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Research Article

THE NON-SOVEREIGN, NON-VICTORIOUS KĀRDAMAKA: JAYADĀMAN

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ABSTRACT

Identification of Ajayatasa with Jayadāman, to whom the bequeathing of the megalopolis of Ujjain by a King Puḷumāvi is documented by a one line epigraph from a panel of the Mahā Stūpa in Kanaganahalli, revivifies the disquisition on this Kshatrpa. Concoction of the chronicle of this particular member of the Kārdamaka ménage is the intent of this paper.

Key Words:

Ajayatasa, Ujjain, Puḷumāvi,
Kanaganahalli, Jayadāman, Kārdamaka

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INTRODUCTION

The second Kārdamaka king to hold the gubernatorial title of 'Kshatrpa' was Chasṭana's son, Jayadāman.^[1] Chasṭana's promotion to the position of Mahākshatrpa must have prompted Jayadāman's appointment to the office of Kshatrpa.^[2] When exactly this assignation was made cannot be ascertained in the absence of needed evidence^[3] but it would be safe to presume that it must have taken place after the acquisition of some territories from the Sātavāhanas after the death of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. On his coins, Jayadāman uses the title 'Kshatrpa' in addition to 'svāmi' and 'rāja'.^[4] The obverse of his silver coins has his bust greatly resembling the bust on the coins of Chasṭana with an unintelligible marginal inscription in Greek, while on the reverse along with the legend *Rājño Kshatrapasa Jayadāmasa* in Brahmi and Kharosthi, the three-arched hill device along with ancillary symbols sun and crescent was adopted.^[5] The first variety of his rectangular copper coins has a humped bull to right, facing a combined trident and battle-axe with a legend in degraded Greek characters on the obverse and a six-arched hill topped by a crescent and l., crescent and r., sun and inscription in Brahmi, on the reverse.^[6] Another variety may be distinguished as having ten-arched hill on the reverse.^[7] His Shavtie leanings betrayed by the use of 'Rudra' in his son's name^[8] is substantiated by the bull and trident-battle axe coin type.^[9] A

copper coin of the type 'Elephant r. : Ujjain symbol' having an incomplete Brahmi legend has also been assigned to Jayadāman.^[10] He finds mention in a few private records from the domain of the Western Kshatrapas.^[11] Arguably the most important and definitely the most intriguing epigraph furnishing details about his political narrative comes from the Sātavāhana realm. A panel of the Mahā Stūpa in Kanaganahalli portraying two kings with their retinues, one of whom is pouring holy water from the water pitcher into the outstretched right hand of the other indicating the change of ownership, carries the label epigraph that reads : *Rāya Pudumāvi Ajayatasa Ujeni deti*^[12] (King Puḷumāvi is handing over Ujjayini to Ajayata). While the identification of King Puḷumāvi with Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, the son and successor of the illustrious Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi,^[13] seems axiomatic, discernment of the recipient of the megalopolis of Ujjayini requires a novel approach. Ajayatasa cannot be taken as the proper name of the king, for no king of this name existed contemporaneous to Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi.^[14] Ajayatasa, as an adjective, also cannot have a positive connotation and mean undefeatable (as given in the memoir)^[15] or unconquered for the glorification by the Sātavāhanas of any monarch other than their own is impossible. At the risk of hazarding a conjecture we may propose that the inscription uses double entendre (Ślesha) here. The word Ajayatasa contains the name of the king 'Jaya', while as an adjective the whole word can be taken

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to describe the recipient king as being 'non-victorious'. Wordplay is fairly common in ancient epigraphs. An ingenious suggestion had been made by Jagannath Agrawal who pointed out the use of double entendre in the undated Pehowa inscription where the word *parabala* can be translated as a common noun meaning 'the military force of the enemy', it can be equally well interpreted as a proper noun, referring to the Rāshtrakūta feudatory ruling at Malwa.^[16] If we accept that the composer of the inscription has coded the name 'Jaya' in the word 'Ajayatasā' then the identification of the recipient king with Jayadāman remains to be the solitary possibility. The omission of any sort of title for the recipient lends credibility to the fact that he wasn't Chashtana (the ruling monarch of the Kārdamakās) but Jayadāman who, albeit the de facto king during Chashtana's later years, did not officially hold the position of a crowned head. Once this identification is accepted, the sequential narrative of his tenure as Kshatrapa can be reconstructed.

Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi was the King of Ākarāvanti (Mālwa) among other territories as in discernible from the epigraph of his mother belonging to his son's reign.^[17] It is safe to presume that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi held these territories at the time of his death and his son inherited all the provinces from his father. The contemporaneity of Puḷumāvi and Chashtana is a well established fact and so is the Kārdamaka control over Ujjain.^[18] Chashtana who was a mere Kshatrapa in 89 AD,^[19] his elevation to the status of a Mahākshatrapa must have occurred after the Kārdamakās conquered the Sātavāhana territories in Gujarat, Rajasthan and Ākarāvanti from Puḷumāvi. Jayadāman's appointment to the office of Kshatrapa would have followed Chashtana's elevation to the position of Mahākshatrapa. There was probably a prolonged struggle between Puḷumāvi and Chashtana.^[20] During the last years of Chashtana's reign when he must have been extremely old after a lengthy rule he would have been just a nominal monarch. Jayadāman, with his seat in Ujjain, must have held the reins of the administration and led the attack on the Sātavāhanas. It is possible that Puḷumāvi succeeded in gaining an upper hand by temporarily occupying Ujjain but opted for a more practical decision. Knowing that Ākarāvanti proved difficult to hold and for years was the bone of contention between the two powers he agreed for a treaty where he exchanged peace on his northern frontier for Ujjain. It is possible that at the same time a matrimonial alliance was secured with the marriage of Puḷumāvi's younger brother, the Sātavāhana crown prince, to Kārdamaka's crown prince's granddaughter.^[21] The giving away of Ujjain by Puḷumāvi must have established harmony between the two powers and secured the northern border allowing Puḷumāvi to conquer and consolidate territories in the south of his dominion. This must have happened during the last few years of Chashtana's reign when Jayadāman was the Kshatrapa as opposed to his son Rudradāman and when his grand-daughter was eligible for marriage. Thus, we can place the bequeathing of Ujjain in c. 125-129 AD. In 130 AD, we find Rudradāman as the co-ruler of Chashtana, denoting the death of Jayadāman before the incision of the Andhau inscription of year 52.^[22]

Identification of the recipient king with Jayadāman, contributes not just to the political narrative but to also the art history of Western Kshatrapas. On the Western Kshatrapa coins we only

have the bust of the Kshatrapas and Mahākshatrapas, but here in Kanaganahalli we have a full bodied specimen of a Kārdamaka ruler. The upper register vividly captures highly decked Jayadāman with retinue being received by Puḷumāvi along with his retinue. He receives the holy water poured into his outstretched right palm, by holding his *yajñopavīta* in the left hand.^[23] The noble guest wears an elaborate jewelled turban, heavy hooked ear-ornament at distal ends culminating in yet to bloom lotus petal, four-stringed necklace of quality beads with square tracers treated with floral decoration studded with gems, highly ornate *keyūra* befitting the royal personality fashioned with creeper and nāga hood formation studded with precious stones on both upper arms, wristlets treated with beads and gems, *pītāmbara* tied at waist by fine threaded sash at the loin held by a metal clasp, a fairly large heavy *uttariya* tied around the waist the loops of which are drawn to the right and the free end is shown flowing along with the left leg.^[24]

References

1. Chashtana started his political career bearing the title of Kshatrapa, as is evident from the Andhau record; an epigraph which attributes no title to his father Ysāmōtika. (vide V.V. Mirashi, *The History and Inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas*, Maharashtra State Board for Literature and Culture, Bombay, 1981, Part II, p. 116)
2. A.M. Shastri, *The Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas: A Historical Framework*, Dattsons, Nagpur, 1998, p. 155
3. *Ibid.*
4. E.J. Rapson, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kshatrapas, the Traikutaka Dynasty and the "Bodhi" Dynasty*, British Museum, London, 1908, p. cxvii
5. A. Jha and D. Rajgor, *Studies in the Coinage of the Western Kshatrapas*, Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, Nashik, 1994, p. 31
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*
8. Naming his son Rudradāman and using bull and trident-battle axe on his coins, points towards the fact that the acceptance of the Śaivite faith by Kārdamakās like Jayadāman was an integral constituent in the process of Indianization of the Śakas.
9. A. Jha and D. Rajgor, *op.cit.*
10. E.J. Rapson, *op.cit.*, p. cxviii
11. viz., Andhau Yashti Inscriptions of the Reign of Chashtana and Rudradāman I: Year 52 (V.V. Mirashi, *op.cit.*, pp. 118-119), Khāvḍā Yashti Inscription of the Reign of Rudradāman I: Year 53/63 (*Ibid.*, p. 121), Gundā Stone Inscription of the Reign of Rudrasīmha I: Year 103 (*Ibid.*, p. 131), Andhau Yashti Inscriptions of the Reign of Rudrasīmha I: Year 114 (*Ibid.*, p. 134), Junagarh Stone Inscription of the Reign of a grandson of Jayadāman (*Ibid.*, p. 136), Gadḥā Stone Inscription of the Reign of Rudrasena I: Year 127 (*Ibid.*, p. 140). In the Junagadh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman I of year 72, Jayadāman's name from line 4 has disappeared (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, p. 42).

12. K.P. Poonacha, *Excavations at Kanaganahalli (ASI Memoir No.106)*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 2011, Ins. No. A. 99, p. 463
13. *Ibid.*, p. 303
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. J. Agrawal, *Researches in Indian Epigraphy and Numismatics*, Sundeep Prakashan,, Delhi, p. 115
17. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, p. 61
18. A.M. Shastri, *The Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas: A Historical Framework*, Dattsons, Nagpur, 1998, p. 71
19. V.V. Mirashi, *The History and Inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas*, Maharashtra State Board for Literature and Culture, Bombay, 1981, Part II, pp. 115-116
20. The conquests of territories like Surāshtra, Kukura and Anūpa would have preceded that of Ākarāvanti. These territories are mentioned in the Nasik Cave Inscription of Queen Balasirī as being part of Gautamīputra Sātakarnī's empire (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, p. 61). They find mention again in the Junagarh inscription of Rudradāman as being under the Kārdamaka king (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, p. 47). These territories must have been annexed while Chashtāna was ruling. After the Kārdamakās had succeeded in conquering Ujjain, it is possible that Jayadāman (the crown prince), was placed in charge of the territory of Ākarāvanti. In later military engagements with Vāsishthīputra Puḷumāvi, Ujjain could have exchanged hands multiple times. Ultimately, Vāsishthīputra Puḷumāvi, tired of employing his forces in the northern frontiers, donated Ujjain to Jayadāman and diverted his focus towards the southern dominions.
21. Vāsishthīputra Sātakarnī was a son-in-law of Rudradāman. (vide A.M. Shastri, *op.cit.*, p. 72)
22. The Andhau Inscription of year 52 (130 AD) mentions Chashtāna and, associated with him, his grandson Rudradāman. (V.V. Mirashi, *op.cit.*, pp. 116-119) Jayadāman must have died before 130 AD.
23. K.P. Poonacha, *op.cit.*, p. 303
24. *Ibid.*

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