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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page 13, lines 2 ff.—Add Note—Dinna was the sculptor who fashioned the image bearing the inscription. He is known from two image inscriptions from Kasiā (cf. *ASI, A. R.*, 1906-07, pp. 49-50, 62).

21, f.n. 8, line 1—Read—Rula" and not Ru[lu].
48, f.n. 6.—For 6 read 4.

f.n. 4.—For 1 read 6.
68, last line—Read Mallikārjuna.
71, f.n. 4, line 2—Read chāryakāh.
73, f.n. 7, line 1—Read Maniche(cha)nārya.
75, last foot-note—Read 5 at the beginning.
80, f.n. 3, line 2—Read dānta.
127, f.n. 5, line 2—Read p. 140.
132, foot-note 2.—Add Note—Huen-tsang locates Mo-la-p’o (Mālava) near the valley of the river Mahī. Some scholars identify this land with the Mālavaka āhāra known from the grants of Dhruvasēna II Bālāditya to have formed a part of Maitraka territory. There were therefore at least two Mālavas even in the seventh century. As a matter of fact, however, there were several Mālava countries in different parts of India. See H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 1938, p. 492, note 4.

134, f.n. 1—Read upadhmānīya.
133, line 34—Read an image each.
136, f.n. 5, line 2—Read pp. for p.
138, line 25—Read which certainly.
143, line 4—For the era read the area.
152, f.n. 11—Read jyōṣṭha(shṭha).
153, f.n. 5—Read Karṣuṇā.

180, f.n. 4, line 2—Read Raṅganātha.4.
194, line 29—Read Amānta and Pūranānta.
200, line 9—Read north of
210, f.n. 1—Read 15-16.
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

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No. 1 GRAECO-ARAMaic INSCRIPTION OF ASOKA NEAR KANDAHAR

(2 Plates)1

J. Filiozat, Paris

(Received on 4.5.1939)

The inscription under study was discovered at Shar-i-Kuna in April 1958 by Mr. Abdul Bay Ashna, Headmaster of a school at Kandahar in Afghanistan. It was immediately notified, through the Afghan authorities, to the French Archaeological Delegation in M.A.R.2, stationed at the Kabul Museum. A few days later, Dr. U. Serrato of the Museum and Mr. J. M. Vidal of the Delegation took stammapages of the inscription independently. The importance of the epigraph, which is well engraved and is in a satisfactory state of preservation, was at once realised as it is bilingual, written in Greek and Aramaic. The second line of the Greek text was found to begin with the royal name Ptolemaos, easily recognised as the Greek transcription of Piyadasi. The Italian and French epigraphists were soon at work on the record and, after preliminary notices in the newspapers, the discovery of the new epigraph of Asoka Phiyade-s was announced to the scientific world on the 20th June by Prof. Louis Robert in a communication to the French Académie des Inscriptions. It was also noticed in an article in English by Dr. Serrato in the Eastward West, Rome, Vol. IX, Parts 1-2, March-June 1958, pp. 1-6, with illustrations. The inscription has since been published with text and translation simultaneously in Italian in the Scoià Storiche Roma, Vol. XXI, and in French in the Journal Asiatique.3 Prof. E. Lantenne de Lennena published his own commentary in the Abdernkia to his great work on the history of Buddhism just ready to issue from the press at that time.4

The discovery was not an unexpected one. As Dr. Serrato pointed out,5 Alfred Fouche, in 1942, emphasized how strange the absence of any Greek inscription was in a region like ancient Gandhara, where Greek culture was so strongly witnessed by many evidences.6 Since the publication of Fouche's work, several fragmentary inscriptions in Greek characters have, indeed, been discovered in the excavations at Surkh Kotal in Bactria; but, with the exception of one broken line

1 We are indebted to the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan for the illustrations excepting the eye-copy of the Greek inscription. Mention over and above has not been made in this article in Sanskrit expressions.—Ed.

2 Un Edito Bilingue Grieco-Arameo di Asoka: La prim caverna: Gheh Sewahe in Afghanistan, Instituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Rome, 1958, 35 pages with 2 Plates, introduction by Dr. U. Serrato: preface by Prof. G. Torel; transcription, translation and notes by Prof. G. Pugliese Carratelli for the Greek text, and by Prof. G. Levi della Vida for the Aramaic text.

3 Une inscription graeco-aramaie d'Asoka in Journal Asiatique, 1958, No. 1, pp. 1-48, with 5 Plates, introduction and edition of the Greek version by Prof. Daniel Schuringer; observations on the Greek inscription by Prof. L. Robert; edition of the Aramaic inscription by Prof. A. Dupont-Sommer; the Iranian data by Prof. E. Benveniste.


5 Un Edito Bilingue, etc., p. 2.

6 La vieille route de l'Inde de Bactrie à l'Inde: Mémoires de la Mission. 1, 2, Paris, 1942, p. 385

2 DGA/59
in a non-Greek epigraph, the language of none of them is Greek. The new inscription of Asok: is the first complete record in the Greek language from Afghanistan, and its language is pure and fine Greek. Both the author of the Greek text and its engraver were fully acquainted with the Greek tradition. The latter’s ability, in the opinion of Prof. Robert, was quite similar to that of the best stoneworkers of Greece in the 3rd century B.C.

The Aramaic part of the document is even more precious. Inscriptions in this language and script are few in number and they are mostly damaged; but this one is complete and its interpretation receives help from the parallel Greek text. Apart from its historical importance, the epigraph is highly interesting from the philological point of view.

GREEK TEXT

1 Δέκα ἐτῶν πληρῆ[θέν]ῶν βασιλεὺς
2 Πιοδάσσης εὐσέβεια[ν] ἐδείξεν τοῖς ἀν-
3 θρώποις, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτον εὐσεβεστέρους
4 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐποίησεν καὶ πάντα
5 εὐθείαν κατὰ πᾶσαν γῆν, καὶ ἀπέχεται
6 βασιλεὺς τῶν ἐμψύχων καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ
7 ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὁσοὶ θηρευταὶ ἢ ἀλιεῖς
8 βασιλείως πέπαυται θηρεύοντες, καὶ
9 εἰ τινὲς ἀκρατεῖς, πέπαυνται τῆς ἀκρα-
10 σίας κατὰ δύναμιν, καὶ ἐνήκοι πατρὶ
11 καὶ μητρί καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων παρὰ
12 τὰ πρότερον, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ λωῖν
13 καὶ ἄμεινον κατὰ πάντα ταῦτα
14 ποιοῦντες διάξοουσιν.

1 Δέκα ετάν πληρῆ[θέν]ῶν βασιλεὺς
2 Πιοδάσσης εὐσέβεια[ν] εἶδειξεν τοῖς αὐ-

2 From Prof. Schlumberger’s transcript.
in a non-Greek epigraph, the language of none of them is Greek. The new inscription of Asok is the first complete record in the Greek language from Afghanistan, and its language is pure and fine Greek. Both the author of the Greek text and its engraver were fully acquainted with the Greek tradition. The latter’s ability, in the opinion of Prof. Robert, was quite similar to that of the best stoneworker of Greece in the 3rd century B.C.

The Aramaic part of the document is even more precious. Inscriptions in this language and script are few in number and they are mostly damaged: but this one is complete and its interpretation receives help from the parallel Greek text. Apart from its historical importance, the epigraph is highly interesting from the philological point of view.

**GREEK TEXT**

1 Δέκα ἐτῶν πληρηθεῖσας βασιλεύς
2 Πιοδάσσης εὐσέβειαν ἔδειξεν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτο εὐσεβεστέρους τοὺς ἀνθρώποις ἐποίησεν καὶ πάντα εὐθυνεὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν γῆν, καὶ ἀπέχεται βασιλεύς τῶν ἐμψύχων καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ ἀνθρώποι καὶ ὅσοι θηρευταὶ ἡ ἄλλη βασιλείας πέπαυνται θηρεύοντες, καὶ εἰ τινὲς ἄκρατεῖς, πέπαυνται τῆς ἄκρασίας κατὰ δύναμιν, καὶ ἐνήκοι πατρὶ καὶ μητρὶ καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων παρὰ τὰ πρότερον, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ λαῶν καὶ ἀμείων κατὰ πάντα ταῦτα ποιοῦντες διὰ ἕξουσιν.

1 δέκα ετῶν πληρηθεῖσα βασιλεύς
2 Πιοδάσσης εὐσέβειαν ἔδειξεν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις

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2 From Prof. Schlumberger’s transcript.
ΔΕΚΑΣΤΑΝΠΛΗΡΗΝΒΑΣΙΕΥΣ
ΠΙΟΔΑΣΕΝΕΥΣΘΕΙΑΝΕΔΕΕΝΤΟΙΑΝ
ΘΡΑΠΟΙΣΚΑΙΑΠΟΤΟΥΣΤΟΥΕΥΣΕΒΕΣΤΕΡΟΥΣ
ΤΟΥΣΑΝΘΑΠΟΥΣΕΠΟΙΣΕΝΚΑΙΠΑΝΤΑ
ΕΥΘΗΝΙΚΑΤΑΖΑΣΑΝΓΗΝΚΑΙΑΠΕΧΕΤΑΙ
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΤΑΝΕΜΥΧΩΝΚΑΙΟΙΛΟΙΠΟΙΔΕ
ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙΚΑΙΟΣΟΙΘΡΕΥΤΑΙΗΛΕΙΣ
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΣΠΕΠΑΥΝΤΑΙΟΗΡΕΥΟΝΤΕΣΕΑΙ
ΕΙΤΙΝΕΣΑΚΡΑΤΕΙΣΠΕΠΑΥΝΤΑΙΤΗΣΑΚΡΑ
ΣΙΑΣΚΑΤΑΔΥΝΑΜΙΝΚΑΙΕΝΗΚΟΟΙΠΑΤΡΙ
ΚΑΙΜΗΡΙΚΑΙΤΑΝΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΑΝΝΑΡΑ
ΤΑΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΝΚΑΙΤΟΥΛΟΙΠΟΥΛΙΟΝ
ΚΑΙΑΜΕΙΝΟΝΚΑΤΑΠΑΝΤΑΤΑΥΤΑ
ΠΟΙΟΥΝΤΕΣΔΙΑΣΟΥΣΙΝ

Aramaic Inscription

תְּרוֹתִי תְּנוֹקִיתִו כְּתַנָּאָה וְלָהּ אלָךְ לָשׁוֹנְךָ לְיִשְׂרָאֵל תְּמוּנָה לְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְלָשׁוֹנְךָ לְיִשְׂרָאֵל
דְּרִיבְּךָ לְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְלָשׁוֹנְךָ לְיִשְׂרָאֵל
טֵכְנִי לְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְלָשׁוֹנְךָ לְיִשְׂרָאֵל
כֹּל יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּחֶדְרוֹתָן לְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְלָשׁוֹנְךָ
לְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְלָשׁוֹנְךָ
אִשָּׁה לְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְלָשׁוֹנְךָ
לְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְלָשׁוֹנְךָ
לְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְלָשׁוֹנְךָ
לְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְלָשׁוֹנְךָ
GRAECO-ARAMAIC INSCRIPTION OF ASOKA NEAR KANDAHAR

3 thrōpois, kai ἀπὸ τὸ τούτον εὐσεβείτερον
4 tois a'nthrōpous e'poi-en kai pānta
5 eu'thēnei kata pāsan gōn, kai a'pēkhetai
6 basileús tēn e'mpsūkhēn kai o'kloipō de
7 xatiōn pā kai to' en tēs tēs tētai 'e al'ieis
8 be'leis pépauntai chērēmenteis, kai
9 e'i tines a'kratei, pépauntai tēs a'kra-
10 stis kata dúnumin, kai e'ntēkkoi patrī
11 kai metri kai tēn pro-butārōn pata
12 tā prótēro, kai to' kloipō loio
13 kai a'meinen kata pānta ta'īta
14 poioi̇tes diāxousin.

TRANSLATION1

Ten years having elapsed (from his installation), King Piodâsses has shown mankind the way to Piety. And since then he has rendered mankind more pious, and everything is thriving on the whole earth. And the King abstains from animals (i.e., meat), and all men including the King’s huntsmen and fishermen have stopped hunting. And those who could not control themselves have ceased to do so as far as they could. And (having become) obedient to father and mother and to the elders, contrary to what happened before, they will, henceforward, by thus acting, lead a better and in every way more profitable life.

ARAMAIC TEXT2

शनि- पति ति सप्ति प्रवीरिे मलिया कस्मा सापक्षे
1 स अर्जि उपरि मेराया लिलः एति सक्षे एंड्रे समाया होब
2 बोवा एरबा देसिया नाथ ये नज़ा बसुचा एल्रा मलिया तुरि
3 कस्मा नज़ा लिलः एति एति एंड्रे बहस्तिन आय नज़ा बस्त्रोऽ
4 नक नज़ा परिवारिे एनसे एलर्स तुरि एलर्स तुरि
5 परभसति एलपक्षिे एल्रा एलर्स एलर्स एलर्स एलर्स एलर्स
6 एक नज़ा परिवारिे एनसे एल्रा एलर्स एलर्स एलर्स एलर्स
7 नज़ा तिरी लिलः एति नज़ा आति रिना लिलः एति सापक्षे
8 नज़ा नज़ा परिवारिे एनसे एलर्स एलर्स एलर्स एलर्स

1 shnn 10 ptytw 'byld zy mr:n Prydrsh mlk’ qshyr’ mhqshl
2 mn 'dyn z'yr mr’ l’lllm ‘shnu w’lllm ’iwshy’ lwh’dl

1 From Prof. Schlimmeburger’s French translation. The interpretations of the two texts, respectively by Prof. Pugliese-Carestelli and Prof. Levi della Vida, are given in an English translation in an appendix to Un Edito Bilingue, etc., pp. 33-34.
2 From Prof. Dupont-Sommer’s transcript.
TRANSLATION

(Line 1) **Ten years** having elapsed (‘), it happened (‘) that our Lord **Priyadarśi**, the King, became the institution of Truth.

(Line 2) Since then, evil diminished among all men, and all misfortune, (‘) he caused to disappear:

(Line 3) and upon all the earth (there are) peace (and) joy. And further more, (there is) this about food for our Lord, the King,

(Line 4) a few (animals) are killed; seeing this, all the men ceased (killing animals), even (‘) those who catch fish (i.e. the fishermen);

(Line 5) these men are subject to prohibition. Similarly, those who were without restraint have ceased

(Line 6) to be without restraint. And (there again) obedience to one’s mother and to one’s father and to old people

(Line 7) according to the obligation; set on every one by fortune. And there is no Judgement for all pious men

(Line 8) This (i.e. the practice of the Law) has been profitable for all men and shall be still profitable.

Both the Greek and Aramaic texts are clearly free translations of some instruction on Dhamma sent from Pātaliputra to the local authorities on behalf of the king. They are not word-for-word translations of any of the edicts of Asoka so far discovered. As Prof. Lamotte has pointed out, they belong to the class of texts referred to in Rock Edict XIV as saṁkhyātra ṭekāpitha, ‘caused to be written concisely’. But they truly preserve the aims of Asoka’s Dhamma-lipis and are close to Rock Edicts I and IV.

The dating in the Greek version of the record refers to **expired years** and, according to the analogy of the dates in the Prakrit inscriptions of Asoka, the reckoning started from his abhisēka. The fact that the date in the Greek text under study unquestionably refers to expired and not current years is very important. The dates of Asoka’s inscriptions do not indicate whether the years are current or expired. They are generally supposed to refer to expired years, though some scholars

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1 From Prof. Dupont-Sommer’s French translation.
have supported the contrary opinion. As in Pillar Edict V Asoka says: "Until (I had been) anointed 26 years in this period, the release of prisoners was ordered by me 25 times," it has been surmised that the years were current ones. Dr. P. H. L. Eggemont, the author of the most elaborate study of the chronology of Asoka, has also adopted the same view. Nevertheless the argument is by no means conclusive, since Asoka does not say whether he decided to release prisoners once every year from the very beginning of his reign and he may not have begun to do so before his conversion to Buddhism after the conquest of Kalinga. Moreover, such adjectival expressions as dasa-rasi-drhitisita qualifying rāja (cf. Rock Edict VIII) ought to be understood as "being anointed ten years and not 'nine complete years and one part of a year' which would mean 'the tenth year since his anointment'. In any case, we have, in the explicit statement of the Greek epigraph under study, a very strong testimony against the interpretation of the years referred to in Asoka's Prakrit inscriptions as current ones.

Greek ET SEBEIA, ou sebebia 'piety', and Aramaic oṣīh, 'truth', are evidently tentative renderings of the more comprehensive Prakrit word dhrama (Sanskrit dharma), or, according to the spelling of the north-western edicts, dhram, which is the right order to be devotedly sought for.

The Aramaic name of the king is restored by Prof. Levi della Vida as Priyadhasi and by Prof. Dupont-Sommer as Priyodhasi. In the defective Aramaic writing, the reading of the text is possibly. But, in the Indo-Aramaic or Kharāṣṭrī system of writing which is much more precise than the Aramaic owing to the influence of the Pāṇḍava system of the Brâhmî, the spelling is priyodasi, or priyadasi or priyodasi, and we have to prefer the restoration Priyodhasi. Priyodhāsī is the correct corresponding form in Sanskrit.

Like Rock Edict IV, the bilingual inscription is an announcement of a new and more prosperous era resulting from the establishment of the same new behaviour: cessation of killing living beings and obedience to mother, father and elders. The corresponding passage in Rock Edict IV in the Shālabhazgarhi version runs as follows: avaśyakā prajānaṁ avahita hātanaṁ nātanaṁ saṁpatipati Bhārata-Śamājaṁ saṁpatipati nāta-pūrṇaḥ sa vaśanaṁ saṁśava, 'not killing animals, not injuring living beings, good behaviour towards relatives, good behaviour towards the Brāhmaṇas and the Śramanas, obedience to mother and father and elders'. In the Graeco-Aramaic inscription, the Brāhmaṇas and Śramanas are not mentioned, since they were not inhabiting the land of the Greeks as Asoka himself has pointed out in Rock Edict XIII. The good behaviour towards relatives is naturally included in the general prescriptions.

Generally, Greek AKRASIA, akrasia means 'intemperance', as translated by Carratelli who surmises that the original referred to saṁyāma. He is supported by Lamotte who draws our attention to Rock Edict IX: prajānaṁ saṁyāma, 'refraining from (the eating of) animals', and thinks of 'abstinence' or 'sobriety'. The meaning may be more comprehensive, like 'self-control', after the interpretation of Schlimmer and Robert, which would also tally with the idea of saṁyāma. In Rock Edict XIII, Asoka declares that he wanted 'for all living beings absence of injury, control, equanimous conduct' (Shālabhazgarhi: sarva-bhātana akṣatāḥ iṁśyam samabhavairām). And immediately afterwards, he refers to the dhrama-vāgya, 'victory through the good Order', won by

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2 The Chronology of the Reign of Asoka, Leiden, 1936, p. 64. According to Prof. Lamotte (op. cit., p. 230), in the chronological accounts of the Sugasalaśa chronicles, the years are current and not expired. He refers to the Mahāraṇa, XX, 1-6, where they are clearly current and this is confirmed by the Vamśathapakāśīi commenting upon the passage in question. But the way the years are indicated is quite different in this text (vāthsam śravaṇghana Dhaṁmāṇaṁ aṁ ṛtād dharmam caṣe, 'in the eighteenth year ... in the twelfth year') from that of Asoka's inscription (cf. dharmāntah-ahkṣātra).
4 Both the western and eastern coins in use as we have in the genitive case priyadhasīva and priyodhāsīva.
him in his own states, in the countries ruled by the Greek kings, in the South, and similarly here, in the royal estates, among the Yona-Kambojas', etc. (Arravinda hida raja-visharapi Yona-Kambojas, etc.). The land of the Yona-Kambojas is clearly the region where the Graeco-Aramaic inscription expressing the same ideal has been actually discovered.

The Aramaic part of the inscription does not help us in ascertaining the exact meaning of *a'kasia*, since the corresponding word *probty* appears to have been borrowed from an Iranian *frastest*, hitherto unattested. But the statement in the same part that 'a few' animals were killed for the sake of the king, and the reference in both the texts to the cessation of the killing of living beings, are quite in accordance with the data of Rock Edict I, in which Asoka says that only three animals instead of many were killed in his kitchen for the preparation of curry and that these too would not be killed afterwards.

There is difference of opinion among the translators as regards the Greek passage PARA TA PROTERON KAI TOU LOPOU. *parà tâ próteron kai tou loipoû* which Carratelli translates: 'as compared with the past, also in the future', while Schumberger and Robert have: 'contrary to what happened before, they will henceforward ...' Tucci thinks of a parallel to *hida-lokiko para-lokiko* and translates: 'during the past and for the remaining', that is to say, during this life considered as antecedent (the proper meaning of *próteros* being 'the first of two') and, with reference to time, 'antecedent', and hence 'past') and the further state after death. Lamotte agrees with this last interpretation and refers to the Separate Kalinga Edict in which Asoka emphasizes his aim to ensure happiness for everybody in this world and in the other.

The difficulty arises from the ambiguous value of the Greek word *parà*. Amongst its multifarious meanings, we have 'contrariwise' and 'during'. *Loipoû* means 'which is remaining' either with reference to a thing or to a duration. But, as we have pointed out, the bilingual inscription under study is close to Rock Edict IV, which does not allude to a contrast between this world and the other, but insists on the same between the situation in the past, when violence and inodience prevailed, and the new era of non-violence and obedience which resulted from the activities of the king. This contrast is the main idea of the edict from its very beginning, and the passage, which we have quoted above as a close parallel to the Greek text, runs immediately before this statement: *yadinau bahu kisalaśatihy na bhuta-prate tadīte aja vadhite Devanampriyana Priyadoraśa vaiko dhrauma-anustattva anaravaśkho praṇamaṁ*, etc., 'what during many centuries formerly was not existing, has grown up today thanks to the *dharma* instruction of King Devanampriya Priyadāśi: not killing animals,' etc.

With the interpretation of *parà tâ próteron* as 'contrariwise', referring to the past time when obedience was not observed, the parallel with the main idea of Rock Edict IV is quite complete. The only difference is in the order of the two terms of contrast. Rock Edict IV puts first the past and the Greek inscription first the new era; but the ideas are identical. The words *kai tou loipoû* begin the last passage which announces a better way of life just as Rock Edict IV adds: *eta aśāṁ cha bahu-vidhasā dhrama-charaśāṁ vadhāṁ vadhāśatācha*, 'in this and in many other ways this conduct according to the *Dharma* has grown up and will grow up'.

The general concordance of the Greek inscription with Rock Edict IV has to be examined from the point of view of date. This edict was promulgated when Asoka was anointed twelve years.

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2. *Un edito*, etc., p. vi.
3. Rock Edict IV gives in addition an enumeration of what was shown to the people on the occasion of the proclamation of the new era. Cf. 'Les festivités du Dhamma chez Asoka' in *Journ. As.*, 1907, pp. 1-9.
4. Prof. Robert (cp. cit., p. 12) has pointed out that all the sentences of the Greek text are connected by means of *kai*, 'and'. That is a good example of the so-called 'kai-style' in Greek.
The fact is referred to in Pilla Edict VI in which Asoka recollects his action after twenty-six years from his anointment (cf. dvārtam-aśvāma-abhīṣatma ne chāṇīma-pālī kāhāyi loka-ā hina-sukhāya, ‘being anointed twelve years, I have caused to be engraved a chanima-inscription for the welfare and happiness of the world’). Since the bilingual inscription is dated, as we have seen, ten years after the anointment, it cannot be a translation of Rock Edict IV; but as it has a very close relation with the ideas of the latter, we are sure that Asoka had already undertaken his action two years before the promulgation of the said edict which he finally considered as fundamental.

On the other hand, the date given in Rock Edict VIII for Asoka’s start for Sambodhi is exactly the same as the date of our bilingual inscription i.e. when he was anointed ten years. This was the time following the increase of his zeal which took place one year after his conversion. Evidently, since this conversion, consequent on the conquest of Kalinga, he had not completely renounced his old habits, some animals being still killed for his meals, as is mentioned in Rock Edict I and in the Aramaic part of our inscription. The first fruits of the increase of his zeal were the complete cessation of killing, the beginning of the propagation for the new era, and his great pilgrimage. Subsequently, when he was anointed twelve years, he issued the edict which became Rock Edict IV when the series of Rock Edicts were collected, and he directed his officers (yuta, rajāka and prade lha) to go about with this edict (dharmān a uṣī) every five years (Rock Edict III). When he was anointed thirteen years, he created the Dharmamahamatras. (Rock Edict V)

We now see exactly the place of the bilingual inscription in the succession of the deeds of Asoka. It belongs to the very beginning of his endeavour to propagate a more peaceful life throughout his empire. This action was not specifically Buddhist. There is no trace of a Buddhist bias in the prescriptions either in the Greek text or in Rock Edict IV. The Aramaic text was accommodated to the Semitic creeds as is evidenced by the statement about the end of this text: “And there is no judgment for all pious men.” This is in full harmony with the instructions of Asoka. A Buddhist nipāsaka himself and recommending Buddhist texts for the study even of Buddhist monks and nuns (cf. the Bhmajor Edict), he nevertheless took care of all other sects (cf. Rock Edict XII), and his mahamatras were commanded to ensure the prosperity of all sects (cf. Pillar Edict VII). Piety for the Greeks, Truth for the Aramaic-speaking people, the Dharma was the right Order for every society.

From the historical point of view, also the Gracco-Aramaic inscription is significant. The place of its discovery is in all probability the region of the ancient site of Alexandria of Arachosis where, according to Strabo (XV. 2. 9), Alexander had established Greek colonies and which was transferred by Seleukos Nikator to Chandragupta Maurya, the grandfather of Asoka. Now we know that Greek culture was well preserved in the said country under Mauryan rule till the days of Asoka and that the Arachosian province was still in the possession of that king. The Yonas or Greeks, who were different from those under the Greek kings and inhabited the territory lying within the empire of Asoka (cf. Rock Edicts V and XIII) are now located. The inscription was engraved for the sake of the Yonas who were Asoka’s subjects.

These Yonas are mentioned in Asoka’s edicts in association with the Kambayyas or Kambojas who were probably Iranian autochthons of the region where the Greek colonies were established. Prof. Buhnenre has surmised that the Aramaic part of the bilingual inscription was meant for their use. The language, it is true, is Aramaic and not Iranian; but it contains several words borrowed from the Iranian language as was usual throughout the whole Achaemenid empire. For about two centuries, the administrative language in the ancient provinces of the Achaemenid empire conquered by Alexander had been Aramaic, in spite of the fact that the empire, and in this region the people, were Iranian. It was normally preserved in subsequent times and, we see now, also under the Indian domination.
From the philological point of view, the importance of the Aramaic part of our epigraph lies in the fact that it will surely help the interpretation of the two already known Aramaic inscriptions related with Asoka, i.e. those from Taxila and Pul-i-Darunteh.¹

Thus the bilingual inscription deserves the close attention of scholars and raises the hope of new finds in the Kandahar region.

No. 2—BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS FROM MATHURA

(1 Plate)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

(Received on 15.5.1959)

About the end of the year 1957, I visited the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā and copied two inscriptions which were stated to have been recently discovered. These two epigraphs were noticed in the Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, 1957-58, Nos. B 591 and 594. An inaccurate transcript of the first of these two records appeared in the Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 20th Session, 1957, p. 68. About a year later, I received an impression of another inscription discovered at Mathurā in the year 1958, from the Curator of the Mathurā Museum. It was likewise noticed in the Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, 1958-59, No. B 788. Of the three inscriptions, the first and third are clearly fragmentary, while the nature of the second is difficult to determine. As the third record (i.e. No. B 788 of 1958-59) is considerably earlier than the second (i.e. No. B 594 of 1957-58), the former has been treated below as No. 2 and the latter as No. 3.

1. Inscription\(^2\) of Kanishka's Reign, Year 4

The inscription is engraved on the pedestal of a broken image. There are only two lines of writing. The inscribed area covers about 15\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches in length and a little over 1 inch in height. Individual alabharas are about \(\frac{1}{4}\) inch or slightly more in height, though a few letters including conjuncts and consonants endowed with vowel marks are bigger in size. The end of both the lines of writing is broken away along with the right-hand side of the inscribed stone.

The characters belong to the Brāhmī alphabet as used in the inscriptions of the Kushāṇa age. Interesting from the palaeographical point of view are the letters m and h which are of the types generally styled 'Eastern Gupta', although s is of the so-called 'Western Gupta' variety. The early variety of m and the 'Western type' of h have, however, also been used; cf. maha\(^3\) in line 2. The curve attached to the right of the lower part of the vertical of initial .gravity ends near the end of the lower left limb of the letter. This form of initial .gravity (cf. acha\(^4\) in line 2) is more common in the inscriptions of the Gupta age than those of the Kushāṇa period. Of initial vowels, only a, ā and e occur in the inscription, while, among numerical symbols, only 1 and 4 have been used in line 1.

The language of the epigraph is Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit. As regards orthography, there are some cases of the reduplication of m and r following r and one case of the similar reduplication of dh followed by y. The record was engraved in the 4th year of Kanishka, i.e. the 4th regnal year of the Kushāṇa king Kanishka I who is now usually believed to have ascended the throne in 78 A.D. The exact date is quoted as b[ṛ] 1 d[ī] 1, i.e. the first day of the first month of winter, probably corresponding to Mārgaśīrsha-badi 1. The date of the inscription thus seems to fall in the year 81-82 A.D.

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\(^1\) Macaron over e and o has not been used in this article.

\(^2\) This is No. B 591 of A.R.Ep., 1957-58.
The purpose of the epigraph is to record the installation of an object, the name of which has been lost at the end of line 1, although there is little doubt that it was a Buddhist image on the pedestal of which the inscription was incised.

The name of the person responsible for the installation is likewise lost. But he is stated to have been related to a Sādhyavihāri of the Buddhist monk named Dharmanandin who was a Dharma-kathika. The expression dharmakathika (Pāli dhamma-kathika) means a preacher, while sādhyavihāri stands for Pāli saddhivihāri (Sanskrit sādhyā-vihāri) and means one’s fellow priest living at the same monastery in Pāli and a fellow student in Buddhist Sanskrit.

The installation of what was no doubt a Buddhist image was made on the reći of (i.e. built by) Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Hummiyaka at the Sakka-vihāra or the Sakra or Šakya monastery. The word reći in the present context seems to mean a raised platform. The name Hummiyaka no doubt suggests the person’s foreign origin. He seems to have been a Mahādaṇḍanāyaka (i.e. a commander of forces or a military governor) in the service of the Kushāna king Kanishka I.

The concluding sentence of the record, which is fragmentary, was apparently similar to one generally found in the dedicatory inscriptions of the Mahāyāna Buddhists. The intention was to state that the donation of the gift (no doubt referring to the installation of the Buddhist image in question) was expected to benefit the donor’s parents, teachers and others. Many inscriptions specify in this context the benefit as avatara-jñāna-ācārī (i.e. attainment of the supreme knowledge) or hita-sukha (i.e. welfare and happiness) of the persons indicated.¹

TEXT ²


2 pratishṭhāpayati mahādaṇḍanāyaka-Hummiyaka-[ve]dyām¹ Sakka-vihāre [*] anena deyadharmma-parityāgena mātā-pitāṁśiḥa⁷ ................................................ [][*]

2. Inscription⁵ of Year 92

The inscription consists of four lines of writing covering an area about 9½ inches in length and 4 inches in height. Excepting $n$, $k$, $r$, etc., and conjuncts as well as consonants endowed with vowel marks, individual letters are a little more than ½ inch in height. The right-hand side of the inscribed stone is broken away, though it is difficult to say whether some letters at the end of the lines are lost. This is because the inscription can be somehow interpreted as it is.

The characters are similar to those of the epigraph edited above. But there is no instance of the use of $m$ and $h$ of the Eastern Gupta type. The symbols for 1, 2, 5 and 90 occur in the epigraph. As regards language and orthography also, the epigraph closely resembles the other inscription, though Prakrit influence is more considerable in it and there is no case of the reduplication of a

¹ Cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 250, text line 3; p. 262, text line 2; below, p. 11, text line 4, etc.

² From impressions.

³ Expressed by symbol.

⁴ The intended word seems to have been bhikṣuṣaya=bhikṣho. A number of letters are lost at the end of the line.

⁵ The anthaṇā sign is engraved to the right of the akṣhara dyā.

⁶ The akṣhara so has been originally omitted and was later engraved below the line between dyām and kka.

⁷ The intended word is ācārīya (Sanskrit ācārīya). A number of letters are lost at the end of the line.

⁸ This is No. B 788 of A. R. Bp., 1908-59.
BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS FROM MATHURA

1. Inscription of Kanishka's Reign, Year 4

Scale: One-half

2. Inscription of Year 92

(from a Photograph)
consonant followed by ạ. The date is quoted as he 1 di 5 (i.e. the 5th day of the first month of winter, i.e. probably Margasirsha-badi 5) in the year 92 apparently of the Kanishka era (usually identified with the Śaka era of 78 A.D.) and possibly corresponding to 170-71 A.D.

If it is believed that no letters are lost at the end of the lines of writing, the object of the inscription is to record the erection of a Stūpa of the Buddhist monk Grāmadesika (literally, 'one who preaches in the villages') who was a resident of the Buddhist monastery called Vepala-vihāra apparently situated at Mathurā. In such a case, the person (or persons) responsible for the construction of the Stūpa is not mentioned in the inscription. In the present context, the word stūpa mean a memorial structure enshrining the relics of the monk in question. Otherwise, the structure was built mainly out of the amounts collected by the monk.

TEXT

1 Sa[n] 90 2 he 1 di 5 ạya pūrva[ya]
2 Vep̣alavihāra(vā)vā[ya]stavya-bhilhūsa Grā[ma]-
3 desikasa sthūva pra[tir]iḥṭhāp[p(a)yati [sa].
4 rva-sav[i]a(ttva)a[ni] ḅita-s[a][kḥ][ya] [i*]

3. Inscription of Nripamitra

The inscription, incised on the pedestal of a broken image, was found in Dāhikā’s well near the city of Mathurā. It consists of four lines of writing, which cover an area about 7 inches long and about 2½ inches in height. Lines 3 and 4 are really engraved at the beginning and end of the same line. Individual letters, excluding conjuncts, etc., are about ½ inch in height. Apparently no line of writing has broken away from the top of the inscribed slab; but about one-third of the writing of lines 1-2 has completely peeled off from the middle.

The characters are Brāhmī of about the 5th century A.D. They may be compared with the alphabet of the Kushāṇa epigraphs from Mathurā, including the two inscriptions edited above, as well as the two Mathurā inscriptions of the time of Chandragupta II, one of which is fragmentary while the other is dated in the Gupta year 61 (380 A.D.). Although many letters including ṃ, ạ, and ạ as found in our record are also noticed in both the groups of Mathurā epigraphs referred to above, there are a few palaeographical peculiarities of the inscription under study, to which attention may be drawn. Our inscription exhibits three types of the medial ḣ sign, viz. (1) that formed by a curve at the top of a consonant, the left end of the former not coming down much below the top maatra of the latter (cf. ć̣ in line 4); (2) that in which the left end of the said curve comes down below the bottom line of the consonant (cf. dhi and bi in line 2; ri in line 3); and (3) that in which the left end of the curve is drawn inwards to very near its root at the top of the consonant (cf. kṣi in line 1, gi and mi in line 2, etc.). In the Brāhmī inscriptions of the age of the Kushāṇas of Kanishka’s house, the left end of the curve of the medial Ḥ sign lies generally above the line of the top

1 From an impression.
2 On the impression, this letter looks more like n. If it is really so, the word intended here was apparently ahatra (Sanskrit aṭārṇa) and we have to presume that a number of letters have broken away from the end of this line as well as from that of lines 1-2.
3 This is No. B 594 of A. R. Ep., 1957-58. The stone bears the acquisition No. 4378.
mātrā and this fact shows that our inscription exhibiting three varieties of a more developed sign of medial \(i\) has to be assigned to a much later date. The first two types of this sign are noticed in both the Mathurā inscriptions of Chandragupta II, referred to above, particularly in the fragmentary one. The third variety of the sign, which is ornamental, is found, often along with the other two varieties, in records like the Mehruari posthumous pillar inscription\(^1\) of Chandra (i.e. Chandragupta II), the Shorkot inscription\(^2\) of 402 A.D., and the Mandasor pillar inscriptions\(^3\) of Yasodharman, one of which is dated in 532 A.D. Similarly, the signs for medial \(u\) in \(ru\) (line 1) and medial \(ri\) in \(nī\) (once in line 1 and twice in line 2) used in the record are also generally found in inscriptions later than those of the Kushāgar. But the letter \(dh\), \(j\), \(n\), \(p\), \(s\), etc., as used in our epigraph, are not generally expected in records much later than the 5th century A.D. On palaeographical grounds therefore the inscription can be roughly assigned to a date about the close of the 4th or in the 5th century A.D.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. There are two stanzas (one in \(Ārgyā\) and the other in the \(Upajñā\) metre) with a prose endorsement at the end. As regards orthography, there is no case of the reduplication of a consonant in conjunction with \(r\), though \(dh\) followed by \(y\) has been reduplicated in line 3. The inscription bears no date.

The first line of the epigraph contains a stanza apparently in the \(Ārgyā\) metre, of which the major part of the second and nearly the whole of the third lines are lost. Another difficulty is that the last two syllables of the first foot and the four extant syllables at the beginning of the second foot appear to contain some errors as they do not yield any sense as they are. But the first foot speaks of one \(Nṛpamitra-bhartṛi\) in the sixth case-ending, while the last foot seems to mention a person named Udāka or Udoka also in the sixth case-ending. The latter is called \(sad-dharma-ruci\) referring to his devotion to the 'true faith' probably meaning Buddhism. The name \(Nṛpamitra-bhartṛi\) is interesting since the word \(bhartṛi\) suffixed to it is undoubtedly the same as Prakrit \(bhāttrī\) derived from Sanskrit \(bhartṛi\) (actually from the plural form \(bhartāraḥ\)) but later adopted as a Sanskrit word. Gradually the word \(bhāttrāka\) (derived from \(bhāttrī\)) and later the expression \(parambhāttrārika\) became popular in the sense of 'a king' and was often used with reference to a monarch.\(^4\) The word \(bhāttrāka\) was sometimes also suffixed to the names of kings and princes, e.g. Arthapati-bhāttrāka, Piṭhivīvgraha-bhāttrāka, Lokavigraha-bhāttrāka, Maneyya-bhāttrāka, etc.\(^5\) There is little doubt that \(Nṛpamitra-bhartṛi\) is the same as \(Nṛpamitra-bhāttrārika\) and, as will be seen below, this \(Nṛpamitra\) was a king apparently of the Mathurā region. The verse in question therefore seems to speak of a pious work of a Buddhist named Udāka or Udoka who was most probably an officer or subordinate of king \(Nṛpamitra\). The pious work was no doubt the installation of the image, on the pedestal of which the inscription under study was engraved.

The second verse is in the \(Upajñā\) metre, of which the major part of the second foot and the beginning of the third are lost. The first foot obviously refers to the pious work of Udāka or Udoka (i.e. the installation of an image by him), mentioned in verse 1, and states that it was caused to be made by \(Nṛpamitra-bhartṛi\) (i.e. \(Nṛpamitra-bhāttrārika\)), while the latter half of the stanza prays for the welfare of 'that king of kings' (\(tasya nṛpādhipasya\)) in this world and in the next. This 'king of kings' is no doubt the same as \(Nṛpamitra-bhartṛi\) mentioned earlier in the same stanza.

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1. \(CII\), Vol. III, Plate XXI A.
3. \(CII\), Vol. III, Plates XXI B and C and XXII.
4. Cf. Select Inscriptions, p. 162, text line 3; p. 283, text line 1; p. 325, text line 7; p. 344, text line 13; etc.; above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 16, text line 5; p. 334, text line 12; etc.
5. Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 16, text line 2; p. 84, text lines 3-4; p. 331, text lines 3-4; Vol. XVII, p. 336 text line 11.
as well as in verse 1. Thus the installation of a Buddhist image by Udāka or Udoka seems to have been done on behalf and for the merit of king Niśatmaka.

The prose endorsement at the end seems to state that the stanzas were the composition of Dinna. Thus the fragmentary inscription not only mentions a hitherto unknown king of the Mathurā region, by name Niśatmaka, and his Buddhist subordinate or officer named Udāka or Udoka, but also reveals the name of Dinna who may have been a poet at the said king’s court. Poet Dinna’s name, which is a Prakrit word standing for Sanskrit dattatu, ‘given’, is not known from any other early source.

The question now arises as to who king Niśatmaka was and when exactly he ruled over the Mathurā region. The earliest Gupta inscriptions at Mathurā belong to the time of Chandragupta II (576-413 A.D.) though the area seems to have been annexed to the Gupta empire by his father Samudragupta (c. 310-76 A.D.) sometime about the middle of the 4th century A.D. Since the hold of the Guptas on the Mathurā region appears to have continued at least down to the latter half of the 5th century A.D., Niśatmaka, who apparently did not belong to the Gupta family, would have flourished either about the middle of the 4th century or about the close of the 5th. Since Gupta rule in the said region appears to have been overthrown by the Hūna king Tora-māṇa, who ascended the throne sometime after 481 A.D., and his son Mihirakula, who was defeated by king Yaśodharman of Mandasor before c. 532 A.D., and since the palaeography of the inscription under study appears to be earlier than the middle of the 6th century, it may be tempting to assign king Niśatmaka of the Mathurā region to a date about the middle of the 4th century. As it is usually believed that the Guptas conquered the Mathurā region from the Nāgas, it is in that case not impossible to think that Niśatmaka belonged to the Nāga lineage. But names ending in the word niśat are not known to have been popular with the Nāgas. It has, moreover, to be admitted that the medial ī marks in the inscription appear to be somewhat later than the middle of the 4th century A.D. We have therefore to think of the possibility of Niśatmaka having flourished in the Mathurā region about the close of the 5th century as a semi-independent feudatory of the Guptas.

TEXT

1 Niśatmaka-bhartum prakṣha-nānu... mas=sad-dharma-ruccha-Udāka Jayya[[?]]

2 Yaktā(t=ka)rayita(tvā) Niśatmaka-bhātrā prāpa - - o - o - o - [?][?] - - o -

3 teṣe ccha samavidaddhyā[ti][?][?]

4 *kriti= Dinasya [[?]]

1 Mātrikishu was ruling at Erān as a feudatory of Budhagupta in 484 A.D., while his successor Dhanavishnu was a feudatory of Tomaraṇa in the latter’s first regnal year. Cf. Select Inscriptions, pp. 326-27, and pp. 396-97.
2 The inscription referring to Yaśodharman’s victory over Mihirakula does not bear any date. But one of Yaśodharman’s epigraphs is dated in 532 A.D. Cf. ibid., p. 355, verse 6; pp. 386 ff.
3 From impressions.
4 It is possible to conjecture that a Subhaṃ symbol was engraved at the beginning of the line.
5 The intended word may be teṣabha.
6 The intended reading and the meaning of the word are doubtful. Can it be prakṣha-nānu?
7 The metre of the stanza appears to be Ṛṣyā. The reading of the last four syllables may be tu-Udakasya also.
8 The metre of the stanza is Uṣpakiti.
9 The following letters are engraved about the end of line 3.
2 DGA/59
No. 3—BUDDHIST INSCRIPTION FROM KAUSAMBI

(1 Plate)

A. GHOSH, NEW DELHI

(Received on 29.1.1959)

The inscription, edited here for the first time at the suggestion of the Government Epigraphist for India and with the consent of Shri G. R. Sharma, Director, Allahabad University Kaushambi Expedition, was discovered on the 24th December 1950 at Kosamī¹ (lat. 25° 20' N.; long. 81° 22' 4" E.) in the Allahabad District, Uttar Pradesh, in the course of the extensive excavation of the site, being conducted by the University of Allahabad since 1949. The ruins of Kosamī, it is now well known, represent the ancient city of Kaushambi. Apart from the facts known before,² the results of the present excavation, including the discovery of the record under study, have yielded enough evidence to confirm the identification.

Shri Sharma informs me that the inscribed slab was discovered lying on a floor at a distance of 36 feet 8 inches to the west of the eastern boundary-wall of an excavated monastic complex, 52 feet to the east of the eastern site of the Main Stūpa and 11 feet to the south of the southern wall of the Main Chaitya, the whole complex being situated within the fortifications of the city, near its southern corner.

The inscription is neatly engraved in a horizontal compartment on a sculptural slab of reddish sandstone (which, Shri Sharma says, is not of the Mathurā but of the Central Indian variety), 2½ inches thick, now broken at the top and right-hand side. Its extant base and maximum height each measure 1 foot 10 inches. Like other slabs of its kind, it was, in all likelihood, square in shape, and, to judge from the available fragment, bore at the centre a pair of foot-marks in relief, two lines of inscription (at least the first of them running from edge to edge) at their bottom and floral designs of sorts and dwarf human figures, of which a fragment consisting of the left portion of a person holding a fan-like object under his left arm now exists. The partly preserved footmark bears a spoked wheel on its sole, a stūpa symbol on each of its little toes and three symbols, including what may be called a handled and spouted vase, on its great toe. If the missing parts of the slab are conjecturally restored, on the basis of the extant portion, it would be about 3 feet 2 inches square. It is difficult to say whether, in addition to the two lines of the inscription now available on the toe-side of the foot-marks, there existed two more lines representing the beginning of the epigraph on the heel-side as well.

The extant part of the inscription consists of two lines, the right portion of both of which has broken away, and the restored drawing will show that roughly one half of the inscription (i.e. the left half) is now available. The epigraph is written in Brahmi characters of about the first century A. D. Its language is Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit. As regards orthography, the use of ś in Ghoshti-ūrīme and ś in śilā in line 2 is noteworthy.

As indicated above, it is not possible to say whether the first part of the inscription containing the name of a ruler and a year of his reign or of an era is now lost. But the date of the epigraph can be determined, on palaeographic considerations, by comparing its characters with

¹Macron over e and o has not been used in this article.
²D. R. Sahni in JRAI, 1927, pp. 829-831.
³See Plate C.
those of other inscriptions of comparable chronological and geographical horizons, i.e. those closely preceding and following the beginning of the Christian era, to which epoch the inscription has to be assigned, and belonging to the Gaṅgā-Yamunā doṣā, in which Kauśāmibi (Kosam) is situated.

A comparison with the inscriptions of Āśādhasena\(^1\) of the second half of the first century B.C.,\(^2\) found at Pabhōsā 6 miles to the west of Kosam, would suggest that the date of our inscription is later, the characters of the latter exhibiting more pronounced serifs and a more squattish shape—a characteristic of the Kushāgara script. Out of similar considerations, the present record may be assigned to a date later than that of the Kosam inscription of Gotipūra.\(^3\) Attention may be drawn to the following palaeographical peculiarities of the inscription under study: the extremities of the left limbs of o curve inwards and are not oblique straight lines: y has its legs turning inwards and not pointing vertically upwards: r has the shape of a hook; and the left leg of l is an oblique line from the right to the left.

The characters of our inscription resemble those of the Mathurā inscriptions of Śoḍāṣa or Śoṇḍāṣa\(^1\) (first quarter of the first century A.D.)\(^2\) and more closely those of the early Kushānas of Kanishka's house.\(^3\) It may be roughly assigned to a date about the latter half of the first century A. D.

This dating is not inconsistent with the stratigraphic evidence derived out of the excavation. Shri G. R. Sharma informs me: "The excavation of the area shows eighteen Sub-periods, of which the earliest two antedated the Northern Black Polished Ware, the next seven were contemporary with that Ware and the last nine were later than it. The penultimate Sub-period is associated with the seals of Toraṇa and Hūṅāra, and possibly also with the coins of Toramāna. The average duration of a Sub-period at the site thus works out to be about eighty years, and as the floor on which the inscription was discovered belongs to the thirteenth Sub-period (from bottom upwards), it has to be dated c. 200 A.D. As however inscriptions and images were retained in the monastery for long periods, this date should be taken as the upper limit of the date of the inscription and not the date of its engraving."

\(^{1}\) Above, Vol. II, pp. 240-43.
\(^{2}\) N. G. Majumdar (J. Marshall and A. Foucher, The Monuments of Śoḍāṣa, Vol. I, p. 271, note 6) places Bahāsuṣṭa-mitra, whose nephew Āśādhasena was, in c. 50-25 B.C. Other dates recently proposed for Bahāsuṣṭa-mitra are not inconsistent with this (cf. D. C. Sircar in The Age of Imperial Unity, p. 174). I hope nobody still proposes a much earlier date for him on his supposed identity with Pu-huyamstra Sūngā.\(^{4}\)
\(^{3}\) Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 156 and Plate.
\(^{5}\) Like the date of all other inscriptions of this period, the date of Śoḍāṣa is uncertain. R. P. Canda observed, 'No one has assigned Śoḍāṣa to a later epoch than the first century A.D.' The latest tendency, following Sten Konow (CII, Vol. II, Part I, p. XXXIV), r to refer the year 72 of his Mathurā inscription to the era of 57 B.C.; cf. Sircar in op. cit., p. 126, etc.
\(^{6}\) Within this group should be included those early Kushāna Buddha or Bodhisattva statues, which, though found at places far away from Mathurā, were manufactured (and possibly also inscribed) in the workshops of Mathurā out of local sandstone and in the local art-ideal. They are: the Kosam inscription of the year 2 (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 212 and Plate), the Sāṃkhit inscription of the year 3 (ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 176 and Plate), and the Sat-Mahāt (Sat-Mahāt or śrāvar-n) inscription of the year 19 (ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 181), all belonging to the reign of Kani-kha and referring either to the monk Bala and the nun Buddhāmitra or to either of them.

\(^{7}\) In saying this, Shri Sharma evidently has in mind something like the following: The occupation on the site lasted for about fourteen centuries, beginning roughly with 800 B.C., i.e. two Sub-periods before the advent of the Northern Black Polished Ware in c. 600 B.C. (R. B. Leulum Ancient India, Nos. 10-11, p. 23) and ending roughly with 600 A.D., i.e. one Sub-period after Toramāna, c. 200 A.D. The duration of one Sub-period thus works out to about 80 (1400/18) years.

2 DGA/59
The inscription, in its mutilated form, mentions a monk named Phagula, a disciple of the reverend Dhara, and states that somebody connected with Phagula caused the śīlā or stone (no doubt the sculptured and inscribed slab bearing the inscription under study) to be made and apparently installed it at the residence of the Buddha (Buddhārāma) in the Ghoshit-ārāma.

The Ghoshit-ārāma was a well-known Buddhist establishment at Kauśāmibi, where the Buddha is stated to have stayed on many occasions. The Dhammapadathakathā says that it was built for the Buddha’s residence by Ghoshaka, the treasurer of king Udayana of Kauśāmibi, the other contemporary Buddhist establishments at Kauśāmibi known to Pāli literature being those built by Kukkuṭa and Pāvārika, two colleagues of Ghoshaka, and the Badarikārāma.

It is also noteworthy that according to the inscription the stone slab was apparently installed at the residence of the Buddha, or, at any rate, what was believed at that time to have been the place where the Buddha had lived. It may be recalled that another Kosam inscription, the exact findspot of which is unknown, refers to the promenade (chāṅkaṇa) of the Buddha. All these tend to show that the Buddha’s visit to and stay at Kauśāmibi may not, after all, have been a myth, as has sometimes been thought. In any case, this inscription, together with a few others subsequently found in the excavation of the same area, proves that, at least in the first century A.D., the Buddhist establishment, the ruins of which have now been laid bare by excavation, was known as the Ghoshit-ārāma and, besides, contained a spot believed to have been the Buddha’s residence.

TEXT

1 Bhayanātasa Dharama anuvāasa bhikhusa Phagulasa .........

2 Buddh-āvāse Ghoshit-ārāme sava-Buddhānāṁ pujāye śīlā kā[ritā]......[||*]

TRANSLATION

(This) slab has been caused to be made ...... of the monk Phagula, the disciple of the reverend Dhara, at the residence of the Buddha in the Ghoshit-ārāma for the worship of all the Buddhas.

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2 Ibid., p. 612, s.v. Kukkuṭa.
3 Ibid., Vol. II, p. 194, s.v. Pāvārika.
4 Ibid., p. 263, s.v. Badarikārāma.
5 Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 212.
7 From the photograph of the stone slab and an impression of the inscription kindly supplied by Suri G. R. Sharma.
8 Only the lower part of the abhara exists, and it can be confidently restored. It is permissible to conjecture that some such words as paṭṭhāpita cha have broken away after kārita.
BUDDHIST INSCRIPTION FROM KAUSAMBI

A

(from Photographs)
No. 4—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR and K. G. KRISHNAN, OOTACUMUND

(Received on 23.2.1959)

Recent excavations at Nagarjunakonda in Andhra Pradesh have brought to light several inscriptions belonging to the period when kings of the Ikshvaku family were ruling over the area. The two inscriptions edited here throw considerable light on the political and religious history of the period. They carry the genealogy of the Ikshvakus further by bringing to light two more members of the family and also reveal their religious persuasion.

1. Inscription of the time of Ehavala Chantamula, Year 16

This epigraph is engraved on a four-faced pillar excavated from a site where originally a temple was standing. As known from the record under study, this temple belonged to the god Mahadeva or Siva called Pushpabhadravamin.

The inscription consists of 11 lines of writing and occupies a space measuring about 27″ long and 24-5″ wide. The lines of writing, except lines 1, 2 and 8, extend up to the right end of the fourth face of the pillar. The engraver appears to have taken care to see that words are not split up at the end of the line and this is the reason why the said three lines are shorter in length. The average height of a letter is 3/4 inch excluding the elongated vowel-marks often added to the top or bottom. The engraving of the record is neat and the preservation of the writing satisfactory.

The characters are Brahmi of the third or fourth century A.D. and are very much the same as found in the other records of the dynasty, which were discovered at the same place and have been edited in this journal. The following palaeographical peculiarities of the inscription may, however, be noticed. The difference between the letters da and do is not very considerable, while kn and ḫ are written in two ways. ḫ is usually written by adding a small curved stroke at the right of the vertical of k (at its middle line 8) and ḫ by adding two such strokes (lines 4 and 8). But sometimes kn is written by curving the lower end of the vertical towards the right (lines 8 and 10) and ḫ by adding a stroke to the right above the lower curve of ḫ (line 3). While generally the sign for oṃ-kāra is placed on the top of the letter, in one case it has been placed to the right of a letter (see Chantamula in line 7). The last line seems to have been engraved by a different hand at a slightly later date.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Expressions such as siddha, siddha, and nam bhagavata Mahadevanag Pushpabhadravam in line 1, ṛṣi-ṛṣi in line 2 and bhagavata (for bhavatataḥ) in line 10 betray Prakrit influence on the orthography and language. It is also interesting to note that the inscriber makes no attempt to Sanskritise the Prakritic name Chantamula. The word *stambha* has been spelt as *stambha*. The consonant *f* is reduplicated before only in some cases, while *p, b, t,* etc., following *f*, have been reduplicated. The name of the king has been uniformly spelt as Ehavala though the spellings Ehavala and Ehavala are known from some other records. There are a few cases of wrong *sandhi*.

1 The present fashion is to spell the name as Nagarjunakonda instead of Nagarjunakonda. Macrons over *f* and *o* have not been used in this article.


4 See, e.g., above, Vol. XX, pp. 1 ff.


(17)
The inscription commences with the expression siddhasī followed by an invocation to the god Mahādeva Pushpabhadraśvāmin. Then the date of the record is given in the regnal reckoning of Vaisishthiputra Ekhava Chantamūla as the 5th day of the second fortnight of the summer season in the year 16 (expressed in symbols). The record next proceeds to introduce Mahārājakumāra Mahāsenāpati Hāritisputra Virapurushadatta who is stated to have caused the construction of a shrine (devakula) for Bhagavat Pushpabhadraśvāmin and the erection of a flagstaff (dvañja-stambha) apparently in front of the shrine. He is further stated to have created a permanent endowment of the village of Pudokešām, no doubt for the maintenance of the temple.

Prince Virapurushadatta is introduced in relation to both his paternal and maternal lines. He is represented as the great-grandson of Mahārāja Vaisishthiputra Chantamūla who is described, as in other Ikshvāku records, with reference to his munificence and also to his performance of the agnīṣṭoma, vājapeya, aśvamedha and bahuṣuvamāna sacrifices and is also stated to have acquired the glory of victory in battles by his own valour. His grandfather Mahārāja Māthariputra Virapurushadatta is next barely mentioned, while his father Mahārāja Ekhava Chantamūla, in whose reign the record was engraved, is then introduced as an equal to the epic heroes Sagara, Dīlīpa, Ambariśa, Yudhishthira and Rāma. Then Mahādevi Kupaṇaśīri, the queen of Ekhava Chantamūla and the mother of prince Virapurushadatta, is introduced as the granddaughter of Mahātālavara Skandagopa of the Peṣṭyakandiya clan and the daughter of Mahātālavara Khaṇḍahāla, while her maternal grandfather and uncle are stated to have been Sesebamāguruka and Utara-mahātālavara (i. e. Mahātālavara Utara) respectively. The expression Sesebamāguruka apparently contains a personal name and an epithet, though it is difficult to determine them precisely. A passage in lines 9-10 saying that the said temple was the fruit of the merit of both the mother and the son suggests that prince Virapurushadatta’s mother Kupaṇaśīri was associated with her son in the construction of the temple. The last line of the inscription seems to suggest that two persons Kaṅkaphala and Kaṅkachandra were appointed priests of the temple.

Prince Virapurushadatta is called Mahārājakumāra and Mahāsenāpati, the second epithet indicating his position as the commander of his father’s forces. He was apparently named after his grandfather who bore the metronymic Māthariputra. The male relations of queen Kupaṇaśīri, except Sesebamāguruka whose status remains obscure, were Mahātālavaras. In this connection it may be recalled that most of the princesses of the royal household mentioned in the inscriptions of Māthariputra Virapurushadatta were wives of Mahātālavaras of different clans. Prince Virapurushadatta’s metronymic Hāritisputra suggests that the paternal family of Kupaṇaśīri belonged to the Hārita gotra.1

The ancestry of Prince Virapurushadatta is indicated below in a tabular form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ikṣvāku family</th>
<th>Pushyaṇḍiya family</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vāsiṣṭhiputra</td>
<td>Mahātālavara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chantamūla</td>
<td>Skandagopa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māthariputra</td>
<td>Mahātālavara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virapurushadatta</td>
<td>Khaṇḍahāla = daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Utara-mahātālavara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāsiṣṭhiputra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ekhava Chantamūla = Kupaṇaśīri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hāritisputra Virapurushadatta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The wife’s paternal gotra was not changed to that of her husband in certain forms of ancient Indian marriage. See Proc. IBC, 1945, pp. 48 ff.
It is well known that all the ladies of the royal household of the Ikshvaku family had leanings towards the Buddhist faith. But Chantamula I, who performed a number of Vedic sacrifices, was apparently not a Buddhist while the religious persuasion of his son Virapurushadatta and grandson Chantamula II is unknown. The suggestion that they were followers of the Brahmanical faith is possibly supported by the present epigraph recording the construction of a temple for the god Siva by a son of Chantamula II. This is the first direct proof of the Saivite leanings of the Ikshvaku family. Another Nagarkunjikonda inscription records the construction of a temple for Sarva (Siva) by Elisri, called a Tulavara-vara (probably the same as Mahatulavara) and said to be a devotee of the god Kartikeya, in the 11th regnal year of Ehalava Chantamula. But Elisri, no doubt a subordinate of the Ikshvaku king, does not appear to have belonged to his master's family.

The only geographical name mentioned in this record is the village of Pudokedani which is not identifiable.

TEXT

1 Siddhanth (ddham) Namo bhagavate Mahadayasya Pappapahändrasvāminah [/*]
Mahārajasya Viśisthiputrasya

2 Ārya-Eḥalava-Charantamulasya sarva 10 gi pa 2 diva 5 [/*] rājño Viśisthiputrasya agnibhoṭamā

3 vajave (p)ey-āśvametha-bahusuvagṛṇaka-vājnāma naika-hirarājya-kotipradātuḥ go-śatasa-
hasra-hala-śatasaḥasra-pradātuḥ [h]

4 eva-viryy-ārjjita-vijaya-kirtteḥ Ikshvākuṁāḥ ārya-Chantamulasya prapatatrenā(ṇa) mahā-
rājya(ja)sya Mātharīputrasya Ikshvākuṁāḥ(ṇuḥ) ārya-Virapurushadattasya

5 pauttrena mahārajasya Sugara-Dilip-Āhāraṣthya-Vudhishtira-[t]ulva-dharmma-vijayasya
Rāmasy-eva sarvva-jan-abhirāmasya Ikshvākuṁāṁ(ṇām)

6 Ārya-(ārya-)Eḥalava-Charantamulasya puttreṇa Pushyaakṣamityānāṁ mahātalamārasya
Skaṇḍagopasya naptreyāḥ mahātalamārasya

7 Khaṇḍahālasya duhutuḥ Sesamāsaṛukaka-duhitryaḥ Utara-mahādtavara-bhāzingeyāḥ
rājāḥ ārya-Eḥalava-Charantamulasya

8 mahishyāḥ mahādevyāḥ Kupānaśīyaḥ([s]īrīyāḥ) puttreṇa mahārajakumāreṇa mahāsenāpatinā
Hāritiputreṇa Ikshvākuṁāṁ

9 ārya-Virapurushadattena mahārajasya mahādevyā gottrasya cha [vijaya-vaijayike āyur-
vyvaddhane dvayor-api cha māṭa-patraye[ḥ]*]

10 dharmma-panalaṁ bhagavatotah Pudpabhadrasvāminah devakulam kāritanā'hvajya-
staṁbaḥ(bha)ะ-scha pratishthāpiṭah grāmaṁ-scha Pudokedani(ṇ)am akshaya-ni(ṇ)vi

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1 Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 147 ff.
2 From impressions.
3 The double danda is followed by a slanting curved stroke.
4 Read Mahādeva Pudpabhadrasvāmin.
5 The additional mark above the letter may be ignored or the vowel-mark may be regarded as an imperfect sign for medial ār.
6 There is an unnecessary vīranga sign after the letter ṣṭo.
2. Inscription of the time of Ruḍapurisadata, Year 11

This epigraph is engraved on a pillar which is reported to have been discovered at Site No. 13 and is now preserved in the Nāgarjunikonda Museum. The pillar bears a sculpture executed in bas-relief above the inscription. The sculpture which is somewhat defaced seems to depict a lady seated on a high stool with an attending lady standing nearby. The seated lady's feet are resting on a small pedestal and there is a small seated female figure by the side of the stool.1

The Indian Archaeology—A Review, 1955–56, p. 21, states, "On the chayakhanbha is carved the scene of Prajapati Gotami, the foster-mother of Buddha, holding Buddha (as child) in a scarf. Below it was an inscription which acquaints us with the word chayakhanbha in a manner that brings out the idea that it is a recapitulative pillar or an epitaph. Besides recording a complete genealogy of the Ikshvakus kings (Chhamunda, Vinarupushadatta, Ehavala Chhamunula and Rudrapurushadatta) who bear the Kasatrapa tendentious title sevami, it established the relationship of a great Ikshvakus queen (Mahadevi) in whose memory one Sriraman of the Brihatphalayana gotra raised the epitaph (chayakhanbha)." At p. 23 of the same work, we are told, "The inscriptions discovered in the course of excavation gave the name of a new king of the Ikshvakus dynasty, viz. Rudrapurushadatta, besides king Sriraman of the Brihatphalayana gotra." Unfortunately the statements are not quite accurate.

The inscription consists of 9 lines of writing. The characters are the same as in the other epigraphs edited above. The form of initial i in line 5 is interesting as the left and upper curved strokes have been joined together. The form of medial ə in kə in line 5 is interesting as the length is indicated by a curved stroke attached to the right arm of k ə from above. The form of the letter ə in line 1 is slightly different from that of the same letter in line 5. The language of the record is Prakrit. As regards orthography, the words ekāra for Sanskrit ekālaśa and pattīya for Sanskrit patnāya are interesting. Reduplication of consonants, not usually noticed in early Prakrit inscriptions, is exhibited by the record under study as well as by some other epigraphs of Ehavala Chhamunula's time.2

The inscription is dated on the eighth day of the first fortnight of the spring season in the 11th regnal year3 of Mahārāja Ruḍapurisadata and records the erection of the chhāyākhanbha (chhāyā-stambha) of the deceased queen Varunabhātā (Varmabhātā), evidently the pillar upon which the record under study is engraved. The expression chhāyā-stambha means a stambha or pillar adorned with a chhāyā or image. The use of the word chhāyā in this sense is known from records like the Śirikūrman inscription4 of 1353 A.D., according to which the Gaṅga king Bhānu III dedicated to the god in the Śirikūrman temple a chhāyā each of his father Narasimha III and his step-mother Gaṅgāmbikā. The images in this case are stated to have each held perpetual lamps in their hands. Such lamps in the hands of images are called chhāyā-dīpi in epigraphs like

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1 The following passage is engraved in slightly later characters below the beginning of the second half of the previous line.
2 The contraction bho seems to stand for a word like bhogilau or bhajalau. The first part of the two personal names may possibly be kāka also. The form of the ob-kara read pēha in the first name is not regular for the period and may be also regarded as an irregularly shaped pā.
6 The date is given both in words and figures. It may really be the date of the queen's death.
TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA

1. Inscription of the time of Ehavala Chantamula, Year 16

(from Photographs)
the Puri inscription of the time of Anantavarman Chodagaṅga edited above.1 In this connection it is interesting to note that the stone pillar on which our inscription is engraved bears certain figures to which reference has been made above. As we have seen, the scene depicted is that of a seated lady attended by two females. This lady seems to be no other than the deceased queen Varmabhaṭā. She has a head-dress; but her locks are not tied in a knot. She wears an upper garment covering her bust and a long scarf covers her right shoulder and upper right arm and also her left forearm. The queen appears to be dressed like a foreign lady which she really was as we shall see below. Her extended right hand seems to hold a darpaṇa. The sculpture thus depicts a toilet scene.

Varmabhaṭā is described as the mother of the said king, as the wife of Mahārāja Behavala Chantamulā, as the daughter-in-law of Mahārāja Virapurushadatta and as granddaughter-in-law of Mahārāja Chantamulā. She is further stated to have belonged to the Bahapala (i.e. Brihaphala or Brihatphalāyana) gotra and to have been the daughter of a Mahākkotapa (Mahākṣatrara).2 Thus the record supplies us with a second instance of the relations of the Iskhvāku family of the Krishna-Guntur region with that of the Śaka Mahākṣatrara of Western India, the first being that of Māhāparputra Virapurushadatta’s marriage with Māhadevi Rudradhara-bhāṭārāki described as the Ujjainikā-mahārāj[ā]ī-thālīkā (Ujjaninikā-mahārājā-balīkā, i.e. daughter of the Mahārājā of Ujjan) known from an inscription3 from the same place. The discovery of a big hoard of the coins of the Śaka rulers at Pēṭlāpalem in the Guntur District is also interesting to note in this connection.4 The presence of Śakas at the Iskhvāku capital is also indicated by the epigraphic and sculptural records discovered at Nāgārjunikondā.5 Though the identity of the Mahākṣatrara who was the father of queen Varmabhaṭā is not disclosed, a very interesting information for the first time by the inscription under study is that the Śaka Mahākṣatrara of Western India claimed to have belonged to the Brihaphala or Brihatphalāyana gotra. While the Hinduization of these Śakas is clearly indicated by the records of Rishabhadatta and Rudrādman, the Śakas in general were regarded in ancient India either as clean Śudras or as degraded Kṣatriyas.6

Rudrapurisadatta, whose mother Varmabhaṭā is stated to have been and in whose 11th regnal year the record is dated, is described as a Vāsishthiputra. The paternal gotra of the king’s mother was therefore Vassishṭha. It is thus clear that the Śaka prince Varmabhaṭā was a step-mother of the king and not his real mother.

King Rudrapurisadatta (Sanskrit Rudrapurusadatta?) of this record is no doubt the same as Rudrapurisadatta in whose fourth regnal year the Gurzala Brāhma inscription7 is dated. It may be noted that Gurzala is only a few miles to the east of Nāgārjunikondā. The palaeography and provenance of the two epigraphs and the similarity of the two names appear to establish the identity of Rudrapurisadatta of our epigraph and Rudrapurisadatta of the Gurzala inscription. The use of da and la for the same sound in these records may be the result of an attempt to render the

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2 There is really no mention of a king named Śrīvarman of the Bahapala gotra as reported in the Indian Archaeology—A Review, referred to above.
3 Above, Vol. XX, pp. 4-5; p. 19 (B 3).
5 For an inscription mentioning a Śaka, cf. above, Vol. XX, p. 37; for sculptural representation of a Śaka, see Mem. ASI, No. 53, Plate Xc.
6 The Age of Imperial Unity, pp. 121-22, 181, 185. The reference does not appear to be to the queen’s husband’s gotra.
7 Sanskrit rudra may be both rudra and rukha in Prakrit.
8 Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 123. The correct reading of the king’s name is Rudra7 and not Rudra8 as read by Prof. K. A. Nākanta Sastri.
Sanskrit name Rudrapurushadasita in Prakrit under Dravidian linguistic influence. In that case, we may think that *rudra* became *ruḍa* through the intermediate form *ruḍḍa* and *ruḍa* through the intermediate form *ruḍa*. But the possibility of *ruḍa* being a modified form of a Dravidian *ruḍa* cannot be regarded as out of question.

**TEXT**

1 Mahārājasa asamedha-[yā]jjisa aneka-hiranma-koḍi-go-sa-

2 tasahas-hala-satasahas-padāyisa svāmi-siri-Charhtam[ū]lasa

3 pasun[h]āya mahārājasa [svāmi]-[s][r]i-Vīrapuri[sadatasa]

4 surnhāya mahārājasa [svāmi]-S[r]i-Ehavala-Chamtamūlasa

5 pattiya raḥo Vāsithiputta Ikhākūnam siri-Ruḍa-

6 purisadatasa mātāya mahādevīya mahākhatapa-dhūtāya Ba[ha]-

7 phala-sagotāya siri-Vanmabhāṭāya samvachharam ekkāram 10 1

8 vāsā-pakharī pathamari 1 divasarī athamari 8 saga-gatāya ohhāya-

9 kham[bho] ||

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*From impressions.*

*The full-stop is indicated here by a curve slanting towards the lower right and having a dot above and another dot below its beginning. This may be compared to the punctuation indicated by a horizontal stroke with a dot above and another below, as found in the copper-plate grants of the Śrīabhapura kings. See above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 157, note 9; p. 158, note 1.*
The inscription is engraved on a smoothed space on what may be regarded as the back wall of an open cavern to the proper left of the representation of the goddess Tarachandi on the rock in a locality of the same name about 3 miles to the south of Sasaram or Sahasram in the Shahabad District of Bihar. For the protection of the writing, the Department of Archeology, Government of India, has closed the opening of the cavern by a front wall leaving an entrance at the left end. There are only six lines of writing which covers an area about 7½ feet in length and about 1½ feet in height. Line 6 is small and contains only twelve aksharas followed by a mark of punctuation. Individual letters are in average a little above two inches high. The preservation of the writing is satisfactory. But, owing to the presence of a long block of stone lying in front of the left half of the epigraph, the letters of the last line, which covers a space about one foot in length beneath the beginning of line 4, cannot be clearly seen. It is also difficult to take a satisfactory impression of the letters of this line.

The inscription under study was discovered by Francis Buchanan (afterwards Hamilton) in 1812-13 while he was conducting the survey of the District of Shahabad. His note on the contents of the epigraph was based on his Pandit's fantastic reading and strange interpretation, 1 H. T. Colebrooke noticed the inscription with an English translation about a decade after its discovery 2 while F. E. Hall's transcript and translation of the record were published in 1860. 3 Unfortunately epigraphic studies were then at the initial stage. Neither of the two scholars had any opportunity of examining the original record and, while Colebrooke seems to have received an impression of it from the collection of Buchanan Hamilton, Hall appears to have depended on its transcript prepared for him by his Pandit. 4 As a result, the transcript published by Hall has several errors while the translations of both Colebrooke and Hall contain many inaccuracies. The year of the date is given by Colebrooke as Sanyat 1229 or 1173 A.D. but by Hall as Sanyat 1225.

Kielhorn was therefore not in a position to determine as to which of the readings is correct, since no facsimile of the record was ever publish. A locality called Swārangahala or Svaragahala is mentioned in the epigraph twice in the expressions Svarangahala-ja (i.e. born at Svarangahala) in line 1 and Svarangahali-ju (i.e. belonging to Svarangahala) in line 4. But Colebrooke read the expressions as swāllabala-ja and swāllabala-ju respectively, while Hall read them respectively as sa-dvālla-bala-ja and su-dvālla-hali-ja, the first being explained by him as 'spring from men of goodly staves and ploughs' and the second as 'sundry' folk of goodly staves and ploughs'. In elucidation of his interpretation, Hall added that the people in question were taunted by hinting that they were...

1 Pratīyadhava of the inscription was supposed to have been the father of king Vijayachandana of Kaimur. Buchanan's note was referred to by Colebrooke in his paper mentioned below. His report on the Shahabad District has now been published by the Bihar Research Society, Patna.

2 See Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays, Vol. II, pp. 289-96. The paper was read at a public meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society on the 4th December 1824.

3 See JAS, Vol. VI, 1859, pp. 534, 547-49. The paper was written two years earlier. Cf. 'Sanger, February 1858' at the end of the article in op. cit., p. 549.

4 Cf. op. cit., pp. 290-91.

mere rustics and husbandmen and that they lacked the appropriate 'literature' of the Brāhmaṇas. The name of another village called Vāḍayilī (or Bāḍayilī) mentioned in the inscription in line 4 was read by Colebrooke as Bādayitī and by Hall as Bāḍapilī. Though the alphabet of the record does not distinguish clearly between p and y, the reading must be Vāḍayilī or Bāḍayilī, since the locality is undoubtedly identical with the present village of Bāralī lying about 10 miles towards the west of Tārīchandī, the findspot of the epigraph. There are also some other errors in the published transcript of the record. Moreover, neither Colebrooke nor Hall attempted to identify the three villages mentioned in the inscription. For these reasons, I edit the record in the following pages from inked impressions prepared under my supervision in January 1959.1

The characters of the record are Nāgarī of the twelfth century A.D. and closely resemble those of the contemporary Gāḍāvāla epigraphs.2 As indicated above, there is no clear distinction between p and y, while b is indicated by the sign for r. Of initial vowels, we have i (line 5) and u (line 2). The language is Sanskrit and the inscription is written in both prose and verse. The orthography also resembles that of the contemporary inscriptions of the Gāḍāvālas. Some consonants following r have been reduplicated. Final m has sometimes been wrongly changed to anusvāra. Utkūṭha in line 2 has been spelt with final t without combining it and k into a conjunct. Both anusvāra and class nasals have been used side by side. Influence of local pronunciation is noticed in the spelling of the name Śatrughna in the last line. The date of the epigraph is given as Wednesday, Jyēṣṭha-vadi 3, V.S. 1225. The details agree with the 16th April 1169 A.D.3

The inscription begins with a symbol for Siddham which is followed in lines 1-3 by two stanzas in the Vasanatīlaka metre. The auspicious word svasti stands at the beginning of the first verse as a part of it as in so many other records.4 The contents of these verses, which have to be read together as a yugmaka, are given in prose in lines 3 ff. with some additional details. In these stanzas, a ruler5 named Pratāpadhavala is represented as informing his descendants (vaṁśa)6 to the effect that the Brāhmaṇas (cf. vipraṁ)7 obtained from one Dēs, who was a servant of the king of Gāḍhinagara (i.e. modern Kanauj), a ku-tāmra by fraud after having bribed [him], that no reliance should be made in the said grant or the Brāhmaṇas and that not even an iota of land in the villages near about Kalahandī8 really belonged to the above Brāhmaṇas. The word tāmra in the expression ku-tāmra has been used in the sense of a tāmra-śāsana or copper-plate grant9 and ku-tāmra may mean 'a forged document.'10 It will be seen that in the above analysis we have taken the passage grāmīśe-vaṁśāku Kalahandī-samipāṁśāku in the third foot

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1 On the basis of Colebrooke's transcript and translation, H. C. Ray says that the inscription 'announces as a grant of the villages of Kalahandī and Bāṣapilī by the Kāṇaḥkāṇḍikṣāti Vijayachandra, which is said to have been executed in the favour of certain Brāhmaṇas living in villages adjoining Kalahandī' (DHSI, Vol. I, p. 634). As will be seen below from our analysis, this is not quite accurate. But Ray rightly observed that 'the record ought to be re-edited' (loc. cit., note 3).
2 See, e.g., above, Vol. IV, pp. 97 ff. and Plates.
4 See, e.g., above, Vol. XXXI, p. 87, text line 1.
5 Cf. the word dēsāk in the second foot of verse 1.
6 Cf. the expression dēsā-vaṁśa Kalahandī in the prose part in line 3.
7 The name is spelt as Kalahandī in the prose part in line 3. The change seems to have been made in the verse for the sake of the metre.
8 Cf. JRS, 1952, p. 4.
9 The word ku really means 'bad'. But cf. expressions like ku-jāna (imperfect or defective knowledge), ku-dāsā (unjust punishment), etc. Ku here means the same thing as kūśa (false, untrue or deceitful). The forged document referred to here has been recently discovered and will be published in a future issue of this journal.

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of verse 1 with reference to bhūmītalam in the last foot of verse 2. Although this involves the defect called dārāswaya, the interpretation seems to be the only satisfactory one. As already indicated above, the two stanzas form a yugmaka and have to be read together.

In the prose section, Mahānāyaka Pratāpādavaśa, the lord of Jāpila, is represented as making a statement regarding the actual facts to his descendants, such as sons, grandsons and others, to the effect that the people (loka) of Sātvanaśa secured a ku-tāmra or forged grant in respect of the villages of Kalahandhi and Vayayali (or Vayayali) from Deē, a servant of king Vijayachandra, the lord of Kanyakubja (modern Kanaúj), after having bribed [Deē], that no reliance should be made in the said grant, that the [said] Brāhmanaas (dvijāka) were greedy people (lampaṭāka), that not even an iota of land belonged to them (i.e, the Brāhmanaas) and that they (i.e., the king’s descendants) should know this fact and collect and enjoy whatever was due [from the two villages] as bhāga (i.e., the king’s share of the produce in the village fields) and bhōga (i.e., the periodic offerings payable by the villagers to the king). The last line of the epigraph shows that the original of the document, now found engraved on the rock, was signed by MahārajaPATRA Satruohana who was apparently a son of Pratāpādavaśa, even though the latter is called a Mahānāyaka in our record and, as will be seen below, a Nīyaka in his other epigraphs known to us.\(^5\)

The chief named Pratāpādavaśa, styled as Mahānāyaka and also as Mahāraja indirectly, has his capital at Jāpila which is the modern Japāla (also called Japāla-Dināra), a railway station on the Gomoh-Dehri-on-Sone line of the Eastern Railway, 25 miles from Dehri-on-Sone. The old city, on which the neighborhood of Husainabad was built in the late medieval period, lies about 2 miles from the Sone and commands a good view of the Rohtāgarh plateau on the other side of the river. The Pargana, to which it belongs and which is named after it, lies in the extreme north of the Palamau District of Bihar. Japāla occurs in Shāh Jahan’s time among the Parganas forming the Jāgir of the commander of Rohtāgarh and is also mentioned in Todar Māli’s rent-roll in the Ain-i-Akbari.\(^2\)

It is possible to think that Pratāpādavaśa was a feudatory of the Gāhādavāla monarch Vijayachandra (c. 1155-70 A.D.) of Kanyakubja (Kanauj) although there is no indication on this point in his records including the one under study. We have elsewhere\(^1\) suggested that the Pāla king Gōvindapāla was ousted from the Gaya region and probably also killed by the Gāhādavālas shortly after his 4th regnal year roughly corresponding to 1165 A.D. while there is epigraphic evidence indicating the inclusion of the said area in the dominions of Gāhādavāla Jayachandra (c. 1170-93 A.D.), son and successor of Vijayachandra. It is difficult to determine whether Deē was the governor of the district around Tārīchaṇḍi under Gāhādavāla Vijayachandra and under what circumstances the said district came into the possession of Pratāpādavaśa.

Pratāpādavaśa apparently ruled over the northern areas of the Palamau District together with the Sasārām-Rohtāgarh region of the Shahabad District and probably also the contiguous portion of the Gaya District of Bihar. Besides the present inscription from Tārīchaṇḍi near Sasārām, several other epigraphs of the same ruler have been found in the Rohtāgarh area. These are the Tutlā or Tutrāhī falls inscription dated V.S. 1214, Jyēšṭha-vadi 4, Saturday (19th April 1158 A.D.), the Phulwariya inscription dated V.S. 1225, Vaiśākha-vadi 12, Thursday (27th March

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1. They are called vipras in line 1 and dvijas in line 5.
2. The Tutrāhī or Tutlā falls inscription is said to mention Satruohana as one of the sons of Pratāpādavaśa whom the Bandhughāt inscription is believed to describe as mahānāripati. See Colebrooke, op. cit., pp. 291 and 293.
5. Bhadurkari’s List, No. 299.
6. Ibid.. No. 338. The name is sometimes spelt as Phulwariš.
1169 A.D.) and the Tilothu inscription⁴ bearing no date. Pratāpadhavala is called a Nāyaka (ruler) of Jāpila in these records. The name of the family to which he belonged is given as Kha-
yaravala and it has been supposed that he was really a scion of the aboriginal tribe known as Khar-
wār which is one of the three principal tribes living in the Palamau District.⁵

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, we have already indicated the location of Gādhinagarā or Kanyakubja (also spelt in literary works as Kānya
kubja and Kānya
kubja). Jāpila and Vādayilā (or Badayilā). Suvarṇahala or Varṣahala appears to be the modern village Sūnahar about 3½ miles from Barailā (Vādayilā or Badayilā of the record) and about 10 miles from Tārācāndi where the inscription is found. Kalahaṇḍi or Kalahaṇḍi seems to be no other than modern Kavandīya which is a station on the Eastern Railway, 6 miles from Dehri-on-Sone and 3 miles from Tārācāndi. The distance between Kavandīya (ancient Kalahaṇḍi or Kalahaṇḍi) and Barailā (ancient Vādayilā or Badayilā) the two villages secured by fraud by the Brāhmaṇas of Sūnahar (ancient Suvarṇahala or Varṣahala) near Barailā, is about 15 miles. The reason why the inscription was engraved at Tārācāndi seems to be that its findspot was not only near one of the two villages fraudulently secured by the Brāhmaṇas but was also within or near the head-
quarters of the district in which all the three villages, viz. Kalahaṇḍi (Kalahaṇḍi), Vādayilā (Bada-
yilā) and Suvarṇahala (Varṣahala), were situated. Kōtaũūr, about ½ mile from the Tārācāndi temple, seems to have been a township in the early medieval period and may represent the heart of the headquarters of the district in question.

TEXT⁶

[Metros : verses 1-2 Vasantarilaka.]

1 Siddham⁴ [[*]] Svasty-udgata-prathita-kirtti-iliharaḥ samantaś-dēvah Pratāpadhavalō vada ti sva-vamśaṁ(sam) | grāmaśvamāṁśu Kalahaṇḍiśamapagōṁśu vipraṁ Suva-
rṇahalaśaiṁ-śaḥ chhadmanāṁ yat. | [1⁴]

2 Utkōṭha Gādhinagar-ādhipa-dāsa-Dēśa-hastat-kū-tāmνra(m)imakan pragrihitam-
āśiṁ u-śatra prati-vishayaḥ paritō vidhēyāṁ śū(sū)chyāṁ-agṛhāhyāṁśu bhūmi-
talaṁ[ṇ]

3 na tēhām || [2⁴] Sāvakat 1225 Jyēṣṭha-vādi 3 Vṛ(Bu)dhē ||¹¹ Jāpil-ādhipatī-mahānā-
yaka-śri-Pratāpadhavaladēva-charanāṁ ||¹¹ śaṁ-vaṁś-ōdbhavāṁśi pratru-pratruśālāṁ||¹² svarūpaṁ kathayanti |

¹Ibid., No. 1759. The name is sometimes spelt as Tilōka.
²Cf. above, Vol. IV, p. 311, note 10; O'Malley, op. cit., p. 17. The other two tribes are the Orangs and the
³Cheros.
⁴From impressions.
⁵Expressed by a symbol which is not noticed in Hall's transcript.
⁶The name is spelt as 'khāṇḍi' in line 4.
⁷Hall's transcript has su-daya. The name is spelt as 'Sourupa' in line 4.
⁸Chhadmanā was originally engraved.
⁹Hall's transcript has 'attī. For the following daya, two dayās had been originally engraved, but the second of them was later struck off.
⁴Prati-vishaya may mean 'a transaction based on the belief'. But better read prati-vishayaḥ parīśi-
vākgyāyāḥ as the reference seems to be to the Brāhmaṇas. The word parīśiḥ 'everywhere', should have to be
taken with grāmaśu (bhūmikāṁśu) etc.
¹¹Hall's transcript has sākya-a.
¹²The daya which is not indicated in Hall's transcript is really unnecessary.
¹³I.e. śaṁ pratru-pratruśāṁ.
Right Half
4 yad-ētat Svāraṇāhaliya¹-lōkaiḥ Kanyakuvāj(bi-ā)²dhīpa-śrī-Vijayachandra-bhūpa
dāsa-Dēū-rpāṅvāṭé utkōchaṁ datvā(ṛtvā) Kalahaṁdi-Vādayilā³-grāmāyōḥ ku-tāṁvīra-
(mra)m-aṁ[taj]m chhadmaṁ || tatra pratīt-ṁ na kāryā ||
5 sarvavāṭe lampatā amī dvijāḥ | śū(sū)chy-agṛa²-bhēdy=āpi bhūmīrda(r-ṇna)⁴ṛta(ṛtē)-
shāṁ⁵-asti | iti jñātvā bhāga¹⁰-bhai(bhō)¹¹-ādikāṁ grahyāḥyatha vilapayatha ch-eṭī |
6 Mahārājaputra-śrī-Satrughanasya¹² ||¹³

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¹ The name is spoilt as Svāraṇā in line 1. Hall’s transcript has svā-ṛṇḍha-ḥaliya.
² Hall’s transcript has Kānya⁴.
³ Read pārvatā which is found in Hall’s transcript.
⁴ The intended name may be Bādayilā. Hall’s transcript has Bādayilā.
⁵ The drāḍa is redundant.
⁶ Hall’s transcript has sarvāṭkā.
⁷ Hall’s transcript has śūchy-ā⁷.
⁸ Hall’s transcript has tṛ-ṇṇa.
⁹ Hall’s transcript has tṛṭha⁵.
¹⁰ Hall’s transcript has svāṇā. Bhāgu-bhāga is commonly found in royal charters.
¹¹ Hall’s transcript has bhō⁹.
¹² Read Satrughanasya. Hall’s transcript has Mahārājā-patraś-ccha; but he admits that the reading is in-
complete. The transcript consulted by Colebrooke was more reliable at this place.
¹³ The double drāḍa is preceded by a visarga-like sign which is part of the mark of punctuation.

DGA/59
This set of three copper plates, which is being published here for the first time, was discovered along with three others at the village of Mallar in the Bilaspur District of Madhya Pradesh. Of the other three charters, which are also being published in the pages of this journal, one was issued by Jayaraja in his 5th regnal year while two belong to Pravararaja and Vyaghraraja.1

The plates have rounded corners and measure approximately 6 inches by 3.2 inches each. They have each a square hole about the middle of the left margin for the seal-ring to pass through. The three plates altogether contain 26 lines of writing, the inner sides of the first and third plates and both sides of the second having each 6 lines and the second side of the third plate 2 lines only. The seal resembles that attached to the king’s other charters2 and the legend represents Jayaraja as the son of Prasanna (i.e. Prasannamātra) and the vanquisher of his enemies by his valour. The three plates together weigh 47 tolas and the seal with the ring 39 tolas.

The characters belong to the ‘box-headed’ alphabet and the language of the record is anskrit. Excepting the five imprecatory and beneficent verses, the whole charter is written in prose, the style being the same as in the other two charters of Jayaraja and those of his descendants. There is some difference in the formation of medial i in the present record and in the other epigraphs of Jayaraja. While in the other inscriptions it is formed by inserting a dot in the circular sign indicating medial i, in our grant it is usually made with a small vertical stroke joined to the bottom inside the circular sign (cf. ni and si in "vilasinī-sī" in line 2). But the medial i in śri (in line 4 is slightly different as here we find a small hook turned to the left instead of the vertical stroke. The upadhūmīya and jihrūndīya occur in lines 3, 15 and 20. The sign for anūvāra has been indicated by a small horizontal stroke on the top of a letter and that for visarga with two small horizontal strokes placed one above the other. Punctuation is also indicated by a similar stroke, either single or double (cf. lines 16, 20, 21, 23). The numerical figures for 9 and 5 have been used in the record. As regards orthography, the reduplication of consonants with the superscript r is often noticed. There are several cases of wrong sandhi.

An interesting feature of the record is that the lower part of the first side (from lines 9 ff.) and the entire second side of the second plate and the inner side of the third plate are written on erasures, traces of the earlier writing being clear in many places. Line 10 stops abruptly about the middle of the obverse of the plate and line 11 begins at a considerable distance from the left margin and the original writing in the intervening space is beaten in. The names of the two donees of the present charter in lines 9-10 are both written on an erasure. It is clear that the grant was originally made in favour of several donees, that their names were beaten in at a later date and that the names of the two donees were re-engraved in the space thus created. That the number of donees was originally more than two is also clear from the passage "nāmi(m =a)śrīrīkā, referring to the donees in the sixth case-ending plural, at the end of the gap in line 11. This fact,

1 See above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 135 ff.; below, pp. 47 ff., 33 ff.
2 These are the Anrug and Mallar plates both issued in the 5th regnal year of Jayaraja. See CII, Vol. III, pp. 19 ff. and Plates; above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 155 ff. and Plate r.
however, does not clearly explain why the writing of all the lines upto line 23 was also beaten in and re-engraved. Possibly a re-engraved passage was re-erased in lines 10-11.

The object of the grant, issued by king Jayarāja from Sarabhapura, is to register the gift of the village Mōkkēppikā situated in Nagarottara-patţa by Vatsa to two Brahmans named Mahēśvarasvāmin and Rudrasvāmin, both belonging to the Bahyāja śūkhā and the Bhārgava gōtra. Rudrasvāmin is further described as Sabara-bhōgyaka which suggests either that he hailed from an administrative division (bhōga) called Sabara or that he was the jāgīrdōr enjoying a locality called Sabara.

It is stated that Vatsa made the grant (atisrishtaka) and that the creation of the rent-free holding was ratified (anumōdita) by the king. Vatsa has been called hadāppagrāha which is no doubt the same as hadāppagāhāmatya as read by Dr. D. C. Sircar in the Kanukolli plate 1 of the Śalaṅkāyana king Nandivarman I. Dr. Sircar takes it to stand for Sanskrit krita-pragrāh-āmātya, i.e., an officer in charge of the seizure of stolen goods and draws our attention to the yukta in charge of pranashī-ādiyata-dravya as known from the Manusurti and to the police officer mentioned as Chaurōddharavikā in later inscriptions. Vatsa was thus an officer in king Jayarāja’s service. The householders of the gift village were asked to pay the usual dues to the donees and the future kings were requested to protect the grant. The charter was issued on the 5th day of the month of Jyēśṭha in the year 9 of Jayarāja’s reign. The plates were engraved by Achalasiniḥa who was also the engraver of Jayarāja’s other charters.

The importance of the charter, issued in the king’s 9th regnal year, lies in the fact that it offers the latest date of his reign so far known, his other charters being issued in his 5th regnal year. The rule of Jayarāja lasting for about 9 years may be assigned to the middle of the sixth century. 2

Of the geographical names, Sarabhapura, the early capital of the family, has been tentatively located near modern Sirpur, the ancient Sīrpara which was the later capital of the family, in the Raipur District of Madhya Pradesh. 3 The discovery of most of the charters issued from Sarabhapura near about Sirpur has lent colour to this view. The fact, however, that two different persons were responsible for engraving the charters of Sudēvarāja issued from Sarabhapura and Sīrpara 4 may go against it. Of Nagarottara-patţa and Mōkkēppikā, the first was probably a district situated to the north of the capital city of Sarabhapura. They remind us of the names of modern Nargoda and Mopka, both about 10 miles from Bilaspur. Sarabhōsaga likewise reminds us of Seorināyana or Savarināyana, supposed to indicate the existence of Sabaras (Savaras) in the area.

TEXT 1

First Plate

1 Svasti [1] Sarabhapurāt dvi(vi)kram-ōpanata-sūmanī(ṃa)nta-makuta'-chūḍā(ṃa)ni-prabhā-

2 prasēk-āmbu-dhautaś-pāda-yugalō ripu-vilāsini-sūmanī(ṃa)nt-ōddharaṇa-hētū-

1 Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 6, note 9.
2 See, above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 156.
3 See above, Vol. XXXI, p. 104. Cf. the Sirpur (above Vol. XXXI, pp. 103 ff.) and the Kauvatal (ibid., pp. 311 ff.) plates of Sudēvarāja, both issued in his 7th regnal year.
4 From impressions.
5 The word does not occur in the text of the other grants of Jayarāja.
6 The other grants of Jayarāja have "āmbubhāρ = dhauta, dhauta, dhauta.

2 DGA/59
3 r-vvaśu-sandhā-gō-pradaḥ-paraśaṁbhāgavatō mātā-pitrī-pād-ānudhyātaḥ(ta)-

4 śrī-Mahā-Jayarāja[ḥ] Nagarōttara-paṭṭi(tā)-ya-Mokkēppikāya[rā] pratīvisi-
kuṭumbi-

5 nas-samājñāpayaty1=astu vṛ̣ vidihim | yathā-āsmābir-ayain grāmas=Tṛi(s-Tṛi)daśayat-
(paṭi)-

6 sadana-sukha-pratishṭhākarō yāvad-ravi-śāsi-tārā-śiṣṭa-pratikha-ghōrāṁ(r-a)ndhā-

Second Plate, First Side

7 kārāṁ jagad-avatīsāḥthatō tāvad-upabhōgya-sa-nidhis-s-ōpanidhir-a-chāta-bhāṣa-pravē-
sya[h][*]

8 mātā-pitṛr̥-āṭmanās-cha punyābhivṛiddhyauddaṁ(a)ṛtha[m][*] hadappagrāха.5 [Va]-

9 teśaḥ bhaṭṭir-vaśīḥ-Bhāṛgava-sagōtra-Mahēśvarasvāmi? [%]% eva[m][*] Śabara-bhōgika-bavri-
(hṛtī)-

10 cha-Bhāṛgava-Rudrasvāmi* ..........................................................

11 ........................................................... nāma-iti śīrśha-ḥtakā[*]

12 bhūtvā tāmbra(mra)-sāsanēn-āsmābir-śravaṇa(nu)mśādas11-te yūyam=evaṁ-upalā-

Second Plate, Second Side

13 bhy-aśiṣhāṁ12=aṁ-aṁ-śravaṇa-vidhāya bhūtvā yathā-śeṣitāṁ bhōga-bhāgam-upanaya-

14 nāta-sukhaṁ pratīvisayatha[*] bhavishyataścha bhūmipāṇa-śrutāsyaśati[*]

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1 The engraver first wrote ‘samājñāpayati’ and then corrected it to ‘samājñāpayatī’.
2 Jayarāja’s other grants have ‘samājñāpayatī’.
3 The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
4 Jayarāja’s other grants have the name of the donor after this.
5 Jayarāja’s other grants have ‘bhāvetuddhāya’.
6 Read ‘kṛitapragrāha’.
7 From this line up to line 23 the whole text is written on an erasure.
8 Read ‘śrāmī’.
9 The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
10 After this, the space is blank with traces of the previous writing.
11 The intended reading is ‘nāma-atiśr̥ṣhṭakā’. But read ‘Rudravāmi tābhīyāma=atiśr̥ṣhṭakā’. Omit bhūtva.
12 The ekaśr̥ṣṭi-like sign after this seems to belong to the original writing.
13 Read “bhūtvā tābhīyāma”. 
MALLAR PLATES OF JAYARAJA, YEAR 9

2

4

6

8

10

12

14

16

18

Scale: Four-fifths
15 Dānāḥ-vīśāṭam-anupālanām purāṇāḥ | dharmamēchu niśchita-dhiyāḥ-pravadanāḥ-
16 niśr dharma[ṁ](ṛrmam) | tasmā[j*]-dvijāya su-visuddha-kula-srutāya | dattā[ṁ*] bhuvanā bha-
17 vatu vō matir-śva gōptu[m*] [[*]] tad-bhavaddhīr-apy-ēśa da[tti*]-anupālayitavyā | Vyāsa-
18 gita[m*] jēch-ātra ślokān-udāharanti [[*]] Agnir-apatyam prathamam suvarṇam bhūr-
vval-

Third Plate, First Side

19 aśnavi sūjrya-sutās=cha gāvah [[*]] dattāḥ-trayas=tenā bhavaṁ(va)nti lōkāḥ.*
20 yaḥ-kāṃchanaṁ gām cha mah[īṁ] cha dadyāḥ(dyāt) || Svashtī-varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōḍa-
21 ti bhūmidalḥ [[*]] āchēbhēttā ch=ānumanāttā(nta) cha tāny-śva narakē vasē[ṭ*] || Bahu-
hī-
22 revvasudhā dattā rājabhisāgarādiribhiḥ [[*]] yasya yasya yadā bhūmi[ṣ*]=
23 tasya tasya tadā phalani(lam) || Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yatnād-raksā Yudhisthira ||
24 mahītma(ma)ḥimataṁ=chhrēṣṭha dānāḥ=chhrēṣṭha anupālanam=saṁti ||

Third Plate, Second Side

25 sva-maṅk-ājñāya utkīrnṇāṁ Achalāsīnaḥ* | pravṛttihamāṅa-vijaya-
26 svarvvatsaraḥ[ḥ*] 9 Jyēṣṭha-dīś 5 ||

SEAL

Prasām(sa)ṁna-tenayasy=čalān vikram-ōtkhāta-vidvisah [[*]]
śrimatō Jayarājaṁ saṁsanā[ṁ*] ripa-śāsanaṁ(ṇam ||)

1 The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
2 Read pravānati. Owing to the existence of a partially beaten in subscript y below d, this word looks like pravānati.
3 There is a sign after this, which no doubt belongs to the original writing.
4 Read lōkā. There are faint traces of two letters after this, which belong to the original writing.
5 Read utkīrnṇāya=ācheṣṭha=inkēṇa.
6 Di stands for diveṣ, 4
7 The end of the writing is indicated by six vertical strokes followed by a horizontal stroke.

1 DGA/89
No. 7--DHARWAR PLATES OF THE TIME OF SIMHANA

D. C. SIRCAR AND S. SANKARANARAYANAN, OOTACUMUND

(Received on 28.3.1958)

The set of copper plates, published in the following pages, was acquired by the Government Epigraphist for India during the year 1925-26. It consists of 3 plates each measuring about 18½ inches by 5½ inches with the rims slightly raised all round in order to protect the writing. They are strung together on a ring about 3½ inches in diameter, to which is fixed a seal (1½" by 2") slightly mutilated at the top. The figure of Garuda in the flying posture with the hands in worshipping attitude is cut in bold relief on the countersunk surface of the seal. The inscription is engraved on the inner side of the first plate and on both the sides of the rest. The set weighs 205½ folas. There are altogether 89 lines of writing, 20 on the first plate, 21 each on the obverse and reverse of the second plate, and 22 and 5 respectively on the first and second sides of the third plate.

The inscription is engraved in the Southern Nagari characters of the 13th century A.D. The language is Sanskrit (with the exception of a Kannada endorsement in lines 88-89) and is written in a mixture of poetry and prose. The palaeography and orthography resemble those of records like the Haralahalli plates of the time of Sinhaha, the king during whose reign the present charter was also issued, and the Tangan plates of Krishna. The initial forms of the vowels i and e occurring in lines 73, 75, 77, 84 and 89 are interesting. B has been distinguished from v by the insertion of a dot inside the loop of the latter. In two place names in lines 29 and 30, the letter य of the South Indian alphabets has been indicated by rr. There are a few cases of ddh being represented by dh (cf. lines 66, 84) and of the use of the sign of medial u as the mark indicating a final consonant (cf. lines 4, 26, 28). Jhūṃāṅgā seems to have been indicated by s in line 3 and sh in line 4. Finally s has sometimes been changed to auṣṭra (cf. lines 2, 6, 25), while often श has been preceded by an unnecessary auṣṭara (cf. lines 25, 41, 49, 51-53, 60-61, 64-65, 74). Among orthographical errors, श for s and त for v have been written in a number of cases.

The date of the record is quoted in lines 39-41 as the Śaka year 1173, Plavaṅga, Jyāṣṭha-paurnamāsi, Thursday, lunar eclipse. This is irregular. The cyclic year Plavaṅga corresponded to Śaka 1169 and not to Śaka 1173 which, moreover, falls after the end of Sinhaha’s reign. In Śaka 1169-Plavaṅga, a lunar eclipse occurred on the full-moon day of Āśāgha (not Jyāṣṭha), which corresponds to Wednesday (not Thursday), the 19th June 1247 A.D. This date falls within the period of Yādava Śrīnāma’s reign. The object of the inscription is to record

1 See A.R.Ep., 1925-26, No. A 4; paragraph 5 (p. 94).
2 Cf. also the Kannada case-endings suffixed to a few words in lines 29, 30 and 31.
4 Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 210 ff. and Plates.
5 Fleet assigned Sinhaha’s rule to the period between 1210 and 1247 A.D. (cf. Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I. Part ii, pp. 519, 522, 526). The initial year is uncertain, different inscriptions suggesting about a dozen different dates ranging between 1197-98 and 1216-17 A.D. See B. K. No. 68 of 1928-29, dated in the regnal year 45. Subhākṛt, Dvītya-Bhādra-pada ca. 15, Friday, solar eclipse, corresponding to the 26th September 1242 A.D., and B. K. No. 1 of 1874-55, dated in the 18th regnal year, Vijaya, Phālghuna 4a, 5 (sic 6), Monday, corresponding to the 8th February 1234 A.D. This abnormal phenomenon probably refers to the various stages in Sinhaha’s struggle for empire, though some of the dates may be due to confusion.
6 The eclipse took place in the latter part of the night of Wednesday. The grant, made on the occasion of the eclipse, might have been actually registered on the next day, i.e. Thursday.

(32 )
the grant of 180 मिर्चात्स of land distributed among a number of ब्राह्मणas, temples, etc. by Malli-स्रेष्ठिन, the son-in-law of बीकर्या who was a feudatory of king Simhâna.

After the first verse in praise of वर्त्त्र (i.e. the brahmacārī of Vishnu), the genealogy of the Yadava dynasty is briefly traced down to the ruling king (verses 2-5). It is stated that in the family (संविधा) called यादव originating from the moon, there was one अमारा-गंगेयa who was followed successively by: (1) Mallugi, (2) Mallugi's son Bhllama, (3) Jaitugi, known from other sources to have been the son of Bhllama, and (4) Simhâna who was the ruling king and is known from other sources to have been the son of Jaitugi. By placing Mallugi, father of Bhllama, immediately after अमारा-गंगेयa, our record differs from the genealogy supplied by निद्रउ's Prabhakaṇḍaõ and the Gudag inscription which offer the following accounts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>हेमद्री</th>
<th>Gudag Inscription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mallugi</td>
<td>Mallugi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अमारा-गंगेयa</td>
<td>अमारा-गंगेयa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mallagi</td>
<td>Mallagi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhllama</td>
<td>Bhllama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>गोविंदराजा</td>
<td>कृष्णa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaitugi</td>
<td>Jaitugi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सून</td>
<td>Simhâna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Our record is not specific about the relationship between अमारा-गंगेयa and Mallugi. If it may be supposed that they were brothers, it was probably this Mallugi whom, निद्रउ calls अमारा-मल्लगी. It is not impossible that this Mallugi or अमारा-मल्लगी (Mallugi II) was also known as कर्णa, the name by which the father of Bhllama is mentioned in the Gudag inscription and, since the names Karṇa and कृষ्णa are often interchanged, he has been called कृष्णa (1) in the निद्रउ inscription of his grandson's grandson कृष्णa (II).

1 This verse has been attributed to the poet कृष्णa in निद्रउ's Śīlāmatari (Bibliotheca Orientalis Series No. LXXXIII), p. 29, verse 73.
2 The name is also written as अमारा-गंगa (cf. above, Vol. III, pp. 218,19).
3 Another form of the name is मल्लगी (cf. Bomb. Gaz., op. cit., p. 271).
4 The Harahalli plaque (JBRAS, Vol. XV, pp. 383 ff.; Kielhorn's Southern List, No. 390) describes अमारा-गंगa as the father of Bhllama.
5 Bomb. Gaz., op. cit., pp. 204 ff.
7 The original reading of the passage in निद्रउ's text may have been मल्लगी, 'a second Mallugi'.
9 Ibid., pp. 312 ff. The suggestion that निद्रउ omitted the name of Bhllama's father कृष्णa or Karṇa, because he had died young and did not rule ignores the fact that निद्रउ mentions Jaitugi II, who predeceased his father Simhâna and did not rule.
While in Hemadri's account Bhillama figures as a son of Mallugi I, the father of Amara-Gangeya and Amara-Mallagi (Mallugi II), the Gadag inscription represents him as the grandson of Mallugi I. The stanza in question in Hemadri's Vatekhandra runs as follows:

Mahamahamahisya patrāṇa-pratibhāvaktā Yadhō-vaśa-lakṣhmih
śri-Bhillamaṁ tvaco tatas pitarāṇa-prati-bhājita-sūrya-gaṇapāna

The discrepancy between the two accounts may be reconciled if patrāṇa-pratibhāvaktā is regarded as a copyist's error for patrāṇa-pratibhāvaktā. As it is, the stanza means to say that the royal fortune of the Yadavas left the sons of Kalya Ballala and passed on to his paternal uncle Bhillama. But the proposed emendation would make Bhillama the paternal uncle of the son of Kalya Ballala and not of Kalya Ballala himself. This suits the context nicely. As the verse now reads, the word tvaco occurring once in the first foot and again in the third foot would refer in both the cases to Kalya Ballala. This is not quite happy. With the proposed emendation, the first tvaco would refer to Kalya Ballala and the second to his son.

If the above suggestions are accepted, the genealogy would stand as follows:

Mallugi I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ama(p)a-Mallagi or Mallugi II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amara-Gangeya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aśa-Karpa or Krisha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kalya-Ballala

Bhillama

Jaitugi

Simhapa

A passage in prose between verses 5 and 6 endows Simhapa with his usual titles, viz. Nārāyanlīlakāra, Mahānāādikārī, Paramara, Paramādikārī, Devarugapratibhāsana, Rāja-adhipatā and Pradhana-pratibhāvādāna. Verse 6 then describes Bichirāya as Simhapa's viceroy (deśādhipati-pah). He is known to us as the donor of the Harājālāllī plates which describe him as a viceroy of the same king in the southern provinces (deśādhipatā-rājya) and suggest that he played an important part in Simhapa's southern conquests as his other general Khālīvadara played in his conquests in the north.3

In verse 8 and in the following passage in prose in lines 21-23, Malli-śrēṣṭhin is introduced as the husband of Chikkāmba, as the son-in-law of Bichirāya, and as famous among the traders. It is also said that this Malli-śrēṣṭhin got from Bichirāya the deśāpatā (probably meaning 'governorship') of Beluvala-rājya. It is interesting to note that he got the governorship not from the king but from his father-in-law who was apparently the governor of several districts including Beluvala-rājya. In a record dated 1248 A.D.,1 the same Malli-śettī, represented as making a grant at the instance of his father-in-law Bichira (i.e. Bichirāya), figures as the Sarvabhauma.2

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1 He is referred to as Bichirāya-śettī ("Sotti") in line 24 and as Vichara, Bicha and Bichirāya in other records (Buro, Gin., op. cit., p. 523).
2 Cf. text lines 26 ff. It is further said that Bichirāya was a son of one Chikha, the younger brother of Malli and the husband of Amānāna.
3 Buro, Gin., op. cit., p. 243.
In another record dated in 1251 A.D., however, Mahāpuṇḍarīka Chandī-ṣettī figures as the governor of the two Behvalas and such other districts as Vanavāsi-Pāṇḍyanāḍu, Hāmūrga-Pāṇḍīrāḍu, Tadavāḍi, etc.

Lines 25-36 state that Māli-śēṣṭhīn secured 180 nīvarutana of land in the village of Heṇūru situated on the western bank of the river Veṇā in Behvala-dēśa. The object was to create a Brāhmaṇī, i.e., a rent-free holding for settling Brāhmanas. The land was acquired from two persons named Bunnalampā and Mallā-lampā who were the original owners of the village (pūnana-mālāmarūmī). Mallī-śēṣṭhīn is stated to have given four nīvarutana of land to each of them and to have honoured and satisfied them. It appears that the land was purchased by Mallī-śēṣṭhīn though no such transaction is clearly indicated by the language of the document. The land measuring 180 nīvarutana lay in the western part of the said village and was bounded by Bād ālayukētra (i.e., a plot of land belonging to the female deity Bāhumē mentioned below) in the west, the boundary of the village of Kurubāṭṭi in the south, the locality called Hullaḷēgē in the west and the boundary of Kusuvangalū-grāma in the north. It is further stated that he secured two housesites in addition to the above area. The first of these housesites was the site of the temple of Bāhumē, to the north of the western Jain temple, to the east of the village tank, and to the south of the temple of Mālābhādmēḍā. The second house-site lay to the east of the temple of Mallī-śēṣṭhīnāvāraṇāvē, to the south of the temple of Brāhmēdēva, to the west of the temple of Virēḍa, and to the north of Jainaḷaryāpura.

In lines 37 ff., it is said that Mallī-śēṣṭhīn granted the above land as a rent-free holding (saramanē) to a number of Brāhmanas who belonged to various gōḷa and were well-versed in the four Vedas and their āṅgī. The grant is stated to have been made in the presence of the god Svayamāhibāḍēva of Kundaṅgūli.

The gift land measuring 180 nīvarutana was divided into 68 shares, each consisting of 1 to 4 nīvarutana. Among the donees, there were 36 Brāhmanas belonging to 11 different gōḷa (i.e., village headmen), to whom some land was given out of affection (išṭe-dēnā), three temples and certain public institutions. The distribution is shown in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Donee</th>
<th>Gōḷa</th>
<th>Nīvarutana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sārya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Nārāmaṇa-bhāṭṭāpādhvāya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Lakshmīdeva</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Nāmanātha</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Vaiṣṇav</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Habba</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Īvāra</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Kēvāra</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Mahācaṇa</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Nārāyanā</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 B. K. No. 114 of 1929-30.
2 He may be the same as Chandā-ṣettī who figures as an aṅgāra and as the son of Mahā-ṣettī, a brother of Bīhana, in the Chikka-Bāgavāji plates (Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, pp. 363 ff.; Kielhorn’s Southern List, No. 37), dated Saturday, the 26th June, 1249 A.D.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Dánaśa</th>
<th>Gáruḍa</th>
<th>Nivarthanaśa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Vīṣṇu</td>
<td>Vasishtha</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Bhāttīyaṇa</td>
<td>Bhātrivāja</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Mañjīyaṇa</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Tripurāntaka</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Janādhana</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Chāvāyaṇa</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Rāmaṇa</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Viṣṇu</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Brahmaṇa</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Dēvaṇa</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Rāmaṇa</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Dēvaṇa</td>
<td>Gautama</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Chāvāyaṇa</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Lakaṇaṇa</td>
<td>Garga</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Viśnun</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Mālāmaṇa</td>
<td>Āśrīvaṇa</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Brahmaṇaṇa</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Māyāvēya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Mādhava</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Brahmaṇaṇa</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Dēvaṇa</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Rāmaṇa</td>
<td>Šrīcata</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Śaṅkara</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Appāṇa</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Dēyaṇa</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Kālāṇa</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Nāra-bimha</td>
<td>Kāśyapa</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Viṣṇu</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Kālaṇaṇa</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Nāra-bimha</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Nāgaṇa</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Śvapriya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Harīvara</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| No. | Donor | Gōtins | Nivardana
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Nārāyaṇa</td>
<td>Kāśyapa</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Śiṅgaṇṭha</td>
<td>Dō</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Bāḍadēva</td>
<td>Hāṭita</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Nārāyaṇa</td>
<td>Dō</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Sōmanātha</td>
<td>Dō</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Āvikha</td>
<td>Kauśika</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Chandana</td>
<td>Dō</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Sōmanātha</td>
<td>Vīshuṇyārādha</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Viśnu</td>
<td>Kaṇḍāṇya</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Nārāyaṇa</td>
<td>Dō</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Dīpadēva</td>
<td>Vasiṣṭha</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Mallaṇa</td>
<td>Garga</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Sanga-gaundha</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Sankaka-gaundha</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Malla-gaundha</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>the god Udbhavakēśava</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>the god Mahāsthānaṇḍa</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>the god Pūṇḍikēśaṇa</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>for a suttas</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>for a khandikā</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>for bhāṭṭa-erītri</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>for bāla-īk-kha</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>for the pātrī-parova</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>for a tank at Huḷḷale (i.e. Huḷḷalagere of lines 29-30)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verse 9 (lines 77-78) states that the grant was made by the general (khaṇṭha) Malla along with his wife Chikkāmbha and his son Śaṅgama. After three of the usual imprecatory verses, the last stanza of the record says that the document was written by the learned Sūryānārasiṇha, son of Mādhavārya. Though the grant ends with the words maṅghol[ā] maha-śrī[ha] in line 84, the general (khaṇṭha) Malla along with his wife Chikkāmbha and his son Śaṅgama. After three of the usual imprecatory verses, the last stanza of the record says that the document was written by the learned Sūryānārasiṇha, son of Mādhavārya. Though the grant ends with the words maṅghol[ā] maha-śrī[ha] in line 84, the

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1 Names of Nos. 55-56 are added later at the end of the charter.
2 Two of these deities are referred to as Vāṇādeva and Mahādeva in lines 73-74.
3 Suttas means 'a feeding house'. For similar grants, see B.K. No. 21 of 1926-27, and No. 13 of 1936-37.
4 Khandikā means 'a school'. See B.K. No. 66 of 1927-28. For grants to a Rigrāda-khandikā and a Purāṇa-khandikā, see B.K. No. 84 of 1927-28; B.K. No. 93 of 1936-37.
5 It means a khandikā for the maintenance of a ḍhaṭṭa or teacher, i.e., for teaching. For the gift of bhāṭṭa-erītri for teaching Nyāya, etc., and for reciting the Purāṇas, see respectively B.K. Nos. 47 and 93 of 1936-37.
6 It means 'education of the children', probably in the khandikā referred to above. B.K. No. 84 of 1927-28 also records a gift for bāla-śrīkha in the Rigrāda-khandikā besides another gift to the same khandikā.
7 Pātrī-parova may mean śrīdhi or dāna on each Anuvagāyā day. A damaged inscription (B.K. No. 180 of 1932-33) seems to record a similar gift for Viśnu-śrīdhi.
next line contains an endorsement in Kannaḍa stating that the gift land was measured with a particular rod 43 spans in length. The measuring rod is called Bēhiḍiḍigha-gala which is also known from other records. The names of two donors (Nos. 55-56 of the tabular list) are added in lines 88-89. The distribution of the house sites is not specified in the inscription.

Among the geographical names occurring in the record, Kundaṅguli, whence the grant is said to have been made, occurs as Kundaṅgula in the Kundgōl inscription of Sinhiṇa and may be safely identified with the find spot of that inscription, viz. Kundgōl near Hubli in the Dharwar District of Mysore State. The well-known Beluvala-dēśa, often called Bejvela (or Bejvela)-30, has been identified by Fleet with the Gadag-Anjugere-Kurtakōṭi-Nargund-Hūli-Kukkanūr region comprising parts of the Dharwar and Belgaum Districts and their neighbourhood. Among the other names, viz. Vēṇa-nadī flowing by the east of Hērūrū, in which the gift land was situated, and the localities called Kuruhaṭṭi, Hullaḷege and Kisuvaṅgallu which were situated respectively to the south, west and north of the gift land lying in the western part of Hērūrū, the river Vēṇa is no doubt modern Beṇjhaḷa, while Kisuvaṅgallu is apparently modern Kusugal near Hubli, the same place being mentioned in the Kendir āṃḷs of Kirtivarman II as Kusumaṅgalam and located in that record in the Veḻyla ḍikṣaṇa, i.e. the Beluvalaḷa of our record. Although the localities called Hērūrū, Kuruhaṭṭi and Hullaḷege cannot be traced on the 2-inches-to-1-mile map of the Dharwar Collectorate, there is little doubt that the gift land was situated in the area lying to the south of Kusugal, to the north of Kundgōl, to the east of Hublī and to the west of the Beṇjhaḷa. There is a place called Hallihāl midway between Kusugal and Kundgōl, though it is difficult to say whether it is the same as Hullaḷege of our inscription. There is also a village called Kōṅkaṇa-Kuruhaṭṭi about 11 miles to the south-east of Kusugal. But its situation does not appear to suit exactly that of Kuruhaṭṭi lying to the south of the gift land and therefore of Kisuvaṅgallu (Kusugal) according to the inscription.

TEXT

[Metres: verse 1 Śāndalavikrīḍita; verses 2-13 Avaiḥaḥ.]

First Plate

1. Pātu triṇē jagatī samatam-akāpaṛā
dhātriḥ Kṛōḍha(da)ī-kalēvaraḥ sa bhā-

1 The Kannaḍa word halle means a small river. That Vēṇa and Beṇjii are the same indicated by the various spellings of the name of the same river as Kriṅjaṅga, bēni, vēṇ, vēṇi, vēṇi, vēṇa, etc. cf. Monier-Williams, Sans. Eng. Dict., s.v. Kriṅjaṅa and Vēṇi; IDQ, Vol. XXVII, p. 225, note 52; also p. 224, note 45; above, Vol. XXX, p. 117; Select Inscriptions, p. 207. The name seems to have been confused with Sanskrit vēni or vēṇi, a branch of hair (cf. Trichē); this means a river as well in Telugu Kannaḍa.

2 Above, Vol. IX, p. 204.

Hērūr mentioned in the Gadag inscription, probably situated in Kukkālū, 76 and identified by Fleet with modern Beṇjii in the Bijapur District (on the ground that the ancient name of the place was Prūrū; cf. Bomb., Gaz., p. 119, note 1; Indo. Ant., Vol. XVIII, p. 271), is different from the locality of the same name mentioned in our record.

From impressions.

The sign for the subscript s looks more like that for medial u.

Pō was originally engraved

Read "aṁ."
Dharwar Plates of the Time of Simhana


[†] Tattātu Simha(prakāśa) rāj.\(^[^8]\) Yannamāṅāyā pāti kari(hā)unna-sākramaṇī na

Kānni disān(iam)\(^[^9]\) Karākramā-dhabhaṁ parān-tālā-śisā dushyāvyaša-maṇdhyālaṁ!\(^[^10]\)

31 ast(ś)īty-uttara-nivartana-sāta-saṁkhyākāṁ kṣhētraṁ labdhva(bhūv) brahma-prarūṇ[ṇi](-purī)-g[ri]-
32 ha-nirmāy-ārthāṁ Bālūnibeya dévālayā=paśchimataḥ paśchima-Jin(ā)-
33 [lalya(yāḥ)-uttarataḥ grāma-tatākāt-pūrḥa(rva)jat]aḥ Mūla[s]*thānadēv-ālayā[ḥ*-]da-
34 kṣh nataḥ pumās=ca brahma-pari(pūrī)-grīh-ārthāṁ Mallēśvaradēv-ālayā[ḥ=pū]-
35 rba(rva)jat[ṛ]* Brahmadēr(ā)v-ālayā[ḥ*-]dakshipataḥ Viradēyā(v-ā)layā=paśchimataḥ
36 JinaJPūrā-uttarataḥ evaṁ-viidhan nivēṣanaṁ labdhvā tatt-tach-chatu-
37 r-āghāt-āntarba(rva)jīrtī-jalā-pāśhāṅa-nidhi-niṣikēpa-julē-ār-viṣāna(rva).
38 teja[h*]-svāmya-sahitāṁ rājākīyāṁ-anāṅguli-prēkṣhālīyaṁ sa-
39 r(hva)namāyāṁ(yaṁ) krīvā Ṣākād-ārābya trisatpa(ṛta)ṭv-uttara-śat-ōttara-
40 sam(sa)hasrē śravāṅga-sāmāyatsarē Jē(ṛyē)shtha-pau(pau)ṛṇṇaṁsāyāṁ Guru-
41 vārē Sō-
42 m-ōparāgē Kuṇḍāṅguli-śrī-śvayāṁbhū(bhū)mēva-saṁ(sa)mīdha(dhau) Rug-Yēju.

Second Plate, Second Side

42 [h]-Sām-ḥtarvaṇa-vēda-vēdāṅga-pāraģebhyah Ba(Va)jī(ś)īṣṭha-
43 gōtra-Sū[ṛ]rya-Nāra-ϊṭāḥ]bhaṅgīpādhīyā-Lakṣśi[kshmi]kara-Sō-
44 manātha-Viṣṇu-Habhā-Eśvara-nāmbhīya(h) pratyēkaṁ nivartana-chatushaṭ-
45 y-ātmikā vṛttiḥ Kēśavāya nivartana-tray-āt(m)jīkā | Maṁchand(la)ṇaṁ-
46 Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu-nāmbhīyaḥ pratyēkaṁ niravaraṇa-dvay-ātmikā vṛttiḥ(t)tiḥ || [*]
47 Bhāravāya-gōtra-Bhaṅgīyā-MAINchand(ma)-Tripūrānītaka-nāmbhīyaḥ pratyē-
48 kaṁ nivartana-chatushṭhay-ātmikā vṛttiḥ [*] Janārdanāya ti(n)vartana-tray-ā-
49 tmika(kā) Chāvat(a)va(ṃ)ṇa-Sāmīdeva-Rāmaṇa-Viṣṇu-Brahma-Dēvaṅ(va)ṇa-Rāmaṇa-
50 nāmbhīyaḥ pratyēkaṁ nivartana-dvay-ātmikā va(vr)ttiḥ | Gautam-gōtra-
51 Devaṅ(va)ṇaṁya nivartana-chatushṭay-ātmikā Chāvati(ṃ)ṇya nivartana-dvaya-
52 y-ātmikā vṛttiḥ | Garga-gōtra-Lakṣhaṇ(ka)ṇaṁya nivartana-chatushṭay-ā-
53 tmika(kā) vṛttiḥ | Āṭṛya-gōtra-Viṇaṇa(ṛ)ṇa-śallan(la)ṇa-Brahmādeva-Māy.de-
54 va-nāmbhīya[h*] pratyēkaṁ nivartana-chatushṭay-ātmikā vṛttiḥ | Mādhavāya
55 nivartana-tray-ātmikā Bṛ-hmadēva-Dēvaṇa-nāmbhīḥ(bhūyāṁ) pratyēkaṁ niv-
56 rtana-dvay-ātmikā vṛttiḥ | Śrīvatsa-gōtra-Rāmēsvāraṁya nivartana-
57 dvay-ātmikā Śaṅkara-[Appaṇi]ṇa-Dāyagā-nāmbhīya[h*] pratyēkaṁ ni-
58 vartana-dvay-ātmikā vṛttiḥ(̣)jh Kallaṇe-va nivartana-ātmikā
59 vṛttiḥ | Kāyapa-gōtra-Nāraśimha-Viṣṇu-nāmbhīyaṁ [pratyēkaṁ ni-
60 vartana-chatushṭay-ātmikā vṛttiḥ ||[*] Kīchāni(ḥa)ṇa-Nāraśin(na)-Nāgaṇa(ga)ṇa-
61 Śivapriya-Harihara-Nārāyaṇa Śingaṇḍa(ga)ṇa-nāmbhīyaḥ pratyēkaṁ
62 nivartana-dvay-ātmikā vṛttiḥ | Harita-gōtra-Baladeva-Na(Xārā).
DHARWAR PLATES OF THE TIME OF SIMHANA—PLATE II


Scale: Four-sevenths
Third Plate, First Side

63 yaṇa-Sōmana(hā)tha-nāmabhyaḥ pratyēkaṁ nivartana-dvay-ātmi-
64 kā vṛttiḥ [[*]] Kauśika-gōṭra-1-Āchaṇa(ha)ṇāya nivartana-chatu-
65 sḥṣṭay-ātmika(kā) Chuṇḍaṁ(dā)ṇāya nivartana-tray-ātmikā vṛttiḥ || Vi-
66 āḥ vṛttiḥ || kā vṛttiḥ || viṇa[r*]tana-dvay-ātmikā
67 vṛttiḥ || *[†] Udbhhaḥvākṣāvadēvāya sarba(rva)-pūj-ārthadā ni vartana-chah-
68 tushṭayāṁśi-Mūlakāsthānadēvāya nivartanam-ekah satrā(ttr-ā)raṁ niva
69 rtana-dvayaṁ khaṇḍik-ārthadā ni vartana-dvayaṁ bhāṭha-vṛṣṭi(ttr-ā)raṁ nivartana-dvay-
70 aṁ bāla-siṁkaṁ-ārthaṁ nivartana-dvayāṁ Paṇchikīśvar-ārthaṁ nivartana-dvay-
71 aṁ pitṛ-parāḥ(rva-ā)raṁ nivartanam-ekah Hullale-ṭatśik-ārthadā nivartana-
72 m-ekah(kam) [[*]] ity(ad-paṁ)-bhūtebhhyo Brāhmaṇabhyaṁ śṛi-Vasudēvāya Mahā-
73 dēvāya dharm-ārthadā cha sa-hirah(vr-ṇ-y-ōdaka-dhārū-pūrbasa(rva)kah)ṁ tēbhyaṁ[h*] sarbē-
74 (rve)-
75 bhyā evāṁ prakāreṇa vṛttiḥ prādāt [[*]] isṛṭa-dāna-rūpēṇa śiṅgā-
76 gaṁja-SAṅka-gait(gaṁja)bhātyam(bhyām) pratyēkaṁ nivartana-dvayaṁ Malla-gaṁj[i*]-dā-
77 ya nivartanam-ekah(kam) [[*]] Īvaṁ Malla-chamu(hu)-saḥ (hīkkaṁbāhāryāyā)
78 saha [[*]] Saṁgamēva svapūrṭeṇa prādāt-tēbhyaś-cha sāṣanai(nam) || [9*] Dāna-pāla-
79 nyore madhyē dāntē(ch-čirē)yeṣaṁnapālanai(nam) [[*]] dānāt-sварgam-avāṉoṭi pā-
80 laṁ(ā)ṁ acyutaṁ padāṁ(dam) || [10*] Bahubhiṁ(hū)ra(rvat)saṁdhā dattā rāśabhi[h*]
Sagar-ūdih-
81 bhiḥ [[*]] yasya yasya yudā bhū(bhū)miṁ(mis)tatasya tasya tadā phalai(nam) || [11*] Sva-
82 dattāṁ pa-
83 ra-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasu[m*]-lhaṭaṁ(ran) [[*]] sahṣṭhin varushaṁ-sahastrāṇi viśṭhāyā-
84 [m*] jā[[*]]
85 yate kriṃḥ [[*]] 12[†] Vēl-ārtha-vādinā Sū(Sū)ryyaṁśaṁsinēṃ(au) dhīnātḥ [[*]] śṛi-Mā-
84 dhahā(vṛ-ṛya)pūrṭeṇa kṛtā sāṣama-paddha(kla)ṭaḥ [[13*]] iti śuḥsah maṅgala[m*] maḥā-śrī[l*] [[*]]

Third Plate, Second Side

85 nivartana-pramaṇa nālvatt-eṃṭu-gēṇ(ṇu) Bāḥṣāṇa(chi)-
86 vidiya[ḥ]ḥ[æ] [[*]] punaśrha Vaśṭhā(ṣṭha)-gōṭra-Dh-
87 [padēBA(va)nāya] nivartana-chatlauṭha(shtay)-āti-
88 [kā vṛttiḥ || Garga-gōṭra-Maṅgaṇaya niha(va)rtana-
89 cha[tu]shtla(ha)shtayaya()-ātmikā vṛttiḥttitiḥ || iti śuḥṣah(bhām) [[*]]

1 Saṁdhi has not been observed here.
2 The abhara bhā is superfluous.
3 Originally śē was written.
4 Originally ma was engraved.
5 Read carṣa.

DIA/39 12
No. 8—BODDAPADU PLATES OF VAJRAHASTA (III), SAKA 982

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 29.9.1958)

While examining a bundle of old impressions in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, I came across a set of impressions of a copper-plate grant which was registered as C.P. No. 1 of 1925-26 in the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy for that year. It is stated in this Report that the record belongs to an unknown king of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty and is dated in Śaka 982. On an examination of the impression, I found that the information given in the Report was not correct and that the inscription really belongs to the Eastern Gaṅga king Vajrahasta III. In fact, it is the same as the Bodḍapāḍu plates of Vajrahasta III published by Shri M. Somasekharu Sarma in the Telugu journal Bhārati, Vol. III, No. 5 (May 1926) pp. 83 ff. The inscription is edited here from the set of impressions with the kind permission of the authority mentioned above.

According to Shri Sarma’s account, the plates were discovered about 50 years ago by one Appalāṇāyudu, a resident of the village of Bodḍapāḍu in the Srikakulam Taluk, while reclaiming his lands for cultivation towards the east of the village. A liṅga was also found at a distance of a few yards from thefindspot of the plates. This liṅga which is called Mallikēśvara by the residents of Bodḍapāḍu may possibly represent the god Jalēśvara mentioned in the inscription.

The set consists of five plates, each measuring about 8-4" by 3-3". On the left side of each plate is a hole, about 3-5" in diameter, through which passes a circular ring, about 3-5" in diameter. To this ring is attached a seal which is stated to contain the representation of the crescent moon, bull, goad (ākūṭa), conch-shell (śaṅkha), fish, etc. The weight of the set is not recorded. The first and fifth plates are inscribed only on the inner side while the remaining three plates contain writing on both the sides. The writing is in a fairly good state of preservation.

The characters are eastern Nāgarī. They resemble those of the other charters of Vajrahasta.1 Of initial vowels, a, ā, i, ū, u and ē occur in the inscription. ṇ in ṇch and ṇkh is separated and placed to the right of the subscript. The symbol for R denotes ṛ also. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and the text is written in prose as well as verse. As regards orthography, it may be observed that the consonant following ṛ is usually redoubled. In the introductory portion of the record in lines 1-39, the same orthographical errors are found in this as well as in other records of the king: e.g. śalī for salī, prakṣayātī for prakṣaṇīta, śīṅa for śīṅga, etc. In a few cases, the rules of sanskrit have not been observed.

The record belongs to the reign of the Eastern Gaṅga king Vajrahasta III who ruled in 1038-70 A.D. As indicated above, the introductory portion comprising text lines 1-39 is identical with that found in the other records of this king. It may be observed that the king is introduced as śrīma-śrīmaṇa Vajrahastadevaḥ and not merely as śrīma-śrīmahādevaḥ.2

The date of the inscription is given in line 12 as Śaka 982, expressed by the chronogram kara-vāra-saṅkrānti. Besides the present grant, three other records of this king,

2 Cf. ibid., Vol. XXXII, p. 310.
viz. Peddabammi, Chikkalavala, and Arasavalli plates are dated in the same Saka year. The English equivalent of this year would be 1060 A.D. Uttarāyana-saṅkrānti occurred in that year on Sunday, the 24th December, 1060 A.D. which seems to be the date of our record.

Like the other charters of the king, the present grant was issued from Kāliṇāganagara which has been identified with Mukhaliṇgam. The record states (lines 39-40 and 43) that the village of Avarēṅga in the Kōlvartani district (cēsāhā) was given as a bhōga to the god Jalāvara of the same village. Lines 43-45 state that māduḍa-manavatītikā was given to Ėrayama, the son of Māvaya and his wife Kanēchāpā and the grandson of Ėrayama of the Vaiśya family. It appears that Ėrayama paid some money and received the village of Avarēṅga from the king as māduḍa-manavatītikā for the creation of a bhōga to the god Jalāvara. In other words Ėrayama seems to be responsible for the gift of the village. The meaning of the expression māduḍa-manavatītikā is not clear. Manavartikā, also spelt as manuvartikā (line 52), is not found in Sanskrit lexicons and may be the same as manuvartti, manuvarti or manuvarti given in Brown’s Telugu-English Dictionary in the sense of ‘maintenance, support or allowance’. Shri Sarma suggests that the term māduḍa may refer to the Mēḍara community whose profession is making baskets, mats, etc., of bamboo splits. But this meaning does not suit here since the said community is regarded as very low in the social order whereas Ėrayama is stated to have belonged to the Vaiśya or merchant community. It is possible that the term māduḍa is a mistake for s-ādara and the whole expression means that the king gave the village to the Vaiśya as a manavartikā with due regards. Lines 52-53 inform us that a manuvartikā in the same village was given, apparently by Ėrayama, to the mahākāleśāma Vallēmōja whose name appears again at the end of the record as the son of Nūṅkamōja and as the engraver of the grant.

The boundaries of the village are enumerated in lines 45-51. They are: to the east—an ant-hill with a neem tree and, further on, a jungle; to the south-east—a tamarind tree and a junction (tryakaṭṭa); to the south—a jungle and, further on, the same jungle and a junction; in the south-west—a pit (garuttī) and a junction; in the west—the pit called Arjuna and, further on, a mound with tamarind trees; in the north-west—a pit with a circular stone [in the north]—two pits close to each other; further on, an arjuna tree; and still further, two tamarind trees; in the north-east—an ant-hill with a neem tree; further on, a junction near a pit.

Lines 53-55 contain two beneficary and imprecatory verses, and lines 55-57 state that the charter was written by Dāmōdara, son of Mahākāleśa-sandhivigrahā Maṇava, and was inscribed by Vallēmōja, son of Mahākāleśa Nūṅkamōja. Dāmōdara and Vallēmōja are also mentioned in the Chicaco plātes of Vajrahasta III as well as in the Korni plates of Anautavarman Chōḍaṅga. But our record gives the name of Vallēmōja’s father also.

Of the geographical names in the record, Kāliṇāganagara is well known. Kōlvartani-viślah, in which the gift village of Avarēṅga was situated, is known from many records and seems to represent the whole or part of the modern Srikakulam Taluk. Avarēṅga is to be identified with modern Avalūgi which is situated at a distance of only one mile to the east of Bodjapādu where the plates were discovered.

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2. I am indebted to Dr. D. C. Sinha for some suggestions as regards the nature of the grant.
3. Trykaṭṭa may mean the meeting place of three boundaries, roads, etc. Cf. JAS, Letters, Vol. XVIII, p. 79 and note 1.
4. Garēṭṭa also means a canal or watercourse.

2 DGJ 109 13
Fourth Plate, First Side

33 iṅgādhūpāti-śrimad-Anantavarmmā Vajrāhasta[ā]devāḥ kuśālī samast-āṃśaya-pramu-
39 kha-janapadāṁ-samāhūya samājñāpayati [1*] viditam-āstu bhavatāṁ[ṇā] |
   Kōḷuvartiani
40 viṣṭha[ā]yē [2*] Avarēṅg-ākhyā-grāmaḥ | chaṭuḥ-śī(ṣ)i-m-āvachchhinnaḥ sa-jala-sthālaḥ
41 vivarjitatam=a-chandar-ārka-kshiti-sama-kālaṁ yāvan=maṭā-pitrō-rūṭmanāḥ pu-
42 nya-yāsō-hiṇiddhāyō(yō) | Kara-vasud-nidiḥ-Śāk-āvdeḥ(bdē) | Uttarāyana-saṃkrā-
43 ntau asmin grāma-nivāsinaḥ(ū) | Jalēśvaradēvāya bhōgaṁ krijaṁ[5] | Vēṣyā[gōtr]-ō-
44 tpanahā Òrayamanah | tasya putraḥ | Māvayaḥ | tasya bhāryyā Kauḍapāḥ | tayor=ṛjātāya
   Òrayāyāya
   pūrvvartaḥ

Fourth Plate, Second Side

46 niṇīva(ba)-saḥita-valmikah | parataḥ vana-chā(rā)ji | āgnīyataḥ tiṇṭiṇiṇiṣa-vrikṣha[h]* trikū-
47 tāḥ[10] | daṅkhiṅaṁ vana-rājī | parataḥ sā vana-rāji trikūṭ(a)ḥ | nairvṛtiṇiṁ paratā | trikū
tāḥ[10] | paścimattāḥ(tah) Arjun-ākhyā-garttā | parataḥ tiṇṭiṇiṇiṣa-vṛjṣka-saḥita-sētu-
49 b | vāyaṅyātāḥ maṇḍal-aṅkārā-pāśhāṁ(ṇa)-saḥita-garttā | dvau garttau sa-
50 niṅgamēva | parataḥ arjuna-vrikṣhaḥ | tat-parataḥ tiṇṭiṇiṇiṣa-vrikṣhaṁ dvau[4*]
51 t(a)śṣyataḥ niṇīva(ba)-saḥita-valmikah | parataḥ garttā-śaṁpī trikūṭ(a)ḥ | prada-
52 anēha mahākṣaśaśayē[12] Vallēṃjāyā(ya) svarṇa-lōha-kārī[14] cha manavarttikāṁ simīn grā-
53 mē pradatta | Bhūmiṁ yaḥ pratigriṅhaṁ(hā)| yacheha(śeḥu) bhūmiṁ prayachehhu [1*]
   ubhaṁ tau pūrya-

Fifth Plate

54 karmmānaḥ niyataṁ[taṁ] svargga-gāminau [14*] [Shasṭiṁ] varsha-sahasraṁ svarggē
dōṭi bhūṛ-
55 niṣamāḥ | ākhēpā caḥaṁnaṁ ca cha tāṁ-sēva narakē vasē[15] | mahākāyāsthā-sandhiṁ-
56 grahi-Māvarasya sāṁna Dāmōṣcharaṁ likhitāṇi[taṁ] | mahā-yakṣhaśālī[12].Naṁkamō-
57 ju(ja)-ya sāṁna Valāmējena utkīrtinaitā[16] [1*]

1 From impressions. Line 1-37 are engraved on the first three plates. The text is the same as in the donor's other records. The verse Avarṇaṇa, etc. ends in line 36 and is followed by the passage Kalingavagāṁ
2 This aṅkhaṁ is written above ba between two small dandas.
3 This aṅkhaṁ is written below the line between two small dayaḥ and indicated by a circle above the line.
4 This aṅkhaṁ is damaged.
5 The word and most of the other marks of punctuation in this and the following lines are unnecessary.
6 Read bhūṛaṁ kriyāḥ.
No. 9—MALLAR PLATES OF VYAGHRARAJA
(I Plate)
D. C. SIRCAR and G. BHATTACHARYA, OTACAMUND
(Received on 3.3.1959)

According to a report appearing in the Hitavāda of Nagpur, dated the 28th August 1958, four sets of copper plates were recently discovered at the well-known village of Mallār, about 16 miles from Bilaspur in Madhya Pradesh. Three out of the four sets, which are said to have been found by the villagers while digging for foundations, were secured by Mr. M. Sivayya, Exploration Assistant of the Department of Archaeology at Bilaspur, the fourth set being acquired for the Mahant Ghasidas Memorial Museum, Raipur, by Mr. Balchandra Jain, Assistant Curator of the said institution. The plates1 published in the following pages represent one of the three sets secured by Mr. Sivayya. The other three inscriptions, which were discovered along with the one under study and belong to the rulers of the Sārabhapūriya dynasty, are also being published in this journal.2

The set consists of three rectangular plates with their corners rounded off and each measuring approximately 7 inches in length and 3½ inches in height. The second plate is somewhat thicker than the others. Each plate has a round hole about the centre of the left margin for the seal-ring to pass through. The seal affixed to the ring (about 11½ inches in circumference and 1¾” in thickness) does not resemble that found with the charters of the Sārabhapūriya kings, even though, as will be seen below, the donor of our record apparently belonged to the same family. The surface of the seal, which is 1½ inches in diameter and is much corroded, has a thick line dividing it into two halves. The section above the line exhibits three symbols, viz. the side view of a chakra in the left, the head of an animal (probably a lion) to front in the middle, and a conch-shell in the right. The legend below the line, written in Southern characters similar to those employed in writing the text of the document on the plates, reads sīrī-Vyāghrarājāḥ. There is another symbol below the legend, which is difficult to identify, though it may be the head of an elephant to front. It will be seen that Vyāghrarāja’s seal is totally unlike the seal of the Sārabhapūriya kings, which exhibits the Gajalakṣmī emblem in the upper part and a legend below consisting of a stanza in the Asanākshuḥ metre written in two lines in the box-headed characters of Central India. The first and third plates of the set under study are written on the inner side only, the second plate having writing on both the sides. There are altogether twenty-four lines of writing distributed in the following way: IB—6, IIA—7, II B—5, and IIA—6. The sixth line on the third plate consists of a few letters only. The three plates together weigh 53 tolas and the seal with the ring 18 toles.

As already indicated above, the characters of the record belong to the South Indian alphabet. On palaeographical grounds, the inscription may be assigned to the 6th century A.D. and the characters may be compared with those of records like the Hingniberdi plates3 of Vibhurāja, the Khanapur plates4 of Mādhavavarman, the Argā plates5 of Kāpālivarman, etc. The alphabet of our record is nail-headed and the triangular mark forming the top of the letters is of the linear or hollow type and not of the scooped-out variety. Among the three epigraphs cited above, this characteristic is noticed only in the letters on the first plate of Vibhurāja’s grant. Similar nail-headed characters are also noticed in records like the Shorkot inscription of 402 A.D.6 and the

2 See ibid., 1958-59, Nos. A 5, 7-8; above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 155 ff. (grant of Jayarāja, year 5); also pp. 28 ff. (grant of Jayarāja, year 9) above and pp. 53 ff. (grant of Pravarāraja, son of Mānamātra-Durgarāja, year 3) below.
3 Ibid., Vol. XXIX, Plate facing p. 176.
5 Ibid., Vol. XXXI, Plate facing p. 232.
6 Ibid., Vol. XVI, Plate facing p. 15.
Malga plates of Indrarāja, discovered in the Shahidol District of Madhya Pradesh. The Malga plates, assignable on palaeographical grounds to the seventh century A.D., are however written in the Northern alphabet. It is well-known that all the copper-plate grants of the royal family of Śarabhapura, to which the donor of our charter belonged, were written in the box-headed alphabet of Central India which exhibits influence of both the Northern and Southern alphabets. The record under study is thus the only epigraph of the said family of rulers, which is written in typical Southern characters of the nail-headed variety. It may be pointed out that the nail-head is not found in our record in letters like i, j, y, b, and l. Initial i is written by placing two dots below two downward curves joined together (cf. ity=an in line 13). Medial i is written with a circle on the triangle forming the top of letters, while medial i is formed with a curve added inside it. The letter ph has often a triangle at the lower left end, which is rather peculiar. Numerical figures for 40, 20, 7 and 1 have been used in line 23. The symbol for 40 may be confused with that for 4. But the fact that it is followed by the symbol for 1 shows that it is 40 and not 4.

As regards orthography, the reduplication of a consonant following r is noticed in many cases (cf. arijī in line 7, rvati in line 9, Pūrva in line 11, "tvamapāuśā" in line 15, pārthirvā in line 17 and svenag in line 19). The reduplication of a consonant followed by r is noticed in pittād in line 11 and gōtra in line 12. The vowel a is indicated by ri in Prithō and prithē in line 6 and "śrīdēyā" in line 12. Final a has been wrongly changed to anuvāra in vartmutānaṁ and Brāhmaṇyā in line 9 and purvāsā in line 10. Other instances of wrong spelling are pūnya for pūnya in line 11, majyati for majjati in line 22, svāhā for simāhā in lines 23-24, etc.

The language of the charter is Sanskrit and it is written in prose excepting the four imprecatory and beneficent verses at the end. It is interesting to note in this connection that, while the charters of the later members of the Śarabhapuriya family beginning with Jayarāja exhibit a stereotyped draft, the drafting of the grant under study is quite independent from the language of those charters. This problem is related to the difference between the present charter and those of the Śarabhapuriya kings in respect of the palaeography and the seal, to which reference has been made above.

The object of the charter is to record the grant of the village of Kunturarājaka situated in Pūrva-rāṣṭra in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Dikṣita Agnichandraśvāmin, son of Dikṣita Durgasvāmin belonging to the Kapya-Āgirasa gōtra. The donor seems to belong to the Kapi or Kapya gōtra, with Āgirasa or Āgirasa as one of its pravara. The grant was made by Vyāghrārāja who was the younger brother (anujya) of the ruling king Pravara-bhaṭṭarāka, the son of Jaya-bhaṭṭarāka. That Vyāghra was issuing the order in respect of the grant to the officers of his brother who was then on the throne is clear from the passage rājaṁ svāṁya-rājaṁ purushāṁ samāṁya-paṁaṁ in lines 9-10. The charter was issued from Prasannapura situated on the bank of the river Niḍilī. The document proper ends with the quotation of a few of the usual imprecatory and beneficent stanzas and the date which is quoted in line 23 as the 27th day of the month of Pauṣa in the year 41 apparently of the reign of king Pravara-bhaṭṭarāka.
and not of the donor Vyāghrarāja. The plates were probably engraved by Jyēṣṭhasimha whose name appears in a sentence at the end in lines 23-24.

The inscription throws welcome light on the history of the Śrābhagūrīya dynasty and raises certain interesting problems. The personal and geographical names mentioned in the record are mostly known from it for the first time.

We have referred above to the difference of the epigraph under study from the charters of the Śrābhagūrīya kings in respect of the seal, palaeography and style. But the grant was issued from Prasannapura which reminds us of king Prasanna or Prasannamātrā of Śrābhapura, who was the father of Jayaśāra and Mānāmātrā Durgrāja and the grandfather of Sudēvarāja and Pravararāja and flourished in the first half of the sixth century A.D. No other king named Prasanna is known to have ruled in the age and area in question. It is therefore very probable that the city of Prasannapura mentioned in our record was named after king Prasanna or Prasannamātrā of Śrābhapura. Secondly, Vyāghrarāja, the donor of our charter, claims to have been the younger brother of Pravara-bhāṭṭāraka who was the son of Jaya-bhāṭṭāraka. The names of these kings, viz. Jaya and Pravara, remind us of kings Jayaśāra and Pravararāja of the Śrābhapura family and indeed kings bearing such names and belonging to any other family are not known to have flourished in the age and area concerned. It is therefore very probable that king Jaya-bhāṭṭāraka of our inscription is identical with king Jayaśāra of Śrābhapura. But Pravara-bhāṭṭāraka of the present record cannot be identified with the well-known Śrābhapūrīya king Pravararāja who was the son of king Durgrāja or Mānāmātrā, the brother of Jayaśāra, and was responsible for issuing the Thākuriya and Mallār plates from Śrīpura in his third regnal year.1

Another fact that connects Vyāghrarāja with the royal house of Śrābhapura is that the land granted by the present charter was situated in the district called Pūra-rāṣṭra. It is interesting to note that the Āraṅg plates2 of Jayaśāra and the Raipur plates3 of Sudēvarāja also record grants of land situated in the same district of Pūra-rāṣṭra.

The inscription under study therefore introduces two new names to the list of the Śrābhapūrīya kings so far known. The genealogy of the Śrābhapūrīyas including these two names, viz. Pravara and Vyāghra, sons of Jaya, may be tabulated as follows:

| 1. Śrābhapura |
| 2. Narasimha |
| 3. Prasanna or Prasannamātrā |
| 4. Jaya |
| 5. Pravara I |
| 6. Durgrāja Mānāmātrā |
| 7. Sudēvarāja |
| 8. Pravara II |

1 See above, Vol. XXII, pp. 12 ff.; below, pp. 32-34.
2 If Pravara-bhāṭṭāraka of our epigraph is identified with Pravararāja of the Thākuriya and Mallār plates, we have to assume that his father was known by no less than three names, viz., Mānāmātrā, Durgrāja and Jaya-bhāṭṭāraka (Jayaśāra). This seems to be less likely than the suggestion offered above.
4 Ibid., pp. 195 ff.
An important question we have to consider relates to the difference of the present charter from the grants of the Śārabhapuriyas in regard to its seal, palaeography and style. If Vyāghra belonged to the Śārabhapuriya family, why should there be any marked difference in these respects? The Southern alphabet used in the charter may of course be explained by the supposition that the donee came from the South. But this does not explain the problem of the seal. Are we to suppose that Vyāghrājā was Javaraṣā's son born of a South Indian lady and adopted the seal of the family to which his mother belonged?

An equally interesting problem is that, while the Śārabhapura rulers do not mention the name of the family to which they belonged in any of their charters, Vyāghrājā describes his elder brother Pravara I, son of Jaya, as having belonged to the Amārārya-kula. Is this because the Śārabhapuriya kings whose charters are known did not belong to the Amārārya family? The expression Amārārya looks like a Brahmanical personal name and names of the same type are often met with in South Indian records. It may be supposed that Jayarājā's queen who gave birth to Pravara I and Vyāghra was the daughter of a person named Amārārya or was born in a family of which a person of that name was believed to have been the progenitor since South Indian rulers sometimes represented themselves as belonging to the family from which their mother sprang. But there is some evidence to show that the Śārabhapuriyas belonged to the Amārārya family. Attention may be drawn in this connection to the claim of Lōkaprakaśa, queen of Bharatabala of the Pāṇḍuvaniya of Mēkala, to have been famous as born in the Amārārya-kula probably meaning a family sprung from a person named Amara. It is possible that this Amara is the same as Amārārya of our record. Lōkaprakaśa is stated to have been born at Kōsala probably meaning the capital of Kōsala, no doubt South Kōsala in the Chhattisgarh region. In that case, Lōkaprakaśa was very probably born in the family of the Śārabhapuriya rulers of South Kōsala and Amaraṇa-kula or Amārārya-kula was the name of the dynasty to which the Śārabhapuriyas belonged.

Another question to be considered is the capacity in which Vyāghrājā issued the charter under his own seal during the reign of his elder brother. It is not improbable that he was ruling the kingdom on behalf of his brother when the latter was temporarily incapacitated to bear the burden of government owing to illness or any other cause. In that case, Pravara I probably had his capital at Prasannapura. It is also possible to think that Vyāghra was the governor of Pūrvaraṣṭra with his headquarters at Prasannapura and that his brother empowered him to issue the charter in respect of the grant he was permitted to make.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription Pūrvaraṣṭra, which is known from some other records of the Śārabhapuriyas as indicated above, literally means 'the district lying to the east [of the capital]'. The district cannot be located definitely since the identification of the capital city of Śārabhapura is uncertain. It is however not improbable that both Śārabhapura and Prasannapura, whence our charter was issued, stood in the neighbourhood of Śripura (modern Sirpur in the Raipur District) which was the later capital of the family. The gift village of Kunturapadakara and the river called Niḍilā, on the bank of which the city of Prasannapura stood, cannot be identified.

3 Above, Vol. XX VII, p. 141, text lines 28 ff.
5 Cf. The Classical Age, p. 222.
SEAL

(from a Photograph)
MALLAR PLATES OF VYAGRARAJA

First Plate

1 Svasti [^[]* Prasannapurād=upavamana-vana-rājirājītād=Apa(ma)rapura-
2 kottti-vijayinaḥ pravara-kāminisūtambavimbśūbhīghata-
3 bhinn-āmbhasa cha sṛčasvatya Niḥilayā pavitrīkṣītād=Ama-
4 rāryya-kul-āmbara-sāśināḥ sakala-kalā-kalapa-nilaya-
5 sya jita-tamasō jana-nayan-ōtasesya śri-Jaya-bhattrāraka-sū-
6 nōḥ śri-Pravara-bhattrārakasya Prī(Pri)ktōt-va prī(prī)tiku-mu(bhūja-

Second Plate, First Side

7 yugala-bal-ā[r^]jjit-ō[r]jita-sakala-mahimaṁḍala-maṅḍana-
8 yassō Manōr=iva manujapateṣu-anujal śrī-Vyāghrāra-jadēvō
9 varttamānaṁ(i)nāḥ bhavishyateṣaḥ Brāhmaṁ(pāṁ) sampūjya rājhaḥ sa-maṁya-
10 rājapurusāṁ(i)nāḥ samāṁpayaḥ viditam=astu vō yath=aṁśāḥbhī-
11 sanyāḥ Pūrvva-rāṣṭrīya-Kunturapadraka-grāmō mātā-pitrōr=aṁṣāṅa-
12 ǎ=cha punyāḥ(ā)bhivri[vr]ddhayē bahvīcha-Kāpy-Aōgirasa-gōttra-dikṣita-Du-
13 rggaśvāmi-sūnavō dīśhit-Āgnichandrasvāminē datta ity-u-

Second Plate, Second Side

14 palahīya bhavadbhir=apy=anumantaṁyaḥ pālayitavyaḥ=ch=čṭi |
15 Bahubhār=vasudha dattā rājabh[i^[]*] Sagar-ādibhi[h^[*]] yasya
16 yasya yadā bhūmisetaṁya tasya tadā phalain(lam) || Mā bhū-
17 d=aphala-su(śa)ṅkā vah para-dattēti pārtthivāḥ [^[*]] sva-dānā-
18 te=para-dānasya tasmāḥ=chhrṣyō=mupālanāḥ(nam ||)

Third Plate

19 Śaśthi-varṣha-śahastṛṇi svargge mōdati bhūmi-
20 daḥ [^[*] aĉhē(achhe)ttā ch=ānumanta ch(cha) tāny=ēva naraṅē vasē[t^[*]]]
21 Sva-dattaṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harētva vasuṁbharaṁ(rām) [^[*]] sva-vi-

1 From impressions.
2 DGA/69
22 śṛḥṣyaṁ śṛṃś[kṛṣ]m(rstr)bhūtvā pitṛbhīsaḥ sa[hastr] majyata1 [[*]] iti prava[stra]ddha-


24 nighṛ(hē)na ka[rstr]mma śṛ(kṛṣ)ta[mstr] [[*]]

1 Read maṃjati.

[*] If this is taken to be a mark of punctuation, the preceding symbol may stand for 4 also. But the reading of the sign as 1 is no doubt preferable. It appears that the long rule of Pravara I explains the shortness of the reigns of the other members of the family from Jaya to Pravara II.

MGIPC—S1—2 DGA/59—25:8:61—450.
No. 10—MALLAR PLATES OF PRAVARA II, YEAR 3
(2 Plates)
G. BHATTACHARYYA, OOTACAMUND
(Received on 2. 3. 1959)

This set of copper plates¹ was discovered along with three other grants of the Sarabhapuriyas at the village of Mallar, about 15 miles from Bilaspur in Madhya Pradesh. The other inscriptions are already published in the pages of this journal.²

The set consists of three rectangular plates each measuring approximately 6.9 inches in length, 3.5 inches in height and 1 inch in thickness. There is a square hole about the centre of the left margin on each plate for the seal-ring to pass through. The rims of the plates are thickened and slightly raised for the protection of the writing. The seal attached to the ring holding the plates together resembles that found with the Thakurdiyā plates³ issued by the donor of the charter under study. The three plates together weigh 62 tolas while the seal with the ring weighs 30 tolas. There are altogether 24 lines of writing, the inner sides of the first and third plates and the obverse of the second having each 6 lines and the reverse of the second plate and the outer side of the third respectively 5 lines and 1 line only. As in a few other inscriptions⁴ of the family, the last line recording the name of the engraver is incised about the middle of the reverse of the plate.

The characters belong to the box-headed alphabet of Central India as found in most of the records of the Sarabhapuriya family and the language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Excepting five of the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses, the whole charter is written in prose. As regards palaeography, orthography and style, the grant closely resembles other charters of the Sarabhapuriya family, especially the Thakurdiyā plates referred to above. Uparādhāśīya has been used once in line 14. In one case, the record uses ṇ for ṇ (cf. line 9). The numerical figures for 3 and 2 have been used in line 23. As regards orthography, the reduplication of consonants following ṇ has been similarly reduplicated in line 13. A number of words have been wrongly spelt, e.g., vikrama and śrīvatsa (line 1), śrīnārāma (line 2), bhūṣya (line 4), rāhericcha (line 9), tāṃbha and śrīśat (line 10), čākačākāra (line 14), śrīkoti (line 18), śrīkṣa (line 24), etc. The grant was issued on the 2nd day of Pausha in the 3rd year of the donor’s reign.

This is the second charter of king Pravara II of the Sarabhapuriya family. It was issued from Śrīpurā shortly after the issue of the same king’s Thakurdiyā plates dated in the month of Mārgaśīrṣha of the 3rd regnal year. The object of the present grant is to record the gift of the village of Mitra-grāma situated in Saṅkhachakrā-bhūga by the king to the Brāhmaṇa Subhachandra, son of Dāmōdaragana belonging to the Brāhmanā jāti, for the merits of the donor’s parents and of himself. The gift village was made a rent-free holding free from the entrance of the chāta and bhūtaś. The house-holders of the village were advised to pay the king’s share of the produce (bhūga) as well as the periodical offerings (tikāga) to the donor. The charter was engraved by Gōlasimba who was also responsible for engraving the Thakurdiyā plates³ and some charters of Sudēra, all of which were issued from Śrīpurā. We do not know how Gōlasimba was related to Achalasimba and Drūganimba who are known to have engraved the charters of the family issued from Sarabhapura.

King Pravara II was the son of king Durga alias Mānāmatra and was probably the younger brother of Sudēra. Before the recent discovery of the Mallar plate⁴ of the time of Pravara I, son of Jaya, it was generally believed that, after the rule of Jaya, the Sarabhapuriya throne passed on to his younger brother Durga alias Mānāmatra who was himself followed respectively by his

¹ This is No. A 7 of A.R. Ep., 1958-59.
² For the other three inscriptions, see above, pp. 28 ff.; 47 ff.; Vol. XXXIII, pp. 155 ff.
³ Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 15 ff. and Plates.
⁴ Cf. above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 101 ff. and Plate.
⁵ Prof. Mirashi read the name incorrectly as Sūlamāha (above, Vol. XXII, p. 23).
two sons, Sudēva and Prarvā. It now appears that Jaya was succeeded by his son Pravarā I who was followed on the throne by Durgā akṣam Mānāmātra and the latter by his sons Sudēva and Prarvā II. Prarvā II, who seems to have flourished during the second half of the sixth century was probably the last ruler of the dynasty, after whom the throne of the Sarabhāpurīyas passed on to the Pāṇḍuvaṇās of South Kōśala.1

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Śripura is the well-known Sirpur in the Raipur District of Madhya Pradesh. The administrative division (bhūga) of Śaṅkha-chakrā and the village called Mitra-grāma cannot be identified.

TEXT2

First Plate

1 Siddhānā 3 avasti [**] Śripurādvi (dvi) kram-ōpanata-sāmain(ma)nta-makuta-chūdāmaṇi-prabhā,
2 prae-kāmbhu-bhanta-pāda-yugalī-tipu-vilāsinī-sāmain(ma)nta-ōddharana-hē,
3 tvasuvvasadhā-gṛ-pradaḥ paramabhāgavata mātā-pitṛi-pāda-anu,
4 dhlīyataśvēri-Mahā-Pravararājah Śaṅkha-chakrā-bhūga(īya)-Mitra-grāmaka-pra-
5 tivāsa[ḥ]i samajāpaya viditaṃvasu vō yah-ūsāmābhir-ayaṇa guru-
6 mahā Tṛi(Tri)māpata-sadana-sukha-praktāthē-karō yāvade-ravi-śaśi-tārā-

Second Plate, First Side

7 k[i]raṇa-prathāthē-chōr-śaṅkha-kāraṇa jagad-avatār(ḥatē) tāvade-paḥbhgya,
8 savādhyās-ōpanidhira-cītā-bhata-prāvēyā(ḥyaḥ) sarvav-ākāra-śeu-visāja-jītaḥ mā-
9 tā-pitṛō-[at]ma[+huk-cha-puny-śhīti]dīdhyā bīhānd vāja-sugotra-vaḥ nirvāma-Dūmēla-
10 raṇ[pa]-putra-Śūklaha-vadhō-śravārāṃīṃ tānmbha(ma)-vāma[+ni]-atistha(ṣi[i])tā[ḥ] [**]
11 te yūmaṃ-śevam-nupalabhya-jñā-sravaya-viditā[ḥ] bhuṭṭvā yathā-ōcita-bhūga-
12 bhogem-ōpanayantās[sa][hka[+n] pravatotyatha [**] bhuvahyataś(cha) bhū-

Second Plate, Second Side

13 mīpālām-anudārayati [**] Dānādēvī.śītām-anupālanaṇada hupuṇjaṇa
14 dharmaṃ-čhe nīcā ētya-dhīya-h pravadamantii dharma[m]a[n] (t i) tasmād[t]**-ūvijāya -su(su)-visbh-
16 dattii-ānapālayita[y]i [**] Vyāsa-gitāmāscha śōkām-anālapantii [**] A-
17 gnēsamapta[i]ṇa pūtanmaṇi suvarṇ[ē]m bhūravvashiyavi śurya-satāsam ca gāvah [**] dattā.

Third Plate, First Side

18 [setaa]yaṃ sēna bhavān(ī)nti lōkā yaḥ kāṁchāna[na] gataṃ ca mabhē cha dadyā[ḥ] [**] Sasht[īsha]tī-
19 varsha-sem[ra]-lalṣūvīyāṃ svargī mūtā bhūmihā [**] ścihē[ḥ]cācāmāntā cha tā-
20 nyē-[ca]vē rākē vaśā[ḥ] Lakhvah-svāṣadha dattā rājāvīr-Śa[gar]ādi-
21 bhī[ḥ] [**] yaśa yanā ya ca bhūmi[ḥ] teṣṭaya tasya tadā paścīma[ḥ] [**] Svā-dattā[ḥ] pā-
22 ra-[dattāni] vā yatnād-rakha Yuddhiṣṭhirā [**] mahā[ḥ] [**] maṅ [i] jātām śīktha dānāch-
23 nupālanam-iti | pravarddhamāna-vijaya-sa[rjāva]tu(vat) [**] 3 Pauba-dīna 2 [**]

Third Plate, Second Side

24 utīnāna Gōlaśinghe(sinhē)na [**]

SEAL

| 25 sitam Pravararājasya āśama[ṇ] (s[sa][śa][na[ḥ]nam[]] [**]

1 Cf. The Classical Age, p. 220.
2 From impressions.
3 Expressed by symbol.
4 Read ācāra[ḥ]
5 Read sarvadeva-vadhā.
6 The subscript m is cut off by the hole made for the ring.
7 Read sa[hvē].
MALLAR PLATES OF PRAVARA II, YEAR 3—PLATE I

Scale: Four-fifths
MALLAR PLATES OF PRAVARA II, YEAR 3—PLATE II

iii, b

SEAL

(from a Photograph)
No. 11—FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTIONS FROM CHITORGARH

(I Plate)

D. C. Sircar and G. S. Gai, Ootacamund

(Received on 18.6.1959)

The stone slab containing two fragmentary inscriptions published below was recently found while clearing debris in the fort area of Chitorgarh in the Udaipur Division of Rajasthan. It is now kept in the store-room of the office of an Overseer of the Western Circle of the Department of Archaeology, stationed at Chitorgarh.

The writing on the fragment of the slab consists of two inscriptions, called A and B in the following pages. The two records together cover an area 9 inches in height and 7 inches in breadth. Inscription B is engraved below A. The writing is broken away from the left, right and bottom sides of the stone. Thus only the central part of the lines of writing in the original records is preserved, though the concluding part of B is also completely broken away and lost. Inscription A consists of only 3 incomplete lines while B exhibits 8 such lines. The number of aksharas in each line of the extant part of the two epigraphs is between 16 and 21. The composition being in verse, it is easily seen that 12 and 14 aksharas are respectively broken away from the beginning of line 1 of A and B while 16 aksharas are lost at the end of the last line (i.e. line 3) of A. We have also to note that the same stanza in Vāmīnātha seems to be continuing from line 2 to line 3 of A and that, if calculated on this basis, the number of lost syllables at the end of the second line and at the beginning of the next in the said record would be altogether 24.

The fact that the formation of the letters in the two inscriptions is different shows that two different persons were responsible for their reproduction on the stone. The space between two lines in both the inscriptions is about half an inch while that between the two records is about one inch. As, however, will be seen below, both the records appear to record the pious activities of the same person.

The characters of both the records belong to the Northern Alphabet of about the first half of the 6th century A.D. The letters of B have been more boldly and deeply cut than those of A. The angular corners of the letters in B end in a protrusion (cf. the back of ch and d and the lower angles of p and t). The top serifs of letters are triangular in most cases in B but are straight horizontal strokes in A. The sign for medial i in A generally comes down to the bottom of the letters while it stops at their top in B. There is also some difference between the medial sign of i in A and B. R has a sort of an upward stroke added to the left of its bottom in A, while in B the hanging bottom line of this and some other letters and signs has a somewhat thick and triangular end. Barring these differences, the alphabets of the two records are similar to each other and they bear remarkable resemblance to the stone inscriptions1 of the Aulikara king Yaśođharman Vishnuvedhana found at Mandasor, one of which is dated in the year 532 A.D. We may compare, for example, the letters n (without loop), k, ch, y, d, r and h as found in the epigraphs under study and in the Mandasor inscriptions. It is particularly interesting to note that the alphabet of B is remarkably similar to that of the fragmentary (duplicate) Mandasor inscription of Yaśođharman.2

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2 Ibid., Plate facing p. 150.

3 DGA/59 (53)
Inscription B exhibits medial ā written in two ways, viz. (1) an upward stroke as in pā (line 2), yā (line 3), rā (lines 3 and 4), etc., and (2) the right end of the top stroke being curved downward as in nā (lines 2 and 4; cf. mā in lines 1, 3, 4 and 6). It may also be noted that ā is written in both the ways (cf. lines 4 and 6).

The language of both the records is Sanskrit and, as already indicated above, the composition is in verse. We have fragments of three stanzas in A and of 9 in B. There is no complete verse in either of the records. In respect of orthography also the records resemble the Mandasor inscriptions referred to above. The consonants t, j and y following r are reduplicated (cf. line 1 of A and lines 2, 5 and 8 of B). T followed by r and dā followed by y have been likewise reduplicated respectively in yattra (line 1 of A) and Madhyamā (line 3 of B). Anusvāra has been changed to the guttural nasal in vaiṣṇavē (line 2 of A).

The space above the writing in A shows that no line is broken away from the top. The first verse (line 1) refers to the Supreme Spirit (cf. paraṇa) beyond the reach of one's conception (dīnā), mind (manas) and speech (bhrāti) and reminds us of the Upanishadic saying na tatra chaḥ kur-gaṁchhahati na vāgam gaṁchhahati na mano, etc. There is no doubt that A began with a stanza in adoration to the Absolute Being. The real significance of the second verse (lines 2-3) cannot be guessed from the extant words although it may have contained a reference to the king during whose reign the record was incised. The first half of the third stanza (line 3) speaks of a certain Vishnu-datta described as the best among the merchants. Evidently this same Vishnu-datta is mentioned in B which, as we shall see below, seems to be a record of the pious deeds of his son. It is not impossible that the second half of the third stanza in A also referred to certain pious activities of the same person.

The first stanza (line 1) in B speaks of one having the moon hidden in the matted locks which are curled and slightly tawny in colour. It is undoubtedly an invocatory verse in praise of the god Śiva. The second stanza (line 2) refers to one's protection of the earth, to which the people are stated to have been attached. It also refers to the same person's strength and the scattering of the prowess of his enemies. There is thus a clear reference here to a king during whose reign the inscription was engraved. But his name is unfortunately not traceable in the extant portion of the record. The third stanza (line 3) refers to one who was apparently a Rājasthāniya or governor no doubt ruling over Daśapura and Madhyamā by the order of the person mentioned in the previous stanza, i.e., of the ruling king of the country. There is little doubt that this Rāja-sthāniya was the hero of the eulogy contained in the inscription and that its object was to record one of his pious deeds.

Usually the family of the hero of a prāasti is introduced after the introduction of the reigning king. Thus the Mandasor inscription of 532 A.D., which is a more elaborate eulogy than the one under study, introduces the reigning king Yāsūdharmar man Vishnuvardhana (verses 5-9) after the maṅgala stanzas at the beginning and then speaks of Shashṭhidatta of the Naigama family as a servant of the rulers of the dynasty to which the said king belonged. The genealogy is then traced from Shashṭhidatta to Dāksha alias Nirōṣha, the hero of the prāasti, in the following way: Shashṭhidatta; his son Varahadāsa; [his brother?]1 Raviṅkirti; his three sons Bhagavaddōśa, Abhayadatta (a Rājasthāniya of the land bounded by the Vindhyā, the Rāva, the Pārīṣṭra and the Sindhu or the Arabian Sea) and Dōshakumbha; Dōshakumbha’s two sons Dharmadōśha (successor of

1 Kenôpanishad, 3.
2 The verb bhhātsa in the Past Perfect tense used in Vishnu-datta’s description may support the inference, although we cannot be quite sure about it (cf. JUPHS, New Series, Vol. III, 1955, pp. 91 ff.).
3 I.e. a family of merchants (cf. Litres’ List, No. 1691). Fleet wrongly took it to be a family of Brähmanas (CII, Vol. III, p. 150).
4 The language is not clear as to whether Raviṅkirti was the same as Varāhādaśa or the latter’s brother or son.
Abhayadatta as Rājasthānaīya) and Daksha alias Nirūsha (who excavated a well in the memory of his uncle Abhayadatta in the year 532 A. D. during the reign of Yaśōdharmar Vishuvardhana probably at Daśapura or Mandasor where the inscription has been found). In the inscription under study, the introduction of the reigning monarch is followed by that of his governor of the Daśapura-Madhya region, who was the hero of the prakṣṭi and whose pedigree is introduced immediately afterwards. This kind of reintroduction of the hero of a eulogy for the second time as the descendant of his ancestors is also known from other inscriptions.¹

The fourth verse of our inscription (line 4) mentions a person named Varāha and the next stanza (i.e. the fifth verse in lines 4-5) another named Vishuṇatta who appears to have been the son of Varāha. The sixth stanza (line 5), only a few letters at the beginning of which are preserved, apparently mentioned Vishuṇatta’s wife whose name is lost, while the following verse (i.e. the seventh stanza in line 6) obviously introduces the son of Vishuṇatta and his wife. The fact that the eighth verse in line 7 apparently refers to a construction (probably of a temple) in an area to the north of the temple of Maṇḍārāvastūrān writes shows that Vishuṇatta’s son’s name is lost, was the hero of the eulogy under study. The last verse in line 8 continues the description of the pious act referred to in the previous stanza. The word kriṭi used in it may refer to the person’s fame in a general way or in the special sense of an object like a temple that was calculated to render the name of its builder famous.² It thus appears that the object of both the inscriptions under study was to record certain pious deeds (probably the building of some shrines) of Vishuṇatta’s son who was the governor of Daśapura and Madhya under a king of the Malwa-Rajasthan region about the first half of the 6th century A. D., to which age the epigraphs have to be assigned on grounds of paleography.

As regards Daśapura and Madhya, the reference may be to the districts around the cities of those names. Daśapura is the well-known ancient name of modern Mandasor, which is about 65 miles to the south-south-east of Chitorgarh, the find-spot of the present records, and which, as noted above, has yielded several inscriptions of king Yaśōdharmar Vishuvardhana and was no doubt the capital of the rulers of the Aulīkara dynasty including the said monarch.³ It is thus probable that Vishuṇatta’s son was the governor of the metropolitan province of the Aulīkara kingdom.

Madhya is evidently the same as Māhīyamikā mentioned in a number of literary, epigraphic and numismatic records of ancient India. The earliest epigraphic reference to this place is found in a fragmentary Prakrit inscription from Burā in the Ajmer District, Rajasthan, which speaks of a person as Mājāhima (Sanskrit Māhyamikā), ‘an inhabitant of Māhīyamikā.’ The inscription has been assigned to a date about the end of the second or the beginning of the first century B.C. Patañjali’s Mahābhāṣya, composed earlier about the first half of the 2nd century B.C., speaks of the siege of Māhīyamikā by a Yavana king during the author’s lifetime.⁴ A number of coins bearing the legend Māhīyamikā Sāśān-purapadara (Sanskrit Māhīyamikā or Śāyān Śīrō-panḍalasa), ‘[the coin] of the Śīrō State [struck at] Māhīyamikā’ or ‘[the coin] of the Śīrō State of Māhīyamikā,’ were found at Nāgar, eight miles to the north of Chitorgarh, and also at Chitorgarh itself.⁵ Kielhorn identified Māhīyamikā of the legend on these coins with Māhīyamikā

¹ Cf. the inscriptions of Gāyādatunga (below, pp. 91 ff.).
³ Ibid. p. 79 and note 2.
⁴ See above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 203 ff.
⁵ JRS, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 34-35.
⁶ Cf. The Age of Imperial Unity, p. 107.
⁷ Cf. Allan, Catalogue of Indian Coins (Ancient India), p. xxxiv; D. R. Bhandarkar, MASI, No. 4, p. 122; etc.
mentioned by Patañjali and took it to be the old name of Nagari near Chitorgarh. The Mahābharata, while describing Nakula’s expedition in Western India, states that, after subjugating Daśārpa, the Pāṇḍava hero conquered the Śibis, Trigartas, Ambashṭhas, Mālavas, Paṇḍakarpaṭas and Mādhyanamakāyas. These Mādhyanamakāyas are no doubt the people of Mādhayamikā, although the reference is probably to an age when the Śibis were not in occupation of the city.

Varāhamihira’s Brihatangrhtihī, composed about the first half of the 6th century, places the Mādhyanamikas in the central region of India. This shows that Mādhyanamikā, i.e., modern Nagari, continued to flourish at least till about the middle of the 6th century A.D. This is also supported by the mention of Mādhayama, i.e. Mādhyanamikā, in the second of the two inscriptions under study as a province under the charge of a governor under a king of Western India, who flourished about the first half of the 6th century.

As indicated above, a certain Varāha is mentioned in line 4 probably as the grandfather of the hero of the eulogy, who appears to have been the governor of Daśapura and Mādhayama. As we have seen above, the Mandasor inscription of Yaśōdharmar Vīshnupardhana, dated 532 A.D., refers to a certain Varahadāsa of the Naigama family, who was the father or father’s elder brother or grandfather of the Rājasthāniya Abhayadatta whose brother’s son Dharma-dōsā succeeded him in the governorship and was serving Yaśōdharmar Vīshnupardhana in 532 A.D. If our Varāha was identical with this Varahadāsa, the Rājasthāniya mentioned in the inscription under study also belonged to the same family as the Rājasthāniyas Abhayadatta and Dharma-śā. This is not improbable in view of the fact that official positions were often held in ancient India successively by the members of the same family. The area under the rule of Abhayadatta is stated to have been, in a wide sense, bounded by the Vindhya, the Rāva or Narmadā, the Pāryātra or the Western Vindhyas together with the Aravalí range, and the Arabian Sea, and the same region may have been indicated in the second of our inscriptions as the districts of Daśapura and Mādhayama. We cannot also ignore the exceptionally close similarity of the characters of the second of the present records, as shown above, with one of the Mandasor inscriptions of Yaśōdharmar Vīshnupardhana. In any case, the facts discussed above would suggest that our records belong to the reign of one of the Aulikara kings, if not of Yaśōdharmar Vīshnupardhana himself.

Inscription B seems to indicate, as suggested above, that the Aulikara viceroy of Daśapura (Mandasor) was also ruling over Mādhayama (modern Nagari). It is of course difficult to say whether Vīshnudattta’s son governed the Mandasor-Nagari region earlier than Abhayadatta or later than Dharma-dōsā, although it is better to regard him as a successor of Dharma-dōsā as otherwise he may have been mentioned in the Mandasor inscription. In this connection, it may be pointed out that a certain chief named Gauri was ruling over the region of Chhōṣṭ-Sādā, near Neemuch, about 40 miles south of Nagari, as a subordinate of Ādityavardhana who appears to have been a member of the Aulikara family of Daśapura and ruled towards the end of the 5th century A.D. But his relations with the Rājasthāniya of the area cannot be determined.

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1 Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 266. For the antiquity of Nagari, see above, Vol. XXII, pp. 198 ff.
2 Śekhāyana, Chap. 8, verses 7-8; cf. critical ed., II, 29, 6-7.
3 Cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 208 and note 3.
4 Chapter XIV, verse 2.
5 In a story about Chaulukya Kumārapāla (c. 1144-75 A.D.), Mādhyanāpurī is located three krātas away from Chitrakāitä-durgā (Jñānavijaya-muni, Kumārapālačaritrādavamśa, pp. 5, 47).
7 If Varāha of our record was identical with Varahadāsa of the Mandasor inscription, Varahadāsa must have been different from Rāvikiṭi whose sons are all mentioned in the epigraph.
8 It may be noted that Vīshnudattta’s name ending in dotta is similar to the names of Shashṭhidatta and Abhayadatta of the Naigama family.
9 Cf. the case of the ministers of the Datta family of South Kōsala (IHQ, Vol. XX, pp. 78 ff.).
10 Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 120-32; Vol. XXXIII, pp. 205 ff.

1 There is an unnecessary mark above the letter.
2 The reference here was apparently to Vishnudatta's wife.
3 The intended reading is very probably S-sṛjanat.
4 There is an unnecessary mark above ṅa.
5 The word here may be restored as anapēkṣa. The medial ē sign attached to the letter following ṅa is clear on the impressions.
6 The sign of anāvāraṇa has been engraved a little to the left of its proper place owing to want of space.
7 Only the upper parts of two consecutive akṣaras are noticed, one representing an ā-mātra and the other an anāvāraṇa.
No. 12—HULGUR INSCRIPTION OF KHOTTIGA, SAKA 893

(1 Plate)

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 26.6.1959)

The inscription which is edited below was copied by me during the year 1944-45 in the course of my official tour in search of inscriptions. It is engraved on a stone slab in the field of Aljikaṭṭi at Hulgar, a village about 9 miles to the north-east of Shiggaon, the headquarters of the Taluk of the same name in the Dharwar District, Mysore State. The writing covers an area about 2'5" by 2'3". There are 20 lines of writing and, except a small portion at the lower right-hand corner affecting the last four lines of the imprecatory portion, the writing is well preserved.

The characters are Kannaḍa-Telugu of the 10th century A.D. and are quite regular for the period. Noteworthy is the top mātrā (tale-kottu) which is rather angular. Initial i occurs in lines 9 and 13 and initial e in line 2. Final i is met with in line 14 and final l in lines 9, 11 and 17. In some cases, anusvāra has been used for the class nasals; cf. lines 1, 3 and 8. Except the last imprecatory verse in Sanskrit, the language of the record is Kannaḍa and is partly in verse and partly in prose. There are six verses in the Kanda metre in lines 1-11 and a section in prose in lines 11-18.

As regards orthography, the consonant following r is reduplicated in many cases.

Verse 1 introduces the ruling king Khottigadāva as the younger brother of Krishna. Though the dynasty to which he belonged is not stated in the record, there can be no doubt that he was the Rāṣṭrakūta king of that name who succeeded his brother Krishna III (939-67 A.D.) and ruled in 967-72 A.D. When Fleet wrote his Dynasties of the Kavarese Districts, only one record of Khottiga was published. But now we have a few inscriptions belonging to his reign.

The present record, however, does not supply any new information, historical or chronological, with regard to the reign of Khottiga. Verse 2 refers to his title Nityavarsha and mentions his feudatory Guttīya-Gāṅga, called Gāṅgādhipa. This Guttīya-Gāṅga was no other than the Western Gāṅga chief Mārasiṇhha II (963-75 A.D.) who is known to have been a feudatory of Krishna III also. Fleet suggested that the word Guttīya in the secondary name of the chief may refer to the town of Guttī in the Bellary District. Besides Guttīya-Gāṅga, Mārasiṇhha had many birudas like

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1 The inscription has been noticed in A. R. Ep., 1944-45, No. F 21, and in Ancient India, No. 5, p. 35.
2 For this feature, cf. the Korumelli plates of the Eastern Chāḷukya king Rājarāja I (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, pp. 48 ff. and Plates).
3 The name is Kotiga here but is spelt in epigraphic records generally as Khottiga and sometimes also as Khōṭika.
Gaṅga-Vidyādhara, Gaṅga-Kandarpa, Gaṅga-vajra, etc. From verses 3-4 of our inscription we learn that this Guttīya-Gaṅga was a follower of Jaina religion and the governor of Gaṅgavāḍi-96,000, Kisuṅkā-70, Purigere-300 and Belvā-300 and that his wife was Āṅkabharasi, the daughter of Dānapa. That he was ruling over the territories mentioned above is also known from other records. But the name of his wife Āṅkabharasi is known for the first time from the present inscription. She is called Gaṅga-mahādevī in line 15. The next stanza (verse 5) states that Āṅkabharasi was governing Pulunāgar. It is not possible to identify her father Dānapa. It may, however, be pointed out that the Eastern Chālukya king Danārāma (970-73 A.D.), who was a contemporary of Mārasiṃha II, was also called by the names of Dānapa and Dānapāśa.

The date of the record is given in verse 6 as the Śaka year trika-sundha-aśhta-sata, i.e. 893, Śukla, Māgha śu. 11, Sunday. The year Śukla of the Southern Cycle corresponded to Śaka 891 and not to Śaka 893. For Śukla, the details of the date are irregular. But in Śaka 893, Māgha śu. 11 commenced on Sunday, the 28th January 972 A.D., and ended the following day, January 28 in 972 A.D. thus seems to be the date of our record.

The object of the inscription (lines 11-13) is to record the renewal of a grant by the daughter of Dānapa, i.e. Āṅkabharasi, to the temple of the goddess Pulunāgarabbe. The gift consisted of 6 gardens, 24 māttaras of kisuṅkā, red land, and the cess realised on the occasion of fairs (jātrā-mukhā). The āruvaṇa fixed for this gift was 24 āruvaṇa. The expression āruvaṇa occurs also in other records and seems to mean a kind of tax. Thus the present grant appears to be a karasāvāna. This gift, we are told in lines 13-16, was made at the request of Mārasiṅghayya of the Maṇḍalara family who was then the headman (māṭ-gāvāṅa) of Purigere-300 and paid the āruvaṇa to secure release of the incomes due to the goddess Pulunāgarabbe. Line 16 states that the twelve gāvāṅa (village headmen) of the village should protect the gift. This is followed, in lines 16-21, by the beneficent and imprecatory passages in Kannāda and a verse in Sanskrit.

As indicated above, Mārasiṅghayya belonged to the Maṇḍalara family. The name of the family is also spelt as Maṇḍalara in some other records and seems to have been derived from a person called Maṇḍe or Maṇḍalera. The family is also known as Sagar-āṅvaya. A certain Maṇḍalera of the Sagar lineage is mentioned in the Āṭakūr inscription as an officer under the Gaṅga prince Bāṭугa, the feudatory and brother-in-law of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Krishna III. We know that this Gaṅga Bāṭугa was the father of Guttīya-Gaṅga or Mārasiṅgha II of the inscription under study. Therefore it appears that Maṇḍalara Mārasiṅghayya was the immediate successor, if not the son, of Maṇḍalera of the Āṭakūr record. Another epigraph from Hulgār belonging to the Chālukya king Jayasiriha II and dated 1038 A.D. mentions Irivabedaṅga Mārasiṅgadēva as a predecessor of a certain Jayākēśin of the Maṇḍalera family. In all probability Irivabedaṅga

1 Loc. cit.
3 Ancient India, No. 5, p. 55.
5 Pulunāgarabbe may also have been a lady to whom Mārasiṅghayya was somehow related.
6 Above, Vol. VI, p. 54.
7 Ibid., Vol. XVI, p. 333.
Mārasingadēva was identical with Mārasinghaya of the present record. Another chief named Maṇalera Gādiga is stated to have been the nāḷ-gāvṣaṇa of Purigere in an undated record of Amoghavarsha from Shiggaon. Mr. N. L. Rao has identified this king with Amoghavarsha IV Kakka (972-73 A. D.) and consequently Maṇalera Gādiga has been regarded by him as a descendant of Maṇalera of the Ātkūr record referred to above. But, as I have shown elsewhere, the Shiggaon inscription should be ascribed to the reign of Amoghavarsha I (814-78 A. D.) and therefore Maṇalera Gādiga would be a predecessor of both Maṇalera of the Ātkūr inscription and Mārasinghaya of the present record. It may, however, be stated that one cannot be certain about the relationship of these chiefs until definite proof is forthcoming.

The geographical names mentioned in the record are Gaṅgavāḍi-96,000, Kusikāḍu-70, Purigere-300, Belvola-300 and Pullungur, the first four of which are quite well known. Pullungur is evidently the modern Hulgur where the inscription was discovered.

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1 Svasti nipēṣvara-makūta-nyasta-pad-āṅhbhōjanundhā(n-dha)ravallabhānum trasta-ripu-

2 Krishnap-anujām vistara-śāsi-viṣada-kirtti Koṭṭigadēvarīn [ ] [1*] Ence negaḷda Nityava-

3 rehana vinūṭa-rājy-ābhivriddhiyo=maṇḍalik-āvasanatthita-pa[da]-Gaṅgādhipan=animi-
ttan(tta)-

4 parēpakāri Guttīya-Gaṅgām [ ] [2*] Parama-śrī-Jainēsva-charaṇ-ānakarī Gaṅgavā-

5 di-tombhattarur-sēiramum Kusukāḍ-epatu(ttu) Purigere-mūnumu Belvala-trīṣa-

6 tamumarn [ ] [3*] Duneṭṭaran=upasaṃhārī śaṣṭātaran=uchit-ā[p]daṃgaḷīm pāḷisi bhūvīhaṭ-

7 ramansāla tat-prāṇēhaṇ Āṭ-Dāṇap-āṭmāj-Ārṇkabharasi [ ] [4*] Sarvā-ābhyaṃtara-siddhi-

8 rvi-taladōlage negaḷda Pullungūrari garvvi-taṇu[va]n=aḍaṅgisi parvvida jasaṃ-e-

9 seye negaḷdal-ήlutt-īlḍa [ ] [5*] ire | Kanda [ ] Trika-śandhr-śaṣṭa-śatamagā Śaka-

10 lam=aṅ-gē Śukla-varshada Māghhar prakāṭiṣe Ravi-vārada su(śu)dhi-śkādasī-

11 nap-āṭmaje koṭṭa [ ] [6*] Pullungūr-ābbege munne nadev=łu toṇṭamum vi(ii)-

12 rppatannālku-mattar-śkisukāḍu jāṭrā-mukhamumām biṭṭa mađid=aru-

13 vaṇada-dramma=irrppatannālku | idaṁ | 4 Jagadēka-mitraṃ Maṇalara-ā-

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3 See below, Vol. XXXV, Part ii.
4 From impressions.
5 There is a floral design at the beginning.
6 This daṇḍa is superfluous.
14 dityañ śrīmat Mārasimhaghyam Purīgeṇa-mūnērṣarkaraṁ nāl-gāvunḍu-
15 geyyutam Gaṁga-mahādēviyargge binnapañ geydu Pulurīngu(gū)x-abbeyya puṭṭav≡ādu-
16 d≡ellavaṁ-aruvāpamgaṭṭhi(ṭṭi) biḍisidam [[*] Kādūduvaṁ=ppannirbbar=ggāvunḍuvaṁ=iddah kā-
17 dātah Bāraṇāsiyo] sāyira kavileyuṁ sāsirvar=Bbrāhmanaṅgarig=ubha-
18 ya-mukhi-goṭṭa [pha]laṁ=akkuv=idan=ajīdātām paṅcha-ma¹ . . . . .
19 Mad-vanīsajāṁ=para-mahīpati-vanīsajā vā pāpā² . . . . . .
20 bhūpāḥ | yā pālayanti mama dh[a][ṛm]ma[m=imam sama³ . . . .
21 tāṁ(tō=m)jaṁ=ṛṣa mū⁴. [ || 7*]
No. 13—INSCRIPTION FROM MANTHANI

(I Plate)

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Sometime after I completed my study of the Gaya inscription1 mentioning king Pratāparudra and his preceptor Mallikārjuna, Mr. K. H. V. Sarma, one of the Epigraphical Assistants in my office, drew my attention to a small Telugu work entitled Viṃśṭanībhāṅgudī Śānavalu (1934) by Kanṭhaṁpāṭi Appanna Śāstri.2 This book (pp. 52 ff.) summarises the contents of an inscription on a stone pillar lying at Manthani, headquarters of a Taluk of the same name in the Karimnagar District, Andhra Pradesh. The record is stated to have been published by Tiruvarajangal Pāpāyya Śāstri in the Gōlakopātpatika (Telugu), Vol. VII, No. 67, pp. 1 ff. The journal was, however, not available to me. Since the Manthani epigraph apparently mentions Mallikārjuna known from the Gaya inscription, I visited Manthani and copied the inscription in October 1958. On a careful examination of the record, it was found that many of the statements about the contents of the epigraph in Appanna Śāstri’s book are wrong as they were apparently based on wrong readings and faulty interpretations of the text published by Pāpāyya Śāstri. The most serious of the numerous errors of omission and commission are the statements that the hero of the inscription, who set up the pillar and whose pious activities are recorded in the epigraph, is Mallikārjuna-sāri. that he was the son of Krīṣṇa-nāyaku, the ruling chief of Mantrakūṭa, and that Mallu-bhāṭṭa was the priest of the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati. It is of course unnecessary to deal with such mistakes in detail. I am thankful to Mr. Sarma for his help in the preparation of this paper.

The inscription is engraved on the four faces of a stone pillar now standing in a shed attached to the temple of Hanumān on the eastern bank of a big tank called Tammacheruvu. The writing is continued from the front side to the left, back and right sides. But the lower part of the pillar is broken away and lost. Consequently the writing on all the four sides are fragmentary. A few aksaras are also damaged or broken away at the beginning and end of many of the lines of writing. This fragmentary nature of the record renders the interpretation of some of its sections considerably difficult. It is also impossible to be sure about the exact number of lines broken away from the bottom of the inscription on the different faces of the pillar. But the facts that about 30 aksaras are certainly lost at the end of the second side and that they cannot be properly distributed in lines of 13 aksaras each as found in the lower lines of this face of the pillar would suggest that at least one more stanza is lost between the last verse on the second side and the first stanza on the third and that the number of lost lines of writing is more than 5 at least on the second face of the pillar.

There are some figures above the writing on each of the sides. Thus we have the representation of the god Gaṇeśa, of the sun and moon, of a bull and of a Śiva-līṅga respectively in the upper part of the first (i.e. front), the second (i.e. left), the third (i.e. back) and the fourth (i.e. right) sides. The areas covered by the extant writing on the said four faces are between 12 and 13 inches in breadth and between 37 and 39 inches in height. Individual aksaras are generally a little above

1 Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 103 ff. Some suggestions about Mallikārjuna in that article may require modification in the light of the present record. Cf., however, p. 68, note 1; p. 74, note 7.
2 Cf. M. Rama Rao, The Kākatiyas of Warangal, p 44.
3 DGA/59  (63)
one inch in height though their size on the first and second sides is slightly bigger than that on the third and fourth. There are 29 lines of writing on the first side, 27 on the second, and 33 each on the third and the fourth, the last line showing only the upper parts of the letters in most cases. On the first side, a line contains between 9 (lines 1, 6) and 13 (line 14) aksharas, on the second between 9 (line 2) and 14 (lines 22-23), on the third between 12 (lines 12, 13) and 18 (line 1), and on the fourth between 11 (line 3) and 16 (line 6).

The characters of the inscription are Southern Nāgarī of about the 12th century A.D. and closely resemble those of the Gayā inscription referred to above. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and the composition is a mixture of prose and verse. There is a verified introduction covering the first and second faces of the pillar together with a small space at the beginning of the third and this is followed by a number of transactions delineated in prose on the third and fourth sides. Little is noteworthy in the orthography of the record excepting the facts that the dynastic name Kākatiya has been spelt as Kākatiyya,1 and that the use of anusvāra for cañcui is common while that of the latter is rare. Consonants following r have been rarely reduplicated while there is one case of p being reduplicated before r in line 12 on the third side.

The inscription under study is a document of the prakāsī type. Its object is to record several pious acts of more than a single person, although one of these persons was the hero of the prakāsī and was apparently responsible for setting up the pillar. The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati and the first of the transactions recorded in it is stated to have taken place in 1199 A.D. which falls in the first regnal year of the said monarch. The same transaction is associated with the rule of a chief named Allumprōlarāja, who was Gaṇapati’s governor ruling over Chernūri-dēśa, i.e., roughly speaking, the modern Chinmūr Taluk in the Adilabad District of Andhra Pradesh. Since a different transaction recorded in our epigraph is similarly associated with the rule of the dāhiba (daughter’s son) of the said Allumprōlarāja likewise ruling over the same Chernūri-dēśa as the viceroy of Kākatiya Gaṇapati, there is little doubt that the inscription under study was composed and engraved a few years later than Gaṇapati’s first regnal year. In the rule of the Chernūri-dēśa, the chief Allumprōlarāja seems to have been succeeded by his daughter’s son. This is also suggested by the fact that Malikārjun, who is represented as dead in the introductory part of the record, is stated to have accepted, with Gaṇapati’s consent, a gift of land from the successor of Allumprōlarāja apparently sometime after 1199 A.D. when the latter was ruling. The inscription also refers to an earlier transaction of the time of Rudrādēva or Pratāparaṇa I (c. 1163-95 A.D.).

The contents of the writing on the different faces of the pillar are analysed below.

First Side

The inscription begins with an adoration in prose to Mantrakūta-Gōpījanavallabha, i.e., the god Gōpījanavallabha (literally, ’the lover of the milk-maids’, i.e. Kṛṣṇa) worshipped in a temple situated at Mantrakūta. The same deity is mentioned in the Gayā inscription and we have seen elsewhere that Mantrakūta was another name of the locality otherwise called Manthi, Mantenà or Mantenna, where the inscription under study has been discovered. As will be seen below, our record gives the name both as Mantrakūta and Manthenna, the latter in the geographical name Manthenna-kālvu (literally, ’the Manthenna canal’).

1 The unnecessary reduplication of p is generally noticed in certain medieval records of the Telugu-speaking area, e.g., the Rybdēvāpuram plates of 1450 A.D. (cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 3).

2 Ibid., p. 104.
Inscription from Manthani

Verse 1 is in praise of the glittering of the pearls in the hair of the mother of Gajamukha (i.e. the goddess Pārvatī, the mother of Gaṇeśa), while the next stanza (verse 2) is in adoration of the Kōla, i.e. the boar incarnation of Vishnu.

The next three stanzas (verses 3-5) describe king Gaṅapati who was reigning at the city of Orumgalu (i.e. Warangal) in the Andhra country. As clearly stated repeatedly in the prose portion of the record that follows, the king is identical with the Kākatiya monarch of that name, who ruled in the period 1199-1260 A.D. The inscription was engraved during the reign and in the dominions of Kākatiya Gaṅapati and, as we shall see below, the first of the transactions recorded in it took place in the first regnal year of the said king and a later transaction is also specially associated with the same king’s reign.

Verse 6, the latter part of which is broken away, introduces a scholar named Aṭchanārāya. His relations with the persons mentioned in the stanzas on the second side of the pillar are not clear, because, as stated above, several lines of the original writing in the lower part of the first side are lost. But there is no doubt that the author of the praisth introduces the hero of the eulogy with this stanza following the description of the reigning monarch. We know that there were two ways of introducing the hero of a praisth. In some cases, the hero is described as a descendant of his ancestors so that the mention of his first ancestor immediately follows the reference to the reigning monarch, while in others the hero is first introduced after the ruling king and then again as the descendant of his ancestors.¹ That Aṭchanārāya was not an ancestor of the hero of the eulogy but the hero himself is, however, clear from the fact that he is stated in the verse to have played a prominent part in the quarters of the scholars proficient in the Śruti and Smṛiti, belonging to king Gaṅapati, and was therefore a contemporary of that king. As will be seen from our analysis of the writing on the third face of the pillar, the main object of the inscription was to record certain pious deeds of Maṇchi-bhaṭṭopādhyāya alias Maṭchanārāya who was the priest of Kākatiya Gaṅapati. It appears that the same person has been called Aṭchanārāya, Maṇchi-bhaṭṭopādhyāya and Maṭchanārāya.

Second Side

This section begins with a stanza (verse 1) in the Upāṇḍawijā metre, the first five syllables of which are lost in the concluding part of the writing on the first side. The verse speaks of the installation of a deity described as ‘accompanied by Ramā (i.e. the goddess Lakshmi)’ (Ramā-sahāmyān) and as ‘charming on account of the three bends [in his three limbs while standing]’ (maṭthurāṇi tri-bhaṇgī). There is no doubt that the reference is to the god Vishnu-Krishna. As will be seen below, verse 3 of this section seems to give the name of the deity as Krishṇa in a passage which has a twofold meaning. The word tri-bhaṇgi used in this stanza is of lexical interest since it is not generally found in Sanskrit lexicons, even though it occurs in Līlāsūka Bilvamangala’s Krishṇalīlāmārtha or Krishṇabargāmārtha.² Brown’s Telugu-English Dictionary rightly explains the word as the prose in which images like those of Vēṇugūpāla, the flute-playing Gūpāla (Krishṇa), are made. He farther says, “The word frequently occurs in books on sculpture and in some poems but is nowhere precisely defined.” But the dictionaries of such languages as Hindi, Bengali, Oriya, Assamese, etc., generally recognise the word tri-bhaṇgi, which is a variant of tri-bhaṇgi,

¹ See above, pp. 54-55; below, p. 99.
² Canto II, verse 101. Some manuscripts use tri-khānya in place of tri-khānya. The stanzas are quoted in Śrīkumārī’s Śālpiṇḍa, XIII, 28 (T. Gaṅapati Sastrī ed., p. 129). My attention to these works was drawn by Pandit V. S. Subrahmaniyam, Līlāsūka alias Bilvamangala flavoured in the eleventh century A.D. (Kieth, A History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 218).
in the sense of a posture of standing with a bend in the knee, the waist and the neck, while Tribhanga (i.e., one standing with a bend in the three limbs referred to above) is a popular name or epithet of the god Vishnu-Krishna in Eastern India.∗

The second half of the same stanza speaks of a person proficient in the Vedānta. The name of this person is lost; but there is little doubt that he was the ancestor of the hero of the praśasti, with whom the description of the hero’s ancestry began. As our analysis of the following stanzas will show, he was apparently the grandfather of Aśchanārāya, the hero of the eulogy, introduced in the last verse on the first side of the pillar.

Verse 2 states that the person responsible for the installation of the deity in question also constructed a temple probably for enshrining the same god. The following stanza (verse 3) says that the said person adorned the city called Mantrakūta-nagari (i.e. modern Manthāni where the inscription under study has been found) with a garland of pearls, which was a row of new buildings. The expression svadha-pili-nava-marutika-srajā, ‘by a garland (i.e. necklace) of pearls, which was a row of new buildings’, is endowed with the epithets sāvīkhi-māyībhir-utpakaśayā and kriṣṇa-nūgaka-sanaḥbha. The first of the two epithets shows that the word sraj (literally, ‘a garland’) has been used in the sense of ‘a necklace’ since its jewels are compared with the learned men adorning the houses in the row. In the second epithet, the expression kriṣṇa-nūgaka seems to have a double entendre, viz., ‘a black jewel as the central gem’ (in relation to the necklace), and ‘lord Krishna [in one of the buildings in the row]’ (in relation to the row of buildings). The verse further suggests that the deity in question (i.e., a form of the god Vishnu-Krishna) was installed in a temple at Mantrakūta or Manthāni. It is not impossible that this is the deity called Mantrakūta-Gopijanavallabha both in the present record at the beginning and in the Gayā inscription. Lines 23–24 on the third face of the pillar probably mention the same deity as Mantrakūta-Gopinātha.∗ It is very probable that the god was named after the person who installed him. It may thus be conjectured that the name of the person was Gopinātha, Gopijanavallabha being rather too big for a personal name.∗

Verse 4 introduces Mallikārjuna as the son of the person referred to in verses 1–3 of this section from the latter’s wife Jakkanāmba. The next two stanzas (verses 5–6) describe the learned Mallikārjuna as a great teacher of the Advaita philosophy. Verse 6 seems to refer to Mallikārjuna as dead, the following stanza (verse 7) stating that his younger brother Kēśava-nūri was still living as a reflected image of his [deceased] elder brother. These two stanzas appear to make it clear that Mallikārjuna was dead at the time the inscription was composed and engraved during the early years of reign of Kakatiya Gaṇapati. As we have elsewhere seen, the Gayā inscription represents Mallikārjuna as the preceptor of Gaṇapati’s uncle Pratāparudra I (1163–95 A.D.) and records the performance of his śraddha ceremony at Gayā.∗

The last stanza (verse 8) on the second side of the pillar, the concluding part of which is broken away, refers to a scholar who was apparently another member of the same family representing the generation following that of the brothers Mallikārjuna and Kēśava, that is to say, he was a son of either of the two brothers.

Third Side

With the only verse at the beginning of this section, the first few letters of which are broken away with the concluding part of the second side, the introductory part of the inscription concludes.

∗ Cf. the name Tribhanganurā in Bengal and Assamese lexicons.
∗ Cf. the Gayā inscription, text line 27 (above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 108).
∗ Cf. the name of his grandson Gopāla below.
∗ Above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 104.
the rest of the epigraph being details of certain transactions in prose. This stanza apparently referred to the hero of the prasasti and to his younger brother, the two being compared to the epic brothers Raghupati (Rāma) and Saumitri (Lakṣmaṇa). The personal name of the hero of the eulogy was apparently quoted in a stanza lost with the concluding section of the writing on the second side. But we have seen that his name is given as Añchanārya in the writing on the first face of the pillar and as Mañchi-bhatṭāpādhyāya and Mañchanārya in the prose part of the epigraph to be discussed below. One of these names therefore must have been mentioned in the lost stanza in question. The name of his younger brother, who is described as a poet in the incomplete verse at the beginning of the third side and may have been responsible for the composition of the prasasti under study, seems to have been Gopāla. We have seen that the latter half of the preserved portion of the writing on the second side of the pillar mentions Mallikārjuna and his younger brother Kēśava. The elder brother of the poet Gopāla, i.e. the hero of the eulogy (Añchanārya alias Mañchi-bhatṭāpādhyāya or Mañchanārya) was, as indicated above, a son of either Kēśava or his elder brother Mallikārjuna. As, however, will be seen below, lines 11-16 of the writing on the fourth side of the pillar speak of one Gopāla-sūri as a son of Mallikārjuna and it is not impossible that poet Gopāla mentioned in the concluding stanza of the introductory part of our inscription is identical with Mallikārjuna’s son of the same name. In that case, the hero of the prasasti, who was Gopāla’s elder brother, was another son of Mallikārjuna. Since, however, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa were stepbrothers and not co-uterine brothers and the word anuṣa (the same as anuṣaṇa used in this context in our inscription) is sometimes found in the sense of a younger cousin, the possibility of the hero of the eulogy having been a son of Kēśava-sūri is not altogether precluded. The writings on the third and fourth faces of the pillar delineate the pious deeds of the following persons: (1) Mañchi-bhatṭāpādhyāya alias Añchanārya, (2) Mallikārjuna, (3) Mallikārjuna’s younger brother Kēśava-sūri, and (4) Mallikārjuna’s son Gopāla-sūri. Unfortunately the word indicating the relations of the first with the second is lost. But the available space suggests that it was a small word like pitaḥ and not a bigger expression like pūrṇavasya.

The formal part of the record begins in line 3 of the present section. The first transaction recorded here states that, with the permission of Kākatiya Gaṇapatidēva-mahārāja, Allumprōlārāja, the governor (pīlakā) of Chornūri-dēśa, made a grant of land in favour of Mañchi-bhatṭāpādhyāya who was the priest (purōhita) of Gaṇapatidēva-mahārāja. As we have seen above, Mañchi-bhatṭāpādhyāya alias Añchanārya was perhaps a son of Kēśava-sūri or more probably of the latter’s elder brother Mallikārjuna who is known from the Čayā inscription to have been the preceptor of Pratāparudra, i.e. Pratāparudra I or Rudra (c. 1163-95 A.D.). It is interesting to note that the title Tribhuvanat (or Tribhuvanād)avākaranat (i.e. modern Prāṅghitā) and was bounded on the east by Venakeghapāṇḍi, on the south by the Gōdāvari, on the west by Ayyanavrōli-tajāka.

1 Cf. HJR. Vol. XXIV. p. 305.
3 In this name, the in-st part of which may be a mistake for Vināyaka, gandā is probably the same as Telugu gandā, meaning ‘a lane’.
(literally, 'the tank of Ayyanavoor') and on the north by Puchakkāyaialavēṅgli. We have seen that Chennūrīdēśa can be roughly identified with the modern Chinnur Taluk lying to the north of the Gōdāvāri in the Adilabad District of Andhra Pradesh. The junction of the Gōdāvāri and the Prāṅghitā lies near Sirnaca about 6 miles to the east of Chinnūr, the headquarters of the Taluk of the same name, the distance between Chinnūr and Manthani, the headquarters of the Manthani Taluk lying to the south of the Gōdāvāri, being about 18 miles across the river. The gift land lay on the northern bank of the Gōdāvāri, though the localities mentioned as lying on its eastern, northern and western boundaries cannot be traced on the maps.

Lines 17-20 state that Maṇcānārya, i.e. the devotee Maṇcī-ḥatiṇāppūlīyāya, founded a village and excavated a tank in the dēśa or land granted to him and gave them to the Brāhmaṇas, who were residents of certain houses at Maṇtrakūṭa, as well as to one of his own relations. Then he also installed, apparently in the same land, a deity called Kēsava and probably another called Mahādeva (i.e. Śiva). He is further stated to have given a garden (āvāna) in favour of the god Gōpījanavallabha of Mantrakūṭa.

The above section of the inscription recording the pious deeds of the hero of the eulogy is followed by the delineation of those of other members of his family. Lines 22-23 contain a damaged sentence referring to the dhana (probably meaning dharma-dāna or dina-duharn) of Mallikārjuna-sūri. The word indicating his relation with Maṇcī-ḥatiṇāppūlīyāya is lost. But, as suggested above, the most plausible restoration of the lost word would suggest that the former was the father of the latter. Most of the pious deeds specified in the section below were doubtless done by Mallikārjuna some years earlier than the date of the record since, as we have seen, he was apparently dead when the pillar was set up. The said sentence is followed by a reference to the pious deeds mentioned below at grants made in favour of the god Mantrakūṭa-Gōpinātha (apparently the same as Gōpījanavallabha of Mantrakūṭa); (1) a tank at Nāgavura (modern Nāgāram on the Gōdāvāri, about 1 miles to the north of Manthani); (2) one nivātanāy of land at Aṅgalūra (modern Aṅglūr to the north-west of Manthani); (3) a plot of land producing gīrivaḷa crops at Mānapati-taḷāka (literally 'the tank of Mānapati'), the area of which may have been seven hālēs; and (4) ten plots (probably hālēs) of land at Gāhāruḍa-vura.

The last transaction (lines 29 ff.) recorded in the section under review, the latter part of the writing being lost, refers to a piece of land which was apparently received from a governor of Chērṇūrī-dēśa with the consent of Kākatiya Gaṅapatidēva-mahārāja. The name of the governor was probably Sōmāvāra who is stated to have been the dātītu (daughter's son) of Allumprāḷārāja. As suggested above, the Kākatiya king possibly appointed the daughter's son of Allumprāḷārāja the governor of Chinnur Taluk on the death of his maternal grandfather. The details about the location, etc., of the gift land, which seems to have been situated in the Chinnur Taluk, are lost with the exception of the reference to its southern boundary at the beginning of the next side. This section shows that, although Mallikārjuna was dead before the pillar was raised, he was alive during the first few years of Kākatiya Gaṅapati's reign. Otherwise it would not have been possible for him to accept a gift from the successor of the daughter's son of Allumprāḷārāja who was living in 1199 A.D., with king Gaṅapati's consent. Mallikārjuna therefore outlived his disciple Pratāparudra 1.

Fourth Side

The writing on this side begins with the statement that the piece of land, which was the subject of the transaction recorded in the concluding part of the writing on the third side, was bounded on the north by Gūndī-vaṅgu (literally, the Gūndī-val of stream). It is further said that a Śiva-liṅga was installed in the said land apparently by Mallikārjuna.

1 cf. below, p. 71, note 7.
Next it is said that, at the time the above transaction was conducted, the person responsible for the immediately preceding transaction, i.e. Mallikārjuna, purchased from certain Brāhmaṇas the village called Kōṭapalli (probably the locality of the same name about 8 miles to the north of Chinnur) and renamed it as Mallikārjunapura apparently after himself. There he excavated a tank and both the township of Mallikārjunapura and the tank excavated there were given to some Brāhmaṇas and to one of his relations. These Brāhmaṇas and the relative of the donee appear to be the same as those who received from Maṇiḥi-bhaṭṭopālīhyāya a village and a tank in the Chinnur Taluk as recorded on the third side of the pillar.

The boundaries of Mallikārjunapura are given in lines 7-10 as follows: Pōtakuḷu in the east, Kaṭṭundala in the south, Maddikuṭa-vāṅgu in the west, and Pragadapalli-vāṅgu in the north. There the donee installed a deity called Gaṇapatiśvara no doubt after the reigning Kākatiya king Gaṇapatī. It is further stated that he installed the god Lakṣminārāyaṇa at Jonna-grāma which may be the same as Jangāon on the Gōḍāvāri (in the Sultanabad or Usmanagard Taluk) to the north-west of Gujapadga (in the Manthani Taluk). A house-site for rehabilitating a Brāhmaṇa (probably the priest in charge of the worship of the god Lakṣminārāyaṇa) was also given by him in the same village.

Lines 13-14 state that Kōśava-sūri, younger brother of the person involved in the previous transactions, i.e. Mallikārjuna, installed the god Ambānārāyaṇa apparently in the same village of Jonna-grāma. That Kōśava-sūri was a younger brother of Mallikārjuna is already known from the writing on the second face of the pillar, analysed above.

The following section in lines 14 ff. states that Gopāla-sūri, son of Mallikārjuna, received a plot of land at Mantrakūṭa from Kākatiya Rudradēva. Since the introductory part of the record mentions Gaṇapatī as the reigning monarch, this Rudradēva can only be a predecessor of Gaṇapatī. Rudradēva therefore has to be identified with Pratāparudra I (c. 1163-95 A.D.). Gopāla-sūri is further stated to have created in the said gift land a township called Sīnhagiripura as well as two tanks. The township seems to have been named after the god Nṛsiṁha whom Gopāla-sūri installed there (line 19). He also made there twenty houses for the Brāhmaṇas to whom he gave some lands in the following localities: (1) Manthenna-kāluva (literally, the Manthenna canal), (2) Edlapalli, (3) Vilāsavuca, (4) Viripatelu, (5) Nallaballi, (6) Kāmiśottipalli, (7) Jangaviḍu, (8) Gujapadāḍu (modern Gujapadga on the Gōḍāvāri to the north of Upāṭa), (9) Nāgaruva (modern Nāgāram mentioned above), (10) Mustāla (modern Musthal or Mustial on the Gōḍāvāri near Jangāon in the Sultanabad or Usmanagard Taluk), (11) Upāṭaḷ (modern Upāṭa near Gujapadga referred to above), and (12) Nāḍikūḍa. Gopāla-sūri also gave some yavanāla fields lying to the east of Sīnhagiripura apparently to the same Brāhmaṇas. There is no doubt that Sīnhagiripura mentioned in our inscription is the same as Sīnhādriṇagari within Mantrakūṭa, which is mentioned in the Gaya inscription as having been beautified with many buildings by Mallikārjuna, father of Gopāla-sūri of our inscription. The township of Sīnhagiripura or Sīnhādriṇagari was thus built by Gopāla-sūri considerably before the death of his father who, as we have seen, died sometime in the early years of the reign of Gaṇapatī.

A tank and a locality called Bablitakūṭa to the east of the township (i.e. Sīnhagiripura) were given to the god Narasimhaṇa (i.e. Nṛsiṁha mentioned above). One nivartana of land at Avapalli was also granted apparently to the same deity. Gopāla further made the following donations in favour of the god Gopijana NAVALLAH: (1) two mrittis or rent-free holdings at Prōlareṇḍi-pallī and Kundavura, (2) one nivartana of land at Liṅgāḷa-grāma (possibly the village of the same name in the Sultanabad or Usmanagard Taluk), and (3) eight nivartanas of land at the villages of Gujapadāḍu (modern Gujapadga referred to above), Kosamapalli, Manthenna-kāluva
(referred to above), and Parchlapalli. The last line of the extant part of the writing on the fourth side ends with the aksaras umāma, the reference probably being to a god called Urmāma-hēśvara in whose favour certain grants may have been made.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it throws some light on the family of Mallikārjuna known from the Gayā inscription. It also gives us the names of two rulers of the Chinnur Taluk under the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati.

The location of many of the geographical names occurring in the inscription has already been discussed. Some of the localities mentioned cannot be traced on the maps.

**TEXT**

**First Side**

1* Śrī-Madntrakūṭa-Gōptjana-

2 vallabhāya namaḥ | Daṁtē ni*

3 [dh]āya hastam jayantī pibataḥ

4 stanaṁ Gajamukhasya | pushka-

5 ra-vari-tushārā mātaṁ-čhi-

6 [ku]ṛēahu mauktika-vilāsāh |[[ 1*]]

7 [Kō]ḷaś-chakāṣṭi bhuvana-traya-mū-

8 la-kaṁla[ḥ] pātāla-kardamishu vā-

9 rddhi-jalēshu yaśmāt | Svarṇādri-

10 kēṣara-kaḷālam-arāla-daiṣṭrā.-

11 nālaṁ mahi-valayam-utpalam-a-

12 virāśt | [2*] Astī praśastī-śa-

13 l'(li) pravēṣa-griham-sakhila-dēkha-ratn[ā]-

14 nāṁ(nām) | Alakāṇukāri-vibhavam Aṛi[dhra]-ma-

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1 From impressions. The damaged letters at the beginning and end of most of the lines, many of which are completely lost, have been conjecturally restored in square brackets.

2 This is the front side of the pillar. There is a figure of the god Gaṇeśa above the writing.

3 There is a dotā at the beginning and end of this line. The second of them was meant to cover a little empty space.

4 There is a dotā here to cover a little empty space at the end of the line.

5 Metre: Gūru.

6 The evarga sign was originally omitted.

7 Metre: Vasantadīkṣa.
No. 13  

INSCRIPTION FROM MANTHANI  

15 hi-nagaram=Orumgallur=iti || [3]\(^1\)
16 Tatra praśasti dharaṇiṁ bhuṁitē(ṅktō) bh[ō]-
17 gāṁś=cha Gaṇapatị[r\(^*\)]-nṛṣpatiḥ | a-
18 khila-nṛṣpa-mauli-valabhi-маṇi-
19 kṛ[ra]ṣṇa-taranīga-rāṅgita-paḍ-ā-
20 bṛḥ || [4]\(^2\) Payōḍhi-vēlā-raśāṇā-
21 [ka]śāpinīṁ viḍhāya bhūṁiṁ=a-
22 [va]роḍha-bhāminīṁ(nīṁ) | dukūla-āu-
23 [bhr]aiṁ=akarǒd=yaśō-[bha*]rair=ya ṝśha ta-
24 [syā] javanī-tiraskriyāṁ(yāṁ) || [5]\(^*\) Tasya
25 [śrav]ita-smārta-viṣṭhāṁ ranidhīṭi\(^4\) cha
26 [dha]rm-āchāryakāṁ || [6]\\(^*\) Arīcchanāryya:
27 [sva-ma]ḥimnā sarva-viḍyāsu ..\(^5\)
28 ... || [6]\(^*\).........................\(^7\)
29
30

Second Side\(^6\)

1 [ma]dhuraṁ tri-bhaṅgyā mahah [prati]-
2 [shṭ]hāpya Ramā-saḥāyaṁ(yam) | ni[j]-ā-
3 bhidhēyō nīgam=āṁta-vaṁch[āṁ] ta-
4 [tt]ām=idaṁtā-paratāṁ=amaisḥit || [1]\(^*\)

---

\(^1\) Metre : Giti. The verse introduces the capital of the king during whose rule the praśasti was composed.

\(^2\) Metre : Giti. This stanza introduces the reigning monarch.

\(^3\) Metre : Pāṇḍita.

\(^4\) There seems to be a mistake here. The meaning of the word is not clear. Could the intended reading be "viṣṭhāṁ adhīṭi..."? chaṅyanah ?

\(^5\) There are two akṣaras here, the first of which may be tē or bhē.

\(^6\) The metre of the stanza may be Giti or Āryā. The verse introduces the hero of the praśasti. The person called here Aṅcchanārya is mentioned as Maṇḍhia-bhaṭṭāpādhyāya and Maṇḍhānārya respectively in line 8 and lines 17-18 on the third side.

\(^7\) Only the traces of the upper part of some akṣaras are visible.

\(^8\) This is the left side of the pillar. There are the symbols of the sun and the moon above the writing.

\(^9\) Metre : Upādhaṇavṛti. This stanza forms a part of the description of the ancestry of the hero of the praśasti and apparently speaks of the latter’s grandfather.

3 DGA/S9
5 [Pr]äsādam=apy=akalpayad=ätma-ya [sō]-
6 rāśi-kalpam=ā-kalpatri(lpa)m) yat-kanaka-
7 kalasa-kāmyā sain[dh]y-āruṇa iva [na]-
8 bhū-intarē-pi raviḥ || [2*] Śūribhir=mañibhi-
9 r-utprakāsāyā kriśna-nāyaka-sa-
10 nāthayā [cha] yaḥ | saudha-pāli-na-
11 va-mauktika-sraja Mahātrakūṭa-naga-
12 rūm=abhūhayaḥ || [3*] Janitō Jakkam[ārhi]-
13 bāyāṁ tēna śrī-Mallikārjunaḥ | Kaś(y)a-
14 [pē]ta yathādityāṁ tējasāṁ ākaro
dvīṣa iva praśastir-iyati jaga-
16 [tī yathā] Mall[ī]kārjuna-bṛujadhā(ya) ||
17 [gō]jāhī[du]hu narapatīnā[śu] kathayitum=ā-
18 [karo]ni kēvalam śriṇumāḥ || [5*] Advaita-[vit=sa]
19 [čкo] na kēvalaṁ Mallikārjuna-bu[ḍha-ta?]-
20 [nōh?] | tyāgē taṁ kalayanitaḥ sarvō=apy=adva]-
21 [ta-v]ādinā bhuvanō || [6*] Anujak=cha Kāśāva-[sū]-
22 [riḥ] karmaścu dharmāśhu tēṣa[sha] tēṣaḥ mudā | [sva]-
23 [ya]m=śva pratibimbas=taśya garīya[ṇ]=sama-
24 [v]ārtiṣṭa ] [7*] Prōmna(mṇa) prāg=upalāsan-[ārtha]-
25 [m=a?]vitur=bhūmibhujā lālitō vā— —
26 — vinita-vāg=vī-bhavanaḥ prājyā— —
27 — — nāt | prayairiṇg-ābharaṇ-ā[rtha]— —

---

* Metre: Gū.  
* Metre: Rudādḍhadā.  
* Metre: Anāhāṭṭh.  
* Metre: Gū.  
* Metre: Gū.

* Metre: Ṣṛḍ.  
Verses 4-7 speak of the father and uncle of the hero of the eulogy, although it is not clear as to which of the two, viz. Mallikārjuna and Kāśvasūri, was the father of the hero.
No. 13] INSCRIPTION FROM MANTHANI 73

28 ॐ ॐ s=tat-tad-guṇ-ā[maṇkrītah ] — — — ॐ
29 ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — — ॐ
30 —[|| 8*]  contraseña
31 .Chrome — — — — — — — — —

Third Side*

1 lā-kallolita-kara-pushkara-dāna-surahita-[dji[gami]-
2 [taḥ] | Saumitrir-iva Raghupatēr-anujānma[ā]*
3 [Gō][pāla]ḥ kavir=yasya || [1*] sakala-drē(dē)sā-[prati]-
4 [sṛṭhā]pan-āchārya-Kākatiyya(ya)-Gaṇapatiḍēva-[ma]-
5 hārāj-ānumatyā Chernūri-dēsa-pālakē[na]
6 dharma-matinā Alluprōrājēna*Gaṇapa[tji]-
7 [dē]va-mahārāja-purūhitāya Tribhutama(vana)vid[yā]-
8 chakravarti-Ma[rchi]-bhaṭṭōpādhyāyāya* gra[ma]-
9 taṭāka-nirmāṇ-ārtham dhārā-pūrva[kaṁ]
10 s-aikaviniśati-śat-ottara-sahasrēshu va-
11 rtaṃnēshu Sid[dh]ārththi-samvatsara(rē) Makara
12 saṃkrānti-kālē Gōdāvari-Ppraṇita-
13 sarāngamā Śaka-varṣ[ē]shu dēśō dat[t]a[h] [[†] [ta]sya
14 simāna[h] pūrvar tō Venakeghamdi[h]* da[ksh]i-

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1. Metre: Śṛddālaśīrṣita. This stanza re-introduces the hero of the eulogy (i.e. Aṭchanārya) as the son of either of the brothers Mahakārjuna and Kēśa.
2. Considering the fact that the few aksaras (four short syllables), lost from the beginning of the stanza in Gūtī at the commencement of the fourth line of the pillar, are not enough to cover this line, it appears that at least one more complete stanza is lost after verse 6.
3. This is the back side of the pillar. There is the figure of a bull above the writing.
4. The metre suggests that there was no letter lost at the end of the line. The small space there thus appears to have been covered by an unnecessary tanda.
5. Metre: Gūtī. This stanza apparently refers to the hero of the eulogy and to his younger brother who may have composed the prasanta.
6. The correct form of the name is Allumprōr or vṛōlarāja. The same name is spelt Allumprōrājya in line 30 below.
7. The name of the same person is given as Manchechaṇārya in lines 17–18 below and as Aṭchanārya in line 26 on the first side.
8. The expression Śaka-varṣhei in line 13 should better be read here
9. The i tended reading may be Viṇāgaṇapati.
15 ātō Gōdāvārī paśchimātaḥ Ay[ja]-
16 navrōli-taṭāka uttarataḥ Puchchakāya[la]-
17 vēgil[ī]ḥ [[*]] tasmin-dēsā Maṁchḍa[cha][nāryē]-
18 na² taṭāka-ग्रामाव[ra]haya Br[jahma]-
19 yēbhyaḥ Maṁ[ra]trakāṭa-vājīkā-वāsi[bhya]-
20 ś[ha] sv[au]-kuṭumāḥya cha² dattau [[*]] tatra Mahā[da]va.-
21 Kēśava-pratishṭhā kṛiti [[*]] Maṁ[ra]trakāṭa-Gō[pi]-
22 janavalla[ḥ̄ya] ājrama-c[ha] datt[a][h] [[*]] . 3
23 nō Mallikā[r]jjuna-sūrā-sād[harma]ḥ Maṁ[trakā]-
24 tē(a)-Gōpināthāṇya Nāgavuṅś [taṭā]-
25 kaṁ Amgalūrē ēkaṁ [niva]rtanam [Ma?]-
26 napaḍi-taṭākē triṇi saha[ra]-bhā.-
27 ga-parisarē yāvanāla-[kṣ]ērvain sapta-[ha]-
28 lē[la]-parimita[r] Mi Gāhlaruḍavuṅś da[sa da]-
29 tāni² [[*]] Kākatiyaya-[ya]-Gaṇapatidē[va]-ma]-
30 hārāj-[a]numatā Allurivrōḷ[ā]ja]- 4
31 dauhitṛāḥ-Chernūrī-देश-पालकात-[Sōmē]-
32 āvaradēvān-Mallikāṛ[juna] ... 7
33 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 4

1 The same person is called Maṁchḍi-bhaṭṭa-pādhyāya in line 8 above and Aśchanārāya in line 28 on the first side.
2 The same persons appear to be mentioned in lines 5-8 on the fourth side of the pillar.
3 Not more than two akeśaras are lost at the end of the line. They may be conjecturally restored as pitaḥ.
4 Probably the reading was pitunā(r-maḥ).
5 The intended reading seems to be tri-sahāra².
6 The reference may be to kāṭirā or kaṭānī.
7 The correct form of the name is Allurivṛōḷajā. The same name also occurs in line 6 above. See above, p. 73, note 6.
8 Some letters are lost at the end of the line; cf. p. 68 above. It is, however, not altogether impossible that the reference here is to a brother of Mallikāṛjuna.
9 Only traces of the upper part of some letters are visible.
1. [uttarato] Gruṇḍivārīnguḥ [\*] tatra Śivaliṅga.-
2. pratishṭhā cha krita \* tasmān(smin)nāva samayaṃ sa.-
3. la-Brahmaṇēbhyaḥ Kottapalli-sa[ṅ]-
4. [ṛa]laṃgaṃ grāmam kṛtvā tasya Mallikārjunapu]-
5. [ṛa]mappingi nāma kṛtvā taṭākaṁ cha nirmayā [Brā]-
6. [hṛma]nēbhyaḥ sva-kutūṇvā(bē)ya cha kūra-taṭākā ṃ[ṛa]-
7. Mallikārjunapu[ra]ya śimānaḥ pūrvva-
8. taḥ Pottakul[ḥ] da[kṣ]aṇḍaḥ Kaṭṭumdalāḥ pa-
9. śchimato Maddikumṇavāringuḥ uttarataḥ Prega-
10. ṛappallivāringuḥ [\*] tatra Gaṇapatiśvara-pr[ti]-
11. sṛṭhā cha kṛta \* Jor[ṇ]a-gṝmaṃ śri-Lakṣmīnā[-]
12. rāyaṇa-pratishṭhā [kṛta \*] Brāhmaṇa-vaṭāk[a]
13. cha dattā \* tad-anujāna Kāśāsavā-sūripā[-
14. Aṁbānārāyaṇa-pratishṭhā kṛta \* Ma-
15. liṅgama-buddha-sutēṇa Gopāla-
16. sūrimā Kākatiyaya(ya)-Rudradēda(va)-mahār[a]-
17. jaṃ-Śāṭīra\*traktuṭā kṣētraṁ pratigrihya ta[tra]
18. Śringagiriṇum tā[tā]ka-dvayaṁ cha ni-
19. rmāya śri-Nupṣamha[n] pratishtāḥ śṛḥpya viṁśatī-g[ṛ]-
20. [hṛma]nī rahayitvā tad-grīha-vāsibhyo Vṛā[Brā]hma-
21. nēbhyaḥ Maṁthēṃnakāluva-Ed[la]palli-Vīlāsav[ṛ]-
22. ra-Viripatīalu-Nallaballi-Kāmīśṭhipā-

1. This is the right side of the pillar. There is the figure of a Śiva linga above the writing.
2. The description of the boundaries in the east, south and west of the plot of land in question has broken away at the end of the third side of the pillar.
3. This seems to be the name of a village in four letters, the second and third of which are lost respectively at the end of line 2 and the beginning of line 3. The word may possibly also be sākṣa.
4. The same beneficaries appear to be mentioned in lines 18-20 on the third side of the pillar.
5. The deity is called Naraśimhadēva in line 27.
24 stāla-Uppaṭā-[Na]dikudēshu paṅch-ōtt[raṁ]
25 chaṁ śatu Śra[n]h[gi]ripurūpta(t=pa)śchimataḥ
26 yāvanāla-mālaṁāṁ viśiti[k]cha dattā [[*]
28 kaṁ Babli[taj]kumṛṭa-s[cha] [[*] Āvapalyāṁh(Ilyā)m-śkaṁ nivā-
29 rttanah(nam ) śri-Gōḍṇanavallabhāya Prō-
30 [r]aḍīpalli-[Kurindavurayor=d[v]e vrīṭti [[*] Līṅgā-
31 la-grāmē śkaṁ nivartana[r]h(nam ) Gurnjapaḍiga-
32 Kōsamāpalli-Maṁthēṁmakāluva-Parchlapa-
33 1[1]ṣhu aṣṭau [nivarttanāni] [[*] Umāma[*]
34 ..............................................................

¹ The intended reading may be cha sutam.
² The intended reading may be viṁśati².
³ The god is called Nṛsiṁha in line 19.
⁴ I.e. Prōlaḍḍipalli.
⁵ An unnecessary 4-mātra is found with this aksara.
⁶ The reference seems to be to a deity called Umāmahāśvara. The rest of the inscription is broken away.
No. 14—MANDKILA TAL INSCRIPTION, V. S. 1043

(I Plate)

B. CH. CHABRA, NEW DELHI

(Received on 22.1.1959)

The subjoined inscription is neatly engraved on a well-dressed slab of black stone. It is now fixed up in the back wall of the recently constructed Vishnu temple on the eastern bank of a tank, called Mandkila Tal, at Nagar in the Unani Tahsil formerly in the Jaipur State but now in the Tonk District, Rajasthan. The inscribed slab is said to have been discovered in the course of re-exca-avation of the tank which had dried up on account of scarcity of rains. Rao Raja Sahib Sardar Singhji of Uniali caused it to be set up where it is now found. A somewhat defective summary of the contents of the inscription was published by Shri Shaktidhar Sharma Guleri in the Bharata Kaumudi. Part I, Allahabad, 1945, pp. 71-72.

The surface of the slab measures 21" by 18". The writing on it is neatly executed and consists of 35 lines. In the centre there is a circle, containing a diagram known as chakri-banika. the inner lines forming a star by the intersection of two triangles. The inscription on the whole is well preserved except for the last two lines which have sustained some damage.

The script of the inscription is Kutila or rather Prot-Nagar and is regular for the period to which it belongs. The nail-heads of the earlier period later became flattened triangles and these, in turn, gradually became straight lines on the top of many letters. In the present record, both triangles and top-lines are in evidence. In the case of e, ai, o and au, both pishtha-matrā and sūr-matrā have been used indiscriminately. The letter b is invariably indicated by the sign for r.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and the composition entirely in verse except for the opening obsequies in line 1 and a few words in line 29 where the date is repeated in figures. In point of orthography, the following may be observed. Anusāraṇa generally takes the place of class nasals, barring such instances as nagaran=tharātā (line 4). Consonants after r are reduplicated only in a few cases like varṇa (line 7) and pārṣevi (line 15). In regard to samthi rules, there was occasion for l becoming anuvāsaka in śrimālāka (line 4) and yasmīla (line 8), but the essential chandha-bindu, the anuvāsa sign, is missing in both the cases. Samthi has not been observed in prabhaśa, yuktā (lines 10-11). In vānchkehkitā (line 6), vānchkehlā (line 23), and chakkṛpā (line 22), the letter ch is redundant. The word dukṛti is wrongly spelt as dukkṛti (line 3). Jhāmālīya has been used in lines 12 and 34, its sign resembling the letter sh. The use of s for in satva (line 2) and kriṣṇu (line 24) is wrong. In verse 31, a personal name has been spelt as Yaśa, obviously from the word yaśas. Some other common mistakes may be observed in satraś (line 12) and raja (line 16) for satraś and raja respectively. Of lexical interest are the words

1 Cf. the name Yaśagupta in an early inscription from Mandasor (above, Vol. XXX, p. 126, text line 10).
like \textit{alīn} for \textit{ali} in verse 6, and \textit{arīn} as a synonym of \textit{ahākra} in verse 2. This latter, derived from the word \textit{ara}, 'spoke', is of rare occurrence in literature as well as in epigraphy.\footnote{For an instance from literature, see \textit{Srīrānaśākara}, Madras, 1927, Part I, p. 224: \textit{ānandī nāh pumīyād= ari-malina-pudā-kañkha-pānir=Mukundah.}} The use of the word \textit{mathā} (verse 26) in the sense of 'a temple' is worthy of note, since commonly it denotes 'a monastery'.\footnote{See above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 136-37. \textit{Mathā} is clearly used for 'a temple' in the Dhauli (ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 264), Kāmnā (ibid., Vol. XXIV, p. 330, p. 334, text line 8) and Alagum (ibid., Vol. XXIX, p. 47, text line 14) inscriptions. In the present context, it stands for the whole complex of shrines dedicated to the three deities along with the store-house (or store-houses) and the well (or wells), possibly also with living quarters for the priests and pilgrims within the same compound, so that the primary sense of the term \textit{mathā} is also there.}

The composer of the \textit{prākāsti}, who happens to be a descendant of the famous poet Bāṇa as we shall presently see, evinces an intimate knowledge of the Sanskrit language, a great familiarity with its poetics and a full command over prosody. He has skilfully employed various metres and figures of speech, including puns upon words. Especially in the description of the town in verses 4-8, he follows in the footsteps of his great ancestor, Bāṇa, so far as the style is concerned. His style closely follows poetical traditions and conventions. For instance, lilies and lotuses are usually found in pools and lakes, and not in rivers and oceans; but according to Sanskrit poetical tradition, rivers and oceans, too, are described as full of lilies and lotuses.\footnote{\textit{Vīśvanātha} has enumerated such conventionalities in his \textit{Śāhīnārpaṇa}, Chapter VII, verses 23-25. The one about rivers and oceans is in verse 23: \textit{saraḥ-udakhi-goitam pankaj-ṭhīvār-ddī.}} An example of their being in a river is found in the very first stanza of our \textit{prākāsti}.

The inscription starts with an auspicious symbol, followed by the opening obeisance \textit{Śrī namah}. Verse 1 invokes the blessings of the god Vishnu, verse 2 those of the combined deity Harīhara or Śaṅkaraśāraya, and verse 3 those of the Sun-god. Verse 3 also expresses benediction, through \textit{double entendre}, for the ruling monarch of the time. The next five stanzas (verses 4-8) are devoted to the description of the city of Mālava, while verses 9-11 describe an eminent Brāhmaṇa teacher, Indraśarman by name, who was a resident of the said city. Verse 12 introduces a banker, named Nāgarahi, belonging to the Dharkoṭa caste, while the following 21 stanzas (verses 13-33), deal with the members of this Dharkoṭa family, beginning with Nāgarahi, extolling their virtues and meritorious deeds. Verse 12 informs us that Nāgarahi built a Vishnu temple facing the west, with the image of Vishnu duly installed therein, on the bank of the tank called Vaidya-tādāga. Verses 14-15 speak of Nāgarahi's son, Vishnuhari, praising, in general terms, his generous disposition. Verses 16-17 eulogize Vishnuhari's son, Nārāyaṇa, referring, in a general way, to his having built lofty temples. Verses 18-19 describe Nārāyaṇa's son, Ādyōtana, whose wife, Nāṭyā by name, described in verses 20-21, excelled him in good qualities. Verses 22-25 are devoted to their son, Nandana, who, it is stated, acquired fame by building temples and tanks. It was he who built the temple, to record the erection of which is the chief object of the present inscription. This fact is stated in verse 26, from which we learn that the temple was dedicated to three gods: Hari (Vishnu), Śaṅkaraśāraya and Khachara (Śūrya or Sun), the deities to whom homage is paid in the beginning of the inscription (verses 1-3), and that it had a store-room and a well in front. Verse 27 further describes the same temple.
Verse 23 gives details of the date (Sunday, Vṛgādi, etc.) on which the consecration of this temple, or the installation of the images of the said deities, took place. The date is then repeated in prose, being the 3rd day of the bright fortnight of the month of Vaisākha in Samvat 1043. The details correspond to the 3rd April 987 A.D., the śrītiyā tīthi having begun on the same day at 19. Verse 29 imparts the sad news that the builder of this temple, Nandana, after having made endowments for the maintenance of proper worship of the installed deities, breathed his last at the holy place, called Saukara, on the banks of the sacred river Bhāgirathi.

Verses 30-33 give the family history of the donor, Nandana. Verse 30 tells us that he had a wife, called Rōhini, while, from verses 31-32, we learn that they had six sons whose names were Sajjana, Silluka, Yaśa, Śōhila, Puṣhkara and Śaṅkara. These six brothers, we are told in verse 33, caused the present praśasti to be composed, written, engraved and set up at the temple erected by their father. Verse 34 prays for the long life of the temple.

The next three stanzas (verses 35-37) speak of the composer of the praśasti, poet Vimalamati, who, we are told, was a learned Brāhmaṇa of the Vātasya family, the son of Durlabharāja and the grandson of one who is stated to be the fifth from Bāga and a resident of a place called Rōhīṭaka. Vimalamati, who was an ardent devotee of Vishṇu and evidently bore the surname Bhujagaripa and Kēśavārka, is further stated to have written the eulogy, writing here meaning the writing in ink on the stone slab, dressed for receiving the text, for the guidance of the engraver. A look at the facsimile of the inscription will show that Vimalamati was as skilled in calligraphy as he was proficient in composing Sanskrit poetry. The engraving of the praśasti was done by Vāhila, son of Vāhari, a skilful mason of the Kṣatriya caste and a resident of Dūlāvāsa.

The chakra-bandha in the centre of the inscription contains two additional stanzas (verses 39-40) and is called kavi-nāma-garbha ‘one hiding in it the name of the poet’. How it contains the poet’s name concealed in it is explained further on. The arrangement of the two verses, which are of invocatory import, along the edge of the circle and in the triangles, so intersecting as to form a star within the circle, redounds to the credit of both the composer and the engraver.

As noticed above, verse 3 refers both to the Sun-god and to the ruling monarch. The actual word used for the latter is lōka-nīra, which we may render by ‘popular king’, as obviously this is not the proper name of the king. We may take it to be an expression of the śaka-pārthiva type: lōka-priyāḥ nīraḥ lōka-nīraḥ, ‘a king who is dear to the people’. In verse 4, the chief town of the said king is called Mālava-ākhyā. The reference obviously is to the capital of Mālava, which at the time was Ujjayini. The description of the town, given in verses 4-8, can very well apply to that famous city of ancient India; for, it is comparable to its description given by poets like Kālidāsa. The king referred to therefore seems to have been Vākpati Muṇja (973-95 A.D.) of the Paramāra dynasty.

1 Cf., for instance, verses 32 ff. of Kālidāsa’s Mēghadūta.
2 Dr. D. C. Sircar suggests to me that verses 3-4 refer to a chief named Lōkaraśja who was ruling from Mālavanagara to be identified with Nagar, the findspot of the inscription. In his opinion, Lōka may have been a scion of the ancient Mālava clan, coins of the Mālavas being found in large numbers at Nagar. Shri Guleri, who also identifies Mālavanagara with the present Nagar, thinks that the king’s name is not mentioned in verse 3.
Nandana, the pious builder of the temple, is stated to have belonged to the Dharkaṭa caste. It may be pointed out that the Sakra stone inscription of Vikrama Saṁvat 699, which likewise comes from the Jaipur region, mentions an association of bankers some of whom belonged to the same caste. According to D. R. Bhandarkar, it has survived in the slightly altered form Dhakaḍa, sub-division of the Osvāls. The opening words of verse 12 (tatri-ābhavat) indicate that this family of the bankers belonged to the Mālaṇa town. Saukara, the holy place, on the banks of the Bhāgirathi, where Nandana is stated to have expired, is obviously the same as Sūkara-kshētra identified with Soron on the Ganges, 27 miles north-east of Itah in Uttar Pradesh. It was at this place that Vishnu in his incarnation as Varāha (Boar) killed Hiranyākṣa, as the Purāṇas have it. Śvētadvīpa, which is sacred to Mahāvishnu and on which Nandana is said to have fixed his thoughts while on death-bed, is usually located somewhere in Asia Minor.

As regards the Brahman teacher, Indraśarman, described in verses 9-11, it is not clear as to what his role in the present context was. Had he to do something with the building of the temple or was he connected with the Dharkāta family as their priest? From the present tense used in his description, it may be inferred that he was alive at the time of the composition of the present praśasti.

A valuable piece of information that our inscription contains is the family history of its composer, the poet Vimalamati. He tells us that his grandfather was an austere Brahman, an inhabitant of a place called Rohēšaka, belonged to the Vatsya rāṇaśa and, what is more important, was fifth in descent from Bāja, who is apparently no other than the famous Bāja-bhaṭṭa, the court poet of king Harshavardhana and the author of the Harshacharita, Kālabhaṭṭa, etc. From the Kādambara we know that its author belonged to the Vatsyayana rāṇaśā which is the same as the Vatsya rāṇaśa to which Vimalamati belonged. Vimalamati has not disclosed the name of his grandfather, while giving all the other necessary details about him. He, however, gives his father's name as Durāvibhāraṇa whom he describes as a profound scholar.

If Vimalamati's grandfather was fifth in descent from Bāja, he himself becomes seventh in that line. We know that Bāja flourished in the first half of the 7th century A.D. According to the date of the present inscription, Vimalamati lived in the latter half of the 10th century A.D. This makes Vimalamati removed from Bāja by about 3 centuries and a half. This long period spread over seven generations gives an average of about half a century to a generation, which is improbable though not impossible.

Rohēśaka, the ancestral home of Vimalamati's grandfather, may be identified with Rohtak, ancient Rauhitaka in the Panjab, 43 miles north-west of Delhi. Another place mentioned in the inscription, which requires to be correctly identified, is Dhulavāsa, from which Vāhila, the engraver of the praśasti, hailed.

The chaṅkara-bāndha, designated by the poet as kaci-rāma-garbha, is an arrangement of verses into a pattern which contains the name of the poet concealed in it. In order to solve the puzzle, one has to read only the letters occurring on the junctions and intersections of the lines of the two triangles. Beginning from vi at the top and turning clock-wise into a spiral, we read Vimalamati-sukrivijjita, [this is] the work of the good poet Vimalamati.' This answer to the riddle is extracted from the two verses contained in the bāndha, the full text of which is given below at the end of the transcript of the inscription. Such bāndhas or conundrums form part of what is known as chitra-kāśita or 'playful poetry.'

1 Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 29.
2 N. L. Dey, Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India, p. 195.
3 Dr. D. C. Sircar suggests to me that the name of Vimalamati's grandfather was Dhānta which word I have taken to be a mistake for dāna.
TEXT

[Metres: Verse 1 Drvarilambita; vv. 2, 3, 5 Svarīlitrīkṛṣaṇa; v. 4 Rathaḍḍhātā; vv. 6, 7, 8, 11, 21 Saṅghārā; vv. 9, 29, 38 Śāntī; vv. 10, 16, 19 Va avayavakā; v. 12, 14, 22 Upājñā; v. 13 Sajeṣṭī; v. 15 Anupādekkhandalī; vv. 17, 34 Mandākāntī; vv. 18, 28, 40 Māliṇī; vv. 20, 27, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36 Amaviṣṭaḥ; v. 23 Śikhariṇī; v. 24 Rukminī; v. 25 Prithvi; v. 26 Śrī; v. 37 Gītī; v. 39 Champakāmālī.]

1 सिद्धरत्नं ॥ श्रवणमवर्यमन्त्रवनमनुष्ठितं महानिजलजावकभूतविदायविदायमनुष्ठितम् ॥
2 हरद्धिर्मुलासिन्तिसतावाहङ्ग्रो मूर्धारश्रवणक्रियां हि विभूतस्योऽछेददर्शकारे ॥
3 मुनामाक्ति ॥ [31] ॥ स्वयंथरिद्वितृतमं ज्ञाततमसः सज्जनमनोऽपि धर्मेः हरद्धिः वाऔवं भीतर्शि जतो दुःख (दुःख)तो ॥
4 नृसवकोलोपारकः कपूरस्यं विन्दुस्ततिनिषतः नित्यं प्रद्योगपनपन ॥[31] ॥
5 व्यूर्णसरां गणेशामिर्मिप्रेक्ष्योऽज्ञितितिनित्या गंभीरे: शुमक्षरे: समकरे: इवाल्येववासुर्यपुर्वम् ॥
6 तयं परमेश्वरसमस्यां अवतिलाभेन्त्रिचित्तं (विहितम्) ॥[11] ॥ निःसारसं कदयामितिलिन्त मुखरता कोकिले पार्थपद्यं कोकिलं यत् कोकिलसिपु पर्यन्ता पुस्तकं (क्रोऽधृवथुवथ) ॥
7 वाणिज्यं वाजियारे करिपु मद्युनिनिग्रहं: शवद (शवद) शास्त्रं वर्षों दोपाभादनं मनुष्यं च परो वर्णोपोरो निलक्ष्ये ॥[6] ॥
8 वलोक्षेपानसातप्राप्तिदृढत्वयोग्ये प्रेक्षययस्यक्रमेच्छाहि कमलवत्त्वं: प्रेमित्वान: प्रदोषे कालशिपियो निकायम वलोक्षे वर्णमार्गुपुरुः ॥

1 From inked estampages.
9 रा: संचरित ||[१०१*]|| नविन्दार्मचक्र(स्यू)हरोपद्गतमितस्रिकोणप्रमृणयुजज्ञांशम्:त्यं धूमं
कुटुब्यश्व कृष्णां निवासार्थवसात्तत्ततोक्तशब्दः(स्यू) च तारम्। सोकण्डो नीलकण्डो:
कृतमृतुरिवरससांवं

10 यज्ञ नित्यं कुलिन्य प्राप्तीव प्रमुखमनसस्विनिश्चितविज्ञप्तवः: ||[८१*]|| श्रीमाता-
प्रसिद्धिश्रवणामुखोपितं सुमायाय: पाट(२)को भूमिवेघः। पठकक्षस्थिततिविषयः
समितांवः

11 युक्तस्य राजस्य यो विषुः: ||[११*]|| शाकोदोकान्तिः जन्मति नागराजो
वा(वा)णाःसुरेऽलिकिति बेच्छ सकार्त्तीयः। हेमाणिणा मुनसपुत्केः तथापि
प्राप्तिः यथस् गितृ नो

12 गुणासंधोल्यः ||[१०२*]|| नको ननकसतसक्तः(त्वःत्वः)ह्वःमितवता: परेता: पादुर्भोः:
पालाणी विजितत्वपरिपूर्णवनायायनपितपर्वः। क्षेत्रार्थकानना-

13 नि प्रभुरत्वप्रणालिः स्थानमन्नो परमार्तीति सत्यमर्तत्वप्रणालिः सत्य कीतः:
||[११*]|| तपामकम्कर्त्तातिराघ्यो बणिवरो नागहर: कः

14 तज: [१*] योकारायाक्क्तिकालापम् प्रत्यक्षमुखः विष्णुणां सवेः(वस्) ||[१२*]|| यस्य
तथा दोषो महानेन एवाच्ये विद्यते सज्जनाँहाविनो धीमतः। विश्रु-

15 भूषयाय भेदया संपदा साज्जस्याल्मः: पूर्वजनादृशता: ||[१३*]|| तस्याल्मो धर्मरतः:
प्रतीतो महातनो विष्णुहरिवेः(वेः)भूव। नादेयमसरीविष्य यस्य किः

16 निर्णयाणिकालापः ||[१४*]|| रमणीयनर्मचलापि लक्ष्मीदत्तरज्जव(ज्ञव)
विनियम्य साधु थेन। भ्रात सरस शुभो वस्वसे वर्यश्ये

17 करिमीव निवाणः ||[१५*]|| श्रीय: सुरुचिकरो नरकादन्तीतो शोर्णानिजितस्यु-
स्तन्यस्तत्वाः। साम्यात्तितिविनितविविद्गतारातो नाके

18 रावणः समुद्यत्व लोककालः ||[१६*]|| दोषो यस्य प्रभुज्ञाणवेरेः एवोकोटंखये: 
स्वायो निबिद(वि) दक्षणातिवित्सप्ताःतंशम्। पूर-

19 वै वैविद्वातो विषु(ब्रु)वधारणिविद्धकालांसहृद्याराते विनिग्रहिते: कार्यामास शुष्कः: 
||[१७*]|| कल्याणसमासामीत्येद्यासंसत्याः

20 दीक्षित ज्ञातिकुलप्रस्तावः साधारानः तस्माद न निजकुलज्ञानसिद्धानु: भावस्यवेष्रः श्रुष्कः
विवाहायूषुदुर्योगोत्तफः। ||[१८*]|| सोहानित्व-
THE POET-NAME MAZE
21 तेन सुश्रुष शुभास्वायन प्रोत्साहितवधानानन्दन सुनिम्नेशन। दीपलिन्य येन शुभुभु सूतराः
स्वयं दीपन हर्ष्मयिन विलुप्तरेण स्थितेण।[[१९१।*]]

22 नाटिचेति जया तस्यासीतोभावयोक्त: पतित्रताः। स्त्त्वा(ष्ट्वा)वेयातपण पत्युः सुरुष्पा
प्रयत्रिभिर्नी।[[२०।*]] पुर्णः पासंग मित्रुणां स्वजनमूर्यत्या से-से-

23 वयां पूर्वकर्म लुधा(व्य)न्वानेन विप्रा।न्तसुजनमूर्यत्या कृथ्यानात् क्षीत्यहुः। प्रेष्या-
न्मानेन पौरासुरिन्नन्तुविन्यसम् सत्यवाक्येन चालिनित्यवक्तः

24 वयं सुभृत्व धर्मत्यसूदा दोषपण चकार।[[२१।*]] तस्यां सुतो नंदन उत्तमोजाः
सुनिर्दोरस्यविनुमितसः। तेजस्विनेनेनं यथा कुः(क)त्यस्तेरासिपांगम्यताः-

25 शिलाजातु।[[२२।*]] मनितं स्याविषयमनुरक्तका भवबलो हिता सत्या काणी
सकलनाटाव्रिशिष्टम०। शारीरं शिलानामुपकरणबलस्थितम् मनो नित्यं
वांछा(ष्ट्वा)यहृत सुरजाक्षिण्याः

26 ने।[[२३।*]] न मामसातहन्त्यिति स्वयंतसा मनाणापि सुभृत्मि यथा मन्यतम्।
स्वयं यथा: प्रकटनमेवमातमन: सुराष्ट्रे युह सशिलाययरि तिः।[[२४।*]] प्रव्यथपनह-
तिथिशितितियुः

27 वसंपवत्तथावै। मृगुत्त्वषा स्वप्नलिता स्त्वात्सत्यमात्रमात्राः। शर्वस्वलनवरं सुखमवेत्य
योनाविन्य विवाहम सकलः: कलः: सुकृतमवेष धीरोकरोतु।[[२५।*]] सोचीकरः नामिम
नागरिकसः।

28 भिन्नतिः संक्लिप्तमृ। हरिजनकर्तरायस्वत्ववरुणं कौष्ठकपुपृषं:।[[२६।*]] धर्मव-
लहुतसवां नववादरविविभावितम्। स्वस्थाररिविव स्थास्त्रु महजनानंधकारण(ष्ट्व)।
[[२७।*]] गुणगुरुरितवं साहयाः-

29 कस्य काले महुकरणिकह्यों माथवं मास एते। शशापुदनपण पुरुषवारे युगादि
भवभयन्वीरा: स्त्वामध्यशङ्करम्।[[२८।*]] संवत् १०४३ बंशाव मु १
प्रतिष्ठता।[[२९।*]]

30 वृत्तः चासी स्वयमित्ताना विवाहाय भागीरथ्यं सौकरे तीर्यक्यं। श्वेतद्रीप मानसेनाव-
धार्मा प्राणातिमुक्तास्त्यासारं(व)ः।[[२९।*]] (व)ः पुरे भायमा तस्य रा(रो)ः
हित्या गोमुख्याः। प्राणेवाते-
31 दुहित्रा वा मृदस्य पुरविविधः ||[३०१]*|| चम्बन्यदसनतात्त्वस्य सम्भवनीयतः सहितः सिद्धान्तः: पुज्जरस्तत्वाणां धार्मिकस्पतिः तत्त्वातः: ||३१२।।*|| माति सम तत्त्वः स सर्वं वर्णन्तरो महोऽवशोऽपि । । पद्यपृष्ठ नयो ।

32 यवसंवतस्य इतः इति: ||[३२१।।*|| सुचिपत्रते पूर्वतोऽविविधः तत्त्वातः । प्रति-रायतने श्रेष्ठ प्रवक्तिः प्रतिरोपणम् । ||३१३।।*|| यवसंवतः: धिश्वमतिसनावक्षः ब्रह्मस्य वर्गे वत्तेः श्रेष्ठो श्रेष्ठं श्रेष्ठं ॥

33 याबुधोऽवि(व)भारी || उवाः यवसंवतः शिरसा श्रेष्ठ धार्मिकविवेशस्तात्वस्याविद्याः धिश्वमतिसनावक्षः धिश्वमतिसनावक्षः धिश्वमतिसनावक्षः धिश्वमतिसनावक्षः । धिश्वमतिसनावक्षः धिश्वमतिसनावक्षः धिश्वमतिसनावक्षः: धिश्वमतिसनावक्षः । धिश्वमतिसनावक्षः धिश्वमतिसनावक्षः ।

34 मो यो महाक्वः ||[३१५।।*|| तत्सुः नामकरणारोप्याधिभिः भूल्याधिभिः भूल्याधिभिः । यथा नामितिः कक्षैः स्थानात्मकमपेक्षे धिश्वमतिसनावक्षः । ||३१६।।*|| तत्सुः नामितिः कक्षैः धिश्वमतिसनावक्षः ।

35 दण्डाधिकः स्वमारः ||[३१४।।*|| तेत् प्रवालसंविविधः कविना च || भूल्याधिभिः: । सुल्लभीः । सुभाषा: । भूल्याधिभिः । कविना च ||

कविनामारम(भः)ः

विज्ञुरस्य शं परमेः महाः यवसंवतः सत्करारोप्यं (पारस्यः) । यथा रसामक्षेत्रां सज्जादेव ||[३१९।।*|| यवसंवतः: । विविध्वकीविविधो विश्वव्योरमुक्तयाः

कहत सनामित वा(बा)ण भाविभाज्य स मुनिः(लः)ः । ||[१*|| दर्शनविद्वतं दर्शनविद्वतं

द्रष्टि मथितहितविविधां सुभ्रयोः ॥[३४०।।*|| विमलमतिसनावक्षः

1 Read chāru-chakrā (३८१।।* iti. The phenomenon of the closing iti being mixed up with the last syllable of the concluding verse is of fairly frequent occurrence in inscriptions. Cf. CII. Vol. III. pp. 54, 76, 167, 194, 247, 298, 296. The two syllables left unread after sthā in the second quarter of the verse are very much damaged. The first is possibly a na and the second appears to end in medial ।.

2 This and what follows occur in the circular diagram in the centre of the inscription. For an explanation, see above, p. 80.
MANDKILA TAL INSCRIPTION, V.S. 1043

TRANSLATION

May they be successful! Obeisance to Śūn!

(Verse 1) May the enormous physique of Vishnu grant you prosperity! — the physique which is spotless, which is a retreat of Lakshmi, which is venerated by immortals as well as by mortals, which holds a lotus and a discus, which has the ocean for its abode, (and) which (in these respects) resembles the waters of the celestial river (Gaṅga) that flow in a great volume, are serene, are a seat of sparkling beauty as if were, are worshipped by gods and men, are full of clusters of lotuses, (and) have the ocean as their (ultimate) resting-place.

(Verse 2) May Śiva and Vishnu protect you! — Śiva and Vishnu who are husbands (respectively) of Pārvati and Lakshmi, who have Nandi (bull) and Garuda (the king of birds) as their ensigns, whose bodies are white and black, who are eternal, who have had their foes destroyed by the trident and the discus, who are the annihilator and the protector of (all) the three worlds, who are ever resplendent with the ashes and the most exquisite saffron paste, who are naked and clad in yellow clothes, (and) who are the crushers of the pride of (the deities) Andhika and Bhuma in battle.

(Verse 3) May the illustrious popular king rejoice! — the king whose strength consists in his never-failing scimitar, who keeps the good folk well-contented, at whose grace the righteous indeed feels happy, the evil-doer is filled with fear, malcontents are put at an end, (and) the royal treasury expands further, who always extinguishes the vice, (and) who (in all respects) resembles the Sun who is full of glory, whose effulgence issues from a perfect orb, who animates all that exists, at whose rise the pious is really pleased, the guilty is afraid, the bhūta (two headed) drops down, (and) the red lotuses open up with a vengeance, (and) who always expels mortal darkness.

(Verse 4) There is a glorious city in the world called Malava, which the Creator established as the abode of all riches; which is like the very face of the young lady (or the form) of the earth;

(Verse 5) which is full of beautiful nymphs ever swimming in company with gods; which is surrounded by temples that are (hid, they are) impressive (or deep), are provided with pure saffron and crocodile-shaped earring-pendants (or, are decorated with crocodiles), which is occupied by Kuber, the god of wealth (or by the rich people); which is honoured by the high-class Brahmans; which is frequented by those who are children of fame; (and) which in sooth, is like the abode of the god Brahmam himself, that is said after by those who desire prosperity (or, salvation);

(Verse 6) where pithlessness exists only in the cuckoo, crookedness only in the lizard, parasitism only in the cuckoo, crookedness only in the lizard, sharpness only in swords, the tying

1 This 'respectively' is understood also in the case of the attributes that follow. Except the 'eternal,' which is common to both Śiva and Viṣṇu, they are rather a contrast of some kind or other.
2 This applies mainly to thieves and the like who commit offences under cover of darkness at night.
3 The term ṭhāṅga in the original has to be considered as in the former case, the 'and seen', in the latter case the component ṭhāṅga, signifying Varuna or Viṣṇu.

4 These indicate ungulates and ornaments used for the deity in a temple.
only in books (or, sheaves of manuscript leaves), unsteadiness only in horses, rudeness (or arrogance) only in elephants, separation of coalescence (or, war) only in grammar, fault-finding only in fabrics, elision of syllables (or, confusion in caste system) only in the science of etymology, and where also it is wind alone that may turn westerly (or, adverse);

(Verse 7) in which, towards the nightfall, love-lorn ladies, having eyes as pretty as lotus-petals, desiring (to meet) their lovers, walk about, with their limbs gracefully limp, with their anklets freely jingling as they step along, on the roads where the fine houses of their sweet-hearts are shown by the glow, emanating from those leaping flames of the (sacrificial) fire, fed by the plentiful clarified butter thrown in by the Brāhmaṇa priests, that have completely consumed the thickening darkness (all round);

(Verse 8) where, having seen the smoke, hovering high up in the sky, like jet-black ink, arising from the fire-sacrifices started by the Brāhmaṇa priests well-versed in (all) the three Vedas, and having heard the thundering noise of the drums and cymbals being beaten in the temples, the peacocks, with their hearts gladdened (and) with their variegated feathers spread out, emitting sweet notes, always feverishly display their dance as they (normally) do during the rains (only).

(Verse 9) In that (city) there lives a widely renowned illustrious teacher, named Indraśarman, who, being surrounded by such Brāhmaṇas of pure conduct as have decimated the (evil) influence of the Kali age with the weapon (in the form of the performance) of their sixfold¹ duty, exceedingly shines forth.

(Verse 10) If Indra surveys (with his thousand eyes), if Śūsha, the king of serpents, recounts (with his thousand mouths), if the demon Bāṇa, aided by Kārtaṇīra, writes (with the thousand hands of each of them) on the surface of the earth with the Mount Meru (for a pen), even then none of them indeed comes to the end of the abundance of his (Indraśarman's) virtues.

(Verse 11) “Rivers are crowded with many animals like alligators, mountains are covered with clusters of trees, neither worlds are occupied by snakes, royal palaces are swarmed with horses, foot-soldiers and lordly elephants, forests are infested with carnivorous beasts,—I see no other place for me in the wide world,” thinking thus, methinks, his (Indraśarman's) own Fame betook herself to heaven, the abode of gods.

(Verse 12) There (in that city) lived an excellent banker, (named) Nāgarahari, who belonged to the Dharmakṣeta family. He was as well-to-do as he was grateful. He constructed a temple of Vishnu on the bank of the (tank known as) Vaidya-tadāḍa, with (an image of) the deity (installed therein).

(Verse 13) He (Nāgarahari) was wise (and) the delight of good people; (but) there was only one great fault in his family, namely, the descendants, though held in esteem, outstrip their ancestors in great service to the Brāhmaṇas, in intelligence (and) in wealth.

Verse 14) He (Nāgarahari) was devoutly pious. He had a son, Vishnuhari (by name), who became very famous in the world. To him, there was nothing that could not be given to the beggars, to the sorrow-stricken, to the Brāhmaṇas and to those who sought refuge under him.

¹ The sixfold duty enjoined on a Brāhmaṇa consists of reading and teaching the Vedas, performing and making others perform sacrifices, giving and receiving charities. Cf. Manusmṛti, X, 75.
(Verse 15) Fortune is fickle, as is usual with ladies, no doubt. Even then he (Vishṇuhari), having per force bound her tightly with the rope of his intellect, so to say, made her stable in his spotless family, as one ties a she-elephant with a rope to a mighty tree and therebysteadies her.

(Verse 16) From him was born a son, Nārāyaṇa (by name), who possessed wealth, whose hands were pretty to look at, who was never afraid of the hell, who won over his opponents by the darts of his (sweet) speech, so to say, who was liked by people and who used to have all the quarters of the space resounded by the chants of the Śāma-vēda; in these respects Nārāyaṇa was the very god Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu) himself, who is the husband of Lakshmi, who holds the Sudarsana discus in his hand, who is never afraid of the demon Naraka, who has slain the enemies on behalf of the gods, who is regarded to be a paragon of beauty in the world, and who is sung by the chants of the Śāma-vēda, reverberating in all the directions.

(Verse 17) His (Nārāyaṇa’s) store of virtues was great and his fame was extensive indeed. Also he was always possessed of deep compassion. His only big fault was this that he made the wide earth groan under the burden of glistening white temples (that he built), having various spires, looking like the mountś Vindhya and Kailāśa.

(Verse 18) (Nārāyaṇa was the very god Nārāyaṇa indeed :)—His eyes were like lotus-petals. His body was charming. He was truthful. He received honour at the hands of leading Brāhmaṇas (or of Gṛuḍha, the lord of birds). His forehead was beautiful (or, he holds the beautiful conch-shell known as Pāṇḍhajanya). He was the foremost among the members born in his family (or, he is incarnated as Nrisinha or Man-Lion). Like Mamathā (from Vishṇu), from him was born his son, named Ādyōtana, who was a recipient of all favours.

(Verse 19) By him (Ādyōtana), who was of loving nature, was rolling in prosperity, was of high birth, had his ignorance removed entirely (by the acquisition of knowledge), was of very pure conduct, was brilliant, was steadfast, did his family extremely shine forth even as a chamber is illumined very brightly by a lamp that is full of oil, has a good wick, has a splendid receptacle, has completely dispelled the pitch darkness, is absolutely free of dirt, is glowing, and is steadily preceded.

(Verse 20) His (Ādyōtana’s) wife was (a lady), named Nāṭyā, a very abode of luck, devoted to her husband, charming of form, sweet of speech, and attached to her husband as his very shadow.

1 This implies that he never did any wrong so as to deserve any infernal infliction.
2 Himself being a boṣṭa by caste, he no doubt employed Brāhmaṇa priests for chanting the Śāma-vēda.
3 The attribute loka-kānta appears to be an echo of loka-abhirāma applied by Vālmiki to Rāma compared with Vishṇu in physical beauty: suḥkāraṇya-tāmar-dekhaśāh sākshātāḥ Vishṇurāja fouraḥ | Rāmoḥ loka-abhirāmaḥ, etc. (Śānta-Śām-Gagadīm 1:2, 44-45.).
4 This reminds one of the praises of Vishṇu sung by the gods, as found in Kālidāsa’s Raghuvamśa, X, 21: Santa-śām-Gagadīm 1:2, 44-45.).
5 The alternative given within the round brackets here and further on in this verse apply only to the god Nārāyaṇa or Vishṇu.
6 Cf. Patiferah mahābhāgata bhūḥ-ecvānupadatā sadd (Rāmāyaṇa, 1, 73, 28).
7 DGA/59 110
(Verse 21) (In pleasing) the manes by her progeny, her kinsfolk by her simplicity, those worthy of respect by her humility and attention, the greedy lot by gifts, the learned Brāhmaṇas by her exceptional purity, those prone to anger by means of tolerance and forgiveness, the servants by showing them respect, the (worthy) citizens with tact and straightforward speech, (and) her lady friends by providing them with (all) comforts, it must be said, she always threw even her beloved husband into the shade.

(Verse 22) He (Ādyōtana), who (himself) was resplendent, begot a son (called) Nandana, from her (Nātyā)—a son whose splendour was excellent, who was of a pleasing appearance, (and) who acquired fame in the world, even as the dazzling Sun generates fire from a large slab of sun-crystal.  

(Verse 23) (Though) he (Nandana) was wealthy, he was ever intensely religious in his thoughts. His speech was such as meant well, was truthful, and delighted every one. His body was just one of the instruments, so to say, for benefiting polite and cultured persons. His heart always yearned after the attainment of paradise.

(Verse 24) "In his heart of hearts, he (Nandana) surely does not like me a bit," indignant at such a thought, his renown showed itself off through the temples as well as through the tanks (constructed by him).  

(Verse 25) He (Nandana), the wise one, regarding the riches (to be oscillating) like the sea agitated by the blasts of violent winds, human existence likewise no better than a mirage, happiness so fleeting as autumnal clouds, eschewed all fine arts (and) did nothing else but pure deeds of piety.

(Verse 26) He (Nandana) built this temple, which is adjacent to the site of the Vishnu (temple) (previously built) by Nāghari; which contains (the images of) Hari (Vishṇu), Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa and Khachara (Sun), which has a store-room and a well in front.  

(Verse 27) which is embellished all over with metal (plating): which is provided with nine entrance-doors, resembling (in that respect) his (Nandana's) own body; which is durable; (and) which gives pleasure to the good people.

(Verse 28) These robbers of the fear and danger born of the cycle of births and deaths occupied this place (the said temple) on Sunday, the Yuvādi day of the bright-fortnight of the month of Vaśākha—a time which is pleasant with (the humming of) bees and (the warblings of) cuckoos.

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1 The comparison of the father with the sun is suggested apparently by his name Ādyōtana which, as a word, means 'illuminator'.
2 The original text of the latter half of the verse is either defective or unintelligible.
3 For the nature of this deity, see above, p. 78.
4 It is not clear from the compound expression whether only one room and only one well are meant or whether more are meant.
5 With reference to the body, dhātu means element.
6 The human body is metaphorically considered to be a nine-gate citadel of the in-dwelling soul.
7 Playfully referring to the idols of the three deities, viz. Hari, Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa and Khachara.
(in the year) enumerated by guṇa (3), yuga (4) and harit (10), i.e. 1043, of Sāhasāṅka (Vikram-āditya).

(Line 29) (These idols) have been consecrated on the 3rd day of the bright fortnight of the month of Vaiśākha in Saurāvat 1043.

(Verse 29) And having made provision for the maintenance of those installed (deities), (and) forsaking (all) worldly ties, he (Nandana) breathed his last at the foremost holy place of Saukara on the (banks of the river) Bhāgirathī, mentally meditating on Śvetadvipa (White Island, sacred to Vishṇu).¹

(Verse 30) As Pārvati is the wife of Śiva, the slayer of (the demon) Tripura, so was his (Nandana’s) wife Rōhini, an ornament of her family.

(Verse 31) From her he (Nandana) had six sons, named Sajjana, Silukka, Yaśa, Sōhila, Pushkara and Saṅkara. They were devoted to their parents.

(Verse 32) He (Nandana), the self-restrained one, luckier with those lucky children, shone perfectly as does statecraft with six expedients (and as does) a year with the (six) seasons.²

(Verse 33) They (i.e. the six brothers) caused (this) eulogy to be set up, in this temple of their father, which is whitewashed, has massive pillars (and) is beautiful with the stone slabs properly fixed.

(Verse 34) As long as Vishṇu gladly carries Lakṣmī on his breast, as long as Śiva carries Pārvati in his lap on his left, (and) as long as Sēsha, the lord of serpents, carries the earth on his head, so long may this temple of the repositories of lustre³ stand permanently.

(Verse 35) There was a self-controlled Brāhmaṇa of the Vāṣya ṛṭra, a very ornament of the glorious place, (called) Rōhēṭaka, who was fifth (in descent) from the great poet Bāga.

(Verse 36) From him was born (one) Durlabharāja, who was wise, magnanimous and a great scholar to whom nothing was unknown in the (whole range of) literature.

(Verse 37) His (Durlabharāja’s) son, named Vimalamati (alias) Kēsāvārka (and) Bhujagariṇu, a very bee on the lotuses (in the form of the feet of the god) Vishṇu, composed this eulogy here.

And it is the self-same poet who wrote (it).⁴

(Verse 38) There was a learned mason, (named) Vāhari, Kāhatriya by caste, (a resident of a) place (called) Dhulavāsa. His son, (named) Vāhila, has engraved this prāṣasti in well-formed letters, containing a beautiful circular diagram.

¹ For details regarding Saukara and Śvetadvipa, see above, p. 80.
² The six expedients are sandhi (alliance), viśroha (war), yānu (march), āsana (halt), rākṣṣodha (seeking refuge) and dveḍābakha (duplicity), while the six seasons are cauṣṭa, grīṣhama, ārṣā, ṣarata, ṛṣita and ṛṣita.
³ These again allude to the three deities installed in the temple, viz. Vishṇu, Saṅkara-Nārāyaṇa and Sūrya.
⁴ This refers to the process of writing out the text and the diagram on the stone-slab with ink for the guidance of the engraver whose name is given in the concluding stanza.
So it ends!

THE POET-NAME MAZE

(Verse 39) May that Vishnu always bestow good luck on me!—that Vishnu who is the slayer of hosts of enemies, (and) by whose very remembrance the wickedness of the whole world disappears.

(Verse 40) Visvanatha, almighty lord of the earth, who knows all that is to be known, made the dreadful (demon) Baha asleep forever in the battle field;—Visvanatha who carries a sun-like weapon which destroys the evil as well as creates all the beings, who has blunted the weapons of the adversaries, (and) who is full of glory!

(This is) the work of the good poet Vimalamati.
No. 15.—GRANTS OF GAYADATUNGA

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OTACAMUND

(Received on 18.6.1959)

Dr. N. K. Sahu recently published a copper-plate grant of Gayādatunga in the Orissa Historical Research Journal, Vol. VII, No. 1 (April 1958), pp. 66-70 and plates. At my request, Dr. Sahu was good enough to send me the plate for examination. This inscription is re-edited in the following pages along with two other copper-plate grants of Gayādatunga, which were published long ago. Although the style of the recently published epigraph is different from that of the two previously published records, all the three inscriptions appear to belong to the same chief.

Besides the recently published inscription of Gayādatunga, four copper-plate grants of the ruling chiefs of the Tuṅga family of the Yamagarta or Yamagartā family are known, although the published transcript of none of the records is free from errors. Of these, the Asiatic Society’s plate of Gayadatunga was published with a facsimile by Nilamani Chakravarti in the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series, Vol. V, 1909, pp. 347-50, and Plates XVII-XVIII, while the Talcher plate of the same king was likewise published with a facsimile by Nandendra Nath Vasu in the Archaeological Survey of Magarabhistan, Vol. I, Appendix, pp. 152-54, and Plates 97-98, as well as by R.D. Banerji in the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series, Vol. XII, 1916, pp. 291-95, and Plates III-IV. The errors in the published transcripts of these two epigraphs can be detected with the help of the published facsimiles. Chakravarti and Vasu did not attempt to translate the epigraphic texts; but Banerji offered a translation of the Talcher plate even though he did not really understand much of the text. The Talcher plate of another king of the family, by name Vinitatunga, was published by Vasu in his work, pp. 154-57, without facsimile and translation, while H.P. Sastri published in the same way the Bonai plate of the said ruler in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. VI, 1929, pp. 236-40. The published transcripts of these two records contain numerous obvious errors; but they cannot be verified owing to the absence of any facsimile. The above two grants of Gayadatunga, one published by Chakravarti and the other by Vasu and Banerji, are re-edited in the following pages along with the Talcher plate recently published by Dr. Sahu. Since the Talcher plate published by Vasu and Banerji appears to have been issued later than Dr. Sahu’s plate, the latter has been designated as Talcher plate No. 1 and the former as Talcher plate No. 2.

An interesting feature of the published copper-plate records of the Tungas of Orissa is that the texts of all of them are full of orthographical and grammatical errors and that, with the exception of the one published by Dr. Sahu, the introductory section in prose and verse is the same excepting the different names of the donors and their ancestors. Some of the stanzas in this section are also found in the Bonai plate1 of the Buddhist chief, Mahārijā Rājaka Udayavarāha, described as a scion of the Mayūra family and as the son of Tejāvarāha and a descendant (probably, grandson) of Uditavarāha (i.e. Udayavarāha I). Another interesting fact about the said introductory part

1 This is the only volume published. The year of its publication is not given. But the preface bears the date ‘the 1st January 1911’ (p. viii).

2 JBORS, Vol. VI, pp. 243-45. No facsimile of the inscription was published.
of the records of Gayādatuṅga and Vinitatuṅga is that many of the mistakes are common to all the four epigraphs and that the names of the donors and their ancestors are often unsuitable in the metrical scheme of the stanzas. Moreover, the section contains a stanza which is only the half of a verse in the Śvyādhāra metre. These facts would show that the stereotyped introduction had been originally composed for the eulogy of some other ruler but that it was adapted for the grants of the said two chiefs. The source from which it was borrowed, however, cannot be determined. The seals attached to the charters of the two rulers, with the exception of Gayādatuṅga's grant published by Dr. Sahu, are similar. None of the epigraphs of the family bears any date.

As we shall see below, Gayādatuṅga is described in his records published by Chakravarti, Vasu and Baneij as issuing his grants from [a city on] the hill called Mahāparvata situated in Yamagartā-maṇḍala, as belonging to the Tunga family of the Śvyādhāra āśra hailing from Rāhita-giri, and as the son of Salōpantuṅga and a descendant (probably, grandson) of Jagatantuṅga. Rāhita-giri may be identified with Rāhitasgarh in the Shahabad District of Bihar. Vinitatuṅga's description contains the same details excepting that he was the son of Khadgantuṅga and a descendant (probably, grandson) of Vinitatuṅga (I). It is difficult to say which of the two rulers, Gayādatuṅga and Vinitatuṅga II, flourished earlier. The charters of both chiefs are written in the same alphabet which is the Siddhamātrikā script prevalent in Eastern India about the 10th century A.D. As regards the chronology of these Tungas, it has to be noted that they were semi-independent feudatories of the Bhuma-Kara monarchs of Orissa and that the name of a subordinate chief called Vinitatuṅga actually occurs in both the Talcher plates of Śivakara III, which are dated in the year 149 of the Bhuma-Kara era probably corresponding to 980 A.D.¹ A record of the Bhuma-Kara year 189 (c. 1011 A.D.), however, mentions Apsarōdeva, apparently not a Tunga, as the ruler of Yamagartā-maṇḍala under the Bhuma-Kara queen Daṇḍimalahādevī, granddaughter of Śivakara III. Thus the semi-independent rule of the Tungas, which was the result of the weakness of Bhuma-Kara authority, appears to have lasted for a short time about the close of the tenth and the beginning of the 11th century A.D. In this connection, we should also note that Gayādatuṅga appears to have been named after his father's overlord who was either Gayāda I (i.e. Śantikara I Lalitaśāra or śhārā, known date year 93-c. 924 A.D.) or II (i.e. Śantikara II whose sons' Talcher plates are dated in the year 149-c. 979 A.D. and the year 149-c. 980 A.D.)² of the Bhuma-Kara dynasty. In the present state of our knowledge, it appears that Gayādatuṅga and Vinitatuṅga were the only two semi-independent chiefs of the Tunga family ruling about the said period while their ancestors known from their records were weaker subordinates of the Bhuma-Karas. The two chiefs probably belonged to collateral branches of the family and ruled one after the other.

The recently discovered Talcher plate³ of Gayādatuṅga with its simpler introduction and cheaper seal may be regarded as an earlier record of the Tunga king of that name. This would imply that the proper seal was improvised and the bombastic introduction adapted from some unknown source during the rule of this chief, his name being unsuitable in the metrical scheme of the stanza in the introduction. In such a case, we have to attribute the metrical, grammatical and orthographical errors in the records to the carelessness and insufficient linguistic knowledge of Gayādatuṅga's officers who were responsible for the adaptation. We have then also to suggest that Vinitatuṅga II flourished later than Gayādatuṅga.

² Ibid., pp. 79 ff.
³ Ibid., p. 88.
⁴ See below, pp. 93 ff.
The Tungas ruled over the territory lying to the south of the chieftom of the Sulki of the Dhenkanal-Taucher area, who had their headquarters at Kōdālōka (modern Kōālu near Dhenkanal). The rulers of the Tunga and Sulki families, who issued copper-plate grants, were ruling more or less contemporaneously, though the semi-independent rule of the Sulki rulers appears to have begun a few decades earlier than that of the Tungas. One of the earliest Sulki records is dated in year 103 of the Bhauma-Kara era, corresponding to c. 934 A.D.2 Excepting the recently discovered Talcher plate of Gayādatunga which was issued from Jayapura-kōṭṭa, the other Tunga epigraphs, as indicated above, are stated to have been issued from [a city situated on] the Mahāparvata hill which lies in the Cuttack District.3 The name of the city is, however, not mentioned in the records and it is difficult to say without further evidence whether it was Jayapura-kōṭṭa that was situated on the Mahāparvata hill. In this connection, it may be noticed that the Nandas or Nandōdbhavan of Oriissa, two of whose records are dated in the Bhauma-Kara years 184 (c. 1016 A.D.) and 193 (1024 A.D.), had their headquarters at Jayapura which was probably founded by Jayānanda the progenitor of that family and has been identified with a village of that name in the Dhenkanal District.4 Whether Gayādatunga temporarily subdued the Nandas and issued the charter in question from the capital of the latter cannot be determined in the present state of insufficient information.

The Tungas and many of their contemporaries, who were mostly semi-independent feudatories of the Bhauma-Karas, claimed to have been 'the lord of Gōndrama'. The real significance of Gōndrama is uncertain. But, in some cases, reference is made in the same context to 'the 18 Gōndramas' or 'all the Gōndramas' (or 'the entire Gōndrama'), the number 18 indicating 'all' in such cases.5 This reminds us of the reference in an early record to the Tōwali country as including 'the 18 forest states' and of the Oriya '18 gaḷa-jāta' implying collectively the former princely states of Oriissa.6

1. Talcher Plate, No. 1

This is a single plate having writing on both sides. The plate is between 6.7 and 7 inches in height and between 3.4 and 3.7 inches in breadth. The length of the plate is slightly more in the middle than at the borders while its breadth is a little more at the borders and less in the middle. There is a projection (1.3 inches high and 1.1 inches broad) at the top of the plate and it is covered by a lump of copper meant to serve the purpose of the proper bronze seal. The legend in one line is stamped on the front of it. The reading is sīrī-Gayādatūṅgasya though the letters are not clear. This crude seal is cheaper and simpler than the proper seals attached to the other two plates of Gayādatunga edited below as well as to the two charters of Vinitatunga referred to above.

There are altogether 38 lines of writing in the record, 19 on either of the faces. The characters belong to the Siddhamātrikā alphabet of Eastern India and the record may be assigned on palaeographical grounds to a date in the 10th century A.D. The inscription exhibits considerable carelessness on the part of the scribe and engraver. Some letters exhibit more than one form. K has two forms, one of which resembles u in shape (cf. ṣn̄ava in line 10). V, the sign of which is used to indicate b as well, has likewise two forms, one of them resembling p (cf. niruddha in line

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1 See above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 111-12.
2 Ibid., Vol. XXIX, p. 165.
3 Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 111.
4 Ibid., pp. 184, 186.
5 Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 330.
6 Loc. cit.
16). In some cases, there is not much difference between p and y (cf. prāpti-nimitāyā in line 2). H has a number of forms, some of which resemble bh, or h of the so-called 'Eastern Gupta' type; cf. dēhāyā in line 1, māhēśvarō in lines 4-5, māhā in line 8, yuvahārin in line 12, yathārahan in line 14, etc. The medial signs of ē and ā are also of several varieties. They are sometimes a śrō-māṭā and sometimes a prishṭha-mūtrā and sometimes long and sometimes short; cf. māhēśvarō māṭā (lines 4-5), etc. Of initial vowels, a (lines 6, 17), ā (line 23), i (lines 9, 22, 31), u (twice in line 27) and ē (line 16) occur in the inscription.

The language of the record is Sanskrit, although it is corrupt. The text is written in prose and verse. Besides a stanza at the beginning of the introductory part, a few others of the benedictory and imprecatory nature are at the end of the document. The nature of the numerous orthographical errors, often exhibiting the influence of the local dialect, may be illustrated by the following examples: trivēdi (line 1), pākiriṇa (line 4), sāmanāṭṭhikpati (line 7), māhāja (line 8), viśai (line 9), sthānyā (line 10), sāmakta (line 12), yathārahan (line 14), napatraja (line 21), tānava (line 22), niḍḍha (line 25), guṇavā (line 27), etc. The imprecatory and benedictory stanzas quoted at the end of the document contain many errors of omission and commission.

The inscription, which bears no date, begins with the siddham symbol followed by a stanza in the Aṣṭāḥṣṭāḥ metre in adoration of Śomārdhahārīn, i.e., the god Śiva. This adoration tallies with the fact that the donor of the charter was a Śaiva. It is followed by the word svasti.

The charter was issued from Jayapura-kōṭṭa by Mahārāja Gayādatuṅga who was devoted to the god Mahāśāva (Śiva) and to his parents. The donor is endowed with the title Mahāśā- mantāṭhikpati and has been described as one who obtained the five mahāsādbas and as 'the lord of the entire Gondrāma (or, all the Gondrāmas)'. Although Gayādatuṅga does not refer to his over-ord, his subordinate status is indicated by the titles Mahāśāmantāṭhikpati and Samudhitagatā- śēgamahāsādbā which were enjoyed by feudatory rulers.

The declaration in respect of the grant to be recorded in the document was addressed to the future feudal chiefs (rajanakā), princes, governors (rajanāthāniya) and subordinates of the donor as well as to the small chiefs (śāmanta) and officers (yuvahārin) of the time being as well as of the future and the local people including the Brahmāpas and others pertaining to the viṣaya or district of Khēmbāi. The king is stated to have granted the village of Svalpa-Kōmpai in the said viṣaya in favour of Bhaṭṭa Bhāmādeva who was the son of Gukulādeva and the grandson of Bhaṭṭa Vāsudēva and belonged to the Jāṭukāma gūtra, Vasiṣṭha pravara,1 Chauḍogā charaya and Kauṭhuma śīkhab. The donor is further described as having a Traivīḍa (i.e., Trivēdi) [family] residing at a place called Śrīchhātra. The grant was made by means of the copper-plate charter as a permanent holding for the increase of the merits of the donor and his parents. It was made free from all obstacles and was endowed with the right to hidden treasures, etc. The royal servants and agents were forbidden to enter into the gift village. The document ends with the donor's request to the addressees referred to above for the preservation of the grant, which is followed by a quotation of some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses.

The geographical names mentioned in the inscription are Jayapura-kōṭṭa, apparently a hill-fortress which may have been the headquarters of the donor, the gift village called Svalpa-Kōmpai (i.e., the Smaller Kōmpai), the district called Khēmbāi in which the village was situated and the locality called Śrīchhātra whence the donee's family hailed. I am not sure about their exact location.

1 The Jāṭukāma gūtra is stated to have three pravara, viz. Jāṭukāma, Vasiṣṭha and Atri.
GÉANTS OF GAYADATUNGA

TEXT

Ovĕrsee

[Metres: verses 1-4 Anushūkha; verse 5 Pushkīlāgrā.]

1 Siddham [][*] Viśuddha-jñāva(na)-dēhāya trīvēdi- [d]vyachakshu-
2 śē [][*] śrēyāh-prāpti-nimitāyā(ţtāya) nama[ ]Śūmā-
3 rddhāhārinē [][*] svasti [][*] vividha-vidgadha-janavēja-
4 samki(ki)r̥̣ṇ̥-Jayapura-kō[ ]tē [ ] paramamā-
5 hēśvarō mātā-piṣṭ-pād-ānudhyāta[h] * sa-
6 madhīgata- [ ] v[ ]d[ ] (bd) [ma]hā-
7 sāma[n]tāddhi(dhi)pati[ ] samasta-Gōddra(ndra)ma-nā-
8 thō mā(ma)hārāja-śrī-Gayādatunngadēva[h] *
9 kuśali(li) Khēmvā(mbā)-vīśacē(yē) bhavishya-
10 rājanaka-rājaputra-rā, asthānī(ni)yā[n] *
11 rāja-pād-çppaj(i)vinā(n) yathā-kāl-ā-
12 dhyāsa[ ] sāmata(na)nta-vyā(vya) vahāriṃā(yū) Vṛā(Brā)-
13 hmaṇa-yaja[mā]-pa-pura[h] * sarān(rān) sarvajānapada(dān)
14 yathārahanih ma(mā)nayati vē(bō)dhayati sa-
15 mājā( jnā)nayati chātyamiddita[m]=asti [pars]-
16 vata(hī)ntam īttad-viśaya-nivadhva-Svalpa-Kōmpai-
17 [abhij] dhāna-grāmāt(mah) chatu[h] * si(st)mā-parna[nta][h] *
18 Śrīchchhātra-prati[i]ṣṭhita-traivi(vi)dya-11-vini[ghta]-12 [ Chba.]
19 [ṇḍōga-chara]nāya Kānth[i]ma-sākhāya

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1 From the original plate.
2 Expressed by symbol.
3 The intended reading may be trī-vēdi in the sense of trī-kāla-vēdi.
4 Read "avrōsa.
5 Final i looks more like tā. The akṣara ītā is also not properly formed.
6 Sañṭhā has not been observed here.
7 Read gathāhām.
8 Na had been originally written and was later made sa.
9 Read č̣a-vard-vidēta.
10 Read nīhaddha.
11 Better read traśādya-kula.
12 Read ṛgalāya.
20 Jatakarṣa-sagotrāya Vasishṭha-pravarāya
21 Bhāṭa-Vasūdeva-napatrāya Gokuladēva-
22 suṭāsya('y) Bhāṭa(ṣṭha)-Bhāhnādīvṛtāyaśaṁvra(mra)-śās-
23 [na]tvāna pratipāditaḥ ṣa-chadrā(rodṛ)krama-ṛchā-
24 [ta]-bhāṭa-pravāsah[ḥ] deva-āvāḍhā-va[r]jā[ḥ] sa-
25 śiddhi(dhīḥ) [es]-āpanidibly(dhī)maśā-pitrō-rāmāna-
26 śu-cha puny-ābhivyuddhayō [[*] na(śva)-datt-āvircāṭhā[t]*] dharmā-
27 gaṇavācch-secha bhavaddhīḥ[ḥ] pratiśāgaṇiś [[*] u-
28 kta-cha dharmasāstrī [[*] Va(Ba)hubhir-vasudhā dattā
29 rājabha-h[ḥ] Sagar-ādibhiḥ [[*] yasyā[h]aya] ya-
30 sva yadā bhū[ḥ] [aś]as-tasya tasya tādā phalan(lam || 2)
31 Mā bhūḥ phala-sarvākāsah[ḥ] para-datto(tāt)tiś
t
32 pālanaṁ(nē || 3) Sva-lātkāṃ(ttāṁ) para-dattāṃvā śō
33 harēta vasudhharāin'[s*] sa viṣṭhā[ghān*] kṛmī-
34 bhū(ṛ)-bhūjvatś pitṛbhūḥ[ḥ] saha pachyaś [|| 4*] Iti ka-
35 mala-dalāṃvā(ṃb) viṃdu-loḷāṁ[ṇ] śri[śri]-
36 yam-anuchintya manuṣhya-jil(jil)jīvitaḥ-cha [[*] saka-
37 [l]aṁ-śānam-udāhṛtaḥ-cha vadhvā nahi puru-
38 [[*] sa]hāḥ para-kitayōt vilō[ḥ] p(y)āḥ(pyāḥ || 5)

2. Talcher Plate, No. 2

The inscription is incised on a single plate measuring 5½ inches in height and 4 inches in breadth. There is a projection at the top, to which is affixed an elliptically shaped seal of bronze. On the counter-sunk surface of the seal, which is similar to the one attached to the Asiat e Society's plate of Gayādatuṅga edited below, there are the symbols of the sun and the moon above, the legend in one line in the middle and the figure of a bull facing a tree to its left. But the letters of the legend are not legible.

Read napatrā.
Read "āvāṣya.
Read "veṣu".
Read "pālaṁvāh.
Read bhū[ṛ]-phalā-barēh rov.
After this pāṛvī-v śaṁ "purān-phalasāmanāyān pradattā-dam" has been left out through oversight.
Read datṭhē vā.
Read vasudhārān. 
Read buddhāvā.
There is space for one letter before sa老百姓.
Read kitayōt.
The engraver began to incise the letter l in the space separating ci and bō.
GRANTS OF GAYADATUNGA
Talcher Plate, No. 1

Scale: Actual
There are 36 lines of writing, 21 on the obverse and 15 on the reverse. The characters are similar to those of the Talcher plate No. 1 cited above. The letter ब, developed out of its so-called 'Eastern Gupta' form, is found in most cases, its lower end being turned more considerably towards the left than in the other record. The letters are also more carefully shaped. The form of initial अ occurring many times in the record is interesting. As regards language and orthography also, the epigraph under study closely resembles the inscription cited above. The text contains many errors. The word पिता has been written as पिल in lines 32 and 33. The large number of orthographical and grammatical errors in this well-engraved epigraph suggest that they are due to the inefficiency of the scribe and not of the engraver. The introductory part at the beginning of the record is in ornate कीर्ति style. But, as indicated above, the unsuitability of the personal names in the metrical scheme of the stanzas shows that the text was borrowed from a record of some other ruler. We have also seen how the section is not only found in the Asiatic Society's plate of Gayādatunga and in the charters of Vishnurāja but that some of the stanzas were also adapted in the introduction of Udayavārāha's grant. The regular seal and the more elaborate introduction suggest, as we have already indicated, that the present record and the Asiatic Society's plate were issued some time after the issue of the Talcher plate No. 1.

The inscription bears no date. It begins with the सिद्धम symbol followed by the word सेवति. A passage in ornate prose (lines 1-7) then introduces a hill called Mahāparvata (apparently meaning a city on the hill) whence the charter was issued. An adjectival expression in the description of the place of issue says that its body was marked by the Tuňga king or kings. The real significance of this passage is uncertain. A more dubious passage of this kind, which is apparently defective, seems to say that the place of issue was situated in यमाजति-मन्दल, the name applied to the territory ruled by the Tuńgas. The implication is probably that it was the capital of the Tuńgas. As we have seen, Jayapura, whence the Talcher pīṭa No. 1 was issued, may have been another name of the same place or of another city in or outside the chieftom of the Tuńgas.

The above section in prose referring to the place whence the grant was issued is followed by four stanzas, the first and second of which describe the reigning chief Gayādatunga. Verse 1, in which the ruler's name does not suit the metre, describes him as a scion of the Tuńga family. Verses 3-4 speak of the chief Jagattuṇa, who belonged to the Śaṇḍilya gōtra and hailed from a family originally residing at Rōhitā-giri, and of his descendant Salōṇattuṇa. The passage तस्य-वा-वः-यः शायापुरा (9) in verse 4 is metrically defective and must have been adapted from elsewhere. The original composition apparently contained a name in four syllables in place of that of Salōṇattuṇa in five syllables. It is not impossible that Salōṇattuṇa was really the son of Jagattuṇa. The second half of this stanza introduces Salōṇattuṇa's son whose name is given in the following passage in prose as Gayādatunga, the donor of the charter. The double introduction of the donor is interesting to note.

The declaration in respect of the grant was addressed to the future ruling chiefs and the local people of the area in question lying in the मन्दल (i.e. Yamagarta-manda). The village granted was Vāmātitalla situated in the Tuṅkēri tishaya (district). The grant was made by the king in favour of the following donees: (1) Bhāṭṭaputra Dévaśarma, who received half share of the gift village, belonged to a family haling from the bhaṭṭa grāma (i.e. a village of the Brāhmaṇas) called Māṭhāṭha in Varēndra-manda (i.e. North Bengal) and was a resident of the bhaṭṭa-grāma called Sāvira in Īdā-vishaya (i.e. Orissa). He was the son of Paīma (i.e. Padma) and the grandson of Dhanasarma and belonged to the Kāyapa gōtra, the Āvatsāra and Naidhuva pravaṇas, the Yajurveda charapa and Kanya ṛkka. (2) Bhāṭṭaputra Vīsudēva who received land that was the one-fourth share of the gift village, belonged to a family haling from Sāvathi and was

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2 The three pravaṇas of the Kāyapa gōtra are Kāyapa, Āvatsāra and Naidhuva.
a resident of Yamagarta-māndala. He was the son of Lallada and the grandson of Dhadukā and belonged to the Vatsya gōra, the prarorā of the five sages,1 the Yajurveda charapa and Kaṇva sākha. (3) Bhāttraputra Rāmadēva who was a son of the said Vāsudēva and received land that was the remaining one-fourth share of the gift village. Mūtha in North Bengal may be the same as Muktavasta mentioned as the original home of the donees of many royal charters, while Sāvatthi (Śrāvasti) was probably the area around Baigrām in the Bogra District of North Bengal.2 Thus the three donees of the grant under study appear to have been Brāhmaṇas of North Bengal settled in Orissa.

Lines 32-33 give us the interesting information that the triṇ-ōdaka was fixed at 4 palas of silver. The word triṇ-ōdaka literally means ‘grass and water’, but technically it indicated a cess or nominal rent fixed for gift villages officially declared in some cases as a rent-free holding.3 The grant was made a permanent gift by means of the copper-plate charter and the royal agents and servants were forbidden to enter into the gift village. The document concludes with one of the usual benedictory and imprecatory stanzas.

The location of some of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription has already been discussed. I am not sure about the identification of the other localities mentioned in it.

B. Miera identifies Yamagarta with Jamgadia in Angul or Jommurdi in the former Pallahara State. He also suggests the identification of Tuṅkērā with modern Tonkour in Pallahara.4

TEXT5

[Metres: verses 1-2 Svagdhara; verses 3-5 Anuvahubh.]

Obverse

1 Siddhatē svastī[6] Āvadhōdhata-dvipa-gaṇḍa-[sthala]-galad-avirala-ma-
2 da-malinamahā(dhu)kar-āvali-jaḥ[ṃ]kriṅg(t-ai)ka-praddēshāt-pravādha-
3 tēya(jo)-vipra-vara[t[8]]-Ri(Ri)k Śāma-Yajū(ju)-r-veda-dhvanibhirnivalapra-
4 tikitā-sakala-janapadāt anavarata-dvija-hū(hu)ta-hū-
5 ta[10]-dhūma-sanehāy-ūpā(p)hasita-samastarisi[11]-vāsakāt

1 The reference is to the five prarorās of the Vatsa gōra, viz. Bhārgeva, Chyāvāna, Āṣṇuvat, Anura and Jamādagnya.
3 See above, Vol. XXX. p. 115.
4 See Dynasties of Medieval Orissa, p. 40.
6 Expressed by symbol.
7 Read Āpadhōdhata.
8 Read prarākkā.
9 Read dharmī-nirahārah pauriṣṭikāta.
10 Read Avisvāvādāh. Cf. line 4 of the Asiatic Society's plate.
11 Read samastarisi.
12 Read parvatōdaraṇdrāt. The sign of anumāna is placed above the following letter.
13 Read mahāparvāt-ābhidhāna-parvatōdaraṇdrāt.
8 dya(d*)-dvirada-vara-ghaṭa[ā]-kū(ku)mbha-piṭṭha[1]-pahara[2]-vyālagna-mū(mu)ktā-
9 phala-nikara-kārāl-āsī-dhārā sphuranti [1] dṛṣṭvā bhagnī(ṅnān)*
10 nivārita-prahasitavati* yasyā grāmē bhūmā sa āpi(ṅrī)-
11 Gayāda'tuṅga[h*] prathita-prithi(ṇh)-yasa-Tuṅga-va[m*]sāda(va(d=ba)bhūva [1] 1*) Sa-
12 dvi(d-vi)rya-āśāhṛṣya-bhūtūt(tā) niya-bhuja-mahim-ōrjita* pūjita-ārī
13 rājā v. gārya-ultrā satatam-āpi chala nīchala yasya
14 lakṣmī(kslm śī) āmadīya-gōtrālā(d-u)tana(īn) ēohita-giri-nirgā-
15 ta[h*] rājā ati(ṅrāmāj)-dāga[tuṅga(ṅgū) ru(rū)pa-vi(vi)rya-cha(ba)-ānvita[h 3]*
16 TaŚsā-sānyāyō16
17 Salōpatunag[āh*] 1ēpi(ṅrī)mān-ūrjita-vikrama[h,]* tasyā(smī) ṛva(ba)bhuva dha[ram*]-
18 jñō dū(du)ghāva(c=lhēr)iva chanda[nā][h 1] paramamēhwa-va-samadhi(dhi)-
19 gatapaśchalamāsāvada(bda)-ārī-Gayāda tuṅga[āh*] kusha!!
20 jāna[12] janapat[āh*] yathārtha[14] vō(bū)dv[a]*i kū(ku)shalayaty-a-
21 disayati11 cha vidittam-astru bhavatām [1]

Reverse

22 Tuṅkērā-vishaya-samvadha14-Vāmaitāllō grāmōyam cha-
23 tu[h*]-śi(ṛ)mā-paryanta[h*] Varēndo[ṛ]*ma-ṃandalo Māthātha-bha(ta)-grām-
24 vinirgata17 ēdra-vishayē Śākira-ōha(ta)-grāmā-vāstavya18 Kā-

--- Notes ---
1 Read piṭha.
2 The two syllables omitted here may be compactly restored as dhviti.
3 The first of the two askanta of the word is read as dhv in the Taladro plate of Vintatunga (Vasu, op. cit. Appendix, p. 135, text line 7).
4 Read nihilānti-sahānaśitaṃ.
5 Read jyetaṃ sāhitaṃ-bhūtam.
6 Read Gayāda[ḍ] because of the sake of the metre. The fact that the name does not suit the metre of the stanza shows that it is borrowed from elsewhere.
7 Read gārīṭhā. Cf. lines 9-10 of the Śākraweśuṇī's plate.
8 This seems to be a mistake for rūpa-śāsāhṛṣya-bhūtūtā. It is difficult to say whether Bāṣiṇya can be regarded as a personal name.
9 This is only half a stanza in Śrogikātā.
10 The intended reading is Ta yānāyaṇaḥ. But r ad Tad-vaṃśaḥ for the sake of the metre.
11 Better read esan-mandalo or mandalo-vaṃśa.
12 The intended reading may be sānugātākaraṃ.
13 This word is not found in the corresponding passage in the Asiatic Society's plate and may be regarded as redundant.
14 Read yathārhatam.
15 Read āśāhṛṣya.
16 Read vātaryāya.
17 Read Gārīṭha.
18 Read vātaryāya

3 DGA/59
25. Satya-gotra Vachhyanana-Naidruva-pravar(-a) Yajurvedachaara-
26. na Kana(qva)-sakh-adhyayina(nē) Bhāsa(tta)-pū(putra-Dēvasa[ma]-Paīma-sū-
27. ta Dhanaśarma-napātra grām-ārdhā[ne] anūsat[a] Sāvathi-vinigata(-a) Ya-
28. magarita-maṇḍala-vāstavya Vachhyan-gotra Paīch-āraka-prava-
29. rāja* Yajurvedaṣaṣa Kana(qva)-sakh-adhyayina(nē) Bhāsa(tta)-pū(put)-
30. tra-Vāsudēva Lallīśa-sūta Dhaṅkā-napātra atū(m)sa[ne] cha-
31. turthā[ne] māla[m] bhāsa(tta)-pū(putra-Vāsudēva-sūta-Rāmadēva-
32. ām[sa] chaturthā[ne] māla[m] triṃ-ōdaka-rupya-pla chatvāri-
33. akē rū-pī ta-tāmvr-aśahākṛtya pradātott(tō)-[amā]-
34. bhī[ne] yāva(chā)-chandr-[ārka]-tārakā a-chāsta-bhāsa-pravēsā(ānh) Sva-
35. dāta para-dataṃvā yō heti(ta) vasi(m)(su)ndhari[m] sa viśṭh[a]-
36. yāna kṛmi[r-]bhūtvā pitṛbhī[ne] saha pachyaṭā [i-] iti [i-]

3. Asiatic Society’s Plate

This is a single plate inscribed on both sides and measuring 6 inches in height and 5 inches in breadth. There is an elliptical seal of bronze attached to a projection in the top side. In the middle of the counter-sunk surface of the seal, there is a legend in one line reading śrī-Gaṇḍa-
tūṇāyā. Above this, there is the representation of the moon and the sun in the form of a crescent with a round mark above it. Beneath the legend is the representation of a standing bull facing a tree to its left.

In all, there are 39 lines of writing in the inscription, 20 on the first side and 19 on the second. In respect of palaeography, language, orthography and style, the inscription closely resembles the Talcher plate, No. 2. As a matter of fact, with negligible variations, lines 1-18 of the present record, preceding the delineation of the grant proper, are the same as lines 1-21 of the other grant, both the texts being no doubt prepared from the same draft. It is interesting to note that most of the errors are common to both the epigraphs.

1 Read gōrāya.
3 Read Yajurveda-Charanāya.
4 Read tūṇāya or better Padma-tūṇāya.
5 Read gūṭāya or better Śrāveti-vinigadāya.
6 Read vaṇṇayāya.
7 Read vāṣya-gōrāya.
8 Read Yajurveda-Charanāya.
9 Read Vaṇṇayāya.
10 Read tūṇāya or better Lalīśa-tūṇāya.
11 Read dēsīya.
12 Pla is a contraction of poa. Better read rūpa-pāla-chatuvāgāya.
13 Read ra which is an abbreviation of rāpa.
14 Read tāmra-tānukrītya.
15 Read dattām va.
The charter records (lines 18 ff.) the grant of the village called Törō situated in the Vėpjuṅga vishaya (district) which apparently formed a part of Yamagarta-māṇḍala. The grant was made in favour of the following donees: (1) Bhāṭṭa-puṭra Dāḍō, who received land that was the one-sixth share of the gift village, belonged to a family hailing from Ahichchhatra (modern Rāmnagar in the Bareilly District of U.P.) and was a resident of the bhāṭṭa-grāma called Kūrva in Oḍra-vishaya. He was the son of Gōvinda and grandson of Kakā-ōjā (i.e. Kakā-upādhyāya) and belonged to the Kauśika gōra and the ṛṣaṇa of the three sages.1 (2) Bhāṭṭa-puṭra Trivikrama and Purusbōttama, the two sons of Vishnu-dikshita, received another plot of land that was another one-sixth share of the gift village. (3) Bhāṭṭa-puṭra Rāmadāva, son of Madhusūdana, received along with his five brothers another plot which was the one-eighteenth share of the gift village. (4) Vishnu, son of Dāvila, received a plot which was another one-eighteenth share of the gift village. (5) Bhāṭṭa-puṭra Gāhā, son of Sāha, received land that was likewise the one-eighteenth share of the gift village. (6) Bhāṭṭa-puṭra Nārāyaṇa, son of Gāhā-līkā, received a plot which was land that was the one-sixth share of the gift village. (7) Bhāṭṭa-puṭra Sāghrāha, son of Vēdagāha, received along with his three brothers land that was the one-twelfth share of the gift village. (8) Bhāṭṭa-puṭra Trilochana, son of Trivikrama, received land that was the one-eighteenth share of the gift village. (9) Bhāṭṭa-puṭra Baladeva, son of Avīda, received land that was the one-thirty-sixth share of the gift village. (10) Bhāṭṭa-puṭra Maṇorathadēvasarma, son of Pāśma (i.e. Padma), received along with his two brothers land that was the one-twelfth share of the gift village. (11) Bhāṭṭa-puṭra Sādhāvāna, son of Ananta, received land that was another one-twelfth share of the gift village. The specified shares of the donees of the grant account for the whole of the gift village. It will be seen that the gōra has been specified only in the case of the first of the donees. This seems to suggest that all of them belonged to the same gōra and probably to the same family.

In lines 33–34, it is stated that the village of Törō was made a kara-ōdāna (i.e. a revenue-paying holding) in favour of the said Brāhmaṇas and that the triṇ-ōdaka (i.e. the nominal rent per annum) was fixed at 9 pulas of silver. The grant was made a permanent holding by means of the copper-plate charter for the merit and fame of the donor and his parents. Entry of the royal agents and servants into the gift village was prohibited and people were warned not to cause any inconvenience to the donees. This section is followed by two of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses with which the document ends.

I am not sure about the location of the places mentioned in the inscription. B. Misra suggested the identification of Törō with Thorakota in Pallahara and Vėpjuṅga with Balanga in Bonsai.2

TEXT:

[Metres : verses 1-2 Sravīkarā ; verses 3-6 Anuśṭubh.]

Obverse

1 Siddharśvasti[*] Ādhibhūṭa-dvīpa-gaṇa-sṭhala-gaṇad-avirala-maṇḍa-
2 malina-maṇḍa(huvka)-[v]-ja[na]*[t]a-pradēśhāt-pravudhā-tēyajñ-vipra-

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1 The Kauśika gōra has three pravṛtiṣṭha, viz. Vaśvāmitra, Daivarāja and Audula.
2 See Dynamics of Medieval Orissa, p. 40.
4 Expressed by symbol.
5 Read Abahah-dēhata.
6 Read pravṛtiṣṭha-ṭējā. 

3 DGA/59
3 varai[r^]-Ri(ß)k-Sáma-Yajú(ju)-véd-dhvanibhir-nivalapratikrita1-sakal-a-jana-
4 padät-anavarata-dvija-hú(hu)ta-hú(hu)ta-vah-óbh(óh)ta-dhúma-salchay-opra(páha)ha-
5 sita-samastarini2-vássakát Maháparvári(rvá)-ábhidhána-parvatáda-
6 rindatá3 Tuńga-narejín4 jdr-ákita-tanó[h^r] Yañagarta-mándala-gatah5 [h^r] Dú (Du)rvá-á-
7 ráti-mády[a][p]-dvráda-vara-ghàta-kú(ku)mbha-pí(pí)tha-práhára6-rválagna-muktá-phá-
8 la-nikara-karál-áni-dhárá spuhuranti [h^r] dpíshyá bháṣgání(nán) nivántapra7-
9 hastavati yasyá grámo bhúma8 sa śri-Gayádatuñga[h^r] prathita-prí-
10 thú(thu)-yasas-Tuńga-vamádadvaháva10 [h^r] Sadví(d-ví)ryá-sácharya-bhút(á)ti níja-bhú-(bhu)ja-mahim-ó-
11 párjita(tá) pújita-śrí rája váŋáryaśatrú11 satatam=api chalá nísha-
12 lá yasya lakshmi(kshmí) [h^r] Sáŋgůlía-gótrádű-(d-ú)pana(umó) Róhitá-giri-nirgata[h [h]]
13 rája [Śrimáj[a]]12 Jag[a]13 tuńga(gó) ru(rú)pa-vi(ví)rya-va(ba)-śúvita[h [h] 3r] Tasya śánvayó14 Saláñatun-ga[h^r]
14 Śrimánumurjita-vasia15 [h^r] tasyá(súmad)-va(ba)bhúva dharmajñó dú(du)ghá-ávádhú(bhu)príva-
15 paramamáléśvara-samadhyatapachihamáháśavada(bda)-śri-Gayádatu-
16 ágadéva[h^r] kushál śatamánḍalasmina16 bhávinó(nal) sámanataka-sáma-
17 vájini17 janaśpadá[n]18 yatháriharn18 vô(bó)dhatya[n] tii kú(ku)shalayatya-ádisa-
18 yati18 viditam-astu bhavataṁ Véndúrtaka-vishaya-samvadina19 Tóró-grá-
19 mō-yáh chatu[h^r]-si(sí)má-paryanta[h^r] Ahichha(chchha)tra-vinirgata20 Ódṛa-vishnaye Kú-

1 Read dhvaní-nivāharíh pravirkita.
2 Read samast-archi.
3 Read Jatamándalahíma.
4 Read *mándal-anupratiti.
5 The two long syllables omitted here may be conjecturally restored as dhára.
6 This atchhara has been read as ákš in the Tácher plate of Vástu, op. cit., Appendix, p. 155, text line 7).
7 Read śrinaritá nuño)u.
8 Read yasa-sáŋgenerima-abhámanu.
9 Read Gāyúháa for the sake of the metre.
10 Read rājá-bhádhavá.
11 Possibly rájñamándalakrān-sátró is intended.
12 This is only half a stanza in Śrapáharánta.
13 Cf. line 15 of the Tácher plate, No. 2.
14 Read Tasyá-sánvaya.
15 Read Śrīmánumurjita-virakmaha. Cf. line 16 of the Tácher plate, No. 2.
16 Read Bón-mándalo or mandaścaśmin.
17 The intended reading may be saŋgernahaí.
18 Read yatháriham.
19 Read *dóarati.
20 Read samadadáka.
21 Read *párya.
No. 15] GRANTS OF GAYADATUNGA

20 ruvā-bhaṭṭa(tīta)-grāma-vāstavya1 Kusika-gōtra3 tīyārāha-pravara2 Bhaṭṭa-

Reverse

21 pūtra Dādō⁴ Gōvinda-suta5 Kakā⁶-ōjha-napta(prtet) bhāga[h*] āṁsa⁷ shasṭha[h*] māla[m | *] [a]-

22 para-kaṅḍa-kṣethra[m*] Bhaṭṭa(tīta)-pū(putra)-Tṛ[ṛ]*-livikrama-Pūrushotama⁵ Vishnū-di(di)-

23 ksha-[t]a bhraṭaradvayena¹⁰ āṁsa¹¹ shashṭha[h*] māla[m | *] aparā-kaṅḍa-kṣethra[m*] paṇcha-

24 bhṛata-

25 reṇa¹² Bhaṭṭa-pū(putra)-Rāmadēva¹³ Madhūsu(sū)dana-sūta¹¹ āṁsa[saḥ] ashtādaśa[h*] mā-

26 [lam ] aparā-kaṅḍa-kṣethra[m*] Bhaṭṭa(tīta)-pū(putra)-Vīṣṇu⁴ Dūvilla-sūtra³ ashtādaśa-

27 la āṁsa¹⁰ [*] Bhaṭṭa(tīta)-pū(putra)-Ghālī¹⁴ Sāha-sūta² āṁsa[saḥ] ashtādaśa[h*] māla[m | *] apa-

28 ra-kaṅḍa-kṣethra[m*] Bhaṭṭa(tīta)-pū(putra)-Nārāyaṇa¹⁷ Ghālīdāma-sūta² āṁsa[saḥ] shashṭha[h*] mā-

29 la[m | *] Bhaṭṭa-pū(putra)-Śrīghōṣha¹⁸ Vēdgāhōṣha-sū¹⁹ drīṇi bhṛatarēna¹⁸ āṁsa[h*] dvādaśa[h*]

30 Bhaṭṭa(tīta)-pū(putra)-Valadēva²² Avida-sūta²² āṁsa shaṭvatrimśa²² māla[m | *] Bhaṭṭa(tīta)-

pū(putra)-Ma-

¹ Read "vāstavya."
² Read Kusika-gōtra.
³ Read try-ārāha-pravara.⁴ Read putra Dādō.
⁵ Read sutāya.
⁶ Sandhi has not been observed here. The word ājha is derived from Sanskrit upājha.⁷ Read āṁsa.
⁸ Read Purushottamākhyām.
⁹ Read suśūkhyām.
¹⁰ Read bhṛarādhaṁ dvādaśaṁ.
¹¹ Read āṁsaḥ.
¹² Read bhṛarādhatu saha.
¹³ Read Šrīghōṣha.
¹⁴ Read Gālīkāya.
¹⁵ Read "gāyāya.
¹⁶ Read Viṣṇuve.
¹⁷ Read mula-sūnaṇaḥ.
¹⁸ Read Gālīkāya.
¹⁹ Read "gāyāya.
²⁰ Read Śrīghōṣha.
²¹ The akṣara ta has been omitted after sū through oversight. Read sutāya.
²² Read triśūlā-bhūra-trīśūla vaśītāya.²³ Read Triśūlanāya.²⁴ Read Baladēva.
²⁵ Read sutāya.
²⁶ Read amśek shatatriṃśaḥ.
31 nōrathadēvasarma\(^1\) Paśu-puṣṭa\(^3\) bhrāṭara-dvaya\(^2\) āṁ(aṁ)a[ḥ\(^{h}\)] dvādaśa[ḥ\(^{h}\)] māla[m \(^{*}\)]
32 Bhaṭṭa\(^{t}\)a-puṣṭa-Sadhōvaṇa\(^4\) Aṇanta-suta\(^4\) āṁ(aṁ)a[ḥ\(^{h}\)] dvādaśa[ḥ\(^{h}\)] māla[m \(^{*}\)]
śē Vṛāma.-
33 gēna\(^6\) Tōrō-grāma[ḥ\(^{h}\)] kara-sāghanā\(^{t}\) kṛta[ḥ\(^{h}\)] ru(rū)p[ya]-pala-navaṇa\(^8\) aṅkēn-āpi
34 ru(rū)p[ya]-pla\(^9\) 9 triṇ-Ō(da\(^{k}\))ka-pūrvakaṇa mātā-pitrōr-ātmanāḥ-cha pūnya\(^{10}\)-yasō-
35 bhivrīḍha(ddha)yē tāṃva-sāshanikṛtyā\(^{11}\) pradatō(t̐t̐ō)-smābhi[ḥ\(^{h}\)] yāva[ch\(^{h}\)]-chandr-ārka-tā-
36 rakṣ(ka) a-cha(chā)ṭa-bhaṭa-pravēṣa(ṣaḥ) na kēn-āpi vādhā karṣaṇyam\(^{12}\) [\(^{*}\)] uktaṇ-cha
37 dharma-sāśrē [\(^{*}\) Va(Ba)hubhir-vasudhā data(t̐t̐ā) rājānē\(^{13}\) Sagar-ā dibhī[ḥ \(^{*}\)] yasya
38 yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalaṃ(lam \(5\)) Svadatā(t̐t̐ām) para-datāṃvā\(^{14}\) yō
39 harēta vasūndhare\(^{15}\) [\(^{*}\)] sa viśṭhāyā[ṁ] kṛimir-bhūtvā pitṛbhī[ḥ\(^{h}\)] saha pachyatē [ \(6\)] [\(^{*}\)ti \(i\)]

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1. Read "śārapati."
2. Read "suta," or better Padma-sūṭa.
3. Read bhrāṭir-dvayena sahīdaḥ.
4. Read "cuṣāya.
5. Read Ananta-sūṭa.
6. Read ēṭhōē Brahmavādhaḥ.
7. Read ēṭhōēma.
8. Read navāṅkāṇa.
9. Ìc. pala.
10. Read punya.
11. Read tāṃra-sāshanikṛtya.
12. Read karṣaṇāvā.
13. Read rājasūḍa.
14. Read datāṃ tō."
No. 16—GADIVORE GRANT OF SHASHTHADÉVA (II), KALI YEAR 4357

(I Plate)

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND
(Received on 25.9.1958)

The subjoined grant is published, with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, from a set of photographs, obtained in his office in November 1949. The plates were reported to have been discovered at Bandora in Goa territory.

The set consists of three plates, each measuring approximately 9 inches long and 6.35 inches high. The first and the third plates are engraved on the inner side only while the second plate has writing on both the sides. There are altogether 57 lines which are distributed as follows: I—14 lines; II—15 lines on each side, and III—13 lines. The writing is fairly well preserved. It is stated that there was a seal affixed to the ring of the plates bearing the name of the king Shashthādēva and the figure of a lion which was the emblem of the family.

The characters are Nāgarī of the 13th century A. D. Of initial vowels, a is found in lines 6, 18, 39, 41 and 53; ā in line 45; i in lines 4, 6, 13, 33 and 46; u in lines 5, 25 and 26; and ē in line 36. Final t which is written like tu occurs in lines 3, 48 and 58 while final k written as ku is found in line 15. B is distinguished from e by a small dot inside the loop.

In respect of orthography, it may be noted that r is used for b in lines 3 and 5 while b is used for e in lines 12, 22, 40, 43 (twice), 44, 45, 47, 49, 51 and 56. Anusvāra for final m is found in lines 4, 26, 29, 53, etc. The proper name Jayakēsīn is consistently spelt as Jayakēsīn in lines 9, 10, 16 and 19. The word viśruta is wrongly spelt as viśēta in line 6.

The language of the record is Sanskrit. Lines 1-36 are in verse except the opening words ōm namah Śivāya: lines 36-45 are in prose and again lines 45-57 are written in verse, excepting a prose passage in lines 49-50. There are 31 verses in all.

The grant opens with a salutation to Śiva followed by a stanza in adoration of the same god under the name of Saptakēśīa. Verses 2-3 refer to the birth of Trilōchana-kadamba, also called Jayanta, the mythical progenitor of the Kadamba family. Verse 4 states that in this family were born many kings. Verses 5-6 mention the kings Gūhala (I), Shashta (I), Jayakēsīn (I), Vijaya (I) and Jayakēsīn (II) who was the son of Vijaya (I) and is called Kōṅkāya-ākṣā. It may be noted that Gūhala II Trihubuvanamalla, who was the elder son of Jayakēsīn I, is omitted in the genealogy though it is known that he actually ruled. Verse 7 states that Jayakēsīn II married Mahāla-mahādevī, the daughter of Permpādi, i.e. the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI (1076-1125 A.D.). To them were born Permpādi and Vijaya, according to verse 8. From verse 9, we learn that this Vijaya or Vijayāditya (II) was a younger brother of Permpādi while verse 10 praises his valour in a conventional manner. Verse 11 introduces Jayakēsīn (III), son of Vijayāditya. Verse 12 praises his fame and verse 13 states that his wife was Mahādevī. Verse 14 speaks of their son called Trihubuvanamalla. Verses 15-18 are devoted to the conventional praise of Trihubuvanamalla while verse 19 informs us that to this king and his wife Mānjikādevī was born Shashtaḥdēva (II), the donor of the present grant. Verses 20-23 contain conventional praise of this Shashtaḥdēva. In the following passage in prose (lines 36-37), he is called paśchimam-samudrāḍhīśa, 'the lord of the Western Ocean'. There is no indication that Shashtaḥdēva acknowledged the suzerainty of any overlord.

1 The grant is registered as No. 12 of App. A in A. R. Ep., 1949-50.
2 Ibid., p. 5.
The genealogy from Gûhala I to Shãsthadéva II given in the introductory portion agrees in all respects with that found in the only other known copper-plate grant of this king, viz. Goa plates dated in the Kaliyuga year 4348. Verses 1, 4, 8, 13 (second half), 14, 19 (first half), 21 and 23 are also found in the Goa plates. In the Goa plates, the marriage of Mallaladévi and Jayakriti II is compared with that of Umá and Siva while our record mentions Jánakî and Raghava instead.

The date of the inscription is given in lines 38-40 as Kaliyuga 4357 (expressed in words) expired, 8th year of the king’s reign, Durmati, Pushya amâvasâya, Saturday. The Kali year and the cyclic year Durmati quoted here do not tally. Kali 4357 was Nala while Durmati was Kali 4362, five years later. The Goa plates of this king also show a similar discrepancy. They are dated in Kali 4348; but the cyclic year Sádhârana quoted would be equivalent to Kali 4351, three years later. With regard to this date, Fleet suggested that Kali 4348 (current) might have been the king’s first regnal year. This will not suit our date according to which Kali 4357 (expired) was the eighth regnal year. For if we take 4348 (current) or 4347 (expired) as the first year, then Kali 4357 (expired) would be the 11th year of the king. Again an inscription from Bankâpur in the Dharwar District, belonging to the reign of this king, is dated in the 4th year, Kalyukta (Kalâyukta). Since Kâlayukta was Kali 4359 (expired), Kali 4356 (expired) would be the first year according to this record. It is, indeed, difficult to reconcile these conflicting data. We may, however, note that the details of the date quoted in the inscription under study work out regularly, with the cyclic year Durmati, to the 21st January 1262 A. D. 4

The object of the inscription, given in lines 49-50, is to record that on the above-mentioned date the king made, in the presence of the god Mahâbalâsvâra of Gûkarpa, a gift of village Gañivaro situated in Ajjagâve-kariyana of Panasadeśa for the prosperity of the kingdom. The donees were Lakshmidhara and his brothers (unnamed) who were the sons of Jyotishâ Lokanârya and his wife Sridêvi and the grandsons of Daivajña Nârayana and his wife Kamala (verses 24-26). The donees belonged to the Átreya gotra. The gift was made a permanent endowment by means of the copper-plate grant. Among the privileges with the gift were nîdhi (treasure trove), nîkshêpa (deposit), danda (fine), dôsha (fine), apurika (property of the childless), sulkâ (tolls), kara (major tax) and upakara (minor tax). Of these nîdhi and nîkshêpa are usually included in what is called aśhta-bhûga enjoyment while danda and dôsha are included in the daś-âparâdha, ‘ten crimes’. The gift was free from all imposts and it was enjoined that the gifts of the former kings should be excluded from it and that it should not be pointed at by the finger by the royal officials, i.e., they should not interfere in its enjoyment by the donees. Verses 28-29 contain the usual benedictory and imprecatory lines.

Verse 30 states that the record was composed by Padmanâbha, the son of Chaityânârya and the grandson of Somanâthâ who was a learned person. The Goa plates referred to above mention Somanâthâ’s son Chaityânârya as the composer of that record. From verse 31, we learn that the inscription was written, at the command of the king, by Dhannaya, the son of Ruppala-śrâshthi. The record ends with the word mañgala-mahâsîri[ś*] followed by two floral designs between double dandaśas.

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2 Ibid., Vol. XVII, pp. 360-01.
3 B. K. No. 6 of 1943-44 of A. R. Ep., App. F.
4 Cf. ibid., 1949-50, p. 5. The details of the date with cyclic year Sádhârana given in the Goa plates also work out correctly.
5 Five of these terms, viz. nîdhi, nîkshêpa, danda, sulkâ and upakara occur in the Dêgâve inscription *JBRAS*, Vol. IX, p. 260) of Sivachitta Perâmâdi. The Kâlegaon plates (above, Vol. XXXII, p. 42, text lines 76-77) of Yãdiva Mahâdevâ, dated Saka 1182, mention four of these, viz. nîdhi, nîkshêpa, danda and sulkâ.
The geographical names occurring in the inscription are: Końkaṇa of which Jayakēśin II was the ruler; Gokarna, the seat of the deity Mahābalīvara; Gāḍive, the gift village; Ajjagāve-kampāṇa in which the gift village was situated; and Panasa-dēṣa in which Ajjagāve-kampāṇa was included. Końkaṇa, also called Końkaṇa-900 in some records of the Kadambas of Goa, is usually identified with the area corresponding to the present territory of Goa on the west coast.1 Gokarna is the well-known place of pilgrimage in the North Kannara District of Mysore State. Panasa-dēṣa is the same as Palasige (or Palāśika)—12,000, the headquarters of which was the modern Halsi in the Khanapur Taluk of the Belgaum District. Kampāṇa is a group of villages and is a smaller division than dēṣa or vishaya. Ajjagāve may be identified with modern Ajgaon, situated on the sea coast about 25 miles north of Panjim, the capital of the Portuguese territory of Goa and about 65 miles north-west of Halsi. I am unable to identify the gift-village Gāḍive.

TEXT

[Metres: Verses 1, 3-9, 13, 15, 20-21, 25-26, 28-31 Anuvastubh; Verse 2 Yasvantatikā; Verse 10 Indravijaya; Verses 11, 23-24 Upañāt; Verse 12 Mālinī; Verses 14, 17 Āryā; Verse 16 Mandakrānta; Verse 18 Prakharṣiṇī; Verse 19 Udgrāt; Verse 22 Sānālāvākṣiṇī; Verse 27 Śālīni.]

First Plate

1 Ōṁ nama[ḥ] Śivāya | Śrīyaḥ śri-Saptakōṭiśō déyād-vaḥ sa yad-āññaya(yā) | bi-
2 bharta-Śādivarāḥ=pi daṁśhtr-ārgh maṁḍalaṁ bhuvah, ![1*] Gauripatih pura-jay-ō-
3 sava-kēli-bhājay svēd-ōda-vindu-nikarāṁ(rām)=niţala-prasūṭatu(tāt) | jātah
4 kadaṁba-taru-mūlam=upaprayātāt=khyātata=Trilōchana-kadaṁba iti trilōkyaṁ(kyām) ![2*]
5 S-echu-chāp-āsi-phalakir-jayadair=bāhubhir=yutah | upāyair-iva rājan(yō) Ja-
6 yanita iti visr(uru)taḥ ![3*] Ātha tasaya kulē jāttah képi bhūpā mah-aujasah | kṛi-
7 t-anēka-makha-khyāti-viṁ̄śaṁbīta-Biṇaujasah ![4*] Tataḥ khyātā-bhava-
8 t=tēsah śriman-Gūhalla-bhūpatis | prasiddha-siddha-Shashṭhō-bhū(t*)=tatah ![5*] sidhāhā-
   (dēdh-ā)  
9 graṁ-ṛīpah ![6*] Jayakēśi(sī)=nṛīpō jātas=tāt Vījaṇa-bhūpatis | tat-putra[h*] Kōṁ-
10 kan-ādhīśō Jayakēśi(sī)=nṛīpō-patrāḥ ![6*] Perma(mā)di-nṛīpaṁ kanyāṁ=upayāmē sa bhū-

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2. From photographs.
3. This aṅkharā was first written as ya and then the vārṣa was engraved in the place of the a-mātra.
4. The subscript t is very faint in the photograph.
5. An unnecessary danda after tatah was engraved and erased afterwards.
6. This letter was originally written as pru and then corrected to pa.
11 pātīḥ | śrī-Mailala-mahādēvīḥ Jīnakīṃ=iva Rāghavaḥ | [ | 7*] Tasmād=asyām=ajāyē-

12 tāṁ Pīrmāḍī-Vījayaṃ sutaḥ | Mahēśād-iva Pārbha(rva)tyāṁ Gajānana-Shaḍānanau

13 [ | 8*] Vāṇi-vibhūshaṇaṣa-ḍagaṇa-nāmā maḥipātiḥ | Vījayaṃ ati=āsī-

14 t=khyātaḥ=tat=ānujo bhuvī | 9* [ | 9*] Vīrē jagatī(ī)n-(n)-tra-sudhā-nidhānē yat=ēksitē mōha-[ju]-

Second Plate, First Side

15 shā[ṣ]i dvīśhaṇ drūku(drūk) | hastāṁ(tān)=nitarivā(hā)d=api kāmininām=astrāgī3 vastrīṇi 
cha nishpatanī [||10*] Rmūta[h]4 praṇānām=iva

16 puṇya-puṇjās=tasmād=abhināch=chṛī Jayakēs(ī)śi)dēvāḥ | raṇ-āmbarē yat-kara-khaḍga-

17 grasta-sapatna-rājaḥ [| 11*] Hima-kumuda-mṛilaḥ(nā)ll-śāmśaka-kumūḍ-ēṇdu-gaurair-īha 
jagaṭi yadiyai=

18 ḫ plāvitē kirtti-pūraṇāḥ | api tamasi mahēlā jāta-pūṛṇa-ēṇdu-śāmśā 

19 tyē maḥādānām subhrayanīti [| 12*] Mahābhāgya-nidhānasya Jayakēs(ī)śi-mahībhṛitaḥ 
Mahēdēvī ma-

20 hārṣiṇī samabhūṭ-tāsya vallabhā [|| 13*] Tasmād=asyām samajani guṇa-maṇi-samudaya-

mahādadhī
d

21 s=tanayāḥ | Tribhuvanamalla=ksitipās=tribhuvana- rakṣā-vidhau dakshaḥ || 14*] Karē= 

ri-kari-kumūbhēṣhu

22 mastakēśhu cha vidvishhāni(ṣhām) | ēkō=pi sarba(rva)gaha khaḍgaḥ subhaṭair=yasya dṛṣyate 
\*[| 15*] N=āhaṁ vaiṁ

23 na cha mayi dhanur=n=āpi sastrāḥ na cha uṣṭraṁ pātuṁ pā[thaḥ] kṣitidhara-tāṭim=āgatē 
haṁ tvad-uṣṭī

24 | rājan-vēgād=apāsara sarā-vāriṇī svāṁ cha mūrttīṁ paṣyaṁni(śyann=)tthāṁ vādati gata-
dhīr=yaḍ-ripu-

25 kṣhōṇipālāḥ [||16*] Bhānur=iva bhōti bhuvanaḥ Tribhuvanamallō nripō=titējasvī | unamūli-

26 ta-ripu-timiraḥ kara-dhṛita-kamal-ānuraktō=yāṁ(yam) | [|17*] Uttṛṅga-sthira-tara-Mēru-

rañ(re)na-ya-

27 rūpāḥ Kādaṇbha-ksitipati-vanśa-ratna-dīpaḥ | śrī-vīra-Tribhuvanamallēdēva-bhūpaḥ pra-

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1 The three aksaras nā, mā and ma have been engraved on an erasure.
2 This danda has been written on an unnecessary visarga originally incised.
3 The four aksaras nī, nā, ma and strā have been written on an erasure.
4 Read Mūraḥ. The sign of visarga was originally omitted.
5 The aksara dhā is unnecessary here.
6 The aksaras ja and ga are engraved on an erasure.
No. 16] GADIVORE GRANT OF SHASHTHADEVA (II), KALI YEAR 4337

28 khyātō jagati samunnata-pratāpaḥ || 18* || Tribhuvanamalla-uripālay-jātaḥ śri-Mānuikādē-

29 vyā̄[1]a(vyā̄[1]) | śrīnāt-Śhāṣṭha-uripālaḥ praṇamad-ilāpāla-mauli-lassad-aṇghriḥ || 19* || Śrī-

Śhāṣṭha-uripatēḥ[1]

Second Plate, Second Side

30 khadga-latā kāl-ōragī raṇē ||* || jagaty-ari-uripā-uraṇa-pavan-āśvāda-rāgiṇi || 20* || Tyā-

(Tyā)ge sa-

31 tyē cha sāhityē kulē mahati vikramē || nāṁ(n=ā)nyas-tēna 2 samē rāja Śhāṣṭhadēva Kalau

32 yugē [ 21* ] Saunidaryasya paṅkramasaya cha paraṁ kāśḍhām-adhibhāsnunā śri-Śhā-

śhēna marēvaṃ-

33 ṇa ka iha sparshēta sārīham uripāḥ || drishtē yatra visiṣṭhē-sāḍhvasatayā strī(tri)ṇām=

āriṇām-a-

34 pi śrō̄ṇi-pāṇi-ṭalād-gulaṇāti sahasā vastraṇā sastraṇā cha || 22* || Śrī-Saptakōśivāra-pā-


pūraṇa(ṛṇa)-chaṇḍrāḥ śri-Śhāṣṭhadē-

36 vō jagatēti prasiddhāḥ || 23* || Ėvaṇī-vidhā-guṇa-gaṇa-ālaṇākritē[1] ēśri-Kādamba-kula-

37 tīka[h[1]] pa-

38 Shāṣṭhadēva-uripālaḥ | sapta-paṁchāsad-adhika-trī-sat-ōttarēshu chatus-sahas-

39 raśhu Kani(li)yu-

40 ga-saṁvatsarasēhu paṁvīṭṭēshu satsu sva-rājy-ānubhava-kāle asaṁyāḥ Durmātī-

sarvā-

41 tejrē[1]* ] Pushya-māsē amāvāsyāyām Śanaischara-vārē mahā-parba(ṛva)ni || śri-

Gōkarna-Mahēhā-

42 lēśvarādēva-saṁiḥhānē Panasa-dēsā-madhyā-sthūtānū(ṭa) Aijagāvē-kampaṇ-āṁtar-

43 būṭhautā prasi-

44 ddha-chatur-āghaṭa-simā-samanvitaṁ-nilhi-nil-khepa-dāṇḍa-dāśk-āpūtrika-sulka-kara-ō-

45 pakar-udya-ānya-sthāl-ōpētaṁ pūrba(ṛva)-rāja-kräta-sthāna-māṇya-ḥyā(ṛva) tiriktaṁ rājaka-

46 yānām samanvitaṁ-pēkshaśayarām sarba(ṛva)-hādha-parihāraṁ Gādivorre(re)[1]-nāma-grāmaṁ

Third Plate

45 sarba(ṛva)-namasyaṁ pari(kalpya)* | Āśraya-gotre samasbhūt-pragalbha(bhō) daivayē-ārē-

46 yaṇa ity-asāraḥ | aṣāt-kalatrām Kamalēti tasya tayoḥ sutō jyōṭisha-

47 Lōkānāraḥ || 24* || Sarbō(c-ṛ-ō)pakāriṇas-tasya Śrīdev-īty-abbhayasatī | tayoḥ-suru-

1 The akharas nau and v are written on an erasure.
2 Read "tena.
3 This word is superfluous.
4 Read sarva-sāgara.
5 This akshara was first written as bhō and then corrected to bhō.
6 These two akharas are engraved on something originally incised.

DGA/39
48 chir-āchāraḥ putro Lakshmīdharo-bhavatu(vat) [\(25^*\)] Tasmāi bhṛatri-samētāya hirany-oḍa-
49 ka-pūrba(rva)kaṇ(kamu) | taṁ grāmaṁ bhūpatiḥ prāḍāṅ-ga-chaudra-rājya-sampade [\(26^*\)]
 Tasya-ā-chaudra-ūrka-
50 bhūga-su(sā)dharmaṁ tām(tā)mra-sāsanaṁ cha prayachchhatu(chchhat) | Sa(Sā)mānyo=[yaṁ*] dharmma-sētu=mrpāyāṁ
51 kāle kāle pālaniyo bhavadbhiḥ | sarbā(ṛvā)n-ētān=bhāvinaḥ pārīthivēṁ-
52 drāṅ=bhūyo bhūyo yāchatō Rāmacha[m]*dṛhaḥ [\(27^*\)] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ-
 vā yō barēta vasumdhā-
53 rāṁ(rāṁ) | shaśṭim varsha-sahasrāni vishṭāyāṁ jñayatē kriyāḥ [\(28^*\)] Asṭāviṁśatī-kō-
54 tyō yō narakāyaṁ su-dāruṇāḥ | kramēṇa tāśu pachyantarō dēva-brahma-sva-hārīṇa-
55 b [\(29^*\)] Śrī-Sōmanātha-vidushaḥ(ḥaḥ)-Chatyaṇāryo-bhavat-sutāḥ | tat-puṭra-Padma-
 nābbasya kri-
56 tir-jayati śaṣaṇā [\(30^*\)] Ru[ppa]ja--rēṣṭhī-putrēṇa tulā-dibya(vya)-niyōgīnā [*] likhi-
57 taṁ Dhanmayēṁ-śatāṁ śāsanaṁ cha utīp-oṣṭhāyā [\(31^*\)] maṇḍala-mahāśrī[ḥ] |
The inscription published in the following pages was discovered by one Gōṣāl Rām Rāwāt on the 5th May 1959 while he was digging for the foundation of a house at the village of Bondā in the Sarangarh Tahsil of the recently formed Raigarh District in the Chhattisgarh Division of Mādhya Pradesh. Bondā lies near Bālpur on the left bank of the Mahānādi, 20 miles to the south of Raigarh, headquarters of the District of that name. Pandit L. P. Pandeya secured the record on the 27th June 1959 and soon afterwards sent it for examination to the Government Epigraphist for India. It is a copper-plate grant of the Baṇḍuvārṇa king Tīvara of South Kōśala, two of whose charters have already been published. The first of these two records is the Rājīm (Raipur District) plates issued by the king on the 8th day of Kārttika in his seventh regnal year. It was published by J. F. Fleet in Corp. Ins. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 291 ff., Plate XLIV. Unfortunately, Fleet misinterpreted some passages of the inscription and came to the unwarranted conclusions that Tīvara was an adopted son of Nannadeva, that he was a feudatory ruler whose overlord is vaguely referred to in the epigraph and that the record endows him with the subordinate title Praptā-paścha-mahāsādā. The second of the two published epigraphs of Tīvara is the Bālōḍa (Raipur District)4 plates issued on the 27th day of Jyeṣṭha in Tīvara’s ninth regnal year. It was edited by E. Hultzsch in the pages of this journal, Vol. VII, pp. 104 ff., Plates. Hultzsch’s interpretation of the inscription removed the misconceptions introduced by Fleet.

The inscription under study, which is the third of the copper-plate grants of Tīvara so far discovered, is written on a set of three plates, the first and third of which are inscribed only on the inner side and the second on both the sides. The plates are each 8.95 inches in length and 5.42 inches in height in the middle, their sides being slightly less in length and height. The corners of the plates are a little rounded off. The plates are strung on a copper ring measuring about 4 inch in thickness and about 4.5 inches in diameter. A circular bronze seal is affixed to the joint of the ring. As in the case of the Rājīm and Bālōḍa plates, the central area of the counter-sunk surface of the seal, which is 3.2 inches in diameter and whose circular border is considerably raised, contains the legend. It is the already known stanza in Anushṭubh arranged in two lines and speaks of the permanent charter of king Tīvaradeva of Kōśala, no doubt with reference to the grant recorded on the plates to which it is affixed. There is a floral device below the legend, while the upper part of the surface of the seal, separated from the legend by two horizontal straight lines, contains, in the centre, the figure of seated Garuḍa with outspread wings and holding a serpent with raised hood in each of his two hands. In the proper right and left of Garuḍa, there are respectively the chakra (discus) and the śankha (conch-shell), both associated with the god Vishnu, Garuḍa being the same god’s vāhana. The weight of the three plates together is 148 tolas while that of the ring with the seal is 77½ tolas. In general appearance, the plates and the seal resemble those of the published records of king Tīvara.

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1 These plates are still preserved in the Rājīvalāchana temple at Rājīm.
2 The village lies in the Phuljhar Zamindari area which formed a part of the Sambalpur District of Orissa till 1965.
There are altogether 42 lines of writing on the four inscribed faces of the three plates: I—10 lines, IIA—11 lines, III—10 lines, and III—11 lines. The characters belong to the box-headed alphabet. The language is Sanskrit and the record is written in a mixture of prose and verse. There is one stanza in praise of king Tivara at the beginning of the introductory part of the grant while the others are imprecatory and benedictory verses coming about the end of the record. As regards palaeography, language, orthography and style, the inscription closely resembles the published records of Tivara. As a matter of fact, the language is similar in all the three charters excepting the grant portion. The influence of the Southern Alphabet is noticed in the form of the letter ṝ. Of initial vowels, we have a (lines 9, 19, 35, 36, 39, 42), i (lines 7, 31), u (lines 30, 31, 42), and e (lines 29, 34). B has been used in some cases; but sometimes the letter has been indicated by the sign for v. The two dots forming the lower limb of initial i have been omitted once in line 7 possibly through oversight. Final m occurs in line 2 and final t in lines 38, 39 and 42. But final m has been wrongly changed to anuvāra in line 40. Both anuvāra and class nasals have been used. Anuvāra before ṝ has sometimes been wrongly changed into the guttural nasal. The letter dā has been reduplicated before y and v respectively in the words upāddhyāya and addhvaryu (lines 23 ff.).

The date quoted about the end of the inscription in line 42 is the first day of the month of Mārgaśīrṣa of the king's fifth regnal year. The Lōḍhī plates of Śivagupta of Kōśala, who was a later member of Tivara's family, represent the full moon day of Kārttikeya as the 30th day of that month and this fact would show that, in the area in question, the months were regarded as Purūṣimānta. Thus the first day of Mārgaśīrṣa would be Mārgaśīrṣa-badi 1. The present inscription issued in the fifth regnal year is earlier than the Rājim and Balōḍa plates of the same king, belonging respectively to his seventh and ninth regnal years.

There is a controversy on the date of king Tivara. A. Ghosh assigns the king to the last quarter of the seventh century3 and V. V. Mirashi to the seventh decade of the sixth century. 4 Elsewhere we have assigned Tivara's reign to the latter half of the sixth century. 5 But the problem cannot be solved finally without further light on the subject. Although the form of the letter y in the Āraṅg plates of Bhūmaśena, dated 601 A.D., is certainly earlier than that in the inscriptions of the Early Pāṇḍavaṃśa (which we have been inclined to ascribe to dates about the middle and the latter half of the sixth century), the Bōdhgaya inscription of Mahānāman, dated 538 A.D., shows the later form of the letter as found in the Pāṇḍavaṃśi records. The forms of the letters bh and s do not appear to us as important as that of y. The ascription of Tivara's rule covering about a decade to the third quarter of the sixth century A.D. does not therefore appear to be palaeographically impossible.

Epigraphic evidence points to the existence of two kings named Tivara, the first being a contemporary of the Vishnukuṇḍin king Mādhavavarman I (c. 533-85 A.D.)6 and the second, as will be seen below, ruling over a territory near the Vindhyas in the last quarter of the seventh century A.D. Thus there is some support for both the theories assigning our Tivara to the second half of the sixth century as well as to the corresponding part of the seventh century according as he is identified with the one or the other of the two Tivaras referred to above. It is interesting to note

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1 See above, Vol. XXVII, p. 325.
2 Ibid., Vol. XXV, p. 269.
3 Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 229.
4 See The Classical Age, p. 220.
6 CII, Vol. III, pp. 274 ff., Plate XLI, A.
7 The Successors of the Sālavahana, pp. 124-30.
in this connection that, in place of the epithet prāpta-sakala-Kōsala-ādhipatiya (one who has obtained the lordship over the entire Kōsala country) found in Tivara’s own charters, the same Pāṇḍu-varṇa king is endowed with the epithet svac-ādhipatiya (one who has secured the lordship of territories including the entire Kōsala and Utkala by the prowess of his own arms) in the Adhabhāra plates of his son Nanna. We know that Tivara ruled over Kōsala, i.e. South Kōsala or the Raipur-Bilaspur-Sambhalpur region of Madhya Pradesh and Oriissa. But the basis of the claim that he extended his power over Utkala-maṇḍala (Orissa) cannot be determined without further evidence. A king named Tivara was defeated at the foot of the Vindhyas, along with his protégé Madhava of the Śailodhāva dynasty of Oriissa, by the Śailodhāva king Mānabhistha Dharmarāja (c. 690-730 A.D.) about the beginning of Dharmarāja’s reign. We have elsewhere suggested that he may have been a later member of the Pāṇḍu-varṇa of Kōsala, who is as yet unknown from any other source. But the association of Nanna’s father Tivara with Utkala in the Adhabhāra plates may be regarded as supporting Ghosh’s theory regarding Tivara’s date. Unfortunately, the indication is not satisfactorily clear since the dominions of the Śailodhavas were known as Kōngāda-maṇḍala and not as Utkala-maṇḍala.

After the Siddhāṃ symbol, the inscription introduces king Mahāśiva Tivararāja in a lengthy passage in lines 1-18. This section, which begins with a stanza praising the king under the name Tivaradēva and with the mention of Śripūra whence the charter was issued, is also found in the Rājim and Balodā plates though the Rājim plates contain some serious scribal errors. It may be pointed out here that the introductory part of the Adhabhāra plates of Nanna, referred to above, is smaller and simpler than the corresponding section of these records. King Tivara is stated to have been a devout worshipper of the god Vishnu and devoted to his parents. He is further described as the son of Nannadēva of the Pāṇḍu-varṇa, who was himself the son of Indrabala, and is described as having obtained the lordship of the entire Kōsala country. The king’s order in respect of the grant was addressed to the inhabitants of Bōndaka together with another locality called Avadika, both situated in the Piharāja bhukti. In the inscriptions of Eastern India, the word bhukti is generally used to indicate a province comprising several districts or vishayas. But in the inscription under study and some other records of the area, it seems to be used to mean a smaller territorial and administrative unit. The gift land consisting of the localities called Bōndaka and Avadika was granted in favour of twenty-five Brahmāsas. The dones are enumerated in two groups, one of which belonged to the Maitrāyaṇīya branch of the Yajurveda and the other to the Chhandoga charaya of the Sāmaveda. But the Brāhmaṇas are also described as priests of the Charaka section of the Yajurveda and Sāmaveda, although the Charakas actually belonged to the Black Yajurveda. The first group of the dones consisted of: (1) Bhaṭṭa Madhusūdan-ōpādhyāya, (2) Avanti-Vikram-ōpādhyāya, (3) Dēvasūm-ōpādhyāya, (4) Svāmidatt-ōpādhyāya, (5) Vishnughōṣh-ōpādhyāya, (6) Sthāvar-ōpādhyāya, (7) Bhaṭṭa Kamalapakshasvāmin, (8) Bhaṭṭa Ravināgasvāmin, (9) Sambhubhavasvāmin, (10-11) Bandhubēva and Yudrāga-Vishnubhavasvāmin, (12) Lāja-Phalihāsvāmin, (13) Aśokasvāmin, (14) Śrīdharabhūtisvāmin, (15) Śilapakshasvāmin, (16) Sāppūpakshasvāmin, (17) Vāmanasvāmin, (18) Nāgārmanasvāmin, (19) Gōlachandrasvāmin, and (20) Bhadrasvāmin. To the second group pertaining to the Chhandoga charaya belonged: (1) Gōpēndrasvāmin, (2) Vāmanasvāmin (different from his namesake in the other group), (3) Śomasvāmin, (4) Vajrāsvāmin and (5) Unnatamēghasvāmin.

1 Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 219 ff.  
3 Ibid., Vol. XXXIX, p. 39 and note 3.  
4 Cf., e.g., Select Inscriptions, pp. 284 ff.
Among these names, those of Avanti-Vikram-ôpâdhyâya and Lâta-Phalihavâmin suggest that the families of these two Brâhmaṇas originally belonged to the Avanti and Lâta countries respectively. Some of the names, like Sthâvâra, Kamalapaksa, Silapaksa and Unnatamïgha, are not quite common. The word phalika, in the name of one of the donees is the Prakrit form of Sanskrit sphatika. It is difficult to say whether Yôraôga, the secondary name of Vishnubhavsvâmin, was derived from the original home of his family as in the case of Avanti-Vikramôpâdhyâya and Lâta-Phalihavâmin. The real meaning of the word süppû in the name Sâppupaksha is difficult to determine.

Among the privileges enjoyed by the donees, the majority are of common occurrence in royal records, viz. ‘together with hidden treasure, ‘together with minor underground deposits’, ‘free from the entry of châtas and bhatas (i.e. Pâkṣa and Pîdâs)’, ‘together with all the taxes’, and ‘together with [the right to the fines for] the ten offences’. But the privilege indicated as ‘together with the enjoyment of aputrika-vêsi’ is not usually found in inscriptions. The word vêsi means ‘reunited property after it was once divided’. The expression aputrika-vêsi has probably been used in our record in the sense of ‘the property of a person who died without leaving an heir’. This is sometimes mentioned as aputra, aputraka or aputraka-dhana in inscriptions.1

The grant was made by the king for the merit of himself and his parents. The inhabitants of the gift land are asked to pay the bhâga and bhôga (i.e. the king’s share of the produce and the periodical offerings payable to the king) regularly to the donees. This is followed by some of the usual benedictory verses. It may be noted that the stanzas Bhûmi-pradâ divi talanti, etc., and Raksha-pâlanayâs-tâvat, etc., are cited separately from those stated to have been quoted from Vyása. The date of the charter quoted in lines 41-42, viz. the first day of Mârga (i.e. Mäga sûhâsha) of the donor’s fifth regnal year, has already been discussed above. The record ends with the statement that the grant was engraved by Boppânaôga, son of the akshasûlîka (i.e. goldsmith) Yôranôga. This person was also the engraver of the Balôdâ plates of king Tivara.2

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Kôsaôla (i.e. South Kôsaôla), over which Tivara ruled, is the present Raipur-Bilsapur-Sambalpur region of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa as already indicated above. Sripura, whence the grant was issued and which was Tivara’s capital, is the modern Sirpur in the Raipur District. The gift village called Bôndaôka is the modern Bônda which is the findspot of the inscription and lies about two miles from the bank of the Mahânâdi near Bâlpur in the Raigarh District. Avòdika was apparently a locality adjoining Bôndaôka. The name of the bhûtî or district of Piharôja is still preserved in that of Piharô lying about a mile to the south-east of Bônda. The village of Lôdhîa, where a copperplate grant of the Pâñchristi king Sîvagupta Bâlârjuna was discovered some years ago, is about 4 miles from Piharô and 3 miles from Bônda. These villages are now included in the Sarangarh Sub-Division of the Raigarh District. The names of the Avanti and Lâta countries appear to be prefixed to the names of two of the donees. Avanti was the old name of the territory around Ujjain in the former Gwalior State, while Lâta indicated the Nausâri-Broach area of Gujarât.

TEXT

Seal

Śrîmat-Tivaradêvasya Kôsaôla-ādhipatêr=idañî(dam )
śasana=ôm=ôm=ôm=ôm=ôm=ôm=dharmma-vriddhy-artthamañ sthiram=ôcandra-târakañ(kam )

2 See ibid., Vol. VII, p. 105, text line 41.
3 From the original plates and impressions.
4 Metro : Anushûdhä.
SEAL

(from a Photograph)
First Plate

2. rēya[ḥ*] sakala-puṇya-kṛitām : svasti Śripurāt -samadhigatapāñchamahāsabdh-ānēka-nata-ṛṇi-
3. pati-kriṣṭa-kōti-gṛhīṭa-charaṇa-nakha-darpun-ōmbhāḥ(dbhāḥ)sit-ōpakaṇṭha-diū-mukhaḥ prakta-ṛṇi-
4. pu-rājadhākṣīḥ(kṣīḥ)-kēsā-pāś-ākaraḥśṛṣṭa-dujjalā-tuṣṭi-pa[ñ]a[ñ]lavāḥ niṣūta-niṣīṇās(a)strīṇa-śu-ghāna-
5. ghatā-patīt-āsti-dva[dvi]rāda-kumbhā-maṇḍala-gaḷadva(d-bhāla-gōḍo)sūta-sā-ta-sīkā-mukta-muktā-
phala-
6. prakara-maṇḍala-ta-ra-gaṅgaḥ vividha-ratna-saṁbhāra-lābhāl-lābhā-viśvambhām-āṇi-kādā-
7. ra-vāry-vādāva-anulā:-chandrāvyāya id -ākṛita-kar-ōdvēgoḥ Kāshīrāma id -āvibhūt-āṇēka-(k)āṭiśā-
8. yi-ratna-saṃpāt Garutma-nēva bhujrajā-ōdvēgoḥ chaturah parambhīṣṭa-sattva-kalattra-
netrā-pājā(na)-ka(kö)māla-
9. kapāla-kunkuma-patra-haṅgaḥ sīṣṭ-āchaṛa-vyavastha(ṣṭhā)-paripālānī(ḥ)-aṇīka-dattaḥ(tta)-
chittah [ *] api cha prā-
10. ktnē tapasī ya-asī rāhasi cētāsī chak-ḥus(ha) vapuṣhi cha pūjitō janēn-ākhi-līḍaṭyā ni-

Second Plate. First Side

11. tāntam[ ] avṛtirprīṇa gurjīḍhō gūḍhāni svacchāḥ prasaṁ̄nu yauvanāna cha(ch-ā)laṅkṛitaḥ svamībhavana[mn - ay]-abahu-lapa-
12. nō- mūrjita-kutrijhīṭ(a-lō)-ṛʾ niṣṭanta-tyā combinations ripu-jana-praḥaṇḍō -pi sō{s}au|mya-darśanō
bhūt-vibhūsha-
13. gō- pya apareṇa-śvabhāvah [ * ] kīṃ ch āṃsantuṣṭo dharmam-ūrjanē na sampallā(ū)-lāḥbdē
svālpah[ḥ*] kṛdēḥ na prabhāvē lu-
14. labhō vasaḥ na para-vittā-āpahurēḥ(rē) saktē bhūḥṣuntē-hu na kāṃi-krīḍāsa pratāp-ānala-
dagdhē-āśā-la-
15. ripu-kula-tūla-rāsī- tuhina-śilā-sūlā-dhavala-yaśo-rāṣ-[pr[pr]]kṣīta-dīgantah ka(kā)ntah pракṛ-
16. tyā śrīmad-Indrāva(ba)[l]a-śūnṭe-alāṅkṛta-Pāṇḍu-van[ga](vanī)ṣya śr[īl]-Nan[n]ā-
devasya tanaḥ[ḥ*] pra(prā)-
17. pta-saṅkala[Kö(sa)][l]-ādhipatyaḥ svā-puṇya-sambhāra-praṣaṁśīt-āśōṣha-jagad-upadra[va]ḥ svā-
prajñā-
18. su(sū)che-samuddhrīt-ākhaṇa-kapartakah paramavaśi-huvā mātā-pitṛ-paś-adhikhyātah śrī-
Mā(Ma)bā-
19. śīva-Tivararājāḥ Piharāja-bhūtipa[ya]-Bōndaka[4]-Avadika-sahita-prativīṣamah samajñāh-

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1. Expressed by symbol.
3. '[h] had been originally engraved and the d-sign was later struck off.
4. Read lābhā. Lō had been originally incised and the i-sign in medial d was struck off.
5. Jō seems to have been originally engraved; but the sign of medial d is struck off.
6. Saṅghā has not been observed here. Better read "y[.].[j]hīṭa-Bōndēka or Bōndēka Avadika-gahīṭe."
20 payati viditaṃ m=astre bhavatam yathi=āsāmhib=ayaṇi grāmō yāvad=ravi=ṣāi=tāra=kiroṇa.
21 pratihasta=ghōṛ-anādhakāraṇi jagad=vaṭīṣṭhati tāvad=upabhōgayah sa-nidhiḥ[*] s-ōpa-

Second Plate, Second Side
22 nidhir=a-chāra-bhāta-prāvēṣyah sarvāva-kara-samavedaḥ sa-dēs-āparādhaḥ s-āputtrika-vēṇi-
23 bhōjyaḥ Yajurvedvēda da=Sānavēda-Charkā附加adhvāryaḥ(yrey)-Maitrāyaniḥ(sya-bhāṭa-Mah-
24 dhusdan-ōpādhyāya.
25 ya = Ra(A)vanti- Vikram-ōpādhyāya = Dīvāsām-ōpādhyāya = Svāmīdatt-ōpādhyāya =

Vishnugō

30 sh-ōpādhyāya = Sthāvar-ōpādhyāya = Bhaṭṭa-Kamalapakasvāmi = Bhaṭṭa-Rāvinā(na)-
gasvāmi [\*]
26 Šambhubhavasvāmi = Baj[i*]dhudeva-Yorangā-Vishnubhavasvāmi = Lāṭa-Phalihavāmi..
27 Aśokasvāmi = Śrīdharabhidhiśvāmi = Śilapakasvāmi = Sāppūpakasvāmi [\*]
28 Vāmanasvāmi = Nagāsaramasvāmi = Gōla[ch*a]ndrasvāmi = Bhadrasvāmi = Chhandoga-chau-
29 raṇīyā-Gōpendrasvāmi ēvaru Vāmanasvāmi = Sāmasvāmi = Yajñasvāmi "
30 Unatamēghasvāmadhyāya paichevāśvāsya(sīvina)śibhyāḥ mātā-pitro ātmana ṣa puny-ābhi-
31 vṛiddihāy udaka-pūrvvam = pratipāda ity = upalabhāya yath očchātia bhōga-bhāga-

Third Plate
32 m=upanavantaḥ sukhaṇ prativas-yath = ēti = bhāvinae = cha bhūmipālaṇa = uddi-
33 i = śāmāni(m=a) bhiddhyat [\*] Bhūmi-pradā divi lalantī patita(n)ti hanta hṛttvā mahī[n*]
34 ēriyā
tara
31 yō naraṅkē nriṣatsā(sai-saḥ) ētārda(tad=dva)yāni parikalayya cha(la)ḥ = cha lakṣhmīm = āyaṣya = tatha(ha) kuruta ya
35 d = bhavatā (tām) = abhīṣṭa(bhiṣṭama), ē api cha [\*] Rakṣā-pālana-yōṣast(a=tā)vaṇa = phala-
36 [i*i*] sugata-durgati [\*] kō nūma svā(sva)rga-
36 m = uteriyā naraṇa[i*] pratipadyatē [\*] Vyāsa-gītā[ti*] js = ch = ātra slōkān = udāharanti [\*]
37 Agnī = apatyānī pra-
38 thama[i*] suvarṇa[i*i*] bhūr = vvaśēvāvī sûrya-sutās = cha gāvah [\*] dattā = trayas =
tēṣa bhavantī lōkā
38 yāḥ = (kū = kā) cehanāni āhū = cha mahīḥ = cha dadvat, 1 Shashṭī varsha-sahasra(srāṇ)ī
39 svarggī mūdati bhūmīdāḥ [\*]
39 a(ū)chchhetā chēḍa(ch = a)nunantā ceha(ch) tānī = ēva nārakō vasēt, 1 Balubhrī = vvaś-
40 dāla dattā rāḥbhīs = Sa-
40 gar-ūdībhī [\*] yasva yasva yadā(dā) bhūmi = tāsya tāsya tadā phalaṁ(lam =) 2 Sva-dattā-
41 [i*] para-dattanuvāttāni vā yatakē = ra-
41 keha Yudhisṛththāra [\*] mahīmā(m=ma)hinatāṁ śrēṣṭha dānāḥ = chhrēyō = uṉūpānam =
42 iti = pravardhitamā-vijaya-ra-
42 jyō samva(sarva)va-five Mārga-dī 1 ukti[ti]namuṇ(rpanu) sikhāśālika-Yōtranāga-sūnunā

Bōppanāgū\n
1 Better read vamaṇa.
2 The double danda base and below upto line 29 are wrong. The names of the donors should have to be read in a single compound expression. But the rules of sandhi have been ignored in a few cases.
3 Better omit caṃ since all the names of the donors have to be regarded as forming a single compound expression.

4 Better read caṃ.
5 It was originally incised. But the is sign seems to be struck off.
6 Metre : Vanaṁālakā.
7 Metre : Ādvēḷhā.
8 Metre : Indrāṅjā.
No. 18—MUDGAPADRA GRANT OF YUVARAJA SRYASRAYA SILADITYA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACUMUND

(Received on 4. 1. 1959)

In August 1959, Mr. Nathubhai Umaji Shah of Karchelia in the Mahuwa Tahsil of the Surat District, Bombay State, sent me a set of two copper plates for examination. The two rings that must have originally held the plates together and the seal expected to have been affixed to one of them were not available to me. I had also no information regarding the exact findspot of the inscription and the circumstances leading to its discovery.

The two plates of the set measure each about 8-5 inches in length and 5-1 inches in height. They have two ring-holes in the margin, which are respectively .4 and .5 inch in diameter, the intervening gap between them being about 2-5 inches. The plates have writing only on the inner side. The weight of the two plates together is 72½ tolas.

There are 21 lines of writing, 9 lines on the first and 12 on the second. The characters of the inscription belong to the West Indian variety of the early Telugu-Kannada alphabet of the seventh century A.D. The language is Sanskrit and the record is written in a mixture of prose and verse. The orthography is similar to that of other epigraphs of the age and area in question. The text of the record is full of errors of omission and commission. The style is similar to the published records of the donor. But the introductory part of the present record is somewhat smaller than in the other inscriptions of the family. The date of the grant is quoted in lines 20-21 as the 7th day of the bright fortnight of Jyēṣṭha in the year 420 expressed in words only. The year has to be referred to the Kalachuri era which, as Keilhorn has shown, started from the 13th August 249 A.D.1 Thus the year 420 of the Kalachuri era would be equivalent to 668-69 A.D. and Jyēṣṭha-sudi 7 of the said year corresponds to the 23rd May 668 A.D. This is the earliest record of the Chālukya house of Gujārāt and the date is of considerable importance in as much as, as will be seen below, it proves that a generally accepted theory about the history of the family in question is wrong.

The charter was issued by Yuvarāja Śrīsraya Śilāditya of the Chālukya or Chālukya dynasty. He was the son of Dharāsraya Jayasimhavarman and grandson of the Chālukya emperor Satyāraya Pulakēsin II (610-42 A.D.) of Bādami. The Nasīk plates2 of Dharāsraya Jayasimhavarmanāja, dated in the Kalachuri year 436-684-85 A.D. (actually Chaitra-sudi 10 of 685 A.D.), mention the donor as meditating on the feet of his parents and of the illustrious Anivārīta who is no other than the Chālukya emperor Vikramāditya I (655-81 A.D.) as suggested by the latter's own inscriptions.3 At the time the charter was issued, Jayasimhavarman was ruling over the Nasīk region as a semi-independent feudatory of Vikramāditya's son and successor Vīnayāditya I (681-96 A.D.) who is, however, not mentioned in the record. We know that Dharāsraya Jayasimhavarman is sometimes described as one 'whose prosperity was

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. XVII, p. 215. That the era started from the 5th September 248 A.D. is believed to be the later view of the same scholar (CII, Vol. IV, p. vii).
augmented by his elder brother (i.e., Vikramāditya I), and this suggests that he was appointed viceroy of the Nasik region by Vikramāditya I. But the Nasik plates do not represent him clearly as a feudatory of the Chālukya emperor.

While there is only one charter issued by Jayasimhavarma as indicated above, two grants of his son Yuvārajya Śrīyāra Śilāditya were so far known to us. These are the Nausāri plates of the Kalachuri year 421-669-70 A.D. (actually Māgha-sudi 13 of 670 A.D.) and the Surat plates of the year 443-691-92 A.D. (actually Śrāvaṇa-sudi 15 of 691 A.D.). The earlier of the two grants, like the charter under study, is known to have been issued from Naivasārikā (Nausāri). Our inscription is thus the third and the earliest of Śrīyāra Śilāditya’s inscriptions so far known. His title Yuvārajya (meaning ‘an heir-apparent’) and the fact that the seal of his Surat plates bears the name of his father have led some scholars to believe that Śrīyāra Śilāditya was ruling on behalf of his father who was himself a viceroy of the Chālukyas of Bādami. But the issue of copper-plate grants by both the father and the son appears to suggest that they were ruling over different tracts as semi-independent subordinates of the Chālukya emperors of Bādami. It has to be noted that Śilāditya’s charters do not indicate in any way that he was a subordinate of his father or of the Chālukya emperor of Bādami, but, on the other hand, show that his political status was similar to that of his father. If he was really ruling on his father’s behalf over a portion of the latter’s chiefdom, he could not have issued charters of his own without indicating his subordinate status in any way. Indeed, in such a case, he could only issue a grant with his father’s permission. We can understand a powerful viceroy issuing charters in his own name with the connivance of his weak or distant overlord. But it is difficult to believe that a governor under the viceroy, even if he was his own son, was empowered to issue grants like an independent ruler. In this connection, attention may be drawn to the fact that the Manor plates of Jayasimha Mañgalarāja, who was another son of Dharārāya Jayasimhavarma and was ruling over the Thana region, were issued in Śaka 613-691-92 A.D. (actually on Vaiśāka-sudi 15 of 691 A.D.) stated to have been corresponding to the twenty-first regnal year of Mañgalarāja. Thus Mañgalarāja’s rule as a viceroy began as early as 669-70 A.D. while his brother Śrīyāra Śilāditya is now known to have been ruling from the year 669-69 A.D. down at least to 691-92 A.D. as already indicated above. Both the brothers were thus ruling semi-independently at the same time side by side with their father. Mañgalarāja’s reference to the twenty-first year of his own rule no doubt points to his semi-independent status.

It has been suggested that the regnal year 21 mentioned in the Manor plates refer to the reign of Dharārāya Jayasimhavarma and not of Mañgalarāja who is believed to have been ruling on his father’s behalf and, on this basis, it has been concluded that Jayasimhavarma ruled from 669-70 A.D. (Kalachuri year 421) at least to 691-92 A.D. (Kalachuri year 443) which are, as we have seen, the dates of the Nausāri and Surat plates of his son Śrīyāra Śilāditya. This is, however, clearly against the language of the Manor plates. Moreover, the present record shows that Śrīyāra Śilāditya began to rule at least one year earlier and this fact disproves the suggestion that the Nausāri plates of the Kalachuri year 421 were issued by Śrīyāra Śilāditya shortly after Gujarāt came into the possession of Dharārāya Jayasimhavarma, i.e., in the first year of his rule. The date

1 CHI, Vol. IV, p. 125, text line 9.
2 Ibid., pp. 123 ff.
3 Ibid., p. ixiiii.
4 Above Vol. XXVIII, pp. 17 ff.
5 Ibid., p. 38. Mirashi agrees with the suggestion but regards the Kalachuri years 421 and 443 as equivalent to 670-71 and 693-94 A.D. respectively (CHI, Vol. IV, p. lii, note 1). Jayasimha Mañgalarāja had a fairly long rule since he is also known to have issued the Balsar Plates of Śaka 653 (731-32 A.D.). See JBBRAS, Vol. X VI, p. 5; Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 75.
6 It is really strange that Mirashi (loc. cit.) regards 670-71 A. D. as later than 671-72 A. D., which he quotes as 671 A. D., the reason being obvious.
of the inscription under study suggests that, while Maṅgalarāja was appointed viceroy in 669-70 A.D., his brother Śrīyāsraya Śilāditya and probably also Jayasimha, father of Śrīyāsraya Śilāditya and Maṅgalarāja, began to rule as viceroys from an earlier date. It seems also to suggest that the father and his two sons were viceroys over different parts of Gujarāt and that the sons were not ruling on behalf of their father. The real significance of the title Yuvārāja enjoyed by Śrīyāsraya Śilāditya cannot be determined. It may have been conferred on him by his overlord.

The Nausāri plates1 of Avantījanāraya Pulakēśirāja dated in the Kalachuri year 490-788-39 A.D. (actually Kārttikeya-sudi 13 of 736 A.D.) assign the imperial title Paśuwabhaṅgaṛaka not only to Pulakēśirāja but also to his brother and predecessor Maṅgalarāja and their father Jayasimha even though Pulakēśin is stated to have received certain titles from king Śrīvallabha, i.e., his overlord, the Chālukya emperor of Bādāmi. This suggests that the Gujarāt Chālukyas were semi-independent before the Chālukya house of Bādāmi was overthrown by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Even the Manora plates of 691-52 A.D., which refer to the twenty-first year of Maṅgalarāja's rule as indicated above, apply the title Prithivīvallabha to Maṅgalarāja. The Nausāri plates of Pulakēśirāja may be regarded as representing him as the successor of Maṅgalarāja and the latter as the successor of Jayasimha and this has been taken to indicate that Śilāditya, not mentioned in the record, predeceased his father. It may be supposed that on Śilāditya's death his chieftain passed on to his father Jayasimha and that Jayasimha's chieftain passed on his death to Maṅgalarāja who was succeeded by Pulakēśirāja. But, since there were other vice-regal rulers in the region in question,2 it is difficult to be sure on these points. The Nausāri plates, however, merely give the relation between Jayasimha and Maṅgalarāja and between Maṅgalarāja and Pulakēśirāja and do not really specify the regular order of succession. But since the relation between Maṅgalarāja and Pulakēśirāja was not the regular one of father and son, its mention may suggest that Pulakēśirāja considered himself the successor of his brother. The statement of the relationship between Jayasimha and Maṅgalarāja may, however, be only casual without any such bearing.

The inscription under study begins with the Siddham symbol and the auspicious word Svasti. These are followed in lines 1-2 by the well-known stanza Jayasyārīvīkhritā, etc., in adoration of the boar incarnation of Vishnu, which is found at the beginning of most of the records of the Chālukya house of Bādāmi. The word Svasti occurs again after the said stanza indicating the beginning of the document proper. Then king Pulakēśin-vallabha (Pulakēśin II) of the Chālukya (Chālukya) family [of Bādāmi] is introduced (lines 2-5). As in the other records of the family, the Chālukyas are described as meditating on (or, favoured by) the feet of the god Śvāmi-Mahāśeṇa (i.e., Skanda-Kārttikeya), as installed [to power] by the [Divine] Mothers, as belonging to the Māṇaya gōtra and as having been Hariṭi-putras. King Pulakēśin II is also described as one whose body was purified by the avabhritha bath taken in connection with such sacrifices as the Bhūvauvaraka, Śvamēha, Paunaḍarika and Vājapēya. This can be regarded as a genuine claim only if it may be believed that he took part in these sacrifices which were actually performed by his grandfather Pulakēśin I. But the known facts of Chālukya history show that Pulakēśin II was too young at the time of his father's death about 597 A.D. while the Śvamēha and some of the other sacrifices had been celebrated by his grandfather before 543 A.D.3 Thus the claim in our inscription could scarcely have been genuine.

Pulakēśin's son Vikramāditya Śatyaśraya Prithivīvallabha is next introduced in lines 5-7 of our record as devoted to his parents and to the illustrious Nāgavarman. This Nāgavarman

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2 Cf. CII, Vol. IV, pp. 11-ixvi.
3 The Classical Age, pp. 231 ff.
is mentioned in several other epigraphs of the Gujarāt Chālukyas as Nāgavardhara who is usually believed to have been one of the gurus of Vikramāditya I. The inscription then introduces Dhārāśraya (actually called Dhārāśraya in our record as also in some other epigraphs) Jayasimhavarman as the brother of Vikramāditya I and the donor of the charter, viz. Śrīyāśraya Śilāditya-yuvārāja, is next mentioned as the son of Dhārāśraya Jayasimhavarman (lines 7-9).

The charter was issued from Navasarikā (line 10), i.e. modern Nausāri, which seems to have been the head-quarters of the government of Śrīyāśraya Śilāditya. The grant recorded in the charter was made in favour of two Brāhmaṇas, the first of whom was Rēvāditya, the son of Bambhasvāmin (Brahmasvāmin) of an Aupamanyava-gōtra family hailing from Girinagara (modern Girnar near Junagarh in Kathiawar). Rēvāditya is described as a Chhandōga-brahmachārīn, i.e. a student of the Chhandōga branch of the Sāmaveda. The second donee was Varasyaka of the Āśvalāyana gōtra, who was the son of the sister of Rēvāditya’s mother. His father is not mentioned in our record and he is represented, like Rēvāditya, as a pūtaka (i.e., a son) to Bambhasvāmin. The specific mention of his gōtra seems to preclude the possibility of Varasyaka being an actual or adopted son of Bambhasvāmin. Probably Varasyaka was brought up in Bambhasvāmin’s family.

The village granted was Mudgāpadra-ghanā situated in the district of Vichihāra. It is difficult to determine whether hāra in the second name actually stands for āhāra, ‘a district’. The grant was made for the increase of the merit and fame of the donor and his parents. The object was the provision for the performance of the balī, charu and vaisvadēva rites as well as the reception and maintenance of guests by the donees.

The above section of the record is followed by the donor’s request to future rulers for the maintenance of the grant and the curse to the effect that [the person responsible for the resumption of the gift land] would be committing the five great sins. After this, some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas are quoted in lines 16-20 as the sayings of Vēḍavyāsa Vyasā. Lines 20-21 quote the date already discussed above. The charter ends with the statement that it was written by the Śaṅkhivigrhaṇī (minister for peace and war) Dhananjiyaya who was also the writer of the donor’s Nausāri plates referred to above.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the document, we have already indicated the location of Navasarikā and Girinagara. The gift village called Mudgāpadra-ghanā and the district of Vichihāra in which the village was situated cannot be identified.

TEXT

First Plate

1 Siddhaṁ svasti [[*]] Jayatī-āvālīkṛitāṁ bhushnur*-vārāhaṁ kṣhōbhita-arpnabhaṁ(vam |)
  dakshin-omata-damashṭr-ā-

2 gra-vikrā(śrā)nta-bhuvanam vampuḥ [[*]] svasti [[*]] Mānavaṇya-sagōṭrāṇāṁ Ĥārīti(tu)-
  putrāṇāṁ

1 See above, Vol. XXXII, p. 179.
2 Cf. the case of Raghudēva described as putrākṛta by Kapilēśvara even though the former was not the latter’s actual or adopted son (above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 5). Note also the case of Čāchiga who was the son of Padma but claimed to have been the dharma-putra of king Gōpāla (ibid., Vol. XXXII, p. 340).
3 From the original plates.
4 Expressed by symbol.
5 Read ‘ūrīśkāriṇaṃ.
6 Read ‘Vīṣṭhāṅce.’
7 Meter: Anushtubh.
MUDGAPADRA GRANT OF YUVARAJA SRYASRAYA SILADITYA

Scale: Three-fifths
No. 18] MUDGAPADRA GRANT OF YUVARAJA SRYASRAYA SILADITYA

3 Mā{(trj)(tr)-gaṇ-ābhishtānāṁ Svāmi-Mahāśeṇa1-pād-ānuddhyātānāṁ Chalikyānāṁ(u)-


5 snāna-pavitrīkri(kṛjita-sārīrāḥ(rah) śri-Pulakēśi-vallabhaḥ [*] tasya puttra[h*]
paranāmahāvārāḥ

6 mātā-pitrāḥ(t)āj(c)-cēhā-śri-Nāgavarmma3-pād-ānuddhyātāḥ śri-Vikramāditya-Satyaśraya-
Pr(Pri)thi

7 vīllabhaḥ-mahārājajāsthirāja-paramēśvara-bhāṭārākāh [*] tasya bhrātā
Dhārāśrayaḥ- śri-Ja-

8 yasirñhavanma[rmmā [*] tasya putraḥ sa-madana yuvatī-jana-manḍhara-rūpa-
saubhāgya-

9 vijita-vidyādharo-chakravarti-guṇaḥ Śrīśrāyasa-śri-Śilāditya-yuvārajaḥ

Second Plate

10 Navasārikāri ś Girinagara-viniragit-Aupapanna-sagottra-Baṃhāsāvā-

11 mū-pitrukakābhīya3 Rēvāditya-Čechhandogā-brahmacārīpi

12 tan-mātrīṣva(dīva)ṣuputru-āścalayā-sagottra-Vrarasaya10 Vichihā-

13 r-antarggata-Mudgappadra-grāmanḥ dattavān mūtā-pitrōr-ātmanaḥ-cha puṇya-yaśō-
bhivir(vṛi)-

14 ddhayē akhaṇḍita-balī-charu-vaisvanara11 priy-ātithi-santarpaṇāya śarad-abhra-saṁ-

15 saṅghatāvajiva-lok-ānityatāśīni12-anumānitya dhārmikākārī-āgā(hi)m[1]-nripatibhi[hi]*
asmad-dāvō =

16 numantiṣya13 sa pa[h]chabhīr=mahāpātakai[h*] saṁyuktaḥ sā(syā)d=ity14=uktam[*]
 bhagavatā Vēdamaye[na*]

17 Vāṣṇa Shashti-vardhana-sahasraqi svarggī vrāta bhūma(mi)daḥ [*] āchchhēttā
cī=anumānta cha tā-

18 ny=eva narakō vasō[{[15 Vindhyā-āravīṣī=atōyāsa śushka-kōṭara-vāsina](naḥ *) [kṛj(i)-

- śn-āhayō

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1 Sā was originally misused in place of śr.
2 Read 'bhriθn.
3 The akshara is redundant.
4 There are two signs of superscript r above mμr.
5 The name is found in the forms Dhārāśraya and Dharāśraya.
6 Read "sārikām-adhikarana as in the Naṣāri plates.
7 Read "Aupamanyana.
8 Sanskrit Brahmacārīmi.
9 Read putrākṛtyām.
10 Read Varṇakāya cha.
11 The intended reading is vaiṣvanara. But the more appropriate expression seems to be vaiśvadeva.
12 Read "ākra-namānation-jiva-lok-ānityatām".
13 The letters "rāparipātāyātṛṣṭaḥ yā yājñāna-timēn pataḥ-ārīra-mātrāśchchhindayād-āchchhind mamām

Note: The superscript t in the conjunct has an incomplete form.

4 DGA/39
19 bi jāyantē ॥ ॥ bhūma(m)-dāyang haranti yē ॥ ॥ Bahubhir=vasudhā bhuktā rāja(bhi[ḥ*] Sagar-ādibhū(bhīḥ ||

20 yasya yasya yadā bhūmi ॥ ॥ =tasya st(a)ya tada phalam ॥ sarīvatsara-sata-chayēṣṭā[ḥ ॥

viṁśo- ॥

21 ttar-ādhikā ॥ ॥ Jēṣṭā[ḥ*-]suddha-saptamā[ḥ*] śri-sandhivigrāhita(ka)-Dhana[ḥ*]-
jayēna likhēta[ḥ ॥ ॥

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1 The āvaras are unnecessary.
2 Metre : Anushṭubh.
3 Read chaṭukhaṭyaḥ. Another possible emendation of the faulty passage is chaṭu[ḥ]*[ḥ*-]kaṭa which did not occur to me when the article was written. If this is preferred, the date would be year 428 and the inscription would of course not be the earliest record of the family. But that does not affect much the suggestion regarding the simultaneous rule of Jeyasinha and his son. Cf. above, p. 118 and note 7.
4 Read viṁśayā-āturē or viṁśayā-ādhikā.
5 Read Jēṣṭha.
6 Read likhētam.
7 This is followed by a design indicating the end of the writing.
No. 19—NESARIKÅ GRANT OF GOVINDA III, SAKA 727

(2 Plates)

PARMESSAGEYI Lal GuPTA, BOMBAY

(Received on 30. 6. 1939)

This set of three copper plates was lying for a long time with the family of Major Sardar Nagojirao Patankar of Patan, North Satara District, Bombay. The source from which they came to his family is unknown. On the 15th May 1955, Major Patankar presented the plates to Shri Morarji Desai, the then Chief Minister of Bombay State. Later they were transferred to the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay. The inscription was published earlier by Shri G. H. Khare in his Sources of the Medieval History of Deccan (Marathi), Vol. I, pp. 15 ff. with Plates.

Each of the three plates measures 9:5" in length and 6:75" in breadth. Their ends are a little raised and thickened for the protection of the writing, the preservation of which is unsatisfactory. Some portions at one corner of two of the plates are lost. The surface of the first and second plates are damaged due to corrosion. The second plate is cracked at the centre. The first plate is inscribed on the inner side and the other two on both the sides. The plates are strung on a ring about 5" in thickness and 2:3" in diameter, to which is soldered a round seal 1:5" in diameter. The countersunk surface of the seal bears the figure of Garuda, facing, squatting on a lotus.

The whole grant runs into 71 lines. Plate I has 19 lines, Plate II has 19 and 16, and Plate III 15 and 5. The scribe has inadvertently omitted one or two letters at places and in one case (line 42) as many as nine letters. There seems to be some overwriting in lines 49 and 50, the motive of which is unknown.

The characters are Nāgari of the West Indian type and resemble those of the other copper-plate grants of the Rāshaṅkūṭa ruler Gōvinda III who also issued the present charter. The sign for the jhāṃikiya and ṣpaḥkmānīya resembles the letter sh (cf. lines 9, 27). The letter ḥi is always denoted by the sign r. The language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, we have the indiscriminate use of one of the three sibilants for another, the use of y for i and vice versa, ri expressed by ri, etc. There are numerous errors in the text of the record.

The plates were issued by the Rāshaṅkūṭa king Gōvinda III while he was encamping in Śūgūdukūṭa. He is described as Paramaḥāṭhāraṃkūta Mahārajaḥāṭhārāja Paramārātra śrīmāt-Prahāṭhāraṇa Śrīvallabhaṇnārā and as meditating on the feet of Paramaḥāṭhāraṃkūta Mahārajaḥāṭhārāja Paramārātra śrīmad-Dhārāṣṭravaṃtha. The subject of the inscription is to record the royal gift of the village of Nēśarikā to the occasion of Sūraṅkūṭi on the 13th day of the dark half of the month of Pausha in the cyclic year Tāraṇa and the expired Śaka year 727 (expressed in words only). The date corresponds to the 21st December 805 A.D. On that day, the Sūraṅkūṭi took place 55 gvāṭhīks after mean sun-rise when the 13th tithi of the dark half of Pausha was current. The tithi ended 42 gvāṭhīks after mean sun-rise next day. The cyclic year was Tāraṇa according to the Northern system.

The donated village Nēśarikā was situated in the Chandagadā rīṣhayā. The details of the boundary given in the grant are difficult to understand, as the lines containing the information are tampered by overwriting. However, it appears that it was bounded on the east by the confluence of the river Tārā; on the south by Hēma-gīrti adjoining some village (the name of which cannot be made out); on the west by a water-fall of the village of Darvāṇa, and on the north by a

\[1\] [See below, p. 132, note 1.—Ed.]
\[2\] [See below, p. 132, note 4.—Ed.]
village (the name of which cannot be made out) situated near Krishna-giri. Chandagaḍa may be the present Chandgarh, the headquarters of the Taluk of the same name formerly belonging to the Belgam District. About ten miles to its north is situated a village named Nēsari which may be Nēsārikā of the grant. To the east of Nēsāri flows the Tarhaḷa river which meets the river Malaprabhā at a little distance south-east of Nēsāri. This Tarhaḷa may be the river Tārā and the confluence referred to in the grant may be that of the Tarhaḷa and the Malaprabhā.

The donor was Śivanāga-bhaṭṭa, the son of Parivachchhara-chaturvēda and grandson of Bāhurūḷasā-chaturvēda. The donor’s family belonged to the gōrṇas of Aṅgiras, Bāhrapatyā and Bhāradvāja and the Taittirīya school of the Vēdas and he was a student of the three Vēdas and was the resident of Iḵetu-grāma which cannot be identified. The gift was made to the donor at the instance of a chief named Nāgahari of the Bṛhaḥch-Chhindha family of the Phāṇḍra (Nāga) race. The Chhindha (Sinda) family ruled from Bagalkot and Yelburga in Bijapur and Hollavour and Belaguttī in Mysore.

Śaṅgūḍāra, the camping place of the king from which the present grant was issued, cannot be precisely located. It is, however, not unlikely that it lay in the territory of the Chhindha chief, at whose instance the gift was made.

The record was written by Arunāḍāitya who was the son of Vatsarāja and figures as the scribe of no less than five other charters of the king, viz. the Wāṇi-Dikōrī plates of Śaka 730 (current), Sisavāḷi grant of Śaka 729, Bāhaltāwad plates of Śaka 732 (current), Bhārata Itiḥāsa Sanśōdhaka Maṇḍala plates of Śaka 738 and Lōhārā grant of Śaka 734. He was thus serving Gōvinda III at least from Śaka 727 to 734. The dūṅaka of the present grant was Dēvāyā-riṅaka.

The inscription offers the longest eulogy of king Gōvinda III. Out of the 16 stanzas (verses 10-29) of this eulogy, 11 (verses 10-20) are known from the Rādhanpur and Sisavāḷ grants as well as from the Maṇḍa plates of Śaka 724, which record a grant of Gōvinda’s brother Stambha. This portion of the eulogy, excluding verses 15 and 19, is also found in the Wāṇi-Dikōrī plates and, excluding verses 16 and 17, in the Lōhārā grant. The remaining five stanzas (verses 21-25) are found only in the present record.

Verses 10-12 refer to Gōvinda’s appointment as yuvāraja and investiture with the karthikā (necklace), the sign of an heir-apparent. Verse 13 tells us that after the death of his father, he subdued twelve rulers who had combined against him. There is no indication that this revolt was headed by Gōvinda’s brother Stambha as suggested by scholars on the authority of the Kārti plates of Gōvinda of the Gujarāt-Rāṣṭrapāla branch, in which the name of Stambha is mentioned as one of the rebellious rulers. The reference to this revolt of the twelve feudatories also appears in...
Stambha's own grant, viz., the Maṇḍa plates. Had he been involved in the revolt, he would have easily ignored the reference to the revolt in the eulogy of Gōvinda III in his own grant in view of the fact that it is not referred to in records like the Aṇjanāvatī plates of Saka 722 issued by Gōvinda III himself. Stambha, the brother of Gōvinda III, thus may have been different from Stambha who rebelled against the latter. Verses 14-20 describe the surrender of six kings, viz. (1) Gaṅga, (2) Vēṇī, (3) Mālava, (4) Vindhya (i.e. Mārāśarva), (5) Pallava and (6) Gūrjara, who may have been six out of the twelve, since Andhra is identical with Vēṇī and Kōśala and Avanti may be identified respectively with Vindhya and Mālava.

Verse 21-25, which are found only in the present grant, appear to throw more light on the above rulers. The verses may be translated as follows: "Jagattuṇāga (i.e. Gōvinda III) decorated the whole universe with the sign of Garuda (i.e. the royal insignia of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas) after having taken away [the insignia of] the fish from the king of the Pāṇḍya country, [the insignia of] the tiger from the Chōla, [the insignia of] the elephant from the Gaṅga, [the insignia of] the bow-stick from the Kērala, [the insignia of] the bow from the Andhra, Chālukya and Maurya, the phalakānas pratirdhārya ('') from the lord of the Gūrjaras, [the insignia of] the bull from the lords of the Pallava, Kōśala and Avanti; the rāma (i.e. image) from the Śīhala and [the image of] the renowned goddess Tārā from Dharma, the king of Vaṅgāla, and other insignia from various other rulers.

Here we have a list of thirteen kings who were deprived of their royal insignia by Gōvinda III. They are: (1) Pāṇḍya, (2) Pallava, (3) Chōla, (4) Gaṅga, (5) Kērala, (6) Andhra, (7) Chālukya, (8) Maurya, (9) Gūrjara, (10) Kōśala, (11) Avanti, (12) Śīhala and (13) Vaṅgāla. One of these names, viz. Pallava, is mentioned twice. Whether this is a mistake of the scribe or was purposefully written cannot be determined, since it may be due to the fact that Gōvinda III led two expeditions against the Pallava country as appears from the language of his British Museum plates of Saka 726.

Of these thirteen kings, six, viz. Nos. 2, 4, 6, 9, 10 and 11, are the same, as we have seen, as those referred to in verses 14-20. Six others, viz. 1, 3, 5, 7, 8 and 13 who are known to have been subdued by the predecessors of Gōvinda III, may be the six other rebels. Śīhala (No. 12) is not mentioned in connection with the exploits of his predecessors and may have been subdued by Gōvinda III himself.

As regards the insignia of the various kings, it is well known that the Pāṇḍya had the fish emblem. Nēduṇuṭaṭayaṇ (758-817 A.D.), the son of Māravarman Rājasimhā I, was the Pāṇḍya contemporary of Gōvinda III. But nothing is known about his struggle with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The bull was the emblem of the Pallava. The Pallava ruler referred to is Dantivarman, the son of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla. The defeat of Dantiga or Dantivarman of the Pallava dynasty at the hands of Gōvinda III is mentioned in the latter's British Museum plates. The tiger was the insignia of the Chōlas. Gōvinda's Chōla contemporary seems to have been a predecessor of king Vijayālaya (850-71 A.D.).

2 Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 13 ff. [See below, p. 140.—Ed.]
3 [See below, pp. 137-38, 140.—Ed.]
4 [See below, p. 137.—Ed.]
6 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj,* p. 156.
The bull was the insignia of the Eastern Gaṅgas and the elephant of the Western Gaṅgas. Our record apparently refers to the elephant emblem of the Western Gaṅgas. We are told in verse 14 of the record that the Gaṅga ruler, who was in prison, was released when Gōvinda III came to the throne, but that he was re-imprisoned on his being hostile. The same fact is alluded to in verses 18 and 33 of the Sanjan plates. This Gaṅga ruler is Śivānāra II (788–812 A.D.). The bow was the insignia of the Kērala kings. Gōvinda’s Kērala contemporary was in all probability Chēramān Perumāl (c. 742–826 A.D.).

The emblem of the Andhra king is described as the boar in our record. We know that the Andhra country at this period was under the Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgi, whose emblem was the boar. In verse 19, the lord of Vēṅgi (i.e. the Eastern Chālukya king) is said to have submitted to Gōvinda III and served the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king by dusting his courtyard. The same story is repeated in verse 33 of the Sanjan plates. The king of Vēṅgi at this time was either Vaiṣṇuvardhana IV (764–799 A.D.) or his son Vijayāditya II (799–847 A.D.), more probably the latter. The separate mention of the Chālukya king in the grant shows that there was a different branch of the Chālukyas other than the Eastern Chālukyas. This may either be the Chālukya house of Vēṇulavāda, which owed allegiance to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, or the branch of the Chālukya house of Būdāmi to which the Later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa belonged. The predecessors of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, who had the boar emblem, must have been feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The Maurya king is also said to have the insignia of the boar. These Mauryas may have been later members of the Maurya house of the Koṅkaṇ, which is mentioned in the Aihole inscription of the Chālukya king Pulakesin II (610–642 A.D.).

Verse 22 of the grant refers to the insignia of the lord of the Gūjrās as phalakāṃ pratīhāryaṃ. This faulty passage may be amended as phalakāṃ pratiḥāryaṃ, meaning a tablet (phalaka) having the figure of a pratīhāra (door-keeper). The reference is to the Gūjrā-Pratihāras of Kanauj. The seals attached to the charters of these Pratihāras look like a tablet (phalaka), being a rectangular piece 6” to 8” broad and 10” to 13” long. They bear a human figure facing full front under an arch. This figure has been taken to be the goddess Bhagavati, since she is mentioned in the grants of the Pratihāra king Mahendraśāla. But we know from the Gwalior prasasti that the Gūjrā-Pratihāras were born in the family having the emblem of a pratīhāra (door-keeper) and a man under an arch is an apt representation of a door-keeper. About this adversary of Gōvinda III, verse 15 of our record says that he vanished at the mere sight of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king. The Gūjrā ruler was in all probability Nāgabhaṭa II, the son of Vatsarāja, mentioned in verse 22 of the Sanjan plates.

The insignia of the kings of Kōsala and Avanti do not appear to be specifically mentioned in the grant unless we think that the word viṣabhāṭa mentioned in connection with Pallavāśāra also relates to them. The Pāṇḍava or Sōmavānī kings of Kōsala had the representation of the bull on their

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3 Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 244–46.
4 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 164.
6 Ibid., Vol. XVIII, p. 246.
7 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, pp. 132–33.
8 Ibid., pp. 13, 154.
12 Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 107, text line 3 (pratīhāra-kītana-kheṭā). [See below, p. 137.—Ed.]
13 Ibid., p. 244.
14 See below, p. 137.—Ed.
The ruler subdued by Gōvinda III may therefore be supposed to have belonged to this dynasty. Bhandarkar identified Chandragupta mentioned in line 22 of the Sanjan plates, where Kōsala is also mentioned amongst the subdued kingdoms, as the ruler of this kingdom and suggested that he belonged to the Pāṇḍava family. This suggestion was based on the dates assigned to the rulers of this family in the eighth and ninth centuries. But many scholars place the Pāṇḍava kings in the sixth and seventh centuries. Apart from this, Chandragupta is mentioned in the Sanjan plates along with Pratiṣṭhārā Nāgabhata II and Kōsala is mentioned there separately. So the two references cannot be related to one another. The ruler subdued by Gōvinda may not therefore have been a member of the Pāṇḍava family. We are inclined to identify the Vindhyān king Mārāśarva, mentioned in verses 17-18 of our record and in line 25 of the Sanjan plates as Mahārāja Šarva, with the ruler of Kōsala and his capital Śrībhavana with Śrīpura, modern Sirpur in the Raipur District of Madhya Pradesh. Śrībhavana lay near the Vindhyā and the Narmadā. It is usually identified with Sarbhon in the Amod Taluk of the Broach District, Bombay. But the Vindhyān range is far away from it.

It is a general belief among scholars that Avanti was under the Gūrjara-Pratiṣṭhāras during this period. It is said that it was either the home territory or the original seat of power of the Pratiṣṭhāra dynasty. In support of this, the Ellora inscription of Dantidurga and the Sanjan plates of Anōghavarsa are cited. In the former, it is mentioned that Dantidurga made liberal rewards to various rulers at Ujjainī and fixed his quarters in the Gūrjara palace in that city. In the Sanjan plates, it is said that Dantidurga performed a hinaryagabha ceremony at Ujjainī in which ‘kings such as the Gūrjara lord and others were made door-keepers.’ In the present record, we find Gūrjar-śāvara and Avanti-nātha mentioned separately in verses 22 and 23 respectively and two kinds of insignia are attributed to them. The king of Avanti was therefore different from the lord of the Gūrjara. In verses 15 and 16 again the Gūrjara and Mālava kings are mentioned separately and Mālava and Avanti are identical. The Baroda plates of Karka Suvarṇaśrī also distinguish between the kings of Mālava and Gūrjara. Thus the Rashtrakūta records make it clear that Avanti or Mālava was independent of the Gūrjara kingdom. The reference in lines 11-12 of our record to Vatsarāja, father of Nāgabhata II, having taken shelter in Maru after his defeat at the hands of Dhuva, father of Gōvinda III, suggests that the original home of the Gūrjara-Pratiṣṭhāras was in the Maru area. This is supported by the statement of Dakshiṇākṣārī, author of the Kurulayamālā, that he composed the work in Saka 700 (778 A.D.) at Javālipura (modern Jalor) which was then under the rule of Raṇahastin Vatsarāja. In our opinion, Vatsarāja, who ruled Avanti in Saka 705 (783 A.D.) according to Jinaśīna’s Haricana Purāṇa, was different from the Gūrjara-Pratiṣṭhāra king of the same name.

Gōvinda brought from Sinhala a nāma which probably means here ‘an image’. According to the Sanjan plates, he brought two images from there and had them installed in the temple of Śiva at Kaśṭhipuram.
The present record offers the earliest instance of the use of the name Vaṅgala. It is also very interesting to find that the name of the ruler of the land is mentioned in this connection, which is not the case with the others. Dharma, the ruler of Vaṅgala, may easily be identified with Dharmapāla (770-810 A.D.) of the Pāla dynasty. In the Sanjan plates also he is mentioned by name and is said to have surrendered himself to Gōvinda III along with Chakrāyudha, when the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king was engaged in his northern campaign. The present record informs us additionally that Gōvinda III brought from him an image of the goddess Tārā. Tārā is one of the important deities of the Buddhist pantheon and Dharmapāla is known to have been a Buddhist. But the goddess has no place on the banner or insignia of the Pāla dynasty. The seals that are found with the Pāla records bear the emblem of the well-known dharmachakra, flanked by two deer. It is quite possible that Dharmapāla, at the time of his surrender to Gōvinda III, offered him an image of Tārā, the highly esteemed mother of all the Buddhas.1

TEXT.

[Metres: verses 1, 21-24, 27-29, 31 Anuskṛtah; verses 2, 6, 9 Vasantatilakā; verses 3-5, 7, 8, 10-20, 25 Sārdulavikritā; verse 26 Āryā; verse 30 Indravarā; verse 32 Pushkāvṛtā.]

First Plate

1 ॐ स [वोपाख्]पश्च स याम यन्तानिकम्[वं] हरित(तमर) [1*] हरसत्व यत्स्व कांतेन-कल्याय कमलंकुंत्र(तमर) [111*] भूमिरस्ववद्तु (द्रु) हुरस्यल(रा)।

2 जमानथीकोस्मभायतविदन्त्युगकण्डः [1*] सत्यः (श्या) निवितो विपुलाकविनिविदातिकोद-प्यक्कुण्डिनुरुत्तो भूवि कृष्ण-।

3 राजः [112*] पक्षच्चुंदधयाभ्य(वित्र) ताखिलेत्महामूल्यमुचा भाजितावः [1*] दुलंघावदरं-रत्नेकविमले�ः(ल) बारिवनुभुताविविहः नवलम: [111*] तयाम-।

4 वस्त्रालब्धहुवद्यानुविद्वु (द्रु) महातात्यो वारीवेल्थ्योम(मम) दरवस्तलीलमिरिदाइकोद-व[1]नवलम: [111*] तयाम-।

5 तत्तं तपायिवसिराकाव्याविधमण्डल(ल) चण्डास्योः [1] सदुष्पथच्छुर्कतात्राध्यादितित्वास्तालः [1*] श्रीरो प्रभवतरो विपाविनि-।

6 ताबस्स्याव(द्रु) जयीद्वरी हरीकृष्ण यवलो यदीयमिनिः तिनावित्व(वित्र) कालिहेंत्व(तमर) [117*] बे (ञ्जे) पनाल(ल) घनाय(ञ्जा) तयामवलया लक्ष्म्या

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1 [See below, pp. 135 ff.—Ed.]
2 From the original plates.
3 Expresed by symbol.
4 Only faint traces of these letters can be seen on the plate.
5 [The reading is bha½po.—Ed.]
नेसारिका ग्रांट ऑफ गोविंदा आ. साक 727

7 समेतोपि सवे(त्यो) मूलीं माण्डल स्थितियुक्तो पोजाको न कााचित्। [†] कण्ज्ञानश्वय- 
दायसतत्त्वाय यथायादायायि दा।

8 न(न) वीथ्य मुहूर्त(श्री) ना द्र दिस(शां) प्राते स्थीता दिगजा। [†††*] 
प्रणयेन जातु विचित्र मूल्यांकितकार अंत्यांतःत्त्वात्मकत्वसम्म।[†]

9 नमां(नम्) [†] येनेह व(व)ध(इ)मुलाक्ष्य विराय गां दूरं स्वतीयस्वयम्भने 
विफल्यां:। [††*] एकलक्रम(व)केन वा।

10 रिनिथिरयम् र्ह(र्ह) वन निफक्त्यमितीयो(इ)तेन विहरा(र) द्राहातिभोभेम 
व [†] मातंगान्यदव।[†]

11 रिनिथिरमुक्त्याः यत्याः तत्याः तत्याः मध्यममयमयुदिन(नं) यह।[†*] सूर्याण(न) 
कााचित्। [†††] हेलाखी(व्री)हुतगो।

12 डारा।[†] धक्कमतम(तं) प्रेममा(स्या)विरम(राद) दुरकाँ मध्यममधुरक तीप(त) 
(व)नैर्यं कतसरं व(व)ले। [†] गोड़ीयं शरदी(दि) दुरदारवल्लग्रह।

13 यं केवल तमसाना(ना)हुल तत्सुष्टं ककुभं प्रांते स्थिता(नं) तत्सुष्ट।[†††*] 
तत्सुष्ट(व)प्रतिष्ठात्मविराय काँट [शु]['स] दुरस्म[ल्या]बें सुष्म(इ)चरितंय।

14 रणीतलय [†*] दृष्टा पुनः कृत्यउल्ल(द्र)यमपधं विविच वर्म निरपमः 
कमिः। [†*] मोहदू। [†††*] प्रामूर(द्र)येनकसभी निरामी।

15 दिदु(शु)येशा वारियिः।[†*] शुमा(द्र)त्त्वा परमेश्वरोऽग्नतत्वरः।[†*] 
सस्तनपादः। [†*] परमान्तकरः प्रतिपवतीती नितियोग्यसोन(नं)तेषौवेत्रके।

16 व भानुपावनभिभिन्नत्ततारः।[†*] सताव(ताम)।[†††*] यतिसत्त्ववृंगणाथ्ये विति- 
पौ भोराध्वकृतान्ताः या(जा)ते यादव।

17 य(व)शब(वृः)मधु(लिपय)स्वदलज्ञायं रेण।। [†*] दृष्टान्तवत्वकुङ्गताः।[†*] 
शु।(शु)। सवृष्टा दानरे बेनेह(इ)त[ता] मुक्ताहारवेनमृदितात।

1 [The sign read as superscript ॐ is the u padhmāniya.—Ed.]
2 These letters have broken away.
3 [The sign read as superscript ॐ is the jñānānīya.—Ed.]
18 [सकुटमिति प्रत्येकनोऽधिष्ठितं (प)न(नाम) [११२*]] यस्याकारममानुष्य त्रिभुवन- व्यापारिगत्तिकृष्णमयें निरोध्यय यज्ञस्थिति पि(त)-

19 [वेशाकारिका भूमि। यशस्वा नाति नवेन नदिवस्थिता दत्ता लवणा कण्ठका किव्यानेत्र सत्य धृतिलिखित सिद्धैं युक्त] व(नो)

Second Plate, First Side

20 योधार्षिक [११२*] तन्म[तु] म्यांमितिमृणाय जनके याते यज्ञपे(श्)- पन्तमिकोष्ठ समुदायनार्तपद्मामात्यविच्छत्य(श्) या [१*] विच्छ[यान्]

21 सहस्र व्यधन(त) हपति (ती)लेर्णिति यो द्रास्त यमनयायिकात्रापविशमः [१*] संबंधकेर्णीव [११३*] देवात्यवन्दया[नाथ]

22 निम्नक्षेप्याधिकारणां (तत्) स्वं देह गमिनोदप दण्डिसरायत्पः [१*] तिर्थक्षे शिष्यतः [१*] यात्र यपुर्द्विधि कलाट्फलकः

23 निम्नदेवर्षोऽपानोपिक्षेपतिव विज्ञाय तावदविवाहिन(श्रं) स गंगा[१*] पुनः (तु) [११४*] संध्यापलुषु(श्) सिवसिलिमुखां (वान्) स्वमम्यायद (द्रा) धानामनामान- न

24 मनस्योपार्थ प्रातं विलिवां (व) तुजोबिब्विखं पवाभिव्वत्य(प्रया)निविनत(नाम) [१*] सं (मन्) नास्त्रमुदीवय यं म (श) नर्वुर्तु परम् विद्वद्वार्जरो न-

25 लद्दः [१*] वधापि भयान(त) था न समरं स्वजनेपि पप्पयो (त्व)थाया [११५*] यत्यायानितिकेर्णिक्षययामात्यविच्छत्य नन्मो (क्षी) निन्ना रूग्नमान- न

26 लवनायको नयनरो यं प्राणमन्मावशः [१*] को विहि (ढार्ष) व (व) पिनो- (ना) सहाय(व) व (त्व) कः रावचर्धी (श्र) विचरते (ता) परं नीतेत्स्तिपि (स्व) फलं व-

27 दानपर्वघोराधिकारिकोन्त्मानाम (तम) [११६*] विद्युत्यं (प्रया) द्रेप्कट्ककेमित्र्पुष्टकटक धुराना चरे] मिन्ने: स्वं देश(श्) समुपातं भूवस्मित जात्वा श्री

1 These letters have broken away.
2 [What has been read as superscript - ह is the sign for शपथमायिन्.—E.E.]
3 [The sign read as superscript श is the jñānāvalīya — E.E.]
4 This letter is redundant.
28 सिया प्रेरित: [*] माराशब्बंधेहोऽपि[ङ्गम्] ग्रामप्रस्तूतः[ङ्ग्म्] रूय(सः) वेवच्छा नु- 
कूल्य(वः) कुलमधेय्या।
29 दौ प्रणामरूपि [११७*] नीला श्रीभविे घनाध्वंसनायापां(वः) रां प्रावृं 
तस्मादांतवं (वान्) सम(म्) तिऴ(वः) व(व) ले(ले)।
30 रालुगभ्रातेण (तम्) [*] तस्त्रि[३*] स्वकरस्यस्यातामिति 
रुचिः (स्वे) धनिः (स्वे) धनी (स्वे) प्रमाणां (वान्) विश्वारूपैि 
विश्वामानि (त) रिषु॥
31 यः (यः) पवलः तानात्मा निश्चयन्य (यम्) [११८*] लेखाहारेमुखोधिताप(तः) वचसा यथेव 
बेमीश्वरो नितं विकर्तव्यंधादिवरति क।
32 भ्यु श्रव(सः) रमणेच्छयः [*] बाहारीवितरस्य येन रचिता य्वोमाणना हनुः। 
राजा मोक्षितमधालिकाभिव यूला मूर्थं।
33 स्यातारणी[ः ११९*] संज्ञासतरववादकमाद(त) पूज्यं सेवाचिधिव्याव(स) या(स्रा)। 
जयियोभितेन शरणं मूहवा।
34 यवः (वः) वर्ण(यम्) [*] यवदद(हः) त (त) प्राध्य (द्धः) भुसुनगराणान्तिकः 
तत् (त) या 
मा भैरो (वः) रिलिः सत्यपालित्त्वम्बिष्यत्व यथा। 
35 तद्ग्रात [१२०*] पाण्डुदेशायंतरणमलयं 
वृषभं पवलेवस्यरा[ः १*] च्छो(वः)। 
काहुशां गंजं गंगाचर्यपादित्व च केलां [ः १२१*] बंधं।
36 चालुक्यमौष्ठस्यो वा (व) [रा] ह्यं गृहं (चः) रेष्वरा[ः १*]। तक(व) तक(क) 
प्रतिबी 
वर्गं वृषभं पवलवस्यरा[ः १२२*]। वको(वः) साधारित्ताणा।
37 भ्यु (भ्याः) सिः (सिः) हुलवदिति नाम— [*] ताराभगवतिभ्याति। धम्मिंधार्यमूम्मियात् 
[१२३*] इत्यं (च) मेतारथविवाहि चिन्त्यान्यादय।
38 भुमुज्यः [*] गहमांकं जगतुः (लु) मो व्याघर(त) सकलं जगतु[१२४*] यथस्त्र 
वन्धर (चः) तुरंत (तः) रासिः (विः) रस (च) नां विभक्तण्डङ्गं।

1 [What has been read as superscript श is the sign for upadhānīya. —Ed.]
2 [Better read ruchā. Kielhorn’s views on the expression (above, Vol. VI, p. 245, note 1) do not appear 
to be satisfactory.—Ed.]
3 See above, p. 126. [See below, p. 137.—Ed.]
4 [See below, p. 137.—Ed.]
5 DGA/59
39 स्कुसंचि (ग्) भास्तिन दक्षायिनि (ञ्ज) तैत्तिरिक्त स्वस्येकं भुजने प्रवत्तः

40 — " ![121*] तेनेदमनिलबिचुच (व्) ब्रजभलमलोक्य जीवितमसारं (र्) [1*] स्मिति-

41 तितो र (व्) द्वायोत्य (यम्) [1126*] स च परमभादा (क्) क्रमावराजाधिपः

42 वपादनुवयत्वपरमभादा (क्) क्रमावराजाधिपः: परमेश्वरप्रभोवल्लभं श्रीगोविन्दराजः

43 श्रीनिवास (क्) भवेन (द्) नी (द्) देव [1*] कुशली सवयानव यथासंव (व्) ध्यानकाना-

44 युक्तकालिन्यकालिकाकरकमित्तरातीर्थनितु [1*] समावशत्वसु व [1*] संविदित यथा

45 वासिनेन मया मातापितोरात्मस्वेभिकामुक्तिपुरुष (द्) भवेश्वरमिब्रव्य (द्) वे

46 राज्यान्तरां भीष्मभृगु र (द्) हृद्धिनिरेक्षकुलकेन श्रीनागवराजा विजयेन स-

47 ताः इनुभाप्रवत्वततिः [1*] जैववस्तम् अ० यहर (व्) गिरस्व (व्) ध्रुमगार्तहाराज-

48 तात्तित्तित (द्) र (द्) यथार (व्) ध्रुवाराधिराजसचिदुक्तिः परिक्षरवुदुवेदप्रया शिव-

49 व चंद्रदेभिः (द्) विषयांतरातीर्थनितो नेषिकामिनानो ग्रामः: तस्य चापातनानि पुरबः[1*]

स्तरातातीर्थनितो
50 संगम [क. जव.. वा] दृष्टिर[त.:*] नि.. 'प्राम: हेमगिरि[:*] परिवर्त[त.:*]
द्वन्द्वयाप्रामत[:] प्रभा: उत्तर[त.:*] कर(क)-
51 चन्द्रगिरि [., दिनकाने: वारन. प्राम:] श्र(श्र)द्वाणस्य में (पै)तरीकाप्राम्पाहचातान्य-
भिलि(ति) व्यती श्रो(सो)ज़-
52 गंगपरी(नि)कर: सदनदेशापराश: समूहोपात(त) प्रत्याय: श्रो(सो) लद्वमानविकि-
क[.]* स-
53 धातुविरुङ्ग(र) या(ष्ठ)देव:* अभ्यातभाशवेश:* सर्वराजकोणायामस्त्रेष्पेशीय श्रा-
54 ब्रव्याकर्णिवक्षकितंतर्लक्तसमकालीन:* पुष्पोत्तानयक्रमोपयोगः

Third Plate, First Side

55 पूर्वप्रत्यक्षाद्वाय(ा)द्वारहितसंयंतरसिद्धा(दृश्या) सममित्तिन्यायाय शर[क.]*-नुपकाला-
56 तीतसंबंधसे(ा)तेपु सत्तु(पु) सत्ता(पत)विष(श) लघुकेपु तारणाभिधानसंब-
ध्वनिर्देश (दा) पूर्णतार तिथितितिः
57 सितायोद्यस्य (स्यं) कृष्णपक्ष[कां]तित(ति) महापप्पणि (व)किल(क)स्वेतवेद्वायिनहोन्यात-
तिनिः
58 उन्महायकः (कि) योस्यार्पणाय स्नात्वायोऽदकालिनयोगः प्रतिपादितो यतोत्योऽरिः
59 या प्रदायितवाय मृतु(पु)जतो भोजयत: कृष्ट: कर्षयत: प्रतिदिनस्नो वा न 
कैशिचवदलापि
60 परिपंक्त वांचर उ[.]* तथागमिनिवन्तिनिमित्तिमद्रदेशवेश्वरायाय सामायाय(स्या) भू-
61 मद्दीनलमबेश्वय विद्वानो(लो) लाच्यनिरोषायणि तुणायाप्तनयजलखिदु-
62 चक्षुचालक जीवितमानकलम स्वदान्यनिविवृद्धोपयमदस(ु) मोनूमंतव[.]* प्र-
63 तिपायविविधतवातु [.*] वृद्धायात्मिरपतलवृक्तमितिरात्रिचित्त(स्तिः) वादाच्छिन्नमानकं 
वानुमोदित स प-
64 उन्महायकाली(को)पपातकाश्र सयुक्त[.]* स्याहिद्युक्ततावः भयवतः [ि]द्वायासेन
वायासेन [ि]* प-

1 [The reading is Nīfura.—Ed.]
2 This is written on an erasure. [The reading may be pali:kā. Read grāmaśa-vighā below.—Ed.]
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65 विवर्षेःसहस्र[ण*] स्वाम तिष्ठति भूमिदः [१*] मार्गद्राता(ऽ) चानुमाता च तान्येव नरके वसेतु [११२७*] विन्यासवीवव(ँ) तोयाः-

66 सु शुकोकटवर्तनीः [१*] क्रणायथो हि जायते भूमिदानं हरितं ये [११२८*] व(ँ)हुःपिॆवसुधा मुक्ता राजरिषः[१*] समाः-

67 राजरिषः[१*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तथ्य तस्य तदा फलं (लम्) [११२९*] यानीह दत(ता)नि दुः सरसैःनानि धर्माः-

68 भौरवकराणि [१*] निराल्युलात्प्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः[१*] पु(त)[१*] राजरिष [११३०*] स्वत्ता(ता) परदत(ता) वा याः-

69 लाग्रा नरार्धिः [१*] महतः महिमता(ता) येईद बह[ता*]द्वे(चुः) योदु कर्मम् (नम्) [११३१*] इति कमलदस(ला) बु(ब)विनशुः(वा)

Third Plate, Second Side

70 श्री(वि)यममुचि(वि) यम न्यूजनि वितपव [१*] अन्तरिम(च) तोमिस-\\n
71 रात्मनोन्नते न हि पुष्यव[ण]स्कीतयो विलोऽयाः [११३२*] श्री-\\n
72 विपयते[१*] पञ्च सहवा(ऽ)णि प्रतिविरिः(व) देशानि [१*]

73 श्रीदेवेयराणकुदकप* लिपितं श्रीवतसराजः(सु)ः-

74 नूतन श्रीप्रज्ञादित्येन-\\n
* [What has been read as superscript श is the sign for वस्मात्.ya.—Ed.]
* [See below, p. 140.—Ed.]
* [Read युक्तिदेशकः—Ed.]
NESARIKA GRANT OF GOVINDA III, SAKA 727—PLATE II

Scale: Two-thirds
No. 20—NOTE ON NESARIKA GRANT OF GOVINDA III, SAKA 727

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

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Mr. P. L. Gupta has edited above, pp. 123 ff., the Nesarika grant issued by the Rāṣṭrakūta king Gōvinda III in Saka 727 (805 A.D.). The inscription was previously published by Mr. G. H. Khare in his Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan (Marathi), Vol. I, pp. 15-26, and commented on by Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Dr. G. S. Gai in the Journal of the Asiatic Society, Letters, Vol. XXII, pp. 133-34 and Vol. XXIV, No. 1. Mr. Khare’s transcript at pp. 18-23 of his work contains some lacunae; but he suggested the readings for those gaps in an appendix at pp. 83-84. Dr. Majumdar, whose attention was drawn to Mr. Khare’s transcript by Dr. B.V. Kolte of the Nagpur Mahāvidyālaya, was interested in the reference in the record to king Dharma of Vaṅgāla and suggested the reading of the letters in the gaps of the stanza in question. He did not notice that some of his readings were suggested by Mr. Khare himself in the appendix referred to above, probably because Dr. Kolte did not draw his attention to the latter. This fact was pointed out by Dr. Gai.

The importance of the inscription lies in verses 21-24 which mention the chihnas matched away by king Gōvinda III from thirteen different rulers apparently defeated by him. Mr. Gupta has taken them to be the insignia of the particular families, to which the kings in question belonged, as found on the seals attached to their copper-plate grants. But, in regard to two of the thirteen rulers, he offers a different suggestion and thinks that Gōvinda III took away an image each from the kings of Sīrāhala and Vaṅgāla. Dr. Majumdar is right when he says, “Most probably the reference is to royal banners with those emblems, which were surrendered by their owners and carried by Gōvinda III as trophies of victory or tokens of suzerainty.” He concludes, “The fact... that the kings were forced to surrender what was obviously their lāṭchhānas or royal insignia seems to imply that Gōvinda III claimed suzerainty over them”. But, as regards king Dharma of Vaṅgāla, Dr. Majumdar says, “It is of great importance to note... that what was taken from Dharmapāla was not the lāṭchhāna or royal emblem, but the image of a goddess. This seems to put him in a different category.” He then comes to the following conclusion: “The present... of an image of Bhagavati Tārā... presumably a Buddhist deity, to Gōvinda III, a staunch follower of Puranic religion, is also of great interest. But as we know, Amoghavarsha, son of Gōvinda III, has great leanings towards Jainism. Gōvinda III might have been attracted to Buddhism by his contact with the Buddhist Pāla ruler, Dharmapāla.”

Unfortunately the suggestion of Dr. Majumdar and Mr. Gupta that Gōvinda III took away the royal insignia from most of the defeated kings but an image from a few of them is not supported by the language of the inscription which very clearly refers to the objects taken away from all the thirteen rulers as their chihnas or insignia (verse 24). This has been pointed out by Dr. Gai. The error of both Dr. Majumdar and Mr. Gupta lies in that they have no clear idea about the royal insignia of ancient Indian rulers and fail to distinguish between the crest represented on the seals of the kings and the emblem appearing on their banners.1 Dr. Majumdar’s conclusions based on the said faulty premise are of course equally unwarranted.

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1 Even today the emblems on the seal and the flag of the Government of India are not the same, the former being the lion-capital of an Aiśoka pillar and the latter a Chakrā wheel.

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The emblem on the seal of a family of rulers represented its crest or coat of arms, often called the लिंग्वक. In some cases, the same emblem is also found on the coins issued by the kings in question, both seals and coins being called मुद्रा. But, although in many cases the same emblem is found on the seal and the banner of a royal family, often the banner of the rulers of a particular dynasty, generally called the ध्वaja, bore a different emblem. Thus the Raṭṭas of Saundatti and Belgaum had the शिवर्तुम्प्रतया or the elephant crest but the सुरवा-गरुद्द-ध्वaja (i.e. the banner of the golden or gold-coloured Garuda), while the Kadambas of Banavasi and Goa, who had the सिन्धु-लिंग्वक or the lion crest, had besides the साक्षाच्यंत्र-ध्वaja or वानर-महाध्वaja, i.e. the monkey (i.e. Hanumat) banner. The seal attached to the copper-plate grants of the Nanda or Nandobhava family of Orissa has the representation of a bull along with those of the sun and the moon and a conch-shell; but the kings of the family are described in their charters as having the स्तदिवत्मण्य-गोधा-सिक्षरक्रिया-लोहा-लोचख-गंभरा-ध्वaja probably meaning a piece of cloth bearing the representation of a silver alligator above that of a snake or of two eyes in red colour. Although, in the case of the Nanda or Nandobhava kings, some emblems seem to have been painted on a piece of cloth, it is difficult to determine whether the Garuda emblem of the Raṭṭas and the Hanumat emblem of the Kadambas were painted on cloth or were really images fixed to the top of poles for the convenience of carrying them. That the ध्वaja was sometimes an image fixed to a pole seems to be indicated by the statement of Curtius that an image of Heraclus (i.e. Vāsudēva-Kṛiṣṇa) was being carried in front of the infantry of Poros (i.e. the Paurava king) as it advanced against the Greeks led by Alexander the Great. In this connection, it is interesting to note that some coins of the Imperial Gupta, who had the Garuda emblem on their ध्वaja and seal and on several types of their coins, bear the representation of a standard surmounted by the figure of Garuda. The epic and Puranic literature suggests that the image of the individual emblems of particular archers were fixed at the top of their chariots. In an excellent survey of this evidence, Hopkins has shown that ध्वaja is sometimes used as a synonym of केतु but that sometimes the former means the whole arrangement including the staff and image or banner while the latter means only the symbol or banner. केतु is also sometimes synonymous with पटल्ला or flag, while ध्वaja is the metallic top-piece of the staff, or that together with the staff. It has also been shown that the staff bore flags beneath the emblem.

Another interesting fact is that sometimes a royal family had its ध्वaja and केतु clearly distinguished or had more than one emblem for its ध्वaja. Thus the Imperial Rishtrakūṭas claimed to have had the पाल-ध्वaja and the धूल-केतु besides the गरुद्द-लिंग्वक. The bull-banners of the Pallava kings is referred to in Tamil literature, although in their inscriptions the Pallava are sometimes stated to have had the कट्तवंग-ध्वaja, कट्तवंगa being ‘a club with a skull on the top’. Hopkins has shown that such was sometimes also the case with the individual emblems of particular charioteers according to epic and Puranic evidence. Thus Bhīṣma had sometimes the ताल-ध्वaja (banner of the palmmyra tree) and sometimes the ensign of five yellow stars and a blue silk flag. Similarly Drōṇa had sometimes a कामाक्षाली (pot) and sometimes a वेदी of gold for his ensign.


8 Hopkins, op. cit., p. 245.
Verses 21-24 of the Nesarikā grant read as follows:

Pāṇḍya-dēśa-ādhipāt = matsyaṁ vrishabhān Pallavaśvarāt [*]
Clechō(Chō) lād = cyāghraṁ gaṇem Gaṅgāś = chāpa-yaśātāṁ cha Kēralāt [*]
Aṁḍhra-Chāḷukya-Mauryābhyaḥ vātvanraṁ Gaṅgyaśīvarāḥ [*]
Tpa(pha)kalVPN avi pratiṣṭhā[*]-abhayaṁ vrishabhān Pallavaśvarāt[*]
Kēḷ(Kō)al-Avanti-māhāśrayāṁ(bhyāṁ) Sinhalād = aṣṭu vānu[kaṇ(a)kam]]
[T]ārāṇ[*] bhagavatīṁtiṁ khvātāṁ Dharmād = Vāṅgāl-bhānaiṇī[āt [...]
Itka(tha)m = ātyāṁ = aṅgam chiknāṁ = uṭāya bhūbhūyūm(yāṁ)]
Garuva-āṇkāṁ(kō) Jaga[*]vāṅgā cyālkatta sakalāṁ jayet[ *]

The passage vrishabhān Pallavaśvarāt may have been repeated unnecessarily, although it is possible that the defeat of two different Pallava rulers or of the same king on two different occasions is referred to. It may be noted that the Pallava king is mentioned twice elsewhere in verses 7 and 18.

It is stated in these stanzas that Gōvinda III carried away the following chiknas or insignia of his enemies: (1) the fish from the Pāṇḍya king; (2) the bull from the Pālava king; (3) the tiger from the Chōla king; (4) the elephant from the [Western] Gaṅga king; (5) the bow from the Kērala king; (6-8) the boar from the Andhra (Eastern Chāḷukya), Chāḷukya and Maurya kings; (9) a phalaka or board bearing [the figures of] the pratīṣṭha or kettle-drum and the hārya or snake from the Gūrjara king; (10) the bull from the Pallava king; (11-13) the rāmak (i.e. the names of the individual rulers) from the Kēraḷa, Avanti and Sinhala kings; and (14) the celebrated goddess Tārā from Dharmā, the king of Vāṅgāla.

There are several interesting features of this list. In the first place, the banners of the kings of Kēraḷa, Avanti and Sinhala appear to have borne the names of the rulers in question. Secondly, the fish and the tiger are found on the seals respectively of the Pāṇḍyas and the Chōlas, though they appear along with other symbols and it is uncertain whether the dherajas of the Pāṇḍyas and Chōlas represented only the fish or tiger with the exclusion of the associate symbols on the seal. Thirdly, although the seal of the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar bore the representation of the Dharmā-chakra and has been referred to in their records as the Dharmāchakra-mukta, we find from the inscription under study that the dheraja of king Dharmā, i.e. Dharmapāla, bore the figure of the goddess Tārā. Of course, as indicated above, it is difficult to say whether the figure of the goddess was fixed to the top of a pole or was painted on the flag cloth. But the idea that not the ensign but merely an image was carried away by Gōvinda III from Dharmapāla is unwarranted. Lastly, verse 4 of the Sāgartā (Gwalior) inscription of Bhōja represents the Prathārā family as Prathāra-śatana-bhīrī (i.e. having the banner bearing the figure of the Prathāra, probably meaning Lakṣmaṇa, the door-keeper of Rāma), and, if it is believed that the same emblem was referred to in our record, we have to correct the passage in question as phalakaṁ pratiṭhār-anikan. Since, however, such an emendation would look rather arbitrary and a royal family could have more than one emblem for their banners, it is difficult to be sure on this point. The claim of the Rāṣṭrakaḷa king to have defeated the kings mentioned and carried away their respective banners may be exaggerated. But his court poet, who composed the above verses of the pratās ṭi, seems to have possessed accurate knowledge as regards the dherajas of the different rulers.

There are some other suggestions in Mr. Gupta's paper, with which we are inclined to disagree. We are not sure about the identification of Avanti and Mālava, which he has taken for granted. In the 7th century A. D., Hiuen-tsang and Bāṇa-bhaṭṭa made a clear distinction between Avanti and Mālava. According to the former, the kingdom of Wu-sho-yen-na or Ujjayini (i.e. the capital
of the Avanti country) was different from Mo-la-p’o or Mālava.1 Bāga’s Kādanbarī likewise speaks of Vidiśā on the Vētravati (i.e. Besnagar near Bhilsa) as the capital of Mālava and Ujjayini on the Śiprā as the capital of Avanti.2 The same tradition is followed by Yaśōdhara, the 13th century commentator on Vatsyāyana’s Kāmasūtra, in his Jayamaṅgalā which explains Avanti as Apara-Mālava (i.e. West Malwa) and Mālava as Pūrva-Mālava (i.e. East Malwa), although the name Mālava has been assigned by this author to the whole of modern Malwa.3 A late medieval work entitled Skatpaścāsoddēvāvibhāga makes a similar distinction between the Avanti and Mālava countries.4 It is therefore impossible to be sure whether the name Mālava has been used in the Rāṣṭrakūta records in the sense of Avanti in all cases.

I do not understand why Vatsarāja, who was ruling over the Avanti country, or more probably from the city of Avanti (i.e. Ujjayini), in Śaka 705 (783 A.D.) according to Jinasāna’s Harivanaśa Purāṇa, cannot be identified with the Prathīḥara king of that name simply because the original home of the Gūrjaras was in the Maru or Marwar region and the kings of Avanti and Gūrjara are separately mentioned in inscriptions like the one under study. Huen-tsang in the 7th century mentions Pi-lo-mo-lo (i.e. Bhīlāmāla, modern Bhīmālī in the Jodhpur Division of Rajasthan) as the capital of Ku-che-lo, i.e. the Gūrjara country.5 Similarly, in the 11th century Al-Birūnī mentions Bādana (i.e. Bādana in the Bharatpur District of Rajasthan) as the old capital of Gūrjaraśātra (i.e. the Gūrjara country) and the doubtfully read Jādūra (probably modern Rājorgarh in the Alwar District of the same state, which was the headquarters of the Gūrjara Pratīṭhāra chief Mathanadeva according to an inscription of 960 A.D.)6 as its new capital. In Al-Birūnī’s time, the capital of the Gūrjara-Pratīṭhāra empire, which included the Gūrjara country with its capital first at Bādana and then at Rājorgarh, was at Kanauj. We do not know where the capital of the Gūrjara country was in Vatsarāja’s time. But even if it was at Bhīmālī as in Huen-tsang’s days, does it follow that the capital of Vatsarāja’s empire, which certainly included the Gūrjara country, could not have been at Ujjayini?

Then comes the question whether Avanti could be mentioned separately when it formed a part of the Gūrjara-Pratīṭhāra empire. In our opinion, even if Vatsarāja had his capital at the city of Avanti (Ujjayini), the ruler, who governed the Avanti territory forming a part of Vatsarāja’s empire, could have been described separately as the king of Avanti side by side with his Gūrjara-Pratīṭhāra overlord. The Sirur inscription7 of the time of Rāṣṭrakūta Amōghavarsa I, dated Śaka 788 (866 A.D.), refers to the Rāṣṭrakūta king to have been worshipped by the rulers of Vaṅga, Aṅga, Magadha, Mālava and Vēṅgi (Vaiṅ-Āṅga-Magadha-Mālava-Vēṃ-śāra=abhyaarcha-sāsana), the same passage also occurring in the Nilgund inscription8 of the same king’s reign. But we know that, in the days of Amōghavarsa, the three countries, Vaṅga (South-East Bengal), Aṅga (East Bihar) and Magadha (South Bihar), were included in the empire of the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar. The reference is therefore to the governors or subordinate rulers in the said three territories forming provinces of the Pāla empire. This seems to be suggested by the fact that, according to the evidence of Sandhyākāranandin’s Rāmachaṇḍita and its commentary, supported by that of the Sārnāth inscription of Kumaradēvī, the Chikīkkāra chief Dēvarakshita and his successor Bhīmayaśas were...
"the king of Magadha" (Magadhākṣipati regarded as the same as Pithī-pati, 'lord of Pithi'), and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief Mathana or Mahana was "the king of Āṅga" (Āṅgapat) under king Kāmapāla, (c. 1081–1126 A.D.). We may also refer to the Deoli plates of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Krishna III (939–88 A.D.), in which the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch's command is stated to have been obeyed by the Āṅga, Kalīng, Gāṅa and Magadha kings standing at his door (dvārāvahāntāṅgapatKalīnggaṅaMagadhāāṅgakṣipat-abhyarychajīn), the same stanza also mentioning Krishna III as the initiator of the Gaudas in the vow of humility (Gaudānāṁ vanaṇa-crot-ārpaṇa-guruh), even though the Sarnāth inscription of Kumaradēvi mentions Āṅga as a territory within Gauda. At the time of Krishna III, the Pāla empire comprised Āṅga or East Bihar and Magadha or South Bihar as well as Gauda, i.e., West Bengal in a narrow sense though the name was often used to indicate wider areas of Eastern India.

The importance of the mention of Dharmapāla as the king of the Vaṅgala country or of the Vaṅgala people has been rightly stressed by Dr. Majumdar. The reference, as he points out, certainly indicates that the home territory of the Pālas lay in Vaṅgala. Dharmapāla's dominions comprised a number of territories lying in the present Bengal, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. It was rather difficult to designate his empire by a single territorial name. We know that he is sometimes called Vaṅgapatī, "the lord of Vaṅga", as in the Sāgarī inscription of Bhūja, and sometimes "the king of Gauda" as in the Sanjan plates of Amoghavasishṭa I, because Vaṅga and Gauda forming parts of his empire were both well-known geographical names and the latter name was sometimes actually used to indicate wider areas of Eastern India since the 7th century when Daṇḍin, in his Kṛṣṇaśāstra, names the East Indian style of Sanskrit composition after Gauda. This was no doubt the result of the expansion of the Gauda kingdom under rulers like Śaśānka (first quarter of the 7th century) whose dominions included parts of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and for sometime also of U.P. Gauda was thus a more appropriate name for the Pāla empire and not only are the Pāla kings called "the lord of Gauda" very often in the records of their contemporaries but there is reason to believe that they themselves preferred the designation. It is interesting to note that the tradition about "the five Gaudas", referred to in an inscription of 926 A.D. and in Kalhana's Taṅjaraṅgiṭ (c. 1150 A.D.), developed in the early medieval period. The extensive conquests of kings like Śaśānka and Dharmapāla appeared to have contributed to its development.

The representation of Dharmapāla in the present record as the king of Vaṅgala, which was a small tract of land in his vast empire, has to be regarded as a sort of anachronism at the Pāla monarch who was one of the mightiest Indian rulers of his age. The personal name of the Pāla king has been mentioned only in this case apparently because Vaṅgala as a geographical name was more or less unknown at the time while the name of Dharmapāla was famous. Its mention in the record incidentally shows that Vaṅga and Gauda were later annexations to the Pāla dominions.

There is another interesting aspect of this question. Vaṅgala became famous in the political geography of India with the rise of the Chandras in the 10th century. These Chandras originally ruled over Chandrāsū, i.e., Bākā Chandradvīp in the Buckergunge District of South Bengal. About the third quarter of the 10th century they conquered Vaṅga, a name then often applied in a restricted sense to the territory around the Vikrama pura region covering the present Munshiganj Sub-division of the Dacca District and the Madaripur Sub-division of the Faridpur District, although

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3. Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 324.
5. Ibid., p. 214, verse 14.
7. Cf., e.g., verse 13 of the Bākā pillar inscription (Goufalakīhu udālā, p. 74.)

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in a general sense the name was applied to the whole of South-Eastern Bengal. About the 11th century, the Chandra king Góvinda-chandra is called the lord of Vaṅgālā-dēśa which was apparently the original name of Chandra-dvipa or the land around it. This is suggested by the fact that Abul Fazl’s A’in-i-Akbari explains the derivation of the name Bangāl (Vaṅgālā) from Bang (Vaṅga) as follows: “its former rulers raised mounds measuring ten yards in height and twenty in breadth throughout the province, which were called āl.” Although the suggested derivation may be wrong and Vaṅgālā may have sprung from Vaṅga + Prakrit āla in the sense of a notable region in Vaṅga, the mention of the earthen mounds, no doubt meant for keeping off the encroachment of sea-water from the cornfields, certainly refers to a condition prevailing in the southernmost areas of Bengal including the Buckerunje region even today. With the Chandra (i.e. Vaṅgālā) conquest of Vaṅga, the name Vaṅgālā became applied to Vaṅga (i.e. the expanded Chandra kingdom), although the name originally indicated merely a southern district of Vaṅga. That is why the Muslim authors of the 10th and 11th centuries sometimes referred to East and West Bengal together as Gauda-Bengal (Gauda-Vaṅgālā). The solitary mention of Vaṅgālā in the pro-Chandra inscription under study shows, however, that the name Vaṅgālā was not entirely unknown in earlier times since the Early Pāla appear to have been sometimes regarded by their contemporaries as primarily the rulers of that tract. But it is interesting to note that the Pāla conquest of Vaṅga and Gauda did not popularise the name Vaṅgālā in the sense of the whole of Bengal. This is probably because the Pāla kings became soon well known as ‘the lord of Gauda’, a designation which was obviously more suitable to them and which they apparently chose in preference to ‘the lord of Vaṅgālā’. The Chandras did not rule over any part of Gauda in the western half of Bengal.

Mr. Gupta’s suggestion that Stambha, brother of Góvinda III, should be regarded as different from the ruler of that name who rebelled against the Raśtrakūṭa monarch, because the Manpa plates recording a grant of Stambha himself refer to the rebellion, does not appear to be sound. As a subordinate ruler, Stambha applied for the issue of the grant to his overlord Góvinda III and it was issued by the imperial record office so that he had himself little more to do with its issue.5

We also find it difficult to agree with the location of Mātāsārva’s kingdom in Kāśa and the identification of his capital Śrībhavanā with modern Sirpur. As a matter of fact, Sarabha is plainly a modification of Śrībhavanā and Mr. Gupta’s contention that it is far away from the Vindhya is wrong. Sarabha in the Broach District is not only near the Narmadā but also close to the Satpura range which was regarded as a part of the Vindhya in ancient times since ‘the name Vindhya was loosely applied to the whole chain of hills from Gujarāt to the Gaya District’. There is epigraphic evidence to show that the rulers of Rajpipala in the Broach District called themselves ‘kings of the Vindhya’.3

An interesting statement in lines 71-72 of the inscription has escaped Mr. Gupta’s notice. It says, “Five thousand are payable to the illustrious governor of the district per annum.” The charter therefore records a kara śānam, the annual rent for the gift village being fixed at five thousand coins probably of copper. In this case, the village was not made a rent-free holding in favour of the donor. Elsewhere we have discussed a large number of grants of this type found in Orissa and Andhra Pradesh.5 Recently one such record was found in East Pakistan.6 The present charter is the first of its kind from the Kannāḍa-speaking area, noticed so far.

1 See IIIQ, Vol. XXXIII, p. 65.
2 Cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 293.
3 Raychaudhuri, Studies in Indian Antiquities, 1932, p. 128.
4 Archaeology 1939-40, p. 58 (No. 19).
No. 21—VERAVAL INSCRIPTION OF CHAULUKYA-VAGHELA ARJUNA, 1264 A.D.
(Plate 1)
D. C. SIRCAR, OOTacamund
(Received on 20. V. 1939)

This well-known inscription, originally from Somanātha Pātan in the former Junagadh State in Kathiawar but now fixed in a wall of the temple of Harshada Mātā (not Harshātā) at the neighbouring town of Vērāval, was edited by F. Hultzsch in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XI, 1882, pp. 241-45, without illustration. It was also transcribed in the Bhavnagar Inscriptions, pp. 224 f.

Hultzsch’s treatment of the inscription exhibits the carefulness and ability expected of him. His paper also contains a learned translation of the whole document. However, while going through Hultzsch’s translation of the Vērāval inscription, I felt that he did not understand the meaning of some of the words and passages occurring in the record. I am therefore offering here my reading and interpretation of the inscription for the consideration of scholars. I have little to add to Hultzsch’s introductory discussion excepting that Sanskrit sakta (Pali santaka, ‘belonging to’) which has invariably been written in the inscription as sakta, is often noticed in the latter corrupt form in the documents quoted in the Līka padabhi which is a medieval product of the Gujarat-Kathiawar region.¹

The inscription begins with a Suddham symbol followed by a passage in prose and a verse in Anushtubh (lines 1-2), both recording the author’s obeisance to Visvanātha (literally, ‘the lord of the universe’). In the stanza in question, Viśvanātha is also called Śūnyarāpa (literally, ‘one whose form is the void’), Viśvarūpa (literally, ‘having various forms’) and Lakshyālakṣhya (literally, ‘visible and at the same time invisible’ or ’scarcely visible’). The same Viśvanātha is again mentioned in the following passage in prose (line 2) as one to whom the followers of the Prophet Muhammad were attached or devoted. This shows that the words vishvārūpa, etc., have been used to indicate Allah, the God of the Muhammadans. It is difficult to say whether, from this, the author of the record has to be regarded as a Muhammadan, although there is no doubt that he had an idea about the God of the Muhammadans and knew the meanings of a number of Arabic words.

Lines 2-4 quote the date of the inscription as Sunday, the 13th of the dark fortnight of the month of Āshāda in the year counted in accordance with the following four eras: (1) year 662 of Rasīl Mahāmmad,² the preceptor (buddhaka) of the sailors (maṇ-jana) devoted to Viśvanātha (i.e., the Muslim sailors who were devotees of Allah and were present at the locality in question in connection with their business); (2) year 1320 of king Vikrama, i.e., of the Vikrama Samvat; (3) year 945 of the Valabhi (i.e., Gupta) era and (4) year 151 of the Simhā era. The date corresponds to Sunday, the 25th May 1264 A.D.³ The Hijri era, described as the era of Rasīl Muhammad, has been mentioned first because the transactions recorded in the inscription relate to a Muhammadan. But the month of the Muslim calendar has not been mentioned. The corresponding year of the Simhā era, used in a few records of the Kathiawar region, shows that the era started in 1113 A.D., probably in commemoration of the annexation of South Kathiawar by the Chaulukya king Jayasimha Siddharāja (1094-1144 A.D.).⁴

¹ See, op. cit., pp. 98, 100, etc. Sanskrit sakta, with which sakta is confused, has not exactly the same sense, although both the words may be used in the sense of ‘attached to’, ‘relating to’. For sakta in early medieval records, e.g., above, Vol. XXII, p. 98, text, line 1: Vol. I, p. 164; etc.
² i.e., Rasīl Muhammad. Arabic Rasīl means ‘a messenger’, Muhammad being regarded by the Muslims as the messenger of God.
Lines 4-6 introduce the reign of the Chaulukya-Vaghela king Parameshvara Paramabhat urlaka ahurajadhirasja Arjunadeva who was residing at Anahilla-patpaka (i.e., his capital Anhilwad, modern Patan in the Mehsana District of Gujarat). The king is stated to have been endowed with all the royal epithets (rājāvali) and enjoyed the titles Nibānakamalla (literally, 'the fearless wrestler'), Arinājakrīdayayālaja (literally, 'a dart in the heart of the hostile kings') and Chaulukya-chastravartin (i.e., the Chaulukya emperor). King Arjuna is also described as having obtained great prowess (pradha-pratija) as a favour (rad) from the god Umāpati (Śiva).

The next passage in lines 6-7 refers to the administration conducted by the king's subordinate whose name was Mahāmātya (literally, 'the great administrator or minister') Māladēva and who enjoyed the feudatory title Rāyaka. Māladēva's official function is indicated by the passage sriśikarāva-jāti-sana tu-mulō-vyāpāra-pa-rana-pa-pratipātyati, literally meaning, 'conducting all the business of the seal such as the making of sri sri [at the beginning of documents] (i.e., the drawing-up of documents). This was, however, the usual style of early medieval documents for introducing the king's principal administrator of the kingdom and his viceroy of a province. Māladēva was therefore either Arjuna's chief minister or the chief administrator of his kingdom or, more probably, the king's viceroy in charge of the administration at Kathiawar. The following passage in lines 8-9 refers to the administration (pratipatti) of the Paśchakula at Sōma-nāthadēvatpattana which is called Somanathadēvavangara elsewhere in the inscription and is the same as modern Somanātha Pātan near Vērāval. The expression Paśchakula indicates a board of administrators consisting of five [or more] members. It is the Paśchakula of various parts of the country and is similar to the Chauthiās of Rājasthān. The Chauthiās were the town-magistrates and a self-instituted tribunal'. Tod says, "In every town there is an unpaid magistracy, of which the head is the Nagara or chief citizen of the four Chauthiās, tantamount to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, who hold their court and decide in all civil cases". The same scholar further says, "Besides the resident ruler of the district, who was also a judicial functionary, there was a special officer of the Government in each frontier Thana or garrison post. He united the triple occupation of embodying the quotas, levying the transit duties and administering justice, in which he was aided at the Chabutā or court, by the assembling Chauthiās or assessors of justice. Each town and village has its Chauthiā, the members of which are elected by their fellow citizens and remain as long as they conduct themselves impartially in disentangling the intricacies of complaints preferred to them. They are the aids to the Nagara or chief magistrate, an hereditary office in every large city in Rājasthān. Of this Chauthiā, the Patel (i.e., headman) and Patwari (i.e., accountant) are generally members; these are the special and fixed council of each town, the general Paśchakula are formed from the respectable population at large and were formerly from all classes of society."

Thus the initial part of our inscription down to line 9 refers to the date of the record, on which the king of the country was Chaulukya-Vaghela Arjuna, Māladēva was the governor of Kathiawar and a Paśchakula was in charge of the administration of Somanathadēvatpattana where the inscription was written and engraved. The number of members of this Paśchakula is not indicated although two of the members are stated to have been: (1) Parvāniradha described as a great teacher of the Saiva doctrine called Phalapata, as great among the great scholars and as one who was an incarnation of dharmā and was called Gaṇḍa or as the best (gandha, literally 'a rhinoceros') among people who were incarnations of dharmā; and (2) Abhisahinī who is called Pāri and

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1 See above, Vol. XXXII, p. 152 and note 2; p. 166.
2 Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān, ed. Cooke, Vol. II, p. 682. The word chastravartin to be a modification of caturjātikāya derived from caturjātaka which was a board of four administrators. See above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 103.
4 Cf. expressions like nara-vaṣaṇa.
Mahâna both of which are abbreviated forms of the person’s designations, Para, which is a contracted corrupt form standing for Sanskrit purâka (i.e., a priest), occurs twice elsewhere in the inscription (lines 21 and 27). Pirâ is a contraction of Gujarâtî Pârîkha (Sanskrit Pârîksha or Pârîksaka), often found in the epigraphic and literary records of the era in question. It is now a surname amongst the people of the mercantile community. The Lékhapâdhatu uses mahâna as a contraction of mahânâtaka which is a term of respect amongst the mercantile communities of Gujarat and is sometimes explained as ‘an accountant’ or ‘a clerk’. Thus the Sâiva teacher Virabhadrâ, a priest of a local temple which may or may not have been the temple of Sûmanâtha, was the head of the Paîâhâkâla of Sûmanâthadâvâpattana and his chief associate in the board of administrators was Abhayasyâsinâ of the mercantile class. Virabhadrâ and Abhayasyâsinâ are known from two other records from Kathinâvar.  

Lines 9-11 introduce the chief figure involved in the transactions recorded in the inscription. He is Nâkhâ Nûradina Pirôja who was the son of Khâpâ Nâu Abû Bûhimm of Hurrumâ-Jâsa and came to Sûmanâthadâvâpattana in connection with his business when Amûr Rukmadina was governing his chiefdom at the harbour (vîlakâla) of Hurrumâ. In this section, Nâkhâ stands for Arabic Nîkhâdâ meaning ‘the captain or commander of a ship’; Khâpâ stands for Arabic Khatâjûh meaning ‘a rich man or merchant’. As regards Nûu, there are two words in our record, of which it may be a contraction, viz., mûraâma (a sailor) in line 2 and mûrânâ (a leader or owner of a ship) in line 22. But Pirôja, who is called Nâkhâ (i.e., Nâkhûdâ) in lines 11, 18 and 20, is mentioned as Nûu Pirôja twice in line 33. Thus Nûu stands for Nûrûtaka, the same as Arabic Nîkhâdâ. Amûr is Arabic Amûr meaning a commander, ruler or nobleman. Hurrumâ is the island of Ormuz in the strait connecting the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman, which is known in a document in the Lékhapâdhatu in the expression Hurwaji-râhama meaning a ship from Ormuz. The Arabic names mentioned in the section are Rukmadin, Abû Bûhimm and Nûruddin Fîrûz (called Pirôja or Fîrûz only in lines 17, 20 and 33).  

The sentence ending in line 17 states that the said Nâkhâ Nûruddin Fîrûz secured a plot of land for doing whatever he wanted to do with it (gath-îshin-karman-kamâçipatvam) together with the nara-nilhâma and in accordance with the principle of sarpûkha. Some scholars have explained nara-nilhâma occurring in many other inscriptions of the area in question as ‘new taxes imposed for the first time at the date of the grant’; although the real meaning seems to be a fresh assessment of tax. The lexicos mention ‘a gift or donation’ among the many meanings of the word sarpûkha. Nûruddin Fîrûz therefore seems to have received the plot of land as a gift, although he had to pay taxes for it. The said piece of land is stated to have been situated at Mahâjana-pâli lying in Sîkottârâ out of Sûmanâthadâvâpattana.  

1 Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 12; Lékhapâdhatu, pp. 102, 116.  
2 Lékhapâdhatu, pp. 100, 102.  
3 Ed. Ant., Vol. XI, p. 103 (verse 29), p. 107 (concluding section of the text). The first record mentions Gaujâ as a secondary name of Virabhadrâ while the second, dated V. S. 1328, speaks of the pratjâgât or administration of Abhayasyâsinâ who was probably the head of the local Paîâhâkâla at the time.  
5 See ep., cit. p. 113.  
7 It is also possible to think that all or some of the persons mentioned along with Palugidîvâ were the Prâ- 

Agyat of the land in question. As regards dâdï, we have dâdâm dâdâm datâ in A. R. Ep., 1350-51, No. B 173.
Chādā. Chādā who was present on the occasion of the donation of the land in favour of Nūrūdīn Firūz seems to be the same as the person of that name who was the son of Nānásīnāhu and one of those from whom Firūz secured the land. In this section, jamā’at is Arabic jamā’at meaning ‘the assembly or congregation [of Muhammadans in the Sōmanāthā Pātana area]’. Rāja is a contraction either of Rājastra (Rāṇa) or Rājakula (Rāwal), both titles, the latter title of nobility being often used in the Lēkhpaddhāti. Bhā stands for Bhāgatpuriūsa, possibly the same as Mahāpāwa (called Mahāpāwaka in line 14), although the real meaning of the word in the present context is uncertain. Ṭhā is an abbreviation of Ṭhakuri, a title of nobility, and is often noticed in the literary and epigraphic records of the area in question. Pratigya means ‘a dependant or subject’ and may mean ‘a lessee’ in the present context. The word Bhājī here apparently means an estate belonging to a temple.

The next sentence in lines 17-20 states that the said Vākhiū (Vākhudā) Firūz, the supporter of his faith (dharma-bhādhana), having been extremely pious and in accordance with the opinion of the scripture of his own faith, caused a place of worship (dharma-sthāna) in the shape of a mājigit (Arabic mawsī́d, mosque) to be made within the area of the said plot of land for his own salvation (āmānāt śrīyāthaithā) with the help of Bhājī Rāja (i.e. Bhāgatpuriūsā-Rājakula) Chādā mentioned above. The additional purpose underlying the deed is stated to have been the attainment of fame lasting as long as the sun and moon would endure. The mosque is stated to have been made facing the east. The expression dharma-bhādhana means ‘one whose only friend is his religious faith’. It may possibly also mean ‘persons who have become friends on an oath in the name of their religious faith’. Taken in this sense, the passage would mean that Firūz was a great friend of Chādā. The nature of the help given by Chādā to Firūz in the construction of the mosque, besides the gift of the piece of land, cannot be determined.

The latter part of the inscription records certain grants made in favour of Firūz’s mosque apparently by Firūz himself. The purposes for which these grants were made are stated in lines 21-24 to be as follows: (1) for the maintenance of the place of worship in the shape of the mosque; (2) for the daily provision of worship, light, oil and drinks [in the mosque]; (3) for the maintenance of the mālitā (Arabic muʿālim, ‘an instructor’), māśā (Arabic muʿazzin, ‘a public crier to prayers’) and a monthly reader [of the holy Quran]; (4) for the observance of particular religious festivals (pājā-mahāṣāvā) like the Barāṭīsā, khatmāntāīs in accordance with the custom (samārāthā) of the leaders or owners of ships (sama-sūkta); and (5) for the annual [expenditure on] chhāhā and chhān and the repairs to the tents [in the building] and the wearing out [of its parts] (bhāpā-sṛṣṭhā-pamārācchā). In this section, Barāṭīsā is no doubt the same as Shāh-bārāt, a Muslim festival observed on the night of the 14th of the month of Shāban in memory of dead ancestors. It is called ‘the night of record (barāt)’ as an angel is supposed on this occasion to inspect a register of the conduct of all living persons. The expression khatmān rātri appears to mean the night when Khatm (literally, ‘completion’) is observed, i.e. when the reading of the entire Qurān is completed in a single night. Chhāhā is Gujarati chhā meaning ‘mortar’ and chhān is Sanskrit chhāna or lime, both required for the purpose of repairs and whitewashing.

The gifts made in favour of the mosque, enumerated in lines 21-32, are the following: (1) the entire Pallaṇḍika belonging to the god Vakuḷīsvarādeva and consisting of houses facing different directions and covered with tiṃa-chehpātyo and kariṇa, which was situated within Sōmanāthā-devanagara, and was secured from some persons including Para Tripurāntaka, the head of the temple (sthānapati) of the god Navagamāsvarādeva, and Ratnāvara, the Para of the temple.
the god Vināyaka-bhāṭṭāraka; (2) another [Pallahādā] which lay close to (vamēta) a two-storied temple (deśa-bhuana-māṭhār), had an unmatted pillar (caṇeṣṭhe) well on the four boundaries, and had an exit and an entrance through gates facing the north as well as fixed boundaries and rights of enjoyment, though a house facing east and belonging to Śāla (i.e., Śāla-bhāṭa, 'an artisan', or 'a member of the artisan community') Kaharā lying in the plot of land was excluded; (3) one odd unit as well as its āśāna which was a pala-weight (A. tala) of odd out of each standard measure of odd pressed at the null; and (4) two bhattas (shops or market-places) lying in front of the said mosque, secured from the following persons according to the viniṣṭa-nīṉḍa or principle guiding donations: Pratapya Nnmāya. Chhāḍa and Sāhādā's son Kilhamadēya, as well as Lānasila (Lavagasisinha), Dhanagga and Manumna who were the sons of Tha (i.e., Thekkavā) Sāhāna, as also Pāya (i.e., Pāya-bhāṭa) Āṣādhara (i.e., Āṣādhara residing at Bālyandakaraṇa). In this section, Pallahādā indicates a kind of temple property as another early medieval inscription of the area in question refers to the gift of a garden in a village as a Pallahādā in favour of a temple.¹ In tīśa-a-cakkhāya, cākhāya is the same as Gaṅgarī ṣhāṭi meaning 'thatch'. In our inscription tīṃcā or tīṃcāya seems to have been used in the sense of 'thatch'. Korāvaka is the same as Marathī koṭi meaning 'tile', and has been used in the Lekha-paddhati in the forms kiroṭa, kāṭ[ola and kora]. As already indicated above, Pana stands for Sanskrit pravahita, 'priest'. This is clear from the description of Ratanāvata as the Pana of the god Vināyaka-bhāṭṭāraka. The word āśāna has been used in the sense of 'a tall or tax' in passages like aṇama-vagama-dāna, 'tax for importing and exporting', occurring in the Lekha-paddhati.² The persons named Nnmāya and others were pratapyas or lessees of the two bhattas secured by Firūz for his mosque. The items mentioned above are stated to have been granted [in favour of the mosque] with libation of water evidently by Nāruṇḍīn Firūz who thus observed the Indian custom followed in making ceremonial offerings.

Among the concluding sentiments in lines 32-40, the first states that, with the āṇa-pada (i.e., income or source of income) indicated above, Firūz's mosque should have to be kept up and maintained and its rents and worn out parts should have to be repaired so long as the moon, the planets and the stars endure, for the salvation of Xeq (i.e., Xauratika or Nākhlā) Firūz. The next sentence states that whatever surplus remains [in the hands] of those who make payments out of the said income (or its source) for the upkeep and maintenance of the place of worship (i.e., the mosque) and for the expense of particular festivals and that of holy occasions should have to be sent to the places of worship at Mahī (Mecca) and Mahānā (Medina). It is interesting that Nāruṇḍīn Firūz did not think of spending the surplus amount in some good cause in the land where the mosque was built but arranged for its dispatch to distant Mecca and Medina. The next sentence refers to the people responsible for handling the property of the mosque, i.e., the trustees of the property. It is stated that the income or its source as indicated above should be protected and the place of worship maintained jointly by the following assemblies or congregations of Muhammadans amongst others of their kind: (1) the congregation of the Nākhlānāvīraka (probably, a mistake for Nākhlā-nāvīraka, owners or commanders of ships and sailors'); (2) the congregation of the qhānīchakas (oil-men) belonging to the town (Sahara), together with their Khātib (Arabic Khatib, 'preacher'); (3) the congregation of the [Mushin] Chāṇakas (Chāṇakāras, i.e., lime-burners or white-washers), and (4) the congregation of the Mushalmāns (Musalmāns or Muhammadans) amongst the pratapatyās probably meaning Prawāvīrās. The word

¹ See Kādā grant in Igl. Adv., Vol. VI, pp. 203-06.
² Cf. op. cit., pp. 115-16.
³ Tad. p. 124; cf. pp. 100, 103, 105.
⁴ See ibid., pp. 90, 108.
ghānchika is the same as Gujarāti ghānchī.  1  an oil-maker, an oil-dealer, one who expresses it or sells it.  2  The word shahr meaning a city or town is of Persian origin.  3  In the present context, samasta-sahara, 'the entire city', no doubt refers to Sūmanātha-pattana.  Hultsch found here a reference to the followers of 'Ali.  But Dr. Z. A. Desai doubts whether there was any distinct Shia community as such in the area and age in question.

The inscription ends with a benedictory stanza and an imprecatory passage in prose.

The epigraph reminds us of a well-known incident described by the Muslim chroniclers, e.g., Muḥammad 'Awfī, observing that 'he never heard a story to be compared with this'.  2  During the reign of Rai Jaising (i.e., the Chaulukya king Jayasimha Siddharāja, 1094-1144 A.D.), there was a mosque and a minaret at the city of Khāmbāyat on the sea-shore (i.e. at Cambay in the Kaira District of Bombay State).  The Pārṣi settlers of the locality instigated the local Hindus to attack the Musalmans of Khāmbāyat and the minaret was destroyed and the mosque burnt, eighty Musalmāns being killed in the course of the incident.  A Muhammadan named Khaṭīb 'Ali, who was the Khaṭīb or reader of Khutba at the Khāmbāyat mosque, escaped and reached Nahrwala (i.e. Aṇāhilapātkata) with a view to put up his case before the judicial officers of the king.  The king’s courtiers were, however, inclined to screen the culprits of the incident at Khāmbāyat.  But, once when the king was going out a hunting, Khaṭīb 'Ali drew his attention and had the opportunity of placing in the king’s hands a Kasida in which he had stated the whole case in Hindi verse.  As the king felt that Khaṭīb 'Ali might not get justice from his judges since ‘a difference of religion was involved in the case’ , he himself visited Khāmbāyat in the guise of a tradesman and learnt all about the incident.  He then punished two leading men from each of the non-Muslim classes such as Brāhmaṇas.  Fire-worshippers (Pārṣis) and others, and gave to the Muhammadans of Khāmbāyat a lakh of Balotras (silver coins) to enable them to rebuild the mosque and minaret.  Khaṭīb ‘Ali was favoured with a present of four articles of dress.  Indeed, instances of such religious toleration are rare in the history of the world.

TEXT

1 Siddham 1. Ōṁ namah śrī-Viśvanāṭhāya, Namaste(n-tē) Viśvanāṭhāya Visvarūpa namō-stu tē | namas-tē sū(ū)nya-rūpāya

2 Lakṣhālakshaḥ namō-stu tē | śrī-Viśvanāṭha-pratīva(ha)dha-tan(nau)janānāṁ vō(bō)dha-kha-Rasūla-Mahāmād-saṁvat 662 ta-

3 thā śrī-nripa-Vikrama-sa[rīr∗] 1320 tathā śrimad-Valabhī sarīr 945 tathā śrī-Sirhī-

4 [vā∗]tv-adhya- śrimad-Āṇahillapāṭak-ādhishti(shtī)ita-samasta-rūj-āvali-samalān-kītita-

5 śrī-Umāpati-vara-labdha-praudha-pratāpa-Nihāsamakamalla-‘Arirayahridusalya-śrī- Chaulukyachakravarti-ma-

1 Wilson’s Glossary, s. v.
2 Ibid., s. v.
3 Elliot and Dowson, History of India as told by its own Historians, Vol. II, pp. 162 ff.
4 From impressions. The unnecessary dandas to cover up some space at the end of the lines have been ignored in our transcript.
5 Expressed by symbol.
6 Better read Lakṣha-lakṣhaya.
7 Metre: Amastuḥkha.
8 Sara is a contraction of Samavat which is itself an abbreviation of samavatara.
9 Sandhi has not been observed here.
6 hārājādhīrāja-śīmat-1 Arjunadēva-pravaruddhamāna-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājyē tat-pāda-
padm-āpajivini
7 mahāmāya-rāṇaka-śī-Māladēvē śrīṣrikaraṇ-ādi-samasta-mudrā-vyāpārān paripāṇthayat=
ity-ēvaṁ kā-
8 lē pravarttamānē ḫa śī Sōmanāṭṭaင[(tha]dēvapā[ttva]nc paramapāsuptācārya-mahā-
paṇḍitamahattara-dharmanāṃttu-
9 garṇḍa-śī-para2-Virahadā-pāri3-mahāṁ14-śī1-Abhayasila1-prabhṛiti-pranamhakula-prati-
pattau tathā Hurmuja-vēl-
10 [kūlā] amira2-śī-Ārakanandin(nē) rājyē(jayin) paripāṇthayati sati kārya-vaśāt śī-[Śo]ma-
nāthaśevanagaram 8a-
11 māyāṁ- H[ur]muja-dēśiya-khōjā-nau2- Avū(bū)-Vṛa(Bru)hima4-suta-nākhū59-Noradina-
Pirōjēna7 śī-
12 Sōmanāṭṭhadeva-dṛōj-pratibaddha-Mahāyaṅa(jaṁ-a)ūṭaḥpāti-pratyaya-bṛihatpurusha-tha211-
śī-Palugidēva-
13 vṛ(ṛ)ḥapatruṣha-rāṇaka-śī-Somēśvaradēva-bṛihatpurusha-tha211-Śrī-Rāmadēva-bṛihat-
purusha-tha211-Śrī-Bhina-
14 siha12-bṛihatpurusha-rājā13-śī-Chhāḍā-prabhṛiti-samasta-mahaṇālōka14-pratyakshaṁ tathā-
samastā-jamā-
15 tha12-pratyakṣhaṁ rājā12-śī-Nānasila12-suta-v[ṛ](ṛ)ḥa214-rāja212-śī-Chhā[dā]-prabhṛitinnāṁ-
prāsvāt śī-Sōmanāṭṭa-
16 dōvagāra-vā(bā)hyē Sīkōṭtaryāṁ Mahāyaṅa(jana)pāḷyaṁ samātisīlta(sthha)maṇa-
bhūshāṁ(khaṁ)jaṁ nava-nidhāna-sahi-
17 tam yath-śēṭa-kāma(karma)-karaṇiyatvēna sparśana-nyāyēna sam[upā]ttina(ttam) ; tathá-
nākhū117-Pirōjē-
18 na sva-dharmaṇa-āṣṭra-ubhiḥprāyēṇa paramadbhāmnikēṇa bhūtvā ā-chandr-ārkatīna(rkka)-
sthāyinī18-kṛttipra-19

1 Sandhi has not been observed here.
2 This stands for Sanskrit Pulākata.
3 Pāri is an abbreviation of Gujarāṭī Pārikha.
4 Mahām is an abbreviation of Gujarāṭī Mahantaka.
5 Siha is the Prakrit form of Sanskrit simha.
6 Amira stands for Arabic amir.
7 Khoja is Arabic Khuja and Nau is an abbreviation of nauja or more probably naujitaka both occu-
ring elsewhere in the inscription.
8 Arabic Abū Ibrāhīm.
9 Nākhū stands for Arabic nākkūdā.
10 Arabic Nārūddīn Pirūz.
11 Tha is a contraction of thakkura.
12 Prakrit sīha stands for Sanskrit simha.
13 Rājyē is a contraction of the word rājaputra or more probably of rājakula.
14 This is a corruption of Sanskrit mahālōka, i.e. mahāyēna.
15 This is a modification of Arabic jamāʿat meaning an assemblage or congregation.
16 This is a contraction of bṛihatpurusha.
17 This is a contraction of Arabic nākkūdā.
18 Read sthāyī-śīṛi.
19 The words śīṛi and prosiddhī have been used here together as yasāṁ and śīṛi are sometimes used (cf. VII.
Vol. I, p. 18, note 7). We may also suggest that prosiddhī has been used here in the sense of siddhi or prāpta.
siddhy-arthaṁ(rtham) ātmāntāḥ svēyō'-rthāṁ [cha*] upary-ālāpitā-bhūskhaṁjasya sthāne¹ pūrv-ābhimukha-mijigiti²
dharmasthānāṁ bhṛha³-rāja⁴-śri-Chhāḍa-sakha(hā)yatvēṇa dharmma-bānīdhavēṇa² kārītaṁ(tam) | nākhō'-Pirōjēna
asa mijigiti-dharmasthānasya varttāpan programmes arthaṁ prati-dinaṁ pūjā-dīpa-taila-pānīya⁵
tathā mā.
līma-mūdina⁶-māna-pāṭhaka⁷ tathā nau-vittakānāṁ samāchāreyā barātirā(śa)bi-khatama-paraṁ(tri)⁸
viśēsā-pūjā-mahōtsava-kārāpan¹⁰-arthaṁ [tathā] prati-varshaṁ chhāla-ch[ū]nā₁¹-bhagna
viśērṇa-samāraḥ
dūrtarāṇa
- Vināyaka-bhaṭṭaraka-
para₁²-Ratanēvara-prabhāṣīnāṁ pūrṣvāt upātta(tā) śrī-[Sō]manāthadēvanagaramadhyē śrī-Valēśva₁²
radēviya-saṅgraha-pallidikā₁³ nānāmukha-ṭṭiṇaṁchhā(achhā)dya-kāvēluk-aṭṭhā(achhā)dita-grhīma-upētā [¹*] tathā utta-
- rābhimukha-dvībhauna-mātha-samēt-aśaraṁ(rā) asyā madhyē sūtra₁⁴. Kāñkaiā-
sakta(tka)-pūrv-ābhimukha-grīh-ai-
ka[n*] bāhyanī chatur-āghāṭēshu avyagra₁⁵-prākār-ōpētā uttar-ābhimukha-pratōḷ-pravēṣa
- nirgam-ōpē.
tā yath-āva-thīta-chatur-āghāṭana₂⁶-viśuddhā yathā-prasiddha-paribhōga [¹*] tathā
ghāṅi₃¹ l sakta₃₂ dāna₃₆ palaṁ₃₉ |¹

¹ Better read bhākhanda-sthānē.
² This stands for Arabic manṣid meaning a mosque.
³ This is a contraction of brikatpurusha.
⁴ Rāja is a contraction of the word rājaputra or more probably of rājakula.
⁵ The intended reading may also be vid-dharmma-bānīdhavēṇa [nākhō-Pirōjēna].
⁶ This is a contraction of Arabic nākhdā.
⁷ Read varīṭhan.
⁸ Read pāṇīγ-ārtham.
⁹ Mālīna stands for Arabic mālīn, an instructor, and mūdina for mūzazia, a public reciter to prayers.
¹⁰ Read pāṭhā-ārtham.
¹¹ Thus seems to stand for the Muslim festival called Sabh-i-barīt and the night when Khatam (i.e., the completion (of the reading of the entire Qurān) is observed.
¹² Read kārām.
¹³ Čhāla is Gujarati chhā, 'moter' and chāna is Sanskrit chāna, 'luna'.
¹⁴ This stands for Sanskrit purāṭhā.
¹⁵ This word is redundant.
¹⁶ This is Sanskrit labhā.
¹⁷ This is a boon word meaning a kind of temple property.
¹⁸ This stands for Sanskrit vāṭādhaṁ.
¹⁹ Read argamva.
²⁰ Better read ahāta.
²¹ This is a Dēi word for Sanskrit bhūk-pētha-ma-yasten.
²² Read lit-ātkam.
²³ Read ḍasan. This is a Dēi word standing for Sanskrit ātkam.
²⁴ The intended reading is tāla-pūlam ēka.
Dr. Z. A. Desai informs me that he is editing a damaged Arabic version of the inscription published above, which is found on a slab now fixed into the facade of the Qutb's mosque at

1 The word is superfluous.
2 This is an abbreviation of thakura.
3 Sanskrit Lavanaśima.
4 There may be a mistake here. Possibly we may suggest kusa for karuna.
5 This is an abbreviation of rānekā.
6 This stands for Sanskrit, iti.
7 Better read sparshāmentsukhā.
8 This word is redundant.
9 This is a contraction of Sanskrit naktikā.
10 Read rittvajna.
11 Read rittvaśānti.
12 The intended reading is adaini used in the sense of adāryam bhūtati.
13 Better read shānti.
14 The intended reading may be nākkho dharmānti.
15 The stands for Arabic khitab.
16 Hultsch read ghaffika, 'harf-people', and Sakhdla for Arabic Shakhid meaning martyr in the sense of 'All the Martyrs.'
17 Read jamāthā ityānt-prabhātilōkā.
18 Read pālañjeyo.
19 The correct word is līlajātī.
Vērāval. The inscription is dated the 27th Ramadān, A.H. 6(62) (23rd July 1264 A.D.) and has been translated by him as follows: “God the Exalted may grant this to one who builds a house in the path of Allāh. [This auspicious mosque was built] on the twenty-seventh of the month of Ramadān, (year sixty-two?) and six hundred from the migration of the Prophet, in the reign of the just Sulṭān (literally, ‘the generous king’) Abūl-Fakhir (literally, ‘the father of pride’) Ruknudd-Dunya wa’d-Dīn (literally, ‘the pillar of the State and religion’), Mu’izzu’l-İslām wa’l-Mustāmīn (literally, ‘the gloriﬁer of Islam and the Muslims’), the Shadow of God (in the world), the victorious against enemies, the (divinely) supported prince Abūn-Naṣr (literally, ‘the father of victory’) Maḥmūd, the son of Ahmad, may God perpetuate ........ and may his affair and prestige be high; in the city of Sūnā (i.e. Sūnāmāth), may God make it one of the cities of Islam (and purify it from the infidelity and the idols and during the time of its ruler ................ who was his adviser with correct and beneﬁcial (?) opinion ........ and who made efforts for this meritorious deed and also contributed generously (?) having been assisted by one named Čūlu’ (i.e. son of Rāwat Nāṣīh) along with their great ones, one of whom is Railak Dev, the second Bim Shib Tūkurr, the third Sūnīshwār Dev and the fourth Rām Dev, all of whom unanimously agreed to the construction of this magnificent great mosque—(is) one who is of a fortunate position, the great chief (sadr), the fortunate, the martyr, Najmu’l-Ḥaq wa’d-Dīn (literally, ‘the star of the truth and religion’), the protector of Islam and the Muslims, father of kings and Sulṭāns, the chief (sulṭān) of the great men of the time, the guide of those who go astray in the world, the king of the kings of the covenant and the fulﬁllment, the master of generosity and liberality, Abū Ibrahim, son of Muḥammad Al-Īrāqī, may God illuminate his grave and make his (resting) place and bed agreeable to him, in obedience to our Lord’s orders, The master of this good deed, is the great and respected chief (sadr), the king (sulṭān) of sea-men, the king of the kings of traders, Nūrul-Dawlat wa’d-Dīn (literally, ‘the light of the State and religion’), the son of Islam and the Muslims, the father of kings and Sulṭāns, the shelter of the great and the equals, the pride of the time, Fīrūz, son of Abū Ibrahim, may God perpetuate his glory ........ and endowed for the above mentioned mosque which is celebrated throughout the universe .............. with the whole of its surroundings for the sake of Allāh, the Generous and for His abundant pleasure of the Great Lord .......... for the building of this great mosque, so that (its) building may be a proof of faith in the Manifest Scripture and in utmost accordance with the order of the Discrimination between Truth and Falsehood (i.e. the Qur’aṇ), wherein (Allāh) has said: Verily, he builds the mosques of Allāh, who believes in Allāh and in the Final Day (i.e. the Day of Judgment) and who establishes prayers and gives alms and does not fear any one except Allāh : very likely, they would be among the guided ones (and the endowment is used) for the beneﬁt of the Imām (i.e. the leader of prayers) and its Mu’ādhthin (i.e. the caller to prayers) and the balance (of the amount), after the expenditure is made, will be sent to Mecca, may God guard it, and (Medina) the city of the Apostle of Allāh, may Allāh’s salutations be on him, so that (the said amount) will be spent toward [different] items of expenditure. As for one who will help to nullify this good deed or try to defeat its purpose either by words or deeds or intention or demonstration. Allāh the Exalted will know it from the sincerity of his heart and the defect of his belief ........ the curse of God and the curse of the cursers and of the angels and of the people, (and, in short) of all will be on him. And (as regards) one who will change it after hearing of it, verily the sin will be on those who change it. Verily, God is the Healer and Knower and Relenter and Merciful ............ the Exalted Allāh, as He says in His Strong Mighty Book (the Qur’aṇ): Verily Allāh .......... and salutations of Allāh be on our chief Muḥammad and on his noble descendants.”
No. 22—INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF CHAULUKYA KARNA, V.S. 1354

(1 Plate)

C. C. Das Gupta, Darjeeling

(Received on 26.2.1959)

This inscription was found on the wall of the Rāmji temple at Bhavnath Mahādēo in the former Idar State. I edit it from an inked impression supplied to me by the Government Epigraphist for India at my request.

The inscription measures 3 feet 6 inches in length and 6½ inches in breadth and consists of 12 lines of writing. The characters employed are Nāgari of the 13th century A.D. The language of the record is Sanskrit and the composition is in verse excepting small sections at the beginning and end. It is dated in Vikrama Śaṁvat 1354 (line 12) corresponding to 1297 A.D.

The inscription belongs to the time of the Vāghēla branch of the Chaulukya dynasty (line 3, verse 5). The first ruler mentioned is Ānaka who is called Arjunāraja in some other inscriptions.¹ There is no doubt that Ānaka is to be identified with Arjunāraja as the inscription under study as well as the above-mentioned records give the name of his successor as Lavanaprasāda. The son and successor of Lavanaprasāda was Viradhavaḷa whose son and successor was Viśvala. There is no doubt that Viśvala is the same as Viṣalādeva mentioned in some other inscriptions.² His elder brother was Pratāpamalla. The late Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar regarded Pratāpamalla as the younger brother of Viṣalādeva.³ From this inscription, it is quite clear that he was the elder brother of Viṣvala or Viṣalādeva. This suggests that, though Pratāpamalla was the elder son of Viradhavaḷa, he did not reign. Probably he breathed his last during the lifetime of his father leaving behind his son Arjuna. Viṣalādeva’s successor is said to have been his nephew Arjunaḍēva who was succeeded by his son Sāraṅgadēva; but this inscription suggests that Sāraṅgadēva was the successor of his elder brother Rāma and not of his father Arjuna. After Sāraṅgadēva, Rāma’s son Karnā became the ruler. The genealogy of the family thus stands as follows:

1 Ānaka
2 Lavanaprasāda
3 Viradhavaḷa

  ————
Pratāpamalla

4 Viśvala

  ————
5 Arjuna

6 Rāma
7 Sāraṅgadēva
8 Karnā

¹ Bhandarkar’s List, Nos. 488, 1524.
² Ibid., Nos. 547, 549, 550, 557, 577.
³ Ibid., p. 385.
The object of this inscription is to record the erection of a temple of the Sun-god by Vaijalladēva in memory of his parents. The genealogy of Vaijalladēva is given in the inscription in verses 22 ff. as follows: Rājiga; his son Rājyadēva; his daughter Nālādēvi; her son Vaijalladēva. The genealogy of another aristocratic family is given in verses 17 ff. and 30 as follows: Mahādēva; his grandson Muiñjiladēva; his daughter Hridēvi; her son Saṅgrāma. Verse 33 mentions Subuddhi who belonged to another family and was the son of Sūtravēdha. ¹

So far as historical facts are concerned, there is one which is important. It is mentioned in line 9 where it is stated that king Visvāla defeated the ruler of Dhārā and destroyed the city of Dhara. This shows that he defeated the Paramāra ruler whose capital was Dhārā.

TEXT:

[Metres: verses 1, 2 Sravīkhaṇā; verses 3, 6 Upēndravayrā; verses 4-5, 8, 13-15, 17, 22-23, 26-27, 30-31, 33 Anuṣṭhākha; verses 7, 9-10, 16, 18-19, 24 Upajāti; verses 11-12 Indravayrā; verses 20, 28 Rathadibhata; verses 21, 32 Śāradalavikṛti; verse 25 Vasantaśāla; verse 29 Šālīni.]


¹ [See below.—Ed.]
² From impressions.
³ [There is a Śiddham symbol before this.—Ed.]
⁴ [The danda is unnecessary.—Ed.]
⁵ [The reading is aramam rā[m]draś[m]lāra-varṇam(rnam) cch[m]dyācavā rā[r]a-lambam.—Ed.]
⁶ [The danda is unnecessary.—Ed.]
⁷ [Sandhī has not been observed here.—Ed.]
⁸ [Read yōna.—Ed.]
⁹ [Read bhrūri Lavanaprasādādhara-vamśa-varō.—Ed.]
¹⁰ [Read karanēkha yōna kṛtah-sānīja mah-āhavaḥ.—Ed.]
¹¹ [The reading is sar jaśi(nthāḥ) bāndhōḥ.—Ed.]
¹² [The reading is saṅkal-āṅgā pā[r]a[n]ē talah.—Ed.]
5 rāti-mukta-māṁsah | 10 Tasya-āṅgagajā sampratī rājate-sau Śrī-Śāma-nāṁ niptalecha | svantarpaya dānaśīrvdra-sattamāṁsah cha yāna-yāvaruṇih Šaiva-ugārtha-dhājau ||11 Śārīnagadāvah | susahā dharaṇay Śāma-āṅgajō Lakṣaśāma-sannibhāsathe cha | duṣṭa-svabhāvaṁ samarē cha Gogam, vidrāvyayāmasa dug-āvantaraśu || 12 Śrī-Śānād-āuraśā jātaḥ Karṇa-nāṁ-sūṭī viśrataḥ | śrutā-śāṣṭrā-virūdhdhe sa-yaṁ pālayati prajā | 13. --------------- | tē | 6 maḥ bhavati sāvataḥ | gotrē-trō-yāṁ gauravaṁ yātu parjanyō varāhunā dharuṇam | 14 Chaukuva—vānihā-vistartā śaṅkalpēṇa-kathī māyā | sāmagraṇ-āsanamāḥ-hāni stōtim vistartā guṇān | 15 Vakṣyēc samastāṁ Dhava-āukaśāṁ tāṁ vaṁśāṁ yathā- pūrvvam-akalmaśah cha | ratāṁ saṁd Śīvau-padē pavīrē uthukshitirm Śānka- pūjanē cha | 16 śućidīlyo pravārē gotrē Mahādevō hy-abhūt-purā | Śaṅkarārāyḍhanō yuktō dāna-dharma-parāyaṇah | 17 | 7 śivaraḥ kirttimatāṁ varishtāy tasya-āṅgauḥ bhūtaḥ pragalitaḥ pramātih | Sudhāmaśauṣṭhāya- laṅgā-dēśē vībhuḥāya-saṣṭhaḥ cehihaṅtā-vatasthaḥ | 18 Tad-āṅgag-hūra-ḥūtāla-ḥūṣahe yām Muṇijaṅda-va-mārga-puṅgūtā | āsāśasya lokaṁ kapalāṁ cha dhēnunā sa gogaha- ārthē maraṇam jagāma | 19 Khadg-āvra-γana-γvah (bājan-sainyōtō yashtī-akti-vara- kurnīta-puṭṣil) | badēha-tāna-drīḍhā-srīnigē-karō gō-grahe maraṇam dū̄ sa sājana | 8 20 Jātaḥ kānta-viśaṅ-gāla-vaḍaṇo Muṇijaṅdēvō hahatō kāṣṭhānā kutsa-jaṃkā-jalā- gahanānā satīrtyānte gō-grahe | viṇāyōdō | Bhārrata-bhāratiṁ katham-ahūṁ Karṇaṇa | suvrō yathā sa (khaḍg-gaṁ pāṇi-īla nihiyā paramaḥ Sūryaśya lokaṁ gaṇatō | 21 Kātyāpe yimaḥ gotrē Rājgig-hūm-mahāmaṛṭih | raujitaṁ yasya riṣiga sakalaṁ gō- grahe maṅguṣalānariḥ | 22 Tasyaṁ dhanaṁ jātaḥ Rājyadāvah | kriyō-riyō | 9 [raجل] | tasya-śākā dūhitā jātaḥ Nāladaṁ | 23 Ativa sā śayavatō sukṛtah | dharmē | stātā pārvvaa-satī-śvabhāvaa | tasyāḥ prajāpō ripa-mauli-ōdā Āyilādāva Śava- saktiño-hāktaḥ | 24 Vairōcuda-śeṣānā-ratō na-rā-tōhakārī Āvījāla ēsē maṇa-krītta-kirttī | kūntaḥ | dāna-pradāna-vimukkliṣṭata-Kalpurikṣaṁ sikhārikāraṁ svakarayōre balō ripaṇāni (yīm) | 25 Tena śrī-Bhṛgukumāṇa- | 10 sva jayatāṁ dēva-vaṣayō mātriṇīpiṭāṁ samuddhāṣya kīrttiṁ śurya-mahābrahmān|m | 26 Gō-ḥūra-tīla-hūry-dō pītō datvātvaṁ hy-anu-kārī | Muṇijaṅdāva-medā-sva-tanō- ākāri nīkṣetramān|m | 27 Saṁpaḍādhyā kalabhu-karṇaṁ-ćaḍčha dā jīvitaṁ cha | 1 [The reading is gātān=āmitānām suke—Ed.] 2 [There is an uncontracted letter above the letter ū—Ed.] 3 [The use of the Present Tense here is not happy, unless it can be believed that Rima was still living when the inscription was composed—Ed.] 4 [Better read Kirna=ā bhūtē—Ed.] 5 [The reading seems to be āva vīra-ātē mlān Kaiṁ dharuṇē—Ed.] 6 [Śaṅkha has not been observed here—Ed.] 7 [The reading of the last letters may be Muḥē—Ed.] 8 [The intended reading is maṅghabdhe. Śaṅkha has not been observed here—Ed.] 9 [The poet’s conception in the second half of the stanza is not happy although he seems to mean that the person was dead and Śīva came near the ashes of his burnt corpse on the forehead or was the name of the person Nāgēvāra—Ed.] 10 [Read samārtya tad-gṛhaḥ—Ed.] 11 [Read vīrōṣya—Ed.] 12 [Verses 19-21 contain repetitions of the same fact—Ed.] 13 [The name may be Nāḷaṅēvā, Anālāṅēvā or Anālāṅēvā—Ed.] 14 [Śaṅkha has not been observed here—Ed.] 15 [The intended reading may be Śīva-Śakti—Ed.] 16 [Read kīrte for the sake of the metre—Ed.] 17 [Read “śivō” mūrte—Ed.]
jalaj-āhbu-dusthirāṇī(ram) | yauvanāṁ cha yuvati-kaṭākṣhavatī vikṣhya yōś-rkka-nilayaṁ nyakārayat | 28 Va da .....................vad-bhānu........ tē ra[śmil]–

11 [j]ālaṁ | yāvat-Sōma[h*] | śī Śatām=āvahēta tāvad=Vaija prāpayasy=āśv=abhiḥṭām-(shtam) | 29 Yasya† Vaijalladēvasya namānā dēva-rūpiṇaḥ | Madanō Maṇḍalik-ākhyāḥ Mahīpālo-‘th[=ajyata]° | 30 Sutā Munjālādēvasya Hṛ[dev=ity=a]bhīhyatāḥ | sutāṁ sā sukhāvēśa śūram Saṅgrām-ākhyam mahā-bhujaṁ(jam) | 31 Yasya-śāyē hi virājatē suvimalā vāmaṣya vāni dhruvā | 7 tasy-ēyaṁ vihīta pra[śasti]..........................chhā


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1 [Śraddhā Laks not been observed here.—Ed.]
2 [Verses 26-28 contain repetitions of the same fact.—Ed.]
3 [The reading is Yāvad ........ yāvad-bhānu........ Ed.]
4 [Better read Tūṣya.—Ed.]
5 [Better read ‘ākhyō Maṇḍipālo-‘thaka jajīvē.—Ed.]
6 [Read suṣṭhi.—Ed.]
7 [The dudha is unnecessary.—Ed.]
8 [Better read tēṣaṣyam.—Ed.]
9 [The reading seems to be cha, rkka-uitṣan labhandaṇa-gata Pyāṇaṁ mōkṣa-ākhyat(a)yā. The following dudha is superfluous.—Ed.]
10 [The reading is Sūtra-Pūrī.—Ed.]
11 [The reading is ‘īmam-ātāki[ ] kūha.—Ed.]
12 [The word mohā-ātāḥ appears to have been engraved after this.—Ed.]
No. 23—NOTE ON INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF CHAULUKYA KARNA, V.S. 1354

D. C. Sircar and G. Bhattacharya, Ootacamund

(Received on 5, 8, 1959)

Dr. C. C. Das Gupta has published this inscription above, pp. 151 ff. The record, which is fixed in the wall of a temple at the village of Dēsān or Bhavānī in the Beloda Taluk of the Sabarkantha District, Bombay State, was transcribed in the Buddhprakāśa, 1910, under the name 'Muralidhar Temple Inscription,' and was also noticed in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1935-36, p. 98.

The inscription is very important and its contents require to be properly analysed. This is the only known inscription of the time of the Chaulukya-Vaghēlā king Karna II (popularly known as Ghōlo or Ghēlarō, i.e. 'the insane' or 'the insane prince') who was ousted from the throne of Gujarāt by Alaud din Khilji (1296-1316 A.D.), the Sultan of Delhi. According to Mērutuṅga's Vīkatarēṣāṇi, Karna II ruled from V.S. 1353 (1296-97 A.D.) to 1360 (1303-04 A.D.) while Abul Fazl's Aīn-i-Ākbari assigns to him a reign period of 6 years 10 months and 15 days. The inscription under study, dated in V.S. 1354, was thus engraved in the second regnal year of the Chaulukya-Vaghēlā king. Karna II was defeated and ousted by the Muslims from his throne in 1299 A.D. but was finally and completely overthrown in 1304 A.D.

The inscription is a prāsastī composed in thirtythree stanzas in different metres by a poet named Saṅgrāma. But the author's style is rather poor. The rules of grammar have been ignored in many cases. Often he uses expressions and introduces ideas which are not quite satisfactory in the context (cf. verses 11, 18). Sometimes he repeats the same fact in several consecutive stanzas (cf. verses 19-21, 26-28) while elsewhere he forgets to state the reason why a family was introduced in the enology (cf. verses 16-21).

The epigraph begins with the Śiddham symbol followed by the pranava. Next, after a passage in prose recording obeisance to Gauḍēśa, come four stanzas (verses 1-4) in lines 1-3 in adoration of the Sun-god. This is in consonance with the object of the record, which, as will be seen below, is the construction of a temple for the said deity.

Verse 5 of our record introduces a chief named Anāka who is described as a scion of the Chaulukya family and as the ruler of Surāśṭra, i.e. Kathiwar. Anāka is the same as Anā or Arṇōrāja, the son of Dhavala, as known from some records. The next stanza (verse 6) of the inscription mentions Anāka's son Lavaṇaprasāda who is sometimes called Lūṇigadēva. Verses 7-8 speak of Vira or Viradhavala, son of Lavaṇaprasāda, and of Pratāpamalla, son of Viradhavala. No royal title is assigned to Pratāpamalla who did not reign.

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1 See A. K. Majumdar, Chaulukyas of Gujarāt, p. 468.
3 Cf. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 189.
4 Ray, op. cit., p. 1027.
6 DGA/59
Verse 9 mentions king Visvala as the younger brother of Pratapamalla. Māruttunga's Thērajati represents Visala, another form of the name Visola, as a brother of Viradhavalas apparently through mistake. Pratapamalla is generally taken by scholars to have been a younger brother of Visvala or Visala since Bühler explained king Visamalla's (i.e. Visala's) epithet Pratapamallāvaraja occurring in the Cintam prāṣasti as 'one whose younger brother was Pratapamalla'. But our inscription makes it clear that the said epithet should be understood not as a Bakurivāha but as a Sashthiki-Tatpurusaka compound in the sense of 'one who was the younger brother of Pratapamalla'. Our record, however, does not mention Visvala's other brother Virama probably because the relations between Visvala and Virama were hostile.

The same stanza of the inscription (verse 9) further states that Visvala vanquished the king of Dharā and destroyed that city. The successful encounter of the Chaulukya Vaghēli ruler with the Paramāra king of Dharā is referred to in other records. There is difference of opinion about the identity of this Paramāra ruler and it is not possible to be sure on this point. Verse 10 gives the interesting information that Visvala died after having installed Arjuna, who was the son of his elder brother (i.e. Pratapamalla), on the throne. According to Māruttunga's Vieḍaśrēṇī, Visvala's successor Arjuna ruled from V.S. 1318 to 1331 (i.e. from 1261-62 to 1274-75 A.D.).

Verse 11 introduces Arjuna's son Rāma as a nṛpachakravartin or imperial ruler while the next stanza (verse 12) speaks of his younger brother Sārāṇgaḍēva as the vanquisher of Gōga. Since some inscriptions refer to Sārāṇaḍēva's success against the Mālava kingdom, it is possible to identify Gōga of our inscription with the Malwa ruler of that name, who is known from epigraphic and Muslim sources. Māruttunga's Vieḍaśrēṇī represents Sārāṇgaḍēva as the successor of Arjuna and assigns his rule to the period V.S. 1331-53 (from 1274-75 to 1296-97 A.D.). His elder brother Rāma, omitted by Māruttunga, probably ruled for a short time.

Verse 13 mentions Karpo, the son of Rāma, as the reigning king. Māruttunga represents him as Sārāṇgaḍēva's successor ruling, as indicated above, in V.S. 1353-60 (i.e. from 1296-97 to 1303-04 A.D.). The next stanza (verse 14), which is damaged, contains the prayers of the author, one of which seeks that the family, no doubt meaning the Chaulukya family described before, might be glorious. In verse 15, the author of the eulogy states that he had to describe the Chaulukya family in brief because of his inability to deal with the qualities of the kings in details, meaning thereby that it was an impossible task.

The following section (verses 16-21) in lines 6-8 describes another family, the first of the stanzas (verse 16) referring to it as the dynasty of the Dhaivalakas, which is stated to have been devoted to the gods Vishnu and Śaṅkara (Śiva). The expression Dhaival-augaśāna occurring in the inscription means 'of those who have their home at Dhaivala'. This locality called Dhaivala may be modern Dholkā in the Ahmedabad District, which is mentioned as Dhaivalakapuri (also called Dhaivalakkanagari, Dhaivalakaka and Dhaivalānka) and was the original capital of the Vaghēli branch of the Chaulukyas. It therefore appears that the family described in verses 16 ff. of our record was residing at Dholkā. Dhaivalapuri was also the name of modern

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1 See JBBRAS, Vol. IX, 1867-70, p. 155.
3 See Ray, op. cit., p. 1048.
4 See ibid., p. 1037.
5 ibid., p. 1043.
6 Cf. above, Vol. XXXII, p. 147, note 2; Majumdar, op. cit., p. 182.
7 See Ray, op. cit., pp. 1020, 1027, 1030. The city of Dhaivala may have been named after Anǎka's father Dhaivala.
Dholpur, headquarters of the former State of that name lying near the Agra District of U.P.  
But this Dhaivala was far away from the find spot of the record under study.

Verse 17 introduces a person named Mahādeva of a family belonging to the Śaṅḍilya gōtra,  
who was a devotee of the god Śaṅkarā (Śiva). The following stanza (verse 18) mentions his son  
whose name may be Mahēśvara. Verse 19 describes Muṇḍalādeva who was the son of the said  
person and died apparently in a fight with certain cattle-lifters for the protection of men and cows.  
The next stanza (verse 20) repeats that he died in connection with a case of cattle-lifting. Verse  
21, with which the description of the Śaṅḍilya family comes to a close, also refers to Muṇḍalādeva’s  
death in connection with cattle-lifting. The author of the eulogy does not state Muṇḍalādeva’s  
relationship with the persons and facts mentioned in the following stanzas. But, as will be seen  
below, he was certainly the father of the hero of the praśasti which records the construction of  
the temple for a god named after Muṇḍalā.

The following section in lines 8 ff. (verses 22 ff.) introduces the hero of the eulogy. Verse 22  
states that there was a person named Rājiga born in a family belonging to the Kāśyapa gōtra.  
The next stanza (verse 23) introduces Rājiga’s son Rājyadēva and the latter’s daughter Nāladēvi,  
Anāladēvi or Anāladēvi. The hero of the eulogy under study was Vaijalladēva, the son of this  
lady. Verse 24 represents Vaijalladēva as devoted to the god Śiva and the goddess Śakti (i.e.  
Pārvatī) as well as to Vairočana. The word vairōchanā means ‘the son of Vairočana (i.e. the  
Sun-god)’, although the author’s intention here seems to have been to mention the Sun-god him-  
self. Verse 25 is also in praise of Vaijalladēva while the following stanza (verse 26) states that  
he offered many gifts of cows, land, gold, etc., and built a temple for the Sun-god in memory of  
his parents at a locality which seems to be called the abode of gods and was apparently situated  
in the neighbourhood of the Bhrigu-kūnda, no doubt the name of a sacred tank. It is difficult  
to say whether the temple built by Vaijalla is the same as the one on a wall of which the inscrip-  
tion under study is found. But there is little doubt that it was either the same temple or one  
built in the same neighbourhood. Verse 27 speaks of the construction of the temple of Mu-  
ṇ jalāsvarāmīdevā by Vaijalla. Although it is not clearly stated, it is certain that the Sun-god  
referred to in verse 26 is mentioned as Muṇḍalāsvarāmīdeva in the following stanza, because verse  
28 again refers to the construction of the Sun temple by the same person, the author’s style being  
repetitive as already indicated.

The relations between the Śaṅḍilya and Kāśyapa families are not clearly stated in the inscrip- 
tion. But, as stated above, there is no doubt that Vaijalladēva, born of a lady of the Kāśyapa  
family, was the son of Muṇḍalādeva of the Śaṅḍilya family and installed the Sun-god Muṇḍalā-  
vāmīdevā named after his own father. Verse 29 contains a prayer to the effect that Vaijja  
(i.e. Vaijalladēva) might fulfill the desires of suppliants.

Verse 30 speaks of the three sons of Vaijalladēva, viz. Madana, Maṇḍalīka and Mahipāla,  
who may have been associated with their father in the building of the Muṇḍalāsvarāmin temple.  
The next stanza (verse 31) mentions a lady whose name seems to have been Hridēvi. She is  
stated to have been the daughter of Muṇḍalādeva and was apparently a sister of Vaijalladēva.  
The stanza also mentions her son Saṅgrāma who was a warrior. Verse 32, which is damaged,  
mentions Saṅgrāma as a poet and states that the eulogy under study was composed by him.  
The same stanza also mentions Arka’s son Vyāsa who was either identical with Saṅgrāma or  
was the person responsible for writing the lines to be engraved on the stone with a view to facilitat- 
ing the work of engraving. Verse 33 says that the praśasti was engraved by an intelligent

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1 Cf. ibid., pp. 1055, 1058-59.
person named Nāyaka by the grace of Viśvakarman. The engraver is stated to have been the son of Sūtra-Pētha, probably meaning Sūtradhāra Pētha.

The date is recorded in a passage in prose following verse 33 in line 12. It is given as the expired Vikrama Śarvaṇa 1354, Śōbhana, Dakshināyana, Kārttika-śudi 11, Sunday. Kārttika-śudi 11 in V.S. 1354 was Sunday the 27th October 1297 A.D. But the year, according to Jupiter’s 60-year cycle as counted in North India, was Śubhakṛit and not Śōbhana which fell in the following year.

Among geographical names, the inscription mentions the land of Surāśṭra, the locality called Dhavala and a tank called Bhrigu-kupā. Their location has been discussed above.
No. 24—KHANDELA INSCRIPTION OF YEAR 201

(I Plate)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

(Received on 8.7.1959)

The inscription under study is engraved on a stone slab lying in the house of a Mahâjana at Khandelâ in Shëkhavatî which was a District of the former Jaipur State in Rajasthan. It was noticed by G. H. Ojha in the Annual Report on the Working of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, for the year ending 31st March 1935, pp. 2 and 9 (No. 2). There are two inked impressions of this inscription in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, which were apparently received from Ojha. My attention was drawn to this epigraph for two reasons. In the first place, the date of the record has been read in Ojha’s report as the year 701 although the reading is very clearly 201. He refers the year to the Vikrama era and assigns the inscription to 644 A.D. which appeared to me to be somewhat earlier than the date suggested by the palaeography of the epigraph. Secondly, the palaeography of the inscription is remarkably similar to that of the Sakrâi (Sakarâya-mâtâ) temple inscription,1 which comes from the same neighbourhood, and a person named Ādityanâga, son of Vôddâ, is actually mentioned in both the Khandelâ and Sakrâi epigraphs. It therefore appeared to me that the date of the Khandelâ record might throw some light on the various readings suggested by different scholars for the date of the Sakrâi inscription, viz. V.S. 879 (822 A.D.) by D. R. Bhandarkar,2 V.S. 749 (692 A.D.) by G. H. Ojha,3 and V.S. 699 (642 A.D.) by B. Ch. Chhabra.4

The inscribed area on the stone slab measures about 18 inches in length and about 12 inches in height. There are only eleven lines of writing. The inscription is neatly and beautifully engraved. But the preservation of the writing is not quite satisfactory in all parts of the surface of the slab. The letters in the central section of the right side of the lower half are rubbed off. The characters belong to the Siddhamâtrikâ script (i.e. Northern alphabet) of the 8th or 9th century A.D. and they closely resemble, as indicated above, those of the Sakrâi inscription. The top mûtra of the letters is a scooped out triangle with its apex downwards. The letter ṛ in “kṛśâ” (line 1; cf. also “manda” in line 11) is interesting as it resembles the form of the letter in Jain Nâgarî.5 On palaeographical considerations, both the Khandelâ and Sakrâi inscriptions can be assigned to a date midway between the Kanasa inscription6 of 738 A.D. and the Sâgârtâl (Gwalior) inscription7 (c. 850 A.D.) of Pratihâra Bhôja of Kanaûj. The language of the record is Sanskrit and it is written in verse with the exception of a few sentences at the end in line 11. The word upara in line 8 (verse 6) has been used in the sense of utpâdita. Such solecisms are sometimes noticed in epigraphic literature.8 In point of orthography also the epigraph under

1 Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 27 ff. Sakrâi is only 14 miles to the north-west of Khandelâ.
2 Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1910, pp. 12, 28, 56-57. See also Bhandarkar’s List, No. 22.
3 Annual Report on the Working of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, for the year ending 31st March 1934, pp. 2 and 7 (No. 1).
4 Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 27 ff. and Plate.
6 Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, Plate facing p. 84.
7 ASI, A.R. 1903-04, Plate facing p. 280.
8 See above, Vol. XXX, p. 122.

46 DGA/59 (159)
study resembles the Sakrāi inscription. Some consonants following r have been reduplicated. Final m at the end of the halves of stanzas have been wrongly changed to anuvāra while anuvāra has been wrongly changed to the guttural nasal in vaṇā in line 4.

The date of the record, quoted at the end of the last line, reads Sainvat 201 Chaittra śudī .........., the number of the tīthi having broken away after dī. Considering the palaeography of the inscription, we have no doubt that the year of the date should be referred to the Harsha era starting from 606 A.D. so that the year 201 would correspond to 807 A.D. As expected, the date of our inscription throws welcome light on the disputed date of the Sakrāi inscription. The object of our inscription is to record the erection of a temple by Ādityanāga, son of Vōdda. The same Ādityanāga, son of Vōdda, was one of the eleven persons forming a committee that was responsible for the construction of a mandapa in front of the temple of the goddess Śaṅkarā (i.e. the modern Sakrāi or Sakarāyamātā) as recorded in the Sakrāi inscription. The two inscriptions therefore belong to the same period and cannot be separated by a long interval.

We have seen that Ojha read the date of the Sakrāi inscription as V.S. 749 without noticing that Bhandarkar had previously read it as V.S. 879. Chhabra does not notice Ojha’s reading, but comments elaborately on the reading of the date offered by Bhandarkar. Bhandarkar says, "The reading of the first cipher of the date, viz. 8, is certain; but I am by no means sure regarding the two following ciphers as they are entirely new and not known to us from previous records." The third figure is, however, clearly 9 as now known from several inscriptions. Chhabra points out that Bhandarkar’s reading of the date of the Sakrāi inscription is admittedly tentative, the only point in its support being that there was an intercalary Āshāgha in V.S. 879 as required by the inscription. He then observes, "Nevertheless, there is one glaring discrepancy which would compel its rejection. .......... the script of the present epigraph bears a close resemblance to that of the Madhuban plate1 on the one hand and to that of the Kudārkot stone inscription2 on the other. The date of the first is the year 25 of the Harsha era, equal to A.D. 630-1, while the second has been assigned, on more or less equally sure grounds, ‘to about the latter half century. Of the seventh century A.D.’ Now if the similarity of script is not to be taken lightly, we cannot afford to assign our record to the first half of the ninth century, or to A.D. 822 to be precise, which would be equivalent to V.S. 879. That would remove it from the other two by close on two hundred years in point of time. And palaeographically speaking, that is an impossibility." It is contended that one of the Nāgārjunikondā inscriptions3 exhibits little difference between the signs for 6 and 8 (resembling ka and ha respectively) and that the figure 9 written in the Kārītalā inscription4 of Laksmanarāja resembles the second of the three figures in the date of the Sakrāi inscription. Chhabra therefore suggests the reading of the date of the Sakrāi inscription as V.S. 699. Unfortunately Chhabra’s views on the reading of the figures used in the Sakrāi inscription as well as on the palaeography of the record are, in our opinion, clearly wrong.

In the first place, the first of the three figures, which looks like hrā, was quite confidently read by Bhandarkar as 8 and there can be no doubt about the correctness of this reading. The third figure is undisputedly 9. Thus the date refers to the ninth century of the Vikrama era.

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1 I do not think that the year can be referred to the Bhāṭiika era fabricated by the Bhāṭi kings of Jaisalmer long after its epoch in the 7th century. See above, Vol. XXX, p. 7 and note 4.
2 See Ojha, Bhāraviya Pratīti Lipimālā, Plate LXXV (lower half).
5 Above, Vol. XX, p. 21 and Plate, text line 2. Attention is also drawn to the sign for 6 looking like hā in the Komartī plates of Chajjavaram (above, Vol. IV, Plate facing p. 146).
6 Ibid., Vol. XXXIV, Plate facing p. 334.
7 See Ojha, op. cit., Plate LXXII (upper half). This reading is now supported by the date of the Khapḍālā inscription.
The second figure was read by Bhandarkar as 7 probably because there was an intercalary Āśāḍha in V.S. 879 as required by the date of the Sakrài inscription. The figure may be regarded as having some resemblance with the sign for 7 as found in certain early medieval inscriptions in which the second curve, however, stands below the first and not to the right of the first as in the Sakrài inscription. It has somewhat closer resemblance with the figure for 6 found in some epigraphs in which also the right curve is considerably lower. But in V.S. 869 there was no intercalary Āśāḍha, although such an irregularity may not preclude the possibility of the reading altogether.

Secondly, the palaeography of the Sakrài inscription is certainly later than the Madhuban plate of 631 A.D. This will be clear to anybody who cares to compare the forms of the letters k, g, y, n, p, m, y, r and s as found in the Madhuban plate with those of the corresponding letters in the Sakrài inscription. Again, the letters g, n, p, m, y and s of the Sakrài epigraph exhibit slightly more developed forms than the same letters in the Kanausa inscription of 738 A.D., while letters like j and p have more developed forms in the Śāgartāl (Gwallor) inscription of Bhōj (c. 836-85 A.D.), which has to be assigned to the middle of the ninth century A.D., than in the Sakrài epigraph. Likewise, letters like v, m and s in the Sakrài record exhibit somewhat earlier forms than the said letters in the Jodhpur inscription of Bāuka, dated V.S. 934 (837 A.D.). Thus the Sakrài inscription can be quite confidently assigned, on palaeographical grounds, to a date between 738 and 837 A.D., i.e. near about 800 A.D. Bhandarkar’s reading assigning the inscription to 822 A.D. is therefore no palaeographical impossibility although its ascription to the seventh century on palaeographical grounds is certainly unwarranted.

The Khandēla inscription under study, which is a praśasti written in 9 stanzas, begins with the Śūdham symbol followed by two stanzas (verses 1-2) in adoration of the god Śaśiśikhara or Śūlapāi (i.e. Śiva). Both the stanzas refer to the Ardhanārīśvara aspect of Śiva. The adoration to Śiva is in consonance with the subject of the eulogy, which was the construction of a Śaiva shrine. Verse 2 is interesting from the mythological point of view. It states that the sight of Bhavāni (i.e. Pārvatī) at his side, when Kaitabhāri (i.e. Vishṇu) had gone to a festival along with Skanda (Kārttikēya) and Gaṇapati (Gaṇeśa) with a view to amusing the youngsters, aroused great passion in Śiva and that is why he absorbed her in half of his body. There seems to be an indirect allusion here to the conception of Pārvatī as the sister of Kṛṣṇa. According to a well-known Puranic tradition, Vasudēva, father of Kṛṣṇa, gave child Kṛṣṇa to Nanda-gōpā in exchange for the latter’s child daughter whom afterwards Kaṁsa tried unsuccessfully to kill. This daughter of Nanda-gōpā, the foster father of Kṛṣṇa, was Pārvatī herself. The poet has created a happy scene of a brother attending a festival along with his sister’s young sons leaving their mother with her husband at home. The introduction of the god Vishṇu in this section may be due to the fact that the author of the praśasti was devoted to that god.

Verse 3 introduces a merchant (वनिक) of the Dhūsara community (वन्हर), by name Durga-
vardhana. The Dhūsara community of Śrēṣṭhin is also known from the Sakrài inscription and the Dhūsaras are stated to be a well-known community of the Jaipur area of Rajasthan.

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1 See Ojha, Bhāratīya Prāchīna Lipindā, Plate LXXV (lower half). Cf. also Plate LXXII, upper half, Section V.

2 Ibid., Plate LXXVI (lower half).


4 See above, Vol. XVIII, Plate facing p. 96.

5 Chabara’s contention that the Sakrài inscription is one of the earliest to use the decimal system of writing numbers is untenable in view of his wrong reading of the date of the record.

6 Cf. Vishṇu Purāṇa, V, 23; Agni Purāṇa, XII; Bhāgavata Purāṇa, X, i, 3-4; Dev Bhāgavata, IV, 22; etc.

Persons bearing the surname Dhūsara now call themselves Bhārgava Brāhmaṇas though they are suspected by the people to have been originally Bāṇīṣas. This suspicion is proved to be a fact by both the Ākāra and Khaṇḍelā inscriptions. The next stanza (verse 4) speaks of Durgavardhana's son Dhāṅgaka1 while verse 5 mentions Vōḍda who was the son of Dhāṅgaka. Verse 6 introduces Ādityanāgā as the son of Vōḍda and the latter's wife Nāgūjā. It is interesting to note that Ādityanāgā's name ends with the word nāga, though his family does not claim to have belonged to the Nāga lineage. It may be pointed out in this connection that similar names ending in nāga are also noticed among Brāhmaṇas in early records. Thus the Bōndaka grant2 of king Māhāśiva Tīvara (close of the sixth century A.D.) of South Kōsala mentions a Brāhmaṇa named Bhāṭṭa Rāvināgavāṃśī. Such names may be classed with other Brahmanical names like Nāgaśarman3 and regarded as indicating respect for snakes rather than Nāga origin.

The father of Nāgūjā is also mentioned in verse 6; but his name cannot be satisfactorily deciphered owing to the initial letters being rubbed off. Verse 7 continues the description of Ādityanāgā as an extremely liberal person and the next stanza (verse 8) states that he built a temple for the god Śiva and the latter's consort, the goddess Pārvatī, for the merit of his parents and himself. It is not clear whether the reference is to the composite form of Śiva and his wife, which is known as Ardhanārīśvara. It is, however, possible to think that such was the case since, as we have seen above, the composite form of the god and goddess is referred to in both the stanzas (verses 1-2) in the maṅgala section at the beginning.

Verse 9, with which the praśasti concludes, contains a prayer for the long life of the temple. The above is followed by a few sentences in prose in the last line. It is stated that the eulogy was the composition of Dikshita Bhāṭṭa Satyaghōṣha and that it was engraved by a person named Maṇḍana. Satyaghōṣha was no doubt a Brāhmaṇa. The record concludes with the date which has already been discussed above.

There is no geographical name in the record. The temple was built apparently at Khaṇḍelā which seems to have been the native village of the merchant Ādityanāgā.

**TEXT**

[Metres: verses 1, 6-9 Anushtubh; verse 2 Snagdhara; verse 3 Vasantsatikā; verses 4-5 Āryā.]

1 Siddham 1 [{{1}}] Śaṁ karōṭu Śiv-āyatta-dēh-ārddha[{{2}}] Śaśisēkharah | mahātmā vō bhav-aṃbhodhi-magna-lōk-ābhaya-pradaḥ || [{{2}}] Skandasyākritā-

2 n-ārthaṁ Gaṇapati-sahitasya-śeśavē Kaitabhārēr-yātasyāvēkṣhya pārv[e] jaghna-kucha-bhar-ābhōga-ramyāṁ Bhavāniś(nīm) | kriṭvā dēh-ā-


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1 Ojha read this name as Gaṅgaka.  
2 See above, pp. 113 ff.  
4 From impressions.  
5 Expressed by symbol.  
6 The sign of modal ē is imperfectly formed.  
7 There is an unnecessary mark above la.
4 Āśīdvaṇīṁ-mahati nirmalā-Dhūṣarā prájāṁ vaṇīṁśā-khilō jagati gīta-guṇāḥ khamāvāṁ | svachchhāḥ sva-vitta-paśritōshita-

5 vipra-sarīthō yō Durggavarddhana iti prathtītāh prithivyāṁ(vyām) || [3*] Bhūri-guṇā-ratnā-

6 parikaraḥ[ iy ] suvṛttat-āchāra-kānti-sampannāḥ || [4*] Tasyā ppy-śabhavat-putraḥ [ sa* ] sa-kala-kā[ādhipa]-vīgraḥ sa-

7 myāḥ | saśālānchhana iva Vōddhā Kalī-kāla-kalahka-nirmmuktaḥ || [5*] Nāguja [ tasya bhāryā-ā ] tadēva[ su ]t-āna-

8 ghā [ ] tasyām-Ādityaanāg-ākhyas-ātēn-ōtpannaḥ4 sut-ōttamaḥ || [6*] Phala-pradō... 

9 Kalau yaḥ sarvva-lōkasya Kalpa-druma iv-āśparah || [7*] Tēn-ōdāṁ bhavanaṁ bhaktyā [ Śivayōr-śbhava-hārinōḥ ] pitrōḥ pu-

10 aya-vivṛddhy-artham-ātmanāḥ cha nīvēśitaṁ(tam) || [8*] Yāvach-Chhēshō dhārahām 

11 dhatē lakshmīṁ cha Madhusūdanāḥ || [ Pārvvatim ] Pārvvatāsā-cha tāvād-ā-

stām-śiddah kshitaḥ || [9*] kriit-iyāṁ Dikshita-Bhāṭṭa-Satyaghōshasya || samuktirōṇā 

Maṅḍanēṇa || Sarīvatvō1 Chaittra-śūdi]...7

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1 Read cūnāē.
2 There is an unnecessary mark looking like a superscript i with pa.
3 The reading may be bhāry-abhād-Dhūtēva. In that case, the name of Nāguja’s father was Hitadēva.
4 Read āstamāj-āśprāh to avoid the grammatical error in tēn-ōt panah.
5 This dual form has been used to indicate both Siva and his consort.
6 The triangular top mātṛi, found with most of the letters, was also incised by the engraver inadvertently and unnecessarily in the place for the figure 2.
7 The numerical figure or figures after dī cannot be made out owing to the concluding part of the line being broken away.

46 DGA/99
No. 25—INSCRIPTION FROM NAVALI, SAKA 936

SHRINIVAS RITTI AND B. R. GOPAL, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 21. 4. 1939)

Navani, the findspot of the inscription1 under study, is a small village on the bank of the river Krishnā in the Lingasgar Taluk of the Raichur District of Mysore State. From the inscriptions in the village, we learn that it was known as a tirtha-sthāna or holy place and is even today visited by a number of Hindus on the day of the Makara-sankrānti for a dip in the holy waters of the river flowing by the village and called utara-rāhini. The present inscription was found on a slab of stone lying behind the temple of Jatāsaṅkara. It is in a good state of preservation though a portion of the left side of the stone is broken off and, as a result, a few letters are lost in lines 13-27. The inscription contains 27 lines in all.

The record does not exhibit any palaeographical or orthographical peculiarity worth noting. Its date is Saka [9]36, Ananda, Vaiśākha śu.3, Monday, regularly corresponding to the 5th April 1014 A. D.

The epigraph refers itself to the reign of Vikramādiyā V and mentions Jayasimha (i.e. Jayasimha II Jagadēkamalla of the Western Chālukya family) as governing the division of Edegore Two-thousan and states that Jāgāsvīchārya of Kāraḍikal made a grant of land for worshipping the foot-prints (pādulī) of his (i.e. Jayasimha’s) preceptor who became one with Śiva (i.e. died) at the tirtha-sthāna of Navile on the eighth day of Kārttika-bahula of the cyclic year Paridhāvi (i.e. the 10th November 1012 A. D.). The gift land was purchased by paying money to three sthānapatis of the temple of Jejeyāsaṅkara, including Māṇikēvāra-bhaṭjāra. The date of the inscription is one of the latest for the Western Chālukya king Vikramādiyā V.2 Jayasimha II, the governor of the Edegore division, is described as the pāda-panikṣa-śhramaṇa of Trībhuvanamallaśeṇa (i.e. Vikramādiyā V) to whom all the usual Western Chālukya titles are ascribed. Jayasimha’s epithet Komaragajakṣaṇi also suggests that he was yet a prince.3

There is no doubt that the time our record was incised, Vikramādiyā V was ruling and his brother Jayasimha II was the governor of a division under him. An inscription4 at Rūgi in the Indi Taluk of the Bijapur District dated the 20th February 1015 A.D., i.e., ten and a half months later than the record under study, refers to the brother of Vasudhaikamalla Ayyaṇa without mentioning the former’s name. This brother of Ayyaṇa may be identified with Jayasimha II. In that case, the accession of Jayasimha must have taken place between the 5th April 1014 A.D. and the 20th February 1015 A.D.5. If Ayyaṇa’s brother referred to in the Rūgi inscription is not identified with

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2 There is a record at Gonahā in the Bellary District (II, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 79) belonging to the reign of Vikramādiyā V and dated in Saka 939,1493 in Śrāvaṇa (July 1014 A.D.). In A. R. Ep., 1933-33 (No. B 722), the same date is read as Śaka 935.
5 The Rūgi inscription of the 20th February 1015 A.D. does not mention Jayasimha II. It records the gift of a chief named Dēvanārapara who is described as the bee on the lotus foot of Vasudhaikamalla Ayyaṇa and apparently also as the tamaṇa or brother of the same king. The writing on one face of the pillar abruptly stops with the word tāmaṇa in order to give Dēvanārapara, described with a number of epithets on another of its faces, a special importance as the donor. This kind of introduction of the reigning monarch and his subordinate is not at all uncommon in the Indian epigraphic literature. It is interesting to note that Dēvanārapara is also described as Ayyaṇa-nabhaṇa (i.e. the soldier or servant of his brother, i.e. Ayyaṇa). There is no evidence to suggest that Dēvanārapara was just another name of Jayasimha II and, even if it was, Ayyaṇa’s brother who was the donor of the grant recorded in the Rūgi inscription was ruling as a subordinate of Ayyaṇa who was then the reigning king. The importance of the Rūgi inscription lies in the fact that it is the only record of the reign of Vasudhaikamalla Ayyaṇa so far discovered. His brother and viceroy Dēvanārapara is as yet unknown from any other source.—Ed.]
Jayasimha II, the latter’s earliest date would be Śaka 937, Rākshasa, Uttarāyaṇa (i.e., the 24th December 1015 A.D.) supplied by a record from Siṣenūr in the Dharwar District.

The geographical names mentioned in the epigraph are Eḍedoṛe 2,000, Navile and Karadikal. Eḍedoṛe was a stretch of country lying between the rivers Kṛishṇa in the north and Tungaḥadarī in the south and comprising a large part of the present Raichur District. Navile is the present Navali, the findspot of our record. Karadikal is Karadkal near Liṅgaṅūr.

TEXT

1 Svasti Samasta-bhuvan-āśraya Śrīprithivivallabha-mahārā-
2 j-ādhāra-Paramēśva(śva)ra-paramabhaṭṭāraka Satyāśra(āraya)–
3 kula-tilaka Chālukya-ābharaṇa śrīmat-Tribhuvanamalladēva-pā-
4 da-parikṣa-bharamaraṇa komara-gaja-kēsari kṣ[r]tī-vidyā-
5 dharṣaṇa mum(ma)llik-āmōḍaṁ mmāḷāppade bhīmaṁ kōdāṅḍarāvaṁ(mam) ga-
6 ṇdarolgaṇḍaṁ tēja-māṛttaṇḍaṁ gaṇḍa-baṅgāraṁ-āroha-kaṇa-
7 bbukam śrīmāṇaJayasirignhadēvar-Eḍadoṛe yil-chāsiramu-
8 maṁ dushṭa-migraha-visi(ś)iḥṛṣṭa-pratiṇālaṇeyindam-iḍu sukha-
9 sakathā-vinōdadi[ṇ] rājyaṁ geyyuttum=ire tad-rāja-guru-bha-
10 ṭṭāraka=Pparidhāvī sarivatsaraṇa Kārttika bahula ashton-
11 mi Sōma[vā]radol tirtha-sthānan=Navilēya Jeḍeyasāṁ(śaṁ)-
12 [ka]ra-dēva daksīṇamū[r*]tīyol-[ś]i śvamānaṁ=ā-
13 [do]d=avara pādukaṅgala pūjā-nimitya(tta)diṁ Sa(Sa)ka-varsha
14 [9]*36 neya Ananda-sarivatsaraṇa Vaisā(śa)kha su(śu) 3 Sōma–
15 [vā]ṛṣṇi [[*]] Svasti Yama-niyama-śvādyāya-dhyāna-dhā-
16 [raṇa]-mōṇ-ānushṭā(abṭḥā)na-parāyaṇa-samādhi-sāmpannar=appa
17 [śrī]māṇa Karadikalā Jōgasi(si) vāchāryar Navile–
18 [ya Je]dēyasāṁ(śaṁ) karadēvāra sthānapatī Māṇika-bhaḷārarggam
19 . . . bhaḷārarggam Tri(Tri)bhuvana-bhaḷārarggam=āntu sthānapatī-bhaḷāra-
20 . . . rgge 6 gadyāṇa honnaṁ koṭṭu sarvva-bāḍa(dhā)-pariḥāra[ṇ]a[m]

2 Above, Vol. XII, p. 296.
3 From impressions.
4 Read kāmbakam.
5 This letter is lost.
6 The figure 9 is partly broken away
7 These letters are broken off.
8 The letter yā is broken away Je is partly seen.

46 DGA/59
While the above article was going through the press, Shri Gopal copied, in November 1960, another inscription of Vikramāditya V at Nandikandi in the Sangareddi Taluk of the Medak District, Andhra Pradesh. The epigraph, which is in Kannada language and alphabet is dated Śaka 936, Ānanda, Uttarāyana-samkrānti. Thursday, corresponding to the 23rd December 1014 A.D. The samkrānti, however, falls on the following day, i.e., Friday. The record is important in that it supplies the latest date known so far for Vikramāditya V. The date is about 8 months later than the Naivali inscription and 5 months later than the Gonahālu record referred to above while the gap between the date of the present record and that of the Rūgi inscription would be just two months.
No. 26—TWO GRANTS OF EARLY GUHILAS

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACUMUND

(Received on 12, 9, 1959)

About the beginning of September 1959, I received for examination one set each of impressions of two copper-plate grants from a gentleman named Rāṭhōḍ Sūrajmal Vāḍīā of Surnākā Chaulā at Dungarpur in Rajasthan, who was formerly the Archaeologist of the old Dungarpur State. I was told that the impressions were sent to me at the instance of Maharājāmūr Dr. Raghubir Singh of Sitamau. But they were not quite satisfactory and I wanted the original plates for examination. Mr. Vāḍīā, however, informed me that the original plates could not be secured. He also could not give me any details regarding the findspot of the inscriptions and the circumstances leading to their discovery. The only information I received from him was that about eleven years ago, shortly after the merger of the Dungarpur State, when Mr. Vāḍīā was no longer an officer of the State, a Bhil brought the plates to him and that, since he was then not in a position to purchase them, he prepared an impression of each of the inscribed faces of the plates and returned them to the Bhil whose address unfortunately he forgot to take down. Considering the importance of the records, they are edited in the following pages from the impressions referred to above. I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to Mr. Vāḍīā and the Maharājāmūr.¹

Both the inscriptions are apparently engraved on the inner sides of two plates held by two rings each. The first record is engraved on plates measuring about 11.5 inches in length and 6.6 inches in height. The plates, on which the other epigraph is incised, are each about 14.6 inches long and 4.78 inches high. The first inscription contains 26 lines of writing, 14 on one plate and 12 on the other. There are 27 lines in the second epigraph, 12 of which are engraved on the first plate and 15 on the second. The impressions show two ring-holes (about ¼ inch in diameter) near the lower margin of the first plate and the upper margin of the second in the first inscription, the intervening space being about 4.2 inches wide. The ring-holes in the corresponding parts of the two plates of the second inscription are much smaller and the space intervening between them is about 5.6 inches. There are also two other holes and traces of a third near the other margin of both the plates in this record.

The characters of both the inscriptions belong to the Siddhamātrikā (i.e., Northern) alphabet of the seventh or eighth century A.D. They closely resemble the alphabet of such inscriptions of the Rajasthan area as the Vasantgadhi (old Sirohi State) inscription² of Varmalāṭa, dated V.S. 682 (625 A.D.), the Samoli (old Udaipur State) inscription³ of Śīlāditya, dated V.S. 703 (646 A.D.), the Nagda (old Udaipur State) inscription⁴ of Aparājīta, dated V.S. 718 (661 A.D.), the Jhalrapatan (old Jhalawar State) inscription⁵ of Durgagaṇa, dated V.S. 746 (689 A.D.), and the Kanawsa (old Kotah State) inscription⁶ of Śivagaṇa, dated V. S. 795 (738 A.D.). It is well known that some letters of the Nagda inscription of 661 A.D., e.g. ś, exhibit more developed forms than in later

¹ The Maharājāmūr informs me that Mr. Vāḍīā expired on the 20th September soon after he had received back the impressions returned by me.
² Above, Vol. IX, Plate facing p. 190.
³ Ibid., Vol. XX, Plate facing p. 99.
⁴ Ibid., Vol. IV, Plate facing p. 99.
⁶ Ibid., Vol. XIX, Plate facing p. 58.

(46 DGA/59)
records like the Jhalrapatan inscription of 689 A.D. but that the former epigraph also shows the use of both the earlier tripartite and the later bipartite form of the letter y side by side. It is interesting to note that this latter palaeographical feature of the Nagda inscription, which is expected in a West Indian record of the middle of the seventh century, is also a characteristic of the first of the two inscriptions under study, in which the earlier form of y is generally and its later form rarely used. This fact shows beyond doubt that the first of our two inscriptions cannot be assigned to a date much later than the middle of the seventh century A.D. As will be seen below, the second inscription is 35 years later than the first and has to be referred to the close of the same century.

Although the preservation of the writing is not satisfactory, both the records were very carefully engraved as in the case of the other epigraphs of the Rajasthan area, referred to above. The writing in both the records is of the ornamental type. A few points of palaeographical interest, besides what has been said above, may be noticed here. Both the inscriptions use the letter b in some cases, though it is often written by the sign for r. Of initial vowels, the first inscription has a in line 22, i in lines 3 and 5, and e in line 3. In it, upadhimaṇiya (lines 5, 7, 12) and jhārāmūliya (line 9) have been indicated respectively by two separate globular marks placed side by side above p and by a symbol looking like superscript r joined with subscript k. Numerical symbols for 2, 8, 10 and 12 occur in this record. In the second inscription, the characters of which closely resemble those of the other epigraph, we have the initial vowels a (lines 3, 5, 21), e (lines 6, 22), t (lines 7, 8) and u (lines 14, 15). The final consonant t occurs once in line 4 and final s several times in lines 10 and 11. Jīhāmūliya (line 9) has the same shape as in the other inscription. But upadhimaṇīya (twice in line 19) has a form which looks somewhat more developed than in the other epigraph and is generally found in contemporary records of the area.

The language of both the records is Sanskrit and, excepting the usual imperative and benedic- tory stanzas, they are written in prose. Both the records are written in ornate prose and Kāvya style, though the style of the second epigraph is more ornate than that of the first. As regards orthography, both the inscriptions often reduplicate a consonant in conjunction with r and sometimes use the guttural nasal for anusvāra before ā. The use of class nasals is noticed in many cases. The final m has been wrongly changed into anusvāra at the end of the last word in stanza in both the epigraphs. The letter dh has been reduplicated before y in lines 6 and 13 of the first record and lines 4 and 18 of the second and, in the first inscription, r has been reduplicated in sabhavasana in line 24.

Both the grants were issued by the subordinate rulers of the Gubila dynasty of Kishkindhimpura, the first in the year 48 by Bhāvihita, who was the son of a brother of a chief named Dēvagaṇa, and the second in the year 83 by Bābhaṭa who appears to have been a son of the said Dēvagaṇa. Both Bhāvihita and Bābhaṭa represent themselves as meditating on (or favoured by) the feet of Dēvagaṇa. But, although Bābhaṭa ruled later than the ruler Bhāvihita, the latter is not mentioned in the second inscription. It is difficult to say whether Bhāvihita occupied his paternal uncle’s throne and was later overthrown by a son of the latter. It is, however, clear that the dates mentioned in the two records, viz. years 48 and 83, have to be referred to an era and considering the fact that the first epigraph has to be assigned to the middle of the seventh century and the second to the close of the same century, there is no doubt that they have to be referred to the Harsha era of 606 A.D. Thus the first record was issued in 653 A.D. and the second in 688 A.D.

We know from Al-Birūnī that the Harsha era was prevalent in the Kanauj-Mathura region as late as the first half of the eleventh century A.D. when it was also mentioned in the Kashmirian manuscripts. The Shahpur (Patna District, Bihar) inscription of the time of Adityasena, whose father Madhayagupta is known to have been a subordinate of Harsha (606-647 A.D.), is dated in the year 66.
which can only be referred to the Harsha era. These facts and the dates of a number of inscriptions referred to below show that an era was counted from Harsha's accession in 606 A.D. The use of this era in Rajasthan during its first century is indicated not only by the two inscriptions under study but by the Kaj (old Bharatpur State) inscription of the year 48 (603 A.D.) and the Dhuley (old Udaipur State) plate of a chief named Bhëtti, which is dated in the year 73 of the same era corresponding to 678 A.D. The ruling families of the eastern areas of Rajasthan must have owed allegiance to Harsha till Harsha's death in 647 A.D. although, as will be seen below, it is difficult to determine as to whom they offered allegiance after the middle of the seventh century. Later use of the same era in different parts of North India is indicated by the Hund or Und (on the Indus) inscription¹ of the year 158 (763 A.D.), Punjab inscription² of the year 184 (789 A.D.), Khandela (old Jaipur State, Rajasthan) inscription³ of the year 201 (806 A.D.), Khajuraho (old Chhatarpur State, Bundelkhand) inscription⁴ of the year 218 (823 A.D.), the Ahar (Bulandshahr District, U.P.) inscription⁵ containing dates between the years 258 and 293, Pehoa (Karnal District, East Punjab) inscription⁶ of the year 276 (881 A.D.) and Panjaun inscription⁷ of the year 510 (1168 A.D.).

The inscriptions are very important inasmuch as they are amongst the earliest epigraphic records of the Guhilas and reveal the existence of three hitherto unknown rulers of an unknown branch of the Guhila family ruling from a city called Kishkindhipur. The early Guhilas were associated with the country of Mewar, i.e. the present Udaipur Division of Rajasthan, while the copper plates under study were apparently discovered in the old Dungarpur State lying to the south of that area. Kishkindhipur of our inscriptions is not therefore the same as Kekind in the old Jodhpur State (lying to the north-west of the Udaipur Division), which is called Kishkindhā in the inscriptions found at the place.⁸ Our Kishkindhipur must have been a locality in the Udaipur-Dungarpur region. It may be noted that Mahārāja Bhëtti's plate referred to above, which was discovered at Dhuley (Rishabhdev), near Kalyānpur in the Bhamat District of the Udaipur Division bordering on the Dungarpur region, was issued from Kishkindhā located at the site of a ruined city in the vicinity of Kalyānpur. There is no doubt that Kishkindhipur of our record is identical with Kishkindhā of the Dhuley plate. This city was apparently the capital of the branch of the Guhila family in question and Bhëtti was very probably a member of the same house.

¹ For the Harsha era, see IHQ, Vol. XXVII, pp. 321 ff.; Vol. XXIX, pp. 72 ff.
² Bhandarkar's List, No. 1391.
³ Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 5 ff. The date of this record was assigned by Mirashi to the Bhāṭika era (ibid., pp. 2 ff.). But this era is known to have been used only in the Jaisalmer region several centuries later. The epoch of the Bhāṭika era falls very near to that of the Hijri era. The Bhāṭi kings of Jaisalmer appear to have fabricated the Bhāṭika era, named after their family, by solarising the Hijri reckoning in their own way. The calculation of the years of the Bhāṭika era seems to have been based on the fact that V. S. 679-80-622-23 A.D. (i.e. Hijri 1) was regarded as its first year, which was solar unlike that of the Hijri year which was lunar. In the present state of our knowledge, it is impossible to explain the use of the Bhāṭika era of Jaisalmer in other parts of Rajasthan and in such distant areas as Bihar, U. P., Bundelkhand and the Punjab region, though the use of the Harsha era in those parts is explainable.
⁴ Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 97-98. D. R. Sahni read the date as 168.
⁵ Bhandarkar's List, No. 1406; Ind. Ant., Vol. XXVI, p. 29.
⁶ Above, pp. 159 ff.
⁸ Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1410, etc.; above, Vol. XIX, pp. 58 ff.
¹⁰ Bhandarkar's List, No. 1421; Ind. Ant., Vol. XXVI, p. 32.
¹¹ Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 199, 208. Cf. the Kishkindhikā district mentioned in a few inscriptions from the old Chamba State, Punjab (ibid., Nos. 1819-20; Vogel, Antiquities of Chamba State, Part I, pp. 152, 156 f.).
The earliest known Guhila records are believed to be the Samoli inscription of the time of Silâditya, dated 646 A.D., and the Nâgâ inscription of the time of Aparâjita, dated 664 A.D., although the identification of Silâditya with the Guhila prince of that name is not beyond doubt since it is not impossible to identify the ruler mentioned in the Samoli inscription with Harsha Silâditya of Kanauj, who ruled from 606 to 647 A.D. over wide areas of Northern India apparently including considerable parts of Rajasthan. Guhila Silâditya again may have been named after his father's overlord Harsha Silâditya as in certain other cases known to us.1 In any case, the first of our two inscriptions, which is dated in 653 A.D., is at least the second earliest record of the Guhila family even if it is not exactly the earliest. Thus the Guhila of Kishkindhipura were ruling side by side with the Guhila of Mewar in the seventh century A.D., both houses probably originally owing allegiance to Harsha. The rule of the three kings of the Guhila house of Kishkindhipura known from the two records under study, viz. Dêvagaña, Bhâvihita and Bâbhaṭa, may be roughly assigned respectively to the second, third and fourth quarters of the seventh century A.D. Another member of the family was Rûjaputra Gîrghaṭasvaṁîn who is known from the second of our records and may have been a son of Bâbhata. But whether he ever ascended the throne is more than what can be said without further light on the subject. Mahârâja Bhêtî of the Dhulêv plate of 673 A.D., ruling between Bhâvihita and Bâbhata, may have been a son or younger brother of the former or an elder brother of the latter. Two other members of the same family appear to have been Paḍâ and Kâdachhi, known from the undated Kalyânpur inscriptions noticed in A. R. E. P., 1954-55, Nos. B 498 and 499, of whom the former was probably a predecessor of Dêvagaña and the latter apparently a successor of Bâbhata.

We have seen above that the rule of the chief Dêvagaña can be assigned roughly to the second quarter of the seventh century A.D. and that, at that time, King Harsha of Kanauj was ruling over extensive areas of Northern India no doubt including the major part of Rajasthan. Paḍâ and Dêvagaña thus appear to have been Harsha's feudatories. But it is difficult to say to whom Bhâvihita, Bhêtî and Bâbhata, who issued charters without specifically mentioning their overlord and were ruling semi-independently in the second half of the seventh century, owed their more or less nominal allegiance. If, however, it is believed that Śivagaña of the Kanaswa inscription of 738 A.D. was a feudatory of the Maurya dynasty known also from the Mathurâ inscription of an earlier date, it is possible to suggest that it was these Mauryas who succeeded in extending their suzerainty over the major part of Rajasthan after the death of Harsha.2

1. Grant of Bhâvihita, [Harsha] Year 48

The inscription begins with the Śiddham symbol followed by the word svasti. Next comes the reference to Kishkindhipura whence the charter was issued. Lines 1-2 then introduce the dynasty of the Guhila Putras (i.e. Guhila) and a chief named Dêvagaña belonging to that dynasty is next mentioned in lines 2-6. Among the epithets applied to the Guhila Putra family and to Dêvagaña, nothing deserves mention excepting that Dêvagaña is described as a devout worshipper of Mahâvâra (Śiva) and as one who acquired all the mahâ-bâdus, the latter epithet indicating his subordinate position.

Lines 6-9 introduce another ruler named Bhâvihita as the donor of the grant and as meditating on (or favoured by) the feet of Dêvagaña while line 11 refers to Dêvagaña as the pûrîrâya (father's brother) of Bhâvihita. This ruler is also called samadhigata-paṭîva-mahâsabda which indicates his subordinate status. The order of Bhâvihita in respect of the grant was addressed to the following classes of subordinates (lines 9-10): rûjān (subordinate chief), rûjaputra (son of a rûjān), rûjâ-śtadhînyâ (viceroy), pratîkâra (officer in charge of the gate of the palace or capital), pramâtî (an officer

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1. Cf. The Successors of the Śukhivâhanas, pp. 177, 245, note 1; Bhattacharya, Kâmarâpaśâvanâcâs, p. xiv.
in charge of measuring the king's share of grains), balādhikrīta (commander of forces), chaurōḍāhara-
ṇīka (police officer to deal with cases of theft), dāyapāśika (head of a group of policemen), sāulkīka
(collector of customs duties), prātisāraka (a gate-keeper or a collector of tolls),1 gamūgamīka
(messenger), cāṭa (chief of a group of Pāiks), bhāja (Pāik) and sēvaka (attendant).

Lines 11-17 describe the grant properly. It is stated in lines 11-12 that the grant was approved
by Bhāvihiita having regard to a brahmādāya (rent-free holding enjoyable by Brāhmaṇas) created
by means of a charter issued by his uncle Dēvagāna. This shows that the grant had been originally
made by Dēvagāna and was later merely ratified by his nephew and successor Bhāvihiita. The grant
is also stated to have been made for the increase of the fame and merit of Dēvagāna. The
donee was the Brāhmaṇa Asāṅgaśarman who was the son of Indraśarman and belonged to the
Daṇḍāyana gotra, Vājasaṇēya [charaṇa] and Madhyandina [sākhā]. He was a resident of
Kūragirikā, though his family hailed from Ujjayani. The grant was made with a view to make
a provision for the performance of bali, charu, satīra, vaisvadēva, agniḥūtra, etc., by the donee. The
name of the village granted cannot be deciphered. But it is stated to have been situated in the
Purapaṭṭa viskaya (district). It is difficult to say whether Purapaṭṭa was really a geographical
name or the reference is to the paṭṭa-viskaya used in the sense of the metropolitan district around
the pura meaning the capital city of Kishkindhipura. In the latter case, it was the same as the
Kishkindhipura viskaya mentioned in the second of our records. The grant was a permanent one
made according to the bhūmi-chchhiddra principle and was to be enjoyed by the donee and his
descendants, though he had no right over lands previously granted in the village in favour of gods and
Brāhmaṇas. The donee's privileges included the enjoyment of uparikara (minor taxes or tax on
temporary tenants), of any income that might arise out of changes in the natural or climatic
conditions (bhūta-vat-ādi-pratijāya) and of fines for the ten [minor] offences. The gift village was also
made free from the entrance of the chāṭas and bhaṭas (Pāiks and Piādas and the leaders of groups of
them).

Lines 18-20 contain the donor's request to the future rulers of the land for the maintenance of
the gift and a curse against the person who might be responsible for its resumption. This is
followed in lines 20-24 by some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas as the sayings of
Vēdayāsa Vyāsa. The date is quoted in lines 24-25 as the year 48 (both in words and numerical
symbols), Bhādrapada-sudi 12 (both in words and numerical symbols). Line 25 also mentions
Pūrja who is stated to have written the document under orders apparently from the donor. The
last line of the record (line 26) contains the copy of the signature (ṣrā-hasta) of the illustrious
Bhāvihiita. This refers to the donor's signature on the original document later engraved on the
plates.

As regards the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, we have already dealt with
Kishkindhipura whence the charter was issued and Purapaṭṭa-viskaya in which the gift village was
situated. Kūragirikā, called Kūragiri in the other epigraph, cannot be identified. But Ujjayani,
whence the donee's family hailed, is the same as modern Ujjain in the former Gwalior State now in
Madhya Pradesh.

TEXT1

First Plate

1 Siddhām2 svasti [*] [Kishk]indhipurācch-bharad-indu-kirāṇ-āvadāta-vipula-yaśasi
pranipatita-jan-ārtī-chchhedā-śaṅgni nirava.

1 This designation occurs in the Lēkhaṇḍhāthi (G. O. S. ed.) and has been explained at one place as a gate-keeper
(op. cit., p. 124) and at another as a toll-tax collector (ibid., p. 129).
2 From a set of impressions.
3 Expressed by symbol.
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

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2. Sākṣita-tattikamaṇhi: Gandharvapuruṣa-vyāsasūkṣma-panchāhāra-yogadikṣaṇāvāya āchārya-vyākhyāya āsanāya

(Yc. 123.7)
22 mantā cha tāṇy-eva narakā vasot 1 Babhubhir-vasudhā bhū(bhujktā) rājani(bhi)ga=Sagar-śādibhiḥ "] yasya yasya ya-.

23 [dī] bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yatnād-raksah Yudhisṭhirauro mahāmahābhujāṁ

24 śrēṣṭha dānāch-śrēṣṭha-yo-nupāb-lamati(nam) 3 Sarvavrataśavhy-ashtachatvāriṇāsā-(rimā)atsu 40 8 Bhādrapada-duśadhē dvādasāṁ


26 śrī-Bhāvīhitasya sva-hastāḥ ā.

2. Grant of Bāhāṭa, [Harsha] Year 83

The inscription begins with the Siddhist symbolism and the word avasti which are followed by the reference to Kishkindhīpura whence the charter was issued. The dynasty of the Guhila kings is then described in lines 1-3 and the chief named Devagaṇa belonging to that dynasty is mentioned in lines 3-4. There is nothing of historical importance in the description of the family and the ruler. Lines 4-9 introduce another chief named Bāhāṭa who is the donor of the charter, as meditating on (or favoured by) the feet of the said Devagaṇa and as one who acquired the five mahā-sabdas. The second epithet represents Bāhāṭa as a seculatory ruler.

The donor's order in respect of the grant recorded in the document was addressed to the following classes of subordinates and subjects: vipā (subordinate ruler), vipasaṭa (son of a subordinate chief), samhīrīvavādikīra (minister for war and peace), śānīdhyaśaka (leader of forces), purāhās (priest), pramātri (officer in charge of the measurement of the royal share of the produce), mantri (minister), pradhāna (officer in charge of the gate of the palace or capital), vijayadāna (viceroy), uparika (governor), manvāmanīya (officer enjoying the status of a prince), viśāha-bhōga-pati (officers in charge of viśāhas or districts and bhūgas or subdivisions), chandāśā-āśa (officer dealing with cases of theft), saṅkāṇaka (collector of custom duties), viṣṇupurṣa (royal agent), vīṣṇupīṭaka (head of an administrative division or department), dīpaṁkāra (head of a group of policemen), chātra (leader of a group of Pākṣa), bhāṭa (Pākṣa), prātimahāla (gate-keeper or collector of tolls), grāmāśā-āśa (head of a village), vgrāmāśa (probably, officer in charge of a watch-station), the agriculturist house-holders as well as the people of the area in question headed by the merchants and Brahmāṇas and also the kārṇapīkas (members of the scribal community). The gift land consisted of two plots situated in the village called Mitrāpallikā-grāma which seems to have formed a part of Maṇḍalācchḥaka within the Kishkindhīpura vīṣāha (district). The expression Maṇḍalācchḥaka does not appear to indicate a maṇḍala or subdivision called Acechhaka.

The boundaries of the two plots of gift land are described in lines 13-15. Both the plots of land were situated near the eastern border of the village called Mitrāpallikā-grāma. The first plot belonged to Pāhaka and Pāhāṭa (or was called Pāhakāpbahaka) and consisted of five standard measures of land (pāchika-parimāga). It was bounded in the east and south by an embankment linking it with the lower part of Mitrāpallikā-grāma while to its west lay the pāśi-śāhivāria (possibly a reservoir of drinking water) belonging to (or by name) Rōṅgāṭaka and a part of the embankment of the tank belonging to (or by name) Pāhaka. To the north of the plot, there was a path leading to the wood at Šākāpāli and Sōdhana. The second plot consisted of land around a well, which was in the possession of certain persons including Gopāla. To its east stood a śrīhakā (possibly a tree

1 The metre of this verse and the following two stanzas is Anushtrīth.

2 Bhūgaṇḍi does not appear to be the same as bhūgaṇḍa meaning a Jāgir but may also have been an officer in charge of the Jāgir in the State.
called by that name) in the marshy land belonging to the blacksmiths and to its south was another sēṭhaka standing on the main road of the district (rīṣhaya-vartani) but belonging to the plot. In the west and north, the plot was bounded by a field belonging to Māṇḍalāchchhaka. Line 16 states that the boundaries were determined by Ushara, Vāhēka, Mahattura Saṅgilaka and others. The grant was made according to the principle of bhūmi-chhikhida and Pāiks and the leaders of groups of them were prohibited from entering the gift land which carried with it the privileges of the permanent enjoyment of incomes like those arising out of changes in the natural and climatic conditions, the taxes in cash (hīranya) and the share of grains and the periodical offerings payable to the king.

The grant was made in favour of five Brāhmaṇas who were brothers, viz. Gopaśīrī, Gopaśīhī, Dēbhāṭa, Dḥotsaḥī and Gopaśāvāmin, who were the sons of Gopa of Kūragīrī. The donees belonged to the Dāṅḍāyanā gōtra and the Vājjasanēya [charana] and Māṭhītanā [śāṭhā]. The grant was made for providing the Brāhmaṇas with the means for the performance of their duties relating to the five māhā-pujās for the increase of the merit and fame of the donor and his parents. Whatever had been previously granted in favour of gods and Brāhmaṇas was, however, excluded from the gift land which was granted with libation of water.

Lines 20-22 contain the donor’s request to the future rulers for the preservation of the grant and a curse against one who might resume it. This is followed in lines 22-24 by some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas.

The name of the city of Kīshkindhipura occurs again at the end of line 24. Since, however, the following letters are mostly damaged, the context is not clear. But it seems that the rule of (i.e. from) Kīshkindhipura is referred to here. Lines 25-26 state that the document was written by Sāndhiśīrīghāhika Pāhēka on the full-moon day of Kārttika in the year 83 (in words only) and that the dūtaka (executor of the charter) was Rājakūtra Ḡōṛghaṭasāvāmin. The record ends with the representation of the signature of the illustrious Bāḥhaṭa which, as indicated above, must have been put by the donor on the original document later incised on the plates.

The geographical names mentioned in the epigraph are, besides the city of Kīshkindhipura and the district of the same city around the city, the village of Mitrāpalīkā probably forming a part of Māṇḍalāchchhaka, and Kūragīrī which is mentioned in the other record as Kūragirikā. I am not sure about their exact location.

TEXT

First. Plate

kriṇa-raṇjita-daśa-asē | surapati-dhāmmi4 sthāyasi mahāyasi pravara ka . . . .

2 . . . . . . . śrī-bhājī samunnatimati bhōgi-mahāsativa (ttva)-saṁśraya-vidhaun | dūrilaughyē=

3 kti . . . . ta-dāyē | anavaraṭa-mitra-maṇḍala-parigaman-ōdhāsini prathitē || sach-chhāyā(yō) 
dvīja-vastatiṣu prāpa-maḥāphalō manōhāri śrimān–tijur-āṭīta-jana-ṭīṣhōa-klama-tāpa–vini–

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1 From a set of impressions.
2 Expressed by symbol.
3 The danda is superfluous.
4 Better read dhāmna = dūrī.
5 The marks of punctuation in this as well as the following lines are in most cases unnecessary.
TWO GRANTS OF EARLY GUHILAS—PLATE II

2. Grant of Babhata, [Harsha] Year 83

Scale: Three-fourths
4 hantā | samabhilashita-phala-sampat-sampatti-krid-utsritā ruchira-patraḥ Mērāviva Kālpataruḥ śrī-Dēvagānō nirparat-āsīt [***] tach-charaṇa-kamala-yugal-anuddhyaṭāsamajjana-miyat-avagītaḥ śārad-[ā]-


6 [ku]la-[ka]mal-ākara-vivar-dhita-śrīkaḥ dōsh-āntakaraḥ para-βala-kumuda-vana-vikāsa-hati- 

7 bhānur-ivā || chandaṇa-surabhi-parimalaḥ prithu-kaṭaka[h] unnaṭaḥ sthīrō-kāshōbyaḥ Malaya- 


9 sa(su)-prathita-punya-kṛttitā=Kārtta-yuga-nrip-ātirikta-guṇa-nikaraḥ | samupārjīta-pañ̤- [cha]-mahāsabdaḥ śrī- Bābhaṭa[h]=ka[n]-iśali | sarvāvān=ev=ātmiyān=nripa-nripasuta-sandhi- 

10 kṛttān sēnādhyaksha-purōdhā-pramātrī(три)-mantri-pratīṭhāoun | rājasthāny-ōpari[ka-kumā]- 

11 puruṣānācha | vyāprītaka-dāndapāsīka-čaṭa-bhāṭa-prātisāraka-prabhṛtīn grāmādhipati- 

12 karīṇānāchāpi2 | anyāṁś=cha yathā-nyāyaṁ vō(bō)dhayat-sty=astu vō viditam || yathā 

Second Plate


15 āmātra-bha(hu)kti-pramāṇaḥ=k-ūpā-kachchhō yasy=āpi pūrva-pārśvē lōhakāra-kach- 

1 Read "syāṁ"=cha.
2 Read "sīmā"=āpi.
3 The donās are unnecessary.
4 Read śīmās.
5 The word prāmāṇa seems to be a mistake for parimāṇa.
6 The donā is wrongly inserted.
7 Read "bāyontara-stha".

46 DGA/50
16 ty=ṣvam=ṛtad=ubhayam=apy-Ūchāra-Vāhēka-mahattarasaṅgīlaka-pramukhō(ḥ-ā)dihaṭa-
chakur-āghāṭana-viśuddhaṃ | sa-śēvaram² sa-bhūtā(t-ō)pāta-pratīyam sa-hirany-
ādēyam sa-bhoga-bhagam ¹

17 sarvādāna-saṅtum bhūmicchndhidra-nayyēn-ā-chāśa-bhāṣa-pravēyam=ā-chandr-ārka-
kālikam putra-pautr-anvaya-krama-bhūyam | Kūragirṣa-sāmānya-Brahmāṇa-Gopa-
putṛēbūvō Brahma-

18 pa-Gopādhiya-Gopādhya-Dēbhāṣa-Dbōdiha | Gopāsvāmi-prabhṛtihīyō Vā(Dā)nāyana-sa-
gōtra-Vaija(ja)sanēya-sabramahābhir-Mādhyandānēbhyāḥ=paṇcbhāyō=pi bhrāṭribhyāḥ-
paṇca-mahāyasūjē[j]üya

19 naṁ karmanām=utsarpāṇ-ārthaṁ pītrō-ātmanāḥ=cha puṇya-yāśē-ḥbhūvīddhyō pūrvva-
pratto-dōva-brahmadāya-ābhīvarjām=udak-ātisarggēpa brahmadāyaḥ pratipāditam³=īty=
avagamyā=āṃśikō

20 m=idaṁ yu(bhū)jātāṁ bhūjyayātāṁ kriṣṭatāṁ karahayātāṁ v=āsamad-vamāṣajīr=anyair=vv=
āgāmi-nriṇativēḥsāmānya-bhū-pradāna-phalēṣubhir=ṇna kāṣicḥ=vyāghātē prayartti-
tavyaṃ(ayam) | kamala-dala-nilṇa-

21 vāri-sam-āsthiratarṣaṃ=ātman=avētya jīva-lōkaṃ(kam) anumāṇit=anupālanām cha kāryaṁ
śāśi-kara-chāru-yasā-čichhushbhiṣ-echoṣa || yas=tv=a jāhēd=āchēchhidyād=āchēchhidyā-
māṇāṁ v=ānumōdēta sa

22 paṇcbhāhir=mahā-pātakān=saṁyuktaḥ syād=uktam cha || Shashṭirṇa varaha-sahasraṇī
evarggē mōdati bhūmidaḥ [*] āchēchhēttā ch=ānumantē cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēṭ [*][*]
Bhūbhāhir=vvasudē bhukta rājabhīr=Sagar-ādi-

23 bhū [[*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalāṃ(lam) || Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ
vā yō hareta vasumdhārāṅ(rām) | kapīlā-śata-ghāṭīnām-ēnas=smṛtipadyatē || Vindhya-
āṭavisheṣa-tōyaś uṣapaka-kōṭara-

24 vāsinaḥ [*] kriṣṇēḥyō-bhījayantē brahmadāya-āpahāra[kj][h] [*] | Pūrvva-dattāṁ dvijāti-
bhiyō yatnād-rakṣa Yudhishṭhira | mahāṁ mahībhṛtāṁ śreṣṭha dānāḥ-chhrēyō-ñupāla-
nam=iti || Kīshkindhpurā-pra[va]-

25 . . . . . . . . . samvatsarē tryāśītītamē Kārttikyām=adya likhitam=idaṁ sāndhiygrahika-
Pāhēkēna [*] dōtakās=ch-ātra rājaputra-

26 Ghōrghatāvāmi ||

27 śrī-Bābhāṣasya sva-hasta[h] [*]

¹ Better read dāghātā.
² Read sa-śēvaram or sa-śēvarah supposed to refer to a levy in kind (Ghoshal, H. Rev. Syst., p. 220); but saśevarah may be Marathi śrīr, 'atable land originally excluded from the village assessment' (Wilson's Glossary)
³ The dōpāṇ is wrongly inserted.
⁴ Better read vāmāṣajīr.
⁵ The same with sāṁyuktaḥ in line 16.
⁶ The metre of this verse and the following four stanzas is Anuśīṣyāk.
⁷ The damaged atēharaḥ may have been tānēkāmāna-ṛjaya-ṛṣṭa.
No. 27—CHIRUVROLI GRANT OF HAMBIRA, SAKA 1383

(1 Plate)

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(Received on 14. 11. 1959)

This is a set of five copper-plates discovered in the year 1941 by the inhabitants of the village of Nemalikallu near Ravela in the Sattenapalli Taluk of the Guntur District while they were digging the earth. A ring with the seal bearing the emblem of an elephant, said to have been found with the plates, is now missing. The inscription was noticed in the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, 1941-42, as C.P., Nos. 4-5, and was published, with the exclusion of the Oriya part, by N. Venkataramanayya in the Telugu Journal Bhārati, Vol. XVIII, Part II, pp. 515 ff.

Three of the five plates of the set bear writing in Telugu characters on both the sides (IA—14, IB—15, II—15, IIIA—17, IIIB—17) and the fourth plate contains four lines in Oriya on one side only, the last plate having no writing at all. The plates are not of uniform size. The first three plates bearing writing in Telugu characters measure about 10½ inches in length and 6 inches in height and have slightly raised rims. But only two of them (plates I-II) contain the ring hole (about 3″ in diameter) towards the left margin. The third plate has a circle of the same dimension engraved at the proper place; but it was not drilled through for the ring to pass. In spite of this fact, the writing on this plate suggests that it was a part of the charter engraved on the first and second plates. It is interesting to note in this connection that the third plate contains the names of a number of donees in addition to the list of donees enumerated on the second plate. These three plates together weigh 180 tolas. The other two plates are smaller in size. One of them bearing writing in Oriya characters measures about 8½ inches in length and 5½ inches in height whereas the other plate having no writing is 9 inches in length and 6 inches in height. These two plates, which do not appear to have belonged to the same charter, together weigh 50 tolas.

On the reverse of the first plate towards the right lower margin, there is the conventional representation of a sword which is generally found at the end of the charters of the Suryavanshi Gajapatis of Orissa. This stands for the king’s signature on the original document, later inscribed on the copper plates. Similar representations are also found on the fourth and fifth plates. The plates are not numbered.

The palaeography of the Telugu part of the epigraph very closely resembles that of the grants of Raghudēva and the Veligalani grant of Kapilēśvara published above. No distinction is made between the medial signs of i and i, of e and ē and of o and ō. The letter ṁ resembles the modern form of k. There is a vertical stroke on the top of the letter r in words like Meḷḷāmēru Chirvēlu, Yaṟavuṟaḷa, Yaṟṟi-bhāṭṭa, etc. The sign of aspiration is used only in some cases. The letters th and dh are distinguished clearly as in kathāma (line 31) and saṁrakṣha-yārthaṁ (line 72) and Maṅgala (line 53) and Gaṅgādhara (lines 63, etc.), etc. Another feature of the palaeography of the record is that, in some cases ry and rv are written with the full form of r instead of its superscriptal form while subscriptal forms of y and r are added to it; cf. sarvāṇi (line 18), Tiṁmāṇyarā bhṛyūṁ (lines 90-91), bhṛyṛ (line 64), etc. Anuvrata is invariably used for final m and the class nasals. The characters of the Oriya section are similar to those of the Oriya writing in the Veligalani grant referred to above.

1 Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 1 ff.; pp. 275 ff.
The record is trilingual having four sections, the first and the third of which are in Sanskrit (written in Telugu characters), the second in Sanskrit verse and Telugu prose, and the fourth in Oriya prose. There are a few interesting words in the Telugu part of the second section. In the compound words *papruna-kõtu* (line 21) and *nõngala-kõtu* (lines 27-28), the word *kõtu* means a rivulet or an artificial canal. The word *adhusu* in *adhusuh-gaduva* (line 25) is used in the sense of ‘dirty water’.

The date of the charter is quoted in two places. At the beginning of Section II (lines 15-16), it is expressed by the chronogram *Rûm-dhûba-la-ha-drvipati*, i.e. *Śaka 1383, Vṛisha, Bhādrapada, Kuhu* (i.e. *amārāyin*) and *Bhūrigutanaya-dina*, i.e. *Friday, regularly corresponding to the 4th September 1461 A.D.* Again in Section III (lines 72-73), it is quoted by a different chronogram *candra-ārshi-nāg-āryava* and the cyclic year *Vṛisha* without further details. The word *aksī* in this chronogram refers to the three eyes of Śiva and is popular in this numerical sense in Eastern India. It is also interesting to note that the principle of *vādā gati* has been ignored in the formation of this chronogram. The Śaka year quoted here is 1384 which has to be regarded as current since it is equated with the cyclic year *Vṛisha* corresponding to the expired Śaka year 1383.

Section I contains adoration to gods and the description of the donor and his ancestry. It consists of 7 stanzas in lines 1-14 on the first side of the first plate. Section II begins with the date and describes the gift village and its boundaries in lines 15-32 engraved on the second side of the same plate. It ends with some benedictory and imprecatory verses. Section III gives the list of the donees and their shares (in lines 33-96) on both the sides of the remaining two plates. The fourth section in Oriya was intended to give the gist of the grant as in the Veligalani charter of Kapilēśvara referred to above. But, as will be seen below, the contents of the Oriya part suggest that it belonged to a different grant.

Section I begins with the auspicious sentence *subhamanang* which is followed by two verses, one in adoration of the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu and the other invoking the protection of the crescent moon worn by Śiva. *Verse 3* describes the Sun, in whose *race* according to the following stanza (verse 4), a great king named *Kapilēśvara* was born. *Verse 5* referring to Kapilēśvara’s military prowess states that, as a result of the noise of his drums filling up the whole universe, *Hampā* trembled. *Dhārā* was disturbed, the horses fled from *Kalabarigā* and *Dhilli* was occupied by savage women. The same verse with slight variation is also found in the above-mentioned Veligalani grant of Kapilēśvara, which is earlier than the present charter by three years. The next two stanzas in our record (verses 5-6) introduce the donor *Hambira-kumāra* as the son of the said Kapilēśvara and describe his heroism and valour. This section ends with *maṅgaḷa-mahāśri-kṛishna*.

The name of the donor is spelt *Hambira* in our record as well as in some other Gajapati epigraphs found in the Telugu-speaking region. But the correct spelling is *Hambira* which is a modified form of *Hammira*, the early Indian modification of Arabic *Amīr*. The introduction of *vīra* in place of *bīra* in some records of the Andhra region is an attempt at Sanskritisation. A more drastic attempt in the same direction is noticed in the inscription under study in two stanzas (verse 6 in lines 9-12; verse 11 in lines 29-31) wherein the name has been spelt as *Abhūṭīra*. But, as will be seen below, the correct pronunciation of the name with *b* in place of *r* is also indicated in some epigraphs of the South, which in certain cases replace the initial syllable *ham* by *an*. The last-mentioned characteristic is of course due to the tendency of non-aspiration in the Dravidian languages.

Section II (lines 15 ff.) begins with the date (verse 8) discussed above and states that *Hambira-bhūpa* granted the village of *Chiruvrōli* together with *Mēḷāmīṟṟu*, situated on the bank of the river *Krishṇa*, to a number of *Brāhmaṇas*, the gift village being named after the donor. In the following stanza (verse 9), it is said that the boundaries of the gift village, *Prāṭāpa-Hambira-kumāra-satpura* (i.e. Hambirapura), are given in the language of *Andhra* (i.e. in Telugu). Having
mentioned the boundaries in Teḷuṇa (lines 19–29), the section is introduced with these verses in Sanskrit, the first of them requesting the future rulers to protect the gift of Hambira-kumāra and the second stating that the charter in question was drawn up (kathita)° under the orders of Hambira-niripa by Śrīkānta and Timmayārya who received one share each (out of the gift land). The third stanza is one of the usual imprecatory verses often found in epigraphic records. The section ends with manguṣṭa-mahā-drī[ḥ°].

The boundaries of the gift village are enumerated as follows: towards the west lay Ávalakīka to the west of which stood the mounds of the Gaṅgā-nīcās; to the north of Ávalakīka were also the same mounds; to the east of Ávalakīka was the northern boundary of Bīlā’s field; to the east of that field stood the northern end of Gopāla’s fields; to the east of those fields lay the northern boundary (i.e. bank) of Baḻarāju’s canal; towards the north-east of the junction of Chiruvrōli and Merakanapalli stood the eastern bank of the fields of Arūbāyavari; to the east of that field lay the boundary of Vellāvī: Muttala-kēmā and Kēsavariya’s field formed the eastern boundary of the fields of Chiruvrōli, Merakanapalli and Meḍaluriri; to the south-east corner lay Ājīvalūkāna and to the south of that was the Krīśṇavengā (Krīśṇā); to the south of Meḍalumāli and Chiruvrōli lay Eḷḷalaṅkāna to the south of which there was a drum; then Teḷuṇakāḷa forming the boundary of Chiruvrōli and Jaitarājpalēn; the river Krīśṇā was the southern boundary of Meḍalumāli which formed a gāravṛty[-]a; to the west is Māṇikāṅkāṇa and to its north, lay the northern bank of the tank called Pāramba; to the east of the gift village was the canal called Nāṅgalekāla.

Section III begins with a verse referring to the enumeration of the donces and their shares in the village of Chiruvrōli alaṅa Hambirapurā. The enumeration of the donces on the third plate, which looks like a later addition to the charter, does not seem to be a continuation of the list of donces on the second plate. It appears that the donces of the original grant, mentioned on the second plate, received only half of the village, the other half being allotted to another set of donces at a slightly later date. The principal donee among the first set of Brahmans was Gaṇapati, who was the son of Gaṅgādhara of the Kaṇḍiniya gōtra and received six shares, the largest for a single donee enumerated in the said part of the document. Naishadhīya Aūbhāḷa, the first of the donces mentioned on the third plate, who was apparently the brother of Gaṇapati mentioned above, seems to have been the principal recipient of the gift land amongst the second set of donces since he not only received the largest number of shares amongst them but is also described with much greater detail than any of the other donces. Some of the family names of the donces are the same as those mentioned in the Veḷgālana grant of Kāpiśēvara and are still prevalent in Andhra Pradesh. The enumeration of the donces is not consistent in mentioning the gōtra, pratṣeṣanā and the names of their fathers. In addition to the shares allotted to the 108 Brahmānaya donces, two shares were given to the local deities Kēsavēva and Sagareśvaradevā making the total number of donces 108. Nearly half of them received one share each while more than a dozen of them received two shares each though, in some cases, several donces enjoyed a single share together. The following received more than two shares: (1) Yaṇaṅkṣaḷa-Bhāskara-bhṛṭa, son of Kēśa-bhṛṭa of the Kaṇḍiniya gōtra and Yajuvṛda—5; (2) Gaṇapati-bhṛṭa, son of Gaṅgādhara-bhṛṭa of the same gōtra—6; (3) Naishadhīya Aūbhāḷa, son of Gaṅgādhara of the same gōtra—10; (4) Ghadīyārima-Gaṅgādhara-bhṛṭa—5; (5) Penumarti-Gaṅgādhara-bhṛṭa of the Kaṇḍiniya gōtra—1; and (6) Yaṇaṅkṣaḷa-Chiṭi-Kēśa-bhṛṭa—3.

On the first side of the third plate the genealogy of the donee Aūbhāḷa of the Naishadhīya or Naishadhīya family is described with special reference to his scholarship and learning. It is said that, in the Naishadhīya family belonging to the Kaṇḍiniya gōtra, there was a learned Brahmāṇaya named

° The word kathita is used in the same sense in the Raghudēvapurā grant (above, Vol. XXI, p. 11).
Gaṅgādhara who was well-versed in the Vēdas and whose wife was a lady named Aūbhaṣa. They had a son named Aūbhaṣa-sūri who was famous for his learning in all the śāstras and for his virtuous deeds. In the Śaka year 1384 (current), Vṛışha, he received the grant of Chīravṛōli from Hambira, the son of the Gajapati king Kapilēśvara, for the maintenance of learned Brāhmaṇas (sakalā-vibhūsa-sai rākhaṇ-aṭṭha). This seems to suggest that Aūbhaṣa-sūri received the grant of the village of Chīravṛōli from Hambira, which was renamed Hambirāpura after the donor, and that shares of the gift land were divided among the various Brāhmaṇas. Aūbhaṣa had a brother named Gajapati who was a poet famous for his scholarship. The two brothers are stated to have been living together at Chīravṛōli, granted by the ruler.

Section IV in Oriya engraved on the obverse of the fourth plate speaks of Vēlīka-grāma which was a grāma-grāma (i.e. land granted for maintenance) made in favour of certain Brāhmaṇas and of the 85 shares of the village allotted to the donors, the foremost of them being Ugimīḍāsa, Varakū-sōmyāja, Taṅg-bhaṭṭa and Taḷu-bhaṭṭa, which were made Saraṇa-māṇya (i.e. a rent-free holding). This section appears to belong to a different charter. That this record also belonged to the Gajapati dynasty is indicated by the representation of the sword on the plate.

This is the only copper-plate grant of the Gajapati prince Hambira so far discovered. His stone inscriptions have been found at Zakkampūḷi, Yenkapāḍu and Kondapalli, all in the Krishna District, and at Warangal. Except the last record, others have no date. The Warangal inscription is dated on the 2nd February 1460 A.D., i.e. about a year earlier than the charter under study. The prince’s name is given in the above inscriptions as Hambira-kumāra, Harīvira-nṛpi or bhūpa, Aṁbhirā-vṛōla, Aṁbhirā-vṛōla-kumāra-mahāpātra and Kumāra-Hanībhradēva. Ferishṭa calls him Ambur Rāy and states that he was a cousin of the Rāy of Orissa. But the inscriptions of Hambira definitely state that he was the son of Gajapati Kapilēśvara.

Prince Hambira was a great general and helped his father Kapilēśvara in the latter’s southern campaign. According to the Anantavaram grant, Hambira subdued the kings of the south under his father’s orders and washed his sword covered with the blood of his enemies in the waters of the southern ocean. Two inscriptions at the village of Mūnnūr in the South Arcot District enumerate the names of the important forts and areas such as Kōṇḍavīḍu, Kōṇḍapalli, Addanki, Vinukōṇḍa-daṅḍapāṭa, Paṇḍavīḍu, Vaḷuḍilampaṭṭu-uśāvāṭi, Tiruvāṭri, Tiruchchirāppalli and Chandragiri, which were captured by him. These records are dated in Śaka 1386, Tārāṇa, Mithuna śu. 3, Thursday, Pushya, corresponding to the 7th June (f. d. t. 21, f. d. n. 25) of 1464 A.D., and state that Dakshina-Kapilēśvara-mahāpātra, the son of Hambira, granted some lands for the Aṁbhirā-bhūga and for the repairs to the temples of Tirumūlaṭṭanamudāya-mahādēva and Perumāl-

2 Ibid., No. 740.
3 Ibid., No. 729.
4 A. R. Ep., 1937-38, No. 53. There is an incomplete Tamil inscription (A. R. Ep., 1937-38, No. B 87) in the Rāghanāthasvāmin temple at Śrīrangam, dated Śaka 1386, Śvabhānu (1464 A.D.), which was wrongly assigned to Hambira-kumāra-mahāpātra. Actually it belongs to his son Dakshina-Kapilēśvara-kumāra-mahāpātra.
6 ŚII, Vol. VI, No. 1988 mentions Hambira-kumāra-mahāpātra as the son of Saṅḍulēva-mahāpātra of the Śāstra-vamśa. Whether our Hambira was the same as this person and was therefore an adopted son of Kapilēśvara is difficult to determine in the present state of our knowledge. See above, Vol. XXXII, p. 5, note 1; HHQ, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 286-87. Verse 18 of our record (lines 70-73) mentions Hambira as the bhaṣya-patra of the Gajapati king Kapilēśvara although elsewhere in the record the former is repeatedly referred to as the latter’s son. The real implication of the expression bhaṣya-patra is not clear. But it lends some colour to the possibility of Hambira having been an adopted son of Kapilēśvara.
7 Cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 8, note 3.
8 A. R. Ep., 1919, Nos. 31 and 92.
CHIRUVROLI GRANT OF HAMBIRA, SAKA 1383

Purushottama was at the same village. The above arrangement for the bhoga or food offerings to the deity mentioned was made by the son in his father's name. The inscriptions mention Daksha-Kapiśāvāra-mahāpātra as the parikalpa (i.e. governor) of the area in question. The city of Kaṅchi and the fort of Udayagiri also fell in the hands of the Gajapatis. Hambira's own inscription in the fort of Warangal and the Warangal inscription of his cousin Raghunātha prove that Warangal together with some other forts in Telengana were annexed to the Gajapati kingdom. In all his campaigns, Hambira was greatly helped not only by his kinsmen but also by many Andhra generals like Gajāṇa Tippa, Tammarāja Basava and Dāmera Timma.

The Gajapati conquest of the Tamil areas of the south is regarded by many scholars as a sudden raid followed by a speedy withdrawal. But there is epigraphic evidence to show that it lasted for nearly a decade. Attention may be drawn in this connection to a number of Tamil inscriptions found in the Arcot region which refer to the Ośśiyan-galabai, i.e. the confusion caused by the Oriyas. These are all dated between 1171 and 1173 A.D. and record how the worship and the celebration of festivals had been given up at the temples and their mānyaprakāśas, gāyakas, etc., were affected. It is also stated that these were all restored by Anmamaraśa, the agent of king Sāluva Narasimha of Vijayanagara. There is, however, no reason to believe that it was the Oriya invaders and their Andhra associates who were directly responsible for the demolition of temples and the plunder of temple property since they were also devotees of the same deities and there is evidence of their munificent gifts to the various temples in the Telugu and Tamil areas. The two inscriptions at Muṇḍūr referred to above, which are earlier by 8 years, state that the Oriya governor granted some land for the repairs of the local temples. Whether the invaders had reasons to be unsympathetic to certain temples in the area or the results of the negligence of the priests during the period of Oriya occupation were attributed to the foreign conquerors by the partisans of the Vijayanagara king cannot be determined. But the expression Ośśiyan-galabai seems to have been applied to the period of Oriya occupation by the Vijayanagara partisans who were not favourably disposed towards the Oriyas.

According to the KātaKaṭāvānāśāvali, Kapiśāvāra had several sons. From the inscriptions we know only two, viz. Purushottama (born of Parvati) and Hambira. According to tradition, Purushottama was chosen as the successor of Kapiśāvāra out of the latter's many sons including Hambira who was older than Purushottama. Thus the succession to the Oriya throne was disputed after the death of Kapiśāvāra. Hambira who had greatly contributed to the military success of his father in the south would have expected the throne. This seems to have led to a civil war in Oriya immediately on the death of Kapiśāvāra. Ferishta says, "In the year 876

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1 A.R. Ep., 1957-58, No. 33.
2 Ibid., No. 55.
4 Visheśvaraprakāśam, Canto 1, verse 41; cf. Sastri and Venkataramanayya, op. cit., p. 83, No. 70.
5 Mack. Mon., No. 15-3, p. 167; cf. Sastri and Venkataramanayya, op. cit., p. 80, No. 73.
8 Cf. Sastri and Venkataramanayya, op. cit., p. 121.
9 A.R.Ep., 1919, Nos. 51 and 92.
10 Cf. Sastri and Venkataramanayya, op. cit., p. 84. Elsewhere in the same work as well as in the Kaśyap of Jagnānātha am, the number of Kapiśāvāra's sons is given as 18 (ibid., p. 94 and 96).
11 In Selbroe Dist. Ins., Vol. Ill, Udayagiri Nos. 38, 40 and 41, Tirumala Kāṭārāyā is referred to as pīna-tanḍāri and chikkoppa of Pratāpurudra Gajapati.
(1471-72 A.D.), Ambur Ray, cousin of the Ray of Oore, complained to Mahomed Shah that the Ray being dead, Mangul Ray, a Brahmin, his adopted son, had usurped the government in defiance of his prior claim to its inheritance; and Ambur Ray now promised, if the king would assist him with troops to regain his right, he would become his tributary. Mahomed Shah, who had a great desire to possess the territory of Oore including Rajmundry and Condapilly... directed him (Nizam-ool-Moolk Mullik Hussan Bheir) to proceed with a considerable army to that quarter. On the borders of Orissa, he was joined by Ambur Ray with his troops, who became the guide of the army against Mangul Ray. The usurper was defeated, and Ambur Ray placed in possession of his hereditary dominions. Nizam-ool-Moolk, accompanied by Ambur Ray, now proceeded against Condapilly and Rajmundry, both which places he reduced and,... having established proper military garrisons to ensure their security, he permitted Ambur Ray to depart to his own country, himself returning with much booty to court."

Ferishta's account, however, does not agree with epigraphic and literary evidence, according to which Kapilëvara was succeeded by his son Purushottama and not by a Brahmana named Mangal Ray stated to have been his adopted son. At the same time, we cannot completely dismiss it since a tradition suggests that Purushottama had to deal with an enemy named Hamira (Hambara). We also find that some of the Gajapati territories in the Telugu country immediately after the death of Kapilëvara passed into the hands of the Bahmani Sultan. However, the circumstances in which Purushottama succeeded Kapilëvara cannot be satisfactorily determined in the present state of insufficient information.

With regard to the geographical names mentioned in the charter, the reference to Hampa, Dhacca, Kalanagar and Dhailli, have already been discussed in connection with the Veligalani grant. The gift village of Chiruvolu and Mollamirru or Medamirru attacked to it can be identified respectively with the present village of Chiruvolu and its hamlet Mollamirru in the Duv Taluk of the Krishna District. The inscription also mentions the well-known river Kañiñi. The new name Kumara-Hambirkapra or Hambrakapa applied to the gift village after the name of the donor apparently went out of use. The village Ekkalakanaka and Merakanapali mentioned in connection with the boundaries of the gift village are still known by the same names. Musumudiri is the present Moodganudi. The other localities, such as Avalamuka, Velalakunia, Jitarajapolelu and Manimjukunta cannot be satisfactorily identified.

TEXT

[Metres: verses 1-3, 9-13, 22 Anushtubh; verses 4-7, 16, 19 Śārdhīśćādṛśītī; verse 8, 18 Sṛṣṭīdhara; verse 11 Vasamātāsakī; verses 13, 15: Ārya; verse 17: Ārya; verses 20-21: Ārya.]

Section I

First Plate, First Side

1. Šubhamaśat [1.5. Harilī kirti-tamah īpatt lok-ādi].dār-car-viša-hāuk [1*] sarasāyā dhūva-

2. sa-saṅgād-āva rōm-ānicch-an-ānicchita [1*] Šubhāmī Śūkha (va)-ārō-car-bhūsa kalā chāndri karōtu vah [5. su-

3. dhā-dhāuta-teṣāya sa bhāti yā jāta-taśīna-taśī [2*] Astī tūjārka-sa-saṅjaṅka maḥita-

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3. sā-yāvam āti-Purushottama Gajapati-rīdād-viśa-dās-apōlom [1*]
5. From impressions in the collection of the Government Epigraphist for India,
CHIRUVROI GRANT OF HAMBIRA, SAKA 1383

1  m mahatām ganaśih | sakrīd-bhuvana-jātānām Kamal-ōdhē(ṛ)ti [ya*]tt-karaśih | [3*] Tad-
vahāṃ Kapiḷē-

2  śvaras=sakala-bhūnātha-pratāp-ānala-jvālā-jala-tiraskrīd-u[j*]jvala-lasat-tējō-viśēśh-
ārūnah [*]

3  Lōkāloka-lalāma-bhūta-śilasat-kita(bi)tri-prabhō-kha(ṛ)hita-prasphoṛjjat-kakubhā-
(bh-ānh)trō vijaya-

4  tē bhūmanādal-ākhanādalāḥ | [*] Vira-srī-Kapiḷēsvara-kṣhitipatōr-dhādhū(t)su bhēri-
dhvanau | bhār-ābhugna-bhujanīga-

5  puṅgava-phuṣṭvē-krāṇītta(ta)-diś-maṇiḍalāḥ | Harīpā kaśā(pam)-agāt-tadā(tō)-dhiṇḍala(ta)-
rā Dha-

6  rā ekha dhār-ītura-dvārā Kalbe(ba)ragā vimukta-turagā Dhillī ca Bhilli-vrūtī | [5*]** Tat-
putraḥ para-lahū-

7  pa-[vṛjana-gaṭe-paśicchānanas=sanēhīt-ānēk-ōdya-sukṛita] kṛit-ākhila-mahī-brahma-
-pratīṅhāpahāḥ /

8  arthī-vṛtā-suraśdhru(dru)m=ṣura-sahā-nīr(ṣu)a=vāsi-nāri-manī-gita-splītā-gūr-ākaraś=
chiram=Ahaṁvīraḥ/kumā-

9  rō vibhūḥ | [*] Vira-srī-Kapiḷēsvarasaya tanayē Harīvīra-vīcēvāro | asannadbh-ōdhvara-
sadhāraṇī diwanaūta-

10 dig-bhūgaṇa samāhitaḥ | ārūhānty-sarayaḥ śīrāṇay-ṛta muhar-grāvpaṇī ku-

11 ch-āgra(grā)ni vā svad-streṣām-anēhā vādīya-charaṇa-dvārāvadāśi bhaṭjataē sadā | [7*]
maṇiḍalā-mahī-srī-srī-srī[ḥ*] | [3*]

Section II

First Plate, Second Side

15 Śākē Rām-ābha-lōka-dvijāpati-ganīṭē vatsārē=ṣmin Vrī[sh-ā]lkyē [mā]śe Bhādrē
cia kum(ku)hvāṃ Bhṛgūtana-

16 ya-dinē dovaa-Harīvīra-bhūpaḥ | Chiṛ*[vṛōli-grā][ma*]m=urvī-vīvudha-samitayē Mē-
llamirũ-pra-

17 yuktām prādē-Krishnā-tathasthām saha phala-tarubhis=sarva-mānyanāvva-nāmā | [8*]
śrist-Pra-

18 tōpa-Harīvīra-kumāra-satpurasya ca | śma-cihāmāni sarvān[ah]ni vilikhyanāttē(tē)=ūdhra-
bhēśha-

19 yā | [9*]** pātāchāmnānu Āvalanīka padumata Goṅgapūṇḍhīvārī guṭṭalu kaḍalapa | I-lanakākē
ttārrānaku Goṅgapūṇḍhīvārī vei(yi)ñecho guṭṭalu ka-

20 ḍapala | Āvalanīka-tūrppunanu Bōḷvāvī chēni vu(ṇ)ttararī kaḍalapa | ā-chēni [tūrppunanu
Gōpālunī chēni vu(ṇ)ttararī kaḍa-

21 pala | ā-chēni tūrppunanu Bayyarāju-kōḍe vu(ṇ)ttarapu polāmēra | Iśānāṃ Chiruvōli-
Meraṇaṇapalli-saṁuddu-

1 The danda is redundant.
2 This verse occurs in the Vēligalaṇī grant of Kapiḷēśvara with slight variations (above, Vol. XXXIII,
3 Cf. the grants of Raḥguḍēva (above, Vī. XXXIII, p. 13, verse 22).
4 From here the letters are comparatively smaller.
22 kū Aruji̍h̄ayyārinēni, chēni tūrppu-gaṭṭu polamēra [[*]] a-tūrpuku vellāpi-garuṇu kaḍapala [[*]]
23 Chi̍hu-vōli-Merakaṇapallī-Moḍalamirti-pōlānaku nuṭṭala-chēnu Chi̍hu-vōli-Kēśava-rāyani chēnu tā-
24 rppu ni gaḍapala | āgnēyaṇ-mūlaku relu-lanikkka(ka)-daṃkṣha(kṣiṇā)nanu Kri(Kṛi)-
25 shṇa-veṇa(na) kaḍapala | Daṃkṣha(kṣiṇā)na Moṇdumūḍi-Chi̍hu-
26 vo̍li-pōlamēra EDBGāmih-ta daṃkṣhamañ aḍusum-gāluva kaḍapala | Chi̍hu-vōlikinni Jaitarāju-
pāleṇku pōlamēra
27 Rellipallīn̄a kaḍapala l grāma-grāsamā Mōḍalamirti-pōlamēra | Daṃkṣhaṇanaku Kri(Kṛi)shṇa
28 kaḍapala l Paschimāna-
29 ku Māmijikunāṭṭa(ṭa) kaḍapala | vu(u)tarānaku Pūraṇīma(ma)-cheṇu-vu(u)ttarapu
gaṭṭu kaḍapala | tūrppu Nā-
30 rgal-kōḍu kaḍapala | Śri-Haṅvīrā-kumārō-yāti yāchate bhāvī-bhāpatiḥ |
31 ā-chanḍra-tārakaṁ dhīmān-mad-dharman pāḷyaṇitv-iti [10[*] Jīyyā(yā)dhīkā-aika-
32 bhāgībhīyāṃ-Aharvīrā-nrip-ājñayā | Śrīkāṁṭa-Tīhūmay-ā-
33 ryābhīyāṁ kathitāṁ dharma-sāsanaṁ(nam) | [11[*] Ek-saiwa bhagini lōkē sarvēśhāmsēva
34 bhūbu-
35 jām(jām) na bhōjyā na kara-grāhyā vipra-dattā vasunīdhara | [12[*] Maṅgala-mahā-sū[*]]
36 [11[*]]

Section III

Second Plate, First Side

33 Chi̍hu-vōli-Kumāra-śrī-Haṅvīrapura-bhāgīnaḥ | likhyaṁtē taśya sad-dharmakaḥ-
34 stumbhā-iv-āchalah | [13[*] Yaju-
35 ryūṭi Kāṣyapaḥ | 2 Aṅḍuvaḷa-yāvā dvi-bhāgī | Kaṃjiḷṇiyah Kēśava-bhāṭṭa-putraḥ | 2 Yajur-
36 vedī
37 Vaṅguṭṭala-Bhāskara-bhāṭṭaḥ paṅche-bhāgī | Kaṃjiḷṇiyah | 2 Vallabha-bhāṭṭaḥ Yajurvēḍi
38 ekā-bhāgī
39 Kaṃjiḷṇiyah Gaṅgādhara-bhāṭṭa-putraḥ Gaṅapati-bhāṭṭaḥ saḷ-bhāgī | Hāṛtāḥ Guḍimeṭṭha-
40 Yajñēsvara-
41 bhāṭṭa ekā-bhāgī | Sāta(th)ma[r*]shānaḥ Olṛṭi-Śi(Si)ṛṅgā-bhāṭṭaḥ dvi-bhāgī | Bhāradvājāḥ
42 Laksmaṇa-bhāṭṭa-
43 putraḥ Gaṅgādhara-bhāṭṭa ekā-bhāgī | Kāṣyapaḥ Ch[e]kāṭāri-Tirumala-bhāṭṭaḥ dvi-bhāgī | Śrīva-
44

[*] After this, there is the conventional representation of a sword.
[*] This dhāraṇa is redundant.
[*] This Jīrāṭanā received another share according to line 84.
39  

tea-gōtra Pāmulapāti-Au[bḥaḷa]¹-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgi | Āṁgīrāsa-Bāṁhaspatya-Bhāradvājaj[ха]-

gō-

40  

traḥ Agravēdī Lakṣmīnā-bhaṭṭa-putraḥ Voḍde-Sūmā-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgi [*] Kēsava-bhaṭṭa-

putraḥ Yoṛa-

41  

gunṭala-Krishṇa-bhaṭṭaḥ ēka-bhāgi | Alāḍa-bhaṭṭa-putraḥ Yajurvēdī Yoṛagunṭala-

Kēsava-bhaṭṭaḥ ē-

ka-bhāgi | Narasiṃha-bhaṭṭa-putra-Yoṛagunṭala-Kēsava-bhaṭṭaḥ ēka-bhāgi | Ḫannā-vojhala-

Aubha-

43  

dī-bhāgi | Kāṭanigaḍḍa-Lakṣmīnā-bhaṭṭaḥ ēka-bhāgi | Muṭnūrī-Durgā-bhaṭṭa

eka-bhā-

44  

gī | Sōmayājula-Vallabha-bhaṭṭaḥ Ajjaṃpūṇḍi-Peddi-Chiṭṭāla-Vallabhāna iti trayāṇām-e-

kō bhāgaḥ | Vṛṭuvaḍiyaṁ-Dēvār-bhaṭṭaḥ Krishṇabhaṭṭa- Yoṛu-bhaṭṭa itity-e=ubhayor=

apy-e-

46  
[kō] bhāgaḥ | Penuṇānchi-Prōli-Yoṛu-bhaṭṭaḥ Eṣṭūri-Peddi-bhaṭṭaḥ Eṣṭūri-Gaṅgāda(dha)-

bhaṭṭa iti trayāṇām-apy-e=ōko bhāgaḥ | Sarvā-bhaṭṭa-putraḥ Uṛṭuvaḍiyaṁ-Prōlu-bhaṭṭa

48  

eka-bhāgi | Kāṭibhaṭṭa-Kasvā-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgi | Doḍdi-sōmayājula-Narasiṃha-bha-

49  

ttāḥ ēka-bhāgi | Maṇḍa-Siṁga-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgi | Maṇḍa-Ananta-bhaṭṭaḥ ēka-bhāgi |  

50  

Emamīṛa(dra)-Gaṅgādhara-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgi | Rāmakrishṇa-bhaṭṭalavārī-Si(Si)ṁga-

bhaṭṭaḥ(ttāḥ) ēka-bhā-

51  

gī | Cherakūri-Pōtu-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgi | Vinikomḍa-Rāma-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgi | Ellemānchi-

KāŚi-

52  

bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgi | Kāṭanigaḍḍa-Chiṭṭi-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgi | Doṇā-ohjala-Vallabha-bhaṭṭa

eka-bhāgi [*]

53  

Bhaṭṭalīrī-Ananta-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgi | Oḍde-Dēvār[Pa] bhaṭṭa[h*] dvi¹-bhāgi | Paṇyāram-

Mādhava-bhaṭṭa

54  

eka-bhāgi | Eragu[m*]ttala-Teḷuṅgāri-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgi | Choṛakūri-Narasī[Si]mhya(ha)-

bhaṭṭa-

55  

putra[h] Gaṅgādhara-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgi | Paṇyāram-Si(Si)ṁga-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgi | Naṛāṇa-

drivēdu-

56  

la-Vallabha-bhaṭṭa Eruṭṭi-Prōlu-bhaṭṭa Doḍdi-sōmayājulavāri-Ellobhāṭṭa iti

57  

trayāṇām-apy-e=ōko bhāgaḥ | Paṇyāhāraṁ-Rāma-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgi | Paṇyāhāraṁ

58  

Appalē-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgi | Paṇyāhāraṁ-Gōpāla-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgi | Śrīṅgāram-Gaṅgā-

59  

dhara-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgi | Uppala-Dēvār-ohjala dvi-bhāgi | Ūṛyūri-Rāma-ohja ēka-bhā-

¹ The letters bhala are written above the line.
² Read "ubhayor=apy-e=
³ Sōmā has been corrected to Dēvar.
⁴ Here ēka has been corrected to dvi.
⁵ DGR/59
60 .gt | Challa-Annam-ojha ēka-bhāgī | Penumarti-liṅgā-bhāṭṭaḥ dvi-bhāgī | Goḍavarti-Nārāyana-
61 ṛṣaḥ dvi-bhāgī | Chiṭṭi-Pochana-bhāṭṭaḥ ēka-bhāgī | Tomāṇapi-Nāgā-ojha ēka-bhāgī [*]
62 Yajurvedi
63 Jampani-[Sū]mā-bhāṭṭa ēka-bhāgī |

Third Plate, First Side

63 Prakhyaṭa-Naishadha-kulō samabhūd-budheṇḍrō Gaṇḍāgaras-sakala-Vēda-viḍīṃ varē-
64 nyāḥ | Gaur-ivra sarva-ja-
65 na-maṅgaḷa-sundarā-āṅgi śrī-Yaubhaḷa guṇavatī bhuvī tasya bhāryāḥ | [14*] Śrī-Yaubhaḷāya-
66 mṛdadvṛt-kumārō Gaṇḍāgarād-Aubhaḷa-nāma-sūriḥ | maṇiḥ payōdād-ivṛ śukti-
67 kāyaṃ Kaunāṇiṃ(ḍ)īṇya-gōtr-āmbudhi-śitarasmiḥ | [15*] Hāraṇīty-āṣu sarorūpaṃti bhuvanā
tārānti hīrantiy-athō nihārānti paṭḍa-duḍgha-kumudānty-avabhōḍhi-phaṇānti cha |
68 nūnām
69 Naishadha-Yaubhaḷaṣaya bahudhā sat-kṛtayasa sarvadā sū-yaṃ kalpatalāyatē sura-gavibṛṅ-
70 dṛ(ṛ)ymphāya | [16*] Bhāṭhāṣu sarvasv-āpi Śaṇḍāyate Vēḍēṣu sarvēṣu Chaturmu-
71 -khāyate | Bhāṭbālyā-
72 di-śastraṇi Phaṇiṣvarayātē śrī-Naishadhiy-Aubhaḷa-kōvidēśvaraḥ | [17*] Ḍhrēgād= 
73 agrāḥāraṃ tri-
74 bhuvana-tīlako Naishadhiy-Aubhaḷaṃdrō Haṁvītrāl-lōka-virād-Gaṇapati-nripatēr-bhāγya-
75 putrāt=
76 vitrāt | Chiṭṭrōli-grāmam-ētaṃ sakala-vibudha-saṁrakshaṇ-ārthaṃ dvijēṃdraś-Śākō 
77 chaṃdrē-ākṣhi2-nāg-ārṇa- 
78 va-parigāṇitē vatsarōṣ-śmin-Viṣṇu-ākṣīyē | [18*] Śrī-Gaṇḍāgarā-sūri-rāja-tanayau Kaunāṇi-
79 nya-gōtr-ōdbhavau saukā-
80 rdē bhuvī Rāma-Laṅkamaṇa-saṁsa sarva-jēṣ-aṭas(ā)maṇi | āsīmāṇ-Aubhaḷa-kōvīdō Gaṇa-
81 patēs-ch-āśeṣa-saṁpan-nidhi Hām-
82 vir-ākṣaya-nripatēubhau ni(vi)jayaṣe-Chiṇ[ṛō]li-harmyā-ssthāḥ | [19*] Saṁgīta-sarasā-
83 kavītā-saṃgati-ṛatimān-ānaṅgā(ṛ)i=mar-āṅgah | 
84 ṣṇūga-ṛ-mṛtacī-ūrō Gaṇḍāgarā-suta(ō) Gaṇapati-ārṇaṃ | [20*] Bhāgī Gaṇapati-nāmā 
85 tyāgī Penumartti-vaṇḍ[*]ṣa-chaṇ-
86 drō-yaṁ(yam) | bhōgī sarva-sukhānantī rāgī saṃ-mitra-ramya-sallāpē | [21*] Gaṇḍāgarāya-
87 Putrō=saṅ Naiṣhadiy-Aubhaḷēvāraḥ | 
88 Kāyaṃa ēka-bhāgī |
89 Gaṇḍāgarā-Gaṇḍāgarā-bhāṭṭaḥ paṅcha-bhāgī [*] Nārāyana-yajvā dvi-bhāgī [*] Aḍsupalī-
90 (li)-Tīpā(ppā)-bhāṭṭaḥ dvi-

1 This plate has no ring hole.
2 Although, as indicated above, the reading is not unjustifiable, better read ṣṇūga.
3 The letters rati are engraved below the line.
4 He seems to be mentioned in the Vēḷīgalani grant (above Vol. XXXIV, p. 282, No. 47). See also
   lines 97-98 below.
Third Plate, Second Side

80 bhāgi [*] Mārela-Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgi [*] Bhāgavata-Rāma-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgi [*] Āyarru-bhaṭṭa ē-
81 ka-bhāgi [*] Gaṇḍiyārāṇa-Sarvā-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgi [*] Siddhiyārṛu-sōmāyājīnī dvi-bhāginaḥ [*] Rājukonḍa-Ma-
82 lū-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgi [*] Adāda-Rāma-bhaṭṭa[ḥ] dvi-bhāgi [*] Koṭamāmiḍi-bhaṭṭa-putra-Peddi-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgi [*] Pauva-
83 māna-bhaṭṭa-putra-Rāma-bhaṭṭō Bhā[ṛa]dvāja ēka-bhāgi [*] Sāmaka-Nārāyaṇa-
84 Laksamana-bhaṭṭa-putra Gaṇḍādhara-bhaṭṭō[ḥ] Bhāraddvājaṃ puraṃ ēka-bhāgi [*] Kāmā bhaṭṭa-Tirumalā-bha-
86 bha[ṛ]ṭa ēka-bhāgi [*] Kaṭakūnī-Gi[ṛ]mā-bhaṭ[ṛ]ṭa ēka-bhāgi [*] Yāreḥūri-Nārāyaṇa-bha-
87 Yallu-bhaṭ[ṛ]ta ēka-bhāgi [*] Karibhaṃḍapati-Kāmā-bhaṭ[ṛ]ṭa ēka-bhāgi [*] Penumarṭi-
88 Gaṇḍādhara-bha-
89 Ṭṭaḥ Kaṇḍinīya-gōṭraḥ[*] chatunṛ-bhāgi [*] Mukunduni-Sī(Si)rāṇgaya-Gauḍimeṭṭa-Sūru-
89 gūḥaḥ [*] Velanūri-Narasimhyā-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgi [*] Bhairava-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgi [*] Kūchi-Mallāvadāṇi[ni] ēka-bhāgi [*]
90 Challa-Narahari-bhaṭṭa[*] Kaṇḍinīya ēka-bhāgi [*] Vēmūri-Gaṇḍādhara-bhaṭ[ṛ]ṭa Śri-
91 Mārela-Elḷu-bhaṭ[ṛ]ṭa ēka-bhāgi [*] Pu[ṛ]ḷa-Bhūmēṣvara-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgi [*] Sī(Si)rīgiri-
92 la-bhāgavati(ṛ) ēka-bhāgi [*] Kāṇṭa-bhaṭṭaḥ ēka-bhāgi | Lolla-Vallabha-bhaṭṭa[ṛ] ēka]-
93 gī [*] Paniṅḍi-Kriṣṇa-bhāṭṭa ēka-bhāgi [*] Pu[tṛ]ṭa-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgi [*] Yallā-bhaṭṭa ēka-
94 bhaṭṭa dvi-bhāgi [*] Śrīkōṇḍa-Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgi | Maṇḍhuchi-bhaṭṭa ēka-bhāgi Yāraiṃṭa-
95 Chitti-Kēsava-bhaṭṭa[ṛ] tri-bhāgi | Kēṣa-ojha-Vallana-bhāṭa ēka-bhāgi [*] Jannasāṇi-
96 Mūshi-Appalē-ojha ēka-bhāgi [*] Kēśavadeva ēka-bhāgi | Sagarēvarādeva ēka-bhāgi [*]

1 Here ēka has been corrected to dvi.
2 The letter ra is written above the line.
3 I. e. dvārāḥ.
4 This Brāhmaṇa previously received one share (cf. lines 37-38).
5 Here jē has been corrected to nā.
6 Here trah tri has been corrected to tra chatu, ēka being incised on the previously ungraved etarha sign.
7 Read kṛṣṇa.
8 Here ṣā has been corrected to ja.
97 Ve̱lki-gramaku grāma-grāsata Ugi-
98 midasa Varaku-somayāja Tagā-haṭṭa Ta-
99 lu-bhaṭṭa mukhya 85 bhāgaku sarva-mā
100 nya [†*]

1 This is followed by the representation of a sword.
No. 28—NAPITAVATAKA GRANT OF GANGA DEVENDRAVARMAN

(I Plate)

G. S. GAI, OOTACUMUND

(Received on 13.11.1958)

This copper-plate grant was secured by the Government Epigraphist for India in 1939-40 from the Pontiff of the Shri Balaga Bāvāji Maṭha at Sṛikākulam in the Visakhapatnam District through the Sub-Collector of Sṛikākulam.1 The inscription was published by Shri M. Somasekhara Sarma in the Telugu Journal Bhārati, Vol. XIV, Part ii (July 1937), pp. 67 ff. According to Shri Sarma's information, the plates were discovered in a mound situated to the west of Chidivalasa which is a village about 14 miles north of Sṛikākulam. Another grant, issued in the Gaṅga year 397 by the Gaṅga king Dēvendravarman who is also the donor of the present grant, was discovered at the same village.2

This is a set of three copper-plates each measuring 7·75" by 2·6". They are strung together on a ring (about 36" in thickness and 4" in diameter), the ends of which are soldered to the two ends of a bracket forming the lower portion of a circular seal about 1·5" in diameter. The seal has the legend śri-Dēvendravarman with the symbol of the crescent above and a seated bull facing left below. Below the bull is a lotus. The weight of the set is not known.

The characters are an admixture of both the Northern and Southern scripts, known as the later Kālīṅga script and found in many other records of the period and region.3 On palaeographical grounds, the inscription may be referred to the 9th or 10th century A.D. There are very faint traces of some letters of a previous writing on the first plate and the second side of the second plate. The language is Sanskrit and contains many errors. Very often medial ā has not been indicated. Except the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses at the end, the text of the record is in prose.

The charter, issued by Mahārājādhīrāja Paramēśvara Dēvendravarman of the Gaṅga dynasty, is not dated. The king was the son of Bhūpēndravarman and was devoted to the god Gōkarnaśvāmin on the Mahāendra-giri. The grant was issued, like other records of the early Eastern Gaṅgas, from the city of Kālīṅganagara which has been identified with Mukhaliṅgam near Sṛikākulam. The introductory portion giving the prāṣasti of the king and comprising lines 1-12 of the text is the same as that of the Chidivalasa plates of Dēvendravarman referred to above (lines 1-12). In both the records as well as in the Nirakarpur plates,4 the ruling king Dēvendravarman is called the son of Bhūpēndravarman who is apparently identical with Bhūpēndravarman whose son Anantavarman Vajrajasta issued the Kalahandi plates5 dated in the Gaṅga year 383 (577-81 A.D.). So Dēvendravarman of our record was a brother of this Anantavarman Vajrajasta and, since the Chidivalasa plates are dated in the Gaṅga year 397, he was possibly the younger

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1 See ĀSIE, 1939-40, App. A, No. 16.
3 Ibid., pp. 47 ff. and Plates.
4 JBRSS, Vol. XXXV pp. 1 ff.
brother. From the Châdivalasa plates, we learn that the real name of Bhûpêndravarman was Mârasimha and that his father was one Vajrin, i.e. Vajrahasta. The present inscription ard the Châdivalasa and Nîrakarpur plates are the only records of king Devêndravarman discovered so far.

The charter is addressed by the king to the householders of the village of Nâpitavâ†aka situated in Kôluvaratani (lines 12-13). The name of this village figures again in the record as Nâyadavâ†a and Nâpitavâ†aka (lines 21 and 22). The object of the inscription (Lines 13-20) is to register the gift, made by the king, for the increase of the merit of himself and his parents, of the above-mentioned village to the brothers Narasimha-bhaṭṭa and Mâdhava-bhaṭṭa of the Kâmakâyanâ or Kâmukâyanâ-gotra, who were the sons of Drôna-bhaṭṭa and grandsons of Mâdhava-bhaṭṭa. One of the donees was named after his grandfather according to a well-known custom. The donees were well-versed in the Śastras and the Bhaṅgioka-Vēda and the six Âṅgas while their father is stated to have been shat-karma-nirata and well-versed in the Vēdas. The gift, which was free from all taxes, is stated to have been made on the occasion of the Uttarâyana. The donees were entitled to enjoy the bhûga and bhûga.¹

The boundaries of the gift village are described in lines 20-26 as follows: starting from the south-east, in the south-west, an ant-hill at the junction² of the three villages Dibu, Siviḍî and Nâyadavâ†a (Nâpitavâ†aka); further on, a jungle or a row of trees up to a junction; still further on, another jungle or a row of trees up to an ant-hill at the junction of the villages Kandakavâ†aka, Kôlala and Nâpitavâ†aka (‘vâ†aka); further, a jungle or a row of trees up to Taṭakaḍanî; further, an ant-hill in Bhâjû (probably the name of a plot or site) extending up to the stone at a junction; further in the west, the stone at a junction; further in the north, a stone in a corner; further, an ant-hill to the east of Kêva (possibly the name of a locality); further in the north, a jungle or a row of trees including a pit extending up to an ant-hill at the junction in the northwest; and further, a pit.

Lines 26-29 are devoted to the benedictory and imprecatory verses attributed to Vyâsa and addressed to the future kings.

Of the geographical names, Kôluvaratani, which occurs as a vishaya in other records, is identified with the modern Srikakulam District. Nâpitavâ†aka, Nâpitavâ†aka or Nâyadavâ†a, the gift village, is mentioned as Nâpitavâ†a in connection with the description of the boundaries in the Châdivalasa plates. Similarly the villages Siviḍî, Kandaliavad and Kôlandâri referred to there in the same connection are apparently the same as Siviḍî, Kandakavâ†aka and Kôlala mentioned in the record under study. These, together with the village Dibu which is mentioned in our record in connection with the boundaries, have to be located in the Srikakulam Taluk, though I am unable to identify them.

TEXT²

First Plate

1 Svasti ["Śrîmad-anāka-dēvakul-ākula=Amaka(ra)pura(t-ā)nuka(kā)riṇāḥ
2 kalp-ānta-sanikalpa(lpi)t-ānalpa-jana-sampat-sampādita-mā(ma)hāmahimnā(mnō)
3 mahi(ḥi)talai-tilakāt-Kaligan(āga)nagarāt-prasiddha-siddha-tāpas-ādhyaśīta-
4 kandar-ōdana-Mahēndragiri-sīkharas-śekharasya sur-āśura-gu-

¹ For the meaning of these two words, cf. JAS, Letters, Vol. XVIII., p. 79.
² For trikuṭa, the other forms of which are trikuṭa and trikuṭa, see loc. cit.
³ From impressions.
No. 28] NAPITAVATARKA GRANT OF GANa DEVENDRAVARMA

5 ṛoṣ sakala-triṣ(bhuvana)maḥāprāśada-nirmāṇa-saikṣuṭradhārasya
6 bhagavatō ṇukṣamaś-caraṇa-kamala-praṇamād=vigata-kali-kā
da-kalasikō Gagyamaṇa-kula-choḍamāpi[h*] spu(phū)rrjan-nija-bhūja-vājraṇā-

Second Plate, First Side

8 jita-sakala-Kaligāmphīrājye mand-anīla-vēla(lā)-kula-kallōla-jaladhi
9 [r]me(mē)khaḷ–āvani-kamala-yaśāḥ anēka-bhi(bhi)haṣa-samara-saṅkṣobha-jani-
ta-jaya-pratāp-āvanata-samasta-saṅmanta-chaka(kra)-k̄aṇja-kiraṇa-maṅjñi-pujaṁ-ra-
11 niṇja-caraṇaḥ paramamāhēśvarā māta-pitrī-padaṇudhīyō mahārāja(ja)dhi-
12 rāda(ja)-paramēśvara-śrīmad-Bhupendravarma-sūnu-śrī-Dēvendravarma(rmmā) ||
   Kōluva[r*]ttanyā[ṛ*]||
13 Na(Nā)pitavāṭaka-grāma-vāsinaḥ kuṭumbinas-samājāpayati viditam=astu vō
yath-aṇyān dharmmō ma(mā)tā-pitrō=ātmanas=cha pūny-ābhivṛ[ddhayō] || a[ā]śeṣa-guṇa-
gan-ā.

Second Plate, Second Side

15 dhārasya Mādhava-bhaṭṭasaṣya paurāṇībhīyāṁ shat-karmma-nirataṣya vidita-sakala-vē-
16 dārthasasya Drōga-bhaṭṭasaṣya putrābhyāṁ[ṛ*] shaḍhaśaṁ(ḍaṅga)-sahita-Bhavṛcha-vēdā-
pāraṇgābhīyāṁ(bhyām)
17 avagat-āśeṣa–sastraratthabhīyāṁ Kāmukāyana-sagōrābhīyā[ṛ*] Narasimha-bhaṭṭa-
   [Mā]dhava-
18 bhaṭṭabhīyāṁ-mayā ayaṁ grāmas=sa[ṛ*]vva-kara-parihārēṇa cha kattakama=uttara-
   rāya–
19 na-nimittē udaka-pūrva-vāḥ sampradatta iti yath-ōdita-bhoga-bha(bhā)gam=unu-
20 panayantā-śukhaṁ pratisate(th=ō)ti [ saṁ(sa)mpratī prā[g*]-da(dā)kṣihīñā sīma(mā)-
   līfīṅgānā likhyantē ["]
21 tā(ā)nyānā [D]iṭu-Sivīḍi–Nāyadvara–tikūṭi valmikha tatō vana-ra(rā)ṭi ya(yā)vattī-
   (t-tri)ku(kū)[ṭṭa*]m

1 The Cīḍivalaṭa plates read kamala-saṁbhava-saṅkṣo-khaṇḍa.
2 Read Gagā-ahama.
3 Read vaṭr-gāpurāṇa.
4 Read Kālāṅ-gaṅgārūjya.
5 Read maṇjhā-gaṃgaṇa.
6 Read paḍ-āt.
7 This may be a mistake for grāma (see J.A.S, Letters Vol.XVIII, p. 80, note 2). But the word is unnecessary
   as it occurs in line 18 below.
8 Read ṣaṭr-ṣaṭrabhīyāṁ.
9 The correct name of the gītra is Kāmakāyana or Kāmukāyana.
10 The intended reading may be sarva-kara-parihāraḥ cha śrīrāj.
Third Plate


23 ŧe valmīkaḥ(kan) tatō-pi vana-rā[ji] yāvat-Taṭakaḍan[m] tatō-pi Bhāju-sthitā(ta)-val-[m]kaṇ(kan) ya(yā)va[tā]

24 trikūṭē śilā[m] | tataḥ paśchimataḥ trikūṭē śilā(lā) | tata uttarataḥ koṇē śilā | tataḥ

25 Kē[yā]-pūrvaṇaḥ valmīkaḥ | tata uttarataḥ gartāsahitā vana-rājī yāved-vāyavyā[m] *

26 triku(kū)ē valmīkaḥ(kan) tato ga[r]ttā || bhavishyad-bhūpāna(n-vi)jūpā(ya*[Ś]) Vya(Vyā)-sa-vaca[n]aiḥ || Bahubhi[r]vivasudhā

27 dattā ra(rā)jābhīṣ-Saśa(ga)r-ādhībhīḥ [*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ-((lam ||) Sva-rda(da)ttām-pa-

28 ra-dattāṁ vā yatnād-rakṣa Yu(dhi*)jāthika(ra) ||(l) mahi(hi)m-mahimatāṁ śṛśita(ṣṭha) dānāt śṛś(ch-chhrē)yō-nūpa(pā)lana[m [*] [Sha]śṭhaṁ

29 varaha-sahasra(sā)cāyaṁ svargge tiṣṭhitati-bhūvi(m)iḍaḥ[*] ākshöptā ch-ānumā(ma)ntā cha tāny=śva naraṇa(kē) v(a)ṣe[r] ||}
No. 29—NOTE ON WADAGERI INSCRIPTION OF CHALUKYA V. S. 1

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

(Received on 21.8.1959)

The inscription from Waḍagēri in the former Hyderabad State, which belongs to the reign of Chālukya Vikramāditya VI and is dated in the Chālukya Vikrama year 1, is well known to the students of South Indian history for a long time. Fleet refers to it while discussing the date of the accession of the said Chālukya king in his *Dynasties of the Kanarese District*. 1896.1 Thus he assigns the beginning of the reign of Vikramāditya VI towards the end of 1076 A.D. and says, "For, on the one hand, we have a date in the reign of Sōmēśvara II that falls in August-September, A.D. 1076 and none after that time. And, on the other hand, the epigraphic records of the time of Vikramāditya VI show that the year A.D. 1076-77, the Anala or Nala sanvatsara, Śaka-Sanvat 999 current, commencing with Chaitra śukla 1, which corresponded, approximately, to the 9th March, A.D. 1076, was reckoned as the first year of his reign. That Vikramāditya VI was actually reigning at the commencement of this Śaka year does not necessarily follow. But an inscription at Waḍagēri, in the Nizam’s dominions, records grants that were made towards the close of the same year, on Phālguna śukla 5, corresponding to the 31st January, A.D. 1077, on account of the festival of the *pattabandha* or coronation. This shows that he was crowned at least before the end of the year in question, A.D. 1076-77. But whether the record fixes the coronation day, or an anniversary of it, or whether it simply registers grants that were made when the news of the coronation reached the locality, is not clear."2

Fleet therefore regarded the occasion of the grants recorded in the Waḍagēri inscription alternatively as the coronation of Vikramāditya VI or as its anniversary or as an event occurring sometime after the date of the coronation, although he was obviously more inclined to lean on the first of the three alternative suggestions since he speaks of the epigraphic records of the time of Vikramāditya VI showing the year Nala=1076-77 A.D. to have been the first year of his reign. The third alternative suggestion is, however, unlikely since, as will be seen below, the inscription records the grants of Vikramāditya VI himself. The second alternative is also unlikely as there is no indication in the inscription that the occasion was an anniversary of the coronation and not the coronation itself.

As regards the date of the Waḍagēri inscription, Fleet points out, “Prof. Kielhorn has shown (Ind. Ant., Vol. XXII, p. 110) that the week-day (Thursday) given in this record does not work out correctly for the given *tukhi*. But, as he has also said, the results are unsatisfactory with many of the dates of this period. And the records are not necessarily to be rejected as not genuine. In the preceding year and sanvatsara, the given *tukhi* and week-day are connected…… And this suggests, to me, that the record may possibly, in a confused manner, refer to an anniversary festival.”3 It will be seen that Fleet assigns the accession of Vikramāditya VI to the close of 1076 A.D. on the strength of the Waḍagēri and other inscriptions, although here he lays a little

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2 *Loc. cit.*

46 DGA/59 (103)
more stress on the possibility that the Waḍaṅgērī inscription refers to the anniversary of the coronation, so that the coronation itself might have taken place a year earlier, i.e. about the close of 1075 A.D.

The Waḍaṅgērī inscription has been recently published by Mr. P. B. Desai in the Progress Reports of the Kanāda Research Institute, Dharwar, for 1953-57, pp. 50-52. He believes that the inscription helps us in fixing Saṅka 999, Pīṅgala, Chaṭṭra-sudi 1 (February 26, 1077 A.D.) as the beginning of the Chāḷukya Vikramādiya era. In the preface to this publication, Dr. B.A. Saletore also states, “With the help of the Waḍaṅgērī inscription of Chāḷukya Vikramādiya VI, Shri P. B. Desai has determined that March 2, Thursday 1077 A.D., was the fourth day after the coronation of Chāḷukya Vikramādiya VI.” We are, however, sorry to say that the claim is entirely unjustified.

The date of the Waḍaṅgērī inscription is quoted as the first year of Chāḷukya Vikrama, Nala, Phāḷgūna-sudi 5, Thursday. At that time, king Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramādiya VI) is stated to have performed several Maḥādānas related to the festivities on account of his coronation (paṭṭabandha-ōśvara) and, on this occasion, he made a grant of land, etc., in favour of the god Dhāyimēśvara installed at the village of Sāsavi Oḏāṅgere (i.e. modern Waḍaṅgērī) by his feudatory Mandalikha Dhiyimayya, at the request of the said chief. It is very probable that the grants referred to in the inscription were made by the king on the date of his coronation.

As regards the date of the inscription, Mr. Desai says, “If interpreted on its face value, it will land us in an anomalous position. As I have shown elsewhere,1 Vikramādiya VI was actually crowned on Chaṭṭa 1 of Pīṅgala, Saṅka 999, corresponding to February 26, Sunday, 1077 A.D. M. Govinda Pai has also proved, after a critical study of the epigraphical sources and on astronomical grounds,2 that Phāḷgūna 5 of Nala, as cited in the present record, must be in accordance with the Pṛṇimānta reckoning, which is equivalent to the next Amānta year Pīṅgala, Saṅka 999. Thus the date of the inscription would regularly correspond to March 2, Thursday 1077 A.D.” Unfortunately, Mr. Desai has not noticed that the views of Mr. Govinda Pai, as interpreted by him,3 cannot but be regarded as an astronomical absurdity. We know of Amānta months; but an Amānta year is absolutely unthinkable. The bright fortnight of Phāḷgūna can by no means be regarded as the bright fortnight of Chaṭṭra because the bright fortnights of the lunar months are the same in both the Amānta and and Pṛṇimānta calculations of the months. Likewise, it is impossible to regard the month of Phāḷgūna of the year Nala as identical with the month of Chaṭṭra of the year Pīṅgala. Of course, it may be conjectured that Phāḷgūna and Nala of the Waḍaṅgērī inscription are both mistakes respectively for Chaṭṭra and Pīṅgala. But anything can be proved or disproved on the basis of such unwarranted conjectures and, to say the least, it is certainly an unsatisfactory approach to such problems.

As Fleet pointed out long ago, the Waḍaṅgērī inscription proves that the coronation of Vikramādiya VI took place sometime before the 5th of the bright half of Phāḷgūna in the year Nala, i.e. before the end of Saṅka 999 (current) = 1076-77 A.D. Later discoveries have not necessitated any change in the position, but, as we shall see below, have actually strengthened it.

In his article published in the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Mr. Desai refers to the Nidgundā inscription4 of the time of Sāmēśvara II, dated September 1, 1076 A.D., and says that, since the predecessor of Vikramādiya VI was on the throne on that date, “it would be hardly

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3 Actually Mr. Pai thinks that Sārva Phāḷgūna sudi 5 of the year Nala is equivalent to Chāṇḍra Chaṭṭra sudi 5 of the year Pīṅgala. Of course this also is equally unwarranted.
reasonable and correct to believe that Vikramāditya VI was crowned and started an era of his own on the 9th March of 1076 A.D. as assumed by Fleet and Kielhorn.¹ But, as we have seen, Fleet's main contention, in which he is in agreement with Kielhorn, is that, although Vikramāditya VI ruled for the last few weeks of the year Nala, that year was counted as coinciding with his first regnal year and the first year of the Chalukya Vikrama era. This is not as unreasonable as Mr. Desai thinks it to be. Mr. Desai's contention that 'the king's coronation and the formal inauguration of reign as well as the commencement of the new era must all be identical'² is absolutely untenable. His other contention that 'if Sūmāsvara ceased to reign sometime after the above date of the Nāṇundī inscription in the year Nala, the next probable date for the accession of Vikramāditya would be Saka 999, Piṅgala Chaitra śu. 1,³ is equally unwarranted in view of the unmistakable indication of the date of the Wadagēri inscription. Indeed Mr. Desai has not noticed that the evidence of the Wadagēri inscription in respect of the beginning of the Chalukya Vikrama era is strongly supported by the Māṭikōte inscription published in the Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. VII, 1902, Shikāpur, No. 292. The date portion of this record has been read as: śrīmaṭ-Chalukya-Vikrama-varśadā prathamaṇaṇya Nāla-saṁvatsaraṇa Pushya-baḍa 3 Sūma-vāṃśa Uttarāṇgayasadāndānti-parvam-niśuddhaṁ, i.e. Chalukya Vikrama year 1, Nala, Pushya-bādi 3, Monday. Although the given līṭha and week-day do not tally, the inscription shows beyond doubt that the Chalukya Vikrama era started before the end of the month of Pushya in the year Nala. There is possibly no way of transferring the month of Pushya of the year Nala to the next year Piṅgala.

But there is evidence to show that the year Nala began to be counted as the first year of the Chalukya Vikrama era much earlier than Pushya-bādi 3. The Kuruvga inscription, published in the same volume of the Epigraphia Carnatica (Honnalī, No. 14), refers to the reign of Tripuramalladesa (Vikramāditya VI) and quotes the date as Chalukya-Vikrama-baḍa 1 nṛga Nāla-saṁvatsaraṇa Chaṅtra-suddha 5 mī Ādi-vāradāndu, i.e. Chalukya Vikrama year 1, Nala, Chaitra-sudhi 5, Sunday (irregular). Thus it appears that, although Vikramāditya VI received his formal coronation about the end of the year Nala and Sūmāsvara II was reigning in August-September of the same year, the Chalukya Vikrama era actually began to be counted from about the very beginning of the year.

Mr. Desai refers to the Hyderabad Museum inscription dated in the first year of the Chalukya Vikrama era, Piṅgala, Śrāvaka full-moon day, Sunday, lunar eclipse (August 6, 1077 A.D.) and thinks that his view regarding the accession of Vikramāditya VI on Chaitra sudha I of the year Piṅgala is supported by it.⁴ But, at the same time, he himself points out that the Yevūr inscription (B)⁵ quotes the same date but mentions Piṅgala as the second year of the Chalukya Vikrama era and that the mention of Piṅgala as the second year of the era is also noticed in other records.⁶ The large number of inscriptions dated in the era and suggesting Nala as its first year would also make Piṅgala its second year. The Hyderabad Museum inscription mentioning Piṅgala as the first year of the Chalukya Vikrama era therefore neither adds much to our knowledge nor does it solve the problem.

Mr. Desai divides the records dated in the Chalukya Vikrama era into four groups according as they suggest its first year to be Rākṣasa (1057-76 A.D.), Nala or Anala (1076-77 A.D.), Piṅgala

³ Loc. cit.
⁴ Ibid., pp. 11-12.
⁵ Above Vol. XII, pp. 271 ff.
⁶ Kielhorn's Southern List Nos. 183-3.
(1077-78 A.D.) and Kālayuktī (1078-79 A.D.) and points out that the numbers of records belonging to the first and fourth groups are by far smaller than those of the second and third groups. He seems to explain this anomaly by suggesting the gradual expansion of the power of Vikramādītya VI. Thus he says, "By Śaka 997, Rākhaśa (1075-76 A.D.), signs were conspicuous that Vikramādītya VI would be successful in his efforts and some of his intimate supporters seem to have already commenced heralding his reign. In the next year, Śaka 998 Nala (1076-77 A.D.), he seems to have usurped most of the power and virtually inaugurated his reign. But as Sōmēśvara II was still alive and his authority was recognised by a section, though small, of his subjects, this prince could not, legally and by right, get himself crowned as the formal ruler. Sōmēśvara II vanished from the political scene before the end of the year. Hence Vikramādītya VI's formal coronation must have taken place in the beginning of Śaka 999, Pāgala.............. In regard to the inscriptions suggesting Śaka 1000 Kālayuktī as his first regnal year, we can treat them as mentioning the expired years. This would eliminate the obvious difficulty." As regards these views, we agree that the confusion regarding the first year of the reign of Vikramādītya VI may be, to some extent, tied up with the expansion and stabilization of his power, although it certainly does not solve the problem quite satisfactorily. In any case, that the coronation of Vikramādītya VI took place before Phālguna sudi 5 of the year Nala (1076-77 A.D.) and the first year of the Chālukya Vikrama era started before Pushya-badi 3 of the same cyclic year is quite clear from the Wādaṅgē, Maṭṭikōte and Kuruva inscriptions and it is impossible to ignore these facts. As to Mr. Desai’s explanation of the mention of Kālayuktì as the first year of the Chālukya Vikrama era, it is wrong since the fact that a year is current or expired does not at all affect its name and position in Jupiter’s cycle. This shows that the dates of some of the inscriptions referring the beginning of the Chālukya Vikrama era in the year Kālayuktì were due to confusion in the minds of the people about the beginning of the Chālukya Vikrama era, since Vikramādītya was fully established on the throne considerably before 1078-79 A.D. It is not impossible that this confusion was the result of Sōmēśvara II leading a precarious existence till the year Kālayuktì.

The largest number of inscriptions dated in the Chālukya Vikrama era refer to its beginning either to Nala or to Pāgala. Since the coronation of Vikramādītya VI took place in the second half of the year Nala, the above confusion seems to be due to the fact that some people, counted the first year of the era as identical with Nala while others counted it from the date of the king’s coronation in Nala to its anniversary in Pāgala. This anomaly may have led to further confusion assigning the beginning of the era to Rākhaśa or Kālayuktì, which is noticed in a few inscriptions.

It will therefore be seen that the Chālukya Vikrama era started very probably from Chaitra-sudi 1 of the year Nala, Śaka 998 expired (March 8, 1076 A.D.), as long ago suggested by Fleet and Kielhorn. Mr. A. Venkatasubbiah also came to the conclusion, after examining nearly all the records dated in the Chālukya Vikrama era, that ‘the majority of the dates in that era favours the view that the era began in the year A. D. 1076’.2

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2 Ibd., pp. 13-14.
An inscription recently unearthed at Nāgarjunikonda has been noticed with an illustration in the Indian Archaeology 1958-59—A Review, p. 8, Plate Va. The notice reads as follows:

"On the bank of the river Krishsā, in the north-eastern corner of the valley (i.e. the Nāgarjunikoṇḍa valley), long rows of pillared maṇḍapaś had previously been noticed, superimposed by medieval rubble structures. These later structures were removed to expose the plans of the underlying early Ikshvākū buildings. During this operation, a slab bearing an inscription (Pl. Va), dated in the 9th regnal year of the Ābhirā king Vāsiaśṭhiputra Vasupūṇa and recording the construction of a wooden image of Ashtaśabhaṇavāmin, was discovered. The record further mentioned mahāśālava mahāśrivākika mahāśālavaṇāyaka Śivasena of Kaśikā-gōtra, the Yavana princes of Saṅjayapuruśa, Śaka Rudradāman of Avanti and Viśnurudraśīvalāndana Sātakarṇi of Vanaṇāsa, who appear to have had some share in the consecration of the image and benefactions made in the reign of the Ābhirā king."¹

The statements about the contents of the inscription are, however, based on an imperfect and inaccurate transcript of the record. Indeed it has to be admitted that the decipherment of the epigraph is considerably difficult owing to the unsatisfactory preservation of the writing especially in the lower part. Many of the letters are damaged here and there throughout the inscription. Another fact is that the engraver formed some of the letters rather carelessly and sometimes omitted an akṣara here and there.

There are altogether six lines of writing which cover an area about 38 inches in length and 16 inches in height. Individual akṣaras, excluding conjuncts and others like a, ã, k, r, etc., and those having vowel marks attached to the top or bottom, are a little above half an inch in height.

The characters belong to the Middle Brāhmī stage of South India and resemble those in the inscriptions of the Ikshvākus found at Nāgarjunikonda and in the neighbourhood and belonging to the latter half of the third century A.D. and the early part of the fourth. But the medial i sign is not as longish as in most of the Ikshvāku epigraphs. The sign for medial i is formed by the above sign making it end generally in an inward curve almost forming a loop. But the type of medial i often found in the Nāgarjunikoṇḍa records, which is formed by a smaller stroke above the left end of the top mātrā added to the medial i sign, seems to be used in ri in line 2. Like some other inscriptions from Nāgarjunikoṇḍa and unlike most ancient Indian epigraphs, the words of our record have been usually separated from one another by a space.²

The language of the inscription is an admixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit. There are a few sentences in Prakrit and the orthography of the Sanskrit sentences is also often influenced by Prakrit (cf. Śivasēkha for Sanskrit Śivasēpa in line 2). But the Sanskrit element is predominant and there is also a Sanskrit stanza in the classical Upajāti metre. It will not be wrong if the language of our record is described as Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit. As is well known, the Buddhist inscriptions discovered at Nāgarjunikoṇḍa are generally written in the Prakrit language while

¹ We have inserted diacritical marks in the Sanskritic words quoted in the passage.
² Cf. Bühler, Indian Palatography (Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXIII, App.), p. 84.
the Brahmanical epigraphs of the place are usually in Sanskrit. The inscription under study is a Brahmanical record. The word purṇa occurring in line 2 seems to be formed on the analogy of grāmiṇa, kūlin, etc.

The inscription begins with the auspicious word siddham followed by an adoration to the god Nārāyaṇa described as dēva-parama-dēva (i.e. the Supreme God among the gods) and purṇa-puruṣa (i.e. the Primordial Male), the epithets indicating the indentification of Nārāyaṇa with Vishnu. This is the earliest epigraphic reference pointing clearly to the said identification.1

The following passage in lines 1-2 gives the date of the record as the 1st day of the 7th fortnight of the rainy season during the 30th year of Vāsishṭhiputra Vasmahēṇa, the Ṭhira. The symbol for 30 is of the lē type found in some inscriptions of the Kushāna age.2 The date seems to correspond to Kārttikeya-badi 1. The significance and importance of the year of the date will be discussed below.

The next sentence in lines 2-5 constitutes the main document and states, in the first place, that the lord runbhora-havga Aṣṭabhujavāsin was not removed from his place but was installed on the Sēta-girī by the following persons: (1) Mahāgṛāmika Mahātalarava Mahādāṇḍanāyaṇa Śivaśēpa of the Pēribihē family or clan; (2) the Yōrājīs of Saṇjīyapura; (3) Śaka Rudradāman of the city or country of Avanti; and (4) Vishnuurdasāvalānanda Sātakarī of the city or land of Vanavāsa. Of these people who were responsible for the installation of the deity, the name of Śivaśēpa meaning the same thing as Śivalīṅga is interesting since the name is Śavite but the deity installed by him along with others was Vishnu as will be seen below. This person belonging to the Kauśika gōta and enjoying the designations Mahāgṛāmika (either a resident of Mahāgṛāma or the head of a group of villages like the Rāṣṭrakutā of some later South Indian records),3 Mahātalarava (title of an official or subordinate chief often found in the Ikhāvāku records from Nāgārjunikōṇḍa) and Mahādāṇḍanāyaṇa (a leader of forces), seems to have been a resident of the Nāgārjunikōṇḍa region. The designation of this scion of the otherwise unknown Pēribihē family or clan reminds us of Mahātiṣṇupati Mahātalarava Mahādāṇḍanāyaṇa Skandaviśakaṇa of the Dhana family, who is mentioned in a Nāgārjunikōṇḍa inscription4 as the husband of a sister of the Ikhāvāku king Viraṇaṇhasatadatta (about the third quarter of the third century A.D.). Śivaśēpa seems to have been an officer of the Ṭhira king Vasmahēṇa, even though originally he may have owed allegiance to the Ikhāvāku. Among his associates who were foreigners, Śaka Rudradāman bearing the name of two Śaka rulers of Ujjayinī (Rudradāman I ruling in the second and Rudradāman II in the third century) came from Avanti (i.e. the city of Ujjayinī, or the country around it, i.e. West Malwa) and Vishnuurdasāvalānanda Sātakarī, whose name reminds us of Vishṇoukaśaṭṭukūlānanda Sātakarī of the inscriptions found at Banavasi, from Vanavāsa (modern Banavasi in the North Kanara District or the land around it).5

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1 The god Nārāyaṇa is mentioned in the Gunapadeya plates of Pallava Skandavarman (about the middle of the fourth century A.D.) while the Ghasundī-Chatībardā inscriptions of about the second half of the first century B.C. appear to associate Saṅkarashana and Vāsudeva (i.e. Vishnu) with what seems to be called a Nārāyaṇa-rājika. See Select Inscriptions, pp. 91-92, 443-45.

2 Cf. Tagaro-mahāgṛāma consisting of 24 palīs in an Early Kadamba inscription (The Successors of the Sārāhanas, p. 305). Since Mahāgṛāmika occurs as an epithet of the issuer of certain coins, the second alternative is more probable.

3 Above, Vol. XX, p. 18, Ayaka pillar inscription, No. B 2. As regards the designations Mahātiṣṇupati and Mahādāṇḍanāyaṇa enjoyed by the same person, we may refer to the designations Pañcaśākōnādhikīpati (chief officer in charge of the army) and Śindōpati (leader of forces) often applied to the same officer in Vāsishṭha inscriptions. It is not known whether the various designations were actually applicable to an officer at the same time.

4 Above, Vol. XX, p. 20. A daughter of Viraṇaṇhasatadatta was married to a Mahāraja of Vanavāsa (ibid., p. 23). Since Saṃjīyapura mentioned below was apparently a city, it is more likely that Vanavāsa and Avanti indicate cities in the present context.
The lengthy name of this person is interesting in that it contains the names of both the gods Vishnu and Rudraśiva and that such lengthy joint names are popular in South India even today.

As the associates of the above three persons are mentioned certain people of Sanjayapura as the Yrājīs. The meaning of the word Yrājī is uncertain and it is possible that the expression yrājībhī contains an error. If it is believed that the akṣara na was left out by the scribe or engraver after yo through oversight, it may be conjectured that yrājībhī is a mistake for Yonarājabhī and stands for Sanskrit Yavanarājāḥ, and that certain Yavana or Indo-Greek chiefs of Sanjayapura are referred to in the passage in question. As regards Yavana or Greek settlements in Western India, we know that the Sātavahāna king Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi (c. 106-30 A.D.) fought with the Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas in the first half of the second century A.D.1 while the Raṅgūvamśa (IV, 61) of Kālidāsa (about the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century A.D.) locates a Yavana land between the Northern Konkan and Persia, probably in the Sind region.2 But it has to be considered whether, if Sanjayapura was a city as it seems to be, several chiefs could have been ruling from the same place. The possibility of the rule of a king and a sub-king from the same capital, however, cannot be precluded in view of the fact that the dual number is represented by the plural in the Prakrit language.3 As regards the location of Sanjayapura, it should be pointed out that Sanjay is stated to have been another name of Sañjān in the Thana District of Bombay State.4 The place is often identified with Sanjayantinagar mentioned in the Mahābhārata in connection with Sahadeva’s conquests in the South.5 If the above interpretation of the passage in question is acceptable, the inscription under study offers the only evidence regarding Indo-Greek rule in the Sañjān area about the close of the third century A.D. These Indo-Greeks, if they really ruled at Sañjān, appear to have been originally subordinates of the Śakas of Western India.

The god Ashtabhajavāmin is known from a conch-shell inscription unearthed from the same site at Nāgārjunikonda. This epigraph in Prakrit reads: Bhagavatō Āṭabhujasamāsa (Sanaskrit Bhagavatāc Aṣṭabhujasamāmin).6 There is no doubt that Ashtabhajavāmin was a form of the Yod Nārāyaṇa (Vishnu) invoked at the beginning of our record. The name of the deity suggests that his image in question was endowed with eight arms. This seems to be the earliest reference to the eight-armed form of Vishnu.7 The expression rumbara-bhakṣa used in the inscription under study as an epithet of the deity cannot be satisfactorily explained. If rumbara may be regarded

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1 Cf. Select Inscriptions, p. 197, text line 5. These Yavanas (Greeks) and Pahlavas (Parthians) were probably the allies of the Śakas of Western India, with whom Gautamiputra is known to have fought. A Pahlava was ruling over Kathiawar as a viceroy of Saka Rudrasāma I (c. 130-52 A.D.). See ibid., p. 174, text line 19.
2 The Successors of the Sātavāhanas, pp. 325-26. According to an inscription of the second century A.D., a Yavana-raja was governing Kathiawar as the viceroy of the Maurya king Anāka (Select Inscriptions, p. 171, text line 8) while coins of the Indo-Greek kings Apollodotus and Menander were current at Broach in the first century according to the Periplus (ed. Schröff, pp. 41-42).
3 We have coins jointly issued by some Indo-Greek kings, e.g., Strato I and Strato II, while such joint issues are a well-known feature of the coins of the later foreign rulers of the north-western part of India. Amongst the Kusānas, often two kings bearing imperial titles ruled at the same time and the rule of the Mahākathātraṇa and the Kṣatrapa at the same time is well-known from the history of the Śakas of Western India.
4 See N. L. Dey, Geog. Dict., p. 177. Sañjayantin is sometimes identified with Vajjayantin or Banaśai (The Successors of the Sātavāhanas, pp. 269-271). But Sanjayapuri and Vaṇavasa are mentioned side by side in our record.
5 II, 31, 70: Naipūrī Sañjayantin cakā Pāhavājan Kānakākam | dūnirīvca cudē ekāni kurum kha milkadu | adapayot ||
7 For the eight-armed form of the god in early works, see Vatsamahara’s Brikānumādi, LVIII, 31. For an early image of the same deity, belonging to the Kusāna age, see Proc. IHC, Jaipur, 1931, pp. 78-79.
as a Prakrit form of Sanskrit udumbara (or uñjumbara), the epithet may indicate that the image of Ashtabhujavämin mentioned in our record was made of udumbara wood.

It is further stated that the god Ashtabhujavämin was installed on the Sêta-giri which is, as is well known, mentioned in a Nasik inscription\(^1\) of the nineteenth regnal year of the Sâtvâhana king Pulumâvi (c. 130-59 A.D.) in connection with the description of the vague supremacy of his father Gautamiputra Satakarnî over the whole of South India. The inscription under study poses the question whether Sêta-giri has to be identified with one of the hills surrounding the Nâgârjunikoñḍa valley, especially the Siddhârdhâri hill standing within 200 yards towards the north of the findspot of our inscription. The words ēta bhagaṅga, ‘this Lord’, used in the inscription in relation to Ashtabhujavämin, seems to support the identification. Its mention in the Nasik inscription as a well-known range of hills in South India seems, however, to suggest that it was a general name of the range of hills of which the hill bearing the shrine of Ashtabhujavämin formed a part. Sêta-giri thus appears to have been the name of the range of which the Siddhârdhâri hill near Nâgârjunikoñḍa formed a part. It is said that there are one well on the Siddhârdhâri hill and two caves on its slope. Two images of Kubâra are stated to have been found near the caves many years ago.

The statement that the said god was not removed from its place (sākṣhât-pi na chûlit) but was installed on the Sêta-giri is not quite clear. But it may be a case of the re-installation of a deity at the same place where it was being worshipped for some time. The specific mention of the fact that it was not removed from its place probably suggests that the image in question was going to be taken to some other place. It may be conjectured that some foreign conquerors were in possession of the area and that one of their leaders wanted to carry the image home but that the idea was later given up. It may, however, be admitted that re-installation of the deity is not clearly suggested by the language of the epigraph. If, moreover, the expression rumbora-bhavs really means that the image was cut out of the trunk of an udumbara tree standing on the hill, the non-removal of the image may of course refer to its installation at the place where it was fashioned. It should, however, be pointed out that the ruins of the temple in which the inscribed slab has been found do not lie on the hill. Was the god Ashtabhujavämin housed in this temple at a later date?

The next part of the sentence referred to above states that the persons in question also caused the wall of the hill to be made variegated or decorated [with sculptures] or painted (parvacâya cha prâkārâ chiûpita = parvacâya cha prâkâraś-chিûtraś). By the expression ‘the wall of the hill’ is probably meant the enclosure around the shrine of Ashtabhujavämin standing on the hill. The word chiûpita reminds us of the grant of a village for the purpose of the chiûna (Sanskrit chitrâya) of a Nasik cave, mentioned in the Nasik inscription referred to above.\(^2\)

Certain further activities of the persons concerned are also mentioned in the said sentence in its concluding part. They are the following: (1) a tûpi or well called Mahânandâ was cleansed (i.e. re-excavated); (2) two tanks (taâgâni 2) were excavated, one on the Sêta-giri and another in a locality called Muḍērâ; and (3) some groves of palmrya trees were planted. Muḍērâ seems to be a locality in the neighbourhood of Nâgârjunikoñḍa, although we are not sure about its identification. It is difficult to say whether the taâgâna on the Sêta-giri should have to be identified with the well on the Siddhârdhâri hill, to which reference has been made above.

The above sentence constituting the main document is followed by a passage in prose, a stanza in the Upajâti metre and a sentence in prose, all referring to the ullâkaha of the document, the word no doubt meaning the engraver of the record. He is Vardhamânaka of the Sêmbaka family

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\(^1\) Select Inscriptions, p. 197, text line 3.
\(^2\) See ibid, p. 198, text line 11; cf. below, Vol. XXXV, p. 7, text line 8.
or clan. This person describes himself as one who would not spare even his life in the cause of a Brāhmaṇa and a friend and also as the host and friend of all, as one having the virtues of gratitude and truthfulness, as the vanquisher of the hosts of enemies, as a straight-forward person, as one engaged in planting banyan trees apparently on the roads for the purpose of offering shade to men and animals and as one who was a friend of pious and righteous people.

The above section of the inscription is followed by another sentence stating that Amātya (minister or counsellor) Tishyaśarman of the Bharadvāja gotra composed the record under study by dint of divine power. Tishyaśarman appears to have been an officer of the Ābhira king Vasuṣeṇa. It is difficult to say why the engraver of our record was the subject of so much praise. Was it because he was responsible for fashioning the image of Ashṭabhujaśvāmin?

The inscription ends with the prayer for the welfare of herds of cows. Such benedictions are sometimes found at the end of early Brahmānical epigraphs, especially Viṣṇuāvava records in which the word Brāhmaṇa, prajā, etc., are often added to the word gō. 1 It is well known that the god Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa is especially associated with the conception of gō-Brāhmaṇa-hūṣa, ‘the welfare of the cows and the Brāhmaṇas’. 2

The most important historical information supplied by the inscription is in the reference to the reign of the Ābhira king Vasuṣeṇa. As regards the history of the Guntur District, we know that the Ikṣvākus held away over the area from the second quarter of the third century A.D. down to the early part of the fourth and that the Pallavas of Kāṇchi occupied the area before the middle of the fourth century. 3 Ābhira Vasuṣeṇa’s rule of thirty years in the Nāgarjunikonda valley in the same age cannot be reconciled with these facts. This raises the question whether the year should be referred to an era. It also appears that Vasuṣeṇa was ruling elsewhere and that his hold over the Nāgarjunikonda area was short-lived. It is well known that the Ābhiras were ruling over the region around Nasik and the adjoining areas of Western India (roughly the Konkan and Northern Maharashtra) and that the Ābhira king Māṭhāriputra Iśvarasēna of a Nasik inscription of his ninth regnal year probably founded the era of 248 A.D. 4 Vasiśṭhiputra Vasuṣeṇa of our inscription was very probably a descendant of Māṭhāriputra Iśvarasēna, both having metronymies and sēna(sēṇa)-ending names. If then the year 30 of our inscription is referred to the said era, the date would correspond to 278 A.D. If such was the case, Vasuṣeṇa subdued the Ikṣvākus and his rule was acknowledged in the Nāgarjunikonda area for a short time in the eighth decade of the third century probably between the reign of Viṣṇapurushadatta and that of the latter’s son. As regards the relations of the Ikṣvākus with the Western regions of India, we know that they were matrimonially allied with the Śākas of Ujjayini who were the neighbours of the Ābhiras. 5 The close relation between the Ikṣvāku and Śaṅka kingdoms is further indicated by the discovery of a big hoard of Śaṅka coins at Peṭlūripālem in the Guntur District not far from Vijayapuri in the Nāgarjunikonda valley, which was the capital of the Ikṣvākus. 6

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1 Cf. Select Inscriptions, pp. 327, 397 (svarṣya=astu gō-Brāhmaṇa-purāṇābhyaḥ sarvas-prajāḥbhyaḥ); p. 441 (svarṣya=astu gō-Brāhmaṇa-līkha-kvāchaka-kṛṣṭībhyaḥ); p. 455 (svarṣya prajāḥbhyaḥ); etc.

2 Cf. Madhavārta, XII, 47, 94 : Namō Brahmasyadeva gō-Brāhmaṇa-hūṣya ca | jagad-dīśāya Krīṣṭāya Gōνīdāya namō namah ||

3 Above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 88-89.

4 See The Age of Imperial Unity, p. 222; cf. Rapson, Catalogue of Indian Coins, pp. lxii-lxiii.

5 See above, p. 21; The Swaddoree of the Śāṅkāvaras, pp. 22-23.

It may be argued that Vasuśeṇa paid a visit to the Ikṣvāku capital as a friend and relative of the contemporary Ikṣvāku king Virarupushadatta and it was his servants who were responsible for the installation of the deity. But, in such a case, we have to assume that persons from various places, such as the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa region, Avanti, Sañjayapura and Vanavāsa were all in his service and came to the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley in his company. If the passage sākhaṇe-pi na cālitō means that the people responsible for the installation of the image of the god Aśṭabhujaśvāmin on the Śeṣa-giri belonged to a party of the conquerors of the land and that they showed special consideration for the god, it cannot be reconciled with the above view. Another possible argument may be that Vasuśeṇa occupied the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley at the time when the Ikṣvākus were struggling for their existence with the Pallavas of Kāṇchi in the early part of the fourth century as an ally of the latter. But the year 30, when the record was engraved, should in this case have to be referred to Vasuśeṇa's regnal reckoning and not to the era of 248 A.D., generally assigned to the Ābhiras. If, however, the era was really started by the Ābhiras, it is difficult to explain away its absence in an Ābhira record as the one under study. In any case, the circumstances leading to the acknowledgement of Ābhira suzerainty in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley cannot be satisfactorily determined without further light on the subject. But, in the present state of our knowledge, it is probably better to suggest that the Ābhira king Vasuśeṇa of the Naśik region extended his sway over the Ikṣvāku kingdom in the Krishna-Guntur area for a short time about 278 A.D. The internal evidence of our inscription seems to preclude the possibility of its being a pilgrims' record in which the ruler of a distant land having little to do with the place of pilgrimage could probably have been mentioned.

The location of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription has been discussed above. As already indicated, one of them, viz. Muḍerā, cannot be satisfactorily identified. If Mahāgrāma is the name of a place, it was probably situated in the region around Nāgārjunikoṇḍa.

TEXT

Siddham \(\text{म}^4\)

1 namō bhagavaṭō dēva-parama-dēvasya purāṇa-purushasya Nārāyaṇasya \(\text{म}^7\) ra(ra)jōś Vāsē-(si)sṛṇhi-purtasya Ābhirsya Vasuśeṇasya saṁjifsyaṁras(rē) [30] vē-pē \(\text{म}^7\)

2 d[ivasa(sē) 1 ma[h]āgāmikēna(ṇa) ma[h]alava[rēna(ṇa)] mahāda[man]āyaka(kē)na Kauśika- [sa]gōṭrēna(ṇa) Pērībē[a]nām(ānā) Śivasābēna Sānijdypur[ṛ]pa-Yōrēbhi[h] \(\text{म}^7\)
NAGARJUNIKONDA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF ABHIRA VASUSHENA, YEAR 30

Scale: One-fifth
No. 30] NAGARJUNIKONDA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF ABHIRA
VASUSHENA, YEAR 30

karṇinā [s]t[ā]jēna[nto]pi na chālitē[ta] [ē]ha bhagavān[vān] rumbara-bhavaś
Āśṭamāsvāmī²

sō[ti] dihī taṣāgāni ca 2 Sēdā-girīyaṃ Muḍēraya ca khaṃṭīni⁴ tala-vaṇāni⁴ ca

5 rōpitāni [[*] yō[ya] ca Brāhmaṇ-ār[t]thē mitr-[ār]ttthē ca prāṇa[m=a*]pi na pari[tya*]kṣhati

aka-Vardhamāṇ[ak]ō Bharadvāja-sagō[trē]ṇa amātyēṇa Tīrāya-saṃmēṇa¹² Bhagavach-

TRANSLATION

Let there be success!

(Lines 1-5). Salutation to Lord Nārāyaṇa who is the supreme god among the gods and the
Primordial Male. On the first day of the seventh fortnight of the rainy season in the
thirtieth year of king Vāsishṭhī-putra Vasūshēna, the Abhirā, this Lord Ashṭabhujas-
vāmin, the rumbarā-bhara, is installed on the Sēṭā-girī, without being moved from his place, by
Mahāgrāmika Mahātalāvarā Mahādāṇṭanāyaka Śivaśēpa belonging to the Kauśika gōra and to
the Pēribiṭēhas (i.e. the Pēribiṭēha family or clan), the Yavanā-rājas of Saṅjayapura, Śaka
Rudra-dāman of Avanti, and Vishnurudrasivālānanda Sātakāni of Vana,vāsa; and the
enclosure (of the shrine of the god) on the hill was decorated (by them); and the well (called) Mahā-
nandā was cleansed (i.e. re-excavated) (by them); and 2 tanks were excavated on the Sēṭā-girī
and at Muḍēra (by them); and groves of palmyra trees were planted (by them).

¹ Sanskrit "dānā.
² Read rumbarā-bhara-sahā-bhavāsvāmi. The deity’s name Ashṭabhujasvāmin is known from another inscrip-
tion. Instead of the aksara ṣā, which has been left out by the engraver, ṣā is engraved below sīta.
³ Sanskrit Sēṭā-girau.
⁴ Sanskrit prakāraḥ-chitrītāḥ.
⁵ Read vāpi cha or vāpī=cha.
⁶ Sanskrit taṣāgē cha 2 Sēṭā-girau Muḍēraṃ cha khaṃṭīni.
⁷ Sanskrit talā(-vaṇāni).
⁸ This is followed by a stanza in the Upajāti metre.
⁹ Even though as is followed by a conjunct, it has to be regarded as a short syllable owing to a convention
according to which short syllables may not be lengthened before pṛ, hṛ, br and kr (cf. Apte’s Proct. Sams., Eng. Diet.,
1924, p. 1030).
¹⁰ The aksara ja is incised above the aksara ṣā.
¹¹ Sanskrit ulēkhaṇa*.
¹² Sanskrit "śormaṇā.
¹³ The word idām is understood here. Cf. asya above in the same line.
¹⁴ The intended reading may be gō-brūhmaṇībhūyah.
(Lines 5-6). The engraver of the above is Vardhamānaka, the Śēṃbaka (i.e. belonging to the Śēṃbaka family or clan); who would not spare even his life in the cause of the Brāhmaṇas and in the cause of (his) friends, (and) who is, as regards (his) qualities, a host to all (and) a friend of all; who is grateful; who has taken a vow of truthfulness; who has subdued the hosts of (his) enemies; who is straightforward; who is steadfast in his love for planting banyan trees; (and) who approves of the pious and righteous people. (The above) has been made (i.e. composed) by Amāyā Tīkhyāśarman of the Bhārdvāja gōra by virtue of the god's power. Let there be good to the herds of cows!
No. 31—HONNEHALLI INSCRIPTION OF ARASAPPLE-NAYAKA II, SAKA 1478

(1 Plate)

M. S. Bhat, Ootacamund

(Received on 23.11.1959)

This inscription is engraved on a slab built into the south wall of the Narasimha temple in the Svarnavalli matha at Honnehalli in the Sirsi Taluk of the North Kanara District in Mysore State. This is the epigraph which was probably referred to by Buchanan. It is edited here with the permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The inscription consists of nine lines of writing. The preservation is satisfactory except the last line, the first few letters of which are partly built in and partly rubbed off. The writing covers a space about 3' 6½" broad by 8½" high.

The characters are early Malayalam mixed with Grantha, although two aksharas at the beginning are written in Nagari. The original idea of the scribe was probably to write in Nagari, which was, however, later given up. The epigraph is interesting from the palaeographical point of view as it illustrates the development of the early Malayalam script from Grantha. The form of medial a stands midway between Grantha and Malayalam. The letters k, t, n and y resemble their modern Malayalam forms. The letter d shows a curve in the place of the central danda of the Grantha form of the letter, thus becoming the precursor of its modern Malayalam form. The shape of the letters r and s is not uniform throughout. This is perhaps due more to the carelessness of the engraver than to the transitional nature of the script.

The language is Sanskrit and the record is written in six stanzas in Aushṭapah. The orthography does not call for any remarks excepting that the consonants following r are doubled and that the conjuncts mb and mhb are represented by nh and nhb respectively. This latter peculiarity may be due to the influence of Malayalam pronunciation.

The inscription begins with the symbol for siddham followed by the well-known stanza Namastuṅga, etc. This is followed in verse 2 by a reference to the Narasimha incarnation of Vishnu worshipped in the temple, in which the inscription has been found. Verses 3-4 form the subject matter of the record. It contains the date, viz., Śālivāha Śaka 1478, expressed by the chronogram dāsavadya-miti (according to the Kaṭapayādi system) in line 5 of the text. The cyclic year Rākhasa, which is also referred to in the same line together with Paramāyana, is given in the margin along with the year of the Śaka era, the year being written in Telugu-Kannada numerical figures. But the said cyclic year corresponds to the Śaka year 1478 only if the latter is taken to be current. No other details of the date are given. But, if Paramāyana (i.e., Uttarāyaṇa) indicates the Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti, the day would correspond to the 29th December 1555.

The epigraph next states that Arasapa ruling over Sōmadāpurī built the shrine for a god apparently Narasimha. Then the well-known verse Ek-aiva bhagīnī, etc., is quoted and it is followed by a stanza which appears to record some provision made in favour of the temple for lamps, and food offerings to the god and the feeding of ascetics. The other details of the grant are lost.

1 A. R. Ep., 1939-40, B. K. No. 16.
Arasapa, who is stated to have been ruling over Somadappuri, can easily be identified. We know that, in 1555 A.D. which is the date of our record, Arasappa-naryana II (1555-1603 A.D.) was ruling over the area including Honnalalli from Sonda (Somadappuri of the inscription). The inscription under study gives the earliest date for this chief.

**TEXT**

1 Siddhāṃ [[*] Nama[s=tu] jiga-śiraś-chunbī(mbi)-chanda-chāmara-chārāvē [[*] traiśōkya-nā-
2 gar-āranbha(mbha)-mūla-stanbhā(mbhā)yā Śanbhā(mbha)vē [[*] Chit-prakāśa Mahā-Viṣṇuḥ Prahlāda-priya-
3 kāmayaḥ [[*] Nārasimham vapur=ddhṛtvā viharttuṁ līlāya(y=Ś)khatē || [2*] Kalpē Śvēta-
4 hākhyē Manōr=Vvaivasvatasya hi [[*] ashtāviṃśad-viparītyābhā Śālivēha-Śakē
5 Kalau [[*] dāsavandyā-mitē Rakshō-ḥāyanē param-āyanē ||[3*] Arasap-ākhyē ma=
6 hīpālaḥ pālayan Somadāpurāṇ(ṃ) [[*] dēvālayam=akāmhi(ṛḥ)t-saḥ sarvva-dēva-kṛt-
7 ēkāṃ satī bhaghiṅ lōkē sarvākām=api bhūḥbhujāṁ[jām] [ | *] na bhūgyā na kara-grā-
8 hyā vipra-dattā* vasundharā || [5*] Sadā-dīpa-naivēḍya-yati-bhikṣh-ārttha[mū]
9 ...........10 purataḥ pūgavādīnā[11] |||| [6*]

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2 Buchanan, op. cit., p. 213.
3 From impressions.
4 Expressed by symbol.
5 The following lines are engraved in the left margin near the beginning of lines 2-4:
   1 Śālivēha-Śaka
   2 1478 Rākṣasa
   3 vataśra
6 The verse has three halās.
7 Read Arasap-ākhyē for the sake of the metre.
8 Possibly ēva-ākhyē is intended.
9 The intended reading may be sadā-dīpa-naivēḍya-yati-bhikṣh-ārūkham=ēva cha.
10 This portion may be restored as bhūr-ākhyē Śrī-Nrisimhasya.
11 This seems to be an epithet of the donor; but the meaning of the expression is not clear.
A. Barhut Inscription in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan

In the fourth week of September 1959, I received an inked impression of an inscription from Rai Krishnadasji, Founder-Curator of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, attached to the Hindu University, Banaras. Krishnadasji informed me that the inscription had been secured for the Kalā Bhavan from the well-known Buddhist site of Barhut in the former Nagaurī State, now a Tahsil in the Satna District of Mahīya Pradesh.1 The inscribed stone was, however, probably secured from Unchahra (a railway station between Satna and Maihar) where Cunningham found it buried under the walls of the palace.

The inscription contains two records (A and B) in one line each, which were separately published with eye-copies by Cunningham in his Stūpa of Bharhut, 1879, p. 112, Plate LVI, Nos. 60 and 64 (cf. Plate XXXIV, No. 2)2, and by Barua and Sinha in their Barhut Inscriptions, pp. 51-52 (No. 7), 32-33 (No. 63). Hultzsch published only the first of the two records in Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, p. 239, No. 159; but both of them were noticed in Lüders’ List, Nos. 831 and 878. The first record covers a space about 15 inches in length while the second is about 5½ inches long. Generally speaking, the letters in the second record are more closely incised than in the first. But the space between any two of the last five letters in A is smaller than elsewhere in the record. Similarly, the space between the last two letters in B is more than between any two other letters in the record. Like other epigraphs from Barhut, the inscription under study is written in the Brāhmī script of about the second century B.C. and in the Prakrit language. The inscription reads as follows:

[B] Vijitakasa suchtā dānam [*]

The first of the two records may be rendered into Sanskrit as timitimīgala-kuksheḥ Vasu-guptah mochitah Mahādevena and the second as Vijitakasa sahī dānam. They may be translated into English as follows:

[A] (This is the representation of) Vasugupta rescued by Mahādeva from the belly of (the fabulous fish or sea-monster called) Timitimīgala.

[B] (This) rail-bar (is) the gift of Vijitaka.

The passage read by us as timitimīgala-kuchhimīḥa mochito in A has been read by others on the basis of Cunningham’s eye-copy as tiramī timitimīgala-kuchhimā māchita and corrected to tiramī bī timitimīgala-kuchhimā mōchita (Sanskrit tie timitimīgala-kuksheḥ mochitah), ‘[brought] on the shore, rescued from the Timitimīgala’s belly’. But the eye-copy is defective since the mark between the

1 For a few inscriptions from Barhut recently acquired for the Allahabad Municipal Museum, see above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 57 ff. and Plate.
2 This is the illustration of the bas-relief for which the inscription is a tabol. See also B. M. Barua, Barhut, Book III, Plate LXIX, Figure 85; cf. ibid., Book II, pp. 78 ff.
3 Macron over e and o has not been used in this article.
No. 32—SOME BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS

(1 Plate)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

(Received on 25.9.59)

A. Barhut Inscription in the Bhabat Kalâ Bhavan

In the fourth week of September 1959, I received an inked impression of an inscription from Rai Krishnadasji, Founder-Curator of the Bhabat Kalâ Bhavan attached to the Hindu University, Banaras. Krishnadasji informed me that the inscription had been secured for the Kalâ Bhavan from the well-known Buddhist site of Barhut in the former Nagaudh State, now a Tehsil in the Satna District of Madhya Pradesh. The inscribed stone was, however, probably secured from Unchahra (a railway station between Satna and Mulhal) where Cunningham found it buried under the walls of the palace.

The inscription contains two records (A and B) in one line each, which were separately published with eye-copies by Cunningham in his Stûpa of Bharhat, 1879, p. 112, Plate LXI, Nos. 68 and 64 (cf. Plate XXXIV, No. 2), and by Barua and Sinha in their Barhut Inscriptions, pp. 51-52 (No. 7), 32-33 (No. 63). Hultsch published only the first of the two records in Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, p. 239, No. 159; but both of them were noticed in Lüders' List, Nos. 831 and 878. The first record covers a space about 15 inches in length while the second is about 5½ inches long. Generally speaking, the letters in the second record are more closely incised than in the first. But the space between any two of the last five letters in A is smaller than elsewhere in the record. Similarly, the space between the last two letters in B is more than between any two other letters in the record. Like other epigraphs from Barhut, the inscription under study is written in the Brâhmi script of about the second century B.C. and in the Prakrit language. The inscription reads as follows:


The first of the two records may be rendered into Sanskrit as timitimâgila-kusûkhe[ś] Vasuguptaḥ mochitaḥ Mahâderaṇa and the second as Vîjitasas[au] sâchi dânum. They may be translated into English as follows:

[A] (This is the representation of) Vasugupta rescued by Mahâdeva from the belly of (the fabulous fish or sea-monster called) Timitimâgila.

[B] (This) rail-bar (is) the gift of Vîjita[ka].

The passage read by us as timitimâgila-kusûkhe[ś] mochito in A has been read by others on the basis of Cunningham's eye-copy as tirâmi timitimâgila-kuchhimhâ mûchita and corrected to tirâmi timitimâgila-kuchhimhâ mûchita (Sanskrit tirâmi timitimâgila-kusûkhe[ś] mûchita), 'brought' on the shore, rescued from the Timitimâgila's belly'. But the eye-copy is defective since the mark between the

\* For a few inscriptions from Barhut recently acquired for the Allahabad Municipal Museum, see above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 97 ff. and Plate.

\* This is the illustration of the bas-relief for which the inscription is a label. See also B. M. Barua, Barhut, Book III, Plate LXIX, Figure 55; cf. ibid., Book II, pp. 78 ff.

\* Macron over e and o has not been used in this article.

(207)
akharas ī and mi, represented in it as a clear ra, does not appear to be a letter at all on the impression. It is too close to mi considering the space between any two other letters of the record. We have also to note that the said vertical mark actually continues beyond the proper upper-end of the supposed ra. The mark is again not as deep as the incision of the letters of the record. As regards the word timitimiñgila, Monier-Williams’s Sanskrit-English Dictionary (a.v. timi) recognises it on the authority of the Mahābhārata and the Divyāvadāna, side by side with the words timi, timiñgila and timiñgilaṅgila.¹

It will moreover be seen that the reading tirami, i.e. tiramhi or tire, ‘on the shore’, does not at all suit the scene depicted on the inscribed stone. While the said reading would suggest that Vasugupta was on the sea-shore after his rescue from the Timiñgila’s belly, the sculpture represents a boat with Vasugupta and two associates aboard entering the belly of a huge fish through its wide open mouth and another boat with the same three persons (the two companions of Vasugupta being shown here as oarsmen) rowing away, both on the high seas, that is to say, far away from the shore. Apparently one of the two ships refers to Vasugupta’s entry into the sea-monster’s belly and the other to that of his rescue.

The last word of A was read as Mahādevānaṁ on the basis of the same eye-copy and the genitive plural in it was regarded by Cunningham as used in the instrumental sense. Hultzsch regarded devānaṁ as a mistake for devena. There is, however, no ā-mātra attached to v in the word. On the other hand, it exhibits a damaged ē-mātra.

As regards the sculptural representation for which this is a label, Barua and Sinha draw our attention to a story in the Divyāvadāna² and the Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalata.³ The story refers to a large number of sea-faring merchants aboard a ship, who were going to die owing to a Timiñgila trying to devour their ship but were saved by uttering the name of Lord Buddha. This has led Barua and Sinha to translate the passage mochitaḥ Mahādevena as ‘rescued by (the power of the name of) the mighty godly saviour’. It is, however, not quite accurate. Mahādeva in our record may indicate the Buddha as in another inscription⁴ from Barhut. It may, however, also indicate a personal name. In any case, the sculpture seems to represent a different and as yet unknown version of the story.⁵

In the word suchi in B, the letter v had been originally written for cā, though an attempt was later made by the engraver to rectify the error by adding a vertical stroke to the right lower end of v. There is a mark at the upper left corner of the letter which, taken with the sign for medial i, looks like the medial sign for i as found in slightly later epigraphs. But the mark in question appears to be due to a flaw in the stone. It is also not impossible that the aśvāra-like mark with na in Mahādevanāṁ in A is likewise due to a similar flaw in the stone.⁶

B. Fragmentary Inscriptions from Nāgārjunikonda

The Nāgārjunikonda inscriptions discovered in the course of earlier excavations were published in the Epigraphia Indica⁷ nearly 30 years ago. Recent excavations conducted at the

³ See op. cit., No. 89 (Dharmarama-vadāna).
⁴ Barua and Sinha, op. cit., p. 78 (No. 2); Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, p. 239, No. 160.
⁵ Cf. Mahāmukta, I, 244, 19 ff.
⁶ When this article was going through the press, Prof. Waldschmidt of Göttingen informed me that the late Dr. Lüders had suggested the reading timitimiñgila instead of tirami timiñgila as he considered the latter reading quite unsuitable to the context. It was indeed a wonderful suggestion especially in view of the fact that Lüders had to depend entirely on Cunningham’s eye-copy of the inscription under study.
SOME BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS

A. Barhut Inscription in the Bharat Kala Bhavan

Scale: One-fourth

B. Fragmentary Inscriptions from Nagarjunikonda

(from a Photograph)
C. BARHUT SCULPTURE BEARING INSCRIPTION A

(from a Photograph)
site by the Department of Archaeology since 1954 have yielded a large number of new inscriptions which have been mostly noticed in the Indian Archaeology—A Review and Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy¹ and only a few of them have been properly edited.² Four fragmentary inscriptions of the Ikshvaku age, discovered at the earlier stage of these excavations and noticed in the Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, 1954-55, Nos. B 7-10, are edited in the following pages.³

The paleography of the second of these four epigraphs may appear to be slightly earlier than the Nāgārjunikonda inscriptions of the time of the Ikshvaku king Virapurushadatta (about the third quarter of the third century A.D.) and his successors, as their characters do not exhibit the ornamental flourish of the upward and downward strokes of certain letters and some of the vowel marks attached to them, which are characteristic of the records of the time of those rulers. But this is not a valid conclusion as we have a few records of the time of the Ikshvaku kings exhibiting characters in which the ornamental flourish is not pronounced.⁴ The third and fourth of the four inscriptions exhibit the ornamental flourish of the upward and downward strokes in the aksharas. The language of the records is Prakrit. Their orthography resembles that of other Prakrit inscriptions discovered at Nāgārjunikonda.

I

The first of the four inscriptions referred to above contains traces only of two lines of writing. But the upper, left and right sides of the record are broken away and lost. The first line contains the aksharas [ma] ga bha [na na]. There seems to be a reference here to Paramadī-bhādja (Sanskrit Peramadi-bhata) occurring in Inscription No. 2 discussed below and meaning 'a soldier [fighting under the leadership of Peramadi]. The second and last of the lines ends in the expression [cchāyāni(y)ī]-thambho with which the epigraph also ends. There is no doubt that the inscription was meant to record the installation of a cchāyā-stambha, i.e. [memorial] pillar bearing the image (cchāyā) [of the person in whose memory it was raised], probably of certain soldiers (bhadana-Sanskrit bhaṭāṇā) who belonged to a contingent led by a commander named Peramadī and lost their lives in a battle. The composition of the record reminds us of that of Inscription No. 2 while another Nāgārjunikonda inscription likewise ends with a reference to a cchāyā-stambha.⁵

II

The second record is also a fragment of the type of the first, although it is a slightly bigger piece. It exhibits traces of six lines of writing which reads as follows:

1. [ga]rana-vathavasa kula-puta[sa]
2. [Ma']rabana Rājamisiri-kula[kasa]
3. Damasama[kaja]p[u]ta-[Si]-
5. p[aditassa cchāyā[ā]-thambh[o] [⁴]

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³ Sometime ago, I published these inscriptions in the Nāgārjunikonda Souvenir, edited by M. Rama Rao, pp. 41-45. A comparison of the treatment of the records in that article of mine and the improvement made in the present paper would clearly demonstrate the difficult nature of epigraphical research so little understood in our country. The inscriptions are such that further studies may lead to more improvement.
⁵ Ibid., Vol. XXXIV, p. 28; for a number of records of this type, see below, Vol. XXXV, pp. 13-17.
⁶ This line seems to have no letters lost at the beginning.
Line 1 refers to a *kula-putra*, 'one born in a noble family', as the resident of a locality, the name of which is not fully preserved. Some Nāgārjunikoḍa inscriptions, discovered at Site No. 113 and published below,¹ appear to suggest the restoration of the geographical name as *Magul[ma]*raṇa.

Lines 2-3 give the name of the *kula-putra* as Dhamasamaka (*Dharmaśamaka*) and of the family to which he belonged as the Rājamisri *kula* (*kula*) belonging to the Maraba clan (*Marabāṇa* Rājamisiri-kulakara-Sanskrit *Marabāṇa Rājamisiri-kulakāra*). Lines 3-4 mention Sisaba as the son of the said *kula-putra* and as a soldier of a contingent led by Peramaḍi. The name of the general reminds us of that of Permaḍi borne by Chālukya Vikramāditya VI and others.² Line 5 states that the *chhāya-stambha* or the memorial pillar in question was raised in memory of Sisaba who had been *paḍita* (Sanskrit *pāṭita*), 'killed [in a battle]' It will be seen that, while Inscription No. I was raised to commemorate the death of a number of soldiers (cf. plural number in *bhadana*-Sanskrit *bhaṇām*), Inscription No. II commemorates that of a single soldier.

### III

The third inscription, many sections of which are broken away and lost, shows traces of 8 lines of writing which reads as follows:

1. . . . [cha] tethika[na] . . . na kā . . . .
2. . . lasa cha Bhadaphula Saṭhapana Sa[ma]gandaka-vathava-Ki . . . .
3. . . bhuṇijitavasa akhaya-nivikā datā gāma-pa . .
5. . . ya cha Apara[ma] . . . .
7. . . supayutaṁ [*] esā cha akhaya-nivi ku[l]īka-pamukhāyaṁ . . . .
8. . . atathyea chi . . . yaṁ [hi] . .

Line 1 of the inscription contains the word *tethikānām* (Sanskrit *taṣṭhikānām*), the meaning of which has been discussed by us in connection with the Manchikallu inscription³ of the Pallava king Sinhavarman (first half of the fourth century A.D.). Line 2 mentions certain persons whose names appear to be Bhadaphula and Saṭhapana and another who was an inhabitant of a locality called *Sarmagandaka*, while the word *gāma* in the passage *gāma-pa* . . . . . . . at the end of line 3, used with reference to an akshaya-nivikā or permanent endowment, seems to suggest that the following line (line 4) mentions some villages, two of which were probably Kako-lūra and Nelāchavasa. Since several localities appear to have been mentioned in this context, the partially preserved expression *gāma-pa* may possibly be restored as *gāma-paṁchakan* meaning a group of five villages forming the permanent endowment mentioned in line 3. The passage *akhaya-nivikā datā* (Sanskrit *akhaya-nivikā datā*) shows that this section of the inscription was meant to record the creation of a permanent endowment in favour of one of the religious establishments at Nāgārjunikoḍa. The community of Buddhist monks that was benefited by the said endowment seems to be mentioned in line 5 of the inscription, wherein we can read *apara[ma]* . . . suggesting the mention of the Buddhist sect called Aparamahāvīnaselīya. The

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¹ Vol. XXXV, pp. 15-16.
² This is a Dravidian personal name derived from Tamil *Perumāṇadi*. See above, Vol. XXX, p. 93.
³ Above, Vol. XXXII, p. 88.
teachers of the Aparamhāvinasellya community are known from several inscriptions from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa itself. They are also mentioned in some of the Amaravati inscriptions. The said sect has been identified with the Aparasālikas subdivision of the Mahāśāṅghikas while the Aparasālikas (Aparasālikas) and Pubbasālikas (Pubvasālikas) have been supposed to have derived their names from the Aparasela (Aparasaila) and Pubbasela (Pubvasaila) located by Huien-tsang on the hills respectively to the west and east of Dhānyaṣaṭaka (modern Amarāvati). But why the Aparasālikas or Aparasāliyas were called Aparamahāvinasellya in the early inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh cannot be satisfactorily explained. A number of geographical names are mentioned in this inscription. But we are not sure about their location.

Lines 6-7 of the inscription contains the reference to a second endowment in the passage sa cha akṣaya-nīvī dīnārī-māstabānām divadhaṃ satam......supayutam (Sanskrit sa cha akṣaya-nīvī dīnārā-māstakaṃ dīvadhaṃ satam......supayuktaṃ). In this, dīvadha is the same as Pali digdha or divadha meaning ‘one and a half’. The amount of money deposited for the creation of the endowment was therefore 150 dīnārī-māstaka. The first component of the name of the coin is associated with Sanskrit dīnāra while the second is the same as Sanskrit māshaka, dīnāra and dīnāra being Indian modifications of Latin denarius. The same coin is also known from another Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription. Since māshaka was one-sixteenth of the standard saṃgāra, it is sometimes regarded as identical with the South Indian Fanam which may have been regarded as one-sixteenth of the Roman Denarius or Aureus, imported in the course of trade in the South Indian ports in the early centuries of the Christian era, either in weight or in value. The following line of the inscription (line 7) contains the passage esā cha akṣaya-nīvī ku[līka]-panamukhāya.... The mention of kulīka, ‘the chief or head of a guild’, here reminds us of the deposit of an akṣaya-nīvī in the nikāya or śreya, ‘guild’, as referred to in certain early Indian inscriptions. The word atathēya in line 8 seems to stand for Sanskrit ātithēya, ‘hospitalable’.

IV

The preservation of the fourth and last of the four inscriptions, although fragmentary, is somewhat better than the others. It consists of 6 lines of writing, of which the first is almost totally obliterated and the second broken at both the ends. The concluding part of the inscription is also lost. But the letters of the extant portion are well preserved and read as follows:

1
2
3
4
5
6

The inscription abruptly ends here as indicated above.

The record was apparently engraved during the reign of a king whose name ended with the word data (Sanskrit data) such as Viraṇpuruṣadvaddā and Rulapurusadvaddā. Since a large

1 Above, Vol. XX, pp. 17, 19, 21; Vol. XXI, p. 66.
3 Cf. Mahāvamsa, V, 12; Dipavamsa V, 54.
5 Above, Vol. XX, p. 19.
7 Cf. Select Inscriptions, pp. 147, 158.
8 The name is not Rulu as read above, Vol. XXVI, p. 125.

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number of inscriptions of the reign of Vitruprasadatta have been discovered at Nāgārjunikonda, it is not impossible that it is the same king’s reign which was referred to in the record under study. The date is the king’s regnal year,..., first day of the second fortnight of summer (i.e. Chaitrasudi 1). The Buddhist monastery on the Chula-Dharmagiri (i.e. Kshudra-Dharmagiri, ‘the little Dharmagiri’ as opposed to the Mahā-Dharmagiri or ‘the big Dharmagiri’) situated to the east of the city of Vijayapuri, is already known from another Nāgārjunikonda inscription¹ and has been identified with the present Nalarālabsodu hill. The inscription obviously meant to record the dedication of a structure in favour of certain Buddhist āchariyas (ācāryas), ‘teachers’, described as achāntarāj-ācāraya and sakasamaya-parasamaya-a...........

The second of the two epithets seems to suggest that the said teachers were experts in expounding the doctrines of their own religion as well as of those of the religious beliefs of others since the concluding akṣara (i.e. sa) may be supposed to have been a part of an expression like sanyaksampāragānam. No expression like sakasamaya-parasamaya-sanyak-pāruga has been noticed so far in any early inscription; but it reminds us of the passage ‘proficient in the treatises of his own school of philosophy (sva-samaya) as well as in those of others (para-samaya)’ occurring in the description of the celebrated Jain savant Bhaṭṭ-Ākalaṅka of Kanṭātaka in an inscription² of the sixteenth century from Bilgi in the North Kanara District of Bombay State. The epithet para-samaya-pota, ‘proficient in the doctrines of other [religions]’, occurs in the description of a Jain scholar in the Masulipatam plates³ of the Eastern Chālukya king Amma II (middle of the tenth century A.D.).

The interpretation of the other epithet is more difficult. The word achānta, meaning ‘excessive’, occurs in the expression achānta-hita-sukhāya (Sanskrit aṭṭhita-hita-sukhāya), ‘for the excessive welfare and happiness’, in one of the Nāgārjunikonda inscriptions¹; but that meaning does not suit the context, unless it is believed that some letters were inadvertently omitted after the word and that rūj-āchariyānam (i.e. of the king’s teachers’) is to be read separately. But the same expression apparently occurs in another Nāgārjunikonda inscription where Vogel suggested the reading [bhadānta-rūj-āchariyānam.]³ The expression achāntarāj-ācārya would mean ‘teachers of (or from) Achāntarājā’ or better ‘teachers of the Achāntarāj school or community’. Unfortunately we do not know of any king or locality called Achāntarājā or a community of Buddhist teachers characterised by that name. The name Achānta reminds us of Āchānta which is a village in the Narasapuram Taluk of the West Godavari District of Andhra Pradesh.⁴

¹ Above, Vol. XX, p 22.
² See ibid., Vol. XXIV, p. 272, where the epithet has been interpreted differently on the strength of Kundakundācārya’s Nāgānanda, according to which sāla-samaya and para-samaya means respectively ‘the soul which is concentrated in right conduct, belief and knowledge and is self-absorbed’ and ‘the soul which stands in the condition determined by krama and is absorbed in the non-self’. But this interpretation does not appear to suit the context.
³ Cf. ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 296.

No. 33—HILOL PLATES OF YEAR 470

(1 Plate)

H. D. SANKALIA, POONA

(Received on 30.6.1959)

These plates are reported to have been discovered in a field at Hirol in the Dehgam Taluk of the Ahmedabad District. They had come into the possession of Shri K. N. Dalavi, Deputy Collector of Nadiād, who brought them to Shri N. A. Gore, Librarian of the Asiatic Society, Bombay, for being deciphered. At the suggestion of Shri Gore, Shri Dalavi very kindly handed over the plates to me for decipherment.¹ I am thankful to Shri Dalavi and Shri Gore for their kindness.

The set consists of two plates secured by a copper ring. But, as there are two additional holes in each of the plates, originally there should have been three rings,² one of which might have carried the seal. The plates measure 3·5 cm. (1½") × 14·8 cm. (5½") × 2 cm. (¾") . The diameter of the ring is 3·5 cm. (1½") and its thickness 0·7 cm. (¼"). The holes for the ring are about 1·4 cm. (½") in diameter and the plates have a raised border, 0·4 cm. (⅛") broad, for protecting the writing.

The inscription which is on the inner side of the plates is in perfect state of preservation, except for two or three small cracks. One of these near the lower rim of the first plate has slightly affected some letters in the last line and another on the top has likewise damaged a few letters in the first line. They appear to have been there before the plate was inscribed. The first plate contains 9 lines of writing and the second 12 lines. On the outside of the second plate, there are the letters Śrī Chandrāditya. The engraver began with a bold well-spaced hand, so that in the first plate the letters are at an average 0·9 cm. (⅛") high; but they tend to become smaller towards the end. In the second plate, which looks comparatively crowded, the average size of letters is 0·4 cm. (⅛") high.

The characters are of the Kūtila type,³ having triangular heads on each letter, and may be compared with those of the inscriptions of Durgagaṇa⁴ and of Nanna of the Tiwarkhed⁵ and Multai⁶ plates. The letter n has been written in more than one form, e.g. (i) having a triangle but looking like Dévanāgarī n (cf. mahābhīsthāna in line 1; ghāṭan⁷ in line 9; dāna in line 10); (ii) having a square body, with the triangle at the top left and an oblique stroke at the right bottom, found in most cases; cf. Chandrādityēna in lines 3-4; sthāna and vini⁸ in line 4; mādyandina (where there is no triangle) in line 5, and in lines 6 and 8; (iii) without the vertical stroke and loop and looking like t (cf. Chandrādityēna in line 10).

The language is corrupt Sanskrit with a number of Prakrit or Déśī words in the geographical and personal names. Often the sentences are left incomplete and sandhi rules are not observed.

² Dr. Shastri says (Vallabha Vidyaganra Research Bulletin, op. cit., p. 34) that there were two rings intact when the plates were first found in 1952 and that the second or middle ring bore the letters śrī-Chandrāditya.
³ Bühler, Indische Palaeographie, Table IV; Ojha, Bhāraṣṭra Prācīna Lipimāla, p. 82.
⁵ Above, Vol. XI, p. 279.
As regards orthography, anvata is invariably used for the dental nasal and u for b in some cases (lines 11-12).

The inscription records the donation of a piece of land near the village of Hilihila by Chandraditya who was a Mahasamanta and obtained the five mahā-kaladas. Chandraditya was a feudatory ruler stationed at Harshapura-mahābhishāna and also the governor of a viṣaya (vishay-ādhipati) under Kaka (or Nana) who is described as Mahāsamanta-dhipati Paramarajādhirāja Paramēśvara and was stationed at Khēṣaka-mahābhishāna. The grant was made by him to the Brāhmaṇa, Bhaṭṭa Mātrigana, who was the son of Mātrigana of Kātyāpa-gōtra and belonged to Sāpanda-sēhana. The donee is further described as belonging to the Mādhyandina śākha of the Yajurveda, as endowed with a knowledge of the six Vēdāṇgas and as a keeper of the sacred fire (bāḷāṃghāṭīra). The first plate says that a fourth part of a field was given by Chandraditya to Mātrigana, son of Mātrigana. This lay to the south of the entrance to the village of Hilihila; to the east of the field stood the field of Vardhamanēśvara; to the south lay the field of the Brāhmaṇa Bhāullavaṭa; to the west there was a pond; and to the north there was a river.

The second plate describes the boundaries again. But after mentioning the eastern boundary, the remaining three boundaries are not given. Instead we have a number of witnesses to the grant enumerated in lines 11-15, after which we are told that the first one-fourth of the land was given in the Pāḍāṭaka-grāma and the second one-fourth in Hilihila-grāma.

To the east of the donated land there was a field belonging to a Brāhmaṇa. And in this connection are mentioned: Sāmanta Bhaṭṭīśavāmi, Sāmanta Brāhmaṇa Bājaka (?), Sāmanta Mahāvāra Dhanā and Bhaṭṭa Īvara, resident of Sihaṇkhi, and Sāmanta Brāhmaṇa Āgakka and the witnesses Brāhmaṇa Charina and Bhaṭṭa Līlla, resident of Kaliapali, and the witness Kaka(haka), resident of Kṛisamvagrāma, and the Brāhmaṇa Datta and the Brāhmaṇa witness Vēpa-bhaṭṭa and the witness Brāhmaṇa Viśēk (?) and Śibrapaka (?).

The enumeration of the witnesses and the boundaries, we are told that Chandraditya being pleased and having made the grant from Harshapura together with the token money given along with the land (stvasti-dhana), i.e. the grant was made with the token money and the donee said stvasti, ‘may you fare well’. The gift was without taxes and the land free of the ‘ten faults.’

The gift deed was executed in the office (karaṇa), in the presence of Chandraditya, Mahābālādhiṛita Brāhmaṇa Bhaṭṭa Īvara and the Adhikaksa (president of the village council) Bhaṭṭa Vāsadēva, and Sāhāṅga-viḍ Bhaṭṭa Mahāprākārārāṇa Aṁmaṇa and Vēdēśvara Bhaṭṭa Bhāullavaṭa.

The grant is dated in the year 470 (in words). No other details are given with it. But in the second plate, it is said that the actual grant of land was made by Chandraditya on Tuesday (Bhauma-dine) the seventh of the bright half of the month of Mārgaśirha in the first half of the day when the karaṇa was Vaiṣṭi. If these details are referred to the year mentioned elsewhere, the grant was made on Tuesday, Mārgaśirha-sudi 7 in the year 470 of an unspecified era. In Gujarat, the Śaka era was used by the Khātrīs, Western Chāḷukyas and Rāṣṭrakūṭas and at times by the Chaulukyas. The Trākṣṭakas, Gurjaras and other minor dynasties used the Kalachuri era while the Guptas used their own era and the Maitrakas of Valabhi a slightly...
modified Gupta era, known later as the Valabhi era. Lastly, there was the Vikrama era which is current today and was popularised by the Chaulukyas.

The script of our record shows that the year 470 cannot be referred to the Śaka or Vikrama era. We have to choose between the Kalachuri and the Gupta-Valabhi. If the year is referred to the former, the grant would be dated in 718-19 A.D. But the details of the date do not agree. Moreover, as Dr. Shastri has pointed out, Northern Gujarat, where the present grant was found and the land donated was situated, was at this time under Śilāditya V, and not Kakka. The year 470 may therefore be referred to the Gupta-Valabhi era so as to yield 788 A.D.

A Rāshtrakūṭa king named Kakka (II), who enjoyed the titles Paramabhattāraka Mahārājā-dhārāja and Paramēśvara, is known to have ruled Southern Lāṭa around Surat about 757 A.D.¹ Dr. Shastri thinks that he drove out the Chāhamānas of Broach and later, when Valabhi was destroyed by the Arabs in 788 A.D., extended his sway over the former territories of the Maitrakas which included Khēṭaka of our grant.²

This is a plausible suggestion, though there are some difficulties in accepting it. Firstly, we do not know Kakkarāja to have ruled for so long a period, some 30 years or more. From 750 A.D., the Imperial Rāshtrakūṭas had begun their raids over Gujarat and, by 788 A.D., Southern and Central Gujarat came fully under their control. It is therefore difficult to reconcile Kakka's rule over the area since his relationship with the imperial family is unknown.³ But, if the identification is accepted, it explains how in his inscription of 757 A.D. Kakka claims imperial titles and why no details are given in our grant. It appears that he or his successors, bearing the same name had a precarious rule over Central and Northern Gujarat contemporaneously with the emperors of the Imperial dynasty. It may further be said that Sāmanata Chandrāditya, as the title adītya suggests, was a member of the Maitraka family stationed at Harshapura by the king of Valabhi. He might have been retained in this position by the new ruler and, according to the practice in the region, dated the grant in the Valabhi era. The saptami fell on Monday, the 10th November 788 A.D.,⁴ though Dr. Shastri says that the date would correspond to Tuesday, 11th November 788 A.D. According to him, the grant indicates that the destruction of Valabhi by the Arabs took place before this date.⁵

It may, however, be pointed out that there is one more Karka or Kakka of the Rāshtrakūṭa family of Central India, who is said to have defeated a king named Nāgāvalōka.⁶ And a brother of his father Jējja had, after defeating the Karnaṭas, taken possession of the Lāṭa kingdom. It is with this Karkarāja, that we may, with greater probability, identify our Kakka. Chandrāditya’s grant shows that Kakka was in actual possession of the present Districts of Ahmedabad and Kaira, which he presumably took from Nāgāvalōka, i.e. Nāgabhata II. Under Dantidurga, his uncle defeated the Western Chālukyas and advanced further into Central India and founded a kingdom. It has, however, to be admitted that the name of the ruler as found in our record can also be read as Nauna and that the nature of the grant creates a doubt as to its genuineness.⁷

The existence of so many Sāmanata Brāhmaṇas with a Brāhmaṇa general of the army (mahā-balādhikṛita) implies the prevalence of a strong well-organized Brāhmaṇa feudalism in Gujarat.

² This is not unlikely, as he is specifically said to have driven out the leaders of his enemies (ibid., p. 111).
³ According to Altokar, he was a nephew of Dantidurga who appointed him to rule over this region. See The Age of Imperial Kanauj (History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. IV, Bombay, 1955), p. 2.
⁶ See the Pathari inscription above, Vol. IX, pp. 248 ff. Persons with such a name among the Gujarā-Prā-thārās need not be considered, as none of them claims to be an emperor.
⁷ [See below, p. 219.—Ed.]
Concentration of so much political power even for a short time in the hands of the Brāhmaṇas was unknown so far. It reminds us of the conditions that developed in Mahārāṣṭra some 1000 years later.\footnote{See below, p. 220.—Ed.}

The imprecatory verses quoted in our record offer some readings not usually found in inscriptions. For the usual Bahubhīr-vasudhā bhukta, we have Anēkai.\footnote{Sankalia, The Archaeology of Gujarat, Appendix D, pp. 40, 44, 48.} Similarly, there is haranī narakē yānī in place of haran-narakam-āpnotī (or āyūti) often found in inscriptions.

The published land grants of the Maitrakas and Rāṣṭrakūṭas mention places to the south and east of Ahmedabad, one of them being Khēṭaka which was the headquarters of the district (āhāra or viṣṭaya) or province (maṇḍala) under the Maitrakas, Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Paramārās\footnote{Above, Vol. I, p. 55.} and is now also the headquarters of the Kaira or Khēḍa District. In our grant it is called Khēṭaka-mahābhīsthāna. Harasapura, identified with Harol on the Mesha river in the Prantij Taluk of the Kaira District, occurs in a grant of Krishṇa II\footnote{Kaira District Census Hand-Book, Poona, 1953, p. 244.} as Harasapur-ārdhāsthama-tata (i.e. Harasapura-750) which included Khēṭaka, etc.

As suggested by Dr. Shastrī, Khallāpalli is probably Khaḍāl (spelt as Kharāl), about 10 miles east of Hilol, across the Vātrak river. Krisamba or Kusamba seems to be Kosam, two miles north from Khaḍāl. Both these places are now in the Kapadvanj Taluk of the Kaira District.\footnote{Shastrī, op. cit., p. 41.} Pāḍātaka may be the same as Pāhāḍa or Pāḍā near Raulāv, about a mile east of Hilol. Thus three villages along with Haraspura lay to the east of Ahmedabad in the present Kapadvanj Taluk, while Khēṭaka was the headquarters of the district in question.

According to Dr. Shastrī\footnote{Above, Vol. III, p. 53.}, Siharākhī is the same as Siharakhki-dvādāśa mentioned in a copper-plate grant (813 A.D.) of Gōvindarāja\footnote{Sankalia, op. cit., p. 50.} and the modern Sērakhi near Baroda, which is over 100 miles to the south of Hilol. There were many other names\footnote{Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, p. 336.} with sīha as the first part. Of these Sīhamubhijja\footnote{Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 73.} (Sīhuj, seven miles east of Ahmedabad and about 16 miles north-east of Kaira) and Sīnhapalīkā-pathakas\footnote{From the original plates and impressions. In some cases, I have quoted the readings of Dr. Shastrī and also of Dr. G. S. Lal who supplied me with his transcript prepared from an impression sent by me. [See below, pp. 220 ff.—Ed.]} were in the Khēṭaka district. It is possible that there was another Siharakhi near Hilol. Sāpanda-sthāna, from which the donee came, can be identified with Sānand, a railway station on the Ahmedabad-Virangam line, about 12 miles west of Ahmedabad, and the headquarters of the Taluk of the same name.

**TEXT**

**First Plate**

1. ग्रामः [१\*] संवत्सरसतत्वुद्धे सतत्वाचिके श्रीलक्षमहामिश्यना[२\*] समविगलता (त)प्र-
HILOL PLATES OF YEAR 470

Scale: One-half.
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2 चम्हालोके महासांतिकातिपतिपरमराजभिराजपरसेश्वरजोकके राज्यः

3 विषयाणितिश्रीहंगुरास(क) भारामभिष्यान[त्] समर्थिताः (त) पं च महालोके महासांतिकातिपतिपरमराजभिराजपरसेश्वरजोकके राज्यः

4 द्राधिक्येन सांक्ष्यानांविनिमयात्मास्करकरुङ्गयक्ष्य भूमालुङ्गकायकायपानरोतः

5 माध्यमिनिवेदेशः निम्नविनामान्वारसाबायिनाशस्वामयमयं रुङ्गयक्ष्य

6 करस्य श्रीवाणितिश्रीहंगुरासन्त्रेण भृगुविदान्दहोवायः सवग्रामपूर्णराजावेनः मातृसांगनेन लघुवासं (स्वयं) वधुलः

7 [केदारमिनिवेदितोषी (ग) श्रेयः निम्नविनामान्वारसाबायिनाशस्वामयमयं रुङ्गयक्ष्य]

8 पूर्वदिशां (सि) वर्धानास्तरस्वरुपम तत्पत्राविदायः (सि) ब्राह्मणासन्त्रेण परिवर्तितमविदायः (सि)

9 तदेक (क) उत्तरदिशाः (सि) नक्री [उदित) वेशः अयं च चतुर्भाटोषीपल्लि

Second Plate

10 अस्स श्रीवाणितिश्रीहंगुरासन्त्रेण भृगुविदान्दहोवायः सवग्रामपूर्णराजावेनः मातृसांगनेन

11 शक्तुरुपायतीसमतत्वात्पत्राविदायः (क) द्राह्मणासन्त्रेण तथा सामन्त्रासन्त्रेण

12 द्राह्मणासन्त्रेण श्रीवाणितिश्रीहंगुरासन्त्रेण तथा सामन्तमद्वरुप (ए) इन (क) स्वयं सीहरिवृप: (सि) इन्दुवर्त्तम तथा सामन्त्रासन्त्रेण

1 Gai: sarda (ka). The reading may be Nan na also.

2 Dr. Gai. The reading was suggested by Dr. Gai.

3 Dr. Shastri suggests the emendation kahinaça kahutarabhaṣa. The reading of the passage is doubtful.

4 It is exactly in this way that the Twarkhiel plates (Plate II) of Bāhātrkūṭa Nannarāja begins. Cf. Ind. Art., Vol. XVIII, p. 279.

5 Dr. Gai suggested this reading which may be a mistake for māhasāra. Shastri: māhasāra.

6 Shastri: Māṭhilla: Gai: Śṛṅgha. The reading may be sakunika or rajasāka.

7 Gai: Madhavī (to) vā tākṣaṇā. This is followed by a symbol.
13 पंतमयं तथा साती ब्राह्मण प्रमक्ष्य तथा ब्राह्मण साती
वर्नायेनै बलायविप्रामन्त्रावती साती भृपातस्वरूप

14 तथा साती क्रमवर्तम इस्लेब्राम्यन्त्रावती ब्राह्मणात्म क्षः तथा ब्राह्मणात्मकानि
वर्जे श्च तथा साती ब्राह्मण-ः

15 विज्ञानसत्तत्व सिद्धार्थ (य?) कस्य एव (व) चतुर्भीमद्वयो श्रीवर्त
श्रीवर्तविद्येन स्वहस्तस्वतः सामविशिष्टमात्र भृदस्तमात्रां भृम-ः

16 द्विते विद्यार्थी (या) पूर्वीविः एव श्रीवर्तविद्येन अथवा परमाविष्ट स्वहस्तो
स्वस्ती (सिद्ध) धर्म संविद्यावस्त्रां श्रीवर्तविद्येन

17 — — — स्मयं — 'च' सीमायां स्फोटां च पादात्तकारांस चतुर्भीम द्विवेधः
(य) चतुर्भीम हिमोत्कारांस श्रीहरणः(ः) राष्ट्रः

18 — — " तेन करणमुदाओसयझ सत्तके " महाबलविक्रु कुष्णाहृष्टः
(व) इवतवदस्यप्रसव भृत भृददेव

19 तथा पंदगावः(ः) भृदपालपीयार स्मायो "स्मायो वाल्यवर भुजः भृददेव एव
(व) श्रीवर्तविद्येन स्मायो (ः) करणसहिंत्व भृददेव"

20 व — — — " तेन " यात्रिकान्तः (ः) ब्रह्मकृष्णभृत्ता राजभिः(ः)
सागरावः(ः) यस्य यस्य यदा भृददेवः 

21 फलं (लम) (ः) सुरत्रमकं गामेकं भृदमम्मकं गामम्मकं 
हर्षित नरको याति

यादावस्तर्षवः इति इति

1 Shastri : dha.
2 May be a mistake for Atinasaya.
3 Gai : Kekanasaya
4 Shastri : Kusanaba ; Gai : khusanivasu.
5 Gai : Sana.
6 The reading of these letters is doubtful.
7 Gai : Sivahmanakaaya.
8 This reading was suggested to me by Dr. Rahurkar. Dr. Shastri thinks that the Dhanishtha nakaatra may have been intended
9 Gai : ashvahastra(sala)mayan.
10 This may be a full-stop.
11 Shastri : ara ; but the suanrā is clear.
12 Shastri : sith which is impossible
13 This may be a mistake for sattrakṣe.
14 The dots on either side of the letter are absent.
15 Shastri : bādāc.
16 This may be kyīdītāc.
17 This may be a mistake for bhāja. 
No. 34—NOTE ON HILOL PLATES OF YEAR 470

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

(Received on 28.11.1959)

Dr. H. D. Sankalia has edited the Hilol plates above, pp. 213 ff. We do not agree with some of his readings as well as of his views expressed in connection not only with the interpretation of the language of the inscription but also with that of its evidence. There is nothing in the record to support Dr. Sankalia’s doubt about the genuineness of the plates.

The record is very carelessly drafted and engraved. While many letters have been written in various forms, sometimes more than one letter have the same form or similar forms. The text is full of linguistic and orthographical errors. In many cases, a letter or word or a group of letters or words has been altogether omitted. It is therefore very difficult to read and interpret the inscription.

As regards the date, what has been read as Bhauna-diné (lines 15-16) is clearly Sōma-diné. Thus the date of the record is Monday the seventh tithi of the bright half of the month of Mārgaśīra in the year 470 of apparently the Gupta-Valabhi era of 319-20 A.D. Taking the year to be current, the date regularly corresponds to Monday the 10th November 788 A.D.

The inscription records the grant of two pieces of land, each said to have been a chatur-bhēga, i.e. ‘quarter’, one of them situated in Pādāṭaka-grāma and the other in Hilōhila-grāma. The gift land thus consisted of one-fourth share of each of the two villages.

The grant was issued by Chandrādyāya, a subordinate Vishayādhikari (governor of a district) of Harshapura-mahābhūṣṭhāna1 enjoying the feudatory titles Samadhigata-paśchamahāśābda and Mahāśūmananta. The expression mahābhūṣṭhāna, as used in the inscription, is of lexical interest since abhūṣṭhāna in the sense of ‘residence’ (i.e. headquarters or capital city) is a mistake for abhūṣṭhāna or the more popular abhūṣṭhāna. Dr. Sankalia regards Samadhigata-paśchamahāśābda Mahāśūmanātyādhikari Paramaritājādırīya Paramēśvara Kakka or Nanna of Khēṭaka-mahābhūṣṭhāna, who was the overlord of the said Chandrādyāya, as an emperor. The name of the overlord of Chandrādyāya is, however, certainly Kakka, and not Nanna, while, among his titles, Mahāśūmanātyādhikari and Samadhigata-paśchamahāśābda are feudatory and Paramēśvara and Paramēśvara-rāja are imperial titles. The assumption of both feudatory and imperial titles at the same time shows clearly that Kakka of Khēṭaka was a semi-independent subordinate2 of some imperial ruler who appears to have been none other than the contemporary Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Dhruva Dhārāvarsha (780-94 A.D.).

As regards the identification of Kakka of the Hilol plates, Dr. Sankalia doubts whether he can be the same as Samadhigata-paśchamahāśābda Paramahāṭṭāraka Mahārājādırīya Paramēśvara Kakka II of the Antrol-Charoli plates3 of 757 A.D., because he believes that this Kakka II may not have ruled so late as 788 A.D. when moreover the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas were, in his opinion, in complete control over Central and Southern Gujarat. He therefore prefers to identify Kakka of the Hilol plates, whom he regards as an emperor, with Karka (Kakka) who was the

1 The Kapadwanj (Kaira District) plates of Kṛṣṇa II mention Khēṭaka, Harshapura and Kāśährada as the leading cities of Harshapura-750 (Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, Part II, p. 413).
2 Cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 50, note 3.

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father of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Parabala of the Pathari (near Bhilsa in East Malwa) inscription\(^1\) of 861 A.D. But this is unlikely since it is doubtful that the father ruled at a date about three quarters of a century before that of the son's record. Moreover, Karka's rule in the Kaira-Ahmedabad region in 788 A.D., for which there is no evidence at all, can scarcely be regarded as reconcilable with the imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭa hold on Central and Southern Gujarat during the period in question any more than that of Kaka of the Antroli-Charolī plates. There is again no proof that Karka of the Pathari inscription was an imperial (or semi-independent) ruler.

As regards the Gujarāt Rāṣṭrakūṭa house represented by Kaka II of the Antroli-Charolī plates of 757 A.D., it is very probable that he himself or his father or grandfather was stationed in Gujarāt as the viceroy of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Dantidurga (742-56 A.D.) and that Kaka II assumed semi-independence on Dantidurga's death as his imperial style coupled with the feudatory title Samadhiyatapanchamahāśāda in his record of 757 A.D. would indicate. Altekar seems to be right when he suggests that the relative whom the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Krishṇa I (756-75 A.D.) claims to have ousted was no other than Kaka II of the Antroli-Charolī plates.\(^2\) Another fact ignored by Dr. Sankalia is that the said Gujarāt Rāṣṭrakūṭas appear to have continued in their viceroyal position till the reign of Gōvinda III (794-814 A.D.) who appointed his younger brother Indra as his viceroy in Gujarāt.\(^3\) It is therefore very probable that Kaka of the Hilol plates is either identical with his namesake of the Antroli-Charolī plates or was a descendant of the latter.

Dr. Sankalia draws our attention to the mention of many Sāmanta Brahmans among the witnesses of the gift and suggests that it points to the prevalence of a strong well-organised Brahmāna feudalism in tenth century Gujarāt. But the word sāmanta in this context apparently means 'a neighbour', i.e. one who was in possession of a piece of land in the neighbourhood of the gift land.\(^4\)

Our reading and interpretation of the text of the inscription are offered below.

**Lines 1-6**: Siddham^[\*[\*]] sanbhavatsara-śata-chatushtayē saptatay-ādhikē śrī-Khēṭaka-mahābhīšṭhāḥ (śhēthā)nā[.\*]\* samadhiyata-paśchamahāśāda (bda)-maḥāśāmaśāntīhipati-paramarājāḥ (rāja)-paramēśvara (śrī-Kakka)(kkē) rājya[m śāṣatī*] viśhaya-ādhipati[nā*] śrī-Harshapūrā (ra)-maḥābhīsthanā śrī-samadhigata (ta)-paśchamahāśāda (bda)-maḥāśāmaśāntī (śrī-Chandrādityāyēna) Sāṃnāsam (nān) da (sthāna)-vinirṛgī-puṣṭaviśāra (ttrāya) bhaṭṭa-Mātrigāna (nāya) Kāśyapa-sagītra (ttrāya) maṭhyandina (nāya) nāda-gāna-vēdaiṣ-cha vihūshah-sīnta (nāya) vā(bh)āl-āgnihōtri (nīn) tān(ta)[n-njūṭha-parama (māya) ētād-gūpa-sānyuktasya (ktāya) [dattaṁ śāsanam [\*]]

**Translation**: Let it be well! In the year 470, when the illustrious Samadhigatapaśchamahāśāda Mahāśāmaśāntīhipati Paramarājāḥ (rāja) Paramēśvara Kakka [is ruling] the kingdom from the prosperous great city of Khēṭaka, [this charter is issued] from the prosperous great city of Harshapūrā by the illustrious Viśhaya-ādhipati Samadhigatapaśchamahāśāda Mahāśāmaśāntī Chandrādityā in favour of Bhaṭṭa Mātrigāna who is the son of Mātrivāra hailing from

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\(^1\) Above, Vol. IX, pp. 248 ff. Parabala's father is stated to have defeated Nāgaśaloka who is usually identified with the Gurjara-Pratihāra king Nāgaḥbhaṭa I (c. 810-33 A.D.). He may have been a later contemporary of Nāgaḥbhaṭa II.

\(^2\) The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times, pp. 42-43.


\(^4\) Cf. Yojanaśastra, II, 150 and Viṃśāśvara's commentary thereon. See also above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 194.

\(^[\*]\) Expressed by symbol.

\(^[\*]\) Read maḥābhīṣṭhānā.

\(^[\*]\) Better read tat-tat.
the locality [called] Sānanda, who belongs to the Kāśyapa gōtra [and] the Mādhyanandina [sākhā], whose body is adorned with [the knowledge of] the Vedas and its six aṅgas, who keeps the sacred fire since he was a child, who is the best among those who are devoted to the [sacred fire], and who is endowed with [all] the said qualities.

**Lines 6-9:** śri-Chandrādityaṇa [dattaṁ*] svastih(sti)-dhanaṁ bhūmi-dānaṁ sva-gōttraprīthag-bhāvēna Mātrīgaṇeṇa lavdhvā(bdiham) vaṣṭiḥ(babhi)laka-kēśāra-misra-chatur-bhāgō-(gam []) tasya[*] kṣhētrasya Hīlohiya-grāma-nivēsa-dakshīna-dīṣāyāṁ [śhītasya*] chatur-āghātanāṁ [liṅgayet [*] pūrvaṁ(r̥vaṁ)āṁ diśāṇi(āṇyāṁ) Vardhamānēśvara-kṣētram dakshīna-diśāṇi(āṇyāṁ) Vṛā(Brā)hmana-Bhārula-chā(vā)ta-kṣētram paśchima-diś(e) tiṃ(ta)ka(h)naṁ uttara-diś(e)śi) Karira-Ruṣṭhi-Kōtumbaka(kah) ēvaṁ chatur-āghātan-ōpala-kṣhētam[⁺] [kṣhēttram [*]]

**Translation:** A [plot of land which is the] quarter [of the village], which is partly marshy land with [a plantation of] babhūlaka [trees thereon] is [hereby granted] by the illustrious Chandrāditya as a gift of land for which he receives [only] the wealth [in the shape] of good luck [arising from the donor's blessing] and is received by Mātrīgaṇa as [a person] separated from his family [i.e., for his individual enjoyment]. The four boundaries of the land, which lies to the south of the entrance [or the inhabited area] of Hīlohiya-grāma, are [as follows]: to the east there is a [plot of land] belonging to the [deity] Vardhamānēśvara; to the south there is the land containing an orchard belonging to the Brāhmaṇa Bhārula; to the west there lies the tank; [and] to the north there are [the localities called] Karira, Ruṣṭhi and Kōtumbaka. [The gift land is] demarcated by the boundaries [indicated] above.


**Translation:** May it be well! [This is a second] gift of land [made] by the illustrious Chandrāditya in favour of Mātrīgaṇa, for which he gets [only] the wealth of good luck [arising from the donor's blessing]. Its boundary is thus [given below]: in all directions there is the field belonging to Brāhmaṇa [who are]: the neighbour Bhaṭṭasvāmin; and the Brāhmaṇa neighbour Sānjaka; and the neighbour Īvara of Madahara; and the Brāhmaṇa Bhaṭṭa Prathilla; and

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1 Better read chatur-āghātaṁ liṅgayet.
2 Better read chatur-āghātaṁ āpala-kṣhētam.
3 The implication is that the land was freely given and was also made rent-free.
4 Expressed by symbol.
5 Better read *pāṇaṁ liṅgayet.
6 Read diśāyam. But the reading intended here seems to be sarva-diśam or pura-diśam diśam. This is possibly supported by the mention of a number of persons as sāmanitas or neighbours. Otherwise, we have to think that the boundaries in the north, south and west were omitted through oversight.
7 Better read kṣēttram or better kṣētram.
8 Sandhi has not been observed here.
the neighbour Dhārānaka of Madahara; [and] Bhāṣṭa Īśvara who is an inhabitant of Sīharakhibiya; and the Brāhmaṇa neighbour Śambasaṃaran. And the witness [to the gift is]: the Brāhmaṇa Aggaka; also the Brāhmaṇa witness Varitā; [also] the witness Bhāṣṭa Līlā who is an inhabitant of the village of Khallāpalli; also the witness Kōṭaka; [also] the Brāhmaṇa Bhāṣṭa Datta who is an inhabitant of the village of Kūsamba; also the Brāhmaṇa witness Śeṇabhāṭṭa; also the Brāhmaṇa witness Tūsāka; also Siddhāyaka.

**Lines 15-17** : eva[n*] chatur-bhāga-dvaya(ya)n āśī-Charṇḍādityēna sva-hasta-dattasya- (ttam [ ]) Mārggasira-māsa-suddha-saptamyāṁ Sūma-dīnē vellā(lā)yāṁ 1 pūrvvāhē āvān āśī-Charṇḍādityēna śraddhāyā param-āvishṭa(sahtēna) sva-hastēna svasti(sti)-dhanāṁ sa- ditya(datti)2-dās-āpan(pu)rādhān(dham) a-kara-pravṛtiṇāṁ(ttan āttama) ma(na) vṛtta(tī)-sdhā- (sthā)pānan ēva śmāyāṁ spōṭānan ēva [[*] Pāḍātaka-grāmē [prathama*]-chatur-bhāga[n*] dvitiya(ya)-chatur-bhāga[n*] Hilōhila-grāmē [*]]

**Translation** : Thus two [plots of land which are] quarters [of the two villages referred to above] are granted by the illustrious Chandrāditya by his own hands. Thus on Monday the seventh [tīthī] of the bright [fortnight] of the month of Mārgasira, during the forenoon part of the day, [the grant of land], for which [only] the wealth of good luck [arising from the donee’s blessings] is received, is [made] by the illustrious Chandrāditya, by his own hand, together with [the right of enjoying the fines] for the ten [minor] offences as well as the customary presents [from tenants and] without any rent fixed. [The donee should have] no [right] to raise an enclosure at the border [of the gift land] and [of] winnowing grains [at the border]. The [first] quarter [of land] lies in Pāḍātaka-grāma [and] the second quarter in Hilōhila-grāma.

**Lines 17-20** : āśī-Charṇḍapārā-rā-vathṣātēna(sthita)-karaṇa-kalāpa-samakshaṁ tathā Kaisattakā(ka)-mahābaladhikṛita-Vṛā( Brahmaṇa-bhāṭṭa*-Īśvarasya adhyaksha-bhāṭṭa-dvā(Vā)- sudēva(sya)* tathā saḍaṇa-vi[ṭ]-]*bhāṭṭa-mahāpratihārā* Arammatya[sva] Vālēkhabba-Bhūlla[sva] cha samakshaṁ ēvaṁ āśī-Charṇḍāditya(tyōna) [sarva*]-samē(ma)kshaṁ karaṇa-sahitaṁ(tīna) bhūṛ-[u]paγamaṭāṁ(mītā) bhāṭṭa-Māṭriγaṇasya(nāya ]

**Translation** : Thus, in the presence of the group of officials stationed at Harshapura and [in the presence of the Brāhmaṇa Mahābaladhikṛita Bhāṣṭa Īśvara of Kaisattaka [and] of Adhyaksha (possibly, a judge) Vāsudēva, and of Mahāpratihāra Bhāṣṭa Arammata who is versed in the six aṅgas [of the Vedas], [and also] of Bhūlla of Vālēkhabba, in the presence of [all the people], the illustrious Chandrāditya, along with his officials, causes the [gift] land to be accepted by Māṭriγaṇa.

**Lines 20-21** : Two of the usual imprecatory stanzas have been quoted here. They are written even more carelessly than the rest of the record.

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1 These three akṣaras are engraved partially on something previously incised.
2 Cf. above, Vol. XXXI, p. 301, note 2. Diya is generally mentioned along with viśiṭi or free labour and possibly means ‘customary presents’. The meaning of pratiḥārā, sometimes found in the same context, is uncertain.
3 Sandhi has not been observed here.
In the year 1951, when I was Custodian in the State Museum, Lucknow, Sri K. D. Bajpai, the then Archaeological Officer and Officiating Curator of the Lucknow Museum, very kindly gave me six copper-plate grants of the Gahadavāla kings for decipherment and publication. One of the said grants, which were purchased from Messrs. Mataprasad Sitaram of Varanasi in 1948, is published in the following pages.

This is a single plate measuring about 1' 6" by 1' 2½" high and engraved on one face only. In the upper part, it has a ring-hole about 3" in diameter. The plate contains 30 lines of writing which is in a good state of preservation. The size of individual letters is about 2½". The characters are Nagari, and the language is Sanskrit. Except once in line 8, the letter b has been indicated by the sign for v. As regards orthography, the palatal sibilant is often employed instead of the dental.

The inscription opens with the well-known verses which invoke the blessings of the goddess Śrī and give the genealogy of the donor and ends with the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses. The formal part of the grant from line 11 to 23 is in prose and is worded like most of the published grants of the Gahadavāla dynasty.

The charter was issued by Paramabhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramesvara Vijayachandra-deva, the successor of P. M. P. Gōvindachandra-devā, who was the successor of P. M. P. Madanapālandēva, the successor of P. M. P. Chandradēva, 'who by his own arm acquired the sovereignty over Kānyaubja (Kanauj)'. The charter is dated Friday, the seventh tithi of the bright half of the month of Phālguna of the year 1221, which is equivalent to 1164 A. D.1 It states that, after bathing in the Yumunā near Machchhosa,2 the king granted the village of Kanhavara in the Valai pattali to the Brahmaṇa Thākura Narasimhasārman of the Vasishṭha gōtra, who was the son of Thākura Bharatha and grandson of Thākura Surānanda. The name of the writer is not mentioned.

I am unable to identify the localities mentioned in the grant.

TEXT

[Metres : Verses 1, 3, 13, 14, 16-22 Anuśṭubh ; verses 2, 23 Indravajra ; verses 4, 7 Āśāśvānaṅkṛiti ; verses 5-6, 8, 11-12, 24 Vasamantālakā ; verse 9 Drustavilambita ; verse 10 Mālīni ; verse 15 Śālīni.]

1 श्रीमप स्वस्ति || प्रकृठोऽतः कन्ताकेन्द्रस्तीलुतकः: || संरम्भः पुरातत्रमें स
2 श्रीमपः स्वस्ति || प्रकृठोऽतः कन्ताकेन्द्रस्तीलुतकः: || संरम्भः पुरातत्रमें स
3 ब्रह्मतत्तवं श्रीमपः स्वस्ति || प्रकृठोऽतः कन्ताकेन्द्रस्तीलुतकः: || संरम्भः पुरातत्रमें स

1 [The details of the date regularly correspond to Friday the 19th February 1165 A. D. Two other copper-plate grants of Gahadavāla Vijayachandra, dated respectively in V. S. 1224 and 1225, are so far known. See Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 333 and 336. This is thus the earliest of his records as yet discovered.—Ed.]
2 [The correct name of the place is Kausāmbi, modern Kośam in the Allahabad District.—Ed.]
3 From inked impressions.
2 सु || साक्षात्सवानिव भूमिकाना नामा यशोविष्णु हस्यकार: || [२*]
तत्तुरोभुमहीत्यञ्चर्स्थ्योभानिव निम्न(मू) || येनापारसूपारसे व्यापारि य-

3 श: || [३*] तस्याभुतं नये करिकः कान्तिः प्रेमक्षणः (को) विध्वस्तोदतथा
धीरयोधतिमिन**: श्रीचन्द्रदेवी नृप: || येनोदारस्रास्ययमानिहायस्त्रीयायप्रश्लिप्यन
शीय:-

4 द्वायफुलुरयाचर्राजस्म(स)मन्नराष्ट्रक्षमक्रिकाक्षितम(मू) || [४*] तत्स्वामिति काशि(शि)-
कुसिकोतरकोशकेन्द्रानामकानि परिपाल्यतामिहर्ष: [१*] हेमामञ्चलस्यवर्धनमिष(श)
ददता धीमन्यो

5 येता(ना) दित्रा कवमती शतत्तसुमिलः || [५*] तस्यामि जो मदनपाल इति
हितीस्मृद्धामणिविवजयते निजगोचरचन: || यस्याभिषेक(वे)कक्षोबल्लसिद(त:)
पयोभिः प्रक्षालित क-

6 टिराज़पलं घरिपत्यः || [६*] यस्यासीद्यज्ञप्राप्याणे(स)म[ैङ्गे] नुक्षाच्वलो(लो)
न्येकैंनल(ल)भाक्ष्णकुम्पमदकभास(स) मम अभ्रव्यन्त्यमहीमण्डके || चूँकारत्विभिभिन्तालुग्कित-

7 स्वामनाशं(तु)पुद्दासिदः वेशं पेयवसा(श)दिवः क्षणसी कोडे निलोकानः ||
[७*] तस्मादजातव निजायतना(वा)हुविल्लती(ली)व(व) लावनु(च) इनवराज्याजो
नरेषः || साण्डामुः

8 तद्वमुन्या प्रथमो गवं यो गोविन्दं इति चब्बर इवामुर्गरो: || [८*]
न कथमयोलभम रणणसामस्तिसुपु दिशु गजानन विजयः || कबुभि
ब्रम्हुमण्डलभ्यत्तम प्रतिभाता इव य-

9 [स्पय] धरानवजः || [९*] अश्चिति विजयचनो नाम तस्मादेनवेदः सुर्पातिरिक
मृतमप्रििष्ठ्यन्त्रवर्धवय:

10 [क्रन्त्याक्षरको(का)लिविसुं(सु)खालनि प्रस्वत्कृत्विकविविधस्समस्तब्रह्मा]नः ||
यस्य
विविधक्षमरमाणि माति प्रोक्षनपुर्नित्व(व)व विराजमयं यहांिति ||
[१०*] यविरमञ्चलस्युधिः

[1] The intended reading is prajýrambhayánti as read by Kielhorn in the Benares Sanskrit College plate of
Jayachandra (Ind. Ant., Vol. XVII, p. 130, text line 11) though the second letter is doubtful there. Cf.
also the Fyzabad plate of Jayachandra (ibid., Vol. XV, p. 11, text line 11).—Ed.]

22 प्रवत्तो मन्त्रा मन्त्रा यथादियमानभागमत्सानकरणम् (व) यकरमयवलिकाम् (स्व) तत्त्वार्थतिः नियतानिनितस्तम्भाया यात्यावादीयम् (व) दास्याषित ॥ ॥ अभवन्ति चाँ श्रोक्तः [1*]

23 भूमि यः द्रवितशः (लक्षणः) तद्वच भूमि प्रयज्ञित ॥ उभो तो प्रथममाणो नियंत्र स्वर्गाधिपतिः ॥ [१३*] सं(श)वः भावासन च ‘छ’(२)वः वराव्या वर्तवारणा ॥ भूमिनास्य विहानिः

24 फलमेतः सुरुद्वर ॥ [१४*] सत्त्वतान्त्वमाविनः पार्थिवेन्क्राण्यामृतो भूमि भूमीः यावते रामधीः ॥ सामायोऽसः (वः) घर्मसेवुपरिणामः काले काले पालनीयो मधुमः ॥ [१५*] अर्घ्यमेवः (शः) परिक्रियेण

25 यः कविचित्रपतिभेदः (कु) ॥ तस्वाहः दुस्मणयोऽपि (स्व) भाषाय न व्यतिकः भेदः ॥ [१६*] यः (व) हुमिवत्तुण्यास हृद्दता राजभिः संगादिबिभः ॥ ॥ यः (व) स्य यदा भूमिस्तवः तत्व तदा फलम् (सु) ॥ [१७*] गामे-

26 कां स्वर्णेषुके च भूमिपर्यक्रमवञ्च (सु) । हरेऽ(२) दर्कामान्तो यावदामु(सु)- तस्तःस्वयम् (वः) ॥ [१८*] तदागानां सत्त्वः प्रत्येकर्वलनं ॥ गावः कोटि- प्रदानान्तः भूमिहृतान् न सु (शः)-

27 ध्यतः ॥ [१९*] स्वर्त्तां परदतां वा सो हरेऽवसुयारः (रामः) । स विषाणोऽक्षमं भूमि मृत्त्वा भूमिः सह महजतः ॥ [२०*] पंडित वर्षसहस्राणि स्वयं वसति भूमिः । अश्वेतो चाणुमान्ता

28 च तालाव परके बासे तु ॥ [२१*] वार्धिनेविधाय यु (सु) (क)कोटीर्ववसनः [१*] कृष्णसप्तशष्ठ जावते देवशः (व) हुस्तव्याहारिः ॥ [२२*] सामी द्वारत्न पुरा नरेकृष्णणिः धर्मार्थः-

29 ब्रजार्जुणः । निर्मालेऽव्रातप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम सातुः पुरावदधिरात ॥ [२३*] वालाःस्वर्गाधिमवं वसुधाषिष्ठभागमानात्मकमुः विषयकोऽपि ॥ प्रणास्वप्ताः-

30 ब्रजलिखितः (वि) निश्चितवर्णानि धर्मं सक्ता परमहो परलोकताः ॥ [२४*] ॥

3 The word is redundant.—Ed.
3 Other records generally have kshetra.—Ed.
No. 36—NIMBAL PLATES OF KALACHURI SANKAMADEVA

(1 Plate)

M. K. DHAVALIKAR, AURANGABAD

(Received on 2.12.1959)

The set of plates was found while removing stones in S. Nos. 246 and 251 to the south-west of the Śāṅkarālinga temple at Nimbāḷ (Budruk) in the Indi Taluk of the Bijapur District of Mysore. It was in the possession of Shri B. G. Nadgouda Patil, the owner of the field, from whom it was obtained by Shri S. A. Sundara, Exploration Assistant, Department of Archaeology, South-Western Circle. It is published with the permission of the Superintendent of the Circle.

The plates are three in number. The first and third plates are inscribed only on the inner side while the second is inscribed on both the sides. There is a roundish hole (diameter 1") in the middle of the upper margin of each plate and the plates were held together by a circular ring soldered beneath a seal. The plates measure 91\(^{1/2}\)" in height, 51\(^{1/2}\)" in breadth and 1\(" in thickness and together weigh 129 tolas.

The characters belong to the Southern Nāgarī alphabet of about the 12th century A. D. and do not call for any special remarks. The language of the record is Sanskrit (with Kannada influence in some parts; cf. lines 52, 58) and, except the stanzas at the beginning, the impercative verses at the end (lines 69 to 82), and a stanza mentioning the writer (lines 82-84), it is written in prose. There are many orthographical errors in the text of the record.

After the invocatory stanza in praise of Śiva at the beginning, the record gives the genealogy of the Kalachuri kings, which is similar to that given in the Behatti\(^2\) and Kukkanur\(^3\) plates. But Bijjana's victory over the Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa, Vaṅga and Mālaḷa kings, which is described in the said plates, is absent in the present grant.

The inscription then records the grant of the village of Bobbulavaddhe, situated in Aṉkulaṅga-50 which formed a part of Tariṅga-kampana, made by king Sāṅkama II in favour of the temple of a certain deity at Nimbahura (i.e. modern Nimbāḷ) for repairs to the temple and the worship of the deity. The name of the deity is not clear from the grant as that particular portion is mutilated. Only the first letter kā can be read. The name may be Kūtisankaradeva, i.e. Śāṅkarālinga at Nimbāḷ. The grant was accepted by Nēgīśtriti apparently on behalf of the deity. The boundaries of the gift village have not been specified. The record mentions the name of the king's minister, Mallikārjuna. The charter was drawn up by Adityadeva who also caused the above-mentioned Behatti and Kukkanur plates. The record was written by Puṇḍita Gullaga while it was engraved by Pândaya who was also the engraver of the Behatti grant.

The date of the grant is given as Monday, the 5th of the bright half of the month of Mārgasīrsha in the cyclic year of Parābhavā. The nakṣatra was Bhaṛati (a mistake for Śravaṇa) and the yōga Vyātipāta. The date, which corresponds to the 17th November 1186.

1 The engraving of the record had originally been begun on the outer side of the third plate but was later given up.


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47 DGA/59
A.D., raises certain issues. We know from other inscriptions of Saṅkama II that he began to rule in 1177-78 A.D. and continued till 1182 A.D. as the latest inscription of his reign belongs to the fifth regnal year, while his younger brother Āhavamalla began to rule in 1182 A.D. to which his earliest inscriptions belong. But the present grant was made by Saṅkama in 1186 A.D. The problem cannot be solved in the present state of our knowledge.¹

Among the localities mentioned in the charter, Nimbahura is the Sanskritized form of Kannada Nimbahalla from which the present name Nimbāl has been derived. The village of Bobbula-vaddhe may be modern Bābāḍ, three miles west of Nimbāl. Aṅkulagō, the headquarters of a group of 50 villages in which the gift village was situated, may be the present Aṅkalgi in the Bijapur Taluk. The territorial division Tarikāja-kampana formed part of the ancient Kuntala country and roughly comprised the northern areas of the present Mysore State.

TEXT²

[Meters: Verses 1-6, 11-19, 21 Anushṭubh; verses 7-10 Śārvaṇākṛṣṇa; verse 20 Śālīni.]

First Plate

1 ॐ (Ⅰ) स्वस्ति (Ⅱ) नमः(ि)स्तुपशिरः(्र)स्त्रु(श्रु)-
2 वी(ि)चब्रामरचरे [Ⅰ*] खलोक्य-
3 नवराममूलस्तगभयो सं(श)भ-
4 वे [Ⅰ*] ब्रह्म क्षतियास्तानामाकरः सा-
5 ग्रामावितः कुलं कल्यात्यार्थं वि-
6 ख्यातं सुबनन्दः [Ⅰ २*] तदन्वायो(वे)
7 [र]जाम्भु[श्रृ] क्रणः क्रण [३]वपरः १ गः-
8 वि बालस्य चरितं(ि)प्रमूखं यस्य गृḥ-
9 यस्य [Ⅰ ३*] स [जो]गममही≡[त] [कालं वे]-
10 रिमहीयुज्यु[श्रृ] [Ⅰ(ि)] वीरविकर्महस्य(ि) पा-
11 त्रं पुष्मद्वी(ि) जननु(ित) [१०] दायस्यजल-

¹ [The author's statement regarding the reign period of Saṅkama and the beginning of the rule of Āhavamalla are inaccurate. Fleet assigns Saṅkama's rule to 1177-80 A.D. (Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, Part ii, pp. 486 ff.) and P. B. Desai to 1175-80 A.D. (Karnātalaka Kalathuriga, 1951, pp. 54-55). Epigraphic evidence on the subject is rather confusing. The genuineness of the grant published here is not beyond doubt.—Ed.]

² From the original plates.

*Expressed by symbol.
भार [न] रिमुनज्यु[ः]*[[धिता]]ज्युकनिप* [१०] संविक्षे न ध-

नान भान न ददो कि दानभी(भी)जे म-

शेष: कैरामी गुणरसरोहायानिरिं: [शी]-

विजु(उः)णामापति: [११ ३०] सत्तावालरनासूरं] नूद-

मुकुलवध(स्ना)वैशिपु(ढूः)सुजा(जां) हस्ताभोज-

तत्तीव(जे)गढ़वलु(ूः)सावे(नयाः) स्वामोड़सा ।

[सवीवाहरु]ढूःपोलिनिदि(ढि)तथापाद-

[र्भुरोप्यो]स(रा)जाः* सोम उदेत्कल्यानि-

[विरित]: पुरुष फुर्तम(सः)हल: [११ ८०] वातां केव रणो-

[लस्वरु] निजुज्यु भीरोवे भेरवे । जूह्ये-

[ढूः डुब्बहार्]हेत: (रे)रवि ऋ(ढूः)तस्ये: कि(कौ)लकोला-

हाले]: *१०] यव[१४]जालु त(न) बुढू* इति राव: का देश-

कोः(सा)वाज: केंश वा न बनियांति रम हुद-

यु मुखिनिमीहुसां(ढूः)शाम। [१२०] यव्य च शत्यविशा-

संविक्षे: [१०] हेलाहरिशि(ढि)नातामारम-

रिला दीर्गी यदद(ढो) दिसा चुल्लाव(स्वा)मुकुल-

राहुत: परस्वलो(ढे)ला यददो नगा: ।

तत्ताद(ढूः)प्र(श्री)पुराजनी(वी)जद्दममस्वान-

[ब्ल्याफ्ल्याहिनि(श्री)जानिल(रे) यदि ले(श्री)प एष [ढूः]

1 The 'ः' is unnecessary.
Second Plate: Second Side

41 स्थिति यत्रा (ल्या) गेन न मेद उपलब्धवेओ (ते) [II 11*] कस्य तः
42 तु (न) नैव तत्कथा तेजः मु (शु)चि इ दिम्भु-
43 नेत(ते): [II 12*] कि नाम विवर्चिताः [II 11*] मु (शु)येते रो (रा)ज-
44 खुंजर: । नित्यप्रव (तृ) तदातो (नो)चि नैति यो मतत-
45 वात्स्य (वश्य) तां (ताम) [II 13*] स हि सहजसांक (क) मिकोभयतु- ।
46 णायनम् हरिराममाभ्रेव [जित] प्रश-
47 जानुरागंध्रोदयोर्लि (ल्ला) सन[रंत]र-
48 परिवद (द्र) माम (न) सामवाध्यसा- -
49 मुख्यवस्तुवहर्स्विविलमुखासि-
50 [क] समयमनप्रसंगभीरिरित्सके-
51 निन्द्व (क) लंकवनृचकऽ (हं) हाराजः [विरा] जः [कः]
52 लंकवनमेव: निन्द्व (क) हुरद श्री (श्री)को - - [श्वर] ।
53 स्य चिरंतन्त्रतिष्ठ (फिष) तस्य पूजायथे] प्रवत (वृत्ते)-
54 मु(शु) गृह्वेतिपु विमातानहनेण देवस्य अः
55 गभोरंभोगलंसकृतज्ञोगित्वाह्र
56 राजेन्द्रांतुत तारिकाकरणं अंकुशं एव-
57 सरमध्यमोन्वतं घुलबतेनाधवर्ग(य) पुनर्य-
58 नस्य पराभवसंवस्वर भागः [विष] राणु (शु) पुर्व- ।
59 चमि (म्या) सोमवार (र) भरण (षो) नवत्वतती [पा] तपो-

1 The dasa is unnecessary.
2 [The akshara is redundant.—Ed.]
3 [The intended reading may be sāgara-samuthila.—Ed.]
4 [The intended reading is apparently Kōśilingōvra.—Ed.]
NIMBAL PLATES OF KALACHURI SANKAMADEVA

ii, a

Scale: Two-thirds
NIMBAL PLATES OF KALACHURI SANKAMADEVA

60 गयुक्तायां(वा) मन्मुगुली (वि) प्रेक्षणीयं मर्वनरम्यं कः

61 त्वा म्या विविधक्षेत्र नामितिः प्रत्येकक्रमः हसे धारा

62 पु(पु) बङ्क प्रविकतार रवं . . [प्रथान ?] मल्लकार्जुनप्रमितमति

63 . . . देवि संगमदेवो दलतो(वा) नवै . .

Third Plate

64 [प्रस्य च] धम्ममंर्ग रक्षण [फल] मिति महात्मकाः

65 [प्राम्पुरस्त्र (कित) पोम्भिम्ताशाकाक्तस्य-

66 [लथ] म्यांगताणो मसंवं (हः) यः. . . हसे धारा-

67 मुहा [शु] ज्ञान रजभिः (भिः) सरारितिः. . . यस्य यस्व य

68 स्य यदा भूमि। तस्य तस्य तदा फलि(स्य) भुमि।. [१४*] गणयं

69 पांसचो भूमि। गणये बृहस्ति (विः) दव: [१*] न गणये तिः-

70 धारिपि धम्ममंर्गस्य्य समा (स्य) भुमि। [१५*] अध्यादेव. म-

71 मृत्युस्य च फलान्तरमये तं एवं फलाः महाइनाः

72 [सिपु: इ] स्वदलो (ताः) प्रवत्तानां (ताः वा) यो ध (ह) रेत वसु

73 बरो (रामृ) [पु.सन्ति] रीरं (प्र) सहस्रा (स्य) भि (वि) ह्या (र्हा) यां जायते कृ-

74 [भिः] इ. [१६*] कुलनि (विः) ताराए (वे) तकाः सपत सपत [च]

75 [सपत च] [अर्जुन: पानादा (वे) ह(ह) ताः सपत सपत च सपत

76 च इ. [१७*] [प्रा (गा) मेका] रात (विः) कामकां सूमेरस्येयकंगु

77 लं (लम्) [हर्ष रक्षामन्तरित यावदा (मु) तस्य स्यं (स्यं) [।। १८*]

1 [Two letters damaged here look like लायम्—Ed.]
2 [The reading seems too be Kunkumadēvi—the Sankhamātēravatvamāt. Kunkumadēvi was apparently a queen of Sankama.—Ed.]
3 Some letters are lost here.
4 The danda is unnecessary.
5 Read mahāmālā or mahāmālāḥ.—Ed.
6 Θο: Read ᵃθάμισι—.
7 Read bāmēr —.

47 DGA/59
78 कम्भं नन्दा बाचा यः समर्थोपेये पिश(क)ते ॥
79 स [स्या]सदेव चांडार्ला सावधर्मं(ब)दिह्क(ष्ठ)तः ॥ [१९*]
80 सामान्यो मध्येन्तु(तु)तृ(अ)पाणं काले काले पा- ॥
81 लनी[यो] भविः ॥ सर्विनित्याविनः पार्थिः ॥
82 [ब्र्ह्म]वर्तु*] भूमी भूमि याचते रामचंद्रः ॥ [२०*] शरीतव्यः
83 लक्ष्मिनान्त(भ)विष्णु(स्थ्री)पादसेविना [१*] रवि(चिर)ता-
84 दिश्य[वेन] स(वे)यं सा(गा)मनन्दति ॥ [२१*] क्रितरिः
85 य विश्वविद्याध्यात्माः श्री(श्री)मदादिः
86 भ(व)वेन [१*] लिखित परिवर्तोत्सन ॥ उकि-
87 रिपं वितापिन्यझेण [१*] मंगलमहा(श्रीः)ही ॥

1 [Read देमाणा.—Ed.].
2 Read देश्यानं.
3 On the back of the plate there are three lines of writing. As indicated above, the engraving of the document was originally begun there.
No. 37—PANDIAPATHAR PLATES OF BHIMASENA, YEAR 89

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 5.11.1959)

Pandit S. N. Rajaguru published this inscription in the *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. VI, Parts II-III (July and October 1957), pp. 97-102 and Plates. He is stated to have received the plates for study from Pandit Ananta Tripathi of Berhampore in the Ganjam District of Orissa and the record is reported to have been discovered at the village of Pandiapatthar about six miles to the north-east of Aska in the same District. As Pandit Rajaguru's treatment of the inscription did not appear to be quite satisfactory, I was eager to examine the original plates which I received from Pandit Tripathi in October 1959 for study and return. It was indeed the kind help of Dr. H. K. Mahtab, Chief Minister of Orissa, that enabled me to secure the inscription for examination and I am extremely thankful to him.

The inscription is written on three plates, of which the first and third are engraved on the inner side and the second on both the sides. There are twenty-eight lines of writing, each inscribed face of the plates containing seven lines. The plates measure each about 7 1/2 inches in length and 3 1/2 inches in height. There is a hole (a little below 1/2 inch in diameter) about the middle of the left half of the three plates and the seal ring (about 1 inch in thickness and 3 inches in diameter) holding the plates together passes through it. The said hole has been made at the space left out on each plate at the time of engraving. Before this hole was bored, another hole was bored through mistake elsewhere in each of the three plates after the engraving had been completed. Thus there is a hole in the lower part of the third plate (cutting off an akshara in line 27) while a hole each was bored originally at the corresponding place in the first and second plates (affecting two aksharas in line 7 on Plate I and one akshara in line 9 and two in lines 20-21 on Plate II) although, in the case of Plates I and II, the circular pieces of metal removed by the boring instrument were replaced and soldered soon after the mistake had been detected. The piece of metal similarly removed from the third plate was evidently refixed at its place; but it is now lost though the marks of soldering are quite clear. The circular seal soldered to the joint of the ring is 1 1/16 inches in diameter and is much corroded. Its counter-sunk surface bears the sun and crescent symbols above an animal which looks like a bear to right. There is another symbol looking like a conch-shell above the head of the animal. The weight of the three plates together is 56 1/2 tolas and that of the seal and the ring 13 1/4 tolas.

The characters of the inscription belong to the East Indian alphabet of about the tenth century A.D. and may be compared with those of such other contemporary epigraphs of the Ganjam region as the Madras Museum plates of the time of Narëndravallabha, which have been assigned to the third quarter of the same century. However, on a careful examination of the palaeography of the record under study with that of the said Madras Museum plates, it is found that letters like े, ख, ज, ध and ध exhibit somewhat more developed forms in the latter epigraph. Thus our record may be assigned on palaeographical grounds to the first half of the tenth century and this, as will be seen below, is supported by the date quoted in the inscription.

* Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 44 ff. and Plate.
The palaeography of the inscription is characterised by the use of several forms of the same sign in some cases. Thus final ṭ has three different forms, viz. the Bengali type in lines 9 and 20, the Devanāgarī type in lines 15 and 16 and a form akin to the Bengali type in line 1. Similarly, two different forms of the visarga sign have been used in line 7. The sign for upadhmānīya used in line 24 looks like that of sh. For two types of the medial sign of u, see gurō in line 1 and kētu in line 2. A stroke added to the latter type of medial u as well as to initial u, was regarded by us as merely ornamental while editing the Madras Museum plates of the time of Narēndradhāvala. It cannot possibly be regarded as indicating a sign for ū even though in a few cases the stroke is absent in our record (cf. nu thrice in lines 12-13). In some cases, p and y are indistinguishable. The initial vowels a (lines 11, 26), ā (line 22), ī (lines 23, 25), ū (line 17) and ē (line 10) occur in the inscription. Final u occurs in line 9. B has been written by the sign for t.

The language of the record is corrupt Sanskrit, although it is not so corrupt as in the Madras Museum plates referred to above. Since the letters are carefully engraved, the errors would appear to be due to the writer of the document. But there are many letters re-engraved on erasures of what was wrongly incised previously and the engraver was no doubt responsible for them. The orthography is also characterised by numerous errors. A consonant has sometimes been redoubled after r and amavāsā has been changed to the guttural nasal before ś. The word pala has been written as pla as in some other early Orissan records as the Madras Museum plates.

The date of the grant is quoted in lines 25-26 as the second tithi of the dark half of Māgha in the year 89. Considering the palaeography of the inscription, this year can be referred only to the Bhauma-Kara era of 831 A.D.1 Year 89 would thus correspond to 919 A.D., a date which would place our record a few decades earlier than the Madras Museum plates of the time of Narēndradhāvala, and this is in complete accord with the palaeography of the two epigraphs. Lines 13-14 show that the grant was made on the occasion of the Vishuva-sankranti. It may be pointed out in this connection that Pandit Rajaguru reads the passage Samvat 89 as Samra 189. But what he has read as I looks more like ta without a top mātrā (cf. final t in line 15) and also the figure for 7 in line 14.2 Moreover, the palaeography of our inscription shows that it is earlier than records like the Daspalla plates3 of the Bhauma-Kara years 184 and 198. It is also difficult to believe that the figures I and 7 would have been written by the same sign by the same writer without noticing that it would lead to an avoidable confusion. If the reading Samra 789 is preferred, the year 789 may be referred to the Śaka era so that the date would be 867 A.D. But the use of the Śaka era was not popular in the area before the tenth century. The palaeography of our record also seems to suggest a somewhat later date.

The record begins with the Siddham symbol followed by the auspicious word svasti. Next comes the reference to Bhimapura whence the charter was issued. The donor of the grant, viz. Mahānājīdhārīja Paramēśvara Bhimasēna of the Nala dynasty, is then introduced as a devout worshipper of the god Mahēśvara (Śiva) and as devoted to the god Yamalīṅgēśvara, apparently Śiva in the form of a Linga which was probably the family deity of the king. The kingdom of Bhimasēna is apparently mentioned in this section as Khṛḍiraśrīga-maṇḍala. It is interesting to note that the draft of the said introductory part of our inscription was adapted from the introductory section of the documents of the Gaṅga rulers of Śvēta.4 While this fact associates

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1 See ibid., Vol. XXIX, p. 191, note 2.
2 The same figure read by us as I in line 6 of the Madras Museum plates of the time of Narēndradhāvala may really be 7.
3 Above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 143 ff. and Plates.
4 See ibid., Vol. XXIII, pp. 262, 264, 266, 268; Vol. XXIV, p. 134; Vol. XXVI, p. 168; etc.
king Bhimasena with the said Gaṅga house, the dating of his grant in a year of the Bhauma-Kara era connects him with the Bhauma-Kara kings of Guhāvara-pāṭṭaka or Guhadēva-pāṭṭaka near modern Jāipur in the Cuttack District. Bhimapura, probably founded by and named after Bhimasena, seems to have been the capital of the said ruler.

The royal order in respect of the grant was addressed to the Brāhmaṇas, the feudatory chiefs and the people of the district including the Rāṣṭrākāṭa (officer in charge of an administrative unit called rāṣṭra), the Bṛihadādhūpin (big jāgirdār) and the Bhūgin (smaller jāgirdār) with reference to a district called Kamaṇḍula-pāṭṭa. The gift village was Kūrmatalā-grāma situated in the said district. The donor was a Brāhmaṇa by name Bhūṭṭa Pājūni, who was the son of Ādityadēva and grandson of Agnisvāmin and belonged to the Kāśyapa gōtra and the Kāśyapa. Āvatsāra and Naidhrivva pravaras. That the gift land was granted in favour of Pājūni has been mentioned in two consecutive sentences, the second of which gives the details about his family and ancestry. A passage in line 14 shows that the donor had to pay a kind of rent of seven palas of silver apparently per annum. The inscription thus records a kara-sāsana, several of which have been discussed by us elsewhere.³ It is interesting to note that, although the grant made was permanent, it is not stated that the gift village was made rent-free.

Line 17 assigns some of the usual imprecatory stanzas quoted in lines 17-25 to the Dharmasāstra and also wrongly to Mānivina, i.e. the Dharma-sāstra of Manu. The date, already discussed above, is quoted in lines 25-26. It is followed by the statements to the effect that the charter was drawn up by Śāndhivigrāhika (minister for war and peace) Arkadēva and engraved by a person whose name appears to have been Sāmantāka. Vagū Vanasimihā endowed the original document with the royal seal. Vagū is no doubt a contraction of Vāgulika or Vāgulika indicating the bearer of the king’s betel-box.²

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it reveals the existence of a new king of a new dynasty in Orissa about the tenth century A. D. Several earlier kings of the Nala dynasty are known to have ruled in the Chhattisgarh and Bastar regions of Mādiya Pradesh.³ But Bhimasena of the Ganjam area is the only member of the family so far known to have ruled in Orissa. The use of the Bhauma-Kara era side by side with imperial titles and the absence of the king’s father’s name in the inscription under study suggest that Bhimasena was originally ruling over the Khiḍdīraśīṅga district as a feudatory of the Bhauma-Karas and that he succeeded in throwing off the yoke of his overlords and ruled independently for a short time when the present charter was issued. Khiḍdīraśīṅga seems to be identical with Khiḍdīrasingha of the Madras Museum plates of the time of Narāṇḍradhavala who was ruling over the district about the third quarter of the tenth century, i.e. a few decades after Bhimasena. The Nala family thus seems to have been ousted from the area by the dynasty of the Dhavalas who also appear to have owed allegiance to the Bhauma-Karas.

Among the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Khiḍdīraśīṅga has to be identified with the former Khiḍdishingy Zamindari which had its headquarters at Dhārakōṭa and lay to the south of Bodaguda and to the west of Goomsar.¹ The gift village called Kūrmatalā-grāma and the district of Kamaṇḍula-pāṭṭa in which it was situated cannot be identified. Bhimapura also cannot be identified, though Rajaguru identifies it with the modern Bhimāmag in Survey of India Sheet No. 74 [A] 11. The word pāṭṭa used to indicate a district reminds us of Oriya dānda-pāṭṭa found in later records and pattā found in many cases elsewhere.

² Cf. Bhandarkar’s List, Nos. 1497, 1500, 1502.
First Plate

1 Siddham svasti [†] Bhimapurāt bhagavata-śar-ārṣa-ṣura[ṛ] sa-ka[la]s-āśā[kā]-
śekha.

2 ra-dharmyā(eya) sthityotpati⁴-pralaya-kāraṇa-hētu-śrī-ṛṣya(Ya)māṅgēvara-bhāṭṭā-

3 rakṣaya charaṇa-kamal-ārādhana-āvya(vā)p[t]a-puṇya-nīchā(yah⁵) sa(sva)-śakti-sus(traya)-
praka-

4 sha(rehai)r-anuraṇjī-t-āēśha-sāṁanta-chakra[ḥ⁶] sva-bhuja-v(sa)la-parākram-ākrā-

5 nta-sakala-Khīḍḍhārṇīṅga-māṇḍalājīvē parapa(ma)māhēsvarō mātā-

6 pitṛ-pād-ānudhyāta[ḥ⁶] Nala-vānā(vamā-ō)dbhava[ḥ⁶] kula-kamal-ā[la]jākāra-bhu-
(bhū)tō mahārā-

7 jādhirāja-paramēsvara⁴-śrī-Bhimasēnādevaḥ kuṣaliḥ(lī) Kama[n]ḍula⁻⁷

Second Plate, First Side

8 pāṭṭa⁸ rvṛā(Brā)hmaṇa-pu(pū)rvvā[n⁹] sāmanta-ādinaṁ⁹ rāṣṭ[r]ajuk(kū)ṣa-vṛ[di]had-
bhōgi-bhōgi-

9 p[ṛ]amukhān yathā-nivāsino vishaya-janapādāḥ¹⁰ sā(sa)mādiśati chānyat

10 vidit(dita)m-astū(stu) bhavatāḥ(tām) śātvivihaya¹¹-samva(mba)ddha-Ku[Kū]ṛmataḷā-
grāmō-yaṁ [[⁵²] bhā(bha)ṭṭa-


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1 From the original plates.
2 Expressed by symbol.
3 Read Bhimapurāt. Ma or mu was originally written for pu.
4 Read sthity-uptatti.
5 Read māṇḍala-rājāṃ.
6 The aśekhas āvara are affected by the marks of a hole originally bored.
7 The supercript of sda is written on the marks of a previously engraved letter and is really unrecognisable.
8 The name reminds us of the Sanskrit word kamanḍulā.
9 Read pāṭṭe or pattē.
10 Read pāṭāṃ.
11 Read samva. The letter ṝ is affected by the marks of a hole which had been first bored and then repaired.
12 Read śātvivahaya.
13 The dosas are superfluous.
14 Better read Pāṣṇagī. The letter p is written on a which had been previously engraved. Ju was originally
    vedi for jā.
15 Read prasūḍdhī.".
16 Read Agnisūmi-suṣ-Ā".
No. 37] PANDIAPATHAR PLATES OF BHIMASENA, YEAR 89

12 vasya śuta-bhā(bha)ṭṭa-(Pājūna) K[ā]shapa-gōtrāy-Āvachhanupravarav Nōdrīvavachhā-  

13 nu-anupvararāḥ mātā-pitrār-āt[nyan(tmana)-scha pumy-ābhīr[ṛi](vṛ)iddhayē Viṣṇu(shu)-  

14 va-sāṅkrāntyāḥ(nṭyāṁ) ru(rū)pya-plāni septa 7 ka[chehnikrita] salīla-dhārā-purassa-

Second Plate, Second Side

15 rēga chantrā(nā-ā)kkā-sthityā pratipādītāh-smābhīr-yatatkālah kāl-āntarēna(ṇa)

16 kau(kā)jchid-asmād-uparādhi-dharmma-gūgauravāt na cheha(chaa) vyā(vāj)dhā kara

17 cha paṭhyatē Mānnavīyē utamī-cha dharmma-sāstrō ma[...]

18 s=Sagār-āḍībhūr[ya(ḥ)] ya(ya)dyā yadā bhū(bhū)mis-tasya tasya tadā

19 phalām(lam) Sva-datā(ttā)ms-paratāmva vō harēḥ-vasūndhār[i]n [\

20 pitṛbhīsa-sahā pachyaṭē Mā bhut phala[...]-vā[...]

21 svā-dānātūpā(t=pha)lam=añantya[n] para-datt-āṇupālann[ ...]

[Notes and footnotes]

1 Read śuta or better śār'suṭ. Originally bha seems to have been incised in place of bh.
2 Read Pājūnya. The name is written on an erasure.
3 Read Kāśapa.
4 The intended reading is Avatārā-anupararāja Nāḍikrū, latā-anupararāja. Better read Avatārā-
apararāja Nāḍikrū-anupararāja.
5 Sanskrit polūn.
6 These letters are written on an erasure. The intended reading may be anānītya or svaīrtiṣya. The akṣara ka at the beginning of the expression seems to be engraved on a originally incised.
7 The akṣara lak is written on ka which had been previously engraved. The intended reading is yār-tat-
kāl-āntarāna.
8 Read ukan-cha.
9 Read Bahuḥbī.
10 Read datāḥ vā.
11 Read harēḥ vasūndhāro for the sake of the metre.
12 Read Ṛ= bbc. Sūdā seems to have been engraved on bhāḥ previously incised.
13 Read bhūdera-phaṭa.
14 The lower part of this akṣara and the upper part of is below in the following line are affected by the marks of a hole to which reference has been made.
15 Read polonē. A par;āya sign appears to have been unnecessarily engraved after maṅ.
16 The akṣara is redundant.

DGA/59
Third Plate

22 svargē mōdāti bhūmidāh \(1\) ākṣhēpta ch-ānumantā cha tāṇai(ny-ē)vā nara-

23 kamvajētiḥ \(1\) Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vindu-llō(lō)lā[m*] śriyam(ya)m=anu-
  . chintya ma-

24 nushya-jītvitam [cha \(1\) sakalam=idam=udāhārita vudhvā* na hi purushaiḥ-pa-

25 ra-ki(li)rittayō vilōpyā iti || Samvat\* 89 Māgha-vadi

26 duti\* sāsa\* nirvartitaḥ(tam) | ta[\*]-likhitam sāndhivigrāhi[ka*]-ērī*-A-

27 rkaḍēvēṇa(na |) utki(tkti)raṇaḥ=cha Sāma[nṭākō]pa(na |) lāḥchhi(tam cha*)
  Vāgu[li*]t\*-

28 Vaṇasāṅghaṇa* ||10

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1 Read "kami orajel. The visarga mark before the dasa may also be regarded as a part of the mark of punctuation.
2 Read "udāhāritascha buddhāvā.
3 Read vilōpyāḥ \(\text{iti}|| \text{Samvat}.
4 Read dvītyayāśeḥ.
5 Read śārāmaneḥ.
6 An ākṣara looking like \(\text{ka} \) was originally engraved in place of īrī. Sandhi has not been observed here.
7 Originally \(\text{ma} \) or \(\text{nā} \) was written in place of \(\text{ma}. \) The following ākṣara is cut off by the hole to which reference has been made above. The intended name seems to be Sāmantaḥ. After having incised the first ākṣara of the name, the engraver forgot the second ākṣara and incised the third which was however immediately corrected.
8 This is sometimes found in the records of the Ganjam area as Vāgulika and Vāgulika.
9 Read "pambhikāra.
10 The punctuation is indicated by a visarga-like sign followed by a Sūdham symbol.
No 38—BANAVASI INSCRIPTION OF VINHUKADA Satakanni, YEAR 12

(1 Plate)

G. S. GAI, OOTACUMUND

(Received on 2.12.1950)

This well-known inscription was discovered by J. Burgess as early as 1879-80 at Banavasi, a village about 15 miles southeast of Sirsi, the headquarters of the Taluk of that name in the North Kanara District of Mysore. The record is engraved on the two edges of a large slate slab bearing a beautiful representation of a five-headed cobra. The slab is fixed into a niche in the courtyard of the Madhukēvara temple. The inscription consists of three lines, the first line being on the left margin of the slab from top to bottom and the others on the right margin.

The epigraph was first published by Bhagwanlal Indrajii who read the text as follows:

1. Sidham Raño Hāriti-putas Vinhukādaṭuṭukulānarāda-Sātakānisa vasa-satāya sava-
   chharaṁ 12 Hemarātāna pakha 7 divasa 1 mahābhūviya mahārāja-[hālīkāya jiva-puta-

2. [bhā]jāya sa-kumā[rāya] Sivakhaḍanāgāsiriya deyadarānā nāgo taḍāgaṁ vihāro cha [[\*]
   etha[\*] kamatiko amacho Khadasātīsa [[\*] Jayantaṅaka achariyasa [putasa]

3. Damorakasa sisena Naṭakena nāgo kato [[\*]

Indrajii thought that a letter was broken away at the beginning of the second line, perhaps two more a little way down and some at the end of the same line which he restored in square brackets. Burgess, in an editorial note, observed that the letters in the second line read as "go saku" and Sirukhadana may also be read somewhat differently. The translation of the record given by Indrajii runs: “To the Perfect! In the year 12 of the century, the king (being) Hāri-

tiputa Sātakāni, the cherisher of the Vehnukaḍaṭu family, the 7th fortnight of the winter

months, 1st day, the meritorious gift of the Mahābhūvi (Mahābhōjī), the king's daughter,

Sivakhandanāgāsiri, wife of Jivaputa, with her son — of a Nāga, a tank and a vihāra. These

three works by the prime minister Khadasāti. Naṭaka, the disciple of Damoraka and son of the

Āchārya Jayantaka, made the Nāga.”

Bührer who re-edited the inscription suggested the reading vīsa-satāya (for vasa-satāya) standing for Sanskrit vīṣā-satāyāḥ, "of the rule of the universe or universal sovereignty", although later he adopted the reading vasa-satāya and interpreted it as Sanskrit vāsa-satāyāḥ, "of the existence of the rule". At the beginning of the second line, he supplied the letter pa instead of bhā suggested by Indrajii, and took the whole compound as jivaputa-paṭāya, remarking that the u-stroke of gu was due to a scratch and hence accidental. He read the next three letters as sa-

1 Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India, 1881, pp. 100-01.
2 Macror over e and o has not been used in this article.
3 Ibid., p. 100, note 2.
4 Ibid., p. 100.
5 Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, pp. 331-34.
6 Above. Vol. I, p. 96. According to Fleet vasa-satāya stands for vārsha-satāyāḥ, "of the year-existence, i.e. of the continuance for one year more" (JRAS, 1905, pp. 304-05). [In our opinion, these interpretations of the expression are wrong. See below, p. 241, note 1. — Ed.]

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únda... or sama. standing for Sanskrit sakumá and accepted Indraji's restoration of the next two letters as rāya, so that the word would be sakumārāya. Thus the gift portion was translated by him as 'the image of a Nāga, a tank and a monastery (are) the meritorious gift of the Mahābhogi Sivakhandanāgāsiri (Śivaskandanaṅgāsiri), the daughter of the great king,—of her whose son and (other) progeny is living, (and) who is associated (in this donation) with her son'.

With regard to the sentence etha kumārī, etc., Bühler, besides interpreting kumārī in a different sense, stops with Khadasāti, taking it as a nominative singular and connecting the following so with jayatākasa, and interprets Sajayatāka as 'an inhabitant of Sānjayanti'. According to him, only one letter could have been lost at the end of the second line, and taking this lost letter to be i, he read the name in question as Idamoraka. He translated the last two sentences as 'with respect to these (gifts) the minister Khadasāti (Skandasvāti) (was) the superintendent of the work. The Nāga has been made by Natakā (Nartaka), the pupil of the Āchārya [Idamoraka (Indramayūra) of the town of Sānjayanti.'

While Indraji and Bühler took Śivaskandanaṅgāsiri as the donatrix and the king's daughter, Rapson thought that the name refers to the prince and that the name of the donatrix is not mentioned in the record, she being only stated to have been the daughter of the great king who was associated in the donation with the prince. He also read the name of the family as Chutu instead of Chutu and identified the unnamed donatrix with Nāgamūnākā of the Kanheri inscription, who is stated to have been the daughter of the great king and the mother of Skandanāgāstakā, and attributed the latter record to king Vinukada-Chutukulananda Sātakārī. He further identified the said king with his namesake mentioned in the Majavalli inscription. According to him, Śivaskandanaṅgāsiri of the present record, Skandanāgāstakā of the Kanheri epigraph and Śivaskandavarman mentioned in the Majavalli inscription were identical.

Lüders also regarded Śivaskandanaṅgāsiri as the prince whose mother's name is not given in the record. The same view has been adopted by N. Lakshminarayan Rao and R. S. Panchamukhi who accept the identification of king Vinukada-Chutukulananda Sātakārī of the present inscription with his namesake mentioned in the Majavalli record. D. C. Sircar who also follows Rapson in regarding Śivaskandanaṅgāsiri as a prince, however, is doubtful about the ascription of the Kanheri inscription to the king mentioned in the Banavasi epigraph and thinks that from the palaeographical and linguistic points of view, the kings mentioned in the latter record and the Majavalli inscription should be regarded as different. In his opinion, the identification of Śivaskandanaṅgāsiri, Skandanāgāstakā and Śivaskandavarman, suggested by Rapson, cannot be accepted.

I had an opportunity to study the record in situ in 1947-48 and recently again studied it from impressions preserved in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India in its collection for the year 1935-36. My suggestions regarding the reading and interpretation of the inscription are offered below.

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1 This word means here, according to Bühler, 'master-mason'.
2 Catalogue of Indian Coins, p. liii, No. 25.
3 ASWI, Vol. V, p. 86.
5 Cf. List of Brāhmī Inscriptions, No. 1186.
6 Karnāṭakā Astraṇamānōrājapu, p. 3.
7 The Successors of the Śākṭakaras, pp. 221-23 ; The Age of Imperial Unity, pp. 208-09.
As regards the reading vasa-satāya or visa-satāya in line 1, our impression shows clear traces of the sign for i over v, so that the letter is vi. Thus Bühler's earlier reading visa-satāya for Sanskrit vīśa-satāyaḥ, 'of the universal sovereignty', is correct.¹ Both Indraji and Bühler thought that the first line ended with the letter ta. But it is certainly tā in our impressions and it is also followed by another letter, the traces of which show that it can be read as ya. Thus the last word of the first line should be read as jīvaputāya, 'of one whose sons are living'.

We do not think that any letters have been lost at the beginning of the second line as supposed by Indraji and Bühler. Their view that the medial sign for u in yu is an accidental scratch does not seem to be correct. We propose to read this letter as yu which, in our opinion, is the first letter of the second line. The next letter can be read as ra which is followed by rā, the lower part of which is very faintly preserved. The letter following rā is clearly ja. It will thus be seen that what Bühler read as saū or sao consists of three letters vara, the whole word being yuvārāja.² After ja, the letter mā was rightly suggested by Indraji and Bühler though only faint traces of the letter are seen in our impression. The next two letters which are completely damaged may be restored as tuya instead of rōya as proposed by Indraji and Bühler. The restoration suggested here suits the context very well and the whole compound can be taken as yuvārāja-mātuyā, 'of the mother of the heir-apparent'.

If the readings and interpretation suggested above are accepted, then it would be clear that Śivakandananāgarī would be the name of the donatrix who was the king's daughter. She was also the mother of the yuvārāja whose name is not given in the record. It appears that the king nominated her daughter's son as Yuvārāja.

The only geographical name in the record, viz. Sajayata (Saṁjayantī), has been identified with Banavāsī, the findspot of the inscription, which was also known as Jayantī and Vaijayantī.³ The text, with the suggested readings, is given below.

**TEXT**


¹ [The impressions show that the i-mātra in the akṣara vi, which had been originally engraved, was later rubbed off. There is little doubt that visa-satāya stands for Sanskrit varaha-satāya and indicates that the pious act recorded in the inscription was performed for a hundred years' life of the king. Cf. varaha-sahāraya used in praying for the long life of a pious deed in some records (Select Inscriptions, p. 174, text line 15; p. 181, text line 2; etc.). For varaha-satāya in other records, see below, Vol. XXXV, p. 3, text line 3.—Ed.]

² [Traces on the impressions appear to suggest that the name of the Yuvārāja in two or three letters (cf. the name of Maṇgi-yuvāraḥ of the Eastern Chālukya family) is rubbed off at the beginning of the line. —Ed.]

³ Cf. SII, Vol. XI, Part II, No. 141; above, Vol. VI, pp. 12 ff. A place called Saṁjaya pura, which is mentioned along with Vasavāsā in an inscription from Nāgarjunakonda has been identified with Saṁjayantīgarī of the Maḥābhārata (II, 31, 70) and with Saṁjay in the Thana District of Bombay State (above, p. 199). This is not impossible, though the identification of Saṁjayantī with Banavāsī appears to be more probable. See also The Successors of the Sktavāhanas, pp. 220-21.

* From impressions.
* Bühler reads this letter as du.
* Bühler: Sāṭakṣaṁśa.

⁴ [See above, note 1.—Ed.]
2 yuva[rājja]-[mātuya] S[iva] khadanāgasirīya deyadharīma[m] nāgo tadāgāṃ vibāro cha [I].
etha kamatiko amacho Khadasāti [*] Sajayatakasa achariyasa [I].

3 [damorakasa] sisena Naṭakana nāgo kato [I].

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1 Bühler reads two letters before this as poja and corrects the word into pojāya. Indrāji restores it as ākā-
jaśa.
2 In place of *varāja, Bühler reads saśi or saio while Indrāji reads saśu.
3 Traces of m can be seen on the impressions. Indrāji and Bühler restore the last two letters as rāya.
4 Bühler reads these two letters as Sāja and corrects into Sīca.
5 The vowel e looks more like eh.
6 Bühler reads an awara above ma.
7 The restoration of the letter is due to Bühler.
No. 39—SOME INSCRIPTIONS FROM U.P.

(4 Plates)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

(Received on 10.12.1959)

In October 1959, I copied a number of small inscriptions in several areas of U. P. A few of them reveal the existence of a hitherto unknown ruler or indicate the extension of the territory of a little-known king. But the majority of the inscriptions, especially those copied by me at Sondha in the Allahabad District and Jagdav in the Almora District, are pilgrims' records of the type of the epigraphs at Devaprayag in the Tehri Garhwal District of U. P, which were edited sometime ago in the pages of this journal. Some of the inscriptions I copied are published in this article.

In connection with the pilgrims' records included in the present paper, it may be pointed out that they are all later than the Devaprayag inscriptions, although we do not fully agree with the learned editor's views regarding the date of the latter. He assigns the Devaprayag inscriptions to 'a period ranging from the 2nd to the 5th century A.D.' But it appears to us that none of those records can be assigned to a date much earlier than the fourth century A.D. Some of the records exhibit letters with the top mātrā of the hollow triangle type and they may be later than the fifth century. As regards the palaeography of the Devaprayag inscriptions, he further observes, "According to J. F. Fleet, the script represented in all these inscriptions will be 'a variety, with south-western characteristics, of the Central Indian alphabet' of about the 4th century A.D." The letters m, s and h here are throughout of the so-called southern type. Since these inscriptions are in the north, we need not call the script as peculiar to Central India alone." We find it difficult to agree with these views also. In the first place, all the published Devaprayag records do not appear to exhibit the characteristics of the Central India alphabet. Secondly, such records found at various places of pilgrimage were generally incised by pilgrims coming from a distance. Although pilgrimage to holy places appears to have been a non-Aryan custom gradually adopted by the Indo-Aryans, there is no doubt that it was very popular at least since the 3rd century B.C. when the Maurya emperor Asoka visited the Mahâbodhi and Lumbini-grama and Kanakamuni's stâpa in the Nepalese Tarai. In the first quarter of the second century A.D., the Hinduized Šaka chief Rishabhadatta of Northern Mahârâshtra is likewise known to have visited a number of pilgrim spots in Western India including Prabhâsa in Kathiawar and Pushkara near Ajmer in Rajasthan. In the fifth century A.D., an inhabitant of the Dinajpur region of North Bengal seems to have visited the temple of the Boar Incarnation

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2 The editor draws our attention to the tripartite form of subscript in one of his epigraphs (No. 18). But the same sign occurs in South Indian Middle Brahmi records, one of which he has himself assigned to 'the 3rd or 4th century A.D.' (above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 147 and Plate between pp. 148 and 149). His suggestion that Skandadatta mentioned in Nos. 14 and 15 is the name of two different persons and that the two records are separated by an intervening period of several centuries does not appear to be correct. As will be seen from our inscriptions, often the same person got his name inscribed at more places than one.
4 See my Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, p. 178, note 1, and p. 229.
5 Select Inscriptions, pp. 28, 70-71.
6 Ibid., pp. 160 ff.

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of Vishnu at Kukumukha (modern Barah Chhatra) in Nepal,\(^1\) while, in the sixth century, a king of East Malwa visited Prayaga near Allahabad where he sacrificed his life in the fire made of cowdung cakes.\(^2\)

As regards the reading of the Dvaprayag inscriptions, the first letter in No. 4 is i (not ı)\(^3\) and the third letter in No. 19 looks like bā (not ba). What has been read in No. 17 as Aḍhikshīhāna looks like Būṣhipraya.

I.—Inscriptions in the Vārāṇasi Sanskrit University Museum

1. Fragmentary Inscription of the time of Rudradāmārī

This is a fragmentary inscription engraved on a stone slab measuring about 14\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches by 19 inches. There are only four lines of writing, the end of all of which is broken away and lost along with the right hand portion of the slab. As regards the extant part of the epigraph also, a few letters are damaged in line 1 while a number of them are lost in the other lines owing to a layer of the stone having peeled off. The inscribed slab is stated to have been secured by Shr. Kuber Nath Shukla from Agipur in the Mirzapur District, U.P.

The characters belong to the Middle Brāhmī alphabet of north India and the inscription may be palaeographically assigned to a date about the third or fourth century A.D. Interesting from the palaeographical point of view are the letters m, l, s and h which are of the so-called Eastern Gupta type. The letter sh, which occurs in the damaged aksara shā in line 4, seems also to belong to the same variety. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit slightly influenced by Prakrit.

The inscription begins with the word siddham which is followed by the aksaras: Mahārāja . . . tataṅga-Rudradāmārī, the rest of the line being broken away. This line of the record undoubtedly refers to the reign of a king named Mahārāja Rudradāmārī. Since line 2 begins with the word [r]āya (Sanskrit śastyā) after which traces of the word pūrvāyām are visible, the date of the inscription quoting a year with reference to the said king must have been broken away at the end of the line. We can therefore safely restore the passage as Rudradāmārīyaḥ sain (or sainrata) . . . which appears to have been followed by the details of the date in the style of the records of the rulers of the early centuries of the Christian era such as the Sākas of Western India.\(^4\)

About two aksaras are damaged between mahārāja and tataṅga, the latter being apparently the concluding part of a second name of Mahārāja Rudradāmārī. But whether this second name of the king was written in four or five aksaras cannot be determined since the first of the two damaged aksaras may be sh or so that the preceding expression is mahārājasya. It has, however, to be admitted that the traces of the letter following ja appear to suggest m rather than s.

The latter part of line 2 seems to mention the name of a person called Sugana in the sixth case-ending while the corresponding part of line 3 reads [kuṭikā Vēti] probably referring to a dévakalika (the superintending priest of a temple) named Veti . . . In line 4, we can read [pratishṭā]-pitaḥ prīga, the second word apparently being pīqatām which appears to have been followed by a word indicating a deity:\(^5\) It is not possible to be sure about the object that was installed. But the word pratishṭāpitaḥ suggests that it was not a pratima (image) in the feminine gender but may have been a dévakula or shrine or some other object (in the neuter) for the deity in question.

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3. This three-dot type of i was used in South India as late as the fourth century is suggested by the Hira-hadashali plates (Ojha, *Bharatīya Prākītī Līpīnādā*, Plate XV).
5. *Cf., e.g., ibid., p. 134, text line 5; JRS, Vol. XXXIX, Parts 1-2, 1953, p. 5; JUPHS, Vols. XXIV, XXV, p. 136.
The name of Mahārāja Rudradāmasīri reminds us of two Śaka rulers of Western India named Rudradāman, the first of them ruling in the period 130–50 A.D. and the second in the second quarter of the fourth century A.D. We are also reminded of the name Dāmājadesi by no less than three rulers of the said Śaka family. Dāmājadesi I was the son and successor of Rudradāman I, while the second and third kings of the same name ruled respectively in the first quarter and the middle of the third century A.D. Mahārāja Rudradāmasīri of our inscription thus seems to have been related to the said Śaka house. In this connection, it may also be pointed out that, in ancient India, the honorific word śri was sometimes prefixed and sometimes suffixed to personal names. By way of illustration, we may refer to Kālavēla’s name written both as śri- Khālavēla and Kālavēla-śri in the Hathigumpha inscription. Thus the name of the king mentioned in our record may actually be merely Rudradāman. But it is difficult to say whether he was a scion of the Śaka house or belonged to some other ruling family matrimonially related to the Śakas.

The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta (c. 310–76 A.D.) gives a list of Aryavarta kings extirpated by him and this is headed by a king named Rudradēva. As we have suggested elsewhere, this Rudradēva seems to be none other than Śaka Rudrasimha III who was the son of Rudradāman II and ruled in the period between 348 and 375 A.D. Can we suggest the identification of Mahārāja Rudradāmasīri of our epigraph with the father of Rudrasimha III? It is, however, difficult to come to any definite conclusion about the inclusion of the Mirzapur region, where the inscription under study is said to have been found, in the dominions of the Śakas of Western India during the rule of Rudradāman II. It is equally difficult to say whether our Rudradāmasīri belonged to the house of the kings of Kanśamiti and whether that family had matrimonial relations with the Śakas of Western India.

TEXT*  
1 [S]īddham [†] Mahārāja . . . śrīnaśagāma-Rudradāmasīri . . . .  
3 masya . . . . . . [ku]liḳō11 Vē12[t]i . . . .  
4 . . . . . [pratiṣṭhā]pitaṁ(tama) priya . . . 13

2. Another Fragmentary Inscription

This inscription is found on a narrow slab of stone about 10½ inches in length and 4 inches in height. Originally, however, the slab was apparently much bigger in height and contained a fairly big prāsasti carefully engraved on its surface. The stone was re-dressed at a later date probably for

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1 Select Inscriptions, pp. 267 (text line 1), 211 (text line 17).
2 Cf. ibid., p. 257, text line 21.
3 See Proc. IHC, Madras, 1944, pp. 78 ff.
4 From impressions.
5 Two akṣaras are lost here. The first of them may be śa although the traces appear to suggest m rather than s.
6 The akṣara does not appear to have any nāmaśri attached to it, though the intended word may well be trīga.
7 As indicated above, the akṣaras „yoh san (or sanvatārthā) „. . . are lost here.
8 Sanskrit dhyāya.
9 The word can be restored as pūrvadāyuṃ.
10 The damaged first akṣara of what appears to be a personal name may be Sū.
11 The word may be dēvakāla.
12 This akṣara may also be read as Khā. But, in that case, we have to suggest that the change of visarga into ā in the preceding akṣara is due to Prakrit influence.
13 The intended reading was probably priyatām bhavarū (or bhavarat) . . . .
using it as the lintel of a door. Both the upper and lower parts of the slab were cut off in this process, affecting a line of writing in both cases. There is also a deeply cut line (about \( \frac{3}{4} \) inch in width) nearly half an inch above the lower edge of the stone. This line runs over the letters of the left part of the last line of the writing. Besides the said two damaged lines of writing at the upper and lower edges of the slab, the extant part of the inscription consists only of two other lines in its central section. Unfortunately, even of these two lines, the left half of the first and also a quarter (consisting of eighteen aksharas) from the left end of the second are chiselled off. Since the metrical composition of the record helps us in determining the number of lost syllables in line 3, it is seen that about eighty aksharas were originally incised in each line of the inscription. The inscribed slab is stated to have been found at the Agnēśvar Ghāṭ, Vārāṇasi.

The **characters** belong to the ornamental variety of the North Indian (Siddhamātrikā) alphabet of the **seventh or eighth century A.D.** The forms of the letters \( ch, j, s, \) etc., show that it cannot be assigned to a much later age. The shape of the letter \( r \) is palaeographically interesting since it exhibits a triangular projection at the left side of the vertical in addition to the slanting stroke joined to its lower end from the left. There is only a slight difference between the letters \( p \) and \( y \). The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and it is a prāsasti written in verse. There are portions of three stanzas, all in the Vasantatītaka metre.

The **object** of the inscription seems to be to record the building of a **pura**, i.e. city or temple, apparently by a king, the clouds of dust raised by whose army is referred to. The **pura** is stated to have been endowed with palatial buildings and gateways. But the name of the king cannot be read in the extant part of the epigraph. The said person is further stated to have granted a hundred of what were called villages though they were really townships. The villages may have been given for the maintenance of a temple, around which a city appears to have been built. Unfortunately no other details can be gathered from the existing part of the inscription.

**TEXT**

\[
1 \quad \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldOTS
\]
The characters belong to the North Indian (Siddhamātrikā) alphabet of the seventh or eighth century A.D. The record bears no date. Lines 1-2 refer to the victorious reign of a king named Manorathavarmanāva and lines 2-3 to a kirti of one who was meditating on the said king’s feet (or, was favoured by them). The word kirti means a fame-producing work. But it is difficult to determine whether it was used to indicate the sculptured stone bearing our inscription or a structure of which it formed a part. The name of the subordinate of king Manorathavarman, who was responsible for the kirti, cannot be satisfactorily deciphered. But it may be Bhrārativarman.

King Manorathavarman and his subordinate mentioned in our record are not known from any other source. It is also difficult to say whether the king ruled over the Varanasi region before the death of king Harshavarman of Thanesar and Kanauj in 617 A.D. or after that date and before the expansion of the power of king Yasovarman (c. 728-733 A.D.) of Kanauj over the area in question. We know that the Maukheri king Grahavarman, who was the son of Avantivarman and was ruling over wide regions of U. P. and Bihar, was defeated and killed in his encounter with the invading forces of the Gauda king Śaśānuka and the Mālava (East Malwa) king Dēvagupta about 605 A.D. and that Harshavarman, a relation of Grahavarman and originally the king of Thanesar, succeeded in driving out the Gaudas and Mālavas from the Maukheri dominions and in ultimately annexing U. P. and Bihar to his own dominions. But the discovery of a seal of a Maukheri king, who was another son of Avantivarman and whose name was probably Suchandavarman, seems to suggest that the Maukheri throne was not vacated on Grahavarman’s death. That the Maukheris continued to rule even after Harshavarman’s death is indicated by an inscription referring to Bhogavarman, the crest-jewel of the illustrious Varmanas of the valorous Maukheri race, as the son-in-law of king Ādityasena (672 A.D.) of Magadh and the father-in-law of king Śivadēva II of Nepal. These facts appear to suggest that the Maukharis were ruling over some parts of U. P. as feudatories of Harshavarman during the life time of that monarch. Manorathavarman of our record was probably a scion of the Maukheri family.

**TEXT**

1 Siddham\* \[\text{||}^*\] Śrī-Manorathavarmanmadēvasya prava-
2 [rddha]māna-viṣaya-rājya\* tat-pāḍ-ānu[iddhyā]-
3 [ta-srī-Bhā]rativar[madēvasya k]ir[t+t][b][h]’ \[\text{\textasterisk}^*\]

III.—Inscription at Amawa

The village of Amawa belongs to the Bhadohi Tahsil of the Varanasi District, within the jurisdiction of the Gopiganj Police Station. An inscription in one line engraved on the pedestal of a broken image was discovered at the village by Mr. R. G. Pandey, Exploration Assistant of the Department of Archaeology, Mid-Eastern Circle, Patna. The characters of the record belong to the North Indian (Siddhamātrikā) alphabet of about the seventh century A.D. Some of the letters exhibit the hollow-triangle type of top mātra. It reads:


““The pious gift of Hari-śrēṣṭhin.”

The sign of punctuation at the end of the inscription is interesting as it is also found in some of the Jāgēśvar inscriptions edited below (cf. No. VI-A 1, line 4, etc.).

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2 Ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 296.
3 Ibid., Vol. XXIV, p. 284, note 6.
5 From impressions.
6 Expressed by symbol.
7 The reading of the letters and signs within brackets in this line is not beyond doubt.
IV.—Inscriptions at Sondhia

The village of Sondhia in the Karchana Tahsil of the Allahabad District lies on the bank of the river Tons about 25 miles to the south of the city of Allahabad. This river, which rises from the Vindhyan range in the former Malhar State and joins the Ganges on its right bank in the Allahabad District, is the ancient Tamasa mentioned in the Puranic list of rivers as springing from the Rikshavat mountain, a name sometimes applied in ancient Indian literature to that part of the Vindhyas which lies to the north of the Narmadă.

The following three pilgrims' records were found by me at Sondhia on boulders standing at a site about a furlong from the bank of the Tons. A temple may have originally stood at the site which, as the inscriptions suggest, was a place of pilgrimage in olden days. But no trace of any structure is now found at the place.

The inscriptions read as follows:

No. 1
Īśvarachandramaḥ

No. 2
Śrī-Sūkachaukṣhāḥ

No. 3
Śiva[chaṇḍamaḥ]

These merely contain three personal names apparently of pilgrims who visited the place. The honorific word śrī is prefixed only to one out of the three names. The palaeography of the records is interesting in that the characters belong to the South Indian alphabet of about the seventh century A.D. It seems that Īśvarachandra, Sūkachaukṣa and Śivachandra came from the south and visited the place on their way to the celebrated ārtha of Prayāga near Allahabad. Sūkachaukṣa is a rather peculiar name.

As regards Nos. 1-2, interesting from the palaeographical point of view is the form of the letter ṃi in both the epigrams since it resembles the early Grantha form of the letter. The form of ṅiṣṭhaṅga in No. 1 is normal. But the same sign in No. 2 and the sign for anuṅga in No. 1 are ornamental. The signs for the medial vowels i, ṃi and au in No. 2 are ornamental and remind us of similar signs in the records written in the so-called shell-characters.

The letter ā in No. 3 looks like early Telugu-Kannada in form. The palaeography of the three records thus appears to suggest that the pilgrims Īśvarachandra and Sūkachaukṣa hailed from the Tamil-speaking region and Śivachandra from the Telugu- or Kannada-speaking area.

V.—Inscription at Kasardēvī

Kasardēvī is really the name of a deity enshrined in a modern temple on a hillock about 5 miles from the city of Almora. There is an inscription on a boulder below the site of the Kasardēvī

1 See Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, p. 47 and note 7.
2 Ibid., p. 49, note 3. Another river of the same name runs through the Fyzabad and Azamgarh Districts of U.P. and joins the Sarda (ancient Sarayā) near Bhulia. The celebrated sage Valmiki is believed to have passed his early life on the banks of this river. Cf. N. L. Day, Geographical Dictionary, s.v. Tamasa.
3 My trip to the village was facilitated by the help rendered by Mr. K. B. Srivastav of the Allahabad University and his father Mr. B. N. Srivastav of Sondhia.
4 Among the records in South Indian characters found in the neighbourhood, mention may be made of the inscriptions of Vākṣṭaka Prithivishēṇa's feudatory Vāyūghā at Nāchne-ki-talai and Gajji, which I was formerly inclined to assign to the middle of the fourth century A.D. See CII, Vol. III, Plate XXXIII, A-B; above, Vol. XVII, Plate facing p. 12; also The Classical Age, p. 179 and note 1. But Ā in the Nāchne-ki-talai inscriptions resembles the same letter in the Vākṣṭaka inscriptions (close of the fifth century) in the Ajanta and Ghatotkacha caves while its form in the Gajji inscription is the same as in the grants of Nāchendra (beginning of the sixth century). Cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 259 and note 3. This shows that the Vākṣṭaka king of these inscriptions is Prithivishēṇa II (beginning of the sixth century) and not Prithivishēṇa I (middle of the fourth century).
SOME INSCRIPTIONS FROM U. P.—PLATE II

IV (1)

Scale: One-fourth

IV (2)

Scale: One-sixth
VI (A) 1 and 2

Scale: One-sixth

Scale: One-fourth
temple. The characters, which are each about four inches in height, exhibit an admixture of
the North Indian script and the South Indian alphabet of the Telugu-Kannada-speaking area of
about the sixth century A.D. Interesting from the palaeographical point of view is the hollow
triangle type of the top mārūṇa exhibited by the letters of the record. The southern type of ś in line
1 has a triangle at the lower end of both its arms.

The inscription reads:

1 Rudrēśvara[ḥḥ] pratis[ḥḥ]jāpita[ḥḥ]
2 Vētilē-putrēṇa Rudal[ḥdra][ḥḥ]jēṇa [ḥḥ]

"[The god] Rudrēśvara is installed [here] by Rudraka, the son of Vētilē."

It is difficult to say whether Vētilē is the name of Rudraka's father or mother. But there is
little doubt that Rudraka hailed from the Telugu-Kannada-speaking region of South India. He may
have been a hermit settled at least for sometime in these parts of the Himalayas.

VI.—Inscriptions at Jāgēśvar

Jāgēśvar is a pilgrim spot in the Almora District, about 22 miles from the city of Almora. It
is famous for the temples of the gods Jāgēśvara and Mṛtyuṇjaya. There are also a few minor
shrines near the said temple. The inscriptions are mostly pilgrims' records giving the names of
persons (usually one, but more in a few cases) often without any case-ending and rarely in the sixth
case-ending. They are usually in one line, only a few running into more lines than one.

On palaeographical grounds, these inscriptions, which are written in the North Indian
(Siddhamāṭrikā) characters, may be assigned to dates ranging between the eighth and tenth
centuries A.D. The mark of punctuation used in some of the records is rather peculiar and
therefore interesting.

A.—On the Maṇḍapa Pillars and Walls of the Mṛtyuṇjaya Temple.

Nos. 1-3 of this group form a class by themselves. Their importance will be discussed under each
one of them separately. The other records of this section offer bare personal names in most cases.
Among these latter, only a few of the names (cf. Nos. 5, 13, 17 and 24) are given in the sixth case-
ending, the other names being without any case-ending. Some of the personal names are peculiar
and interesting. The honorific word śrī is prefixed to many of the names.

It is difficult to say whether Vāchēchhurāja (Sanskrit Vātasvarūja) of No. 5, whose name ends with
the word rāja, was a ruler of any sort. The two persons mentioned in No. 5 apparently visited the
pilgrim spot together. The same was no doubt the case with the three persons mentioned in No. 7.
But it is not easy to determine whether No. 9 contains the names of two persons or the person in
question had a double name. The name Grāmāḷēri (Sanskrit Grāmāḷēri) occurs four times in the
records, in Nos. 6, 10, 12 and 23. It was apparently the same person who got his name engraved at
different places. The name of Nêthūrāria occurs twice in Nos. 5 and 11 and that of Śaṅkaragaṇa,
son of Sujūma, likewise in Nos. 13 and 17. Śaṅkaragaṇa is also mentioned in a record of the next
group. In all these three cases, Śaṅkaragaṇa is mentioned along with another person named Raṇa-
vigrāha who must have visited the place in his company. It has, however, to be noticed that, in all
the cases, Śaṅkaragaṇa's name has been written in letters of much smaller size than the name of
Raṇavigrāha. These two names remind us of king Raṇavigrāha Śaṅkaragaṇa (also called Mūgḍha-
tuṅga and Prasiddhādhavala) of the Kalachuri dynasty, who ruled over the Jabalpur region in the
first half of the tenth century A.D. It is also interesting to note that Śaṅkaragaṇa's name, in all the
cases, offers an instance of a person's mention as the son of another. This may have been done
to distinguish him from a namesake, although no other Śaṅkaragaṇa is known from our records.
No. 1

1 Śrī-Sadār[ṇa]va-Gandhārastī-Vasanta[]-
2 la-Harshavarddhana-pakshapātaḥ(ṭa)-
3 Pūrva-dāś[ya]-Va(Ba)lavarmmaṇa[h][*]
4 likhitani Tamvra(Tamra)ghatena |

Among palaeographical peculiarities of the inscription, reference may be made to the mark of punctuation at the end, which is similar to the sign in other inscriptions at Jāgēśvar. The expression pakshapāta in line 2 is of lexical interest as it has apparently been used in the sense of ‘one who works on behalf of someone else’. The person named Balavarman, who was responsible for the inscription, is thus stated to have caused the record to be engraved on behalf of four other persons named Sadārśava, Gandhārastī, Vasanta[la] and Harshavardhana. There is little doubt that Balavarman performed the pilgrimage to Jāgēśvar as a proxy of the four persons mentioned. As we have seen elsewhere, people of ancient India, who were themselves unable to visit holy places, sometimes sent others on pilgrimage at their cost with the belief that part of the merit of visiting the holy places in question would fall to their share. Balavarman is described as one hailing from Pūrva-śēa or Eastern India, defined in ancient Indian literature as the land lying to the east of the eastern districts of U.P.2 The inscription is stated to have been written by a person named Tāmaraghaṇa. By ‘written’, apparently writing the letters of the record on the stone with a paint for facilitating the work of the engraver was intended.

No. 2

1 Śrī-Pēṭṭ-[ṇa]rtha-Lava-Kracha-Bhaṇḍa-
2 [Vidyādhara-Ch[urga]-Vajrāḥa-pakshapāta]-
3 Va[tī]śvarasya Pūrva-dāś[ya] [*]

Some of the letters and signs of this epigraph, written in characters similar to those of No. 1 above, are ornamental. The vowel-mark in vi at the beginning of line 2 is so ornamental formed that the akṣara looks like ki and may be compared with the form of the same akṣara in No. 22 below. The most interesting from the palaeographical point of view is, however, the letter ś in the last akṣara of the inscription. Its ornamental shape resembles the late medieval type of the Bengali ś. The modern Bengali form of the letter first occurs in the manuscript of Čandaśāsa’s Śrī-kṛishṇaikirtana written in the fourteenth or fifteenth century A.D.3 It is really strange that a form, in which the precursor of the developed shape of the letter can be easily traced, is found in the epigraph under study which belongs to the early medieval period. This shows that the tendency towards the final development of the letter was already there in the early medieval period in the Siddhārtikā stage of the Gaudiya or East Indian alphabet which gave rise to the Bengali script about the fourteenth century A.D. It is interesting, however, to note that similar forms have not yet been traced in earlier records.

The word paksha-pāta has been used in this inscription in the same sense as in No. 1. The record states that it belonged to (i.e. was caused to be engraved) by Vaṭēśvara of Pūrva-śēa on behalf of Pēṭṭa, Anartha, Lava, Kracha, Bhaṇḍa, Vidyādhara, Churga and Vajrāḥa. Vaṭēśvara apparently performed the pilgrimage as a proxy of the said persons. It appears that Balavarman of No. 1 and Vaṭēśvara of No. 2 visited Jāgēśvar together. The probability is that both of them hailed from the Bengal region of Pūrva-śēa. This is possibly suggested by the form of ś in No. 2, which does not resemble the shape of that letter in the other alphabets of the eastern region such as Maithili and Oiyā.

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2 Cf. Sirvars, Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, pp. 172-83.
SOME INSCRIPTIONS FROM U.P.—PLATE III

VI (A) 3 and 4

VI (A) 5, 6 and 7

Scale: One-fifth
SOME INSCRIPTIONS FROM U.P.

No. 3
1 Śrī-Prakāśa-Bhaṇḍa-Abhimāṇa-
2 Chaṅga-Khadg-Anartha-Arjja-
3 na-sha(p)kshapā-Vaghē-kath-a-
4 nurāgā-Jējjāṣaya [*]
5 Pūrva-dēsi-Prabhudattasya likha-
6 ti [*]

This inscription belongs to the same class as Nos. 1 and 2. A person named Jējjāṣa was responsible for the epigraph while it was written on the stone, apparently for the guidance of the engraver, by Prabhudatta of Pūrva-dēśa. Jējjāṣa is described as a lover of the stories told by Vaghē who (or Jējjāṣa) was the pakshapāta of Prakaṇṭha-Bhaṇḍa, Abhimāṇa-Chaṅga, Khadga, Anartha and Arjja. The correct form of the last name may be Arjuna. Vaghē or Jējjāṣa performed the pilgrimage to Jāgēśvar as a proxy of the five persons mentioned in the inscription. He may have come in the company of Balavarman (No. 1) and Vaiśrava (No. 2). The importance of story-telling in the life of travellers, referred to in the inscription, is very interesting.

No. 4
1 Śrī-Visiśṭa-
2 [ka]jākāla

No. 5
Śrī-Nēṭtraila | Vāchchhājāṣa

The mark of punctuation used in this record is peculiar, though the same sign is also found in other records of the place (cf. No. 1 above and Nos. 9, 12, 14-15 and 17-19 below). The name Nēṭtraila also occurs in No. 11 below.

No. 6
Śrī-Grāmaheri

The name also occurs in Nos. 10, 12 and 23 below.

No. 7
1 Śrī-Samaramahisha
2 Māna(prakāśa) V[a](Bā)la-
3 kadamva(mba)

No. 8
Kal(n)jāṇi(n)ya

No. 9
Śrī-Sabhārtha Sālōṇa |

No. 10
Śrī-Grāmaheri

The name also occurs in No. 6 above and Nos. 12 and 23 below.

No. 11
Śrī-N[a]tttraila(sha)

This name occurs also in No. 5 above.

1 Sandhi has not been observed here.
2 The intended reading is *dattēṇa likhitam.*
No. 12
Śrī-Gṛmabhēri |

The same name occurs in Nos. 6 and 10 above and No. 23 below. The incision of the letters in Nos. 11-12 is shallow and their preservation unsatisfactory. Some of the letters in No. 11 exhibit the hollow-triangle type of the top mātrā. Both the names in Nos. 11-12 also occur in Nos. 5-6.

No. 13
[Śrī-Sujūma-suta-śrī]-Śaṅkaragaṇasya

The first seven akṣaras of the inscription appear to be written on an erasure and are thicker in shape than the letters in the latter half of the record. The same person is mentioned in No. 17 and in No. 7 of Group B below. The reading is the same in all the three cases. The father’s name clearly shows that the same person is mentioned in the different inscriptions.

No. 14
Śrī-Raṇavigrāha |

The same person is mentioned in No. 18 and in No. 8 of Group B below.

No. 15
[Śrī-Su]nām[na]ndachaṇḍa |

The letter ja is found a little to the left of the beginning of this record. But it cannot be related either to No. 14 or to No. 15.

No. 16
Śrī-Viṇḍrī-ṁaya-gi-bhaṭṭ[ā]raKA

This mentions the great ascetic (mahāyogi) with the peculiar name Viṇḍrī who is called bhaṭṭāraKA. We have other instances of Śaiva ascetics being mentioned as bhaṭṭāraKA.1 Apparently the same ascetic is also mentioned in No. 9 of Group B. The correct form of the name may be Viṇḍrī. Cf. the same name borne by a monk in a Bodhgaya inscription published in ASI, A.R., 1908-09, pp. 157-58.

No. 17
Śrī-Sujūma-sutaḥ(ta)-Śrī-Śaṅkaragaṇasya |

The same person is mentioned also in No. 13 above and in No. 7 of Group B below.

No. 18
Śrī-Raṇavigrāha |

The same person is also mentioned in No. 14 above and in No. 8 of Group B below.

No. 19
Niṛ[ti] Ha[nna]dy(?) Cha[p][d]a |

No. 20
Oḍiḥaṇḍa

No. 21
Ma[n]galaḥaṇḍa

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1 See above, Vol. XXX, pp. 47 ff.
VI (B) 2

Scale: One-fourth
SOME INSCRIPTIONS FROM U.P.

No. 22
Śrī-Chā(Cha)lavigraha

In this record, some of the letters and signs are of the ornamental type. The akṣhara vi looks like ī in No. 2 above.

No. 23
Śrī-Gṛāmaḥēri

This name occurs also in Nos. 6, 10 and 12 above.

No. 24
1 Śrī-Yās[ō]bha(bhā)ṇḍāra-Kātyāyanidās[ī]-
2 yakṣa

Yaśōbhāṇḍāra seems to be a title of Kātyāyanidāsīyaka.¹

No. 25
Vichī [81] va 24

The interpretation of the inscription is doubtful.

B.—On the Walls of Minor Shrines

Of the following ten inscriptions, Nos. 1-5 are engraved on the walls of small Śiva shrines near the Jāgēśvara temple, while Nos. 6-10 are on the walls of the Paṅchaliṅga shrine to the south of the same temple. No. 2 is not a pilgrims' record. The names of Śaṅkaragaṇa, son of Sujūma, and Raṇavigraha (Nos. 7 and 8) are each thrice found in the records noticed in the preceding group. Vijēndri-bhaṭṭāraka (No. 9) is no doubt the same as the Mahāyogī of the same name mentioned in No. 16 of Group A. Two of the inscriptions (Nos. 1 and 6) begin with the Siddham symbol. The honorific word śrī is not prefixed to some of the personal names.

No. 1
1 Siddham² [\[\] śrī-Nandā-bhagavati(tī)-mara
2 ṛṣa-pratyāśa-Āghoraśīva.³
3 Vishanirghāṭāta⁴

The person responsible for the inscription was Aghoraśīva alias Vishanirghāṭa who was desirous of ending his life at the temple of Nandā-bhagavatī. Aghoraśīva appears to have been a Śaiva ascetic² while Nandā-bhagavatī was apparently the same as Nandādēvi worshipped in a temple at Almora. The ascetic was probably a resident of the Nandādēvi temple. The word maraṇa may also be a mistake for smaraṇa, charaṇa or śaraṇa.

No. 2

Kālayāṇa-sūttradhrēṇa kṛitaṁ ka[ṛma] [\[\]]³

"The work has been done by the mason Kālayāṇa."

Kālayaṇa, the sūtradhāra or mason, appears to have built the Śiva shrine in question about the eighth century A. D. as indicated by the paleography of the record.

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¹ Cf. Yaśōbhāṇḍāra as a virula in the Sēnasapati inscription (above, Vol. XXXI, p. 32).
² Expressed by symbol.
³ Read pratyāś-Āghoraśiva.
⁴ Read "nirṛthyākāra. The akṣhara ni is engraved below the line.
No. 3
1 Śri-Raṇastambha
2 Vanakarabha

No. 4
Śri-Raṇabhadra Vaḍha

No. 5
Śri-Samarthakēsari(ṛi)

No. 6
Siddham\(^1\) [\*] Viparitachaṇḍa |

The characters exhibit the hollow triangle variety of the top māṭrā. The medial signs of ū and ī are ornamental.

No. 7
Śrī-Sujūma-suta-Śrī-Śaṁkaragaṇasya |
The same person is also mentioned in Nos. 13 and 17 of Group A above.

No. 8
Śrī-Raṇa(na)vigraha
The same person is also mentioned in Nos. 14 and 18 of Group A above.

No. 9
1 [Ma]hāyōgi-
2 Śrī-Vijñendra-bhaṭṭāri(ra)ka []
The same person is apparently mentioned in No. 16 of Group A above.

No. 10
Kan[n]ara[ch]aṇḍa

\(^1\) Expressed by symbol.
No. 40—BAMHANGAVAN SATI STONE INSCRIPTION, V.S. 1404

BALCHANDRA JAIN, RAIPUR

(Received on 18.5.1959)

The inscription published here was discovered by me at the village of Bamhangavan about two miles from the Kymore Cement Factories in the Murwara Sub-Division of the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh, during my tour in that area in the month of October 1957. It was examined by me in situ.

The inscription is incised on a stone slab measuring 11.7" in length and 17.5" height. There are nine lines of writing in the record in the Nāgārī characters of the 11th century A.D. The language is Sanskrit. There are a number of grammatical and orthographical errors in the inscription, which show that the composer of the epigraph had little knowledge of the language.

The record is dated in the [Vikrama] year 1404 (1347 A.D.), Tuesday the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of the month of Ashadha, when Mahārāja Mahādeva, a ruler of the time of Virarājadeva, dates in V.S. 1112, was found at Karitalai, seven miles from Kymore, which shows that his kingdom extended up to the northern part of the Jabalpur District.

The inscription records that Rāja Māinkyadeva (Mānicyadeva), who was the son of Rāja Sahāpya of the Sōmagniri gōta and was born in the Agravāla-vaniśā, was killed in a battle fought at the village of Kalahara situated in the Milahiya rājya and that his wife Rāvā, the daughter of Surāsachandra, cremated herself on her husband’s funeral pyre. Harikēśava, son of Rāvā and Mānicyadeva, caused the inscription to be inscribed on the stone.

Among the geographical names mentioned in this record, Uchhāḍa (ancient Uchhakalpa) which was the capital of Virarājadeva is identified with modern Uchhāḍa, a railway station near Máihār. Milahiya can be identified with Máihār. Kalahara where Mānicyadeva was killed in the battle, is represented by the modern village of that name situated near Vījayanagāghār.

1 [The details of the date correspond regularly to the 19th June 1347 A.D.—Ed.]
3 Hiralal’s reference to Cunningham’s Report quoted by Mr. Jain, is wrong. Hiralal speaks of a ruler named Virarājadeva, and apparently intends to refer to Cunningham’s Vol. IX, Plate II, No. 3, which is an inscription from Karitalai dated V.S. 1412 (1355 A.D.) and mentions a ruler named Virarājadeva. But another record (loc. cit., p. 34, Plate II, No. 4) from Raipur, dated V.S. 1404, Prājāgah-bāhū 14 (probably corresponding to the 27th February 1348 A.D.) speaks of the satī of two queens of Virarājadeva.—Ed.]
4 [The correct reading of the name of Rāvā’s father seems to be Kīmānanda.—Ed.]
5 [The inscription does not mention Harikēśava as the son of Mānicyadeva. It speaks of a stone-cutter named Kēśava who was responsible for fashioning the slab.—Ed.]

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1 अंग सिद्धः ॥ संवटः १५४ वर्षेः (वर्षौ) माधवादि ॥
2 सुदिः ११ भोमे उच्छंहानेपरे महाराजाचिरा- ॥
3 जवीरराजबेदविज्ञाराजे [सीतीविज्ञाराजे] ॥
4 व/ष) [ष*]मथकलहथराजेम अपरांवालमः ॥
5 मुंदसामगी[राजु]मोदालय (स्व) यराजमहुं ॥
6 नगराज[म]निग[ग]दूर्मुड़श[स्म]धोरामः मिहलः[*] ॥
7 नमी(स्य) ग(य)मापोल्ली मुरांचन्द्रदुहि हराना- ॥
8 मनः सह्यमानः कृतः वृषभानुकोलसः (श)यः ॥
9 नारितं (नम्) ॥ समं भवतु ॥ घटित नुष्ना रिकेवः [॥८]

1 From the original stone and impressions.
2 [Sanskrit: मानकर्मीवरं.—Ed.]
3 [The reading is यमीर्द्युष्ठम् रोक(र)। रामान(म)म्वोदश्वदुहित(त)। क्रेकः। नमी(नम्)।—Ed.]
4 [Read पुरुषानुविकृतम् रितम्।—Ed.]
5 [Read परस्पराद्विदितं विदेशं क्रमिन्या। It means that the inscribed stone slab was fashioned (स्त्रिता) by a stone-cutter named Kārava.—Ed.]

MGIPC—SI—47 DGA/39—24-4-82—73.
INDEX

By B. R. Gopal, M.A., Ootacamund

[The figures refer to pages, n after a figure to foot-notes, and add to additions. The following other abbreviations are also used: au.=author; c.r.=capital; ch.=chief; Chron.=Chronicle; ci-=city; co.=country; com.-composer; de.=deity; di.=district or division; do.=ditto; dy.=dynasty; E.=Eastern; engr.=engraver; ep.=epithet; f.=family; fe.=female; fend.=feudatory; gen.-general; gr.=grant, grants; hist.-historical; inf.-inscription, inscriptions; k.=king; l.=locality; l.m.-linear measure, land measure; m.=male; m.n.-minister; m.o.-mountain; myth.-mythological; n.-name; N.-Northern; off.-office, officer; peo.-people; pl.=plate, plates; pr.=prince, princess; prov.-province; q.=queen; rel.=religious; riv.-river; S.=Southern; s.a.=same as; sur.-surname; t.=temple; Tel.=Telugu; t.d.-territorial division; til.-title; t.n.-town; th.-taluk; v.=village; W.=Western; wk.=work; wts.=weight.]

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- hima
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FOREWORD

While the Department of Archaeology, Government of India, is contemplating the celebration of the hundredth year of its existence about the end of the year 1961, the Epigraphia Indica, published by the Department, is going to complete its thirty-fourth Volume relating to the years 1961-1962. The first fasciculus of Vol. I of the periodical having been published as early as 1888, it will have then served the students of Indian epigraphy in particular and of Indian history in general for three quarters of a century. The inscriptions published or discussed in the pages of the journal run into thousands while most of its earlier volumes are out of print. For a long time now, students of Indology all over the world have therefore been feeling the need of an index of the contents of the published volumes of the Epigraphia Indica prepared more or less on the lines of that of the Indian Antiquary. It is with a view to fulfilling this long felt want that the scheme of the present Index of Vols. I-XXXIV of the journal was drawn up sometime back and the work was entrusted to Mr. A. N. Lahiri, Senior Epigraphical Assistant in my office. The work is now presented to the readers of the Epigraphia Indica as an Appendix to Vols. XXXIV (1961-1962), XXXV (1963-1964) and XXXVI (1965-1966).

Mr. Lahiri's Index is divided into several Sections. Section A contains a serial list of all the articles published in Vols. I-XXXIV together with the numbers of the volumes and of the articles, and the names of the authors and references to pages, illustrations, etc. In Section B, names of the authors have been arranged alphabetically and the serial numbers of their articles, as enumerated in Section A, have been quoted against each of them. Section C deals with such items of topography as (i) findspot of the inscriptions, (ii) places where they are now deposited, and (iii) gift villages mentioned in the titles and subtitles of the articles, and Section D with the Districts, etc., in which the findspots of the inscriptions and the places of their deposit are situated. In Section E, the names of kings mentioned in the titles and subtitles of various articles have been alphabetically arranged while Section F contains an alphabetical list of the dynasties to which the kings belonged, with reference to the articles in both the cases. It is expected that Mr. Lahiri's Index to the Epigraphia Indica will be useful to the students of Indian history and epigraphy.

The importance of the study of inscriptions for the reconstruction of early Indian history was realised as early as the closing years of the eighteenth century and, since then, epigraphic records were being published in various periodicals. There was, however, no journal for the exclusive publication of inscriptions. The Epigraphia Indica originated in order to meet this demand. A proposal was submitted to the Government of India in February 1887 for the printing of a Record to publish the texts and translations of inscriptions in Sanskrit, Arabic and other languages. Alexander Cunningham planned an Archaeological Survey of India as early as 1848. But the Survey was created with his appointment as Archaeological Surveyor to the Government of India (December 1851 to the end of 1865), cf. Ancient India, No. 9, p. 4, note 4; p. 10; S. N. Majumdar Sastri, Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, 1924, p. liv. Cunningham later served as the first Director General of the Archaeological Survey from the 1st January 1871 to the 30th September 1883 (Sastri, loc. cit.; cf. Corp. Ind. Ind., Vol. III, p. 1).

2 Arrangements have now been made for reprinting Vols. I-X.

3 L. M. Anstey, Index to Volumes I-L (1872-1921) of the Indian Antiquary.

4 Later a biennial supplement to the journal for publishing Arabic and Persian inscriptions was conceived and its first issue appeared as relating to the years 1905-1906. Its next issue for 1905-1910 and the subsequent issues, however, had the title Epigraphia Indica: Arabic and Persian Supplement. From the issue of 1931-1932, the periodical is being styled Epigraphia Indica: Arabic and Persian Supplement. This periodical was originally edited by part-time workers. The post of Assistant Superintendent for Muslim Epigraphy (later changed to Assistant Superintendent for Arabic and Persian Inscriptions), who is now its editor, was created in 1945 (Anc. Ind., No. 9, p. 43; cf. p. 40, note 1).

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well as their lists and other miscellaneous antiquarian information, including materials like those published for the Archaeological Survey of Western India in the *Memoranda* issued by the Government of Bombay from time to time between 1874 and 1885. As the scheme of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* envisaged indefinite delays in arranging and publishing inscriptions belonging to particular dynasties or periods, it was considered 'altogether better to publish them, as they are found, in the fasciculi of the *Epigraphia Indica*, and trust to the index of the volume to facilitate references'. Information on the scheme was asked by the Government on the 17th October 1887 and details for a quarterly issue of the fasciculi were submitted. After further correspondence, the Government sanctioned the publication and the first fasciculus appeared in October 1888.

The concluding fasciculus of Vol. I of the periodical appeared in 1892 and the volume was entitled *Epigraphia Indica: A Collection of Inscriptions Supplementary to the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, published under the auspices of the Archaeological Survey of India. The editor of the volume was Jas. Burgess, who was the Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India from the 25th March 1886 to the 1st June 1889, while E. Hultsch, then Epigraphist to the Government of Madras, and A. Führer, then Archaeological Surveyor of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh (i.e. modern Uttar Pradesh), were the assistant editors.

Vol. II of the *Epigraphia Indica*, for which 'much progress' in the preparation of materials had already been made by October 1891 when the Preface for Vol. I was written, came out in 1894, edited by Burgess with the assistance of Führer. It completed what Burgess had undertaken to publish and closed his 'work in connection with Indian epigraphy'. It was published under the auspices of the Archaeological Survey of India as 'Volume XIV' of the 'New Imperial Series'.

It was, however, felt that the continuation of the *Epigraphia Indica*, devoted exclusively to the publication of inscriptions, was necessary for the progress of historical studies in India. As a matter of fact, even before the concluding parts of Vol. I, edited by Burgess, were out, Hultsch offered a scheme for the publication of Vol. II under his editorship in his letter to the Madras Government, dated the 3rd July 1891, and some progress in the matter of its printing was already made before the 30th June 1893. The said volume, however, ultimately appeared as Vol. III of the *Epigraphia Indica*. From this volume, the journal became a quarterly to be published in the

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2. This name for an epigraphical series was suggested by James Prinsep who pointed out the necessity of such collections of inscriptions as early as 1837 (Journ. As. Soc. Beng., Vol. VI, p. 663; CII, Vol. III, p. 1). It was Prinsep who was primarily responsible for the decipherment of the early Indian writings and placed the study of Indian epigraphy on a sound and critical basis.


4. The Preface to the volume bears the date '5th October 1891'. The volume was regarded 'as properly one of the series of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* and it was expected to pass practically as the fourth volume of that series (ibid., p. vii). Arrangements had previously been made for the preparation of three volumes of the *Corpus*, of which Vol. I (Inscriptions of Ašoka by A. Cunningham, 1877, its revised edition by E. Hultsch appearing in 1925) and Vol. III (Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors by J. F. Fleet, 1888) had already appeared. According to a later arrangement, the Kharšhthi and Brāhmī inscriptions of the period between the Mauryas and the Guptas have to be edited respectively by E. J. Rapson and H. Lüders for Vol. II of the series (cf. CII, Vol. II, Part 1, p. v). But only the Kharšhthi inscriptions edited by Sten Konow ultimately appeared in 1929 as Vol. II, Part I. A part of the work allotted to Lüders is now in the press.

5. Ancient India, No. 9, pp. 21, 23.


8. Cf. Ancient India, No. 9, p. 22. Vol. II of the *Epigraphia Indica* was expected to pass practically as the fifth volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* (cf. Preface, p. ix).

9. Madras G. P., Public, No. 675 of 7th August 1891, Nos. 642-43 of 14th August 1892. Hultsch's letter refers inter alia to the rate of honorarium payable to the contributors as fixed by Burgess and proposes to print epigraphic texts in verse in running lines and not arranged according to separate stanzas as in Volumes I-II edited by Burgess.
first month of each quarter of the year though a volume would consist of eight Parts covering a period of two years. The volume in question, pertaining to the years 1894-1895, was edited by Hultzsch and was published under the authority of the Government of India as a Supplement to the *Indian Antiquary* under the title of *Epigraphia Indica and Record of the Archaeological Survey of India*. The size of the volume, comprising seven equal Parts of 48 pages each and the Index, Contents, etc. in Part VIII, changed from the Super royal quarto of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* to the royal quarto of the *Indian Antiquary* started by Burgess in 1872. The words 'as a Supplement to the *Indian Antiquary* continued to appear on the title page of the volume of the *Epigraphia Indica* unto Vol. XV (1919-1920). It may be pointed out that there was no issue of the journal pertaining to the year 1904 so that Vol. VII for 1902-1903 was followed by Vol. VIII for 1905-1906.

From Vol. XVI (1921-1922), still published under the authority of the Government of India under the title *Epigraphia Indica and Record of the Archaeological Survey of India*, the periodical ceased to call itself a *Supplement to the *Indian Antiquary*. Though it was still published under the auspices of the *Archaeological Survey of India*, the words 'and Record of the Archaeological Survey of India' were omitted from the title page and the journal began to bear the simpler title *Epigraphia Indica* from Vol. XXV (1939-1940). From Vol. XXVI (1941-1942), the name of the publishing authority began to be given as the 'Department of Archaeology' instead of the 'Archaeological Survey of India'. There was another break in the continuity of the publication of the journal for four years owing to the Second World War. This accounts for the absence of any issue pertaining to the period 1943 to 1946 between Vol. XXVI (1941-1942) and Vol. XXVII (1947-1948).

E. Hultzsch edited Vol. III (1894-1895) to Vol. VI (1900-1901) as the 'Government Epigraphist' his designation being sometimes referred to as 'Epigraphist to the Government of Madras'.

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1 The publication of the *Epigraphia Indica* as a supplement to the *Indian Antiquary* was the result of an arrangement with Richard Carnac Temple, then editor and proprietor of the latter journal. Burgess started the *Indian Antiquary* and edited Vols. I (1872) to XIII (1884). Temple then edited Vols. XIV (1885) to XX (1891) jointly with Fleet. Vols. XXI (1892) to XXXIX (1910) were edited by Temple alone and Vol. XL (1911) to LX (1934) by him jointly with others. *Cf.* *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LX, pp. iii-iv.


3 The *Epigraphia Indica* became an independent journal from the 8th February 1921 when the agreement with the editor and proprietor of the *Indian Antiquary* was terminated (*ARASI*, 1920-21, pp. 21 and 33). Archaeology, which was receiving divided attention from the Provincial and Central Governments before the inauguration of the Reforms of 1919, became the sole charge of the Centre from 1921. The Epigraphic Section was thoroughly reorganised on this occasion. *Cf.* *Progress of Science in India during the Past Twenty-Five Years*, Calcutta, 1938, p. 239; *Anc. Ind.*, No. 9, p. 36 and note.

4 For the retrenchment in the expenditure of the Archaeological Survey in 1931 and the changes due to the Government of India Act of 1935, see *Anc. Int.*, No. 9, pp. 39-40.

5 Hultzsch was at first appointed for three years as 'Epigraphist to Government (i.e. the Government of Madras) in the Archaeological Survey (i.e. the Archaeological Survey of Southern India under the Madras Government, sometimes called 'Madras Archæological Survey' as in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, Preface, p. ix) on the 21st November 1886 (Madras G. O., Public, No. 1492 of 24th October 1887, p. 2). For his next term for 3 years, he was made independent of the Archaeological Survey of South India (*Anc. Ind.*, No. 9, p. 23). His designation 'Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of Southern India' was now changed to 'Government Epigraphist'. See Madras G. O., Public, No. 180 of 11th March and No. 353 of 14th May 1890. Hultzsch's work was to edit the volumes of the *South Indian Inscriptions* series and to submit reports containing notices of the inscriptions examined by him, which appeared in the Madras G. O.s. The earlier volumes of the above series, edited by Hultzsch, were prepared on the lines of those of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vols. IV-VIII quote only the texts of inscriptions without introductions and translation. Later, certain changes were gradually introduced in regard to the size of the volumes and the presentation of the epigraphic material. The other publication afterwards became the report of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, and was later called the *Annual Report on Epigraphy*. Still later it became the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* (edited by the Superintendent for Epigraphy under the guidance of the Government Epigraphist for India from 1930-31), its current name being *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* (edited by the Government Epigraphist for India since 1945-46).
Vols. VII (1902-1903) to VIII (1905-1906) and Parts I-III of Vol. IX (1907-1908) were also edited by the same scholar but as Professor in the University of Halle, Germany. Parts IV-VIII of Vol. IX were edited by Sten Konow, the first Government Epigraphist for India (24.11.06 to 15.11.08). Parts I, II, VI and VII of Vol. X (1909-1910) were also edited by Sten Konow, while Parts III, IV, V and VIII of the same volume and Parts I-V of Vol. XI (1911-1912) were edited by V. Venkayya, the next Government Epigraphist for India (November 15, 1908, to November 21, 1912). After the death of Venkayya on the 21st November 1912, the post of Government Epigraphist for India was virtually in abeyance till the appointment of H. Krishna Sastri to the said post on the 1st July 1920. During these years, the *Epigraphia Indica* was edited from abroad by Sten Konow (Parts VI-VIII of Vol. XI, Vol. XII for 1913-1914 and some Parts of Vol. XIII for 1915-1916) and by F. W. Thomas (remaining Parts of Vol. XIII, Vols. XIV for 1917-1918 and XV for 1919-1920 and some Parts of Vol. XVI for 1921-1922), as Honorary Correspondents of the Government of India, Archaeological Department.

Since the appointment of the third Government Epigraphist for India, viz. H. Krishna Sastri, who retired from service on the 15th September 1925, the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India has been functioning at Ootacamund in Madras State and the editing of the *Epigraphia Indica* is being done by Indians. Krishna Sastri edited some Parts of Vol. XVI (1921-1922) and

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1. Hultsch left India on leave on the 27th May 1903 and subsequently resigned his post with effect from the 27th November of the same year (Madras G. O. No. 675-79, Public, 12th August 1904, p. 2). The difficulty caused by the resignation of Hultsch was apparently responsible for the absence of any issue of the *Epigraphia Indica* for the year 1904, to which reference has been made above.

2. Cf. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVIII, p. xix; Home Dept. (Archaeology and Epigraphy) Notification No. 390, dated 10.12.06; *ibid.*, No. 291, dated 30.11.08. Previously a 'special appointment was created' for J. F. Fleet who served as 'Epigraphist to the Government of India' from the 17th January 1883 to the 4th June 1886. The object was to entrust to him the task of bringing out Vol. III of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*. See CII, Vol. III, p. 1; Dya. Kon., Dist. (Bomb. Govt., Vol. I, Part II), p. xxxii; Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. xvi. The post of an Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy was created in 1906 (Anc. Ind., No. 9, p. 34). According to the reorganisation of 1921, there were one Superintendent and three Assistant Superintendents for Epigraphy (*ibid.*, p. 36 and p. 37, note 1). Some of these posts were later abolished. But since 1958, there are two Superintendents (one for Sanskrit and the other for Dravidian inscriptions) and three Assistant Superintendents (one for Sanskrit and two for Dravidian inscriptions). It has also been proposed that the designation of the Government Epigraphist for India, the Superintendents for Epigraphy and the Assistant Superintendents for Epigraphy would be changed respectively to the Chief Epigraphist, Epigraphists (one for Sanskrit and the other for Dravidian inscriptions) and Assistant Epigraphists (one for Sanskrit and two for Dravidian inscriptions).


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8. Sten Konow and Venkayya had their office at Simla. Hultsch had his office originally for ten years at Bangalore from 1887 and later at Ootacamund.
INDEX—FOREWORD


From Vol. XXXII (1957-1958), the old arrangement of publishing a Part of exactly 48 pages irrespective of whether it begins or ends in the middle of articles was given up and arrangement was made to have a Part concluding with a complete article ending on a page of even number. A Part could now be a few pages more or less than 48 although the bulk of the volume of eight Parts would remain the same as before.

Besides the editors, to whom the *Epigraphia Indica* owes its high standard and reputation, thanks are due to the numerous contributors whose learned articles have adorned its pages and rendered its existence remarkably fruitful throughout its long career. Among the authors who have contributed the largest number of articles to the pages of the *Epigraphia Indica*, the three German scholars, viz., F. Bühler, F. Kielhorn and E. Hultsch, deserve prominent mention as the authors respectively of 42, 122 and 111 articles. The debt of the journal is great to Bühler and Kielhorn for their learned contributions and to Hultsch both for able editorship and for numerous contributions.

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4 Cf. *ibid.,* Vol. XXXI, p. xv; *Gazette of India,* Part I (dated 26.5.34), p. 556, G. O. No. F. 39-3/34; *ibid.* (dated 8.6.40), p. 821, G. O. No. F 1-12(ii)/40-F and L. The post of Government Epigraphist for India was not filled up for nearly two years after Chakravarti had left the Epigraphic Branch and he continued to edit the *Epigraphia Indica* during this period. Chakravarti’s successor, C. R. K. Charlu, served as Government Epigraphist for India from the 19th May 1942 to the 2nd September 1943 (cf. *ibid.,* Vol. XCVIII, p. xvii; *Gazette of India,* Part I, dated 16th May 1942, p. 837; *ibid.,* Section 2, dated 25th September 1943, p. 1063).
7 See *ibid.,* dated 11th June 1955, p. 262; dated 15th June 1957, p. 614; dated 2nd August 1938, p. 450.
8 Other authors who have contributed numerous articles to the *Epigraphia Indica* are R. D. Banerji (32 articles), V. V. Mirashi (51 articles), L. D. Barnett (51 articles) and the present Government Epigraphist for India (156 articles).
The articles published in the recent volumes of the journal prove clearly the hollowness of the popular belief that all important inscriptions have already been discovered as well as utilised for the reconstruction of early Indian history. As a matter of fact, the importance of epigraphic studies does not show any sign of waning even long after their beginning more than 150 years ago. There is thus no doubt that the Epigraphia Indica has still a useful career ahead for many years to come.

Ootacamund,  
December 23, 1950.

D. C. SIRCAR,  
Government Epigraphist for India.
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