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CONTRIBUTIONS OF SANSKRIT
INSCRIPTIONS TO LEXICOGRAPHY

Contributions of Sanskrit Inscriptions to Lexicography
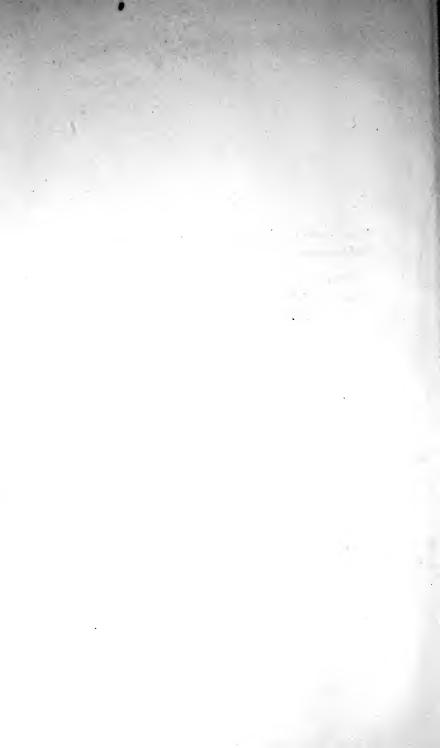
S.P. TEWARI
Allahabad Museum, Allahabad

Nijo=pajña prajñā prasara parivisphāra mukurĕ,
Pad-ārthānāṁ s-ārthaḥ pratiphalati yĕshām-avitathaḥ.

Girām grāmo yĕshām-adharam-adhiśĕtĕ svayam-ayam,
Namas-tĕbhyo sadbhyas-tilakita jagadbhyaḥ kim-aparam.

×   ×   ×   ×

Indraś-Chandraḥ Kāśakritsn-Āpiśalī Śākaṭāyanaḥ,
Pāṇiny-Amara-Jainĕndrā Jayanty-ashṭādi śābdikāḥ.

Dedicated as a tribute to the pioneering works of
James Prinsep, George Bühler, E. Hultzsch, J.F. Fleet,
F. Kielhorn, H. Lüders, D.R. Bhandarkar, V.V. Mirashi
and D.C. Sircar.

CONTENTS

PREFACE

In the day to day job of a professional epigraphist, the need for consulting dictionaries, various lists and indexes is such that jocularly many of them are known as the paṇḍits of dictionaries and indexes : *kǎchid-dictionary kǎchid kǎchid-index paṇḍitāḥ*. The reason behind this call for dictionaries and indexes in the job is that we come across so many words in the inscriptions which are some times not found in the dictionaries at all or, if they are included in the dictionaries, the shade of their meaning is different in the context in which the word has been used in the inscription. Many times, *deśi* words are used in their sanskritized forms and in certain cases even well known sanskrit words are used in their *deśi* forms. But, the most troublesome words are those (and such words are never found in dictionaries) which come out as a part of the faulty reading made by the epigraphists due to the mutilated defaced or the fragmentary nature of the inscription itself. All such words (broadly classified in four groups) scattered in the pages of the journals like *Epigraphia Indica* and others, have been collated and examined here in this monograph at some length.

Although every editor of a record has tried to draw our attention towards the words and expressions of lexicographical interest occurring in that particular record, J.F. Fleet was most probably the first, who nearly a century back highlighted the occurrence (and also the need for collating and examining) of many words and phrases from the inscriptions which were not listed in any existing dictionary. This lacking on the part of existing dictionaries of Sanskrit and Prakrit was amply demonstrated by F. Kielhorn, in his introductory notes and comments of the inscriptions he edited. Let me put it here, even at the cost of sounding slightly irrelevent to the theme, that Kielhorn till today, enjoys an unsurpassed credit of editing the most difficult (yet beautiful) records composed in sanskrit language and the job

of editing does include the translation with explanation of every word he has deciphered including some of the hard nuts.

Besides these pioneers of the early stages, it is possibly D.C. Sircar, who has contributed most to the field of Indian Epigraphy and Lexicography. As early as the year 1949 he emphasized the need for such studies when he presented a paper on "Epigraphy and Lexicography in India" before the XVth All India Oriental Conference held at Bombay. Subsequently he also brought out the *Indian Epigraphical Glossary* which still remains as the only major work in the joint field of epigraphy and lexicography.

Inspite of the usefulness of the glossary of Sircar to the great extent, the need for collating and examining such words and expressions which do not figure in the modern Prakrit, Pali and Sanskrit dictionaries, rather independently, remains still a long felt desideratum. Likewise, the sphere of Sircar's paper on "Epigraphy and Lexicography in India" requires further expansion from its exclusive treatment of the technical terms and expressions of only the charter of Vishnusena. Similar is the need, in case of the words and expressions of other groups out of the four I have specified above.

An attempt is made here, probably for the first time, to collate and examine all such words which have been found of lexical interest by the eminent epigraphists and the editors of the records like, Bühler, Hultzsch, Fleet, Kielhorn, Sten Konow, Lüders, N.L. Rao, Mirashi, Chhabra, Sircar and many others. The original comments of these epigraphists, in case of such words, as and when found necessary, have been quoted.

The big advantage of this compilation and our own perusal of the texts of the inscriptions published in the pages of nearly fourty volumes of the *Epigraphia Indica* has been that in many cases although the epigraphist who noted the rare occurrence of a particular word from an inscription could hardly suggest anything (for want of help from the dictionaries) as to the exact meaning or even the broad sense of that word, we have been able to either explain the exact meaning of that word or at least suggest the broad sense of it in general. It has been possible by the scrutiny of the contexts in which such words have occurred for more than once. In some cases, a rechecking of the original writing of a record has also proved of great help. Inspite of all this, I admit

that in certain cases for want of more references and also on account of my own limitations, I have not been able to suggest anything and in such cases, that particular word is simply listed here with the remarks of that epigraphist who brought the word to light for the first time.

All this has been done with the sole aim of drawing the attention of our linguists and lexicographers. It is really strange to note that although the bulk of literature in the form of so many new inscriptions has been growing for more than a century or so, hardly any of the dictionaries of the Sanskrit language and literature have taken cognizance of it. If this short monograph on the contributions of sanskrit inscriptions to lexicography succeeds in catching the eye of our learned compilers of the dictionaries, I will consider my labour rewarded.

In completion of this work I owe a great deal of gratitude to my *gurus*, elders, and friends. In the first instance, I recall the encouraging words of guidance I received from Prof. V.S. Pathak, University of Gorakhpur, Prof. J.G. de Casparis, University of Leiden, The Netherlands, Dr. S.D. Singh, University of Queensland, Prof. A.M. Shastri, Nagpur, Prof. S.H. Ritti of Dharwar and others.

For the kind words of appreciation to my work I acknowledge with gratitude the names of Prof. G.C Pande, Chairman, Allahabad Museum Society, Allahabad, Dr. S.C. Kala, Shri R.C. Tripathi, D.G.A.S.I., New Delhi, Dr. S.P. Gupta, National Museum, New Delhi, Prof. J.S. Negi, Prof. B.N.S. Yadava, Prof. U.N. Rai, Dr. G.C. Tripathi, Dr. Om Prakash and others from Allahabad.

Just like the word *siddh m* precedes the draft of each and every epigraph, I acknowledge with thanks the name of my senior Dr. K.V. Ramesh, Director Epigraphy, A.S.I. Mysore. I enjoyed the benefit of his company for such a long time that it is really difficult for me to assess as to how much of his scholarship has unknowingly got filtered into the pages of this work.

From the long list of friends and admirers if I plan to record the favours I received from all of them, I may have to add an appendix to this monograph and that will be an unwanted burden on my readers. However, I feel duty-bound to acknowledge the help of those absence of which would have hampered

the very progress of this work. Being poor as I am in the field of formalities, I happily record all the help I received from Ms. Cynthia Talbot during her stay in Mysore and also later. I am particularly beholden to her for the job of proof reading of the manuscript and a very scholarly retouching of the draft of this monograph as a whole. If there is any credit due to me on account of this work she deserves the biggest chunk of it. For an indirect but timely boost to morality I received from the side of Dr. (Mrs.) R. Indira and Shri S.K. Lakshminarayan Babu of Mysore, in the midst of an unexplainable crisis I faced while this work was in progress, no words of thanks will suffice. I feel happy keeping it alive as a due on my part. In this very category of friends I gratefully acknowledge the name of Mev. Nelly Geerts from Amsterdam who did everything possible at her command to make the manuscript of this monograph presentable.

A good number of other friends like Drs. Dion Den Nieuwenboer, Dr. Marcel Van Tilborg, Dr. Nandana Chutti-wongs, Ton Quax, Frans Evers, J.M.M. Ubaghs, Jan Brouwer from Amsterdam and Leiden, deserve my thanks for the keen interest they have shown in the progress of this work. Within this very list of friends I include the name of Dr. Agam Prasad, Propreitor Agam Kala Prakashan, New Delhi and other members of his team for the presentable and timely execution of this work.

Before closing this note let me admit here frankly that I am neither a linguist nor a lexicographer either by profession or by training. It is possible therefore that a linguist or a lexicographer well equipped with the advanced methodology of the subject may feel like marking 'i's and crossing 't's herein but I welcome it. With these words I close this note and pray that : —

Iha-yat-tyaktam-ajñānād-
ālasyād-yad-upĕkshitam.
Pramādād-anyathōktaṁ yat-
tad-vidvadbhir viśōdhyatām.

20th May, 1987   **S.P. TEWARI**
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1

INTRODUCTION

Significance of Epigraphs in relation to Lexicography

Palaeography and lexicography are two aspects of epigraphy which are not simply allied to it but actually form part and parcel of it. If the help of palaeography is needed for deciphering the text of a record, that of lexicography is required for an interpretation of its contents. But whereas the scope of palaeography is limited solely to the defined sphere of epigraphs, the field of lexicography is much wider since it forms the base of any language and its expression, be it classical or folk, ancient or modern. Our traditional paṇḍits like Māgha and others have elucidated this fact by calling the study of *sabda-śāstra* as one which has no bounds (*ananta pāram kil aśabda-śāstram* and *prabhūta-kāla-jñeyāni śabda-śastrāṇi*)[1] while at the same time emphasizing that for proper understanding of language, knowledge of grammar and also lexicons is a must : *"śabd-ārthau sat-kavir-iva dvayaṁ vidvān-apēkshatē."*[2]

Confining myself to the theme of Indian Epigraphy and Lexicography in this monograph, I will try to show in short how the specialized literature of epigraphs has contributed to the much wider and generalized field of lexical studies by way of adding new words, expressions and the like.

From the field of epigraphical literature which has become quite voluminous in the course of the past century or more, my discussion for obvious reasons, will be confined to Sanskrit inscriptions only. Here again, the time and space at my disposal (not minding the limitations of my own capacity) will not permit me to exhaust even the most representative records written in

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1. *Pancha-tantra* : *Kathāmukha*, 9. N.S. edition, Bombay, 1930.
2. *Śiśupālavadha*, II. 112; XIV, 24 etc.

Sanskrit.   Therefore, the treatment of the subject is bound to be
selective in nature.

   Although in the other classical languages of the world like
Greek, Hebrew, Syriac or Arabic, a minute distinction between
the two disciplines of lexicography and grammar is maintained,
in the classical Sanskrit tradition they are figuratively referred to
as one and the same but in a compound form.   The best example
of our views on the inseparable nature of grammar and lexico-
graphy is met in the famous couplet of Kālidāsa who describes
word and its meaning as the inseparable ones :   *"Vag-arthāv-iva*
sampṛiktau   vāgartha-ppratipattayē."[3]   The same idea has been
further   endorsed   by   the   well-known saying   that makes it
imperative on the part of each and every student of Sanskrit
language to treat the *Ashṭādhyāyī* and the *Amarakōsha* as his own
parents :

   Ashṭādhyāyī jaganmātā
   Amarakōshō jagat-pitā

   The extent to which the *jagat-pitā* was dependent on the
authoritative interpretations of words   by the *jagan-mātā* is
illustrated by another humorous saying which accuses Amara,
compiler of the *Amarakosha,* of stealing all of Patanjali's *Mahā-*
bhāshya on Pāṇini :   *"Amarasimhō hi pāpīyān sarvaṁ bhāshyam-*
achūchurat."[4]

   This awareness of the inseparable nature of the two
disciplines of grammar and lexicography is also attested by
Sanskrit records from early times.   The well-known Junagadh
inscription of Rudradāman, which also enjoys by general
consensus the privilege of being the earliest record written in
Sanskrit, makes a specific reference to the twin disciplines of
grammar and lexicography.   Herein, while speaking of various
branches of learning Rudradāman has specialized in,   the
composer of the record refers to the term as follows :

   Śabd-ārttha-gāndharvva-nyāy-ādyānāṁ vidyānāṁ-

___

3. *Raghuvaṁśa,* I. 1.
4. *Amarakosha,* N.S. edition, Bombay, 1905, p. 1.

māhatīnām pāraṇa-dhāraṇa-vijñāna-prayōg-āvāpta-
vipula kīrttinā.[5]

Likewise, in the Bannahalli plates of Kadamba Krishna-
varman II the academic achievements of his grandfather Vishṇu-
varman also include the discipline of *śabd-ārtha* (*śabd-ārtha-nyāya-*
vidushā)[6] and the qualifications of one of the *sāndhi-vigrahikas*
of Chandragupta II called Virasēṇa Shāba were that he was
śabdārttha-nyāya-lōkajñaḥ and also a *kavi.*[7] Examples of such
references can easily be further multiplied but I will avoid going
into the details here. If suffices to say that the composers of
Sanskrit inscriptions were well aware of the singular importance
of the science of words and their meanings, i.e., grammar including
lexicography.[8]

Although the compound *sabdārttha* of the Junagadh record
which is followed by the expression *vidyānām*, was previously
understood in the sense of 'grammar and polity', i.e., *śabda-vidyā*
or grammar and *artha vidyā* or *artha-śāstra*, i.e., polity, the
mistake was set right by Kielhorn while editing the inscription,
once again.[9] According to Kielhorn, even though the compound
sabdārtha in its simple form could be construed as denoting the
two sciences of *śabda-vidyā* and *artha-vidyā*, the manner in which
it is referred to in association with *nyāya* in some inscriptions
makes it more logical to construe it as 'the science of words and
their meanings', i.e., grammar including lexicography. "It may be
added", Kielhorn says further, "that *sabdārtha*, on account of the
irregular position of its two members; in grammar is a well-known
compound which is taken in the sense of 'word and its meaning'
and which frequently occurs in this very sense in the titles of

5. *E.I.*, VIII, p. 44, 1. 13.
6. *E.I.*, VI, p. 18, 1. 9.
7. *C.I.I.*, III, 1. 4. "*Kautsas-Śāva iti khyātō Vīrasēnaḥ kulākhyayā.*
   Śabadārttha-nyāya lōkajñaḥ kaviḥ Pāṭaliputrakaḥ".
8. *Cf.* Deopara Inscription of Vijayasena (*vide E.I.*, I, p. 310) where regard-
   ing the poet of the *praśasti* called Umāpatidhara it is said that 'his
   understanding was purified by the study of words and their meanings' :
   "*ēshā kavēḥ pada-padārtha vichāra śuddha buddhēr-Umāpatidharasya*
   kṛitiḥ praśastim".
9. *E.I.*, VIII, p. 48, n. 3.

grammatical, lexicographical and other works."[10]

As we come to know from the published literature on Indian epigraphy, although every editor of a record has tried to draw our attention towards the words and expressions of lexicographical interest occurring in that particular record, J.F. Fleet was most probably the first to highlight the occurrence of many words and phrases in inscriptions which were not listed in any existing dictionary. His observation, made almost a century back (some time in the years 1898-99) while summing up his discussion on the Kannada inscriptions at Ablur,[11] holds good even till this day and particularly in relation to (the field of) Sanskrit inscriptions.[12] Since what Fleet felt at that time is a common experience shared by practically every editor of an inscription, the relevant passage deserves to be quoted in its entirety :

> The epigraphic records contain many technical expressions—particularly in the way of titles, territorial terms, names of gods, guilds, professions, taxes, tenures, measures and so on; but also some ordinary words - which Mr. Kittel's[13] dictionary does not explain, because, no doubt they do not occur in ordinary literature or in the Native vocabularies of the language. It may be hoped that, if he should ever issue a supplement to it, he will examine the edited records, and see what can be done to collate, examine and explain such expressions; while doing what I can in this direction, I can really do little more than call attention to points which come prominently to my notice in searching for the meaning of the words which are not intelligible at the first sight; and I cannot undertake to collect all the different variants of Kanarese words which are found in the inscriptions.[14]

Along with Fleet, equally commendable are the efforts of another master epigraphist Kielhorn, who has brought to our

10. *E.I.*, VIII, p. 48, n. 3.
11. *Ibid.*, V, pp. 213-265.
12. It is a matter of great satisfaction to note that the remarks of Fleet have caught the imagination of the editors of the Kannada dictionary being compiled under the auspices of the Kannada Sahitya Parishad, Bangalore.
13. Reference is made to the *Kannada English Dictionary* edited by Kittel, Mangalore 1894.
14. *Op. cit.*, p. 238, n. 1.

notice a good number of words and expressions of lexicographical interest from the field of inscriptions. But, besides these pioneers of the early stages, it is possibly D.C. Sircar, who has contributed most to the field of Indian Epigraphy and Lexicography. As early as the year 1949 he emphasized the need for such studies when he presented a paper[15] on "Epigraphy and Lexicography in India" before the XV All India Oriental Conference held at Bombay. Subsequently, as is well-known to most students of Indian epigraphy, Sircar also brought out the *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*[16] which still remains as the only major work in the joint field of epigraphy and lexicography. It may not be an exaggeration to add here that the *Glossary* of Sircar despite its limitations is like the *Amarakōsha* to every student of Indian epigraphy.

In his remarks regarding the utility of epigraphical and lexical studies made nearly four decades back Sircar reiterated the need for a systematic collection of lexical items found only in epigraphs. According to him :

the old inscriptions in Prakrit and Sanskrit abound in technical terms and expressions which are not found in the lexicons. Some of these words are no doubt recognised in the lexicons but not exactly in the same sense. None of the compilers of the modern Prakrit, Pali and Sanskrit dictionaries, is known to have utilized epigraphic materials. As a result of this, their works can only be regarded as incomplete.[17]

It is shocking to note that none of the edition of the popular Sanskrit-English dictionaries of either Monier-Williams, the new edition of which is said to have been greatly enlarged and improved upon as recently as in the year 1956, or of Apte, the revised and enlarged edition of which came out only in 1957, have bothered to take cognizance of the literature available on Sanskrit inscriptions. The only Sanskrit-English dictionary known to me that has taken the lead in this regard is the *Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles* brought out by

15. *Vide. Proc. of the All India Oriental Conference.* XV Session, Bombay. 1949, pp. 270-280; see also *E.I.*, XXX, No. 30, pp. 163-181.
16. *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, Delhi, 1966.
17. *Op. cit.*, p. 271.

the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poona, after the year 1976 onwards.[18] But, without bringing any discredit to the learned compilers of the said dictionary, I would say that in their pious efforts even they have not been able to go beyond the list of Bhandarkar in so far as the inclusion of epigraphical material is concerned.

Besides the lexical side of the term *śabdārtha*, the grammatical side of it, in regard to Sanskrit inscriptions, has not only been neglected so far but has even been rather misunderstood by some of our pioneer epigraphists. The attention of scholars to this aspect of epigraphy and lexicography has been drawn very recently by K.V. Ramesh in his book on *Indian Epigraphy*.[19] According to him :

> One tragic development which needs to be discussed in some detail here relates to the negative attitude of our epigraphists, particularly the pioneers among them, who were mostly westerners, towards inscriptional Sanskrit. Such negative attitude fostered no doubt by rigid Paninian Pandits besides putting the seal of approval on the rigid intolerance of Paninian grammarians, has also turned us blind to the changes and development of a living language and trained us to dismiss all of them as mistakes resulting from ignorance or half knowledge.[20]

For want of space I cannot go into the details of the examples Ramesh has taken pain to cite in his book. One thing which deserves mention here and towards which he has particularly drawn our attention also, is the distinction between 'urban' and 'rustic' styles of language noticed in the body of one and the same record. According to him :

> The formal compositions belong to the classical strain and may be loosely christened 'urbane' and the operative parts of the same record which contain the lion's share of so-called ungrammatical elements and which address themselves to the common folk, and are out and out

18. *An Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles*. Ed. by A.M. Ghatage, Poona, 1976-78, Vols. I, II, Part I, 1979, Part II, 1980, Part III, 1981.

19. *Indian Epigraphy*, I, Delhi, 1984, pp. 44 ff.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 44 ff.

unsophisticated, belong to what may be loosely termed
as the 'rustic' strain.[21]

In my opinion, this distinction between 'urbane' and 'rustic'
strains of epigraphical language is the same as that which has been
drawn earlier in the field of literature, between *tatsama* or
sanskṛitasama and '*desi*' respectively. We know from lexicons
like *Deśināma-mālā*[22] of Hēmachandra that many words which were
considered *dẹśi* at a particular time later became *tatsama* while
tatsama ones became *dẹśi* all because of their use, abuse and
misuse by the common man. The fluctuation between *dẹśi* and
tatsama has been a constant process and, in my opinion, it is even
more apparent in the field of Sanskrit inscriptions. By ignoring
such words in the name of chaste Paṇinian grammar, I believe
we have done a great disservice to the cause of lexicography.

In spite of the fact that Sircar has taken a lead, as stated
above, in the field of Indian Epigraphy and Lexicography, the need
for collating such words and expressions which do not figure in
the modern Prakrit, Pali and Sanskrit dictionaries, remains still
a long felt desideratum. Likewise, neither the paper of Sircar on
"Epigraphy and Lexicography" that deals mainly with the terms
and expressions used in the charter of Vishṇusena[23] nor his *Indian
Epigraphical Glossary* specify clearly those words which, though
defined in lexicons, have undergone a change in their meaning
when used in the composition of inscriptions. Besides this, not
even a tentative list of *dẹśi* words, whether combined in the form
of a compound with *tatsama* words or otherwise, has been includ-
ed in the glossary of Sircar. Apart from all this, a point that
has never been raised by epigraphists themselves is the issue of
words which have been improperly/mistakenly identified, either on
account of faulty reading and misguided interpretation on the
part of the editor of a particular record or due to the mutilated,
defaced and fragmentary nature of the record itself.

Needless to say, an attempt has been made here, probably
for the first time, to collate and examine, first of all, such words

21. *Indian Epigraphy*, I, Delhi, 1984, p. 47 ff.
22. *Deśīnāmamālā of Hemachandra* with the glossary of Pischel, Vizianagaram,
    1938.
23. *E.I.*, XXX, pp. 163-181.

which have been used in the Sanskrit and semi-Sanskrit inscriptions noticed so far, but which do not find place in dictionaries. Secondly, it has also been our aim to cull out from the body of inscriptions those words which are used in a different sense in inscriptions than they are defined in dictionaries. Besides this, a good number of *dēśi* words used either in their *dēśi* or sanskritized forms are also collated and examined. Finally, a list of such words and expressions which came out and got circulated in the vocabulary of epigraphists, either on account of a faulty reading or because of the mutilated, defaced and fragmentary nature of the record, is also compiled herein.

Agreeing with Sircar in his statement that "it (is) not possible for a single man to collect all interesting words and expressions from all published epigraphic records in the various Indian languages in a short period of time". I have confined my survey to the records which have been published in the journal *Epigraphia Indica*. The list of words thus collected has been arranged for the sake of convenience in four groups, i.e., A, B, C, and D. Besides these hundred and odd words discussed in four different groups, an appendix is also added that deals in detail with the meaning of more than fifteen words and expressions.

2

Group A

THE WORDS REFERRED TO IN THE INSCRIPTIONS BUT NOT INCLUDED IN DICTIONARIES SO FAR

Abhinut Vāk : This term appears as a title in the Madras museum plate of a Vaidumba king, Bhuvanatrinetra. According to the editor of the grant P.B. Desai, "The charter ends with the expression *Śrī Abhinut-Vāk* which would have been the chief's title used as the sign-manual".[1] After this, there follows a note (No. 4) which says :

> *Abhinut-Vāk* means 'one whose speech is praiseworthy'. This is an early instance of a ruler using a title for the sign-manual. The famous instance of the later period is '*Śri Virūpāksha*' of the Vijayanagara Kings. But in the later case it is the tutelary deity and not the title of any ruler or rulers.[2]

In the *Sanskrit English Dictionary* of Apte,[3] although the word *abhinun-na* (i.e., 'one who is not *abhinut*') is included in the sense of 'one who is agitated' or 'who is full of woe', the affirmative word itself is omitted. The dictionary of Monier-Williams[4] explains the term *abhi-nud* as 'to push, press and *abhinōdayati* as 'to excite, spur or urge on'. But there is no authoritative reference to the usage of the word cited, nor is there any compound form like *abhinut-vāk* included therein. The idea of the title, in my opinion, is somewhat similar to *dhīrasvara* (cf.

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1. *E.I.*, XXVIII, p. 68 (introduction).
2. *Ibid.*, n. 4.
3. Apte, *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, p. 176.
4. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, p. 64.

"*avōchad-ĕnaṁ gagan-spṛiśā Raghuḥ svarĕṇa dhīrĕṇa nivartayann-iva*".).[5]

Aina : The term *aina* figures in the Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladēva which was edited first by Kielhorn.[6] Later on, it was also included by Mirashi in his *C.I.I.* volume of the inscriptions of the Kalachuri Chedi era.[7] The relevant part of the verse where the term *aina* occurs reads as : "*Chĕdīśĕna sa aina saṅgrahā kṛitā maitryam-paraṁ prāpitaḥ*".[8]

After translating the above portion of the verse as "was by the ruler of Chedi, forming as alliance of princes (?) .... friendship",[9] Kielhorn adds a note stating that he has taken *aina* as an adjective derived from *ina*, a lord, master, king, etc. However, he adds that he is doubtful about the meaning of this passage.[10] Following Kielhorn, Mirashi has also taken this very sense of the term *aina*.[11]

Monier-Williams has included the term *aina* as a masculine plural noun in the sense of the name of a people as it is referred to in the Calcutta edition of the *Mahābhārata*. In certain lexicons (*varia lectio*), according to him, the term *aina* is also referred to as *aila*.[12] Apparently, this is not the meaning which is desired in the context of the present record.

Apte's dictionary rightly includes the term *aina* in the form of an adjective but explains it as "*inaḥ Sūryaḥ, tasya idam*", i.e., "of the sun".[13] It also cites a reference to this effect from the *Rāmacharitam* of Yuvaraja Kavi which reads "*nirvarṇya varṇĕna samānam ainam bimbĕna bimbaṁ chyutamasta-śṛiṅgāt*".[14] In my opinion, the expression *ĕnaṁ* of the *avōchadĕnaṁ*, etc., of *Raghuvaṁśa* which I have quoted above is also used more or

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5. *Raghu*, III, 43.
6. *E.I.*, I., pp. 35, 38.
7. *C.I.I.*, IV, pp. 410-17.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 413 (11.19-20).
9. *Op. cit.*, p. 38.
10. *Ibid.*, n. 37.
11. *Op. cit.*, p. 416, n. 3.
12. *M.W.*, p. 234.
13. Apte, p. 503.
14. *Rāmacharitam* of Yuvarāja Kavi, VI, 25.

less in this very sense. Mallinātha has explained it in the sense of Indra.[15]

Thus, if we rely upon the explanation of the term *aina* from Apte which is based on the authority of *Rāmacharita*, it should mean a prince, king or master (all indirect synonyms of Indra) belonging to the solar (*Ina*) race.

Arddha-śrōtikā : Kielhorn, while editing the Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāladeva, states that he cannot suggest suitable meanings of words such as *khātaka*, *yānika* or *yānaka*, *arddha-śrōtikā and bhishuka*.[16] As regards the term *arddha-śrōtikā* (for other words see below), it seems to be a combination of the Sanskrit word *arddha* (meaning half) and the Sanskritized form of a Prakrit or *Dēśī* word *sētikā*, *seiā* or *seigā* which occurs elsewhere also[17] in the sense of "a measure of weight equal to two handfuls".[18]

But in the inscription under reference the term *arddha-srōtikā* appears to refer to the name of a small village (cf. "*Bilvārddha-srōtikāyām*" and "*Bilv-ārddha srōtikāyāḥ*").[19] In the present context, the term *śrōtikā* seems to be the dimunitive form of the word *srōtaka* which is used elsewhere[20] in the sense of "a kind of rent" or "probably, a tax in kind collected from farmers by a lessee of state lands". According to Sircar both the terms *srōtaka* and *srōtra* seem to be the "same as Marāṭhi, *śilōtara, śilotarī* or *śilotri*".[21] However, the word is not noticed in this sense either in the dictionary of Monier-Williams or that of Apte.

Avāsanikā : Early epigraphical references to this term come from the Siyadoni Inscription which was edited by Kielhorn.[22] According to him it is the same as *āvāsanikā* which is derived from *āvāsa* meaning a 'dwelling or residence.. It is a clear example of a case where a chaste Sanskrit word got slightly changed because of

15. See the gloss of Mallinātha on *Raghu*, III, 43, '*ēnam-Indram.*'
16. *E.I.*, IV, p. 253; n. 4.
17. *E I.*, XXV, XXX.
18. *Glossary*, p. 309, s.v. *sētikā*.
19. *E.I.*, IV, 1. 30 ff.
20. *Ibid.*, XXXII.
21. *Glossary*, p. 321 and the references cited therein.
22. *E.I.*, I, pp. 165-66.

its being introduced into everyday use.

Bhishuka : The reading of the term being quite clear in the inscription, where it figures in connection with the description of the boundary of a land-grant,[23] this cannot be taken as a mistake for *bhishaka* or *bhishak*, i.e., a physician. There is a possibility that the term is a contracted form of Sanskrit *bhikshuka* meaning 'belonging to a *bhikshu* or a monk'. The consonant *sh* may have been pronounced as *kh* (thus *shu* becoming *khu*) which is an equivalent in Prakrit for the Sanskrit conjunct consonant *ksh*.

However, if it is a Sanskrit word (?), it is not included in the dictionaries so far.

Chākāntara : While editing the Kharepatan plates of Rattaraja, Saka 930, Kielhorn remarks : "For the three words, *jivalōka*, and *chākāntara* and *juhaka*, which are quite clear in the original, I cannot suggest any suitable meaning".[24] The dictionaries also do not come to our help in this regard. Since the term *chākāntara* appears in connection with the boundary demarcation, along with other permanent landmarks like *parvata*, the only possibility in this case is that the engraver mistakenly engraved *chākāntara* instead of *cha kāntāra*, meaning 'and a forest'.

Chaṭuka (vaṭa) : The term *chaṭuka-vaṭa* figures in the passage : "*Chaitr-āmāvāsyāyāṁ jāhnavī-madhyē chaṭuka-vaṭa saṁsthitēna grah-ōparāgē*", which occurs in the Nagardhana plates of Svāmirāja.[25] Mirashi who has edited this grant renders the term *chaṭuka-vaṭa* as "while staying at *Chaṭuka* banyan tree", along with a note stating that "*chaṭuka-vaṭa* may be *akshaya vaṭa* at Prayāg, but I have not come across this designation of it elsewhere".[26]

Monier-Williams, on the authority of a gloss on the work of Hāla, has explained the term *chaṭuka* as "a wooden vessel for taking up any fluid".[27] But, as is apparent, this meaning does not suit the context here.

After considering the flexible shape of the letter *cha* and *va* (although I must admit here that the letter *cha* of *chaṭuka* is

23. *E.I.*, IV., p. 253.
24. *Ibid.*, III, p. 296, n. 5.
25. *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, p. 9, 1.9.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 11, n. 2.
27. *M.W.*, p. 383.

very distinct in the plate and the word cannot be read anything else but *chaṭuka* only), a tentative suggestion which could be made is that may be the word intended to be engraved was *vaṭuka* or *baṭuka*, since the primary meaning of *baṭuka*, 'a baby', suits the episode of Bāla-Mukunda sleeping on the *patra-puṭa of vaṭa* leaves; cf. "*vaṭasya patrasya puṭē śayānaṁ bālaṁ Mukundaṁ manasā smarāmi*".[28]

Chhāyā : The term *chhāyā* figures in a good number of inscriptions in the sense of an image.[29] Furthermore, in its compound form we also get references to "*chhāyā dipa*"[30] and "*chhayā-stambha*".[31] *Chhāyā-dipa* is explained as "a lamp held by an image, often arranged to burn continuously in front of a deity in a temple",[32] whereas *chhāyā-stambha* (*chhāyā thabhō* in Prakrit) is considered as a "memorial pillar bearing image of the deceased".[33] The fact that such memorial pillars were carved with the image of the deceased is well illustrated in case of an inscription of Virapurisadatta from the Nagarjunakonda.[34] What is not made clear nor exemplified either in the dictionaries of Monier-Williams and Apte or in the works of classical Sanskrit literature is that the word *chhāyā*, as we have seen, is invariably used in the sense of an image. The application of this sense of the word *chhāyā* requires a further probe.

Chōllikā : The word *chōllikā* in the broad sense of a *chōllikā* of leaves occurs in the Rajor inscription of Mathanadeva.[35] Kielhorn, while commenting upon this term states : "This word I have not met with elsewhere. Fifty leaves appear to be a usual tax; compare, e.g., *E.I.*, II, p. 179, VV, 41-42".[36] To me, it seems a locally coined word with the help of a better known word

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28. This is a popular verse which is quoted here. For better references to this effect see *Bhāgavat Purāṇa*, XII. 8.4 and XII.9.21, etc.

29. *E.I.*, I, p. 165 ff.

30. *Ibid.*, XXXIII, pp. 182-184.

31. *Ibid.*, XXXIII, p. 171 and XXXV, pp. 3-17.

32. *Glossary*, p. 73.

33. *Ibid.*

34. *E.I.*, XXI, illustration of inscription L-facing, p. 63.

35. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 265, n. 1.

36. *Ibid.*

chōlaka,[37] making it a diminutive feminine yielding the sense of a bodice, a cover or a wrapper by which the bundle of leaves were covered. The size and the shape of a *chollikā* must have differed from place to place.

Dhɛṅku kaḍḍhaka : This term figures along with many other terms in the well-known charter of Vishṇusena which has been discussed by Sircar more than once. First he discussed the whole charter alongwith this term in his paper "Epigraphy and Lexicography"[38] and then he considered all these phrases and terms with more details when he edited the record in the pages of *Epigraphia Indica.*[39] The particular phrase in the charter bearing this term reads : "*Dhɛṅku-kaḍhḍhaka   nīla-ḍumphakāś cha vishṭiṁ na kārayitavyā*".[40]

"The words *dheṅku-kaḍhḍhaka* and *ḍumphaka*", as rightly remarked by Sircar, "are unknown [to Sanskrit literature]". "*Dheṅku*", he says further, "may be compared with Hindi *dhɛṅki* or *dheṅkuli* meaning a machine for extracting juice, while *kaḍhḍhaka* seems to be Prakrit form of Sanskrit *karshaka*", "*Dumphaka*", in his opinion, "may be the same as Sanskrit *dṛmphaka* meaning one 'who presses'. The *nīla-ḍumphaka* possibly manufactured blue-dye from the indigo plant".[41]

However, the idea of this *āchāra* is that the persons operating *dheṅkuli* and pressing indigo plants should be exempted from forced labour as their jobs were excessively hazardous in nature.

Dvārōshṭha : While editing the Siyadoni stone inscription of the time of a Pratihāra king Devapāla, Kielhorn has come across a good number of words and expressions which are of lexicographical interest. According to him, "The first part of the inscription contains a considerable number of words which either do not occur in Sanskrit literature at all, or for which the dictionary furnishes no appropriate meaning; and some of which

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37. See Monier-Williams' dictionary, p. 403. The word *chōlaka* is often referred to by Bāṇa in his *Harshacharita* from which the Hindi word *chōli* is derived.
38. *Vide Proc. of the All India Oriental Conference*, XV Session, Bombay, 1949, pp. 270-80.
39. *E I.*, XXX, pp. 163-181.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 172, n. 19.
41. *Ibid.*

undoubtedly were taken from the vernacular".[42]   He has noticed as many as 38 words and expressions of this type. The term *dvārōshṭha* is one of these. As noticed by Kielhorn, it occurs three times in this record in the following context :

    (i) "*Svakiy-dvāsanikā-dvārōshṭha*" (1. 14);

    (ii) "*Dvārōshṭha-nishkāsa-prāvēśaka*" (1. 32); and

    (iii) "*Nishkāsa-pravēśa-dvārōshṭhakam*" (1. 33).

In an effort to understand/explain this term Kielhorn compares it with *dvāra-koshṭhaka*, i.e., 'a gate chamber', listed in the index of the *Divyāvadāna*[13] which sounds quite convincing. In the *Kāśikā*, *praghaṇa* or *praghāṇa* is explained as "*bāhya-dvāra-prakōshṭha*" which came to be known as *alinda* during the Gupta period. *Bāhya-dvāra-prakōshṭha* used to be the big door built in front of palaces or bigger mansions consisting of many rooms which was closed/bolted by a big panel of doors (*mahākapāṭa*) [44] Buddhaghosha, while commenting upon the term *paghana* of the *Vinaya piṭaka,* explains it as that part of the house which was invariably crossed both while getting in or out of the house : "*Paghana nāma yaṁ nikkhamantā cha pabisantā cha pādēhi hananti*".[45]

Coomaraswamy, on the basis of art illustrations, has taken *dvāra-kōshṭhaka* in the sense of a large gate built at intervals, along the boundary wall of a palace or a fort. He has further considered it as a synonym of *pratolī*, the same as *pōla* or *paura* of the modern times.[46]

V.S. Agrawala considers *dvāra-prakōshṭha* as the *tatsama* form of the modern colloquial term *varauṭhā*.[47] But in my opinion, there have been three successive stages (phonetically speaking) in the contraction of the word *dvāra-prakōshṭha*. First, from *dvāra-prakōshṭha* it was shortened to *dvāra-kōshṭha* and then

42. *E.I.*, I, p. 165.
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Pāṇini Kālīna Bhāratavarsha* (Hindi), Varanasi 1969, pp. 138-139.
45. *Ibid.*
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.*

form *dvārakōshṭha*, as has been noticed by Kielhorn, it got shorten-
ed to *dvāra-ōshṭha* or *dvārōshṭha* the version which appears in the
inscription. In all probability, it is directly from *dvārōshṭha* that
we arrived at the modern Hindi term *varauṭhā* where *da* of *dvāra* is
dropped.

Thus, the sense of the expression *svakīy-āvāsanikā-dvārōshṭha*
of the record is 'the gates (including both for entrance as well as
exit) of the residence (*āvāsanikā*)'. Likewise, *dvārōshṭha-nishkāsa-
pravēsakam* or *nishkāsa-pravēśa dvārōshṭhkam* mean 'both the gates
for entrance and exit' or the same thing *vice versa*. But, if we
take the word *ōshṭha* of *dvārōshṭha* as an independent Sanskrit
word and not as the shortened form of *kōshṭhaka* a possibility
which cannot easily be denied – it is equally probable that it
means a projected coverage provided from above the door either
of an entrance, exit or any other door of a residence. In this
case, the balance of the meaning will rest on the word *ōshṭha*.[48]
For our information, it is the word *dvārōshṭha* which is not includ-
ed in the dictionaries.

Dvi-nāma : In the Harsha stone inscription edited by Kielhorn,
the disciple of Viśvarūpa (a Śaivachārya) called Bhāvarakta is also
called Allaṭa which was his second name. It is in this connection
the expression *dvi-nāma* is used. Commenting upon this,
Kielhorn says that " 'also called' is apparently the meaning of
dvināmataḥ which does not occur elsewhere."[49] A noteworthy
point in this regard is that the prefix *dvi* with the word *nāma* in its
compound form is a rare occurrence. Although we do get
expressions like *apara-nāma*, *priya-nāma*, etc., an expression like
dvi-nāma, which seems to be a precursor of terms like *urf* in
Hindustani or *alias* in English, is rarely noticed.

Ghaṅghala : In the *praśasti* of Lakhāmaṇḍal edited by Bühler the
verse referring to this term reads as under :

       Yas-samara-ghaṅghal-ākhyām-anvartthavatīn dadhāra-

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48. See the gloss of Mallinātha on the *ōshṭhādharau tu radana-chchhadau
daśana vāsasi*" of *Amara* (II.6.90) which explains *ōshṭha* as *"ōshṭha iti
uparitana danta vāsaḥ*", *vide Amarakōsha* ed. A.A. Ramanathan, Madras,
1971.

49. *E.I.*, II, p. 128.

raṇa-raudraḥ.

Aparām-agaṇita saṅgara kari-radan-āgrāṅkit-ōraskaḥ.[50]

Remarking on the word *ghaṅghala* here Bühler says :

> I am unable to find in the *kōshas* and dictionaries
> accessible to me the word *ghaṅghala*, which occurs here
> and below in verse 14 and 15. A comparison of three
> compounds, *samara-ghaṅghala*, *mahī-ghaṅghala* and *ripu-
> ghaṅghala*, makes it probable that its meaning is the
> 'conqueror'; very likely it is a *deśi* word allied to
> *ghaṅghōla.*[51]

In the *Yaśastilaka-champū* of Somadeva we come across
"*vādi-ghaṅghala*", the exact meaning of which is also not made
clear by its editor.[52] No wonder if the word has some relation
with the colloquial Hindi verb *ghaṅghōra(la)nā* which is used in
the sense of a forced churning.

Ghaṭaka-kūpaka : Referring to this term, which figures in the
Rajor inscription of Mathanadeva in a context where "two
palikās from every *ghaṭaka-kūpaka* of clarified butter and oil"
were to be deducted, Kielhorn remarks that about "*ghaṭaka-
kūpaka*, I can only say that *ghaṭa* by itself means a jar, a pitcher
measure equal to one or to 20 *droṇas* and *kūpaka* 'a leather oil
vessel.' "[53] But, after considering the text of the record which
reads "*ghaṭaka-kūpakaṁ prati ghṛitasya tailasya cha palikĕ dvĕ,*"
it is not improbable that these two objects of measurements (i.e.,
ghaṭa and *kūpaka*) are mentioned here in accordance with
yathāsaṅkhya, that is in order of sequence. This way, it would
mean that a tax of two *palikās* was to be deducted from a jar and
a leather oil vessel full of clarified butter and oil, respectively.

Haṭṭa-dāna : The term *haṭṭa-dāna* also figures in the same
inscription as the above. Regarding the sense of this term
Kielhorn says, "I am not certain about the meaning of *haṭṭa-
dāna* in line 22 (of the text). It may perhaps be equivalent to
maṇḍapikā or *śulkamaṇḍapikā*, 'a custom house' which occurs in

50. *E.I.*, I, p. 13, v. 13.
51. *Ibid.*
52. *Yaśastilaka-champu* of Somadeva, ed. Handiqui.
53. *E.I.*, III, p. 264, n. 11.

similar passages of other inscriptions."[54]   No wonder, if the term was *haṭṭ-ādāna* meaning *ādāna*, (i.e., something obligatory) to be given in the market (*hāṭṭa*). Possibly this referred to raw materials like vegetables, the quantities of which differed from day to day, and this is why no definite levy could be imposed upon these commodities which could hold good all the time.   Taxes on such articles were collected (as they are even today) on the spot, in the market itself.

Jivalōka : Like *chākāntaraḥ* which we have referred to above, *jivalōka* is another term about which nothing definite could be suggested by the editor.   One possibility is that all three (i.e., *chākāntara*, *jivalōka* and *juhuka*) were hamlets of the bigger villages known as Dēvalakshmīgrāma, Vyadgarula and Sayyā-palli.[55]

Kauptika :   This   figures   in   the   Siyadoni   stone   inscription text lines 2, 19 and 30,[56] in all cases compounded with a proper name which denotes that it was perhaps the name of an office.

Khātaka: Commenting upon words like *khātaka*, *yānika* or *yānaka*, *ardha-srōtikā* and *bhishuka*, Kielhorn says, "I cannot suggest suitable meanings."[57]   We have already suggested some meanings for the terms *ardha-śrōtikā* and *bhishuka* and as regards *khātaka* it has been included in the dictionary of Apte in the sense of 'a digger, a debtor, a moat and ditch'.[58]   Here itself Apte has also cited a reference to Khātaka from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* which reads :   "*Vikrīḍatō-mṛit-āmbhōdhau   kiṁ   kshudraiḥ   khātak ōdakaiḥ*."[59]

Besides this, the term *yānaka* is again included by Apte, in the sense of 'a vehicle or a conveyance'.[60]   But unfortunately none of the above meanings suit the context of the record where these terms   are   mentioned   in connection with the details of the boundary of a given land.   Thus our lexicographers have yet to find out what the appropriate sense of the above terms are.

54. *E.I.*, III, p. 266, n. 10.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 296, n.5; also p. 301, 11.49-50.
56. *Ibid.*, I, 11.2, 19, 30 and the remarks of Kielhorn on p. 165.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 249, 1.33; p. 253, n. 4.
58. Apte's dictionary, p. 636.
59. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, VI, 12, 22. (Gītā Press edition).
60. *Op. cit.*, s.v. *yānaka*.

Khōvā : This figures as a part of one of the *āchāras* noticed in the charter of Vishṇusena. It reads as : "*Sarva-śrēṇibhiḥ khōvā dānaṁ na dātavyam.*"[61]

According to Sircar, "The meaning of *khōvā* is uncertain. It may be the same thing as the *aṭṭa pati bhāga* or the share of the lord of the market mentioned as a tax in the *Rājataraṅgini.*"[62]

Kṛitōpasannā : In the Siyadoni stone inscription this term figures in lines 27, 35 and 38, always qualifying *vīthi* or street. Kielhorn, after listing it as one of the difficult terms, has left it un-explained.[63] Considering the other adjectives used before *vithi* like *avaliptā*, *uvaṭaka-sahitā*, *upasannā* or *kṛitōpasannā*, etc., it seems probable that this expression must have been derived from the local vernaculars where even today in such cases a phrase like "*līpa-pōta-kara taiyāra karanā*" is commonly used. Thus, *kṛitopasannā* in the present context will mean 'a *vithi* that has been made ready for use'.

Mayuta : As stated more than once by Kielhorn who came across this term while editing the Rajor inscription of Mathanadeva, although the reading of the term *mayuta* is very clear in the rubbings, yet "its meaning is not apparent."[64] But after taking the reference to the text into account, I feel the suggestion of the editor of *Kāvyamālā*, who proposed to alter the reading of "*sakala-bhōga mayuta*" into "*sakala bhōga saṁyuta*," is worth considering in this regard.[65]

Nirdvidhā : The verse containing this term occurs in the Ratanpur inscription of Jajalladeva which was edited by Kielhorn. The relevant line of the verse reads as : "*Viśv-ānandi budhā prasarpita-sudhā sadmāśritā nir-dvidhā.*"[66]

Herein, remarking on the term *nir-dvidhā* Kielhorn states that "I have taken the word *nir-dvidhā* in the sense of *advaya* or *advitīya* but am unable to quote another passage in support of this meaning."[67] Obviously it is a contribution of this record to

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61. *E.I.*, XXX, p. 171.
62. *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, v. 164.
63. *E.I.*, I, p. 165.
64. *E.I.*, III, p. 264, n. 1; also p. 266, n. 9.
65. *Ibid.*
66. *Ibid.*, I. p. 35, 11.16-17.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 38, n. 36.

the field of Sanskrit lexicography.

Pichchhāchalā : In the Balsane inscription of (Rāshṭrakūṭa) Krishna which was edited by M.G. Dikshit, a verse reads as follows :

> *Tajja Śrī Mahalŭka Paṇḍita iha svīyaiḥ*
> *prasiddhō guṇair-yaḥ Krishṇasya mahīpateḥ*
> *kartalĕ kart-āśu pichchhāchalām.*[68]

Dikshit after translating the relevant portion of the verse as "who in no time made over the earth (*pichchhāchalām to the* possession of the king Krishṇa" adds a note stating that "I am obliged to Mr. S.K. Dikshit, M.A., for the meaning of the word *pichchhāchalā.*"[69] But the word as such does not figure in the dictionaries and we do not know on what authority the junior Dikshit derived its meaning and the senior Dikshit accepted it.

To me, it seems to be a hybrid word made of half Prakrit and half Sanskrit. In *pichchhāchalām*, the word, *pichchha* is a *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit word *prishṭha* meaning back and *achala*, as we know, is a Sanskrit word meaning a mountain. This curious compound could be split as *prishṭhĕ achalāḥ santi yasyā sā*, *i.e.*, *prithvi*—the earth.

Prasanna-dĕviyāraka : This also comes from Kielhorn's list of curious terms compiled from the Siyadoni inscription. The exact meaning of this phrase which would also suit its context is yet to be ascertained.

Pravaṇī : Commenting upon this term figuring in expressions like "*vaṇik-pravaṇi-pramukha*" and "*pravaṇikara*" of the Rajor inscription of Mathanadeva, Kielhorn states that "the meaning of the word is not clear."[70] For the sake of comparison, he draws our attention to another reference from the *Indian Antiquary* (XV, p. 10, n. 58), which I regret that I could not trace.

However, the word *pravaṇa* in general and *pravaṇi* with *kṛi* gets a reference in the dictionary of Monier-Williams.[71] Likewise,

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68. *E.I.*, XXVI, pp. 312-13, v. 3.
69. *Ibid.*, n. 1.
70. *Ibid.* III, p. 263, n. 4.
71. Monier-Williams, p. 690. He has also included a term *nishpravaṇi* but in an altogether different sense.

in Apte's dictionary besides many other meanings and references to the term *pravaṇa* one meaning is also given as 'generous' one.[72] Here itself, the compound form of *pravaṇi kṛita* is explained as 'inclined favourably towards'. In my opinion, though the exact meaning of the term is not very clear, it has the sense of 'the (guilds) of generous merchants and their chiefs'. The exact sense of the word *pravaṇi*, particularly in the present context, requires further examination.

Prāryya : We come across this term in the Tipperah plate of Lokanatha where the relevant part of the verse reads thus : "*Yasyā sthāvara saṅjñako dvijavaraḥ prāryyō jananyā pituḥ.*"[73]

R.G. Basak who edited this grant, after translating the above line as "of whom the mother's father's grandfather was called Sthāvara," remarks that "the use of the word *prāryya* (father's father or father-in-law's father) is rare"[74] and it is certainly so as the word is not included in the dictionaries.

Prāyāsaka : In the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsha I, a line of the verse that extols the glory of the king reads as follows : "*Pramlānim̐ gamayan-Kalinga-Magadha prāyōsako yāsakaḥ.*"[75]

Regarding the meaning of the word *prāyāsaka* which is not noticed in the dictionaries, D.R. Bhandarkar who edited this grant remarks : "I take the word *prāyāsaka* in the sense of *prāya* + *āsaka*. *Prāya* signified seeking death by fasting, sitting down and abstaining from food with some object in view (generally with words like *ās, upa, vis,* etc.)."[76] Strangely enough even the word *yāsaka* is not noticed in the dictionaries with the sense of an afflictor that Bhandarkar has construed here.

Sapta-padaka : Reference to this word comes from the Konnur inscription of Amoghavarsha I, where he is described as: "*nirdahy-ěkapaděna sapta-padakān vidviṭ-vanochchhědinā.*"[77]

Although with reference to the present context Kielhorn has explained the term *sapta-padaka* in the sense of an 'allied' confederation of adversaries, he has not been able to give its

72. Apte's dictionary, p. 1107.
73. *E.I.*, XV, p. 307, 1.10, v. 6.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 310 and n. 6.
75. *Ibid.*, XVIII, p. 246, v. 32.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 254, n. 1.
77. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 36.

literal sense for want of reference to this effect in the dictionaries. In fact, it is the word *padaka* of this compound which poses a problem in this regard and considering it once again in this very context of the record, it seems to refer to the kings in general who are traditionally supposed to be the masters of the *saptāṅga-rājya* or *saptaprakṛitis*. In this case, the poet who composed the text of the record has taken a little liberty with the language by using the word *pada* as a synonym (though an unusual one) of *aṅga* possibly under the influence of alliteration which is apparent in the case of *ēka-padena sapta-padakān*. Thus, *sapta-pada* will denote the kingdom and *sapta-padaka* the king.

Śālikhalla : This curious term occurs in the Kolhapur inscription of Bhoja II, with reference to the field called *śālikhalla* granted to Brahmaṇas. Kielhorn, after stating that *śāli* is rice and *khalla* denotes, in addition to other things, a canal, cut, bench, deep hole, remarks that the meaning of the whole phrase is not clear.[78] In my opinion, it makes sense if we take *khalla* as a mistake for *khalyā* which is a threshing floor. This way, the phrase *śālikhalla* or better still *śālikhalyā* will mean that land for threshing rice was provided.

Tatti : This is another term gathered from the Rajor inscription of Mathanadeva which is not noticed in any of the dictionaries. Commenting upon this term Kielhorn remarks : "Here we have otherwise unknown *tatti* in line 16 in the phrase *tattim. . .kurvvataḥ kārāyatā vā*, and in line 17 in the compound *tatti sōnāthya*, rendering assistance in the proper management (?)."[79]

Tribhaṅgi : In the inscription from Manthani, in connection with the idol of Vishṇu-Krishṇa which was installed therein, an expression qualifying the image as "*madhuraṁ-tribhaṅgyā*" is used. According to Sircar, the word *tribhaṅgī*, an instrumental case of which is *tribhaṅgyā*, is not noticed in the dictionaries; "although", as he states further, "the term '*tribhaṅgi*' occurs in the Lilāśuka Vilva-maṅgala's *Kṛishṇa-Lilāmṛita* (II.101—though some manuscripts use *tribhaṅga* only) and also gets a reference in the *Śilparatna* of *Śrikumara* (XIII.28; T.G. Sastri's edition p. 129)."[80]

78. *E.I.*, III, p. 214, n. 2.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 266 ff.
80. *Ibid.*, XXXIV, pp.65-66.

Naturally the word *tribhaṅgi* deserves to be included in the coming editions of dictionaries of the Sanskrit language.

Utkṛishṭī : In the charter of Vishṇusena there is an injunction which reads "*āvēdanakēna vinā utkṛishṭi na grāhyā*". Herein, after admitting the fact that the exact meaning of the term *utkṛishṭi* is uncertain, Sircar suggests that *utkṛishṭi* may be the same as Pali *utkuṭṭhi* and Sanskrit *utkṛushṭi* or *utkrōsha* which means 'wailing'.[81]

Vāsāvaka : It figures in the Surat plates of Karkkarāja Suvarṇavarsha as "*vāsāvaka mahattar-ādhikārin*" wherein the meaning of the term *vāsāvaka*, according to Altekar (the editor of the grant), is obscure.[82] We have yet to find out the meaning of this term which suits the context of the grant in question.

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81. *E.I.*, XXX, p. 172.
82. *Ibid.*, XXI, pp. 133 and 144.

3

Group B

THE WORDS USED IN THE INSCRIPTIONS WITH A DIFFERENT SHADE OF MEANING THAN DEFINED IN DICTIONARIES

Abhatarakāhi : In one of the inscriptions from Nagarjuna-konda edited by Sircar which refers to the donation of a memorial pillar (*chhāyā-thabhō*), along with many names of the mothers, sisters and queens of the king which are all suffixed with the honorific title *śri*, there are two names which are devoid of it and are preceded by the adjective *abhata-rakāhi*. The relevant portion of the inscription reads as follows :

> *Ayasiriya Kanhasiriya Sivanāgasiriya*
> *abhatarakāhi cha Sarasikāya Kùsumalatāya*
> *cha chhāyā thabhō.*[1]

Having observed all the names suffixed with the honorific title *śri*, Sircar says :

> The above list of the ladies is followed by the names of two other women whose names are not endowed with the honorific word *śri*. They are Sarasikā and Kusuma-latā described in the record as *abhatarikā* (Sanskrit *ābhyantarikā*), 'an intimate female friend', possibly used to indicate 'a concubine'. The official designation *ābhyantarikā* is, however often understood in the sense of 'a guard of the harem'.[2]

In my opinion, the absence of the honorific *śri* after the

1. *E.I.*, XXXV, p. 4, 11.12-13.
2. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 3.

names of two women here may be either (i) on account of their
being widows and in that case the term *abhatarikā* would be taken
as the Prakrit form of the Sanskrit word *abharttārikā*, or (ii) if
we agree with Sircar's interpretation of the term, taking it as the
corrupt form of *ābhyantarikā*, they should be considered as two
maid-servants of the harem who would have accompanied the
noble ladies (mothers, sisters and queens of the king) to the holy
place (where the pillar was installed), because they were the
favourite maids of the harem. Thus, in all probability, it is
their status of maid-servant that made the writer of the draft
avoid the use of an honorific suffix with their names. It is also
in conformity with the instructions of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*[3] in this
regard.

As regards Sircar's opinion of these women being concubines,
I think it was perhaps the meaning of the name Sarasikā which
prompted him to think that. But in that case, their names
probably would not have been devoid of the honorific *śrī*.

Achaṁta : This term occurs in one of the fragmentary inscriptions
coming from the area of Nagarjunakonda. In the present context
of the record it qualifies the preceptors who were well-versed in
their own doctrines as well as in those of others. Part of the
text referring to this term reads thus : "*achaṁta rājachariyānaṁ
saka samaya para-samaya. . .*".[4]

Sircar who edited this record, while commenting upon the
term *achaṁta* states :

> The word *achaṁta*, meaning 'excessive' occurs in the
> expression '*achaṁta hita sukhāya*' (Sanskrit *atyanta hita-
> sukhāya*), 'for the excessive welfare and happiness' in one
> of the Nagarjunakonda inscriptions;[5] but that meaning
> does not suit the context, unless it is believed that some
> letters were inadvertently omitted after the word and
> that *rājāchariyānaṁ* (i.e., of the king's teachers) is to be
> read separately. But the same expression apparently
> occurs in another Nagarjunakonda inscription where
> Vogel suggested the reading "[*Bhadaṁ*]*ta-rājā-*

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3. *Nāṭyaśāstra* (G.O.S. edition) XVII, 91-99. cf. "*Nānā kusuma nāmānaḥ
   prēshyāḥ kāryā*".
4. *E.I.*, XXXIV, p. 211, 11.5-6.
5. *Ibid.*, XX, p. 22.

chariyānaṁ".[6]   The expression *achaṁtarājāchariya* would mean 'teachers of (or from) Achaṁtarāja' or better 'teachers of the Achaṁtarāja school or community'. Unfortunately we do not know of any king or locality called Achaṁtarāja or a community of Buddhist teachers characterised by that name.[7]

This is what jocularly called a *Drāviḍa-prāṇāyāma*, not so uncommon with the community of professional epigraphists. In my opinion, the word *achaṁta* of the present record is the same as *achchanta* which is noticed in the *Pali English Dictionary* of Rhys Davids. After admitting that the word is the same as Sanskrit *atyanta* (i.e., *ati + anta*) here it is defined as "uninterrupted, continuous, perpetual" as its first and literal meaning and then as "final, absolute, complete, exceedingly, extremely, very much"; etc.[8]

Thus, as per the above definition of the term *achaṁta* or *achchanta*, the phrase *achaṁta-rājāchariyānaṁ* of the record will mean those 'who were uninterruptedly, continuously or throughout preceptors of the kings'.

Alin and *Arin* : These words are gathered from the Mandakil Tal inscription which was edited by B. Ch. Chhabra. The particular line of the verse wherein the term *alin* figures reads : "*niḥsāratvaṁ kadalyām-alini mukharatā kōkilē pārapushṭyam*"[9] and that of *arin* reads : "*śūl-āri prahatāhitān tribhuvanasy-ōchchhēda rakshākarān*".[10]

Commenting upon this Chhabra says, "Of lexical interest are the words like *alin* for *ali* and *arin* as a synonym of *chakra*. The latter derived from the word *ara*, 'spoke' is of rare occurrence in literature as well as in epigraphy".[11]   As an example for *arin* he quotes a line from the *Strōtra-ratnākara* which reads : "*ānandī naḥ punīyād-ari-nalina-gadā śaṅkha-pāṇir-Mukundaḥ*".[12]

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6. *E.I.*, XXXIV, p. 211, 1.1.
7. *Ibid.*, XXXIV, p. 212.
8. *Pali English Dictionary*, p. 7.
9. *E.I.*, XXXIV, p. 81, v. 6.
10. *Ibid.*, v. 2.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 77-78.
12. *Strōtra-ratnākara*, Madras, 1927, Part I, p. 224.

A verse where *alini* is used in this very sense was told to me by a local paṇḍita of my village though without the name of the author or the source. It reads, *"Kamalinīm-alinī malinī kṛitā bhuvinate vinatĕ vinatĕ-śayaḥ"*. But the best example of both *alin* (masculine) and *alini* (feminine) comes from the *Śiśupālavadha* of Māgha : *"Alinā ramat-ālinī śilīndhrĕ sahasāyanta na dīpa pāṭal ābhĕ".*[13]

Anudarśayanti : Remarking on the expression *"kuśalamuktv-ānudarśyanti"* figuring in the Damodarpur copper plates, R.G. Basak states : *"Anudarśayanti* is not in frequent use. It means, 'inform as follows', cf. *"Sĕnāpatiḥ putraṁ Agnimitram parishvajya anudarśayati (vide Mālavikāgnimitram* of Kālidāsa").[14]

Aputrika-vĕṇī : In the Bonda plates of Mahaśiva Tivara, the majority of the privileges enjoyed by the donees, are of common occurrences in royal grants, except for one. The unusual one is rendered as "together with the enjoyment of *a-putrika-vĕṇī*"[15] and as Sircar points out is not usually found in inscriptions. According to him :

> The word *vĕṇī* means 're-united property after it was divided'. The expression *aputrika-vĕṇī* has probably been used in our record in the sense of 'the property of a person who died without leaving a heir'. This is sometimes mentioned as '*aputrā, āputraka* or *aputraka-dhana*' in inscriptions.[16]

The above instances cited in support of the explanation of the term *aputraka-vĕṇī* by Sircar are taken from contexts where the land in question belonged directly to the state. But, in the present case, the situation is slightly different since the land in question is already given by the king to a donee along with all the privileges including *aputraka-vĕṇī*. Therefore, this case does not seem to be covered by the earlier instances quoted by Sircar. In my opinion, it forms a special category of its own. And, the real purport of the phrase *aputraka-vĕṇī* in the present context

13. *Śiśupālavadha*, VI, 72.
14. *E.I.*, XV, p. 136.
15. *Ibid.*, XXXIV, p. 116, 1.22.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 114 (introduction). For other references see *E.I.*, XXVIII, p. 291, 1.22, n. 13; XXX, p. 170, etc.

seems to be that, though a property that belonged to a person who died without leaving a heir generally used to go back to the state, in this case it would remain with the donee.   This privilege, if my explanation is right, hints at the emergence of landlordism amongst donees.

Ārdraka : This term figures in the context of one of the *āchāras* referred to in the charter of Vishṇusena.   The phrase therein reads as : "*ārdraka lakaṭāyāḥ śulk-ātiyā-trikē rūpakāḥ sapādāḥ*".[17]

According to Sircar, it "means either (i) the crossing fare for a boat full of dried ginger (*ārdraka*) sticks (*lakaṭā*) was 1¼ silver coins, or (ii) undried (*ārdra* or *ārdraka*) *lakaṭā* or *laguḍa* (Sanskrit)".[18]

In my opinion, the second explanation seems to be more tangible, also because 'a boat full of dried ginger' is not so often carried but 'undried' (wet) fire-wood or timber is carried by boats frequently.

Aśvōrasa : The Bhaturia inscription of Rajyapāla : Wherein this term is referred to was first edited by S.P. Lahiri and published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*[19] and then by D.C. Sircar in the *Epigraphia Indica*.   Among many points on which the two scholars differed from each other, one was the meaning of the following verse which bears a reference to the term *āśvorasa* :

> *Mātaṅgair-mmada-garvitair-upanatair-aśvorasair-*
> *bhumijair-urvyā sasya samṛiddhayā bahutithair-*
> *haimn-āñchayair-arjitaiḥ.*[20]

Here, the term *aśvōrasair-bhūmijaih*) has been explained by Lahiri first as "on the score of the broad-chested Bhumijas", then the verse was translated as ". . .with the presents of haughty elephants in rut, *principal horses* (*aśvōrasaiḥ*) and men (*bhūmijaiḥ*) that had surrendered to him (*upanataiḥ*) as well as land covered by crops and many heaps of gold which were acquired by him".[21]

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17. *E.I.*, XXX, p. 177, n. 60.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *I.H.Q.*, XXXI, No. 3 (Sept. 1955), pp. 215-31.
20. *E.I.*, XXXIII, p. 154, v. 7.
21. *Op. cit.*

But, according to Sircar who differs from Lahiri :

The verse merely refers to the fact that (Rajyapāla the king) obtained the possession of a large number of elephants, *horses and infantry men* (i.e., prisoners to be made slave) as well as land and gold, all belonging to his enemies, as result of his victory over the latter.[22]

In my opinion, although Sircar has certainly improved upon the matter compared to Lahiri, he has somehow avoided tackling the actual purport of the term *aśvōrasa*. The term *aśvōrasa* means neither 'principal horses' as Lahiri has taken it nor simply 'horses' as it is construed by Sircar, who has coolly ignored the sense of *ōrasa*.

The term *aśvōrasa* seems to be a hybrid form of *aśva* and *ōrasa* or *avarasa*. In all probability the word *avarasa* has been made shorter by *ōrasa* as it would have not been possible to accommodate it with the scheme of the metre. The term *avarasa*, if I am right in taking it like this, is again a contracted form of *abarasa* which is an Arabic term.

The term *abarasa*, according to the *Farasanāmā*, denotes the spots (in the form of small dots) noticed on the main body of the horse. In English, it is explained as a "fly-bitten (grey)".[23] Thus, *ōrasa* or *abarasa-bhumija* of this compound is qualifying the colour of the horse.

In this case, the phrase *aśvorasair-bhūmijaih* should render the sense of the 'high quality of horses that were of fly-bitten earthy grey colour'. Such horses are also known as *kummaita* in the literature of the medieval period. The name *kummaita* literally means 'a red-black mixed colour'. An author called Rangina (in his *Farasanāmā, Rangina*, Ch VII—*vide* Agrawala) has written, "*Jō āvĕ rangamĕ ghōrōṅ kĕ takarāra, Tō kaha sabasĕ kummaita achchhā hai yāra*".[24]

Jabardasta Khan, who was a contemporary of Aurangazeb, has written that *kummaita* is a variety of red (*surkha*) when the colour is *syāhī-māyala* (*vide Farasanāmā*, ed. Philaut, p. 8).

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22. *E.I.*, XXXIII, pp. 150 ff.
23. *Farasanāmā*, p. 8, quoted by V.S. Agrawala *vide, Nāgarī Prachāriṇi Patrikā*, year 59, Nos. 3-4, Saṁ 2011, p. 227-28.
24. *Ibid.*

Jayadatta calls it *kayāha* and defines it as *"pakva-tāla mibhō vājī kayāha parikīrttitaḥ."*[25] The name *kayāha* of the horse has also been noticed by Hemachandra. In the *Śālihōtra* ascribed to Nakula the same horse is defined as follows :

> *Tātɛ ati hī lāla jō lakhɛ khaira kɛ*
> *raṅga.   Āla pūṇchha paga śyāma tō sō*
> *kummaita kɛ aṅga".*[26]

Steingas in his *Persian English Dictionary* has explained *abarasa* as a dapple grey, pie-bald grey or spotted red and white.[27]

V.S. Agrawala, on the basis of all the above references, considers the *kṛittikā-piñjara* type of horses referred to by *Bāṇa* as the same as *abarasa*.[28] While commenting upon the phrase *kṛittikā piñjarāḥ* of Bāṇa, Sankara explains, *"Tāraka kadamba kalp-ānɛka-bindu-kalmāshita tvachaḥ kṛittikā-piñjarāḥ".*[29]

King Somesvara, in his *Mānasōllāsa*, most probably defines the same variety of horse as *taraṅga* :

> *Chitritaḥ pārśva dɛśɛ cha śvɛta-bindu*
> *kadambakaiḥ.   Yō vā kō vā bhavɛd-varṇas-*
> *taraṅjaḥ kathyatɛ hayaḥ.*[30]

According to all the authorities cited above, this variety of horse is considered very lucky and of high quality as well. Therefore, in all probability, by the term *āśvorasair-bhūmijaiḥ* only such horses were meant.

Atirikta : In the Haraha inscription of the reign of Iśānavarman edited by Hirananda Sāstri there comes an expression which reads : *"ɛkādaś-ātriktɛshu shaṭśātita vidvishi".*[31]

Herein, regarding the meaning of the word *atirikta* Sastri

25. *Farasanāmā*, p. 8, quoted by V.S. Agrawala *vide*, *Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Patrikā*, year 59, Nos. 3-4, Saṁ 2011, p. 227-28.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Persian English Dictionary*.
28. *Harshacharita Ek Sāmskṛitik Addhyayan*, Patna, 1954.
29. *Harshacharita* (N.S. edition), p. 62.
30. *Mānasōllāsa*, (G.O.S. edition, Baroda), IV. 699.
31. *E.I.*, XIV, p. 118, v. 21.

remarks : "The dictionary gives 'redundant' as one of the meanings of *atirikta*. This would suggest that 11 is to be deducted from 600. But no instance is known to me where the word is used in this way".[32]

In fact, the meaning of the word *atirikta* in the present context is that number eleven is to be added 'extra' to the figure of 600. This is one of the examples which shows how in certain contexts the minus meanings of the dictionaries have become plus in the inscriptions.

Avidhavā : This term (as well as the term *jivaputā*) figures in the inscription engraved on the pedestal of a Lajjāgauri image installed by Mahādevi Khaṁḍuvula the queen of Ehavala Chaṁtamula. The single line inscription reads as under :

> *Siddhaṁ Mahādevīya avidhavāya jīvaputāya*
> *Mahāraja [Ehavala Chaṁtamula] patiya*
> *Khaṁḍuvulāya kāritāti.*[33]

After rendering the term *avidhavā* into 'one with her husband alive' and *jivaputā* as 'one who has her child alive', Narasimhasvami (the editor of the record) says "The expressions *avidhavā* and *jivaputā* used in describing the queen are noteworthy".[34]

This gives a clue that the goddess, on the base of whose image the record is engraved, was worshipped mainly for the welfare of one's own husband and children. The term *avidhavā* is of an early usage and has not been so commonly used in the classical literature. Amara has preferred to call such women as "*pativatni*" or "*sabhartrikā*".[35]

The term *jivaputā*, though rare, has been used as "*jivasutā*"[36] and "*jiva-putra-pautrā*",[37] in some other records as well.

Āyaka Khambha : J.Ph. Vogel, while editing the Prakrit inscriptions from Nagarjunakonda wherein this term frequently occurs,

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32. *E.I.*, XIV, p. 113, n. 1.
33. *Ibid.*, XXIX, p. 139.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 139.
35. Cf. "*Āliḥ sakhī vayasyā cha pativatni sabhartrikā*" vide *Amara*, II.6.12.
36. *An. Rep. Archaeological Survey of India*, 1908-09, p. 149, n. 3. Cf. Nasik inscription of Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi.
37. In an inscription of Prabhavatigupta (*vide Select Inscriptions*, p. 440.)

states, "The word *āyaka khambha* mentioned in these epigraphs is evidently the technical term by which they are known",[38]   And, while elaborating the same once again he notes that :

> The word *āyaka* occurs also in the compounds *dakhināyaka* (Burgess, *Amaravati* etc., p. 86, pl. LX, no. 47) and *utarāyaka* (*ibid.*, p. 93) which have been rendered 'the south entrance' and 'the northern gate'. It is questionable whether this translation is correct. The word 'gate' is rendered by *dāra* (Skt. *dvāra*). Most probably the word *āyaka* indicates that part of the monument where *āyaka khaṁbhas* were placed.[39]

Sircar, in order to be on the safe side, has included both the senses of this term in his Glossary.[40]   Apte's dictionary refers to *āyaka skambhaḥ* in the sense of 'a kind of pillar' and directs one further to compare it with the *Mānasāra*,[41] but what kind of a pillar the *āyaka* was is not explained.   Thus, the precise meaning of this term, in my opinion, requires a further probe from the side of Sanskrit/Prakrit lexicographers.

Anĕka-bhadra-khachita : In the fragmentary stone inscription of queen Udalladevi, a verse referring to the construction of the temple of lord Vindhyĕśvara reads as follows :

> *Śri Vindhyĕśvara śulinō = dbhutataraḥ*
> *stambh-āvalī śōbhitaḥ.   Prāsādo = yam-*
> *anĕka-bhadra-khachitō nānā-*
> *patākānvitaḥ.*[42]

Here, regarding the term *anĕka-bhadra-khachita*, M.M. Nagar who edited the inscription, not being sure of its meaning, takes the phrase first as it is and renders it "is carved with many auspicious scenes".[43]   Then, in one of his notes, he assumes that the word *khachita* is actually *rachita* and thus by making the

38. *E.I.*, XX, p. 1.
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Glossary*, p. 41.
41. Apte's Dictionary, p. 348.
42. *E.I.*, XXIII, p. 187, 11.5-7.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 188.

phrase into "*anēka-bhadra-rachitō*" instead of the original *anēka-bhadra-khachitō* he translates it as "made of or containing much gold".[44]

I for one, do not see any necessity of altering the text. To me, it seems that the term *anēka-bhadra* in its poetic form refers to the *sarvatōbhadra* types of temples because more than one (*ēka*) is *anēka* and in the *sarvatōbhadra* type of temple there is more than one miniature temple provided with many banners (*nānāpatākā*) or the pinnacles. Monier-Williams explains *sarvatō-bhadra* as a temple of square form having an entrance opposite every point of the compass.[45] In addition, although *anēka-bhadra* as such is not found in the dictionaries, *anēka-mukha* is explained as "having several faces, having different ways".[46]

Bhukti-śuddha : This figures in the following verse of the Kharepatan plates of Rattaraja :

> *Mudrā-śuddham kriyā-śuddham bhukti śuddham*
> *sachihnakam, Rāja-sva-hasta śuddham tu*
> *śuddhim-āyāti śāsanam.*[47]

While editing these grants Kielhorn remarks "I am not quite sure about the exact technical meaning of the terms *kriyāśuddha* and *bhukti-śuddha*".[48] and neither of the dictionaries include these compounds. Hence, these terms require a further probe.

Chandraka : The term *chandraka* figuring in the phrase "*śakti hēti para-prīti hētuś-chandraka charchitaḥ*"[49] of the Bheraghat inscription of Alhanadevi has been translated by Kielhorn as a 'young moon' but with the remark that it is a rare occurrence.[50]

Chauksha : This word forms part of the name Śri Ślōka Chauksha[51] noticed on a pilgrim record from village Sondhia, Karchhana Tehsil, district Allahabad. Although, possibly on the

44. *E.I.*, XXIII, n. 10.
45. Monier-Williams, p. 1189.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
47. *Ibid.*, III, p. 296, 1.73.
48. *Ibid.*
49. *Ibid.*, II, p. 10.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 14, n. 67.
51. *Ibid.*, XXXIV, p. 248, no. IV, (ii).

basis of the prefix Śrī ślōka and the palaeography of the letters, Sircar has taken the name as that of a Vaishnava from the south, we have shown in our discussion on Chaukshas (see the other part) and also elsewhere[52] that it was a particular sect of Vaishnavas, who were the worshippers of Svāmi Nārāyaṇa dēva.

Chintita : In the inscription of the time of Kadachchhi which was composed by a poet called Jhaṅgu, he describes his own composition as *chintitā* in place of *rachitā*, which is of lexical interest. The relevant line reads as : *"Bhaṭṭa Mammasya putrēṇa Jhaṅgunā chintitā śubhā"*.[53]

Chōllaka : Commenting upon *"akhaṭvā chōllaka vēṇēsika"* of the Basim plates of Vindhyaśakti II, V.V. Mirashi takes it in the sense of a 'water pot'. According to him, "Chōllaka is plainly identical with *chōlaka* in the Mayidavolu plates and *yōllaka* in the Hirahaḍagalli plates. Hultzsch derives *chōllaka* from *chullakī*, a kind of water pot".[54]

Chumbaka : The relevant verse from the Silimpur stone inscription which uses the term *chumbaka* reads :

Sandigdha nirṇṇayaṁ yuktyā kurvato =
pi sahasraśaḥ yasya dharmma-tulā
nāsīd anālambita-chumbhakā.[55]

R.G. Basak, after translating *anālambiṭa chumbakā* as "with its uppermost part never unsupported", adds that "the word *chumbaka* is seldom found in literature in the sense in which it has been used here. The *Medinikōsha* states one of the various meanings of this word as, *'dhaṭasy-ōrdhv-ālambanē'*, 'the upper part of a balance'."[56]

Dāna-muhē (Skt. *Dāna-mukhya*) : While discussing the Prakrit expression *"dāna-muhē"*, found engraved (in Kharoshṭhi) on the Bimaran vase, Pargiter takes it as *dāna-mukha* or *dāna-mukhya* and explains the word *mukhya* on the evidence of puraṇic literature, as 'a chief or head' among many other connotations,

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52. Tewari, S.P., *"Who were the Chaukshas ?"*, J.P.N.S.I., IV, pp. 100-109.
53. *E.I.*, XXXV, p. 59.
54. *Ibid.*, XXVI, pp. 153, 155, n. 3.
55. *Ibid.*, XIII, pp. 291-92, v. 21.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 294, n. 5.

and finally takes up the meaning of the word *mukha* as 'the foremost'.[57]

Daṇḍāsana : The text of the Kolagallu inscription of Khottiga "contains technical expressions like *daṇḍāsana* and *lōhāsani*, the exact import of which", Luders states, "is not quite clear". Neither *daṇḍāsana* nor *lōhōsana* finds place in the verse which enumerates the five yogic *āsanas*, *viz* :

> *padmāsanaṁ svastikākhyaṁ bhadraṁ vajrāsanaṁ*
> *tathā virāsanam-iti prōktaṁ kramād-āsana*
> *pañchakam.*[58]

Both these terms are not found in the dictionaries.

Daśā : In the Bheraghat inscription of Alhaṇadevi, the word *daśā* is used in the line "*dīrgha manōjña-daśēna tribhuvana dīpāyitaṁ yēna*" in the sense of a wick of a lamp which, according to Kielhorn, happens to be a rare meaning.[59]

Dhūma vēlā : The term figures in the Kadba plates of Prabhutavarsha. Lüders, while examining it, remarks, "*Dhūma-vēlā* may have a special meaning unknown to me. Mr. Rice seems to render it by 'south east' can it mean "the time when the smoke of the evening fires arises, the evening time ?"[60] Possibly, *dhūmavēlā* is a synonym of *godhūlī vēlā* or *sandhyā* when the smoke of evening fire arises, as Lüders has rightly presumed. In the *Vāsavadattā* of Bhāsa, the main feature of the evening is marked by the expression "*pravicharati dhūmō munivanam*".[61]

Dhvaja-kiṅkiṇi : Although both the words *dhvaja* and *kiṅkiṇi* are quite common and are well explained in the dictionaries, yet the formation of another compound where these two qualify *yuvatayaḥ*, figuring in the Bijaulia stone inscription, is a curious one.[62] Elsewhere, Motichandra has identified these young maidens as courtesans who were using their anklets (*kiṅkiṇi*) along with

57. *E.I.*, XVI, pp. 97 ff.
58. *Ibid.*, XXI, p. 260, 1.35; see also *Śabda kalpadruma*.
59. *Ibid.*, II, p. 13, v. 33.
60. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 347, n. 6.
61. *Svapnavāsavadattā*, I.16.
62. *Chaturbhāṇi* (Hindi), Bombay, 1959, introduction, p. 64,

a banner in their trade.

Diśāpaṭṭa : As remarked by Fleet while editing a series of Kannada records from Ablur,[63] the word *diśāpaṭṭa* figures in a good number of records from Karnataka and later on also in some of the Sanskrit inscriptions from Andhra Pradesh. On the authority of Kittel's *Kannada English Dictionary*, Fleet has considered it as a Sanskrit word and explained in the sense of "one who causes (his enemies) to be scattered in all direction".[64] The word *diśā* he has construed in the sense of region or the direction and *paṭa* from the root *paṭ* meaning to split, cleave or tear, etc.

Unfortunately, the word is not found in Sanskrit English dictionaries and strangely enough the Glossary of Sircar[65] considers it only as a word of Kannada origin. Although I have no authority to cite in support of what I know out of my own survey, the word *diśāpaṭṭa* seems to have been adopted from the vocabulary of wrestlers who play a trick called *deśapaṭa* more popularly known as *paṭā*, which when applied against the opponent throws him away helter-skelter. And considering the context of the Ablur inscription at least, this meaning of the term fits well since the person to whom the title *diśāpaṭṭa* is ascribed is described as "*vādigharaṭṭa*", i.e., *vādē gharaṭṭavat vyavaharati yaḥ saḥ.*

Duhitānām : In the inscription of Toramāṇa edited by Bühler, the genitive case plural of the word *duhitṛi* meaning 'daughter' is used once (in line 10) as *duhitṛiṇām*, which follows the inscriptions of Pāṇinian grammar to the core; but in the very next line *duhitānām*[66] is used as the same word in the same case. This peculiar feature of the language of the record "proves the utter loss of all feeling for the rules of the language",[67] according to Bühler. But, as we have stated earlier in our introduction to this monograph, it reflects, in our opinion, the day to day use of the language and also the way some of the inconvenient usages and

63. *E.I.*, III, p. 189 ff.
64. *Ibid.*, V, pp. 226-27, n. 5.
65. *Glossary*, p. 98.
66. *E.I.*, I, pp. 238-241.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 241, n. 23.

forms of Sanskrit words were made simple. In my opinion, the term *duhitānām* should equally be considered as one of the authentic forms of the genitive plural of the word *duhitṛi*.

Durbhagā : This is an example of how, even at the cost of *grāmyatva* (being rustic), composers of grants were not willing to lose their chance of making a pun. Or, should we say that the real opposite of *subhagā* could be expressed only by the use of *durbhagā*. In that case, the poet of Dewal *praśasti*[68] should be considered more realistic in his outlook.

Dvā-saptaty-adhikām : This term may be noticed in a number of inscriptions belonging to the Vijayanagara and other kings, but the one we have considered here figures in the Koḍuviḍu inscription and in another inscription of Krishnadevarāya edited by Lüders.[69]

Referring to the term "dvāsaptaty-adhika", in the said inscription of Krishṇadevaraya, Lüders remarks that about "*dvā-saptatyadhikām*, etc., I do not know what is meant by this phrase".[70] But, as attested by Sircar, it seems to be the equivalent of the phrase which appears later in both Kannada and Telugu records as "*bāhattara niyōga*".

Here, in both the cases (whether *dvā-saptaty adhika* or *bāhattara*) the terms literally mean seventy-two. Although a good number of explanations have been given about these terms and there are scholars who in their frantic efforts have virtually exhausted counting the number of all the offices of the then state, yet they have not, been able to account for all the seventy-two numbers even to their own satisfaction.

In my opinion, here both *dvā-saptaty adhika* and *bāhattara* are not to be taken in their literal sense but more in their figurative sense. In its figurative way, *bāhattara* means all and sundry or the mani-fold aspects of any given thing, for that matter. For example, in Hindi we have an idiom "*sūp bōlẽ to bōlẽ chalani kyā bōlẽ jisme bahattara chhẽd*". It can loosely be translated as the one like a *sup* (Skt. *sūrpa*) may still open its mouth against something but not a sieve (*chalani*) which has countless holes. Likewise, someone occupied with multifarious activities will say "*hamārẽ pās bahattara kām hain ẽk nahīn*", meaning that 'I have

68. *E.I.*, I, p. 83, v. 17, see also Bühler's note 53 on page 83.
69. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 113, n. 1.
70. *Ibid.*

got countless things to do and not just one'.[71]

In fact, it is a matter of research to find out how and when such idiomatic expressions came up replacing the earlier ones. In India, or better to say in Indian languages, there has been from very beginning a liking for all the different multiple forms of the number six. There are many things which are expressed by six then by eighteen, then by thirty-six and here we have for countless things the numeral seventy-two. Although it is too early to pass any judgement on this issue, it is my belief that the numeral seventy-two would have received prominence as a part of an indiom to express countless things only after the regional vernaculars came to the forefront. In other words, it may be difficult to find any authentic expression in Sanskrit for *dvā-saptatyadhika*. Naturally the said phrase of the Vijayanagara record has been Sanskritized from the *bāhattara* of the regional vernaculars.

Dvaya : There are certain peculiar and rare grammatical usages which even though noticed here and there in Sanskrit literature are few and far between. The term *dvaya* is one of that type. It figures, as B. Ch. Chhabra has spotted out, in the Chatesvara temple inscription. The relevant verse of the record reads as under :

> *Āscharyaṁ yad-ami-dvayè = pi na chirād-*
> *āsādya Vishṇōḥ padam. Prāptā nirbhara*
> *nirvṛiti praṇayitāṁ pratyarthinaḥ*
> *pārthivā.*[72]

Chhabra, while commenting upon 'the term *dvaya* of this verse, remarks : "Grammatically the pronominal use of the word *dvaya* in verse 13 is interesting. Such a usage is rare, but we have instances of it in Sanskrit literature as in Māgha's *Śiśupālavadha*, III, 57; "*Janairajāta-skhalanair-najātu dvayè=py-amuchyanta vinīta mārgāḥ.*"[73] On this, the gloss of Mallinatha says :

> *dvayè dvirūpā api, prathama charamatayā-*

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71. *Glossary*, p. 43; see also *E.I.*, XIX, XXIII and XXX including the term *bāhattara niyōgina*.
72. *E.I.*, XXIX, pp. 121-133, v. 13.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 122.

'*jasi vibhāshayā sarvanāma saṅjñā' atra*
mārga śabdasya sādharmyād-ĕva vrint-
āvalambi phala dvayavad ĕka śabdĕn-ārtha
dvaya pratītĕh.[74]

Dvĕdh-āpy-ayōdhyāsyatĕ : This figures in the Nagpur stone inscrip-
tion of the Malava King Lakshmaṇadeva and the relevant part of
the verse from the record reads as follows : "*Marttuṁ kĕvalam-
uttamair nṛipatibhir dvĕdh-āpy-ayōdhyāsyatĕ.*"[75]

The above line is translated by Kielhorn as : "(while those of
the north) throw themselves on their swords, and thus court death
as the best and only fate left to them."[76] Furtheron while adding
a note he states : "I take the words *dvĕdh-āpy-ayōdhyāsyatĕ* to
mean that the princes of the north did what is expressed by
ayōdhyāsyatĕ in the two senses which these words are capable of
conveying.

Ayō, i.e., *ayuḥ* may be taken as the nominative of either the neuter
ayas 'iron, steel' or the masculine *aya*, 'favourable fortune'.[77]

Here, although Kielhorn has understood the meaning of the
phrase correctly, he could still not gauge the cultural significance
of it. This refers to a particular custom of ancient India that was
observed (rather, it was obligatory on their part to observe) by
defeated kings at the time of their surrender to the victor. In the
Harshacharita, Bāṇa has referred to the same by paraphrasing it
as "*kaṇṭha baddha kṛipāṇa paṭṭaiḥ.*"[78] It means that the defeated
kings had suspended their swords from their necks (instead of
carrying them in their hands) in order to propitiate the anger of
the victorious lord. This very idea at a later stage is expressed by
Tulasi in the form of the advice offered by Angada to Rāvaṇa as:
"*dharahu daśana tṛiṇa kaṁṭha kuṭhāri.*"[79]

Ekapātra : In spite of the fact that R.K. Goshal finds this official

74. *Śisu.*, III, 57; *Ghaṇṭāpatha* of Mallinātha.
75. *E.I.*, II, p. 186, v. 37.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 192.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 192, n. 72.
78. *Harshacharita*, (N.S. edition), p. 60; see also Kane's edition, notes p. 121
    and Agrawala in the *Harshacharita Ek Sanskritik Addhayan*, p. 44; also
    the translation of the *Harshacharita* by Cowell and Thomas, p. 48.
79. *Ramacharitamānasa*, VI, 197.

title, figuring in the Rakshaskhali island plate of Madommana-pala, interesting enough, he has not explained the actual function of it. In the record it is referred to along with *saptāmātya* as *yāvad-ĕkapātra*" which is followed by *Rāṇaka* and *Daṇḍanāyaka*.[80]

Sircar has taken it as *yāvadĕkapātra* and compared with such known titles as *pātra* and *mahāpātra*.[81]

Ekākshara : In the inscriptions of Huli edited by L.D. Barnett, Jñānaśakti Paṇḍitadeva because of his knowledge of logic and grammar is called *Ekākshara*. According to Barnett, "Here (in this term) there seems to be a play on the double meaning of *Ekākshara*, which apparently is taken as signifying, 'uniquely literate'."[82]

Gaḍūka : This term forms part of a verse figuring in the Kalanjar inscription of V.S. 1147 which was edited by S.L. Katare. Lines of the said verse read as under :

Gaḍūka-dvaya-dānĕna Nilakaṇṭhasya
yat-phalam. Tĕna saṁyujyatām śrīmān
Vāsudĕvaḥ satām-mataḥ.[83]

On this Katare remarks :

If my reading of the text as *gaḍūka-dvaya dānĕna* is correct, it seems that Vasudeva (the donor) requested Śrimurti for permission to donate *two pots of water* and gain the merit of this pious deed. The practice of setting up over the *lingam*, for the duration of the summer, of two pots of water from which water falls on the *lingam* drop by drop, is not only common but is regarded as a highly pious deed.[84]

Here itself, Sircar in his capacity of the editor of the *Epigraphia Indica* adds an extra note which states that : "The reading intended for what has been read *gaḍūka* seems to be

80. *E.I.*, XXVII, p. 122, 11.4-5; also p. 123, n. 10.
81. *Glossary*, p. 106.
82. *E.I.*, XVIII, p. 194.
83. *Ibid.*, XXXI, p. 165, 11.8-9.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 164, n. 1.

gaṁdusha; 'handful'."[85] But, in my opinion :

(i) The reading *gaḍuka* by Katare is well supported by the fascimile of the record.

(ii) It also suits the context here because (if we believe in the 'handful' suggestion of Sircar) for such a simple act as 'offering handful of water twice', there would have been no need of requesting specific permission. This could be done as part of daily worship as well.

(iii) In this case, Sircar's comment seems to be totally unwarranted.

(iv) The need for specific permission while installing two water pots in case of Vasudeva would have been on account of the fact that like him there would have been many more devotees desirous of doing the same.

(v) As regards the word *gaḍūka* or *gaḍḍuka,* we do get even early records referring to this word in the sense of a water pot.[86]

Ghōṭikā : In the Ghumli plates of Baskharadeva the eastern boundary part of the given land is said to have been marked by "*ghōṭikā*," According to Sircar, "The post was probably marked with the figure of, or was shaped like, a mare."[87]

The noteworthy point for our purposes here is the term *ghōṭikā* which means a mare but which has been endowed with the allied meaning of a boundary post in this record.

Grāma-grāma : Generally the word *grāma* means a village. But in the Bahur plates of Nripatungavarman[88] and also in one of the Eastern Chālukya grants[89] by way of repetition of the word it has been used, according to Hultzsch, in the sense of " 'village of villages', i.e., a large village (?) or a chief village (?)." It is also possible that here the first word *grāma* is used in the sense of a village and the second one in the sense of their multitude or a cluster. In other words, the second time *grāma* is used in the way

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85. *E.I.,* XXXI, p. 164, n. 1.
86. For example, see *E.I.,* XI, pp. 202 ff, XVI, p. 3, v. 6; also p. 36, n. 1, etc.
87. *E.I.,* XXXI, p. 12, n. 1.
88. *Ibid.,* XVIII, p. 4, 1.18, n. 12.
89. *Ind. Ant.,* XIII, p. 138, 1.18.

that we find in Māgha's "*sphuṭibhavad-grāma-viśēsha murch-chhanā*", where the term *grāma* in that context is explained by Mallinātha as "*svara-saṅghāta*". In fact, even the source for *svara-grāma* of music comes from the concept of a village only. This is also made clear by Mallinātha[90] who cites *grāma-lakshaṇa* as follows :

> *Yathā kuṭumbinaḥ sarvē ēkibhūtā*
> *bhavanti hi. Tathā svarānām sandōhō*
> *grāma ity-abhidhīyatē.*[91]

Thus, the term *grāma-grāma* of our record means a *grāma-sandōha*, i.e., 'village of villages' as was originally thought by Hultzsch.

Grantha : The Bilahari stone inscription of the rulers of Chedi edited by Kielhorn contains an invocatory verse where this term is used in the phrase "*granthō yach-cha Durōdaraiḥ Purabhidō devyā samaṁ dīvyataḥ*".[92] After translating the term *grantha* here as '*stake*', Kielhorn remarks that "I am doubtful about the meaning of the word *granthɔ*, which I have translated by 'stake'."[93] This puzzle has also not been solved by Mirashi (vide, CII, Vol. IV, Part I, pp. 204 ff)

Bhaṭṭoji Dikshita, while commenting upon *Amara* (II, 4, 162), has taken both *grantha* and *granthi* as analogous and explained *granthatē* with the help of "*grathi kauṭilyē*". Here itself, he has quoted a line from the *Medinikōsha* which gives the following synonyms of the word *grantha* : "*Parva-klībaṁ mahē granthau prastāvē lakshaṇāntarē*".[94]

In my opinion, the synonym *prastāva* of the term *grantha* here suits the context of our record very well because *prastāva* in case of gambling could easily be taken in the sense of a 'stake'.

Gṛishṭi : Once again, in another invocatory verse of the Koni inscription of Kalachuri Pṛithvideva II, which was edited by Mirashi, we come across the term *gṛishṭi* in the following line

90. *Śiśupālavadha*, I. 10; with the gloss of Mallinātha.
91. *Ibid.*, commentary part.
92. *E.I.*, I, pp. 251-270, 11.1-2, v. 3.
93. *Ibid.*, p. 263, n. 28.
94. *Amarakosha*, (N.S. edition) with the commentary of Bhaṭṭōji Dikshita.

of the relevant verse : "*Sthèyàd-dhvastā ripuḥ śrīs-tribhuvana namito gṛishṭir-ishṭ-āptayè vaḥ*".[95]

After rendering the word *gṛishṭi* here into 'bull', Mirashi states that, "generally the word *gṛishṭi* is feminine and signifies a cow that has had only one calf. When masculine, the word means a boat. Here it is used in the sense of Śiva's bull".[96]

Gupyadguru : This term is used in two verses of the Sundha hill inscription of Chachigadeva edited by Kielhorn.[97] After admitting that the real sense of this term is not clear, Kielhorn suggests that, "as a *gupyadguru* must be something on which a golden *kumbha* and golden *kalaśa* can be placed (see verses 27 and 37), the word perhaps denotes a temple generally or a particular temple".[98]

Gurvāyatana : The term '*gurvāyatana*", which generally means 'teacher's shrine', in this particular record has been used in the context of a place where the memorials of the *gurus* were established.[99]

Hari-dina and *Harivāsara* : Here although *dina* and *vāsara* are generally taken as synonyms for day, the meaning of *vāsara* in *harivāsara* is explained as *dvādaśi* of the bright fortnight of the month of Āshāḍha, Bhādrapada and Kārttika; and *haridina* as a general term for *ēkādaśi*.[100]

Haṭha-saṅgama : It figures in one of the *praśastis* from Baijanath edited by Bühler. The context of the occurrence of this term in the *praśasti* is where the poet, after highlighting the noble character of his patron, as a contrast passes derogatory remarks on the objectionable behaviour of other petty chiefs who indulge in coitus with the wives of their own subjects by force (*haṭha*). This bold statement of the poet Rama who composed the *praśasti* reads as under :

> *Ady-eśvarā manda-parākramatvaṁ matvā*
> *vipakshair-avadhārit-ajñāḥ*

95. *E.I.*, XXVII, p. 280, v. 2.
96. *Ibid.*, translation part.
97. *Ibid.*, IX, p. 70, ff.
98. *Ibid.*
99. *Ibid*, XXI, p. 9, 1.10, n. p. 4.
100. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 111, n. 4.

Vāstavya-nāri haṭha-saṅgamĕna
purādhipatyam saphālaṃ-vidanti.[101]

Although *haṭhāslĕsha* meaning 'forcible embrace' is included in the dictionary of Monier-Williams, no such compound as *haṭha-sangama* is noticed in any of the dictionaries. This seems to be the precursor of the word *balātkāra* which is so much in the news these days.

Jōsham : A court poet of Eastern Chālukya ruler Vijayaditya III, while extolling all the good qualities of his patron, describes the pleasure his master used to derive by attending *gōshṭhis* :

Goshṭhi jōsham guṇānām-abhajata nikarō
yatra-cha kvāpy-alabdhaṃ
Narmālāpe = pi vāṇi na bhavati vitathā
satyasandhasya tasya.[102]

Kielhorn who edited these Masulipatam plates of Vijayāditya remarks on the term *jōsham*, "According to the dictionaries, the word *jōsha*, in classical Sanskrit, would seem to be used only as adverb, in the form *jōsham*; but it occurs as a substantive in the sense of *sukha*, e.g., in *Harshacharita* (p. 159, 1.8)".[103]

Kali-Vallabha : K.B. Pathak, while editing the Pimpri plates of Dharavarsha Dhruvaraja, has added an elaborate note on this term which in my opinion takes full review of this term and also perhaps settles the appropriate meaning of it once and for all.[104] He writes :

> One of the titles of Dhruva is *Kali-vallabha*, which Dr. Fleet always translates, "favourable of the Kali age". It is well-known the Kali age is sinful, and to be called "favourable of the 'sinful-age' " can hardly be regarded as complimentary. The real explanation appears to be different. *Kali* means, 'a brave person, a warrior' and

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101. *E.I.*, I, pp. 97-112.
102. *Ibid.*, V, p. 120, 11.22-25.
103. *Ibid.*, p. 126, n. 7.
104. *Ibid.*, X, p. 84.

Vallabha means 'favourite' or 'lord'.[105] And, the title should be rendered, "the favourite of warriors". That this is the real meaning of the title is implied in the following verse which occurs in the Manne grant and the Sisur inscriptions :

*Labdha-pratishṭham-achirāya kaliṁ
sudūram utsāryya śuddha-charitair-
dharaṇitalasya. Kṛitvā punaḥ Kṛita-
yuga śriyam-apy-aśēsham, chitraṁ kathaṁ
Nirupamō Kali-vallabhō = bhūt.*

i.e., 'Having quickly driven far away, by his pure actions, the Kali age, which had obtained a footing, and having created again the glory of the Kṛita age on the surface of the earth, it is wonderful how Nirupama became the favourite of the Kali age (the favourite of warriors)'.[106]

This verse is an instance of the well-known figure of speech called *Virōdhābhāsa* (apparent contradiction). The expression *kali-vallabha* is used in a double sense. The literal rendering 'favourite of the Kali age' creates an apparent contradiction, which consists of the Kali age being driven away by its own favourite. But this contradiction is not real and disappears as soon as we remember the secondary and the real sense of the title, 'the favourite of warriors'.[107]

Kapāṭa-sandhi-krama : This term occurs in the Urajam plates of Indravarman II which were edited by P.R. Srinivasan and R. Subramanyam. After stating that the term is of lexical interest, the editors have left it unexplained. The editor of the journal, in this instance, has also offered no explanation.[108]

Considering that *kapāṭ-ōdghāṭana* means opening of the door planks, the phrase *kapāṭa-sandhi* should mean the closing

105. *E.I.*, I, n. 3 which quotes :
   (i) "*Kali stri kalikāyām nā śuraji kalahē yugē*" *of Medinikōsha.*
   (ii) "*Kalir-vibhītakē śūrē vivādē = ntya yugē yudhi*" of *Hēmachandra*; and
   (iii) "*Trishv-adhyakshē=pi vallabhaḥ*" *of Amara* and "*Vallabhō dayitē-dhyakshē*" *of Medini.*
106. *Vide, E.I.*, VII, p. 205, 11.2-3 .
107. *E.I.*, X, p. 84.
108. *Ibid.*, XXXVII, p. 160, 1.17,

the door. And the word *krama*, as we know, denotes a sequence. Thus, the phrase "*kapāṭa-sandhi-krama*" should mean the sequence which is followed in closing the two planks of the door. As per our observation, when the two planks of the door are to be closed in the traditional indigenous way, the left one is bolted first and the right one later. Therefore, the sequence which seems to have been referred to by the phrase *kapāṭa-sandhi-krama* intends to have the left door closed first and the right afterwards.

Kārttākṛitika : In the charter of Vishṇusena the king is endowed with many official designations or titles. One such title of the king is *Mahākārttā kṛitika*". Commenting upon the title *kārttā-kṛitika*, Sircar, who had occasion to deal with this charter more than once, remarks, "The real meaning of *karttākṛitika* is unknown, but it may have indicated a royal agent, or a judge of a superior court or an officer, like the present day Legal Remembrancer, inviting the king's attention to what was done or left undone".[109]

Later on, in his Glossary, he explains the same term as follows :

> *Mahākārttākṛitika* (I.E. 8-2; E. 1. XXIX, XXX, C. 1.1. III, H.D.), official designation of uncertain import, probably a reporter who informed the king about the progress of big undertakings, sometimes explained as, "the royal agent or judge", one of the designations sometimes included in the *Pañchamahāśabda*, cf. the case of Maitraka Dhruvasena I, cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 306.[110]

The title *Kārttākṛitika* or *Mahākārttākṛitika*, in my opinion, derives its origin from Kārtta or Kārttavīrya, i.e., Sahasrabāhu Arjuna who is said to have had thousand arms. The implication of the designation seems to be that the official endowed with this title was entrusted with, or had his say in, practically all the affairs of the state. Figuratively speaking, he was the man with thousand arms like Kārtta or Kārttavirya and also he resembled the *ākṛiti* (facial appearance or the very personality (of Kārtta in the performance of his duties.

109. *E.I.*, XXX, p. 166.
110. *Glossary*, p. 177.

Khaṇḍhikatasa (Skt. *Skandhīkrita*) : One of the inscriptions of Ehavala Chaṁtamula from Nagarjunakonda edited by Sircar reads as under :

Araka Bhaḍarakasa yati samaṇa
khaṁdhikatasa kōḍarakasa chhāyā
khaṁbho.[111]

According to Sircar, "The inscription indicates that the pillar on which it is engraved was the *chhāyā stambha* of Kōḍaraka who is described as *araka bhaḍaraka* (Skt. *Āryaka Bhaṭṭāraka*) and *yati samaṇa khaṁdhikata* (Skt. *yati śramaṇa skandhīkrita*). The first of these epithets may suggest that Kōḍaraka was a religious personage, probably the head of a monastery. The other epithet, in which *skandhīkrita* literally means 'borne on the shoulder' seems to mean that he was highly respected by the *yatis* (Brahmanical ascetics) and *śramaṇas* (Buddhist monks)".[112]

To me, it seems that in a simple record the composer has put the matter quite figuratively. For *khaṁdha* in Pali means is 'a trunk of the tree' and *kōḍaraka* is the Pali form of *kōṭaraka*, i.e., 'a cavity inside the trunk of a tree'. In other words, the figurative idea of the expression "*yati samaṇa khaṁdhi katasa kōḍarakasa*" is that kōḍaraka personified the mass of *yatis* and *śramaṇas*. In Sanskrit it could be rendered as '*yatīnām cha śramaṇānām cha skandhikritasya kōṭarakasya chhāyā stambhaḥ*'.

Mālš : The term *mālš* or *yuvati mālš* figures in one of the Silahara cave inscriptions which were edited by D.R. Bhandarkar. Commenting upon the compound *yuvati mālš*, he remarks :

> *Yuvati māle=yuvati mālš. Mālaṁ* means 'a high ground, rising or elevated ground'. The word occurs in V. 16, of Kālidāsa's *Mēghadūta*, where it is explained by Mallinātha as '*śailaprāyam = unnata-sthalam*' i.e., 'an elevated hilly place'. Consequently, *yuvati mālš* is to be understood as denoting some hilly place for meeting young women.[113]

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111. *E.I.*, XXXV, p. 13, 11.2-4.
112. *Ibid*.
113. *E.I.*, XXII.

But following the gloss of Vallabha on the *Meghaduta* we arrive at a slightly different conclusion. Vallabha's explanation of the word *mālam* is as follows :

> *Mālam-uḍḍāram kshetram kinchin-*
> *manāg-āruhya* and *mālārōhaṇam*
> *vṛishṭyā vadhū prīty-arthaṁ mālen*
> *hi tad-upari bhavam-ākāśam lakshyate.*[114]

Monier-Williams has not explained the word with this meaning in particular.

Maṭha : While reviewing the Balsane inscriptions edited by M.G. Dishita,[115] B. Ch. Chhabra refers to the relevant line of the text that reads : "*Akārayad-rāja-maṭham-cha bhagnam nirantaram brahma nivāsa heto*".

He objects to the term *rāja-maṭha* or *maṭha* being rendered only as 'monastery'. Chhabra thinks that to call *maṭha* a monastery here is a misconception of the exact purport of the record. Its secondary sense here is that of a "*devālaya* or a temple"[116] Later on he says :

> It remains to be shown that *maṭha* meaning 'temple' is found not only in lexicons, but also actually used in old inscriptions. The Dhauli cave inscription of the time of Śāntikara, for instance, records the erection of a temple where the term employed is *maṭha*.[117] The word *maṭha* occurring in line 8 of Kaman stone inscription, has been taken as referring to a temple of Śiva.[118] The Algaum inscription, dated in the sixty second regnal year of the Ganga monarch Anantavarman Chōḍaganga, obviously refers to a temple of Śiva, under the name Garttēśvara, again using the word *maṭha* for temple.[119] Instances of *mathī* and *maṭhīkā* (diminutive forms of

114. *Meghadūta*, with the commentary of Vallabha, edited by E. Hultzsch, London, 1911.
115. *E.I.*, XXVI, p. 309 ff.
116. *Ibid.*, XXIX, pp. 136-37; n. C.
117. *Ibid.*, XIX, p. 264.
118. *Ibid.*, XXIV, p. 330 ff.
119. *Ibid.*, XXIX, p. 47, 1.14.

maṭha) in the sense of 'shrine' or 'cell' are also found in inscriptions.[120]

Not disagreeing with the explanation of Chhabra who takes *maṭha* in the sense of a *devālaya*, I think it still remains to be shown as to which is the earliest epigraphical reference to the term *maṭha* and in what sense it has been referred. Does it contradict the meaning of the term *maṭha* as a *chhātra-nilaya* (a sort of a convent, referred to by Amara) like the explanation of Chhabra does, or does it support that ?

In all probability, the *maṭha* kind of complex was attached to the temple in the form of a dwelling place—a sort of residential area meant for teachers and their disciples. But gradually the *maṭha* complex developed to the extent that it overshadowed the temple itself or became a synonym of the temple as such. The examples cited by Chhabra come from that period onwards. In fact, these two aspects of a *maṭha*, i.e., *chhātrālaya* or *devālaya*, require further examination before we can say definitely when, how and in what sense the *maṭha* complex was attached to the temple.

Mūlavāsi : A line of the Kessanpalli inscription of Chaṁtamula, edited by S. Sankaranarayanan, reads as under : "*Nigajasa Bahusutīyānam mūlavasi vihāra chetika*".[121]

While commenting upon the term *mūlavāsi* from the above, Sankaranarayanan states that :

> The expression *mūlavāsin*, 'those who are having or undergoing *mūlavāsa*' is interesting. The word *mūla* both in Sanskrit and in Pali may mean 'beginning or commencement'. (Mallinātha of the '*nā mūlaṁ likhyatē kinchit*' fame would object to this). The Buddhist Sanskrit texts prefix this word to the names of certain penances known as *parīvāsa* 'penances to be performed by the probationers'. (note 1. p. 315; so *mūla parīvāsa* may mean probation, i.e., penance during probation, starting over from the beginning as the original offences are repeated by the monks. See also Edgerton—*Bud. Hybrid Sanskrit Dict.* s.v. *parīvāsaḥ*; may be *parityajya vāsaḥ* 'residing after abandoning a time or place'. See

120. *Vide, E.I.,* XXVI, p. 225, 11.26-27,
121. *Ibid.,* XXXVIII, p. 313 ff; 1.2.

the *Vedānta Kalpataru* (II. 1.24) of Amalānanda and *mānāpya*—a penance prescribed after *parivāsa*). So it is probable that *mūlavāsin* of our record denotes the monks performing such penances.[122]

To me, all this seems to be an exercise in vain. In the original text (*mūla-pāṭha*) of the record the phrase is only *mūla-vāsi* and the further addition of *parivāsa* or *upavāsa* to it is nothing but superfluous. The word *mūla*, here, as elsewhere,[123] is used in the sense of 'main, basic, original' and *vāsi* or *vāsinaḥ* are the residents. Thus the phrase *mūla-vāsi vihāra chetika* which is preceded by *nigāja Bahusutiyānam*, in my opinion, refers to the *nigāja* (i.e., Skt. *nikāya*, body) of the Bahusutiyas who were the original (*mūla*) residents (*vāsi*) of the *vihāra* and *chaitya* or the *chaitya vihāra*. In other words, the *chaitya vihāra* originally belonged to the *nikāya* of the Bahusutiyas.

Muraja : In the Gautami plates of Ganga Indravarman, the land granted is referred to as "*dānam murajāḥ chatvāri*".[124] On this K.G. Goswami who edited these grants remarks, "The meaning of the expression '*dānam murajāḥ chatvāri*' is not clear. *Muraja* generally means a kind of musical instrument such as tambourine".[125] The editor of the journal remarks here that "*muraja* may denote a land measure, the area of the donated land being four *murajas*".[126] But, how *muraja*, if it is a Sanskrit word, could be explained in the sense of a land measure is not made clear. From certain records noticed earlier than this and also a few later ones, Sircar has indecisively tried to compare this term with *mura* and *muraka*.[127] But the letter *ja* of *muraja* in the plate is so clear that it cannot be taken as a mistake for *muraka*.

There are two specific meanings of *muraja* given in the dictionaries. One is a 'kind of drum or tambourine' and the other is 'a *śloka* artificially arranged in the form of a drum'. From the

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122. *Vide, E.I.*, XXXVIII, p. 314-15.
123. Cf. "*Prāsādasya vinirmāṇē mūla-bhittir-apēkshatē*" from Manu and "*na mūlaṁ likhyate kinchit*" from Mallinatha.
124. *E.I.*, XXIV, p. 182, 1.29.
125. *Ibid.*, n. 14.
126. *Ibid.*
127. *Glossary*, s.v. *muraja*; see *E.I.*, IX and XXXIII.

illustration of *muraja-bandha*, as it is given by Durga Prasad in his edition of the *Śisupālavadha* (while explaining XIX. 29, page 472 of the N.S. edition), it seems more probable that the term *muraja* does not denote so much a measurement of the land as its shape, which would have looked like that of a big drum.

Pakshapāta : In a couple of pilgrim records noticed by Sircar, from the area of Allahabad in U.P., the term *paksha pāta* has been used in the sense of 'one who works on behalf of someone else'. In other words, it should be taken as denoting 'in favour of'. An example of this type reads as under :

> *Śri Sadārṇṇava Gaṇdhahasti Vasantalīla*
> *Harshavardhana pakshapātaḥ pūrva-*
> *dēśiya Balavarmmaṇaḥ likhitam tāmra-*
> *ghaṭēna.*[128]

Pāṇi-pātrika : In one of the three inscriptions of Ramagupta, edited by G.S. Gai, the preceptor Chandra Kshamāchārya is described with the epithet "*pāṇi-pātrika*".[129] Commenting upon the term *pāṇi-pātrika*, Gai remarks that "the epithet *pāṇi-pātrika* indicates that the Jaina monk was eating with hands".[130] But, in this regard every human being is a *pāṇi-pātrika* and no one is *pāda-pātrika*. In my opinion, the Jaina preceptor Chandra Kshama possibly belonged to the Digambara sect of Jainas who avoid keeping even a begging bowl required for taking food and drinking water. Instead, they use only their hands for all these purposes. Apte (dictionary, p. 1004) after quoting an instance from the *Śataka* of Bhartṛhari (III. 52; cf. *pāṇi-pātram pavitram*) explains the compound *pāṇi-pātra* as drinking by means of the hand.

Pānīya-Chchhāyā-Maṇḍapa : The Kendupatna plates, which have been 'edited by Sircar, state that the grant was made when the king was in the "*pānīya chhāyā-maṇḍapa*".[131] In the opinion of Sircar, this means "possibly a shaded hall cooled by water".[132]

128. *E.I.*, XXXIV, pp. 249 ff.
129. *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, p. 49, 1.2.
130. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
131. *Ibid.*, XXVIII, p. 190, 1,178,
132. *Ibid.*, p. 187,

The compound *pānīya-chchhāyā-maṇḍapa* as such is not noticed in the dictionaries. It may be something like *jala-chādara* of the *Sāvana-Bhādoṅ* type of apartments noticed at a later date in Mughal architecture. For more details, see our paper on *meghaḍambara* in the other part of this work.

Parivara : While examining the "So-called Taksit-i-Bahi inscription of the year 103",[133] Sten Konow tries to show that the word *parivara* is also used in the sense of a chapel, after citing a good number of instances, particularly from Kharoshthi records, where this term occurs. It clearly demonstrates the fact that many words used in inscriptions have undergone changes in their meanings which are seldom noticed in the dictionaries. The discussion by Konow on the term *parivara* being a long one, we would refer our readers to go through it on their own.

Pasādaka : The text of the foot-print slab inscription from Nagarjunakonda, edited by Sircar and A.N. Lahiri, provides two interesting terms for discussion. The term *pasādaka* figures in the first line and the term *paveṇi dhara* in the second. The text of the first line reads as under :

> *Āchariyānam theriyānam vibhajavādānam*
> *Kasmīra Gandhāra Yavana Vanavāsa*
> *Tambapaṅni dīpa pasādakanam.*[134]

"The word *pasādaka*", remark the editors, "which generally means 'causing serenity or happiness' (is used here) figuratively in the sense of converting to the Buddhist faith. The *Mahāvaṁsa* uses the expression '*dīpappasādeko thero*' to indicate 'the monk who converted the island (Ceylon)'."[135]

Paveṇidhara : As stated above, this term occurs in the second line of the record which reads :

> *Mahāvihāra vāsinam navaṅga sathu sasana*
> *atha vyajana vinichhaya visaradanam*
> *ariya vaṁsa paveṇidharanam.*[136]

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133. *E.I.*, XVIII, pp. 267-268.
134. *Ibid.*, XXXIII, p. 250, 1.1.
135. *Vide, Pali English Dict.* by Childers, s.v. **Pasādakō.**
136. *Op. cit.*, p. 250, 1.2.

Sircar and Lahiri, after rendering the phrase "*ariya vaṁsa pavēṇīdhara*" into Sanskrit as "*ārya vaṁśa pravēṇi dhara*", have explained the title as "(the teacher) knew the traditions of Buddhist recluses by heart", or "who knows the traditions of the (four) classes of (Buddhist) recluses by heart". In my opinion, it gives only the general sense of the phrase and not the specific one. In particular, the meaning of the word *pavēṇi* is certainly not made clear here. The word *pravēṇi*, as it is rendered into Sanskrit by the editors, means only the "braid of hair worn by widows and by wives in the absence of their husbands, a piece of coloured woollen cloth (used instead of a saddle)" and also "the housing of an elephant", (*vide* Monier-Williams, p. 694). Needless to say that all these meanings of the Sanskrit word *pravēṇi* fall contrary to the context here.

Later on, after putting more emphasis on the term *dhara* of *pavēṇi dhara*, the editors have equated the term with such expressions as *dhammadhara*, *vinayadhara*, *mātikādhara*, etc., of Pali literature (*vide* Childers *Pali Dictionary*) as well as *Vinayadhara*, and *Mahāvinayadhara* of the Amaravati inscriptions (*vide* Burgess, p. 37, No. 8, and p. 102, No. 25) and *Dīgha-majjhima-nikāyadhara* of one of the Nagarjunakonda inscriptions (*vide* EI, XX, pp. 17 and 29). But, as I see it, neither the Sanskrit rendering of *pavēṇi* into *pravēṇi* nor the combining of *dhara* with *Vinaya*, *Digha* and *Majjhima*, etc., give the desired sense of the phrase in the present context. The titles suffixed with the term *dhara* no doubt refer to such Thēras and Āchāryas who knew the above-mentioned texts by heart, but in the case of *pavēṇidhara* the shade of meaning in accordance with the Pali texts seems to be slightly different.

In the *Pali English Dictionary* of Rhys Davids (p. 67), the word *pavēṇidhara* (besides all its other meanings) is explained (on the authority of *Dh.* A.III, 386) as "*vaṁsanurakkhaka*", i.e., *anurakshaka* or the protector of the *vaṁśa* of the Ārya (Buddha). *Pratīka-Priya-Vachana* : Literally the term means 'saying welcome things in an inverted manner'. It has been used in the Gwalior *praśasti* in connection with the nick-name Kakkuka of a Pratihara king who was otherwise called Kakutstha.[137] The significance of

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137. *E.I.*, XVIII, p. 107, v. 5; for "Kakkuka the Nickname of a Pratihāra King" see S.P. Tewari, in *J.P.N.S.I.*, Vol. VII, pp. 82-86.

the phrase for our purpose is that it demonstrates the fact that though separate words like *pratīka, priya* and *vachana* are found in the dictionaries, there is a need to incorporate some of their compound forms as well since these yield a slightly different shade of meaning.

Pratipadhāryam : This term occurs in the Nesarika grant of Govinda III which was edited by P.L. Gupta.[138]   Commenting upon this term (which he has read a little differently), Gupta says that :

> Verse twenty-two of the grant refers to the insignia of the lord of the Gurjaras as *'phalakam prativadhāryam'*. This faulty passage may be amended as *'phalakaṁ prātihāryam'*, meaning a tablet (*phalaka*) having the figure of a *pratihāra* (door keeper).   The reference is to the Gurjara-Pratiharas of Kanauj.   The seals attached to the charters of these Pratiharas look like a tablet (*phalaka*), being a rectangular piece 6" to 8" broad and 10" to 13" long.[139]   They should bear a human figure facing full front under an arch.   This figure has been taken to be the goddess Bhagavati, since she is mentioned in the grants of the Pratihara King Mahendrapāla.[140] But we know from the Gwalior *praśasti* that the Gurjara Pratiharas were born in the family having the emblem of a *pratihāra* (door-keeper)[141] and a man under an arch is an apt representation of door-keepers.

On the above comments and also on the reading of the text by Gupta, Sircar, who happened to be the editor of the journal then, has added an extra note.[142]   He, after improving upon the reading of the relevant text of the grant, quotes it as follows :

> *Āndhra-Chālukya Mauryēbhyō,*
> *Vārāhaṁ Gurya(ja) rēśvarāt.*
> *Phalakam pra (prā) tipa(d*)hāryam*
> *Vṛishabham Pallavēśvarāt.*

138. *E.I.*, XXXIV, p. 126 ff.
139. *Ibid.*, n. 10, *Vide*, E.I., VI, pp. 4 ff. and vv. 9 and 20.
140. *Ibid.*, n. 11, *Vide, Ind. Ant.*, XV, p. 112.
141. *Ibid.*, n. 12, *Vide* E.I., XVIII, p. 107, 1.3; *Pratihāra-kētana-bhṛit.*
142. *Ibid.*, XXXIV, p. 137 ff.

Then he renders the phrase *pratipadhārya* as "a *phalaka* or board bearing (the figure of) the *pratipad* or kettle-drum and *hārya* or shake, from the Gurjara king". Later on, while summarizing the whole issue of the banners of different dynasties that Rāshṭrakūṭa Govinda has snatched away, Sircar reverts to the issue of *pratipad* once again and remarks :

> verse four of the Sāgartal (Gwalior) inscription of Bhoja represents the Pratihāra family as *Pratihāra-kǐtanabhṛit* (i.e., having the banner bearing the figure of the *pratihāra*, probably meaning Lakshmaṇa the door-keeper of Rāma), and, if it is believed that the same emblem was referred to in our record, we have to correct the passage in question as "*phalakam pratihārāṅkam*". Since, however, such an emendation would look rather arbitrary and a royal family could have more than one emblem for their banner, it is difficult to be sure on this point.[143]

We on our part feel like asking the great master epigraphist what the need was for such a long note on a issue about which he himself was not sure.

However, in my opinion, there is no need to emend the passage in question, either as *phalakam prātihāryam* (suggested by Gupta) or as *phalakam pratihārāṅkam* (suggested by Sircar). The passage *phalakam pratipadhāryam*, as it has been rightly read by Sircar, yields the sense that Gupta has tried to bring home. The etymology of the term *pratipadhārya* (*vide Halāyudha* with the commentary of J.S. Joshi, Lucknow, p. 456) gives the sense of a *pratihāra* or door-keeper. The first meaning of the word *pratipad* according to Apte (dictionary, p. 1075) is "access, entrance or way" and *pratipadhārya* like *pratihāra* should be the one who keeps charge of the gate of entrance and brings messages into the king and commands out to the public.[144]

Purasa : This occurs in the Kasyapa image inscription from Silao edited by B. Ch. Chhabra. The relevant line of the record

143. *E.I.*, XXXIV, p. 137 ff.
144. For further details on the position and the duties of a door-keeper (*pratihāra*) see, S.P. Tewari, *The Royal Attendants in Ancient Indian Literature, Epigraphy and* Art, Delhi, 1987, pp. 21 ff.

reads : *"Prāvrājīd-yaḥ purasa-vapushaṁ kāpilʾyām vihāya"*.[145]

    Chhabra, after stating that the word *purasa* is of lexico-graphical interest, considers it as an equivalent of the equally rare word *puraṭa* which means 'gold'.[146]

Pūrvā-Pūrvaja-Pūjanā : A verse in the Indragadh inscription of Nannappa edited by Krishnadeva, where this phrase figures, reads as :

> *Gauḍa-dēśōdbhavasy-ʾyam Śankarasy-*
> *ātamajʾna tu. Durggādityʾna vihitā*
> *pūrvā-pūrvaja-pūjanā.*[147]

On the term *pūrvā-pūrvaja-pūjanā*, Krishnadeva remarks that "in the epithet *pūrvaja pūjanā* applied to *pūrvā*, the word *pūrvaja* has been used to indicate the god Śiva."[148] But, as far as I can ascertain, the term *pūrvaja* has never been used in the sense of the god Śiva, neither here nor anywhere else. Literally, the term *pūrvaja* denotes one who was born earlier and Śiva was never born since he is *ajanmā*.

    In my belief, this *pūrvā* (euology) is *pūrvaja* (i.e., *pūrvajānām*, or *pūrvāchāryāṇām*, who are all mentioned earlier in the record) *pūjanā*, i.e., worship. In other words, it means that this euology itself is the worship of the ancestors by means of literature.

Pūrvā-prāchiyam : In one of the three inscriptions of Lakshmes-vara edited by L.D. Barnett, the following phrase referring to this term occurs : *"Śiva dharmma harmya-tala pūrva-prāchiyam."*[149]

    Barnett, after translating this phrase as the "right eastern face on the floor of the edifice of the religion of Siva", adds a note which says that "the word *pūrvaprāchi* is not clear to me. It seems to mean the 'east of east face', i.e., a person holding a very prominent and representative position, in the church. Most temples face towards the east".[150] But according to Monier-

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145. *E.I.*, XXV, p. 334.
146. *Ibid.*, p. 320, introduction.
147. *E.I.*, XXXII, p. 117, 11.14-15.
148. *Ibid.*, p. 113, n. 1.
149. *Ibid.*, XVI, 11.37-38.
150. *Ibid.*, p. 51, n. 2.

Williams (p. 704) who takes *prāchīna*, on the authority of lexicons, in the sense of *prāchīra*, it is possible that the term *prāchī* or *prāchiyam* is also used in the sense of a *prāchira* or 'hedge' and thus the term *pūrva prāchi* may mean 'one who was like the foremost (or the earliest) base wall' or 'a hedge (*mūla-bhitti*) to the floor and the whole edifice of the religion of Śiva'.

Rɛsha : One of the *āchārās* in the charter of Vishṇusena states that "*para-vishayāt-kāraṇābhyāgatō vāṇijakaḥ para rɛshɛ na grāhyaḥ*". According to Sircar "The word *rɛsha* means injury, but its significance in the present context is unknown".[151]

Sabhavān : In the Sravaṇabelgola epitaph of Mallishēṇa this rarely used, although grammatically correct, term is noticed in the following passage :

> *Śrī Pushpasɛna munir-ɛva padaṁ*
> *mahimnō dɛvasya yasya samabhūt-*
> *sabhavān-sadharmmā.*[152]

As has been pointed out by Hultzsch (based on information he received from Kielhorn), the word *sabhavān* according to Pāṇini's grammar (V. 3, 14; *itar-ābhyōpi dṛiśyantɛ*) has the same connotation as that of *atra-bhavān* and *tatra-bhavān*. However, the word *sabhavān* does not figure in either of the dictionaries of Monier-Williams and Apte.

Sādhāra : After considering the context in which this word occurs in the Pratabgadh inscription of the time of Mahendrapala II of Kannauj, G.S.H. Ojha remarks that "the meaning of *sādhāra* is not clear—". His assumption is that "it may mean 'with the adjacent grounds' or may be (it is) an abbreviation of *sādhāraṇa* (common)".[153]

Saṃhāṭikā : This term occurs in the Kaśyapa image inscription from Silao edited by B. Ch. Chhabra. Having stated that the term is of lexicographical interest, Chhabra says that it "appears here (in this record) as a synonym of *saṃghāṭi* or *saṃghāṭikā* which is peculiar to Buddhist terminology and denotes 'one of

151. *E.I.*, XXX, p. 172, n. 16.
152. *Ibid.*, III, p. 201.
153. *Ibid.*, XIV, p. 177, 11.26 and 32.

the three robes of a monk (*tri-chīvara*)' ".[154]

Śāsana : In the Dewal Praśasti of Lalla there is a verse which reads[155] :

> *Yaḥ śāsanāny-ati-samṛiddha jan-*
> *ānvitāni. Sīmānta sasya bahulāni*
> *dadau dvijebhyaḥ.*[156]

Herein Bühler, who edited this record, comments upon the term *śāsana* that "the word is used in a peculiar sense that may not be noticed in the lexicons". According to him, "When the author speaks of holy *śāsanas* situated on the banks of pure rivers, he uses the word *śāsana* in the sense of villages granted by *śāsanas* or edicts; for which meaning it might be difficult to find good authority".[157]

Sthānatō=pi na chālitō : The expression *"sthānatō=pi na chālitō esha Bhagavāna rumbar bhavō Ashṭabhuja (?) svāmi"*, figures in the Nagarjunakonda inscription of the time of Abhira Vasusheṇa which was edited by D.C. Sircar.[158] Referring to this term, Sircar observes :

> The statement that the god was not removed from its place (*stāntō=pi na chālitō*) but was installed on the Sētagiri is not quite clear. But it may be a case of the reinstallation of a deity at the same place where it was being worshipped for some time. The specific mention of the fact that it was not removed from its place probably suggests that the image in question was going to be taken to some other place. It may be conjectured that some foreign conquerors were in possession of the area and that one of their leaders wanted to carry the image home but that the idea was later given up. It may however, be admitted that reinstallation of the deity is not clearly suggested by the language of the epigraph. If, moreover, the expression *rumbara-bhava* really means that the image was cut out of the trunk of an *udumbara* tree standing on the hillock, the non-

154. *E.I.*, XXV, p. 328.
155. *Ibid.*, VIII, pp. 26 ff.
156. *Ibid.*, I, p. 79, v. 21.
157. *Ibid.*, see also v. 33 of the same record.
158. *Ibid.*, XXXIV, pp. 202-03, 1.4.

removal of the image may, of course, refer to its installation at the place where it was fashioned.[159]

I am sorry to say that there is a lot of conjecture in the whole observation of Sircar, except in the last sentence where he seems to have admitted the truth. The idea seems to be that the image of Ashtabhujasvāmi was carved directly in the trunk of an *udumbara* tree without any attempt of dislocating it from the place. Such an image (a true stationary one) is described by Bāṇa in his *Harshacharita* as "*pratiyātanā*". In this case, it was the image of Kātyāyani which was carved out of the trunk of a tree :

> *Pathika-jana namaskriyamāṇa pravēsa*
> *pādap-ōtkīrṇa Kātyāyanī pratiyātanam.*[160]

Sankara in his gloss on this passage explains *pratiyātanā* as "*pratimā*", i.e., image.[161] Amara has also included it as one of the synonyms of *pratimā* where Bhaṭṭoji has explained the word *pratiyātanā* as "*pratiyātyatē=nayā*" and quoted the rule "*yata nikār-ōpaskārayōḥ*" which means the application of *yata* (as is the case with *pratiyātanā*) denotes 'beautifying or ornamenting by way of adding grace (*upaskāra*)'. In the present context, this grace has been added to the trunk of the tree by carving an image of Vishṇu/Kātyāyani therein.

The phrase *sthānatō = pi na chālitō* reminds me of a similar expression occurring in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* of Śudraka. There, the mother of Vasantasēnā, who was absurdly fat, is ridiculed by Vidūshaka as "*pravēśya Mahādeva*".[162] The idea is that her image was carved out first, probably from an immovable rock boulder, and then the door, boundary walls, etc., were made.[163]

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159. *E.I.*, XXXIV, p. 200 (introduction).
160. *Harshacharita* (N.S. edition) p. 57; see *Harshacharita Ek Sāmskṛitik Adhyayan* (Hindi) by V.S. Agrawala, p. 37.
161. Cowell and Thomas have translated this passage as "with figures of the goddess carved on the trees at the entrance". *Harshacharita*, London, 1897, p. 45.
162. *Mṛichchhakaṭika*, IV. 29 ff.
163. For more details on this see S.P. Tewari, "Personal and Nicknames in Mṛichchhakatika", *Cultural Heritage of Personal Names and Sanskrit Literature*, Delhi, 1982, pp. 73-74.

Regarding the expression *rumbara bhava* of the record, be-
sides the fact that this would appear to have been a prominent
tree on the top of the hillock, the Vaishṇava faith in the sanctity
of an *udumbara* tree would have also been responsible in singling
out this tree for the purpose of image carving.[164]

Sthavira : This figures on the legend of the seal of the Nagardhan
plates of Svamiraja which were edited by Mirashi. The full
phrase of the legend reads : ''*mahāmātra gaṇasthavira*''.[165]

Mirashi, after considering the *sthavira* of mahouts (*mahā-
mātra*) as the "president of their corporation", remarks that
"*sthavira* seems to be used in the same sense as *jeṭṭhaka* of which
it is a synonym. The latter term occurs in the *Jatakas* as head of
a corporation".[166] But, *gaṇa-sthavira*, in my opinion, could as
well be taken as a *gaṇa vriddha*, i.e., chief or senior of a *gaṇa*, the
corporation. The *vriddha* meaning of *sthavira* is defined by
Vyāsa as follows :

> *Na tēna vṛiddhā bhavati yen-āsya*
> *palitaṁ śiraḥ. Yō vai yuvāpy-adhīyānas-*
> *taṁ dēvāḥ sthaviram viduḥ.*[167]

Śuddhām : Our attention to this term, which occurs in the
Chateśvara temple inscription, is drawn by B. Ch. Chhabra. The
relevant lines of the verse from the inscription read as follows :

> *Kēyaṁ mantra-kalā yad-unmad-karī vyūhaṁ*
> *vihāy-āmunā. Śuddhām-ēka-padē vrishē*
> *kalayatā sāmrājyam-āsāditam.*[168]

Chhabra has translated it as "what a wonderful magic trick
was that, leaving aside the array of rutting elephants (and depend-
ing rather) on the one-legged bull (i.e. *dharma*) adopting *merely*
that (magic) he had secured the empire".[169]

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164. In the *Vishṇusahasranāma* one of the names of Vishṇu is *Udumbara* also.
165. *E.I.*, XXVIII, p. 9.
166. *Ibid*.
167. *MBH*, III, 133, 11.
168. *E.I.*, XXIX, p. 126, 11.6-7.
169. *Ibid*., XXIX, p. 130.

Then follows a note adding, "Mark the use of the word *śuddha* in the sense of *kevala* in the present context. The English word *pure* offers a parallel in as much as this likewise is occasionally used in the sense of sheer and mere".[170]

Śvita : For the sake of the many nuances closely associated with this term, it is necessary for us to quote the full text of the Siroli inscription of Sarvavarman which incorporates it. It reads as under :

[1] *Mahārājādhirāja śripara* [2] *meśvara Sarvavarmma Pādānuddhyāta* [3] *sri Mahālaya Vriddheśvara deva* [4] *kula kārāpaka kshatriya Na* [5] *ravarmm* [ṇā]*-mātā-pitrōr-āimana* [6] *ścha Puṇy-āpyā-yanāya Śvita Pā* [7] *pāni* (*nī*) *ya-saṅgraha kṛita.*[171]

The above text is marked by three notes from G.S. Gai who edited this record. The first note is on the word *śvita* (1.6) suggesting that the word means 'white' and we may take it here in the sense of 'clear'. The second one is on the letter *pā* (1.6) stating that "this letter is superfluous" and the third one is on the word *kṛita* (1.7) suggesting that the full phrase be read as "*saṅgrahaḥ kāritaḥ*".[172]

After carrying out the above emendations in the text Gai gives a summary of the record as follows :

> The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a water reservoir (*pānīyasaṁgraha*) by Naravarmman for the merit of his parents as well as his own. The reservoir must have been somewhere in the vicinity of the inscribed rock and the present spring above might have been connected with it.[173]

From the emendations suggested by Gai in the body of the last sentence of the record (though not justified in all cases), it is certain that the last sentence of the inscription lacks grammatical

170. *E.I.*, XXIX, n. 3.
171. *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, p. 58.
172. *Ibid.*, p. 58, nn 7 and 8.
173. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

accuracy. But our observation of this part of the record makes us think that in this sentence there are few letters which got rather omitted than there being anything unwanted or superfluous.

Although used in the sense of cleaning and thus becoming white, the word *śvita* does not refer to the water of the reservoir (which comes into existence only after the emendations of Gai are taken into account). In my opinion, the word, *śvita* meaning 'to become white, be white or clean' (cf. Apte, p. 1581, also "*Vyatikarita digantāḥ śvēta mānairyaśōbhiḥ*") is qualifying, or used against, the mass of sins (cf. *pā*, of line 6 and *pāni* of line 7 which makes the reading *pāpāni* apparent on one hand and the emendation of Gai irrelevant on the other) which king Nara-varmman had accumulated.

Thus, in contradiction of Gai's emendation, the intended reading of the text here seems to have been "*śvita pāpāni* y[*āni*] *saṅgraha kṛit* [*āni*]". This could be rendered as 'cleared (cleaned) or washed away the sins that have been accumulated'. Therefore, the object of the inscription is not to record the construction of a water reservoir but rather to record the construction of the temple of Mahālaya Vṛiddhēśvara for the merit of his parents as well as for his own merit, and also to record the cleaning of all the sins accumulated by the king.

No wonder if the king Naravarman would have had the record engraved after taking a bath on the same rock that bears this record since even now, as stated by Gai (p. 57), the water of the spring that is right above this rock, flows on to the surface of it.

There is nothing unusual in the fact that the cleansing/removal of the king's sins was put on record. We know from two *praśastis* of Baijnath that a king called Lakshmaṇachandra visited Kēdarēśvara in order to efface sins and take a vow that henceforth he would not misbehave with the womenfolk of his subjects.[174]

Tarkuka : This word, which occurs in the Talgunda inscription of Kakusthavarman, is given in the *Abhidhāna Chintamaṇi* of Hemachandra (V. 388) as a synonym of *yāchaka* and is also explained in a gloss on the *Rajataraṅgini* (III.254) in this very

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174. *E.I.*, IX, pp. 97-112; cf. "*Kēdāra yātrāṁ virachayya yēnạ viśōdhanīṁ prāktana dushkṛitasya*".

sense. However, the word is of rare occurrence in literature and even in the dictionaries; though they include the term, they do not give any definite explanation regarding its etymology.[175]

Taṭakam : While reviewing and re-editing the reading of the text of Junagadh inscription of Rudradaman, Kielhorn makes note of this term and remarks "It may be noticed that Prinsep's wrong reading *taṭakam* (for *taṭāka*) is responsible for the word *taṭaka*, shore, of our dictionaries".[176] And just as Kielhorn says, both Monier-Williams (p. 432, *taṭaka* n. a shore) and Apte (p. 763, *taṭakam*, a shore or bank) have included it in their dictionaries without verifying its accuracy. The word, courtesy of these dictionaries, remains still in circulation. This is one of the glaring examples of how words wrongly read by epigraphists sometimes gain wide acceptance; the reason being that epigraphists have hardly any say in the matter of dictionary compilation and linguists seldom come out of their chambers to bother about what is being cooked rightly or wrongly in the laboratory of the epigraphists.

Taṭāka-mātrika : This freshly coined term is an outcome of the witty and fertile imagination of the poet of the Porumamilla tank inscription of Śaka year 1291.[177] The relevant verse referring to this term reads as under :

> *Ity-uttama phalaṁ śrutvā Bhavadūra*
> *mahīpatiḥ. Taṭāka-mātṛikām-urvīm*
> *dharmātmā kartum-udyataḥ.*[178]

V.S. Sukthankar, having translated the term *taṭāka-mātrika* as "tank nourished", adds a note which says that "with *taṭāka-mātṛika* cf. the terms *dᵉva-mātṛika* and *nadi-mātṛika* in a similar sense".[179]

In my opinion, the term *taṭaka-mātrika* is a new usage not met so far in any of the dictionaries of Sanskrit language and

175. *E.I.*, VIII, p. 34, n. 7.
176. *Ibid.*, p. 42, n. 4.
177. *Ibid.*, XIV, pp. 102; 108.
178. *Ibid.*, p. 102, v. 28.
179. *Ibid.*, n. 1.

literature. In fact, most of the dictionaries do not go beyond, in this case, the list of Amara which reads as follows :

Dēśō nady-ambu vṛishṭy-ambu sampanna
vrīhīpālitaḥ, syān-nadī-mātṛikō dēva-
mātṛikaś-chayathā kramam.[180]

This is an example which demonstrates that Sanskrit remained living language in certain quarters even after hey-day of the so-called classical age. There were poets (and other learned people) in areas like Porumamilla (present day Cuddapah district, A.P.) who, being far from the basins of any rivers, felt the necessity of acknowledging their gratitude towards the innumerable tanks of their region which nourished the land (*taṭāka-mātṛika*).

Tātāmbā : The relevant line from the original text of the record wherein the term *tātāmbā* occurs, which comes from the cave 4 at Ajanta, reads as follows : "*mātā-pitrōs-tātāmbāyāś-ch-āgr-ānvavōya*".[181]

D.C. Sircar, while commenting upon this term states :

> The expression *tātāmbāyāḥ* in the singular may, of course, mean 'the *ambā* (i.e., mother) of (one's) *tāta* (i.e , father)' that is to say "one's father's mother". There are, however, words of common use in Sanskrit to indicate one's father's mother and *tātāmbā* is not such an expression. It is, therefore, not improbable that the expression has been used in the inscription to convey a special meaning such as that of one's father's step-mother or aunt.[182]

In my opinion, Sircar is not right in deriving a special meaning of *tātāmbā* for the following reasons :

(i) It is but natural for the donor to mention the name of his father's mother, having first mentioned his own parents. I do not see any reason for Sircar's objection to this. He has also not cited any instance from the

180. *Amarakosha* (Bombay edition).
181. *E I.*, XXXIII, p. 262, 1.2.
182. *Ibid.*, p. 261 (introduction).

vast field of inscriptions where, after the mention of one's own parents, a reference to the mother (*ambā*) of one's father (*tāta*) should be taken in the sense of father's step-mother or aunt. The whole idea of Sircar is based on the very shaky grounds, of *tātāmbā* not being very common expression or at least one that is not included in the traditional list of the terms which mean a grandmother.

(ii) The fact that here it is the direct lineage of the donor which is intended in the record is also supported by the mention of the term *anvavāya* instead of *anvaya*. Both the terms are explained by the commentators of Amara as follows :

    (a) *Anvaya* : "*anvīyatɛ sambadhyatɛ anɛn-ɛti anvayaḥ*", i.e., *anvaya* is that which establishes relationship; and

    (b) *Anvavāya* : "*anvīyatɛ pūrvaḥ paraś ch-ɛti anvavāyaḥ*", i.e., where *pūrva* and *para* (before and after, past and present lineage) is explained.[183]

(iii) After admitting that the word *tāta* is many times substituted by the term *ārya*, we may easily consider *tātāmbā* as a synonym of *ārya-jananī*. Thus *tātāmbā* is *pitāmahī*.

Thus, by *tātāmbā* what is meant here is the grandmother who comes in the direct (but past) lineage of the father.

Tūbara : The following verse of the Gadag inscription of Vira Vallāla II, refers to this term as such :

Nyakkārɛṇa pituḥ śriyam Kalachuri
kshatrānvyaṁ karshatā. Yɛn-aikɛna
hi tūbarena kariṇā shashṭirjitā
dantinām.[184]

According to Lüders, "For *tūbara* the dictionaries gives the

183. *Vide Amara*, II. 7.1. with the gloss of Lingayasūrin, ed. A.A. Ramanathan, Madras, 1971.

184. *E.I.*, VI, p. 96, 1.29.

meanings, 'a bull without horns; a beardless man, a eunuch' (but)
here it evidently denotes a tuskless elephant as opposed to *dantin*,
the tusked elephant".[185]

This is also an example of a case where even a word noticed
in the dictionaries gives a different meaning in certain inscriptional
contexts.

Udbhāvaka : This forms part of one of the *āchāras* mentioned
in the famous charter of Vishṇusena.[186]   The full phrase therein
reads : "*udbhāvaka vyavahārō na grāhyā*".

While explaining this Sircar says, "The word *vyavahāra* here
may be taken in the sense of a 'law-suit', but the real meaning
of '*udbhāvaka*' is uncertain.   It may, however, refer to a case
carelessly put before the court (cf. *udbhāvana*, i.e., neglect) or to
one based on fabrication or false allegation".[187]

Ullambana : In the same charter, another phrase reads as :
"*ullambānē karṇṇa-trōṭanē cha-vinayō rūpakāḥ sapta-viṁśatiḥ*".[188]
Sircar says that :

> The word *ullambana* is recognised in the lexicons in the
> sense of 'leaping over some one' but the *Arthaśāstra*
> (IV.8) uses it to indicate 'hanging' which seems appli-
> cable to the present case, although the punishment
> appears to be rather mild.   *Karṇṇ-trōṭana* i.e., cutting off
> of a bit from someone's ear seems to be also referred
> to in No. 7 above (in this very charter,   it reads :
> '*svayaṁ hrasitē karṇṇē chhalō na grāhyaḥ*').[189]

The term *ullambana* as per the context here could also be
taken in the sense of leaping over someone and *karṇṇa-trōṭana* as
twisting off (not cutting) of someone's ear which would be an
ordinary offence, and hence the punishment would also be mild.
Trōṭana and *hrasita*, in my opinion, are two different words which
are not analogous in their meanings.   *Trōṭana* seems to be a
Sanskritized form of the *deśi* phrase *kāna tōranā* (Skt. *karṇṇa
trōṭana* or better still *karṇṇa-luṇṭhana*) or *kāna ainṭhanā* in Hindi.

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185. *E.I.*, p. 92, n. 4.
186. *Ibid.*, XXX, p. 170, n. 3,
187. *Ibid.*
188. *Ibid.*, p. 174, n. 37,
189. *Ibid.*

Likewise, *ullambana* could be either analogous with Hindi *ulaṭanā* or *ulaṭa-dēnā* wherein the complainant is pushed on the ground by the accused.

Unmara-bhēda : The second *āchāra* of this very charter of Vishṇusena begins with "*unmara-bhēdō na karaṇīyō rāja-puru shēṇa*".[190] This is referred to in the record after the first *āchāra* of "*aputrakaṁ na grāhyam*," i.e., 'the property belonging to a person who died without leaving a son should not be confiscated'. In this very context, while explaining *unmara*, etc., Sircar says, "The royal officials are asked not to break open or violate the *unmara* the meaning of which is unknown. It may be related to *umbara* (Pali *ummāra*, *ummara*, Gujarati *umbrō*, *umro* threshold). The reference may be to the threshold or door of a house."[191]

Unmara, in my opinion, is the same as Sanskrit *udumbara* a tree the wood of which is used invariably (even today) for making the threshold of a house. It is installed after a short ceremony that symbolizes the sanctity of the settlement of the house. This is why the *dēhali* (or threshold) of a house is always considered a sacred spot.[192] Therefore, to break open or violate the sanctity of the *dēhalī* (made of *udumbara* wood which has become almost a synonym of *dēhali* here) amounts to uprooting the very lineage of that particular family.

Vallabha-durllabha : This curious compound occurs in the following passage from the Srungavarpukota plates of Ananta-varman which were edited by R.C. Majumdar :

Brāhmaṇēna ch-ātmanō=grahāraḥ putra-
pautrikam-upabhujyamānō na kaiśchid-
vallabha-durllabhair-upahantavyaḥ.[193]

Majumdar, after rendering the phrase *vallabha-durllabha* into

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190. *E.I.*, XXX, p. 170, n. 2.
191. *Ibid.*
192. Cf. *Mēgha*, 89, "*Vinyasyanti bhuvi gaṇanayā dēhali-datta pushpaiḥ*" and also *Mṛichchhakaṭika*, I.9, "*yāsām baliḥ sapadi mad-gṛiha-dēhalīnām*" on which Pṛithvidhara remarks that "*yāsām mama gṛiham tasya dēhalyaḥ tāsām udumbara 'umaraṭhā' iṭi khyātānām*".
193. *E.I.*, XXIII, p. 60.

"any officer (however) eminent", remarks :

> The original expression is *vallabha-durllabha*. The first
> word means, 'overseer, superintendent or herdsman' and
> probably stands for royal officials in general. I am
> unable to suggest any definite meaning for *durllabha*.
> One of its meaning given in the lexicons is 'eminent or
> extraordinary' and it may be regarded as an adjective
> of *vallabha (mayūra-vyaṁsakādivat)*. Or, possibly, from
> its association with *vallabha*, it may also have to be
> taken in the sense of an official, though the term in this
> sense is not known from any other source.[194]

In the *Trikāṇḍaśeshakōsha* (III.287) its commentator
Seelaskandha, while explaining the word *durlabha* therein quotes
from the *Viśvakōsha* which says "*durlabhaḥ karchūrē jñēyō
dusprāpē vallabhē=pi cha*". Is it possible that the composer of
the grant has originally intended "*vallabha vallabhaiḥ*", i.e.,
'officials who are favourites of their masters'; but after realizing
that the repetition of the term *vallabha* may not give the desired
sense of a 'master' he has used the synonym of *vallabha* (i.e.,
durllabha) for the second *vallabha* of the compound ?

Vāstavya : Rai Bahadur Hiralal, while dealing with the phrase
"*sa-kāruka paṅka-vaṇig-vāstavya*" occurring in the Chandella
copper plates,[195] remarks, "This expression appears to be new.
Its exact meaning is not understood". Here itself the editor of
the journal remarks, "Does it mean, 'together with potter's mud
and what has been left by merchants' ? *Vāstavya* is applied to
what is left as a worthless remainder on any spot".[196]

Sircar in his Glossary (p. 367) has referred to *vāstavya* first
in the sense of a community of Kāyasthas (*vide* E.I., XVI) and
then (on the basis of a reference in E.I , XXXIV, p. 172, note 3)
"rarely also called *sāmānya*, resident". Here the first meaning of
the community of Kāyasthas is certainly out of context but the
second one may be considered.

Bühler (E.I., I, pp. 97 ff.) has rendered the term *vāstavya* in
the context of "*vāstavya-nārī haṭha-saṅgama*" as the resident or

194. *E.I.*, XXIII, n. 5.
195. *Ibid.*, XX, p. 131, plate B, 1.9,
196. *Ibid.*, p. 131, n. 1.

the subject of the kings. In my opinion, the term *vāstavya* in the present context refers to those carpenters (*kāruka*) and potters (*paṅka-vaṇik*) who were stationary and residing at a particular place, and thus subjects of a particular state, in contrast, to those who were moving from place to place. Apte (p. 1421) has explained the term *vāstavya* in the sense of 'dwelling, inhabiting, resident' (cf. "*purē=sya vāstavya kuṭumbitaṁ yayau*", *Sisu*, I, 66; "*Ih-aiv-āsmi mahārāja vāstavyō nagarē dvijaḥ*", *Kathā*) and *vāstavyam* in the sense of 'a habitable place, house or habitation, residence (*vasati*)'.

Vigīyatē : Commenting upon the phrase "*vigīyatē dēva-vadhū kadambaiḥ*" occurring in the grant of the Gurjara King Jayabhaṭa edited by G.V. Acharya, B. Ch. Chhabra remarks, "The portion *vigīyatē* (etc.,) reads like a line of *upēndra vajrā* metre. The word *vigiyatē*, if it is intended to convey the sense of 'is praised', is not appropriate since it means rather 'is condemned'."[197]

This is an example of how, in certain cases, the composers of grants have used words that have an altogether different connotation in the dictionaries.

Vikara : The Chandravati plates of Chandradeva edited by D.R. Sahni, refer to this term in the phrase "*asyām pattalāyām dēva-dvija vikara-grāmās-tathā deva-grāmāḥ*".[198] Here, the term *vikara* has been left untranslated by Sahni, but F.W. Thomas (the editor of the journal) has added his own remark which says, "The word *vikara* would naturally mean 'tax-free'; but we may expect a more technical meaning. In the case of Kīrttipala's inscription (E.I., VII, pp. 94, 96) Kielhorn took the word as proper name of a village".[199] But, after considering the context of the present record in which the term *vikara* has been used, it becomes clear that the term is used here more in the sense of a 'tax-free' village than in the sense of a proper name of the place.

Vikaṭā (ksharā) : The earliest epigraphical reference to the term *vikaṭa* (in its Pali form *vigaḍa*) comes from the Rummindei pillar inscription of Aśoka. Here it qualifies the term *bhīchā* and is used, therefore, as "*vigaḍa bhīchā*".[200] The next reference comes

197. *E.I.*, XXIII, p. 151, 1.32, n. 8.
198. *Ibid*, XIV, p. 195, 1.27.
199. *Ibid.*, p. 196, n. 1.
200. C.I.I., I, p. 164, 1.3.

from the Aphasad inscription of Adityasena.[201]   Here it is used
in the form of *"praśastir-vikaṭākṣharā"*.   The third reference to
the term we have gathered is from the Harsha stone inscription
where it occurs twice.[202]   Once as *"virachita-vikaṭā-pāṇḍu-putr-* [?]
ābhirāmam" and the other time as *"sughaṭita-vikataṁ kāritam
Harsha harmyam"*.   The fourth reference to the term comes from
the Tasai inscription of (Harsha year) 182 where the relevant
portion reads *"praśastā vatsara śatē dvāśītē vikaṭākṣharā"*.[203]

In the Rummindei pillar inscription of Aśoka, the expression
vigaḍa bhīchā, after splitting it into *vigaḍabhī* and *chā* (on the
suggestion of Charpentier), was translated by Hultzsch as "bear-
ing a horse",[204]   although by adding a note on this Hultzsch has
also incorporated the views of R. Bhandarkar (*vide* J.B.B.R.A.S.,
XX, 366, n. 14) and Fleet (J.R.A.S., 1908, 477, 823) for taking the
word *bhīchā* separately in the sense of *bhittikā* 'a wall'; and that
of Pischel who considers the term *vigaḍa* (*Grammatiek*, 49, 219)
as an Ardha-Māgadhi form of Sanskrit *vikṛita*.   Thus Hultzsch
translates *"silā vigaḍa bhīchā"* in the sense of "a (brick) wall
decorated with stone".[205]

Sircar in his *Select Inscriptions* has also more or less endorsed
this opinion.[206]   However, the Sanskrit form of the Ardha
Māgadhi term *vigaḍa* as *vikṛita* somehow does not bring
conviction and our attention has been drawn to this by R.B.
Pandey who has rightly suggested that the term *vigaḍa bhīchā*
should be taken as an equivalent to Sanskrit *"vikaṭa-bhittikā"*.[207]
But apart from this, the suggestion of Pischel that the term
vigaḍa is used here in the sense of decoration has received almost
general approval amongst scholars.

This very meaning of the term *vigaḍa* (or *vikaṭa*) has been
endorsed by Fleet who rendered the phrase *praśastir vikaṭ-ākṣharā*
of the Aphsad inscription into "euology   written   in *beautiful*

201. C.I.I., III, p. 205, 1.27.
202. E.I., II, pp. 121, v. 12 and p. 123, v. 33.
203. *Ibid.*, XXXVI, p. 52, 11.9-10.
204. C.I.I., I, p. 194, translation.
205. *Ibid.*, n. 1.
206. *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 67, Sanskritized version of the text; see also
     n. 1.
207. *Historical and Literary Inscriptions*, Varanasi, 1962, p. 39, n. 6.

letters",[208] the only difference being that something which is specially made or done (*viśeshhāna kṛitā*) is taken by Pischel as decoration and by Fleet as the act of beautification. Once again, the exposition of Sircar on the term *vikaṭāksharā* of the Tasai inscription is the same as that of Fleet.

But this is not the case with the explanation of Kielhorn who, while considering the word *vikaṭā* in the Harsha stone inscription, has to explain its meaning in relation to two other terms of a technical nature. Fairness demands on our part that we look into the context of the Harsha inscription in detail.

As stated above, there are two such instances where the term *vikaṭā* occurs in the Harsha inscription. Part of the first verse referring to this term reads :

Etat-svarṇ-āṇḍa-kānti pravaratama mahā-
maṇḍap-ābhōgabhadram. Prānta-prāsāda-mālā
virachita vikaṭā pāṇḍu-putr-ābhirāmam.[209]

The line from the other verse referring to this term reads :

Ten-ēdam dharmma-vittaiḥ sughaṭita
vikaṭam kāritam Harsha harmyam.[210]

After translating *vikaṭāpaṇḍu-putrā*, etc., as "pleasing like the sons of Paṇḍu by reason of the courtyards", Kielhorn remarks that though :

The residing of the second line of this verse [12] is quite clear in the impression, owing to the word *vikaṭā* its meaning is not clear to me. *Vikaṭā* is apparently used here as a feminine substantive, and should, judging from the context, denote both a hall or courtyard and a female, related somehow to Paṇḍavas. In the former sense the word is evidently used in verse 33, below, and as regards the other meaning, it may at any rate be noted that *vikaṭā* is the name of one of the hundred sons of Dhṛitarāshtra.[211]

208. C.I.I., III, translation, p. 208.
209. E.I., II, p. 121, v. 12.
210. Ibid., p. 123, v. 33.
211. Ibid., p. 126, n. 64.

The problem faced by Kielhorn here is common with those dealing with the translation or explanation of tricky Sanskrit compositions. Like a Chess-board, one wrong move made here makes the whole thing get puzzled. It's not for nothing that scholars like Bühler have placed the compositions of the period to which our record belongs in the class of artificial poetry.

However, the wrong move Kielhorn made was that he did not reconsider the text of the term *pāṇḍu-putra*. As it is clear after rechecking the fascimile of the record, the reading *pāṇḍu-putra* can as well be taken as "*pāṇḍu-putryā*" and in that case it will be an instrumental case of the term *pāṇḍu-putrī*. Now *pāṇḍu* in Sanskrit means yellow-white clay; something like stucco and *putrī* is the same as *putarī* or *puttalikā* meaning 'a puppet, or doll, or an image'.

Thus, when we look into the meaning of the said verse from this angle, we arrive at a different conclusion. In this way, the line of the verse will read as "*virachita vikaṭā pāṇḍu putryābhirāmam*" which will mean that the sides of the main shrine were made pleasing 'on account of being decorated with mini puppets or idols (*putrī*) made of *pāṇḍu* (or white-yellow) clay'.

In other words, here in this case also the meaning of the term *vikaṭā* is that of decoration or beautification only.

Monier-William considers the word *vikaṭa* itself as a Prākṛit word and opines that probably the Sanskrit form of this word is *vi-kṛita*[212] which is also defined by Amara in his lexicons.[213] Here, it is remarkable to note that in the *Amarakōsha* no such word as *vikaṭa* is included. It is possible that out of two forms of *vigaḍa* (i.e., *vikaṭa* and *vikṛita*) the first one remained as a Prākṛit word even though it was included in Sanskrit compositions and the other one (i.e., *vikṛita*) gained its full refined status. This phenomenon is noticed when we come to look into the meaning of these words which are otherwise considered as synonymous. The term *vikṛita* is defined in the sense of *vībhatsa* meaning 'ugly, having unusual size or something that is deformed, etc.'. The official seal on this (i.e., *vikṛita*) form of the term

212. Monier-Williams, p. 953.
213. *Amara*, I, 7, 19; cf. "*hāsō hāsyam cha vibhatsam vikṛitam*".

vigaḍa and its primary meaning as ugly was put as early as the time of Amarasimha himself. Later on, however, sometime during the compositions of the Apshad and Tasai inscriptions (as far as the literature from epigraphs is concerned), both the words *vikṛita* and *vikaṭa* were used primarily in the sense of *vikṛita* only. But in certain cases, both in Sanskrit literature and in the field of Sanskrit inscriptions, the early (Prākṛit) meaning of the term *vikaṭa* as decoration, beautification, broad, spacious, wide and beautiful, etc., was still retained. Examples of this type are noticed in the epigraphs we have already referred to.

As regards Sanskrit literature, the said Prākṛit meaning of the term *vikaṭa* is noticed in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*,[214] *Siśupālavadha*,[2·5] *Naishadhīyacharita*[16] and a few other works. In the *Viśvakośha*[217] (quoted by the commentator of *Naishadha*), synonyms of the word *vikaṭa*[218] are enumerated as under : "*vikaṭaḥ sundarē prōktō visāla vikarālayōḥ*".[219]

Thus, the explanation of the phrase *vikaṭ-āksharā* will be "*vikaṭāyitāḥ asksharāḥ yāsām*", i.e., the *praśasti* where the letters have got a charming display or they are beautifully engraved.

The word *vikaṭa*, in my opinion, is well preserved in the name of gem-cutters, artists and modellers in general, who are referred to in the *Harshacharita* of Bāṇa as *Vaikaṭikas*. Commenting upon the passage "*tādṛiśāḥ kuvaikaṭikā iva tejasvi-ratna-vināśakāḥ kasya na badhyāḥ*", Sankara explains the term *vaikaṭika* in the sense of "*ratna-bandhakaḥ*".[220] According to Agrawala, they are the same as *Bēgaḍi* or *Baigaḍī*" of the modern Rajasthan and Gujarat.[221]

Vikōśa-nilōtpala : E. Hultzsch, while editing the plates of the time of Śaśānkarāja, first rendered this term into "which rivals an unfolded flower" and then remarked that "this meaning of *vikōśa* is not given in the dictionaries".[222]

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214. *Mṛichchhakaṭika* 2.
215. *Śisu*, X, 42; XIII!, 10.
216. *Naishadha*, XVIII, 19, Cf. "*Kinnarī vikaṭa gīti jhaṅkṛitiḥ*".
217. *Ibid.*, Sanskrit gloss.
218. *Ibid.*, XI, 40.
219. *Vide* Apte, p. 1423.
220. *Harshacharita* (N.S. edition) along with the gloss of Sankara, p. 188.
221. *Harshacharita Ek*, etc., p. 126.
222. *E.I.*, VI, p. 146, n. 1.

Vimukta-randhrā : This term figures in the Devnimori relic casket inscription of Rudrasena which was edited by P.R. Srinivasan and which was also noticed earlier by R.N. Mehta and reviewed later by D.C. Sircar and S. Sankaranarayanan. The relevant passage from the record wherein the term *vimukta-randhra* occurs reads as under : "*Sādhv-Agni-varmma nāmnā Sudarśanēna cha vimukta-randhrēṇa*".[223]

The compound word *vimukta-randhra* as it is used here qualifying the monk is not noticed in the dictionaries. P.R. Srinivasan has rendered it as "one who has renounced the world".[224] But, we know that the word *randhra* has hardly been used in the sense of a 'world'. The primary meanings are 'cavity, hole' and figuratively it is also taken as a 'fault, imperfection or a short-coming'.

D.C. Sircar while reviewing this record has concentrated mainly on the date portion of it;[225] whereas Sankaranarayanan, even though he preferred to read this term as "*vimukra-randhra*",[226] has not bothered to state what meaning he derives out of it. In comparison to all the above references the meaning of the term *vimukta-randhra* as 'flawless' or 'faultless' suggested in the very beginning by Mehta seems to be the satisfactory one.[227]

223. *E.I.*, XXXVII, p. 69, 1.3.
224. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
225. J.O.I (Baroda) XIV, pp. 336 ff.
226. *Ibid.*, XV, p. 73, 1.3.
227. *Ibid.*, XII, pp. 173 ff.

4

Group C

THE DEŚI WORDS USED IN THEIR SANSKRITIZED FORMS

In this group, as stated earlier, we have collated and examined a good number of words which are considered by the epigraphists as ungrammatical, unsophisticated or belonging to what may be loosely termed as the rustic strain. All these refer to the term called *dēśi* by the linguists and also the lexicographers. Such terms occur mainly in the operative part of the records denoting thereby that they were meant to address, besides others, the common folk of the contemporary society.

As we know from our survey of the records included in the *Epigraphia Indica* volumes, the Siyadoni inscription of the time of Pratihara King Mahendrapala seems to contain, possibly the biggest chunk of *dēśi* words in the body of its text. This is also clear from the remark of its editor Kielhorn who says :

> The first part of the inscription contains a considerable number of words which either do not occur in Sanskrit literature at all, or for which the dictionary furnishes no appropriate meaning; and some of which undoubtedly were taken from the vernacular.[1]

We have dealt with the words of the first type earlier to some extent and now we will see which *dēśi* words have percolated into the text of an otherwise Sanskrit inscription.

Apasaraka : It occurs in the Siyadoni record in phrases like

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1. *E.I.*, I, p. 165.

"*apasaraka-sahita*" (11.7, 17, 24) and "*apasaraka-prāṅgaṇa-sahita*" (11.32 and 33).[2]   Herein, unlike the word *apasaraka* the other words like *sahita* and *prāṅgaṇa* are Sanskrit words. Kielhorn has compared the word *apasaraka* with the modern colloquial Hindi word *ōsārā* which means 'a porch, portico, peristyle, vestibule', etc., and which is used in Marathi as *ōsari*.   Since the word *apasaraka* is not noticed in the dictionaries in this sense, are we to presume that the word has been Sanskritized by the composer of the draft from the original, locally known vernacular word *ōsārā*, or is it from *apasaraka* itself that the term *ōsārā* got its modern form ?   This is the point which requires a further probe.

Arhaṭa :   In the Pratabgarh inscription of the time of Mahendra-pala edited by G.S.H. Ojha, this word is used in its instrumental case as "*arahaṭēna*".   Ojha, after considering it as a *dēśi* word springing from the stock of local dialect, explains it as a Persian wheel which is known in Sanskrit as *araghaṭa*.[3]

Āhāḍa : Although the exact meaning of this word which once again occurs in the Siyadoni inscription is not clear, Kielhorn, relying on the context of "*samasta-āhāḍa-sambaddha silākūṭānām*", explains it in the sense of a place where stone cutters work, a quarry (?).[4]

Āgara :   In the Haraha stone inscription of the time of Īśānavarman, edited by Hiranand Sastri, the relevant line of the verse referring to this term reads as under : "*Mitrasy-āmburuh-āgara dyutikṛitā bhūri-pratāpatvishā*".[5]

While considering this term in the above context Sastri remarks that "*āgara* (Sanskrit *ākara*) means a   collection or mine".[6]   Naturally the word *āgara* (though being a *dēśi* one) was more in circulation than the Sanskrit word *ākara* which would have equally fitted in the scheme of metre.

Baddē (*manōhara*) :   This term has been used in the Nilgund inscription of Amoghavarsha I, which was edited by Fleet.   While

2. *E.I.*, I, p. 165.
3. *Ibid.*, XIV, p. 176, 1.26.
4. *Ibid.*, I, p. 165, 1.30.
5. *Ibid.*, XIV, p. 110, 1.11.
6. *Ibid.*, n. 1.

remarking on the term *baddī manōhara*, Fleet says that :

> Kittel's *Dictionary* gives *baddī*, 'a truthful woman' and
> indicates that it is a feminine form of *badda*, 'firm, true'
> which is a *tadbhava* corruption of the Sanskrit *baddha*.
> The whole word *baddī manōhara*, half Kanarese half
> Sanskrit is a *viruddha-samāsa* (more popularly known as
> an *ari samāsa*), 'an incongruous or improper compound,
> a compound of heterogeneous words or words dissimilar
> in kind', which according to the *Śabda-maṇi-darpaṇa*,
> *sūtra*, 174, is allowed only when sanctioned by poets of
> old, as, for instance, especially in *birudas*.[7]

Bharasala : The expression "*pāḍithapīti bharasalam*" occurs in
one of the inscriptions of the time of Chaṁtamūla which has been
edited by Sircar. After suggesting first that "the intended read-
ing (of *bharasala*) seems to be *bhaḷāra sālā*," he states that "the
expression *bharasala* seems to be a mistake for *bhaṁḍāra sālā*
(Skt. *bhaṇḍāra śālā*) meaning a store-room."[8]

Sircar is certainly right in taking the sense of *bharasala*
(Skt. *bhaṇḍāra-śālā*) as a store-room, but what I object to is his
remark that the use of the word *bharasala* is a mistake for
bhaṁḍāra sālā. It is not a mistake, nor was it done inadvertently;
rather, it was the usage which must have been current in the
vernacular of the place in those days. From *bharasala* or *bhara
sālā* evolved a Hindi word *bharasāra* meaning a place where all
kinds of things are stored.

Chaḍaka : In the Sitabaldi inscription of Vikramaditya VI, edited
by Kielhorn, the expression "*aribala chaḍaka*" occurs in the form
of a *biruda*. According to Kielhorn, "This word *chaḍaka* is not
Sanskrit, it probably is connected with the root *chaṭ*, 'to break'
and apparently the whole *biruda* is equivalent to '*aribala-
nishūdana*'. Compare also Marathi *chaḍaka*, 'a slap, a stroke'."[9]

Chukka : The term *chukka* occurs in the following expression of
one of the Salankāyana charters from Kannukalu edited by
B.V. Krishna Rao : "*Alikhita chukka khalitīhi savva jāta
parihārīhi*".[10]

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7. *E I.*, VI, p. 106, n. 6.
8. *Ibid.*, XXXV, pp. 7, 1.8, nn. 3 & 8 (introduction).
9. *Ibid.*, p. 306, 1.5, n. 3.
10. *Ibid.*, XXXI, p. 5, 11.23-24.

Rao has rendered this phrase as "with these immunities and others) that have been either not written down or even otherwise stated to be included".[11]   On this the editor of the Journal (D.C. Sircar) remarks that "the word *chukka* is the same as Hindi *chūka*, error, fault, mistake, failing and *chukka khalita* may be translated as, 'omitted through mistake'."[12]   I think, both the words *chukka* and *chūka* are the contracted form of the Sanskrit word *chyuti* or *chyutaka* with the difference that *chukka* seems to be the precursor of the Hindi word *chūka*.

Chūñā :   The phrase "*chūñā-vīthī*" occurs in the Siyadoni inscription which has been left unexplained by Kielhorn.[13]   In my opinion, this term may have two possible explanations. One is that possibly the word *chūñā* is the same as Hindi *chūñṭā* (*chīṇṭī* feminine) meaning 'ants', and the other is possibly the *vīthī* or the particular lane of the market where most of the distilleries were located because *chūñā* or *chuñvāṇā* in Hindi also means the act of distilling spirituous liquor.   The latter view is also supported by the fact that all these areas were inside *prasanna haṭṭa* (i.e., the market of *prasannā*[14] liquor).

Dati :   Remarking on the occurrence of this term (which figures quite frequently in later records) Kielhorn says that *dati* is a *deśi* word for *datti*,[15] meaning a gift of a grant.

Dhvaṁsa :   This occurs in the Chandrehe inscription of Prabodhaśiva which was edited by R.D. Banerji.   The relevant line of the verse reads as :

*Guru-grāva-grām-ōtkhanana-dalana
dhvaṁsa-vidhinā.   Mahīdhre=dhvānam
yō vyadhita-jaladhau Rāghava iva.*[16]

Banerji translated this as "who, through the expedients of excavating, breaking and *ramming* masses of heavy stones, built a

11. *E.I.*, XXXI, p. 7.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*, I, p. 165 ff.
14. For this meaning of the term *prasanna* see *Arthaśastra*, II.25, 18, 27, 31 and *Divyāvadāna*, p. 216.   see *Chaturbhāṇi*, p. 33, n. 24(2).
15. *E.I.*, I, pp. 135-136.
16. *Ibid.*, XXI, p. 150, v. 13.

wonderful way through mountains . . . as Rama (did) through the sea".[17] On this follows a note from the editor of the journal stating, "The process of road making described here is strikingly similar to that adopted by modern engineers in metalling roads and we may thus conclude that 'macadimizing' was well known in Hindu India. The word *dhvaṁsa* must be taken to mean here 'crushing' or 'ramming' of the road metal and apparently survives in Hindi *dhumasa* and Bengali *duramasa*—a rammer".[18]

Gaḍigra : The term *gaḍigara* occurring in the inscription on the Wardak Vase has been taken by F.E. Pargiter as *gaḍika*, *gaḍḍika* or *gaṭika* which according to him "undoubtedly refers to the vase. *Gaḍika* or better *gaḍḍika*, is probably a dialectical form of Sanskrit *gaḍḍuka* which means 'a kind of jar, especially a golden vase'."[19] In Kannada records from Sogal[20] and Lakshmesvara,[21] the same term occurs as *gaḍḍugēya* and *gaḍḍuga* which has been explained by Barnett in the sense of a water vessel. For the Sanskrit word *gaḍūka* see our discussion on the term *gaḍūka dvya* above. The term *gaḍuka* still survives in the form of *geḍuvā* or *geṅḍuvā* in the folk-songs of eastern Uttar Pradesh where it is generally referred to as "*jhāṅjhara geṅḍuvā Gaṅgājala pāni*".[22]

Ghāṇaka and *Ghrāṇaku* : In the Siyadoni inscription this term has been used in both the forms *ghrāṇaka* (1.28) and *ghāṇaka* (1.31). Kielhorn has compared it with the Marathi word *ghāṇā*, 'an oil mill'.[23] But, in my opinion, the sense of *ghāṇaka*, in the expression "*ghāṇaka-ghāṇaka prati-dinam prati-palam*" of the record may also be taken in the sense of the Hindi word *ghāna* or *ghānī* a particular measurement of seeds poured at a time of the *kōlhū* or the *taila-yantra*, the oil-mill. In fact, the oil-mill came to be so known because it used to consume one *ghāna* of seeds at a time, when pressing oil (see also E.I., II, p. 32). Similar is the case with sugarcane pressing and this is the reason why the name for both the oil-mill and for sugarcane is known in Hindi as *kōlhū* only.

17. *E.I.*, XXI, p. 152 (translation).
18. *Ibid.*, n. 1.
19. *Ibid.*, XI, p. 212.
20. *Ibid.*, XVI, p. 3, v. 6.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 36, n. 1.
22. For this information I am grateful to my women relatives.
23. *E.I.*, I, p. 165.

Hār : Commenting upon the expression *"vyāghrakēṇḍik-ābhidhāna hār mūlāvāpē"*[24] of the Gwalior inscription of the year 933, Hultzsch has considered the word *hār* as a *deśi* one meaning "a village common, the cultivated space immediately round a village".[25]

Kanduka : It occurs three times in the Siyadoni inscription (1.10). Kielhorn (E.I., I, p. 165) has compared it with the Hindi *Kāndū* (Sanskrit *Kāndavika*), "a certain tribe whose occupation it is to fry corn, prepare sweetmeats etc.; a sugar boiler".

Kansāraka : Here itself, Kielhorn has explained *kansāraka* of *"kansāraka-vīthi"* (E.I., I, 1.15) as *kasāra* (or *kasērā*) of Hindi and *kānsāra* or *kāsāra* of Marathi which means 'brazier', Sanskrit *kānsyakāra*.

Kāvaḍi : In the Cintra *praśasti* of the reign of Sārangadeva edited by Bühler the relevant line of the verse wherein this term is used reads as under : *"Sammārjanāya dēvānām kāvaḍi-dvyam-ambhasaḥ"*.[26]

Referring to the term *kāvaḍi* here, Bühler remarks, *"Kāvaḍi* is apparently the Gujarati and Marathi *kāvaḍ* which means the same as Sanskrit *vivadha* 'a bamboo or pole for carrying burdens'."[27] The word *kāvaḍi* is known in Hindi as *kāṅvari* which seems to be the contracted form of the Sanskrit word *kambali*—a short form of *kambali-vāhyaka*.

Kēlāyāḥ : One of the *āchāras* mentioned in the charter of Vishnusena refers to this term as follows : *"Kēlāyāḥ saṅkāchikasya ch-āto=rdh=ādānam"*.[28]

According to Sircar it means that "for loop holding *kēlā* the tax was half of 1¼ silver coins (prescribed in the earlier *āchāra*, No. 67, of the record). The meaning of *kēlā* is uncertain, although *kēlā* in Hindi stands for Sanskrit *kadali*. Can *kēlā* in our record stand for a Prākṛit form midway between *kīlā* and *khēlā* for Sanskrit *krīḍā* in the sense of *krīḍanaka*? It may also mean a vessel for carrying wine, which was smaller than *khalla*".[29]

24. *E.I.*, I, pp. 159-161, 1.7.
25. *Ibid.*, translation, p. 161, n. 17, quoted Bate's *Hindee Dictionary*.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 284-85, v. 47.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 277, n. 16.
28. *Ibid.*, XXX, p. 178, number 68.
29. *Ibid.*

In my opinion, the last suggestion of Sircar regarding *kǝlā* meaning a vessel for carrying wine seems to be more probable. The word *kǝlā* seems to be a *deśi* word of Dravidian origin. In the *Deśinama māla* of Hemachandra the word *kallā* or *kalyā* is explained in the sense of a liquor.[30]

Kiṭikā: In the Pratabgarh inscription of the time of Mahendrapala, the word *kiṭikā* (E.I., XIV, p. 176, 1.26) is Sanskritized from (*dǝśi*) *kiḍi* or *kiḍa*, 'matting screen' which is akin to the Sanskrit word *kaṭa*.

Khalla : It is used in the charter of Vishnusena as a *deśi* word which seems to have been derived from *khāla*. The expression "*khalla-bharaka*" of the charter means 'a leather bag full'.[31]

Khaśrā : In the Siyadoni inscription it occurs in the contexts of "*paripanthanā-khasrā*" (11.6, 10, 15) and *khaśrā bādhā*" (1.39). Kielhorn suggests that it is comparable to the Hindi *Khasar* (better *kasar*) meaning 'damage, loss, injury', etc.[32]

Kōlhuka : The expression "*samasta tailika-śrǝnyā prati kōlhukam*" of the Gwalior inscription of the year 933 refers to the term *kōlhuka* in its *deśi* form. It is the same as *kōlhū* in Hindi, meaning an 'oil-mill'[33] (cf. "*telini tōrā kōlhū chalǝ aḷabangā*"—Kabir).

Kōsavāhǝ : This term "is applied to as much land as can be irrigated by one *kōsa* or leather bucket".[34]

Kurttaka : In the Manchikallu inscription of the Pallava Simhavarman, the concluding part of the sentence in lines 3-4 reads as :

> *Bhagavatō...............Jiva śiva*
> *svāmisa tǝthikāna kurttak-ōpahārakādi*
> *kātam*[35]

Sircar has Sanskritized the same as :

> *Bhagavataḥ Jīva Śiva svāminaḥ*

30. *Dēśīnāmamālā*, II, 2. In the glossary appended to this work, R. Pischel considers the word *kallā* to be derived from Dravidian *kaḷ-lu*.
31. *E.I.*, XXX, p. 178, no. 67.
32. *Ibid.*, I, p. 165.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 159, 1.16.
34. *Ibid.*, XIV, p. 176, 1.31.
35. *Ibid.*, XXXII, p. 88.

> *tairthikɛbhyaḥ kurttak-ōpahārakādi*
> *kṛitam.*

Commenting upon the term *kurttaka* here, Sircar says that "the word is not found in Sanskrit lexicons, but *kuttaka* is recognised in Pali in the sense of a 'woollen carpet'. Our inscription seems to use *kurttaka* in this sense".[36]

Kutkīla : The Sravaṇabelgola epitaph of Mallisheṇa refers to this term in the context of his euology : "*Yad-bōdh-āmbudhim-ɛtya vīra Himavat-kutkila kaṇṭhād-budhān*".[37]

Hultzsch has taken this word in the sense of a slope of a mountain and quoted the *Canarese Dictionary* of Sanderson where it is explained as of Sanskrit origin meaning a 'mountain'. Here itself, he has also cited the reference from the *Trikāṇḍaśɛsha Kōsha* which includes the word *kukīla* instead of *kutkīla* in the sense of a mountain.[38]

The word *kukīla*, as far as I can ascertain, is not included in the dictionary of Monier-Williams and although Apte has included the word in this very sense, he has not given any further explanation or reference to this effect. As is clear from the plate of the original text, the portion bearing this word is partly damaged and the reading *Kutkīla* has been restored by Hultzsch. Therefore, the possibility of the reading being *kukkīla* may also not be denied as the word *kukkīla* happens to be nearer in sense, once we admit that the poet of this composition has doubled the second *ka* of *kukīla* for the sake of metre and made it *kukkīla*.

Nemaka : It occurs in the Siyadoni inscription in the contexts of "*nɛmaka vaṇik*" (11.4, 11, 16) and "*nɛmaka-jāti-vaṇik*" (1.37). *Nemaka*, as has been stated by Kielhorn is a *deśi* word coming from Hindi and Marāṭhi stock.[39] The expression *nɛmaka-vaṇik* (merchant of salt) is noticed in certain Hindi speaking areas as *nonhā sāhu*.

Nīti and *Paṇati* : This term is used in the Sitabaldi inscription of Vikramaditya VI, in the expression which reads : "*bhaṭṭa*

36. *E.I.*, XXXII, p. 88.
37. *Ibid.*, III, p. 189, 1.7, v.'2.
38. *Trikāṇḍaśēshakōsha*, II, 3.1.
39. *E.I.*, 1, p. 165 ff.

Bithapai paṇati bhaṭṭa Bōpa pai nīti".[40]

According to Kielhorn, "*paṇati* and *nīti* in the above (expression) are clearly and closely related to and synonymous with Marathi *paṇatu* 'great-grand-son' and *natu*, 'grand-son'. The Sanskrit words would be '*pranaptā* and *naptā*' ".[41] In Hindi, we have *panāti* and *nāti* which sound even closer to the original of the text.

Pahāṭikā, pāhāṭa, laghu-pāhāṭikā : All these expressions which figure in the Gwalior inscription seem to be Sanskritized forms of the deśi word *pahāḍa* or *pahāra* which comes from Hindi stock.[42]

Shamhalātmaka : In the Mandhata plates of Devapāla edited by Kielhorn, a revenue term figures in the expression "*shamhalāt-maka samanvita*",[43] which is not met elsewhere and the meaning of which is not clear.

In my opinion, there seems to be some orthographical error in the case of this word in the record. The intended term was perhaps to denote all the six privileges (i.e., *chatuḥ kaṅkaṭa viśuddhaḥ sa-vṛiksha-mālākulaḥ, sa-hiraṇya bhāga-bhōgaḥ, sōpari-karaḥ, sarvādāya samētaḥ* and *sanidhi nikshēpaḥ*)[44] with which the land was granted.

Svōlīpāta or *svōlikāpāta* : It figures more than four times in the expression "*avāsanikā svōlīpāta*" (E.I., I, p. 166; 11.12, 16, 21, 23, etc.) three times as "*avāsanikā svōlikāpāta*" (11.8, 13, and 22) and twice as "*ōlīpāta*" (11.35 and 38).[45] The term has been left without any explanation.

Is it possible that the word is *ōlīpāta*; wherein *ōli* is the same as Awadhi *ōrī* (Cf. "*more dōu naina chuvaiṅ jasa ōrī*". *Padmāvat* of Jāyasi) which means the area where the rain water falls from the roof top ?

Tālī : It occurs in the same inscription as above (11.9 and 20), perhaps in the sense of a 'particular measure of spirituous liquor'.

Tikharā : "*Tikharā-vithi*" (1.35) is another term from the Siyadoṇi

40. *E.I.*, III, p. 306, 1.8.
41. *Ibid.*, n. 10.
42. *Ibid.*, I, p. 159 ff, 11.9, 10, 11,
43. *Ibid.*, IX, p. 104, 11.72-73.
44. *Ibid.*
45. *Ibid.*, I, p. 165-66 ff.

inscription which Kielhorn has left unexplained. Is it possible that *tikhāra-vithi* is the same as *tisharā* or *trisirā-vithi* meaning a 'street' which joins three roads or which can be reached from three sides ?

Tikina : This word, figuring in the Nalanda stone inscription of Yaśovarmadeva, has been considered by Hiranand Sastri as of foreign origin.[46] According to Sten Konow, the word "*tikina* is Turki *tigin*, *tĕgin*, *tagin*, meaning 'a prince of the blood'. It is specially used about the son or the brother of the Khan".[47] Possibly the suffix *tagin* of the name of a ruler called Subuk-tagin denotes the same meaning.

Uvaṭaka : In the Siyadoni inscription it occurs as "*uvaṭaka-sahita*" (11.12, 13, 16 and 25, etc.), qualifying houses. Kielhorn compares it with the Marathi word *ōṭā* "the little wall or raised hedge which runs along with brisk of the raised mass on which the house stands" and *ōṭi* "a verandah, porch, vestibule".[48] The first suggestion of Kielhorn seems to be more convincing. Possibly *uvaṭaka* is Hindi *uvaṭa* or *ōṭa* meaning something which obstructs the view of the eye (cf. "*viṭapa ōṭa dĕkhahin Raghurāi*", *Ramacharitamānasa*, IV, 7, 8).

Vāhaka : In the expression "*uttar-ābhimukha-vāhakaḥ*" occurring in the Gwalior inscription, Hultzsch considers it as "connected with Hindi word *bāhā* a water channel".[49] Likewise, in the expression "*vāhīta kshĕtram*" (1.8), "the particle *vāhita* is derived from Hindi *bāhanā*, 'to plough' ".[50]

Vāra : This word which occurs in the Ranganatha inscription of Sundara Pandya may not be defined as a *desi* word, yet the sense of the word in the following context is such that it reflects the influence of the local language of its area :

> *Ichchhām Sundara Pandya unnata matim*
> *vibhrat svayā sanjñayā. Nispādy-*
> *ābhyavahāra vāra yugalan-nishkampa*
> *sampattikam.*[51]

46. *E.I.*, XX, p. 44, n. 1.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
48. *Ibid.*, I, p. 165.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 159, *vide* Grierson's *Bihar Peasant Life*, p. 211.
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 14 ff, p. 17, v. 26.

According to Hultzsch, although the word *vāra* in Sanskrit means only a 'week day', here it has been taken in the sense of a 'week' because it suits the context well here and also because in Tamil and Kannada *vāra* is used in the sense of a week.[52]

Viṭṭōlaka : This term occurs in the Ganesgad plates of Dhruvasena I,[53] in the context : *"dānakara viṭṭōlaka kara viśuddham".*[54]

Commenting upon this, Hultzsch remarks, *"Viṭṭōlaka* is probably the same as Sanskrit *vishṭi,* the Telugu *veṭṭi* and the Kanarese *biṭṭi.* The designation of the lower village servant, *vaṭṭivāḍu* in *Telugu* and *veṭṭiyān* in Tamil is derived from this word".[55]

Vyāja : Although the word *vyāja* in Sanskrit generally means a 'pretext, an excuse', in the Jalor inscription of Chahman Chachigadeva, as it is gleaned from the context, it occurs in its *dēśi* form meaning 'interest on money'.

Commenting upon the expression, *"ētēshām drammāṇām vyājēna"* of this record, G.S. Gai remarks that "the term *vyāja* is used (here) in the sense of interest on money and is the same as Marathi *vyāj* and Hindi *byāja".*[56]

52. *E.I.*, III, p. 17, n. 1.
53. *Ibid* , I, p. 166.
54. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 318-323.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 323, n.1.
56. *Ibid.*, XXXIII, pp. 46 & 49, 1.21.

5

Group D

THE WORDS WHICH HAVE BEEN IMPROPERLY/MISTAKENLY DECIPHERED BY THE EPIGRAPHISTS

Kapōla-Prachchha(ā)na : This expression figures in a verse of the Paschimabhag plates of Śri Chandra, the relevant line from which is as follows : "*Śōka-prachchhana-jarjjaraṁ virachitam Hūṇī kapōl ōdaram*".[1]

Besides the fact that the term *prachchhana* used here is of rare occurrence, the significance of which we shall take up in the sequel, the epigraphical reference to the *kapōla-prachchhana* associated with the Huṇas is useful for the following reasons :

   (i) It provides authentic epigraphical proof of the statement of Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvaṁśa* (IV.68) when he speaks of the custom of *kapōla-pāṭana* (scarification of the cheeks) as the common mode of lamentation among Huṇa widows.
   (ii) The meaning of the word *prachchhana* or *prachchhāna*, as suggested by Sircar, indirectly supports the views of Agrawala, who, while scrutinizing the text of the said verse from Kālidāsa, expressed the opinion that the right reading of the phrase therein should be "*kapōla-pāṭana*" and not "*kapōla-pāṭala*" as is noticed in some of the

1. *E.I.* XXXVII, p. 302, v. 14.

manuscripts of *Raghuvaṁśa*.[2]

Coming to the word *prachchhana* of the above verse, Sircar points out that the word *prachchhana* is used either for *prachchhāna* or *prachchhita* meaning scarification. Both the words *prachchhāna* or *prachchhita* as noticed from the dictionaries are of rare occurrence. Monier-Williams (p. 658) has given only one reference to this effect and Apte is silent even about that one. Likewise, no such compound as *kapōla-pāṭana* or *kapōla-prachchhana* is noticed in either of the dictionaries.

Laṅkārayan : In the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsha I, which were edited by D.R. Bhandarkar, one line reads : "*garjjad-Gurjjara-mauli śaurya-vilayō laṅkārayan kārayan*".[3]

Commenting upon the expression *laṅkārayan* of the above verse, Bhandarkar says, "I take *laṅkārayati* in the sense of *Laṅkārivad-ācharati*, behaves like Rāma, the enemy of Laṅkā".[4] But for taking it as *Laṅkārivad-ācharati*, it would be better if we modified the text, without disturbing the metre, as "*Laṅkārivat-kārayan*".

Mādara : This is a good example of how sometimes even a slight mistake on the part of the scribe of the record puzzles an editor. In the Doddapadu plates of Vajrahasta (III) edited by G.S. Gai,[5] ll.43, 45 and 52 state that "*mādara manavarttikā*" was given to some one. "The meaning of the expression *mādara-manavarttikā*", says Gai, "is not clear. It is not found in Sanskrit lexicons and may be the same as *manu vṛitti*, *manu vartti*, and *manō vartti* given in Brown's *Telugu Eng. Dict.* in the sense of 'maintenance, support or allowance'." Then, at some length he changes his opinion and says, "It is possible that the term *mādara* is a mistake for *sādara*

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2. "*Kapōla-pātana of Raghu*". I.H Q., June 1957, pp. 139 ff. See also *Śatābda Kaumudi* (Nagpur Museum Centenary Vol.), 1964, p. 131. Out of nine manuscripts of *Raghuvaṁśa* compiled and critically edited by R.G. Nandargikar (Delhi, 1971, 4th edition), four (those of Chāritravardhana, Vallabha, Sumativijaya and Dharmameru) have retained the reading *kapōla-pāṭana*, whereas five others read *kapōla-pāṭala*, the explanation of which created inconvenience even to Mallinatha.

3. *E.I.*, XVIII, p. 246, v. 32.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 254, n. 2.

5. *Ibid.*, XXXIV, pp. 42-43.

and the whole expression means that the king gave the village as a _manavarttikā_ with due regards".[6]

Olabaku : This term occurs in one of the inscriptions on memorial pillars from Nagarjunakonda which were edited by Sircar. The Inscription reads as follows :

[1] _Khaṁdhāvārāna Okhaṁdhakasa amita_
[2] _janasa dapa-damanasa Olabaku_
[3] _hathi-gāhakasa mahāsēna_ [4] _patisa_
kuḷahakānāṁ siri Chaṁta [5] _vulasa_
chhāyā thabhō.[7]

Commenting upon this, Sircar says that :

The '_Khaṁdhā-vārāna Okhaṁdhakasa_ and _Olabaku hathi-gāhakasa_' are difficult to explain. In Sanskrit, the first of these two may stand as '_skandhāvārāṇām-avaskandaka_' meaning 'one who attached or subdued the camps (of the enemies forces)'. The expression _hathi gāhaka_ (_hasti-grāhaka_) means one 'who seizes the elephants (of the enemies) or catches elephants (from the forests), while we may also have here _ku-hathi_ (a wicked-elephant) instead of _hathi_. The expression _ōlabaku hathi-gāhaka_ may thus mean 'one who seized the elephants of an enemy named Olabaku' or 'one who used to catch elephants in the forest called Olabaku' or 'one who captured an elephant named olabaku' or 'one who captured a wicked elephant as or belonging to or in the shape of olabu.[8]

To me, the reading of _ōlabaku_ itself does not seem to be satisfactory. In my opinion, the engraver has failed to maintain consistency in writing and also the proper distinction between the letters _kha_ (cf. line 1 _khaṁdhā-vārāna_ and _ōkhaṁdhakasa_) and _ō_ (cf. line 2 in the supposed reading _ōlabaku_ from Sircar). Thus, what is read by Sircar as _ō_ in _ōlabaku_ seem to be _kha_ (though slightly inconsistent) and the reading thus comes out as "_khalabaku_" which would be rendered into Sanskrit as _khala_ (wicked) _vakra_ (i.e., crooked).

6. _E.I._, XXXIV, pp. 42-43.
7. _Ibid._, XXXV, p. 14, 6A.
8. _Ibid._, p. 14.

Pañchārthala : The full expression figuring in the Harsha stone inscription edited by Kielhorn reads as follows : "*Pañchārtha-lākul-āmnāyē Viśvarūpō = bhavad-guruḥ*".[9]

Kielhorn after splitting the compound *pañchārthala-kulāmnāyē* inadvertently as *pañchārthala* and *ākulamnāyē* got stuck with the word *pañchārthala* and remarked that "*pañchārthala* is not clear as the word is of a rare occurrence"[10] whereas the fact is that, as we have shown in our transcription of the extract from the record above, the phrase is *pañchārtha* plus *Lākula* which is further suffixed with *āmnāyē*. It is clear that the phrase here refers to the Lākula sect which was one out of five sects of Śaivas.

Pāṇḍu-putra : For our exposition on the term *pāṇḍu-putra* see the term *vikaṭa* in Group B.

Sāraka : Once again, inadvertently, of course, Kielhorn has taken the last part of the word *amalasāraka,* occurring in the Bilahari stone inscription of the rulers of Chedi,[11] separately, with the result that he could not find any suitable meaning for the word *sāraka*. This mistake has been set right by Mirashi in his volume on the Kalachuri Chedi inscriptions by explaining the term as *amalasāraka*.[12]

Suhōti : R.D. Banerjee after reading this word in a Brahmi inscription of the Scythian period remarks that, "It resembles to some extent the Bengali affix *ta* as in *māmāta*, 'maternal uncle's son', *pisāta*, 'son of a paternal aunt'. The word (i.e., *suhōti*) probably is an *apabhraṁśa* of the Sanskrit *svasrīya* and the whole phrase probably means, 'sister's daughter's daughter'."[13]

In my opinion, words like this which are not met even in the dictionaries are many times the creations of epigraphists, born out of mutilated and disturbed epigraphs. This is one such example of the type.

Takmi : This particular term appearing in one of the inscription of Govinda Chandra, king of Bengal, forms part of the phrase which reads "*śri takmi dinakārina bhaṭṭārakaḥ*".[14]

9. *E.I.*, II, p. 122.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 127, n. 66.
11. *Ibid.*, I, p. 251 ff.
12. C.I.I., IV, Part I, p. 220, n. 1.
13. *E.I.*, X, p. 115, no. VIII, n. 5.
14. *Ibid.*, XXVII, p. 25.

N.K. Bhattasali who edited this inscription, after translating the above phrase "the (image) of the maker of the day, the god of the persons afflicted with the (skin disease) *takma*", remarks that "the word *takma* is a rather curious one. A disease called *takman* is often found referred to in the *Atharvavēda* (I, 4-6, 9, 11 and 19) where hymns against *akman* are given. The sun-god is the reputed healer of leprosy and other skin diseases, including probably the *takman* of the *Atharvavēda*".[15]

But, the above reading of the record has been disputed by D.C. Sircar (*vide Bhāratavarsha*, Chaitra, 1348 B.S., p. 397) who suggests the reading of the same as "*Śri Lakshmidina kārita*".

This is one example which shows how epigraphists search for the meanings of words which do not really exist.

Tamaṇiyakara : This occurs as an adjective qualifying the name of an artisan called Mūlabhūta, in one of the memorial pillar inscription from Nagarjunakonda. The short text of the record reads as under :

[1] *Pavayātakasa* [2] *āvēsanika sa*
[3] *tamaṇiyakarasa* [4] *Mūlabhutasa*
[5] *chhāyā thabha*.[16]

Sircar, who edited this record, remarks in his introduction that :

The word *āvēsanika* meaning 'the foreman of artisans' occurs in early epigraphs such as the Sanchi inscription of the Sātavāhana monarch Sātakarṇi and the Jaggaya-peta inscriptions of the Ikshvāku king Virapurishadatta (*vide* Lüder's List, Nos. 346, 1202-04). Mūlabhūta seems to have been an *āvēsanika* in the service of Ikshvāku kings. It is difficult to explain the epithet '*tamaṇiyakara*' applied to Mūlabhūta in the inscription. It may be the name of the family to which the person belonged. Otherwise, we have to take it as another personal name and insert the word *cha* to indicate that the pillar was raised for both Tamaṇiyaka and Mūlabhūta.[17]

15. *E.I.*, XXVII, p. 25.
16. *Ibid.*, XXXV, 6 C-I, p. 16.
17. *Ibid.*

It is also possible that the term *āvēsanika* is devoid of genitive *sa* (making it a compound with the following word) and the letter *sa* of line 2 is intended for *tamaṇiyakara* (of line 3) making it "*satamaṇiyakara*", i.e., 'the artisan Mūlabhūta who had made hundreds of houses made of *maṇi* or the marble stone'.

Utarāyam-navamikāyam : This term occurs in the inscription of Kanishka year 10, which was edited by Lüders. The relevant line of the record, as deciphered by Lüders, reads as "[*u*]*tarāyam na*[*va*] *mikāyam*".[18]

Coming to explain these terms Lüders says :

> The most difficult words of the inscription are *utarāyam navamikāyam*. I have thought for sometime that they might be part of the date and mean 'on the following (i.e., a intercalated) ninth (lunar day)' but for two reasons this idea must be given up. Firstly, such a statement would be in the wrong place after *ētayē purvayē*, and secondly, as Professor Kielhorn informs me, *uttara* is never used in the sense of *adhika* or *dvitīya*. The words must, therefore, be connected with '*hārmyan= datam*' . . . . However, these explanations are far from satisfactory.[19]

Leaving the matter of interpretation of the two words *utarā* and *navamikā* aside for the moment, as regards the readings whereas that of the word *utarā* is clear, that of *navamikā* is certainly not proven beyond doubt. In this connection, the comments of Lüders himself are noteworthy. He, after suggesting the reading as *na*[*va*]*mikā*, adds in his note that "the two convergent side lines of the *va* are not very distinct, just as in the same letter in line 3, and there appears a vertical in the middle which makes the letter look *almost* like *na*".[20] We, on our part, therefore, feel more inclined to read the above-mentioned letter as *na* rather than *va* and this makes the word formerly designated as *navamikā* into *nanamikā*. Besides, Lüders' reading of the last syllable of the term *navamikāyam* also does not seem to be satisfactory. To me, it looks more like *navamikāyē*, and with the

18. *E.I.*, IX, pp. 239, 241, no. 1.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 241.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 240, n. 6.

change of *na* in place of *va* the word should be taken as "*nanamikāyĕ*". Instead of locative singular, the term would thus be in the dative singular case and the Sanskrit rendering of it would be construed as *nanāmbikāyai*, i.e., '(given or dedicated) to Nanāmbikā'.

Hence, if our suggestion is accepted, Nanāmbikā would yield the sense of mother goddess (*ambikā*) Nanā, in whose honour the temple was dedicated. Although the name of the goddess Nanā is mentioned in Greek script, in the coin legends of Kanishka and Huvishka, this may very well be the only known epigraphical reference to the goddess Nanā from the inscriptions of the Kushanas.[21]

Vainatāpatya : The first line of the invocatory verse from the Salotgi pillar inscription edited by Kielhorn and H. Krishna Sastri has been read as follows :. "*Jayaty-āvishkṛitam Vishṇōr-Vainat-āpatyam-uttamam*".[22]

Here, commenting upon the term Vainata, the editors remark that "the adjective *vainata* of the text is not given in the dictionaries". But from careful re-examination of the fascimile of the record, it seems that the reading of the text is *vinatā* and not *vainata*. This makes the expression "*vinatāpatya*", 'the son of Vinatā', meaning Garuḍa.[23]

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21. For more details on this term see my paper on the "Reference to the Babylonian Goddess Nana in the inscription of Kanishka, year 10" *vide Rūpanjali* (in memory of O.C. Gangoly), Delhi, 1986, pp. 135-137 and plates. I wish to record here that Prof. B.N. Mukherjee, whose work on the *Nanā on Lion* (Calcutta, 1969) is well known has kindly gone through the typed script of my above paper (before its publication) and agreed with my interpretation. My thanks are due to him. Earlier, this paper was rejected by an editor of a commemoration volume to which it was submitted, on the grounds that it was "a reinterpretation of earlier interpretations by other scholars," and not an original work in and of itself. Would the learned editor be kind enough to elaborate more fully as regards the alleged sources of my paper ? Could it be that he may have missed the significance of my emendation to the text, and all its implications, due to an unfamiliarity with the subject ?

22. *E.I.*, IV, p. 60.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 62, n. 3.

The Lexicographical Import of Certain Words Explained in Bigger Details

ASHṬAPUSHPIKĀ

Besides other references to the term *āshṭa-pushpikā* which could be gathered from the vast field of published inscriptions, the one I have collected here comes from the Tipperah grant of Lokanatha which was edited by R.G. Basak.[1] Here it occurs in the phrase : "*Nārāyaṇasya satatam-ashṭa-pushpikā bali-charu-satra-pravṛittaye*".[2]

After leaving the term *ashṭa-pushpikā* untranslated, Basak adds a note stating that, "I cannot explain this term".[3] Herein follows the remark of F.W. Thomas who was then editor of the journal saying that, "*Ashṭa-pushpikā* occurs in the *Harsha Charita*, Ch. I, as denoting an 'eight-fold offering of flowers' (in that passage to the eight forms of Śiva); see the translation, p. 15, n. 3 and the commentator Sankara's note on the text".[4]

Before we look into the details of Sankara's commentary in this regard, it is worth mentioning here that the word is not noticed in the dictionary of Apte. Monier-Williams who has included the term in his dictionary explains it on the authority of *Kādambari* as "a wreath made with eight different kinds of flowers".[5] But what the eight different kinds of flowers were is not specified here.

The Sanskrit gloss of Sankara on the original, "*mūrtir-ashṭāv-*

1. *E.I.*, XV, pp. 307 ff. l. 24.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*, p. 311, n. 3.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *M.W.*, p. 116.

api-dhyāyantī suchiram-ashṭa-pushpikām-adāt"[6] explains the phrase
ashṭa-pushpikā as under :

> "*Ashṭau pushpāny-ĕv-āshṭa-pushpikā.   Tatra prabhṛiti gandha-*
> *pradhānaṁ pārthivam; argha-snān-ādikaṁ rasa-pradhānam-*
> *āpyam; pradīp-ābharaṇa-prabhādi-rūpa pradhānaṁ taijasam;*
> *anulĕpana-prabhṛiti sparśa-pradhānaṁ vāyavīyam; sushir-*
> *ātōdya-gitādikaṁ śabda-pradhānam-ākāśīyam; anu-dhyānaṁ*
> *mānasam; asti sarvatr-aivĕśvara iti niśchayō bauddham; aham-*
> *ev-ĕśvara ity-āhaṁkārikaṁ.   yad-vā; āsana-varga-prabh ṛitishv-*
> *ashṭāshu praty-ĕkam-ashṭa-pushpikā*".[7]

The whole thing has been rendered into English by Kane as
follows :

> "*Ashṭa-pushpikā* with reference to the eight forms of Śiva
> (i.e., the earth, the wind, the water, the sky, the fire, the
> sun, the moon and the sacrificer) means a bunch of eight
> flowers . . . Sankara also explains that *ashṭa-pushpikā*
> refers to the eight acts of worship each of which may be
> metaphorically called *pushpa*.   They are : *Pārthiva-*
> *pushpa*, i.e., smearing the deity with some fragrant sub-
> stance, because *gandha* is the special quality of the earth
> (*Pṛithvī*); *Apya-pushpa*, i.e., bathing with water or milk,
> as *rasa* is the special quality of water (*ap*); *Taijasa-*
> *pushpa*, i.e., waving lights [offering ornaments, etc.];
> *Vāyavīya-pushpa*, i.e., applying cooling unguents, as
> *sparśa* is the special quality of *vāyu* (the wind); *Ākāśīya-*
> *pushpa*, i.e., playing on musical instruments and singing,
> as *śabda* is the special *guṇa* (quality) of *ākāśa* (the sky);
> *Mānasa-pushpa*, i.e., contemplation of the god Śiva;
> *Bauddha-pushpa*, i.e., a firm idea that Śiva is all pervading,
> as the *vishaya* of *buddhi* is *niśchaya*, (i.e., determination);
> *Āhaṁkārika-pushpa*, i.e., the knowledge of the non-
> difference of the soul from the Supreme, expressed by the
> Upanishads in the words, "*ahaṁ-brahmāsmi*".[8]

Apart from the metaphorical side, the actual names of the

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6. *Harsha Charita* (N.S. edition), p. 20.
7. *Ibid.*, commentary part.
8. *Ibid.*, edited by P.V. Kane with exhaustive notes, Delhi, 1973 (reprint),
   Notes on Ch. I, pp. 46-47.

eight different kinds of flowers which formed *ashṭa-pushpikā* are enumerated in the gloss on the *Kādambari* of Bāna. With reference to the text, "*ati-roshaṇatayā kadāchid-durnyast-āshṭa-pushpik-ōpāt-ōtpādita-krōdhēna*"[9] etc., the commentators enumerate the following eight names of the different flowers :

"*Bakaṁ Drōṇaṁ Cha Durdhūraṁ Sumanā Pāṭalā tathā Padmam-Utpala-Gō-sūryam-ashṭau pushpāṇi Śaṅkarē.*"[10]

As is obvious from the literary reference to the term *ashṭa-pushpikā*, the bunch of eight flowers were generally offered only in the worship of Śiva. But, as we have seen in the record under reference, the provision of the offering of *ashṭa-pushpikā* along with *bali, charu* and *satra* in this case was made for the worship of Lord Nārāyaṇa (i.e., Vishṇu). Here, either it denotes the adoption of the *śaiva-paddhati* of worship at a later date in the temple of Nārāyaṇa, particularly in the region of Bengal or the worship by *ashṭa-pushpikā* in this case included the eight kinds of *āsanas* and *mudrās* only, as it has also been stated by Sankara above.

9. *Kādambari*, ed. by Peterson with Sanskrit commentaries.

10. *Ibid.*, Commentary part quoted by Kane—*vide* his notes on the *Harsha Charita* I, p. 46. Bhanuchandra's gloss on the same (*Kādambari* ed. by Panśikar, Bombay, 1921, pp. 400-01) explains *ashṭa-pushpikā* as *sōlikā* (cf. '*yāshṭa-pushpikā sōlikā tasyaḥ*') which is further an obscure term that is not found in the dictionaries.

CHATURDDANTA

The majority of the epigraphical references to the term *chaturddanta* are gathered from the inscriptions of Western Ganga kings. From the commendable volume brought out recently on the *Inscriptions of the Western Gangas*, I was able to gather as many as 36 references to this term.[1] Here, it forms a part of the epithet of king Harivarmma, which gets repeated more or less in the same way in the *ānuvaṁśika-praśastis* of the dynasty right from the fifth century onwards. This epithet of king Harivarmma reads as follows :

"*Anēka-chaturddanta-yuddh-āvāpta chaturudadhi
salil-āsvādita-yaśasaḥ*".[2]

Without the least intention of bringing any discredit to all the learned editors of the above mentioned praśastis I would say that the real purport of the term *chaturddanta* has somehow gone unheeded in their editorial notes and comments.

Besides the above mentioned grants of the Gangas, the term *chaturddanta* also forms part of the epithets of some other kings. A couple of them could be seen as under :

(1) "*Anēka-chaturddanta-samara-saṅghaṭṭa   dvirada-gaṇa-
    vipula vijayasya*" *vide* Chikkula plates of Vikramandra-
    varman II.[3]

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1. Ramesh, K.V., *Inscriptions of the Western Gangas*, Delhi, 1984; pp. 35 (l. 9-10); 40 (ll.8-9); 45 (l.9); 48-49 (ll.8-9); 52-53 (ll.8-9); 57, 62, 67-68; 70; 81; 84-85; 90, 95, 100, 113, 120, 131, 135, 146, 156, 162; 170, 176, 182, 191, 207, 240, 283, 296, 328, 340, 370, 412-13, 434, 490, 495, etc.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 35 (lines 9-10).
3. *E.I.*, IV, p. 196, ll. 12-13, n. 2; edited by Kielhorn.

    (2) *"Anêka-chaturddanta-samara-saṅghaṭṭa   Vijayinaḥ"*   vide
        Tuṇḍigrama grant of Vikramendra III.[4]
    (3) *"Anêka-chāturddanta-samara-saṅghaṭṭa   Vijayī"*   vide
        Hyderabad Museum plates of Pṛithvīśri Mūlarāja.[5]

Kielhorn, while editing the above quoted passage from the Chikkula plates observes that, *"chāturddanta* is an epithet of Indra's elephant Airāvata, the elephant of the east"[6] and renders the meaning of the epithet as "who gained extensive victories when his troups[*sic*] of elephants encountered in battle numerous *four-tusked elephants"*.[7] After this, he adds a note with reference to the compound *chāturddanta* which says that "the compound, so translated here, cannot be properly dissolved".[8]

    While dealing with the same phrase later, Sircar after review- ing the opinion of Kielhorn (quoted above) did not feel inclined to go into the details of the subtle meaning of the compound *chaturddanta* and remarked that, "It is, however, not impossible that the expression *chaturdanta-samara* or *chāturddanta-samara* means merely a war of elephants"[9] Obviously, Sircar did not pay attention to the difficulty in dissolving the compound *chaturddanta* raised by Kielhorn in his remarks.

    Reverting to the explanation of the term *chaturddanta* from Kielhorn, I notice that the same meaning of the term is also given by both the dictionaries of Monier-Williams and Apte. Whereas Apte has defined the term merely as "an epithet of Airāvata, the elephant of Indra"[10] without any authoritative reference to this effect, Monier-Williams has elaborated the meaning of the term to some extent. He explains *chaturddanta* as the one "having 4 tusks; Indra's elephant Airavata" and as the "name of an elephant".[11] Out of these three meanings of the term, the first two are based on the authority of local lexicons (which are not

4. *E.I.*, XXXVI, p. 12, 1. 17, edited by Sircar.
5. *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, p. 194, ll. 12-13; edited by S.S. Ramachandramurthy.
6. *E.I.*, IV, p. 195, n. 2.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 197. Emphasis provided here is from our side.
8. *Ibid*, p. 197, n. 7.
9. *Ibid.*, XXXVI, p. 8, n. 7. See also the *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 69.
10. Apte's dictionary, p. 694.
11. Monier-Williams, p. 384.

specified) and the third one bears a reference to the *Pañchatantra*[12] and the *Kathāsaritsāgara*.[13] Here itself, Monier-Williams has included two more words which are worth examining in this regard. One is *chaturdanshtra*, meaning one 'having 4 tusks' and the other is *chaturdat* (which in its nominative case becomes *chaturdan*) meaning, a 'four-toothed' one.[14]

Coming to the Sanskrit lexicons which are not specified by Monier-Williams, I notice that the word *chaturdanta* as such and more so as a synonym of Indra's elephant Airāvata is not included in the *Amarakosha*. It is in the *Trikāṇḍaśẽsha*[15] that the word *chaturddanta* is included as one of the synonyms of Airāvata and the same is substituted by the word *chaturdarishṭra* in the *Vaijayanti kōsha*.[16]

Here, apart from the reference to the term *chaturddanta* from the *Trikāṇḍaśesha* (which I shall review in the sequel). The formation of the word *chaturdat* is worth consideration. It is a compound word, as attested by Monier-Williams too,[17] made up of the words *chatur*+*danta*, which in accordance with Pāṇini's *sūtras saṅkhyā supūrvasya* (V.IV.140) and *vayasi dantasya datṛi* (V.IV.141) gets changed into the form *chaturdat*.[18]

12. *Pañchatantra*, III, I, 1. (quoted by Monier-Williams). In the Calcutta edition (1930) it is III.2. (p. 334); '*kasminśchit vanē chaturdantō nāma mahāgajō*'.
13. *Kathāsaritsāgara*, LXII, 30; i.e.,
    "*Tatr-āvagraha śushkē = nya nipānē gaja-yūthapaḥ*
    Chaturdant-ābhidhānō = mbhaḥ pātum-āgāt kadāchan"
    i.e., "Now, once on a time, a leader of a herd of elephants, named Chaturdanta, came there to drink water because all the other reservoirs of water were dried up in the drought that prevailed" *vide, The Ocean of Story*, tr. by Tawney, C.H., London, 1926, Vol. V, p. 101.
14. M.W., p. 384.
15. *The Trikāṇḍaśesha* by Purushottamadeva, Bombay 1916; I, 1.60 : "*Hasti-mallaś-chaturdantō bhadra-rēṇur-madāmvaraḥ*".
16. *Vaijayantikosha* of Yadavāchārya, Varanasi, 1971; I. 2.12. "*Airāvaṇaś-chaturdanshṭraḥ*".
17. M.W., p. 384.
18. *Ashṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*, ed. by S.C. Vasu, Delhi, 1962 (reprint), Vol. II, p. 1031. Cf. *vṛitti* which explains the *sūtras* as "*saṅkhyā pūrvasya supūrvasya cha Bahuvrīhēr-yō danta-śabdas-tasya datṛi ity-ayam-ādēśō bhavati samāsāntō vayasi gamyamānē*", i.e., "for *danta* is substituted *dat* in a *Bahuvrīhi*, when

The inference drawn by the formation of the compound *chaturdat* (or *chaturdan*) clearly demonstrates that the word danta of the compound *chaturddanta* is not used here in its popular sense of a 'tooth'. Had that been the case, the compound in accordance with Pāṇini's *sūtra* would have been *chaturdat* and not *chaturddanta* as it appears in the epigraphical and a few literary references we have cited above.

The term *danta* here in all probability is used as a synonym of words like *Viśhāna* and *śṛinga* which are referred to and also used in the sense of a tusk of an elephant, in some of the lexicons and the literary works. In the *Visvakōsha* synonyms of *danta* are referred to as under :

"*Vishāṇaṁ paśu-śṛingā syāt-krīdā dvirada-dantayōḥ*".[19]

Likewise, in the *Śiśupālavadha* of Māgha, *danta-patrikā*, i.e., an ear-ring made of ivory, is said to have been made out of the tusk (*vishāna*) of *Vināyaka* :

Vidagdha-līlōchita danta-patrikā
Vidhitsayā nūnam-anēna māninā
Na jātu Vaināyakam-ēkam-uddhṛitam
Vishāṇam-adyāpi punaḥ prartōhati.[20]

Thus, after admitting that the term *danta* of the compound *chaturddanta* is used in the same sense as a *śṛinga* (i.e., horn) of any other animal, one arrive nearer to the intended sense of the compound. Unfortunately, the term *chaturddanta* with this connotation of the term *danta* is not included in any of the

a numeral or *su* precedes it, and the whole word expresses a stage of life, i.e., an age". Thus, as it is explained in the commentary, compounds like *dvidat*, *tridaṭ* and *chaturdat*, etc., are formed which in their nominative cases become *dvidan*, *tridan* and *chaturdan*. For more details on this issue see *India As Known to Pāṇini*, by V.S. Agrawala, Lucknow, 1953, pp. 224-25.

19. Quoted by Mallinātha on *Śiśu.* I.57.
20. *Śiśu.* I.57, cf. the gloss of Mallinātha which says, "*utddhṛitam-utpātitaṁ Vināyakasya Ganēśasy-ēdaṁ Vaināyakaṁ ēkaṁ vishāṇam dantaḥ*".

dictionaries known to me so far. However, it is once again, the *sūtra* of Pāṇini which guides us in this regard.

In the *Ashṭādhyāyī*, Pāṇini's observation on the growth of the horns of animals which also helps in determining their age is recorded as follows :

"*Śṛṅgam-avasthāyāṁ cha*".[21]

The *vṛitti* on the same explains it as "*śṛṅga śabda uttara-padam-avasthāyāṁ sañjñ-aupamyayōś-cha Bahuvṛīhau ādy·udāttaṁ bhavati*".[22] It means :

"In a *Bahuvṛīhi* denoting age (as well as a Name or a Resemblance), the second member *śṛṅga* gets acute (accent) on the first syllable. Thus, *udgatś-śṛṅga dvyarigulaśśṛṅga aṅgulaśśṛṅga* (etc.). Here the word *śṛṅga* denotes the particular age of the cattle at which the horns come out, or become (longer or thicker); observe *sthūlaśśṛṅga*".[23]

Now in accordance with the above *sūtra* of Pāṇini when we examine the compound *chaturddanta* we noticed that the first syllable of the second member *danta* has been provided with an acute accent here. It goes to the credit of both the composers as well as the engravers of the grants we have referred to above regarding the term *chaturddanta*, for being careful throughout in providing an acute accent on the first syllable of the second member of the compound *chaturddanta*. In contrast, the dictionaries of Monier-Williams and Apte and also in the texts of *Trikāṇḍaśesha*, *Pañchatantra* and *Kathāsaritsāgara* as well as in the *Indian Epigraphical Glossary* of Sircar, this acute accent on the first syllable of *danta* is missing. Let us hope that this omission will be rectified in the future editions of these works on the authority of the correct usage of the term as it appears in the inscriptions.

Before I take up the issue of dissolving this compound in its

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21. *Ashṭadhyāyī*, VI, II, 115.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 1179.
23. *Ibid.*

proper order, it is worth remarking here that the term *chatur-ddanta* in all probability, is a welcome contribution to the field of Sanskrit lexicography from the side of the composers of the Western Ganga grants. And, as has been rightly suggested by the editor of the *Inscriptions of the Western Gangas*[24] also, it is not impossible that some such curious terms and intelligent titles would have been coined for the first time by some of the kings themselves. For, it is not merely a tall claim if some of them have been endowed with such epithets as "*vaktṛi-prayōktṛi-kuśala*"[25] and *śabd-āvatāra-kāraka*", etc., in their grants.[26]

As regards the dissolution of the compound term *chaturddanta* which I have already taken as a *Bahuvrīhi*, it can be done as follows :

"*Chaturdh-ōdāttaṁ dantaṁ yasya asau chaturddanta*",

i.e., an elephant whose tusks are four times more lofty or elongated than is usual with the normal ones; and *anēka-chatur-ddanta* will mean, 'the elephants with elongated tusks'. The phrase *udāttadanta* I have taken here on the analogy of *Rāmāyaṇa* where a similar phrase occurs as follows :

"*Itaś-ch-ōdātta-dantānāṁ kuñjarāṇām tarasvinām*".[27]

Here the phrase *udātta-danta* is explained by Rama in his gloss as "*udātta-dantānāṁ mahā-dantānām*",[28] i.e., elephants with lofty tusks.

It should be noted here that the above explanation of the term *chaturddanta* receives indirect support from the references to this

24. *Inscriptions of the Western Gangas*, introduction p. XXXI; under *ānuvaṁ-śika-praśasti*.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 75; No 20, ll. 8-9, pp. 80-81, No. 21, ll. 6-7, etc.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 87, No. 22, l. 31; p. 96, No. 24, l. 26, etc., used as one of the titles of Durvinīta.
27. *Trikāṇḍaśesha*, I. 1. 60-61.
28. *The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki* with the commentary of Rama, N. S. Press, Bombay, 1930; II. 99.11.

effect noticed in the *Trikāṇḍaśēsha, Pañchatantra* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. In addition, this interpretation is also supported by the title "*vyāl-ānēk-ōpanigraha paṇḍitasya*", etc., which at a later date substitutes for the title '*anēka-chaturddanta-samara saṅghaṭṭavijayī*', etc., of the Ganga kings.

In the *Trikāṇḍaśēsha* as we have seen earlier, the synonyms of the name of Airāvata are enumerated as under :

"*Hasti-mallaś-chaturdantō Bhadra-rēṇur-
Madāmvaraḥ
Svēta-dvipaḥ Sudāmā = tha*".[29]

Besides the fact that these are the names of Airāvata (the elephant of Indra and, therefore, the ideal elephant), one simple inference which could be drawn from the above list is that a *chaturddanta* is a *hasti-malla*, i.e., *malla* or a wrestler or fighter amongst elephants. This suits very well with the phrase of the title *anēka-chaturddanta* which is followed by the clause *samara-saṅghaṭṭa*, etc. Indirectly, it means those elephants which were considered ideal in war.[30]

Likewise, in the *Pañchatantra*[31] and the *Kathāsaritsāgara*[32] the elephant called chaturdanta by name, is described as *mahā-gaja* and *gaja-yūthapa* which are nothing else but synonyms of *udāta-danta* (or *mahādanta*) of the *Rāmāyaṇa* that we have discussed above.

The title which is substituted for the usual title of '*anēka-chaturddanta samara*', etc., and figures at a later date as one of the titles of Krishṇavarmana reads as follows :

"*vyāl-ānēk-ōpanigraha-paṇḍitasya*".[33]

meaning that, 'he was a master in capturing or subduing many

29. *The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki*, Commentary part.
30. For reference to fighter elephants and their jobs during war-time see *Arthaśāstra*, ed. Kangle, R.P., Bombay, 1960, Part I, 10, 4.14 and 10, 5.54, Part II (Bombay, 1972), pp. 444 and 449.
31. See note 12 above.
32. See note 13 above.
33. *Inscriptions of the Western Gangas*, p. 480, No. 155, l. 13.

wicked or vicious elephants'. Here, the term which stands some-
what closer in the sense to the term *chaturddanta* is *vyāla*. As
gleaned from the *Arthaśāstra*, a *vyāla* type of elephant is consider-
ed wicked or vicious not because of any deformity in its physique
but because of its gigantic, sturdy and elongated tusks, which
make him difficult to be easily subdued (*dur-damya*).[34] And, it is
in this sense that a *vyāla* stands a bit closer in meaning to
chaturddanta.

Having discussed the term *chaturddanta* to some extent, this
is time to recall one of the stories from the Jātakas titled
"Chhaddanta Jātaka", the proper meaning of which has baffled a
good number of art historians for a long time. The sole relevance
of the term *chhaddanta* to our theme is that it adds further sup-
port to the meaning of the term *chaturddanta* we have proposed
above. And, in turn, it also helps to remove the confusion that
exists amongst art historians regarding the proper understanding
of the meaning of the title *chhaddanta* of the said Jātaka.

A. Foucher seems to be the first art historian who tried to
collate and examine all aspects (including that of the real meaning
of the title) related to the text and also the art illustrations of
Chhaddanta Jātaka. This has been the main theme of one of his
papers titled "The Six-Tusked Elephant; an attempt at a chrono-
logical classification of the various versions of the Shaḍḍanta
Jātaka".[35]

Foucher, in course of his discussion on the theme of
Chhaddanta Jātaka, has on the whole, reckoned twelve versions,
five artistic and seven literary ones. The list of literary versions
includes :

    (i) Stanzas of the Pali Jātakas.
    (ii) *Lieu tu tsi king* (Tr. by Seng-houei dated 280)
    (iii) Prose commentary of the Jātaka (rendered into Pali in
         the 5th century A.D.)

34. *Arthaśāstra*, Part I; II. 15.42; II. 31.4; II. 32.1, 8 and 10, etc. For more
    details on *Vyāla* or *Vyāla-dvipa*, see *Śiśu*. XII.28; *Kirāta*, XVII.25 and
    Nitiśataka, 6, etc.

35. *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art and Other Essays in Indian and Central
    Asian Archaeology*, (Eng. Tr. by L.A. Thomas and F.W. Thomas), London,
    1917, pp. 185 ff.

(iv) *Kalpadrumāvadāna.*

(v) *Ta che tu luen* (Tr. by Kumarajiva between 402 and 405 A.D.).

(vi) *Tsa pao tsang king* (Tr. by Ki-kia-ye and T'an yao in 472 A D.).

(vii) *Sutrālaṅkāra* (Tr. into Chinese by Kumārajiva around 410 A.D.).[36]

Although Foucher's discussion is more concerned with the nature of the instrument which was employed to cut off the tusks than with the actual number of the tusks themselves, it is clear from a perusal of his article and from our own examination of the sources that all of these texts, except the *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, describe the elephant Chhaddanta as being endowed with only one set of tusks. The prose commentary of the Jātaka even while explaining the term *chhabbisāṇa* as *chhabbaṇṇa*, i.e., six-coloured,[37] admits the fact that the elephant called Chhaddanta was endowed with a single pair of tusks :

"*Chhaddanta vāraṇassa chhabbaṇṇa raṁsi viya
visajjamāne yamaka dante*".[38]

And the words of these comments are also not derived so much from the commentators own opinions as from the Pali text of the story itself.[39] The fact that the elephant was endowed only with a single pair of tusks is made very clear time and again in the Pali text of the story by describing them as *yamaka-dante*,[40] *danta-yugā*[41] and *dante-ime*,[42] etc. Luckily these terms have been

36. *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art and Other Essays in India and Central Asian Archaeology*, (Eng. Tr. by L.A. Thomas and F.W. Thomas), London, 1917, pp. 196.

37. *Jātaka* (ed. V. Fausboll, London, 1891), Vol. V, p. 41, see also tr. by E.B. Cowell and others (Cambridge, 1905), Vol. V, p. 23, n. 1.

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.

39. *ibid.*, pp 37 and 39-40.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 37, 39-40, 44. Cf., "*ahaṁ etaṁ chhaddanta hatthim mārāpetvā yamaka dante āharāpetuṁ samatthā homīti*".

41. *Ibid.*, p. 51; cf. "*Bahu hi me danta yugā uḷārā*".

42. *Ibid.*, p. 52, cf. "*Dante ime chhinda purā marāmi*".

correctly translated by H.T. Francis as "a pair of his tusks".[43]

The term *chhabbisāṇa* referred to above, is nothing else but another synonym of chhaddanta itself. Here, *bisāṇa* (Sanskrit vishāṇa) is used as a synonym of *danta*, a fact which we have already discussed above.

Regarding art illustrations of the theme of chhaddanta Jātaka if we include the one from Sanchi also (which has been excluded by Foucher as it did not provide him with the point he was looking for)[44] the total number becomes six.[45] And, out of these six illustrations of the theme, except in two cases, one from Sanchi and the other from Ajanta, in all the other four cases (of comparatively an earlier date) the elephant is invariably shown with only single pair of tusks and no more.

How the term *chhaddanta* was understood by both the engraver of the label and the master artist who executed the full details of the medallion illustrating the theme of Chhaddanta Jātaka therein, is clearly revealed at Bharhut. Here, the medallion which depicts an elephant with a single pair of tusks is labelled :

"*Vĕdisā Anurādhaya dānaṁ
Chhadaṅtāya Jātakaṁ*".[46]

Thus, in my opinion, both the terms *chaturddanta* and *chhaddanta* instead of 'four or six-tusked elephants' denote the sense of an 'elephant whose tusks are four to six times more elongated and developed than those of the normal ones'. This is well corroborated by the Pali text of the Jātaka story where the shape and size of the elephant Chhaddanta is described as '*sabba sĕtō* (like *śvĕta-dvipa* in Sanskrit) *aṭhṭhāsīti hatthubbedhō vīsamrat anasatāyāmo*[47] (i.e., he was eighty-eight cubits high, one hundred

43. *The Jataka* (tr. by H.T. Francis), Vol. V, pp. 22, *et al.*
44. *Op. cit.*, p. 196, n. 1.
45. *Ibid.*, Where the list of twelve versions, five artistic and seven literary one is given. For Sanchi, see, *The Monuments of Sanchi* by John Marshall and A. Foucher (reprint, Delhi, 1982), Vol. II, p. XV and notes.
46. Cunningham, *Bharhut* Varanasi (reprint) 1962.
47. *Jātaka, op. cit.*, pp. 37, 41, etc.

and twenty cubits long) and had tusks which were fifteen cubits in circumference, thirty cubits long and emitting six-coloured rays :

> "*Dantā pan' assa parikkhepatō paṇṇarasa hatthā*
> *ahesuṁ dighatō tiṁsahatthā chhabbaṇṇāhi*
> *rasmīhi samannāgatā*".[48]

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48. *Jataka, op. cit.*, p. 37.

CHŌKSHA

In spite of a good number of literary references to this effect, the only hitherto known epigraphical reference to the term *chōksha* or *chauksha* is noticed in one of the recently discovered copper plates of Bhuluṇḍa.[1] After the first four lines of this grant which inform us that it was issued from Valkhā by Mahārāja Bhuluṇḍa who was subordinate (*pādānuddhyāta*) to the Imperial Guptas (*parama-bhaṭṭārakas*)[2] the relevant lines (5-8) of the charter read as follows :

" . . . . *yatō = dya prabhṛityā dĕvakīya karshakāḥ = kṛishantō vapantaḥ Pāsupat-āryya Chōkshāḥ dĕva- prasādakāś cha gandha-dhūpa-bali-charu satr- ōpayogādish-upⁱyōjayamānās-sarvair-ĕva . . . . samanumantavyāḥ*[1] . . . . . . *varshĕ 50 Phalgu śu 5*".[3]

Since, as stated earlier, this is the first time that we come across the term *chōksha* in the field of epigraphical literature, it is worthwhile to discuss it along with other corroborative evidences from literature and find out who the *Chōkshas* referred to in the above-mentioned grant of Bhuluṇḍa were.

The word *chōksha* or *chauksha* is derived from the root *chukṣhā* referred to in the *chhatrādi-gaṇa* of *Dhātupāṭha*. Literally

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1. *Bagh hoard of copper plate inscriptions* by S.K. Bajpai, (vide, *J.E.S.I.*, Vol. X, pp. 86-89).
2. *E.I.*, Vol. XV, pp. 286-91.
3. The preliminary report of Bajpai regarding the discovery of the hoard of copper plates including the one under reference, does not furnish any details like the text of the grant or explanatory notes on the terms thereof. The text of the grant cited here has been prepared by us in consultation with Dr. K.V. Rame sh, Director (Epigraphy), Mysore.

it means a "pure or a clean (person)."[4]   It is in this very sense
that the term is used in the *Mahābhārata*[5] and the *Manusmṛiti.*[6]
Further on, again in the same sense, the term in its Pali or Prakṛit
form is referred to as *chōkkha.*[7] In fact, *chōkhā-māla* is even today
referred to in Hindi as something which is considered absolutely
pure, unadulterated and clean.[8]   But in course of time, the basic
meaning of the term *chōksha,* particularly after the arrival of the
Bhāgavatas on the religious scene of Hindu society, got expanded
to the extent that the very idea of purity and cleanliness gradually
came to be associated with the name of a particular sect of Bhāga-
vatas known as Chaukshas.

It is possibly in the *Nāṭyasāstra* of Bharata that the term
chōksha figures for the first time as the name of a sect of
Bhāgavatas.   Bharata, while discussing the issue of different
languages and dialects to be spoken by the variety of characters
in a drama, refers to the following characters along with Chōkshas
whose dialogues were supposed to be in Sanskrit.

Parivrād muni śākyĕshu chōkshĕshu śrōtriyĕshu cha

4. *Sanskrit English Dictionary* of Monier-Williams, pp. 400, 402.
5. *MBH.* 12.70.8 (Chitrashala edition, Pune, 1929-33);
   "*Anīshur-gupta-dāraḥ syāch-
   chōkshaḥ syād-ghṛiṇī nṛipaḥ.*"
6. *Manu.* 3.197 (ed. with the commentary of Medhātithi by G.N. Jha),
   Calcutta, 1932 :
   "*Avakāśĕshu chōkshēshu jala-tīrēshu ch-aiva hi
   Viviktēshu cha tushyanti dattēna pitaraḥ sadā.*"
   Medhātithi explains the term *chōksha* here as
   '*svabhāva-śuchayō manaḥ prasāda-janakāraṇyādayaḥ*',
   i.e. the places or the persons which are naturally clean and, therefore,
   pleasing to the eyes.
7. *Pāli Eng. Dictionary*, p. 105 which refers to *Chōkkha* as one who is clean
   (*Jātaka.* III.21) and *chōkkha-bhāva* (Majjhima, I.30) in the sense of cleanli-
   ness.   Likewise, in the *Pāia sadda Mahaṇṇaō* (p. 416) the term *chōkkha* on
   the authorities of *Ṇāya* (111) *Bhagavati sūtra* (9.17), *Rāyapasēṇiya* and
   other texts is explained as *śuddha, śuchi* and *pavitra,* though while explain-
   ing the entry of *chōkkhā* (f) therein, it also infers that the word Chōkkhā
   meant a particular type of Parivrājikā (a female ascetic).
8. For details see Tewari, S.P. in the *'Cultural Heritage of Personal Names
   and Sanskrit Literature*, p. 48.

     Śishṭā yĕ ch-aiva liṅgasthāḥ sanskritam tĕshuvōjayĕt.''[9]

    Abhinavagupta while commenting on this verse, calls Chōkshas the members of a particular sect of Bhāgavatas who in his times were also known as Ēkāyanās.[10] Manamohan Gosh, who rendered the above verse into English has, somehow totally ignored the significance of this peculiar reference to *chōkshas*, and has not taken cognizance of even the commentary of Abhinava on the same.[11] His rendering of the above verse reads as follows :

> "To itinernt recluses, sages, Buddhists, *pure śrotriyas* and others who have received instruction [in the Vedas] and wear costumes suitable to their position (*liṅgastha*) should be assigned Sanskritic Recitation".[12]

    As it is obvious, he has rendered the sense of *chōksha* into an adjective to *śrōtriya* meaning pure. This is also clear from the foot-note he has added to this term.[13] What is not clear, and even if clear does not seem tenable, is the explanation he has offered for considering the term *chōksha* here as an adjective. He says that "the adjective 'pure' (*chōksha*) used with *śrōtriya* is possibly to separate him from an apostate who might have entered Jaina or any other heterodox fold and was at liberty to use Prakrit".[14] But, as gleaned from the original statement of Bharata himself who had placed all the characters referred to in the locative case; the first-three in a compound form (*parivrāj-muni-śākyĕshu*) and the remaining two (*chōkshĕshu śrōtriyĕshu cha*) separately, and then instructed that in the case of all of them (*tĕshu*) Sanskritic recitations should be assigned, it is obvious that he did not intend chōksha to be meant as an adjective to *śrōtriyas* here. The use of the word *cha* which succeeds both

9. *Nāṭya-śāstra* (ed. Kavi, M.R. G.O.S., Baroda, 1934, Vol. II, with the commentary of Abhinavagupta), XVII. 38.

10. *Ibid.*, commentary part. Cf. "*Chōkshā Bhāgavata viśēshā yĕ Ekāyanā iti prasiddāḥ*".

11. *The Nāṭyāśastra* (Eng. Translation), Vol. I (Ch. I-XXVII) by Ghosh, M., Calcutta, 1950.

12. *Ibid.*, Ch. XVIII, 36, p. 329,

13. *Ibid.*, n. 4.

14. *Ibid.*

chōksha and *śrōtriya* here lays further emphasis on their separate
identity. Thus, what was construed by Abhinava earlier and
explained as a particular sect of Bhāgavatas seems to be more
appropriate.

The next work which uses the word *chōksha* in the sense of a
noun after the *Nāṭya-śāstra* is the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* of Varāhamihira.
Here, the reputed astrologer, while discussing the good and bad
effects of the various omens (*śakunas*) appearing on the different
circles of quarters (*antara-chakram*) and affecting the people
residing there, refers to Chōkshas as the residents of the south-
western spoke.   The relevant verse from the text reads as follows :

> *Śastr-ānala-prakōpāv-āgnēyē vāji-maraṇa śilpi bhayam*
> *Yāmyē dharma-vināśō = parē = agny-avaskanda*
> *chōksha badhāḥ.*[15]

The same thing has been translated into English by
Subrahmanya Sastri as "an omen appearing in the south-eastern
spoke that is 'burning' indicates clash of arms and outbreak of
fire, and causes the destruction of horses and danger from artists;
one in the southern spoke leads to the destruction of meritorious
deeds; (the same) in the south-western spoke to death from fire
(and) sudden attack of ruffians".[16]   Here, since Utpala in his
Sanskrit commentary on the same has explained *chōksha* as
dushṭa (*chōkshō dushṭa iti prasiddhāḥ*)[17] Subrahmanya has also,
without going deeper into the real sense of the term, rendered
them into ruffians.   Besides this, the English version of
Subrahmanya could also not bring out the true overall purport of
the verse.   In fact, what Varāhamihira intended to say is that, if
a burning sign appears on the south-western spoke, it will cause
death from fire (in general) and sudden death to the Chōkshas.
It indirectly hints that the regions falling to the south-west of
Ujjayinī, from where Varāhamihira predicted, was the territory
which was populated by the *Chōkshas*.   In other words, he meant

15. *Bṛihat-samhitā*, Vol. II, 86.431 ed. by Dwivedi, S. London, 1897.
16. *Bṛihat-samhitā* (English translation) by V. Subrahmanya Sastri, Bangalore,
    1947, Vol. II, Adh. LXXXVII-sl. 43, p. 679.
17. *India as Seen in the Brihat-saṁhitā of Varāhamihira*, Shastri, A.M., Delhi,
    1969, pp. 555-56.

the present region of the Gujarat State as the area where Chōkshas were residing.

Coming to the actual purport of the term *chōksha* what Ajai Mitra Shastri has concluded seems to be right. According to him "the word *chōksha* occurring in LXXXVI-43 (of the *Bṛihat saṁhitā*) refers to a sect of Vaishṇava ascetics. Utpala's explanation of *chōksha* meaning a wicked person, may indicate either his ignorance about this sect of Vaishṇava mendicants or that they had earned a bad reputation because of their notoriety."[18] In light of the further references to Chōkshas from texts of a later date, their notoriety seems to be the more likely reason for Utpala's comments, rather than any lack of knowledge.

As Shastri has already noticed[19] and as has been noticed earlier also by others,[20] a good number of categorical references to Chōkshas figure in the *Padma-prābhṛitaka* of Śūdraka and the *Pāda-taḍitaka* of Shyāmilaka.

In the *Padma-prābhṛitaka*, Śūdraka refers to one of his characters called Pavitraka as *chauksha* or to be exact as *chauksha-vādita*.[21] Although in the satirical style of the *Bhāṇa* the deeds of this Pavitraka, the representative of the Chaukshas, are badly condemned, the details put forward by Śūdraka even then help us in visualizing some of the salient features of the behaviour of the Chaukshas. The *viṭa* in the play introduces this Pavitraka as follows :

"$\overline{E}shu$ hi Pavitrakō nāma prachchhanna puṁśchalī
kō = chaukshaḥ chauksha-vāditaḥ rāja-mārgē =
vidita jana-saṁsparśaṁ pariharann-iva samgṛihīt-
ārdra-vasanaḥ samkuchita sarv-āṅgō nāsikā-dvayam-
aṅgulī-dvayēna pidhāya chatvara-Śiva-pīṭhikām-
āśritya sthitaḥ"[22]

18. *India as Seen in the Bṛihat-saṁhitā of Varāhamihira*, Shastri, A.M., Delhi, 1969, pp. 555-56.
19. *Ibid.*, see also *India as Seen in the Kuṭṭanimata of Dāmōdaragupta*, Delhi, 1975, p. 72, n. 4.
20. *Chaturbhāṇī*, ed. and translated in Hindi by Motichandra and V.S. Agrawala, Bombay, 1959, pp. 21-22, 163-65. See also Tewari, S.P., *op. cit.*, pp. 48-49.
21. *Ibid.*, *Padma*, pp. 21-23.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

From the above, barring the fact that the character of this Pavitraka was not up to mark as he indulged in amorous dalliances with harlots and had many secret affairs with others and that he was a Chauksha only in namesake, the other noteworthy features which are gleaned, can be summarised as under :

(A) The Chaukshas strenuously avoided even the slightest touch from others in their everyday life. This they carefully observed even while walking on the main roads of the town.

(B) They invariably carried with them a cloth made wet after their bath (*saṁgṛhīt-ārdra-vasanaḥ*).

(C) In order to avoid not only the touch but even the smell of another person, they constantly kept their nostrils closed with their two fingers and walked after humbling themselves down from all sides.

(D) The only thing positive in their case was that though Vaishnavites themselves they did not avoid going near or worshipping Śiva and other non-Vaishnavite deities also.[23]

Besides this, the careful coinage of the name Pavitraka by the author of the drama is also indicative of the characteristics of a man endowed with such a name. On the one hand it constantly reminds us of the root *chukshā* meaning pious (or *pavitra*) from which the term *chauksha* or *chōksha* is derived, and on the other hand it illustrates fully well that who can be more rigid in the matters of touchability than Pavitraka himself ?

The *Pāda-tāḍitakam* of Shyamilaka also lays stress on the above-said points regarding Chaukshas and informs us further that Chaukshas carried a staff (*vẹtra-daṇḍa*) and a bowl (*kuṇḍikā*) in their hands and they used to present lemons (*bīja pūraka*) to their teachers and the deity.[24]

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23. On the basis of the reference to *chatvara Śiva-pīṭhikā* of this text and some similar references from the *Kuṭṭanīmata* (verses 748-50), Ajay Mitra Shastri has surmised that the *chaukshas* had a liberal religious attitude and worshipped non-Vaishnavite deities also (*op. cit.*, pp. 555-56).

24. *Chaturbhaṇī*, pl. 163 : "*Eshạ hi vẹtrạ-daṇ la kuṛḍikā bhāṇḍa śūchitō vṛishala chaukshāmātvō*", etc.

Apart from the above facts reconstructed so far, there are two more important points of information regarding *chaukshas* which we gather from both texts. One is that the activities of the *chaukshas* by the time of the composition of these texts did not remain confined to the vicinity of temples only but that they were also entrusted with jobs like that of a *dharmāsanika*[25] and the *amātya* (minister) for *prāḍvivāka*[26] (justice), etc. Indirectly it also confirms the support and patronage which both Vaishṇavites and Vaishṇavism received during the time of the Guptas, the period to which the composition of these plays is generally assigned.

The other point which we gather is that possibly on account of their being too rigid in the matter of purity and personal cleanliness and also partly because of their close association with the important portfolios of state administration, the *chaukshas* themselves and their mode of living was not liked by the common people. Needless to say, their low-moral sense and the degraded character was viewed on the top of all this, and this is what that is amply demonstrated by the derogatory remarks gathered from both the texts. For instance, Pavitraka of the *Padma Prābhṛitaka* for his secret affairs with the harlots and his hypocracy in the matter of touchability, etc., is viewed as *prachchhanna puṁśchalīka, achaukshaḥ chauksha-vāditaḥ, hāsyaḥ kahalvēsha, avijñātā-jana-saṁsparśa, ākṛiti-mātra-bhadrakaḥ, mithy-āchāra-vinītaḥ* and *chauksha-piśācha*, etc.[27] Likewise, in the *Pādataḍitaka, amātya* Vishṇudāsa is introduced as *Vṛishala-chauksha*, meaning the illegitimate son of a *chauksha* and further rebuked as an *upēkshā-vihāriṇa*[28] meaning a worthless rogue. Not only this, the very garment (*kañchuka*) they were wearing is condemned as the one meant for the propagation (*prachāra*) of hypocrisy and

25. *Chaturbhāṇi*, p. 21. Cf. "*Esha hi Dharmāsanika putraḥ Pavitrakō nāma......
     ......chauksha-vāditaḥ*".
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 163-64, Cf. "*Esha hi............chauksha-āmātyō Vishṇudāsaḥ.........
    mahaty-api prāḍ-vivāka karmaṇi niyuktēna*". The name Vishṇudāsa of a *Chauksh-āmātya* is also noteworthy in this regard as it indirectly confirms that the *chaukshas* were Vaishṇavites.
27. *Ibid., Padma*, pp. 21-23. For detailed discussions on these adjectives bordering almost on nick-names, see Tewari, S.P., *op. cit.*, pp. 46-48.
28. *Ibid., Pāda.*, p. 163,

wickedness.[29]

These remarks about the *Chaukshas* in whose sect the degradation has badly set in and who were keeping a very low moral in the eyes of the contemporary society, make us fully understand what Bhaṭṭotpala meant when he commented upon them as '*chōksha dushṭa iti prasiddhāḥ*'. In the light of the above facts, it is difficult to presume that he was not aware of this sect of Vaishṇavas. He rather knew of them too well and would have even observed them from close quarters since, as we shall see, in all probability the sect of Chaukshas must have been very much in existence during his time as it seems to be alive even till today.

Having considered so far the literary references to Chaukshas and their status in society to some extent, a remarkable suggestion put forth by Agrawala regarding the present-day identity of Chaukshas deserves consideration. Agrawala while commenting on the above-mentioned references to Chaukshas suggests that the people of the Swāmi Nārāyaṇa sect of Gujarat who are known as Chaukhaliā and are equally conservative in the matters of touchability, etc., may be identified with the Chaukshas of the past.[30] This he seems to have done mainly on the basis of linguistic possibilities under which the Sanskrit word *chauksha* may easily get corrupted in the form of *chaukhaliyā* (i.e., *Chaukshalyā > chaukhiyā, chaukhya > chaukshya* and thus *chauksha*).

If we compare the facts regarding Chōkshas or Chaukshas gleaned from literary works with the information about them contained in the charter of Bhuluṇḍa, we find the two sets of facts to be compatible.

The first important point of this record of Bhuluṇḍa is that it refers to Chōkshas in a dignified way with the honorific *Ārya* (line 6). The second point is that this reference to Chōkshas is made in connection with their attendance in the service of Svāmi

29. *Chaturbhāṇi, Padma*, p. 23 ;   "*śaṭha-prachāra kañchuka*",
30. *Ibid.*, p. 21, n. 18(9).

Nārāyaṇa dēva (line 3).[31] The liberal outlook of the Chōkshas
in the matter of religious tolerance is supported by the fact that
they are mentioned in the company of Pāśupatas along with other
dēva-prasādakas (lines 5-6).

The fact that there was a temple (?) of Svāmi Nārāyaṇa dēva
in the village Pipplōjjhara lying on the other side of the river
Narmadā and situated within the jurisdiction of Valkha (the
capital of a province) which is generally identified with the
modern township of Bagh, also coincides with the statement of
Bṛihat-saṁhitā which refers to Chōkshas living somewhere to the
south-west of Ujjain.

Before closing our inquiry on the identity of Chōksha or
Chaukshas we may sum up the whole issue as follows :

    (i) Although the word *chōksha* in the beginning had only
       the meaning of something which was considered pure,
       clean and untouched, at a later stage particularly after
       the arrival of the Bhāgavatas on the religious scene of
       Hindu society, its meaning got expanded and gradually
       the term got associated with the particular sect of Bhāga-
       vatas who came to be known as Chaukshas.

   (ii) Whereas it is difficult to state how early they came to be
       associated with this identity, it is possible to say that in
       the society known to Bharata of the *Nāṭya-śāstra* the
       people of this sect were already addressed by this name.

  (iii) The Chaukshas probably had their heyday in the period
       between the composition of Varāhamihira's *Bṛihat-*
       saṁhitā and of *Padma-prābhṛitaka* and *Pādatāḍitaka*.

  (iv) Whether Chaukshas were associated with the cult of
       Svāmi Nārāyaṇa dēva from the very beginning or not is
       a matter of speculation, but as gleaned from the grant
       of Bhuluṇḍa, from the last quarter of the fourth century
       their association with that cult, which was popular in
       the area around Bagh (in Madhya Pradesh) including

31. In another charter of Bhuluṇḍa forming part of the same hoard as the one
    under reference, he is called '*Svāmi Nārāyaṇadāsa Mahārāja Bhuluṇḍa*'
    (line 9 of the grant of year 47 *Pausha, pa.* 8) which makes us to surmise
    that possibly Svāmi Nārāyaṇadēva was also the family deity of the king.

some of the regions from Gujarat is well established.

(v) In the light of the facts gathered from the two *Bhāṇas* which reveal the rigidity of Chaukshas regarding untouchability, etc., and further facts regarding their association with the cult of Svāmi Nārayāṇa dēva gathered from the grant of Bhuluṇḍa, it is possible to agree with the supposition of Agrawala and identify the Chaukshas with the modern Chaukhaliyās of the Svāmi Nārāyaṇa sect of Gujarat.

DVIRADA-DĀNAVA

The particular reference to the use of the term '*dvirada-dānava*' and its interpretation we have selected for review is from the 'Deval Prasasti of Lalla, the Chhinda', which was first edited by Bühler in the pages of the *Epigraphia Indica*.[1] The relevant verse of the inscription referred to where the term '*dvirada-dānava*' occurs as a compound, reads as follows :

"*Śūl-kshata-dvirada-dānava-kumbha-mukta-*
muktā-kalāpa-kalitāmala-kaṇṭha-kāntiḥ
viśvaṁ punātu-girijā-vadan = āvadhūta
Chandr = ōpanīta parivāsham = iv = ōdvahantī"[2]

It is translated by Bühler as :

"May the daughter of the mountain purify the universe; she the spotless splendour of whose throat has been gained through a multitude of pearls fallen from the frontal globes of the *dānava* (who assumed the shape of) an elephant (and was) wounded by (her) trident; she who wears as it were the halo surrounding the moon which is surpassed by her face".[3]

This translation bears a foot-note saying :

"the demon who assumed the shape of an elephant is *no doubt* Mahishāsura. According to the *Markaṇḍīya Purāṇa*, LXXIII. 30, the Asura turned himself also into a *Mahāgaja*. When speaking of the halo which surrounds the face of Pārvatī, the poet may have thought of representations, such as are found in Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*, plate VII, where her head is surrounded by a

1. *E.I.*, Vol. I, No. XII, pp. 75-85.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 77, l. 2, v. 2.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

glory. *Chandrōpanīta* which I have taken as equivalent to *chandrāya-upanīta*, may also stand for *chandrēṇa-upanīta*. In the latter case it would indicate that the moon found on Śiva's crest transferred his halo to the goddess who is closely united with her husband in the form of Ardhanāri."[4]

Regarding the statement that the demon who took the shape of an elephant was Mahishāsura we may agree but only with a certain amount of doubt, and not 'without any doubt' as Bühler says. From the text of the *Dēvīmāhātmya*[5] we know that during the course of the battle Mahishāsura also assumed the form of an elephant (*mahāgajaḥ*)[6] in succession with many more forms like that of a lion, etc.[7] What is even more noteworthy here is the point that the trunk of that elephant-shaped demon (Mahisha) was cut off by the sword of the goddess[8]—and not the trident (*śula*) or any other weapon.

If this *dvirada-dānava* is interpreted as Gajāsura, who was killed by Śiva, the *Śiva-Purāṇa*[9] version of the story stands more

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4. *E.I.*, Vol. I, No. XII, p. 81, n. 45.
5. *Dēvīmahātmya*, ch. 80, V. 31.
6. *Ibid.*, ch. 80, vv. 29-31.
7. *Ibid.*, vv. 30-31 :

"*Tatyāja māhishaṁ rūpam*; and
*Tataḥ siṁhō = bhavat-sadyō yāvat tasy = āmbikā śiraḥ
Chhinatti tāvat-purushaḥ khaṅga-pāṇir = adṛiśyata*".

"*Tata ev = āśu-purushaṁ dēvi chichchhēda sāyakaiḥ
taṁ khaṅga-charmaṇā sārdhaṁ tataḥ sō = bhūn mahāgajaḥ*".

8. *Ibid.*, "*Karshatastu karaṁ dēvi khaṅgēna nirakṛintata*".
9. *Śiva Purāṇa*, Ch. 57, vv. 1-5 :

"*Śṛiṇu Vyāsa mahāprēmṇā charitaṁ Śaśimaulinaḥ
yath-āvadhi triśūlēna dānavēndram gajāsuṟām*"

"*Dānavē nihatē dēvyā samarē mahishāsurē
Dēvānāṁ cha hitārthāya purā dēvā sukhaṁ yayuḥ*"

"*Tasya puttrō mahāvīraḥ muniśvara Gajāsuraḥ
Pitur-vadhaṁ hi saṁsmṛitya kṛitaṁ dēvyā surārthanāt*".

"*Śa tad-vairam = anusmṛitya tapō = rthaṁ gatavān-vanē
samuddiśya vidhiṁ prītyā tatāpa paramam tapaḥ*"

"*Prōtastēn triśūlēna sa cha daityō gajāsuraḥ
Chhattrī kṛitam = iv = ātmānāṁ ṃanyamānō jagau haraṁ*".

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

At another place the term *dvirada-dānava* is substituted as *dānava-gajaḥ* in an inscription of Lakshmaṇa-sēna.[10] Here also the editor of the inscription has not been able to make this point clear. He even regrets his "incapability in translating the relevant clause"[11] and acknowledges his indebtedness to the editor of the *Epigraphia Indica* (N.P. Chakravarti) for that matter. Even after the help of the editor of *Epigraphia Indica* the translation of the term *'nirasta dānava-gajaḥ'*, etc., could not be made clear because the improved translation of Chakravarti rendered the compound *'dānava-gajaḥ'* in the plural, though in the record it is used in singular.[12] Thus, the interpretation of Chakravarti that "Śiva (*Pañchānana*) has vanquished the elephants who are the dānavas"[13] does not seem tenable.

Besides this we get plenty of references to Śiva as the killer of Gajāsura from the field of iconographic sculptures, where the same myth is depicted. We also had occasion to raise this point elsewhere[14] and believe that scholars will agree to interpret both *dvirada-dānava* or *dānava-gajaḥ* as synonyms of 'Gajāsura' who was killed by Śiva with his trident and whose skin later hung over him.

10. *E.I.*, XXV, No. 1, pp. 1-13.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 10, n. 3.
12. Note that the term *'gajaḥ'* is clearly used and also read by the editor as in singular and not in plural. Therefore, to translate that as 'elephants' in place of 'elephant' may not be proper.
13. *Op. cit.*, 10, V. 1 (Translation).
14. *Hindu Iconography*, Tewari, S.P., p. 38 and references cited therein.

GURUBHIR-ABHYASTA-NÀMAN

The phrase *gurubhir-abhyasta-nāman*, figures for the first time in the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman[1] in the form of an adjective qualifying the name of Rudradāman himself. Though the literal sense (*vāchyārtha*) of the phrase, with little variations here and there, has already been explained by scholars earlier, the suggestive meaning (*lakshyērtha*) of the same has still remained obscure. The two explanatory notes on the same term from Levi and Kielhorn, while attempting to go deeper into the underlying idea behind the phrase arrive at a different conclusion than that which in our opinion was actually intended by the learned composer of the record. In order to deduce the real import of the phrase — as it was most probably desired by the composer himself — a reconsideration of this adjective of Rudradāman's name is necessary.

James Prinsep, who had the privilege of bringing to light for the first time the full text of the record along with its translation in 1838, explained the phrase '*gurubhir-abhyasta-nāman*' as "the one who was mindful of the lessons of his instructors".[2] Later on, Wilson, who improved upon the text and the translation of Prinsep, rendered the same phrase into "one whose name is repeated by the venerable".[3] Subsequently the same rendering of the phrase with very little change was also approved by scholars like Bhau Daji,[4] Eggling,[5] Bhagwanlal Indraji, Bühler and

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1. *E.I.*, Vol. VIII, p. 42, l. 4.
2. *Essays on Indian Antiquities* ed. Edward Thomas, London, 1858, Vol. I, p. 50.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
4. *Jl. Bombay Asiatic Society*, VII, p. 118 ff.
5. *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, II, p. 128 ff.

others.[6] With a marginal difference from the rendering of Wilson, Bühler interpreted the phrase as, "one whose name is repeated by *great men*".[7] A little later while writing in German, he slightly modified his own rendering of the phrase by putting it as "the venerable ones pronounce his name (in praying for salvation)".[8] Thus, as we have seen, from the time of Prinsep till the time of Bühler, the scholars who had occasion to refer to the term *gurubhir-abhyasta-nāman* were more directly concerned with the literal sense (*vāchyārtha*) of the phrase.

It was most probably Levi who first tried to go deeper into the underlying idea of the phrase and come out with an elaborate explanation. Having observed the literary charm of the composition of the record in general and the peculiarity of the term *gurubhir abhyasta-nāman* which has the advantage of rhyming with the name of the King Rudradāman in particular, he comes to review the above translation of the phrase from Bühler. According to him "the expression '*gurubhir-abhyasta-nāman*' seems to imply a still more precise sense than the one cited above".[9] As per him :

"the verb *abhyas* evokes in a certain way the study of the Vedas[10] and the mention of the *gurus* determines the sense still more certainly; the name of the Kshatrapa Rudradāman is for holy personages like another Veda which demands assiduous study, absolute veneration and which assures the most precious results".[11]

Kielhorn, who stands next in the galaxy of pioneers who have dealt with this phrase, has first of all offered his accord to Wilson's translation of the phrase cited above,[12] and then, by adding a

6. *Ind. Ant.*, VII, p. 257 ff. also *Die Indischen Inschriften und das Alter der Indischen Kunstposie*, pp. 45 ff, 286 ff. The references to the articles of Levi and Kielhorn will be cited separately.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Die Indischen*, etc., p. 53.
9. *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIII : *Some Terms in the Kshatrapa Inscriptions*; Eng. Tr. p. 165.
10. *Ibid.* He cites here *Manu*, iv, 147; vi, 95 and *Yājñavalkya*, iii, 204 in support for the same.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *E.I.*, Vol. VIII, p. 45 (translation).

foot note to the same,[13] he has listed his own comments. The opinion of Kielhorn regarding the actual import of the phrase *gurubhir-abhyasta-nāman* can be simply stated as under :

    (i) First of all he supports Levi's explanation of the term and says that, "as (it) has been pointed out by Levi, the use of *abhy-as* and the statement that Rudradāman's name was repeated by *gurus* at once suggest the notion that for these reverend personages the name was like another Veda, demanding assiduous study and devout veneration, and yielding the most precious fruit".[14]

    (ii) The second remark he adds is that the phrase "*gurubhir-abhyasta-nāman* seems a stronger expression than the ordinary *sugrihita-nāman*".[15]

    (iii) The third remark of Kielhorn deals with the grammatical aspect. According to him, "in *gurubhir-abhyasta-nāman* (for the more logical *guruvabhyasta-nāman*) we have one of those constructions which Indian grammarians impeach by the statement '*sāpeksham-asamartham bhavati*', but after all justify by *gamakatvāt-samāsaḥ*".[16]

Thus, what emerges out of the views of the previous scholars regarding the actual import of the phrase *gurubhir-abhyāsta-nāman*, can be summarized as follows :

    (i) The phrase *gurubhir-abhyasta-nāman* seems a stronger expression than the ordinary *sugrihita-nāman*.

    (ii) The literal sense (*vāchyārtha*) of the phrase should be construed as the 'one whose name (*nāman*) is repeated (*abhyasta*) by the venerable (*gurubhiḥ*)'.

    (iii) The connotation (*lakshyārtha*) of the phrase should be considered as 'the name (of the *Kshatrapa Rudradāman*) for the reverend personages was like another Veda, demanding assiduous study and devout veneration, and yielding the most precious fruit'.

13. *E.I.*, ol. VIII, p. 45 (translation).
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*

(iv) Grammatically the expression *gurubhir-abhyasta* is not proper as it violates the rule of *samāsa*. According to grammatical rules it should have been *gurvabhyasta-nāman*.

Reviewing the whole issue afresh, while there is no disagreement with the literal sense of the phrase and also the remark of Kielhorn that it is a stronger expression than the ordinary honorific title of *sugrihita-nāman*, it is difficult to be convinced with what Levi explains in the name of making it 'more precise' and to which Kielhorn also extends his own accord.

The definition of the phrase *gurubhir-abhyasta-nāman* from Levi where too much emphasis is laid on the usage of the verb *abhy-as* even while making the sense 'more precise' creates anomalies of other than a literal nature. The statement of Levi that "the name of the Kshatrapa Rudradāman is for holy personages like another Veda which demands assiduous study and absolute veneration" etc.;[17] when viewed in the light of age-old Indian culture, falls contrary to the well regarded notion which treats *gurus* on par with gods.

In India, and to our understanding even in countries outside India, the high status accorded to one's *guru* has been such that it commanded universal honour and respect.[18] No one could ever, howsoever great person he might be, command or even anticipate 'devout veneration' from his own *gurus*. For a devout *sishya* the very idea that his own name would be 'assiduously studied like another Veda' by his own *gurus*, would amount to a sin of a heinous type. This is an idea which lacks support from all corners. Showing respect to one's *guru* has been such a deep rooted notion that even the *asuras* and *dānavas* of Indian myth agreed upon its value. The two heroes of our great epics Rāma and Krishna even after being recognised as the incarnations of Vishnu, were at no stage awarded any such epithet in the above sense. And, as far we know, Alexander the great did not deem any such adjective

17. Levi, *op. cit.*, p. 165.
18. Cf. *āchārya-dēvo bhava*; besides the countless references which may easily be cited to the theme right from the Vedic literature onwards upto the time of *Guru-gītā*, a casual reference to the edicts of Aśōka (R.E. No. IX, *gurūna apachiti*; XII, *guru susrūsā*).

to his name as befitting which lowered the dignity of Aristotle. In fact, the anomalies of Levi's explanation is such that even the simple etymology of the word *guru*[19] rebels against it.

The theme of *guru* and *guru bhakti* (devout veneration to *guru*) is so well known that we need not dwell upon it in depth. The only thing we would like to say in this regard is that the explanation of Levi, in light of the above facts, does not seem tenable and it is, therefore, necessary to look into the actual purport of the term *gurubhir-abhyasta-nāman* afresh.

This 'stronger expression of *gurubhir-abhyasta-nāman*' as Kielhorn has rightly remarked, is formed of three words, i.e., *guru* (a noun) *abhyasta* (a verb) and *nāman* (again a noun) and, as we shall see, all the three words are pregnant with more subtle a meaning than it has been usually thought. Therefore, the desired sense of the expression is bound to remain obscure unless we are able to deduce the real import of all the three words separately.

As regards the literal sense of the word *guru* the renderings like 'instructors, venerables, great men and the 'holy personages', etc., from the early scholars are, no doubt, found quite satisfactory, but, we may have to admit at the same time that all these refer to only the general sense of the word and do not pin-point the indicatory meaning of it which is yet to be settled. And, our submission in this regard is that the real import of the expression as a whole depends to a greater extent on the subtle meaning of the word *guru* itself.

The real clue to the indicatory sense of the word *guru* in the present context lies in its association (through the verb *abhy-as*) with another noun called *nāman* and that is what makes the use of this word more technical than usual.

Amarasimha who has the reputation of being quite selective in such matters, refers to the first and the foremost sense of the word *guru* as :

"*Upadhyāyō = dhyāpakō = tha sa = nishekādikrid-guruḥ*"[20]

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19. *Amara*, II.7.7 and the commentaries of Vandyaghaṭīya, Kshīraswamy, Maheśvara, Bhanuji Dikshita, Lingayasūrin and others on the same who all explain the word guru as '*griṇāty-upadiśat-iti guruḥ*'.

20. *Amara*, II.7.7, cf. the commentary of Bhanuji (*Amarakōsha*, N.S. ed.

It means that all those honourable persons who only teach or instruct are known as *upādhyāya* and *adhyāpaka* but the one who not only teaches but also does all the *saṁskāra* (sacraments) like *nishēka* and others, is termed as one's own *guru*. Obviously, Amara by referring to *nishēkādi* here makes a clear reference to the instructions of Manu in this regard and that is a fact which has also been noticed by almost all the commentators on Amara.

Manu, in the same context as that of Amara, explains the definition of the term *guru* as follows :

"*Nishēkādīni karmāṇi yaḥ karōti yathā vidhi,
sambhāvayati ch-ānnēna sa viprō gurur-uchyate*".[21]

It says that *guru* is one who performs all the *sasṁskāras* (sacraments) for a person beginning from *nishēka* onward and who also provides food and necessary nourishment. Medhātithi in his gloss explains the term *nishēka*, which forms the crucial point of the verse, as act of progeny leading to conception. It is the same which is referred to as *garbhādhāna*, being one of the primary *saṁskāras*. Since *nishēka* is the act, explains Medhātithi, which is performed invariably by the father of a son only, it is clear that Manu refers to one's father (*pitā*) only as the first *guru*.[2] The fact that the status of a father being *guru* is many times higher in comparison to that of *upādhyāya* and *āchārya* is further emphasized by Manu as thus : "*Upādhyāyān-daś-āchārya āchāryāṇam śataṁ pita*".[23]

Medhātithi on his part, elucidates the same idea by quoting a

Bombay, 1929, p. 252) on the same which explains the word *guru* as :

"*nishēkō garbhādhānam-ādir-yasya tasya kartā*",

besides the other explanations such as *griṇāti-dharmādi* (*iti guru*) and *giraty-ajñānam*, etc. Apart from it, Bhanuji also cites the opinion of Manu along with that of some other commentators who in the light of Amara's reference, explain the word *guru* as the one who supervised the *saṁskāras* (*saṁsakārādi kartur-gurōḥ*).

21. *Manusmriti* with the Manubhāshya of Medhātithi ed. by Jha, G.N., Calcutta, 1932, II.142.
22. *Ibid.*, cf. commentary which says : "*nishēkō rētaḥ sēkaḥ sa ādir-yēshām karmāṇām; ādi grahaṇāt-pitur-avam gurutvōpadēśaḥ*".
23. *Ibid.*, II.145,

verse from Vyāsa as follows :

> "*Prabhuḥ śarira-prabhavaḥ priyakrid-prāṇadō-guruḥ-*
> *Hitānām-upadēshṭā cha pratyaksham daivatam pitā*".[24]

This early concept of a father being considered one's own *gurū* (rather one of the *gurus* at an early stage) propounded and pleaded by Manu, has also received the favour of classical Sanskrit poets at a later date. Kāḷidāsa who had a personal liking for the words with a more subtle meaning, must have referred to the term *guru*, in the sense of a father, more than a dozen times in his *Raghuvamśa* alone. A couple of them can be noticed as under :

> "*Na kēvalam tad-gurur-ēka-pārthivaḥ,*
> *kshitav-abhūd-ēka-dhanurdharō=pi saḥ*".

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> "*Ath āsya-gōdāna-vidhēr-anantaram vivāha-dīkshām*
> *niravartayad-guruḥ*".

*   *   *   *   *

> "*Ajasra-dīkshā pravatsya mad-gurōh kriyā vighātāya*
> *katham pravartasē*".

*   *   *   *   *

> "*Jagat prakāsam tad-ashēsham-ijayā bhavad-gurur*
> *lamghayitum mam= ōdyataḥ*".

*   *   *   *   *

> "*Ajasra-dīkshā-prayataḥ sa mad-guruḥ kratōr-*
> *asēshēṇa phalēna yujyatām*".[25]

Such instances can be multiplied to any length.

Coming to the literally pregnant phrase (because it refers to the ceremonies revolving around pregnancy) of *nishēkādi* from

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24. *Manusmriti*, commentary on II.142.
25. *Raghu* III.31, 33, 44, 48, 65, cf. the comments of Mallinātha who explains *guru* as *pitā* and also '*gurur-gīs hpati pitṛyādyau*' of Amara.

both Manu and Amara, we gather the relevance of the whole reference to our context. While explaining the phrase *nishɛkā-dikrid* from Amara, Kshiraswamy in his gloss also quotes the above cited verse from Manu and to our benefit he not only explains the meaning of *nishɛka* but also the salient part of the suffix *ādi*.[26] According to him, both Manu and Amara when they referred to *nishɛkādi* by the qualitative suffix *ādi* they also meant all other *saṁskāras* like *puṁsavana, sīmantōnnayana, jātakarma, nāma-karaṇa, anna-prāśana* and so on and so forth.[27]

Thus, the simple inference we may draw from the above is that the word *guru* in its first instance always meant a father who supervised the ceremonies of purificatory sacraments and then a teacher, instructor or any other holy personage. This becomes even more apparent in the case of *gurubhir-abhyasta-nāman* where the term *guru* is directly associated with the term *nāman*.

As regards the contextual import of the phrase *abhy-as*, a verb employed in the service of two nouns, the explanation of Levi that it "evokes in a certain way the study of the Vedas"[28] even though partially right, does not render the sense desired in the present context. We have already discussed above the anomalies caused by such an explanation. Levi is right in saying that the "mention of the *gurus* (along with *abhy-as*) determines the sense (of the phrase) still more certainly" but unfortunately, not the sense he has so assiduously tried to determine himself. The meaning of the word *abhy-as* as construed by Levi in the present

26. *Uttara*, V. 27, cf. Gudnapur inscription of Kadamba Ravivarman (vide *Śrikaṇṭhikā*, pp. 61-72 where Vīraśarman his grand-father is mentioned as his *guru*).

27. *Amara* (T.S.S. ed. Trivandrum, 1914) II.77 cf.
   "*ādi sabdāt-puṁsāvana sīmantōnnayana jātakarma-nāma-karaṇa.........ōpanayanādīni gṛihyantē*".

28. Levi, *op. cit.*, Levi's references to Manu (IV.147, VI, 95) and *Yājñavalkya* (iii.204) in this regard do not clinch the issue in the manner he makes us to believe. First of all, in these contexts the instructions given by Manu relate to the Brahmins entering the stage of *vānaprastha* and *sanyāsa* and secondly, it is not only the *vēdā-bhyāsa* but also the *brahmābhyāsa* (IV. 149) which is referred to where, in all certainty the verb *abhy-as* is not used as if it was reserved only for *vēdābhyāsa*. The commentaries of Kullūka and Medhātithi on the same also betray the explanation of Levi in this regard.

context (and further supported by Kielhorn) suits phrases like *baṭubhir-abhyasta-nāman* better than *gurubhir-abhyasta nāman*.

The word *abhy-as* is formed of *abhi* (that is, *avyaya*) and the root *as*. This prefix *abhi* in the Sanskrit lexicons is enumerated in the list of *anɛk-ārtha-avyaya*[29] indicating the fact that it yields, with reference to the context, more than one meaning. The root *as* as we know yields the sense of to be, to exist, to be present, to take place, to happen, to abide, to dwell, to stay and so on and so forth.[30] From this the past participle *abhy-asta* is formed like the one popularised by Kālidāsa in his "*śaiśavɛ=bhyasta-vidyānām*".[31] The noun from the same is *abhyāsa* meaning repetition in general, being defined as, "*punaḥ punaḥ sthāpanaṁ* abhyāsaḥ".[32] Since from very early times the study of the Vedas formed the major part of the education which was imparted and grasped merely through repetition (*abhyāsa*), no doubt the usage became a bit more popular in the case of *Vɛdābhyāsa*[33] but the application of this verb did not in any way remain confined to the Vedas and Vedic studies alone. A good number of examples where the phrase *abhyāsa* is applied in a context other than that of Vedic studies can easily be cited.[34] In fact, Pāṇini's *sūtra* "*mithyōpapadāt kṛiño=bhyāsɛ*"[35] tends more towards the meaning of *abhyāsa* being habit, custom or the practice to which Apte cites an example of "*tad-yath-ābhyāsam-abhīdhīyatām*" from Bhavabhūti.[36] This latter phrase illustrates the usage of *abhyāsa* in connection with *abhidhā* or *nāman* which was equally popular with literature.

Thus, from the use of the verb *abhy-as* what we understand in the present context is that the *gurus* having repeatedly concentrated upon the meaningfulness and the auspiciousness of the object in mind, repeatedly pronounced the same aloud and

29. *Vaijayanti*, 8.7.16.
30. Monier-Williams, p. 117.
31. *Raghu*, I.8.
32. *Halāyudha*, ed. Joshi, J.S., Lucknow Śaka 1879, commentary part, p. 129.
33. Cf. "*Vedābhyāsa-jaḍah kathaṁ nu vishaya vyāvṛitta kautūhalō nirmātuṁ prabhavɛt manoharam-idam rūpaṁ purāṇō muniḥ*". *Vikrama* I.10.
34. See Apte's *Skt. Eng. Dict.* p. 194.
35. *Ashta*. I.3.71. cited by Apte.
36. *Uttara*. 1. 8 ff. It means : "therefore, address me as is your wont".

thereby settled the name, fame and the very existence of that object. And, a meaningful and auspicious object of this type, upon which they concentrated for long and which they pronounced repeatedly was in the present context nothing else but the glorious name (*nāman*) of Mahākshtrapa Rudradāman himself.

This interpretation of the term *abhy-as* is further supported by the phrase *nāman* of the expression which is explained as "*mnāyatĕ abhyasyatĕ nāmytĕ abhidhiyatĕ arthō anĕna vā*[37] or *mnāyatĕ abhyasyatĕ yat, tat*".[38] It means that *nāman* is a characteristic mark, sign, form, nature, appellation or a personal name which is awarded after due consideration and pronounced repeatedly first by the *gurus* (i.e., the father, the teachers and other holy personages) only.[39]

Before we come to our conclusion a couple of parallels from Kālidāsa are worth noticing where he has utilized the same idea as that of the phrase *gurubhir-abhyasta-nāman* but in a more lucid way. While referring to the *nāma-karaṇa* ceremonies of Raghu and Aja, he remarks as under :

"*Śrutasya yāyād-ayam-antam-arbhakaḥ-tathā
parĕshām yudhi ch-ĕti=pārthivaḥ avĕkshya dhātōr-
gaman-ārtham-arthavich-chakāra-namnā Raghum-
ātma-sambhavam*".[40]

i.e., 'the father of Raghu (whom he has invariably referred to as *guru*) the king, after having considered the word's meaning well had named him so, desiring that his son should be both an exponent of learning and a master victor'. Likewise, since the queen of Raghu gave birth to the prince at the time presided over by Brahmā the Aja, the king (i.e., Raghu) named his child

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37. Apte, p. 888.
38. *Halāyudha*, No. 152, commentary p. 387.
39. See, *Amara* I.6.8 and the commentaries thereupon. [See also the commentary on *Halāyudha* (*op. cit.*) which cites the *sūtra*, "*nāman sīman vyomann-iti manin pratyayĕna nipātanāt sādhu*", etc.; Monier-Williams (p. 536), however, does not agree with the derivation of *nāman* from *mnā* though without giving his reasons for it.
40. *Raghu*, III.21.

after him and he became Aja :

> *Brāhmẽ muhūrtẽ kila tasya dẽvi kumāra-kalpam*
> *sushuvẽ kumaram*
> *Atah pitā Brahmana eva nāmnā tam-ātma janmānam-*
> *Ajam Chakāra.*[41]

The point we want to bring home by citing the above refer-
ences from Kālidāsa is that it was father—the *guru* who decided
and ultimately pronounced the name of a child. The phrase
abhyasta of our expression has been made further easy by Kāli-
dāsa in the form of *avẽkshya* and thus, in our opinion the conno-
tation of both the words should be considered as analogous.

Now, having considered the real import of all the three
constituents of the expression *gurubhir-abhyasta-nāman*, we have
no hesitation in saying that in all probability the naming ceremony
(*nāma-karana samskāra*) of Rudradāman was duly performed
either by his father Jayadāman or the grand-father Chashṭana
who, as we know from other sources, was very much there not
only at the time of his birth but even at the time of his assuming
power.[42]

Although both the relevance of the theme and the space at
our disposal do not permit us to go into the details of the naming
ceremony as they are gleaned from the various *grihya-sūtras*, a
cursory glance particularly at the procedural part of it will help
us to substantiate our view to some extent. And, this is also the
point where most of the *sūtras* are unanimous in their opinion.
According to them, at the time of the naming ceremony the
father leaned towards the right ear of the child and addressed
him : ''O child ! thou art the devotee of so and so family deity,
hence thy name is '. . . . '. Thou art born under such and such
nakshatra, hence thy name is '. . . . .' and thy popular name is
'. . . . . '.'' The assembled Brāhmins uttered the popular name in
a chorus : "May so and so name be bestowed". Then the father

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41. *Raghu*, V 36. For details on this issue see Tewari, S.P., *Cultural Heritage
of Personal Names and Skt. Literature*, Delhi, 1982, pp. 79-87.

42. *Vide*. Andhau stone inscription of the time of Chasṭana and Rudradāman
E.I., XVI, pp. 23ff. For the view regarding the common rule of both,
see Sircar, D.C., *Select Inscriptions*, No. 63, n. 4,

finally asked the child to salute the Brahmins who blessed him, repeating the popular name every time, "May you so and so live long".[43]

As it is clear from the procedure of the naming ceremony, the name of the child (*nāman*) was first pronounced and repeated (*abhyasta*) in his ear by his own father (*guru*) and then by other Brahmins, teachers and holy personages (*gurus*) who blessed him adequately. This analysis leads us to explain the whole phrase of *gurubhir-abhyasta-nāman* as under :

> '*gurubhiḥ suvichārya pauṇaḥ-punyēna bāraṁ-bāraṁ dhyātvā cha kalpitaṁ samuchcharitaṁ abhyastaṁ cha nāma yasya asau gurubhir-abhyasta-nāman, tēna gurubhir-abhyasta-nāmnā*'.

Apart from the linguistic analysis, so many other indirect references also come to the support of our view that in all probability the naming ceremony in particular and other *saṁskāras* in general, were duly performed in the case of Rudradāman. These can be summarised as under :

(i) It is a well-known fact that the names of the Western kshtrapas from Rudradāman onward (or, to be exact even from Jayadāman), in comparison to the names of their ancestors like Nahapāna, Chashṭana and Jhasamotika, are more Sanskritized (the same which historians call Indianized)[44] which suggests that some such *saṁskāra* was done to their names.

(ii) The fact that Rudradāman could enter into a matrimonial alliance by offering his daughter to Sātakarṇi[45] and thus could claim a very close relationship

43. *Vide* Bhat, V.R., *Our saṁskāras*, Bombay, 1970, pp. 21-25. For more details on the same see *Hist. of Dharmasāstra*, II, Pt. I, Ch. VI, pp. 238-254. For Epigraphical references to naming ceremony, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII, p. 12966, *E.I.*, IV, p. 120ff, and X, p. 95ff.

44. *Vide Ind Ant.* XII, pp. 139ff, *E.I.*, VII, pp. 78ff., XX, pp. 16, 19ff, Lüder's List No. 994 and Sircar, D.C., *Select Inscriptions*, No. 59, n. 1 (p. 168) 67, n. (p. 178), n. 9 (p. 179) and No. 98 (No. 2) p. 231, etc.

45. *Vide*, Kannheri Buddhist tank inscription (Lüder's list, No. 994).

(*sambandhāvidūra*)[46] with the Sātavāhanas also indirectly confirms the view that by this time the Kārdamakas, after having their purificatory sacraments performed, were duly recognised in the fold of Hindu society. Had this not been the case, howsoever politically motivated it was, a matrimonial alliance with Sātakarṇi, who is eulogized as being one of the staunch Brahmins (*ika bamhaṇasa*)[47] and who stopped the contamination of the four varṇas (*vinivatita chātūvaṇa-saṅkarasa*),[48] would have not been so easily possible.

(iii) In all probability, an event of such a high cultural import in the early history of India would have taken place during the regime of a powerful Mahākshatrapa like Rudradāman himself. The fact that he was highly imbued with such great qualities as *satya-pratijñā* (true to the vows made), *dhrita-kāruṇya* (full with compassion), *dharmārtha-kāma-vishaya-patitva* (due command over the objects of religion, wealth and pleasure), *dharmā-nurāga* (strong attachment with *dharma*) and many more, repeatedly bear out the same truth and confirm the same possibility. This is also borne out by the categorical references to his expertise in the fields of grammar (*sabdārtha*), music (*gāndharva*), logic (*nyāyā*) and other great sciences. Furthermore, his skill in producing compositions in prose and verse which were, clear (*sphuta*), agreeable (*laghu*), sweet (*madhura*), charming (*chitra*),[49] and beautiful and which excelled by the proper use of words and the figures of speech, do confirm the same supposition, time and again. Practically more than two-third of the inscription itself stands a testimony to the fact that all the *saṁskāras* including *nāma-karaṇa* were duly performed in the case of Rudradāman.

46. *E.I.*, VIII, p. 44, l. 12.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 60, l. 7.
48. *Ibid* , p. 60, l. 6.
49. Cf. *Rāma.* IV. 3.32-33 where the charming speech (*chitrayāvāchā*) of Hanumān is described as :

"*saṁskāra-krama-sampannā*".

Having analyzed the ground for an event of such a high
cultural import, a word regarding the impeachment proposed by
the Sanskrit grammarians against the composer of this record for
coining an illogical expression like *gurubhir-abhyasta-nāman* may
not be out of place.

Kielhorn, on behalf of Indian grammarians, remarks that an
expression where something is required or presupposed (*sāpēk-
sham*) becomes (*bhavati*) illogical or weak (*asamartham*) and that
cannot be ignored.   Since in the present case the need for a
samāsa (*compound*) is so convincing (*gamakatva*) for the more
logical reasons it is necessary to take it as *gurvabhyasta-nāman*.[50]

Our submission to the charge of Kielhorn is that the composer
of the record was so overwhelmed with the news of a glorious
event taking shape in the form of the naming ceremony of Rudra-
dāman that he did not like to omit even a syllable of it at the cost
of grammar and make it ambiguous.   The fact that the name of
his master Rudradāman, at the time of the naming ceremony, was
duly considered and repeatedly pronounced, first by his own father
and then by his other teachers and holy personages, is certainly
better conveyed by the term *gurubhih* in its plural form, than it
would have been in its compound form.   For, as we know, the
compound *gurvabhyasta* can be split either way, i.e., *guruṇā*
(singular) *abhyasta* or *gurubhir* (plural) *abhyasta* and this would
leave the choice of deriving its meaning more with the reader and
almost nothing with the composer who was ever eager to impart
his own message.   We, therefore, think that, in view of such an
important message which refers to an event regarded as a turning
point in the career of Rudradāman and his successors of the
dynasty, an insignificant error of grammar can easily be
condoned.

After settling the main purpose of the expression *gurubhir-
abhyasta-nāman*, a look into the subsidiary import of the same is
equally rewarding.   This relates to the literal sense of the phrase
meaning that the 'name of Rudradāman was (repeatedly) pro-
nounced by the venerables', and the act of this addressing or
pronouncing the name immediately causes to recall the fact that

50. See Apte's Dictionary, appendix F. p. 110, for '*sāpēksham-asamartham
bhavati*' and '*gamakatvāt-samāsah*'.

the name which was thus pronounced was not the name of an ordinary person but that of a great king. On account of this issue, therefore, the established norms of ancient Indian modes of addressing come into effect, which deal, along with many other things, also with the issue as to who were the persons privileged with the right of pronouncing the name of a king in public.

Although some casual references to the ancient modes of address figure in the *Manusmriti*[51] and a few in the *Amara kōsha*[52] at a later date, the details regarding the address in question and many others find mention only in the *Nāṭyasāstra* of Bharata who deals with the whole issue under a separate chapter entitled "The Modes of Address and Intonation".[53] Herein, Bharata having referred to the popular modes of address takes up the issue where Brahmins are supposed to address the king and lays down his instructions as under :

> "*Nāmnā rāj-ēṭi vā vāchyā brāhmaṇais-tu narādhipāḥ*
> *Tat-kshāmyam hi mahipālair-yasmāt-pūjyā dvijāh*
> *smritāh*".[54]

It means that "Brahmins may address the kings at their pleasure, by their names. This should be tolerated, for the Brahmins are to be adored by the kings".[55]   In this case, although the phrase *nāmnā* and *vāchyā* are almost analogous with the *nāmnā* and *abhyasta* of our expression, the *gurus* are referred to by their appellations of *Brāhmaṇa* and *dvija* which does not make much difference since it were the Brahmins who were generally the *gurus* in ancient India.

The simple inference we may draw from the above is that the phrase *gurubhir-abhyasta-nāman*, besides that it refers to an event of high cultural import, also forms part of the dramatic formulary.   Although Prof. Levi has discussed some such terms figuring in the Kshatrapa inscriptions in detail, we really wonder how the expression *gurubhir-abhyasta-nāman* could have escaped his sight.

51. *Manu*, II, 122-139.
52. *Amara*, I.8.12-15.
53. *Nāṭyasāstra*, (G.O.S. ed), Baroda, 1934, Vol. II.17, 66-93.
54. *Ibid.*, 17.70.
55. *Ibid.*, (Eng. Tr) by Ghosh, M, Calcutta, 1950, Vol. I, Ch. XI. 6, p. 336.

The overall utility of this inference to the field of dramatic formulary can be gauged as under :

    (i) Even though the learned composer of the record has not virtually imitated the phrase from Bharata, he has given enough hint for us to conclude that he was "thoroughly imbued with dramatic formulary contained in the *Nātya-sāstra*".[56]

   (ii) The fact that the composer has phrased his expression as *gurubhir-abhyasta* and not as *gūrubhir-ēvābhyasta* which would have been more exact had he followed Bharata literally, paves way for two assumptions. One is, that the composer, even while carrying out the instructions of Bharata, did like to impress upon us that he has improved the matter of his source-material. The second is, that in his skilful way, he has preserved the possibilities of both the explanations of the expression.

  (iii) Levi believed that it was Bharata himself who was highly influenced by the dramatic formulary contained in the record of the Kshatrapas, but a detailed analysis of this phrase does not fall in line with this belief. It suggests instead that the composer of the record was influenced by Bharata's work and Levi has perhaps deliberately ignored it for that reason.

Thus, the expression *gurubhir-abhyasta-nāman,* as we think, represents the view that the naming ceremony of Rudradāman was duly performed by his father (*guru*) in the company of other teachers and holy personages who first of all thought of his name and then repeatedly pronounced it. This privilege of pronouncing the name of Rudradāman, even in public and also at a later stage when he became a king, was enjoyed by the said holy personages as their own prerogative.

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56. For the similar views, cf. Kane, P.V. in his introduction to the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, Bombay, 1923, pp. VIII-IX.

HARITA-KALĀPAKA

A curious reference to *harita-kalāpaka*[1] qualifying water jars is made in the Mathura Brāhmi inscription of Huvishka year 28. In this inscription a good number of objects are mentioned which were supposed to be kept every day on the door of the *puṇya-śālā* (charitable pavilion) for distribution amongst orphans and the destitutes. The relevant lines of the record which may prove helpful for the discussion that follows could be cited as under :

". . . . . . . *Divasē divasē cha punya-śālāyē dvāra mulē dhāriyē sādyaṁ saktūnāṁ āḍhakā 3 lavaṇa-prasthō 1 śaku prastho 1 harita kalāpaka ghatakā 3 mallakā 5 ētaṁ anāthānāṁ kṛitēna dātavya babhakshitāna pibasitānaṁ*".[2]

Sten Konow who has edited the said record in the pages of the *Epigraphia Indica*, has rendered the fore-mentioned lines into English as follows :

". . . . . day for day, having kept it at the entrance to the hall on the same day three *āḍhaka* groats, one *prastha* salt, one *prastha śaku*, three *ghataka* and five *mallaka* of green vegetable bundles, should be given for the sake of destitute people, hungry and thirsty".[3]

This rendering of the text from Konow reveals that he has not construed the term *harita-kalāpaka* in the sense of an adjective qualifying *ghaṭaka* but as a separate entity meaning "bundled fresh vegetables" or 'green vegetable bundles'.[4] Besides this, he

1. *E.I.*, XXI, pp. 55ff.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 60, ll. 5-9.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 61.
4. *Ibid.*, see also p. 58.

also alternates the proper sequence of the things as they are put in the record by placing *harita Kalāpaka* before the term *mallaka* "without knowing anything", as he himself admits, "about the size of the *ghaṭaka* (jar) and *mallaka* (bowl)".[5]

Before resuming the review of the term *harita-kaḷāpaka* in the present context, it is worth-mentioning here that although the said record has been noticed even prior to Konow by two other scholars, neither of them paid any attention to the real import of the term in question since they were not concerned with cultural or linguistic issues.[6] Thus, it is Konow who for the first time attempted to offer some explanation of the term *harita-kalāpaka*. But, for the reasons detailed below, we find the above explanation of the term *harita-kalāpaka* by Konow far from convincing.

      (i) Following Konow's interpretation of the term, one has to disturb the given sequence of the objects as they are noticed in the body of the record, i.e., we have to shift the term *harita-kalāpaka* from its original position where it precedes the word *ghaṭaka* and place it before the word *mallaka* which is not justified. It amounts to altering the composition of the record itself.

     (ii) Even if, for a moment, we agree with Konow's rendering of *harita-kalāpaka* into bundled fresh vegetables or 'green vegetable bundles' his combination of the same with *mallaka* or the five bowls is something which hardly brings conviction. As per our own observation a bundle (of green vegetables) is in itself a sort of measurement which is understood locally and which differs from region to region, place to place and time to time. It hardly requires bowls for its measurement.

    (iii) The fact that *ghaṭaka* or the water-jars and *mallaka* or the bowls figure in the text of the record only after the list of eatable items is exhausted, also goes against

5. *E.I.*, XXI, see also p. 58.
6. Jayaswal, K.P. in *J.B.O.R.S.* XVIII, pp. 4ff and Deb, H.K. in *I.H.Q.* VII, pp. 117ff. Whereas the main burden of Jayaswal's paper is to break the news of the discovery of such a record and refer to the terms like *Purāṇa, Kushaṇa* and *Tikina*, etc., the theme of that from Deb deals only with the name of Greek month 'Gurpriye'.

the said rendering of Konow. On the other hand, the categorical reference to hungry (*bubhukshita*) and thirsty (*pipāsita*) people in this regard, confirms the suitability of the words as they are placed in the text of the record.

After Konow, although Sircar has not thought the term *harita-kalāpaka* important enough to include in his *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, he has still by way of Sanskritizing the text of the record and also by an addition of a small note on it in his *Select Inscriptions*,[7] demonstrated very clearly that he did not agree with Konow's explanation of the term. In the course of Sanskritizing this particular phrase, Sircar has rendered it as follows :

". . . . . *harita-kalāpaka-trayaḥ mallakāḥ (pāna-pātrāṇi)*".[8]

After this, for *harita-kālāpaka-ghatakāḥ*, Sircar adds a note which, after an interrogatory mark added by he himself, says that the term could be rendered as "jars of a preparation of different green vegetables ?"[9]

Here, first of all the credibility of Sircar's interpretation of the term is marred by his own question mark which makes it obvious that in spite of his not feeling satisfied with the interpretation of the term from Konow, he was also not fully convinced by his own interpretation.

The strange thing with Sircar's interpretation of the term is that whereas Konow has already taken liberty with the usual meanings of the words *harita* and *kalāpaka* by rendering them into bundles of green vegetables, he has gone further than that and cooked a different preparation by rendering it into "a preparation of different green vegetables". We somehow do not find scope for so much liberty with the meanings of the words in question.

Apart from it, as per our own observation, although a jar full with pickles is often heard of and seen (and, in that case if we

7. *Select Inscriptions*, I, pp. 152-53.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 153.
9. *Ibid.*, n. 3.

agree with the interpretation of *śukta prastha* as *āmla-rasa* from Sircar, it would have been more appropriate if this would have been stored in the jars rather than the prepared vegetables) but hardly a jar full with a preparation of different green vegetables.

Having observed the fore-mentioned anomalies in the interpretations of the term from both Konow and Sircar, we feel inclined to entertain the whole phrase of *harita-kalāpaka-ghaṭaka* as one compound and review the import of the same afresh.

Out of the three words with which the above compound is formed, as regards the rendering of *ghaṭaka* into water-jars it is agreed on all hands. But, about the remaining of two other words, i.e., *harita* and *kalāpaka* a reconsideration of their meanings is still desired.

The term *harita*, as we think, may no doubt render the sense of something green in colour but to think that it invariably renders the sense of green vegetables is a far-fetched supposition. Thus, whether vegetables or not, the one thing which is certain is that the term *harita* means something that is green in colour. Now, since the only word remaining with the compound in question is that of *kalāpaka* we have to focus our attention on the actual purport of this and find out what is that thing which is green in colour and denoted by this term. In our opinion, the real purport of the term *kalāpaka* forms the nucleus of the compound as a whole and once the real sense of this term is settled down we may arrive nearer to the intended meaning of the record.

Various connotations of the term *kalāpaka* as compiled in the dictionary of Monier-Williams, include a band, bundle, a kind of ornament, a string of pearls and the rope round an elephant's neck, etc.[10] Out of this, since Konow was interested in taking the word *harita* in the sense of green vegetables, he preferred to render the term *kalāpaka* into bundles, but as we have seen, the first meaning of the word *kalāpaka* is an ornamental band, rope or a bunch of thread put on the neck of an object.

With reference to the present context, because it is the term *ghaṭaka* or the water-jar which is being qualified by the adjective *harita-kalāpaka*, it is worth inquiring if the fore-mentioned

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10. *Sanskrit Eng. Dict.* p. 261. Under *kalā*, see also *Amara* (III.3.128) where *kalāpa* is explained as '*kalāpa bhūshaṇē barhē tūṇīre saṅhatâvapi*'.

meaning of the term *kalāpaka* may also render any tangible sense in association with the object (i.e., *ghaṭaka*) in question.

Thinking on the above-lines we come across a folk-belief related to the gift (in charity or otherwise) of a water-jar (*ghaṭaka*) observed even till today in the regions of Mathura and some other parts of U.P. According to this belief, whenever a water-jar is to be given as a part of a gift or even on certain other auspicious occasions either a bunch (*kalāpaka*) of coloured thread or a strip of cloth is tied on its neck in order to make it auspicious. In the absence of thread or cloth, some grains are placed inside the jar. The bunch of threads tied on the neck of water-jars is locally known as *kalāvā* in the north Indian dialects. It is used on every auspicious occasion and also with objects other than water-jars. This *kalāvā* in our opinion, in the *tadbhava* form of both *kalāpa* and *kalāpaka* as they are more or less analogous in their meanings.[11]

A curious literary reference to the term *kalāpa*, where it seems to have been used in the sense of *kalāvā* and there too in a context almost the same as that of ours, is noticed in the *Kādambari* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa.

Since both the contexts, the one from the inscription and the other from the *Kādambari* in which the term *kalāpa* is applied, seem to be identical and also because the literary reference to the term validates our supposition, we deem it proper to have a thorough look at the reference from the latter.

Bāṇabhaṭṭa, while referring to the *sūtikā-gṛiha* (lying in chamber) of queen Vilāsavati and to the arrangement of so many auspicious and ornamental objects therein, states that close to the walls of the room there were hanging a row of platters arranged upside-down and forming an auspicious design known as *vardhamāna*. These platters he states further, were decked with strips of cloth dyed with various colours which were placed upon them at intervals :

" . . . . *pañcha-rāga-vichitra chěla-chitra-*
kalāpa-chinham-arpita pishṭa-paṅkāṅkitām

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11. *Sanskrit Eng. Dict.*, p. 261.

vardhamāna paramparām . . . . ".[12]

The same has been explained by Bhanuchandra in his Sanskrit commentary as under :

> "*Pañcha-rāgair-vichitrā yē chᵉla-chitrā vastra-khaṇḍās-teshām kalāpaḥ samūhaḥ sa ēva chinhaṁ yasyāṁ sā tām*".[13]

V.S. Agrawala, while reviewing the same once more, states that herein the reference to the term *kalāpa* is of a technical nature. According to him the real sense of the term *kalāpa* is the same as *kalāvā* in Hindi and *kalāvā* is the term used for the coloured bunches of thread (*sūtī lachchhā*) or the strips of cotton used as a mark of auspiciousness and ornamentation.[14] The fact that such *kalāvās* were tied on to the platters (*śarāvas*) forming *vardhamāna*-mark, further confirms their use with clay pots, dishes and water-jars. Even today on the occasion of a *sankrānti* known as *śaktu-sankrānti* in the north, many such water-jars, their necks tied with coloured *kalāvā* threads, are distributed along with fans, etc., amongst the poor and destitute as an act of piety. A categorical reference to the distribution of *śaktu* from the record in question adds extra weight to our observation.

Thus, in our view, the term *harita-kalāpaka* of the record, in all probability, refers to the green coloured threads which were tied with the water-jars before they were given to the hungry and thirsty people for their use.

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12. *Kādambari*, ed. with the commentary of Bhānuchandra by K.P. Parab and W.L.W. Pansikar, Bombay, 1921, p. 143.
13. *Ibid.*, commentary part.
14. *Kādambari ēk sāmskṛitik adhyayan*, Varanasi, 1970, p. 85, n. 2.

KAṬUKA

Although some stray references to the term *kaṭuka* do figure in two or three inscriptions of a later date[1] as far as we could ascertain the earliest reference to this term appears in the Talesvara Grant of Dyutivarman.[2] This is also the only epigraphical usage of the word in the sense of an occupational group. The relevant lines wherein reference to *kaṭuka* along with many other officials is made, read as follows :

"*Parama-bhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja śrī Dyutivarmmā*
kuśalī parvvatākara rājye asmad-vaṁśyān-mahārāja
viśeshān pratimānya daṇḍōparika-pramātāra-
pratīhāra kumārāmātya-pīlupaty-aśvapati jayanapati-
ganjapati-sūpakārapati-tagarapati vishayapati-
bhōgika-bhāgika-dāṇḍa-vāśika-kaṭuka prabhṛity-
anujīvi-varggam".[3]

Mr. Gupte who edited the grant for the first time, has translated the above phrase as under :

"The Parama-bhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja being in good health, in his kingdom filled with mountains, pays respects to the excellent kings of his line; enquires about the welfare of the prefect of police, the *pramātāra*, the warden, the councillor of the king, the masters of elephants, horses, armour, marts, cooks, land holders, police officers, the *kaṭukas* and other dependents".[4]

1. *E.I.*, XI, pp. 34, 69 for *Kaṭudēva* and *Kaṭukarāja*, a *chahmana* king and p. 38 for *Kaṭuka* being the name of a person; *E.I.*, XXI, p. 54, *Kaṭuka* as the name of a Brahmin; *E.I.*, XXX, p. 134 for the term *kaṭukattambha.*
2. *E.I.*, XIII, pp. 115-17.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 115; ll. 3-5.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 117.

As is obvious, Gupte being uncertain of the actual import of the term *kaṭuka* has, in his first attempt, left the term untranslated. But, after second thoughts, he adds a foot-note to it which states that he consulted a Prof. Sovani regarding the term *kaṭuka* who thought that it might mean a sect of Jains.[5] Having rejected this meaning as improbable, Gupte himself surmised that *kaṭukas* apparently mean any person (officers, members of the religious assembly not generally held in respect at the time, etc.) who were disagreeable to the public.[6] But, who these *kaṭukas* were in particular, Gupte, in the end, admits very frankly that he could not say with confidence.

Later on, after a lapse of more than three decades, Kane, while adding an appendix to his *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. III, tried to tackle the exact meaning and also the function of the term *kaṭuka*.[7] But in absence of further evidence in this regard, he had also to satisfy himself with the remark that the "exact functions (of this official) are not known."[8] He could at the most cite the Telesvara grant as an epigraphical reference to this term which we have quoted above. Kane's reference to the Mahākaṭuka in this regard is not found in the said volume; perhaps it became a casualty of the printing process.

As expected by every student of Indian epigraphy, Sircar's *Glossary* does include the term *kaṭuka* in its list.[9] But, even after the lapse of more than twenty years from Kane and roughly half a century from the time Gupte edited the grant and brought this term to our notice, for the want of further evidence, Sircar could also not solve the riddle. In fact, Sircar, with due acknowledgement, of course, has simply reproduced *verbatim* the information he thus received from Kane. Thus, what the exact functions of an official referred to as *kaṭuka* were are still not clear. We plan to discuss this term and also the function of *kaṭuka* in the light of two literary references from the *Harshacharita* of Bāṇa.

In the *Harshacharita* of Bāṇa, the word *kaṭuka* in the context

5. *E.I.*, n. 9.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *History of Dharmaśāstra*, III, Poona, 1946, appendix, p. 979.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, Delhi, 1966, p. 151.

of an official figures on two occasions. In the first instance, it figures in connection with the acrid instructions issued by a *kaṭuka* to the mahauts of royal elephants found dozing on the very heads of the animals while their masters were inside the palace. In his figurative style Bāṇa refers to this term as follows :

"*Kaṭu-kaṭuka-nirdèśa-naśyan-nidrōn-mishan-nishādini*".[10]

Unfortunately, Sankara the Sanskrit commentator of the *Harshacharita* has somehow passed over the word *kaṭuka*, without comment. Amongst others, Cowell and Thomas have translated the phrase by saying that "the shrill words of command from the marshal dispelled the slumbers of blinking riders".[11] In other words, they have taken *kaṭukas* as marshals. Kane in his notes on the *Harshacharita*[12] has explained the whole phrase as "*kaṭukānām kaṭu nirdèśèna naśyantī nīdrā taɔā unmishantaḥ nishādinaḥ*",[13] and rendered it that the elephant riders woke up from sleep which was dispelled by the sharp commands of their superior officers. Obviously, Kane takes *kaṭukas* to be the superior officers of the elephant riders. Agrawala, while commenting on the same phrase in Hindi, identifies *kaṭukas* with the designation of royal servants of the Persian import known as *pyādas*.[14]

Although Agrawala while referring to the proper reading of the text rejects the *kaṭuka-kaṭuka* reading of the N.S. edition of the text and rightly prefers the *kaṭuka-kaṭu* reading of the phrase, it is rather surprising how he jumps over from *kaṭuka* to *kaṭaka*

10. *Harshacharita*, VII, p. 204 (N.S. edition). Although in all the popular editions of the *Harshacharita* (like that from Füherer, A.A., Bombay, 1909, p. 275, Parab, K.P., N.S.P. Bombay 1918, p. 204; Kane, P.V., Bombay, 1918, p. 54) the phrase is noticed as *kaṭu-kaṭuka*, in certain manuscripts noted by Führer (A.B.D., p. 275, n. 7) it is read as *kaṭuka-kaṭu*. See also Agrawala, V.S. *Harshacharita* (Hindi), Patna, 1964, p. 144, n. 1.
11. *The Harshacharita of Bāṇa.* Tr. by Cowell and Thomas. London, 1897, p. 199.
12. *The Harshacharita*, Bombay, 1918, notes p. 168.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

in this regard.[15] His equation of both *kaṭuka* and *kaṭaka* does not seem to be tenable. *Kaṭaka* types of soldiers and royal-servants referred to by Bāṇa (cf. *kaṭaka-kadambaka*)[16] were designated so because of their either moving in a circle (a ring or *kaṭaka* form) or attending upon their masters in the same fashion. *Kaṭukas* were certainly different from them. They were, as will be seen in the sequel, better known so because of their shrill words of command.

The second important reference to *kaṭuka* from the *Harsha-charita* occurs when Bāṇa takes up the pitiable condition of persons who were desirous of entering the royal service and, therefore, gathered near the entrance of the royal palace. He says that these unwanted poor people unnecessarily flocking near the gate were dealt with roughly by the *kaṭukas* and driven away. He makes a pun on the two meanings of the word *kaṭuka* here. The original remark put in the most figurative way runs as follows :

"*Kapha-vikāriṇa iva dinĕ dinĕ kaṭukair-udvĕjya mānasya*".[17]

Luckily this remark of Bāṇa is commented upon by Sankara who, having taken cognizance of the *double entendrĕ* of the term *kaṭuka*, explains it as "*kaṭukaiḥ pratihāraiḥ, tīkshṇaiścha*".[18] Needless to say, Sankara considers *kaṭukas* as a sort of *pratihāras*. It is, therefore, in accordance with Sankara that Cowell and Thomas have also taken them to be the door-keepers when they have translated the phrase into "like a phlegmatic patient, he (i.e., the new-comer seeking a job) is daily worried by acrid door-keepers".[19] In order to make the point even clearer they have further added a note which says that "*kaṭuka* may mean either (i) door-keeper; or (ii) hot-flavours".[20]

Kane, while commenting on the same phrase once more,

15. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, n. 1.
16. *Harsha.*, p. 196.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 223.
18. *Ibid.*, Commentary part.
19. *The Harshacharita*, tr. by Cowell and Thomas, p. 221.
20. *Ibid.*, n. 6.

says that the "servant is worried by the sharp words of his master; or *kaṭuka* has the same sense as he has explained it earlier".[21] Simultaneously, Kane has also considered the Ayurvedic connotation of the word where it means bitters (*kaṭu-tikta-kashāya*) made of a ginger and long and black pepper.[22]

Agrawala, on the other hand, goes on sticking to his earlier interpretation of the term as *pyāda*; though admitting it also as *pratihāra* this time.[23]

Now, having considered the two literary references to *kaṭuka* and the uncertain points of views of the scholars regarding it, we arrive at the following conclusions :

(i) Cowell and Thomas are certainly not right in the first case when they call *kaṭukas*, marshals, because in the same paragraph of the *Harshacharita*, only two compounds before the one which refers to *katuka*, Bāṇa has clearly referred to *balādhikrītas*[24] who are better known as military commanders and marshals. Besides that, it also does not fit in with the epigraphical reference to *kaṭuka* under discussion.[25]

(ii) Kane's inclination to treat *kaṭukas* in both cases as superior officers or masters of the elephant riders does not seem tenable in the light of the inscriptional reference which clearly refers to the masters of the elephants and horses (*hasty-aśvapati*) separately. Secondly, in the long list of persons looking after the royal-elephant and the elephant core of the state which is provided in the *Harshacharita* none is known as *kaṭuka*. Even the *Artha-śāstra*, upon which Bāṇa has heavily relied, does not refer to any such officer by name as *kaṭuka*.

(iii) We have already shown Agrawala's error in equating

21. Kane, *op. cit.*, notes, p. 202.
22. *Ibid.*
23. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 178.
24. *Harsha.*, p. 204, cf. '*balādhikrita-badhyamāna pāṭīpati-pēṭaka*'.
25. Out of ten-eleven officials referred to by Kauṭilya who were looking after the elephants, Bāṇa has directly or indirectly referred to at least seven of them, but none is known as *kaṭuka* in both the lists. For details, see Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 134, n. 1.

katukas with the kataka type of soldiers above. He has once equated katuka with kataka and explained both as a sort of royal servant equivalent to the later day pyādas of the Moghul courts.[26] Then, in another place he explains katakas as the foot-soldiers who were known so because of putting wristlets (kataka) on their hands.[27] A third time, he designates katukas, without equating them with katakas as pratihāras and pyādas. We are, however, not sure about the similarities between the actual functions of pratihāras and pyādas.[28]

(iv) With one simple objection, it seems that Sankara is right in explaining katukas as pratihāras. The objection is that in the list of the officials mentioned in the grant under consideration, pratihāras have already figured before katukas. Therefore, to take it simply as it is will be admitting a duplication in the grant which is not probable.

(v) In our opinion, Sankara, without giving much thought to the various cadres and grades existing within the office of Pratīhāra, itself, like bāhya-parijana, dauvārika, pratihāra, antara-pratihāra and mahāpratihāra, etc.,[29] has in a very light vein referred to katukas as pratihāras. In fact, they were not exactly pratihāras in the sense the word was understood during the Gupta and post-Gupta periods in administrative circles, but more as pratihāra[30]-rakshakas[31] (the gate or door-keepers). This is why Cowell and Thomas, in their second instance, have taken the right sense of the word katuka when they have interpreted it as door-keepers. This is also clear from

26. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 144.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 131, n. 5.
28. In the *Hobson-Jobson* (Ed. Yule and Burnell, London 1903), pp. 696-97, it is said that the word *piyādā* was originally used as a 'foot-soldier' thence as orderly or messenger. According to Steingas (*Persian Eng. Dictionary*, p. 262) also it means a foot-man, a foot-soldier, a peon or foot-guard.
29. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 44, for details on *pratihāra* and *dauvārika*, etc. See also *Manasāra* (Ch. 49) and *Sukranīti* 1. 183-84.
30. Cf. Kumāra. III, 58, "*samāsasāda-pratihāra-bhumim*", where it is referred in the sense of a royal gate.
31. Cf. *Raghu.* VI.20. "*pumvat-pragalbhā pratihāra-rakshī*."

the contexts in which Bāṇa has referred to them. Thus, in the first case when they are seen waking up the elephant riders with their shrill words of commands, this activity is taking place very near the gate where the stall of the royal elephants also used to be (though inside the gate rather than outside).[32] Similarly in the second case also the main job of the *kaṭukas* busy in driving the people away with their acrid commands takes place at the royal gate only.

(vi) Therefore, in all probability, the *kaṭukas* were like *dauvārikas* or door-keepers whose main function was to keep vigilant watch over the royal gates with all sternness, acridity and even roughness if it was necessary. Much before the noble rider would have appeared near the gate for riding on the elephant, they would have issued their shrill commands and made the mahauts get up. In the same way, when so many unwanted people would have unnecessarily flocked near the royal gate, they would have most acrimoniously shouted at them and made them go away. Most probably this acrimony (*kaṭutā*) of voice invariably demanded on the part of their job would have also been responsible for earning them such an acrid designation. This is further attested by the remarks of Bāṇa who calls the office of a royal door-keeper as *naishṭhury-adhishṭhāna*,[33] i.e., a very centre of stern discipline.

Since the date of the grant (rightly considered by the editor as falling between the middle of the sixth and the second quarter of the seventh century A.D.) coincide fairly well with the time when the *Harshacharita* was composed and both are from the same general area (North India), we can safely assume that definitions extracted from the latter text can be applied to the former.

Hence, the term *kaṭuka* figuring in the Taleśvara Grant of Dyutivarman refers most probably to guards of the palace gates.

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32. Cf. *Harsha.*, pp. 58-60. "*Vāraṇēndraiḥ śyāmāyamānam . . . rāja-dvāram-agamat*". Also see Agrawala, *op. cit.*
33. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

MĒGHA-ḌAMBARA

The epigraphical reference to the term *mēgha-ḍambara* is met in the Karūr inscription of Vīrarājēndra-I. As gleaned from the text of the record and its translation given by Hultzsch in volume three of the *South Indian Inscriptions*,[1] the term occurs in the context where the defeat of Chālukya king Ahavamalla is reported. For a better understanding of the actual import of *mēgha-ḍambara* it would be worthwhile to cite the English rendering of the relevant lines of the record :

"the king (Virarājendra) stopped his fast-furious elephant, put on the garland of victory, seized his (Ahavamalla's) wives, his family treasures, conches, parasols, trumpets, drums, canopies, white chāmaras, the boar-banner . . . . . etc., and, amidst (general) applause, put on the crown of victory . . . . ."[2]

What we notice from the above is that the term *mēgha-ḍambara* rendered into English by Hultzsch as 'canopies' appears in the context where Ahavamalla is said to have lost all his marks of royal insignia at the hands of Virarājendra. In other words, whatsoever may be the actual import of the term *mēgha-ḍambara* (which we will see in the sequel), it is certain that it was one of the important marks of royalty.

Having rendered the term *mēgha-ḍambara* into 'canopies', Hultzsch has added a foot-note where on the authority of Platt's *Hindustāni Dictionary* and Lanepoole's *Aurangzib* which quotes Bernier's *Travels*, he remarks that in the times of the Mughals the word (*meghāḍambara* or *mēghaḍambara*) had the meaning of a 'covered haudā'.[3]

1. *S.I.I.* III, No. 20, pp. 31-32, 34 (l. 8) and 37.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 37, n. 5.

As late as in the year 1966, Sircar has included the term *mēghāḍambara* (though not the *mēgha-ḍambara* which actually figures in the record) as one of the entries in his *Indian Epigraphical Glossary* and has given credence to its meaning as a 'covered haudā'[4] against the rendering of the same as canopies from Hultzsch. In other words, what has been referred to as one of the subsidiary meanings of the term from Hultzsch has been accepted by Sircar as its primary sense although the real import of the term, which also suits the context and to which Hultzsch has given his first credence, has somehow been totally ignored.

Even if we admit that during the time of Mughals, as reported by Bernier and later on also supported by Sircar, the term *mēgha-ḍambara* was taken in the sense of a covered haudā kept on the back of an elephant, the sense does not seem tenable in the above context. Here, as we have seen, the term *mēgha-ḍambara* figures along with many other significant marks of royalty like family treasures, conches, parasols, trumpets, drums, chāmaras and banners, etc., which were considered indispensable royal emblems. A *haudā* as far as we know kept on the back of the royal elephant whether covered or not, has never been considered in itself a royal emblem. It was kept on the back of the animal just for providing a little more comfort to the royal rider whereas a canopy which was suspended from or held over the throne, bed or the person of the king was considered an absolutely indispensable emblem of royalty. In fact, a canopy does include a *chhatra* or the royal umbrella as well which has been time and again considered as one of the most significant emblems of royalty. In the words of Kālidāsa, Raghu could easily part with anything but the umbrella held over him and the two chauries which were waved over his person :

"*Adēyam-āsit-traya-ēva bhūpatē
śaśi-prabham chhatram-ubhē cha chāmarē*".[5]

These emblems could be separated from the person of a king

4. Sircar, D.C., *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, Delhi, 1966, p, 202.
5. *Raghu*, III. 16. For the translation of the same idea in the field of visual arts, see Yazdani, *Ajanta*, II, p. 37, Pl. XXXV.

only in two situations; when he was either defeated by an enemy or he was dead.

We, therefore, think that the reference to the term *mĕgha-ḍambara* in the present context is made in the sense of a *chhatra* which was snatched away from the person of Ahavamalla on account of his defeat at the hands of Virarājendra.

In order to substantiate our view, it will not be out of place to look into the antiquity of the usage of the term *mĕgha-ḍambara* and the various shades of meaning applied to it.

The term *mĕgha-ḍambara* as such does not figure in the early lexicons of the Sanskrit language like the *Amara Kōsha, Trikāṇḍa-śĕsha, Halāyudha, Vaijayanti* and others. Whereas, in the modern dictionaries of the Sanskrit language like that of Monier-Williams, Apte and others, the term *mĕgha-ḍambara* is found explained as a cloud-drum or thunder and the word *ḍambara* as an entanglement, multitude or a mass of something.[6] Strangely enough, these dictionaries do not cite any authority whatsoever in support of the meaning they have arrived at. On the other hand, Forbes in his *Dictionary of English and Hindustani and vice-versa,* explains the term canopy in the sense of a *sā-e-bān, chhatra, shāmiyānā, chandwā, nautā* and *mĕgha-ḍambara,* etc.,[7] though he has also not cited any reference work in support of the meaning derived.

But, curiously enough besides the inscriptional evidence under discussion, the term *mĕgha-ḍambara* figures in the *Mānasollāsa* of the Chālukya king Somesvara and that too in a context which deals with details of the royal umbrella. This literary reference to the term *mĕgha-ḍambara,* which is the earliest as far as we could ascertain, is significant in many ways.

First of all, the curious reference to the details of *mĕgha-ḍambara* comes from the work of a succeeding ruler of the same family as that of Ahavamalla whose *mĕgha-ḍambara* was unfortunately snatched away by the Virarājendra.[8] Thus, in the present

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6. *Sanskrit English Dictionary,* ed. M. Williams, pp. 832ff. Apte's Dictionary Part II, pp. 1288.

7. *A Dictionary af Hindustani and English, accompanied by a reversed Dictionary, English and Hindustani* by Duncan Forbes, London, Part II, p. 37.

8. Cf. the dates of Virarajendra and Ahavamalha falling in between 1050 A.D. to 1070 A.D. (vide *SII.,* III, pp. 31-32) and the early dates of Somēśvara being 1124-25. (*Vide Mansollāsa* I, introduction, p. VII, ed. by G.K. Shrigondekar, Baroda, 1925).

context what Someśvara says regarding *mẽgha-ḍambara* should certainly be considered as more authentic than the travel reports of Bernier quoted by Lanepoole.

Secondly, an object like *mẽgha-ḍambara* being so familiar to a king, who can be a better judge regarding its identity, than Someśvara himself who happens to be a king in his own right ?

Someśvara having described the various types of *bhōgas* or the enjoyments of the kings comes to refer to *chhatra-bhōga as* under :

Idānīm chhatra-bhōgō-yam kathyatẽ rāj vallabhaḥ
Hẽma-paṭṭa-nibaddhẽna daṇḍẽn-ōpari dhāritam.[9]
Pundarīka-siitachchhatram rāja-yōgyam-anuttamam
Nīla-Paṭṭa-nibaddhāni raupy-daṇḍa dhṛitāni cha.[10]
Nānā-varṇṇa vichitrāṇi jhallarībhir-yutāni cha
Megha-ḍambara-nāmāni-chāmarōttamsitāni cha[11]
Chhatrāṇi vilasat-kānti-maṇibhir-jaḍitaṇi cha.[12]

It means that a royal umbrella which was made to be suspended from a staff that was covered with gold, used to be white (like a lotus) in its outwardly appearance. The inner side of it was made to stretch wide with the help of silver-made rims. The interior of it was covered with blue silk and *jhallarīs* (tassles) of different colours. Small chouries used to hang all around its circular border. Such an umbrella of the kings was known as *mẽgha-ḍambara*.

Later on, in the works of fourteenth and fifteenth century the term *mẽgha-ḍambara* figures in the list of silk stuffs. According to Motichandra terms like *mẽgha varṇa* and *mẽgha-udumbara* of the *Varṇaratnākara*[13] of Jyotirīśvara Thakkura (a Mathila from Tirhut, Bihar, who wrote in his mother dialect around the early quarters of the fourteenth century) and the *Varṇakas* like *mẽgha-ḍambara, mẽghāḍambara* and *mẽghāvali*, etc., collected in

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9. *Mānasollāsa*, I, Vim. III, Ch. XVII, 60.
10. *Ibid.*, 63.
11. *Ibid.*, 64.
12. *Ibid.*, 65.
13. *Varṇaratnākara.*

the *Varṇakasamuchchaya*[14] and also referred in the *Jīmaṇavāra-paridhānavidhi* seem to be all analogous.[15] The *mĕgha-ḍambara* according to Motichandra, is commonly referred to in old Bengali literature as a name of a variety of *sārī* which was black in colour or something like the *nīlāmbarī* of the present day.[16]

Further on, the reference to *mĕghaḍambara* in the *Ain-i-Akbarī* of Abul Fazl Allāmi comes in the sense of "an awning (which was meant) to provide shade to the elephant driver. It also looked ornamental and according to him it was an invention of His Majesty himself".[17]

Tulasidāsa (one of the celebrated poets of Hindi) who happens to be a contemporary of Abul Fazl, refers to the term *mĕgha-ḍambara* in the sense of a *chhatra*. While describing the large canopy held over the person of Rāvaṇa the king of Lankā, he comments as under :

"*Chhatra mĕgha-ḍambara sira dhāri, soi janu
jalada-ghaṭā ati kāri*".[18]

i.e., 'a *mĕgha-ḍambara* type of *chhatra* is held over the head of Rāvaṇa which looks as if a mass of watery clouds are hanging over him'.

At a later date, V.S. Agrawala, while referring to the *māyāmegha-mālā* phrase from *Kādambarī* of Baṇabhaṭṭa,[19] has dealt with the actual import of all such terms like *mĕgha-malā, gaja-tāluka, mĕghōdara* and *mĕgha-ḍambara* at length. He

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14. *Varṇakasamuchchaya*, ed. by Sandesara, B.J. Baroda, 1956, I. 84.1, 35.1, 181-5 etc.

15. *Costumes, Textiles, Cosmetics* and *Coiffeur* by Moti Chandra, Delhi, 1973, pp. 148, 153 and 160.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 160. See also the *Journal of Indian Textile History*, I (1955), p. 29, quoted by Motichandra.

17. *The Ain-i-Akbarī* by Abul Fazl Allami, translated from the original Persian by H. Blochmann, Calcutta 1873, I, p. 129.

18. *Ramacharitamānasa* of Tulasi, ed. by Viśvanatha Misra, Kasi, V.S. 2100, VI. 12.5.

19. Cf. "*Kvachit-sphaṭika balākāvalī vānta vāri-dhārā likhit-endrāyudhāh sañchāryamāṇa māyā mĕgha-mālā*", of *Kādambari* (N.S. edition Bombay, 1921), I, p. 382.

considers both *mẹgha-mālā* and *mẹgha-ḍambara* as analogous.[20] On the authority of the *Aparājita Pṛichhā* he explains that the inner side of the ceiling (*vitānachchhada*) of a temple was decorated first with the full-blown lotus and then around it there used to be a double row of clouds which was joint with another motif designed to appear like the palate of an elephant. Here, the row of clouds was known as *mẹgha-mālā*, and the elephant's palate like design as *gaja-tāluka*. Finally all the three (i.e., the lotus design, the row of clouds and the *gaja-tāluka*) together werẹ known as *mẹghōdara*.[21]

The design of *mẹgha-mālā* which is supposed to be synonymous with that of *mẹgha-ḍambara* according to Agrawala, has been well-recognised in the field of Indian decorative arts as early as in the Gupta period itself. In fact, in the paintings of the Ajanta Caves a good number of *mẹgha-mālā* designs are noticed in connection with the decoration of the ceilings wherein a mass of clouds rising in the sky are nicely painted.[22] As gleaned from the works of medieval Hindi literature the design of *mẹgha-mālā* was closely associated with the decorations of *chhatras* and *chandōwas* (a sort of canopy). When this decoration made out of multi-coloured silk fabrics was applied to a *chhatra* it was described as *mẹgha-ḍambara* like the one referred to by Tulasī.[23] The same design of *mẹgha-mālā* done while decorating a *chandowā* has been described as *dala-bādala* by *Usmāna* in his *Chitrāvatī* as under :

> "*Dala-bādala jahaṅ ambara chhāvā, Sasi Sūraja tehi mānha banāvā*".[24]

In the opinion of Agarwala the decoration known as *jala-chādara* which was invariably painted on the ceilings of the

20. *Kādambari ēk Sāmskṛitik Adhyayan* by V.S. Agrawala, Varanasi, 1970, pp. 222-23, n. 2.

21. *Ibid.*, see also *Aparājitapṛichchhā* (290-47) which explains it as under :
    "*Kamalōdbhavasya bāhyē mēgha-mālā dvayōdbhavaḥ Gaja-tālukākṛiti cha valaṇair-ashṭadhā kulam*".

22. *Ajanta* by Yazdani, II, p. Xa, XXVI, XXX, XLVII-e XLIX-a; see also *Ajanta*—by Raja Sahib Aundh, Pl. 45, ceiling of the cave number 2.

23. *Op. cit.*, n. 18.

24. *Chitrāvali* of Usmāna, 18.2 quoted by Agrawala *op. cit.*, p. 223.

apartments called *sāvana-bhādōṅ* of Mughal buildings, as is found in such apartments at Delhi and Lahore forts, was almost another name of *mēgha-ḍambara* itself. This as he believes, is what has been described by another Hindi poet called Bihāri in the following words :

"*Sahaja sēta pachatoriyā pahirai ati chhabi hōta.*
Jala chādara kĕ deepa jyoṅ jagamagāti tana jyoti".[25]

Thus, what we gather from the number of references to *mēgha-ḍambara* cited above is, that originally it was decoration made or painted in case of the ceilings of caves, temples and houses with the help of various colours arranged in such a way that they gave the impression of a multitude of watery clouds along with lightening; many times appearing with the complexion of a rain-bow (*indradhanusha*)[26] and in case of the interior of the objects like *chhatra, chandowā* or *shāmiyānā* the same was made with the help of blue-silk arranged with many pieces of other colourful silk fabrics.

The reason why Abul Fazl preferred to call even the awning fixed on the back of the elephant for providing shade to the rider as *mēgha-ḍambara*[27] also seems to be the same as explained above. How the objects like *shāmiyānā, sāĕban, chandowā* or *namgīra* came to be known as the synonyms of *mēgha-ḍambara* is on account of their interiors being decorated with the type of design which was in use much before the Mughal period. What was, in fact, introduced first by Akbar,[28] was not the design of *mēgha-*

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25. *Bihāri Satasai*, 516, quoted by Agrawala.
26. Cf. *Kādambari* where Baṇa describes such colourful designs either painted or woven as "*indrāyudha jāla-varṇānśuka*" and "*indrāyudharāga-ruchirāmbara*" (*vide* Agrawala, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-183 : 80-97, 182-184, etc.).
27. See, n. 17 above. What Blochmann (the translator of the *Ain-i-Akbari*) prefers to render into awning, is the same as *shāmiyānā, sā-e-bān chandowā* or the *nām-gīra* (*vide* Forbes, *op. cit.*, p. 17).
28. As we know, particularly from the survey of ancient Indian art and also the literature to some extent, the *haudā* added with an elongated *sā-ĕ-bān* on the back of the elephant is not noticed earlier than the Mughal period,

ḍambara but the provision of placing *shāmiyānā* or a *namgīra* on the back of elephants.

During Hindu period, right from the early times, it was a simple thick-cushion covered with a rich carpet (known as *kutha, saṁstaraṇa* and *āsana,* etc., which was generally kept on the back of the elephant used for riding. The *chhatra* above the rider was held only when the king was riding on the state-elephant and not otherwise. Therefore, the statement of Abul Fazl that keeping of a *haudā* attached with a *sā-ē-bān* on the back of the elephant was introduced for the first time by the emperor Akbar himself, seems convincing.

NIRYYŪHA

The term *niryyūha* in the field of inscriptions, to the best of my knowledge, occurs for the first time in the Ajanta cave inscription of Varāhadēva. Although, right from the day the record was noticed, the term has passed through the hands of such pioneers as Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji,[1] Burgess, Bühler[2] and Mirashi,[3] it has still not received the attention it deserves. We, therefore, intend to reconsider the actual import of this term here in the light of other literary references.

For the convenience of ready reference and also for the sake of review, it will not be out of place first to cite the relevant line of the record and also its rendering into English by the previous scholars. The said line of the record, the reading of which has been brought up to date by Mirashi against certain inaccuracies in the readings of both Bhagawanlal Indraji and Bühler, is as follows :

> "*Gavāksha-niryyūha suvīthi vēdikā,*
> *surēndra-kanyā pratimādy-alamkṛitam.*
> *Manōhara-stambha-vibhaṅga (bhūshitam),*
> *nivēśit-ābhyantara-chaitya-maṇdiram.*[4]

Leaving aside the other details of the English translation of the verse and considering only the term *niryyūha* here, we find that this has been rendered into 'doors' by both Bhagwanlal Indraji[5] and Mirashi[6] whereas Bühler has preferred to explain this

1. *Inscriptions from the cave-temples of Western India*, Bombay, 1881, pp. 69-73.
2. *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, IV, pp. 124-28.
3. *C.I.I.*, V, pp. 103-11.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 109, ll. 19-20.
5. *Op. cit.*, p. 72.
6. *Op. cit.*, p. 111.

term in the sense of 'spires'.[7]   And for this lack of accord, neither Bühler nor Mirashi has given any explanation in their support. It prompts us even more to go into the details of the literary usages of this term and find out its actual architectural import, if any.

Perhaps the earliest literary reference to the term *niryyūha* comes in its Prākṛit form from the *Majjhima-nikāya* of the Buddhist literature where *pāsāda-niryyūha*[8] is referred to. Rhys Davids has explained this term, though with a question mark, in the sense of a pinnacle, turret or a gate. In the dictionary of Monier-Williams the word *niryyūha*, on account of its relation to the context, is assigned the meanings of "prominence, projection, a kind of pinnacle or turret, a helmet, crest or any similar head ornament, a peg or bracket, wood placed in a wall for doves to build upon and as a door or a gate.[9] Later on, all these meanings of the word are also confirmed by Apte *in toto*.[10]

Vālmiki, in his description of the architectural details of the city of Laṅkā, makes use of the term *niryyūha* with two slightly different meanings. The first one possibly refers to the ornamental decoration noticed on the top of the *tōraṇa* but not the *tōraṇa* as such which is referred to in the same line later that reads :

> "*Chāru-tōraṇa-nīryyūham*
> *pāṇḍura-dvāra-tōraṇām*".[11]

The second occurrence to the term comes in connection with the description of railings and reads as :

> "*Jāmbūnadamayair·dvārair-vaidūrya-kṛita vădikaiḥ,*
> *Maṇi·sphaṭika-muktābhir-maṇi-kuṭṭima bhūshitaiḥ.*
> *Tapta-hāṭaka·niryyūhai rājat-āmala·pāṇḍuraiḥ,*
> *Chāru-sañjavan-ōpătaiḥ kham-iv-otpatitaḥ śubhaiḥ*"·[12]

7. *Op. cit.*, p. 127.
8. *Majjhina-nikāya*, I.253 (vide P.E.D., p. 205).
9. *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 557.
10. Apte's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 918.
11. *Rāmāyaṇa* 5.3.4.
12. *Ibid.*, 5.3.8, 9-10.

The next literary reference to this term comes from the *Pāda-tāḍitakam* of Shyāmilaka that stands nearer in sense to the line of our record under discussion. Herein, while describing the architectural peculiarities of the houses of a *sārvabhaumanagara*, he refers to *niryyūha(ka)* as follows :

> "*Bandha-sandhi-dvāra-gavāksha vitardi sañjavana-vīthī-hiryyūhakāni*".[13]

Motichandra and Agrawala[14] who have discussed the architectural purport of this term in detail, explain it as that part of the railing going around the verandah of the house which projects out of the wall. This portion of the railing which is generally rectangular in shape is based on two long tusk-like pegs made of the same material as that of the wall. In north Indian dialects this is popularly known by the name of a *chhajjā* which is provided invariably in front of the door of a room.

This meaning of the term according to Agrawala becomes clearer when we consider the synonyms of it provided by Amara in his lexicon. In the *Amarakōsha* the word *niryyūha* is enumerated with its synonyms as under :

> "*Dvāry-āpīḍè kvātha rasè niryyūhō nāga-dantakè*".[15]

The same is explained by Sarvananda as :

> "*ālamban-ārthaṃ gèhādi bhitti-nirgataṃ kāshṭha-dvayaṃ nāga-dantakaḥ*".[16]

Later on, this idea of *niryyūha* forming the base for the projected part of the railings (*vèdikā*) of the house verandahs, gets further confirmation from the specified description of Māgha who refers to the same as under :

> "*Rat-āntarè yatra gṛih-āntarèshu*

13. *Chaturbhāṇi*, Bombay, 1959, pp. 173-74.
14. *Ibid* , p. 144, n. 33 (12).
15. *Amarakōsha*, with the gloss of Sarvananda, Trivendrum, 1914, III.234.
16. *Ibid.*, Sanskrit gloss on the same.

vitardi-niryyūha-viṭaṅka-nīḍāḥ".[17]

Before we offer our comments on this reference, it is worth-
while to quote the gloss of Mallinātha also on the same which
helps considerably in understanding the implied sense of the term:
Mallinātha says that :

"*yatra puri gṛiha-āntarēshu vitardayō vihāra-
vēdikāḥ tāsām niryyūhā matta-vāraṇākhyā apāśrayaḥ
tēshām viṭaṅkā uparītanyaḥ kapōta pālikāḥ ta
ēva nīḍāḥ*".[18]

It means when couples indulged in amorous dalliances inside
houses in the verandahs close by the railings based on the *niryyūhas*
(the upper portions of which were occupied by pigeons for taking
rest) their pleasing sounds were imitated by the pigeons :

Now, the loving couples and the pigeons apart, what we get
from this reference is that not only the projected portion of the
railing but the railing going around the verandah as a whole was
made to rest on pegs or mini-beams designed in the form of
elephant tusks. Curiously enough, the term *niryyūha* here has
been substituted by Mallinātha on the authority of the *Vaijayantī-
kōsha*[19] by another such term called *mattavāraṇa* which, as we
know, has been the cause of a great debate amongst scholars on
Sanskrit dramaturgy.

Before taking up the issue of the analogy between *niryyūha*
and *matta-vāraṇa* we would prefer first to sum up once what we
have so far gathered regarding the contextual meanings of the
term *niryyūha*.

   (i) Out of all the synonyms to *niryyūha* like *dvāri, āpiḍa
       kvāthā rasa* and *nāga-dantaka*, we have seen so far in the
       Majjhina nikāya and the *Rāmāyaṇa* at the first instance
       the term has been used in the sense of *āpiḍa* or a chaplet
       tied on the top of the *tōraṇa*. Here, the idea which

17. *Śiśūpālavadha*, 3.55.
18. *Ibid.*, Sanskrit commentary of Mallinatha on the same.
19. *Vaijayantikōsha*, 4.3.31. Cf. "*kūṭāgāraṁ tu valabhī niryyūhō matta
    vāraṇam*".

governs the meaning of the term in all probability, is
based on the resemblance of the curve formed by the
chaplet on the top of the *toraṇa* and that of the tusk of
an elephant. This fact is borne out by the actual art
representations particularly from the area of western
caves including that from Ajanta as well.[20]

(ii) The more popular usage of the term *niryyūha* is that
which is noticed in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmiki (at the
second instance), *Pāda-tāḍitaka* of Shyāmilaka and the
Śiśupālavadha of Māgha. Here, it occurs invariably in
association with such architectural term as *sañjavana*
(i.e., *chatuḥ-śāla* or a quadrangle) *vĕdikā* and *vitardi* or a
railing and *vithī* (i.e., a gallery or a verandah) and all
these terms, as we have noticed earlier, are invariably
preceded by references to door and windows.

(iii) Since in the line of the record under discussion the
reference to *niryyūha* also comes in association with
suvithī (the gallery) and *vĕdikā* (the railings) which are all
referred to after *gavāksha* (the windows), we should also
construe the contextual meaning of the term *niryyūha*
in the same sense as above.

In other words, though the literal sense of the term *niryyūha*
has been generally construed as *nāgadantaka* or the tusk of an
elephant, its implied meaning, particularly in the context of
architectural details, has been taken either as a peg of the shape
of an elephant tusk projecting from a wall on which a *chhajjā* (a
balcony with the railings in a rectangular shape) rested or as the
nomenclature of this portion of the structure as a whole or, even
as the nomenclature of that portion of the building which includ-
ed galleries with railings (*suvithī-vĕdika*) supported by the tusk-like
pegs in general. The reason for this prominence accorded to the
windows (*gavāksha*), galleries (*suvīthi*) railings (*vĕdikā*) and their
components like *niryyūha* in the inscription is well in accord with
the architectural details of almost all the caves from western
India including Ajanta where these portions of the caves have

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20. Cf. doorway of cave XX at Ajanta (*Vide Archaeological Survey of Western
India*, IV, Pl. XXXII-1).

certainly received more prominence than the doors.[21]

Having discussed all the connotations of the term *niryyūha*, now is the occasion to think of the analogy between this term and that of another such term called *matta-vāraṇa* we have referred to above.

The early reference to the term *matta-vāraṇa* as such, prior to both the *kōsha* of Yādavāchārya and the commentary of Mallinātha on the *Śiśupālavadha*, occurs in the *Kuṭṭanimata* of *Damōdaragupta* where, in regard to the architectural peculiarities of the mansions of the city of Vārāṇasī, he refers to this term as under :

"*Divya-dharādhara bhūr-iva yā rājati matta-*
vāraṇōpētā"[22]

A.M. Shastri whose work on the *Kuṭṭanīmata of Damōdar-gupta*[23] is commendable, after elaborating the meaning of this term has equated the same with the *matta-vārāṇī* which is frequently mentioned in the *Nāṭya-śāstra*[24] in connection with the stage craft.

As gleaned from the good number of ready references, provided by Shastri, "the term has been variously interpreted by scholars, and the most likely one" to which Shastri has also offered his accord, "being that which is suggested by H.R. Divekar who considers *matta-vārani* of the *Nāṭya-śāstra* in the sense of 'galleries on the two sides of the stage".[25] With reference

21. Cf. doorway of cave XX at Ajanta (*Vide Archaeological Survey of Western India*, IV, Pl. XXXII-1) :
   (i) Frontispiece from the Chaitya cave at Kondane. Cf. the elephant tusk like pegs supporting the weight of the gallery with the railing on the third floor.
   (ii) For *gavāksha* along with the *vithīs* provided with the railings resting on *niryyūhas* see line drawings (Nos. 6 and 7) from Bhaja on page 7.
   (iii) Pl. III, front of the Chaitya Cave No. XXVI.
22. *Kuṭṭanīmata of Damōdaragupta*; Calcutta, 1944, verse 9.
23. *India as seen in the Kuṭṭanīmata of Dāmōdaragupta*, Delhi, 1975, p. 231 and the references cited therein.
24. *Nāṭyaśāstra* G.O.S. Baroda, 1956, I, (i) 90-91, (ii) 63-65; 98-99, (iii) 63-67, etc.
25. *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, X, pp. 431-37,

to the context it also appears to mean a verandah or gallery of a mansion or a large building.

Since the meaning of the term *matta-vāraṇa* or *maṭṭa-vāraṇī* thus derived stands nearer to the sense of *niryyūha* and *nāga-dantaka*, we have every reason to believe (and also the authority of Yādavācharya and Mallinātha) that the two terms were analogous in their meanings.[26]

The reason behind the term *matta-vârāṇī* not being included in the dictionaries of Monier-Williams, Apte and others, in this particular sense as it has been pointed out by Subba Rao, Ghosh,[27] Divekar[28] and P.S. Shastri[29] could be explained as under :

(i) In all probability, it was the term *niryyūha* rather than *maṭṭa-vāraṇa* that received better currency with the vocabulary of the *vāstu-śāstras* and that is why it has been treated in detail by all including the dictionary of Acharya on Hindu architecture.[30]

(ii) It is also possible that the term *matta-vāraṇī* of the *Nāṭya-śāstra* which is in the feminine gender denotes the dimunitive or mini form of a *matta-vāraṇa*

(iii) The other possible reason may be that the term *matta-vāraṇī* was used in a limited sense only and thus it escaped the attention of Amara and later on the compilers of the modern Sanskrit dictionaries.

26. Although Diwekar in his brilliant paper on *matta-vāraṇi* has arrived at a right conclusion, he seems to have misunderstood the two different connotations of the term *matta-vāraṇa*. In fact the first sense of the term *matta-vāraṇa* or *matta-vāraṇi* which, as he has rightly construed himself (pp. 432-33) is used as an *anyapada pradhāna bahuvrihi* and, therefore, refers to something different from the two components of the compound, whereas in case of the *matta-vāraṇavōh* from Kālidāsa (*Raghu*, XII 93 quoted by Diwekar) it is used as a simple compound.

27. The *Nāṭya-śāstra* (Eng. Tr.) by M.M. Ghosh, Calcutta, 1950, pp. 26-27 and notes.

28. *Op. cit.*, p. 431.

29. *Dr. Mirashi Felicitation, Vol.*, pp. 134-35.

30. *A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, London, 1927, p. 319 under *nāsikā* where *niryyūha-pañjara* and *khaṇḍa-niryyūha* are referred to; and pp. 322-23 under *niryyūha*.

PARĪVĀHAMĪḌHA-VIDHĀNAM

The term under consideration figures in the Junagadh inscription of Rudradaman. Although the inscription right from the day of its discovery in 1838 received the attention of so many pioneers like Prinsep,[1] Pandit Kamalakant, Wilson,[2] Bhau Daji,[3] Eggeling[4] and others, as Kielhorn has rightly remarked, it was only Bhagvanlal Indraji who for the first time attempted the translation of the phrase *parivāhamīḍha-vidhānam* in 1878.[5] The Gujarati original of his translation was subsequently rendered into English by Bühler and brought out in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary*, Volume VII, along with the useful comments and notes of his own.[6]

Bhagvanlal Indraji, having read the text as "*parivāhaṁ mīḍha vidhānaṁ cha*", has rendered the same into "where outlets for the water have been made by means of conduits, the outline of which runs in curves like a stream of urine". To the last part of this sentence Bühler added a note saying that, "*mūtra-rēkhā* is a common expression in Gujarati for crooked".[7] Obviously, both the scholars took the word *parīvāha* in the sense of an outlet and the word *mīḍha* as synonymous with *gōmūtraka*.

But this rendering as well as the reading of the phrase, when

1. *Journal Asiatic Society Bengal*, VII, p. 338ff. and Pl. XV.
2. *Essays on Indian Antiquities* (edited) by E. Thomas, London, 1858, II, p. 68.
3. *Journal Bombay Branch of Asiatic Society*, VII, p. 118ff.
4. *Archaeological Survey of Western India Report*, II, p. 128ff
5. *Indian Antiquary*, VII, pp. 257-61.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 261, also *Die Indischen Inschriften und das Alter der Indischen Kunstpoesie*, pp. 45ff, and 86ff.
7. *Ind. Ant.*, VII, p. 261, n. 15. It may be noted here in the passing that the *Vaijayantikōsha* also refers to the term *mīḍha* in this very sense (*jñaptaṁ tu jñapitēhannaṁ gūnē mīḍhaṁ tu mūtritē*, 5.4.113).

it was reviewed afresh, has been totally rejected by Kielhorn.[8]
The objections raised and the suggestions forwarded by him in
this regard, can be summarised as under :

> (i) The first disagreement of Kielhorn comes in the case of
> the reading of the text. He, against the reading of
> *parīvāham mīḍha-vīdhānam* from Indraji and Bühler,
> prefers to read it as "*parīvāh-mīḍha-vidhānam*". After
> this, he adds that, "*mīḍha-vīdhānam*, as we now see,
> forms part of the *bahuvrīhi* compound commencing with
> *suprativihita*, and, therefore, either *mīḍha* by itself or
> *mīḍha-vidhāna* as a whole must denote something that
> was provided for the lake just as conduits and drains
> were provided for it".[9]

> (ii) Coming to consider the real purport of the word *mīḍha*
> which is not found in the dictionaries, he opines that it
> is identical with the Pali word *mīḷha* meaning, excrements,
> dirt, or foul matter in general. Now, since foul matter
> would not have been provided for the lake, that which
> was so provided must be denoted by *mīḍha-vīdhāna* (and,
> therefore, the phrase should mean) as the "arrangements
> were made to guard against foul matter or impurities".[10]

> (iii) According to him, the term *vidhāna* here by the context,
> as elsewhere, becomes practically equivalent to *parihāra*
> or *pratikriyā*. This, he substantiates by quoting from
> the *Rāmāyaṇa*[11] where *anāgata vidhāna* is once explained
> by the phrase "*ajigamishitasy-ānishṭasya pratividhānaṁ
> parihāraḥ*", and the second time paraphrased by the
> word "*pratikriyā*".[12]

While reconsidering the meaning of the above phrase once
more, we may submit our observations as follows :

> (i) The statement of Kielhorn that the phrase *mīḍha-*

8. *E.I.*, pp. 37-45.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 42, n. 11, 12.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 45, n. 11.
11. *Rāmāyaṇa*, III-24.11 : "*anāgata-vidhānom tu kartavyam śubham-ichchhatā*",
    and the Sanskrit commentary of Rāma on the same. See also VIi.21.5.
12. *E.I.*, VIlI, p. 45, n. 11.

vidhānam forms part of the *bahuvrīhi* compound commencing with *suprativihita-ppraṇālī* can be accepted only if we agree with his interpretation of the term. This, as we shall see in the sequel excludes the explanation of the term *parīvāha* and that itself raises a doubt regarding the *samāsa-vichchhĕda* he has proposed.[13]   A noteworthy point here is that although Kielhorn has laid much stress on the term *vidhānam* and its other contexts in his notes,[14] he has virtually ignored the term *parīvāha* which is of a highly technical nature and the real purport of which is bound to throw more light on the sense of the whole phrase.

(ii) Although Kielhorn's equation of the rare term *mīḍha* with the Pali word *mīḷha* meaning, excrement or foul matter[15] sounds convincing at the first instance, yet, when the compound *parīvāhamīḍha vidhānam* is split as *parīvāham+īḍha vidhānam cha*, one feels tempted to consider the word *īḍha* here as an orthographical error for the word *īḍa* meaning something which is praiseworthy.[16] And, after considering the fact that in both the cases, i.e., whether the one suggested by Kielhorn that presumes *mīḍha* to be *mīḷha* or the one we propose now that makes *mīḍha* (better to say *īḍha*) as *īḍa*, we have no choice but to emend the proper reading of the text following the epigraphical conventions, it sounds more reasonable to consider it as an orthographical error which has turned the *alpa-prāṇa ḍa* of *īḍa* into *mahā-prāṇa ḍha* of *īḍha*. With this admission of the error in the text we arrive at a word that has a more praiseworthy meaning than that of excrement or foul matter.

(iii) Since the third remark of Kielhorn substantiating the meaning and the context of the word *vidhānam* very closely relates itself to both *mīḍha* and *parīvāha* we prefer

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13. *E.I.*, VIII, p. 45, n. 11.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. See the entries under the word *īḍ* in the *Sanskrit English Dictionary* of Monier Williams, p. 170.

to comment on it later, after consideration of the
technical aspect of the term *parīvāha* as such.

In the *vāri-varga* of the *Amarakośa*, the term *parīvāha* is
enumerated as under :

"*Jalōchchhvāsāḥ parīvāhāḥ
kūpakāstu vidārakāḥ*".[17]

The gloss of Kshiraswamy on the same explains it as "*jalaṁ
pravṛddham-uchchhvasati parivahati yairnirgama-mārgais-tĕ parī-
vāhāḥ*",[18] i.e., *parīvāha* is the outlet through which excess volume
of water (*pravṛddha-jala*) finds its way out. He also cites the
following parable which explains it further :

*Upārjitānām-arthānāṁ tvāga ĕva hi rakshaṇam
Taṭākōdara-saṁsthānāṁ parīvāha iv-āmbhasām.*

It means that like charity is the only way to safeguard well-
earned money, a provision for a *parīvāha* or an outlet is the only
remedy for protecting the banks of a tank against the force of
excess water.

In the commentaries of Sarvānanda[19] and Mallinātha[20] on
the same, the local Bengali and Telugu equivalents for *parīvāha*
have been cited respectively as *jalabhumbhuka* and *charuvumarava*.

Bhavabhūti in his *Uttara-rāmacharitam* elucidates the idea of
parīvāha even more eloquently when he says that, "*pūrōtpīḍĕ
taṭākasya parivāhaḥ pratikriyā*,"[21] i.e., when a tank has a large
volume of water, an outlet (or a channel) is the only remedy for
preventing the banks from bursting.

This meaning of the technical term *parīvāha* makes it clear
that in connection with the lake what was provided was an outlet
for the exit of excess water accumulated during rains. It stands in

17. *Amarakōsha* (T.S.S. edition) I.10.10.
18. *Ibid.*, Sanskrit commentary on the same.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 182.
20. *Ibid.*, with the unpublished South Indian Commentaries, Madras. 1971,
p. 161.
21. *Uttararāmacharitam*, 3.29; see also *Śiśu*, XVI, p. 51 and *Raghu* 8.74.

contrast with the rendering of the term *mīḍha-vidhānam* by Kielhorn who explains it as "the arrangements (were) made to guard against foul matter or impurities." However, from the explanation of the term *parīvāha* we know that the arrangements were made not so much to guard against foul matter or impurities as for the outlet of the excess volume of the water from the lake. And, this anomaly can be set right only when we construe the term *vidhāna* meaning arrangement, provision or the execution governing the deed of *parīvāha* (i.e., making of the outlet or the channel). The same thing can otherwise be paraphrased as *parīvāha-vidhānam* or *vidhāna* of *parīvāha*. In that case, the term *iḍa* of our suggestion will qualify *vidhāna*. Thus, the whole phrase, as we think, could be split and explained as "*īḍa* (or *īḍya*) *vidhānenā yuktaṁ īda-vidhānam, punaḥ etādṛiśam iḍa vidhānena yuktaṁ yat-parīvāhaṁ tad-ēva-parīvāhmīḍa-vidhānam.*"

PĀṬYUPARIKA

This unique designation of a post held by Mahāsāmanta Vijayasēna occurs in the Ganaighar grant of Vainyagupta (year 188) which was brought to the notice of scholars first by Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya along with the text of the plate and its translation.[1] The relevant lines in which the term *pāṭyuparika* occurs along with the names of other posts held by Vijayasēna run as follows :

" . . . . . . *dūtakēna mahāpratīhāra-mahāpilupati-pañch-ādhikaraṇōparika-pāṭyuparika* . . . . .
mahārāja-Śri-mahāsāmanta Vijayasēnēn = aitad
. . . . . "[2]

Out of these official titles of distinction, the titles *pañchā-dhikaraṇōparika* and *pāṭyuparika* are construed by Bhattacharya as combinations of two titles in one which are also quite new.[3] He has, however, construed the whole clause as referring to one designation and rendered the title(s) as "President of a Board of five district court-judges".[4] This interpretation as also the meaning of *pāṭyuparika*, i.e., court judges, suggested by the editor seems to be incorrect for, if the titles were meant to be interpreted as one phrase, there would have been no need for the repetition of the suffix *uparika* twice. Secondly, his translation of the term *adhikaraṇa*, once in the sense of a board and again as a district, is also far from satisfactory.

Coming to the interpretation of the term *pāṭyuparika* as 'court judges' or the 'law court officer' as suggested by Bhattacharya, when we consider the prefix *pāṭī*, which is the only unusual term in the whole title (the suffix *uparika* already being well

1. *IHQ*, VI, pp. 45-60 and Pls.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 55, ll. 15-16.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 50 and 58.

known), we do not agree with the suggestion made by the scholar. One really wonders how Bhattacharya, even though well aware of the fact that the title is somewhat new, took it to mean 'president of court-judges' without explaining the strange word *pāṭī* which, to the best of our understanding, has hardly any connection with the court of law.

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

The same interpretation has also been incorporated in the revised and enlarged edition of the *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* of Apte, with a reference to Bhattacharya's paper from the pages of *Indian Historical Quarterly*[6] rather than to Sircar.[7] In support of the term *pāṭī* being used in the sense of arithmetic, the dictionary has also cited references from a text called *Līlāvatī* and the commentary thereupon which explains that *pāṭī* is the name for the modes (*krama*) such as addition, subtraction and multiplication etc., through which the theorems of arithmetic are worked out.[8] In other words, *pāṭī* is the term for the arrangement which helps put objects into their desired sequences (i.e., *krama*) either in added, subtracted or multiplied forms. Even a simple counting (*gaṇanā*) of something may also be included within the purview of this word and that counting may not invariably be that of accounts only. It may differ from context to context.

Besides the references cited above and interpretations based on them; no other support, epigraphical or literary, is cited by Bhattacharya or Sircar. It is rather interesting to note that in the *Harshacharita* we have reference to the term *pāṭīpaṭi* more or less in the same sense as in the grant in question. Bāṇa, while

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5. *Sel. Inss.* (1942), No. 37, p. 333, n. 7. Also see *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 343 and 358 (Delhi, 1965) where once with some probability and again with more confirmity Sircar has retained the same view about the interpretation of this term. As a ready reference, it also figures in his *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 243 (Delhi, 1966).

6. *Op. cit.*

7. Apte's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, II, p. 1008, Poona, 1958.

8. *Ibid*, see "*Pāṭī nāma Saṅkalita-vyavakalita-guṇana bhājanādīnām krmaḥ*" and "*tayā yuktaṁ gaṇitaṁ pāṭīgaṇitaṁ*".

describing the military camp of Harsha, which was preparing to march forward, says that in order to make a move the military "commanders (*balādhikṛita*) have mustered the crowds of barrack superintendents"[9] (*balādhikṛita badhyāmana-pāṭī-pati-peṭake*).[10] Śaṅkara in his commentary on the text has explained the word *pāṭī* as "*bahu-parivāra-purushagṛihītō nivāsa-bhūbhāgaḥ*" or as a "*kula-putraka-samūhaḥ*", i.e., *pāṭī* is either the residential compartment of *parivāra-purushas* or that of *kula-putrakas*.[11] This whole clause, probably on the basis of the commentary of Śaṅkara, has been translated by Cowell[12] as "the crowd (or a group) of barrack superintendents" which means that the *pāṭīpatis* of Bāṇa were military officers who were in charge of barracks of soldiers, resembling the present day company commanders or commanding officers of battalions. This interpretation as well as the translation of it has also been accepted by Kane[13] and V.S. Agrawala.[14] In fact Agrawala, while considering the term *pāṭīpati* of the *Harshacharita*, has also taken into account the *pāṭyuparika* of our copper-plate and concluded that "in both the places the term *pāṭī* has been used in the sense of a military barrack whose officers-in-charge were called *pāṭīpati* or *pāṭyuparika*".[15]

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

Now, before proceeding further, it will be necessary on our part to review the interpretations of the term *pāṭīpati* of Bāṇa as

9. Cowell, *Harshacharita* of Bāṇa, Ch. VII, p. 199.
10. *Harshacharitam*, with the commentary of Śaṅkara, p. 204 (N.S. Edition, Bombay).
11. *Ibid.*, Śaṅkara has also given a variant to the term as *pāṭhipati* which is not supported by others.
12. *Supra.*
13. *Harshacharita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa*, notes, p. 168 (Delhi, 1973).
14. *Harshacharita Ek Sāmskṛitik Adhyayan*, pp. 143-44 (Patna, 1964).
15. *Ibid.*, p. 144.

given by Saṅkara, Cowell, Kane and Agrawala as all of them have
suggested it to be the title of a 'Barrack Superintendent'. The
doubtful point in this regard is how the word *pāṭī* can mean a
'barrack of military soldiers', since the idea is not supported by
the literal meaning of the term which, as we have seen above,
relates more to the mode of counting, its sequence or any other
arrangement of this type. However, the idea of counting some-
thing or its sequence, etc., can hardly be ignored. Therefore, it
seems likely that the term *pāṭīpati* was used as a title for those
military officers who were commanding battalions and whose
main job, at the time when soldiers were asked to fall in, was to
have their roll-calls taken. Since, at the time of roll-call, all the
soldiers (i.e., their group, *samūhapēṭaka*) stand in a desired
sequence (*krama*) one after another which facilitates their count-
ing (i.e., *pāṭī* or *gaṇanā*), the master (*pati*) or the superintendent-
in-charge (*uparika*) would have rightly been designated as
pāṭyuparika. The need for having information about the exact
number of soldiers present in the army of the king would have
certainly given a high status to this post. This is also the reason
why Bāṇa has placed them next to *balādhikṛita* in order.

It may be noted that *pāṭyuparika* is referred to in the grant
along with other official designations such as *mahārāja* and
mahāsāmanta. Here Vijayasēna, besides being addressed as
mahārāja, *mahāsāmanta* and *pāṭyuparika*, is also called *mahāpratī-
hāra* (i.e., chief of the door-keepers of the king's chamber, royal
palace or the capital city),[16] *mahāpīlupati* (the master of elephants),
pañchādhikaraṇōparika (i.e., chief amongst the governors of cities),
etc. The title *pāṭyuparika* is placed before *purapālōparika* which
is further followed by the titles of *mahārāja* and *mahāsāmanta*.
Though it is difficult, as Sircar has correctly observed,[17] to say
whether the different posts were held by Vijyasēna at the same
time or one after another, there can be little doubt that the titles
of *mahārāja* and *mahāsāmanta* would have been conferred upon
him when he was at the zenith of his career. In other words, after
once assuming titles of such a high order, he would have certainly

16. Sircar, *op. cit.*
17. *Ibid.*

not been demoted to the rank of a *mahāpratīhāra* or a *mahāpīlu-pati*. Further, if instances like that of a *yuvarāja* becoming *mahārājā* and from *mahārājā* in turn becoming a *mahārājādhirāja* are any indication, it is also possible that all these different posts were held by Vijayasēna in succession, a possibility that cannot easily be ignored. In that case, Vijayasēna would have begun his career from the humble post of *mahāpratīhāra*, then obtained the titles of *mahāpīlupati* and *pañchādhikaraṇōparika* and, after enjoying these posts successfully, he would have been promoted to the post of *pāṭyuparika* which, in that case, should certainly be higher than his previous posts.

After considering the martial nature of such jobs as *mahā-pratīhāra* and *mahāpīlupati* as well as the high administrative status of an *uparika* who was in-charge of more than one *adhikaraṇa*. it seems somehow unlikely that Vijayasēna was entrusted with the post of a petty chief of the accounts department and that too with a strange title of *pāṭyuparika* which is different from the already existing and better known titles like that of *kōshādhyaksha, gaṇaka* or *vyavahārapāla*, etc.

In the light of the above arguments, it seems more probable that the title *pāṭyuparika* was applied to the designation of a military officer who was in-charge of the roll-call of the soldiers of the king's army. The absence or the non-occurrence of such a title in earlier records also suggests a growth in numbers of the soldiers in the armies of Indian kings and their feudatories, which created the necessity of roll-call parades and regular checks by counting their numbers.

PRATI-NARTAKA

The only known reference to the term *prati-nartaka* comes from the Alina copper-plate inscription of Śīlāditya VII of the year 447 wherein Guha the scribe of the charter is referred to as '*prati-nartaka-kula-putr-āmātya*'.[1] J.F. Fleet, who has included this grant in his corpus of the Gupta inscriptions, while rendering this term into English has first of all left it untranslated by stating that "(this charter) has been written by his (i.e., *Mahā-pratihāra Siddhasēna's*) deputy, *prati-nartaka*, the high-born amātya Guha",[2] and then, in one of the foot-notes, has remarked as under :

> "*Prati-nartaka* appears to be an official or family title. Westergaard, in his *Radices*, does not give *nṛit* in composition with *prati*. Monier-Williams, in his *Sanskrit Dictionary*, gives it in the sense of 'to dance before, in token of contempt'. But it more probably has some connection with *nartaka* in the sense of 'a bard, a herald'."[3]

Later on, this probable meaning of the term *prati-nartaka* as a bard or a herald from Fleet has been once entertained by Kane in his appendix of the *History of Dharmaśāstra* volume three[4] and another time by Sircar in his *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*[5] without any further comment whatsoever.

Much before taking up the issue of reconsidering the probable meaning of the term *prati-nartaka* as expressed by Fleet, it is worth rechecking the entry of the term *prati-nṛit* in the new

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1. *C.I.I.*, III, p. 180, ll. 76-77 : "*tan-niyuktaka-prati-nartaka-kula-putr-āmātya Guhēna Hēmbaṭa-putrēṇa likhitam.*"
2. *Ibid.*, p. 190.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 190, n. 3.
4. *History of Dharma-śāstra*, III, appendix p. 991.
5. *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, Delhi, 1966, p. 260.

edition of the *Sanskrit English Dictionary* of Monier-Williams which has been, in due course of time, greatly enlarged and improved upon, because as we shall see the meaning of the term *prati-nartaka* which Fleet has cited from Monier-Williams is rather incomplete and this would have happened only on account of the former's consulting the older edition of the dictionary.

In the new edition of the said dictionary of Monier-Williams, the word *prati-nṛit* is explained as to 'dance before (in token of contempt), mock in turn by dancing before' and the more intensive meaning of the phrase *prati-narnṛitīti* as to 'dance before (in token of love), delight or gladden by dancing before'.[6]

This makes it clear that the sense of the term *prati-nṛit* was not only to 'dance before (in token of contempt)' but as per the context it was also construed as to 'dance before (in token of love, delight or happiness)'. This accounts for Fleet's having no choice but to consult the old edition of the said dictionary and differ from it.

Coming to the term *prati-nṛit* from which the noun *prati-nartaka* is formed, we notice that in all the contexts it is the *upasarga*[7] called *prati* that is supposed to govern the meaning of the phrase when conjoined either with the verb or the noun. In most cases it renders the sense of *anukaraṇa*[8] or imitation which could in certain contexts also yield the sense of mockery generally when *prati* is conjoined with a verb only and not a noun. But that is not the case all the time. There are instances where the association of *prati* with some verbs yields the sense of *kṛitrima* or the artificial, i.e., something that gives the resemblance of the genuine as such. For example, in the Māgha's phrase of "*sugandhitām-a-prati-yatna-pūrvvām*",[9] the term *prati-yatna* is

6. *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (revised edition), Oxford, 1956, pp. 666-67. The two literary references in support of the two different shades of the meanings cited by Monier-Williams which we regret that we could not recheck, come from the *Mahābhārata* and the *Mahābhāshya* of Patanjali.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 210, where *upasarga* is defined as a *nīpāta* or participle joined to a verb or noun denoting action (cf. '*abhi, prati, pari-upa ētē prādayaḥ upasargāḥ kriyā yogē gatiś-cha*' vide *Pāṇ* I, 4.58-60.

8. Cf. *Mahābhāshya*, I.4.4—on Pāṇini's *sūtra* referred to as *anukaraṇam chāniti-param* (I.4.62).

9. *Śiśupālavadha*, 3.54 : "*Sugandhitām-a-prati-yatna-pūrvvām bibhranti yatra pramadāya puṅsām*".

applied in the sense of imitation only.   This becomes clearer
when we look at the *Sarvankashā* of Mallinātha on the same
which explains the phrase "*a-prati-yatna*", as "*ṅa prati-yatnaḥ
saṁskāraḥ pūrvvō yasyāstāṁ a-prati-yatna-pūrvvām a-kṛitrimām
svābhāvīkīm-ity-arthaḥ*".[10] And, this is what is also attested by the
Vaijayantikōsha[11] that explains '*prati* + *yatna*' in the   sense   of
saṁskāra.

Thus, on the analogy of *prati-yatna*, in our opinion, the
phrase *prati-nartana* could also be construed as an act of *kṛitrima*
or the artificial dance.   In other words, *prati-nartana* never meant
a dance in its usual form but a mere resemblance to dance and a
person in whose movements (*gati*) this resemblance to or imitation
of dance was noticed, came, therefore, to be known as *prati-
nartaka*.

While paraphrasing the same once more, we can say that
prati-nartaka should be one whose movements when he marched
in front of his master presented a great resemblance to dance.

Having discussed the semantic side of the term, now it is
time to examine how far the job of a herald, who has been
considered as *prati-nartaka* by Fleet, Kane and Sircar, justifies the
above explanation of the term.

A herald in the parlance of the West generally meant an
officer who made state proclamations, bore messages between
princes, officiated in the tourney, arranged various state cere-
monials, regulated the use of armorial bearings, settled questions
of precedence and recorded names and pedigrees of those entitled
to armorial bearings.[12]   In the Indian context and more particu-
larly in the context in question, a herald is supposed to be a type
of messenger, a forerunner, or to be more precise a bearer of the
banner who usually ran in front of the royal army.   This is well-
attested by a good number of literary references and also pictorial
illustrations to this effect.   For example, the banner-bearers in the
army of Harsha are described by Bāṇa as those who ran (or,
rather marched faster than others) in front of the army : "*puraḥ*

10. See f.n. 9, Sanskrit commentary of Mallinatha on the same.
11. *Vaijayantikōsha.* 8.1.31 : "*prati yatnas tu saṁskāraḥ.*"
12. *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, p. 571.

pradhāvad-dhvaja-vāhini".[13]

In the field of visual arts, we notice the presence of a herald or a banner-bearer (*dhvaja-vāhaka*) right from early times. For example, in the reliefs from Amaravati, besides many forerunners and messsengers who on account of their movements confirm the idea of *prati-naratana*,[14] there is a delineation of a herald marching in front of the royal troupe who translates the idea of Bāṇa's '*puraḥ pradhāvad-dhvaja-vahini*' phrase in almost all respects.[15] One could easily gather the idea from close observation of the movements of these persons, that heralds, though they were not dancers, were made to dance to the tunes of their masters. In fact, these (the *prati-nartakas*) were dancers whose movements (*gati*) were neither controlled by the *laya* (rhythm) nor the *tāla* (time measure) of the musical code but by the tune (in the form of command) of their masters only.

After considering the other titles like *kula-putra* and *amātya* of Guha (the *prati-nartaka* in question who was also the deputy— *tan-niyuktaka* of a *Mahāpratīhāra*), it is obvious that he was not a person of such a low status like that of a messenger or a fore-runner but certainly an official of a higher and most trustworthy status. And, the fact that the banner of any army or a king enjoyed a status *per excellence* bears out the truth that Guha, the *prati-nartaka* of our record, must have enjoyed a considerably high status in the hierarchy of the state.

In the light of the above facts it seems rather improbable to think that the title *prati-nartaka* would have been a family title. Had that been the case, we would have certainly come across it in some of the other inscriptions of this very dynasty somewhere. On the other hand, the title *prati-nartaka* as we have said at the very outset seems to be a rare one even for a royal designation. No wonder if it is attributed to Guha as a special epithet since he was so good at his job as a herald.

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13. *Harshacharita* (N.S. edition) VII, p. 205. See also the English translation of the *Harshacharita* from Cowell and Thomas, p. 201.
14. James Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship or Illustrations of Mythology and Art in India*, London, 1873, Pls. LIX and XCVIII.
15. *Ibid.*, see Pl. LXXXIII—Fig. 2.

PURAMDARA-NANDANA

An unusual reference to the term *puramdara-nandana* is made in the Nilgund inscription of Amoghavarsha, which was edited first by Fleet in the pages of *Epigraphia Indica*, volume VI.[1] It occurs in the invocatory verse of the record that reads as follows :

"*Jayati bhuvana-kāraṇam Svayambhūr =*
Jayati Puramdara-nandanō Murāriḥ.
Jayati giri-sutā-niruddha-dēhō
Durita-bhay-āpaharō Haraś-cha dēvaḥ".[2]

Fleet has translated the verse into English as under :

"Victorious is Svayambhu (Brahman), the cause of the world; victorious is Murāri (Vishṇu), the son of Puramdara (Indra); and victorious is the god Hara (Śiva) whose body is imprisoned by (the embraces of) (Pārvatī) the daughter of the mountain (Himālaya); and who removes sin and fear".[3]

After the translation Fleet adds a footnote to the term *puramdara-nandana* which says :

"The reading *puramdara-nandanō* is quite clear and unmistakable in the present record, and in line 1 of an inscription of A.D. 897-98 and Chiñchli in the Gadag tāluka,[4] and evidently in also the impressions of an inscription at Kālañjar, referred to "about the eighth

1. *E.I.*, VI, pp. 102ff, Nilgund Inscription of Amoghavarsha I; A.D. 866.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 102, ll. 1-2.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 105, v. 1.
4. I am sorry that for want of clear cut reference to this effect I could not verify the contents of this record.

century",[5] from which the verse has already been brought to notice by Prof. Kielhorn (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 210, note 3).[6] And it seems impossible to translate the word otherwise than by "Son of Puraṁdara". But Vishṇu was one of the *svayaṁbhu* or self existing gods; the later mythology represents him as the younger brother of Indra, and, as yet, we know of no other statement that would make him a son of Indra, and we know the expression "son of Indra" only as an epithet of the monkey king Vālin, of Arjuna, and of Jayanta".[7]

Subsequently, after the above lines were printed and the volume of the *Epigraphia Indica* was about to come out, Fleet seems to have consulted Prof. Kielhorn concerning this point. This is indicated by a paragraph in the column of "Additions and corrections" of the said volume which reads as follows :

"Professor Kielhorn has now fully accounted for the description of Vishṇu here as *puraṁdara-nandana* "son of Indra", see *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1900, p. 350ff., where he has shown that it may be traced back to the use of *Ākhaṇḍala·sūnu*, in the *Kirātārjunīya*, i. 24, to denote primarily Arjuna, "the son of Indra", and secondarily Vishṇu, "the younger brother of Indra". As he has said in conclusion, "If a poet like Bhāravi could use *Ākhaṇḍala-sūnu* as a name of the god Vishṇu, we cannot wonder that some petty poet should have employed its exact synonym Puraṁdara-nandana, in just the same sense".[8]

As can be seen from the above, the arguments of both Fleet and Kielhorn in construing the sense of *puraṁdara-nandana* as 'the son of Indra' are based mainly on the authority of Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya*. It is, therefore, necessary to look into the original context of this term and see how and why Bhāravi, known for his care in selecting words, has resorted to such an unusual and

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5. This inscription is above a statue of Śiva and Pārvati in a cell near Nilakaṇṭha's temple. A photolithograph of it is given in *Archaeological Survey of India*, XXI, Plates IX, X.

6. *E.I.*, V, p. 210, n. 3 where Kielhorn has also supplied the full transcript of the text prepared from Cunningham's impressions.

7. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 105, n. 8.

8. *Ibid.*, Additions and Corrections, p. vi.

contra-mythical usage. The particular verse from the work referred to by Kielhorn reads as follows :

> "*Kathā prasaṅgěna janaiṛ-udāhṛitād-*
> *anusmṛit-Ākhaṇḍala-sūnu-vikramaḥ.*
> *Tav-ābhidhānād-vyathatě nat-ānanaḥ*
> *sa duḥsahān-mantra-padād-iv-ōragaḥ".[9]*

The context of this verse is where Draupadi is reporting the state of affairs to Yudhiṣṭhira and telling him how frightened Duryōdhana is. The simple meaning of the verse is that 'whenever somebody refers to your name along with the valorous deeds of Arjuna (the son of Indra, i.e., *Ākhaṇḍala*) to Duryōdhana, he feels uneasy like a snake does when the words of a poison removing *mantra* are recited'. Here, as far the original text is concerned, I do not see any shade of meaning in the term *ākhaṇḍala-sūnu* that refers to Vishṇu as 'the son of Indra'.

In fact, it is the gloss of Mallinātha on the above verse that gives some inkling to this effect although not in the sense of Vishṇu as the son of Indra but as his younger brother. Mallinātha, while explaining the term *ākhaṇḍala-sūnu* states as follows :

> "*anusmṛīt-ākhaṇḍala-sūnu-vikramaḥ smṛit-*
> *Ārjuna parākramaḥ".[10]*

Then, in order to extract the meaning of Garuḍa from the word *vikrama* he applies the usual acrobatic of Sanskrit commentators and remarks :

> "*Ākhaṇḍala-sūnur-Indr-ānujaḥ Upěndrō Vishṇur-*
> *iti yāvat,[11] tasya viḥ pakshī garuḍa ity-arthaḥ".[12]*

To me, with all regards to the great commentator Mallinātha, it all sounds superfluous as instead of highlighting the *artha-*

9. *Kirātārjunīyam* of Bhāravi with the commentary (*Ghaṇṭāpatha*) of Mallinātha, ed. by Durgaprasad, Bombay, 1916, i. 24.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12 commentary part.

11. *Ibid.*, here he quotes the authority of *Viśvakōsha*.

12. *Ibid.*

gaurava[13] of Bhāravi, it highlights more of his *anartha-gaurava*. In my opinion, for reciting the *mantra* against a snake-bite, the presence of Garuḍa in person is not necessary and the job is done better by a *visha-vaidya*. The idea of Bhāravi's statement is that even a casual reference to the valorous deeds of Arjuna makes Duryōdhana feel frightened like a snake charmed by the *mantra* of a *visha-vaidya*. Here, the *artha-gaurava* of Bhāravi's expression is not so explicit in the double *entendrē* of either the term *ākhaṇḍala sūnu* or *vikrama* as it is in case of *kathā-prasaṅga* that happens to be the synonym of a *visha-vaidya*.[14]

Thus, it is clear now that in regard to the word *ākhaṇḍala-sūnu* from Bhāravi what has been construed by Fleet and Kielhorn is based more on the gloss of Mallinātha. And, as we have seen earlier, even Mallinātha does not explain the term *ākhaṇḍala-sūnu* in the sense of Vishṇu as the 'son of Indra'. What he says on the authority of the *Viśvakōsha* is that the word *sūnu*, as per the context, could also be construed in the sense of *anuja* or younger brother. In other words, it will be merely a matter of interpretation if we ascribe the use of *ākhaṇḍala-sūnu* in the sense of Vishṇu to Bhāravi.

Coming to the statement of Kielhorn that the expression *ākhaṇḍala-sūnu* is the exact synonym of *puraṁdara-nandana*, exactitude of the synonymity in between the two terms *sūnu* and *nandana* also deserves to be examined in detail.

The term *sūnu* is derived from the root *sū* (*Dhātupāṭha*, XXIV, 21) and defined as '*sūyatē iti sūnuḥ*', meaning one who is begotten or brought forth. Monier-Williams has given its other parallels from the Indo-European group of languages including 'son' of the current English.[15] In the *Amarakōsha*, select synonyms of *sūnu* are described as *ātmaja, tanaya, suta* and *putra*.[16] In short, *sūnu* is a son who is begotten.

13. Compare the popular saying of "*upamā   Kālidāsasya Bhāravēr-artha-gauravaṁ*", etc.
14. Cf., "*kathā-prasaṅgō vārtāyāṁ visha-vaidyē=pi vāchyavat*", of *Viśva* that is quoted by Mallinātha himself.
15. *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, pp. 1240-41.
16. *Amara* II. 6.27; "*ātmajas-tanayaḥ sūnuḥ sutaḥ putraḥ striyāṁ tv-ami*". An appropriate usage of the term *sūnu* is met in the expression of Kālidāsa :
    "*sūnuḥ sūnṛitvāk-srashṭūr-visasarj ōdita-sriyaṁ*", *Raghu* I.93.

As regards *nandana*, it is derived from the root *nand* (*Dhātu-pātha*, iii, 30), meaning 'to rejoice, delight, to be pleased or satisfied with and to be glad of', etc. It is defined as, '*nandayati iti nandanaḥ*' meaning one whose (appearance) causes joy or gladdens.[17] Since the appearance of a son has been considered universally as a fact that delights every one,[18] the subsidiary meaning of the term *nandana* has also been construed as that of a son. This is why Halāyudha has included the term *nandana* in the list of his synonyms for a son, in the last :

"*Sūnuḥsanntatir-ātmajas-cha tanujaḥ putraḥ
prasūtiḥ sutaḥ tuk, tōkam tanayaś-cha nandana
iti prajñair-apatyam smṛitam*".[19]

Hence, while summing up our inquiry on the synonymity in between *sūnu* and *nandana*, we can say that in spite of both terms yielding the sense of a son their connotations in detail are quite different and they cannot be taken as 'exact synonyms'.

After going through the view of both Fleet and Kielhorn in detail what we conclude is that :

(i) Fleet is neither right in interpreting the term *puraṁdara-nandana* as the son of Indra nor he is right in his statement that, "it seems impossible to translate the word otherwise than by 'son of Puraṁdara'.[20]

(ii) The views of Kielhorn that support the hypothesis of Fleet and that are based mainly on the authority of Bhāravi's *ākhaṇḍala-sūnu* are also not based on a very sound footing, for as we have seen, even though the term *sūnu* can be construed in the sense of a son and a younger

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17. Monier-Williams, p. 526.
18. Compare the maxim, '*śabda-lōghava mātreṇa putrōtsavaṁ manyantē Vaiyākarṇāh*'. See also Kālidāsa's usages of *nandana* in '*atindriyēshvapy-upapannadarśanō babhūva bhāvēshu Dilipa-nandanaḥ*' and again in its feminine form *nandinī*; '*anindyā Nandinī nāma dhēnur-āvavṛitē vanāt*' (*Raghu* III. 412 I.82).
19. *Halāyudhakōsha*, II, 497.
20. *E.I.*, VI, p. 105, n. 8.

brother,[21] it can never be taken as an 'exact synonym' of
nandana. In simple terms, *sūnu* is one who is begotten
and/or born later but this is never the case with *nandana*
who may be born either before or later or who may be
even a contemporary of one's own self.

(iii) In my opinion, the term *puraṁdara-nandana* means 'one
who delights or brings happiness to Indra'. And here it
is Murāri (i.e., Vishṇu) who is qualified with that objec-
tive of delighting Indra.[22]

(iv) Besides, the poet who composed the verse of this
inscription (howsoever petty a poet he might have been),
has, in my opinion, taken enough care in the selection
of his words. That is, lest someone may not confuse the
issue, he has placed the expression '*puraṁdara-nandanō*,
between the two terms *svayambhu* (as a prefix) and
Murāri (as a suffix). If the real purport of the term
svayambhu is to remind one that Vishṇu is a self-existing
god, that of the term '*Murāri*, is just to give an
example of Vishṇu's exploits that were ever meant to
please Indra.[23]

(v) My interpretation of the term '*puraṁdara-nandana*'
meaning 'Vishṇu who pleases Indra' is supported by ano-
ther invocatory verse from the Junagadh inscription of
Skandagupta. This self-explanatory verse of that record
reads as follows :

"*Śriyam-abhimata-bhōgyāṁ naika kāl-āpanītāṁ,
Tridaśa-pati-sukhārttham yō Balēr-ājahāra.
Kamala-nilayanāyaḥ śāśvatṁ dhāma-lakshmyāḥ
Sa jayati vijit-ārttir-Vishṇur-atyanta jishṇuḥ*".[24]

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21. See M.W.P. 1240, who has also referred to the said verse of the *Kirātār-juniya* in support of *sūnu* being a younger brother.
22. Compare the line of the text that reads "*Puraṁdara-nandanō Murāriḥ*". The compound "*Purandara-nandanah*" may be explained better as "*Puraṁdaraṁ nandayati āhlādayati vā iti Puraṁdara-nandanaḥ*."
23. Cf., the episode of Mura who had snatched away the *chhatra* and *kuṇḍala* of Indra and who was later on killed by Vishṇu-Krishṇa, vide *Bh. P.*, X, 59, 1-2.
24. *C.I.I.*, III, ed. by Fleet, pp. 50ff, l. 1.

SUGRIHÎTA-NÂMAN

The curious term *Sugrihīta-nāman* which is related to the realm of ancient Indian official, dramatic and non-dramatic etiquette, figures for the first time as a mark of an official etiquette in the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman. The relevant lines of the record, where this term figures far more than once in connection with the genealogy of Rudradāman, read as follows :

"………*Tad-idaṁ rājñō mahākshatrapasya sugrihīta-nāmnaḥ Svāmi Chashṭanasya pautra[sya rājñah kshatrapasya sugrihīta-nāmnaḥ Svāmi Jayadāmna]ḥ putrasya rājñō mahākshatrapasya gurubhīr=abhyasta-nāmnō Rudradāmnō………*"[1]

The inscription being of considerable interest, particularly for the fact that it enjoys the unsurpassed credit of being the earliest lithic record composed in chaste classical Sanskrit, captured the attention of almost every lover of Sanskrit literature, right from the day of its discovery. Since 1838, when it was first edited with a translation and small lithograph by James Prinsep, continuously for a period of more than seven decades attempts were made to improve upon its reading and also the translation of the text in general and the interpretations of some of its knotty terms in particular.[2] Though the term *sugrihīta-nāman* may certainly not be classified in the category of knotty terms, the particular application of this term and also its significant role in some rather far-fetched conclusions reached by Levi are the facts which demand our immediate attention here.

Before referring to the views of Levi in this regard and to

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1. *E.I.*, VIII, p. 42, ll. 3, 4 and n. 14 wherein its editor F. Kielhorn has filled up the lacuna in the text.
2. *Ibid.*, introduction, pp. 36-37 and the references cited therein.

the conclusions he has drawn, it will not be out of place to have a cursory look at the rendering of the term *sugṛihīta-nāman* by scholars before and after Levi. Since their interpretations differ markedly from Levi's, this will provide a more balanced perspective on the matter.

Sugṛihīta-nāmā James Prinsep and his associate Pandit Kamalakanta who have rendered the term *sugṛihīta-nāman* into one "who was named so",[3] were certainly not keen to go deeper into the subtleties of this term since they were occupied with bigger issues. Later on, while revising the said translation of Prinsep, Wilson rendered the same term as "of well selected name".[4] Though in the subsequent years of 1862[5] and 1876[6] a great advance in the reading and the interpretation of the inscription was made by Bhau Daji and Eggeling, since the term *sugṛihīta-nāman* did not pose much problem either on the part of its reading or the interpretation, it was rendered more or less the same way as above. Two years later when Bhagvanlal Indraji's own text and translation was published under the editorship of Bühler in *Indian Antiquary*,[7] he explained the term *sugṛihīta-nāman* as one "whose name is of auspicious import".

The same rendering of the term with a slight alteration was once again confirmed by Bühler in the year 1890, when he produced the text of the record and a translation of a part of it in his famous essay written in German.[8] What he rendered into German could be translated as the one "the utterance of whose name brings salvation".[9] It was in this sequel that Levi dealt with, not the inscription of Rudradāman as a whole, but the actual purport of the term *sugṛihīta-nāman* along with some other

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3. *Essays on Indian Antiquities* (edited) by E. Thomas, London, 1858, II, p. 58.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 68. Revised translation of the "Sāh Inscriptions on the Girnār Rock" by H H. Wilson.
5. *Journal Bombay Branch of Asiatic Soc.*, VII, p. 118ff.
6. *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, II, p. 128ff.
7. *Ind. Ant.*, VII, p. 261.
8. *Die Indischen Inscriften und das Alter der Indischen Kunstpossie*, Berlin, 1890, p. 53.
9. *Ibid.*, see also *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIII, p. 53.

terms referred to in the inscriptions of the Kshatrapas.[10]

Although as a matter of chronological sequence, it would have been better to review the article of Levi right now, it will not be improper to consider the opinion of Kielhorn as well, in this regard, since he has re-edited the inscription with an elaborate translation covering many terms at a greater length (coincidentally also adhering more to the views of previous scholars than to that of Levi in matters such as the one under discussion).

Kielhorn, while referring to the term *sugrihīta-nāman*, renders it into one "the taking of whose name is auspicious.[11] In order to substantiate his point, he also adds a note to his translation where, on the authority of a good number of literary references to this term noticed in the text of *Harsha Charita* (to which we will have recourse later), he demonstrates fully well the actual sense of the verb *grahaṇa* or *sugrahaṇa* and its forms like *grihīta* or *sugrihīta* being that of receiving, uttering or taking', etc.[12]

Having reviewed the earlier scholarship on the epigraphical reference to the term *sugrihīta-nāman* and its interpretations, now it is appropriate to proceed with the hypothesis of Levi.

Sugrihīta-nāmā Levi in his brilliant paper on the theme presented in most cogent, fluent and charming language, first of all expresses his partial disagreement with the interpretation of the term offered by others including Bōhtlink in general, and that of Bühler in particular. According to him 'the exact sense of this expression too often rendered by rather vague formulae (of auspicious name, auspiciously named, etc.) seems capable of being more clearly expressed".[13] In order to demonstrate how clearly the phrase *sugrihīta-nāman* can be expressed, Levi makes a commendable effort to survey the major part of Sanskrit literature and quote the references to *sugrihīta-nāman* from various texts. Since, at many places, with all regards to the learned Professor,

10. *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIII, pp. 163-74. Though the original article of Levi was written in French which appeared first in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1902, Part I, pp. 95-125, we, having no access to that language and the journal, are referring only to the English translation (done under the direction of Burgess) of that paper titled as Some Terms in the Kshatrapa Inscriptions".
11. *E.I.*, VIII, p. 46.
12. *Ibid.*, n. 1
13. *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIII, p. 167.

he has not only quoted the extracts from the texts, but in some cases he has rather misquoted and in a few cases even misrepresented the views of the original authors, we deem it proper to review the whole issue once again in sequence.

With the ulterior motive of arriving at his final remark that "*it must have been in the time and the court of the Kshatrapas that the vocabulary, the technique and the first examples of the Sanskrit drama and everything connected with it were established*",[14] he asserts that the term "*sugṛihīta-nāman* like *svāmin* and *bhadra-mukha*, (all terms which figure as honorific titles in the inscriptions of the Kshatrapas) belongs to the formulary of the theatre and things relating to it".[15] However, the fact is that the definition of the word *sugṛihīta-nāman* is not found in the actual text of Bharata at all although the words *svāmin* and *bhadramukha* are. It is much later (later than both the date of the inscription of Rudradāman and the period of Bharata) that a reference to this term is noticed in the *Daśarūpaka*[16] of Dhanañjaya and the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*[17] of Viśvanātha, which Prof. Levi quotes in support thereby giving the indirect impression that both the texts, as regards their chronological sequence, fall next in line with the *Nāṭya-sāstra*. This is misleading. The fact is that although the works of both Dhanañjaya and Viśvanātha deal with the same theme as that of Bharata, the more direct inspiration they have drawn or the information they have gathered for the purposes of poetic codification hail, in terms of ratio, more from the literary works which preceded them in the recent past and comparatively less from Bharata. The very fact that they include terms like *sugṛihīta-nāman* in their works, which are not referred to by Bharata at all, demonstrates the belief that they must have relied on works better known to them from the recent past.

14. *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIII, p. 169.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 165.
16. *Daśarūpaka*, ii, 63, defines the term *sugṛihītābhidha* as follows :
   "*Rathī sūtēna ch-āyushmān pūjyaih śishy-ātmaj ānujāḥ.*
   Vats ēti tātaḥ pūjyō=pi sugṛihītābhidhas-tu taiḥ.
   Api śabdāt pūjyēṇa śishy-ātmaj-ānujās-tāt-ēti
   vāchyaḥ sō=pi tais=tāt-ēti sugṛihita nāma ch-ēti."
17. *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* 431, defines it as "*sugṛihīt-ābhidhaḥ pūjyaḥ śishy-ādyair-vinigadyatē*".

Further on Levi, while disputing the interpretation of the term *sugṛihīta-nāman* given by Bühler and found in conformity with the *Petersburg Dictionary* also, rejects the explanation of the term given in the dictionary as well as in its source material.[18] As we know (and Levi also cites), the first edition of the *Petersburg Dictionary* while explaining the term *sugṛihīta-nāman* cites the definition of the same from the *Trikāṇḍaśēsha* as follows :

"......*yaḥ prātaḥ smaryatē subhakāmvayā sa
sugṛihītu-nāmā syāt*........."[19]

It says that the *sugṛihīta-nāmā* is a person whom one recalls in the morning with a kindly intention. "But examination of the examples", says Levi "which I am going to cite, proves beyond doubt that the text of the *kōsha* is faulty, whoever may be responsible for the fault, and that it must be corrected thus : . . . *yaḥ prētaḥ smaryatē* . . . i.e., the *sugṛihīta-nāman* is a deceased person whom one remembers with favour."[20]

The anomaly of Levi's afore-mentioned statement is that it finds fault with almost everything without detailing the specific reasons. He not only disagrees with the interpretation of Bühler and questions the authenticity of the dictionary, which according to him did not care to check the proper text of the quotation cited, but also for reasons better known to him, discards the presently available version of the *kōśa* and its Sanskrit commentary as well.[21]

The fallacy of Levi's argument that *prātaḥ-smaryatē*, should be corrected as *prētaḥ-smaryatē* is such that it could hardly be

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18. Levi, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-66.
19. *The Trikāṇḍaśēsha* by Purushōttamadēva, with the commentary called *Sārārthā-chandrikā*, Bombay, 1916, II, 7. 27-28. Since we have not been able to check the entry in the *Petersberg Dictionary* ourselves, we are not sure as to what edition of the *kōśa* was followed by Böhtlik and subsequently by Levi if he referred to the *kōśa* himself as he has not cited such details in his paper.
20. Levi, *op. cit.*, p. 166.
21. The commentary of *Trikāṇḍaśēsha* (*op. cit.*) explains the term *sugṛihītanāmā* as the address of "*subha-kāmyayā smaraṇīyasva puṇya-kīrtanasya janasya*", which we doubt whether Levi has cared to see or if he has seen it, he has certainly not taken note of it.

approved of. It falls altogether contrary to the established norms of age-old Indian culture where to recall one's elders with all due regards in the morning (and even otherwise) is considered not only as a part of etiquette but rather a pious duty or an unfailing obligation. Even a casual look at the mass of verses available on the theme of *prātaḥ-smaraṇa*[22] will suffice to make one feel convinced.

Coming to the examples in Levi's paper which he has selected in support of his argument for the funeral meaning of the honorific title *sugṛīhita-nāman*, we can summarize them in the following order :

1. Having remarked that the authentic works of Bāṇa show a preference for the (so to say) funeral meaning of the title he gathers the following quotations in his support :

    (a) From the *Kādambari* where Śuka after the death of his father remarks that "if I breathe when my father *sugṛihītanāman* is dead (*ẽvam uparatẽ = pi sugṛihīta nāmni tātẽ yad-aham . . . prāṇimi*)".[23]

    (b) Mahāśvetā, recalling her dead husband, describes him by these words : "*Dẽvasya sugṛihīta-nāmnaḥ Puṇḍarikasya (smaranti) dẽvaḥ sugṛihīta-nāmā Puṇḍarīkaḥ*".[24]

    (c) In the *Harsha-Charita*, Rājyavardhana refers to his grand-father as under : "*Tātẽn = aiva . . . sugṛihīta-nāmni tatra bhavati parāsutām gatẽ pitari kiṁ n= ākāri rājvaṁ*,[25] i.e., "Did our father not take the government in hand on the death of his *sugṛihīta-nāman* father ?"

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22. See Monier-Williams under the entry *prātaḥ-smaraṇa* and the select references cited therein.
23. *The Kādambari of Bāṇabhaṭṭa* ed. by Parab, K.P. with the commentary of Bhānuchandra, N.S.P. Bombay, 1921, p. 69, l. 9; *cf.* commentary which explains the word *sugṛihītanāmni* as "*sugṛihītaṁ sarvadā grahoṇa yōgyāṁ nāma*", i.e., whether alive or dead, it is an honorific term which always precedes the names of elders.
24. *Ibid.* (Ed. by Peterson, Bombay), p. 308, ll. 18 and 22. We regret that we could not locate this reference in the above quoted edition of the text.
25. *Harsha-Charita*, (N.S.P. edition), 1918, p. 179, ll. 9-10.

    (d) So, also, the king Harsha himself remembering his deceased brother-in-law, in the same way attaches the epithet to his name : "*Tatra bhavataḥ sugṛhīta-nāmnaḥ svargatasya Grahavarmaṇaḥ bālamitram*".[26]

2. In the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of A.D. 602 the genealogy of Mangaleśa assigns the title *sugṛhīta nāmadhĕva* to his grandfather *Raṇarāga*.[27]

3. In the *Rājataraṅgiṇi* the demise of king Lalitāditya is reported by his Prime Minister as follows :

"*Sugṛhīt-ābhidhō rājā gataḥ sa sukṛitī divam*"[28]

i.e., "The king *Sugṛhītābhidha*, the beneficient, has gone to heaven".

Before taking up a review of Levi's motive in citing the above references to the term *sugṛhīta-nāman* (which all figure in the context of 'funeral meaning' and to which a few more can further be added), it is worth noticing that the references to the term in the contexts of non-funeral meaning he himself cites (to which we will have recourse later) far exceed in number the ones cited above.

The point which Levi desires to bring home, by citing the above references with their allegedly funeral implications, is not difficult to discern. It is nothing else but to impress upon us clearly the fact that the original sense of the title *sugṛhīta-nāmā* is the same as the one expressed in the inscription of Rudradāman "*in whose court for the first time every aspect of literary Sanskrit was introduced and established*".[29]

It is in the same sequel and with the same purpose in mind that he explains the significance of the verb *grah* and says that this verb "which generally signifies 'to take', signifies when associated with the words such as *nāman*, to use, mention or cite".[30] Here, one may have no objection as far as the meaning of the very *grah* in association with *naman* being using, mentioning or citing of

26. *Harsha-Charita*, (N.S.P. edition), p. 233, ll. 17-18.
27. *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 16, l. 3.
28. *Rājataraṅgiṇi*, ed. by Stein A., Delhi, 1960 (reprint), IV. 362.
29. Levi, *op. cit.*, p. 169.
30. *Ibid.*

the name is concerned, because it is in perfect agreement with the interpretations of the scholars we have cited above, but what Levi puts forth as an example to illustrate his point certainly seems to be far from the mark.

In order to uphold his interpretation of the 'mention of the name' he quotes the following verse from the *Uttara-Rāmcharita* where Rāma having just resolved to cast Sitā aside invokes the Earth, Sugrīva and others and adds "*Tě hi manyě mahātmānaḥ kṛitaghněna durātmanā. Mayāgṛihīta nāmānaḥ spṛiśyanta iva pāp-mana,*"[31] i.e., "But, indeed I think that those great ones are contaminated by having their names mentioned by me (who is) so ungrateful and wicked".[32]

Here, the very association of the word *gṛihīta* (a form of the verb *grah*) with *nāmānaḥ* as far as we understand, does not make any noteworthy difference unless we think that by applying the word 'mention' Levi has something more subtle in mind which might convey a sense contrary to the honourable mention of a name. As far as we could ascertain, there is no such ins- truction in Sanskrit grammar which says that the verb *grah* when associated with the words like *nāman* should signify the sense of *jugupsā* (abhorrence) or *ākrōśā* (abuse, calumination or dis- honour). What we understand is that *nāma-grahaṇa* was an act of addressing anyone whereas *sugṛihīta-nāman* was a particular phrase used only when the elders and the respectable ones were to be addressed. This is why the very process of coming to know one's name is described as, "*bhūyaḥ śravaṇěna nāma-grahaṇam*",[33] i.e., 'by constantly being addressed by the sane name (or appella- tion) one succeeds in receiving, taking or grasping his name'.

Regarding the usage of the term *gṛihītanāmānaḥ* from Bhavabhūti, Levi has not only taken it as a custom contrary to *sugrahaṇa* but has also gone further in substantiating his views with the help of a prescription from Manu. He believes that the idea attached to the 'mention of the name' is the same as that held by Manu when he says that "An iron nail, ten inches long and

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31. *Uttara Rāmacharita*, ed. with notes and translation by Kane, P.V., Delhi, 1962, I.48.
32. Translation of this verse as well as that of other passages quoted above belong to Levi only.
33. *Yōgasūtra of Pātañjali.*

red hot must be driven into the mouth of him who mentions insultingly the names and caste of the twice-born"[34] :

> *Nāma-jātigraham tv-ēshām-abhidrōhēṇa kurvataḥ*
> *Nikshēpy-ayōmayaḥ śaṅkur-jyaalann-āsyē daśāṅgulaḥ''*.

Further on, while emphasizing the same issue he also cites the examples presented by the commentator (Medhātithi) in discussing the above.[35] Needless to say, Levi finds both the expressions "*mayā gṛihītānāmānaḥ*" of Bhavabhūti and "*nāma-jātigraham tv-ēshām-abhidrōhēṇa kurvataḥ*" of Manu analogous. But the analogy apart, the interpretation he gives to both phrases does not seem tenable.

In case of Rama's statement in the *Uttara Rāmacharita* what is meant is not that the above said persons became contaminated because Rama mentioned them using the phrase *gṛihīta-nāmānaḥ* (as Levi wants us to believe), but that Rama thinks, "I am so sinful that if I were to take their names, sin belonging to me would, as if, attach itself to them".[36]

Likewise in the prescription of Manu, the emphasis is not actually laid on the phrase '*nāma-jātigraham*' which Levi wants to highlight, but on the phrase '*abhidrōhēṇa*' (meaning insultingly). This also made clear by the commentary which Levi seems to have only half consulted or at least he has quoted only half of it. The commentary of Mēdhātithi, on the above verse from Manu, read as follows : "*Nirupapadaṁ nāma-gṛihṇāti kutsā prayōgēna vā 'Dēvadattakēti', Abhidrōhēṇa krōdhēna na praṇayēna*".[37] It says that the aforementioned punishment should be given to a person who mentions the name or the caste of (a twice-born) with insult or arrogance and not with honour and affection. Had he mentioned the name with honour and affection (*praṇayēna*) there would have been no necessity for the prescription as above.

Thus, we find that the emphasis is laid in both cases only on terms like *kritaghnēna, durātmanā, mayā pāpmanā* and *abhidrōhēṇa*

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34. *Manusmṛiti* with the *manu-bhāshya* of Mēdhātithi, 2 Vols. ed. by Jha, G.N., Calcutta, 1932, VIII.271.
35. Levi, *op. cit.*, p. 167.
36. Kane, *op. cit.*, notes p. 49.
37. Manu, *op. cit.*, commentary part.

but not the least on terms like *grihīta-nāmānaḥ* or the *nāmajāti-graham* as Levi wants us to believe and which also forms the core of his argument.

Based on the above contentions, Levi arrives at the following conclusion. He says that "the *sugrahana* is the contrary (contrary to *grihīta-nāma* and *nāma-graha*) custom; it is to mention the name of a person, (and) more specially a dead person".[38]

Apart from the fallacy of his argument on which the above conclusion is based, the statement is also not borne out by literary references to the term *sugrihīta-nāman* (where the custom of *sugrahana* is directly involved) a good number of which Levi himself has cited above,[39] and also a few more which will follow in the sequel.

The *Mrichchhakaṭikam* of Śūdraka to which a date falling nearer to the date of Rudradāman may be assigned as Levi himself would agree (because it refers to terms like *bhadra-mukha* and *rāshṭriya*,[40] etc.), refers to its hero Chārudatta more than once with the honorific title of *sugrihītanāmā* or *sugrihīta-nāmadhēya*. Herein, first of all the courtesan Vasantasēnā demands from her servant Madanikā the name of a person whom she has met and Madanikā replies : "*Sokku ajjue sugahida-ṇāmahēyō ajja Chārudattō nāma*",[41] i.e., "My lady he, of auspicious name, is called the noble Chārudatta". We find it used again in the same manner by the mother of Vasantasēnā when the judge asks her the name of the friend of her daughter :

> *So kkhu satthavāha Viṇadattassa ṇattio, Sāaradat-*
> *tassa taṇao, sugahidaṇāmahēyō ajja Chārudattō ṇāma*",[42]

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38. Levi, *op cit.*, p. 167.
39. *Ibid.*, pp. 165-67. For instance, in comparison to seven references showing preference, for the funeral meaning of the title *sugrihītanāman* Levi has easily gathered more than twelve other references to the same word where it is used in the honorific sense but otherwise.
40. Levi, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-69, where Levi opines that the works referring to the titles like *bhadramukha*, *rāshṭriya* and *sugrihītanāmā*, etc., which are noticed in the records of the *Kshatrapas*, must have borrowed them from the latter and hence they may fall nearer to them in date.
41. *Mrichcha* (N.S. ed.), Bombay, 1910, p. 45.
42. *Ibid.*, IX, 6ff, p. 208.

i.e., "It is the grandson of Sārthavāha Vinayadatta, the son of *Sāgardatta*, the noble Chārudatta *sugṛihīta-nāma-dèya*". A point worthy of note here is that the appellation *sugṛihīta-nāman* is used only with reference to Chārudatta and not with reference to his ancestors. Whereas if we rely on the hypothesis of Levi, who says that all the early writers of dramas or the fictions must have borrowed such terms from the records of the Kshatrapas and *sugrahaṇa* means to mention more specially the name of a dead person, the title *sugṛihīta-nāman* by Śūdraka should have been applied to the ancestors of Chārudatta first who were dead, which is not the case. Not only this but Śūdraka, as if he anticipated in advance that someday a doubt regarding his originality and the real purport of the term *sugṛihīta-nāman* would be raised, has taken care to clarify the basic concept of the term. Therefore, at a later stage when the servant of Vasantasēnā asks the name of the master of Saṁvāhaka, he replies thus :

"*Slāghanīya nāmadhèya ārya Chārudattō nāma*",[43]

i.e., "He, of auspicious name is called the noble Chārudatta", and with this, when Vasantasēnā gets thrilled and asks her maid to give him a seat immediately, Saṁvāhaka starts wondering at himself and thinks : "*Kathaṁ ārya Chārudattasya nāma-saṅkīrtanam-èdṛiśō mè ādaraḥ*" (Why, by the mere mention of the noble Chārudatta's name they are showing me so much respect !).[44] Likewise, even later also Śūdraka, by referring repeatedly to Chārudatta with such appellations as, "*Tatra bhavāṅś-Chārudatta*"[45] (i.e., his honour Chārudatta); "*Śri Chārudatta*"[46] and "*Dharma nidhiś-Chārudatta*"[47] (i.e., Chārudatta, the storehouse of righteousness), wants to bring the same point home that a *sugṛihīta-nāman* is one 'whose name is of aupicious import' or 'the utterance of whose name brings good luck' as it virtually did in case of the Saṁvāhaka of Chārudatta.

    Viśākhadatta the author of *Mudṛārakshasa* who, as Levi

43. *Mrichcha* (N.S. ed.), Bombay, 1910, p. 59.
44. *Ibid.*
45. *Ibid.*, IV, 32 ff. and VII, 3ff, p. 159.
46. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 137.
47. *Ibid.*, VI.14, *cf.* "*Dvāv-èva pūjanīyāv-iha nagarvāṁ tilaka-bhūtaṁ cha. Āryā Vasantasēnā dharma nidhiś = Chārudattaś = cha.*"

himself remarks, is inspired by the *Mrichchhakaṭikam*, has referred to the title of *sugrihīta-nāman* with the same import Śārṅgarava the disciple of Chāṇakya here, who has been asked the name of the master of the house replies :

    "*Asmākam upādhyāyasya sugrihīta-nāmnārya Chāṇakya-syu*",[48]

i.e., "it is of our master the noble Chāṇakya *sugrihīta-nāman*". On another occasion in the same drama, the Chamberlain, in proclaiming the royal command, expresses himself thus :

    "*Sugrithīta-nāmā devaś=Chandraguptaḥ samājñāpayati*",[49]

i.e., "His Majesty Chandragupta, *sugrihīta-nāman* desires it".

Coming to the *Harsha-charita* of Bāṇa and searching out references to this title which we have not referred to above, a number of instances are noticed. At the very outset, in the *Harsha-charita*, Vikukshi the personal attendant of king Śaryāta, introduces himself with due regard to his master as under :

    "*Mām=api tasya devasya sugrihīta-nāmnaḥ Śaryātasya*
    ājñākāriṇaṁ bhrityam=avadhārayatu bhavati,[50]

i.e., "Know that I am the humble servant of the *sugrihīta-nāman* Śaryāta". Then, follows the context where Bāṇa comes to see the king Harsha for the first time. This particular reference to the term *sugrihīta nāman*, because of its poignancy on account of some extra phrases added to it, seems to be one of the most appropriate usages of this term we have witnessed so far. Moreover, it has also the credit of being couched with Bāṇa's personal experience which he renders thus :

    "*Drishṭvā ch-ānugrihīta iva nigrihīta iva sābhilāsha*

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48. *Mudrārākshasa* by Viśākhadatta, ed. by A. Hillebrandt, Breslau, 1912, Pt. I, text, Act. 1. 17ff. p. 11. In one of the manuscripts of the same text, as pointed out by Hillebrandt, the reading is found as "*anugrihītanā-madhēya.*"

49. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

50. *Harsha.*, (N.S. ed.), p. 27.

> *iva tṛiptn iva romāñchamucha mukhẻna muñchann-*
> *ānanda-vāshpavāri-bindūn-dūrād-ẻva vismaya smāraḥ*
> *samachintayat-sō = yaṁ sujanmā, sugṛihīta-nāmā,*
> *tẻjasāṁ rāśiḥ . . . . .dẻvaḥ paramẻśvarō Harshaḥ",*[51]

i.e., "having seen him, feeling as it were, at once blessed (by the mere sight) and checked (by the august appearance of the king), full of desire and yet satisfied with his face horripilated with awe, and with tears of joy falling from his eyes, Bāṇa stood at a distance smiling in wonder and pondered, "This, then is the emperor Śri Harsha, that union of separate glories, noble in birth and of well-chosen auspicious name".[52] So again, though not that elaborated, Bāṇa connects the same title with Harsha himself, when his hearers at home press him to relate the history of that king :

> *"Asya sugṛihītānāmṇaḥ puṇyarāśẻḥ . . . . charitam ichchhāmaḥ*
> *śrōṭum",*[53]

i.e., "we wish to hear the achievements . . . . of this *sugṛihīta-nāman* who is rich in merit."

Further, Bāṇa again refers to the same title and that too in connection with king Harsha only when Rājyaśri is on the point of mounting the funeral pile and Kurangikā (one of her maids) reports the unexpected arrival of Harsha. Rājyaśri says :

> *"Kurangikẻ kẻna sugṛihītanāmnō nāma gṛīhitam-amṛitamayam-*
> *āryasya",*[54]

i.e. "O Kurangikā ! Who is it that has uttered my lord's auspicious name ?"

Having referred to the name, the taking of which brings good luck and merit, Bāṇa tries to focus on the same, this time by showing the negative side of it. This figures with reference to the

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51. *Harsha.*, (N.S. ed.), p. 77.
52. *Ibid* , (Tr. of Cowell and Thomas, London 1897), p. 64.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 91 (Text).
54. *Ibid.*, pp. 248-49 (tr.).

news of the said demise of Grahavarman which the messenger wants to break without being willing to utter the name of the miscreant :

> "*Nām-apī grihṇatō=sya pāpakariṇaḥ pāpamalĕna
> lipyata iva mĕ jihvā*",[55]

i.e., "as I take merely the name of this miscreant my tongue seems soiled with a smirch of sin". Indirectly, it means that though generally there is no harm in merely uttering someone's name, this fellow is such a miscreant that in his case even the utterance of his name (*nāmāpigṛihṇatō*) may soil one's tongue.

After going through a good number of literary references to the title *sugṛihīta-nāman* it is time to recall the basic issues raised by Levi, mainly for the purpose of arriving at our conclusion. The main argument made by Levi, which we have alluded to earlier but not in full detail, is that :

> "Before becoming fixed, with the stiffness of dead forms, in the vocabulary of theatrical and literary conventions, these titles (like *sugrihīta nāman* and others) have, of necessity, done duty in actual life. The first writers who transported them into the domain of fiction, did not invent them, thanks to the miracle of a chance coincidence; nor did they go and exhume them out of the past, with an archaeological care which India has never known; they borrowed them from current language and bequeathed them to their successors who have preserved them with pious fidelity, whilst political events were transforming the official protocol around them".[56]

As a supplement to this assertion Levi has, particularly in regard with the title *sugṛihīta-nāman*, also made two minor points. One is that "The verb *grah* signifies when associated with the words such as *nāman*, (the sense) of using, mentioning or citing the name (which is) the custom contrary to that of *sugrahaṇa*".[57]

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55. *Harsha.*, (N.S. ed.), p. 188 (text). See also *E.I.*, VIII, p. 46, n. 1, where Kielhorn remarks that the exact meaning of *sugṛihīta-nāman* is well indicated by this passage of the *Harsha-charita*.
56. Levi, *op. cit.*, p. 169.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 167.

The other issue is that "The real import of *sugrahaṇa* is to mention the name of a person, *more especially a dead person*"[58]

Regarding the first point, we have already shown (partially) the fallacy of Levi's hypothesis which gets fully disproved once we go through the references from the *Harsha-charita* cited above. Bāṇa has very clearly, though figuratively demonstrated the fact that the association of the verb *grah* with words such as *nāman* is not contrary to the custom of *sugrahaṇa*. He makes a full swing of the various usages and the associations of the verb *grah*, as if to convince those who have any doubt. This is why once, before coming to *sugṛhīta*, he exhausts all other such words as *anugṛhīta* and *nigṛhīta*[59] and the next time, having uttered the title *sugṛhīta-nāmnō* he adds *nāma-gṛhītam amṛtamayam āryasya*.[60] This demonstrates fully well, that Bāṇa was cautious enough (in its use) and well conversant with the meaning and other subtleties of the verb *grah*, certainly more than us, and if we are permitted to say, even more than the *sugṛhīta-nāmā* Professor Levi.

Coming to the second point raised by Levi, the only thing we have discussed so far, is the impropriety of his correction of the term *prātaḥ smaryatē'* as '*prētaḥ smaryatē'*, which, to the best of our understanding, he has done without any rhyme or reason. In fact, if we adhere to the suggestion of Levi, all those who have been referred to as *sugṛhīta-nāman* above, will fall in the category of *prētas*, which is not true. The meaning of the term *prēta* as it is construed in the texts of the *Dharma-śāstras*[61] will not suit even those whom Levi himself has (and rightly so) held in high esteem.

Levi's other statement that an examination of the examples he has cited would prove the amendment beyond doubt, is also not proved beyond doubt. It will be an exercise in vain to count the number of examples Levi has cited either in support of his interpretation of the title *sugṛhīta-nāman* with its funeral meaning

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58. Levi, *op. cit.*, p. 167.
59. *Op. cit.*, n. 51.
60. *Op. cit.*, n. 54.
61. The term *prētaḥ* according to the *Dharmasāstra* has a special meaning. It applies to the soul of such dead persons whose *śrāddha* and *tarpaṇa* is not duly performed, (vide *Hist. of Dharma.*, IV, pp. 262ff.).

or of his belief that 'sugrahaṇa' is to mention specially the name
of a dead person, because in both cases examples do not suffice
to bring the point home. Even if the examples were gathered at
random, a fact which may not be denied, the examples where the
appellation *sugrihīta-nāman* is used in reference to living dignita-
ries far exceed in number those where the term refers to dead
persons. However, from the observation of all the examples
cited, what comes out as a fact is not what Levi has tried to
emphasize, but what Kielhorn and others have explained without
any undue fuss. In the opinion of Kielhorn "*sugrihīta-nāman*
is an honourable title, applied to royal or noble personages, *both
living and deceased*".[62]

By no means was there ever any implication that the person
addressed by this title was dead. At least this is true in case of
all the works Levi himself has referred to. Had there been any
such implication associated with the term *sugrihīta-nāman*, the
maid of Vasantasēnā would have never dared to apply it to the
name of Chārudatta the beloved of her own mistress, nor would
the favourite disciple of Chāṇakya have ever deemed it proper to
address his own teacher as *sugrihīta-nāman* and suggest that he
was dead. The same argument applies in case of Bāṇa also with
even more force. Could it, under any logic be deemed proper
that Bāṇa who styles himself as the one who came to see Harsha
for seeking favour (*kālyāṇ-ābhiniveśī*)[63] would be so ignorant as
to use the title *sugrīhīta-nāman* for his master when it was meant
specially for addressing dead persons ?

Finally, regarding the major point raised by Levi our sub-
mission may be construed as follows :

(1) There is no denying the fact that titles like *sugrihīta-
nāman* and others, before becoming fixed in the
vocabulary of theatrical and literary conventions, have
of necessity done their duty in actual life. The only
thing we would like to add here is that the span of the
actual life of the term did not begin with the record
engraved in 150 A.D. nor did it remain confined to the

62. *E.I.*, VIII, p. 46, n. 1.
63. *Harsha.*, p. 62.

life span (and also the domain) of its issuer, i.e., Rudradāman.

(2) There can also not be two opinions about the assertion that, "The first writers who transported them into the domain of fiction did not invent them", but to presume that the occurrence of such titles in the body of the record is only due "to the miracle of a chance coincidence" will certainly be too much of a chance, particularly in case of language and literature.

(3) Having said that the early writers who have referred to the above-mentioned title(s) did not invent them, to say again, that "they also did not go and exhume them out of the past" becomes self-contradictory. Further on, even if we believe that "they (the early writers) borrowed such words from current language" which is not impossible, nor strange, it is certainly strange to believe that the users of the current language on their part inherited the same out of a miraculous chance coincidence. In our opinion, the theory of 'miracle of a chance coincidence' as regards a language which originates, grows further and attains a developed stage, may hardly get universal approval, more so in the context of Sanskrit which, as agreed on all hands, was already having a well systematized grammar (that always follows once the language is grown) of its own much before the 'miracle' in the form of Rudradāman's record took place.

(4) The reasoning of Levi that having once borrowed such titles and the terms from the current language, the early writers "bequeathed them to their successors who have preserved them with pious fidelity", lacks justification on more than one ground. Firstly if the early writers (early in the sense that their works are known to us) could borrow things from the current language and bequeath the same to their successors, why should we not assume that the predecessors of the early writers also could have done the same ? The second assumption closely linked with the first one is that the early writers did not borrow it from the past because of their lack of 'archaeological care' which according to Levi 'India has

never known'.[64] We, on our part, consider the above remark of Levi more as a mark of the fashion which was very much in vogue at the time the learned professor wrote and less as a part of an argument which lacks even a slender base for its support. However, our submission to the charge of learned professor is that India as regards archaeological care in the field of language and literature, particularly in relation to words, their etymology and the antiquity, fares for better (and it did fare earlier also) than any other country of the world. Otherwise, how it was possible on the part of the successors of the early writers to *'preserve'* the thing they got in succession *'with pious fidelity'*—a fact which Levi himself admits.[65]

Having thus examined all the pros and cons of Levi's hypothesis in general and his views regarding the honorific title of *sugṛhīta-nāman* in particular, we can sum up the whole issue, in full agreement with Kane, who although had a chance to examine the views of Levi regarding the date of the *Nāṭya-śāstra* unfortunately had not enough time and space at his disposal to elaborate his remarks at length and expound upon his disagreement with Levi. Since Kane did not elaborate his points (which, we have tried to do here to some extent) some of the later researchers on the *Nāṭya-śāstra*[66] have not taken his objections seriously. But, we are sure, if the whole issue is reviewed in its entirety taking into account the points that we have raised in addition, the real force of Kane's argument will certainly be realized.

Kane while referring to the date of the *Nāṭya-śāstra* in his introduction to the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* of Viśvanātha reviews the main burden of Levi's arguments as follows :

".... In spite of the brilliant manner in which the arguments are advanced, and the vigour and confidence with which they are set forth, the theory that the

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64. Levi, *op. cit.*, p. 169.
65. *Ibid.*
66. *The Nāṭyaśāstra*, Eng. tr. with notes by Ghosh, M.M., Calcutta, 1950, I, p. LXXXIII-IV (introduction).

Sanskrit theatre came into existence at the court of the Kshatrapas and the supplanting of the Prākṛits by classical Sanskrit was led by the foreign Kshatrapas appears, to say the least, to be an imposing structure built upon very slender foundations. An obvious reply is that the inscription was composed by one who was thoroughly imbued with the dramatic terminology contained in the *Nāṭya-śāstra*".[67]

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67. The *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* of Viśvanātha ed. with introduction and notes by Kane, P.V., Bombay, 1923, pp. VIII-IX (introduction).

UPAKĀRIKĀ

The meaning of the term *upakārikā* as it is used in the Barrackpur grant of Vijayasena requires reconsideration. This grant was edited along with the English translation of the text in the pages of *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XV, by late Dr. R.D. Banerji.[1] Relevant lines of the grant where this term occurs read as under :

" . . . . *Śri Udayakaradēva śarmmaṇē Vikramapur-ōpakārikā-madhyē sati . . . .* "[2]

This is translated into English by the learned editor of the grant as follows :

" . . . . in the *upakārikā* (? palace) of Vikramapura, to the illustrious Udayakaradēva Śarman . . . . "[3]

The same fact is reported earlier in the introductory part of the article as "the grant was made inside the palace (*upakārikā*) at Vikramapura".[4] In this regard, it is also worth noticing what the inscription states later that the grant was issued from the victorious camp of Vikramapura (*sa khalu śrī Vikramapura samāvāsita śrīmaj-jayaskandhāvārāt*).[5]

From the mark of interrogation added by Banerji to his rendering of the term *upakārikā* into palace, it is clear that he himself was not convinced of this interpretation of the term. This sign of interrogation placed before the English rendering of the term *upakārikā* into palace by Banerji also contradicts his own remark made earlier that 'the grant was made inside the palace

1. *E I.,* XV, pp. 278-86; *Barrackpur Grant of Vijayasena : The 32nd Year.*
2. *Ibid.,* p. 284, ll. 39-40.
3. *Ibid.,* p. 286.
4. *Ibid.,* p. 280.
5. *Ibid.,* pp, 280 and 283, ll. 22-23.

at Vikramapura'. And all these self-contradictory and altogether
uncertain remarks of Banerji lose their rationale *in toto* when we
look at the very first sentence of the grant which says that it was
issued from the victorious camp (and not the palace) of
Vikramapura. The cause of this confusion is possibly the defini-
tion of modern Sanskrit English dictionaries which explain the
word *upakārikā* with its primary meaning as "protectress and a
female assistant and then (in subsidiary) as a palace, a carvansera
and a kind of cake", all on the authority of some unspecified
lexicons.[6]

Before we come to consider the exact meaning of the term
as gleaned from the early Sanskrit *kōshas* and also the literary
sources, it is worth considering what the *Epigraphical Glossary*
of Sircar (which happens to be the great *Upakārikā* of all the
students of Indian Epigraphy) attributes to this term. Herein,
Sircar has gone out of the palace of all the lexicons and rendered
the term after adding the phrase 'probably' into "a territorial unit
around the headquarters of an administrative unit".[7] As it will
be seen in the sequel, this interpretation of the term *upakārikā*
from Sircar is not only far from that of Banerji but also an impro-
bable one.

The term *upakārikā* along with its synonyms is referred to in
the *Amarakōsha* as : "*Saudhō = strī rāja-sadanaṁ upakāry-
ōpakārika*"[8] and this has been explained by Kshiraswamy after
considering *saudha* and *rāja-sadana* apart as "*upakriyate upakarōti
cha paṭa-maṇḍapādi ṛāja-sadanam*".[9] i.e., a cloth made house
which (temporarily) substitutes for a palace. This sense of the
words *upakāryā* and *upakārikā* (after considering both as
synonyms) has been further elaborated by other commentators of
Amara. Bhanuji Dikshita after stating that the words of the
kōsha, i.e., *upakāryā* and *upakārikā* are synonyms (*upakāry-
upakārikā iti dvirūpa kōsha darśanād-upakāry-api*)[10] considers
them as an ordinary or a temporary (*sāmānya*) substitute of the

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6. Cf. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, p. 195.
7. Sircar, D.C., *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, Delhi, 1966, p. 351.
8. *Amara.*, II.2.10.
9. *Ibid.*, Commentary part, T.S.S. edition, Trivendrum, 1914.
10. *Ibid.*, with the commentary of Bhanuji Dikshit, N.S. edition, Bombay, 1929, p. 120.

king's abode (*rāja-gṛiha*). But these terms are better explained in one of the Southern commentaries of the *kōsha*. Here, the commentator Lingayasūrin explains them as under :

"*Upa samīpē kriyata - ity-upakāryā*" or "*paṭādibhir-upakriyatē iti upakāryā*" and "*prayāṇē (prayāṇāya) upakarōti-iti upakārikā*",[11] i.e., a kind of house-like dwelling which is made nearby (but not inside) the palace with the help of cloth is *upakāryā* and the same one, when it is fixed while the king is on march or tour (i.e , *prayāṇa*), is called *upakārikā*.

Thus, it is obvious that all the commentaries of Amara intend to explain the terms *upakāryā* and *upakārikā* in the sense of a royal tent or pavilion which was made mainly with the help of cloth and put up when the king was to camp at a place in course of a tour.

The same meaning of the word *upakārikā* or *upakāryā* is also brought home by a good number of literary references, particularly from the *Raghuvaṁśa* of Kālidāsa. For instance, Aja while on his way to Vidarbha is said to have stayed and passed nights in the royal tents (provided with all amenities) prepared by the people of the *janapadas* :

"*Tasy-opakāry-ārachit-ōpachārā, vanyētarā jānapad-ōpadābhiḥ. Mārgē-nivāsā manujēndra sūnōr-babhūvur-uddyāna-vihāra-kalpāh*".[12]

Later on, in the same canto, Kālidāsa has also elaborated the royal features of such pavilions or tent-houses. He says that in front of these royal tent-houses there used to stand two security-guards close by the gate where the auspicious pitchers full of water were kept :

"*Tasy-ādhikāra-purushaih praṇataiḥ pradishṭām Prāg-dvāra-vēdi vinivēśita pūrṇa kumbhām.*

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11. *Amara.*, with the unpublished South Indian commentaries, edited by Ramanathan, Madras, 1971, p. 201.
12. *Raghu.*, V. 41.

> *Ramyāṁ Raghu-pratinidhiḥ sa nav-ōpakāryāṁ,*
> *Bālyāt-parām-iva daśāṁ madanō = dhyuvāsa"*.[13]

Likewise, how close to the palace *upakāryā* type of tents (cf. *upa-samīpē kriyata iti*) were generally supposed to be set up, is also elaborated later in the *Raghuvaṁśa* itself. Kālidāsa says when Rama came back to Ayodhyā after the completion of his period of exile Satrughna had set up royal tents (*upakāryāḥ*) at a distance of half *krōśa* from the city, prior to the former's arrival in the town :

> "*Krōś-ārddham prakṛiti puraḥ saṟēṇa gatvā,*
> *Kākutsthaḥ stimita javēna pushpakēna.*
> *Śatrughna prativihit-ōpakāryam-āryaḥ*
> *Sākēt-ōpavanam-udāram-adhyuvāsa"*.[14]

This very meaning of the term is further confirmed by the commentaries of Hemadri and Mallinatha on the *Raghuvaṁśa*. Hemadri's gloss on the verse V. 41, explains the word *upakāryā* as '*paṭaveśmāni kartryaḥ mārgē nivāsā babhūvuḥ*',[15] and that of Mallinatha on XIII. 79, explains it as '*upakāryaḥ paṭa bhavanāni*',[16] i.e., *upakāryā* denotes a tent-house.

There also seems to be an indirect reference to *upakāryā* endowed with *double entendrē* in the text of the *Pañchatantra* stories. Here, in a context that deals with the evils and undependable nature of Fortune, the author of the *Pañchatantra* while recounting all diatribes against the fickleness of Lakshmi, remarks as under :

> "*āśīvisha-jātir-iva dur-upakāryā"*.[17]

Although the passage in its simple form means that 'the race of

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13. *Raghu.*, V. 63.
14. *Ibid.*, XIII.79.
15. *Ibid.*, V. 41, N.S. edition Bombay, 1948, ed. by N.R. Acharya, with the select portions of the Sanskrit commentaries of Mallinātha, Vallabha, Hemādri and others.
16. *Ibid.*, XIII.79.
17. *A Difficult Passage in the Panchatantra* by V.S. Agrawal—vide *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, VIII, No. 4, June 1959, pp. 338-39.

vipers is inaccessible to kindness' and second connotation of the same yields the sense that a 'royal tent in which a poisonous snake makes its appearance becomes a condemned house, (i.e., *dusṭhtā upakāryā durupakāryā*) unfit for the king's use.[18] In other words, it also confirms the meaning of *upakāryā* or its other synonym *upakārikā* being a tent-house, or a temporary dwelling set up inside the camp where the possibility of a snake making its appearance (unlike that of a regular palace) cannot be ruled out.

The terms *upakārikā* and *upakāryā* in the similar sense as explained above, have also been construed in the *Vaijayanti-kōsha*[19] of Yādavāchārya and the *Abhidhāna-ratnamāla* of Halā-yudha Bhaṭṭa.[20]

As it is clear from the fore-mentioned usages of the term *upakāryā* and its close synonym *upakārikā* the term in question with reference to its context means not a royal palace as such but a royal tent or a pavilion set up in the centre of the camp where the king stayed while being on a tour or any other expedition. Although designed on the usual pattern of the palace, these cloth made tents were purely temporary in nature and were retained only for the duration of the camp of the king.

Thus, in the light of the above, and also in accordance with the fact that king Vijayasēna at the time of issuing this grant was already camping (*samāvāsita*)[21] at Vikramapura, the phrase '*ŭpakārikā madhyē sati*' could be explained as 'when the king was staying or camping inside the royal tent', the said grant incised on copper was issued to the illustrious Udayakaradēva Śarman'.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 339 and the references cited therein.
19. *Vaijayantikōsha*, IV.3.30.
20. *Abhidhānaratnamālā*, ed. by Jayashankara Joshi, Varanasi, Śaka 1879, V. 290 and also the comments of the editor who explains both the words *upakāryā* and *upakārikā* in the sense of 'a royal tent'.
21. The term *samāvāsa* is construed in the same way as *vivāsā* of Aśōkan edicts (*Vide, C.I.I.*, I, p. 167).

VĀRIKA

The job of fetching water and that of household bearers even in modern times in the North is done by a class of people known as *bārīs*. They are invariably referred to along with the barbers as '*nau-bārī*'. In the survey of the native races of India, these people called *bārīs* are said to be the household servants of the kings having a reputation of great fidelity to their employers. In the same report, it is also mentioned that on occasions, these people were also employed as torch-bearers or sometimes even as barbers and they did almost all sorts of household jobs.[1] The authenticity of the report of the survey mentioning *bārīs* as a class of barber is also borne out by the *Deśīnāma-mālā* of Hemachandra who refers to the name of a caste known as *Vāriā*.[2] The Sanskrit commentary on the same explains both *vachchhīutta* and *vāriā* as *nāpita*, i.e., barber.[3] In our opinion, the presently known *bārīs* and the *vāriā* must be the same. The word *vāriā* in its turn, on the other hand, might be the corrupt form of the Sanskrit word *vārika*.

The word *vārika* is somehow a curious one which finds mention in some of the inscriptions also.[4] The ambiguity of the term is such that it has baffled even eminent epigraphists like Sircar more than once. With reference to the phrase, "*Vārikasya hastē nyāsakō na sthāpanīyaḥ*", he says once that the word *vārika*

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1. Sherring, M.A., *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, I (reprinted), Delhi, 1974, pp. 403-04.
2. *Deśīnāma-māla* ed. by Pischel, R., Bombay, 1938, 7.47 : *Chaṇḍilaē vachchhīutta-vāriā taha phale vare itthaṁ.*
3. *Ibid., vachchhīutto tathā vārio nāpitaḥ.*
4. Charter of Vishṇushena, sam. 649, *vide E.I.*, XXX, pp. 171, 173-75 and 179; XXXI, p 164, n. 1; XXXII, pp. 56, 57, 60. See also Sircar, D.C., *Epigraphy and Lexicography in India*, *vide Proc. of the All India Oriental Conference*, Bombay, 1949, pp. 273-75; *Indian Epigraphy* 8-8; *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, pp. 245; 364, etc.

apparently indicates a royal officer.[5] He makes the same identifi-
cation again, this time adding the word "possibly" while explain-
ing *peṭavika-vārikeṇa* and *uttarakulika-vārikaiḥ*,[6] ignoring the
contexts altogether. Again, while editing the same record in the
pages of *Epigraphia Indica*, it seems to him that the word *vārika*
indicates a class of officials. Without any authority whatsoever,
he compares them with Gujarāti *vārẽdār* or tax-gatherers, whereas
vāredar or *vahredār* is nothing but a contracted form of *paharedār*
who is a watchman.[7] Further, with reference to *dẽva-vārika*, he
makes them a superintendent of a temple and next as a superinten-
dent of the *gandhakuṭi*.[8] Our simple impression is that Sircar
could not make the term clear and he has jumped from a class of
official to tax gatherer and then to a superintendent. His
references to *Bṛihaspati-smṛiti* and the *Rājataraṅgiṇi*, with all
regards to him, hardly succeed in bringing the point home.

In the *Bṛihaspati-smṛiti*, no doubt, *vārikas* are mentioned
along with the *Chāturvaidya-vaṇik* and others but all with the
instruction of the king to take care of the plantation and the up-
keep of the trees standing on the boundaries of the villages.[9] In
this case the job of a *vārika* would have been simply to give water
(*vāri*) to the plants.

In the same way, the *kaṭaka-vārika* of the *Rajataraṅgiṇi*[10]
also seems to be the person whose duty was to supply water to
the army. Even the errand on which the *kaṭaka vārika* of the
Rājataraṅgiṇi was sent suits our interpretation better.

Vārikas, mentioned in the legends of the Nalanda seals,
though not explained by Shastri, also seem to be the monks whose
responsibility in the commune of the monastery was to look after

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5. *Epigraphy and Lexicography*, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 275.

7. *E.I.*, **XXX**, p. 173ff.

8. *Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 364.

9. Cf. "*Sīmā-vṛikshānś-cha kurvīran* ...." and

   "*rājā kshetram datvā chāturvaidya vaṇig-vārika* .... *svāmipurush-
   ādhishṭhitam*," etc.

   (*Bṛihaspati*, G.O.S. ed., p. 159).

10. *Rāja.*, VI. 345. "*Tēshām-madhyē vasan-gūḍham-Ādity-ākhyaḥ palāyitaḥ.
    Hato Vigraha rājasva priyaḥ kāṭaka-vārikaḥ*".

the water supply.[11]   In the monastic set-up where there was no distinction of caste or creed involved, the assignment of the duties of a *vārika* to a monk may have had a direct relevance to the degree or level of that monk's spiritual attainments.

This rather short note on *vārika* leads us to conclude as follows :

1. In all probability, the word *vārika* is an abbreviated form of *vāri-vāhaka* which yields the sense of a water fetcher. Its formation may be the same as *bhāra-vāhas-tu-bhārikaḥ.*[12]

2. The references to *vārika* in the *Bṛihaspati-smṛiti* and the *Rājataraṅgiṇi* are also made in the same sense.

3. The *vāriās* referred to by Hemachandra should also be the same as *vārikas.*

4. Their close association with the community of barbers is mainly based on the similarities in their profession of attending to the bath of the king.   This is also borne out by evidence from the Jatakas.[13]

5. In all probability the *vārikas* are the same as those who are known presently as *bāris* and are frequently referred to as *nāū-bārī.*

6. In the light of the above, the *vārikas* of the inscriptions should also be taken as the household attendants of the kings whose main duty was to fetch water and attend to the bath of the king.   Being close to their masters as they were, they would have also been looking after his personal belongings including the gifts received from visitors.

11. Shastri, H., *Nalanda and its Epigraphic Material M.A.S.I.*, No. 66, p. 38.5.1. 675, Pl. III a; reads as "*Śri Nalandā, Bālāditya gandhakudyā-vārika-bhikshūṇām*", see also S.I. 919, 938ff.

12. Agrawal, V.S., *Harshacharita Ek Sāṁskṛitik Adhyayan*, Patna, 1964, p. 164, has mistaken even *bhārika* as *vārika* which is not correct.

13. For references see "*nahāpako vā nahāpakantēvāsi vā*", (Jataka, I. 342); "*hīnajachchō mala maijanō nahāpita puttō*", (J. II.452, III. 453), etc.

7. An old and experienced *vārika* would have also been able
   to misappropriate some gift items and thus earned the
   displeasure of his master; this in turn leading to the
   proclamation that from now onwards no gift should be
   placed in the hands of *vārikas* :

   "*vārikasya hastē nyāsakō na sthāpanīyaḥ*".

An Alphabetical List of all the Words Discussed

Group 'A'

Abhinut-vāk
Aina (Adj—from *Ina)*
Arddha-śrōtikā
Ashṭapushpikā
Avāsanikā
Bhishuka
Chākāntara
Chaṭuka (vaṭa)
Chaturddanta
Chhāyā
Chōllikā
Dheṅku-kaḍhḍhka
Dvārōshṭha
Dvināmataḥ
Ghaṅghala—Samara°, Mahī°
Ripu°.
Ghaṭaka-kūpaka
Haṭṭadāna
Jīvalōka
Juhaka
Kauptika
Khăṭaka
Khōvā
Kṛitōpasanna
Mayuta
Nīla-ḍumphaka
Nir-dvidhā

    Pichchhāchalā
    Prasanna-dēviyāraka
    Pravaṇī (Vaṇik-pravaṇi-
        pramukha and *pravaṇīkara*)
    Prāryya
    Prāyāsaka
    Sapta-padaka
    Sālikhalla
    Tatti (tattim . . . . kurvataḥ tatti-sānāthya)
    Tribhaṅgī
    Utkṛishṭī
    Vāsāvaka

Group 'B'

    Abhatarakāhi
    Achanta (in—*achantā-rājā chariyānam*).
    Alin
    Antarālaya
    Anudarśayanti
    Aputnaka-vēṇi
    Ārdraka
    Arin
    Aśvōrasa
    Atirikta
    Avidhavā
    Āyaka khambha
    Anēka-bhadra-khachita
    Bhukti-śuddha
    Chandraka
    Chauksha
    Chintita
    Chōllaka
    Chumbaka
    Dāna-muhē (Skt. *Dāna-mukhya*)
    Daṇḍāsana
    Daśā
    Dhūmavēlā
    Dhvaja-kinkiṇī

Diśāpaṭṭa
Dūhitānām
Durbhagā (grāmyatva)
Dvāsaptaty-adhikām.
Dvaya
Dvēdhāpy-ayōdhyāsyatē
Ekapātra
Ekākshara
Gaḍūka
Ghōṭikā
Grāma-grāma
Grantha
Gṛishṭi
Gupyadguru
Gurubhir-abhyasta-nāman
Gurvāyatana
Hari-vāsara-Hari-dina
Haṭha-saṅgama
Jīva-putā
Jōsham (gōshṭhi-jōsham)
Kalivallabha
Kapāṭa-sandhi-krama
Kārttākṛitika
Kaṭuka
Khaṅdhikatasa
Kriyāśuddha
Lōhāsanī
Mālē (in yuvati-mālē)
Mīḍha-vidhānam
Maṭha
Mūla-vāsi
Muraja
Pakshapāta
Pāṇī-pātrika
Pānīya-chchhāyā-maṇḍapa
Parivara
Pasādaka
Pavēṇi-dhara
Pratīka-priya-vachana

Pratipad·hāryam
Puraṁdara-nandana
Purasa
Pūrvaja (Pūrvvā-pūrvaja-pūjanā)
Pūrvva-prāchiyam
Rĕsha
Sabhavān
Sādhāra
Saṁhāṭikā
Sānāmya
Śāsana
Sthānatō = pi na chālitō
Sthavira
Śuddhāṁ
Sugṛihīta-nāman
Śvita
Tarkuka
Taṭakam
Taṭāka-māṭrika
Tātāmbā
Tūbara
Udbhāvaka
Ullambana
Unmara-bhĕda
Vallabha-durlabha
Vāstavya
Vigīyatĕ
Vikara
Vikaṭā (ksharā)
Vikōśa (nīlōtpala)
Vimukta-raṅdhra

Group 'C'

Apasaraka
Arahaṭa
Āhāḍa
Āgara
Baḍde (manōhara)

Bhara-sala
Chaḍaka
Chukka
Chūṅā
Dati
Dhvaṁsa
Gaḍigra
Gaddugeya (*Kannada*)
Ghāṇaka and *Ghrāṇaka*
Hār
Kanduka
Kaṅsāraka
Kāvaḍi
Kèlāyāḥ
Kiṭikā
Khalla
Khasrā
Kōlhuka
Kōsavāhè
Kurttaka
Kutkīla
Nèmaka
Nīti
Pāhāṭikā-pâhāṭa
Paṇati
Shaṁhalātmaka
Svālīpāta
Tālī
Tikharā (*vīthī*)
Tikina
Uvaṭaka
Vāhaka
Vāhita
Vāra
Vikaṭā
Vishayaṇa
Viṭṭolaka
Vyâja

Group 'D'

Kapōla-prachchhana
Lankāryan-kārayan
Mādara
Olabaku
Pañchārthala
Pāṇḍu-putra
Sāraka
Suhōti
Takmi
Tamaṇiyakara
Utarāyaṁ-navamikāyam
Vainatāpatya

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———, Siroli inscription of Sarvvavarman, *ibid.*

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Ghoshal, R.K., Rakshaskhali island plate of Madommanapla, E.I. XXVII.

Goswami, K.G., Gautami plates of Ganga Indravarman, E.I. XXIV.

Grierson, F.G., *Bihar Peasant Life*.

Gupta, P.L., Nesarika grant of Govinda III, Saka 727, E.I. XXXIV.

Gupte, Y.R., Two Talesvara Copper Plates, E.I. XIII.

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———, Gwalior Inscription of the Year 933, E I. I.

———, Ranganatha Inscription of Sundara Paṇḍya, E.I. III.

———, Almanda Plates of Anantavarman, *ibid.*

———, Sravaṇabelgola Epitaph of Mallisha, *ibid.*

———, Naddupuru Grant of Annavema, *ibid.*

———, Ganesgad Plates of Dhruvasena I, G.E. 207, *ibid.*

Hultzsch, E., Plates of the time of Śasānkarāja, G.E. 300, E.I. VI.
———, Bahur Plates of Nṛipatungavarman, E.I. XVII.

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———, Malhar inscription of Jājalladēva, *ibid.*
———, Inscription from a Jaina temple of the year 1011, *ibid.*
———, Siyadoni Inscription, *ibid.*
———, Bilhari stone inscription of the rulers of Chedi, *ibid.*
———, Deopara inscription of Vijayasena, *ibid.*
———, Sunak grant of Karṇadeva, *ibid.*
———, Bheraghat inscription of Alhanadevi, E.I. II.
———, Harsha stone inscription, *ibid.*
———, Tewar stone inscription of Gayakarṇadeva, *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, p. 211.
———, Nagpur stone inscription of the rulers of Malava, E.I. II.
———, Kolhapur inscription of Bhoja II, E.I. III.
———, Rajor inscription of Mathanadeva, *ibid.*
———, Bhadana grant of Aparajita, *ibid.*
———, Kharepatan plates of Rattaraja, Saka 930, *ibid.*
———, Sitabaldi inscription of Vikramaditya VI, *ibid.*
———, India office plates of Vijayarājadeva, *ibid.*
———, Arulala Perumal inscription of Ravivarman, E.I. IV.
———, Khalimpur plate of Dharmapaladeva, *ibid.*
———, Salotgi pillar inscription, *ibid.* (Jointly edited with H. Krishna Sāstri).

Kielhorn, F., Six Eastern Chalukya grants : Masulipatam plates of Vijayaditya III, E.I. V.

———, Assam plates of Vallabhadeva, dated 1184-85, *ibid.*

———, Konnur inscription of Amoghavarsha I, Saka 782, E.I. VI.

———, Radhanpur plates of Govinda III, Saka 730, *ibid.*

———, Madhuban plates of Harsha, E.I. VII.

———, Talgunda inscription of Kakuststhavarman, E.I. VIII.

———, Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman, *ibid.*

———, Sundha hill inscription of Chachigadeva, E.I. IX.

Konow, Stein, So-called Takht-i-Bahi inscription of the year 103, E.I. XVIII.

Krishnadeva, Indragadh inscription of Nannappa, V.S. 767, E.I. XXXII.

Krishnan, K.G., Two inscriptions from Nagarjunakonda (jointly with D.C. Sircar), E.I. XXXIV.

Krishnarao, B.V., Two Salankāyana Charters from Kannukallu, E.I. XXXI.

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———, Gagad inscription of Vira Vallabha II, Saka 1114, E.I. VI.

———, Two inscriptions of Krishnaraya, *ibid.*

———, Three early Brahmi inscriptions, E.I. IX.

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———, Srungavarapukota plates of Anantavarman, King of Kolinga, E.I. XXIII.

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———, Basim plates of Vakataka Vindhyaśakti II, E.I. XXVI.

———, Koni inscription of Kalchuri Prithvideva, E.I. XXVII.

———, Nagardhan plates of Swamiraja, E.I. XXVIII.

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Narasimhasvami, H.K., Nagarjunakonda image inscription, E.I. XXIX.

Ojha, G.S.H., Pratapgarh inscription of the time of Mahendrapāla II of Kannauj, E.I. XIV.

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———, The inscriptions on the Bimaran Vase, E.I. XVI.

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Mularaja, E.I. XXXVIII.

Ramesh, K.V., A fragmentary Śārada inscription from Hund, E.I. XXXVIII.

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———, Charter of Vishṇusena, E.I. XXX.

———, Ghumli plates of Baskhaladeva, V.S. 1045, E.I. XXXI.

———, Inscription of the time of Yajvapala-Gopala, *ibid.*

———, Bhaturia inscription of Rajyapāla, E.I. XXXIII.

———, Stray plates from Nanana, *ibid.* Foot-print slab inscription from Nagarjunakonda, *ibid.*

———Inscription in Cave IV at Ajanta, *ibid.*

———, Brahmi inscriptions from Mathura, E.I. XXXIV.

———, Two inscriptions from Nagarjunakonda, (jointly with K.G. Krishnan), *ibid.*

———, Tarachandi rock inscription of Pratapadhvvala, *ibid.*

———, Inscriptions from Manthani, *ibid.*

———, Bonda plates of Mahāśiva Tivara, Year 5, *ibid.*

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Vasushena, Year 30, *ibid.*

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———, Some inscriptions from U.P., *ibid.*

———, More inscriptions from Nagarjunakonda, E.I. XXXV.

———, Inscriptions of the time of Kadachchhi, *ibid*, (jointly with V.S. Subrahmanyam), Some Gahadvala grants, *Ibid.*

———, Three copper plate charters, E.I. XXXVI.

———, Tasai incription of [Harsha year] 182, *ibid.*

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———, Urajam plates of Indravarman II, Year 97, *ibid.*, (jointly with R. Subrahmanyam).

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INDEX

A

Index