

## No. 27.—SEVEN BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS FROM MATHURĀ AND ITS VICINITY.

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## I.—The Mōrā Well Inscription.

**Mōrā** is a small village 7 miles west of Mathurā City and 2 miles to the north of the road leading from Mathurā to Gōvardhan. In 1882 General Cunningham discovered there a large inscribed slab which formed part of the terrace of an ancient well. In 1908 Dr. Vogel had the slab removed to the Mathurā Museum under supervision of Pandit Radha Krishna. A transcript and a facsimile of the inscription were published by Cunningham, *ASR*. Vol. XX (1885), p. 49 and Plate V, No. 4. At that time the inscription was already fragmentary, more than half of it having peeled away on the right side, but it has since become much more damaged. It was edited again by Vogel, *Cat. Arch. Mus. Mathurā* p. 184, No. Q1. His transcript was reprinted, with a photolithograph of the inscription in its present state, by Ramaprasad Chanda, *MAI*. No. 1 (1919), p. 22, and Plate VI, No. 5, and an attempt to correct the reading of the second line of the inscription was made by the same scholar in *MAI*. No. 5 (1920), p. 166f. The inscription was carefully engraved in 'archaic' characters and Cunningham's transcript and facsimile are apparently in the main correct. The following text is therefore based on them with such corrections as are warranted by a new impression or suggested by general considerations. In the notes I have stated the readings of the impression, of Cunningham's facsimile, of his transcript and of Vogel's transcript.<sup>1</sup> I think that this rather minute treatment is justified by the importance of the inscription.

## TEXT.

- 1 **𑀓** mahakshatrapasa Rājūvulasa putrasa svāmi . . . . .
- 2 bhagavatām **𑀧𑀸𑀓𑀢𑀺𑀓𑀭𑀺** pañchavīrāpām pratimā[h] śailadevagri . . . . .
- 3 ya[s]=**𑀧𑀸𑀓𑀢𑀺𑀓𑀭𑀺** śailām śrīmad=grīham=atulam=udadhasamadhāra . . . . .
- 4 ārchādeśām śailām pañcha jvalata iva paramavapushā . . . . .

## NOTES.

## Line 1.

Impression : mahakshat[r]a[pa]

C.'s facsimile : mahakshatrapasa Rājūvulasa putra[sā] va.

C.'s transcript : Mahakshatrapasa Rajubulasa putrasa Svāmi Va-(Vi)

Vogel : Mahak(sha)t(rapasa Rājūvulasa putra)

As regards the name of the mahākshatrapa Cunningham's facsimile is certainly more trustworthy than his transcript. In the facsimile the *pu* of *putrasa* shows at the top some strokes which might be taken as the sign for *av*, but as the *u*-stroke at the bottom of the letter is quite distinct, *putrasa* must be considered the correct reading. The last word *svāmi* is based only on Cunningham's transcript, the facsimile showing only the subscript *va*. But *svāmi* is exactly what we should expect. Rājūvula's son was Śoḍāsa, who in the Mathurā inscriptions Nos. 59 and 82 of my *List*<sup>2</sup> and in the Mathurā pillar inscription edited below is styled *svāmin mahākshatrapa*. I have therefore no doubt that Cunningham's transcript is correct as far as *svāmi* is concerned and that the original reading was *svāmisa* (or possibly *svāmi*-) mahakshatrapasa.

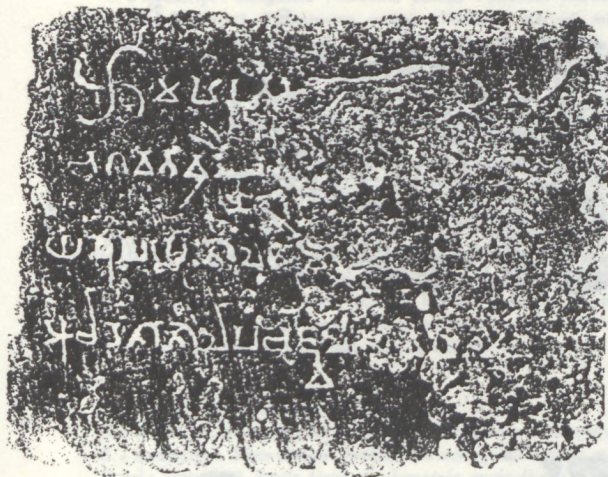
<sup>1</sup> In Vogel's transcript the portions enclosed within round brackets have been taken from Cunningham's facsimile.

<sup>2</sup> The numbers of inscriptions quoted in the following pages always refer to my *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*.



SEVEN BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS FROM MATHURA AND ITS VICINITY.

I.—The Mora Well Inscription.



SCALE : ONE-THIRD.

II.—Inscription on the pedestal of a female statue from Mora.



SCALE : ONE-THIRD.

III.—Inscription on a sculptured stone slab from Mathura.



SCALE : ONE-FIFTH.

IV.—Inscription on a sculptured stone slab from Mathura.  
Right half.



Left half.



SCALE : ONE-HALF.



V.—Inscription on the pedestal of an image from Ganeshra.



SCALE : ONE-THIRD.

VI.—Inscription on the base of a male figure from Mathura.



SCALE : ONE-THIRD.

VII.—Inscription on a door-jamb from Mathura.



SCALE : ONE-FOURTH.

## Line 2.

Impression : *bhagavatām Vri[sh]ñān[ā]. . . [cha]*

C.'s facsimile : *bhagavatā Vriṣṇ . nā pañchavirāṇām pratimā[h] ś[ai]ladev. gri*

C.'s transcript : *Bhagavatā Vrishnena pancha Vairānām pratimu Śaila trva-(gra)*

Vogel : *Bhagavatā Vri(śh)ṇe(na pañcha Virānām pratimā śailatrivagra)*

The *anusvāra* of *bhagavatām* is perfectly clear in the impression, and so is the *ī* of *Vriṣṇī-nām*, although it has a peculiar form. The two strokes denoting the long *ī* are both turned to the left to avoid their running into the *kṣha* hanging down from the first line. Similarly in the next word *pañchavirāṇām* the two limbs of the *ī*-sign are drawn wide asunder on account of the long-tailed *rā* standing in the first line just over the *vī*. The *anusvāra* of *Vriṣṇīnām* has not been noticed by Cunningham and is not visible in the impression on account of a fissure in the stone, but it was no doubt originally engraved. The reading *bhagavato Vriṣṇeḥ* proposed by Ramaprasad Chanda is impossible. Between *pratimā*, which is quite distinct in the facsimile, and the following word the intervening space is rather large, and the original reading was apparently *pratimāḥ*. A trace of the lower dot of the *visarga* is even visible in the facsimile. The last word is not quite distinct in the facsimile, the *la* lacking the long vertical and the *va* showing a small appendix at the bottom which makes it look like *vu*, but as Cunningham in his transcript renders the two letters as *la* and *va* and as the third letter clearly is the same as the third letter of the fourth line, the reading *śailadevagri* is practically certain, and the word is to be restored to *śailadevagrihe*.

## Line 3.

Impression : *ya . to[shā]yāḥ ś[ai]lām [śrī]ma*

C.'s facsimile : *yas-toshayā[h] śailām śrīmad=griham-atulam=u[da]dhasa [ma]dha*

C.'s transcript : *Yasto Shāyāḥ Śailām Sri mad graha mātula mudhadasa madhāra*

Vogel : *yastoshayā ś(ai)le (śrīmadgrahamatula muda-dhasa)*

Cunningham's transcript of the first two words is probably correct, although his reading of the second and third *aksharas* cannot be verified completely from the impression. Instead of the *s* of *sto* there is at present little more than a square hole, but traces of the hook to the left of the letter are visible, and I consider the reading *sto* as certain. The *sha* also is much damaged and the sign of the long *ā* is indistinct, but, as we shall see later on, the length of the vowel is confirmed by the metre and Cunningham's reading may therefore be taken as correct. The *visarga*, of which the lower dot only is indicated in the facsimile, is quite distinct in the impression. The next four words are perfectly clear in the facsimile. The facsimile has *śrīmad*, but the long *ī* is visible in the impression. The last words are uncertain. I can give only Cunningham's reading with the second and third syllables corrected from the facsimile. *Udadhi* would seem to be an obvious emendation of *udadha*, but the word does not fit well into the context.

## Line 4.

Impression : *ārchādeśām śailām pañcha jvalata [i]va po[ramavapushā]*, but the last five *aksharas* are only faintly visible.

C.'s facsimile : *ārchādeśām śailām pacha jvalata iva paramavapushā*

C.'s transcript : *Ārcha deśām Śailām pancha jvalaitā Iva parama Vapeshā*

Vogel : *archā deśām śailām pachajvalata iva parama vapusha*

All readings divergent from the text derived from the impression are faulty.

Too much is lost of the text to fill up conjecturally the gaps. The extant words may be translated as follows :



## TRANSLATION.

- (1) Of the son of *mahākshatrapa Rājāvula*, *svāmīn* . . . . .
- (2) The images of the holy *pañchavīras* of the *Vṛishṇis*<sup>1</sup> . . . the stone shrine . . . .
- (3) Who the magnificent matchless stone house of *Toshā*<sup>2</sup> . . . . .
- (4) The five objects of adoration made of stone radiant, as it were, with highest beauty . . . . .

## REMARKS.

As remarked already in the notes on the text, it is most probably the *svāmīn mahākshatrapa* Śoḍāsa who was mentioned in the first line, and the record has therefore to be dated in his reign, which perfectly agrees with the palaeography of the inscription. I consider it also probable that the words preserved of the first line belong to the date. It will be noticed that there is a marked contrast between the first line and the rest of the inscription as far as the language is concerned. Whereas the first line shows the popular language, the following three lines are apparently in pure Sanskrit. This strange diversity would seem to be best accounted for by assuming that the author of the inscription, even when writing in Sanskrit, for the date used the language customary in the documents of the time.

From the second line it appears that the inscription recorded the setting up of five images representing the holy *pañchavīras* of the *Vṛishṇis* in a stone temple. *Pañchavīrāṇām* hardly means simply 'of five heroes', which at any rate in correct Sanskrit would be *pañchānām vīrāṇām*. *Pañchavīrāḥ* would rather seem to denote a fixed group or body. In this sense the word occurs in the *Daśakumāracharita*, where the meeting or the meeting-house used by a *gaṇikā* for her musical performances is called *pañchavīragoshṭha* : *Kumāramañjariyāḥ svasā yaviyāsī Rāgamañjarī nāma pañchavīragoshṭhe saṃgītakam amuṣṭhāsyati* (ed. K. P. Parab, p. 96). In commenting on the passage Kavindra Sarasvatī quotes for the meaning of the word the *Kośasāra* : *taḥ pañchavīragoshṭhaṃ tu yat tu jānapadaṃ sadaḥ*<sup>3</sup>. *Pañchavīra*, therefore, would seem to be the designation of some administrative body, perhaps equivalent to the modern *pañchāyat*, but, as far as I am aware, no such body is mentioned in the Epic in connection with the *Vṛishṇis*. When some time ago I was reading the inscription with Dr. Alsdorf, I asked him if the term might perhaps be found in the Jaina scriptures, and he promptly favoured me with the following note :

"In the canonical writings of the Jainas, there occurs what might be called a statistics of the subjects ruled by Kṛishṇa Vāsudeva at Dvāravātī. In the first chapter of the *Antagaḍadasāo*<sup>4</sup> it reads as follows : *tattha naṃ Bāravāṇayariē Kaphe nāmaṃ Vāsudeve rāyā parivasāi . . . . se naṃ tattha Samuddavijayapāmokkhāṇaṃ dasaṇhaṃ Dasārāṇaṃ, Baladevapāmokkhāṇaṃ pañchaphaṇaṃ mahāvīrāṇaṃ, Pajjunnapāmokkhāṇaṃ addhuttāṇaṃ kumārakoḍḍiṇaṃ, Sambapāmokkhāṇaṃ saṭṭhiē duddantasāhassīṇaṃ, Mahāseṇapāmokkhāṇaṃ chhapannāē balavagasāhassīṇaṃ, Viraseṇapāmokkhāṇaṃ egavīsē virasāhassīṇaṃ, Uggaseṇapāmokkhāṇaṃ solasaṇhaṃ rāyasāhassīṇaṃ, Ruppīṇipāmokkhāṇaṃ solasaṇhaṃ devisāhassīṇaṃ, Aṇṇaseṇapāmokkhāṇaṃ aṇṇegāṇaṃ gaṇiyāsāhassīṇaṃ, annesin cha bahūṇaṃ īsara*<sup>5</sup> jāva °saṭṭhavāhāṇaṃ Bāravāē nariē addha-Bharaḥssa ya samatṭhassa āhevachchaṃ jāva viharāi.

For those who are not too familiar with Jaina Prakrit, I add the translation of Barnett : 'In this city of Bāravāḥ dwelt King Vāsudeve, hight Kaphe, . . . Here he held sway over Samuddavijāe and the rest of the ten Dasāras, over Baladeve and the rest of the five great heroes, over Pajjunne and the rest of the three and a half crores of princes, over Sambe and the

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps *bhagavatīn* is to be construed with *Vṛishṇīnām*.

<sup>2</sup> I omit the obscure words *udadhasamadhāra*.

<sup>3</sup> The quotation is given also, without stating its source, in Śivārāma's commentary and in the *Laghupīḍikā*.

<sup>4</sup> P. L. Vaidya's edition, Poona 1932, p. 4f.



rest of the 60,000 fighting men, over Mahāseṇa and the rest of the 56,000 mighty men, over Viraseṇa and the rest of the 21,000 warriors, over Uggaseṇa and the rest of the 16,000 kings, over Ruppīṇi and the rest of the 16,000 queens, over Aṇaḥgaseṇā and the rest of the many thousands of courtesans, and over many kings, princes, barons, [prefects, mayors, bankers, traders, captains,] merchants, and others, over the city of Bāravaī and the whole of the southern half of Bhārahe-vāse.<sup>1</sup>

In the sixteenth chapter of the *Nāyādharmakāhā*, we are told how King Drupada sends a messenger to Dvāravatī and commands him to invite to the *svayamvara* of his daughter Draupadī “*Kaṇhaṁ Vāsudevaṁ, Samuddavijayapāmokkhe dasa Dasāre, Baladevapāmokkhe pañcha mahāvīre . . .*” The list which follows agrees verbatim with that of the *Antagaḍasāo*, merely omitting the queens and courtesans, inserting Uggaseṇa between Baladeva and Pajjunna, and inverting the order of Mahāseṇa and Viraseṇa. A third version found in the *Vaṇhidasāo* is also practically identical.

There can hardly be any doubt that the *Baladevapāmokkhā pañcha mahāvīrā* included in the canonical list are identical with the holy *pañchavīras* of the Vṛishṇis mentioned in the *Mōrā* inscription, but sought for in vain in Brahmanical literature.

The question now arises : who are the other four *mahāvīras* besides Baladeva ? The canonical list, though it does not give us their names, yet furnishes at least some negative clue for their identification, because it clearly excludes from their number several of the most prominent Vṛishṇis known to Jaina tradition, viz., Kṛishṇa, the ten Daśārhas (including Vasudeva), Pradyumna, Śāmba, Ugrasena, Mahāseṇa, and Virasena. We must obviously look for four names, other than those just mentioned, which must be equally well known to the Jainas and the Brahmins. Further, considering that Baladeva, the leader of the group, is the eldest son of Vasudeva, the conjecture is perhaps not too far-fetched that the other four *mahāvīras* might be looked for among the brothers, or half-brothers, of Baladeva. Now the Jaina *Harivaṁśapurāṇa* gives a long list of Yādava princes who, under Kṛishṇa's command, took the field against Jarāsandha ; the list is found, in almost identical form, in Jinaseṇa's *Harivaṁśapurāṇa* (48, 38-74) and in Hemachandra's *Trishasṭīśālākā-purushacharitra* (VIII, 7, 155-193). In this list no less than 47 sons of Vasudeva are enumerated. This great number is easily accounted for by the fact that Vasudeva has taken the place of Naravāhanadatta in the Jaina version of the *Bṛihatkaṭhā*, the so-called *Vasudevahiṇḍī*, which forms also part of the *Harivaṁśapurāṇa*. Just like his Brahmanical counterpart, Vasudeva during his “*hiṇḍī*” wins 26 consorts, and the Jainas apparently thought fit that with each, or at least most of them, he should beget one or more sons. The list of the *Harivaṁśapurāṇa* accordingly distributes the 47 sons among 23 mothers. Under these circumstances, it stands to reason that most of those 47 names are secondary Jain inventions not likely to be met with in Brahmanical literature. As a matter of fact, almost all of them are either purely fantastic or, if they do occur in Brahmanical texts, their bearers are certainly no Vṛishṇis. The only exceptions to this—apart, of course, from Kṛishṇa and Baladeva—are four names, viz., Akrūra, Anādhṛisṭī, Śāraṇa, and Vidūratha. These four are well-known Vṛishṇi princes expressly denoted as such in the *Mahābhārata*.<sup>2</sup>

That the *Harivaṁśapurāṇa* list of Vasudeva's sons should include, besides Kṛishṇa, Baladeva and neither more nor less than just four younger brothers of his who are recognised as Vṛishṇi princes in the *Mahābhārata* is no doubt a very remarkable coincidence. It can certainly not be regarded as a cogent evidence, yet I think we may feel justified in assuming that the “five great

<sup>1</sup> *Oriental Transl. Fund*, N. S.—Vol. XVII, p. 13f.

<sup>2</sup> Vide Sørensen's *Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata*.







sometimes also in manuscript writing as proved by a palm-leaf manuscript in Gupta characters unearthed in Eastern Turkestan.

The occurrence of this stanza is of considerable interest for the history of Sanskrit literature. The metre *Bhujāṅgaviṣṭimbhita* is found also in Kumāralāta's *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*,<sup>1</sup> but our inscription is about 200 years earlier than that work, and if here a most artificial metre such as *Bhujāṅgaviṣṭimbhita* is used for a Sanskrit stanza, it is proved that the Sanskrit Kāvya poetry was fully developed in the first century B.C.

There is just enough left of the stanza to show that the first hemistich was mainly devoted to the praise of the stone temple where the five images were set up and that the beauty of the images themselves was extolled in the second half of the stanza. From the epithets conferred on the temple, even if they should be slightly overdrawn, we may infer that it was a remarkably fine building, but there is nothing to show that it was exclusively dedicated to the five Vṛishṇis. It is far more probable that it was a Bhāgavata temple where the five images were established. No trace of this temple has until now turned up at Mōrā. When in 1910 Pandit Radha Krishna examined the site, he found only a number of fragments of very large inscribed bricks from which Dr. Vogel was able to make out the legend : *jīvaputāye rājabharyāye Brahāsvātīmīta-[dhi]tu<sup>2</sup> Yasamatāye kārīṇam*. As stated by Dr. Vogel, the characters of that inscription are those of the third or second century B.C., which is the approximate date also of King Bahasatīmīta who in all probability is identical with the Brahāsvātīmīta of the brick legend. The bricks therefore must have belonged to a much earlier building than the stone temple spoken of in the inscription. The emphatic, twice repeated, statement that the temple was built of stone leads one to think that it was destined to replace the older brick building. We shall see later on that it is not impossible that a detached piece of the temple has been preserved at Mathurā in another place.

Although the stone temple has entirely disappeared, I think it very probable that some remnants of the five images have survived on the spot. When visiting the Mōrā site, Dr. Vogel noticed some fragments of stone images consisting of two torsos of standing male statues, the pedestal of a standing image of which only the feet remain, and the pedestal and lower half of a standing female statue<sup>3</sup>. All the images are carved in the round. The two torsos are much alike. Both wear a *dhoti* held to the loins with a girdle and a shawl tied round the legs. The main difference lies in the necklace. One wears a double necklace fastened in front by means of a clasp, the other a heavy single necklace tied in a knot at the back. On the pedestal of the female figure is a fragmentary inscription. The four images were transferred to the Mathurā Museum where they bear the numbers E 20-23.

When Dr. Vogel first announced his discovery, he suggested that the sculptures might be connected with the images mentioned in the inscription. Of course, his conjecture that the male figures represent those of the Pāṇḍava brothers and the female statue is an image of Draupadī is based on the wrong idea that the term *pañcavīrāḥ* in the inscription refers to the Pāṇḍavas, and must be abandoned. The female statue must be left out of consideration altogether, at any rate, at present. We shall see later on in what relation it may possibly stand to the other images and the well inscription. For the rest, Dr. Vogel's suggestion is plausible enough. From the inscription we should expect to find at the site of Mōrā five remarkably fine statues originating from

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> This is the correct reading, not *Brihāsvātīmīta*., as read by Vogel, *ASI. AR.* 1911-12 [Part II] (1915), p. 128, Plate LVIII, fig. 16.

<sup>3</sup> *JRAS.* 1911, pp. 151ff.; *ASI. AR.* 1911-12 [Part II] (1915), p. 127f. The two torsos are figured *ibid.* Plate LVII, fig. 12-15, the one with the double necklace also in Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, Plate XLIII (*Arts Asiatiques*, XV)



the time of Śoḍāsa and representing Baladeva and four of his brothers or companions and therefore being probably much alike in appearance. There are actually found at Mōrā images of three male persons. The torsos of two of them show that they were very similar in attitude and dress and certainly represented not foreigners as, *e.g.*, the three Māt statues, but some Hindu personages. They are, moreover, as far as I can judge from the photographs, of superior workmanship and, being carved in the round, cannot be assigned to a later date than the Kushān period, but may be considerably earlier. The identity of the statues and the *pañchavīras* which thus becomes highly probable, would be finally established, if the fragments had been found in the ruins of the *śaila-devagrīha*, where, according to the inscription, the *pañchavīras* were set up. But, as already remarked above, there is no trace whatever of a stone temple. The images were found lying round about the remains of a building constructed of bricks, but I do not think that for this reason the identity of the statues and the *pañchavīras* is to be given up. There is no positive evidence that the statues were ever set up within that brick enclosure.<sup>1</sup> It can be easily imagined that at the time when the temple was demolished and its materials were carried away, the statues also were cut up and thrown aside. Dr. Vogel himself seems to have changed his mind. He is now inclined to look at the statues as Yaksha images.<sup>2</sup> In my opinion they have a better claim to be regarded as the images of the Vṛishṇi heroes, although I admit that this view cannot be definitely proved at present.

There is still one point that requires elucidation, *viz.*, the word *Toshāyāh* in line 3 of the inscription. I have stated already in the notes on the text that there is no reason to doubt the correctness of the reading. Judging from the context *Toshāyāh* can hardly be anything else but the genitive of *Toshā* dependent on the following *grīham*. At first sight one would obviously understand 'the house of Toshā' as a shrine dedicated to a goddess called Toshā, but I am not aware that there ever existed a goddess of that name. Under these circumstances, Toshā can only be taken as the name of the lady who caused the shrine to be built. Just as we find here *śailam grīham* combined with the name of the founder in the genitive case, we have *mahārājasya rājātīrjasya devapūtrasya Hūvīshkasya vāhare* in the Mathurā inscription No. 62 of my *List*, or *āchāryya-Somatrāṭasya=edaṁ Bhagavatpādopayojyam kuṇḍam=uparyy-āvasathaḥ kuṇḍam ch=āparam* in the Tuśām rock inscription (GI. No. 67). Toshā does not sound like an Indian name. It is quite probable that Toshā was of Iranian extraction, and there would be nothing strange about the fact that she should have erected a Bhāgavata shrine as we know from the Heliodoros inscription at Bēsnagar that foreigners were adherents of the Bhāgavata religion. We shall probably find the name of Toshā in a different spelling again in the following inscription.

## II.—Inscription on the pedestal of a female statue from Mōrā.

The inscription is incised on the pedestal of a standing female figure which was discovered by Dr. Vogel at Mōrā together with the remnants of the three statues discussed above. The image is now in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription was edited by Vogel, *Cat. Arch. Mus. Mathurā*, p. 109, No. E 20. It is figured *ASI.AR.* 1911-12 [Part II], Plate LVIII, fig. 19.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps this statement has to be modified. Mr. V. S. Agravala writes: "I inspected the Mōrā sites with Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit in November 1936. . . . Dr. Lüders' remark that there is no positive evidence that the statues were ever set up within the brick enclosure does not seem to be grounded in fact. From actual inspection of the site we found that the images were set up at that very place, since there still exists *in situ* the stone pedestal in which the images were embedded. Mr. Devi Dayal took a photo of this part of the building and also measured the mortise cut into the stone which once received the image." It is not quite clear from this statement whether the five statues were all embedded in one pedestal and whether the measurement of the mortise can be shown to meet one of the *Pañchavīra* statues or perhaps that of the Toshā image.

<sup>2</sup> *Sculpture de Mathurā*, p. 116.



## TEXT.

- 1 . . . . . sya<sup>(1)</sup> Kan(i)[sh]ka[sya]<sup>(2)</sup> . . . . . [r]<sup>(3)</sup> . . . . . [m]<sup>(4)</sup> . . .  
 2 . . . . . etasya<sup>(5)</sup> purvaye M[ā]thuri kalavaḍ[ā] oḍakhji<sup>(6)</sup> . . .  
 3 . . . . . ye Tośāye patimā . . . . . t<sup>(7)</sup> . . . . .

## NOTES.

(1) Probably to be restored *mahārājasya*. (2) Vogel: [H]uv[ish]ka[sya]. The first *akshara* is distinctly *ka*. The vowel-sign of the second *akshara* has disappeared, but the *mātrikā* is distinctly *na*. The *sh* of *shka* and the *sya* are blurred, but certain. (3) Probably to be restored as *saṃvatsare*. (4) Of the seven or eight *aksharas* following [r], only the lower half of *ma* is distinct. The *akshara* before *ma* seems to have contained a subscript *ma*, so that the original reading may have been something like *grishmamāse*. (5) Traces of two *aksharas* before *etasya* are still visible, but it is impossible to read them. (6) Vogel: *mathurikalavaḍap* . . The *ā*-sign is not quite certain, but probable. The dot distinguishing the dental *tha* from *pha* is indistinct. The seventh letter is certainly *ḍa* as read by Vogel, a similar form occurring in one of the Māt inscriptions, but there appears to be an *ā*-sign attached to the letter. The reading of the last three *aksharas* is very uncertain. What Vogel reads as *pa* consists, as far as I see, of two letters. The first letter looks like an initial *o*, but in the middle of the vertical line of the letter there is a small horizontal stroke which might suggest to take the letter as *au*; it is, however, probably only accidental. The second letter, the lower portion of which has disappeared owing to an erosion of the stone, may have been *ḍa*. The same erosion has destroyed also the body of the last *akshara* which may have been *khi*. Possibly one *akshara* is lost at the end of the line. (7) The last word also has become illegible on account of the peeling off of the stone with the exception of a subscript *ta* which must have belonged to the third letter of the word. The word is probably to be restored as *patistāpitā*; cf. *pratistapita* in No. 45<sup>a</sup>, *pratistāpenti* in No. 149<sup>b</sup>. The slanting stroke to the left of the *ta* seems to have been caused by the erosion of the stone.

## REMARKS.

It is impossible to offer a connected translation of the inscription, too much of the text being lost to fill up the gaps even conjecturally.

As the date fills half of the text, the numbers of the year, the month and the day were apparently given in words, not in figures. The king's name is distinctly *Kanishka*.

In the third line the only legible words are *Tośāye patimā* after which probably *patistāpitā* is to be supplied. The meaning of the words may be either that an image was set up by Tośā or that an image of Tośā was set up. If *Tośāye* were taken as the name of the donatrix, the object of the donation would here simply be called *patimā*. However, this would be quite unusual. In no other inscription of this time<sup>1</sup> *patimā* alone is used in this way, No. 68, where the second line ends with *Jinadāsiye pratimā*, being apparently incomplete. Everywhere the name of the person represented by the statue is added to *pratimā*, sometimes compounded with it (Nos. 13, 28, 29, 37, 50, 51, 118, 121, perhaps also 72), but oftener in the genitive case (Nos. 18, 24, 26, 34, 43, 45, 45<sup>a</sup>, 47, 69<sup>a</sup>, 71, 110; in 74 *bhagavato Varddhāmānapratimā*). Generally the name in the genitive precedes *pratimā*; a different position of the words occurs only in No. 39 (*dānam pra-*

<sup>1</sup> In later times *pratimā* alone occurs occasionally, e.g. in the Mathurā inscription of G. 113 edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 210, No. 39.



*timā Vadhamanasya*), No. 119 (*pratimā pra(tishṭhāpitā Vardha)mānasya*) and apparently in No. 68 quoted above. It is therefore not only possible, but even more likely that *Toṣāye patimā* means 'the image of Toṣā'. Unfortunately the upper half of the statue is lost, and what remains of it is not sufficient to determine exactly the character of the person represented. All that can be said is that it is a woman as shown by the anklets and that she wears a folded cloth with one end tucked up in the waist-belt and the other slung over the left arm. This seems to have been the costume of a fashionable lady of that time. Exactly the same dress is worn by the female worshippers on a doorjamb in the Mathurā Museum (P2)<sup>1</sup>; cf. especially the figure in the upper compartment. There is absolutely nothing to show that the statue was meant for a goddess or a Yakshī or a Nāga woman. Nor do we know of any goddess of the name of Toṣā. Now, considering that the image which according to the inscription probably represents a lady called Toṣā has been found together with the remnants of three statues which probably are mentioned in the well inscription as having been set up in the stone house of Toshā, we can hardly reject the idea that Toṣā and Toshā refer to the same person. The difference in the spelling of the name cannot be regarded as a serious obstacle to the identification as the name appears to be of foreign origin and, moreover, we have even in Sanskrit *kūśma* by the side of *kūśhma*, *keśha* by the side of *kośa*, etc. There can be no doubt that the well inscription is about a century older than the statue inscription; it shows the 'archaic' writing that is found in all other records of the time of Śoḍāsa, whereas the statue inscription is dated in the reign of Kanishka and written in the typical clumsy characters of that period. As Toṣā cannot have set up a statue during the reign of Kanishka, if her shrine was already in existence at the time of Śoḍāsa, the identification of Toṣā and Toshā would definitely prove that *Toṣāye patimā* means 'the image of Toṣā'. On the other hand, we should be compelled to assume that somebody erected the statue of Toṣā at her shrine about a hundred years after her death. Such a posthumous honouring by one of her descendants would not seem to be impossible, if we remember that probably a statue of Vima Kadphises was set up at Māt some time after his death, but I admit that the evidence for the identity of Toṣā and Toshā is not much more than a chain of possibilities or probabilities that requires substantial strengthening before it can be regarded as conclusive.

The second line of the inscription affords no help in this respect. *Māthuri kalavaḍā* probably means 'the wife of the *kālavāḍa* of Mathurā', although the formation of the second word is unusual. In analogy to such derivations as *sārthavāhinī* from *sārthavāha*, we should expect rather *kālavā-ḍinī*. As will appear from the following two inscriptions, *kālavāḍa* or *kālavāḍa* was the title of a high official at Mathurā. Owing to the large lacuna of the text in the beginning of the third line, it is impossible to decide whether *Māthuri kalavaḍā* refers to the person who erected the statue of Toṣā or to Toṣā herself. Nor can I suggest anything with regard to the meaning of the following three syllables which I have tentatively read *oḍakhi*.

### III.—Inscription on a sculptured stone-slab from Mathurā.

This inscription is engraved on a sculptured stone-slab from the **Kaṅkālī Tīlā** at Mathurā, now preserved in the Lucknow Provincial Museum. The slab is figured in V. A. Smith's *Jain Stūpa at Mathurā* (*ASI. New Imp. Ser.* Vol. XX), Plate XIII. The inscription was edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 396, No. 33, and Plate, and commented on *ibid.* p. 393f. Fleet made it the subject of a learned paper, *JRAS.* 1905, pp. 635-655, and R. D. Banerji treated it briefly, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 49.

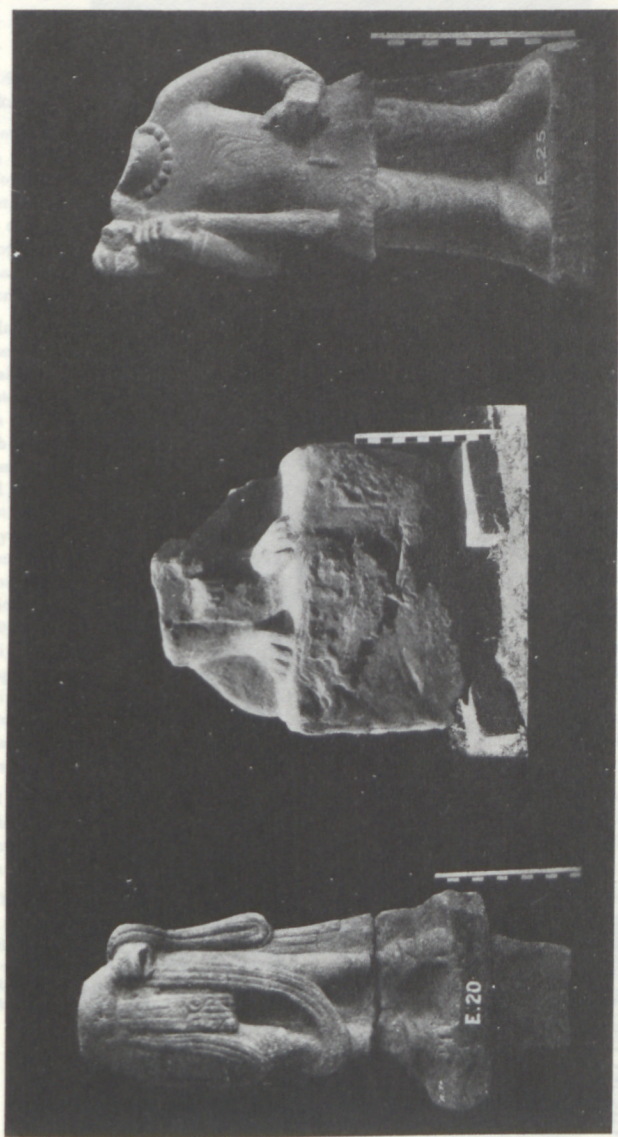
<sup>1</sup> Vogel, *Cat. Arch. Mus. Mathurā*, p. 173, and Plate IIb; *Sculpture de Mathurā*, Plate XXIIb.



The inscription above is written in the same character that of the Kankaragiri, was read and translated by Wilson as follows:

"I have again performed the same duty."

SCULPTURES FROM MATHURA MUSEUM.



SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

↓  
E. 23

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.



## SCULPTURES FROM MATHURA MUSEUM.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA



The inscription which is written in the script preceding that of the Kushān period was read and translated by Bühler as follows :

" 1. [na]mo arahato Vardhamānasya Gotiputrasa Poṭhayaśaka-

2. kālāvāṣa

3. . . . .<sup>1</sup> Kosikiye Śimitrāye<sup>2</sup> āyāgapato<sup>3</sup> pra.i . . . . .<sup>4</sup>

Adoration to the Arhat Vardhamāna ! A tablet of homage was set up by Śivamitrā (of) the Kausika (family), (wife) of Gotiputra (*Gautiputra*), a black serpent for the Poṭhayaś and Śakas."

Gotiputra's epithet was explained by Bühler as referring to his fights with the Poṭhayaś and Śakas, in which he proved to them as destructive as the black cobra is to mankind in general. The Poṭhayaś he identified with the Proshthas, who are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as a nation of Southern India. Fleet, although agreeing with Bühler in the reading and the literal translation of the epithet, tried to show at great length that by the Śakas were meant the Buddhists and by the Poṭhayaś the Digambara Jains and that Gotiputra, who himself was a Śvetāmbara Jaina, was marked in the record as being particularly successful in disputation with adherents of those rival creeds.

Many grave objections may be raised against these interpretations, but I deem it unnecessary to enter into a detailed discussion, as in my opinion they are untenable, or at least highly improbable, already for general reasons. An epithet with the meaning assumed by Bühler and Fleet is against the style of these dedicatory inscriptions, which in a formula language record facts, but refrain from rhetorical embellishments taken from the language of the Kāvyaś. Secondly, although metonymics are sometimes used instead of personal names, especially in the case of Buddhist saints, I consider it extremely unlikely that in an inscription like this one a private individual should have been called simply by his metonymic. It is far more probable that just as in innumerable other cases the metronymic was followed by the personal name, and there is no reason why Poṭhayaśaka should not be taken as a name formed by compounding the abbreviated form of the asterism Proshthapada and *yaśas*, or rather their Prakrit equivalents, and adding the suffix -ka. Personal names the first member of which is the name of a *nakshatra* are very common in the period to which the inscription belongs. Poṭha itself occurs in Poṭhaghoshā in the Mathurā inscription No. 59, Poṭhadevā in the Sānchi inscription No. 205 and the hypocoristic form Poṭhaka in the Sānchi inscription No. 342. For *yaśas* as the second member of a compound name we have in epigraphical records Kṛishṇayaśa in the Kanhiāra inscription No. 8, Dhamayaśā (fem.) in the Sānchi inscription 410, Śivayaśā (fem.) and Phaguyaśa in the Mathurā inscription No. 100 and Bhadrayaśa in the Mathurā inscription No. 107. As *Phagu* is a shortened form of *Phalgunī* and *Bhadra* an abbreviation of *Bhadrāpādā*, the last two names are almost exact counterparts of *Poṭhayaśaka* in our inscription.

If we take Poṭhayaśaka as the name of the husband of Śimitrā, we are driven to the conclusion that the original reading was *Poṭhayaśakasa* and that *kālāvāṣa* is an independent word characterising Poṭhayaśaka somehow or other. I think that this is fully confirmed by an examination of the outward appearance of the inscription.

The inscription is damaged both at the beginning and at the end. On the left side a piece of the stone is broken off, which has caused the partial loss of the *na* in the beginning of the upper line and the complete disappearance of three *aksharas* in the beginning of the lower line. Here

<sup>1</sup> Restore *bhāryāye*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *Śivamitrāye*.

<sup>3</sup> [Bühler : *ayāgapato* (misprint).]

<sup>4</sup> Restore *pratiśhāpito*.

I therefore read and translate the inscription as follows :

1 [na]mo arahato Vardhamānasya Gotiputrasya **Paṭhayaśa**[ka](sa)  
2 kālavāśa  
3 (bhārvāye) Kośikive **Śimitrāye** āyāgapato pra(t)i(thāpito)

Adoration to the Arhat Vardhamāna! The tablet of homage has been set up by the Koṣiki (*Kaṣiki*) Śimitrā<sup>2</sup>, (the wife) of the kālavāla Poṭhayaśaka (*Prosthayaśaka*), the son of a Goti (*Gaupṭi*).

The exact meaning of *kālāvāla* is not known. The word does not seem to have turned up hitherto in literary sources.<sup>3</sup> Bühler was of opinion that both Śimītrā and her husband were shown by their family names to be of noble or royal descent. But this conclusion goes too far. The use of metonymics was by no means confined to the Kshatriya caste. Fleet, *loc. cit.* p. 637ff., has collected a large number of cases where the names of Brahmins also and sometimes of persons who seem to be neither Brahmins nor Kshatriyas are coupled with the same metonymics that we find in connection with the names of princes and noblemen. So much only is certain that a man who attaches the metonymic to his name is a person of high social standing. From the fact that Gotiputra Poṭhayaśaka is called *kālāvāla* we may infer that the word denoted some dignity or high official. From our inscription it appears that the title was

<sup>2</sup> The etymology of the name is not clear. Bühler's correction to *Śivamitrā* is hazardous and hardly correct. Nor can the name be traced back to *Śrīmitrā* as Skt. *śrī* would have to appear as *śiri*.

<sup>3</sup> *Kālāvala*, of course, cannot be connected with *kalyapāla*, *kallavāla* (*Mahāv.* 186, 109), which denotes a distiller or seller of spirits, the modern *kalvār* or *kalāl*. Possibly *kāla*, which in the Khorošthī documents from Eastern Turkestan occurs frequently as a very high title, is an abbreviation of *kālāvala*, but it cannot be proved at present. Professor Thomas, *Festschrift H. Jacobi*, p. 51, thinks that *kāla* is the same word as *kara* in Kujula Kara Kadphises, but this suggestion also is not convincing.



in use already before the time of the Kushāns, and this is confirmed by its occurrence in the inscriptions on the first Stūpa at Sānchi. No. 340 of Bühler's collection reads<sup>1</sup> *Vediṣa Dataṣa kalavaḍaṣa dānaṃ*. There is a second copy (No. 339) which differs only in the writing of the first word: *Vediṣa Dataṣa kalavaḍaṣa dānaṃ*. A third inscription (No. 195) was read by Bühler *Datakalivatasa dānaṃ*. Bühler identified this inscription with Cunningham's No. 172<sup>2</sup> which Cunningham himself, in accordance with his facsimile, transcribed *Datakalavaḍaṣa dānaṃ*. There can be little doubt that here also the true reading is *Datakalavaḍaṣa*. The word is found once more in the Vakālā inscription, No. 971 of my *List*: *Koḍasa kalavāḍaṣa*. *Kalavaḍa* and *kalavāḍa* are apparently only defective spellings of *kālavāḍa*, and I therefore feel sure that also in the Mōrā inscription *kalavaḍa* is meant for *kālavāḍa*. Additional proof is furnished by the next inscription.

#### IV.—Inscription on a sculptured stone-slab from Mathurā.

The inscription is engraved on a beautifully sculptured slab found in the **Kaṅkāli Tīlā** at Mathurā and now preserved in the Lucknow Provincial Museum. The slab is figured in V. A. Smith's *Jain Śrūpa at Mathurā* (*ASI. New Imp. Ser. Vol. XX*), Plate VIII. The inscription was edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 200, No. 8, together with a photolithograph from which it appears that the inscription has suffered a good deal since the time when the impression used by Bühler was taken. Judging from the impressions before me it seems that in the second half of the inscription the lower portion of the letters has now almost entirely disappeared. My reading of the text therefore depends to a certain extent on the reproduction in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II.

#### TEXT.

naṃo arahato<sup>(1)</sup> Māhāviraṣa<sup>(2)</sup> — Māthuraka . . . lavāḍaṣa<sup>(3)</sup> [sā] . . bhayāye<sup>(4)</sup> . .  
vara[kh]itāye<sup>(5)</sup> āyā[gaṇaṭo]<sup>(6)</sup>.

#### NOTES.

(1) There is a cut to the left of the *ra* which makes it look like *na*. (2) Bühler: *māhāviraṣa*, but the sign of length is attached in the same way as in the *mā* of the following word. (3) Bühler: *Māthuraka* . . . *lavāḍaṣa*, which agrees with the photolithograph in the *Ep. Ind.*, whereas in the impression before me *lavā* is almost illegible and the last *sa* is strangely distorted. The *akshara* read *ḡa* by Bühler shows a distinct hook to the right in the impression and is therefore more probably *ḷa*. The two words can safely be restored as *Māthurakasa kālavāḍaṣa*. (4) This is Bühler's reading and it is evidently correct, although the letters are far less distinct now in the impressions than in the photolithograph. Restore *sāhā bhayāye*. (5) Bühler: . . . *va* . . . *ūāye*, where *ī* seems to be a misprint for *ī*. The last four *aksharas* may be called certain. Instead of *va* the reading *ta* would be possible according to the impressions, but the photolithograph shows a plain *va*. The name is probably to be restored as *Śivarakhitāye*. (6) Bühler's reading, although enclosed in brackets, is quite distinct in the photolithograph and there can be no doubt that it is correct, but the last three *aksharas* are illegible in the impressions.

#### TRANSLATION.

Adoration to the Arhat Māhāvira! The tablet of homage (*is the gift*) of the *kālavāḍa* of Mathurā together with his wife *Śivarakhitā* (*Śivarakhitā*).

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 366ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 253.

## REMARKS.

For palæographical reasons the inscription must be assigned to the period before Kanishka. The fixing of an early date is also supported by the language which is pure Prakrit and further by the fact that the inscription records the setting up of an *āyāgapaṭṭa*. In the Kushān times the dedication of *āyāgapaṭṭas* seems to have gone out of fashion, there being no inscription in Kushān characters on any of the sculptured slabs unearthed at the Kaikālī Tīlā.

The two words *Māthurakasa kālavāṣa*, which, though partly restored, may be regarded as perfectly certain, are of special interest, because they give us a hint as to the meaning of the term. *Māthuri kalavaṣā* used in the Mōrā inscription, and at the same time confirm what I have said about the social position of the *kālavāṣa*. The donor of the slab would hardly have called himself simply by his title, without adding his personal name, if he had not been an official of very high rank.

## V.—Inscription on the pedestal of an image from Gaṇēśhrā.

The inscription is on the pedestal of a standing figure of which only the feet remain. It is incised on the top of the pedestal between the feet. The stone was acquired by Pandit Radha Krishna from a Koli who is said to have obtained it from a Brahmin's house in the village of Gaṇēśhrā, three miles north-west of Mathurā City. It is now in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription was edited by Vogel, *Cat. Arch. Mus. Mathurā*, p. 122, No. G42.

## TEXT.

- 1 Maha[daṇḍa]nā[yakasya]<sup>(1)</sup> yamasha-
- 2 [heka]s[y]a<sup>(2)</sup> [v]iś[v]ja[saka]sya<sup>(3)</sup> Ulānāśya<sup>(4)</sup> paṭimā

## NOTES.

(1) Only the first two *aksharas* are well preserved, the rest of the word is more or less effaced. Vogel reads *maha[hi]nā[yanasya]*, but the reading given above is certain with the exception of the *anusvāra*<sup>1</sup>. (2) This is Vogel's reading. The first *akshara* is possibly *yā*, though the *ā*-stroke would be very short. The lower portion of the *he* and the *ka* and the subscript *ya* have disappeared through the breaking off of the stone. The *he* is doubtful, and instead of *ka* we may read *na*. (3) Vogel: *[vi]śā[y]a[sya]*. The lower portion of *vi* and the subscript *va* are mutilated. There may have been an *ā*-sign attached to the *śva*, but it is doubtful. The third and fourth *aksharas* are almost completely effaced, but from the faint traces they can be read with certainty as *saka*. There seems to have been no *i*-sign on the top of the *sa*. (4) Vogel: *Ulanāśya*. The *ā*-sign of *lā* is quite distinct.

## TRANSLATION.

The image of the great general, the *yamashaheka*(?) (and ?) *viśvasaka Ulāna*.

## REMARKS.

From the inscription it appears that the statue represented the great general Ulāna, who, judging from his name, was certainly a Śaka, *Ulāna* being formed with the suffix *-āna* which is common in the Śaka language. What is left of the statue, points into the same direction. The feet are shod with the same wadded boots that are worn by Kanishka in his well-known statue.

<sup>1</sup> According to Mr. V. S. Agravala the word was correctly read by Daya Ram Sahni in the *Annual Report Northern Circle*, 1921, p. 3, which is not accessible to me.



As regards Ulāna's titles, *mahādāṇḍanāyaka* occurs again in the Mathurā inscription No. 60 of Sam 74. In my edition of the record I read in ll. 6ff. *mahādāṇḍanāyakasya Vālinasya*, but the true reading appears to be *Valānasya*, and *Valāna* and *Ulāna* being evidently only different spellings of the same name, it is quite possible that the general mentioned in that inscription is identical with the person represented by the statue. The title *viśvasaka* is found in slightly different spellings in several Mathurā inscriptions of the Kushān period. Nos. 127, 128 and 141 record gifts of the *viśvasika* or *viśvasika* Vakamihira, No. 1259 a gift of the *viśvasika* Aśyala or Suśyala. It will be noticed that the title is only borne by persons who by their names are shown to be of foreign descent. Perhaps the correct form of the title is *viśvāsika*. In the *Divyāvadāna* p. 188 it is said of a certain Brāhmaṇa : *sa rājñā Prasenajitā Kauśaleṇa hastimadhyasy=opari viśvāsikaḥ sthāpitaḥ*, but here also *viśvāsikaḥ* is not warranted by the manuscripts which write either *viśvāsikaḥ* or *viśvāsikaḥ*. *Yamashaheka*, provided the word has been read correctly, would seem to be a foreign title or a local designation, though I cannot suggest anything as to its meaning. But whatever his functions may have been, the title of *mahādāṇḍanāyaka* certainly shows that Ulāna was a high official, and the present inscription, although it is badly preserved and its original place is not known, is yet of great importance as proving that during the Kushān period not only kings, but also dignitaries of lesser rank were honoured by statues. As shown by the following inscription, the statue of Ulāna is not an isolated case.

#### VI.—Inscription on the base of a male figure from Mathurā.

The inscription, as stated by Vogel, is incised on the base of a male figure, standing, clad in the Indo-Scythian dress : tunic, trousers and boots. He holds a bunch of lotus-flowers in his right hand and an indistinct object in his left. The head is lost. The image was found in a *bāghicha* on the Brindāban road about 1½ miles from Mathurā. It is at present in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription is in a very bad state of preservation, and only the date of the year was read by Vogel, *Cat. Arch. Mus. Mathurā*, p. 110, No. E25. The statue is figured *JRAS.* 1911, Plate VIII, fig. 2.

#### TEXT.

- 1 sa[va]tsarā<sup>(1)</sup> 70 2<sup>(2)</sup> h(e) . . . . . s(e)<sup>(3)</sup> pratha(me)  
2 . . . . . rṇasya<sup>(4)</sup> pra(timā)

#### NOTES.

(1) The ā-sign of *rā* is pretty distinct. After *rā* there is a long vertical stroke, apparently caused by a fissure in the stone. (2) The first figure is not quite distinct. Vogel took it to be 40, but it is more probable that it is 70. The second figure is probably 2. (3) The *e*-sign of *h(e)* and *s(e)*, if they were originally engraved, are entirely obliterated. The word was certainly meant for *hemantamāse*. (4) Before *rṇasya* about ten *aksharas* are illegible.

#### REMARKS.

Although only one complete word and two numerical signs can be read with tolerable certainty, the inscription, in conjunction with the complementary evidence furnished by the dress of the statue, allows us to affirm that, probably in the year 72 of the Kushān era, in the first month of winter, the statue of a foreigner, whose name ended in *-rṇa*, was set up at Mathurā. The custom of erecting portrait statues seems to have been in vogue among the foreign chiefs at Mathurā

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 242.

during the Kushān period. The Mathurā Museum contains no less than six heads of statues<sup>1</sup> wearing the high conical hats which are an essential part of the Scythian dress. In my opinion, these facts give additional weight to the suggestion that the female statue from Mōrā also represents some lady belonging to a clan of the foreign invaders.

#### VII.—Inscription on a door-jamb from Mathurā.

The inscription is engraved on the side of a carved door-jamb dug out of an old well in the Mathurā Cantonments in 1913 and is now in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription consists of 12 lines, but the first five lines are so much obliterated that only here and there a letter can be made out with more or less certainty. Each line consisted of nine or ten *aksharas*, of which four or five on the right side are missing. From an examination of the stone Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda came to the conclusion, which undoubtedly is correct, that the epigraph was originally incised on a square pillar which was afterwards cut lengthwise through the inscribed side into two halves and turned into door-jambs. The inscription was first noticed in the *Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March, 1917*, p. 10<sup>2</sup>, and edited by Ramaprasad Chanda, *MAI*. No. 5, pp. 169-173, and Plates XXV and XXVI.

#### TEXT.

- 1 .[v]. . . . .
- 2 sa[s]ya<sup>(1)</sup> . . . . .
- 3 [vas] <sup>(2)</sup> . . . . .
- 4 [p] . . .[ṇa] Śiva<sup>(3)</sup> . . . . .
- 5 shapu[t]r[e]ṇa Kauśi <sup>(4)</sup> . . . . .
- 6 Vasunā bhaga[va]to Vāsude- <sup>(5)</sup>
- 7 vasya mahāsthāna . . . . . (śai)-<sup>(6)</sup>
- 8 laṁ toraṇaṁ ve(dikā cha prati)-<sup>(7)</sup>
- 9 shṭhāpito <sup>(8)</sup> prito [bha](gavān Vāsu)-<sup>(9)</sup>
- 10 devaḥ svāmī[sya] (mahākshatra)-<sup>(10)</sup>
- 11 pasya Śoḍā[sa](sya) . . . . . <sup>(11)</sup>
- 12 samvartayatām<sup>(12)</sup>

#### NOTES.

(1) *Sasya* is distinct, and as we should expect the inscription to begin with the date, the first line is probably to be restored as *svāmīsyā mahākshatrapasya Śoḍā*. The subscript *va* visible in the first line may have belonged to *svāmīsyā*. (2) The second *akshara* of this line is *sa* with an indistinct vowel-sign. The preceding *akshara* looks like *va*. Considering that probably the date stood in this line, *vas* is possibly to be restored as *divase*. (3) The reading of the first and third *aksharas* of this line is by no means certain. (*Pra*)*pautreṇa* would be in keeping with the context, but what is visible of the letters can hardly be reconciled with that reading. The fourth *akshara* of the line is *śi* followed by an *akshara* that probably is a *va* of the same shape as in *devaḥ* in l. 10 and *samvartayatām* in l. 12, but it may be *ma*. (4) The first *akshara* is clearly *sha* and to the right of it below the line there is a distinct *pu*, so that at first sight one might read *shpu*. However, there seems to be no connecting line between *sha* and *pu*,

<sup>1</sup> G 32, Add. 1252 (from the village of Māt), 1519, 1566 (from Pālī Kherā), 1567, 2122. Two of these are figured in Vogel's *Sculpture de Mathurā*, Plate IV; cf. p. 23; 92.

<sup>2</sup> This report is not accessible to me.



and I therefore consider it more probable that *pu* was at first omitted by mistake and afterwards inserted below the line. As the second *akshara* certainly had a subscript *ra* and the third *akshara* is *pa*, the reading *shaputrena* naturally suggests itself, and although the upper portion of the second *akshara* is very indistinct, the reading would not seem to be impossible. The fourth *akshara* of the line is *ka* with the ordinary *o*-sign at the top and another very distinct horizontal line to the left. The next *akshara* is *sa*. From the reverse of the inscription it appears that of the two strokes visible at the top of the letter the one to the left is accidental, whereas the stroke on the right seems to be the *i*-sign. Perhaps the two *aksharas* are to be read *Kauśi* and the word to be restored as *Kauśikiputrena*. (5) The missing *aksharas* were restored by Chanda. (6) The missing portion of the compound *mahāsthāna* . . . can hardly be restored with any certainty. At the end of the line I would supply *śai*. Other possibilities are discussed below. (7) Chanda restores *vedikāḥ* (which seems to be a misprint for *vedikā*) *prati*, but the additional *cha* is indispensable. (8) The *o*-sign of *to* is distinct, but *to* must be a mistake for either *te* or *tāni*. (9) Chanda wrongly restores *bhavatu* instead of *bhagavān*. (10) The missing *aksharas* were restored by Chanda. (11) Something like *aśvāryam* or *āyurbalam* is to be supplied at the end of the line. (12) Chanda read at first *samvartayatām* and afterwards *samvart(e)gātām*. The third *akshara* is undoubtedly *ra*, not *re*, the last *akshara* is *tām*, and the reverse of the impression shows clearly that the supposed *ā*-sign of *ya* is only a flaw in the stone.

#### TRANSLATION.

. . . by **Vasu**, a gateway of stone (?) and the railing being erected at the . . . of the great temple of *bhagavat Vāsudeva*. May *bhagavat Vāsudeva*, being pleased, promote (the dominion or the life and strength) of *svāmin mahākshatrapa Śoḍāsa*.

#### REMARKS.

Owing to the extreme uncertainty of the reading, the first five lines of the inscription cannot be translated. As stated above, from the few letters legible in the first two lines it becomes probable that the inscription was dated in the reign of *svāmin mahākshatrapa Śoḍāsa*, and this is borne out not only by palaeography, but also by the benediction pronounced on the *mahākshatrapa* in the conclusion. The genealogy of the donor is hopelessly fragmentary. Not a single name can be relied upon, and it is not even quite sure whether the donor's own name was simply *Vasu* or a compound name ending in *-vasu*. Only so much seems to be certain that he was not a foreigner, but a Hindu.

The gift consisted of a gateway (*torana*) and a railing (*vedikā*)<sup>1</sup> and perhaps a third object the name of which ended in *-lam*. Chanda restored *lam* as *chatuṣśūlam* which is highly improbable as this term never occurs in inscriptions of this time. Possibly *lam* is the rest of *devakulam* used here in the sense of a small shrine as in the Jaina inscription No. 78, or, more probably, *lam* is to be restored as *śailam*. If the language of the record were quite correct Sanskrit, the predicate would be either *pratishṭhāpitāni* or *pratishṭhāpīte*. The form actually found in l. 9, (*prati*)*shṭhāpīto*, is wrong in any case and therefore of no account for the restoration of the subject of the sentence.

The name of the place where the *torana* and the *vedikā* are said to have been erected, is mutilated and cannot be restored, especially because it is doubtful whether one or three syllables are lost after *mahāsthāna*. But whatever the missing syllables may have been, I cannot follow Chanda in taking the term 'the great place of *bhagavat Vāsudeva*' as meaning a spot that was believed to have been either the birthplace of *Kṛishṇa* or the scene of some notable event in his early career.

<sup>1</sup> Chanda translates *vedikā* by 'a square terrace in the middle of the courtyard', but the meaning 'railing' is absolutely certain.

Chanda himself has pointed out that in the Mathurā inscription No. 85 *bhagavato nāgendrasya Dadhikarṇasya stāne* means 'in the temple of the holy lord of the serpents Dadhikarṇa', and I see no reason why *mahāsthāna* should not simply denote a large temple or sanctuary also in the present inscription.

As the pillar, perhaps hundreds of years afterwards, was taken away from the large temple of Vāsudeva to be turned into the door-jamb of another building and ultimately to be thrown away into a well, all that can be possibly asserted with regard to the place of that temple is that it stood in Mathurā or somewhere in the environs of the City. The inscription moreover shows that that temple was, if not erected, at any rate enlarged or embellished during the reign of the *mahākshatrapa* Śoḍāsa by a person, who although being a Hindu, seems to have been a high official in the service of the *mahākshatrapa*<sup>1</sup>, carrying out the work by order or at the desire of his master, since in the benediction the benefit of the donation is attributed to Śoḍāsa alone. The facts that we can thus ascertain with regard to the temple of Vāsudeva agree in several respects with what we can infer from the Mōrā well inscription about the Bhāgavata sanctuary at that place. There also a temple (*devagriha*) is said to have been adorned with the images of the *pañchavīras* of the Vṛishnis during the reign of Śoḍāsa. If my suggestion that in line 8 of the present inscription *lām* is to be restored as *śailām* should prove correct, this also would be a point of agreement as in the Mōrā inscription also the temple and the images are expressly stated to be of stone (*śaila*). Moreover, as no trace of a stone building has been found at Mōrā, it appears that the temple was intentionally pulled down at some time and the materials carried away and probably used for some other purposes. Of course, these coincidences are no conclusive evidence, but considering everything I think it not improbable that the pillar bearing the present inscription hails from the Bhāgavata temple at Mōrā.

<sup>1</sup> According to the inscription No. 82 the treasurer of Śoḍāsa also was a Brāhmana.