at the time, Cunningham published an eye-copy of the two inscriptions on the slab and his transcript of their texts, without any translation or interpretation, in the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. I (First Edition), pp. 28-29. Though the inscriptions are very important, none noticed them until I drew attention to them at the Mysore session of the All-India Oriental Conference held in December 1935. They have been edited with facsimiles by me in the Proceedings and Transactions of the Conference.

I visited Déotek in October 1935 and took estampages which showed some better readings than Cunningham’s eye-copy. On the other hand, some letters which Cunningham read in the last line of the earlier record have since then disappeared, evidently owing to the peeling off of the surface of the slab, which had for a long time been used as a seat by village boys and cowherds while tending cattle. As described by Beglar2, ‘the inscribed slab is an oblong trapezoid of rough-grained, quartzy sandstone, worn smooth in places by the feet of villagers, it being situated in the thick shade of a magnificent tamarind tree, on the side of the village road, and thus offering a capital resting place and seat; the stone is nine feet long, three and a half feet broad at one end, and two feet ten inches at the other, with straight sides; it bears two distinct inscriptions’. The stone has since been removed to the Central Museum, Nágpur.

The earlier of the two inscriptions is inscribed lengthwise and is in four lines. It occupies 1’ 10” of the breadth of the stone, leaving the lower portion of about 1’ 6” uninscribed. The characters are of the early Bráhmí alphabet, resembling, in many cases, those of the Gimbir edicts of Aśoka. The language is early Prakrit as in the Gimbi edicts. At least the first three lines of this inscription seem to have originally extended to the right-hand edge of the slab; for, traces of isolated letters in the first line, which are in no way connected with the second inscription, can still be marked on the original stone. Besides, the sense of the first two lines, which are fairly legible, appears to be incomplete in the absence of their right-hand half. It would again be strange if the engraver, selecting a large slab nine feet long and commencing to incise it lengthwise, had ended his lines about the middle of it, leaving out nearly a half at the right end. For these reasons I cannot accept Beglar’s view that ‘the second inscription was cut evidently with some regard for the prior inscription,'

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3. One would, for instance, expect at the end of line 1 the names of animals and the seasons in which their capture and slaughter were prohibited. Cf. Aśoka’s pillar edict V.
as it does not interfere with or injure it". On the other hand, the later inscription seems to have been incised after the earlier one was chiselled off to make room for it.

The object of the earlier inscription was to record the command of some lord (Śāmi) (who is called 'king' in line 4), prohibiting the capture and slaughter (evidently of some animals in certain seasons as in Asoka's fifth pillar edict, or, maybe, throughout the year) and declaring some punishment for such as dared to disobey it. The third line mentions executive officers (ānachā—amātyāḥ) whose duty may have been to enforce these orders. The last line contains the date 14, denoting probably the regnal year in which the record was incised.

This edict seems to have been issued by a Dharma-mahāmātra in the fourteenth year after the coronation of Asoka. From the fifth rock edict of the great Buddhist Emperor we learn that these Mahāmātras were first appointed by Asoka in the thirteenth year after his coronation, i.e., a year prior to the date of this record. One of the duties assigned to them was to prevent the capture and slaughter of animals. It is not unlikely that the Dharma-mahāmātra who was in charge of ancient Vidarbha caused the present record to be incised at Chikamburi mentioned in line 1, which seems to have been then a place of great importance, to proclaim the command of the great Emperor to his subjects living in the neighbourhood.

The second inscription which concerns us here is in five lines, which are inscribed breadthwise, commencing from the narrow end of the slab. Like the earlier inscription, it also has suffered considerable damage. Some letters in the first four lines have either altogether disappeared or become illegible, owing to the wearing away and peeling off of the surface of the slab. Besides, a channel 4" in breadth has been cut right through the middle of the inscription, which has evidently resulted in the further loss of some more letters.

Like the Āra inscription of Samudragupta, the present record is inscribed in the box-headed variety of the southern alphabet of about the fourth century A.C. As regards individual letters, we may note the triangular v in vaniqä line 4, the tripartite y in line 3 and the unlooped n in line 5. The size of the letters varies from $1\frac{3}{4}$" to $7\frac{3}{4}$". The language is Sanskrit and the whole inscription is in prose.

The object of this inscription is to record the construction of a temple or place of religious worship (dharma-sthāna) by king Rudrasēṇa at Chikamburi. It may be noted in this connection that there is at present a small plain structure of laterite in a dilapidated condition just where the inscribed slab was noticed. The temple is small, consisting simply of a cell and its entrance; it may have had a small portico or a mandapa attached, as the ground in front is covered with cut blocks; but it could not have been large and indeed the temple is of the kind usually built without a mandapa. The existing structure

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2In some of his edicts Asoka orders his officers to get his edicts engraved on stone pillars, rocks and stone slabs throughout the districts in their charge. See his Rūpaṇṭh rock inscription, line 5, and Sarnath pillar inscription, lines 9-10.
3There are faint traces of two letters (Śidduṣṭ? ) in a much smaller size in line 6.
4The channel could not have existed at the time the inscription was incised; for, in one case at least (vīz, in vānīṣa, tasya) we are sure that it has caused the loss of one letter vīz, jā. Beglar also has remarked, "Long afterwards, when no one could read the inscriptions, this great slab, large enough to occupy the breadth of the sanctum of a temple, was considered to form into an argha and in the process the inscriptions were remorselessly sacrificed". C.A.S.R., Vol. VII, pp. 124-25.
5The chief temple in the capital was called Vajayika-dharma-sthāna.
is quite plain. The only decoration it seems to have had was in the form of a scroll on its door frame, two fragments of which are lying in front of it. The door seems to have been 4' 4" in breadth and about 4' in height. The lintel has, in a recess in the middle, a small image of two-armed Gaṇapati, measuring 6" in breadth and 8½" in height. The roof of the sanctum is formed of intersecting squares and has a pyramidal shape cut up exteriorly into gradually diminishing steps. Temples of this type can be seen in the adjoining villages of Pānōrī and Ārnōrī. There is a large image of Gaṇapati placed in the cell, but it seems to be of a later age. The temple was originally dedicated to Śiva. The līṅga has now disappeared, but from the socket in an old argha lying nearby, it seems to have been a large one, about 13" in diameter. Such līṅgas are found round about Mansar near Rāmūṭ, which was undoubtedly an ancient holy place dating back at least to the time of the Vākāṭakas. There is a broken image of Nandi lying in front of the present temple. Though the present structure cannot date back to the fourth century A.C., to which period the inscription can be referred, it undoubtedly marks an ancient site and may have been erected when the original temple fell into ruins.

The inscription is not dated. The name of the king’s family which occurred in the beginning of the fourth line has, unfortunately, been lost; but on the evidence of palaeography Cunningham conjecturally assigned the record to Rudrasēṇa I, though according to the notions then prevalent, he called him a king of Kailakila Yavanas, and placed him in 170 A.C. Though this date cannot now be accepted, Cunningham’s attribution of the present record to the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasēṇa I seems to be correct. There were two kings of this name in the dynasty of the Vākāṭakas, viz., Rudrasēṇa I, who was the grandson and successor of Pravarasēṇa I, and Rudrasēṇa II, the grandson of the former and son-in-law of Chandragupta II—Vikramāḍītya. Of these, the former was a Śaiva, being a fervent devotee of Śvāmi-Mahābhairava, while the latter, probably owing to the influence of his wife Prabhavatigupta, was a worshipper of Chakrapāṇि (Vishṇu). As the present inscription evidently records the building of a Śiva temple, it may be ascribed to Rudrasēṇa I. This is also confirmed by the palaeographic evidence detailed above.

The importance of the present inscription lies in this that it is the earliest record of the Vākāṭakas discovered so far, and is, besides, the only lithic record of that royal family. Its situation shows that Rudrasēṇa I ruled south of the Narmadā and renders doubtful the identifiction of Rudradesa, who is mentioned in the Allāhābād stone pillar inscription as one of the kings of Aryavarta, with Rudrasēṇa I of the Vākāṭaka dynasty.

There remains now the question—Why was the inscription inscribed breadthwise and commenced at the narrow end of the slab? As is well-known, there was a revival of Hindūism and Sanskrit learning in the age of the Vākāṭakas. They themselves performed animal sacrifices, and could have therefore had no regard for Aśoka’s precepts of ahimsā. When therefore Rudrasēṇa I built a temple of his favourite deity and wanted to put up an inscription of his own to record it, he could have felt no scruples in chiselling off some part of the earlier inscription to make room for his record. The stone was probably placed

2Ibid., Vol. I, p. 29.
3See the adjective abhasthābhaścarambhastubha applied to him in the copper-plates of Pravarasēṇa II.
4See his description bhavasthābhaścarambhastubha in the copper-plates of his son Pravarasēṇa II.
5Note especially the unlooped n in line 6. This letter has a looped form in all other Vākāṭaka inscriptions.
on the broader end of its length and half-buried, leaving only the Vâkâṭaka record above the ground. The left-hand portion of the earlier record was left untouched as the Vâkâṭaka inscription, which was commenced at the narrow end of the slab, was finished about the middle of the stone.

There is only one place, viz., Chikkamburi,\textsuperscript{1} mentioned in both the records. As pointed out by Hiralal, it is identical with the adjoining village Chikmârâ. Chikkamburi seems to have been a flourishing city for more than six hundred years; for, both the Mahâ-mâtra of Asoka and the Vâkâṭaka king Rudrâsena I thought it fit to incise their records there. In ancient times it must have extended to and perhaps included in its expanse the site of the modern village Dêoṭek where the inscribed slab was lying.

\textbf{Text}

\begin{align*}
\text{1} & \quad \text{चिक्काम्बु [रिरि]} \quad \text{स} \\
\text{2} & \quad \text{स?} \quad \text{ज} \\
\text{3} & \quad \text{प्रवरम} \quad \text{मन्याम} \\
\text{4} & \quad \text{बंध[ऽ]**} \text{सर्पेष्यद} \text{सृ} \\
\text{5} & \quad \text{सेतरा[ऽ]} \text{रा**} \text{कम्भ्यां} \text{नम्} \text{I} \text{[ I*]}
\end{align*}

\textbf{Translation}

\begin{align*}
\text{(At} & \quad \text{Chikkamburi} \quad \text{Pravara}\textsuperscript{3} \\
\text{Line 4}) & \quad \text{This (is) a special place of religious worship of Râja Rudrâsena (I), born in the family [of the Vâkâṭakas].}
\end{align*}

\textsuperscript{1}The name appears as Chikambar[\textsuperscript{1}] in the earlier inscriptions.
\textsuperscript{2}Read बंधेन्देन्देन्दे.
\textsuperscript{3}This may refer to Pravarasena I.
POONĀ PLATES OF PRABHĀVATĪGUPTĀ

These copper-plates were found in the possession of one Balwant Bhau Nagarkar, a coppersmith of Poonā who originally hailed from Ahmadnagar in the Mahārāṣṭra State. They are said to have been preserved as an heirloom in his family for some generations. They, however, seem to have originally belonged to the Hiṅgaghat tahsil of the Wardha District in Vidarbha; for, as shown below, most of the places mentioned in this grant can be located in that tahsil. The plates were at first very briefly noticed by Prof. K. B. Pathak in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLI, pp. 214-15. Their importance was immediately recognised and the information furnished by them was utilised by V. A. Smith in his article entitled 'The Vākṣataka Dynasty of the Central Provinces and Berar' published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1914, pp. 317 f. They were later edited with facsimiles and an English translation by K. B. Pathak and K. N. Dikshit in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XV, pp. 40 f. They are edited here from the same facsimiles as their present whereabouts are not known.

The plates are two in number, measuring 9½" long and 5½" broad. They are strung together by means of a ring (½" thick and 2" in diameter) with soldered ends, passing through a hole ½" in diameter, cut through the centre of one side of the plates. The ring is further made to pass through the perforated handle of the seal, which is plain and oval in shape (length 2½", breadth 2½"), and contains four lines of inscription, with figures of the sun and the moon above and a flower at the bottom. The weight of the plates and the ring is 97 tolās.

The record is engraved only on the inner side of the two plates, the first containing 10 lines, and the second, 12 lines. The letters on the first plate are somewhat larger than those on the second; the average size of the former is ¼" and that of the latter is ½". The writing is in a fair state of preservation.

The characters are mostly of the nail-headed variety having a triangle with its apex downwards at the top of the letters. A few letters, however, are of the box-headed type in which all other inscriptions of the Vākṣatakas were written. See, e.g., Vākṣataka- in line 1 of the seal and si of siddham in line 1 on the first plate. It is noteworthy that besides their box-heads, some of these letters (e.g. v and s) have forms which are different from those noticed elsewhere in this grant. They agree with those in other grants of box-headed characters. It would seem therefore that the scribe began to write the present grant in box-headed characters, but not being accustomed to them, he soon changed over to nail-headed characters with which he was more familiar. He may have hailed from North India where the nail-headed characters were in vogue.

The characters show an admixture of northern and southern peculiarities, the former predominating over the latter. Thus, g and s have a loop at the lower end of their left member; y has its vertical and upper bar divided into two; sh and ś are looped, but t and m are not; the vertical of l is shortened and the tail of h turns sharply to the left. Besides these northern characteristics, the following southern ones may also be noticed: a, k and r have a curve turned to the left at the bottom of their verticals; the lingual d is round-backed; the medial t̄ is shown by a curve turned to the left in sa-kṛipt-āpakṛtipah, line 18, but in pṛthivyām-,
line 5 and -atiṣṭhā in line 15 the curve turns to the right. The jīvaṁśīya occurs twice in lines 12 and 15, and the upadhanīya once only in line 6. The language is Sanskrit and except for two verses, one on the seal and the other of the usual imprecatory type at the end, the whole record is in prose. As regards orthography, we may notice the reduplication of the consonant after r as in Nāndiveddhana in line 1 and the use of ṛ for ṛi in dīrṣṭam in the margin of lines 2-3.

The record commences with dīrṣṭam, ‘seen’. The plates were issued from Nandivardhana by Prabhāvatiguptā, the chief queen of the Vākṣṭaka Mahārāja Rudrāseṇa (II) and mother of the Yuvāroja Divākaraśeṇa. She was then acting as Regent for her minor son. The plates record the grant of the village Daṅgūna which the dowager queen made to Āchārya Chanālasvāmin on the twelfth tīthi of the bright fortnight of Kārttika, evidently after observing a fast on the preceding Prabōdhini Ėkādaśī. Prabhāvatiguptā is described as a fervent devotee of the Bhagavat (i.e. Viṣṇu). She first offered the gift to the foot-prints of the Bhagavat, who is probably the same as Rāmagirivāmin mentioned in her later Riddhapur plates, and then made it over to the Āchārya. The donated village was situated in the Supratishtha āhāra and lay to the east of Vilavanaka, to the south of Śīrsha-grama (Śīrṣagragrama?) and to the north of Kadāpiṇjana. The grant is dated in the thirteenth year evidently of the boy-prince’s reign. The scribe was Chākradāsa.

It is noteworthy that though Prabhāvatiguptā describes herself as the Chief Queen of the Vākṣṭaka Mahārāja Rudrāseṇa (II), she gives the genealogy of the Guptas and not of the Vākṣṭakas in the introductory portion of the present grant. This is also noticed in her later grant recorded in the Riddhapur plates1. She was evidently very proud of her descent from the imperial Gupta family.

The genealogy begins with Mahārāja Ghatṭaktacha, the first king of the Gupta (dynasty). His son was Mahārāja Chandragupta (I); the latter’s son from the Mahādevi Kumāradēvi was Mahārājaśādhirāja Samudragupta, the daughter’s son of the Lichchhavi (chief), who performed several aśvamedha sacrifices; his son was Mahārājaśādhirāja Chandragupta (II) a devout worshipper of the Bhagavat; the latter’s daughter from the Mahādevi Ku-bėranāga who was born in a Nāga family was Prabhāvatiguptā. She was the chief queen of the Vākṣṭaka Mahārāja Rudrāseṇa (II) and mother of the Yuvāroja Divākaraśeṇa.

It will be noticed that the description of Prabhāvat’s Gupta ancestors given in the present grant does not agree completely with that noticed in genuine Gupta records. In the first place it makes no mention of Gupta, the founder of the dynasty. Secondly, Chandragupta I is mentioned with the lower title of Mahārāja, not with the imperial one of Mahārājaśādhirāja as in Gupta records. Thirdly, some of the epithets used here to describe Chandragupta II were usually applied to his father Samudragupta2. Notwithstanding these differences, the grant is undoubtedly genuine as we find that the genealogy given here is repeated verbatim in the Riddhapur plates of the dowager queen3.

The importance of the present grant lies in this that it placed for the first time the Vākṣṭaka genealogy on a sound basis. In the Vākṣṭaka grants discovered before (viz., the Chammak, Siwani and Dudlā plates of Pravarasēṇa II) Prabhāvatiguptā was described as the daughter of Mahārājaśādhirāja Dēvagupta. Fleet identified this Dēvagupta with

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1No. 8, below.
2See e.g. the Allāhābād stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta and the Bhītāri stone pillar inscription of Skandagupta.
3In the Riddhapur plates, Samudragupta also is mentioned with the lower title of Mahārāja. See No. 8, line 4.
the homonymous king of the Later Gupta dynasty, mentioned in the Dêo-Bârnârk pillar inscription and thus relegated to the eighth century A.C. His opinion was accepted by Kirol and Sukhtankar. The present inscription, which states clearly that Prabhâvanî was the daughter of the Early Gupta king Chandragupta II, proved unmistakably, for the first time, that she lived in the last quarter of the fourth century A.C. It has since been shown that Dêvagupta was a favourite name of Chandragupta II and so it finds a mention in Vâkâṭaka grants.

As for the localities mentioned in the present grant, Nandivardhana was identified by Hirala with Nandrâdhon or Nagardhan near Râmâck. The identification has since been corroborated by several proofs. The other villages, however, remained unidentified. A clue to their location was afforded by the Jâmb plates of Pravarasena II, discovered in 1940, which also mention the same Supratishtha âhâra. With this clue I could identify some of the villages mentioned in the present grant. Vilavanaka seems to be Vanî, about 2½ miles to the west, and Kâdâpinjana, Kâdâjan 3 miles to the south by east of Hînganghâta. Hînganghâta seems therefore to occupy the same position as the ancient village Daûguna. The latter place-name appears to have been changed to Hûgan in course of time, ghât being added to it as it was a fording place on the Wûnna. It is noteworthy that the name of the village Kavaâghâta on the opposite bank of the same river also ends in ghât. As the villages mentioned in the Jâmb plates as situated in the Supratishtha âhâra can also be located in the Hînganghâta tâsîl, that âhâra seems to have comprised roughly the territory now included in that tâsîl. The present plates of Prabhâvâtiguptâ, though discovered in distant Poonâ, seem therefore to have originally belonged to the Hînganghâta tâsîl.

TEXT

First Plate

1 [१]* सिद्धम्  [२]* सिद्धम् [३]* जितंभवता [४]* स्वतिः [५]* नागित्वर्मनाते दसारीदिवशिरामिदराजों महाराजः—
2 श्रीवदेवाकस्तम सत्यवस भवाराजश्रीनाढगुप्तस्तम सत्यवस—
3 नेकाबसचाराजी शिबविनो (दौ) हिंदियो महावर्मनां कुमारवर्मामुलालो
4 महाराजश्रीनाढगुप्तस्तम (सू) लुजुतसाताकारियसीति—
5 श्रीवदेवाकस्तम शिबविनो (दौ) ता चतुर्दशितिलिखिताविदि—
6 याय नेकाबसचाराजास्तमस्रुसहस्नितरसरभासवस श्रीवं
7 कवितराजश्रीनाढगुप्तस्तम सीतित वायसाचाराजास्तम—
8 तासार (अं) श्रीवदेवाकस्तम कुब्रागुप्तवामादमकुकुलालो भुवाराजस्तमस्तमभवां के—
9 वाकाटकानां महाराजश्रीनाढगुप्तस्तमएवानिएहुरुराजः—
10 [१]* सिद्धम् [२]* सिद्धम् श्रीभवावति (तो) शुद्धे सुप्रितिष्ठावारः—

Second Plate

11 श्रीवदेवाकस्तम पुर्वमाम्बु श्रीमानाम्बु दक्षिणाम्बु कवितराजस्तमारपामेष्यो
12 सिद्धविबिवरकास्तमारपामेष्यो वेगुपायामेष्यो भ्रमीरामारपामेष्यो [१]—
13 मुक्तव वासास्तम [२]* विविषाकुलो दवयां ग्रामसपांश्यो स्वपुरुषायामारपामेष्यो [३]—
14 कालिककुकंकुलास्तमारपामेष्यो (तयां) भवातानमुल्लेन विवेक भगवद्गुप्ताराजाचार्यादिन्याभ्यामिनि—

1 From the facsimile facing p. 42 in Ep. Ind., Vol. XV.
2 Read तुकस्य. This word occurs in the margin between lines 2 and 3.
3 Read निवेद्याधिन...— as in No. 3, line 1.
4 Read अनुबंध...—.
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE MAIN BRANCH

15 दया उदकृष्मबन्धितमयथा। यतो भविष्यशिल्मय्यादया सवर्णाः कर्त्या [\*] पूवः।

16 [राजा] सुत्तिकालाप वाकहित्रियस्मार्कानात्मकितमश्रीराजप्रतिमानुक्तियमय्यादयामित्यतः।

17 अयनांसत्मम्म्मा ज्ञानिः परिवर्तनान्तः कर्णना:। अष्टक [\*] 

18 सनिन्द्धकार्यस्मार्कानात्मकहितिमय्यादयामित्यतः।

19 परिवर्तनान्तः [\*] विज्ञानिः परिवर्तनान्तः नन्दादेशम्।

20 वाणीमयं भवान्ति राजानं तस्मिनं नन्दादेशम्।

21 श्वसंकालस्तति तात्स शरीराय शरीराय शरीराय शरीराय शरीराय शरीराय।

22 सर्सिराय च सर्सिराय [\*] जिविविधम् (द) शासनमृ (भ) [\*] शाक्तादेशे सखिकिठः [\*]।

Seal.

1 वाणीमयं भवान्ति

2 [क]*मण्डानमयिः [\*]

3 जनसम्मु युद्धसम्मु

4 शासनमृ रिपुसङ्ग (न) [सौ*]।

Translation

There was the Mahārāja, the illustrious Ghatotkacha, the first king of the Guptas. His excellent son (was) the Mahārāja, the illustrious Chandragupta I. His excellent son (was) the Mahārāja, the illustrious Samudragupta, (who was) born of the Mahādevi Kumārādevi (who was) the daughter's son of the Lichchhavi (chief), (and) who performed several horse-sacrifices. His excellent son (is) the Mahārājadevarāja, the illustrious Chandragupta II, graciously favoured by him (i.e., Samudragupta), who is a fervent devotee of the Bhagavat (Vishnu); who is a matchless warrior on the earth; who has exterminated all kings; whose fame has tasted the waters of the four oceans; (and) who has donated many thousands of crores of cows and gold (coins).

(Line 7) His daughter, the illustrious Prabhāvatiguptā of the Dhārana gātra, born of the illustrious Mahādevi Kubēranāgā, who was (herself) born in the Nāga family;—who is a fervent devotee of the Bhagavat (Vishnu); who (was) the Chief Queen of the illustrious Rudrasena II, the Mahārāja of the Vākātakas; who is the mother of the Tusarāja, the illustrious...

1 Read मन्विनम्।
2 Read राजा।
3 Read चाक: as in other Vākātaka plates.
4 Some grants add अभ्यस्य before उपस्य, but the अक्षराः are clearly as given above.
5 The previous editors read ब[र्थ]—, but the अक्षराः are clearly as given above.
6 Read सनिम्पूलिकृत्वाः।
7 Read कार्यः।
8 Read आनुकेश्य।
9 Read न्योदेष।
10 Read आनुकेश्य।
11 Pathak and Dikshit translated, “who had Gupta as the first king.” But see Guptānām-udārājō in lines 1-2 of the Riddhapur plates (No. 8, below), which shows that the intended sense is as given here.
12 Lit. favoured by his feet.
13 These adjectives are usually applied to Samudragupta.
14 This expression is generally translated as ‘whose fame has been tasted by the waters of the four oceans’. See C.I.A., Vol. III, p. 54 and Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, p. 43. But compare ni-samad-taya-pitā-vāhamsa (ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 60), which shows that the intended sense is as above.
POONĂ PLATES OF PRABHĀVATIGUPṬĀ

Seal

Scale: Three-fifths
Divākarasena;—having announced (her) good health, commands the householders of the village, Brāhmaṇas and others, (residing) in the village of Daṅgana, (situated) in the āhāra of Supratishtha, to the east of Vīlavanaka, to the south of Śirshagrāma, to the west of Kadāpinjana and to the north of Sidivivara, as follows:—

"Be it known to you that on the twelfth (lunar day) of the bright (fortnight) of Kārttika, we have, for augmenting our own religious merit, donated this village, with the pouring out of water, to the Āchārya Chanālasvāmin, who is a devotee of the Bhagavat, as a gift not previously made, after having offered it to the foot-prints of the Bhagavat. Wherefore, you should obey all (his) commands, with proper respect.

(L. 16) And we confer here on (him) the following exemptions incidental to an agrahāra granted to the Chāturvidya (Brāhmaṇas), as approved by former kings:—(This village is) not to be entered by soldiers and policemen; (it is) exempt from (the obligation to provide) grass, hides as seats, and charcoal (to touring royal officers); exempt from (the royal prerogative of) purchasing fermenting liquors and digging (salt); exempt from (the right to) mines and khadira trees; exempt from (the obligation to supply) flowers and milk; (it is donated) together with (the right to) hidden treasures and deposits (and) together with major and minor taxes.

(L. 18) Wherefore, this (grant) should be maintained and augmented by future kings. Whoever, disregarding our order, will (himself) cause or make (others) cause the slightest obstruction, upon him, when complained against by the Brāhmaṇas, we will inflict punishment together with a fine.

And there is, on this point, (the following) verse sung by Vyāsa:—

(Here occurs an imprecatory verse.)

(L. 22) This charter has been written in the thirteenth (regnal) year. (It has been) engraved by Chakradāsa.

SEAL

(This is) the enemy-chastising command of the Mother of the Tuvarāja, the ornament of the Vākātakas, who has attained royal fortune by inheritance.

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1Brāhatas are soldiers and chhātras (lit. umbrella-bearers), who correspond to the chātās of other records (cf. No. 19, line 37), are policemen. They were forbidden to enter the donated villages except for apprehending thieves and persons accused of high treason. Cf. No. 19, lines 37-38.

2Fleet translated, 'It does not carry with it (the right to) pasturage, hides and charcoal'. He thought that this and other similar expressions reserved certain rights to the villagers against the grantees. See C.I.I., Vol. III, p. 249, n. 1. This does not appear to be correct. The expression evidently exempts the donee from the duty of feeding and lodging royal officers during their stay in the village. Later grants mention a tax called sātā-dāṇḍa, which was levied for the purpose. See Ep. Ind., Vol. XXV, p. 225 and n. Cf. a-tana-kattha-gaḥaṁ in the Hirahadagallī plates. Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 5 f.

3Kīraṇa is a drug or seed used to cause fermentation in the manufacture of spirits. See MSM., ch. VIII, 326. Later grants mention that the right to mahua trees from which liquor was manufactured was transferred to the donee. C.I.I., Vol. IV, p. 343.

4Pathak and Dikshit, who read a-paṇa-mēδhyā in line 17, translated, 'not to have an animal sacrifice', but the reading of the text is clearly a-khani-mēδhyā. Mēδhyā has therefore to be taken in the sense of 'Khadira trees'.

5Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra (p. 60) gives kīpta in the sense of 'fixed assessment'. Kīpta and upkīpta correspond to bhāga and bhāga, which occur in the grants of Bharatabala and the kings of Sarahapura. Kīpta probably means 'land-tax', and upkīpta miscellaneous taxes in cash or kind.

6Fleet translated 'pupūṣānam' by 'a charter for (the observance of even) his enemies'. Pathak and Dikshit translated as above.
JĀMB PLATES OF PRAVARASĒNA II

These plates were discovered, in 1940, in the possession of one Baburao Madhavrao Athole, Mokasdar of Jāmb, a village, about 7 miles north by east of Hiṅgāṅghāṭ, in the Hiṅgāṅghāṭ taksil of the Wardhā District in Vidarbha. They were edited by me with facsimiles in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXVI, pp. 155 ff. They are edited here from the same facsimiles.

The copper-plates are four in number, each measuring 8" by 4.11". The first and fourth plates are inscribed on one side only, and the remaining two on both the sides. When the plates were first seen by me, they were held together by a ring, but its ends were neither joined by a pin nor soldered. The seal which it must have carried is not forthcoming now. All the plates are in a good state of preservation, and consequently there is no uncertainty in the reading anywhere. The weight of the four plates is 185 tölās and that of the ring is 16 tölās.

The record consists of 36 lines, six being written on each inscribed face of the four plates. The characters are of the box-headed variety. The following peculiarities may be noticed:—The box is in some cases fixed to the back of j, instead of being added at the top (cf. mahārāja—in lines 7 and 8); in some cases the box is not added at all (cf. mahārāja—in line 14); the sign of the upadhmāniya which occurs in lines 13, 15 and 33 has in all cases a box added at the top which is not noticed in other records; final m, which is seen in a smaller size, has a box-head in siddham, but not in drishṭam, both in line 1; the medial au is biparute everywhere; ṭh is without a loop (cf. khanaka-, line 27 and likhitā-, line 36); the lingual d is distinguished from d in daṇḍa, line 11, but not in Maṃḍuki-, line 18 and Kaṃḍūniya in line 19; the subscript t is in some cases looped; finally, single and double dots are used here and there to denote punctuation, which is redundant in most cases.

The language is Sanskrit, and except for an imprecatory verse in lines 34-35, the record is in prose throughout. As regards orthography, we find that consonants are reduplicated before and after r as in parākrma-, line 5, and mūrdhā-, line 6; th is reduplicated before y in Bhāgīrathya-, line 6, and visarga before p is changed to upadhmāniya in lines 13, 15 and 33.

The record opens with the word drishṭam, 'seen'. The plates were issued by Pravaraśena II of the Vākāṭaka dynasty from Nandivardhana. In the introductory portion of the grant his genealogy is traced from Samrāj Pravaraśena I, the Mahārāja of the Vākāṭaka (dynasty). He belonged to the Vishṇuvṛttha gaṇa and performed several Vedic sacrifices such as Agniśṭoma, Aptoṛyāma, Ukthya, Shodāśin, Atirātra, Vājaṃśya, Bṛhaspatisava and Śādyaskra as well as four Aśvamēdhas. He was succeeded by his grandson Rudraśena I, the son of Gautamiḍputra from the daughter of Bhavānāga, the Mahārāja of the Bhārasīvas. The royal family of the Bhārasīvas is said to have been created by the god Śiva who was pleased by their carrying his hiṅga on their shoulders. They performed ten Aśvamedhas and were crowned with the water of the Bhāgīrathī (Gaṅgā) which they had obtained by their valour. Mahārāja Rudraśena I was a fervent devotee of Svāmī-Mahābhairava. He was succeeded by his son Mahārāja Prithivīśeṣa (I), who was a fervent devotee of Mahēśvara. He was endowed with several noble qualities and ruled for a long time, having sons and grandsons as well as a large army and a treasure which had been accumulating for a hundred years. His son was Mahārāja Rudraśena II, who is said to have acquired
royal fortune by the grace of Chakrapāṇi (Vishnu). His son from Prabhāvatiguptā, the daughter of Māhārājādhirāja Dēvagupta, was Māhārājā Pravarasēṇa II, who was a devout worshipper of Mahāēśvara. As stated before, this Dēvagupta is none other than Chandragupta II -Vikramādiyā, the illustrious Emperor of the Gupta dynasty.

The object of the present inscription is to record the grant, by Pravarasēṇa II, of the village Kōthuraka which was situated in the āhāra (territorial division) of Supratishthā. The village lay to the west of the river Umā, to the north of Chinchāpa, i, to the east of Bonthikavātaka and to the south of Māndukigrāma. The donee was the celibate Brāhmaṇa Kāluttaka, who belonged to the Kaupāṇḍa gōtra and the Taṅtiriṇa śāhkhā of the Black Taṃjūrēa. The grant was made at the victorious place of religious worship (vaijayika dharmasthāna) and is dated on the twelfth tithi of the bright fortnight of Āśvina in the second regnal year. The Dūtaka was Chakrādeva, and the scribe Nāgavarman.

The donee of the present plates is called gāṇa-yājīn. It may therefore be conjectured that the grant was made on the occasion of a gāṇa-yāga at which he officiated as a priest. The Manusmṛiti (III, 164) enjoins that a sacrificer of the Gānas should be avoided at a śrāddha. The expression gōṇānām yājakah is variously interpreted by the commentators of Manu1, but Bühler’s suggestion2 that the reference may be to the gāṇa-hōmas mentioned in the Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra seems to be preferable. These gāṇa-hōmas were to be performed by a person for himself. A Brāhmaṇa is, however, allowed to perform the rite for his teacher, father and mother, but for none else. If he performs it for others through greed, he is tainted by sin and perishes like one who has swallowed poison. Baudhāyana, however, says later on (IV, 3, 10) that through a desire of removing one’s guilt one may cause these obligations to be offered by men who have been engaged for money in case one is unable to do it; a man need not torment himself. This means, as explained by the commentator Govindasvāmin, that the wealthy man who engages a priest for the performance of the rite will be freed from sin, but the latter will be tainted by guilt.3 This explains why the priests who performed gāṇa-hōmas for others out of greed were avoided at a śrāddha. Naturally few persons must have come forward to do the rite and those who did it received a high reward. The case is analogous to that of the first annual śrāddha in honour of a dead person or to that of a śrāddha at an eclipse. The donee of the present plates seems to have performed such a gāṇa-hōma for Pravarasēṇa II, from whom he received a village as his sacrificial fee.

As for the localities mentioned in the present grant, Nandivardhana has already been identified with Nandardhan or Nagardhan near Rāmṭek in the Nagpur District. Kōthuraka, the donated village, cannot now be traced. Its site seems to have been occupied by Māṅgaon on the right bank of the Wunna, about 2½ miles north by west of Jamb, since all the boundary villages mentioned in the present plates can be identified in its vicinity in their respective directions. Thus Chinchāpalli is Chicholī which also is situated on the right bank of the same river Wunna, half a mile to the south of Māṅgaon; Bonthikavātaka is now called Bōthād and Māndukigrāma, Māṅdaṇaon, about 3½ miles to the north by west and 2 miles to the north respectively from Māṅgaon. The Wardhā District Gazetteer records a tradition that Māṅdaṇaon is named after one Māṇḍō Rishi who is said to have done penance on the Wunna river. The present grant, however, shows that the ancient name of the place

1 For other interpretations of gāṇa-yāga, see Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, pp. 137 f.
3 See Gāvindasvāmin’s commentary on Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra, IV, 8, 9.
was Maṇḍukigrama. The identification of these three boundaries shows that the river Uma which formed the eastern boundary of the donated village is none other than the Wumā. As shown before, Supratishtha the headquarters of the ahära in which these villages were situated comprised roughly the territory now included in the Hiṅgāṅghat tahsil of the Wardhā District.

TEXT

First Plate

1 दि (द) यम [१८] सिद्धम [१९] स्तवः (सिद्ध) नन्विवन्धनः[२०] अभिलोक्षाप्रसादोत्सवोस्मोक्षः
2 वाक्येण्वही हस् (भ) तिसवसंध्वस्तुर्कुएम्पेराजीनः ॥ विनंगुः
3 समायतं समाहम् बाक्याकानामहाराजोप्रवरंस्य सनो गुरोः
4 अव्यत्वामिमाशा ममब्रजस्य ॥ ॥ अस्माभासरसिद्धिष्ठैविवङ्गे श्वः
5 [२०] हन्निधिखुरुसूरानुसारतराद्रयंस्यनाम पराक्यसिद्धिलघुणासि
6 रथवनालमुद्गिभिनिकतानि दशास्येनवभुवन्यताना (मा) भारभिवानां

Second Plate: First Side

7 महाराजशेखरभवनापदोहिनस्य गौतमं (मी) युवस्य पुजस्य ॥ वाक्य-
8 कानामहाराजशेखरदस्य सनोः अव्यत्वामिमाशा ममब्रजस्य ॥ ॥
9 सदाज्ज्वाकाराणिसधियोत्सवोस्मोक्षः अभिवानमाटोळमिहस्य ॥
10 पाण्डुस्य [सिद्ध] वधभमिवशिष्ठिकर्मोऽनम्भवायद्वियस्यस्य
11 पेनस्य ॥ बस्य [सिद्ध] बमिवानप्रकाशवण्यसम्भावनान-
12 पुपप्रिणिः [सि] युधिष्ठिरकार्यकानामहाराजोप्रवरं

Second Plate: Second Side

13 सेनेय सनोम्भवन्यस्रवोक्रमाणप्रसादा (वो) पञ्जिकात्रिकंसद्यस्य
14 महाराजाभिमानस्य श्रीः ददनस्य सनोः महाराजशेखराभिमानस्य
15 सुताव (ग्या) एवातातीयस्य (ग्या) सुयस्यस्य ॥ ॥ शाम्भोप्रकोशवृत्ति (त) कारे-
16 सुपरापरे वष्णुस्य [२१] बाक्याकारानाप्रवरंस्य महाराजाभिमानस्य
17 स्य चतान (म्) वृपविभाषा (र्) रेते ॥ ॥ उनानाः अपराधस्य ॥ ॥ विचारायण
18 उत्तरं पापस्य (ढ़) बोगिकावयके तत्स्य चतान (म्) मरुक्ष्रियायस्य

Third Plate: First Side

19 विलीणां पापस्य ॥ ॥ कोपरक्षाकृताय: कोपिष्किस्स्फोटः ॥ तेतिरिकरणविष्करिः
20 कान्तुकुलकुलाणां वर्तमान (त) [२२] यतोस्मतं महाराजाभिमानस्य
21 अन्नारसारकुलकुलाणां वर्तमान (त) [२२] यतोस्मतं महाराजाभिमानस्य
22 तत्तथाः [२३] विविधतमतु व यवहारसमिवरधसोः श्रमोनुवेणवस्यवर्यविव
23 बुद्धयो हस्तम्यं तत्तथ्र समाहामनुस्य तयाऽयक्षिक्षः भम (म्य) तथाने अपूर्वे

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1 From the facsimile facing pages 160-61, Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI.
2 Here and in many places below, rules of Sandhi have not been observed.
3 Read समयोः.
4 Read शुद्धीः.
5 This mark of punctuation is superfluous.
6 The anusvara is misplaced. Read समयोः.
7 This mark of punctuation is superfluous.
8 Read वस्माः.
9 Read म्य as in other Vakātaka grants.
10 Read वस्माः.

JÄMB PLATES OF PRAVARASENA II

Scale: One-half
By the order of the illustrious **Pravarasena (II)**, the **Mahārāja of the Vākāṭakas**, who is a fervent devotee of Mahēśvara, who, by the grace of Śambhu, has established the **Kṛta-yuga** (Golden Age) **(on the earth)**, who was born of **Prabhāvarigupta**, the daughter of the **Mahārājādhirāja**, the illustrious **Dēvagupta**, and who is the son of the **Mahārāja**, the illustrious **Rudrasena (II)**, who acquired an abundance of prosperity by the grace of the Divine (Lord) Chakrapāṇi (Vishnū), and who was the son of the illustrious **Prithivishēna (I)**, the **Mahārāja of the Vākāṭakas**, who was intensely devoted to **(the god) Mahēśvara**, who was endowed with truthfulness, straightforwardness, compassion, heroism, valour, political wisdom, modesty, high-mindedness, intelligence, devotion to worthy persons, and with the state of being a righteous conqueror, purity of mind, and such other qualities, who had sons and grandsons and a continuous supply of treasure and army which had been accumulating for a hundred years, who conducted himself like Yudhishthira, and who was the son of the illustrious **Rudrasena (I)**, the **Mahārāja of the Vākāṭakas** and the son of

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1. Read राजसेना.-
2. Read -मध्याकालिक-.
3. Read अऽरसायी.
4. Read -चाराग्राहरी.
5. Read -किश्चिदलिपिक-.
6. Read -शनि-विष्णु-.
7. Read -किश्चिदलिपिक-.
8. Read -तारक-स्त्रिय-.
9. Read -कारसाहित.
10. Read -सत्वक-सनसुफ-.
11. Metre: *Anuśṭubh*.
12. Read *वाद्य-संगीत.*
13. This mark of punctuation is superfluous.
14. Read चन्द्रकाव्य-.
15. There is a floral design between these two sets of *dandas*.
16. *i.e.* Rudrasena II.
Gautamiputra, who was intensely devoted to (the god) Svami-Mahabhairava, who was the daughter's son of the illustrious Bhavaña, the Mahārāja of the Bhārasīvas, whose royal family was created by Śiva, who was greatly pleased by (their) carrying the liṅga of Śiva like a load placed on (their) shoulder, and who were besprinkled on their head with the pure water of the (river) Bhāgrāthī that had been obtained by their valour, who was the son of the illustrious Pravarasēna (I), the Mahārāja of the Vākāṭakas, the Samrāt (Universal Monarch), who performed the Agniśṭoma, Āptōryama, Ukhya, Shōḍaśīn, Atirātra, Vājapēya, Brīhaspatīsava, Sādyaskra and four Aśvamēths, and who was of the Vishnu-vṛiddha gōtra.

(Line 17). The village named Kōthraka situated in the āhāra of Supratisśha, which (is) to the west of the river Umā, to the north of Chiṅchāpalī, to the east of Bōnthi-kavāṭaka (and) to the south of Maṇḍukīgrāma, has been donated (by Us) to the Brahmachārīn (named) Kāluttaka, who has performed a gana-yāge and who belongs to the Taittirīya śākhā.

(Line 20). Wherefore, Our officials of noble birth, who are employed by the order of the Sureśāhāyaksha (General Superintendent) and who exercise their authority by (Our) command, and (Our) soldiers and policemen should be directed by the (following) command which is already well-known (to them):

"Be it known to you that in order to increase Our religious merit, life, power, victory and prosperity, to secure Our well-being in this world and the next and to obtain blessings for Ourselves, We have given here in (Our) victorious place of religious worship, with the pouring out of water, (this village) as a gift not previously made.

And We grant the following exemptions which are incidental to a village bestowed on a Brāhmaṇa proficient in the four Vedas and are appropriate, as approved by former kings:—It is not to pay taxes; it is not to be entered by soldiers and policemen; it does not entitle (the State) to customary cows and bulls; it does not (also) entitle it to (royalties on) flowers and milking; it is exempt from (the obligation to provide) grass, hides as seats and charcoal (to touring royal officers); it is exempt from (royalties on) the purchase of fermenting liquors and the digging of salt; it is free from all kinds of forced labour; it is donated together with (the right to) hidden treasures and deposits (and) together with major and minor taxes; it is to be enjoyed as long as the sun and the moon (will endure) and it is to follow the succession of sons and son’s sons. None should cause an obstruction while (the donee or his successor) is enjoying it. (This grant) should be preserved and increased by all means. And whoever, disregarding Our order, will himself cause or make (others) cause even the slightest obstruction, upon him, when complained against by the Brāhmaṇas, We will inflict punishment together with a fine."

(Line 32). In showing thus Our regard to religion, We, in order to avoid mention

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1. D. R. Bhandarkar suggested that āpanāh āpanāh in line 3 refers to Gautamiputra, who succeeded Pravarasēna I. The construction is no doubt faulty. It would be better to read Gautamiputra-putrasya as in No. 13, line 9. There is no doubt that Gautamiputra did not reign. See the absence of the title Vākāṭakanāṇ Mahārāja in his case. For the probable reason for the faulty construction, see Ind. Cult., Vol. XI, pp. 232 f.

2. See above, p. 9, n. 1.

3. Fleet, translated, "It does not carry with it (the right to) cows and bulls in succession of production" and remarked that the interpretation here was not quite certain. Perhaps, the right to demand the first calf of a cow is referred to here.

4. See above, p. 9, n. 2.

5. See above, p. 9, n. 3.

6. See above, p. 9, n. 5.
of the meritorious deeds already done, do not refer to (Our) care and protection of the
grants of many past kings.

And the following verse sung by Vyāsa should be regarded as an authority on this
point:—

(Here occurs an imprecatory verse.)

(Line 35). (This charter has been written) by Nāgavarman on the twelfth (lunar day)
of the bright (fortnight) of the month Āsvayuja in the second (regnal) year, Chakradāva
being the Dūtaka.
Nos. 4 and 5: Plate IV and V

Bēlōrā Plates (Sets A and B) of Pravaraśēṇa II

These plates were discovered in the possession of Mr. N. H. Jane of Bēlōrā, a village in the Arvi tahsil of the Wardhā District, which is situated on the left bank of the Wardhā, about 6 miles south by east of Mōrśi. They were edited by me with facsimiles in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXIV, pp. 260 ff. They are edited here from the same facsimiles.

The four copper-plates obtained from the owner were, on examination, found to fall into two sets of two plates each, called hereafter Set A and Set B. Each set originally consisted of three plates, but the last plate of Set A and the first plate of Set B are not forthcoming now. The first plate of Set A is inscribed on one side only, and all the other plates on both the sides. The plates of Set A are slightly larger in size and heavier in weight than those of Set B. The former measure 9-9" by 4-9", and weigh 67½ tālās, while the latter measure 9-6" by 4-8" each, and weigh 64 tālās. About 2" from the middle of the proper right of each plate there is a round hole ½" in diameter for the ring which originally held together the plates of each set, but neither the rings nor the seals which must have been connected with them are now forthcoming. All the plates are in an excellent state of preservation. The letters are deeply cut and some of them show through on the other side, especially in the case of the first plate. When carefully examined, the grants appeared to be palimpsests, all the plates showing here and there clear traces of earlier letters which were beaten in before the present charters were incised on them. These earlier letters were box-headed and of the same type as those which were later engraved in their place. So the earlier charters undoubtably belong to the same period. As their letters have been almost everywhere carefully beaten in, it is not now possible to say who issued them, what they recorded and why they were cancelled.

As stated above, both the inscriptions are incomplete. The preserved writing of the first one, which has lost its concluding part, contains 18 lines, and that of the second, of which the initial portion is missing, 24 lines. The characters of both are of the box-headed variety and resemble in a general way those of the other grants of Pravaraśēṇa II. The only peculiarity worth noticing is the use of the looped i. In both the sets, i appears in the looped and unlooped forms; for instances of the former, see yatō- in line 14 of Set A and viditam- in line 17 of Set B, and for those of the latter, notice Shādasya-Atirātra- in line 1 of Set A and aist- in line 25 of Set B. The subscript i is usually looped and to distinguish it from n its loop elongated; see e.g. Kārttayuga- in line 12 and bhukti in line 13 of Set A.

The language is Sanskrit. The existing portion of Set A is wholly in prose; that of Set B is also in prose except for two benedictory and imprecatory verses in lines 27-29. The orthography of both the sets shows the same peculiarities, viz., (1) the vowel ṛ is used for ri and vice versa; see pauriṇāḥ and Prithiviśēṇasya in line 9 of both the sets. In viśṭita, line 16 of Set B, the vowel ṛ is used for ru. (2) Similarly, ḫ is used for the vowel ḫ in sa-Kēpiṭ-eśakiyapa in line 22 of Set B. (3) The palatal s is used for the dental s in Śūrya- in line 14 of Set A. (3) The consonant following r and that preceding r and y are doubled; see e.g. abhiśardhāramēna- in line 8 and sāvarūddhyakṣha in lines 14-15 of both the sets and viṣkrama in line 7 of Set A. Besides, both the sets show such mistakes as the use of the short for the long vowel, ungrammatical forms of words, etc.
Both the sets of plates were issued by Pravarasena II of the Vakataka dynasty. His genealogy is traced here from Pravarasena I exactly as in the preceding Jamb plates, his maternal grandfather Chandragupta II being called Devagupta. The plates of set A, the record on which begins with detisham, were issued from Nandivardhana. The place of issue in the case of those of Set B is unknown owing to the loss of its first plate. The former record the grant of the village Mahalla-Lata in the Asi bhukti, which was situated in the margha (subdivision) of Sailapura, while the latter register the donation of two villages, viz., Dirghadraha in the Pakkanareshtra and Mahallama-Lata. Of these latter villages, the second is plainly identical with the village Mahalla-Lata of Set A as it is specified exactly like it. The grant recorded in Set B is, therefore, later than that of Set A. The donor of both the grants was the same viz., Suryasvamin of the Kasyapa gotra and Taituryiya jakh, who was a resident of the place Pravarshvara-shadviinsati-vatika. Both the grants were, again, made at the victorious place of religious worship (vaijayika-dharma-sthama) for the increase of religious merit, life, strength, victory and fortune of the donor. The date of the first record is missing, but that of the second is given at the end. The latter was written, while Chitravarman was the Senapati, on the thirteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Karttika in the eleventh regnal year.

As stated above, the second set of plates records the grant of two villages, one of which had already been given by the same king to the same donor by the first set. Why it was found necessary to include the village again in the second grant is not known. Cases of the issue of a fresh charter recording again a previously made gift are indeed not unknown; but in such cases the circumstances which necessitated the issue of a fresh charter such as a foreign invasion or the loss or damage of the earlier charter by fire etc., are generally specified. No such reasons are given in the present case. In fact, both the charters purport to have been granted by the same king and the interval between their dates could not have been more than ten years. This therefore raises the question if the second charter, or at least the second plate of it which records the grant of two villages, is a forgery. In favour of such a supposition may be adduced the circumstance that the writing on the second plate of Set B begins and ends with the same words as that on the second plate of Set A, so that the former plate could have been easily substituted for the latter. It may, however, be pointed out that there are no other circumstances suggesting such a forgery. As shown above, both the plates of Set B are smaller in size than those of Set A so that not one but two plates must have been so substituted. But apparently there was no need to replace the third plate of the first grant. Again, the similar formation of letters and the occurrence of the same orthographical peculiarities and grammatical mistakes in both the records make it highly probable that both the grants were written by the same clerk in the Secretariat of the Vakatas. The mention of Chitravarman as Senapati in Set B is another point in favour of the genuineness of that set; for, from the Chammak plates of Pravarasena II we learn that Chitravarman held that office till at least the 18th year of

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1 See e.g. the Barah copper-plate of Bhujadeva, Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, p. 18, and the Nidhanpur copper-plates of Bhaskaravarman, ibid., Vol. XII, p. 76.

2 Dr. N. P. Chakravarti has suggested that the grant of two villages in Plate II of Set B was found to be wrong on examination and that this plate was meant to be replaced by Plate II of Set A which was subsequently engraved. He has drawn attention to the ornamental mark found after dtishah in Plate II of Set A, which, according to him, was intended to prevent any unauthorized addition in the blank space left at the end of that line. He has not, however, offered any satisfactory explanation for the circumstance that the unwanted plate was not removed or cancelled.
Pravarasena II’s reign. The second set does not, therefore, appear to be spurious. The reason why it includes the name of a previously donated village seems to be that the Brahmana donor probably made a request to the king to give him a consolidated charter for the two grants.

As for the localities mentioned in the present grants, Nandivardhana has already been shown to be identical with Nandarahan (or Nagardhan) near Ramtek in the Nagpur District. Mahalla-Lata or Mahallama-Lata which seems to mean the larger Lata may be represented by Ladki or Ghat-Ladki in the Morshi taluka of the Amaravati District, about 18 miles north by west of Belora. Mahalla-Lata lay in the marg of Sailapura which may be identical with Saliardi situated in the midst of hills about 15 miles east of Ladki. Asi, the chief town of the biukti (subdivision) in which Mahalla-Lata was situated, may be identical with Ashthi which lies only 10 miles south of Belora. Dirghadraha is probably Dighi on the left bank of the Wardha, about 30 miles south of Ashthi. The name of Pravargiara-sadhavirsativateka which is mentioned in both the grants as the home of the donee seems to indicate that it was the chief village in a group of twenty-six villages. Perhaps it received this name from a shrine of Siva called Pravargiara installed by Pravarasena I and named after himself. This place as well as Pakkana, the headquarters of the radha (division) in which Dirghadraha, one of the donated villages, was situated, cannot be traced now.

Text

First Plate

Second Plate: First side

1 There is another small village called Ladgaon on the left bank of the Wardha, about 20 miles south of Belora.
2 Saliardi is an ancient place containing some old caves and hot springs.
3 Compare the name Vairiko-Tummmna of the first capital of the Kalachuris in Chhattisghar (Ind. Hist. Quart., Vol. IV, p. 34). It was so called because of the shrine of Varikeshvara which it contained. It may be noted in this connection that the temple of Pravargiara is mentioned in line 1 of No. 14. below.
4 From the original plates and facsimiles facing pp. 264 and 266 in Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIV.
5 Read Pukas.
6 Here and in many places below, the rules of Sandhi have not been observed.
7 Read Varavo.
8 This sign of punctuation is superfluous.
9 Read Varavo. This word does not occur in other Vakataka grants.
10 Read Varavo.
BELORĀ PLATES (SET A) OF PRAVARASENA II

Scale seven-fifteenths
BÈLÖRÄ PLATES OF PRAVARASÈNA II

11 रू (सु) नाम्माराजकीविवृत्तिसुतामाथ्यभातिकृतायामुत्तमस्य श्रमोऽरेभा।
12 सादृश्यकार्यायुपस्यै बालाकान्तायार्यमाहौवर्माहराजायीप्रवर्तनस्य

Second Plate: Second side

13 वर्णनात [१] शैलपुराणानि २ अश्चिस्तिग्रहणस्तानां(सम.)३ प्रवक्तःप्तीयविवक्तबालकम्
14 कालस्वाभायः ४ त (त्र.) रेखायां कालस्पर्शस्यायुपेदस्मिने ६ दत्त: [५] पाठस्मातात्म (स्त.)
कारा: स्वर्गाः ५।
15 अर्निमा (यो) मानिसुकः आजानासाकारकुलपुराणात्विकृता: भटाक्काताच विवृत्तिपुयंयाय्यायः (सय.)
16 शास्त्रपिताया: [११] विदितमतः व: श्रीमाराजात्रात्मेः चमण्यलिबः विवृत्तिविवृत्तीर्यथा
17 वि (वि) वृद्धे ई ९ इहामुखविनुधिष्ठात्मात्रात्मानुभूताः २० एकाधिको वर्त्तमानो अनुवृत्तत्वाः (त्था)
18 उदकपूर्वसङ्कसुतः १० [१२] से

Set B

Second Plate: First side

7 तसरकारकान्तार्थाचित्विवर्णमिवविवृत्तिबिनमहाभागः (सम.) धीमत (च्या) पाणातत्त्वविवित्तत्वम्
8 विजितसाधनानाम (च.) लयादिवित्त [३] समूहातत्त्व वर्षस्तम्भस्त्राकान्तानिविदेशस्य
9 धारस्तानागुपुस्ताः (ग्र.) बुधविकृतृविस्तारकान्तानिविदेशस्य
10 सुनोना (सय.) गतः २१ चक्रशास्त्रानिविदेशस्यायुपेदस्मिने २२ श्रीवीर्यातः स्वर्गाः
11 सेनेस्य श्रीमान्महाराजास्वामीराजाश्रीदर्शनातुस्मातः २३ वाक्यतिपुराणात्मानुभूताः
12 श्रमोऽप्राणाः (दय.) वकाराकान्ता: अस्तूरस्वर्गायुपमहाराजायीश्रवरसे

Second Plate: Second side

13 त (सय.) श्रवणात [१०] । पातकराण्डो वीर्यविनोताम सम च [६] । शैलपुराणानि अश्चिस्तिग्रहण
14 महाभागायुपमें तथा श्रमोऽप्राणाः २४ प्रवक्तःप्तीयविवक्तबालकम्
15 वैद्वेदिकर्यात्मानिवेदित्वादि (सय.) दत्त: [५] पाठस्मातात्मा: स्वर्गाः २५ नियोगी
16 निषुल्ता: आजानासाकारकुलपुराणात्विकृता: भटाक्काताच विवृत्तिपुयंयाय्यायः (सय.)
17 पायत्वयाः विदितमतः व: [११] वर्त्तमानो अनुवृत्तत्वाः (त्था)

1 Read सूक्ष्मतांत्रिकम्
2 Read बंधु as in line 13 of Set B below.
3 In Set B the name of this village occurs in the form शैलपुराणासम्
4 Perhaps प्रवक्तःप्तीयविवक्तबालकम is the correct reading.
5 The subscript t of tti is not completely engraved,
6 Read सूत्रवेदास्तान
e.
7 Read आजानासाकारकुलपुराणासम्
8 Read वैद्वेदिकर्यात्मानिवेदित्वादि
9 This mark of punctuation is superfluous.
10 An ornamental figure is incised here.
11 As the first plate, like the others of this set, must have contained six lines, I have numbered the
first line on this side as 7.
12 Read शैलपुराणासमा
13 This visarja is superfluous.
14 Read सूत्रवेदास्तान
e.
15 Read सूक्ष्मतांत्रिकम्
16 This sign of punctuation is superfluous.
17 Read शैलपुराणासमा
18 Read प्रवक्तःप्तीयविवक्तबालकम्
19 Read वैद्वेदिकर्यात्मानिवेदित्वादि
20 The engraver first incised दु and then changed it into दृ. Read सूत्रवेदास्तान
e.
21 Read वैद्वेदिकर्यात
e.
22 Read शैलपुराणासमा
Inscriptions of the Main Branch

18 नृत्यनिर्माणमात्रामनुमानः (अ) वैज्ञानिकः । धर्मस्वातः आपवंदनः । उद्यममात्रतत्त्वः (क) ॥

Third Plate: First side

19 उद्यमस्थानः । नृत्यनिर्माणमात्रामनुमाणः (क) । वैज्ञानिकः । धर्मस्वातः आपवंदनः । उद्यममात्रतत्त्वः (क) ॥

20 अमरस्वातः (क) । गुरुवालः (क) । आपवंदनः (क) । धर्मस्वातः (क) । उद्यममात्रतत्त्वः (क) ॥

21 नृत्यनिर्माणमात्रामनुमाणः (क) । वैज्ञानिकः । धर्मस्वातः (क) । उद्यममात्रतत्त्वः (क) ॥

22 अमरस्वातः । गुरुवालः (क) । आपवंदनः (क) । धर्मस्वातः (क) । उद्यममात्रतत्त्वः (क) ॥

23 नृत्यनिर्माणमात्रामनुमाणः (क) । वैज्ञानिकः । धर्मस्वातः (क) । उद्यममात्रतत्त्वः (क) ॥

Third Plate: Second side

25 नृत्यनिर्माणमात्रामनुमाणः (क) । वैज्ञानिकः । धर्मस्वातः (क) । उद्यममात्रतत्त्वः (क) ॥

26 नृत्यनिर्माणमात्रामनुमाणः (क) । वैज्ञानिकः । धर्मस्वातः (क) । उद्यममात्रतत्त्वः (क) ॥

27 नृत्यनिर्माणमात्रामनुमाणः (क) । वैज्ञानिकः । धर्मस्वातः (क) । उद्यममात्रतत्त्वः (क) ॥

28 नृत्यनिर्माणमात्रामनुमाणः (क) । वैज्ञानिकः । धर्मस्वातः (क) । उद्यममात्रतत्त्वः (क) ॥

29 नृत्यनिर्माणमात्रामनुमाणः (क) । वैज्ञानिकः । धर्मस्वातः (क) । उद्यममात्रतत्त्वः (क) ॥

30 नृत्यनिर्माणमात्रामनुमाणः (क) । वैज्ञानिकः । धर्मस्वातः (क) । उद्यममात्रतत्त्वः (क) ॥

Translation

Set A

Seen. Success! Hail! From Nandivardhana—

By the order of the illustrious Pravarsena (II), the Mahārāja of the Vākātakas, who is a fervent devotee of Mahēśvara, who, by the grace of Śambhu, has established the Kria-yuga

1 Read वैज्ञानिक.
2 Read आपवंदना.
3 Read नृत्यनिर्माणः so as to agree with धर्मस्वातः in line 14 above.
4 Read अमरस्वातः.
5 Read नृत्यनिर्माणः.
6 Read अमरस्वातः.
7 Read गुरुवालः.
8 Read नृत्यनिर्माणः.
9 Read अमरस्वातः.
10 Read नृत्यनिर्माणः.
11 Read अमरस्वातः.
12 Read नृत्यनिर्माणः.
13 Read अमरस्वातः.
14 Read नृत्यनिर्माणः.
15 Read अमरस्वातः.
16 Read नृत्यनिर्माणः.
17 Read गुरुवालः.
18 Read नृत्यनिर्माणः.
19 This mark of punctuation is superfluous.
20 Read नृत्यनिर्माणः.
21 Read नृत्यनिर्माणः.
22 Read नृत्यनिर्माणः.
23 Read नृत्यनिर्माणः.
24 Perhaps गुरुवालः was intended, but the writer in copying the draft omitted the akṣaras गुरुवालः by haplography.
25 There is an ornamental mark after this followed by two dandaśas and a horizontal stroke.
BELORA PLATES (SET B) OF PRAVARASENA II

Scale: Two-fifths
(Golden Age) (on the earth), who was born of Prabhāvati̯ Gupta, the daughter of the Mahā-
rajasīhi̯ja, the illustrious Devagupta, and who is the son of the Mahārāja, the illustrious
Rudrasena II—

(For translation of lines 1-10, see above, pp. 13-14.)

(Line 13). The village Mahalla-lāṭa in the Asi bhukti in the mārga of Śailapura
has been donated (by Us) to Śūryasvāmin of the Kāśyapa gōtra and Taittirīya (sākhā
who resides in the (village) Pravarēśvara-shadvimśati-vāṭaka).

Wherefore, Our officials of noble birth, who are employed by the order of the
Sarvādhyaksha (General Superintendent) and who exercise their authority by (Our) com-
mand, and (Our) Soldiers and Policemen should be directed by the (following) command
which is already well-known (to them):—

"Be it known to you that in order to increase Our religious merit, life, power, victory
and prosperity, to secure Our well-being in this world and the next and to obtain blessings
for Ourselves, We have given (this village) as a gift not previously made, with the pouring out
of water, in (Our) victorious place of religious worship.

(The rest of the grant is not forthcoming.)

Set B

(Line 12). By the order of the illustrious Pravarasena (II), the Mahārāja of the
Vākāṭakas, ....

(For translation of lines 7 to 12, see above, pp. 13-14.)

The two villages (viz.) the village named Dirghadraha in the Pākkana rāṣṭra and
the village Mahallama-lāṭa in the Asi bhukti in the mārga of Śailapura, have been donated
(by Us) to Śūryasvāmin of the Kāśyapa gōtra and the Taittirīya sākhā, who resides in the
Pravarēśvara-shadvimśati-vāṭaka.

(For translation of lines 15 to 25, see above, p. 14.)

(Line 26). And the following two verses sung by Vyāsa should be regarded as an
authority on this point:—

(Here follow two benedictive and imprecatory verses.)

(Line 29). (This charter) was written by [Maṇi], Chitravarman being the Sīnāpati,
on the thirteenth—10 (and) 3—(lunar day) in the bright fortnight of Kārttika in the
eleventh—10 (and) 1—(regnal) year.

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1 This seems to be a territorial division of twenty-six villages named after a shrine in honour of Śiva
under the name of Pravarēśvara, apparently built by Pravarasena I. See below, p. 63.
No. 6: PLATE VI

CHAMMAK PLATES PRAVARASEÑA II

These plates were found in about 1868 while ploughing a field at Chammak (ancient Charmānka), a village about four miles south-west of Achalpur in the Amarāvatī District of Vidarbha. They were first brought to notice in 1879 by Pandit Bhagvanlal Īndraji, who published his reading of the text in Pamphlet No. 9 of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, pp. 54 f. They were next edited, with a translation, by Dr. Bühler, first in the Archaeological Survey of Western India, Vol. IV, pp. 116 f., and again, with facsimiles of the plates, but not of the seal, in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XII, pp. 239. Finally, they were published, with facsimiles and a translation, by Dr. Fleet in the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III, pp. 235 f. The original plates, which were obtained by Major H. Szczepanski, are not forthcoming now. The record is, therefore, edited here from Dr. Fleet's lithographs.

"The plates, of which the first and last are inscribed on one side only, are seven in number, each measuring from 7½" to 7¼" by from 3¾" to 3½". They are quite smooth, the edges of them having been neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. A few of the letters on the first and last plates have been damaged by rust; but the rest of the inscription is in a state of excellent preservation. . . . Towards the top of each plate there is a hole for a ring to connect them. The ring is circular, about 1½" thick and 3½" in diameter. It was not soldered into the socket of a seal; but the ends of it were flattened off, as if to overlap and fasten with a pin or bolt; there is, however, no hole in them to show that they were ever actually secured in this way. The seal is a flat disc of copper, rising slightly towards the centre, about 1½" thick and 2¼" in diameter. To the centre of the back of it there is soldered a small ring, by which it slides on the larger ring mentioned above. Across the surface of the seal there is the legend in four lines . . . . The weight of the seven plates is about 6 lbs. 14 oz., and of the two rings and the seal, about 14½ oz.; total, 7 lbs. 12½ oz. The characters are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets, but except in lines 58 and 59, the boxes at the top of the letters are scooped out hollow. They include the numerical symbols for 8 and 10 in line 60, and for 8000 in line 19. The sign of the uṣpadhmāṇīya occurs in lines 13, 16 and 32. The following peculiarities of the characters may be noted:—The medial i (long) is shown by two curves turned in opposite directions; see śṛi-Bhavānāga-, line 7; but in Gautamīputrasya in line 8, the vowel is indicated by a single curve turned to the right; the medial au is bipartite; see dauhitra-, lines 7-8; t is generally unlooped and n is looped, but in many places the two letters are confused; see atyanta- for atyanā, line 9 and sanvāna- for saṁvāna- in line 12. The language is Sanskrit, and except for the legend on the seal and two benefactive and imprecatory verses in lines 36-39, the whole record is in verse. As regards orthography, we may note the reduplication of a consonant before and after r as in ākrama-, in line 2 on the seal and saty-ārjava- in line 9, that of the consonant preceding y is Bhāgiratthya-, line 6 and of n after an anusvāra in saṁvāntaṁ, line 60.

Like other complete grants of the Vākāṭakas, the present record opens with the word ā́jīṣṭhaṁ 'seen'. The plates were issued by Mahārāja Pravarasēna II of the Vākāṭaka dynasty from Pravarapura. His genealogy is given here exactly as in the preceding two grants, his maternal grandfather being called Dēvagupta. The object of the inscription is to record the

grant, by Pravarasena II, of the village Charmāṇka situated on the bank of the Madhunandi in the rājya (division) of Bhōjakata which consisted of 8000 niśatanaś by the royal measure. The donees were a thousand Brāhmaṇas. The grant was made at the request of Kōṇḍarāja, the son of Śatrughnaṇa. This Kōṇḍarāja is also mentioned in line 45 of the Paṭṭan plates. The grant is dated on the thirteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Jyeṣṭha in the 18th regnal year. The Senapati was Chitravarma. From the Belorā plates, Set B, we know that Chitravarma was holding the same post seven years earlier in the 11th regnal year of Pravarasena II.

As for the localities mentioned in the present grant, Pravarapura, which finds a mention here for the first time, was evidently the later capital of Pravarasena II. His earlier capital was Nandivardhana from which his two earlier grants were issued. Pravarapura was evidently founded by Pravarasena II and named after himself. He appears to have shifted his seat of government there some time after his eleventh regnal year. The exact location of Pravarapura was long uncertain; but the recent discovery of several sculptures of the Gupta-Vakāṭaka period at Pavnār, 6 miles from Wardhā, has rendered it probable that the village marks the site of ancient Pravarapura. Charmāṇka is, of course, Champak where the plates were discovered. The Madhunandi on the bank of which it was situated is now called Chandrabhāga. Bhōjakata, the headquarters of the division (rājya) in which Charmāṇka was included, is an ancient city. It was founded by Rukmin, the brother-in-law of Kṛishṇa. When the latter abducted his sister Rukmini, he vowed that he would not return to Kuḍina, the capital of Vidarabha, unless he killed Kṛishṇa and rescued his sister. As he did not succeed in this, he refused to return to Kuḍina, but founded a new city named Bhōjakata where he fixed his residence. Bhōjakata is usually identified with Bhāṭakuli, a village about 8 miles from Amaravati where there is still a temple of Rukmin. Some images of Jain Tīrthaṅkaras were also discovered there several years ago.

TEXT\(^3\)

First Plate

1 दूर्दे(द्वीपम्) [II\(^1\)] स्तवित [II\(^1\)] प्रसरकुरलक्षिकोमालोलोकोमकोक्षोक्षोक्ष्यवर्तात्र॥
2 व्रेणवपितोधिपतिसरसरसस्वसुविषविषयाविजयितः
3 विज्ञायुद्देशीतार्किकोमक्षीयवर्तात्र॥ भीमाराज[भीम] (भीम) प्रवरतेषु वर्षागिरे
4 सुनितो: सन्तो: अयंत्विस्तर्वादमहम्मचर्यभवक्ष्या ख(ख) भारसरसित (भार) बेगः
5 तासिवर्धीन|भार| भारविक्षिप्ताचित्रसम्भवादित्तारजनच(च) शाः

\(^1\) Though the Brāhmaṇa donees are said to have numbered a thousand, only 49 are actually mentioned at the end of the record. Perhaps they represented others or were the heads of the families. It is also not unlikely that the word sahastra is used indefinitely in the sense of a large number. Cf. varsha-sahastra-go-brāhmaṇa... in line 15 of the Junāgadha rock inscription of Rudradāman, Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 44, and vasa-sata-sahastrāḥ in the Prakrit grant of Śivakandavarman, ibid., Vol. I, p. 7.

\(^2\) Cf. अनालिक्ष्मी स्नचार: नु शक्नामामितादित्।

\(^3\) From the plates facing pp. 240-41 in Fleet's C.I.I., Vol. III.

\(^4\) Read विक्रमवीरार्जना।

\(^5\) Read विज्ञायुद्।

\(^6\) Read वर्धाजी।
**Second Plate: First side**

6. नामाभिमानितवापीस्थ्या (व्य) मल्लमूच। (द्री) भविष्यतानावरसः

7. दस्रामकुमखाल्लाम्माराविचारानामः महाराजाधिकारवाङ्गमः

8. हितस्य गोतीरुत्तर्य पुनः स्वातः वाराहाकानामः महाराजाधिकारसः

9. नस्य मुनोरथ्यलः (ि) महावरसः स्यायाधोकारीविविकमः

10. यशवन्नमाॅत्य लेख (ि) बिद्री (ि) लेख (ि) हा (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) ता (ि) तা
Fourth Plate: Second side

33 न्तु (कु) यापकारयाता वा 1 सर्व ब्राह्मण्यविद्यय सव (द) एवतिमहूः कुमयाः
34 म 11 अण्मित (सम) शव शर्मव (द) रकरशे अनि (ती) तानकरारज्जर (त) सविभवत (न) न
35 पारसयाने कुशुम्भणे कीस्तिविद्याराजाय न कीस्तियायः [**]
36 आसारीगीता चात्र स्वरको ग्रामायने ** शवंवनाय (ता) ग्रामाय (ता)
37 वा (वा) यो हरेते नवुं (राम) । गवा सवतसस्य हरेते (न्तु)

Fifth Plate: First side

38 हरेति शुद्धतं (वम) [111111] पर्यं कवर्म् (नि) श्वमय मोदित सू-
39 मिति [**] उत्ते चालमता जै ताम्येव नरस कालिन्दित [111111] शक्स (शा) सन-
40 स्थिरसिद्धि ब्राह्मणरीवकान्तापाणियः [**] तवथा राजयोः स
41 धर्मेः राजयोः अद्वयवुल्लातेः (ता) नर [अः] ब्रह्मण्योऽर (र) पाराशक्तिराना-
42 फाव्यकारिप्रभु (सी) नर सप (रा) म [मः] कुम्भेनार अम्यपाम (से) जनम-11

Fifth Plate: Second side

43 पर (रा) दानाणाम् आमंथतिविद्यकालीयः [**] आणोयवा कुखर्तमम्मोदताः वा 8
44 राजयोः भूतवदेक्र शुद्धखात्सः (तः) अस्तेवितमित [**] प्रा (प) लिः(प्रा)प्रियाव्याव
45 वाणिज्यवृत्त्वा (स) [**] शास्त्रसिद्धः गणियायः वाणिज्यदेवायायः मार्गार्
46 कुमरामानीयः [**] पाराश्चर्ममुहस्वरः काल्यापेभ (वा) महेश्रवर्मः [**]
47 मानायायः कौशिक्यः (व्य) द्वारायः [**] श्रोतायायः [**] ह्यरिमार्मः [**]

Sixth Plate: First side

48 भार्जाकुमारमः [मः] [**] कौशिक्यः (व्य) मा [तु] शरम्म वर्षमाः
49 गोमन्धसम्म नामशम्म भार्जः [जः] साँचितमः शस्वमस्त वाचय.
50 भौजस (देव) बाह्यः [**] मचसम्म देवभासम भार्जामोगीतमाः
51 [मा] भामामः रेतिलितामाः धम्मायः [**] भार्जामोगशायः [**]
52 नावलायः [**] शून्याय प्रस्वरभासम वर्षमाः

Sixth Plate: Second side

53 वाचयः कुक्तायः [**] भार्जामोगशायः [**] धम्मायः [**] आवेदकान्तायः [**]
54 गोमन्धामोगात्मायः [**] महत (तु) शम्म खदानीयाः [**] मध्यायः [**] मालु-
55 लामायः [**] देवसधायः [**] गोमन्धामोगात्मायः
56 ब्यः [**] कौशिक्यः (व्य) देवभासमायः [**] वर्षमायः [**] रोहायः [**]

Seventh Plate

57 गोमन्धामोगात्मायः [वा] शास्त्रोऽन्तरात्मायः [**] रेतिलितामायः [**]
58 ज्योतिषाधिकारिमवः [**] शाश्वद्वर्मकुरमान्मायः [**] स्वतितामायः

1 It would be better to read कार्तेजः.
2 The sign of upadhmanija before this akshara is cancelled.
3 Metre of this and the next verse: Anushtub.
4 Originally ब्र, later corrected into त.
5 This mark of punctuation is to be omitted.
6 Originally ब्र, later corrected into त.
7 Originally ब्र, later corrected into श.
8 This य is incised below र of महेश्वरः.
9 Read वत्सयः.
59 य्ये [५] ग(शा)ट्टायामनकाश (श्वा) य्यम्मुत्तम [१४] तेनारपागी
60 चिन्हममोग सक्वसरसराह (शेण) १० ॐ अयतमासशुकल
61 पवायोद्वरा (श्वा) शासनं िशितिमिति ॥

SEAL
1 वाकाटकालामस्य
2 कयक (क) महाराजारुपविषयः [१४]
3 राज्यवर्तमानस्य
4 शासनं िशितिमिति (नम्) १ [१४]

TRANSLATION

Seen. Hail! From Pravarapura—

By the order of the illustrious Pravaraśena (II), the Mahārāja of the Vākāṭakas, who is a fervent devotee of Mahāśiva, who, by the grace of Śambhu, has established the Kṛita-yuga (Golden Age) [on the earth], who was born of Prabhāvatīguptā the daughter of the Mahārājādhirāja, the illustrious Dēvagupta, and who is the son of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Rudrasēna (II)—

(For translation of lines 1 to 14, see above, pp. 13-14.)

(Line 18). The village named Charmiśka (consisting of) eight thousand—8000-(ninevartanas) of land, according to the royal measure, (situated) on the bank of the (river) Madhunadi in the rāja of Bhōjakāta, has, at the request of Kōndarāja, the son of Śatrughnarāja, been given to a thousand Brāhmaṇas of various gōtras and charanas.

(For translation of lines 21 to 35, see above, pp. 14-15.)

(Line 36). The (following) two verses sung by Vyāsa should be regarded as an authority on this point:—

(Here occur two benedictive and imprecatory verses.)

(Line 39). And this condition of the charter should be maintained by the Brāhmaṇas and (future) kings:—(This grant shall be enjoyed by the Brāhmaṇas) as long as the sun and the moon will endure, provided that they commit no treason against the kingdom consisting of seven constituents of the (future) kings; that they are not found guilty of the murder of a Brāhmaṇa, theft, adultery and high treason, etc.; that they do not wage war; (and) that they do no harm to other villages. But if they act otherwise or assent to such acts, the king will commit no theft if he takes the land away (from them).

(Line 44). And the recipients (of the grant) appointed for the occasion in this respect are (as follows):—

Gaṇārya of the Śatyaśāna (gōtra); Dēvārya of the Vātsya (gōtra); Kumāraśarmārya of the Bhāradvāja (gōtra); Guhaśaṁman of the Pārāśarya (gōtra); Dēvārya of the Kāśyapa (gōtra); (and) Mahēśvarārya (and) Mātrārya; Rudrāryan of the Kauṇḍinya (gōtra); Somārya (and) Hariśarmārya; Kumāraśarmārya of the Bhāradvāja (gōtra); Matṛiśarman of the Kauṇḍinya (gōtra); (and) Varaśarman, Gōndaśarman (and) Nāgaśarman; Śantīsarman of the Bhāradvāja (gōtra); (and) Rudraśarman; Bhōjakādevārya of the Vātsya (gōtra); (and) Maghaśarman (and) Dēvaśarman; Mūkhaśarman of the Bhāradvāja (gōtra); (and) Nāgaśarman, Rēvatiśarman,

1 Metre: Anushīnubh.
2 These are the king, his ministers, ally, territory, treasure, fortress and army.
3 These two also probably belonged to the same gōtra Kāśyapa. So also in the following, where no gōtra is mentioned, that named before is to be understood.
(and) Dharmāryā; Śarmāryā of the Bhāradvāja (gōtra); (and) Nandanāryā, Mūlaśarman, Īśvaraśarman (and) Varāšarman; Skandārya of the Vātśya (gōtra); Bappārya of the Bhāradvāja (gōtra); (and) Dharmāryā; Skandārya of the Ātrēya (gōtra); Somaśārmārya of the Gautama (gōtra); (and) Bhārтриśarman; Rudraśārmārya, Maghārya, Mātriśārmārya (and) Īśvaraśārmārya; Mātriśārmārya of the Gautama (gōtra); Dēvaśārmārya of the Kaunḍinya (gōtra); (and) Varāśārmārya (and) Rōhārya; Svāmīdēvārya of the Gautama (gōtra); (and) Rēvatiśārmārya (and) Jyēṣṭhaśārmārya; Kumāraśārmārya of the Śaṇḍilya (gōtra); (and) Svātiśārmārya; (and) Kāṇḍārya of the Śātyāyana (gōtra) and others.

(Line 59). (This charter has been written, Chitravarman being the Śanāpati, on the thirteenth (lunar day) of the bright fortnight of the month Jyēṣṭha in the eighteenth-10 (and) 8—(regnal) year.

Seal

(This is) the enemy-chastising command of the king Pravaraśēna (II), the ornament of the Vākāṭakas, who has attained royal fortune by inheritance.
THESE plates were found in the possession of a Malugzar named Hazari Gond living at the village of Pīnḍāra in the Siwāni tahsil of the Chhindwādā District of Madhya Pradesh. They were brought to notice in 1836, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, pp. 726 f., where Mr. James Prinsep published his transcript of the text and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph of the plates. They were next edited by Dr. Fleet in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, pp. 243 f. together with a translation and lithographs of the plates. They are edited here from the same lithographs.

The **plates**, of which the first and last are inscribed on one side only, are five in number, each measuring about $8\frac{3}{4}$" by $4\frac{1}{4}$" at the ends and somewhat less in the middle. They are quite smooth, the edges of them having been neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. The inscription is in a state of perfect preservation throughout. The engraving is very good. Towards the proper right end of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. The ring is circular, about $\frac{3}{8}$" thick and $3\frac{1}{4}$" in diameter. The ends of it were flattened off, so as to overlap, and were fastened with a pin or bolt. The **seal** is a thin flat disc of copper, about $3\frac{1}{4}$" in diameter. A bolt in the centre of it secures it to a thin band of copper, about $\frac{3}{8}$" broad and $3\frac{1}{2}$" in circumference, by which it slides on the ring mentioned above. Across the surface of the seal there is a legend in four lines. The weight of the five plates is about 3 lbs. 4$\frac{1}{2}$ oz., and of the ring and seal, 5$\frac{1}{2}$ oz.; total 3 lbs. 9$\frac{1}{2}$ oz. The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{8}$", except on the seal and the last plate, where they are larger. The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets, resembling those of the Jámba plates. The only peculiarities that may be noted are as follows—kh has a rectangle at the bottom; see *khunakah*, line 29; d is not distinguished clearly from d; see *danda*, line 11; n shows the same form as in modern Nāgarī; see *nāginah*, line 2; b has two forms (i) the square one as in *Bhīnā*, line 17 and (ii) that with a notch in the left limb as in *Bhīṣapaṭi*, line 1; a final consonant is indicated by its short form and in some cases by means of a short horizontal stroke at the top; see *āḍiṣṭam*, line 1 and *rāja-vanśāṇam*, line 5. The sign of the *upadharmaṇīya* occurs in line 3 of the legend. The **language** is Sanskrit, and except for the legend and two benedictory and imprecatory verses at the end, the inscription is in verse throughout. As regards **orthography**, we may note (i) the reduplication of the consonant following r as in *Āplōryyāṁ*, line 1 and that of the consonant preceding y and v as in *Bhāgiratthī*, line 5 and *addhavṛtyase*, lines 19-20; (ii) the use of n for *anuvāra* before i and s as in *vanśa*, line 5 and 17 and *ansa*, line 4; and (iii) the use of lī for the medial vowel lī in *kliptāpakhlipta*, in line 30.

The inscription, which opens with *āḍiṣṭam*, is one of *Mahārāja Pravarasēṇa II* of the *Vākātaka dynasty*. His genealogy is given here exactly as in his other grants, his maternal grandfather being called *Dēvagupta*. The **object** of the present inscription is to record the grant, by Pravarasēṇa II, of the village *Brahmapūraka* to the Brāhmaṇa *Dēvaśarmāchārya* of the Maudgalya *gōtra* and Taittirīya *jākha*. The place of issue is not named in the record, but it was probably the royal capital Pravarapura; for, the grant is said to have been made at

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the victorious place of religious worship (raja-jiva-dharma-sthāna). The donated village was situated in the Bēnnakārpara-bhūga and lay to the north of Vaṭapūraka, to the west of Kinihiṅkēṭaka, to the south of Pavaṛajāvāṭaka and to the east of Kollapūraka. The village adjoining it was named Karāṇjavāraka. The grant was made on the 13th tithi of the bright fortnight of Phālguna in the eighteenth regnal year (expressed in words) of Pravaraśena II. The Śīnāpati at the time was Bāppadēva. The charter was written by Āchārya.

The localities mentioned in the present plates remained unidentified for a long time. Fleet suggested the identification of only one of them, viz., Kollapūraka which he thought was possibly identical with the modern Kolāpoor of the map, twenty-one miles south of Ilichpur. This is incorrect; for, the real name of the place is Khōlāpur and it was founded by Khoḷeśvara, a well-known general of the great Yādava king Śiṅghaṇa, who named it after himself and granted it as an agrahāra to Brāhmaṇas. Again, none of the other villages can be identified in the vicinity of Khōlāpur. While editing the Pāṭaśa Museum plate of Pravaraśena II, Dr. Altekar suggested that Brahmapūraka named it in to define the boundary of the donated village Śīrparṇakā was identical with the village of the same name granted by the present plates. He identified it with Brāhmaṇwāḍa near Achalapur. This identification also is open to the same objection; for, none of the other villages can be identified in the vicinity of Brāhmaṇwāḍa. The statement in the present grant that Brahmapūraka was situated in Bēnnakārpara-bhūga is important. Like Bēnnakaṭa of the Tīrōḍi plates, this bhūga also must have derived its name from the river Bēnṇa, modern Waingaṅgā, and must have included the territory in the vicinity of that river. With this clue I could identify most of the villages mentioned in the present grant. Kāraṇja, about 6 miles from Aṃgaon, a railway station on the Calcutta-Nagpur line of the South-Eastern Railway, is probably the ancient Karāṇjavāraka. Brahmapūraka, the donated village, is Bāhhāni, about three miles from Kāraṇja. Kollapūraka of the plates is now represented by Kulpā near Kāraṇja, about 5 miles to the west of Bāhhāni. Pavaṛajāvāṭaka and Vaṭa-pūraka may be the modern Parawāḍa and Badgaon near Bāhhāni. These places lie within 20 to 30 miles from the eastern bank of the Waingaṅgā and were in all probability included in the Bēnnakārpara-bhūga mentioned in the present plates.

TEXT

First Plate

1 ृष्ट्मम् || सिद्धम्[१] || अनस्तोमात्योऽधमवःपस्योद्धवितातिनाविये (२) मयुरपतिः

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1 This expression generally occurs in the grants made at the royal capital.
2 Cf. सोक्लयुक्ताः च वर्षा मयुरपतिः || तीर्थ-प्रवर्त्या विष्णु-प्रत्य-प्रद-पतिः || G. H. Khare, Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan, p. 64
4 See No. 11, line 13.
5 This river is called Vēṇa in the Mahābhārata (Sabhāparvan, Adhyāya 31, vv. 12), Padmapūrāṇa (svarga-khaṇḍa, adhyāya, 30, vv. 30-32, and adhyāya 114, vv. 27-28). The Mārkaṇḍeya-pūrāṇa and the Matsya-pūrāṇa call it Vēṇā. Vēṇa in the Vēṇa (ad. 45, v. 102) and Kūma (ad. 47, v. 32) are evidently corrupt forms of the Sanskrit name Vēṇā.
6 Parawāḍa and Badgaon do not lie to the north and south of Bāhhāni as stated in the plates, but are situated in the opposite directions. The official who drafted the present charter must have been responsible for the mistake.
7 The identifications of these places were first suggested by me in the Nagpur University Journal, No. 1, pp. 1 ff.
8 From the facsimiles facing pages 248 and 249 in Flīrt's C. I. I., Vol. III.
Second Plate: First side

द दक्षिणाम् दशावंशेयवघेयुपन्नतानाभ्याराधिकाराणाहाराज्ञीभवाना-। गार्डिहिन्य गार्गी (भी) गुणगम्। वाकातकानम् हाराज्ञी-। ग्रेसेन तु सपुत्रोऽहमाहंसवंशस्य। स्वाम्यवेलकारस्यावतः। योगविकल्पायुद्विषयहत्वद्ब्रह्मम्पत्तिविविधि। त्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्रत्र
TRANSLATION

Seen. By the order of the Maharāja, the illustrious Pravarasena II, who is an ornament of the Vākṣyakā family; who, by the grace of Śambhu, has established the Kṛta-yuga (on the earth); who was born of Prabhāvatīgupta, the daughter of the Mahārājādhirāja, the illustrious Dēvagupta; who has extinguished all his enemies by his excellent policy, strength and valour; who follows the path adopted by former kings (and) who is the son of Rudrasena II, the Mahārāja of the Vākṣyakās:

(For translation of lines 1 to 13, see above, pp. 13-14.)

(Line 17). The village named Brahmāpuraka, together with kūṭaṭa and the right to levy a tax equal to one-fiftieth (of the sale-price), situated in the bhūga of Bennakārparā, has been given, with the pouring out of water, to the Adhvaya, Achaśiya Dēvāśarman of the

1 At first ति, later corrected into ति.
2 Read सवर्धवलकखा।
3 Read चिन्दविलासकाराख्या।
4 Other cognate plates have generally बम्बादरसे।
5 Read राजवतीकमन्सिन्धानाथ।
6 Read कृष्णप्रमुखः चारतसिन्धानाथ न कोत्तराम।
7 Read एकलसिन्धरामचुन्तमुन।
8 Metre of this and the next verse: Anashtubh.
9 Read तत्त्स ति।
10 Metre: Anashtubh.
11 The meaning of kūṭaṭa is not certain.
12 For this tax, see MSM., ch. VII, 130. v.
Maudgalya gōtra and the Taittiriya sākhā, on the twelfth (lunar day) in the bright (fortnight) of the eighteenth (regnal) year.

(This village lies), according to the specification of its boundaries, adjoining (the village) Karaṇjaviraka, to the north of Vaṭapūraka, to the west of Kiṇihikāṭaka, to the south of Pavarajavāṭaka (and) to the east of Kollapūraka.

(For translation of lines 23 to 34, see above, p. 14.)

(Line 35). (This charter) has been written by Āchārya, while Bāppadeva is the Senāpati.

And in this matter of religion We, in order to avoid mention of the meritorious deeds already done, do not refer to (Our) care and protection of the grants of many past kings. (And) We make this request to future rulers out of reverence for them.

(Line 38). The (following) verses sung by Vyāsa should be regarded as authoritative on this point:—

(Here occur two benedictory and imprecatory verses.)

SEAL

(For translation of the legend on the seal, see above, p. 27.)
Seals of Pravarasena II

Seal of the Chammak Plates

Seal of the Siwani Plates

Seal of the Tirodi Plates

(from photographs)
RIDDHAPUR PLATES OF PRABHĀVATĪGUPTĀ

These plates were found in the possession of Mahanta Dattarāja of the Mahānubhava sect. They were discovered at Riddhapur in the Mōrsī takṣil of the Amarāvati District in Vīdarbha. They have been edited twice by Mr. Y. R. Gupte, first in Marathi in the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṃsodhaka Maṇḍal Quarterly, Vol. III, Nos. 2-4, pp. 89 ff., and again, with negative facsimiles and an English translation, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series, Vol. XX, pp. 53 ff. The plates are now deposited in the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṃsodhaka Maṇḍal, Poona. They are edited here from the same facsimiles.

The copper-plates are four in number, measuring 5½" long, 3½" broad and ½" thick. The first and fourth plates are inscribed on one side only, and the other two, on both the sides. There are thirty-two lines of writing in all, of which five are inscribed on the first, and three on the fourth plate. The remaining plates have six lines on each side. The letters on the first and fourth plates and those in the first two lines on the first side of the second plate are larger and thicker than those in the other lines. The letters are well cut and the record is in a good state of preservation. Each plate has a round hole 6/16" in diameter for the ring which must have held the plates together, but neither the ring nor the seal which it must have carried is now forthcoming. The weight of the four plates is 115 tōlās.

The characters are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets resembling those of the Jāmb and other plates of Pravarasena II. The only peculiarities that need be noted here are as follows—The length of the medial i (long) is indicated by a double curve or by a dot in a circle; see śrī-Ghaṭotkacha, line 2 and -mahishi, line 9; the rare initial ai occurs in aṁit-, line 13; medial au is bipartite as in -lauhitrā, line 3; kh has a loop at the bottom in -khana, line 19, but not in lūkhtar, line 31; g and ȷ have curves turned inside at the end of their left member as in -nagār, line 12 and -cāraṣṭa, in line 11; ȷ and ȷ are distinguished in ḍavnā, line 24; ṣ occurs with a notch on the left, as in Kubōrā, line 8; a final consonant is shown by its small size, but has no vertical stroke at the top; see nasundharām, line 28; the sign of the jīvaṁalāya occurs in line 22 and that of the upadhrīmoda in lines 1, 6, 22, 27 and 29. Interpunctuation is indicated by vertical strokes as in line 1 or by dots or a small horizontal stroke as in lines 16 and 32. The language is Sanskrit, and except for a verse at the end, the whole record is in prose. As regards orthography, we may note the reduplication before and after r as in parākkram-, line 26 and chātuvidya-, line 17; that of a consonant before ȷ as in -pāda-anudhyātā, line 5, and the use of ṭi for the medial vowel ṭi in klipt-opakliptam, line 20. The inscription opens with jitam Bhagavatā 'Victory has been attained by the Lord', which occurs also in the Poonā plates of Prabhūvatiguptā. There is, however, no word like drīsham 'seen' which occurs in the latter grant as well as in almost all complete charters of Pravarasena II. The characters as well as the wording of the present grant, however, leave no doubt that it is genuine.

The inscription is one of Mahādevi Prabhāvatīguptā, the chief queen of the Vākāṭaka Mahārāja Rudrasena II and the mother of the Vākāṭaka Mahārāja Dāmōdara-sena-Pravarasena. As shown below, the record is dated in the 19th regnal year of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena II, but, strange as it may appear, the introductory
portion of the grant gives the genealogy of the Guptas and not of the Vākāṭakas. This is also seen in the Poonā plates which were issued when Prabhāvatī was acting as Regent for her minor son Yuvārāja Divākaraśena. The introduction of the Gupta genealogy in the latter grant can be explained as due to the influence of the Gupta officials sent by Chandragupta II to Vidarbha to help his widowed daughter in the government of the Vākāṭaka kingdom. No such explanation will, however, avail in the present case; for Pravarasena II was a grown up man when the present grant was made. In all his earlier grants he has given his own genealogy in the introductory portion. The use of the Gupta genealogy here must therefore be attributed to Prabhāvatī’s pride in her descent from the Gupta family.

The genealogy of the Guptas is given here exactly as in Prabhāvatī’s Poonā plates, the only difference being that the imperial title Mahārājādhihirāja is here applied only to Chandragupta II, all his predecessors including the great Emperor Samudragupta being styled as Mahārāja. The Vākāṭaka kings Rudrasena II and Pravarasena II mentioned in the grant are also styled as Mahārāja. Prabhāvatiguptā is described as meditating on the feet of the Bhagavat. Like her father, she was a devotee of Vishnu.

The plates were issued from the foot-prints of ‘the lord of Rāmagiri’, who is evidently identical with Rāmachandra, an incarnation of Vishnu. The object of the inscription is to record the grant, by Prabhāvatī, of a field together with a house and four huts of farmers in Aśvatthanagara which lay in the mārga (subdivision) of Kośika. The donees are not mentioned by name, but are described as Brāhmaṇas, with or without sons, who were of the Parāśara gōtra and the Taittiriya śākhā. The grant is dated, at the end, on the twelfth tilh of the bright fortnight of Kṛttika in the nineteenth regnal year of Pravarasena. As Prabhāvatī was a devotee of Vishnu, she seems to have made the present grant on the occasion of the pārāṇa (completion) of her fast on the preceding Prabodhini Ekādaśi. Her Poonā grant also was made on a similar occasion. The Dūtaka was Dēvanandasvāmin and the scribe Prabhusimha.

There is one expression in the description of Prabhāvatī which has led to much controversy. Mr. Gupte, who edited the plates, read it as s-āgra-narsha-sāta-dīva-patra-pautrā and proposed the following two renderings—(i) who has sons and grandsons, a life of full hundred years and will (in the end) live in heaven, and (ii) who has renowned sons and grandsons and who has lived a life of full hundred years. Mr. Gupte remarked that the expression need not be taken literally and that what was intended was that Prabhāvatiguptā lived for a long time and saw illustrious sons and grandsons. It has since been shown that the correct reading is jīva-patra-pautrā, not sīva-patra-pautrā. Dr. R. C. Majumdar took the expression literally and understood it as meaning that Prabhāvatī lived for more than a hundred years and had sons and grandsons. On this interpretation he based his theory of Vākāṭaka chronology. It does not, however, appear to be correct. In the expression cited above, jīva-patra-pautrā means ‘having living sons and grandsons’. Similar expressions jīva-sutā or jīva-patra occur in the Rigveda, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa as well as in some old inscriptions. To have living sons and grandsons is regarded as a sign of good

1 J.A.S.B., N.S., Vol. XX, pp. 56 and 60.
2 This was first pointed out by Prof. Jagan Nath in P.I.H.C., IV, p. 59.
4 Cf. (i) जीपासु मायाधिनिः Ṛgveda X, 36, 9.
   (ii) जीवितम् न जीयते व नेत्रात्मजयस्मिन् MBH, V, 144, 2.
   (iii) जीयते व नेत्रात्मजयस्मि Rāmāyaṇa IV, 19, 11.
   (iv) जीयते व नेत्रात्मजयस्मि Nasik cave inscription, Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 73.
fortune and is therefore often mentioned in the description of women. The preceding expression s-āgura-varsha-śuta indicating long life must evidently be connected with jīva. The expression, therefore refers to the long life of the sons and grandsons of Prabhāvatī and not to her own. Besides, to a widow like Prabhāvatīgupta a long life of a hundred years is most distasteful. No Indian widow is likely to boast of it in her own record. The long life mentioned in the expression must therefore be taken to refer to that of the sons and grandsons of Prabhāvatī. The expression cannot, of course, be taken literally, but must be interpreted like the epithets dārghhāyuḥ or āyushman applied to small children. The intention in such cases is to express the wish that they would be long-lived. The expression therefore means 'who has sons and grandsons who (it is hoped) will live for a full hundred years'.

Prabhāvatīgupta is again described in line 10 as the mother of the Vākāṭaka Mahārāja, the illustrious Dāmōdarāsaṇa-Pravarasāṇa. This expression also has been interpreted differently by different scholars. Dr. Mujumdar says that Dāmōdarāsaṇa and Pravarasāṇa were two different sons of Prabhāvatī. We must note, however, that the expression uses the phrase Vākāṭakānāṁ Mahārājāṁ in connection with the name of Dāmōdarāsaṇa, but not with that of Pravarasāṇa II. When we remember how particular the drafters of Vākāṭaka grants were about the use of this title in connection with the name of every Vākāṭaka king who actually reigned1, it looks strange that the title should not have been prefixed to the name of Pravarasāṇa II, who was ruling at the time. Again, if the intention was to name all sons of Prabhāvatī, the name of Divākarasāṇa also should have been added. It seems probable therefore, that Dāmōdarāsaṇa and Pravarasāṇa II were identical and that the latter name was adopted by the prince at the time of his accession.

As for the place-names mentioned in the present grant, Rāmagiri is undoubtedly modern Rāmārāju, about 28 miles north of Nāgpur. It lies only about 3 miles from Nandīvar-dhana, modern Nagardhan, the earlier capital of the Vākāṭakas. In Kālidāsa's Meghadaṭa, Rāmagiri is mentioned as the place where the yaksā, exiled from Alakā, lived for a year. From the description in Kālidāsa's poem we learn that the hill was marked by the venerable footprints of Raghupati (Rāmachandra)2, and it is noteworthy that the present grant was made by Prabhāvatīgupta near the foot-prints of the Lord of Rāmagiri. The geographical situation of Rāmārāja answers to the description of Rāmagiri in the Meghadaṭa3 and it is known to have been regarded as a holy place for several centuries. There should therefore be no doubt about this identification. Several grants of Prabhāvatīgupta and Pravarasāṇa II were made after being offered to the Bhagavat who was plainly none but the god Rāma-chandra whose pādakās were installed at Rāmagiri. Aṣvathānagara has been identified with Asatpur in the Achalpur tahsil of the Amarāvati District of Vidarbha4. Kōśika, the headquarters of the mārga in which Aṣvathānagara was situated, cannot, however, be located in its neighbourhood.

Text5

First: Plate

1 Notice the omission of the title Vākāṭakānāṁ Mahārājāṁ in connection with the name of Gautami-putra, who predeceased his father Pravarasāṇa I. See, above, No. 3, line 7.
2 Cf. varāh. वराह रामसिद्धार्थस्माकम् नकालम् I. verse 12.
3 For a fuller discussion of this identification, see my article 'Location of Rāmagiri' in the Nagpur University Journal, No. IX, pp. 9 ff. See also my Studies in Indology, Vol. I, pp. 12 f.
5 From the negative facsimiles facing pages 58 and 60 in J.A.S.B., Vol. XX.
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE MAIN BRANCH

Second Plate: First Side

Second Plate: Second Side

Third Plate: First Side

Third Plate: Second Side

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1 The Poonah plates have बुधानाबिरतिः.
2 The facsimile shows the mediol I (long) clearly.
3 Read मद्यरोहनाम मधुमः.
4 This word is superfluous.
5 Read निषायमा वह यह.
6 Read निषायमा वह यह.
7 These and the following expressions should be in the neuter gender and singular number so as to agree with अर्थम्. See मधुमः in line 16 above.
8 Read कृत्यत् | इश्वरः | अनुष्ठिपरः.
RIDDHAPUR PLATES OF PRABHÂVATIGUPTA

Fourth Plate:

30 संस्य राज्यमण्डलसतस्वस्त्रिष्टि
1 गुप्तज्ञितम्
2 कर्तिकः
3 मानसाक्षकियाद्विगुप्त (स्वाम) इत्यं (को) देवनस्तवारी [13] लिं (लिं) वितत
32 प्रभुसिद्धां न II

Translation

Victory has been attained by the Bhagavat! From the footprints of the Lord of Rāmagiri:

(There was) the Mahārāja, the illustrious Ghāṭotkacha, the first king of the Guptas. His son (was) the Mahārāja, the illustrious Chandragupta I. His son, gracioulsy favoured by him, (was) the Mahārāja, the illustrious Samudragupta, (who was) born of the Mahādevī Kumāradēvi (and was) the daughter’s son of the Lichchhavī (Chief). His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārājaśīhīrāja, the illustrious Chandragupta II, born of the Mahādevī Dattadevi, who (was) a fervent devotee of the Bhagavat (Vishnu), who (was) a matchless warrior on the earth; who exterminated all kings; (and) who donated many thousands of crops of cows and gold (coins) which he had obtained by lawful means.

(Line 7). His daughter, the illustrious Mahādevī Prabhāvatisūpa of the Dhārana gotra, born of the queen Kuberanāgā, who was herself born in a Nāga family;—who is an ornament of both the (Gupta and Vākāṭaka) families; who (was) the Chief Queen of the illustrious Rudrasena II, the Mahārāja of the Vākāṭakas; who is the mother of the illustrious Dāmodarasena (alias) Pravarasena (II), the Mahārāja of the Vākāṭakas; who meditates on the feet of the Bhagavat (Vishnu); (and) who has sons and grandsons who will live for a full hundred years—having announced (her) good health, commands the Mahattaras (elders) of the village led by the Brāhmaṇas (residing) in the Aṣvatanagara in the mārga (subdivision) of Kōsika as follows—

We have in this town donated the field enjoyed (so far) by Bhuktaka together with a farm-house situated in it (and) four huts of cultivators, to the Brāhmaṇas... of the Pārāśara gotra and the Taityāriya śākhā, whether they have or do not have sons, by pouring out water and issuing a charter for the increase of Our religious merit and (Our welfare) in this world and the next.

(For translation of lines 16-26, see above, pp. 14-15.)

(Line 26). We issue this order to the present rulers (who are) vanquished by Our resolve, attack or valour.

And the (following) verse, sung by Vyāsa, should be regarded as authoritative on this point.

(Here occurs an imprecatory verse.)

(Line 29). In the nineteenth year, while the illustrious Pravarasena (II), the Mahārāja of the Vākāṭakas, is governing his kingdom, on the twelfth (lunar day) in the bright fortnight of the month Kārttika (this charter has been written). The Dūtaka is Devanandavāmin. (This charter) has been written by Prabhusimha.

1 Read राज्यमण्डलसतस्वस्त्रिष्टि. बंभसरेः.
2 Read एवतिनवशिष्टम्.
3 Gupte gives this name as बंभसरायम् in both his articles, but the reading is clearly as above.
4 Read अभ्रकितं.
5 See above, p. 35.
6 See above, p. 34.
7 The names of the Brāhmaṇas have been omitted inadvertently.
NO. 9: PLATE IX

INDORE PLATES OF PRAVARASENA II

These plates were in the possession of Pandit Vamanashri Islampurkar of Indore. Their original findspot is not known, but, like some other grants in the possession of the Pandit, they did not originally belong to Indore, but were evidently obtained by him somewhere else in the course of his search for Sanskrit manuscripts and antiquities. They were handed over by him to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, from whom they were obtained by Mr. Sushil K. Bose for publication. They have been edited, with facsimiles, by him in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXIV, pp. 52 ff. They are edited here from the same facsimiles.

The copper-plates are three in number, measuring 7" long by 3 3/4" broad. They are quite smooth, their edges not having been made thicker or raised into rims. About 2" from the left margin, each plate has a hole, about 5/16" in diameter for the ring which must have originally held the plates together; but neither the ring nor the seal which it must have carried is now forthcoming. The grant must have originally consisted of four plates, but the first plate is missing. As in the case of the other grants of Pravarasena, the plate must have been incised on one side only, so that about seven lines of the record are now lost. The first two of the existing plates are inscribed on both the sides, while the last plate is inscribed on one side only. The inscription is in a good state of preservation. The extant portion of it consists of 34 lines, of which six are written on the first side of the first (i.e. originally the second) plate and seven on each of the other inscribed sides. The weight of the plates has not been recorded.

The characters are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets resembling those of the other grants of Pravarasena II. The only peculiarity that call for notice are as follows:—The rare medial hi occurs in sa-klipt-opakliptha, line 23; g and s have in some cases a curve turned inward at the end of the left member as in the Riddhapur plates; see Kausika-sagota-, line 15; n has no loop at the bottom in -paurinah, line 4; n occurs in two forms, the cursive one as in -Rudrasena-, line 1 and that resembling the Nagari form as in Rudrasena-, line 6; t is generally unlooped, but in some cases it is confused with n; see sa-bitugama-s for sa-bitugama in line 28; b appears in two forms as in the Siwani plates. The language is Sanskrit, and except for an imprecatory verse in lines 31-33, the whole record is in prose. As regards orthography, we may note (i) the reduplication of a consonant after r as in -arijavo-, line 2; (ii) that of the consonant before y as in -sarve-adhyaksha-, line 9; (iii) that of v seemingly after anusvāra in para-datta[m]dva, line 32; (iv) the use of ri for the medial ri in -Pritihiti-, line 5 and vice versa in -kriyābhi-, line 25.

The inscription is one of the Vākata Mahārāja Pravarasena II. His genealogy was apparently given in the beginning exactly as in the Jāmb plates, but its earlier portion which described Pravarasena I and Bhavanaga, the chief of the Bhrāśivas, is now lost. The name of the place whence the plates were issued is also now lost, but as the grant is said to have been made at the victorious place of religious worship (vaijeyikī dharma-sthānā)

1 See, for instance, the grants of Mahārāja Svāmīdāsa and Mahārāja Bhumibala, which must have originally belonged to Khāndēśī. See my article in A.B.O.R.I., Vol. XXV, pp. 159 ff. See also C.I.L., Vol. IV, pp. 9-10.
2 The size of the plate and the position of the hole show that the Durg plate (No. 17) did not belong to this set.
the place of issue may have been the royal capital Pravarapura. The grant has been very carelessly drafted. The writer has, again, committed mistakes in omitting some words and afterwards writing them in wrong places. In one case he has substituted the name of a Brāhmaṇa for that of the village granted. All this has made the task of interpretation very difficult. It seems, however, clear that the object of the present inscription was to record the grant of a village (the name of which is unfortunately lost owing to the writer's carelessness) which lay in the mārga of Gēpuraka, to the north of Ārāmaka, to the east of Kobidārikā, to the south of Kōsambaka and to the west of Aṇjanavāṭaka. In line 11 Pravarasena II says that he made the grant for augmenting his religious merit, life, power and royal fortune as well as for his well-being in this world and the next. Line 20 reads with line 13, however, states that a half of the vāṭaka (village) was purchased and donated to the Brāhmaṇas by the merchant Chandra near the footprints (pāda-māla) of the Bhagavat, who was probably the same as the Lord of Rāmagiri mentioned in the Riddhapur plates. In line 17 Pravarasena II says that he has recorded the gift in a charter as it has been previously made and still he says further that the village has been granted to the Brāhmaṇas as a fresh gift with the pouring out of water. The only way in which we can reconcile these conflicting statements is to suppose that the merchant Chandra purchased a half of the particular village and donated it to certain Brāhmaṇas and requested the king to confirm the gift and to issue a charter in that behalf. The king seems to have given the other half of the village for his own religious merit etc. The donees were the Brāhmaṇa Gōṇḍārya, the son of Viśākhārya, who was residing at Ārāmaka, and his six sons Manbrathārya, Gōvārya, Dēvārya, Bāppārya, Kūmārārya and Drōṇārya. They belonged to the Vaij-Kauśika gōtra. The grant is dated on the fifth tithi of the dark fortnight of Vaiśākha in the twenty-third year evidently of the reign of Pravarasena II. The order was communicated by the king personally. The grant was written by the Rajuka Koṭṭadēva.

The mention of the officer Rajuka as the writer of the grant is interesting. The officer Rajuka, as he is named elsewhere, is first noticed in the inscriptions of Asōka. He was a high officer placed in charge of many hundred thousands of men and could at his discretion inflict punishment or confer a reward. The term is derived from rajjī meaning a rope and originally signified a settlement officer who measured lands for the assessment of land-tax. The Rajuka is also mentioned in an inscription of Chutukulānanda Sātakarnī. He is rarely noticed thereafter. His mention in the present grant shows that the term

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1The words mula datām-iti at the end of line 13, which the Editor of the Ep. Ind. considered unintelligible, are connected in sense with Bhagavat-pāda- at the end of line 20. They should have been written at the bottom of the first side of the third plate. The writer committed a mistake in writing them at the bottom of the second side of the second plate. It will thus be seen that the merchant Chandra did not purchase half of any field from the Brāhmaṇas as supposed by Bose, but donated a half of the village to them near the footprints of the Bhagavat. From the boundaries given in the record it appears clear that the whole village, not a field in it, was granted by the king.

2The writer mentions Viśākhāryavāṭaka as a village in line 14. Viśākhārya was, however, the name of a Brāhmaṇa who was the father of Gōṇḍārya, one of the donees of this grant. While copying the record from the khāṇḍaputra, the writer's eye seems to have skipped over the proper name of the village, in place of which he wrote Viśākhārya occurring in the next line. Strange as it may seem, the mistake remained uncorrected.


4Notice a-pāra-v-dattā(tyā) udaka-pāra-v-amāstraḥ-kriyā in line 18.

5Though the expression Gōṇḍārya-putra is grammatically connected with only Manbrathārya, it is probably intended to be connected with the following names also.

remained in use till the beginning of the fifth century A.C. at least.

As no definite information is available about the original findspot of the present plates, it is not easy to locate the places mentioned in them; and none have been identified so far. After a good deal of search for them, I have been able to find some of them in the respective directions in the Bālāghāṭ District of Madhya Pradesh. Kōsamba which lay to the north of the donated village is probably identical with Kośambakhaḍa which Pravarasena II granted by his Tiroḍi plates. As shown elsewhere, the latter is identical with Kośamba, 6 miles to the south of Tiroḍi. Aṇjanavāṭaka which defined the eastern boundary of the donated village is probably Aṇjanavāḍi, about 5 miles to the south-east of Kośamba. Kōbidārikā which lay to the west of the donated village may be Kūnārgaon, 4 miles south by west of Kośamba. These three villages thus lie in the same directions as those stated in the present grant. Gēpuraka and Ațāmakā cannot, however, be found in the neighbourhood of these villages. If these identifications are correct, the grant may have originally belonged to the Bālāghāṭ District.

**Text**

**Second Plate: First side**

1. द (श्रो) हिन्दूस्प सारस्मुरुस्तन्तु सुन्ते [\.]
2. अर्जुनस (श्रो) दत्वस्त्र सत्वजातकार्यवर्त्तियमविशत्तमविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविवि...
By the order of the illustrious Pravarasena (II), the Mahārāja of the Vākāṭakas born of Prabhāvatigupta, the daughter of the Mahārājādhiraja, the illustrious Dēvagupta, who is the son of the illustrious Rudrasena (II), the Mahārāja of the Vākāṭakas—

(For translation of lines 1 to 6, see above, pp. 13-14.)

(Line 8). In the territorial division (mārga) of Gēpuraka Our officials of noble birth, who are employed by the order of the Sārādhyaksha (General Superintendent) and who exercise their authority by (Our) command and (Our) soldiers and policemen should be directed by the (following) command which is already well known to them:

"Be it known to you that here in Our victorious place of religious worship in order to increase Our religious merit, life, power (and) prosperity (and) for (Our) well-being in this world and the next, We have recorded in a charter this gift as it was previously made—viz. (the gift of the village)....situated to the north of Ārāmaka, to the east of Kövidārikā,

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1 The following words कसे शस्त्रिति occur in a corrupt form in line 13, above.
2 Read गन्धिरिति, गोपालिति.
3 This word is superfluous.
4 Read परिबाधा कुमारेश्वरी.
5 Read कुमारम.
6 The anusvāra of ह इ is placed on च.
7 Other Vākāṭaka grants generally read भःमांकरणम्.
8 Read संकल्पितम्.
9 Read भविष्यकाव्यपाणाः.
10 Read वेष्ट्योः वचनोः.
11 Metre: Anushtubh.
12 Mārga seems to denote a territorial division; for no place is mentioned here as situated on the road to Gēpuraka.
13 The name of the village has been omitted through inadvertence. The name of Viśākhārya, the father of Gōndārya, one of the donees, has been prefixed to viśaka by mistake.
to the south of Kōśambaka, (and) to the west of Aṇjanavātaka, (made) to Gōṇḍārya, son of Viśākhārya of the Vājī-Kauśika gītra, who resides at Ārāmaka (and is) Manūrthārya, son of Gōṇḍārya, (and) Gōvārya, Dēvārya, Bāppārya, Kumārārya (and) Drōṇārya, and We have given it as a gift not previously made with the pouring out of water. Half of this village was donated to the Brāhmaṇas by the Merchant Chandra near the foot-prints of the Bhagavat, after having purchased it (from Us).¹

And We grant here the (following) exemptions incident to a village donated to a Brāhmaṇa, proficient in the four Vēdas:—  

(For translation of lines 21-28, see above, p. 14.)

(Line 29). We command the present rulers who have been vanquished by Our resolve, attack and valour and We request the future lords out of reverence for them.

The (following) verse sung by Vyāsa should be regarded as authoritative on this point:

(Here occurs an imprecatory verse.)

(Line 33). (This charter) has been written on the fifth (lunar day) in the dark (fortnight) of Vaiśākha in the twenty-third (regnal) year. The order (was communicated) by (the king) himself². (The charter has been) written by the Rajuka Kōṭṭādēva.

¹In the original this statement occurs partly in line 20 and partly in line 13. In both the cases it has been misplaced. See above, p. 39, n. 1.
²As the order was communicated by the king himself, no Dūṭaka has been named in this charter.
DUDIĀ PLATES OF PRAVARASĒNA II

These plates were in the possession of some Gonds at Dudiā in the Aser pargāṇā of the Chhindwārā District of Madhya Prades. They have been edited before, with facsimiles, by Dr. Kielhorn in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol III, pp. 258. They are edited here from the same facsimiles.

"The copper-plates are four in number, each of which measures $7\frac{2}{3}$" long by $3\frac{1}{8}$" broad. The second and third plates are inscribed on both sides, the first plate is so on one side, and the fourth is blank and merely serves to protect the writing on the second side of the third plate. The plates are quite smooth, their edges having been neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims; but the writing, nevertheless, is in an excellent state of preservation. About $1\frac{3}{4}$" distant from the middle of the proper right margin, each plate has a hole, about $1\frac{2}{3}$" in diameter, for a ring on which the plates were strung. The ring is between $\frac{1}{4}$" and $\frac{3}{8}$" thick, and $3\frac{1}{2}$" in diameter. The two ends of the piece of copper of which it is formed are flattened off, and contain holes for a rivet, which has been lost. On the ring slides a copper band, $\frac{3}{8}$" broad, which is bent into a ring of $\frac{3}{4}$" by $3\frac{1}{8}$" in diameter, and the two ends of which are soldered together. Through the soldered part a hole is drilled, which corresponds to a hole in the centre of a circular seal; and a rivet, which also is lost now, must have held the copper band and the seal together. Owing to the loss of the two rivets, the ring, the copper band and the seal are now quite loose. The seal is $3\frac{1}{4}$" diameter, and has across its surface a legend in four lines. The weight of the four plates is $3\frac{3}{4}$ lbs.; that of the ring, the copper band and the seal is $\frac{3}{4}$ lb.; total, $3\frac{3}{4}$ lbs."

The characters belong to the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the preceding Indore plates. Like the latter, they show two forms of $n$ and $b$; the curve of $l$ encircles the letter on the left as in -lalāmaya in line 1 of the seal; the sign of the jīvāmālyā occurs in line 22 and that of the upadmāṇiya in line 3 of the seal and line 16 of the plates. Inter-punctuation is shown by one or more horizontal or vertical strokes. The language is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the legend on the seal and one imperative verse in line 27-28, the whole record is in prose. As regards orthography, we find that a consonant has been reduplicated before and after $r$ as in parākkram-, lines 4-5 and -Āptāryām-, line 1; before $y$ as in Bhāgiratty-la-ma-, line 5; and after anusvāra in saññavesa, line 28.

The inscription, which opens with dṛṣṭam, is one of the Vākāṭaka Mahārāja Pravarasēna II. His genealogy is given here exactly as in the Jāmb plates, his maternal grandfather being called Dēvagupta. The object of it is to record the grant, by Pravarasēna, of 25 (nivartanus) of land at Darbhamaḷaka in the Chandrapura saṅgamikā, to one Yakṣhārya of the Kauśika gōtra, and of sixty (nivartanus) of land at the village of Karmakāra in the Hiranyapura bhoga to one Kāśliśarman of the Kaunḍinya gōtra. The order is addressed to the royal officers, soldiers and policemen in the Ārammi-rājya in which evidently both the aforementioned villages were situated. The charter was written by Gōlaḍāṣa while Namidāṣa was the Senapati. It was issued from Pravarapura.

2The figures of land (bhūmi) given here, like those in the Chammak plates, probably refer to the nivartanus. See line 22 of the Paṭjan plates (No. 13, below) which mention 400 nivartanas of land according to the royal measure.
The record is dated, in line 28, on the tenth day of the fourth fortnight of the rainy season in the twenty-third year evidently of Pravarasena II's reign. It does not admit of verification, but probably corresponds to the tenth tithi of the bright half of the month Bhā德拉-pada. The date is noteworthy as it is one of the two season dates known so far from Vākāṭaka inscriptions. In all other inscriptions dates are recorded in lunar months and tithis.

The localities mentioned in the present grant have not yet been satisfactorily identified. Dr. Kielhorn suggested the identification of Chandrapura with Chāndpur, 'which lies to the south of Siwāli and to the west of the Wengangā river', but he could not locate the other places mentioned in the grant. Dr. Hiralal proposed to identify Ārammi with Arvī, the chief town of the Ārvī tahsil of the Wardhā District, and Chandrapura with Chāndur where there is a confluence of the two rivers Chandrabhāṅga and Sarasvati. Further, he suggested that Hiranyapura might be Sōnegao near Chāndur and Karmakāra, Kalamgaon close to the same town. These identifications also are not quite satisfactory. A clue to location of the places is possibly afforded by the mention of Hiranyapura. This town may have been situated on the river Hiranyā which is mentioned in the Waṅgaon plates of Pravarasena II. As shown elsewhere, this Hiranyā is identical with the modern river Eraṅ. Chandrapura may be the modern Chāndā, the chief town of the Chāndā District. This old name of the town is still current. Near Chāndā there is the confluence of the two rivers, Eraṅ and Jharp ere. In fact the town of Chāndā is situated in the angle formed by these two rivers, so that its situation answers to the description of Chandrapura in the present grant viz. that it was a saṅgamikā or 'a tract of land near the confluence of two rivers'; but the mention of Ārammi-rājya in the recently discovered Pāṇḍhurpa plates also has raised doubts about these identifications. Since both the grants which mention Ārammi-rājya come from the Chhindwārā District, we must evidently look for the places situated in them in that very district. As shown elsewhere, some of the localities referred to in the Pāṇḍhurpa plates can be identified in the neighbourhood of Pāṇḍhurpa, which indicates that Ārammi, the headquarters of that division, may be modern Amlā, about 40 miles north by west of Pāṇḍhurpa. None of the places mentioned in the present grant can, however, be traced in that region, unless Hiranyapura is Harāṅkheḍī, about 6 miles north of Multāi.

**Text**

First Plate:

1 द्याम [१९] प्रवर्षभीत्रानि अविन्द्रो (मा) वृद्धिमायक्योविश्वतिरावव नाजपेयस्बहस्ति-  
2 सङ्कस्करक्षतुर्प्रशेष्यक्षिण्युजन: विज्ञेयसेहस्ति सङ्क्षिप्त: महाकान्तम-  
3 हरानाराजस्थ (श्री) प्रवर्षभीत्रानि सहन: सहन: अयोत्त्वाणमहाभरभवभवत्व असमारस-  
4 विवेभिशिष्यवर्णसुपरिच्छेदत्तमुष्म्याविनात्वायाभएकास्तु-  
5 माध्यमामात्मार्थभाषी (श्री) रक्षमलक्षमब्रम्वीभिष्कतानानादवाधव्येश्वयम (व) स्नातानामभा-  
6 रक्षभाषामहाराजस्थ (श्री) भवनानक्षारिच्छिन्तन्यात्मकर्म (श्री) इमस्य विश्वस्य वाकात-  
7 कान्तात्मक (ह) राजश्रीविवेभिशिष्यवर्णस्य सहन: अलक्ष्मालतवस्य संगात्मकाम्य-  

2I.C.P.B., p. 93.  
3Below, p. 54.  
4No. 14, lines 26 and 29.  
5From the facsimile facing pages 260 and 261 in Ep. Ind., Vol. III.  
6Here and in many places below, the rules of sandhi have not been observed.  
7Originally नात्मक, changed to नात्मक.
Second Plate: First Side

8 तीर्थिक्रमननविनयमाराध्यज्ञ(श्री) मल्ट(र) पाठरम्र दक्षिणःनावित्रचम्पाज्ञ्यविनयमोनमरम्यज्ञ(र्या) गद्धु:-

9 समुद्रितस्य कर्षणकामी(भु) बर्मामकोरवटनरावसमतितस्यसनात्मपरिवर्णः युनिचन्द्र-\

10 वाकटान(ग) महाराजीपरिवर्णः(ण) स्यूसः: भववतेस्वराग्यः(ख) प्रसस्तोपाविज्ञ-\

11 तत्कलसमक्षाराजादिवेश(श्री) राजसेय: स्यूसः: महाराजादिवेशादेशमुद्धः (ह) राजसेय: प्रवसेय:\

13 ताः (श्री) चनातु आराध्यारेष्य अस्तसत्कासविद्याधिमादिपाणिप्रियः: आजादः चारिकृः.

Second Plate: Second Side

14 पुष्च नारःप्रकृतः: भटास्तानः (भ) र्य भुप्तुभुवस्मयावः ज्ञानः ज्ञानः: [13] विदमस्य-\

15 राजस्मी अभिमुक्तत्वम्यंब्यंविड़वर्यं इहुर्भुज्यात्यर्भमान्नुम्हाय बेव'; भाषण्यां चतुरः.

16 सुध्यािमकारः [6] दर्मेश्वरः भुमेः [6] अभ्याज्ञातः कोषिककोनः (श्री) य यतायाय इत्यायाय \\n


Third Plate: First Side

20 समाहेतो अवा (श्री) राजसमघः ज्ञारि। अल्मानाजिकज्ञास्तकेलिखनकी सहवः (ह) किन्तुराग्यपरिहार-\

21 सत्त्वस्याभिन्नः [6]। सत्त्वः (क्रू) तोप्पिकः (क्रू) परलो। आचार्यस्यरावास्य पुष्पाद्राग्नाराही (मिनेम)

शुद्धताः (त) न कर्तिच।

1 Kielhorn's suggestion that the correct reading is पाठमत- does not appear to be correct.
2 Read विदमस्याः.
3 Read नानेभवः.
4 Read स्थानः.
5 Read स्थानान्तः.
6 This akshara is superfluous.
7 Read मसे: यत्विशवि.
8 Read कालिहस्माः.
9 Read -मत सुभद्र.
10 Read धनात्मकम्.
11 Read either ग्रामायां विकारः or ग्रामायां विकारः. See No. 2, line 16 and No. 3, line 25.
12 The nisarga after म is cancelled.
13 This akshara is superfluous.
14 Read काराग्राही. This is supposed to qualify some word like मुक्तिवर्गः.
15 Read वामसही.
16 Read अन्यान्तः
17 Read सत्त्वस्याभिन्नः.
By the order of the illustrious Pravarasena (II), the Mahārāja of the Vākāṭakas, born of Prabhavatigupta, the daughter of the Mahārāja of the Vākāṭakas, who is the son of the illustrious Divagupta, who is the son of the illustrious Pravarasena (II), the Mahārāja of the Vākāṭakas—

(Line 13). Our officers of noble birth, who are employed by the order of the Sarvādhyaksha (General Superintendent) (and) who exercise their authority by (Our) command and (Our) soldiers and policemen in the Arammi-rājya should be directed by the following command which is well known (to them):—

"Be it known to you that in order to increase Our religious merit, life, power and prosperity and to obtain blessings for ourself, We have donated here at Our place of religious worship with the pouring out of water twenty-five nīvarānas of land in (the village of)

---

1 Read सर्वाध्यक्षस् परंपालोऽरे.  
2 This amvašā is wrongly placed over the following akṣara.  
3 Read कारप्रेमा.  
4 Read राजस्वसंनिदेशन.  
5 Read एवाध्यक्षस्.  
6 This sign of punctuation is superfluous.  
7 Metric: Amshtiḥ.  
8 Read सन्दर्भरेत्र ज्ञातविवाहितम्.  
9 Read श्राकेश्वरय.  

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Translation

Seal

1 बाकाटकलामप्  
2 क्रमप्रभावावध्ययम्  
3 राजस्वप्रवर्तनस्य  
4 शालस्य रिपुशासनम्  

Translation

Seem from Pravarapura—

---

1 Read सर्वाध्यक्षस् परंपालोऽरे।  
2 This amvašā is wrongly placed over the following akṣara।  
3 Read कारप्रेम।  
4 Read राजस्वसंनिदेशन।  
5 Read एवाध्यक्ष।  
6 This sign of punctuation is superfluous।  
7 Metric: Amshti।  
8 Read सन्दर्भरेत्र ज्ञातविवाहितम्।  
9 Read श्राकेश्वर।  

---

Translation

Seem. From Pravarapura—

---

Translation

Seal

1 बाकाटकलामप्।  
2 क्रमप्रभावावध्ययम्।।  
3 राजस्वप्रवर्तनस्य।।  
4 शालस्य रिपुशासनम्।।
DUDIA PLATES OF PRAVARASENA II

Scale: Three-fourths
Darbhāmalaka in the Saṅgamikā of Chandrapura to Yakṣhārya of the Kauśika gotra, and sixty ninartanas of land in the village of Karmakāra situated in the bhūga of Hiraṇyapura to Kāliśarman of the Kaunḍinya gotra, as gifts not previously made.

(For translation of lines 18-25, see above, p. 14.)

(Line 25). We issue this order to the present rulers (who have been) vanquished by Our resolve, attack or valour. (And) We make this request to future (rulers) out of reverence for them.

(Line 26). And the following verse sung by Vyāsa should be regarded as authoritative on this point.

(Here occurs an imprecatory verse.)

(Line 28). (This charter) has been written by Gūladāsa, while Namidāsa is the Sēnāpati, on the tenth day in the fourth fortnight of the twenty-third (regnal) year.

Seal

(For translation of the legend on the seal, see above, p. 27.)
TIRODI PLATES OF PRAVARASENA II

These plates were found at the manganese mine of Tirodi, 8 miles south-east of Katanga, in the Banka District of Madhya Prades. They were made over to me for publication by Mr. T. A. Wellsted, Manager of the Manganese Mines, Mansar. I edited them with facsimiles and an English translation in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXI, pp. 157 ff. They are edited here from the same facsimiles. The plates are now deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur.

The copper-plates are four in number, each measuring 7·7" x 3·8". The first and fourth plates are inscribed on one side only, and the other two on both sides. Their ends are neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims; still the inscription is in a perfect state of preservation. About 2·1" from the proper right margin, the plates have a roundish hole, 4" in diameter for a circular ring to connect them. The ends of this ring, which is 3·3" in diameter, were flattened off so as to overlap and were joined with a pin. They were so securely when the plates were sent to the Nagpur Museum. On this ring slides a small circular band about 7" broad and 3·8" in circumference, to which is secured with a rivet a flat circular copper seal, 2·7" in diameter. The weight of the plates is 126 golas, and that of the ring, the band and the seal is 18½ golas. Each inscribed side of the first two plates contains six lines, that of the third, five lines, and that of the fourth, only four lines.

The characters are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets. They resemble those of the other grants of Pravarasena II. The only peculiarities that call for notice are as follows:— The length of the medial i is shown either by a ringlet in the curve representing short i as in pramañi, line 29, or by another curve turned in the opposite direction as in treyātī, line 31. The medial a also is shown in two ways; (i) with a mātra on each side of a consonant as in Shōdasya, line 1 and (ii) with a curve on the right side only as in bhūṣa, line 23. The medial au is everywhere bipartite. D and d are not clearly distinguished; cf. Shōdasya, line 1, and samuddhina, line 8. B appears in two forms as in other Vakāṭaka inscriptions. In its subscript form it appears like v in one place; see āyur-bhara, line 15 and -udvahāna, line 4. The visarga signifies a double mark of punctuation in lines 13, 24, 26 etc. The completion of the record is shown by a long horizontal line.

The language is Sanskrit. Except for the legend on the seal and the usual imprecatory verse towards the close, the whole record is in prose. The orthography shows the usual reduplication of a consonant after r and anuvāra, and of that before y. The use of ri for the vowel ri and of li for the vowel lī may also be noted; see drishtam, line 1 and sa-kiptopakṣiptah, lines 22-23. On the other hand, i occurs for ri in sarva-ṣyabhi, line 24. The final consonant is dropped in some places; see -sthāna, line 1 and -dvādaśa, line 31.

The plates were issued from Narattangavāri by the Vakāṭaka Mahārāja Pravarasena II. His genealogy is given as in his other grants. The inscription opens with drishtam, 'seen'. The object of it is to record the grant of the village Kosambakandha to a Brahmana named Varunārya of the Harkari gōtra and the Atharvaveda, who was a resident of Chândrapura and was proficient in three Vedas. The donated village was bounded on the east by Jamali, on the south by Vardhamānaka, on the west by Mūrgasima and on the north by Mallakapēdhaka. As the order is addressed to the officers and soldiers in the western division (apara-pattā)
of Bennākāta, it is evident that the donated village was situated in it. The grant was written by the Chief Minister (Rāy-ādhikārī) Chamidāsa1 by the King’s own order.

The grant is dated, in words, on the twelfth day of the dark fortnight of Māgha in the twenty-third year, evidently of Pravarasena II’s reign. Unlike most other grants of Pravarasena II, the present grant was not made at the royal capital2, but at a place called Narattaṅgavārī which may have been a tīrtha. The month of Māgha is specially praised in the Purāṇas as very sacred, and various legends are narrated in them to evince the great merit of bathing at a holy place during that month3. The eleventh tīrthī of the dark fortnight of the pūrṇimața Māgha, which is called Saṭṭīla Ḭākāḍāsī and is observed as a fast-day, is highly glorified in the Padmapurāṇa4. Pravarasena may therefore have gone to the Narattaṅgavārī tīrtha to bathe there on the Saṭṭīla Ḭākāḍāsī day and may have made the present grant on the following day before breaking his fast. The grant was made by him for his religious merit, life, strength and prosperity, for securing his well-being in this world and the next, as well as for augmenting the religious merit of his mother. As he mentions only his mother and not his father also, who was long since dead, it is likely that she was living at the time of the present grant and may have accompanied him to the holy place. Only four years before, she had made her own grant recorded in the Riddhapur plates.

As for the geographical names occurring in the present plates, Narattaṅgavārī was probably a tīrtha as suggested above. This is probably a joint name like Nāgāpurā-Nandivardhana, and means Vārī near Narattaṅga5. In that case it can be identified with Vārī, also called Bhairavagadhi, now a deserted village on the river Bān or Wān in the extreme north-west of the Akōt tahsil in the Akōla District6. It is only 18 miles to the west of the old fort of Narnāḷa, which probably represents ancient Narattaṅga, and is still regarded as a holy place. Kōsāmbakhanda, the donated village, is evidently Kōsamba, about 6 miles to the north-east of Tīrōḍi, where the plates were found. Bennākāta was evidently a district7 comprising the territory round the modern village Bennā, 35 miles to the east of Kōsamba in the Gondā tahsil of the Bhandarā District, which may have been its headquarters. The district seems to have been divided into two parts by the river Bennā, modern Waingangā8. Kosamba, which now represents ancient Kōsāmbakhanda, is only 20 miles from the Waingangā, and was evidently included in the western division (apara-pattā) of Bennākāta. Of the villages that formed its boundaries, only one can now be traced. Jamali which bounded it on the east is probably modern Jamuntōḷā, 3 miles to the east of Kōsamba. Chāndrapura, where the

1Dr. N. P. Chakravarti suggests that the name may be read as Navamidāsa.
2It is noteworthy that the expression vajjayiśe dharmasthāṇe, which occurs in the grants made at the royal capital, does not occur in this charter.
3Cf. कामवंशवर्ग साम नित्याविनिःकु मित्यविनि सामवनवर्ग वववववर्गवनवर्गवनवर्गवनवर्ग II Padmapurāṇa, Uttarākhaṇḍa, adhyāya 124, v. 164.
4Ibid., Uttarākhaṇḍa, adhyāya 43, vv. 5 ff.
5As there are now and were probably in ancient Vidarbha several villages named Vārī or Vārkhed, Narattaṅga seems to have been fixed to the place-name to define the position of the place intended.
6At this place there are ruins of a fort called Bhairavagadh, with an image of Kāla-Bhairava. The place may have attained importance in the time of Pravarasena II’s ancestor Rudraśena I, who was a fervent devotee of Kāla-Bhairava.
7Bhōjakāṭa is another name ending in kata. The Mahābhārata, Sabhāparvan, adhyāya 31, vv. 10-12, states that Sahadeva vanquished the lords of Bhōjakāṭa and Vēṇāṭata. The name of the latter occurs as Vēṇākāṭa in many Grantha MSS. of the epic.
8Bennākāpura-bhōga mentioned in the Siwanī plates is another territorial division named after the river Bennā. As shown elsewhere, the villages mentioned as situated therein can be identified in the Amgaon Zāminḍari, east of the Waingangā.
Inscriptions of the main branch

donec was living, is probably identical with Chāndpur. It lies only twelve miles to the south-east of Kosamba and contains an old fort. The other villages cannot be identified.

Text

First Plate

1. नरतज्ञानावलिकमिति। अर्जुनोमातोर्यामोक्षाधिकोपयोग्योक्ति। राजवालायेः

Second Plate: First Side

7. अर्जुनोमातोर्यामोक्षाधिकोपयोग्योक्ति। राजवालायेः

Second Plate: Second Side

13. राजजिति। अत्रसंस्कारवस्त्रक्षिणि। तेनाविवाहत्वम्

Third Plate: First Side

19. उदकपुरस्वरासाधिन्तु...
TIRÔDĪ PLATES OF PRAVARASĒNA II

31

Seal

29

Translation

32

31

30

31

32

31

30

29

28

Fourth Plate

27

26

25

24

Third Plate: Second Side

23

22

21


By the order of the illustrious Pravarasena (II), the Mahārāja of the Vākṣṭakas, who was born of Prabhavatigupta, the daughter of the Mahārājādhiraja, the illustrious Dēvagupta, (and) who is the son of the illustrious Rudrasena (II), the Mahārāja of the Vākṣṭakas—

(For translation of lines 1 to 10, see above, pp. 13-14.)

Our officials of noble birth, who are employed by the order of the Sarvādhyaksha (General Superintendent) and who exercise their authority by (Our) command, (Our) soldiers and policemen in the western division (apurāṇa) of (the district) Bennākata should be directed by the following command which is already well known (to them):—

"Be it known to you that in order to increase Our religious merit, life, power and prosperity and to secure (Our) well-being in this world and the next, the village named Kosambakhaṇḍa, which lies to the west of Jamali, to the north of Vardhamānaka, to the east of Mrigasima, and to the west of Mallakapēdhaka, is bestowed here with the pouring

1 Read अनुवेदि: प्रावरसेना. 2 Read तपस्विनी. 3 Read वर्णविज्ञानिक. 4 Read अनुवेदि. 5 Read घोष. 6 Read अनुवेदि. 7 Read संबंध. 8 This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

6

5

4

3

2

1

Reading: Arwisudh. 7 Reading: धूम। The following mark of punctuation is superfluous. 8 Reading: Arwisudh.
out of water as a grant not previously made, upon Varunārya of the Atharvaveda and the Harkari gotra, who has (mastered) the three Vedas and is a resident of Chandrapura.

(For translation of lines 19 to 26, see above, pp. 14-15 and for that of lines 26 to 29, see above, p. 32.)

(Line 29). And the following verse sung by Vyāsa should be regarded as an authority on this point:—

(Here occurs an imprecatory verse.)

(This order was communicated) by the king himself on the twelfth (lunar day) of the dark fortnight of (the month) Māgha in the twenty-third (regnal) year. (It has been) written by the Rājyādhikāra Chamidāsa.

Seal

(For translation of the legend on the seal, see above, p. 27.)
THESE plates were handed over to Dr. S. S. Patwardhan, Curator of the Central Museum, Nagpur, by one Bhagwan Shiva Ganar of Yenur, a village in the Hīṅgangaṭṭa tahsil of the Wardhā District, in Vidarbha. They were in the possession of his grandfather at Wadgaon in the Warörā tahsil of the Chānḍā District. They were published by me with facsimiles in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXVII, pp. 74 f. They are edited here from the same facsimiles. The plates are now deposited in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

The copper-plates are four in number, of which the first and the last are inscribed on the inner side only, and the other two on both the sides. They measure 6·5' long and 3·5'' broad, and weigh 97 tolas. They were held together by a ring, about 3 tālās in weight, passing through a roundish hole, 1·3'' from the middle of the left side of each plate. It must have originally carried the usual Vākāṭaka seal sliding on it, but it is not forthcoming now. There are forty-two lines of writing in all, which are evenly distributed on the six inscribed faces of the four plates. The writing is in a good state of preservation throughout. In a few cases the engraver has corrected his mistakes of omission and commission; see aṃsa-bhāra-, line 4, saṭy-ārjya-, line 9 etc.; but there are many more which are left uncorrected. In the right-hand lower corner of the first side of the second plate, he has incised the syllables Mārude(dā)śē, which were inadvertently omitted in line 421. In line 21 several letters were beaten in and in their place the expression vishva-vāchana- was incised. This correction or tampering, whatever it may be, was apparently done in the Vākāṭaka age; for the substituted aṃsharas are of the same type as the rest of the record.

The characters are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabet resembling those of the other inscriptions of Pravarasena II. The noteworthy peculiarities are the cursive form of the medial ē in sūmōk, line 4; the bipartite au in douhitṛasya, line 7; the medial ṛ, which is formed not by the usual curling curve, but by the addition of a curve turned downwards on the left of k in -adḥikritā, line 23; and the rare medial li in klēp-lopaṭlīptah, line 31. The numerical symbols for 400 occur in line 20, and those for 2 and 3 on the second side of the second and the third plate respectively. The language is Sanskrit, and, except for two beneficent and imprecatory verses, the whole record is in prose. The orthography shows the usual reduplication of a consonant after r and before y; see ārjya-, line 9 and Bhāgirathya-, line 6.

The inscription is one of the Vākāṭaka Mahārāja Pravarasena II. It opens with dṛśītām. The genealogy of the king is given here exactly as in his other plates, his maternal grandfather being called Dēvagupta. The object of the inscription is to record the grant of 400 nīvarīnas of land by the royal measure, which Pravarasena II made to a Brāhmaṇa named Rudrārya, who was versed in two Vedas and belonged to the Vāji-Lōhitya gōra2. He was a resident of the village Ėkārjunaka. The land donated to him was in the village Vēlusaka which was situated in the Supratishtha āhūra or subdivision. The village lay to the east of Grīdragraṁa, to the south of Kadambasarakā, to the west of Niligrāma and to the north of Kōkila. The plates were issued from the royal camp on the bank of

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1 For another instance of a correction inserted in a wrong place, see above, p. 39, n. 1.

2 A similar getra, with Vāji prefixed to it, is Vāji-Kanśika mentioned in the Indore plates, line 15. In both these cases the dones may have belonged to the Vājasanēya śāktā of the Yajurvēda.
the river Hiranyā on the tenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Jyēṣṭha in the twenty-fifth year, evidently of the reign of Pravarasena II. The Senāpati at the time was Bāppadēva. He is mentioned also in the Śwāni plates of Pravarasena II. The scribe was Māradāsa.

The donee Rudrārya is styled viśuva-vāchanaka (reciter at a viśuva) which suggests that the grant was made on the occasion of a viśuva or equinox. The viśuva immediately preceding the date of the grant was that of the Mesha-saṅkranti falling in Chaitra. The grant was evidently made to the Brāhmaṇa for reciting certain sacred texts on the occasion of the viśuva or Mesha-saṅkranti.

As for the localities mentioned in the present grant, the Supratishtha āhāra in which the village Velusuka was situated is mentioned in two other grants, viz., the Poonā plates of Prabhāvatigupta and the Jāmb plates of Pravarasena II. It seems to have comprised parts of the Hinganghat, Warorā and Yeotmāl tahasil of the Wardhā, Chāndā and Yeotmāl Districts respectively. The village Velusuka in which the donated land was situated cannot now be traced, but it seems to have occupied the same position as modern Chinchmanḍal which lies just on the south of the elbow of the Wunna; for all the boundary villages mentioned in the present charter can be traced in the vicinity of it in the respective directions. Thus Gridhragrāma is Gadeghāt, about 8 miles to the west, and Niligrāma is Niljāit, about 5 miles to the east of Chinchmanḍal. Kadambasara is Kosara, about 2 miles to the north. Kōkilāra is modern Kaire which lies about 4 miles to the north-west. All the boundary villages can thus be satisfactorily identified in the vicinity of Chinchmanḍal. It is again noteworthy that Chinchmanḍal lies only about 5 miles to the south of Wādgaon where the plates were found. The river Hiranyā is the modern Erai, which flows from north to south in the Warorā tahasil and ultimately joins the Wardhā. Ekaṛjunaka where the donee resided is probably Arjunī on the left bank of the Erai, about 16 miles north-east of Warorā, the chief town of the Warorā tahasil.

Text:

First Plate

1 मिस्त्रम् २ द्राक्षा (चला) [] हिराणयान(की) बाभाद्विण्डयोद्म (मा) पोलोमान्त्योद्सत्यां |
2 रावणाजयकुम् (की) सिसंसब स्वरुपस्त्रय[स] तथा तुत्समयाजयिन्द: |
3 विनं (की) युध्यथा सागरस् स्वारथा बाभाद्रकानां महाराजीधि (श्री) प्रवरसेन:- |
4 स्व सूनाः: सुनाजयनाम्यमहामहारभवस्वति अंस (मा) |
5 राजाविव (कृ) स्वविवर्धिष्ट (स्व) विहविश्वलपुर (सि) तुरुस्मृयावित्त (रा) |
6 जववाणानां (मा) परब्रह्म (मा) बिगतभागी (सी) रथवंचवल्म (स्) देव (सी) भितिकादानां दस्या- |
7 रा भारवानां हराभिवाभानां महाराजाधिभवानां भवाहिताः |

Second Plate: First Side

8 गोतमिपुन्तस् वाक (का) टकानां (ना) महाराजीधि (श्री) रा संस्थानस् सुनोरस्त:-

1 Lines 20-21 of the present plates state that the grant was made in the twentieth year, but this is probably a mistake. Perhaps pāṭcha was omitted before viśatima in line 20. What looks like the syllable rka at the end of the last line may have been part of pāṭcha inserted in the wrong place. It is unlikely that the grant remained unregistered for five years.
2 From the facsimiles facing pages 76 and 77, E.F. Ind., Vol. XXVII.
3 Expressed by a symbol.
4 Read दरशाकस.
5 Read दरशाय.
6 The engraver at first incised म, which he after changed into ग.
WADGAON PLATES OF PRAVARASENA II

Scale: about Three-fourths
Second Plate: Second Side

15 विभाजन खं (िः) विभाजन खं (िः) देवपुरसंतानाः (ि) प्रभारीसुवर्णामुखस्य शा (ि) भ्योः।
16 प्रसादपिण्य (ि) कार्याचार्यी बाकराकांगमसाहीं (ि) सवर्महा।
17 राज (ि) धीमारसुवर्णस्य वचनाः।
18 उपविनिर्भ (ि) हरे विद्राक्षरस।
19 "पूर्वेतः कर्मसरस्य [भ] (ि) पति: नीलीग्रास्य पुः।
20 विवेशम् नमः (िः) कोकिलास्य (ि) उल्लंब: बंसुस्कपाम श्राम: अग्रसा।
21 राजमाने।

Third Plate: First Side

22 एकार्णकत (ि) लक्ष्मी (ि) दलानि।
23 कलामिहिंद (ढ़) तिरणिमिहिंद (ढ़) अमसाखार (ि)
24 न (ि) विच्छलकाश (ि) लक्ष्मीस्वर्णनुष्ठाः।
25 भिक्षारमण (ि) यमुनायु (ि) बंशद्राक्षर (ि)
26 हो (ि) तत्वभान्ता मन्नप्रहार बंशद्राक्षर (ि)
27 कुरुक्षेत्रस्ती (ि) उदे।
28 अवत्सिचिताः (ि) पृष्ठारा जात्मकाः (ि) चारुके ध्रुवे (ि) यात्रारथयोभिविधतरामाः।

Third Plate: Second Side

29 प्रवीणे: अपारस्योपरावरोदः।
30 अवत्तारकमांशाः: अवत्तारकमांशाः।
31 अवत्तारकमांशाः: अवत्तारकमांशाः।
32 अवत्तारकमांशाः: अवत्तारकमांशाः।

1 This akshara, which was omitted at first, has been written in a small form.
2 The medial i of this akshara has been subsequently shortened.
3 The engraver at first incised kri and subsequently changed it into isi.
4 Just below this word, the aksharas Manade (ढ़) have been incised, but their proper place seems to be after Bāppade, line 42.
5 Read पुरुप्रबाहः.
6 Just before this word there is the numerical symbol for 2 denoting the number of the plate.
7 Read एकार्णकः.
8 This isarga is redundant.
9 Read विभाजन: This is probably a mistake for विभाजनोक्ति. See the regnal year mentioned in line 41.
10 These seven aksharas are of a large size and have been incised over others which were carefully beaten in.
11 Read सत्यस्य and असत्यस्य so as to make them agree with ह्रदामयः.
12 Read सवर्महा।
13 This should qualify a word like ब्राह्म; but the drafter of the record forgot that the object of the grant was four hundred aśvārāṇas of land, not the whole village.
14 Read कवितादेस्यः.
15 Just before this word there is the symbol for 3, denoting the number of the plate.
Success! Seen. From the camp on the river Hiraṇyā—

By the order of the illustrious Pravarasena (II), the Mahārāja of the Vākṣākas and a devout worshipper of Maheśvara, who, by the grace of Sambhu, has established the Kṛita-yuga (Golden Age) on the earth, who was born of Prabhavatīgupta, the daughter of the Mahārājadhārīja, the illustrious Devagupta, (and) who is the son of the illustrious Rudrasena (II), the Mahārāja of the Vākṣākas—

(For translation of lines 1-14, see above, pp. 13-14.)

(There is) a village named Vēkusuka in the āhāra of Supratishtha, which lies to the east of Gridhragrāma, to the south of Kadambasarakā, to the west of Nīligrāma and to the north of Kōkilāra. From this (village) four hundred ninartanas—(in figures) 400—of land by the royal measure have been donated to Rudrāya of the Vāji-Lohitya gātra, who resides at Ekārjunaka and who has recited (the Vedic mantras) on the occasion of the Equinox (Vishwā). (For translation of lines 22-37, see above, pp. 14-15 and p. 32)

The (following) two verses sung by Vyāsa should be regarded as authoritative on this point:—

(Here follow two benedictory and imperative verses.)

(Line 41). (This charter has been) written by Māradāsa, while Bāppadēva is the Senapati, on the tenth (lunar day) of the bright (fortnight) or Jyēṣṭha in the twenty-fifth (regnal) year. May there be happiness!

1. Read तृसन्ध:भगवानमाणवयमान.
2. Read दाराम्य.
3. Read इन्द्रायुक्तितिपरदाराय न.
4. Read ग्रांथादित्य.
5. The superscript न of this akshara has been wrongly cancelled. Read हनु.
6. Metre of this and the next verse—Anusṭubh.
7. Read तन्नविविलासित.
8. Read महाविश्वास्याम.
9. The superscript letter of this conjunct which was ह has been corrected into प.
10. Read महाविश्वास्याम. The akshara नारसिंह which were inadvertently omitted here were afterwards wrongly incised in the lower right corner below line 14 on the first side of the second plate.
11. Read तिलकस्वात. There is an ornamental figure after this word.
12. This is possibly a part of the word दुस्सन्ध omitted before न्यायतम in line 20 above.
13. Read निद्रामत्स or निद्रानमत्स.
THESE plates were discovered at Paṭṭan, a village in the Multāi tahsil of the Bētul District in Madhya Pradesh. They were turned up in a field by the plough of a farmer in 1935. They were later acquired for the Central Museum, Nāgpur, where they are now deposited. I edited them with facsimiles in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXIII, pp. 81 f. They are edited here from the same facsimiles.

The copper-plates are five in number, of which the first and the last are inscribed on one side only and the remaining three on both the sides. Each plate measures 6.9" by 4" and is about 1" in thickness. The ends of the plates are neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims for the protection of the writing. About 1.9" from the proper right side of each plate there is a hole, 0.9" in diameter, for the ring which originally connected the plates. When the plates reached the Nāgpur Museum, the ring had been straightened and its seal, which is a round disc, separated from it. The usual band to which the seal must have been rivetted is not forthcoming now. The weight of the plates is 134 tōlās and that of the seal, 8½ tōlās. The plates are not now in a good state of preservation. Their surface, which originally was not made quite smooth, has been further damaged by rust. Many letters in the right half of line 45 and most of those in the two following lines have been almost obliterated by friction, but can be read, though with some difficulty, from the traces left on the plate. Each inscribed surface contains six lines, except the first side of the third plate which has only five lines inscribed on it. The seal contains the usual Vākāṭaka legend in verse, inscribed in four lines.

The characters are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets. The only peculiarities that call for notice are as follows:—The medial i (long) is generally denoted by a ringlet in the curve which represents its short form, but in one case (viz., Bhāgīratthya, line 7) by a curve turned in the opposite direction, and in another by a dot in the circle (cf. Śrī-Pravarasēṇa, line 19); the medial o is cursive in Lohapāraga, line 20; the medial au is bipartite everywhere; the subscript j and b have no notch on the left as in -ārījaya, line 10 and -āyur-bhala, line 27; a final consonant is indicated by its small form and in some cases by a short horizontal stroke at the top; cf. Pravarasēṇa, line 1, and dattam, line 23; the upadhīmāntya occurs in lines 15, 18, and 35 of the inscription and in line 3 of the legend on the seal. Punctuation is indicated by two or three vertical and somewhat curved lines followed by a dash.

The language is Sanskrit. Except for the legend on the seal and the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the whole record is in prose. It abounds in mistakes of orthography, sandhi, syntax, declension, conjugation, verbal and nominal derivatives etc., most of which must be attributed to the ignorance or carelessness of the writer. As regards mistakes of orthography, we may note the use of the short for the long vowel as in sunoh, line 4, of ri for the vowel rī and of li for the vowel lī as in Prithiva, line 14, and klipt-ōpaktīptah in line 33; in many cases the rules of sandhi have been violated; cf. gūmī samāptasya, line 12; For mistakes of declension, see such forms as pārvāyata, line 25, and for those of declension see kārayita, line 36, and kuruṣāmah, line 37. As an instance of wrong verbal derivatives, see kāravaka, lines 46-47 and for that of nominal derivatives, notice
rājakya (for rajaśhya), line 22. The writer has violated an elementary rule of concord in in sulayāḥ Prabhāvatiguptāyām, line 17 and of compounding in mūrdhna-ābhishiktādūḥa, line 7. As regards orthographical peculiarities sanctioned by Sanskrit grammar, we may notice that consonant preceding r and y is doubled in parākkrama-, line 6, and sarvādhyaksha, line 24, and that following r is similarly reduplicated in varddhamāna-, line 13.

The inscription, which opens with dīvīṣṭam, is one of the Vākāṭaka Mahārāja Pravarasēṇa II. His genealogy is given here as in his other plates, his maternal grandfather being called Dēvagupta. The object of the present plates, which were issued from Pravarapura1, is to record the grant of 400 m vaporas of land, by the royal measure2, in the Aṅvatthakhyēṣṭaka for the maintenance of a sattra or charitable feeding house in honour of the foot-prints of Mahāpurusha (Vishṇu)3. The village was situated in the mārga of Varadākhyēṣṭa included in the division (bhūga) of Lōhanagara. The gift was made at the request of Narāyaṇarāja. The charter was written on the seventh day of the dark fortnight of Karttika in the twenty-seventh (regnal) year. The scribe was Kālidāsa who was serving under the Senāpati Kātyāyana. The record was engraved by the goldsmith Īśvaradatta, who was a servant of Kaundarāja. It is stated at the end that Pitūmaha and Nanda caused the charter to be drafted.

The present plates furnish the last but one date so far known of Pravarasēṇa II’s reign. The mention of Pravarapura as the place of issue shows that the city continued to be the royal capital to the end of his reign. Kaundarāja whose servant Īśvaradatta incised the present charter is evidently identical with Kondarāja, the son of Satrughnarāja, at whose request the grant recorded in the Chammak plates was made4.

The mention of Kālidāsa in the present grant raises the interesting question of his identity with the illustrious Sanskrit poet of that name. The latter is generally placed in the Gupta period, but the earliest epigraphical mention of his name occurs in the Ahole prāsasti of Pulakēśin II, dated Śaka 556 (634 A.C.)5. This is the first time that the name Kālidāsa has been discovered in a record of the Gupta period.

Kālidāsa, no doubt, figures only as a scribe in the present grant, but that does not per se disprove his identity with the great Sanskrit poet. Such charters were generally drafted and written on copper-plates by clerks working in the office of the Sāndhisvarapaksha or Minister for peace and war, but sometimes we find even great officers mentioned as writers of such documents. Thus the writer of the Tirōḍī plates of Pravarasēṇa II was the Chief Minister (Rājyādīḥ) himself6. Again, according to a tradition recorded by Rāmadāsa, a commentator of the Setubandha, Kālidāsa composed the Prakrit kāya for Pravarasēṇa by the order of Vikramaditya7. This he must have done during his sojourn in Vidarba. The idea of writing the Mehhadātta seems to have suggested itself to the poet’s mind at Rāmtekh near Nāgpur (Rāmagiri of the Mehhadāta), which we know was a holy place visited by the

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1Since the grant was made at the capital, the expression vaṣjayaikya dharmas-tīhāṇa occurs in it as it does in other Vākāṭaka grants made at the capital.
2The same expression occurs in the Wadgaonplates (No. 12). See also Rājanāmika in No. 6, line 18. There may have been local measures called viṣhaya-mana. Cf. Sānkheṭa plates of Dadda II (C. I. I., Vol. IV., p. 77).
3For a similar grant of a slightly later period, see the Podāgadh inscription, Ep. Ind. Vol. XXI, p. 156. For Mahāpurusha or Mahāpurusha meaning Vishṇu, see the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, II, 1, 10; V, 15, 4 and 6; 17, 16-17; VIII, 6, 32, etc.
4See No. 6, line 19.
5Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, pp. 1 f.
6No. 11, line 32.
7Nirṇayagar Press ed., p. 3; see also the colophon of the last canto.
Vākātakas\(^1\). It is not unlikely that while in Vidarbha, Kālidāsa was attached to the office of the Sīnāpati as stated in the present record. He may therefore be identified with the writer of this grant.

But a close examination of the present record shows that this view is untenable. The scribe of the present plates had a very imperfect knowledge of Sanskrit. As pointed out above, there are numerous orthographical and grammatical mistakes, for most of which the writer, not the engraver, must have been responsible. On the other hand, Kālidāsa had a great command over the Sanskrit language. He has emphasised the importance of correct speech in one of his similes\(^2\), and his works contain fewer instances of solecisms than those of his predecessors and successors. It is incredible that such a great poet as Kālidāsa would commit so many mistakes of orthography, sandhi, syntax, nominal and verbal forms, etc., which disfigure the present record. Disappointing as it is, one has to admit that the scribe was only a namesake and a contemporary of, but not identical with, the prince of Sanskrit poets. We may note here that similar names ending in dāsa were current in Vidarbha in the age of the Vākātakas. Thus we know of Namidāsa, a Sīnāpati, Chamidāsa, the Chief Minister, as well as the writers Chakradāsa, Gōladāsa and Māradāsa.

As for the localities mentioned in the present grant, Varadākhēta is probably Warūḍ in the Mōrāi tahsil of the Amarāvati District, about 12 miles south of Paṭṭan. Lohanagara, the headquarters of an ancient division, may be represented by Lonf, about 9 miles southwest of Warūḍ. The name of the village Āsvathakāhēta, in which the donated land was situated, can no longer be traced; its site seems to be occupied by the modern village Paṭṭan. Tradition says that the ancient village, the site of which is now included in Paṭṭan, was turned upside down and buried underground by the curse of a Muslim saint Sulaimān Shah\(^3\). Even now when excavations are made, large-size bricks, beads of onyx and old coins are found there, which also shows that the modern village is occupying an old site. It may, again, be noted that Paṭṭan lies on the way from Multāi to Warūḍ (ancient Varadākhēta), and may, therefore, have been included in the mārga (territorial division) of Varadākhēta.

Text\(^4\)

First Plate

| 1 | हृद्य (हृद्य) | स्वरूप(त्य) | अभिषेकठापानिहित्योधिकोक्षस्य- |
| 2 | इतिविरिज्ञायणवेदनिक्षिप्तविशिष्ठसाधरसृवरस्वस्य- |
| 3 | महेश्वरायन विश्वविद्यालय सरस्वतीं वाकार्तका- |
| 4 | नामपरागराज्यसंसरस्य सु(म) नो सु(म) नोरवल्य (ल) वामाम- |
| 5 | हायसपुरभंतस्य अन्नोभाराजश्रवीलिथविलृद्धिकहर- |
| 6 | वसुपरितुष्टसमुद्रितारविवरवाना स्वारकमनसितभा- |

Second Plate: First Side

| 7 | मीराज्य (र्यव) मल्लज्ञमूर्ति (घो) भीष्मकलामात्रशिवसमाधामृतस्वाता- |

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\(^{1}\) No. 8, line 1.

\(^{2}\) Kumārasambhava, canto I, v. 27.

\(^{3}\) Belut District Gazetteer, p. 256.

\(^{4}\) From the facsimiles facing pages 86-88 in Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIII.

\(^{5}\) Read सम्राट।

\(^{6}\) Read अंग।

\(^{7}\) Read वागवा।
8 नानामानी(श्री)बानामहाराजश्रीमत्नाग [श्री]हिस्सद गोतमोप-  
9 शुरुनम् वाकातकानामहाराजश्रीदेशस्तिर्य सु(सू) तौर-  
10 चन्द्रम(त) मात्रयुक्त सत्याजयकाशयम् (ष्ठ) शास्त्रियविभक्तम्-  
11 विभवमहाराजश्रीमत्व (ष्ठ) पारम्परम् [कितव्] सांतानम्-  
12 कितव् परम्परामविभक्तमनामम् श्यामदुर्गः [ष्ठ] समुपेतस्  

Second Plate: Second Side  

13 वाकातकानामहाराजश्रीदेशस्तिर्य सांतानुपुत्रो-  
14 तु (ष्ठ) श्री: वृंदावनमानमहाराजश्रीमत्वप्रि-  
15 सन्नयः सु(सू) मोनक्षकालस्वरूपाणि प्रस्तावप्रितिज्ञश्रीमम्-  
16 मद्ययावाकातकानामहाराजश्रीदेशस्तिर्य सु(सू) नां-  
17 मम (मम) हाराराजश्रीदेशस्तिर्यस्तुताया।५ व्रतार्थम् [ष्ठ] गुना-  
18 यामृतमवसः श्रमोप्रभापृच्छितां कार्युपुयम् वाकातकाना  

Third Plate: First Side  

19 प्रमाणपालिकष्ठराजश्रीदेशस्तिर्य बचना [ष्ठ] ल।  
20 लोकमण्डलम् वरदादेवमाणि अड्डवर (ष्ठ) लेखके  
21 महायुतदम्पारोगां प्रागो मनस्व [ष्ठ] आच ग्रामे रा-  
22 जसमादे [ष्ठ] भर्मांनित्यनन्दातानि १२ चतुर्वरिष महायुतप-  
23 दमलस्तीवास्याये १० नारायणराज्यज्ञानं वस्तु [ष्ठ]  

Third Plate: Second Side  

24 वाकातकानामहाराजश्रीदेशस्तिर्य अत्यावस्था-  
25 रिकिक्षतः प्रतिश्रीमति महाश्री ब्रह्मच ब्रह्मचरियांवर्ष (ष्ठ) वायु-  
26 श्रीविनिमति [ष्ठ] विभिन्नसूत्र व (ष्ठ) व (ष्ठ) एव [ष्ठ] प्रमार्थिनाम-  
27 तो द्रमध्यास्त्रोखां जयंजयं जयं दिव्यं घोषितन-  
28 लब्धतामनन्दाय वरदादेवम् अत्यावस्था (ष्ठ) उदक-  
29 पुरुषमन्त्रित: [ष्ठ] अवस्था तीव्रस्त्रूतितायांन्तर (ष्ठ) तुमति वायु-  

Fourth Plate: First Side  

30 अऽ (अऽ) शंप्रायां (ष्ठ) हारमपदिताचितरम् १२ [ष्ठ] तदाभ अकर्षाय: अनन्त-  
31 चछ (चछ) ब्रह्मचरियः: अवार्तिकामिविविधां: अत्यावस्थायस्त्रूति: [ष्ठ] अ-  

1 The box at the top of श्री is not completely incised.  
2 All other Vākapūrāṇa grants discovered so far read नृत्ययुक्त प्रुक्तिः, thus making the construction ambiguous. The reading in the present plates shows that the adjectival expressions from अत्यावस्था-  
3 This expression is unnecessarily repeated.  
4 Read पूकास्वपनम्.  
5 Read सुप्रस्थ.  
6 Read तू-  
7 Read शोभसहीनो.  
8 Read राजकृतमनन्दा.  
9 The engraver has cancelled a redundant stroke on the left of श्री.  
10 Read विभिन्नसूत्रा and विभिन्नसूत्रा दशानि.  
11 The construction is faulty here. We should have either एव [ष्ठ] प्रितस्त्रूत्ता एव [ष्ठ] वहारः  

12 Read विभिन्नसूत्रा. The writer has forgotten that the present grant was made to a temple and not to Brāhmaṇas versed in the four Vēdas. Notice श्रीहर्मपदिताचितरम् in lines 36-37 below. Some of the prohibitions and exemptions laid down here are appropriate only in the case of a gift of a whole village.
PATTAN PLATES OF PRAVARASENA II

Scale: Seven-tenths
PATAN PLATES OF PRAVARASENA II

32 पा (चा) रत्ननमाल्यामः। अवलोकनेकसािनकः सभेशे (वि) निपारीहाः- 33 रघुराध्वः। ३ सभेशे। संरेष्णिससमक्षः (क्लू) संगमिकः (क्लू) पत्रः आचार्याधिकार- 34 लोकः पुनर्जातानुगमी न्यूयमान (नौ) न केनिकाहाधीतानुमयः। 35 सर्वान्ति (किस्य) वाभिस्त्व (स्व) रक्षिताद्विविधितत्ववक्षः। [११] वृष्णासनम्- 36 गण्यमानः। [११] स्वतत्तमपुरस्वरा परिवारं कुड्काकारिनेता वा। [११] तत्त्वायाः 37 वेदविद्वादृश्य सदृश्यनिर्धारः कुड्काम्। (म) [११] अभ्रतरः। प्रमेयारः। 38 रोगः अत्यात्मकरात्रता (स) सैंवन्नन्तमितीपालः। (से) कुड्कम्। (ष्ठा)। 39 नुसीनपरिदारश्वासः। कौतैयाः। [११] व्यासगीता। ब्राह्मण। ब्राह्मण। 40 प्रभारणीकारोधं। [११] सुदताम्परंदता। व्या। (वा)। यो हरेय। बुश्यभासम्। [११] 41 गवा शतसमाल्य हनुमंदिति दुष्कर्त्तः। [११] [२१।२१] 42 पन्तिष्ठष्ठष्ठारायण स्वर्गः मोदिति सुमिथवः। [११] आचार्याः 43 बालगुष्ठा ज्ञातात्मक नरके। वस्मिवति। [२१।२१] सांवसरे। सताविषाणः। 44 कार्तिककहुत्यासनानुमान सेनपतिकारायणः। 45 सर्वाकारणु किरितित। (स) काव्यव्रतमात्रः। [११] कौष्ठिकारपुस्तकं। 46 सुष्मतारक रथः। (तम)। अस्य शासनस्य काराः। 47 वको पितामहते। ॥

Seal

1 वाकारकल्लक (ल) र (ल) मग्य 2 क्रंज्ञानान्तप्रश्रणः। [११] 3 राजस्वानस्य 4 शासनस्य रिपुरासनम्। ॥

Translation

Scrn. Hail! From Pravarapura—

By the order of the illustrious Pravarasena (II), the Mahārāja of the Vākātakas, and a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, who, by the grace of Śambhu, has established the Kṛitayuga (Golden Age) (on the earth), who was born of Prabhāvatīgupta, the daughter of the Mahārājādhiraja, the illustrious Deva-gupta, (and) who is the son of the illustrious Rudrāsena (II), the Mahārāja of the Vākātakas—

(For translation of lines 1-16, see above, pp. 13-14.)

(The residents of) the village led by the Brāhmaṇas in Aśvatthakhēta in the mārga of Varadākhēta (included) in the bhūga of Lōhanagara, should be addressed as follows:—

1 Read कारान्तः।
2 Read अस्मिसंस्यः।
3 The amusāra is superfluous.
4 Metre of this and the next verse: Anushtubh.
5 Read कौष्ठिकारपुस्तकं।
6 What looks like a dot in the middle of the circle denoting medial i is probably due to a fault in the copper.
7 The letters in the brackets can be read with certainty on the original plate.
8 Read मुषुष्णकारणः।
9 Metre: Anushtubh.
In this village we have donated, at the request of Nārāyanarāja, four hundred
nārāyanas of land by the royal measure, to be utilised for the charitable feeding house
(attached to the temple of) Mahāpurusha (Viśṇu).
(For translation of lines 24-39, see above, pp. 14-15 and p. 32.)
(Line 39). And the following two verses sung by Vyāsa should be regarded as authori-
tative on this point:—

(Here occur two benedictive and imprecatory verses.)
(Line 43). (This charter has been) written by Kālidāsa, a servant of the Śīnāpati
Kātyāyana on the seventh (lunar day) in the dark fortnight of kārttika in the twenty-
seventh (regnal) year. (It has been) engraved by the goldsmith Īśvaradatta, a servant of
Kaundarāja. The executors of this (royal) charter are Pitāmaha and Nanda.

Seal
(For translation of the legend on the seal, see above, p. 27.)
PATTAN PLATES OF PRAVARASENA II

Scale: Seven-tenths
PÂNDHURNÂ PLATES OF PRAVARASÊNA II

THESE plates are said to have been found in 1942 when the old house of one Kadu Patil was being demolished at Tâgun, a village six miles North by West from Pândhurnâ on the Itârs-Nâgpur line of the Central Railway, in the Chhindwârâ District of Madhya Pradesh. Later, they reached the hands of Mr. M. G. Karnik, I.A.S., while he was Deputy Commissioner at Chhindwârâ. They were brought to my notice in October 1957 by Mr. V. P. Rode, who had seen and deciphered them partially at Mr. Karnik’s residence. At my request Mr. Karnik very kindly allowed Mr. Krishna Dev, Superintendent, Archaeological Department, to take their estampages, from which I first deciphered the record. Later, Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist, kindly supplied me with a set of ink impressions which are reproduced here. I have received some help in the decipherment and interpretation of this grant from Mr. N. L. Rao. I am grateful to all these friends who have helped me in one way or another. I edit the record here from the impressions received from Mr. Krishna Deva and Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra.

The copper-plates are five in number, each measuring 7.5" by 3.7". The first and the last plate are inscribed on one side only and the remaining three on both the sides. The plates have a hole, 5" in diameter, for the ring which strung them together, but neither the ring nor the seal which it must have carried has been found. All the plates are in a good state of preservation. Their weight is 195 tâlás.

The record consists of 55 lines, which are unevenly distributed on the eight sides of the five plates, some having six and others seven or eight lines inscribed on them. The first two and the last two plates are neatly engraved. The letters on the third plate are, however, carelessly incised. In some places they are imperfectly formed or run into one another. The language of this portion of the record is very faulty and contains some Prakrit words and affixes. This clearly indicates that this plate is spurious. It seems to have been substituted for the original third plate of the grant.

The characters are of the box-headed variety. The following peculiarities may be noted: The medial i (long) is shown either by a dot in a curve as in -kâlyâ, line 42, or by two curves, one inside the other, as in śrî-Pravarasêna, in line 4; the medial au is bipartite as in dauhitrasya, line 8; t and n are sometimes confused as in âchchhêntâ, lines 51-52; the letter l has generally a short vertical on the right, but sometimes it sharply curves to the left; see Lëkhapalikâ- in line 26; the sign of jiheämâlîya occurs in line 43 and the numerical symbols for 20, 9, 7 and 5 in lines 27, 28, 30, 31 and 53.

The language is Sanskrit, and except for two benefactive and imprecatory verses at the end, the whole record is in prose. The portion on the third plate, which, as shown above, is probably spurious, is very carelessly drafted and contains some Prakrit words such as ratthavva or vâthavva (for vâstavya) in lines 28 and 31, and pûnwisâ or pûnwisâ (for pûchcanâkattâ) in lines 26 and 29. Some of the expressions used in this portion are, again, very obscure; see, e.g. padamañâti in line 28 and nijuttinârâti in line 31. In other parts the present record does not present any difficulties of interpretation. As regards orthography, we may note that a nasal is used for anuvâra as in anu-, line 5 and triñêî, line 53; li is used for the vowel ã in sa-klîpt-śakîpta in line 41 and the consonant following r is reduplicated as in abhvârdâhâmâna-, line 13.
The record opens with the word *drśiṣṭam* ‘seen’. The charter was granted by the *Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena II*. His genealogy is given here as in his other grants, his maternal grandfather being called *Rājādhīrājā Dēvagupta*. The plates were issued from the temple of *Pravarēśvara*, but the place where this temple was situated has not been mentioned. Pravarēśvara was evidently the name of the Śivalinga installed by the Vākāṭaka king *Pravarasena I* and named after himself. The territorial division in which the temple was situated is called *Pravarēśvara-shādvyimāṇī-vātaka* in the Bēlorā plates (two sets), issued in the early part of Pravarasena II’s reign. Its exact location cannot be determined, but it was probably situated in the Wardhā District.

The present grant is dated, in line 53, on the *tenth tithi of the dark fortnight of Vaisālīkha* in the *twenty-ninth regnal year* of Pravarasena II. It is the last known grant of this king. It was written by Āchārya1 while Mādhappa was the Sēnāpati.

The object of the present inscription was to record the gift of two thousand *navartana* of land in the village *Dhuwavātaka* included in the territorial division of *Vāruchcharājya*, to several Brāhmaṇas of different *Charanas* (*jākhās*) and *gotras*. Only four of them viz. Yajūjārya, Bhūjārya, Sōmārya and Dharmārya are mentioned by name. All of them belonged to the Vājasaṃśya or White Yajūvēda, and the first three of them are explicitly stated to be of Kaunḍinya *gotra*. The villages *Brāhmaṇavātaka*, *Ajakarna*, *Badarigrāma* and *Darbhapatha* are mentioned while stating the boundaries of Dhuvavātaka. This donated land was given in exchange for another village named *Vijayapallīvātaka*2 which had been previously gifted by Prithivirāja i.e. by Prithivishēpa I. In the spurious third plate which was inserted in the charter later, two other gifts of twenty-five *navartana* each, together with an additional *navarta* for building a residential house, are recorded on the occasion of *tilavūčhanaka* (i.e. *ṣrāddha*) in favour of the Brāhmaṇa *Sōmārya*, who was one of the donees of the original grant and resided at Kāḷāra. The first piece of land was situated in the village of *Lēkhamallikā* and the second in that of *Saṅgamikā*, both being included in the territorial division called *Ārammirājya*.

Both these gifts purport to have been made in the same regnal year as the original grant, viz. the twenty-ninth, but the first was given on the seventh day of the fifth fortnight, and the second on the ninth day of the seventh fortnight of the rainy season. It will be noticed that this method of recording a gift in a season, a fortnight and a day is different from that used in line 53 while registering the original gift viz. by citing a month, a bright or dark fortnight and a tithi. Such season dates occur only in two other Vākāṭaka inscriptions viz. the Bāsim plates3 of Vindhyasakti II and the Dudli plates4 of Pravarasena II. This difference in dating the two gifts adds to the suspicion about the genuineness of the third plate in which they are recorded. It seems plain that the Brāhmaṇa Sōmārya, in whose favour they are said to have been made, got the third plate prepared and engraved, and surreptitiously inserted it in the original charter.

As for the localities mentioned in this grant, *Vijayapallīvātaka* may be Bijagōra on the left bank of the Kanhañ, about four miles to the north of the Multāt-Chhindwārā road. *Vāruchcha*, the headquarters of the *Vāruchcha-rājya*, may be Vārēgaon, about four miles west of Pāṇḍhurṣāra. The village *Dhuwavātaka*, in which the donated land was situated, cannot now be traced, but two of its boundary villages still exist in the neighbourhood

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1Achārya was the scribe of the Siwani plates (No. 7) also.
2For another such exchange, see No. 15, lines 6-7.
3No. 23, line 28 and 29.
4No. 10, line 28.
of Tīgaon. Thus Badarigrāma may be modern Bōrgaon which lies about two miles to the north, and Ajakarna may be the same as Ajangaon, about four miles south by east of Tīgaon. The two villages Lēkhapalliaka and Saigamika mentioned in the spurious third plate as situated in the territorial division of Ārammi-rājya may be identical with Lākhpur near Chikhali on the Multāi-Chhindwarā road, and Saigam near the confluence of the rivers Kanhan and Bel. Ārammi, the headquarters of the territorial division in which they were situated, may be identical with Āmāla, a station on the Iṭārī-Nāgpur line of the Central Railway. Ārammirājya is also mentioned in the Dudiā plates1 which, again, were found in the Chhindwarā District. Kāllāra where the Brāhmaṇa Sōmārya was residing may be Khērli, about 13 miles north of Multāi. The other places cannot be identified.

Test2

First Plate

1 दुस्तर्म [१४] प्रवर्षवरदेवकुप्लयादानात् [१५] अभिनद्वोमातीतंयमोक्षयः
2 धरतियतिरादानं विवेशवर्षकप्तिसवासारधिष्ठयः[१६]
3 तुरस्य (म) म (मे) हि (च) वाजे (ि) विण्ववुत्रस्नोत्रस्य समरसः 5 वाका-
4 टाकानामहाराजश्रीमार्गविरसतस्य सुन्तः सुन्तः आय-
5 नाता चार्मितरोत्तरभावनासंगीतः[१७] अन्तः भारतस्वभितस्तितिविना[१८] ज्ञः ज्ञः
6 द्वारा विवेकस्वरसहितस्तम्भाविदितराजविषयानामः ९ पराक्रमः
7 विधानसागरी रूपन्यात्रा ् १० अमुद्धुभिषितकाली दशास्मयासः

Second Plate: First Side

8 कथुच्चातानात् (नात्) महाराजश्रीं (श्रीं) भवेन (नात्) गवदित्वस्य गौत-
9 मोपुन्यः ११ वाकानामहाराजश्रीमार्गविरसतस्य सुन्तः [१५]
10 अवय्यमाहस्तिरस्य समरसः २६ कार्यस्वयमित्रिकम्
11 नवास्याधिकल्याचितविरतप्रातं १३ चर्म्भिन्ध-
12 विभवनोपमेश्वरिक्षं स्वस्तितस्य व्यक्तः २४
13 महाविधमानकोम्बोधकारस्त्राहस्ति नातानुष्ठानि[१४]
14 पुष्पिक्षिरुवते: वाकानात् (नात्) महाराजश्रीवित्रिविर-

Second Plate: Second Side

15 जम्बः २५ सुनुः: भवत्तथाचमाणः (पौ) प्रसादोपपुिजः [श्री] श्री-
16 समुद्यस्य वाकानाम (नात्) महाराजश्रीं (श्रीं) ह्रस्वस्य सुनोः १६ सुनोः

1 No. 10, line 13.
2 From ink-impressions supplied by Mr. Krishna Dev and Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra.
3 Read शाबकः.
4 Here and in several places below, the rules of sandhi have not been observed.
5 Read कमाजः.
6 Read सुरोः: सुरोः.
7 This mark of punctuation is redundant.
8 Read अः.
9 Read संज्ञाः.
10 Read वाकानामः.
11 Read गौतमीपुरुषः वृंदवः as in other cognate grants.
12 Read सत्याविजयः.
13 Read गौतमीपुरुषश्रीमार्गविरसतिन्यः.
14 Read कमाजः.
15 Read पुष्पिक्षिरुवते.
16 Read सुनुः: The following word is redundant.
Inscriptions of the Main Branch

Third Plate: First Side

23 सहकारण [7] राजकुमारोऽन 8 नामावधिकारिणयोऽन 9 व्रतात्मकः। तत्र प्रियारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्भारम्
PĀṇḍhurnā PLATES OF PRAVARASENA II

Scale: Three-fourths.
PĀDHURNĀ PLATES OF PRavarasēṇa II

34 वर(व) व (विनिमयस्तु व) वस्वाहासिताम: च मम्मायुवेक्ष्यवामे(व)विप्रव(च)ये द्हामुन- 

Fourth Plate: First Side

35 हितार्थान्तरत (समा) महाराज एवार (विनिमयस्तु) का द्वारमयास्तु अनुवादनत (स्थय) 
36 उदकपुनबल्लियमः[10] अत्योन्निताश्च पुवराजानुम- 
37 ता: [10] चारुबलाब्रमणमयात्मापरिहारायते कौलिकयमः[10] 
38 अकुलायः अस्तल्लुब्लान्त्वः[6] अराज्याय (स) परम्यो- 
39 वल्लिवे(व) अनुवादमन्त्रितः[10] अच(चार) राजसमार्गायाभ- 
40 रुः[10] अत्यन्तरान्तरकंतेन (विनिमयस्तु) चारुः[10] सबभे (विनिमयस्तु) द्विपरिहारपरिह- 

Fourth Plate: Second Side

42 कालियः[6] पुत्रोदिवमामि सन्तज्जान न केनवित्याय (स्थय) घा- 
43 धर्मात्याः[6] सबभे (विनिमयस्तु) स्म (स्म) रक्षितायः[6] परविन्दयित- 
44 अवस्थाः[6] मस्तावलसामसारपुण्यमार्गः (स्म) सवत्पाम्यपि प- 
45 रविवासः (त) तुष्यतावारोदित िथा तयश (सवत्पाम्यपि) 
46 स्य वसन्न्यिन्द्रते (स्य) कुव्रायमः [10] क्रियायामः[6] अस्मित (विनिमयस्तु) श्वाभर्तानकरणे 
47 अतः (सीमा) तान (त) करत्रावतात (त) सतीत्ज्ञत (त) नरपालन (नर) कुव्रायानुक्ति (को- 
48 तेनपरिहारातः (स्याय) न कीमयामः [10] वरा (व्याय) समीलो (तो) चात्र 

Fifth Plate

49 तेनोपि प्रमाणीकरतावः [10] सङ्करता (तः) प्रदस्तता (तः) [वा] यो हरं स- 
50 सुन्दरायः [10] नवत्र(व) शासस्तरस्य इत्यहं द्रव्यम् [10] ॥ २ ॥ ॥ ॥ 
51 वची (जभ्र) वर्षस्वायत्ताश्च वस्मां मात्रात दृष्टिः [10] आचरेः 
52 नता (त) चारुतत्तता न तान्वेत्र न तन्त (संसारस्य इत्यहं) ॥ २ ॥ ॥ 
53 कुण्डिलकः १० ॥ ॥ ॥ वेगास्मात्मामश्च कुण्डिलकः दशमध्यमः (व्याय) मू 
54 दिलितं सेनानियोऽभूतं। मा यस्तत्कैन 
55 दिलितं भवायमायं।[

Translation

Seen. From the place of the temple of Pravarēśvara—

By the order of the illustrious Pravarasēṇa (II), the Mahārāja of the Vākāṭakas, who, by the grace of Śambhu, has established the Kṛita-yuga (Golden Age) (on the earth), who was born of Prabhāvatiguptā, the daughter of the Rājādhāraśa, the illustrious Dīvagupta, (and) who is the son of the illustrious Rudrasēṇa (II), the Mahārāja of the Vākāṭakas—

1Read विद्यमणीक्रियायामायत्वः
2Read महाराजा if it has to qualify some word like धर्मात्याम्
3Read वसन्न्यिन्द्रते परविन्दयित- 
4Read कौलिकयामः
5Read अकुलायः
6Read अस्तल्लुब्लान्त्वः These expressions, which qualify some word like धर्मात्याम्, are really inapplicable here as the object of the gift is some land and not a village.
7Read सवंपरिवर्तीः
8Read करारः
9Metre of this and the following verse: Anushṭubh.
10Read सवंपरिनिमः
11दिलितं is unnecessarily repeated. Read आचरेः. Āchārya is mentioned as the scribe in line 35 of the Siwani plates (No. 7) also.
(For translation of lines 1 to 19, see above, pp. 13-14.)

(Line 19). In exchange for Vijayapallivātaka granted by Prithivirāja, land, measuring two thousand nivartanas by the royal measure in (the village) Dhuvavātaka, situated in (the territorial division called) Vāruchcha-rāhya which lies in the low ground by the western boundary of the village Brāhmanavātaka, to the north of the way to the village Ajakarna, to the east of the village Badari and to the west of (the village) Darbhapatha, has been donated (by Us) to Brāhmaṇas of various gōtras and charaṇas.

(Line 23). The recipients (of the gift) are as follows:—(This land) has been donated to Brāhmaṇas, the foremost of whom are Yajnārya and Bhojārya of the Vājasaṇēya (śākha) and the Kauṇḍinya gōtra, Somarya of the Vājasaṇēya (śākha) and Kauṇḍinya gōtra, and Dharmārya of the Vājasaṇēya (śākha).

(Line 26). Further, here at the place of religious worship (for Our well-being) in this and the other world at the recitation (of sacred texts) accompanied by a libation of sesamum seeds, on the 7th day in the 5th (fortnight) of the 29th (regnal) year, land measuring twenty-five nivartanas by the royal measure together with a nivartana for residence, situated in the village Lēkhaṇa, included in (the territorial division) Ārammi-rāhya, has been donated to Somārya of the Vājasaṇēya (śākha) and the Kauṇḍinya gōtra, residing at Kallāra.

(Line 29). Again, here at the place of religious worship (for Our well-being) in this and the other world, at the recitation (of sacred texts), accompanied by (a libation of) sesamum seeds, on the 9th day in the 7th (fortnight of) the rainy season in the (regnal) year, land measuring twenty-five nivartanas together with a nivartana for residence, situated in (the village) Saṅgamikā in (the territorial division) Ārammi-rāhya, has been donated to Somārya of the Vājasaṇēya (Śākha) and the Kauṇḍinya gōtra, residing at Kallāra.

(Line 32). Wherefore, Our officers of noble birth, who are employed by the order of the Savarāhyaksha (General Superintendent) and who exercise their authority by (Our) command, (Our) soldiers and policemen should be directed by the following command which is well-known (to them):—

"Be it known to you that in order to increase (Our) religious merit, power and victory and to secure (Our) well-being in this world and the next, (the aforementioned land) has been donated as a gift not previously made, with the pouring out of water at our victorious place of religious worship.

(For translation of lines 36 to 48, see above, pp.14-15 and p. 32.)

(Line 48). And the following verses sung by Vyāsa should be regarded as authoritative on this point:—

(Here occur two benedictory and imperative verses.)

(Line 52). This charter has been written by Āchārya, a servant of Mādhappa, on the tenth (tithi) of the dark fortnight of the month Vaisākha in the twenty-ninth (in figures) 20 (and) 9-year, Mādhappa being the Sēnāpati.

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1I.e., by Prithivishēna I.
2I.e., at a frāddha.
3Line 20 contains the word padannarāṭi followed by 20, the meaning of which is not clear to me.
4Line 31 contains another date and the word nījuttanarāṭi followed by 20, the significance of which is not clear to me.
PÂTNÂ MUSEUM PLATE OF PRAVARASENA II

This plate was first brought to notice by Dr. A. S. Altekar, who edited it without facsimiles in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XIV, pp. 465 f. Its exact find-spot was long unknown. In his introductory remarks Dr. Altekar stated that it was found ‘somewhere in the Central Provinces’. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal remarked in his History of India, 150 A.D. to 350 A.D., p. 74, that it came from Jabalpur. Dr. Hiralal thought, on the other hand, that the present plate belonged to the set of three or four plates found near Râmîch in Vidarbha, most of which are now missing. The present plate records the grant of a village and mentions its boundaries on all sides, but in the absence of definite information about its provenance none of the places could be satisfactorily identified. After a good deal of correspondence in 1936, I succeeded in settling the provenance of the plate, which enabled me to identify the places mentioned in it. I published a note on it in the Journal of the Nagpur University, No. II, pp. 48 f. I edit it here from an excellent facsimile of it, which I owe to the courtesy of the late Rai Saheb Manoranjan Ghosh, Curator of the Pâtnâ Museum.

From the information supplied by Dr. P. N. Sen of Narsinghpur it seems that the plate was discovered in about 1919, while digging the foundation of the bungalow (or one of its out-houses) of the District Superintendent of Police at Balâghât. Dr. P. N. Sen, who was then Civil Surgeon at Balâghât, received the present plate from the District Superintendent of Police (whose name he could not recollect), and sent it to his brother Rai Bahadur Manmath Nath Sen. Dr. Sen does not know what became of the other plates of the set. Mr. M. N. Sen who was then Sub-divisional Officer at Jamatâ, Santal Parganâ, presented it to the Pâtnâ Museum through the Superintendent of Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, Pâtnâ. It has since then been deposited in that Museum.

The plate measures about 7\textquoteleft\textquoteleft 25" by 4\textquoteleft\textquoteleft 2" at the ends; the length is, however, 7-5" in the middle. The thickness is 1\textquoteleft. It is quite smooth and nicely preserved; hardly a single letter has been damaged. Its edges are neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. Letters are distinct, but not very deep, so that they do not show through on the reverse. The engraving is good... Towards the proper right of the plate, about an inch from the centre, there is a hole about 35" in diameter. It was obviously intended for the ring to pass through, which must have for a long time connected this plate with the remaining ones of the set. The weight of the plates is 30 tâlâ.\footnote{J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XIV, pp. 465-66.}

The characters are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets. They resemble those of the other grants of the Vâkâṭaka king Pravarasena II. The only peculiarities that need be noted here are as follows:—The rare initial ai occurs in ailk-, line 7, and the subscript ja in Madhukaiharyya in line 4. The medial i (short) is turned to the right in kutumbinô, line 5; the medial au is bipartite as in Kaundinya, line 8; ñ and ñ are clearly distinguished; th is shown with a ringlet at the bottom as in Millukadatha-, line 3. The language is Sanskrit and the extant portion is wholly in prose. As regards orthography, the only peculiarity noticed

\footnote{I.C.P.B.I., p. 5.}
is the reduplication of the consonant following r as in -marga, line 3. The visarga is incorrectly omitted in several places. The upadhamaniya occurs in line 6.

The present plate is probably the third plate of a set of four or five plates. As in other grants of Pravarasena II, the first two plates must have contained the name of the place of issue and the genealogy of the donor. The record on the present plate commences with the description of Pravarasena II as the son of Prabhavatigupta and as one who carried the stula obtained by the favour of (the god) Sambhu. This is the only grant of Pravarasena II in which he is described in this manner, the usual expression being Sambhaḥ prasāda-dhūrīti(tra)-Kārtyagasya meaning that he had established the Kṛīta-yuga or the Golden Age on the earth by the grace of the god Sambhu. The expression in the present plate makes a better sense and recalls a similar description of the Bhāravas that their royal family was created by the god Śiva, who was pleased by their carrying his linga (or emblem such as trisula) on their shoulders.

The object of the present plate is to record the grant, by the Vākṣṭaka Mahārāja Pravarasena II, of the village Śrīparnakā to three Brāhmaṇas, viz., Gaṅgārya, son of Vēdārya, of the Bhāravāja gōtra, Vasuṛāya of the Kauṇḍinya gōtra and Rudrāya of the Tailtiriya śākhā and Kauṇḍinya gōtra. The donated village was situated in the marga of Sundhāti and lay to the east of Brahmapuraka, to the west of Millukadratha, to the north of Madhukajjarī and to the south of Darbhaviraka. The grant was made in exchange for the previous gift of the village Mānapallikā which was situated on the marga of Yasāpura. The reason which necessitated this exchange is not stated. As in the Siwani plates, the village granted is described as sa-paṁchālasaka, the meaning of which is uncertain. Fleet doubtfully suggested that the expression possibly meant 'with fifty hamlets'. This does not appear to be correct. Dr. Altekar thinks that it indicates some fiscal privilege. Perhaps it means 'together with the sales tax amounting to one-fiftieth of the sale price.'

It is noteworthy that the grant was made by Pravarasena II for the accumulation of religious merit and for (well-being in) this world and the next of his mother (mātri-bhaṭṭārikā). This shows that the present plate does not belong to the same set as the Rāmṭek plate; for the latter records a grant made by Pravarasena II for the increase of his own religious merit, life, strength and prosperity as well as for his well-being in this world and the next. The extant portion mentions no date.

As for the places mentioned in the present plates, Dr. Altekar thought that Brahmapuraka was the same village which was gifted by Pravarasena II by his Siwani plates. He identified it with Brāhmaṇawāḍā near Achalpur. This identification is not correct; for Brahmapuraka mentioned in the Siwani plates was situated in the Beṇākārparabhoga which, as we have seen, comprised the territory in the vicinity of the Beṇā or Wāingānḍ. It could not have been situated so far in west in the Achalpur tahsil of the Amrāvati District. Dr. Altekar's identification of Madhukajjarī with the Madhunadi mentioned in the Channak plates cannot also be accepted for the same reason. As the plates were discovered at Bālīghāṭ, we must search for the places mentioned in them in the vicinity of that town.

1Sec, e.g., No. 3, lines 15-16.
2No. 7, line 20.
4Cf. Munuswami, VII, 139. पञ्चात्रिप्राच्छ अद्वियो राजा पञ्चात्रिप्राच्छ: ।
5See No. 16, lines 2-3.
7Above, p. 29.
I have been able to identify some of them with the help of detailed Survey maps. Brahmapuraka is probably Bahmani, about 12 miles north by west of Bālaṅghat. It lies on the road which connects Lālbūrā with Samnāpur. The latter may represent ancient Sundhā or Sundhāpura. Madhukajjhari is probably Murjhar, about 3 miles south-east of Bahmani, and Millukadratha, modern Mugardarā, 2 miles north by east of Bahmani. Nothing corresponding to Śriparṇakā can be traced in the vicinity of these places, but it was probably situated between Bahmani and Mugardarā. Darbhaviraka cannot now be traced.

It will thus be seen that like the villages named in the Tīrōḍī plates1, the villages mentioned in the present grant can be traced in the Bālaṅghat District. As shown elsewhere, the villages mentioned in the Siwani plates can be located in the Bhanḍārā District2. These identifications show that the country under the direct rule of Pravarasena II comprised the modern districts of Bālaṅghat and Bhanḍārā and extended to the western boundary of Dakshina Kōsala.

**Third Plate: First Side**

1 प्रभवतिपुत्तियासमुक्तमुल्यावशयम् शाश्वोṣ्या । प्रभवतिः ।। ॥
2 यस्य वारकानामभाराजस्य श्रीभवस्यायं चतुष्ठी । प्रभवतिः ।। ॥
3 नागं बाल्यस्य पुनरं । मल्यकशाईयापरं ।। ॥
4 सयुक्तमन्ये चौतर्तं । द्वितीयकस्य । दलितम्यान ।। ॥
5 नागं (सम) प्रास्य तत्र कुष्टिको शामवस्यन्तर्वक्तव्याः ।। ॥

**Third Plate: Second Side**

6 यवासमाः यवसुरे मारो माणारिकामुखांचरपिरसीपाये ।
7 हस्तकापतु माल्यभारारंगे श्रीवासतां एहकामुक्तमेव ।.
8 धाराजस्योवधायपुष्पज्ञायः कौश्यविषयां (य) समायाः ।
9 त्वस्यद्वितीयमन्ये कौश्यविषयां (य) तैतितीर (रीव) द्राघिणी (श) समिमायाः ।
10 परिश्रेष्ठे सुपुत्ताको (को) जामो दत्त (कत, ॥)

**Translation**

(The first two plates of this grant are not forthcoming.)

By the order of the illustrious Pravarasena II, the Mahārāja of the Vākṣtakas, born of Prabhavati Gupta, who, by the grace of Śambhu, wields a spear, . . . .

(There is) a village named Śriparṇakā, in the territorial division (mārga) of Sundhāti, (which lies) to the east of Brahmapuraka, to the west of Millukadratha and to the north of Madhukajjhari, and to the south of Darbhaviraka. The householders and residents of the

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1 Above, pp. 48 f.
2 Above, p. 29.
3 From ink impressions supplied by the Curator of the Pātā Museum.
4 The dot in the superscript curve of this akṣara is probably due to a fault in the copper.
5 Read प्रभवतिपुत्राणम् मण्डलितम् as in other cognate grants.
6 Perhaps कृष्णापम् was intended.
7 The expression is incomplete. Read द्वितीयेवत्रविकारम्. Cf. द्राघिणायाः which occurs in several cognate plates.
8 Read कुष्टिकम् as the drafter has used a compound containing the names of the three donees.
9 The anuvāra on this akṣara may have been cancelled.
village should be informed that for the increase of the religious merit and for the well-being, in this world and the next, of Our Queen-Mother, We have donated (this) village extending to its boundaries together with the right to levy a tax of one-fiftieth (of the sale price) to (the Brāhmaṇas) Gaṅgārya, son of Vēdārya, of the Bhāradyāja gōtra, Vasurārya of the Kaunḍīnya gōtra (and) Rudrārya of the Kaunḍīnya (gōtra) and Taïtīrīya Śākhā, in exchange for the previously donated Mānapallikā in the territorial division (mārga) of Yasāpura.

(The subsequent plates of the grant are not forthcoming.)
THIS plate belongs to a set of about five copper-plates which was discovered a few years ago by some contractors while digging for manganese at Mansar near Rāmtēk, about 23 miles from Nagpur. The contractors divided the plates among themselves. After some of them had left the province, the news of the discovery reached Mr. G. P. Dick, Barrister-at-Law of Nagpur, who could consequently recover only one of the plates. It was in his possession until his departure for England. Subsequently, it seems to have been lost. Dr. Hiralal, to whom impressions and photographs of the plate were sent soon after it was discovered, gave a short account of it in his Inscriptions in C.P. and Berar (second edition), pp. 4-5. As the plate was unpublished, I requested Dr. Hiralal to send its ink impressions to me. He complied with my request, but the impressions were lost in transit. He subsequently sent me its photographs, from which I edited it with facsimiles in the Nagpur University Journal, No. III, pp. 20-21. I edit it here from the same facsimiles.

As shown below, the present plate records a Vākātaka grant. A Vākātaka copper-plate inscription generally consists of five plates. Of them, the first two contain the genealogy of the donor, commencing from his ancestor Pravarasēna I. On the third plate are generally given the particulars about the grant—the occasion on which it was made, the name, āsta etc. of the donee, the name of the village, its boundaries, etc. The fourth plate enumerates the conditions of the grant and the immunities allowed to the donee. This is followed by the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses, the regnal year when the grant was made and the names of the writer and the Dūtaka, which occupy the fifth plate. The present plate, which contains an enumeration of the immunities, is, therefore, the fourth or penultimate plate of its set. The photographs sent by Dr. Hiralal measure 5½" by 3½". About 1½" from the proper right end of them there is a round hole, 0·3" in diameter, for the ring which must have originally held the plates together. As the scale of the photographs is not known, it is not possible to state the exact dimensions of the original plate. Judged by the photographs which have considerably faded, the plate seems to have been in a good state of preservation, only two or three letters in the last two lines being slightly damaged by rust. There are five lines on either side. The fifth line on the first side is somewhat shorter than the rest as there was no sufficient space for more letters in the lower proper left corner.

The characters are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets and closely resemble those of the other grants of Pravarasēna II. The only peculiarities worth noticing are that (i) the medial au, which is generally bipartite in Vākātaka records, is shown by two curves in pautra, line 7, the curve on the right hand being wrongly made to turn to the left; (ii) the sign for the medial i (long) is a curling curve generally turning to the left (cf. kṣāra-, line 4), but in bhuṣijataḥ (for bhuṣijata) in lines 7-8, it turns to the right; (iii) the signs for the jihvāmālīya and upadhmānīya occur in lines 4 and 8 respectively. The language is Sanskrit, and the extant portion is wholly in prose. As will be seen from the transcript given below, the record has been written very incorrectly and carelessly. Absence of sandhis, omission of the visarga, the use of n for ṅ and of incorrect grammatical forms like kāryād and kārayita are some of the glaring mistakes. Similar mistakes are, however, noticed in all Vākātaka grants. The scribe has omitted some words at the end of line 1 and several more after utm-anugrahāya in line 3 as shown below in the notes to the transcribed text.
As the first three plates are not forthcoming now, all important particulars such as the names of the donor and the donee, the land or the village granted, its boundaries etc. are lost. But as the characters of the present plate resemble those of the Patnā Museum and other plates of the Vakāṭaka king Pravaraśena II, the present grant also was probably made by him. The opening words of the extant portion state that it was made for the increase of religious merit, life, strength and prosperity of the donor. This statement clearly shows that the present plate could not have belonged to the same set as the Patnā Museum plate which records a gift for the increase of the religious merit of Pravaraśena II's mother. The subsequent portion records the usual immunities granted in respect of agrahāra villages. Except for certain variants, they are identical with those which usually figure in Vakāṭaka copper-plate inscriptions. The concluding lines convey the royal order that none should cause an obstacle in the enjoyment of the gift, but that it should by all means be protected and augmented. This was followed by the usual warning, only a part of which appears on the present plate, that whoever, disobeying the royal order, would cause the slightest hindrance, would receive condign punishment, if reported against by the Brāhmaṇas. In the absence of the last plate, it is not possible to state the names of the writer and the Dūtaka nor the regnal year when the grant was made.

The plate does not make any addition to our historical information; for the formal part of the grant which is preserved on the present plate is common to several other Vakāṭaka inscriptions.

**Text**

**Fourth Plate: First Side**

1 सर्वाणां यथायोगमुक्तता आज्ञासहरांसहिरुक्तूल्य तथाग्न
2 वस्तुमया यथाप्राप्तसमपन्नामयाये
3 महत्वं किबुञ्जयेहृत मातमातृकायान्वये
4 शासनप्राप्तम् अगारप्रियायाम् अयुज्यः
5 हृः अपारास्तम्भानास्मात्स्त्रित्रयान्वये

**Fourth Plate: Second Side**

6 श्रीगिरिकस्य कष्टिच्यं विषपारिवर्तिन्हि तथा
7 परिवर्तितं आज्ञता विस्तारकालीयं दृष्टिकाणामी
8 योजितं न कन्तरिवा द्रष्टः कन्तरिवाद नाथिकाये

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1 From the facsimiles facing p. 28 in N.U.7., No. III.
2 Read कुष्ठपुत्रविवेकार्य भागात्नायति as in the Patān plates (No. 13), line 25.
3 Read विज्ञापत्तिस्यान्वयम्. Cf. विकुलाण्ड्वाल्वात्स्य in the Tīrōḍ and Chammak plates.
4 This mark of punctuation is superfluous.
5 Read नातेश्वर.
6 Some words like एव ग्राम उदरण्वयसंयुक्ततः अवनायातासमस्यां चापविद्वादानः वितान्तः। तद्भव are inadvertently omitted here.
7 Read अवमुक्तासः आपि.
8 Read अपारासः.
9 Other cognate Vakāṭaka plates generally read अववास्य, but the Patān plates have the same reading as here.
10 Other Vakāṭaka plates generally read अववास्य, but the Poona plates of Prabhāvatigupta read अववास्य.
11 The usual reading is सर्वाणां यथायोगमुक्तता.
12 Read पुत्राभासः.
Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum

Vol. VI

Plate XVI

Rāmtēk Plate of Pravaraśēna II

(from a photograph)
9 तथ्यः परिवर्तितमित्रयुक्तः [1०] वश्वासमृद्धिसनमनमतमानः
10 स्वप्राप्ति परिवाधि कृष्टिकारियताः वा तथ्य ब्राह्मणः.

TRANSLATION

(The first three plates of the grant are not forthcoming.)

(Our Officers of noble birth) who are employed by the order of the Sarvādiyaksha (General Superintendent) and who exercise their authority by (Our) command, [Our soldiers and policemen] should be directed by the following order which is already well-known to them:

(For translation of lines 2 to 10, see above, pp. 14-15.)

(The subsequent plates of the grant are not forthcoming.)

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1 Read -सनमानः.
2 Read नसिनां तुष्णोक्षीत्वा.
3 The concluding words of this sentence must have been - वेविन्धय तद्विन्धवाहु कृष्णां म as in other Vākāṭaka grants.
AN UNFINISHED DURG PLATE

This plate was discovered at Mōhalla, the headquarters of the former Pānābāras Zamindari in the Durg District of Madhya Pradesh. An ink impression of it was sent to the late Dr. Hiralal, but he did not consider it of sufficient importance for being included in his Inscriptions in C.P. and Berar. I came to know of it in January 1934 from a casual reference in his letter. Later, he sent me an ink impression of it on which he had fortunately jotted down the name of its owner. In the course of inquiries made by Mr. B. A. Bambawale, Deputy Commissioner of Durg, it was elicited that the plate was originally found at Mōhalla. It is now deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur. I edited it with a facsimile in the Bhārata Itihāsa Simādīhaka Manājala Quarterly, Vol. XV. Later, I re-edited it in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXII, pp. 207 ff. The inscription is edited here from the original plate.

This plate was intended to be the first of a set of three or four copper-plates recording the charter of a Vākātaka king. It is inscribed only on one side. It measures 8" by 3'75", and weighs 19½ " tālās. It is only 1/20" in thickness and is thus the thinnest of all Vākātaka plates discovered so far. About 1'9" from the middle of the proper right margin there is a hole, 35" in diameter, for a ring intended to connect it with other plates of the set. But no such ring has been discovered so far. The size of the plate and the position of the hole show that it does not belong to the same set as the Indore plates or the Pātnā Museum third plate of Pravarasēna II.

The plate contains five lines only. The letters are very neatly cut and do not show through on the reverse, though the plate is very thin. The ends of the plate are neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims; still the inscription is in a perfect state of preservation.

The characters are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets. They resemble in a general way those of the Riddhapur plates of Prabhāvatagupta. The only peculiarities that call for notice are as follows: The medial au is bipartite as in other Vākātaka grants; d has a round back and is not clearly distinguished from t; see -shōda-, line 1; m appears in a transitional cursive form, with the lower box attached to its left arm as in Agnisthōm-, line 1; its other form with the box attached to the right vertical, which is generally seen in the charters of Pravarasēna II, does not appear in this record. The two forms appear side by side in the Riddhapur plates of Prabhāvatagupta. The form of m used in the present plate develops ultimately into that found in the charters of the kings of Śrābhapura as well as in those of Tīvrapadeva. The final t and m appear in a much reduced size and the latter has a looped base. The language is Sanskrit and the extant portion is wholly in prose. The orthography shows the usual reduplication of the consonant preceding y and of that following r; see Bhāgirathys-, line 4 and Ṇyīrṇyām-, line 1.

With the exception of the place of issue, the record is identical, so far as it goes, with the initial portion of the charters of Pravarasēna II and Prithvishēna II. It mentions by name only one king of the dynasty, viz., Pravarasēna I. It then refers to his grandson who was a great devotee of Svāmi-Mahābhārata, and who was the daughter's son of Bhavanāga, the Mahārāja of (the family of) the Bhārasivas. The record on the plate stops just before the

1The article is included in G. H. Khare's Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan, Vol. II, pp. 1 ff.
mention of this grandson of Pravarasena I, viz., Rudrasena I. The plate purports to have been issued from Padmapura.

It seems that the inscription on the present plate was not completed; for the word drīshṭam 'seen' which usually occurs in the beginning of finished charters of the Vakāṭakas as a mark of authorization1 is conspicuous by its absence here. There is in fact sufficient space for three letters in the beginning of the first line, which shows that the word drīshṭam was intended to be incised there after the record was completed. It may again be noted that the present plate leaves space sufficient for five letters at the end of the last line. The word Gautamiputraśya which follows Bhavavāga-dauhitrasya in other Vakāṭaka records could very well have been written in that space. In fact the engraver seems to have begun to incise that word; for faint traces of the top portion of the first syllable of that word can be noticed on the plate. That the engraver left so much space at the end shows that he received an order to stop before he could complete the line. Whether the record was incised on another set of plates cannot be determined at present.

It is also difficult to determine who intended to issue the present plate. The general resemblance between the characters of the present plate and those of the grants of Pravarasena II suggests that it might be that Vakāṭaka king. It may, however, be noted that almost all the grants of Pravarasena II are issued from either his earlier capital Nandivardhana or the later one, Pravarapura. If he had intended to issue the present plate, Pravarapura, not Padmapura, would, in all probability, have been mentioned as the place of issue. Besides, the palaeographic evidence detailed above seems to show that the present plate may be assigned to a later date. Padmapura is not known to have been a holy place; nor is a word like vāsukāt added to it, showing that it was the site of the donor's camp. It seems therefore that Padmapura was the capital of a successor of Pravarasena II who intended to issue this charter.

It seems that the capital was shifted to Padmapura during the reign of Pravarasena II's son Narendraśa. The description in the Bāḷāghat plates that Prithivikṛṣṇa II raised his sunken family suggests that there was some foreign invasion during the reign of his father Narendraśa when he was reduced to great straits. The invasion was probably by the Nala king Bhavadattavarman, who later occupied the western portion of the Vakāṭaka dominion and ruled from the erstwhile Vakāṭaka capital Nandivardhana. The Vakāṭaka king Narendraśa in this emergency appears to have shifted the seat of his government to Padmapura in the east where he had the support of his loyal feudatories, the rulers of Mekalā and Kōsulā. Later, Narendraśa's son Prithivikṛṣṇa II drove the enemy out of his ancestral dominion and even carried the war into his territory. He appears to have invaded and burnt the Nala capital Pushkarī as stated in the P-dāgāḍh stone inscription.

The mention of Padmapura in the present plate is also interesting from another point of view. The well-known Sanskrit poet Bhavabhūti, who flourished towards the close of the seventh century A.C., mentions Padmapura in Vidarbha as his ancestral home. It is not unlikely that his ancestors who were great Mīmāṃsakas and performed such great Vedic sacrifices as the Vajapeya were specially invited to their capital Padmapura by the Vakāṭaka kings who were patrons of Vedic learning and themselves performed great Vedic sacrifices. After the decline of the Vakāṭakas there were no great royal dynasties ruling in Vidarbha. Bhavabhūti seems there-

1The only exceptions known so far are (i) the Riddhapura plates of Prabhāvatigupta (No. 8) and the India Office plate of Dēvasena (No. 24). It does not occur also in the Bāḷāghat plates of Prithivikṛṣṇa II, but that charter also was unfinished.
fore to have gone to the north where he found a patron in Yaśōvarman, the king of Kanauj.

As stated before, Padmapura was situated in Vidarbha. The country of Vidarbha was not confined to what is known now as Berar, but extended considerably to the east of the Wardha. The Siwani, Indore and Tirodi plates of Pravarasena II show that the country under the direct rule of that Vakataka king extended to the eastern boundary of the Bhanḍārā and Bālāghāṭ Districts. As a matter of fact, there is now no village named Padmapura in Western Vidarbha, while there are at least six villages of that name in the Chhindā and Bhanḍārā Districts of Eastern Vidarbha. Of these, Padmapur, 2 miles from Amgaon, a station on the Nagpur-Calcutta line of the South-Eastern Railway, is probably the Padmapura of the present plate. The village contains many ancient remains such as images of Hindu gods like Vishnu, those of Jain Tīrthaṅkaras like Pārśvanātha and Rishabhadeva, fragments of massive stone pillars and a large lintel measuring 8' × 17' × 1' 6". There are, besides, remnants of some old temples in a dilapidated condition. One beautifully carved mediaeval image of Śiva seems to have been brought over from there and is now preserved in the Central Museum, Nagpur. No other Padmapur in Vidarbha is reported to have such ancient relics. I therefore feel no hesitation in concluding that Padmapur near Amgaon in the Bhanḍārā District was the Vakataka capital and the ancestral home of Bhavabhūti.

TEXT

1 पञचुरात् [19] असिन्द्रामालोप्यामोक्षवद्योपदेशितार्थाजमेययुह्यतिसवसाधस्तृततर्व

2 मेघायाजन: विणुमुदवसंसुमर: बाकादकासमभ्राज: बद्धवसंवरसदेश: सुनो: सुनो:।

3 अवतराममाय्योरसभकस्थ: अस्मातरसस्ववाय्योरसविवाय्योरनवकस्मर:।

4 तुस्मृत्वकारुराजसाहसः पराकारापारमात्रादि० रस्मात्राजसमुद्रजा (ढा०) भिषिकशानामू।

5 दशाधर्मभाषुवृत्तूत (थ) स्तालानामभ्राजसमाधनाम्पराजशेषाभवादावीहितस्य।

TRANSLATION

From Padmapura—

(For translation of lines 1 to 5, see above, p. 13.)

(The subsequent plates of the grant have not been found.)


2 From the original plate.

3 There is a space of 7" sufficient for incising three letters before this word.

4 There is a space of 1-3" left after this word. Faint traces of the top portion of a letter can be seen on the plate.
AN UNFINISHED DURG PLATE

Scale: Actual

D. G. Sircar
Res. No. 6977 E36/L1961

Printed at the Survey of India Office, P. L. O.
BĀLĀGHĀṬ PLATES OF PRĪTHIVĪSHĒṆA II

These plates were found 'hanging to a tree in the jungle' somewhere in the District of Bālāghāṭ in Madhya Pradesh some time before May 1893. They were sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal and were later entrusted to Dr. Kielhorn for being edited. His article on them together with facsimiles was published posthumously in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IX, pp. 267 ff. The plates are edited here from the same facsimiles. Their present whereabouts are not known.

The plates are five in number, each between 6 3/4" and 6 3/8" long by between 3 3/4" and 4" high; two of them contain no writing whatever, while of the three others (here described as plates i, ii and iii), the second is engraved on both sides and the first and the third on one side only. Though the plates have no raised rims and are not fashioned thicker near the edges, the engraving on them is throughout in a perfect state of preservation. The five plates are strung on a ring, which passes through a hole about 1 1/2" distant from the middle of the proper right margin of each plate. The ring is circular, about 3/4" thick and between 3" and 3 1/2" in diameter. The ends of it are flattened off and joined by a bolt, which had not been cut when the plates reached Dr. Kielhorn. "On the ring described, there slides a smaller ring, made of a band of copper, the ends of which are fastened by a rivet which also passes through, and firmly holds, a flat disc of copper about 2 1/4" in diameter. Undoubtedly this disc was made to serve as a seal and to bear some writing, but nothing has been engraved on it." 1

The plates were intended to record a grant of the Vākāṭaka Mahārāja Prīthivīshēṇa II, but for some reason the inscription was not completed. The extant portion of it consists of 35 lines inscribed on four sides of the first three plates. The characters are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets. They resemble in a general way those of the grants of Pravarasēṇa II, but are less angular. The only peculiarities that need be noticed here are as follows:—The rare jh occurs as a subscript letter in Ajjhitē, line 31; d and d are clearly distinguished; v appears in two forms, rectangular as in -vāsakād, line 1 and round as in vuchanāt, line 35; the jhitāmilīya occurs in line 30; the visarga is denoted by two hook-shaped lines. The language is Sanskrit, and the text is wholly in prose. As regards orthography, we may note the use of the vowel ī for i as in -pantīnāh, line 16, of n for y and vice versa as in kārnya-, line 12 and manu-, line 13, and of the guttural and dental nasals for theanusūra in wakānī in lines 8, 24 etc. and ansa in line 6.

As stated before, the plates were intended to be issued by the Vākāṭaka Mahārāja Prīthivīshēṇa II. His genealogy up to Pravarasēṇa II occurs as in the latter's Jāmb plates, with the omission, evidently through inadvertence of the writer, of a long expression in line 10. Of Pravarasēṇa II the present grant gives the additional description which is noticed only in his Śivamati grant that he followed the path laid down by his predecessors and that by his good policy, strength and valor he exterminated all his enemies. Pravarasēṇa II's son was Narēndrasēṇa, who is said to have taken away the family's fortune by means of confidence.

2 Jayaswal tried to make much capital out of this mistake and thought that Rudrasēṇa I was described here as a Bhārāśīva Mahārāja as he had succeeded as a Bhārāśīva dānūtā. See his History of India, etc., p. 32. He does not, however, explain why this description occurs only in such a late grant.
in the excellent qualities previously acquired by him. We are further told that his commands were honoured by the lords of Kōsala, Mekalā and Mālava. His son, from the queen Ajjhitabhattārikā, the daughter of the king of Kuntala, was Mahārāja Prthivivishṇa II, who was a devout worshipper of the Bhagavat (Vishṇu). The present plates were intended to be issued by him from his camp at Vēmbāra which is mentioned in the beginning, but of his order only the word sarvadāvyaksha- was actually written. The unfinished nature of the present charter is also indicated by the absence of the word drishṭam ‘seen’, which almost invariably occurs as a mark of authorisation in all complete charters of the Vākāṭakas.

As the inscription was not completed, there is no mention of the regnal date or of the writer and the Dūlaka.

The place Vēmbāra from which the charter was intended to be issued remained unidentified for a long time. In my article on the Durg plate I suggested its identification with Bēmbāl, about 28 miles to the east of Chândā and 2 miles to the west of the Waingaṅgā.²

TEXT²

First Plate

1 वेम्बाराभकारण्यानागान्तोत्सर्वायामकक-  
2 पोडत्तराजार्यकुलकपितससाध-  
3 स्वनेरुभमेच्छाजनंः बिण्वदुसागर-  
4 त्य समााद (ो) बालाकाळामहाराजीधि (ओ) प्रवर-  
5 नाम [सृष्टिश्रीमो: अत्यतस्वाभिमहा-  
6 मेरायातर्य 1 अन्तेर्महरसगंध (वि) वैशिष्ठय-  
7 विषेदादनानिविश्वसपरिवर्तसमूर्तित-  
8 राजवक्षांस्मायरासाधारितःराजालिङ्गम्-  
9 जालुविभविकतानासन्तासुरश्चाव-  

Second Plate: First Side

10 भुवनानामाभिविवापताममहाराजीधि (ओ) श्रवये-  
11 तरय स्वती: अत्यतमाहेरवत्र सयाग्रेश्च-  
12 कारुण (य) सौत्तविकशेषपतिनवाहा-  
13 राजम्यसमवेश वायुवेशवर्तमान (घम) विजयस्वाखण्डो (तो)-  
14 नागमो (महम्) वाजितम (सृष्टि) जातमुदितश्च वर्ष (वेणू) शत-  
15 मौजगुरानामनागालाेञ्चकाबनननाम-  
16 में (दि) स: जूरिदितावृत्तां 1 काठकालमाहा-  

²From facsimiles facing pp. 270 and 271 in ibid. Vol. IX.  
³There is empty space for three akṣaras here. Several other grants of the Vākāṭakas open with drisii'am.  
⁴This mark of punctuation is superfluous.  
⁵Read अंग-  
⁶Read वापन।  
⁷Read भार्गवस्वाद-  
⁸There is a redundant visarga between ना and म्ह. Here the words महार्राजीविवाधिएरवत्रस्तृपितसप्ताहानम् have been omitted through inadvertence.  
⁹Read शिखर-  
¹⁰Originally आ changed to ए।
BĀLAGHĀṬ PLATES OF PRĪTHIVĪŚEṆA II

Scale: Nineteen-twentieths
BĀLĀGHĀT PLATES OF PRĪTHIVIŚEŅA II  81

17  राज[चि](शी)पूर्वविवेकणस्य सुनो[८]भगवत-
18  द्वारकाणि[८] प्रसारणविवेकत्वः (शी)-

Second Plate: Second Side

19  समुदस्य वाकाटकनामामहाराजशिर्स्य (शी) चैत-
20  सनस्य सुनो: पूर्ववराजनवनुमाग्या (या) गु (सू) सा-
21  रिश्व: सनयवराजस्वरब्रमिक्षा (चि) ज्ञ (ट) सवजीत-
22  व: महाराजासराजशिर्स्य (शी) देवगुदमसुताया-
23  ममभाविकस्तारायसुल्लक्षण (ल) स्य वाकाट-
24  कवङ्ग्वा (चबा) बहुवृत्तस्य शर्मीभ्रासादर्श (जू) -
25  तकालुभुमस्त्व वाकाटकनामहाराज (ज) 3 (शी) -
26  दवरसनस्य सुनो: पूर्वब्र्रिष्ट्लिपिसनगण-
27  विचर्याया? देवहृत्तकं 4 (चि) य: कोमला-

Third Plate

28  मेकलामाहबकलिपित[भी]रसभूषणतासनस्य प्र-
29  तापप्रायारसनस्य 3 वाकाटकनामामहाराजशिर्स्य-
30  राजशिर्स्य (शी) नरेसनस्य सुनो: कुललिपिपति-
31  सुसाया (या) महावेदामिक्षतब्रजस्वरव-कारणमु-
32  ल्यम (ट) स्य त (स) अमासिलधानसु (सू) त-र्यम -
33  हिममनवंघस्यवठलेन: वाकाटकनाम-
34  समस्सभावस्तारानाराजशिर्स्य (शी) पूर्वब्रर्व (शी) ये-
35  यस्य वचनारुः 4 असमसात्तकापत्रोऽस्वश-व-पनरवम-

Translation

8 From the camp fixed at Vēmbāra-

By the order of the illustrious Prīthivīśeṇa (II), the Mahārāja of the Vākāṭakas; who is a devout worshipper of the Bhagavat (Vishṇu); who has rescued his sunken family; who is the abode of valour and forgiveness; who was born of the Mahādevī Ajjhitabhaṭṭārīka, the daughter of the lord of Kuntala; who is the son of the illustrious Narēndrasēna, the Mahārāja of the Vākāṭakas, who held in check enemies bowed down by his valour; whose commands were honoured by the lords of Kōsāla, Mekalā, and Mālava; who, from confidence in the excellent qualities previously acquired by him, took away the (royal) fortune of (his) family; who was the son of the illustrious Pravaraśēna (II), the Mahārāja of the Vākāṭakas . . .

(For translation of lines 1 - 25, see above, pp. 13-14)

(Line 35). Our [officers of noble birth] appointed by the Sarvādhyakṣa (General Superintendent) . . .

(The subsequent portion of the grant was not inscribed.)

1 This and the following expression descriptive of Pravaraśēna II occur only in the latter’s Siwani plates.
2 There is an incomplete sign of a redundant initial i engraved here.
3 There is a redundant न incised here.
4 Read कर.-
5 Read भागरस्किस्वर.
6 This mark of punctuation is superfluous.
7 Perhaps तांतर्वर्तक was intended.
8 There is here empty space for three aksaras such as dristham which generally occur in the beginning of a completed Vākāṭaka copper-plate inscription.
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE FEUDATORIES OF THE MAIN BRANCH

No. 19: Plate XIX

BAMHANI PLATES OF BHARATABALA

These plates were discovered at the village Bamhani in the Sôhâgpur tahsil of the former Râjâ State. Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra published first a short note on it in the Bhâratâ-Kaumudi, Part I, pp. 215 ff. and later edited them with facsimiles and a translation in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXVII, pp. 132 ff. I discussed the historical information furnished by these plates in an article entitled 'The Pândava Dynasty of Mîkalâ', published in the Indica (Indian Historical Research Institute Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume), pp. 268 ff. The plates are edited here from the facsimiles accompanying Dr. Chhabra's article in the Epigraphia Indica.

The plates are three in number, each measuring roughly 7½" broad by 4½" high. They are strung on a copper ring, about ¼" in thickness, passing through a hole, ½" in diameter cut in the centre of each plate near the margin. The ring must originally have been circular in shape, but in its present condition it is bent and elongated. Its ends are secured under a comparatively small seal with a diameter of ¼". The seal bears no emblem or legend; if there was any originally, it has now completely disappeared. The inscription on the plate is in an excellent state of preservation throughout. The first and third plates are engraved only on one side, while the second bears writing on both the sides. There are altogether 49 lines of writing, twelve being inscribed on the first face, thirteen on each side of the second plate, and eleven on the last. All the plates together with the ring and the seal weigh 94 tâlás.¹

The characters are of the nail-headed variety of the southern alphabets. They resemble in some respects those of the Poonâ plates of Prabhâvatiguptâ, which also are of the same nail-headed variety, but, unlike the latter, they do not contain any admixture of the northern letters. The following peculiarities may be noted:—The initial i (short) consists of an indented curve over two dots placed horizontally; see iti, line 3; in medial i (long) the length is indicated in all places by means of a dot in the curve denoting short i as in āśīd-, line 1; the forms of initial ə and au which occur in lines 25 and 16 respectively are noteworthy; j has a slight notch in its top stroke as in Jayabhala, line 3. In the case of m, we notice a box-head instead of a nail-head; see su-vimala, line 1. The numerical symbol for 2 is also noteworthy; for it does not consist of two curves placed one above the other, but has the same form as in modern Nâgarî. The language is Sanskrit, the record being partly in prose and partly in verse. As regards orthography, we may notice the use of the anusvâra for final n as in śrmânâ, line 2; the reduplication of the consonant preceding and following r as in paurâ, sarvâ-, line 3; the use of the guttural nasal in place of the anusvâra in vâhî, line 41; the use of w for b in some places as in vabhâwa, line 8; and the use of ri for the vowel ā in vî̄kârishya, line 22. There are, besides, several mistakes in the writing of the record which have been corrected in the transcript and the foot-notes appended to it.

¹Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVII, p. 192.
The inscription is one of Mahārāja Bharata or Bharatabala of the Pāṇḍava lineage, who ruled over the country of Mekalā. The object of it is to record the grant of the village Vardhamānaka situated in the Paṇchagartā-viśhayā in the Uttarā-rādhra (Northern Division) of Mekalā to the Brāhmaṇa Lōhitasarasāvmin of the Vatsa gōtra and the Mādhvandina śākhā. The charter was written by Śiva the son of the Kāhāsika Isāna, and was engraved by Mihraka, the son of the goldsmith Īvara. It is dated in the regnal year 2, on the thirteenth tithi of the dark fortnight of the month Bhādrapada, the nakshatra being Pushya.

The plates give the following genealogy of the donor:—

Jayabala

Vatsarāja m. Drēṇabhaṭṭarikā

Mahārāja Nägabala m. Indrabhaṭṭarikā

Mahārāja Bharatabala alias Indra m. Lōkaprakāśa.

The inscription does not mention any royal title in connection with the names of the first two kings, probably because their description is given in verse. The next two kings Nägabala and Bharatabala are first described in a prose passage and later eulogised in one or more verses. They are both styled as Mahārāja and described as devout worshippers of Mahēśvara, great patrons of the Brāhmaṇas and as Paramagurudvētādhidaivaśīśaka which has been taken to mean ‘distinguished as a highly venerable personage, a deity and a supreme divinity’. This last epithet which signifies the divine nature of the kings is not noticed in the inscriptions of even Gupta and Vākātaka kings. A similar epithet, viz., Paramādva-tādhidaiva occurs, however, in the Soro and Patākellā plates as shown by Dr. Chhabra.

From verse 5 it appears that Bharata or Bharatabala was also known by the name of Indra. This is also confirmed by his comparison with Indra, the lord of gods, in verses 6 and 8. Bharatabala married Lōkaprakāśa who is described as born in a family descended from gods and as a princess of Kōsala. Dr. Chhabra’s view that she might be a princess of the Pāṇḍava family of Kōsala cannot be accepted; for, supposing that there was a Pāṇḍava family ruling over Southern Kōsala in this period it must have been regarded as sagōtra, if not samānādaka, of the family ruling over the country of Mekalā. Hindu Dharmāstra does not allow marriages between samānādakas and sagōtras. Lōkaprakāśa probably belonged to the family descended from Śūra. From the Arāṅg plates1 dated in the Gupta year 182 (501-02 A.C.) we learn that this family was ruling in Kōsala (Chhattisgadh) for at least five generations before Bhūmasena I who was reigning at the time. The five ancestors were Śūra, Dayita (or Dayitavarman I), Bībhishāṇa, Bhūmasena I and Dayitavarman II. Lōkaprakāśa, who married Bharatabala was probably a daughter of Bhūmasena I of Dakshigaṇa Kōsala.

As stated before, this dynasty of Mekalā traced its descent from the Pāṇḍavas of epic fame. In verse 11 which seems to have a double meaning, the family is called saumya, i.e., descended from Soma or the Moon. The Pāṇḍavas of the Muhābhārata are known to have belonged to the lunar race.

As pointed out by Dr. Chhabra, Verse 11 seems to describe not only the king (nərəndra) Bharatabala, but also his suzerain Nərəndra i.e., the Vākātaka king Nərəndrasena.2 From

1Ep.Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 342 f. The date of this plate is G. 182 not 282 as read by the editor. Ind., Vol. XXVI, p. 228.
2For a similar instance, see the Surat plates of Śrīśrāya Śrīdāityā, which describe the Chālvukya Emperor Vinavāditya, the Suzerain of Śrīśrāya Śrīdāitya.
the Bālāghāt plates we know that the commands of Narāndrasēna were honoured by the rulers of Kōsālā, Mēkalā and Mālava. This is usually taken to mean that the rulers of these plates acknowledged the suzerainty of the Vākāṭaka king. In the Ārāṅ plates of Bhīmasēna II we have, however, no indication that any of his predecessors were the feudatories of the Vākāṭakas. Like these rulers of Kōsālā, Bharatabala also makes no clear reference to his overlord, but he may have covertly alluded to him in the verse in question.1

Among the officers to whom the royal order is addressed are mentioned the Grāmakūṭa, Drōṇāgrakānāyaka, Dēva-vārikā and Gaṇḍaka. Except Grāmakūṭa, these names are not known to occur elsewhere. The Grāmakūṭa was, of course, the head of the village. The Drōṇāgrakānāyaka was evidently the chief of the Drōṇāgraka which seems to be the same as Drōṇamukha mentioned in the Arthaśāstra. Kaṭṭīya lays down that there should be a Drōṇamukha in the midst of four hundred villages.2 The Drōṇāgrakānāyaka was probably the head of this principal village. Dr. Chhabra takes Dēva-vārikā in the sense of 'a superintendent of temples and holy places'. Perhaps Dēva-vārikā is a mistake for Dauvārikā, in which case it may mean the same as Pratihāra. The Śukranitisāra mentions the Pratihāra as the head of the town or village police.3 The Gaṇḍaka has been taken in the sense of 'a warrior', but may signify the same as bhaṭa or 'a soldier'. These officers and government servants are concerned with the collection of revenue and the maintenance of peace and order and have therefore to be informed of every gift or transfer of landed property.

The localities mentioned in the present grant have already been identified by Dr. Chhabra. Mēkalā is the name of the country comprising Amarakaṇṭak and the surrounding region. The Narmadā, which takes its rise in the Amarakaṇṭak hill, is called Mēkalā-kanyakā. Vardhamāṇakā is, of course, Bāmhandī where the plates were found. Paśchagartā probably means a valley of five rivers. It is noteworthy that in the vicinity of Bāmhandī there are five rivulets at a short distance from one another, which later on join the Śona. There is also a village named Pāchgaon, about three miles south of Sahdōl, which probably represents the headquarters of the Paśchagartā vishaya.

Text

First Plate

1

2

3

4

5

6

1 Dr. Chhabra has drawn attention to an analogous instance in the Ghumli plates in which the Saindhava Chief Srikarpara II and his brother Jālaka I refer to their sovereign, the Pratihāra Emperor Rāmahadra, in a covert manner.
2 Arthaśāstra (second ed. by Shama Sastri), p. 46. Drōṇamukha is explained by Jain commentators as a town approachable by a road as well as a water-way:
3 Śukranitisāra, I, 120-21; 170-75.
4 From the facsimiles facing pp. 140-41 in Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVII.
5 Expressed by a symbol.
6 This visarga is superfluous.
7 Metre: Saṅgharā.
8 Read गृहस्त.
9 Metre: Vasantatilakā.
BAMHANI PLATES OF BHARATABALA

Second Plate: First Side

13  य(या)तः प्रसमुपुपयोगः शैलकाराठी(त्तु) 3 अश्रयः 11 [[११.८]] पतंगस्य पुष्पस्यर्दशादः

14  नूतः परसमानसः परस्यमः यः परस्येद्वत्तिकारमेतः

15  बंधुः यस्मातः देय्यमित्रम् मुद्धारिकामाम (सूत्र) लक्षः शैलकाराठीजयः 9

16  इतरो द्वारायमुल्लाभिनव्ययः आदेवन्तालुक्स्यमेतः (सूत्र) नित्यायः 11 [[११.८]]

17  पुत्रः [[१२]] पूजात्तिकाराठीलः चैत्यनिवानाः इव कालिकेऽः 11 इत्यद्रो दानः

18  रूपिकार्येत् हुमभुवने नेत्रलः स्तनवासंदेशः शतिलिखितम् 12

19  विस्मयात् (प्रतिनिधित्वात्) 13। दुःखः सारसुकलोवयः हि नृत्ता श्राधः

20  ममस्य भाषैः वेष्यंकरासंहततः सुवर्णः नृत्ता सारसः

21  दानः 11 [[११.८]] वेनेसु पुखरिष्ठेन सर्वारलः (सूत्र) भे समात्ता विस्मयः (श्रुत) शाश्वस्य सर्वः

22  दस्तिनव गृहग्यात् त्रिहृदः यथार्थम् (क्षण) व्यंजनात् 13। सरसूत्रः (क्षण) व्यंजनात् (क्षण) सत्यम्

23  पतेः हुमस्से महृद्युपयः (सूत्र) सौन्दर्यम् (श्री) यथः श्रीसाहार्यवः 9 विविधवः श्रमिकामः

24  प्रदा। 11 [[११.८]] शैलकाराठी: वशिष्टातः वशिष्टात्तिलकः सुवर्णमलम्बितः (श्री) श्रमः

25  विविधतिलिखितिलिखिति सुरूहासमितः (श्री) धारणः या: संग्रहः (श्री) सुवर्णः (श्री) 11 [[११.८]] एकः 12

Second Plate: Second Side

26  स्तृविहरितकरितमलात्रः विभीषितः (श्री) प्रतिनिधित्वात् (श्री) शैलकाराठी: 13। सधनमातुः (श्री) तदल्प्रति लाभः

27  दशमृतस्य (श्रुत्र) 14 प्रसमुपुपयोगः मधुराणिगायियः (मियां) जत्ता पावलिसम्यः (सूत्र) सम्बिधेत्ता सुरः

28  लोकादाता जालवीरः 14 [[११.८]] शैलकाराठी (विशेष) (को) संसर्नत (विशेष) वनस्पतिलाभम्

29  रात्रि(लोकः) 11 जाता या (या) को (को) सुलायमार्जुकुलः किति (किति) म (सूत्र) सन्धेद्वातातः

30  कार (श्री) प्रतिविहितमलात्रः 16। लोकप्रकाशा याता र (पो) ैः (प्र) ैः (व) विनायः

1 Metre: Upajāti.
2 Read सीतारात.
3 It seems better to construe this adjective with विनायक than with नग्न as Chhabra does.
4 Metre: Mālikā.
5 Metre: Indreṇajī.
6 Read हुमस्से महृद्युपयः.
7 Read सत्यमलिखितिलिखितम.
8 Metre: Śāradāśikṣātita.
9 Chhabra suggests the emendations बनित स for बनित, नृपित for नृपित and नामावली for नामावली. I would rather keep these words unchanged and suggest विविधव विविधव and श्रमिकाम for श्रमिकाम: The construction then would be: सत्य हुमस्से महृद्युपयः श्रमिकामप्रमाणितम्. I began the word साहार्यवः.
10 Metre: Śāradāśikṣātita.
11 Metre: Aśvā.
12 The words नग्न are not connected with the following verse. Construe them with नाकार्यलयात्रः in v. 10.
13 Metre: माळिकी.
14 This mark of punctuation is superfluous.
15 Metre: Mālikā.
16 There is a wrong sandhi here प्रतिविहितमलात्रः and ṣ्वाच्छिन्तम. Dissolve धारणा मधुराणिकामप्रतिविहितमलात्रः as follows:— धारणा मधुराणिकाम: प्रतिविहितमलात्रः. Thus dissolved, the compound makes the queen's name श्रीकाराठी significant.
Success! Hail!

(Verse 1). There was in the lineage of the Pándavas of extremely spotless glory and abundant lustre, a king of Mēkāḷā, who acquired wide fame and became foremost among the lords of the earth—who, by his own glorious deeds, has, for all time, become renowned in this world by the name of Jayahāla, a disposer of fortune, who had a charming form and was adorned with a multitude of excellent qualities.

(V. 2). He had a son, who resembled the lord of Vatsa(i.e. Udayana); who attained victories in battles; who was famous, compassionate, endowed with virtues and conversant

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1 Metre of this and the next verse: Sragdhāra.
2 Chhabra ingeniously suggests the reading प्रववृति in place of प्रववृत्ति.
3 Read नाविभाषित—as suggested by Chhabra.
4 This akṣara appears more like श्र than like श्व. However, I have adopted Chhabra’s reading.
5 This sign of punctuation is superfluous.
6 Perhaps मद्यपायः is intended, though it would look queer in the donor’s mouth.
7 Read ग्रहि।
8 This visarga is superfluous.
9 Read वाकशालवकर्तराम्. This expression should precede अन्नम्यसंज्जो(स्त्रृ).
10 Read उदये।
11 This visarga is superfluous.
12 This visarga also is superfluous.
13 Metre of this and the following two verses: Anushtubh.
14 This sign of punctuation is superfluous.
15 This anusvāra is superfluous.
16 In this I have derived some help from Dr. Chhabra’s translation of this record.
17 This is according to the proposed emendation Vatsēśvara-pratītyā. If the text is to be interpreted as it stands, Vatsēśvara will be the same as Vatsarājā mentioned in the next verse.
BAMHANI PLATES OF BHARATABALA

Scale: about Seven-nineths
with religious rites; (and) who made the gardens of the houses of his enemies crowded with wild beasts.

(V. 3). There was the king, the illustrious Vatsarāja, who was magnanimous; who extolled the good deeds (of others); who could differentiate between merits and was obliging to (his) people, righteous and devoted to good policy.

(Line 8). His son was the illustrious Mahārāja Nāgabala, born of the illustrious queen Dronabhāntārika, who meditated on his feet; who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva) and a great patron of the Brāhmaṇas; who was (regarded as) the most revered teacher, a deity and the supreme divinity and was possessed of royal fortune.

(V. 4). As he marched along, the earth, the paths on which were bounded by the hoofs of (his) horses, obscured the quarters, their farthest regions becoming dry and disturbed by dust; (but) his elephants, whose temples were soiled with the rutting juice, immediately restored order to them, making them wet with the spray (of their rut).

(Line 13). Then there is his son the illustrious Mahārāja Bharata, born of the illustrious queen Indrabhaṭṭārika, who meditates on his feet; who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara and a great patron of the Brāhmaṇas; (and) who (is regarded as) the most revered teacher, a deity and the supreme divinity.

(V. 5). From her who was endowed with the qualities of compassion and good nature as also with generosity and wisdom, there was born the son (known as) Indra possessed of a spotless and lovely lustre, even as Kārttikēya was born from (Pārvati) the daughter of the lord of mountains.

(V. 6). He is (the god) Indra in the destruction (of his enemies) and (the god) Fire brilliant with lustre; he is amiable and steadfast in his adherence to good behaviour; he has attained authority and eminence in consequence of the (sacred) mantras recited by the Brāhmaṇas; his appearance makes good persons happy and leads to attainment, by the people, of religious merit and prosperity; he is always honoured by good persons with presents of wealth even as sacrificial fire kindled on the altar is with offerings (of ghee etc.).

(V. 7). He, the powerful one, who has covered all regions with (the dead bodies of) the multitude of the mighty and roaring enemies whom he has forcibly overthrown even as an excellent quarter-elephant does with the lofty, thickly growing and resounding trees which it uproots. May the Earth, who yields (the three objects of) religious merit, wealth and enjoyment, produce abundant prosperity due to good government throughout the entire dominion of this king who thus exerts himself!

(V. 8). The illustrious king Bharata, the foremost among the lords of the earth, resembles (Indra) the lord of gods, in valour—(he) who has given shelter to the Fortune of the multitude of foes slain by him, when she resorted to his arm.

The matchless one—

(V. 9). who is, as it were, the Gaṅgā herself, descended here from the world of gods, sanctifying the peoples—(she) who has character, bright and spotless like crystal, which is purified by restraints and vows even as the Gaṅgā has a pure stream of crystal-like white and clear water, which flows within its banks, (and) who is endowed with a multitude of tranquility and other virtues just as the Gaṅgā has its waves of water;

(V. 10). who, (named) Lūkaprakāśa, has become the best royal consort of the king Bharatabala, whose fame is (lovely) like the moon-beams; who, being born in a family of the

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1 He made the palaces of his enemies desolate.
2 For the construction, see above, p. 85, n. 3.
Inscriptions of the Feudatories of the Main Branch

gods, has become highly renowned; who, by her constant pursuit of (the three purushārthas of) religious merit, prosperity and happiness, has dispersed the darkness of ignorance (and) has become extremely resplendent in the world¹; (and) who has attained an eminent status with her sons and grandsons, who, lion-like princes as they are, are devoted to justice and discipline.

(V. 11). That illustrious king², the sovereign, who is endowed with a multitude of excellences, who has destroyed his enemies, whose pair of feet, having the grace of full-blown lotuses, and rubbed by the heads of several feudatory princes subdued by his perfect triad of powers, has overcome all regions and whose birth is highly extolled by the people as being in the famous Lunar race—

(Line 34) [He] issues the following order to all residents concerned headed by (the officials, viz.)³ the Grūmakātu, the Chief of the Drūgāraka, the Devasārika and the Gaṇḍakas in (the village) Vardhamānaṇaka in the vishaya of Paṇḍhaṅgaṭa (included) in the Uttara-rāṣṭra (Northern Division) of Mēkalā—

(Line 36). "Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit of Our father and mother and of Ourself, We have donated this village extending to its four boundaries,—together with udraṅga and uparikara⁴, together with treasures and deposits, and (with the privilege that it is) not to be entered by (Our) soldiers and policemen except for punishing thieves,—to the illustrious Lōhitasarasvāmin of the Vatsa gōra and the Mādiyandina śākha, (to be enjoyed by him and his successors) as long as the moon, the sun, the earth and the stars will endure.

Knowing this, you should obey his orders and offer him the bhūga and bhūga according to custom."

This command has been given by Me personally. And those kings also who will be born in Our family should consent to and maintain this gift. And whosoever will cause obstruction in (the enjoyment of) this grant, will incur (the guilt of) the five great sins.

(Here occur three benedictory and imprecatory verses.)

(Line 47). This charter is concluded. In the year 2 of the increasingly victorious reign, on the thirteenth (lunar day) of the dark (fortnight) of Bhāḍrapada, the nakṣatra being Pushya.

This charter has been written by Śiva, son of the RākasikaĪśāna and engraved by Mihiraka, son the goldsmithĪśvara.

¹ There is obviously a pun on her name Lōhitasarasvāmin.
² There is a pun on the word narendra which means here (i) a king (viz. Bharatabala) and the Vākṣaka king Narendrasena. The translation given above is with reference to the first meaning. In the second, saumya cōṇda will have to be taken in the sense of ‘a family of gentle nature’. The Vākṣakas were Brāhmaṇas by caste. Hence their family is described here as gentle by nature.
³ For these officials, see above, p. 84.
⁴ Udraṅga and uparikara correspond to the bhūga and bhūga mentioned below in line 40. Udraṅga was probably a land-tax while uparikara signified some miscellaneous taxes in kind such as are mentioned in the MSM., Ch. VII, vv. 130-32.
NACHNÉ-KI-TALÁI STONE INSCRIPTIONS OF VYÁGHRADEVA

These two inscriptions were discovered by General Cunningham in 1883-84. He published his reading of the larger of them, together with facsimiles of both, in his *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol. XXI, pp. 97 ff. They were next edited with facsimiles and a translation by Dr. Fleet in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, pp. 233 ff. They are edited here from the same facsimiles.

The inscriptions are on a loose slab which was found lying on the ground outside the fort of Kuṭhāra near the village Nachnē-ki-talāi, about seven miles north-west of Jasō, the chief town of the former Jasō State, now included in Madhya Pradesh. Inscription No. 20 is incomplete and is engraved on one of the sides of the slab, while inscription No. 21 which is complete is on the face of it. The former inscription was left incomplete probably because that side of the stone was found too rough. The inscription was therefore commenced again and finished on what is now the front side of the slab.

The writing of No. 20 covers a space of about 1' 9½" broad by 7½" high; that of No. 21, about 1' 9" broad by 1' 1" high. In the centre of the larger inscription there is the figure of a wheel which Jayaswal took to be a characteristic symbol of the Vākāṭakas. The characters belong to the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets. There has been a great difference of opinion about the age of these inscriptions, which, as stated below, refer themselves to the reign of the Vākāṭaka Mahārāja Prithivishēna. Dr. Fleet did not examine this question. Perhaps there was no need to do so as there was only one Vākāṭaka king of the name Prithivishēna known when he edited these records. He naturally assigned them to Prithivishēna I, mentioned in the grants of Pravarasēna II1. The Bālāghāt plates which were discovered later have brought to notice another king of that name, *viz.*, Prithivishēna II, who was the fourth lineal descendant of Prithivishēna I. Since then scholars have been sharply divided on the question of the identity of the Prithivishēna during whose reign the present records were incised. Some of them such as Dr. Sukthankar2, Dr. Jayaswal3 and Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri4 thought that he was the first king of that name. Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, however, pointed out that the characters of the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions were later in date than those of the Poonā plates of Prabhāvatigupta5. He therefore identified the Prithivishēna of these inscriptions with Prithivishēna II of the Bālāghāt plates. The same opinion has been expressed by Prof. Jouve-Dubreuil6 and Dr. R. C. Majumdar7. Recently Dr. D. C. Sircar has reopened the question by pointing out that the palaeographical peculiarities of the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions are undoubtedly earlier than those of even the Bāsīm plates of Vindhyāsakti II, a grandson of Pravarasēna II8. He has drawn pointed attention to the triangular form of

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3. *History of India*, etc., p. 73.
v and the old forms of t and j occurring in the present inscriptions. He is therefore definitely of the opinion that these inscriptions belong to the reign of Prithivishêņa I. In view of this conflict of opinions it is necessary to examine this question rather closely. Dr. Sircar seems to think that the triangular form of v went out of use soon after the time of Prithivishêņa I and so these records cannot be referred to the reign of Prithivishêņa II, when the rectangular form of that letter was in vogue. This is not borne out by the inscriptions of the age. As a matter of fact, the rectangular form of v had come into use even before the time of Prithivishêņa I. We notice several instances of it in the Ėrāṇ stone inscription1 of Samudragupta; see kulavadhâh, line 20, vichintya, line 24 etc. On the other hand, the triangular form of v did not disappear soon after the age of Prithivishêņa I; for we find it used in the Sânchî inscription2 of Chandragupta II, dated G. 93; see e.g. mahâvîrârâ, line 1, sarva-gáña-, line 8 etc. Indeed, it continued in use much longer; for while the inscriptions of the Vâkâtakas generally use the rectangular v, the Pôdâgâdh stone inscription of Skandavarman3 and the Kesaribêđâ plates of Arthapati4 use the triangular form of that letter; see e.g. Bhavadattasya, line 3, and u-pravâño, line 8 in the former, and vîbhak, line 1 and dhrvâ-, line 7 in the latter. The Nala kings Skandavarman and Arthapati did not flourish earlier than Prithivishêņa II. It is noteworthy that all the inscriptions mentioned above are inscribed in box-headed characters. The triangular form of v is therefore no indisputable evidence which would compel us to assign the present records to Prithivishêņa I. The same can be said of the so-called old forms of j and t; for these also occur in the Pôdâgâdh inscription. It is true that the form of v in the present inscriptions is more angular than that seen in the other records mentioned above; but angularity is no sure sign of an earlier age. As pointed out by Kiellhorn,5 the characters of Pravarasêņa II's grants are more angular than those of the Bâlâghât plates of his grandson Prithivishêņa II. Besides, it is not unlikely that the writer of the Nachnâ and Ganj inscriptions was influenced by the form of v current in that locality. We must note in this connection that the Nachnâ and Ganj inscriptions are the only records in box-headed characters from the Baghêlêkhand region. The standard form of characters current in that locality was nail-headed as seen in the Mjghâwâm plates6 of Hastin and the Bâmghân plates7 of Bharatabhâla. The writer of the Nachnâ and Ganj inscriptions was apparently not quite familiar with the box-headed characters8 though he wrote the records in them evidently to please the Vâkâtaka overlord. He therefore seems to have unconsciously imitated the form of v from the nail-headed alphabet with which he was more familiar. We find an analogous instance in the Poonâ plates of Prabhâvatigupta. The writer of that grant, who probably hailed from North India, was not quite familiar with box-headed characters which were current in Vidarbha. He commenced to write in them the legend on the seal, but after writing the first four letters viz. Vâkâtaka, he gave them up and wrote the remaining legend in nail-headed characters. The triangular form

2Ibid., Vol. III, plate facing, p. 28.
4Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 12 f.
5Dr. Sircar thinks that the Nala king Skandavarman was a contemporary of the Early Châlukya king Kiritivarman I (567-97 A.C.). See H.C.I.F., Vol. III, p. 189.
8No. 19, above.
9As observed by Sukthankar, the letters of these epigraphs are uncouth in appearance.
NACHÉ-KỊ-TALĪ STONE INSCRIPTION (NO. 1) OF VYĀGHRADEVĀ

SCALE: ABOUT THREE-SEVENTHS
of v is therefore no sure sign of the early age of these inscriptions. The forms of j and t also do not preclude the view that these records belong to the reign of Prithivishëna II.

The language is Sanskrit and both the inscriptions are in prose. As regards orthography, the only point that need be noticed is the doubling of dh before y in -snudhyata- in line 2 of No. 21.

Inscription No. 20, which is incomplete, mentions in the first line the name of the Vakāṭaka Mahārāja Prithivishëna. The name of his feudatory Vyaghra is incompletely incised in line 2. No. 21 mentions the names of both and records that Vyaghredēva made something, perhaps a temple, a well or a tank, for the religious merit of his father and mother. The record is not dated, but since it belongs to the reign of Prithivishëna II as shown above, it may be referred to the period 470 to 490 A.C. Vyaghredēva of the present inscriptions is probably identical with the king Vyaghra of the Uchchhakalpa dynasty who was ruling over the region in the same period. The latter's son Jayanātha was ruling in G. 174 and G. 177. His reign may therefore have extended from G. 170 to G. 190. Vyaghra, his father, was therefore probably ruling from circa G. 150 to G. 170 i.e. from 470 A.C. to 490 A.C. He was thus a contemporary of the Vakāṭaka king Prithivishëna II.

TEXT

No. 20

1 वाकाटकाणा (त) महाराजिनि (श्री) पूर्विनि (श्री) पेन-  
2 * * *[श्रा] [श्र?]

No. 21

1 वाकाटकाणा (त) महाराजिनि (श्री)-  
2 पूर्विनि (श्री) पेनपाव पर्वतवात  
3 यालङ्केतो मातापिंदा [[*] पुश्या (श्रा)तव  
4 कुलमिति [[*]

TRANSLATION

Vyaghredēva, who meditates on the feet of the illustrious Prithivishëna (II), the Mahārāja of the Vakāṭakas, has made (this) for the religious merit of (his) mother and father.

1This form of v occurs throughout in the Bhaminī plates of Narēndrasāna's feudatory Bharatabala.  
2For the examination of other arguments advanced in support of the view that these inscriptions belong to the reign of Prithivishëna I, see Introduction, pp. xii f., above.  
3C.I.I., Vol. III, pp. 117 and 121. The dates of the Uchchhakalpa kings are recorded in the Gupta, not the Kalachuri, era as shown by me in Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIII, pp. 171 f.

4From the facsimiles facing page 234 in Fleets C.I.I., Vol. III.  
5This akshara was at first omitted and then written below the line.  
6This akshara was at first omitted and subsequently written below the line.  
7Read कुलमिति।  
8This is a translation of No. 21. No. 20 is fragmentary and mentions only Vyaghra and the illustrious Prithivishëna (II), the Mahārāja of the Vakāṭakas.
GANJ STONE INSCRIPTION OF VYĀGRADĒVA

This inscription was discovered by Mr. R. D. Banerji in 1919. It was edited for the first time with a facsimile and a translation by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII, pp. 12 ff. It is edited here from the same facsimile.

The inscription is engraved on a detached slab of stone which Mr. Banerji found lying at the bottom of a doṅgā, adjoinning a hill called Maluhā-tongi near Ganj in the former Ajayagadh state, now included in Madhya Pradēsh. Close by is a ruined stone structure, probably a dam to hold the waters of the stream passing along the doṅgā. The findspot of the present inscription is not far removed from the ruined city of Kuthārā where the Nachnē-kl-talāi inscriptions were discovered.

The present inscription is much better preserved than the preceding two records of the same king. The writing covers a space 2' 1" by 1'. As in the Nachnē-kl-talāi inscriptions, there is in the centre of the first line the figure of a wheel. The characters are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets, resembling closely those of the preceding two records. As observed by Sukthankar, they are unequal in size and uncouth in appearance. The language is Sanskrit and the whole record is in prose. The orthography shows the same peculiarities as in the two preceding inscriptions.

The inscription is of Vyāgradēva, who meditated on the feet of the Vākāṭaka Mahārāja Prithivīshēna. He was evidently a feudatory of the latter. The object of the inscription is to record that Vyāgradēva did something, perhaps a dam to stem the waters of a stream, for the religious merit of his parents. As shown before, this Vyāghra was probably identical with the homonymous prince of the Uchchakalpa dynasty who flourished in circa 470-90 A.C. His suzerain was therefore probably the Vākāṭaka king Prithivīshēna II.

Transcription:

1 वाकाटकाणा (ना) महाराण(भु) (श्री)-
2 पृथिवित्वर(वी)पणावानुवधातो व्याग्रज-  
3 वो मनापित्वांशुपुराण (ष्ट्रा) ज्ये क्रतिमिति  

Translation

Vyāgradēva, who meditates on the feet of the illustrious Prithivīshēna (II), the Mahārāja of the Vākāṭakas, has made (this) for the religious merit of his mother and father.

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2 Sukthankar referred the record to the seventh century A.C.
3 From the facsimile facing page 12 in Ep. Ind., Vol. XVII.
4 The superscript $i$ is not clear.
5 Read क्रतमिति.
GANJ STONE INSCRIPTION OF VYÀGHRADEVĀ

Scale: about One-third
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE VATSAGULMA BRANCH

No. 23: Plate XXIII

BĀŚIM PLATES OF VINDHYAŚAKTI II

These plates were discovered by Pandit Vāsudeva Śastrī Dhanāgarē at Bāśim, the headquarters of the Bāsim tahsil of the Akola District in Vidarbha. There were first published with facsimiles by Dr. Y. K. Deshpande and D. B. Mahajan in the Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Third Session, pp. 459 ff. They were re-edited with fresh facsimiles by Mr. D. B. Mahajan and myself in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXVI, pp. 137 ff. They are edited here from the same facsimiles. The plates are in the possession of Mr. Dhanāgarē at Bāsim.

The copper-plates are four in number, each measuring 6'1" broad and 3'4" high. The first and fourth plates are inscribed on one side only, and the other two on both the sides. Their ends are neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims; still the inscription is in a good state of preservation. About 1'2" from the middle of the proper right edge of each plate, there is a round hole, 2'5" in diameter for the ring which holds the plates together. The ring, however, has no seal. The total weight of the plates together with the ring is 47½ tōlās. The inscription contains thirty lines of writing, which are equally divided on the six inscribed sides of the four plates.

The characters are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets, resembling those of the grants of Pravarāśena II. The only peculiarities that need be noticed here are as follows:—The medial au is bipartite as in -paurasya, line 3; kh is in some cases without a loop, cf. rakkhadha, line 25; i and n are not distinguished in many places, both being denoted by the same form; see -vvañcāt, line 5, hemanā, line 28 and amūnāmatt, line 26; the lingual a has an identical form whether it is used as a subscript or a superscript letter, as in a-hīraga-adhāno, line 20. Numerical symbols for 30, 7 and 4 occur in lines 28 and 29 of the text, those for 1 to 4 on the first inscribed side of the respective plates. Of these the symbol for 4 in line 29 is noteworthy; for it consists of the sign for ka with an additional curve, not at the top as usual, but at the right side of its horizontal bar. In the margin of the same plate, the symbol is exactly like ka. A final consonant is indicated by its short form without a box at the head; see -vañcāt, line 5. Finally, a crescent-like curve is used here and there as a mark of punctuation, which is redundant in most cases. The language of the inscription is partly Sanskrit and partly Prakrit. The genealogical portion of the grant in lines 1-5 is in Sanskrit, the formal portion which follows is in Prakrit, but like the Hirahadgallī plates, the present inscription closes with a benedictory sentence in Sanskrit. It is noteworthy that as in early Prakrit inscriptions of the Pallavas and Bṛhatphalāyanas, there are no benedictive or imprecatory verses at the end. The Sanskrit portion calls for no special notice except that the gōtra of the Vākāṭakas which is usually given as Vīṣṇuvriddha appears here in the form Vṛṣṇivriddha. The former is evidently the correct form; for it is the only form of the gōtra given by the standard works on the gotras and pravaras. The Prakrit portion of the inscription deserves careful study; for this is one of the few copper-plate grants from south India which contain a detailed portion in Prakrit. Even in this portion, however, the language is influenced by Sanskrit; see, e.g. the Sanskrit expressions svasti-santi-vāchanē, lines 8-9; sa-maśca-mahākaraṇa, line 24 etc., which are inserted in the midst of
Prakrit sentences. The present grant has many technical expressions mentioning exemptions granted to the donees which are common to the grants of Pallava Śivakandavarman, but unlike the latter, the present inscription shows several instances of double consonants, though cases of single consonants doing duty for double ones are by no means rare; see e.g. Čhättuejja-ggāma-majjäta, line 19 and contrast Recatiṣi, line 18 etc. In some respects the language of the present record does not strictly conform to the rules of Prakrit grammarians; see e.g. tiṇḍa in line 17 instead of tiṇḍa laid down by Vararuchi, VI, 56. Other noteworthy forms are se in line 19 in the sense of laya, ya in lines 7, 19, 25 and 26 meaning cha, and the euphonic nasal eitīvā-gāme in line 9. As for the dialect used, it is, as might be expected, the Māhārāṣṭri, see, e.g., āpuma (for the regular appum) in line 8, but it is curious to note that this record found in the heart of Mahārāṣṭra exhibits some peculiarities which are usually ascribed to the Sauraseni; see, e.g., the softening of th into dh in Adhivani, line 9, and the verbal forms rakkhadha, rakkhāpedha, parisadhtha and parisāpedha in lines 25 and 26 and dāni in line 8. On the other hand, we have the hardening of d into t in majjāta, line 19 as in the Paśāci. These forms show that the peculiarities of the several dialects were not strictly confined to the provinces after which they were named.

Especially noteworthy are the forms in si (or sim) used in the sense of the dative, e.g., Ėivijjesi (Sanskrit, Ėivāvyā), Rudajjesi (Sanskrit, Rudrāvyā) etc. in lines 10-18. According to grammarians, the dative case has disappeared from the Prakrits, its place being taken by the genitive. The genitive singular of nouns in a usually ends in ssā (written as sa in very early records) and this is the form which is invariably found in other Prakrit inscriptions. The form in si (or sim) which is found throughout in the present inscription has survived in old Marathi works like the Ėīchārītra and the Ėīmānsavari. It is the parent of the Marathi dative affix sa.

The only orthographical peculiarities that call for notice are the reduplication of a consonant after r (as in Dharma, line 1) and amuva (as in sē[m]vachchharan, line 28), the use of j for y as in kareja, line 26 and the use of the class- nasal in place of amuva in Sanskrit and Prakrit words; see e.g. Vindhyasaktīr, line 5 and a-chāmmanagatika, line 22.

Like other finished Vākāṭaka grants, the present inscription opens with the word ērīstam 'seen', the auspicious word sidhām being written in the margin of the first plate as in the Hirakodgali plates of Śivakandavarman. The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Vākāṭaka king, the Dharmanahāra Vindhyasakti. The object of it is to register the grant, by Vindhyasakti, of the village Ākāsapadda which was situated near Tākulaḷakhōppaka in the northern marga (Subdivision) of Nāndikāja. The donees were certain Brāhmaṇas of the Āharvaṇa charaṇa or the Atharvayveda. It may be noted that a Brāhmaṇa of this Veda is mentioned as the donee in the Tirollī plates of Pravarasena II also. The names of the donees ended in ārya as in some other grants of the Vākāṭakas. The land or the revenue of the village was divided into four parts, of which three were assigned to eight Brāhmaṇas and the remaining one to one Brāhmaṇa. The shares of the former,
again, were not equal; four of them received only half a share\(^1\) and the remaining four, two shares each.

The plate are dated in the thirty-seventh year (expressed in numerical symbols) evidently of the reign of the donor Vindhyaśakti, on the 4th day of the first fortnight of Hēmanta. The date is noteworthy; for it is one of the two season dates occurring in the grants of the Vākātakas. The grant was written by the Śīnāpati Ṛaṇha (Ṛiśphu) and was issued from Vatsagulma.

The inscription gives the following genealogy of the donor Vindhyaśakti:—Pravarasena, his son Sarvasena and the latter son Vindhyaśakti. In connection with Vindhyaśakti the inscription purports to state that he had performed the Agniśṭoma, Āptōryama, Vājapeya, Jyōtistoma, Bṛhaspatisava Sādyaskra and four Āsavaamedhas, and that he was a Ṣaṅgīputra (a son, i.e., a descendant of Ṣaṅgi) and Dharmamahārāja. These two latter epithets are found applied to a Vākātaka king in this grant only. They seem to have been adopted from the grants of the Kadambas. As only one Vindhyaśakti was known before the discovery of the present plates viz., he who is mentioned in the Purāṇas and in the inscription in Cave XVI at Ajanta, it was at first naturally supposed that the donor of the plates was identical with the celebrated founder of the Vākātaka dynasty. The present inscription was therefore supposed to carry the genealogy of the Vākātaka two generations before Vindhyaśakti. It has since been pointed out that the genealogical portion of the present grant is faulty in construction; for it seems to repeat the epithet Dharmamahārāja three times in connection with Vindhyaśakti. Besides, it credits Vindhyaśakti with the performance of almost the same number of identical sacrifices as those mentioned in connection with Pravarasena I in all other Vākātaka grants\(^2\). It seems therefore that the expressions śṛi-Pravarasena-puṭrasya in line 3 and śṛi-Sarvasena-puṭrasya in line 4 are to be taken as śṛi-Pravarasenaśya puṭrasya and śṛi-Sarvasenaśya puṭrasya, so that the preceding adjectival expressions in the genitive case including the epithet Dharmamahārājasya would agree with śṛi-Pravarasenaśya and śṛi-Sarvasenaśya respectively. According to this construction, all the three kings, Pravarasena, Sarvasena and Vindhyaśakti, would receive the epithet Dharmamahārāja, and there would thus be no tautology. Besides, the expression Agniśṭoma-Āptōryama, ... chaur-Āsavaamedha-yājinaḥ and Samvīraḥ would now qualify śṛi-Pravarasenaśya, showing that it was Pravarasena, and not Vindhyaśakti, who performed these sacrifices and assumed the title Samvīra. This is quite in keeping with the statement in other Vākātaka grants. Pravarasena who heads the genealogical list in the present plates would thus be Pravarasena I who, according to the Purāṇas, was the son of Vindhyaśakti. The Vākātaka king who granted the present plates should therefore be called Vindhyaśakti II. He thus becomes the great-grandson of Vindhyaśakti I. The genealogy in the present plates would therefore be as follows—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Pravarasena I} \\
(\text{son}) \\
\text{Sarvasena} \\
(\text{son}) \\
\text{Vindhyaśakti II}
\end{align*}
\]

This would therefore be a different branch of the Vākātaka family; for according to the genealogy in several inscriptions of Pravarasena II and Prithivishēna II, Pravarasena I

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\(^1\) The text has Ṛddha in line 10 which probably means 'a half'. Cf. Āmisk-:addha in line 21 of the Kondanudi plates of Jayavarman. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 317.

was succeeded by his grandson Rudrasena I, the son of Gautamiputra, who probably did not come to the throne.

These princes were also mentioned in the inscription in Cave XVI at Ajanṭā, but owing to the mutilated condition of it their names were differently read by Dr. Bhaū Daji, Pandit Bhagvanlal and Dr. Bühler, who edited it from time to time. The correct readings have since been restored.

As for the localities mentioned in the present grant, Vatsagulma, which was evidently the capital of this branch, is undoubtedly modern Bāsim where the plates were discovered. The place-name is variably derived. The Jayamanagalā, a commentary on the Kāmasūtra, states that Vatsa and Gulma were two uterine brothers and princes of Dakshināpatha. The country settled by them came to be known as Vatsagulmaka. The local Māhātempa gives an altogether different derivation. It states that Vatsa was a sage who by his very severe austerities made an assemblage (gutma) of gods come down and settle in the vicinity of his hermitage. Both these derivations are evidently conjectural. The Vatsagulmaka country is mentioned in the Kāmasūtra of Vatsyayana which describes some peculiar customs current there. Vatsagulma is also mentioned by Rājasekhara in his works Karpūramāñjarī and Kāyamāṅjīvari. Nāndikāda, which was apparently the headquarters of a district, is probably identical with Nānded the chief town of a district in the same name in the Maharāshtra State. Tākālakhöppaka and the donated village Akāsapadda which was situated near it cannot be definitely identified. From the description in line 6 we learn that they lay in the northern subdivision of Nāndikāda. Now, on the road which connects Nānded with Bāsim, which lies about 75 miles to the north of it, there are two villages Tākālighōkan and Tākali, about 40 and 45 miles respectively from Nānded. One of these may represent ancient Tākālakhöppaka. About 7 miles to the west of Tākālighōkan there is still a small village named Asunḍ which is possibly identical with Akāsapadda. The identification of Nāndikāda with Nānded which is almost certain shows that Vindhyāśakti II was ruling over southern Berar and the northern part of the former Hyderabadd State.

Text 4

First Plate

1 सिंधु  
2 दुर्गम  
3 वस्मुग्मादिमहाराज  
4 विहु  
5 श्रीमाताकाता  
6 श्रीमाताकाता  
7 श्रीमाताकाता  
8 श्रीमाताकाता

1See the revised edition of it in the Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. 14. See also inscription No. 25, below.
2Kāmasūtra (Nirmayasagar ed.), p. 295. The Brihatkathā also probably mentioned Vatsa and Gulma as the sons of a Brahmaṇa and the maternal uncles of Guṇādhya. It does not, however, state that they founded a city named Vatsagulma. See Brihatkathāmāñjarī, I, 3, 4, and Kathāsaritsāgara, I, 6, 9.
3Similar names in kāta (e.g. Bhojakāta, Bennākāta) occur in other grants of the Vākātaka as names of districts.
4From the facsimiles facing pages 152 and 153 in Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI.
5This word is written in the margin on a level with line 3.
6Other Vākātaka plates name this gūrta as Vistamuriddha. See No. 3, line 2.
7Read श्रीमाताराजस्वतिः पोतस्य.
8Read श्रीवरस्तिः पोतस्य.
9Opposite this line in the margin there is a sign for 1 denoting the number of the plate.
10This mark of punctuation is superfluous.
11The engraver first incised dā which he afterwards altered to u.
BASIM PLATES OF VINDHYASAKTI II

Scale: Three-fourths
Second Plate: First Side

6 ताकालिनोपकाँभासे आकारान्तेसु अन्नुसन्तका सावध्ययोगणि-
7 युन्ता आणि ५ भंडा सेपा य साज्ञयरसर(कु) कुलरा२ भाणित्या [१४] आन्नेखि
8 ३दाणेण अपीणेण ५विज्ञवज्ञकिके आयनलक्षणिके स्वस्ति-
9 आपसीविे म्हाॻ पाप्याणिे एकानुम्ने आपनाविज्ञके४चे-
10 ण्यस्स आठक ५ भालन्द्याणसनस्तसि जवूनेसि उपमेज्जिे विपिणाठ-

Second Plate: Second Side

11 सेपोतेसि १० रावॅटिे ४ भाविज्ञणि ११सेपोतेसि ५ भादिवेज्जिे
12 कोसिकछजोसेसि ६ देवज्जिे ५ कोसिकसमोतेसि ७ वेज्जिे
13 कोसिकछजोसि १४ कोसिकसमोतेसि १५ विज्ञवज्ञकिे ५ पैपलाविज्ञकिे
14 देवज्जिे भालन्द्याणसनस्तसि चावज्जिे कोसिकसमोतेसि (से) सि जवॅजेजिे
15 सि । परे(२)हि देवज्जिे भालन्द्याणसनस्तसि बुदज्जिे कोसिकसमोतेसि

Third Plate: First Side

16 भादिवेज्जिे ५ कोसिकसमोतेसि ६ सेपोतेसि ७ कोसिकसमोतेसि
17 हरजिन्जोसि एतान बांडनाणि १२ भाणा विषणि १५ ३ कोसिकसमोतेसि
18 देवज्जिे ५ भाणा १ बांडनाणि आपनाविज्ञकिे अनुभविे
19 त्योद दलनि । पुवराणाणिे य से १५ बांडनकाणामणजानि १६ पारिे बिंचिे
20 राम १७ त जाणा अनुसरणिज्ञकिे । अल्पणेज्ञिे १८सकिे । अहिरणाणाणिे-

1 अण्टि (Sanskrit, आण्टि) is the same as दुकाहा who was to see to the execution of the royal order.
2 Cf. बालाकर्माणारिकपुधारिणका in the Sanskrit grants; see above, No. 3, line 21.
3 In the margin to the left there is a sign for २, denoting the number of this plate.
5 Prakrit grammarians give epapo as the correct form in the Māhārāṣṭri; see Vararuchi, V, 46 (Bhāmaḥa's com.); Hēmacandra, VIII, 3, 56.
6 Hultsch takes similar expressions which occur in lines 5-6 of the Mayiodaḷūṇ plates as Māgadhī nominatives. It is better to take them as locative singular forms, denoting purpose. In the Hirahadagalli and British Museum plates the gerund kāṭaṇa or kāṭāyaṇa follows -saddhanjyaṇ or sāddhanjyaṇ.
7 Such an expression does not occur in the Sanskrit charters of the Vākāṭakas.
8 The softening of th into dh is characteristic of the Sauraseni. See also rakkhadha, rakkhāṭepha, pariharāṭhā, and pariharāṭhā in lines 25-26, below.
9 The signs of punctuations in lines 10-18 are superfluous.
10 The anusūraṇ on si is very faint, but it is there.
11 The getra Śrāvīṣṭha or Śrāvīṣṭhayaana is not mentioned in the Caturpravaranibandhakakadamba, but the Śaṅgoli grant of the Kadamba king Harivarman (Ep. Inda., Vol. XIV, p. 167) names some Brāhmānas of the Śrāvīṣṭha getra and it is noteworthy that like the dōnes of the present grant, they all belonged to the Athavāvēdana.
12 The Hirahadagalli plates have, in line 27, etesi bhamahāyaṇ.
13 The correct form is tiṇi in all genders. See Vararuchi, IV, 56.
14 In the margin on the left, on a level with this line, there is a sign for १२, denoting the number of this plate.
15 This is genitive singular of lat; idāḥ, VI, 11.
16 This form of the word (with the hardening of d into t) occurs in line 45 of the Hirahadagalli plates. According to Prakrit grammarians this is a characteristic of the Paścāti dialect.
17 The marks of punctuation in lines 20-27 are superfluous.
18 This seems to correspond to kipa in the Sanskrit charters of the Vākāṭakas. See e.g. No. 2 line 17.
Inscriptions of the Vatsagulma Branch

Third Plate: Second Side

21 घण्यपदेय | अघुन्किलसतारायण | अघुन्किलसतारायण [1]
22 अघुरसिद्धिन | अघुरसिद्धिन | अघुरसिद्धिन [1]
23 अघुरसिद्धिन | अघुरसिद्धिन | अघुरसिद्धिन [1]
24 समुद्रभारकरण | समुद्रभारकरण | समुद्रभारकरण [1]
25 अघुरसिद्धिन | अघुरसिद्धिन | अघुरसिद्धिन [1]

Fourth Plate

26 परित्रापेश य [11] जो वृ आवां च रजेव क तज अनमहातिः
27 वस्मस् एति दिक। उपरित्रापेश य बाह्याभिः। परित्रापेश
28 उपरित्रापेश य बाह्याभिः। परित्रापेश
30 वस्मस् एति दिक। उपरित्रापेश य बाह्याभिः। परित्रापेश

Translation

Success! Scen. From Vatsagulma—

By the order of the Dharmamaharaja, the illustrious Vindhyasakti (II) of the Vakatakas, (who is) the son of the Dharmamaharaja, the illustrious Sarvasena (and) grandson of the Dharmamaharaja, the illustrious Pravarasena (I), the Smrta, and the son (i.e. descendant) of Hari (II), (who was) of the Vrishniviradhā gātra and who performed Agniṣṭoma, Aptyāma, Vajapeya, Jyotishṭoma, Brhaspatiśava, Śadvaktra and four Avasmēdas—

The Ajaṭṭhi and soldiers who are employed by us in all departments as well as other (touring officials) of noble birth in (the village) Ākāsapadda, which is situated near Tākālakk-hopaka in the northern division (marga) of Nandikada, should be caused to be addressed (as follows):—

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1 The curve on ma seems to have been cancelled.
2 The engraver at first incised da which he later changed to ca.
3 This corresponds to sa- akṣipta- ipakṣipta in the Sanskrit charters of the Vakatakas. See e.g. No. 3, line 28.
4 I am indebted to Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra for the reading of this expression.
5 The letter after ma has been cancelled.
6 Read fassu.
8 In the margin on the left, almost on a level with this line, there is a symbol for 4, denoting the number of the plate.
9 The last three akṣharas of this word are incised over others which have been cancelled.
10 Read Vahupu.
11 There is an ornamental symbol between these two sets of danḍas.
12 The epithet Hariṣṭuttra occurs in the inscriptions of the Kadambas and the Early Chālukyas. See e.g. the Tālagram inscription of Kākusthavarman (Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 31) and the Mahākka inscription of Maṅgaleśa (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 16). In later records Hariṣṭ (or Hariṣṭ-paṇḍhasikha) is represented as a sage. In that case Hariṣṭuttra may mean a disciple of Hariṣṭ. Cf. Sākya-patra meaning a Buddhist.
13 This record mentions Jyotishṭoma in place of Ughtha, Shōdaśin and Atiratra, which are mentioned in other Vakataka records among the sacrifices performed by Pravarasena I.
14 Ajaṭṭhi (Sanskrit, Ajaṭṭhi) is mentioned at the close of copper-plate charters and corresponds to the Dutaka mentioned similarly in some charters. He was entrusted with the execution of royal orders.
15 The usual expression in Vakataka grants is Sarvādhūa-nīyāga-nirukṣā meaning 'who are employed by the order of the General Superintendent'.
(Lines 7-10). For the increase of (Our) life and power, for invoking blessings and peace (for Us), and for Our well-being in this world and the next, We have now granted, in our victorious place of religious worship, this village to (the following members of) the Atharvanika charaṇa2 in this village as a new gift which is to be enjoyed as long as the moon and the sun will endure, (in the following proportion), viz., three parts—(in figure) 3—of it to these (following) Brāhmaṇas—half a share being given to Jivujja (Jivāyya) of the Bhālandāyana gōтра, to Ruddyaja (Rudrāyya) of the Kapiṇjala gōтра, to Bhaṭṭidevaja (Bhariḍēvārya) of the Śrāvīśṭhāyana gōтра, to Deaja (Devārya) of the Kauṣṭika gōтра, to Venhuja (Vishnārya) of the Kauṣṭika gōтра, to Vidhūjja (Vidhyārya) of the Kauṣṭika gōтра, to Pītuja (Pitārya) of the Paippalādi gōтра, to Chanda (Chandārya) of the Bhālandāyana gōtra (and) to Jeṭṭhaja (Jyēṣṭhārya) of the Kauṣṭika gōtra; (and) two shares being given to Buddhaja (Buddhārya) of the Bhālandāyana gōтра, to Bhādḍilāja (Bhādrilārya) of the Kauṣṭika gōтра, to Śivajja (Śivārya) of the Kauṣṭika gōtra, (and) to Harināja (Harinārya) of the Kauṣṭika gōtra—and the fourth part. (in figure) 1, to Revati (Rāvyārya) of the Kauṣṭika gōтра.

(Lines 19-21). And We grant the following exemptions from restrictions for it, such as are incidental to a village granted to the Brāhmaṇas proficient in the four Vēdas, as approved by former kings, viz., it is to be exempt from (the entrance of) the District Police3; to be exempt from the digging of salt and fermentation of liquor; it is to be exempt from (the obligation to make) presents of grain and gold4; it does not entitle (the State) to (the royalties on) flowers and milk5; and to the customary cows and bullocks6; it is not to provide pasture, hides and charcoal; it is not to be entered by soldiers; it is not to provide cots, water-pots7 and servants (to touring royal officers); it is exempt from taxes; it is not to provide draught cattle; it carries with it the right to treasures and deposits, to major and minor taxes, and to platforms and large fields8; and it is to be exempted with immunities of all kinds.

(Lines 24-30). Wherefore, you should protect it, cause it to be protected, exempt it and cause it to be exempted, regarding this charter as authoritative.

1 Vijaya-cerajyaiko seems to be misplaced. In Vākājaka charters it qualifies Dharmaśāṅkā when the grant was made at the capital.
2 i.e. of the Atharvaveda.
3 This is how Senart translates the expression a-rajaṭho-ratvaṁśaya. D. C. Sircar proposes to translate it by 'not to be controlled as other parts of the kingdom'. See S.I., Vol. I, p. 410, n. 1.
5 These were taxes in kind paid to the state. See MSM., Ch. VII, v.
6 The expression a-parampara-ga-balicaṇḍa corresponds to a-parampara-balivendra-gahaṇam of the Hirahadagalli plates and a-parampara-balivendra-gahaṇam of the Mayidavolu plates. These latter expressions have been taken to denote 'exemption from the obligation of furnishing by turns draught cattle for the progress of royal officers'. In former times it was considered to be the duty of villagers to supply means of transport for the touring of royal officers. Sometimes a small tax, called prayaṇa-dagda, was levied for the purpose. See rāja-śvākōṇa casati-dagda-prayaṇa-dagdham na stūḥ in the Paithana plates of Rāmchanḍra. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 318. But the use of the word go in addition to balicaṇḍa in Vākājaka grants rather indicates that the village people were exempted from the obligation of giving to the State the first calf—male or female—of every cow in the village. Besides, exemption from supplying the means of conveyance has already been mentioned as avahā in line 23, above.
7 Chollaka is plain identical with chōlaka in the Mayidavolu plates and yollaka in the Hirahadagalli plates. Hultzsch derives chollaka from chuhldki, a water-pot. Venāsika corresponds to vināsī in the Mayidavolu and vināsī in the Hirahadagalli plates. It is probably derived from samānsīke which the dictionaries give in the sense of 'a slave, a dependent or a subject'. The obligation to provide servants for touring officers is perhaps meant here.
8 Dictionaries give karāṇa in the sense of 'a field'.
Whoever will cause trouble or approve of it when caused, upon him, when complained against by the aforementioned Brähmaṇas we will inflict punishment together with a fine.

(Line 28-30). In the year 30 (and) 7, in the first fortnight of winter, on the day 4. This order, given by Us personally, has been written by the Śrīpāti Vishnu. May there be success!
INDIA OFFICE PLATE OF DÉVASENA

THIS plate was in the possession of the India Office, London, but it is not known how or when it went there. Its original find-spot is not known. It was edited with a facsimile by Dr. H. N. Randle in the New Indian Antiquary, Vol. II, pp. 177 f. Later, I published a note on it in the same volume of the Journal, pp. 721 f. It is edited here from Dr. Randle’s facsimile.

It is the first plate of a set, of which the other plates are not forthcoming. It now measures $9\frac{3}{4}$ by $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches and weighs 5 ounces; but since a part has been broken away at the ring-hole (which is fortunately in an unusual position, clear of the inscription, on the proper right edge), the plate in its original condition must have been rather longer and heavier. The sides are straight, but the intact end has the corners rounded off. There is no raised edge or rim. The inscription consists of three lines, engraved fairly deeply (so that some characters show slightly on the reverse), and on one side only, as is usual in the case of the first (and last) plates of Vākāṭaka grants. The first and last akṣaras in the third line project beyond the limit of the first two lines1. ‘The inscription ends abruptly.’

The characters are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets, resembling those of the grants of the Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II, the only peculiarity worth noticing being the general tendency to raise the upturned curves of such letters as k, r, and the subscript y higher than is usual in Pravarasena II’s grants. The confusion of t and n occurs in this grant also. The language is Sanskrit and the extant portion is wholly in prose. The language is in places influenced by Prakrit as in sucharantara(ka), line 2 and Yappajjassa, line 3. The only orthographical peculiarity it presents is the doubling of a consonant after r as in -māgga, line 1 and dharmma-, line 3.

The plate purports to have been issued by the Vākāṭaka Mahārāja Dēvasena from Vātsyagulma. It records the order of the king addressed to the touring royal officers (kula-patras) such as the bhātas, Bhōjakas and Daṇḍanāyakas employed in the northern subdivision of Nāgaraṅgaṅa that the village (probably Yappajja mentioned at the end of line 3) had been granted by him to the Brāhmaṇas Dharmasvāmin2 and Bhavasvāmin of the Śāḍhila gōtra. The record ends here abruptly, the subsequent portion, mentioning the exemptions granted to the donees, the appeal to future rulers, the regnal date and the names of the writer and the Dātaka, being lost.

Unlike most other grants of the Vākāṭakas, the present inscription does not open with drishtam ‘seen’. It is not, again, in the usual style of Vākāṭaka grants which give the genealogy of the reigning king in the beginning. Besides, the record is full of grammatical errors. Dr. Randle therefore conjectured that the engraver’s incompetence proved too much for the Vākāṭaka official and so the plate was rejected before completion of the charter3. None of these reasons, however, are quite convincing. Though the word drishtam usually occurs in the beginning of Vākāṭaka grants, it does not do so invariably4. The Riddhapur

2 Randle takes Dharmasvāmin as an epithet of Bhavasvāmin. No such epithet, however, occurs elsewhere.
4 It may be noted that there is no empty space left for it in the beginning of line 1 as in Nos. 17 and 18.
plates of Prabhâvataguptâ, for instance, do not contain it. For all we know, the later Vâkâṭaka princes of the Vatsagulma branch may have purposely shortened the introductory portion of their grants; for we have no copper-plate grants of this branch after Vindhyāśakti II's time. As for grammatical and other mistakes, they are noticed in still greater numbers in several genuine grants of the Vâkâṭakas. It would not therefore be wise to reject this grant as unauthorised or spurious. Its importance lies in the fact that it is the only record of Dēvasena's reign. In fact it showed for the first time that Vatsagulma was a capital of the Vâkâṭakas, which was later confirmed by the discovery of the Bāsim plates of Vindhyāśakti II.

As for the localities mentioned in the present grant, Vâtsyagulma is evidently identical with Vatsagulma which has already been shown to be modern Bāsim in the Akola District of Vidarbha. Nângarakatâka probably denoted a territorial division corresponding to the modern district, though the names of such divisions usually ended in kaṭa. Nângara, its chief town, cannot be satisfactorily identified. If Nângara is the writer's mistake for Mângara, the place may be identical with Mangrul, (ancient Mângarapura), the headquarters of a taksal of the same name in the Akola District. It lies about 25 miles north by east of Bāsim, on the high road which connects Bāsim with Kâranjâ. It was therefore situated in the northern subdivision (uttara-mârga) as stated in the present inscription. It seems to have been an ancient place since a large hoard of more than 1500 coins of the Sâtavâhanas was found in its neighbourhood. Yappajja, if this is the correct name of the donated village, cannot be identified.

TEXT

1 स्वरूपः [18] वात्स्यागुलमात् [18] वाकाटकानामहाराजश्रीदेवसेनस्य वतनात [18] उत्तराकाम... (मौ)
2 नाञ्जरकतकं अमलशार [क] महत्रोक्षकदण्डानयकास्य: सचरतकं किलोका (पुष्ट)
3 वक्तव्य (व्या) यथिक (घो) स्मारितम् (श्री) म: श (शा) निदातस्मोत्स्स्वथां भर्मेस्त्र (स्था) मिन (नौ) ननस्त्र (स्था) मिन (नौ) 3 यमुजंगस्व

TRANSLATION

Hail! From Vâtsyagulma—By the order of the illustrious Dēvasena, the Mahârâja of the Vâkâṭakas—

In Nângarakatâka, in the Northern subdivision (mârga)?, Our touring Officers of noble birth such as soldiers, Bhâjakas and Donjanâyukas should be addressed (as follows):—

(Line 2). This village Y appajja (has been granted by Us) to Dharmasvâmin of the Sândilya gotra and to Bhavasvâmin.......

(The subsequent plates of the grant are not forthcoming.)

1 This was first pointed out in my note in N.I.A., Vol. II, pp. 721 f.
3 From the facsimile facing p. 180 in N.I.A., Vol. II.
4 Read कया.
5 Perhaps सायहस्यस्यमपेक्षा भस्यालिङ्ग. Perhaps य प्रशस्य was the name of the donated village.
6 This appears to be a Prakrit form. Perhaps य प्रशस्य was the name of the donated village.
7 In the Bāsim plates (No. 24 below), line 5, the Utrârâmârâga (northern division) is explicitly stated to be a subdivision of the district Nândikaṭa.
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE MINISTERS AND FEUDATORIES OF THE VATSAGULMA BRANCH

NO. 25: PLATE XXV

AJANṬĀ CAVE INSCRIPTION OF VARĀHADĒVA

This inscription was first brought to notice by Dr. Bhau Daji, who published an eye-copy of it together with a transcript of its text and a translation in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (1862), Vol. VII, pp. 56 ff. Dr. Bhau Daji noticed in it the names of the kings Vindhyasakti, Pravarasena and Devaseña, and of their ministers Hastibhoja and Varahadeva. He identified the first two of these kings with the homonymous princes of the Vakataka dynasty who had already become known from the Siwani plates of Pravarasena II. The inscription was next edited with an introductory note and a translation, but without a facsimile, by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraj in the Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India (Archaeological Survey of India) (1881), pp. 69 ff. Pandit Bhagvanlal noticed in it the names of the following Vakataka kings—Vindhyasakti; Pravarasena; Rudrasena; (a name lost); Dvaseña; and Harishena. The transcript was prepared by the Pandit with his wonted skill and shows a great improvement over that of Dr. Bhau Daji. The record was next edited, with a translation and a lithograph, by Dr. Bühler in the Archaeological Survey of Western India, Vol. IV (1883), pp. 124 ff. and Plate LXVII. Dr. Bühler’s lithograph was made from a facsimile carefully prepared by Pandit Bhagvanlal. It seems, however, to have been somewhat worked up by hand. Dr. Bühler’s transcript does not differ much from Pandit Bhagvanlal’s, but he noticed two additional names viz., Prithivishena and Pravarasena (II) after Rudrasena in the genealogical portion of the record. I discussed the contents of the inscription in a paper which I contributed to the fourth session of the Indian History Congress held at Lahore in 1940 and later edited it, from an excellent estamnage supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India, in the Hyderabad Archaeological Series (1941). The record is edited here from the facsimile published with that article.

The inscription is incised on the left-side wall at the extreme end outside the verandah of Cave XVI at Ajanṭa in the Hyderabad State. It has suffered a great deal by exposure to weather, especially in the middle of the first eight lines and on the left-hand side the whole way down. Besides, about a dozen aksharas have been completely lost in the last two lines at the lower left corner and one or two more in the centre of lines 25 and 26 owing to the flaking off of the surface of the stone.

The inscription covers a space 4’ broad and 3’ 6” high and consists of 27 lines, beautifully written and carefully engraved. The characters are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets. The boxes at the head of letters are scooped out hollow as in the stone inscription at Deotak. The only points that call for notice are as follows:—In initial ā the length is indicated by an additional upturned curve added at the base of the vertical; see urdhva-, line 17; the medial ī is shown by a curling curve to the left and the medial ŭ by a loop as in Udīrya and ṭākā- both in line 1; medial au is bipartite as in kṣanau-dārya-, line 16; y is still tripartite; l has in most cases a long vertical, but in some places

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1 P.I.H.C., 1940, pp. 79 ff.
(e.g. Lāṭa-, line 14) it has assumed a diminutive form. The language is Sanskrit and the inscription is in verse throughout. The verses are thirty-two in number. As regards orthography, we may note the doubling of the consonant after r as in nirvāṇa-, line 1 and the use of the guttural nasal in stead of anusvāra in varka-, line 3. The upadhmūniya occurs in lines 2 and 10, and the jihvāmūlya in line 10.

The inscription is one of the minister Varāhadēva of the Vākāṭaka king Harishēṇa. The object of it is to record the dedication of a cave-dwelling (vēśa) fully decorated with pillars, picture-galleries, sculptures etc. to the Buddhist Saṅgha. It is undated, but since Harishēṇa ruled from about 475 A.C. to 500 A.C., it may be referred to the end of the fifth century A.C. It is noteworthy that Fergusson and Burgess also assigned the Ajanṭā cave XVI, where the present record is incised, to about 500 A.C. on the evidence of the style of its architecture.

The inscription falls into two parts. The first part comprising the first twenty verses gives the genealogy of the reigning king Harishēṇa and incidentally names and eulogises Hastibhōja and his son (Varāhadēva) who as ministers served the Vākāṭaka kings Dēvasēna and Harishēṇa. The second part describes the cave-dwelling containing a Buddhist temple (chaitīya-mandiram) and an excellent hall (mangalāpura-ratnam) excavated by Varāhadēva which he dedicated to the Buddhist Saṅgha for the religious merit of his father and mother.

The main interest of the inscription lies in the first part which gives the Vākāṭaka genealogy right from Vindhyasaktī, the founder of the family. The present inscription describes Vindhyasaktī as a dvijā (Brahmaṇa) who became renowned on earth, having increased his power in great battles. His son Pravarasēna I is next glorified in verse 6 as one whose lotus-like feet were kissed by the rays of the crest-jewels of hostile kings.

Pravarasēna I's son and successor was named and described in verse 7, but owing to the unfortunate mutilation of the record in this part, the name is partially lost. Only the latter part of it viz., -sēna is clear. Bhagvanlal, who first noticed the name, thought that sēna was preceded by a faintly traceable form like dra, so that the name might have been Bhadrasēna, Chandrasēna, Indrasēna, Rudrasēna, etc. In his transcript of the record he adopted the reading Rudrasēna evidently because this name occurs soon after that of Pravarasēna I in the Siwani and Chammak plates of Pravarasēna II, which had been discovered before. This reading was also adopted by Bihler, who next edited the present inscription. It must, however, be noticed that according to the aforementioned land-grants of Pravarasēna II, Rudrasena I was not the son of Pravarasēna I, but was his grandson, while the present inscription clearly states that the successor of Pravarasēna (I) was his son. We must therefore suppose either that the poet committed a mistake in describing this relationship, or the reading of the royal name adopted by Bhagvanlal and Bihler is incorrect. The former alternative does not appear likely; for the inscription was composed under the direction of the Vākāṭaka king Harishēṇa's minister and is, on the whole, very correctly written. It is, however, very much abraded in the portion where the name occurs, and therefore a mistake in reading is not unlikely. Both Bhagvanlal and Bihler also were not quite certain about this reading, but the former thought that he saw 'a faintly traceable form like dra'. If we refer to the lithograph used by both of them, we find that the upper member of the ligature read as dra is quite illegible, but there appears a loop below it, which seems to have been taken as the subscript r of dra. There are several instances of the subscript r in that lithograph, but in none of them is it denoted by a loop; it is always shown

1The Cave-Temples of India, p. 306.
by a hook open to the left. The new estampage supplied by the Government Epigraphist does not show even this loop. The preceding akshara ru is of course completely gone as admitted by both Bhagvanlal and Bühler. The reading Rudrasena in verse 7 is therefore extremely doubtful.

The Bāsim plates name Sarvasēna as the son and successor of the Vākāṭaka Pravara-
sēna I who performed four Asvamedhas and other sacrifices. It may therefore be suggested that the name lost here is Sarvasēna. The reading Sarvasēnaḥ would suit the metre as well as Rudrasēnaḥ. The latter part of the verse would therefore be Sarvasēnaḥ Pravaraśēnasya jīta-
sarvasēnas-wuḥ-bhava-t. The resulting yamakas would make this reading quite plausible. The poet who composed this inscription was fond of using yamakas based on proper names as will be seen from the following:—

7—Pravaraśēnaḥ—tasya putro—bhūt—pravar-orjhit-ōdāra-śāsana-pravaraḥ.
10–11—Hastibhūjaḥ . . . . dig-gandhasthit-pratimō babhūva.
14—Harishēno hari-vikkrama-pratāpaḥ.

The description jīta-sarvasēnasah of this prince was evidently suggested by his name Sarvasēna.1 We may therefore take it as almost certain that Pravaraśēna I was succeeded by his son Sarvasēna.

Bhagvanlal did not notice any royal name in the next verse, but Bühler thought that he could read in the middle of line 7 the aksharas pra(or pri)thivi which showed a name like Pṛthīvīśeṇa.2 As he had adopted Bhagvanlal’s reading Rudrasēnaḥ in the preceding verse, he identified this Pṛthīvīśeṇa with Pṛthīvīśeṇa I, whom several land-grants mention as the son and successor of Rudrasēna I. We have seen, however, that verse 7 probably mentions the name of Sarvasēna, not of Rudrasēna. Besides, the reading Pṛthīvīśeṇaḥ noticed by Bühler is equally uncertain. The akshara which he read as thī has a tapering top and is open below. It cannot therefore be read as thī; for in all cases in this inscription, th has invariably a round top and is closed at the bottom; see e.g. prāhī in line 15 and prāhīga in line 21. The akshara appears to be śri, of which the lower curve representing r is indistinct. The following akshara is clearly śim. It is followed by clear traces of dhyā. Especially the elongated curve representing the subscript y is unmistakable. The two following aksharas are almost certainly śeneḥ.3 The name thus appears to be śri-Vindhyaśeṇa. The initial word sat-putraḥ in that verse, which has not been noticed before, shows that Vindhyaśeṇa was the son of the preceding king Sarvasēna.4 The Bāsim plates mention Vindhyaśakti (II) as the son and successor of Sarvasēna. Vindhyaśakti and Vindhyaśeṇa are plainly identical. The Bāsim plates thus corroborate the reading śri-Vindhyaśeṇaḥ in verse 8. The second half of the verse which is very badly mutilated indicates that he won a victory over the lord of Kuntala.

The next verse (9) was read by Bhagvanlal as Pravaraśēnasya putro—bhūd etc. He therefore thought that it described another son of Pravaraśena I. The correct reading Pravaraśēnas—tasya putro—bhūd was first given by Bühler. It shows that Pravaraśena (II) was the next king. Bühler identified this Pravaraśena (whom he took to be the son and

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1 Otherwise, there is no special point in saying that he conquered all armies. One would rather expect an expression like jīta-sarvaśīrṣaḥ or jīta-sarva-rājaḥ.
2 A.S.W.L., No. 4, p. 125, n. 1.
3 They were doubtfully read as śeṇaḥ by Bühler.
4 Bühler conjecturally supplied tasya—tasya, but there is no space for so many aksharas before pārthiv-endṛṣaya in line 7 and the reading does not suit the metre.
successor of Prithivishēna I) with Pravarāsēna II, whose Siwanī and Channmak plates had already been discovered and deciphered. This identification also cannot be upheld. As shown above, verse 8 does not mention Prithivishēna, but Vindhyasēna. Secondly, even if we adopt Bühler's reading Prithivishēnah in verse 8, we find that Pravarāsēna II was not the son of Prithivishēna I, but was his grandson; for his father was Rudrāsēna II, the son-in-law of the famous Gupta king Chandragupta II -Vikramāditya. Pravarāsēna, mentioned in verse 9 as the son and successor of Vindhyasēna (or Vindhyāsakti II) must therefore be distinguished from the homonymous Vākāṭaka prince who is known from more than a dozen grants discovered in Vidarbha.

Verse 10 introduces another prince who evidently succeeded his father Pravarāsēna II, mentioned in the preceding verse, but whose name cannot now be determined owing to the mutilation of the first half of that verse. He is said to have come to the throne when he was only eight years old and to have ruled his kingdom well. This prince is not known from any other record.

Verse 11 mentions Dēvasēna as the son and successor of the prince described in verse 10. He is also known from the India Office plate edited before.

Verses 12-16 incidentally describe Hastibhōja, a capable minister of Dēvasēna. These verses also have suffered much mutilation, but what remains of them is sufficient to give us a fair idea of his accomplishments. We are told that he was an abode of merits, had a broad and stout chest, was obliging, modest, loving and affable, and destroyed the allies of his enemies. He governed the people well and was accessible and dear to them like their father, mother and friend. Entrusting the cares of government to him, the king (Dēvasēna) gave himself up to the enjoyment of pleasures.

Verse 17 proceeds with the royal genealogy and describes Harishēna, the son and successor of Dēvasēṇa. The following verse which describes his conquests is badly mutilated. The first part of it mentions the countries of Kuntala, Avanti, Kaliṅga, Kōsala, Trikūṭa, Lāṭa and Andhra, evidently in connection with the conquests of Harishēna.

Verses 19-20 eulogize a son of Hastibhōja who became a minister of Harishēna. His name which must have occurred in the second half of verse 19 is now lost, but from verse 30 we can conjecture that it was Varāhādeva. He is said to have possessed the virtues of liberality, forgiveness and generosity, and to have ruled the country righteously. Realising that life, youth, wealth and happiness are transitory, he excavated a cave in honour of his father and mother for the use of the best of ascetics. Verse 24 described the cave-dwelling (vēṣma) as adorned with windows, doors, beautiful picture-galleries2, ledges and statues of the nymphs of Indra, and supported by lovely pillars. It contained a temple of Buddha and was provided with a large reservoir of water and a shrine of the lord of the Nāgas. This description exactly applies to cave XVI where the inscription has been incised. Verse 30 states that Varāhādeva made over the cave to the Community of Monks. The last two verses (31-32) express the hope that the cave containing the excellent mandapa dedicated to the three rūmas (i.e., Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha) would last forever and that the world would be freed from all blemishes and enter the peaceful and noble state which is devoid of sorrow and pain.

1 No. 24, above.
2 The reference to picture-galleries in v. 24 was missed by both Bhagvanlal and Bühler as the former took suṭhī to mean ‘splendid verandas’ and the latter, ‘beautiful terraces’. The Trikāŋgāślā (cited by Ghanāyāma in his commentary on the Uttarāmacharitam, Act, I) gives viṭhikā (which is the same as viṭhī) in the sense of ‘a row of pictures’.

106 INSCRIPTIONS OF MINISTERS AND FEUDATORIES
As for the localities mentioned in this record, Kuntala generally denoted the country between the Bhimā and the Vēdavatī, including the Sālavā and Shōlapur Districts as well as some Kanarese districts of the Bombay, Mysore and Madras States. According to some writers, however, Kuntala stretched much farther to the north. Rājaśeśkhara seems to identify Kuntala with a part of Mahārāṣṭra including Vidarbha. Soḍḍhala, the author of the Udayasundarīkathā, states that Pratishthāna (modern Paṭīḍa in the former Haidarabad State) on the Godāvari was the capital of Kuntala. Avanti is Western Malwa, the capital of which was Ujjain (also called Avanti). Kalinga comprised the country along the eastern coast between the Mahānadi and the Godāvari. Kösala is evidently Dakṣiṇa Kösala, corresponding to modern Chhattisgarh and the adjoining parts of the Orissa State. The exact location of Trikūṭā was long uncertain. From the description in Kālidāsa’s Rāghuvamśa it was of course known that the mountain Trikūṭa after which the country was named was situated in Aparānta (North Köṅkan). The dynasty of the Traikūṭakas was also known to have held parts of Köṅkan, Southern Gujarāt and Northern Mahārāṣṭra. But which part of the Western Ghāts was designated Trikūṭa was not known. The Anjanerī plates mention Pūrva-Trikūṭa viśaya (Eastern Trikūṭa District) in connection with certain taxes levied in favour of a temple situated in the Nāsik District. Trikūṭa seems therefore to have comprised the country to the west of Nāsik. Lāṭa generally signifies Central and Southern Gujarāt, between the Mahi and the Tāpi, but in some records it is said to have included the territory to the north of the Mahi as far as Kairā. Finally, Andhra is the well-known name of the Telugu-speaking country to the south of the Godāvari.

Text

1. [Transcription of the inscription in the text]

2. [Transcription of the inscription in the text]

3. [Transcription of the inscription in the text]

4. [Transcription of the inscription in the text]

5. [Transcription of the inscription in the text]

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1 Rājaśeśkhara, Bālarāmāyaṇa, Act III, verses 50-52; Act X, verses 74-75.
2 Udayasundarīkathā (Gaekwad’s Oriental Series), pp. 21 and 83.
3 Rāghuvamśa, canto IV, v. 59.
5 Ibid., Vol. XII, p. 40.
6 From the facsimile published in the Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, between pages 142 and 143.
7 This word was not noticed by the previous editors. The inscription in Ajanṭā Cave XVII (No. 27) refers to the Buddha as Muni.
8 From the facsimile published in the Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, between pages 142 and 143.
9 These three akṣaras are fairly clear. The complete word may have been udāwanakṣaṇaṃ.
10 This was the reading of Bhagvanal. Bihler read udāwanakṣaṇaṃ.
11 Text: Upajāti.
12 Text: Upajāti or Upajāti.
6 दर्षितस्तन्य गृहमुद्धिन्यसम्बेर्त्त्वकोक:। नीलीाः सिद्धिमयः। ।
7 [मोह]। नातिभ्रमन्तः प्रकरणात् सम्बन्धः मैंविनों।। [कूलि]
8 [सादी]। प्रकरणात् सम्बन्धः मैंविनों।। [कूलि]
9 [सूक्त]। सम्बन्धः मैंविनों।। भूमि देवसेवः।। कस्योष्णेद्वेद्वैतपत्रग्रहः।
10 [सूक्त]। [कूलि]। सम्बन्धः मैंविनों।। भूमि देवसेवः।। कोशोः
11 [सूक्त]। [कूलि]। सम्बन्धः मैंविनों।। भूमि देवसेवः।। कोशोः
12 [सूक्त]। [कूलि]। सम्बन्धः मैंविनों।। भूमि देवसेवः।। कोशोः
13 [सूक्त]। [कूलि]। सम्बन्धः मैंविनों।। भूमि देवसेवः।। कोशोः
14 [सूक्त]। [कूलि]। सम्बन्धः मैंविनों।। भूमि देवसेवः।। कोशोः
15 [सूक्त]। [कूलि]। सम्बन्धः मैंविनों।। भूमि देवसेवः।। कोशोः
16 [सूक्त]। [कूलि]। सम्बन्धः मैंविनों।। भूमि देवसेवः।। कोशोः
17 [सूक्त]। [कूलि]। सम्बन्धः मैंविनों।। भूमि देवसेवः।। कोशोः

1. Metre of verses 6-9 is a species of mātrāsamkā as stated by Kiehorn. Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 27.
2. Bhagvanlal and Bühler proposed to read this name as हृदनन्द. See above, p. 105.
3. This word was omitted in all previous transcripts.
4. Bühler proposed to read the name of this prince as पृविजी. See above, p. 105.
5. Read गुप्तयज्ञ.
6. Metre of verses 10-12—Indrawijā or Upajāti.
7. Perhaps the word was भगवनल. Hastikoa, as the designation of an officer, occurs in the Godavari copper-plate grant of Prithiviçulma. J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XVI, p. 118.
8. These three aksharas are fairly clear.
13. Bhagvanlal and Bühler read स्रवेजकति which is ungrammatical. Bühler’s proposal to emend it as स्रवेजकति is unnecessary as the akshara following र is clearly न.
17. This word, though omitted by previous editors, is fairly clear in the new estamphage.
AJANTA CAVE INSCRIPTION OF VARAHADeva
(Verse 1). Having bowed to the sage (Buddha) who extinguishes the rising flames of the sins of the three worlds.....I shall give a eulogy about a succession of kings.

1 Metre: Upajāti.
2 This first quarter of the verse has been read by me for the first time. The reading अविनाशित给我 by Bhagvanlal and Bühler does not give any good sense.
3 Bhagvanlal and Bühler read वर्ण.
4 Metre: Auspachkhandasaika.
5 Bühler doubtfully read मूनस्, but the aksharas are completely gone. Read भविष्यम्.
6 This last quarter, which I have read completely for the first time, shows that the Chaitya-mandira was not structural and outside the cave as supposed by Burgess, but that it was the shrine of the gigantic statue of the Buddha at the back of the cave. Compare निम्तिःवत्तवत्तत्वब्रह्म in line 24 of inscription No. 27.
7 Bhagvanlal and Bühler read न्यायमहासिद्धान्त, which does not yield a good sense. The expression प्राकाशमहासिद्धान्त occurs in line 26 of inscription No. 27 also.
8 Read निप्रहस्तु, Metre: Upajāti.
9 Metre: Prahashtini.
10 Metre of this and the next verse: Auspachkhandasaika.
11 The last two of the missing aksharas may have been मते.
12 Metre: Vasantatilakā.
13 Read निवामन.
14 Read सम्बन्ध.
15 Read भविष्यम.
16 Metre: Upajāti.
17 Read निन्द्र.
18 Metre: Sādulaśakrīdita.
19 Metre: Mālāṅ.
20 In this translation I have derived some help from Dr. Bühler's rendering, though I have differed from him in the interpretation of certain passages.
(V. 2). There was a Brāhmaṇa (lit., a twice-born man) on earth (named) Vindhyāsakti, whose strength increased in great battles, whose valour, when he was enraged, was irresistible even by gods, (and) who was mighty in fighting and charity.

(V. 3). He, whose majesty was like that of Indra and Upēndra (Vishṇu), who, by the might of his arm, conquered the whole world (and) [who destroyed the up-rooted thorns], became the standard of the Vākāṭaka race.

(V. 4). He, eclipsing in battles the sun with the masses of dust raised by (the hoofs of) his horses, making the enemies...... made them intent on salutation to him.

(V. 5). Having subdued his enemies for (accomplishing) the work of the gods, he made a great effort to acquire religious merit.

(V. 6). His son was Pravarasena (I), whose lotus-like feet were kissed by the rays of jewels worn on the heads of hostile kings (and) whose eyes resembled fresh, blooming lotuses.

(V. 7). The rays of the sun......(Sarvasena) was Pravarasena (I)'s son who defeated all armies.

(V. 8). The illustrious Vindhyāsena, the noble son of the lord of kings, governed the earth righteously, having conquered the lord of Kuntala.

(V. 9). His son was Pravarasena (II), who became exalted by his excellent, powerful and liberal rule.

(V. 10). His son......who, having obtained the kingdom when eight years old, ruled well.

(V. 11). His son became king who, on earth, was known as Devasena...... by whose lovely enjoyments the earth......of the lord of gods.

(V. 12). Through the greatness of the religious merit of (that) king...... properly..... (there) was Hastihōja, the abode of excellences......the illustrious Commander of the Elephant Force on the earth.

(V. 13). He, who had a broad and stout chest and lotus-like eyes, (and) who destroyed the partisans of his enemies, (who had)......arms...... resembled a scent-elephant stationed in a quarter.

(V. 14). Obliging, modest, loving, agreeable, obedient to (the king's) wishes,...... faultlessly.

(V. 15). So also, on account of his being a well-wisher of the world as well as by his happy and excellent rule, he was, indeed, always dear and accessible (to the people) like (their) father, mother and friend.

(V. 16).......The king, having entrusted (the government of the kingdom) to him, became free from care and engaged himself in the enjoyment of pleasures, acting as he liked.

(V. 17). Then his son became king...... Harishena, who, in loveliness, resembled Indra, Raṇa, Harā, Cupīḍ, and the moon, and who was brave and spirited like a lion.

(V. 18). He [conquered], Kuntala, Avanti, Kaliṅga, Kosala, Trikūṭa, Lāṭa, Andhra,...... which, though very famous for valour......

1. i.e., who exterminated wicked people.
2. Bhagvanlal and Bühler read the name of this prince as Rudrasena. See above, p. 105.
3. Bühler reads Prithivihēna as the name of this prince. See above, p. 105.
4. Perhaps the sense is that the earth vied with the world of the gods.
5. Hastihōja seems to be a technical official title as in the Godavari copper-plate grant of Prithivimūla. Fleet took it to mean an official who kept the purse and made disbursements on account of the establishment of elephants. J. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI, p. 119.
6. Hari of the text should be taken to mean 'Indra', not 'Vishṇu', as Raṇa, an incarnation of Vishṇu, is separately named.
(V. 19). The son of Hastibhōja, renowned on earth, became the minister of that king......whole earth......

(V. 20). Beloved by the king and the subjects, he, who was of staid and firm mind, endowed with the virtues of liberality, forgiveness and generosity, and intent on (the performance of) religious duty, governed the country righteously, (shining) brightly with the rays of his fame, religious merit and virtue.

(V. 21). He amassed a large store of religious merit for......especially, after which he, [regarding] the sacred law as his (only) companion, made this sacred dwelling,1 being extremely devoted to (the Buddha), the teacher of the world.

(V. 22). [Realising that] life, youth wealth and happiness are transitory,......he, for the sake of his father and mother, caused to be made this excellent dwelling to be occupied by the best of ascetics.

(V. 23). On the best of mountains, on which hang multitudes of water-laden clouds (and) which is inhabited by the lords of serpents.......in the thickets of the slopes (?) of which ......by the lord of the goddess of heroism.

(V. 24). [The dwelling] which is adorned with windows, doors, beautiful picture-galleries2, ledges, statues of the nymphs of Indra and the like, which is ornamented with beautiful pillars and stairs, and has a temple of the Buddha inside.

(V. 25). Which is situated on the top (of the mountain), appears attractive......a canopy, which is provided with a large reservoir of abundant water and is also ornamented with a shrine of the lord of the Nāgas3 and the like.

(V. 26).......various pleasures......in a fierce wind blowing all round......warmed by the heat of the rays of the summer sun and affording enjoyment of well-known comforts in all seasons.

(V. 27). [Which resembles] the palaces of the lord of gods and is similar to a cave in the lovely Mandara mountain.......as desired by the people.

(V. 28). which......shines on (the slopes of) this matchless mountain.......since it removes fatigue.

(V. 29). The cave on this (mountain)......clothed in the brilliance of Indra’s crown, which the people, with their love expanding through joy and gratification, have named - viśāla4.

(V. 30). Having presented (the cave) with devotion to the Community of Monks, Varāhadeva together with the multitude of his relatives, having enjoyed royal pleasures, ruled righteously, being praised like Sugata (i.e. the Buddha).

(V. 31). As long as......with the multitude of the hoods of serpents resembling crowding clouds......as long as the sun [shines] with rays red like fresh red arsenic,—even so long may this spotless cave containing an excellent hall (mandapa) dedicated to the three ratnas, be enjoyed!

(V. 32). [May] this mountain, the peak of which contains various (types of) caves, which is inhabited by great people......and may the whole world also, getting rid of its manifold sins, enter that tranquil and noble state, free from sorrow and pain!

1 Kāra seems to have been used here in the unusual sense of 'a place of worship.' It may be noted that kāra in Pali means 'an act of worship' or 'homage'. Bühlcr translated, 'He made a prison (?) all round for the teacher of the world'.

2 Su-ūṭhī was translated as 'splendid verandahs' by Bhagvanlal and as 'beautiful terraces' by Bühlcr. It probably refers to the picture-galleries in the cave. Cf. viśāka used in the Utparanāmanchiṭṭha, Act I. Burgess thought that the chautya-mandiram must be structural and outside; but it undoubtedly refers to the shrine containing a colossal statue of the Buddha at the back of the cave.

3 This refers to the shrine of the Nāga Rāja 'in the staircase leading down from the front of the cave'.

4 Cave XVI seems to have borne a name ending in viśāla.
GHAṬOTKACHA CAVE INSCRIPTION OF VARĀHADĒVA

THIS inscription was first published with an English translation, but without any facsimile plate, by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji in the *Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India* (Archaeological Survey of Western India) (1881), pp. 88 f.¹. He gave a fairly correct transcript of the text and pointed out that Hastibhoja, mentioned in line 10, was probably a minister of the Vākāṭaka king Dēvasēṇa. He further identified Dēvarāja mentioned in line 13 with the homonymous minister of a king of Āṣmaka, mentioned in line 10 of the inscription in Cave XVII at Ajanṭā, and on the basis of this identification, conjectured that the Ghaṭotkachā cave was of a somewhat later date than the Ajanṭā caves XVI, XVII and XXVII². The inscription was next edited with a lithograph and an English translation by Dr. G. Bühler in the *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol. IV (1883), pp. 138 f. and Pl. LX. The lithograph was prepared from an estampage taken by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji, and appears to have been somewhat worked up by hand. Dr. Bühler's transcript and translation differed in some points from those of Pandit Bhagvanlal. He declared himself against the identification of Dēvarāja with the Āṣmaka minister of the same name, proposed by Pandit Bhagvanlal, and apparently took Dēvarāja to be Indra, the lord of gods³. Bühler further pointed out that this ministerial family belonged to the Vallūras, which, he thought, was apparently a sub-division of the Malabar Brāhmaṇas⁴. The transcripts of Bhagvanlal and Bühler led to certain misconceptions regarding the original home of this family. I therefore published a revised edition of the record with a facsimile prepared from estampages supplied by the Archaeological Department of the Hyderabad State. It is re-edited here from the same estampages.

The present inscription is incised on the left end of the back wall of the verandah of what is known as the Ghaṭotkachā Cave at Gulwāḏā, 11 miles west of Ajanṭā. It seems to have originally consisted of twenty-two lines, but the last four lines are now almost completely defaced. Of the remaining eighteen lines, again, only the first ten can be read more or less completely, but a major portion of the next eight lines on the right-hand side is now irrecoverably lost owing to the decay of the stone on which they were engraved. The inscription is, however, the only record which gives a complete genealogy of Varāhadeva, the minister of the Vākāṭaka king Harishēṇa, and this circumstance invests it with considerable importance. I have tried to decipher it as much as is possible in its present defaced condition.

¹ The Ghaṭotkachā cave where the inscription is incised was first brought to notice by Captain Rose and described by Surgeon W. H. Bradley, but the present inscription does not appear to have been deciphered before 1881. Dr. Burgess called it an inscription of Āṣmaka princes, evidently relying on the account given by Pandit Bhagvanlal.
² Bhagvanlal gave the following genealogy of Dēvarāja. Hastibhoja, (his son) Varāhadeva, (his son) Bhavirāja, and (his son) Dēvarāja. According to him, Dēvarāja was the great-grandson of Hastibhoja and grandson of Varāhadeva. The Ajanṭā caves XVI and XVII were, however, excavated during the reign of the Vākāṭaka king Harishēṇa, whose minister was Varāhadeva. Cave XXVI was excavated by a Buddhist Bhikshu in honour of Bhavirāja, a minister of the king of Āṣmaka.
³ As shown below, Dēvarāja in line 13 in none other than the Vākāṭaka king Dēvasēṇa.
⁴ This view rests on the reading *Malayē* in line 7, which, as shown below, is extremely doubtful. See below, p. 116, n. 8.
The inscription seems to have originally covered a space, 4' broad by 2' 4" high. The characters are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabet, generally resembling those of the Vākāṭaka inscriptions in Caves XVI and XVII at Ajaṅga. The only peculiarities that call for notice are as follows:—The medial ū (long) is denoted by two horizontal strokes added to the vertical on the right in some cases and on the left in others; see guruṇāṁ, line 1, and Vālīra—, line 3. In the case of bha, on the other hand, the vowel is indicated by turning the vertical upwards to the right and adding a horizontal stroke to it; see habba, line 9; i is unlooped, while n shows a loop; y is tripartite except when it is subscript; the vertical stroke of l is invariably turned sharply to the left; a final consonant is indicated by its small size and a horizontal line at the top; see tasmā, line 9. The sign for the jiṣṇumūliya occurs in line 5 and 9, and that for the upadhamāniya in lines 4, 5 and 10.

The language is Sanskrit, and the whole record is metrically composed. Each line of it contains one verse. The metres used in it are Indracaṇḍī, Upajāti, Ayā, Pushpāgiri and Vasantatilakā. The record is composed in a simple and graceful style, generally free from solecisms. The only form which calls for notice is āsa, which, contrary to Pāṇini, II, 4, 52, is used in line 5 as an independent verb of the perfect tense. The orthography shows the usual peculiarities of the reduplication of a consonant after r and the use of the guttural nasal for anusvāra, see vahā, line 3, and vahāsū, line 6.

The object of the inscription was apparently to record the excavation of the Vihāra cave by a minister of the Vākāṭakas whose name is unfortunately not preserved completely, but who, as shown below, was Varahadēva, the son of Hastibhoja. The record opens with a verse in praise of the Buddha, who is described as the sage among sages and the teacher among teachers, who was a store of marvels. The second verse describes Dharma and Gana (or Saṅgha), the other two members of the Buddhist trinity. With verse 3 begins the genealogy of the ministerial family. There is, we are told, a great race of excellent Brāhmaṇas called Vālīras, who are well-known in the south (V. 3). In it was born Yajñapati, who in learning resembled the great primeval sages, Bhrigu, Atri, Garga and Anugirasa (V. 4). His son was Déva, who was a capable, learned and active statesman and on account of whom the whole kingdom together with the king performed their respective religious duties (V. 5). His son was Sōma, who took wives of the Khatriya as well as the Brāhmaṇa caste. From the Khatriya wife he obtained a handsome son named Ravi, who, possessing marks of royalty on his person, established his sway over the whole territory (V. 7). From other wives of the Brāhmaṇa caste, Sōma obtained sons learned in the Vedas, whose habitation Vālīra was even then (i.e. at the time of the inscription) well-known in the south.

Ravi, who, as stated before, was born of a Khatriya wife of Sōma, had a son named Pravara. The latter's son was Śri-Rāma, who had a son named Kirti. Kirti's son was Hastibhoja (V. 9). Hastibhoja distinguished himself by his ability during the reign of the

1 Bühlert, who missed some of the akṣaras in lines 13-18, thought that the metre of the inscription was Uṣajīti throughout. This is incorrect; for, as he admitted, the readings in these lines do not suit the metre. The metre, which is Uṣajīti up to v. 12 with the single exception of v. 3 (which is in Indra-caṇḍī), changes from v. 13.
2 Kālidāsa, who flourished slightly earlier, uses āsa as an independent verb in his Kumārasambhava, canto I, v. 35. For an attempt to justify the form, see Vāmana’s Kavyālankārāśāstra, v. 2, 27.
3 Such eunuch marriages were allowed by ancient Śrīṣṭis. Cf. Manusmṛti, III, 13. For a similar historical instance, see the Jōdhpur inscription of Praṭhāra Bāuka, which in v. 7 mentions that the Brāhmaṇa Harinachandra married wives of the Brāhmaṇa and Khatriya castes. From the former he had Brāhmaṇa sons and from the latter 4 'drinkers of wine' (i.e., Khatriyas). Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 95.
Vākāṭaka king Dēvasēna (V. 10). The next two verses (VV. 11-12) which eulogised Hastibhōja are unfortunately very much mutilated. Verse 13 commences with atha which indicates the introduction of a new subject. It mentions a son of Dēvarāja, named Harishēṇa. He is plainly identical with Dēvasēna's son Harishēṇa, the great Vākāṭaka king during whose reign the Ajanṭā caves XVI, XVII and XIX were excavated. Bhagvanlal and Bühler, who could not decipher the two words Dēvarāja-sūnar=Harishēṇa, missed completely the historical information given by this verse. The former identified this Dēvarāja with a minister of an Aśmaka king, while the latter thought that dēvarāja was no personal name at all. Verse 14 seems to have continued the eulogy of Harishēṇa. The next verse (15), which, like V. 13, commences with atha seems to have resumed the description of Hastibhōja from V. 12. Verse 16 refers to several sons, apparently of Hastibhōja, perhaps in connection with a description of Varāhadēva, who succeeded his father as the Chief Minister of Harishēṇa. His name is partially preserved in line 18. The lower part of the inscription which probably eulogised Varāhadēva and recorded the excavation of the Ghātoikacha cave is completely lost.

As Dr. Bühler observed, the wording of V. 5 makes it probable that Dēva who is eulogised therein held the office of Prime Minister. The king whom he served is not named, but in view of what has been said above, it would not probably be wrong to infer that his master belonged to the Vākāṭaka dynasty. The ministers and the contemporary Vākāṭaka kings whom they served may therefore be stated as follows:

**Ministers**

| Yajñāpati | Vindhyasakti (250 A.C.) |
| Dēva | Pravarasēna I (270 A.C.) |
| Sōma | Sarvasēna (330 A.C.) |
| Ravi | Vindhyasēna (355 A.C.) |
| Pravara | Pravarasēna II (400 A.C.) |
| Śrī Rāma | (Name lost) (410 A.C.) |
| Kṛiti | Devasēna (450 A.C.) |
| Hastibhōja | Harishēṇa (475 A.C.) |
| Varāhadēva | |

This ministerial family bore the name of Vallūra, which, as V. 8 shows, was derived from their original habitation. This place is said to have been situated in the south. Bühler, who, following Bhagvanlal, read Malaya in V. 7 as the name of the country where Ravi was ruling, thought that the ministerial family was probably a sub-division of the

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1 In No. 25, v. 17 also the word atha is used to mark a change in the subject of description.
2 Bhagvanlal read atha Dēvarāja, and Bühler, atha dēvarāja in the beginning of V. 13. Pl. LX in A.S.W.I., Vol. IV, defective as it is, shows clearly the aśīhaṣa atha Dēvarāja-sūnar=Hari. The fresh estampages supplied to me by the Archaeological Department of the Hyderabad State give the name Harishēṇa clearly. There should therefore be no doubt about this reading.
3 A.S.W.I., Vol. IV, p. 139, n. 4.
4 The inscription in Cave XVI at Ajanṭā also refers to the bandhu-sarga of Varāhadēva who apparently had a large number of relatives. See No. 25, line 24.
Malabar Brahmanas. As shown below, the reading Malaya is extremely doubtful, and apart from this reading, there is no evidence to place the homeland of this family so far to the south. It appears more likely that the family originally belonged to the southern portion of the former Hyderabad State; for even now there is a village named Velur in the (Yelagandhal) Karimnagar District of that State. It may be noted in this connection that the Vakatas who patronised this family appear to have originally belonged to the same part of the country; for the earliest mention of the name Vakataka occurs in a pilgrim record on a pillar at Amravati, which lies only about 150 miles south by east of Velur. It is not unlikely that both these families which rose to distinction in the same period and were connected intimately with each other for several generations hailed from the same part of the country which was apparently the Central Deccan. This gives a plausible explanation of how the Vakatas rose to power in Vidarbha or Central Deccan immediately after the downfall of the Satabhayan.

The present inscription has also a bearing on the age of the Ghatotkacha cave which has been variously estimated. In a note added to Bhagavanlal's transcript of this inscription, Burgess stated that Bhagavanlal's view that the Ghatotkacha cave is of a somewhat later date than the Ajanta caves XVI, XVII and XXVI was borne out also by its architecture. Subsequently, Burgess seems to have modified his view, evidently in view of Buhler's interpretation of the present record; for he remarked in his report on the Buddhist Cave-Temples and their Inscriptions (A.S.W.I., Vol. IV) as follows:—"It seems probable that Hastibhoja was the excavator of this cave which would thus belong to a period somewhat anterior to the Ajanta vilaha excavated by his son.

As shown above, the Ghatotkacha cave also was excavated during the reign of the Vakataka king Harishena by a son of the minister of Hastibhoja, who was probably Varahadéva. It is therefore of the same age as the Vihara Caves XVI and XVII and the Gandhakuti or Chaitya Cave XIX, all of which were excavated during the reign of the same Vakataka king. Any differences that may be noticeable in the architectures of these caves must be attributed to individual workmanship and not to a difference in their age.

**TEXT**

1 मूनिसिनिनानलिरोमवरणा मुनिरि वरणा (नाम) [1]* जात्यनामोपभविदुबुद्विदा-भियालो निरिखुरुताम (नाम) [11.11]*
2 [प्रभमुत्तो द्विमुद्विदा ज्ञानितत्त्वा मुनिरि वरणा (नाम) [1]* स्वतंत्र वर (सिप) निरिखितीता य युरुष्य्या] कारणिका (राजेन्द्रा) हुयुष्या [11.11]**
3 अर्थस्य भक्ति विशिष्ट द्विजलिङ्गो भवरुपामो हिजसामान्य (नाम) [1]* आ ब्रह्मससं-भृणपुष्करितित्व [इ] तद्हि माहियान्म [हिः] महिहिः [11.11]**

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2 From inked stampages supplied by the Archaeological Department, Hyderabad State.
3 Metre of vv. 1 and 2: Uppati.
4 The readings in the second half of this verse are not quite certain. Bhagavanlal read तनम्याश्वस्वतः, and Buhler तनम्याश्वस्वतः. Buhler added in a note, "Either तनम्याश्वस्वतः or तन श्वस्वतः: to be read". The abhāra before श is certainly श, and the verbal form प्रविन्ति shows that the subject must be in the plural. So तन श्वस्वतः must be the intended reading.
5 Bhagavanlal read -बेंशी, and Buhler बेंशी. श seems to have been repeated after श. Again, श appears much below the line so that there is sufficient space for the superscript guttural nasal श, though it is not quite certain here. See बेंशीयाम in line 6 below. Read -बेंशी.
6 Metre: Indravaśī.
4 तथिः [वृद्धि]बुद्धिहितन्त्र्याणाम् । [रूप]मनकर्तिकानाम् (नाम) । [सूत्र]भूतिविक्रमभिगुरुर्[गृहा] समानो ह्विते।[पुनरेत]अक्षरः। [लिखि]स्वै।

5 तदाऽजा देव इत्यादि । देवं खत्ता हुजुगी [रूप]वनवानिश्चास्याय। [सूत्र]सारसंक राज्यसुमुखी यहिस्तुत्कर्मर्कानाम्। [रूप]वर्णप्रचारणे। [लिखि]वर्ण।

6 संमततः सीमा। [वृद्धि]वर्गेयास्मिन् चार्चणश्रोत्तिः। [सूत्र]शृत्वप्रमुखः विनिमयाः । कार्ये ब्रह्मणे । मेयासा। देवहरू। [लिखि]पाठ देव।

7 स धिनायां ज्ञेयैर्विद्मित्वायतानां परेऽनुमित्वेऽ (हम)। [सूत्र]सूत्रं सूत्रिदेये। रचनियां अनुसारे। [रूप]अन्तिक समाधि। [लिखि]पाठ अन्तिक समाधि।

8 द्वारसूरी चतुर्विद्मित्वाय अनुप्रयुक्तानां । [सूत्र]सूत्रिदेये। सामान्यतः। [रूप]सामान्यतः। [लिखि]वर्णान्तः।

9 संपर्को भूमिरत्नानां गीतरामनाथवृद्धेऽन्मलं। [सूत्र]सामान्यतः। [रूप]सामान्यतः। [लिखि]वर्णान्तः।

10 वकारकुटे राजावत देवस्ये सूत्राणुखालः। [सूत्र]सूत्राणुखालः। [लिखि]सूत्राणुखालः। [रूप]सूत्राणुखालः। [श्री]वर्णानुखालः। [लिखि]सूत्राणुखालः।

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1 Bhagvanal and Bühler read श्राहेदावाणानो, but traces still remain of a curve on ह. Cf. कदुरुप एवाहेदावाणानो in Raghavendra, VI, 71.

2 Bhagvanal read श्राहेदावाणानो, but Bühler gave the correct reading न्यायविवचारणानो.

3 Bhagvanal could not restore the name of the progenitor of this family. He read वा: प्राकाशः, and thought याननाथ was his proper name. श्राहेदा is, however, used by the poet elsewhere also in the sense of 'well-known'. See lines 3 and 10, below. Bühler suggested स्मरदास िसमा as possible readings, and decided in favour of the latter. The name is fairly clear in the fresh estampages. The curve on the last letter is still seen. So श्राहेदा is undoubtedly the correct name. There are traces of the upadhānāya on pra.

4 Metre of verses 4-12: Upajāti.

5 Bhagvanal read स्रूणाने, but as Bühler pointed out, the i mark of श्रूण ि is quite plain. The next akṣara also which was not read by Bühler has a similar i-mark. The intended reading seems to be महेष्वरि. Cf. महेष्वरि दुर्बत्ते in the Dattaksandhascharita (Bom. Sanskrit Series, 1919), p. 100.

6 Bhagvanal read प्रथा, and Bühler नाम. The first akṣara of the word is fairly clear with the sign of upadhindnya over it, and in view of the comparison of Deva with deva (the god Krishna), the reading पर्था is almost certain. The second akṣara is still quite clear. It is म and not न, nor न.

7 Bhagvanal and Bühler read यंजनाः, but the superscript guttural nasal is quite clear. Read -संजाल।

8 Both Bhagvanal and Bühler read this word as मर्यम्. The first akṣara appears more like ि than ि, the curve on it being still quite clear. The second akṣara is now very much damaged. It was probably so in the days of Bhagvanal and Bühler also. The facsimile published in A.S.W.I. (Pl. LX) shows it to be ि, but its accuracy is doubtful; for in this epigraph the letter ि has invariably its right limb sharply turned to the left in the form of a curve, but this ि in Bhagvanal's copy has a straight vertical stroke on the right. Cf. the forms of ि in मानाविश्वासः and मानाविश्वासः both in line 4, कुटिल्लिक in line 7, कुटिल्लिक in line 8, तन्मय्य in line 14, and तन्मय्य in line 17. In all these cases ि has the same form, with its right limb bent over like a curve. The correct reading therefore appears to be निर्माण।

9 Bhagvanal read here doubtfully श्रम, and Bühler, गृहानेप. Neither of these readings gives a verb which is necessary in this verse. The akṣaras here are damaged. Restore निर्माण।

10 Both Bhagvanal and Bühler read श्राहेदावाणानो, but Bühler proposed to emend it as श्राहेदावाणानो. The proposed emendation is unnecessary. The Brāhmaṇas were known as Vallabha (v. 3, above), because they were residing at Vallāra as stated here. Cf. बल्लामानवाणाः which occurs in the description of the ancestors of Bhavabhūti. Melattimadhana, Act 1.

11 Read माता वसिदात।

12 Bhagvanal and Bühler read तदाऽज्जस्य, but the subscript ि of the akṣara following to shows that it is probably िज्जस्य.
(Verse 1). Victorious is he who is called the Buddha, the sage among sages, the teacher among teachers, the immortal among immortals, the best among the eminent (and a store of marvels—who attained enlightenment by abstention from the enjoyment of worldly pleasures).

(V. 2). (Victorious) next (is) the law promulgated by him who knows the law; and (victorious) also (is) the Community, the best among all communities, having done service to which, a worthy recipient, the sons (of men) become exalted.

1 Bhagvanlal read युक्त., but Bühler took the word to be सुयुक्त. The aksharas are doubtful, but I have followed Bhagvanlal as the traces left admit of that reading.

2 Bhagvanlal could read only वेदवराज, and Bühler वेदवराज. The akshara following देवराज is clearly िै. The next akshara has lost its upper part, but the lower ै-sign is clear. The following akshara is clearly ता. It closely resembles ता in तात्रेष्य. line 3. The next akshara is almost certainly ताै. The name was undoubtedly तात्रेष्य, the last two aksharas being clear in the new estampages. As the previous editors missed this important name, they were unable to identify this Devarāja correctly.

3 Metre: Ādi.

4 Metre of verses 14 and 15: Pushpitaṅgūṅrā.

5 Metre: Vasumitiṭakā.

6 Metre: Pushpitaṅgūṅrā.

7 Metre: Vasumitiṭakā.

8 There are traces of an akshara here and there in the next four lines in the lithograph published in A.S.W.J., Vol. IV, Pl. LX as well as in the estampages supplied to me, but no words can be read completely.

9 In this translation I have derived some help from Dr. Bühler’s rendering, though I have differed from him in the interpretation of several passages.

10 Anāthāgā is ‘lack of attention or interest, disinclination’. See A Critical Pali Dictionary by Trendelenburg, Anderson and Smith. Bühler translates it as ‘abstaining from fruition’.

11 The sense of the second half of this verse is somewhat obscure. Kāra seems to be used herein the same sense as in Pali, viz, a deed, service, act of mercy or worship, homage. Kāra prákāra is apparently used here in the same sense as Kāra prákāra ‘one who performs a religious duty or service’. (Pali Dictionary by Rhys Davids). Kāra has been used in line 17 of No. 25 above. See p. 111, n. 1, above. This

(Continued)
(V. 3). In the southern country is well known a great race of most eminent Brahmapas named Vallūras, which (race) has accumulated religious merit and glory since (the age of) Brahmana and is honoured by the great.

(V. 4). In that (race) was born famous Yajña[pati], an excellent Brahmana, who resembled the primeval Brahmapas Bhṛigu, Atri, Garga and Aṅgiras, noted for their good qualities.

(V. 5). His son was Dēva, who being wise, learned, proficient in political wisdom and engaged in the performance of religious rites, resembled the god (Krīṣṇa); being guided by whom, the whole kingdom together with the king performed religious duties even as Pārtha (i.e., Arjuna) did (under the guidance of Krīṣṇa).

(V. 6). From him was born Sōma, a second moon as it were; who, performing religious duties as enjoined by the Vēdas and Smṛitis, gave his love (equally) to wives of the two (castes), born in Brahmana and Kṣatriya families.

(V. 7). On a Kṣatriya wife of noble birth and character, he begot a good-looking son named Ravi, possessed of marks of royalty who established his sway over the whole territory.

(V. 8). From other Brahmana wives he obtained sons who fulfilled their desires in mastering the Vēdas,—whose habitation named Vallūra is even now (well-known) in the southern country.

(V. 9). The son of Ravi was Pravara. From him sprang Śrī-Rāma. His son was Kirti of good repute, and from him was born Hastihōja.

(V. 10). When the Vākātaka Dēvasēga was ruling, Hastihōja distinguished himself by his excellences—(he) whose noble birth (and) charity (even now).

(V. 11). Among the resolute, intelligent, efficient and meritorious colleagues when the king's...

(V. 12). Occupying a half of whose seat...men...in the assembly...

Footnote No. 11—(Continued)

verse has puzzled previous editors. Bhagvanal translated, 'Even an ungrateful and unjust prison(?) dedicated to his virtuous person, becomes the bestower of good.' Bühler gave the following rendering, 'The Community of ascetics...placed in which, as in a beautiful vessel, even those who have sinned by committing murder, become exalted.' In a note he adds, 'The phrase kārōpākāraṇaṁtavyaiḥ is very ambiguous as it may be taken as one compound, consisting of kārōpākāraṇa and atstaya, or as two words kārōpākāraṇa and tanyāh as kāra may be interpreted 'effort' or 'a Yati' or 'murder'. If it is taken as a compound it may be translated 'those whose efforts are offences and who thus cast aside good behaviour or prudence', or by 'those who offend against ascetics, and thus etc.—or by 'those whose offence is murder and who thus' etc. If we adopt the second division tanyāh means 'sons' and kārōpākāraṇa can again be taken in various ways. The poet no doubt intended to puzzle the reader. But in any case the general sense remains the same, and the half verse is intended to assert that sinners are purified by joining the Buddhist Śāṅgha.'

This name is almost certain.

2Bühler, who read nātha in place of Pārtha, translated as follows: 'Under whom, when he gained possession of the kingdom and of the king, lawful rites were performed as in the (time of) the Lord Buddha'. With the reading dācamāh kriyāḥ which Bühler adopted, this construction is impossible: for the verb would be expected to be in the plural, not in the singular as here (prachāh). As shown above, the reading is undoubtedly Pārtha and so the simile seems to have been suggested by the name Dēva. The sense seems to be that the whole kingdom together with the king did its duty being guided by Dēva, even as Arjuna had done before by the advice of the god Krīṣṇa.

3As shown above, the reading Malaś is not likely. Ravi was therefore ruling over the territory round his native place Vallūra, not over Malaya.

4As the reading is clearly Vallūra-nāṃś, here, as given by both Bhagvanal and Bühler, Vallūra is primarily the name of the village. The family became known by that name as it was living at the place.

5This indicates that Hastihōja was dead when the inscription was incised.
Then there is Harishêna, the son of Dēvarāja. Observing (his) fame as white as moon-beams. Then was born (to Hastibhōja) a dear son, who was his (very) self, possessed of a hundred qualities.

Among his many sons, the entire reward.

Here is Varāhadēva, thoroughly examined.

1 Bhagvanlal, taking Dēvarāja to be a proper name, identified him with the minister of the Aśmaka king mentioned in an inscription in Cave XXVI at Ajanta, while Bühler thought that it meant the lord of gods, Indra. The reading Dēvarāja-sunir-Harishêna, given here for the first time, shows clearly that this Dēvarāja was none other than the Vākāṭaka king Devasēna, and his son was the same as Harishêna. The cave was thus excavated during the reign of Harishêna, not of Devasēna.

2 This son was probably Varāhadēva who is mentioned in the large Vākāṭaka inscription in Cave XVI at Ajanta as the successor of Hastibhōja and minister of Harishêna. Cf. Prithivirāja used in the sense of Prithivishēna I in No. 14, line 19, above, p. 66.

3 Perhaps this verse stated that of the numerous sons of Hastibhōja, Harishêna selected Varāhadēva for the post of his Prime Minister.
THOUGH the present inscription had been copied several times before, the first attempt to edit it was that of Dr. Bhau Daji. He personally copied this and other inscriptions at Ajantā in February 1863, and submitted his papers on them to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on the 10th July 1863. He published an eye-copy of the epigraph together with a transcript and a sort of English translation in the Journal of the Society Vol. VII, pp. 53 f. He read the names of nine princes, of whom four, viz., Dhrītrāśṭra, Harisāmba, Saurisāmba and Ravisāmba, he thought, belonged to one dynasty and the remaining five, whose names he read as Upendragupta, Kācha, Niladāsa, Kācha and Kṛishnadāsa, to another. In line 13 he read Anīya as the name of a minister who, he thought, probably served Ravisāmba. Dr. Bhau Daji failed to notice that Harishēna, mentioned in line 21, was identical with the homonymous Vākāṭaka king named in the inscription in Cave XVI at Ajantā. About the general purport of the epigraph and the location of the kingdom or capitals of these princes he offered no remarks.

The inscription was next edited, with an introductory note and a translation, but without any facsimile, by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji in the Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India (Archaeological Survey of Western India), (1881), pp. 73 f. The Pandit deciphered the record with his usual skill and thoroughness. He, for the first time, gave correctly the names of the following ten princes, all of whom, according to him belonged to the same royal family and ruled over Āśmaka:—Dhṛitarāśtra, Harisāmba, Saurisāmba, Upendragupta, Agaja or Kācha I, Bhikshudāsa, Niladāsa, Kācha II, Kṛishnadāsa and Ravisāmba. Again, he drew attention to the name of the king Harishēna, whom he identified with the Vākāṭaka prince of that name and to whom, he thought, this Āśmaka family might have been subordinate. Further, from the fragmentary phrases of verse 12, Bhagvanlal conjectured that the elder son of Kṛishnadāsa whose name is obliterated murdered his brother Ravisāmba, but afterwards repented. The vihāra where the present inscription is incised was constructed either by this king or his minister whose name Bhagvanlal read as Ačhiniya. As regards the date of the inscription, he thought that it belonged to the same age as that in Cave XVI which was incised in characters current in Chhattisgarh District and the country round the Bāngāṅā about the 5th and 6th century A.D.

The epigraph was next edited with a lithograph and a translation by Dr. G. Bühler in the Archaeological Survey of Western India, Vol. IV (1883), 128 f. and Pl. lvi. The lithograph was made from a facsimile prepared by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji and appears to have been considerably worked up by hand. Dr. Bühler's transcript does not differ much from Pandit Bhagvanlal's. He gave the same names of princes, but he corrected the Pandit's statement about the purport of verse 12. He showed that the correct meaning of the verse was that the younger brother perished suddenly by an accident or died of a disease. The next verse,
INSCRIPTION IN AJANTA CAVE XVII

according to him, mentioned the ruling king’s minister Achitya who donated the vihāra. Dr. Bühler referred the inscription to the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century A.C.

The record was finally edited by me from an excellent inked estampage supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India. It was published with a translation and a mechanical facsimile in the Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. 15. It is edited here from the same facsimile.

The inscription is engraved on a side wall outside the verandah in Cave XVII at Ajanta in the former Hyderabad State. It has suffered much by exposure to weather. Several aksharas in the beginning of each line on the left have been completely destroyed by rainwater trickling over them. Besides, a few aksharas here and there have become illegible. The general purport of the inscription can, however, be made out without much difficulty.

The inscription covers a space 4’ broad and 4’ 5” high. The characters are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets. The following peculiarities may be noted:—

The length of the medial \( i \) is shown by a curling curve which is generally turned to the left as in marichi- line 20 and nyavālīat, line 26, but in some cases the curve is turned to the right as in pradipta-, line 6 and nyavālīdhat, line 13; the medial \( a \) is bipartite as in kāntarāpau, line 8; \( k \) is cursive in prakām-, line 26; \( e h \) and \( o \) are in some cases indistinguishable; see marichi-, line 20 and ravir-, line 29; \( d \) in Bhikshudāsa line 5, and pradipta-, line 6 is angular. The sign for the jihvāmāliya occurs in lines 1, 4 and 6, and that for the upadhmāniya in lines 11 and 13. The language is Sanskrit and the whole record is metrically composed. There are twenty-nine verses in all, none of which is numbered. Each line of the inscription contains one complete verse. The completion of the first hemistich is in some cases marked by a horizontal stroke and that of a whole verse by two vertical strokes. As for orthography, we may note that the consonant following \( r \) is generally reduplicated; see karmaye, line 1; kīrti-, line 5 etc.; the visarga is correctly omitted in bhava stūpa- in line 22 in accordance with a vārttika on Pānini VIII, 3, 36, but the final \( n \) is wrongly changed to anusvāra in anūcchāvā, line 18.

As shown below, the inscription was caused to be incised by a prince whose name is now unfortunately lost, but who was probably ruling over Khāndēsh as a feudatory of the Vākāṭaka Emperor Harishēna. The object of it is to record the excavation, by this prince, of the vihāra cave XVII and the gandhakūṭi Cave XIX at Ajanta. The present inscription may therefore be referred to the end of fifth century A.C. It is of the same age as the inscription in Cave XVI, which also belongs to the reign of the same Vākāṭaka Emperor Harishēna.

Owing to the destruction of a considerable portion on the left, the inscription does not admit of a detailed analysis. The gaps in the text are required to be filled in some places by conjecture. The record opens with an obeisance to the sage (Buddha), who is described as a thunderbolt to the tree of worldly existence. The poet then proceeds to give the following pedigree of the donor of the Vihāra Cave:—

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1 All previous editors of the present inscription, who were misled by the word sahīha occurring in line 13, thought that this cave also, like Cave XVI, was caused to be excavated by a minister. For the correct interpretation of the verse see below, p. 122.

2 Bhavanand thought that the gandhakūṭi mentioned in v. 27 was the small Cave XVIII from which the image which was movable had been removed. See Inscriptions etc., p. 76, n. 2. The description, however, clearly refers to the Chaitya Cave XIX which is actually situated to the west of Cave XVII.
The name of the founder of the family is now lost, but from the description in verse 2, it seems to have been one signifying 'Protector of men'\(^1\). The relation of Harisāmba, Upendragupta, Bhikshudāsa and Kācha (II) to their predecessors is not specified in the preserved portion of the inscription. About Kācha I we are told that he was a younger son of his father Upendragupta, but why his elder brother did not succeed to the throne is not stated.

Krisnaṇadāsa married a princess whose name also is unfortunately uncertain\(^2\). He had from her two sons who are said to have resembled Pradyumna and Śamba, the well-known sons of the epic hero Kṛṣṇa. The name of the elder son has not been preserved, but the younger was called Ravisāmba. The elder son succeeded to the throne. The two brothers conquered Āśmakā and other countries and lived happily together, with increasing fraternal love and fame. After some time Ravisāmba met with premature death, which, the poet says, was due to his deeds in former lives. The elder brother, being overwhelmed with sorrow and convinced of the transitoriness of worldly existence\(^3\), began to lead a pious life.

1 The verse does not state that he was the son of a king as Bhagvan did suppose. See *Inscriptions* etc., p. 73.
2 Bhau Daji read the name of the queen as Ānuṣagundā, and Bühler as Suchandrā, but neither of these readings is supported by the facsimile. The correct reading appears to be Atichandrā.
3 This is the correct meaning of verse 13 - Anitya-saṅkā-pachchid pasār āvayādaḥ dhyāyā-bhūya-mahāmāyurān. Anitya-saṅkā (Pali, aniccha-satta) is mentioned in the Uddāna as a subject of meditation. There is no reference to any minister here.
life. He waited upon saintly persons known for their learning, charity, compassion and other virtues and imitated in his actions righteous kings. He bestowed munificent gifts on suppliants and being moved by compassion, released from bondage terrified persons by spending large amounts for the purpose. Realising that wealth causes an obstacle in the attainment of siddhi by meditation on the Omniscient (Buddha), he adorned the earth with stūpas and vihāras, and delighted suppliants with liberal gifts, while Harishēna, the moon among kings, was protecting the earth. He also caused the excellent monolithic maṇḍapa containing the chaitya of the Buddha to be excavated in the form of the present Cave XVII on a beautiful spur of the Sahya mountain. He provided it with a water cistern and caused a noble gandhakuti1 to be excavated to the west of it in another part of the same hill. The last verse (29) expresses the hope that the maṇḍapa would cause the well-being of good people as long as the sun continues to dispel darkness with its rays.

The foregoing account of the inscription must have shown that the last of these kings whose name is unfortunately lost was a contemporary and probably a feudatory of the Vakāṭa Emperor Harīshena. He was preceded by ten other princes. The founder of the family whose name has not been preserved may, therefore, have been reigning in the period from circa 275 to 300 A.C.

From the mention of Aśmaka in v. 10 of the present inscription Pandit Bhagvanlal conjectured that these princes were ruling over Aśmaka. The verse, however, plainly shows that Aśmaka was one of the countries raided by these princes; it was not their homeland. From the Suttamāḷa we learn that the Aśmakas were settled in the vicinity of the Gōdavari and that their country bordered on that of the Mūlakas2. The Suttamāḷa further states that the disciples of the Brāhmaṇa Bāvari who was living on the bank of the Gōdavari in the country of Aśmaka, proceeded to North India via Pratishṭhāna (modern Paithan), the capital of Mūlaka.3 Aśmaka, therefore, appears to have been situated to the south of the Gōdavari and probably comprised parts of the Ahmednagar and Bhir District. The country of Aśmaka thus lay to the south of Ajanṭa and was different from Khāndēṣh which lay to the north of it.

The ancient name of Khāndēṣh seems to have been Rishika. Varāhamihira places Rishika in the southern division. In the Rāmayana Rishika is grouped with Vidarbha among the countries of the south which Sugrīva asked monkeys to visit in search of Sītā.4 In the Mahābhārata also Rishika is coupled with Vidarbha5. Elsewhere the epic mentions Rishika and Aśmaka among the countries conquered by Karṇa.6 In the Daśakumāracharita the ruler of Rishika is said to be having, like that of Aśmaka, a feudatory of the king of Vidarbha7. The Nāsik cave inscription of Pulumāvi mentions Asika (Sanskrit, Rishika) together with Aśaka (Sanskrit, Aśmaka) and Mūlaka among the countries governed by Pulumāvi’s father Gautamiputra Sātakarnī.8 All these references show that Rishika was contiguous to Aśmaka, Vidarbha and Mūlaka. The only country which answers to this geographical position is Khāndēṣh; for it is bounded on the east by Berar (ancient Vidarbha), and on the

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1 This is the Chaitya Cave XIX, about the age of which there was much uncertainty.
2 Suttamāḷa, Pārāśaravaggo, vatthugathā, 5, 2.
3 Ibid., v. 16.
4 Rāmayana (Nirmayasagar ed.), Kishkindhākaṇḍa, v. 10.
5 Mahābhārata (Chitraśāla Press ed.), Bhīshmaparvan adhyaya 9, v. 64.
6 Ibid., Karṇaparvan, adhyaya 8, v. 20.
south by the Aurangābād District (ancient Mūlaka). South of Mūlaka lay Aśmakā (modern Ahmadnagar and Bhir districts). The district obtained its modern name Khāṇḍēśh in much later times1.

The royal family described in the present inscription, which rose to power in the second half of the third century A.C., must have first owed allegiance to the Abhīras who succeeded the Sātavāhanas as an Imperial power in the Deccan2. After the fall of the Abhīras, they seem to have transferred their allegiance to the Vakāṭakas. A fragmentary verse in the adjoining Cave XVI at Ajanṭā states that the Vakāṭaka Emperor Harishēṇa either raided or exacted tribute from Trikūṭa, which comprised the territory round Nāsik. Khāṇḍēśh which lay between Vidarbha and Trikūṭa must have likewise submitted to the Vakāṭakas. In fact, the present inscription mentions the Vakāṭaka Emperor Harishēṇa in a manner which indicates that he was the lord paramount of this royal family. The Daśakumāra-charita gives in the eighth Uchchhāsa, a narrative which seems to have had a historical basis3. As shown elsewhere, it reflects the last period of Vakāṭaka rule, viz., the reign of Harishēṇa’s son. The narrative mentions the ruler of Rishika (modern Khāṇḍēśh where this royal family was reigning) as a feudatory of the Emperor of Vidarbha. This is a further indication that this royal family owned the suzerainty of the Vakāṭakas.

We have no records of any successors of Kṛishṇa-daśa’s son, who, as we have seen, was a contemporary of the Vakāṭaka Emperor Harishēṇa. The dynasty appears to have been overthrown by the Kalachuris of Māhishmati who occupied Northern Maharāṣṭra after the downfall of the Vakāṭakas. Hoards of the silver coins (rūpaka) of Kṛishṇarāja, the founder of the Kalachuri power, have been found both in the Nāsik District4 and Berar5, which border Khāṇḍēśh on the west and the east respectively. A coin of the same king has recently been reported from Nandūrā in the Khāṇḍēśh District.

**Text**6

1  

--- [भव]2 मारणि7 प्रशाम्य विधायकारणं मुनिमं [18] विद्यार्थातुर्ववदत्त- 

कम्भनो8 मुनिसिद्धातीविपयुरुक्तिः [18] [21]8

2  

--- [पा]9 हरणे10 तस्यत्मभवायं नराधिमत्यं [18] धुतात्पत्तयं ब्रम्भव शुद्धि- 

सततः ३० राक्ष्यो २० राक्ष्यो ३० राक्ष्यो ४० राक्ष्यो ५० राक्ष्यो | [18] [29]11 | [31]12

3  

--- स्यार्थो हरिसिद्धात्रयं बुद्धमण्डलो वस्त्रायाद- 

यमम्बो | [32]10 | [33]12

--- [भव]2 मारणि7 प्रशाम्य विधायकारणं मुनिमं [18] विद्यार्थातुर्ववदत्त- 

कम्भनो8 मुनिसिद्धातीविपयुरुक्तिः [18] [21]8

1 The present name of Khāṇḍēśh is said to have been given to the district in Musalmān times to suit the title of Kāhū conferred on the Faruki kings by Ahmad I of Gujarāt. E.H.D., p. 139.


3 Introduction, above, pp. xxxii f.


5 A hoard of 1600 coins was discovered at Dhamāra in Berar.

6 From the impressions supplied by the Government Epigraphist.

7 Both Bhagvanlal and Bühler read -मव, but the aksara preceding म is certainly ग, and there is little doubt that the whole expression was मववतालगव. The poet has used मव again in Verse 12 below.

8 Bühler read करम्या, but the subscript म of ṛmmā is clear in the facsimile.

9 Metre: Vāniasatha.

10 Bhagvanlal read मव which will hardly suit the context. Bühler read नं, the preceding aksara is म. Read ममा नवववनीन.

11 Metre: Uपाजी.

12 Metre of verses 3-7: Aupachchhāndārika.
1 Bhagvanlal read नें here. Bühler also read the second akshara as व, but the facsimile shows the reading नें to be correct.
2 Bhagvanlal doubtfully read द्वार: and gave द्वार as a possible reading. Bühler admitted that द्वार was clear. The intended word may be द्वार: or possibly द्वार:.
3 Bhagvanlal and, following him, Bühler read द्वार: but the second akshara is clearly द्वार: as its curve is not closed at the bottom. The preceding akshara is probably द्वार:.
4 Bhagvanlal omitted the akshara preceding नें, but Bühler read the name as सुनाम. The akshara preceding नें does not, however, appear like नें and has, besides, a curve at the top. The repetition of नें in the verse suggests that the name of the queen ended in नें and may have been नवनथा.
5 These three aksharas were read by me for the first time. The description is evidently suggested by the name Indrachandra.
6 Metre: Ujjvalā (or Upajāti).
7 This expression has been variously read. Bha Daji read it as खळ्लागि लक्ष्मणस्वर्ग. Bhagvanlal's reading was खळ्लागि मन्दिरकल्याण, which Bühler changed into खळ्लागि मन्दिर कल्याण. The facsimile will show that the correct reading is as given above.
8 Bha Daji first read the name as रविशा, and the reading has been adopted by subsequent editors. The first akshara has a somewhat peculiar form, but in view of the names Hariśāmba and Śauriśāmba occurring in v. 3, it is not unlikely that the intended name was Ravisāmba.
9 Metre: Upajāti.
10 These four aksharas read by me for the first time are almost certain.
11 Bhagvanlal and Bühler read नुसाम्मयानिमुरु. The long कल्याण is not incorrect.
12 Metre of verses 10-13: Vaniśātha.
13 These seven aksharas are almost certain.
14 Bha Daji and Bhagvanlal read विकास्त: which is ungrammatical. The correct reading was first given by Bühler.
15 This word is completed here for the first time.
16 Bha Daji read खळ्लागि नित्यमिनि, while Bhagvanlal gave only खळ्लागि. Bühler suggested खळ्लागि: The akshara following खळ्लागि is undoubtedly खळ्लागि. See the form of खळ्लागि in खळ्लागि लक्ष्मणस्वर्ग in line 9 above. The following aksharas also are not very doubtful. खळ्लागि is repeated in the next verse.
INSCRIPTIONS OF MINISTERS AND FEUDATORIES

This expression was completely read for the first time by me.

2 This expression has been read variously, viz., अनित्यसंसारिविच- (Bhau Daji), अनित्यसंसारिविच- (Bhagvanlal) and अनित्यसंसारिविच- (Bühler). The second अदार is undoubtedly श्री, and the fifth श्री, the upturned curve of the medial श being unmistakable. The correct reading is therefore the one given by Bhau Daji, though his interpretation was wrong.

3 Metre of verses 14 and 13: Upajāṭi.

4 All previous editors read सामाधिक्यान्तः, but the reading is not supported by the facsimile and gives no good sense. The third akṣara is clearly न, and the fourth probably श्री. The only possible reading appears to be सामाधिक्यान्तः.

5 Bhau Daji read अनित्यसंसारिविच, but Bhagvanlal omitted the second akṣara, while Bühler gave अनित्यसंसारिविच which does not, however, suit the metre. The akṣaras are quite unmistakable here.

6 Metre of vv. 16 and 17: Indrawajā (or Upajāṭi).

7 Bhagvanlal read सुदृढःस्तवः and Bühler गौरवस्तवः, but neither of these suits the context. Besides, the akṣara before ष्ठ is clearly श्री, not ष्ठ, thus showing the correct reading to be as given above.

8 Read गौरवः.

9 Metre: Vāṇiṣṭhaka.

10 Bhau Daji read स्तवगौरवायतः, and Bhagvanlal, क्षमार्थायतानांतः. The context shows that this verse gives the words of the parrot, pointing out the obstacles of wealth in the attainment of the highest goal.

11 Metre: Indrawajā (or Upajāṭi).

12 Bhagvanlal read स्तवगौरवायतः, while Bühler was certain only about the akṣaras ष्ठ and ष्ठः. The subscript member of the first legible akṣara is clearly ष, and the use of अनित्येऽऽऽ suggested that the expression ended in the ablative, though the final ष is not now legible.

13 Bhagvanlal read गौरवायतः, which Bühler corrected into गौरवायतः. The facsimile leaves no doubt that Bühler's reading is correct.

14 Metre: Upindrawajā (or Upajāṭi).

15 There is a redundant vertical stroke after ष.

16 Metre: Aspadekhandasika.

17 Bühler's emendation गौरवः is unnecessary as the visarga is dropped by the Vārttika on Pāṇini VIII, 3, 36.

18 Metre of verses 22 and 23: Indrawajā (or Upajāṭi).
INSCRIPTION IN AJAÑTĀ CAVE XVII

23
24
25
26
27
28
29

नातुलनावर्णवंशः [1]
समीति... [2]
गुथालि [3]
विदितराधिकारिषयिकम् [4]
नित्यितविदितराधिकारिषयिकम् [5]
विशेषात् [6]
कल्याणीकरकम् [7]
वर्यविदितराधिकारिषयिकम् [8]
नित्यितविदितराधिकारिषयिकम् [9]
गुथालि [10]
कल्याणीकरकम् [11]
वर्यविदितराधिकारिषयिकम् [12]
समीति... [13]

Translation

(Verse 1). Having bowed to the sage (Buddha) who has completely mastered the three lores and who is a thunderbolt to the tree of worldly existence, I will set forth a description of the excellences of the donor of the Vihāra, whose deeds are pure.

(V. 2). To the lord of men (named...), who wore a parasol (over his head) and who made his name significant by the protection of the people, was born a son, Dhrūtārāṣṭra by name, who had a white parasol.

(V. 3). [The son] of that king... was Harisāmba, whose face was lovely as a lotus and the moon. Again, the son of that king was king Saurisāmba, endowed with spotless beauty.

(V. 4). The resplendent Upendragupta of wide-spread fame...[was begotten] by him. Then he had a younger son who became well-known as king Kāca.

(V. 5). [From him was descended]... Bhikṣuddāsa in order to deposit his splendour and glory [on the earth.]. A son of that lord of men was a king named Niladāsa, renowned on the earth.

1 Bhau Daji read as here, but Bhagvanlal proposed to read नातुलनावर्णवंश, which does not, however, make a good sense. Bühler omitted two aksharas before नातु.
2 This hemistich was first completely read by me. Previous editors had missed the interesting references to the Ajanta hill as विहार.
4 All previous editors read अधिकरङ्गवंश, but the conjunct consonant after र is clearly र not र. र is in the sense of a gift occurs in some records of the period.
5 Previous readings of this expression were विनितकरकम् (Bhau Daji and Bühler) and महीनकरकम् (Bühler). The curve on the first र is not clearly %, but the face simile does not show an amshāra on र. Bhau Daji's incorrect reading guriṇaḥ has been repeated by both Bhagvanlal and Bühler. It involves tautology. With the reading given above, compare गुरुनविहारिणविलिनिनिदिरिनिदिरिनम in verse 19 above.
6 Metre of verses 28 and 29: Varnasatra.
7 Bhau Daji correctly read नित्यित, but Bhagvanlal's misreading नित्यित was repeated by Bühler.
8 In this translation I have derived some help from Dr. Bühler's rendering, though I have differed from him in the interpretation of some passages.
9 The poet is fond of using ṣaṇi (a thunderbolt) in the sense of an instrument of destruction. See V. 12. below.
(V. 6). His son of brilliant fame . . . . . became well known as Kācha (II). Then to that king was born Kṛishṇadāsa, who augmented the splendour of (his) race and line.
(V. 7). His wife was Atichandrā, the daughter (of) . . . . . clad in garments as white as the rays of the moon, whose face resembled the full moon and whose ornaments were modesty and virtuous conduct.
(Vv. 8-9). [He] obtained (her) who brightened the land in the form of suppliants . . . . . From her he had two sons resembling Pradyumna and Samba, who had longish, lotus-like eyes and lovely bodies like burnished gold . . . . . The elder (of them) bore the title of a king, while the second bore the appellation Ravisāmba.
(V. 10). Having subjugated prosperous countries such as Aśmaka . . . . .[the two princes] whose prowess had become fruitful, shone like the sun and the moon.
(V. 11). While they, whose honour was dependent on . . . . . and whose creeper-like affection and glory had grown very much, were living always in concord and happiness,—
(V. 12). [Fate]. . . . . . whose decree is not to be evaded even by superhuman beings and whose dread power was produced by the deeds done in a previous life, announced the thunderbolt of impermanence in the case of the younger (brother).
(V. 13). [Having overcome] as if with firmness, the diseases of the body and the mind, [the elder brother] . . . . ., having always the consciousness of transience, made thereafter the great tree of religious merit grow.
(V. 14). He served those . . . . ., who possessed great learning, liberality, compassion, contentment, friendship, forgiveness, courage and wisdom, and who felt pleased with . . . . .
(V. 15). He, who was of pure conduct, habitually imitated in his deeds honourable kings of noble conduct . . . . .
(V. 16). He made . . . . The suppliants being satisfied (with gifts) spread, in the same way, the fame of other suppliants . . . .

1 Bühler restored the queen's name as Suchandrā. That the name ended in chandra is certain, but the first part of it was probably aiti, rather than su. See above, p. 125, n. 4.
2 The description is probably suggested by the queen's name Atichandrā (one who has surpassed the moon).
3 Bhagvanlal took this as the description of the elder brother who, he thought, murdered the younger brother, but Bühler rightly inferred that the meaning of the verse was that the younger brother perished suddenly by an accident or died of a disease.
4 The use of the word sachiva in anitya-saṁjñā-saṭhiya has misled all previous editors. They took anitya, achintya or achitva as the name of the minister who, they thought, had donated the Vikāra. But why the minister should come in abruptly here has not been stated. The Amarakūśa gives two senses of sachiva: (i) a minister, and (ii) an associate. Cf. Mantri sahāyāh sachiva (Amarakūsha, III, 207). At the end of a compound, sachiva conveys the sense of 'assisted by' or 'provided with' (Monier-Williams). To illustrate this sense the St. Petersburg Dictionary cites the following passage from Saṅkara's Bhāṣya on the Ccāndśya Upanishad (1, 2)—doshavat-grāṇa-saṣhīvats atidāh ghrāṇa-dēvāh. Anitya-saṁjñā-saṭhiya, therefore, means that the elder brother was always conscious of the transitoriness of life, Anitya-saṁjñā (Pali, anicchā-saṁjñā) is mentioned in Buddhist literature as an object of meditation, which destroys the sense of ahākāra (Pali, asmi-māna). Cf. anicchā-saṁjñā bhāvētākā asmi-māna-samugghātāya (Udāna, IV, 1). The verse therefore states that the elder brother, being always mindful of the impermanence of existence, engaged himself in the acquisition of religious merit. The donor of the Vikāra was this elder brother of Ravisāmba, not his minister.
5 These were probably Buddhist monks.
6 The meaning of the verse seems to be that the king bestowed so much wealth on suppliants that they themselves made munificent gifts to others which made them famous.
(V. 17). He released by the power of the expediency of wealth . . . . whose eyes were suffused through fear, as though they were his (own) dear sons!  
(V. 18). Even he who had been treated affectionately like a son repeated, like a knowing human being, the excellent and pure thoughts in his heart.  
(V. 19). "(Rich persons) . . . . . failed to attain, because of their wealth, the siddhi rightly so called (obtainable) by devout meditation on the Omniscient (Buddha)".  
(V. 20). He adorned the whole world by the light of his fame, bright like the rays of the moon . . . . . by collecting materials.  
(V. 21). While that moon among the princes, Harishena, whose face resembles a lotus and the moon, and who does what is beneficial for (his) subjects . . . . is protecting the earth.  
(V. 22). He, who has a very marvellous store of merit . . . . adorned the earth with Stūpas and Vihāras, and caused the joy of suppliants by conferring gifts (on them).  
(V. 23). On a spur of the Sahya (mountain), looking beautiful with clouds, which, with the confused noise of . . . . . always pass over it (as if) to provide it with a canopy.  
(V. 24). [He excavated!] this monolithic excellent Hall, containing within it a Chaitya of the king of ascetics (i.e., of the Buddha) and possessing the qualities of statelyness.  
(V. 25). Having expended abundant [wealth], he caused to be made this donated [Hall] which is almost measureless and which cannot be even imagined by little-souled men.  
(V. 26). He caused to be dug (near it) a large cistern pleasing to the eyes and filled with sweet, light, clear, cold and copious water.  
(V. 27). . . . . delightful to the eyes and the mind. In another part of it in the west he caused to be made a grand Gandhakuti.  
(V. 28). May all the blessings desired for the attainment of siddhi caused by devout meditation on the lord of sages (i.e., Buddha) attend him, who in all his deeds strives for the welfare of the people.  
(V. 29). May this Hall out of affection . . . . cause the attainment of well-being by good people as long as the sun dispels darkness by its rays!

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1 This seems to refer to the release from bondage of animals as well as human beings. Compare the fifth Pillar Edict of Asoka, which interdicts the capture of animals in certain seasons of the year.  
2 Bhagvanlal, being probably misled by the word sadhya, wholly misunderstood the purport of the verse and translated it as follows:—"[The minister] who, though he knew that the king had acquired in his heart a conscience purified from murderous tendencies, did not disclose . . . . . . Bühler thought that the text was corrupt here and took the sense to be that even learned men had to acknowledge the minister’s purity of heart. Both these renderings are incorrect. The verse probably refers to a domesticated parrot kept in the palace, which, like a knowing human being (vidat-nigivat), repeated the thoughts in the prince’s heart.  
3 These are probably the words uttered by the parrot. They point out the obstacle caused by wealth in the attainment of siddhi. Bühler, who did not risk a translation, thought that the general sense of the verse was that misfortunes fled (apojyaḥ) from the pious minister, being overcome by his supplications (prajñādhāna) addressed to Buddha (sarejñābhāva). This is wide of the mark.  
4 Bühler has omitted this verse completely in his translation.  
5 Bhagvanlal thought that the Gandhakūṭa was Cave XVIII, from which an image of the Buddha had been removed. Bühler’s rendering ‘on the other side of this (Buddha’s) body on the left’ is obviously incorrect. The reference is undoubtedly to the Chaitya Cave XIX, which actually lies to the west of Cave XVII.  
6 This probably refers to the prince who caused Cave XVII to be excavated.
INDEX

The Arabic numerals refer to the pages of the Texts and Translations, and the Roman numerals to those of the Introduction; 
\( n. \) after a numeral to foot-notes. The following other abbreviations also have been used: - \( \text{au.} = \text{author}; \text{Br.} = \text{Brāhmaṇa}; \text{m.} = \text{manuscript}; \) 
\( \text{ch.} = \text{chapter}; \text{ch.} = \text{chapter}; \text{co.} = \text{country}; \text{comm.} = \text{commentator}; \text{dist.} = \text{district}; \) 
\( \text{dy.} = \text{dynasty}; \text{engr.} = \text{engraver}; \text{epith.} = \text{epithet}; \text{f.} = \text{female}; \text{feud.} = \text{feudatory}; \) 
\( \text{king.} = \text{king}; \text{locality}; \text{m.} = \text{male}; \text{min.} = \text{minister}; \text{mtn.} = \text{mountain}; \text{n.} = \text{name}; \) 
\( \text{off.} = \text{office}; \text{pr.} = \text{priest}; \text{q.} = \text{queen}; \text{ri.} = \text{river}; \) 
\( \text{s.} = \text{same as}; \text{t.d.} = \text{territorial division}; \text{t.} = \text{temple}; \text{t.t.} = \text{title}; \text{v.} = \text{town}; \text{vds.} = \text{village}; \text{wks.} = \text{works}.\)