APPENDIX

EPIGRAPHIC RECORDS HAVING BEARING UPON THE
HISTORY OF MĀLWA
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SELECT INSCRIPTIONS OF THE POST-MAURYA PERIOD
HAVING BEARING UPON THE HISTORY OF MĀLWA

The number of epigraphic records having direct bearing upon Mālwa is not large enough and those found in Mālwa proper are few and far between. Those records are all in Brāhmi characters and written either in Prākrit or Sanskrit. Since the middle of the 2nd Century A.D. Sanskrit was adopted as the language of official records.

RECORDS ASSIGNED TO THE PERIOD OF THE SUNGA RULE

1. a) Sāñchī Buddhist Stūpa I inscriptions
   b) Sāñchī Buddhist Stūpa II inscriptions, At Sāñchī Kānākhedā about 5½ miles south-west from Bhilsa in Gwalior territory, the largest stūpas among the ancient monuments have been discovered.


On the gateways of the stūpas at Sānchī are inscribed a number of records which are edited by Cunningham, Marshall and Maisey and Bühler. Lüders has enlisted them under two main heads shown above.

The series of inscriptions engraved on the walls of the stūpas at Sānchī are not dated. The sculptures on the stūpas as well as the scripts used in the inscriptions, however, suggest that they are of the same age as that of the Bhārhat Stūpa. On this consideration the records may tentatively be assigned to in the 2nd - 1st century B.C.

The purpose of these inscriptions were to record the gifts and donations of the monks, nuns and other people. The people who had to bear considerable burden of expenditure for the construction of the stūpas seem to have belonged to the mercantile class. The epithets like 'Sresthī', 'Vāniya', 'Āvesānin', 'Grihapati'

3. Ibid.
5. E.I., II, P. 26f.
8. Ibid. Nos. 269, 320, 365.
9. Ibid. No. 346.
which are found to have been with the donors' names mostly represent the mercantile community. This, no doubt, indicates that Mālwa was a place of much commercial importance. The richness in natural resources which Mālwa possessed attracted the merchants and traders to come and become resident of the country.

The series of inscriptions recording the gifts and donations made to the Buddhist stūpas at Sānci seem to indicate how Buddhism had won over the allegiance of traders and merchants.

2. **BESNAGAR GARUDA PILLAR INSCRIPTION**

The present inscription is engraved on a pillar at Besnagar. The inscription was edited and translated by Vogel and Bhandarkar. The language used in the record is Prākṛt and the script used is Brāhmī of circa 2nd-1st Century B.C. It is dated in the 14th regnal year of King Kāśīputra Bhāgabhadra, the saviour.

The object of the inscription is to record the erection of a column surmounted by a Garuḍa in honour of God Vāsudeva by

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Heliodoros, son of Dion, who was sent as an ambassador by Antialkidas, the Greek King of Taxila, to the court of King Bhāgabhadra at Vidiṣā.

About the identification of this ruler Bhāgabhadra, there is difference of opinion. It seems more plausible to suggest that he should be identified with Bhāgabhadra, the ninth king of the Śuṅga dynasty, who enjoyed a long reign period.

The present record further makes it apparent that the Śuṅgas had by that times shifted their capital to Vidiṣā where an embassy from Taxila was cordially received. This confirms an information derived from literary and epigraphic sources. The diplomatic relationship between the Śuṅga and the Greek king was probably established after the cessation of hostilities.

The present record seems to imply that the Śuṅga rulers were inclined towards the Brahmanical culture. The setting up of the Garuḍa-dhvaja column by the Greek ambassador seems to have a prior sanction of the Śuṅga ruler. Pushyamitra Śuṅga performed Aśvamedha sacrifices and thus already revived the Brahmanical culture.

14. Ibid. Ch. VI.
3. **Besnagar Column Inscription**

There is an inscription on the stump of an eight-sided column at Bhilsa. The purport of this record was the setting up of a column with a Garuda standard at the stately temple of Bhagavan (Viṣṇu) in the twelfth year after Maharaja Bhagavat's installation. King Bhagavat of the record seems to be identical with King Bhagabhadra mentioned in Besnagar Garuda Pillar Inscription.

4. **Besnagar Buddhist Pillar or Rail Inscriptions**

These inscriptions record donations of Bhikhus (menks) and Pavagita (nun).

**Records Assigned to the Period of Satavahanas**

1. **Sānci Inscription of Śrī Śatakarni**

The present inscription on the southern gateway of the stūpa of Sānci, differs from other records on the walls of the Sānci stūpa, on the point of referring to a king. The language is Prākrit and the script Brāhmī. It is recorded that the upper-architrave was presented by Ānāmṛta, son of Vāsishthi, during the reign of Rāṇo-Sīrī-Śatakarni.

15. JBBRAS., XXIII, PP. 135-146.
15a. Lüders, Nos. 671-675.
Sri-Sātakarni of the record is generally identified with Sātakarni-I of the Satavāhana dynasty. Some scholars are inclined to prefix 'Vāsiṣṭhīputra' with the name of Sri Sātakarni and identify him with Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sri-Sātakarni, son of Gautamīputra Sātakarni who ruled till the third decade of 2nd Century A.D. But the palaeographic considerations suggest that the record may not be dated later than the 1st Century B.C. The script of the record is very similar to that of the Hāthīgumpha Inscription of Khārlvela who also ruled about the end of the 1st Century B.C. and beginning of 1st Century A.D. One may reasonably identify Sri Sātakarni of the Sānchī Inscription with Sātakarni mentioned in the Hāthīgumpha Inscription.

It appears from the record that Sānchī in eastern Mālwa was probably under the political sway of Sri Sātakarni. Otherwise, there was no reason to mention his name in the record.

2. Nāsik Cave Inscription of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi

Nāsik, situated in Poona district, Maharāshtra is the place where a number of inscriptions were engraved in the time of

the Śātavāhana rulers on the cave-walls. The present record of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāyi, son of Gautamiputra Śatakarni, is found on the backwall of the veranda under the ceiling of the cave.18

The language used in the record is Prākṛt mixed with Sanskrit and the script is Brāhmī. It is dated in the 19th regnal year of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāyi. In the record also known as 'Nāsik prasasti', the glorious achievements of Gautamiputra Śatakarni has been extolled by his mother Gautamī Balaśrī.

While making a gift to the Tekirasi ascetics, Gautamī Balaśrī recalls the conquests of Gautamiputra Śatakarni who had brought under his authority among other places Ākara and Avantī corresponding to eastern and western Mālwa respectively. Ākara and Avantī were previously included within the dominion of the Kshaharāta ruler Nahapāna as is evident from the Nāsik Cave Inscriptions of Uṣavadāta, son-in-law of Nahapāna.19 The transfer of power, no doubt, suggests that these were wrested by the Śātavāhana King from the Kshaharātas. After having defeated the Kshaharāta ruler Nahapāna, Gautamiputra Śatakarni included these territories within his kingdom. The Kshaharāta power was uprooted by this ruler.20

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18. Ibid.
19. B.I., VIII, P. 78f.
The praśasti embodies exaggerated statements. Gautamīputra is described as the destroyer of the Sakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas. The credit of his victory against the Sakas seems to have been thus magnified. We have no evidence to show that the Greeks and Parthians had been still maintaining their existence in parts of Western India.

KUSĀNA RECORDS IN MĀLWA

SĀŃCHĪ BUDDHIST IMAGE INSCRIPTIONS OF VĀŚISHKA OF THE YEAR 22 & 28

The inscription of the year 22 records the installation of an image of Buddha by one Vidyamati and refers to Rājan Vāskushāna. Ā Vāskushāna is suggested to be a form of Vāsishka-Kushāna. The title 'Rājan' is conspicuous by its undignified character.

The inscription of the year 28 records the erection of a statue of Bhavavat in the Dharmadeva Vihara at Sañchī by Madhurika, daughter of Khara, during the reign period of Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Shāhi Vāsashka.

The year 22 and 28 found in the records most probably are to be referred to Saka Era of 78 A.D. which was instituted by Kanīshka-I.

21. JRAS., 1904, PP. 590f; Marshall, Monuments of Sañchī, PP. 278, 386.
22. Lüders, No. 161; E.I., II, P. 373; JRAS., 1903, P. 325f.
The dates of the records are, therefore, A.D.100 and A.D.106 respectively. It was during this period that Sāñchi in eastern Mālwa passed under the political suzerainty of the Kuśāṇa rulers. The year 22 falls within the reign of Kanishka whose records bear the dates from year 1 to 23. It seems that Kanishka appointed Rājan Vāskushāna as a Viceroy in the south-Western part of his empire with the administrative headquarters at Sāñchi. Vāsishka whose records are dated from year 24 (Mathurā ins.) to 28 (Sāñchi ins.) retained his hold over Eastern Mālwa till at least A.D.106, if not later.

WESTERN KSHATRAPA RECORDS: KSHAHARĀTAS

1. NĀSIK CAVE INSCRIPTION23 OF THE TIME OF NAHAPĀNA

In Cave No. 10 at Nāsik in Poona District, Mahārāshtra, is found the inscription recording the gifts of Sāka Ushavādāta, son-in-law of Rājan Kshaharāṭa Kshatrapa Nahapāna to gods and brahmāṇas at different places. The language of the inscription is Prākrit much influenced by Sanskrit and the script is Brāhmī.

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23. R.I., VIII, P. 78f; No. 10; Select Ins., P. 160; R.B. Pandey, Historical and Literary Inscriptions (Varanasi, 1962), PP. 58f.
Among the place-names referred to in the present epigraphic mention may be made of 'Daśapura', identified with Mandesar in Western Mālwa. 'Daśapura' seems to have been included within the kingdom of Nahapāna. It is apparent that Uṣavādatā, son-in-law of Nahapāna, would not have been allowed to make his charitable works at the places lying in the kingdom of a different ruler.

Ujjayiṇī was also included within the dominion of Nahapāna. This is evident from an inscription engraved on the Nāsik Cave No. 14 recording the benefactious of Uṣavādatā, son-in-law of Nahapāna. Among the places mentioned in the record 'Ujeni', that is, 'Ujjayiṇī' is referred conspicuously.

An important information may be derived from the inscription at Nāsik Cave No. 10. It is stated that Uṣavādatā in alliance with the Uttambhadras defeated the Mālavas and then bathed in the Pushkar lake near Ajmer. From this it appears that the Mālavas had their settlement at a place lying not very far from Ajmer situated near Pushkar Lake.

24. E.I., VIII, P. 861; Lüders, No. 1135.
25. E.I., VIII, PP. 78f.
WESTERN KSHATRAPA RECORDS - KĂRĐĐAMAKAS

1. JUNĀGADH INSCRIPTION OF RUDRAḌĀMAN

The present inscription is on the western side, near the top of famous rock of Girnar which was about a mile to the east of the town of Junāgadh in Kathiwād.²⁶

The language of the record is Sanskrit and the script is Brāhma. The date of the record is the year 72 of the Śaka era, or A.D. 150. The object of the inscription was to record the repair and restoration of the Sudārśana Lake near Girinagara (Girnar) by Suvisākha, Parthian, son of Kulaipa, who was put in charge of Anartta-Surāśhtra by Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman.

In the record is to be found a list of territories conquered by Rudradāman, among which mention is made of "Pūrvapara Ākarāvanti" corresponding to eastern and western Mālwa respectively. Ākarāvanti was previously under the possession of Gautamiputra Śatākarnī, according to the 'Nāsik Prasāsti' mentioned above. It is not unlikely that Rudradāman conquered Mālwa along with other janapadas from the Śatavāhanas. Because, it is stated that

²⁶. E.I., VIII, PP. 44f.
Rudradāman twice defeated 'Dakṣināpathapati Śatākarmi', but did not kill him due to 'nearness of relationship'. Regarding the identification of the Śatavāhana ruler there remains difference of opinion. The nearness of relationship is explained by the Kanheri Cave Inscription in which it is stated that the wife of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śrī Śatākarmi was the daughter of Mahākshatrapa Rudra of the Kārṇākatya dynasty. Ptolemy's Geography (C.140 A.D.) refers to Chāshāna, King of Ujjainī. In that case, Mālva was conquered during the reign of Mahākshatrapa Chāshāna, while Rudradāman was a Kshatrapa only.

2. ŚAṆČI INSCRIPTION OF ŚRUDHARĀMAN

The inscription was discovered by Marshall at Kanakhega near Śaṃchi. It was edited by R.D.Banerjee and also N.G.Majumdar. The language of the record is Sanskrit influenced by Prākrit and the script Brāhmī.

27. Ibid.
28. JBBRAS., V, PP. 4f.
29. E.I., XVI, P. 232f.
The present record refers to Mahādanāṇāyaka Śrīdhāra-varman ruling in his 13th regnal year. The date of the inscription is the Saka year 201, that is, A.D. 279. It seems that Śrīdhāra-varman was semi-independent ruler of Sānci who owed allegiance to the Saka ruler of Ujjayini. Taking an opportunity of the weakness of his master, he issued a record of his own independently in his 13th regnal year.

**SASSANIAN RECORD**

**PAIKULI INSCRIPTION**

The present epigraph was engraved by the order of the Sassanian king Narseh. The object of inscription was to record the story of war between him and Varhran III and the conquests of the former.

It is stated in the present record that after the death of Varhran II, a dynastic war broke out (293 A.D.) between Varhran III (son of Varhran II) and his grand uncle Narseh. In this civil war the latter won victory.

The important portion of the record that is relevant for our purpose is that in this civil war the lord of Avanti (Avandikan Avantavya) took the side of Varhran III. It is also stated in the present record that all kinds of satraps congratulated the new king on his victory.

From the separate reference to the ruler of Avanti it may be surmised that the ruler of Avanti had an independent status, for he took decision of joining the civil war on the side of Varhran III. It is also evident that the ruler of Avanti could not maintain his independent status. After the victory of Marseh, the Khatrapa ruler seems to have acknowledged the suzerainty of the new ruler. It is stated that twelve satraps offered their allegiance to Marseh after his victory over Varhran III. Although the ruler of Avanti is not mentioned in this connection separately, it seems not improbable that he was taken into account among the twelve satraps.

From the present record it appears that the Sassanians spread their influence over Mālwa sometime about the end of the 3rd Century A.D. It may be regarded as quite likely in view of the decline of power suffered by the Śakas about this time. The coins issued by the Śaka rulers of Ujjayinī from 293 A.D. to 340 A.D. are characterised by the absence of the title of ‘Mahākhatrapa’ which was probably kept in abeyance. In some cases, the Śaka
rulers had to lay down even 'Kshatrapaship'. The weakness of the Saka rulers caused by some circumstances may have created an opportunity for an expansion of the Sassanian authority in Western India. Alternatively, it may be suggested that the Sassanian expansion brought about the decline of the Saka power in Avantī, that is, Western part of Mālwa, till about the middle of the 4th Century A.D.

RECORDS OF THE KṚTA-MĀLAVA ERA

The Kṛta, Mālava or Vikrama-Saṃvat is believed to have begun in 58-57 B.C. The following records with the use of the Saṃvat (era) mark some turning points in the history of the Mālava tribe and Mālava janapada.

1. NANDSA YUPA INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 282 OF THE KṚTA ERA

At the village Nandsa, situated in Sahara district of Udaipur State, on a Yupa are engraved two inscriptions. The language of the record is Sanskrit and the script is Brāhmī. The record is dated in the year 282 of Kṛta era i.e. 225 A.D.

The inscriptions are primarily intended to commemorate the performance of a sacrificial session.

32. E.I., XXVII, P. 252f.
This is the earliest among the records, so far discovered, dated in the year of the Kṛta era of 58-57 B.C. The present record was issued by a Mālava rāja whose name has not yet been clearly read. That the king referred to belonged to the Mālava stock is evident enough from the expression "Ikshvāku prathita-Mājarshi vaṁśe Mālava vaṁse prasutasya" meaning 'One born in Mālava family which was a royal family of the famous Ikshvāku'. A.S. Altekar suggests that the meaning would be "the Mālava king belongs to a family which was as famous as that of the Ikshvākus". The origin of the Mālava tribe still remains a problem without solution. But the performance of sacrifices most probably indicates the indigenous origin of the tribe. The present record, therefore, may be regarded as a valid evidence against the theory of origin of the Mālavas.

That the Mālavas had settled themselves in some parts of Rajputana in the 3rd Century A.D. is evident from the present record with a specific reference to "Mālava-gaṇa-vishaya" or the country of the Mālavas. "Mālava-gaṇa-vishaya" was obviously a portion of Eastern Rajputana where Mandsa was situated. The settlement of the Mālavas in this part of Rajputana as suggested by the record is corroborated by the findspots of coins of the Mālavas.

33. Ibid. P.257.
While the first record was issued in the year 282 of the Kṛta era, that is, A.D. 225, the last record mentioning the Kṛta era is the Nagari Inscription of year 481 of the Kṛta era, that is, A.D. 423. In between these two dates several records referable to the Kṛta era was issued. The Mandasar Inscription of Kṛta year 461 is more important than others.

2. MANDASAR FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION OF YEAR 461 OF THE KṚTA ERA

The findspot of the records, Mandasar, or more properly Dasar, ancient Dasapura, on the north or left bank of the river Siwana, is the chief town of Mandasar District in Western Malwa division in Central India. The language of the record is Sanskrit and the script is Brāhmī.

The date of the record is the year 461 of the Kṛta era, that is, A.D. 403. The record refers to king Haravarman who belonged to the Aulikara dynasty. The Aulikaras may have been ruling

34. Three Badwa Inscription, E.I., XXIII, P. 42; Two Xupa Inscription from Barnala, Ibid. XXVI, P. 118; The Vilayagedh Inscription of 428, Bhandarkar list No. 2; The Mandasar Inscription of 461, Select Ins. P. 377, No. 51; The Gangadhara Ins. of 480, Select Ins. P. 382; The Nagari Ins. of 481, Bhandarkar list No. 5

35. Bhandarkar List No. 3.
independently in Mandasar about the beginning of the 5th Century A.D. The use of the Kṛta era instead of the Gupta era which had already come into vogue indicates that the Aulikaras of Mandasar were not subordinate to the Imperial Guptas. It also suggests a connection of the Aulikaras with the Mālavas from whom they had borrowed the use of the era. It may not be unreasonable to assume that the Aulikaras were a branch of the Mālavas and that explains why they made use of the reckoning.

In the present record reference is made to both 'Kṛta' and 'Mālava' Samvats. This is a significant evidence in support of the assumption that the Aulikaras were a branch of the Mālavas. The present record further shows the identification of the 'Kṛta' and 'Mālava' eras. It may be suggested that the era originally known as 'Kṛta' was later on associated with the name of the Mālava tribe in the beginning of the 5th Century A.D. Henceforth, the era began to be designated as 'Mālava' in a series of records found in Mālwa.

3. **MANDASAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF KUMARA GUPTA AND BANDEHVARMAN IN THE MĀLAVA YEARS 493 & 539**

The present inscription is to be found on a stone slab in the walls in front of a medieval temple, situated on the south bank of the river Siwana. 36

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The characters of the inscriptions give a very good specimen of what may be called the western variety of Gupta Brāhmī of the 5th Century A.D. and the language is Sanskrit.

The inscription belongs to the reign of a king named Kumāra Gupta, under whom Bhandhuvarman was a governor at Dasapura. It is stated in the record that a number of silk-weavers who had immigrated from the Laṭa Vishaya to this city constituted a 'guild'. The guild of silk-weavers built at Dasapura (Mandasar) a temple of Sun-god, which was completed when four hundred and ninety-three years had elapsed by (the reckoning from) the tribal constitution of the Mālavas - "Mālava ganasthitya" and therefore when the four hundred and ninety-fourth year (A.D. 439-38) was current, on the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month 'Sahasya' (Dec. - Jan.). Later on, under other kings, part of this temple fell into disrepair and it was restored by the same guild, when five hundred and twenty-nine years had elapsed and therefore when the five hundred and thirteenth year (A.D. 473-74) was current, the second lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month 'Tapasya' (Feb. - March). The second date seems to be the date when the inscription was actually composed and engraved, since we are told at the end that it was all composed by Vatsabhaṭṭa and the engraving throughout the inscription was obviously the work of one and the same hand.
The expressions that are relevant to our study are "Mālava-gaṇa sthiti vasāt" and "Mālava gaṇa annāte". Whatever may be the difference of opinion with regard to the meaning of the expressions, there is no denying the fact that the era beginning at 58-57 B.C. had its connection with the Mālava tribal republic.

MANDASAR STONE INSCRIPTIONS OF YASODHARMAN AND VISHNUVARDHAN DATED IN THE MĀLAVA YEAR 589

The present inscription belongs to a king named Yasodharman. The language used is Sanskrit and the script Brāhmī.37

The object of the epigraph was to record the construction of a large well by a person named Daksha, younger brother of Dharmaghoṣa, who was the minister of Viṣṇuvardhan, in memory of their deceased uncle Abhayadatta who had formerly held the same office for the tract of the country bounded by the Vindhayas, the Pāriyātra mountain and the (western) Ocean.

The inscription is dated in the Mālava year 589, that is, when five hundred and eighty nine years had elapsed since the tribal constitution of the Mālavas and when the five hundred and ninetieth year (A.D.533-34) was current.

37. Ibid. PP. 151-152, No. 35.
Yasodharman, during whose reign the present record of the Malava year was issued, seems to be a descendant of the Aulikara family. He was not only independent but an imperialist, extending his sway as far as the Lauhitya, that is, the river Brahmaputra in the east. 38

From the series of epigraphs found at Mandasar, it is evident that the Aulikaras had settled themselves in and around Mandasar for a long time. The settlement of the Aulikaras in Mandasar seems to presuppose the settlement of the Mālavas in Western Mālwa assuming that the former represented a branch of the latter. The Aulikaras are found to have come into prominence politically by the beginning of the 5th Century A.D. The process of migration and settlement of the Mālavas in Western Mālwa may have started much earlier. The expansion of the Mālavas over the whole of Mālwa seems to have required a century or so. It may have something to do with the imperialist expansion of Yasodharman, described as a tribal leader in the Mandasar record.

The Mālava era which had the beginning of its use since the beginning of the 5th Century A.D. was used in a record

38. Ibid. P. 145, No. 33.
of the 8th Century A.D. The last known epigraphic record having the use of the Mālava era is the Gyaraspur Inscription dated in the year 926 of Mālava-Kāla.

The Mālava era gradually came to be known as the Vikrama-Saiva. The first epigraphic record using the Vikrama-Saiva is the Dhiniki inscription of Jaikadeva dated in the year 794 of vikrama era, that is 736 A.D. It seems, therefore, that for sometime simultaneous use was made of both 'Mālava' and 'Vikrama' eras.

We have made a study of the epigraphic records discovered in or outside Mālwa but having bearing upon the history of Mālwa in the Post-Maurya period. Due to the paucity of such records, it is difficult to depend solely on the most dependable source of information. However, those records do suggest in an outline of the political changes over Mālwa during the pre and post-Christian period.

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39. The Kanasa Inscription dated in the 796 of the Mālava era, Bhandarkar List No. 18.
40. Ibid. No. 48.
41. Ibid. No. 17; D.C. Sircar, Indian Epigraphy (Delhi, 1965), P.252.