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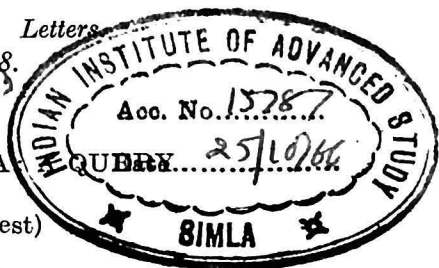


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THE TROJAN HORSE IN INDIA

By ARION ROŞU (Bucharest)



I

The relations between India and the Mediterranean world are a captivating chapter for research, in which more than once phantasy has justified hypotheses and boldness deductions. The Indo-Greek concordances in connection with religious beliefs, philosophic ideas, narrative literature, science and art, have awakened the interest of Oriental scholars.

There are many possibilities for interpretation in this matter:¹ Indian importation from Greece or Greek importation from India; both India and Greece equally indebted to a third source, from the ancient Near East. Not all similitudes are, however, consecutive of borrowings, in one direction or another, as they could just as well be correlated to the Indo-European fund. What the Indian and Greek civilizations had in common could be explained by a parallelism derived from a linguistic and social analogy of structure. The congruencies may have another, more archaic source, namely pre-Indo-European, or, to end with, they may be the reflex of some anthropological coincidences or *anthropismes*, as Clermont-Ganneau terms them, explainable by general human representations. In the gamut of these possibilities, the choice is sometimes made under the sign of the Greek miracle or under the fascination of the Oriental mirage.

II

The story of the Trojan Horse is found, too, in the file of common Indian and Greek motifs. In the Indian version, this appears as the wooden elephant. This piece has long been classified as an Indian borrowing from the Hellenic world, naturally Indianized.

The legend of the Trojan Horse has been, both for the ancient and for the modern, as famous as it is obscure. The uncertainty is reflected in the variety of interpretations presented by the Graeco-Latin exegesis (*de hoc equo varia in historiis lecta sunt*),² of which some have been adopted by modern philology. According to E. Benoist, the wooden horse is, in the language of ancient poetry, a metaphor for ship.³ For others, the Trojan Horse might be a simple war engine, used as a battering-ram against the wall of Ilion.⁴

Modern exegesis has dropped the rationalist explanations of the Homeric episode in favour of a magico-religious interpretation. In this sense I mention W. F. Jackson Knight's attempt, by which he stressed the magical implications of the stratagem. The wooden horse is no longer to be considered a war engine but a magical means destined to undo the

¹ A. B. Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Oxford, 1928, p. 354; cf. P.-M. Schuhl, *Essai sur la formation de la pensée grecque*,² Paris, 1949, p. 18.

² See excerpts from Servius' commentary on *Aeneid* II, 15 apud L. A. Mackay, *The Earthquake-horse, Classical Philology*, XLI (1946), p. 150.

³ *Les Oeuvres de Virgile*, Paris, 1869; *Enéide*, p. 72 (b. II, v. 15); cf. L. Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*,³ Berlin, I, 1872, p. 483; II, 1875, p. 377.

⁴ Cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, VII, 202 (56).

symbolic force of the city wall: 'That it belongs rather to a context of magic and religion than to military tactics is a natural inference from a number of strange references':¹ The interpretation in the sense of *obsidional* magic would confirm Gilbert Murray's point of view that Homer has relinquished the description of the fall of Troy, as the magical means used were contrary to his rationalist mind.² In connection with this interpretation, Pierre-Maxime Schuhl's working hypothesis on the funerary significance of the horse-receptacle may be mentioned. The French scholar correlates the Trojan Horse with the enigmatical brazen horse mentioned in Gyges' story at the beginning of Book II of Plato's Republic. Closely connected with the inland Poseidon, the horse appears as a chthonian animal, bearer of demoniac and dreadful powers.³

No less interesting is the archaeological corroboration of the non-rationalist explanations of the story we deal with. Examining the chariot scenes on the art documents of ancient Greece, K. M. Kolobova arrives at most interesting conclusions as regards the magical significance of the wooden horse (*doureios hippos*).⁴ The author analyses in this sense *inter alia* a scene of horse-worship on a krater from the Mycenaean Ialysus (Rhodes), which represents five figures with stretched arms in a ritual gesture towards an adorned horse. The arrows in the hands of the figures serve, according to K. M. Kolobova, to repel the harmful powers of the animal. The oldest Cretan representation of the horse occurs on a seal-impression from the Little Palace at Knossos: the gigantic outline of the animal is superimposed on the intaglio of a vessel provided both with sails and rowers (Fig. 1). K. M. Kolobova rightly remarks that the huge body, which puzzles the scholars, pleads for the ritual value of the horse, while G. Glotz stands for a materialistic interpretation, namely that the seal might illustrate the arrival of the horse on the Island of Crete.⁵ According to A. Evans, the horse on the seal-impression indicates the cargo of the ship, which, judging by the Oriental arrangement of the horse's mane, might have originated in Syrian ports.⁶ The Indo-Europeans, horse-folk *par excellence*, are those who have introduced, according to the Hittite King Mursil, that 'eastern animal' into Hither Asia at the beginning of the second millennium, whence it passed on to Egypt and Crete, and subsequently to the Greek mainland.⁷

¹ *The Wooden Horse, Classical Philology*, XXV (1930), p. 360 (apud P.-M. Schuhl, *Revue Archéologique*, VII (1936), pp. 184-185); cf. by the same author, *The Wooden Horse at the Gate of Troy, Classical Journal*, XXVII (1932), pp. 254-262. For another account of the episode also interpreted in a magical sense, see E. S. McCarthy, *The 'Wooden Horse' and Folk-lore of Touching, Classical Journal*, XXI (1925-1926), pp. 112-131.

² *The Rise of the Greek Epic*,³ Oxford, 1924, p. 56 (apud P.-M. Schuhl, *Essai sur la formation de la pensée grecque*, p. 45. I tried to locate this reference in the fourth edition, but could not find it. This is all the more surprising as it is stated in the preface that the new edition is unchanged except for a few small corrections in detail).

³ *Le 'cheval de Troie', Revue Archéologique*, VII (1936), pp. 183-188. It appears that the author has taken up again his hypothesis in the essay *Platon et le cheval de Troie in La fabulation platonicienne*, Paris, 1947, pp. 75ff., a work which I could not consult. For the rôle of the horse in cults, see L. Malten, *Das Pferd im Totenglauben, Jahrb. des deutsch. arch. Inst.*, XXIX (1914), pp. 179-255.

⁴ *Iz istorii rannegrečeskogo obščestva (O. Rodos IX-VII vv. do n.e.)*, Leningrad, 1951, pp. 52-64 (Chap. I, 4: *K istorii odnoi freski*); cf. S. Ja. Lur'e, *Krito-mikenskije nadpisi i Gomer, Vestnik Drevney Istarii*, 4, 1956, p. 12.

⁵ *La civilisation égéenne*, Paris, 1923, p. 194.

⁶ *The Palace of Minos*, London, II, 1, 1928, pp. 243f. (fig. 141); IV, 2, 1935, p. 827.

⁷ The opinion has been put forward that the horse reached Crete by the way of Greek mainland (M. P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, Lund, 1927, p. 22).

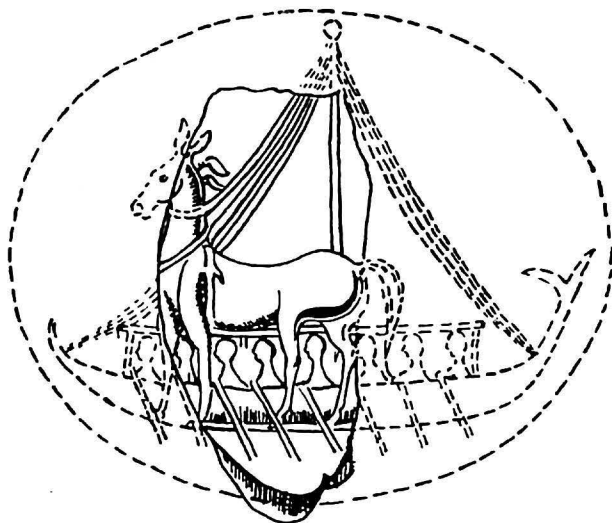


FIG. 1. Sailing Vessel with Figure of Horse superimposed, Knossos (from *The Palace of Minos*, II, 1, fig. 141).

The story of the Trojan Horse which we find in the *Odyssey*, then in the works of the Greek tragedians and in the *Aeneid*, has come down to us in a late version, the initial sense of the tradition having been lost. The Cretan theme of horse-worship, documented on pottery and in frescoes, echoes also in the Homeric poems, in which we become aware of the decline of the horse in favour of the hero, who begins to put into the shade the miraculous virtues of his vehicle.¹ The stratagem of wily Odysseus finds its explanation in hippolatri, which is practised by the Trojans,² called by Euripides *philippoi*. A Corinthian aryballos of the sixth century B.C. shows a modified version of the wooden horse. The scene, which catches the very moment in which the Achaeans emerged from the animal's hollow belly and begin to fight the Trojans, seems rather to picture a battle for the horse.³

III

The motif of the stratagem of the wooden animal appears to be imported, according to general opinion, from the Hellenic world. In Indian literature (drama and narratives)⁴ the Trojan Horse seems to have been replaced by the elephant. The zoological version corresponds, according to H. de Willman-Grabowska, to an adaptation à l'indienne, to local colour.⁵ The elephant, an animal impressive in its size, strength and docility, occupied an important place both in the fauna of India and in the fancy of its inhabitants.⁶ Depicted already in protohistoric times

¹ K. M. Kolobova, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-60.

² *Ibid.*, p. 62.

³ W. Fröhner, *Troianische Vasenbilder*, *Jahrb. des deutsch. arch. Inst.*, VII (1892), pp. 28-31 (pl. II).

⁴ *Pratijñāyāugandharāyaṇa* of Bhāsa, *Udenavattu* apud *Dhammapada*, 21-23, *Kathāsaritsāgara*.

⁵ *L'Inde antique et la civilisation indienne*, Paris, 1933, p. 388.

⁶ See Ch. Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, I, 1847, pp. 303-315; cf. A. Gubernatis, *Mythologie zoologique*, II, Paris, 1874, p. 95.

on the pre-Aryan seals of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa,¹ the elephant has a remarkable career in Indian mythology, folk-lore and art. At the same time, the elephant becomes the subject of treatises of speciality (*gajāśāstra*, *hastisūtra*), a real elephant-lore (*gajāśikṣā*) having been developed.

Thus the prestige of the elephant in India might well justify the adoption of the Trojan Horse in the form of a wooden elephant. Passing, however, beyond the unanimously accepted thesis of the Greek filiation, I shall attempt to consider the stratagem as from the East as well, but not from the point of view of military technique.

The Indians, who had knowledge, at least theoretically, of a very precise law of war, as it appears from the *Sāstras*,² had to observe in battle certain rules of behaviour; that is, a fair attitude. In this respect one must appreciate the very clear recommendations in the *Mānavadharmaśāstra*,³ the composition of which may be placed between 200 B.C. and A.D. 200: 'When he fights with his foes in battle, let him not strike with weapons concealed. . . . Let him not strike . . . nor one who sits down . . ., nor one who sleeps . . ., nor one who is disarmed . . ., nor one afflicted (with sorrow) . . ., nor one who is in fear . . ., (but in all these cases let him) remember the duty (of honourable warriors)'.⁴ All these are included in the lapidary formula in a verse near the above-mentioned passage: 'Let him ever act without guile and on no account treacherously'.⁵ In discordance with the ethical tone of the behaviour prescribed by the *Manusmṛti*, Kauṭilya,⁶ who in certain aspects reminds one of Machiavelli, talks about forms of treacherous fights.⁷ Among the contrivances recommended for the capture of the enemy, the *Arthaśāstra* XII, 5 mentions the following: 'Fiery spies, hidden in an underground chamber, or in a tunnel, or inside a secret wall, may slay the enemy when the latter is carelessly amusing himself in a pleasure park or any other place of recreation'.⁸ A still more clever trick is the one described in Book XIII, which deals with strategic means to capture a fortress: 'When the enemy is fond of elephants, spies may delude him with the sight of a beautiful elephant reared by the officer-in-charge of elephant forests. When he desires to capture the elephant, he may be taken to a remote desolate part of the forest, and killed or carried off as a prisoner. This explains the fate of kings addicted to hunting'.⁹

¹ E. Mackay, *La civilisation de l'Indus*, Paris, 1936, pp. 72, 73, 81; pl. 13, figs. 6, 9. For the Sanskrit terms of Dravidian origin regarding the elephant, see W. Kirfel, *Die Lehnworte des Sanskrit aus den Substratsprachen und ihre Bedeutung für die Entwicklung der indischen Kultur*, *Lexis*, III, 2 (1953), pp. 272, 284.

² See A. Barth, *Oeuvres*, III, Paris, 1917, p. 434.

³ Ed. J. Jolly, London, 1887; trans. G. Bühler, *SBE*, XXV.

⁴ *MānDhS* VII, 90-93: *na kūṭair āyudhair hanyād yudhyamāno raṇe ripūn . . . na ca hanyāt . . . nāśinam . . . na sūptam . . . na nirāyudham . . . nārtam . . . na bhītam . . . satām dharmam anusmaran*.

⁵ *MānDhS* VII, 104: *amāyayaiva varteta na kathamcana māyayā*.

⁶ Ed. T. Gaṇapatiśāstri, Trivandrum, 1924; trans. R. Shamasastry, 3rd ed., Mysore, 1929. According to the translator, Kauṭilya lived and wrote his work somewhere between 321 and 300 B.C. (Preface, p. vii).

⁷ *Arthaśāstra* VII, 16; X, 3; X, 5. Cf. *Agnipurāṇa*: 'If one be much weaker than the other, he may allowably recourse to stratagems' (H. H. Wilson, *On the Art of War as known to the Hindus*, in *Works*, IV, London, 1864, p. 304).

⁸ *pramādanavanavihārānām anyatame vā vihārasthane pramattaṃ bhūmigrhasuruṅgā-gūḍhabhūtipraviṣṭās tikṣṇā hanyuḥ*.

⁹ *Arthaśāstra* XIII, 2: *hastikamam vā nāgavanapālū hastinā lakṣaṇyena pralobhayeyuḥ pratipannaṃ gahanaṃ ekāyanaṃ vātinīya ghatayeyur baddhvā vāpahareyuḥ/tena mrgayākāmo vyākhyātah*.

The stratagem mentioned above prepares, as it seems, the atmosphere for the wife of the artificial elephant described to us by the *Kathāsaritsāgara* II, 12. After having consulted with his ministers, the King Pradyota (Pāli Pajjota) of Avanti made a large wooden elephant, the very image of a live one, with which, once filled with warriors, he was to make prisoner the dashing hero Udayana (Pāli Udena), the King of Vatsa. This ruler of Kauśāmbī, a passionate hunter, is informed of the presence in the Vindhya forest of the counterfeit animal deftly painted, as specified in the Buddhaghosa's commentary on verses 21-23 of the *Dhammapada*.¹ Leaving behind his troops, Udayana approaches the beautiful elephant, holding in his hand a melodious lute to charm his prey. 'The elephant, too, for its part, lifting up its ears and flapping them, as if through delight in the music, kept advancing and then, suddenly issuing from the artificial elephant, a body of soldiers in full armour surrounded that King of Vatsa'.²

Exceeding the normal frame of a simple stratagem, the episode of the wooden elephant in the story of King Udayana presents, I think, a magical feature which is, besides, not foreign to the mythic history of the elephant in Asia. The elephant appears as an animal with special powers. The elephant of Indian folk-lore has on its forehead a pearl which is invested with magical qualities.³ The elephants have also the power of flying through the air and can take the form of rain-clouds. In a passage from the *Mahāvastu*,⁴ it is related that the King of Benares 'had an elephant which was virtuous, and of great might, force and power. Through its force and power Benares and the province of Kāśī were immune from afflictions and calamities'.⁵ The mere appearance of this animal, provided that it was 'caparisoned, clothed in a net-work of gold, regal, royal and noble',⁶ brought about the deliverance of the city of Mithilā, in Videha, from a demoniac plague.⁷ Bodhisattva, under the form of that elephant, chased away all the demons both from the Mithilā and Vaiśālī.⁸ The tradition of the white elephant in South-East Asia is connected with this sacred zoomorphism. In one of its former existences Buddha had assumed the form of an elephant with six tusks.⁹ In the Indian epic, demons can adopt the form of elephants which the *Mahābhārata* calls *dānavanāgas* (demonic elephants).¹⁰ The *Arthaśāstra* advises experts in catching

¹ See T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, London, 1926, pp. 4f.

² Trans. C. H. Tawney, I, Calcutta, 1880, pp. 72f.

³ W. Crooke, *The Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India*, II, Westminster, 1896, p. 240.

⁴ Ed. E. Senart, I, Paris, 1882, pp. 287f.; trans. J. J. Jones, London, 1949, p. 239. I take advantage of this opportunity to express my sincerest thanks to my friend A. Zigmund-Cerbu (Paris), who pointed out the text to me, favouring me, at the same time, with a number of valuable suggestions and bibliographical information on this topic.

⁵ *tasya dāni rājño hastināgo kṛtapuṇyo maheshākhyo mahātejo mahānubhāvo yasya tejānubhāvena vārūnasī kāsijanapado nīritiko nirupadravaḥ.*

⁶ *alamkṛtaṃ hemajālena cchannaṃ rājārhaṃ rājabhogyam udāram.* Cf. the stately aspect of the counterfeit animal in the story of King Udayana; cf. also the magical purport of ornaments in general.

⁷ *sarvo amanuṣyavyādhi praśamiṣyati.*

⁸ *sarve amanuṣyakāḥ palānāḥ.*

⁹ J. S. Speyer, *Über den Bodhisattva als Elephant mit sechs Hauzähnen*, ZDMG, 57 (1903), pp. 305-310. For the *Chaddanta Jātaka* (Jātaka No. 514), see Ed. Chavannes, *Cinq cents contes et apologues*, IV, Paris, 1934, pp. 99ff. As to the beliefs around the white elephant, see *ERE*, I, p. 514.

¹⁰ E. W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, Strassburg, 1915, pp. 17f. Cf. *Skr. ibha-* 'elephant' or 'one from whom fear is gone', name of a demon (?) in *Rgveda* VI, 20, 8

elephants to 'catch such elephants as are possessed of auspicious characteristics and good character'.¹ The same work recommends: 'on new moon and full moon days, commanders shall perform sacrifices to *bhūtas* for the safety of elephants'.² These texts afford a more precise meaning to the explanation given by the Arabian traveller Sulaymān, for the absence of elephants in China: 'they are not allowed to enter the country, being animals of ill-omen'.³

In connection with the artificial animal motif it seems pertinent to refer to the curious Sanskrit term *ḍiṭṭha-*, which, according to the great Dictionary of Saint Petersburg, has retained with lexicographers two acceptances: 'a wooden elephant' and 'a good looking, dark-coloured young man proficient in every science'.⁴

IV

In confronting the motif of the wooden elephant with the legend of the Trojan Horse, the opinion of scholars is unanimous in explaining the coincidence by a western idea.⁵ Most daring arguments have been put forward in support of this interpretation. A. Weber, for instance, sets the motif in the string of Homeric influences on Buddhist legends and Indian epic,⁶ thus echoing Dio Chrysostom's fanciful information that Homer was sung among the Indians, translated into their own language.⁷ Such hypotheses are in agreement with the tendencies, once in fashion, which saw everywhere Athens' traces in the Indus valley, from astronomy and minting to religious beliefs and philosophic speculations. The civilizing import of Alexander's campaign has been over-estimated. According to V. A. Smith, the Macedonian invasion had no direct effect upon Indian ideas and institutions.⁸ The same historian considers as 'grossly exaggerated' the statements of Philostratus, the author of *Vita Apollonii*, concerning the diffusion in Panjāb of knowledge of the Greek language, literature and mythology.⁹

There are elements which are not made clear, even by an interpretation of the counterfeit elephant stratagem from a rationalist point of view, and as a borrowing from the Mediterranean basin. In ancient times Asia has not been indebted to Europe in military matters. The sword of Philip's son has not modified Indian military science, which has remained

(cf. A. Bergaigne, *La religion védique*, III, Paris, 1883, p. 16, n.1; E. Ghosh, *Studies on Rigvedic Deities—Astronomical and Meteorological*, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XXVIII, No. 1 (1932), p. 107).

¹ II, 2: *janācārān hastino gṛhṇīyuh*. Cf. Skr. *bhadra*- 'auspicious, propitious', a term applied to a particular kind of elephants.

² II, 32: *bhūtānām kṛṣṇasandhījyāḥ senānyāḥ śuklasandhīṣu*.

³ *Voyage du marchand arabe Sulaymān en Inde et en Chine rédigé en 851* . . . traduit de l'arabe par G. Ferrand, Paris, 1922, p. 71.

⁴ *śyāmarūpo yuvā vidvānsundarāḥ priyadarśanaḥ/sarvaśāstrārthavettā ca ḍiṭṭha ity abhūdhiyate* (*Sabdakalpadruma*). Cf. *ḍaviltha*- 'a wooden antelope' (*ibid.*). *Mahābhāṣya* (ad Pāṇini V, 1, 119, post vārtt. 5) records the technical term *ḍiṭṭha-*. Cf. *Kāśī-kāvṛṭi* I, 2, 45; *Bādarāyaṇa Brahmasūtra* II, 4, 20.

⁵ See M. Winternitz, *Geschichte der Indischen Literatur*, Leipzig, II, p. 155; III, p. 179; A. B. Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 355f.; H. de Willman-Grabowska, *L'Inde antique et la civilisation indienne*, p. 388.

⁶ *Über das Rāmāyaṇa*, *Abh. Akad. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1870, pp. 12ff.; *Die Griechen in Indien*, *Sitz. Akad. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1890, pp. 914f. *Contra*, Wecker in *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. *India*.

⁷ *Orationes*, LIII, 6.

⁸ *The Oxford History of India*,² Oxford, 1928, p. 139.

⁹ *The Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana*, *ZDMG*, 68 (1914), p. 334.

faithful to the traditional 'four-fold' army (elephants, chariots, cavalry and infantry). The *ghanurveda* conferred to India a theoretical superiority in the art of war, even if on the battlefield they were defeated by foreign invaders.¹ Were the current explanation accepted, one would expect to find a strong echo of the Trojan wile in technical literature, in which much stress is laid on these treacherous means. One cannot imagine the Indian mind not to have been surprised by the wooden horse stratagem, which has given way to so many interpretations in the Graeco-Roman world. Moreover, the very zoological variant of the elephant raises a doubt as to whether it is actually a loan. In spite of the tendency of the Hindus to Indianize borrowings, a trait of character stressed by the Muslim traveller Alberūnī, the adaptation, that is the transformation of the horse into elephant, is to be wondered at, all the more so as the horse is well known to India, being *par excellence* the religious animal of the monarch.

In the problem under discussion, archaeology offers a notable piece which has repeatedly awakened the interest of scholars: a relief from Gandhāra showing, outlined on the wall of a city, a horse mounted on wheels, with four figures to it. Some thirty-five years ago H. Hargreaves for the first time published this sculpture² (Fig. 2), interpreting it as an Indian *démarchage* of the classic story of the Trojan Horse, while J. Allan³ inclined to the opinion that the relief is a faithful copy of a Graeco-Roman model. For A. Foucher,⁴ the last archaeologist to have dealt with this

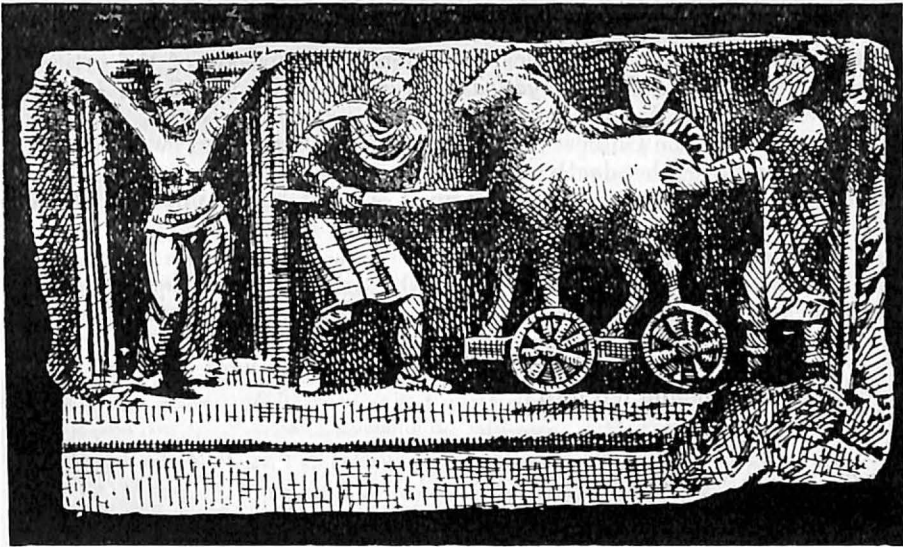


FIG. 2. A Schist *Tabula Iliaca* from Gandhāra (after J. Allan, *JHS*, LXVI, p. 22, fig. 1).

¹ H. H. Wilson, *Works*, IV, p. 290.

² *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1923-24, pp. 125f., pl. XLI, c (apud J. Allan); cf. *Illustrated London News*, 9th March, 1929, p. 394.

³ *A Tabula Iliaca from Gandhara*, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, LXVI (1946), pp. 21-23. Cf. Olaf Hansen, *Ein nicht identifiziertes Gandhārarelief*, *Beiträge zur indischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, Hamburg, 1951, pp. 192-197, particularly pp. 195-196.

⁴ *Le cheval de Troie au Gandhāra*, *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1950, pp. 407-412.

typical specimen of the Indo-Greek art of Gandhāra, it constitutes a decorative fragment from the frieze of a Buddhist monument-*stūpa*.

Both the decoration and the characters in the scene are changed as we consider it either from the West or from the East. In the first variant, which corresponds to a *Tabula Iliaca*, the illustration is Graeco-Roman: the main figure on the right is Laocoon, who thrusts a spear into the chest of the horse; the perfidious Sinon pushes the animal forward. Between these two figures is depicted Priam standing on the other side of the horse. On the left Cassandra is represented rushing out of a gateway (the Scaian Gate of Troy); holding up her hands in horror, she tries to stop the animal from entering the city. The second variant, which corresponds to a *jātaka*, has a Buddhist imagery: good Bodhisattva opposes the advance of the war engine, which is pushed by bad Devadatta. Priam is changed into the King of Benares, and in front of the city-gates watches, frightened, the protective deity (*nagaradevatā*), who will until the last, apparently, be quiet, due to the intervention of the Bodhisattva.¹

The interesting aspect in this Buddhist adaptation is that the zoology remains unaltered, the horse not being changed into an elephant, as was to be expected in an atmosphere so very Indian. At the same time the relief represents, according to A. Foucher's expression, 'the Indian adaptation of a scene, the original sense of which had already become obscure'.² The motif could be transposed in its fanciful shape to India, where it encountered the magical conception, authentically Indian, of the elephant and its wooden succedaneum, the actual significance of which is lost. For instance, Bhāmaha (end of the fifth century or beginning of the sixth century A.D.), writer on poetics, considered the episode of the artificial elephant of Bhāsa's *Pratijñāyugandharāyaṇa* to be a childish incident which would rather fit the tale than the drama.³

From one of the Chinese versions of the *Aśokāvadāna*,⁴ we learn that immediately after the death of Bindusāra, the sceptre passed into the hands of his son Aśoka. Being informed of what had happened, Aśoka's elder brother, Susīma, who was engaged at that time in a punitive expedition against the rebellious kingdom of Takṣaśilā, angrily returned to Pāṭaliputra. 'Aśoka watched himself the eastern gates and ordered a mechanical white elephant to be set up, on which an image of Aśoka was made up'. Round about it a ditch was dug, filled with embers and covered with grass. Rushing towards the royal elephant in order to get hold of Aśoka, Susīma fell into it.⁵

¹ *Le cheval de Troie au Gandhāra, Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1950, pp. 408ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 410.

³ See A. B. Keith, *The Sanskrit Drama*, Oxford, 1924, p. 102.

⁴ J. Przyluski, *La légende de l'empereur Aśoka*, Paris, 1923, pp. 234f. 'On lit partout qu'Aśoka, pour l'édification de ses sujets, organisa des spectacles et des processions, montrant des images de dieux, des chars célestes, des images d'éléphants sacrés et des feux' (L. de la Vallée-Poussin, *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas*, Paris, 1930, p. 109). Cf. Smith's interpretation of two black marble elephants placed to the fortress-palace of New Delhi, where they have been set up by Shāhjahān (*Akbar the Great Mogul 1542-1605*,² Oxford, pp. 93ff.). In this connection one can mention the colossal statue of an elephant from Elephanta Isle.

⁵ The episode in the Sanskrit text of the *Divyāvadāna* (373, 15) is described as follows: *Rādhaguptena* (i.e. Aśoka's first minister) *ca pūrvasmin dvāre yantramayo hasti sthāpitah/Aśokasya ca pratimāṃ parikkhāṃ khaṇayitvā khādīrair aṅgārāis ca pūrayitvā tṛṇenācchādya pāṃśunākīrṇaḥ/Susīmaś cābhīto yadi śakṣyase 'śokaṃ ghātayitum rājeti/sa yāvad* (sic!) *pūrvadvāraṃ gataḥ Aśokena saha yotsyāmīti/aṅgārāpūrnāyāṃ parikkhāyāṃ patitah/jatraiva cānyena vyasanam āpannaḥ*. With regard to this place, cf. the commentaries in *Asia Major, Hirth Anniversary Volume*, London, 1923, p. 642.

Even if the action in the two scenes differs—in the relief the wooden horse is directed against the city wall, while in Aśoka's story the mechanical elephant has the rôle of a protector—the similarity of the two legends is enhanced by the sacred atmosphere.

On the other hand, the idea of the stratagem is also traced in the Egyptian popular tales, without, however, magical implications, corresponding probably to general human inventiveness, irrespective of geographical co-ordinates. Thutia hides 500 soldiers in jars which are to be carried into a town which has to be conquered. This motif can also be found in the *Arabian Nights*, in which the chieftain, in order to smuggle his forty robbers into Ali Baba's place, conceals his gang in jars, which are carried on the backs of animals and not on the backs of men as in Egyptian narratives.¹

The motif can be considered to be of Greek inspiration, the very evidence of ordinary facts perhaps bearing witness to it, although absolute certainty is out of the question. On such matters, indeed, certainty is replaced by a subjective plausibility. In the light of the data mentioned above I consider myself to be in a position to present another explanation. A non-rationalist interpretation of the counterfeit horse stratagem has been attempted in the Greek world, and also in India some elements made plausible a similar explanation of the artificial elephant. Therefore it is not surprising if the motif should respond to a certain magico-religious conception to be found on a vast area of civilization from Indus to Crete. It is apparently justified that, within this area, coincidences should not always be considered as late loans, but survivals of a common fund of thought.²

The attempt made in the present article to change the familiar angle of interpreting the wooden animal motif is perhaps but a simple working hypothesis, which might appear even as an invitation to a *credo quia impossibile*. It is no less true that the new aspect of the stratagem, considered this time from the East and from a new standpoint, should find an actual confirmation, as a consequence of future investigations, especially archaeological, which are destined to fill the gap in our present knowledge. Until then, this attempt at shaking the classical interpretation, considered as the sole valid, remains merely a contribution to uncertainty and a justification of the question mark attached to the title of the present paper.

¹ G. Maspero, *Les contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne*, Paris, 1882, pp. XXVff.; cf. Fr. von der Leyen, *Zur Entstehung des Märchens*, III, *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, LIX (1905), p. 6; A. B. Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 355.

² P.-M. Schuhl, *Essai sur la formation de la pensée grecque*, pp. 17f. Axel Persson speaks about an 'afr-asische Grundkultur' in the second millennium before Christian era (*Legende und Mythos in ihrem Verhältnis zu Bild und Gleichnis im vorgeschichtlichen Griechenland*, in *ARFMA Martino P. Nilsson . . . dedicatum*, Lund, 1939, p. 401). Cf. V. Gordon Childe, *India and the West before Darius*, *Antiquity*, XIII (1939), pp. 11-12. With regard to this problem, one may also suggest a reference to Pisani's articles on the 'Indo-Mediterranean culture', the last being published in *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, XXXII (1957), pp. 765-768.

A NOTE ON THE NESARI COPPERPLATE GRANT OF
RĀSHṬRAKŪṬA GOVINDA III

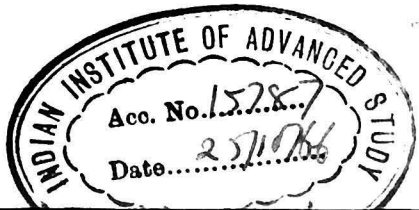
By G. S. GAI

In a note on this inscription published in Volume XXII, No. 1-
Letters, pp. 133-34 of this *Journal* Dr. R. C. Majumdar has commented on
the reading and interpretation of line 37 of the text edited by G. H. Khare
in the *Sources of the Medieval History of the Dekkan*, Vol. I, pp. 15-26.
He has supplied the reading of the portion after *api nāma* . . . in that line
pertaining to the Vaṅgāla king Dharmapāla and his *lāñchhana*. This
portion was left blank by Mr. Khare in his published text. It may be pointed
out, in this connection, that when Mr. Khare edited the record, he had
access only to the impressions of unsatisfactory nature. But later, when the
original plates were secured by him, he made a number of improvements
in his published text and included them in Appendix I under Addenda
and Corrigenda on pp. 82-84 of the same book. Stating that the correction
in line 37 is an important one, Mr. Khare has read the portion after *api*
nāma as *kāta(t-ta)ihā Bhagavati khyātām Dharmād=Vaṅgāla-bhūmipāt* ||.
Unfortunately, this section on Addenda and Corrigenda was not brought to
the notice of Dr. Majumdar.

Even in the corrected text of Mr. Khare, it should be read as *Tārā*
before *Bhagavati* and not *tathā* as read by him. Dr. Majumdar reads
Bhagavatīm but the actual reading is *Bhagavati[m̐]* which should be corrected
as *Bhagavatīm̐*.

Now, as regards the meaning of the passage, it is not possible to agree
with the suggestion of Dr. Majumdar that what was taken from Dharmapāla
was not the *lāñchhana* or the royal emblem but only the image of the
goddess *Tārā Bhagavati* given in the form of a present which puts him
(Dharmapāla) in a different category from the other kings defeated by
Govinda III. And this has led him to infer that Govinda III might
have been attracted to Buddhism. But the language of the passage in
question does not support this suggestion. From the statement made in the
immediately following verse (text lines 37-38) '*ittham=ētān=yathā=nyāni*
chihhnāny=ādāya, etc.', it is absolutely clear that *Tārā Bhagavati* was a
chihhna or *lāñchhana* of Dharmapāla and that he was defeated by Govinda III
like the other kings mentioned in the record.¹ There is nothing to suggest
that Dharmapāla was treated in any way different from the other kings.
Dr. Majumdar's view is, therefore, untenable.

¹ It may be noted that Govinda's father Dhruva had also snatched away the
royal parasol (*śvētachchhatra*) from the Gauda king as stated in the Sanjan plates
of Amoghavarsha. This Gauda king is supposed to have been Dharmapāla (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVIII, p. 239).



SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE MALLASĀRUL COPPERPLATE

By SHYAM CHAND MUKHERJEE

The Mallasārul copperplate inscription of the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Gopa(-Candra), dated in the year 3 (*circa* A.D. 528), has engaged the attention of many scholars, and some interesting deductions have been made by them on its basis.¹ But it appears that new observations can still be made and some passages in it re-interpreted, if it is further studied from a different angle. The purpose of this short paper is to offer fresh suggestions about the following topics connected with it:

- (a) The seal and the invocatory passage.
- (b) Identification of places mentioned in the inscription.
- (c) Officials connected with the administration of the 'bhukti' (division), mentioned in the inscription.
- (d) Terms in it referring to the boundary-posts.

A. The seal and the invocatory passage

It is interesting to note that the seal of king Vijayasena, affixed to the Mallasārul copperplate, bears in relief a standing figure of a two-armed male deity (one arm upraised and the other on hip) with an oval-shaped 'cakra' in the background. This male deity has been identified by N. G. Majumdar with Lokanātha and the 'cakra' with the 'Dharmacakra' of the Buddhists.² In order to support his contention this scholar has referred to the invocatory passage of this copperplate inscription which runs thus:

L.1. (Jayati Śrī-Lo)kanāthaḥ yaḥ puṁsām sukṛta-karmmaphala-hetuḥ | Satya-tapo-maya-mūrttir-loka-dvaya-sādhano dharmmaḥ ||—verse 1.
Tadanu jīṭadambha-lobhā jaya-

L.2. (nti cirā)ya (para)hitārthāḥ | Ni(rma) tsarāḥ sucaritaiḥ para-lokajigīṣavaḥ santaḥ ||—verse 2.

According to the said scholar, this invocatory passage refers to the Buddhist trinity—Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. He is inclined to emend the reading 'Santah' into 'Saṅghah', and Lokanātha, according to him, is Buddha himself. Dr. Sukumar Sen,³ however, is of opinion that the reference in the invocation is to god Viṣṇu himself, Avalokiteśvara being included due to syncretistic ideas, as a form of Viṣṇu. On the basis of the coincidence between the invocatory passage of the Mallasārul Inscription 'Jayati Śrī-Lokanāthaḥ yaḥ puṁsām sukṛtakarmmaphala-hetuḥ | Satya-tapo-maya-mūrttirlokadvaya-sādhano dharmmaḥ' ||—verse 1; ⁴ and lines

¹ *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, Vol. XLIV, p. 17ff.; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIII, p. 157ff. (ed. Nanigopal Majumdar), and *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 359ff. (ed. D. C. Sircar).

According to Dr. R. C. Majumdar (*History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 54), the year 3 of Gopacandra of the Mallasārul C.P. may be equivalent to the Christian Year 528.

² Mr. Ajit Ghose thinks that this is not a 'cakra', but 'rays coming out from the body of Avalokiteśvara'. For his view see *J.I.S.O.A.*, Vol. XIII, p. 49ff.

³ *Prācīna Vāṅmā O Vāṅmā*—Dr. S. Sen, pp. 32-33. But, this scholar has subsequently changed his former view and has identified the deity in question with Dharma Thākura. But it should be borne in mind that the worship of the deity is of comparatively late origin (i.e. *circa* sixteenth century A.D.)—*Dharma Thākurer Itihāsa*, reprint, pp. 14-15.

⁴ *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 360.

1-2 of Part II of the Besnagar Inscription of Heliodoros 'Trini amuta-padāni (iya) (su)-anuṭhitāni | Neyamti (svagam) dama cāga apramāda' ||,¹ he has come to the conclusion that Avalokiteśvara of the Mahāyānists has been transformed into a notable form of god Viṣṇu in Bengal under the name of Lokanātha (early in the sixth century A.D.). In his opinion the adoration of Lokanātha produced in Bengal an idea which was somewhat similar to that of 'Bhakti'. But, it may be pointed out that besides the said Besnagar passage, cited by Dr. Sen, two other passages—one from the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* ('Tapodanamārjjavamahimsā satyavacanam'—III. 17.4), and the other from the *Bhagavadgītā* ('Dānam damaśca... tapa ārjjavam || Ahimsā satyamakrodhastyāgaḥ śāntirapaiśuṇyam', etc., XVI. 1-2)—are expected to help us much better in elucidating this idea. These passages tally well with the Mallasārul passage (11.2). Some other *Gītā* and *Mahābhārata* verses may be taken into account for this purpose (cf. III. 7 and XVIII. 3 and 5; XI. 7.23. 5, XII. 5.43. 22).²

The view of Dr. Sen, as has been referred to above, seems to be plausible enough. In this connection it should be observed:

- (i) Lokanātha as one of the 'Vibhavas' of Viṣṇu has been referred to in the *Sātvata Saṁhitā* and the *Ahīrbudhnya Saṁhitā*.³ Inclusion of Lokanātha in the above lists of 'Vibhavas' of Viṣṇu is evidently an attempt at sectarian synthesis, and it is very likely that the deity on the seal of the copperplate represents such an aspect.
- (ii) The invocatory passage of the copperplate may well refer to Viṣṇu and it corresponds well with the last verse of the Besnagar Inscription and certain verses from the *Gītā* and the *Mahābhārata*.
- (iii) The deity, hence, may very well be identified with Viṣṇu.

The 'Cakra', represented on the seal of the copperplate and identified by Majumdar with the Buddhist 'Dharma Cakra', may stand for the 'Sudarśana Cakra' of Vāsudeva—Viṣṇu, one of the best revered symbols among the early Pāñcarātrins and the Vaiṣṇavas.

It may not be out of place here to refer to a tendency prevailing in the medieval times to incorporate the Buddhist deities into the Brahmanical pantheon,⁴ but it should be borne in mind that Avalokiteśvara or Lokanātha of the Mahāyānists has imbibed many traits of Viṣṇu—Vāsudeva, for the idea of Viṣṇu or Vāsudeva is much older than that of the former. So, it may be concluded that the deity represented on the seal may be identified with Avalokiteśvara or Lokanātha, who has imbibed many of the traits of Viṣṇu—Vāsudeva.

For the sake of understanding the idea, underlying the invocatory passage, its English translation—hitherto unattempted—may be given here

¹ *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 91.

² *Gītā*—P. Tarkabhusan's edition; and *Mahābhārata*—P. Tarkabhusan's edition. Also, see Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri's *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*, pp. 88-89.

³ *Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and the Ahīrbudhnya Saṁhitā*, pp. 43-46—Schrader; *Development of Hindu Iconography* (2nd edition), pp. 391-92—Dr. J. N. Banerjea.

⁴ Sometimes, Viṣṇu features were also present in the Buddhist images like Avalokiteśvara, etc. J. N. Banerjea has noticed the existence of a variety of Viṣṇu-Lokeśvara images of syncretistic type, which again combine in them the Vaiṣṇava and the Mahāyāna Buddhist elements (cf. Surohor Viṣṇu from Dinājpur district, Bengal). Mention may be made in this connection of a six-armed image of Viṣṇu-Lokeśvara (wrongly described as Hṛīṣīkeśa by M. Ganguly) found at Sāgardighi, Murshidabad district, Bengal, belonging to circa eleventh century A.D. It is a fine specimen of syncretistic type—Banerjea, *op. cit.*, pp. 555-56.

Sanskrit Text :—

L.1. (Jayati Śrī-Lo)kanāthah yaḥ puṁsām sukṛta-karmmaphala-
hetuḥ | Satya-tapo-maya-mūrttirloka-dvaya-sādhano dharmmah ||—
(verse 1).

Tadanu jita dambha-lobbhā jaya-

L.2. (nti cirā)¹ ya (para) hitārthāḥ | Ni(rma) tsarāḥ sucaritaiḥ
paraloka-jigīṣavaḥ santaḥ ||—(verse 2)... .

English Translation :—

Victory be to Śrī (Lord) Lokanātha, who is the root-cause of the well-executed deeds of the people—the embodiment of truth and meditation, and a go-between of the two worlds (heaven and earth)—so far as the religious performances (dharma=dharmakārya?) are concerned. Then victory be to the saints (either devout followers of Lord Lokanātha, or saints in the ordinary sense of the term), who have conquered pride and avarice, who are bent on doing good to people (in the sense of ānata), who strive for the well-being of the people (in the sense of ayāna), or who are anxious to do good to the people (in the sense of ākula), who are non-malicious by nature and who aspire to conquer heaven by dint of good deeds.² Here, the term 'dharma' does not indicate the Buddhist 'Dharma', but the 'dharma' as understood by the followers of the Brāhmaṇical religions. The expression 'dharma-sādhana' may be equated with 'dharmānuṣṭhāna'. For the use of 'dharma' in the latter sense, please refer to the following expressions occurring in the present inscription:

(a) kriyamāna puṇyaskandheṣu in line 11, (b) dharma-ṣaḍbhāgo, (c) dharma-saṁyukta(m) and (d) satata-dharma-kriyā-varddha-mānāyām (in line 3). In order to support my contention, I would like to refer to a passage of the *Viṣṇudharmasūtra* (II. 16-17). It provides that the 'dharma', common to all men, comprises the following: forbearance (kṣamā), truthfulness (satyaṁ), restraint of mind (damaḥ), cleanliness (śaucaṁ), charity (dānaṁ), control of senses (indriya-saṁyamaḥ), non-injury to animals (ahiṁsā), compassion (dayā), straightforwardness (ārjjavaṁ), freedom from avarice (lobha-sūnyaṁ) and many other religious merits. For a similar idea, reference may be made to verse No. 6 of the 'Kāśikhaṇḍa' section of the *Skanda Purāṇa* and verse No. 237 of the 'Uttarakhaṇḍa' section of the *Padma Purāṇa*. The *Viṣṇudharmottara* passage, too, refers to non-injury to animals (ahiṁsā) and truthfulness (satya-vacanāṁ).

B. Identification of places mentioned in the Inscription

This inscription records purchase of land by Mahārāja Vijayasena and the gift of the same to one Vatsasvāmin of the Ṛgvedic school, to enable him to conduct the five daily sacrifices. The land given to Vatsasvāmin

¹ 'Jayanti cirāya'—These two words may as well be read as either (a) jayantyā-natāya, or (b) jayantyākulāya, or (c) jayantyayānāya. After a careful scrutiny of this portion of the above C.P. it may be observed that 'nti' portion of the word 'jayanti' has not been properly read and it should be read as 'ntya' (jayantya). Restoration of the 'cira' portion of 'cirāya' is doubtful. So, it is better to read it either as 'ānata', or 'ākula', or 'ayāna'—each of which may suit the context well. Preference should be given to the word 'ānata'.

² Alternative Translation :

'Victory be to ... meditation and just like the bridge of dharma, i.e. religious or pious performances, between the two worlds.'

was situated in Vetragarttā of Vakkattaka-vīthi within the jurisdiction of Vardhamāna-bhukti.

It may be of some interest to say here something about the administrative units prevalent in this period. A 'grāma' (village) was possibly the smallest unit. Sometimes, the name of the villages ended with the term 'agrahāra', e.g., Godhagrāmāgrahāra and Ambilagrāmāgrahāra. Though an 'agrahāra' was considered as more important and better developed than any ordinary 'grāma', the latter could have been raised to the status of an 'agrahāra' for administrative and economic needs.¹ But their number was very insignificant. Sometimes, the term 'vāṭaka' also (probably a variant form of 'pāṭaka', meaning half of a village) was added before 'agrahāra'. Curiously enough, the relevant passage of this grant (ll. 5-7) does not refer to any 'viṣaya', though 'vīthi' and 'bhukti' are mentioned in it. It is interesting to note that the present inscription, though it refers to a 'viṣayapati' in line 4, does not mention 'vīthipati'.

The expression 'puṇyottara-janapadādhyāsītāyā(m) . . . Vardhamāna-bhuktau', occurring in line 3 of the inscription, most probably refers to the fact that the 'Vardhamāna-bhukti' was situated in the holy land of 'Uttara Janapada'. This holy land may stand for 'Uttara-Rāḍha'. In the Jaina *Bhagavatī Sūtra*, Lāḍhā (Rāḍhā) is mentioned as one of the sixteen 'janapadas'. Rāḍha is also mentioned in other Brāhmanical texts.

It is very difficult to identify the place-names mentioned in lines 5-8 and 15 (where the boundary of the village being donated is given) of this copperplate inscription.

Scholars like N. G. Majumdar and Sukumar Sen have tried to identify some of them in the pages of *Epigraphica Indica* and *Calcutta Review* respectively.² I have no objection in agreeing to the following identifications made by these scholars:

I. (a) Godhagrāma=Gohagrāma on the Dāmodar river to the south-east of Mallasārul in the district of Burdwan (identified by Majumdar and accepted by Sen).

(b) Vakkattaka=Baktā (according to Majumdar) or Bāktā (spelt differently by Sen), to the east of Gohagrāma.

(c) Khaṇḍojotikā=Khāṇḍjuli between Mallasārul and Gohagrāma (identified by Majumdar and accepted by Sen).

(d) Śālmali=Mallasārul or simply Sārul (according to Majumdar) while Śimuldāṅgā (according to Sen). But, it seems to me that the latter is right in identifying this place with Śimuldāṅgā (Sanskrit Śālmali=Bengali Śimul).

(e) Ardhakaraka=Ādrā, two miles to the north of Gohagrāma (Majumdar could not identify this place, and it was left to Sen to do so).

I do not subscribe to the following identifications made by the above scholars:

II. (a) Āmrarttikā=Āmbahulā to the south of Mallasārul (identified by Majumdar and accepted by Sen). After consulting the Gazetteer (1901) and Census Reports (1931 and 1951) of the district of Burdwan, I think that Āmrarttikā may better be identified with Āmur in Galsi P.S.

(b) Kapisthavāṭaka=Kaitārā, near Ādrā (identified by Sen). But in my humble opinion it may as well be identified with Kasbā in Galsi P.S.

¹ *Some Historical Aspects of Inscriptions of Bengal*—Dr. B. C. Sen, p. 493.

² *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 155-61 (for N. G. Majumdar's article); *Calcutta Review*, 1938 (March), p. 364 (for Sukumar Sen's article).

(c) Madhuvāṭaka=Maḥoḍā or Maḍā (it was Sen who identified this place with Madhuvāṭaka). But this place may better be identified with Mahulārā in Galsi P.S. Place-names in the thana-maps of Burdwan district have led me to do so.

III. There are also other place-names in this inscription, which neither of the two scholars could identify. They are: (a) Vaṭavallaka, (b) Koḍḍavīra, (c) Vettragarttā, (d) Vindhyapura and (e) Nivṛtavāṭaka. An attempt may be made here to identify these place-names. I have not been able to identify the last two place-names, viz. Vindhyapura and Nivṛtavāṭaka. According to me, (a) Vaṭavallaka may be identified with Bāblā in the Galsi P.S. I have gone through the Gazetteer and Census Reports of the district of Burdwan, and am definite about this identification. Next place is (b) Koḍḍavīra. I think that Koḍḍavīra has not been correctly read. The correct reading will be something like Koṃddavīra. Koṃddavīra may be identified with Koṇḍaipur in the Galsi P.S. Next comes (c) Vettragarttā. I think that it can be identified with Betur near Pātrasāyar in the eastern fringe of the district of Bankura and situated near the river Dāmodar, just opposite Gohagrāma. In ancient times, Betur was probably included in the district of Burdwan, and the river Dāmodar had probably a different course at that time.

C. *Officials connected with the administration of the 'bhukti' (division), mentioned in the inscription*

From a study of line 3 of the inscription, it is clear that the officials connected with the administration of 'Vardhamāna-bhukti' were present on the spot at the time of the issue of the grant. The word 'pūjyānvarttamānopasthitata' may be a scribal error for 'pūjyān-Vardhamānopasthitān'. The words, 'varttamāna' and 'upasthita', convey almost the same meaning; and it was not the intention of the composer of this grant to use two words conveying the same sense. If this suggestion is accepted, then it may be observed that the city of Vardhamāna was the headquarters of the 'Vardhamāna-bhukti'; and the officials connected with the administration of this 'bhukti' were present at the city of Vardhamāna when the grant was issued. Names of these officials as well as their true designation are given below¹:

(a) Kārttākṛitika—It is very difficult to say what is really meant by the use of this particular term. As regards its true implication scholars are not of uniform opinion. Thus, while Dr. B. C. Sen thinks that it refers to 'an officer in charge of manufactures', Dr. D. C. Sircar is of opinion that it indicates 'a superintendent or a manager of state affairs'. But these two scholars are not very sure about their explanations. In page 502, footnote 9, of his *Select Inscriptions* the latter has suggested (chiefly dwelling upon the suggestion made by K. G. Goswami Śāstrī) that the term might indicate 'a judge of an appellate court'. But, it is better to accept his first suggestion. On a similar occasion, a similar view was given by Hopkins (cf. 'kṛtakṛtyeṣu cārthānām viniyojakah', *J.A.O.S.*, Vol. 13, pp. 128-29). This term may, however, refer to a 'superintendent, expert in the handling of secretariat works'.² It may be pointed out here that the Pāla inscriptions are quite familiar with the term 'Mahākārttākṛitika'.

¹ *Dacca History of Bengal*, Vol. I (ed. R. C. Majumdar), pp. 265, 269-70, 277-78; *Some Historical Aspects, etc.*, B. C. Sen, p. 503; *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 359-60, and also *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 183.

² Kārttākṛitika—By disjoining the 'sandhi', we get two forms—kārtta and ākritika. By adding the suffix 'an' after 'kṛta' the word 'kārtta' is formed. For the duplication of 'ta', please see Pāṇini's *Sandhiprakaraṇa*. 'Ā' of 'ākritika' has been

(b) *Kumārāmātya*—He seems to be an executive officer of the same status as the 'Kumāra' (king's son or younger brother). According to Dr. R. C. Majumdar, the term 'Kumārāmātya' was the general name of 'a class of officials, who were under the king or the crown-prince'. It is difficult to accept the usual interpretation of this term as 'prince's minister'.¹ The term probably refers to 'one who had hereditary right to a high office of state'. In the Karamdāndā Stone Līṅga inscription of the Gupta year 117, i.e. A.D. 436, it is said that Śikharasvāmin and his son Prithiviśena worked as 'Mantri' and 'Kumārāmātya' respectively under the Gupta emperors, Candragupta II and Kumārāgupta I.² The latter, again, held the portfolio of the 'Mahābālādhikṛta' (Field-Marshal) at a later period. In the Dāmodarpur copperplates of the time of Kumārāgupta I (Gupta years 124 and 128) one Vetravarman is mentioned as holding the portfolios of 'Tanniyuktaka' and 'Kumārāmātya' at the same time.³ The Faridpur copperplate of the time of Gopa Candra (regnal year 18) shows that Nāga-deva, who held only two portfolios in the time of Dharmāditya (cf. Faridpur copperplate of Dharmāditya), took charge of as many as four portfolios (cf. lines 4 and 5).⁴

(c) *Cauroddharāṇika*—The meaning of the word is 'one who catches a thief'. It probably indicates a 'police inspector' or possibly a 'high police official'. It may be pointed out in this connection that the tax payable by the villagers for protection against thieves and robbers was also known as 'Cauroddharāṇika'. Dr. U. N. Ghosal identifies it with 'Coradaṇḍa' of earlier inscriptions.⁵

(d) *Uparika*—It may be the designation of any superior officer, but in some cases it may point to a governor or a viceroy. In the reign of Kumārāgupta I the governor was simply called an 'Uparika', but later in the reign of Budhagupta, the title 'Mahārāja' also was added to it (cf. Dāmodarpur copperplate inscription of the time of Budhagupta, Gupta year A.D. 163=483; also Dāmodarpur copperplate of Gupta year A.D. 224?=544).⁶ Sometimes, adjective 'vrihat' was also prefixed to it (cf. the Pāla and Sena inscriptions). 'Uparika' may have been the title of a 'provincial viceroy' (cf. Puṇḍravardhana-bhuktāvupa-(rika Ci) rāṭadatta(-sya) (Dāmodarpur copperplate inscription of Kumārāgupta I, Gupta year 128; and 'Uparika-Kumārāmātya' in line 27 of the Bihar stone pillar inscription of Skandagupta).⁷ Sometimes, 'Uparika' was also used in order to indicate a 'chief official', viz. 'Pañcādhikaraṇo-pārika', 'Pātyuparika', 'Purupāloparika'.

(e) *Audraṅika*—This term may indicate either 'a collector of the tax, called "Udraṅga"', or 'an enjoyer of the right of that tax'. According to Dr. U. N. Ghosal, 'a tax imposed upon the permanent tenants' is also known as 'Udraṅga'.⁸ It may be mentioned in this connection that 'Draṅga' is used in the *Rājatarāṅginī*⁹ in the sense of 'an interior post for the collection

used here in the sense of 'āsamantāt' (i.e. entirely). 'Kṛta' means 'what is done'. 'Kṛtika' means 'an expert'. So, the meaning of the entire expression will be—a man who has done the entire work efficiently. The form 'kārta' may also refer to a surgeon or an engraver—'kṛta' meaning either to cut or to bore.

¹ *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 183.

² *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 282-83.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 283-87.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 354 and 357.

⁵ *Hindu Revenue System*—Dr. U. N. Ghosal, p. 243, f.n. 2.

⁶ *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 324 and 338.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 319.

⁸ U. N. Ghosal, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

⁹ *Rājatarāṅginī*—VIII, 2010 (Stein's edn.).

of taxes'. In the Khoh copperplate of Śarvanātha, Gupta year 193 (= A.D. 513), the term 'Udraṅga' is mentioned.¹ It may be the name of a 'tax to be collected from the permanent tenants'. 'Draṅga' of *Rājatarāṅginī* may be equated with this 'Udraṅga'. The term 'Dāṅgika' (Drāṅgika?), used in the Bhāmodra-Mohota copperplate of Droṇasimha of Gupta-Valabhī year 183 (=A.D. 502),² may be the designation of 'a class of officials connected with the collection of taxes'. It may be mentioned in this connection that 'Udraṅga' may also mean heaven; in that case an 'Audraṅgika' may mean an 'officer in charge of heavenly (religious?) affairs'. According to Dr. B. C. Sen, 'Audraṅgika' was the designation of the 'chief officer of a town'.³

(f) *Agrahārika*—The term 'Agrahāra' means a land or a village given to a Brāhmaṇa for his subsistence or settlement therein, or for some religious purpose. It may be dedicated to a god (cf. *devāgrahāra* or *devabhoga*). So, an 'Agrahārika' is one who 'superintends the "Agrahāras"'.⁴

(g) *Aurṇasthānika*—This term is generally used in order to indicate 'an officer superintending the woollen-marts or woollen-factories' (cf. *Ūrṇasthānas*).⁵ The word 'Ūrṇa' means wool, but it may be used in the sense of textile goods also. 'An officer in charge of textile goods or possibly textile-markets' is perhaps indicated by this term.

(h) *Bhogapatika* (possibly same as *Bhogika* or *Bhogapati*)—Kielhorn takes 'Bhoga' of other inscriptions as equivalent to 'Bhukti'. Taken in this sense, it will mean the ruler of a 'Bhukti', i.e. a 'Bhuktipati'. In the *Hitopadeśa* also, the term has been used in order to indicate 'a governor of a town or a province'. This word has not been properly used in the sense of 'an officer connected with the stable'. Sometimes, the 'collector of tax', referred to as 'Bhoga', or the tax collected from a 'Bhoga' or a 'Bhukti' was also known as 'Bhogapati'. It may be observed here that fruits, etc., periodically supplied to the king by his subjects, constituted the term 'Bhoga'. Terms like 'Mahābhogika' or 'Mahābhogapati' are also well known to students of epigraphy.

(i) *Viṣayapati*—It was the designation of 'district officer', or 'possibly a ruler of a district'.

(j) *Tadāyuktaka* (possibly same as *Āyuktaka*, or *Tanniyuktaka* or *Tadāniyuktaka* or *Viniyuktaka* of other inscriptions)—The designation of a class of officials was 'Āyuktaka'. It most probably indicated a magistrate or a treasury officer, appointed by a 'Viṣayapati'. Sometimes, the word was used in the sense of a 'governor'.

(k) *Hiranyasāmudāyika*—It was probably the designation of 'the chancellor of the exchequer' and not merely 'a collector of revenue or a collector of taxes, paid in cash'. It may be pointed out here that 'the name of the tax levied upon certain special kind of crops and collected in cash' was also known as 'Hiranya'. According to Dr. B. C. Sen, the term is used in order to indicate 'an officer in charge of all taxes, both in money and in kind'.⁶

(l) *Pattalaka*—The term was possibly used in order to denote the ruler of a territorial unit, known as 'pattalā(pādā)'.

(m) *Āvasathika*—Taken singly this term would possibly indicate 'a superintendent of the royal palaces' (for 'āvasatha' indicates a dwelling-

¹ *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 371.

² *Ibid.*, p. 404.

³ B. C. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 498.

⁴ U. N. Ghosal, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

⁵ B. C. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 498.

⁶ B. C. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 498.

place) and other government buildings. This term was not certainly used in order to indicate a supervisor of temples and rest-houses including the 'dharmaśālās' ('āvasatha' meaning also a 'dharmaśālā'), for which the term 'Devadronī' was used. According to Dr. B. C. Sen, it indicates an officer in charge of dwellings for pupils and ascetics.¹

(n) Devadronī-Sambaddha—The term was generally used in order to denote the designation of a class of officers 'superintending the procession of idols of the temples', but it might have been used to denote that 'officer who was in charge of the temples and temple-properties' (cf. Verāval inscription, line 12; and Karamdāṇḍa stone inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I, line 11). Some have taken 'Devadronī' in the sense of temples and sacred tanks belonging to these temples.

D. Terms in it referring to the boundary-posts

This inscription refers to some boundary-posts in lines 15-16:

'Kīlakāścātra kama(lā)kṣa-mālāñkitā(h) caturṣu dikṣu nyastā bhavanti'(|). This line shows that the boundary of the plot of land given to Vatsasvāmin was duly marked out by four posts—a system that is followed even in modern times. These posts are said to have borne the impress of a string of lotus-seeds. It is no doubt unique of its kind. The boundary-posts (kīlakas) are expressly mentioned only in this inscription. No earlier use of this word can be found in other inscriptions. Sometimes, pillars were also decorated with a rosary of beads or a string of lotus-seeds. It is known to students of Hindu Iconography that the beads, worn by the deities, were generally of two varieties—(a) rudrākṣa and (b) kamalākṣa. A rosary of beads or a 'rudrākṣa-mālā' is generally found in the hands of Brahmā, Śiva and Sarasvatī, but it may appear in the hands of other deities also.² Similarly, a string of lotus-seeds may be found in the hands of goddess Lakṣmī.

¹ B. C. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 498.

² *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Pt. I, Description of terms, T. A. G. Rao; J. N. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, pp. 303-304.

