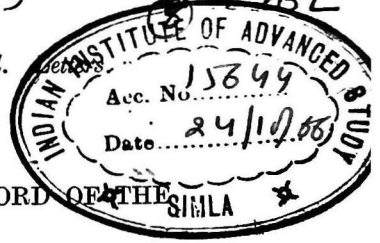
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A LIST OF CUSTOMARY LAWS IN A RECORD OF THE
SIXTH CENTURY¹

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Students of old inscriptions in Prakrit and Sanskrit know that these abound in technical terms and expressions which are not found in the lexicons. Some of the words are no doubt recognized in the lexicons but not exactly in the same senses. None of the compilers of the modern Prakrit, Pali and Sanskrit dictionaries is known to have utilized epigraphic materials. As a result of this, their works can only be regarded as incomplete. In order to draw the attention of scholars to this very important question, we propose in these lines to deal with the lexicographic importance of a West Indian inscription of the sixth century A.D.²

The inscription is dated in the Vikrama year 649 (i.e. 592 A.D.) and belongs to a ruler named Viṣṇuṣeṇa (or Viṣṇubhāṭa) who resided at the *vāsaka* (camp or residence) at Lohāṭā. He is endowed with the five *mahāśabdas* or feudatory titles beginning with *mahākārtākr̥tika*. The real meaning of the word *kārtākr̥tika* is unknown, but it may have indicated the chief executive officer of a king who finally determined what ought or ought not to be done in affairs of State or a judge of a superior court (cf. *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 360, n. 9; 502). Viṣṇuṣeṇa is also called *śrī-bāva-pādānudhyāta* in which the meaning of *bāva* is uncertain, although it has been explained as signifying an uncle or a relation of the father's generation (C.I.I., III, p. 186n.) The list of officials serving Viṣṇuṣeṇa includes *āyuktaka*, *vinīyuktaka*, *vaiḷabdhika*, *drāṅgika*, *cāta* and *bhāṭa*.³ In inscriptions, an *āyuktaka* is often found to be the ruler of a district or sub-division; but the distinction between an *āyuktaka* and a *vinīyuktaka* is unknown. We have elsewhere suggested that the *vinīyuktaka* (as also *tad-āyuktaka* or *tad-vinīyuktaka*; cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 351, n. 1) was the ruler of a small territorial unit employed by the Governor of the district and not by the King. The *vaiḷabdhika* may have been the custodian of recovered stolen property as the *yukta* of the *Manusamhitā*, VIII, 34. The *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (VII, 161-63), however, uses the word *vilabdhī* probably in the sense of an assignment. The *drāṅgika* may have been the officer in charge of a *drāṅga* explained as a town in the lexicons, but used in the sense of a watch-station in the *Rāj. tar.*, VIII, 2010 (cf. Stein's trans., Vol. II, pp. 291ff.). *Cāta* and *bhāṭa* are sometimes taken to mean regular and irregular soldiers respectively, although their duty appears to have been something like that

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² We are glad to acknowledge that in the preparation of this paper we have received considerable help from Mahāmahopādhyāya P. V. Kane, Dr. V. Raghavan, Dr. G. S. Gai and Mr. P. B. Desai.

³ For a discussion on the official designations, cf. P. V. Kane, *Hist. Dharm.*, Vol. III, pp. 975-1007. Kane now thinks that the *kārtākr̥tika* was somewhat like the present day Legal Remembrancer and invited the king's attention to what was done or left undone.

of the policemen and watchmen or peons. Instead of *cāta*, some inscriptions use the word *chātra* often explained as 'an umbrella-bearer' (cf. *Sel. Ins.*, p. 414, n. 5). For the use of the word *chātra* in our inscription, *vide infra*. Viṣṇuṣeṇa's order was addressed not only to the officials but also to the *dhruv-ādihikaraṇa* or the office of the *dhruva* which in Gujarati indicates the agent who collects on behalf of the Rājā his share of the produce of lands from the tenants (cf. *C.I.I.*, III, p. 170n.).

It is said that Viṣṇuṣeṇa had been approached by the community of merchants with the request of being favoured by his own *ācāra-sthiti-pātra* which they might utilize in protecting and favouring their own people and that the merchants were favoured with the ruler's *sthiti-pātra* used in the protection and settlement of his dominions. This *sthiti-pātra* or *ācāra-sthiti-pātra* is elsewhere also called *anugraha-sthiti-pātra*, *sthiti-vyavasthā* and *sthiti-pātra-vyavasthā* and is actually a list of customary laws which is quoted in the inscription in extenso and is very valuable not only to a lexicographer but also to all students of ancient Indian history.¹ We quote below the text of the seventy-two customary laws one by one.

1. *Āputrakam na grāhyam*. *Āputraka* possibly means the property belonging to a person who died without leaving a son. The *ācāra* seems to say that such property should not be confiscated by royal officials disregarding the claim of any legal heir other than the son.

2. *Unmara-bhedo na karaṇīyo rāja-puruṣeṇa*. This is probably connected with No. 1 above. The royal officials are asked not to break open the *unmara*, the meaning of which is unknown. It may be related to the word *umbara* (Pali *ummāra*, Prakrit *ummara*) and may indicate technically the closed door of a house.

3. *Udbhāvaka-vyavahāro na grāhyah*. The word *vyavahāra* here may be taken in the sense of a law-suit; but the real meaning of *udbhāvaka* is uncertain. It may refer to a case carelessly put before the court (cf. *udbhāvana*, 'neglect') or to one based on fabrication or false allegation.

4. *Śaṅkayā grahaṇam n=āsti*. It apparently says that the royal officials should not go in for the apprehension of persons or for taking up a case against one or for seizing things through mere suspicion (*śaṅkā*) of a crime.

5. *Puruṣ-āparādhe strī na grāhyā*. This means to say that the wife should not be apprehended for her husband's guilt.

6. *Kṣem-āgni-samutthāne chalo na grāhyah* or *A-kṣem°*. The word *chala*, which ordinarily means 'a pretext', is used in the Smṛti literature in the sense of a careless declaration while *bhūta* means a solemn statement of truth (cf. *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, N.S. Press, p. 130).² The meaning is that no careless declaration of a case was acceptable when the question was that of an attempt at burning a house. Cf. Nos. 7 and 9. But the ordinary meaning of *chala* is also applicable to all these cases; cf. No. 31 below.

7. *Svayaṅ hrasite karṇe chalo na grāhyah*. No careless accusation was acceptable from a man in regard to the cutting of a bit from his own ears.

¹ The Lakshmeswar Kanṇaḍa inscription of Yuvarāja Vikramāditya II of about 725 A.D. quotes an *ācāra-vyavasthā* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 190-91). But this damaged record has not been of any help in the elucidation of the inscription under discussion.

² See also *Sukra-nīti-sāra* (ed. G. Oppert), IV, v, verses 162-63. *Ibid.*, verses 67-80 use the word *chala* in the sense of certain offences against the king, of which (together with the offences styled *rāja-jñeya* and *aparādha*) the court could take direct cognizance without the cases being brought to it by any party. Ordinarily the court was not to take cognizance of an offence or dispute unless it had been brought to it by a party. Cf. *University of Ceylon Review*, January, 1950, p. 29.

Cf. No. 37 below. If *hrasita* may be taken in the sense of 'sounded', the reference may be to a case in which the details of a dispute had previously reached the ears of the judge who was then in a position to detect the fabricated element in the statement put to him without investigation.

8. *Arthi-pratyarthinā vinā vyavahāro na grāhyah*. A law suit could be taken up for disposal only when the complainant and the defendant were both present and never in the absence of any one of the parties.

9. *Āpaṇe āsanasthasya chalo na grāhyah*. No careless statement of accusation was acceptable from a person who had been at the time of occurrence busy in selling things in a shop or market.

10. *Go-śakatam na grāhyam*. This seems to be related to No. 11 below.

11. *Sāmant-āmātya-dūtānām = anyeṣām c = ābhyupāgame śayanīy-āsana-siddhānām na dāpayet*. When a subordinate chief, an officer or an envoy of the king came to a village, the inhabitants thereof could not be compelled to supply beds or couches, seats and boiled rice. Such things, however, are known to have been usually supplied by the villagers, and the kings are found to have exempted gift villages from these obligations. Cf. such *parihāras* or exemptions as *a-kūra-collaka-vināśi-khatvā-samvāsa* and *a-paramparā-balivardā-grahaṇa* explained in the *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 186ff. It may be pointed out that inscriptions speak of supplying bullocks to the touring officials by the inhabitants of different villages in succession, but not of carts. Cf. No. 10 above.

12. *Sarva-śreṇinām = ek-āpaṇako na deyah*. Members of different guilds should not be allowed to flock to the same market. The idea seems to be that different guilds should occupy different markets or at least different quarters of the same market.

13. *Sarva-śreṇibhiḥ khovā-dānam na dātavyam*. All the guilds should not be compelled to pay *khovā*, the meaning of which is unknown. It may be the same thing as the *aṭṭapati-bhāga* or 'the share of the lord of the market' mentioned as a tax in the *Rājataranṅinī*, V, 164.

14. *Rājakule = dhikaraṇasya ca rāj-ārgghikā deyā; anyeṣām = adeyā*. Periodical offerings to be made to the king should be brought to the palace or to the particular office engaged in collecting them but not to anybody else. *Rāj-ārgghikā* may be the same as *rāja-pradeya* of the *Manusmṛitā*; cf. *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 187. The word also occurs in No. 45 below.

15. *Vārikasya haste nyāsako na sthāpanīyāh*. This is probably related to No. 14 above. The offerings meant for the King were not to be deposited with the *vārika*. The word *vārika* apparently indicates a royal officer. It may be the Gujarati *vāredār* or tax-gatherer. The *Bṛhaspati-smṛti* (G.O.S. Ed., p. 159) mentions *vārika* along with the *cāturvaidya*, *vanik*, *sarvagṛāmīra*, *mahattara*, etc., and the *Rāj. tar.*, VI, 345, in the designation *kaṭaka-vārika*; but the meaning is not clear. Monier-Williams recognizes the word *nāga-vārika* in his Dictionary, while the word *śānti-vārika* is found in the inscriptions of the Candras of Bengal. Words like *vāra-pramukha* and *pañca-vāri* occur in several other inscriptions (*E.I.*, Vol. XV, p. 138n.)

16. *Para-viṣayāt = kāraṇ-ābhyāgato vāñijakah para-reṣe na grāhyah*. The word *reṣa* means 'injury' and possibly means a 'dispute' in the present context. A merchant belonging to another district or kingdom could not possibly be implicated in a case in which he was not directly concerned.

17. *Āvedanakena vinā utkrṣṭi na grāhyā*. This seems to be related to No. 16 above; but the meaning of *utkrṣṭi* is unknown, *Āvedanaka* may indicate 'stating a complaint in court' and *utkrṣṭi* may be the same as Pali *ukkutṭhi* (Sanskrit *utkrōśa*, *utkrūṣṭi*) meaning wailing. A proper complaint and not mere wailing was acceptable to the court.

18. *Vākparusya-dāṇḍapārusyayoh sākṣitve sārī na grāhyā*. The *sārikā* bird was not allowed as a witness in cases of defamation and assault.

19. *Dheṅku-kaḍḍhaka-nīla-dumpha-kās=chaviṣṭim(ṣṭih)na kārayitavyāḥ*. The *dumpha* of a *nīla-kuṭī* liable to pay a certain tax is also referred to in No. 48 below. *Dheṅku* is possibly the same as Hindi *dheṅki* or *dheṅkuli* meaning a machine for extracting juice, while *kaḍḍhaka* and *dumpha* may respectively stand for Sanskrit *karṣaka* and *dṛmpha*. The manufacturer of the blue dye from the indigo plant and that of sugar-cane juice are probably the persons indicated here as unaffected by the rule of forced labour.

20. *Prapāpū [ra]ka-gopālā rāja-graheṇa na grāhyāḥ*. *Prapā-pūraka* was a person entrusted with *prapā-pūraṇa*, 'filling cisterns with water in a place for watering cattle'. Such persons as well as the milkmen were not to be apprehended or recruited for free labour on the king's behalf. Cf. *Bṛhaspati-smṛti*, p. 26.

21. *Grh-āpaṇa-sthitānām mudrā-patraka-dūtakaiḥ sāhasavarjam=āhvānam na karāṇīyam*. Persons engaged in work at home or at the shop could be summoned to the court by means of a seal-ring or a letter or by a messenger only if they were involved in a criminal case. Cf. *Bṛhaspati-smṛti*, p. 24; see also Kane, *Kātyāyana-sār-oddhāra*, verse 88.

22. *Pareṇ=ārth-ābhīyuktānām vāda-pratisamāsane yajña-satra-vivāh-ādīṣu āhvānam na kārayet*. Persons engaged in such works as the worship of a deity, a sacrifice or a marriage ceremony could not be summoned to the court to refute the charges brought against them. *Artha* may refer to an *artha-mūla* or civil (and not *himsā-mūla* or criminal) suit. Vide *Kātyāyana-sār-oddhāra*, verse 108. Or there may be reference here to two different sets of persons who should not be summoned: (1) one engaged in *yajña*, etc. (cf. *Bṛhaspati-smṛti*, p. 22); and (2) one already involved in another case (cf. *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, p. 125).

23. *Rn-ādān-ābhilekhita-vyavahāre a-kāṣṭha-loha-baddhena kṛta-prati-bhvena(bhuvā) guptir=upāsya*. In connection with a written complaint about the realization of borrowed money, the debtor, when he was not *a-kāṣṭha-loha-baddha* (not under wooden or metal hand-cuff) because of his being *kṛta-pratibhū* (one for whom security was furnished by somebody), could enjoy the protection of the court. It seems to say that in the case of a debtor, for whom security was furnished, neither hand-cuffs nor guards at court were necessary. When no *pratibhū* was furnished, the court had to arrange for the person's watch and the cost of it had to be borne by the parties. Cf. *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, p. 126.

24. *Varṣāsu sva-viṣayāt bij-ārtham=āgataka-karṣakāḥ svāminā na grāhyāḥ*. Cf. *Kautilya Arthaśāstra*, III, 11; *Bṛhaspati-smṛti*, pp. 22, 26. See also *Kātyāyana-sār-oddhāra*, verse 109. Cultivators coming out of their places for sowing seeds during the rainy season were not to be apprehended or engaged by the King or landlord in free labour.

25. *Āsāḍha-māsi pauṣe cha draṣṭavyam māna-pautavam; ādāne rūpakāḥ sa-pādaḥ saha dhārmikeṇa*. For *pautava* and *pautav-āpacāra* (fraud in regard to measures), see *Arthaśāstra*, IV, 2 (cf. pp. 103-105 of the Mysore Ed.). The *māna-pautava* which had to be examined in the months of *Āsāḍha* and *Pauṣa* seems to have been a store-house where grains were measured and stored. *Adāna* no doubt refers to the collection of tax and *dhārmika* seems to point to an extraordinary case somehow associated with religious merit. This is suggested by the frequent use of these two terms in the latter part of the document. Possibly there were two kinds of store-houses, one working on a small fee and the other working free of charges; but there was no reduction of inspection tax for the latter.

26. *A-sahvādya vyavaharatah śulka-ādikaṃ ca dhāny-ādi pravēśayato niṣkāśayato vā śulkaṃ=asṭa-guṇam dāpyah*, It seems to be related to No. 25 above. If a store-house collected fees and stored and disposed of grains without informing the royal officials, it had to pay eight times the usual tax, i.e. ten silver coins. This may also refer to the bringing and taking out of goods without check up with officials on matters of *śulka*, etc., as per the rules laid down. Cf. *Arthaśāstra*, II, 23 (Mysore, Second Ed., p. 112).

27. *Peṭavika-vārikeṇa pañca-rātrake pañca-rātrake kartavyam=argha-nivedanam; a-nivedayato vinaye rūpakāḥ ṣaḍ=dhārmike pādah*. The *peṭavika-vārika* appears to be a particular class of *vārika* or official that was responsible for the delivery of the *rāj-ārgḥikā* received from the subjects. The word *peṭavika* may be associated with Marathi *peṭā* (subdivision of a *taluk*) or *peṭh* (a trading town or emporium). The punishment for non-delivery was the fine of six silver coins; but in the case of *dhārmika*, i.e., when there was any reasonable excuse, the fine was only one-fourth silver coin. *Vinaya* means 'fine' (cf. Nārada quoted in *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, p. 126). This may possibly also refer to the rule that every five days the official should have fixed the prices (*argha*) of commodities and informed the prices so fixed to the higher authorities. Cf. *Manu-smṛti*, VIII, 402; also *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, p. 270.

28. *Uttarakulika-vārikāḥ māna-bhāṇḍa-meṃya-gate bahir=na gantavyam*. *Uttarakulika*, like *peṭavika*, possibly meant another class of *vārika* or official that appears to have been associated with the law-court. In cases of disputes in regard to the measurement, the measuring pot or the thing measured, such officers were possibly not allowed to go out of the court to be influenced by one party or the other.

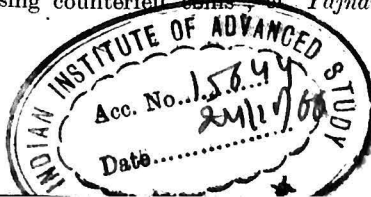
29. *Uttarakulika-vārikāṇām=eva karaṇa-sannidhan chātrena triv=āghuṣitānām nirupasthānād=vinaye rūpaka-dvayam sa-pādām saha dhārmikeṇa*. *Karaṇa* apparently means *adhikaraṇa*, 'law-court', and *chātra* seems to indicate a peon or a constable. *Karaṇa* as a contraction of *adhikaraṇa* is found in the Midnapur plates of Śaśāṅka (*Pravāsi*, Śrāvāṇa, B.S. 1350, pp. 193ff.), while the word *chātra* is used in the above sense in some inscriptions (cf. *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 414 and note 5). It seems that there was no excuse for the absence of the *vārikas* of the *uttarakulika* class when they had been thrice summoned to the court by a court peon. The fine for the offence was two and one-fourth silver coins even if there was any good reason for absence.

30. *Vyavahār-abhilekhitaka-karaṇa-sevakasy=ā-madhyāhnād=ūrdhvam nirupasthitasya vinayo rūpakāḥ ṣaṭ=sā-pādās=saha dhārmikeṇa*. Cf. *adhikaraṇa-lekhaka* or official recorder in the *Rāj. tar.*, VI, 38. If the clerks who had to write down the statements of cases in the law-court were absent from the court after mid-day, they were liable to a fine of six and one-fourth silver coins.

31. *A-madhyāhnād=ūrdhvam=uttarakulika-vārikāṇām chalo n=āsti*. No pretext (or flimsy excuse) of the *uttarakulika-vārikas*, absent from the court after mid-day, was to be accepted.

32. *Arggha-vañcane rūpaka-trayam sa-pādām saha dhārmikeṇa*. This seems to refer to the *peṭavika-vārikas* (No. 27 above). In cases of fraud in regard to the delivery of *rāj-ārgḥikā*, the officers concerned were liable to a fine of three and one-fourth silver coins and the fine could not be reduced even when there was a reasonable excuse. Here *arggha-vañcana* may also refer to the flouting of the prices fixed by the authorities.

33. *Mudr-āpacāre vinaye-rūpakāḥ ṣaṭ=sā-pādām saha dhārmikeṇa*. *Mudr-āpacāra* is 'using counterfeit coins' of *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, p. 268



(verse 240 and quotation from Kātyāyana). The fine for this crime was six and one-fourth silver coins and no excuse for reduction of the fine was allowed.

34. *Sthāvāra-tya(vya)rahāre sāmantaīh avasitasya vinayo rūpakāśatam=aṣṭottaram 108*. This seems to say that a *sāmanta* or subordinate ruler (cf. No. 11 above) was liable to a fine of 108 silver coins if he disposed of a case in regard to landed property. The *sāmantas* may have also been men from neighbouring villages who were to settle boundary disputes (*Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, II, 152) and the meaning may be that the defeated party in a boundary dispute had to pay a fine of 108 silver coins.

35. *Samvādane rūpakāḥ chatuṣpañcāśat*. But the fine was only 54 silver coins if information had duly been given to the king about the case. In case the second interpretation of No. 34 is preferred, this may refer to the party that had itself invited arbitration in a boundary dispute but was defeated.

36. *Jayike bhāṣā phālāvane cā(ca) rūpaka-trayaṃ sa-pādām*. This *ācāra* is difficult to explain. But it may mean that the winning party (*jayika*) in a boundary dispute was to be given a written declaration (*bhāṣā*) in his favour, although he had to pay $3\frac{1}{4}$ silver coins for the protection of his ploughed field (*phālāvana*) from the encroachment of the defeated party in the dispute.

37. *Ullambane karna-trotane ca vinayo rūpakāḥ sapṭaviṃśat*. The fine for *ullambana* (leaping over one, or hanging as in the *Arthasāstra*, IV, 8) or for cutting one's ear was 27 silver coins. Cf. No. 7 above.

38. *Vākparuṣya-daṇḍaparūṣyayoḥ vinaye rūpakāḥ ṣaṭ=sa-pādāḥ*. The fine for the offence of defamation and assault was six and one-fourth silver coins.

39. *Kṣata-darsane rūpakāḥ aṣṭa-catvāriṃśat*. In cases of *daṇḍa-pāruṣya* involving infliction of wounds, the fine was 48 silver coins.

40. *Gavāṃ taundike viṃśopakāḥ pañca*. Five *viṃśopakas* were equal to one-fourth of a silver coin, a *viṃśopaka* being $\frac{1}{20}$ of the standard silver money. Cf. 5 *viṃśopakas* given as $\frac{1}{4}$ silver coin in No. 57 below; also *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, p. 210. The meaning of *taundika* is 'biting of crops with the mouth'; cf. *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, II, 159. The offence involving *taundika* of cows caused a fine of five *viṃśopakas*.

41. *Mahiṣyās=tad-dviguṇam*. But the fine for the offence involving *taundika* of a she-buffalo was ten *viṃśopakas*, i.e. one-half silver coin. Cf. *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, loc. cit.

42. *Madya-bhājanasy=āvalokye rūpakāḥ pañca*. *Āvalokya*, derived from *avaloka* seems to mean 'detection'. If one was found out with a vessel full of wine, his fine was five silver coins.

43. *Prathama-bhājanane dhārmike adhikaraṇasya rūpaka-dvayaṃ sārḍham rū° 2½*. But when it was the first offence and no bad motive could be substantiated, the fine to be paid to the court was only $2\frac{1}{2}$ silver coins.

44. *Anāpṛṣṭvā(cchya) sandhayato dvitīye=hani tad-dviguṇam dāpyaḥ*. The first two words appear to refer to the *adhikaraṇa*. This *ācāra* seems to say that if a man, let off for the first offence with light punishment, was caught with a vessel full of wine for the second time, his fine was double the amount prescribed in No. 43.

45. *Surā-karaṇasy=āvalokye rūpaka-trayaṃ; dhārmike rūpakāḥ sa-pādāḥ; rāj-ārghikayā madya-cātūrtha-dvayaṃ rū° 2*. If one was caught while distilling liquor, his fine was three silver coins. But the fine was $1\frac{1}{4}$ silver coins if no bad motive could be substantiated, although two *cātūrtas* (one *cātūrtha* being $\frac{1}{4}$ of the standard measure of a liquid substance; cf. Nos. 47 and 70 below) of wine had to be paid as *rāj-ārghikā* (cf. No. 14 above).

46. *Kāmsya-dosy-āyudhānām = āśādhī(dha)-paurṇamāsī-bharolaka-nīrodhena grahaṇaka-praviṣṭam bhavati; grahaṇakeṣu daṇḍako n = ānusar-aṇīyaḥ*. This *ācāra* is possibly related to the distillation of wine (cf. Nos. 45 and 47); but it is very difficult to explain. The word *āyudha* may be taken in its old sense of 'vessel' and *dosyā*, which is unknown, may possibly be a metal like *kāmsya* or bell-metal. It seems that the *bharolakā* (distillery?) was closed on the full-moon day of *Aśādhā* and the vessels used in distillation were put into the *grahaṇaka* (custody?) and that the *daṇḍaka* (rule about the supply of the king's share of wine?) was not to be followed during that period.

47. *Rājakiya-gaṇje kalvapāla-vārikena cātūrtha-śoṭī-hastena meyaṁ muktivā n = ānyat = kiṁcit = karaṇīyam*. *Gaṇja* (treasury or a fund in the *Rāj. tar.*, IV, 589; VII, 125-26) was a store-house and the *vārika* or officer of the *kalvapāla* (the same as *kalyapāla* or *kalyāpāla*, i.e. 'spirit-distiller', of the lexicons and the *Rāj. tar.*, IV, 677, and *kalpāla* of *Viśvarūpa's* commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, Vyavahāra, verse 50) class was the officer in charge of the store-house for wine. For *kalvapāla*, cf. Hindi *kalwār*. *Śoṭī* seems to mean a measuring pot used in measuring liquids like wine. Cf. *Soṭu* in old Kannada inscriptions and *savaṭu* in modern Kannada. While measuring wine in *cātūrthas* or quarter-measures at the royal store-house with the measuring pot in hand, the officer was possibly not allowed to divert his attention to some other work. For *cātūrtha*, see No. 45 above and No. 70 below.

48. *Nīla-kuṭī-ādānam dūmṣakena deyaṁ rūpaka-trayaṁ rū° 3*. *Nīla-kuṭī* may mean an indigo factory and *dūmṣaka* its owner or supervisor. Cf. No. 19 above. The *dūmṣaka* had to pay the tax of three silver coins for a *nīla-kuṭī*.

49. *Ikṣu-vāṭ-ādānam rūpakāḥ dvātrimsat rū° 32; dhārmike rūpaka-dvayaṁ sa-pādām*. The tax for a sugar-cane plantation was 32 silver coins; but it was only 2½ silver coins if the field belonged to a religious establishment.

50. *Alla-vāṭasy = āto = rdh-ādānam*. The tax for an *alla-vāṭa* was half the amount prescribed in No. 49. The word *alla* in Pali means 'moist' and *alla-vāṭa* may probably indicate 'low land' (planted with sugar-cane).

51. *Yantra-kuṭī-ādānam rūpaka-trayaṁ rū° 3; dhārmike rūpakāḥ sa-pādāḥ*. *Yantra-kuṭī* may indicate an oil-mill or manufactory for which the tax to be paid was three silver coins, although the tax was only 1½ silver coins if the *yantra-kuṭī's* productions were meant for a religious cause.

52. *Varṣa-paryuṣitā vaṇijāḥ praveśyaṁ śulka-ātiyātrikāṁ na dāpānīyaḥ; nairgamikāṁ deyaṁ*. Merchants staying abroad for a year were not to pay any entrance fee while returning to their native place; but they had to pay the exit tax when they went out again. *Atiyātrika* is no doubt connected with *atiyātrā* used in the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 92, l. 27) in the sense of 'fare for crossing the boundary'.

53. *Bhānda-bhṛta-vahitrasya śulka-ātiyātrike rūpakāḥ dvādaśa rū° 12; dhārmike rūpakāḥ sa-pādāḥ rū° 1½*. For a boat full of vessels probably of metal, the crossing fare was 12 silver coins; but if the vessels were meant for any religious purpose, the tax was only 1½ silver coins. On the rates for ferry crossing, see *Manu-smṛti*, VIII, 403ff.; *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, p. 274 and commentary.

54. *Mahiṣ-ostra-bharakasya rūpakāḥ pañca sa-pādāḥ saha dhārmikeṇa*. For a boat full of buffaloes and camels, the tax was 5½ silver coins and there was no reduction even if they were meant for some religious cause. *Bharaka* seems to mean the same thing as *bhṛta-vahitra* of No. 53 above and 61 below. The word is also used in Nos. 56 and 67 below.

55. *Balivard-ādānam rūpaka-dvayam sārddham rū° 2½; dhārmike pādah ¼*. The tax for a boat full of bulls was 2½ silver coins; but, if they were meant for a religious cause, the tax was only ¼ silver coin. This seems to be connected with Nos. 53-54 above and 56 below.

56. *Gardabha-bharak-ādāne rūpakah sa-pādah rū° 1½ saha dhārmikeṇa*. The tax for a boat full of asses was 1½ silver coins and there was no reduction even if they were meant for a religious cause.

57. *Ata=rdhena pottalikā-samkacitak-ādānam; avalambakasya vimśopakah pañca ¼*. The tax for bundles (*pottalikā*) suspended from loops probably in shops was half of 1½ silver coins and for the hanger of such loops the tax was five *vimśopakas* or ¼ silver coin. The word *samkacitaka* is no doubt related to *kacita* used as an adjective; but in No. 68 below it has been used as a noun possibly in the sense of a loop. The same may also be the meaning in the present case.

58. *Pala-śatasya vimśopaka-dvayam saha dhārmikeṇa*. A bundle weighing 100 *palas* was taxed at two *vimśopakas* and there was no reduction even if it contained things meant for a religious cause.

59. *Yath-opari-likhita-bhāṇḍ-ādānāt dhānyasy=ārddh=ādānam*. This seems to be related to No. 53 above. A boat full of paddy was taxed at half the amount prescribed for a boat full of vessels.

60. *Ārdraka-lakātāyāḥ sūlk-āyātrike rūpakah sa-pādah saha dhārmikeṇa rū° 1½*. The crossing fare for a boat full of ginger and *lakātā* was 1½ silver coins and there was no reduction even if the things were meant for a religious purpose. *Lakātā* may be the name of a kind of spices or may be the same as modern *lakḍī* or fuel.

61. *Vamśa-bhṛta-vahitrasya rūpakah saṭ sa-pādah saha dhārmikeṇa*. The tax for a boat full of bamboos was 1½ silver coins and there was no reduction even if the material was meant for a religious purpose.

62. *Skandha-vāhyaṇ dhānyam sūlkaṁ na pradāpayet*. There was no tax for paddy to be carried by a person on his shoulder. Cf. *Nārada-smṛti*, ed. Jolly, p. 134.

63. *Kaṇikkā-kustumbari-rājikā-prabhṛtinām varṇikā-grahaṇe setikā grāhyā*. *Kaṇikkā* is the Prakrit form of *kanikā* meaning cummin seed. *Rājikā* is black mustard, while *kustumbari* is the coriander seed. *Varṇikā* is the same as Prakrit *vannīā* meaning 'sample', while *setikā* is the same as Prakrit *seṭā* or *seṭā* indicating a measure equal to two *prasṛtis*. The word *prasṛti* means the palm of the hand stretched out and hollowed and also a handful of things regarded as equivalent to two *palas* in weight. It seems therefore that only two handfuls of cummin seed, black mustard and coriander seed could be taken as sample by royal officials.

64. *Vivāha-yajñ-otsava-simantonnyaneṣu ca sūlkaṁ na pradāpayet*. Ceremonies such as marriage were not to be taxed. Cf. receipts of the office styled *grahakṛtya* in the *Rājataranṅinī*, V, 157, 176; VII, 42.

65. *Vara-yātrāyām sūlk-ādi(ti)yātrike rūpakah dvādaśa; paṭṭaka-dhārmike rūpakah sa-pādah rū° 1½*. If the procession of a bridegroom had to cross the boundary of the kingdom or district to reach the house of the bride, it had to pay the crossing fare of 12 silver coins; but, if it was legalized by means of a *paṭṭaka* or pass-port, the fare was only 1½ silver coins.

66. *Madya-vahanakasy=ādāne rūpakah pañca rū° 5; dhārmike rūpakah sa-pādah rū° 1½*. If a vehicle or boat full of wine had to cross the border, it was taxed at five silver coins, although the tax was reduced to 1½ silver coins if the wine was meant for a religious purpose. This may be related to No. 65 above.

67. *Khalla-[bha]rakasya rūpakah sa-pādah saha dhārmikeṇa rū° 1½*.

The tax for a boat full of *khalla* (possibly meaning leather) was only $1\frac{1}{2}$ silver coins even if it was required for a religious purpose.

68. *Kelāyāḥ samkācītakasya ca ato=rdh-ādānam*. Cf. No. 57 above. For a loop holding *kelā*, the tax was half of $1\frac{1}{2}$ silver coins. The meaning of *kelā* is uncertain, although *kelā* in Hindi stands for Sanskrit *kadālī*.

69. *Pāda-ghaṭasya vimśopakāḥ pañca saha dhārmikeṇa*. The tax for a *pāda-ghaṭa* was five *vimśopakas*, i.e. $\frac{1}{2}$ silver coin and it was not reduced even when the thing was meant for a religious cause. The meaning of *pāda-ghaṭa* is uncertain; but possibly it indicated a jar holding water to be used in washing feet. This is possibly related to No. 65 above.

70. *Katu-madye śidhu-cāturtha-trayaṃ 3*. Three *cāturthas* or quarter-measures (cf. Nos. 45 and 47 above) of the liquor called *śidhu* were regarded as the tax for very strong liquors. This may also be related to No. 65 above.

71. *Chimpaka-kolika-padakārāṇām yath-ānurūpa-karmaṇaḥ janapada-mūlyād=rajakule=rdh-ādānam*. The *chimpakas*, *kolikas* and *padakāras*, who appear to have been followers of particular professions, possibly had to pay as tax half the money that would be the price of the things produced by them according to the standard of price prevalent in the locality. *Kolika* may be the same as Sanskrit *kaulika* or a weaver and *padakāra* may possibly be a shoe-maker. The meaning of *chimpaka* is uncertain. May it be connected with Marathi *śimpī* and Kannada *cippiga* or *simpiga* (from Sanskrit *śilpī*) meaning 'a tailor'?

72. *Lohakāra-rathakāra-nāpita-kumbhakāra-prabhṛtīnām vārikeṇa viśṭīḥ karaṇīyā*. The blacksmiths, carpenters, barbers, potters and others could be recruited for forced labour under the supervision of the *vārikas* or officers.

King Viṣṇuṣeṇa (Viṣṇubhaṭa) further says that he also approved of other *ācāras* that were handed down from ancient times, besides those mentioned above. He ends with a request that his *anugraha-sthiti-pātra* should be approved by the future rulers of the country.

In conclusion, I request all scholars to take note of the interesting words and senses that are noticed in the present record but are not recognized in the Sanskrit *koṣas* and to try to interpret the passages which I have failed to explain as well as to improve upon the interpretations offered in this paper. I shall be glad to consider carefully whatever suggestions scholars may kindly communicate to me on any of the many points raised by the inscription.

