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Dr. F. W. Thomas, M.A., Ph.D., C.I.E.

Editor of the Epigraphic Indict, 1916.

Born: 21st March 1867
at Fawley,
Staffordshire,
England.

Died: 6th May 1924
at Bromley
Oxfordshire,
England.
FREDERICK WILLIAM THOMAS

Dr. F. W. Thomas, M.A., Ph.D., C.I.E. (Librarian of the India Office, London, 1904-27; Boden Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Oxford and Fellow of Balliol College, 1927-37) passed away at his home near Brabourne, Oxfordshire, on the 6th May 1956 at the age of 89. By his sad death, oriental learning has suffered an irreparable loss.

Born at Fazely in Staffordshire on March 21, 1867, Thomas had a brilliant educational career. He obtained a classical scholarship at Trinity College, Cambridge, and won other laurels in Classical Tripos and Indian Languages Tripos. He knew Greek and Latin as well as Sanskrit, Pali and several other Eastern languages. In 1898 he joined the India Office as Assistant Librarian and succeeded C. H. Tawney as Librarian there in 1904. This post he held for about a quarter of a century. On retiring in 1927 he became Boden Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Oxford and Fellow of Balliol College and continued to serve in these capacities till 1937. In the years that followed, he kept himself busy with his scholarly pursuits, inspiring younger scholars by his shining example.

The name of Dr. Thomas was held very high in the field of Indological learning. As a result of his continued hard work for over half a century, he has left an abiding mark of progressive scholarship specially on Sanskritic and allied studies. He was a pioneer in the field of research pertaining to Chinese Turkestan opened up by the explorations of Aurel Stein and others. A large number of publications (well over 200) on Indian and Oriental subjects, in the form of books and papers, stand to his credit. Some of his important works are: (1) The Harṣacarita of Bāha (translated in collaboration with E. B. Cowell), (2) Kaṇṭhīravaśaṅgasamucayya, an anthology of Sanskrit verses, and (3) Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan.

In recognition of his manifold academic activities, numerous honours were conferred on Dr. Thomas. He was a member of the council of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, of which he held the offices of Honorary Secretary, Vice-President and Director. In 1939, on the occasion of his 72nd birth-day, he was presented with a Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies by his friends and admirers.

Dr. Thomas visited India twice, once in 1920-21 and again in 1937-38 when he was invited to preside over the Ninth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference at Trivandrum. He was an Honorary Correspondent of the Archaeological Department, Government of India. Besides, he was the editor of the Epigraphia Indica from 1916 to 1922. In that capacity, he edited Vols. XIII to XVI of this journal, Vol. XIII jointly with Sten Konow, and Vol. XVI jointly with H. Krishna Sastri. His own contribution to the pages of the Epigraphia Indica relates to certain important Kharoshthi records, viz. Inscriptions on the Mathurā Lion-Capital (Vol. IX, pp. 135-47) and on the Relic Casket from Kurram (Vol. XVIII, pp. 17-18).
Dr. N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., Ph.D., O.B.E.

Government Epigraphist for India, 1934-40.

Born: 1st July 1893
at Krishnagar,
Nadia District,
West Bengal.

Died: 19th October 1956
at New Delhi.
NIRANJAN PRASAD CHAKRAVARTI

Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, M.A., I.B.D., O.B.E., the late Director General of Archaeology in India, passed away at New Delhi on the 19th October 1956. By his demise, Sanskritic studies in general and Indian epigraphy in particular have sustained a great loss.

Dr. Chakravarti was born on the 1st July 1893 at Krishnagar in the Nadia District of West Bengal. After passing his M.A. examination, he entered the University of Calcutta as a Lecturer in Sanskrit and Pali in 1917. He was awarded a Government Scholarship in 1921 for studies in Europe and worked at the Sorbonne (Paris) and Berlin Universities. In 1924 he went to England and was admitted in 1926 to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Cambridge. On his return to India, he entered the Archaeological Survey of India in 1929 as Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy at Ootacamund. His zest for documentary and epigraphical research carried him to the post of Government Epigraphist for India in 1934. In this capacity, he edited Volumes XXII to XXVI of the Epigraphia Indica. In 1940, he was transferred to New Delhi as Deputy Director General and became Joint Director General in 1945. He was appointed Director General of Archaeology in India in 1948.

After his retirement in 1950 from that post, his services were utilised by the Government of India in a number of ways. He was appointed Advisor in the Department of Archaeology and retired from this position in 1952. Thereafter he was appointed Officer on Special Duty to guide the artists in depicting scenes from the history of the country, from the dawn of civilisation to the attainment of independence, on the walls of the Parliament House and continued in this post till his death.

Dr. Chakravarti was a member of several learned societies in India and abroad such as the Hakluyt Society, l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient, and the International Committee on Sites and Museums set up by the UNESCO. Besides, he was a Fellow of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Vice-President of the Royal Society of India and Pakistan, London, and the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society.

The range of Dr. Chakravarti's scholarship was extensive. His inspiring address on 'Our Cultural Heritage, its Future' to the All-India Oriental Conference in 1948 and the learned presidential address he delivered at the Indian History Congress at Ahmadabad in 1954, indicating the problems and future lines of research in Indology, were greatly appreciated by scholars. As regards Indian epigraphy, in addition to his scholarly contributions to the Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India and Ancient India, he edited the Sanskrit inscriptions from Java in Part II of B. R. Chatterjee's India and Java and contributed the section on inscriptions in Yazdani's Ajanta, Part III. The following learned papers from his pen were published in the Epigraphia Indica:

1. Nivina Copper-plate Grant of Dharmarājadēva (Vol. XXI, pp. 34 ff.).
2. Kharod Inscription of Ratnadēva III, Chêdi Saṅvat 933 (ibid., pp. 159 ff.).
3. Two Brick Inscriptions from Nalandum (ibid., pp. 193 ff.).
4. A Buddhist Inscription from Kara (Vol. XXII, pp. 37 ff.).
5. Bhopal Plates of Mahākumāra Hariēchandradēva (Vol. XXIV, pp. 225 ff.).
7. Rewah Plates of the time of Trailokṣyamalladēva, [Kalachuri] year 963 (Vol. XXV, pp. 1 ff.).
8. A Note on the Halāyudha-stotra in the Amarāvara temple (ibid., pp. 183 ff.).
9. Rājapraśasti Inscription of Udaipur, jointly with Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra (Vols. XXIX-XXX. Appendix, pp. 1-123).
11. Brāhma Inscriptions from Bāndhōgarh (Vol. XXXI, pp. 167 ff.).

* One of the results was his L'Udānaraṇa Sanskrit published in Paris in 1930.
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

VOLUME XXVIII

Title Page.—For 1949-50 read 1949-1950

Page 338. line 26.—For bhavē read bhavēt

,, 338, line 30.—For eight read eighth

,, 338, line 31.—Read—Harikēla, Harikēla or Harikēli in the Sylhet region; but he appears

VOLUME XXIX

Title Page.—For 1951-52 read 1951-1952

Page 1, line 6.—For west of read east of


,, 8, text line 47.—For bhāvbhiśa cha read bhāvbhiśa api

VOLUME XXX

Page 3, line 11.—Add editorial note.—The discrepancy of one year in the epochs of the Bhāṭika era suggested by the two inscriptions respectively in the Vishṇu and Śiva temples at Jaisalmer, viz. 624-25 A. D. and 623-24 A. D., cannot be reconciled, as suggested by Prof. Mirashi, by supposing that the second date is recorded in a current year and the first in an expired year. The language of the inscriptions in question (cf. Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 775 and 962) shows clearly that the Bhāṭika years mentioned in both the epigraphs were current only. The year of the first inscription is Bhāṭikē Śaṅvat 812 pravartamānē and that of the second record Pravartamāna-Bhāṭika 993. Besides the two inscriptions dated in the Bhāṭika era, referred to by Prof. Mirashi, nearly a dozen other inscriptions bearing dates in the same era, all found at Jaisalmer and its immediate neighbourhood, have been noticed in the Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, for the year ending 31st March 1936; cf. An. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind., 1935-36, p. 111; IHQ, Vol. XXXV, pp. 65 ff. It is interesting to note that 624-25 A. D. as the beginning of the Bhāṭika era suits some of these inscriptions while others suggest 623-24 A. D. The earliest date supplied by these inscriptions is Bhāṭika Saṅvat 539, Bhāḍrapada sudi 10, Sunday (corresponding to the 11th August 1163 A. D.) found in an inscription on a Govardhana about 10 miles from Jaisalmer. The era seems to have been a solarised modification of the Hijri, the first year of which corresponds to 622-23 A. D.=V. S. 679-80. It appears that the Bhāṭi kings of Jaisalmer fabricated this reckoning about the 12th century by subtracting about 680 from the V. S.

(ix)
Page 285, foot-note 5.—Add note—That Rāga applies the name Mālava to East Malwa in his Harshacharita seems to be suggested by the fact that, in his Kūdambarī, he speaks of Vīsāi on the Vetravati as the capital of the Mālava country (Siddhāntavagisa’s ed., pp. 18-19: mārvatro-Mālavatilāmīi . . . Vīravatīyā paripatā Vīsāi-ādēkṣādana āgāri rājaśāyi śāntī while the same work mentions Ujjainī on the Śīrā as the capital of the Avanti country (ibid., pp. 176-83: Śīrāyā parīkṣētā . . . vējīt-āmarāāca-āyātā āsē śīrāyī nāma vuqātā). The same tradition is referred to by Yaśāñhara in his commentary on Vātsyāyana’s Kāmasūtra (VI, 22 and 24), which explains Avanti as Agra-Mālava (i.e. West Malwa) and Mālava as Pūrva-Mālava (i.e. East Malwa). It is also supported by the Shatpāṇiśādhaśāsana-cibhāva (Ind. Cult., Vol. VIII, pp. 51 ff).

VOLUME XXXI

Page 12, foot-note 5.—For Visālā read Visālō.

13, line 28.—For no inclined read inclined.

13, line 41.—For Chandānā read Čandānā.

18, line 21.—For satya read devīya.


28, text line 15.—For 'nāmūtyō read 'nāmūtyo.

34, line 2.—For tin read tiṇ.

32, foot-note 4, line 6.—For identify read identity.

35, text line 9.—For aḥrī read 'aḥrī.

43, text line 50.—For 'nyajasa read 'nyajasa.

43, 6:—foot note 4.—For tasmāy-ātmanō nāmnā read tsmāi Domana-nāmnē.

76, line 7.—For September 11 read September 10.

76, foot-note 1.—Add—The titī šu. 10 and the nakṣatra Śravana ended at 03 and 52 respectively of the following day, i.e. Tuesday. See, however, N. Venkataramanayya, The Eastern Chākṣyus of Vēṇi, p. 55.

127, foot-note 2.—For inserted read inserted.

135, foot-note 3.—For agrahā read agrahāra.

174, foot-note 3, line 1.—Read Prishtāhariya.

187, line 2.—For 2 Plates read 3 Plates.

191, foot-note 5.—For Dānjamahādevi read Dānjamahādevī.


211, line 25.—Read Brāhmaṇa.

215, line 12.—Read susuṣṭaviye.
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page 215, line 13.—Read pavatitaviyā

", 236, line 35.—Read Mādhavadēva for Mādhava

", 236, footnote 3, line 5.—Read Brāhmaṇas

", 264, line 28.—For Parasannamātra read Prasannamātra

", 269, line 15.—For vyavahāri read vyavahāri

", 269, line 21.—For first one read second date

", 269, footnote 2, lines 2-3.—Read the Anantapur District of Andhra and parts of the Bellary, Kolar and Tumkur Districts of Mysore

", 273, line 17.—For Kalayāṇapura read Kalyāṇapura

", 273, line 18.—For Laṅkāpura read Laṅkāpura

", 274, line 29.—Read ayirattu

", 274, footnote 10, line 3.—For Sittaramāji read Sittiramāji

", 275, text line 4.—For āna read āna

", 275, footnote 2.—For sa read sa

", 325, footnote 5.—Omit the last sentence.

", 327, footnote 1, line 1.—Read Bombay

335, footnote 4, line 1.—Read cf. No. 15. Add note.—For gotani-vyāpāra or madani-vyāpāra, the intended expression seems to be mudrā-vyāpāra. Cf. mudrā-vyāpāraṁ paripanthayati in the description of viceroys (see Vol. XXXII, p. 152, note 2).
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOL. XXXI 1955-1956

No. 1—TWO SALANKAYANA CHARTERS FROM KANUKOLLU

(3 Plates)

B. V. KRISHNA RAO, RAJAHMUNDRY

Two sets of copper plates were found together at Kānukollu, Guḍivāḍa Taluk, Krishna District (Andhra), about fifteen years ago, while digging the old village site for pāṭimānaś, ‘old earth’. The spot where the two sets were found lies outside the ramparts of the old mud fort which is almost in ruins to-day. 1 The ruined ramparts and the situation of the ancient village plainly indicate that Kānukollu was an important walled town in olden days and that it lay on the highway that connected a big emporium or seaport near the northern mouth of the Krishnā on the one hand and the important provincial town of Guḍivāḍa on the other with Veṅgūpura, 2 the capital of the Śālaṇkāyana kingdom. Even today Kānukollu lies on the trunk road that connects Guḍivāḍa with Bhimavaram in the West Godavari District. When the plates were discovered, people fondly believed them to be of precious metal and therefore quickly divided them as spoils among themselves. Actually the ring and the seal of the second set, marked here as B, were melted down for the purpose of testing the metal. It is indeed fortunate that none of the plates was destroyed or melted down. The writing on them attracted the attention and curiosity of the more enlightened amongst the villagers. And it was in no small measure due to the intervention of the village Karanam, Mr. Vinnakota Durga Varapradasa Rao, that the charters were saved from any further damage. The Karanam was good enough to secure these two sets for me in 1946 when I happened to visit the place. These were later forwarded by me to the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, who kindly got their mechanical impressions prepared in his office.

A.—Plates of Nandivarman (I), Year 142

This is the earlier of the two sets. It consists of eight plates held together by a ring, the ends of which were fastened together under an oval seal. The ring had already been cut open and the plates taken out for examination by somebody even before they reached me. The diameter of the ring is about 2½ inches while its thickness is about ¾ inch. The seal is 1½ inches in length and one inch in breadth. The legend and the crest on it are completely worn out on account of corrosion. But we know that the emblem on the Śālaṇkāyana seals is the bull. 4

1 I came to learn from the villagers that several gold and lead coins along with other valuable articles were picked up but that they were secreted, appropriated or destroyed. People say that even now coins are found here and there in the ruins of the village.
2 [Macron over e and a has not been used in this article.—Ed.]
3 See Bhāratī, April, 1950, pp. 69 ff. and Plate; JAHRS, Vol. XX, pp. 87 ff. and Plate.
The plates are rectangular in shape, measuring 7½ inches in length, 2½ inches in width and ½ inch in thickness. The left margin of each plate contains a round hole about half an inch in diameter, which is intended for the ring to pass through. The plates together with the ring and seal weigh 97 tulas; the ring and the seal weigh sixteen tulas. The hole appears to have been cut after the engraving of the inscription thereon was completed. The size of the letters which are all deeply cut on the plates is roughly ½ inch. The plates have writing on both sides with the exception of the first and the last which bear writing on their inner side. The inscribed faces of the plates are numbered with the ancient numerals of the akṣara-palli. The numbers appear on the left margin above the hole. The first plate contains the figure 1 on its reverse side, while the number 8 appears on the obverse or inner side of the last plate. The remaining plates have numbers on their obverse side. But a peculiar feature of the numbering of the plates 5, 6 and 7 is that there is a symbol on their reverse side, whose value is not clear. These symbols are not met with elsewhere.

The characters of the inscription belong to the early class of the Southern Alphabet. They resemble closely the letters of the Hirahadagalli and Mayidavolu plates of the Pallava king Sivakandavarman and the Konjamudi plates of the Bhadrakālia king Jayavarman. Some consonants, e.g., ḍh, b, p, th and ḍh resemble the earlier forms found in the Bhattacharyya and Jaggyayapaṇa inscriptions. The vowels ā, i and e also retain their archaic character. The medial signs for vowels like ā and ē differ from those of the Elura plates of Devavarman. Attention may be drawn to the sign for medial ā in kāta (line 23) and bhāmi (line 36). This may be compared with that in atihekiṇī (lines 21-22) of the Mayidavolu plates. As in some other early Prakrit charters, t and n and d and ḍ are written almost alike. The letter t is to be distinguished from n by a slight curve at the right; cf. t in pariṇaḥitā (line 2), bhāpita (line 6), etāsa (line 19), etc., and n in vāja (line 3), ṭhiyānā (line 9), etc. The slight difference between d and ḍ is that the end of the lower limb of the former is slightly curved upwards. The final forms of ṭ and n also occur in the inscription. They are written in miniature form beneath the line; cf. m in phalam (line 37), ḍhāna (lines 33 and 34) and ṭ in ḍhāret (line 32).

The language of the inscription is Prakrit prose with the exception of lines 30-37 which contain two customary imprecatory verses in Sanskrit. The orthography calls for few remarks. The word amatthavaini-pi-thu (lines 18-19) is written with ļ instead of yi. Single consonants between vowels remain unchanged in some cases and modified in others. Thus ḍ is preserved in bhāvaraka (line 1), ḍh in vāja (line 3), j in mahāraja (line 2), ḍh in vijaya (line 1), t in hari (line 12), ḍh in rathahāra (lines 13 and 14-15) and ḍ in pāda (line 2); but modifications of ḍh and ḍ are noticed in pamako (line 4) and bhāḍa (line 6) respectively.

The inscription records the grant of the village of Pidha as an agrahāra by Mahāraja Nandi-varman for the increase of his merit, strength and prosperity and also for the increase of the fame and fortune of Bhālaka-mahāraja-kumāra Khandapotta, to a certain Chātuvejja of the Rathakahara caste. The expression Bhālaka-mahāraja-kumāra seems to suggest that Khandapotta was a son of Nandivarman. The donor of the grant is Nandivarman who may be regarded for the present

2 Ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 84 ff. and Plates.
3 Ibid., pp. 315 ff. and Plates.
6 Above, Vol. IX, pp. 56 ff. and Plates.
7 See below, p. 4, n. 1. The present inscription apparently speaks of the Chātuvejja (Chāturdvīda) as a community having various gotras and charaṇas while the other grant from Kānkalūki, edited below, states that the community resided at Rathakahāra which was therefore undoubtedly the name of a locality. The expression agrahāra-Rathakahāra in the present inscription seems to mean the same thing as Rathakahāra agrahāra. — D.C.S.]
as Nandivarman I, though it may not be possible to reckon him as the first crowned king of the dynasty. His epithet bapprabhātāra-kā-pāda-parīgahita evidently indicates that there was Nandivarman’s father who was a king and who probably preceded him on the throne. Although the family name Śilaśākyaṇa does not occur in the inscription under study, there is little doubt that Nandivarman belonged to the Śilaśākyaṇa dynasty of Vaiṅga. The Śilaśākyaṇas must have been there ruling in the province or kingdom of Vaiṅga during the first two centuries of the Christian era, first as subordinates of the Sāvāvāhas and later of the Ikṣaṅkūra. They seem to have assumed independence and sprung into importance in the latter half of the third century. We have yet no means of ascertaining who the first prince was that assumed independence and founded the sovereign state of Vaiṅga. Possibly he was a predecessor of Nandivarman I.

The date is: year 14, varṣaḥ 2, day 1. This way of dating seems to be older than that of Devavarman’s grant which contains the Sanskrit form of the name of the month Pausha and is dated the tenth day of the dark fortnight of that month. The mention of months and the dark and bright fortnights is probably to be assigned to a later period than that of the present record.¹

Thus Nandivarman I seems to have been the predecessor of Devavarman. The present record may be assigned to the same or slightly later period as the Prakrit grants of the Pallava king Śivakandavarman. Nandivarman I may possibly be regarded as a later contemporary of Śivakandavarman, to whom I have assigned the period 265-275 A.D., and may be ascribed tentatively to the close of the third century.²

The āṅgali (Sanskrit āṇāpati, ‘executor’) of the grant was Hatthiaṇīmi. The last sentence of the record is not quite intelligible. Probably the edict was directed to be protected by the local officer Hadappa, son of Mahāṅgaṇa Puṇṇakongala.³

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the inscription is the grant of the village as an agrahāra to a Chātuvejja (literally ‘one who has studied the four Vedas’) of the Rathakāra caste. The donation is said to have been made in accordance with the rites and ceremonies pertaining to the caste of the Rathakāra. Macdonnell and Keith cite a number of authorities on the social position and importance of the Rathakāras from the Vedic literature.⁴ Bulwer pointed out how the ancient Vedic ritual in certain cases admitted the Rathakāra or carpenter, who had Śūdra blood in his veins, to the participation in Śruti rites, how the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa gives certain mantras to be recited by the Rathakāras at the Agnsthāna sacrifice, and how Bandhāyanas derives the origin of the Rathakāra from a Vaiṣṇava male and Śūdra female and explicitly allows him to receive the sacrament of initiation (puruṣayāna which is meant for a dvija).⁵

There is a stone record, of the 48th regnal year of Kulottunga Chola I, from Uyyakkondan-Tirumala in the Tiruchirappalli Taluk, which gives some interesting details about the Rathakāras.⁶ It records the decision of the learned Brāhmaṇas of the village in regard to the social position of certain castes and lays down the profession to be followed by a certain anusūla community called Rathakāra described as the progeny of a Mahāṅgaṇa by a Karapa woman.⁷

¹ On the grounds of paleography and language, the present record has to be assigned to the same age as the āśīrva grant of Devavarman and to a date about the middle of the fourth century A.D. Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 170-71.—D.C.S.]
² Cf. A History of the Early Dynasties of Andhrades, pp. 250-51. [These dates seem to be too early.—D.C.S.]
³ [See below, p. 6, note 9.—D.C.S.]
⁶ A. B. Epl., No. 497 of 1908.
⁷ Ibid., 1909, pp. 94-95.
In East Andhra, particularly in the Districts of Guntur, Krishna and West and East Godavari, there is a class of Viśva-Brahmāṇas who call themselves Rathakāras and claim descent from the praeval Viśvakarmas. The orthodox among them study the Vedas, particularly the Black Yajurveda, and regard themselves as even superior to the Brāhmaṇas. They follow the Grihya Sūtra of Āpastamba in their rituals which are conducted by priests of their own community although, when no such priest is available, they invite a Brāhmaṇa. The Rathakāras or Viśva-Brahmāṇas, also known as the Paṇḍhaṇāvārus meaning probably the artisans who use the five kinds of tools, are divided into five groups, namely, the kānāsūli, kammara, kaśṭhara, kāśe and vaḍraṇi, and follow respectively the professions of the goldsmith and silversmith, copper-smith, blacksmith, stone-cutter or mason, and carpenter. During the closing decades of the last century, the Viśva-Brahmāṇas claimed certain religious rites and privileges which, they alleged, were denied to them by the Brāhmaṇas and fought their way in civil courts quoting the authority of the Śruti. At that time the learned among them assembled in meetings held all over the land and published a treatise called Rathakārādakkarānasam, consisting of the authoritative opinions of renowned scholars among them, based upon the authority of the Vedas. If such is the social and religious status of the Rathakāras in modern times, it is easy to imagine what it was sixteen hundred years ago in this part of the country. The subjoined record clearly shows that the Rathakāpas in East Andhra enjoyed the same rights and privileges they were entitled to in the Vedic period.1

Of the localities mentioned, Veṣṭipura is well known. Pidilha, the object of the grant, cannot be identified.

**TEXT**

First Plate

1 Vijaya-Veṣṭipura Bappa-bhaṭṭarakā-
2 ‘pāda-parigahatassa mahāraja-
3 sirī-Naṭhdivārahmāsa vachanena Pi-

Second Plate, First Side

4 diha-gāme mutyada-ppamuhō gāmo
5 ‘savva-samaggo savv-āyoga-pesana’

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1 [See above, p. 2, n. 7. Reference to the grant made in accordance with agrahāra-Rathakāra-sidhāna, i.e. the custom associated with grants accepted by the Chāturavaiya Brāhmaṇas of Rathakār-āgrahāra (cf. Chāṭuravaiya-grāma-margādha in Std. Ins., pp. 408, 417, etc.), the epithets applied to them, viz. āp-dvāraḥsaṃarthaka and tapak-siddhyāpya-nirūtasa, and the two grants made in favour of them point to their high social position. It is difficult to believe that the Rathakāras or carpenters, even if they claimed to be Brāhmaṇas like so many other aspirants for a higher social status (cf. Sec. Sūtr., p. 11 and note), could have ever enjoyed such a position in the Brahmanical society and been especially noted for their mastery over the four Vedas as well as devotion to tapak-siddhyāya. A community like the so-called Viśva-Brahmāṇas of Andhra can hardly be described as nāga-gotra-charaṇa.—D.C.S.]

2 From the original plates.

3 There is a superfluous dot within the ā-mārd of the letter rā. Similar dots are seen also in other cases (cf. kā and rā in line 2 below).

4 Against this line, near the ring-hole, appears the numeral 1.

5 Against this line, near the ring-hole, appears the numeral 1.

6 Against this line, near the ring-hole, appears the numeral 2.

7 [ Cf. āp-dvāra of the Baśam plates (above, Vol. XXVI, p. 161) and pesana-ppamuhō of the Hiranyakasipu plates (ibid., Vol. I, p. 1). The words āp-dvāra, pesana and āp-dvāra are technically used in the sense of service.—D.C.S.]
TWO SALANKAYANA CHARTERS FROM KANUKOLLU—PLATE 1

A.—Plates of Nandivarman (I). Year 14

ii.a

ii.b

iii.a

r

w

12
No. 1] TWO SALANKAYANA CHARTERS FROM KANUKOLLO

Second Plate, Second Side

6 kulaputta-bhudda-manussa bhājītavvā

Third Plate, First Side

7 iha hi amla-dhammā-yānu-bala-vaddha-
8 yattha[n] bālaka-mahīvājakumāra-
9 Khasudaṇottasa yasati-satthiyaṇaṁ

Third Plate, Second Side

10 ichchhanteṣa mayā etassa sāp-ānu-
11 sīgha-samattāhassā nīnā-gotta-cha-
12 raṇa-tapas-sajjāhya-niratassā

Fourth Plate, First Side

13 aggahāra-Rathātha-kāra-chātuvejassā
14 esa Pitāha-gāmo aggahāra-Ra-
15 tha[k]āra-vidhānena satupadatto [|^] tassā yā.

Fourth Plate, Second Side

16 aggahārasa ime parihāre
17 *vitorāmi appavesathu au[ō]-
18 māsaṁ a-lona-kkhatakaṁ a-raṭṭha-

Fifth Plate, First Side

19 saṁvinākaṁ a-chollaka-kura-khaṭṭa-
20 ggaḥanaṁ a-harita-pariṣa-sāka-
21 puppa-phala-duddha-dadhi-ghata-

Fifth Plate, Second Side

22 takka-ggaḥanaṁ-ādikamaṁ etehi
23 *parihārehi sessahi pi a-
24 lihiṭa-chukka-khalitehi savva-

25 jāta-parihārehi parihara-
26 *dhā pariharāpeilha cha [|^] yo cha
27 kha etaiḥ saśanāṁ appamānāṁ

1 In place of this ra, the engraver had apparently first engraved ro and later corrected it by erasing the left-hand stroke.
2 [Better read ya satti-satthiyannāḥ-Sanskrit cha satthiyannam.—D.C.S.]
3 Against this line, near the ring-hole, appears the numeral 1.
4 The position of this tha shows that it had first been omitted and was later supplied.
5 Against this line, near the ring-hole, appears the numeral 4.
6 Against this line, near the ring-hole, appears the numeral 2.
7 Against this line, near the ring-hole, appears a sign looking like a numeral.
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Sixth Plate, First Side

28 kāṭ(ū)ṇa bāḍha-pilān jānējjo
29 "tassā khu na paritussa[j]amhā
30 tti ["*] bhavati ch-aṭrā\n
Sixth Plate, Second Side

31 Sva-dattam-para-dattāṁ vā yo uṇipo
32 "n-oddhared-dharet ["*] jātāu jātāu

Seventh Plate, First Side

33 sa pibhati viśaṅgaḥ-bāḥ[as nā ṣhā]hahalām(laḥ)-
34 "halaṁ" ["*] Bahubhir-vu(rvā)sudā dattā bahu-

Seventh Plate, Second Side

35 bhīṣ-chānupālitam(tā) ["*] Ṛṣya
36 Ṛṣya yadā bhumīs-tasya tasya
37 tadā phalam |\n
Eighth Plate

38 sava 10 4 vāsa 2 diva 1 Hattisāmī
39 "ānattī mahārāja-Pūnakomgalā-
40 putto Hadappagāha chhetya varoyati|\n
1 Against this line, near the ring-hole, appears the numeral 6.
2 A space for two or three letters is left blank here. One would expect some such expression as bhavati ch-aṭrā Vyaṣṭi-gītā sloka. Mark the use of Sanskrit in this portion.
3 Near the ring-hole there appears a sign looking like a numeral.
4 The position of this word indicates that it had been omitted and was later supplied. The mute m, indicated by its smaller size as well as by its having been placed below the line, does not have the slanting stroke over it as the same letter in the previous line has. To the left of the ring-hole there appears the numeral 7.
5 [This word is unsuitable in the context. One may suggest ḍararana instead.—D.C.S.]
6 To the left of the ring-hole there appears a sign looking like a numeral.
7 The punctuation is indicated by a horizontal mark.
8 To the left of the ring-hole there appears the numeral 6.
9 This is a horizontal stroke marking the end of the record. The reading and the meaning of the latter half of the last line is not clear. The expression hadappagāha stands for Sanskrit hrita-pragāha, while the following letter is ma as found in bhāmi in line 36. The whole passage stands for Sanskrit hrita-pragāha-śāntī-Varāhaka i.e. and suggests that an officer named Vara was another śānti of the charter besides Hattivāmī. Hrita-pragāha-śāntī (i.e. an śāntī or officer in charge of the seizure of stolen goods) reminds us of the īṭā in charge of pravacāḥ-ādhipata-dravya as known from the Mānasārī (VIII, 34) and the police officer called Čauṛdhāraka-rāja in later inscriptions (Majumdar, Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 184). According to the author’s reading of line 39, the officer serving under the Śāṅkhyakara king was the son of a Mahārāja named Pūnakomgala whose identity has not been determined. But the reading of what has been read as Pūna as may also be putu. In that case, Vara may be regarded as a son of Komgala who was a Mahārāja-putra, i.e. the son of the Mahārāja probably indicating the issuer of the charter. This interpretation of the passage involves a case of tenāśaka-samasa which is, however, quite common in inscriptions. There are many instances of members of the royal family being appointed to high offices of administration.—D.C.S.]
TWO SALANKAYANA CHARTERS FROM KANUKOLLU—PLATE II

A.—PLATES OF NANDIVARMAN (I), YEAR 14

26

28

30

32
রিং রিং রিং রিং
নারী ক্ষমা করুন

dে দে দে দে দে দে

dে দে দে দে দে

এ এ এ এ এ এ

এ এ এ এ এ এ
TWO SALANKAYANA CHARTERS FROM KANUKOLLU

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-6) From the victorious Veṅgipura; by the command of the glorious Mahārāja Nauḍivaran, who is favoured by the feet of his venerable father, the Matyas and other villagers, in the village of Πiśhīha, en masse, (as well as) all the various executive officials,¹ noblemen, and wardens (bhada-manussa) are to be informed (thus):

(Lines 7-15) "Hereby I, being desirous of increasing the dharma (merit), longevity and strength of myself, as also of increasing the fame, strength and happiness² of Bālaka-mahārāja-
kumāra Kharadapotta, have given this village of Piśhīha, in accordance with the prescribed rites and formalities pertaining to the agrahāra-Rathakāra (class of gift), to the Rathakāra-Chāṭurvedin (the Chaturvedin of the Rathakāra class or caste) who is endowed with the capacity of cursing and of conferring boons, and is engaged in meditation and in the study of the Vedas ordained (according to rules) for the various gotras and charuvas³ in accordance with the prescribed rites and formalities pertaining to the agrahāras of the Rathakāras.

(Lines 16-30) By me this agrahāra has been granted the following immunities:—not to be entered (by royal officers without permission); not to be interfered with: not to be dug for salt; not to be interfered with by the district police; not (to be forced) to supply water-pots, boiled rice and cots; not to supply grass, leaves, vegetables, flowers, fruits, curds, milk, ghee and butter-milk. With these immunities and others that have been either not written down or even otherwise stated to be included,⁴ (to wit), all classes of immunities, (you) shall exempt (this village) and (also) cause (it) to be exempted. Whosoever transgresses this edict or causes trouble and harassment (to the donors) shall incur our wrath.

(Lines 31-37) [Two imprecatory verses.]

(Lines 38-40) (This is dated) year 14, 2nd (fortnight) of the rainy season, 1st day. Hathi-
sāmi (Hastisvāmin) is the executor (of this charter). Ṣhadappa (t), son of Mahārāja Puṣṇakonigala, shall (cause this edict) to be protected and preserved.⁵

B.—Plates of Skandavarman, Year 1

This is a set of four copper plates which were without a ring and seal when they first reached me. The first and fourth plates are inscribed on their inner sides, while the second and third have writing on both sides. The six inscribed sides of the plate are numbered with numerals like the pages of a modern book. The numbers are incised in the left margin of each plate, just to the left of the hole meant for the seal-ring to pass through. The hole is almost square in shape and measures roughly three-fifths of an inch on each side. It was evidently cut after the engraving on the plates had been executed. The plates measure 7½ inches in length and 2½ inches in width. They together weigh about 78 tolas.

The alphabet closely resembles that of the Kaneru plates of Skandavarman⁶ and some other charters of the Śālaṅkāyana family. The language of the record is Sanskrit.

¹ Better 'noblemen and wardens in all the services'. See above, p. 4, note 7.—D.C.S.
² The reference here is to śrīni and śrīntīpnīna, meaning 'good fortune' and 'progress or success'. See above, p. 6, note 2.—D.C.S.
³ The author's translation is defective. He has taken chāṭurvedin to be a person whereas it clearly indicates a community as suggested by the reference to piṅgā-gotra-charuva in its connection.—D.C.S.
⁴ The word chakka is the same as Śrīna chakka, 'error, fault, mistake, failing', and chakka-khāḍa may be translated as 'omitted through mistake'.—D.C.S.
⁵ See above, p. 6, note 9.—D.C.S.
The inscription belongs to the Śālakāyana Mahārāja Skandavarman. It mentions, like the Pedavegi plates of Nandivarman II,¹ the names of three generations of the donor's ancestors. Skandavarman was the son of Hastivarman (II), grandson of Nandivarman and great-grandson of Hastivarman (I). The date of the charter, given in words, is the first day of the bright fortnight of the month Kārttika, in the first year of the king's augmenting reign. The grant was issued from the city of Vengi. It is possible that the donor of the present charter is the same Skandavarman who issued the Kaneru plates.²

Mahārāja Skandavarman is described in the present inscription as a Śālakāyana, a worshipper of the holy feet of Lord Chitrarathasvāmin and ‘one devoted to the feet of his venerable father’. The Śālakāyanas would appear to have originally been a Brahmanical dynasty. From the figure of the couchant bull on the seals of their charters, they appear to have been worshippers of Śiva. The term Śālakāyana, like similar other gotra names such as Bṛhatphalāyana and Ānanda became the appellation of the dynasty. Chitrarathasvāmin, the family deity of the Śālakāyanas, appears to be the sun-god.³

An important feature of the inscription under review is the pedigree of the donor. As stated above, the present inscription gives the names of four generations of Śālakāyana rulers, like the Pedavegi plates of Nandivarman II. Here are the two lists for comparison.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kānukollu Plates</th>
<th>Pedavegi Plates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Hastivarman (I)</td>
<td>1 Hastivarman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(aṅka-samara-mukha-vikhyāta-karman)</td>
<td>(aṅka-samara-āṇāpita-vijaya)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Nandivarman (I)</td>
<td>2 Nandivarman (I)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(eva-pratīp-āpanit-āhita-varman)</td>
<td>(uvidha-dharma-pradhāna)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Hastivarman (II)</td>
<td>3 Chaṇḍavarman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(chatur-uḍadhi-taraṅg-āṅgita-yākṣas)</td>
<td>(pratīp-opaṇa-t-a-sūmanta)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Skandavarman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hastivarman (I) and his son Nandivarman (I) are mentioned in both the lists. Nandivarman (I) apparently had two sons, viz., Hastivarman (II) and Chaṇḍavarman. That both of them were crowned kings is borne out by the epithet Mahārāja attached to their names. Besides, Chaṇḍavarman’s coins have been found. Since the custom was probably to name the eldest grandson after the grandfather, it may be suggested that Hastivarman (II) was the first and Chaṇḍavarman the second son of Nandivarman (I).

Several localities are mentioned in the inscription besides Vengi. Kompara, the village granted to the Rathakāra-Chāturvaidya,⁴ cannot be satisfactorily identified, although it may be modern Komarā, a flourishing ancient village that lies about ten miles to the east of Kānukollu, in the Šālakāyana Taluk. The locality called Rathakāra is said to have been the residence of the donee.⁵

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³ See above, Vol. IX, p. 58, n. 4.
⁴ [See below, p. 10, note 4.—D.C.S.]
⁵ The personal name of the donee is not given in the inscription. He is simply called Chāturvaidya, i.e. Chāturvedī. It is difficult to trace any connection between the Rathakārā Chāturvedī of the Prakṛt grant and the present donee Chāturvaidya, resident of the village of Rathakāra. Perhaps the Chāturvaidya was a descendant of the Chāturvedī of the previous grant. [See above, p. 4, note 1.—D.C.S.]
TWO SALANKAYANA CHARTERS FROM KANUKOLLU—PLATE III

B.—Plates of Skandavarman. Year 1

Scale one third
There is no village of that name known to me. Kompara is stated in the record to have been lying in the district of Kudrāhāra. Kudrāhāra and Gudrāhāra are early forms of the name of modern Guḍḍavās. Both of the are Sanskritized forms of the name known from inscriptions found in the Krishna District as Gudrāhāra, Gudrāvāra or Gudrārā and Guḍḍavās. It may be noted that Kudrāhāra was different from Kūdrā or Kūḍrārapura, the capital of the Brihatphalāyanas.

First Plate

1. Svasti [⋆] Vijaya-Voṅgīya aneka-samara-mukha-vikhyāta-karmmaṇaḥ
2. mahārāja-śrī-Hastivarmanmaṇaḥ prapaṭhṛasya
3. sva-pratāp-śrī-pajñit-āhitavarmmaṇaḥ mahārāja-śrī-Nandivu-
4. rmmaṇaḥ pruṭhṛasya chaṭṭur-adhhi-taraṅ-āiliṅita-

Second Plate, First Side

5. yaśaso mahārāja-śrī-Hastivarmanmaṇaḥ pruṭhṛasya
6. bhaṅgavac-Cha[śī]trasthasvāmi-pād-ānudeśaḥ(ḥyā)ṭasya
7. bappa-bhaṭṭaraka-pāda-bhaktasya Salankāyanasya
8. mahārāja-śrī-Skandavarmanmaṇaḥ vachanena Kudrāhāra-

Second Plate, Second Side

9. Kompara grāmeyakā vaktavyā asti aṃśāḥḥ-asma-
10. t-kula-yaśaḥ-śrī-[v]j[l]ya-kalyān-ābhivṛddhaye
11. eha grāmaḥ Rathakāra-valaṭavyaya Chātuḥ(tu)rvaśyāya

Third Plate, First Side

12. sarvva-pari(n)hārca brahmadeyaṁ kṛtvā dattaḥ [⋆]
13. t-ad-avagamyā pūrvva-maryādayā sādhu presha-
14. nam kartavyam-api cha sarvva-niyoga-niyukt-āuktakās-cha

Third Plate, Second Side

15. tām grāmaḥ pariharant (a) [⋆] prava[r]ddhamāna-śrī-vijaya-
16. rājya-sarivatsare prathamo Kārtuka-māna-
17. śukla-paksha-pratipadi dattā paṭṭikā [⋆]

* From the original plates.
† Against this line, a little lower, near the right-hand, appears the numeral 1, indicating page 1 of the charter.
‡ Against this line and the next near the ring-hole, there appears the numeral 2, indicating page 2 of the charter.
§ A flaw in the plate here is responsible for giving the letter a a rather peculiar look.
‖ Against this line, near the ring-hole, there appears the numeral 3, indicating page 3 of the charter.
¶ Against this line, near the ring-hole, there appears the numeral 4, indicating page 4 of the charter.
‖ Against this line, near the ring-hole, there appears the numeral 5, indicating page 5 of the charter.
Fourth Plate

18 Bahubhir=bahudhā dattā vasudhā vasudhābhīpars ["+]
19 'yasya yasya yadā bhūmiḥ ta(mis-ta)sya tasya tadā phalam ||'

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-9) Hail! From the victorious (city of) Vaiṣāki; by order of the illustrious Śālakāyana Mahārāja Skandavarman,—who meditates on the feet of the holy lord Chitraratha; who is devoted to the feet of his royal father; who is a son of the illustrious Mahārāja Hastivarman whose glory was embraced by the waves of (all) the four oceans; who is a grandson of the illustrious Mahārāja Nandivarman who had completely subjugated his foes by his own prowess,8 (and) who is a great-grandson of the illustrious Mahārāja Hastivarman who was well-known through his deeds (of valour) in the forefront of many a battle-field,—the villagers at (the village of) Kompara of (the district of) Kudrānāra are to be informed as follows:

(Lines 9-15) "We have given this village, for the increase of fame, fortune, victory and welfare of our family, to the Cāturvaidya, a resident of Rathākara, having made it a brahmaṇadeya and exempting it from all taxes. Having known that, (you) should render proper services according to the old custom. Besides, all the officers-in-charge and their subordinates should leave that village alone (without collecting any kind of tax)."

(Lines 15-17) (This) title-deed has been given on the first day of the bright fortnight of the month of Kārttika in the first year of (our) flourishing, glorious and victorious reign.

(Lines 18-19) [An imprecatory verse.]

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1 On the left, near the ring-hole, appears the numeral 6, indicating page 6 of the charter.
2 The punctuation mark at the end is indicated by a single horizontal stroke which is mixed up with the sign of the mute m.
3 Literally, 'one who had taken away the armours of the enemies by his own prowess'.
4 [As in the other inscription, the word cāturvaidya should better be taken in the sense of the community of the Cāturvaidya Brahmans residing at Rathākara.—D.C.S.]
No. 2—Ghumli Plates of Bashkaladeva, V. S. 1045

(I Plate)

D. C. Sircar, Octacumund

The inscription under study belongs to the Ayurvedic Museum at Jāmnagar. It was read by Pandit Navaśaṅkar, the son of Mahāmahopādhyāya Hāthibhāī Śastry, but was not published. The late Mr. H. R. Mankad, for sometime Superintendent of Archaeology, Government of Saurashtra, Rajkot, is known to have prepared an article on the record, although this also remains unpublished. We owe to Mr. Mankad a few informations about the discovery of the record and the location of some of the villages mentioned in it. It is said that the epigraph was found in the course of digging operations at Ghumi in the former Navanagar State; but nothing more is known. Ghumi is situated amidst hills in the northern valley of the Abhāparā, a summit of the Baradā range, about 3 miles south of Bhāṇavāḍ in the Hālār District of Kathiawar.

The inscription is written on the inner sides of two thin copper plates strung on two copper rings with loose ends. Each plate measures 8½” by 8”. The thickness of a plate is 1/4” and its circumference 3½”. The edges of the plates were slightly raised with a view to protecting the writing from being damaged by rubbing. There are thirteen lines of writing on each of the plates. The script is old Nāgari and the language Sanskrit. Some of the letters have been written in the cursive style (cf. 8 in śṛṇṭha and 8 in line 4 with the same letter in Śailajā in line 2) while many of them are carelessly engraved (cf. a passage in line 6, the intended reading of which is Viśramasahāvat 1045 varṣe Vaiśākha-śaḍī 15). The letters often exhibit additional marks of the engraver’s tool. The letter ṣ has been used only in a few cases; it has usually been indicated by the sign for ṛ. There are many orthographical errors in the text of the record. The sign of omagraha has been used thrice (lines 7, 22 and 24), but wrongly in one of these cases.

The date of the charter is given in line 6. It is V. S. 1045, Viśākha-śaḍī 15, Monday. The date corresponds to the 22nd April, 989 A. D.

The inscription begins with a variety of the Siddham symbol which is followed by the maṅgala: “May there be well-being, victory and prosperity!” Next follow three stanzas in the Anuḥṣṭubh metre, the first of which is in adoration of the god Vyomakēśa (Śiva) while the following two give the genealogy of the king who issued the charter under study. It is said that there was a person named Hiranyamukha whose son was the mahi-pati or ruling chief named Jālé (or possibly Jyā or Jāla). The son of Jālé was the powerful Śūra who was the father of the nṛṣa or ruler Bāṣhkala, the issuer of the charter. Whether Hiranyamukha and Śūra were also rulers like Jālé and Bāṣhkala is not possible to determine from the language of the verses.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of a village made by Rāṣaka Bāṣhkala-deva surnamed Kuhumalīśa, for the merit of his parents, in favour of a Brāhmaṇa. Bāṣhkala, whose capital was at Bhūtāmbilī within the Mahādurgā adhikarana in Jyēṣṭha(ṣṭha)ka-dēśa, is stated to have made the grant after taking a bath in the Yāṣñavaṭa-tīrthā at a holy place called Pīṇḍatāraka. The word adhikarana seems to be used here in the sense of an administrative unit probably lying around the durgā or fortress at Bhūtāmbilī where Bāṣhkala resided. The name of the gift village was Karalī which was situated in Jyēṣṭha(ṣṭha)ka-dēśa within the Nava-Surāśṭra maṇḍala. The name Nava-Surāśṭra seems to be a mistake for Nava-Surāśṭra, although the same form of the name Surāśṭra also occurs several times in the Ghumi copper-plate inscriptions of the Saindhava kings of the Jayadratha-vaṃśa. The donee was Dāmodara, son

¹ Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 185 ff.
of Chāndākā. He is described as an Adhūsryu-Brāhmaṇa of the Bhāradvāja gōtra and as an inhabitant of Ācāhinapura. There is an akṣara, intended for a contraction, before the names of both Dāmōdara and his father. It is possibly sard[ā] standing for śṛṅgrīva. The village, extending up to its boundaries, was granted together with its trees and all income pertaining to it, but without such land as had been previously granted in favour of gods and Brāhmaṇas.

Lines 16-20 of the record describe the boundaries of the gift village. They are: (1) in the east—a ghōṣṭākā (obviously a boundary post)1 planted near a vahā (streamlet) in the vicinity of Varadī contiguous or attached to Chāndāpāra; (2) in the south—a ghōṣṭākā planted on the main road contiguous to Chāhāhhā (apparently pronounced Chāhāhhā-grāma); (3) in the west—a ghōṣṭākā planted in a kāhā (canaul) contiguous to the Pārā-vēlākulā; (4) in the north—a ghōṣṭākā planted at a place contiguous to Yakhādd (possibly a vahā or stream called Kādā) adjacent to Dēvgrāma. In the description of the eastern boundary of the gift village, what has been read as varadī may be a mistake for charaṇḍī which in Gujarati means a narrow passage of water. It should, however, be noticed that Varadigrāma in Surāshtra-mandala occurs in an inscription2 of Chaukuleya Bhims II, dated V. S. 1266, although it has not yet been satisfactorily identified.

The above is followed by the well-known stanza Bahubhīrī-vasudhā bhūkta, etc., in lines 22-24. It is next said that the dūtaka (executor of the grant) was the Pratīś (i.e. Pratihāra, "officer in charge of the palace gate") Dhāndhala. The document was written by Pārśa Ṭhaṭ Aṁchaṣ. The letter ṭha is apparently an abbreviation of Ṭhakkara used as a title of nobility in the western parts of India. The contraction Parsī seems to stand for Pārśkā. In Gujarati, Parikh is now usually the cognomen of the banker class; but it is derived from Sanskrit Parikshaka which is known to have been the designation of a head officer or superintendent, a judge, etc. Reference is next made to the witnesses of the charter, viz. Kailāsa, Kaṭu and others, who are described as sthāna-mahājana, meaning the elders of the locality, although it is difficult to determine whether they were members of a Board of Elders. The inscription concludes with the akṣara Śrī incised in bolder characters which apparently stands for the king's signature in the original document copied on the plate. This practice of representing the royal sign-manual by the akṣara Śrī is known to have been followed by the rulers of some of the native States of Kathiawar and elsewhere.

Bāshalka who issued the charter under study calls himself a Rāṇaka, i.e. a feudatory ruler, without reference to his overlord. It is difficult to identify this overlord of Bāshalka; but it is not impossible that he acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chaulukya king Mūlarāja who ruled between circa 961 and 996 A. D.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it discloses the existence of a new dynasty of rulers in the second half of the tenth century A. D. at Bhāṭṭāmbalī (modern Ghūmli, the findspot of the record under study) which is known to have been previously the capital of the Saindhava kings of the Jayadratha-vanās. Six copper-plate inscriptions of these earlier rulers of the saṅgāri of Bhāṭṭāmbalikā,3 as the name is found in those records, have been published above,4 although their treatment suffers from a number of inaccuracies and an amount of speculation. The latest of the Ghūmli copper-plate inscriptions of the Saindhava kings belongs to the reign of Jālka II and is

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1 The post was probably marked with the figure or, was shaped like, a mare.
2 For the expression stērlkāla, see, JBRs. Vol. XL, part i, p. 12.
3 Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, pp. 112-14.
4 Cf. Wilson's Glossary, s. v. porīḍkā, porīḍkāla; above Vol. XXVIII, pp. 718, etc.
5 It is called Bhāṭṭalikā in an inscription (An. Rep. Wat. Mus., Rajkot, 1921-22, p. 15) of the time of Chauku-
yya-Vāghālīa Vāpalēva, dated V. S. 1315, and has been identified with Bāhbhirispati mentioned in the Vanhall inscription of Chaukuleya Sāraingular, dated V. S. 1346 (An. Sānd. Or. Rev. Inst., Vol. V, p. 174). The modern name Ghūmli is a modification of Bhāṭṭalī or Bhāṭṭalī.
dated in the Gupta year 596 which is given in the record both in words in a verse and in numerical figures of the decimal system (not in symbols, as read by the learned editor of the inscription). The date of the said record therefore falls in 915 A.D. while Bāśkhaladeva’s grant was issued in V.S. 1045 corresponding to 989 A.D. There is therefore a difference of about three quarters of a century between the records of Jāika II and Bāśkhala, both issued from the same city. During this period the rule of the Saindhavas of the Jayadratha-valsa was extirpated from Bhuṭāmbili and a new dynasty of rulers was established at the city. Although the name of the dynasty to which Bāśkhala belonged is not mentioned in his record, it is hardly possible to regard him as a later member of the Saindhava or Jayadratha dynasty because in that case he would have traced his descent from the earlier rulers of the land. It may be noticed in this connection that our inscription, the style of which is quite different from that of the Saindhava charters, mentions Bāśkhala’s capital Bhuṭāmbili as situated in Jyēshṭhukaka-dēsa which is stated to have formed part of Nava-Surāshṭrā (sṛṭra)-maṇḍala, while the Saindhava Jayadrathavansi claimed to have been Bhūṭāmbiliḥ-ābhidhāna-nagari-gaṛīgī-para-Surāśṭrā (sṛṭra)-maṇḍala maṇḍana. It will be seen that the Saindhava kingdom was called Apara-Surāshṭrā (sṛṭra)-maṇḍala and Bāśkhala’s kingdom Nava-Surāshṭrā (sṛṭra)-maṇḍala, although both indicated the district round Bhuṭāmbili in the western part of ancient Surāshtra or Kathiawar. What is, however, more interesting is that a smaller geographical unit round Bhuṭāmbili is called Jyēshṭhukakadēsa in our inscription. This name reminds us of the Jēthavás who are among the inhabitants of the area even to this day.

According to tradition, Ghūmli (ancient Bhuṭāmbilīkā) was the capital of the Jēthvā Rājpūts, the Rāṇas of Porbandar being their present representatives. The name Jēthvā has been interpreted by different scholars in various ways. Wilson traced its origin in the name of the Jāts while Jackson took it to be a modification of Yētha which was regarded as the shortened form of Ye-tha-i-li-to or Epthalite, the ruling class of the white Huna. According to local bardic traditions, Jēthvā is derived from the name of Jētha who was the 95th ruler in the list of the Porbandar kings. After the discovery and study of the six Saindhava grants discovered at Ghūmli, one scholar suggested that the Jēthvās were so called because they represented the senior branch of the Saindhava royal family; but another scholar was inclined to believe that the name Jēthvā is derived from Jayadratha, the name of the ancient Saindhava king from whom the early rulers of Ghūmli claimed descent, through Prakrit Jairath and Jaīrath. All these are no doubt unwarranted speculations as Jēthvā is certainly the same as Jyēshṭhukaka occurring in the geographical name Jyēshṭhukaka-dēsa found in our inscription. The present day Jēthvās must have been known as Jyēshṭhukaka in the tenth century. Whether king Bāśkhala belonged to their clan is difficult to determine without further evidence, though that seems quite probable under the circumstances. If, however, Bāśkhala was a Jyēshṭhuka, the Jēthvā Rāṇas of Porbandar may be regarded as his distant descendants. This further points to the untrustworthiness of the bardic traditions as a source of history. It is also possible to suggest that the Jēthvās were so called because they were ruling over Jyēshṭhukaka-dēsa. But this does not explain the application of the name Jyēshṭhuka to the land in question in the second half of the tenth century.

Among other geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the village of Karalī which was the subject of the grant recorded in the inscription, cannot be traced now. But a bridge at the eastern approach of Porbandar, the famous port of Western Saurashtra on the Arabian Sea, is said to bear the name Karalī-pūl. The village of Karalī may therefore have stood in its neighbourhood. We have seen that the localities called Chañḍānā-grāma, Chaḥhīhā-grāma, Pātra-vēḷākūla and Dēva-grāma lay respectively to the east, south, west and north of Karalī. Of these, the western boundary given as Pātra-vēḷākula, i.e. the harbour of Pātra, is undoubtedly the

2 Ibid., p. 188.
modern Porbandar (literally, 'the harbour of Pōr-Pāūra ') lying to the west of the Karīl-pūl near which the gift village of Karālī may be located. Our inscription thus points to the existence of Porbandar as a harbour as early as the tenth century A. D. The villages of Chhāhīmā-grāma lying to the south of Karālī and Dēva-grāma lying to its north are respectively the modern Chhāyā 2½ miles to the south of Porbandar and Degām about 6 miles to the north of the harbour. The village of Chāndānā lying to the east of Karālī seems to have stood near modern Ādityānā about seven miles to the east of Porbandar.

Besides the above, there are some other geographical names in the inscription. They are Āṇāhilapura, Piṅḍāṭāraka and Yajñāvāṭa-tirtha. Of these, Āṇāhilapura was the capital of the Chaullukya and Vāghela kings of Gujarat and is now called Pāṭān lying near Kaḍī in north Gujarat. Piṅḍāṭāraka seems to be the well-known holy place called Piṅḍāraka in the Mahā-bhārata¹ and identified with modern Piṅḍārā on the Gulf of Kutch about seven miles north of Bhāṭīa, a station on the railway line between Jamnagar and Dwarka. There is a kunḍa near the temple at Piṅḍārā and this may be the Yajñāvāṭa-tirtha mentioned in the inscription.

**TEXT²**

*First Plate*

1 Siddham⁶ svasti jayō-bhyudayaś-ccha | Pāṇītru(tu) vō Vyōmakśasa yaṭā-vam(bam)-

2 dh-ēmdu-rасma(śma)yāḥ | bhamiti ye śālajā-kaṁṭhē māḷati-mālikā īva || 1*]

3 Hiranyamukha-nām-ānanā tasmāi-Jālīṣ mahipatiḥ | Śūraḥ sarvā--

4 jaga-śrēṣṭha⁴ tasy-ātmajā-mahā[va]la' || 2* Taj-jāta[h]* subhaga[h]* śrīmaṁ(mān) dhiv-māṁ-

5 ś-ccha Vā(Bā)śekkalō njipah | yën-ē-ldaṁ sakalāṁ viśvaṁ yasa(śa)a dhavalikṛttam(tam) [|| 3*]

6 Śṛ-urpa Vi[k]a[ma]-saṁv[a][1] 1045 var[shā] [Vaiṇḍā(śa)kha-nnu[4u]]di 15 Sōmē-


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¹ See Dey, Geographical Dictionary, n. t.: 'near Golagar in Gujarat, sixteen miles to the east of Dwarka'.

² The name also reminds us of the holy place called Piṇḍāṭākā-vata in a Nasik inscription of the second century A. D. (Select Inscriptions, p. 161.)

³ From the original plates and their impressions.

⁴ Expressed by symbol.

⁵ The intended reading is 'nām-ānan or 'nāmaṇaṭt'.

⁶ The reading may possibly be 'Jālīṣ mahipatiḥ. It is difficult to say whether 'Jālī mahipatiḥ was intended.'

⁷ Read 'jagach-chhāhēth'he'.

⁸ Read 'bhalaḥ or better ātmajā mahābalaḥ. After la the engraver was going to incise ī; but it was abandoned after only the left-hand portion of the akṣara had been completed. Probably he wanted to engrave 'bhala-taj-jātāḥ' for 'bhalas-taj-jātāḥ.'

⁹ Read 'vikrama'. The akṣara 'ku is imperfectly formed.

¹⁰ The intended reading is Mahādūrg-ādhikaraṇaḥ.
No. 2] GUMULI PLATES OF BHASKLADAVEVA, V. S. 1045

8 rápa-kulakunamoli(lôj)l-ākhyā-śri-Bāhskaladēvēna śri-Pīndaraka-
9 yātrām-āgatyā śri-Yajñavala-tūrthē snātvā dēvān-pitrīṇ samtarpya mā-
10 tā-pitrō(h)* śreyasa yā-yāya śri-Navā(Surāśa)Jāvira-(Svēra)-Karnā-grāmāḥ sa-vṛkṣha-mālā.1
11 sāh(ah)ku-daśē-sadhyavartti-Karali-nāma-grāmāḥ sa-vṛkṣa-mālā.1
12 kulaḥ svā-sāmē-paryantaḥ sarvādāya-samēta(h)* pū-
13 rva-pradatta-dvādāya-vrāhadyāya(4)-varjā-grāmā-yāya śri.1

Second Plate

14 Āśahilapura-nivāsinē Bhāradvāja-gōtr-ād[ha]rya.4
15 Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-ahrā(h)ā-Charudāsita-suta-ahrā(h)ā-Charudāsita-suta-ahrā(h)ā-Dāmā(mō)darasya udakō-tārga-
16 dāyōnā datta-grāmā-yāya samarpita[s=cha] grāmāḥ-sarasayā-gṛāhābh pū-
17 rvata(h)* Charudāsgrāma-samānā[16]-varaṭh-sannidhau vaha-saṃipē niskipta-gṛāh-
18 tīkā[12] śirā | daksīnata(h)* Chābhīhmāgrāma-samānā-rjām[ā]rgē niskipta-
19 ghōṭikā(lkā) śirā | paśchimata(h)* Paùra-vēḷāvula[12]-samānā-khār[ā]yān[12] ni-
20 kṣipta-ghōṭikā śirā | uttarata[h]* Dēvagrāma-samānā-Va[h]akahātā-samān-
21 niskipta-ghōṭikā śirā | aryā-gṛāhā[12]-āṇalakṣāta-grāmō-yāya
22 "samat[18]-pradatta[h]* pālaṇīyā-scha | ukta[13] cha | Bva(Ba)bhubir vortex bhuktāḥ(ktā)

1 There is an unnecessary danda here at the end of the line.
2 Read brakmaṇāda.
3 The rule of Sandha has been ignored here.
4 The letter 4 is not properly formed.
5 Read śādēsryā.
6 This akṣara seems to be an abbreviation of the word śrīrīga.
7 The intended reading seems to be Dāmādarāya.
8 Better read "sarpīṣa" or "sarpīṣa-purābhāṣa.
9 The intended reading may be grāmāvyasayyā or grāmāvyasaryā-yā.
10 This is either too weak to mean that the two were contiguous or is a contraction of a word like somantā, indicating the same idea. In inscriptions we have generally sam or saṃbuddha.
11 This apparently indicates a post that was planted for indicating the boundary.
12 Read ēṇākula which means 'a harbour'.
13 The intended reading may be khāḍyā, i.e. 'in a khāḍi or creek'.
14 There seems to be an unnecessary anuvāna above this akṣara.
15 Read śrīd-gṛāhā.
16 Read "samantā".
17 Read "yam-samantā".
23 rājabhīṣa Sagarādvīdbhiṣ [ | ॥] yasya yasya yadya bhūmi tasya tasya

24 te[djā phalam]||lam ||] rāj-ādēśāt dūtakā-"tra prati"-śri-Dh[ām]dhalabh [ ॥] li-

25 khitan pāri"tha-śa-Śrīchādēna pramāpam(ām) || sāhāna-mahājana-

26 Kailās-kaṭu-prabhūtayaḥ sākapāḥ || ārīḥ ॥

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1 This is a contraction of prakāra.

2 The second of the two contractions stands for ṭhaṭara and the first apparently for pārīkā.

3 This akṣara in bigger form symbolically represents the sign manual of the issuer of the charter.
No. 3—ALALPUR PLATES OF NARASIMHA II, SAKA 1215

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTYAMUNDO, AND P. ACHARYA, BHUBANESWAR

Pandit Rātanākara Gārgavaṭu (ordinarily Gāriṣṭha) of Bhubaneswar (Puri District, Orissa), who died in 1933, was an enthusiastic student of Indian epigraphy in his youth. About the year 1902, when he was engaged in studying the stone inscriptions fixed in the compound wall of the Ananta-Vaiṣṇava temple at Bhubaneswar, one Rāmakīrītī Bābājī informed Pandit Gārgavaṭu that he had seen a set of copper plates bearing writing similar to the stone inscriptions with which the Pandit was then engaged. On the Pandit pressing for further information about the plates, the Bābājī came to him after a few days with the news that the Pandit’s cousin Harēkīrītī Śamantarāya knew the whereabouts of the copper plates and might be of help in securing them for his examination. When Harēkīrītī was approached, he informed the Pandit that the plates were in the possession of Mukunda Śamantarāya of the village of Alalpur (Alarpur of the Survey of India map, sheet No. 73-H[15]) lying about four miles east of Bhubaneswar to the left of the Puri road. Pandit Gārgavaṭu then saw Mukunda Śamantarāya and learnt from him that the plates had been found in a stone-box which had been discovered while digging the foundation for a house in the village. The plates were seven in number and were strung together on a ring bearing a seal with the bull emblem. Mukunda Śamantarāya was found to have put them by the side of his family deity along with which they were being worshipped by him daily. At the Pandit’s request Mukunda agreed to lend the plates for the decipherment of the inscription and Pandit Gārgavaṭu carried them to his place personally, although they were very heavy.1 The Pandit then made a serious attempt to decipher the text of the inscription and completed his transcript of the record after some time.2 At that time Pandit Gārgavaṭu was serving as a teacher in the Balasora School. A fellow teacher at the school, named Rādhākīrītī Basu, who was a Sanskritist and an M.A., later made some corrections in the Pandit’s transcript. Soon afterwards, Pandit Gārgavaṭu himself made some further corrections in his transcript with the help of the text of a similar inscription published in the Viṣṇukīrītī, s.v. Gāriṣṭha.3

Some time after completing the preparation of the transcript, Pandit Gārgavaṭu engaged a mālā (day labourer) to carry the plates from his home at Bhubaneswar to Mukunda Śamantarāya at Alalpur. Mukunda, however, became full of sorrow and indignation when he found the plates, which he had been worshipping regularly along with his family deity, thus defiled by the touch of a labourer of low caste. Considering them unworthy of veneration any longer, he sold the set to a coppersmith and it was ultimately melted by the latter. The inscription thus lost now exists only in Pandit Gārgavaṭu’s transcript (with corrections later inserted by Rādhākīrītī Basu and himself) from which we are editing it with the Pandit’s kind permission.4 As regards the fairly reliable nature of the transcript, it may be pointed out that there are fortunately cases where the genuineness of the Pandit’s reading can be verified. By way of illustration, we may refer to the passage Śikṣāyaḥ-Alināvhaśa-rāmayask as read by N. N. Vasu in line 13 on the first side of plate VI of the Kendupatna inscription published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1896, part i, p. 256. Vasu took the word Śikṣyaḥ to be the same as Bengali senyā meaning a

1 Considering the weight of other records of the later Imperial Ganges monarchs, it seems that the seven plates together with the seal weighed about one thousand rās.
2 Below his signature at the end of his transcript, we find the date given as the 16th of November, 1903.
3 This is the Kendupatna copper-plate inscription (Saka 1218) of Ganga Narasimha II published by N. N. Vasu in 1893 in the Bengali Encyclopaedia entitled Viṣṇukīrītī, Volume V, pp. 321 ff. See now above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 191 ff.
4 Pandit Gārgavaṭu handed over the small book containing his transcript to Acharya in 1949. It reached Sircar in April, 1950.
person in charge of the worship of a deity in a temple. But an examination of the impressions of the plates published by Vasu clearly shows that the correct reading of the passage is śīrṣa-patya-
Ālālaṇātha-darmarāmaṇa. It has to be noticed that the same Sēnīpati (general) Ālālaṇātha-dārmaṇa is also twice mentioned in the Alāpur inscription under review in lines 213 and 228 where Pandit Gargavatū reads the passages, no doubt correctly, as Ālālaṇātha-sēnīpatya and Ālālaṇātha-
sēnīpatinā. The names of the villages read by the Pandit as Hariōntārāma (modern Harianta), Chhatalārāma (modern Chhatol), Kūrālārāma (modern Kuraung) and Khānīhalārāma (modern Khandol) similarly point to the reliable nature of his transcript. Of course it cannot be said that the Pandit’s transcript is absolutely free from misreadings.

The plates are known to have been seven in number. Pandit Gargavatū numbers the line in his transcript separately according to the inscribed sides of the plates. This shows, as expected, that the first and seventh plates were inscribed only on the inner sides, while the other plates had writing on both the sides. There were altogether 228 lines of writing. The first and second sides of Plate IV had respectively 17 and 18 lines engraved on them, while the first side of Plate V and the inner side of Plate VII had respectively 19 and 14 lines. The remaining eight inscribed faces of the copper plates had each twenty lines of writing on them.

The record contains two dates. The first of them refers to the time when the grant was actually made by King Narasimha II, while the second falls about two years later when the document was written and the plates were engraved. The first date is given as the expired Śaka year 1215 as well as the king’s nineteenth Akṣa, Kumbha-dvitiya, badi 5, Tuesday. Kumbha-vātiya indicates the second day of the solar month of Phālguna. In Śaka 1215, however, the second day of solar Phālguna fell on Tuesday, the 26th January, 1294; but the tithi on that date was Māgha badi 14 and in Phālguna badi 5. In that year, Phālguna badi 5 actually fell on Tuesday, the 16th February, which was the 23rd and not the 2nd day of the solar month of Phālguna. The date of our record thus seems to be irregular; it is either the 23rd of January or the 16th of February in 1294 A.D. The nineteenth Akṣa of the king of the solar regnal year (omitting, according to rule, the first, sixth and sixteenth years). This agrees with the fact known from other records that Narasimha II ascended the throne in Śaka 1200 (1278 A.D.). The second date of our inscription simply speaks of the king’s twentysecond Akṣa, i.e. eighteenth regnal year (omitting the first, sixth, sixteenth and twentieth years), which apparently fell in Śaka 1217. The grant was made when the king was staying at Remuṇā-kāṭaka, i.e. the city of Renuṇā or the royal camp or residence of Remuṇā, which was the place wherefrom the Kendupatana plates of Śaka 1217 (or 1218) were also issued. In the expression Śrī-čarāṇaṇa vijaya-sūmayā used in this connection, śrī-čarāṇaṇa is an honorific expression to indicate the king and vijaya has been used in its Oria sense of ‘stay’.

In the same context other records of Narasimha II read vijay-āvsara. The musūla (i.e. the royal order regarding the grant or its execution) passed through the Purū-Parīkṣhaka-Pātra Trilōchana-jēna who seems to have been an official of a minister’s rank and was the principal inspector attached to some administrative department. The object of the grant was the increase of the king’s longevity, health, wealth and majesty. The donee was the Kūsh-dāhāyaka (treasurer) Halāyudha who was a Brāhmaṇa of the Vatsa gotra having the Bhārgava, Chāyavana, Ānuvat, Auruva and Jāmadagnya pravara and was a student of a portion of the Kānyā branch of the Yasuva. The area of the land granted was one hundred suṭikā in five plots scattered in different villages.

The first plot of land comprised the village of Yanvachāpatigrāma (or Pandhā) in the Vāhattari khaṇḍa of the Kalanmvō(mbō)ra vishaya, with the exception of the land belonging to the āsana (land granted by a charter) pertaining to Rāma-pratirāja. The area of the land was 1

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1 See op. cit., p. 271.

2 A similar sense of the word is also noticed in Telugu, Kanaḍa and Tamil. It must have been borrowed in Oria from Telugu.
determined according to the nala, i.e. measurement of area, done by Allāla-nāyaka, described as a śri-karaṇa, i.e. a scribe. The western boundary of the village granted was the dāṇḍa of Paṅgāpāḷa lying to the east of a river, while the eastern boundary was the western dāṇḍa of Urisō-parakāṇḍa. The word dāṇḍa means ‘a boundary pillar’ and from that ‘a boundary line’. It is tempting to equate parakāṇḍa with the well-known Paragāṇa meaning a tract of land comprising a number of villages, although Parakāṇḍa may have also been the name of a locality adjacent to or included in Urisō. The northern boundary of Yanvachāpataigrāma (or Pandhā?i) was the southern dāṇḍa of Urisāgrāma, while the southern boundary was the dāṇḍa-ārdha, i.e. a portion (ārdha) of the boundary line (dāṇḍa), of Kuṇḍalāvāra-dēva (i.e. the temple area of the deity of that name) of the Śrīramapura sāsana (i.e. the gift village of that name). The land within these four boundaries measured 24 vāṭikās, 19 mānas and 5 guṇṭhas. Out of this, an area measuring 8 vāṭikās and 12 mānas, which was covered by the land previously granted to gods and Brāhmaṇas and by the boundaries of a waiting place for ferry as well as gōhari and gōpatha meaning broad pathways for cattle, etc., was subtracted, leaving a total (nirvākara) of 16 vāṭikās, 7 mānas and 5 guṇṭhas.

The second plot of the land granted comprised the village called Kharalaigrāma situated in the Sāḷō vishaya. The southern boundary of this village was the dam or highway (bandha) at the northern limit of Kurāṇagārāma, while its northern boundary was the southern dāṇḍa of Hariōttāgrāma. To its west was the eastern boundary line of Chhatālagrāma and its eastern limit touched partially the boundary of the tank attached to the gōlā (granary) belonging to Khandhalagrāma. The land within these boundaries measured 42 vāṭikās. Out of this, the area of 17 vāṭikās, 16 mānas and 20 guṇṭhas, which was covered by the boundaries around the maṇḍapa (temple or public building) under the enjoyment of gods and Brāhmaṇas and by gōkha-i, gōpatha, tanks, bāja (mounds!), etc., was subtracted, leaving a total of 24 vāṭikās, 3 mānas and 5 guṇṭhas. The calculation here makes it clear that 1 vāṭikā of land was regarded as equal to 20 mānas while 1 māna (Oriya māna) was equal to 25 guṇṭhas. The case is the same in Orissa even at the present time.

The third plot of the gift land comprised Gōḷādālagrāma, situated in the same Sāḷō vishaya, with the exception of the locality called Lāla-Brāhmaṇapura. The northern boundary of the village touched parts of the boundary line of the Simpalō-Vāṇkēśvara haṭṭa (market-place) and the southern boundary was the gōlā-puṣkurai (tank attached to the granary) of Hariōttāgrāma. The western limit touched partly the boundary line of Nībhayapura, while the eastern limit was the western embankment of the tank of or at Pālēhā in Rādgalapura (Rāṅga?i). The land measured 70 vāṭikās, 13 mānas and 15 guṇṭhas. Out of this, an area of 33 vāṭikās, 5 mānas and 1 guṇṭha, which was covered by the land such as that around maṭhas (colleges) and maṇḍapas under the enjoyment of gods and Brāhmaṇas of the locality called Haṭtapura-karmi-dāṇḍa (a certain part of Haṭṭapura) as well as by a rāddha-dāṇḍa (boundaries of land granted to the local physician), tanks, jōḍa (canals), gōpatha, etc., was subtracted, leaving the total remainder of 37 vāṭikās, 8 mānas and 14 guṇṭhas.

The fourth plot of the land granted comprised Sarpaadalagrāma in the same Sāḷō vishaya. It was bounded in the north by the gambha-mula-vēṇā (a piece of very low land covered by the vēṇā grass) of Gōḷādālagrāma and in the south the southern dyke of the tank of or at Jayaṅgaṅa. Its western boundary was the locality called Malisāhāra-Tālapadīḷa in the village of Gōḷādōḷa and the eastern limit was the maṇḍapa belonging to one Śrīdrīla Viśvēla (meaning originally ‘a village watchman’, later stereotyped into a family name) lying to the west of Rādgalapura (or Rāṅga?i). Within these four boundaries the land measured 11 vāṭikās and 5 guṇṭhas. Out of this, an area measuring 5 vāṭikās and covering some tanks in the possession of gods and Brāhmaṇas, was subtracted, leaving a total of 6 vāṭikās and 5 guṇṭhas.

The fifth plot of land comprised the village called Vāsidrāma in the Sāḷīvra vishaya with the exception of 3 vāṭikās, 4 mānas and 10 guṇṭhas attached to the homestead land belonging to
the god Bhuvanãsvara worshipped at Dhârapura. The remaining land measured, according to the samâkârânta-nâla, 29 vâtiàs, 5 mânas and 12 guñâthas. In Oriya, the word samâkârânta means 'endowed with boundaries' and nâla 'measurement of area'. It seems that the recognised area of the piece of land was quoted in this case without fresh measurement. Out of the above area, 13 vâtiàs and 15 mânas, which covered tanks, bhîthas and mâyâpatas in the occupation of gods and Brâhmânâs, was subtracted leaving, according to the document under review, a total of 16 vâtiàs. There is, however, strictly speaking, a mistake in the calculation, as the remainder was actually 15 vâtiàs, 5 mânas and 12 guñâthas and not exactly 16 vâtiàs.

The document goes on to say that the total area of the five plots measuring 100 vâtiàs was granted as a revenue-free gift together with the right to enjoy both land and water as well as fish and tortoise. The actual total area of the five plots, however, was slightly less than 100 vâtiàs. It was 99 vâtiàs, 4 mânas and 16 guñâthas, although, if the wrong calculation of the area of the fifth plot as quoted in the document is taken into account it would come up to 99 vâtiàs, 19 mânas and 4 guñâthas.

Sêna-pati (general) Allâlânaâtha, who was a Brâhmana of the Pitâmâsha-göra and a student of the Śâkala branch of the Tiqvisâ, was the Sâsanâdhaâkarin, i.e. the head of the record department who was responsible for writing the sâsana or charter. He received, apparently as his perquisite, two vâtiâs of land consisting partly of homestead land and partly of land under water. The engraver of the plates, whose name was Pannâdi-rañâ, similarly received two vâtiàs of land, half of which was homestead land, the other half being under water. He was apparently the same as Pannâdi, mentioned in the Kendapata plates, and Pannâdi-mahârañâ who engraved the Puri plates of Bhânu II, son of the issuer of the present charter. Rañâ and Mahârañâ indicate family names among the artisâna of Orissa.

A number of rent-paying subjects were also attached to the present gift land which was styled Allâlapura-sâsana. The later Gaṅga monarchs often gave a particular name to the land granted by a charter. Why the present charter was called Allâlapura-sâsana is not clear; but it seems to have been named after the Sâsanâdhaâkarin Sêna-pati Allâlânaâtha. The practice of allotting a number of rent-paying agents to a sâsana is also known from other records of the king. The subjects attached to the present charter were: (1) Asâti who was the son of the guñâthika (manufacturer or seller of sugar) Nârâyaña and belonged to the Uchabhâradâ haṭṭa (market); (2) Mâdhâ-srâshthri who was the grandson of Bhraṭi-srâshthri and was a potter of the Yaitrapâda haṭṭa; (3) Kâliyâ who was the grandson of Gopâladânu and belonged to the Sarâyaldâ nava-ra-haṭṭa; (4) Pârakhâ-srâshthri who was the son of Jâguli-srâshthri and was an oilman of Vîrâñ-gîpâpa; (5) Punnakâma who was the grandson of Pâtâsya and a grower or seller of betel leaves attached to the Jâkhênum-Jayapûra haṭṭa; (6) Dharmanâ-srâshthri who was the grandson of Kukâmâchanâ and was a relation of the oilman Gabhu-rañâ of Uthali, and (7) Nakrâ, the grandson of Mârtaçcâ and a goldsmith of the Vijayalakshimipura haṭṭa: he was made a substitute for Utjâs-âdhyaksha who was the grandson of the goldsmith Visu-mahâlikâ and belonged to the Vârâga haṭṭa and who had been attached to the sâsana of Khadgiprâhit Mahâpita Yûgânanda of Ghaṭava; and Utjâs-âdhyaksha was attached to the present charter.

The last line of the charter says that it was written by the Sâsanâdhaâkarin Allâlapurâ-sêna-pati and that the plates were udghâsita (probably meaning utkirta or engraved) by the copper-smith Pannâdi-rañâ.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the charter, Allâlapura is, of course, modern Alalpur near Bhubaneswar. It is, however, difficult to determine as to which of the gift villages has to be

2 The word is mahâlikâ, the same as mahâlikâ or mahâlikâ meaning 'a gaúrd of the royal harem'. Visu-mahâlikâ was a goldsmith by caste. The word aukhâsita attached to the range of his grandson may suggest that the latter had some executive function in the market to which he belonged.
identified with the present Alipur. Another interesting fact is that only one of the five localities granted seems to have carried the name applied to the śāsana. If the reference to the god Bhuvan-
ēśvara at Dhārapura actually refers to the present Bhubaneswar, originally named, no doubt, after a deity of this name, it may be suggested that the fifth plot of the gift land comprised modern Alipur near Bhubaneswar. Rēmānā has been identified with the modern village of the same name situated about 6 miles to the west of Balasore. Paṅgapāḷa may be identified with the place of that name in Pargānā Barpalla in the Cuttack District. Uraśō is the same as Urissa, a village within the jurisdiction of the Jagatsingpur Police Station in the same District. The Sāilō vishaya may be, roughly identified with the Sāilō Pargāna in the said District. Sāivā is still the name of another Pargāna in that District. Kalambōra-visāhaya, known from several other inscriptions, was apparently the district round the present village of Urissa.

Of the localities mentioned in connection with the second plot of the gift land, the villages Hariōntā, Kurāngī, Chhatālī and Khandhāla are now called Hariantā, Kurung, Chhatol and Kandalo respectively. They are all situated in the vicinity of one another in the Cuttack District (see Survey of India map, sheet No. 73 H15). The third plot of land was also situated near Hariōntāgrāma, i.e. modern Hariantā. The other places mentioned in the record cannot be satisfactorily identified.

TEXT1

Sixth Plate, First Side

178 ...........................Saka-ṇūripatēb paṭchadāś-ādhika-dvādaśa-śa-
179 ta-samva(mo)na(tva)tsarēshu gataśhu sva-rājyas-ōnvinṃaty-aukē-śhālikhyamānē Kumbha-dvitiya-kṛishṇa-paṭchamNyām Maṅgala-
180 vāre Rēmānā-kaṭakō Śrīcharāṇēṇa vijaya-samaye purūparīkṣhaka-pātra-Trilīchhana-
ěṇa-śudalēṇa chatu-
181 rdaśa-bhuvan-ādhipat-ity-ādi-virud-avali-śirṣāmānō vira-śrī-Narasimhādēvaḥ sv-āyurārōgya-asīvarya-sāṁrā-
182 jya-sampiḍhadhayē Vuta-sagōṭrāya Bhārgava-Chyāvan-āyu(pnv)vān-Au(vad-Au)vṛvva-
Jāmadagnya-pravrāya Yajur-vēd-āntargarata-
183 Kānyaś-khā-kāi-dēś-ādhaya-yinē kūshālhyaksha-Halāyuḥāya vāṭikā-śatam pradān-
ārtham
184 Kalamvōra-visḥaya-Vāhattari-khaḍā-madhya-Yanvachāpaṭi-grāmarh Rāma-
pratirāja-śāsaniyam-vā(m-bu)kāshkāpya purō-
185 śrīkaṇaṃ-Āllāla-nāyaka-nala-pramāṇēna ētu-grāmiya-paṭchāna-āt(ā)mā nadyāḥ pārva-
(ro) Paṅgapā-

1 From Pandit Ratnakara Gargavatā’s Oriya transcript. The 105 introductory verses, also found in other records of the king, cover 177 lines and a part of line 178 which is line 4 on the sixth plate.
2 Originally read gēna.
3 Originally read saupēcā.
4 Originally read gēnaa.
5 Originally read kṣeta.
6 Alternately read Vākāā.
7 Originally read Ardhaḥchā. An alternative reading is “grāma-Rāma”. The reading may be Pandhāchā.
8 Alternately read Ramapratirāja.”
186. la-daṃḍāma-āditaṃ kritvā pūrva-śiṁsāma Uriso-parakōṇaṃ-paśchima-daṇḍa-paryāntena uttaraṃ tathā U.


188. paryāntena | evaṃ chatubhi-śīṃsāma-āvachchēlōṇa guṇṭha-paṇchak-ōttara māṃśānvināśatyābhika-vatikā-cha urviṅcā (vinīsāṭṭhi).

189. madhyāt purūtana-līva-Vrā(Brāh)māṇa-nāditara-daṇḍī-gaṅga(gō)hari-gōpath-ādibhir-māna-dvādaś-ādhikāśaṣṭau(aḥ)ī-vaṭā.

190. kaś(ka) va(by)hishkṛtya sthitā-niravakara-paṇchaghūṃṭh-ōttara māṇa-sapt-ādibhā-śoḍhakā vaṭīkā-mitaṁḥ | Sālō-vishaya-

191. madhyā-Khāralōgāraniḥ [*] dakshiptaḥ Kku(Ku)grāṅgāṃrasya-ōttara-parichehēdāva(ba).ānham-ādikṛtva uttara-śiṁsāma Harīontā.

192. graniya-dakshita lanḍā-paryāntena [*] paśchimaṇaḥ Chhatalōgrāṃsya pūrvva-parichehēdādaṇḍī:* savaḥhitā(hū)kṛtva pūrvva-śiṁsāma.

193. Khañḍalōgraniya-gōlā-pushkariṇy-ārdha-paryāntena [*] evaṃ chatubhi-śīṃsāma-āvachchē(hē) dēna vaṭī-ānvaṅkaratvaṅkāsā (vinīsa)-mahāyā-


Sixth Plate, Second Side

195. dhika-māna-śoḍhakā-ōttara-saptadāsa-vaṭīkāḥ va(by)hishkṛtya vasthitā-nirvakara-paṅcha-guṇṭh-ōttara-māṇa-tray-ādhikā-chatu-

196. rvināsthī-vaṭīkā-parimittan(tam) || tathātād-vishaya-madhyā-Gōlādalō-grāmarhi Līla.* Vrā(Brāh)māṇa-purāṇa va(by)hishkṛtya uttaraṁ.

197. Sīṃpālō-Brāhkeśvare-haṭṭasya parichehē(chhe)da-daṇḍā-ārđdham-aṇītaḥ kriyā daksihita-śiṁsāma Harīontā-graniya-gōlā-pushkā-

198. rinī-paryāntena [*] paśchimaṇaḥ Nibhayāpura-paṇchaghē(chhe)da-daṇḍā-ārđdham-adhi-krītvā pūrvva-śiṁsāma Rāgalaupurāya* Pālēha-pushkā-

199. rinī-rvachina-ba(by)hā-paryāntena [*] evaṃ chatubhi-śiṁsāma-āvachchē(chhe)dēna guṇṭha-paṇchagā-aṇīta-trayōdaś-ādhika-saptati-vatikā-

200. madhyā-t Haṭṭapatra-karmi-daṇḍā* *-vāsī-purūtana-dēva-Vrā(Brāh)māṇa-bhōgya-vaiḥ maṇḍapa-vaiśāya-daṇḍā-pushkariṇī-jōṣa-gōpath-ādī-

* Alternately read Uriso-parakōṇaṃ.
* Originally read "dākiā".
* Originally read "midām". Read "mitam".
* Originally read "Khevet".
* Originally read "Ksara".
* Read "vētiśa" which was originally read.
* Read "leḍa-rāṇa" which was originally read.
* Originally read "leḍē".
* Originally read "kaṃ".
* The reading may be "Bāngsa".
* Originally read "karma". The intended reading seems to have been "daṇḍā".
ALALPUR PLATES OF NARASIMHA II, SAKA 1215

201 bhīr-guṇṭhā-ai-kādhika-paṇčha-māṇ-ōṭṭara-trayastra-triṃśad1-vāṭīkāṁ(kā) va(ba)hiṣkṛitya-āvasthița-niravakara-guṇṭhā-chaturdās-āshta-māṇ-ādhika-


203 vēṇām-āditaḥ kriṭva dākṣīṇa-ś(ś) mā Jayagaṅga-pushkarini-dākṣīṇa-v(a)ndha-parvyaṇtē | paśchimataḥ Gaṅgā-ā.

204 lādālarāsaya Malisahāra-ṬalapiĎām-āditaḥ kriṭva pūrva-ś(ś)mā Rādgaṅga(a)-pañapa-lura-paṇcā-guṇṭhā-ā.

205 paśchima-śrīdharaviālā-śaḍi-paryantēna [[*] ēvaṁ chaṭuḥ(ś)Ś(ś)-āvachēr(cchēr) dēna paṇcā-guṇṭhā-ā.

206 dhi-kādāsā-vāṭīkā-madhyāt purātana-dēva-Vṛā(Brā)hmāṇa-bhōgya-pushkariny-āśībhiḥ pa-

207 ūha-vāṭīkāṁ(kā) va(ba)hiṣkṛitya-āvasthița-niravakara-paṇcā-guṇṭhā-ōpēta-vāṭīkā-śaṭ-3 paraṁitaṁ(tam) | (Sālvira-viśhaya)-madhyā-

208 Vāśīrīrōm-ākhyām grāmaḥ Dārāpura-Bhūvanēśvara-dēvaṁ-v(a)nāṁ vēṣṭu-samad = (mba)ndha(dāha)-dēvaḥ-graṇu-māṇaḥ-chatushtay-ādhiika-vōtī-trayaṁ

209 va(ba)hiṣkṛitya samākṛnta-nalēna guṇḍha-vādāsā-paṇcā-māṇ-ōṭṭar-ōna-triṃśad-vāṭīkā-madhyāt-puṣṭharini-dānābhīt(ha)-purāt-

210 na-dēva-Vṛā(Brā)hmāṇa-bhōgya-maṇḍap-ādibhiḥ paṇcādaśa-māṇ-ādhika-trayōdaśa-vāṭīkā(m) kā va(ba)hiṣkṛitya śhōjāsa-vāṭīkā-pa-

211 rimitaṁ(tam) [[*] ēvaṁ grāma-panchakēna milita-vāṭīkā-śataṁ sa-jala-sthala-maṣṭya-kacch(ḥ)pa-sahitaṁ-ā-chandr-ārkkam-akari-

212 kriṭya prādāt4 jī || Atra sāsanē Pu(Pūt)timāṣṭha-gōtrāya Ri(Ri)vgōd-āntargaṭa-Sākala-śākha-āśādhyāinē sāsan-ā.

213 dhikārinē Allālanātha-sēnāpatayē vāstu-sahita-jala-kṣētra-vāṭīkā-dvayaṁ(yam) || āttānmaṇtra(mra)-lēkhaḥ-Ya-


Seventh Plate, First Side

215 Uchabhāpa]-ā-haṭṭiya-gudlika-Nā(Nā)raṇaṅgaṇa sutō-sātī-nāmā || O || Yātmapi-[a]-haṭṭiya-a-kumbhakanā-Bhrāṭiś-ārēśṭh(i)-aśthi-i-

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1 Originally read trimān-.c-
2 Originally read sheṭa.
3 Originally read ṭhaka.
4 Originally read prādā.
5 There is an ornamental flower design between the double danda.
6 Originally read ētra.
7 Originally read Purāṇī. The reading may be Puranasī.
8 Originally read "gohād.
9 Originally read Bhrāṭi; other alternative suggestions are Bṛhā and Bṛhat.
kasya naptā Mādhī-sūrēṣṭhī(āṣṭhi)-nāmā Saragadā-nāvā(va)-haṭṭīya-Gopālandānu¹-naptā Kāliyā-saṁjñakāh² || Vōrō-Gō-

pāpa-tailika-Jāguli-āḍēṣṭhīikasya ṣu(su)taḥ Pārakha-āśēṣṭhī(āṣṭhi)-nāmā || Jaṅkhēra-Jayapura-haṭṭīya-tāṃva(mu)jlika³-Pratīṣṭasaya

naptā Punakara-nāmā || Uthali-tailika-Gabhu-raṇā-i(n-ē)ṣṭa-kutumvi(mbi)ya-Kukā-mācāṇḍā-naptā⁴ Dharmmu-āṛēṣṭhikāḥ³ || Vijaya-lakshmi⁵pu-

ma-ḥaṭṭīya-svarṇapakara-Mārtanda-nāmnō naptāraḥ Maikra-nāmānaḥ Ghaṭavatiya-khaḷgagrāhi⁶-mahāpātra-Yāgānanda-sāsanē li-

khīṭasya Vāraṅga-haṭṭīya-svarṇapākāra-Visu-māhalikasya napta(put)ṛ-Utjās-āḍhyakshasya parivarttanāḥ datvā(ṭtvā) grihiṭa-U(t-ō)ṭjās-āḍhyakshā(śāna)-nāmā || ⁷ ||

221-27 (The usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas)

228 Svasti śrī-vira-Narasiṁhadāvasya dvāviṁśatā-sūkē sāasan-āḍhikāri[ya]⁷ Alālanātha-

smn̄patīnā likhitam-idaṁ(dam) || udghāṭitam tāṃvra(mva)kara-Yannāḍi-raṇa-ākhyēn-ōti

|| 0 ||

¹ Originally read "Mauana.
² Originally read "pāna-sūrēṣṭhī.
³ Originally read omjīva.<kr.
⁴ Originally read mukhā-īla.
⁵ Originally read mukkāl.lē.
⁶ Originally read Mārtanda.
⁷ Originally read "ṣūkē.
⁸ There is an ornamental floral design between the double "śūkē".
⁹ Originally read Šmaṇṇabhi. The reading may be Pama-ai"
No. 4—THREE PARAMARA INSCRIPTIONS FROM MALWA

(I Plate)

K. N. SATRI, NEW DELHI

Of the three inscriptions under review, the first is from the Mahakalévara temple at Ujjain, the second is on a stone pillar in the Bhūjaśālī (now Kamāmaulī Mosque) at Dhār while the third lies in a shrine at Un in Madhya Bharat. Their common characteristic is that each of them contains an alphabetical-cum-grammatical chart (bandha) and a verse alluding to the Varṣa-vāgā-kripā-pikā-bandha of the king Udayāditya.

A. Mahakalévara Temple Inscription

This inscription is a prakāsti, the object of which presumably was to record either the construction or the restoration of a Śiva temple at Ujjain. It survives in two fragments. One of them bears 36 closely written lines engraved on a stone slab built in a niche in the upper storey of the Mahakalévara temple. The other fragment comprises 28 lines of text and an alphabetical chart which are inscribed on a stone slab now fixed in a small chhatra in the same temple on the ground floor. Though it is difficult to be absolutely certain about their relationship, yet their mutual resemblance in style and subject matter tends to support the view that the two fragments were parts of one and the same inscription.

The first fragment is 17" broad by 21½" high and appears to be badly worn off on the surface. The writing on the second fragment, excluding the chart, measures 14" broad and 17" high and is in a far better state of preservation and quite distinct, though, here too, some letters are missing due to the peeling off of the surface. The characters are beautifully executed and belong to the so-called Kutila type of the Nāgarī script current in Northern and Western India in the 10th and 11th centuries A. D. They closely resemble those of the Khajuraho inscription of V. S. 1014 and the Udaypur prakāsti. The language is Sanskrit. Barring the alphabetical chart (bandha), the rest of the extant portion of the inscription is in verse. B is denoted by the sign for v, and the palatal sibilant by its dental counterpart in some cases.

The composer of this prakāsti was well-versed in rhetorics and possessed a fine imagination. The first fragment contains nineteen verses of which the first sixteen are devoted to the eulogy of Śiva and the description of the Arbuda mountain. This is followed by an allusion to the sacrificial offering of the sage Vasishṭha whose cow, Surabhi, was snatched away by Viśvāmitra. Herein the poet displays his mastery in the use of allegories, similes and other poetic embellishments which go to make a good kāvya. Owing to an unfortunate gap between verses 19 and 79, the text dealing with the origin of theParamāra family and the genealogy of its members appears to have been lost. This may be inferred from the occurrence of similar passages in the Paramāra prakāstis in other inscriptions, such as the Udaypur prakāsti referred to above. The genealogical account might have been brought down to Naravarman, the donor of the present record.

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1 The cursive style of the epigraphs were kindly supplied to me by the Government Epigraphist for India, Octacanund.
2 These inscriptions have been briefly noticed by Mr. K. K. Lele in the Paramāras of Dhār and Malwa, pp. 29-30; see also Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1912-13, pp. 21 and 55, Nos. 2598 and 2599 (Mahakalévara temple inscription); 1904-05, p. 8, No. 2081, and 1912-13, pp. 21 and 55, No. 2001 (Dhār inscription); 1919-20, p. 25, No. 3001 (Un inscription). Mr. Lele attributes the composition of the epigraphs to the Paramāra king Naravarman.
3 [It is likely that the two fragments form the beginning and end of two different inscriptions.—Ed.]
4 Above, Vol. 1; Plate facing p. 124.
5 Ibid., Plate facing p. 234.
The next point to be considered is whether the author of this praśasti was Udayāditya or his son Naravarman.¹ In verse 86, Udayāditya and Naravarman have been styled 'kings' (mahā-bhūjak). Had the former been the author of the praśasti, the association of his son with him would have been in the capacity not of 'king', but of Rājakumāra or Yuvrāja, in which case the latter could not have been styled 'king'.² It therefore follows that it was Naravarman who incised the praśasti during his reign to commemorate either the erection or the restoration of a temple of Śiva, and associated his father's name with his own as an expression of honour and filial love. Moreover, as another act of his deep devotion and reverence to Udayāditya, Naravarman appears to have dedicated to him the chart, described as the badge of Udayāditya to be worn by the kings and the poets alike, according to another stanza (verse 93) which also occurs in the other two inscriptions. In any case, it is quite clear that Udayāditya and Naravarman, being father and son, could not have ruled the same kingdom contemporarily. This becomes all the more incredible since Udayāditya was succeeded not by his younger son Naravarman but by his elder son Lakshmdēva as king of Mālwa. He was long dead when Naravarman ascended the throne.

Though, on account of the fragmentary condition of the epigraph the date is lost, yet it can be placed within the reign of Naravarman, i.e. in 1094-1133 A.D.³ As indicated by the concluding portion of the record (verses 79 to 84) eloquing Mahākāla, the praśasti was presumably dedicated to that deity; but it remains obscure whether it recorded the erection or merely the restoration of a temple for the god. It may, however, be observed that the Mahākāla-jyotirlinga at Avanti (Ujjain) is one of the twelve Jyotirlingas located in different parts of India, about which references are found in some of the Purāṇas and other works of Sanskrit literature.⁴ It is therefore conceivable that a temple of Mahākāla existed here and that it was renovated or extended from time to time by the Paramāra kings including Narvarmadēva.

In lines 18-19 of the text, are enumerated the letters of the Sanskrit alphabet arranged class-wise, each group being followed by a numeral indicating the number of letters in it. The figure 51 at the end shows the total number of letters in the two lines. Thus line 18 contains the 14 vowels and 4 Aygavikas, while line 19 contains the 25 Śpasas, 4 Antasthas and 4 Īshyas. The total of the two lines is thus 51. Line 20 begins with five long vowels from ā to īr, followed by the fourteen Māhāvīra-sūtras which occupy lines 21 and 22. Their total number 47, arrived at by leaving out ā consonant at the end of each sūtra and counting ha only once, is finally given at the end of line 22. The sub-totals are indicated after each group of letters. The above table is followed by three concluding stanzas (verses 85-87). Verse 86 dedicates the Vṛṣa-nāga-kripānā-kī-bandha to king Udayāditya with the injunction that the bandha was placed as a badge on the breast of the poets and the kings alike. Verse 86 says that the sword of the kings, Udayāditya and Naravarman, the votaries of Mahāśa, was ever ready for the protection of the four castes and of learning. Verse 87 states that this alphabetical Snake-Scimitar Chart of Udayāditya, [together with the string of poetic] gems, was composed by the 'friend of the talented poet' (nukesi-bandhun).⁵ This epithet presumably refers to king Naravarman himself who is supposed to have been the composer of this praśasti. Out of the three verses referred to above, the first is found in all the three inscriptions, the first and the second in the Ujjain and Dhār inscriptions, while the third is exclusive to the Ujjain praśasti.

¹ See note 4 below.—Ed.)
² [The epithet mahābhūjak may be justified even if Naravarman was the governor of a district of his father's kingdom. The importance given to Udayāditya suggests that it was composed during his rule (1050-87 A.D.) possibly about the close of it.—Ed.]
³ Cf. Śiva Purāṇa, IV (Kōṭivāna-samhitā), Adhyāya I, verses 21-23.
⁴ The expression nukesi-bandhun is susceptible of the alternative interpretation 'by the talented poet Bandhu' if allowance is made for the indulgence of the poet to call himself 'a talented poet'. [This seems to be the better of the two interpretations of the stanza. The poet Bandhu was probably a protégé of Naravarman when he was the governor of some territory during Udayāditya's rule.—Ed.]
By the side of and below lines 18-28 is engraved the bandha, mentioned as Varṣa-nāga-kripā-pīṭha in verse 85. As this expression connotes, the bandha is roughly a combination of a snake and a scimitar or dagger. The head of the snake is apparently represented by the broad barbed blade of the dagger, and its coiled body after forming a sort of hilt of the dagger shoots up making a serpentine loop representing the tail. In the broad head of the dagger and its two barbs are inserted the 14 vowels from a to au, and in the thinner part below it are ha, ya, va, ra and la. Lower still, in the rhomboid portion of the hilt, which is divided into 25 squares, are placed the 25 Sparśas from ka to ma, arranged according to their vargas. The triangular portion at the bottom contains in its right arm the 4 Cūhas and at the base the 4 Ayọṣvākas, viz. the Upaniṣadāya, Śikṣāmūliya, Aṁunādra and Vīṣṇuga. The letters in the left arm of the triangle, being badly damaged in all the three inscriptions, are mostly illegible. However, to judge from the faint survivals of some of them in the Dhār inscription, of which 6 at the bottom is somewhat clear, this arm probably contained kha, tra, jīva and om, with which the present day Devanāgarī alphabet ends.¹ The loop representing the tail of the snake is divided into 39 compartments, 21 of which are occupied by the noun terminations of the seven cases, viz., su, au, as, am, au, as, etc., and the remaining 18 by the verb inflexions of the two padas, viz., ti, tas, ani, si, thas, tha, etc., and tē, tēṭe, antī, etc. The starting point of the above two sets of terminations is the top of the loop, from where they proceed downwards in the left and the right hand arms respectively. It is noteworthy that the arrangement of alphabet given in the chart generally follows the lines of the 14 Māhēśvara-sūtras of Pāṇini’s Ashāṭhāpyāyi. Thus ha is given twice, one before the 4 Antasthas, and again at the end along with the 4 Cūhas, as is the case in the above aphorisms. The arrangement of the 25 Sparśas, if read vertically from top to bottom, though not strictly in the order of the sūtras, is approximately the same so far as their respective śāṇa and pratyāna are concerned.

The above bandha, containing as it does, the 14 Māhēśvara-sūtras and the 39 sup and tin terminations, sets forth in a nutshell the basic elements and the first essentials of Sanskrit grammar which is entirely based on them. Again, as a sound knowledge of the Śabda-sāstra, which is synonymous with Vyākaraṇa, is indispensable for the proper understanding of the Artha-sāstra, the chart obviously stands for the entire Sanskrit literature and the learning it represents. According to a Puranic legend, Mahēśvara is the originator of all literature, philosophy, etc., and he, in the beginning of the creation, propounded to the four saints, Sanaka, Sanandana, etc., the fourteen sūtras, which are the germ of all knowledge and Śabda-brahma, and are therefore known as Māhēśvara sūtras. The word varṣa in its duplicate sense applying to the poets was thus obviously used by the author in its wider significance of ‘learning’.

TEXT¹

[Metres: verses 79 to 84 Śāḍālaukiśāṇa; verses 85 to 87 Anuṣṭubh.]

1 - - —देसुरुशालितिर्यांस्यं विषदैतिकं ज्योतिष्ठेण —
2 मनादिविविधनिष्ठ दध्यान्मुनरतिवं — नासायनरतिवं दध्[.]²
3 कृति पद्यं पश्चिमं यद्विगतस्तुयायुणिरादिविण्यन् —
4 वं रूपं सतो [शास्त्रीयम्]²३म० नित्यं व्यापकमेकमुज्वलवं ज्योतिः —

¹ I may also suggest that this arm of the triangle might have contained the 4 Yamas. It is worth noting that the total number of letters of the Sanskrit alphabet given in the chart is 51, whereas, according to Pāṇini, it is 63 or 64. The latter includes the 21 vowels, 25 Sparśas, 4 Antasthas, 4 Cūhas, 4 Yamas, 4 Ayōṣvākas and the Āśāṭhāpyāyi and pīta śī-śātra, the last of them being but optional.

² From impressions. [On account of the unsatisfactory nature of the impressions of the first fragment, its text is not quoted here.—Ed.]

³ The uṇākaraṇas, being worn out here, are restored conjecturally.
5 व्योगोनीलितवनितेदेणापुढा- पयथ(यत्न) नित्य पातजला- सासैः[व्यः]मकरस्(म) ।
6 कुसुमवर्गविचित्वत चितविच तदायकुन्नहि(थ)वाय परमो रूपं सतः शाम्भवं ।
7 श्रीरत्नचक्र अदायति न व्र(व)आणुवहरा महाशीति- प्युष्यति नावुणोति
8 श्रीगी(पी) न चाकामति । योगाम्यसवसा(श)दिवमुक्तबिषयाः(य)स्य ज्ञानदानविषय-
9 स्तनः करणां(ण) हुवि स्त्रुतु तज्यस्यति- सताः शाम्भवम् ॥८१॥ बोधायति-
10 श्रीघरावतीयाः(य)
11 सतात्मायासम्बुद्धुच(चूः)तीतां मनसो निरोध जवितो योगः स योगीसव-
12 रेः । व्रिस्थः(स्वतः) साक्षः(स्त)पितेचिटे परिधिते प्रयते नते संतुते स्मृते
13 कुराजनस व्र(व)आभूमय व गः ॥८२॥ श्रीदाकुवलितोरससत्तुवुकः*पिशको-}
14 म्य(य)रामसवरां कलियः कार्यिवरिवराकारः क्षणः। प्रत्यः । विणोविलिसत्तोरससत्त
15 रामुच(चूः)हड़रकेक वसयः(पाः) काराक्रमरूमितिरससतः महाकालोत्तकां सताम् ॥८३॥
16 मुखः
17 ते भुवनानि सताः सुसुभा साम्मोतिनिविट्याते कल्पतिपि न नव्यते न
18 कुर्णितामुखः
19 रण उस्तः । व्याकुर्णःरंगान्यमस्यकम्मिनिलेष्टिपिः न भास्ते ततः स्वात्मलंकरः
20 तु चरः भामः अझयः(य) सासैः(शा)स्यवम् ॥८४॥
21 भो भो इह उ कृ ठ लू लू ष ऐ ऐ भो भो १४ :
22 क क ख ग घ च ५ व ड ज क य त थ ध ध न ५
23 प फ ब ब म म ३ य र ल ब ५
24 स (श) अ ज स ५
25 भो भो इह उ कृ ठ लू लू ष ऐ ऐ भो भो क(क) १०
26 ऐ भो क(क) ऐ ऐ च(च) य ह व र त ल न (ण) का
27 म (ण) न स (म) स भ (गः) घ ठ ध (ण) ज ध (व) ग ध ध श (ण) २० । ३४ कक्ष फ क ठ व त द ज (क)
28 क प यु र व श स र(र) १३ हल(क) १३ । ४७ ॥
29 उदयादिविदेशस्य वर्णानामक्षणाकः
30 कविनां च नुवाणां च वेदो वक्ष्यति रोपितः ॥८५॥
31 एकेपुपुसुद्यादिविदेशस्यमः
32 [महेश्वरबन्धुविश्वासचिवत्या निदेशतिथिपरिणतिकः(दिकः)] ॥ [८६॥]
33 [उदयादिदिविदेशस्यसुधासिद्धान्तकाः]
34 [पुष्पकुमारमप्रज्ञेयी सुद्धा सुद्धिविशवब्रह्मसुना ॥८७॥]
THREE PARAMARA INSCRIPTIONS FROM MALWA

E. Dhār Inscription

This consists of two parts which are engraved on two separate pillars in the Bhōjaśālā (now Kamalnath Temple) at Dhār. Though lying apart from each other, they are allied inasmuch as they deal with the same subject of grammatical terminology. Judging from the two opening verses in Part I, which are identical with verses 85 and 86 of the Ujjain påśātī edited above, this inscription can be attributed to Nāravarman. The alphabetical chart in Part II is identical with its counterparts in the Ujjain and Un inscriptions.

The inscription in Part I measures 29" high and 15" broad and, in addition to the two identical verses referred to above, contains a new chart (bandha) exhibiting 180 verbal terminations (tiś-viśhaktis) of the ten lakāras together with 16 dhātu-pratypyas. The bandha consists of the top, the middle and the bottom portions. In the top section, the inscription is very indistinct except for the initial word atā, but it has been conjecturally restored as atā tiś-viśhakti-bandhaḥ. The middle section is a square standing vertically on one of its angles and is divided into 180 compartments by drawing parallel lines one way and seventeen the other way across. The space between each pair of parallel lines is alternately closed by means of projecting loops at either end along the four sides of the square, turning the sets of parallel lines into two running spirals from end to end. Inset in the five loops and the five intervening open spaces between them, in the upper left hand arm of the square, are, respectively, the initial letters of the terms denoting the different senses in which the ten lakāras are used. Thus in their serial order the letters va, sa, bi(vi), aya, a, po, eva(eva), ā, bha and kri respectively stand for vartamāna, sambhāvana, vidhi, hāyastana-ātita, ātita-sāmānya, pārśaḥ, svastana-bhavishyaḥ, ābīs, bhavishyaḥ and kriyātīkroma, indicating thereby the ten lakāras, viz., lāt, viḍī-liś, lōt, làh, lās, līf, līf, dār-liś, līf and līn. It must be noted that the order of the lakāras given here is more in accordance with the Chāndra than with the Pyājinya school of grammarians. In the former, they are in the order of lāt, viḍī-liś, lōt, làh, līf, dār-liś, līf, līf, līn and lās, while in the latter the order is lāt, līf, līf, līf, līf, lōt, viḍī-liś, dār-liś, làh, lās and līn.8 Arranged under each lakāra are 18 verbal terminations half of which are Parasmaiḍaḥi and half Aśmāddahā, denoted by the abbreviations Uṣásamaṇi and Aśmāṇaḥ at the beginning of each division outside the lower left hand side of the square. Each padas are subdivided into three parts indicated by the akhasaḥ pr, sa and u, meaning respectively the Prathama, Madhyama and Utama Prasthas (i.e. the third, second and first persons), and the three terminations of each person are continuously numbered by putting the figures 1, 2 and 3 in the loops and the open spaces along this side of the square. In the nine loops and the nine intervening open spaces along the opposite side of the square, is repeated the figure 10 eighteen times, recording the total number of terminations in the row opposite it. Against every third line stands the figure 30 showing the total number of the three rows, against every ninth line is the bigger total 90, and finally the figure 130 at the end of the vertical row of numerals indicates the grand total number of terminations in the whole square.

The last section is triangular with looped corners and shows along its three arms enclosed by circlets the dhātu-pratypyas, the number of which is stated inside the triangle to be 16. It is, however, difficult to find the actual number of all the pratypyas to correspond with the given figure. Their actual number including those enclosed in the circles and one inside the triangle comes to 19. But as the right hand loop of the triangle, which is now missing, must also have contained

1[This restoration is doubtful, as the reading appears to be atā . . . . . . . dhātuḥ.—Ed.]
8 In the Chāndra Pyājinya, the lakāras are arranged according to their Śriśrībhūtaka and Aśkáśikā divisions. Thus the first four lakāras, viz., lāt, viḍī-liś, lōt and lāh, belong to the former division, and the remaining six to the latter. In the Piṣṭāliya system they are arranged according to their śīt and śīt distinctions. The four lakāras given in the chart are in the same order as in the Ś Śāskeśeśeśeśvīkī, while, among the Aśkāśikā lakāras, the sequence is slightly confused; but that does not affect the two main divisions referred to above.
at least three more, the total number of all the pratyayas would approximate to 23. I, however, think that what the author meant by the term pratyaya are the tin-pratyayas comprising the ten conjunctional characteristics (vikaraṇas) and the twelve sanādi-pratyayas.¹ These, leaving out their duplicates, are given along the three arms of the triangle. In the seven circles along the base of the triangle are enclosed a, yam, na, nu, u, an, and ay, the vikaraṇas of dhātu respectively belonging to the Bhūdā, Divād, Sudā, Rudhād, Taniā, Kryād, and Churād conjunctions. The Adād, Jhātyād, and Tūdād are not included as the vikaraṇas of the former two are dropped in toto and that of the third is identical with that of the Bhūdā. On the two arms of the triangle are san, ya, ay, iyā, kāma, and śya, the characteristics of the sanādyanta verbs. The second of them (ya) stands for kyach, kyān, kyash, yān, and yāk, which, when shrorn of superfluous parts, are reduced to ya. The third (ay) stands for the simplified form of yam and anāk. Voip is evidently not taken into account as it is totally dropped after a verb. Thus of the twelve or ten sanādi-pratyayas only six are included in the chart. There are three more pratyayas, viz. ich, yam, and in. The first is enclosed in the loop at the left hand corner while the other two are inside the triangle. I am unable to find out their nature and function in relation to verbs; but, if they are added to the 13 pratyayas referred to above, the total number 16 is completed. Of the three circles round the loop, the middle one is inscribed with the word kriḍanta or kriḍatha and probably refers to the two kri-pratyayas in the adjoining circles, which are an and enu. Both, being kri-pratyayas, were probably not included in the total, and, for the same reason, those in the right hand loop, which is now missing, were also not taken into account.

C. Un Inscription

This inscription is in three parts. Part I comprising five pieces contains the Varṣa-nāga-kriḍānīkā-bāvarāṇa which is identical with that found in the other two inscriptions already dealt with. This is inscribed on the wall to the proper left of a shrine door at Un. Part II is engraved on a wall of the Chaubara Dera No. 1, facing south, and contains in five lines the letters of the Sanskrit alphabet. Part III, whose exact position in the temple is not given, bears the stanza noticed previously in connection with inscription A (verse 85).

The stone slab bearing this inscription appears to be of coarse grain with the surface extremely corroded, rendering the letters very faint and blurred. In style the characters are similar to those on the other two allied inscriptions, but in this case they are larger, averaging about an inch in size. Consequently, the chart covers a larger space measuring about 40" high by 26" broad. The pentagonal top of the dagger and the upper part of the serpentine loop are extremely blurred and the portions of the alphabet and the grammatical terminology inscribed therein are lost. But the same can be restored with certainty from the identical chart on the other two inscriptions. Close to the left hand barb of the blade is a rough figure of a fish or conch shell (śaśāka), which is a peculiar feature of this inscription.

¹ According to the Paniniya system, the sanādi-pratyayas are twelve as given below:

san-kyach-kāmyach-kyan-kāmyāydh-achāy-kri-it-yenau (lathā) /
yasya iyam ya chedī dveśādami san-śravah ||

According to the Chandra system, they are known as yanādi and are ten as follows:

yan-sahāsya iyam chedī yasya-nikāvadikā /
ākāyā kriśmatē yāvṣāja jīhā daśa yā-sūryah ||

² It is difficult to say if the first two pratyayas (ich and yam) are the same as mentioned in Panini's aphorisms ciṭhich and kāmyāydh evadhāntāt. The third (in) could be nīn; but as it is a kri-pratyaya it would be difficult to include it among the tin-pratyayas.
No. 5—SENAKAPAT INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF SIVAGUPTA BALARJUNA

(1 Plate)

M. G. Dikshit, Saugor, and D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

The stone bearing the inscription under publication was found in the house of a Brāhmaṇa resident of Sēnakapāṭ, a village in the forest area on the right bank of the Mahānadi, about two miles to the south of Sirpur (ancient Srīpura, capital of Dakshiṇa-Kōśala) in the Raipur District of Madhya Pradesh. The inscribed stone is reported to have been brought from the ruins in the western part of the village, which contains two big Śiva-lingas, each about 2½ feet in height, apparently marking the sites of two temples. To which one of these temples the inscription originally belonged cannot be determined. The stone is now preserved in the Museum attached to the Saugor University.

The inscription is incised on a large well-dressed slab of Vindhyān sandstone, rectangular in shape and reddish buff in colour. It is about 30 inches in length, 18 inches in height and 3 inches in thickness. The slab is broken into two unequal sections which, however, dovetail into each other quite well. A letter or two which are damaged in most of the lines of writing can be fairly satisfactorily made out in almost all cases. Only a few such akṣaras have to be restored with the help of the context. On the whole, the preservation of the record is not unsatisfactory. The inscription consists of 23 lines of writing which is divided into two sections. The first of these sections runs from the beginning to line 17 and the second from line 18 to the end (line 23).

The characters belong to the Northern Alphabet of the seventh or eighth century A. D. and closely resemble those of other contemporary stone inscriptions discovered in the neighbourhood, particularly the inscriptions1 of the time of the king during whose reign the present epigraph was also engraved. The record employs the initial vowels a (lines 7, 10, 11, 21), ā (lines 10, 18, 20, 21), i (lines 2, 6, 8, 9, 12, 15), u (lines 1, 23) and ṛ (line 23). In some cases, there is little difference between the signs of medial u and subscript n (cf. sūnu and sūnati in line 23). The medial sign of ṛ is differently made sometimes as a śīrṭ-māṭrī, but sometimes as a prakśha-māṭra (cf. udgelom in line 1, ānvīnī in line 2, etc.). The letter n has two forms (cf. samānāna and niṣsānāna in line 12), one of which resembles in some cases a form of r (cf. ripu in lines 2-3, bhara-nirbhara in line 11) and in a few cases also of t (cf. pratīṣṭita in line 11, nirṛti-dhanarr in line 21). The letter b has been indicated by the sign of v. The conjunct ry exhibits both its earlier and later forms (cf. ṛ-gāsya in line 12 and ṛgāsya in line 18). For the final form of some consonants, cf. samyuk in line 16 and mān in line 23. The first and second halves of stanzas are marked respectively by a single and double danda, of which the former as well as the left side member of the latter has a small projection in the middle towards the left.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of the introductory māṅgala, the whole record is written in verse. There are altogether 30 stanzas in various metres. As regards orthography, it may be noted that final m at the end of the second and fourth feet of verses has invariably been changed to auśvāra. Before ś, the auśvāra has been changed to u (cf. śūdrā in line 3, etc.). The inscription bears no date. But the king, during whose

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(31)
reign it was incised, seems to have ruled about the first half of the seventh century, although there is difference of opinion among scholars on this point.  

The object of the inscription is to eulogise the construction of a Śiva temple and its dedication in favour of a Śaiva ascetic together with some plots of land. It begins with the Śiddham symbol followed by the manīga : namaḥ Śivāya. Verse 1 constitutes a manīga in praise of the god Bhava (Śiva) and verse 2 of his consort the goddess Pārvatī. The next stanza (verse 3) introduces the reigning monarch Śīvagupta as a member of Śītrāntra-vaṃśa (i.e. the lunar dynasty) and a devotee of the god Śiva. This king, sometimes called Mahā-Śīvagupta, belonged to the royal family, usually called the Pāṇḍu-vaṃśa of South Kosalā, and is well-known from several inscriptions of his time. Verse 4 mentions the king by his second name Bālārjuna and represents him as an incarnation of Vishṇu. It is interesting to note that the Śaiva notion of Vishṇu’s subservience to Śiva has been cleverly put forward in this stanza. In this connection we have further to note that Śīvagupta Bālārjuna enjoyed the epithet paramamāhātava and had the Śāivite emblem of the bull on his seal while the seal of his ancestor (grandfather’s brother) Śīvara (Śiva) was a paramamāhātava, bore the Vaishṇava emblem of Gauruḍa.  

Verses 5-12 introduce the person, the description of some of whose pious activities is the object of the record. Verse 5 speaks of a Brāhmaṇa named Śīvaraṇa who enjoyed the status of a Rājāṇ and seems to have been the governor of a tract called Nayṣāk-vaṣṭya. Dēvarakṣita, son of the said Śīvaraṇa, is mentioned in verse 6 which further says that the former was a trusted friend of king Nannarāja. This king appears to be none other than Śīvagupta Bālārjuna’s great-grandfather bearing that name. The following stanza (verse 7) states how Dēvarakṣita obtained, apparently from king Nannarāja, the governorship of the Vindhyān territory (Vindhyā-dūr-dhāvatva) as far as the banks of the river Varadā (Varadā-taṭa-pariha) and how he became well-known as Yaśābhāṇḍa ūra (literally, ‘a store-house of fame’). The description of Dēvarakṣita is continued in verse 8 which says how no change for the worse was noticeable in him even when he had received, from the same ‘king of kings’ named Nannarāja, a number of vaṣṭya or districts either as a fief or for governing them. Verse 9 introduces Dēvarakṣita’s son Durgarākṣita who is the hero of the eulogy contained in the inscription under study. The following two stanzas (verses 10-11) state that Durgarākṣita was the bee at the feet, i.e. a servant, of king Bālārjuna and that he was a great devotee of Paramātma or Śambhu, i.e. the god Śiva. Verse 12 recounts the good qualities of Durgarākṣita, his munificence in particular. Verse 13 states how he constructed a temple of Śambhu (Śiva), while the next stanza (verse 14) refers to a row of flags on wooden posts probably set up around it. According to verse 15, two hala measures of black-soil land in the village called Gudāaśāraṇa were granted in favour of the god Madanaṛāti (Śiva) by means of a charter. This plot of land seems to be mentioned as the hala-pājaka of the temple in verse 26 below. The exact area of a hala of land is difficult to determine; but it seems to have originally indicated an area that can be cultivated by a single plough annually. The temple mentioned here apparently stood at modern Sēnakappāṭ. The following three stanzas (verses 16-18) introduce a Śaiva ascetic to whom said temple was made 

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2 New History of the Indian People, op. cit., p. 70.  
3 The Classical Age (The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. III), pp. 220-22.  
4 There was another Nannarāja who was a feudatory and son-in-law of the Pāṇḍu-vaṃśa king Śīvara, son of Nannā (above, Vol. VII, pp. 104 ff.). But Dēvarakṣita’s overlord must have been a much bigger ruler. After the present article was sent to the press, we have heard of the discovery of a grant of Śīvara’s son Nannarāja II who, however, may have ruled for a short period and may not have been as powerful a ruler as his grandfather Nannarāja I. A small red-stone seal of one Nannarāja was discovered at Surpur in February 1958; but his identity is uncertain.
over by Durgarakshita. Verse 16 speaks of the ascetic Sadyāḥśivāchārya, hailing from the penance-grove entitled Āmardaka. Another ascetic named Sadāśivāchārya, who was probably the spiritual successor of Sadyāḥśivāchārya, is mentioned in verse 17 and his description continues in the following stanza (verse 18). Verse 19 states that Durgarakshita made over the Śiva temple built by him in favour of Sadāśivāchārya and his spiritual successors for enjoying and protecting it as long as the moon would endure. It is stated in verse 20 that the Śaiva ascetic also received the grant of four hala measures of black-soil land in a village called Kōḍāṇḍaka. According to the next two stanzas (verse 21-22), two other plots of black-soil land each measuring two halas were similarly granted in his favour respectively in the village of Viyānpaka and in a locality called Lēśa in Śrīparvāṅkārāma.

The second part of the inscription begins with verse 22 in line 18. This stanza and the following one (verse 23) say that the Śaiva ascetics had to arrange for a sacrificial ceremony (yāga) as well as for the initiation of people into the Śaiva faith (dikṣā) which is capable of securing spiritual emancipation, the exposition of the Śaiva doctrine (saṃyāsya vyākhyā) and the running of a free feeding establishment (aṇṇasya saṭṭam) every year during the full-moon day of the months of Aśāṭha, Kārttika, and Māgha. Verse 24 states that the ascetics would have to stay at the place (i.e. in the temple) and that they should not lend money for the sake of interest (vṛtiyakāryam-aśrāyam-asṛjjadbhāt). The next two stanzas (verses 25-26) record the boundary of the tala-pājaka, possibly land attached to a temple for its maintenance at the time of its consecration. Tala-pājaka seems to be the same as tala-vājaka of some records1 and tala-vṛtti of Kannada inscriptions.2 To the north of the tala-pājaka lay a pit and to its south the Śivas-mudra, probably a tank. The eastern and western boundaries were formed by two roads. Verse 27 says that intelligent people should note the insecurity of life and protect the good work done by others, while the next stanza (verse 28) contains the prayer that the temple of Bhava (Śiva) may last till the end of creation.

The last two stanzas (verses 29-30) of the inscription give the names of the author of the eulogy and the engraver of the record. The author of the prāśasti was Sumaṅgala, who was the son of Tārada and apparently a servant or friend of Durgarakshita, while the engraver of the inscription was Vāsugaṇa, son of the sūradhīr (i.e. sūradhāra) Rishiṇaṇa. The poet Sumaṅgala is known to have been the author of some other inscriptions of the time of Śivagupta Bāḷārjuna.3 Rishiṇaṇa is also known from another inscription.4

There are two points of considerable importance in the inscription under study. The first of these is that, while the Brāhmaṇa Dēvarakshita is represented as a contemporary of the Pāṇḍavaṃśi king Nannarāja, the former’s son Durgarakshita is stated to have been a servant of the latter’s great-grandson Śivagupta Bāḷārjuna. Nannarāja’s son was Chandragupta and grandson Harshagupta was the father of Śivagupta Bāḷārjuna. It therefore seems that the reign of no less than four generations of the above Pāṇḍavaṃśi kings roughly corresponded to the two generations of their subordinates. Śivagupta Bāḷārjuna issued his Lōdhia plates in the 57th year of his reign.5 He therefore had a very long reign and must have ascended the throne at a quite young age. These facts suggest that the Pāṇḍavaṃśi rulers who flourished between Nannarāja and Śivagupta Bāḷārjuna, viz. (1) Tīvara and (2) Chandragupta, sons of Nannarāja, and (3) Harshagupta, son of Chandragupta, had very short reigns. The latest known date of Tīvara is his

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3 Hiralal’s List, 2nd edition, p. 98; cf. also p. 99. The recently discovered Śirpur inscription of the time of Śivagupta Bāḷārjuna was also composed by Sumaṅgala.
4 Hiralal, loc. cit.
5 Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 319 ff.
ninth regnal year; but very little is known about Chandra Gupta and Harsha Gupta, none of whose records has so far been discovered. Whether they actually ascended the Pāṇḍuvarā ṣhī throne and ruled for very short periods or ruled parts of South Kosalā as viceroys of Tīrāṇa is not definitely known. The contemporaneity of Nannarāja and Dēvarakadha as well as of the former’s great-grandson and the latter’s son suggests that Śīva Gupta Bālārjuna ascended the throne shortly, if not immediately, after Tīrāṇa’s death.

Another interesting point is that Dēvarakadha, a subordinate of the Pāṇḍuvarā ṣhī king Nannarāja of South Kosalā, is stated to have been ruling over the Vindhyā region as far as the banks of the Varadhā, i.e. the modern Wardha which is a tributary of the Godavari. This seems to support the suggestion; based on the evidence of the Bhāndaka inscription, that Nannarāja’s dominions included the area about the Chanda District of Madhya Pradesh. An inscription from Bhāndaka situated on the bank of the Wardha in the Chanda District describes Nannarāja as having ‘conquered the earth’ and his younger brother Bhavādeva, also called Raṇakāśīvin and Chintādurga, who was probably one of Nanna’s military governors in the Chanda region, as having restored a derelict Buddhist temple originally built by Sūryāghoṣha, an ancient king of that area.

Prof. V. V. Mirashi, however, believed that the Chanda District was rather far removed from the dominions of the Pāṇḍuvarā ṣhī of South Kosalā in the Chhattisgarh area and tried to prove that the Bhāndaka inscription, now in the Nagpur Museum, did not originally belong to that place but came from Arang near Sirpur. In support of this view, Mirashi cited the evidence of a certain Vinayakrao Aurangabadkar, who was an employee of Jenkins, Resident of Nagpur, and is reported to have seen an inscription of Bhavādeva affixed to a temple at Arang. Unfortunately, even if an inscription of the Pāṇḍuvarā ṣhī existed at Arang, its identification with the Bhāndaka epigraph cannot be established. It is doubtful if any importance can at all be attached to the alleged testimony of Aurangabadkar about the Arang inscription especially when the evidence of Cunningham and Stevenson seems to point to Bhāndaka as the provenance of the record. The evidence of the present record showing that Nannarāja’s dominions included certain areas on the banks of the Varadhā now renders Mirashi’s speculation absolutely unnecessary.

The inscription mentions several geographical names. The temple, to which the inscription refers and to which it must have been fixed, was built at the present village of Sēnakapāṭ, and the pieces of land, granted in favour of the temple as well as to the Śaiva ascetics to whom it was made over, appear to have lain not far away from the temple. The plots of gift land were situated each in the villages of Gudaśārkara, Kōḍāsimā, Vijayāka and Lāṭa in Śirparpikā. In the neighbourhood of Sirpur there are several villages called Sāṅkra, a name having some resemblance to Gudaśārkara of our inscription. But while Gudaśārkara seems to have been situated on or near the site of modern Sēnakapāṭ, the nearest village called Sāṅkra lies about 13 miles due west of Sirpur. About 2 miles further to the south-west there is a village called Kōnika which may be the same as Kōḍāsimā mentioned in our record. The Nāvyāsa viśāha, Vindhya and Varadhā are mentioned in the prasasti portion. We are not in a position to locate Nāvyāsa although it may have been an area within or near about South Kosalā. Whether Nāvyāsa has anything to do with Śanskrita vandhū in the sense of an administrative unit consisting of 89 villages can hardly be determined. Another geographical name in this part is the penance-grove called Āmaradaka, where the Śaiva ascetic Sādyāśāvāchārya originally resided. Āmaradaka, which is the name of Kāla-Bhairava, a form of Śiva, was probably derived from the locality where the Bhairava...

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1 Ibid., Vol. VII, pp. 104 ff.
2 After the recent discovery of a grant of Tīrāṇa’s son Nannarāja II, it is difficult to be definite on this point as his identification with Nannarāja mentioned in the present record cannot be ruled out.
3 Cf. The Classical Age (The History and Culture of the Indian People, III), p. 221.
was worshipped. A sect of Śaiva ascetics, associated with the same locality, is known from the Hadda (Saurashtra) plates\(^1\) of Śaka 836. Apparently the same place is mentioned as Āmardaka-tirtha in the Rajorgarh (Aiwar District, Rajasthan) inscription\(^2\) of V. S. 1016. The name of a Śaiva ascetic is given as Āmardakatirthanātha in a record\(^3\) from Ranod (old Gwalior State, Madhya Bharat). It is not possible to determine the exact place of Āmardaka in the present state of insufficient information.

**TEXT**

[Metres: verses 1, 3-4, 6, 9-11, 13, 19, 24, 29 Vasantatilakā; verse 2 Śrēṅgāharā; verses 5, 8, 12 Śrūtiśāvikṛṣṭa; verses 7, 18, 21, 27-28, 30 Āryā: verse 14 Mālīni; verses 15-17, 20 22-23, 25-26 Anuṣṭubh.]

1 Siddham\(^4\) namaḥ Śivāya || Udveḷḷan-ātibhara-nirbhara-hasta-ṣhānd-ṣaṇḍ-ābhighāta-
rabhas-ōṭpala(taj)-adri-jālaḥ | yaḥ kandukair-iva kṛit-āṭula-[t]-āla-kēlir-ṇṛrittē va(ба).-
bhau sa bhavaḥubhavatād-bhavō vah || [\(^1\)] Nirṛdgaḍhī-puṣya-attra nē-

rūkṣiḥtena tvayā-śyān(yam) | kīṁ bhōḥ Śambhō raṇ-āṃbhiṇi[di]ṃ-adhī[sa]yīṣṭā tyā-
jjayatē jayatē nō Śyāg-iti prōktīkāri ri-

3 puraśaṃsi yāyā śaśvatē-śārīrvaṇaḥ vah || [\(^2\)] Śitāśū-vaiś∩-vimal-śāṃvā(ṃbajra-pūrṇa-
chandraś-candr-āṇā(ṃd-āṇā)-nimma-la-yaśaḥ-praṭa-ṭṭahāsah | ṛaj-āṣṭya-u[p]-
ṛjitā-samurjīṭa-bhakti-bhāra-ḥrav-ātībhūvita Śivā | Śivagupta-nā-

4 mā || [\(^3\)] Yasya praṭāpa-namit-unnata-vira-chaktra-chaktra-prahara-hata-vairi-chamū-cha-
yasya | Śrī-saṅgā-saṅgalad-uru-pramadaśa Vaiṣṇō[Vvā(r[Bb[ā]j)]jumtvam-
aiś-unnati-yuktam-uktam(ktam) || [\(^4\)] [Na]vyā[śi]-vishay-ōpabhōga-garīṁ raṇjā
dvija.

5 nm-āgraṇtr-ṃannām śrī-Śivarakṣitaḥ kṣhitiṭal-ūdbhāsi Vivasvān-āthbūta(bhūt) | padm-
ōḍhāsana-nir-bhūrat-ūcchir-ṛdōsh-ōjhitabh vṛttavādā sarvākā-pa-r-ōpākā-
karana-vyaṣyābhavad-virghaḥ || [\(^5\)] Taṃmād-ābhūd-bhuvana-mandala-maṇḍana-ṣrī[trīḥ]

6 śrī-Devāraṅkṣitaḥ iti prākṣitā prathītvaidya(vyām) | śrī-Nannarāja iti gita-tanōr-ṇṛripaya
viśvāsa-bhūmi-śrī vṛti ṛday-ōpamānāḥ || [\(^6\)] Yō Vindhyābhūr-ōdṛ(h)ātvasa
Vaiṣṇava[ṛ]-ṭaṇa-parihitam(ṭaṇi) cha samprāpya | samprāptavān-ḥa Yaśōbhādaṅgār-
ākhyāya khyā-

7 tīṁ(tim) || [\(^7\)] Asmaṇd-eva śāśākā śubhra-yasasah śrī-Nannarāj-ākhyayaḥ vikhyātān-nara-
nātha-nātha-tiṅkād-bhūri-prasad-ōdayaḥ | samprāpyair-viśhayaśaḥ-cha yasya vikṛ-
tir-ṇn-āl-py-ahabh-ālkapā kamparam [hi sampriddhi[bi]r[ṛ]-enna tu mah-udāry-
ātidihair-

8 [ra-aj]makāh || [\(^8\)] Yasya prāṣṭraya-vikasad-guṇa-ratna-ṛaj-saṃrājít-āvikālā-śloka-viśē-
kitsaya | putṛ-ōttamoḥ-stya-amala-śila-dhan-ādiūka-ṇārī śrī-Durgāraṅkṣita[ta] iti prath
ahabhānāh || [\(^9\)] Vā[bb][ā]jumṛjuna-khyāya-guṇa-mukhya-narādhiṣa-ra-saṁrā-

9 jad-anhri- 가운데[아래] patad-pi | kahēpya eva ya ih-ōjhitā-krishna-pakṣah pa-
Paramāvāsasā yūpān nirāpyayati vēsamānī [lo[sa]hābhūyaḥ[bhyam]] | dhyān-āṭma-
kā[ṭa]-cha

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\(^1\) *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 190.
\(^3\) Ibid., Vol. I, p. 352.
\(^4\) From impressions.
\(^5\) Expressed by symbol.
\(^6\) Read Śītāṃśu-tathā.
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10 nayanaar-atinśchala-ma-yō varyō vilōkaya-ī Śambhuma-yāmīn trīlōkīn (kīm) || [11*] Arthi-
bhőv-pa kṛjājānvilavā [dī]vīkasat-priti-pradattair-dhānair-dhāna [nyān] añtāyaṇa [yā]-
[mā]jhā māhātā dharmam-saya vṛddhiḥ kṛitā | ātmīya-ar-atinśchala-ar-virāla-ājī-

11 guyāmāni-āggupar-akshiptair-apri sarvattā pravīṣcitar-śūripītā mādīnī || [12*] [T]jun-
āsitāda-śyatanam-ūtya-bhakti-pūra-sampūraṇ-ā[ti]bharā-nirbhara-bhāva-bhājā | anta-
gṛag-āṅtā-Mahēsvara-rūpa-ra-

12 myam-ātn-āpmānām-sāsamānām-akāri Śambhōh || [13*] Praohala-am-anpālāh sarva-
mā-amat-samānāḥ subham-aśubha-hīkṣaṁ niṣclā[naṁ] tat-kuruddhvan[dhavam]
| iti gāditam-iv-ōchchhir-yaśasā samy-ōpasōbhā

13 bhavati pava-nā-tiṅdōla-lōla dhvaj-āli || [14*] Gudāsarkara-grāmā [sā]sainān-ōpāpa-
[diṭā] | dvi-hali Madanārāṭēr-attra kṛi[ṇa]-stal-āntvita || [15*] Āśīt-Sadyaśivācchāryāh
ērmān-varyā

14 s-tapōvatāṁ (tām) | ārmad-Amittera-khyā-yā-tapōvana-vinitagāta || [16*] Śrīmān-
śādāśivāḥ[āryaṁ] tasyā-śāstī stutihāḥ-bhūvi | bhṛtaṁ prāśishya-tilakṣa-tilakṣaṁ ādama-
sādāśīrṇaṁ (gām) || [17*] Yō ravir-anyō mā-

15 nyō rājati jatagatīlaṁ-sta-sanātāpaḥ || dōh-ōday[ā]=p-[a]-amandaṁ bhīdānāṁ a[ś]hāna-timī-
ram-ālaṁ [laṁ] || [18*] [Ta]ṣyai[maa]i ted-āyatanam-arppitaṁ ādārēṇa Śrī-Durgag-
raśkita ita prathithennā tōna | śīṣya-praśishya-pa-

16 ripṭi-vaśēna bhōtikumā-chandra-kālaṁ-anupālayitun cha saṃyak || [19*] Taṣya krishna-
tal-ōpeṭhaḥ śāśānena prakalpatan tam | Kōdāsim-aśkhyāyā khyāte grāmē dvi-hali-
dvayānaṇ (yam) || [20*] Grām Śīvyāna-

17 k-ākhyā[ś] dvi[ha]li tathā sa-kṛishṇa-talā || śāsana-viḍhiniv vihiṭā Lāṭe Śrīparṇīkā-
gṛma || [21*]

18 śāhōhēo Kārttikey māsa Māghē bhīh prativatsaraṇaṃ (ram) | Paunṛmāsāyaṁ viḍhātvyō
viḍhir-yāgasya yatnataḥ || [22*] Nirvvaṇa-[da]keśa-dikshāyā vyākhyāya saṃyaya
cha | sattam-attra

19 viḍhāniyam-amāsaya cha tapōdhana-hi || [23*] Vṛiddhyartham-artham-arjadhūhi-prāṣṭā-
rūṣair-ōdāśe-kūsa-lāhi kūsa-lāhi subbhōhu | sthyān tapasvibhir-ha prasām-āpti-
dipti-ātmabhūrguru-day-ārdrā-

20 manō-manaṃjā[ṇa]ḥ || [24*] Ā[čchala]rūvanā-strayīnī garttānam-uttarāśā-samāśritān īnām | yāvaṃ-Chhiva-samudraṇa cha dakhiaśayānā diśi striśrañ (ram) || [25*] Pūrvva-pa-
ścīma-[d]gībahā-śāmgāvāyāvādhiḥ | taipūtakā ity-eśa

vu(bu)[d]dhi-dhanāl | aśubha-echhechhe-chhushhah-amrtyukānān pālyon cha krtam | apara−
a[ś]aya || [27*] Āsama-amāsma-samāra[ṇa]-[ra]jadhūrg-mbhdhi-pūra-pari-

22 pūrṇah[ṇa]m[ṛṇam] | na bhavati yāvad-bhuvanan Bhava-bhuvanaiḥ tāvad-īdam-astān-
(stām) || [28*] Śrī-Durgag-rakṣita-gur-īhāyahta-taś[ś]a[c]hāya-śanta[ś]-[a]pahāna-pūra-papāritva-
chitta-vṛ[ī](t[ī])ḥ | Śrī-Tārādatta-tanāyaḥ śrta-viśruta-[śrī] śrīmān-[s]u[m]āṅga-

23 la imāṃ-akarōṭ-prāśastin(ṣṭim) || [29*] Rishigaṇa-nāmāṁ śūnun sūtradhitaḥ sahā-
karma-kriti-kritiṇaḥ | udakarid-imāṃ praśastīm Vāsuga[ṇḍ] guṇa-ga-[ṇḍ]asatīmān
|| [30*] ||

1 The intended reading may be kṛipā-sītobhā used in the sense of ‘the bestowing of kindnesses’.
2 The writing ends about the middle of the line, the rest of which remains blank.
3 Space for about six akṣaras remains blank at the beginning of this line.
4 The reading of the akṣaras within brackets as well as the meaning of the word is uncertain.
5 Between the double danda there is a symbol resembling the akṣara ḫa. CL. Nāthaikākṣara, XVI, 38, 34d above Vol. XXX, p. 218 and note 2.
No. 6—MANGALLU GRANT OF AMMA II

(3 Plates)

V. RANGACHARYA, MADRAS

These copper plates were, it is said, dug up somewhere in the Nandigama Taluk, Krishna District, and kept as a treasure-trove by the Sub-Collector of Bezvada, by whom they were sent to the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy. The record is registered as No. 1 of Appendix A in the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy for the year 1917. A summary of its contents has been published at pp. 117-18 (para. 24) of the same Report.¹ I edit the record here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, who placed inked impressions of the plates at my disposal.

The Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy describes the plates thus: "They are five plates with high rims, measuring 9\(\frac{1}{2}\)" x 4\(\frac{1}{2}\)", and are strung on a ring which had not been cut when the plates reached me. The edges of the ring are deeply set in an ornamental base supporting a circular seal whose rim all round is shaped like a lotus creeper with a full-blown lotus proceeding from one of its ends and represented flat on the surface of the seal. To the proper right of this lotus is an elephant goad (aṅkūsā), and above these symbols is the legend Śrī-Tribhuvanānukṣaṇa in Chālukya characters. Above the legend is the running boar facing the proper left, flanked by the sun and the moon and two chaurya."

The inscription consisting of 67 lines is engraved on the inner side of the first plate and on both the sides of the other four plates. The writing is on the whole well preserved; but there is difficulty in deciphering it in several places on account of defects in the plates, the mistakes and erasures of the engraver, and the corrupt language of the composition itself. The script is of the usual Vēṇgī type of the tenth century A.D. The jhuvānukṣaṇa is found in line 61; the initial a in lines 27, 40, 56; a in line 67; i in line 60 and u in line 59. The Anuvāra is marked sometimes at the top of the letter, but more often after it (e.g. line 42). Medial ē is usually marked on the top of an aṅkāra as in ē in sēnāpati (line 33), but sometimes below as in ē in kauśāla (line 41). Examples of final t are found in lines 21 and 47. Final n occurs in lines 17, 20, etc. The letter r occurs in line 41, and ṭ in line 18. A consonant with rēpha is invariably doubled as in brahmacharyya in line 52, etc. The language is Sanskrit except in regard to the names of places forming the boundaries, which are in Telugu. The composition is in prose, interspersed with a few verses in the Anuṣṭubh and other metres, which are not free from flaws. The expression is faulty in many places and even obscure at times. There is not much to say about orthography. In kauśāla-dāyā in line 53, the anusvāra is changed into class nasal.

The document opens with a verse in praise of Vishnu and the usual praṇās of the Eastern Chālukyaas. Lines 7 to 21 give a list of 21 kings from Kubja Vishnuvardhana to Yuddhamalla II, allotting to some of them the number of regnal years differing from other records. This portion also throws some light on the war between the main line and the collateral line of Yuddhamalla. In line 21 a verse begins abruptly in the middle of the prose passage and states that Bhima III, son of Vijayaṇāyaṇa IV, destroyed the Yuddhamalla branch and ruled for twelve years. This is followed by another verse which states that Bhima was succeeded by his son Ammaprājya II (Vijayaṇāyaṇa VI) and that he, after a rule of eleven years, proceeded to the Kalinga country on account of the anger of Krishna (Rāṣṭrakūṭa Krishna III) and that, in consequence of this, his half-brother (dosiṇāṭura), Dānārpaṇa, came to rule over the land after obtaining it.

¹ [The information furnished by this record has been utilised by subsequent writers on the subject: cf. Gogul, The Eastern Chālukyaas (1937), pp. 88 ff.; Venkataramanayya, The Eastern Chālukyaas of Vēṇgī (1950), pp. 31 ff. etc.—Ed.]
from Vallabha (i.e. the Raśṭhrakūṭa king). The next two verses dwell upon Dīnārāyaṇa's virtues as a ruler. In the middle of line 30 begins the prose passage dealing with the actual donation.

The charter records the gift, at the instance of a feudatory chief named Kākātya Guṇḍyana, of the village of Māṅgalu in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named Dommana. It is addressed by king Ammañjāja II (Vijayāditya VI) to the householders headed by the Raśṭhrakūṭas of the Nātavāḍī district and the Mantri, Purāṇa, Śeṇakapi, Ymāraṇa and other members of the eighteen fṛthas. Kākātya Guṇḍyana is described as born in the family of Sāmantu Vṛddhi. Judging from the description, Sāmantu Vṛddhi appears to have been an eminent chief of an early generation. His descendant, Guṇḍiya-rāśṭhrakūṭa, seems to have rendered great service to a Chālukya king. His son Eṣita-rāśṭhrakūṭa was a fire to the forest of enemies and an expert in the management of horses. His son by Vandyānāmba was the above Guṇḍyana, at whose request the grant was made.

The grantee, Dommana, was the grandson of Chiddamayya of the Kutṣa gōtra, who is described as the foremost of scholars and a resident of the village of Vāḷāpaṟu. He was the son, by Mācheśmābhā, of Śrīdhara who proved true to his name by his devotion to the lotus-feet of the god Śrīdhara (i.e. Vīṇā). Dommana pursued the path of the virtuous, enjoined in the Śrutigha and the Purāṇas, and was loved by good people. For the merit of Kākātya Guṇḍyana and with a view to secure his favour, Dommana observed the Karpaśīvara which included early bath, continence, truthfulness and other vows. In return for this, Dommana was rewarded with the village of Māṅgalu, which was made a tax-free agrahāra, on the occasion of the Uttarāyana of a particular year which is not specified. The boundaries of the village are then specified. As the order was addressed to the people of Nātavāḍī-vihaṇya (lines 31-32), it is obvious that the gift village was situated in that vihaṇya.

The record throws some light on the civil wars between the main branch and the Yuddhamalla line from the time of Vijayāditya V onwards. It is a known fact that this monarch ruled for only a fortnight in 925 A.D., and that he was ejected by Tāḷaṇa (Ṭāḷaṇa, Tāḷaṇa, Tāṇa), the son of Yuddhamalla I of the collateral line. According to some inscriptions, Bēta (Vijayāditya V) was anointed as a mere child, being invested with a kaśṭhitī. The Malaya-pūṇaṇi, Vēṇālārpaṇe and Kālucumbaparṇa grants clearly mention the tender age of Vijayāditya V when he was deposed by Tāḷaṇa. Another version records his being attacked and imprisoned by Tāḷaṇa. That Bēta did not die young is, however, clear from the fact that he was the progenitor of a line of chiefs who, centuries later, ruled in the Vēṇi country. We can explain these conflicting views by assuming that Bēta came to the throne when he was a child, that advantage was taken of this by Tāḷaṇa to depose and imprison him, and that he was a prisoner perhaps in the years which followed, and in which Tāḷaṇa, Vikramaditya II (926-27 A.D.), Bhima II (927-34 A.D.) and Chālukya Bhima III (usually called Bhima II, 934-45 A.D.) struggled and ruled respectively for one month, one year or eleven months, eight months, seven years, and twelve years.

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1 For the eighteen fṛthas, see the Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra, I. 12; cf. K. P. Jayaswal, Hindu Polity, Part II pp. 133-34.
2 The Subdharatantavali describes a karpata as a bālāku and as moliṇa-jīrana-vastra-khaṇḍa-dhāriti.
3 [The dates given in this article for the reigns of the Eastern Chālukya princes generally follow Fleet's chronological scheme.—Ed.]
4 For the significance of the kaśṭhitī as a juvenile ornament, see above, Vol. V, p. 135, n. 2.
6 Ibid., Vol. XVIII, pp. 226 ff.
7 Ibid., Vol. VII, p.146, text line 28.
8 Of the Gundalagolanu grant (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 248).
9 Above, Vol. VI, pp. 226-42. It is a record of Mallappa III from Pithapuram. According to Kielhorn, it is dated the 16th June, 1202 A.D.
If Bēta was a child at the beginning of this period, he would have been about twentytwo years of age at the time of the death of Bhima III in 915 A.D. He does not seem to have been favoured by circumstances to come to the throne of his uncle, Bhima III, in the face of his cousin Amma II (Vijayāditya VI, 945-70 A.D.). It is probable that Bēta died within the first twelve years (945-57 A.D.) of the reign of Amma II; for, had he lived in 957 A.D., he would naturally have become the regent of the kingdom instead of Dānāravya who, as we understand from the present record, was in charge of it on account of the misfortune that fell upon his half-brother Amma II. This seems to be the only way in which we can explain Bēta’s accession in 925 A.D., his deposition as a child, and his leaving a line of descendants. The present record, which miscalls him Bēka, does not refer to his tender age at his accession.

The inscription gives some more details about the civil war between the two lines (lines 19-21). It says that, after Vikramāditya II had vanquished Tālāpa I and ruled for a year, the land was usurped for seven years by the forces of the Śāmanās (feudatories), Śabaraus, Vallabha (i.e. Rāṣṭrapāta Govinda IV) and others and that, in the midst of this chaos, Mallapa (i.e. Yuddhamalla II) established himself as the ruler. The Bezwada pillar inscription says that the new king called himself Rājāsalki, Rājāśraya and Satyānirūṭa. In some records, Yuddhamalla II is mentioned immediately after Tālāpa. This is perhaps due to the reluctance on the part of the Yuddhamalla line to recognise the main line. Similarly, the name of Yuddhamalla II is left out in some records, though he ruled for seven years. This again is possibly due to the reluctance on the part of the main line to recognise the rival junior line. Partisan records are intentionally defective and omit the names of the victorious rivals.

In 933-34 A.D. Yuddhamalla II was overthrown by Chālukya Bhima III, an achievement which made the admirers of the court hail him as ‘the purifier of the east’ and as ‘the expeller of the darkness in the form of the Rāṣṭrakūta troops’. Yuddhamalla who seems to have depended on the Rāṣṭrakūtas, apparently died fighting, and his two sons, Bājapa and Tālāpa (Tīla II Vishnuvar-dhana), had to flee to the Rāṣṭrakūta court. It was to the great credit of Chālukya Bhima that he behaved like a true pacifier. From the records of Amma II we infer that Bhima consolidated the state not only by removing the enemies of peace, but also by his consideration for the vanquished and his levy of moderate taxation. He ruled for twelve years.

In 945 A.D. Amma II (Vijayāditya VI), the son of Chālukya Bhima III by Lokāmbikā, came to the throne. His accession took place in Śaka 867, Mārgaśīrṣha ba. 13. Friday, corresponding to the 5th December 945 A.D.3 He was then twelve years of age, and he had been crowned four years earlier. Amma II is stated to have been born with a tissue round his neck which resembled a kōṇṭhikā (ornament for the neck), and crowned at the express request of all people.4 This seems to indicate that, though but a boy, Amma II was chosen as king in preference to his half-brother Dānāravya who was the elder of the two. We can explain this choice of the younger brother on the plausible ground that Dānāravya’s mother, Aṅkikēdī, was inferior in rank to Lokāmbikā. As for Dānāravya, he seems to have acquiesced to the arrangement and even carried on the administration in his brother’s name.

The present record says that, after ruling for eleven years (945-956 A.D.), Amma II proceeded to the Kalṅga country on account of the anger of Rāṣṭrakūta Kṛiṣṇa III.5 We know that, by 957-58 A.D., the Rāṣṭrakūta king occupied a large part of the Chōla territory in the south and

2 E. g., the Pācenavaram plates (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 213).
4 Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 236 ff.
5 A. R. Ep., 1917-18, C. P. No. 5.
6 The expression Kṛiṣṇa-kōṇṭhā has been interpreted as ‘in wrath against Kṛiṣṇa’ (see A. R. Ep., 1917, p. 117). But it is better to translate it as ‘on account of Kṛiṣṇa’s anger’.
EPGRAPHIA INDICA

was engaged in extensive operations in the north and defied the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj and the rulers of Chhedi, Vidarbha, Vaiṅga and Kaliṅga. His campaign against Vēṅgi was part of this comprehensive design. It has been suggested that Yuddhamalla’s sons were refugees at his court and suppliants for his favour against Amma II. It is very probable that, incited by Yuddhamalla’s sons, possibly by the Kaliṅga rulers, and by his own insatiable ambition, Krishna III invaded Vēṅgi in or a little before 956 A.D. Amma II had either to go against him on an offensive campaign into Kaliṅga, or, what is equally possible, he was defeated by the aggressor and even taken as a prisoner to his camp. A scrutiny of the known facts seems to support the theory that Amma II was, for the moment, more a victim than retaliator of Krishna’s anger.

The present record next states that Amma’s half-brother, Dānārṇava obtained the country from Vāllabha, i.e. Krishna III, and ruled the kingdom according to Manu’s principles. It does not say how Dānārṇava acquired the kingdom from the Rāṣṭra-kūta ruler. But from the fact that Dānārṇava carried on the administration and made the present grant in the name of his brother, it is obvious that he was not a rival to the latter. As has been already suggested, Krishna III might have held Amma II as a prisoner for the time being and allowed his half-brother, either for the sake of diplomacy or owing to the pressure of arms, to rule in his name. It was while Dānārṇava was the regent for Amma II that this grant was issued.

It is difficult to say how long Dānārṇava administered the kingdom for the sake of his brother, and when the latter resumed his direct rule. All the records of the dynasty agree that Amma’s rule lasted for 25 years and therefore he died in 976 A.D. Dānārṇava obviously succeeded him then as the sole sovereign and ruled for three years (970-73 A.D.).

As regards the gift village of Māṅgalū or Māṅgolū in the Nandigama Taluk, Krishna District. Koṇḍūri forming its northern boundary seems to be the modern village of the same name in the same Taluk. Nandigama was a strategic area which played a big part in history. Through the area west of the Koṇḍapalli range and between Bezwada and Sattenapalle passed the highway from the coast to Hyderabad and it formed the heart of the Nāṭavādi country. This area, which abounds in prehistoric remains and Buddhistic associations, became in later times a stronghold of Purānic Hinduism and the fighting ground between the Kananaḍa and Telugu kings. The Nāṭavādi feudatories had close relations with either of the two parties.

TEXT

[v. Meters: verses 1, 3, 12-22 Anuḥjubha; verse 2 Āryāāgi; verse 4 Svaḥdhāna; verse 5 Sārdulavākiṇḍa; verses 6, 10-11 Upendravajra; verse 7 Āryā; verse 8 Vasantarilaka; verse 9 Indravajra; verse 23 Śaṅkuni.]

First Plate

I Śrīkāntāy-Ābjanābhāya namō bhū(bhu)vana-rakshipā | Vikram-ā[dhaḥ]kṛit-ātyugra-Balayā varadā-

1 Above, Vol. IV, p. 289.
2 JAHRS, Vol. III, p. 170. But Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao misreads the events and says that Krishna III died in the invasion of Vēṅgi in 959 A.D.
3 In A. R. Ep., 1917, p. 118, the expression under reference appears to have been read as "ānunāṣṭa and"-translated, with his (brother's) consent; but the original is clearly assīt Manu-nāṣṭa.
4 A R. Ep., 1917, p. 118. [Munna-nādi stated to be situated SW of the village granted is evidently Muniyēr of the modern maps. The village granted would therefore appear to be Māṅgalū and not Māṅgolū since the former lies close to the river on its east as indicated in the inscription while the latter lies about 10 miles west of the river.—Ed.]
5 From impressions.
6 Here and elsewhere the letter dha resembles ca.
MANGALLU GRANT OF AMMA II—PLATE 1

Scale two third
2 yinē [[1*] Svasti [[*] Śrī Śrī]matāṁ sakala-bhūvana-samātuyamāna-Ma(Mā)navyasa-sagōtrāṇī[īn*] Hāri(rī)ti(tī)-
3 putrāṁh Kauśiki(kī)-vara-prasa(sā)-śa-la-baddha-śājyānam-Mātrīgamā-para-pālitānāṁ sva(svā)-
mi-
4 Mahāśeṇa-pād-ānu(dhāya)jā탄āṁ bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-samyā(mā)sādi-
5 ta-vara-Vaśi-laṃchana(chha)n-ekhaṇa-kaḥaṇa-vast(ā)kṛit-arāti-marpaṇāṁ-śaśvamāḥ-ā-
6 vabhritā-sāna-pavitr(trī)kṛita-vapushāṁ Chālukyaṇāṁ kulam-alankariga(shñō)s-Śaṁ-
(= Śa)tyāśrāya-va-
7 labh-ेंद्रसयὰ [protā Kūbja-Vishṇuḥśūvi-Satyaśrāya-valla'bh-ेंद्रसयὰ] bhratā Kūbja-
Vishṇuviuddha(rddha)-

Second Plate, First Side

8 nōi[nō]-śāhṭāda-śa-varaḥṣa Vēṇgūḍēśam-śa(pā)layat | Tat-putrō Jayasinhha-vallabhass-
traya-
9 strināśataṁ(tam) | Tat-ānu[j-ś]dṛrājas-saptā-dināni | Tan-nandanā Vīṣṇuviuddhānv-
nava-saṁ[va]-

10 tārāni | Tat-tōkam-Maṇgi-yuvarājāḥ parṇa-vaṁśakrama(tim) | Tat-aurasō Jayasinhā-
trayaṇḍaṣa [[]]
11 Tat-vaima(d-dvāma)tur-ānujah Kōkiliḥ shāṃ-māśān | Tasya jya(jyē)śhṭō bhratā Vishṇu-
viuddha(rddha)-

12 ddha[nas-tam-upyā(tpa)tya saptā-trināsad-vaḥś(ā)ṇi] | Tādā(d-a)patyāṁ Vījaya[ditya-
shaṭṭa(śa)ṣaḥ-ā]-

13 daśa | Tat-ātmajō Vishṇuviuddhanāḥ shaṭ-trināśataṁ(tam) | Tat-tanujō narēndra-Vījaya-
dityāḥ[ḥā]*
14 ashta-CHATRAMIŚTAṬAṬHA | Tat-putrāṁ(traḥ) Kali-Vishṇuviuddhānāḥ-dhy-ardha-[varham]-
(rahm) [[*] [Ta[d-ś]majō Gu-

Second Plate, Second Side

15 gōkkanalā-Vījaya[ditya]ḥ-[chatu]chatvāriniśataṁ(tam) | Tat-ānuja-Vē(Vi)kramāditya-sū-
16 nūs-Chālukya-Bhīma-trināśataṁ(tam) | Tat-putraḥ Köḷabigaṇḍa-Vījaya[ditya]ḥ sha-
17 t-māśān [[*] Tat-su(t-sū)nur-āmaraśa-sa-pa-varaḥṣa] | Tat-sutō Bhéka[4]-Vījaya[ditya]ḥ-
pa-
18 kham(kaham) [[*] Nta(Ta)tas-Tājaparājō māsan(sam) | Tam jītvā Chālukya-Bhīma-tanayō
19 Vikramāditya[es-sana]ṭsarān(tam) [[] Śamantā-Śabara-Vallabhā-dapṛbhē-chaṅyē
20 cha bhuvam-alumpann-abdān [[*] saptā-śa(ntarē-tra Mallarā)pā-ṛṣa-kṛita(tam) paṭṭaban-
dham-āva-

1 The letter llo is written below the line between bhē and sānu.
2 The portion enclosed within the brackets here was engraved erroneously.
3 This abstrāk is redundant.
4 Bhēka is apparently a mistake for Bēka.
21 matya balat [2°] Mālajinaḥ\(^1\).Vijayādiyya-nandanaḥ Bhima-bhūpatiḥ | tān=samastān=sā-
22 mutkhāya dvādaś-ābdān=apād=bhuvaṃ(vam) [3°] Sūnus=tasya=Āmrarajasa-surapati-vibha-
vaḥ paṭṭa-

Third Plate, First Side

23 baddhō dharitri(trīn) rakshann=ākādaś-ābdān(bdān) jita-ripur=agama[t-Kṛ]ṣṇa-kopāt= Kalingāṅ(gan) | tasya
24 dvimātūraḥ kshāṅ(kahmāṁ) sakala-jana-mudē Vallabhād-āpta-rājyō Bhaimō Dāḍ(Dā)-
nārṇaṅ-va-ēcō=
Vārīruha-
26 saṃbhūtasaya Bhū-dēvatā grāmyā(mya)ṭv-ākālitaṁ kalāsuh gāditaṁ vāg-amga-
27 nāyāḥ(yā) api | strī-naisagga(rigg)ka-chāpal-āspadatayā nindātwoissytaś-ādā-
29 āsāvad-bhrataṁ trilōkīṁ jana(u-ā)kurutē sit-āpi | vichitra-rūp-ēti se(ea)-
30 dā vi[ṭ]ē[ti]heṣaṁ-vvīchāryatē kirtti-latā yadīyā [[6°] Sa samasta-bhuvaṃ-ārāya-ārī-Vijaya-

Third Plate, Second Side

31 dītya-mahāraja-parā[e]jāvara-paramabhaṭṭārakāḥ parama-brahmaṁyō Nāṭa-
32 vādi-vishaya-nīvāsino Rāṣṭrakūṭa-pramukhān=kuṭumbīnas=saṁhāya ma-
33 ntri-purūbita-sēnāpati-yuva[rāj]-ādy-āshtādaśa-tīrthāḥyakṣham-itthamāś-
34 ja[jā]payati | Śrī-saṁbhūti-nimittē mūḥ(ṛ)kṛtāḥ-puraḥ(ṛ)ha-ratna-saṁyuktamaḥ(ktam) |
35 Sāma[n]a[Vāḍḍ]-sānjñāṁ [k]lam-śājī-śalandhi-pratimāṁ(mam) [7°] Taḍ-vahṣavāri-
36 nidhi-vrīdhikakāḥ rahā kṣ-śi-niddā(ṛ)dāri-chāṭa-bala-vi(vṛ)ra-bhaṭ-añ[ndhakāraḥ | āṣī-
37 sa(ḥ-chha)(śāṁ) |
38 ka[ha]yā Guṇḍiya-rāṣṭrākūṭas=saṁtpūl(pū)jya sat-pa[tha] gati-pravaṇa(ṇah) svah(sva)-
vṛttah [[8°] Śṛmaṃch-Cā-
39 vīpa[d-]dvāramama viśāmi tyakṣhaṣṭa-vatiṣṭa gata-Vallabhā-haṁ(sam) | [9°] Samasta-satya-
ādi-gu-

\(^1\) This appears to be a mistake for Mṛ̤māḥā.
\(^2\) The composition of this verse is faulty.
\(^3\) The letter yā is redundant.
\(^4\) This letter is followed by two dōnas which are superfluous.
\(^5\) This verse is metrically faulty and its sense obscure. If we omit āṃvatī in the beginning of the first pāda, substitute a-dūyō and mānaḥ for āṃva and māna in the third pāda, and extend māṇyasthānaḥ into māṇ-vīya-
śakṣaka in the last pāda, it may yield some sense.—Ed.
MANGALLU GRANT OF AMMA II

Fourth Plate, First Side

40 qa-prapannaḥ paropakāra-praṇaṇa-prabhāvaḥ | abhūd-arāt-indaṇa-vahini-ugraḥ ta(gra-ta)-dā.

41 tmabhūra-Srīya-rāhṛakūtaḥ [|| 10*] Tū(Tu)raṁgam-ārōhaṇa-kō(kau)eśena tīrakāh(ṇa)tnaṁdīt-Vatam-1

42 tō Bētiya-nāmavā(duḥ)yaś-saṁsta-saṁpan-nilayā-tadiya[h] [|| 11*] Taṣya Āti-Va[udva]-nāmbāj[y]ām-a-

43 bhavvaṭḍa-Bhava-saṁśicīyaḥ [|| 12*] saṁasta-saṁpan-nilayō Guṇḍyaṇ-ā(ta)khyāḥ sut-ōttamaḥ [|| 12*] Pratāpāyya [ṣi]-

44 āma-ṛti virūdh-pārāhaḥ [|| 13*] nityam padmākar-ārādhyo yasya ga*tējō-vi-

45 rōchanaḥ [|| 13*] Tēna Kākātya-Guṇḍyana-nāmadīveṇa[na] prārtthayāmair-asmābhīḥ | Vēla-

46 paṛu-mahāgāma-vāstavyā[ya] vadaṭaṁ varah | Kutṣa-gōtr-ābhisaṁbhū[ṭ]a* Chiddama-

47 bhavat [|| 14*] Śrīdhara-āṁghri-dvay-āṃbhoja-sēvi Śrīdhara-sāmbīyā | visrutas-tat-sutō já-

48 tyā bhūdeva[ha]ḥ [|| 15*] Śrīdhara-Śrīyaḥ [|| 15*] Taṣya-ābhūn-Māchēmābabāyāṃ sūnur-Ḍōṃmannas-śaṅjha(jīha)-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

49 kaḥ [|| 16*] saṁasta-āgu(ṇa)sa-saṁpaṁṇa[ṇa]sa-sat-sādhu-jana-vatsalaḥ [|| 16*] [Sruti-[srīrīti*]-

50 dita-vartmani | durād(vā)yaś-saṁnait[nair-]nityaṁ yasya-[ā]chāvi[ṛ]aḥ pravrtttati(tē) [|| 17*] Kākātyya(ta)-GU-

51 nōyanasm viram-uddiya-āha[ḥ]*pā[pa]ti-prabhā[ṁ(bham)] yēna kappa(rppa)amāba[ddham]-

52 kānkeśinā [|| 18*] Prātra[sa]-saṇānaḥ bra[(pra)ti]dinaṁ brā(bra)hmacarīya[ma]khaṇḍi-

53 n-scharitait[am] kappa(rppra)[t]i-vrtamadārāt [|| 19*] Satyasnh saucaha-davā dānam-anushāha-

54 dāra-dhiḥ l[ill] kehānta-saujanyam-ity-ādi yad-upajñam-aha Kalau [|| 20*] Taśme dōtmāna-

55 Māṅgalu-nāma-grāmas-savva[rvva]-kara-parīhārēṇa udaka-pūrvvam-uttarāyāna[n]-

56 mitam agrahārikṛity-śattal[ha]jēmāmbhīr-datta ga[ti] viditam-santu vah [|| 21*] Asy-āvadhaya-

1 [The composition of this stanza is imperfect and some words appear to have been omitted here while engraving. However, it can be restored as "Vataśrājak suśaṃśanad.Ba."—Ed.]

2 This letter is redundant.
3 This letter, which looks like a, is engraved redundantly.
4 The intended reading may be tā-nāye-bhāmād nāmā.—Ed.
5 This and the following akāhara, which is not properly shaped, are redundant.
57 pūrvvataḥ{(taḥ) Kūḍupūvi(ri) polagaruna Yūṅindiuṇaḥ | Āgnēyataḥ  Kuṭṭa-
58 labōla pannasa | Dakṣiṇataḥ | Laṃjayamāḍa sīmā | Nairṛti(tya)taḥ Munna-nadi(di) |
59 Paśchimataḥ Palliṁeṇṭi-bhāṭāraṇḍu | Vāyavyataḥ myyalyakaṭṭu | Uttaṛataḥ
60 Kauḍṛrī piḷagaruna chintalu [[*] Isā(sājñataḥ myyalyuku-
61 ṭṭuna pūḷagudlaṇṇa | Asy-ōpari na [kēna*]chid-bāḍhā kartta[vyā] [[*] yah-ka-
62 rōti sa paṇcha-mahāpūta-saṁyuktē bhavati [[*] Tath-ōktam Vyāsēna | Bh-
63 hubhir-vvasudha dattā bahubhiś-ch-āsu(nu)pūltā | yaaya yaaya yadā bhū-
64 mis-tasya tasya taddā phalaṁ(lam) [[| 21*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ va yō harēta
   vasundharāṁ(rām) | shashti-
65 [va]jraha-sahasrāṇi viśaṭṭha[ahṛh]yāṁ jāyate kṛmiḥ [[| 22*] Sarvvaś-ān-bā(n-bhā)-
   vinaḥ pārthivēndrān-bhūyō

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Fifth Plate, Second Side

66 bhūyō vāchatē Rāmaḥadhraḥ [[*] sāmānyō-yan-dharmas-sētur-nuripāṇāṁ kāle kāle
   pālaniyō bha-
67 vadbhīḥ [[| 23*] Ājñāptiḥ Kaḍakaraṇaḥ [[*] Pūtanabhaṭṭa-kṛtiḥ [[*]
MANGALLU GRANT OF AMMA II—PLATE III

Scale: Two-Thirds
No. 7—Madagrama Grant of Devendravarman and Bhimakhedi

(I Plate)

R. C. Majumdar, Nagpur

This is a set of three copper plates which the Tabildar of Srikakulam received from Mr. Manda Narasimham and forwarded to the Government Epigraphist for India. I edit it from a set of excellent estampages kindly supplied by the latter.

Each of the three plates measures 7.8" by 3.6". They were held together by a ring with a seal containing the emblem of a fish flanked on the sides by an aṅkuṭa and the crescent moon. The first and third plates are written on one side only, containing respectively ten and nine lines, while the second plate has eleven lines on the first and ten on the second side. There are thus altogether forty lines of writing. The plates, together with the ring, weigh 150 tolas, the ring alone weighing 33¾ tolas. The ring was cut when the plates were received for examination.

The characters belong to the variety of the North Indian alphabet normally used in the Oriissan inscriptions of the tenth and eleventh centuries A. D.

The language is Sanskrit and the inscription is written throughout in prose. It abounds in mistakes both of grammar and spelling. The use of medial इ for i and ए for e seems to be almost a regular feature, though both medial इ and ए are occasionally used. The word vṛikṣa is written as vṛikṣa (line 31) and vṛikṣa and vṛikṣa (line 29), though the correct form vṛikṣa is used in line 27. The nasal is often changed into anusvāra before a consonant (lines 9, 10, 24). Among other peculiarities may be mentioned the use of cāda for bāda (lines 8, 15-16).

The inscription records the grant of the village of Madagrama in the Bhillagā bhōga in favour of two persons. The boundaries of the village are given in detail. The donor is Rāgaka Bhillagā, son of Mahāmāṇḍalika Rāgaka Dharmaṇḍa of the Kadamba family and feudatory of Paramabhaṭṭāraka Paramēśvara Śrī-Dēvendravarman of the Gaṅga dynasty. Both the feudatory and the suzerain are called Paramamāṁśavara or devotees of Śiva, and the grant was made in Saka 988 from Dantapura (written as Dāntāpura).1 The record concludes with the usual imprecatory verses.

The suzerain as well as the feudatory rulers mentioned in the record are known from several other grants. Two of these deserve special mention, viz. the Santa-Bommali² and Mandasa plates³ of Dharmakhēdi.

The inscription begins with the usual description, first of the ruling Gaṅga king residing at Kaliṅganagara and paying devotions to Gokarpasvāmin established on the Mahēndra mountain, and then of the feudatory ruler of the Kadamba dynasty.

The first fifteen lines of the present grant agree, almost word for word, with only slight deviations here and there, with the first fifteen lines of the Mandasa plates. The rulers named and the place of issue are, however, different. The present grant was issued from Dantapura¹ by the Kadamba feudatory Bhimakhēdi, son of Dharmakhēdi, whose suzerain was the Gaṅga ruler Dēvendravarman. The Mandasa plates, however, refer to the Gaṅga king Anantavarman and the Kadamba feudatory Dharmakhēdi, son of Bhimakhēdi,¹ who issued the grant from Jainatyaṇāpura. The Santa-Bommali plates (Simhipura grant) were issued during the reign of Dēvendravarman, son of Anantavarman, by Dharmakhēdi, son of Bhimakhēdi. The introductory

¹ [On this and the author’s views regarding the initial year of the Gaṅga era discussed below, see infra, pp. 51, note 2; 53 ff.—Ed.]
² JAHBS, Vol. III, pp. 171 ff. The Santa-Bommali plates are also called the Simhipura grant.
⁴ Not Bhāme as read by the editor.
portion of the record closely resembles that of the present grant which repeats almost word for word the first ten lines of the former.

A comparison of these three grants leaves no doubt that they were issued by the same feudatory family owing allegiance to the same Gaṅga family. We may thus draw up the following genealogical table of these two families.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gaṅga family</th>
<th>Kadanba family</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anantavarman</td>
<td>Bhimakṛṣṇi I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēvēndravarman</td>
<td>Dharmakṛṣṇi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bhimakṛṣṇi II</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dharmakṛṣṇi was a contemporary of both Anantavarman and Dēvēndravarman, while Bhimakṛṣṇi II was a contemporary of Dēvēndravarman.

In view of this chronological sequence in the relationship of the members of the two families, the date of the present grant, viz. Śaka 988 (1066 A.D.), is of great historical importance, as it reopens the whole question of the epoch of the Gaṅga era, though there is now a general consensus of opinion among scholars that it has to be placed during the last decade of the fifth century A.D.1

In an article contributed to the Indian Culture,2 I discussed the question at some length and pointed out the defect in the argument of Prof. Subba Rao who initiated the theory which has subsequently been supported by eminent scholars like Prof. Mirashi and Dr. D. C. Sircar. But my views, though so far ignored, seem to be supported by the present grant, and it is therefore necessary to discuss this question in some detail.

Prof. Subba Rao’s view was based on his interpretation of the date of the Mandasa plates which is expressed as Śākāda navāntaka sapta-rasa-nata. He took it to be ‘clearly’ 913, taking sapta and rasa as equivalent to seven and six, and then adding them. Later, both Dr. D. C. Sircar and Prof. Mirashi took sapta-rasa as equivalent to sattarasa, and read the date as 917. The resulting difference of four years does not materially affect the argument of Subba Rao and need not therefore be discussed here. He argued that, as the Simhipura grant was issued by Dharmakṛṣṇi in the year 520 of the Gaṅga era, during the reign of Dēvēndravarman, son of Anantavarman, and the same Dharmakṛṣṇi also issued the Mandasa plates in Śaka 913 (991 A.D.) during the reign of Anantavarman, the initial year of the Gaṅga era would be somewhat, though not much, later than 471 A.D. It is not necessary, for our present purpose, to refer to the further amplification of this theory by which the initial date of the era was fixed as 494 A.D. by Subba Rao, 496 A.D. by J. C. Ghosh and 498 A.D. by Mirashi.

The two main arguments which I advanced against this theory may be stated as follows:

1. There is no warrant for the assumption, so definitely made, that the date of the Mandasa plates is clearly 913 or 917. The words sapta and rasa, which actually occur in the record, undoubtedly mean seven and six, and it is more reasonable to take the date as 976, or 967 if we follow the principle aṅkasya vāṁ gatiḥ.

2. There was no king named Anantavarman ruling in the Gaṅga family in Śaka 913 or 917, the assumed date for the Mandasa plates, nor any king called Dēvēndravarman before Śaka 992, whereas we have two kings, father and son, viz. Vajrākṣa Anantavarman and Rājarāja Dēvēndravarman, who ruled between Śaka 960 and 999 which would agree with the date Śaka 976 or 967 for Anantavarman suggested by me.

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1 Subba Rao, who originally propounded this view, fixed the initial date of the Gaṅga era as 494 A.D., but J. C. Ghosh put it as 496 A.D. and Y. V. Mirashi as 498 A.D. (above, Vol. XXVI, 326; Vol. XXVII, p. 192).
2 See Vol. IV, pp. 171ff. References to other views are given in this paper.
My first argument about the interpretation of the date is now strongly supported by the present grant. As Devendravarman was ruling in Śaka 988, the date Śaka 967 or 976 is a more reasonable assumption than Śaka 913 for his father Anantavarman, particularly as Dharmakhēḍī was alive during the reigns of both.

In order to obviate the difficulties pointed out in my second argument, it has been assumed by the upholders of the present theory about the epoch of the Gaṅga era that all the rulers of the Gaṅga family were called, in succession, Anantavarman and Devendravarman. The assumption rests on the fact that for some generations, at a later period, the Gaṅga kings bore the said names in succession. But it is unreasonable to conclude from this that their predecessors were also so named, so long at least as we do not get any satisfactory evidence. Mirashi has argued that the Ponduru grant supplies such an evidence, but, as will be seen later, this is not the case.

All these assumptions are demolished by the present grant which gives a clear date, Śaka 988, for Devendravarman. Subba Rao, Mirashi and D. C. Sircar all identified Anantavarman of the Mandasa plates with Vajrahasta Aniyākabhima (who ruled from Śaka 902 to 937) and his son Devendravarman with one of the three sons of Vajrahasta. But the last of them ceased to rule about Śaka 960 whereas according to the present grant Devendravarman was ruling in Śaka 988.

In order to maintain the present theory of the epoch of the Gaṅga era, D. C. Sircar has suggested that Devendravarman of the present grant was a king of the Śvētaka branch of the Gaṅga family. But in view of the close resemblance between the Mandasa and Simhipura plates and the present grant, already pointed out above, it seems to be an absolutely unwarranted view to take the Gaṅga king in these three grants to represent two different families. Besides, we should remember that the names of the feudatory rulers, mentioned in the three grants, establish the identity of the family to which they belonged, and it would be very curious if the father and son owed allegiance to two kings bearing the same name but belonging to two different families, particularly as the same phraseology is applied to the suzerain ruler.

We shall discuss presently the question whether Devendravarman of the present grant belonged to the main Gaṅga family or not. But there cannot be the least doubt that he must be identified with Devendravarman, son of Anantavarman, mentioned in the Simhipura grant of Dharmakhēḍī issued in the year 520 of the Gaṅga era. We must therefore presume that the year 520 of the Gaṅga era and Śaka 988 or 1066 A. D. both fell during the reign of Devendravarman, son of Anantavarman. The epoch of the Gaṅga era therefore falls within x years of 1066 minus 520, or 546 A. D., x denoting half the average duration of a reign of, say, about 30 years. The Gaṅga era may therefore be said to have been inaugurated some time between 530 and 560 A. D.

We may now discuss the question whether the Gaṅga kings mentioned in the grants of the Kadamba feudatories, Dharmakhēḍī and Bhimakhēḍī, belonged to the main Gaṅga family. For this purpose we have to keep in view the following genealogy and dates of the Gaṅga kings which are now generally accepted though there are substantial discrepancies, both as regards the duration of reign and genealogy, even in the different records of the kings of this family.¹

¹ The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. IV, p. 144.

As already noted above, king Anantavarman and his son Dēvendravarman, mentioned in the Mandasa plates and Simhipura grant, were unanimously taken to be kings of the Gaṅga family, and, on the assumption that the Mandasa plates are dated in Śaka 913 or 917, Anantavarman was identified with Vajrāhaṣṭa II Aniyāṅkabhīma, and his son Dēvendravarman with Madhukāmārṇava, though neither of these two Gaṅga kings is known to have borne these names. As I took the date of the Mandasa plates to be Śaka 967 or 976, I identified king Anantavarman mentioned in it with Vajrāhaṣṭa III who was known as Anantavarman and had a son called Dēvendravarman (Rājarāja).

The present grant was issued in Śaka 988 (1066 A.D.) during the reign of Dēvendravarman. According to the accepted chronology, Rājarāja Dēvendravarman, son of Anantavarman Vajrāhaṣṭa III, ascended the throne in 1068 or 1070 A.D. and it is said in some records that his coronation took place in Śaka 992 (1070 A.D.). This presents an obvious difficulty in identifying Dēvendravarman and his father Anantavarman, mentioned as suzerains in the grants of the Kadamba rulers, with the kings of the same names in the Gaṅga family.

There are, however, several considerations which should be kept in view before we definitely discard the identifications.

1. There is the close proximity of dates. The present grant is dated only two or four years before the generally accepted date of Dēvendravarman’s accession to the throne. It must be very singular indeed, if two sets of kings, bearing identical names and imperial titles, were ruling in the same locality and at the same time.

2. The above argument is further strengthened if we remember that there are some discrepancies in the reign-periods of different kings even in the official records of the family. Such discrepancies are probably due, at least in part, to the well-known fact that the kings of the Gaṅga dynasty adopted Anaka years for the calculation of their regnal periods, which made a substantial difference between the actual year of the reign and the number given for the same. This might easily prove a source of confusion to later writers who might take the Anaka for actual years or vice-versa. In view of all these a definite date of a king found in his epigraphic record should

1 It is otherwise difficult to explain how even the reign-period of Vajrāhaṣṭa III is given as 33 in one and 30 in another record of his grandson. Similarly the date of coronation of Vajrāhaṣṭa III (960 Śaka) and that of Dēvendravarman (992 Śaka) need not necessarily imply the beginnings of their reigns, for we know that the coronation of Kāmārṇava took place in Śaka 1064 while his father was ruling till Śaka 1069.
not be rejected simply because it differs by a few years from the traditional dates so far accepted. When such a difference occurs we should rather reconsider the whole chronological scheme, so far accepted, in the light of the new data. In the meanwhile, it is better to accept the date fixed by the present contemporary record, particularly when it is not in conflict with the known dates of Vajravasta III.

3. Like the Chālukya kings, the Gaṅga rulers also associated their sons in the sovereignty during their own lifetime, and this created a confusion in computing the total reign-periods of different monarchs. As an example it may be pointed out that although Anantavarman Chōdagāñga ruled till 1148 A.D., his son Kāmārṇava was anointed in 1142 A.D.

In view of all these it is a reasonable assumption that king Anantavarman and his son Dēvendravarman, suzerains of Dharmakāśi and his son Bhimakhēdi, are to be identified with kings Vajravasta III Anantavarman and his son Rājarāja I Dēvendravarman. It is to be distinctly understood, however, that whether this identification be accepted or not, it does not affect the epoch of the Gaṅga era, which the present grant places between 530 and 560 A.D., as stated above. On the other hand, if the identification be accepted and Dēvendravarman's reign be placed approximately between 1066 and 1076 A.D., we may fix the initial year of the Gaṅga era within narrower limits. As the Gaṅga year 530 falls during the reign of Dēvendravarman, it must have started some time between 546 and 556 A.D. The exact epoch may perhaps be fixed within these limits by the astronomical data contained in epigraphic records.

It may now be considered how far this theory agrees with the other known data. As regards the Chiccacole plates1 of Madhukāmārṇava, dated Gaṅga year 526, I have nothing to add to what has been said in my previous article. The Ponduru grant2 of Vajravasta, son of Kāmārṇava, dated in the year 500 of the Gaṅga era, has been cited by Mirashi as a definite evidence in favour of the current view of the epoch of the era, and the identification of king Vajravasta II Aniyāqualification with Anantavarman of the Mandasa plates. For he thinks that the dates supplied by the Chiccacole plates and Ponduru grant establish the following genealogy, with the assumptions shown within brackets.

Kāmārṇava (942-977 A.D.)

Vajravasta II Aniyāqualification (also called Anantavarman), 980-1015 A.D.

Madhukāmārṇava (also called Dēvendravarman), 1019-38 A.D.

But on the assumption that the Gaṅga era started about the middle of the sixth century A.D., the data supplied by the same two grants also agree with the following genealogy.

Kāmārṇava (1016 A.D.)

Vajravasta III Anantavarman (1038-70 A.D.)

Rājarāja I Dēvendravarman (also called Madhukāmārṇava)

Mirashi's view includes two assumptions as against one of mine.

Reference may next be made to the Kambakṣya grant3 issued by Udayāditya, son of Dharmakāśi, during the reign of Dēvendravarman, in Śaka 1103. As a son of Dharmakāśi issued the present grant in Śaka 938 we cannot identify him with the father of Udayāditya. It has been

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3 *Loc. cit.*
accordingly suggested that the date was probably Śaka 1003. This emendation makes it chronologically possible to identify Dvēndravarman and Dharmaḥēdi with the rulers of the same names in the present grant. But it brings down the reign of Dvēndravarman to 1081 A. D., while, according to the generally accepted view, he ceased to reign in 1078 A. D. when his son Ananda-varman was anointed to the throne. But as the latter ruled for 70 years he must have been anointed at quite an early age and, not unlikely, during the reign of his father. But it is useless to speculate further on a proposed emendation.

TEXT:

First Plate

1 Svastiti[ ] Amaranpurāṅuka[ri]qā[ḥ] sarvēbhya[ ] sā[su]kha-ra-ramaṇi-
2 yata[yāt] sudhā-dhavalā[māl-āvirata-llālita-llāṣyāt] pā[ ] pa[ ]
4 saka[st] Mahāēndr-āchāl-āmala-kāṇaka[-si]-kharā-pratisṭhīta[shī]-tasya sa-
5 char-āchara-gurū[ḥ] sakalā-bhuvana-nirmāṇ-ai-ka-su[sū]-tradhāra[sa]-ya[ ] sa-
6 sāṁkṣeṭhūdāmanī[ḥ]-bhagavatō Gokarṇa-āvāmi[m][n[ḥ]-nṛ[ṇ]-ka-
7 mala-jy(y[u]gala-pranāmō[mā]-vī[-d-vi]gata-kali[li]-kala[m*-kō[-n[-k-āhaya[va]-sā[m*]-
8 khō[khō]-jha[-jha-n[n[j]-jaya-savada*-pratēp-āvanā[ṇa]-sama[-sima[m*-t-a-ch-
9 kra-chu[chu]dāmana[n[pi]-prabhava*-mabhari[-puṇja-ra[mj[-ji]ta[-nja-unistha[-dī-
10 rōpi[-Kalingādhrīja[-durvāra-vair[ri]-vīra[-ka[ku[m*]-bha[-ch-

Second Plate, First Side

11 la-dalà-dali(l)i-ṭā-mukutikā[-prakara-dhvaṣt-ārāti(t)i]-kul-āchālō[la]-
12 naya-vi[n][nay-a-ha[da]-yā-dāta[na]-dākhshīna-sauryō-dhārya[-satya-tyāga-
13 prakara-guṇa-sampād-ādhāra-bhu[bhū]-ṭō[ta]-paramāmbhēvā[sva]-ra-parama[bhā]-a(t-b-
14 raka-mātā-pīṭhi[-pād-ānuḍhātā[dyāta]-paramēsva[sva]-ra-Gaṅg-āmala-kula-
15 tilaka-śrīma[ni]-Dvēndravarmanmadēvāsya vi[v[i]jaya-rājyē sakāv-

1 From a set of impressions.
2 Read sarvatā as in many other Gaṅga inscriptions.
3 The Mandasa plates and Simhijura grant (hereinafter abbreviated as M and S respectively) have prayāda after this.
4 Read "virata-llalita-llasyat.
5 This letter is redundant.
6 M and S have du(dō)ṛanda before pāṇḍja.
7 Read saśākha-chādamāṇē.
8 Read kada.
9 Read prabhū.
10 S has vara-charaana after this.
11 Read nisthīmāna.
12 Read dhār-śārījīya. M and S have dātr-śaṣṭiṣa-sakata.
13 Read Kaling-ādirājya.
14 Read mukutikā.
15 Read dākhṣaṇya-bhurya-andāra.
16 Read pīrī.
No. 7] MADAGRAMA GRANT OF DEVENDRAVARMAN AND BHIMAKHĐEI

16 da na-suta-as(high)ī-samvartu1 Daññā(ta)pūrē sthīta2 tasya mā-
17 udal(y)i(ka-paramamāheśava(śa)-Kadmav- ś(mb)-ā)mala-kamala-mārttayja-sama-
18 dhigata-pañca-mahāśavād-āhēka-tut(ū)rva-rav-ō(ī)[trāśi(ū)tārāti]-cha-
19 kramā(ma)/hāmadal(y)i(ka-rānaka-śri-Dharmakāḥḍēya suta-rānaka-
20 śri-Bhindak夸大-pādah[ta] kusalitä pañca-pātra vidi(vid)ita astu
21 bhavatām Bhūrāngā—bhogē 'Mādagrama viyāparī Prū-

Second Plate, Second Side

22 [llam]saya suta Viṣṇu Reuchiya nāyakasya suta Pañḍava-
23 kāṃ duī bhāgān kṛtvā mudaka-purvakā tāmvrā-sāsanikrītaya prada-
24 tō-rasmābi12 [ī] sa-cha-śat-ākāchandrakā(rka) vardhaś[ta] Viṣṇuṣraya bhāgē Chē-
26 hālā pāthara | Parata pū(Pū)rvadīsā silā[ta] chēlā abhyantārikri-
27 tvā hijala-vikshē rūpita[ta] silā | Agnī-ghn(dha)-dīsā gōraṅgōrā
28 kōpa rūpita silā | Parata nāvīyā tātāki abhy[ta] rantarē
29 ānvirvrikshaśa-talē rūpita silā | Dakshi(kshi)-dīsā vajāvrikha-
30 talē rūpita silā | Parata pāthara pujaṁ | Parata tēnta-
31 vriksha-talē rūpita silā | Nairītya77 tīmuvaru vriksha-talē

1 Read Šāk-abdē nava-lat-ātīti-sāvartare.
2 [In this context, S has: Jayantijāpuravatita[ta] Rānaka śri-Nīpānkdṣaṇīya suta[ta], etc., while M has: Jayantijāpuravatita Rānaka śri-Bhindakāḍeya suta[ta], etc. The intended reading here therefore seems to be: Daññāpuravatita Rānaka śri-Bhindakāḍeya suta[ta], etc. The daññās are superfluous. Daññāpuravatita is very probably a variant of Jayantijāpuravatita which was the headquarters of the Kadamba frudatories of the Eastern Gangas. —Ed.]
3 Read māhāśaḥ-dū.
4 Read 'kēṭhe-suta[ta].
5 Read kusālīnaḥ.
6 [In this context, S has: pratiḥ-sa-śa-śiṃs-ta pañca pātra-rājapāpaśjaṇaḥ, etc., M has: pañca pātra-śa-śa-śiṃs-ta-rājapāpaśjaṇaḥ, etc., Some letters are therefore omitted in the present record by the scribe or engraver through oversight. —Ed.]
7 [In correct Sanskrit: Mādagrama vikṣpāri-Prālamasya suāyā Viṣṇuṣraya Reuchiya nāyakasya suāyā Pā-
38 āvānagāya ca deī-bhūgam kṛttita. —Ed.]
8 Read adāka-pūrakān.
9 Read tāmarakābbīṣyeta.
10 Read pradadal(as)-amāḥbhiḥ.
11 From this point I have merely given the text without any attempt to correct it except where there is an obvious mistake.
12 The intended readings for a-cha-śat-ākā-śadanāśaka-ṇa, prākṣāśanām, chaṇḍ-rākṣa-śriśa-samā-kāparyanām and mada-piśrūrti-mānānāṃ-saka punyāvahārrīḍhāyāt as suggested by S. —Ed.]
13 [This defective passage seems to suggest that a person named Chēṭi had something to do with Viṣṇu's share of the gift land. —Ed.]
14 Read diśe here as well as in the following lines.
15 Read diśē here as well as in the following lines.
16 Read rūpēś here as well as in the following lines.
17 Read nairītya.]
Third Plate

32 rōpita silā || Paśchī(śahi)ma bhumi parvatā sī(ā)i khara || Parata durgā
dhaṭārāma abhyantarikōta rōpita silā || Vāyavya-dīsa khe-
dāpilī roṃmēngā || Abhyantarikōta rōpita silā || Utra(tta)-
dīsa valmika sanidhi rōpita silā || Isātē kōlātaṭā-
da-bhītare rōpita silā* ||
37 'svadītā parādatām vā || jō harēti vasumdhara || saśīn vā-
38 risa sahaṃrāṇ || vīśhīrāhām jāvāt kṛma || Mama vaṃ-
sē na jō jātā || jō bhavati nārādhipā || tēśāṁ pādallagnō
40 mī || mama datam na lōpāḥ [[*]

1 This is probably for sanidhi.
2 Read 'Isātē.
3 * In correct Sanskrit the description of the boundaries of the gift land in lines 35-36 would read: pūrṇa-disāy-
dām Vākāyam prastaraḥ; parastā pūrṇa-dīṣyām sīlā-kunda(Orīya chāta, cchāta)-abhyantarikīya hijalavīrakṣē (vyākṣa-tālē) rōpita-sīlā; apruts-dīṣyām Gopālajīrā-kūṇa-rōpita-sīlā; pranidhā Śaśītu-dīṣyām-abhyantarī māraṇī-
vyākṣa-tālē rōpita-sīlā; pūrṇa-dīṣyām valśeṣkāya-tilē rōpita-sīlā; parastā prastara-pāñjāḥ; parastā tīṁtīn-
4 * Lines 37-40 quote the well-known imprecatory stanzas which abound in mistakes too numerous to be
corrected.
No. 8—NOTE ON MADAGRAMA GRANT OF DEVENDRAVARMAN AND BHIMAKHEDI

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

In the foregoing article, Dr. R. C. Majumdar has edited the Madaagrama grant which was issued in Saka 988 (1066 A.D.) during the reign of Ganga Devendravarman by his Kadamba feudatory Bhimakhedi II, son of Dharmakheji. Kadamba Dharmakheji issued the Santa-Bommali plate in the Ganga year 520 during the reign of Ganga Devendravarman, son of Anantavarman, and the Mandasa plate dated in Saka navā-sataka-saptarasa during the reign of Ganga Anantavarman. The expression saptarasa has been taken by Dr. Majumdar to be a combination of sapt (i.e. 7) and rasa (meaning 6), although such a combination of an ordinary numerical word with a word-numeral is unknown in early Orissan records, while we have taken it to stand for Sanskrit saptadasa, Prakrit sattarasa, i.e. 17. The date of the Mandasa plate is therefore Saka 976 (1064 A.D.) or 967 (1045 A.D.) according to Dr. Majumdar, but Saka 917 (995 A.D.) in our opinion. Ganga Anantavarman of the Mandasa plates has been identified with the homonymous Ganga king mentioned as the father of Devendravarman of the Santa-Bommali plates. Thus in Dr. Majumdar’s opinion the Ganga year 520 fell sometime after 1054 or 1045 A.D., and therefore the era started sometime about the middle of the sixth century and not about the close of the fifth century as is now generally believed. He thinks that Ganga Devendravarman of the Santa-Bommali plates is the same as the Ganga king of that name mentioned in the Madaagrama grant of 1066 A.D. and further identifies that ruler with the well-known Imperial Ganga monarch Rajaraja I Devendravarman, son of Vajrabhasta III Anantavarman and father of the great Anantavarman Chodagaanga. But the identification of Devendravarman of the Madaagrama grant with Rajaraja I Devendravarman is not so easy as he has made it to appear.

In the inscriptions of Vajrabhasta III Anantavarman, the king claims to have been anointed on the 20th April 1058 A.D. The same date of his coronation is quoted in the records of his son Rajaraja I Devendravarman: but they add that Vajrabhasta III ruled for 33 years and that Rajaraja I was anointed on Thursday, Jyeshtha-saun 8, Saka 992 (20th May, 1070 A.D.). Similarly the inscriptions of Anantavarman Chodagaanga state that his grandfather Vajrabhasta III ruled the earth for 33 years and his father Rajaraja I for 8 years and that he himself was anointed on Saturday, the 17th February 1078 A.D. It will be seen that the period from the coronation of Vajrabhasta III to that of Rajaraja I covers a little above 32 years, reckoned in the records as 33 years in round number apparently because the king ended his rule in his 33rd regnal year. Similarly the period between the coronation of Rajaraja I and that of Chodagaanga covers 7 years and several months, the duration being reckoned as 8 years in the records. There is hardly any room to doubt the genuineness of these statements. Since Rajaraja I Devendravarman is thus known to have ascended the throne in 1070 A.D., he can hardly be identified with Devendravarman of the Madaagrama grant, who was ruling in 1066 A.D. when Vajrabhasta III is known to have been on the throne.

1 Bhandarkar’s List, No. 2053.
2 Ibid., No. 1051.
3 Ibid., No. 1090.
5 Bhandarkar, op. cit., No. 1099. In some of the later records (ibid., No. 1103; cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 239) of Anantavarman Chodagaanga, the duration of Vajrabhasta’s rule is given as 30 years apparently through oversight. The evidence of the earlier records of Chodagaanga and of his father must be regarded as more authentic as it is supported by the dates of the coronation of the three monarchs known from their records.

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The identification of Dēvendravarman of the Mādāgrāma grant (1066 A.D.) with Rājarāja I Dēvendravarman (1070-78 A.D.) is supported by Dr. Majumdar with the following arguments which are serially discussed below.

1. He points out that the two sets of rulers, viz. (1) Anantavarman and his son Dēvendravarman, known from the Santa-Bommali and Mandasa plates and the Mādāgrāma grant, and (2) Vajrahasta III Anantavarman and his son Rājarāja I Dēvendravarman, were ruling in the same period. But the identification of Dēvendravarman of the Mādāgrāma grant with the homonymous king mentioned in the Santa-Bommali plates as the son of Anantavarman is his own suggestion based on his own interpretation of the expression saptaraśa in the Mandasa plates mentioning Anantavarman.

2. Dr. Majumdar puts unnecessary emphasis on the discrepancies in the Gaṅga inscriptions without noticing that they are really between two sets of records, viz. earlier and later, of which the former are certainly more reliable. He also forgets that the Aṅka reckoning cannot be regarded as responsible for the mistake (as he imagines) regarding the duration of Rājarāja I Dēvendravarman’s reign quoted in the records of his son and successor Anantavarman Chōḍagāṅga. Firstly, this reckoning was introduced much later than the days of Rājarāja I and Chōḍagāṅga. Secondly, if Rājarāja I ascended the throne in 1066 A.D. (not in 1070 A.D. as clearly stated in his own records) and actually ruled for 12 years in 1066-78 A.D., his son could not have reduced the period to 8 years only according to the Aṅka method of calculation. Because the period of 12 actual years would be 14 Aṅka years (not 8, for 8 actual years would make only 6 Aṅka years). The suggestion that the Kambakaya plates, assigned to Śaka 1003 (1081 A.D.), may be ascribed to Rājarāja I Dēvendravarman is unconvincing as there is little possibility of the continuation of his rule after the 17th February 1078 A.D. when his son Anantavarman Chōḍagāṅga was anointed.

3. There is absolutely no proof in favour of the suggestion that the Gaṅga kings associated their sons in the sovereignty during their own lifetime. Dr. Majumdar’s belief that Kāmārṇava was anointed in 1142 A.D., although his father Chōḍagāṅga ruled till 1148 A.D., is based on the wrong reading (Śaka 1064) in later records. The earlier records give the date of Kāmārṇava’s ascension correctly as Śaka 1069, i.e. 1147-48 A.D.2

Under the circumstances, it is difficult to accept Dr. Majumdar’s view, based on the unwarranted identification of Dēvendravarman of the Mādāgrāma grant with Rājarāja I, that the Gaṅga era started sometime between 546 and 556 A.D.

Dr. Majumdar’s contention that no Gaṅga king named Dēvendravarman ruled before Śaka 992 (1070 A.D.) and that the assumption of the names Anantavarman and Dēvendravarman respectively by a father and a son is not noticed amongst the Gaṅga rulers of an earlier date is wrong. We have among the Early Eastern Gaṅgas at least four Gaṅga kings named Dēvendravarman who ruled earlier than Śaka 992 and at least two of them are known to have been the sons of kings named Anantavarman.3

Dr. Majumdar rules out the possibility of the identification of Dēvendravarman of the Mādāgrāma grant with the Gaṅga king of that name ruling from Śvētaka⁴ and holds that the former must be the homonymous Gaṅga king known from the Santa-Bommali plates on the ground that

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1 See above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 238 ff.
2 Ibid., p. 242. The correct reading of the date is found also in the recently discovered Dagobha plates of Rājarāja III to be published in this journal.
3 See Bhandarkar’s List, p. 386.
4 Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 65, note 3.
the Santa-Bommali and Mandasa plates and the Mādağrama grant have the introductory part couched in almost the same language. This argument in favour of the identification is, however, quite unsatisfactory. The similarity of the introductory part in the three records is clearly due to the fact that all of them were issued by the Kadamba chiefs of Jayantyāpara. That it is of little value in determining the identification of the overlords of those chiefs can be easily demonstrated. In the first place, the introductory part of these records has nothing strikingly in common with the corresponding part of the records of Vajrahasta III Anantavarman and Rājarāja I Devendravarman, with whom Dr. Majumdar is inclined to identify the kings Anantavarman and Devendravarman, known from the Santa-Bommali and Mandasa plates and the Māḏagrama grant. Secondly, we know that the Kauravas of Karkaṛḍi, who originally owed allegiance to the Kalachuris and later to the Chandellas, mention, in the introductory part of their records, their overlords of both the families with the same description. It is worth noting that even certain characteristic Kalachuri epithets, such as Trīkaling-ādhipati and Vāmādeva-pād-ānudhyāta, are known to have been wrongly applied by the Kauravas to their later overlords, the Chandella monarchs.1

As regards the independent rule of certain Gaṅga kings side by side with the early rulers of the imperial branch of the Gaṅga family during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, attention may now be drawn to the Polsara (Gaṅjam District, Orissa) plates2 issued in 1147-48 A.D. by Ārkēśvara, son of Pramāḍi and grandson of Paramabhaṭṭaraka Gūṇārṇava.

Recently I had occasion to examine an inscription3 from Nandigaon near Tekkali (Śrīkakulam District) and two epigraphs4 from Paikpad in the Raigad region of the Gaṅjam District. These records, written in the Gaudīya script, do not bear any date, but can be assigned on palaeographical grounds to dates about the twelfth century A.D. It is interesting to note that the Tekkali inscription refers itself to the reign of king Devendravarman and the Paikpad epigraphs to that of Mahārajādhirāja Paramēśvara Dānārṇava. Now, even if it is possible to identify this Devendravarman with Rājarāja I Devendravarman, to place Dānārṇava in the imperial branch of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty is very difficult in the present state of our knowledge. It is probable that Dānārṇava of the Paikpad inscriptions was related to Gūṇārṇava of the Polsara plates.

Dr. Majumdar’s theory offers another serious difficulty. The Chicacoile (Śrīkakulam) plates5 of the Gaṅga year 526 were issued during the rule of the Gaṅga king Madhukāmārṇava, son of Anantasimha, i.e. Anantavarman. This suggests that Gaṅga Anantavarman’s son Devendravarman, during whose reign the Santa-Bommali plates of the Gaṅga year 520 were issued, was succeeded on the throne by his younger brother named Madhukāmārṇava. As Rājarāja I Devendravarman, with whom Dr. Majumdar identifies king Devendravarman of the Santa-Bommali plates, was succeeded by his son and not by a younger brother, it has been suggested that Madhukāmārṇava was just another name of Rājarāja I. It has, however, not been noticed that the introductory part of the Chicacoile plates does not resemble that of any of the Gaṅga-Kadamba records referred to above or of the copper-plate grants of Rājarāja I so far discovered. The suggestion that Rājarāja I was also known as Madhukāmārṇava is again

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1 Ind. Ant., Vol. XVII, pp. 228 ff., 328 ff., 331 ff.
3 No. 90 of 1954-55.
4 Nos. 224-25 of 1953-54.
5 Bhadarkar, op. cit., No. 2054.
unsupported by any of the numerous records of the imperial branch of the Gaṅga family including his own epigraphs. It is also inexplicable why this inscription, like the charters of the Kadambas (believed by Dr. Majumdar to have been issued during the reign of Rājarāja I) and those of the Early Gaṅgas, is dated in the Gaṅga era while the grants of the Imperial Gaṅgas from the time of Vajrabhasta III are all dated in the Śaka era. Another difference between these records dated in the Gaṅga era and the grants of Rājarāja I dated in the Śaka era is that, while the former are written in the Kaliṅga script, the Gauḍiya alphabet has been employed in the latter.
No. 9—SULTANPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION

(1 Plate)

NIRADENDHU SANYAL, NAVADVIP

This copper plate was handed over to me on behalf of the Varendra Research Society for decipherment in 1937 by Mr. Rajani Mohan Sanyal of Naogaon in the Rajshahi District. It was originally preserved in an old wooden box for a very long time as an heirloom in the family of Namiruddin Khondkar, a Muhammadan priest of Sultanpur in the suburb of Naogaon town. The family had originally been settled in the village of Kalaikuri, about 8 miles from Naogaon town, in the Adamgighi Police Station of the Bogra District, whence Namiruddin’s grandfather came over to Sultanpur about a century ago, having inherited the ancestral property of his maternal grandfather. It cannot now be definitely ascertained if this plate had been brought to Sultanpur among other goods and chattels which he obtained by inheritance. The provenance of the plate cannot thus be exactly determined.1

The inscription was published by Dr. D. C. Sircar first in an article in the Bengali monthly journal Vanga, Vaisaka, 1350 B. S., and then in English in the Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XIX, March, 1943. He names the record after Kalaikuri. Dr. Sircar, however, had no opportunity of examining the original plate but had to depend on unsatisfactory impressions. He therefore could not read some of the letters while some of them were read by him wrongly.

This is a single plate, rectangular in shape, with an oval projection (3½” in diameter) at the top, which shows a triangular hole in the middle. Evidently this was meant to fix the seal, which is now missing. It measures 9½”×5½” and weighs 52 tulas. The writing is well executed and consists of 34 lines, of which sixteen are engraved on the obverse and eighteen on the reverse. Owing to corrosion, from which the plate has suffered especially on the right hand side, many letters on both faces of the plate are either obscure or have completely disappeared. The size of the letters varies from 3” to 1”.

The characters belong to the Northern Class of alphabets of the 5th century A.D. and resemble closely those used in the Dhanaidaha copper-plate inscription2 of the Gupta year 113 and the Baisagram copper-plate inscription3 of the Gupta year 128. As in the Baisagram, Dhanaidaha, Damodarpur4 and Paharpur5 copper plates, medial ā is sometimes indicated by a hook like stroke at the lower end of the letter to the right; cf. Brāhma-āṇī (line 2), bhūgā-ū (line 18), kālā-ū, khā (line 21), and parikā (line 8). The form of the medial a in Rudra (line 3) and Prabhu6 (line 6) and that of the medial ā in Parāja (line 1) and Kārābhāṭi (line 5) may be noted. The sign of b may be seen in Brāhma-āṇī (line 2), etc. The rare letter dh is used in Lāṭika (line 11). The forms of the conjuncts kahū, nh, hm, ṭ, ṣ, ṇ, and lm may be observed in lakṣmīna (line 3), sihā (line 5), Brahma and bhāṭa (line 7), Uṣā (line 8), Kadāṣa (line 9) and Gulma (line 22) respectively. Final m is seen as joined with the preceding letter slightly below the top line in

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1 [Under the circumstances, the inscription may probably be called ‘the Kalaikuri-Sultanpur Plate’.—Ed.]
3 Ibid., Vol. XXI, pp. 78-83.
4 Ibid., Vol. XV, pp. 113-45.
5 Ibid., Vol. XX, pp. 59-64.
6 [See below, p. 63, note 7.—Ed.]
samevat (line 34) and so is final $t$ in the same word and in vaśīt in line 31. The numerical signs for 100, 20 and 1 are used in line 34 and those for 5 and 2 in lines 25 and 27 respectively.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of five imprecatory verses at the end, the entire record is in prose. As in the Damodarpur and Beigrum plates, the suffix ka is occasionally used, as in nīrdīṣṭhaka (lines 16 and 24) and upasakacātaka (line 29). Errors of the engraver may be noted in Yaśārīma (line 1) and rakṣyā (line 33). The word kulaśāpa is used both in the masculine (line 15) and in the neuter (line 27).

As regards orthography, the following may be noted. The letter $b$ is occasionally used for $v$ as in vihitam-b (line 2), kulyabāpa (lines 13, 15, 16, etc.), sambhyavathā (lines 25-29) and para-dattān-b (line 30). The letter $k$ is not doubled before $y$ in dinirikya (lines 13 and 19) as in the Damodarpur and Beigrum plates, but is occasionally doubled before $r$, as in Śukra (line 9), sīk-raya (line 19; cf., however, line 13). The letter $t$ is not doubled before $r$ as in the Beigrum plate, while consonants are doubled after $r$, as in śārmma (line 8), śarppa (line 9), Śarma (line 10), nīrdīṣṭhaka (line 16), svarrgā (line 31). Final $m$ is retained before $v$ in samevat (line 34). The guttural nasal takes the place of the anuvāra before $k$, in śīka (line 4) and upasakacātaka (line 20).

The document is dated the first day of Vaiśākha of the year 1211, which undoubtedly refers to the Gupta era. As such, it would fall in April, 410 A.D. The name of the reigning monarch is not mentioned; but there is no doubt that the record belongs to the reign of the Gupta emperor Kumārāgupta I, whose karnā dates range from the Gupta year 113 to 135. The date of the present record falls between that of the Dhanṣāraḥ plate of 113 G. E. and that of the Damodarpur plates of 124 G. E. Dr. Sircar reads the date of the record under study as "the first (?) day of Vaiśākha of the year 1208," and further observes, "The script in which Mr. Sanyal finds the figure 1 could have been considered to be the faint traces of a figure if only they were close to the symbol for 20 as those for 100 and 20 actually are."  

Like other copper-plate inscriptions of the Gupta period, so far recovered from North Bengal, the inscription relates to the grant, made by the state, of unoccupied uncultivated lands, yielding no revenue, with the object of creating an endowment in perpetuity. The document records that the artisan Bhima, the scribes Prabhuchandra, Rudradasa, Dēvadasa, Lakṣmāna, Kānti-dēva, Sambhu-datta and Krishnādāsa, and the record-keepers Śrīhādāna and Yāśo-dāna, for increasing the religious merit of their parents, presented an application to Achyutādāsa, who was the king's officer (Ayaktāk) in charge of the Śrīvācāra viśā, and also to the local adhikārī (head of administration) and the leading men and house-holders of the viśā, for the grant of nine kulaśāpas of uncultivated land, yielding no revenue, distributed in the villages of Hātsirāha, Viḥitāk, Gūtigandhikā and Dhānayāpālīkā, all within the area of Gōhāli, at the prevalent local rate of two divās for each kulaśāpa, for the purpose of endowing them in perpetuity in favour of the Bṛhmanas Dēvat-haṭṭa, Amarādatta and Mahāśānavatadatta, who belonged to Puṇḍravardhāna and were students of the Viśvaśāna school and were versed in the four Vedas, to enable them to perform the five great sacrifices. The representation was referred to the record-keepers Śrīhādāna and Yāśo-dāna for investigation and report. They verified the statements made in the application as regards the unoccupied and uncultivated lands and also the local rate quoted for their sale. Having ascertained that there was no objection to the proposal, they recommended the grant, whereupon the sale was finally sanctioned. Having received payment of the sale price, nine kulaśāpas of land in the said localities were conveyed to the grantees—five kulaśāpas
to Devabhaṣja and two each to Amaradatta and Mahāśena. Of the nine kulaṇḍapati, one was enclosed by an ancient moat, with the Vātā river on the north and the borders of Gułmangadhikā on the west, two ḍrāṇavāpas were in Gułmangadhikā, in its east, to the west of the first pathway, and the remaining seven kulaṇḍapati and six ḍrāṇavāpas were in Tāṇavarāṭi and Dayitaṭṭākā in the pravāha of Vihitaka. The transaction was then notified by the king’s officer and the local adhikarana, from the head-quarters of the vīthi at Pāṃnak-vaśikā, to the Brāhmaṇas and other residents of the villages in which the lands conveyed by the grant were situated, for the preservation of the endowment in perpetuity by themselves as well as by future villagers and officers of government.

It has to be noted that the above application was addressed not only to the king’s officer and the local adhikarana but also to the leading people of the vīthi. It has thus been questioned whether village lands in Bengal during the period under review belonged to the people or to the State or to both jointly, subject to the respective interests of each. It is, however, well known that State ownership of land was an admitted principle of ancient Indian public law. The evidence of Megasthenes and Kautilya’s Arthasastra leaves little room for doubt that in the Mauryan land revenue system the entire land belonged to the king. Even in the Gupta period it is now definitely known that proceeds from the sale of unsettled lands in Bengal belonged to the king.

Besides, it is seen from the seal legends that these charters for the sale and grant of lands for the creation of permanent endowments were always issued solely by the local adhikarana, although the application for the purpose might have been addressed to the leading people of the locality in addition to the head of the district and the local adhikarana. It is also noteworthy that such a mode of address was adopted only in a few instances. In most cases these applications were addressed only to the head of the district and the local adhikarana. Even the head of the district (vishaya-pati) had to apply to the local adhikarana for grant of village lands. There is thus little doubt that the disposal of village lands really lay with the local adhikarana.

Adhikarana means a ‘city’. Adhikarana-adhikarana may therefore be interpreted as a ‘city office’, which was meant for the administration of civil affairs of the city. It is well known that the civil administration of the city of Pātaliputra under the rule of the Mauryas was entrusted to a municipal commission which consisted of six boards. The commissioners in their collective capacity had charge of all matters concerning public welfare, while the departmental functions of the six boards or committees were: (1) industrial arts, (2) care of foreigners, (3) registration of births and deaths, (4) retail trade and barter, (5) supervision of manufactures and their sale and (6) collection of the tithes on the price of goods sold. Even under the Maurya administration, such a comprehensive machinery, required for the administration of the complex affairs of the extensive capital city, might not have been needed in the case of smaller towns.

In the Gupta period, the administration of the city of Kṣitigarva was entrusted to one committee only under the control of the head of the district. This committee, called the adhikarana-

1 [For the meaning of this word, see pradeśa known from other records in expressions like Siśū-pradeśa.
Kandaliṣṭ habitatā interpreted as ‘Kandaliṣṭa-grāma having its rent assessed along with that of Siśū’.

Cf. Indian As., Letters, Vol. XVIII, p. 78, note.—Ed.]


Ghosal, Hindu Revenue System, pp. 204 ff.

* V. A. Smith, Oxford History of India, pp. 89 ff.
* Above, Vol. XXXII, p. 54.
* V. A. Smith, op. cit., p. 87.
* Above, Vol. XV, pp. 130 ff.
ādhikaraṇa in the inscriptions, was composed of four members, who, besides having charge of departmental duties, worked also in a collective capacity. These members were the leading banker of the town (nagara-śrēṣṭhin), the chief registrar (prathama-kāyaśtha), and the heads of the associations of artisans (prathama-kulika) and traders (śārthavāha). The prathama-kulika probably supervised affairs relating to industrial arts. The śārthavāha was concerned apparently with the regulation of trades, and the prathama-kāyaśtha with all registration works regarding disposal of movable property, births, deaths, foreigners, etc. It is difficult to ascertain exactly in which way the nagara-śrēṣṭhin was useful to the committee. With his expert knowledge of commodities, his services might have been required in the adhikaraṇa for supervision of manufactures and collection of duties. Under the Gupta system, therefore, the departmental functions of the committee for the administration of civil affairs of a city seem to have been arranged as follows: (1) manufactures and collection of duties, (2) industrial arts, (3) trade, and (4) registration.

Regarding the functions of the Maurya commission, it is stated that the boards in their collective capacity had charge both of their special departments and also of matters of public interest such as the keeping of public buildings in proper repair and the regulation of prices, and the care of markets, harbours and temples. The members of the Gupta adhikaraṇa also might hare similar departmental and collective functions. At least in the matter of sale and grant of lands it is seen that the committee gave its sanction as a collective body.

As regards the extent of authority of the adhikaraṇa, it was confined not merely to the limits of the city, but extended also to suburban areas. Thus, in the Phalarpur copperplate inscription, a representation is stated to have been made before the adhikaraṇa for the grant of lands in certain rural areas belonging to the Nāgirattra maṇḍala of the Dakhipāṭhāṅka viṇḍi. Similar disposals of land are referred to also in the Damodarpur inscriptions.

The constitution of a viṇḍu-adhikaraṇa, meant for the transaction of affairs of a viṇḍa, seems to have been different from that of the adhikaraṇa. It had only a senior member (jāṭhikā adhikaraṇikā) at the head, who was sometimes the senior registrar (jāṭhikā kāyaśtha). As the affairs of this adhikaraṇa were probably less complex, no mention is made of a śrēṣṭhin, kulika or śārthavāha as its member. Disposal of village lands was made by this adhikaraṇa evidently with the approval of the head of the district. Details are not available about the constitution of the viṇḍu-adhikaraṇa. Its functions were probably similar to those of the viṇḍu-adhikaraṇa and its jurisdiction was confined to a viṇḍa.

Another adhikaraṇa referred to in inscriptions is the ashtakul-adhikaraṇa. This has been explained as an officer having supervising authority over eight kuhs, the word kula being taken to mean either a family or as much ground as can be ploughed by two ploughs, each drawn by 6 bulls. The appointeent of rural officers each for supervision of eight families or a small area of

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1 Above, Vol. XV, pp. 130 ff.
2 Of. U. N. Ghosnil, op. cit., pp. 203 ff. The board of administration seems to have worked like a Pachchāyat, the Nagarāśrēṣṭhin being its chairman. The Nagarāśrēṣṭhin (i.e. Nagarāśrēṣtēṇa) heading the Pachchāyat is known from the history of Rajasthan. See Journal of the University of Gauhati, Vol. VI, pp. 81 ff.—Ed.
3 V. A. Smith, loc. cit. ; J. W. McCrindle, Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian, London, 1877.
4 pp. 86 ff.
5 Above, Vol. XV, pp. 130 ff.
6 Ibid., Vol. XX, pp. 81 ff.
7 Ibid., Vol. XV, pp. 130 ff.
8 Ibid., Vol. XVIII, p. 76.
9 Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXIX, 1910, pp. 200, 204.
10 But see above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 54-55.
11 Ibid., Vol. XV, p. 137 n. 2.
land in each village does not seem to be a plausible conjecture. Even if such a necessity existed in villages, the purpose might well have been served by the mahattaras. Moreover, if it really signifies a village officer, whether for the supervision of different plots of agricultural lands or for the supervision of households, the number of such officers in each village must have been more than one. In the Dhanaicabha plate, the word is used as a neuter singular and seems to signify a corporate body invested with definite administrative powers rather than individual officers. Grum-ashakul-adhikarana thus appears to be a board composed of eight kulas for the administration of village affairs. Dr. Sircar interprets the expression as a 'Village Board' representing eight or more families.1 The compound mahattar-adhy-ashina-kul-adhikarana in the Damodarpur copper-plate inscription No. 3 indicates that at least one of the constituents, of which the ashakul-adhikarana was composed, was represented by the mahattaras. The term kula in the compound ashakul-adhikarana should thus be better interpreted as a 'community'.2 The other constituents of the ashakul-adhikarana must have represented other village communities, although it is not possible to ascertain at present what they exactly were.

In the said Damodarpur inscription, a notification is addressed by the ashakul-adhikarana and other people of Palashvindika to the people of Chandragrama for the sale and grant of a plot of land. It seems that the administration of the affairs of all these villages remained with the same ashakul-adhikarana which was located at Palashvindika. It is therefore reasonable to assume that these adhikaranas were appointed over convenient groups of neighbouring villages for transaction of their affairs somewhat like the Union Boards of the present day.

The different classes of adhikarana as discussed above were instituted in accordance with the requirements of respective territorial divisions. The largest territorial division under the Gupta administration was bhakti which was divided into a number of vishayas. A nīlī seems to have been a sub-division of a vishayā and consisted of a number of māndalas or circles3 or groups of villages.

It will be observed from what has been stated above that the procedure for the disposal of land consisted of the following: (1) presentation of the application for the purchase and grant of land by the intending purchaser to the local officer of the king, the local adhikarana and the people of the locality; (2) verification of the statements made in the application by the record-keepers; (3) sanction of the sale and the grant on the recommendation of the record-keepers with the concurrence of the local people; (4) delivery of possession of the land to the grantees on payment of the sale price; (5) notification of the grant by the head of the local administration and the local adhikarana to the residents of the villages in which the lands conveyed by the grant were situate and to the officers of Government who were concerned with the affairs for their information and guidance.

It is difficult to form an accurate idea about the area of land which was conveyed by the document under review. Various attempts have been made to fix the area of a kulayā. It is now generally accepted that it denotes an area of land on which one kulya of grain could be sown. One kulya of grain has been interpreted by Dr. Bhattasali to be as much as can be contained

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1 IHQ, Vol. XIX, p. 16.
3 For kula used in this sense, cf. also R. C. Majumdar, Corporate Life in Ancient India, p. 231. (The expression Mahattar-adhy may mean that the Mahatara or village-headman was the chairman of the board.—Ed.)
4 Above, Vol. XV, pp. 130 ff.
6 Ibid., Vol. XX, p. 61.
in a winnowing basket. Dr. Sircar invites attention to the following measures of paddy accepted as the basis of their calculation by the Śrīvīśnupadī authorities of the Bengal school:

- 8 mushquis (handfuls of grain) = 1 kuńchi
- 8 kuńchis = 1 pushkala
- 8 pushkals = 1 ādhaka
- 4 ādhakas = 1 drōga
- 8 drōgas = 1 kulya

"A drōga of paddy", he observes "is equal in the modern measure to 1 ind. 24 as. or 2 mds. The land required for sowing the seedlings of one kulya of paddy was no doubt called a kulyavāpa (cf. Amarakūśa, Vaiśya 10). As the present Bengal rate is seedlings of one kulya of paddy would require between 125 and 160 bigħas. A kulyavāpa was thus originally not less than 125 bigħas. If it is supposed that the system refers not to transplantation but to sowing of seeds, one kulyavāpa would be from 33 to 48 bigħas as the rate is 1 mds. of paddy seeds for 3 bigħas."

One mushqui or handful of paddy will weigh about 7½ tolas. One kulya of paddy will thus amount to about 10 mds. 8 as. In North Bengal, half a munda of paddy seeds is usually required for sowing a bigħa of land, and so, on this assumption, a kulyavāpa of land appears to be no less than 38½ bigħas. On the contrary, Dr. Bhattacharji points out that the name kulyavāpa survives in the form of kulavāpa, which is the name of the local standard land measure in the Sylhet District, being equivalent to 14 bigħas only. In the opinion of Pargiter the area was far less, being only a little larger than an acre.4

Whatever might be the process by which the area of land in a kulyavāpa was originally determined, it must have been definitely fixed, although it could have varied in different localities according to the prevalent custom. This area is frequently referred to in inscriptions as having been measured by reeds. In some localities its dimensions are referred to as being measured by 8 × 9 reeds, while in other localities by 6 × 6 reeds. The reeds consisted of a number of cubits, which also varied according to the length of the hand of individuals in different localities. Even the number of cubits in a reed might have varied in different localities. The quantity of land in a kulyavāpa was therefore not the same everywhere.

As regards the situation of the land, Dr. Sircar observes: "The Vāṭānadi of the inscription may be the present Bārànai flowing west to east through the southern part of the Rajshahi District. The name of the Śrīgavāra vīśī seems to be preserved in that of the modern Siţār Police Station in the Natore Subdivision of the same District, situated about 10 miles to the north-east of the junction of the Bārānai and the Aṭraî . . . the other localities mentioned in the Kalaiquiri inscription . . . may be searched for about the southern bank of the Bārānai."5

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1 Ibid., Vol. XVIII, p. 79, f.n. 2. [See below.—Ed.]
3 Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 79 f.n. 2; also Bhāratakosamudī, 1349 B. S., Vol. XXX, pt. 1, p. 384. (For the later modifications of kulyavāpa and dromavāpa, see Bhāratakosamudī, loc. cit. The area of a kulyavāpa as suggested by Pargiter is impossible in view of the price quoted and the high purchasing power of a Gupta gold coin.—Ed.)
6 Ibid., Vol. XX, p. 63.
8 IHQ, Vol. XIX, p. 20.
It will, however, be noted in this connection that the donation referred to in the inscription was made in favour of Brāhmaṇas who belonged to Pundravarṇādhana, the site of which has now been definitely identified with Mahāsthān in the Borga District.\(^1\) It will therefore be reasonable to look for the situation of the grant as near the residence of the donees as possible.\(^2\) The lands conveyed by the document lay in Hastiśīrṣha, Vībhītakī, Dhānyapāṭalikā and Gulmagandhikā, all belonging to the Gōhāli mārga of the Śrīgavēra viṭṭha. There is a place called Śīgāhār about 20 miles to the south-west of Mahāsthān. Śīgāhār might be a corruption of Śrīgavēra. About 7 miles to the east of Śīgāhār is a village called Gōhāli. About a couple of miles to the north of Śīgāhār is a village called Beheegaon, which might be a corruption of Vībhītaki. About 4 miles to the north-east of Beheegaon is a village called Hātrasār which might be the old Hastiśīrṣha. The village of Dhānyapāṭalikā appears to have stood on the bank of the Vāṭa. The only river in the locality is a small stream called Nāgar, an offtake of the Karatovā. About 3 miles to the north of Hātrasār is a village called Dānpūjā on the Nāgar river. Is it the modern representative of Dhānyapāṭalikā? I am unable to locate Gulmagandhikā.

**TEXT**

**Obverse**

1 Svasti [[*] Śrīgavēra-vaitheya-Pūrṇpakaśa[?]ikāgāh Āyuktak(o)-chuyatadāsō-dhi[?r]apa[?]-ha Hastiśīrṣha [Vībhītakī]yām [Gul][ma[gandhi].

2 Kāyāḥ Dhānyapāṭalikāyāh sa-Gōhāliṣṭha Brāhmaṇ-ādin-grāma-kusum[binaḥ k]u-
   ālam-anuvarnaḥ bōdhyanti [[*] vijitam-bō(tah vō)

3 bhavishya[ti] yathā iha-vithi-Kulika-Bhima-Kāyastha-Prabhuchandra-Rudradāsa-Dēvadatta-
   Lakṣmaṇa-Kā[ntīdiṭṭha-Śambhudatta-Krishṇa-

4 dāsa-Pustapāla-Siṅha(Siṅha)[nandi]-Yaśodāmabhīḥ Vīthi-mahattara-Kumārdeva-Gaṇḍa-Prā-
   japati-Uma-Yaṣṭarāmaś sarman-Jyēṣṭha-

5 dāmaś-Svāmiḥandhra-Hariṣṭha[siṅha]-kusumbi-Yaśovīṣhṇu-Kumārvīṣhṇu-Kumārabhava-
   Kumārabhūti-Kumāra-S[ōgul]pta-Vaḷiṇa[ndi[?]]

6 Śivakungeons-Vasuvāś-Āparaśiva-Dāmarudra-Prabhumitraś-Krishṇamitra-Maṅgaśarmanma\(^9\).  
   Īvaṁandhra-Rudra-Bhavana[tha]. \(^10\)

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\(^1\) See above, Vol. XXI, p. 88.

\(^2\) There are numerous instances to prove this assumption to be definitely wrong. There can moreover hardly be any doubt about the identification of Vāṭa-nadi with the present Bā rhsāri.—Ed.

\(^3\) From the original plate.

\(^4\) Possibly Saṃgohālasa or Saṃgohālisa.—Ed.

\(^5\) Better bhava[?].—Ed.

\(^6\) Read Yaśodāma. [Better Uma[?]yāśo-Rāmaśarmana.—Ed.

\(^7\) The reading is 'dī[?d]ma.—Ed.

\(^8\) The akṣara does not look like adi.—Ed.

\(^9\) The reading is Prabhā; cf. Prabhuchandra in line 3 and Bhavindatta in line 8.—Ed.

\(^10\) The rules of sandhi, which is compulsory in a compound, have not been observed here.—Ed.

\(^11\) The reading seems to be Rudrabhava-Sūlma[?]dv[?].—Ed.]
7 Śrīnātha-Hariśarman-Guptāsrama-Susambara-Harī-Alātāsvāmi-Brahmasvāmi-Mahāśēna-
  bhaṭṭa-Shashphirā(ma)ī-Gu. . . . .[ā]-
8 rmma1-Uṣṭāsrama-Kṛṣṇadatta-Nandadāma-Bhavadatta-Ahīsārma-Sōmavīṣṇou-Lakṣñ-
  maṇaśar[mm]. . . . . .Dhaivvaka-Kshēmasarman-Śū-
9 kṛṣṇasrama-Sa[rppa]jālita-Kaṅkūṭi-Vīvāsāṅkara-Jayavīṣṇou-Kaivartaśarman-Himasa-
  rma-Pu[raj]dara-Jaljavīṣṇou-Uma. . . . .
10 Śīhā(Śīhā)ta[Bonda-Nārāyana(ṇa)dāsa-Vīraṇāga-Rājyanāga-Guha-Mahi-Bhavanātha-
  Guhavīṣṇou-Sarvva-Yā[śō]vīṣṇou-Taṅka-Kuladāma . . . va-
11 Śrīguhavīṣṇou-Rāmasvāmi-Kāmanakunda-Ratibha-Ira-Achyuta-bhadrā-Lōṭhaka-Prabhu-
  kirtti-Jayād[ra]Kā. . . . . .[ā]Chyuta-Naradēva-Bhava-
12 Bhavakshita-Piṭhakakunda-Pravakunda-Sarvadāsa-Gōpala-pūrṇāḥ vayaṁ cha vijñā-
  pitāḥ iha-viṣṭham āpratikara-kīla-kuśātra-
13 sya sāvat-kāl-ōpahbogāy-ākshaya-nīvya dvi-dīnārikya-kīla-kuśātra-kulabā[va]pa-vikraya-
  māryādayā iḥōcchēmahā[13] prati
  chara-ābhyaantarā-Brahmaṇa-Dēva-
15 bhaṭṭa-Amaradatta-Mahāśēnadattānāṁ paṇīcha-mahāyaṅa-pravṛttanāya nava-kulabā-
  (vā)pān-kritva datun(tum) ēbhāṅgaropa-
16 ri[13]-nirddhata-grāmēṣhu kīla-kuśātrēci vidyāntē tad-arhath-śamattāḥ aṣṭādaś-
  dinārān-grhih[v] ētān navakulabā[va]pā-

Reverse
  pāṇi-Śīhā(Śīhā) mandi-Yaṣō[da[m]nō-s-cī-
1[1] The rules of sandhi which are compulsory in a compound have not been observed here.—Ed.
1[2] The reading of the name is doubtful.—Ed.
1[3] The reading seems to be Kānti-Dhēvcēkā.—Ed.
1[5] The name intended may be Sinhadatta.—Ed.
1[6] The reading is Ṛkṣa.—Ed.
1[7] The name seems to be Guhavīṣṇu, the previous name ending in āṭi.—Ed.
1[8] The rules of sandhi have not been observed here.—Ed.
1[9] The reading is Prabha.—Ed.
1[10] The reading seems to be “data.”—Ed.
1[11] The reading seems to be Kāṭaka.—Ed.
1[12] The word iḥōcchēmah appears to suit the context.—Ed.
1[13] The reading is chāturvīḍya.—Ed.
1[14] The reading seems to be vajēṣanēya which is a mistake for vajēṣanēya.—Ed.
1[15] Read śēr-śēr-sapār.—Ed.
1[16] Read “uṣhṇa-sana.”—Ed.
No. 9 SULTANPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION

18. vadhāraṇay-avadhīnto-sty=ayam=sha-vithyām=aprātikara-khila-kahṭtazya saśvat-kāll-

19. riṣya=kalyāṇa=vāpā-vikrayō=anuvṛtta=sad=diyaṭāṁ nāsti virāḷalḥ kaśchid-sūtvya sava-

20. dināraya-upasana(samhāra)(rita)kāñ=āyikṛtya Hastisīrṣa-Vibhītakṣyaṁ Dhānypāta-

21. dyām dakṣin-ōddāśešu asṭaṇ kalyāṇa(vāp)pha Dhānypātalika-grāmasya paśchim-

22. m=uttarāṇa Vātā=naḍī[ṁ] paśchimāṇa Gulmaṇgandhikā-grāmā-sūnām=ta kalyāṇa=pam-

23. n=adypaṭha paśchima-pradēśa Dṛgabī(ī)vāpā-dvayaḥ Hastisīrṣa-pravāṣya-Tāpasa.

24. bhūtaka-pravēya-Chitravatāṅgarā yāva[*][*] kalyāṇa(vāp)pha ṛṣa Dṛgabī(ī)vāpā phat śūn

25. dēśāhvēśāṁ Kūkā-Bhima-Kyastha-Prabhuchandra-Rudradēś-ādināṁ mātā-vitrōḥ puny-

26. Dēvabhaṭṭasya kalyāṇa(vāp)pha paṇḍha ku 5 Amaradattaṣya kalyāṇa(ī)vāpā-dvayaḥ

27. ku 2 ēśāṁ trayāṇī paṇḍha-amarāvajñā-pravarttanāya nava-kalyāṇa(vāp) phāni pradattāṁ[*]

28. tī likhyatē cha samupasthitā-kālam-apy-anīo Vishayapatayāyā Āyuktaṇaḥ kuṭumbinī
dhikaraniṇā vā samyha(samyha)va-

29. hārinī bhavishyanti tair-api bhūmi-dāna-phaḷam-avēkṣhya akṣaya-nīvya-anupālaṇīya [[*]

30. tā Vāśēna [[*] Sva-dattāṁ paraddattāṁ-bā(ī)tāṁ vā yō hare[ta] vasundharāṁ(rāṁ)

31. svargē vasati bhūmiṇaḥ [[*] ākshēptā ch-ānuma[ntā] cha tāḥ=eva naraṇē vasē [[*]

Kriṣāya kriṣāvṛittāya vṛtti-kahṇāya sīda[tē] [[*] bhūmiṁ

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[The reading is dhrītaḥ.—Ed.]
2. Read "dibhyāḥ=sākṣātaḥ or "dibhyāḥ askti dīvam.
3. Read Vibhītakī.
4. Read kalyāṇapamakām. [Read d Khalīṣha vītāḥ uṭtarāṇa vāṭānaḥ......grāmā-sūnām=taḥ (sūnāt)]
kalyāṇaḥ pradēśaḥ. (pādāḥ)kā.—Ed.
5. The letters read yāva appear to be written on an erasure and are doubtful.—Ed.
6. [Read kalyāṇapāḥ pradēśaḥ.—Ed.]
7. [The reading appears to be nivāsyati(ī).—Ed.]
8. [The reading may be kālūn yēnapravāgha.—Ed.]
2 vṛttikarnā=datvā sukh[i] bhavati kāmada[h][*] Bahubhir-vasudhā bhuktā bhujyate cha
punaḥ punaḥ[†] [[*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=ta[asya ta]jasya

33 tādā phalaḥ(ī)[am] || Pūrva-dattāṁ dvijātibhyō yatnād=rakahya(kaha) Yudhiṣṭhirā [[*]
Mahim-mahimatiṁ śreṣṭhā dānāc̣h-chhrēy-ṣvupā[la]jnam [[*] i̇[iti]1 [[*]

34 Samvat5 100 20 1 Vaiśākha-di 1 [[*]

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1 [The reading seems to be pālam=iti || Ed.]
2 Read asāvat.
3 This numeral is left out in Sircar’s transcript. The sign is distinct in the original. (The reading of 1 seems to be supported neither by the original nor by the impressions.—Ed.)
No. 10—UMACHAL ROCK INSCRIPTION OF SURENDRAVARMAN

(1 Plate)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund, and P. D. Chaudhury, Guwahati

One day about the middle of the year 1955, Mr. R. M. Nath, well-known for his enthusiasm in the discovery and study of antiquities in Assam, when he was Principal of the Assam Civil Engineering Institute at Guwahati, went to see Swami Sivanandaji of the Umachala Ashrama on the north-eastern slope of the Kamakhya or Nilachal hill near Guwahati. This part of the hill is known as the Umachal hill. The Swamiji informed Mr. Nath that, due to the uprooting of a very old banyan tree several years back, a huge rock bearing an inscription in very bold characters had been exposed to view near his Ashrama. The information excited the curiosity of Mr. Nath who at once examined the inscription which was found to be in a perfectly satisfactory state of preservation. The rock bearing the inscription was found to measure about 10 feet in height and 12 feet in breadth and to lie about 300 feet above the level of the river Brahmaputra. Next day Mr. Nath again visited the Umachala Ashrama and took photographs of the epigraph as well as its impressions on blotting paper. A gentleman named L. N. Das took considerable interest in the work. The impressions and photographs of the inscription were shown to the officers of the Assam State Museum, Guwahati. Later a photograph and an impression of the inscription were also sent for examination to the Government Epigraphist for India. The world of scholars is thankful to Swami Sivananda, Mr. R. M. Nath and Mr. L. N. Das for the discovery of this interesting epigraph.

The inscription consists of four lines of writing and covers a space measuring 12" to 15" by 10" to 11". The first line is 12" in length and the last 15". The characters belong to the Eastern variety of the Gupta Alphabet assignable to a period between the fourth and the sixth century A.D. The letters m, l, s and h are of the Eastern Gupta type. On palaeographical grounds, the inscription may be assigned to a date near about that of the Barganga inscription of Bhātivarman (circa 518-42 A.D.), with which it has very close resemblance in respect both of palaeography and style. The form of the letter y in the passage āţuţkāmaṇi viśhay-ā in line 3 of the Barganga inscription, however, seems to be later than that of the same letter in śvāmināya in line 4 of our record. Interesting from the palaeographical point of view is the representation of the mute m in kṛṣṭam in line 2 and of b by the sign for v in Valabhadra (line 3). The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. There is a grammatical error in the passage bhagavataḥ Balabhadravāmināya in lines 3-4, the intended reading apparently being either bhagavataḥ Balabhadravāmināya or bhagavatē Balabhadravāminē. It is clear that, for śvāmināya, Sanskrit śvāminē was the intended reading, although the word bhagavataḥ suggests that the scribe had originally śvāminē in mind. Of orthographical interest are the retention of the mute m before b in the passage kṛṣṭam bhagavataḥ (lines 2-3), the avoidance of sandhi in the passage bhagavataḥ Balabhadrē (line 3) and the change of the final m into anusvāra in guhain (line 4) which is the concluding word of the record. The use of the word guha in the neuter, probably in the sense of Sanskrit guhā, 'cave', is of lexical interest.¹

The inscription was meant to serve the purpose of a label of an artificial cave (gūha) or cave-temple constructed by Mahārājādhirāja Sūrēndravarman for Bhagavat Balabhadrāvāmin. ²

¹ Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 62 ff. and Plate.
² The word guhā, as used in the epigraph, does not appear to be derived from Sanskrit grikā under the influence of local pronunciation.

(67)
The epigraph is small; but its contents have some importance in view of the fact that Mahāprajāpādīrajā Surēndravarman, known from this record to have held sway over the heart of the Prāgyōtiṣṭha or Kāmarūpa country during the age of the Imperial Guptas, is not known from any other source, while the deity Bhagavat Balabhadrāsvāmin is not mentioned in any epigraphic record of the Gupta period so far known. The construction of artificial caves and the installation of deities therein are wellknown to the students of Indian history and epigraphy. But the present inscription supplies the only instance of the kind for Assam. The record also appears to be the earliest so far discovered in that State.

We know that, from the middle of the fourth till the middle of the seventh century, Prāgyōtiṣṭha or Kāmarūpa was under the rule of kings of a family called Bhauma or Nāraka and rarely also Varman. This dynasty was founded by Pushyavarmān who seems to have flourished in circa 350-74 A.D. His successors were his son Samudravarman (c. 374-98 A.D.), grandson Balavarman (c. 398-422 A.D.), great-grandson Kalyāpavarman (c. 422-46 A.D.) and great-great-grandson Gaṇapatiṣṭhavan (c. 446-70 A.D.). Gaṇapatiṣṭha's successor was MahĀndravarman (c. 470-94 A.D.) whose son Nārāyanavarman (c. 494-518 A.D.) and grandson Bhūtivarman or Mahābhūtivarman (c. 518-42 A.D.) were both performers of the horse-sacrifice. The Barganga inscription, which, as already noticed, seems to be slightly later than the record under review, was incised during the reign of the said Bhūtivarman. It therefore appears that the Umāchāl rock inscription was engraved during the reign of one of the said rulers of the Bhauma-Nāraka dynasty. It has to be remembered that the Umāchāl hill lies within a short distance from Gauhati where (or, in the vicinity of which) the capital of the Bhauma-Nāraka kings is believed to have been situated. The question is therefore whether Surēndravarman of the present record was identical with one of the above kings or he was a usurper. In the latter case, we have to determine whether he was a scion of the Bhauma-Nāraka dynasty or belonged to a different family. None of these questions can be settled satisfactorily in the present state of insufficient information. Since, however, in ancient India kings often enjoyed a number of different names, it may not be unreasonable to identify Surēndravarman of our inscription with one of the known rulers of the Bhauma-Nāraka dynasty, who flourished about the fifth century. Since again, in ancient India, kings were sometimes mentioned by synonyms of their names, Surēndravarman may be tentatively identified with MahĀndravarman of the Bhauma-Nāraka dynasty who flourished in c. 470-94 A.D. The names Surēndra and Mahādēva both indicate Indra, the lord of the gods.

As regards Bhagavat Balabhadrāsvāmin, for whom king Surēndravarman is stated in the record to have built an artificial cave or cave-temple, it may be argued that he was a saint held by the monarch in special esteem. It is, however, more likely that Bhagavat Balabhadrāsvāmin of the present inscription is no other than the wellknown Vaishnavite deity variously called Balabhadra, Balādēva, Balārāma, Saṅkarṣaṇa, etc. He was one of the five deified heroes of the Yādava-Śatvata-Vṛṣṇi clan, the others being Vāsudeva (Kṛṣṇa), Pradyumna, Aniruddha and Śamba. Of these, Vāsudeva, Balabhadrā-Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha came to be worshipped as the four Vyūhas by the followers of the Bhāgavata or Pāñcarātra form of early Vaishnavism, although Balabhadrā-Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva were the more respected among the four. There is enough evidence regarding the independent worship of Balabhadrā in the period before the rise of the Imperial Guptas in the fourth century A.D. The inscriptions of the Gupta age do not refer to his independent worship although the Vyūha doctrine finds a prominent place in the Pāñcarātra Samhitās, some of which were composed between the fourth and eighth centuries. The Amaraśīkha, composed during this period, speaks of all the four Vyūhas.


UMACHAL ROCK INSCRIPTION OF SURENDRAVARMAN

Scale one half
A modified form of the Vyuha doctrine is also noticed in the joint worship of Balabhadra, Krisna and Ekamahaa (or, Subhadra), their combined image being referred to by Varahamihira in the sixth century A.D. Gradually Balabhadra came to be regarded as one of the Avataras of Vishnu. The importance of the Umachal rock inscription therefore lies in the fact that it testifies to the independent worship of Balabhadra in Assam about the fifth century A.D. Thus it appears that, even though the independent worship of this Vaishnavite deity was no longer popular, it did not die out in the Gupta age.

**TEXT**

1 Maharaajadhiraja-tri-
2 Surendravarmanam kritam
3 bhagavatah Valabhadra-
4 svaminaya idam guhan[[]*]

**TRANSLATION**

This cave (i.e. cave-temple) of the most worshipful Balabhadravamin is constructed by the illustrious Maharaajadhiraja Surendravarman. (Or—This cave-temple has been built by the illustrious Maharaajadhiraja Surendravarman for the most worshipful Balabhadravamin.)

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1 For the worship of Balabhadra, see History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. II (The Age of Imperial Unity), pp. 447 ff.; ibid., Vol. III (The Classical Age), p. 418.

* From impressions.

* Read either Balabhadravaminah or bhagavat Balabhadravamin.

* In correct Sanskrit: isam ghad.
No. 11—TEHRI PLATE OF CHANDELIA TRAILOKYAVARMAN, SAMVAT 1264

(I Plate)

SANT LAL KATALE, NAGPUR

This plate was discovered in 1913 by Pandit Govind Sitaram Harsh of the Lakshmipur Mokhala of Saugar, Madhya Pradesh, while he was digging a pit in his house. Tehri (old Tihari) whence the grant was issued is also associated with Banapur and called Tihari or Tehri-Banapur by the local people. It was formerly included in the Orchha State of Bundelkhand, but now forms part of Vindhy Pradesh. It is situated at the eastern end of the State near the borders of U.P. The plate now belongs to the Central Museum, Nagpur. Dr. S. S. Patwardhan, Curator of the Museum, very kindly sent me at my request its photograph and permitted me to edit the inscription in this journal. Dr. Patwardhan informs me that, when the plate was received, it was bent vertically in the middle and had to be straightened before its impression or photograph could be taken. Except a small portion of the metal broken off on the left lower corner, the plate is in a satisfactory state of preservation.

The inscription was edited by B. M. Barua and P. B. Chakravarti in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXIII (1917), pp. 46 ff., from an inked impression supplied to them by Sattase Vaidya of Saugar. But their treatment of the record is not quite satisfactory.

The single plate, which is engraved on one side only, is very thick and heavy. It measures $14\frac{1}{4}$" by $10\frac{1}{4}$" and weighs 275 tolas. In the centre of the plate, at the top, dividing the first four lines of the inscription, is engraved the figure of seated Gaja-Lakshmi which is found on all Chandella records so far published. There are small holes at the edges on all sides of the plate, which show that a small copper band was riveted round it to protect the writing; but it has fallen off. This surmise is confirmed by the fact that, in another plate of Trailokyavarmman, a similar copper-band rivetted on the four sides of the plate has been found intact. This method of providing protection to the writing appears to have been at times adopted instead of the one of raising the edges. The letters are well preserved except in the middle of the plate where it was bent, thereby damaging or deforming them in the area affected by the bend. The letters are not of the same size throughout. The first six lines are written in large letters, each measuring about $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch; but from the seventh line the letters become smaller and in the last two or three lines they are reduced almost to half the size. As much of the space available on the plate was in the beginning covered by a small portion of the text, the rest of the document was crammed into a much smaller space.

The characters are Devanagari of the thirteenth century. The forms of $v$ and $ch$ are similar, as in Chandrārāja and candra in line 1. The consonant $b$ has been indicated by the sign for $v$. There are in all 19 lines of writing. As for orthography, the consonants $d$, $g$, $l$, $p$, and $m$ following a superscript $r$ are generally doubled, as in Madanavarmmadēva in line 3 and Paramarāddēva in line 4, etc. Anusvāra has replaced the class nasal in Nārēndra and chaināra (line 1), but not in mandira (line 15) and elsewhere. The text has comparatively few mistakes as contrasted with other Chandella grants.

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1 The inscription should better have been named either as the Saugar plate after its find-spot or as the Madārāgra grant after the gift village.—Ed.
2 The epigraph is noticed in *A.R. Ep.*, 1946-47, p. 2.
3 The names Śihaḍāvanī, Vadādi and Mandāra in line 7 have been read respectively as Śimhādaṇāi, Vāṣūdēra and Mānḍāra. The Gaja-Lakshmi figure on the plate has wrongly taken to be the god Śiva in śīdākṣara
5 For some of the Chandella grants full of mistakes, see above, Vol. XX, pp. 129, 133 and 135.
The epigraph opens as usual with the praise of the Chandrārāya or Chandella royal family. After making a reference to Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti, who are known to have been the real founders of the Chandella power and after the first of whom the Chandella kingdom was called Jōjākabhuksi, the grant describes three Chandella kings, viz. Madanavarman, Paramarājįdēva and Trailōkyaivarman. Paramabhattāraka-Mahārājįdēvara-Paramēśvara Trailōkyaivarman is described as Paramamāhįcvara and Kalaįja-ākhipati (lord of Kalaįjara). The name of Yāyā- varman, who, according to the Barīvar inscription, was the father of Paramarājįdēva, is omitted here as in records like the Garra plates of Trailōkyaivarman and Mahoba plates of Paramarājįdēva. The charter was issued by Trailōkyaivarman when he was residing at Tihar and records his gift of the village Mandaura, situated in the Vaḍavāri vishaya, to Nāyaka Kulēsaran who hailed from the village of Raikura. It seems that the announcement of the grant was made at the Sihājaunī military camp (Sihājaunī-sangī). The grantee was the son of Nāyaka Gayādhara, grandson of Rāja Sihāja and great-grandson of Rāja-Nāyaka Naugrahaṇa. He belonged to Vatsagotra having the five pārvaram, viz., Vata, Bhārgava, Chayavana, Aurvva and Jāmadacya, and was a student of the Vājasaṃya śākhā.

The epigraph cites the following date both in words and numerical figures: V.S. 1264, Bhādrapada-vadi 2, Friday. If the year is taken as expired, the details of the date correspond regularly to the 29th August, 1298 A.D.

The earliest date of Trailōkyaivarman known from the Garra grant is Friday, April 22, 1295 A.D. He appears to have ascended the throne shortly after the death of his father Paramarājįdēva in April 1202 A.D. during the siege of Kalaįjara by Qutb-ud-din Aibak. There is no agreement among Muslim chroniclers regarding either the date or the course of events of the siege of Kalaįjara.

I am in favour of accepting Monday, the 20th Rajab (Hasibī), 599 A.H., corresponding to April 15, 1202 A.D., as the correct date of the capture of the fort by the Muslims. Paramarājįdēva was dead before the fort was captured by the Muslims and the peace with the invaders was then concluded by his son and successor Trailōkyaivarman.

Shortly after his accession, Trailōkyaivarman seems to have launched an attack upon the Turks, with whom, according to his Garra plates, a battle was fought at Kakaḍādhā, in which Rāvaṇa Pāpē, an officer of Trailōkyaivarman, was killed. This is confirmed by an Ayayagar inscription of the time of Vitavarmā dated the 14th April, 1261 A.D., which states that Trailōkyaivarman was 'like Vishnu in lifting up the earth, immersed in the ocean formed by the streams of Turakas.' Trailōkyaivarman had also to face an attack from a certain Bhōjįkā, who, according to the Ayayagar inscription of Bhōjįkāvarman, 'seized with the frenzy of war, was rending the kingdom in two.' This Bhōjįkā was defeated and killed in a battle by Vaśēka, an officer of Trailōkyaivarman whom the latter claims to have made 'again the ornament of princely families'.

The last known date of Trailōkyaivarman, according to the Rewah plates of Harirajādēva, falls in V.S. 1298, Māgha (January-February 1241 A.D.). If the Trailōkyaivarman of this grant is regarded

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2 Ibid., Vol. XVI, pp. 272 ff.
3 Ibid., pp. 9 ff.
4 [The language of the record shows that Sihājaunī was the name of an administrative or territorial unit in which the gift land was situated.—Ed.]
5 Above, Vol. XVI, p. 278.
7 Hodrivals, Studies in Indo-Muslim History, p. 183.
9 Ibid., p. 337.
10 Loc. cit.
11 Ind. Ant., Vol. XVII, pp. 23a ff.
as identical with Chaudella Trailokyavarman. It seems, however, that he was the king who, according to Minhaj, fled from KalaNJura when it was attacked by Yusrat-ud-din Deishi in A.H. 631 (1233 A.D.) during the reign of Iyaltimish. According to Minhaj, the king of KalaNJura was killed by the Turks when captured after a hot pursuit. If this account of Minhaj is taken as correct, Trailokyavarman of the above Rewah plates cannot be identified with the Chaudella Trailokyavarman. Barrin this record no inscription of the time of Trailokyavarman bearing a date subsequent to 1231 A.D., the date of an Ajayagarh inscription, has so far been found.

The following places are mentioned in the charter: Va&avari-vishaya, Tihari, Mandaura, Sih&apuni and Raikaura. Va&avari appears to be the same as Va&avada, mentioned in the Garra plates of ParmarUda, or Va&avari of the Semir grant. It has been identified with Be&wada in the Lalitpur Sub-division of the Jhansi District of U.P. Tihari is the same as modern Tihari or Tehri-Banaipur, near Tikamgarh. Mandaura is modern Madaora in the Lalitpur Sub-division. It is 24 miles south of Tikamgarh and Tehri and almost at the same distance to the south-east of Lalitpur. Sih&apuni is the same as Siyadon of inscriptions, identified with Siron Khrud nearly 10 miles west-north-west of Lalitpur. I am unable to identify Raikaura.

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TEXT

1 Om svasti [*] Jayatya-aghdalayan-visva& Vishv&vara-s[i][r]—dhritah | Chaitratriya-nar&—

2 Tatra pravardhdhan& vir&dhi-vijaya-bhr&jakshu-jayasakti-Vijaya&akty—&di—&vir—&avibrhavha-

3 r& paramabha&tkara-mah&raj&dhir&ja-param&v&vara-sri—Madanavar&mad&va—p&d—&anuh&yata

4 bha&tkara-mah&raj&dhir&ja-param&v&vara-sri—Paramar&lid&va—p&d—&anuh&yata—parasph&&

5 har&raj&dhir&ja-param&v&vara-paramamah&sh&vara-sri—Kala&jar—&dh&pati—&sr&mat—Trail&kyavar&

6 javi [*] Su &ha durviva(sha)atatara—prati—pa—t&ipa—sakala—ripu—kula& kulavahum—iva


8 manya&—ahuk&kta—ku&umvi—nun—k&astha—dita—vai—dya—mah&tar&an—Meda—Chai&d&ala—

9 ti ch&—stu va& sa&vi (satv)iti& — v&th—&par&likhito—yaun &ma&—sa—ja—sthala—sa—sth&avara—

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1 Tabqat-i-Nazir (tr. by Ravierty), Vol. I, pp. 733-35.
3 AHR, Vol. XXI, p. 50.
7 Ibid., Vol. XVI, p. 274.
8 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 162. I am indebted to Mr. N. Lahminarayan Rao for this reference.
9 Expressed by symbol.

11 ka-sa(sa)ta-da-vy-ōpēta-saha(sarva)taṃ saṃv(asravva)taṣarē Bhāḍrapada-ṁāśī kriṣṇa-pakahē dvitiyāyān—tathāv-aṅkastō-pi samvata(sarivat) 1264 Bhā—

12 dra-vadi 2 Su(Su)kra-vārō Raikaura-vinirgatāya Vatsa-gotrāya Vatsa-Bhārgavā-Chyavan-Aurma(mma)(rvva)-Ya(Jā)madagnya-paṅcha-pravārya Vāja(Pa)nēya-sūkhā—

13 dhyāyīnē Rāṇaka-Naugralana-praṃpautrāya | Rānta-Sihaḍa-pauṭraya | Rānta-Yaṣāḍhara-puṭraya Nāyaka-Kulēsarmanē Vṛā(Bri)hmanāya sā

14 saṃn kritvā pradatta iti matvā bhavadbhir-aṅkā-sravana-vidhyāvair-bhūtvā bhāga-bhūgae-pasu(śu)-hiraṇya-kara-tulma(likā)di-sarvvaṃ-asmai samupanātavayān(vyam ī)


16 ni-nidhānam sa-lōha-avatara-ṭṛiṇa-paśu(ṛgo-ā)dy-ākaraṁ sa-marīga-vihaṅgama-jalacharāṁ sa-gōkulaṃ-aparaṇa-āpī sīmāntarragatai-vvastubhiḥ sahitā[ṛnī]

17 sa-vā(bōh)ḥy-abhyantar-ādīyaṁ bhunjānasya na koṣāpi vādhā kāryā | Atra cha rājapuruṣa-ādībhiḥ svaṁ-ābhāvyam parihaṛtta-vyaṁ(vyam)ma-indaṁ-ch-āsmaḍ-dāma(ṇa)—

18 m-anāśchchhāyāṃ-anāḥbhāyaḥ-ech-ēti bhāvibhir-āpi bhūmipālaiḥ pālanīyaṁ(yam) | Uktān ca cha || Bhāṣṭhitīn varṣa-sahasrāpyi svargaṁ vasati bhūmīdaḥ | āchchētā(ṛtā) v-ānumantā(ṇa) ca āha—ē—

No. 12—KONEKI GRANT OF VISHNUVARDHANA II

H. K. NARASIMHASWAMI, OOTACAMUND

This copper-plate record was secured by Mr. G. C. Chandra, ex-Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Southern Circle, Madras, in the year 1940, when he was touring in the Guntur District. It was in the possession of the Tabshidar of the Palnad Taluk, to whom it was handed over by a farmer of Guranála, who is said to have discovered it while ploughing a field. Mr. Chandra made over the set of plates to the late Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamachariu, the then Superintendent for Epigraphy. I edit it below with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India with whom the plates now lie.

The set consists of five plates, each measuring 8½" by 2" with a hole (½" in diameter) at their left margin, through which passes a circular copper ring, 2½" thick and about 3½" in diameter. The ends of the ring are soldered into a mass of copper shaped into a circular seal about 1½" across, which bears on its flattened surface the legend Śri-Vishnusiddhi in a single line embossed in bold characters over the figure of a lotus in relief. Above the legend is a crescent, also embossed in high relief. The seal is similar to that of the Nidupuru plates except for the difference in the legend which in the latter reads Śri-Sarevusiddhi. The plates together with the ring and seal weigh 110 tolas.

The characters belong to the Southern variety and may be assigned to a date about the end of the 7th century A.D. The inscription is neatly engraved and is fairly well preserved except for some portions damaged on the last plate. Of the individual letters, the vowels a, ā, i, ē and au occur, a in lines 4 and 6, ā in line 45, i in lines 2 and 39 and ē in line 33. The medial sign for short i is indicated by a circular loop attached to the top of the letter as in vi in vikramasya, and its length is denoted by a sharp inward curve of the loop on its left side as in ēi in line 2 and ki in kirtti in line 6. The aspirate ph is distinguished from p by a sharp inward bend of the right hand shaft of the letter, as in phala in lines 17 and 44: b is of the closed type throughout; the Dravidian ḳ occurs in lines 5 and 15 and r in lines 29 and 38. The final m is written in a diminutive and cursive form and is shaped like an inverted interrogation mark with its right arm stretched upwards, as in putrāṁ (line 3) and ṛṣyāṁ (line 4). The r̥pha is denoted by a short vertical shaft attached right over the letter as in avirāiya and gāmbhārya (lines 1 and 12); but when it occurs in conjunction with the sign for i which is denoted by a circle attached to the top of the letter, it is written in two ways, viz., with the circle enclosing the shaft as in *ṛtti in Kirttvaramaṇaḥ (line 6) and with the circle attached to the top of the shaft as in *ṛddhi in viśpārdhita (line 15).

The language of the charter is Sanskrit composed in prose throughout except for the minatory verses at the end of the document. As regards orthography the consonant after the r̥pha is generally doubled except where the r̥pha occurs due to sandhi as in r̥ṣya-bal (line 30). Minor errors in syntax (duly corrected in the body of the text itself) are met with in lines 22, 29, 33, etc.

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1 C. F. No. 50 of 1940-41.
2 I am indebted to my colleagues Messrs M. Venkataramayya and P. B. Desai for a number of useful suggestions they offered while I was preparing this article.
3 Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 55.
The charter commences with a prayer invoking longevity, health and prosperity of the king and success in the attainment of his desires. In the delineation of his forbears of the parent line, the record omits the name of Pulakāśīṇa I after Rañārāga although he appears to have been accounted for. Again, while describing the relationship of Kīrttivarman with Rañārāga, the expression prāṇapāda has been used wrongly for nāpā. Vishnuvardhana II, the donor, is correctly described as the prapūtra, i.e. great-grandson, of Kīrttivarman.

The object of the grant is the gift of the village of Koneki in Pañjarā'shṭra by Mahārāja Vishnuvardhana, the son of Indravarman-mahārāja who is described with such epithets as Tīṣāghāśa, Vīgrahasiddhi, Sīnhavikrama and Rājaśalakāśaṇya and as the brother of Jayasimha-valabha. The gift is stated to have been made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in the month of Māgha for the longevity, success and prosperity of its issuer, i.e. king Vishnuvardhana (line 30). It seems to have been committed to writing about eight months later, on the date recorded at the end of the grant, viz. regnal year 30 of Jayasimha, Āśvayuja 10, Monday, Śrāvaṇa-nakṣatra (lines 44-46). The recipient of the gift was Vīdūsarman of the Parāśarā gṛhastha, Āgastamba śītra and Taittirīya charaṇa, the Bōya of Kandara and a resident of Atukuru. He was the son of Mahāśēnasarma who is described as a scholar of repute in the various branches of learning and is extolled as 'the very Vararuci of the present day' for his erudition in the exposition of the āgamas. Having received the gift village, Vīdūsarman seems to have divided it into 120 shares and distributed them in turn, among fifteen persons whose names and individual shares are specified in detail. Of them, the first four, namely Vishnuvarman and his son Mādiśarman as well as Mahāśēnasarma and his brother Dāmasarman figure as the principal donees each getting 20 shares apiece, while the rest who figure as the bōyas of specified villages are assigned shares ranging between one and six. The number of shares thus given to the donees comes to 114 only. Perhaps the remaining 6 shares that make up the total of 120 are those set apart as dēvabhāga (text line 31).

The king then enjoins not only upon the future rulers of his line but also upon the officials who were in charge of the village produce (grāma-saṅkhaṇa-ādikriyā) to protect the gift. These latter are specified as Dhanairāja and others of the Agyaṇā-āneṣa, i.e. lineage of Agyaṇa.

Of considerable interest in the record are the details of the two dates, possibly specifying the respective occasions on which the gift was made and the deed registering the gift, subsequently committed to writing. A lunar eclipse in Māgha marked the occasion of the former and Āśvayuja 10, Monday, Śrāvaṇa, the 30th year of Jayasimha marked the latter. The latter, it may be noted, was the auspicious occasion of Vījayaditi. This rare citation of a double date, in a way, serves as an aid for arriving at the precise date of the record and therefore of the exact year of commencement of the Eastern-Chālukya rule which, according to Fleet, is c. 615 A.D and according to the latest calculations 624 A.D. Since the charter is dated in the 30th year of Jayasimha, i.e. roughly the 47th year from the commencement of the Eastern-Chālukya rule, counting 17 full years of reign for Kubja-Vishnuvardhana, the eighteenth regnal year being his last and perhaps also the first year of the reign of his successor Jayasimha, it would fall somewhere between 662 and 671 A.D. according to the initial year of the Eastern-Chālukya rule is taken as 615 or 624 A.D. In the range of years 662-671 A. D., that year in which a lunar eclipse

1 Of the four epithets, Tīṣāghāśa and Vīgrahasiddhi are already known whereas Vīgrahasiddhi and Rājaśalakāśaṇya are introduced for the first time by the present record.

2 The date of Vararuci is disputed. Some scholars assign him to 360-350 B. C. and some place him in the Gupta period. The epithet abhyāsa-Vararuci applied to the donee's father Mahāśēnasarma indicates that Vararuci belonged to a remote past at the time of Jayasimha I, i.e. the 7th century A. D.


4 Ancient India, No. 5, p. 49; A. R. Ep., 1945-46, p. 3.
occurred in Māgha and the tithi 10 of the succeeding Āsvayuja was a Monday would be the date of our record. During the period in question lunar eclipses in Māgha occurred in the years 668, 669 and 670 A.D. Leaving out of consideration the year 668 as improbable for the other date, viz., the date on which the record was committed to writing (the 10th day of the bright half of Āsvayuja), the month Āsvayuja of the year 668 having preceded Māgha in which the grant was made, we have to see whether the tithi of the succeeding Āsvayuja in the year 669 coincided with a Monday. The English equivalent for the details in this year works out to September 11, Monday, on which the nakṣatra Sravaṇa was also current. This much therefore can be said that on the date the grant was committed to writing, namely 11th September 669 A.D., the 30th regnal year of the king was current. Whether the lunar eclipse in Māgha in the preceding year, i.e., 668 A.D., also fell in the same regnal year, it is not possible to determine. The year 669 A.D. being thus the 30th year of reign of king Jayasimhavallabhā, his initial year of reign will be 669-30=639-40 A.D. Deducting 17 years covering the reign of Kubja-Vishnuvardhana from this, we get 639-40-17=622-23 A.D. as the year of commencement of the Eastern Chālukya rule.

A point arises here as to how Vishnuvardhana II, with the title of Mahaṅga, could issue a charter under his own royal seal bearing the legend Vishamasiddhi during the very reign of his uncle Jayasimhā. We know for certain that his own father Indravarman, whom he succeeded to the throne, ruled as king, although for a very short duration, and issued the Koṇdaṅguru grant. Vishnuvardhana II calls himself the son of Indra-bhaṭṭaraka in his Paṇḍiṭimukkala plates (second set) which he issued in the 3rd year of his reign; but in another, viz. his Paṇḍiṭimukkala plates (first set), which is undated, he is described as the son of Jayasimhā. Some of the Eastern Chālukya grants assign to Jayasimhā a reign of 30 years while the majority of them state that he ruled for 33 years. Whatever be the case, the fact remains that the plates under review belonged almost to the fag end of Jayasimhā's reign. It is not improbable that, at this period of his life, the king associated in the regal duties, his nephew, Vishnuvardhana with full authority even to issue royal grants as the one under review under his own seal. In lines 22-24, the record enumerates a number of officials who were all notified of the gift by an order of the king. Among them the mention of the Talaśrama is noteworthy. This reminds us of the Mahātalaraṇa known from such records as the Nāgārjunānukṣāra inscriptions. Among the village officials in South India, the Tulaṭri or Talavyari holds even today a responsible post.

The village of Koṇaṅka, is stated to have been situated in Paliā-rāṣṭra. It can be identified with the village Koṇaṅka, not far from Gurazāla in the Palnad Taluk, Guntur District. There is another village of the same name in the Narasasaroapet Taluk of the same District. But as this village is far away from Gurazāla, the findspot of the plate, Koṇaṅka in the Palnad Taluk seems to be the village intended. Paliā-rāṣṭra, in which the gift village lay, appears to be the anecdot name of the modern Pailnad. In inscriptions the name occurs variously as Pallināṇḍu, Pallināṇḍu or Pāḷināḷa, and it is referred to as a 300-division. In Telugu literature, some chāṭu verses ascribed to Śrīnāṭha (c. 1385-1475 A.D.), the court poet of the Reddi kings, give a graphic picture of this tract variously called Pailnāṇḍu, Pailnāṇḍu and Pálldēśamu. It may be

1 In calculating the details of the date I have followed the method suggested by L. D. Swamikannu Pillai in An Indian Ephemeris, Vol. I, part 1, pp. 133 ff.
2 Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 1 ff.
3 A. R. Kp., 1917, p. 113, para. 20; C. P. No. 15 of 1916-17.
4 Ibid., C. P. No. 14 of 1916-17.
5 Above, Vol. XX, p. 5 and p. 7 fn.1.
6 A. R. No. 334 of 1936-37.
7 A. R. No. 18 of 1941-42.
9 V. Prahmukasana Bhatari, Śrīṅgārana Śrīndikona, pp. 237-238, 240.
incidently noted that pāli is connoted in Tamil literature, a place of worship, especially of the Buddhist or Jaina sect.

The donees are all associated with the names of villages, of which they are stated to be the Bṛgyas. This expression, supposed to be a corruption of bhāgīka, also occurs in another Eastern Chālukya charter belonging to the reign of Indravarman. All the villages mentioned in the record with the exception of one can be located, as shown in the table below, in the Palnad and adjacent Taluks of the Guntur District.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Village mentioned in the plates</th>
<th>Its modern name</th>
<th>Taluk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Kandērū</td>
<td>Kandērū</td>
<td>Guntur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Ātukārū</td>
<td>Andukārū</td>
<td>Sattenapalle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Mudukurū</td>
<td>Mutukārū</td>
<td>Palnad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Koṇḍasāmī</td>
<td>Koṇḍepādu(?)</td>
<td>Guntur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Pāti</td>
<td>Pātibapja</td>
<td>Sattenapalle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Kumunārū</td>
<td>Kūṇārā(?)</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Nādukārū</td>
<td>Nāgikūde</td>
<td>Palnad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Kanapārā</td>
<td>Kanapārā</td>
<td>Narasaraopet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Irukutārū</td>
<td>Ikkuru</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Veluchali</td>
<td>Velicherla</td>
<td>Bapatla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Re [.....]</td>
<td>Rēṭūrū (?)</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TEXT**

**First Plate**

1 Śṛ(ṛ)-vijayatām [*Mahārāja[isy]a*] [śṛy|=ārōgyam=aśvāryyaṁ=ch=ābhavarddhamśt[ām] [śṛy|=laḥta-sampad=ast=uttṛ(ūttṛ)ṛöttara[ḥ] kṛi[yā]=sa-

2 mpadya[ntām [*] Śṛ(ṛ)mad-Asanapurā-ādhisṛḥḥānu(na)-väsī(ś) Śṛimad-bhagavat-śvāmi-Mā- (Ma)haśena-pādānudhyātā-

3 nā[m] tribhuvana-mātrī(ṛ)bhir-ābhirkabītānāṁ Ma(Mā)navya-sana'gōtrāgāṁ Hāriti- putrāṇāṁ Kō(Kau)gā[kī]-

4 varā-prasāda-labha-rājyānāṁ(nām) chatur-udadhi-parīyanastāḥ(ta)-prasthita-yasāsah(sām) Āsvamāda(dha)-

5 yājnānāṁ(nāṁ) Chālukyānāṁ-anvayam-unnmayitum(a)ūṁ) Sakraddāna(Saṅkrandana)- bhūta-Raṇarāgasya

**Second Plate, First Side**

6 praṇaptāḥ(ptub) atsahya-vilāmaśya vipulā-kṛttēḥ[ḥ] Kṛttivāmsma(rmm)na[ḥ]* prapautra-[ḥ] śaktitraya-vasīkṛtk(rkri;)*-sīka-

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* From the original plates.
* The scribe had written something below d and scored it later.
* A length mark appears to have been wrongly added to the subscript t in tā,
* The syllable na is redundant.
* For praṇaptāḥ read praṇaptāḥ.
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA [Vol. XXXI]

7 la-mahimaṇḍalasya Satya(tyā)jāraya-Prı(Pri)thivi(vi) vallabha-mahārājādhīrāja-paramēṣvara-bhātārakasya priy-ānu-
8 jasya sv-āsidhārā-namita-samasta-sāmanda-maṇḍalasya [sthā]la-jal-ādi-durgga-vishamēśv-ā- pi la[bdha]-vijayatā(a) prathita-jana-prastuta-kāmadhēnō[ḥ] lōk-ātiśayita-vikramatayā naralōka-
10 vikrama [myasa Vi] jhānuvarddhāna-ma[hārājasya] priyatanaṇaya-ānēka-samara-saṅghaṭa-la-bdha-vijayāśila-

Second Plate, Second Side

11 tā-prasūta-yaśaḥ-prasūt-āmōda-ga[n-dh-ā] dhivāsita-sakala-digmaṇḍalasya nānā-śa(sā)str-ā-
12 bhyās-ōpabhrīṅhita-niśita-vimala-buddhēḥ tyāg-auḍāryya-gāṁbhīryya-dhairyya-kānti-pra-,
13 jñ-ādi-guṇa-gaṇ-āla[m*]kṛitasya trailokā(kya)-vikram-o[ђ]dyōdi(t)та sakala-lōk-āśraya-
14 bhujā-yu-
15 gala-bala-namit-āśha-rupu-nipattakara-maṅga-taṭa-ghāṣit-ānēka-maṇi-kīrṇa-rāga-rañji-
16 ta-čaraṇ-śravinda-yuga[a]jasya vi(vi)ra-dhāv-āpattā-Śakr-a[r*]ddhi-visparadhita-vibh[ū]tēr-
17 ānēk-āhi-

Third Plate, First Side

16 ta-nara-vara-śirāh-kaṅṭikā-vitā[na]-vīkhyāta-yaśasō ḍeva-dvija-guru-yatadhi(yat-ātithi)-
17 śaṭaḥ-śaṭ-ā-
18 nuj(ij)i-samaṁbandhibhir-anavarata-prakām-ōpabhōga-bhujayāna-vividha-punyā-phalā-
19 sanpu(pū)-
20 ron-āmṛtā-dhiḥēno śri Jayaśīṅgha(ha)vallabha-mahārājasya priy-ānu āsya Tyā-
21 gadvēnuḥ(nōh) sakti-traya-sampan-ā(nn-ā)ānēka-vidyā-visāradaḥ(dasya) ripu-maṇḍalēshv-api
22 Vigrāhasiddhibhiḥ(ēḥ) śiṁha-
20 vikrama-nay-ōpētatvāṃ(ṭvād) Rājālōkāśraya-śrimad-Indravarma-mahārājasya putra[ḥ*]

Third Plate, Second Side

21 nānā-śa(sā)str-ābhyaś-ōp[tt-ā]jñeka-vidyā-visāradaḥ Vīṣhnuvarddhāna-mahārājasya-
22 (rējaḥ) Paḷī-ṛaṣṭre Korē[ki]-
23 nāma-grāma[ṛ]ṣ[*] sampradattah(dāya) grāmēyakān rājapurusha-talavara-śaṅkanāyaka-
24 rāṣṭrikā-
25 dōta-bhaṭa-naṭa-ĉhēṭa-paṁchāraka-niyukt-ādhyakṣa-prasāḍtri-saṁhārti-nā-
24 nāyakās=ch(kāṁ=ch)=ājñapayati[*] Šrōtriya[a]ya sakala-dig-anta-prathita-yaśasō yajana-
25 yan-ādhyayan-ādhyāpana-dāna-pratigrāha(ha)-niyama-niratasya sarv-āgama-vi-

Fourth Plate, First Side

26 śēṣa-pratipādaṇatvād-ādyakāla-Vararuchir-iti vikhyātasya Mahāśēnadarman[va]ḥ]

1 In sēṣa, the subscript looks more like g.
2 The final m is introduced in a diminutive form above red. This is evidently intended forī.
3 This aō is redundant.
KONEKI GRANT OF VISHNUVARDHANA II

37 putrāya Vīduśāmmanaḥ(rmna)ṇah(nē) brāhmaṇa-sūtra-mana-tantra-ōpaniṣha(tṣ)·prabhrityā-
maṇe(ty-anēka)-vidyā-vidu-

28 śē Parāśara-gūtra(trā)ya sarvva-satv-ā(ttv-ā)nukaṁpita-maitri(trī)-chirita(tā)ya Taitrika-
(tīrtyaka)-chara-

29 [pāya Āpastamba-sūtraya Kandēru-Bōya-Brāhmaṇa(pāya) Ātukuru-va(vā)stavyasa(ya)ya]

30 Māgha-māsē sūmagrāhana-kā[lē] asmad-āyur-bala-vijaya-bhōg-aiśvāryya(yaa-ā)

Fourth Plate, Second Side

31 varddha(vriddh)a(yē) samradatta dēvabhōga-hala-varja[*] Mamān-vayajā yē kēchid-
anagātē kā-

32 le bhūmippa(lē)[h*] sarvve grāma-sa[m*]ra{kshaṇaḥ kurvanta grāma-sambhav-ādhikri(kri)-
ta[h*] sarvve Ayya-

33 p-anvayajā Dhanāṇjaya-prabhritaya=tat-purushā(ṣhā=cha) [*] ētasa [grāmē(maya)]
tōttara-sa[t(shv-a)m]-

34 ācara Viṣṇuśarmanmaṇē viṁśātī[*] ahāśākāni(kāh) [*] taṣya sununā(sūnaṇe) Mājāśaśar-
manmaṇē viṁśātī[*] h [*]

35 Mahāśaśaśarmmē viṁśātī[*] taṣya cha priy-[ā]nujasya(jāya) Dāmaśaśarmmē viṁśā(tā)ti-
[h [*] Muddokura-

Fifth Plate, First Side

36 Bōyasya(yāya) Gaṇapāśarmanmaṇa(nē) shat[*] [*] A[tukuru-Bōyasya(yāya) Viṣṇuśarmanmaṇē
paṇcha [*] Konḍaśaśi-Bō-

37 yasa(yāya) paṇcha[*] [*] Pāṭi-Bōyasya-ś(yāya=ai)ka(h [*] Kumunūru-Bōyasya(yāya) Mādi-
sarmanmaṇa(nē) chatvā[ri](ṭaḥ)……………….[i-Bō]-

38 yasa(yāya) dvē(dvau) [*] Nādukuri-Bōyasya(yāya) Sarvvasarmanmaṇē dvau [*] Vēlu[chali-
Bōya]-Pa[ttā]-

39 sarmanmaṇa(nē) dv[va]u [*] Rē.,[Bōyasya(yāya) dvau [*] Kanaṭ-Bōyasya(yāya) Māṇḍa-
sarmanmaṇa(nē) dvau [*] Rēvasarmanma[nē] dvau [*] Iru-

40 kuṭāru-.Bōyasya(yāya)) dvau [*] Yo-śma(kṣa)-chhaśaṇam=a(ḥ)kri(k)ramya[ti*] sa
pāpō(paḥ) śārīraṃ daṇḍam-śarhati [*][*]

Fifth Plate, Second Side

41 Bhūmi-dānā[t=paran-dā][n]n=na bhūtana=na bhaviṣyatí [*] [tay[=apa]harapāt=pāpān-
na bhūtan=na bhaviṣya}
EPGRAPHIA INDICA.

42 tl[134:*] Sva-dattāṃ para-dattāṃ vā yē harētu(ta) vasundhārāṃ(rām) [135:*] [gavān śata-saha]-
[ārāmān ha*][nau][h*] pibati ki-

43 lvi(li)ha(ham) [134:*] Ba[lu]bhī[ra*-]vasudhā dattā bahubhis-ch-ānupāli[tā] [135:*] [ya]yaya ya-

44 [dā bhū]mi[*]-tasya tasya tathā phalaṃ(lam) [135:*] Śrī-Jayasimhagha(ha)vallabha-
mahārāja-.

45 sya pravardhāmāna-vija[ya*-]rājya-se[ṃh*]va[t*]sarē trimāti-va[rsha](eḥ) Ā-
śvāyujē māsē śukla-pakaḥ da[śa]-

46 mi-divasē Śrāvaṇa-Chandrarāṣē Gaṅgavijaya-vardhāki-likhitam-idaṁ sāḥ[śa]-
[nam] [135:*] svasti [136:*]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

(Lines 1-2) Invocation.

(Lines 3-21) From his victorious capital Asanapura, king Vishnupardhana-mahārāja¹, the son of Rājālokiyaya Indravarma-mahārāja entitled Tyāgadhēnu who was the dear younger brother of Jayasinhavallabha-mahārāja who was the dear son of Vishnupardhana-mahārāja who was the dear younger brother of Satyārāya-Prithivivallabha (i.e. Pulakēśin II), and the great-grandson (prapati)² of Kṛttivārman who was the great-grandson (prapati)³ of Raṣārāga.

(Lines 22-40) Having granted the village Köpeki in Pāḷī-rāṣṭrā, orders the officials grāmyaka, rājapurusha, taḷavura, daṇḍanāyaka, rāṣṭrika, dūta, bhāja, nata, chēṣaka, parichāraka, nyūka, adhyāsaka, prākāṣtā, smāhārāṣē and nāyaka (thus): ‘to Viduṣārman of the Parāśāra gōtra, Taittīriya karuṇa and Āpastamba sūtra, the Bōya of Kandēru and a resident of Ātukuru, well-versed in the various branches of learning such as the Brāhmaṇa, Sūtra, Mantra, Tāntīra, Upanishad, etc., and benevolently inclined towards all living beings, who is the son of Mahāsenaśarman, a sūrīiya, who is conversant with the Vedas, whose fame is wide-spread and who is constantly engaged in yajana, yājana, adhyāṣē, adhyāyana, dāna and pratikṣrāka, who is well known as the very Vararuchi of the day for his erudition in expounding all the āgāmas—(to him, i.e. Viduṣārman) is given (the village) Köpeki with the exclusion of the devābōga land, on the day of the lunar eclipse in the month of Māgha, for the increase of our longevity, strength, success, enjoyment and prosperity. “In future let all the rulers of my lineage, and the hereditary village officers, Dhanaṇājaya and such others of the lineage of Ayyaṇa, protect the village.” In this village, out of the hundred and twenty shares, twenty are for Vishuṣārman; twenty for his son Mādisarman; twenty for Mahāśeṇaśarman; twenty for his dear brother Dāmaśarman; six for Gaṇaśarman, the Bōya of Mūdokuru; five for Vishuṣārman, the Bōya of Ātukuru; five for Kṛṣṇaśāmī-bōya; four for Mahāśeṇaśarman dalī Pāti-bōya, the Bōya of Kununūra; two for... bōya; two for Sarvvaśarman, the Bōya of Naḍukuru; two for Pēṭṭaśarman, the Bōya of Veḷuḥalī; two for Rē-bōya; two for Mahāsenaśarman, the Bōya of Kanaṇa; two for Raṇasgarman and two for the Bōya of Irūkuṭuru.

(Lines 44-46) This order was engraved by the artisan Gaṅgavijaya in the augmenting year 30 of the reign of king Jayasimhavallabha-mahārāja in the month of Āśvāyuja śukla-pakaḥ, daśaṃ, Śrāvaṇa (nākṣatra), Monday.

¹ Read trīṁkātīlamē.
² The descriptive epithets, etc. of the kings are omitted in this abstract.
³ Kṛttivārman was actually the grandson of Raṣārāga and not his great-grandson.
No. 13—JAIN INSCRIPTION FROM SHERGARH, V. S. 1191

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

Shāh Shāh Sūr, the celebrated Afghan emperor of Delhi (1539-45 A.D.), is accused by Badānī and other Muslim historians of wanton callousness in destroying old cities for founding new ones on their ruins after his own name. On this point Nūr-ul-Haq says in his Zuhdat-ut-Tawārīkh: "Shēr Khān founded many cities after his own name, as Shēr-gaṛh, Shēr-kot . . . ." There are numerous places bearing such names in different parts of Northern India even to this day, one of them being Shērgarh representing a fort in ruins and a town (now almost deserted) standing on the river Parwa (a feeder of the Kāl-Sindh which is a tributary of the Chambal), about ninety miles to the south-east of Kōtā in the District of that name in Rājasthān. On the 16th of January 1963, I visited Shērgarh from my camp at Kōtā in search of inscriptions in the company of Mr. P. N. Kaul, then Commissioner of the Kōtā Division of Rājasthān, and Mr. R. N. Hawā, then Collector of the Kōtā District. I take this opportunity of thanking both the officers for their kindness shown to me and the interest they exhibited in my work. My thanks are also due to Mr. P. K. Majumdar of the Herbert College, Kōtā, who accompanied me to Shērgarh and helped me in various ways.

On a careful examination of the inscriptions at Shērgarh, it was found that three of them had been previously published. One of these three is a Buddhist inscription supposed to be dated in V. S. 847 (790 A.D.). This is incised on a slab of stone built into a recess under a flight of stairs to the proper left of the gate of the deserted town and is a prāśasti (eulogy) recording the construction of a Buddhist temple (mandira) and a monastery (vihāra) to the east of Mount (giri) Kōtavardhana by a Sūmanta (feudal chief) named Dēvadatta.

The second published inscription from Shērgarh, which bears dates in V. S. 1074 (1017 A.D.), 1075 (1018 A.D.) and 1084 (1027 A.D.), is built into a front line pillar of the local Lakṣhami-Nārāyaṇa temple, although there is no doubt that it originally belonged to a different religious establishment.

The inscription actually consists of three distinct documents. The first of these records a daily grant of one karaṇa of ghee as uṣṇa to the feet of Bhaṭṭāraka-āri-Nagnaka while the other two speak of several grants in favour of the god Sūmānāśadāvā. The late Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar was inclined to identify Bhaṭṭāraka-āri-Nagnaka of this record with the Śīva-bhakta-Śiva called Nagnakhaṭṭāraka, mentioned in the Dhanop (old Shāhpura State, now a part of the Udaipur Division of Rājasthān) inscription of V. S. 1053, although there is also a view that 'since the gift is made to last as long as the sun and the moon exist, it would be better to take Bhaṭṭāraka-Nagnaka as referring to an image and not to a person.' It seems to us that Bhaṭṭāraka-āri-Nagnaka was a

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2 Elliot and Dowson, History of India as told by its Own Historians, Vol. VI, p. 189.
5 Ind. Ant., Vol. XL, p. 176
6 Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 138 note.
Śaiva ascetic in charge of the temple of Sōmanāthadēva (Śiva) and that the grant was made in his favour but was meant to be also enjoyed by his successors in the charge of the temple in question. We have numerous grants made permanently in favour of a single individual since they were meant to be enjoyed also by his descendants. The above Śaivite establishment is stated to have included, besides the temple, a considerable area of land styled Sōmanāthadēva-pallikā.

The third of the published inscriptions from Śhērgarh is engraved on a stone slab now embedded in the front wall of the Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa temple, although, like the other inscribed slab in that temple, it must have belonged originally to an older temple of Śiva called Sōmanāthadēva.¹ The importance of this inscription lies in the fact that it is the copy of a copper-plate grant of the Paramāra king Udayāditya (known dates: V. s. 1118=1059 A.D., V. s. 1137=1080 A. D., and V. s. 1143=1086 A.D.), none of whose copper-plate charters has so far been published. It is, however, a matter of regret that some parts of the record, including the passage containing the date, cannot be made out owing to damages in the stone and to its lower end being built into the wall. The inscription records the grant of a village made by the Paramāra king, when he was stationed at Kārpānīka-grāma and took a ceremonial bath on the occasion of the Daśanāraka-pārvan, in favour of the god Sōmanāthadēva (Śiva) of the Kōśavardhana durgā (fort) which, as noted above, is called girī (hill) in another of the Śhērgarh inscriptions. There is no doubt that Kōśavardhana was the old name of modern Śhērgarh and that the temple of the god Sōmanāthadēva, now untraceable, lay in the old hill-fort at the place.

The published inscriptions from Śhērgarh (ancient Kōśavardhana), it will be seen, reveal the existence of two religious establishments, one Buddhist and the other Śaivite. Amongst the inscriptions traced by me at the place, including the above, there are two epigraphs disclosing the interesting fact that, side by side with the Buddhist monastery and Śaiva shrine, a great religious establishment of the Jainas also flourished at Kōśavardhana in the early medieval period. Another unpublished inscription at Śhērgarh also interested me considerably. Unfortunately all these three records are preserved unsatisfactorily, the pieces of stone on which they are engraved being mutilated.

The stone bearing the last of the above three unpublished inscriptions was found within the fort. The record in four lines contains two verses, numbered in figures, and the date at the end. But the left half of the epigraph is broken away and could not be traced. The third line of theextant portion of the inscription (5 inches by 12 inches) containing the end of the first verse in the Śāradāvī-hookita metre and the beginning of the second in Anuśṭubh reads: "yā Gaṅgādhārā namādu || 2 || Drīḍhīn nīra-grītha bhavyam kriṇa(n) || 1285 || 2varhāt(rihā). There is no doubt that the first verse of this epigraph, dated V. s. 1285 (1228 A.D.), invokes the god Śiva under the name Gaṅgādhāra (i.e. 'the bearer of the Ganges [in the matted hair on his head]') and the second records the construction of a nīra-grīha by an individual whose name is lost. The expression nīra-grīha literally means 'a water-house' and the invocation, in connection with its construction, of the Gaṅgādhāra aspect of Śiva is easily intelligible. But the nature of this nīra-grīha can hardly be determined although it seems to be the same as Persian abdār-khānāh, abdār being a person entrusted with the charge of water for drinking.²

The first of the two Jain inscriptions referred to above was also discovered in the fort. It is engraved on a piece of stone that was found embedded in a wall. The stone was so dressed as to leave a broad border on the sides of an excavated bed meant for the incision of the record. The border was apparently meant for the protection of the writing. The inscription covering a space, about 20 inches by 20 inches, is beautifully engraved on the said bed. It contains 34 lines of writing.

¹Ibid., pp. 132 ff.
²The reference may also be to repairs done to an older structure.
³The building referred to seems to be different from a prapā-mañḍapa (cf. above, Vol. I, p. 328, text line 13).
Unfortunately a piece of the stone about the middle has broken off taking away with it portions of many of the lines. As the record could not be completed on the bed prepared for it, the concluding lines, numbering two only, were engraved on the lower raised border; but the letters of this part are almost completely lost.

An interesting feature of the inscription is that a squarish space, measuring 13 inches by 12½ inches, in the centre of the excavated bed in the stone was created by disturbing the continuous writing of lines 6-28 for the accommodation of a Padma-bandha design. While lines 1-5 and 29-34 of the epigraph contain about 46 letters each, lines 6-28 have each only about 20 letters, half of them to the left of the central square and half to its right. The pericarp of the padma is made by a circle with a diameter of about 1½ inches, which is surrounded by another concentric circle having a diameter of about 2 inches. The oblong petals, 12 in number and each about 11 inches in length, spread out from the outer one of the two central circles. The outer edge of the so-called petals is covered by another concentric circle about 13 inches in diameter, which touches the four borders of the central square, in their middle. There are again four concentric circles within this outer circle, which cut the oblong petals and create four circular spaces each about ½ inch in breadth. In the outer one of the above circular spaces, beginning from the left end and moving upwards, are put at the end of the upper six petals the numbers 1 to 3 against the beginning of six feet of 1½ stanzas in the Sāḍālaviśrīti metre. Their tenth syllable which is common to all the six being placed in the inner circle or the pericarp of the padma and the following nine syllables being continued on the opposite petals on the other side of the double circle at the centre. Some letters of the last two feet of the second stanza in Sāḍālaviśrīti are placed in the second inner circular space between the petals, the corresponding spaces within the petals being occupied by the first and last syllables of the six feet of the two stanzas engraved before, so that all the letters inscribed in this circular space have to be consecutively read to make out the third and fourth feet of the second stanza. The third inner circular space contains only the second and penultimate syllables of the six feet of the two stanzas referred to above; but they do not appear to yield any sense if read in the circular way. It is, however, interesting to note that the letters in the fourth inner circular space which contains only the third and seventeenth syllables of the six Sāḍālaviśrīti feet were intended, when read in the circular way, to read śrī-Varaśēṇa-munir=mmita-vācha yaḥ= tiriṣṭhitam=atra bhadantaḥ [*] tat=khamitavyam=utō=ṣya cha sā- dhār=ātmaja-dōsha iv=ṣha janētuḥ || 15 [*] Dvi-abach-ohha(-chha)āśīrk-aika-mitē-tha Vaikramē samā-samāhē sīte-saptami-dinē || Madhau cha māsē nava-chai-

32 tēna statō=si vachāsa manasāḥ prasaḍāt || 14 [*] Śrī-Varaśēṇa-munēr=mmita-vācha yaḥ= tiriṣṭhitam=atra bhadantaḥ [*] tat=khamitavyam=utō=ṣya cha sā- dhār=ātmaja-dōsha iv=ṣha janētuḥ || 15 [*] Dvi-abach-ohha(-chha)āśīrk-aika-mitē-tha Vaikramē samā-samāhē sīte-saptami-dinē || Madhau cha māsē nava-chai-

34 tya-sadmani mahātasavā Nemi-jinasya kāritaḥ || 16 [*] Putrēṣa Va(Ba)ladēvāsya Rāghavēṇa manishipā(ā) || dāna-dharma-nirātēṇa bhavyēṇa guṇasā(ā)linā || [17*] a

1. Metro: Vasantatilaka as already noted above.
In the portion of the inscription quoted above, verse 15 discloses the name of the author of the prākṣasti. He was the same Jain monk Śrī-Varaśeṇa-muni who composed the stanzas in Śārdula-ekṣriṭā, arranged in the Padma-bandha style, and is referred to above. Verse 16 says how a mahāṭevau (great festival) of the Jain Tirthaṅkarā Nāminīthā was celebrated at the new Chaitra on the seventh of the bright half of Madhu (Chaitra) in V. S. 1162 (1105 A.D.). The year is given in the words dōi (2), shat (5), śatākha (1) and ēka (1) which have to be read in the usual reverse order. The prākṣasti was apparently composed and engraved on stone on the occasion of the said festival. Verse 17 seems to disclose the name of the engraver of the record, who was Rāghaṇa, son of Baladeva. The verses quoted above show that, although the author was a skilful versifier, his language was greatly influenced by Prakrit. He has not only used such forms as kālamātāyam (for Sanskrit kṣhantāyam) and janātuk (for Sanskrit janayituk), apparently for the sake of the metre, but has also coined the expression tīrīṣiḷi (the same as Sanskrit bhārṇa according to Hōmacandra’s Grammar which equates Prakrit tīrīṣiḷa with Sanskrit bhrām) from a Prakrit root. The inscription is therefore of considerable lexical interest.

The second Jain inscription which forms the main subject of the present paper was found on the pedestal below the central figure of a group of three images of Jain Tirthaṅkaras in a small temple outside the fort at Shērgarh. The three Tirthaṅkaras represented are Śānti (Śāntināthā), Kunthu or Kuntanāthā and Ara (Araṅnāthā). As early images of the Tirthaṅkaras Kunthu and Ara are rare. I examined the inscription with considerable interest.¹

The inscription is written in eight lines and covers a space about eighteen inches in length and five inches in height. But the stone on which it is engraved is mutilated and some letters in lines 1-3 are broken away and lost. The characters are Nāgarī and the language is Sanskrit, although it is influenced by Prakrit. The record is written in verse with a passage in prose at the end. This passage gives the date of the inscription, which is also found quoted in one of the verses. The record exhibits considerable carelessness on the part of both the scribes and the engraver. It bears the date: V. S. 1191, Vaṣākha-sudi 2, Tuesday, which corresponds to the 29th March 1134 A.D.; but the week day was Thursday and not Tuesday as given in the inscription.

The first half of the first verse of the record, which is considerably damaged, speaks of the wife of a person named Māhilla who was probably residing at a pattaṇa or township called Suryāśrama (literally, a hermitage associated with the Sun-god). The second half of the stanza says how Śrīpāla and Guṇapālaka (Guṇapāla), probably two sons of the said Māhilla, migrated to Mālava. The first half of verse 2 says that a son named Dēvapāla was born to Śrīpāla while nine sons, viz. Pūni, Martha, Jana, Ilhuka and others were born to Guṇapāla-thakkura’s son whose name was probably Śānti. The second half of this stanza says how all these persons caused to be made the Rataṇa-traya (i.e. images of the three Tirthaṅkaras, viz. Śāntināthā, Kuntanāthā and Araṅnāthā) at Kōśavardhāna or at the base of the hill-fort of Kōśavardhāna (Kōśavardhāna-tala). The first half of verse 3 quotes the date of the inscription while its latter half records the obeisance of Dēvapāla’s sons, viz. Māhili, Sadhānu and others as well as Nūmi, Bharata, etc., who were the sons of Pūni and Śānti (possibly a brother of Pūni), to the gods, Śānti, Kunthu and Ara, who (i.e.

¹ B. C. Bhattacharya observes, “Hitherto no image of Kuntanāthā (seventeenth Jina) ... has come to light” (The Jain Iconography, p. 74) and speaks of “one or two images of Araṅnāthā (eighteenth Jina) that have been found out so far in Northern India” (op. cit., p. 76), although “the images of Śāntināthā (sixteenth Jina) so far discovered are not a few in number” (op. cit., p. 73). He probably means images belonging to a date earlier than the late medieval period. Śāntināthā’s symbol is the deer, Yaksha Kimpurusha (or Garuda), Yakshiṇī Mahākāśi (or Nirvāṇa), chowrie-bearer king Prunahadhēta and Kēvala tree Naḍīnd. Kuntanāthā’s symbol is the goat, Yaksha Ghandharva, Yakshiṇī Bali (or Vījaya), chowrie-bearer king Kuṇḍa and Kēvala tree Tīlaka. Similarly Araṅnāthā has as his symbol a fish or the Nandiśvara (a type of Sūṇākara), Yaksha Yakṣhāndra, Yakshiṇī Dhārapāl, chowrie-bearer king Gövinda and Kēvala tree Chyśa (mango tree).
whose images had been installed. Verse 4 contains an adoration to the three Jinas, whose images are stated to have been made by the mason (sūradhārīṇa) Sīlāśrī (possibly Sanskrit Sūlāśrī) who was a son of the mason (vadārāṇa) Dāṇḍi. It is interesting to note that the son of a father having the uncountable name Dāṇḍi enjoyed such a poetic name as Sīlāśrī (literally, 'one who imparts beauty to stones'), so true to his profession. The next stanza (verse 5) mentions Dēvapāla’s son Ilbuk, as well as Gōshhrin, Visala, Laluka, Māuka and Harischandra, and also Allaka, son of Gāgā, all of whom may have been associated with the installation of the Jinas.

The inscription mentions only three geographical names, viz. (1) Sūryāśrama, (2) Mālava and (3) Kōśavardhana. Of these, we have already seen that Kōśavardhana was the early name of Shērgarh, the findspot of the inscription. Sūryāśrama cannot be identified; but the apparent inclusion of Kōśavardhana (Shērgarh in the heart of Rājasthān) in Mālava is interesting. The Mālavas originally lived in the Punjab and later settled in the Jaipur region of Rājasthān. But the application of the name Mālava to the ancient janapadas of Avanti (with its capital at Ujjayini and comprising the present west Mālā) and Ākara or Daśārna (with its capital at Vīḷiśā, i.e. modern Besnagar near Bhillā, and comprising the present East Mālā) is not much earlier than the early medieval period. We know that the inclusion of the Shērgarh region in the dominions of the Paramārā king Udayāditya of Mālava is indicated by another Shērgarh inscription noticed above.

TEXT

[Metres: verses 1-3 Śāndalacakriśā; verses 4-5 Anushṭubh.]


2 [lē] Khaḍḍi — lē kuḷē sūya(ra)−chaṇḍramāsa−siv−śiva(ba)raitā prāptau kramān−Mālāvē || 1 || Śrīpalā−dha Dēvapāla−tna(tana)yō dānēna chintāmagī(ḥ) Śa−

3 [ntē ṛṣī] Gūnapāla−ṭhaku(kku)ra−sūtād−rūpēṇa Kām−ōpamāt [||] Pulē−Martha−Jan−Ehuka−prabhṛvās(ta)yaḥ putrāgra−(s−cha) yē−grā nava teḥ(taḥ) sarvvar−api Kōśavardhhana−ta−

4 lē Ratna-trayāḥ(yaṁ) kārita[m∗] || 2 || Varahai Rudra−āntē(ta)−gataiḥ su(ṣu)−bhatamair−ākā−navat−ādhikair Vaiśākha(ḥbē) dhavalē dvitiya−divasē dēvān− pratiśṭhēḥ−

5 pitān | vandantē nata−Dēvapāla−tanayā Mālhū−Saḷhāṇv−ādayaḥ Pu(Pū)ni−Sānti−sūtās−eha Nēmē−Bharatēḥ śrī−Sānti−saṭ−Ku[ṛ[ḥ]ṭhv−Arān∗] |

1 From impressions.
2 This is apparently the name of a family. The intended reading may be Khaṇḍilavālē.
3 The name Sānti is not beyond doubt.
4 The author uses ēkā−navati for ēka−navati for the sake of the metre.
5 The idea was apparently Nēmē−Bhārat−ādayaḥ.
6 As the usual form of the second name is Kustha or Kusthū the addition of sat at the beginning of the name of this Tirthankara was apparently for the sake of the metre.

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6 | 3 || Dāndī-sūtradhar-otpānnaḥ(nna)-Silāśrī-sūtradhāriṇīḥ [1*] Śānti-[Kujñhīthū(thv-A)rā-
nāma(mā)nō jayantu ghaṭītā Jinaḥ || 4 || Dēvapāla-su-
7 t-Elhukah Gōshthi-Vṣa-la-Lallukah(kāḥ ) Māukah Ḥariścāhar-dādiḥ Gāgā-sва(su)putra[h*]
Allakah 3 || 5 || Sarhvat 1191 Vaiśāha-a-sudi 2 [Marh]-
8 gala-dunē pratishṭā karāpitā* [2*]||

1 The correct form of the name may be Śūdāri.
2 The language of this verse is not quite satisfactory.
3 Read Vaiśākha.
4 Read kāriṭā.
5 A visarga-like sign is placed between the two double daṇḍas.
BRAHMI INSCRIPTION FROM SALIHUNDAM

Scale: Five-Twelfths
No. 14—BRAHMI INSCRIPTION FROM SALIHUNDAM

(I Plate)

A. S. GADDE, BARODA

Śalihunḍam is a famous Buddhist site in the Srikakulam District of the Andhra State, about 12 miles by road from Srikakulam, the District headquarters. It is on the banks of the Varin-
sadharā which joins the Bay of Bengal some five miles further down. The hills of this place have yielded many Buddhist structures and antiquities which have been briefly described in this journal.¹ Earlier excavations at the place have been fully described in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for the year 1919-20.² When I visited the place in October 1953, I came across an inscribed casing slab of stone.

The slab bearing the inscription formed part of the top frieze of stones on the exterior surface of the Mahâchāitya. That it is a fragmentary record can be recognized from the fact that traces of letters preceding and following this inscription, can be seen on the inscribed stone itself.³

The inscription reads:—

Dhāvinma(mā) Raṅo Asokasirino⁴

This fragmentary record refers to the religious edicts (dhāvinma) of the illustrious Asoka. According to the Aryanājuśatrīmalakalpa,⁵ Dharmāsoka, i.e. the Maurya emperor Asoka, set up stone pillars (śilā-yashtrī) at Chaityas as human memorials. Asoka himself is said to have visited the site. Very probably the Mahâchāitya at Śalihunḍam is a creation of the Mauryan times. It would therefore be no wonder if a reference is made to Asoka’s religious records in this inscription incised at a later date by devotees.⁶ An inscribed pot, discovered at this place, has been assigned by Sri T. N. Ramachandran on palaeographic grounds to the first century A. D. at the latest. This obviously is the date of the pot and not of the structure which must have preceded it. As our stone forms part of the Mahâchāitya, it is apparently of an earlier date.

Some scholars are inclined to read the first two words in the inscription as Dhāvinmaraṇa (Sanskrit Dharmarājya) and take it to be the epithet of Asoka.⁷ In support of this reading attention is drawn to certain inscriptions referring to kings as Dharmarāja, Dharmaṃahārāja, etc. I differ on this point. According to Buddhist literature the epithet Dharmarāja was applied

¹ Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 133 ff.
³ The record does not appear to be fragmentary. On the stone slab on which the space occupied by the writing is 22” by 2” (an akṣara being 1½” in height), there is no space for letters before the record in ten akṣaras while there is what looks like a damaged punctuation mark after it (cf. the symbol at the end of the Musasagar brick inscription, above, Vol. XXX p. 120, n. 5).—Ed.)
⁴ Macron over e and o has not been used in this article.
⁶ It is likely that the slabs of the entire top frieze of the stūpa or of a part of it were inscribed and the inscription went round the drum of the stūpa in one line. All these slabs are, however, unfortunately missing barring the one under review. [See note 3. above.—Ed.]

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to the Chakravartin and we find it often applied to the Buddha. Aśoka has no place in the Buddhist scriptures as a Chakravartin. In his inscriptions he styles himself Devindaśri Priyadarśi rāja and not Dharmanāja. The present inscription similarly refers to him as Rājā Aśokāśri. Some scholars are inclined to assign the inscription to a date about 100 A.D. I am, however, of opinion that, on palaeographical grounds, it is assignable to a period between the 2nd and the 1st century B.C.

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2 [The word Chakravartin means 'an imperial ruler'. In the Buddhist works, Aśoka is represented as a deśapā-chakravartin, i.e., as the lord of the entire Jambā-drīpa. See Buddhaghosa’s Sāmaṇera-pādīṭṭha, P. T. S., Vol. II, p. 309. The epithet Dharmanāja suits Maurya Aśoka, called Dharmāśoka, admirably. Indeed he was the ideal rājā chakravartin dharmikā dharmanājik of Buddhist conception (cf. P. T. S. Dictionary, s.v. chakravartin and dharmikā).—Ed.]
3 The palaeography of the inscription has been discussed by me in Proc. I.H.M., 1933, pp. 79-80. [In our opinion, the palaeography of the inscription points to a date not much earlier than the second century A.D. Although it is not quite easy to explain the purpose of this interesting record, it may not be impossible that an ancient tradition ascribing a Buddhist structure at Śālähunḍam to Maurya Aśoka was current in the locality and that this label referring to it was affixed at a later date.—Ed.]
No. 15—PEDDA-DUGAM PLATES OF SATRUDAMANA, YEAR 9

(I Plate)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

This is a set of three plates discovered in the course of digging the earth for the foundation of a house at the village of Pedda-Dugam in the Narasannapet Taluk of the Srikakulam District, Andhra State. The record was published by Mr. V. Bhanumurti, who secured the plates for examination through the Collector of the District, first in the Telugu monthly journal Bhārati, March 1955, pp. 86 ff., and then in Jahrs, Vol. XXI, pp. 159 ff. His reading and interpretation of the epigraph, however, contain many errors. The plates were received in July 1955 for examination at the office of the Government Epigraphist for India through the Deputy Commissioner of Commercial Taxes, Guntur, and were returned, at his request, to the Registrar, Andhra University, Waltair.

The set consists of three thin plates each measuring about 7" by 2½". The first plate bears writing only on the inner side while the others are inscribed on both sides. There is a hole (about 4" in diameter) for the seal-ring to pass through in the left margin of the plates. The oval face of the seal soldered to the ring is so completely defaced that no legend or emblem is visible on it. The three plates together weigh about 50 tolas while the weight of the ring with the seal is about 17½ tolas. The plates are numbered on the obverse side in late Telugu-Kannada numerals, apparently not incised at the time of the engraving of the plates.

The characters belong to the Southern Alphabet and may be assigned on palaeographic grounds to a date roughly about the fifth century A.D. They closely resemble the script of such other records, belonging to the said age and discovered in the same region, as the Ningondi grant edited above. But, as will be shown below, the internal evidence of the inscription under study seems to support its ascription to a date not much later than the middle of the fifth century A.D. The sign for ṇ has been used to indicate ṇ in some cases (cf. Vṛ̣dhavā in line 5), although ṇ also occurs in the record (cf. Brāhmaṇaṁ in line 7). The numeral 9 occurs in line 23. The language of the record is Sanskrit, though there are many grammatical errors in the text of the document. With the exception of four imprecatory and benedictory stanzas about the end of the charter, the whole record is written in prose. As regards orthographical peculiarities, the inscription closely resembles other epigraphs of the age and area in question. Interesting is the use of the jihidāṛīya in yāk-kriyā in line 14. Some consonants have been reduplicated in conjunction with r. Final m has been wrongly changed to nṛsāra at the end of the second and fourth feet of verses, while final n has also been similarly changed in 'maṁ in line 16. Among other errors of spelling, attention may be drawn to niśha for niśha (line 1), aissu for aissu (line 16), sambatarō for samvatarō (line 22), etc. The date of the charter is given as the tenth day of the month of Ashadhā in the year 9, apparently of the reign of Satrudamana and not of his overlord referred to in the record. The absence of any reference to the pāsha may suggest that the month was solar.

The record begins with the symbol for Siddhām. The charter was issued from the victorious Sinhapura by a Mahārāja who is described as bhagavatō Damanēvasavāśināṁ pādā-anuśadhaḥ and Bhātṛīraka-pāda-parigrikiḥ. Bhagavat Damanēvasavāśin was apparently a deity whom

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1 This is No. 7 of A.R.E.p., 1955-56, App. A.

8 See Vol. XXX, pp. 119 ff. and Plates. For some other inscriptions of the type, see above, Vol. IV, pp. 142 ff.; Vol. XII, pp. 1 ff.; Vol. XXIII, pp. 56 ff.; Vol. XXIV, pp. 47 ff.; Vol. XXVII, pp. 35-36, etc.

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the issuer of the grant held in special esteem while the Bhṛttāraka was a monarch to whom he owed allegiance but whose name has not been mentioned. The name of the Mahārāja is given as Śatrudamanadēva. Whether the deity Damanaśvara, worshiped by him, was named after himself (cf. the latter part of his name) or after one of his predecessors named Damana cannot be determined with certainty.

Mahārāja Śatrudamana’s order in respect of the grant recorded in the document was issued to the villagers (grāmān in the sense of grāmēya-kān), headed by Brāhmaṇas and others, residing at the three localities called Duḥāgrāma, Vasanvaṭaka and Goyāṭaka within what is called the agrāhāra (revenue-free area in the possession of Brāhmaṇas) of Giri-Kaliṅga-Vardhamāna (i.e. the Vardhamāna agrāhāra in the Giri-Kaliṅga district). As the gift villages are stated to have been situated in an agrāhāra, the present grant may be regarded as a reallocation of the localities, which were already revenue-free, in favour of the donees of the charter. The donees were two Brāhmaṇas named Bapassārman and Sarvaśārman who were the sons of Yañāśaśarman and residents of Paṭṭuvagrāma. They belonged to the Kaṇḍinya gōtra and were students of the Taittirīya school of the Yaśurvēda. The gift villages were made a brāhmaṇa-dēya and granted to the donees as a deva-bhōga. The three villages constituted three śrūṭis or shares, two of which were granted to Sarvaśārman and one to Bapassārman. The villagers were enjoined to receive orders from the donee and follow them as well as to pay them whatever dues they could legally claim as rent or taxes (pratītya), produce of the fields (mēga), etc. The above is followed by four imprecatory and benedictory stanzas in the Asūṣṭubh metre in lines 14-22. Next comes the date of the charter, already discussed above. The name of Vaidya Kṛṣṇadattta, who was the dīta or executor of the grant, occurs in line 24 with which the document ends.

There are several points of interest in the inscription under study. It reveals for the first time the existence of a king named Śatrudamana who ruled from Sinhahpura which has been identified with modern Singupuram near Srikakulam. It is well known that this city is mentioned as the capital of the Kaliṅga country in the Ceylonese chronicles and that many Mahārājas enjoying the title Kalingā-āḍhispati or sakala-Kalingā-āḍhispati, who flourished about the fifth century A.D., issued their charters from the same place.1 We also know that the history of Kaliṅga about the fifth century was marked by the rivalry between the kings of Pishaṭpuram (modern Pithapuram) in the East Godavari District and South Kaliṅga and those of Central Kaliṅga, especially the rulers of Sinhahpura.2 Kings Umavārman and Chaṇḍavārman of the Pitrībhaktta family had one of their capitals at Sinhahpura. The Māṭharas, who originally ruled from Pishaṭpuram, appear to have ousted the Pitrībhaktas from Central Kaliṅga. The Ragolu plates,3 issued by the Māṭhara king Saktivarman from Pishaṭpuram, record a grant of land in the neighbourhood of Sinhahpura, while the Ningondi and Sakunaka grants4 of Prabhāṣijanaśvarman and Anantāśaktivarman, respectively the son and grandson of Saktivarman, were issued from Sinhahpura itself. The Vāśīśṭhas of Dvārāśṭra in Central Kaliṅga, i.e. the modern Yellamanchili area of the Visakhapatnam District, appear to have extended their power over the Pishaṭpuram region and extirpated the Māṭharas sometime about the beginning of the sixth century A.D. King Śatrudamana of our inscription appears to have ruled earlier than all the rulers mentioned above as having issued their charters from Sinhahpura.

An interesting fact to be noted in this connection is that, while the other Mahārājas of the age and area generally claimed to have been the lords of Kaliṅga and were apparently independent

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2 See The Classical Age, loc. cit.
3 Above, Vol. XII, pp. 1 ff.
monarchs, Mahārāja Śatrudamana acknowledged the supremacy of a Bhāttāraka or paramount ruler. The style Bhāttāraka-pāda-parigrihiita applied to a Mahārāja reminds us of similar epithets used in relation to certain feudatories of the Gupta emperors. We also know that, during the fourth and fifth centuries, independent monarchs of South India, including certain performers of the Aśvamedha sacrifice, enjoyed the title Mahārāja and that it was the Gupta emperors who popularised among independent rulers all over North India and partly over South India the imperial titles Paramabhaṭṭāraka and Mahārājaśuddhiraṇa.

The feudatories (including those enjoying a semi-independent status) and subordinate allies of the early monarchs of the Gupta family enjoyed the title Mahārāja and were often called Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pāda-ānudhāya, i.e. meditating on or favoured by the feet of the overlord. The expression pāda-parigrihiita also occurs instead of pāda-ānudhāya in the same context in epigraphic records in the description of certain subordinates of the Gupta emperors. It is therefore very probable that the overlord of Mahārāja Śatrudamana was a Gupta monarch. It has also to be noticed that we do not know of any other imperial power to which the Mahārāja of Sinhāpura could have possibly owed allegiance in the age in question while Gupta suzerainty is known to have been acknowledged in the same region by Pṛthivivigraha-bhaṭṭāraka about the middle of the sixth century. The absence of the name of Śatrudamana's overlord in the charter under study and its date given in his own regnal reckoning instead of the Gupta era appear, however, to suggest that the king was enjoying a semi-independent status at the time of issuing the grant.

The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta (c. 340-76 A.D.) mentions certain rulers of the Kaliṅga region, who were defeated by the Gupta monarch but were reinstalled by him in their respective kingdoms. Whether the rulers of that area acknowledged Gupta supremacy as a result of Samudragupta's expedition cannot, however, be determined although that is not improbable. We have also to note that the ruler of Sinhāpura is not mentioned in the list of kings mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription and that the city may have become prominent after the third quarter of the fourth century when the said epigraph was engraved. One of the rulers of the Kaliṅga region mentioned in the list of Samudragupta's adversaries is Damana of Erāṇḍapalla. This king can hardly be identified with Śatrudamana of Sinhāpura because not only are the names of the rulers but also those of their capitals are different. In any case, the combined testimony of the Pedda-Dugam plates of Śatrudamana and the Sumandala plates of the time of Pṛthivivigraha would point to the hold of the Guptas on parts of the Kaliṅga country. If the area in question did not come under Gupta influence during the reign of Samudragupta, it may have been subdued by his son Chandragupta II (376-414 A.D.) or grandson Kumāragupta I (414-55 A.D.) as the later members of the Imperial Gupta family do not appear to have been powerful enough to effect the conquest of such a far off tract. But the Mahārājas of the Sinhāpura region must have thrown off the Gupta yoke considerably before the end of the fifth century not long after Śatrudamana's reign.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the location of Sinhāpura has been indicated above. Duhāgrāma seems to be no other than modern Pedda-Dugam (literally, 'the bigger Dugam') which is the find-spot of the record. The indentification of the other two villages is uncertain though they appear to have stood in the same neighbourhood. The location of Paṭṭuvagrāma cannot be determined. The Vardhamāna agrahāra is stated to have been situated in Giri-Kaliṅga which seems to be the name applied to a hilly district of Kaliṅga. In ancient times, usually the Godavari (sometimes even the Krishna) was regarded as the south-western

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1 Cf. IHQ, Vol. XXII, pp. 64-65.
2 See Sel. Ins., pp. 283, 286, 310, 324, 328, 338.
3 Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 79 ff.
4 Corp. Ins. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 1 ff.
boundary of the Kaliṅga country. About the fifth century A.D., as we have seen, 'the lords of Kaliṅga' were ruling from Paṇṭapura in the south and Sinhapura and other cities in the Śrīkakulam region. With the establishment of the Eastern Gaṅga kings, often styled 'lords of Kaliṅga', at Kaliṅganagara (modern Mukhalingam near Śrīkakulam) about the end of the century, the name Kaliṅga gradually came to be exclusively applied to their kingdom. The Gaṅjam-Puri-Cuttack region of Orissa, which formed part of the ancient Kaliṅga country at least down to the sixth century, became later known as Tōsalī after an ancient capital of the land identified with modern Dhaulī in the Puri District.

TEXT:

First Plate

1 Siddham [*] Vijaya-Sīhha(Sīhha)purāḍ-bhagavatō Damanēsvara-
2 svāmīnaḥ pād-ānudhyātō Bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-parigri-
3 hitō mahārāja-śat-Śrātudamandavāḥ Giri-
4 Kaliṅga-Varddhamān-āgāhārē Dubāgrāmā Vasuvātākē

Second Plate, First Side

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Gōvāṭkē sa (cha) Vṛā(Bṛā)hmaṇa-purāḍ-ā grāmān-ahārī-ādī-kuśalāṁ
6 sprī(prī)ṣhtvā likhaty-astya-śtē mayā grāmakā [a*]tmanah[ḥ] puny-ā(ny-ā)pyāyana-
7 nimittair Brāhmaṇāṁ(aḥ) (bhyaṁ) Paṭṭuvagrāma-vāstavyāya(bhyāṁ)
8 Kaṇṇīna-sagotṛtyābhyāṁ Taittirīya-savas(aḥ)bhamārice(bhyāṁ)
9 Yajñāśarmmaṇaḥ puttra(tṛābhyaṁ) Vappāśarmmaṇaḥ Śravvaśarmmaḥ-

Second Plate, Second Side

11 dvija-bhūgō visriṣṭhas-tad-yushmābhī[ḥ] śrōtvamyam[4]-ājñā cha kartavyā [1*]
12 attra cha Śravvaśarmmaṇaḥ(aḥ) vṛiti-dvaya[ṃ] Va(Ba)ppaśarmmaṇaḥ(aḥ)
13 cha vṛitti-eśkā [1*] sarvē cha samuchita-grāmāṇ[ṇu] pratyāya-
14 mēy-ādīm[4]-upanēṣaya(aḥyā)tha [1*] bhavanti ch-attatra sōkāḥ[ḥ] Yah-kriyuṁ dharmma-
15 sa[m]īnyuktāṁ manasāḥ-puṣṇyaśabhinandati [1*] varddhatē sa yath-ehātēna (ehāṁ=cha)

1 For the geography of Kaliṅga, see my article on ancient Orissa, in JIH, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 203 ff.
2 From the original plates and their impressions.
3 Expressed by symbol.
4 The figure, which is a modern Telugu-Kannada numeral, stands in the margin near the beginning of line 6.
5 A similar figure for I is found on the blank side of the first plate.
6 Read purāṇa. The word grāma appears to have been used in the sense of grāmāyaka or grāmavatīn.
7 Read Bappāśarmmaṇaḥ Śravvaśarmmaṇaḥ ca or Bappāśarmma-Śravvaśarmmaṇaḥbhāṁ.
8 Read trāyaḥ. The word anvayāḥ is understood in this sentence.
9 Better read śrōtvam. The word anvayāḥ is understood in this sentence.
No. 15] PEEDA-DUGAM PLATES OF SATRUDAMANA, YEAR 9

Third Plate, First Side

16 sukla-pakṣe ivāṁsūmaṁ || [1*] Va(Ba)hubhir-vaśudhā dattā
d
17 vasudhā* vaśudhādhipāḥ ||[*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmi
t
18 tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) || [2*] Pūrva-dattāṁ dvijātibhyō
t
19 yatnād-rakṣa Yudhishṭhirā mahīṁ-mahimatāṁ ṝśāṭha
t
20 dānāch-chhrēyō-nupālanan(ān) || [3*] Śhasṭiṁ varsha(rsha)-sahas āṣī
t

Third Plate, Second Side

21 sva[*]ggō mūdati bhūmidāḥ ||[*] ākṣhēptō ch-ānumantā cha
t
22 tāntyēva narakō vaśō[t*] || [4*] itiśvāṁ-likhitā-sambara(samva)tamō
t
23 navamō 9 Āśādha-māsa-divasō daśamō
t
24 dūtō vaidya-Kriṣṇadatta[ḥ ||*]

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1 The figure (a modern Telugu-Kannada numeral) stands in the margin near the beginning of lines 17-18.
2 Read pakshe imāṇāmān.
3 There is an unnecessary dash-like mark after the word.
4 Read bhūḍhit.
5 Read bhūḍhitīsāya.
No. 16—TWO EASTERN GANGA INSCRIPTIONS AT KANCHIPURAM

(I Plate)

T. V. Mahalingam, Madras

The two subjoined inscriptions are engraved, one in continuation of the other, on the south wall of the Arulāḷa Perumāḷ temple at Little Kāṇṭhapuram, Chingleput District, Madras State. They are edited here with the aid of their impressions kindly placed at my disposal by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The language as well as the script of both the records is Tamil. Wherever Sanskrit words or phrases occur, they are written in the Grantha script, the rest being in Tamil characters. The orthographical peculiarities do not call for any special remarks.

The object of the first inscription is to record the gift of the village of Uḍaiyakāmam in Antarudra-vishaya by Someśvaradevi-mahādevi, for offerings and worship, to the god Alījanāathi while she was at Abhinava-Varāṇavāṣi. The inscription is dated in the 19th year of the reign of Mahārajādhirāja Rājarājaivarmanāvējara Anantavarmanāratadēva who is stated to have belonged to the Gaṅga family. The king is further described as the son of [the god] Purushottama and a Paramavaṉipāva who regularly observed ekādaśi-vrata and constantly meditated upon and practised the meaning of the māhāvāya. The inscription quotes other details of the date, viz., Mīna śuśā, Wednesday, Rāvati. As the year of the commencement of this king’s reign is known to be 1211 A.D.,2 the particulars of the date given in the inscription seem to correspond to 1230 A.D., March 20, the tithi quoted having ended the following day at 02. The nakṣatra Rāvati is misquoted for Rūhiṇi.

The second inscription records the gift of 128 cows and four bulls by Kalīgēvāra Aniyaṅkabhīmadēva-rāhuta for four perpetual lamps to the Perumāḷ. The sthāṇavāṇi of the temple agreed to measure out the ghee required for the purpose. It is dated in the 20th year of the reign of the Chōḍa king Rājarāja III and contains the following astronomical details: Ādi 12, Saptami, Monday, Aśvati, which correspond to 1235 A.D., July 8, the week day being Sunday and not Monday as quoted.

These two Eastern Gaṅga inscriptions are of more than ordinary interest for two reasons. Firstly on account of the fact that both of them are found engraved on the walls of a temple at Little Kāṇṭhapuram far away from Orissa and secondly for the reason that, while the first inscription in which the Gaṅga king’s wife figures as the donor, is dated in the 19th regnal year of that king without reference to the contemporary Chōḍa king Rājarāja III, the second is dated in the latter’s 20th regnal year.

It will be of interest to examine how the two Eastern Gaṅga inscriptions are found at Kāṇṭhapuram. It would appear that king Aniyaṅkabhīma III (1211-38 A.D.) took advantage of the

1 A.R.P., Nos. 444 and 445 of 1919.
2 Abhinava-Vārāṇavāṣi has been identified by Dr. D. C. Sircar with Abhinava-Vāraṅaō-kataka (modern Cuttack in Orissa). Aniyaṅkabhīma III issued from that place a number of grants in 1230-31 A.D. (cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235-238; Vol. XXX, pp. 17-23). Antarudra-vishaya, in which the village Uḍaiyakāmam was situated, has been identified with the modern Antarūḍha Pargana in the Sadar Sub-division of the Purī District of Orissa (see above, Vol. XXX, p. 22, n. 2).

(94)
political confusion that prevailed in South India during the reign of the Chōla king Rājarāja III (1216-46 A.D.) and tried to fish in the troubled waters of South Indian politics about 1229-30 A.D. either by himself or more probably at the invitation of over-grown and disloyal Chōla vassals like the Kāḍava rāya chief in Koppuruṇāṅga. The reign of Rājarāja III was marked by many political and economic troubles even from its beginning. Probably about 1229-30 A.D. he invited fresh troops for himself and his kingdom by withholding the tribute he was to pay to Māravarmāṇa Sundarapāṇḍya I and despatched a large army against him. Rājarāja III, having been defeated by the Pāṇḍya king, abandoned his capital and proceeded to his residence and friend, the Hoyśala king Narasimha II, along with his retinue. On his way he was suddenly overtaken by the Kāḍava chief with the help of a vanguard of forest and foreign (ufelxrcolcées) troops, taken captive after a fight and imprisoned in his capital Jayantamaṅgalam (Ṣūnlamaṅgalam). When Narasimha heard of these events, he defeated the Pāṇḍya king, carried destruction into the region under the Kāḍava rāya and restored Rājarāja to his throne.

It is very probable that the Eastern Gaṅga king Aniyakabhimāna III sent his army to the Tamil country apparently to help the Kāḍava rāya chief but really to take advantage of the political confusion in the Chōla kingdom. Though there is no direct evidence as such to show that he either assisted the Kāḍava rāya chief or actually sent his army to the Chōla country, it is indirectly suggested by two pieces of independent evidence. Two Hoyśala inscriptions suggest the movement of the Eastern Gaṅga army into the Tamil country and its possible temporary occupation of Kāṇṭhipuram. One of them recounts the following achievements of Hoyśala Narasimha II: “His forcible capture of Ādiyama, Chēra, Pāṇḍya, Makara and the powerful Kāḍava as to why should I describe? Describe how he lifted up the Chōla, brought under his order the land as far as the Sētu and pursuing after the Trikalīnga forces, penetrated their train of elephants displaying unequaled valour.” Another contains the following details: “The king Vira Narasimha, determined to make an expedition of victory in all directions first went to the east and, being surrounded, uprooted the Magara king, set up the Chōla king who sought refuge with him and, having seen the Allīnāṭha, stationed there a body of the bhāraṇāṭhas (the name of a regiment) to uproot the evil, returned and, entering the Rātnakūṭa capital, was at peace. Then the body of the bhāraṇāṭhas, according to his order, remained for sometime in Kāṇṭhipuram. And having seen the lord of Kāṇṭhipura, the remover of the fears of the world, the worshipful Allīnāṭha, and marking both their arms with signs, the servants went forth and, having conquered unequaled hostile forces and the Vindhya mountains, acquired the renown of a present day Agastya for the body of virabhāraṇāṭhas.”

It is unfortunate that neither of the two inscriptions referred to above contains any date; but their approximate date can be fixed with the help of the details contained in them and in other inscriptions, and that is 1239 A.D. Among the many achievements attributed to Hoyśala Vira-Narasimha II in the first of the two Hoyśala inscriptions referred to, mention is made of his pursuit of the Trikalīnga forces which were obviously the army of the Eastern Gaṅga king. It is not quite necessary to assume that Vira-Narasimha invaded the Kaliṅga country itself. Possibly when the Eastern Gaṅga army invaded South India and occupied Kāṇṭhipuram it was defeated by the Hoyśala king and driven out of the Tamil country. The possible raid and temporary occupation of Kāṇṭhipuram by the army of Aniyakabhimāna is further indicated by the second Hoyśala inscription which categorically mentions Vira-Narasimha’s invasion and uprooting of the Magara kingdom (Magara-rājām nirālāya), his setting up in his kingdom the Chōla king who had sought
his protection (śarangātā-Chōla-rājaṁ praśīthaḥ) and his stationing at Kāṇchipuram of the army of the bhūruṇḍas for uprooting evil-doers (dushṭaṁ-nirmulam-ārtham ītra bhūruṇḍa-varggam aṣṭāpāyitvam).1

One does not know what the dushṭa element at Kāṇchipuram at that time was, if it was not the Trikaliṅga army. Certainly it could not have been that of the Magaras, who are referred to separately in the inscription and whose territories lay farther west (in the present North Arcot and Salem regions), or the Kāṭāvarāya chieftain whose hostile activities against Rājarāja III were more in the south at that time. The possibility of the dushṭa element at Kāṇchipuram being the Trikaliṅga army is suggested by the latter half of the inscription which says that the bhūruṇḍa-vargga after remaining at the place for sometime went forth and conquered unequalled hostile forces and the Vindhyā mountains (nirūgaṁ ca sūtraṁ parābalam-ātulam Vindhyam-ūdāṁ vijiyta). The para-bala (foreign army) could have been that of the Eastern Gaṅga king Aniyaṅkabhinā, which was the dushṭa element at Kāṇchipuram. This surmise seems to be supported by the first of the two inscriptions edited here, dated the 20th March 1230 A.D.2

It is a point to be noted that though the grant was made to a celebrated Vaishṇava temple in the heart of the Chōla kingdom, the inscription is dated not in the regnal year of the then Chōla king Rājarāja III, but in the 19th regnal year of the Eastern Gaṅga king. It is not easy to explain away the circumstance,1 though the document may have been prepared at the Eastern Gaṅga capital, unless we take that Rājarāja III was then a prisoner at Śēndamaṅgalam with his vassal Köpperuṅjija, and the Chōla country was without a king. But the Eastern Gaṅga occupation of Kāṇchipuram was only temporary as may be seen from the two Hoysala inscriptions referred to above, which suggest that it was put an end to by the Hoysala army which drove the hostile forces from the place and occupied the city.3

Though the Eastern Gaṅga army was dislodged from Kāṇchipuram in the course of 1230 A.D., Kaliṅgēśvara Aniyaṅkabhinā’s devotion to the god Allājanāthā of the place was so great that, according to the second inscription edited here, he made in 1235 A.D. a gift of 128 milch cows and 4 bulls for four perpetual lamps for the Perumāl, for which the sthānattār of the temple agreed to measure a nāli of ghee by the Areyepavallā-nāli. It is significant that this inscription is dated in the 20th year of the reign of Chōla Rājarāja III. It suggests that, after Rājarāja’s release from prison in 1230 A.D., Aniyaṅkabhinā III recognised him as the Chōla king and did not interfere in the politics of the Chōla country. No indication is available in the inscription as to whether the Kaliṅga king was at Kāṇchipuram at the time of this grant. Possibly he made the grant in absentia from Abhinava-Vārāṇavāsī itself in the same way as his wife Sōmaladēvi had done five years earlier, unless it is assumed that he visited the place in 1235 A.D. as a pious pilgrim.1

**Inscription No. 1**

**TEXT**

1 Svasti [*] Chatu[*]ddāsa-bhuvaṇā-ādhipati-śrī-Purushottama-chaṇḍa-ādēśa(ā)ṛt [*] Samaramukhānēk-·ripu-di(ḍa)rppa-marddana-bhujabala-parākrana.4

2 ma-paramavaishṇava-paraṁmahāṭāraka-jagannābala-sūtra-traivamunḍharā-samundha(ddha)raṇa-śrava(chaṇḍa)-dō-
TWO KALADHANA INSCRIPTIONS AT KILCHIDIHIN

[Image of an inscription, containing text in an ancient script.]

Note: One fragment.
TWO EASTERN GANGA INSCRIPTIONS AT KANCHIPURAM

3 rd̐aṛa-[m-a]ḥavara-śrimad-ek̐aśa-vrataraja-sag̐ešvara-vidalita-Kalikāla-kulas̐a-masi-
spa[r]-śasa-las̐a-mahāvāky-ārthapari.

4 ohar̐a-[ṛ]s-p̐aȓokshi[ṛ]-parama-brahma-nanda-bhava-mahārājāḥ-bhava-
rajarāja-paṇampāvam-varagā-patnamadāvadilī|Mīna-suśka-paṇa-chāmyamupuṃdu.[p-

5 ntavas[r]-[r]-i mma-
rahudatāvavatāya pravas[t]-[r]-rhamana-vijaya-raijya-
sarvavat[e]rāruga

gatpatnopada[d]vadilī|Mīna-suśka-paṇa-chāmi Mīna-

6 p kilamaityum pervaṭ-nāl Abhinava-Vāraṇavāsiyil urandu Antarudra-

vishayattum Udaiyakāram- pornography [p-

7 yuvajayā ur Allinānāthandakku pūjī nastā[y-ā][r]-]thamāga Sōmalādēvi-mahādevi
ā-śandra[ad]rāya-śthāvayā

8 gadhārā-śrivakamaga-kalapatten Sōmalādēvi[ng] [†] Śrī-Vishvaksēnasaya likhaman[†]

TRANSLATION

Ha! At the command of (the g.d.) Purushottama, the lord of the fourteen worlds; in
the 19th year of the increasingly victorious reign of Mahārājāḥ-bhava Rājarāja-
varma-rāhuataṣu, who has destroyed by the prowess of his arm the arrogance of the enemy in
many a battle, who is a Parama-brahma (and) Parama-brahmaśāra, who is the son of (the god)
Purushottama the original cause of the universe, who is the (veritable primeval) Great Boar that
raised high the three worlds, who by his observance of ēkāśa the best of all the vratas is free
from the slightest touch of the black veil of the Kali age, who has attained the supreme bliss of
Brahman by constant devotion to and practice of the meaning of the Mahāvāka, and who is
the pillar supporting the family of the Gangas, on Wednesday, Mīna-suśka-paṇa-chāmi,
Rāvati, while staying at Abhinava-Vāraṇavāsi, Sōmalādēvi-mahādevi grants, with libation
of water and for as long as the moon and sun endure, the village of Udaiyakāram in Antarudra-
vishaya, for worship and offerings, to the god Allīnānātha. (Thus) I, Sōmalādēvi, (give). (This is)
the writing of Vishvaksēna.

Inscription No. II

TEXT

Rājarājadēvam-

9 kku(ku) yādu 20 Kaliyāgāvaran-ayul[aa] Aniyābhimadēv[aa]-rāhuata [ādi-
māsattu 12]ā[ti]yadi sapta[m]am[ya]m- [Tiṅga[r]-kk[κ]-cal-

10 mайum prerya Asvati-nāl Pū. Poρmāl[ukk]u vaitta tirunandavilakku nālukku Ariyēna-
vallā-gāyāl aey nāl[likku vi-

11 ś[t]-[t]-[t]-[t]-vargattu pp-pa(ṇa)-āru-pattu-nālum polimurai-nagum[tt]-chipai-ppētuvum
urut[āru-pattu-nālum āgur̐u 128 ri-

12 ahabbā-nāl[ū]-kaikk[ō]atu i-tirunandavilakku nālum ūt chandirādi[tt]-[t]avasrai chelutu-

13 asthāntōm śri [† ⋆]
In the 20th year of Rājarājadēva, on Monday, Ādi 12, saptami, Āsvatī, we, the sthānattār of the Perumāḷ temple, agree to supply (daily) as long as the moon and sun endure, a nāḷi of ghee measured by the Aṟiṇeṇavallā-nāḷi for burning four perpetual lamps before (the god) Perumāḷ, for which purpose 128 cows made up of 64 milch cows and 64 heifers and pregnant cows and four bulls were given by Aniyakkabhirāmaṇa-ṛāhuta.
No. 17—Note on Two Eastern Ganga Inscriptions at Kanchipuram

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

In the foregoing article, Dr. T. V. Mahalingam suggests that the Eastern Ganga monarch Anangabhima III (c. 1211-38 A.D.) took advantage of the chaotic condition prevailing in the Chōla territory as a result of the temporary imprisonment, in 1230 A. D., of Chōla Rājarāja III (1215-46 A.D.) by the Kādava king Köpperuṇījīga I and that for a time the Eastern Ganga army entered Kānchipuram to be driven out soon afterwards by the Chōla king's relative, Hoysala Narasimha II (c. 1220-35 A.D.). He further contends that, since one of the Kānchipuram inscriptions bears a date in the regnal reckoning of Anangabhima III, the locality must have been for the time being under the Ganga king. But the suggestions appear to be unwarranted in view of certain known facts of South Indian history during the period in question, which Dr. Mahalingam has ignored totally.

In the first place, about a hundred inscriptions discovered in the Godavari, Krishna, Guntur, Kurnool, Cuddapah and Nellore Districts prove that the entire tract lying to the north of the Chōla dominions formed a part of the empire of the Kākatiya monarch Gaṇapati (1199-1261 A.D.), a contemporary of Chōla Rājarāja III. That the Kākatiyas were expanding their power towards the south is proved by two of Gaṇapati's own inscriptions, dated 1250 A.D., at Kānchipuram itself. It is interesting to note that Kādava Köpperuṇījīga II, son of Köpperuṇījīga I, claims in his Drākshārāma inscription, dated Śaka 1184 (1261-62 A.D.), to have been 'the executor of the commands of Gaṇapati mahārāja', i.e. a subordinate of Kākatiya Gaṇapati. The Eastern Ganga army therefore could not have penetrated as far south as Kānchipuram without conquering thousands of square miles of Kākatiya territory and there is absolutely no proof to show that Anangabhima III was ever engaged in a successful war with Gaṇapati.

Secondly, as Mr. V. Venkatasubba Ayyar has shown, Hoysala Narasimha II assumed the titles 'estabhisher of the Chōla kingdom' and 'destroyer of the demon Kādavarṇya' after an engagement with Kādava Köpperuṇījīga I in 1224 A.D. and that he had defeated the Magada (Magara) chief and the Pāṇḍya king and planted a pillar of victory at Rāmāvaram by Śaka 1145 (1223-24 A.D.) prior to the said engagement. Most of the achievements of Hoysala Narasimha II, referred to by Dr. Mahalingam, have therefore to be assigned to a date more than five years before 1230 A.D. to which he is inclined to ascribe them.

1 For a discussion on the question of Eastern Ganga occupation of Kāsht, see also above, Vol. XXX, pp. 19 ff.
2 Rangachari's List, Nos. Gd. 72, 84A, 118, 125, 317, 325.
6 Ibid., Nos. Cd. 604, 854, 905.
7 Ibid., Nos. Ni. 95, 97, 129, 587, 590-01.
8 Cf. Sewell, Hist. Ins. & Ind., pp. 133-34, s. v. 1218 and 1218 A.D.
10 SII, Vol. IV, Nos. 1341, 1342, 1345.
Thirdly, Hoysala Narasimha II is known to have been ruling on March 10, 1229 A.D.1 from Kāśchipuram which was the eastern limit of his possessions,2 while a number of Hoysala generals are mentioned in the Kāśchipuram inscriptions with dates ranging between the 14th and 24th regnal years of Rājarāja III, i.e. between 1230 and 1240 A.D.3 No. 408 of 1919 refers to the presence of the Hoysala general Ammaṇaḍa at Kāśchi on the 25th February 1230 A.D. (14th regnal year of Rājarāja III, Mina-su 11, Monday), while No. 404 of the same year to that of another Hoysala general named Goppayya in the 15th regnal year (1230-31 A.D.) of Rājarāja III. It has to be noticed that it was these Hoysala generals4 who were responsible for the defeat of Kōpperunjūga I and the consequent release of Rājarāja III. Between 1229 and 1231 A.D. therefore it was the Hoysalas who were dominant at Kāśchipuram. It is thus very difficult to believe that the place was occupied by the army of Anāṅgabhīma III in 1230 A.D. Under the circumstances, Dr. Mahalingam’s identification of the dūṣaṇa element at Kāśchipuram, which was uprooted by the Hoysala army, with the Eastern Gaṅga forces seems to be unwarranted.

A Vṛiddhabalam inscription,5 dated in the 14th regnal year of Rājarāja III, corresponding to 1229-30 A.D., records a benefaction of a person who was the chief of the body-guards of Kāḍava Kōpperunjūga I. Hence the capture of the Chōja king at the hands of the Kāḍava chief seems to have occurred at a later date. We have also inscriptions of the reign of Rājarāja III dated the 15th and 17th February, 6th May, 3rd July and 5th August of 1230 A.D.6 The date of the capture of Rājarāja III is placed by scholars7 in 1231 A.D. or ‘a little earlier’. In Dr. Mahalingam’s opinion, Rājarāja III was in captivity for a short time in March-April 1230 A.D. and the Eastern Gaṅga forces entered Kāśchipuram exactly at that time. A strange coincidence indeed!

It will be seen that this time factor is the very basis of Dr. Mahalingam’s theory, although the fact cannot be ignored that the equation of the 19th year of Anāṅgabhīma III with 1230 A.D. is by no means certain. We know that none of the other records of this Eastern Gaṅga king is dated in his regnal reckoning. They bear dates only in the Śaka era and the Aṅka reckoning. If, considering the style of dating favoured by the Eastern Gaṅgas during the period in question, the date of the Kāśchipuram inscription, viz. the year 19, is referred to the Aṅka reckoning, it would correspond to the 16th regnal year of Anāṅgabhīma III and to 1227 A.D. But it should also be remembered that the date of the king’s accession, generally believed to have taken place in 1211 A.D., is itself uncertain.8 Thus Dr. Mahalingam seems to stand on an extremely shaky foundation.

Fourthly, Dr. Mahalingam forgets that Kāśchipuram was a place of pilgrimage and that at other holy places also there are records dated in the regnal reckoning of kings who were not really the rulers of the kingdom to which the areas in question belonged because the pilgrims responsible for them may have been their officers or subjects. It may also be noted in this connection that sometimes partisans of a king who had ceased to rule over a territory continued to mention him as the lord of the land in preference to the new ruler of the country.9

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1 Ep. Carn., Vol. XII, Tp. 42. The date quoted in the record is Śaka 1152 (current), Vīrūḍha, Chastra-su 15, Saturday. For brika-śūra meaning Saturday, see A. Venkataraman, Some Śaka Dates in Inscriptions, pp. 60 ff.
3 See SII, Vol. XII, pp. xxi; cf. Nos. 408, 404, 610 369, 615, 611 and 612 of 1919.
6 Cf. Sewell, op. cit., p. 140.
7 Cf. ibid., p. 140. 1
8 See above, Vol. XXX, pp. 200-01.
9 Cf. J.A.S. Letters, Vol. XX, pp. 43 ff.; The Age of Imperial Unity (The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. II), p. 121. It has also to be noticed that, while the first inscription seems to have been drafted at the Gaṅga capital, the second was apparently drafted by the priests of the temple at Kāśchipuram.
NOTE ON TWO EASTERN GANGA INSCRIPTIONS AT KANCHIPURAM

Attention in this connection may be drawn to three inscriptions at Drákhārāma in the Godavari District, which is known to have formed an integral part of the Kākatiya empire during the reigns of Gaṇapati (1199-1261 A.D.) and his successor Rudrāmbā (1261-91 A.D.). These are Nos. 193, 206a and 208a of 1893, respectively bearing dates in the 72nd (Śaka 1211), 37th (Śaka 1175) and 6th (Śaka 1144) years of the reign of a king named Rājādhirāja. There is no doubt that he cannot be identified with any of the Kākatiya rulers whose dominions comprised the Drákhārāma region during the period in question.

A similar case seems to be offered by No. 2014 of 1905 found at Tripurantakam in the Markapur Taluk of the Kurnool District, Andhra State. This record is dated in the year Rauḍuri (1260-61 A.D.) as well as in the 15th regnal year of the Chōja king Rājendra III, although there are numerous inscriptions of the Kākatiyas showing that the area formed a part of the Kākatiya empire.

An inscription has been recently found on a stone built into the wall of the granary in the Raṅganāthā temple at Srirangam. It mentions a Padeśī of Hōysala Vishvūvardhana I and is dated in the year Khara (1111 A.D.) as well as in the 15th regnal year of the Hōysala king. There is no proof to show that the Hōysalas were in actual occupation of the Srirangam area during the life time of the Chōja emperor Kulottuṅga I (1070-1120 A.D.).

A Drákhārāma inscription records a donation of Jayaṅkaṇḍachōḍi, queen of Anantavarman Chōḍaṅga of Kaliṅga, on the ṛṣiṇī day of the month of Śīṅha in Śaka 1050 (1128 A.D.) without reference to any other ruler. If one reads only this inscription of the locality, it may be concluded that the Drákhārāma region formed a part of the empire of the said Gaṅga monarch. But we have several other inscriptions at the same place bearing exactly the same date but equating the year with the 2nd or 3rd regnal year of Vishvūvardhana.

As has already been shown above, it was not necessary for a person to visit a distant holy place to make a grant in favour of the deity worshipped there. In the twelfth century, the Kadamba chief Jayakṣekin II of Goa is known to have granted a village in the Dharwar District in favour of the god Śomanātha in Kathiar, apparently without visiting the temple himself. A Damodarpur copper-plate inscription of the time of Budhagupta refers to a grant of land made by an inhabitant of a village in North Bengal, in his own locality, in favour of two deities worshipped apparently at Varāhachhatra (Varāhakshētra) in Nepal, although it is uncertain whether he had visited the holy place.

The real significance of Hōysala Naresīnha's claim of success against the Trikaliṅga forces cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. But it may be as empty a boast as his other claim regarding the conquest of the Vindhyān region.

It has been suggested above that Śūnaladēvi, wife of Gaṅga Anangadīpa III, was a sister or daughter of Rājārāja III, although her name may point to her birth from a Kannada

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1 Rangachari's List, No. Gd. 98 ; SII, Vol. IV, No. 1019.
3 Rangachari, op. cit., No. Gd. 167 ; Sowell, op. cit., p. 136. The dates have been wrongly read in SII, op. cit., No. 1118.
5 This is No. 440 of A.R.Kp., 1854-55, App. B.
6 Ibid., Nos. 1110, 1110, 1190.
7 For Vol. XXX, p. 22, n. 5. For even ordinary people performing pilgrimage by proxy, see Sreenivasachar Copus of Inscriptions, Nos. 50-61.
9 See Vol. XXX, p. 22, n. 4.
princess. We know that the name of a queen of Hoysala Narasimha II was also Sōmaladēvi and that the said Hoysala king gave one of his daughters in marriage to the Chōla king, Rājarāja III. As the practice of naming grandchildren after their grandparents was a popular one, it is not impossible to think that Sōmaladēvi, wife of Anāgabhimā III, was a daughter of Rājarāja III by the daughter of Hoysala Narasimha II through his queen Sōmaladēvi. If such was the case, the presence of the inscriptions, edited above by Dr. Mahalingam, at Kāśchipuram can be easily explained.

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1 Pāl. 182; Sastrī, The Chōlas, p. 191.
2 Sewell, op. cit., pp. 135 (s. v. 1200 A.D.), 341
3 A daughter of Eastern Chāluksya Rājarāja I was named Kundavā after his own mother. See also Geiger, Cālavatī, trans., Part I, p. 211.
No. 18—SIRPUR PLATES OF MAHASUDEVARAJA1, YEAR 7

(1 Plate)

S. L. KATARE, NAGPUR

The charter consists of three plates, of which the first is damaged, nearly half of its right portion being broken off and lost. The plates were first noticed by Hiralal in the revised edition of his Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar.2 They were then in the possession of Ramratanlal Agrawal, Talukdar of Sirpur, but seem to have been later on acquired by Pandit Lochan Prasad Pandeya of Bailpur. The Pandit sent the inscription for examination to the office of the Government Epigraphist for India who noticed it in the Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, 1945-46.3 It seems that, when the plates were with Ramratanlal Agrawal, they were taken out from their original ring bearing the seal of Mahāsuđevarajā and were misjoined to a seal which must have originally belonged to some charter of Mahājaya-rāja.4 Each of the plates has in it a round hole (about half an inch in diameter) at a distance of about an inch from its left edge. Each plate measures 5.5”×3.2”; and the three plates together weigh 46 tolas. The plates are smooth; their edges are neither thickened nor raised to give protection to the writing. Though a portion of the first plate is broken away and lost, the writing of the record is well preserved. The first plate is inscribed on one side only, while the second and the third are inscribed on both the sides. The third plate has only one line of writing on its second side. There are altogether 25 lines of writing. The average height of the letters, which are well-formed and carefully engraved, is about $\frac{1}{4}$”.

The characters are of the box-headed variety of what Fleet calls ‘the Central India alphabet’,5 in which the charters of the Sarabhapura kings were engraved. It may be pointed out that the letters on the plates of the Pāṇḍuvaṅga rulers, Tivarāda and Mahāśivapharpa,6 particularly those on the Bāḍūli,7 Lodhiś8 and Mahālī9 plates, are angular and elongated in comparison with those on the records of the Sarabhapura kings. The top horizontal bar of the box-head in the letters is also slightly projected on both the sides in the case of the former. The language of our inscription is Sanskrit and, except the benedictory and the imprecatory verses at the end, the composition is in prose. The upadhiṣṭhāniya has been used in gopradā-udramabhañgavati in line 3 and dhiyaḥ-

1 [The real name of the king was Sudēva. Mahāsuđevarajā is similar to Sudēva mahārāja.—Ed.]
3 [This conjecture of the author is not easy to prove as we have several other instances of a king’s charter being endowed with the seal of his predecessor. See J.B.R.S., Vol. XV, pp. 87 ff.; above, Vol. XXIX, p. 184. The name of Sudēva’s predecessor was really Jaya. The legend (in two lines) on the seal reads : Prasanna-tanayāy śravan-vikram-ābhāsā-rāvīsh[�] (ustain Jaya-rājaśya mānasā ripu-śāsan[i]nam[�]).—Ed.]
5 [His real name was Śivagupta.—Ed.]
6 Above, Vol. XXVII, Plate between pp. 290 and 291.
7 Ibid., Plate between pp. 324 and 325.
8 Ibid., Vol. XXIII, Plate between pp. 120 and 121.
(103)
praevadant in line 15. Attention may also be drawn to the doubling of k followed by r, as in ekktaram in line 1; the doubling of the consonant preceded by r in many cases; and the doubling of v in sarauvat (samaat) in line 24. There are a few mistakes of spelling, e.g. tambra for tamra in line 11.

The charter was issued from Sarabhapura by king Mahāśudēvarāja, described as a pramahāpravata, on the 10th day of the second Bhādra in the 7th year of his reign and records the confirmation of the grant of a village, the name of which is lost in the broken portion of the first plate. The village was formerly granted by the venerable Nanna to Kāraṇaka Kanhippasvāmin of the Pātraśa gōra and the Taṭṭtīriya śākha. The resident agriculturists of the village were informed that the grant was being renewed by the king after making the village a-chātaśhāhā-praveśya (not to be transgressed by regular and irregular troops) and sarva-kara-visarjita (free from all taxes). They were further enjoined to pay to the donee his due share.

This is one of the three charters of Mahāśudēvarāja issued in the 7th year of his reign, the two others being the Ārāga and the Kauvāṭāl plates. Of the six copper-plate grants of his time so far known, five, including the one cited here, were issued from Sarabhapura and they were engraved by Drōpāsininā. The sixth, viz. the Kauvāṭāl plates, as well as the Thākurdīya plates of Mahāpravarāraja, both of which were issued from Śripura, modern Sipur in the Raipur District of Madhya Pradesh, were engraved by Gōlasininā. This shows that Mahāśudēvarāja had Drōpāsininā as his official scribe at Sarabhapura and Gōlasininā at Śripura.

Mahāśudēvarāja belonged to the dynasty of the so-called Sarabhapura kings whose history and chronology have been a matter of controversy among scholars. The names of the kings of this family so far known from the inscriptions are: Narēndra, son of Śaraha; Mahājayaśāraja, son of Prasanna, who is also known from a number of gold and silver coins on which his name occurs as Prasannamātra; Mahāśudēvarāja who was the son of Mānāmātra (descended from Prasanna according to the Kharia and Ārāga plates) or of Mahādurgarāja according to the Kauvāṭāl plates; and Mahāpravararāja, son of Mānāmātra. The real name of the father of Mahāśudēvarāja, as revealed by the Kauvāṭāl plates, was Mahādurgarāja. Mānāmātra was therefore his secondary name. Whether Prasannamātra was also a similar secondary name is not possible to

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1 Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 22, n. 4.
2 Ancient India, No. 5, p. 49 ; Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, 1945-46, p. 12, No. 33 and Plate.
3 [The real name of the king is Prarasa.-Ed.]
4 IHQ, Vol. XIX, p. 165. It has been suggested (cf. also The Vākṣṭha-Gupta Age, p. 86; The Classical Age, p. 219) that this Sarabha is identical with Sarabharaja, maternal grand father of Goparaja in the Erā inscription (Gupta year 198) of the time of Bahlungupta (CH, Vol. III, p. 91). There is nothing to substantiate this identification except the common names. [The identification seems to be quite satisfactory in the present state of our knowledge.—Ed.]
6 IHQ, Vol. IX, pp. 588-80; Vol. XV, pp. 475-76; The Vakshasa-Gupta Age, p. 87, note 3; JSNF, Vol. XII, pp. 8-10.
8 Ibid., Vol. XXIII, p. 22.
9 [His real name was Durgo.-Ed.]
11 Above, Vol. XXII, p. 22.
say at present. Another king who apparently belonged to the same family and is known from a number of gold coins of the same type and fabric and with the legend in the box-headed characters of the 'scooped out' or 'closed' variety, as found on the coins of Prasannamātra, was Mahānāmaditya. He seems to have ruled before Śrābhava and may have been a contemporary of Saumudragupta (middle of the fourth century A.D.), who claims to have defeated king Mahendrā of Kōsala. The suggestion, offered on the strength of the seal of the Kharial and Ārāṅg plates, that Mānāmātra was the son of Prasannamātra is doubtful. Scholars who think that the said seals represent Mānāmātra as born in the family of Prasanna appear to be right. The older view that Mahāpravararāja was the younger brother of Mahānāmaditya was based upon the possibility of Mahāpravararāja having transferred his capital from Śrābhavana to Śrīpura, which he himself may have founded, is now disproved by the Kaupsātī plates issued by Mahānāmaditya from Śrīpura in the 7th year of his reign, in which year were also issued the present charter and the Ārāṅg plates. This shows that both Śrābhavana and Śrīpura were seats of the government of Mahānāmaditya. This also disproves the conjecture, based upon the above hypothesis, that the need to shift his capital to a more centrally situated place like Śrīpura was felt by Mahāpravararāja as he had ‘extended his kingdom in the west’. Consequently, the suggestion that the dynasty of the so called Śrābhavana kings came to an end after Mahāpravararāja as a result of his defeat by the Pāṇḍava king Tīvarādēva of Kōsala can no longer be sustained, as it is not possible to say which of the two brothers, Mahānāmaditya and Mahāpravararāja, was the elder and which of them was defeated by Tīvarādēva.

Nanna, who had formerly granted the village, and which grant was being confirmed by Mahānāmaditya by the present charter, cannot be satisfactorily identified. The respectful manner in which he is spoken of in the record shows that he was of some consequence. He may have been a predecessor of Mahānāmaditya or an officer like Rāhuḍēva of the Pipardūlī plates of Narāndra.

1 JNIS, Vol. X, pp. 137 ff. The first coin of Mahānāmaditya was published by Mr. Pratap Daula in Numismatics Supplement, No. XLIV, No. 306, and he assigned it to the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I. Mr. Ajit Ghosh (ibid., No. XLVII, p. 22 n.) thought that it was probably a coin of Kumāragupta of the Bhūtāri school. A fresh hoard consisting of one gold coin of Mahānāmaditya and 11 gold coins of Prasannamātra was recently discovered at Bhāndara in the Chandrapur District of Madhya Pradesh (cf. JNIS, Vol. XVI, p. 216). This is the first hoard which contains the coins of both Mahānāmaditya and Prasannamātra and all the facts taken into consideration lead to the conclusion that Mahānāmaditya of the coins was a king of Kōsala and belonged to the house of Prasanna and that he flourished before Prasannamātra. Pandit I. P. Pandey suggested his identification with Mahendrā of Kōsala who was defeated by Samudrāgupta and is mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription (ibid., Vol. XII, p. 9, n.1). Mr. Rode, who published the Kharial hoard of Mahānāmaditya's coins, assigned them to the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I (ibid., Vol. X, pp. 137-38) and Dr. B. Altekar, while commenting on the article of Mr. Pande, thought that the coins were issued by some ruler of Mahākōsala, who had adopted the hirāda of Mahānāmaditya (ibid., p. 142). Prof. Mirashi in a long note on these coins differed from all others and made an ingenious attempt to identify Mahānāmaditya with the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I (ibid., Vol. XI, p. 104 ff.). I have examined the coins of both Mahānāmaditya and Prasannamātra in the Nāgar Museum and have no hesitation in saying that Mahānāmaditya of these coins was a king of Kōsala.

2 This date is too early for Mahānāmaditya. See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 83. The ādiya-ending names, which appear to have been popularised by the Guptaśa, is not expected in other families so early as the middle of the fourth century A.D. Mahānāmaditya of Kōsala seems to have been named after the Gupta monarch Kumāragupta I Mahānāmaditya.—Ed.

3 Cf. Bhāndarkar's List, p. 263. [The passage Prasanna-dharma-nandita: Maṇavān-mitra-tava means to say that Mānāmātra was born from Prasanna just as the moon is born from the ocean. The moon's birth from the ocean is indicated by its epithets like arnav-vātihara, tisdharm, etc. It is thus almost certain that Mānāmātra was a son of Prasanna or Prasannamātra.—Ed.]

4 Above, Vol. XXII, p. 17.

5 There is some reason to regard Pravan as a successor of Śrābhava because the earlier kings are known to have ruled from Śrābhavana, Śrīpura from both Śrābhavana and Śrīpura and Pravan only from Śrīpura which was also the capital of the Pāṇḍava dynasty which succeeded the rulers of this dynasty.—Ed.]

and Pratiśhūla Bhūgila of the Āraṅga plate of Mahāndēvaraṇa, each of whom had granted a
village which was later confirmed by a charter by the kings in question.

The kings of Śarabhapura appear to have been, in the beginning, the feudatories of the
Guptas and Śarabha, father of Narēndra, like Goparāja of the Āraṅga stone inscription of the Gupta
year 191, was probably governing one of the eastern provinces of the Gupta empire. The Allahabad
pillar inscription of Samudragupta speaks of Mahēndra of Kōsala as one of the kings defeated by
him. This bears a clear testimony to the extension of the Gupta influence in South Kōsala. The
successors of Śarabha had the status of sāmanta and are praised in their records as sāmanta-makuta-
chūḍānapāṇi. They had their seats of government at Śarabhapura and Śripura. Towards the end
of the Gupta rule when the empire was plunged into confusion because of the Hūga invasions, these
kings appear to have assumed an autonomous or semi-independent status. The suggestion that the
Śarabhapura kings were the feudatories of the Vākāṭakas does not rest on a sound foundation.
The use of the box-headed characters by these kings could not necessarily be due to Vākāṭaka
influence or domination when it is known that the box-headed characters of the 'scooped out' or
'closed' variety were used in the Eran inscription of Samudragupta and the Udayagiri inscription of
Chandragupta II. The statement in the Balaghat plates of Prithivēśa II that the king of Kōsala was a
feudatory of Vākāṭaka Narēndrasena and that of the Ajanta inscription which describes Harishēṇa, probably, as the conqueror of Kōsala along with several other countries need
not necessarily be taken to imply that the Śarabhapura kings were the feudatories of the Vākāṭakas.
Kōsala appears to have had much wider extent than the territories governed by the Śarabhapura
kings. There is nothing to suggest that they ever ruled over the Chanda District or even the
whole of the Bilaspur and Bastar Districts of Madhya Pradesh.

TEXT

First Plate

1 Ōṁ svasti [†] Śarabhapura-śri-vikram-ōpanata-sāmanta-mā[ka]-chūḍā-mani.[†]
2 prabhā-prasēk-āmbu-dhanta-pāda-yugai ripu-vilāsi[n]-śimant-ōddharaṇa.[†]

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† Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 20-21.
† For the identification of this city with Sārpeṇa in the former Gangpur State in Orissa, see above Vol.
XXIII, p. 17; Vol. XXVI, p. 229, n.3. Hirshāl favoured Śripur in the Raipur District of Madhya Pradesh (ibid.,
Vol. XI, p. 186, n. 5).
Ibid., p. 7.
The author has misunderstood the meaning of the epithet vikrama-ōpanata-sāmanta-ma[kka]-chūḍamani-
prasēk-āmbu-dhanta-pāda-yugai which suite independent rulers only.—Ed.]
† Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 17 ff.
† CHI, Vol. III, Plate II-A.
† Ibid., Plate II-B.
† Above, Vol. IX, p. 269.
† The Bhandara (Chanda District) hoard of gold coins containing one coin of Mahēndrāśṭya and 11 of Pras-
mambhāta need not be taken as evidence of the extension of the territories of the Śarabhapura kings over the
Chanda District as it is likely that the coins travelled to that place which was not far away from the Śarabhapura
dominions.
† From inked impressions supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.
† Expressed by symbol.
† A portion of the first plate is broken off. Thus six letters of line 1, seven of line 2, eight of line 3, and nine
each of lines 5 and 6 are lost. But the lost letters can be restored with the help of other charters of the king.
No. 18] SIRPUR PLATES OF MAHASUDEVARAJA, YEAR 7

3 hātur=vasu-varudhā-gō-pradaḥ=parama-bhāga[vatō mātā-pitrī-pād-ā]1
4 nuddhyāta=ṣīr-Mahāsudēvarājaḥ vu[..]2
5 vakē pratīvāsi-kuṭumbinasa-samājīṃ-[payati | vididāṃ=astu vō]
6 yathā-samaḥbir=ayaṁ grāmastriṣa-tridaṇḍiṣāpati-sa[dana-sukha-pratishthā-karō]3

Second Plate, First Side

7 yāvad-ravi-ṣaśi-tārā-kiranā-pratihata-āhūr-ṇandhakāram jagad=avatīhītha-
8 tē tāvad-upabhōgya=sa-māhīsa-ś-bīr=čāṭa-bhajā-pratīvyas=sa-rvva-ka-
9 ra-visorjita[ḥ]* pārvavā Nanna-pādais-Taṅtirīya-Pāḍāra-pratīvyas=sa-rvva-ka-
10 ra-kaṇāpika-Kansippasvāminī(ṇē) data idāṁṃ=apya-samaḥbhir=apī
dati suṣṭiṣā-sa-sa-śāndakālaṁ āvīṣṭāṁ tē yūyam=ā-
11 mahādevi-rājakulaṁ viṣṇu-pānāmbra(tatāma)-śāsenīkītaḥ tē yūyam=ā-
12 vam=upalabhyāṣyacyājā-phāvanc-viḍhēyā bhūtvā yathā-śchitam bhūga-bhāga-

Second Plate, Second Side

13 m=upanayantas=saṅkhaṁ pratīvatsya(sa)tha [(*) Bhavishyataḥ=cha bhūmipān-anu-
14 daṁṣayati Dānāū=vishtam-anupālanajām purāṇa dharmāsālu niṣchitu-
15 dhiyāḥ-prasadantir dharmāmāmām[ram]m | Tasmaī(d*)=dvijāya suṣṭiṣā-sa-kalā-sa-vatāya dattāṁ
16 bhuvāṁ bhavatō vō matir-śeva gōptu(m*) ] Tad-bhavadbhir=apya-śaḥ dattāṁ=anu-
17 pālayitavyā [(*) Vaśas-gitāṁ=ca-astra śūkān-udāharantii [(*)] Agnir-apatyantii pra-
18 thamaḥ suvāraṇṇāṁ bhūr=vvaśhvasā śūrīya-suṭāṁ cha gāvāḥ [(*) dattāṭrayas-tō-

Third Plate, First Side

19 na bhavanti lōkāḥ(kā) yah-kūnānaṁ gūṭa cha māhiṁ[ṇi] cha dāyaḥ [(*)] Śrāvaṇa-varshā-sa-
20 hārāpi svargge mōdati bhūmīśah [(*)] achchhitāḥ tō-anumattā cha tāny-o-
21 va narāke vasīt [(*)] Bahubhir=vasuḥdā dattā rājaḥhis=sa-rājāḥbhībhī[(*)] yasya
22 yasya yadd bhūmīḥ ta(mis)tasāya tasā yadd phalāṁ[la]m [(*)] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā
23 yastād-rakeṇa Yudhisṭhirā [(*)] Mahīm(m=ma)ḥimṣattāṁ=achchhitē śthā | dīnēṣa-

chhrēyō=anupāla-

1 See p. 106, note 15.
2 This portion of line 4, which is broken off, contained the name of the village and probably also the district
3 in which it was situated.
4 Metro: Vasantatilaṇa.
5 Metro: Indrāvranā.
6 Metro: Dāvarajāṇa for this and the following two shāanas.
24 nam-iti [**1 Sva-mukh ājñayā pravaddhamāna-vījaya-savva(samhva) 7 dvi-Bhādra-
di 10 [,**]

Third Plate, Second Side

25 Ukti(tki)tṛṇataḥ Drūḍasīṃghāṇa(simhāṇa) ||
No. 19.—ASANKHALI PLATES OF NARASIMHA II, SAKA 1225

(5 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

A set of inscribed copper plates was discovered about the beginning of 1919 from the house of a Santal inhabitant of Pargana Asankhali in the Mayurbhanj State, now the District of that name in Orissa. The Santal is said to have found it several years earlier. U. N. Chakladar, a Tahsildar in the Mayurbhanj State Service, submitted the plates to Kamakhya Prasad Basu who was then the Sub-Divisional Officer of Mayurbhanj. The officer tried to decipher the inscription with the help of Nagendra Nath Vasu who was then serving as Honorary Archaeologist to the Mayurbhanj State, and actually prepared a short note on the record, although it was never published. I am grateful for the above information to Mr. P. Acharya who also supplied me with an extract from the unpublished article by Kamakhya Prasad Basu. The plates are now the property of the Museum at Baripada, chief city of the former Mayurbhanj State and headquarters of the present Mayurbhanj District. In 1941-42, the plates were received for examination at the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, and several sets of their impressions were prepared by the office mechanic. I am editing the inscription from one set of these impressions.

In the manuscript note on the Asankhali plates by Kamakhya Prasad Basu, the set is described as follows: "Its weight is 15 seers. It has seven plates containing 14 pages, of which the 12 inside pages are inscribed. These seven plates are secured by a stout ring of copper which passes through the perforations of the plates at the top. The plates are each 14" x 9". The copper ring has a lotus attached to it, on which is found a seated bull. There are the mystic symbols of the trident, dhanur, and half moon on the lotus on both sides of the couchant bull." The impressions at our disposal show that the record was engraved on six plates. Of these the first and the sixth are inscribed on one side each, while the second, third, fourth and fifth plates have writing on both the sides. There are altogether 212 lines of writing on the plates. Of these the inner sides of the first and sixth plates contain 20 and 17 lines respectively. The first and the second sides of Plate II as well as the second side of Plate IV have 22 lines each, while the first side of Plate IV and the two sides of Plate V contain each 21 lines of inscription. The two sides of the third plate have no less than 23 lines each. Five of the inscribed plates are consecutively numbered. In the margin behind the ring-hole on the inner side of plate I is written gam I. The second sides of the following four plates have similarly in the margin gam 2, gam 3, gam 4 and gam 5 respectively. The sixth plate, only the inner side of which is inscribed, contains no such number. The letter gam seems to be a contraction of the name of the deity Gangesvaradeva, the foremost amongst the recipients of the land granted by the charter under discussion. The Kendupatna plates of Narasimha II, dated Saka 1217, are also similarly numbered; but in their case the numbers are preceded by the letters kuma (only ku in one case) which seem to be a contraction of the official designation of Kumara-mahaputra Bhima-deva-asarman donee of that charter. 1

The palaeographic and orthographic peculiarities of the inscription under discussion are the same as those of the other published records1 of Narasimha II. They resemble very closely the characteristics of the palaeography and orthography of the Nagari copper-plate inscription of 2

2 Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 185 ff.

(100)
Anaṅgabhima III, which have been fully discussed above. The consonants p and y are undistinguishable. Similar is the case with superscript s and superscript t, with subscript v and subscript ch, and sometimes with s and a and r and ch. The conjunct ndh is in some cases written like rth (cf. lines 209-10) and ruh is often like rūh. The final forms of t and n occur many times in the record. In many cases such half consonants have been used instead of joining them with the following consonants in conjuncts. V and b are indicated by the same sign. In a number of cases, medial d has been written as in Nāgari and not in the usual Bengali or Oriya fashion. Of initial vowels, au occurs once in line 198; but a, ã, i, u and õ occur in a number of cases. As already noticed, the inscription employs the numerical figures from 1 to 5. It is interesting to note that the figure 2 resembles the shape of an English or Telugu 3, while 3 is written almost like the present Nāgari and Bengali 2. This is also the case with other medieval Orissan records such as the Kendupatna plates of Narasimha II (Śaka 1217), the Puri plates of Bhānu II (Śaka 1234) and the Palsara plates of Arkeśvara (Kaliyugāda 4248). The letter f occurs in line 192.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It is written in both prose and verse. The rules of sandhi often remain unobserved even in verses. There are a few cases of sandhi where a sibilant has been preferred to a visarga (cf. surais-saha in line 135). Often the last consonants of the vargas have been changed to anusvāra in sandhi. The reduplication of some consonants after r is found occasionally (cf. both rru and rrua in line 138). Final m has in all cases been changed to anusvāra at the end of the second and fourth feet of verses.

The inscription is dated in the Śaka year 1225 and in the Aṅka year 31 corresponding to the 25th regnal year (omitting, according to rule, the first, sixth, sixteenth, twentieth, sixteenth and thirtieth years) of the Gaṅga king Narasimha II (circa Śaka 1200-27, i.e. 1278-1305 A.D.). The actual date was Mēṣha (i.e. Vaiśākhā)-badi 6, Tuesday. The date is irregular. If the Śaka year is taken as current, Vaiśākhā-bagi 6 would fall on Wednesday, the 24th April 1302 A.D., but, if it was an expired year, the date would fall on Monday, the 8th April 1303 A.D.

The introductory portion of the charter consists of 105 verses with a number of stray names between verses 6 and 7. This part is also found, with slight variations, in the other records of king Narasimha II who issued the charter under discussion. It has been shown that the later monarchs of the Imperial Gaṅga family copied the introductory part of the records of their predecessors and added to it a few verses about their own reigns composed by their court poets. Thus, of the introductory portion of the charters of Narasimha II, the earlier part down to verse 79 is also found in the Nāgari plates of Anaṅgabhima III, great-grandfather of Narasimha II. It has been fully discussed above and need not be dealt with here. Verse 80 of our record says that king Anaṅgabhima III died after a reign of 34 years. According to the Aṅka reckoning, adopted by the later rulers of the Imperial Gaṅga dynasty, 34 Aṅka years would correspond to 28 actual years. The king is usually believed to have ascended the throne in Śaka 1133 (1211-12 A.D.) and ended his rule in circa Śaka 1160 (1238-39 A.D.). Verse 81 introduces king Narasimha I, son of Anaṅgabhima III from the queen Kasturādēvī. Verse 84 says that, as a result of the exploits of Narasimha I, the waters of the river Gaṅgā became as black as that of the Yamunā owing to the collyrium in the eyes of the Javanas or Yavanas women of Rādhā and Varēndra being washed by their tears and mixed into the waters. This refers to the success of the Gaṅga king against the Muhmmadāins of Bengal. According to the Taḥṣiṭ-ī-Nāṣirī of Minhāj-uddin Sirājī, the Rāj of Jājnagar (i.e. the Gaṅga king of Orissa) commenced molesting the Lakhanaṇati territory (i.e. the Muslim

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1 Ibid., pp. 236-37.
2 Cf. ibid., p. 64.
3 Ibid., pp. 240 ff.
kingdom of Bengal having its capital at Lakhsmanpur near Gaur in the Malda District) in Hijra 641 (June 21, 1243, to June 9, 1244 A.D.). In the month of Shawal (March 13 to April 10) of that year Malik Tughril Tughan Khân, ruler of Bengal, led an expedition against the Jânjagor kingdom and reached Katâsin (on the Mahanadi, lat. 20° 32' N, long. 84° 50' E) within that kingdom. But the Muslim army was completely defeated by the Jânjagar forces and Malik Tughril Tughân Khân retired from the place without having effected his object and returned to Lakhanavati. In order to avenge the attack on Katâsin, the Râj of Jânjagar invaded the Muslim kingdom of Bengal next year and on Tuesday, the 13th of Shawal, Hijra 642 (March 14, 1245 A.D.) the army of Jânjagar appeared before the gate of Lakhanavati. The Orissan forces are said to have been led by a general called Sâbantar (Sâmantarâya, which was really a title and not a name) who was the son-in-law of the Râj (king Narasinha I). He drove the Musulmân forces as far as the gate of Lakhanavati. The forces of Jânjagar, according to the Muslim author, had, however, soon to return to their own country. The success of Narasinha I against the Muhammadans of Bengal is also referred to in Vijâyâkara's Kâvâvâlī.1 There is possibly a reference to the performance of the Tulâpurushamahâkâdâna ceremony by Narasinha I in verses 85-86. Verse 86 refers to the fact that the king constructed the temple of the Sun-god at Kônâkôpa (modern Konarak), although the magnificent building is humbly mentioned as a kutirâka or hut. According to verse 88, Narasinha I ruled for 33 years (i.e. Aâka years, corresponding to 27 actual years). As Narasinha I is believed to have ascended the throne in Saka 1160 (1238-39 A.D.),2 he may have ended his reign in circa Saka 1186 (1264-65 A.D.). The next verse says that his successor was his son Bhânu I born of the queen Sitâdevî who was the daughter of the king of Mâlava. Queen Sitâ’s father must have been a ruler of the Paramâra dynasty of Mâlava, although he cannot be identified with any amount of precision. Verse 90 refers to king Bhânu’s 16 Pâtras or minister’s and verse 94 to the 100 ñívanas (areas of land granted as revenue-free holdings) created by the king. Verse 95 says how Bhânu I died after a rule of 18 Aâka years (15 actual years). This would place his reign between circa Saka 1186 and 1200 (1261-78 A.D.). Verse 96 speaks of Jâkalladâvî,3 who was the queen of Bhânu I and the mother of the next ruler Narasinha II, issuer of the charter under discussion. Verse 97 says how the reigning monarch was the destroyer of enemies and the saviour of his family, while verse 99 refers to the 100 ñívanas that he granted at the request of his mother.

The grant was made when king Vira-Narasinhabâva, endowed with a string of titles beginning with ‘the lord of the fourteen worlds’, was staying at the Bhairavapura kataka (city, camp or residence). The passage Gaṅgâdevi-mandir-āntar-vijaya-ñivasare used in this connection suggests that the occasion of the grant was a royal visit to the temple of the goddess Gaṅgâ at Bhairavapura. In the passage quoted above, the word vijaya has been used in its Oriya sense of ‘staying’ and vijaya-ñivasare means ‘while staying’, ‘at the time of his stay’. The epithet chaturdaša-bhuvanadhâpitâi is really intended for the god Purushottama-Jagannâtha of Puri, whom the Gaṅgâ kings regarded as their overlord since the dedication of the kingdom in the god’s favour by Anâsagabhimâ III in the first quarter of the thirteenth century.4 By abbreviating an epithet originally meaning a subordinate of the god in the above way, quite familiar to students of Indian history, Gaṅgâ Narasinha II seems to have attempted to endow it with an equivocal meaning just as a semi-independent feudatory of a weak imperial ruler often did.5

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1 JASB, 1903, p. 124.
2 Ibid., p. 120.
3 She is stated to have been born in the Châlukya family; but her father cannot be identified.
4 See above, Vol. XXX, pp. 17 ff. For the epithet chaturdaša-bhuvanadhâpitâi applied to the god Purushottama-Jagannâtha, see the Kancharpura inscription edited above, p. 96, text line 1.
5 See ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 79.
6 Cf. ibid., Vol. XXIX, p. 186.
The *mudala*, a Telugu word meaning ‘an order’ and here indicating the royal order in regard to the grant itself or its execution, passed through the *Purā-Parikshak-Pātra* Raṅgū Vājapeyin. The word *vaiṣṇapēyin* indicates ‘a performer of the Vaiṣṇapēya sacrifice’, although later the epithet was claimed also by the descendants of a *vaiṣṇapēyin* and became stereotyped as a cognomen of the family. It is difficult to determine whether in the present case Raṅgū himself or one of his ancestors was the real performer of the sacrifice. *Pātra* indicated an officer of the ministerial rank, while *Parikshaka* (same as *Parikshaka*) possibly meant an inspector attached to some administrative department. The word *purā*, prefixed to the official designation, may be the same as Sanskrit *purā* and the inspector may have been attached to the capital city; but it may also be the same as Sanskrit *puras* suggesting that the officer in question was the chief of his class. The order of execution of the grant seems to have been given in the presence of three persons, viz. Viśvānātha, Mālā and Viḍyādhara. The grant was made on behalf of Hirādēvi who was a queen of king Naraśimha II and the mother of the king’s son (cf. taj-jāsya eva-kumārasya) Gaṅgarājadēva. This prince having apparently died a premature death, his bereaved parents (king Naraśimha II and queen Hirādēvi) were willing to make in his name a grant of 341 vājikās of land in favour of gods and Brāhmaṇas so that the merit accruing to the pious act might lead their dead son to heaven (cf. *svarga-prāpta*)

The first plot of the gift land was an area originally covered with jungle which had, however, been cleared before the grant was made (cf. *kṛitt-āranyya-bhū-ḥhāga*). The area of this piece of land, situated in the Vaiṣṇādāchāura vaśāyā (district), was determined according to the *nala* (‘measuring rod’ from which in Oriya ‘measurement of area’) of the *Purā-Pratikāsta Allāladāsaka-raṇa*. Allāladās was a *karaṇa* or scribe or more probably a *karaṇa* by caste as the scribe is usually styled in the records as the *ērī-karaṇa*. In the designation *Purā-pratikāsta*, the word *pratikāsta* means ‘a representative’. It seems that Allāladāsakaraṇa was the chief amongst the representatives of the principal officer in charge of the measurement of lands. The eastern limit of the above piece of reclaimed forest land touched the west of the Vaiṣṇādā road, while its western boundary was marked by a *śāla* tree. To the south, it touched the northern limit of Vaiṣṇādāgrāma and in the north a plot of land belonging to two persons named Viḍāi and Ravi. The land within these boundaries measured 94 vājikās.

The second plot of land was also a reclaimed forest area similar to the above and situated nearby. It had its eastern boundary touching the west of the Vaiṣṇādā road, while the western limit was marked by another *śāla* tree. In the south, it touched the northern fringe of a piece of land belonging to two persons named Gōvinda-kara and Koṇāi and, in the north, the southern fringe of the land of a man named Kiti or Kitāka. The land within these four boundaries measured 55 vājikās.

The third plot of the gift land consisted of a locality called Gaṅgāvarapura which is described as homestead land. It was also situated in the same region and was bounded on the east by the highway (rājapatha) to the west of the Vaiṣṇādā road and on the west by a *śāla* tree. It is again said that, in the west, it touched a piece of land in the possession of two persons named Gōpāla and Champādāsī, while its eastern limit is said to have been a *śāla* tree. It will be seen that, in the

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1 Technical terms like this also occur in other later Gaṅga records. For a discussion on them, see J. *A. Sel*. Letters, Vol. XVII, pp. 35-38; above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 197-98.

2 He was possibly different from the Purā-trikāstakaliśā-pāyaka mentioned in the Alupur copper-plate inscription of the same king (above, pp. 17 ff.). It is, however, interesting to note that this person was also similarly associated with the measurement of land.
case of Gaṅgēśvarapura, the eastern and western boundaries are separately and differently mentioned, but that the northern and southern boundaries of the place have been omitted. The enumeration of the boundaries in the other cases would suggest that the reference to the western and eastern boundaries in the second instance actually means respectively the southern and northern limits of Gaṅgēśvarapura which thus seems to have been bounded in the east by the rā japatha near the Varāhāda road, in the west by a sāla tree, in the south by the land of Gopāla and Champadāsa and in the north by another sāla tree. This piece of land called Gaṅgēśvarapura measured 103 vāṭikās and 8 mānas.

The fourth plot of the gift land touched, in the east, the western limit of the Kumārabhōgya haṭṭa (market-place) lying to the east of the land belonging to two persons named Gaṅgaṇārāyaṇapa and Purakōṇāi. The western boundary was marked by a sāla tree. In the south, the land reached an aśvattha tree standing at the end of the land of Vidāi-Pāṇiya-grāhmī, while its northern boundary touched a field in the possession of Gopāla and Champadāsa mentioned before in connection with the third plot of land. The expression Pāṇiya-grāhīn (modern pāṇigrāhī which is a surname among Oriya Brāhmaṇas) means 'a recipient of water' literally, but 'a recipient of a grant' actually. This is because, according to Indian custom, a ceremonial gift of land, etc., was solemnised by offering water in the hands of the donee. When a grant was made to a large number of Brāhmaṇas, the chief amongst the donees seems to have been called Pāṇiya-grāhī especially. In the present record, though all the donees are referred to as Pāṇiya(ṣ)grāhā-mahājana, their list is headed by a Brāhmaṇa with Pāṇiya-grahī as his surname. The plot of land in question measured 68 vāṭikās and 4 mānas.

The fifth plot of land comprised the locality called Kumārapura. It was bounded in the east by the highway to the north of Kumārabhōgya (the haṭṭa or market-place of this name mentioned above) and in the west by a sāla tree. Its southern boundary touched the northern limit of the land of Gopāla and Champadāsa mentioned before in connection with the third and fourth plots, while its northern end was marked by a hijjala tree. The land within these boundaries measured 66 vāṭikās.

Thus the five plots, measuring respectively (1) 54 vāṭikās, (2) 55 vāṭikās, (3) 103 vāṭikās and 8 mānas, (4) 68 vāṭikās and 4 mānas, and (5) 66 vāṭikās, made a total of 346 vāṭikās and 12 mānas. Out of this area, land measuring 5 vāṭikās and 12 mānas was subtracted for covering gōhari, gopātha and go-prachāra. The word go-prachāra means pasture land, while both gōhari and gō-paṭha indicate broad pathways for cattle. The remaining land measured 341 vāṭikās out of which an area of 100 vāṭikās was granted in favour of the god Gaṅgēśvaradēva. Whether this deity was installed in the temple of Gaṅgādeo at Bhairavapura referred to above or at the locality named above as Gaṅgēśvarapura and whether he was named after the dead prince Gaṅgarājadēva cannot be satisfactorily determined. Of the remaining 241 vāṭikās of land, an area of 208 vāṭikās was allotted to 104 Brāhmaṇas, each one of them having a share of 2 vāṭikās. The list, however, contains 101 names and 3 names appear to have been omitted inadvertently. That the omission was not detected was possibly due to the fact that often several persons had the same names. To a deity to be installed in a temple in the ṭāsana (land granted by the charter under discussion) was granted land measuring 4 vāṭikās. Two colleges for Vedic and grammatical studies to be started in the ṭāsana received respectively 7 and 10 vāṭikās. For making (or covering periodically with thatch) a maṇḍapa (public building), a grant of 3 vāṭikās was made. Another grant of 5 vāṭikās was made for the excavation of a tank in the ṭāsana. The ṭāsana-ādikārīn Kāmadēvasarma who

1 Cf. Agni Purāṇa, ch. 209, 49-50: Dṛṣṭadurgam niṃma grīhaṇīyaḥ-dadām-iti laukik vaddī | Ṛṣyaḥ dПравe-bhīṣaḥ
kṣetre dānti vādīh-asvāh emū,śaḥ||
was a Brāhmaṇa belonging to the Pūtimāsha gōtra received 2 vāsikās. The ṣāsan-ādhiḥkāraṇa was apparently the head of the king’s record department, who seems to have written the document. Kāma-
dēvaśāman, as suggested before, probably received the piece of land as his perquisite. He no doubt succeeded Allānanāthaśāman, known from the earlier records of the king including the Alaspur inscription edited above, and appears to have been a member of the same family, as both are said to belong to the Pūtimāsha gōtra. Another area of 2 vāsikās was allotted to the ārī-
karaṇa (i.e. scribe) Nāgū-nāyaka, who seems to have engraved the plates or drew the letters on them to facilitate the work of the engraver. Thus altogether 341 vāsikās of land were granted to gods, Brāhmaṇas and others with the hope that this meritorious act would lead the king’s dead son Gaṅgarājādvapura to heaven. The ṣāsana was styled Gaṅgarājādvapura after the prince and was made a perpetual rent-free holding endowed with the right to enjoy land and water as well as fish, tortoise and old trees. Seven traders belonging to different markets were attached to the grant as rent-paying subjects. But their names are not specified.

A mention of the names of the Brāhmaṇa donees, called pānigrāhi-mahājana, as well as their gōtras and titles is necessary as they, along with the other personal names mentioned in the charter and referred to above, throw some interesting light on the social history of medieval Orissa. The expression pānigrāhi is no doubt the Oriya corruption of Sanskrit pānīgrahin explained above. The gōtras represented by the donees are Bhāradvāja, Ātrēya, Vatsa, Gautama, Vasishtha, Kaunḍinya, Pārāśara, Āditya, Āpīvṛata, Ārya, Pāṇās, Mānāvya, Bhārgava and Aupamanyava. With the exception of Brāhmaṇas of the Bhāradvāja gōtra, who are mentioned at the beginning and at the end of the list, the names of the other gōtras are only once mentioned and are followed by the names of the Brāhmaṇas belonging to each one of them. The Brāhmaṇa heading the list of the donees is called Gopāla-pānigrāhi; but the names of the other donees are invariably preceded by a title or surname. The expression put before the names of most of the Brāhmaṇas is Pātikā meaning a student of one Vēda, while the expressions Pāṇḍita and Tripāṭikā (student of three Vedas) are prefixed to the names of some. One name is preceded by the word Upāsaṇi and two by Vābhi. The word upāsaṇi, from which upāsāni is derived, generally means ‘worship’ and ‘religious meditation’; but according to the Yājñavalkyas-
msriti, III, 45, it also indicates ‘sacred fire’. Upāsaṇi in the present case may be the same as Agnibhirin indicating ‘a Brāhmaṇa maintaining the sacred fire’. Upāsaṇi is known to be a surname among the Brāhmaṇas of Mahārāṣṭra even today. The word vābhi is hard to explain; but, considering the similarity and confusion between the forms of v and w in some cases, one may suggest the reading nābhi possibly indicating the head of a community. Besides Gopāla-
pānigrāhi, the other donees bore the names: Ananta, Gurudasa, Sahadeva, Raghubhada, Kēsavadasa, Haradasa (borne by two Brāhmaṇas), Jalēvara (borne by three Brāhmaṇas), Jagannātha, Gapēvara, Sashṭhidāsa (borne by two Brāhmaṇas), Kūrmadasa, Vēsudēva, Vidyādhara, Chāmpadāsa, Gōvinda (borne by two Brāhmaṇas), Chāndidāsa, Samṇ, Chitrakara, Lakshmidhara (borne by two Brāhmaṇas), Vishuṇāsa (borne by two Brāhmaṇas), Ravi (borne by three Brāhmaṇas), Kirttinātha, Mitāi (borne by five Brāhmaṇas), Gōvindaratha, Svaṃbhū, Chōdū, Utsavakara, Ramāi, Brāhmānadasa, Aṣti (borne by two Brāhmaṇas), Priyāṅkara, Dāmōdara, Mānīka, Ganū, Vṛiddhi, Nārāyaṇa (borne by three Brāhmaṇas), Kanū (borne by two Brāhmaṇas), Alāli, Mantāi, Mādhavakara, Nākū, Vēvapāṇ, Kōṇāi, Bhānikara, Gupāṅkara (borne by two Brāhmaṇas), Chāndū, Hari, Brāhmāi, Śivakara, Ravidasa, Gauridāsa, Sārvasvāra, Jagēsvāra, Sāti, Anandāi (Āṇandi, borne by two Brāhmaṇas), Kaṭū (borne by three Brāhmaṇas), Kādū, Hṛidayakara, Dēvidāsa, Jāi, Dāharm, Nāgū, Rudrakara, Bāhikara, Champāi (borne by two Brāhmaṇas), Vasundhara, Purushottama, Vāmadēva, Ratnākara, Kālīdāsa, Mānikadhara, Śrīśțī, Saṅkhadhara, Kaṭāi, Diśani, Ruāru, Gaṅpati and Kirtтипаи. The popularity of names like Mitāi, Kaṭū, Champāi, etc., is interesting to note.
Of the geographical names mentioned in the introduction, some have already been discussed above in connection with the Nagar inscription of Anaṅgabhima III. Rādhā and Varṇendra, described indirectly as the land of the Javanas (Yavanas or Muhammadans), have to be identified respectively with South-western and Northern Bengal, while, as already noticed, Kōjakōpa, where the temple of the Sun-god was built by Narasimha I, is modern Konarak in the Puri District. The Bhairavavapura kataka cannot be satisfactorily identified. But Vanāḍāgrāma, as Kamakhya Prasad Baru rightly suggested, is apparently the present Basta which is a railway station on the South-Eastern Railway in the Balasore District. The Vanāḍāchaura visaya, in which the five plots of the gift land were situated, was no doubt the district round this locality. Basta seems to be a corruption of Vanāḍā through the intermediate form Bānda. There is a place called Bandā-Sadanandapur near the Basta railway station. The rājapatha near Vanāḍāgrāma, mentioned in the inscription, seems to be the old Puri road running half a mile to the west of the present Puri road built in the thirteenth century by Rāja Sukhamay Rāy and Rāji Śaṅkari Dēvi of Calcutta. The old Puri road passed via Jalesvar, Khunta, Basta, Rupsa, Ramachandrapur and Rēmunā. According to the Bengali works on the life of Chaitanya, the saint reached Rēmunā after crossing the Suvarṇārēkha via Jalesvar and Bandā. Of the intermediate stations mentioned in this connection, Amarda is a village in the Mayurbhanj District (former Mayurbhanj State) and Ramachandrapur is a village near the Haldipara railway station.

TEXT


First Plate

2 kṣara-satāt-āt-bhāsvan-nakh-āli-dalam ||(lam ||) vispaṣṭa[n] prativimvi(bimbi)taḥ prana-
manaiḥ kṛiṣṭi-apākāḥ-odbhavaiḥ Krishnō ya-
3 n-nakha-diptishu bhramarastān-dattē sa [La*]kshmi-priyaḥ || [1*] Kahi-āvdbhā(bdh)ra-
mmathītāt sur-āura-gaṇaiḥ prādurbhavanti Ramā Śambhu-[u]-
4 Vra(Bra)hma-Purandara-prabhītiṣu prakhā(khyā)-ka-kṛtthīyav-aspī || (pāyatav=Āṁvu(bu)-
janābhambam-lām-avriṇōl-lōka-tray-āhādinam bhrīṅ-gāli sahaba-
5 mēti hi va[n]ē phu(lē)-nya-sākhiny-aspī || [2*] Tan-nabh-sarasīruh-odbhava-Vidhēr-Atri-
vasa(r-bha)bhuḥ-āmūtaḥ Cha(ta-[h)a]ndras-chandrikāyā prakāśi-
6 ta-jagat saṁbhūttavān-nētrayōḥ || (pa) traṅkya-yasan-aika-daksha-timira-grāsita-sāmye-pi-
yō lakṣhaṇa-dhāyi dadhati-tamaḥ pra-

1 See Vol. XXVIII, p. 248.
2 From impressions.
7 tivapuḥ sūryy-ādbhikō nirmmalaḥ || [3*] Śrīdeviḥ-sūdaratvād-amṛta-sakṣhayā kalpa-vrīkhānajatavāl-lōk-ānanda[m*] vidhātā ti-

8 mīra-vishe-haraḥ sarvvaḍ-sāv-ōpabhogyāḥ (((((tat-tat-sa[m]sargga-lābhāt-tad-adhigata-
guṇam sv-āṅgā-nish[tha]n-dadhānaḥ svasaśa(ś-ai)tan-nīrma

9 latvanī jagati vijayaṭē darāyan-nīnāma-[m]duḥ || [4*] Vaiśaṃ tasya narēvarāḥ samabhava-
vaṃ(ṣam) tēśām gu[nā]nācchha(hā)-nās-chha)ndassāḥ pṛōtphal(la)

10 iva [ya]t-purāṇa-matagāḥ ta(gaś-ta)trāpi nō sammitāḥ ||(1) tanta(t-ta)t-kāhyā(vya)-
-p(a)tha-ārītas-tri-bhuvaṇē mūr(r)*itis-trin-dadhā-

11 nā iva [bhṛmya)jnt]eva sa-chita(nā)[h]ē śruti-grīhī viśramya viśramya cha || [5*] Pra[tyē]kaṃ śāśi-varāha-bhūpati-bhūja-

12 vyāpara-saṅkī[r]tanām(na) kartuṇ-kaḥ [kaha]ṃmatē kahita va(ba)hu-mukhō yatrā-ārjuna-
(na)s-śāiva hi ||(1) dōdra(r-da)ṇḍ-ārjita-k[i]**ti-vrōṇa[na]-para[m] tad-Bhā-

13 rataḥ prabhavat-tasmād-āhavya-mātrama(m-ā)di-nipati-śīrṇi-kramāl-likhyate || [6*]
tatā hi Chandradā-Vu(d-Bu)dhaḥ | Vu(Bu)dhād-Analāḥ | Ana-

14 lāt-Purvāravaḥ | Purvāvasa Vē[Vāy]uḥ | Vēyōr-Nagha(hu)shaḥ | Nagha(hu)shaḥd-Yajas-
(yā)-tiḥ | tatas-Turvavaśuḥ | tatō Gaṅgāyaḥ | ta-

15 tō Vīrchanaḥ | tataḥ Samvē(śaṃve)ṛṇyaḥ | tatō Bhāsvān | tatō Dattasaṇhaḥ | tatah-
Saumyaḥ | tatō(ṇa) Asvadattaḥ | tataḥ-

16 tataḥ Saurāṅgāḥ | tasmāḥ-Chitrāṅgadāḥ | tataḥ Sīradhvajaḥ | tatō Dharmmaṣṭa[[ ]]tataḥ-
Parakhiṭ | tatō Jayaśe-

17 naḥ | tatō [Viljayaśeṇaḥ | tatō Vrīshadhvajaḥ | tataḥ Pragallhaḥ | tataḥ Śaktiḥ | tataḥ-
Kōlaḥaḥ(ḥ)[[ ]]sa evā-[na*]ntav̄r(mā)

18 abhavat || Dhana-kanaku-sampiddhō Gaṅgavāḍiḥ prasidhāḥ sakala-viṣhaya-bhūtāḥ svarggi-
vargg-ōpabhogyāḥ | tad-adhipa-,

19 tir-atō-ādyō-nāntavartmā niṇėndraḥ || samabhava-iti rūḍhaḥ Gaṅgā-nāṃnā
tad-
yāḥ || [7*] Kōlaḥaḥ samara-mūrṇdhhni tatō ni-

20 pāṇāṁ bhūtō yatāḥ sa cha pā(ṇa)rāṇaḥ=chå tādiyam-stra((([(Kōlaḥaḥ)′(ā)]hvyayam-abhūt sura-sadma-tulyaṁ tasmin kramē niṣṭaḥpitaṁbhūr-vva(=bba)ḥ-

Second Plate, First Side

21 bhīr-vva(=bba)bhuva || [8*] Rājya-śrī-bhṛti Nāravimha-nipatau jyāṭhē kīm-ast-āsmaḥ śa-
dō-nāṇḍ-ārjita-bhīn-tal-ōttatha-Ramā-kaṇṭha-grah-ānandinaḥ | kīn

22 chāsāmakam=iyān bhuj-aśi-latikā samvēhātataṁ v(o)vai)riṇāṁ kaṇḍh-āranyam=iyān cha-
kirtti-latikā dyān=na-samārohaṇu || [9*] Bhṛmyād-bhīh

1 The dasaḥ is superfluous.
2 Rājā was originally engraved.
3 Elsewhere (above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 249) we preferred the residing Sarapuraṇa, suggesting that Anantavarman’s chief city named Sarapura became famous as Kōlāhala. But the idea seems to be that both Anantavarman and his capital (not named) became famous under the name Kōlāhala.
4 This is, which was at first omitted, is written below the line.
23 vi(bhir-vrij)jigahayā kahi-taśe kv-sāpī(π) dvishad-vanditaḥ kv-āpi dvāhikula-
pramāthibhir-apra pṛťah Kaliṅgāḥ kila || (( )) taśe
24 Kāmārṇpava-paśchamair-nripa-varair-yuddhah Kaliṅgāḥ samaḥ pṛaptaṁ drāṣṭaṁ-
vivravāḥ udgamataṁ Kārmś-āvatāro Harī || [10°] [Kū]-
25 rama-svāmīni śākhiṁi Triyayā Mahāndraṁ gataṁ Gokarnṇe-pi mah-ādadhau
viyati vā sūryeṣ tathā sāvaya ṣapā ||(( )) Kā-
26 līṅgām-bhuvan-aśharad-bhuja-vatil.ToInt-Any-5-panu(bhū) ktaṁ chimraṁ lakṣmīṁ v-ṛtya-atha
27 rtt-āsau Kāmārṇpava-mahipatiḥ [*] yasya-aśata-putra-pantrādyā rājanaḥ khyāta-vi-
28 rrrv-ārthra-vara-paritāhā-hēttu(tu)-vā(r)ggaḥ || ( ) āchāratō-pi muni-punavā-nārgga-
chārti tasmād-abhūn-nripa-varo bhūvī Vajrāhastāḥ || [13°] Nna(Na) nāma-
29 taḥ kēvalam-arhatāt(ō)-πi sa, Vajrāhastāḥ Tri(stas-Tri)kaliṅga-nāthaḥ || ( ) kō Vajrāhastād-
aparaḥ prithivān vajraṁ pataś(tad)-vārayūm samarthuḥ
30 || [14°] Vāyūtṛ Gaṅga-kulōtamasya yasasa hī(di)k-chakračālō śāśi-prāyō-śa-ūnālī(ṇē)na
yasaḥ jhuvarah-prahlāde sa-
31 mpādhā || ( ) sindūra-rāti-aśo-paḍka-patālaṁ ka(ku)mha-sthala-patīkāḥv̐a-alimpani
punah punaḥcha hari-
32 tām-ādhorāṇa vāraṇān || [15°] Mahāśī Nāgamaṁ tasya Pṛrvvatśiva Pinākāṁga ||(( )) tasmāt-
tasaya-ahūṁvīrtā Rājarā.
33 ja-mahipatiḥ || [16°] Sa Rājarājo dvija-rāja-kāntirbhr(r-hu)jaṅga-rā-jānana-varṇaya-
kṛtāḥ ||(( )) śrimāṭāy-ādhaṁ[k*]kṛtā-rājarājaḥ svā-vikrama-nya[k*]kṛtā
34 dēva-rājaḥ || [17°] Tasya āpāgra-mahishi rājō nām-abhūd-Rājarūn(a)ndari ṣa-kalmīra
Nārāyanasya-eva Chandrasya-ēva tu Kūhini || [18°] Tatas-tasyām-ahūd-deva-śāh-
35 dāgangaś nar-dēvaraḥ | kshāpt-bhrī-pakṣha-vichchhī[tyau] div-īndrā-t-kulīṣa[m*] yathā ||
[19°] Dhātri tasya Sarasvati samdhavah[n]ūnas[m*] na vē(chē)-piśavāṁ tāt-sa(ra)-
36 svatam-ārya-vābhājaka-tamāḥ ātri-Chāḍgāgāḥ payah ||( ) tāḍir-vidd-mañjī kathāṁ
nipunāta śāstrēśa tāḍik-kathaṁ tāḍik-kāvyakṛitāḥ katha[m] pa-
pada-dvandvam-ētaṣya varī-kshiṁ-bhrīch-chēdā-sūri-śaptaṁ sutārī sitī kīya-
38 ti Chāḍgāgā-śavarasya ||( ) nūnāṁ pūparaḥ sudhā-śūṣuḥ para-nripa-hāvala-chohhadra-
vau(bhu)ḥya(dhyā-ś) mahāṅgaṁ nāṁ-śaṁgasya vīḍīṁ dhanaṁ yasyaṁ yata iva stra(tr)-
madhyās paśyataṃ vīrāhu praṭaḥpraṇaḥ praṇaḥ-stri-
40 yā iva || [22°] Pratiḥsāṭa-kara-sastra-vyāhata-sv-Śāṅga-niryad-rudhiram-avanā-nīthānā

Āśikṣya sign, originally engraved after rāt, is scored off.
De has been written over an erosion.
Āśikṣya, originally engraved after śa, was penned through.
ASANKHALI PLATES OF NARASIMHA II, SAKA 1225

58 vi-patiḥ prabhavate-īty-asmin Harau vā tu(bhu)vō raksh-ārthaṁ dhṛtajanmani svayama-assu Lakṣmhīṁ prasūtāṁ tāḥ vā || [33*] Taṣyāṁ tātūjani

59 jagat-tritay-aika-vīraḥ Kāmāraṇpavaṁ tri(vas-tri)-jagaddeṣhu ēṣahāḥ | suryaṁ pragatap-vibhavēṇa jagat-pr[ṛ]jaiiddhaṅ-kirttih

60 śaśāṅga(ākā)m-adharikritavān-viśuddhyā || [34*] Gaṅg-ēśa-sūṇōr-viviiyu(bu)ḥ-dhāśrayasya dripya[ṇ]d-viśaḥ(āḥ)da-vamśa-vibhēdi-ṣaktēḥ | Kāmāraṇpava-

61 sa(ya)-śaya Kumārakatvam na nāmaṁ kēvalam-arthatō-pi || [35*] Prāpy-ōdayaṁ[ḥ*] śaśāṅgasya vārdhatāṁ nāma vārīdhīḥ | va[r*]ddhatē

62 kirtti-chanḍrāya[ṃ*] chitraṁ Kāmāraṇp-ōdayā || [36*] Vād-artru(rttu)-vyōma-chanḍra-pramita-Śaka-samā-pṛapta-kāle din-ēśē chāpasthēnāya-

63 grah-sugḥē na(ba)lavati ripuṣu prakṣayaṁ prāptavat sau .(.) asmin-mūrdhābhiśhikētē nṛpi-vara-tenayē surīva-lok-aika-rā(nā)tha(θē)

64 śīmat-Kāmāraṇp-ēśē jagad-abhavad-idaṁ tat-tad-ānanda-pūraṇaṁ(roṇaṁ) || [37*] Kāḥir-aṇṇavād-ajani chanḍra-kal-ēti vā[r*]ttē Kāmāraṇp-

Third Plate, First Side

65 [vā*]ttu sakal-ēṇdu-divākār-ābhāṁ((bham )) kirttī-pratāpa-mithunah sahaṅkāri lōkē šīpīsa(āhīya)ty-ahō para-nirpān-anurāga-tūṇyān || [38*] Yasya-sāni-nirvva(rōḍa)di-

66 ta-vairi-kar-indra-kumbha-nirmuktā-mauktika-phalānṣa-saur(ṣ)ukṣhitāni .(.) Kāmāraṇpavasya ripu-saṅgha(samha)ti-hai(hē)tv-a-kāu(la)sa(m)dyā-prabhāta-bhagāṇa-ī-

67 va bhānti yuddho(ddhē || 39) Drippad-vairi-chamūṁ-mmayā kayāṁā n-āśva[ṃ*] mavya śavādit-ēty-anvīṇyāṁ kalabē ṝtu(ṭu) nirṇaya-vidhau khaḍga-pratāp-śeḥchhayā-.(.)

68 aṁgamit-ēva nīraṃmālataṁ kirttī-ṛadvīya vṛa(bra)vīmy-ālo(lōkē)yō-ḥa mahadbhir-ītya upagataṁ dhāttu(ṭu)ḥ ōruti ch-ādārāt || [40*] Aśrākhīt sa Hira-

69 nyagarbhāṁ-aparaṁ(rē) lōkāṁ(kē) Mahēśaḥ pur-ēty-(a(ty-u))tpanva(nna)m pravadanti yē va(cha) vada-ra vātā nīrudhobbh-ō-dhunā || () tēshāṁ yat-tu hira nyagarbhāṁ-ēsakār-

70 t-Kāmāraṇp-ēśas-tataṁ saṁpannāṁ janaṁā jagaṅyata ihā pratyakṣataḥ prāpīnaḥ(nāṁ) || [41*] Sapt-āṁbhōdhiṁ vaṁhantā kēhitīr-āṭi-ṭaraḷā

71 naas-kūrmēsvarāṇāṁ sahaṅjya(yya)ṁ vāṁchchha(ḥha)ṁ-īyān tād-āpi punar-ayāṁ kal-pītaḥ sa(tas-ṭa)tā bhrāṛḥ | Dhaṭā Kāmāraṇaṁ-ākhyāḥ sa ca niṣa-tt(ṭu)-

72 laṃnāṁ nirdayaḥ svarāṇaḥ-bhārṇaḥ-bhūyō bhūyāṁ-tulāyāṁ sthīta iti dharaṅēr-bhāṛa-v(ḥa)-halyām-āptun(ṭam) || [42*] Ḥṛṣṭā-puṣṭa-jaṁ-ākṛṇaṁ vidvaj-ja-

73 na-manoharāṁ(raṁ | dā-vādi(bdi)m-ēsakāro-ṛayaṁ Kāmāraṇaṁ-mahipatiḥ || [43*] Śri- Chōḍaṅganga-nirpatēr-mahābhī σταύ-νγα τασύ-ένδιρα
74 ravikul-ōdbhava-rāja-putrī ||(1) y-ādy-āpi Dhāttu(tu)r=upam-ājani sundariṇā[ī(m) ] s-ēyagn sudh-āṁśu-vadanā svayam-ēva jātā || [44*] Yad-rūpe-si(s)ī]-la-

75 gati-varuṇanāy prasiddhā driśhta-ta-bhū=Gr(G)irisut-ēty-ati-vāḍa-dōsah ||[*] n= āty-ēva chaṇḍa-rūha-kā-

76 ma-harō yad-atra tām-Indir-am udavaha[d-bhu]vi Chōjaganga || [45*] Tasyān-tataḥ samajani kahiti-nātha-nātha-

77 ṣrī-Rāghavaḥ para-nārēvara-darpa-mardi ||[*] yat-patī-va-ba[ba]ndhana-vidhi-āravat-prabhitah sarvē nīpāh sva-hri-

78 di kampam-svēptavantaḥ || [46*] Śṛī-Rāgavē rājani chitram-ētate-tējō-viḥnaḥ kahitī-pāla-rvaggaḥ ||(1) tat-pāda-sēvā-krita-dēha-si-

79 ddhir-mitrabhavaty-ēva samastā cāhah || [47*] Praudh-āri-prahati-prakāra-vihita-prāchapādyam-mantra(bha)varddō(d-dō)daṇḍa(pū-ō)pamiti-pragbhva-viśhayaḥ prāg-bhū-

80 tavān-Arjunah ||(1) sa[mpra]ty-āhava raṅga-saṅgata-rupu-śrēṇi-śrīhā-kanduka-kṛt-āsakta-bhujah śrī-āsana-bhirām chitṛ-ōpamā Rāghavaḥ || [48*] Jagati Va(Pa)rāsu-

81 rāmaḥ prādūrāśīḥ dvitiyaḥ kimu rupu-kula-bantā sv-ājnāḥ-āschattha-lōkaḥ ||(1) kahiti-vitarāṇa-dikṣa-āsakta-hastaḥ pratāpād-āpi dasa-

82 śata-vā(ha)ha(hur)yasya sātṛur-vvināśi || [49*] Bhēdam bhēdam arāti-kuṇja-gaṭā-kaṭa[h]kaḥ[ī]dhra-paṃktī(m) raṇē pāyaṁ pāyaṁ asṛk-payāṁ vai(ba)huda śrī-Rā-

83 ghav-śa[h] kohapāta(ṇāt) || subhrānā subhrānā=iv-ōdvahad-śvijayatē kṛtī-ṣvāntam-paraṁ chandraś-chandrikāyā prapūraṅgataryā sa(m)ēṣvām-an-śkritim(tīḥ)-

84 || [50*] Durgēsu dāva-dahanaḥ kahitiḥbhītau vajraṁ mādyat-kar-Indr-āhaṭānā-vidhī-simha cēhaḥ ||(1) vidvēscale-bhūmi-patayo nivasantī yatra śrī-

85 Rāghavaḥ kahiti-patī-ṣvitaśya[ta]-prabhāvaḥ || [51*] Śṛī-Rāghava dharādhiṣāḥ kahōṇi-pāḷa-ārōmaṣṭiḥ | akarōd-rājyam-avdā(βdā)nām=uddā-

86 mō dasā paṁcha cha || [52*] Tasya śrī-Čhōjaganga-kaṣṭa-śvālayatē-patīr vīmaṣṭa-santāna-vallīkāndā-śrī-Chandranīlē śphuṭam-Aditīriva pē(prē)-

87 yasi Kasya(īya)byssya ||(1) tasyām=uddāma-ḥāma-kṣayita-śiṣnānir=ja[j][n]jivāṃsa(n=Rā)-jarājō rājanya-kahōda-m(ī)lē-gitakī-

88 ta-mahima-vyāpta-dik-chaṭravālah || [53*] Tasmin=di-gvijaya-prayāṇa-rasikē saṃrambha-śumbha-chamī-saṃkhaṇṇa-kahiti-va(ch)a[kra]-pāṁśu-paṭala-

89 prāg-bhāravaty-amva(mbo)ṛi bhū-saṁśatsa-gṛhiṇa-vaśād=vinarma(m)aṛer-uchha[ī(h)] plū(pl)ama saptībhī sv-abhyastam sura-p(a)ndu(n[du]rēṇa dharapr-paṭiḥ rad-ōṛghāta-

90 naḥ(nam) || [54*] Chōjaganga-nārēndrasya sūnur=uddāma-vikramaḥ Rājāra jai khyātō rāja-rājō mahipatiḥ || [55*] Viśvaḥ krōḍayati pragbhva-vayasi prālē-

91 ya-śīla-tyu(duy)tau yayad-yadṛig-abhūḍ-ahbhūṭaḥ[ta]-adṛśām santas-tad-ākaraṇya-tan|i(tam) dhātrī pithahiti(n)īngati svar-achalaḥ prāsadati tvad-yāṣō di-nāthaḥ prati-

1 TV, which was originally omitted, is written above the line in a small size.
2 Tribaliṇga had been originally engraved; but it was afterwards deleted.
ASANKHALI PLATES OF NARASIMHA II, SAKA 1225

92 ma(mə)nti yasa-paritār-sashtu-pada[m*] śringati [56*] ānandaṁ vidadhāti chōtasi bhavata-
(vat)-kirtirragga(t-gu)-a-grahi [nas]-jūtē dōha-dām-arthihaṇa[n]aḷ su-manasi śrī-Rājarā-
93 ja dhruva(mɑ) | [s-e]yana karṇa-patha[m] samētya hṛidaya śalīyante vairiṇa[m] svā-
ātmē(m)-cchhā-anuvishayin[a[m*] na hi nijō bhāvaḥ kvaču[l*] drīyante [57*] Ėtasya[m*]
94 bhvati paṇcchihaśāti-samāh kham-pāla-lakṣamhī-dhavaḥ kṛitvā jīt-varama-hapā-chandhala-
bhū-[da]ḥ[ḥ]-ā[r]v[ṛ]-vi-patiḥ [58*] rājiya-prāja-yasaḥ[śaśa]
95 tushāra-kirana-śrēṇī-rasād-āsanād-[u][d]ga-cchhā-Puro[hū]ta-gita-charita-śrī-Rājarājō nri-
paḥ [58*] Tasya-ānujō nripati-rāja-pāde-
96 bhishiktaḥ e-kti-priyāḥ parimit-ūdi-nripa[h][pa]-praśastiḥ [59*] pṛthvī-[pa]tiḥ kālī-
ājūj[j]hīta-dāharma-suddhaḥ kārya-kshamaḥ prabhuh-
97 r-asāv-Aṇyaṅkabhīmaḥ [59*] Virādhīṣhita-saṅgar-āṭrī-śikharō saṅkha-av-an-
āśā[śa]nte kunt-ōḍhina-mahā-kumbha-vigalau-mukta-
98 pūjītē | harṣāda-ugra-nīja-pratāpa-dahanē khadga-srū(-)rjehā vidvishān rājām-ānan-
na-paṅkajāni nripatih hu(t-hur)tv[ā]nāyad[ya[m*] śrīya[ν](yam)
99 [60*] Kabhī-āvadhē(bhē)r-amritāt sur-āṣura-bhuvya-vyāpā-vikebhbhitāch-chandrasyā-ā-
rdham-ābhūt-tad-apy-ṣapī[di]h]ya-yā-
100 dī(ν)-loṇam-ekāha kila [(5)] chandha-vā[na]-bāhu-ra[ba]-ālaōnā saṅgara-bhuvī tvat-khadga-
dhārā-jalaj-jātaḥ tv[ā]-ba[s]-a[pa]-[a]-ṣa[ta]-[γ]-[d]-[g]-v[a]-rā-
101 t(m) prithu-yasaḥ-chandrasma[m-][sa]mā[la]ṅgatī [61*] Yay-prayāṇa-sampri[mu]dbhūtata-raja-
ḥampurītē-ṃvā[ma]rō[ṛ] [(5) abhūtat-viruda-vajasya dvūlt-ma-
102 ohitā tanuḥ [62*] Daśa varshaṇyā virō-sa su nirjīt-ārāti-maṇḍalāḥ [5] Aṇaṅgabhīma-
bhāpālo dhārītriṇ samāpālayat [(5) 63*] Praugh-ananggala-vikra-
103 mah-kula-grīham yō daṇḍa-ntī-śriyāḥ satya-ācāra-vichāra-chāru-charitaḥ puny-aika-
pāyanaḥ [(5) tasya-āśid-anīyhaṅkabhīma-nripate-
104 t-aruddha-āṅgī-[kshma][h*] svayam śnēhasyā-śīṣayēna paṭṭa-mahīśī Vāgghaladēvi bhuvī 
[64*] Ttuo[Tulita-pitṛ-ghā(ṛ)na-sugāhaḥ sūnur-āp(a)d-ṃapryāḥ(shyā) nirati-
105 śayita-tējā yauvan-āvāpta-rājyaḥ [(5) praṇati(ṛa)-nripati-chūjā-ratna-ročhī[pi]-ṣaṅga-
krit-caraṇa-sarōjō Rājarājō nripa-
106 laḥ [65*] Yeṣy-ōdyad-vājī-ṃvya-prakhaṇa-khura-put-āghata nirādit-orvī-sa[m*]bhūtam 
bhuri(ṛ)-bhāvastara-nikara-sagā[m]aemspu(ṣya)ntā-sādra(ndra)ṇ prāyaṁe [5*]
107 vistirṛṇa[m*] karṇa-tāl-āhatībhur-avirat-amattatā-senā-gajānām-asūthḥā(shta)[na[m*] dig- 
gajāna[m*] mukha-ṣa[ta]-ttu[tu]-anām-ādadhē dhūli-jālam(lam) [66*] Yā 
108 smin sāsati śāśī-ṇīkaṇa samya(ka)myo(ma)k-samard-āṃv[ma]bra[ra[m*] prithvī[ṛu[m*] pārthiv-
puṅgavē naya-guṇa[ḥ] śrī-Rājarājō nṛpē [(5) ] chakram
109 Mādhava eva taikaḥyam-adhika[m] kaukshyākā chintanaṁ śāstrā-bhūyāsa-vidhau vidhau 
cha jañata kalē kalē śru[dr]yatē [57*] Yat-kṛttī-du-
110 ghīa-jaladhī-ṃvya-n-kaṭarālaṁ sa[m*]pāvya [dū]rataram-utasa(cchhā)litaḥ sa 
bhāti [(5)] tārā-gaṇaḥ sṛṣṭa-ruchō gaganē sama-

1 Read ohadhvamsra-rājasya.
Fourth Plate, First Side

111 ntāt sūkhaṃ-āti-sūkhaṃ-tara[jā] īva visphuranti || [88*] Tyāgā āauryē cha satyē [cha*] Kārṇa-Ārjuna-Yuddhaśṭhīraḥ | sadriśo-yaḥ mahā-viśva Rā

112 jarājō nar-ādhipaḥ || [98*] Rājarājō nara-patir-ṛddāsa sapta cha tvā( va)tsarān ||[ ] bhuvi rājya-śriyāṃ bhuvata svārāyāṃ prataśthīvaṃ

113 || [70*] Chālukya-kula-sammhūtā vēla saundaryya-vāridhe[h] | nāmā Mahāçādeśīti mahāśrī māya bhū-patēḥ || [71*] Tasāyām-abhūd-adbhādha(bhu)ta-vikra-

114 ma-śrīḥ śrīmān-ayaṃ bhū-ḥṛīd-Anāgabhīmāḥ | virājāte kirtti-sudhā-taraṣāgair- 

115 nargalya-dūr-vvilaśa-lahari-lāvanya-vairi-vraja-krandat-paura-vadhū-vilō[cha*]na-pu(pa)- 

116 t-[tyāga-taraṅga-ta(bha)gi-kalaniḥ pāthōḍhi-yā[n]-ōtsavād-vṛtīlā-vakrita-kandharaḥ sa 

117 s-tvambhāḥ (m=bhōḥ) Kaśī-asmi kinnū( n=nu) vimanāḥ kaśmī nīdōy-ātmanāḥ śok- 

118 riniḥ/[rim ] | yady-śvāna kalay-āsāmadya-samay-ō[(*])kehōpaya Gaṅgā-ānvaṇyē jātāḥ śrīmad- 

119 va(nu)va(ba)ndhi-nivi(bi)ja-prasara-pramōda-mādhvika-mugdha-māsriṇaḥ hriday-āravindīn- 

120 va(ba)-damva(mba)ra-kalā(m) kalayāṁcakāra || [75*] Lakṣmhi-rakṣhanya-sauvidälla-

121 karsāha-raju-vibhrama-ttu(tu)āṃri(m-n)ddāmam-ānbandayā ||[ ] saṅgārāma-sthala-kālik- 

122 maṇḍayan[ ] yasya-āya[ m] jagad-adbhut-aiya-vidasara-kṛīḍa-naṭah sāyakah ||[ ] 76* Yasya- 

123 rjita-yaśaḥ-kshirō-daṇ-o[ṛ]mmibhir-dātāraḥ kila Kāmagō-prabhritayaḥ prōṭaśāritā 

124 garbha-kalanā-vaidagbhym-ākārayaḥ lajjā-lōla-chatur-nukh-ākahi-yugalō many ś mahān Padmabhūḥ || [77*] Yōn-ābbhishēka-samayaḥ kalita-

125 trayēṇa nītah tu(tas-tu)ā-purusha-dāna-kalānuva(ba)ndhāiḥ ||[ ] ladvā(bhā-ā)pi na[ḥ] kahiti-amrūṣya mudē tathābhūt(bhūd)-yādri-dvijāti-jana-śasanā-dā-

126 an-kēliḥ || [78*] Ākāshāta hridayam-ēṇa-vilōcānānām-ādēnuvata cha parītaḥ prati- 

127 m-Anāgabhīma-prasiddhir-amut[nā] vidadhē niṛīpēṇa || [79*] Jagāma dhāra devānāṁ sa 

128 chatuḥ-tri(tus-tri)ānat-samah-kahamān(mām) ||[80*] Śrī-Kas[t]ādīvyāṃ-Aditau tamśāch- 

The doṣa is superfluous. 

Nā had been originally omitted and was written in the lower margin of the plate with an indication that it has to be inserted in its proper place in line 6 counted from the bottom of this side of the plate.
No. 19] ASANKHALI PLATES OF NARASIMHA II, SAKA 1225

129 rasinhiha  [[| 81*]]4 Asur-andra-sōgita-nivēsi-viśra(āru)-tāpaninīśhāya-aiva  vaha4-dāna-  
vāribhiḥ | karam-ātmanas-tam-adhunā viśē-.  
130 dhā(ṇa)y[na] Narakśirṣaḥ ēha jagati sphutō-bhavat  || 82* || Śvēt-ātapatra-sī(ṣi)ta-  
chāmara-charu-mūrtīd-dīg-dantī-danta-puraṁdaḷa-maṅḍapa-  
131 saya  ||( ) aṅkē kri[ta]sayā suta-bhāvanayā Bhavānī ēśān-āśanē jayati yasya padaṁ sadam  
aiva  || 83* Rādhā-Varēndra-Ja(Ya)vani-nayan-āṇa-ja-  

Fourth Plate, Second Side

132 n-āru-pūreṇa dūra-vinē(ṇi)vēśita-kālīma-srīḥ | tad-vipra[la]mbha-ta(ka)raṇ-ād bhuta-vi(ṇi)-  
starāṅgā Gāṅgāja(pa)(pi) nīyam-amanād Yāmunā-ādhun-ābhūt  || 84* Bhujā-  
133 bhuvī girayō-saṁtāu yasya bhūm-indra-bhartvāk kṣhitā-bharaṇā-samarthābhā kīn-cha dīk-  
kuñjar-ēndrūḥ ||( ) atulayad-īha sa svachchā(ṇa)-cētā tulāyurśeṇa [kva  
134 bhavatu kana-ād-rāi-dvētānī(ṛ)īṇa grīḥah(hō)-bhūt  || 85* || Kurva[n] prakāśam-anīsām  
dvijasād-śe kriyāvī Mēruṃ nṛtī(ṛ)ūḷā-pururesha(ṣa)-mukhyā mah-ārtha-  
135 dānaḥ | atīṭhānu surai-sāhā mahat-kaḷayatrī(y-ātra) Kūgākāṅk kūṭi-ramak-amāchikarad=  
Uṣṇārāṣṭaḥ || 86* || Asht āśā-kaṇkrava-lh-āharaṇa-va(ra)-na-  
136 mah-āyāsa-saṁbhāvita-kshut kahār-ēksh-ūdanvada(d-ā-ṣy-ōpāgamita) api vā laṅghayītvā  
surāvīhimi(ḥoḥi) | sarpiḥ saṁsarpad-āyur-dādi-madhava-  
137 ram-ath-āsvādyā dvighēna triptā yat-kārōjīkānta-mūrtīḥ śa(sa)līlā-nidhiṃ=ath-ā  
kāmam-āchāmat-īva  || 87* || Kriyāvī nirmanmathita-dvīshaḥ vasumati-  
138 m-avvā(bo)ṁs-trayastrīniṃsātaṁ bhuktāv bhōgam-anuttamaṁ nara-pati[r]|=dōr-garvva-  
sarvaṇkaṣaḥ ||( ) snēh-ātyanta-vinā-kriṣṭo-ntima-dasā(ṣa)m-āsādyā dīp-[5]-  
139 pamaḥ 1 prāptah kāla-patāṅga-puṅgava-vāsu(ṣaṁ) yātas=sa nirvāṇataṁ(tām) || 88* ||  
140 tādevyām-saṇja tanūjak bhānuvat(vad)-Bhānuṣvēhaḥ 1( ) padm-ōḷāsāṁ vidadhath=atulā-  
h kairava-glānir-eṣa它们-rājē-īraction-īchāh-īs[4]|  
141 ni-bhrin-mauli-vinva(nya)sta-pādah  || 89* || Pratyujjivana-kāraṇa-jam(a)padasy=  
ābhāyāya-ṅita-āgama[r]-dṛśaḥ-ādṛśaṁ-pha[s]-  
142 pradēna vīdhēna nityāṁ nirast-ārībhīḥ | pātraīḥ śoḍāsahbhir-viśuddhā-charit-āmōgha-  
pratijñār-ayanāṁ sī(ṣ)-  
143 mrājye mahiṭō mahā-mahima-bhrīr-Lakṣmipatē-āṅgā(jā)yā || 90* || Va(ṣa)ddha-muṣṭiṁ=  
apī nirbha-ra-dātā vēpāno-pī sama-  
144 r-aika-dhurīṣaḥ  ugra-mūrtiṁ-apī kriṣṇa-śarīraḥ yat-kaṃca kalitaḥ karavālaḥ  || 91* ||  
Pāyaṁ pāyaṁ havir-arirarna prastutē ya-  

1 The fourth foot of the verse, the metre of which is Gītī, is short by one syllable. To rectify this defect 
we may read śrī for śrīa.
2 Read bhānu. After this, the ākṣara dhā had been incised and afterwards deleted.
3 To is written below the line.
4 After ti, the ākṣara vi had been engraved and then struck off.
5 The daṇḍa is superfluous.
145 sya yaqēg(jātē) jātē-jirquē Hariq-atitarān yāti nirdān samudrē || | dhūm-ṣdgārī lavaṇaspalīmā pīyatē vājāvō-grhī pōā
146 tya(dyachā)-cühlāhā samajāni Śvāh kāłkōt-āśanō-pē || | [92*] Vṛū(Brū)ma[h] kim-asya tulanā-laghuṭ-ōpanīta-tat-tat-parah(rah)-keṣṭabhīṭāh kī-
147 la dānā-ṣauryaṇī(īryam | | sadhīyō-paddē-kanak-āchala-kāma-dhēnu-kalpa-drūmān-adīta nirjita-sampadas-tāu || | [93*] Ā-chandrārka-phaḥ-ōpa-
148 bhōga-sulabhāny-āty-uchcha saulh-āvali-sōbhā-viṣphurītāṇi śāsana-śatānā-śeṣa khamā-ādhiśvaraḥ | su-ścoholāyānī rāsālā-ṝgha-
149 kadala-prāyaḥ(ya)a-taruhūṛṇāṃ ganāḥ krtvā tāmidra-vīlekḥītānī vidhivat sah-ṛhrō-trīyōḥyō dālaṇā || [91*] Chintāmanā pura-mahi-
150 ruha-κāmadhēnāvā(nvō-r)a-ṣhtālas-ārkat-adhitishthati Bhā[njudevē || | jyāyān-āṃshāhu bhavītā katamā mom-ṣiti dhātur-viḥharā-vaśa-
151 gō nṛpatirtva(ra-ba)bhuva || | [95*] Chālukya-kula-sa[m][n*a]bhūtā ārīmaj-Jākalladēvikā || | ( ) Lakṣmīr-Nārāyānasvē-eva Bhānudēvasva tā-
152 [dṛjā] [[196*] Tasyā[ri] | | sūnara-ahlād-vīraḥ āri-Nṛsthrinh-mahāpatiḥ | Gaṅgā-vāṃta-samuddharthā la[r*a*]ttā vairi-mahītalan(lam) || [97*] Yathā-Ā(r*[r]*ju-
153 nas-tathā śāstrē śāstrē Vaiḥaspadit-yaññaḥ | dānē Kāṛṇō va(ba)lo Bhimāḥ saundryā Kusumāvyudха || [98*] Tēna dattānī dvīja-

Fifth Plate, First Side

154 tibhyāḥ āsanaḥ ga(s)a-ta-sakhyaḥkain(ī)(kam | | mahā-dānāni dānāni ārīman-mātura-nānjāyā || [99*] Vīra-ārī-Narasiṃhadēva-nṛpatuī simbā-
155 san-amādhīṣhīti bhūmi-pāla-kirita-kōti-kirnā-pradyōtit-āṃghrī-dvayaḥ | pratya[rthi]-khiṭipā vidīrṇaṛ-aṇḍāyā tī(hh)tyā
156 praḥīṃ-ārīyaḥ prāṇa-trāṇa-pariyanāḥ samabhavan prithvī-dhar-āvāsinaḥ || | [100*] Yasmin -praṣasati bhuvain kula-bhūdhār-ṛṇārā-
157 ḥ || Kūrmō bhujajanga-patiḥ-dig-anikā-pārśaḥ(eca | | bhū-bhāra-gaurava-krt-āti-śīrō-vikārā viṁrānti-lāḥham-abhajanta
158 krit-āśāḥṣecha || | [101*]. Vīra-asanaḥ samahitshitah kutojānāṃ virī vahṛda-raṇaḥ- dhūrāṁ huvi kṛ-tra nāma | indrāyuddha-
159 prabhā-[bhuljī]-dvaya-advityē kaman-tauṛti karvala-lo(la)-āpi yatra || | [102*] Yaḥ khaḍga-chaṇḍa-sa(m)a-basī ripu-ṛṣajñānām-āḥṛtyā
160 sampdam-amartya-taṛōḥ samānān(nām) | bhū-dēvā[s]ad-skrītī bhūtalā-bhūḥanēna dān- āriṁbhas[r*d]rut-stra-kara-palalāvēnā || [103*] Tasyā-ātha kehī-

1 The dānānā are superfluous.
2 Ṛṣe was originally engraved.
No. 19] ASANKHĀLI PLATES OF NARASIMHA II, SAKA 1225

183 sa(s)ā-drīdha-vrataśya vijayā vandyā prātāpā paramāḥ|1 sač-chhūlā-kriyamāṇa-tapta-tara-sa-prakhyāḥ kula-1

184 khaṃbāhṛatāḥ | sthāl-pākam-upāśrayanti cha yataḥ-chatvaā dīv-āvṛhda(bdha)yō dig-трā(μ-hrāįntiṃ bhajatē yatō-mva(mba-ra-maṇī-

185 r-nāthāḥ sahasra-ṭvishāḥ(shāṃ) ||105* || Svasti [**] Paṃchaviniḥśa(vaṃśāty-ur)-

186 t-tara-dvādaśa-śata-Śaka-vatsarē |1 chaturddasa-bhuvan-ādhipa-

187 t-ṣṭy-ādi-virud-āvai-virājamānāḥ | prauda-ḥa-pratāp-ānala-paripla(plu)ah-t-ārati-gahanaḥ |1 ṛtṛ-vira-Narasirhādeśa-1

188 va-mahipatiḥ sva-rājya-aikatriṇās(trirāśa)-d-aṅkō-bhilikhyaṃāṇa Mēṣha-kṛṣṭha-sahṣṭhyāṃ Māṅgalavārē |1 Bhairavapura-kaṭakē Gaṅgādēvi-mandir-ānta-

189 r-ṛvīja-ṣvaraśe Viśvanātha-Mālā-Vidyādhara-gōchar-avadhārita-puruṣ-pariṣkaṣṇ-pātra-Raṅgū-vajapeyi-muḍālēṇa sakal-āṅgana-guṇa-

190 samuditāṣya mahābhyāṣ(📅)ā ṛtrī-ḥirādēṣyā bhakt[y(📅)ā] sanvṛdhi-āṅguraḥ(तयाण्य) taj-jasyasva-kumārasya Gaṅgarājādevasaṃ svargā-prāptaye dēvēbhyā Vṛ(ṛ)-

191 hmaṃbhyāḥ tān-नāṃnā dēvēbhyaḥ Vṛ(ṛ)-hmapbhyāḥ āśaśkritkṛtya eka-chatvaṁśā-(rīśa)-d-adhiḥka-bhūmi-vātiṃ-kā-śata-traya-pradānāya Vaṃsō(Vaṃsō)-ṭeṣchāra-viṣhasa-

192 ya-madhya-vartti-krītt-āranyā-bhū-bhāgana(gam) | puruṣ-pratihast-āllā-laḍāsā-kaṛaṇa-nala-pramāṇā | ṛtachechhi(t-al)mā || pūrvvataḥ | Vaṃsōdā-vartma-paṃchim-āvadhī-

193 m-aṃvadhiṅkṛtya sāla-vrikshāvachchhinnas-paṃchim-āvachchhēdān(dam) | dakshaḥpataḥ | Vaṃsōdāgraṃty-ūttar-āvadhām-āṭikṛtya Vidā̤-Ravim(vi)-nāṃnōc bhū-paryant-५-

194 tasa-āvachchhēdām-śvāṃ chaṭhut-ṣī(ālm)-āvachchhinnam chaṭhūḥ-panchaśad-vātiṃkō-parimitam(tam) | dvitīya-khaṇḍam cha | pūrvvataḥ | Vaṃsō(Vaṃsō)-dā-vartma-paṃchim-āvadhām-ārāhyā sā-

194 la-vrikshāvachchhinnas-paṃchimagaryādān(dam) | dakshiṇaṭaḥ | Gōvindakara-Kōnā-

195 nāṃnōc-bhūmēt-uttar-āvadhām-ārāhyā Kātikāṣya bhuvō dakshaṇa-śi(ālm)-ō-

Fifth Plate, Second Side

196 ċhaṭhut-āśāchchhinnam paṃcha-paṃchāśad-vātiṃkō-parimitam | Gaṅgēśvarapur-ābhidhāna-vaṣṭu-bhūmēḥ śi(ālm)mā || Va(m)šā-|

197 ōḍā-vartma-paṃchima-ṛjēpāthaṁ pūrvv-āvadhikṛtya sāla-vrikshāvachchhinnas-paṃchima-śimānaṁ(śimānaṁ) | paṃchimataḥ | Gōpāla-Champaḍāṣayaś(📅)bhu-ma-

198 ryādam-āṭikṛtya sāla-vrikṣha-vāchchhinnas-pūrvv-āvachchhēdām-śvāṃ chaṭhut-ṣī(ālm)m-

āvachchhinnam mānsāt-ṭōṣṭa-trayō(try-ur)tara-vātiṃkō-ṭaś-aikāṁ(kam) ||

1 The doṣaḥ is superfluous.
2 There is an ornamental flower design between the double doṇḍas.
3 Parīkṣā are a local modification of Parīkṣās found in some records.
4 These two letters are engraved in the lower margin of the plate with indications that they should be inserted in their proper place in the sixteenth line on the face of the plate in question.
5 The two words, dēvēbhā yō Bṛhadāśaṅghyaḥ, are redundant.
6 A skarṣya incised after ṣe was afterwards deleted.
１２６　EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

Ｇａｎｇａｎａｒａｙａṇ—Ｐｕｒुक्कोप(ｉ) tướng—नामबुर—बुवुस—पुरुव—कुमारहोगय—हा—ताय—पसोहम—
पुर्व—वाद्यक्रिया—साल—विस्मान—पांचभान—मार्यादाम(दम)|

ｔा—[Ｖिद्व—पान्यार्घिनां] काहेत्रा—द(अ)म—सावत्था—विरक्षम—वाद्यक्रिया—
Ｇोपाला—
ＣＨＡＮ्ददायोर—हभु—पयार्यु—सत्तरा—द(अ)मानम—नव—चाठुः—

１２７　अत(अ)म—वाच्चोघिनभानोऽहतर—रमन—अध्यात्मरक्षा—शहस्त्री—वांतक—परिमान(तम)|
Ｋुमारपुरा—द(अ)माः|Ｋुमारहोगय—उ(ग्य—)टटरा—रक्षपाठा—पुर्व—वाद्यक्रिया—साल—

１２８　कउ—अवाच्चोघिनभानोऽपछिम—ावच्चच्छेत(दम)|

１２９　ｖामेऽचाठुः—द(अ)म—अवाच्चोघिनभानोऽहतर—रमन—अध्यात्मरक्षा—शहस्त्री—वांतक—
परिमान(तम)|

１３０　मध्यात्म(द्यः)|

１３１　[पंग्राही]|जहरसानः|

１３２　बन्धुक्रिया—निराव[करोना]|चतुर्रित(रिन्दुः)|

１３３　[a]भरद्वान—गन्धार्य—[दान—]

１３４　[दान—]

１３５　त्र—गोपाला—[पंग्राही]|पादिता—अनां|पाठी|गुरुदासा|पादिता—

１３６　[दान—]

１３７　[दान—]

１３８　[दान—]

１３９　[दान—]

１４０　[दान—]

１４１　[दान—]

１４２　[दान—]
ASANKHALI PLATES OF NARASIMHA II, SAKA 1225—PLATE V

Scale three fourths
Sixth Plate

196 rāyaṇa | Ā(m*t)*|ācāra-gōtra | pāṭhi Kacā | pāṭhi Dāvidāsa | Krishṇāṭrēya-sagōtra | pāṭhi Jāi | pāṭhi Dharmān | pāṭhi Nāgū | pāṭhi

197 Rudrakara | pāṭhi Bhāskara | Kauṣiṇaka-sagarōtra | pāṭhi Champā | [Śa(m*)]*|khyāyana-gōtra-pāṭhi Vasundāra | Māṇḍavā-gōtra | pāṭhi Champā | Bhā-

198 rggava-gōtra-pāṭhi Haradāsa | pāṭhi Purushottama | pāṭhi Vāmadōva | Aupamanyava-gōtra | pāṭhi Ratnākara | Bhāradvāja-sagōtra | pā-

199 thi Kālidāsa | pāṭhi Māṇikadāra | pāṭhi Lakṣhmidāra | pāṭhi Jalēvāra | pāṭhi Spriṣṭi | pāṭhi Śaṅkhadhāra | pāṭhi Kitaī | pāṭhi Diśa-

200 ni | pāṭhi Raṅg | (vā(nā)bhi) Kanū | paṇḍita-Gauṇapati | pāṭhi Kirttipāṇi | pāṭhi Kacā | ēṭebbhabā-chaṭur-adhika-sat-aikēbhāyō Vṛ( Bra[hām]ēbhāyaḥ

201 pratibhāgāṃ vāṭikā-dvaya-yyavasthāyā as iht-ōttara-satā-dvaya-parimita(ām) | ēṭach- chāsana-dvāya vāṭikā-chuṭṭahāya(ām) | vēḍa-māṭh-ārthah sampt-

202 vāṭikāh*[h] | vyākaraṇa-māṭh-ārthah dasa vāṭikāh*[h] | maṇḍapa-chehādanāya vāṭikā- trayaṇah(ām) | pūṣkarṇī-arthatm pāṇeḥa-vāṭikāh*[h] | Pūṭmāsha-gōtra-

203 ya sasān-āddhikāri-Kāṇḍēvaśaṁmaṇḥ vāṭikā-dvayaṁ [Śrikarana-Nāgū-ṇāya+kāya vāṭikāh*-dvayaṁ(ām)] | ēdevbhōyo Vṛ( Bra[hām]ēbhāyaḥ Kumāra-Gaṅgarajādē-

204 vasya sv(ava)rṛga-praṇṛtaye anēvyabhāya cha*[h] | prasādikāya jala-sthala-machchh(āya)- kachchhhapa-purātanavṛkṣa-sahitam-a-chandrārkka-

1 Cf. j in the Orin part of the Bhūnasimār bhulun-g inscription (JPASB, 1924, Plate 1).
2 These letters are engraved in the lower margin of the plate with indication that they are to be inserted in their proper place in the twentieth line on the face of the plate in question,
3 These letters are inscribed in the lower margin of the plate with indication that they are to be inserted in their proper place in the eight line on the face of the plate in question,
205 m-akarikritya prādāta(dātā) || śatatu(sya) Gaṅgarājādāvapūrā-sāsanasyāṅgatayā nānā-hapti(ṭṭi)ya-

206 nānāvidhāh sapta prajā api prādāta(dātā) || Mad-dāna-phala-siddhy-artham taḍ-raḍhā-

207 ripāyuḥ-ya[n*] bhūpair-ā-chandra-tāra-kāṁ(kam) || [106*] Mā bhūd-a-phala-śāṁkā tē 

208 tā-ānapālaṇaṁ(nam) [107*] Sva-dattāṃ=para-dattāṁ=vā(ttāṃ vā) yatnād-rakṣha 

209 rēttā(t-tu) vasundharāṁ(rām) | sa viśeṣāyām kriṃir-bhūtvā pitriḥbhīḥ saha pachyate 

210 tē yē haranti vasundhāraṁ(rām) || [110*] Gām-śca(kā)ṁ sva[r]oṇaṁ-śaṁkāṁ mva(vā) 

211 dharmmaḥ pālanyā maniḥbhīḥ ||[ ]| satrur-śva hi śatruḥ syāt(syād)-ṛharmmaḥ 

212 d-apētā-prasaṁ bhūvī bhaviḥ-bhūpāḥ [112*] yē pālayanti mama dharmmaṁ-iddhīm 

213 saṃstan-tēṣāṁ mayā vīrachāīī-ñjāin-śaḥ mūrddhāni || [113*] || 0 ||
No. 20—THREE GRANTS OF CHALUKYA JAYASIMHA I

(2 Plates)

M. Somasekhara Sarma, Madras

The three sets of copper-plate grants, edited below, come from Gudivada, a village in the Sarvasiddhi Taluk of the Visakhapatnam District. When, how and where these plates were discovered originally is not known. For a long time they have been carefully preserved in the house of Mr. Periherla Peediraju, a landlord of Gudivada. My friend, Mr. G. V. Raghav Rao Pantulu, a pleader of Yellamanchili, having come to know of the existence of these plates, secured them on loan for a short time from the owner, who happens to be his client, and kindly sent them on to me for decipherment and publication. I cut the rings of the sets for study and for taking impressions of the plates. All the three charters register gifts of localities presumably associated with Gudivada.

A.—Grant No. 1, Year 18

This set consists of three plates, each measuring 6½" long and 2½" broad. The plates are held together by a circular copper ring, 3½" in diameter. The ends of the ring are joined at the bottom of a circular seal, 1½" in diameter. When the plates came to me, the lower part of the seal was found broken away. On the top of the seal there is an arc-like curve in relief with its ends turned upwards, probably representing the moon. In the middle of the seal is found the legend Śrī Sarvasiddhi in relief in Eastern Chalukya characters. The plates are considerably thick. The ends of the plates are not raised into rims; yet the writing is well preserved, the letters having been engraved deeply. The outer faces of the first and last plates are left blank, and the remaining faces of the plates bear each six lines of writing.

The characters are of the early Telugu-Kannada type, commonly styled the Vēṅgi script. They resemble those of the early Eastern Chālukya grants. Of the individual letters, the forms of final t (line 1) and m (lines 13, 18, 21, 23) are noteworthy. Dravidian _OCCURS IN Pāṭkī (line 10) and in Kujvātaka (line 18). The numerical symbols for 5, 8 and 10 occur in the date of the grant in the last line. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of two imprecatory verses at the end, the composition is in prose. As usual with the early grants, consonants are mostly doubled after r. The doubling of dh before y in pāḍānudhyātah (line 9) is noteworthy. The expression pūrṇāṅgadhravastūdham in line 16 is unintelligible.¹

The object of the inscription is to record the gift of the western portion of the village called Ādvēśa in Pāṭkī-vishaya along with some of the fields of Kujvātaka, having converted the whole into an  agraḷāra  by making it immune from taxes.² The gift was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. The donor was the Eastern Chālukya king, Prithvijīt—Jayasimhavallabha I, son of Vishṇuvardhana and grandson of Kirtivarman. He had the title Sarvasiddhi, as found on the seal. He issued this grant from his residence at Kallūra. The donees were Vinayakarman and

¹ [See A. R. Ep., 1945-46, No. 1 of Appendix A.—Ed.]
² [See below, p. 133, note 2.—Ed.]

[The correct interpretation of the passage (lines 15-18) seems to be that Punnāgadhra which was a hamlet of the village of Ādvēśa was populated and a portion of Kujvātaka was added to it. This new unit forming the western division of Ādvēśa was made an āgraḷāra and granted to the donees.—Ed.]
Vishnuśarman, son of Vasuśarman and grandsons of Kumāraśarman of the Maudgalya gotra. They were students of the Kauthuma-Chandoga (a śakha of the Sāmāvēda). The ājñapti of the charter was Paramēśvaravarman.

This grant does not furnish any historical information beyond what we already know about the Eastern Chālukyas of Vengi. Its main interest lies in the date it furnishes. King Jayasiṃha-varallabha made this gift on the day of a lunar eclipse and the 15th day of the 8th fortnight of Hēmanta in his 18th regnal year. This is the second grant of Jayasiṃha-varallabha I to be dated in this manner, viz., in the seasons, fortnights and days, the first being his Pulinibhū grant. This method of dating is similar to that of the Prakrit grants both of the Śatavēhanas and the Sālavēkas. It shows that this early custom of dating grants persisted till the middle of the seventh century. According to this arrangement, the year was divided into three seasons of four months each, namely, Grīṃsha, Varṣā and Hēmanta, a season being subdivided into eight pahās or fortnights. Since the gift was made at the time of a lunar eclipse, the eclipse in question must have occurred on the 15th day of the bright fortnight or pūrṇimā-tīthi, evidently of Phālinga, the last month of the year. This enables us to understand that, according to this ancient method of reckoning, the months were pūrṇimāṇa and not amānta.

In a way, the English equivalent of the date of the grant under review can be ascertained. The date of the Kopparam plates of Pulakēśa of 631 A.D., both by Hultzsch and Sewell on the assumption, which I think is correct, that Prithiviśvararāja, the ājñapti of the grant, was no other than Prithiviśvararāja, i.e., Kubja Viśhuvardhana I. On the date of this record, Viśhuvardhana was the duvarāja, i.e., guvarāja. It is to be presumed that some time after that date he proclaimed his independence and ruled the kingdom in his own name. The grant recorded in his Chippurapalli plates was made, on the 15th tīthi of Śrāvaṇa on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in his 18th or last regnal year. If his independent rule began some time in 631 A.D., itself, his eighteenth regnal year would correspond either to 648 A.D., if current, or to 649 A.D., if expired. During the period between 631 and 651 A.D., there were four lunar eclipses in the month of Śrāvaṇa, one in Śaka 553 or 633 A.D. and the others in Śaka 563 or 641 A.D., Śaka 572 or 650 A.D. and Śaka 573 or 651 A.D., respectively. One of these four years must be the 18th regnal year of Viśhuvardhana I. The first may be ruled out as it is too early to be his 18th regnal year. One of the remaining three may be taken to have been the last year of his rule. The grant under review helps us in determining this date since Jayasiṃha-varallabha I was the son and successor of Viśhuvardhana I.

The 18th regnal year of Jayasiṃha-varallabha I, either current or expired, when counted from any one of the three aforementioned years, should have a lunar eclipse on Phālinga-su. 15. According to S.K. Pillai’s Indian Ephemeris there were lunar eclipses on Phālinga-pūrṇimā in Śaka 579 or 657-58 A.D., Śaka 580 or 658-59 A.D. and Śaka 598 or 676-77 A.D., within the period from 650 to 680 A.D. Of these, the last date need not be taken into consideration as it would be very late for Jayasiṃha-varallabha’s 18th year. Hence, either Śaka 579 or 657-58 A.D., or Śaka 580 or 658-59 A.D., should correspond to the 18th year of Jayasiṃha-varallabha I. Of these, Śaka

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580 or 658-59 A. D. proves to be the 18th year, current, of Jayasimhavallabha I, when counted from Saka 563 (i.e. 641-42 A. D.), the 18th year of his father Vishnupardhana I. Thus the date of the grant under review is 659 A. D., February 12, when there was a lunar eclipse.

The above discussion leads us to conclude that the reignal years of the Eastern Chalukyas were current and not expired. Since the 18th year of Vishnupardhana I happens to be Saka 563 or 641-42 A. D., it may be definitely said that his rule over the coastal region of the Andhra country, or in other words, the starting point of the Eastern Chalukya chronology proves to be the Saka year 546 or 624-25 A. D. 1 It is thus evident that by the date of the Kopparam plates the conquest of Veṇgi by Pulakēśin II and the establishment of the Chalukya rule there were already accomplished facts. Vishnupardhana’s independent rule must have begun sometime after 631 A. D. But he seems to have counted his reignal years from the beginning of his governance over the coastal region in 624-25 A. D. 1

The localities mentioned in this grant are Kalḷuravāsaka, Kulivātaka, Ādvīśa or Ādvīśa and Plakkiviṣhayā. I am unable to identify Kalḷurū. Kulivātaka is also mentioned as Kuṭīvādha and Kuṭivā and in the following two grants respectively. Kulivātaka is the present village of Guḍivādha. I am unable to identify Ādvivā or Ādvivā. But its situation is not difficult to guess. It must have been adjacent to the village of Guḍivādha (Kulivātaka of the grant), since some fields of the latter and the western portion of the former were joined together and constituted into an agrahāra.

Plakkiviṣhayā is mentioned in the Rāmatirtham plates of Indrawarman of the Vishnukundin dynasty and in the Chipurupalli and Timmärāram plates of Vishnupardhana I of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty. The name occurs as Plakki in the first two records and as Palaki in the last one. The villages granted in the Rāmatirtham and Timmärāram plates are Pēruvādha and Kumulūrū respectively. Both these villages remain unidentified. The gift registered in the Chipurupalli plates was made by king Vishnupardhana I from the town of Cherupūrū in Plakkiviṣhayā. Thus, altogether we come to know of four villages situated in the Plakki or Palaki viṣhayā, namely, Pēruvādha, Kumulūrū, Cherupūrū, and Kulivātaka. Cherupūrū was identified by Fleet, though with some doubt, with Chipurupalli,4 the chief town of the Chipurupalli Taluk, Visakhapatnam District, since these plates were said to have been found near the village of that name. This identification is not correct as will be shown presently.

If Kulivātaka is identified with Guḍivādha in the Sarvasiddhi Taluk, the other villages also have to be located in the same Taluk or in its vicinity. There are two villages by name Chinna Gummulūrū and Pedda Gummulūrū in the Sarvasiddhi Taluk. One of these may be identical with Kumulūrū of the Timmärāram plates. Timmärāram, the findspot of these plates, is also in the same Taluk. As to Pēruvādha, I have no doubt that it is identical with Pāravā in the south-eastern portion of the Anakapalli Taluk which is adjacent to the Sarvasiddhi Taluk.

1 B. V. Krishna Rao rejects both the identification of Prithividvarāja by Hultsch and the date 631 A.D. of the Kopparam plates as suggested by Sewell. He does not approve of Fleet’s scheme or my scheme of chronology of the Eastern Chalukyas. Yet it is interesting to note that he arrives exactly at the same date as the above, i.e., 624-25 A. D., for the initial year of Vishnupardhana I of Veṅgi. Vide ‘The Revised Chronology of the Eastern Chalukyas,’ JAHRS, Vol. IX, Pt. IV, pp. I ff. [See also JOR, Vol. IX, pp. 1 ff.—Ed.]

*This dating does not solve all the problems of Eastern Chalukya chronology. Cf. N. Venkataramanayya, The Eastern Chalukyas of Veṅgi, p. 56.—Ed.]

2 Above, Vol. XII, pp. 133 ff. The name of the district was wrongly read as Pukki.

3 Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 16.


5 Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, pp. 18 and 96.
If these identifications are correct, it may be concluded that the Plakki or Palkki *viśaya* comprised at least the contiguous portions, if not the whole, of the Sarvasiddhi and Anakapalli Taluks of the Visakhapatnam District. As such, Cherupuru must also be looked for in the same region. There is a village called Chhipurupalli in the Anakapalli Taluk, which may be identified with Cherupuru. I think that Kubja-Vishnuvardhana's plates were found near this Chhipurupalli and not near the other village of the same name. Both the grants of Vishnuvardhana I issued from the coastal region of Andhra thus appear to have been discovered in the Anakapalli-Sarvasiddhi region which was known in early times as the Plakki or Palkki *viśaya*. The *l* in Plakki and Palkki was later changed into *r* and the name became Prakki which was applied to this territorial division in later times.

**TEXT**

*First Plate*

1 Ēṁ ṣavasti | Śrīmat-Kallāra-vāsakaṭ Svāmibhaṭṭāraka-pāda-padma-prasād-ā-
2 vāpta-rājyānāṁ Hāṛīti-priya-purūṇāṁ Mānava-saṅgīrṇāṁ-Aśva-
3 mādha-yājīnāṁ Chalukyānāṁ kula-jaladhi-samudbhūta-rāja-ratna-
4 sya sakala-jagad-āṛtī-hara-karmmanaḥ śri-Kirtīvarmanmanāḥ priya-
5 naṁtā sva-piṭur-anūṇa-guṇa-gaṇ-ô[ṇ]d*ṛdyōtita-roōhīṣṇa-śaidhaṇyugīna-Ma-
6 ṛhīvadhōḥ Vishnuvardhana-mahārājasya priya-tanayāḥ

*Second Plate, First Side*

7 pravarddhamāṇa-pratāp-ōpanamita-ripu-nṛpati-makuṭa-taṭa-gaṛīta-ma-
8 ṇi-mayūkha-maṇḍjarī-puṇja-piṭjarita-charan-āraṇvindya-yugalaḥ para-
9 ma-brahmanyō mātā-piṭri-pād-ānudhyātaḥ śri-Pri(Pṛ)thivī-Jayanirīha-
10 vallabha-mahārājaḥ Plakki-vishayam-adhivāsaḥ kuṁbinaḥ
11 samajāśpayati [*1*] Yathā Manḍgalaya-saṅgīrṇaya Kauthuma-Chhandā-
12 ga-sabrahmachāriṇāḥ Kumārasaṃmanaḥ paṭrābhīyaṃ Vasuṣaṃmanāḥ

*Second Plate, Second Side*

13 putrābhīyaṃ(bhīyaḥ) Vinayāya[ṛma]-Vishnuśarmabhyāḥ[ṛ] Trisahasra-pāragābhīyaṃ(bhīyaṃ)
14 ahaṭ-karmma-niratābhīyaṃ asmad-āyur-ārōgya-jaya-yai-ōti-
15 vṛddhayē Sōma-grahaṇē udaka-pūrvvam kṛtvā Ādvīṣē

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1 The village of Sarvasiddhi after which the Taluk got its name was, in all likelihood, founded by Jayasimha-vallabha I who had the title Sarvasiddhi.
2 From the original plate.
3 Expressed by symbol.
4 The expression more familiarly found in such contexts is *putrābhīyaḥ*.
5 This may be read as *Ādivēśa* also, since there is little difference between ṭ and ḍ in this period.
THREE GRANTS OF CHALUKYA JAYASIMHA — PLATE I

A. — Grant No. I, Year 18

Scale three fourths
16 Punnāgapadraivastāndinī kṛtvā Kuśāgata-kṣetra-sahitaṁ pa-
17 ścima-khaṇḍah(ṇaṁ) sarvra-karaṁ(ṛa)-parīhaṛēṇ-āgraḥāṇaṁ kṛtvā ā-chama(cha)nād-ārkā-
18 tārakam-maṇya samprattām [[*] Tad-vidītvā yath-ōchitaṁ bhāga-bhōga-

Third Plate

19 m-upanayantaḥ sukhaḥ(khaṁ) prativasathāḥ(tha) [[*] Kailaś-chid-āpi bādhā na kartta-
20 vyā [[*] Vyāsa-giitaḥ [[*] Bahubhir-vvasūdāh dattā bahubhiś-ḥa-anupāliṭā [[*]
21 yasya yasya yadā bhūmiḥ tasm-tasya tasya tadā phalam [[*]
22 Svā-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ va yatnād-rakṣya Yudhiṣṭhirā [[*] muḥniṁ ma-
23 himaṭāṁ śrīśaṭṭha dānāḥ-ehhrēyō-nupālanam [[*] Ājnāptiḥ[h]
24 Paramēśvaravarmmā [[*] Saṁ 10 8 Hō 8 di 10 5 ||

B.—Grant No. 2

This grant also consists of three plates which do not have raised rims. Each plate is 7.7" long and 2.1" broad. The plates are strung together on a circular copper ring (3.1" in diameter) which passes through a hole (2.5" in diameter) at the left margin of each plate. The ends of the ring are soldered at the bottom of a circular seal 1.7" in diameter. On the upper and lower portions of the seal are engraved in relief a crescent moon and a lotus respectively, the middle portion being occupied by the legend Śri-Sarvasiddhi. The first and last plates bear writing on one side only while the second plate is inscribed on both sides. Of the inscribed sides, the first three have each six lines of writing, the last one containing seven lines.

The characters belong to the Southern Class of Alphabets, being normal for the period and the area to which the inscription belongs. They are similar to those found in the early Eastern Chālukya grants. Final t occurs in line 1 and final m in lines 14, 15, etc. The consonants d, t, m and v after r are doubled as in the early grants. Dravidian j occurs in line 12 in Pūkki and the jihvāmūliya in line 16. The initial vowel ai, which rarely occurs in inscriptions, is met with in line 5. This ai resembles khā in line 17 divested of its medial ā sign. The form of kh in line 1, m in lines 2, 14 and 19 and kṛi in lines 4 and 17 are noteworthy on account of their peculiarities. The letters kh and ch are almost alike.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of the last two imprecatory verses, it is in prose.

The inscription belongs to the reign of Prithivi-Jayasimhavallabha I of the Chālukya family, who is described as in the previous charter. It records that the king, having created (made provision for) a dwelling place in Kuśāvāḍa, granted thirtytwo nivartanas of land, separating it from the village of Kundārū and constituting it into a separate agrahāra by freeing it from all encumbrances. The donees were two Brāhmaṇa brothers, namely Svāmiyāsas and Vishnuyāsas who were the students of the Chhandāga and belonged to the Vatsa gōtra. They had studied the Veda, Vedāṅga,
Iṣṭihāsa. Purāṇa, Mīmāṁsā and many other Śāstras, were proficient in the *Triśastra∗ and performed the *Agniṣṭhōma* sacrifice. They were the sons of Viṣṇuṣaśas and grandsons of Mita-yāsas. The king issued his order from his residence at Asanapura and addressed it to the elders and officers of the district of Pijkstra and to the ryots of the village of Kundūr in the Pijkstra vishaya. A ninth portion of this village was again given by these donees to their own sister’s son, Viṣṇuṣaśarman, who belonged to the Gavishmi gōra and was a student of the Bahvyicha.

The dīnāpī of this grant was Bhimaśarman who is described as a great devotee of Viṣṇu and performer of the Vojapēya sacrifice. This officer is not known from any of the grants of Jayasimha I published so far.

Of the localities mentioned in this record Pijkstra-vishaya is already known from the previous charter. I am unable to identify Kundūr. It must, however, have been in the neighbourhood of the present village of Guḍivāja, since some land from the boundary of Kundūr was separated and added to the former village. Both the owner of the plates and my friend Mr. Raghavendra Pantulu inform me that there are some Harijans in the village of Guḍivāja who have Kundūr as their family name. Kuḍivāja is Guḍivāja itself.

Asanapura is unidentifiable. It appears from the grants of Jayasimha I that it was an important town in the early Eastern Chāluksya times. Kadīśarman, the donee of the Nidharu grant of Jayasimha was a resident of Asanapura and is described as ghatikā-sūmāna. Evidently Asanapura must have been a ghatikē-sthōna. Rudrāsarmaṇ, the son of Śivasarmaṇ of the Gautama gōra and the donee of the Pulinhūr grant of Jayasimhavallabha, was also a resident of Asanapura. Originally, his father Śivasarmaṇ was an inhabitant of Kundūr in Karma-raśtra and was the recipient of the agraha village of Pulinhūr from king Madhavavarmaṇ of the Viṣṇu-kuṇḍin family⁴. During the rule of Jayasimhavallabha, Śivasarmaṇ’s son Rudrāsarmaṇ emigrated from Kundūr to Asanapura. Asanapura thus appears to have been one of the educational and cultural centres of the early Eastern Chāluksya times.

TEXT

First Plate

1 Ōṁ⁴ svasti (*Śrīmad-Asanapura-vāsakīt ava-sakti-mukha-dalita-danuja-pati-mahāsēnēna*
2 Mahāsēnē-ābhivaddhi(tudhi)ōnān Mātri-gaṇa-paripālitōnān Māṇavya-sagōtrānān Hārīti-
3 (titi)-putrāśān(ī) 
4 m-Āvamēdhā-yājīnān Chaḷukyāṇān kula-jalanidhi-samudbhūta-rājā-ratnasya sakala-jaga-
5 d-ātī(tīti)-hara-karmmaṇāh ērī-ki(Ki)tītivarmmaṇāh priya-naptāh(ptā) saty-āpi Kaliyugē 
6 Kṛitayuga-iva
7 prajā-paripālan-ārtham-svatērita-manushya-janmahanā aidāmyugē(Mma(Ma))hāvishpōr-
8 Viṣṇuvaruddhadhana-
9 mahārājasya priya-tanayaḥ pravarddhamāna-pratāp-ōpanata-samasta-samanta-maṇḍalāḥ

¹ I am informed that Brāhmaṇas well-versed in this lore belong to the Madhyandina ākēki of the Kāgya sect.
² Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 36 ff.
⁵ From the original plates.
⁶ Expressed by symbol.
Three Grants of Chalmukya Jayasinha

Second Plate, First Side

7 sva-sakti-traya-trisūl-āvabhinna-para-narahapati-sakala-bala-chētanaḥ anēka-samara-samhgaṭa-va-
8 jay-āvāpta-yaśod-viśeṣha-bhūshaṇaḥ pratidīnam-anēka-sāmanta-makuṭa-mani-prabhā-pra-
9 prarāha-pariraṇjhita-pāda-pīṭhaḥ Yudhisṭhira-iva dharma-parāyaṇaḥ Bra(Briḥ)haspati-riva
10 nayajñāḥ Manuṛ-iva vinayajñāḥ Airāvata-iva-ānvarata-dān-ōcchha-hastaḥ svaja-
11 na-parijana-vatsalaḥ paramabrahmanyō(ṇyo) mātā-pitṛ-pād-ānudhyātaḥ Īrī-Prī(Prī)dhī-
   (thl)vi-Jayasīṁha(sīṁha)-
12 vallabha-mahārājaḥ(Jaḥ) Plakki-vishayē vishaya-vṛiddhān-adhikāriṇaḥ Kundūra-grāma-kṛt-
   umbinae-cha

Second Plate, Second Side

13 samāyajñāpayati [*] viditam-astu vō yath-āśmābhiḥ-chaturvvidyā-pāragasya Mitrayāsasah
14 purātrābhyaṃ(bhyaṃ) sva-pitu(stri)-guṇ-ālaṅkṛitasva Vaiṣṇūyasasah putrābhyaṃḥ śaṭ-
   karmma-dharmma-ānushṭhāna-
15 parābhyaṃ(bhyaṃ) Vēḍa-Vēḍāṅg-Evi(ṭi)ḥāsa-Puṭaṇa-Mimāṁsā-ādy-anēka-āṣṭra-ārththa-tatrc-
   (ṣīn)a-salī-
16 prakshālit-āntaḥkaraṇa-paṅkābhyaṃ Agniśṭōma-yaśibhyāṃ(bhyaṃ) Vatsa-sagōtrābhyaṃ
17 Chhandōga-sabrahmacārībhyaṃ(bhyaṃ) trisahasra-vidyā-ālaṅkṛita-mukh-ūravindaḥbhyaṃ-
   (bhyāṃ) Svāma(mi)ya[ṣī]
18 Vaiṣṇūyaśeṣibhyāṃ(bhyaṃ) Kuṭīnavā-nāma-grāmaṃ vasati[ṇ] krītva Kundūra-grāma-sīṁ(sī)ṃ-
   mnō dvātra[ḥna]ṃ-

Third Plate

19 varttanam chhītvā(ṣīnvā) puny-ābhivṛddhayē sarvva-kara-pariḥāreṇ-āgraḥāriṇ(i)ṣī krītya mayā
   sambratatiṃ[*] [*]
20 tatā bhaṇadbhir-anyaśe-ca paripālani(mi)yaḥ[†] cēṭābhya(bhyaṃ) śāvā Gavishmi-sagōtra-
   Bahvṛchā[ca] sabrahma-
21 chāri-sva-bhāginīya-Vaiṣṇuṣarmanmāṇe-sya grāmō[ma]syā navamō bhāgō dattaḥ[ †] ājēaptiḥ
22 anēka-dha[ṛ][ṃ][ṃ]nushṭhāna-puṇya-saṃchayaḥ parama-vaśānavō Vaiṣapēya-ya[jī] Bhima-
   sarmanā[*]
23 Vyāsa-gitau[*] Bahubhir-vvasudhā dattā bahubhiṣ-ech-ānupālīta[*][*] yasya yasya yadā
   bhu(bhū)mi-

* This akṣara is redundant.
† The reading is grāma[ḷ]*. — Ed.
[ Read dektrīkon-immortanī. ]
[ Read sampratīma. Better read sampratibh. — Ed. ]
This set consists of three plates without raised rims. Each plate is 6.9' long and 2.4' broad. They are strung together on a circular ring 2.5' in diameter. The ends of the ring are soldered at the bottom of a circular seal 1.5' in diameter. The seal after cleaning shows only a spiral sign on its face.

The script is the early Southern Class commonly styled Telugu-Kannada. The letters resemble those found in the other grants of Jayaśīthra I. They are very indifferently written and therefore the form of individual letters is not always the same. Initial ai occurs in line 3 in "aitamuyugrā." The shape of the letter ng in "nangam" in line 10 is interesting. Final i occurs in line 1 and final m in line 20. The medial ś sign in rś in "parsarkara" (line 18) and kṛtā (line 24) is peculiar. It is not a simple horizontal stroke to the left. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It is in prose with the exception of the two imperlocutory verses at the end. The terms "kandikasattu," "kaḷjakasattu," and "avakasattu" occurring in the description of the boundaries are unintelligible.

This inscription also belongs to the same king, Jayaśīthra I of the Eastern Chālukya family. The record does not furnish new facts. The royal "prāasti" and the details of the grant are similar to those of the previous record. The king issued this grant from Assanapura. Addressing the elders and officers of the Plakkā uśhaya and the ryots of the village of Kundūra, the king granted the village of Kuṇḍivāda to the same donees, Śvāmīyāsas and Viṣṇupāyasas of the Vatas gōtra, separating it from the boundary of Kundūra and constituting it into an agrahāra with all the usual immunities. The boundaries of the newly constituted agrahāra are given. They are as follows: on the east the boundary of the village of Kundūru; on the south the sea; on the west the tank named Gōjāva as well as the Nāgurulaka tank, Kandikasattu and Kaḷjakasattu and on the north Avakasattu. The "ājūpti" is Bhīmaśārman, already known from the previous charter.

These three inscriptions thus register grants referring to one and the same village of Kuṇḍivāda (Gudivāda). In fact, the order of these inscriptions, if I understand them aright, should be thus: Grant No. 2, by which the village of Gudivāda comes into being as an independent agrahāra, should be the first one. Then comes Grant No. 1 which says that the king granted the western portion of the village of Ādīvāsa along with some land detached from the extent of the village of Gudivāda, constituting the whole into an agrahāra, to the Brahmaṇa brothers, Vinayakasārman and Viṣṇukarman of the Maulikya gōtra. To compensate this loss to the donees the king seems to have granted them again by grant No. 3 thirty-two mācarmas of land, separating it again from the village of Kundūra, as stated in grant No. 2.

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[As the forms of many letters like ā in line 1, ai in line 3, ī in line 10, show later forms, the writing seems to belong to a later period. The seal bears only a spiral symbol and the village granted is the same as in the previous charter. This record appears to be a later modified copy of No. 2, in the text of which the boundaries of the agrahāra are added while a statement regarding the allotment of a share of the agrahāra to the donee’s sister’s son, as found in No. 2, is omitted. No. 3 thus appears to have been forged by the heirs of the donees of No. 2 with a view to depriving the successors of the donee’s sister’s son of the share in question.—Ed.]

[This argument is unconvincing. As shown above (p. 129, note 3; p. 133, notes 2 and 4; above, note 2), the agrahāra villages granted as well as the donees in the first two grants are different and the third grant appears to be a later modified copy of the second.—Ed.]
THREE GRANTS OF CHALUKYA JAYASIMHA I

First Plate

1 Om svasti [*] Śrimad-Asanapura-vāsakāt sva-sākti-mukha-dalita-dana-
2 japatī-mahāśēnēna Mahāśēnēn-śāhīvaddhi(rddhi)tānāṁ Mātri-ga-
3 ṭa-paripālītānāṁ Mānavya-sagōtrānāṁ Hāriti(ti)-putrāṇā-
4 m-Āvamēdh-yaījīnāṁ Chada(lu)kyānāṁ kula-jaladhī-samudbhū-
5 ta-rāja-ratnasya śrī-Kīttī(ṛtti)varmmanāḥ priya-naptā aidāmyugīnā-Mahā-
6 vīṣṇuḥ Vīṣṇuvarddhana-mahārājasya priya-tanayaḥ pravarddhamā-

Second Plate, First Side

7 na-pratāp-ōpanata-samasta-sāmanta-maṇḍalaḥ sva-sākti-traya-parā-
8 jīta-para-sāktīḥ anēka-samara-saṅghaṭta-vijay-āvāpta-yaśo-viśēsha-
9 bhūṣhaṇaḥ pratidinam-anēka-sāmanta-maṇi-prabhā-raṇaṁ
10 jīta-pādaṭhaḥ parama-brahmaṇyō mātā-pitṛ-pād-ānudhyā-
11 taḥ śrī-Prthivī-Jayasiṅgha(sirīha)vallabha-mahārājaḥ Pākki-vihaṇyō
12 vīṣṇu[ya*]-vṛiddhān-adhikārināḥ Kundūra-grāma-kuṭumbinaḥ-oh saṃjañāpayu-

Second Plate, Second Side

13 ti [*] viditam-astu vo yath-āśmābhīṣ-ḥaturvīḍyā-śrāgarasya Mitrayaṁ-
14 saḥ paurābhīyaṁ sva-pitu(tri)-gūp-ālaṅkṛitasya Vīṣṇuvasyāsāḥ putrābhīyāṁ shat-ka-
15 rmma-dharmī-ānuśhāna-parābhīyaṁ(bhyāṁ) Agnīṛṣṭāma-yājībhīyāṁ Vataa-sagōtrābhīyaṁ
16 Chandōga-sabrahmacārbhīyaṁ Śvāmayaśō-Vīṣṇuvasyābhīyaṁ Kudivāja-ṇā-
17 ma-grāmaḥ vasatiṁ kṛtvā Kundūra-grāma-sīmō(mn̄aḥ) prthak-śrītya puṣy-ābhivriddhayō
18 sarvva-kara-pariḥārey-āgraḥārśrīkṛtya mayā dattaḥ [**] Bhavadvhir-anayaiḥ-cha pā-

Third Plate

19 lanīyaḥ [*] Asya sima-viṣṇāgar [**] Pūrvvataḥ Kundūra-grāma-sīma(mā)ē[va sima] [**]
20 Dakaśīnataḥ samudram(draḥ) [**] Paśchimaṁataḥ Gōḷava-nāma-taṭākam punaḥ Naguvula-

* From the original plates.
* Expressed by symbol.
cheruvu-Kandikaṭṭu-Kaḍakaṭṭu [*] Uttarataḥ Āvakaṭṭu [*] Ājñāptih pī(pa)ri(ma)[mi](ma)-

vaishṇavā Vājapeya yājī Bhīmaśarmma [||*] Bahubhir-vvasudhā dattā bahu-

biṣ-ch-ānupālitā [*] yasya yasya yadā bhāmiḥ ta(mis-ta)ṣya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) [||*] Sva-

dattāṁ para-dattāṁ va yō harēta vasudharāṁ(rām) [*] ahaṣṭhit(hiti)-varṣa-sahasṛṣṇī visṛṣṭhāyaḥ jāyate krimih [||]
SEALS

A

B

C

From Photographs
No. 21—KAMALAPUR PLATES OF KRISHNADEVARAYA, SAKA 1447

The Late Mr. V. RANGACHARYA, MADRAS.

These copper plates,¹ eleven in number, were received in 1905 from the Estate Guardian at Kamalapur, near Hampe, Bellary District, on a short loan by the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao. The plates were returned to the owner. I edit the inscription from its impressions available in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The Government Epigraphist describes the plates thus: "Eleven copper plates with highly-raised rims and rounded tops, containing twenty sides. Round ring with its edges pressed close together in a hole behind the seal. The seal is hung on a copper ring whose edges are closely pressed together as stated above. The copper ring measures 3½" in diameter and is about ¾" thick. The seal bears in a counter-sunk surface the figure of a standing boar with up-lifted tail and facing the proper right. It is surmounted by the sun and the moon in relief. Below the boar are some symbols. The plates measure roughly 11½" long in the middle and 8½ inches on the sides; the breadth varies from 7½ to 7½ inches."

The first and last of the plates, as usual, have been engraved on the inner side only, while the others on both the faces.² They are numbered, like the Unamanjeri plates³ of Achyutarāya, on the first inscribed side of each plate with Telugu-Kannada numerals from 2 to 11. The writing has been done well and is intact on account of the raised rims. But between lines 67 and 68, there is a blank space for a line and a half which can be filled up with similar epigraphs. At the end of line 448, which is the last on the second side of plate 9, there is a blank which can be covered by six aksharas; and at the close of line 508, the last on the 10th plate where the list of donees ends, there is also a vacant space for four letters.

The characters are Nandināgarī, except the last word Śri-Virūpākṣa in line 522, which is in Kannada. The sign for rough ṛ in Mūrurāgara is not distinguished from ordinary ṛ as in other records. The middle stroke of ḍ is occasionally missing as in Kāśipati, in line 171.

The following orthographical peculiarities can be noted. The visarga sign is occasionally omitted, the omission usually being before the word śī. It is redundant in the expressions like padaśvamuktim in line 29 and śīnuṭa-Tirumala in line 363. A consonant after ṛ is usually doubled. Instances of the doubling of a consonant after visarga and elsewhere are also available. The anusvāra is usually used for the class nasal. Wherever there is double m the first is made into an anusvāra as in Tīrūmala in line 127. The consonant t is sometimes wrongly used for d as in tanvūḍkavatā in line 106.

There are some names of unusual interest among the donees who number as many as 308 and belong to all sects. The three Vēdas and various sābhās and gōtras are represented. Though a Dvaitin, Vyāsāraya, the chief donee, included scholars of every persuasion among the share-holders of the endowment. The individual shares ranged from 3½ to ¾, the exact quantity being apparently dependent on the attainments of each recipient. The total number of shares seems to have been slightly above 437. The gōtras represented by the donees are: Agastya 3, Āśrama 18, Bhāradvāja 51, Daivarāta 1, Gārgya 8, Gautama 10, Gūrja 1, Harita 20, Jāmadagnya-Āpatambara 1, Jāmadagnya-Vata 1, Kāyka 2, Kāsapa 52, Kuṇḍinya 32, Maudgalya 3, Kāusika or Viśvāmitra 30, Pārghasa 2, Pūtimāha 4, Rathithara 1, Sālavata 1, Śaṇḍilya 8, Śaṭhamarhaṇa 1.

¹ It is greatly to be regretted that the author passed away when the article was still in the press.
² A. R. Ep., C. P. No. 13 of 1905.
³ It has been presumed so in the case of the first plate which was not received in the Government Epigraphist's office. It seems that the estampage of Plate 1B was missing in the set of impressions received by the author. It has 27 lines of writing, which are practically identical with lines 1-24 of the Comparenum plates (above, Vol. XIII, pp. 126-27).—Ed.
⁴ Above, Vol. III, pp. 147 ff.
Śrivatse 36, Vādhūla 2, Vārdhaeva 2, Vasishṭha 18. The śāhda and śūtras represented are Rik, Yajus, Bṛhadāyana, Kāyva, Jaimini and Śāmaṇa. The donees came from different villages and have names often in Sanskrit and popular dialects combined. A detailed scrutiny of the list, with reference to similar information in other records, is likely to throw welcome light on the question of the migration of the scholarly families and the literary services rendered by the individuals of the different sects and schools.

The language is Sanskrit and the whole text is in verse. The introductory portion is in different metres: but verses 33-343 which enumerate the donees and their shares are in Amushṭubh. Verses 344-52 are again in different metres. The first thirteen of the introductory stanzas ending with the expression pākṣi-tathāvya, are not available as that plate was not received in the Government Epigraphist's office. The remaining stanzas are 32 ṣ and cover lines 1-67. The first six verses (lines 1-18) carry the genealogy down to Vīra-Narasimha, the elder brother of Krishnadēvarāya. Verses 7-18 (lines 18-42) eulogize the ruling king Krishnadēvarāya and are identical with verses 20-29 of the Hampe inscription of Ś. 1430 (1508 A.D.) with a single change in verse 14 (line 37), where we have Vīrapratāpa ṣty-ādii instead of Gauḍabhūraṇḍa ṣty-ādi of the Hampe record. The beautiful prose passage, which describes the king immediately after these stanzas in the Hampe record is absent in the present epigraph. Lines 43-45 give the date of the grant in words. It is Śāliyāhana-Śaka 1447, Pārthiva, Phālguna 12 corresponding to the 24th February, 1526 A.D. Lines 45-48 (verses 19-20) mention the place of the donation and the illustrious teacher to whom it was made. It was a royal order to the people of Ghanagiri-rāja to the effect that, in the Viṭṭhala-vara temple on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadra, the grant was made to Viṣṇa-bhairava who was the disciple of Brahmanatirtha and had a mind exclusively devoted to the contemplation of Brahma and who had written commentaries on all the Sāstras. Then follows, in lines 49-60 (verses 21-28), a description of the village granted and its boundaries. It was in Koyyakuriki-sīma and Mukkuṭha-sthala, east of the village of Pulakullu, south-east of Gātivaṭa, south of Kandalapāṭa, northwest of Gānagānapallī, north of Mallakkaṇṭa, and north-east of Vāṭed. With it were clubbed the villages of Gisapalli, Kannacheru, Kandukuru, Rāma and Gurrīmavali. It was known as Beṭṭakaṇḍa and Vīṣṇasamudra and renamed Krishṇarāja-puram. Lines 60-67 (verses 28-32) give the usual formula of the sarvamanaya tenure and conclude with the statement that it was granted by the king Krishṇadēva-mahārāya with dākṣīna and the pouring of water. Then follows, in lines 68-508 (verses 33-343), a long list of householders and scholars, amongst whom Viṣṇa-tirtha distributed the shares of the endowed lands. Lines 509-13 (verses 344-46) give the usual formula regarding Krishṇadēvarāya's gifts and state that the śīrṣa was composed by Sabhāpati and engraved by Vīrapākṣa, son of Malāṇa. Verses 347-52 form the usual imprecation. The record ends with the royal sign-manual Śri-Viṣṇu-pāksa in Kannada characters in line 522.

The village named Beṭṭakaṇḍa or Krishṇarāmapura no longer exists; but Vīṣṇasamudra and Kandukuru are well-known even today. Kandukuru is a village 27 miles to the west-north-west of Madanapalli, formerly included in the Cuddapah District and now in Chittoor. Its gift as an āddā by Krishṇadēvarāya to a priest was noted decades ago by the compiler of the Madras Manual of Administration (Glossary, p. 442). The historic importance of the place is clear from two old Viṣṇu temples in it. Vīṣṇasamudra is a big tank close to Kandukuru. The other villages and hamlets named in the grant are not traceable now. Mukkuṭha-sthala is probably the same as Gūṭhasthalam in Madanapalli Taluk. Pulakullu may be identified with Pulikalāu, and Bōypülapāḷī with the Boyakonda rock to the south-west of the hamlet of Pullagūṭhavaripalle near Pedda-Tippasamudra which is five miles off Kandukuru.

1 [See p. 139, n. 3.—Ed.]
The donee Vyāsatīrtha, who is more familiarly known as Vyāsarāya, was the twelfth in apostolic descent from Madhvāchārya, the great Dvaitic philosopher, and the fifth head of the Vyāsa-raya Matha founded by Rājarājatrītha in the fifteenth century and renamed after this teacher. Prof. Aurobindo\(^1\) ascribes his death to 1539 A.D. and further says that he was the founder of the matha. As a matter of fact, he was only the fifth head of the matha and lived, according to the Vyāsarāyāyāshtaka of Vidyaratnakara-svāmin, in 1447-1339. The exact date of his birth is given as Sunday, Prabhava, Vaiśākha-sūkla 7, corresponding to the 27th April 1447 A.D. The story of Vyāsarāya’s birth is variously given in the Vyāsanāyāya of Śrīnivāsatīrtha who is not identical with the nephew and immediate successor of Vyāsarāya but was a later logician, and in the Vyāsanāyāya,\(^2\) a champu written by the poet Śomaṇātha, an Advaitin of Kāśchipura, who became an admiring disciple of the teacher in his later days. Both these versions agree that Vyāsatīrtha, whose juvenile name was Yatīrāja, was the child of Balhaṇa Sumati, a native of Banna in Mysore, and his wife Lakṣmī, as a result of the special grace of Brahmānyatīrtha or Subrahmanyaatīrtha, the fourth head of the matha, afterwards known as Vyāsarāya’s matha. Young Yatīrāja was spiritually educated and trained by Brahmānyatīrtha and was invested, according to Vidyaratnakara-svāmin, with the headship of his matha in Sarsajit, Vaiśākha-kṛśṇa 12 (1467 A.D.). Mr. Venkoba Rao places the event in 1475; but it seems to me that it might be a few years later.

The Vijayanagar king Vira-Narasimha of the Tulwa family is described by the poet Śomaṇātha as having worshipped Vyāsarāya more than his father as Dāsarathe worshipped Vaiśishthā. According to the poet, it was in his time that Vyāsarāya completed his three great philosophic masterpieces, the Tūpapūrachandrika, the Vaiśākha-sūkla 7, corresponding to the 27th April 1447 A.D. The story of Vyāsarāya’s birth is variously given in the Vyāsamāyāya of Śrīnivāsatīrtha who is not identical with the nephew and immediate successor of Vyāsarāya but was a later logician, and in the Vyāsamāyāya,\(^2\) a champu written by the poet Śomaṇātha, an Advaitin of Kāśchipura, who became an admiring disciple of the teacher in his later days. Both these versions agree that Vyāsatīrtha, whose juvenile name was Yatīrāja, was the child of Balhaṇa Sumati, a native of Banna in Mysore, and his wife Lakṣmī, as a result of the special grace of Brahmānyatīrtha or Subrahmanyaatīrtha, the fourth head of the matha, afterwards known as Vyāsarāya’s matha. Young Yatīrāja was spiritually educated and trained by Brahmānyatīrtha and was invested, according to Vidyaratnakara-svāmin, with the headship of his matha in Sarsajit, Vaiśākha-kṛśṇa 12 (1467 A.D.). Mr. Venkoba Rao places the event in 1475; but it seems to me that it might be a few years later.

Krishnadevarāya is credited by the poet Śomaṇātha with the actual worship of Vyāsarāya. He is said to have visited him thrice a day for receiving instruction. Once the king of Kalinga (Prataparudra) sent an Advaitic work to the Vijayanagar emperor for opinion, and he sent it back with the thoroughly searching criticisms of the Dvaitic philosopher to whose judgment he had submitted it. On another occasion, Krishnadevarāya is said to have seated Vyāsarāya on a throne and performed kanak-ābhisheka on his person, and the latter, with characteristic self-abnegation, gave away the gopura showered on him to the learned poor. The abhisheka, continues the poet, saved the emperor from the fruits of his sins and gave him victory on the battle-field.

From 1520 A.D. onwards we have a number of Krishnadevarāya’s grants which indicate that Vyāsarāya was a conspicuous figure at his court. The only record previous to 1520 A.D. referring to Vyāsarāya is No. 370 of 1919, dated in Saka 1433 (1511-12 A.D.).

It has, however, to be noted that the claim of the above poet that Vyāsarāya was the royal guru should not be taken in the sense that the emperor had no other religious guide. From the time of Virūpākṣa, according to the Prapannāmṛti,\(^4\) and certainly, to judge from inscriptions, it is not regular as the week-day should be Saturday. The author moreover differs from the more authoritative Śomaṇātha-kavi in respect of the genealogy of this teacher.

\(^1\) Cait. Cait., p. 619.

\(^2\) This work, which is a fine literary piece, has been edited very ably by Mr. Venkoba Rao of Bangalore. The historical introduction is very erudite, though not without controversial discussions and conclusions.

\(^4\) S. K. Aiyangar, Sources of Vijayanagar History, pp. 71-79. No. 27.
from the time of Krishna-devaarya onward, the guru who occupied the primary place at Vijayanagar was Tātakārya. At Tirupati itself, from 1511-12 A.D., we have five epigraphs which record the gifts of holy offerings to the Āchārya Kumāra-Tātaiyanāgar. From 1521 to 1528 A.D., Vyāsayāyi figures largely in the donative epigraphs of Tirupati. The present grant was, in respect of chronology, older than the Oḍhampat ku grant made in April 1528 A.D. It may be pointed out here that Vyāsayāyi continued to play an important part in the Vijayanagara court even after the death of Krishna-devaarya in 1530 A.D. and the accession of his brother Achyutarāya (1530-42 A.D.). A noteworthy event in the saint’s life in this reign was his installation in the image of Yōga-Narasimha in the courtyard of the Viṭṭhala temple at Hampi on Thursday, Vaishnava-nakshatra, Śrāvaṇa 2, Indra-yōga, Śaka 1454, Nandana, corresponding to the 18th July 1532 A.D.

Vyāsayāyi exercised considerable influence on the development of Dvaitic thought not only through his own philosophic skill, but by training a number of illustrious disciples. Another meritorious aspect of his work was the combination of music in Sankrit as well as Kannada with philosophy. He composed songs embodying in them his teachings in the Mandāramārjari series, thus democratising Dvaitism. A number of these songs have been included in the Dāsasrastpada; and a number of them in Sankrit are yet to see the light. In popularising the religion and philosophy of Bhakti through music, Vyāsayāyi depended chiefly on his illustrious disciple Purandara-dāsa of Paṇḍari, who was the saintly founder of the order of the Haridāsaas and enriched the world with the kirtanas called devamānas which are sung even today.

Vyāsayāyi exercised considerable influence on the contemporary movements of Vallabha-chārya and Chaitanya. According to the Śrī-Vallabha-chāryarāyacarita of Murali-thārāpāda, Śri-Vallabha went to the court of Krishna-devaarya and saved the Vaishnava from being defeated by controversialists, for which he was honoured with kanak-ākhikā. In his Sampaddhāyapurāṇa-pādikā, Śhada observes that the assembly in Krishna-devaarya’s court, where Vallabha defeated his opponents, was presided over by Vyāsatītitha. Though the writers on Vallabhaism give exaggerated accounts of Vyāsatītitha’s obligations to Vallabha, there is nothing improbable in Vallabha paying visit to Vijayanagara.

Vyāsayāyi’s influence on the contemporary Chaitanya movement is obvious from the fact that Chaitanya, who was, like Vallabha, a younger contemporary of Vyāsayāyi, took the Sannyāsīic robes from an ascetic of Mādhva persuasion, Kavikarpātī, the son of a direct disciple of Chaitanya, refers in his Gaurāngopādēśodātikā (1577 A.D.) to the works of Vyāsayāyatītitha as the Visnusantākhī. The method of appealing to the masses through music and dance was specialised by Chaitanya as much as by Purandara-dāsa, the disciple of Vyāsayāyi.

According to Purandara-dāsa, Vyāsayāyi died on Phalguna 4, 4 of Vīlambī, corresponding to Saturday, the 8th March 1539 A.D. His bhūmāna is located in an island in the Tuṅkabhadrā near Hampi.

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2 A. R. Ep., 1922-23, para. 84.
4 Ibid., p. 16.
5 It is interesting to note that this Purandara-dāsa is referred to in three places in the present record (lines 289-70 and 428). From these the following information is gathered about him. He belonged to the Vaishishtha gōra and Yajur ākhikā and had three sons, viz. Lakshmana-dāsa, Hīmasaṅkha and Mādhvapadāsa. This account differs in certain respects from the traditional details. See Karmakar and Kalamdani, Mystic Teachings of the Haridāsaas of Karmāṇa, p. 49.—P.B.D.]
KAMALAPUR PLATES OF KRISHNADEVARAYA, SAKA 1447

TEXT:

[Verse 1, 6-7, 13-15, 17-343, 345-50 Anuṣṭubḥ; verses 2-5, 9-11, 18 Śraddhā; verse 8 Śārdūlaśvājata; verse 12 Dūḍaka; verse 344 Gūtī; verse 351 Śālinī.]

Second Plate, First Side

1 t-pañkhi-rathād-iva\* [[14°] Vīrau vinaysa(yi)nau Rāma-Lakṣmaṇa-vīṣa nandanau [[16°]
2 jātāu Vīra-Nṛsiṁhendrā-Kriñcapsy-mahīpati [\* 1°] Vīra-śri-Nārāsin-
3 haḥ sa Vijayanagarā ratna-silmānasasthāḥ(athaḥ) kirtyā nityā nirasyan
4 [Nṛṣ]ga-Nala-Nahushān-apy savanyam-matḥ-ānāyan | & Sātōrā-Sa(Su)mēr-arvani-
5 sura-nutaḥ svairam-ā-rō(ch=ō)de(d)a-ādrēr-ā-pāchāty-āchāl-āntād-ākīhile-āyārāyā
6 rājyaḥ sāsaṇa [\* 2°] Nānā-dānāny-akārabha(r̥)t-kanak-apadasi yaḥ śri-Virupāhaha(kaha)dēva-
7 athānā śri-Kalahaṁlightly-apī naraṅe Vēṅkaṭādrau cha Kāṅcāhan(cha)ṇya | Śrīsāle Śōpa-
8 salī mahatā Harihārē-hōbha Saṣaṃgōcha śriraseṅgā Kṛubhāhō(kō)pē hata-tamasī
9 Mahānandelī(ṇi)-ṭīrthē Nivṛtti(yau)tau [\* 3°] Ṛgkarṇu Rāmasētāu jagaṇi tād-itarēsvpa-apy-a-
10 ṣēḥahu punya-śthānēsvha-ālādbhaṇē-nānāvidha-bahala-mahādāna-vā-
11 ri-pravāhāḥ | yasya-śaṭhāchatu-turaṇgah-prakara-kha-rajah-śuṣhyad-ātubhō(ḥb)ōdhī-
12 magna-kamābhrit-pakaha-kahi(chohhi)dād(a)dya)nt-taraś-Kulīadhar-śekamāhītā kruṇḥit-ā-
13 bhūt [\* 4°] Brahmābhukān viśva-chakrān ghaṭag-udita-mahābhūtakah ratna-dhēnun sept-ān-
14 bhōdīḥn cha kalpa-kahitiruha-latikā kāṁcāhan(ṇ) Kāṅdēnun(um) | svarūpi(ṇa)-kamāñ\n15 yō hiraḥ(ṇa)yā-śvav-rathām-apī tulā-pūruraḥ gō-sahasraḥ hēmāṅvaḥ hēma-
16 garbham kana-kari-rathavih patoha-lāngyāyatāṃ [\* 5°] Prājyāni prāsāya
17 nivṛṅghah rājyaḥ dyān-iva sāstum(tum) | tasmin-guṇēṇa vikhyāṭa kahi-
18 tās-āndra divah gatē [\* 6°] Tatō-pa-vārya-vīra-śri-Kriñcapay-mahīpati\|n
19 bhihāti maṇi-śyāra-nirvīśaḥ(m[h]) mahīn bhujē [\* 7°] Kirtyā yasya sa-
20 mahatāh praśīṣyata viśvah ruṣh-sāyakaḥ vraja-śāṣṭi-saḥ[ḥ]kṣya pura Prāṣa-
21 r-ahavadd-bhāl-śakaṇāḥ prāyaḥaḥ | Padmābhō-πi chaṭur-bhujē-janī chaṭu-
22 r-vakrō-ḥbhavah(ya)ḥ Padma-bhūt (ḥbūḥ) Kāḷi khaḍgam-adhād-Ramā chaḥ kamalaḥ
23 viśaḥ cha Vā-
24 īḷ kārē [\* 8°] śatruṇāḥ vā[ṣā]jme-śādada [iṣi] ruṣhā kinih nu sapt-āṁbub-vāc(m[n]) nānā-
25 sēnā-turaṇgh-trūṣṭa(ya)nu(matiḥ-ḍhūlikā-ḍhābhiḥ | sāmāṇḍyaḥ svai-
26 ram-śat-pratīniḍhī-jaalīdhā-ānvikā yō vidhātē Bhraṃkara-Svarṇa-

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\* From impressions supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.
\* This is the end of verse 13 of the Hampi inscription of Kriṣṇadēvānyaya (above, Vol. 1, pp. 361 ff.). [See above, p. 139, n. 3.—Ed.]
\* Cf. "āśrābā elsewhere.
\* Kielhorn considers it to be a mistake for "ādyat-core".
28 pana-ratha-gatēr-alayaṁ(yān) dēvaṁānāṁ(nām) | ta[t*]-tad-dig-jaitra-vrīty-āpi cha vi-
29 ruda-padaṁ(dāj)-aṁkāṁs-tatra tatra stambhāṁ(bhāṁ)-jāta-pratishṭhān-vyatanuta
   lhuvi yō
30 bhūbhrid-abhranaṁkāśaḥ-āgrān [\(10^*\)] Kāncheḥ-Śrīśailī(ṛa)-Śośchala-Kanakasabhā-Vētikatā-
31 dri-pramukhya[ḥ(shv)-āvataryaṅyāṭa\(1\)] saṁvēṣa=atanuta vidhiyad= bhūyasē śrīyasē yaḥ i
32 dēvasthaṁēhū tirtēḥv=api kanaka-tulāpūra[ḥ-ā*\(]dini nānā-dānānyēō*-3
33 padānaira-āpi sama[m-a*]khillair-āgam-ōktāṁ tāṁ [\(11^*\)] Rōsha krita-prati-pārthi-
34 va-dāntaṁ Śeṣha-bhūja-kshtī-rajśāna-saumāṇḍaṁ [\(1\)\] bhūṣange-tappuva-rajarāga(gaṁ-
      daḥ(da)-
35 astēa-krīḍā(ḥ)-āṭthi(ṛtth)iṣu yō raṇa-chaṁdaṁ [\(12^*\)] Rājādhīrāja ity-ukto yō Rājapara-
36 mēsvarāḥ | Mūrurāyaракāntā-ākhyā[h*\(] Pararāywaharyāṅkaraḥ [\(13^*\) ] Hindu-rāya sura-
37 trāṇā dushta-sārdūla-mardanaḥ | Virapratāpa [i]ty-ādi-birudair-uchita[r*]-lyu-
38 taḥ [\(14^*\)] Ālaka mahārāya jaya jīvēti vād[bbhih] | Anūga-Va[ṇu*]-ga-[Ka]l[mi-]
39 g-ādīya rájabhīṣē śicvati cē yaḥ [\(15^*\) ] Stuty-audārya[h*] sudhībhii[h*\(] sa Vijaṇana-
40 rē ratā-sūdhāsana-stāḥ kshēmapālān Kṛishṇarāya-kshti-patir-adharikri-
41 tya nītyā Nṛig-ādīn [\(1\)\] ā pūrva-därē-sthā-āsta-kshti-dhara-kaṭakād-ā cha Hē-
42 māchal-āṅtādā-[śe*]tōr-arṭthi-sārdūla-śrīyam-īha bahālikrāya k[ś*]tyā samīn[dbē] [\(16^*\)]
43 Sālivāhana-nirītē Śak-ābbdō dāṣuṣāi-sātaṁ [\(1\)\] chatvā-sat-ānivaitāh
44 sapta-chatvārīṁśaad-yutair-mītē [\(17^*\) ] Vatsarē Pārthīv-ābbikhyē māśī Pa(Phā)gū-
45 nāna(nā)-nāmāni | śukla-pakhē śu[bbē*] lagnē puṁ(pu)nīyāṁ dvārāsī-tīchau [\(18^*\) ]
   Tuṅga-
46 bhadr-āpaga-tīrē Viṭḥalēsvara-saṁṇidau | Brahmanāyadīrtha-saṁśaya
47 brahma-dhyān-aika-ōḥtasa [\(19^*\) ] Vyākhyātī-ākūla-śāstṛāya Vyāsāyadīrtha
48 dhīmatē | Ghanaṅgirī-yākhyā-rājy-āṁtarvartināṁ(nāṁ) samupārśītaṁ(tam) [\(20^*\) ]
49 Köyyakurī-kīmē-śatāḥ Mukūṭa-ulā-thalām-āśītaṁ(tam) | Pulkalkulv-ā-
50 hvayaḍ-gra(m)ā̄ ṁprāchim-āśām-upāśītaṁ(tam) [\(21^*\) ] Gūtvaa[v]ā-śhvayaḍ-grāmā-
51 dagnīyā(y)ṃ-āśītaṁ disā[m]\(\) | Kumandāpāṭu-graa-(m)ād-dakṣhipāṁ disā-
52 mā-āśītaṁ(tam) [\(22^*\) ] Grākāṭalakalv-ākhyā(hvayaṁ)-nāraṁitraṃ(ṛ)ṭāṁ diṣām-āśītaṁ(tam) |
   grāmā-
53 d-Bṛyindapallv-ākhyāṭ-paścmīyāṁ diṣā sthitāṁ(tam) [\(23^*\) ] Gaṁgaṇāyana-pa-
54 lītō vāyavīṁ disām-āśītaṁ(tam) | Mallakkumaṭuk-ṛgmād-uttarasyāṁ diṣā
55 sthitāṁ(tam) [\(24^*\) ] Vēḻūru-nāmakād-grāmāda(dm-ai)kāṁ diṣām-āśītaṁ(tam) | svāggama.
56 . māru-Gītāpallī-śanavatāṁ(tam) [\(25^*\) ] Sviya-grāmaṁk-ōpēta-Kamma-
57 chēu-samanvitatāṁ(tam) | Rām-ākhyān-gṛṇa(m)ak-ōpēta Kāṇḍukūru-samanvītaṁ-
   (tam) [\(26^*\) ]

\(^1\) Read ṣrī-varvāvar.
\(^*\) Read gāmanna-śe-śo-
Third Plate, First Side

58 Guraṃvayulu-saṃjñēṇa grāmakēṇa samanvitaḥ(tam) | Krisnārayapuram śāka 145
59 tī prati-nāma-saṃā(sa)nviṣṭaḥ(tam) [27*] Grāmeṣh Vyaśasamad-rākhyam Bṛttakōmād-ā-par-āhavyaḥ(yam) | sarva-māṇyaḥ cha-tuḥ-sīmā-saṃhṛtuḥ | cha samanvitaḥ [28*] Nīḥbi-
60 nīkāhṭa-pāśhāya-siddha-yajānviṣṭaḥ(tam) | akshinyā-gāmiḥ-saṃ-
61 yuktam-ēka-bhūgyaḥ sa-bhūruḥnām(bam) [29*] Vāpi-kiṃ-pa-tatākaśc-eti kāvrebhēṇa-āpi
63 samanvitaḥ(tam) | śāhīya-prasāhīya-[saṃ]bhūgyaḥ [kramād-ā]-chabhṛtra-tārakaḥ(kam)

30*] Dānasya-śāhama-
64 nasy-āpi vikrayasya-āpi chaōchitaḥ(tam) | paritaḥ prayataḥ śnigdhaiti pu-
65 rōhita-purōgamaḥ [31*] Vividhair-vibudhaiḥ|h*| śrauta-pathikair-adhikair-girā |
66 Krisnādeva-mahārāyo māṇanīyō manasvināṁ(nām) [32*] Sa-bhirah(ra)nayā-ṣayō-dhā-
67 rā-ṇaurvakaḥ dattavān mudā | [32A*]1
68 Śrīvatsa-gōtrāh Kāṁbhālu-Rājēndrasya tan-ūdbhavaḥ | yajvā Janārda-
69 n-ābhikhyō bahurīchō-stra-āhaṭa-vṛttikāḥ [33*] Śrīvatsas-gōтраjaḥ-sūnu|h*| ārī-Janārddana-
yajvai(ya)
70 nāḥ | dhīmā[rī]*|sa-Timāna-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō bahā(hvṛ)chō-stra dvi-vṛttikāḥ [34*] Sūnu(nā) Rājē[n]dra-bhaṭṭasya Śrīvatsa-
71 sānvaya-saṃbhavaḥ | bahā(hvṛ)chō Lokshman-ābhikhyō dhīmātas(mān) sa-ārcha-tri-
vṛttikāḥ [35*] Sūnuḥ Kādī-
72 ri-bhāṭṭasya sudhi|h*| Śrīvatsa-gōtraḥ | bahvā(hvṛ)chō-nanta-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō vṛtti-
dvayam-ih-ānuttā [36*]
73 Śri-Nvā(Nā)rasiṁha-bhaṭṭ-ākhyā-sūriḥ Kadiri-bhaṭṭa-jaḥ | Śrīvatsas-sagōtraḥ-saṃbhūtō ba-
74 hrvicchō-stra-āika-vṛttikāḥ [37*] Sūnuḥ Kadiri-bhaṭṭasya Śrīvatsa-sānvaya-saṃbhavaḥ | [Uṭṭail]-
75 ya-bhaṭṭa-nām-āsaṃ bahvā(hvṛ)chas-tē(tr-ē)ka-vṛttikāḥ [38*] Śrīvatsa-gōtra-[saṃ]-

bhūtō Nārasiṁha-sudhi-
76 suta|h| s-ārṣīda-trī-vṛttīkō yajvā Nṛihary-ākhyō-stra bahā(hvṛ)chā. | [39*] Śri-Chū-
77 dāmaṇi-bhaṭṭaṣya sūnuḥ Śrīvatsa-gōtrakāḥ | dhīmān-Nṛihary-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō bahurīchō-stra dvi-vṛttikāḥ(kaḥ) [40*] Sūrē-
78 a-Tirumal-ākhyasya sūnu|h*| Śrīvatsa-gōtrakāḥ | ārī-Chūdāmaṇi-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō bahurīchō-trā
dvī-vṛttikāḥ [41*] Sūrēs-Tirumal-ākhyasya sūnu|h*| Śrīvatsa-gōtrakāḥ | bahurīchō-

1 Verse 32A is not complete. The other half and one full Anuśṭubḥ verse, for which there is just sufficient blank space, can be filled up thus :

pratīkṛṣya cha tām prāmaṇa Vyaśasattrīḥ dṛjyendrasaṅ Nārasiṁha-sudhī tīhāya sarvādyamānīkaḥ bhūtō Nārasiṁha-sudhī
tāḥśaḥ
dhīmān-Nṛihary-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō bahurīchō-stra dvi-vṛttikāḥ(kaḥ)

2 Read Śrīvatsa-dvayam*.
3 Read gōtra.
bhāṭṭ-ākhyō ṛṛtī-dvayām-ib-āṇutē [42*] Śrīvatasa-gā(ḍ)tra-jō dhīmāna(mān) Yajña-
- nārāyaṇ-āhvaya[h*] |

81 s-ārdh-aiक-त्रा(vr)ittikaśa-sūnus-Tirumā-bhaṭṭaśaya bahva(hv)chah [43*] Śūrēs-Tirumal-
ākhyasa yahṣaḥ-
82 nō Harit-ānvayaḥ | yājushe-nanū[ta*]-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō va(vṛt)ttim-ekā(kā)m-ib-āṇutē [[44*]
Kaṇḍi(ṇi)nya-
83 gōtra-jaśa-sūnun-varṣhau-bhaṭṭaṇya yahṣahḥ | ... bhaṭṭ-āhvaya(yō) dhīmaṇ vṛttim-ākṣe-
m-ib-āṇutē [45*] Dhīmān-Ahōbāl-ābhikhyo yahṣahḥ Kāṭyāp-āṇa(nv)yaḥ | sūnus-
Tirum-
85 l-ākhyasya sujanō-trai-ai-k₁-vṛttikaḥ [46*] Kāṭyāp-ānvaya-sanbhūta¹ sūnus-Tirumal-

Third Plate, Second Side

86 khyasaḥ yahṣahḥ Kāṭyāp-ānvayaḥ | Rāmā-bhaṭṭ-āhvayaḥ-trai-k₁-ābh vṛttim-āpnoṭi yah-
ṣahḥ [] [47*] Śrī-Nārasimha-bhaṭṭaṇya nahdahḥ Kāṭyāp-ānvayaḥ | yahṣahḥ Vādi-bha-
88 ṛṭ-ākhyō vṛttim-dvayam-ib-āṇutē [[] 48*] Nahndān Bhānu-bhaṭṭaṇya yahṣahḥ Kāṭyāp-
ānv-
89 yahḥ | dhīmān Lākehuṇḍu-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō vṛttim-ekā-ib-āṇutē [49*] Kāṭyāp-ānvaya-jō 
90 dhīmān-U(ha)[v]m-bhaṭṭaṇa-nahdahḥ | Nārāhary-āhvayaḥ-trai-k₁-vṛttim-dvayam-ṣṭra-ai-
yahṣahḥ | [50*] Sūnun-Mahāva-bhaṭṭaṇya yahṣahḥ Kāṭyāp-ānvayaḥ | Ahōbāl-āhvayaḥ [dhīj*]-
mān-
92 trai s-ārdh-ai-k₁-vṛttikaḥ [][] [51*] Sūnun-Mā/Mādhava-bhaṭṭaṇya yahṣahḥ Kāṭyāp-ānvayaḥ | Na-
93 rāhary-āhvayaḥ dhīmān-ṣṭra s-ārdh-ai-k₁-vṛttikaḥ [][] [52*] Kāṭyāp-ānvaya-sanbhūtaḥ-Chēn-
94 nā-Okṭa(ba)lu-nahdahḥ | bahvīrhiḥ Chē(cha)-Chēn-bhaṭṭa-ṣṭra-śāmin dhīmaṇ s-ārdh-ai-k₁-vṛ-
ttiḥ kalā [[] [53*] Chēnā-ōttulu(ba)la-jō dhīmaṇ bahvīrhiḥ Kāṭyāp-ānvayaḥ | s-ārdh-ai-
96 kā-vṛttim-ṣṭra-ai-ṭi Chaunḍī-bhaṭṭ-ṣṭhā māhā-matih [[] [54*] Śūrēs-Tirumālākhyasa sūnus-Ti-
rumal-āhvayaḥ | vṛttim-ekā-ib-āpnoṭi bahvīrhiḥ Kāṭyāp-ānvayaḥ [[] [55*] Sūnun-Ti-
rumalākhyasa yaṭvanah Kāṭyāp-ānvayaḥ | Tippā-bhaṭṭ-āhvayaḥ-trai-k₁-vṛttim-
99 m-āpnoṭi bahvīrhiḥ [[] [56*] Ahōbāla-sudhi-sūnus-bahvīrhiḥ Kāṭyāp-ānvayaḥ | āṭ-Gaṇ-
gāḍhara-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō vṛttim-ekā-ib-āṇutē [57*] Nahndān Bhānu-bhaṭṭaṇya yahṣahḥ 
100 Kāṭyāp-ānvayaḥ | arṣa śrī-Baṇasā-bhaṭṭaṭ(ṭh) dhīmaṇ s-ārdh(ha)[cī]-ai[k₁]-vṛttikaḥ [][] [58*] Pratāpe-
102 kṛiḥaḥ-bhaṭṭaṇya sūnun-Aṭṛṣa-gōtrakaḥ | bahvīrhiḥ-nahīn-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō vṛttim-dvaya-
103 [m]-jīb-āṇutē [][] [59*] Pratāpakṛiḥaḥ-bhaṭṭaṇya nahndān-hōbāl-āhvayaḥ | bahvīrhiḥ-
tr-āṇu-
tv vṛttim-dvajayaḥ-Aṭṛṣa-gōṭra-jaḥ [][] [60*] Pratāpakṛiḥaḥ-bhaṭṭaṇya sūnun-Aṭṛṣa-

¹ This expression is redundant.
² These two syllables are redundant.
106 jaḥ | bahvriḥoch Basevā-bhāṭṭo vṛtti-dvayi(ya)ma(m-i)h=āśnutē [61*] Yājūshō Narahāryyākhyō dhī-
107 mān-Ātriya-gōtra-jaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-vṛttim-attr-aiti Maṅtramūrti-tanūṭḥa(dbha)vaḥ [62*] Sū-
108 nur-Vakkala-bhāṭṭasya yājūsha Gārgya-gōtra-jaḥ | yajvā Tirumal-ābhiḥkyō vṛ-
109 tti-dvayam-ih=āśnutē [63*] Śūnna-Tirumal-ākhyasya yajvanō Gārgya-gōtra-jaḥ |
110 yājūsha-Tirumap-ākhyō-trā dhīmān s-ārdh-aika-vṛttiḥkaḥ [64*] Gārgya-gōtra-bha-
111 vas-sūnur-Abbā-bhāṭṭasya yājūshaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-vṛttim-attr-aiti Tippā-bhāṭṭo
112 dhīv-ōṇāṭaḥ [65*] Śrī-Nārāyaṇa-bhāṭṭasya namdanō Gārgya-gōtra-jaḥ | yā-
113 jūshaḥ-Śūngay-ābhiḥkyō vṛtti-dvayam-ih=āśnutē [66*] Māṭga(Maṅgada)ya-gōtra-jas-sū-
114 nur-Anam-bhāṭṭasya bahvriḥaḥ | Amnām-bhāṭṭ-āhva(ya)[s(a)]ḥ sa(s-ā)rddha-vṛtti-
115 dvayam-ih=āśnutē [67*] A-
116 gaya-gōtra-jas-sūnūs=Chī(-Chījina-bhāṭṭasya bahvriḥaḥ | Guruvapp-āhvaḥ(yō) dhīmān
117 vṛtti-
118 m=skām=ih=āś=ājūnute [68*] Śrīvatsa(te-ā)nvaya-asa(sam)bhūtō Gururāya-tan-ūdbhavaḥ | Śrīnu(ni)vṛs-ā-

Fourth Plate, First Side

119 havyō dhīmān=atra s-ārdha-dvi-vṛttiḥkaḥ [69*] Śrīnvāsa-sudhī=sa-ārdha-vṛ-
120 tti-dvayam-ih=āśnutē | Ka[thi](qi)ṃya-gōtra-samabhūtē=Saṛvā-[di]*keha-na[m]danaḥ [70*] T[ām]-
121 m-āvadhāni s-āṛ[di]a-vṛttiḥ-attr-aiti yājūshā[ḥ]* | Sūrē=Śīrur-mākhyasya sūnuḥ
122 Kauḍi(qi)ṃya-gōtrakāḥ [71*] Sarva-bhāṭṭa(ṭṭ-ā)havyō=tr=ākṣ[ṃ]* vṛttimā(m-ā)pnőti
123 yājūshaḥ | sūnu-
124 r=Gē(ś-Gō)vidā-bhāṭṭasya Bhārādvāj-ānvayē(yō)bhbahāḥ! [72*]
125 Sūnūs=Śūngari-bhāṭṭasya yājūshā=T[ṃ]*may-āhvaḥ | Ā-
126 trāya-gōtra-samabhūtō dhīmān s-ārdh-aika-vṛttiḥkaḥ [73*] Sūnū Śīṅkha(ga)ri-bha-
127 ṭṣayā(eyā) dhīmān-Ātri(trāya-gōtra-jaḥ | yājūshō-tr=āśnutē vṛttihi(tti)m=ākṣ[ṃ]* Na-
128 rasy-āhvaḥ [74*] Āgastya(stya)-gōtra-samabhūtō Narasayasya namdanaḥ | Gōvindā-
129 bhaṭṭas=s-ārdh-aika-vṛttiḥ-attr(tr-aiti) yājūshā[ḥ] [75*] Vasīnḥa(abha)-gōtra-jō dhī-
130 mān śrī-
131 Viru(rū)ṇpākha-bhāṭṭa-jaḥ | bahvri(hvri)chō Lakkāṇ-ābhiḥkyō vṛtti-dvayam-ih=āśnutē [76*] ṮCMS-
132 danō Raṅkhu-bhāṭṭasya Viśvāmitra-ānvay-ō[t]bha(dbha)vaḥ | bahvri(hvri)chu(chā)=
133 Timmay-ābhi-
134 khyō vṛttiḥ-ēkām=ih=āśnutē [77*] Viśvāmitra-ānvayāvā sūnu=Māyī-bhāṭṭasya
135 bahvriḥaḥ | sūr Raṅkurasa-ābhiḥkyō vṛttiḥ-ēkām=ih=āśnutē [78*] Śrī-Nāra-

1 There is a blank space for eleven or twelve akṣaras after this. The word sūnu in the beginning of the next line was first written and then erased. This word is again engraved after some space.
130 simha-bhaṭṭasaya naṁdanō-gastya-gōtra-jab [ yājushō-hōbalay-ākh[y*]ô dhī-
131 mān s-ārdh-aika-vṛttiikaḥ [ || 79* ] Agastya-gōtra-[saṁ*]jāṭō[... naṁ-
132 naṁdanāḥ yājushō Narasāyāk-ākhya vṛttiim-ekām-ih-āṣnutē [ || 80* ] Vasistha(aḥṭha)-
133 gōtra-saṁbhūtā[ḥ*] āṣri-Virāpākṣa-bhaṭṭa-jab | Pūchi-bhaṭṭō-tra s-ārdh-aika-vṛtti(tti)
134 m-āṇṇōti bahvi(hvṛ)[ch]aḥ [ || 81* ] Śrī-Nārasinhasa-bhaṭṭ-ākhya Vasibhā(aḥṭb-ā)nvaya-
135 saṁbhāvaḥ [ ! * ]
136 vṛtti(mtti)m-ākām-ih-āṇṇōti bahvṛ(hvṛ)chō viduṣaḥāṃ varaḥ [ || 82* ] Sūnuś-Timma-
137 rasa-
138 yasya yājushāḥ Kāyap-ānvayaḥ | Lakshminārayaṇ-ābhikhyō vṛtti-dvaya-
139 yam-ih-āṣnutē [ || 83* ] Kāyap-ānvaya-jas-sūnuś-Timma-bhaṭṭasaya yājushaḥ | s-ā-
140 rdh-aika-vṛttiim-aṭr-aśiī Śāri(śri)nvīyasas-satāṁ varaḥ [ || 84* ] Kāyap-ānvaya-jas-sūnu-
141 s-Timma-bhaṭṭasaya yājushaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-vṛttiim-aṭr-aśiī Mukhyapraśō mahā-
142 matiḥ [ || 85* ] Sūris-Tirumala[yy-ākhyō] bahvṛ(hvṛ)chō Nāgāp-ātmajaḥ | Śrī-Jāma-
143 gnya-vastāpā-gōtrakā-ṭ-ārdha-vṛttiikaḥ [ || 86* ] Gautam-ānvaya-saṁbhūtāsa-sū-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

142 nur-Vāmanas-yajvanah | dhīmān-Ahōbal-ābhikhyō(ḥyas)-tripād-vṛtti-
143 m-ih-āṇnutē [ || 87* ] Vasīṣṭha(śṛṭha)-gōtra-jas-sūnuś-Sīkā-bhaṭṭasaya yājushaḥ | [1
144 Vālām-bhaṭṭ-āhvyaḥ dhīmān vṛtti-dvayaṃ-ih-āṇnutē [ || 88* ] Sūris-Tiru-
145 mal-ābhikhyā[ḥ-Śīkā]-bhaṭṭasaya naṁdanāḥ | s-ārdh-aika-vṛttiim-aṭr-aśiī sāmagah Kau-
146 śik-ānvyaḥ [ || 89* ] Naṁdanā-nāṁta-bhaṭṭasaya Kauṇḍiny-ānvaya-saṁbhavah | sū-
147 ris-Tirumal-ābhikhyō yājushō-tr-aika-vṛttiikaḥ [ || 90* ] Śrī-Nārasinhsa-bhaṭṭ-
148 sya naṁdanō Gautam-ānvayaḥ | bhū-sūrō-ḥōbal-ābhikhyō dhīmān s-ā-
149 rhā-dvī-vṛttiikaḥ [ || 91* ] Śrī-Ramaśca[m*]dra-bhaṭṭasya sūnu[h*] Śrīvaṭsa-gōtra-jab | [ ]
150 [dḥt*]naṁ(mān)-s-Tirumal-ābhikhyō yājushō-tr-aika-vṛttiikaḥ [ || 92* ] Śrī-Nārasinhsa-bha-
151 ṭasaya naṁdanah Kauṇḍīni-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō vṛttiim-ekā-
152 m-ih-āṇnutē [ || 93* ] Nāgā-bhaṭṭa-sūto dhīmān bahvṛchāḥ Kāyap-ānvayaḥ | vṛ-
153 tti-dvayaṃ-ih-āṇṇōti sūnu[tri]-s-Tirumal-āhvyaḥ [ || 94* ] Sūrēs-Tri*[m]al-ākhyāya
154 sūnuḥ Kāyaga-gōtra-jab | Śēshādri-bhaṭṭ[h*] s-ārdh-aika-vṛttiim-aṭr-aśiī
155 bahvṛchāḥ [ || 95* ] Vādhula-gōtra-jas-sūnu-Vālaṃ-bhaṭṭasaya yājushaḥ | Dhīmā-
156 n(sah)-s-Tirumal-ābhikhyō vṛttiim-ekām-ih-āṇnutē [ || 96* ] Nārasinhsa-sūkṣmi-
157 nur-yājushaḥ Kāyap-ānvayaḥ | s-ārdh-dvī-vṛttiim-aṭr-aśiī dhīmān(māṁ)-
158 s-Tirumal-āhvyaḥ [ || 97* ] Sūnu[h] Śrī-Nārasinhṣaya yājushaḥ Kāyap-ānvayaḥ | [ ]
159 s-ārdh-aika-vṛttiim-aṭr-aśiī Vishnuae(hṣu)-bhaṭṭō mahāmatiḥ [ || 98* ] Śrī-Nāruṣa-
159 baṭṭ-ākhyō yājushaḥ Kāyap-ānvayaḥ | Śrī-Nārasinhsa-bhaṭṭasaya sūnu[h*] s-ā-

1 The reading of the name after this is doubtful.
2 The intended reading seems to be "Vata-dēūyā."
193 sya Śaṭhamaṃsa-gōtra-jāb | ekām Damāṇa-bhaṭṭī-smin vṛttiṁ Bōdha(dhā).  
194 yanō-ānutē [121*] Sūnur-Varadarājasya Śrīvate-ānvaya-saṃbhavaḥ | yājusho-  
195 tra(tr-ā)nutē vṛttim-ekām Tirumal-ābhayaḥ [122*] Tiruvēṅkaṭanaṭh-ākhyaḥ[9*] Śrīvats-  
196 s-ānvaya-saṃbhavaḥ | sūnur-Varadarājasya yājush-ōtr-aika-vṛttikāḥ [123*] Śaha-  
197 saṃnāma-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō Bāravāy-ānvaya-śodbha(dhā)vaḥ | Gummā-bhaṭṭā-sutō-tr-aikaḥ  
198 vṛttim-āṇpōti yājushaḥ [124*] Appādaṇijīlū-sūnukh[9*]  āri-Kaunḍīṇyā-ānvaya-saṃ-  
199 bhavaḥ | ardha-vṛttim-ih-āṇpōti sōmayajī cha bahrīcaḥ [125*] Timmayasy-āṭma-  
200 jaḥ[9*] āḍūmān yājushaḥ Kāṣṭik-ānvayaḥ | ardha-vṛttim-ih-āṇpōti [Trimma-  
201 yō dhīmatām varāḥ [126*] Śrīvate-gōtra-sambhūtasya Timmayasy-āṭma-saṃ-  
202 bhavaḥ | yā(yā)jusho-naṁta-bhaṭṭi(ṭ)-ākhyō dhīmaṁ s-ārdha-aika-vṛttikāḥ [127*] Yāju-  
203 ehāḥ Perumāl-bhaṭṭa-sūnuka Kaunḍīṇya-gōtra-jāb | aṇuṭē-tra sa-pād-aika-  
204 vṛttim āri-Purushottamaḥ [128*] Yājusah Perumāl-bhaṭṭa-sūnuka Kaunḍīṇya-gō-  
205 tra-jāḥ | śūrī-Tirumal-ābhikhyō vṛtti-āvayam-ih-āṇmatē [129*] Tāṭā-bhaṭṭa-ta-  
206 nūjaḥ[9*] Śrīvata-gōtra-saṃubbhavaḥ | Nārāyaṇa-va(tr) a-ārdha-aika-vṛttim-āṇpō-  
207 ti yājushah [130*] Nṛsinha-dikshitaḥ dhīmaṁ-yājuḥo Harit-ānvayaḥ | pa-  
208 dōṭtraḳa-vṛttiy[9*] āri-Tīmmapā-dikshita-namdhanaḥ [131*] Lakṣhamnārāyaṇa-ābhi-  
209 khyō yājushah Kāṣṭik-ānvayaḥ | pād-ōṭtar-aika-vṛttiḥ[9*] āri-Nārāyaṇa-ta-  
210 n-āndhabhaḥ [132*] Śūrīs-Tirumal-ākhyāya sūnuḥ[9*] Śrīvata-gōtra-jāḥ | Yājuḥo-  
211 tra sa-pād-aika-vṛttiḥ[9*] āri-Purushottot(tta)maḥ [133*] Sūnur-Mādhava-bhaṭṭasya dhī-  
212 mān-Āṭrīya-gōtra-jāḥ | s-ārdha-āvayam-ātr-siti yajvā Tirumal-  
213 ābhayaḥ [134*] Śūrīs-Tirumal-ābhikhyō sūnur-Lakṣhamnā-namakāḥ | yājuḥō-  
214 tra Bāravājā-gōtra-s-ārdha-āvayam-āvayam-āvayam-āvayam [135*] Āri-Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō  
215 yājuḥo Harit-ānvayaḥ | sūnu-Nṛsinha-bhaṭṭasya dhīmaṁ s-ā-  
218 Śāṇḍīya-gōtra-Tirumal-ābhayaḥ | s-ārdha-āvayam-āvayam-āvayam (kō) dhīmaṁ Līḥ-  

Sixth Plate, First Side

220 Malī-bhaṭṭī-śūntē vṛtti-āvayam[9] pāda-samanvar(nv)tam(tam) [139*] Dikšitaḥ-  
221 Śīṁkaya-ābhi-  
222 khyō yājuḥoh Kāṣṭik-ānvayaḥ | s-ārdha-āvayam-āvayam-āvayam-āvayam dhīmaṁ Rāmā-bha-  
223 Śiṣya namdhanaḥ [140*] Bāravājā-ānvayaḥ Lakṣhamnārīṇiḥ Bācavaya-jāḥ | yā
223 jusho-tri-anutik vritti-dvamah padaena samyutam(tam) [141*] Sunur-Bhairava-bhastasya yaju-
224 saha Kadap-anvaya' [surs-Tirumal-abhikhyo dhimam s-arth-aika-vritti-
225 ka][142*] Dhimam(mah)s-Tirumal-abhikhyas-Tippa-bhastasya naidendah s-arth-aika-
226 tita-stra-aiti sayusho Harit-anvayah [143*] Sri-Narasimhasu bhastasya suhu[hs*] Sriiva-
227 tua(asa)-gatra-ja] yajusho-naktha-bhash-akhyo dhimam s-arth-aika-vritti-kikah [144*]
Snu.
228 r-Auhhala-bhastasya yajusdh [Harit-anvayah] sa-padaa-asunthe vritti-dvama[n*] Tiru-
229 mal-anvaya [145*] Sunur-Govinda(vinda)-bhastasya yajva Govinda-namakah |
Bhadravaj-anvaya-
230 y[o vrnosti-dvamah-stra-aiti yajushah [146*] Sura(s)as-Tirumal-akhyasya naidendah[hs*] |
Kshipra-diksh.
231 ta] Bhadravaj-anvayo vritti-dvamah-stra-aiti yajushah [147*] Lakshminathatmayah |
dhim-
Na-
233 raharry-abhayo yajva yajusho Harit-anvayah[hs*] Nagannath-adhvar-mudraya naind-
234 n-o-tri-aika-vritti-ka] [149*] Nara-adhvari-pas-sunur-[Bh]jradvaj-anvay-dabhavah | s-
artha-
235 dvi-vritikah yajva yajushah[hs*] Srit-Janarddanaah [150*] Kauhdonya-gatra-jas-sunuh[hs*] |
kri-Ja-
236 nardana-yajvanah | Surovadhami-namaha ya yajusho-tr-aika-vritti-ka] [151*] Srit-Virup-
237 kaha-bhastasya naidendah Kadyap-anvayah | yajusho-tr-asunthe vr Matthi-skah
238 padaena samyutam(tam) [152*] Sri-Somanatha-bhastasya suhu[hs*] Kojrip(Kauhdoni)ya-
239 ja] yajushah Suri-bhash-akhyo vrriti-skaah-in-asunthe [153*] Sunuh[hs*] Poh-
240 chohana-bhastasya yajusho Harit-anvayah | yajusho(yajvaso)-stra-sapadika-vrjjiti-
241 s-Tirumal-anvayah [154*] Kauhdonya-gatra-j0 dhamm [Sivov]jala-naanda-
242 na] Bhit-bhash-abhayo-tri-aikam vrriti-apu(nu)ki yajushah [155*] Sunur-
Liakana-
243 bhastasya Vasishtha-ahh-anvaya-sambhavah | dhimam-Ovana-bhash-[khyo] bahvriobi-
tra-

Sixth Plate, Second Side

244 ka-vrjiti[156*] Sunur-Lid[ks]kaana-bhastasya yajushah Kadap-anvayah | manish
245 Chapti-bhast-akhyo vrriti-skaah-in-asunthe [157*] Rathitar-yavasasunuh(yaes-sunuh) |
Rudra-bhastasya y-
246 jushah [s-dais(rdh-si)ka-vfritim-tr-aati dhamm-[Allasa-namakah [158*] Lakshmipais iha-
namah dri-
247 Lakshminarayan(ή)Śaṃkmaṇḍaḥ | Śrīvatsa-gōtrā-jō ṛṛtti-dvayam-atre-saṅti bahvrīchah [++] 159*[Sūnu-]
248 r-Viṣṭala-bhaṭṭasya Śāñcitṝ śiśṭy-ānvaya-saṁbhavaḥ | ha*bhrīchō-nāhita-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō ṛṛtti- dvayam-ih-āśnute [++] 160*
249 Śa(Śa)nīśīya-gōtra-saṁbhūtō dhīmān Viṭṭala-bhaṭṭe-jaḥ | bahvrīchō Nārasimha-ākhyō dhī- mān
250 s-ārdh-aika-vṛttikāh [++] 161* Sūnur-Mādhava-bhaṭṭasya Śā[r̄]īya-ānvaya-saṁbhavaḥ | bahvrīchāḥ Krishṇa-bha-
251 ṛṛtti-dvayam-ih-āśnute [++] 162* Bhāradvāj-ānvayas-sūnur-Nārāsinhasya bahvrīchāḥ[ḥ*] st ra
252 dvi-vṛttikā(kā) Raṅga[h*] śṛimat-Tirumāl-āḥvyah [++] 163* Pūtimāp(aḥ-ah)ānvay-ōṭbhū (dēbhū)ḥō dhīmān Mu-
253 dagal-āṭmājaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-vṛttim-āśnōti Vishṇu-bhaṭṭo-tra bahvrīchah [++] 164* Vishṇu- baṭṭa-mu-
254 tṛ vṛddhah[ḥ*] śṛimat-Tirumāl-āḥvyah | s-ārdh-aika-vṛttim-āṭrēya-gōtrō Jaimini-sūtra-
255 kaḥ [++] 165* Śrēṣṭha-Tirumāl-āḥvyah śaṃsū-Tirumāl-āḥvyah | Bhāradvāj-ānvayō-tr-ākān
256 vṛttim-āśnōti yājūshah [++] 166* Āṭrēya-gōtra-jo dhīmān-Annam-bhaṭṭasya naṃdanas | yā-
257 yājūshah Kaśavā-bhaṭṭo vṛttim-ekāṃ-ih-āśnute (tē) [++] 167* Bhāradvāj-ānvayas-sūn(u)ḥ Rāmā-
258 baṭṭasya yājūshah | maniḥ Śa Basavā-bhaṭṭo vṛttim-ekāṃ-ih-āśnute [++] 168* Śrī-Jama-
259 dalganayaj-Valṣyaj[ḥ*] Śrīraṇghu.......[[*]] Basavā-dikhabō-tr-ākān vṛttim-āśnōti
260 bahvrīchah [++] 169* Bhāradvāj-ānvay-ōṭbhū(dēbhū)ō Linggām-bhaṭṭasya naṃdanas | yā-
261 yājūshah Pāṭī-ḥa-
262 ō-ākhyō vṛttim-ekāṃ-ih-āśnute [++] 170*.... gōtra-saṁbrūh(dēbhū)ō Rāmā-dikhaṭa-
263 naṃdanas | s-ārdh-aika-vṛttim-āśnōti Tippā-bhaṭṭō-tra yājūshah [++] 171* Bhāradvāj-ānvaya-
264 yō-nāhitaśaṇo yājūshō-dhvar | s-ārdh-aika-vṛttim-atre-saiḥ sūnur-Aubhala-yajva-
265 naḥ [++] 172* Vasīṃha(aḥt[a]h-gōtra-saṁbhūt[a]h* āṭī-Virupayya-naṃdanas | yājūshō Viray-
266 ābbh-
267 khyō vṛttim-ekāṃ-ih-āśnute [++] 173* Sūnur-Mārdha(dha)-va-bhaṭṭasya yājūshō(shah) Kāśyap-ānvaya-[ḥ | *]
268 Narahary-adhvarī dhīmān vrīt-ti-dvayam-ih-āśnute [++] 174* Sūnur-Mādhava-bhaṭṭasya yājū-
269 shah Kāśyap-ānvayaḥ | Annam-bhaṭṭ-āḥvyō dhīmānu(mān) vrīt-ti-dvayam-ih-āśnute [++] 175* Kaṇḍīḍim(di)-
268 na-gōtra-saṁbhūtās-Tammā-bhaṭṭasya naṃdanas | Vēṇnām-bhaṭṭ-āḥvyō-tr-ārdha-vṛttim-āśnō-
269 tī yājūshah [++] 176* Dhīmānu(mān) Lakṣmaṇādās-ākhyās[h*] āṭī-Purandaraḍās-jaḥ | Vasīṃha(aḥt[a]h-gō-270 tra-jo vrīt-ti-dvayam-atre-saiḥ yājūshah [++] 177* Vasī[m]aḥ(aḥt[a]h)-aṇvaya-saṁbhūt[a]h* āṭī-Purandaraḍās-jaḥ |
271 dvijO Hēpaṇḍāsa-ākhyō yājauh-stra dvī-vṛttiakaḥ | /// 178'] Sūnuḥ Kēśāshasa(Kēśa)va-
272 yājauhasah(kaḥ Kā́jyap-ānvayaḥ | sūris-Tirumal-ābhikhyō vṛttim=ekām=ih-āśna-
(āнутē | /// 179')
273 Bhāradvāj-ānvayaḥ Kāṇvō dhīmān=Abbaras-ānma(tma)jaḥ | atr=aikām=aśnute vṛttim [dhamā]-
274 na=Ti(māṁ=Ti)mmarasya(s-ā)hvayaḥ | /// 180'] Sūnuḥ Kēśava-bhāṭṭasya sūris-Tirumal
āhvaḍaḥ |

Seventh Plate, First Side

275 Bhāradvāj-ānvayaḥ Kāṇvō dhīmān s-ārdh-aika-vṛttiakaḥ | /// 181'] Ahōba-la sūdhi-
276 sūnu-Bhāradvāj-ānvay-ōdbh(abha)vaḥ | Kāṇvah śrī-Narasimha-ākhyō dhīmān s-ārdh-aika-
vṛttiakaḥ | /// 182'
277 Viśvāmitr-ānvayaḥ sūnu=Yaṭirāyaṇa bahvṛchah | s-ārdh-aika-vṛttim=atr=aiti dhīmān
278 Vallabhaḥ-āhvayaḥ | /// 183'] Śrī-Nāraśimha-dāsasya naudanaḥ Kāṣya(dyā)p-ānvayaḥ | Kāyaṣa-Chikkantarśin-
279 h-ākhyō vṛttid-vam=ih=āśnute | /// 184'] Sūnu-Nṛhari-dēvayaṇa Bhāradvāj-ānvay-ōdbh(a-
(dha)vaḥ | Śrī-
280 nivē-āhvayaḥ dhīmān Kāṇvah sa(a-ā)rdh-aika-vṛttiakaḥ | /// 185'] Bhāradvāj ānvayaḥ Kāṇvō-
Yaṭirāṇa-
281 yaṣa naudanaḥ | atr=aṛḍhā-vṛttiṇo Hīrīya-Lākṣaṁnārāyaṇ-āhvayaḥ | /// 186'] Kā-
ya(dyā)p-ānvaya-
282 jaḥ Kāṇvō Māchchirājaṇa naudanaḥ | vṛtti-dvayam=ih=āṇotti Timṛṇāḥ dhimatāṁ
varaḥ | /// 187'] Śrī-
283 Vāraṇśāi-ḍeva(vaijayaḥ(dyā) Kāṇvah Kāśyapa-gōtra-jaḥ | dhīmān(putrō) Lēkkaṁ-
ābhikhyāṣa-atri-pa)[-d]-vṛtti-
284 m-ih=āśnute | /// 188'] Sūnu-Basavadarājya Kāṇvō Gautama-gōtra-jaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-
vṛtti-atربي dhīmā-
285 n-Basavay-āhvayaḥ | /// 189'] Sūnu Chchi(ś-Chi)ṭtamarājaya Kāṇvah Kāśyapa-gōtra-jaḥ | vṛtti=ekām-śvati-
286 h-āṇotti Kōṇḍayō guṇināṁ varaḥ | /// 190'] Nakudanaḥ(na)-Chōḍarājaya yājuhaḥ
Kāṇvah-āhvayaḥ |
287 māṇīṇi Chauṇḍayō-ābhikhyō vṛttim=ekām=ih-āśnute | /// 191'] Harit-ānvaya-jaḥ Kāṇvaḥ
Śrī-Viru-
288 ppaya-nauḍanaḥ | Chauṇḍayō-tr-āśnute vṛtti=ekāṁ Vēda-vidāṁ varaḥ | /// 192'
Śrī-Kāmāgāvaṇ-ś-
289 pēta-Viśvāmitr-ānvay-ōdbh(abha)vaḥ | bahvṛchō Nāgarājaḥ | Śrī-Timṛṇa(yō)-atr-
aika-vṛtti-
290 kah | /// 193'] Sūnuḥ Chchi(ś-Chi)ṭtamarājaya Vasiṣṭha(th-ś)nvaya-saṭabhavaḥ | bahvṛchō
Līṅga-ābhikhyō
291 vṛtti=ekām=ih-āśnute | /// 194'] [Bhā]radvāj-ānvayaḥ Kāṇvō Virayaṣṭi-saṭabhavaḥ | atr=sa-
292 ka-vrittikā(kaḥ) sthānā(ṁ)pati(r)[r]j-Viraya-nāmakāḥ [|| 195*] Bhāradvāj-ānvayaḥ Kāṇḍa- 
293 rājasya naṁdanaḥ | vṛttim-ekām-ih-āpnoṭi Tammayō dhimatāṁ varaḥ [|| 196*] Kāma- 
294 gāyana-āḥād-ādi-Vīvāmitrān-ānvayo-ōtβha(ddha)vaḥ | bahvχiḥaḥ Sβmīrāja-ārī-Nāga- 
296 yō-tr-aika-vrittikāḥ [|| 197*]Śūrāi(re,s)-Tirumal-ākhyasa sūnuḥ Kauṁdinyo-gōtra-jaḥ | 
298 Annah-bha- 
299 tā(ṭ)-āhavayo(yō)-tr-aikāṁ vṛttim-āpnoṭi yājushaḥ [|| 198*] Kauṁdinyo-gōtra-jas-sūnur= 
300 Manuḥi Chaunḍi-bhaṭṭ-ākhyo vṛttim-ekām-ih-āṣヌntē [|| 199*] Āṭreyo-gō- 
302 rasa-sambhūtas-sūnu(r)-Lakkana-yajvanaḥ | yajvā Janārdan-ābhikhyasa-sāmagū-tra dvi- 
303 vṛttim- 
309 kaḥ [|| 200*] Āṭreyo-gōtra-sambhūtō Viśvanāth-ādvarṇḍra-jaḥ | Nāgō-bhaṭṭ-āhavayo-yō-tr- 
309 aikāṁ vṛttim-a- 
310 pnōṭi sāmaguḥ [|| 201*] Vasīṣṭha(ṛha)-gōtra-sambhūtas-Śūrī-dīkṣhita-naṁdanaḥ | Kauṁbha- 
310 bhaṭṭ-āhavyo vṛ- 
311 tī-dvavam-attr-sitē sāmaguḥ [|| 202*] Śūnu=Abha-ḥalā-ḥalā-śaya Vasī[ṛha](ṛha)-ānvaya- 
312 sambhavaḥ | sa-pāda- 
313 vṛtti-yuglo(yugmo)-tra sāmagū Bhāskar-ādvarṇ [|| 203*] Sūnu=ṝṣṇaibhaṭṭa-sū- 
313 sambhūtāḥ(gō-hō)bha- 
313 i-ādvarṇ | Viśvāmitr-ānvayo-yō-tr-siti vṛtti dvē pāda-saṁyutē [|| 204*] Vasīṣṭha(ṛha)- 
314 gōtra-sambhū- 
314 tō dhīmāṁṣe-Chennarasa-ātmajāḥ | yājushō Raṅgaya(ṛ)-bhikhyo vṛttim-ekām-ih- 
314 aṣヌntē [|| 205*] Śī- 

Seventh Plate, Second Side

306 nur-Akaṇḍa-bhaṭṭa-syaya sūris=Tirumal-āḥ(v)jayaḥ | bahvχiḥo-tra Bhāradvāj(ja)-gō- 
306 tra(hō) | aṛdh-aika-vrittikāḥ [|| 206*] Sūnu=Tirumal-ākhyasa naṁdanaḥ Kāṇḍa-ānvayaḥ | 
307 yapa-bhaṭṭ-ākhyo bahv(v)ro-tr-aika-vrittikāḥ [|| 207*] Bhāradvāj-ānvayaḥ(ya)=Chikka- 
307 lakṣhmīnārya- 
307 n-āha(ṛha)vaḥ | Kāṇḍa(ya)ḥ | aṛḍ-Yaṭirāya-saḥ naṁdana(u)nō-tr-aika-vrittikāḥ [|| 208*] Naṁdanaḥ Kṛṇḍi-bhaṭṭa- 
309 aya Bhāradvāj-ānvayō-ṭabha(y-oḍbha)vaḥ | pāda-vṛttim-ih-āpnoṭi Kāṇḍa(ṛ)yaṁ= 
309 Timmapa-nāma- 
310 kāḥ [|| 209*] Bhāradvāj-ānvayaḥ(ya)=aṁnu=Annah-bhaṭṭa-syaya yājushaḥ | Rāmā-bhaṭṭ- 
310 ahavyo dhumā- 
311 a-śardha-vṛttim-ih-āṣヌntē [|| 210*] Annah-bhaṭṭo Bhāradvāja-gōtra-jo yājushaḥ(ṣa)= 
311 sudh[ḥ] | pāḍ-oṭa- 
312 a-ika-vṛtt[i(h)] | sṛ-Sahasraṇa(ma)ma-sudh[ṛ]-suta(sudhī-jaḥ) [|| 211*] Bhāradvāj-ānvay- 
312 oṭabhū(ddhī)to Malaiyann-āṭma-
KAMALAPUR PLATES OF KRISHNADEVARAYA, SAKA 1447

331 sambhavah | s-ārdh-aika-vrittikō dhīmān Āchchān-Itya-stra yājushah [\[212*\]] Naṁdanta

334 jasya yājushah\[h]\* Kauśika(k-ā)nvayaḥ | pāḍ-ōttara(r-a)ika-vritti[h] śrī-Krishṇa-bhaṭṭ-āhva-

335 yas-sūdih [h \[213*\] Tāttā-bhaṭṭa-utō dhīmān Śrīvata-ānvaya-sambhava[\[h]\] yājushō-tra sa-pād-aika-

336 vrittikō Naṁdanta-makāh [\[214*\] Kaunḍinyā-gōtra-jaḥ(ja)-sūnūḥ Kṛishṇa-bhaṭṭasya yā-

337 jushah | pāḍ-ōttara(a)ika-vritti[h]\* śrī-Kūre-y-ākhīyō māhī-sūrāḥ [\[215*\]] Śunūr-Lakshmī-

338 na-bhaṭṭasya Kaunḍinyā-ānvaya-sambhavaḥ | sūnūḥ(nu)=Tirumal-ābhīkhyo yāju-

339 shō-trārdha-vṛttikāh [\[216*\] Kaunḍinyā-gōtra-sambhōtō dhīmān Lakṣmaṇa-bha-

340 ṭṭa-jaḥ | ardha-vṛttim-āvāṃnōti Kūnēry-ākhīyō-trā yājushah [\[217*\]] Śrī-Nā-

341 ṛayaṇa-bhaṭṭasya naṁdantaḥ Kāśyap-ānvayaḥ | śrī-Nāravāya-bhaṭṭ-ākhīyō
g

342 yājushō-trārdha-vṛttikāh [\[218*\] Kaunḍinyā-gōtra-jaḥ sūnūr-Annaṁ-bhaṭṭasya yā-

343 jushah | dhīmān(mān)| Tirumal-ābhīkhyo vṛitti-dvayaṁ-sānūntē [\[219*\]] Annaṁ-

344 bhaṭṭa-utō-kī-Kāchīkatmā-bhaṭṭō māhāmatīḥ | Kaunḍinyā-gōtra-jo-trā(tra)ikā(h)\[h]\*

345 vṛttim-āvpnōti yājushah [\[220*\] Harit-ānvaya-jaḥ(ja)-sūnūr-Annaṁ-bhaṭṭasya yā-

346 jushah | s-ārdh-aika-vṛttim-atr-āvītī maneṣe Śrīdhar-ānvayaḥ [\[221*\]] Sūnūḥ Kā-

347 śava-bhaṭṭasya yājushō Gārgya-sānvayaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-vṛttim-atr-āvītī
g

348 Vēḍa-bhaṭṭō māhā-matīḥ [\[222*\]] Śaṁdilya-gōtra-sambhōtō dhīmān Garu-

349 ḍaṭ-ātmāvah | dhīmānu(mān) Virupay-ābhīkhyo yājushō-tra tri-vṛtti-

350 kāḥ [\[223*\]] Sūnūr-t*-Nṛsiṁha-bhaṭṭasya yājushah Kausik-ānvayaḥ | sānūntė-tra sa-

351 pād-aika-vṛttimī Mēllama-dīḥ(kah)ītāh [\[224*\]] Yajvā Tirumal-āabhīkhyas-sāma-

352 gō Julu-naṁdantaḥ | yājushō-trā-sānūntē vṛttim-ekāṁ Harida(ta)-sānvay-

353 yaḥ [\[225*\]] Vādhūla-gōtra-jaḥ sūnūr-Allam-bhaṭṭasya yājus'ah | bhū-sūrō-ppa-

354 labhaṭṭ-ākhīyāḥ pāda vṛttim-īh-sānūntē [\[226*\]] Naṁdanta-naṃ-bhaṭṭasya Śrī-

Eighth Plate, First Side

355 vatsa-ānvaya-sambhavaḥ | dhīmān Lakṣmahā-bhaṭṭābhīkhyo bah[v]* chop=

356 tra dvi-vṛttikāh [\[227*\]] Śrīvaśva-vṛjisa(vatasa)-gōtra-sambhūtō-naitā-bhaṭṭasya naṁda-

357 naḥ | bahvričō Naṁsaṁkā-ākhīyō vṛttim-ekāṁ-īh-sānūntē [\[228*\]] Śrī-Viṁpākha-

358 bhaṭṭasya naṁdantaḥ Kausikā-ānvayaḥ | yājushō-naṁta-bhaṭṭ-ākhīyō vṛtti-dvaya-

359 sam-īh-sānūntē [\[229*\]] Śrī-Viṁpākha-bhaṭṭasya sūnūḥ Kausikā-gōtra-jaḥ | yā-

360 jushah Vallaḥhaya-ākhīyāḥ(χ)īyaḥ=tri-pād-vṛttim-īh-sānūntē [\[230*\]] Śrī-Rāmacandra-

361 ṭṭasya sūnūr-Harida(ta)-ānvayaḥ | śrī-Nāravāya-bhaṭṭ-ākhīyō yājushō-

362 tra dvi-vṛttikāh [\[231*\]] Dhīmān Bēḍadakōta-śrī-Rāmēvāra itī dvijah |

363 pād-ōna-vṛttī-yugmō-tra bah[v]* chop Harit-ānvayaḥ [\[232*\]] Sūnūr(nu)=Timmaṇa-bhaṭṭa-

364 sasya yā-
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344 jūṣahā Kauśik-ānvayaḥ | tri-pāḍ-vṛttim-ih-āpnam(pūt)tri Timmapō dhimatāṃ varaḥ

[|| 233*] 345 Na[m*]dānī Hari-bhāṭṭasya Pūtimāḥ-ānvay-ōdbhavah | bhṛṛic̣hāḥ Śrīnivāś-ākhyō

346 vṛttitīm-ekām-ih-āṃsuted [|| 234*] Śrī-Nārasiṁha-bhāṭṭ-ākhyō Viśvāmitr-ānvayah sutaḥ

[|| 234*] 347 sūrēs=Trimal-ākhyasa yājusho=tra dvi-vṛttikah [|| 235*] Viśvāmitr-ānvayasa=sū

348 nūr-Nārasiṁhasya yājushah | śrī-Nārāyana-bhāṭṭo=tra dhīmānu(mān) sārdh-aika-

349 vṛttikah [|| 236*] Sūnur-Gōvīrin*īda-bhāṭṭasya Viśvāmitr-ānvay-ōdbhavah | bah[v*]ṛic̣hē=bē
dal-ābhikhyō vṛttīm-dvayam=ih-āṃsuted [|| 237*] Śrī-Vīśvanātha-bhāṭṭasya naṃdā-

351 nāḥ Kāśya(āya)p-ānvayaḥ | yājushō Madhvanāth-ākhyō vṛttīm-dvayam=ih-āmnu-

352 tē [|| 238*] Bah[v*]ṛic̣hē Nārasiṁha[ṇ*]h-ākhyō Nārāyana-sudhī-sutaḥ | sārdh-aika-vṛtti-

353 m=atra=aiti Pūtimāḥ-ānvay-ōdbhavah [|| 239*] Vasiṣṭha(abha)-gōṭra-jas-sūnur-Nāra-

354 sīṁhaḥ bah[v*]ṛic̣hēḥ | maṅlabhī Vīhanu-bhāṭṭa-ākhyō vṛttitēm-ekām-iḥ-ān-

355 śnute [|| 240*] Tammā-bhāṭṭo Bhradavāja-gōṭra-jō[ya]ju*eha-sudhīḥ | sūrēs=Tru-

356 mal-ākhyasa sūnur-atra dvi vṛttikah [|| 241*] Śrīvat[ā]ja gōṭra sa[ṇ*]bēhūtō Nā-

357 gasyō Gaṇuga[ya*]tmajah | bahṛiḥvṛi[chē]=tra-āṃsuted vṛttitēm-ekāṃ Vēda-vidān varaḥ

[|| 242*] 358 Kāśya-ānvaya-jaḥ[ja]=sūnur-Ananām-bhāṭṭasya yājushah | Ananām-bhāṭṭ-āhva-

359 vō dhīmān ardha-vṛttitēm=ih-āṃsuted [|| 243*] Ātrēya-gōtra-sambhūt-

360 tō Lakshminārāyaṇa*ṭ-p-ātmajah | Lakshmināthā-ānvayō-tr-āikāṁ vṛttitēm=a-

361 puṭi yājushah [|| 244*] Man[ā] Kuppay-ābhikhyō yājushō Gautam-ā- 

362 nāvayaḥ | atr-āikāṃ-āṃsuted vṛttitēm* Kaniya(ṇya)māṇikaka-bhāṭṭa-jaḥ [|| 245*] Sū-

363 nūḥ[nu]=Trimalōsāya Kaṃḍūntī-ānvaya-sambhavah | yājushah(ahah)=Tī-

Eighth Plate, Second Side

364 mmayō(y-ā)bhikhyē(ākhyō) dhīmān=atr-Ārdha-vṛttitēkaḥ [|| 246*] Yājushō Varadaya-

365 sya sūnūr Śrīvāranasa(vata)=gōṭra-jaḥ | Piṇay-ādi-pad-ōpēta-Perumā-

366 l-ārdha-vṛttitēkaḥ [|| 247*] Yājushō Vēṇkaṭāḍẖīsaḥ Perumā-bhāṭṭa-nāṃdānāḥ | pā-

367 d-ōṭtar-āikā-vṛttitēk[ḥ*] Śrīv[ā]a-gōṭra-sāmudibhavah [|| 248*] Sūnūḥ(nu)=Trimal-ākhyā-

368 sya sūrē[ṛi]=Trimal-ānvayō | yājū[ḥo]=tra sa-pād-āikā-vṛtīt[|h*] śrī-Kauṣi-

369 k-ānvayaḥ [|| 249*] Yājushō Hastigīry-ākhyō Vēṇkaṭattappā-nāṃdānāḥ | aṃnū-

370 tē-tra sa-pād-āikā-vṛttitā Hariḍa(ta)-ānvayā[ḥ*] [|| 250*] Bhradavāj-ānvay-ōdbhūtō-nāṃd-

371 nārāyaṇ-ānvayaḥ | yā[ṛu*]ehbē-tra(tr=a)ka-vṛttitēk[ḥ*] śrī-Śaty-ōpādrīya-nāṃdānāḥ [|| 251*] Bē-

372 ty-ōpādhyēya-śeṇ[ṇo]m[ḥ*] śrī-Bhradavāj-ānvay-ōdbhavah | dhīmān Guru(va*)pa[ṇ-g-ā-]

373 yājūsah-tr-āikā-vṛttitēkaḥ [|| 252*] Sūnūḥ(nu)=Trimalōkhyāsa yajvaniḥ Kā-

374 śrī-ānvayaḥ | Tipīḥ-bhāṭṭ-āvayō-tr-āikām vṛttitēm-āṃnūṭi yājushah [|| 253*] Bē-
No. 21] KAMALAPUR PLATES OF KRISHNADEVARAYA, SAKA 1447

375. hrivicoh Basavā-bhaṭṭo (ṭṭa)-sūnu[ḥ*] Śrīvatsa-gōtra-jah [[*] s-ārdh-aika-vṛttim-a-
376. tr-aiti Chiṭṭayō dhiṭmāṃ varah [][254*] dhimān(māṁ)-Timmaras-ābhihīyō ba-
377. hrivicoh(chaḥ) Kāśyap-ānvayaḥ | vṛttim-Ti(ttim Ti)mmaraasō-tr-aikām-sānutē dharañṭ-suraḥ [][255*]

378. Naṁdanaḥ Sūrapayasya bahri(hvri)chaḥ[ḥ*] Kāśya(eya)p-ānvayaḥ | manlah haridē-
379. v-ākhyō vṛttim-ekām-ih-sānutē [][256*] sūnu[ḥ*] Śikari-bhaṭṭasya Śrīvat-
380. sa-ānvaya-saṁbhavaḥ | vṛttim-ekām-ih-ātrō(ān) yājūshō(eha) Oṁbal-ādhvārī [][257*]
381. Kaṁḍinya-gōtra-saṁbhūtō Ma[ja]nnavōjalu-naṁdanaḥ(sutah) | Jalu-naṁdanaḥ[∗A-
382. mmanavōjularatai(u)r-sa ikām vṛttim-āpnotī yājūshah [][258*] Viśāṅvatr-ānva-
383. yaḥ sūnuḥ Puṭṭī-bhaṭṭasya bahri(hvri)chaḥ | Ārī-Nārasimha-bhaṭṭō(t-ā)khyō vṛttii-
384. m-ekām-ih-sānutē [][259*] Kāśyap-ānvaya-jaḥ[∗] sūnuḥ(nu)-Tippā-bhaṭṭasya yājūshah []
385. ardha-vṛttim-ih-āpnotī dhimā(ṃ)ṣ-Tirumal-ānvayaḥ [260*] Yājūshah Kasavā-
386. bhaṭṭa-naṁdanaḥ Kauśik-ānvayaḥ | ardha-vṛttim-ih-āpnotī La(ḥa)yā-ākhyō
387. mahl-suraḥ [][261*] Naṁdanau(nō) Dēvapayasyu(sya) bahri(hvri)cho Gautam-ānvayaḥ | vṛtti-
388. m-ekām-ih-āpnotī manlah Śīgaya(y)-ōdbhavaḥ [][262*] Maudgalyā-gōtra-saṁbhūtē-
389. Tā- 
390. tayāḥ(hy)ya)-naṁdanaḥḥ | bahri(hvri)chaś-Tanmay-ābhihīyō vṛttim-ekām-ih-s-
391. ṃuṭaḥ(ta) [][263*] Naṁdana(nō) Basavayasya dhimān-Ātrēya-gōtra-jah | bahri(hvri)chaḥ-
392. Chi-
393. nna-y-ābhihīyā(ḥkhyō vṛttim-ekām-ih-sānutē [][264*] Ārī-Nārasimha-bhaṭṭasya

Ninth Plate, First Side

392. naṁdanaḥ Harit-ānvayaḥ | Tīmmā-jaṭhāḥ kī vṛttim-dvayam-atra-aiti-
393. yājūshah [][265*] Sūnu-r-Vāmana-bhaṭṭajaya(sya) yājūshō Gautam-ānvayaḥ | Aḥōbal-ā-
394. bhidhāṃ-tra dhimānda(māṁ) s-ārdh-aika-vṛttigah(kab) [][266*] Sūnu-r-Vāmana-bhaṭṭasya yāju-
395. shō Gautam-ānvayaḥ | Ārī-Nārasimha-bhaṭṭō-tra sūriḥ s-ārdh-aika-vṛttigah(kab) [][267*]
396. Bah-
397. nāma-y-ārdha-vṛttikāḥ[ḥ][268*] Bah(ḥa)-hrvicoh Jāmagni-Śrība(va)tsa-gōtra-saṁudbhavaḥ [[*] naṁdanaḥ Dabaryā(Dēvaṁ-
398. jaya Tiṁ-
399. nāma-y-ārdha-vṛttikāḥ[ḥ][268*] Bah(ḥa)-hrvicoh Jāmagni-Śrīvasa-gōtra-saṁu-
400. bhavaḥ [[*] na
401. nāma-y-ārdha-vṛttikāḥ Tiṁmapāṭhi dhimātā(ṃ) varah [][271*] Na(ḥ)*danō Nāgarāja(sya) Śājāh*ji-dīly-ā-

* The letters Jal-sa-ānmanah are redundant.
402 nvaya-sambhavah | ardha-vrittim-ih-āṇṇoti Lakṣhmipatyāḥ-āhvayaḥ | sudhiḥ | [[272*]] Sūnus=Tiru-
403 mal-ā[ḥ]hi{k}yō Bhāradvāj-ānvay-ōdbhavaḥ | dhimān-Uṣṭaiyap-ābhikhyō | yājushō-tr-aika-
404 vṛttikehō [[273*]] Kauṭḍṣiṇya-gōtrē(tra)-jaḥ | sūnus-Ta[n]{h}mā-bhāṭṭasya yājushāḥ | dhimānu(māḥ)=Tiru-
405 mal-ābhikhyō vṛttim-ekām-ih-āsuntō || [[274*]] Sūnuḥ | Sṛṅattha-bhāṭṭasya yājusha[h]ō
406 Kauśik-ānvayaḥ | manahā Va(Va)jñētp-ābhikhyō vṛttim-ekām-ih-āsuntē(h)ō || [[275*]]
407 Yājushō-trā Bhāradvāj(ā)ja-gōtṛē-haubbhala-paṇḍiṭaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-vṛttikekō dhimān(māḥ)
408 jātō Lakṣhmaṇa-paṇḍiṭātraḥ3 | [[276*]] Bhāradvāj-ānvayaḥ Kāṇvaḥ(nva)=Timayasa= āṭma-sambhavah |
409 atr-aika(kā)m-āsuntē vṛtti[m]ō Chēṃnay-ākhyō mabhō-suraḥ || [[277*]] Na[n]māṇaḥ Kasa-
410 vayasya Śrīvatas-ānva-
411 ya-sambhavah | bhaṛ(hvṛ)chaḥ=Chana-ābhikhyō vṛttim-ekā(m-i)h-āsuntō || [[278*]] Kauśik-ānvaya-sa[n]{h}bhū(bhu)V
411 Narahary-ājja(rya)-naṁdahāḥ | Yajamānyulur-atr-aikām vṛttim-āpṇōti yājushāḥ || [[279*]] Sūnu-
412 s-Chāmapa-bhāṭṭasya Bhāradvāj-ānvay-ōdbhavaḥ | yājushō | Gauri-bhāṭṭō(ṭ-ā)khyō vṛtti-dvaya-
413 m-ih-āsuntē || [[280*]] Bhāradvāj-ānvayaḥ sūnun-Hari-bhāṭṭasya | yājushāḥ | manahā Śrīn-
414 vās-ākhyō vṛttim-ekām-ih-āṇu[nt]ō || [[281*]] Sūnus=Timuralāryasya yahva(ya)nōs-
415 hōbāl-ābhva- r1 | Āṭrēya(ya)-gōtra-jō [vṛtti-trayam-atr-asiti yājushāḥ | [[282*]] Naṁdahā Hari-
416 bhāṭṭasya
417 Bhāradvāj-ānvayē(ya-ō)dbhavah[h]ō | dhimān(māṇa)=Timmaṇa-bhāṭṭ-ākhyō | yājushō-tr-aika-vṛtti-
418 kaḥ || [[283*]] Bhāradvāj(ō-ja)ānvay-odbhastā-Chikhavāpavi-bhāṭṭa-jaḥ | yājushō | Lakkhaṇ-
419 abhi
418 khyō dhimān s-ārdh-aika-vṛttikehō || [[284*]] Śrī-Nārasimha-bhāṭṭ-ākhyō(khya)s=Chikka-
419 chāḥ(va)-

Ninth Plate, Second Side

419 mapa-bhāṭṭa-jaḥ | yājushō-tra Bhāradvāj-gōtraḥ s-ārdh-aika-vṛttikehō[k]ō || [[285*]] Bhārad-
420 vāj-ānvaya-
420 yaḥ Kāṇvase-T[ṇ]{h}masyay-āṭma-sambhavaḥ | vṛttim-ekām-ih-āpṇōti Virayō vidu-
421 shā brows || [[286*]] Bhāradvāj-ānvayē(yaḥ) | sūnur-Abbā-bhāṭṭasya yājushāḥ | asminisaa[nn]=Naṁnantya-ābhī-
422 khyō dhimān(a)māṇa s-ārdh-aika-vṛttikehō || [[287*]] Kāṣyap-ānvaya-jo Hīrīyanarasas-
423 yyasyasya(yya-sa) mudbavahah
423 yājusahas-Tī[m*]map-ābhikhyō dhīmān s-ārdh-aika-vṛttikāḥ \[288*\] Yājushō Nā(Nā)-rasi[m*]h-ākhyō Rā-
424 macha[m*]dra-śu(sadhī)-sutaḥ | Vasiahta(siahtath)-gōtra-sambhūtō dhīmānu(mān) s-ārdh-aika-vṛttikāḥ \[289*\] Na[m*]danaḥ Kṛ-
425 shupa-bhaṭṭasya Bhāradvāj-ānvāy-5ōdbhavaḥ | Taṃmā-bhaṭṭ-āhavayō-tr-aika[m*] vṛttim= āpnoti yāju-
426 sah [\[290*\] Vasiahta(sahtha)-gōtra-sambhhu(bhū)ta[ḥ*] ār-Pura[m*]dra(da)radāsa-jaḥ | dhīmān Madhva[pajdāsā-
427 khyō yājushō-tr dvi-vṛttikāḥ \[291*\] Naṁdanō Dēvarājaśya Cha(Sa)ṭhamarashapā-gōtra-jaḥ |
428 Bōdhāyaṇo-ānutē(dvijō)-tr-ārdha-vṛttim=āpnoti Dēvaṇaḥ \[292*\] Kaumudīṇya-gōtra-jaḥ-Chikka-śrī-
429 Tirumalay-ātmajāḥ | dhīmān(māns=) Tirumalay-ābhikhyō(yy-ākhyō) yājushō-tr-ārdha-vṛttikāḥ[\*] \[293*\]
430 Vasiahta(sahtha)-gōtra-sambhhu(bhū)tō dhīmā(m[∗]j-e-Tī[m*]maras-ātmajāḥ | vṛttī-dvāyam= ih-āpnoti bahṛ(hvṛi)chāḥ Kṛ-
431 ehyō-āhvayaḥ \[294*\] Śrī-Viśvanātha-bhaṭṭasya sūnuḥ Kaumudīṇya-gōtra-jaḥ | bahṛi-
432 vṛttim=ekām=ih-ānutē(tē) \[295*\] Śrī-Viśumākasa-bhaṭṭasya naṁdanō Ḥarit-ānvayaḥ | yājushas-Tīhmā-
433 p-ābhikhyō vṛttim=ekām=ih-ānutē \[296*\] Sūnuṛ-Gōvindā-bhaṭṭasya ārī-Janārdanadi[d](di)kshitaḥ | Bhāra-
434 dvāj-ānvayaḥ vṛttī-dvāyam=atr-āiti yājusan̄ḥ \[297*\] Sūnuṛ-Gōvindā-bhaṭṭasya Bhāradvāj-
435 vṛttī-trayam=ih-āpnoti yājusahaḥ-Chēni-dikshita[ḥ*] \[\[298*\] Bhāradvāj-ānvayaḥ sūnu[h*] | ārī-Jārādāna-ya-
436 jvanaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-vṛttim=atr-āiti yājusahaḥ-Tīhmap-āhavayaḥ \[299*\] Śrī-Rāmakṛṣṇa-bhaṭṭasya sūnuṛ-Ā-
437 trēyā-gōtra-jaḥ | yājushō-tr-āiti s-ārdh-aika-vṛttimi sti(Ti)rumal-ā[ḥ]va[f]yaḥ \[300*\] Sūnu-[ṛ]-Basavāraṇājaśya
438 bahṛi(chāḥ) Kāyap-ānvayaḥ | manashī Dēvay-ābhikhyō vṛttim=ekām=ih-ānutē \[301*\] Śrī-Jāmada-
439 gui-Vaṭiya-gōtrō Hōmnapay-āhvayaḥ(tmajaḥ) | Lakṣhmipaty-āhavoy dhīmān bahṛi(hvṛi)-
440 kah [\[\[302*\] Sūnuṛ-Lakṣhmaṇa-bhaṭṭasya ārīmā[m*]j-e-Tiromal-āhavayaḥ | yājushaḥ ārī-
441 s-ārdh-dvi-vṛttikāḥ \[[303*\] Sūnuṛ-Lakṣhmaṇa-bhaṭṭasya Bhāradvāj-ānvaya-5ōdbhavaḥ | yājushō-
442 naṁta-bhaṭṭā[ḥ-ā*]khyō vṛtti-dvāyam=ih-ānutē \[\[304*\] Śrī-Rāmachandra-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō
443 Bhāradvāj-ānvaya-5ōdbhavaḥ | yājushō-tr-ānutē vṛtti-dvāyaḥ Lakṣhmaṇa-bha-}
444 ṭa-jāḥ \[\[\[305*\] Naṁdanō Göpināthasya sūrie-Haridā(ta)-sānvayaḥ | bahṛi(hvṛi)johō
Nāraśimha-ākhyaḥ vṛttiṃ-ekāṁ-ih-āśnutē [|| 308*] Bahīra(hṛṣṭi)(chō) . . . . . . . . .

Chiṣṭi-bhaṭṭāsya naṃdanaḥ | Rāmā-bhaṭṭā-āṃvayō-tr-āśhta-va(vṛtti)kō Gauta-
m-āṃvayāḥ [|| 307*] Parāśa-ṛ-āṃvay-īṃdhibhūte[ḥ*] Āṭī-Rāmāyāyata(ya)-tān-ūdbhavaḥ |
yāyushō-tra chatu[r*]-vṛitti-śeti Bācharas-āḥ(āṃvayaḥ) [|| 308*]

Tenth Plate, First Side

Śrī-Virūpākṣa-bhaṭṭāsya sūnur-Harida(ta)-sāṃvayaḥ [[*] yāyushō Devaṇ-ābhi(hṛṣṭi)*]
dhīmānḍa(mān) s-ārdh-aika-vṛttiṅakaḥ [|| 309*] Sūnuḥ Śīṃgari-bhaṭṭāsya Śrīvata-āṃvaya-
saṃbhavaḥ | yāyushō-narita-bhaṭṭ-āśyā(khṛṣṭi) vṛttiṃ-ekāṁ-ih-āśnutē [|| 310*] Sūrē-
ts-Tīrūmal-ākhyaṣya sūnum(nuḥ) Śālāvat-āṃvayaḥ [[*] yāyushāḥ Peddi-bhaṭṭā-khṛṣṭi
vṛttiṃ-ekāṁ-ih-āśnutē [|| 311*] Sūnu-Akkali-bhaṭṭāsya Kauṅḍīṇy-āṃvaya-saṃbhava-
ḥ | dhīmāṃs-Ta(s=T)ūrūmal-ābhiḥkhyā(khṛṣṭi) yāyushō-trā dvi-vṛttiṅkaḥ [|| 312*] Kauṇḍī-
ṇayaḥ[jāh*]

Kāyō Bairirājasya naṃdanaḥ | atr-aika-vṛttiṅkaḥ Peryanagay-ākhyaḥ ma-
hī-su[r]aḥ [|| 313*] Naṃdanō Gōpināthasya Kāyōḥ Kauṅḍīṇa(ny)-gōtra-jaḥ | atr-aika-
kāṃ-sa-
āṃtuḥ vṛttiṅi dhīmāṅsa-Chinnaya-nāṃkaḥ [|| 314*] Lakshminārāyana-ākhyāṣa(sya) ya-
janana(nuḥ) yāyushāḥ sudhiḥ(taḥ) | Nārāyaṇo-trā Kauṅḍīṇa(gōtra)-aika-vṛ-
tīṅkaḥ [|| 315*] Nāgaṇ-ādhvara(r)ijāḥ sūnur-Dēvarāṇ-āṃvay-ūdbhavaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-vṛ-
ntīṅkaḥ [|| 316*] Sūrēs-Tīrūmal-āśyā(khṛṣṭi) sūnur-Ātra-
(tre)-
yā-gōtra-jaḥ | yāyushō Balabhadr-ākhya(khṛṣṭi) dhīmān-atri-ārda-vṛttiṅkaḥ [|| 317*] Yajñā-
nārāyaṇo dhīmāṃs-Tīrūma-dikhaṇa-nāṃdanaḥ | yāyushō-tra sa-pād-aika-vṛ-
tīṅkaḥ[ṛ]-Harida(ta)-sāṃvayaḥ [|| 318*] Naṃdanō Gōpināthasya Bhārādvāj-āṃvaya(y-ō)-
ūdbhavaḥ [||]
yāyushō-tra sa-pād-aika-vṛttiṅ-Vāṭhaṭa-nāṃkaḥ [|| 319*] Sūnuḥ Śīṃgari-bha-
tīṅkaḥ yāyushāḥ Kāyō-āṃvayaḥ | sa-pāda-vṛtti-yugmō-tra Davar-ādhvari-
nāṃkaḥ [|| 320*] Sūnu-S-Tīrūmal-ākhyaṣya sūrēḥ Kauṅḍīṇya-gōtra(tr)-jaḥ | sāma-
š-Chauṇḍi-bhaṭṭā-ākhyō vṛttiṃ-ekāṁ-ih-āśnutē [|| 321*] Naṃdanō Dēchē-bhaṭṭāsya yāju-
shō Gūrja-āṃvayaḥ Siddhārā-āṃvaya s-ārda-vṛtti-trayam-ih-āśnutē [|| 322*] Yā-
juṣṭh Pra(Praṇa)-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō dhīṃdanda(mān) Vādhula-gōtra-jaḥ [[*] sūnur-Basavaṇ-ā-
khyaṣya yajvan(a(nu))-tr-aika-vṛttiṅkaḥ [|| 323*] Paṇḍitō Lakṣmaṇ-ābhiḥkṛyō Naṃda-
paṇm(tr)-dī-
ta-naṃdanaḥ | yāyushā(ho)-tr-āśnutē vṛtti-dvayaṁ Harida(ta)-sāṃvayaḥ [|| 324*] Naṃdanō

Naṃdanō-bhaṭṭāsya Kōṅ(Kauṅḍī)n-āṃvaya-saṃbhavaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-vṛttiṅkaḥ Naṃda-
ri-bhaṭṭā-jaḥ[ṛ] yāyushāḥ [|| 325*] Naṃdanō Naṃdanō-bhaṭṭāsya Jauṁ(Kauṅḍī)n-
āṃvaya-saṃbhavaḥ |
474. yājūshā(ah) = tr-aiti s-ārdha-aika-vṛittī[ṛh]* Dādāri-nāmaṇaḥ [॥ 326*] Naṁdaṇā(ṁo) Bhānu-
475 bhaṭṭasya yājūshā Kaṁ sak-ānvayaḥ | mānshī Ṛgaṇ ↑aṇābhā-khyāḥ(khyā) vṛitti-dva-
476 yam=ih-āśnutē [॥ 327*] Sūnur-Mudgala-bhaṭṭasya Pūtīmā[ṛh]-ānvay-ōdbhavāḥ | ba[ṛvṛi]-
477 chā(oh) Nārasimh-ākhyō dhīmāṇḍa(mān) s-ārdha-aika-vṛittikaḥ [॥ 323*] Śū(Śū)nur-Gopa-
478 ṣaḥya Śrīvatsa-ānvaya-sambhavāḥ | yājūshō Nārasimh-ākhyō vṛitti-dva-

Tenth Plate, Second Side

479 yam=ih-āśnutē [॥ 329*] Sūnur-Gopa-bhaṭṭasya Śrīvatsa(ṭa)-ānvaya-sambhavāḥ | yā-
480 jushō-hōbal-ābhikhyō dhīmāṇ-str-ārdha-vṛittikaḥ [॥ 330*] Naṁdanā Vīṣṇu-bhaṭṭa-
481 sya bahvṛichaḥ Kāśyap-ānvayaḥ | ōri-Nārasimha-bhaṭṭō-trā ḍhīmāṇḍa(mān) s-ārdh-ai-
482 ka-vṛittikaḥ [॥ 331*] Sūnur-Ayyali-bhaṭṭasya Bhāрадvāj-ānvay-ōdbhavāḥ | Liṅgaṇ-
483 ṭŚāḥvavāḥ=tr-aikāṁ vṛittiṃ=āpnotī yājūṣaḥ [॥ 332*] Śāḍiṇīya-gōtra-aṣ(ṛh)*bhūtē(taḥ) Śīn-
484 gayasāy-ātmā-sambhavāḥ | ōri-Rāmkrīṣṇa-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō(ṛh)* yājushō-tr-aika-vṛittikaḥ [॥ 333*]
485 Śrīvatsa-gōtra-jaḥ sūnus-Timma-bhaṭṭasya yājūṣaḥ | mānshā Basavā-bha-
486 ūṭī vṛṛttiṃ-ekāṁ-ih-āśnutē [॥ 334*] Naṁdanāḥ Krishṇa-bhaṭṭasya dhīmāṇśa(s-Ti)rumal-
487 ṭaḥbhavāḥ | yājūṣhō=tr-āśnutē vṛittiṃ-ekāṁ Kaṁḍṇīya-gōtra-jaḥ [॥ 335*] Naṁdanāḥ Sū-
488 ri-bhaṭṭasya Vīśvāmit-ānvay-ōdbhavāḥ [*] bahvṛichō Dēvap-ābhikhyō dhīmā-
489 nda(ṇ) s-ārdh-āika-vṛittikaḥ [॥ 336*] Kāśyap-ānvaya-jaḥ sūnur-Liṅgā-bhaṭṭasya yā-
490 jushōḥ | [Kā)m-bhaṭṭ-āhvavāḥ dhīmāṇḍa(mān) vṛitti-dvayam=ih-āśnutē [॥ 337*] Bhāradvā-
491 ṭaṇyaḥ
492 sūnur-Bhāṇudēvaya bahvṛichāḥ [*] Lāvaṇāyō-trā pād-ōna-vṛitti-trayam=ih-ā-
493 ānutē [॥ 338*] Bahvṛichō Bhāṇudēvārya-sūnur-Ḍāṭāri-nāmaṇaḥ | Bhāradvāj-ānvay-ō-
494 dhūtō dhīmāṇḍa(mān) s-ārdh-āika-vṛittikaḥ [॥ 339*] Bhāṇudēvā[ṛ]*ya-sūn[ṛh]* ōri-
495 Bhāradvāj-ā-
496 ṭaṇyaḥ
497 vay-ōdbhavāḥ [*] sa-pāda-vṛitti-[ṛh]*gma[ṛh]* ōri-Vīṣṇu-bhaṭṭō-trā bahvṛichāḥ [॥ 340*] Bhā-
498 radvāj-ānvayaḥ[ṛh]*
499 sūnur-Lāhvepāčāṛasya bahvṛichāḥ [*] vṛitti-dvayam=ih-āpnotī Chikl-ākhyō ma-
499 hāmaṇaḥ [॥ 341*] Kāśyap-ānvaya-jaḥ[ṛh]* ārnoti(tl) Rāmcharṇḍra-sūdhi-sūtaḥ | Ṭippā-bha-
499 ūṭ-āhvavāḥ=tr-aikāṁ vṛittiṃ=āpnotī yājūṣaḥ [॥ 342*] Naṁdanā(ṁo)-naṁtayārasya yāj-
499 uḥ-ō Gāṛgya-sūnayaḥ [*] mānshī Rāmāyārāgō vṛitti(mā-s)kāṁ=ih-āśnutē [॥ 343*]
500 Naṁdanā(ṁo)=Tāṭayārasya Cha(Śa)ṭhamaraṇa-gōtra-jaḥ | Kumāratāṭayārāgō

1 Better read Lāhvepāṭhā for the sake of metre.
500 yājushā-stra dvi-vṛttiṇkāh \[[344*]\] Ātra(trē)ya-gōtra-jo Dēvarāja-bhāgavat-ātmajaḥ
501 yājushāh Krishṇadās-ākhyō vṛtti-dvayam-ih-āsūnute \[[345*]\] Naṁdānāh Krishṇadāsa(y)ā
502 dhīmān-Ātra(trē)ya-gōtra-jaḥ \[[*]\] a-ārdh-aika-vṛttim-astraiti yājuschā(eha)ṁ Timmap-ā-
hvayāḥ\[h\] 346* Dāmōda[sa]yaḥ sūnu[h]\[h\] Śrīvatsa-gōtra(trē)-stra bhavirchāḥ \[a-ārdh-aika-vṛtti-
504 m-āśpnoti dhīmān Guruśirā(tō)maṣhī \[[347*]\] Śūrēḥ(trē)ṁ Tipu[ru]mal-ākhyāsya sū-
505 nur- Harida[t(a)]-sānvayāḥ Šrī-Gaṇgādhara-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō yājushō-tr-āika-vṛttika[h] 348*
506 yājushō Giri-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō Vārūdhas-ānvaya-saṁbhavaḥ \[[*]\] Vā(Bā)darayaṇa-bha-
507 taṣaya sūnur-stra dvi-vṛttika[h] \[[349*]\] Yājushō Raghunāṭh-ākhyō Bādaraya-
508 na-bhaṭṭa-jaḥ | Vārūdhasa-gōtra-saṁbhūtā(tō) vṛtti-dvayam-ih-āsūnute \[[350*]\]

Eleventh Plate

509 Tad-idam-avani-vanipaga(kvai)-vinat[u(n]ta)-dhar-āyasya Krishṇarāyasya \| śā-
510 sanam-uru-kavi-vaihavana-nivaha-nidānasya bhūri-dānasya \[[351*]\] Kri-
511 śpadēva-maḥārāya-saṁanəśa Sabhaśpati[h]\[h\] abhānīḥ[ṛ]mrudu-saṅdarbha[m]\[m\]
512 tad-īdān tāṁ(tā|m)ra-saṁsanaḥ \[[352*]\] Krishṇadēva-maḥārāya-tāsan(a)nā Mallaśa-
513 tmajah | tvashāḥ Śrī-Viṛṇa-āchārīō rya[li]kha[t]\[t\] tāṁ(tā|m)ra-saṁsanaḥ \[[353*]\] Dā-
514 na-pālanayōr-maṁśe dānāc-cchr\[r]\[r\] jeyō-nupālanah \[nam\] dānāc-evargam-a-
515 vāṃnoti pālanād-achyutam padān(dam) \[[354*]\] Svadatta[d\[d\]]-dvi-guṇam puyam
para-da-
516 tt-anupālanah(nē) \| paradda-āpabhārēṇa sva-dattaḥ niṣphalam bhava(vē)t \[[355*]\]
517 Svadatta(tā)ṁ pari-dattaṁ vā yō harēta vasumdharaṁ(rām) | sahaśṭīr-varaha-sahasra-
\[arā\]yī
da-
518 vihṛṭi(shṛh)ājīn jāyatē krimi[h]\[h\] \[[356*]\] Ek-aiva bhagini lōkē sarvadham-ēva
519 bhū-bhujāṁ(jām) | na bhōjyaṁ(jyā) na ka[ra-grāhyā] vipra-dattaḥ vasumdhara \[[357*]\]
Sā-
520 mānyō-yam dharma-śe[t]ur-ṣripaśāṁ kāle kāle pālanīyō bhavatdhiḥ \[[*]\]
521 sarvāṁ-eṭān-bhāvinaḥ pā[r\[r\]]ṭivṛudrān-bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmchandhraḥ \[[358*]\]
522 śrī-Viṛṇaṃkah \[[*]\]

\[1\] This expression, as usual, is engraved in Telugu-Kanṭaṇḍa characters
The inscription, which is being edited here for the first time, is engraved on a stone slab built into the wall of the sanctum of a temple dedicated to the god Nilakaṇṭha at Kālaṇjara. It is noticed by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* for the year 1935-36, pp. 93-94. It appears that Śiva in the form of Nilakaṇṭha was widely worshipped in the Chandella dominions as temples dedicated to this deity are found both at Kālaṇjara and Ajayagār.

The inscription covers an area 2'-1' long and 1'-5' wide. It has in all 20 lines of writing and a short marginal note of four lines on the left side at the lower end of the main epigraph. As the stone slab is damaged on both the sides, a few letters in the beginning and at the end of some of the lines have been lost, yet the text of the main inscription can be almost fully restored. The marginal note is so badly damaged that very little can be read except the name of Vāsudēva in line 1.

The characters are of the 11th century A.D. The orthographical peculiarities are the doubling of the consonant following the superscript ę and the use of the dental ę for both the palatal ı and the lingual sh. The prishịka, agra and ārdhika mātrās are used to indicate the medial ę, ā, ō and au.

The Language is Sanskrit. It is in verse upto the 16th line and in prose from lines 16 to 20. There are some mistakes in the writing and they have been corrected either in the text or in footnotes.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a mantapa for the temple of Nilakaṇṭha by Śrīmūrti, the guru of Kirtivarman. The donation of land measuring two ploughs was made at the time of the dhvajārādaya ceremony, i.e. the opening ceremony of the mantapa. Who donated the land is not clear. It may be Śrūtrābāra Rāma who built the mantapa; but since the text is not complete and the marginal note consisting of that portion of the main text which had been by mistake left out by the scribe is very badly defaced, it is not possible to know the donor. As the name of Vāsudēva occurs in the marginal note, it is not also unlikely that he was the donor of the land.

The inscription opens with a salutation to Śiva. Verse 1 sings the praise of Śiva as the pillar of the world. In the second verse is praised Śrīmūrti, the guru (preceptor) of king Kirtivarman, as one who had attained the glory of knowledge by the favour of the pair of the lotus-like feet of Trinātra (Śiva). He is further described in the next two verses. It is stated that he built a beautiful mantapa for the temple of the god Nilakaṇṭha at Kālaṇjara. The royal preceptor directed the chief of the royal śrīkaraṇas, the Śaivas, the Pātupatas and their śkhāya Vārika and others that

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1 For the description of the Nilakaṇṭha shrine and notices of inscriptions at Kālaṇjara, see Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, Vol. XXI, parts i and ii, pp. 32 ff.
2 [See below, p. 166, note 1—Ed.]
3 [See below, p. 184, note 1—Ed.]
4 [See below, p. 166, note 2—Ed.]
they should comply with the request of Väsudēva and allow him to enjoy the merit of his good deed, as by this compliance they will also earn a part of the merit.¹

The inscription belongs to the reign of king Kirtivarman, who might be the Chandālī Kirti-
varman, brother of Dēvavarman and son of Vijayapāla. It is dated Saṅkanta (V.S.) 1147, Māgha-
sudi 7, Rēvati-nakṣaṭra, which, if the year is taken as current, corresponds to Thursday, January 10, 1090 A.D.

The present inscription gives for Kirtivarman a date seven years earlier than the date, V.S.
1153, so far known for him from the Deogarh inscription. I have already suggested in this journal² that Kirtivarman ascended the throne sometime between 1061 and 1072 A.D. Recently Dr. Sircar has published an inscription³ of the same king dated in V.S. 1132, which is fifteen years earlier than the date recorded in the present inscription. Kirtivarman ruled for a few years after 1068 A.D., his last known date from the Deogarh inscription. The earliest known date of his grandson Jayavarman falls in 1117 A.D.⁴ Between the two ruled Sallakṣaṇapavarman,⁵ son of Kirtivarman; but no record of his time has been discovered. This suggests that Sallakṣaṇapavarman had a short reign. He may have succeeded Kirtivarman about 1105 A.D. The inscription for the first time makes mention of the name of the guru of Kirtivarman and of his patronage to the Śaivas and the Pāṇḍupatas, two schools of Śaivism.

The praṇaṣṭi was composed by the Kāyastha Thakkura Dēvapala,⁶ son of Paya, and the mandapa was built by the sūtradāra Rāma, who is mentioned in another Kālayāra inscription dated 1131 A.D., when his son Rāpakaḷā Lāhāḍa made an image of Nilakaṇṭha.⁷

The scribe, who appears to have omitted a portion of the text which he later on incised in the margin, has drawn the attention of the reader to it by adding a note at the end of the main record saying 'the wise will read the small inscription also'.⁸ The marginal note seems to state that the two ploughs of land were donated by Väsudēva.⁹

¹ If my reading of this portion of the text as gāḍākudāya-dāna is correct, it seems that Väsudēva requested Śrīmārtīri for permission to donate two pots of water and gain the merit of this pious deed. The practice of setting up over the hāgamas, for the duration of the summer, of two pots of water from which water falls on the hāgama drop by drop is not only common, but is regarded as a highly pious deed.

² The preceptor of king Kirtivarman is mentioned in verse 2 as Śrī-mārti which does not appear to be his personal name but looks like an honorific expression like śrī-mukha, śrī-hasta, śrī-chaura, etc. (cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 304 f.). His real name is given in his own speech, quoted in verses 5 ff., as Väsudēva. The praṇaṣṭi Śrīvēd Pāṇḍupat-ścārya-mātri-prasastākā in verse 6 means 'the Śaivas headed by the Pāṇḍupat ścāryas and vārikas', in which the vārikas were 'temple superintendents' like the Paḍās of today (cf. above, Vol. XXX, pp. 171, 173 ff.). The reading intended for what has been read gāḍākā seems to be gāḍākās, 'handful'.

³ The expression rāja-śrīvaras-ādākā in the same stanza means 'superintendents of the king's record department'. Väsudēva thus requests the royal officers and the local Śaivas to protect the mandapa constructed by him. In verse 5, he prays for only that much merit for his pious deed as would accrue to a person dedicating two water-jars for providing continuous ablation of a Śivalaṅga (cf. ibid., p. 235).—Ed.]

⁴ Above, Vol. XXX, p. 89.
⁵ IHQ, Vol. XXX, pp. 183 ff.
⁷ Ibid., p. 198, v. 9 and p. 327, v. 4. His coins with the name Sallakṣaṇapavarman have been found.
⁸ [See below, p. 165, note 4; p. 166, note 2.—Ed.]
¹⁰ [See below, p. 166, note 1.—Ed.]
[Metres: Verses 1, 3 and 4 Aryà; verse 2 Vasantatilaka; verses 5-9 Anushūkha.]

1. ते नमः सितिविवायम् । गंगा यद्य पताका हृदंबती सालिवंजिका यथा ।

2. यद्य स्तुतिः प्रस(श)तिम्मूलसभाम् नमानि जगत् । [१ ॥ १ ॥] स्वस्ति जिनेनपदे

3. पद्म[शु] (यु) प्रसाददशातव्र(थ) बभदिमा मह(दी) यक्षीति । श्रीमुः (मू) िि

4. रितिविधानवत्तमवत्तवश(श) सरससाभाियसंपदि परं विदधिविधिति । य ॥ [२ ॥]

5. कालजरे पृथ्विय्या, श्रीयनिमित्तु मुकुटचिन्हम् चें । मन्द्यम्व[कारिर]

6. [हष] रंगेकेरीनलहतकथम् ॥ थ ॥ [३ ॥] उद्यारकेन कृति निरीशुस्वरम्व(रसी)

7. [बि] जित्ता संभिता । श्रीकीतस्वरम्भूपतेनु(भु) हष्णा तेनोच्चले सुः (श्रु) गुफ़ ।

8. [थ] [४ ॥] [गु] क्रय्यदानम् नीलकण्ठस्य यत्कल्पम् । तैन संधुज्यतात् (ताः) श्री-

9. [भ] सानुवन्देवः सतास्मि (स्मृ) न । [५ ॥] तदवकुलुमन्त्रतात् (ताः) राजश्रोकरणम्]

10. [भि: (पाः)] । सै (अ) वा: पासु(श्रु) पत्तम् (स्ता) वायूवारिकविजुवाचम् ये । थ । [६ ॥] पार (प्रा) चेंना वा-

11. [सुद्देश] वज्ञ पारिध्यम् महात्मिबिः । लेअ(श्रे)वसां पारनान्नेन वृष्णु(रस) मन्यसं(श्रृ)

12. [भि: (गिन)] । थ । [७ ॥] पीवी(वी) मणित्वः(णम) यहत्वा (रसा) फलमवापसीे । ततपदिः

13. [भि: (भि)] मार्गेण सिन्धुविकृति स्मृतम् । थ । [८ ॥] जलमम्मोनिषी यावधा-

14. [सौ] भवाभा (त्र) रमा: । ताव[शु] भीवादेशस्य प्रायायम् पूर्णतायामोः

15. [ि थ] [९ ॥] नि (ि) िवििवातिकवियपद्यसहिष्णु कविता । रचितः

16. ............॥ संवर १२७७ माष्मासे सु(श्रु) िलयसे स्तुंपी(णमः)]

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1. [For this letter indicating the completion of a stanza, see above, Vol. XXX, p. 218, note 2.—Ed.]
2. [Read "ििििििि.”—Ed.]
3. [The name of the poet, responsible for the composition of the prasasti, appears to have been engraved in this stanzas in Aryà. The concluding part of the record may not have been composed by him.—Ed.]
17 रेवालीज़ास्ते || कायस्थक(चु)रूपीपाला|वहालीवपाला ||
18 दुरुष्कार(र)रामे(ण) मंडप(व) वटारिते लिंग(ति) दु(भ) जा- ||
19 रोहिणे प्रतिविधायप्रसादे मूसी हल्ब्रय1 ||
20 लुष एव च सुर्खियां पटनीयं8 || श्री ||

1 The text is incomplete here, the verb being missing and also probably the name of the donor of the land. It seems that the portion of the text which was left out was inscribed as the marginal note. [What the author takes to be a marginal note may have formed part of a different record. The inscription seems to be complete in itself. See note 2 below.—Ed.]
8 This note apparently did not form part of the main text and was added later on. [The line, which no doubt forms a part of the original record, reads इंदिरेऽक तत्त्व च भवेन्द्र पूजनयोम, || तहऽ||. The intended reading of the corrupt passage in lines 19-20 seems to be "प्रवर्त्तकम् प्रतिकः कृतिकम् चा अग्रा-प्रदेशकम् भक्ति-कोश-विनयशः।। तद्भवेन्द्रसम्म पूजनस्यौ, although the context appears to require a word like दाताम instead of तद्भवेन्द्र. Lines 19-20 mean to say that, on the completion of the construction by the mason Rāma, Kṛṣṇadeva Devapāla granted, on the occasion of its installation ceremony, two kala measures of land for its maintenance. The expression अग्रा-प्रदेश may mean the same thing as तला-विनय of the Kannaḍa records.—Ed.]
No. 23—BRAHMl INSRIPTIONS FROM BANDHOGRARH

(3 Plates)

THE LATE DR. N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, NEW DELHI

In March 1938 a number of inscriptions in Brahmi characters were discovered by me at Bāndhogarh in the former Rewah State in Vindhya Pradesh. The epigraphs were found inscribed on the walls of artificial caves found in the neighbourhood of the hill fort of Bāndhogarh.

Bāndhogarh (23° 40' N., 81° 3' E.), the old capital of the Bāghelās, is situated in the south-east of the Rewah State in the Rāmnagar Tahāil. It is about 22 miles from Umaría, the nearest Railway Station. Over fifty caves were discovered in this area, most of which are artificial. They are distributed over the low hills within a radius of 3 miles of Gopalpur, a small village at the foot of the fort. The village no longer exists and the only people that lived in the neighbourhood were found to be a few constables in charge of the fort. The forests of Bāndhogarh are infested with wild animals and many of the caves are difficult of access. But for the interest taken and the facilities given by the Rewah Darbar it would have been impossible for me to reach many of these caves. Bāndhogarh was reputed to be an ancient site; but very little was known about its early history. It was the early seat of the Bāghelās and the rulers of Rewah are known as Bāndhabesā or the lord of Bāndhogarh (lit. 'lord of friends'). According to a tradition followed by the Rewah house no permission for visiting the fort area was ordinarily given to one who was not a subject of the State. Appreciating the difficulty that might arise in my offering personally to visit the place, I suggested, nearly two years before my visit, if somebody belonging to the State could be sent on a preliminary search. Accordingly, Head Constable Kesari Singh, who had spent 27 years of his service at Bāndhogarh, was deputed by the Rewah Darbar to inspect the site and see what epigraphic materials were available. Kesari Singh spent over three months in this work and reported to have found a large number of caves. He also prepared eye-copies of any writing he could find in these, which were sent to me for examination.

At the very first glance at the eye-copies I was impressed with the antiquity and importance of the site. But as it was impossible to make much out of them, I requested the Darbar to grant me permission to visit the place. When my request was placed before His Highness Sir Gulab Singh, the late Maharaja of Rewah, who was well known for his advanced views and was always anxious to have the materials for the ancient history of Rewah properly studied, he readily granted the necessary permission as a special case. I was thus able to visit the place in March 1938. During my stay there I inspected all the caves that were reported to have contained some sort of writing and also most of those containing no inscriptions, particularly the bigger ones. These caves, or more appropriately rock-cut dwellings, are of different sizes. Many of them consist of one hall and one or two cells; but there are a few containing seven, eight or even nine cells. None of these, except two, now contains any carved images, while a third has some designs carved on pillars. Otherwise they are simple structures excavated in the rocks. As these are soft sandstone rocks, some of the caves and many of the inscriptions have suffered badly. It appears that the method of writing

1 It is greatly to be regretted that the author passed away while the article was still in the press.—Ed.
2 A detailed notice of these inscriptions was to be published by me in the An. Rep. A.S.I., 1938; but its printing was withheld as a war measure. They have been noticed by N. G. Majumdar, above, Vol. XXIV, p. 146, note 2; by Mirashi, Vol. XXVI, p. 298; and by Motichandra, JNSI, Vol. II, p. 10, and ABORI, Vol. XXVII (1946), pp. 15 f. [See also N. Hist. Ind. Peop., Vol. VI, pp. 41 ff.: Hist. Cult. Ind. Peop., Vol. II, pp. 174 ff. Macaron over a and e has not been used in this article.—Ed.]
employed in these caves was first to engrave the record on the wall and then paint the letters with a kind of red pigment with a view to bringing out the letters clearly. The paint is still intact in a few of the inscriptions. The necessity of painting the letters is emphasized by the fact that the walls of the caves had not been always properly smoothed before the engraving was done. The surface is so rough in some of the caves that it is difficult to read the inscriptions from the rock itself. Probably the inscriptions were first written on the rocks with a similar paint also before the engraving was done. This accounts for Cunningham's finding the Ginja hill inscription of Bhimasena in red paint which for some reason unknown to us was never engraved. In these caves I found also a few short records written in red or black paint which are now so badly obliterated that they defy all attempts at decipherment. Besides the inscriptions of historical importance which alone are considered here, some of the caves contain short records incised in them. Many of these are apparently pilgrims' records though the sense conveyed by them is not always clear. In two of the caves I found a few letters in shell characters beautifully carved.

The palaeography of these records shows some peculiar features. Though written within a short space of 50 years, the inscriptions offer several types of writing. The earliest record belonging to the year 51 of the time of Bhimasena shows early features; but in the others the letters show both archaic and more advanced forms. Inscription No. XI of the time of Bhas他也va and dated in the year 90 is the typical example of the second category. The writing usually shows southern characteristics but in certain cases northern forms are also discernible. The vertical stroke of а and r is straight but also shows an occasional hook at the bottom, e.g. in Nos. I and IX. Initial у is found in Ужаса (No. X). The vowel е is shown by a triangle with the base slanting upwards; but the base is straight in No. XI. The vertical bar of k is usually straight and the horizontal bar bent; but the latter is straight in No. XI. The letter 짝 has a large triangle at the base with a short hook above; but sometimes the base takes the form of a loop, e.g. in Rakhtikā and pakhe in No. IV. The letter g usually has a rounded top; but it is angular in No. I. The left vertical line of й is bent in the middle; but, in Nos. I and XI, the vertical and horizontal bars are all straight. Dh has narrow points and rounded back; but the back is sometimes angular, e.g. in dhamo (No. XI). P and b show a notch to the left; but the left horizontal limb is straight in Nos. I and XI. M has a triangular base, though in rare cases it is inclined to show a rounded form as in Chhamikasa and negamasa in No. VI, line 2. Y has usually a hook or a loop on the left. The right limb of Ь is usually bent to the left at the top; but it is straight in No. I, e.g., in Balomita (line 4). A second form of this letter is also found in No. VI, corresponding to that found in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta. H has also two forms, the usual one with a hook to the right and also, though rarely, another like the letter found in the inscription of Usavādāta, e.g. in Māhrāja in No. VIII. Of the numerals, symbols for 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 50, 80 and 90 are found. The advanced form of the numeral 2 is noticed in No. IX, line 4, аs against the earlier forms in Nos. VII and XVII. These few details will show that the script, as found in these records, partly shows features of the Kushāga records but is on the whole more allied to that found in the cave inscriptions of the Kshātrapas of Western India and also of the cave inscriptions of the Western Deccan belonging to the second century A.D.

With the exception of Nos. XIV, XVIII and XIX which refer to Śivamagha and Vaiśāraya and are written in Sanskrit, the language of the remaining inscriptions is Prakrit. Sanskritization is, however, noticed in a few instances in the Prakrit records; cf. sārthika (No. III, line 4), siddha (Nos. IV-VI, IX, XVII), Chakra (No. IV), and layana (No. XI). The main orthographical features noticed in the inscriptions in Prakrit are as follows: single consonants are used for double as usual in such inscriptions although doubling is noticed in bhaṭṭāraka (Nos. VIII, IX), Bhaṭṭādeva

1 Cunningham, ASI, Vol. XXI, p. 119 and Plate No. XXX.
BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS FROM BANDHGARH

No. 23] (Nos. XI, XIII), *putrena* and *pautrena* (No. VII), *vardhatu* (No. IX) and wrongly in *khānītā* (No. VII). *N* has been used for *ṇ* throughout, except in *ccharṇaḥ, punya* (No. VII), and *ṇ* for *n* in *Bhimaseya* (No. I). *Anuvāra* has been omitted in many places. *S* has been used for both *ś* and *ṣ* except in rare instances, e.g. *kateh* (No. VII). The following forms of ordinals are noteworthy: *pathame, padhame* (Skt. *prathame, Nos. II, etc., be, dove, būtīye* (Nos. VII, VIII), *donā, donam, dnomam* (Skt. *dvayā, Nos. II–VI), *ekapan* (Skt. *ekapāḍābhāṣā*, No. I), *chāsita* (Skt. *saddhāṣṭiti, Nos. II–VI). Other interesting Prakrit words are: *sahiyam* or *sahiyam* (Nos. II, etc.) for *Skt. *sahitam, vātavena* (Skt. *vāṭapratīna, Nos. VIII, IX), *sājāmasiṣā* (Skt. *vajāmasiṣāḥ, No. XVII), *vadhatu* (Nos. II, etc.), *vadhatu* (Nos. III, etc.) for *Skt. *vāḍhata, lūṭā* (with plural *lūṭām*) in the sense of Pkt. *luna, kṣ. layana, 'a cave', jhaṭī, Skt. *jhatische* (No. VIII), 'a small shrub', *chagvāra* (Pāli *c OnTriggerāra, 'a vessel' (Nos. II–VI), and *kaṭhikārika-kamāra, 'a carpenter' (No. I). Feminine form for masculine seems to have been used in *Rādhikāśe* side by side with the correct form *Rādhikāsara* (No. V) and in *Chelā* (Nos. II, etc.). Proper names in many instances end in *ka*, e.g. *Phagamasaka* (No. I), *Phaguhathika, Datiqa* (Nos. II–IV, VI), *Jirinaka* (No. VII, etc.).

The main group of the inscriptions speaks of three generations of kings. These kings are *Mahāraja Vāsiṭhīputra sīri–Bhimasena* (year 51), his son *Mahāraja Kocśīputra Bhāṭṭadeva* (year 90). Of these rulers, so far only the name of *Mahāraja Bhimasena* was known from the painted inscription of the year 52 on the Ginjā hill in the Rewah State, situated at a distance of more than 100 miles towards the north-east of Bhandogarh, as well as from a seal discovered during the excavations at Bhitā. The metronymic *Vāsiṭhīputra* is found in the Bhandogarh inscription (No. I) and the Bhitā seal but not in the Ginjā inscription. The present inscription offers the earliest date for this ruler as also valuable information about his son and grandson. It will also appear from our discussion below that the year 86 in the reign of Poṭhasiṇi was marked by a great activity, as this is the year during which many of the cave dwellings were excavated. Nos. VIII–IX of the year 86 record the donation of *Magha* or *Magha* who was the Minister of Foreign Affairs of king Poṭhasiṇi and was the son of the Minister Chakara. Another cave (cf. No. X) likewise owed its existence to the munificence of a minister of the same king. With these preliminary remarks I shall now turn my attention to the inscriptions individually.

The earliest dated inscription (No. I) is found on the back wall of a rock-cut cave situated between the Ganesha Pahār and Rāmagiri at a distance of about 3 miles to the north-east of Gopālpur by the side of a stream. The inscription, which is in 5 lines, is dated the 8th day of the 5th fortnight of *Varṣa* of the year 51 in the reign of *Mahāraja Vāsiṭhīputra* (Vāsiṭhīputra) Bhimaśeṇa and records the construction of a cave-dwelling by a guild of merchants including a goldsmith and an artisan(1).

In the Ganesha Pahār area, a group of five inscriptions engraved in five different caves contains more or less one and the same text (Nos. II–VI). All these records are dated the 5th day of the first fortnight of *Hemanta* of the year 86 in the reign of *Mahāraja Kochiḍiputra* (Kautsyiputra) Poṭhasiṇi (Prasnaḥṣaṭiḥ) and record the construction of caves, the donation of a garden (ārāma) and a vessel (chagvāra) by Rakhtitika (Rakhtia), whose grandfather was a merchant of Kauśāmbī, and by Chelā, son of a merchant, together with their sons. It is interesting to note that one of these is called the 'traders' cave' (śāṟṭhika) and another a *māḍapā* (māḍana) cave and yet another a *chvāta* cave which may mean an umbrella (chvātra) cave or a cave for the novices (chvātra).

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1. In many of the inscriptions (cf. Nos. VI–VII), *n* often has a form that clearly resembles *l*. It is not impossible that the intended reading of what has been read as *lūṭā or láta* is *lāṇā or lāṇam* from *lāṇapaka, lāṇas, lāṇasamāna*. It is interesting to note that *lāṇa* occurs in the same sense in No. XI.—Ed.

2. The reading of the name seems to be *Chelā*.—Ed.
Another inscription (No. VII) found on the back wall of a cave situated in the same area is dated the 5th day of the 2nd fortnight of Hemanta of the year 88 and belongs to the reign of the same ruler Poṭhasiri. It records the excavation of a cave and a well by the merchant Gahavudhi whose grandfather was a merchant of Mathurā. He seems to have also given an endowment (niśpī, Skt. nīśpī). Nearby are still visible the remains of a well (now partly filled up) which was dug into the solid rock.

Of the twelve Brahmi inscriptions that I copied on the eastern and western sides of Gopālpur, the earliest (No. X) is dated the 10th day of the 5th fortnight of Grīshma of the year 86 and belongs to the time of Poṭhasiri. It records the erection of a dwelling (ketana) and the excavation of a cave by the Minister (amacka) Bhabātha.

Two caves about a mile to the west of Gopālpur and situated about 20 yards apart from each other bear an inscription each (Nos. VIII-IX). One is dated the 10th day of the 7th fortnight of Grīshma of the year 86 and the other the 10th day of the 7th fortnight of Hemanta of the same year. Both belong to the reign of Poṭhasiri and record the donation of two wells (nīśpī), caves and a garden consisting of shrubs by the minister Maṅga or Māṅga, who was the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Mahārāja Poṭhasiri and the son of the minister Chakara.

The inscription (No. XVII) next in chronological order is dated the 5th day of the second fortnight of the rainy season of the year 87 in the reign of the same ruler and records the excavation of a well (nīśpī), cave-dwellings and also a gymnasion or hall for taking physical exercise (cāyāmamālā) by Pusa (Pushya) whose father was a merchant of Pavata (Parvata). Parvata as a place name occurs in the pillar inscription1 of Pratihāra Kakkūka of the Vikrama year 918. The commentary on the Sutta Nīpāta also mentions a Pabhata-raṣṭha (Parvata-raṣṭra) in the centre of Videha-raṣṭha.2 But the place mentioned as Parvata in the inscriptions is possibly identical with Po-fo-to noticed by the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan Tsang. Parvata is also mentioned by Pāṇini (IV, 2, 143). As it is included in the Takshaśilā-gaṇa, some scholars have located this tract in the Panjab. Whatever may be the case, the present record contains the earliest epigraphical reference to the place.

The next inscription (No. XI) is dated the first day of the first fortnight of Hemanta of the year 90 and belongs to the reign of Mahārāja Bhaṭṭadeva. From the date 90 given in this record, which closely follows the period of Poṭhasiri, as well as from the two other fragmentary inscriptions noticed below, it can be surmised that he was the son and successor of Poṭhasiri. This inscription records the construction of a cave by a merchant. In a cave about a mile and a half to the west of Gopālpur, not far from the cave just referred to, are found two fragmentary inscriptions (Nos. XIII, A-B), one of which, containing traces of four lines, records the construction of caves for dwelling (ketana). There was a date in the second line, of which only the word pahaka is now faintly visible, the rest of the line having completely disappeared. Of the name of the ruler only Mahārāja-Poṭhasiri-pulasa (Ko) is legible in the first line. Of the second inscription found on the back wall of this cave, only the portion containing Mahārajasa Koriṣṭipustasa siri-Bhaṭṭadevasa is preserved. Though each of these inscriptions is fragmentary by itself, taken together they throw light on the genealogy of these rulers, because we can, as suggested above, surmise that this Mahārajasa Koriṣṭiputa Bhaṭṭadeva was the son of Mahārāja Poṭhasiri.3

The other rulers whose names are found at Bāndhogarh apparently did not belong to the line of Bhūmaśena directly. There might have been some relationship between the two lines of rulers;

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1 Bhāndarkar's List, No. 32 and note.
3 [See p. 183, n. 2, below.—Ed.]
but what it was cannot be ascertained. About a mile to the west of Gopālpur, I came across a large cave containing a big hall and seven cells. On the back wall of this hall, on both sides of the door leading to the cells, was engraved an inscription (No. XIV), of which only a few letters now remain. Though fragmentary, this record is interesting as on the left side is legible Mahārāja-Sivamaghasya and on the right side navrimsālākī. Unfortunately nothing more of the inscription is now preserved; but, from the little space left after maghasya on the right side, it would not be far wrong to assume that these caves were donated by the above named ruler himself. If there was any date, it is now completely effaced. We know of another inscription of this ruler from Kosam. Unfortunately the date is not preserved in this record also. That he belonged to the same line as Bhadramagha of Kausambi, for whom we have now dates ranging from 81 to 88, there can be no doubt. But there is yet no direct evidence of their mutual relationship. We cannot even ascertain as to who was the earlier of the two. From the fact, however, that a seal of Śivamagha was found along with that of Bhimasaṇa in course of the excavations at Bhitā, it may be assumed that Śivamagha was the earlier.  

Of great interest is also the fragmentary inscription (No. XVIII) found on the left wall of the verandah of a cave pertaining to this area. The verandah is now partly fallen and the inscription is badly damaged. Fortunately I found the same record also engraved on a rock (No. XIX), now lying near a nullah not far from Gopālpur. Evidently this rock once belonged to a cave, now difficult to identify, and must have fallen down the hill due to the ravages of weather. Though both these epigraphs are fragmentary, their texts can be completely restored by comparing the writing of the one with that of the other. Each of them records the construction of a cave by king (Rājan) Vaiśravaṇa who was the son of Mahāsenapati Bhadrabāla. Some years ago, an inscription of a homonymous ruler was discovered near Kosam. It is dated the first day of the 7th fortnight of Grīṣma of the year 107 and records the erection of an umbrella in the Pūruvāsahāyatana at Badarikārāma for the worship of Lord Pitāmaha, i.e. the Buddha, by the merchant Māgha who was a lay disciple (tīrāka) and whose grandfather was a merchant of Śūktramiti. This inscription, however, does not mention anything about the father of Vaiśravaṇa while the two inscriptions from Bāndhogarh clearly mention him as the son of Mahāsenapati Bhadrabāla. It may be noted, however, that the Kosam inscription styles him Mahārāja while the two records from Bāndhogarh refer to him as Rājan. Now, if the ruler mentioned in all the three records is identical, we have to assume that Vaiśravaṇa belonged to a collateral branch who, for some reason not known to us at present, succeeded a Māgha ruler, his predecessor being perhaps Bhadramagha. He may also be a different ruler belonging only to the Bāndhogarh line. As I have pointed out elsewhere, Mahāsenapati found in these inscriptions may have been a title of nobility and may not be taken in the literal sense of the chief commander of the army. It is just possible that Vaiśravaṇa, who gained more eminence than his father assumed at first the title Rājan which he replaced at a later date by that of Mahārāja.

In two contiguous caves situated about a mile to the south-west of Gopālpur were found three inscriptions (Nos. XV and XVI), one of them containing one epigraph and the other two inscriptions. These records are fragmentary by themselves; but, as they contain more or less the same text, the sense can be easily made out. They record the donation of caves, a well (tīpikā) and a garden by Phagu (Phalgū), son of the merchant Pusa (Pusya) who was an inhabitant of Pavata

1 Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 139, No. II.
2 About, AR, 1911-12, p. 51. For further discussion on the chronology of these rulers, see below, pp. 173 ff.
3 Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 146 ff.
4 See below, p. 176.
5 Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 82, note.
6 [See below, p. 176 and note 3.—Ed.]
(Parvata). We have noticed before that an inscription belonging to year 87 of the reign of Pothasiri records a donation by one Pusa. Considering the fact that he also hailed from Parvata, it will not be unreasonable to suppose that he is identical with Pushya, the father of Phalgu, of the inscriptions under consideration. We know that, in the year 88, Pothasiri was still ruling, while in the year 90 we find his son Bhasta-deva already installed as king. So the ruler in Phalgu's time should have been either Bhasta-deva or his successor. Now in the first of the two caves mentioned above there is a fragmentary inscription (No. XV). Its writing exhibits larger characters and it starts from the south wall and is continued on the wall to the left containing the inscription of Phalgu. The beginning of this record seems to have been lost; but we can still read [Vajrapadasa siri-Chitasa-lasa]. From the way this name is recorded it appears to be that of a ruler and probably the date was continued in the next line which, along with the expression Mahārājasa at the beginning of the first line, is now missing. Since this cave was, according to the inscription found in it, excavated by Phalgu, it can bear only the name of the contemporary ruler. If our surmise is correct, then we may be almost certain that this Chitasa (Chitasa-lasa) was the successor of Bhasta-deva in the line of king Bhumasa-
ed.

In the caves to the south-east of Gopālpur, I found three short records (No. XX, A-C). The walls bearing the records are not properly dressed, and the surface is too rough to ensure satisfactory decipherment of the records. All of them, however, bear one and the same text and seem to record that they were dwellings (kētana) dedicated by two persons named Bhoja and Bhojapallī. There is a date at the beginning of two of these records which seems to read Sama 50 Gi-pa I dīva 5, i.e. the 5th day of the first fortnight of Griśmha in the year 80. In the third record, the numeral after the day seems to be 6 instead of 5, other particulars of the date being the same. If my reading of the date is correct, the epigraphs would belong to the time of Pothasiri or his father Bhumasa-lasa.

Now the problem that faces us is to find out whether these caves were religious or secular donations and if religious what was the religion of the donors and those who occupied them. That they were all religious donations, there can be no doubt. Expressions like dhamātha (Skt. dharmārtham), for dharmā, punyair vrddhatu, 'let merit increase', dhamo vadhathu, 'let dharma increase', would clearly point to that. But the inscriptions are silent about what this religion was, and there is not even the slightest indication about that in any one of them. To make the position more difficult no images of any kind could be discovered in any of the caves or their surroundings and for a decision we are left to depend entirely on indirect evidence. Of the three principal religions of the time, viz. Buddhism, Jainism and Brāhmānism, the first, I think, can safely be ruled out. If the caves were Buddhistic donations one would expect to find some evidence in the records themselves and at least one or two of the caves should have been of the Chaitya type. That they may be Jain also seems doubtful. None of the donors is called a kśīvakas or upāsaka, nor is there any mention of a teacher or Arhat as one would expect even in early Jainas inscriptions. In one of the caves in the Ganesha Pahār are still visible two bas-reliefs. In one of these are found figures of several animals crowded together and on the adjoining wall is a short inscription which reads muggava-sena, i.e. mrigaśā-taila or 'the hill used as a hunting ground'. Apparently this was the label meant for the animal scene carved on the adjacent wall and it is hard to imagine a Jain religious establishment depicting such a scene. The other bas-relief in this cave shows a figure riding on an animal. The umbrella held over the head shows that the rider was meant to represent a king. On an adjacent pillar is found the name Jarasandha. If this also is meant to be a label, one would expect a scene from the Mahābhārata depicted here. There are also a few figures on the outside wall of the same cave; but they are now defaced beyond recognition. The natural conclusion that can be drawn from these figures in relief is that these caves were

4 [See below, p. 184, note 4.—Ed.]
Brahmanical. I would even hazard a suggestion that the establishment was of Śaiva origin. Though there is no direct proof, this view receives support from the fact that in one of the caves belonging to the group lying from east to west, I found a small inscription (cf. No. XII) which clearly reads Śivabhadra(ta) and on the jamb of the first entrance to the left of the same cave are two clear cut letters reading Śiva. This cave contains seven beautifully carved letters in shell characters and also a few letters from nine inches to two feet in length in black paint. The characters belong to about the 4th century; but they are so badly effaced that no sense can be made of the record. It is true that the two short epigraphs referred to above are in slightly later characters and may be pilgrims' records bearing personal names. But the evidence of the painted inscriptions proves the existence of this cave at an earlier period and the fact remains that no Jaina or Buddhist would have such names or engrave such records in any of their religious establishments. I was first inclined to believe that at least the group of three caves found to the south-east of Gopālpur were of Jaina origin; but now I think that I was not justified in doing so. In one of them, on the right side of the first doorway, I found a partly effaced standing naked figure which I thought might be that of a Tirthankara or Jaina saint; but it may very well be that of a Śaiva saint. If my assumption is correct, then these would be the earliest rock cut caves dedicated to Śiva worship. Before the discovery of these caves, the earliest and perhaps the only caves dedicated to Śiva were those at Udayagiri in Madhya Bharat, belonging to the time of Chandragupta II.1

We have seen above that only three of the caves were directly donated by the two princes Śivamāgha and Vaśravāṇa, three were gifts of two of the ministers of Pothasiri, viz. Māgha and Bhabātha, and the rest came mostly from the merchant class. It, however, seems strange that there were no donations direct from Bhūmasena or any of his successors. There can be no doubt that these rulers were also the followers of Śaivism. The seals of both Bhūmasena and Śivamāgha discovered at Bhīṭā show the representation of a bull on their obverse.2 But it may be that the whole property which formed the establishment came originally from this line of rulers, probably from Bhūmasena himself, and there might have been other grants from them, of which we have no knowledge at present. The caves which were donated by ruling princes, royal officials and persons who hailed from places like Kautilyā, Mathurā and Parvata, appear to have been used by the resident monks or ascetics for various purposes.

The records are dated from the year 51 to the year 90 of an unspecified era and various theories have been put forward as to the era to which they have to be referred. That the same era has been used in the inscriptions of the Magha rulers of Kautilyā, there is no doubt. Of the latter, the following names of kings and years of their rule are known: Mahārāja Gautamiputra Śivamāgha (date lost),3 Mahārāja Bhadrāmāgha (years 81, 83, 86 and 87),4 Mahārāja Vaśravāṇa (year 107)5 and Mahārāja Bhūmavarman (years 130 and 139).6 D. R. Sahni, while editing the inscription of Bhādramāgha, referred the years to the Gupta era of 319 A.D. and so did Sten Konow. Apart from other grave objections, the palaeography of these records would go against this theory as their script is of a period much earlier than that found in the inscriptions of the Imperial Guptas. It was assumed by some that the Maghas came into power only after the

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1 Corp. Ind., Vol. III, p. 35.
2 See below, pp. 176-77.
3 Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 129, No. II, and No. XIV below. For his seal from Bhīṭā, see ASI, AR, 1911-12, p. 81.
5 Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 146 ff. and Pl., and Nos. XVIII and XIX below.
Kushāṇas lost their hold on the Kauśāmbī region. So, in their opinion, an era had to be found which was later than the Kushāṇa era of 78 A.D. but earlier than the Gupta era. And the only era that would fit in would be the Kalachuri era of 248 A.D. Moreover, the areas in which these inscriptions have been found were either associated with the Kalachuris or were contiguous to the Kalachuri territories. D.R. Bhandarkar, K.P. Jayaswal and A. Ghosh were in favour of the Kalachuri era on palaeographic grounds. I found three lithic records of the Kalachuris of Tripuri in the fort at Bāndhogarh. They are small inscriptions referring to the setting up of rock-cut images of fish, tortoise and boar, obviously representing the three incarnations of Viṣṇu, by one Gollāka alias Gauḍa who was the son of Bhānu and a minister of Śrī-Yuvaśrīdeva. This ruler has undoubtedly to be identified with Yuvarāja I on palaeographic grounds and the inscriptions would therefore be the earliest records of the Kalachuris of Tripuri. But this family of rulers came into existence only about the last quarter of the ninth century with Kokkalla as the first ruler and very little is known of them before that date. It is doubtful if the Kalachuri-Chedi era could have been in vogue in Baghelkhand and the adjacent area in the age of the Maghas. But we have shown above that the script of the Bāndhogarh inscriptions is allied to that found in the inscriptions of the Kushāṇas and the cave inscriptions of the Western Deccan. Though at first sight the alphabet of the inscriptions of the Maghas of Kauśāmbī appears more developed than that of the Bāndhogarh records, there is no doubt that the era used in both the Magha and the Bāndhogarh records is the same. The reason why the script of the Bāndhogarh records, even in those which are almost contemporary with the Magha records, looks earlier is twofold. At Bāndhogarh, all the records are incised in caves and in the cave inscriptions particularly many of the archaic forms persist. Moreover, Bāndhogarh being out of the way, the script might not have been so developed as in Kauśāmbī which was an important place and had better contacts with important cities like Mathurā and others.

There are other unsurmountable difficulties in accepting the era as the Gupta or the Kalachuri era. If we accept the era as the Gupta era in spite of the difficulties of palaeography, we have to assume that they were vassals of the Gupta rulers. Similarly, if we refer the dates to the Kalachuri era, the last three Magha rulers at least would be contemporaries of the Gupta emperors Chandragupta I, Śāmudragupta and Chandragupta II. Kauśāmbī at the period was included in the Gupta empire and therefore these rulers of Kauśāmbī must have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Imperial Gupta monarchs. But there is no indication of this in any of the Magha records. Moreover, coins have been found of six Magha rulers, viz. Śīvamagha, Bhadramagha, Vaiśravaṇa and Bhimayvarman, who are known from inscriptions, and also of Vijayāmagha and Śatamagha whose inscriptions have not been discovered so far. This fact would indicate their independent status and therefore they cannot be taken as the vassals of either the Gupta or the Kalachuri rulers. This being the case, the only other era left to us is the Śaka era of 78 A.D. and let us examine the possibility of applying this era to the Magha records. This of course hinges on the initial date of the Kushāṇa era. If we accept that this era started in 78 A.D., as seems to be the opinion of the majority of scholars now, some of the years of the Magha rulers will fall within the reign of the Kushāṇa rulers Huvishka and Vāsudeva whose coins have been found at Kauśāmbī. One would therefore think normally that the rule of these two Kushāṇa rulers also extended over Kauśāmbī and that the Maghas were therefore subordinate to the Kushāṇas. But there is nothing in the inscriptions to show that this was the case. During the excavations at Bhiṣṭa, seals of Śīvamagha

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1 JNSI, Vol. II (1940), pp. 95 ff. and Plate.
2 Ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 10-11.
3 Prathāriya, whose coins and seal have been discovered, had obviously nothing to do with Pothishri of Bāndhogarh. See Mirashi, above, Vol. XXVI, p. 299 and n.3. [Prathāriya seems to be the misreading of what is really Pravathāriya.—Ed.]
and Bhimasena were discovered along with other antiquities above the Maurya level and therefore Marshall placed them in the Kushāṇa period.1 The stratigraphic evidence supplied by the excavations at Kauśāmbī carried out by the Allahabad University gives us some interesting and more definite information. According to a brief report sent to me by Mr. G. R. Sharma on the position of the Kushāṇa antiquities, he found nine sub-periods of baked brick habitation at Kauśāmbī, commencing from I(a) and I(b) to VIII which is the last sub-period. He did not find any trace of Kushāṇa antiquity, coins or seals, up to sub-period IV. Sub-period V is the first stratum in which Mitra and Kushāṇa coins and Kushāṇa seals occur. Part of this period therefore seems to have been under the rule of the Mitras whose latest coins are those of Rajaṇimitra and Jyeṣṭhamitra. Towards the latter half of sub-period V, the Kushāṇas seem to have invaded Kauśāmbī, a seal of Kauśāmbī bearing the legend Mahārāja Rājāśāhā Ḍeṇaputra-Καυσακ्षरα prayoga offering the earliest evidence. The coins of Kauśāmbi, Huṇaška and Vāsudeva have been recovered from sub-period VI which has yielded also the coins of Neva and the Maṃghas. Sub-period VII has yielded coins of the Maṃghas only and to sub-period VIII belongs Puṣvāșṭri.2 The latest coins discovered after that period are those of Gaṇḍeṣṭra or Gaṇapataṇāga when the entire site seems to have been deserted. We know from the Allahabad pillar inscription of Saṃdrakṣapuṭa that Gaṇapataṇāga, the Nāga ruler of Pañḍava (near Narwar in the former Gwalior State), was one of the kings defeated by Saṃdrakṣapuṭa. Assuming therefore that Gaṇapataṇāga ruled between 325-350 A.D. it is difficult to compress all these presumably independent kings, viz. Puṣvāșṭri, the Maṃgha rulers, Neva and the Kauśāmbī kings from Kauśāmbi onwards, within this period except on the assumption that the Kauśāṇa era began in 78 A.D. This gives another conclusive evidence against the use of the Kalachuri era in the Maṃgha records as there would be a big gap of about 150 years between the Kauśāṇa king Vāsudeva, assuming that the Kauśāṇa era began in 78 A.D., and Bhadramagha whose earliest inscription is dated in the year 81. Even accepting that there might be one or two more rulers before Bhadramagha the gap would remain quite large. This gap would be even larger if the commencement of the Kauśāṇa era is placed at an earlier date. The excavations at Kauśāmbī do not provide for this gap. The discovery of Kauśāmbi’s seal would definitively show that Kauśāmbī came under Kauśāṇa rule in the time of this king. But the discovery of the coins of Vāsudeva creates some difficulty as it might be argued that Kauśāṃbi was under the Kauśāṇa rule during the reign of Bhadramagha. But we must not overlook one very significant fact that no inscription of Vāsudeva has so far been discovered outside the Mathura region. On the face of this evidence, it would not be unreasonable to suppose that the Kauśāṇas had lost their hold over Kauśāmbī when the Maṃghas came into power. The discovery of Vāsudeva’s coin at Kauśāmbī does not necessarily mean that this area was under his rule. The reason of this fact may be that, though their rule was extinct, coins of the Kauśāṇas were still used in the Kauśāmbī area for the purpose of trade side by side with the coins issued by the local Maṃgha rulers. Such instances are not rare in the history of numismatics of ancient India.3 Even foreign coins like the Roman aurei were not only accepted but were popular currency in India for a long time not merely for its gold value but also for the facility of trade with the Roman world. If this view is accepted and the dates of the Maṃgha inscriptions are referred to the Saka era of 78 A.D., there would neither be any overlapping nor any unreasonable gap between the Kauśāṇa and the Maṃgha rule over Kauśāmbī. The palaeography of the Maṃgha inscriptions does not offer any insurmountable difficulty. Though at first sight the script of the Maṃgha records looks later, Mirashi has already

1 *ASI, AR, 111-12, p. 51. The legends on these seals read Mahārāja Gauṭamīpuṭraṇa Śiśumāraṇa and [Rājā] Vāsudeva[Puṣvāṣṭri]-puṭraṇa [rā]-Bhimaśastrapuṭa. Jayaswal rightly identifies Bhimasena with the ruler mentioned in the Ginja inscription; but A. Ghosh rejects the theory on the ground of their different titles, viz. Raja and Mahāraja. See *Ind. Cult.*, 1936, p. 179.

2 [The correct reading of this name seems to be Pravaśākṣāta.—Ed.]

shown that all the forms found in them may be traced in the Kushāṣṭa inscriptions also. I have also shown above why archaic forms appear in the Bāndhogāra inscriptions. In the circumstances there is no other alternative but to accept the theory that both the Maghas and the Bāndhogaḥa inscriptions are dated in the Śaka era of 73 A.D.

A few words may be said about the style of dating in these inscriptions. Whereas in the Kushāṣṭa records, the date is given in the year, the season and the day of the month, the Maghas and the Bāndhogaḥa rulers use the system found in all other early inscriptions, namely, the year, the season and not the day of the month but the day of the fortnight.

Miraśi takes Bhimasena of the Giniṣa record as belonging to the Magha dynasty. But the Bāndhogaḥa inscriptions definitely show that he had no direct connection with the Magha rulers of Kauśāmbi but was the father of Poṭhasiri of the Bāndhogaḥa line. Inscription No. I which gives the titles and surname of Bhimasena along with the date leaves no doubt as to his identification. Miraśi also identifies Vaśravana and Bhadrabāla of the Bāndhogaḥa records respectively with Vaśravana (of the year 107) and Bhadraramha of the Kauśāmbi line of rulers. But in the Bāndhogaḥa inscriptions Bhadrabāla is called only a Mahāṣenāpati and Vaśravana a Rājan as against the title of Mahārāja for both the Magha rulers. The title of Mahāṣenāpati in the early centuries before and after the Christian era did not necessarily designate a military rank but was often simply a title of nobility. The same may be the case with Bhadrabāla who might not have been an army commander of the Bāndhogaḥa or the Magha rulers. Similarly Rājan Vaśravana of the Bāndhogaḥa records seems to be different from the Mahārāja Vaśravana (of the year 107) of Kauśāmbi. The only puzzling feature is that the language of this record seems to be Sanskrit and not Prakrit like the other records from Bāndhogaḥa. It appears to me that the Mahāṣenāpati Bhadrabāla may have been the originator of the Bāndhogaḥa line whose successor Vaśravana took the title of Rājan when the family gained more extensive power. He was succeeded by Bhimaśena who started with the same title, as his seal from Bhītā shows, but some time before 129 A.D. assumed the title of Mahārāja which was continued by all the rulers of the family so far known. According to this suggestion, the order of succession would be:

1. Mahāṣenāpati Bhadrabāla.
2. Rājan Vaśravana.
3. Rājan (then Mahārāja) Bhimaśena (years 51, 52).
4. Mahārāja Poṭhasiri (years 86, 87, 88).
5. Mahārāja Bhāṭṭadeva (year 90).

The relationship of Vāsīṭhīputra Chitaśena (Skt. Chitraśena, No. XV) with this family, if any, is not certain.

A few words may be said about the religion of these rulers. The coins and seals of the Maghas show a bull on the obverse. In the Bhītā seal of Śivamagha there is an additional crescent below

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2 [Cf. Sād. In., 1942, p. 365.—Ed.]
3 The only instance I know of where the Kushāṣṭa system of dating has been used outside the Kushāṣṭa records is the Bodh Gayā inscription dated in the year 60 of an unspecified era. See Lüders' List, No. 949.
6 [The suggestion regarding two Vaśravanas, one a Rājan and the other a Mahārāja, seems to be unjustifiable. The Bāndhogaḥa area appears to have formed a part of the dominions of the Kauśāmbi rulers. Cf. Hist. Oult. Ind. Peop., Vol. II, p. 178.—Ed.]
the neck of the bull. It is therefore likely that they were followers of Saivism. But in the same
seal there is also the figure of a woman with her right arm outstretched. That she represents
a goddess there is little doubt, though her identity cannot be established. No coins of the Bandhoga-
ghar rulers are known; but in the Bhita seal of Bhimasena the same figures are found, although
they are transposed. In two of our inscriptions (Nos. VIII-IX) Mahārāja Poṭhasirī is described
as Bhaisākha-Hamāvīḷā(Hanū) in No. IX)-parīsakā, i.e. protected by the lord Hamāvīḷā. Bhaisākha
of course may be ‘a king’, ‘a sage’ or ‘a god’. But on the analogy of similar expressions
found in other inscriptions it has probably to be taken in the sense of a god. I cannot, however,
identify this Hamāvīḷā or Hamāvivāla with any deity, Saiva or otherwise. The Chedi country
had been a Saiva stronghold all through the Kalschuri rule. We know very little of the history
of Saivism in this area at an earlier period. There is no indication in these records why the Saiva
establishments at Bandhorgar were abandoned. Probably after the Maghas and the Bandhorgar
rulers there was no royal patronage and the religious establishments which received their attention
and patronage gradually fell into bad days and were finally abandoned, until several centuries
later a new line of Saiva teachers was brought in and made to settle in the country under
the patronage of the Kalschuri rulers.

Only five place names occur in the inscriptions from Bandhorgar. The location of Kaustāmbi
(No. II, line 1, etc.) and Mathurā (No. VII, line 2) is well known while that of Pavata or Parvata
(No. XV and XVII) has already been discussed above. I cannot identify Vejhabharadha (No. I,
line 3) and Sapatanairika (No. VII, line 2).

I edited the inscriptions from the estampages prepared by me in 1938.

I. Inscription of Bhimasena, Year 51 (Plate I)

[In a cave between the Ganesh Pahār and the Rāmagiri hills.]

TEXT

1 Sidham [1] Mahārāja Vaiśākha saṃvatsara siri-Bhimaseṇa saṃvāchchore
2 ekapane 50 1 Vasa-pakhe pachame 5 divase aṭhahe 8 etāe pārivaśe
3 iṣṭa-ghara4 khanita gothika(ke)hi V[elabharadha-negamo] Phagumakka negamo Mada
4 suvanakaro Balkamit negamo Sivasa[ko] k[āṭhikāri[ka]-kamāra Saka[o]
5 negamo Cheti vanijako Sivadharo vanija[ko] [Tiro] 18

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1 Akr, ASI, 1911-12, p. 51.
2 Cf., e.g., Bhaisākha-Mahāśena-parīsakā as the epithet of Chānāmūla in the Nagarjunikonda inscrip-
tions (above, Vol. XXI, pp. 10 ff.). [The word vālā in the name of the deity means ‘a cat’. He may have been
a local cat-god like the tiger-god Dakshina-rūya of the Sundarbans.—Ed.]
4 The word iṣṭa, with the variants iṣṭitu and iṣṭā-whara, has obviously been used in the sense of Skt. iṣṭa, Pkt.
se, ‘a cave-shelter’ though I cannot trace the word elsewhere. [cf. p. 169, note 1.—Ed.]
5 Vejhabharadha is obviously a place name which I cannot identify. The word negamo may mean either a
resident of a negamo or city or a merchant and has been distinguished from vanijaka (Skt. vānī), ‘a small trader’.  
6 The punctuation mark is indicated by a slightly slanting stroke.
TRANSLATION

Success! In the year 51, 8th day of the 5th fortnight of the rainy season (in the reign) of Mahārāja Vasiṣṭhiputa (Vasiṣṭhiputra) Śrī-Bhīmasena. On this day excavated a cavedwelling by the committee (gāthākāra) consisting of) Phagusama, the merchant (n jama) of Veja-bharadha, the merchant Mada (Madra), the goldsmith Balamita (Balamitra), the merchant Siva-saka (Śivaśakra), the carpenter and blacksmith (kāśthakāri-karmāra) Saka (Śakra), the merchant Cheti, the trader (vānik) Sivadhara (Śivadhara) and the trader Tira

II. Inscription (No. 1) of Pothasiri, Year 86
[On the back wall of Cave No. 1 in the Ganesh Pahār.]

TEXT

1 [Sidhan] [1*] Mahā[rāja]sa Kochhiputasa P[o]thisirisa savachhare chhāsite 80 6 Heman具体情况-pakhe pathama[e] 1 divase pacharme 5 etāyaṁ puruvāyaṁ nesā(ga)-masa Kosarm(a)be(ya)sa Cha[kaka]sa natikasa Phāguhath[i]ka]sa

2 putasa Rakhitikā[e] negamasa Chhamikasa [nati]kasa negamasa Datikasa putasa Chelā etānaṁ dōnaṁ jānaṁ sabīyaṁ putaka(ke)hi ārāmo lātāni chagavo rout [cha] [1*]

3 dhamo vaṭhatu [1*] ya[nuk] chhata-[lātā] [1*]

TRANSLATION

Success! In the year 86, on the 5th day of the first fortnight of Hemanta (in the reign) of Mahārāja Kochhiputa (Kautāiputra) Pothasiri. On this day (the joint gifts) of Rakhitika (Rakhita), the grandson of Chakaka (Chakra), a merchant (negama) from Kosambi (Kauśāmbi) and the son of Phāguhathika (Phalguhastin), and of Cheta, the grandson of the merchant Chhamika (Khamin) and the son of the merchant Datika (Datti)—of these two persons with their sons—are a garden, cave-dwellings and a vessel. May piety increase. This is the Chhata cave.

III. Inscription (No. 2) of Pothasiri, Year 86
[In Cave No. 2 in the Ganesh Pahār.]

TEXT

1 [Sidhan ] [1*] Ma[hārāja]sa Kochhiputasa P[o]thisirisa savachhare chhāsite 80 6 Heman具体情况-pakhe pathama(me) 1 divase pachame 5 etāyaṁ puruvāyaṁ

2 Kosarm(a)yasa negamasa Chakaka natikasa Phāguhathika-putasa Rakhitikā[e] negamasa Chhamikasa natikasa negamasa

---

1 Read Rakhitikasa (also in Nos. II, IV and VI) as in No. V and Cholas. [cf. p. 160, note 2.—Ed.]
2 Same as Pili chagavāra meaning a hollow vessel, a bowl or a cask.
3 See above, p. 160.

4 iyaṁ sā[ṛṭhi]ka-lāta [*]

IV. Inscription (No. 3) of Poṭhasiri, Year 86 (Plate I)

[In Cave No. 3 in the Ganesh Pahār.]

TEXT

1 Siddham [[ ]] Mahārājaśa Kochhīputasa Poṭhas[i]raśa savachhara cchāste 80 6 Hema[ṁ]la-pakha patham[es] 1 divase p[a][cha]-

2 me 5 etā(tā)yaṁ puruvāyaṁ Kosanibeyasa [negama]sa Chakrakasa natikasa Phagubhikasa putasa Rakhitikasa negamaśa [Chhamikasa natikasa]*


4 ima iya] chha[ta]t[ā]* [*]

V. Fragmentary Inscription (No. 4) of Poṭhasiri

[In Cave No. 4 in the Ganesh Pahār.]

TEXT

1 Siddhaṁ [*] Mahārājaśa Ko[chhiputasa], [Poṭ]ha[mirasa] ............. [pa*]-

2 chama 5 etāyaṁ puruvāyaṁ Kosain[be]lyasa ............. [kasa pu]-

3 tasa Rakhitikasa negamaśa Chham[i]kasa] ............. [Che]-

4 īsē etānaṁ dona janānaṁ sahiya putakehi .... lātā ............... iyaiṁ

5 .... tā ma[ḥjaya-lātā]* [*]

VI. Inscription (No. 5) of Poṭhasiri, Year 86 (Plate II)

[On the back wall of Cave No. 5 in the Ganesh Pahār.]

---

1 The punctuation is indicated by a horizontal stroke. The last sentence may be translated as 'This is the merchants' [sarāhika] cave'. The rest of the text is similar to that of No. II.

2 The last four letters are not clear. The first letter may be di and the second su or pu. Obviously this portion contained the name of the cave. The text of this inscription is similar to that of Nos. II-III. [The reading of the last line seems to be ima diyatam.—Ed.]

3 This inscription apparently contained the same text as Nos. II-IV and VI. The last line gives the name of the cave as maḍāla, which probably stands for Skt. maṭāyaṇa, meaning 'a hall'.
TEXT

1 Siddham\(^1\) || Mahārājāsa Kochhiputasa Pothisirisa sarvachhare chhāsīte 80 6

2 thikasa putasa Rakshitaka\[e\] negamasa Chamā[ka]sa natikasa negamasa Datikasa putasa Chelās et[sa]ni ñ[do][m]n[a][ū] janānām sahīyaṃ pu[ṭakehi]\(^5\) ārāμo lātāni cha chagavaρo

3 cha [[*]] dhamo vadhatu [[*]] iyāṃ chha[ta-latā] [[*]]

VII. Incription (No. 6) of Pothisiri, Year 88 (Plate II)
[On the right of the back wall of Cave No. 9 in the Ganesha Pahār.]

TEXT\(^*\)

1 Sidhaṃ [[*]] Mahārājāsa Kochhiputasa Pothisirisa savachhare athā[ite] 80 8
Hemanța-pakhe bitīye 2 divase pacharme 5 etāyaṇ[nū] puruvāyān[nū]


4 mama vā putheha ana[pehi] satehi kupi ghaṭika raju cha datam sodhey samāna cha tasa ya kūpe phala[mī] tato adham an[um]mānti yena khānītā [||*]

TRANSLATION

Success! In the year 88, 5th day of the second fortnight of Hemanța (in the reign) of Mahārājā Kochhiputa Pothisiri. On this day these cave-shelters and a well, which constitute a pious act, are excavated by the merchant (vānijaka) Gahavudhi who is a resident of Sapatana\[rika] and the grandson of Jivanaka, a merchant of Mathurā, and the son of Sug\[ita]. May the lord be pleased. May piety and merit and my (own) merit in this world increase. This endowment I have given (while) in perfect health and undivided (anānaya) mind. This act of merit is put in writing. Whatever has been given by me or by my progeny, numerous and excellent (āśīta), the well, the water vessel (ghaṭika) and ropes and also the dwelling (saudheya), (of these) whatever may be the merit (accruing from) the well, half of it goes to whosoever dug (the well).

---

\(^1\) Final m is indicated by writing it below the line in smaller size. The double daṇḍa after Siddham is followed by a symbol which may possibly be regarded as the covering stroke of the final m.

\(^2\) This ma which was omitted at first due to oversight is supplied above the line in a smaller shape.

\(^3\) The letters are lost due to the stone having peeled off.

\(^4\) This looks like å on the impressions.

\(^5\) The portion within the square brackets is broken and lost.

\(^6\) [In some cases i and u are written alike. The same is the case with No. VI (cf. janānā in line 2).—Ed.]

\(^7\) [The context requires "saṁcana and "saṁsaran. —Ed.]
VIII. Inscription (No. 7) of Pothasiri, Year 86 (Plate II)

[On the back wall of Cave No. 3 of a group of caves lying from east to west about a mile to the west of Gopālipur.1]

TEXT

1 Siddham [\*] Bhāṭṭāraka-Harmāvīḷā-para[igar]sa mahārāja-Bhimasa-putasa mahārājasa Kochhim[pu]jasa Pothasirīsa

2 sa[n]vachhare chhāṭāte 80 6 Gimha-pākhe satame 7 divase 10 etāyāṁ puruṣāyaṁ mahārāja-Pothasirīsa


4 lāṭā-garā be jha[si]mayo ārāmo cha [\*] pu[nyaṁ var]dhatu [i]

TRANSLATION

Success! In the year 86, 10th day of the 7th fortnight of Grishma (in the reign) of Mahārāja Kochhipūtra Pothasirī, son of Mahārāja Bhimasa and protected by the god Haranāvīḷā. On this day, are caused to be excavated for religious merit by the minister (anāccha) Mārga who is the son of the minister Chakora and is employed (to hold) the office of the Foreign Affairs (lit. in charge of Peace and War), 2 wells, 2 cave-shelters and a garden containing shrubs. May merit prosper.

IX. Inscription (No. 8) of Pothasiri, Year 86 (Plate II)

[On the back wall of the hall of Cave No. 4, about 50 steps to the east of Cave No. 3 (cf. No. VII)2]

TEXT

1 Siddham [\*] Bhāṭṭāraka-Harmāvīḷā-para[gar]ita mahārāja-Bhimasa-putasa mahārajasa Kochhipūtasa

2 Pothasirīsa satvachhare chhāṭāte 80 6 Hemanita-pākhe satame 7 divase dasame 10 etāyaṁ

vāe mahārāja-Pothasirīsa saṁdhivigaha-vāvatena [a]... putena amachena Māghe na dhama

mātha

4 khāṣita 24 vavi 2 arāmā lāṭā-garā cha [\*] punyaṁ varddhā[na] [\*]3

1 In cave No. 1, which is near the road, there are a few letters visible on the wall. In Cave No. 2 in this area, there is writing on the wall in two places and several short records which are no longer legible, except one which reads bhaṭṭakara, probably the same as bhaṭṭakara, an epithet of Śiva.

2 A few letters are visible on two pillars; but they are quite illegible. There is a reservoir, now completely filled up, in front of the cave which is evidently one of the two mentioned in the inscription. This cave consists of only one big hall and there are no cells attached.

3 These letters have been destroyed due to the subsequent cutting of an alcove which has also damaged the last akṣara of line 4. Read amacha-Chakora as in No. VIII.

4 This figure is joined with the preceding letter.

5 The text is almost similar to that of No. VIII.


X. Inscription (No. 9) of Pothasiri, Year 88 (Plate II)

[On the back wall of a big hall in Cave No. 7, about a mile and a half to the west of Oopālpur and south of Cave No. 6.]

TEXT

1 Siḍham [{{*}}] Mahārājasa Kočhiputasa Pothasirissar sarhvachare 80 6 Gī-pa 6(?)[*] diva 10

2 etiya puruvaya negamasa Ujhasa putena amacha-Bhabhāthena ketana-latāghara kărāsi(pl)ṭā [{{*}}] dhamo vadhatu [{{*}}]

TRANSLATION

Success! In the year 88 on the 10th day of the 6th fortnight of Summer. On this day has been caused to be constructed by the minister Bhabhātha, son of the merchant (nēgama) Ujha, a cave-shelter for dwelling. May piety prosper.

XI. Inscription of Bhaṭṭadeva, Year 90 (Plate III)

[Commencing on the back wall and continued to the right wall of the hall in Cave No. 5.]*

TEXT

Back wall:

Siḍham [{{*}}] Mahārājasa Bhāṭṭa devasa sarhvachhare navate 90 Hemamita- pakha padhama 1 divas padhama 1 ete puruvaye negamasa Ajñātakasa? natikena Vesskhās[e] putena n[e][ga]meva Dhanamitakena

Right wall:

[la(yo)(ya)na kārita ][{{*}}] dhamo vadhatu[{{*}}]

TRANSLATION

Success! In the year 90 on the first day of the first fortnight of Hemanta (of the sign) of Mahārāja Bhaṭṭadeva. On this day has been constructed by the merchant (nēgama) Dhanamitaka (Dhanamitra), the grandson of the merchant (nēgama) Ajñātaka and the son of Vesākha (Vaisākha), a cave-shelter. May piety prosper.

---

1 The medial / sign is not deeply engraved.
2 Unlike the other inscriptions of this rāler, the details of the date are given only in figures and not both in words and numerical figures. For the season and the fortnight, only abbreviations have been used.
3 The punctuation is indicated by a horizontal stroke.
4 There is a cell to the left. There was another cave at a distance of above 30 yards from this cave, the roof of which has fallen and there is now no indication if it originally contained any inscription.
5 The reading seems to be Bhāṭṭa here and not Bhada. Cf. d in divas, which is quite different.
6 The antika is shown in red paint and was not engraved through oversight.
7 The sign of medial ṛ in jṛṛ is engraved on top of the conjunct letter. There is a chisel-mark on ṛ making it look like ṛ on the impressions.
8 It appears that ṛd was engraved first and then corrected into ṛ with the result that the syllable looks like ṛṛ.
9 There is also a chisel-mark on ṛ making it look like ṛ ṛ. The rock in this cave is very rough and there are numerous chisel-marks which give the impression of vowel sign on the impressions.
XII. Inscriptions in Cave No. 6

There is no Brāhmi inscription in this cave which consists of only one hall. There are, however, seven beautifully carved letters in shell characters engraved at the right end of the back wall. There are also letters written in black paint varying from 9 inches to two feet in size, which are now practically effaced. A late inscription is engraved along the wall, partly cutting the letters written in black paint. In one place, however, the word Śivabhaktakta can be clearly read and in another the word putasa. There are a few other small epigraphs, now illegible, which seem to have been only pilgrims' records. On the jamb of the first entrance to the left, the letters Śiva are clear. There is no record of any historical importance, nor any image. The small records are, however, valuable in that they clearly indicate the Śaivite association of the place. The hall may have been only a resting place for the pilgrims visiting the caves in the vicinity.

XIII. Inscriptions of Bhaṭṭadeva (Plate III)

[In cave No. 8, about a mile and a half to the west of Gopālpur. There are two inscriptions, here marked A and B, both badly mutilated. A is on the back wall and B on the left wall.]

TEXT

A

1 [Śr]db[ī] Mahārāja-Poṭhasiriputasa [Ko].................

2 ................ [pa]khe....

3 [etā]ya puruvāya Vasumitaka-uatt[i]kasa.............

4 ............... ketana-dhamachara[nā] l[ā]t[ā]-ghara khānita [punyaṁ]...........

B

1 Mahārāja Kosikiputasa mri-Bhaṭṭadeva.............

TRANSLATION

A

Success: On ........................................ fortnight (of the reign) of ............... son of Poṭhasiri. On this day, by ............... the grandson of Vasumita............., has been excavated a cave-shelter for dwelling as a measure of piety. May merit increase.

B

The illustrious Mahārāja Bhaṭṭadeva, the son of Kosikī.............

1 The roof of the cave is fallen.

2 Of the first line of A, only the beginning is preserved. The second line has practically disappeared due to the wearing of the stone. The third and fourth lines are also badly worn off. Obviously both the inscriptions belonged to the time of Bhaṭṭadeva, son of Poṭhasiri. [It is difficult to be definite on this point.—Ed.]

2 The last three syllables must have been eroded, as in some other inscriptions.
XIV. Inscriptions in Cave No. 9 (Plate IV)

This cave lies about a mile to the west of Gopālpur and consists of seven cells and a hall. On the north wall of the hall, on two sides of a doorway are the remains of an inscription. On the left side only Mahārāja-Sivamgha[ya] is clear. On the right side 6 to 8 letters at the beginning are missing altogether while 6 more letters following this portion are not clear. Thereafter comes the concluding portion of the record which reads: navam ima lā[tā-grāhā]. It is a pity that the inscribed portion after the name of the ruler is lost as it would have not only given a date for the ruler but might have thrown some light on his relationship with the rulers of Bhimasena’s line. It also seems from the record that there were originally 8 cells which along with the hall made a total of 9 as indicated in the inscription.

XV. Inscription of Chitasena (Plate IV)

[In Cave No. 10, about a mile to the south-west of Gopālpur. There are remains of an inscription on the left wall starting from the wall in the south.]

TEXT

South wall:
1 [Vāsiṭhī]putasa

Left wall:
ai-Chitasenaśa Pavata-vāṭhavena vāpijakena [Pusaka-putena] Phagune(na) lātā-ghara khāni[tā] ||

TRANSLATION

(During the time of) Vāsiṭhīputa (Vāsiṣṭhiputra), the illustrious Chitasena, the cave-dwellings are excavated by the trader Phagu (Phalgu), the son of Pusaka (Pushya) and a resident of Pavata (Parvata).

XVI. Inscriptions in Cave No. 11 (Plate IV)

[There are two inscriptions marked here as A and B, both badly damaged, in the cells to the left and right respectively.]

TEXT

A

1 ......... [Pus[aka-putena Phaguna [lātā]-ghara khāṇāpita ['] puna vadhatu []

2 vap[i]l[=ā][m][o] [cha] [']||

1 There are a few letters of large size below an inscription on the left wall and also on the back and right walls; but they are not clear and no sense can be made out of them.
2 Supplied on the basis of No. XVI.
3 The second line of the inscription engraved in continuation on the south and left walls is completely worn out.
4 It is difficult to take Chitasena as a king unless it is supposed that the date before the name or an expression like rajya after it is omitted.—Ed.
5 Of No. XV.
6 The punctuation mark has been indicated by two parallel horizontal lines followed by a dash.
BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS FROM BANDHOGARH — PLATE IV

A

XIII

B

Scale: One-eighth

XV

Left Half

Right Half

Scale: One Tenth
1. [Posaka]-putena Phaguna [lā]tā-gharam kāṁśapitā [*] pūna vairiva [*]

TRANSLATION

These cave-dwellings have been caused to be excavated by Phagu, the son of Pusaka (who donated) also a small tank and a garden. May merit increase.

XVII. Inscription (No. 10) of Poṭhasiri, Year 87 (Plate IV)

[On the back wall of Cave No. 12 which is partly ruined.]

TEXT

1. [Śjiddham || Mahā[r][ā]jasa Kochhiputasa Poṭhasirisa sarha 80 7 Vāsa-pa 2 dīva 5
2. ete puruvaśa Pavata-vathavaṇa negamasa Āyāsaka-putassa
3. Pusasa vāpi lāṭa-gharo vāyama-sāli chā [*] dhama vañhatu [*]

TRANSLATION

Success! In the year 87, 5th day of the second fortnight of Varṣa (in the reign of Kochhiputa[Konātiputra] Poṭhasiri. On this day, a tank, cave-dwellings and a gymnasium are (the gifts) of the merchant Pusa (Pushya)*, the son of Āyāsaka (Āyāsa) and a resident of Pavata.

XVIII. Inscription (No. I) of Vaiśravana (Plate V)

[On the left wall of the verandah, which is partly fallen, in Cave No. 13.]

TEXT

2. [Vaiśravapena idam] [kā]tā-griha[m] khānitam[*]

TRANSLATION

This cave-dwelling has been caused to be excavated by the king Vaiśravana, the son of Mahāśrīpati Bhadṛabālā.

---

1 The punctuation mark has been indicated by two parallel horizontal lines followed by a dash.
2 This is followed in the original by a horizontal stroke.
3 The punctuation mark is indicated by a horizontal stroke. In the third cell of another cave situated on the right of the present cave is a small record which seems to read: Mahā[ṛ]jasa[.]
4 Pusa, the son of Āyāsaka of the present record, is obviously identical with Pusaka, the father of Phagu of Nos. XV–XVI.
5 The line begins with two parallel horizontal strokes followed by a dash.
6 The punctuation mark is indicated by one horizontal stroke.
XIX. Inscription (No. 2) of Vaiśravaṇa (Plate V)

[On a detached rock which once formed part of a cave but is now lying near a nullah.]

TEXT

1. Mahāsenāpate-Bhadra-balayə putre[pə]
2. Vaiśravaṇa m ida[m] lāṭā-[gṛi][ḥam khānitam [*]

XX. Inscriptions of Year 80 (Plate V)

[In three caves to the south-east of Gopālpur. The three inscriptions are in one line each bearing an almost identical text.]

TEXT

A. (In Cave No. 1, on the back wall of the inner hall.)

Sava 80 G1-pa 1 diva 6 ketana[m] Vachhaputa-Bhojas Bhojapilisa cha [||*]

B. (In Cave No. 2, on the back wall of a cell to the right of Cave No. 1.)

Sava 80 Girna 1 [du]va 5 ketana[m] Vachhaputa-Bhojas Bhojapilisa cha [||*]

C. (In Cave No. 3.)

......... ketana[m*] Vachha-putana Bhoja Bhojapilisa cha [||*]

TRANSLATION

In the year 80, 5th day of the first fortnight of summer. (This is the) dwelling (which is the gift) of Vachha's son Bhoja and Bhojapili. [According to C, 'of Vachha's sons, Bhoja and Bhojapili'.]

---

* The line begins with two parallel horizontal strokes followed by a dash.
* The text is almost identical with that of No. XVIII.
No. 24—TWO GRANTS FROM GALAVALLI

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

A few years ago two sets of copper-plate grants were dug up from the fields belonging to Mr. B. Rajagopala Rao, President of the Panchayat Board of Galavalli, a village in the Bobbili Taluk of the Srikakulam District, Andhra. The priest of the Kāmēśvarasvāmi temple at Galavalli secured them and sent them to Mr. N. Ramesan, then Revenue Divisional Officer of Parvatiyaram. Mr. Ramesan presented the inscriptions to the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry, and published both the epigraphs in the said Society's journal, Vol. XX, pp. 161-70, 171-76. As neither the treatment of the earlier inscription nor its published facsimile appeared to me satisfactory, I was eager to examine the original plates. In January 1956 I visited the office of the Andhra Historical Research Society at Rajahmundry and had an opportunity of examining both the inscriptions through the courtesy of Mr. R. Subba Rao, Secretary of the Society. Mr. Subba Rao was also kind enough to allow me to take impressions of the two records.

1.--Plates of Gaṅga Year 393

The inscription is written on three plates which measure each 7½" by 2¾". They were strung on a ring which passed through a hole (about ½" from the left end of the plates and about ⅛" in diameter) and the ends of which were soldered beneath a circular seal bearing the usual Eastern Gaṅga emblems of the bull to right, sun, moon, akṣuṭa and chāmara. The weight of the plates, without the ring and seal, is 115 tolas. An interesting fact about the record is that the main document is written on the second (inner) side of the first plate, continued on both sides of the second plate and completed on the first (inner) side of the third plate, while there is an interesting endorsement of a later date which had been begun originally on the second (outer) side of the third plate but was given up and incised afterwards on the first (outer) side of the first plate. In this respect, the epigraph under study closely resembles the Terasingha copper-plate inscription of Tushākāra, edited above. Only four akṣhaaras of the endorsement had been engraved on the outer side of the third plate before it was given up. The full text of the endorsement as found on the outer side of the first plate covers no less than six lines. The original document, incised on the remaining four faces of the plates, contains 28 lines of writing in the following order: IB—7 lines, IIA—8 lines, IIB—7 lines, IIIA—6 lines.

The characters employed in the main document belong to the class known as the later Kaliṅga script and closely resemble those of records like the Chicaole (Srikakulam) plates of Anantavarman who has been assigned to a date about the beginning of the tenth century A.D. The endorsement is written partly in the East Indian variety of the Northern Alphabet and partly in Telugu-Kannada characters. It begins with O instead of the symbol for Siddham usually found in early records. It is well known that the chief characteristic of the later Kaliṅga script is the representation of the same letters in several different forms prevalent in both the Northern and Southern Alphabets. The inscription under study represents almost all the consonants in more than one form. Cf. k in "Kaliṅga" (line 2); kh in viṅkaśa (line 2), sa-kāla (line 3), Khaṇḍyama (line 29), g in Kaliṅganagara (line 2), guṇa (line 10), Gaṅga (line 12); ch in "achal-ā" (line 2), ḍhara-ṭhāra (line 3), "ṭhāla" (line 9); j in "vijaya" (lines 1-2), jaya (line 6), Manuṣṭhān (line 14), vijaya rājya

1 See Vol. XXX, pp. 274 ff.
(lines 26-27); τ in pāṭaka (line 15), trikṣuṇi (line 18); d in chūḍā (line 4), Bājavadā (line 15; cf. Kauṇḍuka-Puṇḍarīka in l. 16); n in rāmaṇiya (line 1), "nāṅ√" (line 4), pravāmā (line 5); t in pratičeh-fhita (line 3), viṅgala (line 5), janita (line 6), dāvot-ārātī (line 9), satya-tīyā (line 10), ści (line 28); d in pūḍ-ā (line 11), "d-Dēvāndravarmadēvā" (lines 13-14); dh in "ādhi" (line 2), "ādhihā (line 11), dharma (line 25); n in bhuvana (line 3), nāya-vinaṇṇ (line 9); p in "pur-ā" (line 1), prati (line 3), pratāpy-ā (line 6), paraṇa (line 13); bh in bhuvana (line 3), bhagavato (line 4), bhūgyo bhūgyo (line 24); m in rāmaṇiya (line 1), "āma (line 2), kamala (line 5), paraṇa (line 11); n in rāmaṇiya (line 1), yugala (line 5), vinayā-dālay (line 9), "audārya (line 10), bhūgyo bhūgyo (line 24); r in nagar-ā (line 2), sa-char-āhara-gurū (line 3), "śvarāya (line 18); l in Kaliṣa, "āchala-āmala (line 2), yugala (line 5), liṅga (line 27); v in sarva (line 1), "ca (line 2), viṅgala (line 5), pratāpy-śuc (line 6), vara (line 8), daivika (line 23); s in śikṣā (line 2), kāśāka (line 4); sh in viṣṭā (lines 14, 15, 18); s in sa dhā (line 5), samasta-sāmanta (line 7); k in Mahāndrā (line 2), māhāśā (line 11), mahārāja (line 14). Sometimes two letters are almost indistinguishable from each other; e.g. ch in "chala (line 2) and y in yāṣi (line 7); ch in "cchala (line 9) and v in "vā (line 4); t and n in janita (line 6) and respectively in sīla (line 8) and dākshinā (line 10). In some cases, the same sign of the medial vowel is differently represented; e.g. u in bhū in bhūgyo bhūgyo (line 24). There are instances of ṅga represented by gū (cf. lines 2, 26).

The language of the record is Sanskrit. The main document is written in prose except for the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas about the end. The endorsement is, however, entirely written in verse. There are really two stanzas in this section; but one of them has been quoted twice. It appears that the engraver of the endorsement began to incise the stanzas in the East Indian alphabet with which he was not quite at ease. After completing the first stanza, he gave up that script and engraved both the stanzas in the Telugu-Kannada alphabet. That is how the first verse of the endorsement was incised twice. As regards orthography, the inscription resembles other epigraphs of the time and area in question. Final n has occasionally been changed wrongly to anusvāra (cf. line 24) which also takes the place of final m at the end of the second and fourth feet of verses. The charter is dated in the Gaṅga year 393 (829-91 A.D.).

The main document begins with the Siddham symbol and the usual prakāśi of the Early Eastern Gaṅgas in lines 1-11, referring to the issue of the charter from the adikṣa (royal residence) at Kaliṅga-nagarā resembling Amarapura (the city of the gods) and to the devotion of the issuer of the grant to the god, Bhagavati Gokarkavaśāṁ (Śiva), installed on the peak of Mount Mahāndrā. As usual, the issuer of the charter is described (lines 11-12) as a devout worshipper of the god Mahaśā (Śiva). As meditating on (or favoured by) the feet of his parents, and as an ornament of the spotless family of the Gaṅgas. He is further introduced in lines 12-14 as the son of Mahārāja Mahādhirāja Paramāvarta Paramabhaṭṭāraka Ṣrīmāt-Dēvāndravarmadēvā. Curiously enough, the passage in line 14, containing the name of the issuer of the grant and the district in which the gift land was situated, reads: "mahārāja-Manuṣām (nāra) vasagala-vaśayā. It has to be noticed that while the father is endowed with full imperial titles, the son is represented as a Mahārāja and with śrig instead of śrīmā. Some letters moreover appear to be lost in the passage and its intended reading may have been Manuṣajānavaṁ (madāvah kuṣuṇī) Calā-gala-vaśayā. Whether the intention of the scribe was to include here a passage containing the usual address of the issuer of a grant to the officers and subordinates is impossible to determine. But it appears that Mahārāja Manuṣām or Manuṣāṃvārana issued the charter during the rule of his father, Mahārāja Mahādhirāja Paramāvarta Paramabhaṭṭāraka Dēvāndravvarman. He may have therefore been a sub-king under his father during the latter's old age. A similar instance is offered by the passage introducing the issuer of a grant as mahārāja Mahādhirāja-paramāvarta-paramabhaṭṭāraka (śri). Anānāravarmadēvā-ta (śri)u-guṇavā-śrig Dēvāndravvarman (mālā) kuśtā (i) occurring in an Eastern Gaṅga charter of the year 319 (809-11 A.D.). Although a confusion is sometimes noticed in the
grants of this family in respect of the use of the titles Mahārāja and Mahārājādhirāja with the name of the issuer and that of his father, the above suggestion regarding the relation of Manujendrā with his father seems to be supported by other considerations. In the first place, the date of the record under study, viz., the Gaṅga year 393, suggests the identification of king Dēvendravarmān of our record with the king of the same name who issued the Chiśivalasa plates in the Gaṅga year 397 (893-95 A.D.), since it is not possible to argue that the latter was a son and grandson respectively of Manujendrā and Dēvendravarmān of the epigraph under study. Secondly, as will be shown below, the endorsement to the main document would suggest that it was a king named Dēvendravarmān who was responsible for the grants recorded in both of them. It is therefore possible to think that Manujendrā made the grant under orders of his father, although some words to this effect are lost in the document.

The object of the record (lines 14 ff.) was the grant of three villages, viz., Nānkapātakagrāma and Baḍavādgrāma, both situated in the Galēla-viśhaya, and Chintachāḍugrāma in Hōmva-viśhaya. The grant was made in favour of Kaṇḍuka-Gūḍēvāra, probably a deity called Gūḍēvāra worshipped at a locality called Kaṇḍuka or Kōḍuka. The gift was received on behalf of the deity by Sāmāvēda-bhagavanta who was the son of Brahmātma-bhagavanta of Vallaṅkōṇḍa (or, Chailukkōṇḍa) and probably the priest in charge of the temple of Gūḍēvāra. The boundaries of the gift villages were indicated by a causeway (sētu) and certain trikūtas which are stated to have been wellknown to the people of the district (line 18). Some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas are quoted in lines 19-26. The date of the charter, viz., year 393 of the increasingly victorious sovereignty of the Gaṅgēya dynasty, is quoted in words in lines 26-27. The document is stated to have been written by Chiśmajapa who was the son of Kāyasīthā Khaśyama called a Rāhaysa. The expression rāhaya indicates the official designation of a Privy Councilor also called Rāhasi niyuktā, Rāhasiṇaka or Rāhasyādhtīrīta in inscriptions.

As indicated above, the endorsement engraved on the first side of the first plate consists of two stanzas. The first of these, which has been repeated, says that the illustrious Dēvendravarmān, lord of Kaliṣgā, received blessings from the god Śiva and that he granted two localities called Yōgū or Šuṅgu and Mahanta, collectively known as Giti and situated in Kōḍagūḍi, in favour of Yōgāṭman. The second stanza shows that the village of Giti was really granted in favour of Gūḍēvāra, no doubt the same as the deity called Gūḍēvāra in the original document, and it further states that the grant was made by king Dēvendravarmān ‘afterwards in his presence’ (pašcātya tasya samipataḥ). The implication is that king Dēvendravarmān ratified the grant in the presence of the deity Gūḍēvāra at a later date. Yōgāṭman seems to have been a successor of Sāmavēda-bhagavanta in the office of the priest of the Gūḍēvāra or Gūḍēvāra temple. The formation of his name reminds us that of the name of Brahmātma-bhagavanta, father of Sāmavēda-bhagavanta. There is no doubt that the endorsement was engraved at a later date. But whether it was a forgery or a genuine addition to the original record, approved by royal authonty, is difficult to determine. Since, however, the palaeography of the endorsement seems to suggest a later date than that of the original grant, the first alternative looks more probable.

The gift villages mentioned in the original document and the endorsement are difficult to identify. We are not sure if the name of the Galēla viśhaya is preserved in that of modern Galavalli where the plates were discovered.

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3 The word trikūta appears to mean the junction of three villages. (Journ. At. Soc., Letters, Vol. XVIII, p. 79, note).
4 Of above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 17 note; Vol. XXX, p. 275. Khaśyama is also known from the Chicaco (Srihakulam) plates (Gaṅga year 351) of Sātvarman, which mention Tārurgāma in Galēla (Galēlai)-viśhaya.
First Plate, First Side

1. Śiva-lavīha(bḍha)-sa(sa)rmā śrīmā[n]-Kali[m*]g-ādhipatiḥ-varṣya-[h [†]]
2. Yōgātmane Kōṇḍagūṭaś-adāśīt(t-ta) Yēgu(gū)-Maha-
3. ntau kuha Giniṭi-sa[m*]jñau [†|†] Dēvēndravarmma Śi(Si)valabha-sarmmā śrī-
4. mān-Kali[m*]g-[ći]dhipatiḥ-varṣya[h [†]] Yōgātmane Kōṇḍagūṭaś-adā-
5. ṣīt(t-sa) Ėgu(gū)-Mahanta kuha[l]u Giniṭi-[śa]jñau [†|†] Dattāvān Giniṭi-nā-
6. mānām grāmaṃ Guṇḍīva(sva)rāya vō(vai |) Dēvēndravarmma-rājendr[a[h*] paścāḥ[t*]
   tasya samipataḥ [†|†] 3

First Plate, Second Side

1. Siddhāṃ [†] Svasty-Āmarapur-śākūrīṅgas-sarvata(rta)-suha-ramaṇyād-vīja-
2. yavat-Kalīgarh(ōga)nagar-ādīvīsa-kān-Maḥēndr-āchāl-āmala-śīkharā(rha)-
3. pratisthitasya sa-char-āchāra-gurō[h*] sakala-bhuva-na-nīma-
4. ṣ-aika-sūtrahdhra[aya*] sāśāka-chūḍa-mañér-bhaṅgavato Gokarṇa(rṣa)sv[ā]-
5. mīnaḥ-śaṅgrāṇa-kālala-yugala-praṇāmā[i*] vigataḥ[ta]-Kali-
6. ka[lusha*]-kālaūkī-ñēk-śhava-sañkāḥbha-jaṃita-jaya-sa(sa)bha[h*] prāṭ-āva-
   nataḥ[ta]-dig-dēśa-virinigga-yasō(śāḥ) samasta-sāmanta-chakra-

Second Plate, First Side

7. chūḍā-maṇḍi[ni]-prabhā-maḥjar-puṇja-raṇjita-vara-śaṅgrā[a[h*] śī(śa)ta-kumu-
8. da-kund-ēndā[dev]avādīta[h*] dhvast-ārāti-kul-āchālē naya-vinaya-dayā-dā-
9. [na]-dākhinya(nya)-sa(u)ry[au]dārya-satya-tyāg-ādi-guṇa-sam[pla]-
10. d-āḍhāra-bhaḥ(bhā)ī(ṭaḥ) paramamkēśvarō mātā-pitri-pād-ā-
11. nudhīyāto Gāmga-āmala-kula-tīlaka[h*] maḥārājāḥhirāja-pa-
   rāṃśevara-paramhabhāṣa(tṭā)ra-śrīmad-Dēvēndravarmma-
12. dēva-sūṇa-maḥārāja-śrī-Manuṣjēḍraḥ(ndra)va[†] Ga[l]ēḷa-viśhayē
dēva-sūṇa-maḥārāja-śrī-Manuṣjēḍraḥ(ndra)va[†] Ga[l]ēḷa-viśhayē Chintachē-

Second Plate, Second Side

13. durgām[ni cha*] Kaṇḍākūa-Guṇḍīva-rāya damita(dattavān |) śrīmat(ṃad)-Vallakōnda-
   Brahmatāma-bha-

1. From the original plates and impressions.
2. There is a floral design here to separate the foregoing part in the East Indian alphabet from the following portion in the Telugu-Kannāda script. The metre of the first stanza is Indravejā. The second verse is a repetition of the first. The metre of the third stanza is Anushṭubh.
3. Read samjēva.
4. Expressed by symbol.
5. The intended reading may be Manuṣjēḍravarmmadāraḥ kūṣāli.
6. The first akṣara of the name may also be read sa cha.
TWO GRANTS FROM GALAVALLI—PLATE I

1.—Plates of Ganga Year 303

Scale: Four-fifths
TWO GRANTS FROM GALAVALLI

17 gavanta[ḥ] tasya sūṇ[ḥ] Śāmavēda-bhagavanta[ḥ] tēna labhāni(nāṁ) grāma-trayā-
18 nāṁ) sūṁ ācō-triṇiyaṁ lōka-vīṣhaya-gamyāni [*] antra
19 Vyāsa-gitāṁ(gītāḥ ālōkāḥ) bhavānti [*] Bahubhir-vasundhārā dattā rāja-
20 bhiṣ-śagar-śadbhīḥ [*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmi[ḥ]-tasya
21 tasya tādā phalaṁ(lam ||) Svā-dataṁ(tām) para-datta(tām) vā yō harēta vasundharāṁ-
(rām ||) sa vi-
22 abha(abhāḥ)yaṁ kṛimir-bhūtvā pitri(trī)bhīs-saha pachyate [*] Mad-dattaṁ sa[d*]-dvija-
-
Third Plate, First Side

23 pātu(tu) vō(ya) iha daivikaṁ(kam ||) matsi(ch-chihi)ratha(ṛo)-makutā-nyasta[ḥ*] tasya
rājāḥ pada-
24 dvayam[ḥ](yam ||) Sarvāṇ-śālam(tām) bhāvinaḥ pārthivendrām(drān) bhūyō bhūyō yāchāte
-
25 mahādara[*] sāmānyō-yaṁ dharma-śētur-nīpām kāle kāle pā-
26 lanīyō bhavadbhīḥ[ḥ ||] Gāgēṁ(nāgē)yā-varhās-pravardhamāna-viṣa-
27 ya-rājya-samvachha(sarvatas)a-reśata-traya(yē) trī(trī)-navatyā-adhikarē(kē)
likhitam
28 Kāyastha-rahasya-Khaṇḍyamāsya sūṇ-Chiĉapa[pēna] iti ||

Third Plate, Second Side

1 [ō] Dēvēndra

2.—Grant of Rājaṛāja I Dēvēndravarman, Šaka 998

The inscription is written on four plates, each measuring 9½ inches by 4 inches. They were
strung together on a ring, the ends of which were soldered beneath the king’s seal bearing the bull
emblem and other symbols. The first plate is inscribed only on the inner side while the other
three plates have inscription on both sides. There are altogether five; two lines of writing.
their distribution on the various faces of the plates being as follows: IB—9 lines, IIA—9 lines,
IB—8 lines, IIA—8 lines, IIIA—8 lines, IVA—8 lines, IVB—2 lines. The four plates together,
without the ring and seal, weigh 166 tolas.

The characters belong to the Gaudīya class and closely resemble those of some of the
copper-plate grants of the early members of the Imperial Gaṅga family as well as of the later
members of the Bōma-varhās of Kōsala and Utkala and of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty of Tōsali.

1 Better read viṣhaya-Īkū.
2 The endorsement, later engraved on the outer (first) side of the first plate, appears to have been originally
begun here and abruptly abandoned. The reason for this may be the unsatisfactory formation of the aksharas.
3 See, e.g., the Nadagam (above, Vol. IV, pp. 189 ff., and Plates) and Madras Museum (ibid., Vol. IX, pp. 96 ff.,
and Plates) plates of Vajrahasta III, father of Kārāja 1 who issued the charter under study. Cf. C. P. No. 2 of
1918-19 published in JAHRS, Vol. VIII, pp. 171 ff., and Plates. See also Kārāja’s own grant (C. P. No. 3 of
1918-19) published in op. cit. pp. 168 ff., 176 ff., and Plates, and the charters of his son Anantavarman
Chōḍganga such as the Kōri plates of Šaka 1003 (ibid., Vol. I, pp. 40 ff., and Plates).
4 See, e.g., the Kinarake plates of Mahābhavagupta IV Udyottakṣārin (above, Vol. XXII, pp. 135 ff., and
Plates).
5 See, e.g., the Santiragrama grant of Dāṇḍimahādevī (above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 79 ff., and Plates).
The sign for $v$ has been used to indicate the letter $b$. The language is Sanskrit and the epigraph is composed in both prose and verse. As regards orthography also, the inscription closely resembles other records of the age and age in question. Final $m$ has been wrongly changed to $ambara$ at the end of the second and fourth feet of verses. In the place of $rōbh$, $rābh$ has been wrongly written in more than one case (cf. lines 5, 20). There are also some other cases of wrong spelling such as $śīgha$ for $śimha$, $subha$ for $śubha$ and $śamēṣṭikā$ for $śamēśṭikā$ (cf. lines 7, 20, 41-43). Consonants are not only often reduplicated in conjunction with superscript $r$ but in one case also in that of subscript $g$ (cf. "śautyāḥ" in lines 30-31). The date of the charter is given in the chronogram $vau-nānda-nilīhi$ of the Saka era, i.e. Saka 998, while the details of the date quoted are the Vishuva-saṅkrānti in the month of Chaitra, i.e. the day of the vernal equinox. The date of the charter thus appears to be March 23, 1077 A.D.

We know that the later members of the Eastern Gaṅga family began their charters with the praśasti: svasty-śaman-purū-dnukārīnāṅ, etc., in prose as in the charter of the Gaṅga year 393, edited above. The early members of the imperial branch of the family adopted the same praśasti for the introduction of their grants.1 But Vajrabhasta III (1038-70 A.D.) introduced a new praśasti beginning with śrimālām-akṣha-bhuva-miti-śu-na-yu-niunya, etc., in prose and verse. This eulogy contains no less than twelve stanzas, five in the description of the reigning monarch (Vajrabhasta III), one each in that of his father and the latter’s two younger brothers, two in that of his grandfather and one in that of his great-grandfather. The entire praśasti was copied in the charters of his son and successor Rājarāja I Devendravarman (1070-78 A.D.) who issued the grant under study. This king, however, added four new stanzas to the introduction, one referring to the end of his father’s rule and three in his own eulogy. The great Anantavarman Chōḍaghaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.), son and successor of Rājarāja I, used the same introduction, as found in his father’s charters, in his earlier grants with the omission of most of the stanzas, although in his later records containing a modified but elaborate account of the early members of the family2 he re-introduced a few of the verses.

The inscription begins with the Siddhāṃ symbol and the word svasti followed by a prose passage (lines 1-10) referring to the son of Guṇamahāṅgava (Guṇāṅgava)-mahārāja (circa 879-96 A.D.) who belonged to the family of the Gaṅga lords of Trikaliṅga. These Gaṅgas are described as belonging to the Śrīraja gōtra and as having obtained, through the grace of lord Gṛḍhakaśvamin (Śiva), the unique conch-shell and drum, the ‘five great sounds’, the white umbrella, the golden fly-whisk and the bull emblem or crest. It has to be noticed that the possession of the five mahā-tābdas, explained with reference to North Indian rulers as the enjoyment of five official designations beginning with the word mahat and in regard to South Indian kings as the privilege of enjoying the sounds of five musical instruments,3 is usually associated with feudatories. Some early medieval South Indian dynasties, however, associated the privilege with imperial dignity and the claim of the Imperial Gaṅgas reminds us of a similar one on behalf of their western neighbours, the Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgī.4

The son of Guṇamahāṅgava was Vajrabhasta I (circa 896-940 A.D.) who is next described in a stanza (verse 1) saying that he united under his rule the earth (i.e. the Gaṅga kingdom), which had been previously divided into five parts ruled separately by different kings, and reigned for fortyfour years. Then comes a section in prose (lines 13-15) speaking of the three sons of Vajrabhasta

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4 Cf. SII, Vol. I, p. 54 (text lines 23-24). The introductory part of earlier Eastern Chālukya grants begins with the praśasti: śrimālām sakali-bhava-muṇhi-saṃhitajamāna, etc. (ibid. p. 33, text line 1), which reminds us of śrimālām-akṣha-bhuva-miti, etc., of the charters of the Imperial Gaṅgas like the one under publication.
I, viz. Guṇḍama I (circa 940-43 A.D.), Kāmārṇava I (circa 943-78 A.D.) and Vinayāditya (circa 978-81 A.D.), who ruled for three, thirty-five and three years respectively. Then follow two stanzas (verses 2-3) describing Aniyanakkabhipam (Anaṅgabhipam) I (circa 981-1016 A.D.), son of Kāmārṇava I, as having ruled for thirty-five years. The following three stanzas (verses 4-6) speak respectively of three sons of Aniyanakkabhipam I, viz., Kāmārṇava II (circa 1016-1019 A.D.), Guṇḍama II (circa 1016-1019 A.D.) and Madhukāmārṇava (circa 1019-36 A.D.), who respectively reigned for six months, three years and nineteen years. The next seven stanzas (verses 7-13) describe Vajrabhasta III (1038-70 A.D.) who was the son of Kāmārṇava II from the Vaidumbha princess Vinayā-mahādevī, and ruled for thirty-three years after having been installed on the throne in Śaka 960 (viyad-rītu-nidhiḥ), month Vṛishabha (solar Jyēṣṭha), sudi 3, Sunday, Rōhiṇi-nakshatra, Dhanur-lagna. As already indicated above, this description, with the exception of verse 13 referring to the end of the king’s rule covering a period of thirty-three years, is quoted from the charters of Vajrabhasta III himself. The details of the date of his coronation are irregular for the month of Vṛishabha in Śaka 960; but, for the month of Mēsha (instead of Vṛishabha), they correspond to Sunday April 9, 1038 A.D. The remaining three stanzas of the introductory part (verses 14-16) describe the reigning monarch Rājarāja I Devendravarma who was the son of Vajrabhasta III from the queen Anangamahādevī. Verse 16 speaks of him as an ornament of the kings of Kalīṇga and gives the date of his coronation as Śaka 992 (na-yana-Abhyagarbha-nidhiḥ), Jyēṣṭha sudi 8, Thursday, Uttaraphalguni-nakshatra, Sūnya-lagna. The details correspond to Thursday, May 20, 1070 A.D. We have elsewhere seen how the above description of the early Imperial Gaṅgas is more reliable than the modified genealogy quoted in the later charters of Anantavarman Chōjāgāna (1078-114/ A.D.), son and successor of Rājarāja I, as well as in the grants of Chōjāgāna’s descendants.

The charter under study was issued from Kaliṅganagara by Paramabhaṭṭaraka Mahārājā-dhīrāja Trikaliṅgādhīpati Devendravarma Rājarājadēva who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva). Its object was to grant the village of Kōḍilī (originally written Kōḍillī) in the Varāhavartanī viśaya, for the merit of the king and his parents, in favour of three hundred Brāhmaṇas belonging to the Ātriya gōtra, the three pravarsas including Śyāvāśa (i.e. Atri, Archanānaśa and Śyāvāśa) and the Chhandāgōga chaṅga. The occasion of the grant, as already indicated above, was the Vishuva-sankrānti in Śaka 993. The names of the donees have not been quoted in the record. The absence of the usual preimatory and beneficatory verses and of any reference to the royal officials who were responsible for the preparation of the document may lead one to suspect that the charter is incomplete. But this characteristic is not peculiar to the present grant of Rājarāja I. We know that another record of the king, issued on the same date and occasion, also ends abruptly in the same way. The village granted by this charter was Bṛhat-Kōḍillagrama in Varāhavartanī, to which was added another locality called Bhīnālavaṭaka. The gift land is stated in this case to have been made a grāma-grāsa which was divided into six parts, four of them being granted to Vāsudēvaśarman of Vatsa-gōtra, who was a resident of Kalipura, and the remaining two parts to Nārāyaṇaśarman of the Kāśyapa gōtra. It is interesting to note that neither of these two records refers to the creation of a revenue-free holding out of the gift land. The donees therefore appear to have been liable to pay rent or cess for their holdings. This is probably why the expression grāma-grāsa instead of the well-known agrahāra has been used to indicate the nature of the holding under Vāsudēvaśarman and Nārāyaṇaśarman. Such a possibility also explains the absence of the usual details noticed in

1 Kāmārṇava I and Vinayāditya were killed by Janaḥbhoja Bhīma before Śaka 904-832 A.D. (JAQRS, Vol. X, pp. 37 ff.).
2 See Bhandarkar’s List, No. 1090.
5 Cf. JEAN, 1932, pp. 6 ff.
this connection in charters recording grants of rent-free holdings. There is little doubt that Brhat-Kōḍilagrama of the said record was situated near about Kōḍilagrama of the charter under publication.

The viśaya (district) of Varāhavartanī is known from several other records.1 The village of Kōḍila has been identified with modern Kodasa about two miles from Galavalli where the plates were found.

TEXT

[Metres : verses 1, 3, 11, 13, 16 Sārdālvikrīḍā ; verses 2, 6, 12, 14 Anuṣṭubh ; verse 4 Vamśa-
sūkṣmavāla ; verses 5, 9 Mālāṇī ; verses 7, 8 Gūṭi ; verses 10, 15 Vamantiilaka.]

First Plate

1 Siddham1 svasti [ ] śrīmatām-aṅkha-bhuvana-vinuta-naya-vinaya-dayā-dāna-dākshiniya-
[ ] sa-
2 tyā-saucha-sauryya-dhairyy-ādi-guṇa-ratna-pavitrakānām-ātrēya-gōtrānām vima-
3 la-vichār-āchāra-punya-salila-prakshālita-Kali-kāla-kalmasha-mah[ī]jan mahā-
4 Mahēndr-āchāla-ākṣara-pratishṭhitasya sa-char-āchāra-gurūḥ sakāla-bhuvana-ni-
5 rmmān-aika-sūtradhārasya śāśānka-chūḍā-maṇār-bbbh(a-rbbh)gavatō Gōkaraṇaśvā-
 mīnaḥ
6 prasādāt-samāśādit-aika-āṅkha-bhūri-paṅcha-mahāvāda(bda)-dhavala-chhhatra-hēma-
 chāma-
7 ra-vara-vrjhabha-lāṅchhana-samujva(jjva)la-samasta-sāmrājya-mahimnām-anēka-samara-
saṅghatṭa-samu-
8 palavdh(a)va-vijaya-lakṣmi-samāṅgīt-[[t+]]tuṅga-bhuja-dāṇḍa-maṇḍitānāṃ Trikāliṅga-
 mahībhujā-
9 rh Gāndānām-anvayam-alankārēshōr-Vvishyōr-viva viḵram-ākrānta-dharā-maṇḍalasya
 Guṇaṃ-

Second Plate, First Side

10 hārṇaṇa-mahārājasya putraḥ [0] Pūrvvam bhāpatibhīr-vvibhajya vasudhā yā paṁchabhīṣ
 pa-
11 śchadā bhukta bhūri-parākramō bhuja-va(ba)lāt-tām-eśa eva svayaṁ(yam | ) ākikrītya
 vijītya sāt[i+]ya
12 vahān śrī-Vajrabhāsṭa-chatuś-chatvāriṁsātam-asy-udāra-charitāḥ sarvāvma-rakshīt-samāḥ
 || [1*] ||
13 tasya tanaśū Gujarāma-rājājō varasha-trayam-apālayad-madī(t(h)īm) || tad-anuṣṭh Kā-
14 mārṇavādēvah paṁcha-trīṁsātam-avda(bda)kān | tasy-ānuṣṭh Vinayādityas-sa-
15 māś-tīrṣāḥ || Tātāḥ Kāmārṇavāj-jātō jagati-Kalpaḥōruḥaḥ ||[ ] yō-rajād-rajī-

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1 See, e.g., JAHR, Vol. I, p. 45, 119, etc.
2 From the original plates and their impressions.
3 Expressed by symbol.
4 The punctuation mark is unnecessary.
5 The punctuation mark indicates the separation of the following part in verse from the foregoing section in prose.
Scale: Three-fourths
TWO GRANTS FROM GALAVALLI

No. 24

16 ta-chëbbhāyō Vajrasthāt-vani-patīḥ || [2*] Praśchyōda(ta)n-mada-gandha-luvdha(bdo)-
madhupa-vyāldhi-gaṇḍān-[ga]-
17 jānna(n-a)rthīabhya-samadāt-sahasram-atulō yas-tāyāginām-agrānissah(tīh | sa)
śrīmān-Anyaikanabhima-
18 nṛpātir-Gaṅ-ānvay-ōttarasaṅkhaḥ pañcha-trīṃśatam-avda(bda)kān-samabhunakprithiṁ(k=
prthvīm) stutaḥ pā-

Second Plate, Second Side

19 rthīvaiḥ || [3*] Tad-agra-sūnuḥ Sūraraṣa-su[au]nām samas-samastāṁ sa(sa)mit-āri-maṇḍalāḥ
[*] sma pā-
20 ti Kāmarṇava-bhūpattirbhbbha(r=bhu)vaḥ samṛiddhimān-arḍhā-samāṁ samujvaj(jva)-
laḥ || [4*] Tad-anu tad-anugjanma Chi-
21 ttajanm-ōpāmadō nuṇa-nidhir=nuṇavadyō Guṇḍam-ākhyō maḥ-īṣāḥ(śaḥ | ) sakalam-idaṃ-
arakhast-trī-
22 ni varṣaṁa dhārti-valayam-a-laghu-tejō=niṟjīt-ārāti-chakrabh || [5*] Tatō dvaimā-
23 tura-s-sasya Madhukāmarṇavā nṛpāḥ [ avati sm-avianam-ētām-avda(bda)ju(n=a)kān-na-vi-
miṣati(tim) || [6*] Atha Vajrasthā-nṛpātir-agra-sutād-akbha-guṇa-jan-āgra-[ga*]ja(ya)
[*] Kāmarṇavāt-kav-ī-
24 ndra-prajyasmin-āvadāta-subha-kirtteḥ || [7*] Śrīya iva Vaidumvā(ma=d)nuva-payāḥ-
payonidi-samubbhā(bhb)va-
25 yās-cha [*] yaḥ samajani Vinaya-mahādēvyāḥ ātri-Vajrastha iti tanayaḥ || [8*] Viyad-
ritu-ni-

Third Plate, First Side

27 dhi-sa[r|m*]khyāṁ yāti Sā(Sāk)-ēva(bda)=saṅghē Dinakṛiti Viṣhhabha-sthā
Rohini-bhē su-lagānē [*] Dha-
28 nushti cha sita-sha(pa)kōhē Śūryya-vārē trītyāṁ(yā)-yuji sakala-dharitrīṁ rakshatur yō-bhishktāḥ
29 || [9*] Nyāyamā yatra samam-ācharitum tri-vargē(rga)ṁ mārgēṇa rakṣhati mahīm-
mahti-pratāpa [*]
30 nirvāyāhaya=cha nirāgāvṛtva-nirāpadas=eha śāivat=prajā bhuvī bhavanti vibhūtima-
31 tityoh || [10*] Vyāpte Gaṅga-kul-ōttamasya yaśasā dik-chakravālē śaṭi-pradyotā.
32 malinēna yasaḥ bhuvanah(ma)-prakāśa-sampādinaḥ [*] sainḍūrair-āti-sāṇḍa-paṅka-paṭalai-
33 ḫ kumbha-sthali-patṭakāśva-alimpanti punah punai-eha harītām-adhōraṇa vāraṇān || [11*] Anu-
34 raṯēṇa guṇinō yasaḥ vakṣeh=mukh-āvja(bja)ja(yō | Ātri(ē)jē Śrī-Sarasvatīyāv-anu-

Third Plate, Second Side

35 kule virājataḥ || [12*] Agachchhan-uru-vikramaṇa sahasā sasṭrābhiḥḥātād-dī-
vō yēn=aṉyāhata-viśva-vṛtti-mahīmā bēlā-nirastō=śāniḥ | tēn=ākāri niṃ|-
ma-kāmya-tanunā rājya[āt]i mangalē trinā-sad-vatsaram=abhra-su(ā)bhra=yaasā
varṣha-trayē.

p=ādhikar(ka)m || [13*] Tatō-naaṅga-mahādevyāna Vajrahasta-mahipatēḥ || Gauryāma
iva Ha.-

raṣy-aḥhūt=Kārttikeya iv-aṭmājaḥ || [14*] Lakṣmī-vadhū-vadana-paṅkaja-mākara-
nda-sanḍōha-chāru-parichumva(mba)na-chauṃcharikaḥ ||( | ) yō māṇ(ī)nāṁ cha guṇināṁ
cha durāma.-

nāṁ cha sā(sā)ntīṁ cha mōdam=atulaṁ cha bhayaṁ cha dattē || [15*] Śāk-āvde(bdē)
nayan-Āvja(bja)garvāha(ṛbhā)-nidhi-gē Jē(Jyē)ahēhē=

sthānī-sīṅgha(sīṅhā)kē lagṇē ch-Ottaraphalguni(ṃī)-Guru-dinē pahahē su-su
(su)-bhṛs su(ṭu)bhe || Lōkalō-

Fourth Plate, First Side

ka-mahā-mahīḥ[ṛ*]vala-vyā-laṅkārvatayā bhuvas=saṃsār(ī)kta sa Kaliṅga-rāja-tīlakaḥ

śri-Rājarājō nṛpaḥ || o || [16*] Kaliṅganagarat=paranamāhēsvara-paramabhaṅ-

bhāṭṭāraka-mahī(hā)rājaṁbhirāja-Trikaliṅg-āhipati-āśrīmadvē(l-Dē)vendravarmma

Rājarājadēvaḥ kuśalī samast-āṃstya-pramukha-janapadā-

n-sama(mā)ḥīya samājāpayati viditaṁ=asuo bhavatāṁ(tām) || Varāhavaratasa-

nyahē || Koṭḍu-ākhyō grāmaḥ=chatus-sam-āvachchhinna sa jala s[th]alas-sarvā-piḍā-
vivarjītē(tāh)

mā(ā)-chand-rākka-kṛiti-sama-kālaṁ yāvat mātā-pitrēr-ātmanas=cha puṇya-yaśō-bhvr-

ddhayē || Vasu-Nanda-nidhi-gaṇitē Śak-āvde(bdō) || Chaitrē māsi Visu(abu)-
vati sarīkrāntyāh(ntyām)

Fourth Plate, Second Side

Āṭreyā-gūra-Śyāvēva-ttry-ārāhāya-Cehhandōgaḥ-tri-sa(ṭa)ta-Vra(ṛ)haṃbhyaḥ dhārā-
pūrvvakam-āmāma(abām)

bhir-uddatta iti ||
TWO GRANTS FROM GALLAVALLI—PLATE III

2.—Plates of Rajaraja I Devaravarman, Saka 999

Scale: Three-fourths
No. 25—SIRPUR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF BALARJUNA

(M 1 Plate)

MOBESHWAR G. DIKSHIT, RAIPUR

The accompanying inscription, published here for the first time, was found on the 2nd January 1955, in the course of excavations conducted by me, under the auspices of the University of Sagar, at Sirpur in the Raipur District of Madhya Pradesh. The stone bearing the inscription was found lying upside down on the floor in the northern verandah of the monastery at a depth of 3 feet below the surface. The stone is a yellowish variety of soft sandstone, measuring about 14 inches broad, 8½ inches high and about 3 inches thick. From the chisel marks at its back, it appears to have been fixed up high on the wall near which it was found. The slab was very heavily laden with moisture at the time of its discovery and it was with repeated hot sand-baths that it could be restored to its original hardness.

The inscription consists of 14 lines of writing, each line containing about 32 letters of nearly one half inch in height. The characters are early Nagari current in the 7th or 8th century A.D. and are incised neatly and beautifully also deeply, particularly in the upper part of the letters. The writing is generally in a good state of preservation except at the upper left and lower right corners and at the beginning of lines 11-14. A few scratches also appear on the surface evidently resulting from its fall from the original position in the wall.

The inscription is in Sanskrit verse throughout except the concluding sentence occurring in line 14. The sign े is invariably used for b. As regards orthography, it may be noted that s, s and sh are clearly distinguished. Of lexical interest are the two words vyājana (lines 8-9) and stiti (line 8).¹

The inscription opens with a stanza in praise of the lotus-feet of the Sūrya (i.e. Buddha). The next few verses record the construction of a monastery (śāhāra) by a Bhikku named Anandaprabha during the reign of Bālarjuna, as well as of the establishment of a sūtra (feeding house) for the monks residing in the monastery, for the upkeep of which a white-rice field was given. The field is stated to have been purchased from the Saṅgha and given together with the supplementary crops grown in it. The monks were to enjoy it in succession till the sun shines in the sky.²

The eulogy (prājñā) was composed by the illustrious Sumāṅgala, son of Tāradda, and the inscription was incised by one Prabhākara.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it enables us to fix the date of the Vihāra in which it was found: for king Bālarjuna mentioned in it could be no other than the homonymous king Mahāśīva-Bhūgopuṭha alīs Bālarjuna of the Pāṇḍava dynasty, who is known from several inscriptions³ and whose reign-period is generally assigned to c. 550-650 A.D.⁴ or about the first quarter of the 7th century A.D. This king, though Saṅgha by religion, gave liberal patronage to Buddhism.

¹ The word stiti occurs in the Anjānera grant (3) if Pṛthvirīhendra Bhogākṣitii (above, Vol. XXV, p. 223) and in the unpublished Surang Mound (Sirpur) inscription. (The word vyājana meaning 'corn/invest' is of common occurrence while stiti is found in several epigraphic and literary records in the sense of a measure. See below note 2.—Ed.)

² (The author has totally misunderstood the meaning of the inscription. What has been read by him as sūtra is clearly sākrī, although the reading intended may be sūtraṃ. But even then the object of the inscription is not what has been understood by Dr. Dikshit. The aneṣya of verses 4-5 (yugadvatsa) would stand as follows: eva sāṅghaḥ māṅgala śāhāra-śāhāraṃ vyājana-dātāṃ sākrī māṅgala. [At this point the word stiti might have been expected but it is not so. The word stiti is found in several, epigraphic and literary records in the sense of a measure.] Ed.)

³ For his inscriptions at Sirpur, see Hiralal, Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar (2nd ed.), Nos. 173 and 184. For the Lakshman temple inscription of his mother Viṣṇūti, see above, Vol. XI, pp. 184 ff.

as is known from his Mallaś plates which record his donation to a Vihāra of Buddhist nuns. Recently three more inscriptions have been found at Sīrpur, which record his; ifta of land to Buddhist monasteries.

The composer of the prakāśī, Sumsangal, son of Tāradatta, is already known to us from several inscriptions at Sīrpur and also from the Senakapāt inscription published above.

I edit the record from the original stone which is now preserved in the Museum of the University of Sāgara.

TEXT

[Metres : verses 1, 6 Snagdharā ; verse 2 Aryā ; verse 3 Sārāśavikrīdita ; verse 4, 7 Amukṣūkha ; verse 5 Vasamātīdikā.]

1 [Om] [{\textcircled{\textasteriskcentered}}] Mukta-ārī-ka[pa]-jñātā satē(ta) tam-apī karih sprāyamānaḥ sudhānsā(dhānsā) r= nā vā mlanaḥ kadaḥ

2 chin-na cha hima-nivāhena-apī nītō-nyathātvam(tvam) | nōdyat-prōddāma-kalpa-khaya- samaya-marut-prērana-

3 ay-apī gandhārasy-aṇyaḥ kō-pi yuḥmās-sukhaya tu Sugataśy-adbhutaḥ pāda-padmaḥ ||

4 [\textcircled{\textasteriskcentered}] Dha[va]-

5 la-kulam-kalama-bhānas bhūbhṛtī bhūpāla-maṇḍalik-tilakaḥ | pratipaksha-kahati-dakshā rakshati

6 [Bh[Bh]] ārjumunā khūpāni[pim] || [2\textcircled{\textasteriskcentered}] Dūr-ōṭaśrita-matsaraḥ āma-sudhāśvāda-prakṣaṭḥ sadā bhikṣuḥ sa-

7 dv-svadā-śūṅja-prakṛitrīr-dakṣaḥ kahām-rakṣaṇaḥ | āṇandaprabha ity-udāra-karmā-

8 bhārā- t=prabhāvo-bhavad-bhaktim Śāstari Māra-vairīpi bhṛjasam vi(bj)bhrad-bhava-chohādini ||

9 [\textcircled{\textasteriskcentered}] Sa vihāra-kuṭāṁ

10 chakrā kriyā mūlāyena Saṅghataḥ | vyaṇjan-āṇāñ(a-ānā) saḥiṁ tvita sita-śaṇḍ̄u[la]-saṭkāme-kām || [\textcircled{\textasteriskcentered}] Sramu[\textcircled{\textasteriskcentered}]

11 ta- y-śaṇḍiḥna satra cha kārayitvā tad-vaṇjan-āṇā(a-ānā)-saḥiṁ yatibhiḥ samastāḥ |

12 pratyaśkām-a-

13 tma-paripāṭi-vaśena bhūjyaṁ yāvan-nabhah-talam-alamkurutē Vivaśvān || [5\textcircled{\textasteriskcentered}] Vāt-ōddhūt-

14 āmva[mbu]-praṭaṇa11

15 shita-salīla-kaṇa-ārṇī-liḷā-viḷūlāṁ Lakshmim-āloka lōka-sthitim-apī vipul-śpa-

16 d-graha-[gra]jyamānān(ām) | vu(bud)hvā ch-ōddāma-du1 yha-prabhava-bhava-gataṁ vā(ba)ndhavam dharmam-ekam dānāṁ dāttā

17 ...... 14dham-iha yatibhiḥ sarvadā pālaniyam(yam) || 15 cūmanḍo-nugatām-śānam chakrā

18 sa[raṇa]=iv=0- ḍa

19 [juva(jva)]lāṁ(lām) || sūnuḥ ārī-Tāradattasaṃ prājasāṁ ārī-Sumsangalāḥ || [7\textcircled{\textasteriskcentered}] Utkirṇa-śyam

Prabhākaro|| o [\textcircled{\textasteriskcentered}]

1 See Vol. XXIII, pp. 113-122.
2 See ibid., Vol. XXXI, pp. 31 ff.
3 From the original stone and in the impression.
4 Expressed by a symbol, traces of which are visible on the stone.
5 Only faint traces of this letter are visible. (The correct reading of the passage is mukti-ārīlo satām—Ed.)
6 The correct reading is pāṣadī sāpyaṇaṁ—Ed.
7 There is a fault in the stone after this.
8 The word dānakus has been used in the sense of 'pure'. Since, however, dānakus and pūrṇa are synonymous, the author may have hinted at Bālabhuma's descent from the epic hero Plāṇu.—Ed.
9 The correct reading is kuraś-bhūr-ārāṁ-bhāsā—Ed.
10 The correct reading is sukhaśa. But see above, p. 197, note 2.—Ed.
11 There is a dot over this letter owing to a flaw in the stone. (The correct reading of the expression is mukti(kṣā)-

12 paścāḥ—toj(ay)-Ed.)
13 Two letters here are abraded in the original. (The reading is duti-dvārāh[sa]=iv=0—Ed.)
14 Two letters here are abraded in the original. (The reading is duti-dvārāh[sa]=iv=0—Ed.)
SIRPUR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF BALARJUNA

Scale: Two-thirds
This set of three copper plates was discovered at Andhavaram in the Narasannapeta Taluk of the Srikakulam District, Andhra State. Each of the plates measures about 6\(\frac{1}{2}\) by 2\(\frac{1}{2}\). They are fastened together by means of a circular ring (4\(\frac{3}{4}\)" in diameter), the two ends of which are secured below an elliptical seal which bears in relief a crude representation of the couchant bull or nandin facing the proper right with a crescent above and a floral design (perhaps a lotus) below. The ring was cut by me for taking impressions. The first and third plates are inscribed on one side only and the second on both the sides. Each side contains eight lines of writing. Though the edges of the plates are not raised into rims, the preservation of the inscription is quite satisfactory.

The script of the inscription bears close resemblance to that employed in the Siddhântam plates of Dëvendravarman and other records of the early Eastern Gaûga kings. The engraving is carelessly done. The carelessness of the scribe is responsible for several mistakes of omission and commission. Mediæal i and i are not clearly distinguished in many cases. Often p is written like s (cf. prati in line 2 and prämä in line 3) and s like p (cf. sarwam in line 9). The letter bh often looks like t (cf. sâmkshôbha in line 6) and t like n (cf. bhavatâ, vârimândâvata in line 3). The consonant after r is doubled in some cases (cf. sarvartu in line 1). The use of anusvara for class nasal in sâmkshôbha and v for b in many places is noteworthy. The language is Sanskrit and except for the customary verses quoted at the end (lines 24-30) the inscription is in prose.

The charter records the gift of the village Kâlamadâmbisâkuna in the Varâhavartani vishaya, after making it into an agrohâra and exempting it from all taxes, to the Brâhmaṇa residents of Anandapura, who belonged to different gotras and were well-versed in the Vedaṅgas, by Mahârâja Anantavarman of the Gaûga family for the merit of his parents. The grant was issued from Kâlînagaras on the eleventh day of the dark half of Jyéṣṭha of the year 216 in the victorious reign of the king. This date of the grant is written both in words and numerical symbols: but there is some disparity between the two. While it is clearly stated in words as śrīta-devāya-sahaja-ôttaratī, numerical symbol 2 in the hundred's place and 6 in the ten's place alone are written. This appears to be the engraver's mistake. The grant was drafted at the oral order of the king by Gupaţ-ôpâdhyāya and engraved by Mâtrîchandra.

The royal praśasti set forth in the record under review does not materially differ from that found in the records of Dëvendravarman, dated in years 183 and 196. One Anantavarman is known from an earlier record discovered in the village of Gurandi near Parakimidi. This record, dated in

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1 Of the two other copper-plate grants found along with the present set, one belonging to Vajrahasta is edited below while the other issued by the Mâthara king Anantasaktiavarman has been published above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 177 ff. and Plate. Of the two records published here, A is No. 6 and B No. 7 of A. R. Ep., 1951-52, App. 3.


3 [See p. 202, note 1 below.—Ed.]

4 One Mâtrîchandra figures as the father of the composer of the Siddhântam plate of Dëvendravarman (above, Vol. XIII, p. 216).


(199)
year 204, mentions Anantavarman as the son of Dēvendra-varman. Though our record does not mention the name of Dēvendra-varman as the father of the donor, since it is dated only twelve years later, and since the Sambomballi plates, dated in year 221 record a gift of Nandavarman, son of Anantavarman, it is reasonable to identify Anantavarman of our plates with Anantavarman, son of Dēvendra-varman of the above inscription. If this identification is accepted, Anantavarman of our record should have ruled over Kālīga at least up to the 216th year of the Gaŗga era. Calculating from the starting point of the era as fixed by Mr. Somasekhara Sarma, this charter can be said to have been issued on Thursday, the 6th June, 720 A.D.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription, Kālamadambisakuna-grāma appears to be the Sanskritized form of some village name which I am not able to identify. Varāhavartani-vishaya appears in many early Gaŗga records and has been identified with the region between the rivers Vahāsadharā and Nāgāvāj, i.e. the modern Srikanthapura and Narasaminapeta Taluks of the Sri-kakulam District. Of the other localities mentioned in the record, Dantapura has been cited as the capital of the Gaŗgas of Kaliṅga in many of their records and it has been identified with Dantavarpukota on the banks of the Vahāsadharā in the Narasaminapeta Taluk.

TEXT

First Plate

1. Ōṁ svastī [†] Sarv- ārtu-sukha-ramaryād-vijayavatih(taḥ) Kaliṅga-na[ga*]rān-Mahēndrāḥah-āmala-
2. śikhara-pratipthi śthitasya char-āchāra-gurōḥ [sa*]kala-su(bhu)vana-ki(n)i rmmīn-aika-sūtradhā-
3. raṣya bhagavatō Gokarṇa svāminō-nā[na] varata- prañāmūd-apagata-sakala-
4. Kali-kulaṅkō nīja-nistriḥ(striṁbha)-dārō-āpajjita-sakala-Kaliṅgō-ādhirā-
5. [shya] jyaḥ prava(vi)tata-chatur-udadhi-taraṅga-mālā-mēkhalā-vanital-āmala-yaśā
d. anē-kāhava-śaṅkaḥōbha-janita-jaya-śavda(bdah) pratē-āvanata-samasta-ṣāmanta-cha-
7. kra-čhē-dāmrāṇi-prabhō-mahājari-puṇja-raṇi(jīn)ta-chanita-kaṁalāḥ paraṃa-mahēva-
8. rō mātā-piti-pād-ānuddhyātaḥ śrimad-Gaṅg-āmala-kul-śodga(bda)yo mahārajāḥ

Second Plate, First Side

9. śrīmān-A[n]a*ntavarmna Vā[Va]rāhavartta(ṇyā)[m*] Kalamadambv(mbi)jaksuna-grāmē sarvva-samavētā[n]-kutumvī(mbi)nāḥ(nah)
10. samājāpaya[i] [†] viditam-astu bhavatā[m*] yathā-yāya[m*] grāmahē sarvva-kara-bharat-
11. timucy-ā-chandārīkka-pratiaḥthaṃ-udaka-pūrvva[m*] kṛitvā mātā-pitṛāḥ puny-ābhivṛddha-
12. yē visa[r*]jana-dāna-nimittam Jya(Jyē)śthā-mās-āsita-pakah-ākādāyā[m*] ānandapu-

†Kṣarom are not uniformly used on the starting point of the Gaŗga era. The view that it commemorates some time in 495-96 A.D. seems to be nearer the mark. See History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. III, p. 215 above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 325 ff., and Vol. XXVII, p. 192.—F.B.D.
§ From impressions.
| Expressed by symbol.
TWO EASTERN GANGA CHARTERS FROM ANDHAVARAM—PLATE I

A.—ANDHAVARAM PLATES OF ANANTAVARMADEVA

Scale: Actual Size
B.—Andhavaram Plates of Vajra Hastadeva
13 ra-vastavyai(vra)-nana-gottrebhyo Vas(Vr)danga-puragabhya sarvva(rrvva)bhyo Brahma-bhaya[*]
14 [ayas]sah[pdadatta-tad-evam] viditva yatha(thi)-oha(chita)-bha-bhagamun(m-s) panayanta[sa]khin[*] pra-
15 tivastate(kti-*tit) [*] sima-sitah[*] la(l)i-khyanta(nti) [*] grama-purvvaga Indrapura-
16 chi(s)m[*]
17 ntri Sindhi[vajase sarvva-palyam(lam)] [ajavattha-vrika]tatu dakhina[pa]-ma[mukha va[n-*]rati[*]] 1-

Second Plate, Second Side
17 ndrapura-Dantapura-grama-tri(tri)ku/t[j]a jala-margga arddha-chandra iva dakhina[pa](s)[-}
18 na(na) vakra-[sthi]-
19 tas-tat[tai(tai)] vanara[ji[*]] pa[schimma(ma)-mukha Diripikava-sakuna-gra[ma]-si(s)m[an-
20 an]a[h] ku(ku)-pa[p-tai]
21 ttara-bala[*] tatu dakhina-[mukha[*]] vakra-vana-rj[i[*]] dakhina-pu[p[*]] vava gata(tai) nandi-taru[h]
20 tat[ta] pu[rvva(rrvva)-mukha] Tivadrasha[*] da[kshi(s)a(ma)-mukha vana-rj[i[*]] pu[n[a] pu-
21 schima-
22 makha vana-rj[i[*]] Oruvaagapa[da]-Sakunagra[ma]-si(s)m-ant[ntai(tai)] jala-margga-
23 sahita[v*][na(ma)-rj[i]*] pa[schimaya[na(dii Pi]hali-Vuka[apata[sa]-ma-
24 nta[nta[nta]-Sa[ku(ku)] tcta uttar[na] vanana[ra]-rj[i[*]] paurdyasa-
24 [yan[*] yavadi-iti [*] bhavi[shya]tas-chh rajna[*] prajnapayati [*] * Ayuryya(r-vwav)

Third Plate
26 daran-odyas(ma)[n] [*] [*] Tath[*] cha Vyasa-gita [*] Va(Sa)bhubhir-vvasudha datta rajabhi[-
27 ga[dh]bibhi[*] yasya yasya yadda bhumi[stra-tarya tastra tada dha(pla)lam(lam) [*] [*] Swa-
28 datt[ta[m[*] pa]-
29 ra-dattam[vat[tain vai] yatna[raksha Yudhisrithira [*] mahim[m] mahimata[am sreshtha-
30 lasochohira[oh-chhr(a)y(o-na(nu)-
31 pala[m [*] 3[*] Shashtri-vashtha[rsha]-sahasa[ra]yapi svarga[go wdati bhumi[dha[*] aksha[pt-
30 cha[anuvanta cha tany-sva narakas vas(iti[vas(eta [*] [*] pra[vadhamana-vijaya-

1 The intended reading might be sirna-sitacya.
2 This may be the name of a locality; cf. Pitahali in line 22.
3 This is redundant.
4 The intended reading of this expression might be puruspa
dha.
5 There is an overslip over this word which has to be ignored.
6 This and the three following verses are in the amshubhaka metre.
7 The form of this letter which looks like a conjunct is peculiar. The two dots of the following signs are
joined up.
B. Plates of Vajrahastādeva

These plates were also discovered at Andhavaran. The set consists of three plates of which the first and the last are engraved on one side only, while the second on both the sides. Examination of the plates shows that they had an earlier inscription on them which was completely erased before the present inscription was engraved. But the surface was not smoothened before engraving the later record and this has caused considerable difficulty in deciphering it. The edges of the plates have been raised into rim. The plates are of a fairly uniform size measuring 7½" by 3½" and about ½" thick at the edges. The longer sides have a slight inward curve. The plates were strapped on a solid copper ring 2½" thick and fairly circular in shape with a diameter of 4½". The two ends of this ring are secured under a circular bronze seal, 2½" in diameter. On this seal are seen the figures of a couchant bull with the crescent on the top, a couch in the rear and a lotus bud with its stalk in a vertical position in front. Below the bull are the figures of an elephant, a small circular disc divided into eight sectors, probably a representation of the sun, and a pūrṇa-ghāta. All these figures are cast in high relief. The ring with the seal weighs 94 tolas while the three plates together weigh 186 tolas.

The script of the inscription is old Nagari and bears close resemblance to that of the Ponduru plates of Vajrahasta and the Chicaacoole plates of Madhukāmārpayava. The language is Sanskrit and the record is all in prose. As regards orthography, the sign of v is used for b (cf. śarda in line 11) and rarely that of s for s (cf. śimā in line 26). The usual imprecatory and beneficent verses are conspicuous by their absence in this record.

The charter was issued from Danātipura. It records the gift of the village of Gāsthavājā or Gōthavājā in the Kṛṣheṭukavartani viśaya by Vajrahasta, son of Kāmārpayava, to Mahāpa Bhimana, son of Dhāpānāyāka of Vēmma-kula. The date and the purpose of the grant are not stated in the record. The charter, however, may be assigned to the 10th century on palaeographic grounds. The inscription contains the usual prāṣasti of the Eastern Gaṅga family to which the donor belonged. The gift village was declared out of bounds for the police and military personnel and exempted from all kinds of taxes.

Like the present plates, the Ponduru plates also mention one Vajrahasta as the son of Kāmārpayava. According to B. V. Krishnarao and others, the Ponduru plates which belong to Vajrahasta II, are dated in year 500. The donor of the present record may be identified with Vajrahasta II, son of Kāmārpayava I.

The gift village Gāsthavājā or Gōthavājā appears to be identical with Gottivājā in the Srikakulam Taluk of the District of that name. This, however, cannot be verified as its boundaries are not specified.

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1 [The reading is 2½". — Ed.]
2 The intended reading of this expression might be apramāṇa.
3 [It seems that it was the text of the present record which was cancelled. — Ed.]
TWO EASTERN GANGLA CHARTERS FROM ANDHAVARAM—PLATE II

B.—ANDHAVARAM PLATES OF VAJRHAHASTADEVA

Scale: Three-fourths
Scale: Three-fourths

SEALS

A

B

(from Photographs)
TEXT

First Plate

1 Svasty=Amara=pur-anukar=ma| sarv=vartu=su(su)kha=rama-
2 viyad=vijaya-=va[sa-va]*dvahana=sudh=dhavalaya(lita)-sri-
3 prasa=a-mala-[da]=[sa-h]thita=vara-vilasi=ti-
4 lalita-lasyad=urda[da]=da-panjita-kul-ala=sk=ra=ti-
5 sri-Dantipura=vasakat=prasiddha=sidhata-tava(pa)-
6 s=adhya=stita-kamha[r-@]dar=ra-Mahindr=chal<na-
7 l=kanaka=sikha=pratishtitasya=char=chara=na-
8 roh=sakala-bhuvana-nirm=ai-a=sura(tri)dhara=sa-

Second Plate, First Side

9 sa=anka-chudama=er-bhagavato=Gokarna=savina=cha-
10 ra[na]=kamalayugala=pra=am[i]jgata=sakala-Kala(li)-
11 kalainko=n=khawa=sani[ksho]bha=janita=jaya=svasta(bda)[:] prat=
12 p=avanata=samasta=chakrachudamanipra-
13 bh=ma[mu*jjari=punama)=(nieji)vara-chara=kamala-
14 yugala[ha] sakala-Kali=gh=adhipati[ha]* Gaung=amala-
15 kula=tilaka[ha]* m=ma(harin)dhir=ja=paramesvara[ha]* m-
16 ta=pitri=p=anudhyata(ta) naya=vinayadaya(y)a) dan=

Second Plate, Second Side

17 dai[kshila=ya]=sauryyo=ryy=au)llaryya=ny=s=tyag=adi=guna=saampa=adhara-
18 bhuta=srimate=Kamara=navadev=sa* jaya=sunur=r=vi=la=vikram=sa-
19 na[taj=t=]n=kh=pal=m=aul=man=mar=ch(i)=rau=jita=pad-
20 padma=yugala[ha] vimala=ch(i)=chita=bhaga=ma=ttan=da-
21 vara=charaya=kamalayugala[ha]* Surasar[di]v=a=sa=da=di-
22 ga[mu]ka=yap=patapa[ha]* Surasarit-kul=amala=sa-
23 kala=m=ma(harin)dhir=ja=tilaka[ha]* mamarakamiva= vikhy-
24 ta=viryya=m=rija=srimad=Vajrahastad=evah[ha]* Krishhakavartany=B G=
25 sh=avula=niva(v)a)=man=ku=tu=vi(bi)=man(mah) samajhpayati= vi-

* Read Amara=rdya ry=sa
Third Plate

26 ditam-astu vō yath-āyam grāmaḥ chata[h*]-āt(is)l-m-ābhyaṁntara-jala-
27 samētyga[ta][h*] sarva-pṛdā-vā(bā)dha-varjita[h*] a-chaṭṭa-bhaṭṭa-sarva-ka-
28 ra-parihāra[matya]1 dēva-dvija-guru-pu(pū)jakah(kasya) su[hrit]-vah(d-vah)sat(isa)-dī-
29 na-jan-āraya[sys*] Vē[mma]-kula-dipaka-[Dhanḍa]nā-
30 yakasya putra[sys*] ārt-Maḍapa-Bhimanashya(sysa) udaka-pū-
31 rvakēna Gōṭhavāda[h*] saṁpradatta iti ||

1 Read porikātriya
Read परिक्रिया
No. 27—GUJARRA INSCRIPTION OF ASOKA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACUMUND

The hamlet of Gujarrā lies in the Datia District of Vindhya Pradesh, near the village of Parāsāri on the Datia-Unao road, about 11 miles to the south-east of Datia and 12 miles to the north of Jhansi in U. P. At a little distance from the hamlet, there is a hill locally known as Siddhā-ki-toriya or the hillocks of the Perfected Ones. The inscription under notice is engraved on a boulder lying at the foot of this hill.

The inscription was discovered by Mr. Lal Chand Sharma, a forest contractor of Jhansi, who by chance came upon the inscribed rock while out a-hunting. Mr. Sharma showed some indistinct photographs and inaccurate eye-copies of the record to Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Deputy Director-General of Archaeology in India, at New Delhi, on the 30th November 1953. A glance at them was enough for Dr. Chhabra to recognise that the epigraph was one of the Rock Edicts of the celebrated Maurya emperor Asoka\(^1\) (c. 269-232 B.C.) and naturally he pressed Mr. Sharma for information regarding its exact findspot, so that he could visit the place in order to examine the inscription and take inked estampages of it for study and publication. But Mr. Sharma, who was under the impression that the document contained a clue to the existence of a hidden treasure in its neighbourhood, was not prepared to give the required information unless Dr. Chhabra would agree to share with him the treasure when brought to light as a result of his study of the record. Dr. Chhabra tried to convince him that such epigraphs do not contain any information regarding buried treasures, but in vain. He, however, followed up the matter until, thanks to the interest taken in the matter by Mr. J. S. Lall, then Collector-in-Charge of Jhansi, Mr. Lal Chand Sharma and his younger brother, Mr. Lakhpat Ram Sharma, Municipal Commissioner of Jhansi, ultimately agreed to disclose the name of the findspot of the epigraph. They requested Dr. Chhabra to reach Jhansi on the 15th of November 1954 for being escorted to the spot. Although Dr. Chhabra could not visit the place on that date, the two Sharma brothers took Mr. Lall to Gujarrā to show the inscription, and the discovery was announced in some daily papers. On the 5th of December 1954, Dr. Chhabra visited the village in the company of Mr. Lall, Mr. S. K. Sen, Additional Deputy Commissioner of the Datia District, Dr. K. N. Puri, then Superintendent of the Department of Archaeology at Agra (Northern Circle), and the two Sharma brothers. He carefully examined the record and took inked impressions and photographs of it. Soon afterwards he incorporated the results of his study of the epigraph in a paper which was read at the Ahmedabad Session of the Indian History Congress in the last week of December 1954. In the course of my annual tour in search of inscriptions in the winter of 1954-55, I visited Gujarrā for an examination of the record on the 5th of February 1955. Some time later Dr. Chhabra was kind enough to place at my disposal a copy of his unpublished paper as well as his tentative transcript of the epigraph\(^2\) and in February 1956 he was so good as to permit me to edit the inscription in the Epigraphia Indica.

The area occupied by the writing on the face of the boulder measures about 9 feet 5 inches in length and 1 foot 7 inches in height. There are only five lines of writing. An aṅkharā is about 3 inches in height. Lines 2-5 begin from a distance of about 6 inches towards the left of the commencement of line 1. The fifth line, with which the epigraph ends, is shorter than the other lines. The letters are carefully engraved. But the preservation of the writing is not satisfactory. Some

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\(^1\) Macon over s and o has not been used in the article.

\(^2\) Dr. Chhabra's paper together with his transcript of the inscription has since appeared in Proc. I.H.C., Ahmedabad, pp. 86-71.
letters at the end of line 4 and the beginning of line 5 are very badly damaged. Indeed it appears from the stone that line 4 stops a few inches towards the left of the end of the preceding lines. Even in other parts of the record, there are many letters and signs which are indistinct.

The characters, which are early Brāhmī as expected, are slightly longish in shape as in some of Aśoka’s Pillar Edicts such as those on the Delhi-Topra and Laturya-Nandangarh pillars. The inscription is another version of Aśoka’s Minor Rock Edict I. The language of this edict has been called the Māgadha dialect found in his Pillar Edicts as well as the Rock Edicts at Dhauli and Jagada; but it has been noticed that r has not been changed to l in all cases in some of the versions such as those at Rūpānath and Maski, while it has been retained in versions like those in Mysore. There is no orthographical peculiarity which is not already known from other inscriptions of Aśoka. In several cases, medial ā, i and ū have been used respectively for medial a, i and u. The consonant r has not been changed to l except in chilathitike in line 4. Čh has been used for ḍ in chakiya (Sanskrit sakyam, sakyāḥ). A point of grammatical interest is offered by the verb sāmi (Sanskrit asmi) in the place of sumi found in the same context in the Rūpānath, Sahasrām and Maski versions of the edict. The word samacchārā has been used in the neuter gender. The case-ending e has been used for both Masculine Nominative Singular and Neuter Nominative and Accusative Singular. Both the suffixes for the Active and Middle forms of the Present Participle have been used; but the suffix for the Middle form has taken the shape of mīna in the place of Sanskrit māna. It is interesting to note that the Participles chara (Active) and charamīnas (Middle) have been formed from the same root. The old form of the Infinitive Mood is noticed in pāpotave and ārādhayitave.

The inscription begins with the sentence: Dev[ānam]piya[sa] Piyadasina Aṣokarāja (Sanskrit: Devānampriyasya Priyadasinaḥ Aṣokarāja), “Of Devānampriya Priyadasin Aṣokarāja.” A word like śrāvanam, ‘proclamation,’ is understood in the context. The same is the case with the Maski version of the edict. It is well known that, in his inscriptions, Aśoka generally calls himself king Devānampriya Priyadasin ‘or’ Devānampriya ‘or’ king Priyadasin, and that, among the published inscriptions of the Maurya emperor, the version of Minor Rock Edict I at Maski alone mentions him by his personal name Aśoka. The Gujarā version of the edict, which calls him A’okarāja, is thus the second of his known epigraphic records mentioning him by his personal name.

The next sentence of the inscription reads: a[c]hā[ti]yāni sa[ṃ]mocchārāni upāsak[sa]-[sa]ni (Sanskrit: ardhakratityān samcattadān [vyāpya ahām] upāsaḥ asmi), “I have been an upāsaka (i.e. a lay follower of the Buddha) for two years and a half.” The word sādhikāni or sātrekāni qualifies sa[c]t[ī]yan in the corresponding sentence in the other versions suggesting that, when Minor Rock Lato was issued, Aśoka had been an upāsaka for a little more than two and half years and not exactly for only two and half years as stated in the present version. The omission seems to be due to oversight either of the scribe or of the engraver. Most other versions add to this a sentence saying that Aśoka was not energetic in the practice and propagation of Dharma during the whole of this period of a little over two and half years. The Mysore versions of the edict clearly state that this period of inactivity on the part of Aśoka lasted for one year. The following sentence of the edict says that he worked zealously in the cause of Dharma only for a little over one year forming the latter part of the said period of his upāsakatva till the date of the proclamation.

The third sentence runs as follows: sādhike sa[ṃ]mocchā[re] ya cha me Saṅgha yād[ā]ta ti [a]ka[na]t[ā]k[ā]n[ā] cha parakami ti [a]k[ā] (Sanskrit: sādhikam samcattadāram [vyāpya] yat cha mayā Saṅghaḥ yāti tāi ahām bādhām parākramāh iti āha), “Saith he, “It is a little more than one year that I have been associated with the Saṅgha (i.e. the Buddhist Clergy) and have been excessively energetic (in
the practice and propagation of Dharma).” The wording of the sentence is different from that in the other versions. There is considerable difference of opinion among scholars as regards the meaning of the word yāta indicating Aśoka’s relation with the Buddhist Church. In the place of yāta, some versions have upayāta, upagata or upeta. The sentence is in the passive in some versions (e.g. mayā Saṅghah yātaḥ) and in the active in others (e.g. ahām Saṅghah yātaḥ). Some scholars think that the reference is to a visit that Aśoka paid to the Buddhist Church. But this is improbable as the Present Tense in the verb sumi, ‘I am’ or ‘I have been’, in the corresponding passage, e.g., in the Rūpānāth version (sātikāsa chu chakavakhere ya sumi hakam Saṅgha upeta, Sanskrit: sātikāsa cha tu samavataraṁ ya sumi ahām Saṅgham upetaḥ), would suggest that the action indicated by yāta-upayāta-upagata-upeta with reference to Aśoka’s relation with the Saṅgha was a continuous event lasting for over a year immediately preceding the date of the edict. To obviate this difficulty, some scholars take upeta and its equivalents to mean ‘entered’ and think that Aśoka became a Buddhist monk or at least a bhikṣu-vatika or grhastha-muni. That, however, Aśoka was an upāsaka and not a monk at the time of the promulgation of the edict is clear from the Present Tense used in asmi in the second sentence of the inscription already discussed above. On the date of the proclamation, Aśoka could not have been staying in the Church for more than a year as the edict is stated to have been issued on the 257th day of a tour which he undertook for the propagation of Dharma, the period covered by the tour being eight months and a half. We have elsewhere suggested that yāta-upayāta-upagata-upeta has been used here in the sense of saṅghata, ‘intimately associated’, and that it speaks of Aśoka’s close contact with the Buddhist Church, which began more than a year before the promulgation of the edict.

Some scholars think that the second and third sentences of the edict speak of two different stages of Aśoka’s upāsakata, the first covering more than 2 1/2 years when he was not zealous in the practice and propagation of Dharma and the second covering more than a year when he was exerting himself in the cause of Dharma. This would suggest that, by the time when the edict was issued, Aśoka had been an upāsaka for nearly four years. But this is unlikely in view of the fact that Aśoka uses the Present Tense in connection with the period of more than 2 1/2 years giving the duration of his upāsakata till the date of the edict and also with the period of more than a year immediately preceding the said date) when he was zealous in the practice and propagation of Dharma but that he uses the Past Tense (Aorist) in connection with the period of one year when he was not exerting himself in the cause of Dharma (cf. Brahmagiri version: no tu kho bāṭham prakām̐e hussam ekam savachharam—Sanskrit: no tu khaḷa bāṭham prakām̐e hussam ekam savastaram).

The fourth sentence reads: etena antareṇa Jambudvipa Devāṇā♠mi[priy[ya] a[jma]śa[deva] saṃśīt[a munisa] miśa[deva] katā (Sanskrit: etena antareṇa Jambudvīpa Devānāmṣipriyasya amīśa-devadā[śa] satatt[ah] manusyaḥ miśa-devadā[krūṭaḥ], ” Devānāmṣipriya’s men (i.e. subjects) in Jambudvīpa, who were unmindled with gods during this period, have been made (by him) mingled with gods.” The wording of the sentence is not the same in all the versions. The use of Devānāmṣipriyasya in this context is a peculiarity of the Gujarāṭ text of the edict. In some versions, men who had been formerly unmindled with gods are represented as mingled with the latter, while, in others, gods are represented as having been formerly unmindled with men and later mingled with them. Jambudvīpa here apparently indicates the empire of Aśoka. The following sentence makes it clear that the result of the practice and propagation of Dharma on the part of Aśoka was claimed to be this mingling of his subjects with gods.

The commingling of gods and men has been understood differently by different scholars. H. P. Sastri’s interpretation2 of devadāh as ‘the Brāhmaṇas’ is based on a misunderstanding of the corresponding sentence of the Rūpānāth version of the edict and has now been given up. Sylvam Lavi

2 JFAS, 1910, pp. 269 ff.
and Filliosat take *deva* to mean ‘a king’. But it is difficult to believe that Aśoka who claimed to have been ‘beloved of the gods’ would have thought it proper to refer to his own self (or, to kings including himself) as a god. He could hardly have been unconscious of the ambiguity that would result from the use of the word in a sense which is not its normal meaning. F. W. Thomas thinks that Aśoka brought the Brahmanical gods to the knowledge of wild tribes and other backward peoples who had formerly no knowledge of them. But Aśoka’s Dharma had really little to do with the Brahmanical gods, and the claim seems to refer to his subjects in general. According to E. Hultzsch, *devaḥ* here means *divyāni rūpāṇi* of Rock Edict IV, meaning ‘gods in effigies’ which Āśoka exhibited to his subjects. But Rock Edict IV really says that Āśoka’s *dharma-ānusāsani* achieved better result in promoting Dharma among the people than the religious exhibitions conducted by earlier kings had attained. The correct interpretation of the passage in question has been offered by D. R. Bhandarkar who thinks that Āśoka led men in the path of Dharma so that they became fit to be commingled with gods not only in heaven but also in this life. This interpretation seems to be supported by the passage *yogasaṃ yuṣṭamatiḥ* occurring in the latter part of the present version of the edict.

The next sentence runs as follows: *parakamasya iyaṃ phale* (Sanskrit: *parākramasya idam phalam*), “This is the result of (*his*) exertion (in the practice and propagation of Dharma)”. The exertion relates to Āśoka’s activities during the period of more than a year immediately before the date of the edict, which is referred to in the third sentence discussed above.

The sixth and seventh sentences of the inscription read: *no [cha] iyaṃ mahatena ti va chakīya pāpotave [*] khudākeṇa pi parakasmānena dharmaṃ charaṃśeṇa pānīni samyataṇā vipulaḥ pi surage chakīya arādhyate* (Sanskrit: *no cha idam mahatā ti eva sakyaṃ prāptum | kahudrakeṇa api parākramāpameṇa dharmaṃ charatā prāpiesu samyataṇa vipulāḥ api svaragāh sakyaḥ arādhyate*).

“It is not that the rich man alone is able to obtain this (result). Even a poor man, who exerts himself, practises (*the duties associated with*) Dharma and observes restraint in respect of living beings, is able to attain even the great heaven”. Āśoka here says that the brilliant result obtained by him by dint of his exertion in the practice and propagation of Dharma can also be achieved by a poor man and that it is not a monopoly of a rich man like himself. The wording of these two sentences is not the same in the different versions. By ‘great heaven’, Āśoka possibly understood a station higher than the world of the gods.

The next sentence reads: *[e]tāye aṭkāyej iyaṃ sāvane* (Sanskrit: *tat etasmas artheṣyā idam ārāgaṃ*), “Therefore this proclamation is (being issued by me) for this (following) purpose”. The twofold purpose is indicated in the next two sentences.

The first of the two purposes is indicated in the sentence which reads: *khudākeṇa cha uḍāre cha dharmaṃ chariṣatāḥ (Sanskrit: kahudrakeṇa cha uḍāre cha dharmaṃ chariṣatāṃ, yogasaṃ yuṣṭam)*, “Let the poor and the rich (both) practise (the duties associated with) Dharma and effect (*their*) association (with gods thereby)”. Āśoka’s first purpose for issuing the proclamation was that his subjects, both poor and rich, should emulate him in the practice of Dharma (which, in his view, included the propagation of Dharma) and this, he believed, would make them fit for commingling with the gods. In the place of this sentence, other versions have, “Let (both) the poor and the rich exert themselves (in the cause of Dharma)”. The passage *yogasaṃ yuṣṭam* added in the present version to what corresponds to the above sentence of the other versions is of considerable importance as it throws welcome light on the interpretation of the controversial reference to the commingling of gods and men in the earlier part of the edict.

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1 See *John A.A., Tome COXXXVII*, 1949, pp. 225 ff. See also comments on some of Filliosat’s suggestions in *Maha Inscription of Aśoka*, op. cit., p. 25 and note 2; p. 27, note 1.


The second purpose underlying the proclamation is indicated in the next sentence which reads: "aṁṭā pī cha jānantā kim tī . . . . . . . . . . enam [vā] dhā[ḥ]maṁ charaṇa[ṃ] ati[yo]," (Sanskrit: aṁṭā api cha jānantā kim tī . . . . . . . . . . janaḥ) enam eva Dharmaṁ charan anuvah, "Let the people outside the borders (of my dominions) also know that . . . . . . . . . . . if (people) practise the duties associated with) this Dharma alone to a considerable degree." The message to the aṁṭā or peoples living beyond the borders of Asoka's empire is also found in most other versions. But the wording of the present text is different. Unfortunately many of the akṣharas in this part are damaged and the meaning of the section is not absolutely certain. We have tried below to restore the lost words on the basis of the wording in the other versions. In matters like the promotion of Dharma, Asoka made no distinction between his own subjects and foreigners. To him all men were like his children.

The last sentence of the inscription reads: iyaṁ [cha] sāvana vūthena(ṇa 256) (Sanskrit: idaṁ cha vūthena vūchāvāna 256), "And this proclamation is (being issued by me when I have been) on tour (for) 256 (days)." The word vīyutha (i.e. vīyutha) standing for Sanskrit vṛṣṭha has been used here for Sanskrit vṛṣṭha. There is difference of opinion among scholars on the interpretation of the sentence. But the corresponding sentence in the Sahasrām version makes its meaning absolutely clear. This reads: dve sapāṁnā ṛāt-satā vīyutha ti 256 which stands for Sanskrit: dve ṛat-paṁchāśad-rātri-kale vṛṣṭhaḥ (=vṛṣṭhaḥ aham) ti 256 or dve ṛat-paṁchāśad-rātri-kale vṛṣṭhaḥ (=cēyitāḥ mañā) ti 256. This tour seems to be one of the early Dharma-ṛātras (i.e. tours for the propagation of Dharma) instituted by Asoka in the tenth year after his coronation (i.e. in the eleventh year of his reign, corresponding roughly to 260-259 B.C.) and particularly referred to in Rock Edict VIII. It is now generally believed that Minor Rock Edict I is the earliest of Asoka's proclamations on matters relating to Dharma first issued 12 years after his coronation, i.e. about 258-257 B.C.

TEXT:

3 no [cha] iyaṁ mahatena ti no
3 chakiye āpātav[e] [*] (VII) khudākeṇa pī parakāminoṇe dhanmaṁ charamaṇeṇ pāneṣu
4 saṁyatena vipule pī svge chakiye ārāhāyātave [*] (VIII) a[e] stēye
5. aṭaḥ[ya] iyaṁ sāvane [*] (IX) khudāke cha udāre cha dhanaṁ charaṇaṁ [yo]jagāṁ
4 yuṁjānte [*] (X) aṁṭā pī cha jānantā kiṃti cha cha chilāti[ti]ke dhanaṁcha . . . . . .

1 From impressions.
2 In the place of  naï, no seems to have been originally engraved.
3 This akṣara had been originally omitted and was later inserted in the small space between the preceding and following akṣaras.
4 This akṣara should better be read after chilaṭikīṭhe.
5 The intended reading of the sentence may be chilaṭikīṭhe cha dhanaṁcharaṇe hoto (Sanskrit: chiraṭhīṭhas ca dharma-cha-ranaṁ bhavaṁ). Of, e.g. chilaṭikīṭhe cha polakame hoto (Sanskrit: chiraṭhīṭhak ca tāramaṁ bhavante) in the Sahasrām version.
6 The intended reading may be saṁdhikīṭhe (Sanskrit: vṛṣṭhikīṭhe). As suggested by other versions of the edict, the lost words before vṛṣṭhikīṭhe may be iyaṁ aṣṭha (Sanskrit: aṣṭha aṣṭha).
7 This Participle in the Nominative Singular has to be taken with a word like jātcha (Sanskrit: jātcha) or, hekaṁ ca ēkam (Sanskrit: ēkaṁ pāyate īkam) in the Maṇki version.
(I) *This is a proclamation* of Devānāṃpriya Priyadarśin Aśokarāja.

(II) I have been (now) an upāsaka (i.e. a lay follower of the Buddha) for two and half years.

(III) Saith he, “It is (now) more than a year that the Saṅgha (i.e. the Buddhist Church) has been intimately associated with me and that I have been exerting myself (in the cause of Dharma)’’.

(IV) Devānāṃpriya’s men (i.e. subjects) in Jambudvīpa, who had been unmingled with the gods during this period, were made (by him) mingled with the gods.

(V) This is the result of (his) exertion (in the cause of Dharma).

(VI) It is not that this (result) can be obtained by the rich man alone. (VII) Even the poor man, if he exerts himself (in the cause of Dharma), practises (the duties associated with) Dharma and observes restraint in respect of living beings, can attain even the great heaven.

(VIII) Therefore this proclamation is (issued by me) for this (following) purpose.

(IX) Let (both) the poor and the rich practise (the duties associated with) Dharma (and) effect (thereby their) association (with the gods).

(X) Let the peoples living beyond the borders (of my empire) also know that ............... if (one) practises (the duties associated with) this Dharma alone to a considerable extent.”

(XI) And this proclamation (is issued by me when I have been) on tour (for) 356 (days).

¹ The conjectural restoration of the damaged portion of the inscription would suggest the translation: “Let the peoples living beyond the borders (of my empire) also know that the practice of (the duties associated with) Dharma should further increase. This matter will increase if (people) practise (the duties associated with) this Dharma alone to a considerable degree.”
No. 28—RAJULA-MANDAGIRI INSCRIPTION OF ASOKA

(2 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OTTACAMUND

In a letter dated the 14th September 1946, Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan, a keen student of ancient Indian history and an Advocate of the Madras High Court, sent for examination to the Government Epigraphist for India an eye-copy of the beginning of an old Brähmi inscription, which he had reproduced from an old record about thirty years previously. Just then he could not remember the source from which the eye-copy had been taken down; but he correctly noticed that some of the letters of the inscription looked like Brähmi characters found in the edicts of Asoka. Unfortunately it was not possible to make out anything from the eye-copy and Mr. Aravamuthan was searching for his notes to trace its source. In another letter, dated the 14th March 1947, he informed the Government Epigraphist for India that he had reproduced the eye-copy of the inscription from the following volume of the Mackenzie Manuscripts preserved in the Madras Government's Oriental Manuscripts Library: 'Local Records, Vol. 29, Sheet 28, Title 55: Inscriptions on Stone and Copper in the Audavanny Mangala Dinne and Puncha Pallem Districts.—Transcribed in Local Records, Vol. 23.' He also wrote in this connection that the inscription is stated in the said source to be in a dona opposite the west Gopuram of Pedda Rama Linga Devalayam in the southern part of a village called Räjula-Maṇḍagiri in the Paṅchāpaḷāyam Taluk in the District of the same name. As the List of Villages in the Madras Presidency does not refer to places called Paṅchāpaḷāyam and Räjula-Maṇḍagiri, the find-spot of the inscription may be, he suggested, no other than Maṇḍigiri in the Adoni Taluk of the Bellary District.

The discovery of the eye-copy in the Mackenzie Manuscripts points to the date when it was prepared. Colin Mackenzie, born in 1754, was appointed to the Sappers in Madras and arrived in India in 1783. He was appointed the first Surveyor-General of India in 1815 and died in 1821. Soon after his arrival in South India, Mackenzie contacted certain Brāhmaṇa Pandits and realised the importance of collecting manuscripts and studying their contents for an evaluation of Indian culture. In the thirty-eight years of his stay in India, he collected innumerable manuscripts in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian as well as in the South Indian languages, of which the Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian manuscripts were sent to England. His collection also included transcripts of numerous inscriptions on stone and copper plates. After his death, Mackenzie's South Indian collection was purchased by the East India Company and their catalogue in two volumes, prepared by H. H. Wilson with the assistance of Mackenzie's Pandits, was published from Calcutta in 1828. The manuscripts were afterwards deposited first in the library of the Madras College, then in the library of the Presidency College, and ultimately in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. It seems that the eye-copy of the Räjula-Maṇḍagiri inscription was prepared for Mackenzie sometime about the beginning of the nineteenth century.

In February 1948, Mr. N. Laksminarayan Rao, then Superintendent for Epigraphy, visited the village of Maṇḍigiri in the Bellary District in search of the epigraph. But no such inscription could be traced there. In December 1952, in the course of his annual tour in search of inscriptions, Mr. M. Venkataramayya, then Epigraphical Assistant in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, visited Pattikonda which is the headquarters of a Taluk of that name in the Kurnool District and lies about 5 miles from the Tuggali Station on the Guntakal-Bezwada line of the Southern Railway. There he heard of a locality called Räjula-Maṇḍagiri lying at a distance of about

1 Macron over e and o has not been used in the article. -

(211)
EYE-COPY OF RAJULA-MANDAGIRI INSCRIPTION

A

B

(Photographs from Mackenzie Mss.)
3 miles to the north-west of Pattikonda and also of the existence of some inscriptions at the place. It is a hamlet attached to the village of Jūṭūra about 4 miles to the north-west of Pat-
tikonda. There is no road from Pattikonda to Rājula-Manḍagiri; but the place can be reached by a bullock-cart. The hamlet lies at a distance of about 20 miles from Erāgudi where the edicts of Aśoka were discovered in 1929.¹

Mr. Venkatarayya could not visit Rājula-Manḍagiri just then. Next year he again went to the Pattikonda area in search of inscriptions and discovered the record at Rājula-Manḍagiri on the 26th December 1953. There is no doubt that this is the inscription, an eye-copy of which found a place in the MacKenzie Manuscripts. The temple of Rāmagāna stands on the rock on which the inscription is engraved. The epigraph is incised on the surface of the rock at a distance of about ten yards from the entrance of the temple. Four other early and medieval epigraphs were also discovered in the locality.²

The inscription representing a version of Aśoka’s Minor Rock Edicts I and II commences with a triscele which is sometimes found on the uninscribed cast coins of ancient India.³ The same symbol is noticed in the eye-copy. The copyist tried to reproduce only some letters at the beginning of the inscription. But he only copied the letters and their parts which he could clearly see and omitted damaged letters without leaving any space for them. This made it impossible for anybody to decipher the record from the eye-copy.

The area covered by the Rājula-Manḍagiri inscription consisting of 15 lines of writing is about 70° by 40°. Individual aksaras are about 24° in height. The preservation of the writing is extremely unsatisfactory. There is no line in which a number of aksaras are not damaged, beyond recognition in most cases. The characters, which are slightly roundish in shape and are rather carelessly engraved in lines which are not always straight, closely resemble those of the Erāgudi inscriptions of Aśoka. While, however, the Erāgudi version of Minor Rock Edicts I and II has many passages to be read from right to left and several groups of letters engraved outside their proper places, the said peculiarities are absent in the writing of the Rājula-Manḍagiri version. The lines have to be read from left to right as usual in Brāhmī and letters do not appear to have been incised outside their proper places. The left and right strokes forming the lower part of t are curved, the two of them together generally forming a sort of semi-circolo. The letter r is not of the cork-screw type. It is a horizontal line, its upper end being generally a curve opening towards the right. The upper vertical of v is sometimes a curve opening towards the right and the letter resembles w without its right upper member (cf. Devanāgari and Aṃśaka in line 1). The conjunct pr has been written as rp. As regards the Prakrit language of the record and its orthography and grammar, it may be pointed out that the Rājula-Manḍagiri version of Minor Rock Edicts I and II may be regarded as a close copy of the Erāgudi text of the same records. Most of the characteristics of the epigraph in these respects are also known from some other inscriptions of Aśoka. The letter r has not been changed to l and n has been used in all cases for s. The use of heśā for Sanskrit evam-āha only in the Rājula-Manḍagiri and Erāgudi versions is interesting. Both these versions appear to use hota for Sanskrit bhavatu.

Most of the sentences of the Rājula-Manḍagiri version of Minor Rock Edicts I and II are fragmentary; but the lost aksaras can be restored with the help of the almost identical copy found at Erāgudi. Such restorations are generally supported by the possible number of aksaras lost in particular gaps. The Rājula-Manḍagiri text in its turn helps us in restoring certain groups of letters either altogether left out in the Erāgudi copy through inadvertence or incised there out

² See A. C. Ep., 1953-54, Nos. 64-67 of April.
³ See A. C. Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India, pp. lixvi, 98.
of their proper places. There are only a few cases where the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri text seems to differ from the Erṛagudi copy. But the variations are not of great importance.

For the purpose of interpreting the edicts, we propose to quote the text of the sentences of the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri version singly or in groups and, in the case of the fragmentary sentences, also the corresponding parts of the Erṛagudi version. The Minor Rock Edicts at Erṛagudi have been published by several students including the author of this paper. But, in the following lines, I shall quote the Erṛagudi text from a fresh transcript recently prepared by me from a re-study of the record.

The first sentence of the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri version of Minor Rock Edict I reads: Devānampiye ke ["*] no tu kho ekam saṃvāchara pakānite hushan. The text of the same sentences as found in the Erṛagudi version runs: adhikāni [aḍhatīyāni saṃvāchharāṁ] yā hakaṁ upāsaka ["*] no tu kho ekam saṃvāchharāṁ pakānite hushan (Sanskrit: adhikāni aḍhatīyān saṃvatsaraṁ [vyāpya] yat aham upāsakaḥ [aṣṭi] no tu kho aham ekam saṃvatsaraṁ [vyāpya] prakrāṇāḥ abhūnum), “It is (now) more than two and half years that I have been an upāsaka (i.e. a lay follower of the Buddha). I was, however, not energetic (in the practice and propagation of Dharma) for one year (at the beginning of the above period).” The passage aḍhatīyāni saṃvāchharāṁ in the second sentence of the edict appears to be either cut off from the impressions of the Erṛagudi version or inadvertently omitted from it. The Rājula-Maṇḍagiri version has space for these aksakas, although they are damaged. In the place of adhikāni other versions generally have saḍḍhikāni or sātīrekaṇāni.

The next sentence, which is also partially preserved, reads: sātīrekaṇāni ygaṇṭe bāḍhakaḥ cha me pakānite. The complete sentence as follows in the Erṛagudi version: sātīrekaṇaḥ cha kho saṃvāchharaḥ yam maṇḍī Saṅgha upayaṇe baiṣṭhaḥ cha me pakānite (Sanskrit: sātīrekaṇaḥ cha kho tu khalu saṃvāchtsaṁ [vyāpya] yat maṇḍī Saṅghaḥ upetaḥ baiṣṭhaḥ cha maṇḍī prakrāntam), “It is (now) more than a year that I have indeed been intimately associated with the Saṅgha (i.e. the Buddhist Clergy) and have been excessively energetic in the cause of Dharma.” In the place of upayaṇe (Sanskrit upetaḥ) of the Erṛagudi version, the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri text seems to have upayaṇe (Sanskrit upetaḥ).

The fifth damaged sentence reads: iminā ca tu kālana amī ca bhūți. The complete text of the same sentence in the Erṛagudi version reads: iminā ca tu kālana amī [ye] munisī devēte tā diāni miśribhūți (Sanskrit: etena ca tu kālana [devaṁ] amitṛḥ ye manushyāḥ [abhūmā] devaṁ tā diāni miśribhūți [samā]), “Those men, who were unmingled (with the gods) during this period (down to the present), have now been mingled with the gods.”

The next sentence, which is not fully preserved, runs: pakamaḥ phale. The same sentence in the Erṛagudi copy reads: pakamaḥ hi yauk [phale] (Sanskrit [mama] prakramasya

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2 The passage yā haṁ upāsaka no tu kho ekam saṃvāchharāṁ pakānite forming line 2 of the Erṛagudi record has to be read there from right to left.
3 The passage te baiṣṭhaḥ cha me pakānite ["*] iminā ca tu kālana aú of the fourth and fifth sentences in the Erṛagudi copy forms line 4 of that record and has to be read from right to left. But "mūda ye munisā which follows has been engraved about the left end of the line and has to be read from left to right. The aksarasa "dakṣa yā pakā" of a sentence in the latter part of the edict are engraved before devētā.
hi idam phalama), “This is the result of (my) exertion (in the cause of Dharma).” The word phala is inadvertently omitted from the Erārāgūḍī text.

The seventh and eighth sentences, the second of which is damaged, run: no hiyam mahapteneva sakiye [*] khudakē sakiye vipū tave. The complete text of this sentence as found in the Erārāgūḍī copy runs: [no hiyam*] mahapteneva sakiye [*] khudakena pi pakamaminena sakiye vipuśe svage ārādhetaṃ (Sanskrit: no hi idam mahātmanā eva ākhyam khudrakṣaṇa sūpi prakramamāyena ākhyā vipunaḥ svargaḥ ārādhayutam), “Indeed it is not attainable only by the rich man. Even the poor man, if he is energetic (in the cause of Dharma), can attain even the great heaven.” The passage no hiyam, found in the Rājula-Maṇḍagirī copy, has been inadvertently omitted from the text of the Erārāgūḍī version.

The next damaged sentence reads: etaye cha aṭhāya ... sāvane sāvite, the Erārāgūḍī text giving the complete text of the sentence as: etaye cha aṭhāya iyam sāvane sāvite (Sanskrit: etasma cha arthāya idam śrīvaṃsi śruṇalam), “It is for this purpose that the proclamation has been made (by me).”

The tenth sentence which is damaged reads: lakā tā cha me jāneva charaṅkita cha iyam pakame kota vi. The complete text of the sentence as found in the Erārāgūḍī copy runs: athā khudaka-mahalakā imam pi pakamevāntā cha me jāneva charaṅkita cha iyam pakame kota vipuśān pi cha vaśānā aparāndhyā apīryāhī (Sanskrit: yathā khudrakṣa-mahallakā idam api prakrameyāntā api cha jānīyaḥ charaṅkitaḥ cha ayaḥ prakramaḥ bhavata vipuṣān api cha [idam] vārāhīḥ kṣaye vārāndhyānā devīram). “So that the poor and the rich should also be energetic in this matter (of the practice and propagation of Dharma), and that the peoples living beyond the borders (of my empire) should also know (that this matter) will increase to a great extent, (at least) roughly to one and a half times.” Mahallaka is a Pāli word meaning ‘big’, i.e. rich in the present context.

The eleventh sentence which is not fully preserved reads: cha sāvane sāvīpate vyānena 200 50 6. As seen from the text of the Erārāgūḍī version, the word lost at the beginning of the sentence is iyam, the complete sentence standing for Sanskrit: idam cha śrīvaṃsi śrinuma vyuṣīcena 256, “This proclamation is being issued (by me when I have been) on tour (for) 256 (days).”

The above portion is followed in line 7 by the text of Minor Rock Edict II. The first sentence of this edict is fully preserved and is also found in the Erārāgūḍī copy. It reads: hevam Devānaṁpi āha (Sanskrit: evam Devānāmpriyāh āha), “Thus saith the Beloved of the Gods.”

The second sentence, which is damaged, runs: yathā Devānaṁpi ... ye, the complete text of which as found in the Erārāgūḍī copy is: yathā Devānāmpriyāh āha tātā kātaṃ (Sanskrit: yathā Devānāmpriyāh āha tāthā kātyataṃ [yūshyāhī mahāmātraśī]). “You should do (as you have been) told (to do) by the Beloved of the Gods.” The king here addresses his executive officers entitled Mahāmātra, who were employed in various administrative units of the empire.

The third and fourth sentences are: Rajjāke añapetavive [ * ] se dāni jānapadāni añapayisati Rāṭhikānī cha (Sanskrit: Rajjukā [yūshyāhīh] añapayitavyāḥ) saḥ itiṁ dāni jānapadāni añāpayaśyati Rāṣṭrikān cha, “The (officer entitled) Rajjuka should be ordered (by you in respect of

1 In the Erārāgūḍī copy, the passage iyam [phale] no hiyam* mahapteneva sakiye kha in this sentence and the preceding one forms a half line to be read from right to left. The following passage “dūkena pi pūkā” is engraved before dāni is dāni etc., in line 5. The akṣaras “dūkena” [*] ā of this sentence and the following one are written above the line at the left of the half line mahapteneva sakiye kha to be read from right to left.
2 In the Erārāgūḍī text, the passage “tā cha me jāneva charaṅkita cha” forms a half line to be read from right to left and vaśānā aparāndhyā apīryāhī is engraved slightly below the level of the preceding cha.
3 The passage iyam cha sāvane sāvite in the Erārāgūḍī copy forms a half line and has to be read from right to left.
4 The passage “sūpi āha taṭā kātaṃ” in the Erārāgūḍī text forms a half line to be read from right to left.
5 In the Erārāgūḍī text, “se dāni jānapadāni āna” forms a half line engraved below rajjāke añapetavive (another half line to be read from left to right) and has to be read from right to left.
RAJULA-MANDAGIRI INSCRIPTION OF ASOKA

this matter). He (in his turn) will order the people of the countryside as well as the (officer entitled) Rāṣṭrīka." Both these sentences are found in the Erādugu copy. The Mahāmūrta, indirectly referred to in the second sentence of this edict, seem to have been in charge of the provinces or groups of districts in Aśoka's empire while the Rajukas and Rāṣṭrīkas mentioned in these sentences were probably rulers of the districts and their sub-divisions respectively. The designation Prā-
deśika seems to have been applied to the said class of the Mahāmūrta in Rock Edict III, the Yuktas mentioned there being probably officers of a class similar to that of the Rāṣṭrīka or of a still lower grade. The word yuktas may also mean there merely 'an official'.

The next five sentences, which are mostly damaged, read: mātā.............. [∗] gurusu .............. [∗] rūni suvātaviye [∗] sacha vatlaviye [∗] taviya. The complete text of this part, as found in the Erādugu version, runs: mātā-pitrāsū suvātaviye [∗] keneva gurusu suvātaviye [∗] rūni dayitaviye [∗] sacha vatlaviye [∗] ima dharmagunā pavātaviye(yā) (Sanskrit: mātā-pitrāsū suvātaviyaṁ | evaṁ eva gurushu suvātaviyaṁ | prā-


The tenth sentence reads as in the Erādugu copy: khevaṁ tuhe śāṇapayatha Devānampīya-
vachanena (Sanskrit: evāṁ yūyam oṣṭhāpayata Devānampīya-vachanena), "Thus you should pass orders in the words of the Beloved of the Gods."

The eleventh sentence, which is damaged, reads: ......... tha ha ......... karaṇākāṁi yugāchārīyāṁ bhānhañākhi(ni) cha tupe. The complete text of the sentence as found in the Erādugu version runs: khevaṁ śāṇapayatha kari(r)nahākāṁī yugāchārīyāṁ bhānha-


The twelfth sentence, which is partially preserved, reads: ........... amī ......... pakti. The complete text of the sentence, found in the Erādugu version, runs: khevaṁ niśavāyāṁ aṁtāṁśaṁ yāraśā porāṇa pakti (Sanskrit: evāṁ niśavāyāṁ aṁtāṁśaṁ yāraśā porāṇa pakti), "You must thus instruct your pupils in accordence with what is the ancient usage."

The damaged thirteenth sentence reads: ..............viye. The complete text of the sentence in the Erādugu copy runs: iyaṁ suvātaviye (Sanskrit: idam suvātaviyaṁ), "This (order) should be obeyed".

The fourteenth sentence, which is damaged, reads: apachāya ......... se achariya... The complete sentence reads as follows: apachāyāna ya sa achariyāsa se kemenā (Sanskrit: apachāyāna ya eva achariyaṁ sa evam eva), "Whatever honour is enjoyed by the teacher lies really in this." But there is no space for so many aksharas in the damaged part of the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri copy, the intended reading in which may have been apachāyāna se achariyas (Sanskrit: apachāyāna eva eva sa achariyaṁ).
The fifteenth sentence, which is partially preserved, reads: .............................................. yā sạmāyaśāḥ cha anāpayāyāḥ cha anuśāsanaḥ. The complete sentence as found in the Ēṛṣṭaguḍī copy reads: yathā vā punaḥ ākāriyasya nāṭikāni yathāraḥ samāyam nātikāsaḥ putrāvānīyaḥ (Sanskrit: yatḥā tā punaḥ ākāriyaḥ yātāyakā yātāyakā [sāvitt] yathāraḥ [tāth tasya] yātāyakā [iḍam] pravartitavyaṃ). "Then again, this (principle underlying the order) should be established in the proper manner among (the teacher’s) female relations by the male relations he may have." In the Rājula-Māṇḍagīri copy, the reading may be nāṭikāsaḥ (Sanskrit: yātāyakā).

The sixteenth sentence, also fragmentary, runs: .......... aṭa................. viṣya yārisā porāṇaḥ pakti. The complete sentence reads as follows in the Ēṛṣṭaguḍī copy: kesāpī śatāvārsīsaḥ yathāraḥ samāyam putrāvānīyaḥ yārisā porāṇaḥ pakti (Sanskrit: etat api anuvāreṇaḥ yathāraḥ pravartitavyam yādri vā pravāśi prakṛtiḥ). "This should also be established (by them) in the proper way among (their own) pupils in accordance with what is the ancient usage".

The seventeenth sentence, which is damaged, reads: yathāraḥ saṁmāyaḥ yathā ivaṃ......................... siya............... tha ānāpayāyaḥ cha antaṃvāri. In the Ēṛṣṭaguḍī copy, the complete sentence reads: yathāraḥ saṁmāyaḥ yathā ivaṃ sūtra(ṛ)keḥ siyaḥ savam tupe ānapayatāḥ nivesayāyaḥ cha antaṃśaṃ (Sanskrit: yathāraḥ saṁmāyaḥ yathā ivaṃ sūtra(ṛ)keḥ evam evam yām āṇāpayatā nivesayatā cha antaṃśaṃ). "You should thus guide and instruct your pupils in the proper way, so that this (principle underlying the order) grows (among them abundantly)". The Rājula-Māṇḍagīri copy seems to have nivesayāyaḥ ānapayatāḥ cha in the place of ānapayatāḥ nivesayāyaḥ cha of the Ēṛṣṭaguḍī version.

Only two aśkharas of the last sentence of the Rājula-Māṇḍagīri copy are traceable on the impressions. But the sentence seems to read as in the Ēṛṣṭaguḍī copy: kevaṁ Devānampiṣṭa ānapayati (Sanskrit: evaṁ Devānampiṣṭa āṇāpayati), "Thus orders the Beloved of the Gods".

TEXT:

A. Minor Rock Edit I

1 *(I) Devānampiṣṭaḥ hevaḥ[ha]ḥ [*] (II) adhik[ā]niḥ [cha’ a]. ...........................................[*]
   k[e] [*] (III) no tu [kho]

   [payā]te bā-

   [bhūt]ā [*] (VI) [pa]ka[ma]-

---

1 This aśkharā is damaged and is preceded by a damaged sa at the beginning of the line. This sa is, however, actually meant for the beginning of the following line.
2 Of this word, s[nta] stands at the beginning of the third line from bottom and sūtra(ṛ)keḥ at the beginning of the penultimate line.
3 From impressions.
4 There is a triscelae symbol at the beginning of the line.
5 This word stands for Sanskrit ekaḥ.
6 Other versions would suggest nāṭikāni. But the Ēṛṣṭaguḍī copy has adhikāni.
7 This damaged aśkharā looks more like ma.
8 About 15 aśkharās are damaged here. They may be restored as "ḥaṭāyāni samvākkhārāni yam khaṇān upśatkāri
cāveśi".
9 About 12 aśkharās which are damaged here may be restored as tu kho samvākkhārāni yam maṇḍaṁ saṁyke u".
10 The number of aśkharās damaged here is about 12 and they may be restored as "tā munāya devahā yah dāni mānōi".
RAJULA-MANDAGIRI INSCRIPTION OF ASOKA

4 phale [I*] (VII) no hiyaṁ mahapatra[va sakiya [*] (VIII) [ku]dā[k[se]
............... [sa]kiye v[i[pū] ...........
5 [s]a[lye [*] (IX) etā[y[se] cha aṭhāya ... [sāvane] sāv[ite] [*] (X) .............
[l]a[kā] ................ 
6 [t]ā cha mo jāneyu cha[raṭhit[i[ka cha il]yaṁ pakaste hota [vi] ................

B. Minor Rock Edict II

(I) [hevaṁ Devanāramp[iye a]ha [*] (II) [yathā Devanāripi]-


9 [I*] (VI) gu[rsu] ............ [I*] (VII) rpān[esū] [dali]tāvi[ye] [*] (VIII) so[cha vata]vīya [*] (IX) ...........

10 tavi[ya] [*] (X) he[vaṁ tul]phe āna[pa*]yātha Devānāmpi[yā]-vachane- [na] [*] (XI) ................

11 [ha] ............ [k]aranakāni [yūg]yāharīyāni [hau[hi]shana[k]ki[ni] [cha tulphe [*] (XII) 

12 [am]te ............ [pa]ki[*] (XIII) ............ [vi]ye [*] (XIV) [apa]- 

chāya .......... [se [acha].

---

3 About 3 aksharas are damaged here. They may be restored as 'sa hiyaṁ.
4 About 5 aksharas which are damaged here may be restored as 'na pi pakamamīnena.
5 The damaged aksharas can be restored as 'te svage.
6 The number of aksharas damaged here is about 3 and they may be restored as '.groupby'.
7 About 2 aksharas are damaged here. They may be restored as 'ibhi.
8 There are about 7 aksharas damaged here. They may be restored as 'athā kudaka-maka'.
9 The damaged aksharas may be restored as 'ima pa[k'].
10 About 3 aksharas are damaged here. They may be restored as 'meyu am'.
11 The number of aksharas damaged here is about 11. The reading appears to be 'pule vadhēeti aparadhiyēd.
12 About 6 aksharas are damaged here. They may be restored as diyuddhiyēm [*] iyam.
13 There are about 8 aksharas damaged here. They may be restored as 'ye ēha tahā kafaśi'.
14 About 8 aksharas which are damaged here may be restored as 'pitenu suṣumaśīrīye.
15 The word can be restored as suṣumaśīrīye.
16 These damaged aksharas can be restored as 'ima ḍham'.
17 There are about 6 aksharas damaged here, which may be restored as 'ma-guṇā paṇavā'
18 The aksharas lost here can be restored as 'kēma naṇapaya'.
19 About 6 aksharas are damaged here. The word may be 'kṣatrodhākāṇi.
20 The damaged aksharas can be restored as 'kēma neśita'.
21 About 9 aksharas are damaged here. They may be restored as 'ekēni yāyiśi porānā.'
22 The damaged aksharas can be restored as 'iyam suṣumaśī'.
23 There is space here for about 4 aksharas which may be restored as 'ad kēmaṇa. The Errugudi copy has

apocacyanā pa va sūkriyāna se kēmaṇa, in the place of which the present copy seems to have apocacyanā kēmaṇa se

sūkriyāṇa.
RAJULA-MANDAGIRI INSCRIPTION OF ASOKA

Scale: One-seventh
13 [ri]ya...¹[[*]] (XV) ...² va[ṃ]na........³ nā[t]ikāni yathāra[ha nā]ṭī[kasu]⁴ [pa]vati[tia-­
[viya] [[*]] (XVI)........⁶ [[ate]

14 ..................⁴ [vi]ya yārisā porā[nā pa]ka[t]i [[[*]] (XVII) [yathāra]ham yathā
[iyam]...........⁷siya


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¹ The lost aksaras may be restored as sa.
² About 2 aksaras which are damaged here may be restored as yathā.
³ There are about 5 aksaras damaged here and they may be restored as achariya[a]
⁴ The word looks more like nātikēsu than nātikāna here.
⁵ About 3 aksaras are lost. They may be restored as kesā pi.
⁶ The damaged aksaras (about 11 in number) may be restored as "vīśeũ yathāram pavātīta".
⁷ The damaged aksaras may be restored as satīrekam.
⁸ About 8 aksaras are lost here. They may be restored as hesam tuphe nivesaya".
⁹ The damaged aksara may be restored as ni.
¹⁰ The sentence may be restored as hesam Deranampiye ānapayati.
No. 29.—ADHABHARA PLATES OF MAHA-NANNARAJA

(I Plate)

BAL CHANDRA JAIN, RAIPUR

Adhābhara (Adbhār or Arbhar), about 40 miles from Bilaspur, is a village in the Sakti Tahār of the Bilaspur District of Madhya Pradesh. On the 5th of August 1964, when a cultivator named Bodhram Bhatku Telī was digging earth in his Khaśa No. 747 of that village, he found the present plates buried in the field. They were deposited in the sub-treasury at Sakti where they remained for several months. They were later acquired by the Deputy Commissioner of Bilaspur and presented to the Central Museum, Nagpur.

The set consists of three plates, the first and third of which are inscribed on one side and the second on both sides. Each plate measures 8" in length, 4'95" in breadth and about 1" in thickness. The second plate is somewhat thicker than the others. About 1' from the middle of the proper right edge of each plate, there is a round hole (6" in diameter) for the seal-ring to pass through. This seal-ring is now lost. The weight of the three plates together is 115½ tolas.

There are 27 lines in the inscription: I B-8, IIA-8, IIB-7, IIIA-4. The lower portion of the last plate is blank and the record incomplete. The letters, which are neatly and deeply engraved, are each about ½" in size. The characters are of the box-headed variety and very closely resemble those of records like the Rajim and Baloda plates of Tīvāradēva. The length of medial $i$ is denoted by $i$ in the circle which denotes its short form. Medial $a$ is a tripartite and the subscript $r$ resembles in many places the sign of the vowel $ī$ (see $ṣrī$ in lines 1, 7 and 9). The final form of $o$ occurs in line 24. Punctuation is denoted by a vertical line with its top bent towards the left and followed by another vertical line.

The language is Sanskrit and, with the exception of the benedictory and imprecatory verses at the end, the whole record is in prose. Its language differs from the formal portions of the grants of Tīvāradēva and Mahā-Sīvagupta Bālārjuna. The inscription is somewhat carelessly written. The writer has used in many places medial $i$ for medial $i$. Anuvāra and viśarga have often been unnecessarily used while anuvāra, viśarga and the final consonants are omitted in many cases. As regards orthography, a consonant preceding and following $r$ is doubled in some cases. The letter $g$ is sometimes used for $v$ (see "abhīriddhi" in line 15 and pratisnātya in line 20). Anuvāra is wrongly changed to $i$ before a sibilant in varā (line 5) and to $n$ before $s$ in prākṣara in line 22 while $n$ is used for $a$ in pūnya in line 15. The letter $d$ is omitted in udāṣya in line 21 and udāsaya in line 23.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of a village named Kūntipūka, situated in the vīraṇgha or district of Aṅṭādvāra, to a Bāhūṣvasū Brāhmaṇa named Nārāyaṇ-śpādyāyīya who belonged to the Kaṇḍyāna gōva and the Mādhyāndīna-śākha, by the illustrious Mahā-Nannarāja, son of Mahāsāva-Tīvāra. The king, who was born in the lunar dynasty and was an ardent worshipper of Vīhaṇu, made the grant for the merit of himself and his parents. The plates were issued from Śripura and the gift was made on the 12th day of the dark half of the month of Bhāḍrapada, on the occasion of the sahā鳗nī.

1 For the antiquity of this place, see Bilaspur District Gazetteer, p. 235; Hiralal, Inscriptions in the O. P. and Berc, 1932, No. 230.

The inscription is very important as it reveals the existence of Nannadarja, an as yet unknown king of the lunar dynasty of South Kosa or Chhatissgarh. He calls himself the son (śrēṣṭha) of Tivaradāva. Thus the genealogical table of the Pāṇḍuvaniś or Somanāvanīś kings of South Kosa would now be as follows:

1. Udayana
2. Indrabala
3. Nanna I
4. Tivara
5. Nanna II
6. Chandragupta
7. Harshagupta
8. Sivagupta-Bāḷārjuna

Mahāśāla-Tivaradāva issued the Rajinī and Baloda plates respectively in the 7th and 9th years of his reign. He was the son of Nandadeva and grandson of Indrabala. While his own grants mention him as saha-kosa-ādhipati, the present inscription claims that he was not only in possession of Kosa (South Kosa, modern Chhattisgarh), but that his supremacy extended to the territories of Ukala (modern Orissa) and many other maoḍalas and that it was the valour of his own arms that brought these maoḍalas under his command. Scholars have different opinions as regards the date of Tivaradāva. But I agree with the view that he came to the throne about 560 A.D.

Like his father Tivara, Nanna II was an ardent worshipper of Viṣṇu and held sway over the whole of the Kosa country. Nanna II probably had no sons and was succeeded by his uncle Chandragupta, grandfather of MahāŚivagupta-Bāḷārjuna.

Among the geographical names mentioned in the record, Šripura, whence this grant was issued, has been identified with Sirpur in the Raipur District of Madhya Pradesh. Aṣṭādeva is the same as Aḍhābhāra, the findspot of the plates. It is also mentioned in one of the Śrīmahāśī cave inscriptions. The gift village Kōntiṣika may possibly be either of the modern villages of Kūḍākōpi and Kōtnī, both about 12 miles from Aḍhābhāra.

TEXT

First Plate

1 ॐ  त्रिंशत्  [†]  श्री (श्री)पुरादेशेन्नामान्तराराधित्यविद्वाताय-
2 भगवदगुरुपालसदसादितमविविधसतवाय- 
3 हिंदुद्धर्मश्रवणस्वतःं (त्स) व्यविधविद्वात्स्वविविधसतवाय-
4 रिसिवलभवनसम्भवान्नामान्नामाङ्गसाहित्यविविधसतवाय-
5 लोकायाधिकार शिविरविई (वंश) चोतूसायः स्वमु्नयपाराकारिन्म- 

* Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 239.
* Hiratal, op. cit., No. 322.
* From the original plates.
* Expressed by symbol.
6 पार्जितपकःकोवसोकलादिवस्तिर्नविनिश्चितप्रायोपातमाहाः
7 सत्यस्य धि(श्री)महाशिवजुविसर्जयोऽस्य प्रवृत्त नह केदारेरामेः
8 जात(को)चरितानुक्रमणपरयणः प्राताकलः(को)सलामः

Second Plate, First Side

9 ग्न्धारित्वः परमाणुः ग्न्धारित्वः ग्न्धारित्वः ग्न्धारित्वः
10 धन(बाजः)ः* कुमालि(श्री)ः श्रेष्ठनाथविषये कोतिज्ञोपयोऽस्य श्राः
11 धुर्णाद(पानर)ः सम्श्रेण्यः प्रतिवासिनः समाजायति निर्दितमस्तु
12 भो यमासामीर्यः प्रायःः* नान्दविविष्यातारामिक्षणः
13 तिनान्तरान्तरकार्य जनाधितरतः तावः*प्रेयः श्राः
14 नितिः* सोपकर्तिहरः(र)काशःः*ः प्राथेस्वः*ः सत्त्वकरावनसेवतःः*ः
15 सन्तपिनः(श्री)ःहरिजितः मातापिनःरायरमस्तच पुष्पः(ध्या)ःगुरूः*ः*ः कौः
16 फिद्यमोहसाहुः वारसंतेनाधियः(ध्या)ःदिनभागवंतसदास्तुः

Second Plate, Second Side

17 मार्गालोम्याय ग्न्धारित्वःरामस्तच पुष्पाभिमुः(ध्या)ः*ः*ः
18 भा(प्र)वेदःकर्णवेदः(ध्या)ः संकालोः सरुवः(क्वः)ः शासनेन प्र-
19 तिथावितं इत्यवशेष विद्धेर्मृत्वा समुचितं भोगभागः
20 भूमिभः*ः सुभाष्ट्रविनिश्चीर्मनिश्चितं प्रायः भूमिभः
21 पालानुदः(नृ)ःयेदेममिति(श्री)ः*ः*ः सुभ्यः(लः)ः
22 निति पतः*ः*ः*ः हृत्वा हुस्तः महिःः*ः*ः नृपतयोः नरके नृणान्तः(प्रक्)ः*ः*ः*ः
23 एवः(ध्या)ः*ः*ः*ः परिकल्याचलाचलस्यायूः(ध्या)ः सत्वः कूचः

Third Plate

24 युमानिभः(श्री)ःपुरः(ध्या)ः*ः*ः*ः*ः भ्रष्टः*ः*ः*ः दानालयंलयस्तावतःकलः(शः)
Scale. Five-sevenths
25 सुंदरकल्याणी [1*] को नाम स्वर्गमुस्त्रय नरकं प्रतिप-

26 चते [2*] व्या(व्या)संगी(गी)ता(ता)श्चात्र श्लोकानुवादितम् || अन्नेवर्त्यं

27 प्रथमं सुवर्ण मूर्वर्णवी सुवर्णसुताश्च गातः [1*]

*The verse is incomplete.*
No. 30—NOTE ON PALLAVARAYANPETTAI INSCRIPTION OF RAJADHIRAJA II

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI AND T. N. SUBRAMANIAM, MADRAS

While editing the Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai inscription of Rājādhērāja II, Mr. V. Venkatssubba Ayyar has translated lines 10 to 13 of the record as follows: "Even in earlier years, when the senior king was alive, it having been seen that there were no sons fit for anointment, the (exact) state of affairs, as it (them) stood, (was intimated to the king) ......... and (having brought) the princes, residing at Gaṅgaikoṭasāḷapiram, and at the time of Periyadēvar’s demise, he (Pallavarāyar) had Edirilipperumāl, the son of Neriyyuddhipperumāl and grandson of Uḍaiyār Vikramaśāladevā, who had already been invested with a crown and was therefore bound to be installed on the throne, anointed (kēng) under the title of Rājādhērājadevē in the fourth year (of his installation) and made the uḍañṅkēṭṭam (assembly) and the nādu (chamber) follow him without any dissensions." This indicates:

(1) that the prince selected by Rājārāja II for being crowned under the name of Rājādhērāja was Edirilipperumāl, the son of Neriyyuddhipperumāl and grandson of Uḍaiyār Vikramaśāladevā,

(2) that the selection was followed by the investiture of the crown during the life-time of Rājārāja II, and

(3) that in the fourth year of his installation, after the demise of Rājārāja II, he was again crowned under the title of Rājādhērāja (II).

Thus are postulated (a) two coronations of Rājādhērāja II, one on his selection and the other in the fourth year of his reign on the demise of his predecessor, and (b) the death of Rājārāja II before the fourth year of the installation of the Yēvarājā.

But the text of the inscription published does not warrant any of the above hypotheses. The text runs as follows:


1 The note is the outcome of a discussion initiated in 1947 by Mr. T. N. Subramaniam and continued intermittently for many months, in which Dr. N. Venkataramaswamy, Mr. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai and Mr. A. V. Venkatarāma Ayyar also participated.
3 Ibid., p. 192.
The passage manḍai kaniṇipitu-[ppōnd]ār-āṉāṟē īvaṇai-śiru-abhiśeṣam paṇuvikkabakkaṇḍa-vanṟṟa [michkayiti]tu in line 12 has been translated as 'who had already been invested with a crown and was, therefore, bound to be installed on the throne', taking the word āṉāṟē to mean 'having already been'. But the word āṉāṟē also gives the meaning 'in the same way as' and a reference to the context would show that it is in this sense that the expression has been used in the inscription. Adopting this meaning, the translation of the whole passage would be as follows:

"Even in earlier years, when (the senior king) Periyādēvar was alive, it having been seen that there were no sons fit for anointment, the (exact) state of affairs, as it was obtained in the previous days, was intimated to the king . . . . and (having brought) the princes residing at Gaṅgaikōṇḍa-sōḷapuram, and deciding that this (prince) should be crowned in the same way as Edirilipperumāl, the son of Neṟiyudaiṭipperumāl and grandson of Udaiyār Vikramaśōḷadēvar, was invested with the crown at the time of Periyādēvar's (demise), he (Pallavaṇāyar) anointed the prince under the title Rājādēvarajēva on the fourth (annual) asterism (of his installation).""1

Accordingly, the prince crowned under the title Rājādēvaraja becomes different from Edirilipperumāl whose name is mentioned in the inscription only by way of citing a precedent, of which we have no knowledge.

So far as we know there was no apparent occasion in the history of the Imperial Chōlas of Taṭāvēr, from the time of Vijayālaya to that of Rājarāja II, when there was a failure in the regular succession to the Chōla throne for want of a direct heir in the male line.2 But the mention of the precedent in the inscription, preceded by the words munṟil ise kariyam trunapadi vi . . . . sēydu clearly points out that there had arisen such an occasion previously. Since the person then chosen to succeed on the Chōla throne was the grandson of Vikramaśōḷa,3 it should have occurred after the time of that ruler. Between Vikramaśōḷa and Rājarāja II who was confronted with the problem of selecting an heir to the throne, there was only the reign of Kuloṭṭunaga II intervening. Edirilipperumāl could therefore be none other than Kuloṭṭunaga II who succeeded Vikramaśōḷa on

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1 [The authors have taken both the passages [munrimal e kariyam trunapadi vi . . . . sēydu in line 11 (translated as 'as it was obtaining in the previous days, was intimated to the king') and Udaiyār Vikramaśōḷa-dēvar . . . manḍai kaniṇipitu-[ppōnd]ār-āṉāṟē in lines 11-12 (translated as 'in the same way as Edirilipperumāl') . . . Periyādēvar's (demise)', as referring to the same precedent. The construction of the sentence does not permit this interpretation. This will make the passage between these two sections a parenthetical one thereby making the interpretation of the whole section further complicated. Moreover, in line 12, after the expression kaniṇipitu-[ppōnd]ār-āṉāṟē occurs the word iyaṇa. The authors have not made clear as to whom this word refers. There is no other word to which it can be referred except Edirilipperumāl, the name occurring immediately before it. - Ed.]

2 The accession of Kuloṭṭunaga I, born of the Eastern Chāḷukya line, to the Chōla throne has sometimes been taken as such an occasion before the time of Rājarāja II. It was not so. Kuloṭṭunaga was clearly a usurper to the Chōla throne.

3 A recent writer has taken this Edirilipperumāl as the great-grandson of Vikramaśōḷa, i.e. as the son of Neṟiyudaiṭipperumāl who was the grandson of Vikramaśōḷa. See V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, Mūnaṟam Kuloṭṭunaga (Tamil), 1st ed., 1941, p. 21. It is true that such a construction can be put on the passage Vikramaśōḷa-dēvar pērāṇar Neṟiyudaiṭipperumāl trunapandar Edirilipperumāl of the inscription, taking the word pērāṇa as pēramaiṟṟa and as the adjective of Neṟiyudaiṭipperumāl instead of taking it as qualifying Edirilipperumāl. But this construction is somewhat strained as the author himself admits (op. cit., p. 130), although he considers such a construction necessary on the presumption that Edirilipperumāl was Rājarāja, since Rājarāja II who was in search of an heir to succeed him on the throne was himself taken to be a grandson of Vikramaśōḷa and any heir selected by him should be at least one generation further removed,
the throne. In fact, both in literature and epigraphy, he is known by that name. The *Kulöttünaga-
ṣñan-ppilai-ittam* on Kulöttünaga II, composed by his tutor and court poet Oṭṭakkuttaṇ, refers
to him by that name in several contexts. An inscription of the 3rd year in the reign of Kulöttünaga
II from Puppāgam in the South Arcot District containing the *megkkirtti* beginning with the words
pāmaṇnu pādumam, makes a gift of brahmadēya land newly called Ediriḷiṉjanallūr as a tax-free
dēvadāna to the god Tiru-ttāṅgaṁaṁjan-udaiya Mahādeva. We also find an officer named Ediri-
lāppurerumāl alias Kulöttünagaśōḷa-Kaṭammaravāṇa who gives himself as a donor of the village Neṇn-
giraikkkuṇi in an inscription of the 2nd year of the reign of Rājadhirāja II at Nāṅgappaṭṭa in Puduk-
kōṭṭai. It will thus be evident that Ediriḷipperumāl referred to in the Pallavarāyaṇppēṭtai inscri-
ption could very well be Kulöttünaga II. But he is generally taken to have been a son of Vikrama-
chōḷa. The Chellūr plates, dated in the 11th year of his reign and Šaka 1056 which is a mistake
for 1065, registering the gift of a brahmadēya village by Kolani Kāṭama-nāyaka with the king’s
permission, clearly refer to king Kulöttünaga II as the son of Vikramachōḷa (lat-putrā). The
*Kulöttünagaṣñan-ūḷa*, another variety of prabandha composed on him by the same Oṭṭakkuttaṇ,
also refers to him likewise as the son of Vikramachōḷa in kaṇṭi (couplet) 23. But the three suc-
cceeding kaṇṭis contain some interesting information about the parentage of this king. The rele-
vant portion of the ʻulā is quoted below:

— veṛṛōr

\[\text{virumb} - \text{araṅil veṅgaṭ-tti-vēṭṭu-}k\hat{\text{a}}\text{līgpap-
perum} - \text{pari-koḍa perumān tarum pudaḷvaŋ}
\]

\[\text{koṛa-Kkulöttünagaśōḷaṇ kuvalavaṅgaḥ}
\ mūṛṛa = ppurakkku mugil-vaṇaṅ poṅ-ruvvaraįai
\]

\[\text{Indu-marabili irulkuṇa taṇi-}kkulattitil
\ vandu Manu-kulattai vāḷviṭṭapain-taḷiṟ-kaįai
\]

\[\text{māḍaṛ-ppiṭi peṛṛa vāraṇaṁ = a-}rvaṇaṇattįį
\ kāḍar-peeṛaṇa kaḷa-kaḷiḥaṅ-
\]

"King Kulöttünagaśōḷaṇ, the son given by the Perumāṇ (king) who obtained (the eulogy of his
praises sung in) the great paraṇi of Kāḷīṅga having carried the fire of the ferocious battle-field
into the fortress considered to be invulnerable by the enemies. He who fully protects all the worlds
is of the cloud complexion (black). He is Kaḷiṣaḷaḷaḥ (black young elephant), the dear grandson
of the tusked (vāraṇa) who was the son of the lady, the she-elephant whose hands are (soft) like
the tender shoots, who in turn was born of the matchless family belonging to the lunar race of the
golden Tuvarai (i.e. Tuvarāpatti) and made the solar race prosper."

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1 *Kulöttünagaṣñan-ppilai-ittam*, verses 2, 23, 26, 89 and 94. The printed edition gives the name as
Ediriḷipperumāl.
3 Ibid., No. 337 of 1914; *Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State*, No. 138.
It is thus seen that the grandfather of Kulōttunga II was the son of a princess of the lunar race from Tuvararāti or Drāvāsamudram, i.e. a Hoyasala princess. If Kulōttunga II is taken as the son of Vikramachālā as has been presumed so far, then Kulōttunga I becomes his grandfather who, we know, was the son of a Chōlā princess (i.e. Ammaugādevī, the daughter of Rājendrachāla I) and not of a Hoyasala princess as described in the uū. So we have to assume that Kulōttunga II was the grandson of Vikramachāla who in turn was the son of Kulōttunga I, not by Madhurantaka, the Chōlā princess, but by a Hoyasala princess hitherto unknown. That this presumption is correct will be evident from the title Ayyana-gandhāvāraṇam (the proud elephant of his grandfather) applied to Kulōttunga II. The village Tīnumakkōpam (Tirunēr-kūṟṟam) in the Musiri Taluk of the Tiruchirappalli District is referred to as Ayyanagandhāvaraṇa-chaturvēdīmāgalam in an inscription of Vikramachāla, the date of which is lost, and in another record of the 10th regnal year of a king whose name is lost. This is evidently based on the title Ayyana-gandhāvāraṇa. Since this name of the village came into being in the reign of Vikramachāla, it is very likely that the village was named

1 There is an old commentary on this uū which has been included in the Mahānāṭēppāyīya Śrīvatūrīya Aiyar Library edition of the Māvar-uū published by the Kāḷākṣhtra, Aiyar. The relevant portion of it is Mādrappūḍi: pē pe chakkāravatī. Vārāsin. pē pe chakkāravatī pīṭ pāḍi-vāha Pāṇḍyaṃ muddaligāri-kumbikā, avai pūtāvaḥ kālayai pē Vārāsinī-t-i-tātur. The expression mādrappūḍi pēṭa vāraṇaṃ of the uū is taken by the commentator to mean mādrappūḍi pēṛṇa vāraṇaṃ (vāraṇaṣ or the person who gave birth to the queen) i.e. the father of the Chōlā queen. It is also mentioned there that he was a Pāṇḍya and that he was known as Vārāsinī-t-tātur when he became a pūtāvāra making obeisance to Muddaligār (probably the religious head). It is true that Vikramachāla had a Pāṇḍya princess for his queen and that the Pāṇḍya also claimed descent from the lunar race. But the mention of the golden Tuvarai in the uū as the place wherefrom the princess came renders such an interpretation untenable. Even if we take the word Tuvarai to mean the ancient Drāvakā, the seat of Kṛṣṇa, it is to be noted that the Pāṇḍya never claimed descent from that city or from Kṛṣṇa. The word pēṛṇi only means ‘obtained’. As such it is also possible to interpret the expression as mādr-pūḍi bāseer-gyān pēṛṇa vāraṇaṃ, i.e. ‘the tasker whom the excellent woman obtained as her husband’. Thus the same expression may be interpreted as indicating the father or the husband of the princess, but these are all forced interpretations. The natural one would be to take it to refer to the son of the princess and it is this meaning which has been followed here. Further, we may also mention that, contrary to expectations, the old commentary is not reliable for the historical information it gives and the following may be cited as examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Karṇa or couplet No.</th>
<th>Exploits of the king of the Chōlā lineage mentioned therein</th>
<th>Name of the king to whom such victories are attributed in other sources</th>
<th>Identification by this Commentator</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Construction of the embankment of the river Kērērī.</td>
<td>Karikālī (the uū mentions him by name).</td>
<td>Not identified.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Adorned with the scars of 96 wounds on the chest.</td>
<td>Vījāyālāya.</td>
<td>Rājārājaṇīva.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Split the chest of a drāmakāvačaka and saw Tillai.</td>
<td>Āditya.</td>
<td>Tirumudichāla (or Mumudighācha).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Captured Madurai and Ijam.</td>
<td>Parāntaka.</td>
<td>Karikālī (Karikār Pera Valattān).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A. R. Ep., No. 256 of 1922–33.

Ibid., No. 254.

4 Ibid., 1922–33, para. 22, p. 65 takes the title to be that of Kulōttunga I. But the fact that two inscriptions dated in the [39th and the 48th] years of Kulōttunga I (Nos. 253 and 252 of 1922–33) in the same temple do not give the name Ayyanagandhāvaraṇa-chaturvēdīmāgalam to the village renders this surmise improbable. (From a scrutiny of Nos. 254, 253 and 252 of 1922–33 from Tīnumakkōpam, dated respectively in the 10th, 39th and 48th years of the reign of Kulōttunga I, it may be surmised that the village came to be known as Ayyanagandhāvaraṇa-chaturvēdīmāgalam during his reign. It is very likely that the village was so named after his son Vikramachāla whose mother was probably a Hoyasala princess. The expression mādrappūḍi pēṛṇa vāraṇaṃ of the uū seems to be an echo of this fact.—Ed.)
after the dear grandson of the king, which only echoes what is mentioned in the ulāi. That Kulottūṅga II took pride in calling himself an elephant will be evident from his title Kala-balaṅkaṇa which was not borne by any other Chōla king. But successive Hoyasala kings appear to have used this title. There is an incomplete copy of the Gadyakārṇāṃprāṇa, a prose work in Sanskrit commemorating the marriage of the Hoyasala king Sōmāśvara with a Pāṇḍya princess. The poet who wrote the book was the protégé of the Hoyasala King Vīra-Narasirha, a contemporary of Chōla Rājarāja III and Kāḍava Kōpperunāḷa. The poet bears the titles Kāla-balaṅkaṇa and Sakalāvidyāchakrabarti which were probably conferred on the poet by the king. The title Sakalāvidyāchakrabarti borne by the poet was perhaps in virtue of his being the court poet of the king, a title that was borne by two other poets of the Hoyasala court, one the author of the kāvyas entitled Rukmiśī-kalīyīn in the court of Vīra-Ballāḷa III, and the other in the court of the Hoyasala King Vīra-Rāmānāthādeva referred to below. The other title Kāla-balaṅkaṇa was probably based on a title borne by the king himself.

In the Raṅganāthā temple at Śrīraṅgam, there is an inscription of the Hoyasala king Vīra-Rāmānāthādeva dated in the 15th year of his reign registering a gift by Śēkka Vili-bhāṭa of Pāḍagam, who was also known as Mūdaliyār Kariyamaṇi Sakalāvidyāchakrabarti, of certain gold articles presented to him by king Vīra-pāṇḍya. The epithet Kariyamaṇi applied to the poet means ‘the black young of an elephant’ and as such is only a synonym of the other title Kāla-balaṅkaṇa.

The Pallavāraṇaṇeṭṭai inscription states that Ediriliperumāḷ, i.e. Kulottūṅga II, was the son of Nēriyudaipermāḷ and the grandson of Vīkramāchāla. It is not known whether Nēriyudaipermāḷ was the son or daughter of Vīkramāchāla. An inscription of Kāmasevallāḷ in the Tiruchirāppalli District, dated in the 14th regnal year of Vīkramāchāla, registering a gift of land mentions that Vēkkanāḷ Paṇḍarāṇagam-udāiyāṅ chiaś Nēriyudaiychōḷa Pallavarāyār, a native of Marudāṉu-ṉāṉu, was also present in the assembly. The name of this officer, who probably hailed from Tōpāiyanakadal, suggests that he got the official title after Nēriyudaiychōḷa. It is quite possible to presume that Nēriyudaipermāḷ stands for Nēriyudaiychōḷa and in that case he is probably to be taken as a son of Vīkramāchāla. But the statement in the Chōḷḷai plates that Kulottūṅga II was the son of Vīkramāchāla, which goes against the presumption made above, requires an explanation. If Kulottūṅga II had been the son’s son of Vīkramāchāla, it could not be said that there was no regular heir to the throne. The only course then to explain this apparent

1 Sāntaladēvi, the queen of the Hoyasala king Vīshuvadāhana, is known to have had the title Udēritē-svāti-pamānadevaṇa, ‘the cutting-elephant to the ill-mannered co-wife’ (Mysore Gazetteer, new ed., Vol. II, part II, p. 1344). A bānni known as Svāti-gandākabhrayāṇa was constructed in 1123 A.D. in her memory after her death. Again Arikārāṇi, the Chāḷukya chief of Lēnulēvedā, whose court was adorned by the famous Kannada poet Pampa, had the title Arunasa-pamānadevaṇa which was also borne by his grandson Arikārāṇi II. It is true that there are, in literature, many instances of poets comparing both men and women with elephants and that even Rājendrasēkha has been referred to as a ‘tusker’ in some of his inscriptions found in the Mysore State. But this is probably the first time when we find the term borne by a Chōla as a title. This was perhaps adopted by the Chōlas from the Hoyasalas of the Mysore country where elephants are abundant.
2 A variant reading of this term is Kuram-kalākhaṇa which in Tamil will mean ‘the black young of the elephant’ and this meaning will also fit in the context since Kulottūṅga is referred to in the previous line of the ulāi as of cloud-complexion. See also Rājarājēchōḷa-ulā, Kaṇki No. 73.
3 Tirumalai Śri Veṅkateswor, Vol. I., pp. 677-68.
4 SII, Vol. IV, No. 499.
5 A.R. Ep., No. 80 of 1914.
6 A royal officer, Tirumandairai-Nēriyudaiychōḷa Māpanḍarāṇa, also figures in the inscriptions of later kings, viz. Rājarāja II (A.R. Ep., 1929, Part II, para. 36), Kulottūṅga III (Nos. 301 of 1912 and 320 of 1918) and Tribhuvanachakrabarti Rājarājēdeva (Nos. 280 of 1913 and 393 of 1918).
7 Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, pp. 56 ff.
inconsistency would be to take Neriyudaipperumaj as a daughter of Vikramacholaj and Kuloottungaj II as her son (putrikā-putra) adopted and hence called son. The princess had apparently married a Pāddyaj or Hoyajaj prince and thus belonged to a lunar family. There is a significant passage in the Kulottungasālāta (verse 112) describing him as follows: Mudukula māṇjar muffi-uyata ngaja vendo Vidukula-nāyaki-sīvy-embār .............. “He is (said to be) the son of a noble queen belonging to the lunar race, to whom (all) the kings of the ancient families made obeisance.” It is worthy of note that no other king of the Chōla line or, for that matter, of any royal family in South India, is referred to as the son of his mother. This is probably due to the fact that his mother had some pretensions to the Chōla throne.

One other point of similarity in the nomination and coronation of both Kulottungaj II and Rājadhirajaj II has to be noted. Kulottungaj II counts his regnal years from some time in May-July, 1133 A.D. But his predecessor Vikramacholaj seems to have lived for a period of about two years thereafter as his inscriptions (which began about the 29th June 1118 A.D.) go up to his 17th regnal year, i.e. 1135 A.D. It will thus be seen that Kulottungaj II was selected as successor to the throne and entrusted with the administration of the kingdom by Vikramacholaj himself in his lifetime. The selection of Rājadhirajaj II by Rājarajaj II was also made in the same way. Inscriptions of Rājarajaj II which count some date after the 6th April 1146 A.D. as the starting point of his reign are found up to the 28th year of his reign. It is true that his records in the Tamil country go only up to his 19th year, i.e. up to 1165 A.D., and no inscription of his bearing a date after that year has so far been traced in the Tamil area. But we have many inscriptions of his up to the 28th regnal year* in the Telugu country and almost all of them, registering gifts by the local rulers acknowledging the suzerainty of the Chōla overlord Rājarajaj, are coupled with the corresponding Śaka dates, clearly showing that his reign continued up to 1173 A.D. But Rājadhirajaj II was already selected and crowned by him. We know that two sets of dates are found for Rājadhirajaj II in his inscriptions, one set containing some date between the 28th February and the 30th March 1163 A.D. as the initial date, and the other set having some date in the first half of 1166 A.D. as its starting point. This well fits with the statement in the Pallavarāyanpētai record that Rājadhirajaj was crowned on the fourth annual asterism, i.e. on the completion of three years after his selection. Thus it will be seen that both Kulottungaj II and Rājadhirajaj II were selected as heirs-apparent to the throne and crowned by their predecessors in their own lifetime and that these predecessors did live some time after such selection.

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2 Ibid., Vol. VII, pp. 4-6.
3 SIT, Vol. VI, No. 123; also A. R. Ep., No. 165 of 1906.
5 A. R. Ep., No. 88 of 1925.
6 SIT, Vol. VI, No. 626 (No. 181 of 1899); also Rangacharya’s List, No. Gt. 835.
7 Above, Vol. IX, p. 211.
No. 31—BRAHMl INSCRIPTION FROM KAILVAN

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

Sometime in the year 1954, Mr. C. S. Upasak of the Pali Institute at Nalanda, near Biharharif in the Patna District of Bihar, sent me a photograph and an impression of a Brāhmī inscription for examination. The epigraph was stated to have been engraved on the brim of a stone vessel preserved in the house of one Mohan Lal Singh, an old cultivator of Hasanpur, P. O. Kailvan, District Patna. The vessel was discovered by him in the course of ploughing a field in front of a mosque and a Dargah in the village of Kailvan about half a mile away. As the material received from Mr. Upasak was not quite satisfactory for the decipherment of the whole record, I visited Hasanpur for an examination of the inscribed vessel on the 6th of January 1956.

The adjacent villages of Hasanpur and Kailvan lie within the jurisdiction of the Bakhtiarpur Police Station in the Bakh Subdivision of the Patna District. They are about 3 miles from Belehi which is about 6 miles from the Haranpur station on the Bihar-Bakhtiarpur Light Railway. A mosque and a Daragh near the findspot of the inscription at Kailvan appeared to me to have been built on the ruins of certain older structures. Ancient bricks measuring about 14" x 9½" x 2½" were found lying here and there in the neighbourhood.

The vessel, made of Chunar sandstone, weighs 4560 tolas (1 maund and 17 seers). The circumference of the outer edge of its brim, which is 2½" wide, is 5' 3". The height of the vessel is 9½" and the diameter of its open face is 1' 3½". Although the brim bearing the inscription is rather rubbed out and rough, the outer side of the vessel still bears traces of the original Mauryan polish which once beautified it. We know of an inscribed Mauryan stone bowl from Sanchi.1

The inscription runs along the whole face of the brim of the vessel, although there are four symbols between the beginning and end of the circular line of writing. The first of these symbols looks like a water-pot with a long neck resembling a modern sarāhī, which, however, does not resemble the auspicious pārṇa-kumbha as represented generally in Indian art.2 The second symbol is difficult to identify3 while the third is a double swastika. The fourth symbol looks like a āmaru with the two strings fastened to its middle and the guṭākā tied to their ends longer than usual. Since the āmaru is generally associated with Śiva, this object may refer to the Śaiva association of the inscription under study.

The characters are Brāhmī of about the first or second century A.D. The letters v and m have an angular shape with a horizontal base. D and ch resemble the forms of these letters in the inscriptions of the Kusāṇa. The top of some of the letters is thick and looks like a clear serif. The language is a mixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit as in most of the inscriptions of the Kusāṇa. A peculiarity of the orthography is the use of i for s in savachchha (Sanskrit savatsare).4

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3 It may be a yāp with a wooden yāpa-ṣataṇa of the shape of a āmaru at the top. Cf. Sabdakalpadruma, s.v. yāpa-ṣataṇa. If this identification is accepted, it may refer to the Brahmanical association of the record. Dr. V. S. Agrawala drew my attention to a similar symbol on ancient Indian coins (cf. Allan, op. cit., pp. xxxiii, xxxiv, 52-53, 300). For the representation of a āmaru side by side with a pārṇa-kumbha, see A. E., 1953-54, Plate facing p. 29. Or does our figure represent a yāpā-ṛāḍi along with a yāpa?
4 Macron over e and o has not been used in this article.

(229)
The inscription bears a date. Its reading and interpretation are, however, not entirely beyond doubt. The passage in question, with which the record begins, reads: rājha Arīya-Viśākhāmīrasya sāvachhare which is followed by three akṣarās and two symbols. These three akṣarās read satāle; but the following two numerical symbols have a rather peculiar appearance. The first of these resembles the symbol for 7 with a short horizontal line on its head. The right end of this top stroke joins a curve with its opening downwards. The symbol may possibly be taken to stand for 100. The second sign looks like an early symbol for 8 turned from left to right. The expression satāle seems to contain the words āsta and ashta and to indicate the number 108. Thus the whole passage appears to stand for Sanskrit: rājha Arīya-Viśākhāmīrasya samvatsare sat-āhate (=āṣa-ottara-āhate) 108. The record therefore seems to have been engraved in the year 108 of an unspecified era during the reign of a king named Arīya-Viśākhāmītra.

Further details of the date are given in the following passage which reads: gimbha-pakke samā 8 divasa pachame 5. The symbol read here as 8 resembles the second of the two symbols discussed above. But the passage preceding the symbol does not offer any satisfactory sense unless it is amended as gimbha-pakke sa(a)[(Hu)*]mā(me)-Sanskrit grishma-pakhe astame. The exact date of the record under study thus may be the fifth day of the eighth fortnight of the summer season in the year 108 of an unspecified era. Considering the palaeography and the association with the Kushāṇa of Kanishka’s house, the era seems to be no other than the Kanishka or Śaka era of 78 A.D. The year quoted in the inscription therefore appears to correspond to 186 A.D. The eighth fortnight of grishma corresponds to the second half of pūrīṃ-ānta Āśāṇa. Thus the day referred to in the record may be Śaka 108, Āśāṇa-sudi 5. As the Mauryan polish, noticed on the vessel bearing the epigraph, went out of fashion long before this age, the inscription seems to have been engraved on an old vessel.

The object of the inscription is recorded in the following two sentences. The first of these reads: bhāgavato achariyasya kude upaniti-Sanskrit bhagavate acharīya kundam upaniṣtam, or bhagavataḥ acharīya kundam upaniṣtam. The word upaniṣtam means ‘present’. The sentence therefore refers either to the kundam or vessel having been presented to the venerable acharīya or teacher probably by his pupils, or to the vessel belonging to the teacher having been offered as a present to some deity. There is little doubt that the vessel referred to is the one bearing the inscription under study. That, however, the stone vessel was not a present of the pupils to their teacher seems to be suggested by the following sentence with which the inscription ends. This sentence reads: Mahānandakśe Bhagavatikā kīti-bhūṭikā-miśra hi kude upaniṣta bhagavato-Sanskrit: Mahānandokśe Phalgunadikā [cho udāśya] kīti-bhūṭikā-miśram hi kundam upaniṣtam bhagavataḥ. It seems that the vessel, used by the teacher during his life time, was offered by his pupils to the river deities, Mahānanda and Phalgunabdi, probably after the teacher’s death. The epithet kīti-bhūṭikā-miśra applied to the vessel seems to indicate that it was believed to be associated with the fame and power of the deceased teacher. The vessel was probably dedicated at the waters of the junction of the Mahānanda and the Phalgunabdi. The Mahānanda is no doubt the present Mahanā which runs about 2 miles away from the findspot of the inscription. It meets the river Dhovā, which runs about 4 miles from the place, at a distance of about 6 miles. This Dhovā is now a branch of the holy river Phalgutu and seems to have been known by the name Phalgutu in the age of the inscription. It is not impossible to think that the junction of the two rivers then lay near the findspot of the inscription at Kaivalvan. The casting of a vessel into waters in

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1 See Ojha, Palaeography of India, Plate LXXXIV (a). Of the sixth symbol for 100 quoted from the coins of the Western Kusārāpata, and the third and sixth symbols for 200 quoted respectively from the inscriptions of Alakā and the grantees of the kings of Valabhi.

2 A branch is sometimes regarded as the main river even now.
BRAHMI INSCRIPTION FROM KAILVAN

(from Photographs)
connection with the Śrīdha ceremony of a deceased person is not unknown in Hindu rituals and the junction of two rivers is regarded by the Hindus as of particular sanctity in religious matters.

The inscription under study seems to be the only record so far discovered in Bihar, which bears a date in the Kanishka era. There are Chinese and Tibetan traditions referring to Kanishka’s successful expedition against Pañciliputra and this may suggest the spread of Kushāṇa influence over Bihar. But the real nature of such influence cannot be determined without further evidence. The tradition regarding the rule of the Muraṇḍas of Śaka nationality in the Bihar region about the second century A.D. and the spread of the Kanishka era in Bihar as suggested by the inscription under study, when read together with the Chinese and Tibetan traditions referred to above, may suggest the inclusion of Bihar within the Kushāṇa empire but do not prove the point conclusively. The discovery of Kushāṇa coins in Bengal and Orissa and the possible adoption of the Kanishka era by the Licchhāvīs of Nepal can hardly be regarded as definite proof of Kushāṇa rule in those areas.

Whether Bihar formed a part of the Kushāṇa empire or not, the present inscription seems to show that king Ārya-Viśākhāmitra was ruling over the Patna-Gaya region (ancient Magadha), as an independent monarch in the last quarter of the second century. The coins and inscriptions of certain rulers with names ending in the word mitra have been found in the said region, although their relations with the Mitra kings of Pañcilīśa and Kauśāmbī, known from their coins, cannot be determined. A Magadhān monarch named Bhāṣapatimitra or Brihatavatmitra is known to have been a contemporary of king Kāravela of Kaliṅga who flourished about the close of the first century B.C. Ārya-Viśākhāmitra of the inscription under notice appears to have belonged to the Mitra dynasty of Magadha. Whether his epithet Ārya hints at the contemporary or past rule of the non-Āryas or Mlechchhā foreigners in any part of Bihar cannot be determined without further evidence. It is also uncertain whether Ārya in this case is a dynastic name like Ārya (Sanskrit Ārya) found in the records of the Chedi-Mahāmeghavāhanas of Kaliṅga.

TEXT

Rājā Ārya-Viśāghamitrasya śavachhara sat-āthe 1008 giraha-pakhe sa(s)[(ha*)]-mā(m) 8 divasa pachame 5 bhagavato achariyasya kude upanite ["] Mahanadake Phagunadikē kite-bhūṭikā-miśa hi kude upanita bhagavat[ō] ["]

TRANSLATION

On the fifth—6—day of the eighth—8—fortnight of summer in the year one hundred and eight—108—of king Ārya-Viśākhāmitra, the vessel of the most worshipful teacher is offered as a present. The vessel of the most worshipful one, which is verily associated with his fame and power, is offered as a present (in the name of) the Mahanadaka and the Phagunadikē.

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1 See Colebrooke, Miscellaneous Essays, Vol. I, p. 185. The performance of the ceremony on the Phalgu at Gayā is known to have been regarded as specially meritorious.

2 Age of Imperial Unity, p. 142.

3 Raychaudhuri, PHAI, 1938, p. 400.

* Age of Imperial Unity, loc. cit.; Select Inscriptions, p. 366.

3 Raychaudhuri, op. cit., p. 327.

4 Select Inscriptions, p. 209.

5 Ibid., pp. 206, 214.

6 From the original and impressions.

7 There are some symbols here. See above, p. 229.
No. 32—TWO GRANTS OF BHOJA KINGS

(2 Plates)

A. M. ANNIGERI, Dharwar

A Bhōja family of kings ruling in the west coast of Southern India has come to be known recently. Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao in his article entitled 'A Note on Siroda Plates of [Bhōja] Dēvarāja' has pointed out that the name of the family of king Dēvarāja is Bhōja and not Gōmin as formerly read by the late Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu. According to the Siroda plates the capital of the Bhōjas ruling round-about Goa was Chandraūra. This place is identified with Chandorgoa in the Goa territory.

In the course of my official tours on behalf of the Kannada Research Institute, I succeeded in discovering two more copper-plate charters of the rulers of the Bhōja family. I am editing them below with the kind permission of Prof. S.S. Maiwad, Director of Kannada Research, Dharwar.

1. Argā Plates of Kāvpīśvarman

Through the help of Mr. Mogga Naik, Forest Contractor of Karwar, I discovered this set of copper plates in 1946-47. The plates were under worship in a temple at Argā, situated 4 miles to the south of Karwar. On inquiry the priest of the temple informed me that the set was incomplete and that two more plates which formed part of the set were thrown into the tanks at Yellāpūr in the Karwar District. On examination of the record, however, the set of plates as handed over to me was found to be complete.

The set consists of two thin rectangular plates each bearing a ring-hole in the margin on the left side. The copper ring on which the plates were strung is open, the seal attached to it having been lost. Each of the plates is engraved on its inner side only, the outer side being blank. The first plate is broken and mutilated on the left side near the ring; but the broken parts were somehow joined together by a wire later on. Each plate measures 8" x 2 4/4" and the diameter of the ring is about 2 5/4". The plates together with the ring weigh 19 tolas. Though the rims are not raised, the writing is well-preserved. Some of the letters are so deeply engraved as to leave their traces on the reverse side of the plates.

The characters belong to the Southern Alphabet and may be styled archaic Kannada. The letters are box-headed and resemble, to some extent, those of the Kudgere plates of Kadamba Māndhātiśvarman. Initial ā appears in lines 9 and 10 and ū and u in line 4. Medial ā is denoted by a slanting line to the right (cf. e.g., pā in kāpāli in line 1). In the case of pā (line 1), the ā sign, added to the middle of the letter on the right, takes a curve to the left at the top. Medial ā is indicated by a circle at the top (cf. si and ci in line 1), and ā by adding a spiral within the circle. The letter ī is engraved in two ways. One of these shows the vowel sign at the top of the left arm of the letter (cf. line 5) while in the other the sign touches its right and left arms at the top in an arc of a circle (cf. line 6). Medial u sign is added below the right arm of the letter in the form of a hook turned to the left as in pu in line 2. In the case of nu in line 9 and su in line 10,

2 Ibd., Vol. XXIV, pp. 143 ff.
3 The plates have been noticed by Mr. R. S. Panchamukhi in the Report on the Progress of Kannada Research in Bombay State, 1947-55, pp. 4, 16.

(222)
the sign is shown turning to the right. The rounded and cursive form of ḫḥ in line 4 is noteworthy.

\( V \) has retained its triangular form. The sign for \( upādhamāṇīya \) looks like a superscript \( r \) (line 5). The final \( t \) occurs at the end of line 7.

As regards orthography, the consonant following \( r \) in a conjunct is doubled.

Ignorance of the rule of sandhi may be noted in the expression \( punar-vo\) (line 6) which should be \( punah vo \) or \( punas-vo \). There are other mistakes in the record, linguistic and scribal, which have been duly corrected. The language is Sanskrit and the composition is all prose. The charter is not dated. It may, however, be ascribed approximately to the sixth century on palaeographic considerations.

The purport of the record may be briefly stated thus. At the request of Śvāmikarāja, Dharmamahārāja Kāpāḷivarman, while he was residing at Pāmasākhēṭaka, registered a gift of land in the village of Śivapuraka to the former who in turn donated it to a Brāhmaṇa named Bhāravya of the Kauṇḍinya gōṭra, so that merit might accrue to him.

The Bhūja king Kāpāḷivarman is made known to the students of history for the first time by the present inscription. He bears the epithet Dharmamahārāja like the Kadamba kings. It may not be unreasonable to surmise that Śvāmikarāja of the plate is the same as the Chāluśaka chief Śvāmikarāja who was victorious in eighteen battles and was killed by the Early Chāluśaka king Maṅgaleśa as disclosed by the Nerūr plates of the latter.¹

Śivapuraka-grāma may be either Shīvapur in the Supa Pēṭhā or another locality of that name in the Halyal Taluk of the Karwar District.² Śivapura-viṣhaya was a division round about Śivapuraka. I have not been able to identify Pāmasākhēṭaka. The expression Pukollī-kaṭṭāna cannot be explained.

**TEXT**

**First Plate**

1 Siddha(m) [Vijaya-Pālmasākhēṭakē = Bhūjānār(ā)jaya ātri-Kāpāḷi-

2 va[rmanāq] vaj\(\hat{\text{}}\)chānen Śivapura-viṣhaya vartamāna-bhavinbya-

3 (d-bhō)jāk-āyuktaka-sthāyā-ādayā vaktavyā yathā Śivapuraka-

4 grāma-[s]i[ṃni] upari-saddakē Ādityārṣaḥthī-Pukollī-kaṭṭān[āni]

5 Śvāmikarājēna dharmm-ārththān vijñāpa(p)ait-sair-asmabhī-paraśeṣeṇa

**Second Plate**

6 Sv[Śvāmikarājēya datta[ṇi] Śvāmikarājēna punaraṇa(saḥ) svapūṇy-ōpachaya-nimittam

7 Kauṇḍinya-sagotṛāya Bhāravyāy-ōdakēna dattā(tam) [\(\text{[*]}\) jāṭtv-aiva nā kēchāt

¹ **Ind. Ant.**, Vol. VII, p. 161. (As Śvāmikarāja probably belonged to the Chāluśaka house of Bādāmi, the identification seems to be unwarranted.—Ed.)

² [Śivapuraka may have been situated near about Karwar or in the Goa region. An early copper-plate grant from Goa mentions a mahāvīhāra at Śivapura which has been located in the vicinity of Goa. See N. **Ind. Ant.**, Vol. IV, p. 183.—P.B.D.]

From the original plates and impressions.

The letters viṣa are completely damaged and restored conjecturally. The following letters yōs are only partly preserved. (The letter pā in this name can be read as sā also.—Ed.)

These damaged letters could be restored with the help of other records.

Read sthāya-\(\hat{\text{}}\) as in the other grant edited below.

The **akṣara kō** has an unnecessary u-\(\hat{\text{}}\)mārā. [The intended reading may by pukładī; of above, Vol. XVI, p. 267, n. 9.—Ed.]
Let there be success. Let the present and the future Bhōjakas, Ayuktakas, Sthāyins and others in Śivapurā-vaibhaya be ordered thus in the words of the illustrious Dharmanamaḥarāja Kāparīvarman of the Bhōja family from his victorious residence at Pāmāsā-khētaka. The land named Pukoli-khaṭjuna, belonging to Aditya-arāththi, in the upper region within the boundary of the village of Śivapuraka was granted by us with pleasure for religious purpose to Svāmikarāja, in his turn, made over the same to Bhavāryya of the Kaṇṭūnīya gōtra with libation of water so that merit might accrue to him. Knowing this, nobody should deprive him of it (i.e. the gift). Whosoever, either of our family or an outsider, interferes with this, will incur all the sins. The protector (of the grant) will enjoy complete happiness. The executor of the charter is Nandaka-talavara. This is written by Kriṣṇa-bhōyaḥaka.

2. Kāparī Plates of Aṣanakavarmana, Year 5

This set of plates was found in the possession of Mr. S. V. Aḍḍāṇaṅgi, an advocate at Belgum, whom I met in May 1954 with my friend Mr. G. V. Chulki. According to Mr. Aḍḍāṇaṅgi the plates were found buried in an iron box at Kāparī in the Khanapur Taluk of the Belgium District. An agriculturist of the place discovered them and brought them to Mr. Aḍḍāṇaṅgi for decipherment about 5 years back. Mr. Aḍḍāṇaṅgi was kind enough to place the plates at my disposal and also to supply their estampages subsequently.

The set consists of three plates strung on a ring bearing a seal. The seal bears the figure of an elephant. The writing which is well preserved is on the inner side of the first and third plates and on both the sides of the second. The expression divākara is inscribed in the centre of the outer side of the third plate. The plates measure 7-5" × 3-5" each. Each plate has a small round hole in the left margin for the ring to pass through. The set weighs 804 tolas.

The characters belong to the Southern Alphabet of about the 6th or 7th century. They can be compared with those of the Bannahali plates of Kadamba Kriṣṇavarman. Initial s and ś are

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1 This letter is faintly engraved and its form is not normal.
2 There is an avarta mark above this akshara which has to be properly associated with the previous letter.
3 The punctuation is denoted by a rāṣṭra-like sign followed by three small strokes.
4 The term khaṭjuna, which is found with slight variations in the inscriptions particularly of the western region, seems to denote a specific area of cultivable land or locality. Cf. Heda-khaṭjunnaka in the grant of Kadamba Tribhuvanamalla (above, Vol. XXX, p. 77) and khajjasa in the Panjim plates of Jayakṛiti I (Kadamba Kula, p. 397).—P.B.D.
5 This is in the interpretation of the expression uparī-sadakā.—P.B.D.
6 [Nandaka-talavara must have been an officer of some distinction. The designation talavara was formerly associated with an important official of the state as known from the Nāgarjunakonda inscriptions of the 3rd century A.D. (above, Vol. XX, pp. 4 ff.), although it has lost its original meaning in its modern Kannada and Telugu survivals (talāvarā and talāvā). That this office retained its dignity in the Kannada areas during later centuries is attested by an allusion to an officer of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, named Horeyamma, who is styled Śrīmanḍar-prapati and Talāvā of Mānayakṭhēta in a 12th century Western Chalukya inscription (B. K. No. 115 of 1929-30).—P.B.D.]
7 [Bhoda stands for Sanskrit bhōjaka referred to in many inscriptions. Cf. Sut. Sut., pp. 94, 193, 261, 263, 265, 270. It may also be the same as Bhōja of the following record.—Ed.]
8 [See below, p. 235, note 8.—Ed.]
9 [The seal is not of the usual type. It is oval and has a flat surface. In the centre is a sunken circular space bearing the figure of an animal carved in relief. This may be taken to be an elephant, but not without doubt.—P.B.D.]
10 Above, Vol. VI, Plate facing p. 18.
appear in lines 13 and 8 respectively. Some of the palaeographical and orthographical peculiarities are the same as those noticed in respect of the record edited above. The language of the epigraph is Sanskrit and its composition is prose except for a verse in lines 16-17. The writing is fairly free from mistakes.

The charter purports to record the gift of the village of Vaināsvātaka situated in the tract of Sollundūraka-seventy in Palaśikā-vishaya to Nāgaśarman of the Ḍārita gōtra, who was endowed with all the qualities of a Brāhmaṇa. The gift was made with the approval of Mahāraja Āśāṅkitavarman of the Bhōja family1 by the chief Ėlakēlla of the Kaikēya lineage for the merit of both. The executor of the grant was the Mahāraja himself.

The record is dated in the 5th regnal year of the Bhōja king Āśāṅkitavarman and the gift is stated to have been registered on the full-moon day of Jyēṣṭha. This date does not admit of verification. On consideration of palaeography, the Bhōja ruler and Ėlakēlla who must have been a feudatory may be placed approximately in the sixth or seventh century.

King Āśāṅkitavarman is described as a great devotee of Śiva. If this king is identical with his namesake of the Hirguṭti inscription,2 he has to be regarded as tolerant towards Buddhism. Ėlakēlla, the donor who belonged to the Kaikēya lineage, is known for the first time from the present record. The Kaikēya family, however, is known from several epigraphs. The Halmiṇḍ inscription of Kadamba Kākusthavarman refers to a fight of the Kadambas with the Kēkayasa and Pālalāvas.3 Kadamba Krisṇavarman I married a Kaikēya princess.4 Prabhavati, queen of Kadamba Mṛgaśarvarman and mother of Ravivarman, belonged to the Kaikēya lineage.5 The Kaikēya family also figures in later inscriptions such as the Haldipūr plates6 of Gōpāladēva and the Kekkār inscription7 of Angeyayaras of the eighth century.

In regard to the geographical names in the record, the village of Vaināsvātaka may be identified with Kāpōli from where the plates were unearthed.8 Sollundūraka-seventy remains to be located. It seems to have comprised an area of the Khanapur and Hāyal Taluks. Palāśikā- vishaya is the same as the well-known Palasige-12000 of the later epigraphs, Halsi being its chief town.

TEXT*

First Plate

19Driśṭham [ | *] Vijaya-śri-pravaridhamāna-rājya-samvatsaram panchamam pā--
2 layataḥ sakal-āvani-tala-sarō-manḍal-āmbhō-

1 Āśāṅkitavarman of the Hirguṭti plates and his namesake of the present charter apparently belonged to one and the same family. The seals of both these plates bear identical figures of an elephant (see above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 70 ff.).

2 [A close examination of the palaeography of the two charters would suggest that the two kings might be different, Āśāṅkitavarman of the Hirguṭti record being a predecessor of his namesake of the Kāpōli grant. Their seals are of different types. Further, the characters of the Kāpōli record are box-headed, while those of the Hirguṭti epigraph are not so.—P.B.D.].


7 Progress of Kannada Research in Bombay Province, 1941-42, p. 5.

8 This identification is questionable. If my information is correct, the original findspot of the plates is Halsi and not Kāpōli. In January 1930, while I was camping at Halsi in the course of a tour, I learnt that a set of copper plates had been unearthed some years ago in a field by a local farmer. It was subsequently taken by Mr. B. K. Desai to his village Kāpōli for decipherment. Mr. Desai whom I contacted next year told me that he had handed them over to his friends at Belgaum. Apparently the same plates were later found by Mr. Annigeri in the possession of Mr. Adjiṣapagi at Belgaum.—P.B.D.].

9 From a set of impressions.

10 [At the beginning of the line is a spiral which may be taken to be as a siddham symbol.—P.B.D.].
TRANSLATION

Seen. At the command of Mahārāja Aṣṭākītavarmā, who by his birth has grace and adorned the family of the Bhōjas who are the lotuses in the circle of the lake in the form of the whole earth; who is the sole abode of the gems of all kingly qualities and who is a great devotee of Śiva, in the fifth year of his reign increasing with the glory of victory, the (present and) future Bhōgikas, Ayuktakas, Sthitīyins and others should be instructed thus: On the full-moon day of Jyeṣṭha, (the village of) Vaiṣṇavaśāṭaka included in Sollundūrakā-seventy in Palāśikā-viha, is made over with libation of water, free from all impure, by Elakēllā of the Kalkēya family to this Nāgaśarmā of the Hārīta gōtra, who possesses all the qualities of a Brāhmaṇa, for the religious merit of himself as well as of ours. We have also approved of it. Knowing this, neither a member of our family, nor any other ruler should snatch away (the gift). Whosoever snatches it away will incur the five great sins. So it has been said by Maṇu: 'The land has been enjoyed by many kings like Sagar and others. To whomsoever it belongs, to him goes the fruit.' The executor (of the grant) is the Mahārāja himself. (The charter) is written by Mādhava, the son of Gōvinda-bhōgika and the writer of royal charters. Hail!

1 Before this the word vartamāna appears to have been left out. Cf. line 2 of the Arāṇī plates edited above.

2 The record proper ends here. It is, however, interesting to note that the name Dīkṣata is engraved on the back side of this plate in characters of about the same period as the main record. It is difficult to determine the significance of this writing. [He might have been the engraver.—Ed.]
No. 33—KADMAL PLATES OF GUHILA VLIAYASIMHA, V. S. 1140

(I Plate)

ARSHAYA KERTV VYAS, UDAIPUR

These plates were first noticed by Pandit G. H. Ojha in his Rājputānāṭa Itihās, Fasc. II, pp. 445-46. He traced the plates which were lying hidden with a Brāhmaṇa family of the village of Kadmāl, some 25 miles to the north-west of Udaipur. The plates thereafter again went underground and the owner would never show them to anybody for fear of dispossessed. It was in the year 1940 that Pandit Ratilal Antani, the then Education Minister in the Mewār State Secretariat, who was himself a numismatist and was also keenly interested in other branches of Archaeology, somehow procured these plates for perusal through his Head Clerk, Mr. Bhavani Shankar who was closely related to their owner residing at Kadmāl. After he had dealt with them in his own way, he was kind enough to pass them on to me, only for a couple of hours, through his Head Clerk. I utilised the opportunity by immediately getting them photographed and sent the originals back to the Ministry within the scheduled time through the same bearer. They could neither be weighed nor their actual measurement could be taken during those hurried hours, and it now seems impossible to get them back for the purpose. It is from the photographs that I propose to edit the plates in the following pages.

This is a set of two copper plates which are said to constitute the earliest metal record of the ruling dynasty of Udaipur. The plates were found by me fastened together with a thick copper ring passing through proportionate holes cut midway towards the upper border in both. No seal, however, was found fixed to the ring-joint. The plates appear to have been given the required shape and size by hammering heavy lumps of copper, not less than two seers in weight. The inner sides only in both have been used for writing, the outer ones being left blank.

Though an important record, it has received the most unsatisfactory treatment at the hands of the ignorant engraver who appears to have tried to follow the written out mass of lines without either knowing the signs that were made or the sense they were intended to convey. He does not appear to be knowing where a particular letter ends and the other begins or which medial vowel pertains to which particular letter. He has thus fared very badly in his task, sometimes transforming altogether the expected shapes and sometimes distorting them by superfluous additions and lamentable omissions. This blind engraving of the record has rendered it perfectly illegible, and there are hardly a few letters that have escaped the arbitrary touch of his chisel. In order to judge the amount of arbitrary alteration brought about in the actual text written by the scribe, it is sufficient to examine the very first two or three letters with which the inscription opens. Otw rācatait appears to be the intended reading; but the engraver has reduced the whole phrase into an incomprehensible group which it is difficult to restore to its proper form. The simple symbol, with which the initial Otw is expressed, is itself arbitrary in formation and the next two syllables constituting the word rācatait are so rendered as to read māttit. The engraver's fanciful addition, omission and transposition of different strokes constituting these two syllables will be clear from the fact that the ā stroke in mā (i.e. mā) is really the hinder part of the i stroke of the following akshara (i, i.e. stī), which has been joined to the previous letter incompletely, and that the ā stroke in stī (i.e. stī) is the fancifully changed aspect of the medial ā pertaining to the next syllable na (na) with which the invocatory verse begins. This is only an indication, the whole
record being treated in this way. It is therefore no wonder that the plates have not yet been satisfactorily deciphered.  

Proper reading of this record is not so much a matter of regular decipherment of an epigraph written in the script of a given age; but it is a troublesome process of restoration and adjustment of various signs in relation to a correct comprehension of the intended sense. The text, at places, is difficult to transcribe as it actually stands, for it would be impossible to transcribe a syllable on which two different medial vowel strokes have simultaneously been imposed, as in Khō of Khōma(mna)na towards the end of line 6, where both the medial i and ů strokes have been applied to a common syllable. So also is the case of letters that do not resemble any letters of the alphabet. In transcribing the text therefore I have, at places, necessarily to give only the intended reading.

Owing to reasons given above, there is no room for any palaeographical or orthographical observation on the record. The most that can be said is that it is written in the Nāgari script of the twelfth century. The initial vowel i is throughout made up of two dots with a comma-like sign below, which is characteristic of the early medieval script of Northern India.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and, even if it was written correctly by the scribe, the engraver's chisel has brought about mistakes almost at every step. Though looking as if engraved by one and the same person, both the plates differ in neatness of execution. The second plate is tidier than the first as regards the general trend of incision. There are in all 40 lines of writing covering the inner sides of the two plates.

The document opens with Oṃ Svasti which is followed by an invocatory verse in the Anushtub metre in praise of Śrī-Ekālīśa, the guardian deity of the ruling dynasty of Udaipur. Then obeisance is again paid to Śiva in the passage Oṃ namaḥ Śivāya.

Then follows the genealogical portion which covers verses 2-9. Though it is a bare enumeration of names in chronological order without any historical information, the section contains some valuable information. The first few stanzas (verses 2-5) of the present genealogy are nothing but a mere reproduction of the corresponding verses of the well-known Āipur inscription of Sakti-kumāra of V. S. 1034 (977 A.D.), a manuscript transcript of which, found by Ojha at Māndal in Mewār, was discussed by the late Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar.  

The opening genealogical verse reads:  

Anandaprayura-vinirga-vipra-kul-anandandō mahī-devō jayati Śrī-Guhadattoh prabharaḥ Śrī-Guhila-vamāsya.  

Bhandarkar suggested that the rulers of Udaipur had a Brāhmaṇic origin and that they were Nāgar Brāhmaṇas.  

In his opinion, the verse means: "Triumphant is Śrī-Guhadatta, the founder of the Gūhila family, a Brāhmaṇa and the delighter of the Brāhmaṇa family emigrated from Anandapura."  

He takes both vipra and mahī-deva in the present verse to mean 'a Brāhmaṇa'.

Now, strictly speaking, there is no reason why two different words should have been used in a small couplet to connote one and the same sense. If both the families mentioned in the verse had a Brāhmaṇic origin as supposed by Bhandarkar, either of the two words would have sufficed. Unnecessary repetition of variants for a common expression constitutes a palpable flaw in literary compositions and goes against the canons of rhetoric. The simultaneous use of the variants with reference to two different entities seems to imply difference of meaning. In our opinion, the

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3 Ibid., p. 190.
4 Pandit Mohanlal Vahaulal Pandya tried to refute this Ānandapura or Nāgar Brāhmaṇa theory regarding the origin of the Gūhila dynasty in his article in JPASB, Vol. VIII, 1012, pp. 63-99.
family, under whose guardianship Guhadatta lived, was Brāhmaṇical as suggested by the term ṛṣṇa in its connection; but he himself was not an ṛṣṇa but a māhi-dēva, i.e. a ruling prince of the Kshatriya stock.1

It is worthy of note in this connection that as many as four later epigraphs, viz. the Chitārgarh inscription of V. S. 1331 (1274 A. D.)*, the Ashalgarh (Mt. Abû) inscription of V. S. 1342 (1285 A. D.)*, the Rāipur inscription of V. S. 1496 (1439 A. D.)* and the Kumbhalgarh inscription of V. S. 1517 (1460 A. D.)*, which aim at giving a genealogical list of the dynasty, regard Bāpā Rāval as the progenitor and make Guhila or Guhadatta of our record his son. But the latter's mention as the founder of the family in older records like the Ātpur inscription of V. S. 1034 (977 A. D.) and the present epigraph establish beyond doubt that the prince described in the foregoing verse was really the progenitor. This also shows that, even as early as the thirteenth century, people had already lost remembrance of their predecessors' knowledge about the genealogy of the family. Nothing more is known about Guhila from this verse. The inscription of V. S. 1517 mentioned above, however, adds that he had a son called Lāśivinōda, which name he acquired for his passion for ladies of the Lāta country. In 1869 A. D., General Cunningham found some 2,000 silver coins at Agra bearing the legend śri-Guhila, which he attributed to Guhadatta.

Next come in chronological order the princes Bhōja, Mahēndra (I), Nāga, Sila, Aparājita, Mahēndra (II), Kālahōja, Khōmmāna (I), Mattaśa and Bhartripaṭṭa (I) (verse 3). Except a bare enumeration of the names of the princes, no other information is found in the verse. We, however, know the dates of some of them from their own inscriptions so far discovered. An inscription dated in V. S. 703 (646 A. D.)* pertaining to the reign of Sila or Silāditya was found at Sāmōli in the Bhōmaṭ District of the old Udaipur State. The stone is now lying in the Rājputāna Museum at Ajmer. Another inscription of the reign of Aparājita dated V. S. 718 (661 A. D.)* has been found at Nāgdā, the ancient capital, which is now preserved in the Victoria Hall Museum, Udaipur.

Thereafter comes Sīnha (the son of the last prince mentioned in the foregoing verse). His son was Khōmmāna (II), after whom came Mahōyakā. His son was Khōmmāna (III) from whom āprang Bhartripaṭṭa (II) (verse 4). In contrast to the previous verse, the present one gives some additional information by way of mentioning the relation of each succeeding prince with his immediate predecessor. Sīnha has been referred to in an inscription of V. S. 1335 (1258 A. D.)* found at Chitārgarh and now preserved in the Victoria Hall at Udaipur. No inscription of the other princes has so far been brought to light.

Mahālakshmi, born in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, was the beloved consort of Bhartripaṭṭa II and gave birth to his son Allaṭa (verse 5). An inscription* of the reign of Allaṭa has been found.

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1 If Guhadatta was himself a Brāhmaṇa and at the same time the delighter of a particular Brāhmaṇa family, it is only natural for a poet worth the name to use two different words meaning 'a Brāhmaṇa' in the stanzas conveying the two ideas. If again he was not a Brāhmaṇa, the poet could have used an expression like māhāpāṇa (meaning 'a king', and also 'a Kshatriya' according to medieval lexicons) instead of māhi-dēva which is generally recognised in the sense of 'a Brāhmaṇa' and not 'a Kshatriya'.---Ed.

* Bhas. Inscri., p. 114.
* ASR, Vol. IV, p. 95.
* PRAIJC, 1908-09, p. 48.
* Above, Vol. IV, p. 31.
* Bhas. Inscri., pp. 97-99...
engraved on the inner face of the lintel over the porch of the Sārajavārā temple near the Udaiapur city, in which also Mahālakṣmī has been mentioned as his mother. It records the construction of a Vishnu temple which was begun in V. S. 1008 (951 A. D.) and completed in V. S. 1010 (953 A. D.) during the reign of Allāta. This inscribed lintel does not appear to be original to the Siva temple to which it now belongs, but seems to have been brought here from amidst the neighbouring ruins of Āhār, i.e. Ātapura or Aghātāpura of inscriptions, which was one of the capital cities of the rulers of Mewār during this and the following centuries.

From Allāta sprang his son Mahīpāla (verse 9). Thereafter the ninth prince was Vairāta who had obtained rulership elsewhere. His son was Haṁsapāla (verse 7). It is to be noticed that verses 6 of our grant introduces a new name in the genealogical list of the dynasty, namely, Mahīpāla who has not yet been found mentioned in any of the inscriptions so far discovered. The present record is the first document which mentions this prince as the son and successor of Allāta. According to all other inscriptions so far known, Allāta was succeeded by his son Naravāhana, an inscription of whose reign dated in V. S. 1028 (971 A. D.) lies in one of the big niches flanking the entrance of the Nātha's temple near the temple of Śri-Ekālipāha, some 15 miles north of Udaipur. After the mention of Mahīpāla, our inscription cuts short the regular course of succession and abruptly brings in Vairāta who is said to be the ninth prince in chronological order. The name of Vairāta appears in almost all important records in the regular genealogy.

From the Rāja-varṇana section of the third slab of the Kumbhālgarh inscription of V. S. 1517 (1460 A. D.), which contains an exhaustive list of the princes of the dynasty ascertain by a study of a number of ancient epigraphs, we learn that after Allāta there came on the throne in chronological order the eight princes Naravāhana, Śālavāhana, Śaktikumāra, Ambāprasāda, Naravarman, Anantavarman, Yaśōvarman and Yōgaśa, after whom it passed on to Vairāta who was the ninth. We thus find that the chronological position of Vairāta, as found in the inscriptions of as late as the sixteenth century of the Vākrama, is fully supported by earlier records like the one under review, which speaks of him as the ninth prince after Allāta, evidently including Mahīpāla.

Our document calls Mahīpāla the son of Allāta, and it appears that Naravāhana (mentioned in other records as the son and successor of Allāta) and Mahīpāla were both sons of the same father. The former, obviously being the elder of the two obtained the throne in regular succession after Allāta, and that is why all important known records clearly mention him; and the latter being his younger brother, possibly governing some small estate given him for maintenance, was naturally omitted from the genealogical part of the records. But his introduction in the main line and the omission of Naravāhana from it in our record do not appear to be meaningless.

It has been stated in verse 7 of the present plates that Haṁsapāla succeeded Vairāta and that the latter had obtained rulership elsewhere outside his paternal place (anyatra labdha-rājyasa, line 10). This fact is also corroborated by verses 143-144 of the third slab of the Kumbhālgarh inscription, which state that the progeny of Yōgaśa, the predecessor of Vairāta, did not attain regal status, though he himself fully enjoyed it, and that the lot finally fell on Vairāta who was a descendant of a branch of Allāta's lineage. The reason as to why the line of Yōgaśa was deprived of succession and Vairāta had to be brought in evidently from a junior branch of the family is unknown. It may have been a case of some internal family feud as pointed out by me in my
article on that record. We are, however, now in a position to conclude that Vairāṭa was a descendant of the branch of Allāṭa’s family, of which Mahipāla, the younger brother of Naravāhana, was the head, and that he was required for some unknown reason to succeed Yōgarāja of the main line, whose progeny had been deprived of accession to the throne.

The following is the succession of rulers from Allāṭa to Vairāṭa, as known from all important records so far found including the one under consideration.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Senior Branch</th>
<th>Junior Branch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Senior Branch)</td>
<td>(Junior Branch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Naravāhana (V. S. 1028 = 971 A. D.)</td>
<td>1. Mahipāla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Śālivāhana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Śaktikumāra (V. S. 1034 = 977 A. D.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Ambāprasadā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Suchivarman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Naravarman²</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Anantaivarman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Yaśōvarman³</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Yōgarāja</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Vairāṭa (V. S. 1083 = 1026 A. D.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above pedigree shows that Vairāṭa is the tenth prince after Allāṭa including Naravāhana on the main line, although our document speaks of him as the ninth including Mahipāla, the younger brother of Naravāhana. This discrepancy is, to some extent, clarified by the Kumbhalgarh inscription of V. S. 1517 (1490 A. D.), which does not include Suchivarman in its corresponding dynastic list and makes Vairāṭa the ninth prince from Naravāhana. Though Vairāṭa’s description as the ninth prince found in our grant correctly suits his number in the corresponding list of the Kumbhalgarh inscription due to the omission of Suchivarman, we cannot discard the omitted prince altogether from the chronology, as he is clearly mentioned as a successor of Śaktikumāra in the fragmentary Hastimātā temple inscriptions found at Āhār near the Udaipur railway station. The slight variation in the chronological position of Vairāṭa may, however, be overlooked in view of the general tendency of the authors of such epigraphs, who, at one place include a particular prince and omit the same at another. Thus Ambāprasadā, the fourth prince from Naravāhana in the foregoing table, is clearly mentioned.

¹ Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 310.
² Naravarman is also called Nivarman in certain inscriptions.
³ Yaśōvarman is also named Krtivarman in certain records.
⁴ [See below, p. 246, note 1.—Ed.]
⁵ Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 324-325.
in the Kumbhalgarh inscription as the son and successor of Šaktikumāra; but he finds no mention in records like the Achalgarh (Mt. Ābū) and Rānpur inscriptions which insert Śuchivarman instead. This is how variations in old chronological lists have been brought about.

It is interesting to note that the position of Vairāṭa as the ninth with Mahipāla, as mentioned in our grant, appears to reckon him implicitly in combination with Naravāhana and his successors of the senior branch, while the corresponding number of princes of the junior branch headed by Mahipāla is conspicuous by its very absence. We do not know how many princes, if any, appeared on that branch between Mahipāla and Vairāṭa; but we see from the dates V. S. 1010 and 1034 put respectively against Allaṭa and Šaktikumāra that the average rule of each of the four princes covered about 5 years. Applying the same average to the remaining eight princes up to Vairāṭa with the inclusion of Šaktikumāra for the computation of dates, we get a period of 48 years which, when added to V. S. 1034, the latest given date in the chart, yields V. S. 1082.

Now V. S. 1083 (1026 A. D.) is actually the date of the fragment of an old epigraph now preserved in the Victoria Hall Museum at Udaipur, of which the major portion containing the name of the ruling prince and other details is lost. This inscription has probably to be assigned to the reign of Vairāṭa, the last prince on our table. In view of the shortness of the average individual rule from Allaṭa to Yōgarāja, it is not altogether impossible if this prince was the son of Mahipāla himself, living long enough not only to witness a series of successesions on the royal throne but also to get an opportunity for himself to occupy it through transfer during his advanced age.

After Vairāṭa came his son Hamsapāla. Nothing else of his reign is known from this or any other record. From Hamsapāla sprang the prince Vairisaihā (verse 8). His son was the illustrious Vajrayasihā (half verse 9). Vairisaihā is here stated to have snatched away his enemy’s elephant with the help of those who received assistance from him in the past; but it is difficult at the present moment to ascertain this enemy due to absence of information on the point in any of the known records. This much only can be said that hostility prevailed, during this period of history, between the Guhilas of Mēḍapāla (i.e. Mewār) and the Paramāras of Mālwā, to which the incident briefly narrated here may have some reference. The only other information regarding Vairisaihā that we so far have is from verses 145-46 of the third slab of the Kumbhalgarh inscription which state that he erected a fresh rampart having four gates, facing all the four cardinal directions, round Aghāṭa-pattana (modern A♭ār), and that he had twenty-two meritorious sons of whom one, a nareṇḍra, was the most virtuous. This anonymous nareṇḍra of that inscription is certainly Vajrayasihā who issued the charter under review. He finds mention as the son of Vairisaihā and grandson of Hamsapāla in records like the Bhārāghāt inscription of the Chēḍi year 907 (V. S. 1212=1155 A. D.) and the Mt. Ābū inscription of V. S. 1342 (1285 A.D.); but ours is the only known record that directly pertains to the reign of this prince. Ojha attributes the

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2 Bhās. Inscrens., pp. 84-87.
3 Ibid., p. 114.
4 [The introduction of Mahipāla, unknown from any other source, in the place of Naravāhana mentioned in records, only on the basis of the extremely faulty text of the present epigraph seems to be risky. In the photograph, the name reads Mahipārana which has been corrected to Mahipāla. Considering the nature of engraving in the record, it appear that the intended name may well have been Naravāhana. The intended reading of the second foot of the stanza was possibly Naravāhana-Śūkādā. Of course the author’s correction of makh-

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5 Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 311 and p. 325.
7 Bhās. Inscrens., pp. 84-87.

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Pâldî inscription1 of V.S. 1173 (1116 A.D.) to his reign; but, as has already been pointed out,2 this is wrong. From the Bhârâghât inscription mentioned above, we also glean that Vijayasimha married Śyâmaladâvi who was the daughter of Udayâditya of Mâlwa (1060-87 A.D.) and the mother of Alhanâdâvi, queen of Kalachuri Gayâkarâ (1151 A.D.) of Dâhalâ. This matrimonial relation between Vijayasimha and Udayâditya, which established a close alliance between the hostile Paramâra and Guhila dynasties, certainly suggests a combined resistance by both against the waxing imperialism of the Châlukyas of Gujârat, who, under Buâma I (1022-64 A.D.), had become by far the strongest power in Western India after the fall of Bhûja I in 1055 A. D.3

From the latter half of line 12 begins the prose portion of the document, interspersed with a few renunciatory and imprecatory verses. This ends with line 40, the last line on the second plate. Lines 19-21 mention the date of the record both in words and figures, which forms the most illegible part of the whole inscription. Ojha gives V. S. 1164 (1107 A. D.) as its date, though he admits to have not been able to read it completely.4 Bhandârkar at first put it as V.S. 1140 (1083 A. D.),5 but later on supported Ojha.6 This change in Bhandârkar’s view does not appear to be based on a re-study of the epigraphic text, but was probably adopted to reconcile it with the date V. S. 1173 (1116 A. D.) of another epigraph, viz. the Pâldî inscription which Ojha attributes to Vijayasimha. But this inscription certainly belongs to the reign of Vijayasimha’s son Arisimha.

As regards the date of the record under review, it is sure that the donation was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse which invariably falls on the âmâdâsya day. After the syllables sudi in the beginning of line 21 denoting the dark hal of the month, we have the numerical enumeration of the tithi in two figures which have been endowed with head-lines and other alphabetical characteristics. The first of them, though it looks like ra, is apparently the numeral 1, while the second, which reads as ka, seems to be the numeral 4 endowed with a top mûtrâ and placed in an unusually oblique position. Thus these figures together mîkō 14 which must be the tithi on which the solar eclipse of our grant fell. This means that the vâ nîsâya merged with the châtarâsadâ on the day when this eclipse actually occurred.

Now turning to the numerical mention of the month towards the end of the line 20, we find that, after the syllables Sonaît, the first two figures clearly make 11. The following figure resembles the second of the figures in the enumeration of the tithi, which is 4 as explained above. Originally, a cipher seems to have been engraved in the place of this figure making the whole appear as 110; but soon it appears to have been corrected to 4, now making the whole appear as 114. Hence, either by restoring the cipher back to its fourth place which seems to have been originally intended, or by taking, by way of adjustment, the rounded part of the body of ra further in vârâ to serve also as the cipher, we get V. S. 114[0]. This is supported by the verbal enumeration of the month in lines 19-20. Bhandârkar’s original view regarding the date was therefore correct.

What now remains for our scrutiny is the description of the month wherein the solar eclipse of the grant took place. The letters may be taken to suggest Âshâdha in line 20, once at the beginning and again towards the end. But the month of Âshâdha does not suit the rest of the details of the date. There never occurred any solar eclipse on the fourteenth tithi of that month in the said year, either by the amânta or by the pûrâmânta reckoning. Even if we take the year to be V. S 1164, the solar eclipse does not tally. On the other hand, the month of Ásvina of V. S. 1140 turns out true to all other details of the date by the amânta reckoning. The amâdâsya of the month of

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2 Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 8 ff.
4 Ojha, op cit., p. 440, note 1.
5 Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXIX, p. 191, note 12, line 2.
6 Bhandârkar’s List, No. 178.
Āśvina in the Vikrama year 1140 merged with the chaturdaśi which ended at only '09 of the day after mean sunrise; and the solar eclipse consequently appeared on that day as registered in our grant, which would be equivalent to Friday, the 13th October 1083 A.D.  

The prose portion of the record from line 12 to line 38 is devoted to the description of its object which is to record the donation of the fifth part of the produce of the village of Palli, embracing all its receipts, to Ĉañāchārya, son of the most respectable Āchārya Śāhī, a who was a resident of Nāgarhada but whose son had since migrated elsewhere, probably to Palli, then comprised within the domain of Mewār. He belonged to the Mādhavindana school and the Vata yātra and had five pravaras. The donee was given full right over the fifth part of every item of produce of the donated village to the extent of its boundaries, with the exception of the income of taxes and drainage, in which he received only half (i.e. one-tenth part), the other half going to the donor himself (lines 26-32).

The donor was Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēṣvara Maṇḍulika (line 13) Vijaya-sintha, the last prince on our genealogical list. He made the grant with due regards to scriptural injunctions on the 14th day of the dark half of the month of Āśvina in Vikrama Sāvāvat 1140 on the occasion of a solar eclipse (lines 19-21) for the enhancement of the spiritual welfare of himself and his parents (lines 25-26). The gift was made at and the grant issued from Nāgarhada i.e. Nāgdā, his capital city, the ruins of which lie at a distance of about 15 miles to the north of Udaipur just near the present town of Ekliṅgji. The religious rites connected with this donation appear to have been performed somewhere near the temple of the god Ekāṅga, as the donor himself stated to have accomplished it after he had worshipped his tutelary deity in continuation of a bath in the Bāṅga-taṅgā situate near about towards the east of the temple. The present description (lines 21-22) certainly goes to suggest that the north-eastern boundary of the city of Nāgarhada extended up to the eastern limits of the present town of Ekliṅgji, both the temple and the tank near it being here mentioned to have been an integral part thereof, as indicated by the locative case-ending in the expression Nāgarhada-rājaḥkānyāṁ (line 21). Later on, the western half of the capital city seems to have been completely deserted, while part of the eastern half comprising the celebrated temple of Śrī-Ekāṅga continued flourishing to this day as a holy place of pilgrimage.

Lines 36-37 embody a couple of imprecatory verses, the contents of which apply to anybody attempting to deprive the donee of his rights specified in the charter. The scribe who wrote the grant on the copper sheets was Nāgāpāla, the son of Paṇḍita Uhila, belonging to the Paṇḍakulika (modern Paṇḍhū) caste which forms a sub-division of the Kāśṭha community. The messenger, through whom the royal order for the execution of the charter had been conveyed to the concerned authority, was Raṇadhavala, son of Sagadātha, who was a Chāhāmāna Rājaputra.

The latter half of the last line, i.e. line 40, is reserved for the sign-manual of prince Vijayasimha, the donor. It is represented by a small spear-head to left, at the extreme end of the line, which is stated to have been marked in his own hand. This tiny spear-head mark, having been developed in course of time, assumed the shape of a complete spear later on, as found on the copper-plate grants of the seventeenth and the following centuries, issued by the Mahārāṇa of Udaipur. The other change had been in the position of the sign which now appeared on the upper part of the plate above the actual contents, instead of being marked at the end as seen here.

Regarding the location of the places, Nāgarhada and Palli, there is no difficulty. The former has already been stated to be identical with Nāgdā near Ekliṅgji, which was the first capital of the dynasty, while the latter is evidently the same as the modern town of Pali in the Jodhpur unit of Rājaṭhān.

First Plate

1 Om māṃ śrī [**] Nalimā jagapta-dvaya[ṃ][n][j] jātain pa[ṃ][ya][ṃ] cha yēna vai [pāli]-śrādha[ṃ]śa[ṃ][m][gā]

2 ki Śivaḥ na(bha)ktyā ma(na)māmy-aḥam(ham) [**] [Om] namaḥ Śivāya Anāmiṣ[pur]ra-virgatavi

3 pla(prakul-ānandanaḥ) mahādevranaḥ [**] jayati Śri-Guhadattaḥ prabhavaḥ Śri-Guhila-vamśabhyā(sya) na(h) [2*]

4 [E]kJatra yōjama(yati) Bhū(Bhūja)-Mahā(andra)-Nāga-Sīl-Āparājīta-Mahā(andra)-sa(bha)ttai(taī)=nri-virēh(rāih) [**]

5 bhāvvyaprakāśhakaḍapthaḥ Kakābbhaja-Khōmā(mma)ṇa-Na(Ma)ttata-(nri)paḥ saha Bhartrī-(trī)paddrb(ttaḥ) [1 3*] Sīj(Sim)

6 bō-bhava(ta-ta)-akun(du) va(ta)jya sutō-th(a)(th) yajō vaṁṣgaṁ ibhya(ty-a) tha sutō-tha Mahā-yakō=bhūt [ ] Khōmā(mma)ṇa

7 gālajamathōcchā sa ch ātha tasmāṇlōkakurayatākalokājōna Bhartrī(trī)[pa]ddhah(ttaḥ) [**] [4*] Sashṭrakṛavva[**]


9 vanalo Mahāpāmanaḥ iti budhaḥ | yā uchāva sanjāṁ(jīnān) sāṅva(sāṅ)va[rthān mahī-vā(pā)lana-kusmaṇa] [6*] Vaśoḍhā[**]

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1 From photographs.
2 Indicated by symbol.
3 The intended reading is surti.
4 Read niliyat.
5 Read pāliyat.
6 Read ēry-ē.
7 Medial s has been used to indicate the left member of medial s in sō in the place of the usual medial t mark.
8 Read mah-dēvah.
9 Read jātṛṇaḥ prātha krama-śrībhāya.
10 Read ājñātāḥ. This word had been first omitted by mistake, but was engraved later on between lines 3 and 4 over the name Mahāendra and Nāga.
11 Read Khōmāṇa.
12 Read *mahīmām-aṇḍya.
13 Read tasmālōka-traya-śrīka-tukṣaḥjāni.
14 Read Bāhuprāṣṭaḥ.
15 Read saṁbhātāḥ.
16 Read Mahākāla-śrīrūpātī.
17 Read śūdrastramakāhūsārya.
18 Read *Allahab.
19 Read *Mahīpala*. [See above, p. 242. note 4.—Ed.]
20 This akṣara is redundant.
21 Read maṇḍuḥa.
22 Read karmāṇi.
23 Read Vaiśrajā.
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10 jamiṣu) namāvatō Haṃsaṇaḥ(pā)lo="vṛ(ṭi)-vṛ(ṛ)t)yaśvān | naś(ṇya)tra-lavdhagayasyabhya-
mōhaŚcibhaya[ṛṭu] sēvitaḥ samaṁ(mam) ||[17*]

11 [Navō]pāsamahāvohōkavaṣahā mahā(h)ilpatiḥ || sahāyta-savā(h)yēna vairi-kum[ja]-
ramū(m-u)dva[ta]sau(han) ||[18*]

12 Aha(tha)va(ta)sa ya uatuḥ śrīmān Śī[ṃ]*ḥo visu[ṣja]ya [prij]da[va(s)tha]kāh ||[19*]
P[ū]yapraṣi-
dhahamakaśagāvī[ma]ya-

13 na[para]*maḥbhaṇ(bha)ṭāra-ka-mahārājādhīrāja-varasīthara-maḍalātāḥ śra(ṣī)-Nāga-
[hra]-dāvachitah savvīmē-

14 vāsā(tya)matripa[ca]kāḥ jihitānī nija-maṇḍala-nivāsi-[15]kān [ ] Vṛ[ḥ][hma]-o[tta]raṁś-
cha vṛ(ḥo)dha[ya]-[ty-a]-

15 su(stu) vama sa[ṃ]vichīvaniḥ yathā ||10 athīḥ(rthāḥ) pādā-raj-ōpama girināgavāspitēma11 y[au]-
va[hanam]-āv(yu)h[ya](ṣya)ma] jalamki-

16 [ndu]jālēchapa[lā] ki(phē)-n-ōpama[j] jīvīta[ṃ] (tam [ ] dhan[ārmaṇi] ya(yō) na karōmith(i-
nīdhīḥ)ma)la maṭbiṭṭiḥ(svaggagāla-

17 dyāmati12 paṣṣchāt-tāsa(pa)-hatō jārā-pariṇaṇaḥ śok-āmi(gni)nā dag(dha)[hya]tē ||[10*]
ity-ādi[ṛṇa]*jār-āthā-

18 sājīヤa13 abhinipa14 valimihala15-gata-jala-lava-tarasatachā(ran) grāvītvānaka[la]ya17
Kṛīt[a][nta]-

bhu18 cha[va][(tvā-]

Second Plate

Āvadhava13

1 Read naṇavō.  [The intended reading may be naṇḍāna.—Ed.]
2 Read labha-rajayeṣoda.  
3 Read labha-rajayeṣoda.  Vairisinhō.  
4 Read trib.  Originally nṛ had been incised, but subsequently the lower part of the vowel-mark was
deleted suggesting that the upper part is intended to represent the virāma.  
5 This is only a half verse.  
6 Read pūrṇa-pradiddha-satamata-rāj-āval-virājāmāna.  
7 Read paramēvaro-maṇḍalikō. 
8 Read sarvēva-deśamātya-mati-putrāhī-ādin.  
9 Read tuḥ samāvidām.  
10 The punctuation mark is unnecessary.  
11 Read giri-nadi-ṛṣṭā-ōpamān.  
12 Read jale-hindu-lāla-kalolam.  
13 Read evagga-dṛgpa-lōpāḥ[ja]nām.  
14 Read aṣṭāda.  
15 Read vīchintya.  
16 Read vāntī[ḥ].  
17 Read prāṇāṃ-ṛṣṭāṁ-kalolaya. 
18 Read mālinda.  
19 Read jāna-maṇtrāṇa.  
20 Read "asattē-hīrēhu.  Āvīrṇa-maṇḍana.  
21 Read "śrīkāda-ādikārōhu.  Āvīrṇa-māṇḍanāyām.  
22 Read vīryanaga-grāte[n]kalabāpi.  
23 Read Śamvat 1140.  
24 This devō is redundant.  
25 Read Āvīrṇa.
1. Read 1a.
2. Read 2a-bdy=tha.
3. Read saṃyāna-tārya-prakāna-parvani.
4. Somā has not been observed here.
5. Read 5a.
6. Read sanātana.
7. Read Brahmatam.
8. Read dhātā.
9. Read punaṃ punaṃ.
10. Read sanātana.
11. Read asamālakāmā-doṣīta.
12. Read "bhiyotīkākśa-arkam.
15. Read Paliyāyama-pakṣakāma vīhāras.
16. Read sri-sām-paryantaya grāmasya. The following danda is redundant.
17. Read sri-sādāyop.
18. Read Vaisa-sugatāyana.
34 cha tunjanāṁ bhunjāpayatāṁ tṛ̤ m̥ = saś̤̌(a)dv̤ (d̤ = vaṁ)ṣ̤̌ āṣ̤̌ jār̤ = atyai(ṇyai)r̤ = api bhāvi-bhū- pālih paripaṇṭra(thā)na pa(pra)tishtēdhō
35 vā na kaṛ̤ lla(ṛta)vyāḥ | yavva(thā) hā(dā)ṁ-āpahāra-saṁvāḥ(bam)dī-ṛ̤ kāra(ktā)na-maha- r[śhi]-pa(pra)nītāni [ṃ]{i}tī-vačhavvāny= atē(nē)ka-
36 ᵄaḥ prūṣ̤̌ (sr̤ ī)yaṁtē | tāni yavvā(thā) | Va(Baja)hurhīr=vyavvũ (su)dhā bhukā(ktā) ga(rā)- javbhīh[*] | Saja(ga)r̤-ādibhih [1*]  yasya 2*  yadā bh[ū]mika(s-ta)nya(sya)
37 [2]² taya(dā) phalāṁ(lam) [11*] Suvarś̤̌ lla(rna)jē(ś̌ m̥ = ē)kaṁ gö(gā)m̥ = ekaṁ(kāṁ) bhū- mēr̤ apy ekaṁ=amūgulaṁ(lam) | haraṁtō hāraṁanta[s]=cha dāha[m*]ty a-śra(sa)pta (pta)maṁ kulaṁ(lam) [12*]
38 [ty ]t̤ [di]-smp̤ [ti]-vākyānā(ṇy-ṣa)vaγaṁy = asā(ṣma)t-pradattrta(tta)-chra(bra)hla(hma)dāyō= yā[m*] sadhaśā* pālanīyaḥ | iti li(rī)khi-
39 tam=ida[m*] na(♭a)sanath ēm̤ (paṁ)chakulika-pathjtā-Ūhila-sutēna Tā(Nā)gava(pā)lēna iti | ta(dū)takō̤-tra Chāha(mā)-
40 na-rajaipu(pra)tra-Saga[ṃ]dā suta-Dhā(Ra)ṇḍā(ṇa)dhavalaḥ | iti sa(ma)hāraṇā(ḥjā)dhirō(rā)-ja-śrī- Vījjaṁsī[m*]hasya [1*]²

¹ Read bhunjatām bhūjayatō.
² Read "cvacchānya".
³ This denotes that the preceding word should be repeated.
⁴ Read savsaṣṭhā.
⁵ A small spear-head is engraved at the end of the line.
No. 34—DASGOBA PLATES OF RAJARAJA III, SAKA 1120

(3 Plates)

D.C. SINCAR, OOTACUMUND, AND SADASIVA RATHA SARMA, PURI

The copper-plate inscription published below was recovered from the house of Sri Khabatramohan Das in the village of Dāsagobā within the Chandanpur Police Station in the Puri District of Orissa.

The set consists of five thōk plates held together by a ring with a seal soldered to it. Each of the plates measures about 13½" × 8½". The ring, which is of considerable thickness, passes through the hole made about the middle of the left margin of each plate. The diameter of the hole in the first, third and fourth plates is 1" while it is 9" in the second and fifth plates. The seal (about 4" in diameter) has the form of an expanded lotus and has in the centre an embossed figure of a seated bull raptorioned and bedecked with ornaments, facing front and having raised neck and head. To the proper right of the bull, there are the emblems of a conch, the crescent moon, a battle-axe, a flywhisk, a jāmara and an indefinite object, and to its left are similarly an aikāla and a dañsā or gaddā. The borders of the plates are slightly raised. The first plate has writing only on the inner side, the others being engraved on both the sides. There are altogether 155 lines of writing in the following order: IB—18, II A—19, II B—20, III A—19, III B—20, IV A—19, IV B—19, VA—19, VB—2. The five plates together weigh 537 tolas while the weight of the ring with the seal is 154 tolas.

The charter was issued by king Rājarāja III (c. 1198-1211 A.D.) of the imperial branch of the Eastern Gaṅga family of Orissa and closely resembles the recently published Nagari plates\(^1\), issued by his son Anaṅgabhima III in 1230-31 A.D., in respect of paleography, orthography and style. The date of our grant is Saka 1120 corresponding to 1198-99 A.D. It was therefore issued about 32 years before the Nagari plates. Rājarāja III was the son of Anaṅgabhima II (c. 1190-96 A.D.) and grandson of the great Anantavarman Chōdagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.). The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it is the only copper-plate charter of the king so far discovered. It is specially interesting in view of the fact that as yet we have copper-plate grants of none of the four sons of Anantavarman Chōdagaṅga, viz. Kāmarāva III (1147-56 A.D.), Rāghava (c. 1156-70 A.D.), Rājarāja II (c. 1170-90 A.D.), and Anaṅgabhima II who was the father and predecessor of the issuer of the present charter.

The introductory part of the record contains seventy verses with a string of personal names between verses 6 and 7 in lines 12-16. This part was copied in the Nagari plates with slight modifications\(^2\) and with the omission of only one stanza (verse 63) in the description of Anaṅgabhima II. The importance of this portion has already been discussed in our article on the Nagari plates. It has to be noted that verse 37 quotes the correct date of Kāmarāva’s accession to the throne as nand-ortu-vyōma-chandara-pramīya-Saka-samā-vyāpta-kālē dīntē chāpapthē. This refers to the solar month of Dhanuṣ (Pauṣa) in the Saka year 1069 corresponding to 1147 A.D. While editing the Nagari plate, verse 8 was taken to speak of Sarapura as the original name of Kōlāhala, capital of the mythical prince Kōlāhala Anantavarman. But the correct reading of the passage Sarapura-cha tadiyām seems to be as cha puraṇ-cha tadiyām. This says that both

\(^1\) Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235 ff.

\(^2\) Some of the mistakes that crept into the transcript of the Nagari plates published above may be corrected with the help of the transcript of the present epigraph.

(249)
Anantavarman and his capital city became famous under the name Kōlahala but does not refer to the original name of the city.

The grant portion of the inscription begins in line 122. Lines 122-27 state that, on the occasion of a solar eclipse in the Śaka year 1120, king Rājarāja III, apparently when he was staying at Śrī Purushottama-kahētra on the shore of the ocean, granted the village of Kōradā or Kōradā in the Āṭṭhāyaśa khaṇḍa (sub-division) within the vīshāya (district) of Śāyilā in Utkalā-dēśa as a rent-free holding in favour of a number of Brāhmaṇas of various gōtras. The grant is stated to have been made for the merit of the king’s mother Vāghallādevī. It is not impossible that the king and his mother went to Śrī-Purushottama-kahētra (i.e. Puri) on pilgrimage for taking a bath in the holy waters of the Bay of Bengal on the occasion of the eclipse.1 In Śaka 1120 there was only one solar eclipse occurring on Thursday the 28th of January 1199 A.D. The grant, therefore, was made on the said date.

The donees are enumerated in lines 123-46. The names of the Brāhmaṇas are quoted along with their respective gōtra as well as the area of land granted to each of them. Twelve of the Brāhmaṇas received 102 Vāsī of land, each Vāsī measuring about 20 acres. Sixty-two other Brāhmaṇas received one Gṛha-vāsī or house-site each, while a Brāhmaṇa named Dharmū alone received four Gṛha-vāsīs. It is stated that the Gṛha-vāsīs granted to these Brāhmaṇas amounted to fifteen Vāsīs in area. Vidyākārāryya of the Kauśika gōtra was the pāniya-grahī or the principal donee who seems to have received the ceremonial water from the donor on behalf of the donees.2 He received 20 Vāsīs out of 30 Vāsīs of land granted to Vidyanāryya. The details of the grant are quoted below in a tabular form. The last name of the list may be that of the God of Puri.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Donee</th>
<th>Gōtra</th>
<th>Land</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Vidyanāryya</td>
<td>Kāyapa</td>
<td>10 Vāsī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Vidyākārāryya</td>
<td>Kauśika</td>
<td>20 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Budrakārāryya</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>7 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Śīvakārāryya</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>7 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Mādhabakārāryya</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>7 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Naradhīkāyya</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>7 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Haridārāryya</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>7 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Kālavāryya</td>
<td>Haupānyas</td>
<td>10 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Adityāryya</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>10 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Chandrakārāryya</td>
<td>Kāyapa</td>
<td>5 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Nākyanāryya</td>
<td>Bhāradvāja</td>
<td>1 Gṛha-vāsī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Gādādhārāryya</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Nākyapārasāman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Śiddhāvārasāman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Rāmadārāryya</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Gopāvārasāman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 84.
2 See above, p. 113
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Donee</th>
<th>Gōtra</th>
<th>Land</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Dhanakarasārman</td>
<td>Bhāskrāja</td>
<td>1 Gīra-śārī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Donee</td>
<td>Gotra</td>
<td>Land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Pajjumāśārman</td>
<td>Vatsa</td>
<td>1 Griha-vaisya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Triśocharmārya(?)</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Pūrakārkārya</td>
<td>Kaundinya</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Gōvindaśārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Mānhyāśārman</td>
<td>Kapi(?)</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Kēśavaśārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Tantōyajana</td>
<td>Kṛishnārñya</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Kēśavaśārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Jagātēvar-āhitāgni</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Pannāyāśārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Sūryaśārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Purushottamārya</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Dāmōdaraśārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Rāmadēvasārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Padmanābhārya</td>
<td>Gāgga</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Kṛishnaśārman</td>
<td>Vatsa</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Kṛitāśārman</td>
<td>Ghṛitakasika</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Aūkāśārman</td>
<td>Kāśyapa</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Dāmōdaraśārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Dhrītikarāśārman</td>
<td>Vārasagha</td>
<td>1 Vaiś</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Vīyudēvārya</td>
<td>Vatsa</td>
<td>2 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>Kēśavārya</td>
<td>Alavāyana</td>
<td>10 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Dharmu</td>
<td>4 Griha-vaisya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>Śrī-Purushottamādeva</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The concluding part (lines 146 ff.) of the inscription contains the usual imprecatory and beneficatory stanzas, many of which are found in the Nagari plates and other inscriptions of the family. Verse 77 praying for the everlasting fame and prowess of king Rājarāja III is an interesting new stanza. Verse 78, also found in the Nagari plates, states that the prāṣasti was composed by Appa(yya ?)na. This poet therefore adorned the court both of Rājarāja III and of his son Anāṅga-bhima III. Line 154 speaks of the artisan Lōkāyī who engraved the record. The inscription ends with a reference to Kēśavārya of the Ālaṅāyana gotra receiving 10 Vaiṣis of land. The name of this donee was apparently omitted from its proper place through oversight.

As to the geographical names in the grant portion of the record, Sāyiś-vaśaya in Utkaladēśa is the present Sailo Pargana in the Cuttack District of Orissa. Aṭṭhāyisa-khaṇḍa (literally, 'the subdivision of 28 [villages]'), in which the gift village of Kōrada or Kōradā was situated, seems to have formed a part of the Pargana in question. There is a Pargana called Aṭṭhāsi comprising the Konarak region of the Puri District. The inclusion of this in the old
No. 34] DASGABA PLATES OF RAJARAJA III, SAKA 1120

Sāyaḷō vīṣhaya would suggest that the latter extended from the Kathjuri river to the sea. Mr. P. Acharya is inclined to associate Aṭṭhāyis-khaṇḍa with modern Aṭṭhapur in sheet map No. 73/L4.

TEXT


First Plate

1 Siddhamā Yā ([*] Lakṣmi-pāda-sarūhu-dvayam-adāh śrēyānī(śānī) dāsināta vaḥ prasphūrijan-nahma-rasmi-kēsara-saṭam bhāvah-nahk-āli-dalam(ām)
2 vispaṭaṁ pratiṇaṁ(hi)bhaṭa prāmanamaṁ kriś-āparādh-ōdbhavaṁ Kriśnō yan-nahma-diptiṣaḥ bhūramaratiṃ-dhātā sa [La*]kṣmi-priyaḥ || [*] Kahi
3 r-āvhit(hē)ṁ-mmathitā-sur-āsura-γaṇaṁ prādurbhaṁvantī Ramā Śambhu-Vra(Bra)-hma-Purandāra* prabhūta-kṛittiḥ-sva-api paśyāntiṣ Amvu(m)buḷjaṇābha-
4 m-śaṁ-aviṁś-thā-lōka-tray-āhladāmaṁ bhṛṅg-āli sahakāram-eti hi vanō phullā(śē)-nya-śākhiṇī-api || [*] Tam-nāihu-sarasī-ruḥ-ōdbhava-
5 Vidhaṛ-Aŭtrivva(r-bba)bhu-vā-āmutaś-Chandraś-chandrikaśa prakāśiṣaṅjata-saṁbhū-
6 tākā(vā)n-netrataḥ | trailōkya-ga(r)an-aṅga-ṅa-dakṣha-timira-grāśťaṁ-aśa
7 ṇyē-pi yo lakṣma-vyājī datah-temaṁ prati-vapuṁ sūryy-ādhipā-nirmmaḷaḥ || [*] Śrīvē-
8 (dē)vi-sōdaṁvad-amṛta-sahastāyā Kalpa-vraṁah-ā
9 bh[ū]j(n)[u]jati[vā][*]lōk-āṇandaṁ vidhāta timira-śīha-haraḥ sarvva-dēv-aṅka-ḥēgyaḥ | tat-tat-sahsargā-lōbhke-tad-anugata-γunāṁ av-āṅga-nishtiṁ dha-
10 dhanāṁ eva[sa]ṁ-tnaṁ-nirmmaḷatvaṁ jagati vi[jayate da]sāyan-nūnum-induḥ || [*] Vanē-
11 (Vamśē) taya nrip-eṣvarāḥ samabhavan-γēṣhāṁ gunāṁ-chhaṁda-
12 saḥ prōṭpūrmāḥ iva yat-purāṇa-pathagās-tatr-āpi nō sammitāḥ || tat-tat-kāya-pathaṁ
13 ārītaṁ-tri-bhuvanam-mūrṭtinā dādahāṁ i-
14 va bhṛṃynyant-īsva(va) sa-chētāṇāṁ śrutī-gīthē viśrayaṁ viśrayaḥ cha || [*] Praty-ēkāṁ
15 śaśi-vanāsaḥ-bhu-pāḥ-bhūja-vyāpā-sāṅkirttanaṁ ka-
16 rtuṁ-kāḥ kaviṁ-labhē ṭaḥ(vah)u-mukhō yatrī-Arijunasy-aiva hi | dōr-ddaṇḍā-[a*] jīja-kṛitti-
17 varṇaṇaḥ paramā tad-Bhūratāṁ prābhāvat-tasāṁ-ābhavā-mātra-
18 m-śādi-nṛpaṁt(t)i-śrēṇi-kramā-līhyatē || [*] tatāḥ hi Chandrād-Vu(d-Bu)dhaḥ | Vu(Bu)dhaḥ-Puṛṇaravāḥ | tasmād-Āyuh | tatō Nahiṣṭāḥ | tatō Yāyātī [i*]
19 tatah(ta)ṁ-Turvvāvaḥ(suḥ) | tatō Gāṅgīyaḥ | tatō Viścanaḥ [*] tat-σaτaḥ Samvē-
20 (Sanvē)dvāḥ | tatō Bhāsvan | tatō Dattasaṅrāḥ [*] tatah

1 From impressions and the original plates.
2 Expressed by symbol.
3 The Nagari plates read prōṭphullā.
4 The Nagari plates wrongly read sammaṭāṁ.
5 The Nagari plates read patāḥ-srīṭi-tri-bhuvanā.
6 The Nagari plates have khaṇḍatē kaiṣaṁ.
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SAUMYAH | TATÖ-NUSUDATTAPA | TATAH SARRAOGANAH | TASMACH-CHITRAUGADAH \[\star\] TAT-SANUHP

SARDHAVAJAH | TATÖ DHARMAWAISH | TATÖ PA-

RIKSHITA(KSHIT) | TATÖ JAYASAENAH | TAT-SUTOPI JAYA(YAJSA(SA))NAH | TATÖ VRIHADHVAJAH \[\star\]

TATAH JAKTHI | TATAH PRAGALBHAH | TATAH KOLAH-

HALAHA SA EVANANTAVARMAM-ABHAVATA(VAT) || DHANANA-KANAKA-SAAMRIDDHO GAUGAVADHIH PRASII-

DDHAH SAKALA-VISHAYA-BHUSHAH SVARGGA-BHOG-OPABHOGYA-

\[\star\] TAD-ADHIHATI-ATHV-ADHYO-NANTAVARMAHMA NIPIP-INDRABH SAMABHAVAD-ITI RUDHAVHA GAUGA-NAMNAH TAD-ADHYAY \[\star\] KOLAHALAH SAMARA-MUSHI\[\star\] JHANI

TATÖ NIPIPAMAH BHUTOS YATAHA SA CHA PRAH-CHA TADAYAM-ATRA | KOLAHALAH-ÁHYAYAM-ABHUT-SURA-

SADMA-TULKAM AH TSMIN-KRA-

SECOND PLATE, FIRST SIDE

MEKH PATHIBHR-VVAA(R=BB)AHUBHIR-VVAA(R=BB)BHUV\[\star\] RAIYAH(JYA)-AKI-HIRI MÁRAISH-

[BA\[\star\]] NIPITAPA YIYASHTHI KIM-ATRA-ĀSAH AH DORDAA-DĀJJITA-ĀHUTAL-ŌTITHI RĀMĀ KA-

IYO-GRAH-ĀRANDINAH KIN-NA SYĀNA VAHYAAH BUHJ-ĀSI-LATIKA SAMVE(SAMVE)HATI-,AMI

VARIJAH [\[\star\]] KASTH-ĀRAYAMS-YAAH CHA KIRI-LATIKA DYAAH NAAH SAM-

ROHAT \[\[\star\]\] BHRAMAYADBHR-VIJYJAYAYA SKI(KSHI)TITALEHAH KV-ŚI DHISHAD-VANDITAH KV-ŚI

DVĒPI DVĒPIKU-KULA-PRAMĀTVIBHR-ŚI PRATIŚHAR KALI-

AGH KILA | TAIH KĀMĀRPAVAMA-PÅNVAMAHI [\[\star\]] NIPIM-VARAY-YYUDDHĀH KALIYAH SAMAH

PRĀPTAYA [\[\star\]] DRASHH(AHTE)M-IV-ĀRPAVĀD-UDAGAMAH KĀMĀM-ĀVĀTAR HARIH \[\[\star\]\]

KURMA-SVĀMINI SĀKHSHIYA TRINAYANĀ TSMIN-MAHĀNRAH GAT'E GOKARPĀH-PI MAHŌDHAH

VIYAY VĀ SĀRYE TATHA-ĪNDVĂ-ŚI KĀ

LINGIM BHUVAM-ĀHARAD-BHUJA-V(A)HAAHAN-SHGAHUHTĀH-ANRAJ-LAKSHMUM-CHRŌ-ŚTHE-ASTH

KHĀ STOTTI-VVADĀTA ALI GAUG-ĀNVAYASS-ĀHAVĀH \[\[\star\]\] TATR-ĀŚID-VANCHI VANIŚA-

KARTT-ĀSAU KĀMĀRPAVAMA-MAHĪPATIH YASYA-SAITĒ PUTRA-PRAUTAD-ĀYĀ RAAJAH KHYATI-VIKRAM-

MĀJH \[\[\star\]\] ŚAŚT-ĀRTHAM NISHITHAMATIR-DVĪ-

SHAD-AHNTA-KĀRI SARVĀ-ĀRTHI-VARGGA-PARĪTOHANA-HŪTUR-EKHAH | ĀCHĀRATÖ-ŚI MUNI-PUṆGAAH MAHAA-

MVAAHĀH-CĀHRI TASMĀD-AHBUH-ŚI NYĀRPAVARO

BHUVI VAIJRAHAHAT \[\[\star\]\] NA NAMANTA KĒVALAM-ARTHĀT-ŚI ŚA VAIJRA-HASTAS-TRIKALIYAA-

NĀTHAH K VAIJRAHAHAT-ŚA-

PAH PRĪTHIVYĀM VAIJRAH PATAD-VARAYITUH SAMAR'THĀH \[\[\star\]\] VAJJPEGAH-KA-HAA-

OTTAMASYA VYĀSADH ĆIK-CHHRAVELÉ ŠASI-

PRĀDHYĀT-ŚI MALAUNA VASYA BHUVANA-PRAHLĀDA-SAMPĀDINĀ | SINDHĀRAI-SANTI-PĀNKA-PĀTA-

LAH KUMOHA-SṬHĀL-ŚA-

\[\[\star\]\] THE NAME INTENDED SEEMS TO BE ṢRĪNADATTAPA AND NOT ṢRĪNADATTAPA AS FOUND IN THE NAGARI PLATES AND ELSEWHERE.

\[\[\star\]\] THE SAME READING WAS APPARENTLY INTENDED IN THE NAGARI PLATES.

\[\[\star\]\] THE NAGARI PLATES READ SVARPI-SVARPĀ-PĀBHAKYAYAH.

\[\[\star\]\] THIS READING SHOULD BE ADOPTED IN THE NAGARI PLATES ALONG.

\[\[\star\]\] THE NAGARI PLATES HAVE KRI-ŚA-DEŚAMAD-ŚAYĀS.

\[\[\star\]\] READ DRAVSHE FOR DVARPĀPI.

\[\[\star\]\] THE ÁKāRA WAS ORIGINALLY OMITTED.

\[\[\star\]\] READ KĀṬRA-ĀRTHA.

\[\[\star\]\] THE NAGARI PLATES READ KETHA-VARGGA.

\[\[\star\]\] THE NAGARI PLATES READ PRĀYIŚA."
DASGOBA PLATES OF RAJARAJA III. SAKA 1120—PLATE I

Scale: Four-ninths
30 tšakeh-šášimpanti puna[h] punaš-cha haritám-ādhāranā váraṇāna(nān) || [15*] Mahahli Našgama tasya Párvat-i viva Pánikināh | tasmā-ta-
31 syām-abhūd-virō [Rā]*jāri[a]jó mahipatiḥ || [16*] Sa Rājāri[a]jó dvijarāja-kāntir-bhujaṅga-
rajājñāna-varṇyā-kā(k)rē̃tiḥ | śrīmattay-ādhāḥ-krīta-
32 [Rājā]*kājāh sva-vikrama-nyakkrīta-Dēvarājāh || [17*] Tasya-āgра-mahishi rájñō nāmnā yā Rājasundarā | Lakshmīr-Nārāyanaśya-śeva Chā-
33 ndraṣṭeva cha Rōhiñī; [18*] Tatas-tasyām-abhūd-dēvasā Chōdāngāgo nar-ēśvaraḥ | kshō[n]iḥ brhiṣṭa(d)inda-viçehītya(ya) dīv-Indrāy-kutiṣ̃am yatāḥ
34 || [19*] Dāṭrī tasya Sarasvatī samabhāvan-nūnan-na chēt-पितावंśa-tat-sārasvatam =
ārīya-vā(b)alakatamāḥ śrī-Chōdāngāgaḥ payaḥ | tādṛi-
35 g-Vēda-matī katham nipunatā śāstrēśu tādṛka-katham tādṛka-kāvyā-kritiḥ katham pariṇāt[i]ḥ;* sīlēḥu tādṛika-katham(tham) || [20*] Kshōniḥ
36 dikpālā-kēśhām-ayam-ākrīta pada-dvandvam-ētasya vairī-kshāmābhīr-chūḍā-ārīy-āptāṃ stutir-vitcit kāvyaḥ Chōdāngā-gośva[ra]sya | nū-
37 rāni pūrṇāṇa sudhānīśu pari-nripa-dhavala-chohātara-vu(b)udhy-āpahartā mām-īty-
āṅgasya vīrōdiññu tyajati yata iva trata-chhāta pravirā-

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Second Plate, Second Side

38 t || [21*] Gṛbhañī aṁ karāṁ bhūmeś-Ggaṅga-Gautamaṅgāṅgayoḥ | madhye paśyatsu
vīrōdhu praurdaḥ praurda-striyā iva || [22*] Pratibhaṇa-ka-
39 [ra]*-śastra-vyāhata-sv-āṅga-niryyad-rudhiram-avani-nadihan-nā hāvēś-yāvad-ēva; | nijā-
kara-bhṛita-śastra-chohānnaḥ-bhinn-āṅgaḥ-ētān-srīkṛita dharaṇī-
40 śayyān(yuṣan) dvarvāyuddhēśu Gaṅgaḥ || [23*] Yat-tējaḥ-paribhūta-satra-nagara-prōd-
bhūta-dhum-ōṅga(d)mañ̄iḥ-bhūyā Khaṅdaṇa-dāhā-saṅk-ī_manasā dēvaḥ kṣa-
41 rāṇ bhīravaḥ ||(i) svar-ṇipātād-asī-dhārayā ripu-gaṇḍād-vṛttātām-ākārṇya ća prō[brau]
ōṁ-tasya νuṇvātī Gaṅga-nripāṭer-bhītāṃ vihāya dhrvama(vam) || [24*]
42 Krōḍhā(ḥ-ō)dy[a(d)*]-dvīpa-mēgha-vrindī mada-śrō(śṛ)[t]vasaṭ(ti)-durggam āchācha-
[†*]-khaṅgad-tati(d)īt-prabhavati nāmaṇ(dan)-nārāchā-va[j]r[†*]-ōdayē [†*] mat-sainīyā jalad-
āṅga[ma*]-pra-
43 tīniḍhau jētuṁ pravarttēha kāb || śūrē-pā(p)āṭi vadaṁ-Thīṭhān-vaṅkhor-vaṛa(vār-bha-
dhō-munā saṁ(e)ṣaigare || [25*] Nirmamathāy-Ōṭkāla-rāja-śindhum-apa-
44 Gaṅga-śvaṇ[va]raḥ prāptavān-e-kā[ḥ] prīṭta(rtti)-sūdhamārān prithvamaṁ loḵhmāṁ-
dhārayā samāṁ (mam) | māyaḍ-danti-saṅhāraṇa(m)ā-sāva-nilvuten
45 rāṇah Kaṅgā-śvaṇ(a)raḥ prāptavān-e-kā[ḥ] prīṭta(rtti)-sūdhamārān prithvamaṁ loḵhmāṁ-
dhārayā samāṁ (mam) | māyaḍ-danti-saṅhāraṇa(m)ā-sāva-nilvuten
[†*] prāṣadam Pura[ruh]bhōttama naṁ nripaṭiḥ ko nā-
47 ma karttuṁ khaṣma[ma*]ta-sasyāty-ṣāya-nripair-upēkhitam-ayaṁ chakṛē-tha Gaṅg-śva-
raḥ || [27*] Lakṣhm-jaṁna-gṛbhaṇa paṭayōni-

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1 The Nagari plates read goriva-vi-chhāta.
2 The Nagari plates offer a slightly different reading.
3 The dṛđa is superfluous.
4 This visarga is of a peculiar form and may have been intended by the writer for the jīvātmanya. But see ji ne 189 below.
48 dhīra-asaqasambhāvitasya sthitir-nnā dhāmni svasu(āvasu)rasaya pūjyata iti kahir-āvadhī-
(bdi)-vāsā(dā)-dhruvam'(van) nirvīṇīqah Purushō-
49 ttamaḥ pramuditas-tad-dhāma-labhād-Ram-āpy-ētad-bhṛtri-grhīnā varanā pitri-grhītā-
prāpya pramōḍ-ānviṭā || [28*] Tvaṁ

50 [Kūḷrmm-ādhipa nīchala tvam-āpi bhō vyā-śandha dhairyyaṁ vaha tvā[rū*] prithvi sitrā-
tām-bhaja tvam-ādihaṇā vṛa'(bra)[hmā]la[da] dyā(gā)dhān bhava | śṛ-Gū(Γa)ṅg-ā-
51 dhipa-va(va)ddha-sinīva-visarad-ghōṣājī-śādāda-vyāpinī diṇ-nāgāhāh bhayāch-čalatsu-
javati kampētā vā yat-kramat || [29*] Āra-

52 myā-nagarat-kalāṇgaja-va(ba)la-pratyagrat-bhagn-āvriti-prākar-ārpaṇa-tōraṇa-prabhri-
tītyō(tō) [Ga]ṅgā-ṃaṇḍatānta-taṭaḥ | Pṛth-āstra-
53 r-ṛṣuṭhi jārjarikrita-namad-Rādhēya-gaṭr-ākritir-Mandār-ādri-patir-ṛgatō raṇa-bhuvō-
Gaṅg-ēsvār-ānudratāḥ || [30*] Vra(Bra)hmā-

54 nāḍāvā(d-sa)hṛ-saṣṭa kirtti-pa[yu]va(sa) liptan-na vā bhāvinē daṭṭha prāthī-gaṇya-
hema-nichayaḥ saṅkalpin(u) & va(ba)hu(ḥ)(ḥ))
55 nirdagdha-ārī-pava(pru)ṣa-ṛṣaḥ bhāvīta-ra(na)vas-tasya pratāpavṛt<rṇa>(rṇa) vā kin[n-ānaya-
[15*] kritavān-asaqas tuti-padiha śṛ-Čoḍaṅgaṅ-ēsvāraḥ || [31*]

56 Varhaṁnāḥ saptatitaṁ virāḥ kehoṁ-sambhōgam-ācharat | diṇ-nāyakān-prathāhān-vidhāy[j]
āśāmuḥ(su) sarvva-
57 taḥ || [32*] Kṛṣṇa praptā mahisī tāpoḥhir-astulāḥ śṛ-Čoḍaṅgaṅeṇa sā dévai-stutya-
gunaṁ-vibhāṣaṇ-vapuḥ Kā-

Third Plate, First Side

58 stūrikāmādinī | n-ā-Viḍhābh prithivipatitiḥ prabhavyatītīṣaśmin-Harausau bhuvō rakṣ-
̄ārthaṁ dhiṣṭa-jannani svavam-asaqasa Lakṣhmī prasūt-ā śātvā vā || [33*]

59 Taśyān-tatś-jāni jagat-tritayā-aike-virāḥ Kāmārṇpavasāng-tri-jāt(Testa)ś-eka-vadānāḥ śaḥḥ-
ḥ ||(ḥ) śūryaḥ pratā-

60 pa-vibhāvēna jagat-prasiddhāḥ(ddha)-kṛtāh(rūr) śāśāṁkam-adharikritavān-viśuddhyāḥ ||
[34*] Gaṅg-śa-sūnār-vvivav(bu)dha-āṛaya-

61 sva driyyad-dvisha-rvasa(vanās/sa)-vibhṛdi-saktēḥ ||[15*] Kāmārṇpavasyāśa Kūmārakatvāṁ
nāmaṁtāḥ kēvalam-arthatō-pi || [35*]

62 Prāpy-ōdayāṁ śaśāksaya vardhaḥ[mūn] nāma vārīdhīḥ | vardddhatē kirtti-chandrā-yānam
chitarat Kāmārṇpav-ō(ayēj)dayē || [36*] Nānda-ārtyu-

63 vyāma-chandra-pramaṇya-śaṅka-sāmā-paṭpita-kālō dīnesa chāpasthē-sya-grahag-sahgeś
va(ba)lavati rityduḥ prakṣhayāḥ prāpta-

64 vatau [15*] asminī-mūrdhābhimśatē ṃṛīpa-vara-tanayē sarvva-lōk-aike-nātē śrīmaṇ(t)-
Kāmārṇpav-śeṣa jagad-ahbhadd-idan-tat-tad-ā

* The Nagarī plates have “ghoṣā jāsa”.
* The Nagarī plates read “śuṣṭa which is better.”
* The Nagarī plates have “dattā-sākārṭī”.
* The Nagarī plates read “śīr sā sā”.
* These two aksara are redundant and were penned through by the engraver.
* The aksara “gus” was originally engraved.

The aksara “gus” had been originally omitted and was later inserted,
65 nanda-pūrṇaṁ (ṛṇaṁ) || [37*] Kahār-āroṇavāḍa-ajani chandra-kal-ēti vārttā Kāṁrṇa-
vāt-tu saka-Endu-divaṅkar-ābhaṁ (bham) || [*] kṛtī-śrāvaṁ-mithunāṁ saha-
66 chārī lōkē śāyayati-ahā para-ṛupāṁ-anurāga-sūnyān || [38*] Yasyā-śāi-nil(ṇ)īrdalita-vai-
karinda-kumbha-ni-
67 rmmukta-maukti-kāla-śikhāṁ asirg-ukhitaṁ [**] Kāmārṇaṛavaṣya ripu-saṅhati-hēv-
a-kāla-sandhyā-prabh-āpta-bha-ga-
68 ni iva bhānti yuddhe || [39*] Drīpyad-vairi-gharaṁ-mmayā kavalitā n-śivaṁ may-aśvā-
dīt-śtī-anyonyaṁ kalidē
tu nirṛṣaya-vidhau khaḍga-śrāvaṁ-ścucchhayā ||[**] mādyasthyāṁ gamit-ēvaṁ nirmalataṁ-
kṛtīr-yaḍīyaṁ vra(tra) vīmī śločyā-śa mahaddhir-śi-
70 ty-ṛṇaṁ-gatā Dāṭhūḥ ārtiḥ ch-ādarātā(ṛāt) || [40*] Āreṣkhit-sa Hiranyagarbham-āpaṛaiṁ-
lōkaṁ śatēśaṁ pur-ētṛ-śtī-archō yaṁ vivadanta ēvaṁ
71 vadana-ṛatās-tadiyōdhunā [**] kṛuddhōya yat-tu Hiranyagarbham-ākarōt-Kāmār-
ṇavā-śitaṁ saṁpānaṁ janimāṁ jagad-yata iva pratyakṣaṁ.
72 taḥ prāpīnāṁ (nām) ||[**] 41* Sapt-āṁbhōdhin-vahantī kshitiṁ-ati-taralī nāga-kūrmm-
ēvarāgāṁ śāyayān vānchchhaṁ(ḥaṁ)īyān-tad-āpi punar-ayāṁ ka-
73 līpatas-tatra bhāraḥ || [**] Dāṭhū Kāmārṇav-ākhyāḥ sa ca niṇa-tulanāṁ nirjayaṁ-
svaṁpa-bhārāṁ bhūyo bhūyas-tulayāṁ sthitaṁ
ti dharanēr-bhārā-vāṅ(ḥaṁ)ḥ nāyam-āptaṁ-ḥaṁ) || [42*] Ḍṛśṭa-ṣuṣṭa-jaṁ-kārṇaṁ-śīvaj-
janānānaṁ (in) [**] 43* daś-āvdi(m)ākāro-ṛaṁyaṁ Kāmā-
75 ruṇḍavā-mahīpatiḥ || [43*] Śrī-Choḍaṇgaṅga-nipatēr-mmahishī tatō-nāya ēvaṁ Endirā Ravi-
kul-śebhaṁ-ṛaṁ-yuṇtī [**] yādy-āpi Dāṭhū-
76 ruṇḍavā-saṇcāraṁ niṇaṁ svayaṁ svayaṁ(ḥaṁ)vaṁ-dadāna ēva jātā || [44*]
Yad-rūpa-āla-gati-varṇanayā prasiddha

Third Plate, Second Side

77 drihaṁtanta-bhūr-Ggirisutā-ṛtī-āti-vāda-dēśaḥ | n-śaṁty-ēva chanda-ripuṁ-kāma-ḥarō yad-
atra tām-Indirām-udavahāḥ-bhuvī Chī-
78 jāgaṁgaḥ || [45*] Taṣayāṁ tataḥ samajani kshitiṁ-nātha-nāṭhaḥ śrī-Raṅghavāḥ para-dhar-
ēvarāṁ [**] hāraṁ-mardī || yat-pa-
79 ṭṭa-vam(ḥaṁ)dhanaṁ-vidhiśravaṇa-śrāvitaṁ [**] sarvve nṛpiṁ svaḥ śṛi-kampam-avāptavantaḥ ||
[46*] Śrī-Raṅghavē vējaiṁ chitāṁ-ētat-ṭējo-

1 The Nagari plates read "a-kālē.
2 The Nagari plates correctly read "ēva.
3 The Nagari plates read īrukta-śvāṁ or īrutī vēdā".
4 Read "porī lōkē.
5 Ki was originally engraved.
6 The Nagari plates read vivaṁtī ye cha which is better.
7 The Nagari plates read ruddḥō which is better.
8 The Nagari plates read Dāṭhiṁ.
9 The Nagari plates read ēva.
10 The Nagari plates read maṇḍūrhaṁ [m]:
11 The Nagari plates read mṛčāṁ.
12 The Nagari plates read dhanāṁ."
80 vihnaḥ kabhi-t-pāla-vargaprabh [ ] tat-pāda-sēvā-kṛita-dēha-siddhir=mnmātrabhavatvēva sanaśmaṣta śēhaḥ [[47*]]

81 Praṇāḥ-āri-prahati-prakāra-vihita-prāhaṇḍya-sandarbhaṃvat(vad)-dōrddanḍ-ōpamiti- pragalba-vishayah prāg-bhūtvavāṃ=Arjunaḥ [[*]

82 sampratya-āhava-raṅga-sāngata-ripu-ārṇī-ārāh-ka[r*]ttana-krīḍā-sakta-bhujāḥ śar-āsana-bhrātmān chitr-ōpamā Rāghavāḥ [[48*]]

83 Jagati Parāsūramaḥ prāduraśā(d*)-dvitiyaḥ kimu ripu-kula-hantā sv-ājñay-śeṣehannaṃ lōkaḥ | kehti-vitarana-śīkhā
gśa
d
d

84 sakaṭa-bastāḥ pratāpād-āpi4 Daśāsatavā(bā)hur=yyasya śatrur=vvinaśa [[49*]] Bhādā[m*]- bhūdāmarānti-kuṇjara-ghaṭā-śēhā-śeṣaṭṭhāra-paṇī
d

d

85 kāni raśā pāyā[m*] pāyam=asāk-payāṇi va(ba)huhā ārī-Rāghav-āśiḥ kahanāṭa(nā) [[*]] suhvahā.[*]

86 man=vijayate kṛṛti-pratānman paraṃ=chandraṁ chandraṃ(ṇḍri)kayā prapuṃṣatāraya saṁsēvyamān-ākri

87 tu(n)(t)um [[50*]] Durgāśeṣu dāva-dabhanāḥ kehti bhīṣmatu vajrai mādyai(yat)-karindra- gaḥātaṇāu chā simhā śēhaḥ [[*]] vi-

88 dvāha(dvēha)-bhūmipatayo nivasanti yatra ārī-Rāghava-kehti patayät=vvitata-pratāpāḥ [[51*]] Śrī-Rāghava-dhārdhitā

89 saḥ keḥoṇi-nāthā-s(a)i(ā)rōmaṇiḥ | akarōd-ṛāya(i)yu(m=a)yā(bī) nām=uddamā daśa paṃcha ceha chā [[52*]] Taṣya ārī-Chōḍa-

90 gaṅgā-kehi-vataya-patār-vvatsaṇa-saṁ(a)ntānā-vāḷi-kanda-śrī-śanḍalēkṣāḥ sphaṭam= Aditi=iva prāyaś Kaśyapasya [*]

91 tasyām=uddāma-dhāma-khaṇḍita-dinaṃaṇiḥ=jañjinivān=Rājarājō rājanya-kehoṇa-kēlē-tīla-kita-mahima-vyā
d

d

92 pta-dik-chakravālaḥ [[53*]] Taṁsin=d-vijaya-prayaṇa-rasa(a)i(ā)kē saṁrāmbhā-sambhach- chamu=saṁkhunā-kehti-chakra-pāṇu-paṭa-raγmāh

93 ravnatya-amva(mba)rē [[ ]] bhū-saṁsāpa-gṛhṇā-vaśād-dinaṃaṇiḥ=ucchahāiḥ pu(plu)taṁ saṁpaṭhiḥ sv-abhyastānī sura-sindurēṇa10 dharam-

94 paṭe raṣā(d-ō)dhaṭṭanāh(nam) [[54*]] Chōḍagāṇā-nārendrasya sūnur-uddāma-vikramaḥ [[ || ]] Rājarāja iti khyāṭat(a)ṣa=Trikaliṅga-

95 māh-paṭiḥ [[55*]] Viśāma kṛṣṭāyati pragalbha-yaśasi Prālēyaśaila-tvaiḥ yad=yadādṛṣig-abhūd=abhūta-adṛṣṭaṁ santah

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1. The letter is redundant.
2. The Nagari plates wrongly read prachandaṃmanta...e'ahva*.
3. This letter was originally omitted.
4. The Nagari plates have कँडका.
5. Before a, u, v was incised and penned through.
6. Dā was originally engraved.
7. The Nagari plates read ghaṭāḥ.
8. The Nagari plates correctly read vāśā.
9. The Nagari plates read "śī-Rāj."".
10. Read sindurēṇa. There is a cancelled i-mātrā with āv.
96 samākāryatāṁ(tām) dhātri piṭhati līṅgati svar-achalāḥ prāsādāti tvad-yaśō diū-nāthāḥ pratima(mājñi) yasya pa-

Fourth Plate, First Side

97 ritaḥ arasṭhaḥ(shtub) padaiṃ śringati ["56*] ānandaḥ vidadhāti chētani bhavat-kirttir-gguna-grāhinaḥ sūtē dōha-

98 dam=arthinaś-ca manasiṛ śrī-Rājara(rā)ja dhruvaṅ(vam) || ( ) s-eśyam karna-pathaṁ samētya hridaye śalyaṁ-

99 tē vairiṇaḥ svāṁ-Pechhb-ānuvīkhāyaṁāṁ nahi nijō bhāvaḥ kvachid-driṣyāt | [57*] Ėtasyāṁ bhūvi paṅchaviniśa(viniṣa)ti-

100 samāḥ keśaṁ-ārí-lakṣhmi-madaḥ* kṛtvā jīvatas-chāpa-chaṇḍhala-bhujā-dam-bhoḷīr-urvvi-patiḥ [[*] rājaṁ prājya-yāsā-

101 sta(t-s-tu)hāra-kiṇaṇaḥ(na) śrī-nil raśā(sā)d-āsanād=udgachchhat=Pu(n=Pu)rūhāta-gīta-charitaḥ śrī-Rājarjö niṣpaḥ || [58*] Tasya=inujo

102 nripati-raja-padē-bhishiktāḥ sūkti-priyāḥ parimit-ādi-nripa-praṇastīḥ [*] pa(prīthi)hvi-patiḥ kāl-māl(i-l-o)h(jjhi)ta-dharmma-sū-

103 ddhō(ddhaḥ) kārya-keśahmaḥ prabhum=assāv= Āniyaṅkabhīmaḥ || [59*] Ch(VI)r-ādhiṣṭhita-saṅgaṛ-aḍri-śīkhārē sāṅkha-svan-āśasitē k[uṁ(ku)]

104 ntē(ut-o)dbhina-mad-ēbha-kumbha-vigalin-muktd-āvali-pu[ni]jīte [*] harṣaḍ=ugra-nija-pratāpa-dahanē khaḍga-sruṇa(echā) vidvishāṁ

105 rājām-ānana-paṅkajāṇi nripatirdga(r-gga)tv=ānayad=yaḥ śriyaṁ(yam) || [60*] Keblr-āvdhe(bhej)r-aritiḥa sur-āśura-bhujā-vyāpāra-vikshō

106 bhītācch-chaṇḍrasyā-ārddham=abhūt-tad-apy-adhiṣṭayē=Īśanmah=kēaṁ kila | chaṇḍha-[dvā]-

107 tvat-khaḍga-īhārā-jalāj-jñātē=tv=ashta-dig-śvarāṁ=prithu-yaśaḥ-chaṇḍrāḥ samālīngaį || [61*] Yat-prayāṇa-samu-

108 ddbhūtā-bhū-rajah-pūrītē-ś-mva(mba)jec | abhū(d*)-dvirada-rājasya dhūli-mada-ohiṭa tānuḥ || [62*] Śrīnāṭha-pād-āmv(a)ja-chaṇḍhariṣa(ko) di[p]ya(d*)-dvirada-ga-

109 ndha(karindrā-si(m)b)haḥ | Lakṣhm(hi)-hrj(i)d-ākaraṇa-muṇtra-siddhir-unīyaṁ-tvam-āśī-

=Āniyaṅkabhīmaḥ(ma) || [63*] Daśa-varṣhaṇi virō-sau nirjīt-ā-

110 rāti-maṇḍalaḥ | Anāgabhīma-bhūpālō dharitraḥ samapālayat || [64*] Prauṅ-ānāgar-ga-

vikramah kula-grihaṁ

111 yō danda-niti-śrīyaḥ|| saty-āchāra-vichāra-chāru-charitah punyē(ṇy-ai)ka-shā(pā) rāyaṇaḥ |

| tasya=inś=īd=A-

112 na(ni)yaṅkabhīmaḥ-nripatēr-arddha-āṅga-lakṣmiṁ ska(sva)yāṁ s[n]ēhasy-ātiśayīna paṭṭa-

mahishā Vāghalha-

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1 The Nagari plates read as-manasi.
2 The Nagari plates wrongly read as-dhīm-tāh.
3 Elsewhere we have keśmaṇḍa-lakṣhmi-ākaraḥ.
4 The Nagari plates correctly read *amritāt.
5 The Nagari plates read *dāhīla-rajah-sampūrītē.
6 This stanza is not found in the Nagari plates.
7 The dosā is superfluous.
Fourth Plate, Second Side

116 t-kara-nikara-gunah(ka)* ayuta-sandram* prayag(o|e) visirraha karuha-tal-ashibhe(hi)-r=avirat-onmatta-sinha-gajana(na)m-sa-

117 shtanam dig-gajana=mukha-pata-tulanam-adadh dhulijalana(lam) [67*] Yasmin=sasati saksit-arikarain* sa-

118 myak=amudr-avma(mba)rañ prithviva-prithiva-prangave naya-gunah sr-arjaraj nepe | chakram=Madhava eita taikshnya-

119 m=shikam kaukabiyaka chintanam sastri-abhyasa-vithau Vidhau cha jagata kale Kal(ihe) aryatot [68*] Yat-kirtta=lugdha-ja-

120 lai (dhre)=bhuvan=antarala=sa[mh*]plavya durataram=unsa[chhaha]litasya bhanti | taraga[hm*] sphiuta=rochch gagan sa-

121 mantans(t-s)ksham=tiukshma-tarala iva viprashas-te [69*] Tyag= sauryy= cha satyo cha Karan-Arijuna-Yadishthirai-

123 st-gun-alamkrita=liganta-viranta=visali=kirttir-Adite-iva eva=matu=ari=Vaghalladevyah puny-ya-

124 bhuvriddhy=arthama Ska�vad(bo) vinasa(vinasa)ty-adhik-alakada=satat(ta)tam=ari=Parvatemadama=kshama[ksha]tr=sa=gar=tiiru=

125 ryy=oparage Utkala=de= Sathy=visayah Atihaysa=kananda Kaurad=akha=grama=sa=jala-

126 shtala=khethra[m*] sa-machchhya(taya)-kachchhapa[m*] sa-vijap=varam=pu(pu)rvv-siddha=chau=am=avitan=nam=toghe-

127 bhyya Vra(Bra)hma=sphyaha dhaur-purvavama-cha=chand-arik=opabhog=arkikritya pra-dtta(dita) =atra Vra(Bra)hma=nam=nam=

128 ni likhyant= [K]A(k)ayapa-gotra= Viddanaryya= tinasa(=trimsa)d-vathy-adhikari [*] etan=madhyya Kusik-gotra=

129 Vidyaksararyy vinasa(vanasa)ti-vathy-adhikari [*] Rudrakararyya= Sivakararyya= Madhava=vararyya= Narasinhaha-

130 ryya Har(ri)hararyya ete pratyekan sapta=sapta-vathy-adhikari= [*] ete Kusika-gotra [*] Kesava(vathy=da)=vathy-adha(dhi)
No. 34] DASGOBA PLATES OF RAJARAJA III, SAKA 1120  

Fifth Plate, First Side

135 Kriṣṇaśayavā Kāmadēva[sa]jārnā Viśnuyajavā Vṛ(ṇu)dhaśārmā Gāḍādharaśārmā Kāmadēvaśārmā Cāṇḍōśaśārmā ete Kāśyapa-gotraḥ [[*] [Ana]-

136 ntasamna[rm]a Rādhicara-gotraḥ [[*] Padmakārāryaḥ Bhūgaya Viśnudharaḥ Vṛ(ṇu)maśārmāṃ Vāṇkāśārmāṃ katu Kauśika-gotraḥ [[*] Gāḍā-

137 dharāryaḥ (Chandrasa[sa]jārnā[rm]a Kālośaśārmāṃ ete Kriṣṇāṭṛāya-sagotraḥ [[*] Suṣjāya[ī]-yaṣajā[ī] Dēvapaladārmāṃ eto(tau) Kuddalaka-gotrō(trau) [ ]

138 udgātri Purushottamaśārmā Harisārmā Harharasārmā Paṇjūnasaśārmā Trilōcchā-


140 Jagēvara-āhtānuḥ Paṇnayisārmā Sujāyisārmā Purushottamāryaḥ Dāmoḍarāṣaṃmā Rāmadēvaśā[rma]ṃ

141 [tē] Kriṣṇāṭṛāya-gotraḥ [[*] Padmānābhāryaḥ(Rāyaḥ) Gārge-gotraḥ [[*] Kṛṣṇa(a-hna)-

142 kā-mō(gō)traḥ [[*] Abīśaśārmā Dāmoḍaraśārmā etu Kāśyapa[sa]gotraḥ [[*] Dhīritkara-


144 trō dvi-vāṭya-ahikā[ri] [[*] Dharmā-ṇāmō(mnō) griha-vāya-chaṭasa[raḥ] [[*] griha-vāṭi-

145 vāṭi-parima[(mi)tā [[*] tatra Viḍyākārāyaḥ pāṇiya-grāhi [[*] śri-Purushottamādēvāya ēka grihā[ti] [[*]

146 Mad-dāna-phala-siddhy-artha[d-ka]h[ha]-phala-siddhyā[ ] mad-dharmmāḥ paripāyō-

147 la[sa]kā tē para-dattā-eti pārthiva | sa[va]-dattād-adhikāh punyāḥ para-dattā-ānupāland[am]-

148 ta[śa]-rakṣa Yuddhāshṭhiraḥ bhūmiḥ dēva-dvijānāṃ dānāḥ-chh[ē]jyō-nupāland[am](nam) [[*] Sva-dattām para-dattā[īt]a[na] [ ] yō harīṭa vasu-

1 The name is doubtful but may be Trilōcchārya. The visera looks like the one in line 44 above.
2 Originally post was engraved. The intended reading may be Kōpi.
3 Originally it was engraved and cancelled and it was separately incised. This it was later changed to it.
149 ndharāṁ(rāṁ) | sa. viṣṭhāyāṁ krimir-bhūtāṁ pitṛbhūbhāḥ(bhiḥ) saha pach(chya)tas | [74*]
Nirjala śrāntarē dēśē suṣhka-kōṭara-vāsinaḥ | krishṇa-

150 sarpa hi jāyantē vra(bra)hmādmēy-āpahārakāh | [75*] Gām=ekāṁ svarmam=ekath vā bhūmēr-apya-ardham=āṅgulain(lam) | haran=narakam=āpaṁ- 

151 ti yāvavā(dā)-bhūta-samplavāṁ(vam) | [76*] Yāvad=Gā(m)ri-Mahēśau jagad-adhikara- 
raṇam yāvad-avdhau(bdhau) pranāshaṁthau(hriśtau) Latyāḥ[(kṣaṁu]-)Paṅkērahākṣau 

152 dyuti-divasa-pati yāvad-ētau vibhātaḥ | va(vā)g-arthaḥ yāvad-āptau bhuvana-niyaminaṁ 

153 vat-kīrtti-pratāpau jagati viya(ja)chāhāya)taṁ Rājarājasya rājāh | [77*] Tasya-ajñayā 

     yathā-jhānām Gaṅ-gānvaya- gaṇā-

    Fifth Plate, Second Side

154 n=prati | prāsastiti-rasahnāḥ(nā)-slōkāṁ-Appanaḥ kṛtavān-kriti | [78*] | | silpina Lēkāyin- 

     ñkinnam=iti [11*] Ālamvā(la)nvīyana-gō(traḥ) 

155 *Ki(Kē) śavāryyō daśa-vāty-adhikāri |

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1 The name may also be Ayyana. The reading of the same name in the Nagari plates requires modification.
2 There is a small dot between the double daśas.
3 This line begins from about the middle of the previous line.
DASGOBA PLATES OF RAJARAJA III, SAKA 1120—PLATE III

SEAL

(from a Photograph)
No. 35—KURUD PLATES OF NARENDR, YEAR 24

(M 1 Plate)

MORESHWAR G. DIKSHIT, RAIPUR

The accompanying copper-plate grant, published here for the first time, was found by a farmer while ploughing his field at Kurud, about 27 miles north-east of Raipur, in the Tahsil and District of Raipur in Madhya Pradesh. It was brought to the notice of Mahant Lakshmi Narayan Das, President of the Mahakoshala Congress Committee, Raipur, who subsequently passed it on to Shri M. P. Dwivedi, Deputy Commissioner, Raipur, for acquisition under the Treasure Trove Act. It was through the kindness of the latter that I secured the grant for decipherment and I am obliged to him for kindly acceding me permission to edit it in this journal. The plates have since been purchased by the Department of Archaeology, Madhya Pradesh, and are at present preserved in the Mahant Ghasidas Memorial Museum at Raipur.

The charter consists of a set of three copper plates, each measuring 5 9" broad and 3 2" high, secured by means of a circular ring passing through holes in the left margin of the plates. The ends of this ring are soldered into the socket of a seal, about 2 8" in diameter, which has on its countersunk surface the figure of Gaja-Lakshmi, standing on a lotus, with two elephants pouring water over her from pitchers held in their upraised trunks. In the topmost portion of the seal appear the figures of the sun and the moon, represented respectively by a small pellet and a crescent. A double line in the centre divides the seal into two compartments, the lower of them containing the legend in two lines, in raised characters in low relief. The seal was apparently cast from a mould. The weight of the plates, together with the seal and the ring, is 66 futas.

The inscription consists of 21 lines of writing, of which five each appear on the second side of the first plate and both sides of the second while the remaining six lines are engraved on the first side of the third plate. The first side of the first plate and the second side of the third are blank.

The characters are of the box-headed variety of the Central Indian Alphabet, assignable to the fifth century A.D. and commonly noticed in the copper-plate grants of the Sarabhapura kings, and resemble closely those of the Pipardula plates in having less angular forms. The language is Sanskrit and, with the exception of the legend occurring on the seal and the imprecatory verses at the end of the charter, the whole inscription is in prose. As regards orthography, it may be noted that śi takes the place of subscript ri in some cases (cf. lines 7-8). The consonants are sometimes doubled in conjunction with r.

The charter was issued by king Narendra from his camp of victory at Tilakṣāvaka on the 26th day of Vaiśākha in the 26th year of his reign. The legend on the seal indicates that this Narendra was the son of Sarabha who had 'conquered the earth with the sharp edge of his sword'. The charter was issued in confirmation of an earlier grant made by the deceased father of the king. It is addressed to the residents of the village of Kālavaka, situated in the Chullāḍāstraṇa dēpas (or in the dēpas bordering on Chullāḍa) and states that the village was granted by the deceased king to one Bhārutasvāmin or Bhārutasvāmin belonging to the Dhārāni gōra, after taking a bath in the Gaṅgā, for his own religious merit and was registered by a charter written

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1 IHQ. Vol. XIX, pp. 130-48 and Plates.
2 [The suggestion is unsupported by the language of the record. See below, p. 267.—Ed.]
3 This name is spelt as Bhaṭrāsa in line 5 and Bhaṭrāsa in line 9.
on tāla leaves. This charter was burnt in the course of a conflagration in the donee’s house; but it was known to the secretariat that the village continued to be enjoyed by the donee unhindered.\(^1\) King Narēndra confirmed the grant to Śāṅkhavāmin, son of Bhāśrutavāmin, by means of a charter incised on copper plates, together with all the rights such as bhōga, bhāga, dānaya and hirāνya, for the increase of the religious merit of his deceased father\(^2\). The dūtsaka of the grant was the secretariat itself.\(^3\) The record was engraved by one Śrīdatta or Datta.

King Narēndra, son of Śarabhā, is already known to us from his Pipardula plates issued in his 3rd regnal year. The present charter, issued in his 24th regnal year, indicates that he had a fairly long reign. Neither the Pipardula plates nor the present inscription give any pedigrees and the ruler is mentioned with the simple title Mahārāja. The legend appearing on the seal of both the records says that Narēndra was the son of Śarabhā who was perhaps the founder of the Śarabhāpura dynasty. It is also noteworthy that the Gaja-Lakshmi motif is common to the seals of the grants issued by the kings of this family and this may go in favour of assigning Narēndra as our record to the Śarabhāpura dynasty. The editors of the Pipardula copper-plate inscription have rightly suggested that Śarabhā mentioned in the legend on his son’s seal is probably no other than Śarabhārāja, the maternal grandfather of Gopārāja who died at Eran in 510 A.D.\(^4\)

The only point of interest in the present inscription is the reference to the original charter which is said to have been written on tāla leaves and was later confirmed by the present document. There are many instances of older grants being renewed or confirmed by subsequent rulers; but this is probably the only instance, so far noticed, where it is expressly stated that a charter was written on tāla leaves.

Kurud, where the plates were found, is hardly 27 miles from Raipur and about 8 miles north of Arāṅg, both of which are known to be the findspots of charters belonging to the Śarabhāpura dynasty. The present plates again support the conclusion drawn by the editors of the Pipardula plates that the rule of this dynasty was mostly confined to the environs of Raipur and that their capital Śarabhāpura probably lay in the neighbourhood of Sirpur.\(^5\) In the excavations at Sirpur, a small gold coin of king Parśannamātra was found in the lowest stratum which was superimposed by buildings attributed to the Pādhava kings. This also shows the early associations of the Śarabhāpura kings with Sirpur which is hardly 3 miles from Kurud on the opposite bank of the Mahānadi. Knowing these details, it is clear that the river Ganges, mentioned in the present record, can only be the Mahānadi which is one of the most important rivers in the region. It would be improper to connect it with the famous river Ganges.\(^6\)

Tilākōśavara, where the king was camping at the time of making the grant, cannot be identified with certainty. There is a likelihood of its being some celebrated temple in the vicinity of Kāśavaka, probably the small village Keshawa standing on the bank of a nullah bearing the same name about

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1 [The words of the inscription have not been taken here literally in the analysis of the contents. See below.—Ed.]
2 [See below.—Ed.]
3 [The mention of the adhikāvayu as the dūtsaka of a charter is rare in inscriptions.—Ed.]
5 IHQ, Vol. XIX, p. 144.
6 The detailed results of these excavations conducted in 1933-35 on behalf of the University of Saugar and the Department of Archaeology, Government of Madhya Pradesh, are now under publication.
7 For a river called Gāṅga on account of its sanctity, see the Paithan and Purushottampuri plates of Yādava Rāmaśandara, where the Gōdvārī is styled as Gāṅga. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 217-18; above, Vol. XXV, p. 308. [If all the rivers are called Gāṅga, their individual names become meaningless. The Gōdvārī has been called Gāṅga because one of its names was Gautama-gāṅga (cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 251, text line 37; note also its other names Gautami, Gautama-sambhava, etc.). The Mahānadi could hardly have been called Gāṅga without any qualification. See below, p. 267.—Ed.]
KURUD PLATES OF NAÑENDRA, YEAR 24

Scale: Four-fifths
SEAL

(from a photograph)
5½ miles to the south-east of Mahasamund in the Tahsil of that name.¹ Chullāda-sīma-bhōga, by which the adjoining district or division was indicated, appears to be represented by modern Charoda, a village 7 miles due east of Keshwa.

TEXT*

Seal

1 Khāḍga-[dhąjrā-jita-bhuva[h*] Šarabhāt-prāpta-janmanah [*]

2 niriṭatā[rā]-Narēndraṣya [sā]sanaḥ ripu-[sā]sana[m*[m*]

First Plate

1 Siddham[*] avasti [*] vijaya-skandha[vɔ]rat-Tilakēvāra-vāsakāt- paramabhāga

2 vatō māṭ-śīṭ-śād-śīḍ-dhyātāh śrī-mahārāja-Narēndraḥ Chūllāda-

3 śīma-bhōṛya-Kāśavakē Brāhmana-purassarāṅn-pratīvīśi-

4 kuṭumbinas-samajīḥ-apayati [*] viditam-astsu vah yathā-āya[m] grāma[h]

5 paramabhaṭṭāraka-pādai[h*] Bhasrutasvamīnṛ ḍhāraṇī-sagōṭrāya

Second Plate, First Side

6 Gaṅgāyā[m] majjana[m*] kurvva-bhī[ḥ*] tāla-patra-sāsanena sva-punyābhiṃvri-

7 ddhyē dattakaḥ [*] tach-cha tāla-patra-sāsanena[m*] grīha-dāghas dagdham-īty-adhi-

8 karaṇa-śvadhrāṇya prāk-prabhriḥbhṛty-avayavachhēda-bhōgān-āya[m*] grā-

9 mō bhujyata iti [?] adhunā Bhasṛutasvāmi-patra-Śakasvāminē

10 paramabhaṭṭāraka-pādānā[m*] punyā-āpyānaṇādē-y-ājaya tāmra-sāsa-

Second Plate, Second Side

11 nēm-ānumōdita ity-भvam-upalabhy-āsy-ṝjā-sravana-vidhēya

12 bhūtvā yathō(thā)-kālam-uchita-bhōga-bhōga-dhānyā-h[ṛ]rany-ādē-var-

13 nayam karāhīth=ōṭi[*] bhavishyatās-le bhūpā[n*] kusāl-ōdāṭam-ānu-

¹ See Sheet No. 2 of the Majumdi map of the Mahasamund Tahsil; also Sheet No. 64 K of Survey of India, which gives the location of Charoda and the Keshwa nullah only.

* From the original plates.
* Ripu-kārinaḥ is the reading in this place on the seal of the Pipāṭa Jula plates.
* Expressed by symbol.
* The name appears as Bhāṛuta in line 9 below.
* Read grīha-dāghe.
* The daṇḍas are unnecessary.
* Read karāhīth=ōṭi.
Third Plate

14 darśayati || dūtakam-adhikaraṇa[ṃ*] || Vyāsa-gītā[ṃ*]śastra ślokān-udāha-
15 ṛanti || Bahubhir-vasudhā dattā rājabhis-Sāgara-ādhibhiḥ[ḥ*] || yasya yasya

16 yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tādā phala[ṃ*] || Pūrvva-dattāṃ dvijātibhyo ya-
17 tnaḍ-rakṣa Yudhisthira [*] mahīṃ mahimatām śṛṣṭha dānāḥ-ehr̥yāṃ-nupāla-
18 na[m [*] Shashṭi-varaha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdāti bhūmīdaḥ [*] āchchhē-
19 ttā ch-āśumantā chcha(cha) tāny-ēva narakē vasēt [][*] pravardhamāna-vija-
20 ya-rājya-savva(sarīva)tare chaturvviṃṣa(rvvinḥa)timś 20 4 Vaiśākha-ḍī 4
21 utki(tki)ṛṇaṁ Śrīdattēn-ḍī ||

1 Termination of the record is indicated by two curved strokes.
The Kurud copper-plate inscription has been edited by Dr. M. G. Dikshit in the foregoing pages (pp. 283ff.). He has, however, failed to grasp what appears to be the most important historical information supplied by the epigraph.

The record purports to say that the village of Kēśavaka was originally granted by the Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pāda, while he had been taking a bath in the waters of the Gaṅgā (Gaṅgāyām maj-janam kurvadāhīḥ), in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Bhāsūtasvāmin or Bhāṣūtasvāmin by means of a charter written on palm leaves, but that, as a result of that document being destroyed by a conflagration in the house of the donee, Mahārāja Narēndra, son of Šarabha, re-granted the village from his camp at Tilakēvara in favour of the original donee's son Šaṅkhasvāmin for the merit of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pāda, since it was established by official investigation (adharma-ratnaś-śudākasāraṇāyaḥ) that the village was continuously in the possession of the Brāhmaṇas. As Narēndra's father Šarabha is apparently identical with the homonymous maternal grandfather of Goparāja who died in fighting on behalf of the Gupta monarch Bhānugupta at Ėran in the Saugor District of Madhya Pradesh in the Gupta year 191=510 A.D., Šarabha and his son Narēndra may be roughly assigned respectively to the last quarter of the fifth and the first quarter of the sixth century A.D. If Narēndra re-granted the village in question to Šaṅkhasvāmin about the first quarter of the sixth century, the latter's father (apparently dead at the time of the present charter) should have originally received it from the Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pāda about quarter of a century earlier, i.e. sometime about the last quarter of the fifth century.

Dr. Dikshit identifies the Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pāda, who originally made the grant, with Mahārāja Narēndra's father. This is, however, not supported by the language of the inscription, the word 'father' being conspicuous by its absence from the context. Moreover the Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pāda seems to have had his headquarters in the neighbourhood of the river Gaṅgā far away from the Raipur District where Narēndra and apparently also his father Šarabha were ruling. Then again the imperial title Paramabhaṭṭāraka, along with Mahārājādhirāja Paramēṭvara, is known to have been popularised by the Imperial Guptas since the fourth century A.D. and it is impossible to believe in the present state of our knowledge that Mahārāja Narēndra's father Šarabha enjoyed the title Paramabhaṭṭāraka (and presumably also Mahārājādhirāja Paramēṭvara), side by side with the Imperial Guptas, about the end of the fifth century. We know that Šarabha's daughter's son Goparāja was a feudatory of the Guptas and it seems quite likely that Šarabha himself also owed allegiance to the same imperial house. Since the Guptas had their capital at Pāṭaliputra on the Gaṅgā, the grant being made by the Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pāda while taking a bath in the holy waters of that river is easily explained. As the Gupta power was fast declining since the closing years of the fifth century, it is intelligible how Šarabha's son Mahārāja Narēndra, ruling considerably away from the centre of the Gupta empire, issued his charters as an independent monarch without referring to his allegiance to the Gupta emperor. But his respectful mention of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pāda, to whom Narēndra's family must have owed complete allegiance originally, shows that he still considered himself, however nominally, a subordinate of the Imperial Guptas. It has to be noted that Narēndra confirmed the earlier grant for the merit of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pāda and not of himself or of his parents. It has, however, also to be noticed that he was powerful enough not to describe himself even vaguely as Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pāda-śudākhya like such nominal

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feudatories of the Guptas as the Mahārājas Svāmiśaśa, Rudrānaśa and Bhulūnda. At the same
time he also does not use the Gupta era like some other erstwhile feudatories of the Imperial
Guptas, who did so with or without some kind of reference to their former overlords.

As we have elsewhere observed, the influence of the coin-types of the Imperial Guptas and
the use of their era noticed in South Kōsala (modern Chhattisgarh and the adjoining area) suggest
that the kings of this country became subordinate allies of the Gupta emperors. Again in con-
nection with the discovery of the coins of a South Kōsala king named Mahēndrāditya, who seems
to have been named after the Gupta emperor Kauśagupta I Mahēndrāditya (414-55 A.D.), we
observed that Gupta suzerainty was probably acknowledged by the rulers of South Kōsala. The
Kurud copper-plate inscription of Narēndra seems to support the above observations inasmuch as
it shows that South Kōsala formed an integral part of the Gupta empire as late as the close of
the fifth century when the charter, confirmed by Narēndra, was originally granted by a Gupta monarch
in favour of a Brāhmaṇa of the Raipur region of that country. It is of course impossible to identify
this Gupta emperor without further evidence; but the manner in which he is twice mentioned by
Narēndra in the present charter seems to indicate that Gupta political influence was not totally
absent from South Kōsala even about the beginning of the sixth century.

2 Cf. Sadedd Inscriptions, pp. 370 ff., 374 ff.; Bhandarkar's List, No. 1329, etc.
82-83.
4 Above Vol. XXVIII, p. 83.
No. 37—HEMAVATI PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF KULOTTUNGACHOLA (III), YEAR 2

(Plate I)

K. A. NILAKANTA SATRI AND T. N. SUBRAMANIAM, MADRAS

The text of this inscription has already been published in the South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. VI, No. 558. It is taken up here for detailed study in view of the fresh light it throws on the history of its period. The record is incised on two faces of a pillar found at Haimavati in the Madakasira Taluk of the Anantapur District, Andhra State.1

The inscription under discussion is in the Tamil language and script with an admixture of Grantha characters for words of Sanskrit origin. It is couched in chaste language and incised fairly correctly. There is no orthographical peculiarity requiring special mention. Palaeographically it may be assigned to the 12th century A.D.

The object of the record is to register the gift of some land to the temple of god Maṅgāvaradēva at Pernūju in Śrīrai-nādu, a sub-division of Nigarilīśa-maćḍalum, by one Sīkkalūḍaiya-ṭeṭṭiyār who is described as Vaddha-vṛṣahāri and ādīśabha; the gift was made with the permission of Maṅkāmangalīśvara (Vṛṣayūpura-var-āditiśvara Śrī-Maṅkāśavar). Tribhuvanamalla Mallidēva Chōḷa-mahārāja in the month of Āvani in the cyclic year Vyaya, which was the second regnal year of Tribhuvana-chakravartin Kulottungachóładēva. It is further stated that the gift was placed in the hands of Iśānādeva, the sthīnapati of the temple of Tirumāṅgāvaram-udaiyār with the libation of water by the illustrious hand of the king.

It is not clear from the record to which of the reigns of the three Chōḷa kings bearing the name of Kulottunga it belongs. The cyclic year Vyaya corresponded with 1046-47, 1106-07, 1166-67 and 1226-27 A.D. In no case did any of these years coincide with the 2nd year of the reign of any of the Chōḷa kings bearing the name Kulottunga. While the other dates did not fall in the reign of any Kulottunga at all, the first one coincided with the 37th year of the reign of Kulottunga I. But the palaeography, the difference in the regnal years 2 and 37 and the mention of Tribhuvanamalla Mallidēva Chōḷa-mahārāja make it impossible to assign this record to the time of that monarch.

Tribhuvanamalla Mallidēva Chōḷa-mahārāja mentioned in this inscription as ruling over the Śrīrai-nādu, a sub-division of Nigarilīśa-maćḍalum, with Pernūju as his capital figures also in other epigraphs found in that locality. A record2 engraved on a stone set up at the southern entrance of the Oddappa (Śiva) temple at the same place, dated in Śaka 1064, Vṛṣha, Pushya,

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1 The other two faces of the pillar contain two separate records. The third face bears an undated inscription (ŚII, Vol. VI, No. 564) in the Tamil language and script registering the gift of two pos of gold placed in the hands of Iśāna-śiva by Dēvaraganda-Śravaṇa-aiśa Uttamaśaḷa Vaiṣvādarsaya of Sēyyar in Tondai-maćḍalam (i.e. modern Cheyyar in the Madhuranthakam Taluk of the Chingleput District), from the internet of which was to be maintained the worship and a ṛanda-nilāsē in the temple for the merit of his father and mother in the shrine of Sīvānambūtēva aśīa Tiruvirāmavaramadaiya-mahādēva consecrated by him. The fourth face of the pillar contains an incomplete and undated inscription (ibid., No. 566), in Kannada, of the time of the Western Chalukya king Jagadekamalla containing a portion of the prakāṣa of a person who is described therein as the son of Irnagūla Chōḷa-mahārāja.
2 Nigarilīśa-maćḍalum was the same as Nolambavājī renamed as such by the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I after his conquest of the region and was a 'Thirtytwo Thousand country' comprising portions of the Bellary and Anantapur Districts of Andhra and parts of the Kōḻi and Tumkur Districts of Mysore.
3 ŚII, Vol. IX, No. 266. (269)
Uttarayana-sankramaṇa, corresponding probably to 1162 A.D., December 25, Monday, mentions the chief as ruling over Śreṇī-ṇāḍu (same as the Śreṇī-ṇāḍu of the Tamil record) from his capital at Heṅjēru, which is only another form of Penuṅjēru, as a feudatory of Chāḷukya-chakravartin Vikrama (i.e. Taila III). There is also another inscription incised on a pillar at the same place, dated in Śaka 1090, Sarvajit, corresponding to 1168 A.D., mentioning this chief as a feudatory of Chāḷukya-chakravartin. He was the son of Irṇgōla Chōla-mahārāja of the Niḍugal family. Tribhuvanamalla Mallidēva Chōla-mahārāja mentioned in the record under review is evidently the Niḍugal Chōla chief and his known dates range from 1162 to 1179 A.D. Then the cyclic year Vyaya mentioned in the record should be the one coinciding with Śaka 1088 corresponding to 1166-67 A.D. This being the 2nd year of the reign of Kūltuntugachōlandēva, he should have ascended the throne in 1165-66 A.D. It has already been pointed out that none of the three kings bearing the name of Kūltuntugachōla ascended the throne on this date. But curiously enough we find another Chōla king of the imperial family of Taṅjāvūr, Rājādhirāja II, counting his reign years in some of his inscriptions with this year as the starting point, and it is also known that he did not succeed to the Chōla throne as direct heir in the male line. The Pallavarāṇapāṭa inscription states that Rājāraja II chose as his successor on the throne Rājādhirāja II as there was no regular and proper heir in the male line available then. Pallavarāyar (whose full name was Tiruch-chirambalam-udaiyaiṇ Perumānapti), who was the trusted minister of Rājāraja II and was responsible for this selection, is stated to have made after the coronation of Rājādhirāja II, the uḍankōṭam and the nāḍu with the king in unison and also to have suppressed [the hostile elements] from doing [any] high-handed action. The actual expression mēgu keppōdaṇad[ityum] paripārtita used in the inscription is significant. It is clear therefrom that the accession of Rājādhirāja II to the Chōla throne was not unanimously accepted by the officials and the public and that there was some opposition to the choice, but that Pallavarāyar overcame the opposition and compelled it to surrender and accept the selection. Who were those that opposed the selection and how they were subdued are not explicit from the inscription. But it is stated therein that Pallavarāyar was successful in his attempt only 'to some extent (orupōdi) and even that possibly with very great difficulty.'

For making this selection, Pallavarāyar, according to the record, brought some princes from Gaṅgaiṅţuḷasāṅgalapuram (Gaṅgaiṅţuḷaṭasāṅgalapurapara . . . . . daruḷi iru[k]ēra pirisaiṇgalai . . . . . yēgam paru . . . . .). The use of the word pirisaiṇgal in plural denotes more than one prince, although only one person was selected from among them and crowned as Rājādhirāja. It is quite possible that the other prince or princes who were brought to the capital

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1 Ibid., Vol. VI, No. 557.
2 Ibid., Vol. IX, Nos. 268 and 273. See also note 1 at p. 269 above.
3 The inscription being in the Tamil language and script, it is not possible to take him as one of the Telugu-Chōlas. In fact, no Telugu-Chōla prince is known to have borne the name of Kūltuntugā. He can be only a prince belonging to the Imperial Chōla family of Taṅjāvūr.
6 The translation given above, Vol. XXI, p. 122, has not brought out the full force of the original text and at places conveys a wrong meaning not borne out by the text. The word mēgu literally means 'up-lifted arm'. If the word is taken as mēgu with a short i, then it would mean 'excess'. Even then, it will convey more or less the same idea.

That Pallavarāyar was successful only partially has not been brought out in the translation of the record, referred to above. It runs as follows: "and made the uḍankōṭam (assembly) and the nāḍu (chamber) follow him without any dissensions. Thus (he) brought all (princes) together so that there might be no transgression. (In this way he) credibly discharged one of his commissions".

[The authors have obviously taken the word ieraipi occurring in the text (line 12) to mean one of the princes (pirisaiṇgal) brought from Gaṅgaiṅţuḷaṭasāṅgalapuram. But the word ieraipi cannot mean ieraipi or ieraipi. See above, p. 224, n. 1.—Ed.]
from Gaṅgaikondacōḻapuram but not selected were the hostile elements alluded to in the Pallavarāyanapāti record. Then Kulottunagacholēvā of the inscription now being edited was probably a rival of Rājādhīrāja II. A study of the course of events in the reign of this king would also lead us to such a conclusion.

The latest regnal year traced in the inscriptions of Rājādhīrāja II is 16.1 We know that two sets of dates are found in his inscriptions, one counting some date between the 28th February and 30th March 1163 A.D. as the initial year and the other, as already indicated above, suggesting some date in the first half of 1166 A.D. as its starting point. Thus the latest regnal year of 16 would correspond to 1178 A.D. or 1181 according as we adopt 1163 or 1166 A.D. for the commencement of his reign. Even though we have his records up to his 16th regnal year, it is to be noted that only inscriptions up to his 14th regnal year are numerous while those of the last two years are very few. A record from Puṅganūr² refers to the same regnal year of this king as podinālācōḍḍāga pammīraṇṇāvadu, i.e. 'the 12th year which is the same as the 14th year', and this is probably due to there being two different dates for the commencement of his reign. In the light of the above, we may not be far wrong in taking the 16th regnal year of his inscriptions as having been reckoned from the earlier of the above two dates of accession. It will thus be seen that the records of Rājādhīrāja II are found in the Tamil country only up to about 1178 A.D. He was succeeded on the throne by Kulottunagā III whose inscriptions show that his rule commenced between the 6th and 8th of July, 1178 A.D.³ The circumstances under which Kulottunagā III came to occupy the Chōla throne are not clear; but one thing seems to be certain. Rājādhīrāja II was not dead when Kulottunagā III ascended the throne and began to rule the country in his own name. A large number of Rājādhīrāja’s inscriptions are found in the Bhimāvara temple at Drākshārāma in the Godavari District extending for a period of more than 30 years thereafter, thus practically covering the reign of Kulottunagā III till its very end. The following is a list of such inscriptions recording gifts to the temple published in the South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. IV, in which both the Šaka and regnal years of Tribhuvanachakravartin Rājādhīrājadēvā are quoted.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Regnal year</th>
<th>Šaka year</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1223</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1115</td>
<td>1193-4</td>
<td>Mentions some Šettis of Śakkaraṇkōṭṭam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1331</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1116</td>
<td>1194-5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1332</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1117</td>
<td>1195-6</td>
<td>Text not available. A.R. Ep., 1893, is the only evidence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1279</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1123</td>
<td>1201-2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1257</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1127</td>
<td>1205-6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1118</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>1134</td>
<td>1212-3</td>
<td>Mentions some Šettis of Śakkaraṇkōṭṭam.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following inscriptions found in the same temple and published in the same volume recording similar transactions quote the Šaka years and the regnal years of a king whose name is not

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1 A.R. Ep., No. 389 of 1921.
2 Above, Vol. IX, p. 211.
mentioned therein but who can be no other than Rājadhirāja II, as these dates work out correctly only for him and not for any other king known so far.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Regnal year</th>
<th>Śaka year</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1218</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1118</td>
<td>1198-7</td>
<td>Mentions Gothika of Vāṭāgli.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1022</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1119</td>
<td>1197-8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>215</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1123</td>
<td>1201-2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1117</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>1134</td>
<td>1212-3</td>
<td>Mentions the abode of a chief of the Kākaśi kingdom.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the above, there is also an inscription dated in the 31st year of the reign of Tribhuvanachakravartin Rājadhirajādēva, without mentioning the equivalent Śaka year and recording the gift of a lamp in the time of the Veḷanaṅgī chief Kulottunga Prithivisvara whose inscriptions are found to range from 1165 to 1189 A.D. But a close study of these inscriptions as well as the history of Vāṭāgli in this period will show that the suzerainty of Rājadhirāja there was only in name and that the country was ruled by the local chiefs who were practically independent, owing only nominal allegiance to Rājadhirāja. It can be surmised from the above that this king was practically driven out of the Chōja kingdom in 1178 A.D. by his rival Kulottunga III and that he found an asylum in Vāṭāgli as a refugee where he was probably treated with all the honours due to a king but nothing more. It would thus appear that Kulottunga, though he failed in his attempt in 1165 A.D. to get the Chōja throne, finally succeeded in the attempt made subsequently in 1178 A.D.

To have made an attempt to assert his right and to capture the Chōja throne in 1165 A.D., even while Rājarāja was alive, Kulottunga must have had at least some chance to succeed. Otherwise he would not have daringly ventured on the project. The troublous condition then prevailing in the Tamil country was probably propitious for him to launch the scheme. About this time a civil war broke out between two Pāṇḍya princes, Kulaśēkhara and Parākrama, for the throne of Madurai. Parākrama obtained the help of the Ceylonese while Kulaśēkhara was helped by the Chōjas. This war, which seems to have dragged on for some five or six years, did considerable havoc to the entire Tamil country and struck terror into the hearts of the people. Pallavarāya who was responsible for the selection of Rājadhirāja to the Chōja throne was the officer entrusted by the Chōja king Rājarāja II with the task of restoring Kulaśēkhara to the Pāṇḍya throne. From the Pallavarāya-paṇḍit record, it may even be surmised that the installation of Rājadhirāja as co-regent was hastened by the quick movement of events in the Pāṇḍya country. The Kōṅku king Kulottunga I was the uncle of the Pāṇḍya prince Kulaśēkhara, the candidate supported by the Chōjas of the main line, and he also took an effective part in the war as suggested by the Ceylon chronicle. A record from Nerūr in the Tiruchirappalli District, dated in the 17th regnal year of the Kōṅku king Kulottunga, registers the gift of a village to his purūkhā as yātrādāna before starting out on an expedition.

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1. *SIH, Vol. IV, No. 1100 (No. 247 of 1893).*
2. *Above, Vol. IV, No. 4 (Pithāpuram pillar inscription of Prithivisvara, Śaka 1108).*
5. *A. R. Ep., 1925, App. B, No. 336.* The name of the Pāṇḍya prince is partially lost and only *karadēva* is now available. The MacKenzie transcript of this record (*South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, Vol. II, No. 716), where also the name is partially lost, has, however, the letter arrivée at the beginning and so the name can be restored only as Kulaśēkhara-karaṇa.
to Madurai to get the kingdom for his nephew (marumagaṉ) Kulāṭēkkharā. This Kōṅgu Kulottuṅga came to the throne in Śaka 1072 (1150 A.D.) as evidenced by an inscription1 of his from Vijayamāgamalam in the Coimbatore District giving the year 13+1 of his reign as corresponding to Śaka 1085. Thus the Pāṇḍyan civil war had already commenced and probably reached the second stage before his 17th year, i.e. 1166 A.D.2 The time was thus favourable for the pretender Kulottuṅga of the inscription now being edited to embark on his attempt to get the Chōḷa throne.

In this inscription, the Nidugal Chōḷa chief Mallidēva Chōḷa-mahārāja figures as a subordinate or rather as acknowledging the overlordship, in a way, of the pretender Kulottuṅga. This chief had been the loyal feudatory of the Western Chāḷukyas of Kalyaṇa who were the inveterate enemies of the Imperial Chōḷa of Taḻtuṅga. Thus, in the two inscriptions of this chief found at Hāmavati itself, dated respectively 1162 and 1168 A.D. in the years immediately preceding and following the date of the present record, he mentions himself as the feudatory of the Western Chāḷukyas. There must have been some special reason for Mallidēva-chōḷa to adopt this course in the intervening period. He being only a feudatory would not and could not have adopted this course unless it had the backing of his overlords, first the Western Chāḷukyas and later Kalachūrī Bijjala.

A verse in the Tamil Nāṉvil Charitai3 refers to the victory of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja II over Kalyaṇapura. It states that the gates of the cities Kaḻapatpuram (imē Madurai, the capital of the Pāṇḍyas), Lāṅkāpura (the capital of Ceylon) and Kalyaṇapura (the capital of the Western Chāḷukya kingdom) were always open to him. Another verse in the final benedictory portion of the Taṉkal-puravai states that Rājagāmbhirā, i.e. Rājarāja II, removed the crown of the impostor (bhrasakṣa) and crowned the Raṭha to rule over the great ‘seven and a half lakh country’. This incident though mentioned in literature is not referred to in his meykkērti. The omission of any reference to this incident in the meykkērti of his Tamil inscriptions which extend up to his 18th regnal year shows that the king had not undertaken the campaign against Kuntala up to that year and that consequently the campaign must have taken place on some subsequent date. An inscription4 from Drākshārāma dated in Śaka 1085 and the 18th regnal year of Rājarāja II (1163 A.D.) registering the gift of a lamp by Paṇḍuṅbikā, queen of the Velanāṭi Chōḷa chief Rājādruṇadēlaya, contains a panegyric of this feudatory in which it is stated that he conquered Kuntala and the Kaliṅga kingdoms and that the rulers of those countries ran away as soon as they heard the news of an invasion. That being the first year of his rule his conquest of Kuntala must have been achieved only then (i.e. 1163 A.D.). Kuntala in those days referred only to the kingdoms with Kalyaṇa as its capital where Kalachūrī Bijjala was then the reigning monarch who had by then usurped the throne of his erstwhile overlord, the Western Chāḷukya king Taḻuṅpa III, but had not yet completely brought the entire kingdom under his control. In 1162–63 A.D., while ‘in the course of a state progress undertaken with a view to secure the possession of the southern provinces’, he was encamped at Balligāṁvē5 in the Shikarpur Taluk of the Shimoga District. The Western Chāḷukyas, deprived of their throne and capital, were then

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1 A. R. Ep., 1905, No. 698.
2 [This date has been taken by Mr. K. V. Subramania Aiyar as that of the commencement of the war (above, Vol. XXV, p. 83).--Ed.]
3 Kārintṭuḥ-sīrattuḥ-kalikkum-kaliruṇḍai-kaṅgaṉ vandāṅ
sīrattuḥ-kaṅgaṉ ig-iṭṭiraṇappā paṇḍiṉvan-agaṅgē
sīrattuḥ-jirattuḥ-kapṭan-tirandititai-mūḥ-Thāṅkā-
purattuṅ-Kaṅgaṉpurattigumē (verse 128).
[The claim might have been an empty boast. --Ed.]
4 Pāṭhaṅgaṅi pēṭhaṅ-gaṭṭi-viṭṭa Īṟṟagāmbhiragai vāṭtiṅavē (verse 774).
5 Pīḷḷī, Vol. IV, No. 1113.
holding some outlying provinces with the help of some loyal feudatories. Just about this time Tailapa III died. And we find Jagadékamalla III styling himself as the Western Chāḷukya monarch some time in 1163 A.D. Tailapa III seems to have had other sons also. It was possibly to install Jagadékamalla on the throne that Chōja Rājarāja II had to intervene in the affairs of the kingdom of Kāḷyāṇa. In the present state of our knowledge, it is very difficult to definitely postulate the course of events that took place and identify the king installed on the throne by the Chōjas. But this much seems certain that Rājarāja II intervened in the affairs of the kingdom of Kāḷyāṇa and installed one of the claimants on the throne. Naturally this would have been presented by the other candidate for the throne as also by the Kalachuri king Bijjala who had by that time usurped the Kāḷyāṇa throne. This is evident from the title Rājaśccholā-manvāḥktāṣvē assumed in 1171 A.D. by the Uchchayaṁ Pāṇḍya chief Vijaya-pāṇḍya who was then ruling over Nāḷambavāḍi as a feudatory of the Kalachurus. The setting up in 1155 A.D. of Kulōṭṭunga as a pretender to the Imperial Chōja throne was probably the outcome of the above.

The donor, Śīkkaḷ-udāya-Śeṭṭiyār, who had the grant given away by the hands of the king, i.e. Kulōṭṭunga, is described in the record as Vaddha-yaṇavāḥari-dēśimukhyā which may be translated as ‘the senior merchant and leader of the dēḥi community’. In some of the later inscriptions, this is expressed as Śrīmaṇ-mahāpāṇḍita-viṣṇupārya Ubbaya-nāṇa-dēśikā muktiyām āga in Tamil and Śrīmaṇ-mahāpāṇḍita-viṣṇupārya ubbaya-nāṇa-dēśikā mahānabhū mukṭaḥ appa in Kannada. It would thus appear that Śīkkaḷ-udāya-Śeṭṭiyār was also a member of the merchant-guild known as Nāṇadēśi and as ‘500 valiant men’, which had its head-quarters at Aiyāvali, the modern Aihoḷe. An undated inscription from Pīṟakkamaḷai in the Ramanathapuram District contains a panegyric of this body from which it will be evident that it had something to do with another organisation known as Śtīṭramelē-Periyaṉāṭṭavar. Another undated inscription from Tirukkovallūr in the South Arcot District recording the transactions of the Śtīṭramelē-Periyaṉāṭṭavar contains substantial portions of the above prakāśiti. A record from Tīṭṭagudi in the South Arock District dated in the 4th year of the reign of Rājadhirāja II registers the benefactions to the temple made jointly by the Śtīṭramelē-Periyaṉākoṭṭu of the 79 nāṇas and the dēśi dēśai viḷaṇga dēśiẏāryutta avvēḷūṟuvaṭṭu. Probably the two bodies Śtīṭramelē-Periyaṉāṭṭavar and the Dēśiẏāryutta-aṅkaṟṟuvar were two branches of the same parental organisation of the Nāṇadēśa. The organisation Śtīṭramelē-Periyaṉāṭṭavar which came into being about this time very soon

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2 Ep. Cor., Vol. XI, Dg. 43. [This inscription is dated in 1164 A.D. The earlier part of the record prases a king named Jagadēkamalla whose indentification is problematical.—Ed.]
3 The same title is found assumed by one of his predecessors, viz. Tribhuvanamalla-pāṇḍya who was a subordinate of the Western Chāḷukya king Vikramāditya VI, to commemorate the destruction of the designs of Rājiga, i.e. Kulōṭṭungacholā II (Ep. Cor., Vol. XI, X2. 88). But this does not seem to be a family title and it does not also appear to have been borne by the intervening members. The title was probably renewed now in view of the appropriateness of the situation. Rājiga have probably stands for Rājarāja II.
4 Ep. Cor., Vol. XI, Dg. 32 and 43.
5 It would be interesting to note in this connection that the Kulōṭṭungacholā-Kōṇci (K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, The Cōḷas, Vol. II, p. 116) mentions Saṅgamāraja and Nallama as the names respectively of the father and the elder brother of this Kulōṭṭunga (III). These names sound more as of Telugu-Kannada origin.
7 Ibid., Nos. 72, 73.
8 SIU, Vol. VIII, No. 442.
9 Ibid., No. 129.
10 Ibid., No. 291. This is perhaps the earliest mention of the Śtīṭramelē-Periyaṉāṭṭavar in Tamil inscriptions. The record from Jambai in the South Arcot District (A. B. Kp., 1906, No. 67) of the 3rd year of Tribhuvanamallavāramar Kulōṭṭunga mentioning the Śtīṭramelē-Periyaṉāṭṭavar of 79 nāṇas has to be assigned to Kulōṭṭunga III, taking Rājakēśari as a mistake for Parakēśari.
11 The expression ubbaya-nāṇa-dēśi of the above inscriptions probably denotes these two branches.
Second Face

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obtained a firm footing in the Tamil country and was very influential throughout the reign of Kulottunga III. We may not therefore be wrong in surmising that this organisation paved the way for the ultimate success of Kulottunga in getting the Chola throne.¹

Our thanks are due to Dr. N. Venkataramanayya who helped us by drawing our attention to the Telugu records and also suggested the possibility of the identification.

TEXT

First Face

1 Harah [i*] Svasti Śrīh [i*] Tribhva-
2 nachhakravarti Kulottuṅ-
3 ga-tōjādvark=iyaṅg=iran
4 āvad=āna Vyaya-samvatsarat[tu]
5 Āvaṅi-māsattu Nigarilī[5]²
6 ḫa-maṇḍalattu-Chohirai-nāṭṭu=
7 p-Peruṅjeru-il tiru-virājyam pa-
8 pni=yarulugiṅha Śrīman-mahāma-
9 pāḷāxa(lva)=raṅ=Uraiyyur-ppura-
10 varāḍhiṅvarṇa Śrīmāhāvara-
11 ḫ Tribhuvanamalla Malli-
12 dēva-tōlamahārājaraṇī Vaḍḍha-vyavah-
13 āri dēti-[mu]khyar Śikkal-uḍaiya
14 āṭṭiṅyar inda śrīnaga-
15 rijil Maṅgēvaradēvarku-t-
16 tiru-amudpadikku=ddānam
17 panna vėndi-kkon-
18 ḫu Mōrvākkku vaṅakkil
19 Vaijāyakkiraikkku-kiḷa-

¹ [There seems to be no evidence in favour of this conjecture.—Ed.]
² The loop and sa are clear. Only the ă symbol is indistinct.
³ The letter ă in the Grantha script is in this line: the symbol for ă is engraved in the previous line.
⁴ The syllables rājaraṅ are indented above the line.
20 kk=[v*]=ührál=a[ndhaj]kuṭṭaiyum=adiṛ=
21 kollaiyum araśar śṛi-hasta-
22 ttālē Tirumāṅgīsvaram-udai-
23 yār sthānapati Iṣānāśi var kai-
24 yy(yi)lē nir-vārppitu=kkudu-
25 ttār Śikkal-udaiya-ṭeṭṭi-
26 yār ([†]) inda dharmnattuk=ajivu-pa-
27 upuvār Gaṅgā-tirattu īr-
28 Vāraṇaśiyilē Visve(āvē)śvara-
29 dēvar sannidhiyilē brahma-hatyas-
30 yun gō-hatyaiyum paṇṇa(gi)nār
31 pukka narakaṁ puguvār ([†] Śivam=astu [†])

TRANSLATION

(Obesance to) Hara (Śiva). Hail! Prosperity! In the month of Āvani of the cyclic year Vyaya, corresponding to the 2nd year (of the reign) of Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulottuṅgahō-śālōvā, Vaiṣṇava-yañavāhāri dēśi-mukhyan Śikkaḷ-udaiya-ṭeṭṭiyar having got the approval of the illustrious Śrīman-Mahāmanḍalētikaraṇa Uraiṟyur-puravvar-ādhiśvaran Śrimāhētikaraṇa Tribhuvana-malla Mallidera Chōḷa-mahārāja who is pleased to rule (his country with the capital) at Puruṇēru in Śīraḷ-nāṭu (a sub-division) of Ngirilāḷa-mañḍalam, for a gift (of land to provide) for the sacred food offerings to the god Maṅgaḷasvāradāvar in this illustrious city (Śrīnāgarī), had the spring (ūrāl) including the garden (kollai) land comprised in it, to the north of Mōrvāy and east of Vaiṣaya-kīṟai, placed in the hands of Iṣānāśi, the sthānapati of the temple of the god Tirumāṅgīsvaram-udaiyār, with libation of water by the illustrious hands of the king. Those destroying this charity will go to the hell to which those who commit the murder of Brāhmaṇas and cows in the śannidhi of (the god) Vaiṣvēśvaradēva at Vāraṇaśi on the banks of the Gaṅgā (go). Let there be peace!
No. 38—THREE PLATES FROM PANDUKESVAR

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACUMUND

As noticed by A. Fuhrer in his Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 1891, p. 46, there are four inscribed copper plates preserved in the temple of Yōga-badari (one of the Pañcha-badari) at Pandukēśav (lat. 30° 19' 56" N., long. 79° 33' 30" E.), 54 miles north-east of Śrīnagar, in the Garhwal District of the Kumaun Division of Uttar Pradesh. A tentative translation of the inscriptions was published in 1875 by E. T. Atkinson in a collection of inscriptions from the temples of Kumaun and Garhwal and circulated with a view to securing information about the identification of the places and personages mentioned in them. The text of only one of these records was later edited by R. L. Mitra in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1877, pp. 71 ff., with a photolithograph. As, however, the work was not done quite satisfactorily, F. Kielhorn afterwards re-edited the inscription in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXV, 1896, pp. 177 ff. A detailed analysis of six records from Kumaun and Garhwal including the above inscriptions was also published by Atkinson in The Himalayan Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India, Vol. II (forming Vol. XI of the Gazetteer, N.-W.P.), 1884, pp. 469-85. But the analysis was based on inaccurate transcripts of the original records. Some years ago, information reached the Government Epigraphist for India that impressions of all the four Pandukēśav copper-plate inscriptions had been secured for the Lucknow Museum. At his request, the Curator of the Lucknow Museum sent the impressions to the Government Epigraphist’s office for examination and transcription. The three unpublished inscriptions out of the four are edited below.

I. Plate of Lālitāśrīradēva, Year 22

This is a single plate engraved only on one side. It measures about 24 4" × 15 6" excluding a projection (with a squarish hole in it) about 4" long on the proper right side. The royal seal appears to have been originally fixed on this projection as is the case with the Pandukēśav plate of the same king published by Mitra and Kielhorn. We know that the seal of this king had on a counter-sunk surface the figure of a couchant bull facing the proper left with a legend in three lines (mentioning the reigning monarch together with his father and grandfather) beneath it. There are altogether twenty-eight lines of writing on the plate under discussion, the size of each akṣara being about 4" × 4". The engraving seems to be deep and carefully executed and the writing is apparently in a satisfactory state of preservation.

The characters belong to the Northern Class of alphabets of about the ninth century and are the same as those used in the published copper-plate inscription from Pandukēśav. The use of initial ā and ī and final ī are noticed in the record. The upadhūruṣa is employed in line 3. B has always been denoted by the sign for r. In line 25 there occur the ordinary numerical figures for 1, 2 and 5. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of five imperative verses at the end, the record is written entirely in prose which exhibits in a considerable degree the quality of ḍajas or saṃdhi-bhāṣā. In respect of orthography, the inscription closely resembles the published record of the king, referred to above, and some other epigraphs of the period. Some of the consonants are reduplicated in conjunction with r. The anusvāra is wrongly used in some cases for the final m which, however, is usually retained before v. The dental nasal has been used for the anusvāra in anyūṃ cha in line 16. ṣ has been used in place of t in Khasa in line 15 and s instead of s in "takṣa" in line 13, while i is found instead of ṣ in "tīrṣa" in line 25. The word sahasraśi is written correctly in line 27 but is found in the form sahasraśi in the previous line.

(777)
The charter is dated in the regnal reckoning of the king. Line 19 refers to the auspicious day of the Viskhva-saṅkrānti, while lines 24-25 give the date as the 15th day of the dark half of Kārttiika in the 22nd year of king Lalitaśūradēva’s reign. We know that the other Pāṇḍukēśvar plate of this king refers to the Uṭtarāṣaṇa-saṅkrānti as well as to the 3rd day of the dark half of Magha in the king’s 21st regnal year. Kielhorn suggested that this date may be the 22nd December 853 A.D. As the date of the present record was also known to Kielhorn through its rough translation published by Atkinson, he noticed the curious coincidence that the details work out faultlessly with the 25th September 854 A.D. He further observed, “The two dates themselves do not fix the time of Lalitaśūradēva with absolute certainty; but on palaeographical grounds the inscription here published might well have been written in 853 A.D., and in the whole of the 9th century A.D. there are no two consecutive years which would suit the two dates so well as A.D. 853 and 854 do.”

The charter was issued from the city of Kārttikeyapura by Paramabhāṭṭaraka, Mahaṅgīrya-dhiraja Paramēṣvara Lalitaśūradēva who, as is also known from the published record from Pāṇḍukaśvar, was the son of P.M.P. Ishṭaganaḍēva and grandson of Nimbara. The names of the mothers of Lalitaśūradēva and Ishṭaganaḍēva were Vaghādevī and Nīruḍādevī respectively. Lalitaśūradēva’s own queen is known, from a Bāgēśvar inscription referred to below, to have been Sāyadēvi (possibly the same as Sāmadēvi mentioned in the Pāṇḍukēśvar plate of year 21). King Nimbara, who is not endowed with imperial titles and may have been the founder of this royal line, is said to have been devoted to the god Dhūrjaṭī (Śiva) and the goddess Nandi-bhāgavatī, i.e. Durgā, after whom one of the principal peaks in the Kumaon Division is called Nandadevi. There is a river called Nandakini rising in the glaciers on the western slope of the Triśūl in Parjana Bādh, lat. 30° 16’ 10” N., long. 79° 46’ 5” E. High up the source of this river there is the temple of Nandadevi, which is situated near Tantarakhark above the village of Satāl in the Garhwal District. This may have been the goddess referred to. Nothing important is said about Nimbara’s son and successor Ishṭaganaḍēva; but he is called paramabhāṭṭaraka and a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva) and is endowed with the usual imperial style. The reigning monarch Lalitaśūradēva is also endowed with the same characteristics as his father.

There is an inscription at the temple of Śiva called Bāgēśvar (Vyāghrēśvara) situated at the junction of the Gomati and Sarjū in Patti Katyūr in Kumaun. A tentative transcript of this stone inscription was published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VII, 1838, pp. 1056-58. A note on the same record is also found in E.T. Atkinson’s The Himalayan Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India, Vol. II, pp. 469-70. It was, however, not noticed that the text of the inscription contains no less than three grants made by three different kings in favour of the god Vyāghrēśvaraśādēva. The defective nature of the published transcript renders it difficult to be definite about the names of the two kings mentioned in the first of the three charters, as they are given in the absurd forms Śri-Bhasanatadēva (read as Masanatadēva in the translation and Bhasanatadēva in Atkinson’s account) and Śyāvasairamamivāvadēva. The names of the kings mentioned in the second charter have been quoted as Śri-Kharparaśadēva, his son Śri-Kalyāṇaparajasadēva and his son Śri-Tribhuvanarajadēva. The third grant apparently belongs to the son and successor of king Lalitaśūradēva of our record. His name has been read as Śri-Bhūdevadēva, although the reading paramabhāṭṭaraka-mahāraṅghīrya-paramēṣvara-vāmīy-adhya-Śri-Bhūdevadēva seems to be doubtful. The name of Lalitaśūradēva has been read correctly, but those of Nimbara and Ishṭaganaḍēva have been wrongly made out. Nothing can be said, without examining the inscribed stone, about the year of the reign of Lalitaśūradēva’s son, in which the grant was made. Little therefore is known about the duration of his rule and about the relation of this group of rulers with those mentioned in the other two charters incorporated in the Bāgēśvar record.1

The present inscription records the grant of some land which was in the possession of a person named Dënduvakā and was lying within the jurisdiction of the administrative unit called Thappalasārī forming a part of the viṣaya or district of Kārttikeyapura. The name of the viṣaya shows that it was the district round the city of Kārttikeyapura which was apparently the capital of Lalitāsrādevā. For the religious merit of himself and his parents, the king made the grant in favour of the god Nārāyaṇa-bhaṣṭāraka installed by Bhaṭṭa Śrīpurusha in a village called Garuḍāgrāma. It is interesting to note that the king, who claims to be a devout worshipper of Mahāśvāra (Śiva), made the grant in favour of Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu. It is said that the temple of Nārāyaṇa should get some help from the Brahmachārins attached to the tapōvāna at Badarikāśrama. This shows that Garuḍāgrāma was probably close to Badarikāśrama.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Kārttikeyapura is identified with Bajināth or Vadīyaṇāth (lat. 29° 54' 24" N., long. 79° 39' 28" E.), a village in Pargana Dānpur of the Hazūr Tahsil in the Almora District. According to a tradition noticed by Atkinson,7 the city was built by a Katyūrī king of the Katyūr valley in Kumaun on the ruins of an older city named Karvirapura. It is not improbable that the name Kārttikeyapura is a Sanskritized form of the aboriginal name Katyūr. Possibly Kartripura of the Allahabad pillar inscription8 was just another Sanskritized form of the same name. Badarikāśrama is modern Badrināth (lat. 30° 44' 29" N., long. 79° 32' 1" E.) which is a village in Pargana Mall-Painkhanda, 55 miles north-east of Śrīnagar, and contains the celebrated temple of Badarinātha or Badari-Nārāyaṇa. The tapōvāna referred to as located at Badarikāśrama may possibly be identified with modern Tapoban or Dhaktapoban, a village on the left bank of the Dhaulī river about nine miles from Jōshimāṭh. It is considerably away from Badrināth; but the Bhavishya-Badrī lies near it. Thappalasārī and Garuḍāgrāma cannot be identified.

TEXT


3 āsya bhagavatō Dḥūrjañāt = prasādān = niśa-bhuja-śvarjītiṣṭa-jī-śrījītya-nirajjita-rupān-dvāra-devāśa-prakāśaṃ dayā-dakshāyina-sattva-śila-śaucha-saurya-udārā-gāmbhirya-mayyād-āryavṛtta-śača-


7 Vēgādevī tasyām-ūtpā(tapa)naḥ paramamahēśvarah paramavra(bra)hmanyah[ḥ] [Kalī]-kalaṅka-pauk-āṭaṅka-magna-dharaṇy-uddhāra-dhārita-dhaurēya-vāra Varāha-charitaḥ sahaja-mati-vibha-vibhū-bhūti.


11 taṣṭradēvaḥ kuṣali śrimat-Kārtti(kṣaya)* pura-viṣaya[ō] samupagata[n-sarvavāṃśa] eva niyōgasthā[n-rāja]-rājanaka[r]-rājaputra[r]-rājamātya-sāmanta-mahāsāmanta-thakkura-mahāmanushya-ma-


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1 The word is also found in the form rāṣāsk, the same as rāṣāsk of later records.
19 yur-drisht@ gaja-kalabha-karma-patra-chapalata-cha la[khay@ jñåtv@] paral[ka-nahår]-yas-årth[a(1*)] samār-årṇa-ara[rthä]n-cha puñy-hana(ni) Visu[va(4*)]-sarasvántau g[a(dha)]-pushpa-dhâ-pâ[palâ]na va(ba)-

20 li-charu-nîtya-gâya-vâdyâ-satr-âdi-pravarttânya khaṅda-śphûṭita-sa[m*] karaññâya bhûtrya- pûdâmûla-bharaññâya cha abhinava-karmma-karaññâya cha Garuḍâ-gramâ bhûta-šripuru-


25 22 Kârttika-vâdi 15 [*] dûtakôtra mahâdânâkshâpatâlâyikâ-ritâ-Srî-Pûka[n] [*] Mahâ-sandhivigrñâkshâpa[â]lâyikâ-ritah-Ärtyah(ta)-vachanâ(t*) [ânk-ôtki(tk)îryâ(1*)] Srî-Gângabhadrâ[â] [*] Va(Ba)bhubhir-vvâ-

26 sudhâ bhuk[t(1*)] râja-bhus-Sagar-ôdibhi[h] [*] yasya yasya yadâ bhûmîs-tasya tasya tadâ phalam-(lam) [*] Sva-dattâm-para-dattâmva(tâm vâ) yô harêta vasundharâ(n) sashtîvma- (a)hû (v) a[râ]sa[sa]bharâ(a)ri(yi) ávâ-vishthâyâ* jáyatâ krî-

27 mi[h*] [*] Shashtîmva(ahû(i) v) a[râ]sa-sahasrâni svarggâ tiâsthâi bhûmida[â] | ãchhêhtâ ca-ãnumantâ chcha(a)a) tâny-ûvâ narakâ vasê[â][â] Gâm=âka(kâ)ì-cha suvârpaṇâ-cha bhûmî=apê=êkâm-sûngulân(lam) hristâ narakam=âyati yâvad-â-

28 bhôt(ta)-sampla(vâ)(vâm) [vam] [*] Iti kamala-dal-âmâ-vudu-vudu-lôlâm śriyam-anuñcîtâya mana(nu)byâa-jîvita[â] cha s(a)kalam-idam-udâhrâta[â] cha vu(bu/ddhâvâ na hi puru- shahâi para-kî(ki)rttayô vilpâyâ(ûpâh) [*][*]

TRANSLATION

Lines 1-3 May there be success! Hail! From the prosperous (city of) Kârttikâyapura; through the grace of the holy Dhûrjâti (Śiva) who has destroyed the strength of the dense darkness that robs all discrimination, by removing it with the shower of filaments which are the abundant wide-spread pure rays of the lotuses which are his feet, red with the intoxication from imbibing the bright lustre of the lights that bring about a uniform white colour, which are the crores of the points of the beautiful crowns and crowns on the innumerable heads of all the lords of the gods, demons and men, bowed down under the weight of the burden of devotion; (and) whose matted hair is washed by the Ganges;

1 Metre : Aunâshthâb for this and the following three verses.
2 Read vishthâyâm for va vishthâyâ.
3 Metre : Pushpâvârâ. There is a design here indicating the end of the writing.
(Lines 3-5) (there was) the illustrious Nimbara, whose splendour shone forth as he overcame the darkness that was his enemies by the strength acquired by his own arms through the grace of Lord Diśārṣṭe; whose body was adorned with kindness, courtesy, truthfulness, virtuous disposition, purity, heroism, liberality, profundity of character, propriety of conduct, noble behaviour, wonderful achievements and a multitude of other qualities; who was an incarnation of the seed of a long lineage of virtuous men (or, who was an incarnation of the seed of the great Santāna tree of the blessed); whose fame was pleasant like that of the kings at the advent of the Golden Age; (and) whose person was endowed with fortune (derived) from the lotus-feet of the holy Nandā;

(Lines 5-6) his son, who meditated on his feet, born from the queen, the illustrious Mahādevi Nāhādēvi, (is) the devout worshipper of Mahēvāra (Śiva), extremely hospitable to the Brāhmaṇas, the Paramabhāṣāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēvāra, the illustrious Ishṭagāṇadēva, who eclipsed the array of stars as by the moonlight by the elevation of his banner of fame as he drew out excellent rows of pearls from the frontal globes of furious elephants, cut open with the edge of his sharp sword;

(Lines 6-11) his son, who meditates on his feet, born from the queen, the illustrious Mahādevi Vagādēvi, (is) the devout worshipper of Mahēvāra (Śiva), extremely hospitable to the Brāhmaṇas, the Paramabhāṣāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēvāra, the illustrious Lalitaśrāvadēva, who played the part of the excellent bear (i.e. the god Vishnu in the bear incarnation), fit for the burden, in lifting up the earth that had sunk into the distressing mud of the sin of the Kali age; who is a fire of prowess to the circle of his enemies who vanish before the omnipresent force of his natural intelligence and greatness; who frightens the host of his enemies over and over again, as the lion does the elephant cubs by his curling mane, by the terrific frown of his brow (his adversaries) begin to collect great strength; the seeds of whose fame were made to grow up into garlands, thrown on him in the shape of wreaths of flowers of the bracelets dropping from the trembling wrists of celestial damsels who were distressed with bashfulness at seeing him first embracing the excellent amorous (lady, i.e. the) fortune of victory, as she was forcibly drawn to him by the superior strength of his mune, yet ringing, sword and arrows; (and) who keeps (other) kings of the earth at peace by his rule over it that has been subdued by having recourse to the strength of his bow, bent by his massive arm, just as Prithu firmly fixed the chief mountains in their places in order to tend the cow, brought into subjection by means of his bent bow;

(Lines 11-17) (he), being in good health, pays due respect, makes known and issues commands to all the officials assembled in the illustrious district of Kārttikeyapura, together with the officers in charge of the townships inhabited by the eighteen kinds of subjects1 headed by the Rājas ( feudal rulers), Rājanakas (chieftains), Rājaputras (princes), Rājāmātayas (ministers), Sāmanatas (feudatories), Mahāmāmanatas (great feudatories), Ṭhakuras,2 Mahāmanushyas, Mahākārttikas (possibly superintendents or managers of state affairs), Mahāpratikāras,3 Mahādānāyakas,4 Mahārājanamātāras,5 Sarabhanga,6 Kumārāmātayas (Amātayas or executive officers enjoying  

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1 The word akṣāadtas-prakriti is also mentioned in other records (cf. Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, p. 12). The expression akṣāadtas-prakriti qualifying the land granted by the king is also known (above, Vol. II, p. 220). The word akṣāadta has been used in these cases in the sense of "all"; cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 330, note 4.
2 The word Ṭhakura is believed to have derived from the Turkish title Ṭgin. Both Ṭhakura and mahāmanushya appear to indicate noblemen or samārdhas.
3 Literally the ‘great door-keeper’; but the Mahāpratikāra seems to have been the head of not only the palace-guards but also of the king’s body-guards.
4 Literally ‘the great leader of forces’. Sometimes the word possibly indicated a judge or magistrat.
5 Mahārājanamātāra is no doubt derived from pramātrai (i.e. a person who gives evidence or proof) found in some records. He was possibly a counsellor to the king in matters judicial.
6 Sarabhanga literally means ‘wound and fracture’. He was probably the royal surgeon.
the status of a Kumāra, Upārīkas (provincial governors), Duṣṭāḥācāryadhikās, Dhātāparādikās, Chaurāddharāvinikas (officers to look after the apprehension of thieves) Śālukaśas (superintendents of tolls), Gaudmikās (superintendents of police stations), Tadāyuktakas, Viniyuktakas, Paṭṭakāpachārikās (officers to investigate offences against royal edicts and charters), Āśeṭhābhāsthānikās (officers in charge of preventing flight from prison or legal restraint), superintendents of the elephant, horse and camel troops, Dūtas (envoys), Prēṣhāvikās (officers in charge of sending messengers), Dānīvikās, Dāṇḍāpāṣikās (police constables), Gamāgaminās (police officers dealing with exit from and entrance into towns), Khāṭīvikās (possibly swordsmen or their superintendents), Abhīvitramānikās (special messengers), Rājāsthānīyas (governors or landlords), Vīshayapatis (rulers of districts), Bhōṣyapatis (officers in charge of Jāgaris), Tarapatis (superintendents of ferries), Āsopatis (superintendents of cavalry), Khaṇḍārvakhas, Prātiśārikās, Sīhāṇāṭhānikās (Thānābārs, i.e. superintendents of police out-posts), Vartmapālas (superintendents of roads), Kōṭṭapālas (superintendents of forts), Ghatmapālas (superintendents of landing places on river banks), Kṣetrapālas (superintendents of cultivated lands of the Khas Malah), Prāṇapālas (wardens of the Marches), Kīrāravatāyogāniṣhādānikītas (superintendents of colts, mares, cows and she-buffaloes), Bhātās (ministers), Molhatamānas (village-headmen), cowherds, merchants, (and) foremen of guards, down to the Khāṭas, Kirātās, Dravīdās, Kalīṅgas, Gaudās, Hūpas, Udās, Mēdas, Andhāras and Chānḍālās, to all habitations, to the entire people, to the regular and irregular soldiers (probably, policemen and peons), servants and others and to other enumerated and unenumerated people living in dependence on our lotus-feet, and to the neighbouring people headed by Brāhmaṇas: Be it known to you:

(Lines 17-24): Observing that the moving world of the living is as unsteady as the leaves of the fig tree shaken by the breeze and noticing that life is without substance just like a bubble of water and knowing that fortune is as evanescent as the tip of the ear of an elephant cub, for the attainment of beatitude in the next world and in order to cross the sea of mundane existence, I have assigned by the grant of a charter, to increase the merit and fame of my parents and of my own, on the auspicious day when the sun enters the (autumnal) equinox, such land as is being enjoyed by Dēnduvāka and is within the bounds of Thappalasāri in the district mentioned above, to the holy lord Nārāyaṇa installed at Garuḍāgrāma by Bhāṭa Śīrputraha, for providing perfumes, flowers, incense, lights, ointments, offerings, oblation of rice, etc., (and) dancing, singing, music, sacrifices, etc., for the repair of what may be broken or cracked and for the maintenance of servants and attendants as well as for the execution of new work; (the said land is to be) endowed with the exemptions arising out of its nature (as a free gift), not to be entered by soldiers and policemen, nothing to be accepted (as rent or tolls from it), not to be resumed, (but to belong to the donee) for as long a time as the moon, the sun and the earth endure, as a piece taken out of the district (to which it belongs), as far as its proper boundaries and pasture lands, together with trees, gardens, springs and cascades (but) without whatever has been or is in the possession of gods and Brāhmaṇas. Wherefore (the donee) enjoying (the grant) in comfort in regular succession shall not be

1 The Kaḍḍilya Aṭhākātra says that officers purified by the fear-test should be appointed as Śārmanā-kṛṣya, i.e. emergency work. The Duṣṭāḥācāryadhikās was probably an official of this class.

2 We know that grants were often made as duṣṭāparādikās, i.e. together with the right to enjoy the fines for the ten offences. The Duṣṭāparādikās were probably officers who dealt with the ten offences, viz. theft, murder, adultery, use of abusive language towards others, untruthfulness, slandering, incoherent conversation, covetousness, desire to do wrong, and tenacity for wrong. Cf. Corp. Ins. Ind., Vol. III, p. 189, note 4.

3 Tadāyuktaka and Viniyuktaka appear to be subordinate ruling officers appointed not by the crown but by the governors or viceroys. Cf. Sū. Ins. pp. 351, n. 1; 354, 357, 360, note 9.

4 Dāṇḍika may be a judicial functionary but is most probably a police officer as the accompanying Dāṇḍāpāṣikā is apparently the same as the modern Oriya Dāṇḍārika, i.e. a village watchman.

5 The Khaṇḍārvaka (cf. Khaṇḍapāla) may have been the officer in charge of a small territorial unit, or the royal engineer who looked after buildings falling in ruins.

6 The Prātiśārika was possibly a superintendent of gladiatorial combats. See below, p. 306.
troubled by the above-mentioned peoples or by others in the slightest degree by seizure, restraint, robbery or in any other way. Whoever will act contrary to this will, in violating my order, commit a great offence. Something proper may be done in regard to the dwelling of that god by the Brahmacārins attached to the tapovana belonging to Badarikāśrama; whatever is to be done in this regard should all be done by the Brahmacārins.

(L. 24-25) In the twenty-second year of the increasingly victorious reign: year 22, the 15th day of the dark half of Kārttikeya. The Dīnaka (executor of the grant) in this case is the illustrious Piśāca, the officer in charge of the Department of Gifts. (The plate has been) engraved by means of a chisel by the illustrious Gaṅgabhadra from the words (of the document written by, or, under the order or instruction of) the illustrious Āryaṭa, the officer in charge of the Department of Peace and War.

(Lines 25-28) Imprecatory and benedictory verses.

II. Plate of Padmaṭadvā, Year 25

This is also a single plate inscribed on one side only. It measures about 23-1" in length and 17-2" in breadth with a projection about 4-8" long containing a squarish hole, meant for fixing up the seal, towards the proper right. Like the inscription of Lalitaśūra edited above, this plate also contains 28 lines of writing, the size of the akṣaras being similar.

The characters closely resemble those used in the inscription of Lalitaśūra; but the date of the charter, as is indicated by internal evidence to be discussed below, must be several decades later. In line 26, there occur the ordinary numerical figures for 2, 3, 4 and 5. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and, with the exception of only one benedictory stanza at the end, the entire charter is written in prose of an ornate style. The orthography is similar to that of the records of Lalitaśūra, but exhibits considerable influence of local pronunciation. This is indicated by the occurrence of cases like asva for vāna in line 13, kīśora for kīśora and ākīra for ākhīra in line 14, yathārāhām for yathārāhām in line 16, etc. It is also interesting to note that final n has in a number of cases been changed to anuvāra; cf. sthān for sthān and viśatī for viśatī in line 26. Some of the orthographical features are common with Lalitaśūra's records discussed above. Noteworthy is the retention of the final n before v in many cases and the non-observance of the rules of sandhi in a number of places.

The date of the charter is given as a day (possibly the 3rd) of the dark half of Māgha in the 25th regnal year of king Padmaṭadvā who, as we shall presently see, ruled about the first half of the tenth century A.D. Line 21 refers to the uttaratāpa-saṁkrānti as the occasion of the grant.

The charter was issued from the city of Kārttikeyapura by Paramabhouṣṭāraka Mahārajarājārāja Paramēśvara Padmaṭadvā who was the son of P.M.P. Dēṣṭādēva and Mahādevi Padmāḍēvi, the grandson of P.M.P. Ichchhātadēva and Mahādevī Śiṅghūḍēvi, and the great grandson of Saṅgāḍēya and Mahādevī śiṅghuvalīḍēvi. Like Nimbara, grandfather of Lalitaśūra, Saṅgāḍēya is mentioned without imperial titles. He is likewise described as dedicated to the god Chandrasēkhara (Śiva) and the goddess Nandādevī. His successors Ichchhātadēva, Dēṣṭādēva and Padmaṭadvā are endowed with imperial style and are called paramaśāstā and paramakramānya just as Nimbara’s successors. Padmaṭa was probably named after his mother Padmāḍēvi. It will be seen that both Lalitaśūra and Padmaṭa ruled from Kārttikeyapura. There are, however, some indications that the latter ruled several decades later than the former. Attention may be drawn in this connection to the orthographical peculiarities of the present inscription, which have already been discussed above and appear to indicate a later date. There is also some indication in the style. It appears that the description of the
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progenitor of Padma's house as dāna-dama-satya-kaurya-bauṭhīya-dhanyagamā-śadyaparimānagam-guna-gan-aśāla-Sagara-Dilipa-Mandhāṛyi-Dhandhumāra-Bharata-Bhaṭṭāraka-Dakṣāra-prabhūśriṃ-krītayugabuḍḍapalamara-sūgra is an attempt at improvement upon the description of Nimbāra, founder of Lalitaśā's house, as dayā-dākshāya-satya-sattva-sīla-śauca-kaurya-audārya-maryādyāryavyavī śācharyā-kārya-vargā-guna-gan-ālayakṣa-śarīra. . . . Kritayugāgama-bhūpala-laṅita-kīrti. Expressions like puspa-paṭṭa-nivāśayin kṛitā (i.e., having incised the charter on a heated copper plate) are found in this record but not in those of Lalitaśā. It may further be noted that the list of officials in this record is slightly bigger than that found in the charters of Lalitaśā. The two lists are common with the exception of Mahāsāṃhitādhipati (in addition of Sāmanta and Mahāsāṃhata), Vishṇuvaḥpūraka (in addition to Vishṇapati) and Kāṇḍapaṭi found in the present charter and Pratītārka mentioned in Lalitaśā's grant. The Pratītārka may have been the superintendent of gladiatorial combats in which pratiśūras (literally opponents), i.e., prize-fighters, took part. The function of the Kāṇḍapaṭi cannot be determined with certainty; but, if the word kāṇḍa may have indicated different branches of such combat, possibly the Kāṇḍapaṭi may be taken to have been the same as the Pratītārka. Whatever that may be, the addition of the Mahāsāṃhitādhipati and the Vishṇuvaḥpūraka in the list of Padma's officials seems to suggest that he flourished later than Lalitaśā. In that case, the house of Lalitaśā may have been overthrown shortly after his son's rule by Salagaḍiśyata or his son who was thus the founder of a new line of kings at Kārttikeyapura, although there is no definite proof that all the predecessors of Padma also ruled from that city.

According to Atkinson, a copper-plate grant of Dēmaṭa, father of Padma, is preserved in the temple of Bālēśvar in eastern Kumaun. It was issued from Kārttikeyapura in the 5th year of the pratātārkaṃa-viṇayapūraṃ of that king. Addressed to the officials of the Eṣāla district by Dēṣadēva, it records the grant to Vijayāsvaram of the village of Yamuna in that district. This plate gives the names of Salōṇaḍīṭva and his queen Sinhabali (or Sindhabaliḍīv) followed by those of their son Ichhṛaṇḍēva and his queen Sindhabalavē, whose son was Dēṣadēva. The record was subscribed by the chief military officer ḍhiṭa Hariśarman, by the chief military officer Nāndādīṭva, and by the scribe Bhadra. Nothing definite can be said about the details, quoted above from Atkinson's account, without examining the original plate.

The inscription records the grant of the following pieces of land situated in Drumati which formed a part of the Taṅgaṇāpurva vishaya as well as in Yōśi probably also forming a part of the same vishaya: (1) four pallikās (habitations) in the possession of four persons named Dirghaḍīṭva, Buddhabala, Śūḍīḍēva (Śivadiṭva) and Geṇacidia in Drumati; (2) fifteen bhaq (allotments of land) belonging to Paṅga in Drumati; (3) Togalā-vṛtti (possibly a piece of land originally offered for the maintenance of a person called Togalā) in Yōśi; (4) a Karmāṇa-thalikā (barn) situated in Yōśi near a sakrāma (bridge) on the western bank of the Gaṅgā and between Khaṇḍantara and Ulika; (5) a piece of land, measuring one Dṛṣṇāvāpa according to the measurement current in the locality, near a pārāvata tree at Kākaśthalikā-grāma in Drumati; (6) a piece of land, measuring one Dṛṣṇāvāpa according to the measurement of the locality and belonging to Dhanakā, at Randhavakagrāma in Yōśi.

In a paper entitled Kulyavaḍa, Dṛṣṇāvāpa and Adhavāpa, published in the Bhārata-Kauṃudi, Part II, pp. 943-48, I have suggested that the original Dṛṣṇāvāpa as known in ancient Bengal was probably equal to 16 to 20 Bengal Bighās (between about 5½ and 6½ acres) of today. Whether the Dṛṣṇāvāpa of the present record indicates the same area of land cannot be satisfactorily determined. Literally a Dṛṣṇāvāpa signified originally an area of land that required one Dṛṣṇa measure of seed-grains (or their seedlings) of the staple crop for sowing. It is said that the two pieces of land

1 Op. cit., p. 471. For Atkinson's note on the records of Padma and Subhikshākṣā, see ibid., p. 472. As p. 474 he says that the grant of Dēṣadēva recorded the village of Yamuna in the possession of Nārakyaṇavarman in favour of Vijayāsvaram.
measuring one Drāmavatī each had been purchased by his own money by one Nandāka who made them a gift in favour of the god Badarikāśrama-bhaṭṭāraka, no doubt the same god who is now called Badarīnātha or Badari-Nārāyaṇa. These pieces of land together with the others such as the pālliṅgas, the vṛṣṭis and the karnāṭa were granted by the king in favour of the god Badarikāśrama-bhaṭṭāraka having engraved the charter on a heated copper-plate and having endowed the grant with the customary exemptions and privileges going with free gifts. The executor of the grant was the officer in charge of the Department of Gift, whose name seems to be Bhātā Dhanāsra. The charter was written by Nārāyaṇadatta, who was the officer in charge of the Department of War and Peace and was engraved by Nandabhadra whose name seems to associate him with Gaṅgabhadra mentioned in the records of Lalitaśūra.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the charter, the location of Kārttikāyapura and Badarikāśrama has already been discussed in connection with the grant of Lalitaśūra. Yōśi is no doubt the modern Jōshimāth or Jyōtirīdhām (lat. 38° 38' 24" N., long. 79° 36' 24" E.), famous for one of Śiva’s Jyōtir-līgasa, in the Pāñchāla Pargana of the Garhward District. I have not been able to identify the district named Taṅgaṇāśpura and the subdivision named Drumati, although Taṅgaṇāśpura seems to be the district round modern Jōshimāth and Drumati a region not far from it. Taṅgaṇāśpura is mentioned along with another vishaya called Antaraṅga in the inscription of Padmaṇa’s son Subhikshara, edited below. In The Himalayan Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India, Vol. II, p. 357, Ackinson suggested that the district of Taṅgaṇāśpura lay about the upper course of the Ganges and that of Antaraṅga in the Doab between the Bhāgṛathī and the Alaknanda. The people of this region may be identical with the Taṅgaṇas or Taṅgaṇas of early Indian literature.¹ The villages of Kākasthaliṅga and Raudhvaka cannot be identified; but the latter could have hardly been far away from Jōshimāth. The Gaṅga or the upper course of the Ganges has also been mentioned in connection with one of the pieces of land. In describing the liberty of king Dēṣāṭa, father of Padmaṇa, to the Brāhmaṇas of all countries, mention has been made of four of the traditional divisions of India, viz. Prāchya or the eastern, Udchāya or the north-western, Pratīchya or the western and Dākshināya or the southern. The non-mention of Madhyadēśa, between the Himalayas and the Vindhayas and between a place in the East Punjab and another in the East U. P., is probably explained by the fact that the king’s dominions were included in that land and that only distant countries required to be named. It seems that the Himalayan and Vindhyan regions, often mentioned separately in the Purāṇas as two additional divisions of India, have not been taken cognizance of. It may alternatively be suggested that by the four expressions the Brāhmaṇas living in all the four quarters are merely indicated.

TEXT²


3 sīva-bhumavan-ābhōg-āvīrbhava-pāva-sikh-āvall-villanaḥ sahala-Kali-kalānka-samudhūṭ-dāra-tapō-vadāṭta(ta)-dehaḥ sakti-ttraya-prabhāva-sammūniḥita⁴ hira-hēna-dāna-dama-satya-


² From impressions.
³ Expressed by symbol.
⁴ Read sammūnīḥita.
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5 ras-tae(trai)laky-ananda-jananā [Na*]jadhādevi-charanā(pa)-kamala-lakshmi(kashi)taḥ sama-dhigat-ābhīmata-vara-prasā(dā*)-dyotita-nikhila-bhuvan-ādityaḥ śri-Saṃdātiyā-naḥ puttras-tat-pād-ānūn

dhētaḥ rājī mahādevī śri-Siṅghūvalīdevī tasyām-utpannāḥ paramamāhēśvarāḥ paramavara(brahman)pṛabhājīrāja-mahārajādhirāja-paramēśvara-srīmad-īcchhahtādevaṃ tasya

7 puttras-tat-pād-ānūhyātō rājī mā(ḥ)ādevī śri-Siṅghūdevī tasyām-utpannāḥ paramamāhē śvarāḥ paramavara(brahman)pṛabhānyo dīn-ānātha-kripa-āttra(tu)-saṅanāga-vatsalaḥ Prācy-Odhaya


9 ka mahārajādhirāja-paramēśvara-srīmad-Dēsaṭādevaṃ tasya puttras-tat-pād-ānūhyātō rājī mahādevī śri-Padmaśālādevī tasyām-utpannāḥ paramamāhēśvarāḥ paramavara(brahman)pṛabhānyo parama

10 bhāṭṭāraka-mā(ḥ)ārājadhīrāja-paramēśvāra-srīmat-Padmaṭādevaḥ kuśalāḥ [Taṅgaṇāpuravishayaḥ] samastapattāṃ(tān) sarvān-eva niyogasthān śaḥ rāja-rājanaṣa-rajaluttarā-rājāmātya-sā

11 manta-mahāsāmanta-mahākā(ṁ)rtākritika-mahādaṇjanāyaka-mahāpratithāra-mahāmaṇtādhīpati-mahārajapramaṇa(mā)ṭa[ra*]-śabhaṅga-kumārāmātya-ōpaki-dusadhaya-sa

12 dha(ḥ)anika-dātāparādhika-chaursūddharāṇi-śaṅkika-gaulmika-tadīyukta-vasīnīuktaka-pāṭṭakāpachāraikā(kā)śēdhabhaṅgādikrīta-hastyaśvūṃhṛava(ḥ)alavīyapātukā-duṭa-śrēṣṭhaṇi

13 ka-ḍāṇḍika-da(ḥ)anapāśiki-vishayavāyāṃkṛitaka-gāmānīki kāhāṅgik-ābhītvaramāṇaka-rajasthānīya-vishayapati-bhūgopati-kāṇḍapati-taranapati-asva(ḥ)apati-ḥākhanda

14 rakha-ssthānādhīkrīta-vartmapāla-kōṭṭapāla-gaṅghapāla-gōttrapāla-prāntapāla-hakkuramahāmanusya-kīsō(ḥ)raṇavājāvāṃgāmahiyadhīkrīta-bhaṭṭa-mahattām-ākā(b)hīra-vanik

15 śrēṣṭhi-parāṇi(g)ān śaṅthādās-prakṛtya-vīśhīthānīyätānu(ḥ)ān Khaḍa-Kṛṣṇa-Dvavāda-Kaliya-Gaṅga-Hūney-Ōṇ(ō)aṇā(ṇa)ṭaḥ Īśvara(ṇa)ṭaḥ Śaṅkā-parīntāṇu(ṇa) trasvā-saṃ*visiṇṇaṃ(tān) samasta-jai-jānapadān-bhāṣa-chāta-svāvaka

16 din-anāyāṣe(ch)ānā śaṅhitā-āśrīttām(an) asamata-pāda-padmōpiṣṭvānaḥ pravīṭvaśinasāḥ cha Vṛū(ḥ)adhānam-ōṭtarāṇ(ṇa)ḥ yathārahaḥ 1 mānyayati vī(ḥ)dhayati samajñāpayasya-astu vaṃ samvi(sa)ṇi(ḥ)ditaṃ (upari-saṃ*) 1


21 karmānt-ādi-bhūmi-sahitā Uttarāyanaṭa (yaḥ) sarvākṛantī (atau) mātā-pitrāṇām-āhā paṇuḥ-yāsya (dī)-bhīvṝiddhaye pavana-vighaṭṭat-āvēsā (dvāra)-patra-patram-bhānv̄ah (bhā)la-taraṅga(m) āvalokam-āvalokya jala-vu(bu)dvṛ(du)mbī-dākāra-
22 m-aśāraḥ ch-āyur-drīñhaltvā jā gajākalābhā-karṇāgāra-chapalatānḥ cha lakshmyā jāñātvā paralokā-nīrāvy-ārthaṁ iva saṁsārār-āpna-svāvān-tāraṇāryaḥ-āhā va(ba)li-charu-sattra-nai-vādyā-
pradpa-gandha-dhūpa-pushpa-gṝ̄ga-
23 vādyu-rśītya-pujā-pravartanaṇāya khaṇḍa-sphuṣṭita-punaḥ śaṁkārāya iva bhagavatāt(tā) śri-Va(Ba)darikārāma-bhaṭṭarākāya pratipāditam(tā) pushpa-paṭaṇa-vīśeṣe kevā pra-
krīti-parīhāra-yuktā a-chāta-bhaṭa-pra-
24 veśyā-kīchāt-prākṛtaḥ kur Śaṁkīs khaṇḍa-sphuṣṭita-punaḥ śaṁkārāya iva bhagavatāt(tā) śri-Va(Ba)darikārāma-bhaṭṭarākāya pratipāditam(tā) pushpa-paṭaṇa-vīśeṣe kevā pra-
krīti-parīhāra-yuktā a-chāta-bhaṭa-pra-
25 dāya-sametā dēva-Va(Ba)bhāvma-bhukta-bhujyamāna-varjītā [[*]] yataḥ-sukhaḥ paribhuṣjat-
oparīniruddhi-hair-[anyair-*]dvā [y]alpam-āpi dharaṇa-viḍhāraṇa-paripanthan-ādi-
śraddoravā(v)Sa kāśchit-karaṇīyam-a-
26 nyātāavidhā-saivyakāma(m) mehā-dṛkha[ha] syād-iitrā [[*]] pravṛddhamāna-viṣaya-rāja-
samva(Saṁv) sāruḥ puruṣottama(A)[vrittha]ṁ Saṁva(Saṁv) [[*]] Maṅga-vatā 439 [[*]] dūtak-ṣtra mahādānakapaladohikṛta-Śri-bhaṭṭa-Dhanā[ṛ][a]t[ṛ] [[*]]
27 līkhitam-tāvad(m) mehāsandhiyagrabhakapaladohikṛta-Śri-Nāraṇyadattān-uttarikṣma*m-
idaṇ Śri-Nandabhadṛṣṭa[ṇ] [[*]] Bhū rājānāb prārthhayatya-śe Śrāmō bhūyō bhūyō prārth-
nyā naṅendrāḥ [[*]] sāmānyo*-
28 ṣyāṁ dharmma-sētu[ṛ]m-nipāsāṁ kālē kālē pāṣānyo bhava-vibhī [i*]

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) May there be success! Hail! From the illustrious (city of) Kārttikeyapura ;
(Lines 1-5) (there were) the illustrious Saṅgāditya who was established in the purifying
rays that manifested over the expanse of the earth as it glittered under the sun of his valour
established in the numerous powerful circles of his enemies and acquired by his own slender
arms which had been purified by the dust of the lotus-feet of the holy Chandraśēkharā
 Śiva who is greater owing to the excessive strength of quietism as he is beautiful by the lustre
resulting from the extirpation of the mass of darkness by the light issuing from the nails
of his feet which are covered by the rays of the beautiful gems attached to the oroes of
crowns of all the lords of gods and demons ; whose body was purified by great penance and
stood above all staines of the Kali age ; (the force of) whose moving weapons were strengthened by the efficacies
of the three powers (via the majesty of the king, the power of good counsel and the power of
energy) ; who being endowed with a multitude of numerous qualities such as charity, self-control,
truthfulness, valour, heroism, patience and forbearance, was the repository of deeds (such as those)
performed by Śagara, Dīlpā, Mānḍhātri, Dhundhumāra, Bharaṭa, Bhagāṛīthā, Daśārthā and
other kings of the Golden Age ; who caused delight in the three worlds ; who was distinguished by
the lotus-feet of Nandādevī ; (and) who was the sun in the whole earth that was illuminated by
the brightness of the agreeable boon which he obtained (from the goddess) ;

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* Read “śrītāy-sūrdham”.
* Read “bhūyō upari”.
* Read “svātpi”.
* Read “karṇīyam-nipāsāṁ”.
* It seems that the writer had at first written ś which later crossed and wrote ś. The engraver possibly
failed to notice that the first figure had been cancelled and thus incised both the figure.
* Read “dattādattān”.
* This line begins below the akṣara as of the word Nandabhadṛṣṭa of the previous line.
* Metro : Śālińat.
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(Lines 5-6) his son, who meditated on his feet, born of the queen, the illustrious Mahādevi Siṃghālibhūdā, was Paramabhaṭṭakara Mahārajādhīrāja Paramēṣvara, the illustrious Ichchhāṣṭādēva who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śaiva); (and) who was extremely hospitable to the Brāhmaṇas;

(Lines 6-9) his son, who meditated on his feet, born of the queen, the illustrious Mahādevi Siṃghālibhūdā, was Paramabhaṭṭakara Mahārajādhīrāja Paramēṣvara, the illustrious Dēṣṭaṭādēva, who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śaiva); who was extremely hospitable to the Brāhmaṇas; who was compassionate towards the poor, helpless, wretched and afflicted and the seekers of protection; whose hands were wet with the water taken for making offerings of gold continuously in favour of the leaders of the best Brāhmaṇas from the Prāchya, Udāchya, Pratīchya and Dākāhiṇīya countries (or, from the eastern, northern, western and southern quarters); who crushed the entire circle of his enemies; who destroyed the elephant that was the sin of the Kali age; (and) who was an incarnation of the righteousness of the Golden Age;

(Lines 9-10) his son, who meditated on his feet, born of the queen, the illustrious Mahādevi Padmālibhūdā, is Paramabhaṭṭakara Mahārajādhīrāja Paramēṣvara, the illustrious Padmaṭaṭādēva who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śaiva); (and) who is extremely hospitable to the Brāhmaṇas;

(Lines 10-16) (he) being in good health pays due respect, makes known and issues commands to all the functionaries, together with the officers in charge of the townships inhabited by all kinds of his subjects assembled in the district of Taṅgaṇāpura, headed by the Rājjas, Rājānas, Rājputras, Rājāmātīyas, Sāmanto, Mahāsamanto, Mahākārtākritikas, Mahādānāyikas, Mahāpraṭikscīras, Mahāsmanādhikṣiti, Mahārajāsārāmāyīras, Sārabhaṅgas, Kamūrāmātīyas, Upakāras, Dūsādāhāsinīkāras, Dāśāpaṭikākās, Chaurūddhāraṇīkās, Śaukkīkas, Gaumukas, Tadāyukkas, Viniyuktakas, Paṭṭikāprachārikas, Asāhābhagādhikṛitas, Haṣṭapāśkābhakalavāpyuprakāsās, Dāras, Prāṣadānikas, Dāṇḍapāśikas, Vihārayāpyuprakāsās, Gaumukikas, Khaḍḍikas, Abhāvaramāyākas, Rājasthānīyas, Vīharapāris, Bhūgopāris, Kauśapāris, Vairapāris, Aśvapāris, Kañḍarākākas, Sāhānghikīrītas, Vartmapālas, Ghāṭtapālas, Kshetrarājas, Pīṝsūpālas, Ṭhakkuras, Mahāmāṇīṣyas, Kśiravatāryābhajāsītikṛitas, Bhaṭṭas, Mahattamas, Abhiras, Vāṇikas and Śrēṣṭhīnas; to all the habitations (and) to all the people down to the Khaṇḍas, Kirātas, Drāvīḍas, Kaliṅgas, Gauḍas, Hūṇas, Udras, Mēdas, Andhras and Chāṇḍālās; to the soldiers, policemen, servants and others, and to other enumerated and unenumerated living in dependence on my lotus-feet; as well as to the neighbouring people headed by the Brāhmaṇas: Be it known to you:

(Lines 16-20) Four palliikas in the possession of Dirghālādīya, Buddhaḥalā, Śīlādīya (Śivādīya) and Gaṇālādīya attached to Drumati which is attached to the above-mentioned district; and also fifteen allotments of Paṅgara in Drumati in the same (district); and also the dviti of Tōgalā attached to Yōdī; also a Karmānta-sthālikā: another (i.e. Karmāntasūkla) in the same (district), attached to Yōdī, on the western bank of the Gaṅgā, near the bridge (and) jemacated by Kaṅgōntara and Ukā; another (piece of) land in the region of the pavement under the Pārāvata tree at Kākṣṭhalikā-grāma in Drumati in the same (district) measuring one Drōṇavatīpa according to the customary standard of its locality; and another (piece of) land belonging to Dhanāka at Rāndhavaka-grāma attached to Yōdī, measuring one Drōṇavatīpa according to the customary standard of its locality. (Of all the above pieces of land), the land measuring two Drōṇavatīpas have been obtained at a price by Nandūka and have been dedicated (by him) to Badarikārama-bhaṭṭarāka.

(Lines 20-26) I, too, observing the living world to be as unsteady in movement as the leaves of the fig tree shaken by the breeze, and seeing that life is void of substance like a bubble of water, and knowing fortune to be as vacillating as the tip of an elephant cub's ear, have assigned by the grant of a charter and having incised it on a plate of heated copper all this (land) together with the
land covered by the *palliśā*, the *viṣṭi*, the *karmāṇa*, etc., on the occasion of the *sun's entry upon his northern course*, in order to attain beatitude in the next world and to cross the sea of mundane existence (and) to increase the merit and fame of my parents and myself, to the holy (and) illustrious Badarikāśrama-bhaṭṭāraka for providing, incense, flowers, singing, music and dancing and for worship as well as for the repair of what may be broken or damaged; (the said lands are) to be endowed with the nature and exemptions (attached to free-holdings); not to be entered by the soldiers and policemen; free from the taking of anything (as rent or tolls); not to be resumed (but to belong to the donee) for as long a time as the moon, the sun and the earth endure; as pieces taken out of the district (to which they belong) as far as their proper boundaries and pasture land reach; together with and including the trees, gardens, springs and cascades; along with (the right to enjoy) all future dues payable to the king, (but) without whatever has been of is in the possession of the gods and Brahmāyas. Wherefore (the donee) may enjoying (this grant) in comfort shall not in the slightest degree be troubled by the above-mentioned people or by others with seizure, restraint and robbery or in any other way. Whosoever may act contrary to this will, in violating my order, commit a great offence.

(Lines 26-27). In the twenty-fifth year of the increasing reign of victory: year 25, the 3rd (7) day of the dark half of Māgha. The Dhāruka in this case is the illustrious Bhāṭa Dhanasara who is the Mahābāla-ākṣhapata-ādikṛta. It is written by the illustrious Nārāyaṇa-daṭṭha who is the Mahāsabdhāśīrṣṭi-ākṣhapata-ādikṛta; it is engraved by the illustrious Nandabhadra.

(Lines 27-28) (One of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas.)

III.—Plate of Subhikšharājadēva, Regnal Year 4

This is a single plate measuring about 22-2" in length and about 19-2" in height. Its corners, especially the upper right and the lower left, are damaged with the result that a number of letters at the end of lines 1-7 and at the beginning of lines 39-42 have broken away. Fortunately, however, they lost letters can, in most cases, be restored with confidence. Although the plate is of practically the same size as those discussed above, it contains not less than forty-two lines of writing. The size of the aksharas (about 3" x 3") is therefore shorter than in the records of Lalitaśāra and Padmāṭa.

The characters closely resemble those of the records discussed above, especially that of Padmāṭa whose son, as we shall presently see, the issuer of the present charter was. The inscription contains the ordinary numeral figures for 4 and 5 (line 38) as well as the initial vowels a (lines 13, 25-26, 32, 40), ā (line 40), i (lines 26, 27, 29, 39), u (line 39) and ē (line 33) and the final form of t (lines 38, 40). The language of the record is Sanskrit. With the exception of seven verses indicating the usual imprecation and benediction at the end of the charter, it is written in prose throughout. The peculiarities of language and orthography are the same as those of the inscription of Padmāṭa. Both the viśarga and the upadhi māniya have been applied in "ṭapannāḥ=parama" in line 11. The anuvāra has been wrongly used for the final n in niyogasthān in line 13 and has been further modified to n in "niyog-kaśā" in line 17. It is substituted by n in "anyān-kha-cha" in the same line and by n in "r-vernā" in line 26 and in sanuṣṭā in line 34 and by n in chavekha in line 33. In some cases the anuvāra has been used superfluously: cf. khamyṣa in 35, sukhamāṃ-pāra in line 37. In śiripyā (line 42) ri has been used for ri. The word upadraha has been used in the neuter (line 37) and satka (Prakrit santaka) is employed in the sense of 'belonging to'. We may note also the use of trayā for trī and dwaya for dvi. Interesting is the use of rājānaiś in place of rājābhiś in (line 39). Although the rules of sandhi have not been observed in the prose portion in some cases (cf. khandan satka in line 19) the last word of the second pāda of a verse has sometimes been joined in sandhi with the first word of the third pāda (cf. lines 39-40).
The grant is dated in the fourth regnal year of king Subhiksharajadeva. The date cannot be verified; but the record may be assigned to a date about the second quarter of the tenth century.

The charter was issued from the city of Subhikshapura by king Subhiksharajadeva. There is no doubt that the city was named after the king and was his capital; but whether it was situated near about the king’s ancestral capital Karthtkaysapura cannot be satisfactorily determined. Subhiksharaja is said to have been the son of king Padma and Mahadevi Idanaevi. The description of Padma’s ancestry is given almost in the same words as in the inscription of Padma himself. The description of Padma is, however, more elaborate in the present record. An interesting epithet of this king claims that in charity he excelled Bali, Vaikartana, Dachichi and Chandragupta. This Chandragupta, mentioned along with certain mythical personages, is no doubt the celebrated Raja Vikramatitya of Indian tradition and folklore. Although the activities of all the Gupta Vikramatityas appear to have contributed to the growth of the Vikramatitya saga, the hero of the legends has rightly been identified with king Chandragupta II (376-414 A.D.) of the Gupta dynasty. This is one of the rare cases in which a royal court-poet has preferred the personal name of Chandragupta to the more popular titles Vikramatitya and Sahasanka. The liberality of Chandragupta-Vikramatitya is referred to in traditions recorded in literary works as well as the Sanjan inscription of Amoghavarsha. Unlike his predecessors who were Saivas, king Subhiksha was a devout worshipper of Vishnu.

The inscription records the grant of many pieces of land, situated in the vishayas or districts of Tryagapatipura (already known from Padma’s record) and Antaraanga made by king Subhiksha in favour of three deities. The first group of the pieces of land was dedicated to the goddess Durgabhashtarka who is said to have been installed in a locality called Harshapura. This group contained the following pieces of land belonging wholly or partly to them that called Nambaraga-grama: (1) land styled Vidimalaka belonging to Vachchhahtikaka lying within the jurisdiction of Nambaraga-grama and measuring six Nalikariyasas; (2) land of (or, at) Hithusari measuring eight Nalikariyasas; (3) land at Vaidipalaka measuring four Dravayapas; (4) land styled Vanolaka, belonging to Bhogaru and measuring three Nalikariyasas; (5) house-site belonging to Subhahtikaka, together with a piece of land called (or, belonging to) Khosu as well as another plot called Kaushalyakaka; (6) land called Sa JKaka, measuring two Dravayapas and belonging to Prastara and others; (7) land styled Yakshaschana, belonging to Govid and Naingaka and measuring three Dravayapas; (8) land called TalaSaktaka, belonging to Vihajaka and measuring ten Nalikariyasas; (9) land called Kharakaka, belonging to Vannuvaka and measuring three Dravayapas; (10) land called Gangakaka, belonging to the Shethkin Jivaka and measuring eight Dravayapas; (11) land called Paivittra, belonging to Jivaka, Shhahitya and Ichchhhabala and measuring three Dravayapas; (12) land called KatNikaka measuring two Dravayapas; (13) land called Nayapattoaka, belonging to the people of Nambaraga and measuring ten Dravayapas; (14) one hastaka (probably a piece of land that has fallen in the possession of a person) of Paingara who is known also from Padma’s charter; (15) land called Vaidibala, belonging to Vachchohabala and others and measuring six Dravayapas; (16) land called Kharihtthaanka, belonging to Shaititya and measuring six Nalikariyasas; (17) a pallaka (habitation) in the possession of Tuingsaka that measured six Nalikariyasas and was attached to the Karmata (barn) of Shiharshapura (probably the same as Harshapura).

The second group of the pieces of land was granted in favour of the god Narayana-bhashtarkaka installed on the bank of the Vishnu-gaag. This group contained the following pieces: (1) land called Anupa lying within the jurisdiction of Varabhikaka-grama, belonging to Nabhalkaka and others and measuring nine Dravayapas; (2) four pieces of land at Anupa belonging to the sons and granddaughters of Attake and measuring one Khaviyapas; (3) land called Jtripaka.

1 Atkinson suggested that Subhikshapura was most probably another name for Karthtkaysapura or a suburb thereof (op. cit., p. 463).
together with Ijara; (4) two pieces of land at Samijjā measuring nine Drōṇa-viṣṇa; (5) land called Gōvaka lying within the jurisdiction of Patra-grama, belonging to the sós of Attaka and measuring twenty Drōṇa-viṣṇa; (6) land called Ghasāruka, belonging to the inhabitants of Yōyikagrama and measuring two Drōṇa-viṣṇa; (7) land called Sihāra measuring one Drōṇa-viṣṇa; (8) land called Valivaradasišā measuring three Drōṇa-viṣṇa; (9) land called Hānga measuring five Drōṇa-viṣṇa; (10) land called Rullathi measuring three Drōṇa-viṣṇa; (11) land called Tirīna measuring three Drōṇa-viṣṇa; (12) land called Kuṭāmaśa measuring three Drōṇa-viṣṇa; (13) land called Gaunodārakā measuring three Drōṇa-viṣṇa; (14) land called Yāga measuring one Drōṇa-viṣṇa; (15) land called Karkatayāla measuring three Drōṇa-viṣṇa; (16) two hastas (the same as hastaka discussed above) of Paṅgara; (17) land called Dalmulaka, belonging to Dhanāka and measuring two Drōṇa-viṣṇa; (18) land at Gāmidaraka, belonging to Sirabala and measuring two Drōṇa-viṣṇa; (19) land called Śuṣṭavānā, belonging to Ichchhavardhana and Śilādivya and measuring five Drōṇa-viṣṇa; (20) land called Karkarātaka, belonging to the inhabitants of the viṣaya and measuring four Drōṇa-viṣṇa; (21) land called Chidārakā, belonging to the agriculturist house-holders and measuring three Drōṇa-viṣṇa; (22) land called Pannakorālakā, belonging to the villagers of Chaḍavaka and measuring twelve Drōṇa-viṣṇa; (23) land called Lōhārasamēna, belonging to Tūṅgādītya and measuring six Nālikā-viṣṇa; (24) land called Gāmihyārakanā attached to the Karminda at Yōśi and measuring fifteen Drōṇa-viṣṇa. These lands were granted together with a Matikā meaning a hut, cottage or cell.

The third group of the pieces of land was granted to the god Brahmeśvara-bhāṭṭāraka. This group contained the following pieces of land: (1) Raulyapallikā attached to Śvāyikā lying to the west of Sīnkaṭa, to the east of Anārīgantika, to the north of the Gaṅgi and to the south of Samāhakagrama; (2) Grihaḍakapatikā belonging to Vantaka of Śvāyikā and measuring seven Nālikā-viṣṇa.

All these lands including two pallikās were dedicated by the king in favūr of the three gods, viz. Durguṇi, Nārāyaṇa and Brahmeśvara, for the merit and fame of his parents and himself with the usual exemptions and privileges going with free gifts. The term Drōṇa-viṣṇa has already been discussed in connection with Padmāta’s record. The measurement of a Nālikā-viṣṇa cannot be explained with the help of Sanskrit lexicons, as the word nālikā is not recognised by them like drōṇa in the sense of a measure of capacity. In Childers’ Pali Dictionary, s.v. nāli, nāli (i.e. nālikā), it is said, “According to the Abhidhammapaddhatikā, 484, the nāli measure is the same as the patkā (Sanskrit prastha); but from the Prātimoksha Sūtra, 81, it would seem to be larger. It appears, however, to be of varying size for the Tamil nāli is said to be smaller than the Sinhalese, and the Sinhalese to contain half as much again as the Magadhese (Prūt., 81).” It seems therefore, that the nālikā was originally regarded as the same as prastha which is usually taken by Sanskrit lexicons as the one-sixteenth part of the drōṇa. A Nālikā-viṣṇa of land thus appears to have been 1/6 of a Drōṇa-viṣṇa originally. A khāri or khāri was usually regarded as equal to sixteen drōṇas. A Khāri-viṣṇa of land therefore seems to have originally measured sixteen times a Drōṇa-viṣṇa. A very interesting feature of tenancy or ownership of soil is indicated by the references to pieces of land said to have belonged to all the inhabitants of Nāmarāṇa-grama, to all the people of Yōyikagrama, to all the inhabitants of a viṣaya or district, to the agriculturist house-holders of a locality, and to the inhabitants of a locality called Chaḍavaka.

The executor of the grant was the officer in charge of the Department of Gift whose name was possibly Kamalaśila. The charter was written by Isvaradatta, officer in charge of the Department of War and Peace, and was engraved by Nandabhadra who is also known from Padmāta’s grant. Isvaradatta of this record seems to have belonged to the family of Nārāyaṇadatta who was the officer in charge of the Department of War and Peace under Padmāta.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the record, the location of Yōśi and Taṅgaḍāpura has already been discussed in connection with Padmāta’s record. Yōśi is modern Jōshimath and
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Taṅgaṇāpurā was probably the district round it. The identification of the viśāya of Antaraṅga and the localities called Harshapurā, Nāmburāṅga-grāma, Varēshikā-grāma, Pari-grāma, Yōyikā-grāma, Chādvakas, Ravvāpallikā, Sisākta, Anvārīgantika, Samēkaka-grāma, etc., is uncertain. The Gaṅgā or the upper course of the Ganges has been mentioned as the boundary of a piece of land as in the case of Padmina's charter. The bank of the Viśṇu-gaṅgā has also been mentioned as the place where the god Nārāyaṇa had been installed. The reference is no doubt to Vishṇuprayāṅga which is a halting place on the bank of the Alakndā in Pargana Pankhand. “The name Vishṇugangā”, says the Garhwal District Gazetteer, 1921, p. 204, “is also given to the river (Alakndā) for some distance of its course above this Chatti (halting place) owing probably to the existence of the Vishnuikund in its waters just below the temple which is built on a tongue of rock between the Dhaulī and Alakndā rivers, one and a half miles from Jomath.”

TEXT¹


5 dhigat-ābhimata-varā(r)-praśāde(du)-dyūtita-nikhila-bhuvan-ādityaḥ ārī-Saṅgadītyas-tasya puttras-tat-pād-ānudhāyōt rājīḥ mahādevi ārī-Siṅghāvah(ā)lidēvi tasyām= utpannaḥ p[ramamā]-

6 bēsvarah paramavra(brā)hmanyaḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājāḥḥiraḥ--paramesīvara-arimad-[chchhaḥ] tadeśaṃ-tasya puttras-tat-pād-ānudhāyōt rājīḥ mahādevi ārī-Siṅghādevi tasyām=[t[pannaḥ para]-

7 māmāhēsvarah(brā)hmanyaḥ dīn-ānātha-kripaṇ-āturaḥ(brā)śaṃśagata-vatasaḥ Prāchye-ōditya-Pratīchya-Dākṣiṇāṭya-dvijavara-mukhyānām-anavara-bhēma-dān-amṛit-ā[r]drikṛta]-


¹ From impressions.
² Expressed by symbol.
³ Padmina’s record reads here * aṭiṣaya-kama-bakti *.
⁴ The sign for viśāya here and in most other cases below resembles the Bengali type of anusvāra.
9 tō - rājāḥi mahādevī arimat-Padmālādevī tasyāṃ-utpannāḥ paramamāhāvaraḥ paramāvacṛta(braḥ)mānyah svayam-utkṛṣṭa-bhāsād-asī-prabha-viśvaṇa(ba)līkṛtā-vā (bā)hu-vā(ba)lī varjita-āśā-saṃ-dvājā[braḥ]-
17 [haj]attama(m-ā)hi(bhi)ra-vanik-chetvina-tadāyuṅka-ṣāntābhyadhikrītā-bhāṭṭa-ma
18 rttīnā-samata-pāda-padm-ōjātvinaḥ pratīvaṁsā-cha Vra(ba)lāmān-ōttaraṇ-yathārtha[ṃ[*] māṇya-tvō(bō)bhyati samāṃśatva-samjñāpayaty-aṣṭa vasamvāten va[samvāten][dita(m[*])] upar- saṁsūchita-vaśayāka-Na(Na)mvā(mba)raṅga-grāma-pratīva[ba](ddha)-Vachchetaṭik-satka
19 Vījimalā-nāma bhūmiḥ shanāṁ nālikānāṁ vāpa[(*)] tathā Hīṭhāsavya(m[ba]) bhūkhaṇḍa-n(udam) ashta-nālikā(ka)va-pa[m[*] tathā Vādipālakē bhūkhaṇḍaḥ chaturṇāṃ dṛṇānāṁ vāpa[(*)] tathā Bhogara-staka-Vanḍikābhīdhāna-bhūkhaṇḍa- [m[*]]
20 ttraya(tri)-nō(nā)līkā-vāpānī tathā Śubhaṣṭāka-satka-saraṇaṁ Koṇu-bhūmi-samaddhi-
(nvi)taṁ Kaṇḍayikā-parichitaṁ tathā Prastra-Āka-Bhūtriṇāṁ
tatka-Śaṭēka-nāmā bhūmi[h*] dviya(dvi)-drōṇa-vāpānī(ṇa) tathā Gōvīna(a-Na)gāka-satka-Ya[ka]-
sthān-ā.

21 bhidhāna-bhūmi[h*] ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpānī(ṇa) tathā Viśāṇa-satka-Talaśāka-ābhī-
dhānāṁ bhūmi[h*] daśa-nālikānāṁ vāpāṁ tathā Vamuvāka-satka-Kṣirakāv-
abhidhāna-bhū-khaṇḍa[ni] ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpānī tathā śrīśi[ti](shthi)-Jīvāka-satka-
Gaṇęga-

22 ka-nāmā bhūmi[h*] ashṭha-drōṇa-vāpānī(ṇa) tathā Jīvāka-Śiḥāditya-Icchhāva-
(ba)lānī[ti] ttraya(tri)-nāmā bhūmi[h*] ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpāṁ(ṇa) tathā Kāṭa-śīla-nāmā bhūmi[h*] dviya(dvi)-drōṇa-vāpānī(ṇa) tathā Nāṃva(na)-raṁgīra-samastā jā[ja]napadāna(na)

23 satka-Nyāyapattaka-nāmā bhūmi[h*] daśa-drōṇa-vāpāṁ tathā Paṅgara-hastakam-
ekaṁ tathā [Vachchhāya(ba)la-Viva(ṃ)a-Kama-Darjiyāka-Prathama-śiḥtyanāṁ satka-
Vuddhā(ba)-abhidhāna-bhūmi[h*] | vati(ri)-drōṇa-vāpāṁ(ṇa) tathā Śiḷāditya-satka-

24 Khōraḥkōṭṭhiśiśika-nāmā bhūmi[h*] śaṇuśāṇi nālikā(kā, nāmī vāpāṁ tathā Śrīharṣa-
pura-karmaṇa-pratīva(ba)ldha-pūrva-ṣaṭmāṇa-Tuṅgaka-pariḥṛṣyamāna-pallika(kā) | ētā bhūmayaḥ pallīka checha(cha) Śrīharṣapuruṣi śrī-Durgā-ḥaṭṭā-ṁyā-

25 yā(yai) | tathā Varoṣhikā-grāma-samv(a)ldha-Nāhāḷika-Vijjata-Duṇja-Ātuṅga-
Nichaya-Tuṅga-Chāvataka-Varāha-Śiṭṭaka-satka-Ānūpa-Śiḥāditya-bhū-khaṇḍa

26 yaṁ khaṛi-vāpānī tathā [Jāṭipātaka-nāmā bhū[h*] Iqara-samanvitaṁ(tā) tathā
Samijṭayaṁ bhūkhaṇḍa-dvayaṁ nava-drōṇa-vāpānī tathā Attaka-puṭṭraṁ satka-Pari-
grāma-pratīva(ba)ldha-Gōvarak-ābhīdāna-bhūmivrīṃsā(r=viṃśati)-drōṇa-vāpānī(ṇa) tathā Yōyī-

27 ka-grāma-nivāśināṁ satkha-Ghassṛukā-nāmā bhūmi[h*] dviya(dvi)-drōṇa-vāpānī
tathā Śīhāra-nāmā bhūḥ drōṇa-vāpānī(ṇa) tathā Valivarṇa(sīlā)nāmā bhū[h*] ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpānī(ṇa) tathā Ihaṅga-nāmā bhū[h*] paścā-
drōṇa-vāpānī(ṇa) tathā Rullāthi-nāmā bhū[h*] ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpānī(ṇa) tathā

28 ya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpānī(ṇa) tathā Tiriṅga-nāmā bhū[h*] ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpānī(ṇa) tathā Kuṭīṇa-sīla-nāmā bhūḥ ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpānī(ṇa) tathā Gauṇḍārīkā-
nāmā bhū[h*] ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpānī(ṇa) tathā Yuga-nāmā bhū[h] drōṇa-vāpānī-
(ṇa) tathā Karkaṭāyāḷā-nāmā bhū[h*] ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-
vāpānī(ṇa) tathā Paṅgara-hastakā dvayaṁ tathā Dhaṇḍa-satka-Dālimālaka-nāmā
bhūḥ dviya(dvi)-drōṇa-vāpānī(ṇa) tathā Śīrava(ba)-satka-Grāمدरकā bhū-

29 khaṇḍa[ni] dviya(dvi)-drōṇa-vāpānī(ṇa) (pam) tathā Ichhavīrvāna-Śiḥādityayīś-śaṭkha-
Sūḥṣṭavimānabhūḥ paścā-drōṇa-

* The intended reading may also have been *Bhūmāmn or trayānīthu
* Read ḍhēṁu.
* Read niśi-ta vāpāṁ |
* The rules of Sandhi have been ignored here.
* Read śaṅkālīkā-
* Read nīdi-vāṭāmū.
* It is difficult to determine if 'tīmā is a mistake for nāmā.
vāpaṁ (pa) tathā vishayāṇāṁ  satka-Kark卡拉 steadfast bhūh chaturāṇāṁ dvādaśa-drōṇaṁ 

31 Tungāditya-satka-Lōhārasamēna bhūh shat-nalikānāṁ vāpaṁ tathā Yōshi-karmāṅtasaṁva’ sensation, drōṇa-vāpaṁ (pa ) tathā Chāḍavaka-grāmāṇāṁ satka-Pannakārāḷikā-nāma-bhūh dvādaśa-drōṇa-vāpaṁ (pa) tathā


33 saṅkṣā-nālikā-vāpa bhagavatē Śrī-Vra(ka)ṁ ev ra-haṭṭāra-kāya tathā bhū- mayoh(yaḥ) paṇkī. dvē cha mayā mātā-pitrōrt-ātmaneṣa cha pūnya-yaśo- bhūvīdhipa pavana-vighaṣṭa-śatvas-pattra-choṣchaṣa la-taraṅa-jañvalīkya(ka) ma-

34 vañkāya jala-vu(bu)dvu(bu)jā-kāram-asāraṇ-cha dṛhi(dri)he tvā gaja-kalabha-karaṇ- āgra-chapatalān-cha laksmyā jīvātvā parālōka-nītra(trī)yas-ārthaḥ sanaś(sanā)r- ārṇava-taraṇ-ārthāḥ-cha pūnyā(yā)-hāni bhagavadhyāḥ Śrī-Durgādēvi-Śrī

35 Nārāyaṇaḥaṭṭāraka-Śrī-Vra(ka)ṁ eva varahatārākēbhyaḥ Gandha-dhūpa-dipa-pushpōpālāpana-samāmm(mā)jīrana-ādva-nuṣṭya-va(ḥa)li-charu-satra-pravartan-ārthaḥ khan(ka)ṣa-sphurēta-punaḥ kṣaṁkē(ka)ṣa-raṇ-ārthāḥ cha prati-

36 pādītāḥ prakṛti-paribhāyoyuktā [a]-nā(chā)ṣa-bhata-pravēṣyā ma(a)-kiṣhit-pragehyā ma(e)naścchēdhyā[ḥ] chand-ārka-kṣhit-sthiti-samakālīkā visā(aha)yāduddhīma-piṇḍānuṣva(sa-sa)simā-gochara-parayantānsa(e-sa)vrikṣa-brāmō.

37 dībhā-prasaraṇ-ōpēṭā ndē(ṇē)va-Vrā(ṉ)ṛmaṇa-bhukta-bhujyamāna-varjītā yata-sukhan mpā(pā)rampyeṣa paribhūjyamānānāṁ vālpaṁ-api dharaṇa-viḍhāraṇa-paripanabha-adik-ōpādravan-na kaiṣhit-kaiṣita[ta].

38 vyām-aṭō-nyathā[1]-ājñā-vaṭiṭkramē mahā-drōhana śyād-iti pravṛddhamāna-vijaya-rajya-śaṅkaratārī chaturthē Samva(Samva) t 4 Jē(Jayē)ṣṭha-vadi 5 pratī- ttra mahādānāḥkapatālaḥḥāṭhīṣa Śrī-Kamalā-

1 Read visheyaṁ.
2 Read chatra-drōna-ōpā.
3 It is difficult to determine if we have to suggest Lōhārasamē-nā[mā].
4 Read ākṣar-nālikā-ōpā.
5 It is difficult to determine if we have to suggest trādipura-ṇa[mā].
6 The intended word may be sommādhyā, 'a sacred locality', or sommākā, 'a continuum'.
7 Read 'tīmanā or śīmyāt.
8 Better read Gaṅgāyā natarasa.
9 Read uṣṇīg-pū.
10 Read śravā na.
11 Read karātipōdayantātā.
TRANSLATION

(Line 1) May there be success ! Hail ! From the illustrious (city of) Subhikshapura ;

(Lines 1-8) (Similar to lines 1-9 of Padmaṭā’s charter.)

(Lines 8-13) his son, who med.,aced on his feet, born of the queen, the illustrious Mahādevī Padmālādevi, (sesa) Paramahāṭṭāraka Mahārajaṭṭāraka Paramaṭṭāraka, the illustrious Padmaṭa-dēva who was a devout worshipper of Mahāvāra (Śiva) ; who was extremely hospitable to the Brāhmaṇas ; who surpassed all the activities of Bali, Vaikartana, Dadhic and Chandraguptha by continuously making offerings of elephants, horses and ornaments presented (to him by various kings) with obeisance from the end of the countries of all the directions that were rendered by himself devoid of prowess of the arms and were divided into various parts by the expansion of the radiance of his unseathed shining sword ; who was the lord of the earth which has the girdle extending as far as the most of the four oceans ;

his son, who meditates on his feet, born of the queen, the illustrious Mahādevī Iśānādevī, is Paramahāṭṭāraka Mahārajaṭṭāraka Paramaṭṭāraka, the illustrious Subhiksharājādeva ; who is a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu ; who is extremely hospitable to the Brāhmaṇas ; whose body is adorned with all the groups of arts acquired with ease and who has removed far away the collection of the darkness (of ignorance) due to the Kali age by the lustre of the light of the scriptures completely mastered (by him) ; who is the unique preceptor, expert in imparting initiation into widowhood to the women of the ferocious enemies who are famous in the world ; who destroyed the expansion of the arrogance of the strong staff-like arms of the enemies by forcibly carrying away their fortune ;

(Lines 13-18) (List of officials, similar to that in Padmaṭādeva’s record.)

[1] The remnants of the last akṣara suggest 1a. The intended reading may therefore have been Kamaladīva-

[ā].

[2] Read "ṣr.-Īvara".


[5] Metre : Aṇushṭubh for this and the following two verses.


[7] Metre : Paschymāgrā. There is a design here to indicate the end of the writing.
(Lines 18-33) The various pieces of gift land dedicated to three deities as detailed in the introductory discussion above.

(Lines 33-38) The purpose of the grant and the privileges going with rent-free holdings as in the corresponding sections of the records of Lalitaśu and Padmaśu.

(Lines 38-39) In the fourth year of the increasing reign of victory: year 4, the 5th day of the dark half of Jyēṣṭha. The Dūśaka in this case is the illustrious Kamalaśūla who is the Mahā-bālīyaśu-bhakṣaṇaśu-lādāchākṣu. It is written by the illustrious Īvaraśānti who is the Mahā-sandhiyaśu-bhakṣaṇaśu-lādāchākṣu and is engraved by the illustrious Nandabhadra.

(Lines 39-42) Impecatory and benedictory verses.)
No. 39—TWO VALABHI GRANTS FROM MOTA MACHIALA

(3 Plates)

A. S. GADRE, BARODA

The two copper-plate grants which are being published now were brought to the notice of Shri S. R. Rao, then Assistant to the Director of Archaeology, Baroda, in January 1953 when he was conducting trial excavations at Mōṭā Māchīlā which is a small village about seven miles to the north-east of Amreli, the headquarters of the District of that name in the Bombay State. The information regarding the plates was supplied by Shri Jani, a pottery-marksmen employed during the excavations. Shri Rao brought the inscribed plates to me when I was camping at Amreli. I examined them on the spot and purchased them from their owners for the Archaeological Department, Baroda. My thanks are due to Shri Rao and Shri Jani for bringing these records to my notice.

The grants belong to the Maitraka rulers of Valabhi, A to Dhrusavēna I and B to Dharasēna II. Grant B had a thick coating of rust and many scratches on it. Both the plates were chemically treated by Shri Mathur, an Assistant of the Archaeological Chemist in India, who was working on the preservation of the wall paintings in the Tambekar Wads at Baroda. This made it possible for me to photograph the plates. I am highly indebted to him.

The characters of the records belong to the Southern Class of alphabet. Noteworthy are the forms of the jihāmāliya and upadhāniya occurring in Grant B (line 16 and 18). The final consonants are represented with a horizontal bar on the top (cf. t in line 23 and m in lines 24-25 of A). As regards orthography, the consonant following r in a conjunct is doubled. The doubling is resorted to before y also (cf. pād-anuddhyāa in line 11 of A). Among the instances of wrong spelling may be mentioned the use of ri for ri. The language of both the records is Sanskrit. The imprecatory portion at the end is as usual in verse, the rest being in prose. Both the charters purport to make gifts to Brāhmaṇas. Many of the villages and areas mentioned in them could not be identified. But these seem to have been situated around Mōṭā Māchīlā where the plates were found.

A. Grant of Dhrusavēna I, Year 206

The two plates of this grant, which are engraved on their inner sides only, have two holes at the top for rings with which they were originally secured. Both the rings are now missing. The plates measure 11 3\(\frac{1}{2}\)" × 6 3\(\frac{1}{2}\)" each. They were found in a very good state of preservation.\(^1\)

The charter was issued from Valabhi by the Maitraka king Dhrusavēna I. It bears the date: Sātra 206, Āśvayuja 40, 5 and purports to record the grant of a piece of cultivated land (śūla) known as Thunṣakakālīs in the eastern part of the village of Suvarṇakāṭya (or, less probably Kaśvarṇaśa) included in Śīrṣabhataka-sāhaḷa. The land was 100 pādāravīs (Bighās)\(^2\) in area. The gift was made to the Brāhmaṇas Gaṅgasārman, Gaṅgadeva and Chaṇuksa\(^3\) of the Śāṇḍilya gōtra, who were students of the Vājasanēya school of the Sūkla-Yajurvēda.

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\(^1\) The plates were purchased for Rs. 20 from Bhimaji Nanji of Mōṭā Māchīlā. Māchīlā is generally spelt Māchīlā.

\(^2\) [The inscription reads Thunṣakaka which seems to be the name of a person of the Kōlika community. This person seems to have been the possessor of the land.—Ed.]

\(^3\) See Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. III, part i, pp. 77-78, note 5. [The exact area of a pādāravīs is unknown.—Ed.]

\(^4\) [See below.—Ed.]

(200)
The Dāsaka who executed this grant was Praśikāra Mammaka and the scribe was Kikkaka.

Dhruvasima I succeeded his brother Drōpasimha. Including the present grant, seventeen of his charters are known so far. His earliest known grants are those of year 206 (525 A.D.) and the latest of year 226 (545 A.D.). Taking into consideration the latest known grant of his predecessor and the earliest known record of his successor, a reign of about 30 years from 519 A.D. to 549 A.D. may be attributed to him.

Of the geographical names mentioned in this record, Śīnabarāṭaka-sthali seems to have been a small revenue sub-division and may correspond to a modern Thāqā. Dr. H. G. Sastri¹ has identified Śīnabarāṭaka with Simarana, 7 miles north of Kundala in Saurashtra. I do not agree with this identification. The donees resided at Kāśāhrada which is of course Kāsandra, 12 miles north-west of Ahmedabad.

TEXT

First Plate

1 Svasti [*] Valabhitaḥ prasabha-pranat-āmitrāṇaḥ Maitrakānāḥ(pā)ḥxm-atula-bala-saptna- maṇḍal-ābhoga-

2 sarisakta-samprahāra-śata-labdhī-pratāpaḥ pratap-ōpanata-dāna-māna-arjav-ōpajjīt-ānu- rāgo=nu-

3 rakta-maula-bhṛitya-mitra-Ārjuna-bal-āvāpta-rājya-ārihā(ārtha) paramamābhēsavah arthā sēnāpati- Bhātakaḥ tasya su-

4 tas-tat-pāda-raja-ruṇa-akṣata-pavitrikrīta-āti(ārthā) śirō-vanata-satru-ōcūḍa-maṇi-prabhā- vichchhurita-pūde-nakha-

5 padiktr-dīdhitāḥ dī(ṛ)jñānātha-jan-ōpajīvamāna-vibhavaḥ paramamābhēsvaḥ sēnāpati- Dharasēnas-tasya-ānuvaḥ-

6 tat-pāda-ābhīprāmaṇa-prasasta-vimala-mauli-maṇiḥ Manv-ādi-prapita-vidhi-vidhāna-dharmma Dharmaṃrāja iva vihi-

7 ta-vinaya- vyavasthā-padhatir-akṣa-bhuvana-maṇḍal-ābhoga-śvāminā paramasvāminā svayam-upahita-rājya-ū-

8 bhīṅkaka-mahā-vigrā(śrā)jan-āvapūta-rāja-ārtha paramamābhēsvaḥ mahārāja-Drōpasimhaḥ saṃhīma iva tasya-ānu-

9 jaḥ svā-bhuja-balēna para-gaja-ghaṭā-āṇi(ānti)kāṇāma-ēka-vijayi(yi) sāra-aiśāñgam sāraṇam- avabodhā śāstrā-pratīcīta-tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvā(ṛ)tvাধিকারা-daṇḍapāśaḥ-ādi(ṛ)nyās-cha yathā-sambhyāmānakān-an NANDAYATAT- yathā ma-

¹ Dhruvasima acknowledged the sovereignty of a Paramabhāgavata who his identity is difficult to determine although originally the Maitrakas must have owed allegiance to the Imperial Guptas.—Ed.)
No. 39] TWO VALABHI GHANTS FROM MOTA MACHIALA

13 yā Śīnahrājaka-ethaly-antaragattaka-Suvarṇappakhyā-grāma-purvva-sī(ā)mni
Thumātaka-koliṃa-prajñāyāmāna-sī(ā)tā pādāva-

14 rga(rta)-āṭa-parisārā s-ōparikārā sa-dītya-ē-dāna-karaṇā sah-ānysā-cha kirtīti-
kkirittīdānaī;

Second Plate

15 sarvva-svadhānat-param-kahiṇiya(ne)(pa)(ni)(ni)* Kāśahṛada-vāstavya-Brāhmaṇa-Gaṅgāramma-
Gaṅgadēva-Chunukēbhayaḥ⁴

16 Śaḍyīla-sagotra-Vājīja-saṃśaya-sabrahmachāribhīyō mātā-pitṛḥ punyāpīyānāyātmanāś-
chyāihikārshmikayā-

17 th-ābhilāshita-phal-āvāpti-nimittam-ā-chandr-ārkk-ārṣya-kaṣhit-sarit-parvata-sthitī-samā-
kālā putra-pastra-ānva-

18 ya-bhūgya bali-charu-vaśīvaṃ-dāyānāṁ kriyāṃ bhumāyānāṣaṃpraṇārthānāḥ bhūmi-chchhiddra-
nyāyāna brahmāyānā niṣra(ta)sṛṣṭā ya-

19 ta ēṣam-vechitaya brahmāya-sthitīyā bhumātāṅ kriṣhātāṁ pradīṣātāṁ va na kaiṣhit-
svaḥ-śyāvādāḥ vichātā-

20 nā vā kāryā义乌 asvam-saṇjāṣir-āgāmi-nripatibhiḥ-ch-ānityānai-āsāvṛtyātīnai-āsthiraiḥ-
maṅgalyān samānyaṁ cha bhū-

21 mi-dāna-phalam-vaṣagacchhadhbir-yam-asvad-dāyō-numantaṇyaḥ [[*] yaś-čh-āch-
chhīndyāt-āchchhīdīyaṁānaṁ v-ānumodēta

22 sa pahohabhir-maṁhā-pātakaiḥ s-ōpapātakaiḥ saṁyuktaḥ svād-ātra Vyāsa-
ṛg(ī)ña-ālokā bhavanti |

23 Shakṣṭinā varaha-sahapāṇi svarggī mōdatī bhūmīdaḥ [[*] śucchhīttā cha-ānumantā cha-
ṭānī-ṛva narrator vaśāt [[*]

24 Svā-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ va yo harēta vaśūndhārām [[*] gavāṁ āṭa-saharasya hantāḥ-
prāniṇī kīlībhāṁ [[*]

25 Bhabhūr-vvasudhā bhūktā ṛṣabhiḥ-Saharan-ādhibhiḥ [[*] yasya yasya yaḍā bhūmī-ṛṣasya-
tasya tadā pa(phajam)liaṃ [[*]

26 svā-bastō mama mahārāja-Dhrūvaśāṃsaya | dūtakāḥ pratīhāra-mamakāḥ likhitāṁ-
Kīkākēna [[*]

27 Sarh 200 6 Āśvāyuja-śuddha 5 [[*]]

B. Grant of Dharasēna II, Year 252

This charter consists of two plates written on the inner sides. They are secured with rings passing through two holes made at the top of the plates. The plates measure each 12 1/4" × 8 1/2". When the plates were received for examination, the right side ring was missing but the left side

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¹ [The reading of this name is Thēmēka.-Ed.]
² [This may be a modification of datti.-Ed.]
³ [The reading of these letters is sarvā-śraddha.-Ed.]
⁴ [The reading is Čhāndekēbhaya.-Ed.]
ring with the seal held the plates together. The extant ring has an oval seal which bears in relief the usual bull emblem of the Maitrakas with the legend Śrī-Ṛṣṭakka in relief.¹

The charter, dated Sāh 252 Valāśka-ba 15, was issued from Valabhī by Dharasena II who succeeded his father Guhasena. The last known date of Guhasena is the year 248 (567 A.D.) and the earliest known date of Dharasena's successor Śilāditya I is the year 236 (605 A.D.). Hence Dharasena II may be assigned a reign of about 30 years, i.e. from 570 to 600 A.D. The gift recorded in the charter was made by the king for the merit of his parents as well as of himself. The document was written by Skandabhata and the executor of the grant was Chhibbira.

The charter purports to record the gift of the following plots of land and irrigation wells to a Brāhmaṇa named Rudra who was a student of the Maitrayānīya-Vārāhaka śākā of the Yajurveda and belonged to the Lāmakāyana gōra:

(a) a piece of land 200 pāḍāvartas in area on the northern border of the village Bhaṭṭivatā, as also a step-well irrigating² thirtytwo pāḍāvartas of land on the eastern border of the same village;

(b) a step-well irrigating³ 20 pāḍāvartas of land in the southern border of Śavinipadraka, and

(c) a plot of tilled land known as Pēraka⁴ in the northern border of the village of Bahudhanaka as also a piece of 100 pāḍāvartas of land in the western border of Bhaḷbāla-patāka.

¹ These places cannot be identified. Dr. H. G. Sastri, however, has tried to identify Bhaṭṭivatā with Bhaḍabhāṭiyā, a village some 2 miles to the south-west of Hāthab.

TEXT

First Plate


¹ The places were purchased for Rs. 25 from Koli Ambe Soma of Mōṭā Mōchhā.  
² [The reference is to the area covered by the step-well.—Ed.]  
³ [Pēraka seems to be the name of a person who was enjoying the income of the land.—Ed.]  
⁴ Maitrakāla Gvṛti, Part II, Appendix 5, p. 30.
TWO VALABHI GRANTS FROM MOTA MACHIALA — PLATE II

B. Grant of Dharasena II, Year 252

Scale. Three-fourths
8  sati-pravidhaut-aśeṣa-kalmashah śu-viśudhā(ddha)-sva-[charit-०]daśa-kohalita-sakala-kāl-nilaka[h*] prasaṃbha-nirjīt-ārati-paḳha-pratīṭha-mahima(mā) param[a]dityabhaktaḥ śrī-ma-

9  hārāja-Dharapattas-tasya-anujas' tat-pāda-saparṣy-āvāptā-puny-śodaya[h*] tana(śai)jāvāt-prabhṛti khaṇḍa-gv[t]ya-bāhur-śva sa-mada-paṛa-gaṛht-āśphōtana-prakāśi-


12  t-ābhaya-pradāna-paratayā tra[ṃ]ṇavad-apāst-āśeṣa-sva-kārya-phalaḥ pāda-chāri[ṃ]-ṣu sakala-bhuvaṇa-vaṃsāl-ābhōga-pramāṇaḥ paramamābēśvaraḥ mahā-

13  rāja-srī[ṃ]-Guhāśena-tasya sutas-tat-pāda-nakha-mayū[kha]-santāna-ni[ṃ]*yita[tt]-Jāhnavī[tt]-ja[ṃ]-vahā-viśekālit-āśeṣa-kalmashah praṇayi-śaṭa-sahas-ōpa-


15  nām-anupālayita dhammya-dāyānām-apakaktā(ṛttā) praṣ-paḥghaṭa-kāriṇām-upapla-vāṇāṁ darṣayita Śrī[Śrī]-Sarasvatīyor-ek-ādiḥvāsasya saṃhita-ārati-paṃkha-lakshmi-parikshā-


Second Plate

17  mahattara-ḥaṭa-bhāṭa-dhruvādhikaranika-śaukjika-vartta(rtma)pāla-pratisāraka-rājaṭhāniya-kumārāmātī-ādi[di]n anyānā-če yathā-sahabdhyamānanāṁ samā-

18  jāṇapaty-astu va[h*] saṃviditam yathā mayā māṭ-pitṛḥ(trōḥ)-puny-āpyānanāyā-ātmanaḥ-če aśiḥk-amushmika-yath-ābhisheka-ḥal-avāpyate Bhūṣṭiva[ṃ]tā=

19  grāmē uttara-si[ṃ]mī pāḍavaṛtta-[ṣa]da-dvayaṁ(yam) || pūrvo-simmi dvastoṇiśati-pāḍavaṛtta-parisarā vāpi tathā Śāviniṇpadraṇa-grāmē daksinī-ṛ[[i]]ni viṁśa(viṁśa)ti-pāḍa-


21  es-ōpikarinam se-vāta-bhūṭa-dhānya-hirany-ādēyaṁ aḥtiḥ-dvyāma-viśiṣṭi(kan) ma nama-rajakījñānāṃ-a-hasta-prakābopa[ṃ]na(n)yaṁ bhūmi-ōcchhādya-nīyēna Maī-

22  traya[ṃ]ṛya[Vārhaka-Lāmakāyana-sagōṭra-Grāhman-Rudrāya balī-chaur-vaisvādev-āgniḥōtrī-āṭigha-paṭha-mahāyajñikānā[ṛ]* kri(kri)yaṇāṁ śamu-

* [Read tasyādāna].—Ed.]
* * [Read 'śvīkār'.—Ed.]
* [The reading is printsīyā].—Ed.]
* *The letters Śmān appear before this s. Read s- śmānāṃ s-śmiṃ.

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No. 39] TWO VALABHI GRANTS FROM MOTA MACHIALA 303
23 tṣarpaṇ-aṝtham-ā-chaṇḍr-āṛkk-āṝṇava-sarit-kabiti-sthiti-sama-kālinām putra-pō(pau)tvā-
(ttr-a)naya-bhōgyam(gam) udaka-arggēga brahmadēyām nisṛṣṭaṁ yatē=ṣye=ōcitayā
bra-
24 hmadēya-sthity[ā] [bhun]jataḥ kṛṣṇa(sha)taḥ karisṛa(sha)yataḥ pradīṣṭāt vā na kaiṣcit-
prittihēdē vartaṛitavyam-āgāmi-bhadra-nipatiḥśe-eh-āśma-vaṁsa(vaṁśa)-
25 jair-an[tyāṇy-āvāryāṇy-āsthiraṁ mā]nushya[ṇi] [sāmāṇyam cha bhūmi-dāna-phalame-
avagacchhedhīḥ bhitv-ārany-āsmad-adāya(yō)-numantavyaḥ (pari)pālayitavya-
26 ś-chu[*] yāt-ch-ai[na-ā]cchhīnādyād-āchchhīdhyamānāntuḥ] v-ānumodita sa pānchabhir-
mmahā-pātakae-s-ōpaṁtāka[ḥ*] sāmyukta[ḥ*] syād-itya-uktam cha bhagavatā Vēdavyāś-
27 na Vyāsena [ ] Sa(sha)-hitvā-varṣa-sahastāni svarggō tīrthbhāti bhūmidaḥ [[*] a(ā)chchhēttā
ch-ānumantā cha tū̄ṇy-ēva narakē vaset. Pūrvva-ta(da)ttāni
28 dvijātibhiḥ yatmi-adarmaka -Yudhī-hṣṛya | mahāṁ mahīmatāṁ śreṣṭha dānīcchhrēyō-
nunālamī(ṇa) [ *] Bhuhbhi-
29 r-vvasa-dālī bhūktā rājabhiḥ[*] Sagar-adāmbhi[*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya
tadal pha-
30 lam-iti i likhitai satīḥhīrvin(ratras)hēbhikṛta-Śkandabhaṭēna | Dā° Chhibbhirāḥ Sarī
tī 200 50 2 Vasākha-ba 10 5 [[*]
31 [s]va-ḥastō sama mahā[rūja]-śri-Dhārasēnasya || ||
TWO VALABHI GRANTS FROMMOTA MACHIALA

SEAL OF DHARASENA II

(from a Photograph)
No. 40—PEDDABAMMIDI PLATES OF VAJJRAHASTA III, SAKA 982

(2 Plates)

R. C. MAJUMDAR, NAGPUR

This set of four copper plates was found at Peddabammidi in the Narasannapet Taluk of the Srikakulam District, Andhra. They were forwarded by the Deputy Commissioner of Commercial Taxes, Guntur, to the Government Epigraphist for India. I edit the grant from a set of excellent estampages kindly supplied by the latter. The plates are now in the possession of the Andhra University, Waltair.

Each of the plates is 8" long and slightly less wide in the middle (3'') than at the ends (3''). They are held by a circular ring with a diameter of 3-5". The seal soldered to the ring has on its surface the emblems of a bull, a conch, the moon, a goat, a fly-whisk, a flag and a tortoise. The plates and the ring with the seal weigh respectively 94 and 54 tolas. The outer side of the first plate has no writing. The inner side of the first plate and both sides of the second and third plates have eight lines of writing each. The fourth plate has seven lines of writing on the first side. The second side of this plate has traces of writing; but, though individual letters can be read here and there, no sense of this part can be made out; hence no attempt has been made to read it.1 There are thus altogether 47 lines of legible writing which are in a good state of preservation.

The alphabet belongs to the same type of the Gaudīya script as is used in the Nadagam. Madras Museum2 and Narasaputam3 plates and many other Eastern Gaṅga grants.4 Interesting are the forms of ṣch and ṣẖẖ. The sign for v has been used to indicate b.

The language is Sanskrit and the legible portion of the inscription is written in prose with the same twelve verses in the introductory portion, which are found in several other copper-plate grants of the king who issued the charter. As a matter of fact, the whole of the introduction (lines 1-41) is a verbatim reproduction of that in the Nadagam and Madras Museum plates and varies very slightly from that in the Narasaputam plates.

With regard to orthography, we may note that the class nasal is used instead of anusvarā, although there are a few exceptions. Many of the consonants are doubled after r. T is sometimes doubled before r; but usually we have the form tr. There are many mistakes in the text of the document. Often one letter is put for another and the vowel signs are omitted or wrongly put. Sometimes letters and even words are omitted while the visarga sign is frequently omitted.

The grant was issued from a place, the name of which begins with ka and ends in -agara. The second letter is doubtful, and there is no room for a third letter before nagara. The name may be a mistake for Kaliganagara.

The grant was issued by Paramabhatāraka Mahānārdhīnīja Vajrahastra (III), the overlord of the three Kalīnas and a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, and records the grant of the village of Santarama (line 42) in favour of Pallaya, son of Dādēśvāna and his wife Dalēmāvā (lines 45-46). The village was situated in the district (visayā) of Kūlvarṇtani, a name which also occurs in the Nadagam plates (line 57). The epithet su-pauruṣa-parितहita, applied to the donee,
perhaps alludes to some deeds of valour performed by him, and the grant may be a reward for that. The illegible portion presumably contained the boundaries of the land granted together with the imprecatory verses.¹

The grant was made in the Śaka year 982 (line 44) on Thursday the fifth of the bright fortnight in the month of Makara. The date regularly corresponds to the 28th December, 1060 A.D.¹ The donee is said to belong to the Vēṣyā family (line 45). Vēṣyā may be taken as an error for vēṣā (prostitute), for the interchange of ś with s frequently occurs in this record. But it is hardly likely that a man’s ancestry should be traced to a prostitute in a public document. So it may be suggested that the word stands for Vaiṣaya.²

**TEXT**

(Metres: verses 2, 6, 12 Anushtubha; verses 7, 8 Gītī; verses 5, 9 Mālīnī; verses 1, 3, 11 Sārddāsīvārkīdīta; verse 4 Vaināśastha; verse 10 Vasantatilaka.)

**First Plate**

1. Ōnāsvasti [||[s[ri]matām-sakhīlla-bhuvana-vinuta-naya-vinaya-dāya-dāna-dākshiyā-satyā-saucha-


3. ṛṣa-prakāñjita-Kali-kāla-kalima[śha]mahiṇām mahā-Mahēndrāchala-aikhara-

4. shrētāsa sa-char-āchara-gurūḥ sakalā-bhuvana-vimānā-praṇā-sūtraḥhāra-

5. yāsākānaka-chūdamaniḥprabhāḥ(r-bbha)gavatō Gokarṇaśvāmīnaḥ prasādāya[∗]

6. samāsādhit-aiśaṃsā(aikha)bhūvī-paṇḍharamahāśavatī-bda(dhavalchodhattrā-bēmachā-

7. mara-varvishabhallānchhana-samujva[jiva]la-samasta-samārajo mahimānām-anē-

8. ka-samarasa-gaḥṭṭa-samupalalva(halhiva) vyaya-lakṣhami-samālīgat-ōta[ttu]nga-bhuk-

**Second Plate, First Sid**

9. ja-lauḍa-mahātāmāhāti Trikaliṇga-mahihjauṃ Gaṅgānām-anvayam-alaukā-

10. rishnū[∗] Vishnū-riva vikram-śrānta-dhara-mañjulasaya Guṇaṃhārṇava-mahā(hā)-

11. rāṣṭra putraḥ “0” Purvavai bhūpatibhir-vvibhaja vasudhā yā paṇḍhābhīh pa-

12. śchadha bhūtā bhūri-parākramā bhujāva-ba(lh)a-lstām-eka eva svayam(yam ||) ē-

13. kākṛitya vyijaya saṣṭhit-nivahāḥ śri-Vaiṣrajñastāś-chaturaschatvārī-

14. nīti[tā]ḥmatyāṇa-haritāḥ sarvāḥ-arakshita-samāh ||[∗] Tasya tanayō Guṇḍama-

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¹ [See below.—Ed.]
¹¹ I am indebted for this calculation to Prof. V.V. Mirashi.
¹² Vaiṣrajñastāś is referred to in line 13 of a record of Madhukārṇava (JAHRES, Vol. VIII.
¹³ [See above, Vol. XXIII, p. 80.—Ed.]
¹⁴ From a set of impressions.
¹⁵ From a set of impressions.
Scale: Three-fourths
15 jā(jō) [ha(va)]r[*]sha-trayam-apalayata mahīn(him) || tad-anujāḥ Kāmāṛṇṇavadāvah pañcha-
16 triṃśatam-avda(bda)kān || tasy-ānujō Vinayāditya[h*] samas-tise[a[h*] || tataḥ Kā-
Second Plate, Second Side
17 mārṇṇavāj-jātō jagati-Kalpahūrulaḥ || yō-rājad-rājitaḥ(ta)-chhhāyō Va-
18 jārahastō vanit-patiḥ [ || 2[*] praśchyōda(ta)n-mada-gandha-luvdha(bda)-madhupa-
19 vāyālūḥ-gaṇḍa-vaṃśatāḥ || tasy-ānujō Vinayāditya[h*] samas-tise[a[h*] || tataḥ Kā-
20 mārṇṇavāj-jātō jagati-Kalpahūrulaḥ || yō-rājad-rājitaḥ(ta)-chhhāyō Va-
21 mahān-aryabhya-samadāt-aḥaśram-astulō yas-tyāginām-agra[ī|h*] saḥ(sa) śrimā-
22 n-Aṇiṣkabhaḥ(bhu)ma-nripatīr-Ggaṅ-āṃvav-śtamaṃsakāḥ pañcchatrimātamaḥ=
23 vāyālūḥ-gaṇḍa-vaṃśatāḥ || tasy-ānujō Vinayāditya[h*] samas-tise[a[h*] || tataḥ Kā-
24 mārṇṇavāj-jātō jagati-Kalpahūrulaḥ || yō-rājad-rājitaḥ(ta)-chhhāyō Va-
25 mahān-aryabhya-samadāt-aḥaśram-astulō yas-tyāginām-agra[ī|h*] saḥ(sa) śrimā-
26 n-Aṇiṣkabhaḥ(bhu)ma-nripatīr-Ggaṅ-āṃvav-śtamaṃsakāḥ pañcchatrimātamaḥ=
27 mārṇṇavāj-jātō jagati-Kalpahūrulaḥ || yō-rājad-rājitaḥ(ta)-chhhāyō Va-
28 mārṇṇavāj-jātō jagati-Kalpahūrulaḥ || yō-rājad-rājitaḥ(ta)-chhhāyō Va-
29 mārṇṇavāj-jātō jagati-Kalpahūrulaḥ || yō-rājad-rājitaḥ(ta)-chhhāyō Va-
30 mārṇṇavāj-jātō jagati-Kalpahūrulaḥ || yō-rājad-rājitaḥ(ta)-chhhāyō Va-
31 mārṇṇavāj-jātō jagati-Kalpahūrulaḥ || yō-rājad-rājitaḥ(ta)-chhhāyō Va-
32 mārṇṇavāj-jātō jagati-Kalpahūrulaḥ || yō-rājad-rājitaḥ(ta)-chhhāyō Va-
33 mārṇṇavāj-jātō jagati-Kalpahūrulaḥ || yō-rājad-rājitaḥ(ta)-chhhāyō Va-
34 mārṇṇavāj-jātō jagati-Kalpahūrulaḥ || yō-rājad-rājitaḥ(ta)-chhhāyō Va-
35 mārṇṇavāj-jātō jagati-Kalpahūrulaḥ || yō-rājad-rājitaḥ(ta)-chhhāyō Va-
36 mārṇṇavāj-jātō jagati-Kalpahūrulaḥ || yō-rājad-rājitaḥ(ta)-chhhāyō Va-
37 mārṇṇavāj-jātō jagati-Kalpahūrulaḥ || yō-rājad-rājitaḥ(ta)-chhhāyō Va-
38 mārṇṇavāj-jātō jagati-Kalpahūrulaḥ || yō-rājad-rājitaḥ(ta)-chhhāyō Va-
39 mārṇṇavāj-jātō jagati-Kalpahūrulaḥ || yō-rājad-rājitaḥ(ta)-chhhāyō Va-
40 mārṇṇavāj-jātō jagati-Kalpahūrulaḥ || yō-rājad-rājitaḥ(ta)-chhhāyō Va-
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35 ága-kul-ottamasya yasa(sa)āśā(śā) dik-cha[kra*]va(vā)la(lē) sachi(śi)-pradyota(t-ā)malinēna
yasā(śya) bhuvarhi(ṇa)-prahlā

36 da-sampādinā [ [*] se(sai)ndūrīr-asti-sāṅkha-patāle(śaiḥ) kumbha-thāla-patākēśā-
(shv-ā)limpantī

37 punaḥ punāḥ-cha haritāmādhi(ḥ)raṇab vāraṇā || [11*] Ā(Ā)nura(rā)gēśe(ṇa) guninē
yāya

38 vakshah-mukh-āvja(ha)yōḥ [ [*] āś(āi)ṁē Śrī-Sarasvatīyav-anukūlē virajata(h) [9] || [12*] Ka[n]-

39 nagara1 paramankāhēsva(śva)ra-paramahāttāraka-mahārājāḥhirā-Trikaiṅgamāhi-

40 pati-āśīmadavavajra'hastadvāv(h) kuśali samastāmātyabhramukha-jana-

Fourth Plate, First Side

41 pa拉丁-samāḥalya samājāpyatavi vidita-sastu bhavā(va)tāni Kōluwarttani-vi-

42 shayō Santaraham-ākhyā-grāmāśa-chattub-sim-āvachchhinnas-sa-jala-sthala[h] [sa*]-
[rvva]-pi

43 da-vivarjjitam-āchandrārkkaksha(kshi)ti-sama-kālaṁ yāvan-matā-pitrō-rātmanāḥ

44 punya-yaśō-bhividydhāyē kara-vasu-nidhi-Śākāvēśa(bdiē) Makara-māsa-bu-

45 kla-pakesha-parichamyaṁ Guru-vārē || Vēsya(Vasiya)-vanś-ōdbhavah [9 Dādēvā-

46 nas-tasya bhārtyā Dalemavē | tayōh putrāya Pallayāya chira-kālam=ārā-

47 dhya sva-paurusha-parītāhitāya datta iti ||

\* The intended reading is Kālīgā-nagarā. The Narasapatham plates have sa dēnaḥ || before this.

1 Read śrimad- Vajrā*.

2 The danda is superfluous.

3 There are traces of eight letters after this. The entire passage from Pṛtal to iti was incised after having erased what had been previously engraved. The name of the donor's father in lines 45-46 is written as Drādērta
|| no, although the subscript r in the first akṣaras and the ञ-mātra in the second appear to be traces of the original engraving. The actual name may have been Dīdē-Sērana. In śrīkāda (for chirakāda) in line 46, the i-mātra of ri similarly belongs to the original writing. Traces of the eight akṣaras after the end of the re-engraved record in line 47 read ṛkhyam Pātaya-Kētaya which is followed on the reverse of the plate (in lines 48-49 of the original record, whi h were erased) by ṛkhyam udaka-parvāṁ(purvam) tāmra-kṣatram kriṇa pradattam=saṁkāhīr-

bhavīthē-śāmpatāi. . . This shows that the grant of the village of Santaram (possibly not Santarama) had originally been made in favour of Kētaya and Pātaya but that later it was transferred to Pallaya and the sentence mentioning him as the donce was re-engraved after having erased the original writing. The word ṛkhyam at the beginning of this sentence shows that the previous sentence, on which Pṛtal iti was later incised, contained a description of Pātaya and Kētaya, the original donors of the charter. Pallaya pleased the king by his valuour (puuṇaḥ) and the latter gave him the village after having honoured him for a considerable time (chira-kālam=ārā). For sva-paurusha-parītāhitāya read parītāhitāya or parīthayāri. Cf. above, vol. XXIII, p. 73, text, line 53.—Ed.]
PEDDABAMMIDI PLATES OF VAJRHAHASTA III. SAKA 982—PLATE II

iv,b

Scale: Three-fourths

SEAL

From Photographs
No. 41—BHARAT KALA BHAVAN PLATE OF HARIRAJA, V. S. 1040

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, GUTACNUMD

About the middle of 1955, I received from Rai Krishnasaj, Founder and Honorary Curator of the Bharat Kala Bhavan now attached to the Hindu University, Banaras, a pencil-rubbing of this inscription for examination. As the inscription was found to be interesting, I requested Rai Krishnasaj to secure the plate for the Kala Bhavan and let me have an opportunity to examine and publish the inscription. Accordingly I received the plate for examination about the end of 1956. My sincere thanks are due to Rai Krishnasaj for the kindness shown to me. The find-spot of the plate and the story of its discovery are unknown. But it is stated that the plates were purchased from a resident of Tikamgarh in the former Orchha State, now in Madhya Pradesh.

This is a single copper plate measuring 13-3/8" in length and 6-6/8" in height. The plate is thin (about 06° in thickness) without either any seal affixed to it or any emblem incised on it. There is, however, a small hole (about 15° in diameter) at the centre of the top margin, apparently meant for hanging the plate from some suspender. There are altogether thirteen lines of writing on the obverse of the plate, the reverse being blank. The inscription is in a good state of preservation. The weight of the plate is 59 tolas.

The characters are early Nāgārī of the tenth century A. D. and closely resemble some of the contemporary inscriptions of the region such as those of the early Chandellas. As regards the palaeography of the record, it may be pointed out that some of the letters and signs of the original draft were misunderstood by the engraver. The letter ज has been endowed with a top mātrā. In a few cases, the letters य and स have the same form (cf. somast-ा in line 4 and rāhuṛgast-ा in line 6) although the usual forms of these ākharas have been employed elsewhere. The letter र has two different forms, one of them being indistinguishable from च (cf. nīkara-rucrā-chamara in line 3 and somara...tara-taraṣ tri in line 4). The ch-like form of र has, however, been used only in a few cases. The ākāhara ज looks like च in some cases (cf. इ in line 5). The form of श in daksīna in line 9 is interesting. The danda has often been put so close to the ākāharas that it looks like the a-mātrā of the preceding or the e-mātrā of the following consonant. It may be observed that medial त of both the īrā-mātrā and prīṣṭha-mātrā types has been used in the inscription.

The language of the record is Sanskrit and it is written in an admixture of prose and verse. Interesting from the orthographical point of view is the representation of the class nasal by the anusvāra generally. Final ए has often been changed to anusvāra wrongly. The influence of local pronunciation is noticed in the use of स for श in many cases and of फ for य in य in line 13. There is one case, where ए has been used for स (cf. īrātā in line 10). The inscription is dated in V. S. 1040. There are no details regarding the day when the grant was issued excepting the fact that it was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse. There was a solar eclipse in V. S. 1040 if the year is regarded as expired and Kārttikā. This eclipse occurred on the 30th July 984 A.D.

1 It may be noticed that some contemporary records like the Nanyasa plate (Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, pp. 201-04 and Plate) of Chandella Dhanga, dated V. S. 1055 (988 A.D.) were similarly issued without any seal or representation of any royal emblem. The copper-plate grants of the Later Chandellas generally bear the representation of Lakshmi or Gajalakshmi which was the emblem of the family but no seal of the usual type.
2 Cf. the Nanyasa plate referred to above.

(309)
The inscription begins with the Siddham symbol followed by two stanzas in the Upajāti metre. Verse 1 speaks of the bhāgādhīpa (king of kings) Nilakaṇṭha who belonged to the Pratihāra dynasty. Verse 2 mentions the adhirāja Harirājadēva who was the son of Nilakaṇṭha and defeated many enemies. These two stanzas are followed in lines 2-2 by a passage in prose, which describes Harirāja’s achievements in vague terms. Then comes the date referred to above and this is followed by the grant portion of the document (lines 6 ff.). It is stated that Mahārājādēva Harirāja, while he was staying at Siyaḍgūj, took his bath in the waters of the Vāṭravatā on the occasion of a solar eclipse and granted two hāla measures of land in the village of Tāudā-grāma (or Kataudā-grāma) attached to Lalitapuravāla together with a site for no less than ten houses in the village of Tithāsāvāni-grāma. The grant was made in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Dēda who belonged to the Bhāradvāja gōtra, the three pravaraṇas and the Vājaśānaya tākhā. The donor was the son of Sānti and grandson of Dharma. In lines 12-13, there are some of the ordinary imprecatory and benedictory stanzas. The document ends with the representation of king Harirāja’s signature (tīr-Harirāja-dēvarṣya). This type of authentication of a document is often found in its copy engraved on the copper plates. But in the present case the above passage is preceded by the passage kakārēga saha, the meaning of which is not clear. We know that the akṣhara tīr or the expression saha is found in many records in the place of the kings’ full signature. Similarly some documents show the representation of a spear-head instead of the royal sign-manual. Can it be suggested that Harirāja’s practice was to write the akṣhara ka instead of his full name? The passage, however, suggests that the letter ka was written by Harirāja in addition to his name.

The Pratihāra king Nilakaṇṭha and his son Harirāja are both already known from an inscription from Chanderi in the Guna District (in the former Gwalior State) of Madhya Bhārat. This epigraph has not yet been published; but it has been noticed in Bhandarkar’s List, No. 2107, and has been assigned on palaeographical grounds to the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. The inscription belongs to the reign of Pratihāra Jaitravarman and mentions Nilakaṇṭha who was followed in succession by Harirāja, Bhāmadeva, Raṇapāla, Vatsarāja, Svarapāla, Kṛttipāla, Abhayapāla, Gōvindarāja, Rājarāja, Vrāṣṭrāja and Jaitravarman.

The record under study shows that Harirāja was ruling independently over the area around Siyaḍgūj, modern Siron Khurd about ten miles to the north-west of Lalitpur the headquarters of the Sub-division of that name in the Jhansi District of U.P., while the Chanderi area, which is in the same neighbourhood and where his descendant Jaitravarman is known to have ruled, may also have formed a part of his dominions. An inscription1 from Siron Khurd itself shows how that area formed an integral part of the dominions of the Gurjara-Pratihāra emperors of Kanauj, at least down to V.S. 1005 (948 A.D.). In a Khajuraho inscription2 of V.S. 1011 (954 A.D.), Chandellā Dhaṅga, who ruled over the territory to the east of the kingdom of the contemporary Pratihāra ruler Harirāja, acknowledges the Gurjara-Pratihāra emperor Vināyaka-pāla as his overlord. Some records of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III, such as the Karhad plates3 of Śaka 880 (959 A.D.), refer to the hold of the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj on the forts of Chitarkūṭa (Chitor) in Rāṣṭhāhīn and Kālājāra (in the Banda District of U.P.) which soon came to be a stronghold of the Chandellas. But the hold of the Gurjara-Pratihāra emperors over these southern areas of their empire gradually declined under Rāṣṭrakūṭa pressure. Although the Rāṣṭrakūṭas themselves disappeared from this scene with the death of Kṛishṇa III about 967 A.D., the Gurjara-Pratihāras appear to have failed to re-establish their hold in the Gwalior-Bundelkhand region. The Mau stone inscription4 of Madanavarman shows that, before his death about 1002 A.D., Chandellā Dhaṅga

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2 Ibid., pp. 127 ff.
3 Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 294 (verse 30).
‘obtained exalted sovereignty (i.e. became an independent monarch) after having defeated on the battlefield the king of Kānyakubja (i.e. the Gurjara-Pratihāra emperor)’. The Pratihāras of the Jhansī-Guna region must have been originally, like the Chandellas, feudatories of the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj and they may have actually represented a branch of the imperial family. Pratihāra Nilakaṇṭha, who may have been originally a vicerey of the Jhansī-Guna area under the emperor of Kanauj, seems to have assumed independence, like his Chandella contemporary Dhaṅga, in the second half of the tenth century when the Gurjara-Pratihāra power was declining.

In Dhaṅga’s Khajuraho inscription, his father Yaśōvarman is described as ‘a scorching fever to the Gurjaras’. These Gurjaras have been usually indentified with the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj, since in another verse of the record Yaśōvarman is stated to have easily conquered the Kalaṅjar-ādri (i.e. the hill-fortress of Kālaṅjara) which is known to have been formerly an integral part of the dominions of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. This suggestion, however, seems to be unwarranted in view of Dhaṅga’s acknowledgment of the suzerainty of the Gurjara-Pratihāra emperor Viṇāyakapāla in the same record. The suggestion that Yaśōvarman captured Kālaṅjara from the Rāṣṭrakūtas is equally unlikely as in that case the name of the Rāṣṭrakūtas should have been included in the long list of Yaśōvarman’s adversaries as given in verse 23 of the record. This list (which is apparently exaggerated but no doubt points at least to some genuine successes of the Chandella monarch) includes the Gauḍas, Khaṇḍas, Kūshas, Kāśīs, Mithilas, Mālvas, Chālukyas, Kūsras and Gurjaras, and Kālaṅjara seems really to have been conquered by him from one of these powers. The inscription under study shows that the Pratihāra house represented by Nīkanētha and Harirāja ruled in the immediate neighbourhood of the territory of the Chandellas in the Khajuraho-Mahoba region. It is therefore possible that the Gurjara adversaries of Yaśōvarman were no other than these Pratihāras. It is also not unlikely that Kālaṅjara may have been conquered from this branch of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. Soon afterwards, however, these Pratihāras appear to have become feudatories or subordinate allies of the Chandellas. According to the Khajuraho inscription of 954 A.D., Dhaṅga’s dominions extended in the west up to Gopagiri (Gwalior) and Bhave on the Mālvanādi (possibly Bhilsa on the Betwa). This claim may be somewhat exaggerated; but during the rule of Dhaṅga’s grandson Viṇāyāhara, the Kachhoragātikas of Dubkund in the Sheopur District of the former Gwalior State are known to have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chandellas, although that area originally formed a part of the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire. The Muslim historians seem to include the fort of Gwalior in the dominions of the same Chandella ruler who was the contemporary of Sulṭān Mahmūd of Ghur. Epigraphic records of the Later Chandellas, such as the Deogarh rock inscription (V.S. 1154=1098 A.D.) of Kirtivarman, the Augasi plate (V.S. 1190=1134 A.D.) and Maut inscription of Madanavarman and the Semra plates (V.S. 1223=1167 A.D.) of Paramardin show that at least the valley of the Betwa formed an integral part of their kingdom.

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4 The Barah plate of Gurjara-Pratihāra Bhōja I records the revival of a grant of an agrahāra in the Udumbara vīhāra of the Kalaṅjara māṇḍapa in the Kanyakubja bhaṅgī (above, Vol. XIX, p. 16).
5 Ray, op. cit., p. 674.
9 Ray, op. cit. p. 982.
11 Ibid., Vol. XVI, pp. 202, 207-10. The grant was issued when the king was staying at Bhaṅgavān (Bhilsa).
13 Ind. Ant., Vol. XXV, pp. 206-08.
Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the location of 
Śrīśūtaka has already been discussed. Whether Haritiṣṭha had his headquarters at this place or was merely camp-
ing these temporarily cannot be determined. The river Vṛtavati is the modern Betwa. Taking a 
bath and making grants on the occasion of an eclipse are highly meritorious according to Hindu 
scriptures. The gift land was situated in Tāuḍā-grama (or, Katanḍā-grama) and Tītāśāsavant-
grama, the first of which is clearly stated to have been attached to Lalitapuravāla. Lalitapura 
is no doubt modern Lalitpur in the Jhansi District, U.P. But whether sāla is the designation of an 
administrative unit like visaya or the name of another locality like Lalitapura (the two forming a 
composite geographical name) is difficult to determine. I am not sure about the location of the 
villages.

TEXT

1 Siddham[179] Viśva(iva)-pratītā Pratikāra-vaṁshē(ā) va(ā)bhūva bhūpa-śīhpa-Nila-kara-
śrīthāḥ (||) bhānayadh(maya)n-aviśātām-anā(nau)panāyadh su(ān)brahman yaśō(ā) 
yasya jaśat-samagradh(gram) || [179] Tena-ā.

2 jani prājvalya janān anurāgah sutō-dhiriṣṭa Harirējaśeṣaḥ | mahāhavak yena nitaṁtām-āptā 
vijjīya sainyadh divśhatām jaya-āvīth || [2a] Kalyāṇa-ka-.

3 para-śāti(tni)-kamaniya-kāmini-kara-kamala-kalita-saśadrara-kara-nikara-ruchira-c sympathetic- 
maṇḍu-vijjāmnā-āṅgagā ṭe(ni)śa(st)-āṭasi-āvī(ā)r-ṭeṇ(a)prā- 
hatra-ripu-jana-viś(laj)ni-nayana-galati-sakṣajala-jala-suyā(śyā)mīyath(kṛ)ta-samara-bhūmiḥ | 
tīvra(jara-taraṁsivā pravāpana-ṛpi(a)ta-samast-ā.

rāṭi-vasagah | Madana iva taraṇa-jaña-nayan-ananda-jananaḥ | saṣṭha-prabh-śīvahāṣita- 
śakala-kal-āvikala-kaṇḍu(mu)trī-karaḥ || Sāṁ-

6 vasu(vat) 1040 a[dy]-ēha Śrīśūtaka mahāśrījādhīrīja-sri(ā)st)-Harirējaśeṣaṇa 
Vṛtavatiśeṣa anūtāvṛ ta-graśeṇ(ā)ti divśakārē māttā(ā)-pi-

7 trōrāśāmanās-cha putava-saṣṭha-bhūvikṛdhyā | Bhāravajyā gōtrāya | Vājīṣanāya-sākhipā | 
ṭreṇ(tri)-pravatāya | Dhrarmas-paurāṇāyya Sā(Ś)anti- 

8 trāya | Vṛā(Bṛā)māṇa-Dēḍāya | Lalitapuravāla-nāvah(ba)dhyamānaka-Tāuḍā-
graṁṣṭi | hala-līvya-prakṣalitā bhūmiḥ pradattā Tītāśāsavatā.

9 ni-grāmaṇa griha-dasa(ā)saṁ sthānān13 | āghāṭhaḥ | pūrva-dig-bāhāgē 
ārpōti-paśaḥpad- 
(āṇaḥ) | daicuṁpayaṁ tadāgaṇaṁ | paśchima-dīsa(śa).

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1 See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 84.
2 From the original plate and impressions.
3 Expressed by symbol.
4 Read 'śrīśūtaka'. Originally sa was had been engraved and the superscript a (instead of the subscript a) was later modified so as to make it look like t.
5 This dōda and some others below are superfluous.
6 Read kūva.
7 Originally ayāḥ had been engraved and ye was later somehow transformed into dyē.
8 The subscript a here looks more like the sign of medial d.
9 The subscript t here looks more like the sign of medial t.
10 Read sasṭha-prabh-
11 Read Sāṁ-
12 Or, moṭa-Katamūga-grama.
13 Read sthānaṃ. The idea is sthānaṃ cha padatām.
14 Read sasṭha.
10 याह एरो(रो)ताह | उता(त्ता)रा-दिसि(दी) अरोन(ता)ह | ताना(ता) प्राहाडिकः चा | तावता(वत) सुवा(सा)-पान्त्र-दिदिब्याःः प्रादत्तांसः यावचः चंङ्ग्रे-अर्कात(ते)रे-  

11 क्ष-मदिनः || सांत(सात)क्षा(छा)ः न्हश्राषन(श्राष्न)ः तु(छहा)त्राम् वर-शराव(श्वाव)ः वरा-वाह- 

12 बुष्टा राजाभी || याया याया याह्द बुमिस-तायसा तायसा ताधा धालम- 

13 त्त्रो(त्रो)रे(रे)ः || याया याया याया याह्द अहा-हरारा-रायपी वाहिंगाम(याह) जयति(ति) क्रिमिः || ककारेनसा बो(बा) आ-हराराहदेवाया**
No. 42—KAUVATAL PLATES OF SUDÉVA, YEAR 7

A. N. LAHIRI, OOTAACMUND

These copper plates were received from Pandit Lohan Prasad Pandeya, Secretary, Mahakosal Historical Society, Raigarh, who seems to have secured them from a gentleman residing at Kauvatal in the old Sarangarh State.

The set consists of three rectangular plates, each measuring about 7.4" x 4.2". They are strung together on a circular copper ring, the thickness and diameter of which are 0.6" and 3.375" respectively. The ring passes through a square hole bored in the middle of the left margin at a distance of about 1.5" from the left edge. The square hole measures 5" on one of its sides. The inner side of the first plate and both sides of the remaining two plates contain writing. There are altogether 26 lines. Each of the four inscribed faces of the plates has six lines of writing, while the fifth has only one line. The seal soldered to the ring is 3" in diameter. It has a circular border and is divided in almost equal halves by two straight lines. In the upper half Lakshmi stands facing front on a lotus with her right hand bent upwards and the left hand hanging downwards; on her two sides are two elephants pouring water over her; and in the left and right fields are a chakra and a śankha respectively. In the lower half is the legend in two lines, below which there is the representation of what looks like a pārṇa-kumbha. The three plates weigh 75 tolas, while the seal together with its ring weighs 25 tolas.

The characters are of the box-headed variety of what Fleet calls the 'Central India Alphabet'. The average size of the letters is about 3". Medial i is denoted by a dot in the middle of the base of the circle denoting i as in the Thakurdia plates of Mahā-Pravarāja. The final form of i occurs in lines 18 and 20 and the jāmāṇīya in line 18. The numerical signs for 7 and 10 occur in line 24. Of orthographical interest is the spelling of words like sāmanvita for sāmanīva, tridasa for tridasa, tāmra for tāmra, sūkha for sūkha, etc. Consonants are generally doubled in conjunction with r, although there are a few exceptions.

This is one of the six known records of Mahā-Sudēvarāja (i.e. Sudēva-mahārāja) of the Sarabhapura family and bears the date: year 7, Mārgaśīrṣha-di 10. The charter was issued from Śrīpura. The object of the record is to grant the village of Śuniṅka situated in Hākiri-bhūga to Bhāta Purandaravāmin of the Pārśārī gōtra and Vājasaṅgī tākkā. The wordings of the grant are almost identical with those of the other records of Sudēva. The name of the gift village and that of the division in which it was situated are written on an erasure in line 4 while the name of the donee's gōtra in line 9 and the latter part of his own name in line 10 are similarly written on erasures. This may be due to the scribe who had at first committed an error but later noticed and corrected it.

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1 [The inscribed faces of the plates and the seal attached to the record have been illustrated in the Ancient Report on Indian Epigraphy, 1945-46, Plate facing p. 12.—Ed.]
2 The inscription was first noticed by Pandit Pandeya in IHQ, 1945, pp. 264-65, and discussed by Dr. D. C. Sircar in the same journal, 1946, pp. 63-63. They were also noticed in Ancient India, No. 5, p. 49, and in A.R.Ep., 1945-46, p. 15, No. 53 of App. A, and Plate.
4 Above, Vol. XXII, Plates between pp. 22 and 23.
5 The five published records are: (1) Kharigar plates, year 2 (above, Vol. IX, pp. 170 ff.); (2) Sarangarh plates (ibid., pp. 261 ff.), (3) Arang plates, year 7 (ibid., Vol. XXXIII, pp. 22 ff.), (4) Śrīpura plates, year 7 (ibid., Vol. XXX, pp. 103 ff.); and (5) Raipur plates, year 10 (CII, Vol. III, pp. 197 ff.).
Unlike Sudēva's other records, issued from Śarabhapura, the present grant was issued from Śrīpura. Śrīpura seems to have been the new capital of Sudēva. King Sudēva, the donor, is mentioned as the son of Mahā-Durgarāja (i.e. Durga-mahārāja). Mānămātra was so far known to be the father's name of both Sudēva and Pravara of the Thakurdiya plates. Mānămātra was therefore another name of Mahā-Durgarāja. The dātaka was Mahāāsāmanta Indrabalarāja who was the sarodhikārādhikārīta (Chief Minister) of Sudēva. This Indrabalarāja has been identified by some scholars with the Pāṇḍuvaṃśa king of that name.1 It is interesting to note that the powers of the Śarabhapurya kings were soon afterwards usurped by the Pāṇḍuvaṃśa. For it was from Śrīpura that Mahāśiva Tivara, grandson of Indrabala, issued his charters. The engraver of the record was Gōlaśimha, already known from the Thakurdiya plates,2 also issued from Śrīpura.

Of the geographical names occurring in this inscription Śrīpura is modern Sirpur in the Raipur District of the Madhya Pradesh. The location of Suniṅkā and Hakirī-bhōga is unknown.

TEXT

Seal

Kram-ādhigata-rājyasa vikram-ōtkhāta-viśvishah[ ][*]

śimat-Sudēvarājasa sthirah jagati śāsanāḥ(nam ||)

First Plate

1 Ōṁ svasti [ ][*] Śrīpurād═vikram-ōpaniḥ(pa)nata-sāmanī(ma)nta-makuta-chūḍā-manī-prabhā-

prasek[―].

2 mbu-dhuta-pāda-yugalō ripu-viśeṇiḥ-sāman(ā)nāḥ-ōddharaḥ-ḥētur-vvavo-vasudhā-

3 gō-pradaḥ paramabhagavatō mātā-pitṛ-pād-ānuddhyatāḥ Śrī-Mahā Durggarāja-putra-

4 Śrī-Mahā Śudēvarājha Hakirī-bhōga-Suniṅkāyaḥ [*] prativaśi-

5 nas-samājāpayaṭi | Viditam-aṣṭu vā yathā-aśmabhir-ayaṃ grāmāḥ Trī(Trī)daśa-

6 pati-sadana-[su]kha-pratishṭhakarō yāvad-[r]avi-śaśi-tārā-kirṣṇa-pratihata-

Second Plate, First Side

7 ghōr-āndhakāram jagad-aṣṭavahata tāvad-upabhōgah sa-nidhiḥ(dhi)s-a-ōpanidhi-

8 r-a-chāṣa-bhata-pravēṣyaḥ sṛrvva-kara-visarjaa(tjj)iḥaḥ mātā-pitṛ-rāśmanas-ṣeṣa

9 puny-ābhivṛddhāyāḥ Pārāśa(sā)ra-gōtrāya Vājasaṇeyinī Bhāṭṭa-Puraṇa[―].

10 darasvāminī tāmb[a]ra-(ma)ra-śāsanēn-ātisriṃ [+][*] tē yūyam-ēvam-upa-

11 labhā(bhya) ajñā-travaṇa-viḍhēyā bhūtva yathā-ōcitam bhōga-bhāgaṃ-upanaya-

12 naḥ sukha[―] pratibhavatathā [ ][*] bhaviṣya[ja]tāśe cha bhumipālān-anudarṣayati [***]

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1 IHQ, 1946, p. 275; 1946, p. 63.
2 Above, Vol. XXI, No. 6.
3 From Impressiona.
4 Expressed by symbol.
5 The passage Hakirī-bhōga-Suniṅkāya is engraved on an erasure.
6 The passage above os seems to have been cancelled. The letters Pāreṣhva are written on an erasure.
7 The letters darā are incised on an erasure.
13 Dānād-viśēsham-anupālanajām purāṇā dharmanēhu niśchita-dhiyaḥ
14 pravadanti dharmmaṁ(m)rammaṁ(tam) tamā(d-)dviṣāya svishu(ā)ddhā-kula-ārūtyāḥ dattā-
   (ṁ-)
15 bhuvam bhavatu vō matir-ēva gōptun(ptum ||) Tad-bhavadbhīr-spy-ōśā(śā) dattīr-anupā- 
   layi-
16 tvayā [*] Viśēa-gītnēhā-ch-ēstra(trā) lōkān-udāharanti [*] Agnīr-apatyāṁ
17 prathamaṁ suvarṇaṁ bhūr-vvaiṣhānvī sūrya-sutaṁ-cha gāvāḥ [*] dattās-trayaṁ-tē-
   na bhavaṁ(ya)nti lōkā yaḥ-kāśchanā(ṇaḥ) gān-cha mahī(ṛ-ḥa) dadyāt [*] Shaḥśhī-
   (śhī)-vārsha-

Third Plate, First Side
19 sahasrāṇī svarggē m(ō)dai bhūmidaḥ [*] śoḥbhīttā ch-ēnumantā cha tāṁy-ēva
20 naḥkā vāṣet [*] Bahū(bhīr-vvasudāḥ dattā rājabhīḥ Sagar-ādibhīḥ [*] yasya ya-
21 sys yadā bhūmis-tsayā ta(s)ya tadā phalam(lam)|| Svadattā(ṁ-ā) parādattā(ṁ-ā) vā yatnā-
22 d-rakṣa Yudhishṭhira [*] mahī(ṁ-ā) mahimatāṁ śreṣṭha dānāḥ-ēhṛtāḥ-ōnupālana-
23 m-śī(ṁ-ī)|| sarvāvahākārdhikāra-tā-mahāsāmaṁ(ma)nāta Indrabhārājā-[

Third Plate, Second Side
25 U[*]kīroṣh Gōlaśīghā(śīṁbē)na[[]
No. 43—KALAHANDI PLATES OF ANANTAVARMAN VAJJRAHASTA,
GANGA YEAR 383

(I Plate)

P. BANERJEE, NEW DELHI

This set of three copper plates belongs to the Maharaja of Kalahandi in Orissa. The plates were published by Mr. Satyanarayana Rajaguru in the Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Vol. XXXV, pp. 10-27. According to Mr. Rajaguru, they were originally found in a village called Chhipurupalli about sixteen miles to the east of Parlakmedi in the Ganjam District, Orissa.

The plates were received for examination by the Government Epigraphist for India from the Maharaja of Kalahandi in 1922-33. I edit them from a nice set of inked impressions kindly supplied to me by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The plates measure 7½ × 2¼ each. They were strung originally on a ring with a seal; but the ring had already been cut open before the inscription reached the Government Epigraphist for India. The seal attached thereto is very much obliterated. Of the three plates, the first and third are written on their inner side only, while the second contains writing on both the sides. There are altogether 24 lines of writing in the inscription. The last line contains only three aksharas.

The characters belong to the Kaliṅga alphabet of about the 9th century A.D. and resemble those of the Alamanda plates1 of Anantavarman (Gaṅga year 304), Indian Museum2 plates of Deśavindravarman (Gaṅga year 308), Chicacoel3 plates of Satyasvarman (Gaṅga year 351), Tekkali plates4 of Anantavarman (Gaṅga year 358), etc. Some of the letters show varying forms; cf. k in “kariṇaḥ” in line 1, sakala in line 3, and kamala in line 4; m in “amarā” in line 1, Mahendra in line 2, Bhūpendravarma and Anantavarma in line 11, yāmika in line 17, and Mahāvṝgama in line 23; r in “guru” in line 3, cvara and chanra in line 7 and tura in line 16, etc. The script is a curious admixture of northern and southern forms. The letters ṝ and ṽ are denoted throughout by the same sign. The language of the inscription is corrupt Sanskrit. The whole of it has been composed in prose. As regards orthography, the anusvāra and visarga have very frequently been omitted. There are mistakes such as the use of i in the place of i, of ri in the place of ri, of ṝ in the place of sh, etc.

The object of the inscription is to record a grant of some land to a Brāhmaṇa called Nārāyaṇa Jadyālīkāhêtra, son of Nārāyaṇa probably belonging to the village of Mahāvṝgama.5 The donor was Anantavarman Vajrahasta, son of Bhūpendravarman of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty. The charter is dated in the year 383 of the augmenting and victorious reign of the Gaṅga dynasty. There is a good deal of controversy regarding the initial year of the Gaṅga era. But several scholars now hold that the Gaṅga era started sometime between 494 and 496 A.D. If this view is accepted, the date of the present inscription would fall in the period 877-81 A.D.

No other inscription of Anantavarman Vajrahasta, the donor of the present grant, has come to light as yet, nor is his name mentioned in any other grants known so far. Regarding his

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2 Ibid., Vol. XXIII, pp. 73 ff.
3 Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, pp. 10 ff.
5 [See below, p. 328, note 2.—Ed.]
ancestry nothing more is known from the present record beyond that he was a son of Bhūpēndravarman. Fortunately, however, the name of Bhūpēndravarman is found in a few other inscriptions, e.g., the Chidivala plate and Nāpitavāsaka grant. The first of these records is dated in the Gaṅga year 397 and the second, though undated, has been assigned to the same age. These two grants were issued by Dēvendravarman, son of Bhūpēndravarman who is apparently identical with his namesake of the present record. The identification is supported by the dates of the records as well as the close similarity in the phraseology of their introductory portions. Thus Bhūpēndravarman appears to have had two sons, viz. Anantavarman Vajrahasta and Dēvendravarman. The latter, as the date of the Chidivala plates would show, was the younger brother and successor of Anantavarman Vajrahasta of the present charter.

From the Chidivala plates we learn that Bhūpēndravarman was called also Mārasinha and his father’s name was Vajrin. In the opinion of Mr. Somasekhara Sarma, Bhūpēndravarman was identical with Rājendravarman of the Mandasa plates of the Gaṅga year 342 as the names Rājendrā and Bhūpēndra are synonymous. Mr. Sarma identifies Vajrin with Vajrahasta of the Parakimedi plates. He further observes that this Vajrahasta was none other than Anantavarman of the Alamanda plates of the Gaṅga year 304 as the style and phraseology of these inscriptions would tend to show. Mr. Sarma proposes the following genealogy:

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Rājendravarman

| Anantavarman (Alamanda plates, Gaṅga year 304) alias Vajrahasta or Vajrin |
| Dēvendravarman (Indian Museum plates, Gaṅga year 308; Tekkali plates, Gaṅga year 310) |
| Rājendravarman (Gaṅga year 314; Mandasa plates, Gaṅga year 342) alias Bhūpēndravarman |
| Satyavarman (Chicacole plates, Gaṅga year 351) |

Anantavarman Vajrahasta (the present record of Gaṅga year 393)

| Dēvendravarman (Chidivala plates, Gaṅga year 397; Nāpitavāsaka grant; may be the same as his namesake of the Nirakarpur plates discussed below) |

Anantavarman (Tekkali plates, Gaṅga year 358). |
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3 Loc. cit.
4 A.R.E., 1918, p. 137 ff.
7 Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 73 ff.
8 Ibid., Vol. XVIII, pp. 312 ff.
In the absence of any definite proof, the suggestion of Mr. Sarma can only be regarded as tentative. Though Bhūpāendra and Rājendra are synonymous, it cannot be held as certain on that ground that they were one and the same person. As noted above, the Chidivāla plates mention Mārasinha as the second name of Bhūpāendravarman. But nowhere in the inscriptions discovered so far has he been called Rājendra. Again, though it is quite possible that Vajrin was identical with Vajrahasta of the Parakimedi plates as suggested by Mr. Sarma, it is difficult to agree with his suggestion that he is identical also with Anantavarman of the Alamanda plates. It is equally plausible that Vajrin or Vajrahasta and his son Bhūpāendravarman reigned somewhere between the date of Anantavarman of the Tekkali plates of the Gaṅga year 358 and that of Anantavarman Vajrahasta of the present record of the Gaṅga year 383. This will not go against the question of phraseological affinities between the Parakimedi plates of Vajrahasta and those of the Tekkali plates of Anantavarman (Gaṅga year 358) or of the present grant. Nothing definite, however, can be said until further evidence comes to our aid. It may be noted that the Nirakarpur plates mention one Dēvendravarman and his father Bhūpāendravarman. The prāṇānti portion of the inscription shows similarity to that of the present record as well as of the Chidivāla plates mentioned above. This would suggest that they were identical with their namesakes of the Chidivāla plates and the Nāpitavātaka grant.

The donor of the Nirakarpur plates was Udayakāhēji, son of Ugrakāhēji and grandson of Dharmakāhēji of the Kadamba family of Kailāga, which owed allegiance to the Gaṅga rulers. Besides the Nirakarpur plates, the Kadambas are mentioned also in several other inscriptions. The Parakimedi plates of Vajrahasta mention one Ugrakāhēji who is described as the ornament of the Kadamba dynasty and as born in the family of Nidusānti. This Ugrakāhēji was the governor of an area including a village called Hōmaṇḍi which was given to one Rājpuratā śrī-Kāmādi by Dārakāpāya, son of Chōla Kāmādirāja, in the reign of king Vajrahasta of Kailāga. The Parakimedi plates are not dated. But, as shown above, the Gaṅga king Vajrahasta mentioned therein was perhaps identical with Vajrin, father of Bhūpāendravarman and grandfather of Anantavarman Vajrahasta and his brother Dēvendravarman. If this is accepted, Ugrakāhēji of the Parakimedi plates was probably identical with the Kadamba chief of the same name mentioned in the Nirakarpur plates of Dēvendravarman. Again, the Nirakarpur plates show that Udayakāhēji, son of Ugrakāhēji and grandson of Dharmakāhēji, was a contemporary perhaps of Bhūpāendravarman, his son Anantavarman Vajrahasta (of the present grant) and the latter's brother Dēvendravarman.6

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1 JARS, Vol. XXX, pp. 1 ff.
3 The correct reading of the name is Hōmaṇḍi which was wrongly deciphered by Kielhorn. It is given as Hōmaṇḍi in an endorsement on the outer side of Plate III of the grant. Cf. JAS, Letters, Vol. XVIII, p. 78, note.—Ed.
4 The correct reading of the name seems to be Kāmādi. Apparently the same name is given as Kāmādi in the endorsement, according to which he received the hamlet of Vapavādā (spelt Vapavāda in the main charter) attached to Hōmaṇḍi from Bānala Udayakāhēji who was the son and successor of Ugrakāhēji of the main charter according to the Nirakarpur plates.—Ed.
5 JARS, Vol. XXX, pp. 1 ff.
6 It may be mentioned in this connection that one Dharmakāhēji and his father Bhimakāhēji are mentioned in the Sānta-Bommalati plates (JAHRS, Vol. III, pp. 171 ff.) of the Gaṅga year 509 and the Mandasati plates (A.R. Ep., 1916, pp. 138 ff.; JORD, Vol. XVII, p. 184) of the Śaṅka year 976. A Kadamba chieftain of the name of Dharmakāhēji is also mentioned in the Virapatam plates (Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, pp. 144 ff.) of Dēvendravarman, dated in the Gaṅga year 254. The Kambakaya plates (A.R. Ep., 1927-28, App. No. 9: Journ. Bomb. Hist. Soc., Vol. IV, pp. 27-38; JAHRS, Vol. X, p. 916 ff.) of Śaṅka 1105 also refer to the Kadamba chiefs named Dharma-kāhēji and Udaya-kāhēji. From the widely separated dates of these inscriptions, it is reasonable to hold that, though some of these Kadamba chieftains bear the same names, they are not to be considered as identical because of the identity of their names alone but should be placed in different periods. [There is difference of opinion among scholars about the dates of the Mandasati and Kambakaya plates.—Ed.]
The writer of the charter was Sarvadève. The name of one Sarvadève occurs as the engraver of the Chicacole plates⁸ of Dëvëndravarman (Gaṅga year 251) also. Mr. Rajaṅguru thinks that the date of the Chicacole plates should be construed as 351 and the two Sarvadévases are to be treated as one and the same person. But there is a difficulty in accepting this suggestion. We know that Satyavarman, son of Dëvëndravarman of the Indian Museum and Tekkali plates dated respectively in the Gaṅga years 308 and 310, issued his charter in the Gaṅga year 351. Thus it is difficult to place Dëvëndravarman of the Chicacole plates in the year when Satyavarman was ruling.

The names of the localities mentioned in the inscription cannot be identified. It is interesting to note that to the names of the donee and his father are also attached the names of the localities to which they belonged. These names are given as Nārāyaṇa Jādyālakāhētra and Māhāva-grāma-gōtra Nārāyaṇa. Jādyālā as the name of a village is mentioned in the text of the present inscription (line 13). The practice of affixing the name of a village or locality to its resident is even now prevalent in different parts of India and outside.

**TEXT**

**First Plate**

1 Īha⁴ Svasty-Amaraṇpur-ānukārīna(h*) sarv-ātya(ṛtu)-sukha-ramanita(ṇi)ya(yā)d-vijaya-
2 vata(h*) Kalināg(ā) naga(ṇ)-ā(dhi*)vāsaka(kāt) Mahēndr-āchal-āmala-sī(ś)khara-prati-
3 shtī(śhī)tasya sa-[char-ā*]chara-gurū(h*) sakala-bhuvana-nirmāṇ-aiśa-aśtrādharasya
4 āśāṅka-cha(χhū) jāmaṇi(ṇē)r-bhagavatō Gokarṇasa(svā)mināś-charaṇa-kamala-yugala-pra-
5 nāmād-vigata-kāli-kalāṅkō-nēk-āhava-samkhēbha-jā(ja)nita-jaya-śavda(bdaḥ)

**Second Plate, First Side**

6 pratāp-āvanata-samasta-sāmantā-chaktra-čhūča-mapī-prabhā-mañjari-
7 puṇja-rajjita-vara-charaṇa(h*) sita-kumuda-kund-ś[n*]dvā(dv-a)vadāti-dīktō(g-dō)śa-vini-
8 rgata-yaśasa⁸ paramamāhēśvarō mātā-pitri-pād-ānya(nu)dhyātō dvāṣṭa(st-ā)-
9 rāti-kul-āchalō nayā-vinaya-dayā-dāna-dākahिणya(h)ṣau(r*)jy-audāryya-
10 satya-tyāg-āddhi(di)-guṇa-sampad-ādhāra-bhūtō Gaṅg-āmā(ṃa)la-kula-

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* [See below, p. 322, note 2.—Ed.]
* From inked impressions.
* Denoted by symbol. Rajaṅguru does not read this symbol. The minor errors in his transcript of the inscription have not been noted in every case.
* Readṇādē.
No. 45] KALAHANDI PLATES OF ANANTAVARMAN VAJRABHASTA,
GANGA YEAR 383

Second Plate, Second Side

11 tilaka-śrī-ma(ma)ha(ha)rāja-Bhūpabdhravṛmmaśaśśaṃnaś śrī-śrī-Antanavarmmadēva-
mā(ma)-

12 hārājādhirāja-śrī-VAJRABHASTADēVANAH(ma)a) idāni(vi) sīmā-liōgānī likhyantē [*]

13 I(A)śānyā[mi] diśī sa[īn*]rōpita-pāshānah Jadyāla-Śoṅkhar-ōbhaya-grāma-saṃmi-

14 lita-śīmāyāṁ tataḥ Pūrvvasyāṁ diśī haladhū-vriksha(ha)nte(ta) bhātakī-
vriksha-te-

15 suṣūd-anantarāṁ dhananjaya-vriksha-tata[ḥ] tinḍi(ntri)pikaś [*] A(ʌ)gnāyām(yām) diśī sa[īn*]rōpita-sīlaś [*]

16 Dakhākṣiṣa[yām] diśī nānā-vrikṣa-ākūlita-sārtā garīt-ātah¹ tinḍi(ntri)pika(kā)-taraḥ

TAŚMĀDA

Third Plate

17 py-anantarāṁ va(va)lmī[ki]kaś-tatō nimva(mba)-vriksha-saṃstād-sapto-anantarāṁ pri-
p(u)nas-tinḍi(ntri)pika-sīva ta-

18 tō-anantarāṁ-eṣaśākṣa-mūla[m [*] Nai[r*]ītyā[mi*] diśī sa[īn*]rōpita-pa(pā)k(ha)harmaḥ [*]

Paśchimasyā[m]māyāṃ diśī[*]

19 va(va)lmī[ki]kaḥ(kha)staṃsad-anantarāṁ timira-nimvō(mbaḥ) paśchima-disāgaṇā-vēya-
vōvayyaś diśā u-

20 bhaya-grāma-sa[īn*]mlita-simā-ātri(ta)tya(ta)-rāja-sāsan-ārōpita-sīla-sīva | Uta(tta)raśāyā[mi*]

diśī vi-

21 ha(ha)-vrikshaḥ


Ga-

(GB)—

22 Āgāya-vanasa(varṇaḥ)−pravarddhana-vijaya-rājyō samvatsara-āṭa-tini¹ 383

samvatscharośa(samvatsara) karah [Phałguna-pratipadi*] ā-

¹ Read 'varamaśa vanasa.
² Surekh has not been observed here.
³ The sentence remains incomplete. The mention of the dōanas and the gift land, found in lines 21-23 below, should have been made here.—Ed.)
⁴ Better read 'ākūlita-ārta-gātātāntakaḥ.—Ed.)
⁵ Read 'ārta-ārta. Vājarājaḥ. [Or. 'ārta fra] Vājarājāḥ.—Ed.)
⁶ Read samvatsara-tata-trayyī try-ārtyāntaḥ.
⁷ Its meaning is not clear to me. The reading intended is apparently sāmavatsara-ārth, meaning 'annual rent' (cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 118).—Ed.)
23 [kha(it)-pāśche-dādaḥḥ] Mahāva-grāma-gūtrā(tra)-Nārāyaṇa-su(sī)nu-Nārāyaṇa-Jādyāk-kabā-
trāyaḥ [""] Pālaṇā dharmā-sūtuḥ [""] Sarvadēvīnaḥ

24 likhita[m?]

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1 I am not sure of the import of this passage. (The language of the passage is defective. But it seems to quote the amount of annual rent to be paid in the month of Phālguna every year. The word dēsā reminds us of dēsā-
sūtra-ruppa 150 in another āraṇīsūtra of this kind (cf. JEAŚ, 1952, p. 5).—Ed.)

2 [The language of the passage is defective. But it seems to mean that the donor's name was Nārāyaṇa and that he received a piece of land (or its revenue income) in the village of Jādyākā. Lines 13 and 20-21 seem to suggest that the gift land lay along a road between the villages of Jādyākā and Vākhara and that there was a pond in it. The name of the donor's father was Gōtṛakṣāgraṇa and he was a resident of Mahāva-grāma.—Ed.]

3 There is a mark after this letter.
Several stone inscriptions of the Yajvapala or Jajapeläl king Asala (or Asala), his son Gopala and grandson Garapati, all of whom had their headquarters at the hill-fort of Nanapura (modern Narwar in the Shivapuri District of the old Gwalior State now in Madhya Pradesh), are known to scholars, although none of them has been properly edited. Most of these records were noticed by M.B. Garde in a small article on this dynasty of rulers published in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLVII, pp. 242 ff. They have also been enlisted in D. R. Bhandarkar's *Inscriptions of Northern India* as Nos. 562, 576, 597, 603, 628, 636 and 642. While Bhandarkar's No. 562 (from Bhimpur in the Shivapuri District, dated V. S. 1319-1292 A.D.) and No. 576 (from Rat in the same District, dated V. S. 1327-1270 A.D.) belong to Asala (son of Nivaran, grandson of Chahada and great-grandson of Paramadí), No. 597 (from Baraudi in the same District), dated V. S. 1336 (1279 A.D.), and No. 603 (from Narwar), dated V. S. 1339, Jyashtha-sudi 8, Wednesday (5th May 1283 A.D.), belong to the reign of Gopala and the second of the two records speaks of Jayapala, who was the legendary founder of the dynasty and was popularly known as Jayapala, and of Chahada (Chahada) who was an ancestor of Gopala and was responsible for the capture of Nanagiri (i.e. Nanapura-durga or the hill-fort of Narwar). No. 628 of Bhandarkar's List, dated V. S. 1348, Chaitra-sudi 8, Thursday (27th March 1292 A.D.) comes from Surawaya (Shivapuri District) and belongs to the reign of Garapati, while No. 636 (in the Gwalior Museum) is dated in V. S. 1350 (1293 A.D.) falling in the reign of Garapati and refers to Ras Chachigadéva (wrongly read as Adhigadéva) who was a feudatory of Gopala. Bhandarkar's No. 642 (from Narwar) is dated V. S. 1355, Kartika-vadi 5, Friday (26th September 1298 A.D.), and represents king Garapati as the son of Gopala, grandson of Asala, great-grandson of Nivaran (Narvaran) and great-great-grandson of Chahada.

Some other records bearing dates in the later years of Gopala's reign have been noticed in the *Annual Administration Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State*, as well as in H. N. Drivedi's *Gwalior Rajyakshsbhukhâ* (Hindi), Gwalior, 1947. These are Drivedi's No. 149 (from Narwar, dated V. S. 1341-1284 A.D.), No. 152 (from Balarpur in the Shivapuri District, dated V. S. 1342, Jyashtha-vadi 3, Monday-23rd April 1285 A.D.) and No. 154 (from Pachrai in the same District, dated V. S. 1345, Vaisakhha-vadi 2, Saturday-9th April 1289 A.D.). Cf. also his No. 140 from Narwar and No. 158 from Bahbhotar in the same District.

Similarly Drivedi's No. 175 (from Balarpur, dated V. S. 1356-1299 A.D.) and No. 177 (from the same place, dated V. S. 1357-1300 A.D.) belong to the later years of Garapati.

The above records will show that Gopala's dates range between V. S. 1336 (1279 A.D.) and 1345 (1289 A.D.) while Garapati's dates fall between V. S. 1348 (1292 A.D.) and 1357 (1300 A.D.). A number of coins issued by Chahada and Asala were discovered by Cunningham. The dates on the coins of the two kings range respectively between V. S. 1294 (1) and 1311 (i.e. 1237-54 A.D.) and between V. S. 1311 and 1336 (i.e. 1254-79 A.D.) respectively. Chahada is no doubt the same as

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1 The suggestion that the name of the family was Chahadana (Ray, *DHVI*, Vol. II, p. 836, note I and pp. 1103-94) is clearly wrong. The family name was really Jayapala which was Sanskritised as Yajvapala and associated with a mythical progenitor named Jayapala or Jajapelala.

2 Some of these Annual Reports were not printed.

Jāhīr Deo of Firishtā and Chāhar-i-Ajār of Minhājud-dīn. He was a contemporary of Sūlţān Nāṣiruddin (1246-66 A.D.) of Delhi and has been described by Minhājud-dīn as 'the greatest of all the Rāces' in the tract comprising ‘Gwälīr, Chandīrī, Nurwur and Mālwah' and as having 5,000 horsemen and 200,000 footmen under his command. In A.H. 649 (1251 A.D.) he is stated to have been defeated by Ghiyāṣuddin Balban on behalf of the Sūlţān and the fortresses (at Nurwur according to Firishtā), which was constructed by him among defiles and passes, was taken and plundered. But the said subjugation of Chāhādā of Narwar was apparently nominal as Chāhādā and his son Āsāla could not have issued coins of their own if they were really subordinates of the Sūlţān. We have now also some coins of Gaṇapati. It is well known that the Muslims considered the issue of coins to be a monopoly of independent monarchs. After Gaṇapati nothing is known about the Yājvapāla or Jajaḍpāla dynasty which may have been overthrown by Sūlţān 'Alāuddin Khaljī (1296-1316 A.D.). On this point we have no information in the Muslim chronicles. The statement that Chāhādā was the builder of the fortress of Narwar seems to be wrong. We have a copper-plate grant issued from Nālaqura-mahdsurge in V.S. 1177 (1120 A.D.) by an independent Kaśchhupaghaṭa king named Virasīviha who was the son of Śaradasimha and grandson of Gaganasimha. We have also seen how Chāhādā claimed only to have captured Nalaqura, i.e. the hill-fort of Narwar.

About the beginning of 1955, I camped for a few days at Shivapuri, headquarters of the District of that name in the present Madhya Pradesh, and copied a number of inscriptions of the reign of king Gopāla in the said area, one at Sesarī and fifteen at Badgīla. These records were found on stone pillars commemorating warriors killed in fighting and often bearing representations of footmen, horsemen and elephant-riders engaged in battle and of fallen warriors worshipping the śiva-līngas or enjoying the company of celestial damsels in heaven. In some cases, the persons are represented as worshipping the śiva-līngas jointly with their wives, implying thereby that the ladies committed Sati on the funeral pyre of their husbands. Generally only one face of the pillars bears such a representation above an inscription; but in some cases all the four faces have carvings although only one of the faces bears an inscription. Many of the pillars have their head fluted and crowned with a pinnacle.

The inscriptions exhibit considerable carelessness of the scribes. The characters are Nāgari of the ordinary type and do not call for any special remark. It may, however, be pointed out that, in respect of calligraphy, these inscriptions cannot be compared with the beautifully engraved Yājvapāla (Jaśapāla) prāsasti preserved in the Gwalior Museum. The writing on many of the pillars is more or less damaged. The language of the records is corrupt Sanskrit, although the corruption of the language is more remarkable in some epigraphs than in others. A few of them are couched in verse. The orthography and grammar of the inscriptions are generally influenced by the local dialect. The root yudh has been used to indicate 'to die in fighting', and the word yudhitha has been used with reference to a person who had fought in a battle and died in the course of the fight or as a result of it. All the pillars bearing the inscriptions published below were raised to perpetuate the memory of certain warriors who died this kind of heroic death which was exulted in ancient India as highly meritorious. It is also apparent that the wives of some of the warriors committed Sati on the funeral pyre of their deceased husbands. Unfortunately the language of the records is generally defective and does not bring out the intended meaning quite clearly. This characteristic of leaving the meaning intended by the scribe in many cases to be guessed by the reader is generally noticed in the private medieval records of the Malwa-Rajasthan region and has already been referred to above.

1 Tārīkh-i-Fīrūzshāhī, Briggs' trans., Vol. I, p. 239; Taḥqīqi-Nāṣirī, Reverting's trans., Vol. II, p. 629-31 and note; cf. also p. 157. Chāhādā ascended the throne earlier than 1234 A.D. as in that year he is stated to have defeated Malik Nasir-uddin Tāyāsī, a general of Sūlţān Husainshī, on the bank of the Kali Sindh.


4 See Vol. XXX, pp. 192-93.
1.—Inscription from Sesai, V. S. 1341

Sesai is a village about nine miles from Shivapuri, the headquarters of the District of that name. An inscription on a memorial stone-pillar in this village was noticed in the Annual Administration Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State, for Satavat 1971 (No. 21), and in Dvivedi’s Gwalior Rājya Abhiṅkā, No. 141. Unfortunately the Report does not appear to have been published, while Dvivedi fails to notice that the inscription belongs to the reign of the Yajvapāla (Jānapāla) king Gopaḷa.

The epigraph contains twelve lines of writing and covers an area about 12” by 9”. The preservation of the writing is not satisfactory. The record bears the date: V. S. 1341, Pausha–vadi 1, Monday. The details of the date are irregular, but may refer to the 25th of December 1284 A.D.

The inscription begins with the symbol for Siddham, followed by the word svasti. King Gopaḷa of Gopaḷa is then introduced with a string of epithets including Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārajaśīvibhīrāja Paramēṣvara and Paramamāhēṣvara. Then it speaks of the rājya or rule of Jaitujahma-

deva, ‘the slave of the servants of cows and Brāhmaṇas’. Although his relations with Gopaḷa is not specifically indicated, he was undoubtedly a subordinate ruler under the Yajvapāla (Jānapāla) monarch. He seems to be the same as Mahakumāra or Kumāra Jaitavarman called Jaitvarah-

madēva, Jayaṭvarahmadēva or Jayatvarahmadēva in the Baṅgāl inscriptions (Nos. 3-5 ; cf. No. 15) edited below. He probably enjoyed the status of a sub-king or Yuvarāja. His mention in these records may be compared with that of a feudatory in some medieval inscriptions of Madhya Bharat and Rajasthan.¹

The object of the record is found in lines 5 ff. It has been stated that Ra Rā Malayadeva of the family called Darāgoṭ was judhitra (i.e. yuddhita in the sense of ‘dead as the result of fighting in a battle’) in connection with a case of cattle-lifting at the pratōli (i.e. a street or ward) of Sesai-

grāma. It is further stated that his elder wife named Māhinidē (i.e. Māhinidēvi) and younger wife named Nāvulāḍi (i.e. Nāvuladēvi) also became judhitra. It is clear that Malayadeva lost his life while resisting the operations of certain cattle-lifters at the village of Sesai. His two wives were probably killed by the enemies who appear to have invaded Malayadeva’s residence at the village.² The sentence that follows says how the memorial pillar bearing the inscription under study was caused to be made by Rā Hirmāṇa and Rā Hamsarāja who were respectively the elder and younger sons of Malayadeva. The contraction rā, used in connection with the names of Malayadeva and his sons, stands for rāśu which was derived from Sanskrit rāṣṭropuṭa and was commonly used as a title of subordinate chiefs.

Sesai-grāma is no doubt the village where the inscription has been found.

**TEXT**

1 Siddham² svasti śṛṣṭ[ḥ | ṣṭ] Prakṛti(kriyā-virājamāna-)² sakala-vira(ru)d-ā-
2 vali-samālaniṅkṛita- [r] paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārajaśīvibhīra-
3 paramāśva(āvra)ra-paramamāhēsva(āvra)ra-mahāraja-śrī-prthī(ī)thvī)pa-

¹ See above, Vol. XXX, pp. 192, 193 and note 1.
² The language of the record may of course also suggest that the two wives of Malayadeva took part in the fighting with the cattle-lifters.
³ From impressions.
² Expressed by symbol.
³ The danda are superfluous. The expression prakṛti-virājamāna seems to mean ‘flourishing in the exalted position’. One may also suggest prakṛtiḥ for prakṛtya.
⁴ The danda is unnecessary.
4 ti-sakala-gīyaśa1|śīramanta-Gopāladeva3 || guṇa(g)ī-Vrā(Brah.)
5 hmaṇa-dās-ānudāśaḥ śīramata-Ja[tu]jahnagaśa(dēva[h]) || ta-
6 sya rājya-samayē || Śeṣai-grāmē Dantgrōṭ-kula-rā[ś]'-a-Malaya-
7 dēva[h] pratiśī-śaṅghādi-samāyata-gō-graha-nimi-

2.—Inscriptions from Bāṅglā, V. S. 1338 or 1337

Bāṅglā is a small village about five miles to the east of the fort of Narwar. Near the village there is a vast stretch of rocky waste land covered with thorny shrubs. This area extends from the border of the village to the river Barua which is a small tributary of the Sindh and runs about a mile to the east of the village. It is studded with a number of memorial stone pillars, many of which are inscribed. A good many of these inscriptions refer to the death of certain warriors who lost their lives fighting on behalf of the Yajapāla (Ja[japāla] king Gopāla against the Chandella monarch Vivarman whose known dates range between 1261 and 1296 A.D. We have selected

1 The intended reading may have been ṛājya-paṭi.
2 The āṅgas are superfluous.
3 The intended reading is śīramād-Gopāladeva. It has to be noticed that no word has been used to indicate Gopāla’s relation with the person mentioned in the following line, who was apparently the former’s subordinate. This relation could have been expressed by writing Gopāladeva prītihit-patru (cf. Select inscriptions, pp. 323, 353, 324, etc.).
4 Read śīramā-Jaṭa. The correct form of the name seems to be Jaitravarman.
5 I.e. rūta.
6 The language is defective, but the meaning is clear. Pratīṭi means a street or ward of a town or village.
7 This is the same as yuddha meaning ‘died in fighting’ as found in some of the Bāṅglā inscriptions edited below.
8 Read bharṣṭā dvī sthā.
9 Read yujñēḥkā bharṣṭā.
10 I.e. Maḥāṅgisṭā.
11 Read ‘bharṣṭā.
12 I.e. Nāvulaṅgisṭā.
13 The language of the passage is defective. But the meaning seems to be that the two wives of Mālayādēva lost their lives in the hands of the cattle-lifters. The intended reading of the passage may have been saṅkṛat yuddhāst sthā meaning that the two ladies were killed in the course of the battle violently.
14 Read sthā.
15 Read yujñēḥkāh.
16 I.e. rāta.
17 The intended reading seems to be śāhāpyaḥ meaning Hirṃasa-Humāraśāhāpyaḥ. The word tasya may also mean Mālayādēva. But in that case śāhāpya should have been added to the text. The pillar seems to have been raised in the memory of Mālayādēva and his wives by his two sons.
18 This refers to the memorial stone bearing the inscription. Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 186.
19 Read kārī-ṛṣṭi.
20 Read Śaṅcya.
21 Read yuddhaṃ.
2. — Inscriptions from Bangla. V.S. 1338

Inscription No. 1

Scale: One-half
seven (Nos. 1-7) out of those records for publication, although the remaining eight records (Nos. 8-15) have also been noticed in an appendix. Seven such epigraphs were first briefly noticed in the \textit{Annual Administration Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State}, for V. S. 1901 (1934-35), 1938, pp. 8, 12, 25-26 (Nos. 7-13), and then in Drivedi’s List, Nos. 133-39. Although these meagre notices are not free from errors, they should have attracted the attention of scholars, which they rightly deserve. Unfortunately even the authors of the recently published works on the history of the Chandellas have not taken their evidence into cognizance.

The date of the battle between the forces of Gopala and those of Viravarman, in which the partisans of the former lost their lives, is quoted in six of the records (Nos. 2, 4-6, 9 and 12) as \textit{V.S. 1338}, \textit{Chaitra-sudi 7, Friday}. It regularly corresponds to the \textit{28th March 1281 A.D.}. In one case (No. 3), the week-day, is quoted as \textit{Chaitra-sudi 2, Saturday}, instead of \textit{Chaitra-sudi 7, Friday}, of the other cases (Nos. 1-2, 4-9, 11-12; cf. also No. 10), and in five cases (Nos. 1, 7-8, 10 and 15) the year is given as \textit{V.S. 1337}. The confusion about the week-day is apparently due to an error of the scribe concerned. But the reference to both \textit{V. S. 1338} and 1337 to indicate the same year may be explained away. If the year is regarded as Karttika, \textit{V. S. 1338} current was the same as \textit{V. S. 1337} expired.

In some cases, the warriors specifically claim to have obtained victory in the battle. It is clear that the army of Viravarman invaded the kingdom of Jaya-pala (Jayapala) Gopala and succeeded in penetrating as far as the immediate neighbourhood of the latter’s capital Nalapura (Narwar). But the Jaya-pala forces then offered battle and repulsed the invaders. The Chandella king thus seems to have been defeated in his contest with the Jaya-palas after having gained some initial success. The battle referred to in the inscriptions probably lasted only for a day. A large number of soldiers on Viravarman’s side must also have lost their lives; but there is no record of that besides vague claims on behalf of the partisans of Gopala in the records under study. The battle is stated to have been fought on the banks of the river variously called \textit{Valuvra}, \textit{Volkana}, \textit{Valka}, \textit{Valka}, \textit{Valuka} and \textit{Valka} which is no other than the modern \textit{Barua}. The identity of the invading king Viravarman is made clear by his mention in one record (No. 2) as \textit{Chandella} (Chandella), by another (No. 1) referring to his association with \textit{Jehjhati}, and by two others (Nos. 8 and 11) describing him as the lord of \textit{Jehjhati} and the king of Jehjhati respectively. Jehjhati and Jehjhati are variant forms of the name applied to the Chandella dominions, Jehjhati-bhati, Jehjhati-da and Jehjhati-manjala being often mentioned in the records of the Chandellas themselves. Two of these records (Nos. 1 and 11) further say that Viravarman was accompanied by four other kings who were no doubt his allies or vassals. But no other details about these rulers are given.

The records from Baghla throw some light on the interpretation of a passage in the Dahi copper-plate grant of Chandella Viravarman which bears the date \textit{V. S. 1337}, \textit{Vaishakh-sudi 15, Sunday}. The inscription, which is now lost, was secured by Ellis in 1848 from Dahi, 41 miles to the east of Bijapur in Bundelkhand, and he supplied a note on its contents (based on a hopelessly inaccurate transcript) to Cunningham who succeeded in suggesting some corrections on the basis of a transcript (also erroneous) that was prepared by him from an impression of the record. Kielhorn\textsuperscript{4} equated the date with the \textit{4th May 1281 A.D.} which is just a little over one month later than the date of the

1 See N. Bose, \textit{History of the Chandellas}, Calcutta, 1906; \textit{The Struggle for the Empire}, Bombay, 1907, pp. 80, 146.
3 Bhandarkar’s List, No. 600.
4 See Cunningham’s Reports, Vol. XXXI, pp. 74 ff.
Baogla inscriptions (viz. 28th March 1261 A.D.). It will be seen that the same year was regarded as V.S. 1338 in most of the Baogla inscriptions and as V.S. 1337 in the Dahi plate and in several epigraphs from Baogla. According to Ellis, his copper-plate inscription records the grant of the village of Dahi in favour of a Brahmana named Balladra Mallaya, an illustrious chief of distinguished bravery, who has conquered the Rajas of Naipur, Gopal-Madhyan, Hatta, Har-rag, Gopagiri, Sardhi, the Turks, and rulers from Kashmir. Cunningham pointed out that the grant was made by Chandella Viravarman of Kalaajara in favour of Mallaya of the Kasyapa gots, who conquered the lord of Narwar (Samayugsporajya Nalapurapati) and the ruler of Mathura (Gopala Madhabamabadihipa) and Hariraja of Gwallor (Gopagiri). Although Cunningham’s transcript and interpretation are apparently defective, later writers (including the authors of the most recent works on the history of the Chandellas, referred to above) have generally accepted his views. But Bhadarka rightly suggested long ago that one of the adversaries of the Chandella king Viravarman mentioned in the Dahi grant was the Jayavela king Gopala of Nalapura. There is little doubt that the Dahi grant mentions Nalapura-pati Gopala as one of the rulers vanquished by Mallaya who was probably a general of Viravarman. The Chandella prastakvra, who composed the record, seems to have given here a partisan’s reading of the results of Viravarman’s invasion of the kingdom of Gopala.

Inscription No. 1 is a record in five lines of prose composition beginning with the symbol for Siddham. It says how, when Paramabhatajara Maharaajadhiraja Gopala was ruling from Nalapuradurga, Maharahja Viravarman of Jagaduti arrived at Nalapura together with four other kings, on Friday, Chaitra-sudi 7, V. S. 1337. It further says that Ravaaka Visala, who was the husband, fought in the field near the river Valuva and that mahasat Dhmyadavi became famous. There is of course little doubt about the intended meaning of the inscription, although it has not been made quite clear by the scribe. Apparently Ravaaka Visala, no doubt a feudatory of the Jayavela (Jayavela) king Gopala, died while fighting against the invading army of Viravarman and his wife Dhumka burnt herself on his funeral pyre.

Inscription No. 2 begins with the Siddham symbol followed by the word Siddhik. It is written partly in verse and partly in prose. The metre of the two stanzas at the beginning of the record is Amushubh. The verses speak of the same thing as the prose part that follows. Raya-ruta Gajuraka-ruta Vandana, who was the son of Ruta Deva and grandson of Ruta Bhaja, is stated to have fought on the bank of the river Voluwa or Valuva at Nalapura in a battle against the Chandella (Chandella) Maharahja Viravarman on behalf of Maharahja Gopala on Friday, Chaitra-sudi 7, V. S. 1338. The name of the river is quoted as Voluwa in the versified portion of the inscription and as Valuva in its prose part. Vandana, who enjoyed the titles Raya-ruta and Gajara-ruta, was no doubt a feudatory of king Gopala. Although it has not been made clear by the language of the inscription, Vandana must have died in the battle. In verse 2, the chief is stated to have fought (i.e. died fighting) on the back of a horse after having killed many soldiers of Viravarman’s side.

Inscription No. 3 begins with the Siddham symbol followed by the date Samvat 1338 and the word susati. It then speaks of Paramabhatajara Paramesvara Paramamahevara GopalaDewa, Mahakumara Jaitsvarahmedeva (i.e. Jaitsvarmedeva) and Mahaprodhana Raja (i.e. Ruta) Dejai without specifically mentioning the relations that must have existed among the three. There is, however, no doubt that the Mahaprodhana (also called Pradhana in Nos. 10 and 15 and Mantran in No. 9) was serving directly under the Mahakumara (also called Kumara in No. 15 below) who was a subordinate of Gopala. All three appear to be described as belonging to what has been called JavayakullaVansha which may be a mistake for Jayavela-Vansha or
Jajapālavaśa. The title Mahākumāra borne by princes is well known from the inscriptions especially of the later Paramāras.1 Jaitravarman seems to have been the eldest son of Gopāla and the ēca facto ruler of the Yajavālaka (Jajapāla) kingdom during the later years of his father’s reign. He, however, seems to have predeceased his father as the latter’s throne passed after his death to his other son Gaṣapat. The title Mahāpradēnā appears to have been borne by the chief administrator or minister of the kingdom.2

The record then speaks of Rāja (i.e. Rūta) Haradēva who was the son of Rāja (i.e. Rūta) Kum-Varāśhe (Kumārasimha) end is probably stated to have belonged to the Chaṇḍāla-mānaka family. Whether Chaṇḍāla is a mistake for Chaṇḍēwa cannot be determined. The inscription next speaks of the battle fought in the field near the Vajbhā river. It does not mention the Chaṇḍēla king, with whose forces the battle referred to in the record was undoubtedly fought. The inscription ends with the date: Chaitra-sudi 2, Saturday, which seems to be a mistake for Chaitra-sudi 7, Friday.

Inscription No. 4 begins with the Siddham symbol followed by the date: V. S. 1338, Chaitra-sudi 7, Friday. It is then said that at that time, Mahārajādhirāja Gopāla was ruling at Nalapura-durga and Rūtasa Jayatavrahmadēva (i.e. Jaitrvarmedēva) and Mahāpradēnā Dējai were running the administration, a battle was fought with king Viravrahmadēva (i.e. Viravarmedēva) in the field near the river Vajbūva. The title rūtasa was derived from Sanskrit rūga-putra and seems to have been used as a variant of rūta. The concluding part of the inscription mentions Rājaputra Arashe (i.e. Arasimha) and his son Dhadinēre as well as Rājaputra Sīhiḍi.3 These three persons must have died in the battle, although that fact has not been clearly stated. The last sentence of the inscription seems to refer to a lady who committed Sati.

The language of lines 1-8 of Inscription No. 5 is similar to that of lines 1-9 of Inscription No. 4. The concluding part of Inscription No. 5 speaks of certain persons whose names are doubtful but may be: Rājaputra Lāshiḍa, Vathā, Dējai, Rājā (i.e. Rūtasa) Sīhiḍa, Sīhiḍa’s son Rāji Gauḍha, and Māladēva. Although the word used with reference to these persons is merely yuddha, there is no doubt that they died in fighting in the battle against the invading forces of Viravarman. The concluding words of the inscription are unintelligible.

The language of Inscription No. 6, which is indifferently engraved, is exceptionally corrupt. After the Siddham symbol followed by the word sūdrīb and the date: V. S. 1338, Chaitra-sudi 7, Friday, there comes a metricaly defective stanza referring to the battle fought on behalf of Gopāla on the bank of the river Vajbūva. The fourth foot of the stanza is unintelligible. The following portion in prose speaks of the battle fought during the sovereignty of Mahārajādhirāja-pani Paramāśe (Paramanandēvara) Gopāla. It seems to state further that Gobinda, son of Jadēva (Jayadēva I), fought against Viravarman and won victory in the battle after having killed ten soldiers of the other side.

Inscription No. 7 consists of five stanzas in the Anushṭubh metre followed by the date: V. S. 1337, Chaitra-sudi 7, Friday. Verses 1-2 of the inscription speak of a hero. His name seems to be Gilyaka whose father was a distinguished archer and whose sons were named Indra and Vata. Verse 3 says how there was a terrible battle between Viravarman and king Gopāla on the bank of the river Vajbūva. Verses 4-5 state that Gilyaka, who was devoted to his master and taught the science of archery to his sons Indra and Vata, died in fighting (yuddha) after having defeated the enemies in battle and offered the glory of his victory to king Gopāla.

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1 See Ray, op. cit., pp. 882 ff. For a Mahākumāra in the Kalashuri family, see ibid., p. 800.
2 See two Mahāpradēnās appointed by a Chaṇḍaksa king, see ibid., p. 1033.
3 It is also possible to think the Sīhiḍa was a resident of a locality called Dhadinēre.
Inscription No. 1

1 Siddham\textsuperscript{1} \{[*]\} Sarvāvat 1337 Chaitra-sudi 7 Su(śu)krē | ady-śha śrīman Nalapura-
durgē(ṛgē) | samasta-[rāj-śva]-

2 lī-samālāṃkāra\textsuperscript{*} paramabhaṭṭārak-śty-ādi-mahārājādhirāja-śrīmad-Gō-

3 pālādeva-di-vijaya-rāyē | ity-asmin kāśi varattamānē Jējāhuti-sānt-mahārā-

4 ja-śrī(śri)mad-Viravarmmadēvāḥ chaturbhi rājāḥ sa[ha] Nalapurē samāyitaḥ | Valu[v]ā-
nadi-

5 keśtrē [1] pati-Visala-sat-Rāṇēkōṣa yuddhītaḥ\textsuperscript{9} | mahāsati [Dhū]mādevī prasiddhā\textsuperscript{10} \;\

Inscription No. 2\textsuperscript{11}

1 Siddham\textsuperscript{1} \{ Siddhiḥ \} Kāryē Gopāla-

2 būpasya Vāṇḍanaḥ raṣa-[naśī]-

3 dīṭah | pautraḥ śrī- Bhōjadē-

4 vasya putrō Dēv-ābhidhasya

5 cha || \{[1]\} Vālūkā-saritas-śīrē

6 saṁta(gra)mē Viravarmmapaḥ | yu-

7 yuktihā\textsuperscript{12} turag-ārūḍhō niḥatyā su-

8 bhaṭāva(na-ba)hūn || 2 Sarh 1338

9 Chaitra-sudi 7 Śukra-vārē | śrī-Nalā-

10 purē | mahārājā-śrī-Gopaladeva-

11 kāryē Chandīlla\textsuperscript{14} mahārāja-śrī-

12 Viravarmma-saṅgrāma-vyatikarē\textsuperscript{15} | rā-

13 uta-Bhōjadēva-pautrō rāuta-Dēv[ā]-

14 putrō rāyajūta-gajavaharāu-

15 ta-Vāṇḍana Valuṣ-nadi-navē(taṭē)

16 yuyudhē ||\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{1} From impressions.
\textsuperscript{2} This is No. 224 of A. R. Ep., 1954–55, Appendix B.
\textsuperscript{3}Expressed by symbol which has, however, not the usual globular sign at the end.
\textsuperscript{4} Read samalankāra or samalankārika. Paramabhaṭṭārak-śty-ādi\textsuperscript{9} should better be read before samasta.
\textsuperscript{5} This contraction may stand for samāraj.
\textsuperscript{6} Read chaturbhī (or chaturbēḥ) rājāḥāḥ.
\textsuperscript{7} The danda is superfluous.
\textsuperscript{8} Read sad-Rānakō.
\textsuperscript{9} This word has been used to indicate Visala’s death in fighting.
\textsuperscript{10} The intended meaning of this sentence is that Dēkāmādevī committed Soff.
\textsuperscript{11} This is No. 219 of A. R. Ep., 1954–55, Appendix B.
\textsuperscript{12}Expressed by symbol.
\textsuperscript{13} Read yuyudhē as in line 16. The word has been used to indicate Vāṇḍana’s death in fighting.
\textsuperscript{14} This is a variant of the family name Chandīlla.
\textsuperscript{15} The word vyatikara here means either ‘an incident, occurrence or affair’ or ‘a calamity’.
\textsuperscript{16} There is a slanting danda attached to the second member of the double danda to indicate the end of the writing.
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF YAJVAPALA GOPALA—PLATE II

2. — INSCRIPTIONS FROM BANGLA. V.S. 1338

Inscription No. 2

Scale: One-third
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF YAJVAPALA GOPALA—PLATE II

Inscription no. 3

Scale: One-half
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF YAJVAPALA GOPALA

Inscription No. 31

1 Siddham4["*"]Saṁvat 1338 sta(va)satiḥ || śrīman-Nalla(la)pura-durgāt ||
2 paramah(ma)bhājāraḥkṣaḥ paramēśa(śva)raḥ paramah(ma)māha(hē)sva(śva)-
3 ra[ḥ*] paragāla(ṃga)ra(huḥ) paramarāja[ḥ*] śrī(śri)mad-Gōpāla(la)dēvā(ṣva)
4 mahākumāraḥ srōṣ(śri)-[Jai]tavrahmadēva[ḥ*] | mahāprā-
5 dhānā(ṇah) rāk. [Dējai] | Jvajvakulla-vanēśc | ēva[ṁ] kāla(ḥ)
6 varttamānē || Chaunāhamānikaḥ(ka) kula(ḥ) vaṇḍyē ||
7 rā-Kumvarāsēha-putraḥ rā[rā]-Ha[rā]dēva[ḥ*] | yuddhē Valō-
8 bā-nadā[ḥ*] kehṭrāh(trē) panchamapayēkaśu11 yuddhaṁ14 | Cheitra-su-
9 di 2 Sa(Sa)nau11 dinē ||

Inscription No. 414

1 Siddham4["*"] Saṁvat 1338 Chaitra-sudi 7 Su(śu)krē |
2 ady-ēha śrīma[ṃ]Nalapura-durges(hē)ggē | mahārā-
3 jādhirāja-āri-Gōpālada(dē)va-vijayārā-
4 jyē tasmin kāle varttamānē rā[vata]-
5 Jayatavrahmadēva13-mahāpradhāna-Dējai-
6 parigha-gadani-vyaparita-samayē16
7 rājā(ṣa)-āri-Vīravrahmadēva11-saṅgrāmē Valuvē-

1 This is No. 216 of A. R. Ep., 1954-55, Appendix B.
2 Expressed by symbol.
3 The expressions paraaguru and paramaraja are not generally met with in the string of royal epithets found in inscriptions.
4 The correct form of the name, given here and in No. 15 as Jaitsa, in No. 4 as Juytā and in No. 8 as Jeyata, seems to be Jaitavrahmadēva.
5 I. e. rūsta.
6 If this may be regarded as a mistake for Yajvapotra or Jajapēla, king Gōpāla and his subordinates Jaitra-
7 varman and Dējai all belonged to the same family. As suggested above, Mahādeva Jaitvarman may have been a son of Gōpāla.
8 It is difficult to determine whether the first part of the family name is a mistake for Chauhāna.
9 The danda is superfluous.
10 I.e. rūsta. Kumārāṣṭika.
11 I.e. rūsta.
12 The meaning of the passage is obscure. Is the intended reading pācha-paddattikāṭ?
13 This word seems to have been used here in the sense of yuddhaṅkāṭ found elsewhere.
14 This seems to be a mistake for dī 7 SKē as quoted elsewhere.
15 This is No. 220 of A. R. Ep., 1954-55, Appendix B.
16 The correct form of the name, given as Juytā here, Jaitsa in Nos. 3 and 15, and Jeyata in No. 5, seems to be Jaitvarman.
17 The language of the passage is defective. But it apparently refers to the time when Jaitvarman and Dējai were conducting the affairs of administration during the reign of Gōpāla.
18 The correct form of this name as given in Nos. 1-2, 6-9 and 15 is Vīravēman.
8 nadi-śhē(kaṁḥ)tra-āvāsita-yuddhaṁ(ddham) | rājaputra[h*]
9 Aras̄ṭha[h*]1 asya putra[h*] Dhadhaṅku rā-
10 jaṁputra-Sihaṁ | Dēvāsā-Vāṣṭita y(u)-
11 dha || sati [1]

Inscription No. 5

1 Siddham1 [*] Sarvact 1338 Chaitra-sūdi 7 Su(Śu)krē
2 ady-ṣha śrīma[a*]-Nalapura-dugṛā(ṛgē) | mahā-
3 rājādhirāja-śrī-Gopāladēva-vi-
4 jaya-rājē tasmān kāle vatta(tcītta)mā-
5 na[ma] | śrī-Jeyatavra(hmadēva)mahāpradhāna-
6 Dējē | parigraha | gadani12-vyāpārē(ri)-
7 ta-samyaś rājāja-śrī-Viravrahmadēva-13
8 saṃgrimās V alcaka-nadi-[kaḥstr]-av[āsi]-
9 [ta]-yuddhaṁ(ddham | ) rājaputra-La[sibhaṭa | ] Vatha[h*] Dējē
10 rā-[11]Shadhatt-aṣya12 putra[h*] rānā(panic)
11 G[auḥo[ṛ]na[h*] | Mamalhia[dēva[h*]
12 yuddhaṁ || ah ś(haḥ)trē Sabbanmas[ṣa[y]a14 ||]

Inscription No.6

1 Siddham1 | Siddhiḥ || Sarvahvat(vat) 1338
2 Chaitra-sūdi 7 Śukrē [*] Vālukē-
3 saritas-tīrṇa yuddhaṁ asa Vīra-
4 vyāvahāran[ṇa]13 | Gopāladēva-kā-

1 The name seems to be the same as Arismha.
2 These persons must have lost their lives in the battle referred to.
3 This obscure passage seems to mean that a person named Vāṭaṇa who was a resident of Devāsa (modern Dewat) lost his life in the battle and that his wife committed Sati. Devāsa-Vāṭaṇa may also mean two persons named Devāsa and Vāṭaṇa.
4 This is No. 221 of A.R. Ep., 1964-55, Appendix B.
5 Expressed by symbol.
6 The correct form of the name, given elsewhere (Nos. 3, 4, 15) as Jaiśa or Jaḍiyā, seems to be Jaṭīvarman.
7 This name is elsewhere given as Dējē. The following denoda is superfluous.
8 For this defective passage see note on the corresponding passage in No. 4 above.
9 Read samasyā.
10 The correct form of the name is Viravarman as given in some of the inscriptions (Nos. 1-2, 6-9, 15).
11 I.e. sūhīṣa.
12 Read Śukpadētā Ḍasaṇa.
13 This word has been used to indicate the fact that the persons mentioned lost their lives in fighting.
14 The passage is obscure but may mean that the persons in question died while fighting in an area belonging to a person named Sabbanmasa.
15 This is No. 212 of A.R. Ep., 1964-55, Appendix B.
16 Read "varamasā."
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF YAJVAPALA GOPALA — PLATE III

2. — INSCRIPTIONS FROM BANGLA. V.S. 1338

Inscription No. 4

Scale: One-half
No. 44] INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF YAJVAPALA GOPALA

5 ryē janaṃmitam rāṣa-ṛaṅganaṃ || |
6 Nalapura-dū(du)rgat mahā-
7 rājāshi(dhi)rājāṇa*pati-pana(ra)-
8 mēṣva(śva)ra-paramamahēsva(śva)-
9 ra-ārī-Gōpālādeva-ra-
10 jyē saṁtaṇaghaṁ krūḍdha-
11 raṇaṁ Jadēvā-suta-Gōṭinōḍuṇa
12 Viśvarmanmaṇā saha
13 yuddham dāśavarhari ja-
14 naṁḥ ār(ba)tvā yuddhath jitaṁ(tam) ||

Inscription No. 7a

1 ................. 4 m-urvyām avyāhata-parākramaḥ | Dhanurddhara īti
2 khyātō ........ 7 ku[la*]-sanbhavaḥ || 1 G[lya]kas-tanaya[s-ta][śya*] va(ba)bhūva va[ra]-
3 viṛkramaḥ ath-aṭayya sutāvā-In[dra]-Vatsāv-ī[ti] va(ba)bhūvatuḥ. || 2
4 Śrī-Vīra[vaṁraṇā] sākām Vālukā-ṭaṇiṇi-ṭaṭā | tadā pra[va]-
5 r[t]iṇaṁ raurahā yuddhaṁ [Gōpāla-bhūbhunjaḥ || 3 Vairiṇaḥ samarē
6 jīvya datvā(śva) [sva]-vijaya-śriyaṃ(yam | ) [śrīmad-Gō]pālādevāya svāmi]-
7 nē svāmi-bhaktimān || [4] Sa tābhyām-In[дра]-Va[tsa]bhāyām-
9 bhuvi yuddhitaḥ || 5 Sarnvat 1337 Chaitra-sudi 7 Śukrē ||

APPENDIX

None of the other eight inscriptions from Bālgīā copied by me can be completely deciphered owing to unsatisfactory preservation and careless incision. They are briefly noticed below.

1 This is a metrically defective stanzas, the meaning of the fourth foot of which is obscure. If a name like Rāṇa Mahāsa is read here, it will not tally with the name given in line 11 below.
2 This stands for the Sanskrit word krūḍda; but the preceding word, the reading of which is doubtful, is unintelligible.
3 The reading of the passage is doubtful. If the name of the hero is read here as Gōṭinōḍuṇa, it will not tally with the one given in line 5 above. It is difficult to determine whether the reading intended is Gōṭinōḍa, (3rd case-ending) or Gōṭinadāna (1st case-ending) or Gōṭinadāna (6th case-ending).
4 The language of the passage is defective and its reading doubtful; but it seems to refer to ten persons of the enemy's side, who were killed by the hero in whose memory the pillar was raised.
5 This is No. 222 of A. R. Ep., 1954-55, Appendix B.
6 There appears to be a symbol for Siddhaṁ at the beginning of the line.
7 The name of a family quoted here is doubtful.
No. 8.—This is No. 213 of A. R. Ep., 1954-55, Appendix B. There are altogether 12 lines of writing in the inscription. Of these, lines 1-8 run as follows:

1 Siddham	extsuperscript{1} [[*] Vaghēlāka-vanīśa(ā) Sinhē-nāmā dhanurdrharō

2 va(ba)bhuva [[*] tasya putrō Gaṅgūkō va(ba)bhuva | asya

3 putrau Indauva(ka)-Kauka(va(ba)bhuva[| Nalapura]sthā[)-

4 rājō Gopālādevaśya kāryōṇa Jējāmu(bhu)kt-1

5 sva(śva)rōṇa Viravarmanamā saha Vāluka-nadi-

6 tire Indaukō pitrā Gaṅgūkēṇa bhrātṛā cha

7 Kaukēṇa sahitō raṇō yuddhitaḥ || || ||

8 Sāt 1337 Chaitra-sudi 7 Śukra-dinē ||

These lines state that Gaṅgūka (son of the archer Sinhē or Sinhha of the Vaghēlāka family) died along with his two sons named Indauka and Kauka in fighting against Viravarman, lord of Jējāhukti, on behalf of king Gopāla of Nalapura. The heroes appear to have claimed descent from the Chaullukya-Vāghēlā dynasty of Gujarat. The description of Viravarman as the lord of Jējāhukti is interesting to note. This form of the name of the Chandāla territory is more Sanskrit than Jējāhuti mentioned in Nos. 1 and 11. The year of the Vikrama Sātvarāt is quoted as 1337 as in Nos. 1, 7, 10 and 15 instead of 1338 as in Nos. 2, 4-6, 9 and 12.

Lines 9-10 of this inscription cannot be fully deciphered. Lines 11-12 appear to be engraved by a different hand. Their language is also very much defective. The last sentence of the record in these two lines appears to read asya Indaukōśya pachāvē vānim-asītāhā kumārīṇā rayasa varāita. This may mean that eight girls committed Sati on the funeral pyre of Indauka. The word rayasa seems to be a mistake for mṛāṣṭa[m*].

No. 9.—This is No. 213 of A. R. Ep., 1954-55, Appendix B. There are altogether eight lines of writing. Of these, lines 1-5 read as follows:—

1 Siddham	extsuperscript{1} [[*] saddhiḥ [*] Sathvatu(vat) 1338

Chaitra-sudi(dī) 7 Su(Śu)krē

2 Nalapura-durgē ērī(ārī)-rājādhirājya-Gō-

3 pāladevaḥ[ḥ*] | main(ṭrī)-yō(ārī)-Dējā- parigrahi-ga-

4 dani || rājān[*] ērī(ārī)-Vī(vat)ravramhadēśe Vālu-

5 nādi sho(kahē)trē yudhahān(dhāna) Kāli-Suya-Lēlē.*

---

1 Expressed by a symbol which has not the usual globular mark at the right end and looks slightly different from the other cases of its use in the epigraphs published here.

2 The name may have been Sinhē or Sinhha. In the latter case, we have to suggest Sīṁkha-nāmā or Sīṁkhe nāma.

3 Expressed by symbol.

4 The name is given as Dējā in Nos. 3-4, as Dējē in No. 5 and as Dējha in Nos. 10 and 15. He was the Mahāpradēśa of the Yajnapalā (Jajapēla) kingdom. No. 10 calls him Pradēśa. In the present epigraph he seems to be called a Mūtrīs.

5 Read Vira-varnāmādevaṇa.

6 These are probably some of the persons who died in fighting.
INScriPtiONS OF THE TiME OF VAJAVAPALa GOPALa

2.—InscriptionS FROM Bangla, V.S. 1338

Inscription No. 6

Scale one half
2.—INSCRIPTIONS FROM BANGLA, V.S. 1338

Inscription No. 7

Scale: Four-fifths
No. 44]  

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF YAJVAPALA GOPALA  

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Lines 6-7 of this record appear to contain some additional personal names. There is probably reference to a lady committing Sati in line 8.

No. 10.—This is No. 223 of A.R. Ep., 1954-55, Appendix B. There are altogether nine lines of writing. Of these, lines 1-5 read as follows:

1 Siddhami [\*] Sarwatu(vat) 1337 Chaitra sudi...
2 Su(Su)krē Valuā-nadi-sahe(kshētra...  
3 .ārī-raiādhīraiā(ja)-Gō-
4 pālādevā[ḥ*] pradhāna-Dēja4-mada-
5 ni-kārya*.............raiā Vi(VI)ra-

The inscription speaks of the field on the bank of the river Valūā, of Raiādhīraiā Gōpāla and his Pradhāna (elsewhere called Mahāpradhāna) Dēja(Dējai) as well as of Raiā Vitvarman. The year of the Vikrama Saṅvat is quoted as 1337 as in Nos. 1 and 7-8 and not as 1338 as in Nos. 2, 4-6, 9 and 12.

No. 11.—This is No. 218 of A.R. Ep., 1954-55, Appendix B. There are altogether 5 lines of writing. They read as follows:

1 .sudi+ Su(Su)krē | ady-ēha śrīman-Nalapurē | mahā...  
2 .mad-Gōpālādevā[ḥ*]  
3 [Jē]śhitī-raiā(ja)-[srī]-Vra[vra]hma[dēva][ḥ*] chatu[rbbiḥ] rā-
4 .saha Nalapurē samāyāṭaḥ | Valuā-nadī...  
5 .jēkō yuddhitaḥ ||

The text of this record is similar to that of No. 1 edited above. Most of the bounca can be filled up with the help of that inscription.

No. 12.—This is No. 217 of A.R. Ep., 1954-55, Appendix B. In line 2,. . . . . tu* 1338 Chaitra- 
sudi 7 Su(Su)krē can be read. This date shows that the pillar bearing the inscription was raised in memory of a partisan (or several partisans) of Yajvapaḷa (Jajāpēḷa) Gōpāla on his (or their) death in fighting with the invading forces of Chandellā Vitvarman. But the details of the record are not clear.

No. 13.—This is No. 225 of A.R. Ep., 1954-55, Appendix B. The inscription is very much damaged.

No. 14.—This is No. 226 of A.R. Ep., 1954-55, Appendix B. It is a fragmentary record. None of the details gathered from Nos. 1-7 can be traced in this epigraph. It seems to belong to the reign of Yajvapaḷa (Jajāpēḷa) Gōpāla, as the writing closely resembles that of the other records. But it is not possible to be sure on this point.

1 Expressed by symbol.
2 The figure for 7 seems to have broken away here.
3 The name is quoted elsewhere as Dēja (Nos. 3-4), Dējai (No. 5) and Dējā (Nos. 9, 15). He is called Mahā-
   pradhāna in Nos. 3-5 and Maṇṭra in No. 9.
4 Madani (of No. 15 below) seems to be a mistake for gadani found in this context in Nos. 4-5 and 9.
5 The word lost before sudi was no doubt Chaitra. It is, however, impossible to say whether the year was
   quoted as 1336 or 1337.
6 The word damaged here evidently stood for Sāṃśraya.
No. 15.—This is No. 215 of 1904-55. The inscription is in 11 lines, of which lines 1-6 read as follows:

1 Siddham

2 krā . . . Na(Na)lapura-ḍurgō rājāḍhī(ḍhi)-

3 rāj(a)-āri(āri)-Gopāladēva[hṛ][.] || Kum[ā]ra-āri(āri)-

4 Jaitava[bra]h[m]a)dēva[hṛ] || pradhāna-Dējā-pariga[gra](hē)

5 madana[.]

6 rāja . . . āri(āri)-Vi(Vi)rava[ra]ma)dēva[hṛ] ||

Line 10 reads: Valu-ṇaḍi-sū(ṭ)i)ru-śah[khṛ] [ṛ] jūdhrāḥ(yuddhān) .

1 Expressed by symbol.
2 The year of the date agrees with that in Nos. 1, 7-8 and 10, although in Nos. 2, 4, 6, 9 and 12 it is given as 1338.
3 This word is padana in Nos. 4, 5 and 9 but madana in No. 10.
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BY K. V. RAMESH, B.A. (Hons.)

[The figures refer to pages, m. after a figure to footnote, and add. to additions. The following other abbreviations are also used: au. = author; ca. = capital; ch. = chief; Chro n. = Chronicle; ci. = city; co. = country; com. = composer; de. = deity; di. = district or division; do. = district; dy. = dynasty; E. = Eastern; engr. = engraver; ep. = epithet; f. = family; feud. = feudatory; gen. = general; gr. = grant, grants; hist. = historical; ins. = inscription, inscriptions; k. = king; l. = locality; l.m. = linear measure; land measure; m. = male; min. = minister; mo. = mountain; myth. = mythological; n. = name; N. = Northern; off. = office, officer; pl. = plate, pla te; pr. = prince, princess; prov. = province; q. = queen; rel. = religious; rv. = river; S. = Southern; s. = same; sur. = surname; te. = temple; Tel. = Telugu; t.d. = territorial division; t.t. = title; t.n. = town; t.k. = taluk; v. = village; W. = Western; w. = work; w. = weight.]

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