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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page 2, line 8.—For Mahâmâtragaṇa read styled Mahâmâtragana

5, line 1.—For Āśaṭāṅgha read Āśaṭāṅgha

20, text, line 2.—For māṇavya-sagātṛāṃśu read manavya-sagōtṛāṃśu

22, text, line 34.—For 100 9 10 3 read 100 6 10 3

22, foot-note 4.—Read kapilâ-āsta-ghâtiyam=ēnaḥ sa pratipadyatā

24, foot-note 1, line 5.—For sahōdarāṁ read sahōdaraṁ

25, line 5 et passim.—For Śankhavarma read Śāṅkhavarma

25, line 15.—For by read in

25, foot-note 5, line 2.—For Jamkhandi read Jamkhandi

26, foot-note 7, line 9.—For kṛṣṇanaṁ read kṛṣṇanaṁ

26, foot-note 9.—For Ibid. read Ep. Carn.

27, foot-note 7.—Add note: ‘There is no proof that Kālaṅjara was the ancestral seat of the Kalachuris.’

29, text, line 7.—For datvā read datvā (ttvā)

29, foot-notes, last line.—Add before the line 3

37, line 39.—For crest-jem read crest-gem

38, article No. 6, para. 3, last line.—Add note: ‘The personal name of the Vēḷāṇ seems to have been purposely omitted (cf. above, Vol. XX, p. 52; A.R.Ep., 1910, App. C, No. 84).’

39, lines 24-25.—Read which correspond to 875 A.D., November 14, Monday

41, line 13.—For of read dated

43, para. 3.—Add note: ‘The relationship between Kanishka and Huvishka is as yet unknown. The earliest inscription of Huvishka is dated in the year 28 of the Kushâṇa era.’

43, foot-note 2.—Add note: ‘The name Matsyagupta seems to mean “protected by the Matsya incarnation of Viṣṇu”.’

44, text, lines 1-2.—Add note: ‘The reading seems to be: ... gri ... vahāriṣya ... guḍ[la]ya ... Bodhisatva. The intended reading for vahāri may be vohâri-Sanskrit evavahārin (cf. Lüders’ List, p. 174, No. 140).’

47, foot-note 1, line 2.—Read viniśchitya


48, lines 34-35.—Read Gandharāḍhi in the Baudh State
Page 48, foot-note 1.—For Aichār read Aichārā

49, foot-note 16, lines 4-5.—Read Dōmbi-nāmakaś=chēti

51, line 3.—Read R. G. Basak

56, text, line 7.—For jātakam-aṅka read jātakam-aṅka

57, text, line 13.—For śriḥ read śriḥ

57, text, line 16.—For jan-āvidhēyaḥ read jān-āvidhēyaḥ

57, text, line 23.—For gōchchha[ka] read gōchchha[ka]

57, text, line 24.—For gō-mahīṣya read gō-mahīṣya

57, text, line 29.—For yaśō’bhiva(vṛ)ddhayē read yaśō’bhiva(vṛ)ddhayē

57, text, line 30.—For sōma-pitimaḥ(nah) read sōma-pitimaḥ(nah)

57, text, line 30.—For Tad-anvayē read Tad-anvayē

57, text, line 31.—For dvijāḥ read dvijāḥ

57, text, line 32.—For sūtō-bhavaṭ read sūtō-bhavaṭ

57, text, line 33.—For iv-āparaḥ read iv-āparaḥ

57, foot-note 3.—For gōchchhaṅ read gōchchhaṅ

58, text, line 35.—For bhāśinē read bhāśinē

58, text, line 39.—For vasundharāṁ(m) read vasundharāṁ

59, line 36.—For respects read respect

60, line 12.—For as read to

61, line 3.—For date read dates

61, lines 5-6.—For Chipluṅ grant read Chipluṅ plates

62, text, line 9.—For nītiśāstra read nītiśāstra

62, text, line 11.—For ṣhṛd-ādhāraṇa read ṣhṛd-ādhāraṇa

65, line 36.—For Jaipur in the Ganjam District read Jeypore in the Koraput District

71, line 30.—For interests read interest

73, line 28.—For age read centuries

75, text, line 3.—For Bhōjānāṁ-anva read Bhōjānāṁ-anva

75, text, line 4.—For Kottipēggiḷin-ābhya read Kottipēggiḷin-ābhya

75, text, line 10.—For vasundharāṁ read vasundharāṁ

77, foot-note 4.—Add note: ‘The inscription actually records the gift of a Chaitya-griha by Pavaṭṭārā, daughter of Ghaparā, in favour of the Saṅgha and the Buddha. There are numerous cases of the use of the dative in the Prakrit inscriptions. The sentence bhata-virajehi sanāpito means to say that the Chaitya-griha was constructed by workers (vīrakas) devoted (bhakta) to the donatrix,’

81, line 14.—For Dāṇḍavāsika read Dāṇḍapāsika

84, foot-note 6.—Read Dāṇḍapāsika
Page 89, foot-note 2, line 2.—Read Coll. (above Vol. XXVI, p. 38, note 8)

90, line 32.—Read from śrāvānam

92, translation, line 3.—Read dēvadāna-brahmadōya

92, translation, line 8.—Read Ichchuvratattudēvar

92, text, line 18.—Omit (=iḍuvēṇa=ṛṇa)

93, foot-note 5.—Add note: ‘Lines 55-59 may be translated: “This order will apply to all these 35 pāṭukas (of land), be it (cultivated) land or land (covered with) thorny shrubs”’.

98, text, line 18.—Read Tāḍavalageyali

100, foot-note 1, line 6.—For V., S. read V. S.

103, text, line 14.—For kāriβu(bu) read kaṇīv(ri)u(bu)

108, paragraphs 2 and 3.—Add note: ‘For the date of the inscription, see now below, Vol. XXIX, p. 190, note.’

110, foot-note 1, line 2.—Read Gaudalēkhamālā

111, foot-note 6, line 1.—For kāṇḍa read kāṇḍa

112, line 5.—For linga read linga

112, lines 6 ff.—Read Tushṭikāra

113, text, line 21.—For aṣya read sya

114, text, line 30.—For vṛ(ri)u(bu)dhvā read vṛ(ri)u(bu)dhvā(ddhvā)

115, line 10 et passim.—For sanyāsin read sanyāsin

116, line 24.—For saṅghaṭṭan-ōpalabha read saṅghaṭṭan-ōpalabha

119, foot-note 6, lines 24-26.—Read Vāg-daṅdo’stha...kāya-daṅdas=tath=aiva cha......mānavaḥ |

120, line 1.—For vaiṇava-daṅdham read vaiṇava-daṅdham

124, foot-notes 3 and 5.—Read 3 for 5 and 5 for 3

126, line 7.—For occur read occurs

131, foot-note 4, line 2.—Read A new History of the Indian People, Vol. VI.

133, text, line 2.—For punyā[ṛa]ṃ-parirakṣaṇo read punyā[ṛa]ṃ-parirakṣaṇo

133, foot-note 3, line 3.—For saṃtami read saptami

135, last line.—For vocchhiyāna[ṛi]-Kaṭṭahārāma read vocchhiyāna[ṛi] Kaṭṭahārāma

136, lines 1-3.—Add note: ‘The reading and interpretation of the inscription are doubtful.’

137, line 17.—Omit that

137, foot-note 2.—Read ‘Kalinganagara.....Kalingapatnam.’

144, foot-note 11, line 2.—Read Vol. XVII, p. 25

Page 145, foot-note 9.—Add note:... In the Gāndhīya or Proto-Bengali alphabet there is often no difference between the signs for medial u and subscript v (cf. below, Vol. XXX, p. 52, note 1) and often the same sign looks either like the ā-ārā of the previous consonant or the i-mār of the following akṣara. The second characteristic is often noticed in the early medieval epigraphs in Nāgarī as well (cf. ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 309)."

150, foot-note 5.—For 27 read 127

151, line 1.—Read Purushottama

151, line 2.—Read Talahāri

153, text, line 17.—For samāhṛta read samāḥṛta

156, line 7.—For single read single-handed

171.—Read lines 34-40 after line 26.

175, foot-note 3, line 3.—For drāma read ārāma

176, line 1.—For south-east read south-eastern

177, line 1.—Read lotus-feet

177, line 2.—For Māthara read the Māṭhara

177, line 17.—For matronymic read metronymic

178, text, line 11.—For yusmābhī read yusmāblī

178, foot-note 4, line 6.—For ē. read p.

178, foot-note 4, line 9.—For an read in

178, foot-note 4, line 11.—Add note:... As Sandhi is optional in prose composition, the composer could have written "varnā Andō" which is apparently the reading intended."

178, foot-note 5, line 2.—For perfectly read is perfectly

179, text, line 14.—For manu read Manu

179, text, line 17.—For mahim read mahim

179, foot-note 6.—For Surāśīṭrā read Surāśīṭrā

180, line 13 et passim.—Add note:... For the date of the Bhauma-Kara kings, see now below, Vol. XXIX, p. 180, note.’

182, foot-note 2.—Add:... See below, Vol. XXIX, p. 27, text, line 2.’

183, foot-note 9.—For Mālini read Mālini

184, lines 3-5.—For Māṭrīkā read Māṭrīkā

193, line 22.—Read Pannāḍi-raṇa. Add note:...Raṇa or Mahāraṇa is the family name of a class of Oriya artisans. Pannāḍi belonged to this community.’

193, line 25.—Omit the sentence:... Pannāḍi-raṇa... Pannāḍi.”

195, line 27.—For has been read have been

198, line 4.—For diameters read diameter

199, line 20.—For Sēndrakan read Sēndraka

201, text.—Add note:... There are some inaccuracies in the transcript.”
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page 202, text, line 20.—For yaśa(sa)s-cha read yaśa[sa*]s-cha

205, text, line 31.—Add note: 'The contraction de may stand for Sanskrit duitiya so that the reference is to the second of the two Āshādhas (including intercalary Āshādha) in the year in question.'

209, text.—Add note: 'There are some inaccuracies in the transcript.'

213, lines 26 and 31.—For Siddhagaurī read Sindagaurī

214, line 5.—Read Dharakota plates

215, line 2.—For taṭṭhākāra read taṭṭhakāra

215, text, line 7.—For vaikarttana read Vaikarttana

216, text, line 30.—Read taṭṭhakār-Āghāka

229, line 36.—For Chicacole read Narasannapeta

235, text, line 16.—For mahi read mahī

237, line 26.—Read Chaitra-sūdi 9

238, genealogical tables.—Read 6. Vajrabasta II Aniyaṅkabhima (Anaṅghabhima I)

239, line 18.—Read in the later records of his grandson


246, foot-note 1, line 2.—Read śeś(e)māpatis-Allāla

249, text, line 3.—Read Śambhu-Vra(Bra)hma

249, text, line 8.—Read samabh[a*]ntē(vaṁs-tē)ō

249, text, line 11.—Read saṅkīrttanaṁ(nam)

249, foot-note 1.—Add For errors in the transcript, see below, Vol. XXXI, p. 249, note 2.

250, foot-note 10.—Read 'ōn-chirāṁ

252, text, line 57.—Read prasiddha-kiō

255, text, line 102.—Read dig-gajānān

262, text, line 8.—For śrīmad read śrīmad

262, foot-note 3, line 2.—Read there is

263, text, line 21.—Read Vāṇḍutuṅgaō. Add note: 'Vāṇḍutuṅgam may be identified with modern Bāṇatumbu where the inscription was discovered (cf. Or. Hist. Res. Journ., Vol. I, part iv, p. 267).'

266, text.—Add note: 'There are some inaccuracies in the transcript.'

266, text, line 19.—For mahi read mahī

277, foot-note 1.—Add note: 'There is nometrical defect in the emendation if the last long syllable is taken as short (cf. Kale, Higher Sanskrit Grammar, Appendix, pp. 1-2; Apte, Sans.-Eng. Dict., p. 1035).'
Page 282, foot-notes 3 and 4.—Add note: 'The long syllable at the end of the feet in the stanzas in question has been regarded as short (cf. Kale, Higher Sanskrit Grammar, App., pp. 1-2; Apte, Sanskrit-Eng. Dict., p. 1035).'

282, foot-note 10.—For अनुप्रारया read अनुप्रावराया

284, foot-note 3, line 3.—Read the द्विज-राजा

287, line 13.—For सौम्यवरादेवा read सौम्यवरादेवा

294, line 17.—For डेशीया read डेशीया

300, last para.—Add note: 'The duplication of Umavarmans seems to be unwarranted.'

300, foot-note 4.—Add note: 'Vişākhavarman cannot be regarded as the son of Umavaran on the ground that Viṣākha is represented in Hindu mythology as the son of Umā. We know that Buddagupta was not a son of Chandra Gupta in spite of the mythological representation of Chandra as the father of Budha.'

302, text, line 2.—Read samavētān-ku?

302, text, line 9.—Add note: 'Some words of the passage dharmakrama-vikramābhyaṁ-anuttaram-vegad-vāyapya mahīṁ-anuśāsatāṁ-idam dānam are omitted in the original.'

302, text, line 11.—Read vasudhā

302, text, line 12.—Read bhūm[i*]=tasya

302, text, line 15.—For kri read kri?

303, lines 5-6.—Read the grant portion of the inscription incised on plates VI-VII

303, line 8.—Read Jagannātha temple

303, line 9.—Read seven plates: but

305, line 9.—For kar read kari

305, line 10.—For rājya-r e read rājyaru e

307, line 43.—Read (mudhya kari)

308, line 36.—Read approximately

308, foot-note 4, line 1.—Read ink or point

309, text, line 7.—Read sa[ū,*]dhivigraha

312, text, line 23.—Read śubham-astu

317, line 19.—For has read have

317, line 32.—For incidently read incidentally

320, text, line 12.—For dhanaṁ read dhanam(nam)

321, line 19.—Read put in. The reasons

321, line 20.—Read now apparent.' In a note

322, line 35.—For does not read do not

331, foot-note 7.—For drāngika read drāṅgika

332, foot-note 5.—For pēdā-pāla read pēḍā-pāla
EPIGRAPHICA INDICA

VOL. XXVIII

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No. 1—NAGARDHAN PLATES OF SVAMIRAJA

(I Plate).

V. V. MIRASHI, AMRAOTI

These copper-plates were discovered in 1948 at Nagardhan, a small village, about 3 miles south of Ramtek, the chief town of a tahsil of the same name in the Nagpur District. Shri Hiralal, Upasnao Mahadule of Nagardhan, who obtained possession of the plates, handed them over to me for decipherment. I am obliged to him for permission to publish this interesting record.

They are three copper-plates, each measuring 7'9" in length and 4'1" in breadth. The first and third are inscribed on one side and the second on both the sides. The plates are held together by a ring, 3" in thickness and 2" in diameter, on which slides a small circular band with a rectangular seal measuring 1'2" by 1" soldered to it. The surface of the seal is divided into two almost equal parts by a horizontal line. The upper part contains a symbol, apparently a goad, lying horizontally, while the lower has the legend Gāya-dattīh 'A gift of the Corporation', inscribed in the same characters as the grant. The plates together weigh 67½ tōlas and the ring and the seal 2½ tōlas. This mode of stringing the plates together resembles that of the Vākāṭaka grants, though the seal here is rectangular, not round as in the latter grants. The plates are in a state of good preservation and there is no uncertainty in the reading of any part of the text.

The record consists of 28 lines, which are evenly divided on the four inscribed faces of the three plates. The characters are of the box-headed variety, the boxes at the top of letters being scooped out hollow. They are very beautifully formed, being more cursive and round than those of the Vākāṭaka grants. They resemble very closely the characters of Early Gāṅga grants of the sixth or seventh century A.C. As regards individual letters we may note the forms of initial u which occurs in ll. 8, 14, 19, 24 and 27, of initial ē in ll. 13 and of initial au in ll. 10. The right stroke of l, which is mostly vertical in Vākāṭaka grants, sharply turns to the left and encircles the letter as in later records of the Kalachuris and the Gurjaras of Gujarat, see kuśali, l. 2: a final consonant is indicated by its small size, see Nāndivardhanāt, l. 1; punctuation is generally indicated by a small horizontal stroke, but in some cases by two vertical strokes, the first of which is sporadically hooked at the top.

The language is Sanskrit and except for two verses at the end in ll. 24-27, the record is in prose. As regards orthography, the only peculiarities that call for notice are the use of ri for the medial vowel ṛ in bhrātri, l. 2 and nīrīṣṭṛḥ, l. 20; of the guttural nasal ŋ for anusvāra in doṇuśa, l. 23, and of anusvāra for final ŋ is drāgikādiṇ, l. 3. In other respects the record is remarkably free from errors of orthography, though in places it is not altogether devoid of uncertainty of meaning.

The plates were issued from Nāndivardhana by Nannarāja who meditated on the feet of his brother, the illustrious Svāmīrāja, during whose reign the grant was made.1 Svāmīrāja also

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1 See, e.g., the Jirjāi plates of Indravarman, Gāṅga year 39 (A.C. 537-38), above, Vol. XXV, pp. 281-8, and plate; and Tekkali plates of Indravarman, Gāṅga year 154 (A.C. 652-653), ibid., Vol. XVIII, pp. 307-11, and plate. The Gāṅga era began in Śaka 420 (A.D. 498) as shown by me, above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 326-36. [A. C. and A. D. both stand for the Christian era.—ED.]

* This is shown by the word kuśali 'in good health ' applied to Svāmīrāja, in l. 2.

40 DGA.
is described as meditating on the feet of a Bhatāraka or lord paramount, which indicates his feudatory status. Neither the family to which the princes belonged, nor the suzerain to whom they owed allegiance, is mentioned in the present grant. No ancestors of Śvāmīrāja have been named. In all these respects the present grant resembles those of the Mahārājas of Khandesh.\(^1\)

The object of the inscription appears to be to record two gifts—(i) one of twelve nivarūnas of land in the village Chińchatapiṅkā which was made at the request of the President (Silavāra) and Members of the Executive Committee (Pramukhas) of the assembly (Samāha) of the Corporation (Gāya) Mahāmātragaṇa, and (ii) the other of the village Āṅkollikā which was made by Nannarāja (or perhaps by Śvāmīrāja) on his own account near Čaṭuka Vātra\(^5\) situated in the stream of the Gāṅgā on the occasion of an eclipse which occurred on the new-moon day of Chaitra in the cyclic year Āśāha. The donated village Āṅkollikā was situated on the right bank of the river Śūla, to the west of the agrahāra of Achalapura and to the east of Śrī-Parpikā. The donees were certain Brāhmaṇas of the White and Black Yajurvedas and of the Śāmaveda. The inscription contains another date at the end when the plates were issued, viz., the fifth tithi (expressed by a symbol) of the bright half of Kārttiaka in the year three hundred and twenty-two (expressed in words) of an unspecified era. The engraver was the Kṣhatriya Durgāditya, the son of Chandra.

The present record is interesting in several respects and sheds important light on the history of Vidarbha in the post-Vākṣṭha age. As stated before, the royal family to which Śvāmīrāja and Nannarāja belonged is not specified in the present grant, but since these names occur in two early Rāṣṭrakūta records discovered in Vidarbha, viz., Tivarakhēj\(^3\) and Multāi\(^4\) plates, with the slight change of Śvāmīrāja into Śvāmīkārāja, it seems very likely that the princes mentioned here also belonged to the same lineage. Nay, prima facie, it appeared quite plausible that Śvāmīrāja and Nannarāja of the present plates were identical with Śvāmīkārāja and Nannarāja mentioned in the aforementioned two Rāṣṭrakūta grants. The date of the present record seemed also to lead colour to this view; for the year 322 mentioned in it, if referred to the Gupta era, would correspond to A. C. 611-42 which is not very remote from Śaka 553 (A. C. 631), the date of the Tivarakhēj plates of Nannarāja. A close examination of the aforementioned Rāṣṭrakūta grants and their dates, however, soon convinced me that the identification is untenable. I shall now proceed to state my reasons for this view.

As stated before, two grants of the Rāṣṭrakūta Nannarāja discovered in Vidarbha have been published, viz., the Tivarakhēj plates, dated Śaka 553 (A. C. 631-32) and the Multāi plates dated Śaka 631 (A. C. 709-10). The genealogy and, to some extent, the wording of the two grants are identical, but there is a difference of 78 years between the two dates. The two grants were, therefore, in all probability, not made by the same ruler; for a reign of more than 78 years is extremely unlikely. Dr. Altekar has already discussed this question in his work on the Rāṣṭrakūtas.\(^6\) He has concluded that the Multāi plates were spurious on the following grounds:—‘The genealogy

\(^{1}\) See the Indore grants of Śvāmīdāsa dated (K.) 67 and Bhuṅḍa dated (K.) 107 and the Sirpur grant of Rūdrāda dated (K.) 167. These grants have been shown by me to have been dated in the Kalachuri era (A. B. O. R. I., Vol. XXV, pp. 159-69). They therefore belong to the fourth and fifth centuries A. C.

\(^{2}\) The grant was apparently made at the aśkhaṇa-vatata near the confluence of the Gāṅgā and the Yamunā. It is also possible that the grant was actually made by Śvāmīkāra and was only recorded by his brother Nannarāja. For a similar grant made at Prayāga at the confluence of the Gāṅgā and the Yamunā by a ruling king of Vidarbha and recorded afterwards by his relative at Nandivardhana, see the Rithapura plates of Bhe padda, varman, above, Vol. XIX, pp. 190 f.

\(^{3}\) Above, Vol. XI, pp. 276 f.

\(^{4}\) Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, pp. 220 f.

\(^{5}\) Altekar, Rāṣṭrakūtās and their Times, pp. 6 f.
of the Multāi plates starts in verse, but after the first verse there is a sudden break. A sentence in prose follows, but the concluding portion of it, *tasy-ātmavān-ātmajāḥ* is again the fragment of a verse. These reasons are not quite convincing; for similar mixture of prose and verse is noticed in several genuine ancient grants. They, however, led Dr. Altekar to regard the date of the Multāi plates as suspicious. I also adopted this view in my article on the Rāṣṭrākūṭa of Mānapura and taking the date A.C. 631 of the Tivarakḥēd plates as genuine, I suggested that Gōvindarāja mentioned in the plates as the grandfather of Nānṇarāja flourished in circa A.C. 590-610 and was thus probably identical with Gōvinda who, as mentioned in the Aihoje inscription, invaded the territory north of the Bhimarathi at the time of Pulakēśin II's accession. I suggested further that the great Chāḷukya Emperor Pulakēśin II placed Gōvindarāja's successor Svāmikarāja in charge of Berar when he conquered it from the Kalachuri Buddhāraja.1 These conclusions will now have to be revised in the light of the information derived from the present plates.

A close examination of the two aforementioned Rāṣṭrākūṭa grants has convinced me that the Tivarakḥēd plates are spurious. My reasons are as follows—(i) The text of the Tivarakḥēd plates is very corrupt. The mixture of fragments of prose and verse appears in it in a more flagrant manner than in the Multāi plates. (ii) The inscription purports to record two grants in favour of the same Brāhmaṇa Muniḍbhaṭṭa,—one made by the Rāṣṭrākūṭa Nānṇarāja on Mahā-Kārttikī (full-moon *tīkhi* of Kārttika), and the other by Sāṅkaragaṇa of an unspecified lineage, on the occasion of a solar eclipse. There is, however, no mention of Sāṅkaragaṇa in the genealogical portion of the grant. Besides, there was no Sāṅkaragaṇa ruling in Berar in Śaka 553 (A.C. 631-32) when the plates purport to have been issued.2 There was, again, no solar eclipse before Kārttika in Śaka 553. There were, however, two in the previous year Śaka 552—one in Śrāvaṇa and the other in Māgha. It is stated at the end that the gift was recorded when eight months of the Śaka year 553 had expired. We shall therefore have to suppose that the grant, made on the occasion of the solar eclipse in Māgha in Śaka 552, remained unrecorded for nearly nine months. No reason is stated for this unusual delay. (iii) The date of the plates is recorded in decimal figures as 553.4 As I have shown elsewhere, the decimal notation came to be used in Mahārāṣṭra in the last quarter of the eighth century A.D., the earliest genuine instance of it, so far known, being the Dhūla grant of the Rāṣṭrākūṭa prince Karkarāja, dated Śaka 701 (A.C. 779-80). The Tivarakḥēd plates which purport to belong to the second quarter of the seventh century A.C. could not therefore have been dated in decimal figures.

The Tivarakḥēd plates thus appear to be spurious. This conclusion is corroborated by the recent discovery, in the Akola District of Berar, of another set of plates issued by the same Rāṣṭrākūṭa Nānṇarāja.6 These plates, in their formal portion, closely agree with the Multāi plates. They are dated in Śaka 615 (A.C. 693-94). This date plainly shows that the Multāi plates are genuine; for there is a difference of only 16 years between the dates of the two grants made by the same king Nānṇarāja, which is not unusual.

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2 Sāṅkaragaṇa in 1. 9 of the Tivarakḥēd plates is evidently a mistake for Sāṅkaragaṇa. For a similar mistake see Bhavattavarmā for Bhavodattavarmā in l. 3 of the Rithapur plates, above, Vol. XIX, p. 102.
3 The only Sāṅkaragaṇa who is known to have flourished in this period belonged to the Kalachuri dynasty. He however closed his reign in c. A.C. 600. Two grants of his successor Buddhāraja, dated K. 360 and K. 361 (A.C. 610) have been discovered. See above, Vol. XII, pp. 30 f. and VI, pp. 294 f.
4 The year is specified in words in text lines 15-16, and the corresponding numerals occur, one below the other, on the left-hand margin of the plate, at the commencement of text lines 12—14. The figures recording the date are not 22 after additions as supposed by Hiralal. The form of the figure 2 is as in the Sāmāṅgaḍ plates of Dantidurga. Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, pp. 108 ff.
6 These plates were discovered in a village near Akola. It is No. 59 of the copper-plate inscriptions, Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for 1949-50.
The Multāi grant being thus proved to be genuine, the Tivarakhēd grant, which though purporting to be made by the same king Nannarāja, is dated 78 years earlier, must be held to be spurious. The approximate reign-periods of the Rāṣṭrakūta princes mentioned in the Multāi and the Vaṭapuraka grant of Nannarāja discovered near Akōla may therefore be stated as follows—

**Durgarāja**  
(A.C. 630-650)

**Gōvindarāja**  
(A.C. 650-670)

**Śvāmikarāja**  
(A.C. 670-690).

**Nannarāja**  
(A.C. 690-710) (Known dates A.C. 693 and 709).

We have seen above that the year 322 of the present plates, if referred to the Gupta era, would correspond to A.C. 641-42. But there were no kings named Śvāmīrāja and Nannarāja ruling in Berar in that period, as shown above. Besides, apart from the difference in their age, the princes Śvāmīrāja and Nannarāja could not have been identical with the two rulers mentioned in the Multāi plates; for (i) Śvāmīrāja was probably different from Śvāmīkārāja as the latter name occurs invariably in this form in all the three grants—two genuine and one spurious—of Nannarāja; and (ii) Nannarāja is mentioned in the present plates as the *brother* of Śvāmīrāja, while Nannarāja of the three other grants was the *son* of Śvāmīkārāja.

The date of the present grant is thus *not* recorded in the Gupta era. There is one other circumstance which supports this conclusion. The plates state in ll.14-15 that the grant of Nannarāja was made on the occasion of a (solar) eclipse on Chaitra *âmâsâya* in the cyclic year Ṛṣṭhādha. This year was evidently of the twelve-year cycle of Jupiter. The system of citing the years of this cycle was current in early times and continued till the sixth century A.C.1 In North India five such dates with the word *mahâ* prefixed to the name of the year were discovered in the grants of the Parivrājaṅka Mahârâjas Hastin and Saṅkhobha, from which Fleet and Sh. B. Dikshit calculated the epoch of the Gupta era. Some more dates of the same type have since been discovered. In South India some dates of this kind have been discovered in the records of the Early Rāṣṭrakūtas2 Kadambas3 and kings of Kaliṅga4 but they do not admit of verification, in the absence of details necessary for calculation. The present grant is thus unique in that it mentions such details together with the name of the cyclic year and the date of an era. Let us see whether these details work out regularly for any of the known eras.

If the year 322 is referred to the Gupta era, it would, as stated above, correspond to A.C. 641-42. But there was no solar eclipse in the *amânta* or *pûrûmânta* Chaitra of that year. Besides, the cyclic year was Phālguna, not Ṛṣṭhādha as stated in the grant.5 The nearest solar eclipse in Chaitra

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1 The last known date of this type is G. 209 (A.C. 528) which occurs in the Khoā grant of the Parivrājaṅka Vahârâja Saṅkhobha.
5 This is according to the mean-sun system. See Cunningham, *Indian Eras*, p. 156. The year according to the heliacal rising system also would be the same according to the calculations of Dr. K. L. Daftari of Nagpur.
occurred on the 21st March A.C. 638, but then too the cyclic year was Mārgaśirsha, not Āśaṅgha. Again, there is no evidence that the Gupta era was ever current in Vidarbha or, for the matter of that, anywhere else in Mahārāṣṭra. For all these reasons the date 322 of the present grant cannot be referred to the Gupta era.

The only other era to which this date can be referred is the Kalachuri era which, as I have shown elsewhere, was current in the neighbouring districts of Khandesh1 and Nasik.2 Let us see if the details work out satisfactorily for this era.

The epoch which suits early dates of the Kalachuri era is A.D. 248-49.3 If the year 322 is referred to this era, it should be equivalent to A.C. 570-71 or 571-72 according as it was current or expired. But in neither of these years was there a solar eclipse in the amānta or pūrṇimānta Chaitra. There was, however, one in the immediately following year A.D. 573, on the 19th March, which was the amāvāsyā of the amānta Chaitra. The year of the twelve-year cycle was also Āśaṅgha according to the mean-sign system. The agreement of these three details, viz., the solar eclipse, the lunar month and the cyclic year shows that the 19th March A.D. 573 is undoubtedly the correct date of the grant. The palaeography of the grant also supports this date, for, as stated before, the characters of the grant closely resemble those of the early Gāṅga grants and must therefore be referred to the sixth century A.C. Besides, the wording of the formal portion of the present grant shows that it must be classed with such early grants as those of the Mahārājas of Khandesh, Subandhu of Māhishmati and the Traikūṭakas of Western Mahārāṣṭra.

As stated above, the epoch of A.C. 248-49 does not hold good in the present case. Supposing the year of the present grant to be Kārttikādi and expired as in most other early dates, the epoch of the era applicable in the present case should be A.D. 250-51. The solar eclipse in Chaitra when the grant was made must have occurred in the Kārttikādi Kalachuri year 321. The amāvāsyā of the amānta Chaitra in the expired year 321 fell, according to this proposed epoch of A.D. 250-51, on the 19th March A.D. 573. On this day there was a solar eclipse visible in India and the Bārhashpatyam niṃvarsura was Āśaṅgha as stated in the grant.

But, it may be asked, have we any other date of the Kalachuri era to which this new epoch of A.D. 250-51 is applicable? In reply to such a question, I would refer to the date of the Ellora grant of Dantidurga. This date has been read as Monday, the thirteenth tīthi of the bright half of Asvina in the year 663 of an unspecified era.4 This year has been referred to the Śaka era. The details of the date do not, however, work out satisfactorily either for Śaka 663 current or for Śaka 663 expired. The date is thus irregular. It is, therefore, doubtful if it really refers to the Śaka era at all. A close examination of the wording of the date strengthens the suspicion. The date is given as follows—Saṁ 600 60 3 Āśrayujā sūdha trayōdasyaṁ Śomavārī. This is, however, not the usual mode of citing dates of the Śaka era. In all early Śaka dates whether occurring in the records of the Early Chalukyas or the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, there is a clear reference to the Śakas or to the Śaka kings. See, for instance, the wording of the following Śaka dates from Mahārāṣṭra preceding and following the date Śaka 663 in question—

(i) Śaka 609—Jējurī Plates of Vinayaditya (above, Vol. XIX, p. 64)—Nov-ättara-śatā-śatēśu Śaka-varshēśāvātēśu.

2 See the Anjaneri plates of Bhāgaśakti, dated K. 461, above, Vol. XXV, pp. 225 f.
3 See my article 'The Epoch of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era' in A. B. O. R. I., Vol. XXVII, pp. 18 f.
4 Above, Vol. XXV, p. 31.

Several dates of a similar type can be cited. In his examination of the dates of the Śaka era Kielhorn also noticed this peculiarity.¹ What strikes one at once in looking over the dates of the lists, and what distinguishes these dates in a remarkable manner from those of the other principal eras, is this that, with insignificant exceptions, all are explicitly referred to the era to which they belong. Of the 400 dates of my chronological list only five do not contain the word Śaka or its derivative Śāka.² And even in regard to the five dates Kielhorn showed that the absence of the word Śaka was due to the exigencies of the metre, spuriousness of the record or doubtful reading. This explicit reference to the Śakas or Śaka kings in the dates was quite necessary; for there were then two eras current in Mahārāṣṭra, viz., the Kalachuri era and the Śaka era. The latter had therefore to be clearly specified to prevent confusion.

Since the date of the Ellorā plate contains no reference to the Śakas or Śaka kings, it is plainly not in the Śaka era. A close examination of the numerical symbols reveals that the reading of the year is incorrect. The first symbol, which consists of a sign for 100 followed by another 4, evidently stands for 400, not for 600. The date is thus 463 which must be referred to the Kalachuri era. The usual epoch of A.D. 248-49 which is seen to hold good in the case of other early Kalachuri dates does not suit this date; for, according to it, the thirteenth titi of the bright fortnight of Āsvina in the current year K. 463 fell on a Saturday (the 17th September, A.C. 712) and in the expired year K. 463 on a Friday (the 6th September, A.C. 713). In either case it will have to be regarded as irregular, as it did not fall on a Monday. But if we apply the epoch of A.C. 250-51 suggested by the grant under consideration, the date becomes regular; for according to that epoch, the thirteenth titi of the bright fortnight of Āsvina in the expired Kalachuri year 463 ended at 1 h. 45 m. on the 18th September, A.D. 715 which was a Monday as required. These two grants thus show that the epoch of the Kalachuri-Chādi era at least in some parts of Mahārāṣṭra was A.C. 250-51.³

The grant under discussion is unique in another respect. It is the only grant dated in the Kalachuri era which has been found in Vidarbha. The earlier grants of the Vākāṭakas found in Vidarbha were dated in regnal years while the later ones of the Rāṣṭrakūtaśas are recorded in the Śaka era. The present grant which belongs to the intervening period is dated in the Kalachuri era evidently because that era had spread to Vidarbha with the extension of Kalachuri power. The unnamed suzerain of Śvāmṛāja was probably the Kalachuri Krishṇarāja (circa A.C. 550-575). It is noteworthy that the silver coins of this Kalachuri Emperor have been discovered at several places in Vidarbha, viz., at Dhāmori in the Amraoti District and Paṭṭan in the Betul District.

² This sign is a curious combination of the symbols for 4 and 6. Its upper portion which contains a loop resembles the symbol for 6, while the lower portion which has the shape of ka clearly shows that it was intended to signify 4.
³ Except for the loop in the upper portion, the symbol closely resembles that for 4 used in the Kassāre plates of Aśoka.
⁴ From a large number of later Kalachuri dates Kielhorn showed that the epoch of the Kalachuri era was A.C. 247-48, but two early dates presented difficulties which he acknowledged in a foot-note to his List of Northern Inscriptions, Ep. Ind. Vol. V, Appendix. From several other dates discovered since then, I have shown that the epoch which suits early dates is A.C. 248-49 and I have reconciled the two epochs on the hypothesis that the current years of the era were wrongly supposed to be expired when the era was introduced by the Kalachuris in North India. The commencement of the era thus came to be antedated by one year. See A. B. O. R. I., Vol. XXVII, pp. 34 f.
This Rāṣṭrakūṭa family of Vīdarbha, which owed allegiance first to the Kalachuris and then to the Early Chālukyas, must be distinguished from the family of Dantivarman which was originally ruling over Mūlaka (Aurangabad District). That the two families were ruling contemporaneously and not successively will appear from the following chronological table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Vīdarbha.</th>
<th>The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mūlaka.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Svāmirāja (A.C. 570-590)</td>
<td>Dantivarman (A.C. 620-630)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durgarāja (A.C. 630-650)</td>
<td>Indra Prichchhakarāja (A.C. 630-650)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōvindarāja (A.C. 650-670)</td>
<td>Gōvindarāja (A.C. 650-670)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Svāmikarāja (A.C. 670-690)</td>
<td>Karka I (A.C. 670-690)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nannarāja (A.C. 690-710)</td>
<td>Indra II (A.C. 690-710)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dantidurga (A.C. 710-750)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Known dates 693 and 710.</td>
<td>Krishna I (A.C. 750-775)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The family of Dantivarman attained imperial status after overthrowing the Early Chālukyas and soon extended its sway to Vīdarbha. The earliest record of this family found in Vīdarbha is the grant of Krishnaratī I, dated Śaka 694 (A.C. 772), discovered at Bhāndak in the Chanda District. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Vīdarbha then sank to a feudatory status and probably ruled from Achalapura. We find occasional references to their conflicts with the imperial house of Mānyakhaṭa.

The present grant is interesting in several other respects also. It is one of the few copper-plate grants to which a Gaṇa (Corporation) is seen to have affixed its own seal. The corporation was

1 The earliest genuine records of this family, viz., the Ellora plates and the Daśavaṭāra Cave inscription—both of the reign of Dantidurga—have been discovered in the Aurangabad District. The Sāmāngad plates of Dantidurga found in the Kolhapur State are spurious. To the reasons stated by Drs. Sukthankar and Bhandarkar may be added this, that the date of the plates is given in decimal figures. See above, p. 3.

2 Nandivardhana from where the present plates were issued may have been their earlier capital. It was previously the capital of the Vāṅkātakas and then of the Nala kings, Bhavadattavarman and Arthapati. Later on the capital may have been shifted to Achalapura (modern Ellippur in the Amravati District). The Tirarkhād plates of Nannarāja were issued from Achalapura, but, as shown above, they are spurious. His Māltā plates mention no place of issue. The plates recently discovered in the Akola District were issued by Nannarāja from Padmanagara which may be identical with Padmapura mentioned in an unfinished plate of the Vāṅkātakas and in Sanskrit literature as the ancestral home of Bhavabhūti. Later references to this branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas as well as the description of a fight in the Viṃdhañīlakbaṅjikā suggest that its capital was at Achalapura. See also Ind. Hist. Quart., Vol. XV, pp. 611 f.
of Elephant-riders (Mahāmātrasi). Its President was called Sīhavara and the members of the Executive Committee, who seem to have numbered twelve, Pramukha. The assembly of the Corporation was called Samāha. The gana evidently consisted of elephant-riders; for one of the elders was Pila-pati (Chief of the Elephant Force) and another was Ha-ti-caidya (Physician of Elephants). The Corporation had apparently no authority to make any grants of land; for it had to request the ruling prince to make one on their behalf, but it was allowed to affix its own seal containing its own peculiar emblem of a god. This shows that it wielded considerable power in the State.

As for the localities mentioned in the present grant, Nāndivardhana from which the plates were issued has already been identified with Nagardhan. This identification has been corroborated by the discovery of the present record. Another name of the place is said to have been Nandardhan which corresponds to Nandivardhana. There is a small village named Nandipuri, about a mile south by east of Nagardhan which may represent ancient Nandivardhana. Achalapura is usually identified with Ellichpur in the Amrooti District, but there is no river named Sūlanadi flowing by its side. The Achalapura mentioned in the present places as an agrahāra village was probably situated not far from Nandivardhana. The Sūlanadi on the bank of which it lay is probably identical with the river Sūr which flows only about 8 miles, east of Nagardhan. Aukoliikā which was situated on the bank of the Sūlanadi may be identical with modern Aroli, on the right bank of the Sūr, about 8 miles south by east of Nagardhan, but there are no places corresponding to Achalapura and Śrī-Parejikā in its vicinity. Chichapatīkā is probably represented by the village Chichāl, about a mile and a half, north by east of Nagardhan.

TEXT

First Plate

1 Sandhi [1*] स्वतं [1*] नामीवद्वत् [10] [1*] भट्टरकायवादयापि: परमाहेश्वर: भौतासिः-

2 राज: कुशलो! तथा गुप्ताग्रामिकहि नवराज: समालिखि स्वागाजस्थानी-

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1. The Marathi word maḥāṭ meaning an elephant driver is derived from mahāmātra (Prakrit, Mahāatta).
2. Sīhavara seems to be used in the same sense as Jethaka of which it is a synonym. The latter term occurs in the Jātakas as the head of a corporation.
4. For samāha meaning the assembly of the gana, see Bṛhaspati-smṛi, XVII, 20.
5. It is noteworthy that Visvarūpa, the oldest commentator of the Yājñavalkya-smṛi explains gana as a corporation of elephant-drivers and others. C. vājñavalky-smṛi-bhāṣya-ādi-samāhāta-āuyē: Visvarūpa on F. S., II, 196.
6. For another grant to which the Corporation of Mahāmātra has affixed its seal, see the Banarasa-plates of Harīraja; Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference, Twelfth Session, pp. 310 f. This seal also contains the emblem of a god (not a flag-staff as stated by the editor). In this case the plates also were issued by the Corporation, though the grant was made with the consent of the reigning king and his chief queen.
7. This river is called Suramati in 1. 39 of the Ramtek Stone Inscription of the time of Rāmachandra, above, Vol. XXV, p. 16. The name of the river seems to have changed from Sūlanadi to Suramati in the course of the seven centuries that separate these two records.
8. From the original plates and ink impressions kindly supplied by Shri V. K. Aiyar, Superintendent, Government Press, Nagpur.
3 योगिकरण्याधारक्षात्मकसृजोत्सङ्ख्याधारक्षाहरिंजीवार्डों (त्रिगुन) समाख्या

4 नृत्यम् संग्रामवंशम् बो विनिंत (त्रिगुन) [1] यवा महामायांगविवरक्षाहि

5 केदार । नृत्यम् । प्रदेशम् । लिपि । वेवदत्तः । मातृसामी । गणन-

6 लिपि । कोषुभद्र । अतिवेदानामसामाय । प्रसंगत । पोवुत्तित्ति-लला-

7 अवक । प्रभाकरप्रमुखाण्यम् [२] हामस्यनयः मातारिष्करामत-

Second Plate; First Side

8 नशा पुण्यविश्रविसूधः । उपवर्णवेदः । संग्रामविवरक्षानिन्यविवाकर-

9 संग्रामविवाकरविवाकरसामायः । समाख्या (विश) । गणन । समथ । बलस । वज्जितर: । गुण-

11 नाम । वृक्षारवसंतिरिक्त: [१०] रमणोगङ्गा । कोषुभद्रामसुक्कवजः (विस्मय)

12 रविवर्तविचारी । वलसम्बोधक्षाक्षात्मने । चित्रकुण्डकायः (विस्मय) निर्विरस्-

13 नामन्युक्तशीशाधारिनिन्यविवाकर: [१०] एष्यवेश्यं । राजागानां । वलनेश्वरवेश्वरे-

14 बालिकात्रूक्तात्मने । विन्याया । उत्तरोत्तराय: । राजावंसवस्तते । चंद्रामात-

Second Plate; Second Side

15 वर्णिकायां जातास्रिपथेय चक्रवर्तसंस्यतने प्रहोपराङ्गे [८] यौलन-

16 श्राव: । उत्तरातो । चक्रवर्तसंस्यतने । श्रीरिप्वायः । पूवर्णः

17 बालिकात्रो नाम । विन्याय: । राजावंसवस्तते । चंद्रामात

18 गानातनो: । पुस्मोगानारोपोगिनिनारः ज्ञाययः [२] संवर्तितायिकः-

19 असाध्यबुद्धियाहः । सत्यद्विविशुद्धि: । उदकपृयवः [१०] भो-

1 This and other similar marks of punctuation in ll. 5-7 are superfluous.
2 Read प्रदेशम्.
3 Here and in some places below, the rules of Sandhi have not been observed.
4 This and similar other marks of punctuation in ll. 10-12 are superfluous.
5 Read तृतीयवः.
6 Read कक्षकावां एतेऽः.
7 Supply बलस.
8 This mark of punctuation is superfluous.
9 This mark of punctuation is superfluous.
10 Read उदकपृयवः.
40 DGA.
TRANSLATION

Om! Hail! From Nāndīvardhana—The illustrious Svāmināraja, who is a fervent devotee of Mahēśvara (Śiva) and meditates on the feet of the Lord paramount, is in good health. His brother Nannāraja who meditates on his feet, honours all his Officers such as Rājasthāniya,4 Uparika,5 Dāngāpāñika,6 Chāta,7 Bhaṭa,8 Dūta-saṅprēśhāniṇka9 and Drāṇiṅka,10 communicating (the following order to them)—

(Line 4) Be it known to you that at the request of the Assembly of the Corporation (Gaga-samāhāra), whose Executive Officers (Pramukhas)10 are Kaliṅga, the President (Sthavira) of the Mahā-Mātragaṇa, (and) Kāṭabha, Rālāṇa, Pradipabhāṣa, two Śivādeva-vahāra, Nāthrisvāmin, Gānāḍeṣa, Kōṅkabhaṭa, the Physician of Elephants (named) Sāmasvāmin, Anuṅgata, the Chief of the Elephant Corps (named) Māṭliya (and) Prabhaṅka, (and) for augmenting the religious merit and fame of (my) mother and father and of myself (I have granted) by a charter, twelve nivartanas (of land) in (the village) Chiṅchapatṭīkā to (the Brāhmaṇas) (viz.) the learned Divākara of the

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1 This akṣara is superfluous.
2 Read 德拉विस्तायते.
3 As the text stands, these officers would be of Nannāraja, but they are probably meant to be of his brother Svāmināraja who was reigning.
4 Rājasthāniya means Viceroy, or Crown Representative.
5 Uparika was the Governor of a province.
6 Dāngāpāñika was a police officer.
7 Chāta and bhaṭa were policemen and soldiers whose duty it was to apprehend criminals.
8 Dūta-saṅprēśhāniṇka was one who appointed dātas for the execution of royal charter.
9 Drāṇiṅka was probably the Mayor of a town (drāṇa).
10 The pramukhas correspond to the kāryachintikas mentioned in Smritis. See Yājñavalkya-smrīti, II :91.
Upamanyu gôtra and Vâjasanâyâ sâkhâ, Dévasvâmin of the Maudgalya gôtra, Śaṅkara of the Kauśika gôtra, Āditya of the Bhâravajâ gôtra, Dâmodara of the Upamanyu gôtra and others, these (being) of the Kâñya (sâkhâ); Gañça, Sôma, Vatsa, Sêndî, Suprabha, Kumâra and others, (these being) of the Taittiriya (sâkhâ); Isâna of the Sâmavêda; Râvichandra and Râvigañâ of the Kauñûdina gôtra (and) Kâñya (sâkhâ); (and) Karâsvâmin of the Vatsa gôtra.

(L. 13) And to the same Brâhmaṇas (I), while staying at the Chaṭuka banyan tree in the midst of the Gaṅga on the occasion of an eclipse on the new moon day of Chaitra in the year Âśadhâ, donated with a libation of water, according to the maxim of uncultivated land, the village named Ânkûlikâ on the left bank of the river Śûla, situated to the west of the agrahâra Achalapura and to the east of Śrî-Parâjikâ, which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun, the oceans, the mountains, fire, wind and sky would endure, which is free from the obligations of gifts, forced labour and cess for providing meals to royal officers, which is exempted from all taxes and is invested with the powers of internal adjudication, in order that they (i.e., the Brâhmaṇas) should enjoy it and perform religious duties such as bali, charu, vaisvâdeva, (and) agnîhôtra.

(L. 20) Wherefore our descendants as well as others who will, in future, be the rulers of this Vishaya and Bhûga, should consent to and preserve this, our gift. And whoever, with his mind tossed by the waves of the river water, namely, the greed for enjoying even the least product of this (gift) and with his intellect clouded by a mass of ignorance, would seek to attain life which is transitory like the ripples on the water of a mountain stream and fleeting wealth which is as unsteady as the leaves of the Âsvattha tree, will incur the five great sins.

(L. 24) And it is said by the venerable Vyâsa—
(Here follow two benedictive and imprecatory verses.)

(L. 27) This order has been engraved by the Kshatriya Durgâditya, the son of Chandra, for the attainment of religious merit by (his) mother and father.

In the year three hundred (increased by) twenty-two on the lunar day 5 of the bright fortnight of Kârttika.

Seal

A gift of the Corporation.

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1 This may refer to the reigning king Svâmirâja.
2 Chaṭuka-vâja may be akshaya-vâja at Prayâga, but I have not come across this designation of it elsewhere.
3 Avani-randhra-nyâya is the same as bhûmi-chadhira-nyâya. It refers to the conferment of full proprietary rights as when one brings fallow land under cultivation.
4 Jêmîkâ-kara was a cess levied on villagers for providing boarding to royal officers camping in the village. Cf. Râja-purushânam-avâkâ jîmakâ-scha član-nâsti in the Âjanârî plates (second set) of Bhoṣaṅakti, above, Vol. XXV, p. 237. In later records, the expression vasati-dâna is used in the same sense, ibid., Vol. XXV, p. 218.
5 Anah-siddhika means 'invested with the powers of internal adjudication'. Such villages were not required to send their criminal cases for adjudication outside. In some records the expression avâ-dâna is used in the same sense. For the fines which used to be levied in such cases, see Anjanârî plates (second set) above, Vol. XXV, p. 237.
6 For dâti in the sense of a gift, see the expression a-pûreñâdityâ 'as a gift not previously made' which occurs frequently in Vâkâṣṭika records.
No. 2—KESARIBEDA PLATES OF NALA ARTHAPATI-BHATTARAKA.

(1 Plate)

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND.

In February 1944, the Amin of the Umarkēt Police Station in the Jeypore State (Koraput District, Orissa) reported to the authorities of the State that a set of copper plates had been discovered in a forest adjoining the village of Kēsaribēda within the jurisdiction of the said Police Station. The plates are said to have been found exposed on the ground at the foot of a mango tree in the forest. The news of the discovery soon reached the ears of Mr. G. Ramadas of Jeypore, who is an enthusiastic student of Indian epigraphy, and he secured the plates from the Pājāri of the village with the help of his friend, the late Mr. Talisetty Rama Rao who was then the Assistant Diwan of the Jeypore State. Mr. Ramadas cut the ring passing through the plates in order to read the inscription on them; but soon afterwards he sent the entire set of plates for registration to the Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund. I edit the inscription with the permission kindly accorded to me by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India.

Mr. Ramadas has earned the gratitude of the students of Indian history by publishing recently an interesting note on the Kēsaribēda copper-plate inscription in the *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 33-42. Unfortunately the text of the record as made out by him as well as his interpretation of it is not free from errors. Besides, most of his suggestions regarding Nala history appear to be mere wild guesses. As I am inclined to disagree with almost all of Mr. Ramadas's theories about the Nalas, I would prefer not to comment on them in detail for the present.

The set consists of three copper plates strung together on a copper ring. The circumference of the ring, which is fixed in a thick and somewhat oval mass of copper having three square holes in a line at the top, is 7'4" and its diameter 2'. The plates are roughly 7'5" in length and 1'5" in breadth and have their corners rounded off. The hole for the ring to pass through is at the proper right end of the plates and has a diameter of ½". The weight of the ring is 6'75 tolas and that of the plates together with the ring is 31'75 tolas. Of the three plates, the second and the third are inscribed on both sides, while the first has writing on one side only. Altogether there are fourteen lines of writing, each side having three lines, except the second side of the third plate which has two lines only.

The alphabet used is of the ' scooped out ' type of the box-headed variety of South Indian script. The characters are not of the angular type like those in the Rithapur plates4 of Bhavadattavarman and Arthapati and suggest a rather earlier date than that record, although both the Kēsaribēda and Rithapur charters were drafted by one and the same official (the Ratasyākshi-kyāra Chulla) and issued by the same king (Arthapati-bhaṭṭaraka), and have therefore to be referred to the same epoch sometime in the sixth century A.D. Attention may be drawn to the forms of the initial vowels a, ā and u in lines 5 (u, ā, u), 6 (a), 9 (a), 11 (u), 12 (ā) and 13 (a). Final n occurs in line 3 and m in line 13; but t is found in lines 6, 9, 10 and 11. The letter t is found in three different forms. In some cases it has the ordinary form with the right hand side straight and the left arm slightly bent downwards. Often, however, both the arms are bent towards the left. In a few cases, the left arm has formed a loop and become indistinguishable from n (cf. ṭa in line 3 and ṭāṭa in line 7). The figure for 7 occurs in the date in line 13.

The language of the record, which is not free from errors, is Sanskrit. It is written in prose, but has two imprecatory verses in the anuvṛttaḥ metre about the end. Of orthographic peculiarities, mention may be made of the usual duplication of the consonants when preceded or followed

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4 See discussion on this record below, p. 13.
by $r$; but $v$ in one case in line 7 and $d$ in line 9 have not been doubled. The *visarga*, followed by a sibilant, is represented by a sibilant in line 3. The duplication of $v$ in *saunava* (for *saunavatara*) in line 13 is also interesting to note. There is a case of Prakritism in *maha* for *mukha* in the same line. The rules of *sandhi*, which are optional for pros. composition, have not always been observed.

The date of the record is given as **the new moon day of the month of Mārggaśirsha in the year 7**, no doubt indicating the seventh regnal year of king Arthapati of the family of king Nala. As the issuer of the *Kesaribeda* charter and the dynasty to which he claimed to belong are already known from epigraphic and numismatic sources, I propose, before entering into the details of the grant, to give below a short sketch of Nala history taken from one of the chapters that I have contributed to Vol. III of the *History of India* (in the press), which is being published by the Bharatiya Itihasa Samiti of Bombay under the editorship of Dr. R. C. Majumdar of Calcutta.

The Rithapura copper-plate inscription ¹ which may be assigned on grounds of palaeography, to the fifth or sixth century, records the grant of a village called Kadambagiri by Mahārāja Bhavattavarman while he (probably together with his queen) was staying as a pilgrim² at Prayāga (Allahabad),³ the place blest by the favour of lord Prajapati at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna ⁴. The charter, however, was actually issued from Nandivardhana by a successor of the king. We know that this city was the capital of the Vākāṭakas of the main line before the foundation of Pravarsapura by Pravarsēna II. The village of Kadambagiri has been identified with Kalamba in the Yeotmal District of Berar. It is thus apparent that a new line of kings was in possession of the territories formerly occupied by the Vākāṭakas.

The name Bhavattavarman is probably a mistake or a partly Prakritized form of Bhavadatta-varman. This suggestion is supported by the evidence of coins and of another record of the family. The king is called *Nala-nripa-cauśa-prāśīta* and apparently claimed descent from Nala, the ancient king of Nishadha known from epic and Puranic literature. He is said to have obtained royal fortune through the grace of Mahēśvara (Siva) and Mahāsēna (Skanda-Kārttikeya).⁵ The king’s banner bore the *tri-patākā* which has been explained as the representation of ‘the hand with three fingers stretched out’ or ‘three pennons’. The charter is dated in the eleventh regnal year. But the document is said to have been actually made, for the merit of his own parents, by Mahārāja Arthapati-bhūtāraka who was favoured by his āryaka, i.e., grandfather.⁶ Arthapati has sometimes been taken to be an epithet of Bhavattavarman, but is now usually regarded as the name of the latter’s son and successor. It is, however, probable that Bhavattavarman was actually the āryaka, i.e., ‘grandfather’, of Arthapati. It seems that year 11, the date of the Rithapur grant, refers not to the reign of Bhavattavarman but to that of Arthapati.

¹ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 100 ff.
² The fact that the grant was made in favour of certain Brāhmaṇas who appear to have ‘blessed the matrimonial relationship’ of the king and the queen may also suggest that it was made on the occasion of the royal marriage. In that case it has to be conjectured that the father of the queen was a chief or ruler of the Allahabad region. Note also the reference to ‘the lord of off-spring’ in this connection.
³ The passage *Mahēśvara-Mahāśiva-Śiva-nirāga-nirāga-nirāga-nirāga*, upon whom has been bestowed the glory of royalty by Mahēśvara and Mahāśeṇa, may also be interpreted to mean that the king dedicated his kingdom and wealth to the gods Śiva and Skanda (cf. similar cases cited by me in Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society, Vol. I, pp. 251-33). Reference may be made in this connection to the Bhitā seal (ARAS, 1911-12, p. 51), bearing the legend *Mahēśvara-Mahāśiva-Śiva-nirāga-nirāga-nirāga-nirāga-nirāga-nirāga-nirāga-nirāga*. What relation this Vindhyavēdhana may have had with the early Nala, cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge; but, like Bhavattavarman and Arthapati, Vindhyavēdhana seems also to have been a southerner as the characters used on the Bhitā seal closely resemble those of the records of the Ikshvākus of the Krishna-Guntur region. Vindhyavēdhana’s emblem was, however, not the *tri-patākā* but the bull.
Another Nala inscription in verse has been discovered at Podāgadh in the Jeypore State, not far from the borders of the Bastar State (C.P.). It is dated in the twelfth regnal year of a king whose name seems to be Skandavarman, although the reading of its first part is not beyond doubt. This king is described as the son of king Bhavadatta of the Nala family, very probably the same as Bhavattavarman of the Rithapur plates. Skandavarman is said to have recovered the lost (bhraskta) royal fortune of his family and to have re-peopled the deserted (tūnyā) city of Pushkari. The city, which seems to have been situated in the Podāgadh region, was probably the capital of the Nala kings. The inscription refers to the construction of a śrīnā (pālamāla) of Vishnu by Skandavarman apparently at Podāgadh. The relation that must have existed between Arthapati and Skandavarman cannot be determined; but the former may have been the son and successor of the latter.

There has been some speculation as regards the identity of the enemy who defeated the Nalas and sacked Pushkari, but was afterwards defeated by Skandavarman. As there was apparently a struggle between the Nalas and the Vākāṭakas of the main branch, this enemy has been identified by some writers with Vākāṭaka Prabhūvishēga II who claims to have twice rescued the fallen fortunes of his family. Skandavarman’s adversary may also have been the Pānduvarāni king Nanna of South Kōsala. Nanna’s occupation of practically the whole of the western C.P. is possibly indicated by an inscription at Bhandak in the Chanda District, although it is sometimes believed that the record originally belonged to a place in the eastern C.P. in the heart of South Kōsala. Most probably, however, the enemy of the Nalas was the Chālukya king Kṛttivjarman I (A.D. 567-97) who claims not only to have subdued the Nalas, sometimes represented as the traditional enemy of the Chālukyas, but also to have destroyed their residence (nilaya).

A hoard of gold coins was discovered at Edēngā, a village in the Kondēgāon tahsil of the Bastar State. The issuers of the coins of this hoard are Bhavadatta, Arthapati and another king named Vārsha who may have belonged to the same family. From epigraphic and numismatic materials, it seems that the territories of the Nalas lay in the Bastar-Jeypore region about the southern part of the C.P. About the first half of the sixth century, they extended their power towards the north at the expense of the Vākāṭakas; but their northern possessions soon appear to have passed to the Pānduvarāni kings of Kōsala. There is, however, some indication that the Nala empire had extended over a still wider area.

Inscriptions of the time of Chālukya Vikramāditya I (655-80 A.D.) mention the Nalavādi-vishaya which was apparently named after the Nalas. As a village situated in that vishaya has been identified with modern Ratnagiri in the MadAKasīra taluk of the Bellary (now Anantapur) District, it seems that Nalavādi under the Chālukyas comprised parts of the Anantapur and Kurnool Districts. This may have been the southernmost province of the Nala empire, originally under a viceroys of the royal blood. Whether the Nalas were responsible for the fall of the Vākāṭakas of Vatsagulma and the Rāṣṭrakūtas of Manapura cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. But the suggestion may not be altogether improbable.

A stone inscription at Rājim in the Raipur District of the eastern C.P., which may be assigned on palaeographic grounds to about the close of the seventh century, records the construction of a temple of Vishnu probably by Vīḷāsatunga, apparently a successor (son?) of king Virūpāksha.

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1 Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 155 f.
3 Hiralal, Descriptive List of Inscriptions of C.P. and Berar, pp. 13 f.
7 Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 49 ff.
who was the son of king Prithvirāja. These rulers claimed descent from Nala and were very probably later members of the family of Bhavadattavarman. It seems that the Nalas, who were cornered in the Bastar region by the Pāṇḍuvaṁśis and the Chālukyas, retrieved their position and conquered South Kōsala sometime after the rule of Śivagupta Bālārjuna in the seventh century. It is unknown if they continued to rule in that country till the rise of the Sāmavāṁśis about the middle of the tenth century. If, however, they did, they were probably matrimonially related to the Bāpā king Vikramādiya I (c. A.D. 870–95) who constructed a temple at Pāli about twelve miles from Ratanpur in the Bilaspur District, no doubt on the occasion of a visit that he might have paid to his relatives' kingdom.

A king named Prithivivyāghra, who seems to have performed an Āśvamedha sacrifice, is styled Nishada-pati in the Udayendiram grant of Pallavamalla. Supposing that the form Nishada is a mistake for Nishadha and not for Nishāda, Prithivivyāghra may possibly be associated with the epi Nishadhapaati Nala. He may thus be identified with Prithvirāja of the Rājim inscription as both of them lived about the same period.

As the Rithapur grant is dated in the eleventh regnal year probably of the same king, the present charter is earlier than the other record by four years only. The inscription records the grant, made by Mahārāja Arthapati-bhaṭṭāraka, of the village called Kēśākara-grāma to the Brāhmaṇas Durgārya, Raviṇāra (2) and Ravidattārya all belonging to the Kautsa gōtra. The charter was issued from Pushkari, addressing the agriculturist householders (kuṭumbanīh), headed by the Brāhmaṇas, as well as to the village Sirshaka (headman). The king is described as tri-patāka-dhvaṣa and Mahēṣvara-Mahāśen-āsirvisha-raja-vibhava just as king Bhavadattavarman has been in the Rithapur inscription. He is also called Nala-nripatī-kul-ānāya, belonging to a family of the clan of king Nala. Thus the inscription under discussion seems to support the evidence of coins that Bhavadattavarman and Arthapati mentioned in the Rithapur record were not identical but were two different rulers. The expression Arthapati-bhaṭṭārakasya-āṅgurak-ārtham (1. 5) possibly suggests that the king made the gift after receiving some sort of help from the Brāhmaṇas. The donated village was exempted from the entrance of bhāṭas (soldiers or police men) and from all taxes (a-bhta-pravēsah sarvaśakra-visarjītal). The donees were not to be disturbed by anybody (na kēnachī kōnchid-vaṅkāvyāḥ). This is the same as bhunjātin na kēnchid-vyāhatah kartavyāḥ of some other records and forbids all persons to trouble the donees in any way. The grant was also made a-vaha which seems to mean the same as a-parām-para-bali-vardha-prahava of some other records indicating the exemption from the obligation of supplying conveyance to the royal officials on tour. The villagers were advised to live happily without fear of molestation and to go on with work in the lands settled unto them (bhavadhikī-cha dhruca-karmānt-ārambhāhī su-nirūrīta-viśvastair-vastraṃ). They were further asked to be careful about their obligations to the landlords (dones) in accordance with customs prevalent in the district (vishay-ōcītās-cha suśrūṣhāḥ kartavyāḥ) and to pay regularly their dues such as kiraṇya (rent for land payable in coins besides the share of the produce) and others. Fulfilment of these conditions, the record goes on to say, would lead to the satisfaction of Bhaṭṭāraka-raja (i.e., king Arthapati-bhaṭṭāraka). This seems to show that the word bhaṭṭāraka was sometimes regarded as an integral part of the

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1 He is commonly called Mahāśivagupta.
2 Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 53.
3 Indian Antiquary, Vol. VIII, p. 276. It may be supposed that it was Pallavamalla who performed the Āśvamedha. But if such was the case, there would certainly have been reference to that event in one of the numerous records of the later Pallavas. The claim would also have been more specific and prominent in the Udayendiram grant.
4 [The name Raṇīra sounds queer Leedel, but there is no doubt about the reading. Compare Raṇīra, the name of the composer of the Mālāya inscription of the Mālāya year 828–847 A.C., above, Vol. XXVII, p. 12. —Ed.]
5 The word karmānta means 'cultivated land'. It may also be taken in the sense of 'business' in this context.
king's name. The charter was drafted, on a verbal order of the king, by the Privy Councillor (Rahasyādhikārī)1 Cunna, who is also known from the Rithapur grant.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the Kēsariβēḷā grant, Pushkarī, as already indicated, has to be located in the Podāgaḷh region of the Jeypore State, now in the Koraput District of Orissa. Kēsālaka-grāmā has been identified with the village of Kēsariβēḷā, the findspot of the charter, in the same State.

TEXT

First Plate

1 Svastī [³] Pushkaryyāḥ Mahāśvara-Mahāśēnu-śīśṛishita-rajya-vibha[va³]h tri-pat[ā]-
2 kā-dhvañah Nala-ṛṣipati-kul-avnayaḥ śrī-mahārāj-Ārthapati-bhaṭṭārakaḥ
3 Kēsālaka-grāmā Brāhmaṇa-ṛṭtarān3 kuṭumbinaḥ-śīrṣakaḥ=ch=ājñāpayat[ī*]

Second Plate; First Side

1 1yāyaṃ-asmāḥhiḥ[ḥ] Kantsa-sagōtrāya Durga(ṛgṛ)aryyāya Ravirāryyāya2 Ravidattāryyāya6
pā[pu]tra-pauṭtikā[m⁸]
5 Ārthapati-bhaṭṭa(ṛtā)raakasya=n(ṣy-ān)ugrahāṛtth[a][m⁸] udaḍapūrv[a][r⁶] datta ā-
chandra-tārakam=a-bhaṭa-pravēṣ[a][h⁶] sarvva-kara-
6 vrsarjitam a-vahaḥ [*] na kēchāḥ[ṛ] kiṃcena(ñčiḥ)di-vaktvayāḥ [*] yataḥ bhavabhi[š=cha]

Second Plate; Second Side

7 dhruva-krmmaṁ-ārāmbhāḥ(mbhāḥ) sunirvṛtā-viśvastair-vvastavya[r⁶] vishay-ōchitāḥ=
cha śuśrūṣ(ḥ-ḥāḥ)
8 kartavyāḥ hiran[y-ādaya]-cha pratyāya(vā) déyāḥ [*] tataṣ-cha Bhaṭā(ṛtā)ra- 
rājasya(ṣy-ā)-
9 pyāyana[m [*] asmāḥhiḥ paritusṭha(ṣha)rama[nt[a][h⁶]] yaḥ kaśchit vyapāta-dharmā

Third Plate; First Side

10 rāga[*] drōhāt-pral(ō)ḥbhāl=vā grāmā kiṃciten-pralāpayōt [*] sa maha[pātaka-
11 yuktah[?] pañcachabhi-nma[r-m]raṇaṃ vrail[ t][¹] uktan-cha[?*] Shashṭi(shṭiś)in varsha-
sahasrāṇi
12 [v]arṣe gaṇdati bhūmidaḥ [*] ākśhēptā cha(ḥ-a)nma[nt[a] cha tāṇy-ēva narakē vasavatī⁹

2 From the fac-simile published by Mr. Ramadas in JBN, Vol. XXXIV, and from the impressions preserved at the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.
3 Read Brāhmaṇa-ṛṭtarān
4 The Rithapur inscription has also this reading: but the reading intended seems to be yath = yāgan.
5 The third akṣara read rā has above it the superscript ẗ together with the sign for ā. Possibly the engraver at first omitted rā and began to incise the next akṣara, ṛṣy, but noticed the mistake only after the incision of the upper part of it.
6 After the name, the upper part of a letter, which may be an ill-formed cha is visible. Below this and the preceding letter, there are traces of three akṣaras, which look like māṭhā. Whether this is meant for a correction in the line or for the insertion of a new name in the list of the donees cannot be satisfactorily determined.
7 Read ṛṣita[k]ar = yuktah.
8 Metre: Anuśūkh.
No. 3 | MANOR PLATES OF VINAYADITYA MANGALARASA : SAKA 613

Third Plate; Second Side

13 Samvva 7 | Mārggaśīrṣa-māsa1 | amāvāsyāṃ2 | likhitā[m]3 | sva-muh-ā4
14 jñāptēna | Rahasyādhikritēna5 | Chullēna ||6

No. 3—MANOR PLATES OF VINAYADITYA MANGALARASA : SAKA 613.

(I Plate)

KRISHNA DEVA, NEW DELHI

This set of copper plates was unearthed on the 2nd May 1943 from an agricultural inām land bearing Survey No. 2, hūsā No. 2; belonging to Mohamed Yusuf Haji Amir Saheb, at the village of Manor, taluka Palghar, District Thana, in course of digging for agricultural purposes together with another set of plates of Dantidurga, dated Śaka 671. Soon after its discovery, the set was acquired by the Collector of Thana who sent it to the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, Poona, for disposal under the Treasure Trove Act. I am grateful to the late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit and Dr. N. P. Chakravarti for their kind permission to edit the plates here as well as for many valuable suggestions which they kindly gave me in the preparation of this article.

This well-preserved set consists of two copper plates, each measuring 14" long and 9•4" broad. Though each of them is pierced by a pair of ring holes, they slide, through only one set of holes, on a copper ring the ends of which are soldered into a circular seal, measuring 2-10/12" in diameter. The seal is slightly damaged in the upper right corner and shows faint traces of the design of crescent in the upper field and of lotus in the lower, with the legend Śrī-Jay[ā]śravaś in the middle in the script of the main inscription. The edges of the plates are fashioned thicker and raised into rims to protect the writing which is engraved on the inner face of each plate. The inscription, neatly engraved and excellently preserved, runs into 34 lines which are evenly distributed on two plates. The average height of single letters is 1•5" and of conjuncts 1•2".

The plates together with the ring and the seal weigh 296 lolas.

The characters belong to the southern variety of the 7th century A. D. and closely resemble those of the Nirṛpa plates6 of Trimbhubanāśraya Nāgavardhanarāja and of the Nausari7 and Surati8 plates of Yuvarāja Śrīyāraya Śilāditya, dated in the years K. 421 and 443 respectively. The noteworthy signs are the initial ē in ēka (11.18 and 22), final t in vasēt (1.29) and two forms each of letters l and ū. The simpler form of l is seen in lāṃchāna (1.4), likhitam (1.34), etc., while the curly cursive form occurs in sakala (1.2), Chulukyānām (1.4), etc. Ū is similarly indicated by two forms, one of the looped variety as in kshaṭhit-arṇava (1.1) and kalyāṇa (1.3) and the other of the unlooped variety as in sagōṭrānām (1.2), maṇi-gana (1.6), etc.

As regards orthography the following points are worth noting. Consonants following r are generally doubled as in Viṣṇūr-veśākānī (1.1), varṭamanā (1.16), etc. The medial ri is mostly misspelt as i, as in mātrībhūḥ (11.2, 3), priḥinī (11.5, 8, 12, 15), vidāthayē (1.24), etc.

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1 The figure has been so formed as to look like the letter rē.
2 Read māsī.
3 The first two akehara of the following word have cursive form.
4 Read mukk-ājāptēna. [The form ājāptēna is also correct. See above, Vol. XXVII, p. 44, n. 6.—Ed.]
5 For Rahasyādhikritēna, the Rithapur inscription has rakṣi nyukṣēna.
6 There is a mark indicating the end at this place.
9 Vienna Or. Cong., p. 225 and Pl.
The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of the opening verse and the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses towards the end, the entire record is in prose. The text, however, is full of serious grammatical mistakes, such as "mālinasya (I.19) in place of "mālīnaḥ. As may be seen from the foot-notes and from the brackets in the transcript, many letters and words are either omitted, misspelt or corrupt. The grant portion is particularly faulty and shows numerous blunders of grammar and syntax.

Like other Chālukya grants, the present inscription opens with an invocation to the boar-incarnation of Vishnu. Then it recounts the genealogy of the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi, of whom Satyārāya-Prithivivallabha-Kīrtivarmanājā (I); his son, Satyārāya-Prithivivallabha Pulakēśi-Vallabha-Mahārāja (II), who defeated Harshavardhana; and his son, Satyārāya-Prithivivallabha-Kokkuti-Vikramāditya-rāja (I), who meditated on the feet of Nāgavardhana and who conquered the three kingdoms of Chēra, Chōla and Pāṇḍya, are referred to in the order of succession (11.2-12). After Vikramāditya (I) is mentioned his younger brother, Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarmman (1.13), who was the founder of the Navasāri branch of the Western Chālukyas and father of the donor of the present grant. The inscription refers itself to the Western Chālukya prince of the Navasāri branch, Vinayāditya-Prithivivallabha-Yuddhamallā- Jayāśrava-Māṅgalarasa (1.15), who like his father is called a Paramamāhēśvara.

The object of it is to record the grant by Vinayāditya-Māṅgalarasa of some villages and domestic sites for the benefit of the temple of sun-god at Mānapura with a view to ensuring the supply, to the shrine, of perfumes, flowers, incense, lamps, music and offerings and to provide for repairs to the temple (11.22-23). The endowments comprised the village of Dīnaka which was situated to the east of the Mānapura village, owned, by the sun-god and included within the Kurāṭa vishaya (district); the domestic sites called Kukuti and Miśimmiti in Vṛlagrāma; and the Uraḥaka village and the Bōddatta hamlet included within the Vēngā vishaya (11.19-22). The grant is dated on the 15th day of the bright half of Vaisākhha in the Śaka year 613 (expired), which falls in A. D. 691-92 and which is expressed in words as well as in numerals (11.17-18; 33-34). The grant was drafted by Bhaṭṭa Rudranāga, son of Kumāravāmīḍikṣita, who held the high offices of dinaprati (chief of the secretariat), foreign minister and revenue minister and is further styled as niravadya-paramēśvara.

The inscription is important as it throws welcome light on the obscure history of the Gujarat (Navasāri) branch of the Western Chālukyas and helps to settle some doubtful points of chronology in respect of this little known branch. Hitherto the definite date of the foundation of this branch by Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarman was shrouded in mystery. By specifying that the year of the grant, ētc., A. D. 691-92 was the twenty-first rājya-saṅcatsara (1.18) or regnal year, this record places it beyond doubt that the Navasāri branch was founded in the year A. D. 669-70. The regnal year mentioned in this record has to be referred to Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarman, since there is no evidence to show that Vinayāditya Māṅgalarasa ruled in his own right as early as A. D. 691-92. This is confirmed by Yuvarāja Śryāśraya Śīlāditya’s Nausari and Sūrat plates of K. 421 and 443 which testify that Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarman was ruling from A. D. 669-70 to at least A. D. 691-92.

The record supplies another information of historical and chronological importance. So far the only definite date for Vinayāditya Māṅgalarasa was known from his unpublished Balsar plates, dated Śaka 653 (A. D. 731-32). The present inscription, dated in Śaka 613 (A. D. 691-92), supplies for this prince a date, forty years earlier than that hitherto known for him. It is interesting

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¹ [See below p. 20 n. 1. —Ed.]
to note that the Surat plates of Yuvarāja Śrīyāsraya Śilāditya of K. 443 also fall in the same year as the present record.

From the information gathered from this record as well as from other published inscriptions of the dynasty, the history of this house may be reconstructed as follows. Dharāśraya Jayasimha-varman ascended the throne in A.D. 669-70. From the very beginning of his reign his eldest son, Yuvarāja Śrīyāsraya Śilāditya, was associated with him in the administration and was invested with the authority of issuing land-grants in his own name. Subsequently one of his younger sons, Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa was also made a viceroy and given charge of a province together with the privilege of issuing land-grants in his own name. In A.D. 691-92 both Yuvarāja Śrīyāsraya Śilāditya and Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa were simultaneously administering different portions of their father's dominion. The former held charge of its northern portion comprising the districts of southern Gujarat where the Kalachuri era was prevalent, while the latter governed the southern portion including the modern district of Thana where the Śaka era was in vogue. From the omission of any reference to Śrīyāsraya Śilāditya in the later records of the dynasty, it is evident that he did not come to the throne and apparently predeceased his father sometime after A.D. 691-92, his last known date. His younger brother, Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa, whose known dates range from Śaka 613 to Śaka 653, in all probability survived and succeeded his father as may be inferred from the following considerations. Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarman must have been at least forty years old on his accession to the throne in A.D. 669-70, as his son Yuvarāja Śrīyāsraya Śilāditya was then grown up enough to take an active part in administration. It is, therefore, extremely unlikely that he should have lived up to A.D. 731-32, the last known date of Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa, unless we credit him with an unusually long life of a century. Now, even assuming that he reigned till a grand old age of eighty, he must have died sometime about A.D. 710, leaving a margin of a little over two decades during which Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa ruled in his own right. This is corroborated by the testimony of the Nausari plates of his younger brother and successor Avanijānāsraya Pulakēśin of K. 490 (A.D. 738-39) wherein Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa is given full regal titles and mentioned as having succeeded Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarman.

In the last mentioned plates Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa is given the epithet of nīja-bhujā-prabhāv-āparājita-svākṣiya-bhūmāṇḍalā. Does this epithet coupled with the omission of any reference to the contemporary Chālukya sovereign in his own grants, signify that he had ceased to owe allegiance to the paramount power? The omission, however, seems to be due to an oversight, as we find both his predecessor and successor acknowledging the authority of the suzerain power; The eulogistic references made to him in his own grants as well as in his successor’s are purely conventional, and probably indicate that he was an influential and powerful prince. This is also attested by his seal being stamped on the undated Nirpan plates of Tribhuvanāsraya Nāgavardhana who appears to be another younger brother of his, subservient to him.

This inscription supplies many other interesting pieces of information. Firstly, it testifies to the existence of a solar temple at Mānapura, which is identical with Manor, the findspot of the plates. The endowments recorded in this grant were specifically made for the maintenance of worship in and conservation of this temple. Secondly, this record mentions a hitherto unknown functionary called Deśillaka (1.16) who appears to be connected with the administration of a dēśa i.e., a district or a subdivision. Thirdly, like the Sanjan plates of Buddhavarasa, this inscription invests Vikramāditya (I) of the Western Chālukya dynasty with the surname of Kokkuli.

As regards the place-names mentioned in the inscription Mānapura is surely the present village of Manor in the Palghar taluka of Thana district where these plates were discovered. Dīnaka

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1 Vienna Or. Cong., p. 230 and Pl.
2 Above, Vol. XIV pp. 149 ff. and Pl.
which is specifically mentioned in the record as situated to the east of Mānapura is represented by the modern village of Tena, which is 2 miles east of Manor. The name of Kurāṭa-vishaya, wherein Mānapura was included, has perhaps survived in the modern name Kirat, a village, lying 12 miles north-east of Palghar town. The Vēlgrāma of the inscription seems to be identical with Velgaon, 3 miles south-east of Kirat and 14 miles east-north-east of Palghar. As regards Vēngī1-vishaya, it is extremely doubtful if by this is meant the well-known homonymous tract between the Gōdāvarī and the Krishā on the eastern coast, as from what we know of this ruler, his territory could never have extended so far. I am therefore unable for the present to identify Vēngī as also Urachhaka and Bōḍatta which were included therein.

I edit the inscription from the original as well as from a set of excellent estampages supplied through the kind courtesy of the Director General of Archaeology.

TEXT
First Plate

1. प्रो 2 त्वसित [II.9] भव्यताक्षरत: विज्ञोऽवराहं कोंमितार्वं (वर) [I.9] दत्तोक-रसमक्षिकाराष्ट्रादत्षु(स्)मूकवं बुध [II.9]

2. श्रीमतां सकलस्वाभक्षत:समन्त:मलान्त[I.9] नानावशस्त्राधिका हारितोपयाया (पर) सतातरकार्तिक(पत्रु)भिन्न(स्तर)पत-

3. मात्र(तु)भिरमविविहतानां कार्ति (वर)केवलरक्ष्मयास्त्रवस्त्यपरंपरान्ग समाजान(वर) -

4. समाशस्त्रवयतराहुकाः नोहतः अन्नवराहस्यभूतानां 1 चुलकेरी औषधीकरणार(स्त्र)-

5. वेयावभृरसानविविहितात्तत्तयं सत्तायाध्यक्ष(पत्रु)बधीवल्लभभुजाराजिराजपरस्वरवशीको-तिव-

6. भरताक्यत्वि विद्यात्वक्रोनकरणपरिवतस्मयुक्तजातिदिशितम्यसमकालिकस्मृतितोष्टित-

7. तथा करक्रमकालवृत्तान्त (पत्रु) राजाध्यक्षिपतिवहुर्वलस्याभिन्नपराशुगरवपरयापर--

8. न (ना) चत्वयासत्तायाध्यक्ष(पत्रु)बधीवल्लभभुजाराजिराजपरस्वरवशीकोलक्षणाभानाक: त-

1 [The correct reading is Vēniti-vishayat. See below p. 21 n. 2. The present Bhendi, a village about four miles north-east of Manor, may represent the ancient Vēnti.—Ed.]
2 Expressed by a symbol.
3 The visarga is superfluous.
4 Read *māthārām.
5 Bhā was inserted later on, below the line between Ila and ma.
6 [This form may be derived from the root yuṭ—bhāsanē. See above, Vol. X.XIII, p. 97, n. 9.—Ed.]
7 Read yugala Uttarārāpāṭhā.
8 Read as in other Chāluksya grants चर्मेश्वरपरनामबेय:.
9 स्थानमयेकवित्समापः (स) मकुतदंधितितचरराजारिनिवः मेघांवरसलविदित्यसमादश्चेत्यः (5) हर—
10 हरिकरिवसामवरकरिषुरगयपदातिबलो मनोजवक्षिताकंकल्राज्वरुरंगमोः (श) पा—
11 जितस्वराज्यः (षो) जितजातज्वश्रकस्वामिः (पौ) तरायस्यः परमप्राप्यः श्री—
12 नाभगः (श्च) —
13 नाभानुजनातः सत्यपुष्पानी(पौ) जितवक्षितभाराजायारिवारिष्मेवधरोकूलविक्षाङ्गितः—
14 राजः सत्यानुजो भ्राता परमाप्राप्यः जितजातकालासिम्भो वराचार्यवीणि शिवि(सिंह)ः—
15 सभ्यराजः —
16 तत्त्व शुचः प्रकटप्राप्तामान्तिविद्युषः विख्यातः सकलेन्दितासुप्रतिपरमाप्राप्तारमापकशः——
17 रिकाविरः (शो) समयुक्तान्यः (श्च) रसः संविधितं यत्यथास्पिन्नः (7) त्रयोवशोऽत्——

Second Plate

18 रशस्त्रः (श) तेषु शक्यवन्तीतेषु प्रवर्तकप्रजावराजः (स) वस्तरे एकविधानः (7) —
19 तत्स्य वर्तमाने कुराति नायकः (श) तानिविभासुविनो श्रीचित्तिमालिनयः (7) गान—
20 पुरुषः —
21 मः (7) ततै वर्तमाने जितक्रियः (7) श्रोहः —
22 सरः (7) तत्त्वाति—
23 नाभानुजनातः (श) कुकुटिभित्तिभिवाच(स) पद्मं तथापुष्पादिनः (श्च) विच्छ उपलक्रमः——
24 वोदशालकः (7) एतदेशमयमयंतिविविक्षाचारमस्थायेः (श्च) मानुषवेद्वेंदुरात्मः (श) —
25 तत्स्य वर्तमानः कुकुटिभित्तिस्तकारः (श्च) मामांद्राः——

1 Read दीपितिमालिनयः.
2 [The reading is clearly वेंटिः compare म् in abhyantara in the next line.—Bd.]
3 नाभानुजनातः (श) कुकुटिभित्तिभिवाच(स) पद्मं तथापुष्पादिनः (श्च) विच्छ उपलक्रमः——
4 Better read सिद्धक्षमचाद—.
5 Read संस्काराच्यः —; the antastha is redundant.
24. वर्णक्षतिस्य (विश्व) लितसमकालीनं मातापितोरात्मकस्य पुष्ययोधिमित्रं (वय) दये भूविन्ध (विष्णु) |
| इन्द्रधेयोदकालिनं |

25. समेत 1 [द्रव]युप्यप्रभुतिर्द्रवलिङ्गस्तलं 2 भाभरणमतानं लोकालस्थितस्य स्युपानां |

26. कलसय (वय सा) मात्ययोगमुखराजस्यलो [सु]भि: शिशकरचिरं विराम [व*]शिवं |
| वोहिन्येविरययस्मि (हर्ष) योगं |

27. मन्त्रयः * प्रतिपालय (विर) तमसः योवास्य मामलभित्र (वय) तथातिरिक्तनानाचैव बालदेवित्वात् |
| संघं |

28. भिमसूतर्करणालकस्य निम्नलिखितः[ः] स्थितस्युद्दं च भागतं वेंद्यात्मनं यथास्य[ः] बन्धं |
| वर्षसहस्याः |

29. जि स्यगं गोदति वो (भूमिविकरः[ः] प्राणेऽता चानुमतां च तामयं नरके क्षेत्रे [ः] |
| विनापालोत्सरास्य दूर (श) वेषकेतेः |

30. रसातनः[ः] फळि (कुल) वया[ः]प्रो फळि जः [ः]ति (लेन) भूम्भवायं हरिति यें[ः] |
| स्वतंत्रं (तां) परदत्तं (तां) य यो हुले बसुस्वरां[ः] कपिला-- |

31. शतपाती यथा न: संज्ञापिन्यतः[ः] यानिनी वस्तु युर त(त)(र)स्वर्णपाननी बन्धुमेभ्यं |
| वस्तुस्वराणिः[ः] निर्भरितप्रतिरतिः |

32. मानिन्तानि को हानि साप्तु: पुरुरवशिवल[ः] लिक्षितम(विश्व) वं विवर्तितस्यस्वित्वात्विवर्तितस्य[ः] प्रभावितक- |

33. रसाहारिक (कुल) तनिरवर्त्तमेम्यवर्भ्यवदाना[ः]न कुआशास्वद्वमदिक्षितपुष्पेरिताः[ः] अकालालसंबं |

34. स्सर १०० एः १०। ३ वेंद्यध्या शु १०[ः] लिख (विश्व) तथापि। |

1. Supply दत्तम् to be consistent with पुत्रसेवक।

2. This anuvātra is redundant. After वर्णक्षति should be supplied a synonym of human life like जीवितं to make the sense complete. [The letter ma in mabhāvāna has a closed top. It looks as if the engraver first wrote ma and then tried to make vi of it. However, the expression remains imperfect. The corresponding expression occurs more frequently in the early Kalachuri records. A perfect example may be seen in the Vāṇāī plates of Buddharāja: prabala-pavana-prerit-idodhi-jala-tarańga-chaśkalam jitalokam-abhāve-anugatān =sārām=rijjapra=dirpya-kila-sthāyasya=cha guvān-kālaya sāmānya-bhūga-bhū, etc. Above, Vol. XII, p. 34, text 11. 23-25.—Ed.]

3. Read नवविपुली—.

4. The last foot of this verse is corrupt and meaningless. [The intended reading is kopāla-bala-ghātyam-enabh. sa-praptipadyate.—Ed.]

5. Read नवप्रभासम्—.
HARASUR INSRIPTION OF KING SOMA

NO. 4—HARASUR INSRIPTION OF KING SOMA
(I Plate)

P. B. DESAI, OOTACUMUND

The epigraph was found on a piece of stone built into the platform in front of the temple of Anantaśayana at Harasūr, a village in the Gulbarga District of the Nizam’s Dominions. I visited this place in 1933 when I was a college student and copied the inscription. İ am editing it here for the first time from ink-impressions prepared by me.

The inscription is incised in Nandi-Nāgarī characters of the 12th century A. D. There are few orthographical peculiarities to be noted. Except in a few instances (e. g., cerebral n) the convention of doubling a consonant combined with r is generally not observed. The language is Sanskrit and the whole composition is in verse of the ornate classical style. The poetry is not of high order and the writing contains some errors. As a part of the stone bearing the inscription is broken and lost, the record is incomplete. In lines 17-20 a few aksharas at either end are damaged and missing. Even in the absence of explicit statement to the effect in the inscription, it is clear that the charter belongs to the southern Kalachuri dynasty familiarly known as the Kalachuryas of Kalyāṇā. Save two copper plate documents which are in Sanskrit, the epigraphs of this family are generally in Kannada. So this claims to be the first stone record of the house in Sanskrit so far discovered.

The epigraph describes the origin and the genealogy of the Kalachuri family. The genealogy stops with the king Soma or Sōmēśvara who bore the bhiru Rāya-Murārī. Then we are introduced to the king’s minister and general Mādhava. In the following passage the poet refers to a temple of Vishnu constructed by Mādhava and indulges in describing the beauty of its golden pinnacle (verse 14). The lost portion of the epigraph appears to have contained information regarding the provision made for its maintenance by Mādhava. If the record bore a date, it must have been obviously in the lost portion. However, it is clear from the genealogical context that it was drafted during the regnal period of the Kalachuri king Rāya-Murārī Sōvidēva (Sōmēśvara) who is known from other sources to have ruled from A.D. 1167 to 1176.

Damaged and incomplete as the record is, it is highly important in as much as it draws in, directly and indirectly, much new material for the reconstruction of the history of the southern Kalachuris, which is still shrouded in mystery. The statement regarding the origin of the family

1 Inscriptions copied at Harasūr have found their place in the Mackenzie Collection preserved in the University of Madras. But this inscription in particular appears to have escaped the notice of the copyists. I am indebted for this information to Mr. M. Venkataramaya.

2 Not Kalyāṇa as is often mentioned: for the correct name of the place is Kalyāṇa. The above name of the family can not stand full justification. Firstly, the family is not always referred to as Kalachurrya, which is supposed to have been derived from Kalachuri. The name Kalachuri is met with in a large number of epigraphs; which shows that both the forms were in use simultaneously. Secondly, Kalyāṇa was not the one and the only capital of these rulers. In fact Kalyāṇa enjoyed this privilege for a brief period during the reign of Bijjala II. Even he had his alternate headquarters at Mangalavēle (Sangli State, near Paudhari), which was the original and long-standing capital for many princes of this house. Hence, the Southern Kalachuris or Kalachuris of Karnāṭaka would, in my opinion, be a better denomination of this family.


4 The present day Anantasayana temple, near which the inscription was found, most probably represents the Vishnu temple.

5 More details about this Mādhava are known from another inscription at Harasūr, found in the Bhogēśvara temple. These will be utilized in a later context. Mādhava figures in this epigraph as one of the donors. The date of this epigraph is A.D. 1172. As the present epigraph might have come into existence about the same time, we may place it somewhere about that year.

6 No systematic attempt to reconstruct the history of the family from the sources discovered during the past half a century has so far been made. The account of the late Dr. Fleet (Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. II) deserves to be thoroughly revised.
is characteristically significant and not found in other records. It is revealed here for the first time in clear terms that the members of this house claimed their descent from the lunar race.\(^1\) The genealogy narrated in the epigraph is as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Uchita} \\
\text{Asaga} \\
\text{Rāja I} \\
\text{Rāja II} \\
\text{Bijja I} \\
\text{Karṇa} \\
\text{Jōgama} \\
\text{Permādi} \\
\text{Bijja II} \\
\text{Sōmeśvara}
\end{array}
\]

But the evidence of other inscriptions of the family shows that this genealogy, though it ushers in a few new names, is not complete.\(^2\) To start with, another inscription from Harasārūr itself, found in the Bhōgēśvara temple differs from the above in the following respects: Asaga had a son named Kannama. The record next mentions the latter's son whose name is irretrievably lost. This unknown son of Kannama had two sons, Rāja II and Bijja I. Bijja I was followed by his son Karṇa.\(^3\) Thus it may be seen from this epigraph that between Asaga and Karṇa there intervened

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\(^1\) Fleet's reference to the lunar descent of the family is based on an inscription in the Bhōgēśvara temple at Harasārūr. The record is unpublished and I possess full copy of the text in my private collection. The passage in question from the epigraph runs thus:


Line 8: ta-chanda-kol-ākharane-rinu-kāhīr.

This may be compared with verses 3 and 4 of the present epigraph. Also see Ep. Carn., Vol. VII, Sk. 236.

\(^2\) Most of the genealogical statements contained in the several genuine records of the family are scrappy and incomplete and one can also detect much divergence in these accounts. This shows that very little was known regarding the origin and the early history of the family which sprang to prominence in the time of Jōgama and his successors. This, therefore, makes it necessary to collate the varying information from different epigraphs and reconstruct an authentic genealogical picture of the family.

\(^3\) Fleet's genealogical account at this stage is based on faulty understanding of the text and hence misleading (Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. II, p. 468). As the record is unpublished and it is necessary to know the original text properly to find out the errors in his interpretation, I reproduce the relevant portion below:


From this it may be seen that there are no names like Santama or Santasama and Sagarasama as made out by Fleet.
three generations and that Raja II and Bijja I were brothers.

Our record again does not furnish a full picture of the genealogy at this stage. We shall therefore take the help of a record from Harishar,¹ Mysore State, to fill up the missing gaps. In doing so we shall confine ourselves in the first instance to the account of the two brothers Raja II and Bijja I. Of these, the latter, we are told, was the elder. Raja II had four sons: Ammugi, Shankhavarma,² Kannara and Jögama. After Bijja I the succession passed on to his brother’s sons. Ammugi was thus the next ruler who was followed by his youngest brother Jögama. According to this inscription Shankhavarma and Kannara probably did not rule. We may observe in this context the identity of Karja of the present epigraph with Kannara of the Harishar inscription.

According to the inscription from Hire-Muddanur,³ Jögama married Taradévi and had a daughter by her named Sávaladévi. She was probably older than Permáti. She was given in marriage to the Western Chālukya king Vikramaditya VI. Jögama’s son Permáti is mentioned by all the epigraphs.⁴

Permáti’s son was Bijjala II, who usurped the Western Chālukya throne.⁵ Bijjala II had a younger brother named Maijugi and he is not mentioned by our record. He is known from three epigraphs in the Mysore State.⁶

Coming to the next generation our record speaks of Sömśvara as having ruled after Bijjala II. The former is more familiarly styled Rāya-Murāri Sōvidēva. Though he was probably the eldest surviving son,⁷ the succession from Bijjala II to Sömśvara was neither smooth nor

¹ Ep. Carn., Vol. XI, Dg. 42.
³ Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. II, p. 448, n. 3. In this record solar lineage is ascribed to Jögama. An inscription from Ingalāvara, Bijāpur District, opens with an invocation to the Sun god and mentions Kārtavṛtya as the first ancestor of the Kalachuris, indicating thereby their solar descent (B. K. No. 11 of 1930-31). The two apparently divergent statements regarding the lineage of the southern Kalachuris are but reflections of similar statements found in the records of the northern Kalachuris. Whereas the two branches of the northern Kalachuris, viz., of Tripuri and of Sārayāpura claim their descent from the lunar race, the third one, the Kalachuris of Ratnapur, substitutes the sun for the moon as their primeval ancestor. (Above, Vol. II, p. 3; Vol. VII, p. 88; Vol. XII, p. 210; Vol. XVIII, p. 131; Vol. XIX, pp. 78 and 211, etc.) This disparity can be reconciled by pointing out that Purūravas, the ancestor of Kārtavṛtya, was an offspring of Buddh and Ilä, who were son and daughter of the Moon and the Sun respectively.
⁴ An inscription from Wulasang, Jath State (B. K. No. 128 of 1940-41) incidentally reveals the hitherto unknown relationship of Permáti with the Western Chālukya king Vikramaditya VI. In this record Chandaladevi, wife of the king is referred to as the grand-mother (mutwaše) of Bijjala II. This relationship could be explained only on the assumption that a daughter of Vikramaditya VI, evidently by the above-named queen, was given in marriage to Permáti and that she was mother of Bijjala II. This was in keeping with the Indian tradition of family alliances. As we know in the case of Jögama who gave his daughter to Vikramaditya VI, the latter also would have reciprocated a similar turn of matrimonial obligation by bestowing his daughter in marriage to the former’s son.
⁵ Permáti appears to have forestalled his son Bijjala II in defying the authority of his suzerain. An inscription from Tadalgāgi, Jamkhandi State (B. K. No. 66 of 1938-39), is dated in the 12th regnal year of Permáti, which corresponds to A.D. 1129 and falls right within the regnal period of Sömśvara III. But it is curious to note that it neither mentions the name of the suzerain, nor does it associate the feudatory title Mahāmandalēśvara with Permáti. This was perhaps condoned at the time on consideration of intimacy of relationship that subsisted between Permáti and the royal house and the dignified status held by the former in the kingdom. But it was a bad example to set which culminated in a grave catastrophe in the course of the next generation, viz., the overthrow of the Chalukya rule by Bijjala II.
⁶ Ep. Carn., Vol. VII, Ht. 50, Sk. 197; Vol. XI, Dg. 44.
⁷ Bijjala II had a son named Vajrādēva by Ēchaladevi (Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. II, p. 477 and above Vol. XV p. 109). I am inclined to take him to be the eldest. He must have died before the nomination of Sōvidēva to the Kalachuri throne.
undisputed. Bijjala II had other sons and daughters regarding whose existence our record is silent. The picture of the disturbed state of affairs that prevailed in the Kalachuri kingdom after the death of Bijjala II is available from other records and it would be worth while to take a glimpse of it here.

According to some inscriptions Bijjala II was succeeded by his younger brother Mailugi, who was followed by the former's grandson, whose name is given as Kandara in one epigraph and Kahldeva' in another. But actually his name appears to be Karnadeva. After Karnadeva came his junior uncle Sovideva. The Bhogesvara temple inscription from Harasur throws revealing light at this point. While narrating the circumstances of the accession of Sovideva, it states that the Kalachuri sovereignty was reduced to a chaotic condition by the evil counsellors such as Kasapaya and others: Karna usurped the throne and ruled illegally; but he was eventually killed and the kingdom duly restored into the hands of Sovideva.

Piecing together the information furnished by these different sources, the facts appear to be as follows: At the time of his abdication Bijjala nominated Sovideva, his eldest surviving son, as his successor. If this be accepted, it should have created resentment and opposition in a section of the royal household and the official ranks of the kingdom. Soon after the death of Bijjala, which itself was brought about by an assassin, rival parties headed by claimants to the throne contended for power. Bijjala's younger brother Mailugi was the first to raise the standard of revolt. But he was removed from the scene. Next came Bijjala's grandson Karnadeva, who...

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1 Besides Sanikama, Abaramalla and Singhaha, Bijjala had yet another son named Mailugi, Mailugi or Mallikarjuna. He seems to have been junior to Sovideva and senior to Sanikama. He usurped the Kalachuri kingdom and set up his rule for a very brief period at the end of Sovideva's reign. (Ep. Cara., Vol. VII, Sk. 197; Vol. VI, Dg. 44; R. K. Nos. 63 and 96 of 1936-37; No. 81 of 1937-38; etc.)

2 He had at least two daughters: one Siriyadevi by Bachaladevi was married to the Sinda chief Chavanja II (Barn. Tar., Vol. I, pt. II, p. 477); another was the wife of Barmarasa of Bangadikota. (Ep. Cara., Vol. VII, Sk. 212.)

3 Ep. Cara., Vol. VII, Hl. 50 and Sk. 197 and Vol. XI, Dg. 44.

4 Kandara or Kandara can be derived from Krishna or Karna. In the present case it has to be derived from and equated with Karna.

5 Kahldeva appears to have been his title.

6 It is beyond doubt that it was Karnadeva. (Vide the citation from the inscription in the Bhogesvara temple below: Subhashraya-khaliita of Raghavanka mentions one Karnadeva (IX-2) and the reference is obviously to the same person. But his relationship with Bijjala is wrongly stated therein to be that of brother (tamma) instead of grandson (vamana).

7 In view of its great importance I quote below the original passage of the inscription from my private collection

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8 Kasapaya Nivaka was a minister and wielded much influence in the state during the time of Bijjala II (Barn. Tar., Vol. I, pt. II, pp. 469 and 472; Ep. Cara., Vol. VII, Sk. 102; Vol. XI, Dg. 35 and 42).


10 Ibid., p. 479.
appears to have been a son of Bijjala's eldest son, who was now no more. But he was opposed by Sövidèva's party and in the encounter that ensued Karpadèva was killed by Sövidèva's general Mādhava. Eventually Sövidèva succeeded to his father's kingdom. These events might have taken place in the course of a few months during the latter part of A.D. 1167.

An attempt may now be made to furnish a chronological setting to the above genealogical account. In order to achieve this we have to start from Bijjala II and trace backwards towards his ancestors. The earliest date available for him is from an inscription at Waltasang, Jath State. The epigraph which is dated in the 5th year of the Western Chāluvikya king Jagadēkamalla II (=A.D. 1142) introduces him as the latter's subordinate and mentions his administration over the province of Karahaḍa Four Thousand. Hence we might approximately assign A.D. 1140 for the commencement of his career. Permādi must have started his career by A.D. 1118 as an inscription from Tadalbāgi refers to A.D. 1129 as his 12th year. Jōgama was governing the province of Karahaḍa Four Thousand in A.D. 1087-88 as a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI according to an epigraph from Kōlagiri, Jath State. Hence we may reasonably place the initial date of his career by A.D. 1080.

Between Jōgama and Uchita, the earliest ancestor, there intervened five generations. Counting at an average of 25 years per generation we obtain A.D. 955 as the approximate date of Uchita. It may thus be concluded that Uchita was the founder of the Kalachuri line and that he laid its foundation by the middle of the 10th century A.D.

But indications are not wanting to surmise that Uchita was not the first and direct immigrant from Central India to the south and that the southern movement of the Kalachuris might have taken place a few generations earlier. The growth of the Gurjara Pratihañara power in the north and its impact on Central India, the homeland of the Kalachuris in the 6th century A.D., seem to have brought about the disruption of the latter. It was under the force of such circumstances that some dispossessed members of the Kalachuri house seem to have migrated to the south and settled at Mangalajōvī(vā)jda. It is possible to gather from the Mādgibāl record that some generations might have passed in obscurity with the early settlers in the Deccan before the family rose to some distinction.

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1 As suggested previously Vajradèva might have been the eldest son of Bijjala II, who predeceased his father.
2 As shown by Fleet, Bijjala abdicated after 19th July 1167 A.D. (Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. II, p. 477.) The records of Sövidèva show that his reign commenced in the same year. The commotion created by the rival claimants must have followed in the immediate wake of his accession and he might have succeeded in putting down the disturbances before the end of the year. So we have to fit in the statements regarding the rule of Mādigue and Karpadèva within the brief period of a few months that intervened between the abdication of Bijjala and the final accession of Sövidèva. There is nothing improbable about this.
3 B. K. No. 128 of 1940-41.
5 Ibid., No. 103 of 1940-41.
6 The name of Uchita as the founder of the southern Kalachuri line is known for the first time from the present record and also from the inscription in the Bhōgēwara temple. (Harasūr. (See n. 3 above, p. 24, line 8 of the quoted text.)
7 Kālahara-mandala, the ancestral seat of the Kalachuris of Central India was under the sway of the Gurjara Pratihañara ruler Bhōjadeva in A.D. 836 (above, Vol. XIX, p. 18).
8 Mangalavēḍha or the modern Mangalavēḍa (near Pandharpur) was the early seat of the Kalachuris migrating to the south. It was the chief town of the Tarikāḍa nīṭa (tract). (Above, Vol. XV, p. 315.) This area became the ancestral home for the later members of the family, who are at times introduced in association with these local terms. For instance, Jōgama is spoken of as Tarikāḍa Jōgamarasa and the Mandalaṁvara of Mangalavēḍha. (Ep. Casa., Vol. XI, Dg. 42 and Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. II, p. 448.) His son Permādi is spoken of as Tarikāḍa Permādideva in B. K. No. 95 of 1936-37. Mangalavēḍha never ceased to be the headquarters of the Kalachuris even during the hey-day of their power in spite of their occasional preference for other centres.
In the light of the foregoing discussion the revised and consolidated genealogy of the family will tentatively be as follows:

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Uchita (c. 955)</th>
<th>Rāja I</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Assa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kanna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Name lost)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bijja (Bijjala I)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ammugi</td>
<td>Sankama I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kannara (Karna)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jōgama; m. Tārādēvi (1080-1118)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sāvadēvi; m. Vikramaditya VI (1077-78)</td>
<td>Permādi (1118-40)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bijjala II (1140-67)</td>
<td>Malugī (1167)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>By Echaladēvi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Siryādēvi; m. Sinda Čāvunjala II</td>
<td>Vajradēva Sōvidēva (1067-76)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Daughter m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Karṇadēva (1167)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vira-Bijjala III (1193)</td>
<td>Rāya-Murāri-Janugidēva (1204)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Regarding Mādhava, the minister and general of the Kalachuri king Sōma, not many details are known from the present record. The Bhōgēvara temple inscription mentioned above, however, furnishes an authentic account of his achievements which, as described before, shows that he played a distinguished role in the troublous days following the death of Bijjala. He sponsored the cause of Sōvidēva and successfully crushed the machinations of his rivals. It was through his valour combined with diplomacy that Sōvidēva was restored to his father’s throne. This entitled Mādhava to the well-deserved praise, *Kalachuri-bhūpāla-vipula-rājyoddharaṇa* (upholder of the mighty rule of the Kalachuri king), which is bestowed upon him in that epigraph.

1 This son of Rāya-Murāri Sōvidēva is known from an inscription at Samkh, Jath State (*B. K. No. 108 of 1940-41*). The ruler of Mangalavēshakam whom Bhīllama is described as having vanquished (*jaghaṇa*) could be this same person. The name Bhīllama in the passage narrating the exploits of Bhīllama by Hēmādri, yēva *mangalavēshakam ekhaḷipitaṁ sīri-Bhīlānā jaghaṇaṁ* (*Bom. Gaz.,* Vol.I, pt. II, p.271), appears to be a mistaken reading for Bijjala. Or, if we accept the other reading *Vajrīsana*, it may be taken as a Sanskritized form of Bijjasaṁ.

2 *B. K. No. 44 of 1936-37*. It is suggested tentatively that Rāya-Murāri Janugidēva of this record might have been son of Vira-Bijjala III and grandson of Rāya-Murāri Sōvidēva.
HARASUR INSCRIPTION OF KING SOMA

TEXT:

1 [Śrī] []*1 Jayatāś-āvishkrite  
Vishnūr-Vārāham kṣhobhit-ārupavāni | daksin-ōnnata 
daṁshtra-āgrā-virāśīta-bhuvanaṁ vapuḥ || [1*] 
Jayati kshīra-vārāśī Śrī-vivāh 
ākṣhetār-iva | bindu[ḥ][bhi].

2 r=Maṁdaṁ-ōdbhūtaiṁ-yō Mukundāṁ=avākiraṁ || [2*] 
Tataḥ samudrayāyāṁ-imāṁ=barmāṁ 
Śrīgāra-jaṁmaṇaḥ | jagaj-jana-drīg-āṇaṁda-suhrīt=sarva-kalā-nidhis || [3*] 
Tad=vaṁśa- 
vaṁśhavō

3 bhūbhrid=Uchitas=āṣya ch-āṇuṣ (jaḥ) | mahān=Rājō mahā-śvīryō tau(Sau)bhadra-kula-bhū 
shaṇo (paḥ) || [4*] 
Tad=vaṁśe=saga-bhūpatiṁ samabhave=prōddāma-dōr-vikram[s=tajd-
vaṁś-ā.

4 ṛṇava-madhyataṁ samudagās=cēhhrāja Rāj-āhvayaḥ | Bijja-kṣhōnipatis=tatās=ca 

5 laḥ prauḍha-pratāp-ōdayaḥ || [5*] 
Vasamsā tabhāva Karṇa-nṛpatiṁ Śūr-āṅkuśa-ṛṣyā 
dībirn-māṁg-ahauḥ prathitaṁ kshītau prati-rṇipaty-asūmbhōḍhi-Kumbh-ōdbhavāḥ |

tasmā
d=apy-śatula-śatpa-śaṁaḥ Śrī-Jōgama-kṣhōmapatiḥ=yēn-āśiṁ-parirakṣhata  
ksīhitāṁ 
rājanaṁ=uchchhāri-jagam(t) || [6*] Tasmād=bhūri-nṛpāla-bhāla-tīlaṇaṁ 
samyak= 
prajā-pālaka[h]

6 Śrī-kāntā-vadanaṅgl-āḷakaṁ samabhave=Prāmāṇī=bhūpālaṇaḥ | yō datvā 
nīja=kaḍagn-pātmam = arayē 
vikriya labhār-ya[ṭ]-pīyūsaiṁ samāpūrayat=prithutara(v)b raham-āṁ.

7 ḍa-bhāṅḍ-ōdaram || [7*] Tca[t-sū]nur-Giridurgamalla-Subhaṭāda-ādi-nāṁvali-khyātaṁ 
Śakra-parakramaṁ samudagās=cēhhrī-Bijjana-kṣhōmapatiḥ | 
as=Chālukya-kulad=bali 
bhuva-

9 balād=ācchchhidyā rājya-śriyam bhōjē Kuuntala-chakravartī-paadavīm=ēkātapatr-ōjvalaṁ(m) || 
[8*] Mādyā[ṛ]-daṁti-kaṭa-ṣṭhala-pravīgalad-dān-āṁ(v)būhii pāmiīlā mārga durgama-

10 tāṁ yauṣ-ṛa parītha[h]* srōtāṁsi ca=ḥʊr-javāt | pravṛti-kāla iva prāyāga-samayē 
ysaya pranāṣṭa-dvisha[h]* ārīmad-Bijja-nṛpasya tabhāvaḥ sō=yaṁ kathāṁ kathya-

11 tē || [9*] Tasmād-ādṛuta-vikramāḥ krittamātiḥ satya-pratījō vaśī śrīmān=Rāya-Murarī= 
ity=ābhānītah śrī-Sōma-prīthinvaṣaḥ | yasa=ābhyāga-saṁbhramē haya-kuha-khu-

12 Ṛ Śrī-kasamā-marṣandal-prōdyā[ṛ]-sāṁdra-parāga-nasṭa-nayanō nē=ṣṭeṁ rīpaṁ=čhesṭītum(m) || 
[10*] Darpisṭh-Āṇḍhara-mahīdhra-saṁtati-paviḥ prōttumaṁ Vaṁg-āṁbhuśēr-aurvō 
garvita-Chōla-v(b)a-

13 lā-kadali-kāṁḍa-prachānda-dvipaḥ | garjad-Gūrjara-mēgha-chaṁḍa-pavanaḥ Karṇaṇa- 
ta-Karṇa-Āṛjunō Nēpāla-kṣhītapālaṁ-dāru-dahanaḥ śrī-Sōma-bhūpālaṇaḥ || [11*] Kēchi-

14 t-kāṇanaṁ-āśu yaṁti gahanāṁ kecchī dhuvau[m]*ṣyā=ṅguliṁ kecchī=kōsām=upār padyaṁti 
chakītā kecchī-palāyaṁti cha | kecchī=svīyam=urō=mākayaṁtī balinaḥ kē- 

15 chit-pramañyaṁti té kecchī=bhūpatayaṁ prayaṁti vilayaṁ yasmin=prayāṇ-ōdayāt || [12*] 
Tasys=ābhūrit=parableṣṭaṁ kecchīṁtī māṁtī kritī dhāṁmikā | śrīmaṁ=Mā-

16 dhava-daṁḍānaṁ-tilaṅkō Vāsishṭha-vaṁśi-ōdbhavaḥ | Sāvitrī janani tu yasaṁ vidita yā Vēda- 
mātē-ēva sē tāṭa[t-ṛaḥ] prāthitō=va(tr)ā vīsā-bhuvanē śrī-Māyidēv-[h]valyāṁ || [13*]  

1 From the impression prepared by me. The illustration which accompanies this article is from an 
estampage of the inscription kindly sent by Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad, 
Decan, to whom my thanks are due.

2 This and the next three verses are in the Anushṭubh metre.

This and the following verses are in the Sārdarākṣitiṇī metre.
30. EPIGRAPHIA INDICA [Vol. XXVIII,

17 ○ ○ Mādhavēna rachitē Lakshmipatēr-śāntārē sauvarṇānā kalaśam tataḥ suragirir-yaṁ viṣkṣaya chintām-agāt | nūtān dâkṣiṇa-Mēru-ēsha samabhūn-mattō-pi śōbh-ānvitaḥ-prāyaḥ

18 — ○ ○ — śrayēyur-samarśas-tyakṣhyānti tē mām-iti \[14^*\] Kiuḥ brūmō vayam-asya-ānūryam-atulaṁ yasya-ōgra-yuddha-ätigāṇe mastiśhek-ōbaṇa-parāka-samākāta-tātā
 — ○ ○ — ○

19 — kō-pi piśācha-ramka-nikarō nādy-āpi — ○ tē sphit-āśik-paripūrit-ōdara-bhara krāntō vinishkrāmati \[15^*\] Sō̄yaṁ yasya samasta śatru ○ ○ — — ○

20 — — ○ — ○ sa-dhvaṁsi-yāśāḥ-samasta-bhuvana-dhvaṁt-āika-sarv-ōdayah | saunḍāryaṁ sudati-vilōla nayanā — — ○ — ○ —

21-24 damaged.

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

V. 1. Praise of the Boar Incarnation of Vishnu.

V. 2. Victorious is the Milk Ocean who sprayed Mukunda with drops of water emanating from (the mountain) Mandara, auspicious grains of rice, as it were, showered at the time of marriage of (his daughter) Śrī.

V. 3. From him (Milk Ocean) arose the moon, the joy of the world.

V. 4. In his (lunar) race was born Uchita. He had a brother named Rāja.

V. 5. In his family came forth Asaga, aggressive with his mighty arms. Next in descent was Rāja. After him rose to power king Bijja, whose feet were touched by the crests of rulers of the earth.

V. 6. In his house appeared Karna who was renowned by the titles, such as Śūrāṅkūṭa (Goad to the Brave), etc., the veritable Agastya to the ocean of hostile kings. He was succeeded by Jōgama who was unsurpassed in valour.

V. 7. He was followed by Permādi, an ornament of the circle of kings.

V. 8. After him rose to eminence his son Bijjaṅga who was distinguished by the titles, Giridurgāsamallā (Champion of the Hill-fort), Subhātādyā (Sun among the chosen warriors) and others. He, the mighty one, wrested by force the sovereignty from the race of the Chāluṅkya and secured the paramount position of the lord of Kuntala, adorned with a single parasol.

V. 9. Who can describe his triumphant expeditions that put his enemies to flight?

V. 10. His successor is king Sōma of extraordinary prowess. He is praised as Rāya-Murāri (veritable Murāri among the kings). The enemy is motionless before him.

V. 11. King Sōma, the veritable Arjuna to Karna, the Karna; is the thunderbolt to the mountain, the Āṇḍra; submarine fire to the ocean, the Vaṅga; elephant to the tender plantain, the Chōla; whirlwind to the rumbling cloud, the Gūrjara; fire to the wood, the Nēpala king.

V. 12. When he prepares for an expedition, his enemies are struck with terror and run away halted skelter to save their lives.

V. 13. He has a minister in Mādhava-dāṇḍanātha. Born of parents, Māyidevā and Śāvitri, he is a descendant of the sage Vasiṣṭha.

1d. 17-20. A temple of Vishnu was constructed by him. Seeing its golden pinnacle, the divine mountain (Mēru) felt anxious that the gods would forsake him and resort to this, the more distinguished new Mēru of the South.

The heroism displayed by this (general Mādhava) on the fields of battle is beyond description.
This inscription was copied by me in the summer vacation of 1933, when I was a student in the Karnatak College, Dharwar. The stone slab bearing the epigraph was built in a wall of the dargah of Lâdje Mashâk Sâheb at Aland, a fairly big village in the Pâyagâh Jâgirs of the Gulbarga District, Hyderabad State. The record was published in the Karnatak Historical Review, Vol. IV (1937), pp. 61-71. But in view of certain imperfections of the publication and the importance of the epigraph mainly for the study of the family history of the eminent Western Châlukya ruler Vikramâditya VI, I propse to re-edit it here.

In the process of trimming the slab to fit it into the construction, damage has been caused to the writing in some places. Consequently, a few letters at the commencement of almost all the lines are lost. The rest of the inscription is in a fair state of preservation. The characters are Kannâda of the 11th century A. D. and generally conform to the style of the age. The length of the medial i is invariably clearly distinguished by a spiral to the left of the curve at the top. Regarding orthography there are no special features worth mentioning except for those common to the period. The upadhmâniya is used in ll. 38, 41 and 42. The language is Kannâda and the composition is partly in prose and partly in verse. The imprecation towards the end is, as usual, made up of Sanskrit verses.

The record refers itself to the reign of Tribhuvanamalladéva or Vikramâditya VI and is dated the Châlukya-Vikrama year 7, Dundubhi, Pushya, šu. 5, Sunday, [Uttarâ]yâna-samkrânti. The date is irregular. In the cyclic year Dundubhi, Uttarâyana commenced on Pushya šu. 3, Sunday. Its Christian equivalent would be A. D. 1082, December 25.

The object of the epigraph is to record the gift of income derived from tolls and levies such as perjuika, bâlkodâ, etc., in the district of Aland Thousand for the daily worship and offerings to the god Sômâsvara of Aland by the king1 at the request of the queen Chandaladévi. The gift was entrusted to the hands of the teacher Surâsvara Paûdita2 who was in charge of the temple. Further donations to the god were also made by Yuvarâja Mallikârjuna and others.

Yuvarâja Mallikârjuna was a son of Vikramâditya VI. Kumâra Sômâsvara was another son who also figures as the donor in the inscription (ll. 55-56). Mallikârjuna is addressed as Yuvarâja-Vallabha and described as the crest-jewel among the princes (Kumâra-sikhâmañi). He was brave and valorous in war. Impressed by his ability, the king installed him as his heir apparent. He was the seniormost among the princes.3 Under instructions from the king he was governing the district of Aland Thousand.

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1 It is clear from the context that the expression Ballavaraśar occurring in lines 30 and 51 refers to the reigning king. The word Ballava which is a general term, is evidently derived from the specific title Vallabha borne by the Western Châlukyas of Bâdami and the Râštrakûtas of Mâlâkhâ. It is met with in its above-noted derivative form in some records of the Châlukyas of Kalyâna also, who followed the ancient tradition. See for instance, S. I. I., Vol. IX, pt. i, No. 104, l. 26; No. 119, l. 11; No. 121, l. 12; Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 127, l. 11. Also see the Ajitârthakarupurâṇalilâkam (śavâsa i, verse 45) of the Kannâda poet Ranna, wherein Ballaha, the variant form of the same title, is used to denote the reigning king who was Taila II.

2 This teacher is identical with his namesake who figures in an inscription from the Bellary District, as the administrator of a small tract, 17 years later: S.I.I., Vol. IX, pt. i, No. 165.

3 B. K. No. 1 of 1937-38.
Mallikärjuna figures in a fairly large number of inscriptions\(^1\) almost from the commencement of his father’s reign and it would be useful to summarise the main facts gathered about him from these records. He is consistently spoken of as Yuvarāja\(^2\) and the epithet Mahāmanḍalēsvara is never applied to him as in the case of the other sons of the king. This testifies to the unique and exalted position held by this prince among the princes of the royal household. He is specified as the son of the crowned queen (Paṭṭamahādevī) who was most probably Lakshmīdevī.\(^3\) He had a daughter named Mahādevī. Besides the territory under his administration noted above, he was administering the tract of Tardavāḍī Thousand in A. D. 1095, 1109, 1112 and 1115 and the province of Karahaḍa Four Thousand in A. D. 1116. The last date so far known for him is A. D. 1123.

Before reverting to Sōmāśvara alluded to above, we have to take note of another son of Vikramāditya VI, named Jayakarṇa. He seems to have stood next in seniority to Mallikārjuna. Chandaladēvi was his mother.\(^4\) He figures in five records\(^5\) ranging in date from A. D. 1102 to 1123. From the provenance of these epigraphs it may be gathered that he was connected with the administration of the area now comprising portions of the Gulbarga, Bijapur and Belgaum Districts.

We now come to Sōmāśvara who appears to have been junior to Jayakarṇa. Born of Chandaladēvi,\(^6\) he was the co-uterine brother of the latter prince. He is mentioned in later records ranging until the last year of his father’s reign.\(^7\) He bore the title Chālukya-Gaṅga-Permādī,\(^8\) which he must have inherited from his father.\(^9\) As the epigraphs containing information about him come from the Warangal, Karimmagur and Nalgonda Districts of the Hyderabad State and are of A. D. 1106-7 and 1124-25, it may be surmised that he was connected with the administrative machinery of those areas in these years.

The fourth and the last known son of Vikramāditya VI was Taila or Tailapa. He seems to have been the juniormost of the lot. From the epithet Chandaladēvī-nayana-narasija-sūrya (delight to the lotus eyes of Chandaladēvi) applied to him in some inscriptions, it follows that he

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\(^{1}\) I have listed 12 records referring to this prince which range in date from A. D. 1079 to 1123. They are as follows: above, Vol. XV, p. 29; B. K. Nos. 90 of 1929-30, 3 of 1930-31, 183 of 1933-34, 1 of 1937-38, 120 of 1940-41, No. 13 of 40-41 of the Kannada Research Office, Dharmarāja, and Bandaravāḍi inscription (Mackenzie Collection); one inscription each at Alān and Ruddavāḍi and two inscriptions at Māyaḷ (my private collection). Most of these are unpublished. In B. K. No. 90 of 1929-30, dated in A. D. 1095, Mallikārjuna is given the title, Māyavā-balalāha-kā-samānā (whirlwind in the clouds, the forces of Māyava). This shows that he had distinguished himself in one or more campaigns against Māyava. B. K. No. 3 of 1930-31, dated in A. D. 1112, mentions two more titles of this prince, viz., Paṭmanāla-pri-vajra-da-nādam and Vīṣṇuva-ra-yuva-rāja-yuva-da-nādam. When Pādmanāla-giri-vaṣṭra-da-nādam, the title of Tailapā, is compared with the titles of the other princes, the last two seem to contain a reference to an expedition conducted by Mallikārjuna against the rulers of that house (vide Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 549).

\(^{2}\) It is interesting to note that Jayasimha, the younger brother of Vikramāditya VI, is also styled Yuvarāja in a good many inscriptions ranging from A. D. 1077 to 1082; vide B. K. Nos. 237 of 1923-29, 128 of 1926-27 and Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 449.


\(^{4}\) Ibid., p. 449.

\(^{5}\) Kāḷapī record (ibid., p. 455); Bandaravāḍi inscription (Mackenzie Collection); B. K. Nos. 93 and 94 of 1926-37; Konnār inscription (J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. X, p. 287). I am indebted to Mr. M. Venkataramayya for the references to the Mackenzie Collection.

\(^{6}\) This piece of information is furnished by an inscription from Tengali, Gulbarga District, dated Śaka 1064 (=A. D. 1163) in the reign of Taila III (my private collection).

\(^{7}\) Telanganā Inscriptions, Western Chālukya records: Nos. 13, 35 and 36.

\(^{8}\) The last two of the above-noted inscriptions associate his name with this title.

\(^{9}\) Vikramāditya VI bore the title Chālukya-Gaṅga-Permādī on account of his relationship with the Gaṅga family through his mother who was a princess of that house (S. I. L., Vol. I, pt. i, Nos. 95 and 118; Ep. Corn., Vol. XI, Dg. 149).
was born of her.\footnote{1} He figures in ten records\footnote{2} of his father’s reign, which range in date from the 38th to the 46th year (A. D. 1113 to 1122). For most of this period he appears to have been holding a responsible office in the southern part of the kingdom. Inscriptions from the Anantapur District show that he was in charge of the tract Sindavadi Thousand with his headquarters at Tumbula.\footnote{3} About A. D. 1122 his sphere of activity shifted to the north and we find him functioning in the area of the modern Nalgonda and Mahboobnagar Districts of the Hyderabad State. His headquarters was now at Kōjūru. His wife Lakshmīdevi and son Panmādi also figure with him in these northern epigraphs.\footnote{4}

It may be seen from the above discussion and from the subsequent history of the Western Chāḷukya house that neither Mallikarjuna nor Jayakarṇa survived their father to assume the reins of the kingdom. Vikramāditya VI was succeeded by Śōmeśvara III. This leads to the inevitable conclusion that both of them must have predeceased their father at the close of his long reign somewhere between the years A. D. 1122-23 and 1126. But Taila survived and he figures in an inscription\footnote{5} dated in the 7th year of his brother Śōmeśvara’s reign (=A. D. 1132). Being the brother of the reigning king and senior member of the royal family, his status must have improved by this time, for we find him addressed as Yuvāṇa in that epigraph.

The present epigraph contains the following place-names. Alandé, mentioned in a number of contexts and also referred to as Alandāpur, is the present-day Aland,\footnote{6} the provenance of the record. It was evidently the headquarters of the territorial division Alandē-Sāsira, which must have taken the name after it. This position is further confirmed by the specific statement, in l. 35, that it was the first and foremost village (madala baḷa) in Alandē-Sāsira. Alandē-Sāsira or Alandé-One Thousand comprised a political and geographical unit made up of one thousand villages. It represented roughly parts of the modern Gulbarga District and the adjoining area.\footnote{7}

TEXT\footnote{8}

1 Šrīmat-kailāśa(sa)din-akhil-āmara-maṇi-makuṭa-gaṭṭita-charaṇ-ān̄i-

2 bhējān Śōmeśvaran-avatārisidān-i-mahīṭa-tīlakam-enip-Alandāpur-

3 dol || [1][*] Šrīmad-Alande pavitraṇ Śōmeśvara-dēvarind-ALandāpuradiṇḍi-maḥi

4 pavitraṇ-enituṇ tāme pavitraṇ Śūraśvara-bratīṇḍiṇḍi || [2][*] Jhāmāmayan-a

5 mṛta-vākyan-anūn-a-ḥāharaṇan-enipā Lokāharaṇan-gi-nandana-nandana-

6 n-ēn-odavisidano Śūraśvarān muni-tīlakāṇa || [3][*] Šrīmad-Sūraśvara-brati

7 Śōmeśvara-charaṇa-yugalā-sarasija-bhṛṅgaśu kōmaḷa-vachō-viṣāna sāma-

8 [nya]m-e Chakrabartiti-vinuta-pad-ābhajān ; [4][*] Kṛita-yugam-āduku Kaliyugam-a

\footnote{1} The suggestion thrown out on p. 89 of the Madras Epigraphical Report for 1921-22 regarding the identity of Jayakarṇa with Tailaṇa, is untenable. Firstly, the two are names of two distinct individuals; and secondly, epigraphical evidence is clear enough to show that they were functioning in two different and distant parts of the kingdom at a particular period of time.

\footnote{2} Mad. Epi. coll., Nos. 352 and 458 of 1920; S. I. I., Vol. IX, pt. i, Nos. 190, 202, 221 and 288; Telangana Inscriptions, Western Chāḷukya records; Nos. 33, 34 and 37; Akkalkot inscription of Śīkāhāra Indarasa, above, Vol. XXVII, p. 71.

\footnote{3} S. I. I., Vol. IX, pt. i, Nos. 190, 202 and 221.

\footnote{4} Telangana Inscriptions, Western Chāḷukya records; Nos. 33 and 34.


\footnote{6} It is situated at a distance of 27 miles north-west of Gulbarga. The place is referred to as Aladi by the ordinary folk. Also see above, Vol. V, p. 243.

\footnote{7} I am indebted to Khwaja Muhammad Ahmed, Esq., the Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad, Deccan, for having furnished excellent estampages of the inscription for reproduction in this article.

\footnote{8} In situ and from ink-impressions prepared by myself and those sent by the Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad, Deccan.

\footnote{9} This and the next four verses are in the Kanda metre.
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9 [ti]dhārmīkam-āyta Vikramādiṭya-ṇripaṇi pratipālaṇa-rāṣṭramu muni-patiy-ājñeyol-ēṇ
10 Surīvāraṇa kīvaṇam-ō [5 *] 1Ari-bhūpāla-ti(kirtra-tāṭita-padaṇa sapt-ādhi-saṃ-mudrit-ō-
11 rvvareg-orṛvaṇa pati saṇḍaṇa vamind-budha-bhrīndakkaṇ-eṇidv-ōṇid-aṇḍadīṇiṇ pirid-īvaṁ
dī-giṅh-āj-ḍaṇṭa-khaṭhīrāṇa
12 [ta]ṭ-kirrtiy-eṇid-akka[t]iti dhareyya-ellam saḷ 방문 analyzing neกาdaṃ śri-Vikram-ōrvīṣ-
varanā [8,*]
13 [Śrī-]Vikramārkka-ṇripaṅg-īḷa-vinutam Mallikārjunaṇaṇ janīyasidam bhu-vallabhaṇa
14 1. . . guṇ-āvasamu Makara-kētanāni puṭṭuvavol [7,*] 1Pusi-gaṇḍinad-īdir-āṁtaṛaṇi tavisi
15 — — — ṣud-bhaktiśya bhesam-ēṇ niṇ śārana-ṇidu bhaṇḍa ripu-bhūḍpāṛkaṇaṇ kāḍu kā-
16 [yise] koiṇ-ā-ṇripa-Śrīvāmakṣana bhūja-stūṁbaṇh-ōṅ-optiḍapau vasuṅba-maṇḍana Ma-
17 [liṅkāj]rjuna-kumāraṇa Vira-Nārāyaṇam [8,*] 2Āṭan-avārya-śauryyam-an-īḷa-prabhu
Vikrama-
18 [chakrā]varti kaṅḍ-ītane yauvārāja-pada-paṭṭada permmege nōntan-endu sat-pritiyin-ā-
maḥi-
19 [prabhu] kumāra-sikhaṇḍa-Mallikārjunaṇg-āṭata-kirtti kaṭṭisidam utasvadīṇi yuvārāja-
20 [paṭṭa]janāṇa [9,*] 3Manuvaṇā-ōttaman-athyudda-mahimaṁ dēva-dvijanm-ōkekar-
ārēchanaṇiṇdāṇi saṇ niṇ[pa]-
21 [vetta] vihavam Chāḷukya-chakrēśa-chāṇu-nīyog-āśpadan-ā-ṇripaṅg-mahiṣ(hi)-gēhakke
22 — —-pradhanan-endu bhu-nuta Kāṭiḷaṇān-esedaṇa daṇḍādhipi-āgréśaraṇ [10,*] 4Ene
negala Kāṭ[daṇa]-
23 [na ta]jnayam Nācaṇaṇ-an-āśeṣha-dhātr-vinutam Manu-maṅggaṇ-akhiḷa-viṇvajana-bhrīnd-
chakōra-sā—
24 ... dita-chhaṃdranam [11,*] 5Manu-maṅggaṇi charitake pāṣaṇi samaṅ vāraṇi(gi) gaṁ-
bhṛyyaṇiṇi danun[ā]ri-
jagaṇ sāṁprétiyin baṇṇi-
26 [sutt]neṭaṇatu teṇāṇi jāsakke neley-ālāṇi Nāchi-danḍādhipam [12,*] 6Dhareyya-ellam
sale pogaḷal para-hi-
27 . . . rūḍiyam perchici Nācharasān-īḷa-vinutam tāṇi Parārttha-Vidyādhār-ēṇdra-pesaraṇ
28 [paj]ledam [13,*] Ā-Nāchi-daṇḍanāṭana-ananugaṇaṇi Chakravartti dayeyiṇi besasalu
tān-ō-yu[m]-ā-
29 [maha]-ṇripate gaṇaṇasane nikhila-maṇtri-padaṇaṇi tāleda [14,*] Svasti [*] Samasta-
ḥuvana-āśra-
30 [ya] Śrī-Pṛthvi-vallabhaṇi Mahārājaḥbhīrājaṇa Paramēśvaraṇim Paramabhāṭṭārakaṇi Satyāraṇ-
31 [ya]-kula-ti(akaṇi Chāḷukya-āharaṇaṁ śrima[ti]-)Triḥbhuvanamalla-dēvara vijaya-rāja-
32 [mutta]ōttar-ābhīvṛiddhi-pravardhanāmā-śaṃchard-āṛkka-ṭaṇāṇi bariṇi săḷuttan Kalyā-
33 [napu]rada neleviṇiṇo-sukha-saṅkathā-vin-latāṇi rājaṁ geyuttam-īre [14,*] Śrimach-Chā-
34 [lukya]-Vikrama-varshadā 7 neya Durūḍbudi-sarīvatasaranda Pushya-suddha 5
Ādivarāda

1 Metre : Māṭībhūnakrikāṭa.
2 Metre : Kanda.
3 The three aṭṭhahar lost here might be samastā.
4 Metre : Māṭībhūnakrikāṭa.
5 Metre : Utpalamāla.
6 Metre : Māṭībhūnakrikāṭa.
7 Metre : Kanda.
8 Three metres are lost after this.
9 Metre : Māṭībhūnakrikāṭa.
10 This and the following verse are in the Kanda metre
35 [Uttara] yana-samkranti-parvva-nimittadhi=Alam-le-sasirada modala bájav=Alam[dá]-perada
36 [Svayam]bhu=Sömeśvara-dévar=angabhógakke śri-Ballavarasar || Svasty=anavrata-
37 parama-kal[ā]-
38 [n-ābhyu]daya-sahasra-phala-bhoga-bhágini váta[kk] mada-dvirada-gámini Ráya-jagadá-
39 ma[nój]-
38 [rati]- machecharipasa savati-mada-bhájane Ráya-bhaṅgára-déva-manař-payónidhi-pravard-
39 dhama[n]-
39 [chandra]-jvadane sahbhagya-sadane Ráya-ja[appa]-Kalp-áváni-samálimi[da](gita)-jaṅgama-
30 late sára-
40 [nagata]-samuddharaṇa-parinate dushṭa-darpishta[tha]-savati-śir-va[jra-mushtiy=anavrata-
31 [su]-
41 [varṇa]-vṛishi= samast-āntarpura-jagadala-pavitrikita-visuddha-kule Ráya-Niraya-na hri-
42 [day-ā]namda-pradáyaki Gauri-pad-āmbuj-ārādhaki sahbhagya-garvva-durvvinit-āntarpura-
43 kā-
43 [nt-ōpa]hásini śrima[t]*] Tribhuvanamalla-déva-viśāla-vakshasthala-niváśiniyar=appa śri-
44 [Nri]tya-vidyādharī Chañdaladéviyara bijnapadi=ālīya-ācāhāryyar || Svasti [*] Yama-
45 niyama=ā(s)vā-
45 [dhyāya]-dhyāna-dhāraṇa-maun-ānushthāna-japa-samādhī-sīla-sampañmanā vividha-jana-man-
46 obhivānchhī-
46 [tasamutpanna]m din-ānātha-jāthara-dāvā-pāvaka-nivāraṇam durita-gaja-mada-nivāraṇam
47 [sajmayaa-sam]rakshap-āika-dakshan=anavrata-subhiksham paṇḍita-chūdā-mani śīṣṭa-jana-
48 chinthī-
48 [maṇi]- śri-Vādīdēva-Paṇḍita-dēva-pād-ārādhana-labdha-vara-prasādaṁ paropakāra-vinōdaṁ
49 nity[ā]-
49 ... vali-viṣamānār=appa śrimat-Surēśvara-paṇḍita-dēvargge dhārā-pūrvvakaṁ āgī
50 [Alaṇide]-sāsiradolaṁ sásira pēruv=ettiṁge perjumika bilkoḷe vaḍḍaravulav=olagī suṁkav-
51 ellaṁ
51 [pa]rihāraṁ mādi biṭṭaṁ [*] Mattaṁ śri-Ballavarasaru yuvarāja-vallabhaṁ Mallikārjuna-
52 ḍevaṁge
52 ... diṁ=Alande-saisaramaññam dāya-gudy kuḍal-ā-nāda perggade dāṁjanayakaṁ Nācha-
53 ... bijnapadiṁ yuvarājaraṁ Mallikārjuna-ḍevaṁ śri-Ballavarasargge bijnapatiṁ-gudy=
54 Alandeyā
54 [Svajambhu-Sömeśvara-dèvar=ā]va 12 raḍ-ūrggāḷa Jallāṁ Kallavaḷike Sādāṁ Baṇṇigeyane
55 [pa]rihāraṁ mādi biṭṭaṁ [*] Mattaṁ paṭṭanada heggade Gommalaya-nāyakana bijnapadiṁ
Kumāraṁ Sōmeṁ-
56 [ēva]raṁ dēvārā nandādiviṁge=Alaṇideya mudrāvaṇaṁ suṁkadalage tiṅgal-dīṅgalge hurtu
57 hurts dra-
57 [vyamān] biṭtaṁ [*] Gommalayyana bhāvaṁ Sillaayyaṁ tapōdhanaṁ ca(hā)ṛ-targam
58 vidyārthi-manīyargam[1] Harṇama-
58 [bājye(ya)thu pa]luvaṛa Buadhα vā śrīveṇī nālku māvina marana biṭṭha =Alaṇ leya
59 Nagaraṁ dēva-
59 [rīg]e māria pērīṅg-ayvatt-eḷeyaṁ biṭṭar-int-inituṁnaṁ Nagara-Mahājana-Pañcha-mañha-
59 sthā-
60 [nam-ācāraṁ]dr-ārka-stāhīy-vaṛaṇa naḍeyisuvaṁ || 1 'Maṇado' bayasiddu=ellaṁ tanag=
60 idirole sādhyaṁ-a-

1 This appears to be a place name.
2 Metre: Kanda.
TRANSLATION

Verse 1. Sōmēśvara, whose lotus feet are butted by the jewelled diadems of all the gods, descended from the glorious Kaiālsa to this Alandāpura, an ornament of the earth.

V. 2. The illustrious Alande is holy on account of the god Sōmēśvara and this earth is holy on account of Alandāpura. How much more is it holy on account of the sage Surēśvara!

V. 3. How great is the delight accorded by this son, Surēśvara, an ornament of the monks, to (his teacher) Lōkābharaṇa, replete with knowledge, truthful and embellished with sterling virtues!

V. 4. Is he an ordinary human being, the illustrious ascetic Surēśvara, a bee at the lotus feet of Sōmēśvara, pleasingly gentle in speech, whose lotus feet are praised by the emperor?

V. 5. As the king Vikramādiya is ruling according to the behests of this prince among monks, the Kali age has become Kṛita age and the kingdom has become supremely righteous. Is Surēśvara ordinary?

V. 6. The illustrious Vikramādiya, lord of the earth, has earned renown being aptly praised by all the people in this manner: “His feet are butted by the coronets of hostile kings; he is the unrivalled overlord of the earth encircled by the seven seas; he is a great and constant donor, in his own characteristic way, to the deserving assemblage of bards and the learned; his reputation has been engraved on the tusks of the rows of elephants of the quarters.”

V. 7. From king Vikramādiya is born prince Mallikārjuna who is an abode of all virtues and is praised by the people, in the same manner as was born the Crocodile-banneered God (i.e., Cupid).

V. 8. Prince Mallikārjuna, an ornament of the earth, and Vira-Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu in heroism), appears graceful like the pillar-like arms of king Vikramādiya, having routed the hostile kings who encountered him with sham bravery, protected those who approached him with awe and reverence saying, “you are our saviour! What command?” and exterminated those who were a source of trouble.

V. 9. The far-famed emperor Vikramādiya seeing his irresistible prowess and thus appreciating with genuine affection, “He alone is worthy of the great office of the heir-apparent”, installed Mallikārjuna, the crest-jewel of princes, as his successor with due ceremony.

V. 10. Distinguished is the general Kālidāsa, foremost among the commanders of the forces, praised by the world, supreme among the scions of Manu, exulted in prowess, glorious with the eminence earned by the worship of the gods and the Brāhmaṇas, a charming receptacle of authority vested by the Chālukya emperor and counsellor to the household of the senior queen.

V. 11. Thus renowned Kālidāsa’s son is the famous Nachaṇa, a follower of the path of Manu and the veritable moon imparting delight to the chākūra birds, namely, the assembly of the learned.
V. 12. The commander of the forces, Nāchi, became the repository of renown when the world sang (his virtues) in admiration in the following terms: "His conduct is in keeping with the path of Manu; in serenity he compares with the ocean; in eminence.............and in valour he is on par with the son of the Lord of the Day (i.e., Karna)".

V. 13. Being aptly described by the world in commendable expressions Nācharasa earned the epithet, Parārtha-Vidyādhara (i.e., the Vidyādhara among the philanthropists).

V. 14. The commander of the forces, Nāchi, who possessed excellent virtues was like his own mind to the king, assumed the office of principal counsellor as directed by the emperor.

Lines 29-33. Hail! The asylum of the entire earth, Lord of the Goddess of Fortune and the Earth, the paramount overlord of sovereigns, the great ruler, the supreme master, ornament of the lineage of Satyāraya, embellishment of the Chālukyas, the illustrious king Tribhuvanamalladēva is carrying on his victorious rule with ever-increasing prosperity in happiness and entertainment of pleasing conversation, to endure as long as the sun, the moon and the stars, from his residence Kalyāṇa.

Ll. 33-51. On Sunday, the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Pushya of the illustrious Chālukya-Vikrama year 7, corresponding to the cyclic year Dundubhi and on the holy occasion of the Uttarāyana-saṁkrānti, the king, hail!--at the request of the queen Chandaladēvi who is privileged to enjoy the thousand-fold fruit accruing from the unceasing supreme welfare and prosperity; who stroll's like an intoxicated elephant in the royal premises; the Goddess of Love to the Mind-born God (i.e., Cupid, in the form of her husband), the illustrious sovereign; subdue of the sense of elation of the jealous co-wives; bearer of the face-moon that swells the milky ocean (in the shape of) the mind of (her husband) the distinguished suzerain; abode of splendour: moving creeper hugging the wish-fulfilling tree, namely, the illustrious monarch; adept in supporting those who seek her protection; who is the blow of adamantine fist on the heads of malicious and conceited co-wives; who showers gold incessantly; whose immaculate lineage has purified the whole realm of the harem; who imparts delight to the heart of the god Nārāyaṇa among kings, to wit, Vikramāditya VI; who is worshipper of the lotus feet of the goddess Gaurī (Pārvatī); who derides the ladies of the harem, indecorous with the elation of their good fortune; who dwells in the expansive chest of the illustrious lord Tribhuvanamalladēva and who bears the title, 'Fairy Queen in the art of dancing';—made over with the pouring of water a gift of income, free from all impositions, derived from tolls and levies such as perjuka, bilbole, vadḍaraṇa, on a thousand pack-bullocks in the region of Alande Thousand, for the offerings to the god Swayambhū Sōmāvara of Alandipura, the first and the foremost town in the district of Alande Thousand, to the illustrious divine Surēśvara Paṇḍita, in charge of the temple of Sōmāvara; hail!—who is endowed with self-restraint, self-discipline, spiritual study, meditation, conservation, silence, religious practice, incantation, absorption and exemplary character: who is an outcome, as it were, of the heart-felt wishes of the wise persons: who quenches the wild fire of hunger of the helpless and the destitute; who quells the intoxication of the elephant of sinfulness; who is ever wakeful in protecting his creed; who is the never-failing abode of plenty; a crest-jam among the learned; wish-fulfilling jewel to the elite; who has secured the gracious boon by propitiating the feet of the eminent divine Vādideva Paṇḍita; who diverts himself in doing good to others.

Ll. 51-55. And Yuvrāja-vallabha Mallikārjuna who is holding the administrative charge of the province of Alande Thousand by the favour of the king. exempted the taxes, jalla, kallapalike, sāda and bhave in the twelve villages endowed to the god Swayambhū Sōmāvara of Alande, after making a request to the king, at the instance of Daṇḍanāyaka Nācharasa, the pērāde of the province.

1 As required by the context, I have translated the expression jagada as 'realm'. Its other meaning 'illustrious' does not suit here. See above, Vol. XV, p. 357, verse 18.
Il. 55-57. And again at the request of Gommalaya Nāyaka, the koppaḷ of the town, Kumāra Sōmēśvara made a gift of ten coins per month out of the money income accruing from the cess in the town of Alanda for a perpetual lamp to the god (Sōmēśvara).

Il. 57-58. Sillapayya, the brother-in-law of Gommalayya, made a gift of four mango trees in the garden of Baladeva lying to the west of the road leading to Harēnā[gi] for the benefit of the ascetics, their disciples and the lay-students.

Il. 58-59. The merchant guild of Alanda made a gift of fifty (betel) leaves on the sale of every load to the god.

Il. 59-60. The merchant guild, the Mahājanas of the town and the establishment of the five matrices will maintain all these charities as long as the sun and the moon endure.

Il. 60-61. (Imprecation against the transgressors of charity.)

No. 6—JAVANTINATHAPURAM INSCRIPTION OF VARAGUNA-MAHARAJA

(1 Plate)

M. Venkataramayya, Ootacamund

The subjoined inscription₁ is engraved on a slab now built into the front wall, right of entrance, of the Lakshmīnārāyaṇa temple at Javantinathapuram, Lālgūḍī taluk, Tiruchirāpalli District. The engraved stone must have originally stood elsewhere in the vicinity since the wall in which it is now built appears to have been recently constructed. It is fragmentary, the lower part containing the concluding portion of the inscription being broken and lost. Nevertheless in the extant portion is retained the main purport of the record, which belongs to the reign of the early Pāṇḍya king, Māraṇḍaḷaṇaṃ aḷaḷa Varaguna-Mahārajā.

The inscription is engraved in Tamil characters of about the 9th century A.D. found in the locality.² A few Sanskrit words and letters are in the Grantha characters. The script does not call for any special remarks. The language of the record is Tamil.

The inscription is dated in the 4+9th year of the reign of the Pāṇḍya king, Māraṇḍaḷaṇaṃ aḷaḷa Pāṇḍya-adhipati Varaguna-Mahārajā. It registers the gift, made by the king, of gold for the expenses of burning, day and night, two perpetual lamps before the god, Perumāṇḍagāḷ of Tīru-Mayilāṇām, (a suburb) of Ilandūṟumāṇaḷam. The gift was placed, for management, in the hands of a Vēḷaḷ of Aṇḍalāḷu, whose name is lost in the missing part of the inscription.

The record is important for the details of date contained in it as they help in calculating the corresponding date in A.D., thereby solving a few problems pertaining to the chronology of the reign of this Pāṇḍya king. The record bears the date 4+9th year of reign, Dhanuṣ, Monday, Avitiṭam. The form in which the year of reign is quoted, in years ‘opposite to the 4th year’, is to be noted in particular in view of the existence of a large number of records dated similarly, in years added on to 4, issued in the reign of Māraṇḍaḷaṇaṃ.³ There are again some others men-

₃ No. 480 of 1917 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. (4th year +360 day) at Kutṭālam (Tinnevelly Dty.); 90 of 1908 (4+933 day) at Tiruppattūr (Ramnad Dty.); 366 of 1907 (4+1+1+1st year) at Adūrāi (Tanjore Dty.); 358 of 1907 (4+1+1+1st year) at Adūrāi (Tanjore Dty.); 13 of 1908 (4+4th year) at Kumbakōṇaḷ (Tanjore Dty.); 36 of 1908 (4+6th year) at Tiruppattūr (Ramnad Dty.); 411 of 1904 (4th year +2501st day) at Tiruchirāpāḷi; 413 of 1901 (4+9th year) at Tiruchirāpāḷi; 84 of 1910 (4+9) at Tiruvellaiṇai (Tiruchirāpāḷi Dty.); 105 of 1905 (Ep. Ind. IX. 84 of 4+12th year at Āmbuśāmudram (Tinnevelly Dty.); 185 of 1920 (4+12th year) at Tiruchurirambāḷam (Tanjore Dty.); No. 153 of 1908 (4th year +4633rd day) at Tiruppattūr (Ramnad Dty.); No. 51 of 1895 (4+veer) at Tellasthānam (Tanjore Dty.) mentioning Varaguna Mahārajā and Kṣa-Paṅṭākā (i.e., Viraṇārayaṇa Šaṅkaiyaṇa).
tioning Varaguna alone but likewise dated in years ‘opposite to 4.’ At Lālgudi, about 4 miles from Javantināthapuram, were found two records, one of which refers itself to the reign of Māraṇajādaïaṇ ālīs Pāṇḍya-kulapati Varaguna-Mahārāja and dated in the 4+9th year of his reign. The other which does not specify the ruling king is dated in the regnal year 4+1. The former contains the additional details of date, viz., Dhanus, Tuesday, Sādayam. These details show that this record was issued just one day later than the Javantināthapuram inscription under study. Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar who has edited these two inscriptions6 worked out the date of the record containing astronomical details, as equivalent to A.D. 824, Nov. 29, Tuesday, after taking into consideration several alternatives. The other record, which mentions as donor the Pallava king Nandivarman III, the victor of Teljūrā, he assigned to A.D. 816. He assigns both the inscriptions to Varaguna I. Accepting for the nonce the correctness of the date proposed by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar for the record giving astronomical details, the date of our record would be Monday, Nov. 28, A.D. 824, which is the day on which the details found in it tally. But as will be shown presently, the above dates for the Lālgudi inscription and for our epigraph are not acceptable on several grounds, one of which is the existence of still another set of corresponding dates for them which compels acceptance in preference to any other alternative. These are A.D. 875, December 5, Monday for our record and December 6, Tuesday for the Lālgudi record B. It is found that by accepting these dates we get A.D. 861-2 as the year of accession of this Pāṇḍya king, a date which is precisely the same as the one obtained for Varaguna from the Aivarmalai (Ayyampāḷayam) inscription which couples his eighth year of reign with Śaka 792. Scholars are agreed that this Varaguna is identical with Varagunavarman II, the son and successor of Śrīmāra, of the Pāṇḍya genealogy furnished in the Bigger Śīḷamaṉāṉī plates of Sādayamāṉī (Rājasīnīha). Yet another record of Pāṇḍya-Mahārāja Māraṇajādaïaṇ at Tiruvellārāi dated in the 4+9th year of reign contains the astronomical details, Vṛśčikā, Monday, Āsvatī which correspond to A.D. 874, November 22, Monday, yielding A.D. 861-2 as the initial year of the king’s reign.6 It would follow from all this that the king who consistently issued his records in the years ‘opposite to 4’ though variably called Māraṇajādaïaṇ, Varaguna and Māraṇajādaïaṇ ālīs Varaguna-Mahārāja may be considered as one and the same ruler and identical with Varagunavarman II, the eldest son and successor of Śrīmāra Śrīvallabhā and whose accession took place in A.D. 861-2. It will not be wrong to arrive at this conclusion since we have a similar instance in respect of another Pāṇḍya king, Sādayamāṉī, most of whose records being dated in regnal years ‘opposite to 2’ enable us to identify him with Sādayamāṉī Rājasīnīha, the donor of the Bigger Śīḷamaṉāṉī plates which were issued in the 2+14th year of his reign.6

Another important consideration which would make the dates proposed by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar for the Lālgudi inscriptions A and B assigning them as he did to Varaguna I unacceptable is that while the Lālgudi record A, the date of which is fixed at A.D. 816 by Mr. Aiyar, mentions as donor Pallava Nandivarman III, the victor of Teljūrā, latest researches show that this king ruled approximately between c. 851 and 873 A.D. and not between c. 812 and 844 A.D., as held by Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar; for, it can now be accepted as more or less correct that Nandivarman II, the

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1 Above, Vol. XX, pp.46ff.
2 Mr. M. S. Sarma in a paper entitled Prīvēśapati, Varaguna and Aparājīka in J.O.R., Vol. IX, pp. 227-8, equates the date of the Lālgudi record B with December 5th, Tuesday, A.D. 780. This date is rather too early to be accepted in view of the reasons set out by us above.
grandfather of Nandivarman III of Telārū fame, ascended the throne somewhere about A.D. 733. In consequence, Nandivarman III could not have come to the throne before c. 851 A.D. (733 plus 55 and 55 years, the duration of the reign of Nandivarman II and Dantivarman). The victory at Telārū is mentioned in his records from the 18th year of reign onwards, i.e., c. 868-9 A.D., though it is not unlikely that it was secured several years earlier. Hence the date of the Lālguḍi record A cannot be earlier than c. 850-1 A.D., the approximate date of the accession of Nandivarman III. Our date for the record, assigning it as we do to Varaguna Mahārāja II, would be A.D. 867. This date falls well within the reign of Nandivarman III, besides indicating that the king’s victory at Telārū was won before that date.

On the strength of the foregoing considerations, the Javantināthapuram epigraph under study may be assigned to Varaguna II who ruled from A.D. 861-2 and consequently the equivalent of the details of date cited in it would be A.D. 875, December 5, Monday. It can, therefore, be concluded that inscriptions of Māṇāṇḍajālayaṇ alias Varaguna Mahārāja issued in the regnal years ‘opposite to 4’ may be assigned to this king in preference to Varaguna I. At present there are no means of identifying Māṇāṇḍajālayaṇ, whose inscriptions are dated in a peculiar roundabout way like such and such year opposite to the 35th year, with his namesake whose records are dated in the more common fashion of giving simple regnal years, like 5, 10 and so on. It is not unlikely that some of them may belong to Varaguna II. Nevertheless, taking into consideration only those records of Varaguna II dated in the years ‘opposite to 4’, a tolerably good account of the events of his reign may be given.

From these records of his reign it is learnt that he conducted a campaign against Iḍāvai in the Chōla country and after overrunning it proceeded as far as Araiśūr on the bank of the Penuk in Tōṇḍai-nādu, which was the dominion of the Pallavas. The attendant circumstances of this campaign seem to be somewhat as follows: he entered the Chōla territory on the Kāvēri about A.D. 866. Thence he seems to have directed his campaign against the Pallava Nandivarman III who perhaps had earlier caused discomfiture to the Pāṇḍyas by a victory over them at Telārū and had occupied the Chōla territory, the bone of Pāṇḍya-Pallava contention. By A.D. 867 the Pallava was humbled, since we find him figuring as donor in the record of the Pāṇḍya king at Lālguḍi (ins. A). The Lālguḍi (A) and the Javantināthapuram records actually testify to the presence of Varaguna II in A.D. 867 and 875 at Iḍāvai in the Sōla-nādu against which the Pāṇḍya Māṇāṇḍajālayaṇ is specifically stated to have gone on a campaign.

1 See J.O.R., Vol. XV, p. 110. Approximately the same date for the accession of Nandivarman II can be arrived at from the recently discovered Uchāla record of Chāluksya Viṣṇuvāditya. (Ancient India, No. 5, Jan. 1949, p. 54.)
3 Nos. 32 of 1893 and 11 of 1899 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. are dated in the 10th and 12th years of a king whose name is not stated, the records commencing with the word ‘yāṇḍu’ only. But they record benefactions by Nandivarman, the victor of Telārū. Should the records be assigned to his reign, we may believe that by his 10th year, i.e., c. 861-2 A.D. Nandi won the victory. This date would tally with the facts of the Lālguḍi record A of c. A. D. 867 in the mention it makes of Nandivarman of Telārū fame.
5 Nos. 9 and 10 of 1899; 311 and 313 of 1904; 104 and 128 of 1905; 37 and 43 of 1908; 422 and 430 of 1914; 605 of 1915; 295 of 1916; 10 and 85 of 1927; 21 of 1930-1; 297 of 1940-1, all of the Mad. Ep. Coll.
means the Mangalam (agrahāra-village) between (two) rivers (idai + āru) and the present Javantināthapuram and Lālgudi are situated just between the rivers Kāvēri and Kollijam (Coledoom) which was the region called Iḍaiyāṟru-nāṭu or perhaps Iḷavai for short. It is not unlikely that it was during one of these campaigns that Varaguṇa II destroyed Vēmbil (Vēmbarṟūṟ) and encamped at Niyamam (Nīsam, Tanjore taluk) as stated in his Tiruchircappalī records¹ (c. A.D. 874-5). His Ambāsamudram inscription² of A.D. 872 states that he encamped at Araisūr on the bank of the Peṇnār in Toṇḍai-nāṭu, an event which might have taken place in the course of the subjugation of Nandivarman III which achievement, as pointed out above, occurred before A.D. 867. The text of the Ambāsamudram record does not militate against such a possibility. Perhaps it was on the occasion of his presence in the Pallava country that Tenṇavaṉ Pallavaraiyāṉ alias Māṭaṉ Āchenāṉ of Pōḻiyūr (i.e. Pōḻūr near Arkōpam), the seat of a minor Pallava family³ sought service under him. This chieftain figures in a record⁴ of Varaguṇa at Tiruppattūr, Ramanad District, of A.D. 867-8. It cannot be said, however, that even after these military marches across the Chōḷa country into the Pallava dominion, Varaguṇa II was able to establish any rule like sustained or supreme control over the regions. For, we find that the Pallavas were not completely dislodged from the Chōḷa territory in these years. Records of Nandivarman III of the 21st and 22nd years of reign (c. A.D. 872-3)⁵ and of Nripatuṅga of the 2nd year of reign (c. A.D. 875) are found⁶ in the Chōḷa country which, apparently, continued to be a disputed land till Nripatuṅga, by his resounding victory against the enemy in or about A.D. 890 established his rule firmly over this territory too.⁷ In a record of the 18th year of the reign (c. A.D. 890) of the Pallava king at Tiruvadi in the Cuddalore taluk, Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa-Mahārāja figures as the donor.⁸ Subsequent to this date we rarely meet with any records of Varaguṇa II in Chōḷa territory while records of Nripatuṅga of regnal years 22⁹ (c. 894), 23¹⁰ (c. 895) and 24¹¹ (c. 896) are found in the same region. It would, therefore, appear that in the latter part of the reign of Varaguṇa II, the Pāṇḍyas lost both in power and in prestige.

Turning now to the text of the Javantināthapuram record under study, a few remarks may be offered regarding the places mentioned in it. Iḍaiyāṟṟumaṅgalam, the meaning and derivation of which have been explained above, may be Javantināthapuram itself. The residents of this village say that it had another name Mayiliraṅgam which is evidently what is mentioned in the inscription as Iḍaiyāṟṟumaṅgalat- Tirumayiraṅgam. Tirumayiraṅgam was perhaps another name for Iḍaiyāṟṟumaṅgalam or, more likely, a suburb of it. Anāṇādu, the region whence the Vēḷaṅ hailed, is identical with the country round about Dīṅḍal, in the Madura District.

No. 7—CURZON MUSEUM INSCRIPTION OF KANISHKA'S REIGN; YEAR 23

(I Plate)

B. Ch. Chhabra, Ootacamund

This short but highly important record appears on the pedestal of a Bōdhisattva image, now deposited in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology at Mathurā. It has been briefly noticed in the Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India, for 1920-21, p. 35. A pointed reference to this has subsequently been made by Prof. V. V. Mirashi, urging the desirability of its proper edition.1

The inscription is not well preserved. Portions of it have apparently been destroyed. The writing is arranged as follows: the upper band of the pedestal contains one line uninterrupted; below that, in the centre, appears the tri-ratna symbol flanked by two human figures, apparently one male and one female: behind each figure occurs a short line of inscription; to the extreme left there is a figure of rampant lion; corresponding to this there must have been a similar figure on the extreme right also, which is now damaged; the last line of the inscription occurs on the lower band, right at the bottom; a portion of this line seems to have been obliterated. In this way the inscription occurs in four sections rather than in four regular lines.

The characters are Brāhmi of the usual Kushāṇa type. The form of m in the very first word is noteworthy inasmuch as it is of the southern class. That in Masyagutasya is of the northern class, which is more common in the Kushāṇa inscriptions, while m in [ma]hārasya, which immediately precedes the word Masyagutasya, is not clear. In fact, it is doubtful whether it is m at all. The subscript y in the first word is of the tripartite kind, while elsewhere in the inscription it is throughout of the bipartite type.

1 The rest of the inscription is lost.
The language is the mixed dialect that is generally found in the Mathurā inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period. It may be observed that the scribe has either wrongly omitted a few letters or else purposely used abbreviated forms in certain words. The very first word, for instance, reads mahārasya which obviously stands for mahārājasya. The next is Kani, by which no doubt Kanishka is meant. It is, however, strange that the scribe should have shortened the usual expression Kanishkasya saṅvatsarat, or something to that effect, into a simple Kani. The title of Masyaguta is also given as [ma]hārasya. As has already been indicated, the form of ma here is very uncertain.

The object of the inscription is to record the setting up of a Boddhisattva image by a lady, called Puṣya[datā?] (Pushyadattā), daughter of Mahāra Masyaguta (Mahārāja Matsyagupta), in her own1 monastery, in the first fortnight of the Grīshma season of the year 23 (of the reign) of Mahārāja Kanishka (which in continuation is counted as the Kushāṇa era).

The importance of the date has already been recognised. The year 23 is proved to be the last year of Kanishka’s reign, because we have got an inscription of his son and successor Huvishka, which is dated in the year 24 of the era thus established.

What is of much greater importance is the mention of a Mahārāja Matsyagupta2 as a contemporary of Kanishka. This is evidently a new name, and, what is more, an indication of the existence of a contemporaneous royal family. Whoever this Matsyagupta was, it is apparent that he was on friendly terms with Kanishka, as is to be inferred from the fact that he or his daughter had built a vihāra in the kingdom of the Kushāṇa monarch, as the inscription has it.

It may be argued that Matsyagupta might have been an ordinary individual and not a king, and the word read as mahārasya might in reality be something different, may be one denoting the name of the place from which Matsyagupta might have hailed. The reading of the first letter as ma has been admitted to be doubtful. It may not be ma, but just two horizontal strokes, one above the other, meant for a sign of punctuation.

Two considerations are against the foregoing argument. The first is: Maharāya Kani, it may be admitted, stands for Mahārājasya Kanishkasya, and just as here the first word is imperfectly written, so may it be in the case of Mahārasya preceding Masyaguptasya. Secondly, the name ending in guta, i.e., gupta, strongly suggests itself to be that of a king. Besides, the contraction Kani may equally be significant here. Possibly the scribe was an employee of Matsyagupta, who attached more importance to the contents of the record than to the particulars of the date. He thought, his abbreviation Kani was clear enough to serve the purpose, whereas he had to mention his master’s name in full. Finally, it may be observed that the two human figures, noticed above as flanking the triratna symbol, that are not usually met with in such cases, in the present instance, may be taken to represent Mahārāja Matsyagupta and his daughter Pushyadattā. This lends some further weight to the supposition that in Matsyagupta we have a king and not an ordinary individual.

It will be worth while to search for more particulars about this Mahārāja Matsyagupta in literature and in epigraphy.

1 That is how the syntax would have it, but possibly the meaning intended to be conveyed is ‘in his own monastery’, ‘his’ referring to the father of the lady.

2 The equation of Masyaguta with Matsyagupta was kindly suggested to me first by Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao. I have no doubt about its correctness. Personal names in the period concerned are often after the names of various constellations such as Pushya Viśākhā, Prāshṭhā, etc. And in the present instance Matsya, i.e., Mina, is also one such.
TEXT

1 Maharasya Kani 23 gra 1 ētasya pu[r]vayah [ma]jāhārasya Masyagutasya dhītā Puṣyā[da——]f
2 bodhisatta[mī]
3 [pratishṭhāpayati]a
4 svaka viharē [sarva-satvānāh]... . f

TRANSLATION

The first fortnight of Summer, the year 23 of Mahārāja Kanisha—on this day, Puṣyā[dattā], the daughter of Mahārāja Matyagupta, establishes [this] Bōdhisattva in her own monastery. a

No. 8—MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF THE TIME OF NARENDRADHAVALA

(Plate I)

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, OOTACUMUND

There are in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund several sets of impressions of a copper-plate inscription which is now preserved in the Madras Museum. The impressions originally belonged to the office of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy. Southern Circle. The find-spot of the record is unknown; but there is little doubt that it was secured from some locality in Orissa. According to the Catalogue of Copper-plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras, 1918, p. 58, the plates were received from the Collector of the Ganjam District. They were examined by the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy and a short note on the inscription was published in his report for the year 1916-17, No. 11. This note was utilised by the compiler of the Catalogue of Copper-plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras. It was, however, not noticed at that time that the record reveals the name of a new king of a hitherto unknown royal family of ancient Orissa. Considering the importance of the inscription, I examined the original plates which had been kindly lent to the Government Epigraphist’s office by the Superintendent of the Madras Museum. I edit the record for the Epigraphia Indica with the kind permission of Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India.

The set consists of three oblong plates each measuring 6½” in breadth and 4” in height. They contain four sides of writing in all, the first and the third plates having inscription only on one side. There are ten lines of writing on the first plate, nine lines on the obverse and eight on the reverse of the second plate, and only five lines on the third plate. The size of an akṣara is about ½” x ⅛”. The plates have no rims, but the incision is deep and the writing is in a good state of preservation. A layer of metal has, however, peeled off from some parts of the outer or blank

1 From inked estampages kindly supplied, in July 1942, by Mr. M. M. Nagar, the then Curator, Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Mathurā

a What follows Puṣya looks like the upper portion of a da. Possibly the name was Puṣyadattā (Puṣyadattā). The change of ek into ë is common in this type of inscriptions. Compare Puṣyamitra and Puṣyamitrīya of certain other inscriptions form Mathurā (Laiders’ List of Brāhmi Inscriptions, Nos. 16, 34).

f This word is faintly visible. The subscript r of pra looks more like medial u. The medial i of ti is hardly to be seen. The subscript ā and medial a of akṣhā are indistinct. The right-hand stroke of po is mixed up with the left-hand stroke of ya that follows. While ya is fairly clear, the last ti is not at all clear.

f This must have been followed by hita-sukhāy-aśu or some such expression.

a Or ‘in his own monastery’. See above, p. 43, f. n. 1.
Curzon Museum Inscription of Kanishka's Reign: Year 23

B Ch Chhabra
Reg. No. 463 HE(C) 50-534

Survey of India, Dehra Dun

Scale: Two-Thirds
INSCRIBED SCULPTURE

(From a Photograph)
face of the first plate and this has also affected some letters of the inscription on the other side of the plate (cf. lines 1, 2 and 10). All the three plates have a ring-hole which is about \( \frac{2}{3} \)" in diameter and is about \( \frac{3}{8} \)" from the proper right margin. When the plates were examined in the office of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy there was no ring with them. This is known from a short note found with the impressions. The ring was apparently taken out by making a slit at the margin near the ring-hole, which is still noticed in the second and third plates. The margin near the ring-hole in the first plate is broken. The Catalogue of Copper-plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras, however, describes the plates as "strung on a ring without a seal", and this ring is seen with the plates even today. Whether the ring was found with the plates or was later made for them cannot be easily determined.

Regarding the palaeography of the inscription, the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy says in his report, "The characters are of about the thirteenth century: like those of the plates of Daṇḍimahādevī (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VI, p. 136)". He is no doubt right in assigning the record on palaeographic grounds to a date not much later than the age of the Bhaumakara queen Daṇḍimahādevī of Orissa; but it is impossible to believe now, with Kielhorn, whom he follows, that the characters of Daṇḍimahādevī's inscriptions belong to the thirteenth century. They are certainly earlier than the 'first half' of the twelfth century, when the greater Gaṅgas were in possession of the lower part of Orissa. Daṇḍimahādevī must have ended her rule considerably before the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōdāgāna who was crowned in 1078 A.D. Some records of Daṇḍimahādevī are dated in the year 180 or 280 probably of the Harsha era. The date would thus correspond to A.D. 786 or 886. It has also to be remembered that the date is written in the old style with symbols for 100 or 200 and \( \infty \) and that this system is not usually found in inscriptions of a date later than the tenth century. The plates under discussion should, therefore, be assigned to a date not later than the tenth century A.D. As we shall presently see, this dating is supported by the internal evidence of the inscription.

Interesting from the palaeographical point of view is the use of the initial vowels a (lines 8, 14, 16, 18, 23, 27, 28), ã (line 6), i (lines 14, 26), u (lines 12, 13, 19, 30) and ñ (lines 15, 17). Medial ñ has two forms being used often above the consonant as in modern Dēvanāgarī and sometimes to the left of it as in Bengali and Oriya. The first type is quite common, while the second is employed only in a few cases. There is no distinction between the signs for ñ and ñ and between those for subscript ñ or ñ and ñ. What resembles a visarga sign has in all cases been put before the daṇḍas apparently as a part of the punctuation mark.

The language of the record is only seemingly Sanskrit and is greatly influenced by the local dialect. The rare use of the case-endings, especially the first: and the second, has rendered the real interpretation of the inscription greatly difficult. Attention may be drawn to the use of words like br̥iḥata (line 10) or br̥ikada (line 8) for Sanskrit br̥ihata and pāthara for Sanskrit prastara (lines 8, 10, 12, 13). Words like māhāsūmata or māhāṇāsūmata (for māhāsūmata, lines 13-14), pāsā (for pāsā, line 26), jaya (for jaya, line 24) and many others are interesting from the point of view of orthography and exhibit influence of local pronunciation. The duplication of dh in Ardhī-thāṣṭrī (line 8) is also interesting. The daṇḍas, which have been quite extensively used, are in most cases not necessary at all.

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2 Bhandarkar, List, No. 1099. The lower part of Orissa was conquered by Chōdāgāna from the Somavarnas, and not from the Bhaumakaras.
3 Above, op. cit., p. 139; Bhandarkar, op. cit., No. 1413. The correct reading of the hundred symbol seems to be 100 and not 200.
4 G. H. Ojha, The Palaeography of India (in Hindi), 1918, p. 115.
The record is not dated. But as pointed out above, it has to be assigned to a date not much later than the tenth century. In this connection, it may be pointed out that the inscription refers to one Silabahana who seems to be no other than Silabahana I Anguli, founder of the Bhana royal family of Khinjali-madhala (about the Koonjar State) ruling from Dhritipura and Vañjulvaka. This is suggested by the fact that the record under discussion was engraved by Padmanabha who was a son of the Vasik Pandy and was an inhabitant of Gandhapatagi. Now this person seems to be identical with the Vasik-varagakara Padmanabha, son of Pandy and engraver of the Sonpur plates of Ranaika Ranaabhaana who was the son of Sattrabhaana and the grandson of Silabahana-Anguli. It is interesting to note that Sattrabhaana was also known as Gandhastra and was possibly the founder of Gandhapatagi, the native place of Padmanabha son of Pandy. The Patna Museum Plate 1 of Ranaika Ranaabhaana mentions his queen Vijaya who was the daughter of Ranaika Niyanna. It is very probable that this Niyanna is no other than Ranaika Niyanna mentioned in the Senta-Bonnagi plate of the Gauna king Devendravarma (dated Gauna year 529 falling in 1015-16 A.D.) 2 as the father of Bhimakshi and the grandfather of Dharmakhdi of the feudatory Kadambo family of Jayantypura. The Mandasa plate 3 (dated Saka 917-935 A.D.) 4 mentions Kadamba Dharmakhdi as the feudatory of Gauna Anantavarma. His grandfather Niyanna or Niyanna thus appears to have flourished about the middle of the tenth century which, or rather the third quarter of the tenth century, seems to have been the age of Ranaabhaana. It is then possible to assign Ranaabhaana's grandfather Silabhaana to about the first quarter of the same century. As, however, the name of Gandhapatagi mentioned in our record seems to presuppose the rule of Silabhaana's son Sattrabhaana-Gandhastra and as Padmanabha is known to have served under Silabhaana's grandson Ranaabhaana, the inscription under discussion may be roughly ascribed to the age of the Bhana kings Sattrabhaana and Ranaabhaana of Khinjali-madhala who, as already indicated above, probably ruled about the second and third quarters of the tenth century.

The record under discussion is a kraya-sasana (cf. lines 4 and 7) which literally means 'a deed of purchase' and indicates actually a sale deed. It may also indicate 'land sold by means of a kraya-sasana'. The village that formed the subject of the kraya-sasana is called Tadgava-(va)ragama (line 7) which was apparently situated in Khinipراسiningha (i.e., Khinjalarisingha), forming part of the Gomunda-madhala (or Moomuda-) in the kingdom of the illustrious Narendradhavala (line 1). Gomunda-madhala (or Moomuda-) may actually have been the name of Narendradhavala's kingdom (cf. Khinjali-madhala forming the entire kingdom of a branch of the Bhana family). In lines 1-3 of the epigraph, it seems to be said that a person named Sada, who was the son of the Bhan/udu (Sanskrit Bhayaprakiki) Rauniya and the grandson of the Kula-patra (nobleman) Vajadava, purchased the above village from the illustrious Silabhaana-deva, as a kraya-sasana, paying some rupaya, i.e., silver or money; the purchase appears to have been made through the illustrious Ranaika Ranaikha who was the son of the illustrious Ranaika Vikara and the grandson of the illustrious Ranaika Madhavara/ (probably Vartha-varaha) and was a scion

1 The Jangalpada plates (JKBRS, Vol. I, pp. 181 ff.) of apparently the 14th regnal year of Sattrabhaana appear to represent this Silabhaana as the son of Malla Gumbhiras[va] and the grandson of Yamalakadhava. The identification of Sattrabhaana of this inscription with the homonymous ruler of Khinjali-madhala is, however, not entirely beyond doubt.
3 Above, Vol. XX, pp. 100 ff.; Bhandarkar, op. cit., No. 2053.
of the Nāga family hailing from a locality called Dharaqimpha or Dharaqā in the region where the rūpyaka seems to have been paid through Rājputra Vigraha who may have been the son of Rāṅakā Ghōṅghākā. Lines 5-6, together with line 17, appear to say that, some years later, the village was resold by Saṅdā as a kara-sāsana to three persons called Thākura Kōnvi, Thākura Umbā and Dōmbi on receipt of an amount of rūpyaka specified as pla 10 2 | mā 2 gu t. In this specification pla stands for the well-known weight called pala which is equal to four karshas or sixty-four māshas. It is, however, interesting to note that the form pla instead of pala is found usually in other early inscriptions of Orissa in connection with rūpya or rūpyaka. A copper-plate charter1 of the Soma-vanī king Mahābhavagupta I Janamējaya which records a kara-sāsana (i.e., a revenue-paying grant and not a revenue-free gift), has the following interesting endorsement: prati-varshē chātra sāsanē kara[n]4 paṁcha rūpya-plānī nīshṭaṅkṛa kara-sāsana-vaśa dattān ātra rā pala 5. The annual rent of the village granted to some Brāhmaṇas by the Soma-vanī ruler was thus fixed at five palas of rūpya. The Talcher copper-plate inscription of the Orissan ruler Gayādatūṅga, edited by N. N. Vasu2 and by R. D. Banerji,3 records a similar grant of a village in favour of three Brāhmaṇas with the following endorsement: rūpya-plā chaṭārī aṅkṛī rūpya pla 1, although the learned editors of the inscription failed to decipher the passage correctly.4 It is not made clear in the record whether the four palas of rūpya were realised as the nominal price of the village granted or were to be annually levied as revenue. Of the two other contractions used in our record, ā | mā is difficult to explain, although it is tempting to suggest that mā stands here for māshā. Gu is very probably an abbreviation of the well-known weight guṇājā, otherwise called raktiśā (modern rati), which is one-sixth of a māshā. Thus the price or annual rent of the village of Tājēvavagrāmā seems to have been fixed at silver weighing ten palas, two māshas and four guṇājās. The reference to silver instead of coined money is interesting from the view point of the economic condition of ancient Orissa. Probably there was dearth of coined money. It may, however, be suggested that the three contractions actually indicate three varieties of coins. But the paucity of ancient coins from Orissan sites as well as the fact that gu or guṇā could not have been a coin possibly goes against the suggestion.5

Lines 7-13 of the inscription describe the boundaries of Tājēvavagrāmā. In this description, the words sānhī and prākchhēḍa are repeatedly used. The meaning of both the words is uncertain. The former word apparently also occurs in some other early Orissan records. The Ganjam plate6 of Daṇḍimahādevī seems to use the same word in the form sānhī (śānhi?). I have tentatively taken it to mean the same thing as Sanskrit śāndhi or junction. Prākchhēḍa has been similarly taken to stand for Sanskrit prākchhēḍa or the dividing line (i.e., boundary) well-known from former times. The village is said to have had in the east the big stone at the sāndhi of Chāmpū, the gūḍa (Sanskrit gūḍcha) at the sāndhi of Padūmbā and the prākchhēḍa of Ardha-śrotri; in the south the prākchhēḍa of a gūḍa (fort); in the west the sāndhi of the Vīrī stūpa; in the north-west the prākchhēḍa of Kūsū[mbr], that of Galichhinā on the big hill, that at the centre of the Śrīvīḍa hill and that at the stone of Galichhinā on the north of the Śrīvīḍā; in the north the boundary at the stone of Gūḍa-sara and in the north-east the prākchhēḍa of the stone hill at Vīpa.


3 ASR, N. S., Vol. XII, pp. 292-94.

4 Vasu (op. cit., p. 160) and Banerji (above, Vol. XII, p. 173) could not also read correctly the passage Sīnagrabhā śrī-śakā: rūpya-pla 2 in the Talcher plate of Sulkī Kula-tambhā. Similarly we have to read ru(rūpya-pla 2) in lines 33 and 34 of the epigraphic text printed above, Vol. XXIV, p. 20.

5 For the miserable economic condition of Orissa in early times, not the observations of the seventeenth-century writer Thomas Bowring quoted by me in JNS, Vol. VII, p. 83.

6 Above, Vol. VI, p. 140.
Lines 13-17 say that the village was offered as a kṛṣṇa-sāvāna with the consent of Mahāsāmanta Karēthi, of Sōnapa who was the son of Mahāsāmanta Aichārā, of Khāṭāvādāmya,1 of Thākura Bahulā and of Kadukūllīga. Lines 17-18 appear to contain the names of the following witnesses: Bhāṭaputra Āṅkura, Bhāṭaputra Vāghāda, Bhāṭaputra Kauḍīya, Bhāṭaputra Hēva, and Māhāa (i.e., Māhā or 'senior' or Māhāsāmanta for Mahāsāmanta) Kūḍāmpūla. In lines 18-28 are quoted some of the usual imprecatory verses in Sanskrit, although they contain all sorts of mistakes.2 Line 28 also contains the māṇyala: 'Let there be peace to the cow, the Brāhmaṇa and the world as well as to the king'. In lines 28-29 there is a passage which seems to mean (the village is) to be enjoyed according to the custom prevalent in the country in succession by grandfathers, fathers and sons. Another interesting passage in lines 29-30 says that, even if there are passages in the deed which are clear of letters or in excess of them, they should be regarded as genuine.3 Lines 31-32 say that the deed was engraved by Padmañāha who was the son of the merchant Pāṇḍi and was an inhabitant of Gandhātaṇāṭi.

The name of king Narēndradhavala is very interesting, as the name-ending dhavala seems to suggest the existence of a ruling family called Dhavala in ancient Orissa side by side with the families of the Bhaṅja kings whose names end with the word bhaṅja. It is also interesting to note in this connection that there is a tract of land in the Singbhum District of Bihar still known as Dhalbhūm or Dhavalabhūmi, 'the land of the Dhavalas'. This name of the territory is associated with a line of kings whose names end with the word dhavala. Indeed some late-medieval rulers of Dhalbhūm, such as Göpānāthadhava and his son Anantadhava who was the patron of the poet Jagannātha Sena, author of the Hīmallēsī Pančabāla, are famous in the history of Bengali literature.4 These Dhavala kings were neighbours of the Bhaṅjas of Orissa. As a matter of fact, part of the Singbhum District containing Dhalbhūmgarh lies immediately to the north of Mayur-bhaṅja ruled by a Bhaṅja royal family up till today. There is, however, another Dhavala ruling family in the heart of Orissa. Mr. P. Acharya of Baripada (Mayurbhanj State) informs me that the Rājas of Dompara in the Cuttack District of Orissa belong to a Dhala or Dhavala family. What relation may have existed in former times between the Dhavalas of Dompara and those of Dhalbhūm cannot be determined. It is, however, not improbable that both these families are offshoots of an ancient royal family of Orissa to which king Narēndradhavala of the record under discussion belonged. It is also possible to suggest that both the Bhaṅjas and Dhavalas were originally feudatories of the Bhauma-Karas and that they began to rule more or less independently only after the decline of the latter.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the charter, the location of only one place is certain. Gandhātaṇāṭi, mentioned also in several other Orissan records, is undoubtedly modern Gandhādāṭi in the Baulā tate. I am unable to identify Khinaḍarasaṅgha, Gōmūṇḍaṅdala or Mōṅḍaṅḍa,5 Dharaṇīmīpha or Dharaṇa6 and Taḍēśvaragrama. The localities mentioned in the description of the boundaries of Taḍēśvaragrama also cannot be identified. The kingdom of the Dhavalas, however, appears to have been contiguous to that of the Bhaṅjas of the Keonjhar

1 This expression may represent more than one personal name. Whether they were also the sons of Aichārā cannot be determined.
2 These verses were apparently inserted in order to represent the sale of land as a gift. Cf. Mitākharāṇ on the Yajurveda, 11.114: ahāraya vikraya-pratishekhaḥ...dāna-praśamukhaḥ-vikraya-pi kartraye sa-kāmam asaktaḥ dattā dānā-sūrya bhūva-vikraya kūṣā. See Kane, History of Dharmasāstra, Vol. III, p. 567.
3 For the same passage in other early Orissan records, cf. the Dhenkanal plate of Jayastambha, J.B.O.S., Vol. II, p. 407. [See also above, Vol. XII, pp. 203, 265, etc.]
4 S. Sen, Vīṇākāśa Sāktysa Itihaśa, Vol. I, second edition, p. 839. These Dhavala chiefs are said to have lived at Ambikānagara and enjoyed the title Shākālā.
region. Whether Khipatarasingha has to be identified with the territory called Giḍhrisingha mentioned in the Dirghasi stone inscription\(^1\) or Kandarasinghā in the S.I. sheet map 73II[5a2], cannot be definitely determined.

**TEXT**

**First Plate**

1 [Siddham]\(^1\) Khindaśagbhiṃ\(^5\) Śri-Narēndradhavaḷa\(^4\) -rājyē Gomūpaṭa\(^7\) -mandalē Dharanipīṭha\(^8\) -vi.\(^9\)

2 niṣrita | Nāgavansa-śambhava | rānaka-śri-Madhavaraḥā \(^{10}\) suta-rāpakā-śri-Vikāra-

3 | Vikāra\(^{11}\) -suta-rānakā-śri-Ohōṅgārakēna | rājaputra-Vigraha-śasasthēna\(^{12}\) | rupṣyaka-śō\(^{13}\)

4 padhīnā | kraya-śāsanatvēṇa | kulaputraκa | Vānadeva\(^{14}\) -suta | bhanḍāri-Rajiyā

5 | tasya ṣuta Šēdā | Śīlāhāṇjadēva-krīta\(^{15}\) | Ṭhākura-Kōṇvī | Ṭhākura-

6 Umvā[mbā] | Dōṃv(mbi) | svōbhānandagē tinna\(^{18}\) | rupṣyaka pla 10 ā | 17 mā 2 gu 4 [\(^{19}\)]

7 Tāḍēsvaṅgrama | chatu-simā-parvyaṁntvāyā | sā-sama-vana-kānanna-śaṇēta | purva-

8 disēna\(^{19}\) | Chāmāp-sāndhi-vṛ(ṛ)hada-pāthāra | Paḻumvā[mbā]-śāndhi | gīda Ardhdhā-

-śrōtri-

9 prākakṛhēda | daksinē ṣvāla-prākakṛhēla | pāṣāchēna Vōrī-stupa-sāndhi | pa-

10 śchma-utterēna Kōsul[mvra]-pāthāra-prākakṛhēda | vṛ(ṛ)hada-parvvaṭē | Gā[la]-

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\(^1\) Above, Vol. IV, p. 318.

\(^2\) From the original plates preserved in the Madras Museum and impressions preserved at the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.

\(^3\) Expressed by symbol.

\(^4\) Possibly the reading intended is "singēḥ for "sringēḥ.

\(^5\) The danda is superfluous. The visvṛya-like sign before the danda is a part of the stop (cf., e.g., Annual Report of the Daco Museum for 1939-40, p. 8 and plate). With the exception of a few only, the dandas, so abundantly used in the inscription, are superfluous. In many cases the danda has been used just as a hyphen is done in English.

\(^6\) Metal has peeled off from some places on both sides of plate I. The damage is fortunately on the blank side. Due to the peeling off, the passage "Śri-Narēndradhavaḷa-ṛjyē Gō[2] (or Mō[3]) has been partially damaged. Whether the partial effacement of the king's name was intentionally done by some person is difficult to say. But it seems to me that the peeling off is natural. Cf. remarks at p. 44 above.

\(^7\) What has been read as Gō[2] may possibly also be read as Mō or Gā.

\(^8\) What I have read as ni may possibly also be read as nāi.

\(^9\) Read visvṛya-Nāgavān śa-śambhava.

\(^10\) The correct form of the name was possibly "Mukha".

\(^11\) It is better to omit the name here.

\(^12\) Sūhastēna seems to be intended.

\(^13\) S-pādhākuṣ is possibly intended.

\(^14\) The correct form of the name would be Vāna.

\(^15\) The idea seems to be: Rāniya-sutēna Śēdā-nāmakēna Śīlāhāṇjadēva kriṇa.

\(^16\) Possibly tīman which stands for Sanskrit tryākaṇa and refers to the three persons, viz., Kōṇvī, Umbā and Dōṃbī. Does svōbhānandagē stand for Śhōhānandagē and indicate the place where the three persons were living? The superscript of the akṣhara read γē looks like dh and the akṣhara may be dhē; but the sign should then have been longer. The idea may be: Ṭhākura-Kōṇvī-ṛa Ṭhākura-UMBĀ-nāmakē-Cha Dōṃbī-nāmakē-Cha tīti triḥghāḥ brāhmaṇēḥyāḥ.

\(^17\) This danda is not straight like the others but is slanting and peculiar.

\(^18\) Possibly rupṣyaka-pala 10 māśā 2 guṇī 4 is intended.

\(^19\) In Sanskrit the passage would stand: Tāḍēsvaṅgrama ṭhatu-simā-panyantah ma-sīla-vana-kānanna-samēliḥ pārva-dīśi. The following passage (lines 8-13), describing the boundaries of the village Tāḍēsvaṅgrama, is greatly influenced by the local Prakrit. As already noticed above, the words sāndhi and prākakṛhēda are repeatedly used; but their meanings are not absolutely certain. Sāndhi possibly means the same thing as sāndha or sāndhi-sīla, while prākakṛhēda possibly stands for prāk-ṛhēda meaning pārva-tāliṇa-cūklē, "dividing line of former times", i.e., the well-known boundary.

25 DGA
11 chhinā-prākachhēda | Śrīvidā-parvvata-madhyā-prākachhēda | Śrīvidā-uta-
12 rēna | Galachhinā-pāthara-prākachhēda | utara-diśēna | Gajēśara-pā-
13 thara-simaya | utara-purva-diśēna | Viṇa-pāthara-parvvata-prākachchēda | Mā-
14 bāmūnta-Ka-ṛṣṭhi | Māhāsāmanta-Aikharā | suta-Śūnapa | Kē-
15 ṛvāsamaya | ṛk-ha-Va(Bi)hūli | Kṛdukkulliṅga | ṛtata-sa-
16 rvv-sammatena | daṇḍyāda-mandala-vibhramēna | aśāna-kā-
17 ṭaṇā-hāv = a* | ūma=yaṁ kraya-śāsanaṁ pradatta | ētana vid-
18 tay | Bṛḍuputra-Anakura | Bhāṭaputra-Vaghaḍa | Bhāṭaputra-Ka-
19 uḷjāyā | Bhāṭaputra-Hē | Māhā-Kuḍjapōḷu | yāvadandaḥ bh-

Second Plate ; Second Side

20 vēl-bhumī | śama-chhēḍā susōbhanāṁ | tāvda-yuga-sahasrāṇi
21 Rudra-ākāra-oha tithhyat i | ṛsa-dātām-vā para-dātām-vā | yō havyō-
22 ti vasundhārā | vi-hēśāyaṁ krimi bhuta | pitṛbhī sāha pachyātē |
23 tāṭakāṁśu hasahṛēna | asvā(sva)mīḍā-satēna cha | gōghna-
24 hasahṛēna | bhumi-hartā na sūhyyat i | ja yaṣya ja(ṛ)ṣya yaḷi
25 bhumī | ṛṣyaṛa tālā phala[ṛa*] | haratāḥ hāryatā bhumi
26 mandal-vadu tamāvṛta | sa vadhō vāruṇai pāsāi |
27 tūrya-vōnisti jāvati | Ā(ṛ)lityo Varunā Vīmū | Vrahmā

Third Plate

28 Sōma(mō) Hutāsā(ṛ)na[h*] | Su(Śū)pānāni(q)iṣ-tu bhagavāṁ(vān) | abhinandanti bhu(bhā)-
29 miḍañ(lam) | gō-ṛū(hṛ)jīmaṇa-visvē(āvē)ḥyā[h*] | rājüş(jnē) sū(śa)nīr-bhavhavatī[ṛ] | pitī-
30 mōha-pātūni | bhōtkā(ktra)vyāni | dēśa-māryādayā | niṃ-āksharam-a-15
31 dhik-āksh[ṛatī] [ṛatī] maṇi(vā) | sarvve pramāṇaṁ iti | Gaundhaṭapāṣi-vāṣṭvya
32 vanjaka(k)-Pāṛāḷi | suta-PadmaṇābhaŚu | śāsana udāgiritam-iti
33 [A number of dāṅgas together with a lotus indicating the end]

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1 See above, p. 48, n. 1. Possibly we have to suggest saṅgā in the plural.
2 The idea seems to be: ētēṣā kṣara-sammatena referring possibly to the assent accorded to the deed by the persons mentioned in lines 13-15. Mahāsāmanta is no doubt the same as Mahāsāmanta.
3 The idea may be: dāṅgas together with a lotus indicating the end.

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4 Correctly speaking: gōhavāṁ-kṛṣṇa-sammatena pradattāḥ.
5 The verb may be: ṛtī vṛddhaḥ referring to the persons who are mentioned in lines 17-18 and who may have been witnesses to the deed. Mahā may be a contraction of Mahāśāmanta standing for Mahāsāmanta.
6 The verses in San-krit are hopelessly corrupt owing to the want of the writer's knowledge of that language and to the indulgence of the local pronunciation. Read yaved-datta bhācēd-bhūṁiṁ sāma-chhēḍā susōbhanā | tāved-vrai-vakṣarāṁ rudra-lōkē cha tīṣṭhāti ||
7 Read sva-datta na para-datta na vā yō karēva vasundhārām | sa vishāyāṁ kṛimīṁ bhūṁatā pitṛbhīṁ sakā
8 vēḷ pachyātē ||
9 Read gō-saṅbha-pradānēna bhūṁiḥ-hartāṁ na śāuktāti ||
10 Read bhūṁiḥ-dvaya. The first half of this verse (bhahubhir-vaśudhā datta rājabhīṁ Sūgar-ādhibhīṁ) is carelessly omitted.
11 Read harētē hāraṇṇēḥ-yas-tu manda-buddhis-tamō-trīlaḥ | sa badhēḥ vāruṇaiḥ pākṣaṁ-dīryog-yēnśukū jāgatē
12 Read Viśnuḥ-Brahmā.
13 Bhāsaṭiḥ or bhāvayati is apparently intended.
14 The idea may be pitā-putra-kramēṇa.
15 Read nīy-aṅkharāa.
16 Read Padmanābhaḥ śasanam-śiktīṁ-iti.
No. 9—MADANPUR PLATE OF SRICHANDRA; YEAR 44

(1 Plate)

R. G. Basar, Calcutta

This copper plate was found in June, 1946, while earth was being dug out for the foundation of a wall on the land belonging to one Sekh Newajuddin in the mauza of Madanpur, near the old and famous village of Sabhar, situated about 15 miles north-west of the city of Dacca in East Bengal. After its discovery, the plate was made over to the father of Babu Sanjay Roy, a pupil of Mr. Guru Prasad Ganguli, B.A., B.T., Head Master of the Sabhar H. E. School, to whom the former brought it for presentation. I am thankful to Mr. Ganguli, who was himself a student of mine during my professorship at the Rajshahi College long years ago, for his kindly sending the plate to me for decipherment. The plate was, at first, in many places of its surface, covered with a thick coating of hard earth and verdigris. But after it was cleaned by me, it was found that the inscription on it was in a fair state of preservation. Unfortunately, a portion of the plate towards its proper right corner at the bottom was obliquely cut away by some one amongst the ignorant finders, probably for testing its metal out of greed for gold. This has caused a loss of a few letters from the beginning of each of the lines 15 to 23 on the reverse side, and also at the end of each of the lines 29 to 42 on the reverse side. Most of these missing letters could, however, be restored with the help of the published plates of Srichandra.

The chronology of the discovery of the five copper plate grants, including the present one, of king Srichandra of East Bengal may be interesting to epigraphists and historians. The Edilpur (Faridpur) plate, the existence of which in the house of a rich man of the locality for several decades past was known to scholars in Bengal, but which has not yet been available to them for decipherment of the inscription thereupon in spite of strenuous attempts on their part, was the subject of a note on its contents gathered from a hurried study by the late Babu Ganga Mohan Laskar, published in the October issue of the now defunct journal, the Dacca Review, in the year 1912, and extracts thereof were quoted by the late Dr. N. K. Bhattasarali, in the pages of the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XVII, pp. 189-190. The second grant of this king, the Rampal (Dacca) plate, was first brought to light by the present writer in April, 1913, and was edited and published by him in this journal, Vol. XII, pp. 136-142 and plates. The third one, the Kedarpur (Faridpur) plate, was found in April 1919 by Dr. Bhattasarali, the then Curator of the Dacca Museum, and was edited and published by him in this journal, Vol. XVII, pp. 188-192. The fourth epigraph, the Dhulla (Dacca) plate, was also discovered by Dr. Bhattasarali in 1925. It is deposited in the Dacca Museum. It remains unpublished, but a short account of its contents was published by the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar, in an Appendix to his edition of Inscriptions of Bengal (Vol. III, pp. 185-6), published by the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi. The present plate is, therefore, to be regarded as the fifth amongst the grants, hitherto discovered, of this king. Thus within the course of 34 years (1912-1946) Bengal historians have come in possession of five grants of king Srichandra to help them in reconstructing the history of East Bengal under the Chandra dynasty.

This is a single plate inscribed on both sides. It measures about $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{3}{4}''$. Its edges are raised into rims on the reverse side, evidently for the preservation of the writing. It bears a seal attached to the middle of the top, measuring about $4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$. It projects about $1\frac{1}{2}''$ into the inscription thereby causing a break in the middle of the first three lines of writing on the reverse. This seal has a protuberant top and a pedestal-like bottom. It contains in the middle four concentric circles, the outermost having floral decorations which adorn the base. The innermost circle, the diameter of which is nearly $2''$, has in its upper part the famous Buddhist emblem of the Dharma Chakra (the wheel of law) flanked by two couchant deer, which device must be representing
the māyā-dāwa (the deer park) of Kāśi (now Sarnath, Banaras) where the Buddha delivered his first sermon on Dharma. Just below this representation, between two lines, occurs the legend Ṣrī-Śrīchandrandevāh written in relief. There is also a floral base for the support, as it were, of the legend, as is the case with the wheel emblem within its own circle. It may be noted that the Buddhist Pāla kings of Bengal also used the same emblem on the seals attached to their copper charters.

The inscription consists of 42 lines, the obverse containing 23 lines and the reverse 19 lines. The execution of the writing is excellent, the letters in all lines being almost of uniform size, which is about ¼”. The characters employed in the inscription belong to a variety of the northern alphabet which was used, specially in Bengal, in the 10th-11th century A.D. From a comparison of the script of the Vishnupāḍa (Gayā) temple inscription1 of the 7th year of king Nārāyana-pāla and of that of the Narasimhadēva (Gayā) temple inscription2 of the 15th year of king Nāyapāla, with that of our inscription (though engraved on copper), it may be assumed that our inscription belonged to a period intermediate between these two kings’ reigns. It may also be surmised that the script of this inscription does not belong to any period much earlier than that of the inscriptions3 of the time of the Varman kings of East Bengal. Of initial vowels we have the signs for a (in avārā, line 15, arīḍa, line 24, a-chāṭa, line 27, a-kūčh, line 27 and Agāṣṭya, line 28); ā (in ādhārō, line 17, adisaṭi, line 25); ė (in īd, line 7, īt, line 31 and 48, īw-, line 32); u (e.g. in ubhau, line 38) and ṣ (in īṣa, line 3, ekaṭa, line 15, ekadēṣa, line 35). It is noteworthy: that as in Nārāyana-pāla’s inscription referred to above and in the Silimpur stone-slab inscription4, the initial ī is represented in this plate also by two rings placed side by side with a short horizontal bar above them. There are to be noticed some peculiar forms of consonantal conjuncts, such as kṣh (in bhikshu, line 4, didriksha, line 9, dhyākṣha, line 23, kṣhān-, line 25, samakṣhē, line 33); kṣ (in bhakṣyā, line 7, kṣnt-antaḥ line 20); ṭva (in snātā, line 28, kṣta, line 28, bhāṣ, line 39); sḥ (in Jīṣṭha, line 13); kṣ (in grāhyā, line 27); ṭmn (in ātmā, line 29), ā (in nagajñāh, line 13, rājñā, line 21); and ṣrṣ (in pūraṅa, line 5, Pūraṅa, line 5, Svarōṣa, line 8 and line 9, Svarasvā, line 9).

As regards orthography, as almost in all the eastern epigraphs specially in Bengal, the letter ṣ is throughout expressed by the sign r. Other peculiarities which call for special notice are the following:—(1) almost all consonants such as g, ch, ṣ, t, m, y and v are doubled after a r; (2) s is substitutted for the visarga before a following s (in Jīvas-su, line 1, dās-sādgha, line 24, etc., but the visarga sign has been retained after pīrābhīṣ saha, line 39); (3) the sign for avaraha has sometimes been used (as in chandrog-bhavai, line 5) and sometimes omitted (as in Dharmanī-py, line 2); (4) final t, n and m are indicated by signs of the letters smaller in size, but the final w has a peculiar shape of its own (chīna) m, line 15; tṛitīyāyām, line 28; and (5) the guttural nasal ṇ has been used instead of the anusvāra before the palatal sibilant ś (vaṅśē, line 4, karanēśu, line 7).

The language is Sanskrit, which is generally correct, except where some mistakes occur due to the inadvertence of the scribe or the engraver. After the introductory words ēṁ svasti the inscription contains 8 verses in praise of the predecessors of the royal donor, which are followed by about 13 lines of prose after which we have 6 verses describing the genealogy of the donee and eulogising the donee himself. The grant then has again 2 lines of prose and this is followed by three of the usual benedictive and imperative verses. It may be noted here that the first 8 verses which describe the history of Śrīchandra’s dynasty are identical with the 8 verses in the Rāmpal of the king. So far as these verses in the present plate and the (yet

1 Vide R. D. Banerji’s The Pala of Bengal (Mem. A. S. B., Vol. V, No. 3), plate No. XXIV.
2 Ibid., plate No. XXVI.
3 E.g. the Belava plate of Bhājavarmadēva, above, Vol. XII, plates opposite pp. 40-41.
unpublished) Dhulla plate of this king are concerned, the draft seems to be almost identical, the latter having only a ninth verse added to it which is the seventh one of the Kedārpur plate mentioned above. These three plates come from the Dacca District. The Edulpur and Kedārpur plates which belong to the Faridpur Districts have greater affinity between themselves with regard to these eulogistic verses. The opening verse in honour of the Buddhist triratna (the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha) is, however, common to all the five plates of Śrīchandra, hitherto discovered.

Our grant is dated the 44th year, evidently referring to the regnal year of the king, and the 28th day of the month of Mārgga [śrīrsha], i.e. November-December. This date is followed by the abbreviated forms of two official endorsements, viz., Mahāśā ni anu ni Mahā(ksa ?) which indicate ‘approved by the Mahāśāṅdhivigrahika and then by the Mahākṣaṇapātalika’.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of rent-free land measuring 8 drānas exceeded by 8... in a locality called Vaṅgasāgara-samabhāndāriyaka in Yölämanḍala (mentioned also in the Dhulla plate’), situated in the Punḍrabhukti (i.e., Punḍravardhana-bhukti), by the Paramasayata Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājaḥkirāja, the glorious Śrīchandraḍēva who meditated on the feet of his father, Mahārājaḥkirāja Trailōkya-chandraḍēva, to a Brāhmaṇa, named Śukraḍēva, son of Hara, grandson of Varāha, and great-grandson of Mahādeva who was himself born in the family of three sūmaptīn Brāhmaṇas, named Mākha, Rāma and Dhruba, having the three wellknown pravaras. The gōtra, vṛtha and sīkha of the family are, however, not mentioned. The grant was issued from the royal victorious camp (or capital) situated at Vikramaḍupa. The king dedicated the grant in the name of Lord Buddha-bhaṭṭāraka, after having bathed on the Agastitirīṭiāya day, for the sake of enhancing the merit and fame of his parents and of himself.

A summary of the historical information that can be gathered from the plate may be given here for ready reference. King Śrīchandra calls himself a Sūgata and all the charters issued by him bear the royal seal containing the emblem of the Buddhist dharmachakra and describe with devotion, in the opening verse, the Buddhist “three jewels”, the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. The next verse describes the place of origin of the Chandras who possessed vast fortunes, enjoyed by them at a locality called Rōhitāgiri. Bengali scholars differ in their view regarding the identification of this place-name. Some take it to be Rohtaagarh in the Shahabad District of Bihar and others headed by Dr. N. K. Bhattasali suggest it to refer to the Lalmai Hills, situated west of Comilla in East Bengal. So it remains yet a question as to whether the Chandras emigrated to Eastern Bengal from outside, or were original inhabitants of that part of Bengal. It appears, however, that the first nobleman in the dynasty, named Pūrṇaḥchandra, became very famous; his name could be “read on the pedestals of images and on (stone) pillars of victory and copper-plates in which new epigraphs were inscribed.” Such is his description in verse 2 of this inscription. This description and the reference in verse 2 of the Kedārpur plate to Pūrṇaḥchandra’s parasol, in the form of the canopy of dust raised by his vanguards, being resorted to by his enemies, make it possible to presume that in his own land he behaved like an independent ruler, though not declared as a formal king. The next two verses (vv. 3 and 4) disclose the fact that Pūrṇaḥchandra’s illustrious son, Suvarṇaḥchandra, was known in the world as Bāuddha. So it is clear that he was the first in the dynasty to embrace Buddhism. He also is not described in the inscription as having ruled as a king. His son, Trailōkyaḥchandra, with his title Mahārājaḥkirāja mentioned in all the records became the first independent king, ruling probably from Vikramapura as the capital of his kingdom.

2 History of Bengal, Vol. I (Published by Dacca University, 1943), p. 194.
He is described in verse 5 of the Kedārāpur plate as having his desire of conquering the earth, (bounded) by the four oceans, fulfilled, and he is further spoken of as having extinguished the fire of his enemies by means of the water of his creeper-like sword in many a battle. This description certainly corroborates the view of Dr. R. C. Majumdar,¹ that "Trailokyachandra laid the foundation of the greatness of the family." In verse 5 of our inscription we have an indication as to how he strove to expand his territories. The most important epithet of Trailokyachandra, as we find in this verse, "ādhārā Harikeśarāja-[kau]*kuda-chakhatra-smitānāṁ śriyāṁ ", read along with "yaśi-Chandrāpapade va(ba)bhūva n ripatir-devīµ", conveys the fact that at first he was a king of Chandradvīpa and later became "the repository of the Fortune (goddess) whose smile was the (white) umbrella, the symbol (of royalty) of the king of Harikēla". Bereft of rhetorical figurativeness, the epithet leads one to believe that Trailokyachandra acquired the royal fortunes of the Harikēla kingdom. The interpretation put on this phrase by the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar and quoted by Dr. R. C. Majumdar in the Dacca University History of Bengal, Vol. I, does not stand scrutiny. The net result of the political achievements of Trailokyachandra seems to be that he was at first a king of Chandradvīpa but later became the ruler over the whole of Harikēla. Who can vouchsafe that in the period under discussion Vikramapura was not the capital of Harikēla itself? Of course it is difficult to ascertain the exact political relation previously prevailing between the kingdoms of Chandradvīpa and Harikēla. Although in the seventh century A.D. the country of Harikēla is referred to by 1'singa as the eastern limit of Eastern India, yet during the 10th-11th century A.D. we should follow the lexicographer Hēmachandra² (born 1089 A.D.) who identified Harikēla with Vaṅga (Vaṅgās-tu Harikēlijē) and explain the reference to Harikēla in our inscription as identical with Vaṅga whose capital was Vikramapura in those centuries. As to Chandradvīpa, it was a territory in the South-east of Bengal in the district of Bakerganj and in mediæval period it was known as Bākēla Chandradvīpa which³ comprised within its boundaries some portions of the modern districts of Bakerganj, Khulna and Faridpur. Trailokyachandra's wife was Śrīkāñchā who gave birth to her illustrious son, who was destined to be a great king, having been born in an auspicious muhūrtā of Rāja-yoga (vv. 6-7). Then we have a description of this son, Śrīchandra (v.8), which indicates clearly that this Buddhist king attained full paramount power, by putting his enemies into prison-cells. That this king had to fight some enemies and become victorious in battles (raṇēṣu jaṣit) is mentioned in verse 7 of the Kedārāpur plate also. But it is difficult to surmise as to who these enemies of Śrīchandra were. It only seems evident that this king's father, Trailokyachandra, who was at first a king of Chandradvīpa only, in the south-eastern portion of Bengal, began gradually to extend his dominion towards the north, i.e., towards the localities represented by the modern districts of Faridpur and Dacca, and ultimately took possession of the citadel of Vikramapura which was in all probability in the hands of the Pāla kings of Pundravardhanabhūki and Magadhā. In still earlier centuries we have epigraphic evidence to prove that Kāntidēva and later Ladahachandra ruled independently in East and Southern Bengal, the former's kingdom having probably comprised a portion of Western Bengal also. We know that a great calamity overtook the Pāla kingdom during the reigns of Gopāla II and his son and successor Vigrapatikāla II during the latter half of the 10th century A.D. It is quite probable that the Chandra rulers of East and South Bengal were able to found an independent kingdom during that epoch, and that Śrīchandra, whose rule continued at least for 44 years, might have been a contemporary of the great Pāla king, Mātipāla I (c. 988-1038 A.D.). On this chronological basis it may be surmised that the king Gōvindachandra of Vaṅgāladēśa (East and South Bengal) who had to make

¹ Ibid. pp. 194-195.
² 1'sing (Takakusu), p. xlvi.
³ History of Indian Literature, Vol. II by Winternitz (English translation published by Calcutta University, p. 482).
good his escape, after having descended from his elephant when the Chōla king, Rājendra Chōla-
dēva I, invaded Bengal in about 1023 A.D., probably belonged to Śrīchandra's family and was
a successor to that king. It may profitably be mentioned here that we have reference to the
12th and 23rd years of the reign of Gōvindačandra on the pedestal inscriptions of the Kulkudi
(Faridpur) Sun-god and the Bētkā (Dacca) Vāsudēva images respectively.

It may be remarked in passing as to how in those early days prevailed in all parts of India the
spirit of religious toleration amongst the people. Here in this copper-plate grant we find Śrīchandra,
a Buddhist king, making a gift of land to a Vēdic Brāhmaṇa in the name of his own worshipped
god, Buddha-bhaṭṭāraka. The first historical instance of advocacy for religious toleration can be
traced to the famous edict (Rock Edict XII) of the Maurya Buddhist Emperor, Asoka.

It has been stated above that the land donated by Śrīchandra was situated at a place in
Yōlāmaṇḍala. The name of this maṇḍala occurs also in the hitherto unpublished Dhulla plate of
the same king. Some of the localities, mentioned in the latter plate as situated in the same maṇḍala,
have been identified by Dr. N. K. Bhattacharjee with some places to the north of the river Dhaleswari
in the Manikganj sub-division of the Dacca District, which is not far away from Sābar and the
find-place of our plate. So it seems quite likely that Yōlāmaṇḍalā was once situated at that same
area of the modern Dacca District.

The gift of the land of our plate was made by Śrīchandra on the Agasti-trīṣṭyā day (line 28).
Most probably this trīṣṭyā belongs to the dark fortnight of the month of Bhādra. It is believed
that with the rise of Agasti or Agastya (Canopus) the waters of river, etc., begin to become clear
and it also ushers in the śarat (autumn) season. In Bengal offerings are made to Agastya in Bhādra.
So it may be that the king made the gift of land to Sukrādeva in Bhādra and that the charter was
formally issued on the 28th of Mārgaśiśra (Agrahāyaṇa) in the 44th regnal year of the king.

It now remains for me to make an attempt to explain the following new names of officials
occurring in the list of functionaries addressed by the king while making his land-grant: Mahā-
tantrāṭhakṣa (l. 23), Gōckhakapatī (ll. 23-24) Ardhā-nauvātaka (l. 24) and Nauvātaka (l. 24).
The term Mahātantrāṭhakṣa undoubtedly refers to the highest priest in charge of the religious
rites which are performed on the king's behalf in accordance with the injunctions of the Śrūṭis and
the Śrāvīṣṭī. The Ramganj copper-plate of Īśvaraghōṣa has a similar officer named as Mahā-
tantrāṭhakṣika. These two terms can easily be explained with the help of the definition of a Tān-
trika as we find in the Śuṅkranitiśastra. As for the term Gōckhakapatī, it is difficult to explain
it unless we imagine it to represent under Prākrit influence the Sanskrit word Gōckhakapatī, 'the
administrative head in charge of the pasture-land and cowsheds'. His functions may aply be
compared with those of the Viṇāṭhakṣa of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra. The word nauvātaka
is very important. It is for the first time that we find this term used in a Bengal copper-plate
along with the names of officials addressed by the donor king in land-grant documents. It occurs
in another context (the description of Pātaliputra situated on the Ganges) in the Khilimpur plate
of Dharmapāla. The word was there interpreted by Kielhorn as 'a fleet of boats' and he equated
it with nauvīṭaṇa used in Vijayāśāna's Deopara inscription. We may in this connection also

4 Cf. v. 185 in Chapter II (Śruti-smṛiti-śatamā-sañcāry-māntri-śaṃskārakāṃ-dēvo-śrīchanaṃ karmaṇaḥ
maṇḍav yataś ma cha Tāntrikakāḥ).
5 Cf. Chapter 34, Book II.
6 Above, Vol. IV, pp. 249 and 252, n. 5.
7 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 309.
mention the word *taryi-saṁbhavēna* used in the *Rāmācharita* of Sandhyākaranandin which is explained by the old commentator as *naukā-mēlakēna* (a fleet of boats). All these three words refer, however, to fleets of boats plying in the Ganges. Some other inscriptions² of the Pāla kings of Bengal and Maugada have introduced the word *nauvāṭaka* in their description of the riparian capital towns like Pāṭaliputra and Mudgagiri (Munghyr) and also other towns like Vīlāsapura and Ramāvatī, which possessed, in addition to elephants, cavalry and infantry, also *nauvāṭaka* 'a fleet of boats'. The reference to the word *nauvāṭa* in the Kamauli plate³ of Vaidyadēva in connection with his victory in a battle in *auṭṭara-vaṅga* (probably South Bengal) makes it clear that the word must be interpreted as a fleet of boats and the war-cry of the navy is what is described in that inscription as *nauvāṭa-hi-hi-ravāḥ*. In the context of our plate the word *nauvāṭaka* may, therefore, refer to the Head of the royal navy, and a junior officer in charge of half a division of the fleet may have been referred to by the term *ardha-nauvāṭaka*.

**TEXT**


**Obverse**

1 Œm² Svasti || Vandyō Jinas-sa Bhagavān-karun-aika-pā-
2 tra[n]i Dharmm-py-asaau viyajayaṭi⁴ jagad-eka-dipaḥ yat-sēvayā
3 sakala ēva mahānubhāvaḥ saṁsāra-pāram-upaga-
4 chehhati Bhikshus[a]īghaḥ || [1 *] Chandrāṇām-ihā Rōhitāgiri-bhujāṁ vaḥṣe (vaṁśa) viśāla-śriyāṁ vi-
5 khyātō bhuvī pūrṇa-chandra-sadṛṣaḥ śri-⁵ *Pārṇṇachandrō*⁶ bhavat achchā[re]chchā]nāṁ pāda-pithikāsu pāthitaḥ santā-
6 [ninām-agraṭast=taṅk-otkṛṇa-nava-praṣastishu jaya-stambhēśu tāmrēśu cha || [2|*]
Vau(Buddhdaya yaḥ Śaśaka-
7 jātakam-ākā-saṁsthaṁ bhaktīyā vi(bi)bhartti bhagavān-amṛt-ākara-ānṣu(t-ānṣu)ḥ Chandra-
8 ya tasya kula-jāta iti|--
8 va Vau(Bau)ddhaḥ putraḥ śrutō jagati tasya Suvarṇachandrāḥ || [3|*] Darśē* shaky mātā
kila dōhadēna didri-
9 khaṁaṁ-ōdāi chandra-viṇvāṁ(bīṁbāṁ) suvarṇa-chandraṁ ha tōḥit-eśi Suvarṇachandrāṁ-em-adharaṇi || [4 | *] Putra-
10 a-tasya paviti-ōbhayakulaḥ kaulina-bhit-āśayē(yai)s-trailōkyē viditō diśām-ātithi-
11 bhis-Trailōkyachandrō guṇaḥ ādārō Harikēla-raja-[ka*]kuda-chhehatra-smītanāṁ
 śriyāṁ [ya]-

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¹ V. 10. of Chapter II. p. 40 of the Varendra Research Museum (Rajshahi) edition. 1939.
² *Ganēś-śīkṣaka*. Dénapāla’s Munghyr plate, p. 38; Nārāyanapāla’s Bhagalpur plate, p. 60; Mahipāla’s Bangal plate, p. 95; and Madanapāla’s Manhari plate, p. 153.
³ *Bhā*, p. 130, text, ll. 13-6.
⁴ From the original plate.
⁵ Express-ed by a symbol. Some scholars take it to be the *vastika* mark. [In a Buddhistic record like the present one, the symbol may perhaps better be taken for *siddham*; cf. above, Vol. XXV, p. 333, n. 8; Vol. XVII, p. 352—B. C. C.]
⁶ Read viyajayē.
⁷ Here I read incorrectly *samudāharanti* in my edition of the Rāmpal plate of Āśokhanda (above, Vol. XII, p. 139).
No. 9] MADANPUR PLATE OF SRICHANDRA; YEAR 44

12 ś-chandr-ōpapade va(ba)bhūva nripatir-dvīpē Dī(Di)līp-ōpamaḥ || [5 || *] Jyōtsn-ēva Chandrasya Śāch-iva
13 [Jīṣhōnī-gGAuri Harasya-[va*] Harēr-iva Śṛiḥ tasya priyā kāñchana-kānti-rāgāḥ Sṛikāñchha-śa
14 n-śty=aṅchita-sāsanasya || [ 6 || *] Sa rāja-yōgēna śubhē muhūrttē maunḥūrttikaiś sūchita-rāja-
15 [chihna]m | avāpa tasyāṃ tanayāṃ naya-jāh Śṛchandram=ind-ōpamam=Indra-tējāḥ || [7 || *] Ēk-ātapa-
16 [tr-ābhara*]ṛṇiḥ śriya[ra] yō va(ba)bharē vaidhēya-jan-āvidhēyaḥ chakāra kārāsu nīvēsīt-ā-
17 [rir-yāsa*]ḥ-augandhini diśāṃ mukhāni || [8 || *] sa khali śri-Vikramapura-samāvāsita-śri-
18 [maj-jaya*]-skandhāvārit=Parama-saujātō Mahārajāḥdhirāja-[śri]-Trailōkya-śaṭ[ra]-Pāradiūkṣya-śaṭkhādēva-pā
19 [dānudhya*]ah Parama(mē)śevar[ā]k* || [Para*]mabhāttārakō Mahārajāḥdhirājaḥ Śrīmān
Śrīchandradē-
20 [vaḥ kuṣa*]ī Śrī-Paunda[bhu*]kti=antahpāti-Yōlāmandalē Vaṅgasāgara-sanbhānd-
śriyakē
21 [. . . *]sth-ādhik-[āhita-drōṇa-bhūmau samupatag-āśeṣha-rājī-rāṇaka-rājaputra
22 [rājaṇu*]ōhitā mahāsāndivalhriṅgha | mahāsēnāpati | mahāsāmanta
23 [mahādharmaḥ[+]*]dhyaksha maha(hā)saṛvva(vvā)dhikrita | mahātantraḥdhyaksha mahā-
pilupati gōchcha[ka]-

Reverse

24 pati* arddhanauvāṭaka | nauvāṭaka | dussāḥyāsādhanika | gō=mahiṣy-aj-ā[dy-adiya(?)*]-
25 kshān-anyāmā-sch-ānuktān Vṛa(Bṛ)hman-ōttarān mānayati vō(bō)dhayati | vadati ādi[diśa-
26 ti cha | bhūmir-iyāni sva-sīm-āvāchchhinā | s-ōddēśā | sa-guvāka-nālinkērā | s-āmpa-pa-
27 nasā | sa-gartt-ōṣharā | a-chātra-bhāta-pravēśā | a-kičchid-grāhyā | sa-das-āparaḥd[hā] [sa{-}]
28 prajā Agāṣṭya*-tritiyāyāṁ niṣāṭvā vidhivad-udaka-pūrvvakaṁ kṛtivā bhagavantaṁ Buddh-[bhāṭṭā]-
29 rakam-uddāṣya mātā-[pi*]trōrt-ātmanaṁ cha punya-yaś-ō=bhiva(vrī)dhayē Mākha–Rāma-
Dhruv-ākāra [ya[jī](-)]
30 yāḥ sōma-pitīmah[naḥ] bhūmi-dēvāḥ kil-śābhuvana(n) su-khyāta-pravara-trayāḥ || [9||*] Tad-
anyavā [samutpa*]
31 nnō Mahādēva iti dvījaḥ dēvēśhv-iva Mahādēvō bhū-dēvēshu va(ba)bhuva yaḥ || [10||*] Śrutī-
krutam-pri[pr]i[y]a
32 st-tasya Varāḥ-ākhyaḥ sutō=bhavat Harēr-Ādi-varāhasya sālōkyaṁ prōtya yō=gamat
33 || [11 || *] Dharā[dha]-
33 ra-samakshē yaḥ sākṣhād-Dhara iv-āparah Harō nām=ābhavat-tasya tanayō vinay-
ānvitaḥ || [12 ||*] Bhā[vi]ṭ[a]?

1 A portion of the plate is broken and lost on this side. The letters within square brackets here and in the following lines are supplied from the published records of the king.
2 The Rāmpāl plate reads here rādhēya which appears to be a better reading, in the absence of a chō in the verse for grammatical concord.
3 The term jōckṣaka is not clear.
4 The original reading looks like Agastya. The engraver appears to have used his chisel twice to correct his error.
5 The proper reading should be Agastya (adjective), or, Agasti or Agastya (both noun).

25 DGA
34 Vār dhakas-trayyām-āryyas-sajjana-Vāsavaḥ | Yaduḥa Kramuḥa śrīmān Śukra ṇvō= bhavat-tar[tah] [ || 13 || *]
35 Ėkadeśa-bhavas-tasmāi smita-pūrvv-ābbihāhinē Śrīmatē Śukra ṇvāya Śrīchandra-ṇripa[tir-dda*].
36 dau' [ || 14 | *] Tad-bhavadbhir-anumōdanīyā2 bhāvibhir=api bhūpatibhir=bha(bhū)mi-dānē mahāphala-[gauravāt] haraṇē [cha mahā].
37 pāṭaka-darśanād-anūpa(pā)laniy-ēti || Bhavanta ch-ātra dharmānūsaśi(śaṃsi)naḥ ślokāḥ [*] Bhūimirīm yah pratigri*].
38 hṛtī yaś-cha bhūmiṁ prayachehhati ubhau tau puṇya-karmmāṇau niyatām svargga-gāminau || [15 || *] [Śva-dattāṁ*]
39 para-dattāṁvā(m vā) yō harēta vasundharaṁ(m) sa viśhṭhāyāṁ kṛmiṁ-bhūtvā pitṛbhiḥ saḥ[ha pachyatē] || [16 ||*]
40 iti kamala-dal-āhūv(mnb)-vi(bi)ndu-lōlāṁ śriyam-anuchintya manushya-jivitaṁ-cha | sa-kalam=idad=um*].
41 dāhṛitaṁ-cha vuv(budhāv)(ddhāvā) na hi purushaṁ para-kīrttayō viṃśyāḥ || [17 ||*] Śrī Śrīchandra[dēva]*-pādiya(?)*].
42 samvā(saṁva) 44 Mārga-dinne 26 Mahā Sā ni anu ni Mahā[ksha(?)*].

TRANSLATION5

(V. 9) It is said that there were Brāhmaṇas (lit. gods on earth) like Mākha, Rāma and Dhruva who were ritualist and sōma-drinking and who had the three well-known pravaras (noble ancestors).

(V. 10) In their family was born a Brāhmaṇa (dvīja) named Mahādēva who was as prominent amongst the Brāhmaṇas (bhūdēvas), as was the god Mahādēva, amongst the gods (of heaven).

(V. 11) His son was, by name, Varāha who, after death, attained the same world with the Primeval Boar (incarnation) of Hari (Vishnū).

(V. 12) His son, self-restrained (or full of modesty, or well-disciplined), was Hara, who was, as it were, a second Hara (i.e., the god Śiva), in presence of the Dharādhara (the mountain, or Vishnū).

(V. 13) From him were born (three) sons, Yaduka, Kramuka and Śukrādvā, each of whom was noble (āryya) and eminent amongst good men, and displayed maturity (of wisdom) in the three Vēdas.

(V. 14) King Śrīchandra who belonged to the same country (of his donee) made a gift (of the land) to this illustrious Brāhmaṇa, Śukrādvā, who used to speak with people with a smile.

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1 This verb is evidently to be connected with some such words as imāṁ bhūmiṁ understood, as its object.
2 These two words are to be connected with the words bhūmir-īyam in line 26.
3 Such a word as this, or "dēva-rāja- seems relevant here.
4 The unpublished Dhulla plate of this king has Mahākṣa here.
5 I need not translate the whole inscription, as the translation of the first 8 verses already occurs in my edition of the Rāmāpya plate of Śrīchandra in this journal (Vol. XII): I, therefore, put in here the translation of the six new verses (vv. 9–14) which describe the genealogy of the donee Śukrādvā.
These copper plates were discovered in 1927 by Dr. S. C. Nandimath, Principal, Basavēṣvara College, Bagalkot, Bijapur District. They were in the possession of a Śvāmi of a Virāṇāaśa Matha at Godachi, a village in the Torgal taluk of the Kolhapur District, Bombay State. Nothing is known in regard to their previous history and how they came into the possession of the Śvāmi. Dr. Nandimath has edited the record on these plates twice. But on account of certain misreadings in the published text and other defects, I edit it here again in this journal.

The plates which are three in number and contain holes bored at the extremities must have been originally held together by a ring which is now missing. It is not known whether the ring bore the seal also. The writing is engraved on one side only of the first and the third plates and both sides of the second. The plates are of almost equal size and each measures 6-75" in length, 2-6" in breadth and about 1" in thickness. The diameter of the circular hole is 5 1/8". The total weight of the three plates put together is 31 tolas. Though the rims of the plates are not raised, the writing is in a good state of preservation. The record comprises twenty lines which are distributed evenly on the four sides.

The characters are boldly incised and belong to the southern class of alphabet which was prevalent in the Kannada country in the 6th century A.D. They are quite regular for the age and the locality. The initial a occurs in three places, viz., lines 2, 5 and 11. The letters r and k present two-fold forms, viz., one having its lower loop half developed (l. 4) and the other fully developed (l. 3). The medial short and long i are distinguished by a complete circle and a spiral respectively drawn at the top of the letter; for instance, Hārī in l. 2, sāvēḥ in l. 3, ni in l. 9, etc. The sign for the ligature ri of the letter kri is made out in two different ways, one by a hook attached to the lower end of the letter k (l. 4) and the other by suffixing a knotted curve underneath it (l. 8 and 16). The form of the letter dh in the expression Āśvānātha in l. 3 is rather peculiar in that it looks more like b (cf. l. 11 and 12) as contrasted with its more normal forms in l. 4, 5, etc. The Dravidian letters r and l are used once each in the expressions, mārumerām and Nulīgāla respectively in l. 13.

In regard to orthography, the consonant following r in a conjunct letter is invariably doubled with the exception of roha in l. 19. The writing is generally free from errors. The following two instances of wrong spelling may, however, be noted: sāstrārta for sāstraṛthā in l. 5 and dattām νē for dattām νē in l. 19. The last mistake may be attributed to the undue stress laid on the syllable νē in pronunciation.

The language of the record is Sanskrit.

The inscription is of great importance in more than one respects. It is the earliest epigraphical record of the Western Chālykya house with the solitary exception of the Bālāmi Rock Inscription of Chaliya IV, discovered recently in 1941. No copper plate records of the early rulers of this family have been discovered so far till we come to the reign of Pulakēśin II. So it may be further claimed that this is the first copper plate document of the family.
The epigraph commences with the praśasti of the Western Chāluṅka family and introduces the king Katti-arasa as the favourite son of Raṇavikrama Dharmamahārāja. At the request of Vyāghrasvāmin, the king made a gift of land to a learned Brāhmaṇa by name Kṛṣṇāsvāmin in the 12th year of his reign.

Katti-arasa is a new name in the genealogy of the Western Chāluṅka house. But there seems to be little difficulty in regard to his identification with Kirtivarman I. For he was the son of Raṇavikrama, i.e., Pulakēśīn I. Kirtivarman is similarly referred to by his other names or titles, such as Kirtirāja, Pururaṇaparākrama, and Śrивikrama.

The charter is dated the full moon day in the month of Karāṭṭika of the 12th year of the king’s reign. The Bāḍāmi Vaśīva cave inscription of Kirtivarman I mentions all the details of the above date with the addition of the Śaka year 500. So taking this clue from the latter record we may assign the date of the present record as A.D. 578.

The title Dharmamahārāja applied to Raṇavikrama or Pulakēśīn I in this record is significant. This is the first and the only record so far discovered, wherein a Western Chāluṅka king is given this epithet. The title with its variants, such as Dharmarāja, Dharmamahādhīrāja and Dharmamahārājīdhīrāja, was borne by many rulers of the Western Gaṅga, Kadamba and Pallava dynasties of South India. The Kadambas were the last to exhibit this title which is found even in the records of the last rulers of the house, viz., Harivarman and Kṛṣṇāsvarman II. The Western Chāluṅkayas who succeeded the Kadambas to the sovereignty of Kāraṇakara appear to have adopted in the beginning the larger portion of the Kadamba praśasti including this title. The Kadamba praśasti which was concise, expanded after its adoption by the Chāluṅkayas. The form of the Chāluṅka praśasti appears to have been in a fluid state until the time of Pulakēśīn II, in whose reign it was regularised by giving a fixed form. It is no wonder therefore that the Chāluṅka praśasti of the

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2 Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 17.
5 Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 37.
7 Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 139-40.
8 The title Dharmarāja is met with in one of the three copper plate records of Harivarman, viz., the Sangoli plates which give him the latest regnal year, above, Vol. XIV, p. 166. Kṛṣṇāsvarman II is associated with the title Dharmamahārāja in three out of four copper plate records of his, so far discovered. In the remaining one, viz., the Bāṇahali record, the same title is applied to his great grandfather Kṛṣṇāsvarman I, above, Vol. VI, p. 18.
9 The original expression in the Kadamba records was only Svāmi-Mahāśīna-Mātriṣa-prāṇikhātu-ābhishik- tānām; and it assumed the expanded form in the Chāluṅka records as Sapta-Lokamātriṣhī Samta-Māтриṣhī-ābhī- vardhiśānām Kārttikeya-parirakshana-prāpta-kalyāna-paras-parāyaṃ.
10 That the Chāluṅka praśasti had not attained fixed form in the beginning, is illustrated by the following instances. The Bāḍāmi Vaśīva cave inscription of Kirtivarman I and the Nerūr copper plate record of Mangalāla contain the simple expressions, Svāmi-pādānukhātu-ābhī and Svāmi-Mahāśīna-pādānukhātu-ābhī. (Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 59 and Vol. VII, p. 161.) The Sātāra grant of Vīṣṇuvarhāna I bears in addition the following uncommon epithets; Mātriṣa-prāṇa-parirakshita-bhūjā-gaṅgānām Kēhīroddhi-sayana-śupt-ākṣita-prāṇa-pariśothe-Vārāha-lāṅkhaṇamānī. (Ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 309.) The enlarged Chāluṅka praśasti is met with for the first time in the Hyderabad grant and Kopparam plates of Pulakēśīn II. (Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 72 and above, Vol. XVIII, p. 257.) Even in these records we may note the following variations in the standard form of one of its components, Kārttikeya-parirakshana-prāpta- and Kārttikeya-paripālan-ādhiyata.
GODACHI PLATES OF KATTI-ARASA; YEAR 12

present charter which falls within this transitional period, is not only in accord with the Kadamba prāṣasti, but retains the characteristic title Dharmamahārāja which was dropped in the Chalukya records of subsequent date.

Kirtivarman I carried on extensive expeditions against the enemies and consolidated the kingdom founded by his father. According to the implications of the statement in the Chipulū grant of the time of Pulakēśin II, he rebuilt and made improvements in the capital of Bādāmi. The conditions conducive to an undertaking of this nature would have prevailed after he had completed his conquests and established internal peace in the country. Such a state of affairs appears to have been in existence by A.D. 578, the date of the present record which expressly avers (lines 6-8) that ‘he had vanquished all the foes by virtue of his diplomacy and valour and kept all the subjects contented by protecting them according to the rule of the varṇas (four-fold classes) and āśramas (four-fold orders of life)’.

Vyāghrasvāmin who figures in this record for the first time, appears to have been a very eminent and versatile personality. He was learned in the Vedas and Vedaṅgas; he was well-versed in the science of polity; he owned exceptional mastery in grammar, logic, poetry, drama, historical literature, music and Purāṇas. He is styled Maḥā-Brāhmaṇa and Brāhmapati (the preceptor of the gods) of the present age (lines 9-11). Lastly he is described as holding the foremost responsibility of the entire kingdom (rājya-sarvasva-dhurundhara, ll. 11-12). From this description we might infer that he was the chief minister and head of the administrative affairs of the Chalukya kingdom.

The donee Kṛishṇasvāmin, we are told, belonged to the Kauḍinya gōtra, was proficient in the Vedas and Vedaṅgas and was sa-dvītihi. The last expression consists of three words (sahita, devi and atithi) and means ‘along with two guests’. This sounds like a queer epithet of the donee and does not afford proper sense by literal interpretation. In the Vedic context atithi means ‘fire’ and Agni is familiarly addressed as atithi in the Vedic hymns. This metaphorical sense of the word atithi fits in the context. Thus the expression connotes ‘he who possessed or maintained two fires’. The ‘two fires’ are the Śrāuta-agni and the Śmaṛta-agni, which every household is expected to maintain according to the injunctions of Vedic ritualism.

The gift land comprised twenty-five nivartanas measured by the royal standard (rājamāna) and belonged to the village Nulgāla. The gift was inclusive of all the produce (sarma-jātakāṇi), garden cultivation (sa-tātāna), jiraka, water, and house—site (nivēsa). Jiraka need not be interpreted literally as cummin seed. It may be taken to represent any wild or cultivated crop of the cummin variety; or equating it with jiraka or jirya it may mean ‘whatever is inured in the soil’. Another expression figuring in the context is marumanna. This word along with another uchha-manna is met with in the records of slightly later period. The interpretation of this word is still a puzzle. This is the earliest occurrence of the word so far known. The village Nulgāla cannot be identified.

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1 Above, Vol. VI, pp. 4-5 and Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 7
3 Macdonell: Vedic Mythology, p. 95.
4 Compare The Institutes of Vishnu, pp. 190-91 (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. VII).
5 Dr. Nandimath construes that the gift was made by pouring water along with the cummin seed. This is unwarranted. (Bomb. Uni. J., Vol. V, p. 170.)
6 This interpretation compares well with the familiar expression, niṣṭi-nukshāpa-pāthāna-sahītan.

Mr. R. S. Pancharashmikhi suggests that marana may be equated with man meaning ‘land’ and niṣṭa= waste or dry. This suggestion is invalid particularly in the context of the present passage which shows that the gift land was neither waste nor dry. Further, little credit will redound to the donor of a waste land.
There are clear traces of the influence of Kannada in this record. Apart from the words Nulgāla and marumanna which contain the Dravidian letters r and r, the name Kattī-arasa appears to be purely Kannāl. More pronounced is the compound expression sa-tōṭam (l. 12) wherein the word tōṭa or tōta is glaringly Kannada. In this passage which is prose, the poet could have easily substituted its Sanskrit equivalent.

TEXT

First Plate
1. Svasti ![\text{\textsuperscript{*}}] Svāmi-Mahāśāna-Mātrigōru-anuddhyāt-ābhishaktānā![\text{\textsuperscript{4}}] Māṇavya-sa-
2. gōtrīnāḥ Hariṇi-purāṇāḥ Chalukyānā![\text{\textsuperscript{2}}] Agnishtōm-Āgnichayana-
3. Vajāpya- Bahusuvāropu-Pauṇḍārik-Āsvaṃ![\text{\textsuperscript{2}}] vabhṛtha-saṅāna-pa-
4. vīrīkṣarā-sarīrāsa Raṇavikrama-Dharma-mahārājasya
5. priya-tanayāḥ Kattī-arasa-nāmadhēyaḥ sarvva-sāstrā-ārtta(ttha)-

Second Plate ; First Side
6. pāra-gahan-āvabōdaḥ10 smriṣi-dharaṇa11 kuśala-buddhi[r]-najya12 pra-
7. tāpotsadita-sarvva-lāyādaḥ13 varṣa-ārama-nyāya-paripāla-
8. n-ānuraṃjita-sarvva-prakṛtiḥ svarājya-saṅvatsara dvādaś14 Kārtti-
9. kā-paṭramamāṣāyāṇ Vēḍa-Vēḍāṅga-pāragēna nītisā15 strī-viśajadēna
10. sa-pada-vyākaraṇa-nyāya-kāvya-nāṭak-ēthāsa-gāndharvva-purāṇē-

Second Plate ; Second Side
11. sv-asidhāraṇa-vyākhyāna-saṅpadā adyakāla-Brahospatīnā rā-
12. jya-sarvvasva-dhurandharēṇa Vyāghrasvājminā mahā-Brahmapāṇa vi-
13. jñāpitā16 Nulgāla-grāmasya marumanna sa sarvva-jātakaṃ sa-tōṭāṃ sa-jīra-
14. kaṃ sa-pāḍāyāna sa-nivēsāḥ rājamanēna paṃchāviniśātī nivarntanāv
15. kṣhetraṃ Kauṇḍinya-saṃōtrāya Vēḍa-Vēḍāṅga-pāragēya17

Third Plate
16. sa-[\text{\textsuperscript{18}}] śv-ātithāyā Krishnasvāminē dattāvān19 ![\text{\textsuperscript{*}}] ya ēnāṃ haṛati
17. sa paṃchām tā-putaka-saṅyuktō bhavati ![\text{\textsuperscript{*}}] ya ēnāṃ sa-pūtā-
18. layati sa punya-philabhā-g-bhavati | Sva-dattāṃ para-da-
19. tāṃ va-vāvā vē harēca vasumadhāriṃ ![\text{\textsuperscript{*}}] shaśṭhitō10 varsha-sa
20. ḫrāṃ ṉarākē pachyatē tu saḥ ||

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1. In the literal sense kattī means 'a sword' and arasa 'a king.'
2. From the original plates.
3. This word is engraved in the left-hand marginal space between ll. 1 and 2.
4. The dot denoting the anusvara is wrongly engraved on the top of the previous aksaḥra kā ṇ.
5. This aksaḥra looks more like ṣa. Dr. Nandimath has read this as aksaḥra as maṇi, which has no justification.
6. The sandhi has not been observed here.
7. This aksaḥra is not clear enough. It looks more like ṭa and the mark denoting the length is not fully drawn up.
8. This expression has been read as 'varama-mahārājasya' by Dr. Nandimath.
9. A small horizontal curve denoting punctuation is engraved after the sīkṣaṇa ; but it is unnecessary.
10. It would be better to read 'pāra-āvabodaḥ-āvabōdaḥ.'
11. This aksaḥra is rather peculiar and may be taken to be the cursive form of ṣa.
12. Dr. Nandimath's reading is 'bhaddi-nāya.'
13. The sandhi has not been observed here.
14. This word is omitted in the text of Dr. Nandimath's Kannada article.
15. This aksaḥra looks like ṣa.
16. The sandhi has not been observed here.
17. A small horizontal curve is engraved after this for punctuation, but it is superfluous.
18. This aksaḥra looks like ṣa.
19. Dr. Nandimath reads the expression as dattān dattā and corrects it into dattānā.
20. The reading given by Dr. Nandimath is ashaśṭ-vaṃṣa.
In the last week of December 1949, I received for examination some copper-plate inscriptions belonging to the Utkal University, Cuttack, from its learned Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Chintāmaṇi Āchāryya. The inscription under discussion was one of them. It was collected by Mr. Sadāśiva Rathā Śarmā, who has been appointed by the University a Research Assistant to go round different parts of Orissa and collect materials for the compilation of an authentic history of the country. On the 7th August 1949, in course of his tour in the Ganjam District, Mr. Rathā Šarmā found the present set of copper plates with an inhabitant of the village of Polsara, named Dwitiya Parida, who had discovered them while tilling a piece of land about the beginning of May 1949. I thank Mr. Āchāryya for kindly allowing me to publish the inscription.

The set consists of three plates each measuring 7 inches by 3-7 inches. They are held together by a ring to which a seal is soldered. The seal, although smaller in size, closely resembles the seal attached to the copper-plate charters of the imperial Gaṅgas and bears the figure of a seated bull in full relief, facing front and bedecked with ornamental drapery and a bell tied to its neck. The first and the last plates are engraved on the inner side only, while the second is written on both sides. The incision is deep and the writing is clear, although most of the letters show signs of additional scratches probably to some defect of the engraver's tool. There are altogether 40 lines of writing of which the first plate bears 11 lines and the third 9 lines only, while the second plate has ten lines of writing on the obverse and ten on the reverse. The plates without the ring weigh 80 tolas, while the ring with the seal weighs 24 tolas.

The characters belong to that variety of the East Indian script of the early mediaeval period which is usually called proto-Bengali, although, as I have suggested elsewhere, 1 a more appropriate name for the script is Gaṇī. On palaeographical grounds, the inscription is ascribable to the 12th or the 13th century. The characters closely resemble those employed in a copper plate charter of Gaṅga Anangabhima III (circa 1211-38 A. D.) recently examined by me. 2 Of initial vowels, we have in the inscription only a (lines 33, 40) and i (cf. Rishikulyā in line 14), the latter little differing in shape from jh in Jāžākhaṇḍa (line 18). As usual with East Indian epigraphs of the age in question, b is generally indicated by the sign for v. But in some cases both b and v appear to have a slanting stroke across the loop (cf. “āṃvau-samvārdhitva” in line 9 and vaḥ in line 35) which resembles the stroke distinguishing b from v in Devanāgarī. It, however, seems to me to be nothing but a scratch, to the existence of which in the formation of most letters of the inscription reference has already been made. The inscription employs the numerical figures, 2, 4 and 8.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. There is, however, Prakrit influence in the name Śriyādēvi (lines 11, 40) as well as in the word śriyā standing for Sanskrit śri in line 10. With the exception of the four imprecatory verses at the end, the entire record is in prose. As regards orthography, little calls for special mention besides the reduplication of dh before y as in bhaṇḍāḍḍhakha (line 27) and Maddhyadēśa (line 16), the preference for the anusvāra to the varṇiya nasals in spelling words like kuṇā-śīndu (line 4), saṅgata (line 9), etc., the occasional reduplication of certain consonants after r and the non-observance of the rule of sandhī as, for instance, in “dēvi-Arkkēśāva” in lines 39-40.

2 This inscription will also be published in the Epigraphia Indica.
The charter is dated in the year 4248 of the Yuga-bda, i.e., the Kaliyuga era. The second (i.e., the hundredth) figure in the date resembles the Telugu and English numeral 3 and is found in Indian epigraphs and manuscripts to indicate 3 in some cases but 2 in others.  

Some inscriptions of the Gaṅga king Narasimha II (circa 1278-1303 A.D.), however, show beyond doubt that this was the form of 2 and not of 3 in medieval Orissa. Thus the year corresponds to A.D. 1147-8. The astronomical details relating to the date and occasion of the grant in lines 12-15 show that the grant was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on Friday, the day of the full moon of Maṅga, in the 24th regnal year of the king who issued the charter. The date of the grant was therefore Friday the 6th February A.D. 1148, although Swamikannu Pillai's Indian Ephemeris does not recognise any lunar eclipse on that day.

The inscription records the grant of one-half of the village called Valigrāma, situated in the Varttani viṣaya forming part of the Jhādakhandha dēśa, by Arkaśvaradāva, son of Pramāṭidēva and grandson of Gunarṇavadēva who is described as a member of the Gaṅga family and a devotee of Mahēvara (Śiva) and is styled Paramabhatāraka. The grant was made in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named Vṛddhikaraśarman, son of Madhukaraśarman and grandson of Jiyakaraśarman, who was a student of the Kāśva branch of the Yajurveda. The donee belonged to the Parāśara gñāta and originally hailed from the Madhyadēsa. The occasion of the grant is said to have been the lunar eclipse on the date referred to above, when king Arkaśvara, accompanied by his chief queen Śriyādēvi, came from the Hiṅgulā kataka to the banks of the Rishikulya apparently for a bath in the waters of the river. It is well known that the Dharmasāstras enjoin a purificatory bath after the solar and lunar eclipses as well as the offering of gifts, especially to Brāhmaṇas, on the occasion. It is said that on the occasion of solar and lunar eclipses the bath in the waters of any pool or river is as meritorious as one in the holy waters of the Ganges. It is not known whether the use of the rather unusual Kaliyuga era, instead of the Gaṅga or the Śaka era, had anything to do with the special importance attached by the king and the queen to the auspicious occasion of the grant. The kataka (camp or town) of Hiṅgulā, where the king and queen must have been residing, was apparently not far from the banks of the Rishikulya river. The grant was made on the occasion of the lunar eclipse jointly by the royal consorts and, in lines 39-40, it is specifically said to have been approved of by both the queen Śriyādēvi and the king Arkaśvaradāva. It is interesting in this connection to note that the aim of the grant was not only the usual "increase of the merit and fame of my own self as well as of my parents", but also "the increase of the progeny such as sons, grandsons, etc. (putra-paurāṇi-santati-viśuddhakṣa)". The half of the village that was granted was made free from the obligation of paying revenue and was endowed with a tāmra, i.e., tāmra-tāsana or charter, which was incurred for the purpose and "was free from all troubles", meaning apparently that the charter carried the usual privileges of enjoying the land without obstacles. The privileges specified in the record included the donee's right of enjoying the half of the village together with land and water, with fish and tortoise, with trees, shrubs and creepers as well as with hidden treasures and unclaimed wealth (sa-nidhi s-āpaniśaka). The land was also made free from the entry of chaṭṭa (or chāṭa) and bhāṭa, usually interpreted by scholars as regular and irregular soldiers, but possibly meaning actually constables.

1 Cf. B-ehler, Indian Palaeography, Table IX, lines viii, x and xii of the chart showing figures of the decimal notation; 0, x, and vii of the chart showing figures of the decimal notation; Ojha, Palaeography of India (in Hindi), Plate LXXII (a), LXXVI (a and b).

2 See J. A. S. B., Vol. LV, Part I, 1896, Plate X, margin. The figures 2 in medieval Orissan records sometimes resemble Devanāgarī 2; cf. op. cit., Plate XII, margin. For the numerical figures, see also Mazunadac, Orissa in the Making, Plate between pp. 291 and 293, line 22, where, however, 3 is properly written as in Devanāgarī. The views expressed in J.O.B., Vol. XVII, pp. 216 7 are due to confusion.

3 Cf. quotations in the Subdakapāda, s. v. grahaṇam: chandra-ārya-grahaṇa svānaṁ śādāha-dāna-japaṁ-kālam | kāryam mala-maṅgak-pi nityam naimuktam tathā || Also sarvam bhūmi-saman dānai sarve Vyaśa-vamā dṛjāh | sarvam Gaṅga-saman-lōyam grahaṇaṁ x-āśra samāyak. ||
and peons. The list of rāj-opajūvins, to whom Arkāśvara’s order regarding the grant was issued, includes nārapati, rāja-patra, amatya, mahāsāṃhārīcīrahika, mahākṣaṭālīka, mahāpātra, mahā-sāmanta daworīka, bhāja-dāhyaksha, danyapāśika, khanḍapāla and vishaya-pāla. Of these, the official designation mahāpātra seems to be peculiar to Orissa. Pātra and Mahāpātra are still popular surnames in the Orissa region. According to the Tārikh-i-Firāz Shāhī of Shams-i-Sīrāj, “In the country of Jājnagar (i.e., Orissa), the maḥtas (i.e., mantrins) are called pātras (i.e., pātras), and the Bāi of Jājnagar (i.e., Gāṅga Bāḥṣudēva III, circa 1352-78 A. D.) had twenty pātras, otherwise called maḥtas, under whose advice he conducted the affairs of his state.”

Considering the fact that the 24th regnal year of Arkāśvara corresponds to A. D. 1147-8, he must have ruled from A. D. 1124-5 to a date falling sometime after the 6th February A. D. 1148. Thus he was ruling contemporaneously with the imperial Gāṅga monarch Anantavarmān Chōḍagaṇga (A. D. 1078-1147). It is difficult to believe that an independent Gāṅga monarch was ruling side by side with the Gāṅga emperor in the second quarter of the twelfth century. This coupled with the fact that no royal or imperial epithet is used in connection with the names of Arkāśvara and his father Pramāḍi may suggest that they were mere feudatories of the Gāṅga emperor, although the issue of the present charter without any reference to the overlord is rather difficult to explain. Arkāśvara’s grandfather Guṇārṇava has been given the imperial title Paramabhātāraka. But whether he is to be identified with one of the known monarchs of the imperial Gāṅga house or whether this is to be regarded as an improper use of the epithet can hardly be determined in the present state of our knowledge. We know that kings of the Gāṅga house of Śvētaka were ruling side by side with the kings of Kaliṅganaṅgara for a long time, sometimes as feudatories and sometimes as independent rulers. The latest known member of the Śvētaka branch of the Gāṅga family may have been Dēvēndravarman who flourished in the second half of the eleventh century as an early contemporary of Anantavarmān Chōḍagaṇga. It may not be impossible that Guṇārṇava, was another name of this Dēvēndravarman, who was apparently subdued by Chōḍagaṇga, and that his son and grandson were subordinate to the Gāṅga emperor. The absence of any reference to the overlord in our record may have been due to the expectation of regaining independence raised in the hearts of the feudatories by Chōḍagaṇga’s death.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the record, the reference to Jhāḍakhaṇḍa-dāśa is very interesting. It was the name applied to the wide area of rather jungle land extending from South Bihar to Orissa, although its exact southern boundary is difficult to determine. The grant of Narasiniṅga II referred to above mentions Daksīṇa-Jhāḍakhaṇḍa. In the north, the temple of Vaiḍyānātha at Deoghar near the junction of the Santal Parganas, Monghyr and Bhāgāpur Districts is often described as lying in Jhāḍakhaṇḍa. An sixteenth century inscription is said to describe a Raja of Jaipur in the Ganjam District as the ruler of Jhāḍakhaṇḍa, while the Rājas of Baud are known to have claimed the same title. The village called Valigrāmā and the vishaya or district named Varttani cannot be satisfactorily identified, although the latter may be the same as the Varsa-varttani or Kōl-varttani vishaya mentioned in many other Gāṅga records.

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1 [See above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 134.—Ed.]
3 He is known from such sources as the Mādāraṇa grant of Śaka 988 (A. D. 1066) and the Kambakāya grant apparently of Śaka 1093 (A. D. 1081). See J. K. H. R. S., Vol. I, pp. 229-21.
4 Mazumdar, Orissa in the Making, pp. 63-65. According to B. Singh Deo (Nandapur, p. 18), the chiefs of Jaipur or Koraput call themselves “Lord of Jhāḍakhaṇḍa” even today.

25 DGA
ancient village of Khōnna in Varāhavarttani has been identified with modern Korni near Kalingapatam in the Ganjam District. This shows that Varāhavarttani comprised parts of the Ganjam District where king Arkaśvara also apparently ruled. Hīngulā, probably the capital of the particular branch of the Gaṅga family to which Arkaśvara belonged, seems to have been situated, as already indicated, on the banks of the Rishikulyā, no doubt the river of that name flowing past the town of Ganjam in the Ganjam District of Orissa. The river has retained its old name in the list of rivers issuing from the Mahānīla range (i.e., the Eastern Ghats) mentioned in the geographical sections of the Puruśaśāstra. The exact location of Hīngulā is, however, unknown, although it may be modern Hīnjilī of the Survey of India sheet maps 74A1/11 c 1 and 74A1/15 a 1. Madhyadesa, to which the donee's family originally belonged, was the name applied to the central region of Northern India roughly between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas and between the Eastern Punjab and the Eastern United Provinces (Uttar Pradesh).

TEXT

First Plate

1 [Siddham :] Svasti [*] śrimad-Gaṅga-kula-tilaka-paramamāheśvara-paramabha[ṭṭā]rakasaka-
2 la-guna-guṇa-ālaṅkṛita-śrimad-Guṇ[a]rṇṇajavadēva śīt-tat-putraḥ sakalā-dēśa-vi-
3 khyāta-kirtiti-vvīra[ḥ]* sphurad-asama-pratāp-ānala-dāgadh-āśeṣa-ṣatru-
4 sa[la]bhaḥ śrimat-Pramāḍidēvaḥ saṁbhūtaḥ ta(tas)-taṣyaḥ cha sūnaḥ kumuda-kuṇḍa-ṇīdū-
5 dhaavalā-yāśo-vihramahā Śvētiśa-dāk-ḥakravālaḥ sa[j]jana-manaḥ-kumu-
6 da-vana-vikāsana-nirmmala-pūrṇa-sudhākaraḥ [ka](ra)ṇa-raṅga-sāṅga-
7 ta-[vai]-ra-va[r]-uda[hi]-rā[ḥ]-a[dh][a]-chā[r]-a[r]-sphurata(t)-khalga-[va][li]-maṁ-
8 i[t]-a-prachāni]-a[d]-ṛ-ṛ[ṇa]-nirjita-āśeṣa-ripha-[va]-[ba]-laḥ(lō) dvija-vara-[ka]-[ra]-ka-mūn-
9 1-ṭārana-sāṅgata-dān-āmva-[mbu]-samva[sa]mva[sa]r[dd]-hita-pratata-puṇya-tarva-vvitata-pratā-
10 p-ānala-jvalā-ma[l]-saṁhiṣṭā-āśeṣa-dvēṣi-'patariṇa-vratā Śrīyadēvi-3
11 charita-paraśilana-śrī-Śrīyadēvi-nayana-mamadhu-kara-pēpiya-

Second Plate ; First Side

12 māṇa-vadana-panakajāḥ śrimad-Arkaśvaratādevaḥ kuśali chaturvīṃṣati[ta*]-
13 mē rājya-saṁvatsare pravardhamāṇa-vijaya-rūjyē Hīngulā-kaṭakāda-ā-
14 gātaya Rishikulyā-ṭirē Māgha-paurṇamāśyaṁ Bhṛguvāraḥ soṃa-
15 grahaṇa-samyāḥ Śrīyadēvi-priya-paṭṭamahāḍēvi-sahitaḥ(tō)
16 Maddhyadesā-vingiratāya Parāśara-sa(ṣa)gṛtṛāya Jivakaraśarmanē-
17 gaḥ pauruṣāya Madhuksarasarmāṇaḥ putṛya Vṛddhikaraśarmanē-
18 [Brāhmanāya] Yajurvēda-Kaṇḍa-sākha-ādhāyaśinē Jhāḍakāuṇḍa-dēśi-āntarvva-
19 rtti-Varthtani-vishayē Valigrāma-nāmaṁ grāmasyārdṛdhaṁ pūrvva(ṛva)-siddha-
20 tuḥ-śiḥ(s)iḥ-avachchhinna-bhūkhamadāṁ sa-jālā-sthalat[u*] sa-matsya-kachha(o)chha)pān

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1 Raychaudhuri, Studies in Indian Antiquities, p. 107.
2 From the original plates lent by the Vice-Chancellor, Utkal University, and from the impressions prepared in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.
3 Expressed by a symbol.
4 Omit risaṣṭa.
5 Śrīyī apparently stands for Sanskrit Śrī, i.e., the goddess of prosperity.
6 Read mānde.
Polsara Plates of Arkesvaradeva; Yugabda 4248.

ii,a.

SCALE: NINE-TENTHS.

Survey of India, Dehra Dun

B. Ch. Chhabra
Reg No. 426 H.E(C)'50-534.
ii, b.

iii.
21 ksha-gulma-latakaṁ sa-nidhi s-ōpani[di*]kaṁ a-chaṭṭa-bhaṭṭa1-pravēśam-u

Second Plate; Second Side

22 [tk̄]ṛṇa-sarv-ōpadrava-varjita-tāmram-a[ka*]rikṣita mātā-pitrō-
23 r-ātmānāṁ2 puṇya-yaśō-vi[j]vṛiddhayē putra-paur-trā-samṭati-viṣṛ-
25 samuḥgatān-aśeṣaṁ-narapatiṁ-varttamānānāṁ cha rājaputrāmāṁ-
26 tyāṁ-mahāśāṁdvīvrahika-mahākṣepaḥ-talika-mahāpāṁ-
27 tra-mahāsāmanta-dauvārika-bhāṅdaṅdhyaksha-da[ṇ*]dapaśi(si)ka-kha[ṇ*]-
28 dapa-vaśhayaspōla-prabhrīṭin-aśeṣha-rāj-ōpa[va]vīnāḥ(nō) yathā-
29 rham-māṇayati prāṭhayati cha matam-asta bhavatāṁ Valigrāṁ-ārdhā-bhū-kha[ṇ*]-
30 dān [Brāj]maṇāya Vṛddhikaraśārmmanāṁ mayā dattaḥ(ttam) [*] pālanē svarg-ādi- ·
31 phala-sādhanād-āpaharaṇe mahāraurav-ādi-naraka-pāta-bhayaḥ-dhū-

Third Plate

32 mi-dānam-idaṁ bhavadbhīr-[bhāv[i]bhīḥ pālaniyam-itī || 0 ||
33 atra dharm-ānusāṁ(śau)mśiṁaḥ shlo[ślo]kāḥ | Va(Ba)hubbhir-vasudhā dattā rāja-
34 bhīḥ Sagar-[ādi]bhīḥ | yaśya yaśya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā
35 phalaṁ(lam) [[[*]] ṛṣi bhūmi(d-a) phala-sāṅkā vah para-datt-ēti pārthivvāḥ | sva-dānā-
36 t- phalām-ānantaṁ para-datt-ānupālanāṁ(nē) | Sva-dattaṁ para-dattaṁ va
37 yō harēḥ-cha vasundhārāṁ(rām) | sa visṭhāyāṁ krīmīr-bhūtvā pṛtipībhīḥ saha
38 pachyātē || Gām-ēkāṁ svarṇa-ṛaktiṁ cha bhūmēr-apy ārdham-ā(m-āṁ)gu-
39 laṭāṁ(lam) | ha[rān-naraka-ā]pnoṭi yāvad-āhūta-saṃplavāṁ(yam | Śriyädē-
40 vi-Arkēśvarādēvasya3 sarhatam || Yuga-vādā(bdāḥ) 4248 ||

No. 12—MADRAS MUSEUM PLATE OF BHUVANATRINETRA

(I Plate)

P. B. DESAI, OOTACUMUND

A set of five copper plates was received from the Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras, in the office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy in 1935-36. They were strung together on a bare elliptical ring and gave the appearance that the whole formed one set. But on decipherment of the writing, it was found that they comprised three distinct records belonging to different rulers.

1 Better read chāṭha-bhaṭṭa usually found in this context in epigraphic records.
2 Read "naka-
3 Better read Śriyādēy-Arkēśvarādēvīyōḥ.
4 These inscriptions have been noticed as Nos. 5 to 7 of Appendix A in the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy for 1935-36. The first two of these records belong to the Renuḍu Chōḷa chiefs, Śrikantha Chōḷa and Balīya Chōḷa Mahārāja. They have been published in the Journal of Indian History, Vol. XV, pp. 30-49 and 255 ff. and plates.
The present inscription which is being edited here for the first time is engraved on the fifth plate of the set described above. The plate measures 9 3/4" in length and about 3" in breadth. It has slightly raised rims all round. The record is engraved on one side only and consists of 8 lines. The alphabet is Telugu-Kanāḍa of the transitional stage and perhaps it is for this reason that a certain measure of indifference is noticeable in the formation of the letters.

In regard to orthography, the use of anuvātra in place of class nasals may be noted in a large number of cases. The expression [sanāmi]tra in line 3 appears to be a mistake for sanāṅka. The record contains a few minor clerical mistakes which have been corrected in the body of the text.

The language of the inscription is arhaic Telugu.

The document belongs to the family of subordinate chiefs known as the Vaidumbas. All the records of this family discovered so far are inscriptions on stone. This is the only copper plate record of the family.

The record is brief. It commences with the familiar praśasti of the Vaidumba family and introduces the chief Bhuvana-Trinētra who had assumed the title Mahārāja. It is dated Śaka 893, Āśāda śu 7, Thursday, Dakṣināyana-saṅkrānti. The inscription states that this chief, residing at Potōpi in the Pāka-sādu, made a gift of the village Kāṭcheruvū situated in the tract of Kālāpa-Twelve to the god Lōkēśvara Bhaṭṭāra of Artiṇēvula. The gift was entrusted into the hands of Kuchibhājana, a resident of Mahājara, who was to protect and enjoy the charity for the merit of Bhūmarāja and Bīchavva. Sirama Puggala was the executor of the document and Dēsaratī Bihūmāna the engraver. The charter ends with the expression śri-Akṣara-vīka which would have been the chief's title used as the sign-manual.

The date is irregular. If Śaka 893 is a mistake for Śaka 891 (expired), the details regularly correspond to A. D. 993, June 21, Thursday. But both these dates are, so to say, inadmissible in view of the statement of an inscription from Upparappale in the Cuddapat District which speaks of the coronation, in Śaka 894, of Bhuvana-Trinētra Vaidumba Mahārāja who is apparently identical with this chief. But we can get over this difficulty by assuming that though he was wickling authority from an earlier date, the formal consecration ceremony of the chief took place later, on account of the disturbed political conditions.

We are not in a position to assign due place to Bhuvana-Trinētra in the genealogical account of the Vaidumbas. On account of the paucity of information and the disconnected nature of the sources it is difficult to reconstruct the history of the Vaidumba house, even partially, although a good many inscriptions of the family have been discovered so far. From the different names and titles of the chiefs available to us we are led to believe that there existed more than one branch

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1 My thanks are due to the Government Epigraphist for India for the kind permission to edit the record.
2 The original expression is Kāṭcheruvūlu, a plural form. Perhaps the termination ṛu stands for ṛa of the locative case. If so, we have to assume that the gift consisted of some land in the village.
3 His name proper would be Kuṭaśchibha who was evidently the managing priest of the temple.
4 Abhāna-vāk means 'one whose speech is praiseworthy'. This is an early instance of a ruler using the title for the sign-manual. The famous instance of the later period is śrī-Virāpaka of the Vijayanagara kings. But in the latter case it is the tutelary deity and not the title of any ruler or ruler.
6 The inscription on the front wall of the Śiva temple at Kalakadā, Vayalpad tālu, Chittoor District (No. 444 of 1949-51 of Mad. Ep. Coll.) records certain remissions by the Vaidumba king Bhuvana-Trinētra Prangaya Mahārāja on the occasion of his coronation. This epigraph is not dated but may be roughly ascribed to the 10th century A. D. on paleographic grounds. Except for the characteristic title and probable contemporaneity, clinching evidence is lacking for the identification of Bhuvana-Trinētra of the present document with Bhuvana-Trinētra of the Kalakadā record. It is, however, not unlikely that they refer to one and the same person.
of this family of chiefs. The Vaidumbas appear to have reached the height of their power in the 9th century A.D. under Gaṅga-Triṇēṭra who was ruling over the territory of Rēṇāḍu 7000, the home province of the Telugu-Chōḷa chiefs. Bhuvana-Triṇēṭra might be a direct descendant of Gaṅga-Triṇēṭra removed by a few generations. Vaidumba Mahārāja mentioned as the subordinate of the Rādhārakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III in an inscription from Pālāgiri in the Cuddapah District, was probably a predecessor of Bhuvana-Triṇēṭra. By the time of Bhuvana-Triṇēṭra, the Rādhārakūṭa power had reached its final phase and it is significant to note that neither of the inscriptions of this chief contains any reference to the suzerain. Bhimarāja and Bāčchaṇa, for whose merit the gift was maintained, might be the parents of this chief.

Reverting to the place names occurring in the epigraph, Pottepi is identical with Pottapi in the old Pullampet or the present Rajampet tāluk in the Cuddapah District. This town is said to have been founded by Madhurāntaka Pottpai Chōḷa, an early ancestor of the Telugu-Chōḷa family. Kaḍapā, the headquarters of the small tract of Kaḍapā-Twelve which included the gift village, is identical with modern Cuddapah. Aṟṟivrul or Āṟivrul has been identified with Āṭivāḷā in the Rajampet tāluk. Marṇājaram, which seems to be identical with Mandaram mentioned in the two accompanying records referred to above, may be identified with Mandapalle in the same tāluk.

Lastly, we take up the region called Pāka-nāḍu which contained the tract of Kaḍapā-Twelve. This seems to be the earliest reference to the territorial unit and it would be useful to recall here in brief its origin and history. In the Prākrit inscriptions of Nāgarjunikōṇḍa (c. 3rd century A.D.) is mentioned a people or clan called the Pākiyas. The domicile of these people appears to have been styled the Pūgi or Pūgi Dēśa by the Sanskritists as attested by a late epigraph. In Sanskrit, pūga or pūgi means arecanut and its corresponding equivalents, pōka and pākē are found in Telugu and Tamil. Consequently, Pūgi Dēśa might have been changed to Pāka-nāḍu in course of time, its other variants being Pāki-nāḍu, Pākkai-nāḍu, etc. This territorial unit preserved its entity till the 16th century A.D., though its extent and content might have varied under different regimes. From the provenance of the inscriptions containing allusions to this region, it may be gathered that Pāka-nāḍu extended approximately over the major portion of the Nellore District including parts or whole of the Venkatagiri, Rapur, Nellore, Atmakur, Kovur, Kavali and Kanigiri tālukks, small areas of the Ongole and Bapatla tālukks of the Guntur District and the Cuddapah and Rajampet tālukks of the Cuddapah District. Under the Chōḷa regime during the 12-13th centuries A.D., the western portion of this tract was designated Mēr-Pākkai-nāḍu forming part of the Jayaṅgondachōḷaṁdalam and Adhirājēndrachōḷaṁdalam. A subdivision of the Mēr-Pākkai-nāḍu was called Pottapi-nāḍu, evidently after the village Pottapi noted above. Under the Vijayanagara administration Pāka-nāḍu was incorporated in the Udayagiri-rājya.

TEXT

1 Svasty-anēka-samara-satikhaṭṭan-ōpaladbha-vijaya-lakshmi-samālūṅgīta-viśala-vakshanastha Bhu-

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1 Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 192.
5 Above, Vol. XX, pp. 5, 12, etc.
7 Compare, above, Vol. XX, p. 12. Pāga also means 'a multitude' or 'a corporation'.
8 Nellore Inscriptions, Kanigiri No. 11, Kavali Nos. 8, 43; Nos. 243 of 1807, 398-99 of 1911, of Mad. Ep. Coll., etc.
11 Nellore Inscriptions, Nellore No. 34 A, etc.
12 From ink-impressions.
No. 13—HIREGUTTI PLATES OF BHOJA ASANKITA

(1 Plate)

P. B. DESAI, OOTACUMUND

In the course of my annual tour in the Bombay-Karnāṭaka area during 1949-50, I secured the loan of this highly interesting set of copper plates from Śrī Uddāṅga Bommayya Gaonkar, a resident of Hire Gutti in the Kumta tāluk of the North Kanara District, Bombay State, who owned it as an heirloom. It became possible to obtain its loan from the reluctant owner through the kindness of Śrī S. P. Gaonkar of Ankola, M.L.A., who had informed me of its existence about a decade ago. I am editing the inscription on these plates here for the first time with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The set consists of three plates strung together on a copper ring passing through a hole, $\frac{3}{8}$" in diameter, at the centre of the margin on the left side. The ends of the ring which measures $24\frac{1}{2}$" in diameter and whose thickness is about $\frac{1}{8}$", are secured at the bottom of a circular seal. The plates are of uniform size; they measure 7" in length, 24" in breadth and about $\frac{1}{8}$" in thickness. Only one side each of the first and the third plates and both sides of the second plate are engraved. There are 16 lines of writing which are distributed equally on the four faces. The seal measuring 1" in diameter, bears in relief, the rough figure of a miniature elephant in motion facing the proper right. The weight of the plates is 27 tolas and that of the ring with the seal 8 tolas. The plates are in a good state of preservation notwithstanding their age.

The charter is written in the southern alphabet of the early age. The average height of single letters is about $\frac{1}{8}$" and of conjunctions $\frac{1}{4}$". The characters are of the normal variety, that were in vogue in the Deccan and western part of South India. For general appearance they may be compared with the script of the Sangoli plates of Harivarman,² Halmīḍi stone inscription,³ Bādāmi Vaishṇava cave inscription⁴ and Goḍaḍi plates of Katti-arasa.⁵ Two trends, viz., slightly more advanced and somewhat less advanced, are noticeable in the formation of letters like k, j, y, l and y. The letters t and n are not generally distinguished. The medial short i denoted either by a curve or a circle at the top, is distinguished from long i indicated by a curve with a loop on the left above the letter.

¹ The reading of this expression is doubtful as some of the letters are not legible. The akṣara sa is engraved below the line and this omission is denoted by a cross incised between the akṣaras sa and [nī].
² Above, Vol. XIV plate between pp. 166 and 167.
⁵ Above, p. 62.
In regard to *orthography* the consonant after *r* is invariably doubled, the only exception being *rska* in line 11. This is justified according to the rule of grammar,¹ which is however optional. The reduplicated letter is further subjected to the *sudhi* rule as may be noted in respect of *rtthy* and *rttha* in line 5, wherein the dental unaspirate is substituted for the corresponding aspirate.

The *language* of the epigraph is Sanskrit. The invocation and the imprecation are in verse. The rest of the record is composed in prose. The writing contains a few minor errors which have been corrected in the body of the text and in the footnotes.

The inscription commences with the praise of Lord *Buddha*. He is described as one ' whose feet are licked by the rays of the shining jewels in the coronets of gods and demons ' and ' a reservoir of countless virtues '. Significant in this connection is the epithet, ' affectionate without a motive ', applied to him. Next is introduced the king *Āsāṁkita*,² ' the moon in the firmament of the lineage of the Bhōjas who were endowed with Fortune '. The *object* of the document is to record gift of the village Sundarika, situate in the Dipaka *vīhāra*, for the enjoyment of the Buddhist *vīhāra* belonging to them,³ by the king, at the request of the chief Kottipeggili born in the lineage of the Kākiyās of Nandipallī. The gift village was entrusted to the Ārya Saṅgha, i.e., assembly of Buddhist monks in charge of the monastery. It was bounded by Kurvā in the east, the roaring stream⁴ of Marttikaṭṭu in the south, the water-fall on the mountain in the west; its northern boundary extended up to the boulder with the mango tree. The charter ends with an exhortation to protect the charity bestowed upon the Ārya Saṅgha and an imprecation against its violators.

The epigraph bears no date. So the only means left to us for determining its date is *palaeography* whose evidence may be reckoned as fairly approximate. The alphabet of the inscription betrays archaic traits and appears to be older than that of the four epigraphs⁵ mentioned before for general comparison. It bears closer affinity with the script of the copper-plate record of the Kadamba king Mrigēsvaraman, dated in the 4th regnal year,⁶ except for the box-headed character of the latter. Of the four records noted above the Saṅgoli plates of Harivarman are the earliest with some precision in date. They have been ascribed to the middle of the 6th century A.D.⁷ Hence it would be reasonable if we assign the end of the 5th or the beginning of the 6th century A.D. as the most likely date of our record.

More than one interests centre round this brief document inasmuch as it opens up certain new facts regarding the political and religious history of the south-western region of India in that early age. Firstly, it introduces a new prince of the ruling family of Bhōjas. If we go to the early age of the post-Vedic literature and that of the epics, the Bhōjas figure as a class or clan of rulers⁸

¹ *Ashkāthāyāgayiḥ : achā rakahhyām doē | (VIII. 4- 46). This sūtra explains the circumstances when the reduplication can take place. The exception is indicated by another sūtra : iśā-rayiḥ | (VIII. 4-49).

² *This name occurs in the combination of two words coalesced by *sudhi*. It is possible to construe the king’s name as *Āsāṁkita* also. But on consideration of sense it would be better to take it as *Āsāṁkita* which means ‘the fearless one’. *

³ *The *sva-vīhāra* can be interpreted as relating either to *Āsāṁkita* or to Kottipeggili or to both. I would prefer the last alternative. This would be in keeping with the fact that both the king and his chief had their leanings with the Buddhist faith as indicated by the circumstances. *Sva* may also point to ‘their own faith’. *

⁴ *Virāc* means ‘a roar, thunder’. It is suggested by the natural context that this expression is used here to connote ‘a noisy mountain stream’. *

⁵ *One of these is the Halmidi inscription. I had a discussion in regard to the dating of this record with Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, Superintendent for Epigraphy, who holds that it should be placed in the 6th century rather than in the 5th century A. D. Contra. Mys. Arch. Rep. 1936, p. 72.*

⁶ *Ind. Ant., Vol. VII ; plate between pp. 36 and 37.*

⁷ *Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 165-66.*

claiming some importance. According to the *Āiturēya Brāhmaṇa*, the chiefs of the Sātvata clan were termed Bhūjas and it is stated that the former were regulated by the Bhauiya constitution wherein the authority seems to have been vested in the chosen representatives or leaders of the people. This institution of leaders which was non-hereditary in the first instance appears to have developed as a hereditary class by itself; for, the Bhūjas are mentioned as a subdivision of the Yādavas in the *Mahābhārata*. The Bhūjas, as specified by the *Āiturēya Brāhmaṇa*, were confined to the southern region. It is interesting to note that this general statement in regard to the domicile of the Bhūjas in the south has been confirmed by the specific allusions found in the early epigraphs ranging from the times of Asoka. In his Rock Edict XIII, the Bhūjas are mentioned along with the Pitinikas and it is surmised that the former hailed from the western part of India. The Bhūjas again, associated with Rāshiṅkikas, are referred to as fighting against the Kaliṅga king Khāravela in the *Hāthigumpha* inscription. According to the *Daśakumāracharita* which seems to reflect certain historical facts, Vidarbha was ruled by a king named Puṇyavarman who belonged to the ancient Bhūja race.

Some of the Bhūja chiefs who had emerged as a ruling class of some importance, seem to have preferred to style themselves Mahābhūjas. The Mahābhūjas figure in a number of Brāhmi inscriptions of about the first and second century A.D. from the western parts of the Bombay State and the sphere of their activities seems to have been confined to that region. They were connected by matrimonial alliance with the Mahārājjas on the one hand and the Chūtus on the other. The Mahābhūjas were adherents of the Buddhist faith.

But the existence of the Bhūjas as an independant ruling family or families of note, prior to the advent of the Chālukyas on the political horizon of South India, is being unravelled for the first time by a series of copper-plate records discovered recently. Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao has noticed them in detail in his note on the Siroda plates of Dēvarāja, which are the earliest of the series. Next in chronological sequence after the Siroda plates comes the present epigraph. This is followed by three charters, one issued by Dharmamahārāja Kapālivarman and two others by Pithivimallavarman.

Thus it has been seen that as many as five copper-plate inscriptions of the Bhūja family have come to light so far. They range in age from the 4th century to the 7th century A.D. In the absence of more information on the genealogical relationship of these rulers it is not possible to say that they belonged to one and the same lineage. It is likely that they were members of various branches. Dēvarāja of the Siroda plates and Aśaṅkita of the present epigraph probably represent different lines. Kapālivarman seems to be connected with yet another line. This prince appears to have been a ruler of dignified status and we may note the distinguished title Dharmamahārāja borne by him. This title was assumed by more than one prince of the Pallava, Kadamba and the Western Gaṅga families. It is not unlikely that Pithivimallavarman of the said plates belonged to the line of Kapālivarman as suggested by the common name-ending; but we have to observe the absence of the title Dharmamahārāja in respect of the former. The provenance of these

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1 *Āiturēya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, 14.
2 *Hindu Polity*, pp. 79-80 and 85.
5 Above, Vol. XX, p. 71.
7 *Luders’ List*, Nos. 1021, 1037, 1045, etc.
9 *Ibid.*, Nos. 1052, 1054, 1111, etc.
charters and other indications obtained from the place-names occurring in them would show that these princes held sway generally over the strip of land on the west coast, roughly comprising the present day territory of Goa and the North Kanara District.

Secondly, our epigraph brings into relief the state of religion prevailing at the time. Save the present inscription, all the Bhoja charters noted above register grants to the Brahmanas. True, no definite conclusion can be arrived at merely on the basis of this fact, but there are other grounds which lead to the assumption that these chiefs were adherents of the Brahmanical faith. Only Asankita and other members of his house probably owed their allegiance to the doctrine of Lord Buddha. Not merely from the fact that he made the generous grant of a village to a Buddhist vihara, but also from the adoption of the elephant, the symbol of Buddha, as their emblem, it would be reasonable to assume that the family of Asankita was Buddhist by persuasion. This is in keeping with the traditions of the Mahabhujas whose Buddhist leanings are already known. Nothing was known in regard to the state of Buddhism in the Western Deccan after the 3rd century A.D. But this epigraph throws welcome light to the effect that that faith had not lost its ground completely and that it was held in esteem at least by a section of the society about the 6th century A.D. This is seen from the reference to the Buddhist monastery, the congregation of monks who held its charge and the patronage and support they received from the ruling king and the feudatory chief. Leaving behind the Brahmi cave inscriptions of Western India, the Buddhist records are few and far between and the present one appears to be the only Buddhist copper-plate record of the early period so far known.

Thirdly, the seal of the present plates presents a noteworthy feature. Whereas three of the above documents bear no seals and the figure on that of the Siroda charter is couched in some doubt, the seal of the present epigraph is well-preserved and distinct. As seen before, it contains the representation of an elephant. The Buddha is symbolically depicted as an elephant and the family of Asankita appears to have chosen this figure as the characteristic emblem on their crest to mark their Buddhistic leanings.

We may incidentally notice here a few facts bearing on the history of Buddhism in this part of the country. A statue of the Buddha in the meditative pose, attributed to the early age of the Christian Era, was found some years ago at Colvale in the Goa territory. According to an inscription from Nagargunjukonda, of about the 3rd century A.D., the region of Banavasi, approximately representing the North Kanara District, was converted to Buddhism by the Buddhist monks of Ceylon. This piece of information is confirmed by the evidence of the Mahavanasa. Koshabalisiri, a princess of the Ikshvakus who was a great patron of Buddhism, figures in a Nagargunjukonda epigraph as the foundress of a vihara. She was consort of the Maharaja of Vanavasa (i.e., Banavasi) who may be identified as a prince of the Cholu family. The Buddhist influence over the members of the Cholu family is indicated by the Banavasi Prakrit inscription, coring the

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1 The late Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamachariu has stated that the figure on the seal is a swan. Mr. Puslekar thought, it was a peacock. Mr. Mirashi suggests it to be a lion. See A. B. O. R. I., Vol. XXV, p. 43, n. 4.
2 Compare, e.g., H. Hargreaves: Buddha Story in Stone, pp. 7-8; Arch. Surv. of South. Ind., Vol. I, p. 35.
3 An early instance of a Buddhist record on copper-plate comes from the Tippera District in East Bengal. It is dated in the year 188 of the Gupta Era, corresponding to A.D. 507, and registers a grant to a Buddhist vihara by the king Vainya Gupta who, however, was not a follower of the Buddhist faith; I. R. Q., Vol. VI, pp. 45 ff. (I owe this reference to Dr. D. C. Siricar). The Pala rulers of Bengal were Buddhist by persuasion and they had chosen the Dharma Chakra as their characteristic symbol, which is displayed on their copper-plate documents. If the above surmise he correct, this would be the only instance of a ruling family that had adopted as their emblem the figure of an elephant representing the Buddha.
4 Koshamba Kulo, p. 256.
5 Above, Vol. XX, p. 7.
6 Ibid., p. 5.
gift of a Nāga, and a vihāra. Bōdhidharma, founder of the Zen school of Buddhism in China during the early part of the 6th century A.D., hailed, according to one account, from a royal family ruling over the West Coast of South India. It is suggested that he might be a prince of the early Kadamba family. This suggestion seems to be untenable in view of the fact that the early Kadambas are not known to have directly ruled over the West Coast. Nor is the evidence available to show that the Kadambas ever came under the influence of Buddhism. So could it be that Bōdhidharma was connected with the family of Bhōjas some of whom were influenced by the Buddhist doctrine?

Lastly, we are introduced to a new branch of the Kaikēya family. The Kaikēyas originally hailed from the Kēkaya country situated between the rivers Bias and Sutlej in the Punjab. They are mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. They seem to have subsequently migrated to the south and consolidated their position by contracting matrimonial alliances with the princes of the Ikshvāku, Early Kadamba and Pallava families. It appears that there were several branches of the Kaikēyas who had settled in different parts of South India. This may be gathered from the specific reference to the family in the present epigraph as the Kaikēyas of Nandipalli, to distinguish it from others. Allocation of this branch of the Kaikēya family rests on the identification of Nandipalli which appears to have been its headquarters. It may possibly be identified with Nandivali which was one of the gift villages mentioned in the Vokkalīri plates of the Western Chālukya king Kirtivarman II, dated in A.D. 758. It was situated on the southern bank of the river Arādope or Dharmā in the Pāṇḍuga vishaya or the territory adjoining modern Hāṅgal in the Dhawar District. If this identification be correct, it may be assumed that Asaṅkita's authority extended over a part of the area of the Dhawar District; for, the Kaikēya chief Kottipeggi was his subordinate.

The name Kottipeggi is interesting; for, it is only an epithet and not a proper name. It is constituted of three words, kottu = to strike, peggu (peragū) = back and il = not; and may be derived according to the rules of Kannāda grammar. The whole expression would thus mean, 'one who is not a back-stabber'. Similar epithets, e.g. Kokkili = 'one who is devoid of crookedness' were in vogue in the early age. These expressions are purely Kannāda.

The following place-names are mentioned in the epigraph; Dipaka vishaya, Sundarikā, Kurvvā, Martikāṭu. The first is evidently a territorial division and the last three are villages situated in the former. I am unable to identify the latter and in regard to the former I may only suggest two possible alternatives. Dipaka vishaya, appears to have derived the name from the dvipa or an island. It may be either the Anjīdiv island, five miles south-west of Karwar or the island of Divar on the north of the island of Goa. The latter is mentioned under the name Dipavati in the Skanda Purāṇa. If these names are to be derived from dvipa meaning 'light', they would have derived the appellation on account of the existence of some lighting arrangement like lighthouse on them.

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1 Lüders’ List, No. 1186; Early History of Andhra Country, p 116.
4 Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India, p. 98.
5 Pargiter: Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, pp. 109, 164, etc.
6 Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 176-77.
8 Sabdamaniśkaraṇam (Śāhitya Parishat edition), śāstra, 186.
9 For instance, Mangī- Yuvarāja, a prince of the Eastern Chalukya family, had a son named Kokkili; Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 12.
11 Geographical Dictionary (op. cit.), p. 57.
SEAL

(From a photograph)
TEXT

First Plate

1 Jayati sur-āsura-makuṭa-sphuṭa-mañi-kirāṇ-āvalīḍha-charaṇa-
2 yugaḥ [a *] aparimita-guṇa-gaṇa-nidhir-nnishaṅkaraṇa-vatsalō Bu-
3 ddhaḥ [a *] Śrī-bhaṭāṁ Bhōjān-ēm-avay-āṃva(mbar)-ēndun-=Āśaṅkita-rājēna Na-
4 ndipalli-Kaikēy-ēm-avay-prasūtēna Kottiṅpegguṭi-ābhya-

Second Plate; First Side

5 ṛṭṭhaṃśānēna sva-vihāra-paribhōg-ārtaḥdpi Dipaka-vishayē Sundarikā-
6 nāma-grāmō dattaḥ [a *] tasy-āvadhiḥ pūrvvasyām diśi Kurvāvā dakshe-
7 nāśām Marttikaṭṭu-viravā[h *] paśchimasyām parvvatasē-ōpārī pā-
8 niya-patana ēva uttarasyām-āmra-sahitō pāśāṇa-

Second Plate; Second side

9 paryyantaḥ [a *] imaṅ yō lōbhād-avap(harati sa pāṃcha-mahāpātakō bha-
10 vishyati [a ] Sva-dattaṁ para-dattaṁ vā yō harēta vaṃdhaṛaḥ [a *] šashṭiṁ
11 varsha-sahāsraṇi vi[saḥ[sa]hāyāṁ jāyatē krimi[ḥ[ḥ *] Manu-pra-
12 bhṛti[sa] bhir-mmāṇyaśitaḥ=bhukta yady-api rājaḥbhīḥ [a *] yasya yasya ya-

Third Plate

13 dā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ [a *=] Āryya-saṅghāya dattaṁ yō vi-
14 tnuṁ pālaya mānava[ ] sa divaṁ prāpya divy-ātmā kalpa-koti-
15 shu mōdatē[ ] Lōbhād-griṅāṭiti mand-ātmā yaḥ pumān-pāpa-mō-
16 hitaḥ [a *] narakō pachyatē ghōrē sa hi kalpān-ānēkaśaḥ[=]

1 From the original plates.
2 Metre: Āryā.
3 The mark of punctuation in the original is peculiar.
4 The letter yō looks like sā.
5 The subscript vis is indicated by a circle.
6 This letter may be read as ni also, but the above reading seems to be better; cf. ṭāṭa in line 6 and ṭāṭa in line
7 Its interpretation also warrants this reading.
8 This letter looks like dā.
9 Read saṅčitāḥ.
10 There is a punctuation mark after this letter, which evidently indicates that the word is not completed.
11 The metre of this and the next three verses is Anuṣṭubh.
12 The superscript śā of this letter looks like vē as the left hand hook at the top is not joined to the lower oval body of the letter.
13 There is a break in the engraving of this letter.
14 The formation of this letter is peculiar.
15 The punctuation mark consists of one horizontal stroke.
16 The construction of this clause is faulty. The defect will be amended if we read pālayatē naraḥ.
17 The é sign of this letter is peculiar, being a curve with a hook towards the left.
18 This mark of punctuation consists of a wavy horizontal stroke.
NO. 14—SHELARWADI CAVE INSCRIPTION

(1 Plate)

C. C. Das Gupta, Calcutta

There is a well-known series of Buddhist caves at Shelarwadi, a place twenty miles north-west of Poona. There are at present altogether seven caves in this group. On the outer face of the Cave No. 1 there is an early Brähmi inscription which has been known for a long time. That inscription informs us that one Siçatañika, wife of the ploughman and householder Usabhañaka with her son, the householder Nañña, residing at Dhēnukāka, made the gift of this cave. When I had gone to see these caves in January 1940, I discovered another inscription on the door-lintel of the proper left cell in the back side of the cave No. 2. Except one or two letters, the whole inscription was concealed under a thick coat of mud plaster. The mud plaster having been removed, the present record, a hitherto unknown inscription, was brought to light.

The inscription measures 4' x 1' 1" and consists of five lines of writing. The last line, consisting of only three letters, is just below the end of the fourth line. The script is of the variety adopted in the undated inscriptions of Kuñja, Nos. 1—6, 11, 20, and may be ascribed to about the 2nd century A.D. With regard to the formation of individual letters it may be pointed out that a, gh, ch, t, dh, m, l, and h have two different forms each as found respectively in the following examples: ate (line 1) and bālikāa (line 2); Ghapa and Saghā (line 2); cha (lines 3 and 4); bhayata (line 1) and ńt[a]ya (line 2); sidha (line 1) and Budha (line 2); dhama (line 3) and Ęmānī (line 5); bāl (line 2) and kuleh (line 4); Sihā (line 1) and Ęvṛ (line 4). Besides, s has four different forms, as in sidha (line 1), Saghā (line 2), saha (line 3) and Ęvehi (lines 3—4). The medial vowels used are a, i, u, e and o. Among these, only i has two different forms as found in Ęsiniya (line 1). The language used is Prakṛtita.

The object of this inscription is to record the gift of a chaitya hall by two ladies Budhā and Saghā. The latter was the daughter of Ghapara, a female disciple of the elder (thera) Bhadanta Siha (Sūlha). There are certain interesting points in this inscription which deserve notice. Of the four names in this inscription, viz., Saghā and Budhā seem to be peculiar, as such names are usually found with some other suffix such as mitra, datta, etc. This inscription also gives us the evidence for the first time that this particular cave was meant to be the chaitya hall of the Buddhist monastery which was situated on this hill. Regarding this cave, Ferguson and Burgess remarked: "The front is entirely gone, and a thick wall has been built, to form a new front, a few feet farther in than the original, with two circular arched doors. The hall has four cells on the right, two in the back, besides a large shrine, and three on the left,—a fourth being entirely ruined. In the shrine recess had stood a dāgoba, the capital attached to the roof in the Kuñja

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1 This series of Buddhist caves was first noticed by the late Dr. John Wilson in 1850, J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. III, part II, page 54, where he observes: "A little below the summit of that hill fronting the south-west, we found an excavation with four small cells, containing a pāni, and at present sacred to Shiva, which appeared to us, from a bench going round the excavation in front of them, to have been originally Buddhistical. On examining the hill more particularly, we came upon a considerable vihār below them, running E.N.E. and containing about a dozen of cells. Here we found a Buddhist inscription of five lines, which we copied, and which we still preserve. It is very possible that some Chaitya may be in the neighbourhood."

2 This was also noticed by G. H. Johns (Ind. Ant., Vol. V, pp. 252 f.), Ferguson and Burgess (The Cave Temples of India, pp. 246 f.), Burgess and Indraji (Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India, pp. 38 f.), Burgess (Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples and Their Inscriptions, pp. 25, 92, Pl. XLVIII., No. 19), Lüders (A list of Brahmi Inscriptions, No. 1121).

3 Lüders, A List of Brahmi Inscriptions, No. 1121.

4 [The difference noticed is perhaps not a substantial one.—Ed.]
caves,—but this has been hewn away to make room for a small low chauaraigya or Śaiva altar. "71 From this it is apparent that from the architectural point of view also it was originally a chaitya hall which was later transformed into a Śaiva shrine and this inscription establishes beyond doubt that it was the chaitya hall of this Buddhist establishment.

**TEXT**

1 Sidha || therāṇam bhayata-Sihāya ateśāṇiya  
2 pāvaitikāya Ghaṇa[rā]ya bālikā Saghāya Budha(dhā)-  
3 a cha chetiya-gharo deya-dhama mātā-pita udisa saha [cha] sa-  
4 ve hi bhikā(khu)-kulehi sahā cha āchari[ye]hī bhata-vireyehi^{5} sa-  
5 māpito

**TRANSLATION**

Success. The meritorious gift of a chaitya hall is made by Budhā and Saghā (Sarīghā) (who was) the daughter^{6} of the nun Ghaparā, a female disciple of the elder (thera) Bhadanta Sīha for the sake of parents together with all communities of the bhikṣhus and the teachers.

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**No. 15—MORE LIGHT ON GHUMLI PLATES ; GUPTA SAMVAT 513**

**B. CH. CHHABRA, OOTACAMUND**

Early in 1936, twelve copper plates were unearthed near Ghumli in the Nawanagar State of the United States of Saurāṣṭra. They constitute six separate charters of certain Saindhava rulers. The charters have been edited by Dr. A. S. Altekar. They are indicated as A, B, C, D, E and F. In this note, we are concerned with the charter A. It is a grant of the time of Agguka II, dated in the [Gupta] year 513. The last line of this document contains the following recapitulatory verse:

Śrī-Jayasaṃśe mahāṃ grāmam=adāḍ=Ḍhaṅka-tāṛtha-nāmānam [ | *] 
Gulamayikā-ṛgāma-daś-āṅgā(ā-āṅgā)-saḥītaṃ=atibhaktir=Udag-ayānā ||

This is followed by the date Samvat 500 10 3. The information briefly conveyed by the couplet is the main theme of the charter, set out in detail in lines 27-33. It may be observed that, in the verse, the king Jāika is mentioned under the Sanskrit or Sanskritised form of his name, and that Gulamikā is spelt as Gulamayikā for the sake of the metre.

The point at issue, however, is that the verse has been considered by the learned editor to be an interpolation. Moreover, the interpolation is supposed to be the work of the donee himself.

That this can hardly be the case is shown below.

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1 Fergusson and Burgess, *The Cave temples of India*, pp. 246-7.
2 It seems that one wrong letter was engraved after y which was effaced and the letter t was then chiselled in the next space.
3 [The reading of this syllable is definitely rā.—Ed.]
4 It may at first appear that Saghāya Budha cha may mean "to the Buddha and the samgha"; but there is one difficulty for which this interpretation cannot be accepted. There is no dative in Pradeshita and the sense of dative is conveyed by possessive in this language. The reading should, therefore, have been *soṭhada Budhācha* if it had meant "to the Buddha and the samgha".
5 The meaning of the word bhāta-vireyehi is not clear.
6 From the context it appears possible that both Saghā and Budhā were the daughters of Ghasparā; but as the form bālikā which precedes Saghāya is singular, I have taken only Saghā to be the daughter of Ghasparā.
7 Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 197 ff., and plate.
While introducing the verse, the learned editor remarks that it 'summarises the contents of the grant mentioning once more the names of the grantor, the grantee, the village granted and the time of the grant'. Continuing, the learned editor says: "Since the donee speaks of himself in the first person in this verse, it may be well doubted whether it really formed part of the original record. In copper-plate charters, we do not usually come across the phenomenon of the donee himself stating at the end that he had got the grant from such and such a king on such and such an occasion. It would appear that the last verse was probably composed by the donee himself and added in the space available at the bottom of the plate".\(^1\) The learned editor, as a matter of fact, is convinced of this state of affairs, as has been evinced by himself in the course of drawing a contrast between this Charter A and Charter D of the series. There, he points to the fish emblem that occurs at the end of the record instead of on its seal, and comments: "In a way it is no doubt a better method to prevent additional matter being interpolated in the documents in the space lying vacant at the end of the record, as was done by the grantee of Charter A. The seal emblem on the ring does not prevent such a tampering with the original record".\(^2\)

Now, there are certain considerations that not only do not favour the conclusion arrived at by the learned editor, but positively discredit it. In the first place, the verse in question does not show any hidden motive behind it which would prompt a tampering with the original. Secondly, having no reason to the contrary, we may credit the donee with sense enough to know that any such interference on his part would only go against him, nay, would even annul the grant, legally speaking. These two considerations preclude the possibility of attributing to the grantee any bungling of the suspected sort. It may, however, further be observed that, as shown above, after the so-called interpolated verse comes the date which the learned editor evidently does not take as a part of the interpolation. Since the date occurs nowhere else in the record and he has accepted it as authentic, it may be inferred that he considers the date portion as a part of the original document itself. It follows therefore that the engraver incised the date at the extreme end on the right, leaving on the left a blank just enough to accommodate an Arya to be inserted later on by the donee, so to say. Here again an element of improbability! Supposing that, after finishing the verse in line 44, the engraver had only the date portion left to be engraved, a more natural course for him would have been either to commence the next line by engraving the very date or to engrave it somewhere in the centre, leaving some space unengraved on either side. Even granting that the insertion of the date is also the doing of the donee, the evidence of the handwriting is strongly against the interpolation theory. It may be seen from the illustration that there is absolutely no difference in the duct of writing between the last line of the record and the rest of it, whereas in the event of any addition by the donee some difference in handwriting was bound to show itself. In the Sone East-Bank copper plate of Indradèva and Udayarāja, we have a clear instance of an interpolation by one of the donees, where the difference in handwriting is as obvious as the object of the interpolator is manifest.\(^3\)

So far as the practice of summarising the contents of a grant at the end is concerned, there is nothing strange about it, though it is not of a frequent occurrence. In a way, it occurs again in charters D, E and F of the series.\(^4\) The same is found in certain other records as well.\(^5\) It would no doubt have been very unusual if, in the present instance, it had been done by the donee himself, as the learned editor believes it has been. According to him, the verse mentions inter alia the name of the grantee. This is not true. Further on, however, he makes himself clear by

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\(^1\) Ibid., p. 198.

\(^2\) Ibid., p. 212.

\(^3\) Ibid., Vol. XXIII, pp. 223, 239 and n. 1, plate facing p. 228.

\(^4\) Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 217, text line 44; p. 222, text lines 35-36; p. 236, text lines 38-39.

\(^5\) For example, see ibid., Vol. XXII, p. 191.
adding that the donee speaks of himself in the first person in this verse. Obviously he has the word mahya in view. This is thus the nucleus of the interpolation theory. In the light of the foregoing discussion one would, however, ask oneself whether the mahya is really the pronoun, first person, singular, dative, or whether it is something else. Can it not be the accusative singular of the word mahya used as an adjectival qualifying the word grāma? That in any case ascerts well with the context, mahya being an equivalent of namasya. This last is a well-known term, literally meaning 'to be respected', but technically denoting 'rent-free'. Synonymous terms like mānya are also found used.¹ In the present instance, though mānya, pūjya, etc., would have fitted in equally well with the metre, the author seems to have hit upon a rather unfamiliar word, not realizing that it might give rise to a grave misapprehension. Or, who knows, his choice has been deliberate.

The word mahya in the present context having thus lent itself to a different and more befitting interpretation, there can hardly be any doubt that the verse in question did form part of the original record and is not an interpolation.

I must add that I had occasion to peruse Dr. Altekar's paper on the six Saindhava grants while it was still under publication. In fact, I then made a few suggestions in connection with that paper, which Dr. Altekar accepted. At that time, however, nothing occurred to me as to the devious mahya. By the association of ideas, I suddenly remembered of this, later on, while dealing with the Bhumani plates of the Pāṇḍava king Bharatabala. In this record, I came across the expression mahaiya-pādaīh,² obviously a mistake for mahiya-pādaīh.

Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, who happened to go through this note of mine and agreed with the interpretation offered here, kindly suggested that the term mahiya in the present context may, instead of denoting 'rent-free', simply mean 'big' or 'great'. The word is admittedly of rare occurrence,³ but its meaning is obvious.

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No. 16—SUMANDALA PLATES OF THE TIME OF PRITHIVIVIGRAHA-
BHATTARAKA : GUPTA YEAR 250

D. C. SIRGAR, OOTACAMUND

Sometime ago a young man named Vāśudēva Nanda found a set of inscribed copper plates from a mound near the village of Sumandala in the Khallikōt State now merged in the Ganjam District, Orissa. The village of Sumandala is not far from Jangda, noted for a set of old rock inscriptions of the Maurya emperor Aśoka, and from Buguda, the find-spot of an important copper-plate inscription of the Śailodhava dynasty which had its headquarters at the city of Kōigōda on the river Sālima (modern Śāliyā) running into the Chilka Lake. Mr. Nanda handed over the plates to Pandit Ananta Tripāṭhi of Berhampore, who is a reputed Sanskrit scholar and is the editor of the Sanskrit journal Manorāma. The editing of the plates was entrusted to Mr. S. N. Rājaguru whose paper on the inscription was published in the said Manorāma, Vol. I, part i (1949, Āshādha, Śaka 1871), pp. 17-24, together with illustrations of the inscribed sides of the plates.

¹ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 233.
² Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 142 and note 9. It may be observed that the form mahaiya can equally be amended into mahayya. This last is met with in the Chhāndogya Upanishad, VIII, 8, 4 ; aim=ai=eva mahayaḥ, etc.
³ It is, for instance, found used in the sense of 'great' in the Yagukandali Upanishad, II, 13 : labheḥ bāsiroha iḍau mahyaḥ.
As Mr. Rājaguru failed to notice the most important historical information supplied by the inscription, as yet unknown from any other sources, viz., the spread of imperial Gupta suzerainty over the Kālīga country, I re-edit the record.

The set consists of three plates having rounded corners and each measuring 6·2 inches by 2·8 inches. They are strung together on a ring to which a seal is attached. The oval brass seal contains on its counter-sunk surface (1·25" x 1·5") the emblem of a tiṇḍa or gateway and the legend Mahārāja Dharmma. The first and the third plates are written on one side only, the second being written on both the sides. The three plates together with the ring and seal weigh 64 tolas while the weight of the ring with the seal is 20 tolas only.¹

The characters belong to the class commonly characterised as the Gupta script and are assignable to the sixth century A.D. They have points of similarity with, but are earlier than, the alphabet of the Ganjam inscription of the time of Śaśānaka dated in the Gupta year 300 (619 A.D.).² The letter s in the present record has retained its round loop in some cases and even in the forms with the triangular loop it has no inside opening as is the case in the Ganjam inscription. The latter inscription employs the sign for v to indicate b in all cases; but, in the present record, b has been indicated in some cases by its distinct sign and in others by the sign for v (cf. brāhma² in lines 12 and 13, but vatavva² in line 5 and vahu² in line 17). Of the initial vowels, we have instances of only ū (line 19), u (line 16) and e (line 10). Final t occurs once in line 19. Interpunctuation is indicated by a short horizontal stroke. The horizontal stroke indicating the completion of the record at the end of the charter is, however, considerably longer and is possibly meant to indicate a double stop.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, although Prakrit influence can be traced in the word dānḍāvīsika³ for Sanskrit dāṇḍāpāśika in line 7. With the exception of four imperative verses about the end of the charter the record is throughout written in prose. As regards orthography, the inscription under discussion resembles the Ganjam inscription and the East Indian records of about the sixth century. Attention may be drawn to the occasional reduplication of some consonants in conjunction with a following y (cf. mātyā-ıpā in line 7, vṛṭt-āḍḍhyayana⁴ in line 13, etc.). Reduplication of certain consonants in conjunction with a preceding or following r is more regular. Wrong sandhi in cases such as nyāṁ=cha (line 8), yikāṁ=cha (line 9), nāyam=vasu² and rāyam=vartta² (line 2) and dattām=vā (line 21) is noteworthy. The rules of sandhi, which is optional in prose, have not been observed in such cases as smābhiḥ Māgha⁵ and yanē étae in line 10. The visarpa followed by a sibpliant has been modified in some cases (cf. rājabhis=Sā in line 17, bhis=saha in line 22) but not in others (cf. tanuḥ sa⁶ in line 5). Final m has been wrongly changed to anusvāra at the end of the second or fourth foot of a verse (cf. lines 18, 21).

The date of the inscription is indicated in words: varttamaṇa-Gupta-rājyē varsha-kāta-dvaye paṁrāṣa-ad-uttarē in lines 2-3 and Māgha-kriṣṇasya-aikāśyāṁ-uttar-āyanē in line 10. The grant was thus made on the occasion of the uttar-āyana,⁴ falling on the eleventh tithi of the dark fortnight of Māgha in the year 250 apparently of the Gupta era. The date corresponds to the 20th December 569 A.D.⁵

¹ An examination of the original plates, received in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India from Pandit Tripāthi, showed that Mr. Rājaguru's description of the plates and the seal is misleading.
² Abop., Vol. VI, pp. 143-47 and plate.
³ [This form need not be due to any Prakrit influence—Ed.]
⁴ For the importance of the āyana as an occasion for offering gifts, see Goruda Purāṇa (1. chapter 51, verse 29) quoted in the Successors of the Sātavāhana, p. 209: āyane rishuvē chasina grahite chandra-sūryayē, saṁkrānty-āśīlāḥ kuśalām dattaṁ bhave tu chakhatayam.
⁵ I am indebted to Mr. D. N. Mookerjee for the astronomical calculation.
The inscription records the grant of a village called Ardhākamandaṅkula together with another locality called Chandanāvāṭaka, both situated in the Pārakkhalamārgga viṣhaya. It was made by Mahārāja Dharmarāja who was ruling at Padmakhōli as a feudatory of Prithivivigrāha-bhaṭṭāraka when the latter was governing Kaliṅgarāśṭra apparently forming a part of the Gupta-rāja. Dharmarāja is described as a descendant (possibly son) of Mahārāja Udbhaya, as born of the queen Bappadēvi and as devoted to the deity Sahasarasāmī, i.e., the Sun-god. The localities mentioned above were made an agraḥāra or free gift in favour of a number of Brāhmaṇas belonging to various gōtras and charayas, only the chief amongst them being mentioned as the upādhyāya (teacher) Maṭṭāsvāmin who was an inhabitant of the Homvaka agraḥāra. The Brāhmaṇas are said to have been men of good conduct and learning. The order of Mahārāja Dharmarāja was issued to the persons connected with the administration of the region in his time as well as to those who would be associated with it in future. These include the Śāmanta-mahārāja (or Śāmanta and Mahārāja), Rājaputra, Kumārāṇaṁṣa, Uparikā, Nāijklakaka, Daṅgavaiṣṭika, Śāhānātikaka, Vyavāhārin and Vaishāyika. The land was made free from the obligation of paying any tax or revenue and from all obstructions (sara-kara-piśā-variṣṭhita). It was granted together with the uddēśa (i.e., space above the tala or ground) and uparikara (i.e., rent to be realised from temporary tenants). The charter was written by Daṅgakaka the adhikaranya (i.e., an officer attached to the adhikaranya or an office of administration). It was sealed (for the purposes of affixing the seal) by a person named Lakṣaṇasvāmin.

The most important historical problems raised by the inscription under discussion are three. In the first place, it says that in the Gupta year 250 (A.D. 569) the rāja or empire of the Guptas was vartitamāna, i.e., ‘still existing.’ Secondly, the rāṣṭrā (territory or province) of Kaliṅga is implied to have formed a part of the Gupta empire. Thirdly, Prithivivigrāha-bhaṭṭāraka’s rule over the Kaliṅga-rāṣṭra apparently as a viceroy of the Guptas in the second half of the sixth century has now to be adjusted with the already known facts of that country’s history.

As regards the first problem we know that the Gupta empire broke up about the middle of the sixth century, that is to say, some two decades earlier than the date of the Sūmanāla inscription, when it is said to have been existing. The latest imperial Gupta record is dated in the Gupta year 226 (534 A.D.). There is a Jaina tradition recorded by Jināśena that the Gupta emperors ruled for 231 years. As the Gupta era started in 320 A.D., which seems to be the date of the beginning of the Gupta sovereignty, the end of the empire, according to the tradition noted above, appears to have come about 551 A.D. That the heart of the Gupta empire in Bihār and the U.P. passed soon after that date to the Maukhari is indicated by the Harāhā inscription, dated Vikrama Śaṅvat 611 (A.D. 553), of the time of Isānavarman, the first imperial ruler of the Maukhari family, as well as by the Dēg-Baranārā inscription referring to the rule of Śrīvavarman and Avantivarman, son and grandson respectively of Isānavarman, over the Shahabad District of Bihār. The present inscription indicating the continuity of the imperial Gupta rule as late as A.D. 569 thus seems to

1 Cf. Successors of the Sūtaṅgahavan, p. 250; Vaishālikīya, V. 124, where Nala is described as Virasena-kakadeva although he was Virasena’s son.
2 [See below, p 84, note 5—Ed.]
5 Smith, Early History of India, 1921, p. 296.
6 Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 113 ff., and plate.

25 DGA
suggest that, even after the disintegration of the empire, there were some members of the family who claimed the status of their imperial predecessors. Whether their position was nominal like that of James III of England or of the Mughal Emperor Shāh 'Alam II and his successors can hardly be determined in the present state of our knowledge. There is, however, no doubt that till A.D. 569 viceroyos like Prithivivigrama-ñātikurukṣa of Kaliṅga continued their allegiance to the Gupta emperor. The word ñātikurukṣa attached to Prithivivigrama's name may suggest that he ruled practically as an independent monarch; but he did so without officially throwing off the yoke of the Guptas. It is possible to conjecture that he had blood relationship with the Guptas and was eager to display it to improve his own case against those of other rival rulers of the country.1

The second problem raised by the record, viz., the expansion of the Gupta rule over Kaliṅga, is equally interesting. Roughly speaking, Kaliṅga was the name of the coast land between the Mahānāḍa and the Gōdāvart, although it included the valley of the Vaitarāṇi river on the northeast. But this was Kaliṅga in a wider sense, the name being applied in a narrow sense only to the Puri-Ganjam area of modern Orissa. Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṃśa, IV, 38—9, associates the Kaliṅga country especially with the Mahēndra (i.e., the Mahēndragiri peak in the Ganjam District) and locates the Uktala country, comprising the present Balasore District together with parts of the Midnapur and Cuttack Districts, to its north-east.

In the fifth and sixth centuries some rulers, having their headquarters at cities like Simhapatra (modern Sīmāpuram near Chicacole or Śrīkākulam), Vardhamāna (modern Vadam in the Palakonda tāluka of the Vizagapatnam District), Dēvapura (capital of Dēvarāṣṭra in the Yellamaṇḍhili tāluka of the same District) and Pishṭapura (modern Pithapuram in the East Godavari District) assumed the title "lord of Kaliṅga".2 From the last decade of the fifth century kings of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty were ruling from Kaliṅganagara (modern Mukhaliṅgam in the Ganjam District) and Dantapura (near Chicacole) often with the same title. These Gaṅgas were devoted to the deity Śiva-Gōkarnāvara installed in a temple at the top of the Mahēndragiri. In the records of the Eastern Chālukya kings of the Āndhra country, a portion of the Vizagapatnam District was sometimes called Madhyama-Kaliṅga or Elamaṇḍhi-Kaliṅga. It is interesting to note that the Gupta emperor Śamudragupta led an expedition, about the middle of the fourth century, against a number of kings of Dakṣiṇāpatha, some of whom ruled over different parts of the Kaliṅga country. The Allahabad pillar inscription3 of Samudragupta, while giving a list of these kings, mentions kings Svāmīdatta of Kōṭṭūra (possibly Kōthur near the Mahēndragiri), Mahēndragiri of Pishṭapura, Damana of Erāṇḍapallia (probably near Chicacole) and Kuvaḷa of Dēvarāṣṭra. It is said that Samudragupta captured the kings of Dakṣiṇāpatha including the above rulers of the Kaliṅga region, but that he let them off. The implication is that the Gupta emperor reinstated the defeated kings in their respective kingdoms. This may be a mild way of saying that Samudragupta failed to establish his supremacy over the countries of the south. But there are some indications of the spread of Gupta influence over many parts of South India. The Guptas are known to have contracted in matrimonial alliances with the Vākāṭakas of the Berar region and the Kadambas of the Kannāḷ country.4 The Guptan era seems to be used in an inscription of Kāku-thavārum of the Kadamba dynasty.5 The Arang copper-plate inscription of Bhīmasena, a ruler of Dakṣiṇa-Kōṣala in the present Chhattisgarh region, is also dated in the Gupta era.6

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1 Cf. the claims suggested by the medals issued by certain Indo-Greek kings (Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, pp. 43–54).
3 Select Inscriptions, pp. 256–7 and plate.
4 Successors of the Śāhāryanavas, pp. 88n, 256
5 Ibid., p. 234n.
and coins of king Prasannamātra of Śrāvabhapura in South Kōsala exhibit influence of Gupta coinage. Recently coins of the South Kōsala king, Mahendrāditya, who seems to have been named after the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I Mahendrāditya, have been discovered. This may actually indicate that the Gupta suzerainty was accepted by the kings of this family of South Kōsala. Of course the discovery of a large hoard of Kumāragupta’s coins at Satara may or may not indicate the expansion of Gupta influence over part of the Deccan, but the other evidences cited above have to be taken into consideration in this connection. As regards the question of Gupta influence in Kaliṅga in particular, we may refer to the use of the Gupta era in that country. The Ganjam inscription of the time of Śaśāṅka, as we have already seen, is dated in the Gupta year 300 (A.D. 619). The Soro (Balasore District) and Patiakella (Cuttack District) inscriptions mentioning a king named Śravabhuyasās who was the ruler of Tōsālī, both North (roughly the Balasore District) and South (Puri-Cuttack region together with the eastern portion of Ganjam at least in the age of the Bhumākaras), are dated in the Gupta years 260 (A.D. 579) and 283 (A.D. 602) respectively. Tōsālī (modern Dhauli in the Puri District) was the name of the chief city of northern Kaliṅga in the days of the Mauryas and it seems that the rulers of the Puri region in northern Kaliṅga felt the necessity of giving this new name to their kingdom sometime after the Eastern Gaṅgas had established themselves at Kaliṅganagara in the last decade of the fifth century and were describing themselves as lords of Kaliṅga. In any case, South Tōsālī was practically the same as the northern part of Kaliṅga.

The use of the Gupta era in the records of Śravabhuyasās, ruler of both north and south Tōsālī, is thus additional evidence in favour of the spread of Gupta influence over the Kaliṅga country. Till now, however, there was no direct evidence to prove that Kaliṅga formed an integral part of the Gupta empire. The present inscription proves this fact for the first time. The Gaṅgas may have entered Kaliṅga either through South Kōsala or through South-West Bengal, more probably through the latter. Samudragupta is known to have extirpated Chandravarman who, according to the Śravaghara inscription, ruled over South-West Bengal from his capital at Pushkaranā (modern Pukhrānī on the Damodar). Thus South-West Bengal formed an integral part of the Gupta empire since the middle of the fourth century. The rule of Śaśāṅka, king of the Gauḍas who were political successors of the Gaṅgas in Bengal, in the Kōṅgōda country, comprising the eastern part of the Ganjam District, as well as in Utkala, as indicated by the Ganjam and Mīdana pură inscriptions seems to be merely an after effect of the Gupta occupation of Kaliṅga. For the extent of Gupta domination over Kaliṅga and its duration we have yet to wait for further evidence.

The third problem raised by our inscription relates to chronology, viz., fixing the date of Prthvīvigrāha’s rule over Kaliṅga in relation to some known facts of Kaliṅga history. We know that the Eastern Gaṅgas began to rule at least in the Ganjam District with the exclusion of its eastern part from a date falling in the period A.D. 496-98. Kōṅgōda on the Puri-Ganjam border was under the Śālādhābhavas at least from the middle of the sixth century, since Mādhavavarman II Sānyabhitā, who was the fourth ruler of this family, is known to have been reigning in A.D. 619

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1 Loc. cit.
3 * Cf. Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 176, 248n, where instances of Gaṅga kings bearing Pallava names indicating their subordination to the Pallava monarca are given.
4 Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 197.
6 *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 341-42.
as a feudatory of the Gauḍa king Śaśānka. As we have seen, king Śambhuvasas was ruling over Uttara- and Dakṣiṇa-Tōsali, i.e., the country extending at least from the borders of the Midnapur District up to those of the Ganjam District, in the period A.D. 579-602. It thus seems that, about A.D. 569, Prithivivgraha was ruling over that part of Kaliṅga which lay to the north-east of the Eastern Gauḍa kingdom. The Śaśāndbhavas appear to have originally owed allegiance to him and, through him, to the Guptas. The dynasty represented by Śambhuvasas probably overthrew the family to which Prithivivgraha belonged. One of the records of Śambhuvasas speaks of the suzerainty of the Mānas. It appears that Gupta rule in Orissa was substituted by that of the Mānas shortly after Prithivivgraha. The Mānas in their turn were probably ousted by the Gauḍas. Thus the Śaśāndbhavas appear to have acknowledged the suzerainty at first of the viceroy of the Gupas, then of the Māna family to which Śambhuvasas belonged or owed allegiance, and ultimately of the Gauḍas. An as-yet-unpublished copper-plate inscription discovered from a locality called Kanaś in Orissa is said to speak of a king named Lōkavigraha.\(^1\)

It is possible to suggest that Prithivivgraha and Lōkavigraha belonged to the same family.

Little is known about the kings Ubbaya\(^2\) and Dharmarāja from other sources. It seems that Padmakhōli was not only the name of the capital of Mahārāja Dharmarāja but also that of his kingdom which lay around the present Khalliktō in the Ganjam District.

Of geographical names mentioned in the Samaṇḍala inscription, we have already discussed the location of Kaliṅga-ōrašē. The city of Padmakhōli has been suggested to be no other than modern Padmakhol near Narayanakhol in the now defunct Khalliktō State. The vishaya or district called Parakklalamārga must also have also been situated in the Khalliktō region. The localities Arhākamaṇḍukā, Chandanavāṭaka and Homvak-ōgrahāra cannot be satisfactorily identified.

**TEXT\(^3\)**

*First Plate*


2 bhūshaṅāyām-va(yāṁ va)sundharāyāṁ va(yāṁ va)rttāmaṇa-Gupta-rājyō varaha-

śāta-dvēyā

3 paṅchāśad-uttarē Kaliṅga-ṛashṭram-anuśāsatī śrī-Prithivivgraha-

4 bhaṭṭārakē tat-pād-ānudhyātah Padmakhōliyāṁ mahārāj-Obhaya-śvāyā{}

5 Va(Ba)papāvyāṁ-utpanna-taṇṇī Sahasrāśmi-pāda-bhaktō mahārāj-Dharm-

marā-

6 jāḥ kuśalī Para[kkhap]amārgga-vishayē varttamāna-bhaṁish[y]at-sāma[nta]-

*Second Plate ; First Side*

7 mahārājā-rājaputtro-kumārān-mātyy-ōparīka-tadāyuktaka-dāṇḍavāsika-\(^4\) sthān[a]-

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\(^1\) See Maṇḍūcamā, loc. cit. After this paper had been sent to the press, I received the Kanās plate of Lōkavigraha for examination. That inscription will also be published in this journal. A faulty transcript of the Kanās plate has since been published in J. K. H. R. S., V d. II-III, pp. 262-3.

\(^2\) See below, note 5—Ed.

\(^3\) From the original plates and their impressions.

\(^4\) Expressed by a symbol.

\(^5\) This may be the kādēśā of names like Ubbayajjā (Matya Parāṇa, 193, 31) and Ubbayacakara (ef. Vaiṣeṣika) or epithet- or titles like Ubbayabapītāhāna (above, Vol. XII, p. 252). [Ubbaya as proper name of a person sounds rather queer. Mr. Rajaguru takes it to be Abhaya. More probably this is what is meant. The reading in that case may be given as mahārājāi[^5]ubhaya-śvāyā. Or, better still, it may be corrected into mahārājā-ubhaya-śvāyā, otherwise Abhaya will go without the title Mahārājā, whereas Dharmarāja will have it mentioned twice.—Ed.]

\(^*\) D rubyāsika is no doubt intended. [See above, p 80 note 3—Ed.]
No. 17] TWO PANDYA INSCRIPTIONS FROM SALAIGRAMAM 85

8 ntakikān=anyānā=cha(nyānā=cha) vallabha-jātyān=rāja-pād-ōpajīvinō vya[va]hāri-
vaishē[sha]-
9 yikānā=cha(kānā=cha) yathārham=mānayatti=ādivati cha viditam:astu vō ya[th]-ā-
10 smābhūḥ Māga-krishñasya-aikādāśyām-uttar-āyam ātād-vishaya-sah.
11 [ṭṭiv]-[A[rddhā]kamanḍuka-grāmaś-Chandanavāṭaka-sahitō=grahārikaṃya Hom-
vak-āgra-
12 hārīya-brāhmaṇ-ōpādhyāya-Maṭūsāvāi-pramukhānām nānā-gōtra-charanā-

Second Plate: Second Side

13 nām vṛtt-āddhyayanaśvataṁ brāhmaṇānām(nā)m-ā-chandr-ārkka-sama-kāla-sthityā
tāmra-[pa]-
14 ṛṭ-ābholikitaḥ sarvva-kara-pṛṣṭha-varjitaḥ s-ōdīcāh s-ōparikaḥ mā[tā]-
15 pittrōr-ātmanaśa puny-ābhośṛddh āyaḥ pratigrahēṇa pratipaśītāḥ[*]
16 tād-śē-āśmad-dattir-ddharma-gauravat=pratipālanty-ēti | uktaṁ=cha dharmma-
17 āstṛē | Va(Ba)hubhir-vvasudhā dattā rājabhisŚagar-ādhibhiḥ [*] yasya yasya ya-
18 dā bhūmīs-tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) [[*] shasṭīṃm-va[ṣṭīṁm va]rāha-sahasrāṇi
svarggē mōdati

Third Plate

19 bhūmīdaḥ [*] ākshētā ch-ānumantaḥ ca tāny-eva narakaṁ(kc) vasēt [[*] Mā bhūd-
a-phā-
20 lā-saṅkā vaḥ para-dattēṭī pārthivāḥ [*] sva-dānāt-phalām-ānanyām para-dā-
21 n-ānuḍdālaṁ(nē) [[[java-dattāṁ para-dattām-vā(ṭṭāṁ vā) vō harēta vasundharāṁ(rām)] sa viṣṭhē-
22 yāṁ krimir-bhūtvā pitṛbhīs-saḥ pachyatē [[*] likhit-ādhikaraṇi-3
23 ka-D[ā]jukēṇa | Lakṣāṇasvāmina4
24 tāpitam-īti [[]4

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No. 17—TWO PANDYA INSCRIPTIONS FROM SALAIGRAMAM

(I Plate)

M. Venkataramayya, Ootacamund

Śālaigramam is a village in the Paramagudi tāluk of the Ramnad District, a region which once formed the core of the kingdom of the Pāṇḍyasa. The village contains an old temple of Śiva worshipped under the name of Varagunisvāra, an appellation evidently associated with the Pāṇḍyasa among whom there were two kings of the name of Varaguna. The goddess bears the name, Kamakshi-Ammam. Mr. K. Ramaswami Aiyangar, the then Revenue Officer of the Ramnad Samasthanam, drew the attention of the Government Epigraphist for India to the historical associations of the temple and to its antiquity borne out by the old inscriptions in the temple and by

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1 Read sambaddhā-Ārddhākaa'.
2 Before la, another la was incised; but it seems to have been rejected by the engraver owing to damage in its lower part.
3 Likhitā qualifies a word like lipi understood here.
4 Lakṣāṇasa seems to have been intended. Tāpitam qualifies sānam understood.
5 The t sign of ti is joined cursively with the long horizontal stroke at the end indicating full-stop. This characteristic is also found in other records. Cf. Soro plate (C), line 16 (above, Vol. XXIII, Plate opp. p. 202); Ashrafpur plate (B), lines 17, 23 (Mem. A.S.B., Vol. I, Plate VII); etc.
references in ancient Tamil literature to the place. Two verses in the Perunthoolai refer to a chief, Tenkojumirir Veṇūḷai, who is stated to have founded Śālāigrāmam and endowed thirty-two kalis of land in it to god Varagunavēchūvavarr, who was responsible for the routing of the hostile kings and making them climb the northern mountain. The local people of the village derive the name Śālāigrāmam from śālāi or road-stead for the pilgrims proceeding to Ścētu and Rāmēśvaram. It may be noted, however, that the inscriptions secured from the place, which are edited here, give its name as Śālāigrāmam.

The inscriptions under publication (A and B) are engraved on the left and right door jambs of the entrance into the maṇḍapa of the temple. Both are engraved in Vaṭṭeluttu characters and their language is Tamil. The Grantha alphabet is employed whenever letters or words of the Sanskrit language had to be written, e.g., brahmaṇḍam (A. lines 7-8; B. lines 9-10), Paramācāryam (A. lines 10-11; B. lines 21-25), Śālāigrāmam (A. lines 8-9; B. lines 10-11), etc. In the word Kōṇīmākōṇi (A. lines 20-21), we have a title which bears close similarity to Kōṇīmākōṇi and Kōṇīmākōṇi found in inscriptions of much later date than the present record and which have been generally understood to mean 'one who had no rival king' (Kōṇīmākōṇi) and 'the unqualified among kings' (kōṇīmākōṇi). But neither of these derivations can suit the form of our inscription. Apparently, its meaning has to be derived as kōṇīmākōṇi, i.e., 'one who had no ill health'. This would correspond, as Venkasya thought, to the term kūsali of Sanskrit inscriptions. Both the records are engraved with care and the writing may be attributed, on palæographical grounds, to the 10th century A. D. A few orthographical peculiarities found in the inscriptions may be noticed. Instances of the use of ū for u are found in iṟuṇdu (B. line 14) and caṇaṇḍa (A. line 5). The following uncommon usages of certain words, evidently due to colloquial expression, may be noted: yēri for iri (A. lines 19, 28, 35; B. 52); caṇaṇṭṭu (A. lines 22-3) for caṇaṇṭṭu; iṟaigaḷiṟu (A. lines 30-1) for iṟaig-iṟaigchu.

Record A is dated in the 2+1st year of the reign of the Pandya king Śaṭaiya-Mārār and registers the order issued by Kōṇīmākōṇi to the sabhi of Śālāigrāmam, a dēvadāna-brahmadeya village in Mayimikara-valanādu alias Tuvvūrūrūram, to use the waters of the Kalluvai-tēri for irrigating the lands of the god Varagunamārattu-Paramācāryam. It is also stated that the permission so granted was in accordance with the ērīmukham (Sktx. Śrīṇukha) of Peramāṇandaśa Śivalūravavār (Śivaluvaḥādeva) granting the village as dēvadāna to the god with facilities for irrigation. Kōṇīmākōṇi was evidently the title of king Śaṭaiya-Mārār. As far as I know this is the earliest mention of the title in Pandya records.

Record A is engraved immediately below another short Tamil inscription in Vaṭṭeluttu and Grantha characters which states that the nilai (door jamb) was set up by Vāsudēva-Nāriyaṇa of Koṭṭaiyū. Since the characters of this record are so similar to inscription A it may be supposed

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1 Edted by M. Raghava Ayyangar (1933-36), Nos. 1231-2.
5 No. 35 of the Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for 1946-47. The text of the record runs:
1 Svaṛata Śēṛ [ ] Śēṛai-
2 prāmattu Kōṭ-
3 tayar Vāsu-
4 dēva Nāriya-
5 gani līći-
6 nilai [ ** ]
that both were written at the same time, if not by the same hand, soon after the setting up of the door jamb.

Record B is dated in the year 15+5 of the reign of Vira-Pāṇḍya, 'who took the head of the Chōla'. The date quoted here is the highest known regnal year of this king. I have not been able to make out the full sense of the record owing to the complicated wording of the text, the syntax of which is not clear. Its main purport seems to be to register the grant of 35 pāṭākams of land made evidently to goē Varagunaśvara of Sālaiagramam by the subha of Sālaiagramam, a dēvadāya-brahmadēya in Tuvvūr-kūṟṟam aliś Mayimākara-valanālū. It also seems to say that Perumānaṉiḷal (i.e., the king) abolished a tax of 9000 kăsū which he at first said he would levy on Tirukkulanāḷūr, but later decided not to do so. A sum of 100 ḍakkāsū is separately mentioned in the record as an endowment made for the purpose of supplying ornaments (tiṟu-śāharapam) and cake-offerings (tiṟu-āppam) to goē Varagunaśva. It is not clear who the donor of the 100 kăsū was; whether the assignment of 35 pāṭākams of land made by the subha was made in consideration of the 100 kăsū only, or in return for the 9000 kăsū of tax abolished on Tirukkulanāḷūr by the king is also not clear. In the latter case it must be understood that this village was within the jurisdiction of the sūbhā of Sālaiagramam. The order of the Perumānaṉiḷal is stated to have been issued from Tirappalāyūr where he was staying (iriṇdu). The inscription thereafter specifies the boundaries of the land granted and records the provision made for its irrigation by the Kadavai-eri for the two crops of the year.

The importance of the records under study lies in their close palaeographical resemblance which permits the inference that the kings mentioned therein, viz., Saḻaiya-Mārā and Śvalapalai-Koṟṟa Vira-Pāṇḍya could not have been much removed from each other in point of time. Saḻaiya-Mārā of record A can be identified with Saḻaiya-ṉāṉiḷa Rājasīhīha, the donor of the Bigger Śīnmaṉauṟu plates issued in the 2+1 year of his reign. The identification is sustainable on the ground that the records of this kingly are invariably issued in the years opposite the second year, and as also on palaeographical considerations. Saḻaiya-Mārā is to be assigned to the 10th century A.D., a period to which this donor of the Bigger Śīnmaṉauṟu plates also belonged. The contemporaneity of this Rājasīhīha aliś Saḻaiya-ṉāṉiḷa with the Chōla king Parantaka I (A.D. 907-933) is well known. The actual dates of the beginning and the close of his reign are not definitively ascertainable owing to the lack of necessary data, astronomical or other, in his inscriptions. But an attempt can be made to indicate them approximately. In the first instance, the duration of his rule might be fixed by taking into consideration the highest regnal year quoted in his records, which is 2+22. Thus he had at least a reign of 24 years. That his rule for this entire period was quite uninterrupted is evidenced by his inscriptions which are dated in almost every year of his reign, from the 2nd to the 2+22nd, and those which are found in distant parts of his kingdom, in places as wide apart as Cape Comorin and Keḻumiyaiṉai (Pudukkottai). The most outstanding events of his reign were his conflicts with Chōla Parantaka I (A.D. 907-933), with whom he fought finally at Veḷḷūr, and his subsequent flight to Ceylon abanoning his kingdom to which he never returned. Since the battle of Veḷḷūr in which the Pāṇḍya king was aided by the Ceylonese troops, finds mention

3 No. 228 of 1932-3 of the Mod. Ep. Coll. A few records issued in the name of Saḻaiya-Mārana with single regnal years like 46 (No. 440 of 1907 of the Mod. Ep. Coll.) cannot with certainty be ascribed to this ruler. It is likely, as Mr. Sarmas has suggested, that this record might have been issued by his grandfather also called Saḻaiya-ṉāṉiḷa with the surnames of Śivballava, Śrīmāra and Avanipāṉkara (J. O. R., Vol. IX, p. 225). Hence, as a working hypothesis, we may take the year 2+22 of Saḻaiya-ṉāṉiḷa’s records as his highest regnal year.
5 No. 343 of 1904 of the Mod. Ep. Coll.
in two stone records of Parāntaka I dated in his 12th regnal year, i.e. A. D. 919, the engagement must have been fought prior to this date, say about A. D. 918. From the way in which the incidents of the battle are described in the Chōla records, it would appear that it was a fierce and undecided fight. Victory is claimed for the Chōla king in the Udayēndirarā record of Prithivēpāti II, issued a few years later in the reign of Parāntaka I in A. D. 921-2, which evidently narrates the events of the same battle though it omits to mention the places. On the other hand, the Bigger Simna-manur plates issued by the Pāṇḍya king in his 2+14th regnal year, embody an elaborate eulogy of his victories over his enemies including that over the king of Taṅkāi, i.e. the Chōla. It seems likely that the Pāṇḍya king was just giving his version of the same conflict with Parāntaka I, which culminated in the Vellūri battle. If such be the case, the 2+14th year of the Pāṇḍya king’s reign might be equated with a date around A. D. 918. The Ceylonese chronicle, Mahāvamsa, relates that in the reign of Dappula IV (A. D. 923-934), the Pāṇḍya king, through fear of the Chōla (king), left his country, took ship and came to Mahā][(a] and then having made an unsuccessful attempt to rouse the Ceylonese to fight his cause, the Pāṇḍya king left his diadem and other valuables behind and betook himself to the Kōraśa. No mention of the Pāṇḍya king’s fate is made in the subsequent part of the chronicle, though a reference therein to an attempt made by the Chōla king to get possession of the Pāṇḍya king’s diadem is found among the events of the reign of king Udaya IV (A. D. 915-953). We may, therefore, conclude that the Pāṇḍya king never returned to rule over his country again. His flight to Ceylon must have taken place soon after his 2+22nd regnal year, the highest date found in his records. The presence of the Chōla king Parāntaka I in A. D. 921-3 at Kōmulūnālai, once forming part of the Pāṇḍya king’s territory, must have hastened the flight of the Pāṇḍya. The event may be placed approximately about A. D. 926-7, i.e., his 2+22nd regnal year since, as we saw, his 2+14th year lay somewhere about A. D. 918-9. In the light of all this, we may fix the period of the rule of Saḷaiyamārapa Rājasūhā as lying between c. 903 and 926-7 A. D.

In the subjoined inscription (A) of his, mention is made of Pāramāravēḷ Śivāllavēḷar (Śivāllavēḷa), who is stated to have made the original grant of the village of Saḷaiygramam to god Varagunā-Iśvara. Among the Pāṇḍya kings who preceded Saḷaiyamārapa Rājasūha there was only one king of the name of Śivāllava, i.e., Śirama, the grandfather of Saḷaiyamārapa Rājasūhā. It is evidently this king Śirama who is referred to here and if so, the god Varagunā-Iśvara must have been named after a Varagunā, a predece-ssor of Śirama Śivāllava, who was in all probability Varagunā I (c. A. D. 800). Successive kings of the Pāṇḍya dynasty seem to have bestowed their patronage on the temple and worshipped the deity from the time of Varagunā I (c. A. D. 800) to that of Saḷaiy-rajai-kṣattra Vira-Pāṇḍya of the subjoined ins. B, the period of whose rule we may now proceed to discuss.

Earlier in this article it has been stated that Saḷaiy-rajai-kṣattra Vira-Pāṇḍya of inscription B could not have been tar removed from Saḷaiya-Māra in point of time since the palaeography of their records is so much alike. The latter’s rule, as we saw, may be placed approximately between c. A. D. 903 and 927. Vira-Pāṇḍya should, therefore, be relegated to the same period, though not exactly to the same dates, since it is not likely that both the kings ruled simultaneously.

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2 Prof. Nidakanta Sastri puts the date about A. D. 915 (Coles, Vol. I, p. 146.)
7 No. 231 of 1904 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.: Inscriptions in Pudukottai State (Translated into English), pt. I (1941), Nos. 79 to 80A.
8 c. A. D. 900 to 929 or a little later is the date given to this king in Pandyan Kingdom, pp. 41 and 82.
It is well known that he was not one of the predecessors of Śadaiya-Mārāṇ and consequently he must have been one of the latter’s successors; probably he ruled in the second quarter of the 10th century A.D.

In an article contributed to this journal the late Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar fixed the period of Vira-Pāṇḍya’s reign as extending from A.D. 947 to 966 on the basis of a few astronomical details found in one inscription of the king at Ambāsamudram. Of the three alternative dates which this record yielded for the commencement of the king’s reign, viz., A.D. 938, 947 and 948, he selected the second, i.e. A.D. 947 as the best suited. The main consideration which weighed in its favour was that by accepting it, it would be possible to satisfactorily fix the initial date of the reign of this Pāṇḍya king’s Chōla contemporary and foe, Āditya II Karikāla, at whose hands he died before the latter’s second regnal year. Hence, the second year of Āditya II, by being equated with the last known regnal year of Vira-Pāṇḍya, i.e. 15+5 corresponding to A.D. 966, would yield A.D. 965 as the starting date of Āditya II’s reign. On this fixation, the five year rule for Āditya II could be placed between A.D. 965 and 969, since from the latter year, Āditya II’s successor Uttama-Chōla, counted his regnal years. There are, however, some points to be considered before accepting the above chronological position for the reign periods of Āditya II and Sōla-n-rālai-kōṇja Vira-Pāṇḍya. These arise from the Pāṇḍya as well as the Chōla sides. It is not likely that the last years of the rule of Vira-Pāṇḍya lay beyond the middle of the 10th century A.D. which the above chronological adjustment envisages; for, there is evidence to show that part of the early life of Vira-Pāṇḍya coincided with the latter part of Śadaiyamārāṇ Rajasimha’s reign. One of the records of the latter dated in the 2+18th regnal year (i.e., c. A.D. 923) mentions a servant of Vira-Pāṇḍya who could be no other than Sōla-n-rālai-kōṇja Vira-Pāṇḍya. On the Chōla side we encounter one difficulty. Besides Āditya II, another prince, Pārthivendrā-Ādittavarman who had a reign of thirteen years, claims to have taken the head of Vira-Pāṇḍya.

Granting the identity which some scholars hold in doubt, the 13 years’ rule of Āditya II (alias Pārthivendrarvarman?) when placed immediately before Uttama Chōla’s accession in A.D. 969-70, would yield A.D. 956-7 as the date from which Āditya II counted his reign probably on account of his being associated in the administration with his father Sundara-Chōla. Taking A.D. 956-7 as the initial year of Āditya II his second year would correspond to A.D. 937-8 and this date when equated with the last year of Sōla-n-rālai-kōṇja Vira-Pāṇḍya, i.e. 15+5, would yield A.D. 937-8 as the Pāṇḍya king’s initial year. This date was also taken into account by Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar while discussing the astronomical details of the Ambāsamudram record, but discarded owing to one consideration. He feared that its acceptance as the initial year of Vira-Pāṇḍya would lead to the inconsistent results that Āditya II killed him in A.D. 937 and that his predecessor Sundara-Chōla defeated him in A.D. 963’. This, indeed, is a great difficu-

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1 Above, Vol. XXV, p. 37.
2 No. 122 of 1909 of Mad. Ep. Coll. Here we may also point out that the chieftain Sōlāntaka Pallavaraiya alias Mārāṇ Ādichchan of Pōliyur figures in records of the 4+3rd (No. 429 of 1914 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.) and 13+1st year (T. A. S. Vol. III, p. 72) of the reign of Vira-Pāṇḍya and this chieftain was evidently the grandson of his namesake Tennava Pallavaraiya alias Mārāṇ Ādichchan of Pōliyur, mentioned as a subordinate of Mārahājaiya alias, Vayagiri (II) (acc. A.D. 862) in or about A.D. 867 (No. 90 of 1908 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.). Should we put Vira-Pāṇḍya’s last date beyond the middle of the 10th century A.D., it would result in the above two chieftains, grandfather and grandson, being removed from each other by about a century, rather a rare instance to happen though not impossible.

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4 Above, Vol. XXV, p. 36, n. 9.
6 Above, Vol. XXV, p. 37.

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ty in the way of assigning the dates, viz. A. D. 937-8 to 957-8 to Vira-Pāṇḍya and A. D. 956-7 to 969-70 to Ādiya II as a possible alternative to those fixed by Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar, although these dates would help in narrowing down the interval between Vira-Pāṇḍya and his predecessor Śādaiyamānuṇ Rājasīnuha (c. 903 to 926-7) to about a decade1 and would also help to solve the Ādiya II-Paṭhivendra identification. It should be also admitted that with the revised dates the identity of the Chōla king whose head Vira-Pāṇḍya took would remain unsettled since he cannot be identified with Parāntaka I as proposed by Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar. We may, nevertheless, suggest that the Chōla victim of Vira-Pāṇḍya might have been a less conspicuous prince, perhaps one of the sons of Parāntaka I, Uttaṃsī. Of Uttaṃsī we hear nothing subsequent to A. D. 933 when he makes an endowment to a temple at Kāṇḍiyūr. Tanjore Di-trict, in the 26th year of the reign of his father, Parāntaka I.²

The position occupied by Śādaiyaiṇa-kōṇḍa Vira-Pāṇḍya in the Pāṇḍya genealogy still remains undetermined. That he might have been the son of Śādaiyamānuṇ Rājasīnuha himsélf has been suggested by Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar.³ This may not be unlikely in view of the fact mentioned in the Larger Śṅiṣuśamāṇṣu plates that Rājasīnuha had ‘prosperous sons worshipping at his feet’.⁴ Granting that Vira-Pāṇḍya was one of them, it still remains inexplicable why he does not call himself as Śādaiyaiṇa, being son and successor of Rājasīnuha. Could it be that these names Śādaiyaiṇa and Māraṇ were alternately used only by the anointed supreme sovereigns of the Pāṇḍya throne, and that Vira-Pāṇḍya was not perhaps anointed and hence could not lay claim to such a title? We know that the Pāṇḍya diadem and other regalia of supreme rulership necessary for such anointment were left in Ceylon by Rājasīnuha and were not recovered by the Pāṇḍyas even up to the time of Udāya IV (A. D. 945-93).⁵ The importance of these regalia for the exercise of supreme authority over the Pāṇḍya kingdom seems to have been recognised by the Chōla king Parāntaka I who wished to achieve consecration as king in the Pāṇḍya kingdom and sent one or more principle concerning the diadem and other things which the Pāṇḍu (king) had left behind (in Lanka) as the Mahāvaiṣṇu succinctly states.⁶

A word about the term ēlai occurring in inscription B (line 59). In ordinary parlance the word is understood to mean ‘order or document’. In literary usage⁷ we find it equated to āppaṇa in the same sense. Āppaṇa is evidently derived from Skt. āraṇaṇa ‘causing to be heard’. Similarly, ēlai would signify an order or document. The Tamil Lexicon gives āppaṇa as the Sanskrit root of āppaṇam, meaning market. It seems that it would be better to derive the term āraṇaṇa, Expressions found in inscriptions such as vilai-āraṇaṇam-seṭṭu⁸ or vilai-


2 S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 375. This prince was in the Pāṇḍya country in the 24th regnal year of his father, i.e. A. D. 931 (No. 446 of 1917 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.)


⁶ Pāṭhivendra (Culavaiṣṇu), ch. 63, vv. 40 ff. Here it may be pointed out that it was Rājudra Chōla I who assumed possession of the regalia from the Ceylonese king with whom they had remained all the time since they were first deposited with him by the Pāṇḍya king Rājasīnuha. It was after this event that Rājudra Chōla I crowned his son as the ruler of the Pāṇḍya country.

⁷ Periyaparāṅam, (Kovai Tamil Sangam ed.), vv. 190, 193, 207.

⁸ S. I. I., Vol. III, No. 10, text l. 2, 10 and 11. The translation of the words given here as ‘executed the sale deed’ would perhaps be better rendered as ‘having declared its price’; cf. vilai-pramāṇam-paṇḍi occurring in similar context in inscriptions.
TWO PANDYA INSCRIPTIONS FROM SALAIGRAMAM

śrāvam śeyda1 and vilai-y-śavaṇ-kalām or kafi,2 (i.e. place of declaration of sale price), would support our derivation of śavaṇam.

A few words may now be said about the geographical names mentioned in the two inscriptions. Sālaigramaṁ, same as modern Sālaigrāmaṁ in the Paramagudi tāluk of Ramnad District. the findspot of the inscriptions is stated in the records as being situated in Mayimākara-vaḷanādū alias Tuvvūr-kūṟṟam. Mayimākara might either be a title of the Pāṇḍya king Śadayamāraṇ of the record (A) or of one of his predecessors. Tuvvūr-kūṟṟam in which Sālaigrāmaṁ is stated to have been situated may be the region around Tugavūr in the Paramagudi tāluk. In a number of late copperplate records of the Sētupati chiefs of Ramnad3 the territorial division Tugavūr-kūṟṟam finds mention and this name may have been a later form of Tuvvūr-kūṟṟam of the Pāṇḍya inscriptions edited here. ṇedurūr may be identified with Nērūr in the Paramagudi tāluk. Tiruppālaikūṟ where Vira-Pāṇḍya was staying (B. lines 13-14) seems to be identical with Tiruppālaiṇkuḷ in the Tiruvadanai tāluk of the Ramnad District. I have not been able to locate Tirikkuluṇgalūr of record B (lines 16-7).

A. TEXT

1  Svasti ēr[|][*] Köchhaḍai-
2  ya-Māyarkku yāṇḍu
3  2 idan=edir=ām=ān-
4  du Mayimākara-va-
5  ṭanād=āyina Tuv-
6  vūr-kūṟṟattu-
7  tēvadāna brahmadē-
8  yam Sālaigra-
9  mattu Śri-Varaguna-
10  ichchuvarattu Para-
11  masvāmigaluk-
12  ku dēvadāṇam=i-
13  rai śurukkiyum
14  nir pāyavum Po-
15  rumānaṇi|m| Śi-
16  valluvadēva-
17  r śirimumam ku-
18  dūttapadi Śiri-
19  Kuluvānil [yē]ri-
20  yāl Kōnō-iq-
21  mai-koṭḍi|m| Mayi-
22  mākara-vaḷ[|]ṇi-
23  tu dēvadāna-brahmadē-
24  yam Sālaigrāmat
25  tu sabhāiyārkku tuṇ-
26  ga| |=ūr śi-Varaguna-
27  chuvurattu-dēvār |ūr
28  varamoli-yērīyum

2 S. I. I., Vol. VII, No. 96, text l. 12, 3khajum=āvanak-kalīyaṇ-kondo ; cf. in-nilam vīrak-kuṭṭu
koḷaṇ-māna emmil īśiṇda vilai-porul muṟṟum āvāṇa-kalīyē kiligaicchelak-kondo vīrak-kuṭṭum of No 458
A. TRANSLATION

Hail! Prosperity!

In the first year opposite the second year of (the reign of) king Śādaiya-Mārar, (the following is the order of) Kūnūiumakṣaṇāj (addressed) to the sabbha of Sālaiγramam, a dēvadāna-brahma ēya in Tuvvur-kūrpar alias Mayimakara-valanādu, (neh ross) in accordance with the kirimugam (irimukha) of Perumānādiga Śivalłowadivar (ordaining) the grant of (the village) Sālaiγramam a dēvadāna to god Śrī-Varaguna-Icchemuvarattu-Paramavāmiga, free of taxes and with facilities for irrigation, you (the sabhaγiyār) have, in the village of Sālaiγramam which is your village as also that of Śrī-Varaguna-Icchehuvarattudivar, granted to the deity lands (irrigated by the) Varamolilēri (tank) and Vāṣudēvā-ēri (tank) making them free of all taxes, we do hereby permit the irrigation of the said lands by the waters of the Kūluvānāi-ēri (tank) and (the residents of) Ṇedurū shall not obstruct this, (to which effect this is the) signature of Vaiguṇaśiya-Nakkaṇ.

B. TEXT

1  Svasti śri [||*] Śōla-
2  ṇ-ralai-konḍa Kō-
3  Vīra-Pāṇḍiya-
4  ēkkū yāṇdu 15-
5  idan== dir 5 i-
6  vāṇḍu Mayim[ā]-
7  karavaṇānd=āyī-
8  ṇa Tuvvūr[k*]kūr-
9  ratu dēvadāna-brā-
10  hmaḍēyam Sūlai-
11  grāmmattu-sabhā-
12  yōm [Pēlrumāna-
13  ḍigal Tiruppā-
14  laiyūr iruṇ(ṇ)du
15  oṅbadināyira-
16  ū-kāśu Tirikku-
17  luṅgaljū ri-
18  rapp=iluvaṇ=en (=iluvēn=enā
19  tirapp=igāmala-
20  m ik-kās=oji-
21  kkavun kāriya-
22 viṣattukku [Yā-]
23 m śirī-Varaguṇa-
24 iñcchuvavattu Pa-
25 ramasvāniga] ti-
26 ruv-ābharaṇamum
27 tiruv-appamum[==i]-
28 dikkonḍa [i]lak-
29 kāsukku nūṛrukku-
30 m=iṛai kalichchuk-
31 kuṭutta nilam[==i]
32 p-paramasvāmi-
33 ga Varamoli ē-
34 ri nilattil mu
35 ū śirivalikkku
36 iṛai kalichchuk-
37 kuṭutta nilattu-
38 kku mē[r*]kkum di-
39 raṇ-vāykkva vaḍa-
40 kkum idīnukku .
41 kilakkum puravu-
42 [li]kkuk terkum
43 [mū]liyū═upta[da]*
44 naḍuvu-paṭṭa nilattil*
45 uḷnadu koṇḍu śiri-
46 valikkku muṇṇ=iṛai ka-
47 [i]jhechuk-kuṭutta nila-
48 ttukku kilakk═upta-
49 đa muppattaiñju pāṭa-
50 kañ chañ(n)dir-ūditta va-
51 1=iṛayiyāy śiri-
52 kKuḷi[vāñai-yēriyāl==i-
53 raṇḍu pūvum nīr pāy-
54 vvaippad═āgavum==i[m*.
55 muppattaiñ pāṭaka-
56 m[ul]nilam-āyilu-
57 m [mu]liy-āyilu-
58 m nilam═aṅaitt═agatti-
59 lum-[mu]līv═ōlai*

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1 This word evidently refers to the managing body of the temple.
2 The letters appamum[=i]dik can also be read as appamum[mā]rik-, but I am not able to understand it.
3 Evidently appamum[=i]dik has to be corrected as appamum[=i]dārkuk-
4 This line (43) has been inserted later between lines 42 and 44.
5 The letters nilattil may also be read as nilattal.
6 The sense conveyed by the lines 56-59 is not clear.
No. 18—NIMBAL INSCRIPTION OF YADAVA BHILLAMA

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

Nimbāḷ or Nimbaḷa (Bujurkha) is a village in the Indi tāluk of the Bijapur District of the Bombay Province. It is situated at a distance of about 9 miles south-west of Indi, the headquarters of the tāluk. Nimbāḷ is a railway station on the metre gauge section of the M. & S. M. Railway between Gadag and Sholapur. The ancient name of this village is given as Nimbahūra (from Nimbapura) in the present inscription and as Nimbaḥāḷa in another record at the same place. And the present name Nimbāḷ has to be derived from Nimbaḥāḷa. The stone inscription published here is engraved on a slab built into the wall (inner side) which is to the proper left of entrance into the central shrine of the Śaṅkarālinga temple in the village. This temple is evidently the same as the Kōṭi-Śaṅkaradēva temple mentioned in the inscription.

The inscription was first copied by the late Rao Bahadur (then Mr.) K. N. Dikshit and has been noticed in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1924-25, pp. 119-20. It was again copied by the office of the South Indian Epigraphy during the year 1937-38 in the course of the epigraphical survey of the Indi tāluk and has been listed as B. K. No. 49 of 1937-38 of Appendix E to the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy for that year. It is from the ink-impressions of this collection that the inscription is edited here, for the first time, at the suggestion of the Superintendent for Epigraphy and with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

At the top of the slab, on proper right and left sides, are the figures of the sun and the crescent moon and below these in the centre, is a standing cow with its calf. And behind the calf, to the proper left, is a dagger with the point turned upwards. Below these figures, at about a distance of 5”, the inscription commences. There are twenty-five lines of writing and the inscription covers an area 21” high and 19” broad. Each line consists of about 21 aksharas and the average size of an akshara is ½”. The inscription has been fairly well preserved.

The characters belong to the Kannada alphabet and are regular for the period to which the record belongs, e.g., end of the 12th century A. D. The cursive form of v is found in kiṣuṇuḍu line 2, -dēcu- line 6, eyatipāṭa line 7, sarve- line 12, -pūrvakaim line 13 and Kāmnāvāri- line 23; and the cursive form of m occurs in ā-māṇikya line 16, mattaru lines 17-18, 19 and -nāma line 23. Initial a is found in lines 3, 4, 7, 11, 17, 19 and 20. Vissya is met with in -namah line 23 and kriṇṭh line 23. The consonant after a répha is usually lengthened; e.g., chakravarti lines 5-6, sūrga- line 7, -dēharpe line 11, sarve- line 12, etc. Anusvāra has been used for class nasal in several places; see e.g., puṇčha- line 2, anantu line 4, amga- line 11, etc. The figures for the numerals 1, 2 and 30 occur in lines 1-23. Marks of punctuation represented by two vertical strokes are found in lines 5, 13, 16, 23 and 25.

Except the imprecatory verse at the end, the inscription is in Kannada language and is written in prose. The following linguistic features may be observed: The change of p>h which is met with in the history of the Kannada language as early as the 10th century A. D. is found in the word Nimbohura<Nimbapura, lines 1, 10, 15 and 17. The qualitative phonemic variation is met with

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1 The adjoining village is called Nimbāḷ (Kharud).
2 See the same periodical for 1929-30, p. 172.
3 Eight more stone records have been copied at the same place and are listed as B. K. Nos. 50-37 in the same Appendix.
4 See above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 146-47.
6 Ibid., p. 4.
in the speech-forms -Sankhara<-Śaṅkara lines 2, 4, 15, 17; Śrīśaila<-Śrīśaila line 3; -sanhkhat-<śaṅkathā line 9, sāsana<-śāsana line 13, varsha<-varsha line 6; other speech-forms such as brāhmaṃkara<brahmaṃkārya line 2, -anāvase<-anāvasya line 7, -mukha<-mukha line 10, -setti<-setṭhi line 15, are also noteworthy. Alveolar r is met with in mūryenya line 6, mūrovatāru line 14, etc. There is an epenthetic vowel in Phalaṅga<-Plavaṅga line 6. The conjunctive suffix -uṇi is found in nālunku line 3 and -settiyam line 15. The normal word-order in Kannada is subject-object-verb.¹ But in the sentence -puṃjayavat śri Koti- Sankharaṇavāru kuruvaṇu, lines 4-5, there is deviation of this normal form, inasmuch as the word-order is object-subject-verb.

The inscription belongs to Bhillamāda and, from the titles Yādava-Nārāyaṇa and Pratīṣṭhānachakravartti given to him, he is evidently no other than the king Bhillama of the Yādava dynasty of Devagiri, who is regarded as the real founder and first sovereign king of this family. The inscription does not give any genealogical or historical details about this king.

The chief interest of the record, however, lies in the mention of the date which is given in the king’s regnal year coupled with the cyclic year, viz., 3rd year, Plavaṅga-saṃvatsara: When Fleet wrote his Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts as early as 1896 he had come across only three certain records of this king.² One of them is dated in Śaka 1113, Viradhiṃkṛt saṃvatsara, and the other two in regnal years, both citing the Saumya saṃvatsara as the third year of the king’s reign. From this, the first year of the king was fixed as Plavaṅga saṃvatsara, Śaka 1110 (current)=A.D. 1187-88.³ But the inscription under publication cites Plavaṅga saṃvatsara itself as the third year of the king’s reign, thus fixing his first year as Visvāvasu, Śaka 1107 (expired)=A.D. 1185-86.

Till now, as many as fourteen inscriptions, all on stone, of this king Bhillama have been discovered and, as far as I know, only one inscription has been published.⁴ Nine of these fourteen records are dated in the king’s regnal year, coupled with the cyclic year and they may be shown in the tabulated form as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of inscription.</th>
<th>Regnal year and cyclic year as given in the inscription.</th>
<th>First year of the king’s reign as calculated.</th>
<th>Reference.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bijapur District</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ibid., 1929-30, B. K. No. 108.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Muttigi—</td>
<td>8th year, Paridhāvī (Ś. 1114=A. D. 1192-93).</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ibid., 1933-34, B. K. No. 159.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>same district</td>
<td></td>
<td>Parādhava (Ś. 1108=A. D. 1186-87).</td>
<td>Copied by the office of S. I. E., during 1940-41.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>same district</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jath State, Bombay Pro-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vince.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Hallur—</td>
<td>2nd year, Kīlaka (Ś. 1110=A. D. 1188-89).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bijapur District</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Ibid., p. 99.
³ Ibid., p. 518.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of inscription</th>
<th>Regnal year and cyclic year as given in the inscription</th>
<th>First year of the king’s reign as calculated</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bijapur District</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>same district</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharwar District</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bijapur District</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It may be noted that most of these records come from the Bijapur District. The first two give Visvavasu saṁvatsara (A.D. 1185-86) as the first year of the king. The next two fix Parābhava saṁvatsara (A.D. 1186-87) as the first year, while, according to the remaining five records, Plavanā saṁvatsara (A.D. 1187-88) would be the first year of the king’s reign. And there is an inscription at Mārdi in the Sholapur District, belonging to the time of Bhillama’s grandson Singhana and dated in the Śaka year 1134, Āṅgirasa saṁvatsara (A.D. 1212-13). This epigraph, while referring to the previous gifts to a temple, cites Plavanā saṁvatsara as the fourth year of Bhillama’s reign, fixing Krōdhī saṁvatsara (A.D. 1184-85) as his first year. Thus Bhillama’s year of accession varies from A.D. 1184-85 to A.D. 1187-88. It is indeed difficult to account for these conflicting dates. Possibly, it may be due to the fact that Bhillama had to encounter opposition from all sides before establishing his sovereignty in the northern portion of the Western Chālukya kingdom. He might have finally and publicly proclaimed his accession to the throne in the year 1187-88.

The other details of the date given in the record are Bhādrapada amāvāsyā, solar eclipse, yāṭīpāta and saṁkramaṇa. Though the week-day is not given, the Christian equivalent would probably be A. D. 1187, September 4, Friday, when there was a solar eclipse. But the Kanyā-saṁkramaṇa had occurred on the previous Friday.\(^1\)

The object of the inscription is to register gifts of toll-income made by Māyāśva and others, and also of money and lands situated in different villages (specified) made by Gangara Kaṁnisēṭṭi and Bīṣṭa (R)ēviṣeṭṭi headed by the community of Maṇḍilōru-dūlu (thirty-six villages) for the benefit of the temple of Kōṭi-Saṅkaradeva at Nībhahura, while the king was ruling from Taḍavallage.

The following place-names are mentioned in the record: Vārāṇāsi, Śrīśaila, Nimbahura, Attarāge, Taḍavallage, Goṇavallage, Haṁjīge, Amōṭiye, Gundavananda, Bairalige, Ajjunavāla, Hīrī-y-Īrī, Chikka-Bēvinūr, Bāttakūṇike and Kāṁnavārī. These places can be identified and most of them have retained their names even to this day, of course with slight modifications in some cases. The first two places are too well known. Nimbahura, which is called here dakshina Vārāṇāsi, and saṁvatsara-Śrīśaila, is evidently modern Nimbāl, as stated above, where the inscription was found. Attarāge is the present Atharga (also called Hattaraki), 9 miles south-east of Nimbāl. Taḍavallage, just 4 miles east-south of Nimbāl and its adjacent village Gunvalgā are

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ATTENTION

The obituary notices and the relevant plates appearing in this issue may be removed and inserted in the beginning of Vol. XXVIII at the time of getting the volume bound.
Dr. Hirananda Sastri, M.A., M.O.L., D.Litt.,
Late Government Epigraphist for India, 1925 - 1933.
IN MEMORIAM

DR. HIRANANDA SASTRI

Jñānaratna Dr. Hirananda Sastri, the late Government Epigraphist for India, passed away at Gurdaspur in the Panjab, on 4th August 1946. He was an archaeologist of considerable experience, having worked in that field in the Panjab, the United Provinces, Kashmir, the Central Provinces, Bihar and South India, and having conducted many excavations. Epigraphy was his main interest during the latter part of his service under the Government of India. He served as Curator of the Museums, too, at Nagpur and Lucknow as also in Kashmir. He was a sound Sanskrit scholar and kept up his interest in this subject till the end. Having worked as Curator of Museums in different parts of India, he had an opportunity to acquaint himself thoroughly with Indian art.

He was born in 1878 in the Panjab. He had a brilliant educational career in the D. A. V. College, Lahore, from where he graduated, winning a gold medal for standing first in the B.A. examination in Sanskrit with English. He continued his studies in the Oriental College, Lahore, from which institution he took the M.A. degree of the Panjab University in 1900, winning gold medals and a purse for standing first in Sanskrit and Oriental Classics with English. He started life as Professor of Sanskrit and Philosophy in his own College (the D. A. V. College) and was the Reader in Sanskrit at the Panjab University, teaching Sanskrit and Comparative Philology to the M.A. classes. He then passed the Honours Examination in Sanskrit and got the degree of Master of Oriental Learning. Later in 1928, when he was the Government Epigraphist for India, his University again honoured him by conferring on him the degree of Doctor of Literature for a thesis on "Bhāṣa and the authorship of the thirteen Trivandrums plays" published as Memoir No. 28 of the Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India. In 1938 the Baroda Government honoured him with the title of Jñānaratna.

He joined the Archeological Survey of India in 1903 as Assistant Archaeological Surveyor, Northern Circle. In 1906 he was made Archaeological Assistant, Librarian and Curator of the Government Museum at Nagpur. Subsequently, in 1913, he became the Curator of the Provincial Museum at Lucknow. In 1917 he was sent on deputation to the Jammu and Kashmir State as Superintendent of Archaeology. There, besides holding the post of the Curator of the State Museum at Srinagar, he was in charge of the State Library. In 1920 he was posted as Assistant Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, Patna, and became the Officer-in-Charge of that Circle in 1922. In the same year he was transferred to Ootacamund as Superintendent for Epigraphy but went to Kotagiri within about a month as Officer-in-Charge of the Archaeological Survey of India, Southern Circle. In 1923 he came back to the Epigraphical Branch as Superintendent, and in 1925, on the retirement of Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, became the Government Epigraphist for India. Dr. Hirananda Sastri held that post for nearly nine years with distinction and in that capacity edited parts of Volumes XVIII and XXI and the whole of Volumes XIX and XX of the *Epigraphia Indica*. After his retirement in December 1933 from service under the Government of India, he was appointed in the Baroda State as Director of Archaeology in November 1934. He held that post till 1942 when he retired from that service also.

His contributions to Indology cover a very wide range. As an officer of the Archaeological Department, he issued many annual reports of the various Circles and Museums he happened to be in charge of. He also contributed many informative articles to the Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India. The pages of the *Epigraphia Indica* were enriched with 8 contributions from him, the list of which is given below:—

2. Copper-plate inscription of Govindachandradeva; Samvat 1188 (Vol. XIII).
3 Harsha inscription of the reign of Isanavarman; Vikrama Samvat 611 (Vol. XIV).
4 Nalanda copper-plate of Devapaladeva (Vol. XVII).
5 Brahmi inscription on a Wooden Pillar from Kirari (Vol. XVIII).
6 Barah copper-plate of Bhojadeva; Vikrama Samvat 893 (Vol. XIX).
7 Nalanda stone inscription of the reign of Yasovarmadeva (Vol. XX).
8 Clay seals of Nalanda (Vol. XXI).

He also contributed five items to the Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, viz.:
1 Some recently added sculptures in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow.
2 Origin and Cult of Tara.
3 Baghela Dynasty of Rewa.
4 Bhāsa and the authorship of the thirteen Trivandrum plays.
5 Nalanda and its epigraphical material.

Deeply and widely learned in Sanskrit, painstaking and conscientious in research, urbane in manners, in his death Indology has lost an erudite scholar in various fields.

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RAO BAHADUR C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU

Born on the 1st of July 1888, of a Srivaishnava family, in the village of Gangavaram in the Nellore Taluk of the Nellore District, Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharlu matriculated in his early teens from the V. R. High School, Nellore, and joined the Christian College at Madras for his collegiate courses. Having finished his F. A. in that College, he took his University degree from the Pachchayappa’s College, Madras, and started his career as a teacher in the M. S. Lower Secondary School, Nellore. He later joined the Nellore Collectorate. After a brief term of service there, an opportunity presented itself for him to join the Epigraphical Department. He took his early training in the field of epigraphy and worked in close collaboration with the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri. He was promoted to the post of Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy in 1925, became the Superintendent in 1931 and took charge of the office at Madras in December of the same year. He became the Government Epigraphist for India in 1942, on the transfer of the office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy to Ootacamund and its subsequent amalgamation with the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. He died on the 31st of August, 1947.

Mr. Krishnamacharlu was a sound scholar in Sanskrit and Telugu and an expert epigraphist in South Indian languages. The Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy that appeared under his name from 1931 onwards bear ample proof of his remarkable capacity to organise the staff in collecting and presenting the inexhaustible epigraphical material of South India for the benefit of the research scholars. The numerous copper-plate charters, including the Pallava grants which form landmarks in the Pallava history, and of which the discovery goes solely to his credit, show the flair he had for collecting such valuable documents. Among his works may be mentioned The Kannada Inscriptions of Koppal and other Memoirs for the Hyderabad Archaeological Series, The Subject Index to the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, A List of Inscriptions copied by the Office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, and some learned articles in the Epigraphia Indica. He had a great aptitude for archaeological exploration and had an unerring instinct for locating pre-historic sites. During his last days, after his retirement, he had prepared a list of pre-historic sites in South India. In his death Indian epigraphy has sustained a serious loss indeed.

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RAO BHAPURU C. R. KRISHNAMACHARI, B.A.
LATE GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST FOR INDIA, 1942-1943.

BORN: 1ST JULY 1888
AT GANGAVARAM,
NELLORE DISTRICT

DIED: 31ST AUGUST 1947
AT MADRAS.
respectively Tadavalage and Gonaavalage of the record. Hanjige is represented by modern Hanjigi, 3 miles north-east of Nimbuḷ. Gumdavamda is to be identified with Gundvān, 9 miles north-west of Nimbuḷ and situated on the Bijapur-Jhalki road. Amnitige is the same as Atiiygi, 7 miles north-west of Indi, and about 8 miles north of Nimbuḷ. Bairalige is modern Bhairangi, about 10 miles north of Nimbuḷ. Ajjunavāla and Battakuṇike have to be identified with modern Arjanāi and Bhatgunki, 3 miles to the north-west and 1 mile west of Bhairoṇgi respectively. Hiri-y-Imdi is still known by the same name and is said to have existed close by the modern Imdi. Chikka-Bēvinūr has also retained its name to this day and is 7 miles north-east of Nimbuḷ and 3 miles north-west of Imdi. And lastly Kanmanvūri is modern Kannūr, 12 miles west-south of Nimbuḷ. It may be noted that except Kannūr which is in the Bijapur lālaṅ of the same district and Vāraṇāsi and Śrīśaila, the above-mentioned places are included in the modern Indi lālaṅ.

TEXT

1 @ Śrīmatu dakhşiṇa-Vāraṇāsi Nimbuḥurada Kōṭi-tirththava muṇdu śrī-
2 Kōṭi-Sanihkaradēvarā saṃśāna māḍīḍe paṃcha-braṅiḥṃeti kiḍuṇvudu
3 abhinava Śrīśaila yi-nākum ṣāgil-olage puṇiḥyakha(ka)ra hiri-
4 du vommaddi māḍīḍe anānita puṇiḥyavani śrī-Kōṭi-Sanihkaradēva.a
5 ru kuṇuvaru | Svasti śrīmatu Yāda[va²]?-Xārāyanān Pratāpa-cha-
6 kravartti Bhilla[ma²]?-dēva-varśa(reha)da mureneya [Phaj]lavaṅga-saṃvatsara da
7 Bhāḍrapaḍa-amavāse sūrya-grahaṇa vatsāpā
8 saṅkramā(ma)na nimittavāgi Tadavalageya kapp-
9 dali sukh-saṅkhкатā-vinōdadhūn rājyaṅ-gaiyutta.10
10 m-irbballī Māvidāva muṅhavāg tī Nimbuḥurada śrī-
11 Kōṭi-Sanihkaradēvage aṅiṅa-bhōga raṅga-bhōgakke kōṭa a-
12 guvatt-ettinjeg suṅka[h]aṣkā la bhīṅga sarvva-namasyavāgi dhā-
13 rā-puṛvvaṭaṇū māḍi kōṭa śri(ṣa)su mahā Śrī-Śrī (Śrī) |
14 Muṭvṭṭaṇu bājū muṅkavavāg Ganagara Kanmi-settiyam(um) Bā-
15 teya [Rjēvi-settiyuni Nimbuḥurada śrī-Kōṭi-Sanihkaradēvā]
16 rege muttu-māṇikava hēridere (dale) . . . vāṭiṇa golagava bījjaru . .
17 Nimbuḥurada śrī-Kōṭi-Sanihkaradēvage Attarageyali ma-

1 See p. 98, n 1 below.
3 From the ink impression.
4 Read Sankaradeva.
5 This anusvāra is unnecessary.
6 Read Śrīśaila.
7 The engraver has inadvertently omitted to write this aśīkara.
8 Read Phalavasa.
9 Read amōn-kathā.
10 Read ni, pūñam-gaiyutta.
11 Read maṅkhaa.
12 The subscript of the letter p here is the same as that of the letter n used in the inscriptions of this period.

7 DGA
18 tāra 50  aṭāvalageyali māṭār 50 Gōṇavalageyali māṭār 50
19 Hānjigeyali māṭār 50 Aṇḍi igeyali māṭār 50 Gūndavān-
20 ḍāl māṭār 50 Bārīralgeyali māṭār 50 Ajjunāvali1 māṭār 50
21 Hīrī-va-Indiyali gadde māṭār 1 Chikka Bēvīrūli gadde ma-
22 tār 1 Gōṇavalageyali gadde māṭār 2 Battakunikeyali
23 gadde māṭār 2 Kāmvivāryali gadde māṭār 1 Si(Sījvāya-namah ||
24 Sva-datta(ā)mī para-dattānāmī yō da(ha)rēti(ta) vasunḍharā[m*] sa(sha)ḥṣṭir-vva(ḥṣtim va)-
25 rā(sha)-sahāsṛā bh(ā)yānī jāyatē krīmiḥ ||

No. 19—AJAYAGADH STONE INSCRIPTION OF NANA ; V. S. 1345
(I Plate)

H. L. SRIVASTAVA, NEW DELHI

This inscription, according to James Prinsep, was presented to the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal by General Stewart. It was inserted in the Catalogue of the Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV, as a stone slab from Ayayagarh in Bundelkhand with a Sanskrit inscription of a stone bull from Kālinjar, with a Sanskrit inscription. Ajayagarh is a hill-fort. 16 miles in a straight line south-west of Kālinjar, Long. 80° 20' E : Lat. 21° 54' N. It was edited with a specimen facsimile and translated for the first time by J. Prinsep in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VI. (1837) pp. 882-4, and his assistant, Pt. Kamakanta, insisted on inserting that he was not responsible for the various defects of grammar, prosody and rhetorics occurring in the text as he read it and copied it so. A careful study of the facsimile shows that the text presented is really defective. The inscription thus requires to be re-edited.

The inscription is incised on a slab of stone. It contains 21 lines and covers a space 4½ x 2½. The average height of letters is 1", except in the last line where it is a little reduced, i.e. 9". The record is well preserved except in line 20 where the particulars of the date and the tithi are lost and in line 21 where more than half is either broken or obliterated. This portion thus cannot be deciphered.

The characters are Nāgarī as in the Ajayagarh rock inscription of Bhōjavarma. The letters are deeply cut and well formed. As regards the formation of individual letters, the following peculiarities may be noted. It is somewhat difficult to distinguish between the signs for ch and c. Besides the usual form of k, there appears another in ksh (line 19, kshanadē-, but not in kṣanaga-, or Śukrākṣhi). The anuvāra is represented by a small circle but some cracks here and there above the letters are often mistaken for it. The final m is frequently substituted by the anuvāra. The sign for aṣṭroha has been used only twice in lines 12 and 17. An omission in line 17 is supplied immediately below the line, the height of the letters there being 2" and the omission being indicated by a kākapāda.

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1 The correct reading would be Arjunaosalī.
2 Read para-dattām vā.
3 It is No. 620 of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions of Northern India.
The language is Sanskrit. Except the salutation to Vásudēva in the first line and mention of the date in line 19, and the name of the scribe and his family in lines 20 and 21, where the composer invokes blessings for himself, the whole record is in verse.

As regards orthography, r is generally substituted for b, cf. vibhrat, line 1, vahu, line 14; and ṣ for s and vice versa, cf. Vāśu-, line 1, cašati, line 5, visāla, line 4. The consonant following r is reduplicated in the majority of cases.

The object of the inscription is to record the establishment of a temple at Jayadurga with the image of Kōśava (verses 33-34). After salutation to Murāri in the first three stanzas, the incarnations of Vishnu in the forms of Fish, Tortoise, Boar, Nṛsiṁha, Vāmana, Parāśurāma and Rāma are invoked for blessings. Thereafter comes the donor’s genealogy which stands as follows:—

Kāśyapa
  └── Kūša
    │   └── Sunābha
    │
Hārūka Śrivāstava
  └── Jalhaṇa
        └── Gaṅgādhara
                └── Kamalē
                        └── Mālēka

Padmaśinīha
  └── Ratnasinīha
      └── Sumaika

Jagasimha
  └── Kumarasimha
      └── Nāna
            └── Prithvirdhara

Nāna introduces himself as the minister of Bhōjavarmaṇ who is known to be the penultimate king of the Chandrārāja (Chandel) dynasty of Bundelkhand. This Bhōjavarmaṇ was the son and successor of Viravarmaṇ and Kalyāṇadāvi. He was followed by Hammiravarmaṇ.

What is interesting here is that the ancestors of Nāna are said to be the hereditary ministers of the Chandrārāja kings, i.e., the Chandellas. The genealogy of Nāna as given in the inscription is of little historical interest, except that the Kāvastha Śrivāstava family to which Nāna belonged is said to have originated at Kauśāmyapura and that Hārūka, a member of this dynasty, is said to have earned the surname Śrivāstava for the first time. “A Vāstavya-vamsa is mentioned in line 27 of Malhara inscription of the Chêdi year 919 = 1167 A. D.; a Vāstavya-kula in line 3 of the Sahet-Mahet inscription of the Vikrama year 1276; and also on the two inscriptions from Mahābha (A. S. I. R., XXI, pl. 21 and 23) one of which is dated in the Vikrama year 1240 records that in the illustrious great Vāstavya family there was one Subhala, the son of “ Hallaṇa”. The Ajayagadha rock inscription of Bhōjavarmaṇ also gives an account of some members of the Vāstavya

B 2
clan of the Kāyasthas¹ who held responsible positions under the other Chandella kings.² And a Śrivāstäva Thakkura is mentioned in the Meohad (Vikrama 1245) inscription of Jayachandradeva of Kanauj (J. R. A. S. 1927, p. 576).

The inscription is dated in the year 1345 which is expressed both in figures and words kṣaṇaḍa—moon=1, iškhaṇa—Śiva’s eyes=3, śruti=Vēdas=4, and bhūtās=elements=5, the usual rule of reading the numeral from right to left not being applied here. The month specified is Vaiśākhā, but the actual date and week day, if given at all, are lost at the beginning of line 20. The year is to be taken as the Vikrama year in which the other inscriptions of the Chandellas are dated. The word Śrīvēnt also points to that.

As for the geographical names mentioned in the present inscription, Kausāmipyapura seems to be identical with Kaustambha or Kosam in the Allahabad District. Jayadurga (line 17) and Jayapura (line 20) are certainly the names of Ajayagāth.

The praśasti was composed by the poet Amara who compares the composition to a chitravaira fabric (v. 36). Certainly the poem is of no mean order and, therefore, the poet cannot be charged with exaggeration. It was incised by Pānsūha, the Kāyastha (Śrī*)vāstavya.

The facsimile of the inscription was very kindly supplied by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the then Government Epigraphist for India, in 1934, but owing to other preoccupations it could not be edited earlier.

TEXT

[Metres : Vv. 1 and 23 Saṇgharā ; vv. 2-4 and 35 Vasantatilakā ; vv. 5, 8, 13-16, 18, 25-28 and 32 Upāyā ; v. 6 Śārdulavikridīla ; vv. 7, 10, 29 and 30 Upenāvakṛṣṭī ; vv. 9 and 12 Drutavālmāha ; v. 11 Indravājā ; vv. 17, 33 and 36 Mālinī ; v. 19 Viśālī ; vv. 20-22, 24, 34 and 37 Anuvāthkā ; and v. 39 Pāṇḍasthava.]

1 [Śrī] (भ)पर्वतेन वायु (मृ)वैशाख ॥ २ प्रायः प्रीतिनिर्माणः प्रीति—

[Metres : Vv. 1 and 23 Saṇgharā ; vv. 2-4 and 35 Vasantatilakā ; vv. 5, 8, 13-16, 18, 25-28 and 32 Upāyā ; v. 6 Śārdulavikridīla ; vv. 7, 10, 29 and 30 Upenāvakṛṣṭī ; vv. 9 and 12 Drutavālmāha ; v. 11 Indravājā ; vv. 17, 33 and 36 Mālinī ; v. 19 Viśālī ; vv. 20-22, 24, 34 and 37 Anuvāthkā ; and v. 39 Pāṇḍasthava.]

⁴ Besides the Śrivāstavas, information regarding the other Kāyasthas is as follows: A Māthura Kāyastha in the Gwalior inscription of the successor of Mahipālādeva of V. S. 1161 (I.A., XV, 202), a Kanarka Thakkura in the Chhattarpur plate of Govindachandra of Kanauj, V. S. 1177 (E.I., XVIII, 225), Vāstavya and Saksena Kāyasthas in the Gadhwa pillar inscription, V. S. 1199 (A. S. I. R., III, 58), a Naigama Kāyastha in the Naidol plates of Kirtipāla of Marwar, V. S. 1218 (E.I., IX, 68, I.A., XL, 146), a Kāyastha pilgrim of the Gauda lineage in the Nemawar inscription, V. S. 1282 (P. R. A. S., W. C., 1920-21, p. 50), a Kātārjya Kāyastha community in the Belan inscription of the time of Hannira, V. S. 1345 (E.I., XIX, 49); a Māthura Kāyastha in the Gwalior Museum inscription of Gagapati, V. S. 1350 (A. S. I. R., 1903-04, part II, p. 294), in the Bijlā inscription of V. S. 1376 (P. R. A. S., W. C., 1905-06, p. 58) and in the Bhatnāgada inscription of V. S. 1385 (E.I., XII, 46), and Māthura and Naigama Kāyasthas in the Bijlā inscription of V. S. 1388 (P. R. A. S., W. C., 1905-06, p. 58) and a Kāyastha Sūrasena in the Patna plates of Mahā-Sīravatgupta-deva (I) (J. P. A. S., B. I., p. 19). I owe this information to the List of Inscriptions of Northern India by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar.

² This has been omitted by Prinsep.
2. भर्तुः ॥१॥ प्रयाकपियम्बि चंद्रहिम्नमुरारिगवांदनानात् सः मलंकुलवःपकरापि ॥

3. श्रीः । कामानुरोशःकुरुःजुवाः[विला]सांहूः[वध]कुतूहलन्या दियतामाधि ॥

4. जलानां रेमेन निचोः यः लुभो योगृहसः । जयद्गति: संसिद्धिहरिषीः

5. पुष्ये सं(श) बोः ॥१॥ बद्वेदः सा विशवरःसति ॥१॥वर्षायनवहितारः ॥

6. लिप्पमाददामाः स वामनो मे(श)पुरुषं ददतु ॥१॥ दिजकरे क्षितिमः

1. Prinsep reads श्रसी खलानाः
2. P. भीस्वदेश
3. P. करोर
4. P. कामानुरातर
5. P. भारतनोतु
6. P. खुष्ठ
7. P. निदर्भरामदलान
8. P. ब्लिसो
9. P. मे
10. P. तः
11. P. वसोविनितेः
12. P. प्रमाददबं
13. P. बलर
14. P. न्याः
15. P. गृहठत
16. P. विपशात
17. P. मलंकुलव
18. P. सुतरण
19. P. मृतिविव
20. P. पुष्पिश।तर!चलिबय
21. P. वसति
22. P. शुष्कसूचुःक्षमणविन।दरीमः
23. P. तः
24. P. किकापत्ता सिंहां परसुः
25. P. शुभायुः ज्ञाम्बनविन।दराय
26. P. नाष्टः
कलुि राम इति श्रुत: । ॥१६॥ ममुर्जिन्द्र वन्य पराक्रमाणां महाजने । पुष्यजनोपहरी। प्रमोदातनतुते तनुटी- ।

7 कुली विन्दुः म चिनोतु रामः ॥१०॥ आसीमहथि: स फिलावदायी धनरूपां विदान कायम हस्यु सृजने । यः जालवेदो विधिमुः सुराणां संतुष्टैः हस्यः विधिः ससरज[प्रे] ? ॥११॥ कुलकुलब इति प्राप्तिः सुतानी व(व)षुनुसरस्य महात्मनः । अयि तमोहरणे तदनुररत्नां शिरर्विषयः दिवंगतम् ॥१२॥ कु-

8 शशी कौशल्यपुरे विनाशो व(व)षुनुसरस्य वत्सर्वपूर्वः। ॥वावधा साविक्यः मनु(मुः) मौलः तत्स्वति कोपिः पुणाव(व)भारः ॥१३॥ स कोपिः कायसळ्यता प्रतीतो मन्तीरिअविभूमिभिन्नोसुधी(श्च)कः। ॥ सुधिनासीनश्रावासी- वः सतःकायस्वामीमुस्तानियः ॥१४॥ गवां प्रश्नेषुः ॥ ततो शुभायं मुमन्तामायः-

9 वरणेषु ॥ निल्य(भूमः)। हिरो मिवाश(श्री)वमहजल(श्री) बंशोः ॥वास्तवतामप्रतिक्षा- 

10 सेतः ॥ वरणेः कोटिः। ॥१५॥ जह मनस्चार्णत् जनीते महिषितान्दशनतां कुर्मरूपः। तुविच्या वीरकुलस्य वीराभर्णकामामधवन् जनु: ॥१६॥ लिपिकरः कुक्कुटेऽकोट्रस्यागमाः मुक्तविकलपमुस्तायास्यः खृती- नानाः(भूमः)। अभवद्विमितेजाः जहहलस्य सूतः सुपनुसरिव भूमी भूमक्तीनां निमायम्। ॥१७॥ ततो गुणानां स निमित्विविचिसो गंगा(श्री)वरोजयत

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1. कलिः । 2. वचने । 3. जनो । 4. यज्ञ: । 5. राविवशिष्टमुदतामसः। The scribe did not incise ठा, but it was added later on immediately below it in very small letters.

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11 सुप्रतादितकायसंदर: ॥१६॥ तदाजन्यजननीकाशे नामंजेनकमलविन्दुः। माला-
सूतिमिन स्वरुपः यथा गुणबौँर्व विदिशुवः ॥२०॥ पवासिनी स्वरुपः छलसिनी जगमिनः:
सुतोलमाः। जाता: कुमारसिन्धुः ॥२१॥ चत्वारस्वः (श्रवत्)तुरास्तः ॥२१॥ तेषु
संवधानवतः श्रेष्ठोः (श्वेत) राजसिनी महामानः। ज्ञायत ॥२॥

12 जितात्म(तम)नासीमुन्ताः ॥३१॥ तदपूवाबोधवः ॥३२॥ मूर्तिः: प्रतिक्लितम्बदन्तीः ॥३३॥ भूषणः: प्रवीणः: प्रतिक्रजाः (जातः)नीर्मलाणाः स्वरुपितरः वेशम् ॥३४॥ विस्मृत्तिकायः। धाम
जानोदवानावितह ॥३५॥ महिमा नानानामोक्षताः ॥३६॥ रेष्ये राजीवस्य: क्षितितिति-
समितिराजगानानुभा-

13 श: ॥३७॥ दिनजणकृतस्वरुपविनायकसानु ते ॥३८॥ कण्ठाविनेनेनेनां सचिवतः-
मुपामतः। ॥३२॥ तयोः: स विज्ञानविचि-विनीयो मनोरमो नान इति
प्रतीतः। भीमोजयममपुरवत्मा नायः ॥३९॥ स्वम[श्व]मित्रप्रावततातान ॥३५॥ प्रयय-
वर्द्धाल्याधामनानां ॥३५॥ श(श)मात्रेक-

14 लाजस्वतेश्वराणां सुपनामां प्राणत्वा गुणी यो नानाभिधान सकलतिलकार II
[२६॥] विशिष्टगुणाचारायनम् चिदेश्वरवतिष्ठताय नयकुमसुभवः। नताभ्या-काम
वर राजलक्ष्मी प्रभुमिचारं कामहते फलाय ॥५२॥ तदा घ(घ)परार्क-कु(कु)जालं पवोनिधिः यथा यशोविसाहः ॥१६॥ प्रमंडलयानपद-

1 P. मानवः
2 P. नादयः
3 P. समर
4 P. तेषाः
5 The dandas are unnecessary.
6 P. उल्लूऽभोजः
7 P. विस्मृत्त
8 P. Dandas is unnecessary.
9 P. मुसामानः
10 P. जनानाः
11 P. यस्मन्तरभूरतिष्ठतास्य मध्य सिनाक्षेप
12 P. कमल
13 P. श्व
14 P. श्रेष्ठो
15 a P. श्रीमूला
16 P. विनयः
17 P. प्रतिहृत
18 P. यस्मातस्तुतः
19 P. नाशवः
20 P. बसारि
15 नमार्गीसाराचे कथेण मनोवुज्जार ॥ १२ ॥ विहारीणी यस्य विगमनाभि: समं समुद्रं बुद्धिवृत्तिः । सम्बहुभि: किल कर्षणरोक्ता मुनि यो मुद्वायमसति ॥ ६१ ॥ नकेसुखातुरसुन्दरप्रकाशोऽप्रकाशं (यन्) । सलकुमारोऽदृश्यमचे । मनोरस- 
लामहानीयदेशः पृशीयकोऽ

16 रसः तनायो ग्राम ॥ १३ ॥ ब्रवेश्व पोत मनोरिराजो(शो) समुस्तीतियाऽ(चः) 
रामकात्यिण्य वियोगमुः ॥ स मुक्त्ये दुष्पद्यतः राजुवियातारणी वृत्तिमलकरिति ॥ ३१ ॥ 
समीचय समारंभ पद्मयानः[१] जातरम्य विश्वायनारिः[१] । मुखुदार्तनोद्भिमान- 
कोभी वि(ि) भाति सलिलयरोऽ

17 हः ण ॥ १३ ॥ अप्र मुखुदार्तन(ि) दिनानि एव प्रभावी ज्यवति जयुः 
कोभी हेतो: कलावान् । मुखुदार्तन(ि) हेतु (ि) भावुकमभगम: प्रभुवनयाजालो- 
आरक्षकुक्तकवेदी ॥ ३३ ॥ मानवीयो मनि (मानवीयमति) नाति: प्रति खेत नकाशबं (वम) । 
प्राशासः देश्य स्त्रायवेषाम पितृविधः

18 [साम] हेतुः ॥ १३ ॥ याय्यवभाग कः (ि) मती महादु सुलान उत्का: 
कर्मकारा: शिविद्वाकरो- 
दीपितवः देशः । तत्त्वम पुष्यवातममनुजो वियातु विष्मा ॥ (वेष्माः)- 
कः दिनानि गुरो रामां मानियमहि ॥ १५ ॥ 
अंगकर्तवयाः [१] जुजवलकारार्टे 
पुष्पदलपः

19 [दीपा] दश्तन्तिविण्डः । श्रव्ये दशपुरुणा ढः ॥ समुखाभिमास्तः । कुतितुकुलकमको 
भोपुरकारो[१] विज्ञानाम् ॥ २२ ॥ श्रव्ये श्रव्यममत्स्म्भुसमामिति । संबसरे 
सुमेलिक बंधाय साय नापि महः ॥ ३३ ॥ रङ्गुपी ॥ सम्ब(वसं) । १३४ ॥ 
समया वेऽषा-

20 [सेतुपट] परस्तर प्रोणयुजु विव्यवम(वन) दी मुनक- 
नामाः[२] । नयेन युक्ती मुखं ययास्ति न च प्रक्षियात्ममयात- 
विज्ञजनम(ि) ॥ १२ ॥ (२६) सायस्वात्तथावनवे[१०] (वम) 
प्रतील्कार्बितजयपुरी- 
चुरञ्जनकुकुर क्रोधारोि। १२ ॥ सुमुखसुखहः १२ ॥

1 P. मह य यजः
2 P. रजः
3 P. नायण
4 P. जमगो
5 P. चयन्युगाँधां
6 P. मुनिश्चित
7 P. तुंयो
8 P. दृ
TRANSLATION

Salutations to the illustrious Vāsudēva.

(Verse 1) May Dēva (Vishnu), the preserver, the enemy of the sons of Diti (Asuras), afford you joy, who generally does not feel physical weariness, being in the constant happy embrace of the bold Lakshmi and who signifies amazingly consummate love (for the consort) with his restless rolling eyes intoxicated with delight; and whose srivatsa (breast-jewel) shines like the Cupid’s arrows shot by the expanded bow of its blazing rays.

(Verse 2) May Murāri (i.e. the enemy of Mura), of ardent beauty, bless you, who, while being looked upon by his herd of cows, held upon the tip of his hand the mount Gōvardhana like a lump of mustard cake, and whose wonderous lustre was enhanced by the love-stricken wives of the cowherds.

(Verse 3) May Hari who is, as if in pleasant sport, thwarting in jest the diversions of the licentious deer with their consorts by an (array) of arrows whose beauty has been blunted by the stiff breasts of the milk-maids, enhance your knowledge.

(Verse 4) May Dēva, the fish-transformed husband of Śrī (Lakshmi), the restorer of the set of the Vēdas buried in the ocean, the resplendent, the destroyer of the burdens of the world, and the slayer of Śaṅkīśura, destroy your sins.

(Verse 5) May the tortoise, who revelled in abstract in the watery ocean with its shores destroyed by the Satvarta (one of the seven clouds at the dissolution of the universe), the refuge of the world constant in resplendent beauty, prosper you.

(Verse 6) May Mādhava, (in the form of a boar) who, by the mighty thrust of his long cruel tusks delivered the earth in the shape of a muddy lump of clay and who extended the fixed order of religion and duty; the abode of intelligence and the habitat of the universe, and who is ever-ready to destroy the mental agonies, increase your blessing.

(Verse 7) May Nṛsīṁha, re-plendent like the rays of thousand suns resting on the tip of the peaks of the Śuṅgēru, and appearing with drawn nails for the destruction of the demon (Hiranyakaśipu), destroy your sins.

(Verse 8) May Vāmana (dwarf), of matchless glory, bless you; who by the pretext of smashing the eye of Śukra denounced the very statesmanship of his enemies; who expanded himself proportionate to the arrogance and haughtiness of Bali.

(Verse 9) Victorious be that renowned Pārāśurāma, of great intelligence, the abode of victory and fame; who placed the earth in the hands of the Brāhmaṇas after acquiring its governance, and who made the wives of the enemies sad.

(Verse 10) May Rāma, too, the slayer of demons, whose deeds of valour gladden the hearts of the magnanimous and serve as the protection of the body, save you from all miseries.

(Verse 11) There lived the venerable sage Kāśyapa, the foremost amongst the expounders of the Vēdas, whom happily the creator created to satisfy the deities according to the injunctions.

1 This is not clear from the fac-simile, but it has been adopted from Prinsep.
7 DGA
(Verse 12) Of that noble spirit were born two reputed sons, Kuśa and Sunābha, as though the two matchless (luminaries-), the sun and the moon, had descended from heaven to dispel the darkness.

(Verse 13) The residence of Kuśa, who had a handsome appearance due to his virtuous deeds, was at Kaṇḍānyāpura. There dwelt a certain person who became his chief minister.

(Verse 14) That uncertain person, who became well known for the performance of the Kāyastha duties known by the surname of Kāyastha and respected by the learned for his (versatile) genius, satisfier of the expectations of the needy, became the ornament of that noble Kāyapya lineage.

(Verse 15) Being endowed with the grace of flowery speech, charming personality, and love for ever practising the rational course of honest policy, he along with his whole family enjoyed the (appellation) Śrīvāstava.

(Verse 16) That wise being was named Hārūkṣa because he stole the hearts of women by his beauty, those of kings by his statesmanship and of the learned by his wit and deep erudition.

(Verse 17) Superior to all of the writer caste, the receptacle of the āgamas, the root of the tree of virtue, the vessel of light, he had a son named Jalhaṇa of infinite valour, (peerless) like the receptor of the gods born on the earth for the benefit of kings.

(Verse 18) Of him was born the honourable Gaṅgādhara, the receptacle of all virtues; conversant with the law of common usage, in whose jewel-like immaculate person the tamas (guna) never found any quarters.

(Verse 19) (His) noble-minded (son) bore the gentle name of Kamalā who concentrated his heart on the lotus foot of Kamalā’s husband, of personal beauty commensurate with his virtues.

(Verse 20) Of him was born Mālāka, resembling Aja, of immaculate person and encircled by a halo of good qualities.

(Verse 21) From him were born these four, the wisest and the best of the sons, namely Padmasiniха, Ratnasiniха, Jagasiniха, and Kumarasiniха.

(Verse 22) The broad-minded Ratnasiniха, the best of the learned, begot three sons who were self-restrained and of infinite prowess.

(Verse 23) The first and foremost among all of them was Sumaika, the lotus-eyed, of matchless figure, conqueror of passion, skilful, another Gaṅapatī, fat and abode of love, intelligence and beauty: he, who had never lowered his head before the haughty and the vainglorious and who had earned respect and honour in the courts of the kings.

(Verse 24) They got the ministership with the kings of the Chandrārāya line whose fame had reached the car-cavities of the damsel-like quarters (i.e. the ends of the world).

(Verse 25) One of the (remaining) two, the teacher of religious laws, learned and fascinating, was known as Nāna, who having resorted to the illustrious king Bhūjavārman wrought about the dawn of the sun of his statesmanship.

(Verse 26) This versatile man justified his name Nāna (i.e. various) by winning the favour of women by his sweet speech and of the kings by his polite behaviour, may every one loved him as his own life.

(Verse 27) He (Nāna), being appointed the receptacle of merit and having carried aloft the standard (kumbha) of politics to a high pitch, the king expected the newly anointed royal Lakshmi to yield rich harvest for a long time to come.

(Verse 28) Whose spreading fame then adorned, like a beautiful ornament of dazzling splendour, the ocean in the shape of the countless conch-shells playing about (on its billoas).
(Verse 29) His consort who was well adorned like the damsels of the quarters, and who was well versed in the practical lore of the scriptures, and whose ear-ornaments were dressed by the damsel-like Maruts, became a source of pleasure to the sages.

(Verse 30) His son Pṛthvīdhara shed lustre like the new moon by causing delight to the masses of lily-like righteous persons; he possessed attractive manners and a commendable personality.

(Verse 31) Being desirous of crossing the worldly ocean by the ship of the husband of Lakṣmī, he takes to the devotional course for salvation with the most pious intentions.

(Verse 32) Thus seeing the futile agreeableness of worldly pleasure derived from the objective world, and desiring salvation, he maintains his face like the lily after having wrought his fame for the elevation of his soul.

(Verse 33) This highly spirited and versatile Nāṇa, an adept in all the fine arts, caused this well-made image of Hari to be placed at the victorious and celebrated fort of Jayapura in honour of his ancestors, for love of fame; he was a judge of merits, an expounder of all polity, grateful, and of splendid understanding.

(Verse 34) This Nāṇa of respectable intellect established a temple with the image of Kṛṣṇa for the salvation of his ancestors.

(Verse 35) So long as the mountains, the earth, the gods, the oceans, the moon, the sun and the heavenly luminaries (ṣaḥ) and virtue and the beloved of the gods, live in the habitation of the Creator.

(Verse 36) The poet Amara, being desirous of satisfying the curiosity of the learned, wove this variegated priceless literary carpet, replete with excellent metaphors expressed in appropriate phrases. He was gentle and stately and had earned the title of 'wise man' by dint of his eminent qualities.

(Verse 37) This inscription was written on the lucky day of the month of Vaiśākha in the Sanvatsara indicated by the moon, Śiva's eyes, the Vēdas and the bhūtas.

In figures also Sanvats 1345, time Vaiśākha .................

(Verse 39) He had two sons named Nātha otherwise known as Sumaika and Vallabha by Champakā (his wife), who loved one another, who spoke sweetly and were well known in the world, and a pattern of morality.

This was written by Paṇsuha (bhoj) in the family of Kāyastha-[Śri*]vāsavāya, the son of the illustrious Thakura Ayo, the commandant of the balconied Jayapura fort. May good luck attend the author.1

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No. 20—HINDOL PLATE OF KULASTAMBHA

(D Plate)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund, and P. Acharya, Cuttack

The copper plate inscription, which is being published here for the first time, was lying in the office of the Subdivisional Officer of Hindol, the headquarters of a state (now merged) of that

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2 The inscription was noticed by B. Misra in his Medieval Dynasties of Orissa, p. 28.
3 Hindol is now a Subdivision of the newly formed Dhenkanal District.
name in Orissa. Little is known about its original find-spot and the story of its discovery. The record was exhibited, along with the Utkal University’s valuable collection of antiquities, on the occasion of the Cuttack Session of the Indian History Congress in December, 1949. Later it was secured for the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, where it is at present lying.

The inscription is written on a single plate measuring 9.2 inches by 5.1 inches. A circular lump of brass soldered at the centre of its left side contains the seal of the king who issued the charter in question. There is a projecting knob at the back of the lump resembling the hair collected in a knot behind a woman’s head. On the counter-sunk surface of the seal, there are the emblems of the sun and crescent moon at the top, the legend Śrī-Kulaṭastambhakavēṣṇa in the middle, and the emblem of a standing boar facing proper right at the bottom. The lower part of the subscript y in the akṣarāṃsya of the legend looks like two parallel straight lines demarcating the legend and the figure of the boar below. The plate is engraved on both the sides. There are altogether 31 lines of writing, the obverse and the reverse containing 15 and 16 lines respectively. The plate is not in a satisfactory state of preservation and shows signs of corrosion and of the peeling off of a layer of metal here and there. This has rendered the reading of a few passages difficult and doubtful. The plate is partly broken at the right side top and bottom corners. It weighs 54 tolas.

The characters belong to the East Indian variety of the Northern alphabet and the inscription may be assigned on palaeographic grounds to about the eighth or ninth century A.D. In point of palaeography, the charter under discussion closely resembles other inscriptions of the family to which its issuer belonged. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It is written partly in prose and partly in verse. In this respect as well as in point of orthography, our record has very close resemblance with the other records of the family. The verses are mostly common, although they have slight variations in some cases.

The charter is dated not according to any era, but in the issuer’s fourth regnal year, Bhādrasūdi 12. This date itself does not help us in determining the age to which the charter has to be referred. But as we shall presently see, one of the records of the grandfather of the issuer of our grant appears to be dated in the year 103 apparently of the era used by the Bhauma-Kara rulers of Orissa. As this era is now usually identified with the Harsa era of A.D. 696, it may be assumed that the date of the said charter corresponds to A.D. 799. If therefore the grandfather flourished about the first quarter of the eighth century A.D., the reign of the grandson, who issued the grant under discussion, may be roughly assigned to the middle or the third quarter of that century. It has, however, to be admitted that the identification of the era used by the Bhauma-Karas with the Harsa era is not accepted by some scholars who are inclined to assign the Bhauma-Karas to a later date.

The inscription begins with the symbol for siddhārtha and the word vāca. Verse 1 is in adoration to the god Giriṣṭara, i.e., Śiva, and is found in several other inscriptions of the family in question. Verse 2 introduces king Kulaṭastambha of the Śulkī family which is said to have been favoured by the goddess Stambhīśvarī. The next verse says how the Śulkī king Kulaṭastambha constructed a number of temples apparently for the god Śadāśiva. Verses 4-5 describe king Jayastambha who was the son and successor of Kulaṭastambha. The following two verses (verses 6-7) describe the reigning king Kulastambha who was the son and successor of Jayastambha and issued the charter from the city of Ködālōka. While kings Kulaṭastambha and Jayastambha of the Śulkī family of Ködālōka are known from their own records, king Kulastambha, son of Jayastambha, is known for the first time from the present inscription. He is called a Mahākāra and has the feudatory title samādhigaṭ-aśeśa-mahaśabda. He is further said to have been a devout worshipper of the god Mahāśiva.

1 Cf. Bhandarkar, List, Nos. 1694-1701.
The inscription records the grant of a locality or probably several localities situated in Sāgagrāma (i) forming a part of the Gaṅgāraṣṭrapa viṣhaya belonging to the Kanarāda mānjarā. The name or names of the locality or localities granted cannot be satisfactorily made out. The royal order regarding the grant was addressed to the Rājanaka, Rājaputra, Mahāsamata, Kanārādana, Antaraṇī and others including the Viṣhayaṇī and adhikārīs together with their karanaś (either meaning scribes or the adhikārīs, i.e., administrative offices). The grant was made in favour of the agnīdhīritvi Bhaṣṭya Viśvarūpasvāmi who was a Brāhmaṇa of the Kauṃśika gṛha having the Viśvāmitra, Dēvarāta and Ādala pūrvarūpa and was a student of the Mādhyamāṇa branch of the Yajurveda. Lines 17-18 appear to mention several places, rī, Pañcchāsiṣya, Purgyavriddhi, Sarvadā..., Sārṣṭra and Kharanāda, as boundaries of the gift land. It is interesting that the grant is said to have been made with the king’s family-deity, the goddess Stambhēvara-bhaṭṭārīkā, as the pramāṇa. The word pramāṇa is here apparently used in the sense of sāksatā (witness) which actually occurs in the same context in some records of the family. The donee of the grant was allowed to enjoy rent from temporary tenants (cf. sāyatiṣṭhā). The gift land is also described as sūddhā which means “together with the space above the tala or ground.” The sentences speaking of the grant are followed by two interesting passages in prose, one of them being benedictory and the other imprecatory. Next come four of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses. Lines 30-31 mention the writer of the document, Bhagin Kalyāṇa, and the engraver Durlabhasaka whose father’s name was Āchārya. The record ends with the date already noticed above.

As indicated above, a number of copper-plate inscriptions of the Śulki family, also called variously Śulki, Śaulki, Sōlki, etc., have been published. The earliest of the Śulki records appears to be the Dhenkanal plate of the samadhiṣṭika-paśca-mahāsālā saṃastha-Mahāśāman-adhikāpi Raṇastambha. This record seems to be dated in the year 103, although the first of the two numerical symbols was read by H. P. Sastri as 30 and by D. R. Bhandarkar as 200. Considering the feudatory titles applied to the name of Raṇastambha as well as the fact that the era used is no doubt the same that used by the Bhauma-Kara kings of Orissa, it seems that Raṇastambha was a semi-independent feudatory of the Bhauma-Kara monarch Śubhākara III. Two of whose inscriptions are dated in the same year.

The Talcher plate seems also to belong to the same Śulki king, although in this record he is called both Raṇastambha and Kulastambha and the seal attached to the charter bears the legend Śri-Kulastambhadēva. The king Raṇastambha alias Kulastambha is in this inscription endowed both with a feudatory and imprecatory titles, as is not only called samadhiṣṭika-paśca-mahāsālā and Rājanaka but also Mahājālāṭīja and paramabhāṣṭārāka. The mere issue of the Dhenkanal plate of the year 103 without specific mention of his Bhauma-Kara overlord points to Raṇabhaṇja’s importance, while the partial assumption of imperial titles in the Talcher plate seems to indicate his success in a struggle with the Bhauma-Karas. The Talcher plate also mentions Raṇastambha-Kulastambha’s father Kalahastambha-Vikramāditya who is represented as the son of Kāḷiṣṭhanastambha. Both Kāḷiṣṭhanastambha and his son Kalahastambha alias Vikramāditya appear to have been loyal vassals of the Bhauma-Karas. The Jārāgāma grant of Raṇastambha also represents him as the son of Kalahastambha and the grandson of Kāḷiṣṭhanastambha, although H. P. Sastri wrongly read Kulastambha for Kalahastambha. This record does not apply any imperial title to the name of Raṇastambha and seems to be earlier than the Talcher plate.

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The Bhimanagarārā or the Bhimanagarīa plate is usually assigned to king Raṇagāmbha-Kulastaṁbha. It represents the king as the lord of the whole Gōndrama with Śaṅkhājöti forming the borderland of his kingdom. This description is also found in the two Puri plates published by M. M. Chakravarti. Unfortunately the text of the Puri records is extremely corrupt. The Bhimanagarīa plate represents Mahāraja Raṇagāmbha as the őlmanga (line 10) of Vīkramaditya. The word sūtra (line 12) again used before the following mention of Kulastaṁbha may suggest that the record in question belongs not to Raṇagāmbha-Kulastaṁbha but actually to a Kulastaṁbha who was the son of Raṇagāmbha.

Another son of Raṇagāmbha alius Kulastaṁbha was Jayastamba of the three plates discovered at Dhenkanal. In one of these records Jayastamba is called Mahārajaśāhīraja and saumādhyagata-paścha-mahāśābha which together appear to be a combination of feudalatory and imperial titles. In the same record, Jayastamba is also called “lord of the whole Gōndrama” and is represented as the son of Raṇagāmbha (i.e., Raṇagāmbha-Kulastaṁbha) and the grandson of Kulastaṁbha (apparently a mistake for Kālaheastaṁbha alius Vīkramaditya). In the second of the Dhenkanal plates, Jayastamba is called a Mahāraja and is represented as the son of Nidaya-stamba which seems to be another name of Raṇagāmbha-Kulastaṁbha. The third plate of Jayastamba calls the king both saumādhyagata-paścha-mahāśābha and paramābhayaśābha. It represents king Jayastamba as the son of Alānagāmbha, the grandson of Raṇagāmbha (undoubtedly a mistake for Kālaheastaṁbha alius Vīkramaditya, and the great-grandson of Kaḷeheastaṁbha. Thus Jayastamba’s father seems to have enjoyed no less than four names, viz., Raṇagāmbha, Kulastaṁbha, Nidaya-stamba and Alānagāmbha. According to the charter under discussion, Jayastamba was succeeded by his son Kulastaṁbha who ruled at least up to his fourth regnal year. Nothing is known about the Śūkṣis after this ruler. Probably they were extinguished or completely subjugated by the Bhausa-Karas not long after the rule of the issuer of our plate. That the semi-independent rule of the Śūkṣis from Raṇagāmbha-Kula-stamba to his grandson Kulastaṁbha, who issued the present charter, did not last for more than about a century is indicated by the fact that the same person seems to be the writer of the Dhenkanal plate of Raṇagāmbha dated year 103 and of the charter of Kulastaṁbha under discussion. The Bhāgāra Kalyāṇaṇa who wrote the said grant of Raṇagāmbha is very probably the same as the Bhāgāra Kalyāṇa mentioned in line 31 of our record as its writer.

The Śūkṣis of Orissa are probably mentioned in the Hārāśā inscription of Maukhari iśānavarman of Bihar and the U. P., dated in Vīkrama Samvat 611 (A. D. 554). If this suggestion is to be accepted, it has to be assumed that the Śūkṣis were ruling in Orissa or its neighbourhood at a much earlier date than that suggested by the inscriptions of the family discussed above. M. M. Chakravarti believed that Śūkṣi is but a variant of the family name Chālukya and that the Śūkṣis of Orissa represented a branch of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty of the Andhra country. But this theory seems to be rightly challenged by others who are inclined to associate the Śūkṣis of Orissa with a people called Śūkṣi that are still inhabiting parts of the Midnapur District in South-

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1 Bhandarkar, op. cit., No. 1698; JBOBS., Vol. II, pp. 401-3. The word jōti (modern jōr in the dialect of N. W. Bengal and jōka of the Gāndhāravānā, p. 15 etc.) means a canal or small stream. Misra identifies Śaṅkhājöti with the Sankha river in the Sundargarh region of Orissa.

2 JASB., Vol. LXIV, 1955, Part I, pp. 123-27. Only one of these two records is recognised in Bhandarkar’s last No. 1695, the other being inadvertently omitted. The suggestion that the first of these two records mentions one Kašākhadeva is wrong as the reading intended is known from other records to be ‘śāhīraja (or śāhīra). Cf. line 10 of the record under discussion. Gōndrama is now roughly taken to mean the same as Oriya Gadañjita (above, Vol. XXVI, p. 77), although the real meaning of the word is uncertain.


West Bengal. It is interesting to note that the Śūkli of Midnapur trace their origin to a place called Kedalaka which may be the same as Kedalāka, capital of the Śūkli kings of Orissa. The records of the Śūkli kings have been mostly found at Dhenkanal and in its neighbourhood and there is little doubt that the dominions of the Śūkli lay in the Dhenkanal–Telcher area of Orissa. That their dominions did not include a wide region is not only suggested by the fact that they were feudatories of the Bhauma–Karas of Jajpur, but also by the existence of several other contemporary ruling families such as the Nandás, Bhaṇjas, Dhavalas and Tuṅgas. The Tuṅgas ruling from Mahāparvata in the Cuttack District (S. I. sheet map No. 73/H/11) were the southern neighbours of the Śūkli. H. P. Sastri and R. D. Banerji, however, suggested that the Śūkli of Orissa extended their power over South–Western Bengal. In our opinion, this theory is absolutely unwarranted. It is based on the wrong assumption that Jārāgrāma in the Jāra khaṇḍa, granted by king Rāpamastamba in favour of a Brahmaṇa named Pāchuka (not Pauchaka as read by H. P. Sastri), was not other than the present village of Jāra in the Hooghly District of West Bengal. Sastri says that "the land granted belonged to the village of Jāra in the district of Jāra in the Rādha maṇḍala." As a matter of fact, however, Rādha–maṇḍala is not mentioned in the record in question in connection with Jāra-khaṇḍa Jārā-grāmā in line 15; it occurs in line 18 in the passage Rādha- maṇḍala Teliangala-bhaṭṭa-grāma-vaśīyāgata. This simply says that the donee’s family originally belonged to the village of Teliangala situated in the Rādha maṇḍala which had thus absolutely nothing to do with the gift village of Jāra. There is no doubt that Jārāgrāma of Rāpamastamba’s inscription was situated in the Dhenkanal region of Orissa. The donee of Rāpamastamba’s grant was apparently a Rādhiya Brahmaṇa settled in Orissa. It is, however, interesting to note that the donee is said to have belonged to the Kāśyapa gotra having the Kāśyapa, Āvāchhāyana (a mistake for Ācārya) and Naidhruva pravara and to have been a student of the Kāśyapa branch of a charana of the Yajurveda (i.e., Śukla–Yajurveda). The present day Rādhiya Brahmaṇas of Bengal almost all claim to belong to the Śamavēda. This seems to point to the incomplete and unreliable nature of late traditions in regard to the reconstruction of the social history of the early period.

As regards Stambhāvēra, the family deity of the Śūkli of Orissa, we have elsewhere suggested that the representation of the goddess was probably made out on a stambha indicating a Śiva-linga. Such a Līṅga with the representation of the Śakti is no doubt found among the sculptural remains of Eastern India. It should, however, be pointed out that, whatever may

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1. B. C. Majumdar, Orissa in the Making, pp. 103–06; H. P. Sastri, JBORS, Vol. IV, p. 169. Śūkli weavers are found in Orissa and Singhbhum. Some of them are said to be Jains. In that case, Śūkli may indicate Śuklā-ambara having little to do with the Śūkli kings. The matter, however, requires investigation.


7. X. N. Vasi (Vaiṣṇava Jāțiya Hīkās, Brahmaṇa-kinda, Part I, 2nd ed., p. 303) succeeded in tracing only a few Rīgvedīya and Yajurvedīya families among the present day Rādhiya Brahmaṇas. The number of such families has been considerable in the early period. Later they mostly merged themselves in the Kauthuma-Śāktīya Śamavēdas.


have been the form of the goddess worshipped by the Śulkis, the deity Stambhēśvari is still adored by the people of the different castes of Orissa in some parts of the country under the Prakrit name Kambēśvari and in the shape of a post or pillar. Now therefore the word stambhēśvari seems to indicate merely the goddess of the pillared without any special association with the Śiva-huṇa. It is interesting to note in this connection that the Kalahandi plates of Mahārāja Tushṭikara, who possibly flourished about the fifth or sixth century A.D., mention that ruler as a worshippers of goddess Stambhēśvari. Whether the Śulkis claimed descent from Tushṭikara and whether the godless worshipped by Tushṭikara was the very same as that later adored by the Śulkis cannot be determined with any amount of certainty. It is also uncertain whether the pillar known as Stambhēśvari and at present standing at the centre of the Sonepur town had anything to do with king Tushṭikara and the rulers of the Śulkī family. The rulers of the Angul State, constituted in 1847, had names ending with the word stambha. There are also certain Stambha families in Orissa even today. Nothing definite, however, is known as to whether these late Stambhas had any relations with the ancient Śulkis whose names ended with the word stambha.

No satisfactory identification of any of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription has been possible. Kōdūkō, capital of the Śulkis, may, however, be the same as modern Kōlū in the Dhenkanal subdivision of the Dhenkanal District (former Dhenkanal State) of Orissa, about 6 or 7 miles from Talcher, on the left bank of the Brāhmaṇī river.

TEXT

[Metres: Verse 1 Āryā; vv. 3, 5 Vasantatilaka; vv. 2, 4 Upaṭṭā; v. 6 Upaṭṭā (Vaiśāśavavila and Indraramāśā); v. 7 Sogdharā; vv. 8-10 Anushtubh; v. 11 Pushpitāgrā]

Oberoee

1 [Siddham 'P Svasti [*] Jayati sur-āṣu-ra-[fā]i(s)dha-dvi(vi)dyādhara-mau-li-gṛiša-ṭa-ṣa-l-āja(ta)]j[9] sā-ma[n]-ma[nyu(y)kha-bhā[s][ta-pi]-

2 [īga-jaṭṭā(ta)-bhāṣa-suḥ Giriṣāḥ {][1*} Stambhēśvari(rī)-la[vdh(a(bdha))-vara-prasād[Ś]iṣ-kū[li(ṣh-huḥ)-bhu-huḥ]-kṣat-āri(h)[1*] Śri-Raṇastambha-śi-

3 [ti pr[ā]tv[ā] tv[ā] sphurat-pratā-pāya-tāp[ś]-āri[h][2*] Bhāṣ Yadvichitra-tra-ruchīr-ōjā[yya]-la-čārā(m)-śoḥhur-ume[ha]-śada[ś[a]va-

4 [purā-pra-ma-ika-mārga[r]-dvāl(a)yair-nīya-yāś-ō-dhavalair-anēkair-yēn-ātma-nāsas- trvdvam-adgma[r]-[a] hā kṛttih [][3*] Tasyātma[jō]


6 [tāḥ [][1*] Yaḥ sarvavādā nīja-guṇ-āśu(y)-kīaṁ-samv(mū)-ḥa-pātair-di[k*]-kāmīni[n]-mukha-maṇīhara-karaṇapa[pi]r[i]ś [][1*] sa[ṅkṣeḥ-āhita-

7 va[lihu(bhā)-[va]l[ā]-arvāiniḥ dō-h-ānla(mha)kāra-bhiduraḥ śuṣbēva śā-siva [][1*] Tātō-ha[va-ra-vah-avam-pā[li*]-na-ka[hmah-para-

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1 R. C. Majumdar, Orissa in the Mahāyāna, pp. 107 ff.
3 Majumdar, Jākṣ, etc.
4 From the origināl plate kindly lent by the Vice-Chancellor of the Utkal University, Cuttack, and from copies prepared by the Orissa Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.
5 Explaned by a symbol.
6 Read Śīvat-Raṇa' for the sake of the metre. The verse is adapted from the records of Raṇastambha t. JHORs, Vol. II, p. 1011 where we have Śīv-Vikrama-bhīṣa tī. In another record (cf. ibid., p. 408) we have Śīvā Śānta Kṛṣṇa-bhūka tī. These passages are metrically incorrect.
7 Read mārvika 'dīrā.
8 kram-ākṣuṣita-sa-ma[ṣṭa]-dik-tataḥ \[9\] satō va(ba)jī-ṣṭārita-vairī-vairīdō dig-vaiṣa
-ṇa-pratimū vva(ba)jīḥ hṛma[ya]ḥ \[6\]
9 anēk-ābhāraṇa-kāsā-hma-dvālaya-vthā-īhāvaka-vaiṣāhī-ḥma[h]ū[ka]-janita-ṣakalā-dīkṣantar-ālō-
10 kā[ṃ] K[iṭṭh]i[k]i-kā śa eva dvija-sURYa-ḥmaṇhā-ḥma-ṣa-as-ehaḥ Śṛṁmā-n-durrvārā-vairī-
pravara-kārī-gaḥ-
11 tā-kumbha-kutākma-vā(h)a-hah[9] tran-tā tāktaṁ samētah Pṛthivaiḥ gadaṁ pārthivatvā
-ṃ vyaśa kṛjācit[ā]ḥ pavātī-ṛṣya(ta)-ṣāya(ṃ)-satyaḥ[9][9]
12 prakata-guna-jivi dhananna-suṣa[j]hur-ma tuvaḥ [7[8] Parama-māhīỨvā mātṛ-pitṛ-
-pādā-pratimū vthā-saktā-sa-ḥmaḥ-sa-ḥmaḥ-avgāḥ[bd](d)
13 mahābhājā Śṛṣ-śrāpamalī-ḥmaṇḍalī Gapāra-pāṅga-[vishayā Śrūga(-)[t]a]-ṣā[ṃ]c[ā] ... mūla[ḥ]
14 udalīhaka[vṛtṛ bhau]ihā-ku-linī rāj[m]a[ṇa]ka-rājapitra-mahā-samantha-kumārātīty-ānta-
15 u-eha-vairikādāvāvāno vishaya-puruṣīḥ adbhārīga-echa sa-karaṇat(ā)ḥ yathāra[ṃ]ḥ[9]
kuśalayā[t vṛćḥo]h(ā)ḥ-

Reverse

-sādhyaḥ sa[ṃ]
18 ... Śaṅgara-Khaṇḍāvya-simē-haḥ yajñā-ṣa[karaṇa]-pradhāna-kusū-samīt-samāt(ā)ḥ [apa-svā-
19 ma-tapā-bhābī[ṃ] tamanāḥ śi[ṣṭha] sa[ṃ]-sa[ṃ]-ma[k]ā-hārā-yuktā[ya] [Kauśikā-gotā-prabhav-
-śvāy-
Viśvāmpavāṃ[9]
21 asya puny-ābhārubhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhābhাখ

\[1\] It seems that the engraver incised the left half of \(\text{sa}\) and later made it over it.
\[2\] We may suggest a stop here as the compound word is followed by a verse.
\[3\] Read \text{tajjaḥ} ṣatā.
\[4\] Better read \text{ā śaśa}.
\[5\] Read \text{āṭoū ksa}.
\[6\] The reading intended was ākṣaḥ ṣh, probably \text{ākṣaḥ} or \text{ākṣaḥ}.
\[7\] The word \text{parikūta}, found in the Old Saṅkha texts, appears to stand for \text{Sanskrit parikīta} or \text{parikītī} meaning the surrounding or general.
\[8\] Better read \text{āvad} in the place of \text{āvad}.
\[9\] As it is, the last word would suggest that the grant was made for the merit of the donor and his parents.
\[10\] The word \text{rī} is redundant here.

DGA
No. 21—MACHUPALLE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF SOMIDEVA-MAHARAJA

(M Photo)

M. VENKATARAMAYYA, OOTACUMUND

Machupalle is a village in the Siddhavatam taluk of the Cuddapah District, Madras. It is situated on the southern bank of the Pennar, about five miles to the west of Siddhavatam. The stone bearing the inscription edited here is set up near a well called Girivici-Rekhih-bhita adjacent to a named temple of Siva in the village. The inscription is engraved on two sides of the slab. At the top of the first side are carved the emblems of the sun, moon, a seated bull and a lampstand. Owing to the damage sustained by the stone, a few lines at the bottom of its first side are lost. As a result of this, the record cannot be read continuously from the end of the first side to the beginning of the second. The writing on the second side is well preserved, the concluding portion of the record being retained intact.

The script of the record is mixed Grantha and Tamil. Grantha letters are employed for Sanskrit words and letters. The language of the inscription is Tamil and it is in prose. A few orthographical errors are found in the record and they occur in places where the Sanskrit words or letters are wanting. Such examples are: first side, line 5, kumandakam for pitarumadakam; line 10, bhupadhala for bhujadhala; line 20, dakshina for dakshinam; line 25, dharmi for dharmi; second side, lines 22 and 21, kud for dhan.

The inscription does not formally refer itself to the reign of any ruling king as is usual with inscriptive records but straightforwardly commences with the mention of a date and proceeds to state some facts of a transaction that took place on that day. The date cited is Saka 1178, Raksha, Karkata, st. Purnima. Tuesday, Tittiriyam, lunar eclipse. The details correspond to A. D. 1255, July 29, Tuesday, a day on which there occurred a lunar eclipse. The inscription states that on the date specified Girivici-Rekhih Bhupadhala-kumandakam Gopaya-Sakhayat who was coming from Valluru in Mutta-nadu.
(i.e., Mulki-valmāṇa) obtained from Somideva-Mahāraja who bore the epithets Mahānāyakadeva, Trilokyaśām, Bhujahala-ciranārayaṇa and Nīśākapudāla, the village of Māṇḍarapalli, situated near the southern gateway of Śrīśālā (i.e., Siddhavatam) and that Gaṅgaṇa Sāhanayār in his turn made over the village as a gift (pratidāna) to Kāḷāḷi Vāsudēva Nāyaka of the Bhārgava gōtra who hailed from Mahānāmaḍalam (i.e., Mahābar). This Nāyaka, again in his turn, granted a part of the village as Brahmāṇḍa to a Bhūndi, Perumāḷ, son of Siddharamasār of the Pātimāsha gōtra. Of the remaining lands in the village, they gifted away one share to the temple of Siddhavatamāṇāṭyā-Nāyānār for the expenses of offerings and worship at the time of the morning service (ṭirappuli-ṭeṭṭakā) of the deity. The rest of the lands was endowed to a Mahāpūjya-māṭha in the village for offering of alms to the āyavāsaṇgaśeśu and for feeding Mahāvīra-Brāhmaṇas living in the nāṭka and engaged in religious penance. The inscription ends with the usual imprecation against the destroyers of the charity and contains a final benediction that the religious faith, Mahāśiva-vañi will grow and spread.

It will be seen that the inscription is of interest in several respects. In the first place it is to be noted that the language and script of the record is Tamil and this is important in view of the fact that the region where it is found and the chiefs mentioned therein are associated with the Telugu country. Attention will be drawn to the significance of this in the sequel. Historically, the record is of interest in the mention made in it of Mahānāyakadeva Somideva-Mahāraja who, to judge from the string of bhūdha attached to his name, seems to be a local chief of some importance ruling over the region around Siddhavatam. As to his identity it may be observed that the bhūdhas held by him are those adopted by a line of chiefs who were further distinguished by the additional epithets of Kalukaṇa-purvaṇīdhikāvar (i.e., the lord of the best of cities, Kalukāṇa) and Siddhavatámēc-vaṇa-śri-pāthāvadaka. Some members of this family are known from inscriptions in and around Siddhavatam itself. One of them was Rāyaḍēva-Mahāraja who bore the epithets, Mahānāyakadeva, Karkkaṇa-purvaṇīdhikāvar, Trilokyaśām, Bhujahala-ciranārayaṇa, Pāṇḍuṇjājakāśi, Asankunābabamba, Nīśākapudāla and Siddhavatāmēc-vaṇa-śri-pāthāvadaka. One of his inscriptions found at Rāyaḍēvōṭi, Cuddapah District, is dated Śaka 1155, Nandana, Āshāṭha 11 (i.e., A. D. 1232, June 30, Wednesday) and states that one Pāṇḍava Bahumanya consecrated the image of Jñādāman-Perumāli at Āṇḍapāli in Kīl-Māṭārapadi and that the chief Rāyaḍēva-Mahāraja granted to the deity the village of Rāyaḍēvanāpanāppūtērī as tīrṣaṇyāgāṭham. The script and language of this record is Tamil like the present Machupalle inscription. The second record of this chief is found at Jēti near Siddhavatam and it is dated Śaka 1169, Pālavaṅga, Jētiṭhā 13, Vaṭṭāvārā (i.e., A. D. 1247, May 18, Saturday). Although the record starts with the prāṇasti of Rāyaḍēva-Mahāraja whose bhūdha, as found in the Rāyaḍēvōṭi inscription, are also detailed here, the date quoted is referred to the reign of Rakkasa-Gaṅgarasa. The inscription says that one Chenti Rāmaṇāyaṇa, the servant (nīva-bhari) of Rāyaḍēva-Mahāraja made a number of benefactions on the date specified during the reign of his overlord Rakkasa-Gaṅgarasa. The wording of the record leaves it doubtful as to whether Rakkasa-Gaṅgarasa is to be taken as identical with Rāyaḍēva-Mahāraja which seems very likely since the donor Rāmaṇāyaṇa describes them both as his overlords. If, however, he is considered a different person nothing is known regarding the family to which he belonged. Attention may be had here to the mention of Rakkasa-Gaṅga in a contemporary Telugu literary work, the Nīrachanuṭṭam-Rāmaṇyāvam of Tikkana Sōmaiṭi from which we learn that Rakkasa-Gaṅga was defeated in


A fragmentary record mentioning a certain Rakkasa-Gaṅga ‘a-tailing the earth’ is found at Śivāḍi, Punganur taluk, Chitroor Dist. (No. 236 of 1912-13 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.). For want of sufficient data it is not possible to connect him with Rakkasa Gaṅga of Siddhavatam.
battle by the Telugu-Choda chief of Nelluru, Manumasidhibhi II who is stated to have sent his Kārīgāra general Gangaya-Sana to collect tribute from him. More about this incident will be said in the sequel. At Taraditya in the Amantaipur District is a long inscription of another chief of the family, i.e., Udāyaditya who lived many years earlier than Rāyadeva-Mahārāja. This record which is dated Saka 1129, Kālayukta, Māgha 15, Thursday, solar eclipse (i.e., A.D. 1199 January 28, Thursday, solar eclipse), gives the genealogy of Udāyaditya as follows: in the lunar month there was Atirāja whose son was Āhavamalla, whose son was Gaṅga and Gaṅga’s son was Sōndēva who was the father of Udāyaditya, the donor of the inscription. Udāyaditya is given a string of bīradas, commencing with the word, Akṣara-sunāvahāya-paladha-vaipuladha-vipuladha, etc., and including among other epithets those like Nibhadvāda-rājya-viśvapāda-padma-rājya, Kālayukta-vaipuladha, Bhavani-rājya, Kṣatrapa-rājya and Pali-paladha, etc. He is further stated to be ruling from his rāja-bhārā Tāripalapura, i.e., Taraditya. Āhavamalla mentioned as the great-grand-father of Udāyaditya in the Taraditya inscription seems identical with his name sake, two of whose records are found in the Rajamart tahal of the Cuddapah District. One of them from Nandipur, which is in Tamil, records a benefaction by him and refers to one Bhāskara-Bhātropālīvyā. The other inscription from Tirupatūr, which is in Kannada, is dated Saka 1073, Pratīṣṭhā, Māgha 15, Thursday (i.e., A.D. 1152, January 21, Thursday) and refers itself to the reign of the Western Chālukya king Taila, i.e., Tālapa III. It records the consecration of the temple of Māhāvīra-Papavināvadēva by Āhavamalla in honour of his guru Pārīsanda Tapodhama Jayar. A still earlier member of the family was Malla-Mahārāja who is described as ruling Aryapura 300 as a subordinate of Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramaditya VI) in an inscription at Alampur. Raichur District, dated Chālukya-Vikrama year 26, Kālayukti. The chief, like Udāyaditya of the Taraditya record, has a prasasti commencing with the words, Akāśa-sunāvahāya-paladha, etc., and bears almost all his bīradas. If he is identified with Āhavamalla of the Tālapa record, which is not unlikely, he must be supposed to have had a long rule of over fifty years from Chālukya-Vikrama year 26, i.e., A.D. 1091-2 to 1152 A.D. Two more chiefs of this stock are brought to light by an inscription at Chintalappurūr, near Puspagiri. Cuddapah District. They are Murārī-Kēśavēda-Mahārāja and Sōndēva-Mahārāja. Their prasastis include all the epithets held by Sōndēva-Mahārāja of the present Māchupalle inscription and in addition that of lord of Kalukapura. The record states that these two chiefs made a joint donation of Vedotsaviya to god Indrēvara of Puspagiri on the occasion of their visit to the holy place in Vībha, Ashāka śrī 10, Monday. The corresponding Saka date is not specified in the record. Since the year Vībha corresponded to A.D. 1268 it is not unlikely that the record was set up in that year, although the other details noted in the record do not tally with any date in the month of Ashadhā of this year. If the date cited is A.D. 1268, this inscription being only 13 years later than the Māchupalle record of A.D. 1255, it is not improbable that Sōndēva-Mahārāja of the Māchupalle inscription and its name sake of the Puspagiri record are identical. It would follow from this identification that Sōndēva-Mahārāja of our record was also a seoin of the family of chiefs who were distinguished by the appellation, ‘Lords of Kallakapura’. The omission of this particular title in the Māchupalle inscription does indeed weaken.

1 S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 705.
4 Kēśavēda Inscriptions, pp. 1267, Ins. No. 20. The cycle year quoted does not tally with the Ch. Vik. year 20, the latter would correspond to A.D. 1091-2. The Kālayukti year would correspond to A.D. 1078 and 1135 both of which do not seem to be the intended year.
6 The details, however, correspond to A.D. 1148, June 28 but this date would be too early for Kēśavēda and Sōndēva since these two princes were contemporaries of Ambadeva of A.D. 1272-1302.
the argument in favour of his identification as a scion of that family which seems, however, otherwise well established considering not only the occurrence of the other bhūdhas which are common to most records of these chieftains but also the provenance of the present record of Śomideva near Siddhavatjam, the god of which place was the family deity of some of the members of the family. Further, the language and script of the Machupalle inscription is Tamil, a feature characteristic of other inscriptions of the family, e.g., the Kaličhāti inscription of Rāvalīya-Mahāraja and the Nandālihī record of Mahāvanalla. Thus the locality of his rule, his name and some of the titles he bore are common to other members of the family of the Kālākṣāpaṛta chieftains and finally his proximity in point of date to Śomideva Mahāraja of that family figuring in the Puṣkapūra inscription, would all render it tenable that our Śomideva Mahāraja of the Machupalle inscription was a scion of the Kālākṣāpaṛta rulers and identical with Śomideva of the Puṣkapūra record.

From the foregoing analysis of the epigraphs of the lords of Kālākṣāpaṛta, it would appear that the earliest member of the stock so far known was Attirāja of the lunar race. He might have flourished about A. D. 1100 since he was the fourth ascendant from Udayāditya of A.D. 1199 figuring in the Tāḍapattā inscription cited above. The history of the family before Attirāja is not definitely ascertainable but some clues in this regard are however available from their puṇāsati and titles. For instance, the puṇāsati commencing with the words, Avvārayam, etc., which the chiefs of Kālākṣāpaṛta adopted was also the characteristic preamble of the Vaidumbas family, who ruled over parts of Gudapadh and the adjacent territory from the 9th to the 11th century A. D. Then again the title Bhumakāṭiṃśtra held by the chiefs of Kālākṣāpaṛta was a well-known Vaidumbas name and title. Further, it is not unlikely that the eponym Avvārayam of the Kālākṣāpaṛta chieftains is a corruption of Vaidumbāḥyam which was assumed by the Vaidumbas chief Bhūma-Mahāraja of the Puṣkapūra record dated Śaka 978 (i.e., A. D. 1058). This chief further claims a lunar origin like Attirāja, the earliest known ancestor of the Kālākṣāpaṛta chieftains, as noticed above. Another significant datum which may be taken to establish that the lords of Kālākṣāpaṛta were either lineally descended from the Vaidumbas rulers of Rāṇaḍī or were their political successors who appropriated their titles, dominions, etc., is traceable in the very title of Lord of Kālākṣāpaṛta itself. For, Kālākṣāpaṛta is identical with the modern Kalka in the Vayalapād taluk of the Chittoor District and at this very place were found two inscriptions of the Vaidumbas referable to the 9-10th century A. D., indicating that the region of Kalka was their principality. One of them belongs to Gaṇḍhratnṛṣa Vaidumb-Mahāraja and the other was issued by Bhuvanatrinṛṣa Irungayya-Mahāraja on the occasion of his coronation. The latest date for the Vaidumbas chieftains so far known is Śaka 978 (i.e., A. D. 1056) which is furnished by the Puṣkapūra record of Kaličhātiṃśtra Bhūma-Mahāraja, son of Mahāraja-Mahāraja cited above. It has to be noted, however, that between this date (A. D. 1056) of the last known member of the earlier Vaidumbas family and that of Attirāja (c. 1100) the earliest known progenitor of the later stock there is a gap of about 50 years during which the history of these rulers is unknown. Nevertheless, it is certain that the Vaidumbas must have continued to flourish in parts of Rāṇaḍī side by side with the Telugu Chōḍas with whom it is well-known that they often came into conflict. It would appear that like the Telugu Chōḍas they came under the suzerainty of the Western Gaṇḍakjas of Kalyāṇa. This event might have taken place in the time of Gaṇḍakja king Traṭākṣyamalla Mahāvanalla Şomīśvara I since we find some of the titles like Traṭākṣyamalla and Mahāvanalla being adopted by the Kālākṣāpaṛta chieftains thus indicating their subordination to that Gaṇḍakja emperor.

Now, to return to the Māchupalle inscription. Another point of interest attaching to it is that Gaṅgavā-Sāhāṇi, the Kāśyapa chief ruling from Vaiṭāraṇa, figures in it as an associate of Sāṇidatta-Mahārāja in the gift made, evidently in the capacity of a friend or a joint subordinate under a common nāgarāja. It was perhaps in the latter capacity that he figures in this inscription. For, Gaṅgavā-Sāhāṇi was a vēlayi of the Kāśyapa chief, and he is mentioned as such in several inscriptions of Kāśyapa. Gaṇapatī, issued in the same year in which the inscription from Māchupalle was issued — A.D. 1272. He was, besides, employed as a general of the Telugū Chōḍa chief Manumāsiddha II of Vaiṭāraṇa (A.D. 1239-1268) who was the friend and ally of Gaṇapatī. Literary evidence testifies to the fact that Gaṅgavā-Sāhāṇi was employed by the Telugū Chōḍa ruler to collect tribute from Rakkasa Gaṅga who is stated to have been defeated by Manumāsīddha, but whose territories were given back to him in exemplification of the Chōḍa ruler’s character as an a Śāradvāda."

It has been surmised above that Rakkasa-Gaṅga was the same chief that was also known as Kāśyapa-Mahārāja, the Kāluṣa-pura prince who was ruling over the region of Siddhāvatānum and its adjacent territory. Gaṅgavā-Sāhāṇi, having been thus deputed, seems to have gone to Siddhāvatānum and on the occasion of his visit to the holy place might have made the grant registered in the Māchupalle record under study. Since the verse in the Vīnaśchāmanda-Rāsāyaṇana cited above, explicitly states that the dominions conquered from Rakkasa-Gaṅga were duly restored to him, Gaṅgavā-Sāhāṇi being sent only to collect tribute, it is self-explanatory that in the Māchupalle record Sāṇidatta, the successor of Rakkasa-Gaṅga, should be described as the original donor from whom Gaṅgavā-Sāhāṇi obtained the gift village, for it was Sāṇidatta-Mahārāja that was the actual ruler of the area in which the gift-place was situated. In this connection it is significant that except a few early inscriptions of the family, all the other records of the Kāluṣa-pura chiefs which quote their possessors are found issued without reference to any overlord. Even the Pushpagiri record of Sāṇidatta-Mahārāja of A.D. 1268 is found issued with the full preamble of the family and without any reference to an overlord. The Pushpagiri record further makes it apparent that the two chiefs figuring therein, Murūri-Kāśyapa-Mahārāja and Sāṇidatta-Mahārāja were left to enjoy their possessions in freedom till A.D. 1268 at least. Not long after this date, these princes seem to have offended the Kāśyapa chiefs of Vaiṭāraṇa for it is learnt from the records of Ambeḍavā, the Kāśyapa chief who assumed rulership sometime about A.D. 1272 and flourished till A.D. 1302, that he defeated Kāśyapa and Sāṇidatta along with Malla-Gaṅga. There can be no doubt that the first two princes were the chiefs of Kāluṣa-pura whose Pushpagiri inscription has been cited above. This defeat must have taken place sometime before A.D. 1290 as the earliest of Ambeḍavā’s inscriptions mentioning this exploit is dated this year. We bear no more about the lords of Kāluṣa-pura subsequent to this date.

It is not known what brought Vāsudeva Nāyaka of Mālaumāndhānum to Siddhāvatum where he figures as the donor in the present record. His visit may have been just an act of pilgrimage to the holy place Siddhāvatānum on the occasion of which he made the pious gift recorded in the inscription. That the object of the gift made by him was in the first instance obtained from Sāṇidatta-Mahārāja; and in the second from Gaṅgavā Sāhāṇi, must be understood to bear some particular significance, the exact nature of which it is not possible to say. It is not unlikely that he was either some subordinate commander under Gaṅgavā Sāhāṇi, the generalissimo of the Telugū Chōḍa, and the Kāśyapa, or was just a learned man interested in Śaivism and its spread. This Nāyaka is otherwise unknown to us except from this inscription.

2 Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 191.
3 Vīnaśchāmanda-Rāsāyaṇana, canto 1, v. 41.
Kāladi in Malaimanndālam with which the name of Vāsudeva Nāyaka is associated may be identified with Kāladi now in the Travancore-Cochin Union, which was the birth-place of Saṅkarachārya, the advaśī philosopher. We cannot be sure if Vāsudeva Nāyaka’s association with this place in Malabar was either his ancestral seat or actual place of residence accounts for the present benefaction made by him to the ekādasi-saṅgāsina and some Brahmans who also hailed from Malabar and who were practising religious austerities in the Mālajī-vañ-maha attached to the temple of Śiddhāvatamājāiya-Śīnayān. It is no wonder that there should have existed a religious institution for the practice of Pāśupata tenets at Śiddhāvatam, for, the place, as stated in the record itself, was sanctified as the southern gateway of Śriśailam, the great centre of Pāśupata Saivism. Further the ruler Sāmīdeva-Mahārāja belonged to a family who were devotees of god Śiddhāvatamānātha. The benefaction at the end of the present record to the effect that Māhāśērāmū should develop and spread has a special bearing in this context since Māhāśērāmū signifies some exclusive group of the Saiva faith and practice allied to or identified with the Pāśupata doctrines. Gagonja Śāhēn’s strong Saivite persuasion is not only evidenced by this record but also by several more of his at Tripūrāntaka, the eastern gateway of Śriśailam. One of them dated on the very same date as the Māchupalē inscription has a benedictory verse at the end commencing with the words, Śīvān-vat-sara-paṭaṭhiṁ (parshva-vat-rata bhāvartha bhūma-paṭaṭhi, etc.

The ekādasi-saṅgāsina referred to in the record under study and for whose maintenance Vāsudeva Nāyaka made provision, were evidently a class of mendicant monks residing in the Mālajī-vañ-maha at the village. They were following the Saiva tenets as indicated by the benediction at the end of the record, the significance of which has been pointed out above. Reference to ekādasi-saṅgāsina and to similar order of monkhood like the triśūlaya and ekākīs are found in inscriptions all over South India. It is noticed that these classes lived in the precincts of both Śiva and Vīṣṇu temples.

2. Tripūrāntaka (Markapur taluk, Guntur District), Māhāśērāmū (Nizam’s Dominion) and Alimpuram were similarly sanctified as the eastern, the northern and the western gateway of Śriśailam.
3. It may be recalled that another Kalukalapura chief, Áravamalla, consecrated the temple of Māhāśērāmū-Pāpavindādeva in honour of his Pāśupata guru, Tarādhana Iyār at Tangatārum noticed above.
6. In the temple of Bhaktrnātha-Perumāl at Shermādevī, Tirumeldi District, there flourished an institution called the Vēlay-vañ-maha in which lived the holy order of ekādasi-bhūmīs who recited and expounded the Śītān (No. 54 of 1911 of the Mad. Ep. Colls). An inscription in the Vēlānālāna-Perumāla temple at Mārppānālu a village Pozcha-Vīva-Nāmadeva-Turudda(an) in the same district records a donation made by the assembly of the village to the deity Nāmadeva-Parashurāma-vañ (dated 1916 of the Mad. Ep. Colls). The same order of ekādasi-saṅgāsina and some ekākī-Śivaśāstra were maintained in the Tāvānālī-vañ-maha at the famous Vίśnup temple at Alagar koil near Madura (No. 277 of 1930 of the Mad. Ep. Colls). In the precincts of the Kōllakāvīra temple at Belagavi, Mysore State, there flourished the Kōllakāvīrā which afforded shelter to various large and small cults, like Śiva, Śakti, veṇam, pātandu, etc. and other mendicant classes from different countries (Ep. Cann., Vol. VII, Shikārīp, p. 123). Madlavara, a village of Chaluka, Namīvāra is stated to have erected a nāmaśāstra-haṭhaṇa (home of religious practice) at Nāmadeva (Nagar, Nizam’s Dominions for the ekādasi, triśūlaya, saṅgāsina, haṭhaṇa, pātandu-vañ, and other similar aspiantes (I. A. R., p. 1911, p. 57; I. A. R., Vol. II., No. 4, pp. 24, 30, 35).

In the Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1912, page 38, it has been suggested that "ekādasi-saṅgāsina" is distinguished from "tekandu"; that tekandu were evidently followers of a school of Vaiṣṇavō saṅgāsina who earned in their hands a single-bamboo rod as an emblem of the order to which they belonged. The tekandu, on the other hand, carried three such rods, tied together into one and belonged to the Adhāra school of Śiva. The difference, however, seems to be based on the conception and practice of vañ-vañ and on the level of asceticism assumed by each order along the path of renunciation of the self and the realization of Bhūma. Some Saṅkarācarya texts which mention these orders seem to emphasize only this aspect. For example, we have in the Viṣṇuṣṭhāpaṇa: the verse 1:

Vaiṣṇavō hirihā nāmadevi-tekandu-vañ dāika dhārā hirihānā
Yasuṣṭā nīśāṁ buddhamāri trālaṁ sa nīśāṁ.

Trālaṁ-vañ evāmukhiya saṁya-vañ te dhāraṁ tattvāntarā hirihānā.

Kāma-kālāhī saṅgāsina-taḥ sādhanaṁ nīśānā hirihānā (Canto XII, vv. 480 and 481).

The Nāroda-śāstraśāstra-saṁśāstra (Parshvaśāstra, s. 21, “śāstraśāstra-parshvaśāstra”), (N. A. 1932, p. 263) says that a man who joins his staff is said to be tekandu-vañ, tekandu-vañ, tekandu-vañ, etc. Tekandu-vañ, however, is not ekādasi-saṅgāsina. Monier Williams defines tekandu-vañ as the name of a class of monks and of a Viśnup school. He refers to a work called Tekandu-saṅgāsina-vañ where he is unable to trace. It seems, however, that tekandu-vañ are divided into five orders, i.e., tekandu-vañ, tekandu-vañ, tekandu-vañ, etc. Tekandu-vañ, therefore, are the one following being of higher status than the preceding one. Both the Nāroda-śāstraśāstra-saṁśāstra (p. 223) and the Saṅkarācarya (H. S. 4, p. 413) while speaking of saṅgāsino say that there are of six orders, i.e., kālāhī, dākṣāyī, kālāhī, dākṣāyī, kālāhī, dākṣāyī, etc., etc. These orders are thus detailed.
I am not in a position to affirm whether a traddi or an ēkhaṇḍi was of a superior order of nature. That actually a bamboo rod was carried, whether of one stick or of three tied together, is more than clear from the statements in the Sāṅgīṣa-nimishāda to the effect that a bamboo rod (vāraṇāsī dandaṇa) true from notches and inlets, straight and strong and obtained from a holy place should be carried and that none should go even a small distance without a dandaṇa.

Māsāruppalli, the gut-village, is represented by the present village of Māchupalle, Siddhavatamīlā, Cuddapah District, situated five miles west of Siddhavatam, the findspot of the inscription here published. From the etymology of the name we learn that it has much philosophical meaning as it is composed of the words māṣaṇa or māṣaṇi (māṣa) is removed (mā). True to its import the place had a religious establishment for the practice of austerity by which sins could be washed away. It is not certain whether by the suffix -palli we have to understand that the place was or had formerly been a Jain or Buddhist centre for the term palli is usually associated with Jain or Buddhist settlements.

Matta-vanālānu, in which Vallīrīn is stated to have been situated, is apparently the engraver’s mistake for Matta-vālaṇālānu corresponding roughly to a portion of the Cuddapah District. Vallīrīn which retains its name to the present day is situated in Kamalapuram taluk of this District.

TEXT

First Side

1. Svāsti śrī [c] Śakatāya śānyu
2. 1178 śradā[a]a Rākshada[s]a sa-
3. vārānālapattu Karṇaṣa[a]a-nāya-
4. tva nāya[a]pattu Sākṣā-
5. [v]ikākt vamsan[nayu] Bha[a][a]na[mā]nāv-
6. Śray[ya]na pāya Tamú[a]k-
7. nattu[n]a [i] [v]asti samah[a]ta-pra-
8. Svastimān[ā]māya ma-
9. [v]ām[s]āva[nā]nattu Trā-
10. [v]āmanulla Belmu[a]la[k]
11. [v]ān[a]nuttu[n]a māsa-
12. nāya[a]pattu [s]ām[a]kāya-Ma-
15. [v]ān[a]a[k]a[v]a[k]a[k]a[k]a[k]a[k]
17. [v]ān[a]a[k]a[v]a[k]a[k]a[k]a[k]a[k]

8. priti(thi)virājyaṃ panyūṣ[gi]ra i-
9. pānōjī grahaṇa-kāṭattīl
21. māpatu Mā[da][d]pall[i]ya
22. Mālam[p]ad[attu] Bhāggav-
23. gōratukkākα VĀn-
24. dēva Nāyakarka priti-dā-
25. pum[ā]ga [t]ā(dhārā)-pūrvam pānū-
26. kku[d]kkā[a]vāl innāya-
27. kkaru[m] [i] [v]u[ri]l brahma-
28. pānu[ga] Pātimāl[a]gō-
29. marru Śittamanaśār [p]-
30. [h]u[di] Perumā[k]a kūdī-
31. āpyavakā[t]a[p] pānu[kku-
32. [h]u[du] [n]a[m] [a]m[a] [v]u[du] [h] [i] ... 
33. ti [i] [i] [i] [i] yana agav-
34. 55 dhanyapū
No. 22—DIVE AGAR MARATHI COPPER CHARTER; SAKA 982.

(1 Plate)

Moreshwar G. Dikshit, Poona

This single sheet of a copper plate was obtained by me in the village Dive Agar, in the Janjira area of the Bombay State, through the courtesy of Shri S. N. Joshi-Patwardhan, a resident of the village, in May 1919. It is reported to have been found by a farmer while digging for earth in his wadi. The plate measures about 6½ inches broad and 3½ inches high, and has a small hole in the middle of the margin on its proper left, through which a copper ring is passed. The ring is quite plain and does not bear traces of a seal. It is possible that a blank sheet of copper, now missing, was strung on this ring which held them both together, though the inscription on the extant plate is complete in itself.

The inscription consists of 9 lines of writing in characters of the Nagari alphabet, current in the 11th century. Influence of the southern alphabet may be traced in the forms of a few letters, e.g., n in l. 3. We may also note the southern forms of the numerals 9 and 7 in lines 1 and 6.

The language of the inscription is early Marathi. As regards orthography there are several points which attract our attention. Though sa and sa are generally very well distinguished throughout the record, the occasional use of sa for sa is to be noted as in मंत्रे in line 1 and मानते in line 3. The prishtha-mitr is used to denote medial ai in several places; but not so in medial i, except in line 9 where it is used thrice. The abbreviations are indicated by a small circle and a
visarga in line 6 where मुि stands for मुिगणगका; and it is interesting to see that the word preceding the visarga is lengthened as गा. In line 6 मुि: appears to be the abbreviated form of मुिगण. The doubling of consonants is seen in the words सबवेरी (line 1), मांगमिर (line 2), and मुिगण: (lines 5 and 9).

From the linguistic point of view the following peculiarities may be noticed. There is a distinct tendency towards nasatisation in certain words as in घ्यारिषा in line 2, गासने in line 3, दाबवर्न in line 5 and दाबवर्न in line 6. The anusvara is used to denote the plural in the case of मासने in line 3; but in the words प्रमुि रथने it indicates the subject in the instrumental case. The use of redundant visarga is noted twice, पासे: in line 5 and दाबवर्न in line 6. Certain nouns have endings as in वंधु in line 1, योग्योमृ in line 7 and देवतु in line 9. These and other peculiarities characterise this early record in the Marathi language.

The date of the inscription is given as Śaka Saṅvat 982, Śārvari, Paurṇamāsi of Mārgavīrsha, Friday. This date regularly corresponds to Friday, 10th November, A.D. 1060.

A short one-line inscription, carved at the base of the colossal statue of Gomatesvara at Śravanā Belagola, in the Mysore State, is supposed to be the earliest record in the Marathi language discovered so far. Though not precisely dated, this inscription is attributed to about A.D. 983 from the mention of Chāvundarāya, a minister of the Gaṅga king Rāchamalla, found in this inscription. Comparatively very few records in Marathi have been handed down to us till about the Śilahāra-Yadava period, whose language is a mixture of Sanskrit and early Marathi. After about A.D. 1200 inscriptions in Marathi become a regular feature in Mahrārashtra, but great difficulty is experienced in deciphering them because of the bad preservation of the stone on which they are generally found incised. Only a few amongst these have been critically edited, though their readings are not free from doubt. For want of accurate data the development of the Marathi language through its successive stages therefore still remains a desideratum and our knowledge of early Marathi records before the 12th century does not extend beyond about six or seven inscriptions published so far. In view of this the present charter in Marathi which is fairly lengthy and sufficiently well preserved will be found to be much useful.

The inscription records a private deed. It states that on the aforementioned day, two śāmas (charters) regarding (the village) Sthitipuri were kept with one Māvala-bhaṭṭa by the village assembly (sthitam) headed by Vāsudēva-bhaṭṭa, Vāyē śaḍaṅgavi, Risīyappā Ghaiāsā and Sāhub Śaḍaṅgavi. Further, one hundred and twenty seven suvarṇas (one gold coin) were kept with Dāvēlda; (which was the expense) for the maintenance (gya-kaśēmū) of the assembly. This deed was known to Risīyai-pai, Paṇuva-dēva Śaḍaṅgavi, Tikai Śaḍaṅgavi, Jīvajñai, Nāgarudra-bhaṭṭa, Madhuvai Śaḍaṅgavi and Madhuvai Dēvalai, of Divē. The inscription ends with a sentence stating that whatever suvarṇa (i.e., the amount in gold) was specified, it was along with a kāṇṭha. The exact meaning of the last word cannot be construed satisfactorily.

Though the inscription does not furnish any information of historical interest, it throws valuable light on the administration of the local village assemblies; and how certain important transactions were recorded in the period. It will be seen from it that two important charts

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3. The Marathi text of these inscriptions consists of a few words or sentences in that language; the major portion is in early Sanskrit.
4. [See below, p. 129, n. 5.—Ed.]
belonging to a village were kept with a private person with the consent of the assembly and that the sum for the maintenance of the assembly was handed over to another person apparently in trust, the names of several witnesses to this deed also being cited.1 The Brāhmaṇas mentioned in the inscription seem to be very learned persons as several of them have the appellation Śrīkāyata, a corrupt form of Sanskrit Śrīkāyata, meaning well versed in the six Aṅgas of the Veda. The Marāṭhi forms of these names are also interesting. Thus the name Divōlīrī would correspond to Sanskrit Dāmōlerī; Rīghyappa to Rūghiappa; Siddhā to Siddhā; Pavītropadēvā with Pavītropadēvā. The record mentions two surnames, Ghaisāsa and Dēvalu, which again are interesting. Early use of the word Ghaisāsa in the form Gaiyasāsā is met with in the Rādhanpur Plate2 of Rāshtrakūta Gōvinda, dated Śaka 730, where the gōtra of the Brāhmaṇas is stated to be Bhāravāja. In the Saṅjan copper plates3 of Rāshtrakūta Amōghavārsha, Śaka 733, the variant Gaiyasāsā (or-sāsā) is found and the Brāhmaṇas belong to the Vajālampiśa and Vāsīa gōtra. The word occurs in several inscriptions subsequent to this period, e.g., in the Chikka-Bigewāḍī Plate4 of Yādava Kṛishṇa, dated Śaka 1171, there are several Brāhmaṇas with the appellation Ghaisāsa whose gōtra are variously described as Atrīya, Kāśyapa, Kauṇḍinya, Kauśika, Gōtama, Jāmadagnya-Vatsa, Bhāravāja, Mūka, Rāthitira, Vaśishṭha, Viśāṃitra, Śākyā, Saunaka and Śrīvatsa. From these various gōtra there is reason to believe that the term Ghaisāsa denotes only a position or rank and is not restricted to any particular section of Brāhmaṇas. In the present day however the surname is found among the Dēsāsātha, Chitpāvana and Karhāḍa Brāhmaṇas of Mahārāstrā. Regarding the appellation Dēvalu, it corresponds to the modern surname Dēvalu, found among the Chitpāvana Brāhmaṇas. It is perhaps a corrupt form of the Sanskrit word Dēvalaka meaning the worshipper in a shrine or a temple.

The word sthāna in the sense of a village assembly is met with in several inscriptions5 and does not need any comment.

There are only two geographical places mentioned in the record, viz., Shritipuri (line 2) and Divē (line 7). Of these the first cannot be identified precisely for want of specific details, but it may probably refer to a small village called Shrita, about three miles to the north of Divē Āgar, where the plates were found. Divē is obviously modern Divē Āgar, whose name has been Sanskritised into Dipaka-grāma in a 13th century record6 found in the same village.

I am thankful to Shri P. B. Desai, M.A., of the Government Epigraphist’s Office, Otacamund, for his kind help rendered in recasting this article and making it suitable for publication in this journal.

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1 [See below, n. 5.—Ed.]
2 Above, Vol. VI, p. 245.
3 Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 256.
4 Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, pp. 305-06. The Bendigeri plates of the same ruler, Śaka 1171, also contain the names of several Brāhmaṇas with the appellation Ghaisāsa; Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, pp. 70-72. Ghaisa, Ghaiasa and Ghaiasa are other variations of the expression occurring in these inscriptions.
5 [Mr. P. B. Desai, M.A., of my office observes as follows: The term sthāna is never met with in the inscriptions in the sense of a village assembly. Sthāna, in general, connotes a post or an office and its earliest use may be traced in the Arthasastra of Kautilya. In such designations as the Sthānaka, Sthānapati, Sthānakuṭa, etc., commonly occurring in inscriptions, sthāna means, ‘holy place, religious establishment’, etc. Secondarily sthāna also seems to have acquired the sense of ‘trusteeship’. In the present inscription (lines 4 and 7) it appears to have been used to denote ‘trustees’. For a detailed discussion on the topic see, B. A. Salter, ‘The Sthānakas and their Historical Importance’; Journal of Bomb. University, Vol. VII, Part I, pp. 1-65.—Ed.].
6 Dikshiti: Selected Inscriptions from Mahārāstrā (Poona 1947); pp. 86-88 (in Marāthī).
TEXT, 1

1 ओऽ स्वस्ति शक संवत्तु ६९२ सन्त्यारी संवत्सरे मा-  
2 गौमिर गोविराया युके ॥ श्रीशिवनाथपछि दो-  
3 नि सामन 1 वामुदेवभट्ट वांके ३ पड़वावि रिसियः ॥  
4 शेषास मोपू ७ पदपावि एन्दसमुज्ज्व स्थाने मावलब-  
5 डूंगामे ५ ठिकावि ॥ तथा मानवासेवं शन सुवर्णे ४ दृ-  
6 बोद्र: पामि ३ ठिकावि । मु ० गा: १० १२३ सुवर्ण: योगणे-  
7 मु स्थानहि । । दोनेवे रिसियः १२ पावेदेव । पड़ुगः ॥ वि-  

8 पड़वावि जीवन नामदेवभट्ट मधुवे पड़वावि मधु-  
9 य देवता हे जाणनि । जे सुवर्ण लिहले ते काठेवः ॥  

समेतः ॥

1 From the original plate.
2 Expres by a symbol.
3 Read शामूरी.
4 Read शामने.
5 If भट्टवीये is read together, it would stand for Sanskrit भट्टपाद in which case वामुदेव भट्टवाय would be the name of one person, and not two, as indicated in the introduction.
6 A short vertical stroke is visible below प which may stand for प्र.
7 The u ending is common for proper names in Mahārāṣṭra even now, e.g., राम is often changed to गां.  
8 The pranga is unnecessary.
9 Read दासिबदराय.
10 Abbreviation of सुवर्णमात्याणकः. It would have been difficult to recognise this if the same numerical figure were not expressed in words in the previous line.
11 For स्थानाचा.
12 Thu- may be ऋपियण or क्रि पः. Pai is a well known surname among the Sarasvata Brahmānas.
13 For other instances of the use of this appellation, see Bhandup plates of Sūlākāra Chhattarāja, above, Vol. XII, p. 263. Berlin Museum plates of Chhattarāja, Z. D., M., G., 90, p. 265 and other Sūlākāra inscriptions.
14 Sanskrit पावेदेव गंधेशु पावेदेव-पावेदेव-पावेदेव—पावेदेव.
15 I am unable to explain the word काठेव. Its connection with सुवर्ण is certain. Taking the mitra of काठेव as the pri-khā-mitra for the following akhāra ए and restoring the word as काठेव, it is possible to suggest that the gold coins were perhaps strung in a necklace or कंठा. But it is clear from the context that the coins were intended for use and not for ornamental purpose. Another suggestion would be that काठ was a kind of vesel in which the coins were kept. I am however not certain about either of these interpretations.
No. 23—PESHAWAR POTsherds WITH KHAroSHTHI WRITINGS

(I Plate)

B. CH. CHHABRA, OOTACAMUND

In September 1945, Mr. Md. Waliullah Khan, at that time one of the Sub-Overseers attached to the then office of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Frontier Circle, Lahore, under the direction of this latter officer, sent me twenty-four potsherds from Peshawar. They bear the Register Numbers 1249/1 to 1249/17, 1249/19 to 1249/21, and 1249/26. Their exact findspot is not known, but most probably they were found in the vicinity of Peshawar itself.

These potsherds are of various dimensions. No. I is the smallest of the lot, its extreme length being 1\(\frac{1}{8}\)", extreme breadth 1\(\frac{1}{4}\)", and thickness \(\frac{1}{4}\)". No. XXIII is the biggest, its extreme length being 7\(\frac{1}{4}\)", extreme breadth 4\(\frac{1}{4}\)", and thickness varying from \(\frac{1}{2}\)" to \(\frac{3}{16}\)". They vary in texture also. Besides, no two pieces can be dovetailed. Judging from their curvatures, all except two are fragments of biggish pots or pitchers. The two exceptions are Nos. XVIII and XXIV. Both of them exhibit a superior finish. The former is evidently a fragment of a thin platter, painted red both inside and outside. The latter is likewise a piece of a deep cup or beaker.

No. XXIV is exceptional in another respect, too. The writing on it, consisting of five clear letters, is 'incised', whereas on all the other pieces it is 'painted'. The 'incision' was done obviously with a stylus or some other sharp instrument while the object was still wet after it had been turned out from the potter's wheel, whereas the 'painting' was done on the baked and finished products.

As is to be expected, the inscription on No. XXIV is very distinct, while the painted writings have very much faded. The faint traces of the latter could be deciphered with great difficulty. In order to make out the contour of individual letters, I had to moisten repeatedly the 'painted' surface of each piece with a wet sponge. The same method was followed by the draftsman, Mr. S. N. A. Subrahmanya Mudaliar, the Photographer of my office, who is responsible for the drawings reproduced here. It may be seen from the accompanying photographic reproductions of some of the pieces that the traces of the painted writings are, except in a few cases, mostly indiscernible.

Their fragmentary nature does not allow us to draw any far-reaching conclusions. It is, however, clear from some of them, especially from Nos. IX, X, XII, XX, and XXIII, that the pots containing these inscriptions belonged to a Buddhist establishment. The name Buddhaśītr, occurring on No. XXIV, is also quite consistent with that. The name actually must be Buddhaśītra, the form budha being due to Prakrit influence.

Below I offer my readings of these fragmentary inscriptions and comments on them.

I

This sherd contains faint traces of two almost complete letters that can be read as:

\(sa \text{ dha}\)

There is just a very small remnant of another letter after the second letter, but it is too small to be recognized as a part of a particular letter. The first letter seems to have a slanting stroke over its right side, but it is comparatively thin and may not be a part of the writing.

The reading \(sa \text{ dha}\) recalls to mind the name of an individual Sadhala, that occurs in one of the minor Kharoshti inscriptions from Taxila (see C. I. I., II, 100, Inscribed gold ring, pl. XX-1).

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1 Mr. Md. Waliullah Khan is now the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Pakistan Circle, Lahore.
II

This piece has three letters the first of which is slightly destroyed at the top. They read:
\[ a \ da \ na \]
The form of \[ na \] shows a later development. It may be referred to the Kushāṇa period, i.e., about 2nd century A.D.

No sense can be made of the extant portion of the record. The last two letters, however, suggest that they are the first two letters of the word \[ danamukhe \] 'gift' which so frequently occur in donative Kharāṣṭra inscriptions. One of the three earthen jars with similar painted inscriptions discovered at Pālātī Dheri mound, now in the Peshawar Museum, has this expression (see C. I. I., II, 121, Pl. XXIII-1a). On the analogy of this we may surmise that the present sherd is a piece of a pot which was a religious gift by an individual whose name is lost.

III

But for a small irregular spot of black paint about the centre showing that this piece also had some writing on it, it has now no writing left on it. The whole writing seems to have been washed clean.

IV

This piece contains remnants of three letters. The upper portion of the first letter is gone, but what remains of it suggests that it might have been a \[ sa \] with its loop filled up. The second letter is mostly blurred. It may be a \[ da \] or a \[ dha \], but in either case the form would be unusual. The third letter is almost entirely gone.

V

This pot-sherd has the upper portion of one letter, which is to be read as :
\[ khe \]
It is very faint, but can be read when moisture is applied to the piece. There is a small trace of another letter below the left limb of \[ khe \], but it cannot be recognized. The reading \[ khe \] is suggestive of \[ danamukhe \] 'gift'. And possibly the pot was a gift by an individual. This may be compared with No. 2 above.

VI

This piece contains very small upper portion of six letters, none of which can be read with any certainty. The loop of the second suggests it to be an \[ a \]. The last one is most probably an \[ a \], too. Almost completely gone.

VII

This pot-sherd has five letters. Bottoms of the first three have been destroyed. The fourth is complete and the fifth is only partly preserved. They read:
\[ a \ ra \ ga \ [cha] \]
The third letter shows a stroke on the top to its right, but a careful examination showed that it is not joined with the letter \[ ga \] and is not meant to be a part of this syllable. Again, applying moisture shows the inscription more distinctly.

No interpretation of the extant portion of the record can be suggested at this stage. Compare, however, No. XII below.
PESHAWAR POTsherds WITH Kharoshti WRITINGS.

SCALE THREE-TENTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.
VIII

This piece contains only two letters, both clear enough. They read:

pha u

The letter pha is distinct, only its arm on the left is a little longer than usual. The two letters may be a name of a person, derived from Phalu (Phalu → Pha(i).

IX

This sherd has three letters. They read:

sāghe cha

The second letter looks more like ge, but it is taken for granted that it had a hook attached to its right to the lower end of the vertical which is now mostly effaced.

The preserved portion is almost identical with the beginning of another sherd inscription (No. 444 of the Peshawar Museum, C. I. I., II, 63, Pl. XII-3 ; cf. also ibid. 121, Pl. XXIII-la) which is likewise fragmentary but which has at least seven letters preserved, reading:

sāmhe chatudise Ko

In the light of this, the present inscription may also be translated as:

"in the Saṅgha (of the four quarters)".

X

This piece contains six complete letters and a very small remnant, in the beginning, of another.\(^1\) They are very faint, but can be read by applying moisture to the surface. The last two are decidedly gra ha. The preceding one looks like re but it is possibly ri, the upper end of the medial i stroke having been effaced. And what precedes it is pa. Thus this is a complete word parigraha. The first two letters are va na, evidently the plural genitive of a word ending in va, such as gaya. The reading is thus:

....va na parigraha ‘is the acceptance of....’.

This may be compared with the final expression of the Wardak vase inscription of the year 51 (C.I.I., II, 170, Pl. XXXIII) : Mahasāṅghigaya parigraha.

The present inscription may also be taken to end with the word parigraha itself, though what preceded cannot be restored now.

XI

This potsherd has six signs. The first is only partially preserved. It cannot be read with certainty, but judging from the extant remnant, it might have been kha. The second letter is comparatively very small and faint. It looks like a dha. The third is decidedly a saṁ, though a portion of the subscript ʊ is gone. The fourth syllable, though perfect, is rather unusual. Its upper part is that of ʊ and the subscript is either a y or a ʊ, or possibly the whole combination is meant to denote some other sound. The fifth letter is mi, with the stroke of the medial i abnormally long and its lower end bending towards the left—rather uncommon features. The last letter is obviously a cha, though its lower half is gone. The whole may thus read:

[kha?] dha(?) saṁ gya (or gain) mi cha

It is not possible to make out any sense of this, though presumably we have a reference here to a saṁgha ‘Buddhist congregation’. Or is it perhaps a personal name Saṅghamīcha (Saṅghamitra) ?

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\(^1\) Owing to the faint nature of the writing, the draftsman has missed several strokes with the result that his drawing has not come out perfect.
XII

This fragment contains eight signs, the last two of which are only partly preserved and the first has its lower portion broken off. They read:

\[ n[e] \text{ aroradakh[i][n]e} \]

Since the extant portion contains a well known formula, that frequently occurs in certain dedicatory Kharoshthi inscriptions, the missing portions of the letters can easily be supplied. Thus the first letter must have been a no, showing a word in the genitive singular. The sign of the medial \( i \) in \( ksh \)i has evidently been rubbed off and what follows must be read as \( nae \) to complete the expression. It means 'for the bestowal of health upon'. Compare C.I.I., II, 77, text lines 3 and 5.

XIII

This potsherd has five complete letters and the vertical stroke of another at the end, which is not recognizable. They read:

\[ di \ pa \ ma \ na \ a \ [ra \ ?] \]

It is not possible to explain this inscription at present.

XIV

This piece has two complete letters, and traces of two letters one in the beginning and one at the end. They can be read:

\[ [da] \ ksh \ [n]a \ [e] \]

Most probably here again we had the same formula as occurs in No. XII above, namely \( aroga \) \( daksh\)i\(vae\).

XV

This piece contains faint traces of three letters the first and the last of which are partly destroyed. They seem to read:

\[ [da] \ sa \ [\text{\( \tilde{\text{k}} \)ra}] \]

No sense can be made out.

XVI

The inscription on this piece is also too fragmentary to yield any sense. It has traces of five letters, only the middle three have greater portions preserved and can be read as:

\[ \ldots \text{na} \ a \ sa \ldots \]

XVII

The inscription of this potsherd is completely gone; only a part of the stroke of some letters is now visible to show that the piece contained some writing.

XVIII

This sherd has very faint traces of some letters, two of which can be read as:

\[ sa \ la \]

These are preceded by remnants of another letter now no longer legible. What follows these two letters is almost completely obliterated.

XIX

This has three letters, the first of which is mostly destroyed but may have been an \( a \). The inscription reads:

\[ [a] \text{na} \ di \]

The arms of \( na \) are abnormally long.
XX

This piece has the beginning of an epigraph—the blank space on the right shows that no writing has been lost in the beginning. The extant portion has four almost complete letters and remnants of a fifth. They read:

Saṅgha sad...

The e-stroke in ghe is ornamental. The next letter is partly effaced, but it is most probably a sa. The first word means 'in the saṅgha or congregation', while it is difficult to say what follows it.

XXI

This fragment has remnants of about six letters only three of which (first, second and fifth) can be read with some confidence.

sky e cha... fe....

No sense can be made out.

XXII

The inscription on this piece is almost completely obliterated. Two of the letters towards the end can be read as:

na sa

This piece has a sign consisting of three triangles embossed near the neck of the pot, which may be an Armenian character.

XXIII

This piece has also the so-called Armenian character near the neck of the pot.

The Kharōshṭhī painted inscription is mostly damaged, but it ends in:

danamukhe

Only the upper part of the last syllable is preserved. While the form of mu is peculiar, it is met with in certain known Kharōshṭhī inscriptions. The word danamukhe means 'the gift'.

XXIV

While the inscriptions on the other fragments are all painted, the one on this piece is engraved. It has the concluding part of an inscription; or perhaps the extant part is the complete inscription itself. The space left blank after the last letter shows that in any case nothing has been lost at the end. It clearly reads:

Budhamitra

It can be translated as 'This cup is of Budhamitra'.

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No. 24—SANGSI MEMORIAL INSCRIPTION

(1 Plate)

P. B. DESAI, OUTACAMUND

Sāngsi is a village about five miles from Gagan Bāvdā in the Kolhapur District of the Bombay State. It is not known when, but it must be several decades ago, at least, that a slab of stone
bearing sculptures in relief and an inscription, was unearthed in a field near the village. As the
sculptures depict the funeral scene of a woman, it was readily believed that it constituted a sati
memorial. Later on, the slab appears to have been removed to the spot where it now stands, about
two miles east from Gagan Bāvdā and 35 miles west from Kolhāpur, and a crude temple construc-
ted over it. A tradition grew around in course of time attributing it to the memory of a woman
who committed sati long ago.

At the instance of Mr. N. G. Pandit Rao, the then Public Relations Officer of the Kolhapur
State, Dr. H. D. Sankalia and Dr. M. G. Dikshit, both of the Deccan College Research Institute,
Poona, visited the site in 1946 and copied the inscription. These two scholars, who will hereafter
be referred to as SD for the sake of brevity, have published a note on the preliminary findings of
their discovery in the *Modern Review*, Calcutta, March 1947 (pp. 213-15), and a fuller study of the
inscription, as also of the sculptures, in the *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, December
1948.3 Subsequently Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, Officiating Government Epigraphist
for India, visited Sāngsī in December 1949, and took a photograph of the tablet and estampages
of the inscription.2

On account of the erroneous notion created by the local tradition apparently supported by the
sculptural representation and owing to imperfections in the decipherment of the epigraph, SD
were led to believe that the stele commemorated the performance of the rite of sati by a lady after
the demise of her husband, and consequently their observations were vitiated by this prepossession.
But the facts, as we shall presently see, are different.4 In view of these considerations and the
importance of the inscription for securing glimpses of the political and social conditions of the
locality in ancient times, it was thought necessary to edit it in the pages of this journal. So I am
editing it here with the kind permission of Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India,
who generously furnished me with the necessary facilities.4

The slab measures approximately 6 feet in height and 4 feet in breadth. It is broader and angular
at the base and somewhat curved towards the top. As a result of the serious damage, the sculpt-
ures and the inscription have been obliterated in several parts. In the lower portion and about
the middle of the stone is the portrait of a lady, in relief, lying down at full length on a funeral
pyre surrounded by flames and some attendants. Immediately above this group and across the
slab runs the inscription. Higher up in the top portion are a few more carvings.

The inscription consists of two lines. The *characters* belong to the southern class of alphabet
and evince 'box-head' features, the 'bases' being solid. Close resemblance may be traced be-
 tween them and those of the Tālagunda pillar inscription5 of Kākasthavarman of the early Kadamba
family. Two letters, however, have certain peculiarities deserving notice here. The t of the
Tālagunda inscription is made up by a curve joined to the vertical stroke and the two arms of the
curve can be distinguished, the left one being more pronounced. But in the present record the
upright stroke stretches right up to the bottom and the angular curve stands affixed all towards
the left. Similar is the case with n. Whereas the n of the former epigraph is constituted of a
looped curve emerging from the bottom of a straight line, that of the latter has its curve with more
developed loop attached exclusively to the lower left side of the vertical stroke. The final t occurr-

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1 Pages 161-166, with a good photograph of the entire stele and separate facsimile of the inscription.
2 The inscription is numbered 289 of the A.R.E. for the year 1949-50.
3 The record expressly states that the memorial was erected by a king in honour of his deceased wife. This
   correct position was notified for the first time by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra and Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao: *Archaeology
   XXIX, pp. 291-92. After this article was prepared it was found that the late Dr. Fleet had noticed this inscription
4 I am also indebted to Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao for his kind suggestions in the study.
5 Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 24 ff. and Plate.
ring once in line 1 is represented by the lower part of the letter without the top knot, engraved in miniature size in the lower space.

In regard to orthography the following peculiarities, though not unusual in the present record, may be noted. The consonant following r is doubled, e.g., in śēr=yyā and bhāryyā, line 1. In -ārtham, line 2, the reduplicated aspirate has been changed to its corresponding surd, as required by the grammatical rules. The anusvāra, even at the end of a word, has occasionally been involved into sandhi and changed to the class nasal of the following letter of the next word: e.g., in puyānām = pari- a janān = tasy- and sojan = nri-, line 2. The entity of anusvāra has been retained in the following instances: divam pritī and -stāpitam chaitya-, line 2.

The language is Sanskrit and the whole record comprises one single verse in the Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre. The first two pādas of the verse are accommodated in the first line and the next two in the second. Some space indicating the end of a pāda is left after the first and the third pādas which end in the middle of the line. The poetry is of the ornate classical order with a melodious ring about it.

The inscription commences with an auspicious spiral-like symbol which seems to stand for Om. Next comes, what I am inclined to assume it to be, the name proper of the king: because the latter part of the expression is clearly lāṇākhana which means ‘a name’ also. This name is constituted of four aksharas beginning with Pu. As suggested in a foot-note later, the name can be restored as Pushpāyudha. But since it is not advisable to venture a surmise, I would prefer to refer to the king hereafter by the initial letter Pu...only. Next we are introduced to the king’s wife by name Hālidēvi. The second pāda whose latter part is lost, seems to state that the lady had captured the heart of her husband by her virtuous conduct. The third pāda refers to her death when she was still young. Here the poet, indulging in a fancy, describes that she went to heaven to guard, as it were, the treasure of her accumulated merits. The last pāda informs that the memorial tablet of stone was set up with due ceremony by the king himself out of affection for her.

The epigraph is not dated and so in order to ascertain its probable date we have to fall back on the evidence of palaeography which is our only guide in the present instance. As observed above, the characters of this record show a remarkable similarity with those of the Tājaṇunda pillar inscription. From the reference to Śāntivarman, son of Kākusthavarman in the latter record, it has to be assumed that it was drafted and engraved during the former’s reign. Now Śāntivarman’s reign has been assigned to the middle of the 5th century A. D. Hence we might place our epigraph about A.D. 500.

Thus it becomes clear that the inscription under study constitutes an epitaph perpetuating the name of a distinguished lady who pre-deceased her royal husband and the installation of the memorial in her honour by the latter; and no grounds whatsoever exist for the assumption that the stele comprises a saṅkā memorial. This fact, though true, is rather unique. We are familiar in the areas of the Deccan and Karnāṭak with such sculptured memorials as speak of heroes who laid their lives for a sacred cause and of men and women who courted death after the demise of

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1 This name is peculiar and rarely met with. It reminds us of another similar name Hāla, of a Śātavāhana king. I am not sure if this can be connected with Sanskrit kala meaning ‘a plough’.

2 In order to guard the treasure it is necessary that one should be strong and young in spirits. It is therefore in the fitness of things that the lady repaired to heaven in her youth.

3 The expression saṁ-stāpitam in the text literally means ‘was installed in the proper manner’. This phrase is significant and I am inclined to believe that the memorial tablet must have been originally installed and preserved in a well-constructed shrine by the king himself. The shrine might have fallen to ruin in course of time, thus exposing the stele which came to be buried under the earth wherefrom it was rescued.

4 George M. Morass, Kadamba Kula, p. 72; N. Lakshminarayan Rao and R. S. Panchamukhi, Karnāṭakade Arasamantanaṇḍavu, p. 15; A New History of Indian People, p. 238, etc.
their masters and lords or under a religious vow. These generally date from the period of the 7-8th century onwards. But here is a singular instance, perhaps the first and the only one of its kind, known so far, that stands out as a welcome departure from the usual convention. Further, its early age lends importance to its unique nature.

After reviewing the contents of the epigraph, we may revert for a while to the sculptures on stone which are inseparably associated with it. The art of moulding images in plastic material was known to the civilization of the Indus Valley1 and the history of Indian sculpture may be traced from that early age. The early creations seem to have been religious in origin and design and they generally formed part of a monument in stone or were scooped out in rocks of hills. Portrait sculpture as a secular art does not seem to have been cultivated independently by Indian artists and the few available instances of portraits2 depicting royal devotees or distinguished personalities, associated with religious constructions, may be taken to prove the truth of the above statement. Under these circumstances, the present piece of sculpture on a detached slab deserves a noteworthy place in the account of Indian sculpture, particularly that of the Deccan region.

The funeral scene is well laid amidst consuming fire and a few devout followers of the lady. In their refined execution, clarity of expression, wealth of details and general impressiveness, the figures of the lady and attendants compare favourably with the early sculptures of Bharbut and Amarāvati on one side and later ones of Ajantā and Bādāmi on the other.3 The realistic nature of the scene may be judged from the fact that out of three followers, one is seen seated firmly facing the ordeal of fire and another is shown fleeing away unable to stand its blaze. The figures above the inscription, which are largely obliterated, represented, in all probability, the heavenly scene, as is usually noticed on the memorial slabs of sātās and heroes of later period.

No details regarding the place or family of king Pu... are mentioned in the epigraph. But it would be, perhaps, too much to expect them in an epitaph of the kind. During the period represented by the inscription, the rulers of the early Kadamba house were still powerful and their sway extended as far as the area of the Belgaum District4 in the north. We are not sure if the Kolhāpur region also was included in their territory. At this time the area of the Sātārā District and the tract further north were under the administration of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa princes of Mānapura.5 There is no indication to assume whether king Pu... was a subordinate ruler under either of these. Or as is more plausible, he was maintaining a semi-independent status, his chieftain being situated in a corner on the border of and in between the two above-named kingdoms. The headquarters of this chieftain lay, most probably, not far away from the provenance of the memorial tablet.

TEXT

1 Om[† [ †] Śr[i-Pu]3 – ○ ○[lā]ṇḥḥanasya nripatēr-yyā Hālīdēva-ity-abhūt bhāryyā sācharitēna bha[r]tri 10 ○ ○ – – – ○ – ○

1 St. Kramisch: Indian Sculpture, Plate i.
2 T. G. Aravamuthan: Portrait Sculpture in South India. Also compare, above, Vol. XXI, pp. 4-5 where references to dēkula in the Pratīmā-nātaka and gurī-āyanaṇa in the Mathurā pillar inscription are discussed.
3 Indian Sculpture (op. cit.), Plates iv, xii, xxiv, xxv, etc.
4 Hals in this district was an important seat of the early Kadamba power and inscriptions of the early Kadamba rulers issued from this place indicate the extent of their authority over this region; Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, pp. 23-24, 28 and 30; etc.
* From the impressions.
7 Expressed by a symbol.
8 The subscript of the second aksara of this expression which appears to be a personal name, might be p. So the name may be restored either as Puspbāvūda or Puspbhadvaja to suit the metre. Of these the former is preferable as it appears to be familiar.
* The metre requires that the second syllable of this name be ī.
10 This aksara might be hri some traces of which are seen. If so, the word may possibly be restored as hrīdayam.
(From a Photograph)

B. Ch. Chhabra

Survey of India, Dehra Dun
Reg. No. 554 H. E. (C) 51 - 499
No. 25] AN INSCRIBED POT AND OTHER BUDDHIST REMAINS IN SÂLIHUNDÂM 133

2 pûnyâ[nâ]m-parîraksham-ârtham-añjana-tasyâ gatâyà [dir]vanî prîtîyâ saídâm-idaêm
svayaâm(ya)n-nripatí[nâ] samâsthâpitanâ châityakâmâ [\.\].

TRANSLATION

Hail! This funereal memorial in stone has been installed by the king himself—the king bearing the illustrious appellation1 Pu., . . . . out of affection for his (beloved) queen Hâlidēvi who (having won the heart of) her lord by her noble character, repaired to heaven before the advent of old age, to guard (assiduously, as it were) the (accumulated treasure of her) religious merits.

No. 25—AN INSCRIBED POT AND OTHER BUDDHIST REMAINS IN SÂLIHUNDÂM

(4 Plates and 1 Text Figure)

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN, CALCUTTA

The latest accessions to our knowledge of the schools of Buddhist art, architecture and iconography in general and of South Indian epigraphy in particular have been contributed by the discovery in Andhra-desa, of a number of Buddhist sculptures, stûpas or mahâchaityas, chaityas or prayer-cells or halls and vihâras or monasteries. dug up at Nâgarjunakonda in the Guntur District, Kâpavaram and Adurû in the East Godavari District, and Sâlihundâm,2 Saṅkarâma and Râmatirtham in the Vizagapatnam District.3 On the hill at Sâlihundâm, overlooking the river Vânâsadhârâ and the Bay of Bengal, 3 miles further down, was discovered a curious but very interesting monastic orientation (plates I and II) with a high apsidal chaitya on the summit of the hill crowning the hill, as it were (plate I-c), a circular or wheel-like mahâchaitya behind it with bricks laid flat on its entire surface instead of the usual, spokes and hub arrangement that one meets with in the Andhra stûpas (plates I-a, b, plate III-a), and with the regular monastery and smaller chaityas, two of them Buddha-chaityas and votive stûpas scattered on the sides and slopes of the hill (plate II). As at Mainâmâti (Madanâvati) and Lâlmâ in East Bengal, where the author of this article had to save a large and rich site11 from Military depredation and spoliation, the discoveries here are the results of a hurried survey and excavation by the author necessitated by

1 This akshara is lost; but it must be without doubt nā.

2 The akshara ja is not properly engraved.

3 There are dots, one above the letter ga and another towards left above ya. If these are construed as misplaced avaraṇas of ya and ya, the reading would be tasayā gathâyā. This can be taken as a clause in satī saṃaptam and will yield quite a good sense. But it is better to take these dots as only flaws in the stone, for the avaraṇas proper are bigger and circular; cf., 'm = idam and varayam in the same line.

4 The letter di is damaged and not sufficiently clear. But it can be restored with confidence.

5 The letter nā is lost; but it can be confidently restored.

6 The avaraṇa of sam appears to have been wrongly placed above the next akshara sthā.

7 The second akshara of this word is partly preserved and the last one is restored suitably.

8 It is not unlikely that the name of the king was simply Kâmadeva and the composer elaborately paraphrased it as Pusphâyudha to make it more poetic and for the convenience of metre.

9 A brief reference to the finds at Sâlihundâm was made by the writer in his Presidential address to the Archaeological Section of the 13th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, October 1946, p. 14 and in his address at the Silver Jubilee Session of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry, April 1948, p. 31.

10 Mr. A. H. Longhurst has described the Buddhist ruins of Sâlihundâm in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Southern Circle, Madras, for the year 1919-20, pp. 34-38. The site has already yielded some caskets, etc., described in the present article are, however, subsequent discoveries.—Ed.)

11 Sâlihundâm is now included in the Srikâkâlam (Chicaco) Taluk of the district of the same name.

large-scale spoliation of the hill for bricks, building material and road material in which, strange to say, the P. W. D. took a leading part. The survey was commenced in 1943-44 and continued in 1946-47 and it may not be out of place here if such of the structures as were saved and antiquities as were salvaged are very briefly described in this article. It is of great interest that crystal reliquaries shaped like stūpas, with gold reliefs in them in the shape of flowers (svarṇapushpas), were found in the mahāchaitya behind the apsidal chaitya on the crown of the Sālihunḍām hill (plate III-b, c).

The chaitya: (plate I-c)—Though the chaitya on the top of the hill is actually in ruins, one can judge from its remains that it stood to a considerable height, and being juxtaposed on the topmost and narrowest point of the hill should have been clearly visible from the sea-port of Kaliṅgapatam which is only three miles away from the hill (plate II-a, c). Evidently, Buddhist pilgrims and merchants came here to offer their tributes from the sea-side along the Vaiśnadvīp river. The chaitya, which is apsidal, still bears its old lime plaster (plate I-c) which glints in the sun as though it was just finished off. Right in the centre was a votive stūpa of lime-stone, the basement of which alone now remains, the rest having been pillared, as I was told, by treasure-hunters and house-builders.

The mahāchaitya: (plate I-a, b, d; III-a)—Behind the apsidal chaitya lay the stūpa or the mahāchaitya, of complete brick-work, in the form of a wheel and with bricks laid flat on its surface as one can judge from the existing height of its ruins (plate I-b; III-a). A few pieces of a curvilinear moulding are all that remain to-day of a lower plinth that faced the mahāchaitya at its lowest part or base. Such pieces compare well in their architectural function with what, in the Amaravati inscriptions, are called  ‘ubatamāla’, a name applied to the lowermost and slightly projecting mouldings of the rail of the Amaravati stūpa. This stūpa appears to have been the most important one on the Sālihunḍām hill, or shall we say in this part of the Kaliṅgā, for, it not only departs from the general hub-and-spokes arrangement of the brick frame-work of the Andhra stūpas, though retaining its wheel-like outer shape, but also yielded 3 stone caskets and 3 crystal reliquaries. The 3 crystal reliquaries are shaped like stūpas and each was found in a stone karaṇḍa or casket (plate I-d, III-a). In the arrangement of the stone karaṇḍas, which in shape recall the three stone caskets found in the Bhāṭṭiprōṭu stāpa, in Repalli Taluk of the Guntur District, there is a remarkable deviation from the Andhra stūpa. While at Bhāṭṭiprōṭu their juxtaposition was vertical and the three were found right in the centre at convenient inter-space, here at Sālihunḍām they were arranged at equal distance from each other, in a horizontal row along the diameter of the mahāchaitya which, as we have already remarked was shaped like a wheel (plate III-a). The stone caskets were in two parts each, a receptacle and the lid (plate I-d). Two of them are rectangular in shape while the third is circular and bigger and was found right in the centre of the mahāchaitya (plate III-a). Its receptacle-part was shaped like the drum of a stūpa, while its lid resembled the aṇḍa (dome) and karmikā (pavilion) parts of the stūpa. The central casket or karaṇḍa seems to suggest by its form that it was meant to resemble the mahāchaitya itself.

The contents of the caskets are of untold importance to the Buddhist world. While they are crystal reliquaries like those of the Bhāṭṭiprōṭu stāpa—three in number, one in each stone casket—they recall by their shape three different forms of the stūpa that were known to the ancient architects of India. And for this reason they are described here briefly. The first crystal reliquary, which was found in one of the rectangular karaṇḍas (plate III-b, c) recalls the simple type of the stūpa. It is spheroidal (not a hemispherical dome though that was what was meant) and consists of two parts, a big and all-assuming part and a small circular part or base which slips underneath the former so completely as to create the impression that the two are of one indivisible unit. But when these two parts thus united, are scanned from above, they reveal a slot of space in the body of the crystal in which rests a gold flower (svarṇa-pushpa) glittering like burnished gold, which
is due to the small slot being rendered free from atmospheric action as in a hermetically sealed chamber (plate III-c).

The second crystal reliquary found in the second rectangular casket (plate I-d) consists of two parts, a broad and circular receptacle with its ridge raised in the centre so as to form a cavity, within which were found five complete gold flowers and a sixth flower in three bits, and a lid in the shape of a dome with a square pavilion (harmikā) and the shaft of the chhatra superimposed (plate III-c).

The third crystal reliquary is the most interesting as it is a perfect representation in miniature of the extant form of stūpa construction such as Amarāvatī, Gāli and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa have revealed to us. It consists of 4 parts—a broad and circular base (cīḍikā) or receptacle with a cavity of high ridge within which were found two gold flowers in five pieces, a dome (aṇḍa), a cubical pavilion (harmikā) with four circular holes for each side resembling a rail with cross-bars, upright pillars and coping complete, and a cylindrical part surmounting the harmikā which resembles the shaft of an umbrella. Though similar gold flowers found elsewhere are described as “star-shaped”, it will be correct to describe them as “flower-shaped” as they are indeed svarṇa-pushpa. To most Indians the ritual in daily ārādhana (pūjāvīddhi) relating to svarṇa-pushpa-samarpaya is well-known. In the absence of gold, the yanmaṇa offers to the priest money.

Buddha-chattigas: (plate II-b and d)—Two Buddha-chattigas, apsidal, were found on the slope of the hill as we walk up to the hill-top where the mahāchaitya and the high chaitya (with bright plaster) are located. One of them, now in utter ruins (plate II-d), preserves a seated figure of the Buddha. What remains shows only the lower part of the Buddha’s torso below the chest, his waist, thighs and folded or crossed legs. The figure shows brick frame-work with a good and thick stucco finish. Stucco, though common in Taxila, occurs very rarely in South India. Stucco-occurrence at Saliḥunḍām again marks the place as of singular importance.

The second one (plate II-b) preserves at its apsidal end a huge pedestal of entire brick-work on which a seated Buddha figure (also of brick and perhaps also of stucco-finish) was once installed. We can make out now only the folded legs of the Buddha figure. The pedestal presents five sunk panels, in two of which lion-heads (also of brick-work) can be made out, suggesting that the pedestal was a śāhāsana and the Master who sat on it was no other than Śākyasimha. Similar arrangement is also found at Nālandā and Taxila. This Buddha-chattya is very important, for in it and in front of the pedestal, almost touching it, were dug out a few specimens of pottery of brightly polished red ware of which the three figured in this article (plate IV-b) are very interesting. One is the finial of the chaitya that adorned its roof and should have got itself lodged where we found it when the roof and superstructure fell. The other two are drinking vessels for monastic use (kuṇḍikās). One is in a good state of preservation with its glazed surface and neck complete: the other is similar to the one just described except that its neck is broken off and missing. This latter is of utmost importance as much as it has an inscription engraved on its body near the base of the neck (plate IV-a). The incision of the inscription is very light and its execution has been so neat and artistic that the circular or concentric form of the pot is maintained: the mouth, the inscription and the outer edge of the pot are all in circles. The language of the inscription is Prakrit and the script Brahmī of the second century A.C., if not of an earlier period. The līpi is similar to that of the Mathurā inscription of the Kushāṇa emperor Huvishta of date 106 A.C., to the Śaka-lāṣṇa-līpi and the Śālaṇaham-śālaṇa-līpi, all of the early part of the second century A.C. Below I give my reading and interpretation of the inscription.

TEXT

Hāmakuda[or del]yika-raṭṭavilaka-vocchhīyana[ś]-Kattahārana
TRANSLATION

(This pot belongs to) the Kaṭṭahārāma (or Kaṭṭahāra ārāma) of (=endowed by) the sons (offspring) of the Rāśṭrapālaka (by name) Haṁkudeyika.

Note

It may be inferred that the Kaṭṭahāra ārāma was the donation of the sons of the Rāśṭrapālaka of the place or village Haṁkudeyia or Haṁkudayi, who hailed from the village that bore such a name. Haṁkudeyika or Haṁkudayika may even stand for Saṁkudeyika, as ha and sa interchange. The name Haṁkudayi, Haṁkudey or Saṁkudayi, sounds like Kāludayi, a Buddhist name, and for that reason may be taken to be the name of the Rāśṭrapālaka referred to in the inscription. Kaṭṭaha reminds us of Kāṭāha in Palembang and the overseas colonisation from the Kālinga country and the Tamil name Kadāram near Nāgapatnam (cf. Kadārama-Koṇḍan) and the Tamil Kāḷagaṇi (Kālagattakkamūṉi). The term also reminds us of the Kaṭṭahārasutta¹ of the Buddha which was associated with Kōsala. If the term Kaṭṭahārāma is taken as a contraction for Kaṭṭahāra + ārāma, then we get Kaṭṭahārārāma which by the law of sakridavasthāna or haplography becomes Kaṭṭahārāma just as we have it in the inscription (cf. Krīṣṇa + nagara-Krīṣhnagar). It is refreshing indeed to note that a Buddhist Monastery (ārāma) is named after the Kaṭṭahārasutta which the Buddha, from out of his kindness, propounded to a group of Kaṭṭahārakas or faggot-carriers who lived in Kōsala. It is said that the Buddha travelled to Kōsala to give the Kaṭṭahārakas of Kōsala a sermon, which from thence onwards came to be called Kaṭṭahārasutta. Kōsala is but the country adjoining the Kālinga, and the river Vaiṣṇadhārā, on which the Kaṭṭahāra ārāma was situated, flows through Kōsala before it comes into the Kālinga (see Text Fig. 1 below).

The name of the monastery to which the drinking vessel belonged is given as Kaṭṭahārāma. In all probability the chaṭṭha in which the pot was found was included in the Kaṭṭahārāma

¹[See also the Kaṭṭahāri-jātaka, No. 7 of the Jātaka, ed. by V. Faubol, Vol. I, pp. 133-6, translation by Robert Chalmers, ed. by E. B. Cowell, Vol. I, pp. 27-29.—Ed.]
A) Inscribed Pot and other pottery remains in Salihein
monastery wherein were also located the other chaityas on the slope of the Sālihundam hill, and the mahāchaitya and the apsidal chaitya on top of the hill. The Chinese Pilgrim Yuan Chwang who came to India in the first half of the 7th century A. D. and passed through Kaliṅga, has the following interesting observations to make:

"The country produced dark wild elephants prized by the neighbouring countries. The climate was hot. The people were rude and headstrong in disposition, observant of good faith and fairness, fast and clear in speech; in their talk and manners they differed somewhat from "Mid India". There were few Buddhists, the majority of the people being of other religions. There were above ten Buddhist monasteries, and 500 Brethren "Students of the Mahāyāna Sthavira School system". There were more than 100 Deva-temples, and the professes adherents of the various sects were very numerous, the majority being Nirgranthas."

Near the south wall of the city (i.e., the capital apparently) was an Asoka tope beside which were a sitting-place and exercise-ground of the Four Past Buddhas. On a ridge of a mountain in the north of the country was a stone tope, above 100 feet high, where a Pratyeka Buddha had passed away at the beginning of the pre-sent kalya when men's lives extended over countless years."

Fergusson was right in placing the capital city of Kaliṅga near modern Kalingapatam on the sea-shore or that it was not very far from Kalingapatam. This identification has been accepted by R. D. Banerji2 and other recent writers. For us this is very interesting as Sālihundam on the Vaṁśadharā river, is only 3 miles away from the sea-port of Kalingapatam (Fig. 1). The Buddhist monastery called in the inscription "Kaṭṭālārāmā" is on a hill, while the apsidal chaitya which still maintains its lime-plaster (as old as the 2nd century A. D.) and the mahāchaitya behind it which yielded 3 crystal reliquaries, are both located on the topmost part of the hill, "above 100 feet high" as Yuan Chwang describes, and are easily visible from the sea-shore. The river Vaṁśadharā lashes its water against the side of the Sālihundam hill. On the northern slope of the hill, just 100 yards below the mahāchaitya, were also exposed (plate II-a) another apsidal chaitya with a votive stūpa in the centre, and a stūpa of the usual kind (wheel-hati-and-spokes arrangement). Despoiled as they were for bricks from a long time nothing of importance was recovered from them during my recent survey (1914-17).

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No. 26—THREE INSCRIPTIONS FROM VALGUDAR

(1 Plate)

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

An epigraphic survey of a large number of villages in Bihar was conducted by Sir Alexander Cunningham about three quarters of a century ago and its results are recorded in his celebrated Archaeological Survey Reports. Many of the inscriptions noticed by Cunningham were found on

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2 R. D. Banerji, History of Orissa, Vol. I, page 243—"Kalinga-nagara" has been identified by some with Mukhalingam and Nagara-Katikam and by others with Kalingapatnam.

B. V. Krishna Rao, Early Dynasties of Andhra, pp. 112-3.

"There is controversy and difference of opinion about the identification of Kalinganagara. Dr. Fleet identifies Kalinganagara with Kalingapatnam, and this view is shared by Mr. Bhattacharya. Prof. G. V. Ramachari, on the contrary, identifies Kalinganagara with Mukhalingam com Nagarakotakura, two adjacent ancient villages lying on the northern bank of the Vamshadhara. And with this identification I entirely agree. Some of the inscriptions of the temple of Mahākāśī at Mukhalingam speak of the shrine as situated in Kalinganagara itself. The city would seem to have been founded in the early part of the sixth century and perhaps by Hastivarman."

7 DGA
images, some of which unfortunately cannot be traced now. This is because, as is well known, a large number of images have since been occasionally removed from the villages by interested parties. But most of the old villages in some Districts of Bihar, such as Monghyr, Patna and Gaya, still abound in broken images usually of the Pāla age, both inscribed and uninscribed. Some at least are coming out every year at the stroke of the cultivator's ploughshare and the workman's spade to increase the number of accumulated images, although the process of the removal of better preserved images is also still going on. In January 1950, I conducted a search for old inscriptions amongst the images accumulated in certain villages about the western fringe of the Monghyr District and this led to the discovery of some very interesting records. The images are mostly mutilated and many of them bear no inscriptions at all. The writing on the largest number of the inscribed images again either gives only the Buddhist formula येद्धर्मा हृत्य-प्रभावाः, etc., or especially when the image is not a Buddhist one, merely says that a particular image was the gift (देव-द्वर्मा or देया-द्वर्मा) of a certain private individual, sometimes styled देव-पति. Only in a few cases they prove important owing to the mention of the regnal year of the king, during whose rule an image was installed, or rarely to some other interesting information such as about the locality where the image was in-talled or where the man responsible for the in-tallation lived. In connection with this survey, I visited the localities called Rājaunā, Chauki, Valgūdar, Raghubarh, Pāmaur, Samsārpokhṛ, Kāwāv, Gōdi, Rāmapur, Amarpur and Urān. The villages lie in the vicinity of the Luckee-aran, Kiul and Kajra railway stations on the East Indian Railway. Of all the inscriptions examined by me in the above localities, the three discovered at Valgūdar were found to be the most interesting, as they not only helped me in locating the ancient city of Krimīlā, headquarters of the vishaya of that name within the Pāla empire, but also as one of the three records offered an exceptionally important date in the chronology of the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar.

On the 9th of January 1950, I visited Valgūdar (lat. 25° 10' 30" N.; long. 86° 5' E.) which is a small village lying by the side of the railway line between the Luckee-aran and Mankatha railway station. I was fortunate enough to find there no less than three small inscriptions. The earliest of them was found on a pedestal (image now lost) which is lying in the compound of the house of Babu Kesav Sinha and is being used now by the people as a platform for washing their feet. It contains two lines covering a space 17½" in length and 2½" in height. The aksharas are about ½" in height, although the conjuncts with vowel marks are sometimes double that height. The second inscription was found on a mutilated image lying in the verandah of the Katchery of Babu Dīlīpat Nārayan Sinha, who, I was told, is a zamindar staying at Bhagalpur. I was further told that the image had been discovered sometime previously while digging the earth for the foundation of a house. It is an image of a seated goddess with a child on her lap. It may be mentioned here that such images of the Dēvi with child were noticed by me in many places in South Bihar. She must have enjoyed great popularity amongst the people of the region in the early medieval period. There is a similar image of the goddess at the neighbouring village of Rājaunā which, as the inscription on it shows, was styled Pundēśvari and was in-talled during the reign of Nāyapāla (circa 1038-55 A. C.). A mutilated image of the same deity is now preserved in the Auto-b Museum of the University of Calcutta. The inscription on it shows that it was installed during the reign of Rāmapāla. This image also seems to have been originally found somewhere in South Bihar, although goddesses of similar types were fairly popular in Bengal as well. The Dēvi's

1 Cf. Pali dīya-dhamma, a gift, an offering.
2 In old Bengali, this word is used in the sense of a person who had promised to dedicate an object on the fulfilment of a particular desire and later kept the vow. See J. M. Das, Bichitra Bhāshā, Bhāshānā, s. v. In the votive inscriptions of the type referred to above, the word dīma-pati seems to be used in this technical sense. Dīma-dharma thus seems to refer to an image in-talled according to a previous promise called maṇḍakā.
THREE INSCRIPTIONS FROM VALGDAR

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tīkaṇa is usually found to be the lion. A similar image now lodged in the compound of a temple on the bank of the tank called Sankārpankā on the bank of the tank called Sankārpankā at Lucknow has a snake canopy above the deity's head. The deity seems to have been the primitive Mother-goddess worshipped under different local names in various parts of East India, though she may have been associated with the Buddhist deity Hāritī as well as the Brahmanical goddess Pīrvati with Skanda on her lap. An image of a four-armed goddess, holding in the upper hands a fish and a pot and by the lower one a child, was found in the village of Paipara in the Dacca District (East Bengal) and is now preserved in the Dacca Museum. N. K. Bhattacharji identifies the deity tentatively with the Buddhist goddess Hāritī, although it is pointed out that Hāritī's representations have usually two arms only. This image, however, neither bears usual words nor the occasional snake canopy. Images of the Dēvi, with two or four arms and a snake canopy but with or without a child on her lap, found in Bengal, have been identified with the Snake goddess called Maṇāsā.² The name of Maṇāsā (supposed to be derived from that of the South Indian Maṇḍ Chamana) is, however, not found in the literature of a date earlier than the latter part of the medieval period, and an image of the same deity, with the snake canopy but without the child, found at Marail in the Dinajpur District, is known from the inscription (in character of the tenth or eleventh century) it bears to have been called Bhāratiyā Maṭjūv.¹ Images of Maṇāsā are usually without the child; but out of the four late dypūnas of this goddess, quoted by Bhattacharji,¹ at least the one quoted from Kāśiśma Vāchaspati's commentary on Raghunandana's Tīkādīvattra represents the goddess as Āṣīka-mātā and kāra-sūtra, the latter pointing to her representation with a child on her lap. It seems that the same primitive mother-goddess, with a child on her lap, sometimes represented with a lion pedestal and sometimes with a snake canopy, was worshipped under different names in different parts of East India, the snake-canopied form being later endowed with the name Maṇāsā in Bengal. The Jain Ambākā seems to be an adaptation of the same deity.³ The inscription on the Valgdar image of the Dēvi with a child on her lap is written in two lines, covering a space about 4 2 in length and 1 in height. The akāshas are about 4 in height. The inscription discovered by me at Valgdar was found on the pedestal (image now lost) lying near a well in the locality called Saṅgat owing to its being the area under a Sikh religious establishment in the village. It is written in three lines covering an area about 7 4 in length and 1 2 in height. The letters are small in size and measure about 3 in height.

The characters employed in all the three inscriptions are the same as found in the records of the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar, although the first and second epigraphs are considerably earlier than the third one. While Nos. 1 and 2 have to be ascribed on palaeographical grounds to the eighth or ninth century, No. 3 should be assigned to the tenth century. All the three inscriptions are written in Sanskrit prose, though there are some mistakes and signs of Prakrit influence. As regards orthography, they closely resemble the epigraphic records of the Pālas and hardly anything in them calls for special mention. Inscriptions Nos. 1 and 2 are not dated; but the former

¹ Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum, pp. 63 ff; Plate XXV.
² History of Bengal, Dacca University, Vol. I, pp. 40-61; Plate LXVI, No. 159.
³ Ibid., p. 460. The occurrence of Maṇāsādēvi as an illustration of the sūtra, manāsā nāma, for the a-lokamānasā, in the old commentary of Dhammasa in the Chandrā. (pākaraṇa) (see S. Sen, Bārpati Sāhitier Itāsā, 1909), is unjustifiable and is probably a late interpolation. Manāsā is mentioned in several medieval works as the Brahmanical goddess (14th-15th century: JRAI, Letters, Vol. XIV, p. 6, note 3) and the lexicon of Jatākara (14th-15th century: JRAI, Letters, Vol. XIV, p. 6, note 3) and the lexicon of Jatākara and Kṣara. For the snake-goddess Manā Mahākā or Manā Maṇḍ Chamana (cf. Teuq. maṇḍipāma, 'a color') as well as the Sūtras of Kārttīkāya, see H. Whitehead, The Village Gods of South India, pp. 83-83. The Sūtras of Kārttīkāya may have introduced this name of the goddess in Bengal. The name Parāśā is well recorded at the Banjara, an ancient non-Aryan people of Eastern India.

⁵ History of Bengal, p. 455; Plate LXIV, No. 133.

G 2
refers to the reign of the Pāla king Daharmapāla whose rule is now assigned to circa 769-815 A.C.\textsuperscript{1} or 770-810 A. C.\textsuperscript{2} As suggested above, inscription No. 2 has to be ascribed on palaeographic grounds to the days of Daharmapāla or to those of his immediate successors. Inscription No. 3 is dated in the Śaka year 1083 (1161 A. C.) as well as in the 18th regnal year of Madanapāla whose reign is assigned now to circa 1130-50 A. C.\textsuperscript{3} or 1140-55 A. C.\textsuperscript{4}, although, as will be shown below, all previous suggestions about the date of this king are now proved to be wrong by the discovery of the present inscription.

Inscription No. 1, as it reads, seems to imply that a god named Madhuśrēṇika was installed at the adhishṭhāna or city of Krimilā during the reign of king Dharmapāla by the lady Ajhuka who was the wedded wife of a person named Sālo. If, however, the visārga in madhuśrēṇikab is ignored, that expression may be taken as an adjective of the personal name Sālo, although in either case its real import remains doubtful. In case the second alternative is preferred, it has to be assumed that, as in numerous other cases, the name of the deity installed by Sālo's wife is not mentioned in the record. That is, however, not an important matter. Nor has the reference to Dharmapāla's reign any special value to the students of history as the inclusion of the region, where the inscription has been found, in the dominions of the Pāla king is definitely known from other records. The chief interest of the inscription lies in the mention of the city of Krimilā where the image is said to have been installed. It is very interesting to note that the same city is also mentioned, under the spellings Krimilā and Krimilā,\textsuperscript{5} in inscriptions Nos. 2 and 3 to be discussed below. It is further mentioned in an inscription on a Dvādaśadītya slab which was installed in the 5th regnal year of Śūrapāla (possibly the first ruler of this name who flourished about the middle of the ninth century) and is now lying at Rājaunā, a village abutting on Valgūdar.\textsuperscript{6} It is very probable that the slab had been originally discovered at Valgūdar but was later carried to Rājaunā. It is thus clear that the small village of Valgūdar in the western fringe of the Monghyr District of Bihar stands on the site of the city of Krimilā famous in the days of the Pālas. There is again no doubt that this city was the head quarters of the visārga or district of the same name that formed a part of the Pāla dominions. The Monghyr copper-plate of Devapāla, who was the son and successor of Dharmapāla and reigned in circa 815-54 A. C. or 810-50 A. C. according to recent writers on the Pālas,\textsuperscript{7} was issued by the Pāla king from Mulagiri (modern Monghyr) and records the grant of a village situated in the Krimilā visārga forming a part of the Śrīnagara bhūkta. The bhūkta or province called Śrīnagara (literally 'the illustrious city') was no doubt named after Pātaliputra which was apparently the administrative head-quarters of the province in question. That Pātaliputra, of which the modern representative is Pānā (from Sanskrit pātana meaning a town, i.e., the town par excellence) was regarded as the city par excellence is known from the Jayamaṅgalā commentary on Vatsyāyana's Kāmasūtra,\textsuperscript{8} explaining words like nāgarakāh, nāgarikāh and nāgarikyaḥ (i.e., men and women of the nāgaras) as pātaliputrikāh, pātaliputrikāh and pātalipatrikyaḥ (i.e., men and women of Pātaliputra). The Śrīnagara bhūkta was often called Nāgarabhuṭki\textsuperscript{9} and possibly also Magadhabhuṭki.\textsuperscript{10} The exact location of the Krimilā

\textsuperscript{1} Ray, Dynastic History of Northern India, Vol. I, p. 384.
\textsuperscript{2} History of Bengal, Daen University, Vol. I, p. 177.
\textsuperscript{3} Ray, op. cit., p. 385.
\textsuperscript{4} History of Bengal, loc. cit.
\textsuperscript{5} The name is derived from a Sanskrit word which is spelt both as krmi and krmi.
\textsuperscript{6} The Rājaunā Pundévarī image inscription of the time of Śūrapāla, referred to above, also mentions Krimilā as the place of installation and appears to have been originally found at Valgūdar.
\textsuperscript{7} Cf. Ray, loc. cit.; History of Bengal, loc. cit.
\textsuperscript{8} VI, 3, 30: 9, 24.
\textsuperscript{10} Cf. ibid, pp. 33, 51, 52.
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vishaya in the above bhakti was hitherto impossible; but now it can safely be said that it was the area round the present village of Valgudar in the western part of the Monghyr District. It is possible further to suggest that the Krimilā vishaya was bounded in the east by a vishaya with its headquarters at Mudagari (i.e., Monghyr) and in the west by another with its headquarters at Nagara or Pālaniputra (near Pārnā). 1

The second of the three inscriptions records that the image of the Dēvi, on which it is incised, was the dēva-dharma of a person whose name appears to be Nīkāṭa. The first line of the record shows that the image was inscribed at the nākhita (city) of Krimilā. Three letters appearing to read gausa (or gausvā) follow the reference to the city, although it is difficult to say whether some other akshara after these three had been originally engraved but were later broken away. As it stands, the inscription may suggest that the name of the Dēvi was Gausa or Gausvā. Of course, no goddess of such a name is known to us; but, as has been suggested above, this popular deity was apparently worshipped in different localities under various local names. It may, however, also be suggested that these three letters form the first part of the name read at the beginning of the next line or that they, together with some following aksharas now lost, formed an adjective qualifying the person named Nīkāṭa.

Inscription No. 3 says that, on the eleventh day of the month of Jyaiśṭha in the 18th regnal year of king Madana-pāla, corresponding to Śaka 1083, an image of the god Nāyāya was inscraved at Krimilā by two Paramavishaya brothers who appear to have been named Abhi and Indā (Indra). They were the brothers of Bhāja-śrī-Sukīṭ(kṣiptima and sons of Bhāja-Paśūta-śrī-Vyāya (Vyāsa). Now the chief interest of this inscription lies in its dating both in the Śaka era and in the regnal reckoning of the Pāla king. It is well known that, of the numerous epigraphic records of the time of the Pāla emperors, only two were so long known to have been dated according to any era, while all others are only dated in the regnal years of particular kings. Thus there is absolutely no unanimity among scholars in regard to the dates of accession of the kings in question. The first of the two Pāla records dated according to any era is the Sārnāth inscription 2 of the time of Mahipyāla I dated in Vikrama Sāvat 1083 (1026 A. C.) ; but the record is not simultaneously dated in the king’s regnal reckoning and does not therefore offer any help in determining the initial year of the reign of Mahipyāla I. The second of the two records, referred to above, is the Gayā inscription 3 of Gōvindapāla, whose relationship with the known monarchs of the Pāla family could not be determined. This epigraph is dated in the Vikrama year 1232 (115 A. C.), styled Vickāra according to the Northern Cycle of Jupiter, as well as in the 14th year of the gaut-rāja of Gōvindapāla. The reference is, however, not to the pravah-dhammān-viṣaya-rāja (i.e., the increasingly victorious reign) of the king as is expected in such cases, but to his gaut-rāja, i.e., his sovereignty that was on the date in question a thing of the past. Although it appears quite clear from the date of this inscription that Gōvindapāla ascended the throne in Vikrama Sāvat

1 The Krimilā vishaya is also mentioned in the legend on several Nālandā seals. See ibid., pp. 34, 54. The village of Kavāla, known from the seals to have belonged to the said vishaya, may possibly be identical, as suggested to me by Mr. A. Ghosh, with the present Kawāla, 14 miles south-west of Valgudar. The spurious Nālandā plate of Samudragupta (cf. Select Inscriptions, Vol. I, pp. 262-64) records the grant of two villages one of which was situated in the Krimilā vishaya. Even if this spurious record, forged a few centuries after the middle of the fourth century when Samudragupta ruled, may not prove the existence of the vishaya in the Gupta age, it no doubt shows that the vishaya and therefore the city which gave the vishaya its name existed before the rise of the Pālas. The Nālāgarh image inscription (Ganesh Datta College Bulletin, No. 1, by B. K. Chowdhary, pp. 1-16) of the 24th regnal year of Vigrasha-pāla II or III mentions a vishaya of Krimilā.

2 Bhandarkar, List, No. 114.

3 Bhandarkar, op. cit., No. 370. The date is given as Sāvat 1222 Vikāra-sauvatāra śrī-Gōvindapāladēvapala-rājā chaturādāda-sauvatāra. The date corresponds to the 22nd September, 1175 A.C.
1219 (1162-63 A.C.) but that he lost his sovereignty before the 14th year counted from that date, most writers on Pala history believe that the reckoning started from the time when he lost his throne. Thus the actual reign period of GóvindaPála is usually placed before a date in Vikrama Suńvat 1219 (1162-63 A.C.1). There are no less than seven Buddhist manuscripts copied at Gáya and Nálandá referring to king GóvindaPála in the colophon.2 Only one of these refers to the 4th year of his vijaya-rája indicating no doubt that GóvindaPála reigned at least up to the fourth year after his coronation, i.e., from Vikrama Suńvat 1219 (1162-63 A.C.) to 1222 (1165-66 A.C.). In four cases, the colophons associate the dates (years 21, 37, 38 and 39) simply with GóvindaPála without referring either to his vijaya-rája or to his gata-rája; but, in two other cases, the colophons remarkably agree with the phrasology of the Gayá inscription in referring respectively to the 18th uña year of GóvindaPála and to the 38th year of his diná-shaštra-rája (i.e., destroyed sovereignty). It is therefore clear that GóvindaPála lost his sovereignty between the fourth (V. S. 1222=1165-66 A.C.) and the fourteenth year (V. S. 1232=1174-75 A.C.) after his coronation, although some people of South Bihar, especially the Buddhists, continued to refer to the rule of this Buddhist king in dating their records in preference to the non-Buddhist rule that possibly followed GóvindaPála's overthrow from that region. The above dates of GóvindaPála's accession and of the loss of his sovereignty are corroborated by the inscription under discussion.

We have seen that the Valgúčar inscription of Madanapála, who is the last known member of the Pala royal house, is dated in Saka 1083 which was the 18th regnal year of the said Pala king. The actual date quoted is the eleventh day of Jayaśthha, corresponding to the 4th May 1161 A.C. This shows beyond doubt that Madanapála began to rule in Saka 1066=Vikrama Suńvat 1201=1144-15 A.C. and continued to reign at least up to Saka 1083=Vikrama Suńvat 1218=1161-62 A.C. The first regnal year of GóvindaPála, as we have already seen, corresponds to Vikrama Suńvat 1219=Saka 1084=1162-63 A.C. This shows that there was hardly any interval between the end of Madanapála's reign and the accession of GóvindaPála. It thus appears almost certain that GóvindaPála was the immediate successor, if not actually the son, of Madanapála. The date of the Javangar inscription of the time of Madanapála was originally read as the regnal year 19 which, however, is wrong, as an error, thus the duration of Madanapála's reign, previously known to have been only about 14 years, is now definitely established to have been at least about 18 years.

The Pala emperors are known to have ruled over Bengal and Bihar, although about the time of Madanapála and GóvindaPála practically the whole of Bengal appears to have been lost to the Sénas who hailed from Karpúta or the Kamarupa area of South India. The reign of Vijayaséna, the first imperial ruler of the Sén dynasty, is now assigned to the period circa 1095-1158 or circa 1125-28 A.C. while his son and successor Vallabésena is supposed to have reigned in circa 1154-79 A.C.3 Like the Sénas of Bengal, another Karpúta dynasty was established in North Bihar by Nánadéva in 1097 A.C. The independent rule of this family is known to have continued

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1 The regnal years appear to have been counted as corresponding to the calendar years, so that the last regnal year of one and the first of his successor usually corresponded to the same calendar year. Cf. the same procedure followed in counting the Anka years of the later rulers of Orissa (J.A.S.B., 1903, p. 109).

2 See History of Bengal, op. cit., p. 171, note.

3 R. D. Banerji, Pálos of Bengal (Memoirs of the A.S.B., Vol. V), pp. 110-12. The dates are given as (1) Śrīnāla-GóvindaPála śastra-rája-saṁaja 4; (2) Śrīnāla-GóvindaPála śastra-rája-saṁaja 51 Kárthika-dwitiya 15; (3) Śrīnāla-GóvindaPála Suńvat 24 Chitra-dvitiya 8; (4) GóvindaPálaśastraŚrāvaṇa Suńvat 37 Śrāvaṇa-dvitiya 11; (5) Śrīnāla-GóvindaPálaśastra Śrāvaṇa-dvitiya ashadha-saśat-samratnabhikhyamānete Jayasēna-kihyā-dvajagānaśa 76; (6) the 38th year of GóvindaPála". (7) Śrīnāla-GóvindaPálaśastra Śrāvaṇa Suńvat 39 Bhādra-dvitiya 11. The fifth quotation points to the month being regarded as lunar and pratimandaka.

4 History of Bengal, op. cit., p. 175.

5 Ibid., p. 231.
for a long time. It therefore seems that Gōvindapāla succeeded Madanapāla only over some districts of South Bihar, though even there the later Pālas were struggling for their existence with the Gāhadāvālas of the U. P. The Maner plate3 of 1124 A. C. show that the Gāhadāvālas had already advanced as far as the Patna District where the Gāhadāvāla king Gōvindachandra (circa 1114-55 A. C.) granted in that year a piece of land not far from Patna. The last plate4 of 1146 A. C. show that the same Gāhadāvāla king was during that year staying at Madagāri or Monghyr. These records suggest that the later Pālas, who were Buddhists, were ousted from the Patna and Monghyr Districts by the Brahmans Gāhadāvālas. But the Valgūdār inscription of 1161 A. C., referring to the Krimīlā vīrāgī, situated between Patna and Monghyr, as a part of Madanapāla's dominions, no doubt points to the success of this king against the Gāhadāvāla rulers5. Whether, however, Madanapāla's successor Gōvindapāla was ruling only over the Gayā District and the adjoining area or whether his dominions also included the whole of the Patna and Monghyr Districts cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. The Bālāghaya inscription6 of Gāhadāvāla Jayachandra (circa 1170-93 A. C.), however, shows that it was the Gāhadāvālas who overthrew the Pālas even from the Gayā District. The date of the Bālāghaya inscription falls between Vikrama Śaṅkū 1210 (1183-84 A. C.) and 1219 (1192-93 A. C.), but probably towards the earlier part of this period. The Sīlvar plate7 bearing an earlier date (1175 A. C.) appear to refer to a grant of land made by king Jayachandra in the Patna District.

As already noticed above, the Pālas dated their charters according to their regnal reckoning. This is also the case with the private records of their time. The use of the Vikrama Śaṅkū in the Gayā inscription of Gōvindapāla, which is not an official record of the king, may be explained by the fact that this era, which was quite popular in the U. P.,2 may have infiltrated itself in South Bihar especially when the Gāhadāvālas succeeded Gōvindapāla. The Gāhadāvāla inscriptions, discovered in Bihar, are dated in the Vikrama Śaṅkū and the Gayā inscription referring to Gōvindapāla's lost sovereignty belongs apparently to this period of Gāhadāvāla occupation of South Bihar. Of course, the Buddhists of Banaras may also have been partially responsible for carrying the use of the Vikrama era to the Buddhist sites of Bihar. But even if the use of the era of Vikrama in Gōvindapāla's Gayā inscription can be rather easily explained, it seems difficult to explain the dating of the Valgūdār inscription of Madanapāla in the Śaka era. This era was adopted by the imperial Gaṅgas of Orissa about the end of the tenth century probably from their southern neighbours, the Eastern Chāluṅgas of the Andhra country. With the expansion of the Gaṅga power about the beginning of the twelfth century towards the north-east up to the Bhādirathī or the present Hooghly river, the use of the Śaka era must have been known in the south-western fringe of Bengal. But the popularity of this era in Bengal seems to have been actually due to the establishment of the power of the Sēnas who hailed from a country where the era was popular. The fact that the Sēnas followed their predecessors, the Pālas, in dating their

4 There is another image inscription, dated in the 3rd year of Madanapāla's reign, corresponding to 1146-47 A. C., which was found at Bihar in the Patna District. The Jeynagar image inscription, referred to above, is dated in his 14th regnal year, corresponding to 1157-58 A.C. The village of Jeynagar is known to be near Luckeensāra (in the Monghyr District), but is placed in the Gayā District, (see Cunningham, A.S.R., Vol. III, p. 25)
apparently through mistake.
5 Bhandarkar, List. No. 401.
7 The popularity of the Vikrama Śaṅkū in the U. P. was due especially to the Gaurā-Pṛthvīrāja emperors, although it was used in an earlier age by the Maubharā and the Mahāshākya-Bhandarkar, List. Nos. 20, 34). The dating of the Sarnāth inscription of the time of Mahipāla I was due to this local influence.
charters according to regnal reckoning in preference to the Śaka era, exhibits the influence of local practice. The same conservatism in regard to the method of dating is also noticed in similar other cases. Records referring to the rule of the Gurjara-Pratihāra king Mahāndrapāla found in Bihar and North Bengal, temporarily occupied by the king after having defeated the Pāla king Nārāyaṇapāla (c. 851–908 A.C.), are dated according to his regnal reckoning and not according to the Vikrama era as is the case with the official Gurjara-Pratihāra charters as well as other records of their time found in other parts of the eastern empire. Inspite of the fact, however, that the Sennas did not use the Śaka era in their official records, its growing popularity in Bengal during the Śena age is proved by the use of this era in epigraphic and literary records of the period such as Vandayagatīva Sarvānanda’s work, *Tikāsāravamsa* (composed in Śaka 1081=1159-60 A. C.),1 the *Adhīhatvayoga* (commenced in Śaka 1059=1157 A.C. or Śaka 1090=1168 A.C.) and *Dūnasīgara* (composed in Śaka 1061=1169 A.C.), both ascribed to king Vallīlasena,2 the Sundarabani of Dūmanpāla (Śaka 1118=1196 A.C.),3 the *Sudhakāvīmāṇīta* (composed in Śaka 1127=1206-06 A.C.) by Śrīharadā-,4 the Tippatah plate5 (Śaka 1141=1219 A.C.) of Harikālādēva Nāpavavakarna-malla and the Chittagong plate6 (Śaka 1153=1213 A.C.) of Dāmōda. Its introduction in Sylhet and Assam during the same age is indicated by such records as Vallabhaḷēva’s inscription7 of Śaka 1107 (1185 A.C.) and the Kanabharhi rock inscription8 of Śaka 1127 (1206 A.C.). The introduction of the era in North Bihar9 may have been due to the establishment of the rule of the Karnā dynasty in that country referred to above. Yet these facts do not quite clearly explain the use of the Śaka era in the Vallūdar inscription of the time of Madanapāla discovered in a village in the western part of the Monghyr District. Not only because the cause of its infiltration in that area is unknown, but also because here we have one of the earliest amongst the epigraphic and literary documents dated in the Śaka era so far found in East India.10 It has possibly to be suggested that the Brāhmaṇa brothers who were responsible for the inscription in question were not original inhabitants of the city of Kṛimilā, but had hailed from a territory where the use of the Śaka era had become or was becoming popular.11

The only place name mentioned in the three inscriptions is that of the city of Kṛimilā, the identification of which has already been discussed above.

Inscription No. 1

TEXT

1 Śiddhām [†] Rāj-Dharmamānapāladeva-rājya kṛimilādikhiḥpahā Madhavānika[b]  
2 Śāla-dharmamānapāla-ājñākāna dēva-dharmmāyaṃ kāritāḥ ||

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1 Kāleśvara (G.O.S.), p. xxvii.  
5 Bhāndārkar, op. cit., No. 1112.  
6 Ibid., No. 1114. The Mehar plate of this king has the date Śaka 1156.  
7 Ibid., No. 1107.  
8 Ibid., No. 1109.  
9 Cf. ibid., No. 1126.  
10 Theories tracing the use of the Śaka era in Eastern India in earlier centuries (cf. J. G. J. R. I., Vol. II, pp. 349 ff.) are unwarranted.  
12 From impressions.  
13 Expressd by a symbol.  

MGIPC—81—7 DGA—39-12-32—430.
THREE INSCRIPTIONS FROM VALGUDAR

No. 1

Scale: Three-tenths

No. 2

Actual Size

No. 3

Scale: Three-quarters
No. 26. THREE INSCRIPTIONS FROM VALGUDAR

TRANSLATION

Let there be success! (The god) Madhusurēṇīka (is installed) at the city of Krimilā during the reign of the illustrious Dharmapālādeva; this meritorious gift (i.e., the image) is caused to be made by Ajhuka, who is the wife of Sālā.

Inscription No. 2

TEXT

1 Śiddham["""] Krimī[ā]dhishṭhān[ē] Gausa(sati)vā
2 Nī[kt]tāsya [dē]dhvarmmō[=yaṁ(yam)]]

TRANSLATION

Let there be success! (The goddess) Gausāvā (or Gausēvā) (is installed) at the city of Krimilā; this is the meritorious gift of Nīktāta.

Inscription No. 3

TEXT

1 Śiddham["""] ārīman-Madanapā[la]-rājyā[jya]-saṁ 18 Jyaish[ṭha]-dinē 11 śrī-Kra(Kri)m-[i]layāṁ bha-
2 [Ṭa]-paṇḍita-srī-V[yā]ya(sati)-ntayōḥ bhaṭṭa-srī-Sukri[ṭa]-srī-um-bhrātr-srī-bhaṭṭa-srī-Abhī,

TRANSLATION

Let there be success! On the eleventh day of Jyaishṭha in the year 18 of the reign of the illustrious Madanapaḷa; at Krimilā; this image of the illustrious god Nārāyaṇa belongs to the illustrious Bhaṭṭa Abhi and Inda (Indra), who are devout worshippers of Vishṇu, who are the brothers of the illustrious Bhaṭṭa Sukṛitrīma and who are the sons of the illustrious Bhaṭṭa paṇḍita Vṛṇḍā (Vṛṇḍa). (The year) 1083 of the Śaka king.

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1 For alternative suggestions, see above, p. 140.
2 If this is taken as the name of Sālā’s wife, the masculine ending (Ajhuka) remains unexplained.—Ed.
3 From impressions.
4 Expressed by a symbol.
5 Read dēva-dharmmō.
6 For alternative suggestions, see above, p. 141.
7 From impressions.
8 Expressed by a symbol which is damaged.
9 [These two syllables seem to read Sēkū.—Ed.]
10 Correctly āry-Abh-Inda(ṇdā)yōḥ. The first name may either be Abhī or the ēka-dīśa of a name like Abhīmāṇaṃ.
11 DGA
No. 27—DAIKONI PLATES OF PRITHVIDEVA II: YEAR 890

(I Plate)

M. Venkataramayya, Ootacamund

This is a set of two thick oblong copper plates discovered at the village of Daikonī, near Akaltār, District Bilaspur, Central Provinces (Madhya Pradesh). The copper plates were in the possession of the Mārgār of Daikonī and the information about the existence of the charter was conveyed to the Government Epigraphist in 1944 by Pt. L. P. Pandeya. With the help of the Deputy Commissioner, Bilaspur District, the originals were secured by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, the Government Epigraphist for India, with whose kind permission I edit the record here.

The plates have slightly raised rims to protect the writing. Each of them measures about 11-8 inches in length and 7 inches in height. They are strung together by a circular ring passing through a hole about 0.6 inch in diameter, which is bored in the middle of the length-side of the plates at the top. The ring is about 1-5 inches in diameter. To this is soldered a circular seal of about 2-5 inches in diameter. The seal contains at the top the emblem of the Gaṅgālakeshṇī which covers about half its space. Below this is engraved the legend, 1 Rūjā-sīvāvat Prthvīdeva 2 vaḥ engraved in two lines and in the Nāgarī script of about the 12th century A. C. Both the plates are engraved on the inner side only, the first plate containing 13 lines and the second 14 lines of writing. The set weighs 257 tola, the ring alone weighing 33 tola.

The characters of the inscription are Nāgarī and are well engraved. There have been practically no mistakes in engraving and no erasures. The language of the record is Sanskrit. Except for the opening words which contain the salutation to Brahman and the last words recording the date, the whole inscription is in verse. There are in all eighteen verses, including the imprecatory verses, and they are all numbered. The dāṇgas are marked for the calves as well as at the ends of the verses. As regards orthography, the writing shows the same peculiarities that are found in almost all the records of the period, i.e., 12th century A. C. They are the following: (i) use of e for o except in two cases: babhūvār, line 8 and babhūvā, line 14; (ii) use of dental s for the palatal s (iii) the duplication of the consonant after r. The anuvṛtta sign is employed wherever necessary. The form of o may be noted as it has little difference from p except that its box is absolutely square and hence angular at the left bottom instead of being rounded off as for p.

The object of the charter is to record a gift made by king Prthvīdeva II, a Kulaehuri king of Ratnapur, whose genealogy is traced from the sun, from whom was first born king Manu, the ādatāja. From Manu was descended Kārttavīrya, in whose family were born a number of kings called the Haibhayas. Among them was Kōkkala, who obtained fame as a noble and philanthropic king. He had eighteen sons of whom the eldest became the lord of Tripuri. He made his brothers lords of māṇḍalas.2 In the progeny of one of these younger brothers was born Kalingarāja. His son was Kamalarāja to whom was born Ratnarāja (I). From Ratnarāja (I) was born through Nōnallā2 a son called Prthvīdeva (I). Prthvīdeva (I)’s son by Rajaladāvi was Jājalladāvi. His son was Ratnadāva (II) who secured the wealth (i.e., was the lord) of the entire Kōsala country. Prthvīdeva II, the donor of the present charter, was his son. He is stated to have granted the

1 C. P. No. 2 of A. R. S. I. E., for 1944–45.
2 The text of the record at this place reads āsūvē (āśē) cha māṇḍala-patān = sa chakāra va(h)-aṇḍhān. In the Ratnapur inscription of Jājalladāva I (above, Vol. I, p. 34, text line 6) the corresponding passage reads śēkāmā = cha maṇḍala-patān = sa chakāra va(h)-aṇḍhān.
3 In the Anodā plates of Prthvīdeva I (above, Vol. XIX, p. 79, text line 16) her name is given as Nōnallā.
village of Vudukuni in Madhya-desa with all its incomes to one Vishnu, a Brahman of the Vatsa gatra and of the pancha-pravara. The donee is described as the foremost of the trivedin scholars, as possessing a fine character developed out of his knowledge of all sastras and agamas and as comparable to Vishnu. He was the dutiful son of Shivalasa who was likewise an obedient son of Shrattama. The occasion for the gift made by the king is stated to be a lunar eclipse which occurred on Kárthika 15. The date of the charter is given as Sainvat 890, Margya va di 11, Ravan. As in the case of the other records of the family, and especially of those of Prithvîdeva II, in some of which the year is stated to be the Kalachuri sainvat,1 the year quoted in the present inscription must also be referred to the Kalachuri-Chedi era. In the Amodá plates of Prithvîdeva I,2 and the Kharod inscription of Ratnadéva III,3 the year is specifically stated as the Chédásasya sainvat. Thus, referring the year quoted in the Daikoni plates to this era which began in 247-8 A.C., it is found that the date and its details given correspond to 1138 A.C., October 30, Sunday, 24 Jan. 45, in accordance with the pûrṇimanta calculation of the lunar months. The lunar eclipse on Kárthika 15 referred to in the inscription must have been the one which occurred just eleven days earlier, on October 19 of the same year which was the day of Kárthika 15. Prof. Mirashi has shown that the Kalachuri year began on the 1st tithi of the bright fortnight of the pûrṇimanta Kárthika4 and it is found that the date of our record follows the same calculation.5 It will also be clear that it was the expired Kalachuri year 890 that is quoted in our inscription since the details of the tithi and week-day given in it do not correspond to any date in the Margaśiras month of 1137 A.C. but only of 1138 A.C. Further, the lunar eclipse mentioned in the record as the occasion for the gift occurred not in 1137 A.C. but only in 1138 A.C. on Wednesday, October 19, which was the day of Kárthikapûrṇimā.

Most of the verses describing the genealogy of Prithvîdeva II in the present charter are identical with those found in other charters of the family, viz., the four sets of the Amodá plates of which one belongs to Prithvîdeva I,6 two to Prithvîdeva II,7 his grandson, and the fourth to Jájalladéva II,8 the son of Prithvîdeva II. Verses 1 to 11 of the present plates which take the genealogy up to Ratnadéva II are again identical with the first eleven verses of the Sarkhö plates of the same king, Ratnadéva II. It would therefore appear that the text of this genealogy was at first composed in the time of Prithvîdeva I, the grandfather of Ratnadéva II and was employed by his successors without much alteration except what was added with reference to the successive donor-kings. The later members of the family, viz., Jájalladéva II and Pratâpamalla9, have, in their records, also utilised this text, but only partly, amending it considerably in some places.

There is practically nothing new of historical importance in the present charter, since it contains only a conventional description of the princes of the family whose genealogy is well known and even

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1. Rājūn stone inscription of Jagaśapāla, K. 896 (Ind. Ant., Vol. XVII, p. 139); Ratanpar inscription of Prithvîdeva II (K. 910), (Bhandárkar’s List, No. 1239).
5. The date quoted in the Amodá plates of Prithvîdeva I, viz., Chédî year 831, Phalğuna va di 7, Sunday, corresponding, as it does, to 1079 A.C., January 27, Sunday, follows the same pûrṇimanta calculation and the year quoted is the expired one.
in regard to the donor himself, Prthvídeva II, nothing is recorded as to his conquests or other achievements. The only fact of importance pertaining to the record is that it contains the earliest date for this king, viz., K. 890. His other records, both on stone and on copper so far discovered range in date from K. 893 to K. 915. Hence it is learnt from the present inscription that he ruled from K. 890, i.e., 1138 A. C. That he ruled at least up to K. 915 or 1163 A. C. is known from his record at Ratanpur bearing that date.\textsuperscript{1} The earliest date known for his son and successor Jājalladēva II is K. 919 or 1167-8 A. C. supplied by his Mallār stone inscription.\textsuperscript{2} Hence the period of rule of Prthvidēva II can be placed between 1138 A. C. to 1165 A. C. or roughly from c. 1135 to 1165 A. C.\textsuperscript{3}

It may be observed that of the inscriptions of the Kalachuri princes of the Ratanpur line, the largest number, nearing about a dozen, belong to the reign of Prthvidēva II, the donor of the present charter. It is curious that no record of his early ancestors up to the time of Prthvidēva I have so far been discovered. The Amodā plates\textsuperscript{4} of this king dated Chēdi year 831 is the earliest record of the family. Of his son and successor Jājalladēva I we have only one inscription so far discovered, viz., the Ratanpur stone inscription dated year 866.\textsuperscript{5} His son Ratnadēva II, the father of Prthvidēva II of our inscription, has left two records, viz., the Seorinarayan plates\textsuperscript{6} and the Sarkhā plates\textsuperscript{7} bearing dates 878 and 880 respectively. Besides these kings who were predecessors of Prthvidēva II, other princes of the line who came after him have also left a few records. Of Jājalladēva II, the son and successor of Prthvidēva II, two inscriptions have been secured, viz., the Mallār stone inscription\textsuperscript{8} dated year 919 and the Amodā plates issued in the same year.\textsuperscript{9} The next prince of the family for whose reign an inscription is available is Ratnadēva III, son of Jagaddēva, the elder brother of Jājalladēva II. His Kharod inscription dated Chēdi samvat 933 has been edited in this journal.\textsuperscript{10} The son and successor of Ratnadēva III was Pratāpamalla, the last known prince of the Ratanpur branch of the Kalachuris, whose Pēndrabandh plates were issued in the year 965.\textsuperscript{11}

Reviewing the dynasty as a whole, it will be seen from the records of the family so far available and from the dates quoted in them, which, as has been pointed out above, have all to be referred to the Kalachuri-Chēdi era, that every one of these kings must have had sufficiently long reigns averaging from twenty to twenty-five years. This fact would be apparent from the interval that can be noticed between the dates of the records of the successive kings. Thus between the dated records of Prthvidēva I and his successor Jājalladēva I there is an interval of about 35 years which must have been partly covered by their respective reigns. Similar intervals are found between the other members of the family. On a broad calculation, the duration of the rule of each king can be indicated. I give below a tentative scheme of the chronology of such of the rulers of this line of the Ratanpur Kalachuris for whom a continuous genealogy is available.

\textsuperscript{1} Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 255.
\textsuperscript{2} Above, Vol. I, p. 39.
\textsuperscript{3} Above, Vol. XIX, p. 75.
\textsuperscript{4} Above, Vol. I, p. 32.
\textsuperscript{5} Ind. Hist. Qtr., Vol. IV, p. 31.
\textsuperscript{6} Above, Vol. XXII, p. 159. The Paragon plates of Ratnadēva II, dated K. 885, recently discovered constitute the third known record of this king. Along with this charter was found another grant of Prthvidēva II dated K. 897.
\textsuperscript{7} Above, Vol. I, p. 39.
\textsuperscript{8} Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 209 ff. and plates. Prof. Mirashi is probably correct in reading the date of this record as 919 and not as 912 as was read by Hirai (above, Vol. XXVI, p. 257 and n. 1).
\textsuperscript{9} Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 139 ff. and plate.
\textsuperscript{10} Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 1 ff. and plate.
It is rather difficult to fix the dates for the predecessors of Kaliṅgarāja, vī., the prince called lord of Tripūrī and his father Kökkala. For, none of the records of this line gives any clue as to the probable duration of the interval between Kaliṅgarāja and his predecessor, the lord of Tripūrī.¹ Divergent views have been expressed regarding the probable identity of Kökkala, whether he is to be identified with the first or the second king of that name in the main Kalachuri line of Tripūrī.² It seems quite certain that he cannot be Kökkala II, since this king who was the father of Gāṅgēyadeva Vikramāditya (c. 1030-1040 A. D.)² lived much later than the probable date that can be assigned to Kökkala, the ancestor of Kaliṅgarāja (c. 990-1015 A. D.) of the Ratanpur

¹ Alone of all the inscriptions of the dynasty, the Kharol inscription of Ratnādēva III: Chēdi 933, states that Kaliṅganjipati was one of the 18 sons (born of Kökkala?). This is evidently a fabrication (above, Vol. XXI, p. 161 and text lines 4-5).
³ Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 104.
Haihayas. Evidently he must be identical with Kōkkala I, who according to the chronology of the Haihayas kings of the main Triputi line lived about 850-885 A. C.\(^1\)

Since Kōkkala, the predecessor of Kaliṅgarāya of the Ratanpur line, is described in the Amodā plate of Pythividēva I as having taken the treasures of those born of the Turushka families, it has been held that the reference may not be to Kōkkala I of the Triputi family who belonged to a period anterior to any Muhammadan invasion of North India.\(^2\) Granting that the exploit is true to facts, there is nothing improbable or anachronistic in assuming that it was Kōkkala I of the 9th century A. C. that should be credited with it. For, although the regular Muhammadan invasions came much later, yet even in the period of the Bādāmi Chālukyas there have been invasions of Gujarāt by the Muslims proceeding from the direction of Sind. It is known that Pulakēśī-Avaniṇāsraya of Gujarāt encountered an invasion of the Tājikas whom he repulsed sometime about 735 A. C. during the reign of Vīramāditya.\(^3\) The Tājikas were none other than the Arab Muhammadans of Sind, and Muhammadan historians like Al Bīladrī refer to the expeditions which the Arabs of Sind directed against the kingdoms of Barus (Broach), Uzain (Ujjain), Māliba (Malwā) and Jarz (Gujarāt).\(^4\) It is well known that the Rāshtrakūṭa empire was referred to by the Muslim chroniclers as the ‘kingdom of the Bāhara’ and that it included among its subjects a fair number of Muslims.\(^5\) Hence it is not unlikely, as shown above, that Kōkkala, the father of the prince called lord of Triputi, of the Ratanpur line, was Kōkkala I who lived about 850-885 A. C. We can now have an idea of the interval between the lord of Triputi and Kaliṅgarāya. It appears that it is covered by three generations of kings and hence of a total duration of about 75 years. This gap in the genealogy is not entirely un-accountable; it was precisely during this interval (c. 910-990 A. C.) that the ancestors of Kaliṅgarāya lost the country of Tummaṅa. It was Kaliṅgarāya who seems to have re-established his sway over it. The statement in the Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladēva I (1114 A. C.) that Kaliṅgarāya selected Tummaṅa as his capital, since the place had previously been selected for the purpose by his ancestors\(^6\) supports this surmise.

Pythividēva II is not described in the present charter with any high sounding titles or achievements to his credit. The record dated, as it is, in K. 890 which is the earliest date known for him so far, seems to have been issued early in his reign before he had made any conquests of his own. That he was a powerful king and that in his reign some conquests were made is learnt from the Rājum stone inscription of Jagapāla of K. 896\(^7\) in which Jagapāla is stated to have conquered the forts of Sāparatīgālīha (Sarangarh) and Mavākāsaṅhāva and the country of Bharamavardha during the reign of Pythividēva II. Again the Ratanpur stone inscription dated K. 915,\(^8\) the latest inscription of his reign, describes him as the lord of Kōsala and states that his feudatory, Brahmadēva of the Talālā Karāṭi, obtained a victory over Jāṭēśvara, who is evidently identical with the homonymous son of Anantavarman-Chōdējaganā. The same victory over Jāṭēśvara is attributed to Pythividēva himself in the Kharod inscription of Ratnadēva III of Chōdi year 933.\(^9\) Another subordinate of his, Vallabharāya, overran Lajāha and reduced the Gauḍa king as stated in a stone inscription from Akaltāra\(^10\) not far from Daikoni, the finds spot of the present charter. Yet

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1. Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 258 and n. 6, H. C. Ray (Dynastic History of North India, Vol. II, p. 754) adduces reasons for giving Kōkkala I the dates 875-925 A.C.
3. Above, Vol. XXV, p. 27.
5. Ibid, p. 27.
another general of his, 11th century a is credited with a number of exploits like the conquest of the Khiminiḍja manyala, the 10th century manyala, Daṇḍapura, Khijjiṅga, the killing of Haravōhu and the threatening of the ruler of Daṇḍabhuṅki.1 Since Vallabharāja and Purushottama were also the generals of Prithvīdeva's father Ratnadeva II, it is doubtful if the conquests attributed to them were all effected during the reign of Prithvīdeva II or earlier. Among the conquests that can definitely be assigned to his reign, the most important are his capture of the Bhrmaravadvāra dēla and the defeat inflicted on Jāṭēśvara, the Eastern Gaṅga prince.

The identification of many of the territories and princes conquered by Prithvīdeva II and his father Ratnadeva II and those by his grandfather Jájjaladeva I has been satisfactorily made with a few exceptions to which I may draw attention here. To begin with, the Bhrmaravadvāra dēla may not be Bāmrā, east of Sārāṅagar, as Kielhorn thought, but is evidently the Bhrmarakōṭya manyala, the name by which Chakrakōṭya or the modern Bastar State was known.2 During the period in which Prithvīdeva II ruled in Kōsala, Bastar was under the rule of the Nāgavāṇii kings, of whom Kanharadeva, son of Sōmēśvara was perhaps his contemporary. Khijjiṅga, reduced by Purushottama, is the modern Khicking in the Mayūrbhanj State, now merged in Orissa.3 It is referred to as Khijjiṅga-kōṭya in the inscriptions of the Adi Bāhūja kings of the 9-10th century A.C. It is not known who the ruler of Khijjiṅga was when Purushottama conquered it. Of the adversaries of Jájjaladeva I, Sōmēśvara whose army was captured, and Bāhubala of Suvānapura who was defeated, have not satisfactorily been identified. It has been suggested by Hiralal that Sōmēśvara was the homonymous ruler of the Chakrakōṭya manyala or Bastar.4 Recently Mr. G. Ramadas has adduced reasons for identifying him with Sōmēśvara II, a Chōla prince who was ruling at Suvānapura, i.e., Sonepur on the Mahāndri in Orissa.5 I am more inclined to agree with Mr. Ramadas in this identification, though the arguments adduced by Hiralal in support of the former identification are not the less strong. Sōmēśvara of Bastar, who claims to have conquered a number of countries, including Ratnapura, the very capital of Jájjaladeva I, and also to have taken 6 lakhs and 96 villages of the Kōsala country, was indeed too powerful a king to have been captured by the Ratanpur ruler. Secondly, the Kharod inscription of Ratnadeva III states that Jájjaladeva I defeated Bāhubala of Suvānapura.6 The mention of Suvānapura as the capital of Bāhubala renders it very likely that this chief must have been one of the contemporary Chōla rulers of the lineage of Chandrāditya who were ruling at Suvānapura in this period.7 Evidently Sōmēśvara mentioned in the Ratanpur inscription of Jájjaladeva I is identical with Bāhubala of Suvānapura mentioned in the Kharod record, since neither of the two inscriptions mentions any other prince by name as Jájjaladeva's adversary.8 One more argument in support of Mr. Ramadas's identification, which, however, cannot be pressed far, is that Ratnadeva II, the son and successor of Jájjaladeva I, assumes the title of Mahārājaka,9 which he did perhaps in imitation of Sōmēśvara II of Suvānapura, who donned the title of Rājarka.10 Further, the princes of both the families are found to assume the high sounding epithet of Sākala-Kōsali-ādhiśvara, thus indicating that there existed rivalry between them for the lordship of Kōsala.

1 Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 270. Dr. D. C. Sinha would read Haravōhu as Haravōna.
3 Above, Vol. IX, p. 312.
7 Above, Vol. XXI, p. 163, text l. 6.
8 See the article on Mahādit plates of Sōmēśvaradevarman (III) further on in this Volume.
9 Dr. D. C. Sinha adducing the same argument identifies Sōmēśvara with Ramara Sōmēśvara of the Kēla
GōKarṇa who was the other chief, besides Chōḍa-Gaṅga, stated to have been defeated by RatnaDeva II has not satisfactorily been identified either. Prof. Mirashi considered it likely that GōKarṇa was another name of Jaṭėśvara, the son of Chōḍa-Gaṅga.¹ I may, in this connection, draw attention to a GōKarṇa, a Telugu Chōḍa prince of Vardhamānapurā (Hyderabad), of whose reign there is a record at Ėlēśvaram in the Nizam’s dominions, dated Chālukya-Vikrama year 33 (wrong), Plava, i.e., 1126-7 A. C.² A few other members of his family are also known from inscriptions to have been ruling parts of Hyderabad territory.³ GōKarṇa of the Ėlēśvaram record cited above is evidently the same as the homonymous person mentioned in the Anmakoṇḍa inscription of Kākatiya Rudra (1162 A. C.)⁴ and of whom it is stated in that record that he was murdered by his own brother Bhīma. Since his date, i.e., 1127 A. C. would make him a contemporary of RatnaDeva II, the father of Prithvidēva II of our record, it is not unlikely that he was the GōKarṇa whom RatnaDeva II is stated to have defeated. Whether GōKarṇa was defeated along with Chōḍa-Gaṅga in the same campaign or in a different encounter cannot be stated definitely.

As for the geographical names occurring in these plates, Vuḍukunī in the Madhyadēsa has to be looked for in the vicinity of the Lāpba Zamindāri of the Bilaspur District. For, the Madhya dēśa is apparently identical with the Madhya manḍala, mentioned in both the sets of the Amodā plates of Prithvidēva II as the division in which were situated Ávalā and Buṅbudur, two villages which are at present represented by Aurā Bhātā and Burbur, both in the Lāpba Zamindāri.⁵ The Madhya manḍala or Madhya dēśa is here indicative, not of the Madhya dēśa of classical references⁶ which is now modern United Provinces (Uttar Pradesh), but of the central portion of the dominion of the Ratnapur chiefs. Hence Vuḍukunī is to be located in the vicinity of Ratnapur itself. I would identify it with Daikon. *self, the findspot of these plates, which is a few miles south-east of Ratnapur, near Akaltārā.*

TEXT⁷

[Metres : Vv. 1, 9, 12, 13, 15, 17 and 18 Anuśṭubh ; 2, 6 and 11 Upajāti ; 3 Srogdharā ; 4 and 10 Śārdūlavikṛṣitā : 5, 7 and 8 Vasantaṭilakā ; 14 Āryā ; 16 Mandākrāntā.]

First Plate

¹ Siddham² [[*]] Ōṁ namō Vra(Bra)hmaṇe ³ Nirgguṇam vyāpakaṁ nityam Śivam parama-kāraṇam | bhāva-grāhyaṁ parājñyōtis-tasmiṁ sad-vra(d-bra)hmaṇe namaḥ || 1 ||

¹ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 162 and n. 1.
³ Telangana Inscriptions, Vol. I, (Hyderabad, 1935), Chālukya Inscriptions, No. 23. Misc. Insa., Nos. 2, 5 and 18. These furnish the following genealogy : Śomārāja, m. 2 wives

Udayāditya  ——> Bhīma, 1124 A.C.  ——> GōKarṇa, (1127 A.C.)

- Toọḍa

⁵ Ind. Hist. Quart., Vol. I, pp. 47-8. Evidently the Madhya dēśa mentioned in the Sarkhā plates of RatnaDeva (above, Vol. XXII, pp. 163-4) as the country from which the donor of that charter hailed is the Madhya dēśa of our record and not the Madhya dēśa of classical references.
⁷ From impressions.
⁸ Expressed by a iy bol.
Daikoni Plates of Prithvideva II: Year 890

B. Ch. Chhabra

SCALE: ONE-HALF
Survey of India, Calcutta
Seal

(From a Photograph: Enlarged)
2 Yaddé-tad-agresaram-anvam(mamba)rasya yötih sa pūṣhā purushaḥ purāṇaḥ | ath-āṣya putro Manur-ādi-rājas-tad-anvayē-'bhūd-bhuvi Kā-

3 rtaviryaḥ || 2 || Dévah śri-Kārtaviryaḥ kshiti-patir-abhavad-bhūhaṇam bhūta-dhātriḥ bṛ-ōkṣipt-ādri-vi(bi)bhyat-tuhaṇa-

4 giri-sūt-āśeṣa-santōshit-ōcama | dōr-dadaṇḍ-ākāraṇa-sētu-pratigamita-mahāväri-Rāva-pravāha-

5 ksha-pūjā-guru-janita-rushaṇ Rāvaṇaṁ yō vuvanīḥda(babandha) || 3 || Tad-vanśa-pra-

6 yūḥ-tāṭhāma-anvaya-bhūhaṇaṁ ripu-manō-vīnaṇa-tāp-aṇalāḥ | dharma-mdyāna-dhā-

7 kṛt-prēyāṁ-sarvva-guṇ-ānvitaṁ samabhavaḥ-śeṣhṛmāṇ-asau Kōkkalāḥ || 4 || Ashtādaś-

8 hāḥ putraḥ(baṃbhāvur-āti-sau)rya-parā-scha tasya | tatr-āgrajö nripa-varas=Tripe-

9 chakāra vaṇdirḥ(babandha)un || 5 || Tēshām-anuyāsya Kāḷiūga-rajaḥ pratāpa-vahni-kshapit-

10 pu-pravira-prīy-ānan-āṇābbhūraḥ-pārvaṇ-ṇenduḥ || 6 || Tasmād-āpi pratata-nirmala-kīrtti-

11 ja iṁ prasiddhaḥ | yasya pratāpa-taṇāvau=udité rajanyāṁ jātāni paṅkajā-bāṇāni viśās-

12 tha chaṇḍra-vadanāṁ-jani Ratnārāja visv-ō(visv-ō)pakāra-kaṇu-āryjita-puṇya-bhātaḥ |

13 rmmata-vikramēgā nītaḥ yāsas-trībhuvanē vinīhātya sa(śa)trun || 8 || Nōnāl-ākhyā priyā
tasya śūrasyā-ō-

Second plate

14 va hi śūrataḥ | tayoḥ utō pripa-śrēṣṭhaḥ Prthividēvō babhūva ha || 9 || Prthividēvā-samud-

15 vi-sa(su)taḥ śrārah sajja-vānichchhi(vānichh)it-ārtha-phaladaḥ kalpadrumaḥ śri-phalaḥ |

16 tēshēna-dvīhat-karitakāḥ pasyā(śeṣaḥ)|kāntatatar-āṅgān-āṅga-madānā Jājalladēvō nripaḥ

17 Ḍaṇḍa-śriḥ śrīmān samāḥṛta-samasta-nārādhipa-śriḥ [1*] sarvva-kshīṭavāra-śi(śi)ro-vibhī-

18 vi Ratnadē vak || 11 || Tasy-aisha tanayō dhātrim prasaḥ(āṣā)sti naya-śūpadā | Prthividēvō
mahipālō visā(śā)1-ō-

19 jvatiyājja-pauruṣaḥ || 12 || Vatsasya gotrē=ti-pavitra-mūttir-dvījō-sa paṅcha-pravara

20 gama-vēda-vēttā Vra(mu)raḥm-ōpamaḥ Sṛ(Śrē)tāma-nāmāḥyāḥ || 13 || Anukruvvva-

21 rtg-bhāja-rāśi(śi) | Śivadāsa-nāmāḥyāsa-tasya namsayaḥ suṭō bhātaḥ || 14 || Āłyas-trivēdi viduhām-āśe(śe)-

DGA
No. 28.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF KAMPANA FROM MADAM

V. VENKATASUBBA Aiyar, MADRAS

The two subjoined inscriptions A and B are engraved, one on either side of the entrance to the Southern gopura in the second prakara of the Taţakapurâvara temple at Madam in the Wandiwash taluk of the North Arcot District in the Madras State. Both the records are in a good state of preservation and are engraved in Tamil. One is in prose and the other in verse, but both refer to the same event.

Record A in prose, is dated in Śaka 1285, Śobhakrit (A. D. 1362–63) in the reign of the Vijayanagara ruler Kampāna Udaiyar. It states that Gaṇḍarāgūḷī Mārāya-Nāyaka, son of Sōmāya-Daṇḍāyaṇa, captured Venrūmankaṉḍa Śambuvarāyā and Rājagambhirāṇmaḷai and that he celebrated the victory by constructing the gopura called 'Gaṇḍarāgūḷī-Mārāyanāyakkan-tirukkōpuram' in the second prakara of the temple of Tiruvangisvāramudaiya-Mahādēva3 at Kulaṭṭūr. The figure of a fine bull facing the proper left, with a sword and crescent above and a lamp-stand in front, is carved at the left hand corner of the record. Record B without date, narrates in verse the same facts given in A with some poetical embellishments. The figure of a caparisoned bull with a dagger in front, pointing downwards, is engraved to the right of this record. The importance of these epigraphs lies in the historical information that they contain, viz., that Gaṇḍarāgūḷī Mārāya-Nāyaka overcame the resistance put up by the Śambuvarāyas against the expansion of the Vijayanagara sovereignty by capturing Venrūmankaṉḍa Śambuvarāyā and his stronghold, the fortress of Rājagambhirāṇmaḷai.

Before proceeding to discuss the contents of these inscriptions it will be of interest to study how the political situation in the Tamil country was favourable for the rise to power of the Śambuvarāya family to which this Venrūmankaṉḍa Śambuvarāyā, the contemporary of Kampāṇa II belonged.

1 No. 267 of 1919 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.
2 No. 268 of 1919 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.
3 The god is now known as Taţakapurāvara. [In the two inscriptions edited below the god is called Kulaṭṭūr-Aṉḍalaiyar and Kulaṉdai-Aṉmpattiyavar, both equivalent to Taţakapurāvara. Kulaṉdai may be taken to be the poetic form for Kulaṭṭūr, cf. Kulaṉdai for Ḍalakkuṉi. (Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 283, n. 5).—Ed.]
During the last quarter of the 12th century A.D. the Chōla country stood restored to its original greatness in the time of Kulottuṅga-Chōla III (A.D. 1173-1216), who proclaimed his conquests by assuming the titles "Conqueror of Madura, Ijam (Ceylon), Karuvūr, Koṅgū alias Vira-
Śāla-maṇḍalam,1 Kāṇchī and Vaṭṭi.2 Such wide conquests indicate the enemies that the Chōla
sovereign had to encounter in order to rebuild the empire which at this period was nearly
co-extensive with the present Tamil districts, including portions of the Cuddapah and Nellore
Districts of the Madras State. This vast territory, for purposes of administration, was divided
into a number of chiefships, each owing allegiance to the central power. Towards the close of
Kulottuṅga-Chōla’s reign, we find that his kingdom, especially the northern portion, was ruled
pre-eminently through the following chiefs:—

1 the Telugu Chōdas of the Nellore District,
2 the Yādavas with their capital at Kājahasti in the Chittoor District,
3 the Śambuvatāyas in the North Arcot District,
4 the Malaiyāmān chiefs of Kiliyā in the region around Tirukkōyilūr in the South Arcot
   District,
5 the Kādavas who were coming into power in portions of the North and South Arcot
   Districts,
6 the Bānas who had settled on the banks of the southern Peṇṟār and carved out a new
   province called Vāṇagoppāḍi,
7 the Adigaimāns of Tagadūr, i.e., Dharmapuri in the Salem District, and
8 the Gaṅgas of Kōlār in the Mysore State with their jurisdiction extending to the present
   North Arcot District.

To keep these disintegrating forces under control was a great task, but the chiefs, when oppor-
tunities offered themselves, seem to have consolidated their position, independent of the central
power, by entering into pacts or alliances with one another. In the time of Kulottuṅga-Chōla
himself we find several such pacts3 entered into by some of them. Since we are chiefly concerned
with the Śambuvatāyas, we shall see what part they played in strengthening their position in
the country when events were slowly drifting towards the collapse of the central power culminating
in the imprisonment of the Chōla monarch Rājarāja III (A.D. 1216-1218) by one of his own sub-
ordinates, the Kāḷava chief Kōpperuṅjūgadēva I.

The Śambuvatāyas4 chiefs whose records are found in portions of the Chingleput, North and
South Arcot Districts are said to have belonged to the Śengēni5 family which was also otherwise
known as Śambhukula.6 The earliest member hails from Muniṉūṟṟuppalṭi in Īyāmañāḻu.7 These
chiefs figure as vassals in Chōla records from the time of Vikrama-Chōla (A.D. 1118) onwards,
while some later members, to judge from their surnames, such as Kulasēkharā Śambuvatāya
and Sundara-Pāṇḍya Śambuvatāya, should have changed their allegiance to the Pāṇḍyas, evid-
ently due to political exigencies. Most of these chiefs have surnames like Nāḷiyiravuṉ,

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1 No. 227 of 1917.
2 Padukkōṭṭai Inscriptions, No. 164.
3 Nos. 516 of 1902, 107 and 115 of 1900; 223 of 1904; 483 of 1908; 433 of 1913; 254 of 1919; 56 of 1922;
    73 of 1945-46.
4 The Śambuvatāyas belong to the Vanniya sect which is found in portions of Tanjore and South Arcot
   Districts. Some members of this sect at Conjeevaram even now have the title Vira Śambhu
   (Varunatarpāṇam
   ) by Muniasam Nayar, pp. 220 and 235.
5 Śengēni seems to be a village from the title Śengēnimangal-mittṭin (who rescued Śengēnimangalam)
   assumed by a Śambuvatāya chief (No. 180 of 1918).
6 A village called Śambukulaperumal-agaram was evidently founded by a member of the Śambuvatāya family
   (S. I. I., Vol I, pp. 102 and 103). In Sanskrit the form Champa is found for Śambhu.
7 No. 422 of 1922.
Ammanuippaṇ, Attimmallan, or Attiyāndan. The epithet ‘Nālāyiran’ i.e., ‘(the Commander) of the Four thousand’ seems to indicate the original connection these chiefs had with a body of soldiers consisting of 4,000 members. One such was known as ‘Miṇavaṇai-vaṇ-kaṇḍan Vikramaśoḷandāya-Vējākkārār’, which name suggests his active part in a conflict with the Pāṇḍyas.2 The Sambuvarāyas worked their way up by service to their overlords in the latter’s military campaigns. Their exploits are revealed by the several titles assumed by them such as Pāṇḍi-nādu-kondan (who took the Pāṇḍya country), Taṇiniṅrā (who conquered single), Śeṣadasi-vaṇrā (who conquered in every direction he went), Śeṣyārīl-vaṇrā (who conquered at Śeṣyāru), Paḷavaṇudā-vallavan3 (adept in wielding various weapons), Taṅ-cosi kāṭuvaṇ (who shows his sword)4 and Veṇrumankonda (who took the earth by conquest).5 They also endeared themselves to the people by charitable acts like founding villages, constructing tanks and building temples.6 It is worthy of note that some of these chiefs called themselves Pallavas. They also shared the titles of Kāḍava Kopperruṅjiṅga such as Aḷappirandān,7 Aḷagiya-śiyān8 and Aḷagiya Pallavaṇ,9 or Pallavaṇḍan. These common titles suggest an affinity between the Sambuvarāyas and Kopperruṅjiṅgadēva, but whether the relationship was only political and not matrimonial10 has yet to be established. From the figure of a bull engraved by the side of each of the two inscriptions under review, it is evident that the Sambuvarāyas adopted the bull as their insignia. As noted before, these chiefs allied themselves with other chieftains like the Bāgas, the Adigaimāns and the Kāḷavas, and even against some rival members of their own family for securing territorial rights and for offensive and defensive action. They gradually assumed such importance that Edirilisōla-Sambuvarāya, a member of this family, was so perturbed by the presence of a foreign army in the land that he sought supernatural intercession to avert the disaster threatened by the Singhalese invasion in the time of Rājaḥindara II.11 Later members of this family seem to have thrown in their weight against the Muhammadan expansion in the south,12 which was perhaps the occasion13 for their assuming independence with the titles Sakaḷakachakravarti and Veṇrumankonda, and later we find them issuing records in their own

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1 It is not clear whether the title Attimmalan is to be traced to the village Aṭṭiyūr, i.e., Little Conjeeveram (S. I. I. Vol. IV, No. 840) or Aṭṭi in the North Arcot district. This title was also borne by the Malayamān chiefs of Kēḻūr (S. I. I., Vol. VII, No. 1022; Nos. 411 of 1909, 311 and 322 of 1921).
2 Miṇavaṇai-vaṇ-kaṇḍan means ‘he who saw the back of the Miṇavan i.e., Pāṇḍya’ (No. 389 of 1922).
3 Rājāraja-Sambuvarāya’s grand-father claims to have conquered the Pāṇḍya country (No. 222 of 1904).
4 Nos. 181 and 184 of 1939-40.
6 An inscription of Rājāraja (No. 59 of 1933-34—A.D. 1340) mentions a chief named Śoṇādu-konda Śambuvarāya. It has been suggested in the An. Rep. on Epy. for 1934, p. 37 that this title was probably assumed by some earlier chieftain in commemoration of his having won independence from the Chōlas.
7 Nos. 422 of 1922.
8 Nos. 333 of 1923.
9 Nos. 106 of 1912 and 487 of 1921.
11 Nos. 435 of 1913 styles Kāḍava as ‘brother-in-law’, without specifying the person to whom he was so related. An inscription from Vāḷuvār (No. 58 of 1908) mentions Vīrāṅkākāda who styles himself a Pallava, though he uses the Śeṇēru and Sambuvarāya titles. The Sambuvarāya chief Aḷagiya Śiṇān Sambuvarāya makes a gift to an image set up in the temple at Tīrurumaisāllūr in the name of the mother of Aḷagiya Pallavaṇ Kopperruṅjiṅga-dēva (S. I. I., Vol. XII, No. 170).
12 No. 20 of 1899.
13 An. Rep. on Epy. for 1904, para. 27.
14 No. 434 of 1903 from Tīruruvāṅṭur in the South Arcot District dated in the 14th year of Veṇrumankonda Sambuvarāya, corresponding to A.D. 1335-36 refers to an invasion of the Turukkar, i.e., Muhammadans which took place in previous days and to the ruin in the country, brought about by the invasion. The relevant portion of the inscription reads: ‘muṇāḷ Turukkar vandu tiruvāṅṭum tiraiyal kulaindu dēsamum alindu kōḻakkāyin, etc.’
names, quoting their own regnal years. Prominent among them were Vējrūmaṅkōṇḍa-Śambu-varāya and his son Rājaṇārāyaṇa Śambu-varāya. These were apparently the latest members of this family with any real independent power.

For purposes of reference and study the names of the several members of this family so far known are given in an appendix at the end of this article, though no regular sequence or actual relationship among the different members can at present be established.

Vējrūmaṅkōṇḍa Śambu-varāya and his son Rājaṇārāyaṇa Śambu-varāya are known to have ruled from A.D. 1322 to 1339 and from A.D. 1337 to 1362-63 respectively. The records of the former who is also called Ėkāṃbārana-nātha, are found in the Chingleput, North and South Arcot Districts. The latest regnal year known for him is 18. He died by the 3rd year of his son Rāja-

nārāyaṇa Śambu-varāya, corresponding to A.D. 1340. The present inscription is dated in Śaka 1285, Sūbhakrīt (A.D. 1363-64). Since Vējrūmaṅkōṇḍa Śambu-varāya was long since dead, the victory claimed over Vējrūmaṅkōṇḍa in our inscription must evidently refer to a victory over his son Rājaṇārāyaṇa, whose rule, as noted above, extended to A.D. 1366-63. According to the Sanskrit poems Madharājyam or Kampaṇā-Charitam composed by Gaṅgādēśi, the queen of Kampaṇa, it is stated that after besieging and reducing the citadel of Kājagambhira, Śambu-varāya was captured and killed. This fact receives corroboration in the main from other literary works, such as the Telugu poem Jaimini-Bhāratam of Pillalamarṇi Pinivarhabdra and the Sanskrit poems, Śālavābhodyayam of Rājanātha-Diṇḍima and Rāmābhodyayam of Sāluva Narasihma.

It must be noted that Gaṅgādēśi does not allude to the restoration of Śambu-varāya, but Jaimini-Bhāratam refers to his establishment in the kingdom by Sāluva Maṅgū, the general of Kampaṇa. Since after his overthrow in 1362-63 A.D. Śambu-varāya’s inscriptions are not found,

\[1\] No. 29 of 1933-34 giving Śaka 1260 with 17th regnal year. His accession is placed between May 11, A.D. 1522 and May 10, A.D. 1523 (above, Vol. XI, p. 291).

\[2\] No. 48 of 1921 dated in the 18th regnal year (No. 45 of 1900 and 49 of 1921).

\[3\] No. 30 of 1890 and No. 42 of 1900 giving Śaka 1260, Vyaya with 9th regnal year. His accession is placed between July 31, A.D. 1337 and March 24, A.D. 1338.

\[4\] No. 162 of 1940 giving [2] 6th year with Śaka 1284, Sūbhakrīt.

\[5\] His inscriptions with regnal years begin only from his 14th (A.D. 1333-36) and run up to 18th year (A.D. 1339-40). In the earlier part of his reign, he seems to have had very little power, consequent on the Muḥammadan occupation of the country.

\[6\] His ashes were thrown into the Ganges and arrangements were made for the funeral rites to be performed at Gāyā (Nos. 32, 33 of 1933-34).

\[7\] A mandapa in the Śiva temple at Valaiyāṟṟū (North Arcot Dist.) is known as Vējrūmaṅkōṇḍa-maṇḍapa, evidently after the name of this chief (An. Rep. on Epy. for 1933-34, p. 30).


\[9\] According to the Madharājyam, Kampaṇa set out from Vijayānagara with an army through Mulbāgala and reached Vīrīṣhipura on the Pāḷār, which he made the basis of his operations. He entered the Śambu-varāya country, defeated its king in a battle and having proceeded to his capital, captured it. He then pursued Śambu-varāya to the fort of Kājagambhira where he had taken refuge. He invested the fort, put the Śambu-varāya to death in a duel and captured it. On the death of their king, the subjects of Śambu-varāya submitted to Kampaṇa who having made Kāḷīḍi his capital, according to the behest of his father, began to rule from the erstwhile Śambu-varāya country (Jl. of the Madras University, Vol. XI, No. 1, p. 61).

\[10\] The Jaimini-Bhāratam states that Sāluva Maṅgū defeated the Sūlīn of the South and thereafter gave his territory to Śambu-varāya, establishing him on the throne (Sources of Vij. Hist., p. 29). But Rāmābhodyayam mentions that Sāluva Maṅgū, after defending Champanāra, proceeded against the Southern Sūlīn who had his headquarters at Madura. There, a hard battle was fought in which the Sūlīn lost his life (ibid., p. 32). But Madharājyam is clear on the point. Gaṅgādēśi here states that Kumāra Kampaṇa first overthrew the authority of Śambu-varāya and occupied his territory before he proceeded against the Sūlīn of Madura.

\[11\] In the very year Sūbhakrīt, the date of our record, the written order of Rājaṇārāyaṇa Śambu-varāya in connection with worship in the temple at Tāyār (Chingleput Dist.) was issued by Sāluva-Daṇḍayaka, the makhā-prudāsī of Kampaṇa, evidently for being carried out, thus indicating the end of the rule of Rājaṇārāyaṇa Śambu-varāya (A. R. No. 226 of 1916).
the restoration of this chief, if it really took place, must refer to a prior event. The Sāluva Maṅgu explicitly states that Sāluva Maṅgu first subjugated the Sambuvarāya and then restored him to his kingdom. The inscriptions of Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya dated from his 14th to 25th regnal years (A.D. 1351 to 1362) are found all over the Chingleput and the North and South Arcot Districts along with a few of those of Bukka, Kampaṇa and Sāyaṇa-Uḍaiyar, in this region. At Āvūr in the North Arcot District, there are inscriptions of Kampaṇa with dates corresponding to A.D. 1352 and 1358 and of Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya dated in his 23rd regnal year (A.D. 1360), showing Kampaṇa's authority, perhaps in a nebulous state in the region even during the regime of Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya. ¹ The existence of these inscriptions presupposes good relationship between Sambuvarāya and the Vijayanagara rulers, for which Sāluva Maṅgu must have been responsible, considering the title 'Sambuvarāya-sṭhāpanāchārya' assumed by him. Whether Rājanārāyaṇa was a subordinate of Kampaṇa is not clear; but inscriptive evidence points to his rule as an independent chief either with or without the cognizance of Kampaṇa.

The capture of Madura from the Muhammadans and the establishment of a viceroyalty there under Kampaṇa, son of Bukka, may be said to mark the foundation of the Vijayanagara rule in the Tamil country. The first opposition to the expansion of this rule probably came from the

¹ In the Tamil country Kampaṇa's inscriptions are found in the following places prior to Ś. 1285, the date of our record, in some of which, Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya's inscriptions are also found:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Kampaṇa's date.</th>
<th>Reference.</th>
<th>R. Sambuvarāya's regnal year.</th>
<th>Reference.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5 Śērkāj</td>
<td>Ś. 1283 = A.D. 1361.</td>
<td>No. 203 of 1921.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Tirukkōyilūr</td>
<td>Ś. 1284 Subbakīrt = A.D. 1362-63.</td>
<td>No. 351 of 1921.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Mēlpādi</td>
<td>Plava = A.D. 1361-62</td>
<td>No. 89 of 1889.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Tiruvāmāttūr</td>
<td>Subbakīrt = A.D. 1362-63.</td>
<td>No. 40 of 1922.</td>
<td>19th = A.D. 1356.</td>
<td>No. 64 of 1922.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is noteworthy that in portions of the present South Arcot District, immediately after the disappearance of Sambuvarāya, no chief is recognised, as some of the records do not mention the king. No king is mentioned in the following records:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Date.</th>
<th>Reference.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a Elavānāsūr</td>
<td>Śaka 1284, Subbakīrt</td>
<td>No. 450 of 1938.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b Tirunarpukonran</td>
<td>Śaka 1283, Do.</td>
<td>Nos. 303 and 304 of 1939-40.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c Varājjarama</td>
<td>Śaka 1287.</td>
<td>No. 181 of 1940-41.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d Nallūr</td>
<td>Śaka 1287.</td>
<td>No. 163 of 1940-41.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sambuvārāyas who were in power in the Toppaimadalam region comprising the present Chingleput, and North and South Arcot Districts. Our present inscriptions state how this was overcome by capturing the Sambuvārāya alive. After the subjugation of this chief Kampaṇa felt himself so secure in the Tamil country that in an inscription dated in Śaka 1287 from Tiruppukkulai in the Chingleput District, he is stated to be ruling from his 'permanent throne' after taking possession of Rājagambhirā-rāja.1 His inscriptions in the Tamil country are generally found from Śaka 12802 to Śaka 1296.3 Kampaṇa is chiefly remembered in history for his services in checking the expansion of the Muslim rule in the south and for liquidating its power in the Tamil country.4 An inscription from Tīrkanjakkagūḍa in the Ramnad District thus narrates his exploits: 'the times were Tulaṅkaṇ (Muhammadan) times. Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyār destroyed the Tulaṅkaṇ, established orderly government throughout the country and appointed many chiefs (nāyakāṉmār) for inspection and supervision in order that worship in all temples might be conducted regularly as of old.' In this move to eliminate the threat to Hindu religion, Kampaṇa must have received full local support which indirectly paved the way for the expansion of the Vijayanagar rule in the Tamil land without any serious opposition 'except that offered by the Sambuvārāya chief. The causes for the invasion5 and defeat of this chief are nowhere stated. Probably he wanted to free himself from the Vijayanagar power. The Sambuvārāyas ceased to count as a power after their subjugation by Kampaṇa and even individual members of this family are not heard of thereafter as holding any important position in the state under the Vijayanagar rulers.

Of the persons mentioned in the present records, Sōmaya-Danţāyaka was the chief minister (Maha-pradhan) of Kampaṇa. He figures as pradhan from about Śaka 12746 and continued to serve under Harihara7 and Virupuṇa.8 He was so devoted to Kampaṇa that he is said to have made provisions for worship in the temple at Śēkaṇu in the North Arcot District, for the continuity of the rule of this prince.9 Judging from the title saṅgaṭa-sāhitya-prāṇava and Gana-parama-mahē-

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1 S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 454.
2 No. 394 of 1919, dated in Vijambi (= Śaka 1290). There are, however, a few records dated Śaka 1274, Nandana at Aṉur (No. 297 of 1919) and at Ulīṇḍu (No. 172 of 1933-34).
3 Kampaṇa seems to have died in Śaka 1296, since a record of this year makes provision for the recitation of the Veda daily in the temple at Tiruvanţambalai as Śrāddhāṅgam for the merit of the (deceased) Kampaṇa (No. 573 of 1902; vide also No. 572 of 1902). Strangely enough there are two records of Kampaṇa, dated beyond Śaka 1296: one from Brahmadēśam, dated in Raudri corresponding to Śaka 1902 (No. 207 of 1921), and the other from Āravaṇē, dated in Śaka 1297 (No. 431 of 1913).
4 An inscription from Sṛṅgangam (No. 55 of 1892) states that the images of god Raṅagnātha and of his two consorts Śrīdevi and Bāhūdevi were recovered from the Tulaṅkaṇ (Muhammadans) during the reign of Kampaṇa and restored to the temple at Sṛṅgangam by Gopānārāya, an officer of the king in Śaka 1293. The temple of Pāḍali-luva-udaiyāṉar at Kampaṇa (Trichipanypōli District) which had been converted into a mosque by the Tulaṅkaṇ was reconsecrated by Kampaṇa in the course of his victorious campaign (No. 162 of 1906-37). The period of anarchy was reestablished by Kampaṇa in the course of his victorious campaign (No. 322 of 1297). Whatever might have been the exact period of this rule, people were anxious to get rid of it, because it was characterized by cruelty, loot and massacre. The devastation and ruin caused in the country by the Muhammadan invasion is also referred to in inscriptions from Tiruvanmiyāṭūr (South Arcot Dist.) No. 434 of 1903, Tirukkaṇṭar (Tanjore Dist.) No. 642 of 1902, Tirappattūr (Madura Dist.) Nos. 119 and 120 of 1908 and Tiruvarāuy (Chingleput Dist.) No. 203 of 1912.
5 No. 64 of 1916.
6 In the expedition against Sambuvārāya, minister Gōpaṇārāya and Sālva-Mangu, the ancestor of Sālva Naraminha took part (Sources of Vīj. History, p. 29). It has been noticed above that Sālva-Mangu assumed the title 'Sambuvārāya-sṭhāpaṇāḥchārya' and an inscription from Vēḷiyandar gives him also the title 'Gandaragūṭi' (No. 191 of 1936-37). The title 'Sambuvārāya-sṭhāpaṇāḥchārya' was assumed by later members of the Sālva family, namely Sālva Tirumalaiyēva-Mahārāja in Śaka 1370, Prājāpati (wrong) (No. 448 of 1922) and Sālva family, namely Sālva Tirumalaiyēva-Mahārāja in Śaka 1403 and 1408 (Nos. 593 and 594 of 1902), even though the Sambuvārāyas had ceased to exist as a ruling power by this time.
7 No. 297 of 1919.
8 No. 51 of 1913 dated in Śaka 1306.
9 No. 221 of 1931-32.
10 No. 203 of 1921.
śvara given to him,1 he seems to have been proficient in music. His name was perpetuated by the institution of a service named after him in the temple of Alagiya-Nāyagār at Tiruvāmāttūr in the South Arcot District,2 and by the village Sattampādi in the same district being known after him as Sāmappa-Daṇḍāyaka-chaturvedimaṇḍalam.3

His son Gaṇḍaragūli Māraya-Nāyaka, according to our inscription, was directly responsible for the defeat and capture of Vēṟumanaṅkoṇḍa Śambuvārāya, for which he received Aṇṇamaṅgalaparṇa as kāyi from the king. He is given the title ‘Alļyā-araṅ-aliṭṭa’ i.e., destroyer of indestructible fortress,4 evidently for taking the impregnable fortress of Rājagambhiranmalai. He made gifts in the name of his father at Sattampādi5 and Peruvāḷur,6 both in the South Arcot District. He also figures as donor in an inscription from Sattradu in the Chittoor District.7 The title ‘Gaṇḍaragūli’ assumed by him was also borne by a Śambuvārāya chief.8 There seems to have been a maṭha in existence at Maṇam itself named after Gaṇḍaragūli Māraya-Nāyakkā.9 His brother was Dharaṇī-Appar figuring in a record from Peruvāḷur.10

The territorial division Aṇṇamaṅgalaparṇa was situated in the district of Palkurka-kōṭam,11 in the sub-division Śingapura-valanāṭu included in Jayaṅkoṇḍāsōla-maṇḍalam.12 It included the modern villages of Devāṉūr13 and Gaṅgāpuram14 in the Ginji taluk of the South Arcot District and may be taken as roughly comprising a portion of this taluk.

Rājagambhiranmalai has been identified with Paḍaivīdu in the North Arcot District.15 Atti16 in the Cheyyar taluk and Dēvikāpuram17 in the Arni division were situated close to it and Vaṅga-Mahādevaṁaṇḍalam18 in the Polur taluk was situated within its jurisdiction.

The gōpura in the second prākāra of the Taṭakapurāvara temple at Maṇam is said in our inscriptions to have been built by Gaṇḍaragūli Māraya-Nāyaka in Śaka 1285, Śōbhakrīt; but in an inscription19 dated in the next year Krōḍhi, corresponding to Śaka 1286, the walls of this prākāra are stated to have been raised by Tirunallikīḷan Nallakamāṇu Tenṉavarāyaṉ of Ilaṅgādu. A record without date in the same gōpura mentions that this structure and the doorway were the gifts of Tūṇāṅḷār Āṟṟulār.20 Probably this refers to the renovation or the completion of the gōpura referred to in our inscriptions.

A

TEXT

1 Svasti [�示] Śrīman Mahāmaṅgalēśvaran Harirāya-vibhāṭan [bhāšhrukkut-tappuvarāyara-ganjan Māvārayara-gaṇ-
2 đan pūrva-paścimhīna smådhradhipaṅ Śrī-Vira-Bokkan-Uḍaiyar kumāraṅ Śrīmatu Kampaṇa-
3 Uḍaiyar māḷīja[pra-

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1 No. 221 of 1921-32.
2 No. 136 of 1928.
3 No. 226 of 1928.
4 No. 391 of 1911.
5 No. 328 of 1919 dated in Śaka 1285, Śōbhakrīt.
6 No. 297 and 303 of 1928-29.
7 No. 297 of 1928-29.
8 No. 297 of 1928-29.
9 No. 352 of 1912.
10 No. 271 of 1919.
11 No. 267 of 1919.
12 No. 45 of 1922.
13 No. 255 of 1934-35.
14 No. 513 of 1937-38.
15 No. 239 of 1901.
16 No. 511 of 1907-38.
17 No. 290 of 1919.
18 No. 515 of 1937-38.
19 No. 299 of 1912.
20 No. 54 of 1933-34.
TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF KAMPAÑA FROM MADAM

Scale: One eighth

Survey of India, Dehra Dun

B.C. Chakrabro
ggy No. 568 H.E.C. '61-470
TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF KAMPAÑA FROM MADAM

TRANSLATION

(L.1.1 to 4) Hail ! Prosperity ! Śrīmat-Kampāṇa-Udāiyar, son of Śrī-Vīra-Bokkāṇ-Udāiyar, with the titles Śrīman-Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaran, Harirāya-vibhātan, Bhāshaikut-tappuva-rāyara-gaṇdan, Mūvarāyara-gaṇdan and the lord of the eastern and western oceans, gave (the village) Āṇamaṅgalappattu (to last) as long as the moon and the sun, to Śrīmat-Gaṅḍarāgūḷī-Maṅraya-Nāyaka, son of Śomaya-Daṅṇayaka, the maḥāpaṭhrāṇī, (as a reward) for having conquered and captured (alive) Veṇrumaṅkonḍa Śambuvarāya (and) taken possession of (his stronghold) Rājagambiranmalai.

(L.1.5 to 7) (This) sacred gōpurā (called after) Gaṅḍarāgūḷī-Maṅraya-Nāyaka, in the second prākāra (of the temple) is the gift made (by him) in the (cyclic) year Śohhakīt which was current after Śaka 1285 to Tiruvignisvaramaṇḍaiya-Maḥādēva, the lord of Kuḷattūr.

B

TEXT

1 Pā-mēvu tēr-ālakam pūndāgat tirumadandai tē mēvu mālai puṇāi [m]ēbir chiran-
2 dilāṅgaśēnra diśai venivravarch cheyamadandai tōl mēva venṟi-
3 puṇāi maṉval agr[g]i adi vanaṅga mēgamali Vāḷagiriy-ulagō pugal varikkār Bukkāna-
4 nūi kālumugil pōl vālaṅgu Kampāṇaṅku kōṇḍā maṇḍalikar-ālippa vayap-pulava[r]
5 vaḷam pā[da] (ka)ḻavargal-ulā maṅṅāk kāśiniy[i]kal[i] tirach Champan-araṇ palav-
6 alittuch Champanaiyuī kaik[ø]n-
7 ḍu vēmpiraya mēlkondu vērum-ulā kurum-arruttu taṅkku nigar táṅgaṇa Śomaya Dāṇ-
8 nayakkan manṇakalikuf[r]nd-inidiruppa man-
9 purandu Mārapan mūraiṇai nēr tavārāda Mūvarāyara Gaṇḍaṅ kāramaliyum væṛṭaṅkai kaṅai kalark Gaṅḍarāgūḷī karu-
10 nai [va]iḷḷi mudalāṅga kāṇiyāṅgaperṟa aruṇa [man[i]madil puṇḍi-sūl-Āṇamaṅgalapattu[r]
11 [va]ndu Neṇumāl-ayan-av-Vāṇavar-
12 kēṅ vandiraṅjñu Kūḷandai Vaḷampatiy-Iśar kōḷamalart-tāl vanaṅgi kaṅḍa gōpurāṅ kaṅḍu kai-tolu-
13 pavar-āṅdar-āṅguvar-āṇaivaruṇ tolavē?

1 The stone is slightly damaged here.
2 The letters ṭ-ṭ, originally engraved, have been corrected on the stone into ṭē; yennāṭaiṁju is not the correct form; it must be yennbatāiṁju.
3 Against L.1 to 5 is engraved a fine bull in relief, facing the proper left, with a sword and crescent above and a lamp-stand in front of the animal.
4 No. 268 of 1919.
5 The word māṅi is engraved below the line.
6 The letter ru is engraved below the line.
7 To the proper right of this record is engraved the figure of a caparisoned bull with a dagger in front, pointing downward.
14 IGA
(Ll.1 to 5) While the goddess of prosperity who is resplendent on the lotus flower was adorning gracefully (his) chest wreathed with fragrant garlands, while (he) was conquering in all directions in which (he) proceeded, while the goddess of victory was seated on (his) shoulders, while (his) enemies worshipped at (his) feet, while Bukkaṇa who is praised by all the world (girt round by) the cloud-capped Vālagiri and Kampana who bestows gifts like a rain cloud, showered their praises, while the feudal chiefs extolled (him), while great poets sang about (his) prowess, while all who saw were pleased, while Kali came to an end on the earth,

(Ll.5 to 6) (he) destroyed many fortresses of Champan, and captured Champan himself and mounted on a fierce steed, conquered many other petty chieftains,

(L.6) And, while Sūmaya-Daṇḍyaka, who is equalled only by himself, was pleased in mind,

(Ll.7 to 8) (he), Mārappan, who protected the earth (and who was called) Mūvarāyagaṇḍan, who does not swerve from the path of justice (and) Gaṇḍaragūli whose broad palm wields a streaked javelin and whose feet have sounding (anklets), (and) who through the grace (of the king) had received as kāṇi Aṇṇamaṇgalapāru surrounded by walls of red jewels,

(Ll.8 to 10) having worshipped at the beautiful flower-like feet of god Īśa at the fertile Kuḷandai, who is adored by the tall Viśṇu, god Brahmā and the lord of the celestials (Indra), built this gopura.

Those that adore (it) will become immortals.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Am. S.</td>
<td>Vikrama-Chölā</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1123</td>
<td>Tiruvallam</td>
<td>232/1921.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>Šeng. N. Am.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1129</td>
<td>Vāyalar</td>
<td>422/1922. Begins with the introduction 'pā-mādu puṇaṇara'. The chief constructed tanks, built temples and protected people from occasional dangers and thus won popular support.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>Šeng. N. Am.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1132-33</td>
<td>Madhurāntakam</td>
<td>400/1922. Begins with the introduction 'Pā-mādu puṇaṇara'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>alias Rājendraśāla-S.</td>
<td>Kulottungas-Chölā II</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1138</td>
<td>Madjam</td>
<td>234/1919.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1141</td>
<td>Dévanār</td>
<td>298/1929.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1146</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>302/1929.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>Šeng. Atti. alias Rājendraśāla-S.</td>
<td>Rājādhirāja II</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1174</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>252/1919 and 100/1939-40. (Vide 3c below.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Edirilisāla-S.</td>
<td>Kulottungas-Chölā II</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1139</td>
<td>Tirukkalukkunram</td>
<td>162.1932-33.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Am. Śītha Pālārāṇa alias Rājanārāyaṇa-S.</td>
<td>Rājarāja II</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1156</td>
<td>Muṇṭār</td>
<td>52/1919.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8a</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1181</td>
<td>Anandavāngalam</td>
<td>428/1922. Begins with the introduction 'Pūmsrūviya'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name of Chief</td>
<td>Overlord</td>
<td>Regnal Year</td>
<td>Equivalent A. D. date</td>
<td>Place</td>
<td>Reference and Remarks</td>
</tr>
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<td>-----</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>Rājaṉārāyaṇa-S. of the Śen-ās family</td>
<td>Rājaṉārāyaṇa II</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1164</td>
<td>Achuvarampākkam</td>
<td>244/1901.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>Śeng. Am. Śiyān Pallavānḍān alias Rājaṉārāyaṇa-S.</td>
<td>Rājādhirāya II</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1174</td>
<td>Muṇṇār</td>
<td>71/1919.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>Muṇḍan Śiyān Am. alias Edirinādeo-S.</td>
<td>Rājaṉārāyaṇa II</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1161</td>
<td>Vāyahr</td>
<td>421/1922.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>Edirinādeo-S.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1168</td>
<td>Āraṇākkam</td>
<td>20,1890.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>Śeng. Muṇḍan Śiyān Am. alias S.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1171</td>
<td>Araghaṇṭalur</td>
<td>179,1935.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>Attiyānḍān alias Vikramaśāla-S.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1174</td>
<td>Muṇṇār</td>
<td>Compact formed against the chief by (1) Śeng. Muṇḍan Śiyān Pallavānḍān alias S. (2) Śeng. Atti. alias Rājādiprāṇa-S. and (3) Oduvān alias Rājagambara-S. (vide 3c above).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Inscription</td>
<td>Text</td>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Line</td>
<td>Column</td>
<td>Edition</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>22/1904</td>
<td>Mentions S.'s grandfather Am. Kulaṃṭukkam who claims to have 'conquered the Pāṇḍya Country'.</td>
<td>1229/1904</td>
<td>1170</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>195/1904.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>190/1904</td>
<td></td>
<td>1179</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>194/1904.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107/1918</td>
<td></td>
<td>1182</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>170/1918.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>176/1918</td>
<td>Asterism 'Aviḷṭam given for the chief.</td>
<td>1182</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>345/1917.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>223/1904</td>
<td>Two chiefs pledged themselves to be loyal to this chief.</td>
<td>1191</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>219/1902 : S. I. I., Vol. VII, No. 846.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183/1918</td>
<td></td>
<td>1192</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>183/1918 : chief constructed the gopura.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>516/1902 : S. I. I., Vol. VIII, No. 106</td>
<td>Chief enters into a pact with Śeng. Atti. Virāṇḍjan alias Edirilīḍha-S, and Atti. Pallavāṇḍjan alias Kulottunga-sōla-S, and seven others against three chiefs (See No. 8c below).</td>
<td>1196</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>57/1919 : This record extends the life of the chief to over 60 years, if he is taken as identical with No. 6. The omission of the title 'Pāṇḍimāru-kondān' must be noted.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ditto . . . .</td>
<td>Ditto . . . .</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1191</td>
<td>Tiruvāṇāmalai . .</td>
<td>553/1902.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ditto . . . .</td>
<td>Ditto . . . .</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1191</td>
<td>Tiruvaiyainallūr . .</td>
<td>422/1921.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
éṣaṇa against whom a pact was 
formed, by Šeṅgēṇa Miṇḍaṇ Śyaṇ in 
3-c above; 262/1919. |
enters into a compact with Kārikālaśa-Gaṇa 
Āḍaiyūr Raṇāvān mentioned below for 
concerted action, either friendly or 
otherwise, towards Pippanda-Perumāḷ 
*alias* Rājarāja Adigaimān. |
Compact between (1) Vikramaśāja-S. 
(2) Kārikālaśa-Gaṇa Āḍaiyūr Raṇāvān and 
(3) Vidiḡāḍalagiya-Perumāḷ *alias* 
Rājarāja Adigaimān against (1) Yāda- 
varāyar (2) Śyaṇ Gaṅghar and (3) sons of 
Kulottunga-Chōja-S. One condition of 
the compact was all to recognize the territórial 
boundary of each as it stood in the 
time of Rājarājadēva. |
ńaṇāyanaṇa Alappirāṇan *alias* Kāda- 
varāya against Alappirāṇa Sundarama- 
śāja-S. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Compact with (1) Pāndunādu-Kondāṅ alias S. (2) Śeng. Atti, Viṅgāḷān alias Edirilīḻa-S. and 7 others against (1) Maṅgadai-Nūdāḷvān alias Vānākōvaraiyān (2) Kaṭṭuttangaḻa-Vānākōvaraiyān and (3) Rājarāja-Kāḷa varaiyar (see No. 6k above). The chief is probably related to No. 3 above, judging from the title 'Pallavāṉḍāṅ'.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1195</td>
<td>Vaiḻuvūr</td>
<td>68/98. See No. 18 below.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Enters compact. See Nos. 6k and 8e above.</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>1211</td>
<td>Tiruvottiyūr</td>
<td>94/1900 ; S. I. I., Vol. VII, No. 103.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mentions his grand-father.</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1213</td>
<td>Āṟagāḷūr</td>
<td>435/1913.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Compact between (1) Popparappina Vānākōvaraiyān (2) Kaṭṭuttangaḻa Vānākōvaraiyān and brother-in-law Kāḷavaiyar. The latter three chiefs pledged themselves not to be enemies of Śambuvaraiya and give no shelter to offenders against him and he in turn vows to do the same. This complements compact in No. 616/1902. See Nos. 6k and 8e above.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1232</td>
<td>Tiruvottiyūr</td>
<td>89/1900.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name of Chief</td>
<td>Overlord</td>
<td>Regnal Year</td>
<td>Equivalent A.D. date</td>
<td>Place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
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<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>Vitrāśani Am. Alagiyaśölaṇa aliś Ediriliśūla-S.</td>
<td>Ditto .</td>
<td>24 and S. 1161</td>
<td>1239</td>
<td>Ditto .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Alagiyaśīyan-S. . . .</td>
<td>Ditto .</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1213</td>
<td>Tiruvēqainallār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>Šeng. Alagiyaśīyan, son of S. Pallavaṇḍār.</td>
<td>Rājarāja III .</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1228</td>
<td>Tiruvottiyūr .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>Alagiyaśīya alias Alagiyaśöla-S.</td>
<td>Ditto .</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1231</td>
<td>Madhrurāntakam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Šeng. Vitrāṇennūrāḥ alias Kulōṭtungakūṭa-S.</td>
<td>Ditto . .</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1233</td>
<td>Vajūr . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Text</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
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<td>------</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 DGIA 17</td>
<td>S. Varṣādraṇa</td>
<td>Vijaya-Gaṇḍagopāla</td>
<td>1666</td>
<td>190/1916.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Virapperumāḷ Edirililīśa Alappirandaniyaṇa alias Rājarāja-S., grandson of Śengēṇa Virāgaran Am.</td>
<td>Rājarāja III</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1236</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Pijaiyā Rājarāja-S.</td>
<td>Vijaya-Gaṇḍagopāla</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1258</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Alappirandān alias Rājarāja-S.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1268</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Āḷappirandān alias -S.</td>
<td>[No king]</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Śeng. Atti. Am.</td>
<td>Vira-Rājendra-Chōla</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1247</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Alagiya Pallavan Edirililīśa-S.</td>
<td>Vijaya-Gaṇḍagopāla</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1253</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Śambukulottunga-S. Vira-Champan.</td>
<td>Šalagopavarman alias Trībh. Vikrama-Pāṇḍya.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1237</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Sundara-Pāṇḍya-S.</td>
<td>Jat. Sundara-Pāṇḍya</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1268(?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Kulottunga-S. alias Alagiyasalan.</td>
<td>Trībh. Vijaya-Gaṇḍagopāla.</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1269</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Šilappiplai alias S. of Vettai-ikkudi in Malāda, a district of Magadhamahāmahā.</td>
<td>Jatāvarman-Vira-Pāṇḍya.</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1274</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Kulaśekhara-S.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>458/1925.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>459/1925.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td>13 + 1st</td>
<td>462/1925.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>456/1925.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td>22 + 1st</td>
<td>459/1925.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Vira-Pāṇḍya</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>22 + 1st</td>
<td>460/1925.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td>...</td>
<td>25 (with astro-nomical details).</td>
<td>1302</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Notes:*
- 566/1919. Probably grandson of No. 10 above.
- 302/1912.
- 303/1912.
- 353/1923. Chief revives festival instituted by Vijaya-Gaṇḍagopāla.
- 32/1906; 183/1916. Instituted 'Vira Champan-Sandhi'; S.'s star 'Ayilyam'.
- 232/1901. Inscription begins with 'Saṃṣṭa-jagadīśhāra.'
- 236/1910.
- 104/1918. Probably the Pandya king is the one who ruled from A. D. 1253 to 1278: Vide No. 11 above.
- 77/1908. Gives the 25th regnal year of Kulaśekhara-S. 'Registers gift for a festival called 'Ṣeyyārīṭi-vepṇaṇ-sandhi'.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Vira Champa alias S.</td>
<td>Vira-Pândya</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1318</td>
<td>Utirampur</td>
<td>177/1940. Máravarman is a mistake for Jatávarman.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vira Champa, son of Vira Chóla</td>
<td>Máravarman Vira-Pândya</td>
<td>12 year and 1280 (with astronomical dates).</td>
<td>1315</td>
<td>Tiruvottiyur</td>
<td>97/1900. The Pândya king was evidently Jat. Sundara-Pândya II.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Šaka 1236</td>
<td></td>
<td>1314</td>
<td>Tiruvallam and Conjeeveram.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Vennumkonda, called Ekimbaranáthan</td>
<td>[Quotes his own years]</td>
<td>Latest year 18</td>
<td>1322 to 1339</td>
<td>Kăñehí and other places.</td>
<td>Initial date fixed by 29/1933-34. Last year 18 (46/1900 and 48/1921).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Rájanárâyana-S.</td>
<td>[Own years]</td>
<td>Latest 24 and possibly 26 (162/1940)</td>
<td>1337 to 1362. 03</td>
<td></td>
<td>Initial year fixed by 30/1869 and 42/1906. Younger brother of No. 28 above. Ref. to Muhammadan invasions in his records (203/1912). Called also Ponnin-Tambirán (33/1933-34).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Ponnáyan Udáragunaráman-S.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tiruttalal</td>
<td>434 1925. This is a record of Rájanárâyanaan Mallíthan-S. wherein the 6th year of the chief is quoted.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
No. 29—A NOTE ON THE PONNU TURU PLATES OF GANGA SAMANTA VARMAN

V. V. MRASHE, NAGPUR

In the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXVI, pp. 236 f. I have examined in detail several early Gāṅga dates and showed that the Gāṅga era commenced on amānta Chaitra śu. di. 1 in the expired Śaka year 420 (the 14th March A. D. 498).1 Since my article was sent for publication, Mr. Somasekhara Sarma also has examined that question. According to him the era commenced in the Śaka year 426-27 or A. D. 504-05 some time between June and January. He did not fix the exact starting point of the era, but tried to prove that the mouths of the Gāṅga year were pūrṇimānta.2 Recently Mr. Sarma has published the Ponnntūrū plates of the Gāṅga king Sāmantavarman, dated Gu. 64. As these plates contain some data for calculation, one would have expected Mr. Sarma to calculate their date in the light of the epoch fixed by him, and to give its equivalent in the Śaka or the Christian era. He has not, however, done so. I therefore propose to examine this date to see how far it agrees with the epoch of the era fixed by me.

The Ponnntūrū plates3 record a grant by the Gāṅga king Sāmantavarman in the year 64, on the occasion of the Uttarāyaṇa or Makara-saṅkrānti. The date on which the plates were actually issued is given at the end as the thirteenth tīthi of the bright fortnight of Pushya. According to the epoch fixed by me, the expired Gāṅga year should correspond to Ś. 484 (A. D. 562-63). Now, the Makara-saṅkrānti in Ś. 484 occurred 1 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise on the 20th December A. D. 562. The tīthi, Pushya śu. di. 13, in the same year ended 10 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on the 24th December A. D. 563. The plates were thus issued 4 days after the grant was made. This appears quite likely. The date of the Ponnntūrū plates thus corroborates the epoch of the Gāṅga era fixed by me.

On the other hand, this date disproves the other epochs proposed for the era, viz. A. D. 494 by Mr. Subba Rao, A. D. 496 by the late Mr. J. C. Ghosh, A. D. 497 by Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao and A. D. 504-05 by Mr. Somasekhara Sarma. I state below in a tabular form the date of the Uttarāyaṇa and that corresponding to Pushya śu. di. 13 in the Gāṅga year 64.4

In all these cases the Uttarāyaṇa or Makara-saṅkrānti occurred some days after Pushya śukla trayodāṣī and so the grant made on the occasion of the saṅkrānti could not have been recorded on that tīthi in any of these years.

In his article on the Gāṅga era as well as in that on the Ponnntūrū plates Mr. Sarma has drawn attention to certain dates of the era which, according to him, are recorded in pūrṇimānta months. On the other hand I have shown in my article on the epoch of the era that the following three dates are recorded in amānta months—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gāṅga Year 64</th>
<th>Date of Uttarāyaṇa</th>
<th>Date corresponding to Pushya śu. di. 13</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. D. 494</td>
<td>20th December A. D. 558</td>
<td>9th December A. D. 558</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. D. 496</td>
<td>19th December A. D. 560</td>
<td>16th December A. D. 560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. D. 497</td>
<td>19th December A. D. 561</td>
<td>5th December A. D. 561</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. D. 504</td>
<td>19th December A. D. 568</td>
<td>18th December A. D. 568</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Subsequently I showed that the date of the Tekkali plates of Anantavarman (above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 174 f.) also corroborates that epoch. See above, Vol. XXVII, p. 102.
2 Ind. Cult., Vol. IX, pp. 141 f.
3 Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 216 f.
4 I have calculated these dates according to the Arya Sādhānta with the help of the tables in S. K. Pillay’s Indian Ephemeris.
(1) Santa-Bommai plates of Nandavarman, son of Anantavarman I—Gn. 221, Āśādhā dina pāñchami, with a solar eclipse in an unspecified month. There was a solar eclipse in amānta Jyēśṭha in Ś. 641 (corresponding to the expired Gn. year 221). The wording of the date shows that the month Āśāḍha was amānta.

(2) Indian Museum plates of Devendravarman—Gn. 308, with a solar eclipse in Māgha. There was a solar eclipse in amānta Māgha in Ś. 728 (corresponding to the expired Gn. 308).

(3) Ponjiśu plates of Vajrahasta, son of Kāmarśa—Gn. 500, Āśādhā-māsa dina 5, Ādityavāra. This date regularly corresponds to Śaka 919, Sunday, the 13th June A.D. 997 which was Āśāḍha su. di. 5. The wording of this date shows that the month Āśāḍha had commenced only four days before, with the bright fortnight, i.e., it was amānta.

These three dates clearly indicate that the months of the Gāṅga year were amānta. On the other hand, Mr. Sarma has drawn attention to some other dates which in his opinion are recorded in pūrṇimānta months. It is, therefore, necessary to discuss this question at some length to determine whether the months of the Gāṅga year were generally amānta or pūrṇimānta.

The only dates of the Gāṅga year which we need consider in this connection are those which mention a tithi in the dark fortnight of a month in connection with a solar eclipse, the autumnal or the vernal equinox or a week-day. Some other dates, whether of the bright or the dark fortnight, in which the tithi first mentioned in words is again expressed in the number of days at the end may also throw light on this question. On the other hand, if the tithi is not connected with a solar eclipse, an equinox or a week-day, but is mentioned at the end as denoting the date of the issue of the plate, it will be of no avail; for, plates were often issued several days, if not months, after the grants recorded in them were made. With these preliminary observations, we shall proceed to consider the relevant dates of the Gāṅga era—

Mr. Somasekhara Sarma has drawn attention to the following dates which according to him are in pūrṇimānta months—

(1) Ponjiśu plates of Sarmantavarman—Gn. 64. In this record the tithi when the plates were issued is given first in words as Pushya-śukla-paksha-trāṇḍāśi-dinaṃ in l. 26 and again in figures in line 29 as Pushya-dina 28. This shows that the month Pushya was pūrṇimānta.

(2) Urmal plates of Hastivarman—Gn. 87. In this record the tithi when the grant was made is given in words in l. 13 as Kārttika-krisāḥ-śaṣṭami and the same date is expressed in figures in l. 23 as Kārttika-dina 8. This indicates that the month Kārttika commenced with a dark fortnight.

These two dates are undoubtedly in pūrṇimānta months as stated by Mr. Sarma; but the same cannot be said of the other two dates cited by him.

(3) Tekkali plates of Devendravarman—Gn. 192. These plates record a grant made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. The date when the plates were issued is given at the end as Māgha—

2 Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 73 f. and Vol. XXVI, p. 329.
4 Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 217 f.
5 See, e.g., the dates of the Chachauli plates of Indravarman (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, pp. 119 f.), the Puris plates of Indravarman (ibid., Vol. XIV, pp. 361 f.) and Chacauli plates of Devendravarman (ibid., Vol. III., pp. 130 f.)
6 Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 216 f.
7 Ibid., Vol. XVII, pp. 332 f.
māsā-dīvasā triukṣatīṁ, i.e., the 30th day of Māgha. Mr. Sarma supposes that the eclipse occurred on the day mentioned at the end, but of this there is no indication in the plates. As Mr. Sarma has himself observed, "the charters in some cases at least were issued long after the actual date of the grant. This shows that the donee was in possession of the land or agrahāra given to him from the date of the actual grant and the royal charter recording the gift was given him some time later —after a lapse of some months (or even years)." The same seems to have happened in the case of the Tekkali plates of Devendravarman. According to the epoch of A.D. 498, about the general correctness of which there should now be no doubt, the Gn. year 192 should correspond to A.D. 690. In that year there were two lunar eclipses—one in Jyēśṭha and the other in Mārgaśīrša, but none in Māgha. The expression Māgha-triukṣatīṁ need not therefore signify Māgha pūrṇimā; it may as well denote Māgha amācīśyā. This date does not therefore indicate that the month of Māgha mentioned in the Tekkali plates was pūrṇimānta.

(4) Siddhāntam plates of Devendravarman—Gn. 195. These plates record in line 14 a grant made on the occasion of the Dakshināyana or Karkataka-sankṛanti. No titki is mentioned in connection with it; but at the end in I. 29 is mentioned Śrīvāna-kṛṣaṇa-dina-pañcāmē as the date on which the charter was made over to the donee. There is no indication in the record that this was also the date of the Dakshināyana. There is thus no basis for Mr. Sarma's statement that the Dakshināyana referred to in the text of the grant must have occurred on the 5th day of the dark fortnight of the pūrṇimānta Śrīvāna in 195 G. E. As in the case of the Ponnutāra plates of Samantavarman dated Gn. 61 and the Achyutapuram plates of Indravarman II, dated Gn. 87, the Siddhāntam plates of Devendravarman dated Gn. 195 may have been issued some days after the grant was made. According to my epoch of the Gāṅga era, the Dakshināyana in the expired Gn. Year 195 occurred 3 h. 20 m. on the 22nd June A.D. 693 and the amānta Śrīvāna kṛṣaṇa 5 ended on the 28th July A.D. 693. This date does not therefore go against the epoch fixed above; nor does it indicate that the month Śrīvāna mentioned in it was pūrṇimānta.

There are thus only two dates of the Gāṅga era which are recorded in the pūrṇimānta months. As against this, in three dates cited before, the amānta reckoning is unmistakably noticed. This mixture of amānta and pūrṇimānta months in the dates of the Gāṅga era is not surprising; for the same thing is noticed in the case of other eras also. Kielhorn has, for instance, observed after examining several dates of the Vikrama era that the southern (Kārttikeyā) year of that era was joined with the pūrṇimānta as often as with the amānta scheme. The dates of the Śaka era are generally in amānta months, but Kielhorn noticed that in the case of one date, (viz., the Hyderabad plates of Pulakṣīṁ II), the pūrṇimānta scheme had been used. I have shown elsewhere that the months of the Kalachuri year were generally amānta in Mahārāṣṭra and Gujarāt and pūrṇimānta in Central India and Chhattisgarh, but in exceptional cases the other scheme also is seen to have been used. The same seems to have occurred in the case of the Gāṅga era also.

It will be noticed that the pūrṇimānta scheme has been used in two of the earliest grants of the Gāṅga era, while the amānta scheme has been adopted in some later ones. The reason for this is

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3. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. IX, p. 147. If the Dakshināyana occurred on the pūrṇimānta Śrīvāna va. di. 5 in A.D. 699, it was a mere coincidence. The pūrṇimānta scheme is wholly inapplicable in the case of the dates cited above, on p. 172.
4. These plates were granted on the Udāgāyana, but were issued on Chaitra amācīśyā. The Udāgāyana or Uttarāyana could not have occurred in Chaitra.
not hard to find. According to some scholars the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga hailed from Kāraṇṭaka where the Śaka era was in vogue. As Kielhorn has shown, the months of the Śaka era were generally amānta and very rarely pūrṇimānta. Besides, the prevailing custom in Kāraṇṭaka in the early centuries of the Christian era seems to have been to use the amānta scheme. Very few early inscriptions from Kāraṇṭaka contain any data necessary for the verification of the dates mentioned in them, but there is one record which affords a clue. The Saṅgōḷi plates of Harivarman record a grant made on the occasion of the Vishuva on the new-moon day of Āsvina. The mention of Vishuva or Tula-suṅkrānti in the dark fortnight of Āsvina shows that the month was amānta. Harivarman flourished in A. D. 528 or 545. So the Saṅgōḷi plates belong to about the same period as the commencement of the Gaṅga era and may be taken to indicate the custom of reckoning of lunar months prevailing in Kāraṇṭaka. If the Gaṅgas originally hailed from Kāraṇṭaka, they may have commenced their era on amānta Chaitra śa. di. 1. The custom prevailing in Kaliṅga may have been to use the pūrṇimānta scheme as it certainly was in the neighbouring country of Dakshina Kōsalā. The Gaṅgas following this custom seem to have dated some of their early records according to the pūrṇimānta scheme. Later on, however, they adopted the amānta scheme with which they were familiar in their home province. Hence we find that in all later records of the Gaṅga era, the months are reckoned according to the amānta scheme.

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No. 30—INTWA CLAY SEALING

(1 Plate)

B. Ch. Chhabra, Ootacamund

The ancient site of Intwa is situated on a hill, in the midst of a thick jungle, about three miles from the famous rock at Jñānagadā in Saurāshṭra, that contains inscriptions of Aśoka, Rudradāman and Skandagupta. The name Intwa owes its origin to the fact that the site has since long been yielding bricks (inte) in abundance.

During the winter of 1949, the Government of Saurāshtra had a small-scale excavation conducted here under the direction and supervision of Mr. G. V. Acharya, once the Curator of the Archaeological Section of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay. He has laid bare remains of a couple of Buddhist monasteries. One finds that their pavements, walls, drains and platforms were all made of bricks of extra large size. In plan, they closely resemble those exposed at Taxila. Further diggings at Intwa must yield many more antiquities.

Mr. Acharya has collected an assortment of relics from this site in the shape of tiles, terracotta, pottery, beads and the like, but no inscription. The only inscribed object found there is a baked clay sealing. It is now housed in the local museum at Jñānagadā along with the other Intwa antiquities.

In November 1950, I happened to visit Jñānagadā in the course of my official tour that side. I then had an opportunity of examining the sealing in question. Similar clay sealings have been

1 Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 103 f.
2 See, e.g., the date of the Ladhā plates of Mahā-Sivagupta Bājrājuna, Journal of the Kaliṅga Historical Research Society, Vol. II, p. 121. The Itikā Kārtikā-pūramānta is again expressed as Kārtikā dina 30, which shows that the month was pūrṇimānta. Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 325, text line 32.
3 In the same way the Early Chāladīyas of Bāṇāīnī continued to use the so-called Kalachuri-Chārdi era, which was previously current in Mahārāshtra, for some years after they conquered the country from the Kalachuris, but later on they gradually introduced there the Śaka era with which they had been familiar in their home province; A. B. O. R. I., Vol. XXVII p. 13.
INTWA CLAY SEALING

Enlarged Photograph

Pencil Rubbing

Photograph
found in their hundreds at various ancient sites in the Uttar Pradesh such as Rājghāṭ near Banāras.

The Íntwā sealing is almost round in shape and about an inch in diameter. In the centre it has what is commonly called the chaitya symbol. Along the margin it has a legend in Brāhmī characters, running the entire course. It begins at 3 O’clock. The raised letters are a little worn out. Mr. Acharya had succeeded in reading a part of the legend; but it still remained a riddle. Luckily it yielded to my examination and revealed its full text to me, which is:

Mahārāja-Rudrasena-vihārī bhikhu-saṅghasya

It means that the seal ‘belongs to the congregation of friars at the Mahārāja Rudrasena Monastery.’

This short record on the sealing is of great historical importance. The Mahārāja Rudrasena spoken of herein is obviously one of those Kshatrapas who were descendants of Chashtana and who ruled in Saurāshṭra and in the neighbouring regions from the 2nd to the 4th century A.C. There were four rulers of the name of Rudrasena in this dynasty, and it is not possible at this stage to say definitely as to which one is meant here, though the paleography of the legend would make him Rudrasena I, who was a son of Rudrasinīha I and whose reign-period is known to be 199-222 A.C. ¹

The present sealing is the only record so far discovered that shows that this Rudrasena built a monastery for Buddhist monks at Jūmāgaṇḍa—a natural inference from the name it bore: Mahārāja-Rudrasena-Vihāra. Further light is expected to be thrown on his activities as a patron of Buddhism when more relics will come to light from the Íntwā site.

Recently Prof. Dr. J. Ph. Vogel has published an interesting paper on the Seals of Buddhist Monasteries in Ancient India, in which he has dis-ussed similar bhikhu-saṅgha seals from Kasi, Sāmāth, etc. ² To that list we may now add the Íntwā sealing. And this one would be the earliest of the lot. ³

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No. 31—ANDHAVARAM PLATES OF ANANTASA-KTIVARMAN

(I Plate)

R. Subrahmanyam, Visakhapattanam

On receipt of a report from the village officers of Andhavaram, that an urn, containing four sets of copper plates with inscriptions, was accidently exposed by some cowherds of that village while playing, I visited the village on 27th February 1951. Messrs. Ramachandraramurty and Rajarao, the village officers, took me to the findspot, and were kind enough to permit me to carry the plates to Visakhapatnam, for study and publication. Andhavaram is a small village in the Narsanapeta taluk of the Srikakulam District, Madras State. It is situated on the left bank of the Vaṅgadhārā river. It is about twelve miles from Chicacole Road Railway Station. There are two

³ [As this paper was going through the press, information was received of the discovery of two more similar clay sealings of Buddhist monasteries, one from Kosam, ancient Kasiśimbi, and the other from Kusambhī, ancient Pātaliputra. The former belongs to the congregation of friars at the Ghūshita drāma, while the latter pertains to the congregation of friars at Arōgya vihāra.—Ed.]
mounds in the south-east part of the village, on one of which there is a big banyan tree. The urn containing the plates was discovered just at the foot of this tree. The plates were suspended by means of an iron rod inserted across the deliberately broken rim of the urn and are in a good state of preservation. The urn itself is of red earthenware and has a wide circular mouth. It had a hemispherical lid. The copper plates were preserved inside the urn in paddy-husk. This method of preserving copper-plate grants is known from some other cases as well. There were, in all, four sets of copper plates. Each set consists of three plates held together by means of a thick ring, the two ends of which are securely soldered under a seal bearing the Viśākhana of the respective royal donor.

The earliest of the four records is edited here. Each of its three plates measure $6 \frac{7}{10} \times 2 \frac{3}{10} \times \frac{1}{2} \text{"}$. Its copper ring is circular, 4" in diameter, and seal elliptical $(3 \frac{3}{4} \times 2 \frac{1}{2})$. The legend on it is badly worn out, though four lines of writing are traceable. The writing is enclosed within straight lines of which there are four running across the breadth of the oval surface. Above the legend, at the top, are figured a dot and a crescent which stand respectively for a star (or sun) and the moon.

The plates do not have raised rims, but still the writing on them is in a fair state of preservation. The first side of the first plate alone is left blank. The ring had to be cut by me for taking impressions. The plates together with the ring weigh 102 tolas, the ring alone weighing 67 tolas.

The script of the inscription is Brāhmī of the southern type and bears close resemblance to the archaic characters adopted in the grant of the kings of Kalinga of the 5th and 6th centuries. Attention may be drawn to the peculiar type of the serif of the letters which is indicated by a dot or dots as the case may be. In this feature it closely resembles the script of the Rāgūla plates of Śaktivarman. The language is Sanskrit and except for the two benedictory verses quoted from Manu and Vyāsa, at the end (lines 11-17), the inscription is in prose. The final m is smaller in size and is often engraved below the line; e.g., karṇaṇaṃ in line 12; consonants are doubled in conjunction with a superscript r as in guṇama in line 5, etc. Except for one or two mistakes of the engraver, the inscription reads all right. The numerical symbols for 10, 5 and 4 are given in the date portion of the grant. The name of the lunar month and the day are also given. Of the two place-names given in the inscription—Vijayapura and Andòreppa, the latter appears to be the ancient name of Andhavaram, the find-spot of the inscription. I am not able to identify the other place, Vijayapura.

The inscription belongs to the king Mahārāja Ananta-Śaktivarman of the Māṭhara family (line 5) and is issued from Vijayapura, where the king was camping with his army (hastī-aiśvāra-skandhāvārā). It records the donation made by the king of the village of Andòreppa converted into an agraśāra, free of all taxes, to the very brāhmaṇa families belonging to various gōtras and charas to whom, earlier, the village had been granted by Āryyaka-Śaktibhaṭṭarāka-pāda who had conquered the celestial beings by the incessant practice of Dharma as ordained.

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1 A photograph of the urn with the four sets of plates suspended from the rod in their original position was published in some of the English dailies announcing the discovery. See, for instance, the Mail and the Hindu (both of Madras), respectively, of the 11th and the 14th April 1934.
2 For instance, see above, Vol. XXVII, p. 268 and n. 2.
3 Rāgūla plates of Śaktivarman, above, Vol. XII, pages 1 ff. and plate: Bṛhatprāśīthā grant of Unavarman, above, Vol. XII, pp. 4 ff. and plate; J. A. H. R. S., Vol. VI, p. 53; Sukanaka grant of Ananta-Śaktivarman, C. P. No. 24 of 1934-35. Dr. B. Ch. Chabria, Government Epigraphist for India, was kind enough to send me a set of castings of this last mentioned inscription, the facsimiles of which have not yet been published, for purposes of comparison, for which I am highly obliged to him.
4 Above, XII, p. 2.
The king is described as a devout worshipper of the lotus-fee of the god Nārāyaṇa whose chest was embraced by Kamalanātā (i.e., Lakṣmi), as an ornament to Māṭhara-kula, and as the inheritor of the body, kingdom prosperity and prowess through the devotion to the venerable Lord, the father (Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-prasād-āvapta-śārira-rājaṇa-vibhava-pratīkāṭh). The executor or Ajñāpī of the grant was one Mahādaṇḍanāyaka (Commander-in-chief) and the record was written by Māṭrivara who was both Daṇḍanāyaka and Dēśākhapatañādikātra (Record-keeper of the dēśa or District).

Ananta-Śaktivarman is already known to us by a record issued by him from his capital Sīthihapura which registers the grant of the village Sakuṇaka in the Varāhavartani viśaya to the brahmana brothers Nāgasarman and Duggasarman in the 28th year of his reign, but no complete account of the Māṭhara family and the part played by them in the history of Kaliṅga is available. During the confusion that followed the invasion of Samudragupta, many new dynasties rose into prominence in Kaliṅga and of those the Māṭhara family appears to have acquired paramount sway over the whole of Kaliṅga. Śaktivarman, the founder of the dynasty, seems to have annexed the kingdom of Pīṭhapura, supplanting Mahēndrā or one of his successors.

The Rāgōla2 charter describes Śaktivarman as an ornament of Māgadhā (Māṭhara)?-kula and Lord of Kaliṅga. He had also the matronymic name Vāishishāpitrtra, perhaps copied from the Śatavāhanas or Ikñākus. But no definite information is available about the successors of Śaktivarman. But it can be presumed from the Sakuṇaka grant of Ananta-Śaktivarman that the Māṭhara family lost its hold in the Gōdvārī region where Pīṭhapura (i.e., Pīṭhapuram) was situated and its sway was confined to North Kaliṅga with Sīthihapura as its capital. About 7 records (excluding the plates under review) pertaining to the successors of Śaktivarman of Rāgōla plates have so far been discovered. They are: Sakuṇaka grant4 of Mahārāja of Ananta-Śaktivarman, the Tīrthāṅga5 grant (Bobbili plates) and the Kōmarti6 plates of Chaṇḍavarman, the Dhaivalapēṭa plates,7 the Bṛhatprāshṭā8 and the Asthīvāra9 grants of Mahārāja Umavarmman and the Koroshaṅgā10 plates of Mahārāja Viśakhavarman. In view of the close resemblances of styles adopted in the prāṇānti portion of these grants and the invariable appearance of the title pīṭhībhaktabha or ‘devout worshipper of the father’ in some form or other in all these grants, in spite of no specific reference being made to Māṭhara-kula in a few among them, it has been surmised that all the kings figuring in these charters belonged to one and the same family,11 though it is difficult to establish a definite chronological relationship.

By inference it has been established that Śaktivarman of the Rāgōla plates was the ancestor of Ananta-Śaktivarman and on grounds of palaeography a time-lapse of a hundred years has been allowed between the records of these two kings. The Government Epigraphist for India, tentatively suggested in his report for the year 1934–35 that Ananta-Śaktivarman was the grandson of

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1 C.P. No. 24 of 1934-35; also see Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy, 1934-35, p. 53. This record is under publication in this journal.
2 Mahēndrā is mentioned as the ruler of Pīṭhapura in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta—Jayaswal: History of India (1933), pages 134 ff.; Fleet: Gupta Inscriptions (C. I. I. Vol. III) No. I, lines 19-20. The Rāgōla plates of Śaktivarman of Māgadhā (Māṭhara)-kula was issued from Pīṭhapura, the capital of Mahēndra mentioned in the Allahabad inscription.
5 Above, Vol. IV, pages 142 ff. and plates.
7 Above, Vol. XII, pages 4 ff. and plate.
8 J. A. H. R. S., Vol. VI, pages 53-54; C. P. No. 13 of 1934-35. This record is under publication in this journal.
Šaktivarman with the possibility of Anantavarman intervening between them who might have been the father of our present Šaktivarman. The latter's name is perhaps indicated by the double form Ananta-Šaktivarman to distinguish him from the earlier Šaktivarman. If this suggestion be accepted, then we may place Mahārāja Ananta-Šaktivarman, the donor of the present charter, in the first half of the 5th century A. D.

Since the grant was issued from a military camp at Vijayapura and not from Simhapura which is mentioned as the capital in the records dated later one is tempted to presume that Ananta-Šaktivarman was just then engaged in some battle. No information is available as to the king with whom he was fighting. Presumably he was compelled in his 14th year to leave Pishapura, his ancestral capital, by the rising power of the Sālakāyana rulers of Vërgi to find a capital in the northern regions of Kaliṅga, i.e., Vijaya-Simhapura or Simhapura, from where members of his dynasty ruled subsequently till they were overthrown by the Vaisākhas.

TEXT

First Plate

1 Svasti [[*] mahāhastya-āvva-skandhāvārād-Vijayapurād-Bhagavatāh-Ka-
2 malanilay-ākkrānta-vakhaso Nārāyaṇa-svāminaḥ-pāda-bhaktah
3 parama-daiwata-ābappa-bhāṭṭāraka-pāda-prasād-āvāpta-safrā-
4 rājya-vibhava-pratipō Māthara-kul-ālaṅkarishṇula-Kaliṅgādhipa-

Second Plate ; First Side

5 tiś-Śrīman-Mahārāj-Ānanta-Śaktivarmanma(mmā) [[Ā]ṃḍōreppa-grāmē sa[r]vva sa-
6 manvāgatān-kutumbinā-samāṃnāpayati [[*] asty-avani[p]ya-yathōkta-
7 dharmāvasthānā-vijita-ttriviṣṭapair-Āryyaka-Śakti-bhāṭṭāraka-pā
8 dáih nānā-gōtra-nānā-charanēbhyyō brāhmaṇēbhyyāḥ-pūrva-datta ity-asmā-

Second Plate ; Second Side

9 bhīr-api sva-punya-āyur-yyaśō-bhivipādhāyā ā sahastraśaśu-sasi-tāra-
10 kād-agrahaṇa-krptvā sarvpa-paraḥraśi-cha parihṛty-aibhyō brāhmaṇa-ku-
11 lēbhyō-tisśāṭha [[*] tad-śaṁ jhātvā yushmābhīr-uchit-ōpāthānaṁ-kā-
12 rtavayam[[*]]bhavishyad-rājāni-cha viṃśapayati yushmābhīr-api pravṛttakam

1 C. P. No. 4 1934-35 : Simhapura has been identified by Dr. Hultzsch (above, Vol. IV, page 143) with the modern Sāharpuram or Sungapuram in the Naraṇāmpeta taluk of the present Srikakulam District.
2 May be corrected as parama-daiwata[*] in which case this epithet becomes applicable to the royal donor.
3 The writer may have purposely used the a-ending form and not n-ending, thus ‘varm̄nā and not ‘varm̄n̄, in which case no correction is necessary, the hiatus in ‘varm̄n̄ Andō being perfectly regular according to the sandhi rules. That the a-ending form is incorrect, but ought to be taken as a less common form, may be inferred from its use in certain other early inscriptions. Compare, for example, Sarvaṃvarmanā in the Nirmaḡ plate of Samuelson (CH, Vol. III, p. 289, text line 9); pūrō-śqrtvarmā vikhyātaḥ (the ypā inscription A of king Mūlavarmā, Borko, Bijdrage tot de Tust-Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-India, Vol. 74, 1918, r. 213); and Viśnurāmmāya of the Perak seal (J. A. S. B., Letters, Vol. I, 1935, p. 28). If the above surmise is correct, the writer of the present charter has done well in employing the less common form, for, in doing so, he has saved the ambiguity which would otherwise have resulted as to the proper name of the village, beginning an ā. The code-cence would have passed unnoticed, or, if detected, one would have been left wondering whether the name of the village began with an a or with an ā.--Ed.]
4 The ā seems to have been written on an erasure. Its form is slightly different from the ā in line 9, which perfectly formed.
TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM JÄJPUR

Third Plate; First Side

13 iman-dāna-dharmam-anupaṣyadhir-śāhō-grahārum-nupālyah [\*]
14 api ch-ātra manu-Vyāsa-gītan ślokāḥ bhavataḥ[\*] Bahubhīra-śaḥhū dab地
15 ttā vasuṭha vasudhāchippah[\*] yaṣya yaṣya yaṣā bhūms-tasya
16 [tajya tadā phalām[\*]] Pūrva-dattin-dvijāṭhīyō yataūd-ramaḥ Yudhishtīra[\*]

Third Plate; Second Side

17 mahim-mahimataṃ śrīśṛṣṭā dānach-çıhṛtyo-nupalanam-iti [\*] ajñāptīḥ
18 mahādaṇjanayakāḥ[\*] sarvatsarasāt-chaturdalaḥ 10 4 Śrīvaṇa-
19 śukla-paṇḍharymāṃ 5 [*] dēś-ākṣhapaṭal-ādhiṣṭita-daḍphāṇayaka-
20 Mātviraṅeṇa likhitam-iti || \[\[*\] \]

No. 32—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM JÄJPUR

(1 Plate)

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, OOTACUMUND

Jäjpur is an old town on the Vaitaraṇī river which seems to have provided in early times the line of demarcation between Utka and Klausa. According to the Rughuvaṁśa, 1 Utka lay between Klausa (district round Mount Mahānātra, i.e. the Mahāndgūra peak in the Ganjam District) and the Kapsā river (the modern Kānsā or Kānasa, running through the Midnapur District), while the Mahābhārata 4 seems to mention the Vaitaraṇī as the north-eastern boundary of the Klausa country. Of course, in later times, under the Bhauma-Karas and the Sōmavāhīs, often represented as lords of Utka, this country seems to have included the Puri District and sometimes even the eastern fringe of the Ganjam District. 5 The Basudhārya Dharmasūtra 6 seems to suggest that the Klausa region in the present Orissa country was regarded by the Aryans of the later Vedic age as an impure (i.e., predominantly non-Aryan) country, although it was sometimes visited by the Aryans. A later popular saying [7] allowed the Aryans to frequent this coast country only on pilgrimage. The Mahābhārata 4 regards the valley of the Vaitaraṇī as a holy land fit for pilgrimage and specifically mentions Viraṇa, which, along with the variants Vīrāṇa and Vīraṇa, is no other than the

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1 Read "m[\*] iti \[\].
2 There is a floral design between the two sets of triple dandas and a wavy line at the end.
3 Cf. Canto IV, verse 38: Sa tistat Kapsāna sainyanir = baddha-dvira-sūtbhīḥ \[\| Utkal-ādāriita-pathāh Kaling-ābhikraman yayan ||
4 Cf. III, 114, 3: atri Kalingāya Kauśāya yata Vaitaraṇi nadi.
5 For the Bhauma-Karas, see J. K. H. R. S., Vol. II, pp. 103-05. Their kingdom was known both as Utka and Tōsāi (or Tōsāṣ). Tōsāi was divided into two administrative divisions, viz., Northern and Southern. The Dakṣiṇa-Tōsāi division included Kōṅgōda on the Puri-Ganjam border. The Sōmavāhīs, who were in occupation of the Puri region, were apparently mentioned in the records of the imperial Gangas, who at first ruled from Klausa-nagara (Mukhalingam in the Srikakulam District) and claimed to be Klausa originally. 6\[\|
6 Cf. I, 13-16: Avatapthgāna, Magadhā Śravastī Dakshinapathāḥ | Ujācā-Śrīsatya-Samātā orte samārpya-ṇānanāḥ | Aratā Saṅkarōṇa, Pudrāṇa, Saṅkarōṇa, Kalinga Prānaṇāna – iti cha yathā punahāmāna yajñā saṃkarṣitāh yāt | adhyātāyuddhāraṇāti | paścathām sa kusirte pāpayam yah Kalingāya prāpaṇīte | riṣabhyo śiṅkrītān tasya prāharṣirvānuparam kavīk ||
7 Cf. Bagchi, Pre-Aryan and Pre-Draurādian in India, p. 74: Aṅga-ṛanga-Kalingaśa Śravasthiyā Majadhēka | tīrthā-ṣṭhānaṁ saṁkīrtan punah-samsākarṣamavatī ||
8 Cf. note 4 above; also Udā, III, 83, 6: tatō Viśāraṇāṃ gocheśaṁ sarve pāpa-panāṣamavatī | Viṣṇuṣam tīrtham=śeṣaṇavi yāra ati yathā kau ṛṣey ||
present Jajpur, as an important place of pilgrimage. Jajpur was thus one of the earliest tirthas in the east coast country.

The present name of the town of Jajpur seems to be a corruption of Yayatipura. It appears that the Somanavasi (from the tenth to the thirteenth century) who had their headquarters at Yayatinagara in Northern Orissa, built and named after Mahasivagupta I Yayati, made Yayatipura or Jajpur their secondary capital after extending their power in Southern Orissa. The fact that Jajpur was probably also called Yayatinagara is suggested by the early Muslim chroniclers as they mentioned the Orissa kingdom of the Gaugas, who supplanted the Somanavasi from Southern Orissa and may have had their secondary headquarters at Jajpur, as Jajnagar. During the medieval period Jajpur became a great centre of Tantrik worship and of the Mother-goddess cult. Whether this was primarily due to the patronage of the Somanavasi kings, who were Saiyas, cannot be determined. But Jajpur enjoyed a glorious position, even before the age of the Somanavasi, during the days of the Bhauma-Karas (from the seventh to the ninth century), who had their capital at or near the site of Jajpur. Most of the charters of the Bhauma-Kara kings were issued from the city of Guhadavapataka or Guhesvarapataka; but in an endorsement to a charter of the Gauga king Jayavarman of Svetyaka, Unmatakasarin (Siinaha) olau Sivakara I, who was the founder of the greatness of the family and possibly ruled about the middle of the seventh century, is said to have had his residence at Virajas, i.e., Jajpur, and it appears that Guhadavapataka or Guhesvarapataka was the name applied by the Bhauma-Karas either to Virajas (Jajpur) itself or to a new city built by them in its vicinity. It is not known whether the name Guhadavapataka or Guhesvarapataka was derived from a deity or a king or from a deity named after a king. There is no evidence regarding the existence of a king having a name or surname like Guha in the family. The dynasty is called Bhauma in earlier records but Kara in later documents. The latter name was actually the stereotyped ending of the names of the kings of the family, although, strictly speaking, it was kara in most cases (cf. the names Lakshmi-kara, Kshema-kara, Siva-kara and Saanti-kara) but akara in one at least (cf. the name Subh-akara). The earlier kings of the family were Buddhists while the later rulers were followers either of Saivism or of Vaishnavism.

Although Jajpur was certainly the residence of one of the early Bhauma-Kara kings and it is probable that all the rulers of this family had their headquarters at this place or its neighbourhood, it is rather curious that so long no inscription of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty came from the town. In January 1950, I visited Jajpur especially with the idea of seeing whether any record of the Bhauma-Karas could be traced. I am very glad to note that my effort did not prove entirely fruitless as I discovered an interesting lithic record (A) of the time of an early Bhauma-Kara ruler and another (B) that may be tentatively assigned to the early days of the family's rule. These two inscriptions are edited here.

A. Harisvaram Temple Inscription of the time of the Bhauma-Kara Dynasty.

On the 3rd of January 1950, while I was staying at the Inspection Bungalow at Jajpur, I received information about the existence of a stone inscription in the ruins of the Harisvaram temple from

2 Vide The Skta Pitkas (J. R. 4. 8. B., Vol. XIV), pp. 33, 45; cf. also references under Yajapura, Yajapura, Viraja, Nabhagaya, etc., in Appendix V, pp. 80-100. Jajpur is written in Oriya as Yajapura and pronounced as Jajapura or Jajpur.
5 Misra, op. cit., pp. 4, 8, 14, etc.
6 Ibid., p. 23, 34, etc. The recently discovered Terupdja plate of Subhakara II (son of Sivakara II from Mohindodhi), dated year 100, mentions the family both as Bhauma and Kara. This is the earliest mention of the family as Kara.
an old Oriya gentleman named Chandrasekhar Das who is a poet and an inhabitant of Śivadāsapura forming a part of the Jajpur town. Mr. Das kindly led me to the site which was found to be not far from the Virajā and Trilokchana temples at Jajpur. Of the Haṁśēśvara temple only the plinth and the floor and the lower part of the side and back walls could be seen. There was no trace of the front wall, the upper parts of the other walls and the roof. A rectangular piece of black stone, bearing an inscription, was found embedded in the inner side of the existing lower part of the back wall. It appeared to me that the stone actually belonged to an earlier temple whose materials were utilised in the construction of the Haṁśēśvara temple possibly on the same site after the former had become dilapidated owing to the ravages of time. The ruins of the Haṁśēśvara temple lie on the bank of an old tank now almost dried up. Mr. Das informed me that the whole area had been formerly covered with a dense jungle which was cleared some 20 years ago.

The inscribed stone is rectangular in shape. There is a margin of several inches to the left of the writing; but the right side of the stone is broken and there is no margin to the right of the inscription. The lower end of the stone seems also to be broken off; but it is difficult to say anything definitely on this point. The inscription is thus fragmentary with portions lost at the end of all the extant lines, and possibly some lines of writing now missing totally. The inscribed face of the stone, as it now stands, contains altogether eleven lines, each measuring 11'5". An examination of the verses inscribed on the stone shows that an equal number of aksharas have been broken away from the end of all these lines. Thus the inscribed stone seems to have been originally at least double its present length. Single letters are about '5" in height.

The characters employed in the inscription belong to the East Indian type of the Northern Alphabet and may be ascribed on palaeographical grounds to the seventh or eighth century. A.D. Some of their characteristics are the same as those of the early records of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty of Orissa. Of initial vowels, the inscription employs a (line 10), ā (line 2), i (lines 3, 5, 6), i (line 6) and u (line 1). Medial u has two different forms. In many cases it resembles its late Dēvaṇāgarī form (cf. ǧar=aṭu in line 1, ǧa=m=bhu in line 5, ǧabhu=tam in line 8, etc.); but in a few cases (cf. kulādībhut=ū in line 2) it looks almost like medial ū (cf. ǧey=abhūt=ū in line 4 and ǧa=bhūtu=tam in line 7). The form of medial au in ǧa=Bhauma in line 2 is interesting to note as it has an ornamental śrī-mātrā besides the two pṛśiṭha-mātrās. Of final consonants we have only m (cf. lines 7, 8). The lower part of subscript y is ornamental and considerably long and it covers the space below several preceding aksharas. In the passage śrīman-Mādhavadeva=ā in line 4, the subscript y in eva covers the space below the five preceding aksharas. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It is composed entirely in verse. Interesting from the orthographical point of view is the wrong spelling in vidhvamsanah for vidhvāmśanah in line 2. Final m has usually been changed to the nasal of the class of the following consonants (cf. ǧulañ=Kai in line 7, nivāsan=tīna and dēvyāñ=gaṭā in line 10). Consonants like m and n have been reduplicated in conjunction with r preceding them.

The existing portion of the fragmentary inscription contains no date. But as will be shown below, it refers to king Śubhākara I of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty, who may be assigned roughly to the third quarter of the seventh century. The date quoted in the Neulpur plate is clearly in the year 93 of an unspecified era. The era used by the Bhauma-Karas is now usually identified with the Hareha era of 606 A. D. and consequently the date of the Dhauli cave inscription would correspond to 699 A. D. As Śubhākara I was succeeded first by his elder son

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3 Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 263-64; Miara, op. cit., p. 11.
Śivakara II and then by his younger son Śāntikara I, he seems to have flourished considerably before the end of the seventh century. It, however, seems that our record was incised when Śubhākara I may not have been on the throne. The inscription under discussion may thus roughly be assigned to the third or fourth quarter of the seventh century.

The inscription begins with the usual symbol for siddhaṃ or siddhir-astu. Line 1 of the epigraph seems to have contained a complete verse in the Āryā metre. This is suggested by the fact that line 2 begins with a different verse in the Sārdhāvākāśita metre. Of the verse in line 1, only the first foot and nine syllables as well as traces of four more akṣaras of the second foot are found. That the right part of this line, that has been broken away and lost, contained a little above twenty akṣaras appears to be suggested quite clearly by lines 9-11 of the inscription. Line 9 begins with a verse in the Indrāvajjīr Āryasāyati metre which ends with the word hattāḥ followed by two dāyjas at the commencement of the next line. Then follows a verse in the Mālinī metre ending with the word yovya followed by two dāyjas and the expression ten-aṅgā forming the beginning of another verse in a metre other than the Mālinī. This analysis shows that no less than twenty-one syllables are lost at the end of line 9 and twenty-three at the end of the following line.

The extant portion of verse 1 containing the words “ātir-aṅgā, “let the bee protect [us]”, is apparently in adoration of some deity. The reference to the god as a bee reminds us of the mention of Viṣṇu as “the mighty bee on the lotus which is the face of Jāmbavati” in the Tusharā rock inscription. But the god adored in the first verse of our epigraph is probably Śiva as the construction of a temple of that god is the main subject recorded in the inscription.

Verse 2 says that there was a mighty king in the Bhauma family whose name was Śivakara II bhākara. The past tense in the verb āsit may suggest that the inscription was engraved after the death of the king. As we know, there were no less than four kings of this name in the Bhauma-Kara dynasty of Orissa, although the reference to the family as Bhauma in the present record and not as Kara no doubt points to an earlier ruler of the family. The identity of Śubhākara mentioned here is, however, made clear by the following verse (verse 3) which speaks of queen Mādhavadēvi apparently as the wife of the king referred to in the previous verse. As known from the Chaurasi plate of Śivakara II, son of Śubhākara I, queen Mādhavadēvi, whose name is often wrongly supposed to be Mādhavādevī, was the wife of king Śubhākara I and the mother of Śivakara II. The second half of verse 3 says how a temple of the god Bhava (i.e., Śiva), entitled Mādhavēśvara, was built. There is no doubt that the temple was built and the deity was installed on behalf of the queen Mādhavadēvi and that the god (probably in the form of a liṅga) was styled Mādhavēśvara after her name in accordance with an old practice followed in different parts of India. Verse 4 seems to compare the temple with Śiva’s residence on Mount Kailāsa and also to record the appointment of a Śaiva ākhārya for conducting the worship of the deity installed. Verses 5 refers to a vāpi or tank that must have been excavated near the temple in question. The old tank, on the bank of which the ruins of the Harihārēśvara temple at Jajpur stand, is possibly no other than the vāpi mentioned in this verse. The next verse (verse 6) speaks of a hattāḥ, ‘a market or a fair,’ that seems to have been established or organised in a locality in the vicinity of the temple and the tank. Possibly the income of the hattā was assigned to the temple. Verse 7 refers to a person who did

1 The date of the Chaurasi plate of this king (J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XIV, pp. 292 ff. and Vol. XV, pp. 572-573 and plates) is doubtful.
2 Corp. Ins. Ind., Vol. III, p. 270. [There is no reference to any bee in the present inscription. See note 3 on p. 183 below Ed.]
4 Cf. the cases of Pithirēśvara named after Pithirisēhas (Select Inscriptions, p. 293), Mihirēśvara evidently named after Mihirakalakṣi (Corp. Ins. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 288-89), and numerous other later instances recorded in inscriptions. Fleet’s interpretation of the name Mihirēśvara as a “form of the god Śiva combined with the Sun” is no doubt wrong.
A. Hamsesvara Temple Inscription
   of the time of the Bhauma-Kara Dynasty

B. Chamunda Image Inscription of Vatsadevi

B. Ch. Chhabra
Reg. No. 426 HE(C)'50-499.

Survey of India, Dehra Dun
sounding in relation to the above establishments after the queen, no doubt Mādhava-lāvi, had gone to the city of the gods, that is to say, after the queen’s death. The next verse, only the first two words of which are extant, apparently also speaks of the same person and of some of his activities.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it is the only Bhauma-Kara record that comes from Jaipur proper which, as we have seen, was probably the capital of the rulers of the Bhauma-Kara family. Another fact not known from any other source is that Mādhava-lāvi, queen of Subhākara I, was a devotee of the god Śiva, although her husband is known, from his own Neulpur plate as well as the records of his successors, to have been a Buddhist. That the husband and wife often belonged to different religious persuasions in ancient India is indicated not only by this instance, but also by several other similar cases known from the history of other ruling families.

The inscription does not mention any geographical names with the exception of Mount Kailāsa and the mythical Udayagiri (or the Sun-rise Mountain) and Amarapura (i.e., Indra’s capital in heaven).

TEXT

1 Siddham [][*] Udayagiri-chānu-chudā-[vishṭ]ā-m-alir-avatu ×××××[. . . [ ][*] . . . . . . .

2 Āśīr-Bhauma-kul-ādh-but-āhita-dhvāṁ-ātivi-dhvansā(ṛdhveṣa)naḥ- . . . . . . . . . . . . .

3 bhākara iti jyotināyamānāya yaśo yasyaśūmin-āripu-kā[mi][ni*][1][2][3][4]

4 rājas jagat-svāminī Śrīman-Mādhava-devy-abhūt-adhimitā- . . . . . .[ ][*] . . . . . .

5 nāḥ[ḥ*] khyātō-yam-bhuvi Mādhava-vara iti Śrīmān-Bhavasy-ālaya[h][3][4] . . . . . .

6 kh-Ścārya iti vyatishṭhata chiram-prajñāvatām-agraśīḥ[ ] īśa[n=6]

7 tula[n]-Kaiḷāsasva-bhūhitam | [[][ ][*] YenaÝaitat-sukarā-vaseṣhana-su- . . . . . .

8 ma-styaddhutam | [āha ch]-anupam-āti-nirmmala-jalā vāpi . . . . . . . . . . . . . .


10 āṭam || [6][*] Amarapura-nivāssa-tena deyyaṁ-gātāyām-ih iha ku- . . . . . . . [ ][*]

11 pratītin suvīpa-jana-[sā]rthās-tōshalaya*nt-fva yasya || [7][*] TenaÝait[ ]

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1 From impressions.
2 Expressed by a symbol.
3 The aksharas mali are quite clear. [The correct reading appears to be chintiṇamāri-avata.—Ed.]
4 Traces of four aksharas can be seen after avata.
5 The metre of the verse appears to be Āḍīga.
6 Metre of this verse and of the next three verses: Śardālavikritā.
7 Either vijñulena or vijñulakṣyam is intended.
8 Metre: Indrāmāja or Upaśākā.
9 Metre: Maliṇi
10 The rest of the inscription is lost.
B. Chāmuṇḍā Image Inscription of Vatsadēvi

Jajpur, a famous centre of Tantrik worship and the Mother-goddess cult, abounds in the images of the Mātrikās. There is a small temple where the Mātrikās are in actual worship. A number of huge Mātrikā images are preserved in shades within the compound of the S. D. O.’s Bungalow. Of the Mātrikās, Chāmuṇḍā appears to have been in special favour at Jajpur and her images are very often met with scattered here and there. One such image of the goddess Chāmuṇḍā was found by me on the main road in the neighbourhood of the Trilokhana temple. The image is not under regular worship, although its mutilated face, dabbed with vermilion, shows that it commands at least some respect from the womenfolk of the locality. Most of the images examined by me at Jajpur were found to be uninscribed; but the image of Chāmuṇḍā noticed above has one line of writing on its base. The inscription covers a space of 1½ feet in length. A single letter is about 1.5" in height; but a conjunct and a consonant with vowel marks are in some cases about 4" high.

The characters belong to the Northern class of alphabet of about the seventh century A.D. The ornamental vowel mark in ī ā reminds us of epigraphs like the Banskhera plate of Harshavardhana dated [Harsha] Samvat 22 (=623 A. D.),¹ and the Udaypur inscription of Aparājita dated V. S. 718 (=661 A. D.).² Medial ī is still short; but medial i is long enough to reach the bottom line of the letters. Subscript y has its lower part lengthened towards the left; but it is shorter than in the case of the record of the Kraunna-Kara dynasty edited above (A). Although some of the palaeographical features of that inscription are present in the epigraph under discussion, this record seems to belong to an earlier date. The forms of s and d are slightly earlier. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, although there is Prakrit influence in the form ‘dēyāyāḥ for dēyāḥ’. As regards orthography the reduplication of t in conjunction with the preceding r may be noticed.

The inscription simply refers to the kirtti of queen Vatsadēvi. The kirtti (literally meaning ‘fame’) referred to is undoubtedly the image of the goddess Chāmuṇḍā on which the epigraph is incised. Bhagawanlal Idrāji and K. T. Telang pointed out that in certain connections the word kirttana means a temple.³ R. G. Bhandarkar supported the suggestion by quoting passages from the Agnī Purāṇa, Bābā’s Kādambari and Sōmēśvara’s Kirtti-kaumudi.⁴ J. F. Fleet referred to the Mandar rock inscriptions of the time of Ādityasēna mentioning one’s pushkariṇi-kirtti which he renders as the ‘famous work of a tank’ and pointed out that the same meaning may be applied in many other cases to the word kirtti.⁵ But he further suggested on the authority of R. G. Bhandarkar that ‘kirtti and kirtana are hardly to be actually translated by the word ‘temple’ or by any other specific term, but denote generally ‘any work of public utility, calculated to render famous the name of the constructor of it. . . . And the particular work referred to may be a temple, as in the instances quoted above or a tank as in the present inscriptions or anything else of a suitable nature’. The inscription under discussion referring to an image of a goddess as the kirtti of a queen perfectly bears out the above suggestion of Bhandarkar and Fleet.⁶

Queen Vatsadēvi of ancient Orissa, who installed the image of Chāmuṇḍā in question apparently in a temple at Jajpur, is not known from any other source. She was probably the wife of one of

¹ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 210 ff. and plate.
² Ibid., p. 31 and plate.
⁴ Ibid., Vol. XII, pp. 228 f.
⁶ This is in reference to Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, p. 36; XII, pp. 228, 289; XIII, p. 185. See also above, Vol. XXIV, p. 240 and n.
⁷ These are the Mandar rock inscriptions of the time of Ādityasēna.
⁸ See an article on Kirtti: Its connotation in the Siddha-Bhāratī (Dr. Siddheswar Varma Presentation Volume), pp. 38-42.
the early Bhauma-Kara kings. The earliest member of the family is mentioned in some records as Kshēmaṅkara and in others as Lakshmikara and often the latter is regarded as the father of the former.¹ I have elsewhere suggested that the two names may actually indicate the same person.² The son and successor of the Param-opāsaka Mahārāja Kshēmanikara was the Parama-tāthāgata Mahārāja Śivakara I Unmaṭasiniṅha (also called Bharasaha) who married Jayāvaladēvi, daughter of a ruler of Rājhā in the valley of the river Ajay in South-west Bengal, according to the rākṣasa form of wedding.

The issue of this union was the Paramasaugata Mahārāja³ Śubhākara I who is the king mentioned in the record edited above and whose queen was Mādhavadēvi. It is tempting to suggest that Vatsadēvi of our inscription was one of the wives of one of the two predecessors of Śubhākara I.

TEXT

Siddham⁴ [||*]|rajñi-Vatsadēvyāyāḥ|kīrttih [||*]

TRANSLATION

Let there be success! (This image of the goddess Chāmunḍā is) the fame (i.e., the fame-producing work) of the queen Vatsadēvi.

No. 33—KENDUPATNA PLATES OF NARASIMHA II; SETS II AND III.

(2 Plates)

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND.

When the Kēndrāpaḍā canal in the Cuttack District, Orissa, was being excavated more than sixty years ago, a stone box measuring 3’×3’×2’ was found about 20’ below the surface of the earth in the village of Kēndupāṭnā in the Kēndrāpaḍā subdivision. The box contained three copper-plate grants issued by the imperial Eastern Gaṅga monarch Narasīṁha II (circa A.D. 1278-1305) in favour of one of his officials. Each of the grants is said to have consisted of seven plates. The box together with the copper plates was preserved in the local temple of Lakshminarayana. Sometime about the year 1892, the late Mr. N. N. Vasu secured the inscriptions for examination. Vasu edited the first of the three sets of the Kēndupāṭnā records in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXV, Part I, 1896, pp. 229-71 with plates. The third set of these inscriptions was transcribed by the same scholar in the Bengali encyclopaedia entitled Viśvakōśa, Vol. V, 1893, s.v. gaṅgiya (appendix between pp. 320 and 321), where the second set of the plates was barely noticed. Unfortunately Vasu’s transcripts and interpretations of the inscriptions are far from satisfactory. Even his description of the three sets of plates is not free from errors. The Viśvakōśa containing his transcript of one of the grants is, moreover, not easily available to scholars,

¹ Misra, op. cit., p. 71.
³ He is called simply Mahārāja in his own Neulpur plate; but in the records of his successors he is endowed with the imperial title Paramabhaṭṭaraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara. Śubhākara I was the first imperial ruler of the family while his father and grandfather possibly owed allegiance to Harshavardhana who is known to have led an expedition in Orissa about A. D. 643; cf. J. K. R. S., Vol. II, p. 103-04.
⁴ From impressions.
⁵ Expressed by a symbol.
⁶ Read 'dēvāyāḥ.
while one of the three inscriptions has never been published. For these reasons, a re-edition of these records was desirable. As all the three sets of the plates are now the property of the Orissa Museum at Bhubaneswar, I approached Mr. P. Acharya, Superintendent of Research and Museums, Government of Orissa, and Mr. K. C. Panigrahi, Curator, Orissa Museum, for a loan of the plates. They were kind enough to send me for examination the first set of the Kēndupātārā plates in July 1950. My paper on that inscription was soon completed and I contributed it to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta. In August 1950, I received the second and third sets of the plates. These are edited here. My thanks are due to Messrs. Acharya and Panigrahi for the kindness they have shown to me.

It is now well known that the 103 verses, containing some stray names between verses 6 and 7, form the introductory part of the charters of Narasimha II and are in the same as the different charters of the king. As the later imperial Gaṅga monarchs used to copy the genealogy of the family from the introductory portion of the grants of their predecessors, the above verses, sometimes with slight modifications, are also found in some other Gaṅga charters. Since the historical value of these verses has been dealt with by us in detail in connection with the Nagari, Asankhali and Alalpur plates, there is hardly any necessity of discussing the introductory part of the two inscriptions now under review. I am therefore editing here only the charters of Narasimha II forming the concluding portions of the inscriptions engraved on the second and third sets of the Kēndupātārā plates. As a matter of fact, the grants of the king have really nothing to do with the introductory part which deals with the genealogy of the imperial Gaṅgas down to the reigning monarch as well as the achievements of some of the kings.

A.—Set II; Śaka 1217; Añka year 22.

The record is incised on seven plates of which the first and seventh plates are inscribed only on the inner sides. The plates are about 13 inches long and about 9½ inches high. They are not numbered as in the case of the first and third sets, although the first plate seems to bear traces of the figure I without any preceding letter. The plates have raised rims. The hole for the ring to pass through has a diameter of 1'. The diameter of the ring is 4½' while its thickness is a little above 1'. The space between the left border of the plates and the ring-hole measures 1'. The seal soldered to the ring is the same as that attached to other charters of king Narasimha II and closely resembles the seal of other imperial Gaṅga grants. It is of the shape of an expanded lotus about 5' in diameter, its border containing the petals slightly bent upwards. The principal emblem on the seal is a bull, about 4½' in length and 3' in height, in an inclined posture. The size of the seal and of the bull emblem is bigger than that of the seal and the emblem of the first set of the Kēndupātārā plates. There are also the emblems of the triśūla, hemam, crescent and solar orb; but the ankhāśa found on the seal of the Nagari plates is absent. The writing on the plates is neat and clear; but its preservation is not quite satisfactory. Some of the plates are damaged here and there, especially about the borders, owing to corrosion. There are altogether 117 lines of writing on the plates. The inner side of the first plate and the reverse of the second have 19 lines each, while the reverse of the sixth plate and the inner side of the seventh have respectively 18 lines and 1 line. The rest of the

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2 See the Nagari plate of Anangabhadra III (c. A.D. 1211-39) to be published in this journal; the Purī plates of Bhāmū II (c. A.D. 1306-27), son of Narasimha II, which have been discussed by me in the *JRASB*, L, Vol. XVII, pp. 19-26; the Purī plates of Narasimha IV, *JASB*, Vol. LXIV, Part I, 1895, pp. 133 ff.; the Asankhali and Alalpur plates of Narasimha II to be published in this journal.

3 The Gaṅgas were originally Śaivas but became Vaishnavas from the time of Anantavarman Chōḍaganga. The Śaivite emblem on their seal, however, was not modified.
inscribed sides of the plates have each 20 lines of writing. The weight of the plates is 935 tolas, while the seal and the ring weigh 253 tolas.

The inscription very closely resembles the other records of Narasimha II in respect of palaeography, language and orthography and nothing calls for special mention, especially because they have been discussed in details in connection with the Assakhal and Alalpur plates of the same king to be published in this journal.

The date of the grant is given in words in line 177 as the expired Śaka year 1217 corresponding to the 22nd Aṅka year (i.e., 18th actual regnal year omitting, according to rule, the first, sixth, sixteenth and twentieth years of the Aṅka reckoning) of Narasimha II. The precise date of the document as given in line 178 is Saturday the 11th tithi of the dark half of the month of Mēsha (solar Vaiśākha) corresponding, if the Śaka year is regarded as current, to Saturday, the 10th April, A.D. 1294. This date, however, seems to be actually earlier than the 18th regnal year of Narasimha II.

It is said that the king made a number of grants in his 19th Aṅka (i.e., 16th regnal year), one of which was being recorded on the plates under discussion. The above date of the document is, however, based on the supposition that the word abhikīkhyāmē, found in other similar records (cf. the first set of the Kēndupāṭā plates, line 176) of the king in association with the Śaka year, has been omitted in the present inscription as in the third set of the plates to be discussed below.

But the language of the record as it stands may indicate that the grant had been made when the king was in the pāṇīya-vehāhāyaya-maṇḍapa (possibly a shaded hall cooled by water) at the kāṭaka (residence, city or secondary capital) called Rēmuṇā (the same as Rēmuṇa of several other records of the king) on Saturday, the 14th tithi of the dark half of the month of Mēsha in the king’s 19th Aṅka or 16th regnal year, although the charter was issued a few years later in the king’s 22nd Aṅka corresponding to the expired Śaka year 1217. If such was the case, the date of the grant may correspond to Saturday, the 14th April, A.D. 1291, although this date also actually appears to be earlier than the 16th regnal year of the king. It may be pointed out that the date of the first set of the Kēndupāṭā plates is Monday, the 6th of the month of Sītiha (i.e., solar Bhādrapada) in Śaka 1217 and in the 21st Aṅka (17th regnal year) of Narasimha II. This date is irregular for Śaka 1217 and, for Śaka 1218, corresponds to Monday the 6th August, A.D. 1296. None of these dates tallies with the generally accepted date of the king’s accession in A.D. 1278.

King Vīra-sīri-Narasimhadēva (i.e., Narasimha II), who was endowed with such bīrudas as chaturasā-bhuvan-ādhipati, is said to have made the grant of 100 vītikā of land in favour of Bhumadēvaśarman who is also the donee of the other two sets of the Kēndupāṭā plates. Bhumadēvaśarman, who was a Brāhmaṇa of the Kāśyapa gōtra having the Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra and Naiśhrva pravaras, is described as the king’s Kumāra-mahāpātra in the first set of the plates, while, in the present record as well as in the third set, he is called Bṛhat-kumāra-mahāpātra. Mahāpātra was no doubt a minister and Kumāra-mahāpātra, like Kumār-āmātya of the older records, a minister of the rank of a Kumāra, i.e., a prince of the royal blood. The word bṛhat suggests that Bhumadēvaśarman was a Kumāra-mahāpātra of the foremost rank. The muda, which in Telugu means ‘an order’ and in this context signifies the king’s order regarding the execution of the grant, passed through the Purā-parikshaka Pātra Trilōchana Jēnā.1 The word jēnā originally meant ‘a prince’ and later came to be the cognomen of many noble families of the Orissa region. Parikshaka, the same as Oriya pariksha or parichāha, was used to indicate a governor, a superintendent, an inspector, etc. Thus the word purō prefixed to parikshaka may be Sanskrit pura and indicate a Parikshaka attached to the capital or secondary capital of the Gaṅga monarch, which may, in the present case, have been the kāṭaka of Rēmuṇā.2

1 In the records of Narasimha IV and in the Mādala Pāṇji, the word muda seems to mean ‘an arrangement made or to be made according to an order’.
2 If purō stands for Sanskrit puras, it may indicate a higher officer in the class in question. The word is found as pōra in the grants of Narasimha IV and as pūra in the Mādala Pāṇji.
The land measuring 100 vāṭikās granted to Bhimādevaśārman consisted of several plots. The village called Vēhālagrāma situated in the Pūrva-khaḍa or eastern subdivision of the Sāṅgāḍhā vishaya (district) formed the first of the plots. The nala, which in Oriya means the measurement of area, was done by Purō-nāyaka Śivadāsa Sēnāpati. The word nāyaka (meaning a superintendent, possibly a superintendent of survey in the present context) in the designation Purō-nāyaka (possibly pura-nāyaka), indicated a high officer like the Parikṣhaka. The designation Sēnāpati (leader of army) suggests that Śivadāsa held both an executive and a military post possibly at the same time. Vēhālagrāma is said to have been bounded in the east by the junction of two of the boundary lines of Rānāparāgārāma and in the west by the contiguous part of the boundary line of Jūmarāmagrāma. The southern boundary of the village was the contiguous part of the boundary line of Sunāliṅgrāma, while its northern limit was the path (dālā) in front of the sālmali tree at Aṇḍīyalāgrāma. Within these boundaries, the land measured 60 vāṭikās 7 mānas and 20 guṇṭhas; out of this, an area measuring 26 vāṭikās 2 mānas and 15 guṇṭhas was covered by cattle tracks, pasture lands, manopas (public building), canals, jungles, palmyra groves and nīṣadha land under the enjoyment of gods and Brāhmaṇas and was subtracted leaving the net remainder (niravakara) of 34 vāṭikās 5 mānas and 5 guṇṭhas. The expression nīṣadha-bhūmi, used in this connection, no doubt means the same thing as the nīṣadhipāla land referred to in line 190 of the first set of the Kēndupāṭaṇa plates. The word nīṣadha may be a corruption of Sanskrit nīṣedhā. Thus nīṣadha-bhūmi may indicate 'forbidden land'. In Kannada inscriptions, the word nīṣadha is used to indicate a Jain burial ground. Whether nīṣadha is related to nīṣedhā cannot be determined. A māna, which consists of 25 guṇṭhas and 20 of which make a vāṭikā, is now regarded as equal to one acre of land in Orissa.

The second plot of the gift land comprised the village of Gadaḥaṅgrāma situated in the Kusa-maṇḍala vishaya. It was bounded in the west by an aśeṭtha tree near the tank at the junction of two boundary lines of the Maṅgalapura śāsana (gift village) and in the east by the contiguous part of the boundary line of Dēvapura. Its southern limit touched the junction of two boundary lines of Maṅgalapura and its northern limit comprised parts of the canal at Sāṅgāparāgārāma. The area within these boundaries measured 40 vāṭikās 17 mānas and 1 guṇṭha. Out of this, an area of 11 vāṭikās and 3 guṇṭhas, covered by cattle tracks, pasture lands and tanks under the enjoyment of gods and Brāhmaṇas from earlier times, was subtracted leaving the net remainder of 29 vāṭikās 16 mānas and 23 guṇṭhas.

The third plot of land comprised the village of Khaṇḍiṅgrāma situated in the same Kusa-maṇḍala vishaya. This village was bounded in the east by two boundary lines of Naēroṅgrāma and in the west by those of Gadaḥaṅgrāma. Its southern limit touched two boundary lines of Maṅgalapura and its northern limit those of another village the name of which is doubtful. The land within these boundaries measured 10 vāṭikās 11 mānas and 8 guṇṭhas. Out of this, an area, which measured 1 vāṭikā 16 mānas and 23 guṇṭhas and was covered by cattle tracks under the enjoyment of gods and Brāhmaṇas from early times, was subtracted leaving the net remainder of 9 vāṭikā and 10 guṇṭhas.

The name of the village forming the fourth plot of the gift land was possibly Bhāṇḍapaḍā. Its southern boundary touched parts of two boundary lines of Khaṇḍiṅgrāma and its northern boundary ran from parts of the canal up to the village road of Gadaḥaṅgrāma. In the east, the village was bounded by parts of two boundary lines of Maṅgalapura and in the west by those of Gadaḥaṅgrāma. The area within these boundaries measured 31 vāṭikās 15 mānas and 6 guṇṭhas. Out of this land, an area measuring 1 vāṭikās 17 mānas and 19 guṇṭhas was covered by cattle tracks, pasture lands and tanks under the enjoyment of gods and Brāhmaṇas from earlier times and was subtracted, leaving the net remainder of 26 vāṭikās 17 mānas and 12 guṇṭhas.

The areas of the four plots of the gift land, viz., 34 vāṭikās 5 mānas and 5 guṇṭhas, 29 vāṭikās 16 mānas and 23 guṇṭhas, 9 vāṭikās and 10 guṇṭhas, and 26 vāṭikās 17 mānas and 12 guṇṭhas, together
made a total of 100 vaṭikās of land which was granted to the donee Bhūmadēvāsaṁram as a permanent rent-free holding together with the right to enjoy it along with land and water as well as fish and tortoise. The sasana-vāhikāri (writer and keeper of documents) Allālanātha Śēnāpati, who is also known from other records of Narasimha II, received two vaṭikās of mixed homestead and water-covered land apparently as his fees or perquisites. The engraver of the document, the copper-smith Pannāḍi, who was also the writer of the first set of the Kendupatna plates, similarly received one vaṭikā of mixed homestead and water-covered land. It is specifically said that the copper-smith received his plot of land from the donee, the Bhūmadēvāsaṁram. The absence of the specification of the boundaries, etc., of any extra plot of land suggests that the sasana-vāhikāri also received his plot from the donee. This seems to have been the established custom as indicated by the expression sasana-vāhikāri-vyavasthā in line 197 of the first set of the plates.

The following seven rent-paying subjects were allotted to the sasana, which is not endowed with a special name as in other charters:

1. Kālidāsa who was the son of Ānanti, a sakhkakāra (maker of conch-shell bangles) of the Gōlaḍa haṭṭa (market); 2. Kesō sṛṣṭhin who was an inhabitant of Komaṭechchhaṅgula and belonged to the Jaya nagara haṭṭa; 3. Alilā who was the grandson of the goldsmith Vamadeva of the Kivalēla haṭṭa; 4. Vanāmalin who was the grandson of Virū, an oilman of Ārulapura; 5. Ānanti who was the grandson of Raṇā, a milkman of Vattakēvāra haṭṭa; 6. Indā who was the grandson of Sirā, a potter of the Painnapadā haṭṭa; and 7. Vanamālin who was the grandson of the oilman Rāju of Jhajjalapura. It has to be pointed out that the words gopa and gopa ra are prefixed to the names of taika-Virū and teli(R)-Rāju. The same word seems to have been used as gopapa in the passage Voirā-gopapa-tailika-Jāgula-sṛṣṭhikasya in the Asankhali plates and in line 197 of the third set of the Kendupatna plates. Whether this refers to a particular community among the oilmen cannot be decided.

Besides Rēmuṇa, a well-known locality near Balasore, the charter mentions a number of districts, villages and market places. The districts mentioned are the Sōgadā and Kusamaṇḍala vishayas. The villages lying in the Sōgadā district were Vohala, Bhaĩnapā, Jōmarāma, Sunālō and Āndīyōnā and those in the Kusamaṇḍala vishaya were Gadhai, Maṅgalapura (styled sasana), Dēvapura, Sāgapadā, Khaḍīgā, Naerē and Bhaṇḍapadā, all situated in the vicinity of one another. The list of rent-paying subjects discloses the names of the following localities: Gōlaḍa haṭṭa, Komaṭechchhaṅgula, Jaya nagara haṭṭa, Kivalēla haṭṭa, Ārulapura, Vattakēvāra haṭṭa, Painnapadā haṭṭa and Jhajjalapura. I have not been able to identify them satisfactorily. The name Sunālō, also known from other records of king Narasimha II, was apparently borne by different villages.

TEXT²

[Lines 1-158 are incised on Plates I, IIa, IIb, IIIa, IIIb, IVa, IVb and Va.]

Fifth Plate; Second Side

Lines 159-175 [Verse 105 of the introductory part ends with line 175].

¹ Cf. sasanādhikārika in the records, e.g., of the Western Chāluṣya. See above, Vol. XII, pp. 115, 314. Alilā is a Tamil name and Allālanātha may have been the descendant of one of the Tamil officials of the ancestors of Narasimha II. See our article on the Alagum inscription to be published in this journal.

² Cf. the name Allāla above.

³ Arul is a Tamil name and appears to point to Tamil influence in Orissa. Cf. note 1 above.

⁴ From the original plates and their impressions.
176 Svasti [||*] chaturdsa-bhuvan-adhipat-ity-adi-viruda-raji-virajamanaḥ svapratap-analaparipurpiḥ-ākṣṭ-ārdhi-ganahavya-[ma*].
177 hohayt viru-rti-Narasīṭ*[r]hadveah svap-rājasya dvaviṇaṇa(viṇaṣa)ty-aṅkā saptadaśādhike advaśada-sata-milī gatavaṇa śaka-vatsare [ Rā (Ṛ)].

Sixth Plate; First Side

179 tī purū-parikshaka-pātra-jēna-Tī(r)lochhan-ākhyā-mū(du)dalēna Kāsyapa-sagōtrāya Kāsyapa-āvatsāra-Nāṭhhrvā-pravrāyā vṛi(h)khat(ka(t(k)mu)rā-ma.
180 hāpata(ttra)-Bhūmadēvāsammanāt vāṭik-aika-sata-pradānāyā Sōrgaḍā-viṣya(s)ha-pūrvvaka-hanḍī-madhya-sthitam Vāhāla-grāmaḥ purū-nāyaka-ṛi.
182 chehhyāyān(dam)| daksinatāḥ Sūnālī-grāmiy-ārdhā-ādi-dāṇḍ-amāhīya Aṃdiyōla-grāmiya-Sālmali-vrksa-samukka-daṇḍ-paryant-ā(nt-)ottara.| 2
186 dhyā-varttinaṁ Gahāi-grāmaṁ paśchimataṁ Jāṅgalaḥpu(ṛ)ra-sāsamśa-dvi-śi(śi)ma-daṇḍa-pū(ṛ)shakaśi(ni)-samip-āśvatha-vr̥ksatā Dēvapu(ṛ)-ārdhdh-ādi-
187 daṇḍ-paryanta-pūrvva-parichechhāna(dam) | daksinatāḥ Mahāgalapu(ṛ)riya-dvi-śi(śi)ma-daṇḍa-ādhiṁdiṣya Samapada-grā. | 2
191 nṛtiṇaśa[strinīṣa])d-vāṭikā-parimitaṇ(tam) | tath-aṭad-viṣhaya-madhy-āśina-Khaḷṭi[ṇgā]-grāmaḥ pūrvvataḥ Nāḍī-grāmiya-dvi-[śi]ma-daṇḍa-āṛabhya Ga-
192 dhai-grāmiya-dvi-śi(śi)ma-daṇḍa-paśchim-āvachechhēdāṃ daksinatāḥ Mahāgalapurya-dvi-śi(śi)ma-[da]ṇḍa[m]a[ḥ]ya-dadhkrītya x x x grāmiya-dvē(ḍvi) - 2
193 śi(śi)ma-daṇḍa-paryantōttara-śi(śi)mānam-avaiti chatuḥ[k]-śi(śi)m-av[ṛ]chehhyā*[ṛnna]-guṇṭh-aṣṭḥ-ādhike advaśada-mān-ōttara-ḍa[ṃ]sa-vāṭi[ṃ]-mān-āḍhike-purā-
194 tana-dēva-Vṛ(ṛ)maṇa-bhūgya-gōhari-gōpātha-trayōviṇaṇa(viṇaṣa)ti-guṇṭh-ōttara-
shodōsa-mān[ṃ]-ādhike-āvikā-vēta(va)ba(hirbhūta-nira.

1 This t is superfluous.
2 The daṇḍa is superfluous and is used to cover some space at the end of the line.
3 Read mān-āḍhī.
KENDUPATNA PLATES OF NARASIMHA II; SETS II AND III

No. 33] KENDUPATNA PLATES OF NARASIMHA II; SETS II AND III

[tyḍ-paryant-ōttara]-sī[ī]mA[m-an]am(u)[m]i) pūrvvataḥ [Mā]jgalapur-

197 ya-[dvi-sī][i]ma-[daṇḍ-ārdhdhā]t Gadhāi-grāmīya-dvi-sī[ī]ma-daṇḍa-paśčh[m-āvacehhā]-
dam-[vaś(i)n] cha[tuḥ]-sī[i]-āvacehh(i)n]na-[sha]d-guṭṭh-ōpēta-paḍchada-sa-mā 1

198 n-āḍḍik-āika[tr(i)̱n̄a-(tr[i̱n̄a]-d-vā)[tij]-kā-madhya-[purātana-dēva-Vr̥(br)ha[m-a]-
bhōgya-[gō]-hara-gōp̥atha-gōp̥chāra-pus̥kariṇī-samcēt-ō[na] 1

Sixth Plate; Second Side

199 viṇaśa(vināśa)-ti-guṇ̥ha-sahita-saptada-sa-man-āḍhika-chatuṣṭhaya 2-vāṭik̄a-va(ha)hirbhuṭa-
nirvāska-guṇ̥ha-dvāda-ōpēta-[saptada]-[s-mā]*-

200 n-ōttara-sahdvīṇa(dvinās)-ti-vāṭik̄a-parimita(n-tam) ma(i)vaih si(mi)litvā vāṭik̄a-
śatāni jala-ṣṭhala-marcehe(ha-tsa)ya-kacchhapa-sahitam-ān(m-ā)chandr-ārkka(m-a)*-

201 karikṛitiya prādāt|| asmin śaśanē śāsaṇ-āḍhikāiri. 2 A[llā]janāthā-sōṇapataye vāstv-samēti-
jala-[kṣē][tṛa]*-

202 vāṭik̄a-dvayan(yam)| śāsana-ēkha(ha)-tāṃvra(nura)kāraya Pannāḍi-nāmnē vāst(a-stv-a)-
rōḍhā-samēta-jalakṣēṭra-vāṭik-āika vṛ[ṛ]-hā(t-k)[mā]-

203 ra-mahāpātra-Bhimadevī datt-ēti[śtu]** ṇētach-chhāsana-sāṅgatavyā Gōlāḍh-āhaṭṭhyā-
śa[śekha]kāra-[Aṇa]-

204 nītā-sūtō(tah) Kālidās-ākhyah[oo]| Jayanagara-ḥaṭṭiyā-Kōmaṭiḥo(hha)nāg(u')liyā(ya)-
Kāsō-śrē(śrē)h[sth][h]-nām(a)[oo]| Kiva(?)lē-

205 lō-ḥaṭṭiyā-suvarṇakāra-Vāmadēvasya naptā Alālū-nāmā[oo]| Ārū(?)lapura-gōpa-
teilika-Virū-naptā Va-

206 namāli(li)-nāmadēyab[oo]| Vaṭṭakēsvāra-ḥaṭṭiyā-gōpāla-Raṇāi-naptā Aṇantāi-nāmā
[1 *]

207 Painapadā-ḥaṭṭiyā-kumbhakāra-Siru-ṇaptā Indū-nāmā[oo]| Jhajhallapū(pu)rara-
gopara. 4

208 tel(i)-Rāju-naptā Vamāmāli(li)-nāmā|| etāh sapta parājā prādāta(dāt)[a]|………… Lines 209-16 [Impecatory verses]

Seventh Plate; First Side

217 ............

B.—Set III; Śaka 1218.

The charter is written on six plates, although there is a seventh plate without writing either
on the obverse or on the reverse, apparently meant for the protection of the inscription on the
second side of the sixth plate. The plates, each measuring about 13"×9", are very similar to those
of the other records of Narasimha II including the second set of the Kāndapūṭṇa plates described
above. The preservation of the writing is not very satisfactory. As in the case of the other set,
some letters have suffered from the effects of corrosion on many of the plates. Of the six inscribed

1 The daṇḍa is superfluous and is used to cover some space at the end of the line.
2 Read vāṭikā-chatuṣṭaya.
3 Sasan has not been observed here.
4 There is the usual flower design between the double daṇḍas.
5 The intended reading may be gōpasa or gōpa. The second ra of purara may either be regarded as redundant or as the Oriya suffix indicating the sixth case-ending.
6 There is a flower design between the double daṇḍas. These are followed by the usual impecatory and bene-
dictory design.
plates, the first has writing on the inner side, while the others are inscribed on both the sides. Five plates are consecutively numbered on the left margin of the reverse and the numerals are preceded by the akṣara bhi or bhī (wrongly written ki in one case) which appears to be a contraction of the donee’s name Bhāmadēvasārman. It may be recalled that on the first set of the Kāndupāṭnā plates the numerical figures are similarly preceded by the akṣaras kuma or kā which we have taken to be an abbreviation of the donee’s designation Kumāramāhāpātra as given in that record. There are altogether 208 lines of writing. The second sides of the fifth and sixth plates have respectively 19 and 9 lines, all the other inscribed sides having 20 lines each. The seven plates together weigh 952 tolās, the weight of the uninscribed seventh plate being 127½ tolās. The seal which must have resembled the one described above and the ring on which the plates were originally strung appear to be lost.

The palaeography, language and orthography of the inscription are similar to those of the king’s other records and do not call for any special remarks.

The introductory part of the record ends in line 176 and is followed by the word svasti and the date which actually begin the charter. The date recorded in lines 176-77 is Thursday, the fifth titīhi of the bright half of the month of Mēha (solar Vaiśākha) in the expired Śaka year 1218. The year of the Āśā reckoning is not mentioned. The date is irregular; but if the Śaka year is taken to be current, the date corresponds to Thursday, the 21st April, A.D. 1295.

The king is said to have had previously made, for the increase of his longevity, health, wealth and sovereignty, a number of grants of land, one of which was recorded on the plates under discussion. This particular grant of 50 vāṭikās of land was made in favours of the same Bhāhat-Kumāra-mahāpātra Bhāmadēvasārman who was a Brāhmaṇa of the Kāśyapa gūtra having the Kāśyapa, Ávatsāra and Nādhruva pravara and was a student of the Kānya branch of the Yajurvēda. The mudala or order of the execution of this grant was issued by king Vīra-īrī Narasimhadēva (i.e., Narasimha II) on the date discussed above, when he was staying at the koṭaka (city, camp or residence) of Chauhaṭṭa, to the Purā-parikshaka Alāla, who was also a Bhāhat-Sandhyavāghi-Mahāpātra, in the presence of Kumāra who seems to have been the adopted son (dulala) of the Halin and Kāśāḥyaksha Yāgāṇanda styled Khaḍyagrāhī-Mahāpātra. The expression manahā-saṃaya-ānantrē used in connection with the issue of the king’s order is difficult to explain. The executor of the grant, Alāla, was not only a Purā-parikshaka (possibly Pura-parikshaka) but also a Bhāhat-Sandhyavāghi-mahāpātra, i.e., a minister of the superior rank for war and peace. Mahāpātra Yāgāṇanda, called Khaḍyagrāhī (possibly the same as Oriyā Khaṇḍāśa), has also the official designation Halin (officer in charge of the royal lands) and Kāśāḥyaksha (treasurer). He seems to be no other than the Gaṭhatraṭya-Khaḍyagrāhī-Mahāpātra Yāgāṇanda mentioned in the Alalpur plates of Narasimha II as the owner of a śāsana or gift village possibly called Gaṭhāvāṭa.

The 50 vāṭikās of land granted by Narasimha II to Bhāmadēvasārman covered two plots. The first of them comprised the village of Śīrābdāmaṇḍī situated in the Rūmāṇa vishaya. The measurement of the area was done by Mahēśvara-nāyaka (nāyaka here indicating the caste or family name of Mahēśvara or his official position as a surveyor) who was the representative of the Purā-nāyaka Śivadēva also known from the second set of the Kāndupāṭnā plates edited above. The village was bounded in the west by parts of the boundary line of Tantiōḍārīna (also called Tantiōḍā?) and in the east by the western boundary line of a village, the name of which ended with the letter rā. Its southern boundary was a sandy waste land and its northern limit was the bridge on the river Suvārārēkha. Within these boundaries, the land measured 48 vāṭikās 12 mānas and

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1 Maṅghā (or maṅghī) may be Oriyā maṅāki meaning the act of taking food by a king. The word maṅāki occurs in the Māhārāṣṭra Pāṣṭā, ed. A. B. Mahanty, p. 30.

MGIPC—SI-14 DGA—10-2-33-450.
10 guṇthas. Out of this, an area which measured 3 vāṭikās and 10 mānas and was covered by cattle tracks and tanks enjoyed by gods and Brāhmaṇas from earlier times was subtracted leaving the net remainder of 45 vāṭikās 2 mānas and 10 guṇthas.

The second plot of the gift land comprised the village called Chchhōḍā (possibly otherwise called Chchhōḍā) situated in the same district of Rēmuṇā. The measurement of the area was done by Ravi-nāyaka who was another representative of the Purō-nāyaka Śivāsā. The village was bounded in the north by the bridge to the field in the south of Tantiōdārāma and in the south by another bridge to the north of the cornfield (kēlāra) on the Rupāḥārī tikkara (possibly Oriya tikara, “a mound of sand”) to the north of the Suvaranadī and to the south of Chchhōḍārāma. The eastern boundary of the village was the Siṣgū tikkara on the border of the field to the west of Tantiōdā and its western limit was the Bhaiṛā tikari-bandha (possibly sand embankment) in the field to the east of Chchhōḍā. Within these boundaries, the area measured 4 vāṭikās 17 mānas and 15 guṇthas. Out of this land, 10 mānas, covered by cattle tracks and village roads and enjoyed by gods and Brāhmaṇas, was subtracted leaving the net remainder of 4 vāṭikās 7 mānas and 15 guṇthas. The two plots of land, the first measuring 45 vāṭikās 2 mānas and 10 guṇthas and the second 4 vāṭikās 7 mānas and 15 guṇthas, are said to make a total of 50 vāṭikās, although actually the total comes up to only 49 vāṭikās.

The gift land was given the name of Bhīmanarāyaṇapura and was made a permanent rent-free holding to be enjoyed along with land and water as well as fish and tortoise. The Śāsanaḥkhīrīn, Allānātha Sināpati, who was a Brāhmaṇa of the Pātimāha gōtra and a student of the Śākala branch of the Rīvēḷa, is said to have received two bhāgas (possibly meaning vāṭikās), while the copper-smith Punnādirāṇa who engraved the plates received similarly one bhāga. These receipts of the śāsanaḥkhīrīn and the tāmra-lekha are described as deva-vyavasāhita possibly referring to a custom sanctioned by the Brāhmaṇas. These three bhāgas or vāṭikās were probably taken out of the land granted to the donee. Punnādirāṇa may actually indicate Rāṇa, son of Pannādi.

Four rent-paying subjects were allotted to the sāsana. They were (1) Kumbhāra-sādhū who was the grandson of the goldsmith Nārāyaṇasādhu of the Jayapura haṭṭa; (2) Gōpi who was a milkman of the Sidrāṇa haṭṭa; (3) Kālōśrēṣṭhin who was the grandson of Dradāśrēṣṭhin, a gōpāla oilman of the Vadāṭāla daṇḍi; and (4) Dēvāśrēṣṭhin who was the grandson of the potter Jayadeva-śrēṣṭhin of the Saṭhagṛāma navā-haṭṭa (new market).

Of the geographical names mentioned in the record, the kūṭaka of Chauhāṭṭā cannot be satisfactorily identified. The Rēmuṇā viṣaya must of course have been the district round modern Rēmuṇā near Balasore. The Suvarṇārēkāhā is the celebrated river of that name running through the Balasore District of Orissa and Suvarṇanadi is either the same as the Suvarṇārēkāhā or one of its branches or tributaries. The villages of Siṇhādāmaṇḍo, Tantiōdā, Chchhōḍā, etc., all mentioned in connection with the gift land and situated in the Rēmuṇā viṣaya, must have been near the banks of the Suvarṇārēkāhā. In the list of the rent-paying subjects, mention has been made of the Jayapura haṭṭa, the Siḍrāṇa haṭṭa, the Vadāṭāla daṇḍi and the Saṭhagṛāma navā-haṭṭa. None of these can be satisfactorily identified, although Jayapura is also mentioned in some other records of Narasimha II.

TEXT

[Lines 1-160 are included on Plates I, IIa, IIb, IIIa, IIIb, IVa, IVb and Va]

Fifth Plate; Second Side

kabbi 5

1 The name reminds us of the donee, Bhīmanarāyaṇa.
2 From the original plates and their impressions.
3 In the left margin of the face.
4 DGA
Lines 161—75

176... Svasti [[*] Śaka-nipatitaḥ samatī-te-shṭhayādaśī-ottara-dvādaśa-śata-[vatsa]-rēshu] 1

177 Mēsha-śukla-paṇchamayan-Guru-vārē Chauhaṭṭā-nāmadhyē kaṭakē maṇahā-samay-
ānantare hāli(di)-kō(sh)jādhyaksha-kha-] 2

178 dgagrāhi-mahāpātra-Yāgānanda-dulāla-Kumāra-sannidhau purū-parikshak-Āḷāla-vrir(bri)-
hat-sanadhīvratī-mahāpātra-mū(mu)-

179 dalēṇa Vīra-śri-Narasīnhadēvāḥ sv-āyur-ārghy-aśvarya-sāmrājya-samṛiddhaye pūrv-ōtsṛśh-
ānēka-bhū-madhyā-

Sixth Plate; First Side

180 [t Kāśyapa]-sagōṭrāya Kāśyaparass-Ā]va[sa-Nāj]dhruva-prav[a]rāya Yajurvēd-āntar-
gata[ka] Kāhyava-śākh-aika-dē-ādhyāyinē vṛt(bri)hat-Kumāra-mā(ma)ha-

181 pātra-śri-Bhūmadēvā[sa]rmmaṇe paṇcāśaḍ-vāṭik-pradāṇa[ya Rēmunā]-vishaya-ma[dh]ya-
varttana Śīhṛādaṁṇa[va]gā[ma]mā[m]purō-nā-

182 yaka-Śivādana-prathista-Mahēśvara-nāyaka-nala-pramāṇa paṇchamataḥ Tantiōdā-
grāmya-daṇḍ-ārdhd-adim-Āra[ba]ya × ×

183 [n-grāmiya-paṣchima-śi(s)m]-daṇḍa pūrva-avachchhedanā daksinataḥ vālū(lu)kā patita-
bhūmin-adhikrītya Suvarṇarēkha-naddi[s]ē)[tu-parya]-

184 nt-ōttara-avachchhedā evamchathu-śi(s)m-āvachhinna-bhūmi-guṇtha-daś-ōpēta-māna-
dvādaś-adhika-vāṭik-āśṭhyavāriṇīśata-madhya-[purāta]-

185 purātana-deva-Brāhmaṇa-bhūga-gohari-jalāsyaya-samētā-māna-daś-ōttara-vāṭikā-
tritaya[sa]f[Va]hāhiṣṭhītya niravakara-[daśa-gu]-

186 nṛth-adhika-māna-dvaya-ōttara-paṇcachathvāriṇīāṣṭikā parimitam(tam) [ tath-aṅtad-
vishaya-aṣṭam Chēhōdṛa-grāma[m] ] [ ] purū-nāyaka-Śivādana-prathiha-]

187 Sta-Ravi-nāyaka-nala-pramāṇa [ ētad-grām-ōttara-śī(s)m]mānta-Tantiōdā-grāma-
daksinā-kēhṛērā sētum-ādikrītya Chēhṛōd-grāma-dakṣina-[Sun]=

188 varṇya-nāda-uttara-[Rupādhīrī]-tikkar-āśṭha-kēdōr-ōttara-sētuparya-dakṣin-
avachchhedāni([d]am) | pūrvvataḥ | Tanti-

189 audā-paṣchima-kēhṛērā-parichchhedā-Siṣgu-tikkar-ādikrītya Chēhōdṛa-pūrvvā-
kēhṛērā-madhya-Bhaiṛa-tikkar-[va(ba)ndha]-

190 parichchhedām-evam chathu-śī(s)m-āvachhinna-bhūmi-paṇcchada-sūṅgh-ōttara mān-
:saptadāś-adhikāni(ka)-vāṭikā-chatusṭha-

191 ya-parimita-madhya-deva-Brāhmaṇa-bhūga-gohari-gōpatha-daṇḍa-samētā-māna-
-saṁtānām va(ba)ndha ni-

192 ravakara-paṇcchada-sūṅgh-ādhika-saptadāś-ōpēta-vāṭikā-chatusṭhya parimitam=
: evam grāma-dvēyāna pa-]

193 Śeṇāśad-vāṭikā parimitam jala-sthala-mačchhha(tsya)-kachchhapa-sahittam(ta)m-ā-
chand-ārkkaśa-akārkītya prādāt [77] Asmin Bhūmanāra-

1 Verse 105 of the introductory part ends about the beginning of this line.
2 Read śrūtādaś.
3 The daṇḍa is superfluous and is used to cover some space about the end of the line.
4 Read virāhmaniādhya. The following three akṣaras are superfluous.
5 Read chatvāriṁśa-deva.
6 The daṇḍa is superfluous.
7 There is the usual ornamental flower design between the double daṇḍas.
No. 34—TWO SENDRAKA GRANTS

(2 Plates)

G. H. Khare, Poona

A. Nāgad Plates of Sendraka Nikumbhālasakti : Śaka year 577

These plates were originally owned by Mr. Giramājī Dağadū Pājil of Nāgad, taluq Kannaḍa, District Aurangabad (Hyderabad State). Mr. G. R. Pājalkar of Chuliagun (East Khandesh) acquired them on loan for the Rājwāle Samśodhana Manḍala, Dhulia (West Khandesh), the Secretary of which Institution very generously allowed me to edit them in the Society’s Journal in Marāṭhi. I re-edit them here in English.

The set in question consists of two plates, each measuring 8½" by 3½", strung together on a circular ring two inches in diameter. The two ends of the ring are soldered into an oblong seal with diameters of 1½" and 2". The first plate is written on one side only, while the second contains writing on both sides. Though the rims of the plates are raised to protect the writing, it is not well preserved. It has been obliterated all along and a large number of letters has been practically erased. Owing to rust, the first plate has got a hole in it, while a corner of the second plate has completely disappeared. Still, with the help of the texts of the Bagumra and Kalwa (Mundakhēḍ) plates, I have been able to decipher the grant fairly well.

The characters of the grant are the proto-type of old Kannaḍa and closely resemble those of the Bagumra plates and also the Kāşārē plates published below (B).

1. The danda is superbly incised. Sandhi has not been observed here.
2. Better read “vyanarāṭhō bhūya dēkha.”
3. This is followed by parts of the verse mad-dāna-phāla-siddhā-artham, etc.
4. This face is not numbered as the reverse sides of the five first plates.
5. Continuation of the usual preambulatory and bena listory verses found in the records of Naranitha II.
7. A note on this grant in English has been published by me in New Indian Antiquary, Vol. I, No. 12.
8. J. Āst., Vol. XVIII, pp. 263 et seq.
About orthography, the following peculiarities deserve notice. R̄ is generally substituted by r̄ with only two exceptions, *vīc, *śrīkha (l. 18) and *patal-āravita (l. 21). A consonant preceded by r̄ṣpha is doubled, except in *krīmin-bhātē (l. 24) and *nirbhukta (l. 25). If the doubled consonant happens to be the second or the fourth letter of a class, then the initial consonant is changed respectively into the first or the third consonant of the same class; for instance *ōatsarpaya-ārītham (l.18), *dharmo-ārītha- (l.35) and *dirgha (l. 2). In *anulīyāśa (l. 5, 7) similarly d̄ ha has been doubled. In *vaṁśaiḥ (l. 19) the anusvāra has been replaced by h. *Upadhāniyā has been used in two places: *kāliṅga-putra (l. 16) and *nipatābhī-prabha (l. 19). In kaṭe (l. 26) l has been substituted by l.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit prose all through, excepting the verses in ll. 22-25.

The record belongs to the king Nikumbhālaśakti of the Sēndraka dynasty, whose father and grandfather were Ādityāsakti and Bhumisakti respectively. In all the records of this branch of the Sēndrakas that have come to light hitherto, the name of the last member was spelt as Nikumbhālaśakti, i.e., with a short a in bhā and we were unable to split the word correctly.1 But here the ā in bhā is clearly long and we can easily split the word into Nikumbha and Allāsakti meaning thereby Allāsakti of Nikumbha. In the following grant we actually get the name Allāsakti as a variant for Nikumbhālaśakti. The same kind of genealogy appears in the Bagumra and Kālwaṇ plates with the exception that the Kālwaṇ plates carry the pedigree one generation further and names Jayāsakti as the son of Nikumbhālaśakti. The plates under discussion supply no historical information about the three members of the dynasty mentioned in it. But being dated in Śaka 577 current they would show that Nikumbhālaśakti died some time between Śaka 577 and Śaka 602 which is the date of the Kālwaṇ plates of his son Jayāsakti.

After the eulogy of the three members in general terms, which closely resembles that in the Kālwaṇ plates, comes the description of the grant proper. We are told that Nikumbhālaśakti, while camping near the lake Vrīchi...ndha in the vicinity of the austerity-grove at Kāyāvataṛa, with a view to gain merit for himself as well as for his parents, granted the village Suschirakhōli, situated to the south of the hill Bāruvāga, which was lying in the district of Nāndipuradvāri to the Brāhmaṇa Bhīgika, the son of Nāmavāmin, a student of the Rīvīda, belonging to the Ārāya gōtra and a resident of the village Prāktāngāra. The boundaries of this village are not specified. The charter was drafted by Māтриdatta by the order of the generalissimo Vāsava and with the consent of Dēvadinnas, the minister for peace and war. In the Bagumra plates, both Vāsava and Dēvadinnas figure in the same capacities and in addition it has been stated there that the latter was the younger brother of the former.

The date of the inscription is given as the year 577 without quoting any era, cyclic year Ānanda, the month Māgha, and the 3rd day of the bright fortnight. As 577 of the Śaka year current coincides with the cyclic year Ānanda according to the southern system of reckoning, it must be referred to the Śaka era. The corresponding Christian date is the 15th of January 655 A.C.

Of the place-names occurring in this record, I am unable at present to identify any except Kāyāvataṛa. This place is referred to in another grant found at Nausari,2 which is later in date and issued by the Gūrījara king Jayābhāṣa III. The editor of the grant was inclined to look

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1 Prof. V. V. Mirashi has rightly pointed out that the name Jayasakti in the Kālwan (Mundakhēḍa) plates is preceded by the word Nikumbha, but I cannot understand how he calls it a biruda (D. R. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, p. 53, note 4).

upon Kāyāvatāra as the Sanskrit form of Kāvi (Jambusar-Broach). Dr. A. S. Altekar of Patna, in his monograph on the History of Some Important Ancient Towns and Cities in Gujarāt and Kāshīwa at by oversight assumes the place-name to be Kāyāvatāra instead of Kāyāvatāra and opines that this Kāyāvatāra is the same as ancient Kāpi or modern Kāvi.\(^2\) But both of these scholars seem to be in the wrong. Kāyāvatāra must be identified with the modern Kārwan near Dabhoi in the Baroda State. For this is the very place that was sanctified by the residence of Lakulīśa, the pioneer exponent of a Śaiva (Pāṇḍara) sect. The same is referred to as Kāyāvi-(va)rōhāṇa in the Ėkaśīganj inscription and under the more simplified form Karoḥaṇa in the Ėkacīra (Portugal) prakāra, in Linga-Purāṇa under its variant Kāyāvarōhāṇa, in the local māhātmya of Kārwan under the slightly corrupted forms Kāyavirōhāṇa and Karoḥaṇa, and in a still more corrupted form Kāyāvarōhaṇa in Vāyu-Purāṇa.\(^3\) But as Kāyāvatāra and Kāyāvarōhāṇa mean one and the same thing, Kāyāvatāra cannot be any other place but Kārwan. It is interesting to note that there is also a very large and holy tank at this place as stated in the present record.\(^4\) But unfortunately I could not trace the name of the tank even after much correspondence and oral enquiry. The place-name Nāndipuradvāri mentioned in the present record occurs also in the Jēhwai plates\(^5\) of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa queen Śilmahādevī and in the Bhāndak plates\(^6\) of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Krīṣhṇapārāja I dated Śaka 708 and 694 respectively. The editor of the former grant has left this place unidentified; and the late R. B. Hiralal in his note on the latter has identified this place with Nándorā, a village just near, and to the north of, Wardha, the headquarters of the district of the same name in Berar. I would like to suggest the following: Nāndipuradvāri literally means a door to Nāndipura. Nāndipuradvāri, therefore, must be a locality wherefrom a road should lead one to Nāndipura. Now Nāndipura or Nāndipuri which could have some possible connection with Nāndipuradvāri and which was situated in Western India, is the one referred to in the two Kaira and the two Śākhhēla\(^7\) plates of Gūrjara Dadda II which were issued from Nāndipuri or Nāndipura itself. Dr. Bühler identified this place with an old fort just outside the town of Broach;\(^8\) but the late Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrāji’s suggestion that it should be identified with Nandod in the Rajpipla State stands on a firmer ground.\(^9\) The only place which could have served as a door-way to either of the places and especially the latter, is Nandurbār, a taluka\(^10\) town in the West Khandesh District. It is only sixty miles from Nandod and has some ancient remains. Moreover it is interesting to note that the feminine gender of the name is still retained in colloquial language.

B. Kāshāri Plates of Sīndraka Nikumbhāśaśakti; year 404

These plates were indeed originally edited by the late G. K. Chandorkar in a now-defunct Marāṭhi quarterly Itihāsa Āni Atithiśak (year 3, Nos. 26, 27; p. 44); but the editing was done in such a way that no apologetic was needed when I re-edited them in The Sources of the Medieval History of the Dekkan, Vol. III, p. 66. I edit them here for the third time.

The plates originally belonged to one Bhikā Pāṇḍū Chaudhari, of the village Kāshāri, taluka Sākri, District West Khandesh. I secured them for the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandalā

\(^{1}\) Ibid.
\(^{2}\) P. 18.
\(^{4}\) Ibid., and Baroda Gazetteer, pp. 19, 551.
\(^{5}\) Above, Vol. XXII, p. 98.
\(^{6}\) Ibid., Vol. XIV, p. 121.
\(^{7}\) List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Nos. 1209, 1210, 1212 and 1213.
\(^{9}\) Ibid., Vol. XIII, p. 73.
\(^{10}\) Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. XV, part 2, July 1946.
through the good offices of Professor N. R. Phatak (Bombay), the late V. G. Joshi (Poona) and Mr. Balubhai Mehta, M.A., LL.B. (Dhulia), all of whom I thank heartily.

The set consists of two plates, 7\(\frac{3}{4}\)×5\(\frac{1}{2}\)" in length and breadth, which were strung together with two rings 2" and 1\(\frac{1}{2}\)" in diameters respectively through two holes bored lengthwise. One of the rings was found already cut and without a seal. The two ends of the other were soldered into a circular seal \(\frac{1}{4}\)" in diameter and bearing the legend Śrī Allāṣaktī engraved on it. Both the sides of the first plate and the inner side of the second are inscribed containing 4, 14 and 15 lines respectively. The 4 lines of writing on the outer side of the first plate are in continuation of the second plate and form the concluding portion of the grant. On the inner side of the second plate, just in the space between the lines 19 and 20, are inscribed the words yathā māyā brāhma and below the lines 20 and 21 are inscribed some words which have been partially erased. The upper lines are, therefore, so much obliterated that it is very difficult to decipher either of the two writings satisfactorily.

The characters of the inscription resemble those of the Nāgad and the Bagumra plates with little variations and consequently require no special remarks.

About orthography some points deserve mention here. Ri is invariably substituted for ri except in bhābhyī (l.8). The anuvāra is generally changed into the nasal of the class to which the following consonant belongs. But in khadgāṇī (l.5), vaṁsajāh (l.7) and saṁd-vāṁsajāh (l.26), the anuvāra has been wrongly changed to i. In saṁd-mukravagyā (l.8) m is redundant and the two words are unnecessarily joined together. In several places visarga or its transformation is dropped. In bhūtaś-śamita (l.9) and nīshēvitaś-sēvyā (l.12) visarga has been changed to the following consonant. Jhāmāmūīya occurs in saktī-kusādi (l.18) and Upadhmānīya in atmajāh-prabala (l.10), māhēsvarah-pam (l.17), and mantavajah-prati- (l.27). In kṛvāvajaprīmnaṁānām (l.8), visarga has been wrongly changed to p. The doubling in Māḍhyanāda (l.22) and rvēggaṁi (l.26) also deserves notice.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, prose and poetry intermingled.

The grant begins with the preamble beginning with Mēru and ending with nīghrīṣṭa-pādopaṅkajaj as we find in the other three Śendraka plates. After it, comes the prose as well as the versified description of the king Nikumbha of the Śendraka family, his son Ādityarāja and his son Nikumbhāllaśakti or simply Allāṣakti. It is interesting to tabulate the pedigrees in the four grants here:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nikumbha</td>
<td>Bhānusakti</td>
<td>Bhānusakti</td>
<td>Bhānusakti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ādityarāja</td>
<td>Ādityaśakti</td>
<td>Ādityaśakti</td>
<td>Ādityaśakti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nikumbhāllaśakti</td>
<td>Nikumbhāllaśakti</td>
<td>Nikumbhāllaśakti</td>
<td>Nikumbhāllaśakti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Allāṣakti</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

From the table it becomes quite evident that in the Kāśārē grant the first member is named Nikumbha, while the other three grants name the same member as Bhānusakti. The Kāśārē grant mentions Ādityarāja as the son of Nikumbha while the other three grants give Ādityaśakti as the son of Bhānusakti. The name of the member of the third generation is the same in all the four grants with the difference that Kāśārē grant supplies a variant Allāṣakti in addition. But does this mean that the Śendraka branch represented by the Kāśārē grant is different from the
one represented in the other three? It is difficult to answer in the affirmative. For, besides the date of the Kāsārē grant which is very near to that of the Nāgād and the Bagumra grants, the writers and the commanders are practically the same in all the three. Thus the Mahābalādhikrita Vāsava was the person at whose command all the three grants were issued. The Kāsārē grant was drafted by one Dēvadinnā. In the Nāgād plates, Dēvadinnā figures as the minister for peace and war and the charter was drafted by one Mātridatta with the consent of Dēvadinnā. The draft of the Bagumra grant was also prepared by Dēvadinnā, the minister for peace and war and the charter adds that Dēvadinnā was a younger brother of Vāsava. I tabulate the above information in order to have a clear idea.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grant</th>
<th>Commander</th>
<th>Drafter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kāsārē</td>
<td>Generalissimo Vāsava</td>
<td>Dēvadinnā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagumra</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Dēvadinnā, the minister for peace and war</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāgād</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Mātridatta, with the consent of Dēvadinnā,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>the minister for peace and war.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus it is evident that all the four plates represent one and the same family in spite of a slight variation in the name of the first member of the family in the record under discussion.

In an inscription at Bādāmi (Bijapur) occurs the stray name of one Bhāmaśakti Sēndrakan who undoubtedly belonged to a Sēndraka family and the same person appears to have been mentioned in other inscriptions of the same place.1 But I fear that at this stage of our knowledge of the Sēndraka dynasty it is not possible to assign a definite place to this Bhāmaśakti.

From line 18 begins the description of the grant proper. Nikumbhālakṣakti, the last member of the family, who meditated on the feet of his parents, who was a great devotee of Mahēśvara, who had acquired the five great sounds and who was the master of the earth, with a view to acquire merit for himself as well as for his parents, gave fifty niśťettanas of land lying to the south of the river at the village Pippalakhēta to the Brāhmaṇa Bālaprasavita, of the Kṛishṇaṭrīya gōtra and of the Mādhyanidina branch of the Vājasanīyī Sanhītu, i.e., white Yajurveda, for the upabhōga of the god Laṅghyēśvara. The phrase sanātātapapalāchahāśabāly clearly indicates that the last member was a feudatory prince, apparently of the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi.

The date on which the grant was issued is denoted by two symbols (l.31). The first symbol undoubtedly represents 400. The second symbol must be taken to represent 4. It is appended with a zig-zag horizontal line at the upper right corner and if this line has been appended purposely the symbol probably represents the number 70. But then we would be confronted with insurmountable difficulties. I, therefore, take the second symbol to represent 4. Thus the year will be 404. The further details of the date are the new-moon day of the month Āśāḍha and the solar eclipse. To what particular era this year of the grant is to be referred? In the Nāgād and the Mundakhēḍa plates, though no era has been specified, the years 577 and 602 which occur in them can easily be referred to the Śaka era. In the Bagumra grant also though no era has been specified, the year 406 in which it is dated must be taken to belong to the Kalachuri era. The year 404, the date of this grant must also be referred to the same era as both the grants have many points of similarity as shown above. If, according to Prof. Mirashi's calculations, we grant that the initial year of this era began on 6-10-218 A.C., we must add 219 to 404 to get a date in Āśāḍha of that year.2 According to the pūrṇimānta system of reckoning Hindu months, the new-moon

1 Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, for the year 1928-29, Appendix E, Nos. 125, 101, 126, 127.
day of Āshāḍha of the year 404, i.e., 653 A.C. (404 plus 249) fell on June 1 when there was a solar eclipse visible in India. 1-6-653 A.C. must, therefore, be the date of the grant.

If on the other hand the numerical symbols are taken to denote the year 470 (i.e., 719 A.C.), there was no solar eclipse on the new-moon day of the Nīja-Āshāḍha according to either system of reckoning Hindu months. Though there was a solar eclipse on the new-moon day of the intercalary Āshāḍha of this year, there is no mention of such a month in the grant itself. Moreover, it is well nigh impossible for the same generalissimo and the same writer to have lived under the same king in 406 and 470 which will be the dates for the Bagumra and Kāsārē grants respectively.

Pippalakhēṭa is the only locality that I can decipher. Some river or rather stream is mentioned to be flowing by the side of the village; but its name cannot be properly deciphered. As the boundaries of Pippalakhēṭa are not specified, it is difficult to identify it.

Though each of these two grants supplies very little direct historical information by itself, the facts supplied by the above-mentioned four grants when pieced together indeed shed much light on some points regarding the history of the Sēndraka family referred to in the grants, and it would not be out of place if I say a few words about them.

First, what was the extent of the country which the Sēndrakas ruled over? The village granted in the Bagumra record has been rightly identified with Nausari in the Surat District. The place of encampment mentioned in the Nāgad plates from which the plates were issued is Kāyāvatāra or modern Kārwān near Dabhoi which in itself is twenty miles to the south-east of Baroda. I may, therefore, be not far wrong if I surmise that the power of the Sēndrakas had extended upto Baroda at the time of the grant. If my conjecture about Nāndipuradvārī, the province which included the village granted in the Nāgad plates, be correct, it follows that at least the southern half of the present West Khandesh District was under the sway of the Sēndrakas at the time of the grant. The places mentioned in the Kārwān plates have not been finally identified as yet, I believe. But if Prof. Mirashi's suggestion about the identification of the places in the grant be accepted as correct, the village granted should be supposed to lie in the north-eastern extremity of the Nasik District. The village granted in the Kāsārē plates should be searched for somewhere in the north-eastern extremity of the Nasik and the south-western extremity of the East Khandesh Districts. For, it is in this part of the country that places bearing the names Piparkhed, Pimpalwādi-Nikumbha (Pimpalwadi of the Nikumbhas), Ālwaḍi (Allavāṭikā), etc., lie and it is this part which the Nikumbhas who seem to be related to the Sēndrakas were ruling over in the eleventh and the twelfth centuries of the Christian era. Thus it is evident that the Sēndrakas most probably ruled over the modern Surat and Broach Districts, the southern half of the Baroda State, the West Khandesh District, the south-western part of the East Khandesh and the north-eastern part of the Nasik Districts.

Is there anything to show that the Sēndrakas were connected with the Nikumbhas in any way? On the one hand the Bagumra grant begins with a verse in praise of the Sun. The names of the majority of members of the Sēndraka family begin with some word meaning the Sun, e.g., Bhānućakī, Ādityasakī; and Nikumbha was the name of a well-known mythological king belonging to the solar race. On the other hand the Nikumbha inscriptions begin with homage to the solar race and then Rāma and Nikumbha belonging to the same race are extolled. Lastly, it is stated in Nikumbha inscriptions that in the family of Nikumbha was born the first ancestor from whom begins the pedigree of the Nikumbha dynasty. In these circumstances it appears that the Nikumbha dynasty was either an off-shoot of the Sēndraka family or both of them were descended from a common stock.
No. 34] TWO SENDRAKA GRANTS

A. Nägad Plates of Sendraka Nikumbhālakāti: year 577

TEXT

First Plate

1 ॥१॥ स्वस्ति श्रीकायावतारपोवनप्रयासात्मनिविष्ट (षु) निश...न्योधाकायासात्मविष्टययस्मानवरा[०]

2 मे श्रीमःहृदविश्वरियत्विस्मात्विस्मुन्तरे (ते) विकसितयविष्ट महति सेन्द्रकालात्मक्ये

3 अनंतरातुिनागजटान्तरमस्तस्तकंहरुविजयो विजयाशयप्रपुगणः

4 स्वभूजतविकमाकालात्महीमण्डलः प्रणाताशपातालान्तरायिकुयु (षू) दनिधिः (षू) व्यपा-

5 दपङ्करुः (जो) नरपतिश्वालामानुगितःः तस्य पुत्रस्तततपादानुद्यया (ध्या) तः (तो) नमःविवस्त्रविष्टधारा-

6 चारमदायावादावक्ष्यो (ध्या) दाय्यथ्यायाच्चायापरमोक्तासामसिक्तसम्प्रेयः श्रीमदा-

7 दित्याहितःः तस्य पुत्रस्त (सत) सयात्रानु (पायानु) दुया (ध्या) तः (तो) व्यपातसजन-

8 रक्षितकिरणवतत्तरायाविविधस्तम्भाशिरिपारः परमार्धिरी देवधिः

9 जातिस्वजनम् (ब्र) व्युषोपमधुमुनिनाशविभवो भवसुगृहार्थारुतिष्ठानितः शान्तिसियोत्वा (पा)-

10 तिरस्य (येः) [समद]हिरदवरसिल[गति*] रजुन [ह*] वाचोपसंग्रामविपयी काम इव समदव[र*]गुवितजः

11 नन्यनान्दो (न्दः) [प्र] ममाहेश्वरः परमेश्वरः समविष्ट[पञ्च] महाशयः

Second Plate; First Side

12 श्रीप्रियः (षू) विवैवलर्मनिकुम्बलसाधितः कुशली सूर्यवि [सेव स] मुपगत[विष] यतिराश्र्यात्रा-

13 ममहत्ताविचाराकियाकानु (कानु) समुदरसंत्यस्तु व: सर्वितान्नाष्टिरसर्वविविधात्मग्नित-

14 पवित्तराश्वालक्षाट्पणाः सुहिर्वाोत्तलस्मायो (मः) सवा विपायात्माहितसांवर्जदास्या-

1 Prepared from the original.
2 Represented by a symbol.
3 A letter has disappeared here.
4 The text beginning from here and ending with line 22 very closely resembles the corresponding part in the Bagnumra and the Kalwan (Mundkhād) plates; but at the same time shows the degree of corruption in the text of the Bagnumra grant.
5 Read *कक्तिस-साय.
6 The reading here is rather doubtful to me.
7 The reading of this and the following two letters is doubtful to me.
8 The reading here has been restored with the help of the text in the Kaira plates of Gûrjara king Dadda II (Ind. Ast., Vol. XIII, p. 83).

6 DGA
15 स्मृति तिरस्करणम्(ष)पदितम्[र]क(क)परिहीणो मृत्युमिल्लिण्ण(ष)प्रायेनाचार्यवन[ष]·
त्रावथ्याचतुरः·
16 कर्मश्वरभिकारिजसम्भवितानिःपुष्कितारायण: प्राक्षतंगरावास्तवः प्राणेरसगोः·
17 वचनं(ष)वसन्नञ्चारिणु भाद्रनामस्वामिपुष्कितारायणाय वित्तजस्ववेदवापहिवात्·
18 दिक्ष्योक्तार्थवान्नतः मातापित्रारामस्य पुण्याश्रित(ष)द्विते उदकलिसम्भवांतिपुष्टो
यतो·
19 स्मृद्धस्वरूपवर्णापूणमित्र(ष)परिभयः प्रवक्पयवनप्रेषर्वतोधित्ततरंगवच्चवल जीवन:·
लोक्मा:·
20 वात्तकातु(ष)साराय[ष]* विवरतव[ष]* दीर्घकालस्वेव(ष)प्रवाय(ष)ष्ठाय(ष)ष्ठः पुरातानकालः
अस्मावयोणुमन्यत्वः पावः·
21 विनव स्वयम् , यो वाज्ञानितिस्वप्लावृत्तिस्तराचिन्द्रवाचिन्द्रव(ष)मानेव* वातुमोदेत स परमापमेहः·
22 पातलः(कः) स(स)युक्तः स्यायित्युक्तः स्वरमन्त्रवेदवाशेन व्यासेन । परस्पर:-
हस्तार्जुण स्वः·
23 मैन मोदति भूविनः [१]* श्रा[ष्ठेता चातु]मन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेतु [२१११*] न्यड़तां परदाना वा [यो हरेत वयुः]·
24 न्यायां [१] स विष्णयां क्रिया(ष)मिश्रित्वा विष्णु(ष)विश्वाह महर्जिति [२१११*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेशदेहतानि धर्माणि·

Second Plate ; Second Side

25 त्यायाकारणिः [१]* निम्नस्तम(ष)ध्वन्तिमानि तानि को नाम साभु(ष) पुरानादीत [२१*]·
26 पर्वतान्त्रीन्द्र काठेव(क्षे) सतसामत्यविभेद्यानं(ष)तेऽवदेव महाबल(ष)वल(ष)धविक(ष)वता
समस्याः[ष]देशाः[ष]*
27 साप्तिक्षिप्रहिक्तेविविधः[ष]न्यायः[ष]मिन्दर(ष)मात्र(ष)द्वेष(ष)वते(ष)वते(ष)न सम्प्रति
वशीष्धर(ष)तीयेव(ष)यागाः इति [२१*]
TWO SENDRAKA GRANTS

A  NAGAD PLATES OF NIKUMBHALLASAKTI:  YEAR 577

i.

ii.a.

R. CH. CHHABRA
Sr. No. 1577 E 36-479 52.

SCALE: THIRTEEN-SIXTEENTHS

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA
B. Kasūrī Plates of Sendraka Nikumbhālaṇakṣāti: Year 404

TEXT
First Plate; First Side

1. स्वस्ति। भेतमहर्षिपिलसिधिरसिधिसमस्मृते विषाणियांवसि

2. महतिसेन्द्रकराजामन्ये अन्येकावटुहुंगजागटाटाटाःसमस्मृतवा

3. लवचीन्तायो विज्ञानेश्वररुपशाय (ण:) स्वभीमवतिकम् (मा) कात्तमहीमण्डल (ल:)

4. प्रणतवशेषामपलपिनिमग्नि (पु:) त्वपादपक्षको (ज:) [I*] \( \text{नुरसिच} \) [I*]

5. भवमकुम्भप्रांगतिवर्ष्यापंक्षुभी महत्त्वे। \( \text{द्रि}(\text{पु:}) \) \( \text{प्ता} \) \( \text{सिद्धाकलुःशारदनलके} \)

6. जनसुकुमारिदृषुःप्रभाम् [I*] स्यायुः (लु:) \( \text{गोष्टिपिपया} \) \( \text{प्रभवित} \) \( \text{न} \) \( \text{रणे} \)

7. \( \text{तात्र} \) [I*] \( \text{शामुना} \) (श) \( \text{तता} \) (ना) [I*]

8. राजारिज़्ञीसिद्धि (र्ष:) \( \text{सुरसन्तान} \) (पु:) \( \text{वक्ष्ळज़्} \) \( \text{सेन्द्रकाण्डा} \) [II.41*]

9. \( \text{विज्ञान} \) (णो:) \( \text{मा} \) [I*] \( \text{नुरालम्} \)

10. \( \text{जग} \) (न) \( \text{हितमन} \) (णिः) \( \text{वाणा} \) \( \text{सम्पिदा} \) \( \text{सानुराण्ड} \) \( \text{कु} \) (पु:) \( \text{प्राण} \) \( \text{पो} \) \( \text{लता} \) \( \text{ता} \) (ना)

11. \( \text{गुक्ककाधिक} \) \( \text{शु} \) \( \text{ता} \) (र्ष:) \( \text{भूमिः} \)

12. \( \text{ता} \) (र्) \( \text{मूर्द्वन} \) \( \text{पाद} \) [I*] \( \text{लोकानं} \) \( \text{वच्छुमत्त्वमितजनतमा} \) \( \text{लोकपाल:} \)

13. \( \text{प्रि}(\text{पु:}) \) \( \text{विष्ल्या} \) (णिः) \( \text{प्रि}(\text{श्री}) \) \( \text{मा} \) [II*]

14. \( \text{विश्वाकपितां} \) \( \text{रविविकर} \) \( \text{विम्} \) [I*] \( \text{सत्त्वोदिद्वियराजः} \) [II.41*] \( \text{तस्यालम्} \) \( \text{प्रक्षेपिनु} \)

15. \( \text{लोकुहारविप्रप्रभवः} \) \( \text{सरदमशालकन्ष्यालमपता} \)

16. \( \text{सुपारितकिर} \) \( \text{विवाहरक्षणक्षणर्विवेपेतिवित्तसेवो} \) \( \text{रम्यः} \) \( \text{मात्रमेवः} \)

17. \( \text{नाल्लभ} \) \( \text{वह} \) \( \text{विनतानन्दन} \) \( \text{नो} \) \( \text{राम} \) \( \text{इत} \) \( \text{परिसमाप्तीत} \)

18. \( \text{विश्वह} \) (हो:) \( \text{युध} \) [I*] \( \text{विप्राशुक्षिणतस्मादहितत्तुहु:} \)

Notes:
1. Based on the original plates.
2. Represented by a symbol.
3. Compare this prelude with those of the Bagumra, Kaśvān and the proceeding grants. The text of the Bagumra grant is certainly defective.
4. Metre Śrpdhāraṇa.
5. Read ḍhag-dāmiṇa.
6. The reading of this letter is doubtful to me.
7. Read maniocāpāḥ.
8. Metre Śrpdhāraṇa.
9. Grammatically it should be \( \text{सुता} \) \( \text{गृहचन्द} \) \( \text{जाक} \) but then the line will be metrically faulty.
10. Here begins a short prose passage.
11. Here begins a verse in the śārdulavāstärīla metre in which the names of the five Ṛṣipjāvas have been brought in allegorically.
Second Plate

15 'प्रावेर — सदा सैपिकर्ष्टितमना(नाः) सहिः(द्रो) समेता-
16 निर्माता (ते) [II*] दमःसाहित्यप्रज्ञितवयु — — नास्ति — — वालकुः-
17 न (लो) दुः(पु)विष्टरसमो राजालवशक्ति(विषि) लितो [III.3II*] मातापिनु-
पादानुद्वषा (द्या) तपस्माहेश्वर धर्मपरस्त -
18 मन्त्रधारण (प्रमाण) समावपति(प्रम)नमः(हा)शब्दः प्री(पु)पियोवल्लमकीक्रिकमात्य-
शक्ति।कुशली स्वर्णीति राजस्माय-
19 तत्विविक्षिकोरोडरणिकरणपाविकहुत्वाम(ग) मानमिनक्ष्यमाहुतेमाथिकादिर(रिकू) कादीनु०-
20 समाजानुपगतस्तु व (कर्म)3 संविदित यथा मया पिपलखेत्रय(भा।)स्तम्भनन्द-}
21 . . . . तन्द्रादित्यार्ग्यं भूतिवर्त्तानां कवर्त्तानि
22 पेचावंतं: बाल्वराब्रजं (ज) सर्वेन्ब्रह्मचारिर(रिकू) मात्यविदित्वार (क) व्यासायेनोबालप्र्-
23 विविन्ताय भूतिवर्षयमया (ता) चन्द्रावकृतिविदितिसि।मकल्लीकिणेन पुर्वोत्तमा-
24 व्यासोपयत्ता लक्ष्येवर्दवेदवारोपो (भो) गायेये
25 पियोराजम (नाः)ऽक वुर्ण्यशाशिमिधि (पु) दये उदका-}
26 निसर्गाण्य प्रतिपादितो यशोमार्ग्रजरृणेय (स्वयं) वामगा (गा) मिनि(नृ) पतिभिषसहुम्हा-
27 योनि,सत्यविवर्गातिल्ल मात्रेवतुक्त भगवतो (ता) [वेद*] व्यासेन व्यासेन
'परिभाष्यम्'।
28 ह्याणी स्वर्ग सोदित भूमिह (१२) आच्छेता चायुमन्तला च तायुवं नरक (के)
29 विदेतु [II.3II*] 'सधार्मात्तमानकारणिव(द्र*मयीदया
TWO SENDRASA GRANTS

B Kasare Plates of Nikumbhallasaki: Year 404

First plate

Second plate

B. Ch. Chandra
Res. No. 3977 E 28 / 479/52.

Scale: Three-fourths

Survey of India, Calcutta
This copper-plate charter was sent to the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy in the year 1920-21, by the District Munsiff of Kāvali and in the Madras Epigraphical Report of that year issued by him, it is registered as No. 12 of Appendix A. The Assistant Superintendent makes the following note on it in part II, para. 70 of the report.

“A set of three copper-plates strung on a ring belonging to Pratāpa-Rudra of the Gajapati family of Orissa, was sent to me by the District Munsiff of Kāvali. This is given as No. 12 of Appendix A to this Report. The plates measure 8½ inches in breadth and 3½ inches in height. The ring that holds them together is 2½ inches in diameter and carries a fixed seal, the circular surface of which is blank.”


He says, “Mr. Pulugulla Venkataramaniah, a pensioner (since deceased) was kind enough to lend the engraved plates for publication. They contain a petal-like projection with a hole in the middle about ¾ inch long on the left side of each plate. The ring with which these three plates were strung together passed through the round hollow in these projections. Unfortunately this ring is missing.” The same information is given in the Telugu article in the Bhārati, where the author states (p. 274): “In the year 1917, in the O. S. No. 388, between the Agraḥārākās and the ryots of the village, regarding certain cultivation rights, the Agraḥārākās obtained the judgement in their favour in the court of the District Munsiff of Kāvali by filing this document as exhibit R.”

This charter is written in the Telugu script and there are many orthographical peculiarities. The first 32 lines are in Sanskrit verse; the last 4 lines (lines 36-39) give the imprecatory verses. The boundaries of the gift village are given in lines 32-36 in Telugu prose. The following orthographical peculiarities are noticed in the record.

The anuvāra generally takes the place of the nasal and the consonant after an anuvāra is doubled, sometimes the aspirate or the unaspirate form of the same consonant being employed while doubling, e.g., line 1, sanīgha; line 2, viśīnkkalā; line 3, sanīssargī; line 5, anvabhōjini; line 9, āṁkāṭā; line 12, phullaṇṭī; line 17, Gōvaṇḍa; line 18, Vēṅkāṭa; line 19, koṇḍa; line 21, sūmanīṭṭai; line 32, dāṇḍa; but in guṇta line 34, the letter t is not doubled. This is to show the difference in the significance of each.

1 Read Vāsava-saṁāṭā.
Similarly the consonant after ṛ is doubled, e.g., line 2, ṛṛmni; line 5, ṛarṣi-.ddakṣiṇa; lines 9 and 19, ṛṛgga; line 10, ṛṛṣya; line 21, sarve; line 25, Veṭṭhervila; line 28, ṛudakṣiṁ-ṛārā; line 33, ṛarilō; line 36, sarve. The final ṛ (ṣakāraputruḥ) at the end of a pāda is given, e.g., line 4, ṛudrahan.

In the Telugu portion giving the boundaries, the word rāyi (stone) is written with only the initial vowel i (short) as rāi; pāṛp̥aṁusvēra is used where arthā anusvāra is used now, e.g., line 35, vāṁgu : tāṁpurisuṇunūna.

Lines 1 to 4; the charter opens with a prayer to Gaṇeṣa and to the Varāha incarnation of Viṣṇu who raised the earth from the ocean. Lines 4 to 6; the family of the donor is said to have been descended from the Śun-God who is also praised. Lines 6 to 12; in that family was born Kapīśvāra and to him was born Purushottama. To the latter was born Pratāpa-Rudra. The charter ratifies the gift of the village, Veṭṭhervila, by Pratāpa-Rudradēva Gajapati to a Brāhmaṇa on the 3rd titki, Friday, of the bright half of the (lunar) month of Kārttika of the (cyclic) year (Pramāṇā-bhūtavārē) which corresponded to the Śaka year indicated by the chronogram kara-ṛāṁ-ṛākṣi-śīlānī, (2, 3, 4, 1).

As this date is important to clear some fallacies created by the historians regarding the relations of Krishṇadēvarāya of Vijayanagara and Pratāpa-Rudra Gajapati, I undertake this discussion before I proceed to comment on the text of the document. Mr. Venkatarangayya, who published this copper-plate grant, said that the date corresponded to 1510 A. C., October, 4, Friday; but on examination it is found that the titki on that day was not śrīyum but partly pratikramu and partly duṭiṇā. The editor of the journal (J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XI, pp. 57.) argued thus:—Unfortunately the Śaka satavat and the cyclic year do not agree; for Śaka 1432 (expired) coincided with Paridhāvi (sic), Śaka year 1433 expired or 1434 current alone (sic) would correspond to the cyclic year Pramāṇa. The date of the grant in Christian era would be equivalent to Friday, 24th October, 1511 A. C.

In the Madras Epigraphical Report for 1921, para. 70, it is said that Pramāṇa corresponded to 1510-11 A. C. None of these examiners seem to have understood the passage giving the date rightly. I quote here the verses (lines 22 to 24) to make it clear.

Line 22. kara-ṛām-ṛākṣi-śīlānī-saṁkhyāka-Śaka-vatsarē Pra-
Line 23. mālapāda-ṛām-ṛākṣa-بغس māsi Kārttika-nīmanā śukla-trīśyā-divasye Bhā-
Line 24. ṛgyavati cha vāśārē, etc.

Here the cyclic year Pramāṇa or Pramāṇa correctly corresponds to the Śaka year 1432; but the compound Pramāṇā-bhūtavārē clearly indicates that the year other than (next to) Pramāṇa, i.e. Prajapati—consequently, the Śaka year next to that quoted in the inscription, viz., 1433 seems to be intended. The date now resolves itself to Śaka 1433, (cyclic year) Prajapati, (the lunar month) Kārttika, śuddha 3, Bhārgava's (week)-day, which corresponds to 1511 A. C., October 24, Friday.

Since the grant was made when the king was holding court in the great fort of Uḍārapurāṇa, it is certain that he was in the south in 1511-12 A. C.; it was his anka 17 as his father died in 1496-97. That the Gajapati king was in the south about 1511 A. C. is corroborated by other sources of information. The Kajākarājavanīśādī1 says that, when, in the 17th year (of reign) Cuttak was attacked by the Mogul called Hussain Shāh, the king (Pratāpa-Rudra Gajapati) who want

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1 Further Sources of Vijayanagara History, No. 94. The rest of the passage mentions the regnal year as saraka and not as anka. However since the Gajapati rulers invariably reckoned their reign in ankas, we may understand by saraka only the anka year.
south to conquer, returned and defeated the Mogul. This was in the 17th year of Pratāpa-Rudra. Jivadēvācharya in the Praśasti of his Bhaktīdhārayata 1 says, ‘the king, in his 17th year, was at Tirumala, fighting.’ All these prove that Pratāpa-Rudra Gajapati of Orissa was in the south till October 1511 A.C.

Yet, basing his arguments on the Gōnuguntā rock inscription of Krishnadhëvaraśya, the Superintendent for Epigraphy in the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy for the year 1933-34, para. 41, says that Krishnadhëvaraśya subdued Udayagiri some time between 24th January 1510 A.C. and 15th October of the same year. This argument becomes untenable if the date of the said Gōnuguntā epigraph is taken into consideration. The date given in it is Śaka 1433, Prāmōdūta, Kārttikā śū 11, Tuesday. Firstly, Śaka 1433 was not Prāmōdūta; but it corresponds to Prajāpati, 1511 A.C. If the cyclic year Prāmōdūta is taken, Kārttikā śū 11 falls on 13th October, Sunday, 1510 A.C. If Śaka 1433, Prajāpati, is taken, the date corresponds to Saturday, 1st November, 1511 A.C. Either way, the date of the epigraph is not correct, since the week day does not tally; and therefore it cannot be accepted as genuine.

The same officer in the beginning of the paragraph corrects the date of another inscription at Gūṇḍālapālem, of Pratāpa-Rudra Gajapati, and says that he granted a piece of land in 1510 A.C., sometime after January. Gūṇḍālapālem is in Kandukur tāluk and Gōnuguntā is in Ongole tāluk. The two tālukas are so adjacent that it cannot be accepted that two hostile kings could hold sway here so closely.

In view of what has been stated above, the conclusions of the Superintendent for Epigraphy regarding the date of Krishnadhēvaraśya’s conquest of the Udayagiri fort need to be modified.

In the Velcherla copper plate under review, Pratāpa-Rudra of Orissa bears several titles. It is but necessary to see if they were mere vainglorious ones or were really deserved. He was the overlord of the five Gaṇḍas, (Paṇḍa-Gaṇḍ-āśakāyaḥ, line 16). Kapilēvara, his grand-father, acquired the title of Gaṇḍēsvara which became hereditary in his family. Only one part of the Gaṇḍa country must have been subdued during the time of Kapilēvara. But Pratāpa-Rudra of Orissa defeated the ruler of Bengal (Gaṇḍa) and pursued him till the latter hid himself in his fort (lines 13-15). The Bhaktīdhārayata Praśasti says (verse 27), ‘while his hair was still wet with the bath of coronation, he defeated the Sultan of Gaṇḍa, a conqueror in many battles, and at the end of the sixth week of his father’s death he offered handfuls of water of the Gaṇḍa for the merit of his father. The Anantavaram plates2 with the date corresponding to 1500 A.C., November 5, Thursday, lunar eclipse, say that Pratāpa-Rudra drove the Aṅga king to the mountain refuge. This victory is amplified in the Iduplapāṇḍu-Gaṇḍasambha inscription,3 the date of which corresponds to 1500 A.C., November 5, Thursday, lunar eclipse, which declares Gaṇḍendra-kandrāna-katit-āśaka-vijaya. Since these records bear the same date, this particular exploit must have been achieved before 1500 A.C.

Then we consider the other epithet, Raṣṭa-Baṇijāra. Raṣṭa means battle or fight; Baṇijāra is an Urdu word meaning the same thing as ‘Laṃbāḍi’ (C. P. Brown), which means a trader.4 So the phrase means a trader in battles, i.e., a victor in battles.

Since Anantavaram and Iduplapāṇḍu, where the grants of this Pratāpa-Rudra Gajapati were found, are located to the north of the river Kṛishṇa, and since the village of Velcherla, the

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4 [Really speaking, the word Baṇijāra is derived from Sanskrit āśaya (or cāśaya)-kra. —Ed.]
object of this grant, is said to be in Pāka-nādu, it may be inferred that the region along the sea-
coast might have been called by the name of Pāka-nādu.

Undrakonda, one of the forts said to have been captured by Kṛishnādevarāya, was a mahā-
durgā where Pratāpa-Rudra Gajapati held his court, attended by learned men (Paṇḍita), Pātras
(commanders of army), Bihārī Mahāpātras (collectors of revenue as well as commanders of army),
and Sīmantas (vassals) (lines 19-21). The Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy takes this
to be the same as Undrakonda of Briggs’s Perishka, II.

Vidynādhi is the last of his titles and it requires explanation. His work, Sarasvatīvala-
śa, is a living evidence of his lore in Śāstras, Purāṇas and other works in Sanskrit literature.
Some scholars contend that the work was written by Lakshmīdhara Paṇḍita; yet it may be said
that the Paṇḍita might have helped the Gajapati in compiling the work.1 His father Purushott-
tama Gajapati was such a great scholar that his poetic flourishes were elixir to the ears (Karṇa-
rasāyana) (line 10). The son of such a scholar king must have been educated well in his boy-
hood. In his 15th year while being the governor of Śrikūrma (-Manḍala), he wrote such a beauti-
ful and scholarly book as Śrīkīrma-śāstra (the science of Hawkings).2 M M. H. P. Sastrī, who
was not aware of the learning of the Gajapati prince of Kūrma, considered Kūrmāchāra as refer-
ing to Kumaṇa and Rudradēva as its king. The other details recorded in the inscription are the
following.

Lines 26-28: The donee Kondāyya, was the best of the twice born (dvija-nājaka), shone with
good qualities, was the son of Tamāmaya and the grandson of Nārāyaṇa Yajvan (who perform-
ed a sacrifice) of the Bhāradvāja gōṭra, of the Yajuvṛtta (sakhā) sect, and was a resident of Pulugulai.

Line 28: The object of the grant was Velicherla, the gem amongst villages situated in the
region of Jaladaikī, in the district (śīman) of Pāka-nādu. This gift was made with reverence
(samādhrītā), associated with libations of water and gold (hīrāva).

The gift, exempted from the thirty six kinds of demands and other imposts, was
given to last till the moon and the sun endure, to be enjoyed from son to grandson (for generations).
Such rights as those of mortgage and sale were also given. The gift was made in the
presence of Durgā and Jagannātha for the increase of merit (lines 31-32). The boundaries of
the village were shown by the boundary stones.

The boundaries are mentioned in Telugu from line 32 to line 36. Lines 36-39 contain two
imprecatory verses.

The charter is ratified by fixing the royal seal which is divided into two parts. The first
represents a ‘rampant lion’ in writing. Many people understand it to be the Telugu letter kha
which forms the initial of the word Khāmanda. This is not tenable as there was no occasion for
the kings of Orissa to adopt this word of Urdu origin.

The significance of this seal requires to be traced from the time of the Eastern Gaṅga kings
of Orissa. They ratified their grants by securing the ends of a metallic ring on which the plates
containing the document were strung, in a metallic lump on which was fixed the seal consisting

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1 [For a discussion regarding the authorship of Sarasvatīvalasha, see J. R. R. S., Vol. XXXVI, pp. 15 ff.—Ed.]
2 Published by the A. S. B. New series, No. 1252, edited by M M. H. P. Sastrī. Mr. Sastrī understood the
author as the lord of Kūrmāchāla, which is supposed to be the modern name of Kumaṇa; but considering the in-
ternal evidences in the work, Pratāpa-Rudra was really the Governor of Kūrmāna which, in analogy with Simhā-
chālam, was named Kūrmāchāla. As in the Sarasvatīvalasha, in this work also, he collects authorities from several
books of Sanskrit literature. References to Purāṇas, Veda, and other works of Sanskrit are a peculiar feature
in the authorship. G. jatūta kings. Purushottama-deva Gajapati in his Namamalikā says that he had studied
several books.
of a couchant bull, conch, sword and elephant-goad. When the Sūryavānšī kings succeeded to the government of Orissa, they replaced the four objects so as to suit their faith and prowess. Kapilēvara’s copper-plate grant shows a harnessed elephant and the hilt of a sword. There are some ornamental engravings on the hilt.

Only one charter of Purushottama Gajapati is found till now and it is published in J. B. and O. R. S., Vol. IV, pp. 361 ff. and plate, under the caption: A note on an inscribed copper axe-head from Orissa. The seal represented at the end of the inscription is composed of the engravings of four objects: (1) a letter (2) a conch (3) a double-edged long sword (4) a dagger.

The first looks like the figure 3 with an uplifted tail behind. Since the donor was a worshipper of Durgā (Śrī-Jayadurgāgai namāḥ), he might have adopted the lion, the vehicle of Durgā as his emblem or crest. This figure represents the rampant lion. (2) The conch may stand for the paṇḍa-mahā-sāba, often found mentioned in the copper-plate charters of the early Gaṅga kings. (3) The long sword is always a sign of royal authority and valour. (4) The dagger is another weapon used in a closer fight.

Purushottama’s son Pratāpa-Rudra Gajapati reduced these signs, omitting the conch, to the writing form.

The first crest lost its middle horizontal projection but retained its tail. This stands for the rampant lion, as emblem of valour and royalty. Then the long sword and the dagger are combined together. The first two oval stand for the hilt of the sword; the third oval stands for the handle of the dagger the blade of which is shown by a line from the lower part of the oval.

There are some signs on the handle of the long sword. They are the representation of some ornamental carvings of the hilt as found in the Veligalani grant of Kapilēvara.1

TEXT2

First Plate

1 Gaṇānāṅ-ādhīpāḥ pāyāt gaṇḍa-mattā-li-nīsvananih bhakta-saṅghgā(u)ghātā-vighn-aughān vārāyan Vāra-
2 nānanaḥ [[1][*]] Pārāvāra-viśriūkkha(ukha)-l-śrmni-paṭali-pathyā nīmagnāṁ bhuvaṁ daṁśhr-āgrēṣa samu-
3 ddhanar sa-pulaka-svēḍ-śdgamām-ātmanah | saṁsaa(sa)rgh-ānubhavēṇā rōma-paṭalī-svēḍ-
4 oda-bimddūr(ndū)-
5 n-iva [kṛḍā-kroḍa-kaḷēbaro-vatu sadā sapt-ārṇavim-udvahān [[2][*]] Asti trayī-mūla-mū-
6 rtir-ādiyō mahasān-nidhiḥ[ḥ[*] ] 3 aṁbbhōjīnīnāṁ jivātūr-Harē-r ddaḳshiṇā-lōchanam [[3][*]] Tad-a-
7 nvay-ābhāv-udakhūn-mahauḍāḥ | kāḷā-nidhiḥ śrī-Kaḷēmḍra(ndra)nāmā | yat-kṛttī-
8 chaṃḍr(a)(ndra)-dvīta-
9 y-ārī-bhūbhūtr | kār-āṁbbu(bu)jātāni nimlayadūtt(uti)[ni] [[4][*]] Sa bhūpatir-ṛdakshiṇa-
10 bhūmpā-
11 lān | vijītya viśāṇa-pāriṇātāḥ | ananya-sādhāraṇa-sāhāsa-śrīr-jagrāḥ paṭchāṭ-ye(Te)-
12 lumgā(āgā)a-durggān [k][[*] Pūnyas-tadiyyaḥ(diyaḥ) Purushottam-āṁśāḥ | t-putarā= bhavat śrī-Puru-

1 C. P. No. 17 of 1934-35.
2 From impressions.
3 Danda unnecessary.
6 DGA.
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10 shōttamēndrāḥ(ṇḍraḥ) | sa-gaṁḍha(ṇḍaḥ)yaḥ | s-tat-kavita-vilāṣā(n)semākhyā(ṅkhyā)vatāṁ karṇa-ramāyaṇāṁ ||\[6\\*\]

11 Dīvā-nilāṁ ṭasya mahūsarasya || n-ṭapābhānaḥ paridṛṣṭyamānē | nūk-ṭapagāyāṁ nalināṁ ni-

12 tyaṁ || n-ṣāti praphulāṁbhīti(ṇti) na kuṭmalaṁbhīti(ṇti) ||\[7\\*\] Puṭtrō-bhavat-ṭasya Gajē-
vardasya || Puṭṭāparudraḥ para-sainya-

Second Plate ; First Side

13 raudraḥ | sa Gauḍa-rājasya balāni jītvā || pratyagāhīd-rājyam-adhīja-dhanvā ||\[8\\*\] Māttēbha-

14 kaṁbhabhaṁ(mbhau) samarēṣhu ṭasya || dṛṣṭētvā palāyya sva-puraṁ pravēṣyāḥ(ya) | bhay-
ākulo Gauḍa-

15 paṭih kad-āpi || bibhi-kuchan n-ekshītaṁ-śhataḥ sma ||\[9\\*\] Sa bhūpātīr-mmahārājē rājēndra(ṇda)-para-

16 mēśvarah || ārīmad-rajādhirājēndra(ṇda)-Patiṣche(ṇcha)-Gauḍ-ādhiṇāyakaḥ ||\[10\\*\] Yaṣasvī-

vira-kośāro maṇa- 

17 Gaṁṇēḍda(ṇda)-lumōhohha(ṇcha)naḥ || vidyā-nidhīḥ Pānka-nā寿命-Choṭṭa-maṁḍḍha(ṇḍa)la-

nāyakaḥ ||\[11\\*\] Tribhumvana-ṭōḍara-

18 mallō || raṇa-baṇījaraḥ pratāpa-vīra-varah || Ārī-Vēńkha(ṇka)ta-gajarajah || Pratāparudraḥ

19 pratāpa-maṁṭtāḥ(ṇḍa)h ||\[12\\*\] Vuhḍri(ṇdra)kuṇḍḍha(ṇḍa)-mahādurga-kaṭakē maṇi-

śohhitē || 

20 siṁhā(ṇa)maṇ-sūṣṇaṁ(n) vīδvaj-jana-saṁśvīrite ||\[13\\*\] Pātraillīr- bēharē-mahā-

21 pātrais-sūṣṭuttaṁ(nte)(nte)ḥ pari-sēvitaḥ || pālayan prithvīm sarvāḥ Puruhū-

Second Plate ; Second Side

22 ta y(i)v-āparah ||\[14\\*\] Kara-rām-ādhū-śīṭāṁśu-seṁkhyā(ṅkhyā)ka-Saḵa-vatarch | Pr- 

23 mōḍō(ād)-anv-a(s)bdavaṁ rās(i) Kārttika-nāmanī ||\[15\\*\] Śukla-trīṭiyaś(trīṭyaś)-divasē 

Bhā-

24 rggavasya cha vāsarē || Vu(U)dayāchāla-durggasya pūrva-bhāgē pratiśṭhitē ||\[16\\*\] Ja-

25 laṁkākki(ki)-ṭhalē Pāṇka(ṇka)-nāṁṭi(ṇṭi)-śiṁni vīṇājitam(nte) | Veļierilla-grāma-ratnāṅ 

Pulu-

26 gulla-nivva(vā)sinē ||\[17\\*\] Śrī-Bhāravāja-gōtṛaya Yajuś-ākkha-pravarttinē | Nārā-

27 yaṇa-yajvane(nte) | pautrāya Tammayasya-śtma-sūnave ||\[18\\*\] Koṁḍḍha(ṇḍha)-施行-vidja-rājā-

28 ya samasta-γuṇa-śobhinē | sa-hirany-ḍakṣair-ḍhāraḥ-pūvaṁ krtvā samādāra-

29 t ||\[19\\*\] Shat-trimśad-āvōdanda-rahatāṁ nirupādhipasa || || ā-chāṁdṛā-nṛg(ṛ)kkak-putra-

pautra-pāra-

30 māparā-śuvānaṁ(m) ||\[20\\*\] Adū(ṛh)kray-ādhū(ḥ)-yōgyaṁ-chche(ṇ-cha) sarva-bhōga-

samanvitaṁ(m) | prādā-

\[1\] Vīśaṁga unnecessary.

\[2\] Danda unnecessary.

\[3\] The word bhīṣ is apparently derived from bhit which is of Persian origin meaning 'wife'.

\[4\] Omit vīśaṁga.
No. 36—TERUNDIA PLATE OF SUBHAKARA II

Third Plate

31 [d*-]Durgā-Jagannātha-sannidhau dharmma-vṛiddhayā ||[21]*|| Tasya grāmasya simā-chih-
nāṇi śilā-stam-
32 bhai[h*] āśißhai (śiśṭair)-jñēyāni || Grāmam tūrpuṇa daṇḍu-dōvana gūṇḍalin rāini [^[*]
ājñēyāna
33 barliōnu vidamālō rāi [^[*] dakhšiṇa-Chemu[la]-gunaṭṭanu a pādamaṭi kadduvaṇu rā-
34 iñi [^[*] nairuti-mūlanu Rēvaṭi-gunaṭṭa-pādamaṭi-koṭumna rāi [^[*] pādamaṭa nilv rāi [^[*]
vāyu-
35 vyāna vāṅgu daṇḍa-rāi [^[*] uttarāna vu(n)ppuṇjervu-tūrpuṇ-gommuna rāi [^[*] iśānyāna
36 mudādā-gunaṭṭa-daṇḍaṇu rāi [^[*] iviyē pōlaṁ saṇjiñu [^[*] Yē(ī)k-aiva bhagīṇī lōkē
            sarvē-
37 shām-ēva bhūbhujāṁ na bhōjyā na kara-grāṁ(grā)hyā vipra-dattā vasuiddha(ndha)rā
            ||[22]*|| Sva-da-
38 ttāṁ para-dattāṁ vā(vā) yō harēd-vasudhām-imāṁ(m) | shaśṭhir(shti)-vvaruha(varha)-
            sahasrā-
39 u viśtā(śhta)yāṁ jāyate krīmiḥ ||[23]*|| The crest and the sign-manual [^[*]

No. 36—TERUNDIA PLATE OF SUBHAKARA II

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

About the close of May 1950, I received for examination a copper-plate inscription from Mr. C. M. Āchārya, M.A., LL.B., Vice-Chancellor of the Utkal University, through the Registrar of the said institution. No information was then available as to its findspot and the circumstance of its discovery. Sometime afterwards Mr. Āchārya kindly agreed to my suggestion that the inscription should be edited by me in the pages of the Epigraphia Indica. My sincere thanks are due to him for his kindness in allowing me to publish the record. In December 1950, I visited Puri in course of my annual tour in search of inscriptions. There I met Pandit Sadāśiva Ratha Śarmac who collects inscriptions on behalf of the Utkal University. I learnt from the Pandit that the plate under discussion had been recovered by him, together with some interesting articles of pottery, from an old well in the house of Śri Chakradhara Sāmal of Terunḍiā, a village about five miles from Nimāpārā which is the headquarters of a Police Station of that name in the Puri District of Orissa.

The inscription is written on a single plate measuring about 16' in length and 8½' in height. The proper right end of the plate, to which a copper lump containing the seal is soldered, does not run in a straight line but is slightly curved. The plate is thus more than 1½' longer in the middle than in the upper and lower sides which are both about 16' long. The seal is much corroded and only the traces of an emblem looking like a couchant bull are visible. The round surface of the seal is 2¼' in diameter. The thickness of the lump of metal, on which the seal emblem is counter-sunk, is 1¼'. The plate is not in a satisfactory state of preservation and the writing, especially on the obverse, has suffered considerably from the effects of corrosion. There are 20 lines of writing on the obverse and 10 lines on the reverse. The weight of the plate together with the seal is 191 tolas.

As regards palaeography and orthography, the inscription under discussion resembles very closely the published records of the Bhauka-Kara dynasty of Orissa, including the Sāntirāgama...
grant of Dānpīmāhādēvī (who flourished about three quarters of a century later than the issuer of the present charter) and the Jaipur (Hansāsvāra temple) inscription mentioning the royal couple Subhākara I and Maikhavadēvī (who were the grandparents of the issuer of our charter), both of which have been recently edited by me for the pages of this journal. The only point of paleographical interest, to which attention may be drawn, is the way in which the number 100 is written in line 22. Here the usual tv symbol indicating 100 is rather unusually followed by a cypher apparently indicating the absence of the ten and unit elements in the number. This is no doubt due to the influence of the decimal system of writing numerals which was becoming popular in various parts of India even before the rise of the Bhauma-Karas of Orissa. The Bhauma-Kara king, who is usually styled Subhākara II, is already known from his two copper-plate grants, viz., the Hindol and Dharakota plates, both of which are dated in the year 103, the former on Śrīvāpa śudī 7 and the latter on Bhādrapadā śudī 7. It is interesting to note that, while the number 103 has been written in the Dharakota plate as 100 3 in the usual way, the same number has been written in the Hindol plate as 100 0 3 with the cypher indicating the absence of the ten element in it. The charter under discussion was issued about three years earlier than the Hindol and Dharakota plates referred to above.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It is written in both prose and verse. It should, however, be pointed out that, while the texts of the Hindol and Dharakota plates of the year 103 closely resemble each other, the draft of the present document issued in the year 100 is quite different. The verses employed in the charter under review are also different from those found in the Hindol and Dharakota records. As, moreover, will be seen from our discussion below, the present inscription offers some interesting new information.

The inscription is dated in the year 100 Vaiṣākha śudī 5(!). As is well known, the era used by the Bhauma-Kara kings of Orissa is identified by some scholars with the Harsa era of 606 A.C., although there are writers who are inclined to assign the epoch of the era to a later date. Thus the date of the record under discussion falls in 706 A.C. or, if the views of the second group of scholars are preferred, to sometime in the eighth century or later. I have fully discussed the problem of Bhaua-Kara chronology in connection with the Sāntiragrama grant of Dānpimahādēvī recently, and hardly anything in this connection requires special mention here.

The charter belongs to king Subhākara II of the celebrated Orissan imperial family called usually Bhauma in earlier records and Kara in the later. It was issued, like other grants of the family, from the city of Guhadēvapāṭa, otherwise called Guhēsvaraṇapāṭa. This city, which was apparently the capital of the Bhauma-Kara kings, has been identified with modern Jaipur on the Vaitaraṇi in the Cuttack District of Orissa. It is mentioned as a jaya-skandhāvāra; but it has been shown that, although the word skandhāvāra usually means ‘a camp,’ it has also the sense of a rājadhāni in medieval lexica. The description of Guhadēvapāṭa in prose in lines 1-2 of the record under review is followed by another prose passage saying that, after the death of the Bhauma kings beginning with Lukshmikara, the throne passed to Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Subhākara I who was a paramōpāśa, ‘a follower of the Buddhist faith.’ It may be pointed out in this connection that, in the Neulpura plate of Subhākara I himself, the king is described as a

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1 Above, p. 180.
3 The place now belongs to the collection of the Utak University, Cuttack, and I had recently an opportunity of examining it through the kindness of Mr. C. M. Acharya. An examination of the original plate revealed the fact that the published transcript of the text of this inscription contains some errors.
4 My article on the inscription is being published in this journal.
5 Above, p. 182.
6 Successors of the Sāntiragrama, pp. 47-48
7 Above, Vol. XV, pp. 3; Misra, op. cit., p. 4.
paramasugata ‘a devout worshipper of the Sugata or Buddha,’ while his father Śivakara I (also known as Unmatāsāṁhā ḍya alias Bharasaha) and his grandfather Kṣēmākara are called respectively a paramaṭā ṣā PARAṣṭṛata and a paramāsāvaka. The most interesting epithet of king Śubhakara I in our record is sva-prabhāsamāsādita-sīroveva-bhau-ma-bhūva in lines 3-4, which suggests, as already conjectured by me elsewhere;2 that he was the first imperial ruler of the family. It was also suggested by me that Lakshmikara was just another name of Kṣēmaśākara, grandfather of Śubhakara I.

The above section of the inscription in prose is followed by three verses in lines 4-8, describing Śivakara II who was the eldest son and successor of Śubhakara I. In the last of these verses, king Śivakara II is described as Sugata-ārany, ‘a Buddhist.’ The three verses are followed by a long passage in prose in lines 8-13, introducing Paramabhaṭṭaraka Mahārājāditya Paramēśvara Śubhakara II described as the son and successor of Śivakara II and the issuer of the charter under discussion. He was a paramasugata, ‘a Buddhist,’ like his predecessors. (It is interesting to note that, like some of the Buddhist kings of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihar,3 paramasugata Śubhakara II claimed to have established the order of the varṇa-ārama in its golden age purity in strict accordance with the scriptures (cf. nirārāṣṭra-bhāṣṭra-pravartita-kśitijag-ōchita-āsanīkaṇṇa-varṇa-ārama-vyavastha in lines 9-10). This no doubt points to the great influence of the Brahmanical social system on the lay followers of Buddhism which, along with several other factors, ultimately led to the complete absorption of the latter into the Brahmanical fold.4 But the most important point in the description of king Śubhakara II in our record is that he is here represented as the son of Śivakara II. He is, moreover, said to have been born of the queen Mōhinīdīvī who belonged to the Bhavāna-vaṁśa, possibly indicating a royal family of which the progenitor was a ruler named Bhavāna, although no such king or dynasty is so far known to us from other sources. We know that, according to the Hindol and Dharakota plates of the king usually styled Śubhakara II, he was the son of Śāntikara I, younger brother of Śivakara II, and was born of the queen Tribhuvanamahādēvi belonging to the Nāga-ārava-kula, i.e., possibly a certain Nāga family.5 We also know that after the premature death of that king, his mother Tribhuvanamahādēvi, also called Siddhagauri, ruled the Bhau-ma-Kara kingdom for some years during the minority of her son’s son Śāntikara II.6 King Śāntikara I is known to have ruled in the year 93.7 He was therefore followed on the Bhau-ma-Kara throne by Śubhakara represented in the present inscription (dated year 100) as the son of his elder brother Śivakara II from Mōhinīdīvī, although the Hindol and Dharakota plates (dated year 103) speak of a ruler of the same name as his own son from queen Tribhuvanamahādēvi alias Siddhagauri. The information offered by the present inscription is of a very valuable addition to our knowledge of Bhau-ma-Kara history. Śāntikara I seems to have been succeeded by Śubhakara who was the son of Śivakara II from Mōhinīdīvī and this Śubhakara was succeeded by another Śubhakara who was the son of Śāntikara I from Tribhuvanamahādēvi. If such was the case, Mōhinīdīvī’s son Śubhakara (to be called Śubhakara II) must have ended his rule shortly after the year 100 and Tribhuvanamahādēvi’s son Śubhakara (to be called Śubhakara III) must have succeeded him shortly before the year 103. It may, however, be argued that the issuer of the present charter as well as of the Hindol and Dharakota plates may have been one and the same king named Śubhakara II and that he was actually the son of Śivakara II from the queen Mōhinīdīvī but was adopted by Tribhuvanamahādēvi queen of Śāntikara I between the years 100 and 103 of the era used by the Bhau-ma-Karakings, when he was actually on the throne. But I consider it impossible

1 JKHRS, Vol. II, p. 103. Cf. the expression prati-śaman, probably meaning ‘rival feudatories,’ used in connection with the advengers of his predecessor in lines 2-3.
2 cau-oja bhāṣṭra-sākta, p. 36: śāstrā-ārtha-bhāja-chalatā-sacāya varnān pratisāhasa-pratidharm, etc.
4 Ibid., pp. 22 ff. In her own Dhenkanal plate, queen Tribhuvanamahādēvi is described as the daughter of Rājamalla of the southern country.
that a reigning monarch could have been adopted as son by one of his female relations. Moreover the accession to the Bhauma-Kara throne of five queens (viz. Tribhuvanamahādevī I-II, Gauri-mahādevī, Vakulamahādevī and Dharammahādevī) and of a princess (Dāṇḍimahādevī) points to the unpopularity of the institution of adoption in the Bhauma-Kara family. The difference of the draft of the present charter from that of the Hindol and Dharakata plates has also to be noted in this connection. It is, however, as yet unknown whether there was a struggle for the throne between Śubhākara II and Śubhākara III after the death of Śāntikara I. It is also uncertain why Śāntikara I succeeded his elder brother when the latter had left a son.

The royal order in respect of the grant was addressed to the present and future officials and subordinates belonging to Dakshiṇa-Tōsali such as the Mahāśānta, Mahārāja, Rājaputra, Antaraśīna, Kumārīśutta, Upaśīna, Vishayapati, Tadāyuktaka, Dāṇḍapāšika, Śāhāntarika and other dependants, including persons of the chāta, bhaṭa and vallabha categories (lines 13-15). It was also addressed to such offices (adikaraṇa) within the Sūkṣmatarkuribha vishaya as those of the Mahābhārata, Bhāratītīsīn, Pahalīsīn and Kukaitasā (lines 15-16). It is well known that the kingdom of the Bhauma-Karas was divided at least into two provinces, viz., Uttara-Tōsali and Dakshiṇa-Tōsali, i.e., the North and South Tōsali. The vishaya or district, called Sūkṣmatarkuribha in our record, formed a part of South Tōsali. A village called Lavāṇa, situated in the said vishaya, was granted the king as a revenue-free permanent gift in favour of certain Brahmanas at the request of the queen (rājā) Nṛṣimha who was apparently one of the king’s wives (lines 16-22). The donors, who were inhabitants of Taramanḍapagrama, belonged to the Bhāratītīsīn gōra and were students of the Kānya sīkhā of the Vajasaneya charana of the Yajurveda. They were six in number, viz., Bhāṭṭa Bhṛgudāvā, Bhāṭṭa Vidrāvadāvā, Bhāṭṭa Khaḷāvandāvā, Bhāṭṭa Mṛṇadāvā, Bhāṭṭa Rāggadāvā and Bhāṭṭa Śaṅkhadāvā. Most of the technical terms used in connection with the grant are also found in other copper-plate charters of the family and have been discussed already in connection with the Sāntīragrāma grant1 of Dāṇḍimahādevī. The grant was made for the upkeep of the maṭhās and manḍapas established by the Brāhmaṇas in their native village. The words maṭha and maṇḍapa appear to mean here respectively ‘a college’ and ‘a public building.’ They are often mentioned in later Gaṅga records.2 Lines 22-23 contain the king’s entreaty to the future rulers of the country as well as the date discussed above. This is followed by the passage uktha-cha dharmma-sāstrē which introduces five of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses in lines 23-27. There is another verse in lines 27-28, praying for the permanence of the Kara (i.e., Bhauma) king’s charter recorded on the plate. Similar verses are also found in some other charters of the family.3 It is interesting to note that our record thus speaks of the royal family in question both as Bhauma (line 3) and as Kara (line 28). This is, again, the earliest record of the dynasty in which the family name Kara occurs. The dynastic name Kara was no doubt due to the crystallization of the name-ending of all kings (e.g., Keshmari-Kara-Lakshmi-Kara, Śivakara I–III and Śāntikara I–III) of the family, excepting those bearing the name Śubhākara (I–V). The dūṭaka or executor of the grant was the Mahābhāpatalādhikārī (i.e., an officer of the akshapatra or record department) named Tāradatta. The writer of the document was the Mahābhāpatvālikā (i.e., record-keeper) Bhagin Āṇandāgī. The plate was heated (tāpita), apparently for soldering the seal, by the pāṭi-pāṭa Nārāyaṇakara. The epithet pāṭi-pāṭa, also found in many other records, has not been satisfactorily explained. The word pāṭa seems to be used in the Dieyāvādāna1 in the sense of ‘a basket.’ The pāṭi-pāṭa thus may have been a store-keeper of the king’s record department. It is difficult to say whether Pāṭi-pāṭa

1 The inscription is being published in this journal.
2 See the grants of Narasimha II, edited above, pp. 187 ff.
3 Misra, op. cit., p. 16 (lines 30-32 of text), p. 27 (lines 39-41 of text), etc.
4 Cf. Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, 1899, s.v. The word is found in some records as pāṭi-pāṭa.
Narayana, the present record is the same as Pitala Narayana who hosted the Neulpur plate of Subhakara I. The plate was engraved by the ta'hakara (i.e., metal-worker; cf. Hindi ठाकरा) Aghaka who was the son of Malu.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the charter under discussion, Daksh grounds Tosi included the present Puri District of Orissa together with parts of the Cuttack and Ganjam Districts. I have not been able to locate the Sulatara kurtha viṣaya and the villages called Lavaṇaḍa and Taramaṇḍa. The location of Guhādevapāṭa or Guhādevapāṭaka has already been indicated above.

TEXT. ¹

[Metres: Verses 1 Vasantatilaka; verses 2 Śāradāvijñāṇa; verses 3-7 Anūshūbhā; verse 8 Pushtapitāgrā; verse 9 Mālinī.]

Oboverse

1 [Śiddhādam ||² Svasty-asa(t-i-re?) de-matiṅga-samāghāta-samuttuṅga-prākāra-parikhiptaṭ | kshi (kshi)ra-āṃvuo(mbu)ra-śr-iv-sāṭi-bhō-gi-samamabhuja[m][a].

2 na-sahaj-aud[ā]ra[ṇya]*-saṁbhājirā | Guhadēvāpāṭjak-āvīṣita-jaya-skaṁdhāvāraṭ | [a]śīd = asā-dhāra[ṇa]-paraṇkram-āhūri[ughr]i[p][ti[t]-kṛita-pratisāma-

3 nta-chādā-man-indrēṣu² [sura] niṣṭa-bhūpa(va)gatēṣu Lakṣhmīkara-prabhūtīshu Bhauma-kula-mānava-dēvēṣu[u] tad-anvāyā-prabhūvaḥ svu-prabhūva-sa-

4 māṣāṭita-sārvābhauma-bhāvaḥ paramōpaśaka-mahāja-rajadhīraja-paramēśvara-ārī-Śubhākara-
dēvaḥ | Tasya-āṭma[ja]ḥ samudapēdi jaga-

5 n-namasyaḥ śrīmān-ṛṇipal Śivakaraḥ śāsiśekhar-ābhah | yaḥ sad-guṇa-prṇaya-kiḍ[i]ya-bha-
pakṣapāṭi [kshmābhṛ]ṣu-sutā-pa[riṇa]litā-pra-

6 mōdaḥ || [1][*] Yasya pratypakāra-śrī-prīta-matēr-arthauḥ yath-ābhyarthitaṁ sa[rvvē]ḥbhīyō

7 tāṁ viniya kavaḥaut vrpāya vaikarttanasa-tach-cghakit-grahaḥ-āpavijita-nit-aurjita-

2 prava(ba)ndhōdaya || [2][*] Yaḥ [kē]sar-va[ sūr-āgrō dhī]maṁ(ma)ḥ Śri-Sugāt-āṣra-

8 yaḥ [[*] pitṛi-bhaktāḥ kū-śa[lyō]ḥ(di)yōjśi-dipāḥ Purur-iv-śābha[va]ḥ || [3][*] tasya tanayas-tat-
pād-ānudhyātaḥ paramasvagata[h] pratata-bhāga-samva[saḥva]-

yug-ōcita-[a]ṣa[ti]k[r]iṣṇu-va-


2 prátiḥ tāmara-nābha iva

11 vijita-[kusumavā(ba)]ṇa-prasara Bhī[ma-āgra]ja iva viddhē[pi] Śa[la-śrīharana-śiṣvrama]ḥ śrādha-

2 ma[ḥa]hrada iva sa[va[chh-a]nta?]r[ṣaṣaya[h]]*

12 pratha[ṇa]-Bhavāna-[vanśa]h[vanśa]-lalāma-bhūtā[ya]ṁ mahādēvīyaṁ śrī-Śrīhita-bhāvyāṁ-

2 avāpa-prasas[am]śi[ti]ḥ paramahatīraka-mahārā-

13 jādhrīja-para[mēsva]ra-ārī-Śubhākaraṇādēvaḥ ku[sal]i Ḍakṣira-Tosīyām(lyāṁ) vartamāna-
havīśya-mahāśe[m]a[n]a-mahārā-


2 ntarikān-anāya[na-p]rāṇa-prasā- ¹ From the original plate kindly lent by Mr. C. M. Ācharya, Vice-Chancellor, Uttal University, and from impressions prepared in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.

² Expressed by symbol.

² The intended reading may have been man-ādākēhu
No. 37—TALI INSCRIPTION OF KODAI RAVI: 17TH YEAR

(V. VENKATASUBBA AIYAR, MADRAS)

The inscription published below is engraved on a slab of stone kept in the vādil-mādam or the entrance-porch of the Śiva temple at Tali in the Talappalli taluk of the Cochin State. The temple contains some records of the time of the Chera kings Kōvindēvaran Kōdai² (Indu-Kōdeśvarman)

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¹ The single dandas are used in lines 20-21 as the hyphen is done in English.
² No. 344 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1924.
³ No. 341 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1924.
and his successor Bhāskara-Ravivarman⁴ and may therefore be considered to have been in existence from the middle of the tenth century at the latest.

The Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters in which the record is neatly engraved can be approximately attributed to the 11th century A.C. The medial i sign which is attached to the left side of the letters in most of the cases is put on the top of the letter in a few instances, as in vi, ti, mi in line 1 and in fi in line 2. The letter ya is engraved in the earlier form and in the later cursive variety. Grantha letters have been employed in the words Scasti śrī (line 1), Nityavichārēśvara (line 2) and Uttama-madhyama-adhama (line 13). The language of the record is correct Tamil prose except the word itṭidu in line 5 which is a slightly corrupt form of the word itṭādu now in use in the Malayalam language. Iyāna is the dialectical form of Īśāna, ya being the usual substitute for śa. Rules of sandhi have generally been followed.

The object of the record is to register a gift of the villages Ukkiramaṅgalam (Ugramaṅgalam) and Iyāna-maṅgalam (Īśāna-maṅgalam) made by the (Chēra) king Kōdai-Ravi in his 17th regnal year to the temple of Nityavichārēśvara so as to provide, from the annual income of 300 kalam therefrom, for the expenses of worship, etc., in the temple. The Taliyār and Tali-ādikār of the temple are stated to have met under the presidency of a certain Kōdai-Ravi of Venpoli-nādu and to have made the arrangement noticed in this document. As published Chēra records are very few, this record of Kōdai-Ravi is edited here and an attempt is made to fix his place tentatively in the line of Chēra kings. Only a few records of a king named Kōdai-Ravi have been secured till now. They are:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name of village</th>
<th>Regnal year</th>
<th>Position of Jupiter</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Taḷi (Cochin)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Mithuna</td>
<td>No. 344 of 1924.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Avīṭṭattūr (Cochin)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Kannī</td>
<td>Nos. 360, 361, 362 of 1927.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Tripūṇittura (Cochin)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td>No. 1 of 1902 (T. A.S., Vol. VI, p. 64).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of these, the king mentioned in No. 2 is identical with the Kōdai-Ravi of the Avīṭṭattūr records (No. 3), because Jupiter which was in the Mithuna-ṛāṣi in the 17th year would correctly be in the Kannī-ṛāṣi, three years later in the 20th year of the king's reign. Though the position of the Jupiter is not specified in the other three records (Nos. 1, 4 and 5), they can all be palaeographically assigned to the same period and the king. If this is conceded, then the 30th year quoted in the Tripūṇittura record (No. 5) may be considered as the highest so far discovered for this king.

1 No. 348 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1924.

Kōdai and Ravi are very popular names in the west coast: and so this Kōdai-Ravi of Venpoli-nādu, as well as another Kōdai-Ravi of Neḍumpurāyār-nādu, figuring as a śrīvarī in the Cochin plates of Bhāskara-Ravivarman (above, Vol. III, p. 69) and a third Kōdai-Ravi of Vangāl-śrīvēḷi (T. A.S., Vol. II, pp. 154, 164 and Vol. III, p. 185), a contemporary of Indu-Kōdai-Ravivarman, were evidently private individuals, having no connection with the king of that name.

6 DGA
From the provenance of these records and from the fact that the king is not specifically called a Vēruṭṭadigal we may consider him to be a Chēra ruler. We know of six kings of this dynasty who flourished between the 9th and 11th centuries A. C. They are:

1. Sthānu-Ravi, the contemporary of the Kōṭṭayam and Tiruvalla plates, who was a contemporary of the Chēra king Aditya I (870-906 A. C.);
2. his successor Vijayarāghavadēva, who was a contemporary of the Chēra king Pārāntaka, in the first half of the 10th century, in 936 A. C.;
3. Indu-Kōdaivarman of the Tirukkākkarai and Talī inscriptions, who reigned from 955 to 978 A. C.;
4. Bhāskara-Ravivarman, the contemporary of Vēṇāduṭṭaiya Śrīvallabhaṇ-Kōdaí of Kollam 149 and who ruled from 978 to 1036 A. C.;
5. Ravi-Rāma7 of the Tirukkaṇṭṭānam record, who was probably a successor of Bhāskara-Ravi (circa 1040), and
6. Rāman Tiruvadī8 Kulaśēkhara-Kōyiladikāri of the Quilon epigraph dated in Kollam 278 (=1103 A. C.; date of accession 1090 A. C.).

The reigns of Nos. 1 to 4 may be considered to have been continuous without any appreciable break; whereas between those of Nos. 5 and 6 there is an interval of nearly half a century. In this gap, Kōdaivarai with a reign of 30 years can well be accommodated; and palaeographical considerations do not militate against this assumption. But whether he was a predecessor of Kulaśēkhara or his successor can be decided only when more data are available.

A few points of interest in the wording of the record may be noticed.

Vijālam nṛga (line 2). The Vēṇā wattsam or the Jupiter's cycle was a favourite method of astronomical reckoning in use in the West Coast. As Jupiter moves round the ecliptic once in twelve years at the rate of one rāśi per year approximately, the citation of its position in a particular rāśi is chronologically useful. This system is used in some North Indian inscriptions, but is not in vogue in the records of South India.

Nityavichārāsvaram (line 2). The origin of this name of the temple has, on the analogy of the names like Rājarājēsvaram, etc., to be traced to the name of nityā 'Nityavichāra' of a Chēra ruler; but which particular king bore this, is not ascertainable. This name was in vogue even in the time of Indu-Kōdaivarman, and so it is possible that this king or some predecessor of his had the title.

Talīyār and Talī-adhikārar (lines 2-3). According to the Kērāṭṭpati, a Malayālaṃ prose work of no great antiquity, the early Chēra rulers were helped in their administration by an advisory council consisting of the presidents of four assemblies representative of respective portions of their dominions. These assemblies met in halls called talīs, and references to them are found in inscriptions. Talī is derived from the Sanskrit word sthali, and here it appears to mean simply the temple. Talīyār may mean 'the temple officials' and talī-adhikārar, 'the temple manager.'

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3 Ibid., Vol. III, p. 162.
4 Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 144.
6 Ibid., p. 174.
7 Ibid., p. 172.
8 Ibid., pp. 40, 41. The date 2+14th year of this record, as read by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar (No. 54 of the Trav. Arch. Report for 1905 M. E.) is corrected as 2+11th year in the Trav. Arch. Series, Vol. V, p. 44.
Seŋnōṭai (line 5) has been understood to mean 'the sacred temple expenses.' Naḍai is still in use in Malayalam as a word signifying 'a temple.' Agambadip-paṇimakkal (lines 7-8); agambadī are servants in palace service such as personal attendants of the king, etc. The temple establishment is probably meant here. In other records of this period, they are called mēl-Śānti, kil-Śānti, etc.

Gāndarvivikaḷ (line 10). This word is derivable from gāndharvam 'music and dance' from gandharva, 'a class of celestial musicians.' Gāndharvivikaḷ were probably the musicians attached to the temple, who rendered service in the temple by playing on musical instruments such as the flute, drum, etc., and by singing hymns during the time of worship.

Naṅgaimār (line 10) in conjunction with the gāndharvikaḷ may have reference to the wives of the chākkiyāṭ actors who have to sing and mark time during the staging of dance-performances in the temple. This institution of acting and dancing was a permanent feature in West Coast temples and formed part of the daily ritual, while special performances were celebrated during the festivals. From lines 13 to 15 it is learnt that three different scales of payment in kind prevailed in respect of the remuneration paid to the naṅgaimār of the temple. viz., 2½ nāli to the uttama (higher grade), 2 nāli to the madhyama (middling), and 1½ nāli per day to the adhama (lower grade) of incumbents.

Ōviyān (line 12) may perhaps be a mistake for ńviyān, a painter. The walls in the West Coast temples are frequently found decorated with mural paintings of Purānic episodes; and a painter may have been borne on the establishment, in the same way as a Śiṣṭpāchāri or a sculptor was provided for in South Indian temples of the East Coast.

The meaning of the word kāyaṅ (line 12) is not clear. It has to be ascertained whether the duties of a kāyaṅ have any connection with the weighing of the articles (kṣaṅmat) brought to and issued from the temple.

Aniyam (line 13) derived from the word ńānika means 'pertaining to a day.' Sattiram (line 14) was probably a local measure of quantity.

The territorial division Venpoli-nādu is mentioned in the Cochin plates of Bhaskara Ravi-varman, where it is engraved as Vēnapāli-nādu. The back-water called Venbāndukāyal between Alleppey and Cochin seems to derive its name from this division which embraced roughly the present taluks of Kōṭṭayam and Vaikam in the Travancore State. The late Mr. Gopinatha Rao connected the Tekkinkūṟu-rāajas with this region. Ravi-Srīkaṭan was the governor of this province according to the Hazur office plates, but whether he was related to Kōdai Ravi mentioned in the present inscription has yet to be ascertained. This province was divided into two divisions called Tekkinkūṟu and Vāttakinkūṟu.

The details furnished in the inscription regarding the distribution of paddy are:

| For offerings and servants | 109 kalum and 20 nāli |
| Paṅguvilai and lamps | 0 kalum and 806 nāli |
| Gāndharvikaḷ and naṅgaimār | 164 kalum and 50 nāli |
| Kāyaṅ and ōviyān | 16 kalum and 50 nāli |
| i.e., in all | 298 kalum and 26 nāli |

There is thus a balance of 1 kalum and 74 nāli from the annual income of 300 kalum, which has not been accounted for in the inscription.

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4 Ibid., p. 146.
TEXT

1 Svasti Śrī[ *]Kōdai-Kōdai-Iravikku-padinēlam-āṭju Mituṇa-
2 till Viyālaṁ nikka2 Nityavīchārēśvarattu3 taţi-
3 yāru taţi-adhikāra-rum Yevpolināḻ-udaiya Kōdai-Iravi u-
4 [paṭṭil-avar-ulirundu śeyda Kachcham-āvadu [[*] Ukki-
5 ramaṉaṅgalamum-Īyānaṅgaṅgalanum-Sēṇadaikk9-iṭṭidu[*] idī[ṇār]-rā-
6 īvārattu kōvil paṭṭam-alakkak-kaḷaviya nell-īḷangaliyāl mu-
7 nūṟruk-kaḷ[m*][[*] idīṇ-ıṟir[va]mirdinukkum-agambaṭip-pa-
8 nīnakkatkuṁ-nūṟuṇaikkum vēṇḍun-nel nāṟṟo[ṇ]pa-
9 din kalam-irupadi nāḷi [[*] paṅ[ū]*]gūvilaikkum divikaik-
10 kum-enbūraru nāḷi [[*] Gāndarvviṅkku[m*] naṅgaimārkku
11 aryyku nūṟu-aru-pattanār-kalam-aiyampadi
13 Naṅgaimārkkul U[*]t[ma]-madhiyama-adhamattināl niyadip-padi āṇiya;
14 n koḻukkum pārisu śattartal-iru nāḻiy-uriyam-iru nāḻiyu nāḷi
15 uriyam [*]

TRANSLATION

Hail! Prosperity! In the seventeenth year of king Kōdai-Ravi, (when) Jupiter stood in (the)
Mithuna-(ōśi), the following transaction was made by the temple officials and the manager
of the Nitya-vīchārēśvaram, at a meeting over which Kōdai-Ravi of Yevpoli-nāṭu presided.

(The villages) Ukκranaṅgalam and Īyānaṅgalam were set apart for the sacred temple expenses.
Three hundred kalam of paddy by the idangali (measure) shall be measured in the (temple)
verandah as paṭṭam payable to the temple.

Out of this, the paddy required per annum for the sacred offerings and the servants is one
hundred and nine kalam and twenty nāḷi; for paṅgūvilai and lamps, eight hundred and six nāḷi;
for rice to the gīṅdarikkul and naṅgaimār, one hundred and sixty four kalam and fifty nāḷi; and
for the kāṭaṅ and the oḷḷirjiya, sixteen kalam and fifty nāḷi.

The allowance in rice to (be given to) the naṅgaimār according to the high (uttama), middling
(madhyama) and low (adhana) scales is (respectively) two nāḷi (and) one uri, two nāḷi, and one nāḷi
(and) one uri by (the measure called) śattiram.

No. 38—FOUR BHAIKSHUKI INSCRIPTIONS

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

A. Three Buddhist Inscriptions from Uren

Uren is an old village in the western part of the Monghyr District of Bihar. It lies by the
side of the railway line between the Kiul and Kajra stations on the East Indian Railway—about

1 These words are engraved in Graṇtha characters.
2 The ī is shown with a loop at the right side.
3 The i sign is engraved slightly over the letter, and not at its side.
7 miles from Kiul and 2½ miles from Kajra. On the other side of the village stands the small range known as the Uren hills. About sixty years ago, L. A. Waddell visited the village of Uren which he identified, in an interesting paper published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Volume LXI, part i, 1892, pp. 1-24, with one of the Buddha’s hermitages on the western frontier of the country of I-lan-na-po-fo-to (Hiranyakasipu, roughly identical with the present Monghyr District) as described by the seventh century Chinese pilgrim Huen Tsang.¹ He noticed a large number of inscribed images in the village as well as inscriptions, sculptures, and markings and other ancient remains on the hills. But as regards the process of the loss and destruction of ancient remains from which the village was suffering at that time, Waddell observed, “the unfortunate proximity of the hill to the railway and the excellent quality of the rock (granite) have induced the railway authorities to use the hill as a quarry for road-metal and only about six years ago two of the most interesting of the rock-sculptures were in this way demolished and the fragments further broken up and carried off as ballast, and the blasting operations have now extended to within a few feet of the more important rock-sculptures and markings still remaining. Many of the inscribed statues also have been carried off from time to time by the overseers or contractors supervising the quarrying operations; one of these in particular, a Mr. S., is reported to have carried off, about thirty-six years ago, a full cart-load of the best preserved statuettes, the ultimate destination of which cannot now be traced.”² In a foot-note to these observations, Waddell further says, “Since writing the above, I have again visited the site and found that further quarrying operations have been extensively carried on since the submission of this report to the Society. The western cliff bearing numerous chaitya figures has been in great part removed by blasting, only the fractured bases of a few of the chaityas still remaining. Also at the south-east margin of the hill, where the rock was highly polished and contained ancient markings, most of this surface has been removed by blasting.”³ It is therefore no wonder that I could not trace most of the inscriptions and other ancient remains that had been noticed by Waddell about sixty years previously, when I visited the village of Uren in January 1930. On the hills, I found only the engravings of several stūpa designs, one of them alone containing a line of inscription. I also examined a collection of extremely mutilated images and votive stūpas at the Chaṇḍi-śāna in the village and another at its Siva-śāna. Some of these images were found to contain a few lines of writing at their bases. A few broken images also were noticed half buried in the ground at the side of the main road running through the village and one of these was found to bear an inscription. I took impressions of altogether fourteen image inscriptions at Uren, many of which, however, contained nothing but the Buddhist formula ̀dı̄ḍhammi, etc. Two of the records refer to the reign of Rāmaṭāla (circa 1084-1125 A.C.), the Pāla king of Bengal and Bihar, one of them being dated in the fourteenth regnal year of that monarch. Two of the image inscriptions at Uren were found to be written in the so-called Bhaiṣakhī liṣṭ or arrow-head characters.

When Waddell visited Uren about sixty years ago, he observed no less than four images with inscriptions in the Bhaiṣakhī or arrow-head script⁴ and photographs of two of them were published by him along with his paper in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.⁵ It is possible that he himself or some other later visitor to the village carried away the images containing the two inscriptions of which photographs were published in the above journal. Thus the two Bhaiṣakhī inscriptions, examined and copied by me at Uren, may be the remaining two of the four such

³ *I. cit.*
⁵ *Vide op. cit.*, Plate IV, Nos. 1 and 2.
records referred to by Waddell. That these two inscriptions were also not similarly carried away was possibly due to the extremely mutilated condition of the images on which they are engraved.

Of the two image inscriptions in the Bhaikshuki or arrow-head alphabet copied by me at Uren, one, found on a broken Buddhist image at the Śīra-sthāna of the village, has one line of writing, only a few akṣaras of which have been preserved. The other one was found by me on the base of a mutilated Buddhist image lying half buried by the side of the main road running through the village. This inscription is fortunately in a quite satisfactory state of preservation. There are altogether four lines of writing covering a space of about 1.8 inches in breadth and 9.8 inches in length. The fourth line is short and covers only about half the length of the other three lines. Each akṣara is about 0.4 inch in height.

The most important feature of the inscription is its palaeography. C. Bendall, who first discovered the alphabet employed in the epigraph under discussion in certain manuscripts from Nepal and fully described it, was inclined to identify it with the Bhaikshuki līpi mentioned by al-Birūnī as being used in Udumūr in Pūrva-dvēsa (probably the Uddānāpura-vihāra located at modern Biharsaharī near Patna) and as being "the writing of Buddha," probably meaning thereby that it was prevalent among Buddhist Bhāshas or monks. The alphabet is characterised by the use of arrow-head marks usually at the top of the letters and, in some letters, also at the sides. Bühler therefore described this script as "the arrow-head alphabet." Bendall and Bühler believed that the script is the immediate offspring of an ancient form of Brāhma retaining South Indian features in some letters and Northern characteristics in a few. An image inscription from Gaya, written in this alphabet but showing wedges instead of arrow-heads at the top and, in some cases, at the sides of the letters, was published by Bendall in 1890. Some years ago Dr. N. P. Chakravarti edited an inscription written in the Bhaikshuki or arrow-head alphabet, which comes from Kara about 41 miles from Allahabad. Another inscription in the same script is said to have been noticed on an image of Jambhala which is now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, but that epigraph is as yet unpublished. I edit below three out of the four Uren inscriptions referred to by Waddell as written in the Bhaikshuki or arrow-head script, the first from my own impressions and the second and third from the photographs published by that scholar.

The characters of these inscriptions closely resemble those found in the manuscripts as reproduced in Bühler's Table VI, columns xviii-xix; but there are some slight variations. In the first epigraph, among initial vowels, we have a (line 3), ā (line 1) and ə (line 3). Among these, ā differs from the form of this letter in the manuscripts in having its lower loop and curve not fixed below the upper body of the letter. Of the consonants, p has a curved base and an arrow attached to its left limb as in the Kara and Gaya inscriptions. The forms of m and n are not distinguishable. ņ has been written differently in lines 2 (cf. dharmāṅgū) and 3 (cf. śāmaṅgū). The marks of interpunctuation are the usual single and double dayā; but, at the

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2 Seechau, Alleran's India, Part i, p. 173.
3 Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXIII, Appendix, p. 60; Palaeographic Table VI, columns xviii-xix.
4 Cf. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, pp. 77-78. There are some mistakes in Bendall's transcript of this epigraph. It actually reads (1) Sri-dharmatatha-patra-śrāvaṇā-pradāna. (2) Śrāvaṇā-pradāna. (3) Śrāvaṇā-pradāna. (4) Śrāvaṇā-pradāna. R. D. Banerji edited the same inscription in the Vaṇḍya Śāhiya Paribhāṣa, Vol. II, pp. 108 ff. without noticing that it had been previously published. It is now preserved in the Vaṇḍya Śāhiya Paribhāṣa, Calcutta.
6 Op. cit., p. 37, note 4. The note is based on a statement of R. D. Banerji in his paper referred to above. My attempts to trace the image in the Indian Museum have proved unsuccessful.
end of lines 3 and 4, we have a visarga-like sign placed before the double datva. This no doubt forms part of the stop and the whole sign apparently indicates a full-stop. The palaeography of the second and third inscriptions closely resembles that of the first epigraph. As suggested by the palaeography of other records of the locality, the inscriptions belong to the age of the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar. They may be roughly assigned to a date between the ninth and the twelfth century, preferably to the latter half of this period.

The language of the inscriptions is Pāli which is, however, greatly influenced by Sanskrit. The use of the palatal sibilant and the subscript r (cf. words like prabhavā, śri, prati, ṣkamaṇo, dēṣēti, etc.) is a peculiar feature of the orthography of these records and go in favour of the above observation. Interesting from this point of view is also the Sanskrit viśhakī in the word pālasya in line 4 of the first epigraph. The word dharmāṇām (line 2 of the first epigraph) stands midway between Sanskrit dharmāṇam and Pāli dhammānaṁ, while tēṣāṁ stands in similar relation to Sanskrit tēṣāṁ and Pāli tēsaṁ.

The text of all the three epigraphs is the same; but the second inscription begins with a symbol for siddham which is not traceable at the commencement of the two other records, while the first inscription ends with an additional reference to the person responsible for the construction and installation of the image on which it is engraved. The first sentence of the three inscriptions reads: bhagavā ārous ṣaṭṭicchhasaṇuṇḍākam dharmāṇāṁ dēṣēti, “Brethren, the Lord expounds the doctrine of the chain of causation.” The word ārous was often used as an address by the priests to Buddhist lay worshippers. Whether the reference to the preaching of the Lord, i.e., the Buddha, may suggest that the images on which these records were inscribed represented the Buddha in the preaching attitude or visskkerma-vudrā cannot be determined. The doctrine of Patīchchhasaṇuṇḍākam, as is well known, is the formula embodying the Buddha’s solution of the great problem of the origin of evil. It is one of the most fundamental and characteristic doctrines of his teachings. It is said that “from error springs karman, from karman springs consciousness, from consciousness springs the organised being, from the organised being spring the six organs of sense, from the six organs of sense springs contact, from contact springs sensation, from sensation springs desire, from desire springs attachment, from attachment springs continued existence, from existence springs birth, from birth spring decay and death, sorrow, lamentation, pain, grief and despair.” The origin of evil is here traced back to error or ignorance which is no doubt the ignorance of the truth, i.e., the four great truths of the Buddhists, viz., “suffering, the cause of suffering, the cessation of suffering, the path leading to the cessation of suffering.”

The second sentence of our inscriptions is: patīchchhasaṇuṇḍākam cha dharmāṇāṁ yō nīrōdhō, “also the destruction of the conditions arising from preceding causes [is taught by the Lord].” This refers to the destruction of the five “elements or attributes of being” such as form, sensation, perception, discrimination and consciousness. These two sentences appear to be represented in the first inscription as a verse. The metre may be regarded as an irregular form of Āryā.

The above is followed in the inscriptions by the well known Buddhist formula in the Āryā metre: yō dharmāṁ kētu-pphabhavā kētuṁ tēsaṁ tathāgato avacha (or avadat) | tēsaṁ cha yō nīrōdhō śveṁ-vādī mahā-maṁṣanō || “The Lord spoke of the conditions which arise from a preceding cause as well as of their cause. The great teacher has also said about their destruction.” But this formula practically repeats what is already said in the previous two sentences. The subject

1 Cf. the Madras Museum plates of Narēndradhavāla edited above, p. 45 and plate.
2 See Childers, Pāli Dictionary, s. v.
3 Ibid., s. v. arīya-saccam.
4 Ibid., s. v. nīrōdhō, khamdō, etc.
of the first two sentences is the lord’s preaching about the chain of causes and the destruction of the conditions arising from causes, while the formula also speaks of the cause of the conditions arising from it and their destruction. The nirödhô of the hētu-prabhavā dhaīnma is the same as the nirodhô of the patichchhasamuppaññā dhaīnma.

So far the three inscriptions offer practically the same text. But the first epigraph adds to the above text the following passage: Śri-Pratinava-Śrādatapālasya. There is little doubt that we have here a reference to the person who was responsible for the construction and installation of the image on which the inscription is engraved; but the expression śrādatapāla is rather unusual and may be a mistake for śrāvita. The word pratinava means “fresh” or “new” and śrāvita may have been intended to mean “religious instruction.”

Inscription No. 1

TEXT:

1 Bhagavā āvusō ppa(pa)ṭichchasamupperādāṁ dhaśmaṁ dēśeti | Ppa(pu)ṭichchasa-2 mupperānadāṁ cha dhāmmanaṁ yō nirōdhō || yē dhammā hētu-prabhavā tēśāṁ hē-3 tuṁ tathāgatō avachā [/*] tēśāṁ cha yō nirōdhō evaṁ-vādi maha-śāmaṁō [/*]
4 Śri-Pratinava-Śrāda(vi)ṭapālasya ;||

TRANSLATION

Brethren, the Lord teaches the doctrine of origination as a necessary result from an antecedent cause. The cessation of the conditions having its origin in a preceding cause [is also taught by the Lord]. The sentient being (the Buddha) spoke of the cause of the conditions arising from a preceding cause. The great-a-śīc (the Buddha) also spoke about their destruction. [This image is the gift] of the illustrious Pratinava-Śrāda(vi)ṭapāla.

Inscription No. 2

TEXT:

1. [Siddham ||] Bhagavā āvusō patichcha-samuppaṇḍaṁ dhammaṁ cha dhāmanaṁ yō nirō-[/*]
   dēśeti [*] patichcha-samuppaṇḍaṁ cha dhāmanaṁ yō nirō-[*]
2. dō || yē dhammaṁ hētu-[pa]ḥa[*]vā tēśāṁ hētuṁ tathāgato[*] avachā *
   [tēśāṁ cha yō] nirōdhā evaṁ-vādi maha-śāmaṁō || o ||

Inscription No. 3

TEXT:

1. Bhagavaḥ āvusō patichcha-samuppaṇḍa[n*] dhamma[n*] dēśeti [*] Patichcha-samuppa[n*]nā[n*] cha dhāmmana[n*] yō nirōdhō ||
   yē dhammaṁ hētu-prabhavā [tēśāṁ] [hētuṁ*]
2. tathāgato avachā tēśāṁ cha yō nirōdhō eva[n*]vādi maha-śāmaṇō || o ||

B. A Buddhist Inscription from Maldah Museum

About the middle of April, 1900, the Government Epigraphist for India received for examination impressions of some inscriptions copied by the Eastern Circle of the Department of Archaeology. The inscriptions belong to the B. R. Sen Museum at Maldah in West Bengal. While examining the impressions under instructions from the Government Epigraphist for India, I found that one

1 From impressions.
3 Expressed by a symbol.
A. No. 1. On a broken Buddhist image at Uren

B. A Buddhist inscription from Malda Museum

B. Ch. Chhabra
Reg. No. 556 H E (C) '51-499.

Scale: Four-fifths
Survey of India, Dehra Dun
of them is written in the interesting Bhaikshuki or arrow-head script enjoyed in certain Buddhist inscriptions from Uren which had been the subject of my study only three months earlier and have been dealt with in the first part of this paper. At my request, Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India, kindly permitted me to edit the inscription for this journal.

No information was available to me about the exact findspot of the inscription. It is reported to be engraved on the pedestal of an image of the Buddhist deity Avalokitesvara-Lokanatha now preserved in the B. R. San Museum, Maldah, with the exhibit number M. M. R. 110. It is very probable that the image was collected from a village in the Maldah District. The inscription is written in four lines which are divided into two halves, each containing two lines. The upper half is subdivided into four parts, apparently due to exigencies of space on the pedestal of the image in question, while the lower half has three subdivisions. The letters are of the same small size as in the Uren inscriptions written in the same script.

As already observed, the characters belong to the class called the Bhaikshuki or arrow-head alphabet known to have been used by the Buddhist monks of the Magadha region in Eastern India in the age of the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar. Although al-Biruni seems to confuse the use of the Bhaikshuki script to the monks of Udbanda, identified with modern Bihar in the Patna District, the discovery of the Kara inscription in the Allahabad District of the U. P. and that of the present one in the Maldah District of West Bengal appear to suggest a wider distribution. The letters employed in the inscription under discussion closely resemble those of the Uren inscriptions, although there are certain palaeographical peculiarities in the present record that are not noticed in the latter. We have here no confusion between the forms of m and s, the loop of the latter being put a little lower than that of the former. Ch has, however, two different forms, one of which having no appreciable distinction from v (cf. ākārya in line 1; avaca in line 3; cha, śanāvīdā in line 4). There is no marked difference between the sign for medial i and medial i. Medial δ, joined with the consonant by a vertical stroke, as in mō (line 2) and rō (line 4), is interesting. The different forms of p, already noticed by scholars, are to be observed in ṭela in line 2 and prabho in line 3, one of the forms differing very little from d. B and v are indicated by different signs. The initial vowels a, ̄a and ā occurring in the inscription resemble the forms of these letters as found in the Uren inscriptions.

The language of the inscription is a mixture of Sanskrit and Pāli. Its orthography closely resembles that of the Uren inscriptions. It may be noted that y preceded by i has been duplicated.

The second part of the inscription consisting of lines 3-4 reproduces the celebrated Buddhist formula, Ye dharmā, etc., also quoted in all the three Uren inscriptions. Like, however, the interesting additional passage referring to the monk who was responsible for the installation of the image in question in the first of the three Uren inscriptions, we have in the present record information regarding a Buddhist monk whose dēya-dhāmna the image of Avalokiteśvara-Lokanātha bearing the epigraph was. This section says that the image was the meritorious gift of Bhadanta Buddhapālita. The word bhadanta (also bhanta and bhaddanta) is well-known from Pāli literature to have been used as an honorific epithet (cf. English Reverend, Venerable, etc.) or as an address in cases concerning Buddhist monks, although there is difference of opinion in regard to its derivation. I am inclined to trace it to Sanskrit bhava; but some scholars think that it is derived from a word like bhadrānta, i.e., "one who is the foremost of the noble," while others suggest that its root lies in the expression bhaddaṃ tē or bhṛdhaṃ tē (literally, "let there be good to you") with which the monks greeted every one paying homage to them. 1

1 Bühler, Table No. VI, columns xvii-xix, line 35.

2 Select Inscriptions, Volume I, pp. 89, note 1; 223, note 6. The early Prakrit form of the word, bhanda, is found in the Bairat inscription of Nōka. The form bhaddanta seems to be influenced by the conception of its derivation from Bhadrānta. The word may be compared with Sanskrit atra-bhava and tātra-bhava.

6 DGA.
An interesting fact about the monk Buddhapālita is recorded in line 1 which says that he was a śrī- Bhakōkkā-sāṅghīya-ācāryya, i.e., a teacher belonging to the Bhakōkká saṅgha. The word saṅgha here appears to refer to a particular community of Buddhist monks styled Bhakōkkā to which Buddhapālita belonged. Unfortunately I have not come across the name Bhakōkkā.¹ It is not impossible to suggest that it was a local community of monks belonging to a monastery in the present Maldah region of West Bengal. Whether the Bhakōkkā community of Buddhist monks had anything to do with the celebrated Mṛgasthāpana monastery,² apparently situated in the same area or its neighbourhood, cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge.

TEXT:

Part I

1 [A] Śrī-Bhakōkkā-[B] kkā-sāṅghīya-[C] ācāryya-[D] bhadanta-

Part II


TRANSLATION

Part I

This (i.e., the image bearing the epigraph) is the religious gift of the Venerable Buddhapālita who is a teacher pertaining to the illustrious Bhakōkkā community.⁴

No. 39—MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF ANANTASAKTIVARMA V: YEAR 28

(1 Plate)

M. Venkatarāmaya, Ootacamund

These copper plates were received for examination in 1934 by the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Mylapore, Madras, from the Government Museum, Madras, and notified by him as C.P. No. 24 of 1934-5. The plates were sold to the Museum by Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma, Madras. The Superintendent for Epigraphy reports on them as follows: "No information is forthcoming regarding the place or history of their discovery. The plates which are rather thin, measure 6¼" by 2¾" and bear a ringhole of about ½" in diameter near the proper right margin. The ring and the seal that must have accompanied the grant are now missing. The plates have four faces of writing in all, the first and the third plates are slightly corroded, so much so that there are some holes in the body of these plates and their right bottom corners have been partly eaten away. . . . . the grant is itself a palimpsest written over a previous charter, the letters of which though completely effaced are partly and faintly visible in a few places. It must also be remarked at the

¹ The name Bhakōkkā, which reminds us of that of the Pakokka monastery about 30 miles from Mandalay in Upper Burma, may be of foreign origin.
² History of Bengal, Dacca University, Vol. I, pp. 69 f. For a Chinese monastery near it, see loc. cit.
³ From an impression.
⁴ For the translation and explanation of Part II of the inscription, see above, p. 224.
same time that the erased writing does not appear to have been of a more archaic variety than the present inscription.\(^\text{1}\)

I edit the record here with the kind permission of Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India.

The **characters** of the inscription belong to the southern class of alphabets. Some of them are written in a cursive style. The majority of the characters employed in the record, barring those in cursive style, can roughly be placed in the 5th century A.C. for the reason that while they appear more developed than those found in the Rāgōḷu plates of Śaktivarman\(^2\) of the 4th century A.C., they are more or less of the same period of development as those of the Bṛujasthaḷa grant\(^3\) and the Dhavulapōḷa plates of Kalingādhīpati Umavarman which are of the 5th century A.C.\(^4\) They also closely resemble the alphabet of the Bobbili\(^5\) and the Kōmarti\(^6\) plates of Kalingādhīpati Chandaḷavarman. All these charters have been placed approximately in the 4th-5th century A.C. Those letters in our grant which are cursive, such as l, n, kṛi, jā, jā, su and pu, show somewhat developed forms. This, in my opinion, may be due to the very cursive style of the writing.\(^7\) The occurrence of both early and later forms of the same letters in one and the same record\(^8\) or in charters of one and the same king\(^9\) is not unusual, the best explanation for it being the tendency to cursive writing which the scribes developed. It should be remarked, however, that the way in which the letters l, n and kṛi of our inscription are written is for the first time met with among the early Kaliṅga grants in the Jirjiṅgī plates of Indravarman\(^10\) and the Gōdvāri copper-plate grant of Pṛithivimūla,\(^11\) both of which are placed in the sixth century A.C. The presence of such forms in our grant assignable to a date about half a century earlier need not be considered as anything irregular. Attention should be drawn, however, to the dissimilarity that exists in respect of the letters t and n between the script of our record and that of the newly discovered Andhavaram plates of Anantaśaktivarman\(^12\) who, as shown in the sequel, appears to be identical with the ruler who issued the present plates. Whereas in the Andhavaram plates t is angular (being two-pronged) and n is looped, in the present plates they are formed in the reverse way, t being looped and n without such a loop but having a curve at the left as found in the Siripuram plates of Anantaśaktivarman\(^13\) of the 6th century A.C. This difference may not be considered as irregular in our grant since the looped t and the unlooped n occur in grants of the 5th century A.C., for example, in the Sāsanakōṭa plates of Western Gaṅga Mōdhavarman\(^14\) and in the Śalākāyana grants generally.\(^15\) Further, the looped t, as found in our grant, and the unlooped t as in the Audhavaram plates occur in one

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\(^{1}\) *ARSIE*, 1934-5, part II, stem 3.
\(^{2}\) Above, Vol. XII, pp. 1 ff. and plate : Vol. XXV, p. 239.
\(^{7}\) Some of them are formed peculiarly; the medial ā is attached to jā and jā at the topmost prong of the consonant j which is unusual, since this vowel mark is usually attached to its middle prong.
\(^{9}\) The Kesarīvēla and the Rithapur plates issued by the same king Arthapati Bhāttāraka and drafted by one and the same individual, however, differ in their characters indicating the former to be rather earlier. See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 12.
\(^{10}\) Above, Vol. XXV, p. 281 and plate.
\(^{12}\) C. F. No. 4 of 1931-52. Above, p. 177.
\(^{13}\) Above, Vol. XXIV, plate facing p. 51.
and the same inscription, viz., the Gurzâla Brâhmi inscription of the 3rd-4th century A.C.\(^1\) so that in so far as those two letters are concerned, the looped and unlooped forms are not of much consequence in the matter of palaeographical dating. In addition to the above peculiarities, our charter exhibits other features which are not seen in the Andhavaram plates, although in phraseology both grants are almost alike. One such feature of our grant is the mention of two dâlakas in place of the dânapati and another is its faulty orthography as compared with the correct Sanskrit in which the Andhavaram charter is composed.

The orthography of the inscription, as already remarked, abounds in errors. Incorrect writing, for example, pâta for tpa in line 1, pârîvā for pârîvî in line 3, taitrīya for taittirīya in line 6, bhavīśya for bhavîśya in line 9, kumārîmatya for kumārîmatya in lines 17-18 may be ascribed to the ignorance of the scribe. An instance of incorrect syntax is found in line 7. Non-observance of sandhi is found in Mahârâja Anantaśaktivarmanā (line 3). The use of b for v is noticeable in Barâhavarttayân (line 3) and barsha (line 14); and of v for b in valôdhikīta for balôdhikīta in line 18.

The language of the record is Sanskrit. Except the imprecatory verses, the whole inscription is in prose. The phraseology of the inscription is almost similar to that obtaining in the Andhavaram plates of the same ruler, but contains some such phrases as are not found in the latter. For instance, the passage dharmâ-krama-vikramā-vāyaîyana-gāyūvâ-mahim-annâsastam (lines 10-11) is not found in the Andhavaram plates but finds place in our grant as also in a few other charters of the period such as the Brihatprquivosha grant\(^2\) and the Dhaivalapēta plates\(^3\) of Umarvan and the Bobbili plates of Chañdavarman.\(^4\) The date of the record is given at the end of the charter as year 23, the tenth day of the bright fortnight of Phâlguna. The numerals 29 and 8 occur in this connection.\(^5\)

The plates are issued by Mahârâja Anantaśaktivarman from his capital Siñghapura. They record the royal gift of a village called Sakunaka situated in Āvī-pârśva of (the district of) Varâhavarti, as an agraâkha, to two Brâhma brotbers, Nâgaśarman and Durgâsarman of the Kâtyâyanâ gstra and the Taittirîya sâkhâ. The king is described as Kaliugâdhipati, as belonging to the Mâhâra kula and as one who obtained his body, kingdom and prosperity through the grace of his father, (who was) a great devotee of the dâcâ (paramadâivata-Bappa-bhatâraka-pâda-prasâd-ājñâ-pa-râjya-vibhuma). To my knowledge, the form in which this epithet occurs, embodying, as it does, such elaborate expression of deep devotion to one’s father is found only in one other grant, viz., the Andhavaram plates cited above. In all other early charters where the king’s devotion to his father (bappa) is recorded, whether in Pallava, Śâluṅkâyangâ, or in the early Kâliṅga charters other than the two cited above, the terms are simpler like Bappa-bhatâraka-pâda-bhaktâ, Bappa-pâda-bhaktâ or pîtri-pâda-bhaktâ, even the epithet bhatâraka sometimes being dropped.\(^6\) The other epithet paramadâivata applied to Bappa-bhatâraka in the present grant needs some comment: it is here applicable to Bappa, while in the Kûmarī plates of Chañdavarman\(^7\) this epithet applies to the issuer of the grant himself, i.e., Chañdavarman. Usually, the grants that contain this epithet, as far as I have examined, prefix it in a compound either to Bappa-bhatâraka or, as in some cases, to the name of the overlord as whose feudatory the issuer of the grant figures. Instances of the former are available in the Kâliṅga grants including the present charter and those

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1 Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 125 and plate.
2 Ibid., Vol. XII, pp. 4 ff and plate.
3 Ibid., Vol. XXVI, pp. 133 ff. and plate.
4 Ibid., Vol. XXVII, pp. 33 ff. and plate.
5 [The symbol read as S more probably stands for 6: see above, Vol. XXVII, p. 30.—Ed.]
6 Ibid., Vol. XII, p. 4 [Brihatprquivosha grant of Umarvan].
7 Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 142.
of the latter in the Damodarpur plates of the Gupta kings, the Pattiakella and the Soro plates of Śambhuvasās.

To assess the exact significance of paramadāvaita and its variants paramadāvaitādhidaivata, and paramagurudēvatādhidaivatavatvāśeṣa, one may cite, by way of comparison, similar epithets, viz., paramabrahmaṇya, paramasaṅgata, paramabhāṭṭāraka, etc. In the last example, the import of the term is clear. It signifies paramountcy. The others have also been considered as indicative of paramount status. The latter assumption, however, appears to be doubtful. For these terms which mean 'a great devotee of the gods,' 'a great devotee of gods and super-gods,' 'a great devotee of the Brāhmaṇyas' and 'a great devotee of Sugata' should be taken to indicate only the religious devotion or persuasion of the ruler concerned and not as signifying any political paramountcy that he wielded. This will become clear on an examination of the instances where the epithets are used without the additional title of paramabhaṭṭāraka. In such cases, the particular person concerned was certainly not holding any paramount status. One such instance has been pointed out by Dr. Chhibra, namely that of Nāgabala and Bharatabala of the Bambahī plates. They are both described as paramagurudēvatādhidaivatavatvāśeṣa, but not as paramabhaṭṭāraka; and the record gives other indications to prove that really they were not paramount. Another instance is provided by the Soro plates of Śambhuvasās wherein his father (bappa) is called paramadāvaita but not as bhaṭṭāraka. As Mr. N. G. Majumdar has remarked, Śambhuvasās was only 'enjoying a sort of independent status.' In fact, even in the Pattiakella plate of Śivarāja, wherein Śambhuvasās also figures, the person referred to as paramadāvaitādhidaivata and paramabhaṭṭāraka under whom Śivarāja ruled seems to be a third person different from both Śivarāja and Śambhuvasās, as these epithets are not applicable to Śambhuvasās as has been wrongly assumed; for, he is introduced in the record with the simple title of Paramamanāvēvara and as the ruler of Tōsali. Evidently Śambhuvasās was the immediate overlord of Śivarāja and both were apparently subordinates of yet another paramount ruler alluded to by the titles paramadāvaitādhidaivata and paramabhaṭṭāraka. One curious feature about the occurrence of the title paramadāvaita, 'the great devotee of the gods,' is that it is rarely found applied to the ruler actually issuing the grant, but that it is applied usually to his predecessors, father (bappa) or overlord, as the records cited above would show.

Mahārāja Anantaśaktivarman, describing himself as Lord of Kaliṅga, issues the present grant from his capital, Śiṅghapura. The title Kaliṅgādhipati held by him is partly justified by the fact that his capital Śiṅghapura (Siṅghapura) was well known as one of the chief cities of Kaliṅga mentioned in quite a number of early Kaliṅga grants and in early Buddhist literature. Other cities in Kaliṅga which also served as capitals of kings describing themselves as lords of Kaliṅga were Piśṭapura, Śrāppali, Dēvapura, Dantaipura and lastly Kaliṅganagara. Although these cities were far from one another (Piśṭapura being the southernmost situated on the Gōdāvari, and Siṅghapura being the northernmost in Chicaeo āādāluk), it would appear that the lordship over Kaliṅga could be claimed from any of these cities fixed as capitals. The village Sakuṇaka granted by Anantaśaktivarman was situated in Varāhavartani, a well-known territorial division of Kaliṅga.

1 Ibid., Vol. XV, p. 144.
3 Ibid., Vol. XXIII, p. 190.
5 Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 136.
7 B. C. Law: Geography of Early Buddhism (1932), pp. 7, 64.
8 Rāgōla plates of Saktivarman, above, Vol. XII, pp. 1 ff.
12 See below, p. 224.
What is of more than passing interest in the record is the mention of the name of the king's family as Māṭhara kula. Besides Anantasaktivarman of our grant, two others, viz., his namesake of the Andhavaram plates and Kaliṅgādhipati Śaktivarman of the Rāgōlu plates claimed to belong to this family. The latter, in addition, stylīs himself Vāśishtihputra. Since Māṭhara was a gōtra rishi,1 we have in the case of these chiefs an instance of a royal family named after a gōtra rishi.2 That Śaktivarman of the Rāgōlu plates also bears the metronymic Vāśishtihputra reminds one of the Sātavāhana and Ikhāku practice in this regard,3 although the mention of both father-kinship and mother-kinship by Śaktivarman is quite unique. It is interesting to find a reference to the Vāśishtha kula as the family to which two other kings of Kaliṅga are stated to have belonged, viz., Mahārāja Gopavaranman and Mahārāja Prabhāṇjanavarman, the grandfather and father respectively of Anantavarman, lord of Kaliṅga, the author of the Śrīgavarapukōta4 and the Siripuram plates.5 Śaktivarman of the Rāgōlu plates mentions his descent from both paternal (Māṭhara) and maternal (Vāśishtha) gōtras and he also enjoins first upon his gōtrajas to protect his charity and next upon the other kings (angē rājānāh).

In what lineal relationship our Anantasaktivarman stood to the Śaktivarman of the Rāgōlu plates, both being of the same Māṭhara family, has already been discussed, and it has generally been assumed that, as the palaeography of the two grants differs by about a century, Śaktivarman was the grandfather. The possibility of an Anantavarman intervening between them as the father has been stressed, it being assumed that the father's name is perhaps indicated in the double form Ananta-Śaktivarman which is the appellation of the king of our grant, who was perhaps christened only as Śaktivarman after his grandfather.6 That this genealogical construction is very possible is further substantiated by the evidence afforded by the Andhavaram plates of Anantasaktivarman. On a comparison of the text, script and other particulars of this record with those of the present plates, it has been rightly surmised that the issuers of the two records are one and the same.7 In the Andhavaram charter a passage occurs in the form of preamble to the donation made by the king. It relates that since the gift-village had already been granted by Āryaka-Śakti-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda, he (Anantasaktivarman) only regranted it to the same Brāhmaṇa families (aṣṭy-avanipta-yath-ōkta-dharmm-avasthāna-viṣṭa-triśiṣṭap aśrī-Āryaka-Śakti-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda ečcaṁ gṛātra-marṣeśebyāḥ brāhmaṇeḥ bhāyāḥ pāra-datta āty-asmaṁhīr-api, etc.). Here the person referred to as Āryaka-Śakti-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda (with the honorific plural)8 was doubtless an ancestor of Anantasaktivarman. He was a king (bhaṭṭāraka) and was referred to by the respectful appella-

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1 In the Gōtraprasgananandhakadamba, there is mention of Māṭhara as a gōtra rishi. Evidently Māṭhara and Māṭhara are identical, or the former was descended from the latter.
2 The kings of the Ananda family (ānanda-mahārāji-caraṇā-sirnadhdhānā) and the Sālaṅkāyanas of the Telugu country may be considered as other such families.
3 Among the Ikhākus there are metronymics Vāśishtihputra and Māṭhariputra. Above, Vol. XX, pp. 16 ff.
See also Early History of the Andhra country, pp. 44 ff.
4 Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 36.
5 Ibid., Vol. XXIV, p. 47.
6 ARSIE, 1894-5, part II, item 3.
7 Above, p. 177.
8 In a similar way, Vāśēkharavarman, a ruler of Kaliṅga in the 6th-7th century A. D., refers to his father (bṛppa). In the Koroshaṅḍa plates of this king, it is stated to have made the gift of a village to a number of Brāhmaṇas for the purpose of increasing the merit of his father who was in heaven (asmaṁ-bṛppa-bhaṭṭārakapādaṁ samāktād-apraṇayuñānaṁ bhāyaṁ pṛṇa-dīpyaṁyaṁyā). Above, Vol. XXI, p. 24, text lines 3-4.
tion of Āryaka. By his practice of dharma he had even conquered the celestial beings. Although this term āryaka should generally be understood as one of respect, yet in some inscrptional cases there is reason to interpret it as grandfather, much in the same way as bappa meant father. Fleet was the first to think so. Yet in the inscrptional instances, which are not many, the manner in which it occurs leaves some ambiguity as to whether the term meant father, grandfather or simply a respectable person. In the Rithapur plates of Bhavāda[1] Jtavarman it is recorded that Arthapati Bhaṭjāraka was favoured by āryaka (āryaka-pāda-prasād-anugrihi). The context here leaves it doubtful whether by āryaka, Arthapati's father is referred to, whether his grandfather is meant as Dr. Sircar has assumed, or whether it alludes to some 'respectable people' as the editor of the plates Y. R. Gupte translates the term. Similarly in the Halis plates of Kadamba Mrgēṣa,[2] this king is stated to have built a temple of Jina[3] through devotion for the king, his āryaka[4] (sv-āryakā nripatā bhaktā). Dr. Fleet, who has edited the record, translates āryaka by 'father, who was dead (sic).' In a literary passage occurring in the Chīravarastu,[5] the word āryaka is used obviously in the sense of father. None-the-less, so far as inscriptions go and as Fleet has also pointed out, āryaka may be understood to stand for grandfather just as bappa meant father. A piece of inscrptional evidence, which may be pressed into service here to clinch the issue, is provided by a Nāgārjunikonaḍa Prakrit inscription. In this, the words āyaka and ayīkā are used to describe the relatives of the donatrix who mentions, besides, her pītā, mātā, mātulā, etc. Evidently āyaka and ayīkā here meant grandfather and grandmother respectively. Its editor, Dr. Vogel, too, interprets the terms that way. From the foregoing discussion, it may safely be assumed that Āryyaka-Śāktibhaṭjāraka of the Andhavaram plates was the grandfather of Anantāsaktivarman and identical with Kalināgādhipati Śāktivarman of the Rāgōla plates. While the latter issues his charter from Pishatpura, the grandson is found to have fixed his capital at Sinhāputra in the north. Since both were Kalināgādhipati, the change of capital need not be considered as any extension of territory effected by the grandson over and above what the grandfather had acquired already. Moreover the object of Śāktivarman's grant was Rākuluva in the Kaliṅga vishaya, the same as Rāgōla.

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1 The conception that the kings of the earth conquer those of the heaven by deeds of piety, if not by deeds of valour, is profoundly illustrated in Gupta inscriptions, especially those occurring on their coins. Some of the legends on their coins read like—

Pratiratko vijaya kāśmīr-sucharāur-divam jayati (archer type of Samudragupta).
Kāśmīr-sucharāur-divam jayati Vikramādityaḥ (Chandragupta II).
Gām-sucharāur Kāmaragapīd divam jayati (Kumāragupta I).

The idea seems to be a very old one. Vālmiki put it in these words:

Rājā tu dharmāya hi pālūyata
mahāmātir-dandadharaḥ prajānām ||
āthaṃ kṛṣṇāṁ vasudhāṁ yathārād
istāḥ-chyutāḥ svargam-svaptaḥ vidvān ||

(Bāmāyana, Ayādhyākṣastra, canto 100, verse 76)

I am obliged to Dr. Chhabra for the above references. See his article on Chandragupta prathama kśa adhitya in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXIII, pp. 109—110.


3 I am thankful to Dr. Chhabra for drawing my attention to the instances cited here.

4 Above, Vol. XIX, p. 103, text line 24.
5 Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 13.
6 Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 24, text line 8.

I may add here that later, when this article was going through the press, I happened to come across the word āyaka (Skt. āryaka) in certain Jataka stories (e.g. Nos. 352 and 542 of Fausboll's edition). Everywhere it stands for 'grandfather.'
near Sinnavura. Saktivarman and his grandson Anantaśaktivarman of the Māṭhara family were thus presumably paramount rulers of Kalinga during the 4th-5th century A.C.

We have now to determine the political status and the approximate period of some other kings of Kalinga who, as can be judged from the palaeography of their charters, flourished in the 5th century. These were Kaliṅgadhipati Umavarman of the Bṛihatprōṣṭhā grant, his namesake who issued the Dhavalapēṭa plates, and Kaliṅgadhipati Chaṇḍavarman of the Bobbili and Kōmarti plates. It has been stated above that the characters of our grant resemble Umavarman’s grants. If we accept this proposition, the exact priority or posteriority of our Anantaśaktivarman to Kaliṅgadhipati Umavarman should be determined. In regard to Umavarman of the two charters cited above, what Mr. R. K. Ghoshal has said¹ may be accepted, viz., that the kings of both the grants are identical, although the Dhavalapēṭa plates were not issued from Sinnavura and the king therein is not called Kaliṅgadhipati, both details being present in the Bṛihatprōṣṭhā grant. And this Umavarman’s proximity to Anantaśaktivarman in point of date is further attested to, not only by the palaeographical resemblance, but also by another crucial evidence, viz., that the composer of the Andhavaram plates of Anantaśaktivarman, Daṇḍanaṅgaka Māṭīvara, was also the composer of the Bṛihatprōṣṭhā grant wherein he is described as the son of Haridatta.² Yet this does not solve the question as to whether Umavarman preceded or succeeded the other Kalinga ruler. However, the following considerations tend to show that Umavarman should have come only after Anantaśaktivarman. While Anantaśaktivarman calls himself a Kaliṅgadhipati in both his grants, dated 14th and 28th regnal years, Umavarman was not a Kaliṅgadhipati when he issued the Dhavalapēṭa plates from Sunagara but assumed that title and changed his capital to Sinnavura, too, when he made the grant of Bṛihatprōṣṭhā, in his 39th regnal year. Hence Umavarman was not a Kaliṅgadhipati to start with, whereas Anantaśaktivarman was the lord of Kalinga from the very beginning of his career, having inherited the kingdom from his father, a fact which is made clear by his epithet bariṇa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-prasād-ācārā-vīravā-rājya-vīhāra. This circumstance precludes the possibility of Umavarman having become Kaliṅgadhipati or of his having fixed his capital at Sinnavura before Anantaśaktivarman’s accession and of having caused a sort of interregnum in the Māṭhara lordship over Kalinga.³ Until evidence is found to the contrary, it may, therefore, be assumed that Umavarman, who did not belong to the Māṭhara family, acquired the title Kaliṅgadhipati and lordship over the Kalinga kingdom, as well as over the city of Sinnavura by conquest,⁴ or otherwise, from Anantaśaktivarman after the latter had ruled it peacefully for eight centuries.

¹ Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 134. There was another Meśārāja Umavarman who issued the Tekkali plates (C. F. No. 13 of 1934-5), who belonged to the same family and was ruling over a part of Kalinga. Since the seal of his grant bears a different legend from the one on the two charters cited above, and as he was not a Kaliṅgadhipati like Umavarman of the Bṛihatprōṣṭhā grant, he seems to be a different king.

² The composer of the present Madras Museum plates of Anantaśaktivarman was a different person, viz., Tālavara Arjunadatta.

³ There is some evidence which seems to show that Anantaśaktivarman was engaged in some military expedition in or about the 14th year of his reign as pointed out by Dr. R. Subrahmanyan (above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 178). This ruler issued his Andhavaram plates in his 14th regnal year from a military camp at Vijayapura (Bariṇa-bhaṭṭāraka-Śriyāḍavārāhā). Árḍeppa, the gift-village mentioned in this record, is doubtless Andhavaram which lies within a distance of only 10 miles from Sinnavura, modern Singapuran near Śrīkakulam. There is, therefore, some ground for the assumption that this military expedition might have resulted in the capture of Sinnavura by Anantaśaktivarman from some enemy. Or, in the alternative, Anantaśaktivarman might have been proceeding from Sinnavura, which was already his capital, against the same enemy. If this enemy was Kaliṅgadhipati Umavarman who issued his Bṛihatprōṣṭhā grant from Sinnavura in his 30th regnal year, one may doubt that Anantaśaktivarman’s Andhavaram plates were issued subsequent to the Bṛihatprōṣṭhā grant of Umavarman’s 30th regnal year. In such a case we have to postulate that an interregnum in the Māṭhara rule over Kalinga (from capital Sinnavura) was caused by Kaliṅgadhipati Umavarman.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 134. Mr. R. K. Ghoshal advances here the view that the Bṛihatprōṣṭhā grant seems to have been issued by Umavarman on the occasion of some notable military success achieved by him at the expense of some local ruler.
last 23 years. The view that Kaliṅga-dhipati Umavaran may not have been altogether unrelated to his political predecessors of the Māṭhara family is not improbable if we compare the seals of his grants with those issued by Sāktivarman and Anantasaktivarman. The legend on the seals of the Andhavaram plates of the latter and on those of Umavaran’s two grants is in four lines, ending with the name of the king in the genitive case. In the same form is found the legend on the seal of the Rāgūl plates, too, which is, however, in two lines and ends with the king’s name likewise in the genitive case.

This similarity in the seals of the above three kings is noteworthy since in regard to the seals of the other kings of Kaliṅga who immediately followed them, viz., Chapḍavarman and Nanda-Prabhāṇa-varman, and Umavaran of the Tekkali plates, the legend is different and it reads pitṛ-bhaktah. These ‘Pitṛbhakta’ kings, as they may be tentatively designated, were evidently of a different stock from the Māṭharas and were again different from the family of Umavaran of the Bṛhatprōṣṭhā grant. With the evidence now at our disposal, it is obviously incorrect to call all the kings of Kaliṅga from Sāktivarman down to Viśākhavarman as of one and the same family, Māṭhara or Pitṛbhakta. Kaliṅga-dhipati Chapḍavarman of the Bobbili plates seems to have succeeded Kaliṅga-dhipati Umavaran not long after, since it is found that the composer of his record was Rudradatta, son of Māṭrivar. The latter, as pointed out above, had composed both Anantasaktivarman’s Andhavaram plates and Umavaran’s Bṛhatprōṣṭhā grant. In phraseology the grants of all the three rulers show affinity. Thus the passage dharmā-śākrama-śivkramāya-śaṅkatama-śīvānaya, etc., is found in our grant as well as in the Bobbili plates of Chapḍavarman. Saṭṭhivam-śād-agraḥāra-śāmānayam, etc., is common to both the Bobbili plates and the Bṛhatprōṣṭhā grant. In the scheme of early Kaliṅga chronology, the Māṭharas preceded a certain Kaliṅga-dhipati Umavaran, of unknown dynasty, who was himself closely followed by the ‘Pitṛbhakta’ kings led by Chapḍavarman.

As already observed, the present record mentions two dūtakas in place of ājñapti. Evidently the task of the dūtaka and that of the ājñapti were similar, viz., that of executing the royal gift. In the Andhavaram plates of the king no specific person is mentioned as the ājñapti, the task having been entrusted to the mahādaṇḍanāyakas as the record states. In the present grant, however, two dūtakas are mentioned, Śivabhōjaka and Vasudatta by name. Both are described as kumārāmātīgas. But Śivabhōjaka is given the additional epithets of Mahābāladhikṣīrā and Dauḍānētrī. The latter was thus a more dignified official, being both a generalissimo and a judge. The grant is stated to have been written by Deśākhaṇḍaṭaladhikṣīrā Talavara Arjunadatta. An amāya Arjunadatta is stated to have written the Rāgūl plates issued by Sāktivarman whom we have considered as the grandfather of Anantasaktivarman. It may not be improbable that

1The legend on the seal of the Andhavaram plates is highly damaged. But that it contained the name of the king in the genitive case and the whole legend was in four lines may be safely assumed.
3 Contra: ARSL, 1934-5, part 11, item 1, wherein Mr. C. R. K. Chariu considers that there were two persons of the name of Māṭrivar, and that Māṭrivar son of Haridatta of Umavaran’s Bṛhatprōṣṭhā grant was a later descendant of Māṭrivar, father of Rudradatta of the Bobbili plates of Chapḍavarman. But there is really no need to postulate two Māṭrivara as has been pointed out by R. K. Ghoshal (above, Vol. XXVI, p. 133 fn. 4).
4 The scheme of chronology of these kings which is proposed in Early History of Andhreda, pp. 357 ff., appears faulty and I am unable to accept it for various reasons.
5 Fleet, CII., Vol. III, p. 100 n.
6 [From the wording of the record, one may apply the titles Mahābāladhikṣīrā and Dauḍānētrī even to both Śivabhōjaka and Vasudatta. Yet, I am inclined to connect the first with the former and the second with the latter: Kumārāmātīga Mahābāladhikṣīrā Śivabhōjaka and Kumārāmātīga Dauḍānētrī Vasudatta. Besides, Dauḍānētrī, in my opinion, is a military rank like Mahābāladhikṣīrā, though inferior to it. Jampanī may be equal to Śīmaṇḍī and Mahābāladhikṣīrā to Mahāśāṃpātī.—Ed.]

6 DGA
Talavara Arjunadatta’s present grant was a grandson of Amāya Arjunadatta. That a purely civil officer, viz., Dēsā kh Petty Sūkhaṭalāṭhikrita, that Arjunadatta of the present record was, had also the title talavara, which means ‘a noble person,’ is interesting. This office is mentioned in some Nāgārjunikondā Prakrit inscriptions and also in the Allēru Brāhami epigraph.

Of the places mentioned in the inscription, Sīnhapura, the capital of the king, occurs in many other records of the Kūḷīna kings and has already been located at Sīngupura near Cicheacole (Sīrkākulaṃ) in the present-day taluk and district of the same name. Sakuṇaka, the donated village, which is stated to be in Āvi-pārśva (in the district) of Varāhavartanā, finds mention as Sakuṇagrama in the Andhavarām plates of Gaṅgā Anantavarman as one of the villages situated on the boundary of a village (name not clear) in Varahavartanā. Sakuṇagrama is in this record described as touching other villages like Dirghavāta and Sindhiwāsi. The last two may be identified with Dirghāsī and Sindluvāda in the same taluk. Sakuṇagrama of our grant must lie somewhere in the neighbourhood of these villages in the same taluk. I am unable to establish at present its exact identification with any modern village in this locality. But that the territorial division Varahavartanā should be located in this and the adjacent taluk of Tekkali is more than certain; for, a number of villages mentioned as situated in this ancient division in some E. Gaṅgā grants are all identifiable with their modern representatives in the Tekkali and Cicheacole taluks. The following table illustrates this.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the village as in the inscription</th>
<th>Modern name.</th>
<th>Taluk.</th>
<th>Reference.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

In the late E. Gaṅgā inscriptions, the territorial division Kōluvartanā is mentioned and Krishna Sastri considered the division as being the same as Varahavartanā since kōla is a synonym of varāha. Sten Konow located this division roughly along the course (vartanā) of the Varāhanadī which rises in the Gōlkonda (Gīluḍaṅga) Hills to the north of Narasapatam and flows into the Bay of Bengal at Vatāla. Mr. G. Ramadas states that it is probably the region between the Vaniśadārā and the Nāgaṅvaḷa. Both these locations are approximately correct, since the modern Chichecole and Tekkali taluks are situated in this area. The derivation of its name from varāha ‘boar,’ is interesting as there existed another territorial division called after kṛśṣṭu, ‘jackal,’ viz., the Kṛśṣṭuvarṭanā. Presumably the areas were so named owing to profusion of boars and jackals in them. I am unable to identify Āvi-pārśva in which Sakuṇaka lay. If pārśva is a mistake for pārśva, then the village or locality was called simply Āvi. The name, however, seems to be non-Sanskritic.

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1 ARSIE, 1934, part II, item 3.
2 Ibid. Above, Vol. XX, p. 7 n. and ARSIE, 1924, part II, item 1.
3 Above Vol. XII, p. 4.
4 C. P. No. 6 of 1931-22.
5 Above, Vol. IV, p. 185, n. 5.
6 Ibid., Vol. XI, p. 140.
7 Ibid., Vol. III, p. 127.
8 Ibid., Vol. XXV, p. 190 and n.
Seal of Dhavalapeta Plates of Maharaja Umaparman

Seal of Andhavaram Plates of Anantasaktivarman

From a Photograph
TEXT

First Plate


Second Plate: First Side

6 Kātyāyana-sagōtrāya TaIṣṭi(tīrī)ya-sabralam-ehar-ḥrāma- 7 ṇa-Nāgaśarmmanaṇe Durggaśarmmanaṇēbhīyō dvau bhratara1 ā-chandra-tāraka- 8 pratishṭham-aggrahāraṇ maṅg-āṭsirṣṭaḥ [ ] tād-ēva[j]ī* viditvā yu- 9 śmā bhīr-yyath-ōchita-marya(y)[rya] day-ōpa-thāna[īn]* karttavyaḥ(yaṃ) [ ] bhāvīṣya 10 (śyā)ta[i]r-cha
11 rājñā vijñāpayati dharmma-kkrama-vikramāṇgām-anvatamā-yogā-

Second Plate: Second Side

11 d-avāpya mahim-anuśāsatām pravṛttakam-iman-dāna-dharamam-anupā- 12 śyaddhih śēhō-grahāro-nupāyala[h]| [ *] bhavati(uti)ch-āttra Vyāsa[gi]tā[h]* ślokā[h]* 13 [ ] Ba-
14 hubic-bhavahā dattā vasudāḥ vasudhāḥhi[īp]* [ ][*] yasya yasya 15 yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalam [ ] Sh headed-ba(hi)-va-saha-sarasā- 16 yi svargē vasati bhūmīdah [ ] [ ]ākṣhēptā ch-anumantā cha tāny-ēva na-

Third Plate

16 rakē vasēt [ ] Pūrvava-dattān dvijātibhīyō yatnād-rākṣa Yudhisṭhira [ ] mahi- 17 m-mahimmatā[īn] śrēṣṭha dānāc-dhhrēyō-nupālamam-iti[m [ *-i]i [ ] ] dūtau ku- 18 mārāmāτau(yau) mahīva(bu)kṣāllāḥkīta-īn-λanēṭṭrī-Sivabhūjaka- 19 Vasudātau(tau) [ ] [ ] Sivuvattama 20 ṃ-Śa(ṭa) Paṇḍu(s)gam(na)-ṣuṣṭa-paksha daśa[m]yām li- 20 khitam dēṣākṣhapaṭalāṇāhikīta-[ta]*lāvār;Ārjunaadattēna

No. 40—NAGARI PLATES OF ANANGABHIMA III; SAKA 1151 AND 1152

(3 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACUMUND

In November 1949, I received a set of inscribed copper-plates for examination from Mr. P. Acharya of Baripada in the Mayurbhanj District of Orissa through Mr. K. C. Panighi, Curator of the Orissa Provincial Museum, Bhubaneswar. The plates, which were thickly covered with verdigris, were properly cleaned and good impressions of their inscribed sides were prepared in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund. After having completed the

1 From impressions.
2 [ ] Sandhi is not observed here.
3 Read Durggaśarmmanaṇe chādhīyaḥ dhṛtyāḥ bhūtābhyām.
4 Sandhi is not observed here.
5 For interpretation, see above p. 223 and n. 6.
6 [See above, p. 228, n. 6.—Ed.]
examination of the inscription from both the original plates and the impressions, I personally carried the plates to Cuttack, where I had to attend the Indian History Congress in December 1949, and handed them over to Mr. Acharya. At Cuttack I came to learn that the plates belonged to Mr. Harikrishna Mahatab, then Chief Minister of Orissa. Considering the importance of the inscription I requested Mr. Mahatab in March 1950 to be so good as to permit me to edit it in the *Epigraphia Indica*. I also requested Mr. Mahatab to supply me with details of the discovery of the plates, which could be incorporated in my paper on the subject. In a letter, dated the 15th March, 1950, Mr. Mahatab kindly agreed to my editing the inscription and also furnished me with the following story of its discovery. "The set of plates," Mr. Mahatab wrote to me, "was recovered in a village called Nagari about eleven miles from the town of Cuttack. The villagers were sinking a well and the copper plates were found about six feet below the surface level. As soon as the villagers found the set out, somehow it struck them to present the plates to me. They could have easily disposed of and got a good sum as the value of the copper; but instead they came all the way and presented the plates to me in my office. I offered to pay them Rs. 100 which too they declined and expressed the desire that the amount should be spent for some public work in their village. Recently I went to the village. Near about it there are traces of ancient structures. Probably it was at one time a prosperous town as the name Nagari of the village implies. I am very grateful to Mr. Mahatab for his kindness in allowing me to publish the Nagari plates. Thanks are also due to the villagers of Nagari whose good sense saved the plates from being lost to the students of Indian epigraphy and history.

The set consists of five plates each measuring 12·6 inches by 7·9 inches. They are held together by a ring to which a seal, resembling those attached to other imperial Gaṅga records, is soldered. The thickness of the ring is 7 inch and it passes through a ring-hole which is 1 inch in diameter. The seal, which is 3·5 inches in diameter, has the form of an expanded lotus or a radiating sun-dial and has in the centre an embossed figure of a seated bull, caparisoned and bedecked with ornaments, facing front and having raised neck and head. To the proper left of the bull are found the emblems of a conch, the crescent moon, a dagger pointed downwards and a damaru. To the right of the bull are similarly found a trisula and an ankuśa or a chāmara. In front of the bull there is an emblem possibly representing the solar orb. The plates have raised rims for the protection of the writing. The first plate is written on the inner side only, the rest being engraved on both the sides. There are altogether 156 lines of writing. The first side of the third plate has 17 lines, the first sides of the fourth and fifth plates 19 lines each and the second side of the fifth plate only 11 lines. All other inscribed sides have 18 lines each. The writing is well-preserved with the exception of a few slightly damaged passages on the second side of the last plate. The akṣaras are deeply incised and measure about 4 inch in height. The plates alone weigh 596 tolas while the weight of the ring and the seal is 111 tolas.

The characters belong to the class usually termed proto-Bengali, although a more appropriate name of the script ought to be Gaṅji. Many of the letters have developed Bengali forms of the thirteenth century; but there are a few traces of Oriya (cf. medial / sign in khi in line 4, / in line 14 and ni in line 94) and Devanāgarī (cf. medial / sign in ḍhā in line 41 and medial / sign in ḍhā in line 104) influence. An interesting fact about the palaeography of the inscription under discussion is that there are many cases in which different akṣaras are indicated by the same or similar signs. Thus there is absolutely no appreciable difference between / and tā, between tea (cf. also cases where it looks like ty) and rthā, and between ḍa and ḍa (cf. also ṇa which has only an additional loop at the top right end). ḍu has the ordinary sign for medial / in a few cases (cf. line 95); but it is often distinguishable from the sign for / (cf. lines 11, 12, 18, 19, 69, 78, etc.).

1 For the literary style, dialect and script of Gaṅja or Eastern India, see A.I.O.C. *Summary of Papers* Lucknow, 1931, p. 177.
Similar is the case with \( \text{ni} \) and \( \text{ta} \) (cf. lines 54, 64, 66, 69, 71, 74, 114, 123, etc.). In some cases \( n \) is not distinguishable from \( v \) (cf. \( \text{yasy-ånā} \) in line 109). The sign for medial \( i \) often does not rise much above the top \( \text{mātri} \) of the consonants and somewhat resembles the \( \text{ā-mātri} \) (cf. \( \text{kilmī} \) in line 1). It is of course expected that \( s \) should be indicated by the sign for \( n \). Of initial vowels, the inscription under discussion employs \( a \) (lines 69, 86, 92, 96, 97, 121, 123, 134, 146), \( ñ \) (lines 25, 50, 89, 120), \( i \) (lines 9, 10, 36, 37, 47, 64, 67, 69, 87, 105, 123, 133, 139), \( u \) (line 122), \( ri \) (lines 144, 145), \( e \) (lines 16, 18, 75, 81, 90, 103, 140, 141) and \( o \) (line 1). Of final consonants there are \( t \) (line 15), \( n \) (lines 29, 62, 79, 85, 126, 130, 140, 145) and \( m \) (lines 4, 10, 11, 29, 27, 35, 41, 43, 45, 48, 53, 61, 67, 89, 111, 116, 146, 150, 151, 153). The half-nasal sign called \( \text{chandra-bindu} \) is employed in writing \( ṃ \) in line 1. Double \( \text{dangja} \) as a mark of interpolation is usually joined at the bottom.

In some cases the \( \text{anuvāra} \) looks like the superscript \( r \).

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Its composition is partly in prose and partly in verse. With the exception of only one, all the eighty verses of the introductory portion of the epigraph are found also in the copper-plate records of the successors of the king who issued the charter under discussion.

As regards orthography, attention may be drawn to the occasional reduplication of certain consonants in conjunction with \( r \). A common mistake in the record is the confusion between \( ś \) and \( s \). Interesting is also the spelling of words like \( \text{sṛṣṭī} \) (for \( \text{sṛṣṭī} \)) in line 1, \( \text{vaśūna} \) (for \( \text{vaśūna} \)) in line 79, \( \text{vain} \) in lines 8 and 10 and \( \text{vain} \) in line 83 (for \( \text{vaśūna} \)), \( \text{vimitra} \) (for \( \text{vimitra} \)) in line 142, \( \text{singha} \) (for \( \text{sinhka} \)) in line 132, etc. \( \text{Rī} \) is once indicated by \( \text{ra} \) in line 144. In a large number of cases final \( s \) followed by a consonant has not been changed into \( \text{anuvāra} \), while in a few it has been substituted by the \( \text{anuvāra} \) wrongly (cf. lines 102, 137). It has been usually joined with \( v \) in wrong \( \text{sandhi} \) (lines 40, 48, 53, 150, 151, 152).

The inscription contains several dates on which different gifts of land were made by the king responsible for the charter, although the exact date when the charter was issued is not mentioned. Lines 122-23 refer to the \( \text{Mina-sankrānti} \) on Saturday, Chaitra 14th 9, in the Saka year counted by \( \text{chandra} \) (1), \( \text{ishu} \) (5) and \( \text{rudra} \) (11) which indicate, according to the well known principle \( \text{ankānam vāmati gatiḥ} \), the Saka year 1151. The date regularly corresponds to Saturday, the 23rd February, 1230 A.C.

Line 126 speaks of a gift made on Thursday, Magha 24th 6 in the next year (\( \text{abad-āntare} \)), i.e., in Saka 1152. This date corresponds to the 26th December, 1230 A.C. Lines 134-35 refer to a lunar eclipse on Thursday, Maghaśtra 24th 15 in the same year (\( \text{jasminā-śvāde} \)), i.e., in Saka 1152. The date corresponds to the 21st November, 1230 A.C. Line 137 speaks of the \( \text{Makara-sankrānti} \) no doubt in the same year falling on the 26th December, 1230 A.C. Line 142 refers to a solar eclipse on the \( \text{Karkataka-āmavasyā} \) apparently in the same year (i.e., Saka 1152), although it has to be admitted that, according to Swamikannu Pillai’s \( \text{Indian Ephemeris} \), the solar eclipse took place in Saka 1152 not on the \( \text{Karkataka-āmavasyā} \) (Thursday, the 11th July, 1230 A.C.) but on the \( \text{Vishabha-āmavasyā} \) (Tuesday, the 14th May, 1230 A.C.). The last date is found in line 146 which speaks of the \( \text{Makara-āmavasyā} \) on Sunday apparently in the same Saka year. This date corresponds to the 5th January, 1231 A.C. The actual date when the charter under discussion was issued must have some time after this date probably in the same year 1231 A.C.

The prose portion of the inscription in lines 122-49 records a number of grants of land made by the celebrated Ganga monarch \( \text{Anangabhimā III} \) (circa 1211-38 A.C.) in favour of certain Brahmans. As already indicated above, this part of the charter is preceded by no less than eighty verses (with a prose passage between verses 6 and 7), seventy-nine of which are found quoted with slight variations in some later records of the family. These verses describe the genealogy of the Imperial Ganga family up to the reigning monarch. The resemblance of our text is the closest
with the corresponding part of the copper-plate charters\(^1\) of Narasimha II (circa 1278-1305 A.C.), great-grandson of Anandaabhima III. Of the two Puri copper-plate grants\(^2\) of Narasimha IV (circa 1379-1141 A.C.), the one styled B agrees more closely with our text than that styled A. It has to be noticed that the verses describing the activities of the successors of Anandaabhima III up to Narasimha II are similarly found quoted in the records of Narasimha IV. In spite of the fact that we have as yet not secured copper-plate grants of all the imperial Gaṅga rulers, it is clear from the records at our disposal that each of these later Gaṅga monarchs quoted in their charters the introductory portion of the records of his predecessor and added to them some new verses describing his own activities. That this custom must have been introduced after the days of Anantavarman Chōdāgāpa (1078-1147 A.C.) is shown by the fact that the verses cannot be traced in the introduction of the charters issued by that monarch and his predecessors.\(^3\) In the absence of any copper-plate grant of any of the Gaṅga monarchs ruling between Anantavarman Chōdāgāpa and Anandaabhima III, it is indeed difficult to determine as to who among them was actually responsible for the composition of the earlier part of the genealogy copied in later records. It may, however, be pointed out that, in the whole genealogy as found in so many records, only the description of Kāmārṇava (circa 1147-55 A.C.), the immediate successor of Anantavarman Chōdāgāpa, gives astronomical details about the date of the king’s accession. This fact singles him out amongst the successors of Anantavarman Chōdāgāpa in the genealogy under discussion and may suggest that it was the poet at his court who composed the earlier part of the genealogy that was copied in the copper-plate grants of his successors.

The mythical genealogy from the moon to Kōlāhala-Anantavarman given in a prose passage between verses 6 and 7, in lines 12-16, of our record was drawn on the basis of the later records of Anantavarman Chōdāgāpa. We know that the records of Vajrahasta III, grandfather of Anantavarman Chōdāgāpa, offer the following genealogy:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verses</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Aniyyatkabha (Aniabhima I)</td>
<td>(35 years)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Kāmārṇava II who married the Vaidumba princess Vinayadēvi</td>
<td>(5 years)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Guḍžama II</td>
<td>(3 years)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Madhukāmārṇava</td>
<td>(19 years)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Vajrahasta III</td>
<td>(1308-8 A.D.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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3 C.f. such records as the Korni and Vizagapatam plates of Anantavarman Chōdāgāpa (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 43-48; 115-24; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 161-76) and the Narasapattam, Madagam and Madras Museum plates of his grandfather Vajrahasta III (above, Vol. XI, pp. 117-22; Vol. IV, pp. 188-90; Vol. IX, pp. 94-98). Only verse 14 of our record appears to have been copied from Chōdāgāpa’s grants. Verse 15 is found not only in the charters of Chōdāgāpa but also in those of his father and grandfather.
The same genealogy was copied in the earlier copper-plate grants of Anantavarman Chōḍaṅgaṅga such as the Korni and Vizagapattam plates of Śaka 1003 (1081-82 A.C.)\(^1\) There is nothing suspicious about this genealogy. But the Korni plates of Śaka 1034 (1112-13 A.C.)\(^2\) and the Vizagapattam plates of Śaka 1040 (1118-19 A.C.)\(^3\) give a more elaborate genealogy, the beginning of which is practically the same as found in the later records of the family including the grant of Anangabhima III under discussion. This later genealogy traces the origin of the family to the god Vishnu through his navel-born son Brahman, his mind-born son Atri, his eye-born son Moon, his son Buddha, Buddha’s descendants Purūravas, Āryas, Nābusha, Vāyaṇī and Turvasu\(^4\) and a host of apparently imaginary personages from Turvasu to Guṇārṇava who is the progenitor of the family according to the earlier account but is represented here as Guṇārṇava II and is assigned a reign-period of 27 years.\(^5\) Names of a certain Kūlākara, founder of Kūlākalapura in the Gaṅgavādī vishaya in Mysore, and his successors, some of whom are said to have migrated to Kaliṅga, are cleverly inserted before the reference to Guṇārṇava. There is some confusion in the description of the sons of Guṇārṇava; but the two accounts, earlier and later, tally with each other from Vajrahasta II Anjanaṇakabhīma I, grandfather of the great Vajrahasta III (1038-68 A.C.). It is impossible to believe that Vajrahasta III made mistakes in recounting the names of his immediate predecessors and that his grandson Anantavarman Chōḍaṅgaṅga had more reliable information about them. It has to be noticed that even the name of the father of Vajrahasta III is wrongly given in the record of his grandson. I have therefore no doubt that whatever is new in the later genealogy is conflicting with the earlier account is absolutely unreliable. It seems that Vajrahasta II Anjanaṇakabhīma I (also called Anantavarman like his grandson), who apparently was the issuer of the Mundara plates of Śaka 917 (995 A.C.) and the Ponduru plates of the Gaṅga year 500 (996-98 A.C.) and ruled in the period circa 982-1016 A.C.,\(^6\) was the founder of the family’s greatness and that there was little authentic information about his immediate predecessors up to Guṇārṇava, progenitor of the family, at the disposal of the court poets of Anantavarman Chōḍaṅgaṅga. The genealogy from the god Vishnu to this Guṇārṇava was no doubt entirely fabricated. The fabrication was, however, dependent on several factors. In the first place, its basis was the Ātriya gotra and the status of the Brahmaṇa claimed by the Gaṅgas emperors. As the Pallavas belonging to the Bhrātṛvījā gotra claimed to have descended from the sage Bhrātvījā, those Gaṅgas forced a genealogy tracing their descent from their gotraśri Atri. The second factor seems to be a desire to claim relationship with the Gaṅgas of Mysore, in whose tradition the city of Kūlākhalapura, mentioned in the genealogy under discussion, finds an important place. Another factor was apparently the desire to claim descent from the celebrated Chandra-varṇa or lunar dynasty of epic and Purānic fame and, unlike the case of the old Chandra-varṇa kings, from the god Vishnu himself. We know that the earlier Gaṅgas were all Śaivas, being staunch devotees of the god Śiva-Gōkaraṇa worshipped at the

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\(^1\) J. A. H. R. S., Vol. I, pp. 40-48; Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, pp. 161-65. One set of the Vizagapatam plates (Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, pp. 172-76) tallies with these earlier records in respect of this and other early characteristics noticed below, although its date was read as Śaka 1037 (1135-36 A.C.). I have doubts that, in the date of this inscription, the word kara (2) was wrongly written or read as sa(ṣa)ra (5) and that the date should probably be Śaka 1027 (1105-06 A.C.) instead of Śaka 1057 (1135-36 A.C.).


\(^3\) Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, pp. 165-72.

\(^4\) These names were taken from the epic and Purānic traditions


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\(^6\) According to the Taṅkīk-ī-Fīrūz Shāhī by Shams-ī-Sirāj, which describes Sultān Fīrūz Shāhī’s war with Gaṅga Bhumī III (circa 1352-78 A.C.), the Rās of Jājgir (i.e., the Gaṅga kings of Orissa) were Brahmans (Rav. op. cit., p. 492). That the claim for the Bhumīśa status was not regarded seriously is suggested by the Kṣatriya name-ending varman preferred by Bhumī II and Narasimha IV (J. R. A. S. B., L., Vol. XVII, p. 21). The Somavāṃś also claimed the Ātriya gotra and descent from the Moon.
top of the Mahādevagiri in the Ganjam District. Like his predecessors, Anantavarman Chōdaṇgaga is also called a paramāṇaḥśaiva (devout worshipper of Mahāśiva or Śiva) in his earlier records, viz., the Kornī and Vizagapatam plates of 1081-82 A.C. But the Kornī plates of 1112-13 A.C. describe him both as a paramāṇaḥśaiva and as a paramāṇavaiśnavā (devout worshipper of Viṣṇu), while the Vizagapatam plates of 1118-19 A.C. omit the title paramāṇaḥśaiva altogether and represent Anantavarman Chōdaṇgaga as a devotee of Viṣṇu alone. It is very interesting to note that these later records refer to Anantavarman Chōdaṇgaga’s conquest of the Utkala country which must have indicated the dominions of the Sōmavānīs including the Puri-Cuttack region.¹ This event, which took place earlier than 1112-13 A.C., seems to have had something to do with the change of the king’s religious faith from Saivism to Viṣṇuvaism. As will be seen below, one of the achievements of Anantavarman Chōdaṇgaga, as described in the introductory portion of later Gaṅga copper-plate charters, including the record under discussion, was the construction of the great temple of Purusottama-Jagannātha at Puri. In any case, the genealogy tracing Chōdaṇgaga’s descent from Viṣṇu seems to be concocted after he had been initiated to the Viṣṇuvaism faith.

The inscription begins with the usual symbol for siddham and with the prayava written as ṛ. Verse 1 is in adoration to the goddess of prosperity, while the following verse speaks of her husband, the god Viṣṇu. Verse 3 describes how the god Brahma sprang from the navel of Viṣṇu, how the sage Atri was produced by Brahma (from his mind) and how the Moon was born from Atri’s eyes. Verse 4 describes the greatness of the Moon, progenitor of the Chandravānīs, and verses 5-6 with a prose passage refer to the glories of the Moon’s descendants up to Kōlāhala who is said to have also been called Anantavarman, Verse 7 speaks of Gaṅgavājī; and Anantavarman (Kōlāhala) is said to have become the king of this land. It is further said that the descendants of this king became famous under the name of Gaṅga. Verse 8 says how Sarapura, the capital of Kōlāhala-Anantavarman’s kingdom, came to be known as Kōlāhala (or more fully Kōlāhalapura) and how a number of kings ruled there in succession. Verse 9 suggests that Kōlāhala-Anantavarman had several (probably six) sons of whom the eldest Mārasimha succeeded him, while the latter’s younger brothers left the country with a view to conquering other territories. Verse 10 says how these wandering brothers, the fifth of whom was called Kāmārṇava, reached Kaliṅga and fought with the people of that country. Verse 11 speaks of the conquest of the Kaliṅga country apparently by the Gaṅgavasaya indicating Kāmārṇava. Verse 12 says that Kāmārṇava became a vaṁśa-karta, ‘the progenitor of a royal lineage’ and that his descendants became kings of renown. Verse 13 introduces Vajrāhasta III (1038-68 A.C.) as sprung from the above Kāmārṇava (cf. tasmā in line 26), although the real relationship is no doubt that Vajrāhasta was a descendant and not a son of this Kāmārṇava. As already indicated above, this part of the genealogy is based on that found in the later records of Anantavarman Chōdaṇgaga, although there is some modification and omission of details.² The

² According to the later records of Anantavarman Chōdaṇgaga, Kōlāhala was succeeded by his son Viṣṇūchana, in whose time, 38 or 31 kings had ruled at Kōlāhalapura, came Vīrāsimha. This king had five sons, viz., Kāmārṇava, Dāmārṇava, Gaṅgārṇava, Mārasimha, and Vajrāhasta. We are told that Kāmārṇava gave over the kingdom to his personal uncle and set out on dévajīga with his four brothers. He came to Mount Mahendra where he worshipped Gaṅgavasaya through whose favour he received the bull-crescent and the insignia of sovereignty. He then took possession of the Kaliṅga country after defeating Bālāditya and ruled from Jantāvara for 36 years. His brother Dāmārṇava succeeded him and ruled for 49 years, while the other brothers, viz., Gaṅgārṇava, Mārasimha and Vajrāhasta, were assigned respectively the Ambavājī viśaya, Sōlā manḍala and Kapātakavartti. Dāmārṇava’s successors were his son Kāmārṇava (30 years), his son Rānārṇava (5 years), his son Vajrāhasta (15 years), his younger brother Kāmārṇava (19 years), his son Gaṅgārṇava (27 years), his son Jītānukula (15 years), his brother’s son Kālīnukula (12 years), his father’s brother Gaṇḍama (7 years), his younger brother Kāmārṇava (25 years), his other brother Vaiṣṇavā (3 years), his son Vajrāhasta (35 years), his son Kāmārṇava (3 years), his brother Gaṇḍama (3 years), his step-brother Maudhukāmārṇava (19 years), his son Vajrāhasta (1038-68 A.C.). Cf. this with the genealogy found in earlier records and quoted above.
freedom with which the later poet handled the genealogy found in the later records of Anantavarman Chôdâgânga, as indicated by the present case, is possibly another argument in favour of its fabricated nature. As we have suggested above, much of this account is fabricated, and the genealogy found in the records of the time of Vajrahasta III (1038-68 A.C.) and of the earlier years of Anantavarman Chôdâgânga is much more reliable.

Verses 14-15 describe the greatness of Vajrahasta who is called 'lord of Trikaliôga'. Verse 16 speaks of Vajrahasta's queen Nangama and his son Râjarâja I born of her. Verses 17-18 deal with Râjarâja and his chief queen (agni-mahishi) Râjasundari. The following 15 verses (verses 19-33) describe the achievements of Anantavarman Chôdâgânga, son of Râjarâja and Râjasundari. Verse 20 deals with his learning in various subjects, while the next verse refers to his great prowess. Verse 22 says that Chôdâgânga levied tribute from the whole land between the Gaûgâ (Bhûgôrathî) and the Gautama-Gaûgâ (Gôôlavari). Verses 23-24 again refer to Chôdâgânga's prowess. According to verse 25, Trîchâchana-vibhu was bound in agreement with the Gaûgâ (i.e., Chôdâgânga) saying that no hero could venture to conquer him. Trîchâchana may, of course, indicate the god Siva; but the reference may also be to an enemy captured in battle by the Gaûgâ king. Verse 26 speaks of Gaûgâ-vara's (i.e., Chôdâgânga's) victory over the king of Utikal, which led to his obtaining dharami, i.e., new territories no doubt in the Utka kingdom. We have also discussed the history of the Sômavâniês who were ruling in Utika comprising the Puri-Outaek region about this time. The Utika king defeated by Chôdâgânga was possibly a successor of the Sômavâni ruler Udyôtakásarîn (circa 1060-85 A.C.). According to verse 27, Chôdâgânga built a temple for the great god Purushôttama, as the earlier kings were afraid to take up this great temple, while the next verse seems to suggest that the temple was built on the sea-shore. It is rightly believed by scholars that these two verses refer to the erection of the great temple of Purushôttama-Jagannâtha at Puri on the shores of the Bay of Bengal by king Anantavarman Chôdâgânga. As we have seen above, this Gaûgâ king, like his predecessors, was at first a Saiva, but later became a Vaisnav, and that the annexation of the Puri region to his empire may have had some thing to do with this change in his religious faith. The language of verse 27 seems to suggest that the god Purushôttama-Jagannâtha had been in worship at Puri for many years before the conquest of that region by Chôdâgânga, but that the Saivite Sômavâniês, who were supplanted from Utika by the Gaûgâs, had neglected the erection of a temple for the Vaisnavite deity. It seems that like Minâkshî at Madura, Bûlaji-Vêkâtôsvarâ at Tirupati, Vindhyavâsini near Mirzapur, Kamâkhây near Gauhati and many other gods and goddesses worshipped in different parts of India, Purushôttama-Jagannâtha of Puri was originally worshipped by the local aboriginal people but was later on gradually accommodated in the orthodox Brahmanical pantheon.) The identification of this deity with the Brahmanical god Vishnu is, however, apparently earlier than the beginning of the twelfth century when Chôdâgânga conquered the Utika country. Verse 29 refers to the hunting excursions of Anantavarman Chôdâgânga and the next verse to his victory over the king of Mandâra in a battle that took place on the banks of the Ganges. The walls and gates of Aranyâ, the capital city of the Mandâra king who fled from it, are said to have been destroyed.

1 She was a Chôla or Chôda princess. Her father was king Râjendra Chôla (Bhûndarkar, List, No. 1100). Her son's name Chôdâgânga points to the latter's claim to both Chôla and Gaûgâ blood. Chôdâgânga is sometimes called Vîrâjendrâ Chôdâgânga (Subba Rao, History of Calicut, p. 136) apparently after his maternal grandfather. Thus Râjasundari's father was actually Vîrâjendrâ Chôla (circa 1063-70 A.C.).
4 The Utika-kanda (chapter VII-VIII) section of the Skanda Purâna (Vîkrama-kanda, section II) clearly says that Purushôttama-Jagannâtha of Puri was originally worshipped by the aboriginal Såbara people in secret in an inaccessible forest on the Nilichâla and that the priest of the king Indradyumna of Avanti, who popularised the god, received informations regarding the deity and his worship from a Såbara named Vîkrama. 18 DGA
by the Kaliṅga forces. Mandūra has been identified by scholars with Garh Mandaran and Aranyā with Arambag both in the Hooghly District of West Bengal. Verse 31 speaks of the heaps of gold that the Gaṅga king used to grant to the people in distress and of the burning of the capitals of his enemies. Verse 32 says that Chōḍaṅgaṇa reigned for 70 years. We know that Anantavarman Chōḍaṅgaṇa was crowned in the Śaka year 999 (17th February 1078 A.C.), although he may have actually occupied the throne sometime earlier after his father's death, and, as we shall presently see, his immediate successor was crowned in Śaka 1069 (1147-48 A.C.). Thus Chōḍaṅgaṇa actually ruled for 70 years between Śaka 999 and 1069 (1078-1147 A.C.). Verse 33 refers to Chōḍaṅgaṇa's queen Kastārikāmādhīni and the next three verses to his son Kāmārṇava alias Kumāra from that queen. Verse 37 says that Kāmārṇava's coronation took place in the Śaka year measured by the Nandas (9), the seasons (6), the sky (zero) and chitra which is a mistake for chandra meaning the moon (1). According to the dictum quoted before, this date comes to Śaka 1069. It has to be pointed out that the same verse, as quoted in the later records of the family, reads veda (4) instead of veda (9). Consequently it was so long believed by scholars that the coronation of Kāmārṇava took place in Śaka 1064 possibly as a regent and that his extremely old father may have arranged then to transfer the active duties of kingship to him. Since the record under discussion is the earliest document containing the verse giving the date of Kāmārṇava's coronation, it appears that the original reading was veda which was later made veda by an error of one of the copyists. The suggestion is again supported by the fact that the latest recorded date found in the epigraphs of Chōḍaṅgaṇa's time is Śaka 1069 and that the earliest record of his successor Kāmārṇava is dated in Śaka 1070. Verse 41 refers to a ceremony of the Hiranyakarbhaka mahābhāra performed by king Kāmārṇava and verse 43 says that he ruled for ten years, i.e., during Śaka 1069-78 (1147-1156 A.C.).

Verses 44-45 speak of Indirā who was the daughter of a king of the solar dynasty and was another queen of Anantavarman Chōḍaṅgaṇa. Indirā's father, mentioned as a king, cannot be satisfactorily identified. Verse 46 introduces the king of kings Rāghava who was the son of Chōḍaṅgaṇa by Indirā. King Rāghava's glory is described in verses 47-52. His claim of the status of a Brāhmaṇa is probably suggested by his comparison with Paraśurāma in verse 49. Verse 52 says that Rāghava ruled for fifteen years, i.e., during Śaka 1078-1092 (1156-1170 A.C.).

Verse 53 introduces king Rājarāja II, another son of Anantavarman Chōḍaṅgaṇa by the queen Chandralēkha. The next five verses describe the glory of king Rājarāja II who is said in verse 58 to have ruled for twenty-five years. This has to be regarded as the number of Aṅka years, which, deducting according to the rules of Chōḍaṅgaṇa, would be equal to twenty-one actual years. Consequently he is the king actually ruled in Śaka 1092-1112 (1170-90 A.C.). The following five verses (verses 59-63) deal with Rājarāja's younger brother and successor Aniyaṅkabhīma (Aniyakabhīma or Anāṅghabhīma II) who is said, in verse 63, to have reigned for ten years, which, regarded as Aṅka years, would be equal to eight ordinary years. This king therefore ruled in Śaka 1112-19 (1190-97 A.C.). Verse 64 introduces Vaiḍhaliḍēvi, chief queen of Anāṅghabhīma II, and the next verse king Rājarāja III who was the son of Anāṅghabhīma II.

2 Bhandarkar, List. No. 1068.
3 Ray, op. cit., p. 469.
4 Ibid., pp. 467-68, 472.
5 The use of the Aṅka reckoning is known from the time of Chōḍaṅgaṇa; but, in mentioning the number of years in a genealogy in later imperial Gaṅga records, it is introduced here for the first time. According to the rules, established by M. Chakravarti (J. A. S. B., 1903, p. 100), (1) 1 and all figures ending in 0 and 6 (except 10) should be omitted from the actual years to get the number of Aṅka years; (2) the last Aṅka year of one king and the first of his successor fell in the same year; and (3) the year begins on Bhadrapada sud 12.
and Vāghalladēvi. Verses 65-70 describe the glory of king Rājarāja III who is said to have ruled for seventeen years apparently of the Anka reckoning, corresponding to fourteen actual years. Thus the king ruled in Śaka 1120-33 (1198-1211 A.C.).

Verse 71 speaks of Mahānādedēvi who was descended from the Chālukya dynasty and was the queen of Rājarāja III. The name of this queen is found as Sadgūnadēvi in the grant (B) of Narasimha IV no doubt due to an error of one of the copyists. The reading Malejadēvi in the record of Narasimha II preferred by N. N. Vasu, however, is quite clearly Mahānādedēvi as in our epigraph. It is only natural to expect that the queen's name has been correctly spelt in the present charter issued by her son. Verses 72-80 describe king Anangabhima III, who issued the charter under discussion, as the son of Rājarāja III from Mahānādedēvi. Verse 77 of our record, which seems to have been dropped from later copies, seems to refer to the ceremony of the Hiranyaagarbha mahādaṇa performed by the king. Verse 79 refers to his celebration of the Tulāpurusha mahādaṇa. This verse also refers to the numerous gifts of land made by the king in favour of the Brāhmaṇas. The claim is supported not only by the present charter, but also by the description of the king as found in the Oriya chronicle called Mahābhiṣa Pāṇjū.1 Later copper-plate records of the family add one verse to this description of Anangabhima III, saying that he ruled for thirty-four years, which regarded as Anka years would be equal to 28 actual years. He thus ruled in Śaka 1133-60 (1211-38 A.C.).2

The above introductory section of the inscription in verse is followed by a prose portion giving details of the several grants of land made by the illustrious Anangabhima-rātra-deva, i.e., king Anangabhima III, in favour of a number of Brāhmaṇas. The king is called Rāuta (from Sanskrit Rājaputra in the sense of a prince, nobleman or horseman) also in some other records and the title is also known to have been used by some, if not all, of his successors.

We have elsewhere3 shown that the title indicated a subordinate ruler and that Gaṅga Anangabhima III and some or more probably all of his successors adopted it because, as rulers of the Gaṅga empire, they considered themselves mere deputies of the god Purushottama-Jagannātha of Puri, whom they regarded as the real lord of the dominions. It has been shown definitely that, like the present Mahārājas of Puri, at least Anangabhima III and his great-great-grandson Bhānu II (circa 1305-1327 A.C.) considered themselves servants of the god,4 but that, as the title Rāuta or Rāuta is known to have been assumed by some other later rulers of the imperial Gaṅga family, it is very probable that all the later imperial Gaṅga monarchs claimed the same relation with the god Puruṣottama-Jagannātha of Puri to whom the empire must have been formally dedicated. Whether the ruler responsible for such dedication was Anangabhima III himself cannot be definitely determined until further evidence is forthcoming. It should, however, be noticed that he is the earliest imperial Gaṅga monarch who is so far known to have assumed the subordinate title Rāuta and claimed theoretically at least to have been a feudatory of the god Puruṣottama-Jagannātha.

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2 M. Chakravarti believed (op. cit., p. 117) that the death of Anangabhima III and the accession of his son Narsimha I took place in Śaka 1169. But that the events may have occurred some time later is suggested by the Lingaraj temple inscription of Narsimha I dated in Śaka 1165 and in his 36th Anka (or fourth actual regnal) year. See Ind. Cull., Vol. III, pp. 121-23. The point, however, cannot be settled finally unless further evidence is forthcoming. It is possible that in some inscriptions the Anka years of a reign were confused with the actual regnal years of the ruler in question.
4 In inscriptions, the empire of Anangabhima III is mentioned as Puruṣottama-sīva-rāja (the dominions of Puruṣottama) while Bhānu II is represented as a feudatory of Puruṣottama or Jagannātha (called deśa-āśīla in one case). See J. R. A. S., B., L., Vol. XVII, p. 21.
The details of the grants of Anagahabhiṣa III recorded in the present charter throw some additional light on the religious activities of this Gāṅga monarch. There are altogether seven grants detailed in the charter, of which three are mentioned together, and they may be analysed as follows.

1. On the occasion of the Mina-saṅkrānti on Saturday, Cātra ṣuḍi 9, in Śaka 1151 (i.e., on the 23rd February, 1230 A.C.), king Anagahabhiṣa III, while he was apparently taking a sacred bath in the waters of the Mahānādi between the temples of the gōdas Chitrē-vara and Visvē-vara at the Abhinava-Vārāṇasi kalaka (city of or camp or residence at 'New Bānāras') granted twenty vītis of land at Puranagrāma in the Sālīo viṣayya to a Brāhmaṇa named Saṅkarasaṅnananda-sārman. The grant is said to have been made in connection with a number of gifts of land made by the king on the occasion of a dīna-sīgara performed by him according to the recommendations of the Mahābhārata. The donee Saṅkarasaṅnananda-sārman was a student of the Kāyā branch of the Yajurvēda and belonged to the Ghrita-kāṇika gōttra. The grant was made a permanently revenue-free gift for the priti or favour of the god Purushottama.

According to Wilson's Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms, a vīti of land in Orissa is equal to twenty mānas. A māna seems to be otherwise called bighā and is said to be equal to twenty-five guntahas at Cuttack.¹ A guntaha (measuring ‘121 square yards or the fortieth part of an acre’ in some places) is regarded as sixteen biswas, while a biswa is said to be one-twentieth of a bighā. This seems to show that a vīti is sometimes regarded as equal to 12½ acres of land. But there seems to be varying areas of the vīti prevalent in different parts of the country and there may have also been difference between the areas of a vīti of the present day and that recognised by the Gāṅga kings of Orissa in the thirteenth century A.C. This is possibly suggested by the fact that the Pravāda Abhidhāna, an Oriya dictionary published in 1912, regards a māna as equal to one acre of land and a vīti as equal to 20 acres.

2. On Thursday, Māgha bādi 6, in the following Śaka year, meaning Śaka 1152 (i.e., on the occasion of the Makara-saṅkrānti on the 26th December, 1230 A.C.) the king, while he was taking a sacred bath in the same river (Mahānādi), granted a township covering thirty vītis of land to the same Brāhmaṇa Sākara-saṅnanandavārman. This grant was made in connection with a number of others made during the month by the king according to the recommendations of the Vāman Purāṇa. Of the thirty vītis of land granted, twenty vītis of corn land lay in the above-mentioned Puranagrāma, while ten vītis of homestead land were in Jayanagaragrāma. Both the villages were situated in the same Sālīo viṣayya probably in the vicinity of each other. The township contained four houses resembling royal residences and endowed with walls, mukha-maṇḍapas and madhya-maṇḍapas, and also thirty other houses inhabited by a number of citizens.

The inhabitants of the township included a number of merchants such as a perfumer, a worker or dealer in couch-shells, a splitter of wood (pīṭākara), a goldsmith and a brazier or a worker in bellmetal. Their names were Vāpulī, Nārāyaṇa, Dāmālara, Māthava, Cātra, Sōma, Vālī, Kāsa, Mahādeva, Narasimha and Śīva. There were the sellers of betel (ṭimbālikā) named Mahānāda, Sōma and Hānu, the florist named Manu, the maker of or dealer in sugar (gufika) named Mahādeva, the milkmen named Dīrha and Gābhi, the weavers named Nāga and Jāgā, the oilmen named Gāṇī and Sunyā, the potters named Arjuna and Visū, and the fisherman (Kāivarta) named Rājū, Vasū and Padma. There were also a barber, some craftsmen and a washerman. This interesting list of the people of different castes inhabiting an Oriya township of the thirteenth century throws considerable light on the Oriya social life in that age. The grant of the township was made a permanently revenue-free gift for obtaining the favour of Lord Purushottama.

¹That 1 vīti or Vātika was equal to 20 mānas and 1 māna to 25 guntahas in the age of the imperial Gāṅgās known from the Alaupur plates of Nārasiṁha II to be edited in a future issue of this journal.
No. 40] NAGARI PLATES OF ANANGABHIMA III : SAKA 1151 AND 1152 245

3(a). In the same year, meaning Śaka 1152, while the king was taking a bath in the Mahānadi on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on Thursday, Mārgaṇeṣu svatī 15 (i.e., on the 21st November 1230 A.C.), he granted eighteen vīśis of land in the said Pāraṇagrama to a Brāhmaṇa named Dīkṣita Rudrapāparāmar. The grant was made in connection with other grants of land made by the king according to the recommendations of Brīhaspati. The dōme Rudrapāparāmar belonged to the Bhāradvājā gōra.

The area of 18 vīśis of land is referred to here as a gō-charman. Originally gō-charman may have indicated that area of land which could be covered by the hides of cows slaughtered in a sacrifice and which was granted to the priests as sacrificial fee. But the expression is differently interpreted by later authorities. According to Nalakaṭi's commentary on the Mahābhārata,1 it indicated a piece of land large enough to be encompassed by the hides of a single cow's hide. The Parāśara-saṁhīti2 and Brīhaspati-saṁhīti3 appear to suggest that the gō-charman was that area of land where one thousand cows could freely graze in the company of a hundred bulls. According to the Vīśṇu-saṁhīti,4 the area of land, sufficient to maintain a person for a whole year with its produce, was called a gō-charman. There is a more specific determination of the area of the gō-charman in the Saṁhitās of Śatātapa5 and Brīhaspati,6 according to which it was ten times a niotrana which was the area of 300 × 300 square cubits (about 1½ acres). Unfortunately the area of the niotrana also is not the same with different writers. Even according to a variant reading7 of Brīhaspati's text referred to above, the niotrana, regarded as one-tenth of the gō-charman, was the area of 210 × 210 square cubits (about 2½ acres). Bhāskarāchārya's Līlāvatī8 speaks of the niotrana as 200 × 200 square cubits in area (about 2 acres). Elsewhere9 we have pointed out that the niotrana is 240 × 240 square cubits (about 3 acres) according to the Kautilya-Arthaśāstra (II, 20), but only 120 × 120 square cubits (about ½ acre) according to its commentator. All these differences were mainly due to the varying length of the cubit and the measuring rod, of which there were no recognisable standards. But the very basis of the measurement of the gō-charman was in many parts of the country apparently vague and uncertain. Since 18 vīśis of land is quite a large area, the gō-charman, mentioned in our record as an equivalent to that area, seems to be that recognised by such authorities as Parāśara referred to above. It may be pointed out that Brīhaspati, who supports Parāśara in one passage, is actually mentioned in our record in this connection.

2 Cauletta ed., VII, 43: puṣvin śeṣaṁ sam-āvishmyaṁ yatra tathadyaṣaṇā-pratīśaḥ | tathābhāram daśa-gurītan gō-charma purūṛkṛttam ||
3 Vaggaśati ed., verse 9: Saśraiśkum gō-sahaman te yatra tathākhaṇḍa-buḍhram | bāra-cataca-pratīśaṁ tam gō-charma iti śrīrām ||
4 Vaggaśati ed., V, 170: Ekōstiśe yad-adāśaṁ naṁ saṁyataṁ phalam | gō-charma-mātraśa kṣoṣaṅī stōki tā yadi vā bahu ||
5 Vaggaśati ed. (Urocintimī-saṁhitāḥ): daśa-hastāṇa daṅgīna trimśiṇ-dāndāṁ niotrāno | daśa tāṇyaś ca gō-charma dattā svarī mahāgūṇa||
6 Loc. cit., verse 8: daśa-hastāṇa daṅgīna trimśiṇ-dāndā niotrāno | daśa tāṇyaś ca vidīrṇa gō-charma-nilanā mahāphalam ||
8 Cauletta ed., I, 6: tathā haṁkānaḥ daṅkāṇaḥ saman karṇaḥ | niotrāno mūṇa tīmā-saṁkhyāṅib koṭāram chaturbhūtāḥ bhūvā acīmbhūtām ||
9 Successors of the Śatātapaḥ, p. 330 note.
3(b). Likewise in the same year on the occasion of the Makara-sankrānti (December 25, 1230 A.C.), the king granted in accordance with the recommendations of the Āditya Purāṇa, five vātis of land, apparently in the same village of Puraṇaggāma, to the Āhīrīga Brāhmaṇa Soma-pāla-ārman of the Kāśītāra gōtra.

3(c). Likewise in the same year, on the occasion of the installation of the god Purushottamadēva, the king granted two vātis of land apparently in the same village of Puraṇaggāma to the Brāhmaṇa Āhīrīga Chandragarā-ārman of the Kāśīya gōtra.

The three grants mentioned together as one gift in a single sentence, were made permanently revenue-free gifts for obtaining the favour of the god Purushottama.

All the donees of the grants previously mentioned were students of the Kānya branch of the Yajurvēda. The amount of land granted to the Brāhmaṇas was altogether fifty-six vātis in the village of Puraṇaggāma. This land was bounded in the west, north, and east by well-defined boundaries and in the south it ran up to a locality called or a tree known as Naḻita. Out of the fifty-six vātis of land, two vātis—one vāti of corn land and one of homestead land—were allotted to the Sāsan-ādhikārins Gaṅgādhāra-vara (Gaṅgādhāra-āchārya?) of the Pūtimāśa gōtra and an equal area of land was also allotted to the Naḻita-dāmpin (copper-smith) Mahānāla who was apparently the engraver of the plates and received the land as fees or perquisites. Sāsan-ādhikārins of the Pūtimāśa gōtra are also known from later records of the family. In one case, the Sāsan-ādhikārin is represented as the writer of the document. He seems to have been the keeper of records and used to receive a plot of land for writing a charter.1

4. Apparently in the same year (Saka 1152), on the occasion of a solar eclipse on the Kurukak-āmāsvyā (Vriṣhīkak-āmāsvyā on the 14th May, 1230 A.C.?), while king Anangagīmha III was on a pilgrimage to Purushottama-keśātra (i.e., Parī) on the shores of the south Tirtharāja (i.e., the Southern Ocean), he granted five vātis of land in the said Puraṇaggāma in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Āhīrīga Aṃgaikūr Kāyaḷī-ārman, who belonged to the Kāśīyama gōtra and was a student of the Kānya branch of the Yajurvēda, and of some other Brāhmaṇas of various gōtras who were ritikś and students of the Śiṅgveda and other Vēdas. The names of these ritikś were Dūṭikara, Ananta, Vīṇīvarā, Yajña, Siddhā, Śaṅkara, Māhāvīra and Prithvīdēva. This grant was made as a part of the Hiranyakarba mahāārāma ceremony celebrated by the king and referred to above in verse 77 of the introductory part of the inscription. It is said that, of the five vātis of land, three vātis were granted to the Āhīrīga (Kāyaḷī-ārman) and the remaining two vātis to the ritikś. The land was made a permanently revenue-free gift.

5. Apparently in the same year (Saka 1152), when the king was standing before the god Purushottamadēva at Abhinava-Vārāṇasi on the occasion of the Makar-āmāsvyā on Sunday (5th January, 1231 A.C.), he granted four vātis and eight mānas (i.e., 41 vātis) of land covered with barley, wheat and sugarcane crops situated in the village of Vīlāsapurāṇaggāma in the Kuddinḍā visthāya to the Brāhmaṇa Dēvadhar-ārman who belonged to the Bhāradvāja gōtra and was a student of parts of the Kānya branch of the Yajurvēda and the Kauthama branch of the Sāmaveda. The grant was made in connection with a dāna-āsāra celebrated by the king in accordance with the recommendations of the Vishvādharmā (i.e., the Vishvādharmottara). The land was made a permanently revenue-free gift for obtaining the favour of the god Purushottama.

It is not known why the grants made in favour of different donees were entered into a single record, especially when the lands were situated in two separate viṣhayas. The above details of the seven grants, three of which are mentioned together, are followed by the inculcatory and beneficiodary verses, eight in number (verses 81-88). The record ends with verse 89 which says that Nappana composed the ślokas of the praśasti. As indicated above, this man appears to have copied the verses relating to the predecessors of Anaṅgabhīma III from an earlier record and composed only the verses describing the reign of Anaṅgabhīma III itself.

The details of the seven grants show that six of them were made when the king was staying at Ābhīnava-Vāraṇaśi or Ābhīnava-Vāraṇaśi-kaṭaka, which is no other than the present Cuttack (Kaṭaka), chief city of Orissa. As the contraction of the name Satyabhīma was both Saty and Bhīma, so was the contraction of Purushottama-puri both Purushottama and Puri and of Vāraṇaśi-kaṭaka both Vāraṇaśi and Kaṭaka (Cuttack). One of the grants was made when the king was at Purushottama-kshētra or Puri on the shores of the southern ocean, i.e., the Indian Ocean. Very interesting is the reference to the king making a grant while standing before the god Purushottama at Vāraṇaśi-kaṭaka, i.e., modern Cuttack, on the 5th January 1231 A.C. and to the installation of the said Purushottama apparently during the Saka year 1152 (1230-31 A.C.) by king Anaṅgabhīma III. We know that the temple of the god Purushottama-Jagannātha of Puri was constructed by Anantavarman Chodaganga and the god was being worshipped there for a long time before the days of Anaṅgabhīma III. There is thus no question of Anaṅgabhīma III installing the god Purushottama at Puri. The god Purushottama installed by Anaṅgabhīma III must therefore be the god of the same name at Vāraṇaśi-kaṭaka or Cuttack before whom the king was standing to make a grant of land on the 5th January 1231 A.C. There is little doubt that the temple for this deity at Cuttack was completed and its installation took place in Saka 1152 (1230-31) shortly before the 5th January, 1231 A.C. We know that the Mādali Pūṇji or the chronicle of the Purushottama-Jagannātha temple at Puri attributes the construction of the Puri temple to Anaṅgabhīma III and not to its actual founder Anantavarman Chōdāgaṅa. This confusion may be due to the fact that Anaṅgabhīma III, as is now known, actually built a temple for a god of the same name at Cuttack. That Anaṅgabhīma III is represented as the most important Gaṅga monarch in the same chronicle may be due to the fact that it was this king who dedicated the empire to the god and became famous as the most ardent royal devotee of Purushottama-Jagannātha. The idea underlying the installation of a substitute of the god Purushottama-Jagannātha of Puri at Cuttack is apparently the same that inspired Sivājit to install a substitute of his patron deity, the goddess Bhāvāni of Tulajapur near Osmansabad in the present Hyderabad State, in his newly built fort at Pratāpgarh near Javlī.1 Apparently the Gaṅga king wanted to live constantly in the company of his patron-deity at his residence at Cuttack. It is to be noticed that, during the time of Anaṅgabhīma III or sometime before his accession, the Gaṅga monarchs, who had been originally ruling from Kalīṅganagara (modern Mukhalingam in the Chicacole District), transferred their headquarters to Cuttack.

An interesting reference to the god Jagannātha (i.e., Purushottama-Jagannātha) worshipped by the kings of Jājnagar (i.e., the imperial Gaṅga rulers of Orissa) in their fort at Banaśa (i.e., Vāraṇaśi-kaṭaka or the present Cuttack) is found in the Ta'rīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī by Shams-i-Sirāj.2 According to this work, Sūlṭān Fīrūz Shāh of Delhi led an expedition against the kingdom of

2 See Elliot, The History of India as told by its own Historians, Vol. III, pp. 312-13. There is another account of the Jājnagar expedition of Sūlṭān Fīrūz in the Sirat-i-Fīrūz Shāhī (cf. J. R. A. S. B., L., Vol. VIII, 1942, pp. 57-77). The author of this work, although he does not explicitly mention Puri, seems to have confused the Jagannātha of Cuttack with his namesake at Puri.
Jāñagar about 1380 A.C. when it was under the rule of the Gaṅga king Bhānu III (c. 1352-78 A.C.). The Sultan is said to have occupied Banārasī (Vārānasi-kaṭakā) when the Gaṅga king fled from the city. In connection with this expedition, the Ta’i ḥ-i-Firuz Shahī says: “It is reported that inside the Rāī’s fort (i.e., the Gaṅga king’s fort at Banāraś or Vārānasi-kaṭakā), there was a stone idol which the infidels called Jagannāth and to which they paid their devotions. Sultān Firūz in emulation of Mahmūd-i-Sabuktīgh, having rooted up the idol, carried it away to Delhi, where he subsequently placed it in an ignominious position.” ¹ From this account we come to know the fate of the god Purushottama-Jagannātha installed by Anuṅgabhima III at Cuttack and worshipped there for about 150 years from 1230 to 1390 A.C.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the city of Kōlāhala in Gaṅgavādi is usually identified with modern Kolār in East Mysore. Gaṅgavādi was the name of the kingdom of the Gaṅgas of Mysore. In a wide sense Kaliṅga was the whole of the coast land between the Vattaranī and the Gōlavari, while in a narrower sense it indicated roughly the present Puri, Ganjam and Chiracole Districts. In the present record, however, the name Kaliṅga seems to be applied to the original Gaṅga Kingdom round the capital city of Kaliṅganagara (modern Mukhalingam) in the Chiracole District, as the Puri region in the dominions of the Sōmavānīs seems to be referred to as lying within the Utkala country. There is difference of opinion as regards the location of the country called Trikaliṅga of which some kings are said to have been the overlords. Some writers are inclined to take it to mean the three parts (northern, central and southern) of the Kaliṅga country, while others prefer to take it as indicating three contiguous territories in the Kaliṅga region such as Kaliṅga, Utkala and South Kōsala. A third group of writers suggests that Trikaliṅga was the name of the tract of rather jungly land lying between Kaliṅga and South Kōsala.² The location of Utkala and Manlika has already been discussed. Originally Utkala was the coast country lying between the river Kapiśā (modern Kānśā) running through the Mulnapur District and the Kaliṅga country in the Puri-Ganjam region. But the present inscription, as already indicated above, appears to locate the Puri temple in Utkala, probably intended to signify the dominions of the Sōmavānīs in lower Orissa, which were conquered by Anantavarman Chōḍaganga.

The extension of a country no doubt varied in accordance with the expansion of the dominions of its rulers. The location of Abhinava-Vārānasi, Vārānasi-kaṭakā or Abhinava-Vārānasi-kaṭakā, which was the place of residence of the Gaṅga kings after they had removed their headquarters from Kaliṅganagara and which is no other than the modern Cuttack, has already been discussed. It has also been noticed that the Southern Ocean is referred to in the record as daksīṇa-gluta-śāja, i.e., the best of the Trīthas in the south, the word śāja here meaning either “a sacred place of pilgrimage” or “waters.” That Purushottama-kṣētra on the shores of this southern śāja, mentioned in the inscription, is no other than modern Puri has likewise been pointed out above.

The different pieces of land granted by king Anuṅgabhima III as recorded in the charter were situated in Puraṅagrama and Jayanagaragrama in the Sūḷō vishaya (district) and Vīlasapuragrama in the Kuddinḍā vishaya. The Sūḷō vishaya, also known from other later Gaṅga records, is no doubt the present Sūḷō Pargana in the Cuttack District, and the township, covering thirty vīṭis of land and situated in Puraṅagrama and Jayanagaragrama, may actually be represented by the present village of Naqiri, literally meaning ‘a township,’ which is about eleven miles from Cuttack and is the findspot of the charter under discussion.

No. 40] NAGARI PLATES OF ANANGABHIMA III; SAKA 1151 AND 1152

TEXT

[Metres: — Verses 1-3, 5-6, 9-11, 15, 20, 24-31, 33, 40, 41, 48, 50, 54, 56-58, 60-61, 64, 67, 73, 74, 76, 78 Śāradāvākiṣṭā; verses 4, 21, 37, 42, 53, 66 Sragāhāra; verses 7, 23, 49, 65 Mālinī; verses 8, 13, 34, 38, 39, 44-46, 51, 59, 68, 75, 79-80, 88 Vasantatilaka; verses 12, 16, 18, 19, 22, 32, 36, 43, 52, 55, 62, 63, 69-71, 77, 81-87, 89 Anuṣṭubh; verses 14, 17, 35, 72 Upajāti; verse 47 Indratujrā.]

First Plate

1 [Siddham][i] ō [][[*] Lakshmi-pāda-sarōruha-dvayam-adāh śrīyānsi(yānsi) dāsiaṁtha(shta) vaḥ prasphūrjan-nakha-rāvni-kēsara-saṭam-bhāsvan-nakha-āl-dalama(lam) ]

2 visphātam-pratirvim(vi)mbita[hi][[*] praṇamaniḥ krīḍ-āparādāh-ādbhavaḥ Krishṇa yan-nakha-diptiṣhu bhramarataṇ-da(n)-dhattē sa Lakshmi-priyāḥ ||[1*] ||

3 Kāhīr-ādvihāḥ(b bhuh)ṁ-mathitāt-sār-āsura-ganaiḥ prādṛś(dvi)rbhavanti Ramā Śambha-Brahma-Purandara-prabhritiṣu prakhyāta-kirittishv-apī | paśyavsv-Amvva(mbu)ja-nābhām-li-

4 sam-avirṇoḥ-lōka-tray-ākāśōnām bhūrōg-ālī sahakārām-ēti hi vanē phulē-nya-āśkhiny= api ||[2*]谭-nābhī-sarasīruh-ādbhava-Vi-

5 dhēr-Atrir=vva(r-bba)bḥūv=ṃmuta=Chandraś=chandrikayā prakṣeṣi(sta)-jagat=ṣambhū-tāvān-nētrataḥ | trilōkya-grasan-aikadaksha-timira-grāśita-svāmē=

6 pi yō lakshma-vyāji dadhat-tamaḥ prativapuhū sāyy-ā(ryy-ā)dhikō nīrmalāḥ ||[3*] Śrīdevi-sādārtvāḥ-amāpta-su(sa)khataya kalpa-vrīkṣānūjatvā-

7 l-lōk-ānandaṁ vīdhātī timirā-visha-haṭaḥ sarvva-dai(dē)va-ikabhōgyaḥ | tat-tat-saṁ sargga-lābhā[ī] tad-anugata-guṇakaṁ\² sv-yāga-nishṭhan-nd-

8 dhānaḥ svasa=aitan-nirmalātvaṁ jagati vijayate dāsyaṅyan-nūnām-induḥ ||[1*] Vaṁśe- 

(Vaṁśe) tasya nṛp-ēvarāḥ samabhā[va][n]-tō(nis-tō).

9 shānt-guṇāch-chhaṁ(ś-chha)ndasaḥ prōtptha(phu)llā iva yat-purāṇa- pathāgaṁ satr-āpi no sammatanāḥ | tat-tat-kāya-patha-śrītā-

10 s-tri-bhuvanē mūrttin-dādhanaṁ iva bhṛmanyata-asva-scheṣanāḥ śrutī-grībhā viśramya viśramya cha ||[5*] Pratyākṣam(kain) śaśi-svāṁ(aṃvaḥ)-

11 bhūpati-bhuja-vyāpā-saṅkṣettanam(nāṁ) karttvā-kaḥ kahamata kṣhitaṁ va(ba)hu-mukhō yatra-ārjunaś-āvī vac bi | dōrdanda-āṛjita-kātita(rtti)-varṇana-

12 param-tad-bhāratam-prābhavat-tasmād-āhavya-mātram-ādi-nṛpataḥ-sṛṇī[ḥ][*] kramā-li(li)-khyataḥ ||[6*] tathā hi Chandrād-Vu(ā-Bu)dhhah | Vu(Bu)dḥāt-Puru(tu)ravāh* [1*]

13 tasmād-Āyuh\² | tatō Naghu(bu)ṣahah | tatō Yāyātiḥ | tatasa-Turvvasah | tatō Gāṅgēyaḥ | 

[tatō*] Virōchanah | tat-sutaḥ Savē(Saṅvē)dyah | tatō

1 From the original plates and their impressions prepared at the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.
2Expressed by a symbol.
3 Read yamnam for the sake of the metre.
4 Some other later Ganga records make Pururavas the son of Anila and grandson of Buddha, although the relationship indicated by our record is supported by ancient Indian literature.
5 Some records wrongly read Vāyu in place of Āyu.
14 Bhāsvān | tātō | Duttasenaḥ | tata[ḥ]* | Saumyaḥ | tato[vadattaḥ] | tataḥ | Saurāṅgaḥ |
          | tasmār | Vē[di]śītiṅgaraudah | | tat-sūnāḥ | ² | Saradhvaṇjaḥ⁵ |
15 tato | Dharmaśīkṣaḥ | tataḥ | Parikṣit | tato | Ja[yasenaḥ] | tato-suṭ-pi | Ja[yasenaḥ]⁴ | tato | Vṛi-
          | shadhvaṇjaḥ | tataḥ | Saktiḥ | tataḥ | Prat-
16 gatta | tataḥ | Kōlāḥaḷaḥ | sa | āv-[a]nantavarma-ābhavat | Dhana-kanaka-samṛiddhō |
          | Gāṅgavālōḥ | prasiddhocola-sakala-viṣaya-hūpa[tali] svu-
17 rgyi-vag(&n-m-pa)[bho(a)yaḥ] | tat-adhiḥpataḥ-ath-ādya-ānantavarmma | nripṛṇḍraḥ \ sama-
          | bhavati | ruti[ḥ]la[ḥ] Gaṅga-nāmā | tato-ādyāḥ | [7*] Kōlāha-
18 laḥ | sumara-mūḍhini(rdhl]ni | tato | nripṛṇḍaḥ | bhūtō | yataḥ | Sarapuraṇa- | e] tado | tadiyaṃ | atta |
          | Kōlāhal-ābhavat | abhūt-sura-sadma-tulyan-tas[mi].

Second Plate : First Side

19 n-kramēṇa⁷ | patibhir-vva(r-bba)hubhir-vvu(r-bba)bhuvi | [8*] Rājyaśṛiti-hṛiti | Mārasimha⁴ |
          | nripatau jē(jēyēṣṭhē) kim-ātṛ-āsahā dōr[di]piṣṭāja[rja]-bhūtāl-ṭithita-Ramā-ka-
20 u[ṭa]-[n]a[n]u[ṭa]-u[ṇa]-[uṇa]-[uṇa]-[uṇa] | [ ] ki[ṇ]-ch-āśa-kā-iyam | bhūj-āsi-latikā | stvūsthātām(tāṃ) |
          | vairiṃ[ṇa] | kaṇṭiṃ-āranyam-īyaṃ-ēha | kūrti-latikā | dyān-ṇaḥ | sama-
21 rōha[u][9*] Bhārampādhi-śvijīghṣayā | kṣiti-talaṇ(e) | kv-āpi | dvishad-vaṇditai | kv-āpi |
          | dvēṣhī- | kula-prāmādhi[ti]bhīr- | api prāṭ-pa | Kaliṅgaḥ kila | [ ] tali |
22 Kāmārṇgava-paṭhehāmār-nripa-varaṇ-yuṇḍha-Kaliṅgaḥ samaṇaḥ | pṛptaṃ | drashṭum-
          | iv- | ąṛṇgavāl-adagamat | kūrnām-āvatāro | Hariḥ | [10*] Kri[ṇa]mna-avāmīni sā-
23 kshiṣṭi | tri-nayanē tasaṁ | Mahēndraṅ-gaṭe | Gōkarnē- | pī | mahōddadhaḥ | viyati vā sūryeś | tathā-
          | ēndvavāpi | Kāliṅgaḥ | bhuvam- | āharadh-bhūja- | va[ba]l|l|d-a-
24 ny- | pabhukṣṭān-chvavam⁵ | Lakhmaṇ- | ch(ā)- | tya- | aṭṭha | kā sta(st)tu|tir- | vrada | tah-
          | tō | Gaṅ- | ānvayasy- | āhavō | [11*] Tatr-āśidd-vaiśa-kartt- | āssau | Kāmārṇgava-mahipati-
          | tih | tasya-[a]-
25 tō | putra-pō(pan)tr-ādyā | rājānaḥ | khyāta-vikramāḥ | [12*] Śaśira- | Arthas-niṣṭhitāmati-
          | dvishad-anta-kēri | surya- | arthi-vargga-pariṭoṣhaṇa-hētu- | vargga | ā-
          | chāva(ṛ) tō-pi | muni-puṅgava-mārga-chārī | tasmāl- | abhān- | nripa-varaḥ bhuvī | Vajraḥastaḥ | [13*] Na nāmaṇaḥ | kōvalam-arhatā-pō | sa vajra-hasta-
26 -Trikaṅgā-nāthah | kō | Vajraḥastād | aparaḥ | prīṭhiṣyāṃ | prīṭhiṣyān | vajram-patah-
          | vānyatun(tūni) samartaḥ | [14*] Vīyāṭe | Gaṅga-kulō-
28 tattamasya | yavasā | dīk-chakravā | sas[ṣi]- | prāyya- | sāmalīnē | yasya | bhuvana-prahlada-
          | sāmpādina | sūndara-rātī-

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* Some inscriptions read Chitrāngada instead of Viśhtrāngada.
* The dōra is superfluous.
* The first akṣara of this name is often found to be ī, ī, and ī. Sradhvaṇja is a famous name in the epics and the Purāṇas.
* The name has been read in one record as Medhāvi.
* In some records Yajasena’s son is called Vajyasena.
* Read Pragālaḥ and note how the word is written in line 76 below. In line 87 the word has been written as in the present verse. In some records Pragālaḥ is mentioned as the father of Sakti.
* An extra hook of k wrongly incised at the right of the super script k has made a kṣra look like kṣra.
* In some inscriptions the name has been read as Nāramūṇa.
* A sign of super script ṛ had been incised above ṛ and then erased.
* Read -a-chitraṃ.
* Verse 14 is found in some records of Anantavarmā Chādhupagā while the following verse is found in the record of Vajraḥasta III, his son Rājarāja I and the latter’s son Chādpagā.
29 sāndra-paśka-paṭalaiḥ kumbha-sthali-paṭakāśvāśvilimpi pariṇaḥ punaḥ punaḥ cha haritam-ādhihṛṣita vāraṇaṁ || [15[*]] Mahāishi
30 Naṅgamā tasya Pārvat-īva Pīnakīṇaḥ | tasmāt-tasyāṁ-abhūd-vīrī Rājarājō mahipatiḥ || [16[*]] Śa rājā-rājō dvījaraṇā-kāntitṛ bhaja-
31 īga-rāj-ānana-varṇya-kaṃśitaḥ | [ * ] śrīmaṭa-ādihakaṃśita-rājaraṇa[b]* | sva-vikrama-nyak-
| kṛita-dvērājaḥ ||[[17[*]]] Tasya-āgra-mahāishi rājōḥ nāmāna
32 yā Rājaṇa(ṇ)undarī | Lakṣmīmīr-Nārāyaṇasya-īva Chandrasya-īva cha Rōhiṇī ||[18[*]] Tatas-
| tasyāṁ-abhūd-dvērāḥ Chōdagaṅgō narēśvaram||[ ] kṣaṇa
33 bhīṛ-garva-viṣeṣhītyaṃ (tattva) dvī,ūdrat-kulīnaṁ yathā ||[19[*]] Dhātṛ tasya Sarasvatī-
| sāmatvā-havan-vānum-an hēt-pitavān-tat-saṅrśva (sva-ta) | am-
34 ryya-vā(b)ājaka-śamāḥ śrī-Chōdagaṅgō panyaḥ | tādṛg-vīda-matiḥ kathān-niluptaṃ-ā-
| sāstrīpūraḥ (su) tādṛg-vā(k-ca)than tādṛg-kārya-kṛtiḥ kathān-parinait[h]* | īlīśēhu
35 tādṛg-vā[k-ca]thama(tham) ||[20[*]] Kṣaṇāṃm(a) dīkpāla-sēṣhēśāṃ-ayam-akrīta pada-
| dvandvāṃ (y) am-ētasya vairī-kshēmāḥ-ṛchādē-śrīyāś (āptam) (un) | stutir iti kīyati Chōdagaṅg-
| ēśavāraḥ ||
36 sya | nūn-ānam-pūrṇaḥ para-ṇripa-dhavala-ēchātra-vu(bh)ddhyāvaharttā-
| mām-īty-aṅgasa vṛdhīḥ[īn]* | tyajati yata iva trasta-chittāḥ pravīrā|| [21[*]] Gṛhiṅaī
ta

Second Plate; Second Side

37 sma karaṃ-bhūmēr-gaṅgā-Gautamagagyōḥ | madhyē paśyata vīrīśhu praujhaḥ-
| praujha-arṣhī (srīyā) īva ||[22[*]] Pratibhāṣa-kara-ātrīsa-vyāha
38 ta-sv-āṅga-niyāma(ya)ru-dhīram-avay-nīshṭhan-nō bhavēd-yān-tad-ēva (yat-tad-aiva) | nīya-kara-dhīpa-
| āstrīsa-chehīnnaṁ-bhīṁn-āṅgam-ētān-akrīta dharaṇi-śāryāy(ya)
39 n-dvandva-yuddhēshu Gaṅgāḥ ||[23[*]] Yat-tējāḥ-paribhūta-satru-naṃra-prōdhīha-daṁ-
| daṁ-gomār-bhīyāḥ Khāṇḍava-dāhā-śankī-manaṃ dēvā dēvā kshana
36-ūm-bhū(m-bhī)rauvah | svar-upā(r-nū)td-asi-dhārayā ṛipu-gānād-vṛtāntām-ākaṁśya cha-
| praujha-arṣi-syā vara nūvam ētai Gaṅga-ṇripatār-hētim-vītām (v) hēyā ēhruvam
34 ||[24[*]] Krōdhaṣyād-dvīpa-meṣha-vrindaṃ mahāda(h)(da)-mrō(ro)tāsvātī durgamē chānchat-
| khaḍga-taṅṭī-āṣhāvāti nādan-mōre-va jāy-dālayē | ma(ya)-sainyē jalad-āga
35 ma-pratinidhau jēttu(tu)ṃ-pravartēta kaḥ śārō tu-pi tē vadau(n) Tribhūna-vihruru-vṛ(ṛ)-bba-
| dōhō-mūnā saṅgārē ||[25[*]] Nirmathēya-ōtkalā-rāja-sindhuṃ-m aparāna-Ga
36 īg-ēsaraḥ prāpta-vānē-kathī-sudhākaram-prithutam-al(la[n] la)keśh[n]-dharaṇyāyā-
| saman | māyāy-danti-sahastram-āsvas-niyutam(ta)n |
34 and tattvēdōh kīn-imām-prakāraṃm-athavā vṛ(ṛ)mas-tad-ummañcāhāḥ ||[26[*]] Pādau-
| yasa yārha dhara-āntarikshaṃ-ākhalan-śaṅkarē cha sarvē dēsah śrotrē nētē
35 yugam(ga)ṇaḥ ṛav-ūndu-yugalam-śīdha-ā(ṛddha-śēpi) vi dhayur-asuḥ | prāṣiḥl-d Purushottama-
| māsaṇ-ṇripatī kō nāma kartturī kshamas-tasyāyē
ty-ādyā-ṇripair-upēkṣhitaṃ-ayah-ṣakrē-tha Gaṅgā-ēsara[h] || [27[*]] Lakṣmī-Jāma-
| grīhaṃ-payaṇidhṛ-saṃbhāvītasya sthitit-nō
dhāma-ṃvāhāsa_csva(pūj)ya jata iti kshīr-āvīde(ddhi)-vāsā(d)* | dhruvam | nirvīpāḥ
| Purushottamaḥ pramuditas-tad-dhāma-lābbhād-Raṃ-āpy-ētad-bhartīr-grī-
Third Plate; First Side

pi(shi)ta-vapu(ḥ) Kasi(stu)rikāmōđint [n-a-Vishuḥ prithīvpatiḥ prabhavat-iṭy-asmin(a)m śarau vā bhuvo rakṣārtha-dhṛita-jamani svayam-a.


Kāmārṇavas-āṣya Kuṃrakatavan na nāmaḥ ka(kē)valam-arhatō-pī [35] Prāpy = odayaṃ āśaśābhū(ṇ)ṣya vaddha(ṛddha)tiṃ-nāma vairdhī | vairdhētē kirtti-cha-

ndṛō-yaṃ chitraṇ-Kāmārṇar-o(ṃ)-ōdayē | [36] Nanda-arṭtu-obyō(vyō) ma-chitraṃ pramīta-Śaka-samā-vyāpta-kālē din-ēśe chāpa-sthē-nya-grah-aughē va(ba)lavati-ri-

pushu prakṣayaṇaṃ prāptavatṣu | asmin-mūrdhābhishikte nṛṇavara-tanayē sarndha(rvva)-lōk-aika-nāṭhe śūmat-Kāmārṇava(ṛṇav-ē)ṣe jagad-ahavād-i-

dan-tat-tad-ānanda-pūrṇama(ṛṇam) [37] Kahlīr-āṃraṇavad-ajani chandra-kal-ēti vārttā Kāmārṇavāt- tu sakal-ēndu-divākār-ābham | kṛttī- pratāpa-

mithunāṃ sahachārī lōkē śīlasyatō ahā para-nṛṇāṃ-anurā-gānīyān | [38] Yasy-āśi-nirda-līta-vair-kaṅrindu-ku-

mbha-nirmuktā-mauktika-phalāṇy-aarīg-ukshītāni | Kāmārṇavasya ripu-samāhāti-hētvā akālā(ḥ) sandhyā-prabh-āpta-bha-gaṇā
dhau khalīr-pratāpē-cēchchhaya | māddhaṣṭhaṅ-gamit-ēva nirmalatarā kṛttīr-yaddiśva vrah(bra)vīmy-āločhyē ha mahābhīr-iṭy-upagata

1 Read prabhūṣhītō Gaṅgā.
2 Read chandra in place of chitra. Other records read Veda-arṭtu-ṛṇama-chandra instead of Nanda-arṭtu-ṛṇama-chitra.
3 Y is written here as in modern Oriya.

nā || ruddhō yat-tu hiranyagarbham-akarōt-Kāmāṛṇṇav-ēśas-tataḥ sampannas[1] janitataḥ jagaḍ-yata iha prayākṣhataḥ pṛīṇām || [41] Sa-

pt-āmbhōḍhīn-vahanti kṣhitir-atitarālā nāga-kūrma-ēśvaranāṁ sāhāyyaṁ vāṇehat-īyam tada-sūtri-pumara-yāṇaḥ kalpitaa-tatra bhāraḥ || dhā-


ptama(ptam) || [42] Hrisha(sla)-pushta-jan-ākṣaraṁ vidvaj-jana-marōma[m] || daś-āvdi-(bd)ām-akarōḍ-rājyaṇāṁ Kāmāṛṇṇav-mahīpataḥ || [43] Śīr-Chōḍagāṇa-nṛpatē-

m-āmmahisā(ṣhi) tattō-nyā tasya-śendrā ravi-kul-ōdbhava-rāja-putrī || yādyā api dhātara-upaṁ ājani sundariṇāṁ s-ēyaṁ sudhāmśāṁsā.

Third Plate; Second Side


harō yad-ātra tām-Indirāṁ-udvahad-bhūvi Chōḍagāṇaḥ || [45] Tasyān-tataḥ saṃajana kahitıṁ-ga-tāḥ āhā Šīr-Rāghavāḥ para-dhanेपvāra(ra)-darpa-

mardḍi[yat-paṭta-va(ba)nhana-vidhi-ravaya-prabhitāḥ sarve vṛhipāḥ] sva-hṛiḍī kampam-a-vāyapavantaḥ || [46] Šīr-Rāghavāḥ rājani chitram-ētat-tējō-vihi-

nāh k-hirīpāla-varggaḥ tat-pūda-sēvā-kṛita-dēva-siddhir-mitrābhavatī-īva samasta ēṣaḥ || [47] Praudhārī-śrī-praktā-praśctā-vihtā-prācchā-


sv-ājñāyā-ācchhanna-ākāñhāḥ kṣhitī-vitaranā-dīkṣā-āsaṅka-haṣṭhaḥ pratāpān-apī daśa-sata-vā-(bā)hur-yyasya śatrū-rvī-(rvī)nāṣī || [49] Bhṛḍīm bhōḍa-

-m-ārāti-kunjara-gataḥ kṣōṇḍāḥra-praṅkṛti[n] raṇe pāyaṁ pāyam-āṣrk-payāṇi(yānī) va(ba)hūdha Šīr-Rāghava-āṣīṁ khaṇṣṇāt || śu-

bhrāṇi subhram-iv-ōdvanam-vijayatō kīrtti-pratānām-parām chandrama chandrikāyā pra- pūrvanataraṁ samāṣṭvamān-ākṣritam(a) || [50] Du-

ṛgṛjeshu dāva-dahanāḥ kshitiḥbhītayaḥ(tsu) vajra[n] mādyāt-karṇindra-gaṭhanāsa cha sīṁha ēṣaḥ || vidvēṣī-bhūmipatayō ni-

vastanti yatra Šīr-Rāghavāḥ kshiti-patir-vvitata-pratāpaḥ || [51] Šīr-Rāghavāḥ-dharaḥdhiṣaḥ kṣōṇḍōthāra-sīrōmaṇṇiḥ akaraḍ-rājya-avāda(bā)-nāī-

m-uddāmo daśa paṅcaḥ ca || [52] Tasya Šīr-Chōḍagāṇa-kṣhiti-vālaya-patir-vvamasa(r-vvanta(san)ā-vālij-kundrā-sīr-Chandakāṅkha śpaha(ṣphu)am-Aditirīvā prāyaś-

Kasya(ṣyā)paṣya || tasyām-uddāma-dhāma-kshayita-dinamāpi yya(r-jja)nivān-Rājarājō rājaya-kaḥoḍa-kōḍ-talakita-mahima-vyāpta-divva(ka)kramō-

1 Read 'ṣapārā lōkā. The anusvāra looks like the superscript r in this case. Some versions read 'māparā lōkā.apurāṇa yuga, (or, ṛkṣitrīhām) prasuddati.
2 Yga was at first incised in the place of yga.
85 vālaḥ  [53*] Tasmin dig-vijaya-prañāṇa-raśi(sī)kē saṁthambha-śūmbhach-chamā-śaṅkshuppa-
kalātī-chakra-puṁśu-puṭaḷa-prādghāravaty-anva(mba)re | bhū-saṅkṣpa(spā)-
86 rā-ghṛṣṇa-vaśād-dinamanyā−u-uchchahi pflujaṇa-sapta(pati)būh śvabhāyastariś sura-sindhu-
rēga dhanaṇi-patṛt rad-golghattaṃ | [54*] Chōḷajagāna-narêndrasya sūnu-
87 r udāma-vikramaḥ | Rājarāja iti khyātaś-Trikālīṅga-mahipatiḥ | [55*] Viśvam krōḍhayati
pragdita(bhasa)-yasāśi(sī) prālōyaśa-śūta-śvabhāvīḥ | yad-yad-yāḍri-
88 g-abhūta(d-a)bhūta-sadṛśaṁ sāntaḥ samākāryyatām | dhātri piṭhāti liṅgati svar-ava-
(cchālaḥ prāśaṭati tva-dyaśi diṇ-nāṭhaḥ pratimanti yaśa pari-
89 tuḥ śrasiṣṭi(śvyāḥ)-padāśiḥ śrīṅgaṭi | [56*] Ānandaṁ vidalāhāti chātasi bhau(bhasya-kaśṭīr-śvānga-śrāṅgāḥ sūṭe dōhadam arthinam(naḥ) sumana(sī) ārī Rājarāja dhruvaṃ [1]*

Fourth Plate ; First Side

90 sśyāṁ karṇa-pāthamaḥ samētya hrdaye śalayate vairināh sv-ātma-śeṣeṣ-bhūnvidhāyinām-
na ki niśo bhāva(ha) kvachīd-dīriyate | [57*] Ētasyām-bhuvi paṁcha-viśā(viśā)ti-sa-
91 māḥ kshēmāpā-lakṣmīnībhāvaḥ kṛttā jīvaraha- śūma-ekaḥcahala-bhuja-dambholi-urvvi-
patiḥ | rājaṁ prāśa-yaśa-tushāra kiranā-sreṇi-ragū(sā)d-āsanād-udgachehha-
92 t-prabhūta-gita-charita-śrī-Rājarājō nripaḥ | [58*] Tasya-anuji nṛpati-rāja-padē-bhisiktāḥ
sūkti-priyāḥ prāmitv-adānīṣṭāṃ prithvīpatiḥ ka-
93 li-mal-eṣhita-ṭhamma(rima)-śūdhaḥ kārya-kshamaḥ prabhr-asaṭav-Aniyarkahīmaḥ | [59*]
Vir-adhiṣṭhita-saṅga(rā)d-eṣi-sikharē saṅkha-śva(sva)n-aśāśīt kunt-ōdhī[na]n-
maḥ(dē)-
94 bha-kūmbha-vigalan-muktāvālī-pūṣjīte | harṣhād-ugra-nīpa-pratāpa-dahanē khaṛṛgā-śruḥā
vdvishmān rājām ānāma-paṁkaṇjaṇi nṛpatiṛ-ggatv-anayad-yaḥ śrīya-
95 ma(mu) | [60*] Kshir-adhvī(bhē)rah-ṣampita(tā) ṛṣi-śura-bhuja-vyāpāra-vikshōhūṭīḥ-
chandra-yādṛdham-abhūt-tad-upa-adhīya-yāv tānām-ekāṁ kilā | caḥcchāla-bvāḥ-
hu-va(bājē)śaṁcara-bhūvi
96 tva-tkhaḍa-gaḥ-rāja-paḥ jāta-vaśaṭdiṣṭ-vaṭāt-prī(n-prī)ṣhva-yaṅṣe-chandrah samāḷi-gati
[61*] Yat-prañāṇa-saṃdāhūta-rajaḥ-saṁpūrīte-mva(mha)re | abhū(dī)-dvrudharājasya dhū-
97 li-mada-chitā tammḥ [62*] Daśa varhiṣṭi vṛtṛ-sun nirjita-ārāti-mañḍalaḥ [*] Anākabhīma-
bhūpalō dharrīṛθaḥ samāḍlayat | [63*] Praṇūḥ-ānārggala-vikra-
98 māḥ kula-grham yō daṇḍa-nītra-srīyaḥ satyā-ācāra-viḥcara-chāru-charitaḥ pūny-ākā-pārā-
yanāḥ (l) ṛṣyāṉōd-Aniyarkāna-
99 bhīma-nṛpatiṛ-ṛdghbā(ṛdghbā)-laṃkṛthi svayaga[mu] snēhasy-ātisayēṇa paṭṭa-mahabhi
Vāghaladēvi bhūvi | [64*] Tūlita-pitri-guṇ-aughaḥ sūn-
100 r-āśīd-amushēya niraṛṣṭiyā-tējā yauvan-avāṭra-rajaḥ [()] praṇata-nṛpati-cudī-ṛata-
rēchō-piśaṅkīṭa-ṛaṭan-sa-
101 roūjo Rājarājō nripaḥ | [65*] Yasya-oḍyad-vājī-ṛvinda-prakha-ṛhua-putṭ-ṛghāṭaś-nirdnā-
(roḍa)ṛit-ōṛvi-saṁbhātmaḥ-bhūrīḥśavat-kara-nikarn-mahan śūṭa-sāndra-pra-

1The asa-vāra here looks like a superscript r.
2Kha was originally incised in place of tri.
3Bē had been at first omitted and afterwards somehow indicated.
4The h₃ sign of ghā had been at first omitted and was later indicated by a short stroke.
No. 40] NAGART PLATES OF ANANGABHIMA III : SAKA 1151 AND 1152

102 yāh(yam) | vistirṇaṁ karṇa-tāl-āhitabhir | avirat-ōnattā | sōnā-gajānām-asāśrānāṁ
| (90*) | Yasmin(a-m) | sā-ṣāṁ
tī
dīgagajānāṁ | mukha-paśa-tulanāṁ | āhādē dhōli-jālu(-laṁ) | (90*) | Yasmin(a-m) | sā-ṣāṁ
dsāṁ-āmara-ganāṁ | samyaka(m(yak) | samudrā-śmva(mba)ja[tiu]n[*] | prithvīni | pārthiva-puṣpāvā yaya-gaññah sṛt-Rājarāje nipiḥ | chakram Mādhava eva taikshyām-adhikāra kau-
| (90*) | Yasmin(a-m) | sā-ṣāṁ
| kshāyākē | chintananā | sā-ṣāṁabhyāsa-vidhau vidhau cha jājata kālē kālī(ō)jē śrīyata | (97*) | Yat-kṛttī-dugdha-jālabhir-bhuvan-āntaraṁlaṁ saṃplāvyā duṣṭa(-laṁ) | (94*) | Yat-kṛttī-dugdha-jālabhir-bhuvan-āntaraṁlaṁ saṃplāvyā duṣṭa(-laṁ)
| (90*) | Yasmin(a-m) | sā-ṣāṁ
| tehchha(techcha)līṭah sa bhāti | tārā-gaññah | sphuṇ(sphuṇa)-ručhō gaganō samāntā- | tēkshāṁ-ātisīkēma-taraṇā iva viprashanti | (90*) | Yāṣṭo sau(sau)ryyē cha satēye eh

103 Karṇy-Ārjuna-Yuddhiṣṭhirāḥ | [ [*] | sadriśa-yam-mahāvīrō | Rājarājo nārāthāpāḥ | (90*) | Rājarājo naraḥpurīr-ādāsa saṃpta cha vatsaratna(raṇ) ] | bhuri rājya-śrī
yama(yān) | bhuktvē śvā-ṛājyāya pratusthivāna(vān) | (90*) | Chālukya-kuḷa-saṁbhūtaṁ vēla
| (90*) | Chālukya-kuḷa-saṁbhūtaṁ vēla saundaryya-śārīrēh [ [* ] | nāmā Mahāpadēv-ṛtiḥ mahēśi tasya bhūpatēḥ | (71*) | nāmā Mahāpadēv-ṛtiḥ mahēśi tasya bhūpatēḥ

108 Tasyām-abhād-advahuta-vikrama-śrī(rī)ḥ | śrīm(a)n(ān)-ayān bhūbhūḥ-Aukākabhīmaḥ | virājēte kṛttī-suddhā-taraṅgāra[r][*] | dhanātasa [a[*] )bhūttishu yat-praṣṭāṣṭi[θ[*] | (72*)

Fourth Plate; Second Side

| (90*) | Dīyāṁ-śumva(ba)ndhā-nīvīda-prasara-
| (90*) | Dīyāṁ-śumva(ba)ndhā-nīvīda-prasara-
| (90*) | Dīyāṁ-śumva(ba)ndhā-nīvīda-prasara-

111 vīmaṇaḥ kasmī māvēy-dātaṇaḥ sōk-āmbhōbdhīn-apāharāṇi kalayā kī[ṇ[*]ḥ vētsi nō mān
Harim | yado-ōvān-kalay-āsminā
dāna-saṇayā-śukhiṇyā Gaṅ-gānayē pātāḥ śrīm-aṇākabhīmaḥ-nṛpiṣṭhāḥ sō-py-arkhaḥbūtāḥ
mamā [[71*] Dīyāṁ-śumva(ba)ndhā-nīvīda-prasara-

112 pramanūda[n[*] ] mādhvika-mugdha-maṛṣīmaḥ ṧṛṣiṇī-āravindama(m(lam) | dēvah purāṇa-purāṇa šarīrābhiṇya yasya rōlam(ac)ma(m)[ma(m)[ma(m)]rōalam(lam)[lam[lam]
layānēhakāra | [75*] | Lokahm-nakshaṇa-sauvidir(īlla)parāvīriti[*] | pratyaarthya-śrīm-bhūjām-ṛṇa-ākaraṇa-raja-vaibhava-tulam-udālamam āmā-
| (75*) | Lokahm-nakshaṇa-sauvidir(īlla)parāvīriti[*] | pratyaarthya-śrīm-bhūjām-ṛṇa-ākaraṇa-raja-vaibhava-tulam-udālamam āmā-

dēṣyakāḥ | [76*] | Hiranyagarbha mā garvavam(ṛvaṃ) kurṣṭa[ṃ -ēti sōrshyayā | hiranyagarb
bhūbhū bhūbhū yaḥ kṣemam-imām[imām]-pāriya(p)-pālaya-
| (77*) | Yasya-ānarggala-vikrama-āṛjita-yāḥ-kṣirō-ōda-dān-ōrmībhūḥ dā(bhir dāṭārāḥ
| (77*) | Yasya-ānarggala-vikrama-āṛjita-yāḥ-kṣirō-ōda-dān-ōrmībhūḥ dā(bhir dāṭārāḥ

114 prōṣārītā dūratāḥ [(*) | kiṁn-ch-āhān-cha hiranyagarbha-kalanā-vaiḍā-hyam ākaraṇa[a] ayal-lājā-lōla-chaturmṣu-

1 The naksāra here looks like a superscript r sign.
2 This seems to be the correct form of the name that has been read wrongly in one record as Mankūṇāḍēvī and actually reads Saguṇāḍēvī in another. Cf. pañkha (ma) in line 28 and Yāḥ (a) in line 132.
3 Read dūrtāra.
4 Read "yām-kareṇa-
5 Better read "aṅgarthān ā,"
6 An additional medial a sign is found with nā.
7 This verse is not found in some later records giving the genealogy of the Gaṅgas.
8 Note the same form of bhā in line 104.
kh-ākshi-yugalō manyē mahān padambhūḥ || [78*] Yēn-ābhishēka-samayāḥ kalita-trayēṇa nītaś-tulāpurusha-dāna-ka-

120 1-ānava(ba)ndha[b] | lavāḥ-ā(bdlh-ā)pī naḥ kṣhitir-amuṣhya mudē tathē-ābhūd-yaḍrig-vi-
g(dvi)jāṭi-jana-sasana-dāna-kēliḥ ||[79*] Ākarshata hṛīḍa-

121 yam ēpa-vilōchhānām ādhan[va)tē cha paritaḥ pratipārthivānām | arthē-ānvaya-pranayinā 

kṛitinām-Anangabhūma-pra-

122 sādhir-amunā vidathec(ḍhē) nirpiṇa || [80*] Sō-yaṁ śrīmad-Anangabhūma-rāutta-ś 

dēvāḥ Śakāvēḍ(ḍē) chandrē-śhu-rudra-gaṇītē Chaitra-śukla-navamayāṁ-

123 Saurī-vāre mīna-sa[ṛin]*kṛāṇyāṁ Abhinava-Vāraṇāsī-katākē Chitrēśvara-

Vīścēstāyāṁ mmahdhyē Mahānādīyāṁ Sālō-viṣhayē P[ū]raṇa-

124 grāmē dānasāgara-bhūmi-dān-āvarta(rttē) Mahābhārat-ōktāṁ punyāṁ mṛdu-rasāṁ 

viṇāṭati-vāṭi-parimitāṁ bhūmiṁ Ghrītakaṣiqa-gōttṛ-

125 ya Yajurvved-āntargata-Kāyva-sākh-ādhyāyi-paṇjīta-Saṅkarshaṅanandaśarmmanē Vṛā-

(Bṛā)jhaṃaṇāya bhagavataḥ śrī-Puruśottamiyasā pratyē 

dxhārā-pūrvva-kām-āchandrā-ārkk(k)[am-upabhōgāy-ākarikṛtya] prādāt || punar-avdā-[bd-ā]- 

ntarē Māgha-krīṣhaṇa-shaśthiḥyāṁ Guru-vārē tasyān-nadyān-tasmin-ēva vi-

Fifth Plate; First Side

127 shayē taśmin māsa-dān-āvartē Vāmana-purān-ōktā[prin*] prākāra-mukhamandapa-madhyā-

maṇḍapa-sahta-nirjavēga-tula-yāgra-chā-

128 tu-hṣaya-nāṁ-purājana-samēta-trīṣāt(ś) giḥa-nīrmitāṁ trīṣad-vāṭi-parimitāṁ 

bhūmikān nagara tasmāi paṇjīta-Saṅkarshaṅa-

nudhēśarmmanē Vṛā(Bṛā)jhaṃaṇāya bhagavataḥ śrī-Puruṣottamiyasā pratyē dhārā-pūrvva-

kām-āchandrā-ārkk-kam-upabhōgāy-ākarikr-

129 tyā prādāt || tasya cha Jayanagaragrāṁe dāsa-vāṭi-parimitā vāstu-bhūmiḥ | Pūraṅgrāmē 

viṇāṭati-vāṭi-parimitāḥ sasya-

130 bhūmiḥ || tasya pura-jana-jāti-nāmāni || tatra vanijāḥ gāndhika-sādhikā-pātakāra-svarṇa-

kāra-kāṣṭikāyā Vāpuli-Nārayana-Dāmoḷa-Mālha[ya] -[Chi]- 

131 tra-Sōma-Vālu-Kēśava-Mahādeva-Narasingha(ḥa)-Śīvu-nāmāḥ || tāṃvā(ḥbū)likāḥ Mahā-

nāda-Sōma-(1-ō)mudu-nāmānāḥ | mālkiō Manū-nāmā | gau(ṇ)jī- 

132 kō Mahādeva-nāmā | gōpāla Dhiru-Gabhī-nāmānau | Kauṭuvyāu Nāgu-Jagāi-nāmānau | Kumbhakā-

133 rau Arjuna-Visā-vāmānau | Kauvarttāḥ Rāju-Vāsū-Padma-nāmānāḥ | nāpītaḥ śilpinī 

rajakā-cha | tathā tasmān ev ēvādē(ḥbē) ta-

134 135 svām-.Mahānāyāṁ Mārggasīrsha-paurṇamāṣyaṁ Guru-vārē chandrō-pāragā 

tasmin-Pūraṅgrāmē bhūmi-dān-āvartē Vṛ(ṛ)hispay-ū-

136 kū[ṛn*] gēcharsma-mātrām ashtāda-sa-vāṭi-parimitām-bhūmiṁ Bhāradvāja-sagotrāya 

Dikṣhita-Rudrājaśarmmanē Vṛā(Bṛā)jhaṃaṇā-

The verses from the beginning up to line 122 are found quoted in the later charters of the family often with slight variations.

7 This may also be read as ta; since, however, the word is from Sanskrit rāja-putra and Prakrit rāṇa-ūtica, ita seems to be intended.
Seal

(From a photograph)
137 ya tathā Makara-samkrāntyāṁ 
138 ... bhūmiṁ Rādhātara-sagōtrāyāṁ =
139 ehadvī-vāti-parimitāṁ-bhūmiṁ bhagavataḥ 
140 prādāt | etā Kānya-sākh-ādhyāyaṁ | Pu(Pi)raṣāgrāmē māvitā ētā paścāshaśthi-
141 grāma-sim-avāchchhinā(ṇmāḥ) | daksinē yāvān-Navitam | ētaṇa-madhīye Pūtimāsha-gotra-
142 cha | tāmva(mra)-śilpinō Mā(Ma)hānādasya-aītadam | śri-Purushottama-kaḥśtri 
143 tasmin-Pūraṇaṅgrāmē Kātyāyana-gotraya-ācharyya-agnichit-Kāyaṅśammaṇaṇe 
144 nā-gotra-Rugyēvād-ādhyāyaṇa-vītika-Dhītikar-Ananta-Visvēvara-Yajña-Siddhā-Śaṁ-
145 dvijān(jān) dvē vātyau | tathā Abhinava-Vārāpasyaṁ bhagavataḥ śri-Purushottama-
147 yāvāngadharṃ-ādhyāyaṁ | yava-gotram-ākha-santantaṁ-ashtam-
148 ya Devadharmaṇmaṇe Brāhmaṇaṇa Yajñā-Sāṁ-āntaggata-Kānya-Kauhuma-sākh-aika-
149 dhāra-pūrvvakaṁ-ā-ōandrārkam-parahpāya =ākarīkṛtyā prādāta(dāt) | Mad-dāna-phala-
150 ndra-tāraṇkam | [81*] Mā bhūd-a-phala-saṅkuṭā tē para-datt-ēti pārthiva | sva-dattādd-
151 aśh[īra] mahm-matimatāṁ śreṣṭhā dānāt=ṣr(ech=ehrē)yō-ṇupālam | [83*] Sva-
152 saha pachyata | [84*] Nirjāla pāṇtarē dēśe ṣuṣṭa-kōṭara-vaśinaḥ | kṛṣṇa-sarpē hi ājya-
153 Gām-ekāṁ svarṇgam-ekam-va(kain vā) [bhūmēr-a-]

* Read ṣagōtrāyā.  
* H in āka in this case has the usual loop of n.  
* Ākāryāyaṇa may have been intended.  
* The word aītad from ātad is interesting. The passage no doubt means that, like the ātayā ṣāhikāra, the copper-artisan, who engraved the plates, also received two copes or sāhikās of land including one sāh of homestead land.  
* Read “gōtra-rgeś-ādhyāyī-riteīg”.  

DGA
No. 41—RUSSELKONDA PLATES OF NETTABHANJA; REGNAL YEAR 26
(1 Plate)
D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

About the beginning of May 1950, a copper-plate inscription was kindly sent to me for examination by Sriyukta Chintamanī Āchārya, M.A., L.L.B., Vice-Chancellor of the Utkal University. The inscription was discovered at a place near Russellkonda in the Ganjam District, Orissa, and reached the hands of Mr. Ananta Rath, B.A., Headmaster of the Russellkonda High School. Mr. Rath lost no time in presenting the record to the University which has recently made arrangements for collecting materials for the reconstruction of the early history of Orissa under the guidance of its learned Vice-Chancellor. I am extremely thankful to Sriyukta Āchārya for his kindness in allowing me to publish the document. The Headmaster of the Russellkonda High School should also be congratulated for the interest he has taken in bringing the inscription to the notice of students interested in the past history of Orissa.

The set consists of three plates, rather thin, each measuring about 9-2" in length and about 3-4" in height. They are strung together on a copper ring about 3-2" in thickness and about 3-7" in diameter. The ring passes through a hole, nearly 5" in diameter, about the middle of the left end of the plates, leaving a margin of about 4". The two ends of the ring are secured in a small oval seal (about 1" in length) which is of copper. No trace of any emblem or legend can now be found on the surface of the seal. The plates are not in a very good state of preservation and show signs of corrosion and also of the peeling off of a layer of metal here and there. But fortunately the preservation of the writing is on the whole satisfactory. The inscription is written on both sides of all the three plates. All the inscribed faces of the plates are serially numbered in the left margin towards the top, although the figure 6 on the second side of the third plate cannot be seen clearly owing to the peeling off of the metal from the area in question. There are altogether 40 lines of writing. Both the sides of the first plate and the reverse of the second plate have each 6 lines engraved on them, while the first sides of the second and third plates have each 7 lines. The second side of the third plate has as many as 8 lines. The weight of the three plates is 55 tolas, while the ring together with the seal weighs 15 tolas.

The characters belong to the Kālīgāra script influenced by the northern alphabet. They may be compared with the script employed in the early charters of the Śaivēdhava and Bhauma-Kara dynasties, such as the Ganjam plates3 (dated in the Gupta year 300–619 A.C.), the Neulpur plate4.

1 The name may also be read Nappana or Nappana.
2 About the end of November 1950, I visited Russellkonda and learnt on enquiry that the plates had been received from Sri Raghunātha Bāuta of Bānątamba about four miles from the town. They were preserved in Raghunātha’s family as an heirloom for a long time.
3 Above, Vol. VI, pp. 143 f., with plates.
4 Ibid., Vol. XV, pp. 3–5, with plates.
of Śubhākara I and the Dhauli cave inscription of Šāntikara I (supposed to be dated in the Harsha year 93-599 A.C.). It is interesting to note that some characteristics of the alphabet of the inscription under review are found in the 8th century records of king Mēruvarman of Chamba.\(^1\) The inscription may roughly be assigned to the eighth century A.C.\(^2\) The characters employed in the charter appear to be rather cursive and very often the same letter has been written in several varying forms. \(S\) is usually of the form found in the word \textit{sasti} in line 1; but it is written differently in words like \textit{sadā} (line 2) and has a third form in words like \textit{nabhas-ta} (line 3). In a few cases, \(s\) is written exactly like \(m\) (cf. the first \(s\) in \textit{sahasram} in line 11). \(V\) is sometimes indistinguishable from \(ch\) (cf. \textit{śiva}, \textit{vidā} in line 2; \textit{prasravaḥ} in line 6) and often from \(n\) (cf. \textit{vīr} in line 3; \textit{jana} in line 4). \(N\) is again written in several forms (cf. \textit{māna} in line 4; \textit{nabha} in line 3; \textit{vinī} in line 7; \textit{anu} in line 14), and one of these is the same as that of \(t\). \(Bk\) is usually without the loop (cf. \textit{prabhācaḥ svā-bhūja} in line 9); but often it has a looped form resembling that of \(n\) (cf. \textit{nabha} in line 3; \textit{gambhīrā} in line 7). Sometimes \(t\) has the same form as \(g\) (cf. \textit{vikshobhiḥ} in lines 9-10). \(D\) has usually a hanging tail; but in a few cases it is without that (cf. \textit{padāt-pad-as} in line 3). Medial \(u\) is usually a straight downward stroke below a consonant (cf. \textit{mu} in line 5, \textit{du} in line 6, \textit{pu} in line 7), although sometimes it is a curve (cf. cases of \textit{nu}, \textit{bhu}, etc.) or its end has a short upward curve towards the left. The forms of the medial vowels in \textit{ru} (line 11), \textit{rū} (line 8) and \textit{ṛu} (line 15) are interesting. Medial \(e\) is in some cases indicated by slight prolongation of the top \(mātrā\) towards the left and is almost undistinguishable (cf. \textit{meu} in lines 11, 12). Medial \(i\) is usually short and does not very often come below the line of the top \(mātrā\). Only in a few cases it is found to be lengthened (cf. \textit{svākri} in line 32). \(B\) is indicated by the sign for \(v\). The half \(t\) is used in a large number of cases (cf. lines 3-8, 15, 32, 33, 35, etc.). It is without the covering curve in lines 4, 16 and 39. Of initial vowels, the inscription employs \(a\) (lines 11, 12, 22, 25, 26, \(ā\) (lines 13, 24, 29, 37), \(i\) (lines 13-15, 37), \(u\) (line 40), \(ū\) (line 34) and \(e\) (lines 21, 27). Of numerical figures, we have those from 1 to 6 used in numbering the inscribed faces of the plates. Some of them are also used in specifying the shares of the donees. It is interesting to note that the figures for 2 and 3 are written in the old fashion.\(^3\) The figures for 4 and 5 are also of the old type. Interpretation marks are indicated often by a slightly curved stroke. There is a similar mark at the end of some lines (cf. lines 6, 10, 13, 19, 20) apparently used as a hyphen is done in English and a \textit{daṇḍa} in certain later inscriptions.\(^4\) The sign of the \textit{aṣṭāra} and that of a half \textit{visarga} appear to be wrongly employed in lines 11 and 21 respectively.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It has an introductory verse in adoration to the god Śiva and only three imprecatory verses about the end; the rest of the record is written in prose. Among the peculiarities of orthography, the negligence in observing the rules of \textit{sandhi} is often noticed. Wrong spelling in words like \textit{Nagdhau} (line 16) and wrong \textit{sandhi} in expressions like \textit{śivam-va} (line 2) are also conspicuous.

The charter is dated in the 26th regnal year of the king who was responsible for its issue, without reference to any era or to astronomical details about the date. There is thus no clue to determine the year and the exact date of the grant. As already indicated above, palaeographical consideration would suggest a date about the 8th century A.C. or a little later.

The record belongs to the Śiva temple \textit{Nēṭṭabhaṇja} of the Drumarājakula. It was issued from the victorious \textit{skandhāvara} of the king at \textit{Vāraṇḍā} and records the grant of the village of

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\(^1\) \textit{Ibid.}, Vol. XIX, p. 264, with plate.
\(^2\) Vogel, \textit{Antiquities of Chamba State}, Part I, Plates XI-XII; Ojha, \textit{The Palaeography of India} (in Hindi), 1918, p. 67, Plate XXII.
\(^3\) As the Kālīṅga script was an artificial alphabet, the date may also be slightly later.
\(^4\) \textit{Cf. JASB}, 1896, Part I, Plates VIII and X, lett margin.
\(^\star\) \textit{Cf. the Madras Museum plates of the time of Nārāṇadāvāla (above pp. 44 ff.).}
Chandutungam in the Kārmārāla vishayya in favour of a number of Brāhmaṇas. The epigraphic
text, as already indicated above, begins with a verse in adoration to the god Śaṅkara, i.e., Śiva.
This is followed by a description of the skandhāvastra situated at Vārāṇḍa (lines 2-8). It is said to
have been endowed with gardens, groves and bowers which were attached to certain temples.
The expression shana-mandapa may also mean shades for the bull attached to the temples of Śiva.1
The population of the locality is described as fully contented and the place as free from quarrels,
thieves, famines and diseases. The place is further said to be beautified by trees grown in deep
glens watered by many springs and producing flowers and fruits of various kinds in great abundance.
This description of Vārāṇḍa seems to suggest that it was not merely a camp but was actually the
capital of Nṛṭabhaṅga whether permanent or temporary.2 The description of the skandhāvastra
is followed by another of the king (lines 8-17) who is compared to the mighty epic kings like Raghu,
Nahusha and Māndhātrī but is not endowed with any specific royal epithet. The king is said to
have been a paramamabhakānyya (very friendly to Brāhmaṇas) and paramamālāśara (devout
worshipper of Mahēśvara, i.e., Śiva). One of the interesting epithets of the king says that
Nṛṭabhaṅga was born in the family of Drumarāja, while another seems to suggest that he was the
inheritor of the fortune of ninety-nine past generations of kings. It seems that Drumarāja was
the progenitor of the old royal family to which Nṛṭabhaṅga belonged. The king’s order regarding
the grant in question was issued to the royal officers, to the adhkikrayas (administrative offices)
of that time as well as of the future (lines 18-20) and to other dependants serving in the Kārmārāla
vishayya. The officials and subordinates included the sāmanas, makhāsāmanas, rājan, rājanaka,
rajaaputra, antaraṅga, kumārānyya, uparika and tabāyuktaka. They were told (lines 20-22) that
the king had granted the village of Chandutungam as a free gift and a revenue-free holding in
favour of certain Brāhmaṇas belonging to the Kauśika guţra and the Vajasaneyi chaṛapa. The
names of the Brāhmaṇas and the shares of the holding allotted to each one of them were also
specified in the following order (lines 23-27): Vāsudēvasvāmin 3 shares, Gōlasvāmin 1, Ādityadēva
1, Yajñāsvāmin 1, Chharamāsvāmin 1, Śivasvāmin 1, a second Chharamāsvāmin 1, Gopēndrasvāmin
2, Kayāsvāmin 2, Kārīyāsvāmin 1, Bhūyāsvāmin 1, Jayasvāmin 1, a second Jayasvāmin
1, and Ravichōṇasvāmin 1. (Lines 23-32 suggest that the grant was actually made on behalf of
the queens, Kshatriḍēvi and Kaivartadēvi, and the rāja-putrī (princess) Mēghāvalidēvi for the
easy access of the three ladies to heaven.3 The names of the two queens are interesting as they
appear to refer to the particular communities to which they belonged. If the queens of Nṛṭa-
bhaṅga belonged to the Kshatri and Kaivarta communities, we have here a glimpse of the working
of the social order in ancient Orissa. After the usual entreaties to the future rulers for the preservation
of the grant and imprecatory verses in lines 32-39, we have the date of the document in the
26th year of Nṛṭabhaṅga’s reign (line 39). The charter ends with the name of the writer and that
of the engraver of the plate. The writer was Vandyā-Dēvabhadrā and the engraver Dhāra-
bhūga. The correct interpretation of the designation bhūga, which occurs in a large number of
inscriptions, is difficult; but the expression Vandyā prefixed to the name of Dēvabhadrā reminds
us of the Vandy-ōpādyāyas who are a section of the Kulin class among the Rāḍhiya Brāhmaṇas of Bengal.
Although the origin of the Kulinas such as the Vandy-ōpādyāya and Chaṭṭ-ōpādyāya
is referred to a late date, we know that the name Brīhach-Chaṭṭa is found in a Bengal inscription
of the sixth century4 and have elsewhere5 suggested that the Brahmanical cognomens in question-

1) The context does not justify such an inference. The expression vema-shana-mandap-ōpādɪbhūga simply
means ' beautified by arbores and parks,' the word shana meaning multitude.—Ed.
3) It is possible to think that the ladies were dead and the grant was made on the occasion of their ṛtaṇīka
ceremony.
may not be so late as is usually believed. It seems probable that the epithet vandya applied in our record to the writer Dvabhahdra is not entirely unconnected with the origin of the cognomen Vandy-ôpaðhyâya which became regular among a class of Bengali Brahmânas at a later date. The tradition that these cognomens are all derived from the names of certain villages appears to be doubtful.

It is difficult to connect Netattabhañja who issued the charter under discussion with any of the four branches of the well-known Bhañja family of ancient Orissa, although in the family of the earlier Bhañjas of Khiñjalimandala we have actually a number of kings of the same name.¹ Our Netattabhañja seems to be earlier than even the earliest known members of the different branches of the Bhañja family. The draft of the charter under review is again remarkably different from any known record of the Bhañja family. Unlike the Bhañja inscriptions, our record does not offer any story about the origin of the royal family, nor does it refer to the places known to have been the headquarters of particular branches of the Bhañja dynasty. On the other hand, it describes king Netattabhañja as a scion of the family of Drumarâja and as representing the hundredth generation of an ancient royal family. It would thus appear that besides the king's name ending in the word bhañja, our record has little to connect king Netattabhañja with the Bhañja family, several branches of which flourished at a later date in Orissa. It may, however, be pointed out that, although the meaning of the Prakritic name Netattabhañja cannot be definitely determined, it was fairly popular in ancient Orissa as some of the Bhañja rulers are known to have assumed the same name. Whether the Bhañjas of Khiñjalimandala, among whom we find several Netattabhañjas, claimed any sort of relation with the earlier king named Netattabhañja who issued the Russellkondâ plates can hardly be determined in the present state of our knowledge. The rise of Netattabhañja of our record, whose dominions included parts of the Ganjam District, seems to have synchronised with the decline of the Sailodhava dynasty of Kôôgôda about the eastern part of the same district. It is possible to suggest that the family of Drumarâja originally enjoyed a feudatory status.

The palaeography and style of the record under review suggest that its issuer was no other than that of the Baudh plates edited rather carelessly in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XVII, pp. 104 ff. This charter was issued by king Netattabhañja when he was staying at Navângulakapatana (i.e., modern Angul) in the fifteenth year of his reign. The correct reading of the concluding part of the inscription (lines 53-56) is: *Suñyah råjya pradatt- ãjña śri-Nâmaḥ pratikhatitan[tam] utkirtan[a]m Vaddurâka[n]a] śāsanaṃ tāmra-patīkam-iti | ((**) Samvat 10 5 Karti[tik]a-pradi 10 3. This identification would show that the dominions of Netattabhañja included parts of the Cuttack-Dhenkanal areas in the north-east. It is interesting to note that, in the tenth century A.C., the earlier Bhañjas of Khiñjalimandala ruled over the same region between the Ganjam and Baudh-Keonjhar areas of Orissa.

Vârâñjâ, whence the charter under discussion was issued, seems to be the same as modern Bûrâñjâ or Bûrâñjâ seven miles from Russellkonda and two miles from Kûlâjgarh which was the capital of the Bhañja ruling family to which the post Upêndrabhañja belonged and is probably to be identified with Kûlâj-katka capital of the later Bhañjas of Khiñjali. I have not been able to identify the other geographical names mentioned in the inscription, viz., Chañjûtungam and Kâmverâla.

**TEXT:**

[Metres: verse 1 Vainâsañavâla; verses 2, 3 Anushtub; verse 4 Pushpitâgrâ.]

¹ See Bhandarkar, *List*, p. 379.

² From the original plates kindly lent by Śrîyukta Čhindânapi Ācârya, Vice-Chancellor of the Utkal University, Cuttack.
First Plate ; First Side

1 Siddham SVasti [ || *] Jatādharaḥ  khaṇḍa-saṅkha-sēkharah  kapāla-mālā(laḥ)  sita-bhasma-
dhūsaraḥ  [||]*
2 sphaltan-mahāpannya-va(ba)ddha-kaṃkana(ṇaḥ)  sadā  śivam-vō(van vō)  vidadhātu
Saṅkarāha [ || 1*] Dvirada-vara-
3 turaga-padāti-pad-ōḍhṛita-va(ba)cala-dhavala-dhūli-vitānikritāni(ta)-nabhas-talat
4 jājvalyamāna-vividha-ruchira-praharan-āvaraṇāt  dēv-ōḍyāna-va-
5 na-shaṇḍa-maṇḍap-ōpasōbhītāt  āhṛṣṭa-tuṣṭa-pramudita-jana-kōṭālalat
6 kali-kaḷaḥa-jimva(mba)-damma(ba)ra-taska-durbhikṣa-rōg-āpagatāt  prasravaṇa-

First Plate ; Second Side

2
7 jala-gambhira-kandar-āṇ[t]a-ra-vini[h*]ṣrita-vichittra-pushpa-phala-pādāp-ōpētāt
8 śrīmad-Vārāḍgā-vāsita-vijaya-sandhāvārāt  kula-rūpa-śruta-guṇa-vi-
9 stara-prabhāvaḥ  sva-bhūva-va(ba)la-parākram-ākrānta-sakal-ārāti-paksha-vikshōbhi-
10 t-āpṛatihata-prabhāva-prasrāh  Drumārāja-kula-sambhūtaḥ  nava-navatī-pu-
11 rush-āntara-prachūṛa-rājya-santatiḥ  pradāna-śūra=ānēka=  śata-sahasra-gō-vadal-
12 dhana-pradāyī anēka-tāmra-paṭṭak-āṅkita-dvija-kara-samarpita-bhuvana-talaḥ  pa

Second Plate ; First Side

3
13 para-lōka-saṅkrāmita-dhana-[ni]chayaḥ  sākṣhā[d*]-dharma  iva  āchārya  iva  sishya12
14 krita-yuga  iva  vinaya  iva  pit-ēva  cha  anukampamāna[h*]  prajānām-upakāra-pra-
15 vṛttāḥ  pūrṇa-ēndu-vat-saumya[h*]  tejasvi  śarad-arka-vat  sāgara  iva  gambhira[h*]  sthira-
dharmā
16 sumēru-vat  Raghuvaghaḥ(s)a-Māndhāta(tṛi)-kalpaḥ  pārma-vra(bra)ḥmaṇya-parama-
17 māheśvarō  mātā-piti-pād-āṇudhyātaḥ  prakat-ābhidhānaḥ  śrī-Nēṭṭhabhaṇḍāyāḥ
18 kuśali  Kāṁvērāla-viṣhayā  śrī-śāmantra-mahāsa(s)mantra-rājya-rājanaka-rājaputrānta-
19 raṅga-kumārāmātyā-ōparika-tadāyuktaka-mva(ya)ttamāna-bhavishyad-ahikaraṇā.13

1 This figure indicates the number of the inscribed face and stands in the left margin slightly towards the left below the symbol for siddham in line 1.
2 Expressed by symbol.
3 [The Chhoti Decori stone inscription of Saṅkaragāna likewise begins with this very verse, though the reading these is slightly faulty. Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 171.—Ed.]
4 [See footnote 1 on p. 230, above — Ed.]
5 There is a mark as that indicating stop at the end of the line. This was apparently used as a hyphen.
6 This number of the inscribed face stands in the left margin slightly towards the left below line 8.
7 The reading intended seems to be prachyula.
8 Read śāra=ānēka.
9 The reading intended seems to be bahu or bhāvārā.
10 This superfluous letter has a circular sign below it, which suggests that the engraver deleted it.
11 This number of the inscribed face stands at the left margin slightly towards the left below line 12.
12 There is a mark as that indicating stop at the end of the line. The reading intended seems to be sishya iva.
13 There is a mark as that indicating stop at the end of the line.
Second Plate; Second Side

20 n-anyaṁ-cha rāja-pād-ōpajivikān-yathā-ārha[ṁ]* satkṛitya samājñāpayati vidhi-
21 tam-astu bhavatāṁ(tām) ētvd-vishaya-samva(mba)dha(ddha)-Chaṇḍauṇgan-nāma-
grimāhaḥ chathuh
22 simā-parikshiptaḥ kar-ādāna-varjitaḥ sarv-āvā(bā)dha-pariḥṛitaḥ akarikri-
23 tya ma(a)smābhīḥ Kauśika-gōtrāya Vājasanēya-charanēya Vāādē-
24 vasvāminē 3 Gōlasvāminē 1 Ādityādēva(vāya) 1 Yajñasvami(svāminē) 1 Chharampavamsi-
(svāminē) 1
25 Śivas[v]āmi[nē]* 1 aparah-Chharampavamsi[nē]* 1 Gōpēndrasvāmi[nē]* 2 Kayārasvāmi[nē]* 2

Third Plate; First Side

26 Kārāyāoasvāmi[nē]* 1 Bhū(?)yisvāmi[nē]* 1 Jaiyavāmi[nē]* 1 aparah(tra-Jayasvā-
27 mi[nē]* 1 Ravichōnasvāmi[nē]* 1 ēbbhyō dvij-ōttamēbhyaḥ nāṅa-gōttra-charaṇēbhyaḥ
28 salila-dhārā-purassārēṇa vidhinā | rājī| Kahaṭrīdēvī Kauvaṭrīdēvī
29 rāja-puttri(ttri) Mēghāvalidēvī ēbbhyō nripati-lavdh(a)ddha-prasād-ānu-
30 jābhēbhō dēvaḥ1 paralōka-gamana-pāṭhēya-sva-svarga-gamana-sūpāna-
31 māl-ādhiyayē pratipādiṭaḥ [*] tad-bhavabhū(ḥḥ)iḥ tāsām-akshayayē(yai) purūy-ābbi-
32 vṛddhi(ddhayē) tāmra-paṭṭaka-darśanāt yathā-kāla-phala[m]* svīkṛtyā-ōpaḥ(pa)-2

Third Plate; Second Side

[6]*

33 bh[u]ñjānēbhyaḥ nṛipa-gauravāṁ dharm-ānurūdhaiḥ(ch)= cha chandst-ärka-khiti-
34 samakālanth(lain) na kaiśhīchid=vīghēthaṭ karaṇyāḥ[i] | ū(t)ktaṁ cha dharmō(rma)-sāstrē [*] Mā
bhū-
35 d-ā-phalā-sāṅkā vai para-datt-ēti pārthivāḥ [*] sva-dānāt phalam-ānantyaṁ pa-
36 ra-datt-ānapālanē [[2]*] Shahaṣṭim̄-va(shtīṁ va)rsha-saha-18 sahasrāṇi sva[r]gē mōdati bhū-
37 midaḥ [*] ākshēptā [ch-a*]nunamāt cha tāṅy-ēva narakē vāsēt [[3]*] Iti kamala-dal-ā-
38 mva(nbu)-vinda(nu)-līlāḥ śrīyam-anuchintya manushyā-jīvitaṁ cha [*] sakalam-idam-ud-
[dā*]-jīritaṁ cha vu(bu)-
39 dhvā(ddhva) na hi purushaiḥ para-kārtayaḥ vilōpyāḥ[*] || [4=*]Susunvat saha(d)-vimiśatimē
rājyē likhitaṁ[ṁ]

1 This number of the inscribed face stands in the left margin slightly towards the left below line 20.
2 What looks like a half ētvd sign is found after ma.
3 This number is again written below the line.
4 This number of the inscribed face stands in the left margin slightly towards the left above line 27.
5 The reading intended seems to be ‘jābbhē bhēbhēyaḥ or better ēsēm nripati-labhā-praśād-ānujānāṁ
dēvōmāḥ(dēvēyē rāja-putryē ch 1).’
6 Pāṭhēya-saṁ seems to have been used in the sense of ‘money required for provisions for a journey’.
7 There is a mark at the end of the line.
8 This figure is faintly visible in the left margin near the beginning of line 34.
9 Ēkaṁ was originally engraved.
10 These two āksharas are superfluous.
11 Ēka is written below the line. There is a space left between the reference to the writer and that to the
engraver.
12 Read utkīrṇa.
The two copper plates, bearing a royal charter which is being published here, were found in a village between Rewa and Satna in the Vindhyā Pradesh by a worker in R. M. S. and were handed over to Muni Kantisagar Ji, a distinguished Jain scholar who mostly resides at Jabalpur and is interested in archaeology. Their present whereabouts are not known. He took photographs of the plates and sent one set of them to Dr. A. S. Altekar,¹ who kindly forwarded it to me for editing and publishing the charter in the Epigraphia Indica.

The copper plates, as already pointed out, are two in number and are inscribed on one side only. They measure 8 in. in length and 4½ in. in breadth. They weigh 1½ seers each. The edges are thicker than the main sheets on which the charter is inscribed. This device was made in order to protect the letters from the rubbing of plates. But this circumstance could not prevent at least some letters from being damaged, specially on the second plate. There is a hole in the middle of the upper side of both the plates, which obviously suggests that the plates were fastened together by a ring which passed through the hole and the ends of which were joined together by a seal bearing the emblem of the grantor. The ring and the seal have, however, not been recovered. But one can see at the bottom of the second plate that there is an imprint of an oval seal bearing the legend Śrīhastirājāh. No other published charter of Hastin bears a seal imprinted at this place. The present seal like the other seals of this ruler is oval in shape but its legend is rather short. On other seals the legend reads, Śrimahārājāhastināh.

The language of the charter is Sanskrit. There are some mistakes due to the scribe, e.g., kulōptānēna for kulōptānēna (line 3), kōlōntarēshu for kōlōntarēshu (line 17), and savasnrāta for sarvasudā (line 22).² The inscription is written in prose except the verses at the end quoted from the Mahābhārata (lines 19-22).

The characters belong to the eastern variety of the Gupta script and they differ from the nailheaded letters found in the Majhagawan plates of Hastin.³ There are only a few orthographical peculiarities to be noted. Phālguna is spelt, as in many other early inscriptions, with ν (line 2). The anusvāra in Paśchamyaṁ is retained and not converted into m, though it is followed by a vowel a (line 3). The anusvāra in asyāṁ is converted into n before d (line 3). N is used instead of anusvāra in the word vanśa (line 6). A consonant following r is doubled as in pūrvvāṁ (line 3).

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of a village with all its assets and its boundaries properly demarcated, to a number of Brāhmaṇa grantees by Mahārāja Hastin in the year seventy increased by hundred (170) on the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Phālguna.

After the syllable ॐ, the charter opens with a salutation to Mahādeva, indicating the Śaivite faith of the Parivrājaka family of kings. The year seventy increased by hundred is referred to the Gupta Era as clearly suggested by the expression Gupta-nripa-vajyakhuktau. The year fell within the Mahājyāśṭha samvatsara of the twelve year cycle of Jupiter, which lasted from G. E. 166 to

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¹ [The Muni sent one set of the photographs also to me in July 1949. Subsequently he published a description of it in the Hindi monthly Jānālākha, Kāśi, for November 1951, pp. 357-355, along with a tentative transcript of the inscription and a note by me.—Ed.]

² [See below p. 269, n. 1.—Ed.]

G. E. 178. The other known dates of Hastin range from the G. E. 156 to the G. E. 198. The present inscription supplies only an intermediary date (the year 170 G. E.) during the rule of Hastin.

The genealogy of the Parivrajaka kings as given in this inscription can be constructed as follows:

1. **Mahārāja Dēvādhya** (c. G. E. 96-116).
4. **Mahārāja Hastin** (G. E. 156-198).

The first known date of Hastin is G. E. 156. He ruled for an unusually long time, and therefore, the same number of reign years cannot be assigned to his predecessors. We may, however, tentatively assign to them twenty years each. Thus for Mahārāja Dāmōdara we get c. G. E. 136-156, for Mahārāja Prabhāṇjana c. G. E. 116-136 and for Mahārāja Dēvādhya c. G. E. 96-116. In this way, the foundation of the dynasty can be traced back to c. G. E. 96-415 A.C., that is, the beginning of the reign of the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I, who ascended the throne in about 413 A.C. The fourth king of the Parivrajaka dynasty started his reign in c. 475 A.C., when the Gupta empire was suffering from internal chaos and the threat of a foreign invasion, and he continued to rule at least up to c. 517 A.C. He saw the eclipse of the Gupta empire in Madhya Bharat by the Hūṇas in c. 500 A.C. and its liberation by Bhāṇugupta Bālāditya in 510 A.C. As indicated by the political titles of the Parivrajaka kings, Mahārāja, it is evident that they were feudatory chiefs owing allegiance to the Gupta emperors. Except Hastin no other member of the dynasty is credited in the inscription with any military achievements. Hastin is hailed as 'the victor in hundreds of battles' (naika-samara-sata-vijayi) (line 6). Perhaps he took an active part on the side of the Gupta emperor in the war of liberation against the Hūṇas.

The list of the Brāhmaṇa grantees is a long one and consists of the following persons: Kōdravaśarman, Nāgaśarman, Māṭjadatta, Gaṅgābhadravāmin, Dhanadatta, Kapilavāmin, Agniśarman, Viśākhdeva, Viśākhadhēva, Gandasvāmin, Parītīhaśarman, Krīṣhāsvarman, Dēvaśarman, Dēvādhyaḍattasvarman, Manoratha, Agnidatta, Rudradatta, Viśākhadatta, Viśnusvāmin, Viśnudevā (II?), Svātiganga and three more whose names are not legible in the inscription. The name of the village granted is also not legible. Its assets were as given below: ghūśa (cattle-pound), udgāṇa (garden), madhūka (mahua trees), pāli (hamlets), viṭhikā (roads). The following taxes accrued to it: udranga (land-tax) and uparikara (additional taxes); it was immune from police and military interference (a-chaīa-bhāa-prāvēṣya). The boundaries of the village are fully demarcated. The village was given away according to the rules and rites of an agrahāra by Mahārāja Hastin for the attainment of religious merit.

The charter was drafted by Sūryyadatta, who was the minister in charge of peace and war (foreign minister). Sūryyadatta was a son of Bhōgika (provincial governor) Rāvivadatta, a grandson of Bhōgika (provincial governor) Naradatta and a great-grandson of a Ānātya Vakra Sūryyadatta was the writer also of some other grants of Mahārāja Hastin. He drafted the Koh inscription of Hastin, dated G. E. 156, but there he was not yet a minister in charge of peace and war. In the G. E. 163 he drafted another Koh inscription of Hastin. In G. E. 163 he was already promoted to the post of a Mahāsamudhīvigrāhika (foreign minister). It appears that in the G. E. 191 either Sūryyadatta was dead or he was not in charge of drafting the charters, as the Majhagawana charter of Hastin was drafted by his son Vībbudatta, who was yet a Samudhīvigrāhika. The Dūlaka or the representative of the king at the time of drafting the charter was Nāgaśimha.

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2 It is already known from other inscriptions of Hastin.
TEXT

First Plate

1. चौराखान महादेव। स्वरूप सन्तत्युतेरवतालके (के) गुणन्यूप-  
2. राज्यभूत अन्य रहाष्यद्वारार (संब्र) तथा फाल्गुन (न) मासाबुलकपक-  
   पत्रमया
3. अस्स शान्तस्कृत्तमुष्माया नृपितपरिव्राजकुलोप (ला) बेन महाराजदेवनाथप्रण-  
4. वत (प्रा) महाराजप्रभुजननया श्रीमहाराजदामोदरप्रेतेन गोविथयाह-  
5. स्वरूपदहिरण्यालेखकृति गुणिलंडुराजप्रकाशायातर्यात्मदेवव्र-  
6. ग्नानभक्तेन गायकरसतिबिजयिता स्वतन्त्र (वंश) मोक्षकारे श्रीमहाराज-  
   हरिनाथा स्वपुण्यायायार्य जाण्डहलाङभरनम् नागाधरम्-भाईः
7. गतिश्च महद्वाराम्-धनन्त-कृपिलार्थ-ग्रन्थिशरम्-विष्णुदेव-विशाखदेव-  
8. गन्ती, गणितशास्त्र-विद्यादेव-मनोरंजनक-प्रियोलों (पो) धानमयूक-  
9. गावा भगवक सप्तलिङ्क वि (वी) विकासपिलकसमते (समेत) ताप-  
   हारस्वतुष्टि: सीध-  
10. ज्ञ: दोपरिकर: भवात्मतप्रायेश्यो चो (रवज्ज) सम्भवुकः.

Second Plate

14. परितांकादिकमेल मधुकामालकाशिकाकामः उत्तरेण शनिलकी माल  
15. पूर्वेण वटवाहिकाः किसाने विक्रिकरन जदिश्चरुष्य श्रीमहाराजभूकाद-  
   16. तिकां संगममित्रेयेन न केन्द्रिदशस्तिकोतिनेन मत्पादिणिप्रजीविताः च  
17. को (का) तो (ला) नारायणि व्यापारो न (२) कायं: एवमाजाते गोविथया  
   क्षुरातं तमभः दे-  
18. हात्तरगतोपि महात्मा ज्ञानोभागने नित्यहण्ये। उकं न भगवता परमंग्निणा वेद-  
19. व्यास माणो [१] पूर्बवंता हिंदुज्ञित० महादेवा यत्रं ज्ञातं कुष्ठिणः [२] महिमामहिमतां  

[The reading of lines 12 and 13 seem to be as follows: 12 ग्नानभक्तेन गायकरसतिबिजयिता स्वतन्त्र (वंश) मोक्षकारे श्रीमहाराज-  
13 ज्ञ: दोपरिकर: भवात्मतप्रायेश्यो चो (रवज्ज) सम्भवुकः।]

[1] This is a superfluous.
First Plate

Second Plate

(From Photographs)
No. 43—TWO TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS FROM PUNGANUR

V. Venkatasubba Aiyar, Madras

The subjoined inscriptions A¹ and B² are found on both sides of two slabs found near the deserted Śiva temple at Pūnagānūr in the North Arcot District of the Madras State. Though the temple is now deserted without worship, its construction consisting of the central shrine with a mahāmayaṭapa is intact containing inscriptions of Rājarāja I³ and Kulottuṅga-Chōla III⁴ indicating the patronage it received under the Chōla monarchs. An inscription⁵ of Nṛpatuṅga-Vikrama-varman in the village indicates that the locality, prior to the Chōlas, was under the rule of the Pallavas.

Both the inscriptions, A and B, are in a fair state of preservation, though the slab containing B is broken into two pieces.

The language of these records is Tamil prose which does not call for any special remark. Minor peculiarities in the script and language are noticed in foot-notes under the texts.

These epigraphs are important because (1) they are dated in Śaka years without mentioning any overlord of the region; (2) they throw fresh light on the chronology of the rule of Pārthivēndra-varman which has not yet been satisfactorily settled, and (3) one of them, i.e., inscription B, mentions a chief of the Lāḷa family which wielded considerable influence in the region roughly comprising the present North Arcot District in the 9th and 10th centuries A. C.

¹ [The reading is ca nasstrīka(ā).—Ed.]
² This is upside down.
³ No. 13 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1940-41.
⁴ Nos. 8, 9 and 11, for 1940-41.
⁵ No. 7, for 1940-41.
⁶ No. 12, for 1940-41.
Inscription A is dated Śaka year 888-966-67 A.C. and it states that Iśvarapîchchan, a member of (the trading corporation called) Tīgai-gaśiyarat-taiṇuṇura-nagaru redeems the lake at Puṇganur by payment of gold to the Urvar of the village.

Inscription B dated in Śaka year 9 (sic.) records that Āṇayamman, son of Nāḍarāyan Tattalān assigned (the taxes) kaṇaṭalakaṇam (marriage fee), uṟṟudāṇakādi and piddā-ṇāli derived from the village (for the upkeep) of the tank called ‘Paramapṭalaid̄ita-pērēri’ which he had constructed at Puṇganur.

It will be evident at the outset that both A and B refer to the same lake at Puṇganur which was constructed by Āṇayamman and called ‘Paramapṭalaid̄ita-pērēri’, evidently after his surname. Since A is definitely dated in Śaka 888 and as there is no difference in the palaeography of these records, we may surmise that the Śaka year 9 quoted in B is an engraver’s mistake for Śaka 889, in preference to a possible reference to the 9th regnal year1 of an unspecified king. If this supposition is correct, it may be maintained that in Śaka 888, this lake, which was originally dug by Āṇayamman, but which in the meanwhile was under encumbrances, was redeemed by Iśvarapîchchan and that in the next year, the founder Āṇayamman himself retrieved the situation by endowing certain specified taxes for its upkeep.

As no overlord is mentioned in these records it would appear that no one was acknowledged as such in the region about this time. Inscriptions not mentioning any king are found in the North Arcot District, dated in Śaka 510, 630, 632, 858, 871, 876, 878, 880, 885, 891, and 892,12 i.e., from 888 to 970 A.C. This period was one of transition as it saw the end of Pallava rule, the intrusion and the temporary occupation of the region by Rāṣṭrakūṭa Khirava III before the final conquest and consolidation of the Chōla power, replacing the Pallava domination. Time was therefore opportune for local chiefs like the Lōḍhas to assert their power. In inscription B, Āṇayamman is introduced without mentioning any overlord, but at Tirumālpuram in the same North Arcot District, this chief figures as a subordinate in the 12th and 13th years of the reign of Pārthivendaravarman.13

The period of rule of Pārthivendaravarman is not yet definitely settled, but the highest regnal year so far found for him in inscriptions is 13. On the basis of the similarity of titles such as Parakēsarivarman and Vira-Pāṇḍiya-taḷai-kopaḷa, etc., which both this ruler and the Chōla king Āḍitya II bore, he has been taken to be a contemporary of and even identical with the latter. But the late Mr. H. Krishna Sastriyar doubted if Āḍitya II and Pārthivendaravarman could be assigned to the same period, as records of neither of them supply names which give a clue to their contemporaneity.14

1 The words śakara-gaṇḍa would make it clear that the regnal year of any particular king was not intended.
3 Nos. 203, 211, 212 and 228 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1915.
4 No. 168 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1921.
5 No. 157 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1921.
7 Ibid., p. 195.
8 No. 473 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1925.
9 No. 469 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1925.
10 No. 470 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1925.
11 Nos. 90 and 100 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1941-42.
13 Nos. 323 and 267 at the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1906. The regnal year 3 (No. 267 of 1906) seems to be a mistake for 13 in the Annual Report.
Since Āṇayiamman figures in B of Śaka year [883]9 (967 A.C.) which does not mention the ruling king and also in records of the 12th and 13th regnal years of Pārthivēndravarman, we have to take these regnal years as falling either before or after 967 A.C., and very probably after, because as stated above, there are inscriptions in this region dated in Śaka 875, 878, 890 and 885. Further, Vira-Pāṇḍya whose head is claimed to have been taken by Pārthivēndravarman and Āditya II, ruled from 946-47 A. C.1 to 957, A. C. corresponding to his latest known regnal year 15+5th year.2 Vira-Pāṇḍya, therefore, must have been alive till 966-67 A.C. I have elsewhere3 shown that the 2nd regnal year of Āditya II with whom Pārthivēndravarman has been sought to be identified must be placed after 959 A.C. from an examination of two records in one of which Tuṅgōlakkōn alias Pugalvipparagaṇan figures in the Kali year 4060, i.e., 959 A.C. without mentioning any overlord, and in the other,5 dated in the 2nd regnal year of Parakāśarivarman ‘who took the head of Vira-Pāṇḍya,’ i.e., Āditya II. It will thus be seen that the accession date 956 A.C. given to Āditya II in The Cōlas6 has to be modified and that the theory of the contemporaneity of Pārthivēndravarman with Āditya II, which was doubted, gains in strength.

The family to which Āṇayiamman mentioned above belonged is called Lāḍa7 and Viraṭa in inscriptions. Members of this family describe themselves as of the Solar race and claim descent from Sāgara Viraṭa. In the 9th and 10th centuries A.C. we find this family wielding power in the region roughly comprising the present North Arcot District, having marriage alliances with the local chiefs of Pāṇḍaḷa-nādu, the Bāgas or Vāpakōvaraiyars and the Chōla sovereigns. I have made an attempt to trace the history of this family in a paper entitled ‘the Lāḍa Chiefs of the Tamil Country’ published in the Proceedings of the Indian History Congress,7 Seventh Session, Madras.

The genealogy of Āṇayiamman is given as follows in an inscription from Tirumālpuram,8 North Arcot District.

| Guparatnasindhu of the Solar race (and) of the family of Sāgara Viraṭa. |
|-------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Aṇigōpa           | Kampaḍigala     |
| Taṭṭaḷar          | Āṇayiamman      |
|                   | Paramaṇḍalāḍitaṇ Viraṭarājan |

Āṇayiamman was a feudatory of Pārthivēndravarman. He is said to have built of stone the central shrine of the Śiva temple at Śrimāḷēr and the enclosing maṇḍapa,9 as also another maṇḍapa in the Vishṇu temple of the village.10 Further, he made a gift of land for providing water

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1 Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 37-8
2 Ibid.
4 No. 240 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1916.
7 This has no connection with the country Lāḍa through which Maḥāvira is supposed to have travelled (J.A.S.B. New Series, Vol. IV (1908), pp. 283-86 and J.A.H.S. Vol. II, p. 91) or Bāḍha, i.e., West Bengal.
8 Pp. 203 ff.
9 Annual Report on Epigraphy, Madras, for 1907, para. 65.
10 Ibid.
11 No. 323 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1906.
during summer and firewood during winter in the manjalas at Gōvindavādī, besides making provision for feeding 15 Brāhmaṇas daily. The three taxes specified in B were evidently his levy, as the chief of the region, the proceeds of which he made over for the upkeep of the tank constructed by him and called after his surname Paramanṭalādittan.2

As stated in inscription A, Ivaṇarapičchānu belonged to Tērī or Tīṣai-yagirat-baidhārī-ṉagār, a trading corporation of South India whose activities extended even beyond the borders of India. An inscription in Tamil dated in Śaka 1019–1088 A.C. at Lobe-Toewa, Baros, Sumatra,3 mentions this body which is also known as Nānādēśī,4 Padinēy-vishayattār or Padinēy-bhūma5-Tīṣai-yagirat-baidhārī-ṉagār. In an inscription6 from Vīrāchhipuram, North Arcot District, members of this body are mentioned as “merchants of the 18 countries trading in the four directions.” The present inscription is one of the few early records mentioning this body.

From its appellation, this organisation may be taken as one containing 1,507 or 500 members, but an inscription from Kalaṣapakkam8 (North Arcot District) favours the latter interpretation. This inscription records an endowment of land by the Nānādēśī for feeding people during the annual festival of the local temple in the manjalas called Nānādēśiyaṉ-śālai and Aiṇṇiyiṉantāmbalam. Generally in litic records, this organisation is introduced with an elaborate string of birdas and its members enjoyed a considerable measure of autonomy, owing no exclusive political allegiance to any king in particular.

Of the taxes specified in B, the meaning of Pidā-nāli9 is not clear. It also occurs in the form Pudā-nāli10 and Pudāli11. Pudā means a door and the term may be interpreted to mean a levy of 1 nāli on each house. Ṣṟudan-kōdi12 may be taken as a levy of 10 kōdi of grain due to Ṣṟ, i.e., assembly or village. Kaṇqalakkāyam is a fee of one kāyam (of gold) received on every marriage occasion.13

The territorial division, Paḻavūr-kōṭtam, comprised portions of the modern taluks of Arkonam, Walajapet, Vellore and Gudiyattam of the North Arcot District.

A. TEXT
Front Side

1 Śṭṭakar14ai yāṇḍu1588-
2 8-ṭṭāvadu Paḻuvūr-kō-
3 ṭṭattu Pun[gaṇūr]

1 Ibid.
2 Nos. 267 and 323 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1906.
4 No. 82 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1907.
5 Nos. 193 and 402 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1939-40. People of the 18 samāyas and Nānādēśī are mentioned in No. 387 of 1926.
6 No. 193 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1939-40.
7 A body called Ṣṭārattēṇṉaṟṟavar is noticed in a record of Māraṉaḷaiyān from Tiruppatūr in the Ramnad District (Nos. 130 and 135 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1908).
8 No. 291 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1939.
9 It is also mentioned in the Larger Leiden Grant (above, Vol. XXII, p. 234).
13 Above, Vol. XXII, p. 263.
14 The letter ś is engraved in Grantha.
15 The letter ṛ is engraved with a circle at the top.
16 The sign for hundred after the first figure 8 is peculiar.
TWO TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS FROM PUNGANUR

A
Front Side

Back Side

B.Ch.Chhabra
Reg. No. 583 HE (C')51 479

Scale
One-tenth

Survey of India, Dehra Dun
No. 43] TWO TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS FROM PUNGANUR 271

4 ārkku Pañ̄ ku[ḍu]ttu
5 Û[ra*]var ē[ri] viñuvichchēn
6 Tīgai-yā[ri](y)ra [t*]āiṁūṟr'ū-
7 nagara Pa’sva(va)ra’pichcaṇ
du aṅ[p]ēnān
9 Geṅgai-idai Kumari-idai
10 seydnā pāva[n*] ko[vā] [n*] i-
11 ta[u*]īmam irā’kshippān sri[sri]pā-.¹
12 dam ēn talai mēlla(la)ṇa [l*]

Back Side

13 ittanma[m*] [iḍai]
14 vilaṅgi aṅrāl-
15 kōvuku niṣadam k[ā*]l
16 poṇ daṇḍipada o-
17 tī kuṅuttōm [Pu] n-
18 [ga]nūr Urrōm (Urōm) ira-
19 [kship]pār śpādam ēn talai
20 [mē]-aṇa [l*]

B. TEXT

Front Side

1 [Sva*]sti śrī [l] Śakara yā-
2 [n]du 9 t-āvadu Pā-
3 ārāyaṇ Taṭṭāḷaṇ ma-
4 gaṇ Āpaiyammanās-
5 Punganūr nāṅ kān-
6 ā Paramanḍalā[diṭtap’]-
7 pērēikkū ivvūrīr kān-
8 nālakkāṇamum Urppa-
9 diṅkāḍiyum pīdānāliyum

Back Side

10 ivvūrp-Paraman[dalā]-
11 [diṭtap] pērēikkū ni...²
12 mmāmāgach-che [ydēn Ilā]-
13 ārāyaṇ Āpaiyamma-
14 nēṅ [l*] id-alippār [Ga]-

¹ The letter ūn is written abnormally.
² Read Jaśara.
³ The letter r is engraved in Grantha.
⁴ Two letters are erased here. Probably the letters nēṅ were originally engraved.
⁵ The letters ra and śripā are in Grantha.
⁶ The slab is broken here.
⁷ The slab is so split into two that the beginnings of lines 6 and 7 are on the top piece, while the ends of these lines are on the lower piece.
⁸ This portion may be filled up with the letters ṛka da.
15 gai-yaḍaik-Kumari-yaḍai
16 [ṣa] ydār śeyda pāvat-
17 tir paḍuvār i-dhanamā rakshi-
18 ppār-adi yēn muḍi mēlāna [*]

TRANSLATION

A

(In the) Śaka year 888, Īśvarapichchaṇ (a member of the trading corporation) Tīgal-yaśiyara-
[ṭ]*taiṇānuṛru-nagar, released the tank of the Uravār (by) giving gold to the assembly (U) of
Punagar in Paḍuvār-kōṭam. He who says 'nay' to this shall incur the sins committed (by the
sinners) between the Gaṅgai and Kumari. The sacred feet of him who protects this charity shall be
on my head.

If this charity be violated, the Uravār of Punagar agree to be liable for a penalty of a quarter
pūṣ daily to the reigning king. The sacred feet of those (who) protect (this charity) shall be on my
head.

B

(In the) Śaka year 9, I, Āṇaiyammaṇ, son of Nāḍārāyaṇ Tattājan, made a gift of (the
taxes) Kaṇṭāla-kāpi, Urppadā-kādi (and) Pidā-nāli (derived from) this village (i.e., Punagar)
to Paramadālādittap-pērī (which) I constructed at Punagar.

(I), Nāḍārāyaṇ Āṇaiyammaṇ (assigned this) gift to Paramadālādittap-pērī (of this)
village. Those (who) destroy this (charity) shall incur the sins committed by the sinners between
the Gaṅgai and Kumari. The foot of (those who) protect this charity shall be on my head.

No. 44—TWO GRANTS OF BHANJA KINGS OF VANJULVAKA

(2 Plates)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund, and P. Acharya, Bhubaneswar

More than five years ago, two sets of copper-plate inscriptions were secured by Dr. Rādhā
Charana Pāṇḍā, a medical practitioner of Bālugān on the Bengal-Nāgpur Railway in the Purī
District of Orissa. Ultimately the inscriptions found their way to the Orissa Museum, Bhubaneswar,
where they are now lying. On examination it was found that both the charters belong to the
Bhāṇja rulers of Vanjulvaka, a hitherto unidentified city in the present Ganjam region. One of
the grants was issued by Śilābhaṅja II who was so long known only from the records of his descen-
dants, while the other was issued by king Nēṭtabhaṅja Tribhuvanakalasa who is as yet unknown
from any other sources. No information was supplied to us in regard to the findspot of the records
and the story of their discovery.

A.—Plates of Śilābhaṅja Tribhuvanakalasa

The inscription is written on a set of three copper plates. The outer sides of the first and
third plates are blank. The plates measure each 6-6 inches by 2-9 inches. The central plate has

1 The letters dhānma are engraved in Grantha.
* Engraved in Grantha.
slightly raised rims and is a little thicker than the other two. The plates are not in a very satisfactory state of preservation. Small bits have broken away from the first and third plates together with a few letters at the end of the last line on Plate I and at the beginning of the last line on Plate III. The plates are strung together on a copper ring about 2-11 inches in diameter and -25 inch in thickness. The hole in the plates for the ring to pass through was apparently made after the plates had been engraved, as a few letters are found partially cut off by it. A circular brass seal (1-25 inches in diameter) is soldered on the joint of the ring. The upper part of the surface of the seal is occupied by the figure of a lion depicted as moving towards the left but having its face turned to the front. Its tail is curled above its back. As is well known, this was the emblem of the Bhañjas of Khñjñalimañḍala ruling first from Dhṛitiṣura and then from Vañjuvākana. Below the lion emblem is the legend in two lines: (1) Śrī-Si[lābha]- (2) ṇjadēvasya. The subscript of ṇya has been so lengthened towards the left that the second line of the legend looks like having two straight lines below it. The three plates together weigh 50 tolas, while the weight of the ring with the seal is 84 tolas.

The characters employed in the inscription belong to the East Indian variety of the Northern Alphabet of about the tenth century A. C. and closely resemble those found in the records of the Bhañjas of Khñjñalimañḍala, issued from Dhṛitiṣura and Vañjuvākana, and other Orissan inscriptions of about the same period. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, although there are many errors of both language and orthography. In these respects, also, the record under discussion resembles many other inscriptions of about the same age found in Orissa. The palaeography and orthography of our inscription do not thus call for any special mention.

The charter is dated in the first regnal year of king Śiḷābhaññadēva who issued it. As will be shown below, this king flourished about the end of the tenth century A.C. The grant has therefore to be assigned to a date in the above period.

The charter begins as usual with the symbol for siddham and the word svasti, which are followed by the well-known verses, Jayati kusumabāyā etc., and Śēṣāhēr-iva, etc., found in all the Bhañja records issued from the city of Vañjuvākana. A short prose passage following the second verse actually says that the grant under discussion was issued from the victorious Vañjuvākana. Then follows another well-known verse, Āsti jagu-śrī-nilayab, etc., which is found, with slight variations, in most of the Vañjuvākana records to introduce the reigning Bhañja king under one of his secondary names. The secondary or coronation name of the donor of the grant, disclosed by the verse under notice, is Tribhuvanakalāsa which was so long unknown from the epigraphic records of the family. Lines 8-10 mention the king, who was in good health, as the Paramamākēśvara (devout worshipper of Mahēśvara or Śiva) Śiḷābhaññadēva, described as the son of Diśābhaññadēva and grandson of Raṅgabhāññadēva who was an ornament of the Bhañja family. Lines 10-14 say how the king addressed the rājan, rājanaka, rājaputra, vishayapati, dāṇḍapāśika and other officers that were or might in future be put in charge of administration in the Śaḷvaḍa vishaya as well as the village-folk of the district headed by the Brāhmaṇas and Kāraṇas. The mention of the Kāraṇas together with the Brāhmaṇas at the head of the local population is very interesting as it speaks not only of their crystallization into a caste group, but also of their social position. After declaring, in the style of the records of the Bhañjas of this particular branch, the all-round prosperity of the king to the addressees, the charter goes on to inform them (lines 14-22) that the village of Deōladda in the above vishaya

1 Cf. Bhāratīya Vidyā, Vol. X, pp. 250-84. The Kāraṇas appear to have been originally an East Indian tribe. They gradually merged themselves in the community of scribe-accountants possibly for their predilection for the profession in question.
(district) was granted as a permanent revenue-free holding in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Lumnvā-
dēva who belonged to the Kauṇḍinya gōtra and the Kauṇḍinya, Vāsiṣṭha and Maitrāvaruṇa
pravaras as well as to the Vājasaneyā charaṇa and the Kāṇva sākha (of the Yajurveda). The
donee was the son of the agniḥōtrin Agudēva and grandson of the agniḥōtrin Gōlasvāmin. The
grant was made by the king for the increase of merit to his parents and himself. It was free from
all obstacles and was endowed with the privilege indicated by a-chāta-bhaṭa-pravēśa.

The grant proper is followed in lines 22-25 by a verse containing the donor’s request to his
own descendants and others, who might be in charge of the district in future, for the protection of
his donation. Then follow some of the usual imprecatory and beneficent stanzas (lines 25-33)
introduced by the passage uktaḥ-cha dharmā-sāstrē. The last three lines of the document (lines
33-35) give the names of the persons responsible for the preparation of the document and the
execution of the grant. It is said that the order (for the issue of the charter) emanated from the
king himself. The dūtaka or executor of the grant was Bhaṭṭa Stambhadēva who is already
known from the records of Nēṭṭhabhaṇja Kalyāṇakalasa I and Vidyādharaḥabhaṇja Amōghkalasa
belonging to the same branch of the Bhaṇja family. The writer of the document was the Sandāvi-
grahin (minister for war and peace) Māṇju, while the engraver of the plates was the akshaśālikā
(the same as Telugu agasāli meaning ‘a goldsmith’) Durgadēva. The same goldsmith is already
known to have engraved some other charters of the family issued by Nēṭṭhabhaṇja Kalyāṇakalasa
I, Vidyādharaḥabhaṇja Amōghkalasa and Nēṭṭhabhaṇja Kalyāṇakalasa II. The document was
lāṭhchita, i.e., registered with a seal, by Dēvārāja. The date of the record, viz. year 1 of the
issuer’s reign, comes at the end.

Śilābhaṇja Tribhuvanakalasa, who issued the present charter belonged to the royal family
known as the Bhaṇjas of Khiṇijalimaṇḍala owing to the claim of the earlier members of the family
to have been rulers of Khiṇijalimaṇḍala or of Ubhaya-Khiṇijalimaṇḍala (i.e., both of the two Khiṇ-
ijalimaṇḍalas). As there was another later Bhaṇja line ruling from Kōlaḍa and claiming to have
ruled over Khiṇijali, they are more particularly called the earlier Bhaṇjas of Khiṇijalimaṇḍala.
The charters of Rāṇaka Śatrubhaṇja Gandhaṭa (son of Śilābhaṇja I Āṅgaddi, the progenitor of the
line) and of his son Rāṇaka or Mahārāja Raṇabhāṇja were issued from Dṛṣṭipura. Most of these
records have come from the old Sonpur, Baudh and Daspalla States of Orissa. The town of Ginda-
thaṭati, named after Śatrubhaṇja Gandhaṭa, is the modern Gandharāḍhi in the old Baudh State.
The family was Vaishnava down to the earlier years of the reign of Raṇabhāṇja who became a
Śaiva in the later years of his reign. Raṇabhāṇja’s descendants, however, are known to have issued
their grants from Vaṇjulvaka and the records have come from the Ganjam area (including the old
Nayagarh State). It is clear that after Raṇabhāṇja the Bhaṇjas of Khiṇijalimaṇḍala were driven
from the region of Baudh and its neighbourhood by some undetermined circumstances to the
Ganjam District. So long we knew of the following descendants of Raṇabhāṇja to have issued
charters from Vaṇjulvaka in the Ganjam area: (1) Paramamāhēśvara Rājan Nēṭṭhabhaṇja Kalyāṇa-
kalasa, son of Raṇabhāṇja; (2) Paramamāhēśvara Mahārāja Vidyādharaḥabhaṇja Amōghkalaśa
son of Śilābhaṇja (II), grandson of Dīghabhaṇja and great-grandson of Raṇabhāṇja, and (3) Parama-
maṅgala Mahārāja Nēṭṭhabhaṇja Kalyāṇakalasa II, son of Vidyādharaḥabhaṇja Amōghkalaśa.

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1 Cf. Bhandarkar, List, Nos. 1497, 1500, 1501.
Bhandarkar thus rightly drew up the following genealogy of the earlier Bhañjas of Khijnali-
manḍala:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ṣilābhāja I} \quad & \text{Āṅgaddi} \\
\text{Rāṇaka Satrubhañja} \quad & \text{Gandhaṭa} \\
\text{Rāṇaka or Mahāρāja} \quad & \text{Raṇabhañja} \\
& \text{Digbhañja} \\
\text{Ṣilābhāja II} \quad & \text{Mahāṛāja Vidyādharaṇabhañja, Amoghakalaśa} \\
\text{Mahāṛāja} \quad & \text{Nēṭṭabhañja} \\
\text{Kalyāṇakalaśa I} \quad & \text{Mahāṛāja} \\
\text{Nēṭṭabhañja} \quad & \text{Kalyāṇakalaśa II} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The inscription under review was issued by Śilābhāja Tribhuvanakalaśa, son of Diśābhāja and grandson of Raṇabhañja. There is no doubt that he is to be identified with Śilābhāja II of the above list. The present charter is thus the only record of the king so far discovered. An interesting fact known from our record is that Raṇabhañja’s son, Digbhañja, was also called Diśābhāja which is apparently a variant of the same name. Whether, however, he was an elder or a younger brother of Nēṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa and whether he actually ruled or not are facts that cannot be satisfactorily determined in the present state of our knowledge. The name Diśābhāja endowed with the title Mahāṛāja occurs in an inscription (painted on a rock) recently discovered at Sita-
hinji in the old Keonjhar State. It is possible that this Diśābhāja is identical with Digbhañja-
Diśābhāja of the Khijnalimandala branch of the Bhañja family. If this suggestion is to be accepted, we have possibly to assume that Digbhañja-Diśābhāja actually ruled either before or after his brother Nēṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa. The discovery of his inscription in the old Keon-
jar State may suggest that he ruled before the family was driven to the Ganjam region, that is to say, before Nēṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa. It may also lend some colour to the suggestion of those scholars who believe that the modern name Keonjar is a corruption of the old Khijnalī.

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1 Ibíd., p. 379. Another recent attempt to determine the genealogy of this family is that of Krishnamachālu (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 17) whose views, however, are absolutely unwarranted.

2 A photograph of this small record was shown to us by Mr. K. C. Panigrahi, Curator of the Orissa Museum, Bhubaneswar, at Nagpur where we assembled to attend the Indian History Congress in December 1930. The characters of the inscription belong to the Kalinga script which is known from a number of copper-plate grants coming from the Ganjam area and assignable to dates between the eighth and eleventh centuries. See Bübler, Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXIII, Appendix, pp. 69-70, cf. Table VII, Column XIX, Table VIII, Columns X-XII; Ojha, Prā-
chīna-lipi-mālā, 1918, pp. 92 ff., Plates LVII-LXIX. The inscription has been recently published with a Plate in J. A. H. R. S., Vol. XIX, pp. 191 ff. Its ascription to the fourth century A.C. (ibíd., p. 192; cf. J. N. S. I., Vol. XIII, p. 69), on supposed palaeographical grounds, is entirely inadmissible. Other records of the same place, published with the above with inaccurate transcripts and assigned to the sixth century, are also not earlier than the tenth century.

3 It appears that Khijnali was originally the name of a tract covering parts of the Baudh, Sonpur, Dasapalla and Keonjar regions, where these Bhañjas at first ruled, but that the name was applied to their new kingdom in the Ganjam area after the loss of their territories in Upper Orissa. Whether the Ganjam region formed a part of the dominions of the earlier rulers of the family and was one of the two Khijnalis mentioned in some records cannot be satisfactorily determined in the present state of our knowledge. This is however not altogether impossible in view of the fact that these Bhañjas may have claimed descent from Nēṭṭabhañja of the Russellkonda plates edited above, pp. 258 ff.
As to the chronology of these rulers, we have elsewhere seen that Raṇabhaṇja ruled about the middle or the third quarter of the tenth century, since he was a contemporary of the father and grandfather of the Kadamba chief Dharmakheśa who is known from his records dated in the Śaka year 917 (995 A.C.) and the Gaṅga year 520 (1016-18 A.C.). It should also be noticed that the town of Gaṅdhaṭapati, founded by Śatrubhaṇja Gaṇḍhaṭa, was apparently the headquarters of the Gaṇḍhaṭapati Gaṇḍaḷa, in which a village granted by the Sōmavāraṇaśi king Mahāśivagupta Yāyāti I (circa 970-1000 A.C.)² was situated.³ This fact not only suggests that Śatrubhaṇja Gaṇḍhaṭa flourished sometime before the end of the tenth century but also that it was the Sōmavāraṇaśi (probably Mahāśivagupta Yāyāti I himself) who drove out the Bhaṇjas from Upper Orissa to the Gaṅjama region. Another inscription of the same Sōmavāraṇaśi king records a grant made in favour of an inhabitant of Śilābhaṇjaṭā in the Šoḷra deṣa⁴, which seems to have been a town built by and named after Śilābhaṇja I Aṅgaddi. These facts are valuable for the chronology of both the Sōmavāraṇašis and the early Bhaṇjas of Khijalimanda. Since Bhāṭṭa Stambhatheva and Akhaśālīka Durgadeva served no less than three of Raṇabhaṇja’s descendants, viz. (1) Nṛṭṭabhaṇja Kalyāṇakalaśa I, son of Raṇabhaṇja, (2) Śilābhaṇja II Tribhuvanakalaśa, grandson of Raṇabhaṇja, and (3) Vidyādharabhaṇja Amoghabalaśa, great-grandson of Raṇabhaṇja, while the goldsmith further served Nṛṛṭabhaṇja Kalyāṇakalaśa II, son of Vidyādharabhaṇja, it seems that all the above rulers had short reigns. At least Dīgabhāṇja-Dīśabhāṇja and his son Śilābhaṇja II Tribhuvanakalaśa, whose reigns are characterised by a paucity of records, appear to have had very short reigns. It is thus possible to assign the reign of Śilābhaṇja II Tribhuvanakalaśa, who issued the charter under discussion, to a period about the close of the tenth century A.C.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the record, Vaṅjulvaka, which was the capital of the later members of the royal family in question and apparently lay somewhere in the Gaṅjama region, has not been satisfactorily identified. We have not succeeded in identifying the village of Dīśalāḍa and the district of Śalvāḍa either.

TEXT⁵

[Metre :—verse 1 Mālīni ; verse 2 Śārdālaukvirita : verse 3 Āryā ; verse 4 Vasantarilaka ; verses 5-8 Anushṭubh ; verse 9 Pushpitāgṛā.]

First Plate

1 Siddham⁶ Svasti [1*] Jayati Kusumava(ba)ṇa-praṇa-vikṣehōbha-dakshaṇa sva-kiraṇa-pari-
2 vēshō(sh-an)[r]jjita-yrṇ-ēndu-lēkhaṃ(kham) tribhuvana-bhavan-āntar-dyōta-bhāsvat-
pradipaṃ kanaka-n[i]-
3 kasha-gaurāṃ vibhru-nētraṃ Harasya [[1*] Śeś-āhēr-iva y(ē) phaṇāḥ pravilasa*nty=ud-
4 bhāsvar-ēndu-
6 pa-vigha[ṭṭi]lā iva bhujā rājanti yē śāṁbhavas=tē sarvā-āgha-vighatīnaḥ
7 sura-sarit-tōy-ōrmmayāḥ pā[jntu] vah|| [2*] vijaya-Vaṅjulvakāṭ[ | *] Asti jaya-ārī-

³ Above, Vol. XI, p. 96 where the name has been read as Gaṇaḍa'.
⁵ From the original plates.
⁶ Expressed by a symbol.
⁷ In the same context, we have tāmram in other inscriptions.
⁸ The danda is superfluous.
No. 44] TWO GRANTS OF BHANJA KINGS OF VAXJULVAKA 277

7 nilayaḥ prakaṭa-ṇ[ṇ]a-gra[sta]-sarvva-ripu-garvvaḥ [ ] Stri(Tri)]bhuvana[\kalasa-nāma-]
8 jānāmā\a nirvū(ṛhū)ta-kali-kalusha[h,3*] Bhaṇḍ-āmala-kula-tilaka-śri-Raṇa[ḥbha]-

Second Plate : First Side

9 ṣādāvasya naṃtā ||3 śri-Dīśabhaṇḍādēvasya su(ṣu)nu[ḥ parama-māhēśvar[ō]
10 mātā-pitṛ-pāṁ-śūnudhāna-ṛatāḥ śri-Silabhāṇḍēva[ḥ*] kuśali Śalva-
11 ṛa-vishayē rāja-rājanaka-rājaputrāḥ(ṛaḥ) vishayapatī-dāndapāśik[ā]-
12 n yāḥ[ḥ]-kalādhyāsinī vyavahārinī Ṛṣi(Ṛṣi)ḥmaṇī(ḥa)-Karana-purūgā[ḥ*]
13 ni(ṣa)janapadābh-cha yathārihanā\a mānayati vō(ḥ)dhayati so(mā)-
14 diṣṭā satrvatāḥ śivama-asmākam-anayat viditam-astu bhavatān(ā)m | ētad-vi-
15 shaya-samvandhā | Dūlaḍaḍagrāmaś-chatu[h*]-simā-parichehhdinnō-smābhīr[ṛ-mmā]-
16 tā-pitṛr-śtama[na]*jā-cha puny-āva(bhih)vīddhīhayē ; Vājasanī(ḥa)*-charaṇayā | j Ka(Kā)-
17 ṅvā-sā-
18 khāya Kaunḍī(ṇḍi)nya-gōṭrāya Vasisṭha-Maitrāvaruṇa-K[a]u[ḥ]ṇḍi(ṇḍiy)nyat\a Mai[tṛ]a-

Second Plate : Second Side

18 Vasīṣṭhat pravara Maitrāvaruṇat anupravara \a Gōlasva(svā)mi-\aagnī(ṃni)-
19 hōṭri || sya11 naṃtā(pṛtṛ) Agudēva-\aagnī(ṃni)hōṭtriya(ṇah) s(ṛ)tā12 Bhaṭṭa-Lummvādēva14 sa-
20 līla-dhārā[ṛ]-puṣṇārahāna vidhina pratipāditō-smābhīh a(ā)-chand [ṛ]-ā-
21 rka-tārā yāvat a-chāṭa-bhaṭṭa-prav[ē]śena sarvva-vā(ḥ)bā dhā-parihārē-śi-karavē-
22 na bhuṇjadhbhir-dharmma gauravāt na kēnachid-vyāgāshantiyaṣu(yam | ) Asmat-kula-
23 krāma[m-]dāram-udāḥaradbhir-anāyās-cha dānam-idam-abhyawumādanī(ṇi)-
24 yāh(ṛa)[m ] 1 ) lakṣhmīyā-saṭṭat-salīla-vu(bu)dvu(bu)da-čauchalāyā dānāṁ phalaṁ para-
25 paripālanḥ-cha1[*] juktaṁ-cha dharmma-aśāṭṛ[†] Va(Ba)hubhir-vvasudhā dattā rājabhi-
26[ḥ*]
26 Sagar-ādibhi[ḥ(bhih) ] | jya]aya yasya yadā bhu(bhū)mis-tasya tasya tadā phalaṇ(ṃ)[l]am [5]

1 \a Read Śrī-Tribhuvana\a for the sake of the metre. [Even this would not help. Better read Tribhuvana-kalasa-nāma.- Ed.]
2 \a Read rājā.
3 The dandas are superfluous.
4 The dandas is unnecessary.
5 Read yath-ārham .
6 Read saṃbaddha.
7 The dandas are superfluous.
8 The medial au in kaus is imperfectly formed, as of the three (left, right and top) members of the sign, only the top member has been incised.
9 Read either Kaunḍīya-Vāsiṣṭha-Maitrāvaruṇa-prasūrīya or Vāsiṣṭha-prasūrīya Maitrāvaruṇa anupravārya.
10 The occasional use of t at the end of the names is apparently owing to the alternate style of citing the prasūrīyas, e.g. Kaunḍīya-Vāsiṣṭha-Maitrāvaruṇa.
Third Plate

27 Mā bhūd-a-phala-saṅkā vah para-datt-ēti-pārthivāḥ[/*] svā-dānāt-phalam-ā-

28 nantyaṁ para-datt-ānapālanāṁ(nā)/[/*] Svā-dattāṁ para-dattām=vā(taṁ vā) yō harēta
vasundhārāṁ(rām | )

29 sa vaisākṣṇāyāṁ krīmīr-[bhū]tvā pitṛbihṣah saha pachyate[/*] Śāśthīḥ(shī)ı)-varsha-saḥ[saṁ]-

30 ni svārgē mōdati bhū(bhū)mīdāh | āksheṣṭā ch-aṁumantā cha sa ēva narakāṁ vṛat-

31 jē[/*] iti ka[mala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-v]ndu-lōlāṁ śriyam-anuchintya ma-

32 nusya-ja(jb)lvītāṁ=cha([/*] sakalām=idad=udāhrītāṁ=cha vu(bu)dhvā nahi purushaṁ-
(shāṁ) para-

33 kīrttaye vīlōpyā[h/*] [/*] svayam=ādīṣhtō rājā(jā) (!) vu(du)tk̄akō=tra śrī-Bhaṭṭa-STambhadē-

34 va[h/*] likhitaṁ=cha sandhivigrāhinā[ā] Māṇju[nā/*]| utkī(tkich)ṛṇāṁ=cha akṣhaḍālikēna
Durgā|

35 [dēvēna] lānchhitaṁ Dēvarājēna[*/*] Samva 1[/*/*]

B.—Plates of Nēṭṭabhaṁja Tribhuvasakalāśa

The inscription is written on a set of three copper plates (each measuring 6-85 inches by 4 inches), strung together on a copper ring 2-75 inches in diameter and 3-inch in thickness. The first and third plates have writing only on the inner sides, while the second plate is inscribed on both the sides. The writing is in a fairly good state of preservation, although a small bit has broken away from the last plate together with a few letters at the beginning of the last line of the inscription. The circular bronze seal soldered on the joint of the ring is 1-6 inches in diameter. The seal closely resembles that attached to the grant of Śilābhaṁja II Tribhuvasakalāśa edited above (A) and the upper part of its surface bears the figure of a lion depicted as moving towards the left with its face turned towards the front and its tail curled above its back. Below the lion is the legend in two lines: (1) Śrī-Nēṭṭabha (2) ējādevaṁga. The weight of the three plates together is 112½ tolas and that of the ring with the seal is 34 tolas.

The characters of the inscription resemble those employed in the charter A, although they have to be assigned to a slightly later date. On the grounds of palaeography, supported by the internal evidence of the inscription, the charter under discussion may be assigned roughly to a date in the eleventh century A.C. The language of the record is Sanskrit and there are numerous errors of transliteration and orthography, the latter exhibiting considerable influence of the local pronunciation. The charter is dated in the 13th regnal year of its issuer and not in the year of any era.

The style of the record is similar generally to that of the other grants of the Khïñjalimalanda branch of the Bhaṁja family and particularly to that of the charter A above. The inscription begins with the symbol for siddham which is followed by the verses, Jayati kusumabāña, etc., and Śēkhādēr-īcā, etc. The word svasti is, however, put after the above verses and before the short prose passage speaking of the victorious Vaṇjulvaka as the place whence the charter was issued. Next follows the stanza, Astī, etc., which differs in form only slightly from the third verse in the record A. But it is interesting to note that the secondary or coronation name of the issuer of the grant introduced in this verse is also Tribhuvasakalāśa as in the other epigraph. The following passage in prose (lines 9 ff.) says how the Paramavaṁṣhava (devout worshipper of Vishnu) Rāyaṅa Nēṭṭa-bhaṁjādēva of the Bhaṁja family, who was the son of Rāyaṅa-bhaṁjādēva and grandson of Pythivī-

1 The figure is engraved below the akshara meva as the lower part of the akshara śju in the previous line occupied the space in front of meva. Read Samvat 1.
bhaṣūjādeva, addressed the village folk of the Nāṇākhaṇḍa vishayya (district) including the sāmantaś (subordinate rulers) and bhūgīnaś (jāgīr-dārs) together with their karaṇas (i.e. adhikaranaś or officers)3. In the style of the charters of the branch of the Bhaṇḍ family in question, the king first informed the addressees of his all-round prosperity and next of the grant of Sādāgrāma in the above district together with another locality called Rāigrāma, made by him in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named Bhaṣṭa Dānli. The donee was the son of Bhaṣṭa Śiśa and grandson of Bhaṣṭa Balabhadrā. He belonged to the Bhāradaśa gōtra having the Āṅgirasa pravara and the Bārhapatiya anupravara and was a student of the Chhanda-ga charaṇa and Kauthuma sākhā (of the Sāmaśēṇa). He is described as a resident of Kōlakhali, although the original home of his family is given as Vatalah-vidja. Lines 18-20 say that the above gift was made a permanent revenue-free holding by means of the copper-plate charter. Some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses are then quoted in lines 24-33. In this connection, the well known verse, Sarvaṁ-śītāṁ-bhūvānaṁ pārthi-vendraṁ, etc., is quoted with the substitution of the donor’s name, Nēṭṭabhāṇja, in place of the usual Rāmabhadrā and a prose passage introducing the stanza says that the grant was made on Monday when the tithe was the dev-śava-devadāśi and the nakshatra Rēvāti. As all the devadāśi (the twelfth thiti of either half of the lunar months) are associated with the god Vishnu4, the ishta-dēvatā of the donor, it is difficult to determine, in the absence of any indication regarding the month and the fortnight, the particular devadāśi referred to in the passage. The details are thus insufficient to calculate the exact date of the grant. Of the following two verses quoted in lines 36-39, the one beginning with āsmita-vaiśākha kṣaya-kṣiṅgē is found in numerous other Orissan records. The concluding lines (lines 40-42) give the names of the persons associated with the grant. The charter was registered with a seal (lāṇchhita) by Jivalōka-mahādēvi (or less probably, Śrijivalōka-mahādēvi) who seems to have been a queen of Nēṭṭabhāṇja Tribhuvanakalaśa, issuer of the charter. We know of many other similar instances of the mention of queens in connection with the function indicated by the word lāṇchhita especially in records coming from the Ganjam area4. The grant is said to have been approved (anumati) by Bhaṣṭa Arkadēva, while it was taken to the donee’s home or executed (pravṛtta) by the Pratihāra (officer in charge of the palace-gate and head of the palace guards) Rūla. It is further said that the grant was assented to (anujñāta) by the Vārgula (bearer of the kings’ betel-box) Mahindapa who seems to have been a witness or worked on behalf of the executor of the grant, Rūla. The plates were engraved by the arkaśālina (i.e., akkaśālin or goldsmith) Napa. The document was written by the Sandhivigrakha (minister for war and peace) whose name was Pāṇa. The date of the grant, viz. year 13 of the donor’s reign, comes at the end of the inscription in line 42.

There is no doubt that Rūgaka Nēṭṭabhāṇja Tribhuvanakalaśa who issued the charter under discussion belonged to the family of the earlier Bhaṇjas of Khiṇjilamaṇḍala. This is suggested not only by the king’s names and the issue of the grant from Vaṇijulvaka, the later capital of the rulers of that family, but also by the very style of the document. The genealogy of the family quoted above would show that there is hardly any space for Nēṭṭabhāṇja Tribhuvanakalaśa and for his father and grandfather in the family before Nēṭṭabhāṇja Kalyanakalaśa II. The secondary or coronation name ending in kalaśa was a style unknown in the family before the sons of Raṇabhāṇja. The expression pravṛtta, used in connection with the execution of a grant, is found in the

1 It may be suggested that the passage nānā-khaṇḍa vishayya means “in the various subdivisions and districts (of the kingdom)”5. But the description of the gift village in line 14 below as “attached to this district” seems to presuppose the mention of the name of the vishayya in the passage under consideration. Note also the singular used in vishayya.


3 See Ādakshapradrama, sv. devadāśi. The Vishnu-ūrā (XLIX. 1), however, lays special stress on Mārgopātra sud: 12, which may be the tithe intended in our record.

4 See Bhandarkar, List, Nos. 1500-02.
family's records only of the time of Vidyādharabhāja Amoghakalāśa and Nēṭṭabhaṇja Kalyāṇakalasha II. The officers of the king mentioned in the grant as associated with it are also not found in any other record of the family. These facts would suggest that Nēṭṭabhaṇja Tribhuvanakalasha, who issued this charter, flourished sometime after Nēṭṭabhaṇja Kalyāṇakalasha II and may be tentatively designated Nēṭṭabhaṇja III. This suggestion seems to be supported by his epithet Paramavaishyan, as Vaishnavism was reintroduced as the family's religion by Nēṭṭabhaṇja Kalyāṇakalasha II. Whether Pṛthviśāka and Rāyabhāja, father and grandfather respectively of Nēṭṭabhaṇja III Tribhuvanakalasha (II), actually ruled cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. It seems however that Pṛthviśāka was not far removed from Nēṭṭabhaṇja II and may have been the latter's son or grandson. It is difficult to determine whether the title Rāpakā adopted by Nēṭṭabhaṇja III had any special significance. The seal of all these rulers bears the emblem of a lion moving to the left.

Another later member of the same family was Satrubhaṇja Maṅgalarāja who was the son of Śīlābhāja, grandson of Mallagambhiradēva and great-grandson of Yathāsukhadēva and who issued the Jangalpadu plate1 in the fourteenth year of his reign. As in the case of Nēṭṭabhaṇja III, the relationship of Satrubhaṇja Maṅgalarāja with the known members of the family of the earlier Bhaṇjas of Khiṇjalimandala is unknown. Whether the father, grandfather and great-grandfather of Satrubhaṇja Maṅgalarāja were actual rulers is also not known. The place of issue of Satrubhaṇja's charter is, however, not mentioned and he may have been a member of the same family ruling side by side with the ruler of Vaiṇjulvaka. But the Salvāḍa or Sulvāḍa viṣaya, in which the village granted by Satrubhaṇja Maṅgalarāja was situated, seems to be no other than the Salvāḍa viṣaya of the grant of Śīlābhāja II edited above (A).

Another Bhaṇja king making grant of a village in Khiṇjalimandala and ruling in the Ganjam region was the Paramavaishyan Mahāmangalarēvra Nēṭṭabhaṇja who was the son of Raṇabhaṇja and grandson of Nēṭṭabhaṇja and issued a charter from Kumārapura.2 The style of this record is quite different from that of the charters of the Bhaṇja rulers of Vaiṇjulvaka. The emblem on the seal is also not the lion but a kalaśa taken by some as pūrṇa-kumbha and by others as amrita-qhāva. He must have represented a different branch of the Bhaṇja family just as the later Bhaṇjas claiming to have ruled the Khiṇjali country from the Koliḍa kāṭaka3 did. The yuvāraṇa Rāyabhāja mentioned in this inscription may have been the son of the issuer of the charter.

The genealogy of the later Bhaṇjas of Khiṇjali, as known from their two records so far discovered, may be tabulated as follows4:

1 Bājēṭhaṇja Dīvabhaṇja
  | Rāyabhāja I
  | Virabhāja
  | Rāyabhāja II

Yaśībhaṇja —— Jaybhaṇja

Yuvāraṇa Virabhāja

1 Inaccurate transcripts of this inscription have been published in J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XVIII, pp. 387 ff., and J. K. H. R. S., Vol. I, 181 ff. We have recently re-edited the record for the Epigraphia Indica. The first three verses of this record are the same as those in the epigraphs edited here.
2 Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 15 ff.
3 Cf. Bhandarkar, No. 1593, 2056. Koliḍa seems to be no other than modern Kuliḍa near Russellkonda, which was the headquarters of a family of Bhaṇja chieftains in the British period. The celebrated Oriya poet Ṛṣīndrabhaṇja belonged to this family. It is possible to think that this family was an off-shoot of that of the later Bhaṇjas of Khiṇjali ruling from Koliḍa-Katakā.
4 Bhandarkar, List, p. 379.
TWO GRANTS OF BHANJA KINGS OF VANJULVAKA
B—PLATES OF NETTABHANJA TRIBHUVANAKALASA

i.

ii,a.

SCALE: NINE-TENTHS

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA
Only two copper plate grants of this family, one of Yaśōbhāṇja and the other of Jayabhaṇja, both from Antirigam in the Ganjam District, have so far been discovered. Yaśōbhāṇja, said to be the lord of the whole Kheiṇjia country, is described as the conqueror of Jagadēkamalla who has been identified with the Western Chālukya king Perma-Jagadēkamalla II (circa 1128-51 A.C.). Jayabhaṇja’s grant is dated in his third regnal year when there was a lunar eclipse on Jyēśṭha sudī 15. Bhandarkar, who assigns Yaśōbhāṇja’s contemporary Jagadēkamalla to circa 1139-49 A.C., says, “The first lunar eclipse in Jyēśṭha after this date came off on Friday, 22nd May 1164. Jayabhaṇja therefore came to the throne in A.D. 1161.” Unfortunately this is wrong as Bhandarkar confused in many cases the full moon with the new moon in the calculation of dates for his List of Inscriptions of Northern India. As however, the exact date of the end of Yaśōbhāṇja’s reign is unknown and as lunar eclipse occurred on the Jyēśṭha parārada in 1145, 1146, 1147, 1164, and 1165 A.C., it is impossible to determine the exact date of Jayabhaṇja’s accession on this basis. The fact that these petty rulers of the Ganjam region must have owed allegiance to the early imperial Gaṅgas of Kalīgānagara (modern Mukhalingam near Srikakulam), who were themselves subordinate allies of the great Chōḷa, would suggest that the battle against the Western Chālukya king was fought by the Bhaṇja king in the train of an early imperial Gaṅga monarch and on behalf of a Chōḷa emperor. The identification of Jagadēkamalla with the Western Chālukya king Jayasimha I Jagadēkamalla (circa 1015-22 A.C.), who is celebrated in history for his conflict with the mighty Chōḷa monarch Rājendra I thus does not appear to be altogether improbable. It should, however, be admitted that the ascription of Raṇabhaṇja’s reign to the third quarter of the tenth century and the number of succeeding rulers belonging to his own family and to the branch lines represented by Nēṭtabhaṇja of Kumārapura and Jayabhaṇja of Kōḷaḍa in favour Bhandarkar’s view regarding the date of Yaśōbhāṇja and Jayabhaṇja about the middle of the twelfth century, unless it is believed that some of the rulers of Vaṇṭhulvaka, Kumārapura and Kōḷaḍa were ruling contemporaneously, the problem of the chronology of these rulers cannot be satisfactorily and finally settled until further evidence is forthcoming.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Vaṇṭhulvaka, as already pointed out, has not yet been identified. Nor can the district called Nāṇakhaṇḍa and the villages called Sēḷagrāma, Rāṅgṛāma, Vāṭalavīḷīma and Kōḷakhaḷi be identified with certainty.

TEXT

[Metres:—Verse 1 Mālini; verse 2 Śārdālaśicākṛiṭī; verse 3 Gītī; verses 4-9, 11 Anuśṭubh; verse 10 Śālini; verse 12 Pushpitalāgṛ.]

First Plate

1 Siddham:1 Jayatī kusumavā(bā)na-prāṇa-vikshōbha-dakṣa[ṅ]īṃ[ś]a-sva-kirāṇa-pari[vē][ś]a-an-

2 j[i][rj](i)tya-rj[i](i)rṇ[ṃ]-ndu-lēkhaṃ(kham) | tṛī(ṃ)-bhuvaṇa-bhavāntta(nte)r-dyōta-bhāsvat-

pradipām[ š] kana.

1 Sewell, Historical Inscriptions of Southern India, p. 339.
2 Such confusions are due to the fact that the tables in Swamikannu Pillai’s Indian Calendar (the same as in Indian Ephemeris, Vol. I, part I, pp. 200-29) were consulted without sometimes noticing that they offer a list of new moons and not of full moons.
3 See on this point our paper on the Alagum inscription to be published in this journal
4 From the original plates.
5 Expressed by a symbol.
6 The danda is superfluous.
18 DGA
ka-nikasha-gauran y av(c)bhru-nētraṁ Harasya[1]\ Sē(Śē)sh-āhēr-iva'yē phaṇāḥ pravilasa
nty=udhāsvad-indu-tvishaḥ prālīyāchāla-sūri (sūri)ga-kōṭṭha(ta)ya iva tvaiγantī yē=tyunna-
tāḥ [ * ] nrity-āṭṭī(tō)pa-vighaṭṭitā iva bhūjā rājantī yē Sā(Śā)mbharās=tē sāvv-ā(rvv-ā)-
gha-vi-
ghātinaḥ sura-sarit-tōy-ōmma(rmma)yāḥ pāntu vaḥ!![2] svasti vijaya-Vaṇju-
lvakāda-Asti sūrī-vijaya-nilaya(h^[1]* prakaṣṭa(ta)-gaṇa=gaṇa=grastra-samasta-
ripu-vargaḥ[ * ]sūri-Tribhuvanaka-laś(śa)-nāma(mā) rājā nirdhu(rdū)ta-kali-ka-
lushā-kalmasah[ * ]3 Sūrī-Priethvībhājañêvaya p[au]tra(h^[3]* Sūrī-Rāyabhājañêvaya
sutah Parama vaṭṣavō mātā-pitṛ-pād-anudhyāta-Bhaṇja-amala-kū-

Second Plate ; First Side

la-tilaka-Rāṇaka-sūri-Nēṭṭhaβhajādevaḥ kusa(sa)li Nāṇkhaṇḍa-
vishaya\(^[6]* yathā-nivāsi-sa(sa)karaṇa[2]* sāmanta-bhōgy-ādi-janapadān ya-

thā-ārāmi mānayaḥ vō(bō)dhayati samādisa(sa)ti [cha(*)] vīv(ḍi)tama=asti bhavatām

davataḥ sū(sī)va-smākkam-anuṣṭa\(^[4]* ētad-vishaya-sanmva(mha)dāhāḥ Sēdgārama-
ś-chatuḥ-sīma-parichchhin[a]ḥ mātā-pitrōr-ātmā[na]*|sē cha puny-ābhiva[vṛ]ddha-
y[c]\(^^[*]* satīlā-dhārā-puraḥ[sarēna]* vidiha Bhāravāja-gōtrāya Āṅgī-\(^\[3]*

sa-pravarāya Vārīhastā\(^\[10]* anupravarāya Chehhāndōga\(^\[21]*-charāγā-

ya Kāi(Kau)thuṃa-sākh-āḍhyāyīnē Vātalavidima-vinirgata-Kōkakha-

li-vātastvāyāya Bhāṭṭa-Va(Ba)lhadhrasya p[au]tra\(^\[12]* Bhāṭṭa-Sīdja-sūtāya Bhāṭṭa-Dā-

ulī\(^\[12]* Raṅgīrāma-smānvi[t]a[8]* tāṃvra[ṃra]-sā(sā)janīkṛtya pradaṭṭah

yāvach-chand-ārka-tārakāḥ a-chaṭṭa-bhaṭṭa\(^\[1]*-praveśe(śe)[na sāvv-ā(rvv-ā)vā(bā)dha-v-

Second Plate ; Second Side

ji(rj)tēn=a karatvōna bhuṭjādhir-dharmā-gauravāt=pratipūlaniyāḥ a-

smat-kula-kramam-udhāharadhir-dhardh=anyāis=cha(ś-cha-ā)ṃma[8]* dānam-īdam-anumōḍa-
nīyāḥ(yam) uktaṁ cha-dharmā-sā(sā)ṣṭreshu[h^[*]* Va(Ba)juhā-vravṣdā dattā rājabhīh Sa-
gar-āḍībhī[ḥ^[*]*] yasya yasya yadā bhu(bhū)mi-tasya tasya tadā phalāḥ ![lam][4]

Mā bhu(bhū)dha-la=phala-sa(sā)ukā vah para-datt=eti pārthivāḥ | sva-dattā-

t=phalām=anuṭayāvai-para-datt-anupālaṇē [^[5]* Sva-dattām-para-dattām=vā(ttāṁ vā

1 In the same context, we have tāmраm in the other records.
2 A verse follows this short passage in prose. *
3 Omit gana for the sake of the metre. [Read Asti sri-jaya-nilaya prakaṣṭa-gaṇa-grastra-saṛva-ripa-gareah
4 as in the foregoing record.—Ed.]
5 [Read Tribhuvanaka-laś(śa) nāmā rājā nirdhu(kāli) kalakah.—Ed.]
6 The medial au in parv is imperfectly formed, as out of the left, right and top members of the sign only the
third one has been engraved.
7 The danta is superfluous.
8 Karāṇa here may be a contraction of adhikarana or adhukarana.
9 Read anyat.
10 Read Āṅgirasa-pravarāya.
11 Read Bārīkṣāpati-āṇupraraṇya.
12 Read Cchandōga-chaṇḍaraṇya.
13 Read paṭrāṇya. The medial au in parv is imperfectly formed as in parv in line 9 above. See also ai in ekai in
line 30 below.
14 Read lāṣe.
15 Read a-chaṭṭa-bhaṭṭa.
No. 45] MAHĀDA PLATES OF SOMESVARADEVAVARMAṆ: YEAR 23

28 yō harēta vasundharān(rām) sa viṣṭhāyān kṛṣm-ar-bhūtvā piṭṭhibhī saha pa-


30 anāśmayān haranēna prasāya(āy)āt[ī]| [7] Shashṭhir-va(hi-va)rṣa-sahasrāṇi
31 sa(vaj)gṛe vasati bhū(ḥ)midaḥ[!] i] a(ā)khēptā ch-ānumantā cha tēn-aiva[!] nara-

Third Plate

32 ka[ṣ]n* vrajēta(jēt,ṣ) Nandan[ti] tasya πitarāh pravalgantī pitāmahi[ḥ[ ]] bhū(ḥ)-
33 mi-dātā kulē jātaḥ sa ṛa-[ṭr]jāta bhavishyati [[9*] Dēv-ōtsava-dvāda-
34 syā(yā)aṁ Sāmasya dinē rēvati(ṭi)-nakshatṛēṇa[2] Sarvāṇ-ētān-bhāvinaḥ pārthi-
35 vēndrān-bhūyō bhūyō yāchate Nē[ṭṭa]*bhaṅjaḥ[| ][ ] sāmāṇyō-yaṁ dharm-ṣeṭur-ṃripānā-

36 kālē ka[ka]ēḷ pāḷaniyō bhavadbhī [['10*] Asmin-vaṇśē(ṇ-vaṇśē) kṣhē(ksha)yē(ya)-kṣhē[ ]
37 yō-nyō rāj[ā]
38 bhavishyatī | tasya-āhaṁ pūda-lagnō-smi mayā dattāṁ na lōpayeta |(yēt.*) Iṭi kama-
39 la-dal-āmu(ku)-[bindu]-[lū(ō)]lāṁ ārī(ēri)am-anuvichintya[3] manushya-jīvitaṁ-cha [ ]
40 itī[ ] sakala-
41 m-idam-udāḥri[ta]īn-cha vudhvā (budhvā) na hi purush[a]ī[ḥ] para-kīrttayo vilau(lō)pyāḥ[ ]

[12*] lā-
42 ṕichhitaṁ ārī-Jī(Jī)valōka-mahādevyā | anumataṁ Bhaṭṭa-ā-Arkadevēna pra-
43 vēṣi(ū)taṁ pratihāra-Rāulōna anujātaṁ vārgulī-Mahundēṇa
44 [u]lōtkīrṇaḥ [* arkaśalinā Nāpēṇa | likhitataṁ Sandhivigrāhī(ḥi)-Pānē[|][ ] Saṃva(Saḥva)ṭ 13[|][*  

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No. 45—MAHĀDA PLATES OF SOMESVARADEVAVARMAṆ: YEAR 23

D. C. Sircar and M. Venkataramayya, Ootacamund

The above-mentioned plates were edited in this journala in 1913-4 by the late Mr. B. C. Mazumdar under the heading 'Mahāḍa Plates of YōgēśvaradevaVarman.' Since then the record has not aroused further interest among scholars, although two more charters of the same family of chiefs, to which the donor of the Mahāḍa plates belonged, were subsequently discovered and their contents reviewed in this journal and elsewhere. They are (1) the Patna Museum plates of Sōmēś-

varadēva IIa and (2) the Kumārisimhē plates of Chōjakula-Sōmēśvaradēva.10 In the light of these charters, latterly discovered, it seems now possible to assign a more specific date to the Mahāḍa plates than what Mr. Majumdar suggested, viz., the 16th century A.C. Further it is also possible to draw certain conclusions in respect of the chronology, genealogy and history of the rulers represented in the above charters, the scene of whose activities lay in South Kōsala with their capital at Suvarṇapura (Sonepur) in Orissa.

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a Read tānōvēra.

b This prose passage containing some astronomical details regarding the date of the grant is followed by verses.

c Read 'anuvikṣiptā.

d Omit iti.

e The rules of saṅdhi have not been observed here.

f Read ukīrṇam and omit the danda.

g The name appears without the third case-ending required by the context.

h Above, Vol. XII, pp. 218 ff. and plate.

i Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 97 ff. and plate.

The said Mahāḍa plates are now the property of the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art attached to the University of Calcutta. They were obtained for examination through the kindness of Mr. D. P. Ghosh, the Curator of that Museum. On a careful examination of the original plates, it was found that a number of very important passages of the record were not properly read by Mr. Mazumdar in his edition of the record. In the first place, the name of the donor of the charter is not Yogeśvaradēvavaran but Somēśvaradēvavaran (line 21). Secondly, the name of the father of the donor is to be read as Dhāranadēvavaran (lines 16-17) and not Dhāranadēvavaran, as made out by Mr. Mazumdar. Thirdly, there is no mention in the inscription of Vaidhapatra which has been identified with modern Baudh and taken to have been the capital of the issuer of the charter. Lastly, the date of the record is not the 33rd regnal year of the issuer's grandfather (Somēśvaradēvavaran I) but really the year 23 (written both in words and in numerals in line 11) of his own reign. Hence the very title of the record has to be changed as the 'Mahāḍa plates of Somēśvaradēvavaran', since Yogeśvaradēvavaran in reality, did not exist at all. In view of all these important factors now brought to light on a re-examination of the plates, the record is re-edited here for the benefit of scholars.

After the introductory siddham symbol and the word svasti the inscription introduces, in lines 1-10, the reigning king Somēśvaradēva, who is called praścha-mahāśabda-samāvita, mahā-mahi-mayumālēśvara, mahā-bhūyapati and chalkavarttin. Of these titles, the first is known to have been used by feudatories and the last by paramount sovereigns. This combination of subordinate and imperial titles shows that the issuer of the charter owed only nominal allegiance to the overlords of his predecessors. The same conclusion is further suggested by the titles mahā-mahimayumālēśvara and mahā-bhūyapati, which were apparently deliberate modifications respectively of the feudatory titles of Mahāmayumālēśvara and Mahācyūhapati used by another member of the same family who issued the Kumārasinīhā and the Patna Museum plates. Other interesting titles used by the issuer of the Mahāḍa plates are dinakaatra-kula-mandana (i.e., scion of the solar dynasty), Karikāł-dvēmaya (i.e., of the house of Karikāla), Kāvērī-nātha (i.e., lord of the river Kāvēri) and Varuṇāvaravar-ādhivarsa (lord of Varuṇa or Uraiyūr, the traditional capital of the Chōlas), all of which refer to the descent claimed by the Telugu-Chōlas from the celebrated Chōja royal family. The epithet Sinha-dvēja-laśchhama may be either a modification of or a mistake for rakta-dvēja-sinha-laśchhama of the Kumārasinīhā plates. The expression Ayōdhyā-vininggata-sinhamāna-mamakakuta-pattav hallucina-dvēja-laśchhama seems to suggest that the issuer of the Mahāḍa plates claimed to have been enjoying the privilege of using certain insignia brought from Ayōdhyā, the ancient capital of North Kōśala. This, no doubt, has a bearing on the claim that the family belonged to the solar race, the main branch of which represented by the epic hero Rama ruled at Ayōdhyā. Another interesting epithet of the king, viz., Śrī-Vaidyapādha-pañkajk-harama, speaks of his devotion to god Vaidyanātha (Siva) whose temple lies on the river Tel, about 12 miles from Sonepur. The mention of the deity also in the Kumārasinīhā and the Patna Museum plates shows that he was the tutelary deity of the Telugu-Chōja ruling family of South Kōśala.

The date of the charter is recorded, in lines 9-13 in the following words: Śrī-Somēśvaradēvavaran pravaradhamāna-vijayarīja-samīvataraśaṁbhubi irurai-maṇḍalim 23 śraikh Māyāḥ maśī śukla-pakṣē tīkhu saṁyajyām ākaraśakṣī saṁtari mīnā-rāśiśhita-chandramasi Rauva Rivātyām-amrītā-yogē.

1 Mr. K. G. Goswami of the University of Calcutta, who examined the plates in the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, also suggested the same reading of the king’s name.
3 The passage may also be suggested to stand as Ayōdhyā-vininggata[κ] sīnhāvana-mamakakuta-pattavar-duṣṭak[κ] dvejapānā-laśchchana[κ]. In that case, we may think that the king’s emblem was both the lion and the dvejapān (the moon or Garudā).
MAHADA PLATES OF SOMESVARADEVAVARMAN: YEAR 23

There is considerable Telugu influence on the language, although there are grammatical errors. The 23rd regnal year of the king is given both in words (iruvai-mayilum for Telugu iruvai-muida or irucadi-muḍu) and figures.

The details of the grant are given in lines 13-21. It was made by the king when he was standing before Lankāvarttaka on the bank of the river Chitrōtpāla (i.e., the Mahānādi).

The genealogy of the donor as well as that of the donee are traced to their respective grandfathers. The donor, king SomēśvaradevaVarman, is described as the son of Dhārādādēvavarman and grandson of SōmēśvaradevaVarman belonging to the Kāspiracy gōtra. The donee of the grant is described as the Brāhmaṇa Madhusūdana, who belonged to the Vatsa gōtra and was the son of Purusottamama and grandson of Gacacādana. The object of the donation was the village of Chamānāla with the five pollicās named Mahādā (the findspot of the present plates in old Sonepur State, still retaining its ancient name), Atāṃāla, Māśakā, Khādana and Kōkatādana. The grant is stated to have been made for obtaining the favour of the god Vaidyanātha and for the increase of longevity, health and royalty of the donor, SōmēśvaradevaVarman, in the 23rd year of whose reign the record was issued.

Lines 25-30 of the inscription quote some of the usual imprecatory and beneficent verses. This portion is rather abruptly followed by three verses, of which two are in the Įpejīṭī and one in the Indraja;ī ( metre. These apparently form a part of an elaborate pañcandi of the Telugu-Chōḍī family of South Kōsala. The employment of these verses, which are really uncalled for, reminds us of such records as the Gaukuchi plates of king Indrapāla1 of Prāgyōṭisīha, in which the engraver is found to have felt the necessity of filling up some blank space at the end of the charter. Since the script of the last lines of the plates does not differ from that of the rest of the record, there is little doubt that they are coeval with the date of the gift. The first and second verses do not relate to the same person, for the second verse beginning, as it does, with the words gasy-abhā, 'in whose benevolence', referring to the person described in the first, introduces another chief who, being referred to as āsma bhāpatīḥ 'this king', could be none other than the donor of the charter, SomēśvaradevaVarman. He is again described as Yaśōgaja2 and as a lion to hostile3 kings. The third verse describes the king’s sport in the river Chitrōtpāla (Mahānādi). Here the stanza, stating that when the king sported in the Chitrōtpāla, which was associated with Svarṇavatī (Svarṇavatī-gatā), seems to imply that SomēśvaradevaVarman had his capital at Svarṇapūra, of which Svarṇavatī may be a feminine form. In a verse from the Bhājanāśā (VI, 48), to which Mr. Mazumdar draws our attention in this context, precisely a parallel sense is conveyed as the mention therein of Mathurā in the Kālandī implies its being the capital of the Sūryaśīna4 king. Mukunda mentioned in one of the verses no doubt refers to the god Vishnu and not to a later Rājā of Puri, 5

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1 The passage Chitrōtpāla[śir] Lankāvarttaka saṅkuṭha reminds one of such similar passages as Akṣara-
Vāraṇa-yām Bhagavatā kṣi-Purusottamadvē-pa-vaṅkuṭha in records like the Nagari plates of Anasagabhimā III. It is not clear if there was a deity at Lankāvarttaka or whether the king made obeisance to the holy spot of Lankāvarttaka itself. The modern Lankāvari, a hillock in the bed of the Mahānādi at Sonepur, seems to have been referred to as Lankāvarttaka in the inscription.

2 That the actual donor SomēśvaradevaVarman and the king SomēśvaradevaVarman in whose reign the charter was issued were one and the same is apparent, although the text of the record does not explicitly say so. The fact that the donation is made for the increase of the royalty of the donor shows that it was the reigning king who was the actual donor.

3 Kāmarāpaśa-anāvalī, pp. 130 ff.

4 This word can be read as Yaśōga; but this does not suit the metre. The text is, however, metrically faulty even in its sense.

5 The word āśita used in the verse seems to be derived from āśita.

6 Mathurā was the capital of the Sūryaśīnas. See B. C. Law, Some Mid-Indian Kāhāṭīya Tribes, Vol. I, p. 83.
Mukundadēva, who flourished in the sixteenth century A.C., as the palaeography of the record under study does not warrant such a late date.

Mr. Mazumdar did not attempt the palaeographical dating of the record. In our opinion, the characters of the inscription can be assigned to the 12th century A.C. They closely resemble, in respect of almost every test letter, those of the Sonepur plates of Kumāra Sōmezvara which were issued, as stated in the record itself, soon after the Sōmavaniś kings, Uddyōtakēśarīn and Abhimanuyudēva, had ceased to rule. These kings are known to have flourished towards the end of the 11th century A.C. ¹

Thus the Mahādā plates reveal the existence of a dynasty of Chōla kings who were ruling in Southern Kōsala about the 12th century A.C. and who were distinguished by the birudas, ariddhāravarabhujāśibhāsasenaprabhajapradgōtadinākarakulanandana-Kāśyapa-pagotrā-Kāverināthacalamavarabhūshaya-sināhadeva-jalāṇākhana-Vaṟlardırapparavaradhiśvara-Agūdhāviniruddhakāśanamanaiṭapatiravathānā-vaṟṟāḷa-vaṟṟāḷa-vaṟṟāḷa, etc. They were:

Sōmezvarādēvavarman

Dhārrāldevavarman

Sōmezvarādēvavarman (donor), capital: Suvargapura.

Now, king Sōmezvarādēva, the donor of the Patna Museum and the Kumārisimhā plates, likewise claims in a similar praśasti ⁴ to belong to the Chōla stock of solar descent and has the emblem of the lion figured on the seals of his grants. There are, therefore, strong a priori grounds to relate him and the members of his line to the family of Sōmezvarādēvavarman of the Mahādā plates. The possibility of a lineal connection between the two families is in a great measure strengthened by the close correspondence in the names of the several members of the two families. The genealogies supplied by the three charters under study stand thus:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mahādā plates</th>
<th>Patna Museum plates</th>
<th>Kumārisimhā plates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sōmezvarādēvavarman</td>
<td>Challamarāja</td>
<td>Chandrādityadēva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhārrāldevavarman</td>
<td>Jāvārājadeva (Yaśōrāja) I (Lord of Kōsala)</td>
<td>Yaśōrājadeva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sōmezvarādēvavarman (donor) Capital: Suvargapura</td>
<td>Yaśōrājadeva</td>
<td>Sōmezvarādeva (donor) (Lord of the entire Kōsala)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(son)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jāvārājadeva (Yaśōrāja) II (who meditated on the feet of Chandrādityadēva)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sōmezvarādēva II (donor), (Lord of the entire Kōsala and of Suvargapura).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 237 ff. and plate.
³ The text of the record at this place (l. 5) actually reads Vaṟṟāpara. Dr. Baghavan suggested that Vaṟṟāpara of Mazumdar’s transcript is a corruption of Uraṟṟāpara, the traditional capital of the Chōlas and of their ancestor Kārīkāḷa.
⁴ In the Kumārisimhā grant the praśasti is worded with slight difference as duriddhāravanamarajānēkarupaprthakārēvīnātha-pradgōtadinākarakulanandana-vaṟṟāḷa-raktadēvajā-nilalāṇākhana.
Both the palaeography and contents of the Patna Museum and the Kumārisinīhā plates indicate that they were issued by one and the same king, Sōmeśvaradēva II, lord of Kōsala, from his capital at Suvāryapura, the former in the 17th year of his reign and the latter in the 11th year. Both the charters were written by the same person, the cīrāānī Vākanātha. While the Patna Museum plates do not specifically mention the name of the grandfather of Sōmeśvaradēva II, the Kumārisinīhā grant names him as Chandrādityadēva. Since Jasārajadēva II of the former grant is clearly stated as meditating on the feet of Chandrādityadēva, we have here an indication that Chandrādityadēva was perhaps his father1 and this is confirmed by the other grant which specifically says so. Hence the donor of the two charters is identical and the genealogies supplied by them can be combined to form a single family tree as shown below:

Challamarājā

Jasārajā (Yaśōrājā) I (Lord of Kōsala)

Sōmeśvaradēva I

Chandrādityadēva

Jasārajadēva (Yaśōrājā) II

Sōmeśvaradēva II
(Lord of Kōsala, capital: Suvāryapura).

Before the correlation of this line of chiefs with the one in the Mahāḍā plates is established, the chronological position of the rulers of the line has to be determined. And in this respect we are on much surer ground than what palaeography alone can furnish. The palaeographical dating of the Patna Museum plates, so far attempted, has been divergent. R. D. Banerji, who edited the plates, assigned them to the 14th century A.C., while Krishna Sastri thought the characters of the record were referable to the 11th century, a view with which Dr. Hiramanda Sastri was inclined to agree. Indeed the palaeography of the record is not so late as Banerji suggests, since the letters show definitely much earlier forms than those found in the charters of the 13th or 14th century, of which we have instances in the Kēndupāṇḍa plates of Gaṅga Narasīhādēva II of Orissa, dated Śaka 1217 (1295 A.C.).2 They are also even earlier than the characters of the Bhuvanēśvar bi-lingual (Oriya-Tamil) inscription of Vira-Narasīhā of the 13th century A.C.3 and those of the Liṅgārāj Temple inscription of the Gaṅga king Narasīhā I of Śaka 1165.4 On the other hand, they have very close resemblance with the Bhuvanēśvar stone inscription of Svāpanēśvara, a general of the Eastern Gaṅga king Anīyaṅkabhīma who ruled in the 12th century A.C.4 The only difference noticeable between the records of Sōmeśvaradēva II under study and the afore-mentioned inscription of Svāpanēśvara is that the alphabet of the former shows rounded forms while the characters

1 Suggested by Banerji, above, Vol. XIX, p. 97.
2 Krishna Sastri thought that Chandrāditya was perhaps identical with Challamarājā, An. Rep. of the Ar. Ser., Eastern Circle, 1916-17, p. 4. G. Ramadas (Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 231) identifies Chandrāditya with Jasārajā I, a view with which we do not agree. The wording of the Kumārisinīhā grant is clear in indicating that Chandrāditya was the grandfather of the donor Sōmeśvarā.
4 Bhandarkar’s List, No 1327; J. P. A. S. B., Vol. XX, p. 41 and plate.
6 Above, Vol. VI, pp. 198 ff. and plate.
of the latter are straight and angular in shape, a difference which is perhaps due to our records being on copper-plates while the other is on stone. It is therefore permissible to conclude that the Patna Museum and the Kumārisimhā plates of Sōmēśvaradēva II were issued in the 12th century A.C., and that the five generations of kings figuring therein flourished during the 11th and 12th centuries A.C. It is found that the facts of contemporary history of the locality fully support the above chronological position for these chiefs.

Of the kings figuring in the genealogy, Chandrādityadēva seems identical with the Telugu-Chōla prince Chandrāditya who is described as a subordinate of the Nāgavānum Śinda king, Dhārāvarsha of Chakrāṭa in two Telugu inscriptions dated Saka 983, Śārvari, Kartoṣa śu. 5, Monday, corresponding to October 2, Monday, 1060 A.C., at Barasar and Potinar in the Bastar State.1 This chief is introduced with the same Telugu-Chōla praśasti commencing with the words arududbhavarava, etc., which Sōmēśvaradēvavarman of the Mahāḍa plates and Sōmēśvaradēva II of the Kumārisimhā plates adopt. An additional detail found in Chandrāditya’s praśasti is that he is called the lord of Ammaāmpapura. This city may be identified with Ambrogram in the Jeyapore agency, Koraput District, Orissa. The village lies about 75 miles east of Jagadalpur, capital of Bastar.2 But both the charters of Chandrāditya’s grandson, Sōmēśvaradēva II, were issued from Suvarṇapur (Sonepur). Whether Sōmēśvar II himself transferred his headquarters to Sonepur cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge; but there is no doubt that the Telugu-Chōla occupation of Sonepur followed the rule of the Sōvavānis in that region. Thus Sōmēśvar II must have issued his records from Sonepur sometime after the Kelgaţi (Sonepur) plates of the Sōvavāni Kumārādīghiraja Sōmēśvara3 had been issued from that city. It has been shown4 that the rule of the Sōvavāni Sōmēśvara should be assigned to the close of the 11th century A.C. and the beginning of the twelfth. The rule of Telugu-Chōla Sōmēśvar II at Suvarṇapur should therefore be relegated to a period about the commencement of the 12th century A.C. Since Chandrāditya was living about 1060 A.C., the approximate dates of the members of his family might be: Chālāma ragā (c. 1025 A.C.), Jasarājadēva I (c. 1010 A.C.), Sōmēśvaradēva I (c. 1050-75 A.C.), Chandrādityadēva (c. 1055-80 A.C.), Jasarājadēva II (c. 1090-1105 A.C.) and Sōmēśvaradēva II (c. 1105-1130 A.C.).5

These conclusions in respect of the chronology of the family of Sōmēśvaradēva II of Suvarṇapur would now help us to correlate this line with that of Sōmēśvaradēvavarman, the donor of the Mahāḍa plates, who as shown above, must have flourished about the 12th century. Since both the sets of rulers belonging to the same Chōla stock are found flourishing in the same age and locality they apparently belonged to the same family, and, in all probability, Sōmēśvaradēvavarman, the grandfather of the Mahāḍa plates, is identical with Sōmēśvaradēva II of the Patna Museum and Kumārisimhā plates.6 The main reason for identifying him with Sōmēśvaradēva II instead of Sōmēśvaradēva I is the following. The modification of the feudatory titles and the

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2 There is another place called Ambgaon in the Chanda District, Madhya Pradesh, about 120 miles north-west of Barasar. Whether this was the place referred to as the seat of Chandrāditya in this journal.
4 The Kumārisimhā plates of king Sōmēśvara II refer to a lunar eclipse in the month of Magha of the king’s 11th regnal year. In the period to which we have assigned this king, the above details tallied on three dates, viz., February 1, 1124 A.C.; January 21, 1125 A.C. and January 10, 1126 A.C. The intended date may be any one of these.
ATTENTION

The obituary note and the relevant illustration appearing in this issue may be removed and inserted in the beginning of the volume (Vol. XXVIII) at the time of binding.
DR. STEN KONOW

LATE GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHER FOR INDIA, 1906—1908

BORN
17TH APRIL, 1867

DIED
29TH JUNE, 1948

R. O. C. COLOMBO
SURVEY OF INDIA CALCUTTA
STEN KONOW

Dr. Sten Konow, the celebrated Indologist, passed away at Oslo on the 29th June 1948. In his death, philological research, specially the branch concerned with Old Central Asian languages, Sanskritic learning and Indian epigraphy, have sustained a very great loss indeed.

Dr. Sten Konow was born on 17th April 1867. His father was a Norwegian pastor. He studied in Christiania under Sophus Bugge and took a Degree in 1891 in Classics and German Philology. For some time he was a pupil of Pischel in Halle where he took his D.Phil. in 1893. He served as Assistant Librarian in the Royal Library at Berlin from 1894 to 1896. From 1896 to 1899 he was Lecturer and Assistant Professor in Christiania. He collaborated with Grierson from 1900 to 1903 in the editing of the volumes of the Linguistic Survey of India. Later on he was appointed Government Epigraphist for India. In that capacity he edited parts i, ii, vi and vii of Volume X, part vi onwards of Volume XI, the whole of Volume XII and a portion of Volume XIII of the Epigraphia Indica. After his service as Government Epigraphist for India, he returned to Oslo where he became Professor of Indian Philology and continued there till his death, except from 1914 to 1919 when he served as Professor at Hamburg and in 1924-25 when he was a Visiting Professor at Santiniketan.

He was a member of several learned societies in Europe; an Honorary Member of the German Oriental Society; a Corresponding Member of the Berlin Academy; an Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland and also of the Société Asiatique de Paris.

The range of his scholarly pursuit was as varied as it was extensive. In the field of epigraphy, his monumental work on the Kharāšṭrī inscriptions (C. I. I., Vol. II, Part I) is by far the most outstanding contribution. Other branches of research have been equally enriched by his facile pen. ¹

DR. STEN KONOW'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

Volume IX 1. Madras Museum plates of Vajrahasta III.
   2. Khatri plates of Maha-Sudeva.
   3. Two Buddhist inscriptions from Sarnath.
   4. Arigom Sarada inscription of Ramadaeva.
   5. Chandravati plate of Chandradeva.

   8. Sunao Kala plates of Samgamasisma.
   9. Balera plates of Mularaja I.

   12. Narasapatam plates of Vajrahasta III; Saka Samvat 967.

Volume XII 13. Harsot plates of the Chahamana Bhattarivaddha; Samvat 813.

Volume XIII 14. Talegaon copper-plates of Krishna-Raja; Saka 690.

5 DGA
Volume XIV 15. Ara inscription of Kanishka II; the year 41.
17. Taxila inscription of the year 136.
Volume XVIII 18. The so-called Takht-i-Bahi inscription of the year 103.
20. Shahdaur inscriptions, one apparently of the year 60.
21. Rawal spurious inscription of the year 40.
Volume XXI 22. Saddo rock inscription of the year 104.
24. Kalawan copper-plate inscription of the year 134.
Volume XXIII 27. Hidda inscription of the year 28.
Volume XXVII 29. Note on the Bajaur inscription of Merandos.
assumption of the imperial title of Chakravartin by the issuer of the Mahādā plates, to which attention
has already been drawn, as well as the influence of Telugu on the language of the record, as noticed
from the revised text published now, would suggest that the donor of the Mahādā plates is later
than the issuer of the Kumārisimhā and Patna Museum plates in which the above characteristics
are absent. The grandfather of the issuer of the Mahādā plates being probably identical with
Sōmēśvara II who issued the Kumārisimhā and the Patna Museum plates, Sōmēśvaradēvavarman
who issued the Mahādā plates may be styled as Sōmēśvaradēva III. If the identification suggested
above is correct, as it seems to be, the pedigree of the entire family of the Telugu-Chōḍa chiefs of
Suvanapura (Sonepur) would stand as under:

Challamarāja (c. 1025 A.C.)

Jasarājāda (Yaśōrāja) (c. 1040 A.C.)
(Lord of Kōsala)

Sōmēśvaradēva I (c. 1050-1075 A.C.)
(Lord of Kōsala)

Chandrādyadēva (c. 1055-1080 A.C.)
(Lord of Ammagatsapura)

Jasarājāda (Yaśōrāja) II (c. 1080-1105 A.C.)

Sōmēśvaradēva II (c. 1105-1130 A.C.)
(Lord of Kōsala, capital Suvanapura)

Dhārāladevavarman
(c. 1130-1155 A.C.)

Sōmēśvaradēvavarman III
(c. 1155-1180 A.C.)

The advent of these Telugu-Chōḍa chiefs into the South Kōsala country may be envisaged in this
manner. We have stated above that Chandrādityadēva of the Kumārisimhā plates may be identical
with Chandrāditya, a subordinate of the Nāgavaṇiśi ruler of Chakrakōṭa (Bastar), Jagadeka-
bhūshaṇa Dhārāvarsha, in 1060 A.C. Dhārāvarsha’s son Sōmēśvara I is credited with the
conquest of Kōsala in one of his records.1 Jasarājāda I, the father of Chandrādityadēva, is like-
wise described as having become the lord of the entire Kōsala country as a result of victories in
battle. It is just possible that Jasarāja I took part in the campaigns of the Nāgavaṇiśi Sōmēśvara
I in Kōsala and, as a reward for his services, was made the ruler of that country or parts of it to
administer on behalf of the Nāgavaṇiśi kings.2

If it is admitted that the advent of these Telugu-Chōḍas into Kōsala took place through the
agency of the Nāgavaṇiśi Sindas of Chakrakōṭa (Bastar), it would be necessary to explain how the
family came to be associated in the first instance with the Sindas. For, it is obvious that they must

1 The Mahādā plates of this king are stated to have been issued on Sunday, Māgha 6u. di. 7, when the sun was
in Makara and the moon in Rēvasti during the 23rd regnal year of the king. In the period to which we have assigned
this ruler, there are several dates on which the above details tally, viz., January 1, 1156 A.C.; January 9, 1166
A.C. and January 2, 1183 A.C. The date quoted in the inscription might have been any one of these.


5 DGA
have been emigrants from the Telugu country where they had their original home and where a number of Telugu-Chōḍa chiefs who were distinguished by the same *birudas, aridurddhāvara*, etc., flourished in different parts of the Cuddapah, Anantapur and Kurnool Districts of the Madras State. Some other princes of the same stock are found, at a later date, as subordinates of the Chāḷukya kings, Sōmēṣvara I (1043-68 A.C.) and Vikramādiya VI (1076-1126 A.C.) administering parts of their dominions. These were Bācharasa, Gōnaraśa and Bhimarasa (1058 A.C.) in the Bellary District, Saṅkarasa (1059 A.C.) in the Anantapur District, his son Rēvarasa (1059-88 A.C.) and another prince Chaṇḍapakarasa (1082 A.C.). Since so many of these chiefs were subordinates of the Western Chāḷukyas in different parts of their kingdom it is likely that still another branch of the same stock, viz., that of Challaṁarāja, found its way into Bastar and came into contact with the Sindas evidently in the time of his son Jasarājadeva I (1040 A.C.) as Western Chāḷukya generals in the wake of the conquest of that country effected by Vikramādiya VI as *Yuvārāja* during the reign of his father Sōmēṣvara I. The name Sōmēṣvara held by the princes of the Sinda family and the Chōḍas of South Kōśala might perhaps be taken to indicate their vassalage, at least for a time, under Western Chāḷukya Sōmēṣvara I. The title *Ayjanagandhaṇāraṇa*, assumed by Telugu-Chōḍa Sōmēṣvara II, might be taken as an indication pointing in the same direction, since it was a well-known epithet of the generals and subordinates of the Western Chāḷukyas.

**TEXT**

*First Plate*

1 [Siddham][1] Svasti [][*] pañcamaḥsadvat(hda)samanvita-mahāmaḥiḥmaṇḍalē-

2 āvara-aridurddhāvara-brujābhasv(śu)rapprahaṇḍāpṛśyaddhi-

3 nakarakulanandana-Kali(r)i-kālīvaya-Kāśyapagōtra-

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4 No. 444 of 1920 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.
5 No. 416 of 1920 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.
6 Above, Vol. IX, pp. 178-9; *Hyd. Arch.*, Vol. XLVIII (1919), pp. 119, 136, 140 and 142. Besides the testimony of Bhīṣma to the campaigns of Vikramādiya VI in Chakrākōta, there are other grounds to substantiate the same. The Kazipet Dargab inscription of the Kākatiya chief, Bēta II (c. 1055-1109 A.C.), furnishes the information that Bēta's father Prōla I (c. 1050 A.C.) conquered the Chakrākōta-viśaya and the same record further states that he obtained the Annamakonda-viśaya from king Trailōkya-nālla (Sōmēṣvara I). See *Hyd. Arch. Series*, No. 13; *Corpus of Telangana Inscriptions*, No. 7, text lines 5 ff. : *Bhiṣmati*, Vol. XVIII (1941), Part II, pp. 189 ff. It is clear, therefore, that Prōla should have effectively contested the conquest of Chakrākōta (i.e., Chakrākōta) in the reign of this Chāḷukya king, evidently as a camp-follower of Yuvārāja Vikramādiya VI.

It may be contended that the advent of the Telugu-Chōḍas into Kōśala might have taken place during the invasion of that country by Rājēndra Chōḍa I. This is not likely in view of the fact that the Telugu-Chōḍas of this period were on terms of enmity with the imperial Chōḍas, witness Telugu-Chōḍa Bhīma being killed by Rājēndra I, the father of Rājēndra Chōḍa I, in c. 1000 A.C. (*Cēlas*, Vol. I, p. 217). Later, a king of Pottapi (i.e., a Telugu-Chōḍa) was killed by Vītharājendra in c. 1067-8 A.C. (*Ibid.*, p. 233). It seems best, therefore, to view the Telugu-Chōḍa advent into Kōśala as having taken place through Western Chāḷukya-Sinda agency.


8 From the original plates and from the facsimile published above, Vol. XII, between pp. 220-1.
9 Expressed by a symbol.
10 The word *maḥa* is omitted in Mr. Mazumdar's transcript.
PLATES OF SOMESVARADEVAVARMAN: YEAR 23

4 Kāverinātha-kamalavarabhu(bhū)[sha]na-sīnga[ha](sīnha)dhvajalāńchha[na*]-
5 Varañpuravarañdehyva-Ajô(yô)dhyāvinirggatasi-
6 āṅghā(āṅghā)ananāmaṇianamakṣapatāvaradhana-di(dvijavā[rā]jala(lā)-
7 śčhana-satrudhavajapuñjarakāṣha-satraṃḍal(i)ka(sa*mu)dv[ha]nandaṃ-
8 satyamārttaṇḍa-dēva-ārī-Vaidyānātha-padapa-

Second Plate: First Side
9 kaṁ[takajabhu(m)mar(m)maha(h)bh(h)patill(t)la* Chakravarti-ṛi-Somē-
10 śvañdēvaru(ra)* pravarṇdhamāna-j[i]i(v)jaya-r[a]jya]-saṁv[a][ta]rañhavullu
11 iruvai-mūṇ[u]m 23 śṛṣthi* Māghē máśi sukla-pakṣē titbhau
12 saptamāṁ Makara-sthīt savitār Mīns-rāśi-sthitā-chandramasi
13 Ravi(vau) Rēvatsya-amṛita-yogē Chē(Chi)trōtpalīyās-tīrē Līa(La)māvarta-
14 ka-san(s)āmāḥ Vatsa-sagōtrasya Gādādhara-nāma[h*] paurāṇya Vatsa-sagō-
15 trasya Purushottu(t)ta[na]*nāmaḥ putrāya Vā(Kā)yē(śya)pa-sagō(gō)trasya[na19 śṛi-Somē
16 śvañdēvarmaṇaḥ pauntra(tr)ā Kāyapa-sagōtrasya śṛi-Dhāralla-

Second Plate: Second Side
17 dēva[va]*rmaṇaḥ putraḥ Vatsa-sagōgōtrāya Madhu(s)ādana-nāme(mnē) Vṛā(Brā)-
18 hmaṇaṃya ā-s(a)īrānta-hautra-vēda(vidē) Rū(Ri)g-vēda- tantra-vṛā(brā)hman-ādhyā-
19 yinē Mahādā-Atāṇḍrālī-Mējāhā-Khādana[12-Kōkāṭidē[va]
20 pañcha-pallikā-sahitaṁ Champāmalla-grāmani chatuḥ-simā-pa-
21 richhi(chechhi)na[na*] sa-jala-sthala[na*] sa-machchha(ṣṭha)-
22 kachchhap-ādikā[na*] sa-viṣṭhant(ta)ap-ārṣyaṁ
23 niśṭhī-niśṭhī-pahitaṁ sarv-vāpardra(dra)va(v)jārti(jt)itaṁ(tam) apū(ṭ)ra[13- sa- 
23 hitaṁ(tam) āyur-ārōgya-rajya-vīrvidhya(ddhy-a)ṛtham[na*] śṛi-Vaidyānātha[dēvasyapriti]-

1 Mr. Marumdar read this as "kārtekantā".
2 This epigraph is evidently a corruption or alteration of kumbhâya-paragāhāna which occurs among the same
3 string of biradas held by a Telugu-Chôla chief (No. 468 of 1923 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.)
4 Whether this is to be restored as pujārīkākṣa or pujārīkākṣa is doubtful. The latter seems to be
5 more appropriate.
6 This is the Telugu honorific plural for bhūpatēth.
7 This is Telugu for dēvasya.
8 Read sanavanaramālu.
9 Mr. Marumdar’s reading is "śvaradēva-chāḍā-ravēthamāna-j[i]i(v)jaya-r[a]jya]-saṁv[a][ta]raṁ vāṚa[ï]-
10 kachchhanavānu[da]nā 33 śṛi(dē)-Māhē
11 The u sign may actually be a kākapāda to indicate that the letter ma was inadvertently omitted.
12 An anusvāra was incised and deleted above yṣa.
13 Mr. Marumdar read this as Atrāṇīṭēthā.
14 Mr. Marumdar’s reading is Mīdhakā-khyā-det.
15 This word evidently stands for āpūratuka, i.e., eschew for failure of heirs. Cf. nidhi-nikṣēp-āpuñjatā-
16 dhana-dand-śpoñjataka-sambhā in lines 21-22 of the Kumāresimhā plates. Mr. Ramadas wrongly reads "jātaka of
17 the above passage as stāka and offers a fanciful interpretation of the word. The expression dand-śpoñjataka
18 literally ‘what is derived from punishment’ no doubt means ‘money exacted from offenders as fines.’
No. 46—TWO NISHIDHI INSCRIPTIONS FROM SONDÄ

(1 Plate)

P. B. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

Sondä in the Sirsi taluk of the North Kanara District, Bombay State, is a small hamlet with few residential buildings. A dilapidated fort, some deserted temples, a few monastic establishments and ruins scattered over a large area bespeak the eminence once enjoyed by this place. Besides being the headquarters of the Nayaka chiefs who ruled over this tract during the period of the 16th to the 18th centuries, this was once, in the heyday of its glory, a busy commercial centre with its communications extending far into the inland on one side and to the foreign countries through the activities of the Portuguese and English traders on the other. The name of the place occurs in earlier records in various forms, viz., Sôdâ, Sôde, Svâdî, Sôdâpuri, Sudhâpuri, etc.

In addition to the matha founded by the Mâdhva saint Vâdirâja Tirtha, Sondä contains a Jaina matha of pontifical dignity, though in a decayed condition. This is known traditionally as the

1 Mr. Mazumdar read this name as Yâgôsvaradévavarmanâ. What he read as gô is definitely Sô and the letter read by him as mô is mô. For similar forms of mô see varmanâ in the same line and manḍala in plate C a, line 1, of the Sompeur places of Kumôra Sômesvaradévâ; above, Vol. XII, p. 240 and plate.

2 The text is here metrically defective.

3 The mark of punctuation is superfluous.

4 North Kanara District Gazetteer, part II, pp. 52 and 349.
Akalanäka and the Bhaṭṭākalanäka maṭha² among the Jaina community of the Bombay-Karnāṭak area. At a distance of about a mile from this maṭha and in the midst of the forest is preserved a cemetery set apart for the interment of the deceased pontiffs of the maṭha. In this burial ground, arrayed in decent rows and constructed with characteristic designs stands conspicuous a large number of Jaina sepulchres known as nishidhis. On two of these constructions, which are more dignified and stand prominently at the commencement of a row are engraved the following two epigraphs which I copied in the course of my epigraphical survey of the Sirsi taluk in 1939-40. I am editing them below for the first time with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India. These inscriptions will hereafter be alluded to as A and B for the sake of brevity.²

A is incised on the four sides of the first nishidhi construction, while B is inscribed on a slab fixed to the front side of the second nishidhi construction referred to above. The figures of a reclining seat and kamaṇḍalu are carved in the right and left corners at the top of B. The orthographic convention of doubling the consonant after r is followed in some expressions of both the records; e.g., -uḥārya and avarğa- occurring in lines 4 and 9 of A and 5 and 11-12 of B. Both the inscriptions are written in Kannada characters and language which is of the post-Vijayanagara period. Except for the last two lines of A, which contain a Sanskrit verse in the Anushṭhābha metre, the composition of the two records is in prose.

A is an epitaph announcing the death of a Jaina teacher, named Akalanākadeva, on Kārttika śu. 10, Wednesday, of the Śaka year 1530 and Plavaṅga. This teacher bore the following titles: Rāya-rājaguru (royal preceptor of kings), Māṇḍalāchārya (high-priest of the state), Mahāvīdā-vādīśvara (supreme disputant in profound discussions), Rāya-vādi-Puṭāmaha (god Brahmr among the royal disputants), Sakala-viśvajana-chakravarti (paramount sovereign in the assemblage of the learned) and Bāllālarṇyā-jīvavakrakā-pālaka (saviour and protector of life of the Ballāla king). He bore two more epithets, viz., Dēśi-gaṇyāgraṇyā and Saṅgītapura-sinhibhava-palāchārya, which show that he belonged to the Dēśi gaṇa of the Mūla saṅgha and adorned the pontifical throne of Saṅgītapura. The Sanskrit verse at the end states that the memorial vault (nishidhi-mañḍapa) was caused to be erected by Bhaṭṭākalanakadeva, expounder of the Śyadvāda doctrine. In the context of events it would not be unreasonable to assume that this Bhaṭṭākalanakadeva was a disciple of the deceased Akalanākadeva.

In regard to the date cited above, it may be noted that the Śaka year was current and the weekday was Tuesday on the specified tīkhi. Making allowance for this discrepancy it may be equated with 1607 A.C., October 20.

B again is an epitaph purporting to record the demise of another Jaina teacher, by name Bhaṭṭākalanakadeva, who expired in the second gaḥṭikā after sunrise on Kārttika śu.10 of Śaka 1577, Jaya. This teacher also bore the titles, such as Rāya-rājaguru, etc., enumerated above in respect of Akalanākadeva. The expression Dēśi in line 4 might be an abbreviation of Dēśi-gaṇyāgraṇyā occurring in A and as such it would indicate that this Dēśi gaṇa of the Mūla saṅgha.

¹ At the time of my visit to the place I met the Śvāmīji of the maṭha and he told me that it was called the Bhaṭṭākalanaka maṭha. In response to my enquiry Prof. A. N. Upadhye, Rajaram College, Kolhapur, informed me that the maṭha was known as that of Akalanaka and that this traditional name was quite popular (letter dated 28-8-1944). While editing the copper plate records from Sōndā, Prof. K. G. Kundiarager observes that the maṭha took its name after its founders, Akalanaka and Bhaṭṭākalanaka; Jaya Karnāṭaka (Karnāṭaka monthly), 1925-26, p. 13. Both these traditions are in support of the identification of the two Jaina teachers proposed in the article. But the same writer is not certainly correct when he says that the maṭha was founded in the 4th century A.C. As shown in the article, the maṭha must have come into existence only during the 16th century A.C.

² These inscriptions have been registered as Nos. 77, 78 of 1939-40, An. Reds. on S. I. Epigraphy for 1939-40 to 1942-43, Appendix E.
The date cited above is not verifiable as the week-day is not mentioned. However, we may note that the Śaka year was current, and thus the specified tithi would correspond to 1655 A.C., November 9, Thursday.

In order to understand the importance of these two teachers and their identification, we have to probe into the religious and political history of this region as gathered from other sources. During the period of the 14th to 17th century A.C., there flourished in the southern parts of the North Kanara District and the adjoining tract four principalities, viz., Nagire, Hāduvali or Saṅgītapura, Biligi1 and Sōndā. The rulers of these chiefdoms came under the powerful influence of Jainism and the Jaina teachers who were responsible for this influence belonged to a particular monastic order. Two inscriptions2 found in the dilapidated Ratnatraya Basadi (i.e., Jaina temple) at Biligi in the Siddāpur taluk of the district furnish valuable information about these monks.

There flourished an erudite Jaina teacher named Chāрукirti Paṇḍita who founded a monastery at Śravāṇa Belgoḷa. He bore the titles, Rāya-rājaguru, Maṇḍalāchārya, Mahāvāda-vādiśvara, Rāya-vādi-Pitāmaha, Sakala-vidvajjana-chakravarti and Ballīṭarāya-jīvaśāka-pālaka. This teacher might have lived in the early part of the 12th century A.C., since, according to some inscriptions from Śravāṇa Belgoḷa, he earned the last-mentioned title by saving the life of the Hoyasala king Ballīḷa I (1100-1106 A.C.). This teacher belonged to the Dēśiya gana and Pustaka gachchha of the Mīla saṅgha.3 The subsequent teachers who were connected with the spiritual heritage of this preceptor adopted these titles in their prāstiti. Śrutakirti was a later descendant in the monastic lineage of Chāрукirti Paṇḍita. The spiritual succession of Śrutakirti as recounted in inscription No. I in the Ratnagrāha Basadi at Biligi is as follows:

- Śrutakirti I
- Vijayakirti I
- Śrutakirti II
- Vijayakirti II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Akalanka I</th>
<th>Chandraprabha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vijayakirti III</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akalanka II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhaṭṭākalaṅka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The earliest date mentioning the last named teacher, Bhaṭṭākalaṅka, as known from the above epigraph is Śaka 1510 or 1587 A.C. So on a modest calculation of about 25 years per generation we can place Śrutakirti I approximately in the beginning of the 15th century A.C. It may be

1 This name is spelt as Biligi and Bilagi also and Sanskritized into Śvetapura.
2 I copied these epigraphs privately in 1938 and the above account of their contents is based on my own readings of their texts. These records have been published with many flaws in 1940, October-November issue of the Kannada journal Śravāṇa Śāhitya whose editor states that he copied them in 1926. Their summaries have been published with some mistakes in the Annual Report on Kannada Research for 1939-40, Nos. 88, 89. The late R. Narasimhachar referred to one of these inscriptions in his recount of Bhaṭṭākalaṅka based on its copy found in the Madras Museum; Karṇaṇḍa Karicharita, Vol. II, p. 348. But it is now seen that that copy must have been defective in parts.
3 Karṇaṇḍa Śuddhānvaśana (Bibliotheca Carnatica, 1923), Introduction, p. 5; Biligi Ratnagrāha Basadi inscription No. I.
noted in this connection that the principality of Hāduvalī or Saṅgitapura also came into being approximately at this period. The chiefs of Saṅgitapura seem to have accepted the spiritual leadership of these preceptors from the beginning and extended their support to Śrutakirti I in establishing a monastery of pontifical status in their capital. Hence, as we shall see in the sequel, these preceptors were designated the pontiffs of the Saṅgitapura throne (Saṅgitapura-simhāsana-patiśākhya). The influence wielded by these preceptors over the rulers of Saṅgitapura is illustrated by the following assertion in the above epigraph. It states that Vijayakirti I earned renown by securing the throne for Indrabhūpāla of Saṅgitapura. In regard to Vijayakirti II, the second epigraph from Biligi observes that he became eminent from his seat at Saṅg tapura.

We may reckon a few more facts about these teachers, indicating the sphere of their influence as gathered from the first inscription from Biligi and a few other records. Vijayakirti II caused to be constructed a well-planned town named Baṭṭakala (modern Bhaṭṭkal) on the west coast for his pupil Dēvarīya who may be identified as the namesake elder brother of the Hāduvalī chief Gururāya* who lived approximately in the first quarter of the 16th century. Soon after this and by the middle of the 16th century, the Hāduvalī chiefs lost their entity as a political unit. It was about this time that the chief of Biligi, another principality in the neighbourhood, were rising to power. The influence of these teachers is discernible on these rulers during the next few generations. Thus we are told that Akalaṅka I and Chandraprabha illuminated the path of the Jina by confounding the spiritual truths to their pupils Narasimhā and Timma. These two chiefs were the sons of Ghaṭeṇḍra I of the Biligi family. This Narasimhā’s grandson Raṅgarāja was fervently devoted to Akalaṅka II and calls himself the foremost and favourite pupil of the latter. Raṅgarāja’s son Ghaṭeṇḍra II was equally attached to Akalaṅka II and more so to Bhaṭṭakalaka. Arasappa Nāyaka II, the founder of Svaḍī or Sondā, another chieftain nearby, seems now to have come under the direct influence of these teachers, more so, probably on account of his matrimonial alliance with the Biligi family.

Epigraphic evidence is precise to prove that the chiefs of Sondā accepted the religious leadership of the above-noticed teachers of Saṅgitapura and revered them as their own spiritual preceptors. A copper-plate inscription from Sondā, dated Śaka 1490 or 1567 A.C., and issued by the Sondā ruler Arasappa Nāyaka II, recounts the genealogy of his preceptors from Vijayakirti II of the above account, who is characterised as the lord of Saṅgitanagara. In this epigraph the chief styles himself the favourite pupil of Akalaṅka II. In the light of the above facts, it is easy to see how and under what vicissitudes the teachers who were originally at Saṅgitapura, passed on from that place to Biligi and thence to Sondā. It is in the fitness of things to assume that a monastery of pontifical status was founded for his preceptor Akalaṅka II by Arasappa Nāyaka II in his capital at Sondā. The above review thus lends support to the prevalence of the tradition noticed in the

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1 An. Rep. on Kau. Res. in Bom. Proc., 1939-40, p. 47. The genealogy of the Hāduvalī chiefs set forth here commences with Sūluvēnda who might have lived about the closing part of the 14th century, as his son Mallirāja has Śaka 1332 or 1410 C.E. as his last date.
2 This Indrabhūpāla may be identified with Indra in the genealogy of the Hāduvalī chiefs, who has the date Śaka 1394 or 1472 C.E.; loc. cit.
3 The passage in question reads as follows: Tat-samānā-kramā yādē Saṅgīti-dhāya-parā balahau ċiṃāṇa Vi-

jayakīrtī-āryaḥ paramāṇa-paṇḍitāḥ ||
4 loc. cit., the genealogy of the Hāduvalī chiefs.
6 Jaya Karmātaka, 1925-26, copper plate records of Swādī, No. 2; Madra Epi. Coll., C.P. No. 2 of 1940-41.
8 Biligiya Aras algo# Yāmāraka (Kannada work), verse 125. Arasappa Nāyaka II’s daughter Vṛmānīhā was married to Ghaṭeṇḍra II of the Biligi family.
9 Jaya Karmātaka, 1925-26, copper plate records from Svādī, No. 6.
beginning of this study, connecting the name of Akalanka and his disciple Bhatakkalanka with the Jaina matha at Sondha.

Akalanka II and Bhatakkalanka were the most celebrated teachers of the line; and the Biligi epigraphs furnish the following information about them. They were held in esteem not only in the chieftains of the west coast, but were also renowned in other parts of the country on account of their profound learning and versatile scholarship. Well-versed in secular arts, a pleasing personality, of extraordinary ability and immaculate character, Akalanka II rose to eminence as the foremost among the circle of preceptors on account of his incessant practice of proclaiming and expounding the scriptures, tendered with affection. His disciple Bhatakkalanka had mastered several branches of learning, was endowed with many good qualities and excelled in the art of exposition. Proficient in the treatises of his own school of philosophy as well as in those of others, constantly engaged in study and teaching, he proved himself to be an impressive figure, a critical scholar and a judicious advocate in the royal courts and in the assembly of learned men. It is stated at the end of the Biligi inscriptions that they were written by Bhatakkalanka. We can detect the personality of the learned author in these epigraphic compositions which evince scholarly treatment and literary style in its excellence.

A Jaina teacher named Bhatakkalanka is the author of the Karuṣṭaka-Sabdānusāsana, a scholarly treatise on Kannada grammar, written in Sanskrit in the sūtra style of Pāṇini. "This work is not only more elaborate and exhaustive than the previous ones, but also more methodical in the treatment of the subject. It may be said to be in Kannada what the Aṣṭādhyāyī is to Sanskrit and its learned commentary (written by the author himself) may in a way be compared to the Mahābhāṣya of Patanjali."¹ This work was completed in 1604 A.C. From the colophon of the work, it is gathered that the author's teacher was Akalanka who was learned and assisted him in its composition, that these preceptors belonged to the lineage of Chārukirti Pāṇḍita and that they bore all the titles and epithets of the teachers of Saṅgītapura noticed above. Noteworthy among them is the characteristic title Saṅgītapura-sīṃhāsana-patijāthārya which is also applied to Akalanka in the first nishidhi inscription from Sondha as seen above.

Judging from the evidence adduced so far, it may be safely concluded that the grammarian Bhatakkalanka and his teacher Akalanka are identical with Bhatakkalanka and Akalanka II of the line of teachers from Saṅgītapura. We may further recognise the identity of the same two teachers in the two nishidhi records from Sondha under study. The intimate connection of the grammarian Bhatakkalanka as well as of his preceptor Akalanka with Sondha is attested by another authority also. This is Devachandra, an author of the last century, who states in his Rājāvāṇikathā that the grammarian Bhatakkalanka learnt all the sciences at Sudhāpura,² i.e., Sondha, naturally under his teacher Akalanka.

Lastly, we may note that the above identification does not lead to any inconsistencies, although it might conf r longevity upon the two teachers. The earliest date available for Akalanka II from an inscription³ is Śaka 1187 or 1541 A.C. and he died in 1607 A.C. according to A. This would show that he lived approximately over 60 years. Similarly Bhatakkalanka was alive in 1587 A.C. and he passed away in 1655 A.C. according to B. So he might have lived approximately over 80 years.

¹ Karuṣṭaka-Sabdānusāsana (op. cit.), Intro. p. 7.
² Ibid., p. 6.
³ Akalanka II figures in a copper-plate record as the preceptor of the Biligi ruler Raṅgarāja. The epigraph refers itself to the reign of the Vijayanagara king Sudhāśiva and is dated Śaka 1487, Raktakshī; Jaya Karuṣṭaka, 1025-26, copper-plate records from Śvādi, No. 2.
TWO NISHIDHI INSCRIPTIONS FROM SONDA

B. Ch. Chhabra
Reg. No. 625 HE (C)/52-499.

Scale: One-half
Survey of India, Dehra Dun
No. 16] TWO NISHIDHI INSCRIPTIONS FROM SONDA

INSCRIPTION A

TEXT:

First Side

1 Śrī [*] Śvasti [*] Śrī-jay-ābhuyadāya Śālivāha-
2 na-Śaka-varuṣha 1530 neya Plavaraṅga saṁvatsara-
3 da Kārttika śu 10 Budhavāradali śrīmad-Rāya-

Second Side

4 [rājaguru-Maṇḍalāchāryya Mahāvāda-
5 [vādīsvara Rājya-vādi-Pitāmaha Sakala-vidvaj-ja-
6 [na-chakravarti Ba]llālāraṇya-jīva-rakṣā-pā-

Third Side

7 laka Dēsi-gaṇ-āgraganīya Saṁgītāpurapu-siṅhā[sa]-
8 paṭṭāchāryya śrīmad-Akālaṁkādēvavargalū
9 śrī-Paṁcha-guru-charaṇa-smaranīyānāvā svarggaṁsthar-ā-

Fourth Side

10 [daru] [*] Avara niśhidhi-maṁtāpakke maṁgala mahāśrī [**]
11 Bhaṭṭākalaṁkādēvēna Śyādvāda-nyāya-vādīnā | nishi-
12 dhī-maṁtāpō śṛḍhībhāsthīyād-ā-chaṇḍra-bhāṣ[k]aranā ||

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

Be it well! On Kārttika śu. 10, Wednesday of the Śālivāhaḥ Śaka year 1530 and Plavaraṅga, the illustrious teacher Akālaṁkādēva, bearing the distinguished titles, Rāja-rājaguru, Maṇḍalāchārya, etc., attained heaven, meditating on the feet of the Five Teachers. May this vault erected in his memory be auspicious! This memorial vault (niśhidhi-maṁṭapā) was arranged (i.e., caused to be erected) by Bhaṭṭākalaṁkādēva, expounder of the Śyādvāda doctrine.

INSCRIPTION B

TEXT

1 Svasti[*] Śrī-jay-ābhuyad[da*]*ya Śālivāhana-sa(śa)ka-va[rsha]
2 1577 Jaya saṁ[va*] [tsa] [ra*] da Kārttika sudh(d)ha daśāmi
3 Śür[y]dayavāśāda ya(e)raḍane ghaḷigeya-
4 lī Dēsi śrīmad-Rāya-ṛ-ṛajaguru Maṇḍa-
5 lāχyā(ḥa)ryarunī Mahāvāda-vādīsvara Rā-
6 ya-vādi-Pitāmahaḥ Sakala-vidvaj-jana-chā-

1 From impressions.
2 These are the Paṁcha Paramēṣṭhins, the well known pentad of Jaina theology, viz., Jīna, Siddha, Āchārya, Upādhyāya and Śādhu.
5 DGA
ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

Be it well! On Kārttikeya śuddha daśamī of the Sālavāhana Śaka year 1577 and Jaya, in the second ghatikā after sun-rise, the illustrious revered tāraka Bhāṭṭākalamkādēva attained heaven, while he was absorbed in meditating upon the feet of the Five Teachers in the presence of the Four-fold Saṅgha.¹

No. 47—TEKKALI PLATES OF MAHARAJA UMAVARMAN; YEAR 9

(2 plates)

M. VENKATARAMAYYA, OOTACUMUND

This set of three copper plates was received for examination in 1931 by the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Mysore, Madras, from the Deputy Tahsildar of Tekkali, Visakhapatnam District. It is registered as C. P. No. 13 of 1934-35 in the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, 1934-5. The Superintendent for Epigraphy reports on page 52 of the said Report, on the charter as follows:

"The plates measure 6½" by 2½" and have a ring hole of about ¾" in diameter near the left margin, through which passes the ring measuring 3½" in diameter. The ends of this ring are soldered into the back of an oval seal which bears a worn-out legend on its oval counter-sunk surface measuring about 1½" by ¾". The ring had been cut when the plates were received by me. The first plate is engraved on the inner side only, while the other two plates have writing on both the sides, the second face of the third plate bearing only two lines of writing. The whole set including the ring and seal weigh 79 tolas and without these only 48 tolas. The plates are reported to belong to the Raja of Tekkali, who has published an inaccurate text of the inscription in the Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol. VI, p. 53. The Raja does not mention the place, or history, of the discovery of the plates, but only states that a Karnam of Tekkali had these in his possession when they came to his notice."

The seal of the plates is very much worn out; nevertheless traces of four letters, in a single line, are visible. Of these the last can be made out as kta. The Raja of Tekkali, however, reads the whole legend as pitribhaktab which is not clear in the photograph. It is not improbable that the legend might have been as read by the Raja, since we have three other instances of a similar legend which occurs on the seals of the Kōmarif plates¹ and the Bobbili² plates of Chandavarmar and on the Chicaole plates of Nandaprabhaśanavarman.²

¹ Lines 10-13 are inscribed in the top portion of the slab.
² The Four-fold Saṅgha might be the Nīma Jina, Sthāpana Jina, Dravya Jina and Bhavya Jina, defined in the Prasambha Stamkhāra; Jaina Iconography by B. C. Bhattacharya, p. 17.
³ Above, Vol. IV, p. 143.
⁴ Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 39.
⁵ Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII, p. 48. Dr. Fleet, who edited this record, could not decipher the legend on the seal. This was, however, read by Dr. Hultsch as P(itribhaktab): above, Vol. IV, p. 143.
The four seals are now reproduced here, for the first time, for comparison.

The characters of our inscription resemble those in the first two grants cited above, all of which are engraved in the southern script. In some cases, like m and r, the letters of the present grant show a rounded appearance as compared with those of the Bihatprâshthâ grant and the Dhavalapêta plates of Mahârâja Umavarma; in which they appear angular. In all these charters including the one under study, the characters bear remarkable affinity to one another especially in the marking of the serif which is deeply cut. On palaeographical grounds the script of the above two charters of Umavarma has been assigned to the first half of the fifth century A.C. Our record may also be placed in the same century on the same grounds. The Superintendent for Epigraphy, however, remarks about its script as compared with that of the Bihatprâshthâ grant as follows: "From the more angular aspect of the script adopted in this inscription and also the more archaic form of certain letters and its orthographical peculiarities, this may have to be assigned to an earlier period. The forms of subscripts for y and r adopted in this inscription, resemble those found in later Kushâna epigraphs. The doubling of the consonant before the ōpâha also suggests an earlier model like the Naîja inscriptions." It is difficult to agree with the line of argument adopted above, since it is not quite correct to compare these Kaliâga grants which are in southern characters with the Kushâna records which are in northern characters.

As regards the orthography of the Tekkali plates there is nothing particular to remark. There are very few errors of composition or those committed by the scribe. A consonant after r is duplicated. The doubling of the consonant before a ōpâha is found in dhamma-krâma (line 9) and vikramâ (line 9). Yudhishtîrâna for Yudhishtîrâ (lines 14-15) is evidently a mistake. There is only one instance of the use of b for v (sambatsara, line 16). The phraseology of the grant is in many respects similar to that obtaining in the allied Kaliâga grants cited above except for a few differences. Thus, the passage dhamma-krâma-vikramâbyam (mai) ðânam-anupâdam-ek-ch-iti ðâsa khala sa dhamma may be compared with the following one in the Bihatprâshthâ and other grants; dharmam-krama-vikramagam-angatama-yogd-avaya mahâna-anuvâsanam pratrittakantridam-dana-sad-dhammaan-anupasanyadhi, etc. Towards the end of the record and before the mention of the vikrama there is an interesting endorsement to the effect that the charter was written by the king in his own hand and was as such capable of destroying sins. It runs, nîjâ sah-avastâlikhitam sâsanam pâpa-nâstvam. Here the word likhitam is perhaps to be understood in the sense that the king attested the original deed of gift himself since the inscription says that the king himself was the executor (avaya-ajñâ). Mention is made of another person, Kâsavadîva of Pishâpura, who is also stated to have written it. The latter evidently was the person who actually wrote the inscription on the copper plates which was later engraved over.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Except the three imperative verses, the rest of the composition is in prose.

The object of the charter is to record the gift of a village called Astihârô or Hârô as a tax-free agrahâra to a Brîhama Yaśasarma of the Kâsîpata godra by Mahârâja Umavarma who describes himself as pitripâdhâdhyâta. The date of the grant is given in words as the seventh day of the dark fortnight of the month of Mâgha in the ninth year (of the king’s reign). The king himself was the ajñâ, i.e., executor of the grant. The record is stated to have been written (likhitam) by the king himself. It is also recorded that Kâsavadîva, a resident of Pishâpura wrote (likhitam) the charter. As explained above, the king perhaps issued the original charter in his own hand and executed it, its copy having been reduced to writing on the copper plates by Kâsavadîva.

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1 Above, Vol. XII, p. 4 and plate.
2 Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 139 and plate.
3 ARSIE, 1934-35, p. 52.
4 See below p. 302, foot-note 2.
The order conveying the gift was issued from the victorious Vardhamānapura.

In the century to which Mahārāja Umavarm of the present Tekkali plates has been assigned there ruled in Kaliniga another king of the same name, viz., Kaliṅgādhīpati Umavarm, already mentioned, who was the donor of the Brhadprāshthagrants and of the Dhavala-pēta-grants. That both may be identical seems at first sight plausible, but it was perhaps not so. In the first place there is a marked difference in the seals attached to their respective grants. Those of Kaliṅgādhīpati Umavarm have the legend in four lines ending with the name of the donor in the genitive case. The one attached to the present Tekkali plates has only a single line as legend which in all probability reads pitribhaktaḥ. The absence of the title Kaliṅgādhīpati among the titles of Umavarman of the present charter may be considered as another factor pointing in the same direction of their non-identity. Whether the Umavarman of the present Tekkali plates belonged to the same family as, if he was not identical with, his namesake of the records cited above cannot also be ascertained with the evidence at our disposal. On the other hand, there is a possibility of our Umavarman being in some way linearly connected with two other kings of Kalinga who flourished in or about the same century, viz., Kaliṅgādhīpati Chaṇḍavarman of the Bobbili and the Kōmarti2 plates and Sakala-Kaliṅgādhīpati Nāḍaprabha-māna-varman of the Chhacole plate.3 In all their grants the legend on the seals is the same, viz., pitribhaktaḥ. A common legend like this used by several kings on the seals of their charters would indicate that it was more than a personal epithet of a particular ruler, perhaps a cognomen indicating one family. We have a similar instance of a common legend adopted by the Eastern Chālukya dynasty, viz., Tribhuvanānākusras. Although this occurs as a personal attribute of a number of kings of this dynasty, its adoption as a legend on the seals of their charters by different members of the family invests it with greater significance than that of merely indicating a particular ruler. Perhaps it gained importance as a common title of the family as a whole. Similarly, it may be said that the kings who used the legend pitribhaktaḥ were all of one family, whose dynastic appellation, if any, is not at present known. The origin of the legend can be traced to the personal epithet pitripāla-unādyāktā or bappabhatīrakapadābhandhaḥ by which these kings are found to style themselves. While there were other rulers belonging to different dynasties, viz., the kings of the Māṭhara, Pallava, Sālankiyana and Vishnukundinis, families, who used the same epithet, none of them adopted it as a legend on their seals.

As stated above, king Umavarman of the present charter was not the overlord of the whole of Kaliṅga, as he does not bear the title Sakala-Kaliṅgādhīpati or even Kaliṅgādhīpati. He seems to have been ruling only a portion of the country from his capital at Vardhamānapura. I have stated elsewhere4 that Kaliṅgādhīpati Chaṇḍavarman of the Bobbili and Kōmarti plates should have

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1 Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 39 ff. and plate.
2 ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 142 ff. and plate.
3 Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, pp. 48 ff. and plate.
4 See article on the Madras Museum plates of Anantaśaktivarman, above, p. 223. The chronological position of another early king of Kaliṅga, viz., Viśākhavarman, who issued the Kōrēga-pāla plates (above, Vol. XXI, p. 23), remains uncertain. The script of this record resembles the characters of Kaliṅgādhīpati Umavarman's grants (Brhadprāshthagrant and Dhavala-pēta-plates) and those of the present Tekkali plates of Mahārāja Umavarman. Viśākhavarman does not bear the title Kaliṅgādhīpati and his charter is issued from Śripura. Neither the ring nor the seal of his grant is forthcoming to help us in deciding whether he was a pitribhakta king or not. To take a clue from his name Viśākhavarman, we might suppose that he was the son of an Umavarman, since Viśākhak, i.e., Skanda, was the son of Umā, i.e., Pārvatī. If future discoveries substantiate this conjecture, it would appear that the Bappa-bhūṭāraka for whose heavenly bliss he made the gift of the village recorded in his Kōrēga-pāla plates (omad-bappa-bhūṭārakas-padaṁ sara-lokād-pracharkaṇām bhāyaḥ puṣy-agpāyaṁ) is to be identified with one of the two kings of the name of Umavarman. If he was Kaliṅgādhīpati Umavarman of the Brhadprāshthagrant, it might be supposed that soon after his death and before Viśākhavarman could consolidate his power, Kaliṅgādhīpati Chaṇḍavarman wrested the Kaliṅga kingdom from the young prince and thus deprived him of his lordship over Kaliṅga as well as the title of Kaliṅgādhīpati.
acquired the kingdom of Kaliṅga soon after Kaliṅgādhīpati Umarvarman had ceased to rule. Our Umarvarman, who belonged to the same family as that of Chaṇḍavarman, must have been holding sway over a part of Kaliṅga sometime after Chaṇḍavarman, that is, in the third quarter of the 5th century. Of the three kings who belonged to this line of pitribhakta rulers, viz., Chaṇḍavarman, Umarvarman and Nandaprabhāṇjanavarman, only Umarvarman did not style himself as Kaliṅgādhīpati. Since the characters of Nandaprabhāṇjanavarman’s grant belong to a period later than those found in the inscriptions of the other two pitribhakta rulers, we may consider Umarvarman of our grant as having preceded him but to have come after Chaṇḍavarman who immediately followed Kaliṅgādhīpati Umarvarman, whose family is not known. It would appear that owing to the causes unknown, Umarvarman lost his hold on the whole of Kaliṅga. Some time later Mahārāja Nandaprabhāṇjanavarman restored the power of the family to its old position, since this king is found to assume the title Sakuta-Kaliṅgādhīpati. He was in his turn, superseded by another line of Kaliṅga rulers, viz., the Vāśishṭha family to which belonged Anantavarman, Lord of Kaliṅga, who acquired the kingdom by his own prowess as recorded in his Siripuram and Śrūṅgavarapuṇḍa plates. Thus, of the three pitribhakta kings, Chaṇḍavarman ruled the whole of Kaliṅga from his capital at Sinhāpuram. His successor, Umarvarman of the present plates, administered only a part of the country from his seat at Vardhamānapura. Nandaprabhāṇjanavarman, evidently the last ruler so far known of this line, again exercised sway over the whole of Kaliṅga from his seat (vāsaka) Sārapalli as recorded in his Chicaco plates. Since this place was only a vāsaka or camp, he might have had his capital elsewhere.

Of the places mentioned in the present grant, Pīṣṭapura is well-known. The others, Vardhamānapura and Āsthīhāvēra have been identified respectively with Vaḍāma in the Palakonda taluk, Visakhapatnam District, and Atava in the Śrūṅgavapukota taluk in the same District by the late Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharlu. These are situated at a distance of more than fifty miles from each other.

Some of the villages referred to in the early Kaliṅga grants have not been satisfactorily identified so far. In the following list, I have tried to indicate their modern names.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference.</th>
<th>Village mentioned in the inscription.</th>
<th>Modern name.</th>
<th>Taluk and District.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 33 (Bobbili plates).</td>
<td>Tirithhāya</td>
<td>Tāgem</td>
<td>Chipurapalle taluk, Visakhapatnam District.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 142 (Kōmari plates).</td>
<td>Kōṅtūra</td>
<td>Kottūra</td>
<td>Srikakulam taluk, Srikakulam District.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 49.
2 Ibid., Vol. XXIII, p. 56.
3 ARSIE, 1934-5, part II, para 2. If the name of the latter village is to be taken only as Havēr, I am unable to locate it.
4 This identification has already been suggested by Mr. C. R. K. Charlu; above, Vol. XXVII, p 302.
No. 48—PURI PLATES (SET B) OF GANGA NARASIMHA IV

(D 1 Plate)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

Sometime ago, my friend Mr. Paramānanda Āchārya, Superintendent of Research and Museum, Government of Orissa, kindly sent me for examination a copper-plate inscription recently secured by him from Puri for the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar. On examination, it was found to

1 From impressions.

2 Possibly we have to read asē Havēra, treating asē as an indeclinable and Havēra as the name of the village.

I owe this suggestion to Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra.

Read svatamahānām navamān navam.
be the second of the two sets (A and B) of copper plates of the Eastern Gaṅga monarch Narasimha IV, published without facsimile by the late M. M. Chakravarti in J. A. S. B., Vol. LXIV, 1895, Part I, pp. 128 ff. It was also found that considerable improvement in Chakravarti’s reading and interpretation of the inscription, especially in the grant portion containing an early specimen of the Oriya language, is possible. I am therefore re-editing the grant portion of the inscription incised on plate VI-VII.

Chakravarti found the inscription in the Saṅkarānanda Maṭha at Purī, about half a mile to the south of the Jagannātha temple and close to the old palace of the Purī Rāja. It was originally incised on seven plates but the fifth one, together with the seal, is missing. That only six loose plates (without the missing fifth plate) came into the possession of the Maṭha is indicated by a modern inscription in Dēvanāgarī on the obverse of the first plate. It runs as follows:

1 idam tāṁra-sākana-sadakāna
2 śrīmatā-parmahāṁsa-parivṛājakācārya-Mogavadhana-
3 piṭḥādhiśa-jagadguru-dāndi-Bilabrahmaniḥda-Sara-
4 svati-svāmīnā padē arapitam.¹

The plates measure each 13.3 inches by 11.1 inches. The first and the seventh plates have inscription only on the inner side, while the other plate are inscribed on both the obverse and the reverse. The plates (with the exception of Plate VII which has no writing on the reverse) were consecutively numbered, the particular numerical figure being engraved on the left margin of the reverse of each plate. The figure for 1 is of the Telugu type, while those for 2 and 3 are of the medieval B āgali type, 2 ro emblazon modern Telugu and English 3 and 3 the Dēvanāgarī form of the same numeral. The figure for 6 is interesting to note. The figures for 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 and 9 also occur in the text of the inscription (Plate VI B, lines 12, 21; Plate VII, line 3). The numbers of lines on the different plates are as follows: IB—25, IIA—24, IIB—24, IIIA—24, IIIB—25, IVA—24, IVB—25, VIA—24, VIB—28, VIIA—23. The six plates together weigh 851 tolas.

The characters of the inscription are Gaṇḍī influenced by Nāgarī, though a few letters (e.g. r) have forms approaching those of the letters in modern Oriya. The engraving is careless done. A blunder is often so formed that it is difficult to understand whether the engraver had the palatal or the dental in mind. In our transcript, we have sometimes ignored the forms of s looking like š and vice versa. This is to avoid a large number of corrections in the transcript. The language of the versified portion of the inscription is Sanskrit; but the grant portion in prose is predominantly Oriya. The orthography often exhibits influence of local pronunciation.² The same proper name has sometimes been spelt differently (cf. Raḍāsūpa-Rādha=sa=2a=, Rakṣapaṭa=Raṇaka=, Vāraṇa=Vārōga=, Oḷamvīl=Oḷamōḷ=).

The charter was issued by the imperial Eastern Gaṅga monarch Narasimha IV who is known to have ruled in 1378-1402 A.C.³ It contains no less than three dates, the first in 1395

¹ Read idam tāṁra-patrap. śaṭkam śrīmat-parmahāṁsa-parivṛājakācārya-Bhūgavardhana-piṭṭādhikā-
   jagadguru-dāndi-Bilabrahma-nanda-waṇas-svāmimān padē arapitam.
² In Oriya s is usually pronounced as ə. Note also the contractions nra for narā, pī for pati, gebrē for gebrē.
³ The latest definitely known date of the king is Saka 1324 (=31st Aọka or 25th regnal year). See S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 1016. He may not have been living in Saka 1328 when his wife Pārvatī-mahādevī made a gift in favour of the god Narasimha of Simhachalam (ibid., No. 731). Subha Rao (J.A.H.R.S., Vol. VIII, pp. 70 ff.) takes 1414 A.C. to be the last year of the king’s reign as another of his wives, named Nīladevi, made a gift in favour of the same god in Saka 1333 (S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 1072). But this is uncertain as the queen seems to have been a widow at the time of the grant. A recent suggestion that the king died in 1409 A.C. (cf. J. O. R., Vol. XIX, p. 135) is based on a misunderstanding of the evidence of S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 1208, which belongs to the reign of Bhīma II and not of Bhīma IV as is wrongly supposed.
A.C., and the second and the third respectively in the following two years, viz., 1396 and 1397 A.C.

The first five plates (including the lost fifth plate) as well as three quarters of the obverse of the sixth plate are occupied by the introductory part of the charter dealing with the genealogy of the royal family to which the issuer belonged and the achievements of the imperial Gaṅga rulers down to the issuer himself. The importance of this part has often been discussed by scholars on the basis of Chakravarthi's transcription published more than half a century ago. In the present paper we are especially interested in the latter part of the document recording the grant made by Narasimha IV in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named Dēvarathāchārya who was apparently the priest in charge of the worship of a god named Ugrēśvarādeva.

The genealogical part of the inscription ends in line 19 on the obverse of plate VI. As one of the plates (Plate V) is lost, it is not possible to count the number of the lines in the inscription consecutively from the beginning. The end of the metrical part of the record dealing with Gaṅga genealogy is indicated by the words śubhakam-astu. The grant portion of the charter then begins with the date given in words as the expired Śaka year 1316. Line 20 says that the above year corresponded to the 22nd Aśā year of king Vīra-śreṣṭhī-Narasiṅhahādeva (i.e., Narasimha IV of the imperial Gaṅga family) who was endowed with titles like "the lord of the fourteen worlds". The details of the date in which the charter was drawn up are given in the next line as Tuesday, the eleventh tithi of the bright half of the month of Vṛṣchika, i.e., the solar Mārgaśīrṣha or Agraḥāyaṇa. The date is irregular for Śaka 1316 expired; but, for Śaka 1317 expired, it corresponds to Tuesday, the 23rd November, 1395 A.C.1 This date is said to have fallen in the 22nd Aśā year, i.e., the 18th r ginal year of the Gaṅga king Narasimha IV who is believed to have ascended the throne about 1378 A.C. and ruled at least up to the year 1402 A.C. At the time of issuing the grant the śri-charāṇa, i.e., the king, who purified (cf. a-rajaḥ) himself by offering worship (possibly to the family deity Purushottama-Jagannātha2) was staying in the bhūtara-nacara of the kaṭaka (city or residence) of Vārāṇasi, i.e., the present Cuttack. In this inscription, as in the corresponding passage of some records of the king's ancestor Naraśimha II (circa 1278-1305 A.C.), the word vijayā has been used in its modified Oṛiya sense of 'stay', etc. Nacara is an Oṛiya corruption of Sanskrit nagara and means a city, palace, etc. Bhūtara-nacara, which is the same as abhyantara-nacara of some grants of Narasimha II, seems to refer to the king's stay in his palace at Cuttack. The following officers were then in the king's presence (lines 22-23): (1) Mahāpātra Krishnānanda Sāndhīvikraghika, (2) Mahāpātra Lāṇḍuṣṭhāra Aṅkārī, (3) Mahāpātra Gopiṇātha Sāndhīvikraghika, (4) Pātra Śiddhēsvaṇa Jēna, (5) Deśārapikāṭha Trīvikrama Sāndhīvikraghika, and (6) Kīnā Śēṇāḥyaksha. Among the official designations, the word pātra indicates a minister and mahāpātra a minister of a higher rank. Sāndhīvikraghika was a minister dealing with matters relating to war and peace. The word jēna originally meant a prince of the royal blood, but later came to be a title of the nobility and ultimately a family name. The word purīkṣha (Oṛiya purīkha) means a superintendent, governor, etc. Deśārapikāṭha seems therefore to be the same as the pratiṣṭha (officer in charge of the palace-gate). Śēṇāḥyaksha was a leader of the forces.

The last line (line 24) on the obverse of Plate VI says: how the king (śri-hasta; cf. śri-charāṇa above) made a grant of land in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named Dēvarathāchārya in accordance with the mudala that had been settled b-farā Purā-śīrakarā Viśvanātha Mahā-nāpāti. Mudala is a Telugu word meaning dīkṣā or order and is first noticed in the records of Narasimha II. In Oṛiya,

2 See J. O. R., Vol. XVII, pp. 269-15. It is very probable that a substitute was installed after the original image of Purushottama-Jagannātha, established in the Gaṅga palace at Cuttack by Anangabhima III, had been carried away by Sultan Firūz Shāh of Delhi.
however, the word seems to be used in a modified sense to indicate an arrangement made according to order. That *mudala* and *jātā* were not used in Oriya exactly in the same sense is suggested by epigraphic passages using both of them. The Oriya inscriptions of the SuryaVaśiśa have the following passages in a similar context: *vaiyā vaiśā, Agnivarnā mudārābārā gohārē vaiśā mudala, avadhārīś ā vayā pramāsī, avadhārīś āyāyā vādā mudala, samastaṁka mudādvārā dvigāhā hōlā, purā-nivāśe 'gaihā hōlā, āyāyā vālā hōlā, etc.* We have to note also the expressions *Gatārasinga-sūtra-sūtra-āyāra-āyāra-āyāra-āyāra mudala* and *avadhārīśa-mudala-pramāsī* occurring in the latter part of our inscription. The same modified sense of the word can also be traced in the Mādala Pāṇjī in such passages as *śri-nacara vijā kar mudala karīlā, śri-pāda mudala, rājuvar-ē-manta mudala karī, etc.* Mahāśeṇāpīti was a high military officer, apparently higher than the śvādhyākṣa mentioned earlier. Śrikaraṇa indicates a scribe-accountant and purū, prefixed to it, may possibly connect the official with his pura or capital of the Gaṅga monarch, although it may also be connected with Sanskrit pura and point to a front rank among the Śrikaraṇas. The word purū occurs in another grant of Narasimha IV as pūrō, while the Mādala Pāṇjī speaks of two officers of a Gaṅga king named Anagabhimma as Pōra-Pānjiḥara-Pārīkṣaḥ Mihunī Paṇḍa and Pōra-Śrikaraṇa Suryana-Puranāyaka.¹

Line 1 on the reverse of Plate VI says that the land granted to Dévarathācāraya measured one hundred vāṭīs. It is further said (lines 1-5) that on Pāṇjiśavā (Wednesday), the 2nd of the solar month of Viśēchika (Mārgasīrsha) and the seventh liṭhī of the dark half of the lunar month in the 23rd Anka year, the Śri-śaraṇa (king), when he was doing japa (counting of beads) after having offered worship at the kāṭaka (city or residence) of Dévakēta and when a number of officials were in his presence, granted two villages covering one hundred vāṭīs of land to Dévarathācāraya. The details of the date show that it corresponds to Wednesday, the 22nd November, A.C. 1396, a year after the grant was originally made. The officers present on this occasion were: (1) Pātra Mahāśimini Pūrūkita, (2) Dvārapārīkṣaḥ Trivikrama Sāndhyavagha (Sāndhivyāggha), the same as No. 5 of the first list of officials quoted above, (3) Vvaśilēkā Śomanātha Vahēnīpāti, and (4) Bhitarabhaṅgāra-adhikārī Naraḥari Sāndhyavagha. In the official designation Vvaśilēkā, the word vvaś is the same as Sanskrit vivaśa (Prakrit vvaśa)-mahā, while lekā means a Śūdra servant of a king or a deity. Vahēnīpāti was a commander of the forces, possibly the same as Śeṅghēk ṭheka mentioned in the first list quoted above. The designation Bhitarabhaṅgāra-adhikārī (bhita being the same as Sanskrit abhyantara) suggests that there was another officer styled Bhitarabhaṅgāra-adhikārī. The Bhitarabhaṅgāra-adhikārī was probably the officer in charge of the treasury or store-house in the inner part of the royal palace. On this occasion also the mudala or arrangement regarding the grant was made in the presence of the officer Pūrō-Śrikaraṇa Viśānātha Mahāśeṇāpīti. According to this arrangement (lines 4-5 on the reverse of Plate VI), the one hundred vāṭīs of land granted to Dévarathācāraya were offered in the form of two villages situated in the Madanakhaṇḍa vishaya which formed a part of Koshṭhādēśa consisting of eight khaḍjas or divisions (like the said Madanakhaṇḍa). Madanakhaṇḍa is later referred to as Odāmōḷō-Madanakhaṇḍa. The two gift villages are called here Śaśāgrāmī-Mokṣhēśvara and Dakṣiṇa-Rādasāgrāma, although later the former has been referred to only as Śaśāgrāma and the latter sometimes as Raḍa or Raṣā. The first village was a part of Śaśāgrāma, known as Mokṣhēśvara. Koshṭhādēśa or Kothṭhādēśa is the name of a Pargana in the Puri District; but the expression may also indicate an area in the king's private possession.

² Cf. Mādala Pāṇjī, ed. A. B. Mahānti, Cuttack, 1940. pp. 27, 28, 30. Unfortunately, Mr. Mahānti has absolutely nothing to say about the meaning of such words, in spite of the fact that they are not recognised even in the voluminous Pratāpa Mahābāha (pp. 2091) published in 1942.
³ Op. cit., p. 28. Some of the officers known from our record are also mentioned in several other inscriptions of the time of Narasimha IV. Cf. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. VIII, pp. 70 ff.
⁴ DGA
Lines 5-11 say how on Saturday, the Mina-sankrânti on the eleventh liti of the dark fortnight in the same year (vê-sâni), the villages Saisô and Dakshina-Râdasâ (i.e. South Râdasâ) granted to Devarathâchârya were made the vûli-bhâmi or temple land of the god Ugrâsvarâdevâ of Kâshthadéâ. The date corresponds to Saturday, the 24th February 1397 A.C., i.e. about three months later. The king (sri-çarana) was then staying at the kâtaka of Nârâyana-pâpura and, while coming back from that place after having offered worship, had beside him the officers: (1) Vûdhâlêîika Sômanâtha Vâkivipâ, the same as No. 3 of the second list, (2) Bhuvanâsvara Sandhivigraha, (3) Lakshmanânanda Sandhivigraha, and (4) Bhûtera-bhayâra-adhikâri Narahari Sandhivigraha, the same as No. 4 of the second list, which has been quoted and discussed above. The mudala is said to have been settled in the presence of Devarâparikshâ Trivikrama Sandhivigraha, known from both the first and the second lists quoted above, and also of Aim Parrô-parikshâ-Mahâpûra Gatêsvadâsa Srîchandana. The word Aim in the official designation of Gatêsvadâsa (that came to be a title of nobility), seems to be the same as Arabic Amin probably indicating an officer of the revenue or judicial department. This suggestion cannot be regarded as improbable in view of the use of words like mukcâlâ (Arabic muqâbâl, Persian maqûbâl) in the records of the Sûryavanâsî, quoted above. The expression âjûnâ-vedî-mudâl (literally, "according to the arrangement made in accordance with the words of the order") may suggest that the said arrangement was made by Gatêsvadâsa on behalf of Trivikrama. The gift land (sâsana), having the boundaries fixed on all the four sides and including the temple (of Ugrâsvarâdevâ), was endowed with a patâ or deed (lines 10-11). Thus, although originally Dêvarathâchârya, who seems to have been the priest of the god Ugrâsvarâdevâ, was intended to be the donee of one hundred rûpas of land, the god himself was ultimately made the donee of the above land as well as of the land around the temple.

Lines 11-20 describe the first of the three plots of the gift land. It was the village of Saisô situated in Ojâmâvâ-Madunakhanda. Its income to go to the king's revenue department (kôtha-vîjâpara bhipta) is given in words as 322 mûdhas but in figures as 322/6 in which 6 indicates a fraction (gripa') of the mûdha. Mûdha now indicates the weight of half a tola and the coin of this name referred to in the record was either of gold or silver of the said weight. It appears, however, that, in lieu of land, actually the revenue of the village called Saisôgrâma, amounting to a little above 322 mûdhas possibly of silver was granted. The contraction kai, put after the amount of money in this case, is also noticed in the latter part of the inscription in lines 21 (saë-sâthi-sa-mûdha 152 kai) and 26 (tri-sâ-vî 30 kai). It may have the meaning of the usual expression ankès-âpi which, however, is placed before the figures. Possibly it is a contraction of Sanskrit kârîla meaning 'only'. The grant seems to have been made with vêddhi and avadâna. In Oriyâ the word avadâna is used in the sense of a gift. Thus the passage vêtddhi-avadâna madyâ kai may indicate "together with the power to improve and alienate the land." But it is better to suggest that the amount of income quoted included vêtddhi and avadâna. In that case they would mean 'super-tax' and 'tax' respectively. The record next enumerates the boundaries of the above village according to the determination of Thamaëhi-nâëka (nâyaka) who was the padêsâta (i.e. prabhâra or representative) of Purô-srikarâna Visvanâtha Mahâsûrâpati. The eastern boundary started from the road to Chandraprabhâ lying to the west of the sâsana (gift village) of Bhagavatîpura and ran up to the Hijala tree near or on the track of or at Pûràpôdâ to the east of

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1 I am doubtful whether this kai is the same as the accusative-dative suffix ku found in Pl. VII, l. 14, Pl. VII, l. 4.
3 For ârânâ or âradhâna meaning 'tax' in an Oriyaan record, see Journa. Bomh. Hist. Soc., Vol. VI, p. 107, to which my attention was drawn by Mr. K. R. Tripathi.
Vāṅgariśogrāma. The northern boundary began with parts of the road to the north of the house of Chidichili lying to the south of Vāṅgariśogrāma and of the three-pronged cattle track going to the house of the Brāhmaṇas and ended in half of the waters (udāś-sātī for Sanskrit ardha-svātās) of the river Vāṅgaṇī (later also called Vāṅgaṇī). The western boundary began with half of the waters of the Vāṅgaṇī river to the east of Rādasaogrāma and ended with parts of the cattle track going to Kuchiāgā to the south of Ānvatōta on the river bank of Gopināṭhopura on the further side (of the river Vāṅgaṇī). The southern boundary began with Harāgā to the north of Gopināṭhopura and ran up to the northern bank of the river (Vāṅgaṇī) and to parts of the three-pronged cattle track going to the śāsanas (gift villages) of Bhagavati-pura and Gopināṭhopura. In all (gā), this was one village with fixed boundaries on all the four sides.

Lines 20-26 describe the second plot of land consisting of the village of Rāḍasaō (i.e. Dakshiṇa-Rāḍasō) situated in the same viśhaya. The grant was made with ciṛddhi, saikā and avadāna. The terms ciṛddhi and avadāna have been discussed above; the meaning of saikā is uncertain. It may stand for Sanskrit saikā and indicate a tax collected on the basis of a hundred articles of a kind. The income of the village is given both in words and figures as 127 māḍhas, probably of silver. This income is qualified by a passage which seems to suggest that it was being enjoyed by the king's second queen (mañjñi-ghranta) for worshipping the god Purushottama. The eastern boundary of the said gift village started with parts of the waters of the Vāṅgaṇī river to the west of Sāisōgrāma and ran up to parts of the road going to Raktuṭapaṭā (or Raktuṭapāṭā) to the south of the temple land (of Ugrēśvarādēvā). The northern boundary began with parts of the road to Raktuṭapaṭā to the south of the temple land and ended in parts of the waters of the Vāṛgō (or Vāṛgō) river. The western boundary started from parts of the waters of the Vāṛgō river to the east of the Vijaya-lakshmi-pura śāsana (gift village) and ended in parts of the cattle track below the embankment called Sudunāgālī in the Gopināṭhopura śāsana. The southern boundary seems to have begun with parts of the cattle track on the river bank to the north of the Gopināṭhopura śāsana and to the west of Ānvatōta and ended in parts of the waters of the Vāṅgaṇī river. In all (gā), it was one village with settled boundaries on all the four sides. As in the case of Sāisōgrāma, only the income of the village seems to have been granted to the donee.

The third piece of the gift land, situated in the same viśhaya, is described in lines 26 ff. It consisted of 30 cātis of land apparently around the temple of Ugrēśvara. The eastern boundary of this land, called a grāma without mentioning its name, ran from the Vāṅgaṇī river to the west of Vāṅgariśogrāma to parts of the cattle track on the river bank to the east of Vāṅgrāma. The northern boundary ran from the Vōhāla road (possibly indicating a road marked by a Vōhāla tree) at the head of a field to the south of Vāligrāma to parts of (the waters of) the Vāṛgō river. The western boundary seems to have started from parts of the waters of the Vāṛgō river to the east of the Vijaya-lakshmipura śāsana and ended in a point which is left out owing to inadvertence. The southern boundary ran up to parts of the road going to Raktuṭapaṭā to the north of Rāḍhasōgrāma. Line 2 on Plate VII says that the above land was in all (gā) one grāma having fixed boundaries on all the four sides. The next line says that the gift altogether consisted of three grāmas of which the jita' or income was 449/5 māḍhas and the land measured 30 cātis. It may be pointed out that 322/6 māḍhas and 127 māḍhas would make actually 449/6 māḍhas.

The above gift land was granted, according to lines 3-5, to Dévarathāchārya to last as long as the moon and the sun would endure by means of the deed of gift, together with (mudhya kari water, land, fish, tortoise, tree and forest and with the temple of Ugrēśvarādēvā and the land around it. Lines 5-8 say partly in repetition of what was said above that Narasāṁhâyadēvavarman

1 From Telugu-Kannada jita (from Sanskrit jirita), 'pay, wages'. The Madala Pāñji (op. cit., p. 29) also uses jita in the sense of revenue-income.
of the Āṭṛya gātra granted the two villages of Sāisō and Dakṣiṇa-Rājasō, situated in the Oḍānō-Madanaḵhaṇḍa vishayya and having the boundaries specified above, to the Brāhmaṇa Dvārakātārman of the Āṭṛya gātra, a student of the Kāṇa branch of the Yajurveda, as a permanent rent-free holding, together with water, land, fish, tortoise, tree, forest, sand and bāhi (homestead land). It is interesting to note that the Gaṅga king adopts the Kṣatriya name-ending vairavā as his ancestor Bhānu II does in his Puri plates.1 The Tārikh-i-Firuzshāhī,2 while describing Sultan Firuz Shāh's invasion of Jāñagar (i.e., the Gaṅga kingdom of Orissa) during the reign of Bhānu III, speaks of the Rājas of that country (i.e., the Gaṅga kings) as Brāhmaṇas. It thus appears that the Gaṅga monarchs claimed variously to be Brāhmaṇas or Kṣatriyas of the Āṭṛya gātra, although basically they must have been Dravidians. As I have shown elsewhere the claim to the Āṭṛya gātra was essentially connected with the genealogy of the Gaṅga family, fabricated by the court-poets of Anantavarman Chāndeganga.3 According to lines 8-9, the Tāmrādhibhāṣa (the same as the Śravāntibhāṣa or keeper and writer of records), Narahari Sṛṅgāvīka, appears to have received as his perquisite one vāṭa of land out of the gift land, according to an arrangement approved of by the respectable people of the villages. The next line says how the Tāmrādhibhāṣa (engraver of the plates), Gurudasa Śivapati, received half of the area of land received by the Tāmrādhibhāṣa. Gurudasa, however, appears to have been too big an officer to engrave plates and it is possible to think that he got the work done by a coppersmith.4 The charter proper is followed in lines 10-18 by nine of the usual imprescriptible and benedictory verses. The above verses are followed by three new stanzas in lines 18-23. The text of the verses is extremely corrupt.

A number of geographical names are mentioned in the inscription. The different orders of the king in regard to the grant recorded here were issued when he was staying at Vāragati (modern Cuttack), Dvārakātā and Nārāyaṇapura. Of the three plots of gift-land, the first consisted of Sāisōgrāma (also once called Sāisōgrami-Mēkshēvara) and the second of the South Rājasōgrāma (also called Rādha and Sāsgrāma), both situated in the vishayya called Kōśṭhadēśa-Madanaḵhaṇḍa or Oḍānōvīḍha (Oḍānō-Madanaḵhaṇḍa), while the third plot consisted of 30 vāṭas of land belonging to the temple of the god called Kōśṭhadēśa-Ugrēśvaradēva. In describing the boundaries of Sāisōgrāma, mention has been made of Bhagavatipura-sāsana, Chandrāprabha, Vāṅgara-sūggrama, Vāṅgaṇī-nadi, Rājasō, Gōpālahapura-sāsana, Āṃvatōta, Kuchiagai and Haragā. In the description of the boundaries of Dakṣiṇa-Rājasōgrāma, mention is made of Sāisōgrāma, Vāṅgaṇī-nadi, Raktapata, Vāragō (or Vārogō)-nadi, Vijayalakshmipura-sāsana, Gōpālahapura-sāsana, Sudunghā and Āṃvatōta. In connection with the boundaries of the third plot of land, are similarly mentioned Vāṅgara-sūggrama, Vāṅgaṇi-nadi, Vāṅgarama, Vāragō-nadi, Vijayalakshmipura, Rājasō and Raktapata. The three plots of land were adjacent to one another. M. M. Chakravarti located the villages approximately at 83° 56' 45" long. by 20° 10' 17" lat. on the left side of the Bhārgavi river and close to the P. W. D. Bungalow at Khirkhia. The Survey of India sheet map No. 73 II 3 B shows, between the rivers Bhārgavi and Dhanu, the locality called Ugreswar Deuli having the Bhārgavi in the west, Banguras (Vāṅgariśō) Sāsan in the north, Gōpālah in the south and Bhagavatipur towards east-south-east. As a result of the grant under discussion, the old names, viz., Sāisō and Rājasō, appear to have given place to the new name, viz., Ugrēśvar-deuli, suggested by it.

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3 See my paper on the Nagarī plates of Anangabhimā III, above, pp. 235 ff.
4 The officer may have written the document on the plates with ink or paint to facilitate the work of engraving. Cf. Indian Archives, Vol. V, p. 5.
Lines 1—18

19. ...Subham-astu ||o|| Śaka-nripāt-ātītē-shu shūdaś-udhikāśu tryōdaśa-śata-samvatsarē- 
shu cha-

turdāśa-bhu[va*]n-ādhipat-īty-ādī-virud-āvali-virājamānaḥ 
Śri-vīra-Nra(Narā)ai[r]ni*[h*]hada-
(dē)va-nripati[h*] sa(sva)-rājyasaya dvāvinīṣṭartya-āṅkē abhilikhya-

20. manē Vichhā₂-sukla-ekādaśyāṁ Mahāgula-vātē Vārāṇasī-kaṭakē śrī-charañē bhitarā-navarē₂ 
pūj-ānan[t]ra[ma-a-raja[h*] tatra vi-

(yā)ṭaḥchārya mahāpātra Gopinātha-sāndhivīghrī-

22. ka pātra-Bhuvaṇānanda-sā[r]ni*[j]iḥvīgrahīka pātra-Siddhēśvara-jēnā dvārāparikṣha-Trivi-
krāma-sā[n]i*[j]iḥvīgrahīka Kiṇāra-sāṇādhyakṣha ēōśhu 

23. sthitēha puṇō-ārikaṇa-samaṇa-thāṣāniṇēpati[ti]-gūchṛē(charē) avadhārita-mudalā[ti*]² śrī-hastēna usargya² Dēvarathā-āchāryāy ēhūm[mi]-[dā][ni]n[{h}*] 

Sixth Plate: Second Side

6

1. datta[m*] bhū[mi]⁸ śata-vātī-parimita-bhūmi-nimittani asmin rājya-trayōvinīṣṭatyāṅkē Vichchhā₂-dvitiya-śrīṣṭa-saptam-Paṇḍitavā-

2. rē Dēvakūṭa-kaṭakē śrī-charañē pu[pūj]-ānāv[nta]rē jaya-samayē pārvē pātra Māhāmuni-
purūḥita dvārāparikṣha-Trivikrama-sāndhī-

3. vigrahā vudhālēśka-Sōmanātha-vāhinīpati bhitarā-bhupājāra-adhikāri-Narahrāri- 
sāndhivīgraha thāu pūrō-ārikaṇa-Vi.¹¹

4. Viśvaṇātha-māhāsāṇēpati[ti*-gūchṛē avadhārita-mudalē Dēvarathāchāryakū āṭha-khaṇḍa-
Kōṣṭha-dēśa-Maṇḍanakaṇḍa-vaiśayē Śāisō-


pa[pā]rēśvē vudhālēśka-Sōmanā-

7. tha-vāhinīpati Bhuvanēśvara-apā[ti*-jihivig aha Lak-hmaṇānanda-sā[r]ni*[j]iḥvīgraha bhitarā-
bhupājāra-adhikāri-Narahrāri-sāndhivīgraha thā-

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1. From the original plates and their impressions.
2. Sanskrit Vṛīchhika-suklidhivaśyin.
4. Oriya maḥā stands for Sanskrit mahā.
5. The letters gra and ka had been omitted originally but were later inserted, the former below the line and the latter compressed between the preceding and following letters.
6. The reading may be mudrayā. In that case, mudrā is used for mudala found elsewhere in the same context.
7. Sanskrit uṣtriya.
8. In the left margin. This has a different form than that of 6 at the left margin of the reverse of Plate VI of the Kendupatna plates (set I) of Narasimha II (J. A. S. B., Vol. LXV, 1896, Part I, Plate XVIII).
9. The letter mi had been originally omitted and was later imperfectly formed between the preceding and following letters. The word bhūmi is, however, unnecessary in the context.
10. Sanskrit Ṛṛīchhika. The letter dōi has really been written with d having both medial ī and u.
11. This rē is redundant. Thāvēcēhē sthitēhē of Plate VI A, lines 23 24.
12. Sanskrit mahāsāṇēpati.
8 u dvāraparik-hā-Trivikrama-sa[ti*]dhivigraha-gōcharē avadhārita-mudalē v āmi-purō-
pariksha-mahāpatra-Guṭēśvaradā-sa-si-
9 chandana-āgē a[v]ah[ā]rita āṅgāṃ(jñā)-vōla-mudalē Dēvarathāchāryara Sāisō-Dakshīna-
Rāḍāsaṅ va(s) dui grā-
10 ma Kōśthađēśa-Ugṛēśvaradēva[naka] dēuli h[i]mī dēula madhyē kari chatuḥ-siṃā
kari kōṭha-vyāpā-
12 rara bhūga tīni-sa-vāisa māḍha 322/8 kai [*] purō-śrikanṭa-Vīśvanātha-thē2-māhāśēnā-
apātra pa-
13 dīhaha(sta)-Thamaṭhi-nārkara siṃā-kalā-pramānē ē-grāmara pūrva-siṃa(mā) Bhagavat-pura-
sāsana paśchima Chandrapa-
14 bhā-dāṇḍa-adha ādi kari Vāgāṇ(ūga)risō-grāmara puvā-kōṇa Pōḍāpōḍā-pōkhurira hī,ala^3
paryamar(nṭe) ke siṃā ([*]) ut-
ta(tta)ra-siṃma Vāgāṇ(ūga)risō-grāmara dakshīna Chidēciḍi-vāṭira uttara-dāṇḍa adha
Vṛ(ō) Brahma-vāṭira ti-nu-
15 nī-gopatha-adha ādi kari Vāiṅgaṇi-nadi-Vāṅga[i*]4-adhā-sōi-parya[nṭe] ke siṃā paśchimā-
(ma)-siṃa | Rāda-
17 saō-grāmara purē(vē) Vāṅgaṇi-nadī adhā-sōi ādi kari nāi-pāri-Gōpīnāṭhapura-sāsana
nadī-taḷḍal
18 Āmvatōṭāra dakshīna-kōṇa Kuchiśāgāra gōpatha-adha-paryantēkē siṃā | dakshīna-siṃā [*]
Gōpīnāṭhapurara uttara Harīgaū
19 adha nai-utata(tta)ra-ka(kōla) paryantēkē siṃā | gō(gā) chatuḥ-
siṃā-samākranta-grām-ēka | ēvīshaya-madhyē Rāḍāsāo< vri[vṛ]ddhi-saikū-advadāna madhya
kari majhi-ghaṭa(ra)ra Purusō(hō)rtta-prasāda-nava-ra-bhū-
20 ga saē-saṭī-sa-māḍha 127 kai [*] ē siṃa-kalā-pramānē ē-grāmara pūrva-siṃā [*] Sāisō-
grāmara paśchima-[Vāiṅgaṇi-nadi-adhā-
22 sōi ādi kari dēuli-bhūmira dakshīna Rakatapana-dāṇḍa-ardha-paryantēkē siṃā | uta(tta)ra-
siṃā dēuli-bhūmira dāk hīna Rakatapana-dāṇḍa-
23 ra adha ādi kari Vārōgō-nai-adhā-sōi paryantēkē siṃā | paśchima-siṃā [*] Vijayalakshmi-pura-
sāsana puvē Vārōgō-nai-adhā-sōi
24 ādi kari Gōpīnāṭhapura-sāsana Sudunāgai-va(ba)ṅhā[da]-tala-gōpatha-adha-paryantēkē siṃā |
dakshīna-siṃā | Gōpīnāṭhapū[pu]-sāsana uta(tta)-
25 ra nai-kūle Āmvatōṭāra paśchima gōpatha adha a Vāiṅgaṇa-naīra adhā-sōi-paryantēkē
siṃā || gā chattru(tu)h-si-
mā-samākranta-grām-ēka | ēvīshaya-madhyē Ugrēśvara-dēvaka[n]ra dēōī avadharita-
mudala-pramānē bhūmi trīsa vāti 30 kai [*] ē-siṃā-

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1 Better read dēuli-bhūmi | cf. line 22 below. But the text as it is may also be justified | cf. line 26 below.
2 The letter ṭē is redundant.
3 I prefer kīḍa to dē+jīla at the suggestion of Mr. K. B. Tripathi.
4 The name of the river is unnecessarily repeated.
5 Possibly ādi kari is intended.
6 I.e., Dakshīna-Rādāmāyāna.
7 The space expected to be covered by the name of the river referred to is left blank with the only exception of small stroke. Apparently it was intended to supply the name later.
8 Possibly we have to add the expression ādi kari after adha.
The difference in the forms of some letters on this plate from those of the previous lines may suggest that this plate was engraved by a different person. There are numerous errors in the writing on this plate.

The daṇḍas are unnecessary.

It seems that the reading intended was ādi kari paryantēkē simā. Thus some further indications regarding this boundary appear to have been inadvertently omitted. In ādi, ēḥ looks like āḍhā which is the form of āḍhā in the Kalinga script. As to kohi (śēki), it may be pointed out that koh is often written for kkh in Oriya inscriptions.

Possibly simā-samākrānta was intended as in other places.

Read sāndhīvigrāhikasya. The daṇḍas are superfluous.

Possibly the reading intended is ēk-āmāh or ēkē rāṭī.

The metre of this verse and the following four verses is Anuvātaka.

Read pāṭāra-vāsinah.
No. 49—METHI INSCRIPTION OF YADAVA KRISHNA; SAKA 1176

(1 Plate)

P. B. DESAI, OOTACUMUND

Sri. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, officiating Government Epigraphist for India, copied this inscription in the course of his official tour in November 1949 at the village of Methi which is about 30 miles from Dhubia, the headquarters of the West Khandesh District, Bombay State. As a member of the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, I had an opportunity of studying the epigraph and I edit it here with the kind permission of the above authority.

1 The daṇḍa is superfluous.
2 The letter ma is imperfectly formed.
3 Metro: Vaṃsantilaka.
4 Metro: Anushthubh.
5 Metro: Vaṃsantilaka.
6 Read rīṣṭha for the metre's sake.
7 Metro: Śāradāvākṣikātūṭa. The language of the third foot of this verse is faulty.
8 Read visvatasu.
9 Metro: Sraṅgārāṇa.
10 The intended reading seems to be sarva iva bhāta.
11 It is registered as A. R. No. 326 of 1949-50 of the Government Epigraphist's office collection.
12 The inscription has been published in the Marathi journal Sāmādhaka, Vol. VI, No. 3 (1937, October), pp. 214-17. But the published text contains misreadings and the study lacks scientific treatment.
The inscription comprising 13 lines is engraved on the lintel of the entrance to the central hall of the Vishnu temple near Haribas's well, popularly known as the Anantasayana temple. The inscribed area measures 59" long and 12" broad. The record is in a good state of preservation. The characters are Nagari of the 13th century A.C., being normal for the period. The average height of the letters is 1/2".

The prishthamatra are used to denote the medial ai and au in general. The occasional use of u for b and vice versa may be noted; e.g., Vrahmā for Brahmā in line 1 and sarvē for sarvē in line 2. Noteworthy also is the substitution of sh for kh, as in Visākha for Visākha in line 2; and vice versa as in ekkha for ēkha in line 13. The orthographical convention of doubling the consonant after r is not generally followed except in a few cases, e.g., varunam in line 7 and utkīrṇā in line 13. There are a large number of clerical errors, the majority of which constitute the improper use of the visarga: e.g., the visarga is used superfluously in the following cases, namabhrih in line 1 and athaḥ in line 7; the same is wrongly omitted in the following instances, Rudrā for Rudrāḥ in line 1 and visvarupa for visvarupaḥ in line 2. Nrīśīmha is written as Nrīśīṅgha in line 8.

The language is Sanskrit and the composition is faulty in many places. The words munī and bhūmi are spelt as munī and bhūmi for the sake of metre in lines 2 and 4. The expression chārīma in the compound chitra-charāma-chārīma-chamatkārāḥ(l.5) is obscure. The form yaśāṣya- is incorrectly used for yaśasya- (l.7). Metrical flaws may be detected in the use of the proper names Dhādiṣaka and Vāsugī in line 4. Such defects have been corrected in the body of the text and in the foot-notes. The major part of the record comprising lines 1-8 and 12-13 is composed in verse and the rest in prose. The verses are duly numbered and each half is denoted by a danda. The poetry is not of high order.

The epigraph commences with an invocation to god Vāsudēva. God Vishnu and his universal form (visvarupa) are praised in the next two verses (vv. 1-2). Then comes the date and a brief statement of the gift (v. 3). The genealogy of the princes who were born in the lineage of Krishna, i.e., the Yadavas of Dēvagiri, is summarised in the two following verses (vv. 4-5). Verse 6 is devoted to the eulogy of Krishna, the reigning king of this family, who is said to be brave, diplomatic and handsome. This ruler made a free gift of the village Kurnkavata. Half the income derived from this was to be utilised for the daily worship and offerings, etc., of the god Bhadrahari and the remaining half to be bestowed upon the Brāhmaṇas engaged in the performance of sacrifices (vv. 7-8). In the next verse is described the temple of Bhadrahari who appears to be identical with god Nrīśīmha (v. 9). Then follows a list of particular Brāhmaṇas who were beneficiaries of the endowment (lines 8-11). A person named Gaṅgādara is said to have made over houses, land and money, possibly for the convenience of the Brāhmaṇas (v. 11). Verses 12-13 are imprecatory. Verse 10 contains a reference to a person named Siddha Sārasvata of the Kaśyapa family who appears to have cut the stone suitably for inscribing the record. In the last verse which is however left unnumbered, it is stated that the god's image was fashioned with due dimensions according to the prescribed code and that the record (praṣasti) was incised by the sculptor Hēmādeva1 (v. 14).

The date expressed in chronogram is stated thus: Śaka 1176, Ananda, Visākha (i.e., Vaśākha), śu. Jayani, Sōma. Jayani appears to be the name of the Ekādaśi or the eleventh day of the fortnight. As such if we equate Jayani with the 11th tīhi, the date would regularly correspond to 1254 A.C., April 29, Wednesday, if we treat Sōma of the original as a mistake for Saumya. It is to be noted in this connection that all the twenty-four Ekādaśis of the Hindu

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1 This Hēmādeva has been identified with the famous minister and scholar Hēmādri by Mr. Kulikarni, ibid.
2 This is ridiculous.

5 DGA
calendar are given specific names, such as Kāmadā (Chaitra śu. 11), Varūthini (Chaitra ba. 11), etc., though this particular name is not found in the list given by Swamikannu Pillai.\(^1\)

The genealogy of the Yādava kings of Dēvagiri is recounted in a cursory fashion and mutual relationship of the princes enumerated in the series is not explained. There is a remark, however, at the end of the account to the effect that they were born in succession. These names are as follows: Drīḍhaprabhāra, Śūnna I, Dhādipaka, Bhillama I, Rāja I, Vādugi, Bhillama II, Vēsugi, Bhillama III, Śūnna II, Rāja II, Mālugi, Kṛishṇa I, Bhillama IV, Jaitra I, Siṅghaṇa, Jaitra II, Kṛishṇa II. Drīḍhaprabhāra is prefixed by the expression vaṭra, obviously for the necessity of metre. Śūnna again is a metrical abbreviation for Siṅga.

A comparison of the above genealogy with the genealogical accounts of this family as compiled by the late Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar\(^1\) and Dr. Fleet,\(^2\) reveals the following facts. The three generations of Vādugi II, Vēsugi II and Bhillama IV, that intervened between Bhillama III and Siṅghaṇanda II in the account of Bhandarkar are omitted in our list. Rāja II of our list, which appears to be a new name, has perhaps to be identified with Siṅghaṇa of Bhandarkar. Further, Kṛishṇa I of our epigraph may reasonably be equated with Karpna\(^3\) of Fleet's statement. It has however to be noted that neither of these names figure in the genealogy of Bhandarkar. Mālugi and Māluli are identical. Some more names in Bhandarkar's account are omitted in our list.

We may briefly notice here a few historical facts about some of these Yādava princes in the light of epigraphical discoveries made during the past decades. Firstly we have the Āsī plates\(^4\) from the Ahmadnagar District, dated in Śaka 1020 or 1098 A.C. This record gives the genealogy of the Yādava family and introduces Mahāmanḍalēvara Irammādeva as a subordinate of the Western Chālukya ruler Vikramāditya VI. The epigraph contains errors committed by the engraver, which seem to have been increased by its unscientific editing.\(^5\) We may equate this Irammādeva with Paramma,\(^6\) elder son of Siṅghaṇanda II, figuring in the genealogy of Bhandarkar. The Āsī inscription further states that this Yādava prince vanquished the invincible Bhuvanaikamalla, who must be Sōmēśvara II of the Western Chālukya family, and secured the kingdom for Paramardhin, i.e., Vikramāditya VI. A similar achievement, viz., helping Vikramāditya VI against his enemies and establishing him in the sovereignty of Kalyāṇa, is attributed to Siṅghaṇanda II.\(^7\) From this it is gathered that both Siṅghaṇanda II and his son Paramma were staunch supporters of the Chālukya prince and played a prominent role in his struggles for kingship.

The disclosure made by the present epigraph by furnishing the name of Kṛishṇa I as the father of Bhillama IV (Bhillama V of Bhandarkar) and his identity with Karpna of the Gadag inscription

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\(^1\) *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, part I, pp. 59-65.  It may be noted that Vaiśākha śu. 11 is called Mōhini according to this authority.  If the above assumption be correct, different names appear to have been in vogue for these tithis at different times.


\(^4\) The confusion between Kṛishṇa and Karpna may be noticed in other cases also.  For instance, among the Southern Kalachuri, Jōgama's father is referred to both as Kṛishṇa and Karpna; above, pp. 24-25.  This confusion must be due to the influence of Prakrit, particularly the southern speeches, wherein both Kṛishṇa and Karpna yield the common form Kann or Karpna and Kannara; cf. above, Vol. XV, p. 318.


\(^6\) In regard to the defects in editing the following may be pointed out: i) No facsimiles of the plates are published.  ii) The name of the Yādava feudatory is read as Iramma in line 30 and Ārama in line 42.  iii) This Iramma is regarded as the successor of Bhillama, whereas it is clear from lines 25-30 that he was the son and successor of Siṅghaṇa or Siṅghaṇanda.

\(^7\) I am inclined to believe that the original name is Paramma and that it is incorrectly read as Iramma and Ārama; for the latter would be a strange name for a prince.

are important; for it is thus established beyond doubt that Bhillama was the grandson of Mallugi or Māluji and not his son as described by Hēmādri. The reason for this omission by Hēmādri might be due to the fact that Krishṇa or Karṇa died young and did not rule
.

It would be worthwhile while to make an attempt to identify some of the historical personages mentioned in the introductory verses (5-10) of Jalhaṇa’s Sāktimuktāsalī, which may be summarised as follows. Dāda, a commander of the elephants under Mallugi, overawed the troops of Vijjaṇa. After the demise of Dāda, his four sons, Mahidhara, Jalha, Samba and Gaṅgādāra, upheld the authority of Mallugi. Mahidhara harassed Vijjaṇa’s forces with the prowess of his mighty arms. He appears to have encountered Vijjaṇa’s army for a second time and lost his life on the field of battle. Mahidhara was succeeded by Jalha who helped Bhillama in attaining undiminished royalty.

These events, it may be noted, refer to a period of about a generation prior to the age of Bhillama, the virtual founder of Yādava sovereignty. As we shall see presently, Bhillama commenced his reign from 1185-86 A.C. Hence we may place the above incidents approximately between 1160 and 1180 A.C. Now it was during those years that the Kalachuris rose to power in Karnāṭaka under Bijjala and set up their independent rule. Hence we are justified in identifying Vijjaṇa and Bijjaṇa of the above account with the Kalachuri usurper.

Coming to the reign of Bhillama, a good many points deserve consideration. Firstly, we may consider the commencement of his reign. Different records yield different dates for the initial year of his reign, which varies from 1185-86 to 1187-88 A.C. But two epigraphs, one from Nimbāl and another from Muttīgi in the Bijjapūr District, citing the cyclic years Plavāṅga and Paridhāvi as the 3rd and the 8th year respectively, prove that the initial year was Viśvavasu which may be equated with 1185-86 A.C. Secondly, we may examine the early stronghold of Bhillama and of the Yādava family. This seems to have been in the Bijjapūr District, although, according to Hēmādri, he founded the town of Dēvagiri which became the capital of his family. The Nimbāl inscription mentioned above states that Bhillama was ruling the kingdom in 1187 A.C. from a place called Tadavalkerage which is the same as modern Tadvalgā in the Iṇḍi taluk of the Bijjapūr district. Two years later, i.e., in 1189 A.C., he figures as ruling from another place in the same district, by name Tenevalage which may be identified with the present day Talig in the Bāgalkot taluk. No inscription connecting Bhillama with Dēvagiri has been discovered so far. But we have the evidence of at least three inscriptions of the reign of Jaitugī showing that he was in the capital of Dēvagiri in the years 1192 and 1196 A.C. The earliest epigraphical allusion to Dēvagiri as the Yādava capital was noticed by Fleet in an inscription of 1210 A.C. of the reign of Sīghaṇa. But this statement now requires revision as pointed out above. The fact appears to be that though Bhillama selected Dēvagiri as his capital and started new constructions, he could hardly settle therein and the work was completed in his son’s time by 1192 A.C.

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1 At this point Hēmādri simply passes over and observes that the fortune of the Yādava family discarded the king’s sons and courted the arms of Bhillama, enamoured by his excellence; Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, part II, p. 271, verse 37. It may be gathered from this that Bhillama, being the son of a junior prince, was not the rightful claimant and that he rose to eminence from obscurity by dint of his ability.
2 Gaekwād’s Oriental Series, No. LXXXII, 1938.
6 Above, pp. 96-97.
7 Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, part II, p. 520. This place has not been identified by Fleet.
The third point that requires scrutiny is the end of Bhillama’s reign. According to Bhandarkar, Bhillama was succeeded by his son Jaitugi in Śaka 1113 or 1191 A.C. and it has been suggested by Fleet that Bhillama lost his life in the decisive encounter against Vira-Ballāla that took place in the latter part of that year. But epigraphic evidence is now precise to show that neither of these views is accurate. The above noted inscription from Muttagi in the Bāgawādī taluk of the Bijāpur District refers itself to the 8th regnal year of Bhillama and cites the date Paridhāvī, Śrāvaṇa śa. 15, Thursday. In another epigraph fromhipparagi in the Sindagi taluk of the same district, dated Śaka 1115, Paridhāvī, Bhādrapada ba. madhyāśtaṅki, Monday, Kanyāsaṅkramaṇa, Bhillama figures as making the gift of a village to a local temple. A third epigraph from Kāḷīvāḍ in the same taluk refers itself to the reign of Jaitugi and is dated Śaka 1114, Paridhāvī, Pushya ba. 10, Sunday, Uttarāyana-saṅkṛānti. The dates of these three inscriptions are not quite regular; however we may approximately equate them with July 26, September 1 and December 31 of 1192 A.C. respectively. Now it is easy to see that Bhillama was alive and active on the first two of these dates and that he must have died and was succeeded by Jaitugi between the last two dates.

The fourth point worth examination is in regard to the identification of some of the adversaries of Bhillama. In verse 12 of Jalhaṇa’s Sāktimukṭavali, which praises the prowess of Bhillama, it is said that he frightened the forces of Mailugi. This Mailugi was in all probability a little known son of the Kalachuri usurper Bijjala. He is also called Mailugi and Maliṅkārjuna. He figures in three inscriptions of his father’s reign8 and three more refer to his own reign.9 It is gathered from the latter that he ruled for two years, 1175-76 A.C., in between the reigns of his brothers, Rāyamūrārī Sōvidēva and Saṅkama, from his headquarters at Māsanūr10 in the Shōlāpur District. It is quite likely that the two ambitious chiefs, Bhillama and Mailugi operating in the contiguous regions of the Bijāpur and Shōlāpur Districts, came into conflict with each other.

The last two lines of verse 38 in the Introduction to Hēmādri’s Vṛatakhaṇḍa, containing allusions to Bhillama’s exploits, read thus:

Yō vā Maṅgalavēṣṭakaṁ kṣhitipatiṁ Śrī-Billaṇaṁ jaghnīvaṁ
galāpa-sriyam-apy-apyāpya vidadhē yō Hōsāleśaṁ vyasuṁ

The text of the first of these lines appears to be faulty in the light of the following facts which also help us to suggest suitable correction. Maṅgalavēṣṭaka is no doubt identical with the modern town Maṅgalavēṣṭahe near Paṇḍharpur. No king bearing the name Billaṇa is known to have ruled from this place. On the contrary considerable epigraphic evidence is available11 to show that this

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1. Ibid., p. 238.
2. Ibid., pp. 504 and 519-20.
4. Ibid., No. 30 of 1936-37.
5. Ibid., No. 43.
6. I have considered the cyclic year, the month and the śāhī as the substantial parts of the dates, ignoring the other details. I have assumed madhyāśtaṅki of the second record as equivalent of aśṭami.
8. B. K. coll., Nos. 50 of 1933-39, 63 of 1936-37 and 120 of 1933-34.
10. B. K. coll., No. 96 of 1939-37. I have discussed at length the identity of this place in my lectures on the Kalachuris of Karnāṭaka delivered in February 1951 under the auspices of the Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar. Māsanūr figures prominently in the literary work Rēsamanidēkēraṅkavṛtha Bāgale. These lectures are under publication in the Journal of the Kannada Literary Academy, Bangalore.
11. Compare above, p. 27, n. 8. I have dealt with this subject exhaustively in my lectures on the Kalachuris referred to above.
place, the ancient name of which was Maṅgalavēga or Maṅgalavāḍa, was the ancestral seat and an important stronghold of the Kalachuris of Karnāṭaka right from the beginning until their last days. It was the secondary capital of the Kalachuri rulers even during the period of their usurpation and the later members appear to have resorted to this place after the overthrow of the Kalachuri regime. Now among the Kalachuris more than one prince is known to have borne the name Bijjala and an epigraph from Saṅkhārā in the Jath taluk of the Southern Satara District, discovered recently, reveals that a prince by name Vira-Bijjala, son of Rāya-Murāri Sāvidēva, was administering this area at least till 1192 A.C., November 20. It was very probably this Vira-Bijjala who was worsted by Bhillama. In this connection a word of explanation seems necessary in regard to the interpretation of the word jaghnīti in the above citation. It may be taken to mean ‘struck’ and not ‘killed’; for it is seen from the epigraphic evidence adduced above that Bhillama and Vira-Bijjala were both alive until the latter part of the year 1192 A.C. and that the former might have predeceased the latter by a few days. This interpretation is further justified by another word occurring in the above passage, viz., ryasa, which cannot be interpreted in its literal sense as ‘lifeless’; for the fact that no Hoysala king was slain by Bhillama would go contrary to such an interpretation. In the light of the above discussion the text of the first line in the above citation with its suggested correction will be as follows:—

Yō vā Maṅgalavēḥṭaka-khaṭipatiṁ Śri-Bijjāṁṃaḥ jaghnīti |

Proceeding to the reign of Śīṅghana a very large number of epigraphs has come to light. It is seen from these that a great amount of divergency prevails in regard to the reckoning of the initial year of his reign which varies from 1197 to 1210 A.C. We have therefore to conclude that Śīṅghana was actively associated with his father in the administration of the kingdom long before the latter’s demise, although he must have assumed sovereignty independently in 1210 A.C. only after the event.4

Śīṅghana is known to have been succeeded by his grandson Krishṇa actually in 1247 A.C.; but there are inscriptions which show that he was associated with his predecessor’s rule one or two years prior to this date.4 Inscriptions of Krishṇa are found in the Districts of Belgaum, Bijāpur, Dharwar and Bellary and further south in the Mysore State. It is seen from this that he held under his control major part of the regions conquered by his grandfather in the course of his triumphant southern expedition. Krishṇa himself, as known from other sources, directed military expeditions against his enemies though the present epigraph is silent about them.

We may incidentally note that besides the four major dynasties of Yādava extraction that ruled over the areas of Karnāṭaka, viz., the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the Hoysalas, the Yādavas of Dēvagiri

3 B. K. coll., No. 108 of 1940–41. The date of this inscription is irregular and its approximate Christian equivalent only is used here.

4 Dr. Bhandarkar suggested that the Hoysala king Narasimha was put to death by Bhillama. This suggestion is unjustified as Narasimha was dead as early as 1173 A.C.; Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, part II, p. 238 and Historical Inscriptions of Southern India, p. 351. One more instance requiring similar interpretation would be the expression uckārādyā occurring in the Gadag inscription of Vira-Ballīrā. It has to be translated as ‘having defeated’ and not literally as ‘having destroyed.’ Compare Ind. Ant., Vol. II, pp. 300 and 303 and above, Vol. III, p. 218.

4 According to another reading Billānār would be substituted by Vajripāna. In this case Vajripāna may be taken to be the Sanskritisation of Bijjana. Compare above, p. 28, n. 1.


4 A. R. No. 426 of 1928 and B. K. No. 50 of 1933–34 mention Kilaka as the third year of Krishṇa’s reign. This shows that Parābhava or 1246 A.C. was the first year.


and the Mahārājas of Mysore, there flourished a few more minor chiefs of the same lineage, though they never rose to eminence. Some of them deserve brief notice here. One was Mahāsāmanta Kuppeyarasa of the Yādava family who was administering in the area of the Gadag taluk and the Muṇḍargi pēṭhā of the Dūrū District as a feoffatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch Amoghavarsha I in 965-66 A.C. He bore the title Akhāditya. Another chief named Kuppadaṇa who apparently belonged to the family of Kuppeyarasa, bearing the designation Mahāsāmanta and claiming descent in the Yādava family, figures as a subordinate of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II about thirty years later. A part of the Bellary District was also under the rule of this chief who had his capital at modern Mēvundi in the Muṇḍargi pēṭhā. From Kakkūrū in the same pēṭhā comes an inscription of 1113 A.C., which introduces Mahāmanḍalāsvara Permāliyarasa of the Yādava family, as a subordinate of the Western Chākūyya king Vikramāditya VI. It is easy to surmise that his chief was a later scion of the family of Kuppeyarasa. This Permāliyarasa who was administering the tract of Māsavāli, bore the title Dvāravatipuraṇavādhiśvara which is met with in the prastāti of the Hoyaśas and that of the Yādavas. Another family of feodatory chiefs of the Yādava extraction appears to have functioned in the area of the Bijāpur District. This is gathered from an inscription at Bidarkundī in the Muddebīhāl taluk of the district, which is dated in 1032 A.C. and mentions Nāgavarmanaras bearing the title Yādava-Nārāyana as a subordinate of Jagadēkamaṇa I of the Western Chākūyya dynasty. It is noteworthy that the title Yādava-Nārāyana occurs conspicuously in the prastāti of the Yādavas of Devagiri.

The Brāhmaṇas who were beneficiaries of the endowment are twenty-five in number as mentioned in the present record. They belonged to the following fifteen gōtra: Agastī, Bhārddavāja, Bhārgava, Kāḍva, Kāśyapa, Kauṣḍinya, Kauravya, Kauśika, Kṛishṇātra (Kṛishṇātrēya), Lōḥita, Sāṇḍilya, Sāṅkara, Vachchhapurōdhha, Vachchhi, and Vatsyāyana. Some of these names are not given in their proper forms in the original and they have been corrected here. But still there are certain discrepancies. For instance, Kāḍva appears to be a mistake for Kāṃḍva, i.e., Kāṇva; Vachchhapurōdhha and Vachchhi seem to bear connection with Vatsa or Vaksha. The gift village Kurukavāṭaka may be identified with modern Kurukavāḍa, a village not far away from Mēthi.

TEXT

[Metres: Verses 1, 7-8 and 11-14 Anūṣṭubh; vv. 3-5 and 9 Śārdūlavikrīdita; vv. 2 and 6 Srṣadhanā]

11  ॥  ॥ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ नमःस्त्र (मस्त्र) स्ववनोयात्तिस्यति- ॥  ॥ विष्णवे (वेण) पारसार्यारोतारणसेवे ॥  ॥ ब (ढ) ह (ढ) ॥

dakṣ: कुवेरो यमवर्णमश्चविर्मणेऽद्रव्याद (ढ) वेला नव: समुद्र यागयणम-
2 नुआ देखनागंडनागः । दीपा नवशतारा रविवरमुनयो अंगं भूरस्विनी च
संलीना वस्रि(व्र) किरुंि से भयवानातु वो विश्वसः(पः) । ॥ ॥ स्वस्ति
श्रीभक्तदार्दे रससुगीसंख्या(च) । खट(ट) शते(त)े श्रान्दे सज्जाणा(क्र)-

3 शुक्रजयनीसोगे सुभाषुरंदे । पृज्जान्तकसुप्रवध्यने नै(व) केषवृधुः(व्र) कपरे:
भू(भूम) योगोकवस्यनाय नारं भद्रशरिर(र) स्वापितं(तम) ॥ ॥ करे-रिक्र
समस्तलक्ष्यादि(अ) ग्राणेस्वात्मामन(आ) श्याता

4 लवनुभारस्याप(त)ः सेवानाम्बहिकः । उज्जेठ्मल्लराजश्रुविनयाः जाताः(ता)ः
क्षितेश्वरेण दोषोऽवर्तमानिः(म)ः समझलन्तिशुम्धिष्वावमिः ॥ ॥ ॥ शून्य शून्यः
(शुन्यः) गर्भितमः विज्ञितद(त)ः सेवाराजामिः जातोः(तौ)

5 मातृविक्रमिकृष्णमल्लमुनाः जैत्री नूपः(पः) सिघण्ड(ण)ः । जैत्री(व्र) कृष्ण इः(व्र) प्रतितमहसा(सो) जाता(ता)ः कमादी(कुः) नूपः लें (पासते)धां चितरविर
राजश्रविज्जितममकारः(रो) बुधः(धे) भूतान(ताम) ॥ ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीसो(शी)ः
शून्यंगमपिधरङ्गवित्तकोभे नूपः(शु) विवः संपः

6 विश्वासिशुपुजः(जः) यति नवशतायतिः: कृष्णमूर्तः(पः) । यस्मिन(तिमवः)
विर(शु) रागः(गाः) रक्षीतसरसि वर्षसा(व्र)ः भविष्यन्ते हे लिलासं स्विते लीलावतीनां
नवनुक्लवायन्यां गुरुमोदविन्तः ॥ ॥ स कृष्णमूर्तिः ग्रामः(ग्राम) म ददी धर्म-
परायणः(णः) ।

7 फ्रां भद्रहरें दिजानं जजास्त्रिज्ञानं(नामः) ॥ ॥ शुद्रमहत्रस्थ्रोतां ॥ नामना
कुशकमटकः । संभोगेऽसंश्रदशुः सपरिच्छवः(दम) ॥ ॥ फ्रां(व्र)
प्राणायणविषयं(नमः) ॥ कि वा नन्दमहेऽत्र हुणानिधिः(चिर) कि वा वेदार्थायकः

1 The composition of this chronogram is incorrect and the inaccuracy is evident due to the exigency of metre.
The correct form should be ṛṣa-muni-aṅkhyika-rudraik.

2 Saadhi is necessary here and as such the expression should read saitairānamadā.

3 Read खोऽकष्मकः or खस्यकः if the metre is to be honoured.

4 Read वेवस्वर्णि to honour the metre.

5 Read शून्ययुगः correctly though it violates the metre. (भूमी, though uncommon, is not wrong.—Ed.)

6 Read चित्र. There appears to be some correction about the letter च in the original.

7 The expression श्रमेऽ ं appears to denote here, 'not owned by a śārīrīga, i.e., Brahma, learned in the
   Vedas.'

8 Read यज्ञार्यवनं.
8 नै कीतौतनिमिद्यत वृष्टित(र) रोकन(रो: कि) वा सुधासराग(र)।
श्रीम[२]*महेश्वराय्यमहसः प्रासादयुद्धविय भवेयं भुवनस्यायुसन्तलकः कर्ता
नृत्सिंह(व) स्वर्यं (यम्र)।।११॥ श्रमः (ष) वृत्तिवता द्रात्र(व)हुसानां (नाम्र)।।
कौड़ि(व) वन्यग्र लोंगिय अभिन्द्रोहा।

9 कौड़ि भारदाज़ोग्र भारता पाठक। कृष्णाग्रोग्र सोमनाथ पाठक।
श्राश्चिकासान नागदेव पाठक। सांकर्ण्णप्रेय नारायणमहता। कांडस्वर राम उपाध्या।
कौड़ि(व) वन्यग्र महेश्वर (र) व्योतिषी। सां(ण) दिल्यग्र सारंग पाठक।
कौड़ि(व) वन्यग्र बासुदेव।

10 पाठक। भारदाज़ोग्र सूर्यान पाठक। कौड़ि(व) वन्यग्र हृदेवमहता। कास्य (ष) वणोग्र
केस (श) व भवस्य। वर्धीमोग्र कृष्णमहता। वज्ञातुरोह महादेव शुक्ल।
कौड़ि (व) कामो भावदेव पाठक। कास्य (ष) वणोग्र सारंग (र) ग पाठक।
कास्य (ष) वणोग्र कृष्णमहता। कौड़ि (व) कामो-।

11 व जगघर पाठक। कीठितोग्र रामदेव पाठक। वासुयाः (स्या) [२]* वणोग्र गांगिया पाठक।
कौस्योग्र विषु पाठक। भारदाज़ोग्र दामोदर
महता। भारदाज़ोग्र वील्हुण पाठक। कास्य (ष) वणोग्र सारंग (र) उपाध्या।
.

12 शायरकवृतिमवाय शायारेरि शायारेरि वेदयोग्र वेदयोग्र
भवेवेर शायारे (स) नपर्युप्नितकृती।।१०॥ गंगाघरेन व दत्ते गुरुस्य वसुवा
वान। अबंद्रायतं याबंद्राय (दं) तु दबसनं (मातः)।।११॥ व (भ) हु-।

13 भिण्ण (स्य) व (द) सुधा दत्ता राजमिहं समारादिमि।। यस्य यस्य यदा भुक्ता (त्र) स्य
त्सष्य तत्र वान (लम्र)।।१२॥ महामाधि पापां हुस्तो शाहस्त्रे
निःक्षष (ष) तित (वितः)।। व (भ) हृदेयपहयी (दु) ग्नां न हुस्ते निःक्षष (ष) तितः
कामितु।।१३॥ तालमानमुषिणुषिणा प्रतिमा भद्रागिनिमा।। एका (ष) प्रायस्तिकाण्णां
हेमदेवेन लिन (विल)।। [१४५]*

* The construction of this verse is faulty.
* The names of the doners are mentioned without the Sanskrit case-endings and in such forms as were in vogue, e.g., Upādyā, Gāṅgāiyā, Ātā (probably a corruption of Anantā). Some of the gōtra names also are not properly spelt.
* There is an anuśāsana above this letter, which may be ignored.
* A blank space for about 6 letters is left out before this name. This should have contained the name of the gōtra of the individual.
* The metre of this verse is corrupt. Perhaps it was intended to be in the Upajāti metre. The sense also is not quite clear.
* Better read लितेभु क्षिणानु.
No. 59—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM KELGA

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACUMUND

The late Mr. B. C. Mazumdar published in this journal, Vol. XII, pp. 237 ff., a paper entitled Sôngpur Plates of Kumara Sōmeśvaraśāva. The plates were found buried in a field in the village of Kelgā in the Uttara-tīra division (i.e., the 'Northern Bank' division lying to the north or left of the Mahānadi) in the old Sôngpur State in Orissa. There were altogether four copper plates, strung on a copper ring to which a brass seal of the shape of a double-petalled lotus was found soldered. The ring was, however, found cut out and Mazumdar believed that two of the four plates were forged and substituted in the original document at a later date. Three of the plates, marked A, B and C by Mazumdar, were found to be of the same size and were supposed to bear fragments of a partially forged charter of the Sōmavānshi prince Sōmeśvara, while the fourth plate, slightly smaller in size than the other three plates and marked D by Mazumdar, was supposed to record a forged supplementary grant in favour of the son of the donor of Sōmeśvara's charter. Mazumdar suggested that Sōmeśvara's charter consisted originally of four plates engraved on one side only, but in the place of the second and fourth plates—now missing, two plates engraved on both sides were substituted, and one concluding line was attempted unsuccessfully to be engraved on the reverse side of the plate which was originally the third plate. He further observed, 'When the original grant was first tampered with, the ring was cut open, and the plate C and another new forged plate (subsequently removed) must have been put in.' The reasons for these changes or forgery are not of course now apparent. In a note on the above observations of Mazumdar, the late Dr. Sten Konow, the then editor of the Epigraphia Indica, suggested that probably the original charter was written on three plates of which one, inscribed on both the sides, was missing. This was because Mazumdar's suggestion regarding all the four plates being originally written on the obverse only was palpably improbable.

The said plates are now preserved in the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art attached to the University of Calcutta, and I had an opportunity of examining them through the kindness of Mr. D. P. Ghosh, Curator of that Museum. On a careful examination of the plates, it is found that the observations on them, referred to above, are mostly wrong. It was an unfortunate mistake to believe that Sōmeśvara's charter is incomplete and partially forged. There is absolutely no doubt that the three plates of equal size, marked A, B and C by Mazumdar, form a complete charter issued by the Sōmavānshi Sōmeśvara, although they were wrongly arranged. Mazumdar's C is actually the second or middle one of the three plates on which the whole document was engraved. Both Mazumdar and Sten Konow failed to realize that the inscription on the obverse of Plate B (really Plate III) is a continuation of that on the reverse of Plate C (actually Plate II). This is because the last word of the last line on the reverse of Plate C (Plate II) was read as pratiśuṭtyān and the first three letters of the first line on the obverse of Plate B (Plate III) as vibhi-cha, without noticing that, after pratiśuṭtyān, the letter bhā was really engraved so that the last letter on the reverse of Plate C (Plate II) and the first three aksharas on the obverse of Plate B (Plate III) have to be read continuously as bhāvibhā-cha. In other records of the Sōmavānshi kings also the word pratiśuṭtyān is found to be followed by the expression bhāvibhā-cha, although the word iti was usually put between them.1 The suggestion that the original document was written on one side each of four plates is therefore entirely wrong. The charter is a three-plate record, called tri-paṭi-tāmaśāna in Sōmavānshi documents. The first plate is engraved only on the inner side (i.e., the second and third plates have writing on both the sides, although the reverse of the third plate contains only one line of inscription.


5 DGA
The smaller plate, marked D by Mazumdar, is obviously the second or middle plate of another tri-phali-bāna-māri-sāstra. This part of the incomplete inscription records a grant in favour of the son of the donor, Sōmēśvara, for another similar document by the side of the latter's second or middle plate recording a grant in favour of his father. The third plate of the record may have been considered unnecessary as it no doubt contained only some imprecatory and benedictory verses with or without the date. If the grant was received from the same ruler, i.e., Sōmēśvara of the Sōma-vānaka, the first plate must have contained matter similar to that on the first plate of the father's grant and may have been considered unnecessary, wrongly of course, on that account. The nature of the draft, which is not exactly the same as in other similar records, as well as the fact that it is part of a different record and is neither complete in itself nor fits in Sōmēśvara's grant in the father's favour would suggest that the document is genuine. The large number of mistakes in the language need not be taken as an evidence of the spurious nature of the grant, as many other early-medieval Orissan records including Sōmēśvara's charter itself are by no means free from errors.

Among other errors of Mazumdar, reference may be made to his reading Kēvalya-rāja-yā-kaṇḍiya (believed to speak of the Kēvala country) in line 9 of the inscription. The correct reading of the passage is no doubt Kēvalya-khuvya. The name of this Kēvalya khuvya is apparently preserved in that of modern Kelgi, the find-spot of our record. Sten Konow's suggestion that modern Kelgi represents the ancient Kamalapura seems to be wrong. As regards the emblems on the seal attached to the charter, no photograph of which was published, Mazumdar says: "On the top surface there is a seated figure with the right arm outstretched to the knee, within the enclosure of a blossoming creeper. The figure seems to represent a goddess, and, if so, she is the representation of Lakshmi. I may state, however, that the posture indicating peaceful meditation is hardly consistent with the figure of any goddess." The representation is, however, of the seated Gaja-Lakshmi as on the seals attached to other charters of the Sōmavaṇi kings. The two figures of elephants were wrongly regarded by Mazumdar as the representation of creepers. In view of the numerous errors that crept into Mazumdar's article on these plates, they are re-edited in the following pages.

A. Plates of Sōmēśvaradēva

The plates on which the charter is incised have been described by Mazumdar. The palaeography and orthography of the inscription resemble closely those of other Orissan epigraphs of about the twelfth century A. C. and does not call for special notice. The medial signs of u, ū, and ri are often undistinguishable. The language is Sanskrit; but it is full of errors and is greatly influenced by the local dialect.

The charter was issued from Suvarṇapura, i.e., modern Sonepur. The inscription records a grant of the village of Attēnā together with the Kēvala khanḍa (sub-division) of the Uttaravalli vishaya (district), made by the Sōmavaṇ概率 prince Sōmēśvara in favour of the Brāhmaṇa, Bhaṭṭaputra Udayakaraśarman, who was the son of Bhaṭṭa Vidyākara, grandson of Bhaṭṭa Jayakara and great-grandson of Bhaṭṭaputra Lakshmīdharan and belonged to the Kumāraḥarita gōtra having five prāvaras. I have not been able to trace the Kumāraḥarita gōtra elsewhere. Bhaṭṭa was a Brāhmaṇa who was himself learned, while his son who was not himself learned may have been called Bhaṭṭaputra. The Brāhmaṇa donor was a student of the Mādhya-dina-Kāyva branch of the

1 Jayakara is called Bhaṭṭaputra in the fragmentary grant edited below.
Yajur-vēda. He was an inhabitant of Kamalapura, although his family hailed from Mahāvālī in the Sāvatha (Śrāvasti) maṇḍala. The grant was made on the occasion of an auspicious day in the month of Māgha in the first regnal year of Sōmāśāvara at the request of Nīgāha Mhīpāti and Bhāṭṭa Aniruddha, both of whom appear to have been called Mahāvaṃśikas (minister for war and peace) and Rāyaka (title of a subordinate ruler). The king’s order regarding the grant was addressed to the village folk including Brāhmaṇas, Bhūgīnas and Bhūgī-ṛāpas as well as to the officials including the visīya-pāti (ruler of a district), khaṇḍa-pāti (ruler of a sub-division of a district) and dāṇḍa-pāthika (police inspector). The word bhūgī may indicate ‘a village headman’ or ‘an ināmdār’; but the expression bhūgī-ṛāpa, which seems to mean ‘one who is a bhūgī partially or outwardly’, possibly supports the second of the two meanings of bhūgī suggested above. A bhūgī-ṛāpa may indicate one who is a mere title-holder but is not in actual possession of the land in question.

The list of privileges to be enjoyed by the donor included, besides the ordinary ones noticed in many charters, the swavāya-daṇḍa, ahi-daṇḍa, varta-daṇḍa, vandāpaṇā, nīJayavālīpāṇā, tīrṇa-duka, śāsan-ārūka, cakra-balivāra, ādhāruṇa, pratyādhāruṇa, pāthā-śriyā, śuktā, śūrdalpāla, gō-gauḍa and khāṇḍapāṇa. Although some of the expressions are not entirely unintelligible, the real significance of the privileges indicated by all these expressions is difficult to determine in the present state of our knowledge. Many of these are also known from some other inscriptions.1

Sōmāśāvaraśā, the donor of the grant, is described as belonging to the Sōmā-kula and as a devout worshipper of Mahāvāra (Śīva). Although he enjoyed the imperial titles, Paramabhaṭṭāraka and Paramēśvara, he calls himself Kumāraśā (also Kumāra) instead of the expected Mahārājaśā. The epithet Paśchima-Laukh-ṛāpiṇā indicates that Sōmāśāvaraśā was originally the governor of Paśchima-Laukhā (literally, ‘the western island’), situated somewhere in South Kōsala, under the Sōmavāśī king of that country. The title Kumāraśā reminds us of the similar title Mahākumāra adopted by some rulers of the Paramāra family.2 The uncertain political condition which necessitated the adoption of the title Mahākumāra by some Paramāra rulers is hinted at in epigraphic passages like śrīmeś-Jayavarmanavāra-rājē vati nīja-kara-dhīta-karavīla-prasād-āvīpta-nīj-ādhītya... mahākumāra-śrīmal-Laukhśīvaravīla, “the Mahākumāra, the illustrious Lakshmiavarādēva, who obtained sovereignty of his own by the favour of the sword which he carried in his hand, when the rule by the illustrious Jayavarmanavāra had passed away”, śri-Jayavarmanavāra ity-śrīyām prīti-khārama-prabhāh prasād-āvīpta-nīj-ādhītya... mahākumāra-śrīmeś-Hariśchandradēva, “the Mahākumāra, the illustrious Hariśchandravāra, who obtained sovereignty of his own by the favour of the last ruler, before mentioned, the illustrious Jayavarmanavāra”, etc. It is very interesting to note that the Sōmavāśī Kumāra or Kumāraśā Sōmāśāvaraśā is similarly said to have issued the charter after the end of the rule of Abhimanyu who had been installed in the Kōsala kingdom that is said to have been presented to him by Udyōtakēśarī. The Sōmaviśāva king Mahābhavagupta IV Udyōtakēśarī, who was the son of Mahābhavagupta III Yāyāti Chandjiha and grandson of Abhimanyu (who did not rule), is known from his Balijhari plates.3 Our inscription represents Udyōtakēśarī as Mahābhavagupta-pād-ānudhyātā. It is apparently a mistake for Mahābhavagupta-pād-ānudhyātā which is used in the same context in the Balijhari plates (cf. lines 29-33). While discussing the history of the Sōmavāśiś of Kōsala (South Kōsala) and Utkala, we have suggested

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1 Of Balijhari plates, J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XVII, pp. 1 ff. Unfortunately there are numerous errors in the published transcript of this inscription. Trinādaka and khandopāla are mentioned in some Orissa records in connection with land that was declared as a rent-free gift but was subject to payment of certain taxes. See above, Vol. XII, pp. 156 ff., line 20; Vol. XXIV, pp. 15 ff., lines 33-34; J. A. S. B., N. S., Vol. XII, pp. 292 ff., lines 32-33; J. R. A. S., 1962, pp. 6 ff. Gauḍa is the same as gōkula meaning ‘a cowshed’.
elsewhere\(^1\) that Uddyōtakāśarīn, who ruled about 1060-85 A.C., possibly during the later part of his reign, made Abhimanyu, apparently a prince of his own family, a sub-king of that part of his dominions that lay in Kōsāla, while he himself ruled in Utkalā where we have his records at Bhubanśvarā and the neighbourhood. This arrangement may have been made to check the Kakcharī as well as Chhindakā-Nāga and Telugu-Chōḍa enroachment in Kōsāla and Gaṅga enroachment in Utkalā.\(^2\) As to the extirpation of Sōma-vaśī rule (especially of Abhimanyu’s reign) from Kōsāla, it may be pointed out that the Chhindakā-Nāga king Sōmaśvara (cīra 1090-1110 A. C.) of Bastar and Yaśōraja I, a Telugu-Chōḍa feudatory of the Chhindakā-Nāgas, claim to have conquered Kōsāla. Yaśōraja’s great-grandson Sōmaśvara II, called ‘lord of the whole of Kōsāla’, actually issued his Kumārīśhīhī and Patna Museum plates\(^3\) from Suvarṇapura. The position of Sōmaśvara and Abhimanyu, mentioned in our record, in the genealogy of the Sōma-vaśīs cannot be determined; but the latter may have been a grandson of Abhimanyu (grandfather of Uddyōtakāśarīn) and a brother or cousin of Uddyōtakāśarīn. Like the Telugu-Chōḍa Sōmaśvara II who issued charters from Sonepur, the Sōma-vaśī Sōmaśvara who issued the charter under discussion from the same city, seems to have flourished about the early years of the twelfth century. That the Sōma-vaśī Sōmaśvara was a contemporary of his Telugu-Chōḍa namesake may be suggested by the influence of the latter’s records on passages like Sōma-kula-kaṇḍa-ha-vijaya-vikāra-bhāṣaṇa and śri-Sōmaśvaradēva-pādaṇa kusalaṇa. In the Sōma-vaśī style, the passages would have been Sōmakula-tīlaka and śri-Sōmaśvaradēva kusala. It is possible to suggest that the Sōma-vaśī Sōmaśvara of our record struggled with and was overthrown by the Telugu-Chōḍa Sōmaśvara II. The greatest achievement of Kakchurī Jájalladēva (1114 A.C.) is described as a victory over a certain Sōmaśvara in one record and as a victory over Bhubalā of Suvarṇapura in another.\(^5\) This seems to suggest that Bhubalā or Bhubalāmalla was a vr̥tta of Sōmaśvara who was a ruler of Suvarṇapura (Sonepur). This Sōmaśvara, defeated by the Kakcharīs established in the western part of South Kōsāla, may be either the Sōma-vaśī Sōmaśvara of our record or the Telugu-Chōḍa Sōmaśvara II of the Kumārīśhīhī and Patna Museum plates. But his identification with the former seems preferable. From the record under review we learn that, like the imperial Gaṅgas, the Sōma-vaśīs claimed to have belonged to the Ārāya gōra.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Kōsāla and Suvarṇapura are of course modern Kelgī and Sonepur respectively. The district called Uttaravalli seems to be what is now called Uttara-tīra referred to above. The village of Atteḍā must have stood in the vicinity of Kelgī. The donee’s family hailed from the village of Mahuvāli in Śrāvasti which was the area round modern Sot-Mahet on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich Districts of the Uttar Pradesh. The village of Kamalapura, where the donee was settled, seems to have been a locality in South Kōsāla.

TEXT\(^6\)

**First Plate**

1 [Siddhān].}\(^7\) Svasti [\(\ast\) Śrī-Suvarṇapuruṣātha(rāj) \(\ast\) || paramamāhāśva(śva)ra-paramabha\(^8\).]

2 [ṭṭāraka-mahārājādhīrāja-paramēśvara\(^9\) Sōma-kula-tīlaka-Tri-]

\(^1\) I. H. Q., Vol. XXII, pp. 304-05.
\(^2\) Loc. cit. See also above (article on the Mahajā plates).
\(^4\) Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 97 ff.
\(^6\) From the original plates as well as impressions and the facsimile published above, Vol. XII.
\(^7\) Expressed by symbol.
\(^8\) One of the dandas stands on the left of the ring-hole and two of them are on the right. They are unnecessary.
\(^9\) There is a small dhanda after this letter. It is superfluous.
\(^\text{The dandas are unnecessary.}\)
TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM KELGA

3 kalidhapi-ti/sri-Mahabhadhavatapta1 rajojiva-pan-dunadyataj-sri(ta-sri)-
4 mad-Udyodityatka-sarjadeva-prasidhi(d)kiita-Kosala-rajj-abhishti(shi)-
5 kta-sri2 Abhimatyuna(yu)di(d)casyutin-rjayj3 paramamahavara-pan-
6 ramabhadha altijdita-kuma(m)radhiraja-paremsha(sva)ra-Pachima-Laajk-adhi-
7 pati-Soma-kula-kamala-kalik-vikasa-bhajya(eka)ra-kumara-sri-
8 Someshvaradipadha kusa(sa)llina(h)4 Uttarasvalli-vishaya-sarin5-
9 Keshagaka-khandija6 2 Attajagram6 2 pratvisin6 Vra( Brahma)-
10 nya-put(put)rahsarana(ran) 1 bhogi-bhogirupa-pramukha-samsat-

Second Plate; First Side

11 jana-pada-na(dan) yath-kal-adhyayi(si)nae-cha maq(lalapati)2 vishaya-
12 pati1 2 khandapati1 2 danaqapasi(si)kudina(dan) samasta-raja-pad-opajivin-
13 yath-arhaa 2 mnaayanit 2 vo(bod)hayant 2 samaj(na)payant[c]ha* 2 viditam-asta-
14 bhavata[m*] 2 upari-liyita-graoma-yaan 2 prasiddha-chatuhi-sm-avachchhina(unah)
15 sa-jala-stalaah 2 sa-matra-yaka-kachchhapah 2 sa-vitap-aranyah 2 sa-
16 nishiv 2 s-panidhi-si-ha 2 s-amvra(mra)-madha-van-aqirqa 2 Suvarppadnaja.2
17 ahdanq 2 vartmadnaja 2 vandapanaka 2 vajayavandapanaka 2 tpaq-odaka-
18 sa(s)kvan-anddhika 2 chara-va(ba)liva(rda) 2 qarthuruvva 2 pratyarthuruvva-padata-
19 vya-qaddata 2 quturavaddi 2 bhavishyata(shyat)-kar-aadi-saithah 2 go-qa-
20 smetaah 2 sa-khandapaliiyaah 2 sarvavai-ha(bod)havivajita(h*) 2 tamvra(mra)-saa-

Second Plate; Second Side

21 sanen-eka-rigkriyaa 2 salila-dhara-puru(h)sara(n)x(ram) 2 achandr-arka-[kahi]ti-[kala]-
22 sama-bhog-arthaan 2 mat-pit fors-atmana-as cha punya-yas(s)-bhividhdyo 2 bhagava-
23 ntaan Mahesava(stv)ra-bhatqaraka-uddisyasa saya 2 mahasandhigrdhi(hi)-ra(ran)aka-nayaka-
24 Mahipati-bhatq-arit-Aniruddha 2 anayos6 pari[jnatvya] 2 pravardhamana-vijaya-rav-
25 jy 2 pratham-sama(sa)mva(tsa)mae 2 Magha-maatiya 2 pu(h)[pu]nya-tithau 2 Kuvm(na)(ra-
26 treya 2 panch-arsha-pravaraya 2 Madhyandina-Ka(kar)na(na)sa(s)-a(k)adhdyayin 2 Savattha4-sanq-
27 lya 2 Mahuvli-wi(vinir)nggrataya 2 Kamalapura-vastavya 2 bhatatita)purta-La-
28 khoindhara-praputra 2 bhatqa-Jayakara-pantraya 2 bhatqa-Vidyakara-putraya
29 bhatqaputra3-Udayakara(sma)ma(nma)oj sampradattos smabhih 2 atriya-gotraih 2
30 aq(trq)reha(mheya) pravaraah 2 ato-sya vidhiyibhuya yatha-dyamana-bhogabhaga-
31 kara-nikar-adikam samupanayadbhi bhavadbhih sukha prativastavyaun [bah]-

1 Read "grupta-raja". The intended reading seems to be Mahakaputraprajada.
2 Samati has not been observed here.
3 The dandas are unnecessary.
4 Sah is a contraction for sambdhadha
5 The danda is superfluous.
6 Read "parijatapya".
* The intended reading seems to be "Srivastei".
The stray plate inserted in Sōmēśvara’s charter, as already noticed, forms part of an incomplete charter in favour of the son of the Brāhmaṇa Udayakara, donee of the previous grant. It abruptly begins with a reference to the village folk living on the four sides apparently of the gift land, to whom the royal order seems to have passed through a person named Shashṭhi-gābhūra. The gift land is next mentioned as Pavīśagrāma together with two khaṇḍa-kṣetras (plots of land) called Gudhvamāla and Khaṇḍa belonging to Varavūnḍa-grāma situated in the Rūgīdā ṛaṇḍa. The land was apparently situated in a forest, as the privileges of the donee included his right to enjoy hasti-danta (ivory), vyāghra-charma (tiger’s skin) and various animals (nānā-vanachara). Among trees specified in this connection are tamarind and palmyra.

The donee was the Brāhmaṇa, Bhaṭṭaputra Ābhābhakarasārman, who was the son of Bhaṭṭaputra Udayakara (donee of Sōmēśvara’s charter edited above), grandson of Bhaṭṭa Vidyakara and great-grandson of Bhaṭṭaputra Jayakara. As in Sōmēśvara’s charter, the donee is said to have belonged to the Kumārā-hārita gōtra having five pravaras and to have been a student of the Madhyandina-Kānya Sākha. His family is likewise described as having hailed from Mahuvālī in the Sāvatha (Śrāvastī) maṇḍala, although he was, like his father, an inhabitant of Kamaḷapura.

1 The dandaśas are superfluous.
2 Instead of sata-puruśa (i.e., sat-puruśa) read puruśa for the sake of the metre.
3 This line has suffered from corrosion. There appear to be traces of a few letters after this; but I am unable to decipher them. The details of the date of the grant are possibly given here.
The above grant portion of the record is followed by a passage introducing the imprecatory and benedictory verses. This part closely resembles the corresponding portion of such other Orissan epigraphs as the two Baudh plates 1 of the Bhaṇja king Rāṇa-bhaṇja 2 of Khiṇjali-maṇḍala, who flourished about the third quarter of the tenth century.

The charter may have been granted by the Sōmavāni Sōmāvāra or by his Telugu-Chōda namesake who ousted him from Suvarṇapura. The villages Paviśa and Vuravuḷa and the district called Rōṅgaḷa-maṇḍala cannot be satisfactorily identified.

TEXT

Obverse

1 pramukhaḥ 3 chatvāri śimanta-janapadāḥ 4 Śaṃśiḥ-gābhura-pramukha-
2 taḥ 4 yathā-ārha[ṁ] māṇyati 4 samānda(di)sati [c[a]] 4 viditam-astu tu bhava-
3 taṁ[ṁ] Rōṅgaḷa-maṇḍala-Vuravuḷa-grāma-Gudhvamāla-khaṇḍakṣhētra-Kaha-
4 pura-khaṇḍakṣhētra-Paviśa-grāma(mē)mah) chatu[h] 4 śimā-yāvah(vat) 1 niḍh-yō(ḍhy-ya)-
   panidi-hasti-
5 danta-vā(yā)ghra-charma-nānā-vanachara-[sametāh] 4 sa-jala-sthala[h] 4 sa-machchaḥ(taya)-
   kachchhapa[h] 8-
6 sa-kha(khe)ta-vita[h] 4 sa-khilla-u(l-)ma(nna)ta[h] 4 sa-pad-rāṇya[h] 4 sa-gulma-l(la)-
7 tā[kha] 4 sa-av[a]-ṁvra(mra)-madha(dhu)ka[h] 4 sa-tantali[h] 4 sa-talakail(kaḥ) nānā-
   vṛṣekha-[sametāh] 8-
8 sanjakritya pratipāda[h] 8 KumārahāTRA(ta)gohrāya paṅcha-risha(ṭṭh-ṭṛśe)-
9 ya-pravara[y] 4 Mādhayandina-Ka(Ka)ṇḍaṇa(yna)-sākh-udhyāya(yi)nē Sāvatha-maṇḍala-
10 [t] Mahuvali-viniḥ(na)ratya 4 Kamalapura-vāstavyāya 4 bhaṭa(tta)pu-
11 tra-Jayakara-praputra[y] 4 bhaṭa(tta)-Vidyākara-paurāya 4 bhaṭa(tta)putra-
12 U(tr-ṭ)dayakara-purtṛya 4 bhaṭa(tta)putṛ-Ābhābhakara-arṣa(sa)ma(tma)nē 4 Vidhi-vi-
   dhān[[-]
13 na sa(saṁ)vidhāya 4 tāmvr(a-mra)-śasanena pratipādo-yaṁ 4 pārampura-ka(kra)-
   māgā-
14 ta-sarva-vachanēṇa 4 ya-

Reverse

15 thā kāṇḍāt-kāṇḍa(ṇḍa)ṭ-prarohanti 4 yā sa(sa)ṭena pranānūhita 4 ēvaiṁ rācha(ja)-kāśa-
16 nēna pratipāda[taḥ] 4 ēvaiṁ 1 vadnāḥ para vahma paraṁ vahīsa-kārināḥ

1 See above, Vol. XII, pp. 324, 327.
2 From the original plate as well as its impressions and the facsimile published above, Vol. XII.
3 The reading intended may be pramukha-chatub-simanta-janapadaḥ.
4 The danda is superfluous.
5 Varavāda seems to have been originally engraved. The idea is: Varavāḍa-grāma-sthitā-Gudhvamāla-
6 The danda are not required.
7 Sanskrit sa-intirikāḥ.
8 The intended reading may be Śrāvasti.
9 The danda is unnecessary.
10 Usually we have here additionally sabhāra vīrakṣa. See above, Vol. XII, pp. 324-327. See also Viśvamātā
Sassadā 16, 20 f.
11 Read ēvaṁ buddhār parārādhaka paraṁ māyā-kṣetraṁ api bhavaddhiryaṁ nāmāniṁ nādāravma-yayu
vācha na kēmāpi vālpiśa-puraparādhaḥ kuraṇīyaḥ 1.
No. 51—TWO PLATES FROM KANAS

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OTACAMUND

The village of Kanás lies about ten miles away from the Delang station of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway in the Puri District of Orissa. The village is celebrated for an ancient Matha or monastery under a Mahant Mahäräj. Some time ago Pandit Sadásiva Ratha Šarma of Puri, who is a Research Assistant of the Utkal University, Cuttack, secured on loan two copper-plate inscriptions in the possession of the Kanás Matha and gave them for decipherment to Pandit Satyanáräyan Rājaguru who was formerly Research Assistant of the Kalinga Historical Research Society, Balangir, and is now Assistant Curator of the Orissa Museum at Bhubaneswar. Pandit Rājaguru made an attempt to decipher one of the two records and published the results of his study in the Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society, Vols. II, No. 4 and III, Nos. 1-3, January 1950, pp. 261-66. As the text of the inscription published by Pandit Rājaguru appeared to me inaccurate and unsatisfactory, I was eager to examine the original plate. Both the plates in the possession of the Kanás Matha were secured on loan by the Government Epigraphist for India through the Collector of the Puri District in December 1950. The results of my study of the two inscriptions, one of which is as yet unknown to scholars, are published in the following pages.

1 In this place usually we have tatha rāvahāna dharmahā-sāstro. The passage tasya-agre, etc., is only a part of an incomplete verse.
2 Read Phala-kriyāt mahim dayat or-bhis-tasya-mēdiṁiṁ yāvat sūrya-kriyā-tālaka-sāvaya svarā Mahāśe ṣvāraḥ ||
3 Read Veda-vāka-mahā jātva vadhantiva bhāmi-hattā tathā-nārāyaṇa svāhā.||
4 Read Yathā-upaḥ patikaḥ Śaka tāla-bundur. sarvpati śvam bhāmi-kriyām dānam śasya śasya prarākati ||
5 The second half of this verse is omitted.
6 Read Mā bhālu-phala-krākā tē para-dattī ti pāthiveti ||
7 The second half of the verse seems to have been engraved on another plate.
A. Plate of Lōkavigraha-bhaṭṭāraka; Gupta year 280

This is a single plate measuring 4.55 inches by 2.5 inches and having writing on both obverse and reverse. There is a projection in the middle of the left end of the plate, to which a seal was originally soldered. Of this seal, however, nothing but a small lump of bronze protruding through a hidden hole on both the obverse and reverse of the projection now remains. There are eleven lines of writing on the obverse of the plate and ten lines on the reverse. The size of the letters is small. The preservation of the writing, especially on the obverse of the plate, is extremely unsatisfactory as some of the letters have completely peeled off. The weight of the plate, together with the lump representing the original seal, is 15 tolas only.

In point of palaeography and orthography, the inscription closely resembles the Sumanḍala plate of Prithivivigraha-bhaṭṭāraka edited by me in the pages of this journal, and hardly anything calls for special mention. The tail of letters like क and र is short and not lengthened considerably downwards as is usually the case. The sign of interpunctuation is usually a short horizontal or slightly curved stroke. Full-stop is sometimes indicated by two such strokes (cf. line 19), not differing much from the sign for the visarga; but often the usual double danda has been employed, although the head of the first of the two danda is considerably curved towards the left (cf. lines 15, 21). The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of two of the usual imprecatory verses at the end, the record is entirely written in prose.

The date of the charter engraved on the plate as given in words in lines 2-3 reads: pravart-tamānē Gupta-kāla-samāna(samne)śārē aśīt-yuṭra-saṅga-donā. It is quoted in line 15 as Samvat 200 80 Pālghuna(na)-di 5. Thus the date of our record is the fifth day of the month of Phālguṇa in the year 280 of the Gupta era corresponding to 599-600 A.C.

The inscription records the grant of a village called Udṛddhavāṣīga situated in the Uṭḍa or Muṭda vishaya (district) in Dakshina-Tōsali. The grant was made by the royal officers (viniyuktkāḥ) of the said vishaya, including such officers as the vaisvāsika, vishayapati and aṁsa-brihadbhōgika, when paraṇa-dēvat-ādīdaivata-sri-Lōkavigraha-bhaṭṭāraka was ruling in Tōsali comprising eighteen forest states (Tōsalyaṁ s-āśītādā-ātavī-rājyāyām). The declaration regarding the grant was addressed to the present and future enjoyers of the share of the produce (bhāga-bhuja) such as the officers of the mahāśīmaka-mahāraja, rājapura, kunārīmāya, uparika, tadāyuktaka, vaisvāsika, vishayapati and aṁsa-brihadbhōgika. Of the officials, aṁsa-brihadbhōgika seems to be the same as bhāgika or bhikṣad-bhāgika of other inscriptions, and vaisvāsika, not usually found in charters, may indicate a privy councillor or one in charge of secret and confidential communications.

Having ascertained that the village in question had in it no land uncultivated for a long time (chira-khila-śānya) and that its land possessed many qualities (aṁka-guṇa), the officers granted it, with a view to gaining dharma, artha and kāma, with the permission of the paramāvatsādīdaivata-sri-paramabhāṭṭāraka. The grant was made according to the principle governing permanent endowments to last as long as the moon and sun endure (a-chandra-arcka-sama-kāliy-ākhaya-nivi-dharmmēna) with the determination of the four boundaries.

The purpose of the grant was the institution of balī, charu and sattra at the mātha of the illustrious Maḍīgāvēśvara-bhaṭṭāraka of Chaikāmbaka or Ēkāmbaka and the maintenance of the Brāhmaṇas of different gōtras, who were students of the Maitrāyaṇiya branch of the Yajurveda. It is interesting to note that the Brāhmaṇa students of the Maitrāyaṇiya school, associated with the mātha of Maḍīgāvēśvara-bhaṭṭāraka, are also mentioned in the other charter edited below. The word mātha seems to indicate here ‘a temple endowed with a monastery or college’. The grant under

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1 Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 79 ff.
2 The designation poṁkakaraṇaṁparī[ka*]-vaisvāsika-bhikṣadbhōgisa is found in lines 53-54 of the Bāpur plates of Dharmarāja to be edited by me in this journal. Cf. also Lüders’ List, Nos. 125(Q), 127, 128, 141.
3 DGA 5
review was anusrita (possibly meaning ‘endorsed’) among others by the Vaśśūska Bhavanāga, Vishayapati Śridatta, Aśa-brihadëgūkika Sudumāka and Kāraṇika Nāgadatta.

It seems that Prithivivigraha who, according to the Sumaṇḍala inscription, was governing the Kaliṅga rākṣasa as a viceroy of the imperial Guptas in the Gupta year 250 and Lokavigraha who was ruling independently over the Tōsali country (comprising the northern part of ancient Kaliṅga and also Utkala) in the Gupta year 280, belonged to the same family which may be called the Vigraha dynasty of Orissa. It is clear that all vestiges of imperial Gupta influence in Orissa disappeared before the date of our record. It is also clear now that the history of Orissa in the second half of the sixth century was characterized by the rivalry between the Vigrahas and the royal house of the Mānas represented by king Śambhuyasas of the Mudgala or Maugalya gōtra, who is known to have been ruling over Utarata-Tōsali in the Gupta year 2601 and Dākṣiṇa-Tōsali in the year 283,2 side by side with the Vigrahas. The expansion of the rule of Śambhuyasas over South Tōsali before the year 283 suggests the discomfiture of the Vigrahas at the hands of the Mānas. This struggle between the Vigrahas and Mānas seems to have facilitated the conquest of Orissa probably from the Mānas by king Śaśānka of Gauḍa sometime before the Gupta year 300.3

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Tōsali was originally the name of the chief city of Kaliṅga identified with modern Dhauli near Bhubaneswar in the Puri District. It seems that with the foundation of the kingdom of the Gangas who claimed the title “lord of Kaliṅga or Trikaliṅga” with their capital at Kaliṅganagara (modern Mukhalingam in the Chiacone or Śrīkākulam District), the rulers of northern Kaliṅga felt the necessity of applying the new name to their dominions. The country of Tōsali comprised not only northern Kaliṅga but also ancient Utkala and thus often included the western part of the Midnapur District in the north-east and the eastern fringe of the Ganjam District in the south-west. Dākṣiṇa-Tōsali or South Tōsali roughly corresponded to northern Kaliṅga (modern Puri District with parts of Cuttack and Ganjam) and Utara-Tōsali or North Tōsali to the Utkala country (modern Balasore District with parts of Cuttack and Midnapur). The description of Tōsali as comprising eighteen forest states in our record seems to be the earliest reference to the tradition of the so-called Aṭhara-gaḍa-jāta of Orissa.4 The nīkha of Utida or Muṭīda and the village of Urdvāraṇīga cannot be satisfactorily identified. Chaikāmabaka or Ekāmabaka, where the mātha of the deity Mahānuṅgaśvara was situated, is also difficult to locate. I am not sure if the mātha can be identified with the present Kānās Maṭha. If, however, the name is really Ekāmabaka, it may possibly be regarded as a variant of Ekāmra (or Ekāmaka) which is an old name of modern Bhubaneswar. The name of Mahānuṅga, son of Kadrū, is famous in the Puranic literature.5 That the Mahānuṅga cult was popular in Orissa is proved by the existence of the Mahānuṅga hill at Raṇpur in Orissa as well as of the goddess Mahānuṅga-Durgā worshipped there. Whether, however, the Mahānuṅga-maṭha was situated at Raṇpur cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. Mahānuṅgaśvara may also indicate a siva-līga installed

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1 See the Pātiakella plate (above, Vol. IX, pp. 287 ff.).
2 Cf. the Sora plate A (above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 201-02).
3 See the Ganjam plate (above, Vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.). Mr. S. N. Rajaguru’s views regarding Śaśānka (J. A. H. R. S., Vol. XIX, pp. 119 ff.) are not worthy of serious consideration.
4 For another early tradition regarding the eighteen forest kingdoms including the Dabhālī kingdom, see the Khoh plate of Saṃkṣobha (Select Inscriptions, p. 375). For the traditions regarding countries or kingdoms comprising eighteen forts, see P. Acharya in Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong., 1949, pp. 282-84. For the use of ‘eighteen’ vaguely indicating a multitude, see Pali Dictionary, P.T.S., s.v. aṭha. Cf. the epithet ‘lord of all the Gondrāmas’ in many early records of Orissa.
5 Vide Skanda Purāṇa, Āvantyaśākha, Rāvākhaṇḍa, chapter 72. The cult of Mahānuṅga was popular in various other parts of India. For the Mahānuṅga-trītha at Rājagṛha, see Mahābhārata, III, 84, 106 ff. Mahānuṅga seems to have been identical with the Yaksha Mahābhadra widely worshipped in ancient India. See above, Vol. XVIII, p. 138; A. S. R., 1915-16, Part II, p. 106; J. N. S. I., Vol. XII, pp. 179 ff., etc.
TWO PLATES FROM KANAS
A. PLATE OF LOKAVIGRAHA-BHATTARAKA; GUPTA YEAR 280

Obverse

Reverse

B. Ch. Chhabra
Reg. No. 627 HE (C)'52-495.

Scale: Actual Size

Survey of India, DehraDun
by a person named Mañināga; but the mention of the same deity as Mañināga-bhaṭṭāraka in the Kanās plate of Bhanudatta, edited here, seems to go against such a conjecture. It is also not quite clear why only Brāhmaṇas of the Maitrāyaṇiya school were associated with the maṭha of the said deity.

TEXT

Obverse

1 [Siddham]|² Svasti [∫*] Chatrubhup[a]-dadhī-salī-viĉhī-[mēkhālā-nilī]nāyāṁ sa-dvīpa-[giri-pa]-
2 ttanavatāyāṁ vasundhārayāṁ pravṛttamānē Gupta-[kā]la-[saṁva(saṁva)ta]rē
3 ā[sī]ty-u[ta]ra-sata-[dva*]-
4 Tō[sa]lyāṁ s-āshtādaś-ā[ta(ta)]vī-rajyāyāṁ parama-[dē]va[t-ā]dhidaivata-ārī-
5 Lokavi-
10 gā[ḥ] bhūj[ō]
12 vishayama-
14 avadhṛtya
16 kāma-
17 vinishpatt[a]y[ē] [ā-chand-ārka]-sama[kāli-yakṣhaya-n] vi-dharmmēṇa cha[tuḥ]-

Reverse

12 simā-lingāni saṁsthāpya [Chai[k][ā]nva[mva][k]iya-ārī-Ma[n][ni]nāgo[v]ara-bhaṭṭāraka-ma[ṇī]-
15 abhīha-
16 shād-[a]p[a]-lay[a]nunar[a]r[a]h[t-ṛti || Samva(Saṁva)t 200 80 Phālguna-na-ṛī 5 [∫*]
17 [a]lun[r][r]ta[n] Śurya . . . . . . . lībhaṭai[ḥ ||] vaivāśīka-Bhavanā [n]vishaya-
18 pari-[Śrīdatta ] . . . . . . . . . jroḍ-āṁ[sa]v[ri[bri]]hadbhūgika-Suṭumāka | karani-
19 ka-Nāgadatta [[d]raṇgapaḥ] . . . . . . . . . . . kaiś-ch-ṛti || Va[Ba]hubhir-vvasūdha ḍattā rājabhiḥ
20 Sagar-ādibhiḥ[ḥ*] [∫*] yasya ya[ṣya] yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya ta[d-ṛ*] phalāḥ[lam]]
20 Shaśṭhitam varsha-saha[ṛ][ti]vayvargga śīṣṭhaḥ bhūmiḍaḥ [∫*] ākṣhēptā ch-ānumantā cha
21 tāny-ṭva narakō vasēt || o || o ||

¹ From the original plate.
² Expressed by a symbol.
³ Or, "Iyāṁ Muṭḍa".
⁴ Or, c̣h-āṭkām̄ekāya.
⁵ The danda is unnecessary.
⁶ This danda and the following ones in the next two lines are used as the hyphen is done in English.
⁷ The word may be draspa-pāla, the same as drāṣṭika of some inscriptions.
B. Plate of Bhāṇudatta; Regnal Year 5

The inscription is engraved on both sides of a single plate measuring 5.8 inches by 4.1 inches. There is a projection, with a hole in it, in the middle of the left end of the plate, to which a seal must have been originally fixed. The seal is now lost. There are eleven lines of writing on the obverse and eight lines on the reverse. The preservation of the writing is very poor as both sides of the plate have suffered considerably from the effect of corrosion. The plate weighs 43½ tolas.

As regards palaeography, language and orthography, the inscription under discussion closely resembles the Soro (D)1 and Balasore2 plates, as all the three charters were issued by the same ruler. Very little in these respects, therefore, calls for any special remark. The medial i is sometimes joined with the following mark of interpunkation (cf. lines 13, 19) as in the Sumanḍala plate3 and some other inscriptions. The charter is dated in the fifth regnal year of a subordinate ruler named Bhāṇudatta who, as will be seen below, flourished sometime between 619 and 643 A.C. The actual date given is the 24th day of Āśva (i.e., Āśavayuj or Āśvina).

The charter was issued by a locality called Andhasubhkīsha by the mahāpratihāra-mahārāja-mahāśāṃanta śri-Bhāṇudatta whose feudatory position is further indicated by the epithet parama-dai-vata-śri-paramabhattachāra-pād-ānudhyāta. Bhāṇudatta’s reverential declaration regarding the grant was addressed to the mahāśāṃanta- mahārāja, vājaputra, kumārāmātya, uparika, vishayapati, tad-āyuktaka, dāṅḍavāsika (i.e. dāṅḍapāsika), sthānāntarika and other officers and also persons like the chātas and bhātas, both of the time being and of the future, who were or would be associated (samupāgata) with the vishaya or district called Uttamālōka. The village, granted by Bhāṇudatta by the uṁra-patī for so long as the moon and sun endure and described as chira-khila-sūnya, was Kumvukirikshilāka in the said vishaya. The grant was made for the increase of the merits of the śri-parama-bhattachāra-pāda, i.e., the unnamed overlord of Bhāṇudatta. It was made theoretically in favour of the deity Mañināga-bhattachāra of Chaikāmvakā or Ekāmvakā,4 but actually in that of the Brāhmaṇas who resided in the matha of the god and were students of the Mātrāyaṇīya school of the Yajurveda. People are requested not to stand in the way of the donees enjoying the gift land, but to protect the grant owing to respect for the religious merit of Bhāṇudatta’s overlord. The charter was written (i.e., its draft was prepared) by the sāndhīvighaṅka Gōvinda. The plate was heated (for the purpose of fixing the seal) by the pēdāpāla Pratishtihita. The designation pēdāpāla is found sometimes in the form pētakapāla and apparently means an officer who was in charge of the boxes containing documents like the one under notice. He was therefore associated with the records office and was possibly under the officer called pusta-pāla or pustaka-pāla in some inscriptions.5 Pēdāpāla Pratishtihita of our record is apparently no other than the pēdāpāla Pratishtihita mentioned in the two other charters of the same ruler, referred to above. The plate was engraved by a person named Śivanaṃdana.

All the three charters of Bhāṇudatta so far discovered are couched in similar language. Like the Balasore plate, which, however, calls its issuer Bhāṇu instead of Bhāṇudatta, our record describes the ruler as a mahāpratihāra-mahārāja-mahāśāṃanta, although the Soro plate (D) uses the designation mahāpratihāra-mahārāja. All the three charters are dated in the fifth regnal year of Bhānu or Bhāṇudatta and were heated by the pēdāpāla Pratishtihita or Pratishtihitaundra. They refer to the overlord of Bhāṇudatta without specifically mentioning his name. This seems to

1 Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 203.
3 See above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 79 ff.
4 The name seems to have been spelt also as ending in ku.
5 In the records of the Uhauma-Karos, pusta-pāla and pēdā-pāla are often separately mentioned, the latter apparently as a small official.
suggest that Bhāṇudatta’s status as a ruler was gradually approaching that of a semi-independent feudatory of an imperial personage.

The four copper plates1 from Soro in the Balasore District belonging to Śambhuvyaśas, Sōmadatta and Bhāṇudatta, as well as the Balasore plate of Bhānu referred to above, suggest that the Sarēpha or Sarēph-āhāra district (i.e., the region round modern Soro in the Balasore District), said to be in Uttara-Tōsali or in the Oṭra vishaya as well as in Uttara-Tōsali, was under the independent king Śambhuvyaśas of the Mudgala or Maugdalya gōtra and possibly of the Māna family in the Gupta year 260 (579 A.C.), then under a feudatory ruler named Sōmadatta in his fifteenth regnal year and lastly under Bhāṇudatta in his fifth regnal year. The village of Vahirvāṭaka in the Soro district, granted by Sōmadatta in his fifteenth regnal year to the Brāhmaṇas Dhrūva-mitravāmin and Āruñgāmitravāmin of the Vatsya gōtra and Vājasānya charaya, was regranted by Bhāṇudatta in his fifth regnal year to the above two Brāhmaṇas as well as to two others of the same family, viz., Priyamitravāmin and Vāṭamitravāmin, apparently on the latter’s representation and not long after the date of Sōmadatta’s grant. Sōmadatta and Bhāṇudatta very probably belonged to the same family of the feudatory Dattas who were, however, not subordinate to the ruling dynasty represented by Śambhuvyaśas. The two Midnapur plates2 show that Dandābhakti in the western part of the Midnapur District of West Bengal was being ruled in the eighth regnal year of Śaśāṅka, king of Gauḍa, by Mahāpratikāra Subhakṛiti, but that the same māyāfala together with the dēśa or territory of Utkala was under the rule of the sāmanda-mahārajya Sōmadatta in the nineteenth regnal year of the same monarch. Thus Sōmadatta was a feudatory of Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa who is known to have been ruling in the first quarter of the seventh century at least from 605 to 619 A.C. In 619 A.C. Śaśāṅka’s suzerainty was acknowledged by the Śailodbhavas in the Kōṅgōda country about the eastern fringe of the Ganjam District. This points to the expansion of Gauḍa rule over both North and South Tōsali. The rule of Sōmadatta in Utkala or Uttara-Tōsali as a vassal of Śaśāṅka points to the extirpation of the supremacy of the Mānas at least from that region before the nineteenth regnal year of the Gauḍa monarch. But the two Soro inscriptions of Sōmadatta, unlike the Midnapur plate of his time, are dated in the fifteenth year of his own reign and not in the regnal reckoning of his overlord Śaśāṅka. The same is the case with the charters issued by Bhāṇudatta who was probably Sōmadatta’s successor in Utkala, Oṭra-vishaya or Uttara-Tōsali. The dating of these charters in the regnal reckoning of the feudatories with a rather vague mention of the paraṇa-bhāttāraka or overlord seems to suggest that they were issued after the defeat of Śaśāṅka or his successor at the hands of Harshavardhana of Kanauj and his friend Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa between 619 and 643 A.C.,3 when the hold of the Gauḍa emperor on the feudatories must have begun to decline. The Dattas of Uttara-Tōsali, who then became rather nominal feudatories of the emperor of Gauḍa, appear to have been extirpated by Harshavardhana who led an expedition in Orissa about 643 A.C. and probably put the Bhauma-Kara rulers of Jaipur to power in the above region. Thus after the decline of imperial Gauḍa rule in Orissa, we find the Vīgrahās and Mānas struggling for power with each other before they were swept away by the Gauḍas. It is probable that the Vīgrahās were ousted by the Mānas who were themselves extirpated by the Gauḍas. The defeat of the Gauḍa monarch by the Kanauj-Kāmarūpa confederacy led to the weakening of his hold on Orissa. Harshavardhana, who now considered the Gauḍa king as one of his subordinate allies, may have subdued Orissa ostensibly on the latter’s behalf. But his death in 647 A.C. led to the emergence of the Bhauma-Karas as an imperial power in that country. The rulers on the throne of Karnaśvarṇa, capital of Gauḍa, were apparently unable to regain their hold on Orissa.

1 Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 201 ff.
3 The later limit may be 637 A.C. About this time, the Chinese pilgrim Huen-tsang visited Eastern India. His accounts appear to suggest that Śaśāṅka was dead and Gauḍa was humbled before his visit to that region.
Of the geographical names mentioned in the present record, Chaikāṃvakā or Ekāṃvakā has already been dealt with in connection with the Kanās plate of Lōkavigrha. Andhasubhikṣa, whence the charter was issued, cannot be satisfactorily identified. I have also not been able to locate the village of Kumvākṣirikṣilāka and the district of Uttamālōka. The name of the village looks like a compound of the names of two localities.

TEXT:

Obverse

1 [Siddham]² Svasti [*] Andhasubhikṣataḥ paramad[ai]vata-ārī-para[m][bhaṭṭāraka-pād-ā]-
6 chāta-bha[t-ā][d]in[a][dhika]ra[ṃ][n]ī[sa]-cha pūjayati | astu vaḥ [sa]j[mi[sa]]v[mi]dita[m]
7 yathā-[ṣ]ma[bhir-ē][tad-vishaya-samva][samba]ddha-chu[ra-khila]-śūnyya-[Ku-]
8 m[vu]kāri[kṣi]lāka-[grāma]bh[ri]-paramabhaṭṭā[raka]-pādā[nā]-
9 m-puṇy-ābhivviddhayē tāmra-paṭṭen[ā]-chand[ā][rkka]-sama-kāla[m] Chai]*
10 kāṃvakā-[Maṇināga-bhaṭṭārakāya Maittrāya[ṇ][i]ya-chchhāṭtra-[maṭha]-Vṛ[ṇ][a(Brā)-]

Reverse

13 diya-dharma-gauravācchha dattāṁ-ēśā paripālayativāy-ēti ||
15 vvasu[dhā]
16 dāttā rājabhī Sagar-ādibhiḥ [|=] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis[=tasya] ta-
17 sya tadā [p[a]k[a]la[m][a]m]| Sva-dattāṁ-para-dattāṁ-vattāṁ vā yō harēta vasundharmī(ram[)]
18 [sa vi]-
19 sthānyāṁ krīmibhaṭṭāpāvī pitribhiḥ saha pachyatē [|==] likhitam s[a]ndhi]-
20 vigrahika-Gōvindē[na] [|=] tāpitaṁ pēḍāpāla-Pratishtitē[na] [|=]
21 utkīrṇam Śivanandānēṁ-ēti || [|=]

From the original plate.
² Expressed by a symbol.
³ A letter seems to have been cancelled by the engraver between grā and mah.
⁴ Or, ca-As*.
⁵ Better read driṣṭhā, although we have the same expression elsewhere also.
⁶ There are two short slanting strokes placed between the two double dandas here.
TWO PLATES FROM KANAS

B. PLATE OF BHANUDATTA; REGNAL YEAR 5

Obverse

Reverse

B. Ch. Chhabra
Reg. No. 627 HE (C)'32-499.

Scale: Actual Size

Survey of India, DehraDun
The above copper-plate inscription, dated in the Gaṅga year 185 (681-83 A. C.), has been edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar.¹ The Gaṅga king Sāmavatarmman who issued the charter belonged to a branch line of the Gaṅga house, which ruled from a city variously called Śvetaka, Sētaka, Śvēta, Śvetaka and Sēta. Dr. Majumdar places the kingdom of the Gaṅgas of Śvetaka "in the northern part of the Ganjam District."²

Another member of the same branch of the Gaṅga family was Rāṇaka Jayavarman, known from one of his copper-plate charters,³ which was found somewhere in the northern part of the Ganjam District. This grant of Jayavarman is known to have been registered with a seal by a lady styled Trikaliṅga-mahādevī. On this point Dr. Majumdar says, "It is significant that the grant of Rāṇaka Jayavarman was registered (lāṅchhita) by the Trikaliṅga-Mahādevī. This shows that Trikaliṅga was included in the kingdom, and may even be taken to indicate that the kingdom was also sometimes known by that name. As I have suggested elsewhere,⁴ Trikaliṅga probably designates the hilly tracts, lying to the west of Kāliṅga and separating it from the Central Provinces."⁵ Dr. Majumdar seems to take Trikaliṅgamahādevī as a designation. To me, however, it appears to have been the personal name or a secondary name of one of the queens of Rāṇaka Jayavarman, who was endowed by the king with an amount of administrative power. This seems to be suggested by some records of the Bhaṇjas of Khījajalinḍala, who originally ruled from Dhrītipura and later from the city of Vaṁjulvaka in the northern part of the Ganjam District, as well as by some of the Śvetaka Gaṅgas themselves.

The Ghusur plates⁶ of Nēṭṭabhāṇja Kalyāṇakalasa were lāṅchhita or registered by the Vārgulika Vāchchhika. Two other charters of the same king⁷ were similarly lāṁchhita respectively by Māmmā and Jachchhikā, who appear to have been female officials of the Bhaṇja ruler. It is extremely interesting to note in this connection that two charters of another member of the same ruling family,⁸ called Vidyādharaṭhāṇja surnamed Amōghakalasa and Dharmakalasa, are said to have been lāṁchhita by Trikaliṅga-mahādevī together with the mantrin Bhaṭṭa-Kēśavādeva and the Vārgulika Chāchika in one case and by the same Trikaliṅga-mahādevī together with Tejadikā and the mantrin Bhaṭṭa-Stambhādevā in the other. Since, however, these records come from the northern part of the Ganjam District, like those of the Gaṅgas of Śvetaka, Dr. Majumdar may be inclined to explain the mention of Trikaliṅga-mahādevī in the above two records in the same way as he has done in connection with the inscription of Rāṇaka Jayavarman. But some other inscriptions of the Bhaṇjas of Vaṁjulvaka seem clearly to go against his suggestion.

The Chakradharpur plate⁹ of Nēṭṭabhāṇja Kalyāṇakalasa are known to have been lāṁchhita by Śrījayaṭhādevī or śrī-Jayamahādevī together with the Vārgulika Puṇḍarakā and the mantrin Bhaṭṭa-Rāpuka. There is hardly any doubt that Śrījayaṭhādevī or śrī-Jayamahādevī was the personal name of one of the queens of Nēṭṭabhāṇja Kalyāṇakalasa, who was endowed with the

¹ Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 108 ff. and plate.
² Ibid., p. 111, line 37; p. 112, line 13.
⁵ Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 111.
⁶ Bhandarkar’s Last, No. 1497. Vārgulika may be Oriya Vāṣuli meaning the king’s kandāla-vaṭaka.
⁷ Ibid., Nos. 1498, 1499.
⁸ Ibid., Nos. 1500, 1501.
⁹ Ibid., No. 1502.
power of registering royal charters. Since the name of the registering Mahādevi (queen) in this case cannot reasonably be associated with any geographical area like Trikaliṅga, Trikaliṅga-mahādevī should also better be taken as the personal or secondary name of a queen of Vidyādhaharabhāṇja surnamed Amoghakalaśa and Dharmakalaśa. The same personal or secondary name was apparently also borne by one of the queens of the Gaṅga Rāṇaka Jayavarman of Śvetaka, who is known to have registered a grant of her husband.

The above suggestion is supported by some other inscriptions of the Gaṅgas of Śvetaka and the Bhaṇjas of Vañjulvaka. The Svalpavelura grant1 of Gaṅga Anantavarman of Śvetaka was registered by the Mahādevī Śrīvāsa-bhaṭṭārikā, while the Gaṇjam plates2 of the Śvetaka king Pṛthivivarman were registered by his Mahādevī whose name is not mentioned. A grant of king Nṛttabhāṇja Tribhuvanakalaśa of Vañjulvaka, which was recently examined by me and is being published in this journal, was similarly registered by Śrījvaloka-mahādevī or śrī-Jivaloka-mahādevī, no doubt a queen of the Bhaṇja ruler.

Since Trikaliṅgamahādevī looks like personal or secondary names such as Gāndhāri, Kākāyī, Mādri, Pāñchali, Vaidarbhī and Vaidēhi of the epics, it is possible to regard the queen bearing that name to have been born in the Trikaliṅga country. An exactly similar name, derived from that of the mother-land of the queen, would be Kōsala-devā3 who was the daughter of the Kōsala king Mahākūṣala and the queen of the Magadha monarch Bimbisāra. Thus the name Trikaliṅga-mahādevī borne by the queens of Jayavarman of Śvetaka and Vidyādhaharabhāṇja surnamed Amoghakalaśa and Dharmakalaśa of Vañjulvaka does not appear to help us in locating the Trikaliṅga country in the land comprising the northern part of the Gaṇjam District of Orissa.

2. Koni Inscription of Pṛthvedēva II

The Koni inscription of king Pṛthvedēva II (circa 1138-58 A. C.) of the Kalachuri dynasty of Ratnapura has been published by Professor V. V. Mirashi.4 The record is dated in the Kalachuri year 900 (1148 A. C.). The object of the inscription is to record, along with certain grants of land, the construction of a paṭa-chaṭiyatana temple of Śiva by one Purushottama who was the Sarvādhikārin of Pṛthvedēva’s father and predecessor Ratnādevē II (circa 1120-38 A. C.).

Verse 26 of the above record, as read by Professor Mirashi, describes the achievements of Purushottama in the following words:

Khimmiṇḍi-mañḍala-harat-Ta(a=Ta)laḥari-harı kartā-lha Daṇḍapura-daṇḍana-chaṇḍa-
va(m)(b)huh,

Professor Mirashi translates the verse as follows: “He (i.e. Purushottama) captured the Khimmiṇḍi maṇḍala and made the Talahāri (maṇḍala) attractive. He had a fierce arm in subduing Daṇḍapura and was clever in overcoming Khijjiṅga. He killed Haravōhu (and) his valour was invincible in threatening the lord of Daṇḍabhukti.” In the introductory remarks also the Professor says in regard to the verse in question that Purushottama “conquered the Khimmiṇḍi Maṇḍala, made the Talahāri Maṇḍala attractive, punished Daṇḍapura, subjugated Khijjiṅga, killed Haravōhu and threatened the ruler of Daṇḍabhukti.” It will, however, be seen that the verse is designed to enumerate certain victorious achievements of Purushottama. Therefore, “making the Talahāri maṇḍala attractive” can hardly be regarded quite in line with the conquests enumerated in the verse. In my opinion, Talahāri-harı apparently means “one who plundered, subdued or captured Talahāri.”
It is known from the Ratanpur inscription of the Kalachuri year 866 (1114 A.C.) that Kalachuri Jääjalladeva I, grandfather of Pithvälēva II, levied annual tribute from a number of countries including Khimidi (Khiminidi), Talahāri and Daṇḍakapura (Daṇḍapura). It is thus possible to think that in his youth Purushottama served as a general of Jääjalladeva I and helped the latter in conquering the countries in question. In Hirali's *Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar*, Talahāri has been located about the northern part of the Janjir Tahsil to the south of Ratanpur. The rulers of this tract are mentioned in several records.

There is again a mistake in Professor Mirashi's reading of verse 26 quoted above. As Pandit L. P. Pandeya has rightly pointed out, what Professor Mirashi reads as Haravōṅga-hantā is actually Haravōṅga-hantā. The correctness of Pandit Pandeya's reading is clear from a comparison of the fourth akshara in the above expression with the form of ūṅga in Khijjūṅga-bhaṅga as well as with that of hu in vā(h)u, both occurring in the same verse. It may also profitably be compared with other uses of ūṅga and hu in the record, e.g. in Khāṭvāṅg-ō (line 1), tuṅgarāṅgat (line 2), vā(h)u (line 22), etc. Moreover, Haravōṅha as a name is unknown in the Indian languages, while Haravōṅ(b)uṅga is not only a recognised Hindi word, but is also known to be used as the name of a royal personage in a Hindi literary work. According to Hindi lexicons, the word harabōṅga (harbōṅg) means gainē, akkhar, mārk, i.e., a rustic or a fool. As a personal name, it can very well be compared with Bengali Bōṅkā or Bakkēvar (from Deṣī vōṅka, 'a goat') meaning 'a fool'. In this connection, Pandit Pandeya refers to the manuscript of a Hindi work, entitled Kharbōṅha Gudyanē Chār Kāhēnē, preserved in the India Office Library, London. The title of one of the four kāhēnis in the above work is Insaj Rājā Harbōṅgkā (literally 'king Harbōṅg's justice'). There is thus little doubt that Purushottama, who was an officer of the Kalachuri kings of Ratnapura, claims to have killed in battle a warrior or ruler named Harabōṅga (Harbōṅg), but Haravōṅha as Professor Mirashi reads, although it is difficult to identify the person in the present state of our knowledge.

3. *Madanpur Plate of Śrīchandra, Year 46*

Dr. R. G. Basak has edited the above inscription of king Śrīchandra belonging to the Chandra dynasty of Bengal. He has assigned the record to the 44th regnal year of the Chandra king. But what has been read as 44 in line 42 of the inscription is really 46.

As regards verse 5 of the copper-plate grants of Śrīchandra, which describes his father Trailōṅkyachandra, Dr. Basak observes, "the most important epithet of Trailōṅkyachandra, as we find in this verse, adhārō Harikēla-rāja-karkula-chhhatra-smitānē śriyēm, read along with yaś = chandr-śapade babhēna nīrapati = dvīpe, conveys the fact that at first he was a king of Chandrabhipa and later became the repository of the Fortune (goddesses) whose smile was the (white) umbrella, the symbol (of royalty) of the king of Harikēla]." Bereft of rhetorical figurativeness, the epithet leads one to believe that Trailōṅkyachandra acquired the royal fortunes of the Harikēla kingdom. The interpretation put on this phrase by the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar and quoted by Dr. R. C. Majumdar in the Dacca University *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, does not stand scrutiny."

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2. See 2nd edition, pp. 107, 128.

A tradition regarding a crazy king named Harbōṅg who ruled over the Jhusi region near Allahabad is recorded in the Bengali work *Tripurā Śuriiti* (Calcutta, 1927-28, p. 41) by S. C. Devvarman of the Tripurā royal family. Like a similar madcap of Bengali folklore, named Rājā Bhavachandra or Habachandra, king Harbōṅg of Jhusi is said to have ordered throughout his kingdom the sale of all articles of merchandise according to the same measurement and price.

5. Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 51 ff. and Plate.
7. 52 DGA/55
The late M. N. G. Majumdar explained the passage, ādkārā, etc., as the support of the Fortune goddesses of other kings smiling at (i.e. joyful on account of) the umbrella which was the royal insignia of Harikēla.\(^1\)

Dr. R. C. Majumdar, observes on the above views of Dr. Basak and the late Mr. Majumdar, "According to the first interpretation, Trailōkya-chandra was the de facto if not de jure, ruler of Harikēla, while, according to the second, he was both de facto and de jure king of Harikēla, with a number of other rulers subordinate to him. The latter view seems preferable. Thus Trailōkya-chandra added Chandravipa and Harikēla to his paternal dominions".\(^2\)

In my opinion, the real import of the passage in question has escaped the notice of all the three scholars referred to above.

I am inclined to interpret the passage adhārā Harikēla-ṛaja-kakuda chhatra-smītānām śrigām as 'the mainstay of the Fortune goddesses whose smiles are represented by the white umbrella that is the symbol of royalty of the Harikēla king'. The passage thus says that Trailōkya-chandra was the support of the royal fortune of the king of Harikēla. Its real import is apparently that the Chanda king Trailōkya-chandra of Chandravipa was a feudatory or ally of the king of the Harikēla country. There are instances in epigraphic literature of a feudatory's representation as the mainstay of the overlord's kingdom or fortune. Thus the rulers of the Pārīchhēdin family, who were feudatories of the Eastern Chālukya monarchs, are mentioned in inscriptions as Vēyi-Chālukya-ṛāya-mīla-stambha, i.e., 'the main support of the kingdom or royalty of the Chālukya of Vēyi'.\(^3\) In my opinion therefore Trailōkya-chandra was not a king of Harikēla, but was the ruler of Chandravipa, i.e., Bāklā-Chandradvipa in the present Buxergunj District, owing allegiance to or allied with the king of the country called Harikēla.

As pointed out by Basak, the lexicographer Hēmamacandā identifies the Harikēla or Harikēlī country with Vāṅga in the passage Vāṅga-tu Harikēla-yā (or kēliyāh) in his Abhidhāna-chintānāya. But undoubtedly an earlier tradition regarding the location of that country is preserved in Kāśa's Kalpa-rūkṣa which says Śrīhaṭṭi Harikēlī śūḍch=Chhrīhaṭṭo=pī kōchiḍ= bhat.\(^4\) This shows that Harikēla or Harikēla was originally the name of the Śrīhaṭṭa (modern Sylhet) region but that the n. me was later applied in a wider sense to Vāṅga apparently as a result of the expansion of a kingdom that had its headquarters in the Sylhet area. The expansion of the Harikēla kingdom is actually suggested by the Chittagong plate of Kāntidēva\(^5\) who was a ruler of Harikēla-maṇḍala in the eighth or ninth century A.C. Kāntidēva seems to have been originally a petty ruler of Harikēla, or Harikēla Harikēlī in the Sylhet region; but he appears to have later acquired a wide kingdom which had its capital at Dēvaparvata near modern Comilla in the Tippera District.\(^6\)

Trailōkya-chandra who flourished about the middle of the tenth century seems to have owed allegiance to the line of Harikēla kings represented by Kāntidēva.\(^7\) Śrīchandra, son of Trailōkya-chandra, was the first independent monarch of the Chanda dynasty. He appears to have thrown off the yoke of Harikēla and extended Chanda power over wide areas of southeast Bengal at the expense of the erstwhile overlords of his family. The rise of Śrīchandra as an independent monarch may have been facilitated by a possible struggle between the Pālas and the kings of Harikēla as suggested by the discovery of an image inscription dated in the first reign year of Gōpāla II (circa 940-50A.C.) at Mandhuk within the Chāndinā Police Station of the Tippera District.\(^8\)

That Śrīchandra, who ruled about the second half of the tenth century, had himself

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\(^1\) Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 7.
\(^5\) Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 313 ff.
\(^6\) Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 313 ff.
\(^7\) His comparison with Dīlpā in the stanza in question scarcely proves his independent status. (I.H.Q., XXIV, 1940, p. 73."
\(^8\) Verendrā Research Society's Monograph, No. 8, 1890, pp. 4-6; I.H.Q., Vol. XXVIII, pp. 51 ff.
to struggle with the Pālas is possibly indicated by the discovery of the Bāghāgunta and Nāravānpur inscriptions, dated respectively in the third and fourth regnal years of Mahīpāla I (circa 988-1038 A.C.) in the same District. Verse 12 of the Bāgarā plate of Mahīpāla I also says that he recovered his paternal dominions that had passed to usurpers. The temporary nature of Mahīpāla’s success against the Chandras in East Bengal is, however, demonstrated by the Kulūkūri (regnal year 12)4 and Betkā or Paikpā (regnal year 23)4 inscriptions of Gōvindachandra who was probably the successor of Śrīchandra. He is no doubt the king Gōvindachandra of Vangaladēśa (originally the name of Chandradvīpa, which was later applied to the extensive dominions of the Chandras in south-east Bengal), who came into conflict with the generals of Rājendra-chōja shortly before 1023 A.C.4 Another later member of the same family was Layahachandra or Laḍahachandra.7

The designation Mahātantrādyakṣa occurs in the list of officials and subordinates to whom the king’s order regarding the grant recorded on the Madanpur plate was addressed. Dr. Basak says, “The term Mahātantrādyakṣa undoubtedly refers to the highest priest in charge of the religious rites which were performed on the king’s behalf in accordance with the injunctions of the śrutis and the smṛtis.” But the Tantrādyakṣa may be the same as the Tantrapāla of other inscriptions, who apparently nothing to do with the office of the Tāntrika or priest. The Partabgarh inscriptions8 refer to a Tantrapāla-Mahāsāmanata-Daṇḍanāyaka who served the Gurgara-Parthāhara emperor Mahīntrapāla II. The official designation Tantrapāli, literally the same as Tantrādyakṣa, is also known from the Rājaraṅguvi (VIII, 2422) and Maṅka’s Śrīkṣetra-charitra (III, 50). Maṅka says that his brother received ‘the garland of the office of the Brihatatantrapati’ from king Sussala of Kashmir. Jōnarāj in his commentary on the above verse explains Brihatatantrapati as Dharmādikāra, i.e., ‘a judge’.9 It may be mentioned in this connection that the Tantrins, so often mentioned in the Rājaraṅguvi,10 were also absolutely unconnected with tāntrika or priestly rites and represented a military tribe or tribal caste. Dr. Basak’s interpretation of the designation Mahātantrādyakṣa therefore appears to be doubtful.

The few lost aksaras at the beginning of line 21 of the Madanpur plate may be restored as gandrā. The area of land granted by the charter thus seems to be gandrā-āṭha-āṭhik-āśka-āṭha-drona, i.e., eight drongas (drongadvas) and eight gandrā.11

4. Kulūkūri and Betkā Inscriptions of Gōvindachandra

The above inscriptions have been edited by the late Dr. N. K. Bhattachari in this journal, Vol. XXVII, pp. 24 ff., and Plates. The author quotes only partially my views on both the inscriptions published in the Bengali journal Bhāratavarsha and is totally silent about my articles in English on the former epigraph in the Journal of the Assam Research Society, Vol. X, 1943, pp. 63 ff., and on the latter in the Indian Culture, Vol. VII, 1941, pp. 405 ff. It is gratifying to me

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1 Bhandarkar’s List, No. 1624.
7 Bhandarkar’s List, No. 1519. The correct form of this king’s name seems to be Laḍahachandra and, considering the peculiarity of the name, he may be taken to be none other than the homonymous poet known from the Sanskrit anthologies (see Kiel, A History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 204).
9 See Stein, Rāj. tar. (translation), Vol. II, p. 188.
10 Ibid., note on Chapter V, verse 248.
to find that the Government Epigraphist for India has supported my reading and interpretation of the Kulkūri inscription against those of the late Dr. Bhattasali. If, however, my views were fully quoted, it would have been clear that the interesting points raised in the editorial notes on the Kulkūri inscription had already been offered by me. "The correct reading of the passage", I observed in this connection, "is, in my opinion, "Lakṣmī(śrī)dīnā-kāri(t)i-tā-Bhatṭārakā[verbs*], the Sun-god caused to be made by Lakṣhmīdīnā." ................. the word "dīnā may be the same as Sanskrit dīna or Prakrit dīna=Sanskrit datta. Attention has also been drawn to such North Indian personal names as Rāmdīn." 2

The first word of line 2 of the Békā (or Païkpaïrā) inscription has been read by Dr. Bhattasali as Bālajika which he equates with Bārajika supposed to be the original of the name of the modern Bārai (betal-leaf grower) caste of Bengal. I read the word as Rālajika which was explained as indicating an inhabitant of a locality called Ralaja. Considering, however, the similar forms of r in l and r in some cases in the epigraph in question the reading Bālajika seems equally possible. It is, however, extremely doubtful whether the form Bālajika may be expected in an eleventh century record of East Bengal as standing for Bārajika and modern Bārai. The Prakritic feature substituting r by l I am never met with in the Sanskrit inscriptions of Bengal. It is also not a regular feature of Bengali phonetics. The word Bārai, as well as baraj (betal-leaf plantation) with which it is associated, is never used in Bengali with l in the place of r. 3 This is also clear from the attitude of some philologists who derive Bengali baraj from Arabic barē. 4 That r of the word baraj as well as its derivations was pronounced in early-medieval Bengal is moreover clearly indicated by the repeated use of the same word as baraja in the Sāhitya Parishad plate of Visvarūpasāna, 5 as well as the word bāraj (i.e., bārai) in the village name Bārajīpāda (literally, 'the habitation of the Bārajis or Bārai') in line 42 of the Madanpāra copper-plate inscription of the same king. 6 I therefore think that the expression Rālajika or Bālajika in Gövindachandra's Békā (Païkpaïrā) inscription is actually derived from a locality and has nothing to do with the Bārai or Bārui caste.

5. Tekkali Plates of Anantacarman, Gaṅga Year 358

Mr. R. K. Ghoshal has edited the above inscription in this journal, Vol. XXVI, pp. 174 ff. In my opinion there are several errors in Mr. Ghoshal's transcript of the record. An archaic form of Telugu dh has been read as dhādh or dhu in all the cases. This form of dh, however, occurs in inscriptions like C. P. No. 7 of 1918-19 published in J.A.H.R.S., Vol. VIII, pp. 185 ff.; cf. nagarādhi 7 in line 2, "dhārasya in line 3, rājādhi" in line 7, vuddhā in line 21, vasudhā in line 22 and dhārā in line 24. This particular form of the letter may be compared with the later form of it found in epigraphs like C. P. No. 8 of the same year (op. cit., pp. 188 ff.; cf. nagarādhi in line 2, "dhārasya in line 4, "dhāra in line 11, etc.). What have therefore been read by Mr. Ghoshal in the Tekkali plates as nagarādhhī (line 2), dhwāṭa (line 11), dhiguna (line 13) and dhwāṭa (line 15) should actually be read as nagarādhī", dhaṭṭa, dhiguna and dhōṭa respectively. Similarly, what

2 Journal of the Asiatic Research Society, Vol. X., pp. 63-4. It may also be pointed out that Dr. Bhattasali was at first not inclined to agree with my reading of the date of the Békā (Païkpaïrā) inscription as the year 23 which, however, he ultimately accepted (without any remarks) in his article published above.
3 Cf. r in Pārādā in line 2) and the first r in Pārādā in line 3).
4 Cf. J. M. Das, Bāṇgālā Bhāṣār Abhidhāna, s. v., quoting Mukundarāma's Chāṇḍīmāṅgala (sixteenth century).
5 Loc. cit.; but the derivation is no doubt wrong as the word is found in an inscription of a Sēna king who flourished about the first quarter of the thirteenth century (see below, note 6).
6 Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, pp. 143-8 (lines 45, 46, 50, 68 of the text). The word bārajika, probably in the sense of modern Bārai occurs in the Sobhārampur plate of Dāmōdaradēva (see below, Vol. XXX, p. 188).
Mr. Ghoshal had read, without noticing the peculiarity of the letters of the later Kaliṅga alphabet, as chudā (line 5), sakhōbha, sanda (line 8), chudāvai-prabhā (line 9), dāācha (line 12), tyēga (line 13), gaṅgā (line 15), gāgēya (line 22), aheuṃ, bhuvati (apparently a misprint for bhuvati, line 26) and dar bhate (corrected to pachyate, line 29) should be read in my opinion respectively as chudāhā, sakhōbha, sanda, chudāvai-prabhā, datca, tyēga, gaṅgā, gāgēya, akhaṭha, bhuvati and pachyate. Śrasta for Śrājastyā (line 1), saḥ for śāda (line 24; see the same also at p. 174, note 5) and saḍata for śadata (line 27) may, however, be due to misprints.

Medial u has often been wrongly read by Mr. Ghoshal as ū; cf. sūtra (line 4), bhūtō (lines 13-14), sūnu (lines 16 and 18-19), pūrve, sūrjya (line 17), bhūmi (line 27), etc. In line 13 sa[n*]pad-ādhāra has been unnecessarily corrected to sampadām=ādhāra. The correction of adhibāsaka to vāsaka (cf. line 2) is equally unnecessary. In line 23, what has been read by Mr. Ghoshal as vijuṭya is clearly viṣṇya. He did not notice that the engraver had at first omitted the letter ja and incised the following two letters, ya and ra (of rājya). After having engraved ra, he found out the mistake and corrected ya to ja and ra to ya.

Mr. Ghoshal’s reading and interpretation of the passage describing the gift land in lines 19-21 of the inscription have been considerably improved upon in an editorial note. I am, however, inclined to read the passage as upājitaṃ Vāśāyicycharaṇa-grāmō Yaroku-kutuvinā devi-sada-hala-bhūmi for Sanskrit upājita Vājasaneyicycharaṇa-grāmē Yaroku-kutubminō devi-sata-hala-bhūmiḥ. The donee of the grant thus acquired (probably by purchase) 200 hālas of land that had been in the possession of an agriculturist householder named Yaroku in the village called Vājasaneyicycharaṇa.

In lines 24-25, Mr. Ghoshal reads likhitam = idaṃ Mātrisiri-śāmatēna, ‘this is written by Sāmantā Mātrisiri’. Since, however, the letter read as tṛ is clearly tyē, I am inclined to read the passage as likhitam = ida[m=a*]matyē[na*] siri-Śāmatēna (Śrī-Śāmantēna), ‘this is written by the amāya śrī-Śāmantā’. For Sāmantā as a personal name, we may refer to Bhandarkar’s List, Nos. 344, 448, 2041, etc. The name may be compared with others such as Sāmantasēna, Sāmantasēha and Sāmantavarmar, found in numerous inscriptions.
**INDEX**

(The figures refer to pages; n. after a figure to foot-notes and i a.d. to additions. The following other abbreviations are also used: — au. — author; ca. — capital; ch. — chief; Chron. — Chronicle; ci. — city; co. — country; com. — composer; di. — district or division; do. — ditto; dy. — dynasty; E. — Eastern; engr. — engraver; ep. — epistle; f. — family; fe. — female; feud. — feudal; gen. — general; Hist. — Historical; ins. — inscription or inscriptions; k. — king; l. — locality; lm. — linear measure or land measure; m. — male; min. — minister; mo. — mountain; myth. — mythological; n. — names; N. — Northern; off. — office or officer; pr. — prince or princess; q. — queen; rel. — religious; ri. — river; S. — Southern; s.a. — same as; sur. — surname; te. — temple; Tel. — Telugu; t.d. — territorial division; t.t. — title; t.n. — town; t.t. — taluk; vi. — villages; W. — Western; wk. — work.)

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