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Retired Government Epigraphist for India

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page 1, foot-note 2, line 3.—For Rājahmahēndravarman during the reign read Rājahnāhēndravaram during the reign.

6, line 19.—For eminence read eminence.

6, foot-note 4, line 2.—For sīḥam...Gīḍāvāri read sīham... Gīḍāvāri?

6, foot-note 5, line 2.—For vīpīra read vīpāra.

7, lines 6-7.—For Vijayapratīpakārṇikā-mahāśāsana in the Sanskrit read Pratīpa-kārṇikāśāsana in the Oriya.

8, foot-note 2, line 2.—For Krishnā read Krishnā.

10, line 37 and page 18, text line 128.—Add note—Madhūbhūra may be a mistake for madhūbhūruha.

11, line 34.—For Upājáti read Upājáti.

12, text line 3.—Read yah.

13, foot-note 2.—Add note—Or read putra kirti-pratāpā?.

13, foot-note 4.—Read sanāpā?

14, text-line 44.—For sukham read sukham.

15, text lines 65 and 80.—The correction of "san = Yaśa" is unnecessary.

16, text line 93.—Read [sa*]tumah.

16, text line 100.—Read nishnālaḥ.

17, text line 115.—For mūkha read mūkha; for svād read svād.

18, text line 126.—For mana read mahā?

18, text line 138.—For Lakshmi read Lakshmi.

20, lines 6-13.—Add note—If the author used the word rasa in the sense of 'eight', the year would be Śaka 1378 (current). As the second of the two suggested dates falls in the next lunar year, the first one may be regarded as the correct date of the record.

21, foot-note 4.—Omit.

23, line 8.—Read nādu(i-nnādu?).

26, text line 13.—For idha read i-dha.
Page 27, line 19.—For आत्मन read आत्मन

,, 28, line 18.—For Pullempet read Pullampet

,, 28, line 28.—For रेणांदु read रेणांदु

,, 28, foot-note 4, line 1.—For Daśvarma° read Daśavarma°

,, 28, foot-note 4, line 2.—For विन read विन

,, 28, foot-note 6.—Read "मुदा देक्कारा°

,, 29, text line 3.—Read (क्ष-क्षिण)

,, 29, text line 5.—Read (दि)प-अ°

,, 29, text line 25.—Read बराणसी

,, 32, line 23.—For indentify read identify

,, 34, text-line 5.—The correction of कक्षयाज is unnecessary.

,, 34, foot-note 1.—For दायदा read दायदा

,, 35, text-line 27.—For केतुः read केतुः

,, 36, line 21.—For पुष्पिनमुनी read पुष्पिनमुनी

,, 37, line 24.—For present read present

,, 37, line 31.—For c. 1255-70 A.D. read c.1155-70 A.D.

,, 38, line 22.—For excavated read excavated

,, 41, foot-note 1, line 2.—For Hultzsch read Hultsch

,, 47, foot-note 7.—Add note—रावण भुजा भुजा भुजा भुजा भुजा 11 seems to have been the date of the grant and not of the festival.

,, 49, foot-note 3.—For कराणियां read कराणियां

,, 52, line 5.—For us read us

,, 56, line 3.—For गीत read great गीत

,, 58, line 13.—For बहिः read बहिः

,, 59, line 15.—For Enlightenment read Enlightenment

,, 61, line 29.—For definitely read definitely

,, 63, text line 8.—For sa-pañcha read sa pañcha

,, 68, foot-note 9.—For “अः विह read “अः विह

,, 69, text line 5.—For स्री read स्री
Page 69. text line 10.—For звуче[क] read звуче[क]

70, text line 18.—Read शोचि

71, line 31.—For Karnataka read Karnataka

73, line 32.—For discussed read discussed

74, text line 8.—For जानित्वलहित्विष्ट जानित्वलहित्विष्ट etc. read जानित्वलहित्विष्ट जानित्वलहित्विष्ट etc. [H.K.N.]

75, text line 16.—For मणगेर्ग = रा read मणगेर्ग = रा

75, foot-note 4, line 4.—For below read below as

75, foot-note 15, line 2.—Read not sama

77, foot-note 1, line 1.—For Nollipaya read Nollipaya

80, line 7.—For thi read this

89, lines 33-34, and page 91, text line 20.—Add note—Uchchāodi-parihartavya sahāta may mean 'together with an agreement in respect of the exemption of uchcha, etc.'

92, text line 25.—For Sua read Sia

93, line 34.—For Dvapāladeva read Dvapāladeva

94, text line 1.—For Sī read Sī

97, line 19.—For Dhaneswar read Dhaneswar

102, line 29.—For as read has

104, para 4.—Add note.—The verb in sauti लोकश्चतिन in verse 5 may suggest that Mallikārjuna was living at the time when the record was drafted or engraved. In that case, verse 11 merely indicates that Gauri made her husband Mallikārjuna free from his debt to his ancestors by performing their śrāddha at Gayā on her husband's behalf.

104, foot-note 2, line 3.—For abave read above

105, foot-note 3, lines 3.4.—For Dhruvēvara read Dhruvēvara

107, text line 1.—For lana. read lana.

108, para. 3, line 7.—For maga[*] read maga[*]

109, line 4.—For in that Narasiṇhā read in that of Narasiṇhā

113, text line 16.—For kā[***] read kā[***]

114, lines 25-30.—Add note.—If Viṭaya[nagavan]-siṃbāsana-karta is taken to refer to Achyutāraya, it was he who was made free from his debt to his ancestors by Timunānana by performing their śrāddha at Gayā on the king's behalf.
Page 118, line 20.—For Konkôplâla read Konakôplâla

,, 118, foot-note 10, line 5.—For muniśvarah read muniśvarat

,, 118, foot-note 11, line 7.—Read pājñit-bhilkshita

,, 120, text line 15.—For 9rēmpi read 9rēpi

,, 120, text line 24.—For rauśgaiś = cha read ra-raśgaiś = cha

,, 120, foot-note 1.—For range read ranugē

,, 121, line 29.—For awap read away

,, 122, lines 13-14.—Add note—The 21 generations are generally understood to indicate the ten preceding and the ten succeeding generations of a person together with his own generation.

,, 123, foot-note 1, line 1.—For this read the

,, 128, text line 1.—For parārddhē read parārddhē

,, 132, line 15.—For Rodam read Roddam

,, 137, line 17.—For 21 read of

,, 139, text line 14.—For vidhāyā read vidhāyā

,, 139, text line 14.—Read 9gundhini

,, 144, text line 7.—For lañcchana read lañcchana

,, 144, text line 29.—Read bhūpatir=

,, 146, text line 54.—For uttarāyanana read uttarāyanā

,, 146, text line 56.—For ashta read ashtha

,, 154, text line 20.—For 9ukirnityā read 9ukirnityā

,, 156, line 15.—For to whom read to which

,, 158, foot-note 3.—For Tthre read There

,, 161, text line 2.—For yirattar read Yirattar

,, 161, text line 3.—For dēvarkku read dēvarku

,, 161, foot-note 11.—For Pudukottai read Pudukottai

,, 173, line 2.—For Tirupparan read Tirupparâ

,, 194, line 39.—For 959 A.D. read 959 A.D.

,, 213, text line 29.—For vipul[an] read vipula[an]
Page 217, line 4.—For Kinkana read Kõnkaṇa

.. 220, line 39.—For Bhaktitrāja read Bhaktirāja

.. 220, foot-note 3.—Read pp. 239 ff.

.. 221, last line.—For Sūrya read Sūraya

.. 225, line 36.—For bring read being

.. 228, last line.—Read '7o tam

.. 231, text line 124.—Read cha

.. 234, foot-note 1.—For this read this

.. 237, text line 12.—For sarvam read sarvadā sarvam

.. 237, text line 15.—Read cha bhagavata and omit foot-note 1.

.. 232, foot-note 1, line 2.—For scription read description

.. 256, line 32.—For inscription read inscription

.. 258, foot-note 5.—For Māvila read Māvali

.. 260, foot-note 3.—Add note.—For the female name Nāgavasu with the honorific śrī suffixed to it, see above, Vol. XXI, p. 64.

.. 265, foot-note 2.—For Chōḍaganga read Chōḍagāṅga

.. 280, foot-note 8, line 3.—For Kambamumetta read Kāmbamumēṭṭa

.. 283.—For 74 Yārā read 74 Yārā

.. 284.—For 101 Sōmayāju read 101 Sōmayāju

.. 285, foot-note 5.—For Sārdālarikriṣṭa read Sārdālarikriṣṭa

.. 287, text line 31.—For Rigrvedi read Rigvedi

.. 287, text line 37.—For pu(pā)ḷi read puḷi

.. 289, text line 86.—For Yārā read Yārā

.. 290, text line 141.—For āmari read ārā

.. 291, text line 177.—For tādi read tādi

.. 291, text line 178.—For nila read nila

.. 293, line 23.—For seems to register read seems to be to register

.. 302, text line 20.—For nama read nāma

.. 302, text line 21.—Read ‘aiddairu
Page 304, line 3.—For characters read chartdars

" 304, foot-note 8, line 2.—Add at the end of the sentence—as well as in the Gunaighar plate of 507 A.D. (ibid., p. 331).

" 309, line 27.—For calléd read called

" 315, line 26.—Read 痧

" 316, line 5.—For Ballālasāna read Ballālasāna

" 318, line 36.—For is read are

" 320, line 41.—For supported read supported

" 323, text line 31.—For grāma-samāvāśita read grāma-parisara-samāvāśita

" 328, line 43.—For sence read sense

" 331, foot-note 9. --For tu read vē
In the course of my annual tour in search of inscriptions, I visited Rajahmundry in January 1956 in order to examine the copper-plate charters in the collection of the Andhra Historical Research Society. Among the records, kindly shown to me by Mr. R. Subba Rao, the enthusiastic Secretary of the Society, one was a grant of Raghudeva, which Mr. Subba Rao, as I was told, was trying to publish in the Society’s journal.1 On the same occasion, Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao of Rajahmundry was also kind enough to show me a copper plate with inscription on both sides, which was lying in his possession. It was found on examination that this plate contains the central part of another charter of the same Raghudeva. Although Mr. Krishna Rao’s plate thus offers us only the fragment of a document, it is interesting because it contains all the details of the grant made by the donor by means of the record in question and also because the introductory stanzas offer an additional information about the genealogy of the Śrīyavanśi Gajapatis of Orissa as found for the first time in the other epigraph referred to above. The ancestry of the great Kapilēśvara or Kapilendra, the founder of the said dynasty, is shrouded in mystery and traditions on the subject found in such works as the Mādulā Pārśā (i.e. the chronicle of the Jagannātha temple at Puri) have unfortunately made the confusion worse confounded. We have now very welcome light on the subject. Both the charters are edited here as they are of considerable interest to the students of Orissan history.

The donor of the two grants under study is already known to us from two inscriptions. One of these comes from Tirupati in the Peddapuram Taluk of the West Godavari District and shows that Raghudeva-nārāṇḍra-mahāpātra was the governor of Rajahmundry during the reign of Gajapati Kapilëśvara in 1458 A.D.2 The other record was discovered in the fort of Warangal in the District of that name, formerly in the Hyderabad State but now in Andhra. This epigraph is dated in 1460 A.D.3 The inscriptions of Raghudeva published here bear dates in 1455-56 and

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2 See SII, Vol. V, No. 100 (pp. 36-37). The inscription, engraved on a pillar at the entrance of the Śrīnāgarasya temple, records that on 26th Bhadra 13, Monday, in the year Bhadrapada (i.e. 1350 A.D.), while Raghudeva-nārāṇḍra-mahāpātra was ruling at Rajahmundryvararam in the reign of Kapilēśvara-mahāpātra, one Trisādāgānpādhyāi, the officer of the temple treasury, restored the lands of the temple of Śrīnāgarasya, which were being illegally enjoyed by the Mahāpāras of the village of Tirupati during the period of Vīyavatrāpani’s service. Raghudeva is also mentioned in Kapilēśvara’s Puri inscription (JAS II, 1900, p. 99, No. II).
3 MacKenzie Manuscripts, No. 15-5-5. The date of the inscription is quoted as Kali 4261, Pramāṇī, Mägga-sudi 10, Saturday. Taking the Kali year to be current, the date corresponds regularly to the 2nd February 1460 A.D. The record mentions Vīrahadra Raghudeva-nārāṇḍra as the son of Parasurāmadhyāya of the solar race. As will be seen below, this information is supported by the inscriptions now published. Raghudeva seems to have accompanied Hambir, son of Kapilēśvara, in Hambir’s expedition against Warangal which he conquered about this time. Hambir’s own inscription in the Warangal fort, an inaccurate transcript of which has been published in SII, Vol. VII, p. 372, No. 733, bears the date Pramāṇī, Mägga-sudi 10, Va (i.e. Vēndāra, Saturday), regularly corresponding to the 2nd February 1460 A.D. The record actually reads Gajapati-Kapilēśvara-mahāpurāṇa (prajñādha) Vēndāra gāna paraṇa ganaṇa. For the two inscriptions, see also A.H.Ep., 1957-58, Nos. B 53 and 55. Raghudeva’s Warangal inscription has been edited below, pp. 125 ff.
1456 A.D. Since the earlier of the two records now under review, viz. the one dated 1455-56 A.D., is fragmentary and its introductory part gets some elucidation from the other epigraph, dated 1456 A.D., we shall take up the latter first for discussion.

The two known records of Raghudēva, together with the two now under study, show that he was Kapilēśvara's governor at Rajahmundry at least from 1455 to 1460 A.D. But he seems to have been placed in charge of the Gajapati province of Rajahmundry some time earlier. The province in question appears to have comprised roughly the present East and West Godavari Districts together with some of the adjoining areas. This was the Rājamahēndra-rāja or the kingdom with Rājamahēndrapura (or "nagara") or Rājamahēndravaram (i.e. Rajahmundry) as its capital, which Kapilēśvara conquered from the Redḍis and annexed to the Gajapati empire a few years before the earliest date in Raghudēva's known records.

The struggle of the Redḍis of Rajahmundry with their kinmen, the Redḍis of Konadi dug, led to the decline of both the houses and to their complete subjugation by the Vijayanagara king Praṇḍha-Dēvarāya (Dēvarāya II) who had ascended the throne in Śaka 1346 (1424 A.D.). This also speaks of the success of the Vijayanagara king against the contemporary Gāṅga monarch Bhāmivivāda (c. 1418 to 1434-35 A.D.) of Orissa because the latter's attempt to annex the Rajahmundry kingdom to the Gāṅga empire failed. An inscription6 points to the presence of the Vijayanagara general Teṇumāraṭa at Simbhalama in the year Plaṇḍaṅa (1427 A.D.) while the Mūda vidura inscription7 of Śaka 1351-Saumya (1429 A.D.) describes Dēvarāya II as the lion in destroying the corses of elephants of the Māgārāja (Gajapati) and the very Agastya to the ocean of the armies of the Andhra kings (i.e. the Redḍis). The latest date for Viradahadra, the last Redḍi king of Rajahmundry, is the month of Phāḷguna in Śaka 1359-Phāṅgala (1438 A.D.),8 when he was apparently a vassal of the Vijayanagara monarch. But a Drakṣerava (Ranadhīndrapuram Taluk, East Godavari District) inscription of the reign of Dēvarāya II, dated Śaka 1366 (1444 A.D.), seems to suggest that the Redḍi king was still living as late as that date.9 An inscription10 at Paṇugonda (Tāṇuk Taluk, West Godavari District), dated Śaka 1370-Vibhava (1448 A.D.), however, speaks of the rule of the Gajapati king, i.e. Kapilēśvara. The Rajahmundry kingdom was thus conquered by Kapilēśvara between 1444 and 1448 A.D. There is a tradition that he conquered the country named Mahāndra (or Rājamahēndra) or Mahēndra (i.e. Rājamahēndra) in the fourteenth Aṅka year of his reign.11 Since he ascended the throne in 1434-35 A.D., his 14th Aṅka or 12th actual regnal year would correspond to 1446-47 A.D. Raghudēva may have been stationed at Rajahmundry soon after the annexation of the Rājamahēndra-rāja to the Gajapati empire, i.e. sometime before 1450 A.D. How long he served in the same capacity after 1460 A.D., the latest date known from his records, cannot be determined until further evidence is forthcoming.

1. Raghudēvāpaṇa Grant of Śaka 1378

The set consists of six plates, of which only five bear writing on both sides. The plates are each 11½ inches long and 5½ inches high. The inscribed plates are numbered in Telugu-Kannada numerals, the figures being engraved in the left margin on the obverse, very near the ring-hole

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1 This is the earliest known date found in his records. But the real date of his accession cannot be determined.
See JOB, Vol. XXII, pp. 47 E.
2 SII, Vol. VI, No. 405.
4 Ibid., Vol. IV, Nos. 1382 and 1355.
which is about \( \frac{1}{2} \) inch in diameter. The ends of the ring passing through the hole are soldered beneath a seal bearing the figure of a standing caparisoned elephant fixed on its surface. The diameter of the ring is about \( \frac{1}{4} \) inches while that of the seal is about \( \frac{1}{4} \) inches. The five plates together weigh about 271 tala. The weight of individual plates varies between 50 and 58 tala.

There are altogether 149 lines of writing on the ten faces of the five plates and they are distributed in the following order: IA—16 lines, IB—15 lines, IIA—17 lines, IIb—16 lines, IIIA—16 lines, IIIB—15 lines, IVa—15 lines, IVB—15 lines, VA—17 lines. There is a linear drawing at the end of the epigraph on the reverse of the last plate. The same kind of sketch is also found on the other charters issued by the Suryavamsi Gajapatis of Orissa, in some of which it looks clearly like the representation of a sword or dagger (or several swords or daggers). The figure apparently stood for the signature of the donor on the original document later engraved on copper plates.

The inscription is written in Telugu characters and in the Sanskrit language and, excepting a short maragala passage in prose at the beginning of line 1, the whole record is written in verse. Its palaeography is characterised by the use of almost similar signs for letters like \( \ddh \) and \( \ddh \) in some cases and for others like \( \ddh \) and \( \ddh \), etc. There is no distinction between \( p \) and \( v \) when used as subscripts in conjuncts. The mark distinguishing \( bh \) from \( b \) is generally a curve added to the top of the right limb of \( b \). It is rarely a small vertical below the letter (cf. Tula-bhatta in line 82) but sometimes it is a curve at the same place (cf. tavā-thara in line 84). The indication of aspiration of this second type is found in \( ek \) (cf. ekha in line 12) and sometimes in \( th \) (cf. stambha-tha in line 120) in the form of an inward curve in the bottom line of the letters. In a few cases, an inward loop takes the place of the curve (cf. ekha in line 84). The same medial signs have been used for \( e \) and \( a \) and for \( s \) and \( a \) as the distinction between the short and long signs did not develop or was not popular as yet. There are two forms of \( t \) (cf. tva-ya in line 15). A noteworthy characteristic of the orthography of the record is the representation of \( th \) by \( dh \), \( dhdh \) by \( dhth \) and \( ph \) by \( p \) in a large number of cases. In some cases, \( t \) has been written for \( l \). The letter \( t \) is often reduplicated after the nasal (cf. jana-tti in lines 1-2) while \( k \) is often represented by \( kv \) and \( y \) by \( gy \). Another peculiarity is the substitution of the class nasal by \( anusvāra \) which is again invariably used in the place of final \( m \). Visa-ya followed by \( s \) or \( a \) has often been changed to the respective sibilant in Sambhi. In several cases, medial \( r \) has been represented by \( ru \) (cf. lines 103-04, 107).

The date of the charter is quoted in verse 30 in lines 58-59. It was the twelfth of the bright half of the month of Suchi in the year Dhārī of Jupiter’s Southern Cycle corresponding to the Śaka year counted by vasa (i.e. 8), šūla (i.e. 7) and viśva (i.e. 13). i.e. 1378. The month of Suchi is Jayāḥśa according to some authorities and Ashādha according to others, although in Oriya lexicons it is recognised in the latter sense only. The date thus appears to correspond to the 15th June 1458 A.D.

The inscription is divided into four sections, one separated from another by one or more floral designs. It is interesting to note that the stanzas of Sections I and II are numbered, but that the numbering is not continued from Section I to Section II in which the verses have consecutive numbers beginning again from 1. Section III actually begins with a Siddham symbol.

Section I may be subdivided into two halves, the first containing adoration to gods and the second a description of the donor’s ancestry as well as of the donor and the grant he made. It consists of 33 stanzas in various metres engraved in lines 1-64 on the four faces of Plates I and II. 

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1 Cf. the Chiruvoll grant of Hazhira in Bhāratī, November, 1941, p.530; the Balakore copper axe-head inscription of Purushottama in Ind. Ant., Vol. I, p.335; the Velisha plates of Pratāparudra in Bhāratī, August 1926, p.275; above, Vol. XXVIII, Plate facing p.211; etc.
Section II gives a list of the donees in 40 stanzas in the Anuśṭubh metre, which runs from line 65 at the beginning of the obverse of Plate III to the first half of line 119 in the middle of the second side of Plate IV. Section III describes the boundaries of the gift village. It consists of 14 stanzas mostly in the Anuśṭubh metre, which are engraved in lines 119-35. Section IV contains the imprecatory and benedictory part in 8 stanzas in different metres, which are engraved in lines 135-49. There are thus altogether 95 stanzas in the inscription.

Section I begins with the Siddhāṃ symbol followed by the mangala: avighsām-a-stu, after which there is another Siddhāṃ symbol. The above is followed by several verses invoking the protection of a number of deities. Verse 1 contains a prayer to the tusk of the Līlāvārāṇa, i.e. the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu, for the protection of the world from danger, while verse 2 contains a similar prayer to the god Gañjasa (i.e. Gaṇeśa). The next two stanzas (verses 3-4) likewise seek for the favour respectively of the goddess Earth and the foot of Kamalāpati (i.e. Viṣṇu). After this, the donor’s family is gradually introduced. Verses 5-7 describe the god Nārāyana (i.e. Viṣṇu) and the next stanza (verse 8) speaks of Viśṇu (i.e. Brahmaṇa), the god of creation, who was born out of Nārāyana’s navel and whose two arms produced the martial race (i.e. the Khaṭriya clan). According to verse 9, in this race came into being the Sun and the Moon (pūṣpa-vustuṇau) from whom sprang two dynasties (i.e. the solar and lunar races). Verse 10 states that there was a Nāyaka named Kapiḷēśvara who was one of the many rulers (nṛpa) born in the solar and lunar races and was the crest-jewel of a number of Nāyakas (i.e. was one of the foremost Nāyakas or had several Nāyakas under him). The real meaning of the word nāyaka used in this context is uncertain. An inscription1 of Śaka 1275 (1353 A.D.) from Srikuram, e.g., mentions the Nāyakas of Kaliṅga either in the sense of royal officers or ruling chiefs, while the Oriya lexicon recognizes the word in the sense of a ruler or a leader of forces. There is thus no doubt that Kapiḷēśvara, described not only as a Nāyaka but also as a nṛpa or ruler, was a person of some importance, apparently a small ruling chief. The family names Nāyaka and Paṭiṇāyaka are still current among the people of Orissa.

Verse 11 mentions Jāgāśvara who was the son of the above-mentioned Kapiḷēśvara and represents him as a great hero and a possessor of numerous elephants. The next stanza (verse 12) speaks of Balarāma as the eldest among Jāgāśvara’s sons who were all famous for their prowess. Verse 13 states that Balarāma and his father Jāgāśvara died on the battle-field while fighting with certain enemies even though they had already obtained victory in the contest. The following three stanzas (verses 14-16) deal with Kapiḷēśvara, the younger brother of Balarāma. This Kapiḷēśvara, named after his grandfather, was the celebrated founder of the Sūrya-vanāsi Gaṅgājapati family of Oriasa. A passage in verse 14 says that Kapiḷēśvara acquired the exalted position (viṣhara) of the Dantirāja (i.e. Gaṅgājapati) by dint of his prowess (śauṛyā). This no doubt refers to his occupation of the throne of Gaṅgājapati Bhānu IV, the latest known ruler of the Imperial Gaṅga dynasty.2 Verses 15-16 vaguely describe the heroism of Kapiḷēśvara. Verse 17 introduces Paraśurāma Harichandana as the younger brother of Kapiḷēśvara, while the following stanzas describe Paraśurāma’s son Raghudēva who was the donor of the grant under study. Verses 17-18, 20 and 23-24 of this part are also found in the Dūrapālen grant of Raghudēva edited below, although a stanza in that record, mentioning Rāma as the younger brother of Paraśurāma, is not

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2 The title Gaṅgājapati became popular with the latest rulers of the Gaṅga family gradually. Bhānu I is called Gaṅgājapati or Gaṅgākhaṭapatī in a Draksharama inscription (SII, Vol. IV, p. 261, No. 1084) of Śaka 1196 (1274 A.D.) and Narasimha III Gaṅgājapati-Peda-Narasimha in a Simhachalam record of Śaka 1306=1383 A.D. (ibid., Vol. VI, p. 285, No. 762). Narasimha IV is called Gaṅgājapati in some inscriptions from Simhachalam; cf. Gaṅgājapati in one of Śaka 1323=1406 A.D. (ibid., p. 277, No. 731), and Gaṅgājapati or Gaṅgākhaṭapatī in another of Śaka 1305=1383 (ibid., p. 280, No. 753). Similarly Bhānu IV is called Gaṅgājapati in two Simhachalam inscriptions respectively of Śaka 1336=1414 A.D. and Śaka 1339=1417 A.D. (ibid., pp. 447-48, No. 1113; pp. 417-18 No. 1040) Cf. below, p. 44.
met with in the present epigraph. Verse 19, which is not found in the Dūrapālaṇa grant, discloses the fact that the name of Raghudeva's mother was Mallikā. Verse 20 says that, owing to his prowess and his conquests Raghudeva was putrikrta by his uncle Kapilēśvara. The expression putrikrta may suggest that Raghudeva was adopted by his uncle as a son; but the idea may also be that Kapilēśvara treated Raghudeva as one of his own sons. The second alternative seems to be supported by Raghudeva's Warangal inscription of a later date (1460 A.D.) representing him as the son of Parāsrūmov and not of Kapilēśvara. It is difficult to say whether the claim had anything to do with the title Kumāra enjoyed by Raghudeva.1

Verse 33 represents Raghudeva as a Narēṇdra, i.e. a ruler, although he is generally called a Kumāra, Nyāpāśīmaja, Rāja-tanava, Narēṇdrarāja-putra (or śūnu) and Narēṇdra-kharasipāl-
āmaṇa, i.e. a prince, and verses 26-27 state that he owed his position to the grace of Kapilēśvara whose viceroy apparently he was. That he was a servant of Kapilēśvara is also clearly indicated by the word vīrā used in verses 25 and 29 with reference to his service to his uncle. Verse 27 may suggest that the title or position of Kumāra was assigned to him by Kapilēśvara. But the reference to his dvajajā (verses 20, 25 and 26) and to his rule over the earth (verses 22, 21), his comparison with the ancient imperial ruler Kār̥tavirya (verse 22) and the vague reference to the prowess of his arms in many of the stanzas show how the official prasāvatikāra was trying to endow a provincial governor with the glory of an emperor.

Verse 27 states that Raghudeva had his headquarters at the city of Rājamaḥśīrṇa (i.e. Rajahmundry) and that the province over which he ruled extended from Simhachala to Giri-
praja which may be a mistake for Giriraja. Simhachala is no doubt the place of that name in the Visakhapatnam District, Andhra Pradesh; but the other limit of the province under Raghudeva is difficult to identify. We know, however, that the kingdom of the Rojās of Kondavidu, which also was conquered by Kapilēśvara and made a province of the Gajapati empire, lay on the other side of the territory ruled by Raghudeva. It is thus not impossible that Giriraja (literally 'the cowherd settlement on the hill') was the Sanskrit form of the Telugu name Kondavidu (literally, 'the city on the hill'). The rendering may of course have been influenced by the names of the celebrated cities called Giriraja, which were the capitals of the ancient Magadha and Kākaya countries.2 It may be noted that, when Raghudeva was ruling over the district around Rajah-
mundry, Kondavidu was the headquarters of Gāṇadēva, another of Kapilēśvara's viceroys.

Gāṇadēva's inscriptions bear dates in 1451 and 1455 A.D.3 It seems that the province under Raghudeva lay between two other provinces of Kapilēśvara's empire, which had their headquarters at Simhachalam and Kondavidu.

1 This case reminds us of a Simhachalam inscription (SI, Vol. VI, No. 1088, pp. 437-38) of Śaka 1381 (1450 A.D.) recording the gift of Hambrā-kumāra-mahāpātra of the Sūrya-ramā. In the Chiruvori grant and Warangal record, the donor Hambrā is represented as the son of Kapilēśvara. The date of the record, the title Kumbāra-
mahāpātra and the descent from the solar lineage no doubt suggest that Hambrā of the Simhachalam inscription was the same as the homonymous son of Kapilēśvara, although the title may mean 'a Mahāpātra of the status of a Kumāra'. But Hambrā-kumāra-mahāpātra is described in the Simhachalam epigraph as the son of Saṇḍudēva-mahāpātra. Since it is impossible to believe that the emperor Kapilēśvara has been mentioned as Mahāpātra Saṇḍudēva in a record of 1450 A.D., the only possibilities are that Hambrā of the Simhachalam inscription, even though he must have been a close relation of Kapilēśvara, was different from the emperor's son of the same name, or that Saṇḍudēva's son Hambrā was adopted by Kapilēśvara as his own son sometime after 1459 A.D. as a reward for Hambrā's success in the southern campaigns. Cf. IHQ, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 286-87.


3 The Chintapalli inscription (A.R. Ep., 1917, No. 70) of Gāṇadēva is dated Śaka 1370, Bhāva, Vaiśākh-
sudi 15, Thursday. The date may be the 11th April 1454 A.D. His Kondavidu plates (Ind. Ant., Vol.
XX, pp. 390 ff.) were issued in Śaka 1377—Yuvan corresponding to 1455 A.D. Chintapalli is in the Sattinapalle Taluk and Kondavidu in the Narsasropet Taluk, both in the Guntur District of Andhra. The forts of Addanki and Vinukonda lay within Gāṇadēva's province.
The importance of the genealogical part of the inscription, discussed above, is that it throws welcome light on the ancestry of the great founder of the Sūryaṃātī Gajapati family of Oriasa. Very little information was so far available on the ancestors of Kapilēvāra. The tradition recorded in the Mādālā Pāṭījī and several other works of the type states that, in the early part of his life, Kapili (i.e. Kapilēvāra), a Sūryaṃātī Rāuta, was a cowherd in the employ of a certain Brāhmaṇa and that he was picked up by the last Gaṅga king (Bhānu IV) and brought up in his palace. He is also stated to have begun his life as a thief. It is said that the god Purushottama-Jagannātha advised the king in a dream to adopt Kapilēvāra as his successor. During the last years of the Gaṅga king’s rule, the Muslims are reported to have invaded the Gaṅga kingdom and demanded a large ransom. The king sent Kapila to the Muslims for negotiating a settlement, but died shortly afterwards. The Muslims then sent back Kapila to rule the Gaṅga kingdom. A tradition recorded in the GaṅgavarnāṃuṣaCharitā, however, says that Kapilēvāra was one of the ministers of the Gaṅga king and that he usurped his master’s throne when the latter was away from the capital in connection with a campaign and that the Gaṅga king after his return from the expedition retired to Guḍārīkaṇṭaka where he spent his last days in obscurity. This no doubt seems to be a more sensible account of Kapilēvāra’s accession to the throne of Gaṅga Bhānu IV. As regards Kapilēvāra’s ancestry and early career, our inscriptions now show that he was not a mere cowboy receiving the sovereignty over the Gaṅga empire merely through God’s grace but that his ancestors were people of some importance and that his rise to the sovereign status was really from a platform of eminence created not only by his own prowess but also by the exploits of his forbears. His grandfather, bearing his own name, is stated to have been a Viśvaka who was one among the rūtiś’s of the solar and lunar races while his father Jāgēvāra, who possessed a large number of elephants, and his elder brother Balārāma lost their lives while fighting against their enemies. Thus the great Kapilēvāra was born in a family of ruling chiefs. The tradition describing him as a Rāuta (derived from Sanskrit Rājaputra and known to be a title of subordinate rulers), which was scarcely understood so long, can now be appreciated in its proper significance.

That Jāgēvāra was the name of the father of the great Kapilēvāra is suggested also by his own Velgalani grant1 issued in 1458 A.D. when he was camping on the bank of the Gōdāvarti. Verses 11 of this record in the Sanskrit part speaks of the grant of the village of Velgalani named after himself and his father or parents (śrī-pitr-dkhyayā)2 while the next stanza refers to the grant of Vijayapratyayapakhilendrā-mahāśānaa lying to the east of the united rivers Kṛṣṇā and Vėppā.3 At the commencement of the Telugu section beginning on the obverse of the third plate, the gift village is mentioned as Velgalani alias Kapilēvārapura (Velgalani-Kapilēvārapūrākā) and the

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1 Op. cit., pp. 42 ff. Similar traditions are found in the Kajirājakarmākāvī, Kāśyap of Jagannātham etc.
2 Kālampātikaritra (Telugu), p. 344.
TWO GRANTS OF RAGHUDEVA

120 donees receiving shares in the two localities are then enumerated in the following order:
(1) northern part of Jâgâsvarapura (Jâgâsvarapura: vidhikâ uttara-śrêṇi paschim-ddî)—20 Brâhmana-s;
(2) southern part of the same (dakshina-śrêṇi paschim-ddî)—20 Brâhmana-s;
(3) northern part of Vellamambapura (Vellamambapura: vidhikâ uttara-śrêṇi paschim-ddî)—20 Brâhmana-s;
(4) southern part of the same (dakshina-śrêṇi paschim-ddî)—20 Brâhmana-s;
(5) northern part of Kapilësvara-pura (Kapilësvara-pura: vidhikâ uttara-śrêṇi paschim-ddî), called Vijayarapâtipakapiliendra-mahâssana in the Sanskrit part—20 Brâhmana-s;
(6) southern part of the same (dakshina-śrêṇi paschim-ddî)—20 Brâhmana-s. It appears clear from this enumeration that the village of Veligalani was divided into three parts, one of which was named Jâgâsvarapura and another Vellamambapura. This further suggests that the word pîtri in the passage svâ-pîtri-ākhyagâ means not merely 'father' but both 'father and mother' and that the name of Kapilësvara's father was Jâgâsvara and that of his mother Vellamambâ. The third part of the gift village was named after the donor and the village was sometimes referred to as Veligalani-Kapilësvara-pura.¹

The female name Vellamambâ looks like Telugu in origin and it may be suggested that Kapilësvara had Andhra blood in his veins. This is of course not improbable in view of the fact that his success in conquering wide areas of the Telugu- and Tamil-speaking lands, then under the hegemony of the Vijayanagara king, was due, to a very considerable extent, to the help he received from Andhra generals.² But the question cannot be satisfactorily solved without further light on the subject, since the Oriya supplement³ of the Veligalani grant mentions Vellamambapura as Velama- pura or Bélamapura and Vélunâ or Bélamâ may be supposed to have been made Vellamambâ in Telugu. It has, however, to be admitted in this case also that Velamâ or Bélamâ does not look like a typical Oriya name either. On the other hand, it reminds us of the Velama caste, one of the front-rank agriculturist communities of the Andhra country, to one of the sub-divisions of which belong the Rajas of Bobbili, Venkatagiri, Pitâpuras, and Nuzvid.⁴

The genealogy of the early Sûryavarîñâ Gajapati of Orissa, as found in the Raghuvedâ pura grant with its information supplemented by the Dûrapâlein and Veligalani grants, now stands as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Kapilësvara I} \\
\text{(called a Nâyaka and represented as one of the rulers of the races of the Sun and the Moon)} \\
\text{Jâgâsvara} \\
\text{(possessor of numerous elephants; died together with his eldest son while fighting with some enemies; married Vélamâ or Vellamambâ).} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Bâlakâma (died together with his father while fighting with some enemies)} \\
\text{Kapilësvara II} \\
\text{(born of Vélamâ or Vellamambâ; first independent monarch in the family; founder of the Sûryavarînâ Gajapati family of Orissa; ascended the throne in 1454-55 A.D.)} \\
\text{Parasurâma (married Mallika)} \\
\text{Râma} \\
\text{Râghûdeva (born of Mallika; Kapilësvara's viceroy at Rajahmundry at least from 1455 to 1461 A.D.; called Chûdërâvarî in the concluding section of the Raghuvedâpurâ grant)}
\end{array}
\]

¹ The Oriya part of the document also suggests that the village of Veligalani was divided into three parts, one named after the king's father, another after his mother and the third after himself.
² Many of the celebrated Gajapati generals were Andhras. Some of those who served under Kapilësvara were Gajara-vâ Tippa and Dâmara Tîmâna or Tâmma and Tama's son Basava-bhûpîla (cf. Sastri and Venkataramanayya, op. cit., pp. 86-87; A. R. Bp., 1892, No. 208; etc.).
³ This part of the inscription is carelessly engraved on both sides of the last plate, lines 1-10 on the obverse and line 11 on the reverse. For the text, see IHQ, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 279-80; JAS, Letters and Science, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, pp. 13 ff.
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

[Vol. XXXIII]

The concluding part of Section I of the record (verse 29 ff. in lines 55 ff.) states that Raghudēva, stationed at Rājamanabhūdramgara (Rajahmundry), paid a visit to Kaṭaka (i.e. modern Cuttack) on the Māhānadi, which was the capital of his master Kapilēśvara) in connection with some service to be rendered to Kapilēśvara and there he met on the way a large number of Brāhmaṇas together with their wives and heard their case. For settling these Brāhmaṇas, he then resolved to create an agrahāra within the territory under his governorship. The number of the Brāhmaṇa donees of the agrahāra is given in verse 30 as 40 only. But the list of the donees quoted in Section II (lines 65 ff.) shows 42 names. As will be seen below, it appears that the agrahāra was divided into 40 equal shares meant for 40 Brāhmaṇas but that actually 2 of the shares had to be subdivided equally among 4 Brāhmaṇas.

The donees of the grant were mostly Yajurvedin Brāhmaṇas with only a few pertaining to the Rigvēda. They belonged to various gōtrās. The gōtrās of the 42 Brāhmaṇas enumerated in the list are: Ātrēya (6), Bhrādravāja (3), Gautama (1), Hārīta (7), Kāśyapā (9), Kaupāṇīya (5), Kaushāka (6), Kutas (2), Lauhita (1) and Śrīvatsa (2). The information about the donees as found in Section II is supplied below in a tabular form. It will be seen from the list, that although the donees are stated to have been met by the donor at Kaṭaka (Cuttack), they do not appear to have been Oṛiya Brāhmaṇas. Their names indicate that most, if not all, of the donees were Brāhmaṇas of the Andhra areas. Probably they went to Kaṭaka with a view to securing some favour from Kapilēśvara, and Raghudēva, having met them there, represented their case to his master and granted them the agrahāra with the latter's consent and permission necessary for the purpose. Although the credit for the donation is appropriated by Raghudēva in the record under study as also in the other document edited below, generally a provincial governor was not fully entitled or empowered to create rent-free holdings without the consent and permission of his master in some form. Whether, as a member of Kapilēśvara's family and a close relation of Kapilēśvara and as the governor of a newly conquered territory, the viceroy enjoyed a special position in this respect cannot be determined. It has, however, to be noticed that, even though charters recording the creation of rent-free holdings by rulers who were purely provincial governors without any reference to their master are not generally known, we have several instances of the kind, besides the two charters of Raghudēva edited here, in such viceregional Gajapati records as the Konavidu plates1 of Gaṇa-dēva-rājarāya-mahāpātra who was Kapilēśvara's viceroy at Konavidu and claimed to have been a member of his master's family, and the Chiruvruli grant2 of Prince Hambirā who claims to have been a son of Kapilēśvara and was the leader of the Gajapati forces in the campaigns in the Telugu- and Tamil-speaking areas.3 It is interesting to note that Kapilēśvara himself is also known to have made grants of land in the territories ruled over by the southern viceroys.4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Donee</th>
<th>Donee’s father</th>
<th>Gōtra</th>
<th>Vēda or Sākhā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Vēdacāri-dvēdīn (dvivēdīn)</td>
<td>Varad-ārya</td>
<td>Kāśyapā</td>
<td>Yajus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ananta-bhaṣṭa</td>
<td></td>
<td>Āditya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mallu-bhaṣṭa</td>
<td></td>
<td>Naraśinha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Sōmaya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Ind. Ant. Vol. XX, pp. 390 ff.
2 Bhr.oi, November 1941, pp. 514 ff. The charter recording the grant of the village of Chiruvrūh, situated on the Krishnā and renamed Hambrapura after the donor, was issued in Āśka 1383 (Rūma-īśha-īśka-dvījapati)-Vṛṣha, Rākṣa-badi 15 (Ṛūha), Friday. The date corresponds to the 4th September 1461 A.D. For some other inscriptions of Hambira, see Nos. 148, 157 of 1912, etc.
4 Cf. The Veligalaṇi grant referred to above.]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Donee</th>
<th>Donee’s father</th>
<th>Götra</th>
<th>Vēda or Sākhā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Annam-ārya</td>
<td>Mallu-bhāṭṭa</td>
<td>Kauśika</td>
<td>Yajus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Śīngan-ārya</td>
<td>Brahma</td>
<td>Hārīṭa</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Annam-ārya</td>
<td>Narasimha</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Kāman-ārya</td>
<td>Āditya</td>
<td>Kauśika</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Vēdagiri</td>
<td>Mallan-ārya</td>
<td>Kāśyapa</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Prōlan-ārya</td>
<td>Bētan-ārya</td>
<td>Kauśika</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Nāgan-ārya</td>
<td>Gōpāl-ārya</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>Bhāradvāja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Nāya(Nāgaya ?)-bhatta</td>
<td>Tippan-ārya</td>
<td>Kauṇḍinya</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Auvbhār-ārya</td>
<td>Vallabh-ārya</td>
<td>Kāśyapa</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Tallu-bhāṭṭa</td>
<td>Kāman-ārya</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>Laubita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Kāman-ārya</td>
<td>Mallan-ārya</td>
<td>Kāśyapa</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Nārīyana-bhāṭṭa</td>
<td>Vallabha-ārya</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>Kauṇḍinya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Āditya-bhāṭṭa</td>
<td>Kāman-ārya</td>
<td>Kauśika</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Kaśvra-ārya</td>
<td>Kamboja-ārya</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>Bhāradvāja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Timmaṇa-āṇṭri</td>
<td>Auvbhār-ārya</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>be.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Viśvēvara</td>
<td>Nṛṣimha-uṇi</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>Kāśyapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Kṛṣṇa-bhāṭṭa</td>
<td>Peddan-ārya</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Dēvarē-bhāṭṭa</td>
<td>Viśvēvara</td>
<td>Kūṭa</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Pōti-bhāṭṭa</td>
<td>Viśvēvara</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Kāṃśrīya-bhāṭṭa</td>
<td>Lakṣmanamā</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Appal-ārya</td>
<td>Kāman-ārya</td>
<td>Kauśika</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Nāgan-ārya</td>
<td>Vallabha</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>Kauṇḍinya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Duggan-ārya</td>
<td>Mallaya</td>
<td>Kāśyapa</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Auvbhār-ārya</td>
<td>Gangan-ārya</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>Śrīvatsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Bollan-ārya</td>
<td>Śīngan-ārya</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>Śrīvatsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Bāḥkara</td>
<td>Brahmāṇanda</td>
<td>Hārīṭa</td>
<td>Yajus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Yaru-bhāṭṭa</td>
<td>Auvbhār-ārya</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Déci-bhāṭṭa</td>
<td>Āditya</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Mallana</td>
<td>Śrīgī (Śrīgī ?)</td>
<td>Hārīṭa</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Sōma</td>
<td>Mallana</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>Bhāradvāja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Auvbhār-ārya</td>
<td>Appal-ārya</td>
<td>Kāśyapa</td>
<td>Yajus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Xaar-ārya</td>
<td>Nārānymādh-ārya</td>
<td>Śrīvatsa</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Rāmāchandra</td>
<td>Pēdhī-yaṣvani</td>
<td>Haṃsa</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Śīṅgana</td>
<td>Yajñan-ārya</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>Kauṇḍinya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Nārsimha</td>
<td>Anant-ārya</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>Govinda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No. 1] TWO GRANTS OF RAGHUDEVA
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Denece</th>
<th>Denece's father</th>
<th>Gòtara</th>
<th>Védà - Sákхи</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Sànap-àrya</td>
<td>Mallan-àrya</td>
<td>Kátýapa</td>
<td>Yajus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Mùdhàra</td>
<td>Yàllana</td>
<td>Kàvàkà</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Visàna</td>
<td>Bhàskara</td>
<td>Kuta</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of these Nos. 33-34 and 41-42 are specifically stated to have received only half a share each. This seems to suggest that the other Brāhmaṇas received one full share each. There were altogether 40 shares: but 2 shares were divided equally among 4 Brāhmaṇas.

Verse 29 of Section I (lines 55-58) shows that the land granted by the charter under study was called Kriddëvé-uttararbhalëña, i.e. the northern part of Kriddëvī, while the next verse mentions the land granted by Raghudëvā in favour of the 40 Brāhmaṇas as Kriddëví-khândà situated on the bank of the Gòdà, i.e. the Gödâvari (called Gautami in verse 1 of Section III). The three concluding stanzas of the section mention Raghudëvapura which was made an agrahàra (i.e. a rent-free holding for being owned by Brāhmaṇas) by Raghudëvā. It is thus clear that the northern part of what was formerly called Kriddëvī-khândà was made an agrahàra and granted in favour of a large number of Brāhmaṇas and that the agrahàra was renamed Raghudëvapura after the donor Raghudëvā. The grant was made for the pûrī or favour of the god Vânadëvā (Vishnu). It was endowed with the privileges of ashta-bhûça and ashta-bhûti.1 There is no doubt that Kriddëvī-khândà or Raghudëvapura on the Gödâvari or Gautami is the same as modern Raghudëvapura, about 14 miles to the north-west of Rajahmundry, headquarters of a Taluk of that name in the East Godavari District of Andhra. It is situated on the left bank of the river.

Section III of the inscription (lines 119 ff.) describes the boundaries of Raghudëvapura situated on the bank of the Gautami (i.e. Gödâvari). To the north and north-west of the village, the Vridhâ-Gautami (i.e. bigger Gautami) was flowing and, to the east of the river, there was an antarîpâ (an island or a promontory) and the Laghu-Gautami (i.e. the smaller Gautami) flowed beyond it. To the east of the Laghu-Gautami, there was a big stream flowing from the Gautami and, to the east of this stream, there was a row of palmrya trees and beyond them a big Pippala tree. On the way to the Pippala tree (or, at the same place near it), there was a big Vata tree and near it, on the same mound (sêtu), some palmrya trees. To the north-east of these, there were two bamboo bushes and to their east a tamarind tree. To the north-east of that tree, there was a Bahâ tree and to its east another tamarind tree. There were two Pàlasa trees to the north-east of that tree and a Plakkha tree stood to the north-east of the Pàlasa, and near them, on the same mound, there were the Gödînîn-tatáka (tank), one Pippala tree and two Vata trees. To the north-east of these, there was a stone pillar while a second stone pillar stood towards the east of it. From the second pillar towards the east began a big mound (sêtu) which ran towards the south. There was a big Pippala tree on it and also the bank of the Mulikëvâ (possibly the name of a tank or stream). To the south of these, there were some Kadamba trees and, to the south-east of the trees, there stood a Madhùhihûra [tree] very near a stone pillar. There was Kèśava's tank to the south of the pillar and behind the tank there was a curved road marked by a pointed stone, which came from or led to the locality called Kûṭkûppânta. On the said road towards the south-west, there were several Ghôšha and Tâla trees and to the west of them stood two Pippala trees on the road to or from Muggûlu. To the north of them, there was a big Pippala tree as well as a temple of Sànikara (Siva). Behind the temple, the Gautami was flowing in the west and there were the temple of Chintalamma and a big Pippala tree on its bank. To the west of these, the Gautami flowed straight in a small stream, to

1 The same privileges are also referred to in such other records as the Kondavidu plates of Gâñadhêva. Cf. s-viñāra-và-des-ha-káma-sa-ha-bhî-sa-as-ta in lines 31-32 (Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 301).
the west of which there was an island and beyond it ran the biggest stream of the same river. Between these two streams of the Gautami, there was an antārīpa and, from that place (adheem) the northern bank of the Gautami formed a part of Raghudēvapura.

The concluding section of the inscription in lines 135 ff. contains some of the usual imprecatory and benefictory stanzas. But they are preceded by two stanzas containing the prayer of Śrī Narėndra (i.e. the illustrious ruler Raghudēva) to the future rulers and that of Śrī-Vira-Chōḍēśvara of the solar race to the Brāhmaṇas, both for the protection of the granting stated in the verses to have been made by the Narēndra or Chōḍēśvara. This seems to suggest that Chōḍēśvara was another name of Raghudēva, the donor of the grant. Whether this suggests that Raghudēva’s mother was a Chōḍā or Chōḍā princess cannot be determined. The last verse of the inscription states that the charter regarding Raghudēvapura was kathita by Āduviḷa Nṛsinha under orders from Raghudēva. The word kathita seems to have been used here in the sense of ‘composed’ or ‘written’. It is found in a similar context also in some other records.

The geographical names mentioned in the inscription include: Kaṭaka (Cuttack) the capital of the empire of Kapiliśvara, Rājamahēndranagara (Rajahmundry) which was the headquarters of the province under the rule of Raghudēva, the gift village originally called Kṛiddēvy-uttara-khaṇḍa or Kṛiddēvi-khaṇḍa and renamed as Raghudēvapura, and the river Gōda or Gōdāvari or Gautami and its courses called Vṛddha-Gautami and Laghu-Gautami on which the gift village was situated. As already indicated above, the province of the Gajapati empire, which was under Raghudēva’s rule, is stated to have been bounded by the Simhāchala (Simhachalam in the Taluk and District of Vī-akṣapattanam, Andhra) on one side and by what is called Giripraja (probably standing for Girivraj) on the other. This Giripraja or Girirajra was apparently situated towards the west or south-west of Rajahmundry and, as already suggested above, was probably the name applied to another province of the Gajapati empire, which had its headquarters at Kondavidu in the Guntur District.

The location of Raghudēvapura, the new name applied to the gift village formerly called Kṛiddēvi, has already been discussed above. In the description of its boundaries, mention is made of the Muggulū-mārga, i.e. the road coming from or leading to Muggulū which is still known to be a village about a mile to the south of Raghudēvapura; and about 13 rules to the north-west of Rajahmundry. I am unable to identify the few other places mentioned in this connection.

TEXT

[Motres: Section I—verses 1-2, 6, 8-11, 16 Upajāti; verse 3 Indravajrā; verse 4 Harīṇī; verses 5, 7, 31, 33 Anushṭabh; verses 12, 14, 21-27, 29-30 Sārdulavṛkṛṣṭa; verses 13, 21-24, Mālaḥārīṇī; verse 15 Sragārā; verse 17 Vasantarīlaka; verse 18 Giti; verses 19-20, 23 Prithvi; verse 32 Svarājā. Section II—verses 1-40 Anushṭabh. Section III—verses 1-9, 11-14 Anushṭabh; verse 10 Upājāti. Section IV—verse 1 Sragārā; verse 2 Sārdulavṛkṛṣṭa; verse 3 Śālūni; verses 4-8 Anushṭabh.]

Section 1

First Plate, First Side

1 Siddham {[*]} avighnam-astu {[*]} Siddham {[*]} Pāyād-apāyāt-paramasya purā[ō]
Lilāvarāḥasya jaga-

2 nitya(ni) dantaśtrā | vata-praṣrā-agra-dalasya lakṣmāṇī yad-aṅgā-lagnā vasudhā babhāra | 1 |

1 Cf. the Chiruvro li grant (Bkāl, November 1041, pp. 314 ff.), line 31.
2 From impressions.
3 The figure 1 is engraved in the left margin of the plate, near the beginning of line 8.
4 Expressed by a symbol which is preceded by a floral design.
5 Expressed by symbol
3 Sa-cauntra-lékhama navanidiririkheya mudutumia(r-nuni)nunvād-āśibadatā māhakāna yaḥ khēlā[ṇu]pū.

4 trī-prāṇta-chara Gajāyayāvyā-vyād-Aj-ādyair-abhivaṇdyamanaḥ | 2 | Yām udādhiṁśhur-

5 rāśi-lāhān dēvō dhārādheka-viśhāna-chudīcchhā | sansāradhah-rūmāśjānu Madhrevōspi saukyāvatā-sā.

6 Vipuliśasa bhūtya | 3 | Prudha(ha)yaata mudati pad-āṁbhōja-dvayaṁ Kanalāpatē[r]-

7 ripu-lās[au]sāru[ṛ]vā sāda ṛvati(tr)ṛpā jaya-iṣyāḥ | vinamad-amari-da(dha) muṁllāsa-prapu-

8 ra-du-du(du)ma-prasadā-patāk-ṛṣva(v)heṭi[haṭt]būta-pramōda-patākrāman(m) | 4 | Asti
avastu chūd-a-

9 mahā-ana-yaṁ advayam acyuta(tam) | avidyā-dvaya-nā(sā)chiva-vivattita-jaga[ṇt]-

10 trayati(yam) | 5 | sahuḥ-sauīkhyaiś charaṇaiḥ śrīōbhira-nētraiyāh kaotā-vyāpya jagad-

11 bhūtā-rav-indu-bīhanām viśhāna mahātmānam-ajjanaṇa-yat | 6 | Utprati-sthitī-sambvā-

12 tu-bhūtō yam-avayaḥ | Nārāyaṇo-bhava-vahhrimāṇē tri-guṇātmā trayī-mayaḥ | 7 |

13 Tānuśāḥi-padmā-udaihūḍ-Viṁjadi[ṛ] saṁshātra samastasya chār-āharasya | chatur-

14 mukhabhāṣya-āyā ma-

15 tān tau pushpavanīttā(tāv)-udita(ya) yata stāḥ | yasyaḥ-patākā jagatāni tatō bhūd-vainā-svaya-

16 yī bhūga-pa[rain]purābhūḥ | 9 | Tāt-sūrya-sūm-anvaya-bhūmi-pōla-vainā-śrajaṇām n[ṛ]-

First Plate, Second Side

17 pa-sā-nanmūṇu(nām) | viśuṇḍhobha(dha)vṛttatā Kapilēśvarōbhūt-sā-nayakō nāyaka-

18 naṁ-ratiṇa(ṇam) | 10 | Jāgēśva-

19 ras-tat-tanayō mahātmā Ragbēr-iv-ājō bhuvan-ākaha-sūraḥ | abhūd-abhūr-vairī-bhuvāṁ bha-

19 yānām kīrti-pratāpā-dvaya-bhūt[*] ggeja[ṇ-sau]ghāt | 11 | Tasya-āsān
tanayāḥ prasibdhā

20 dvafar-vābhaṁ viṣa-chchha(chchha) tita-kṛtttāyaḥ kuvalaye-dāśi-pratāpa-āriyāḥ | tatr-

21 ṛāma ity-udaya-bhūr-anvārdhāna(ṛttt)a-nām-abhavat-khadga-stambhita-sūra-vairi-nikara-

22 ṛāyaḥ | 12 | Asama-samara-sāmīśa-kampit-āris-tad-āayaṁ niyā-janaka-saṁkātō yuddhā-

[ddha-sa]m[ṛ]na

* There seems to be an unnecessary and imperfectly formed ḍ-ōndō with doctrine.
* Read Gajāyayā or Gajāyayanā.
* Read samudāka.
* Sāntak has not been observed here.
TWO GRANTS OF RAGHUDEV A—PLATE I

1. Raghudevapura Grant of Saka 1378

Scale: One-Half
TWO GRANTS OF RAGHUEVA

23 dhīha(dhīha)-vāhī | raya-bluvi vijit-āris-tyakta-dēhō vibhinna-dyu maṣṭa-agamad-ishta
sva-vadhā(idhi)nām

24 kum(kum)cīra(gīr) | 13 | Vira-srī Kapilēvarasa-tatt-anuṇaḥ kīrti-pratāpa-dvaya śri
vikshālata-

25 chakravāla-chāvam-ādīdam-ānḍhakāro-blavat | saury-āsādita-Damitrāja-vibha-


27 Drīk-kōṇe yasya sōṇe raṇa satrāḥ-mukhē saṁmukhā sāvīrī-viṣaṁ vāraṁ vāraṁ varūmān | [11]*

28 vāma Amurapuri-viśva-vyasa-vyasa
vain | ākāsaye-āsti-pṛuttri(ṇi) vāma-jalada-tati-śyāmala l-

29 na bhūmā pītraṁ kīrti-pratāpa-vyaśa-vahartā yamalantu s urvīṇa rakta-raktā | 55(15) | Yasa-
āsā-dhē.

30 suh samad-agra-bhuṇau yaya-āmikurān karna vatsama-āhūtan | dvishadh-vadhūnāṁ grasa-

31 nṛvēlam-apalavā[ṇa] stana-patra-vallāh | 16 | Tasy-ānuṇaḥ Paraśurāma iti prasiddhā-
(dhō) nāmna padē.

Second Plate: First Side

32 na Haricharindana eva kākāh | 17 | vām prasvapya yāṁ[ti]* vibhūdāḥ paripūrṇa-kāmā
saṁnir-

33 rdīrt-ārdhāns [phal]adām harāv āstu kālarttum(rotum) | 17 | Abhavād amālo guṇ-aughair-
uditaṁ kīrti[ya] eha Para-u-

34 rāma-vibhō | Udaya-girēḥ[ī] sī(st)ita-mahī(hi) Raghudēva-kō(ku)māra-vi(vi)ra simhō
dsāh-vi(yam) | 18 | Anuṣādaṁ suta-

35 ma-śaṅgāṇa-kula-mataḥ Mallaṁ prabhātām-vra maḷi(lī)ka-prasavam-ishta-gaṇḍham
nṛpiṇāṁ[ḥ]ami | [yatḥ]

36 Parāśurāma-raṁ|h| abhavad agrapiṇāḥ putriṇām-asau Raghuvārō vāṣi(sī) vibhu-maṇḍ kaḍaṃnu-

37 kṛtō mahimnā Kapilēvarā-darūttti(ṇi)-rāja-si[ti]hē(hē)na | dig-viṣya-ārjita-yasasa Ragh-
hu-dēva-kumā-

38 ra-sūra-[ā]dūlaḥ | 20 | Raghudēva-kumāra-vi(vi)ra si[ti]hē(hē) vidadhānē viṣyāṁ
dīśām raviṁ(v-in)dvē|h| pra-

39 tīmbi-bhakātā pratāpa-kirtyōh ppa(pa)riśeśaḥ-su Vidhēr-ayah viṣeśah | 22(21) | Raghudēva-

40 rāṇa-rājaputrō vipulāṁ ēsaṁ Kārttavai(vi)ra-kalpē | girayaḥ paripadhdhi(ṇhi)nām-

41 ta sarvāpaseṣaṁ kuchā nivāsah | 23(22) | Raghudēva-nārīnānda-rajasūnaḥ raṇa-sannā-

42 na-viḍhāyini prakāmāni(mam) | sarapat eha raṇe tadā bhajaitē charaṇē vā maraṇaṁ ripu-

pra-

1 Read *aṃgas-taramīṭ.
1 The syllable *a may be omitted for the sake of the meter.
1 The figure 2 is engraved in the left margin of the plate near the beginning of line 40.
1 Read *manpratthā kiṭha).
1 Read vāṃśa-sūśamānti.)

(155)
43 vi(vi)raḥ | 24(23) | Raghubēva-nārēṃdra-rājaputrē jāgatiṁ śasati khaḍga-sāli-bāhau | charaṇā-ṃ.
45 tair-bahūnai ratmai-chā ghōrī-śataiḥ śāā(s)āḥtiṇ(ī)ḥ bhī[ḥ]kkē(ka)riṇām ghaṭābhīr= abhisāmāpiyā-dāṅgoṛī-ya-ṃ.
46 gmañ pituh | vīra-sṛ(ṭ) Kapiḷēvārasya bahudhā sēvāṁ vidhyā-śadarāvī(d=vi)ra-sṛ-ṛ-Raghubēva-rā-ṃ.
47 ja-tanayō labdhā-khiler-sṛ(ṭ)re-abhrēt | 25 | Jtv=āsās-sakas(ka)ḷā nihyaṭa cha rīpūn hṛtvā
48 tadīyam(yaṁ) dhanam nānā-ratna-mahēḥ-bhāpya(vya)-turaṅ-ārūṭbhīr=aty-ambjuṇaḥ | vīra-ṃ.

Second Plate, Second Side

49 [śri]-Kapiḷēvārasya charaṇa śamāpiyā tat-sēvāyā labuhā-sṛ(ṭi)-ṛ-Raghubēva[va*]-rājatanayō
50 dharm-ādikāḥ varahīda(rādhiḥ)te | 27(26) | Tīṣṭhan Rājāmahēṃdra-nāma-nagarē sāntyak= prajāḥ puṇā(ḥ)laiyā[n*].
51 nā-Sīthāvā(ha) cam-al-gajāratva(ṃ)ṣam-imām bhūmāṃ tathā-karaṇākāṃ(kāṃ) | vīra-sṛ(ṭi)-Kapiḷēvā-ṃ.
52 rasyā kṛpaya kurvan Kuṇār-āgraṇat(ī)ḥ lāhir(ī)ḥ bhīṣa-sṛ(ṭi)-ṛ-Raghubēva-rājatanayaḥ Śrī- (Śrī)ṣa-priyō va-ṃ.
53 rddhāṛ(ṛ)ddhatē | 28(27) | Turamga-yu(khu)ra-dhā(ḍ)ṛita-khaṭī-ṛajaḥ-kaṇair-vairiṇāṃ āṛtasiṣai pāta-blāsaṛa┐ā
tāra-ṃ.
54 nu-kalai samābhāhāda(ya*) | mahīṣa-gaṇān-punaṁ-vasubhir-adhthi(ṛṭṭhi)tais= tōṭhayanam<u>u</u>saREGhu-
55 nṛp-ātmajāḥ putur-ahhīṣṭa-laṅ saṁbhaveti | 29(28) | Śvāyai Kapiḷēvā[ra*]jaya Kaṭakam
56 gatvā tātō mārggatō vyāghṛupā(ḥ)ṣāgamanē samīkṣhya dharaṇīdvān sa-bhāḥ(bhājṛyā-)
57 n-bahūn | tād rakshā-hita-dhīr-narēṅka-sīhāmī-ṛāmaṇīpāl-ātmajā-men yat Kriḍēvya-
utṭara-kha-ṃ.
58 [mj]daṁ-ṛēha sukriti dātum dvījēbhya=sthraṁ(ṛam) | [29 [*] Śāk-ābōde vasu-sāla-
iśvāvasa-ganitē sa[r[j]h*]vatsarē
dī. 59 Dhātari Dvādaśāyāṁ Śuchi-sūkla-pakṣeṣa-tidhau(thau) prādūṭhē(re) Ḍhajri-pr(ṛ)jata ≤ vīra-Sṛ-Raghubēva-
60 rājatanayāḥ Kriḍēvī-khaṇḍam paraṁ chatvāriniṣad-abhēṣṭa-bhūsra-vra śrēṇyayai
cha Gē-
61 dā-taṭē | [30 [*] Raghubēvāpuram datvā(ṛtvā) Raghubēva-nṛpātmajāḥ | śrī(śrī)matō
Vāsudēvaṣa pr(ṛ)jata-
62 ye-sa(s)a[ḥ]v[a*]ka[l]pata | [31 [*] Ashta-bōga-sahitaṁ Raghubēvā-re-śaṭa-bhūti-sahitaṁ
cha vidhyā |
65 a sasyapas=sanya(d-Yajurvedi(di) Varad-â[rjya=ranubhavah | bhâg(i) | Vêdagiri-dvédî vêd-adhyâya-pa.
68 raimaginha(âh)=su[tô bhâg(i) Yajur-vich=chhâstra-vâk-patiñ | 3 | Hâritô Dévarê=bhastâ-sutas=Sô.
69 maya-kâvid[â] | bhâg[i] sabhyas=asad=âchâr[air=agra=vêdi=Ptâmaha[r | 4 | Kauñikô=pi Yaujô-sâ[khô]
70 Mallu=bhâstô=ta-nûbhavah | Annam=ârya-dvijô bhâg(i) Vêda-sêstra-parâyanâ[r | 5 | Hârita-Brahma-tana-
71 yô Yaujô-sêkhô-parâyanâ[r | bhâg(i) ayâch=Chizigan=âryô=pi niti=âchâra-niraniñ-
72 tarâ[r | 6 | Hâritô Yajur-adhyâya-niahtô bhâg[i dvij-ôttamâ[r | Annam=ârya-
73 sasad-âchâr[ô Narasimit[â=ha]=tanûba=bhah|va=]h | 7 | Kâman-ârya[h] Kauñikê=pi bhâg(i) bhû-
74 sura=sattama[r | Yajur-vêdas=asad=âchâr[air=Ádityasya tanûbhavah | 8 | Kâ-
75 âyapô Yajur-adhyâya[ya]=sabhyas[=bhah | prâmânikô guñ[=]i | Mallan=âryasya tanayô bhâg[i
76 Vêdagirî[h*] svayañ(yam) | 9 | Kauñikô Yajur-adhyâyô Bêtan=âryya=ta-nû=bhavah | bhûsura=
77 grêsarô bhâg[ô Prôlan-â[rjya=priyanvadah | 10 | Bhatradvâjô Yaujû-sêkhô Gopâ-
78 l=âryya=ta-nûbhavah | bhâg[i san-Nâgan=âryô=pi sabhyas prâmânika=priyah | 11 | Kauñidi-
79 nyô Yajur-adhyâ[ya*]s=Tippa=âryya=tanûbhavah | bhâg[i Nâya*=bhâstô=pi vidvad=yajûsa-
80 matah | 12 | Kâsîyapa=sanya(d-Yaujô-sêkhô Vallahb=âryya=ta-nûbhavah | bhágavân=Aubha:

The intended reading seems to be *addâdina=kripâ=.*
*There is a floral design here to indicate the separation of the following section quoting the list of donees from the foregoing part.
*There is a floral design here to indicate the separation of the following section quoting the list of donees from the foregoing part.
*The correct form of the word is dvesi. See above, Vol. XXIX, p. 93.
*The correct form of the word is aksharina rîya are engraved in the margin.
*The name is written partially in the margin on an erasure.
*Between Ya and ju, the letter îô was engraved and rubbed off.
*One more syllable is required in the name to suit the metre. The intended reading may have been Nîpessa.
*The correct form of the name is Asûdala which is a modification of Aḥôdala.
16

Epigraphia Indica [Vol. XXXIII.]

Third Plate, Second Side

81 prāmāṇika-padhā(th-ā)nugah | 13 | Lauhitu Yajur-adhyā(dhyā)yaḥ Kāmān-ārya-tanūbhavaḥ |

82 Tallu-bhatṝ̄-pi bhāgī sād-Vėḍa-sāstra-viśārāṇaḥ | 14 | Kāṣyapa Yajur-adhyāya Ma-

83 llaṁ-ārya-tanūbhavaḥ | Kalpasūtra-priyāḥ kāntaḥ Kāmān-ārya-fō-pi bhāgāva-

84 n | 15 | Kauṇḍinya Yajur-adhyāya Vaiśeṣika-āryya-sutō vaśi | bhātṝ Ārāya-

85 nā bhāgī karmasthō dha[ma-va*]ta[a]laḥ | 16 | Kauśikō Yajur adhyāya-pāraśaur[tr*]ya-ya-

86 nāḥ | Kāmān āryya-sutō bhāgī bhātṝ Ārditya-dvīj-ōttamah | 17 | Bhāradvājō Ya-

87 jur-veda[h*] | 18 | Kaśchānā-ārya-sutō mahān | bhāgī ayāt-Kauśiṇa-āryya-s-tu
g

88 sābhyas-saṁsā-priyō vaśi | 18 | Ātreyō Yajur-adhyāya-pravīnō

89 bhāgavān-īha | 19 | Zuhbhā[ll]-ārya-sut-tas-sabhyāh | sāstrī Tīmāṇa-kōvidāh | 19[9*]

90 Śrīmat-Kāśyapa-gōtrō-pi bhāgī Viśeṣeṣa-sudhīh | Nṛṣūṇa-sūrī-tanūyō Yaju[r] vē-

91 di ṣun-ōnnatāḥ | 20 | Kāṣyapa Yajur-adhyāya-nipūṇō bhāgavān-īha | Podalān-āryya-su-

92 tas-sabhyāh | 21 | Kṛṣṇha-bhatṝ āsabha-śabhyāh | Kutas-gōtrō Yaũsā-kīḥ Viśeṣeṣa-

93 tanūbhavavahāḥ[bhavah | ] bhāgī sā[d*]-Dēvarō-bhatṝ-sāstrī[tr] bhūṣuṇa-[su*]jāttamah |

94 jur-adhyāya-nipūṇō bhūti-bhāsnah | 22 | Kauṇḍinyō Ya-


Fourth Plate, First Side

96 bhātṝ [h*] sād-anna-dāna-pød-[ja]vajal[ha] | 24 | Kauśikō Yajur adhyāya Kauṇḍiya-ānān-

97 rya-tanū-bhavah | bhāgī[ṇ] sād-Appal-āryō | Kauṇḍya-priyō vaśi | 25 | Kauṇḍ-

98 nyō Yajur-adhyāya-nipūṇō Vaiśeṣika-ātmahah | bhāgī ayān-Nā[gun-āryō] pi | [pati]chāya-

99 rāyānāh | 26 | Kāśyapa Yajur-adhyāya-niśīṇō Malla[y-ātmahah] | [Dv]agga-p[y-ṛ]


102 yō Bahīṛe[ca-praśḥtō bhāgī niṣṭha-ka[r*]num[athāh | 29 | Śi[m]arrō-āryya-sut-tas-sab[bhyāh(bhyō)

103 Bollan-āryya[satā]-priyah | 29 | Hūritō Yajur-adhyāya-viśṛt[śu]tah

104 śṛ[ṛ]u[ṇa]-pārāgāh | 30 | Brahmaṇāndā-sutō bhāgī Bhāskara Ya[j]-vallabhaḥ | 30 [9*]

105 Āvṛ[ṛ]yō Yajur-adhyāya Yaũsā-bhatṝ̄-pi bhāgavān | Aubha]-āryya-su-

106 tar-sābhyas-sa-dharmasāṁs-sut-p[a]jīvaḥ | 31 | Ātreyō Yajur-adhyāya

---

1 The danda is redundant.

2 There is a redundant syllable in this foot of the stanza. Either sā[ṛ] or śā may be omitted to rectify the defect.

3 The figure 4 is included in the margin near the beginning of lines 102-103.

4 Read Kāmān-ā.
TWO GRANTS OF RAGHUDEVA—PLATE II

1. Raghudevapura Grant of Saka 1378

Scale: One-Half
111 Yajushī prasidhibhū(ddhō) bhāgavān = iha | Narasimhāya(hā)ṝrya-tanayō Yavān-āryyas = sa-

112 tāṁ matalā | 35∥ Hāritō = pi Yajur-vēda[h*] | Peḍdi-yajva-tanūbhavaḥ ||(||) bhāgī jyō-

113 tirvīdāṁ śrēṣṭhō Rāmaḥandra-budhāṇ-graṇthī | 36∥ Kauṇājīnōyō Bahvṛchā-śrēṣṭhō Ya-

114 jān-āryya-tanūbhavaḥ | bhāgī Śrīgūna-viprō = pi sat-saṅg-aika-paṭāvānaḥ | 37∥ Gau-

115 tamē = pi Yauṭā-śakkha-paṭaṁ = bhāgi satāṁ matalā | Narasī[ṁ]liva(ha) = sabhūya[h*]avād =-

116 nīt-āryya-tanūbhavaḥ | 38∥ Kāyaṇapō = pi Yauṭā-sākhī(ktā) | Mallaṁ-āryya-tanūbhavaḥ | [*]

117 saṅg-nirātō bhāgī Śrīnāṇ-ā[ī*]ṣyaḥ priyaḥ(yaḥ) = satāṁ(tāṁ) ; 39∥ Śrī Śrī[mat-]kau-

118 śīka-Kuts-ākhyā-gōtra Mādhava-Vīṣṇau | Yallana Bhāskara-supta Yauṭaḥ

119 v = śīka-bhāginaḥ [40∥]

Section III

Siddham [[*] Étad-vipra-uttasasya Gautami-ta(tī)ra-sōbhīnaḥ | Raghuṇeṇa-

120 purasya = ā[ṣ]ya si(ṣ)ma-chihnaṁ vilikhyatō | 1* | Raghuṇeṇapur-ōdichyāṁ vāvyayāṁ 

Vṛī-

121 ddhā(ddhā)-Gautami | tat-prāg-diśv = aṁtaṁpās = cha tad-āgrō Laghu-Gau[ta*]-

mī | 2* | Tat-prāchyaṁ ma-

122 hati(tī) kulā Gautamyā nirgatā epūtam(ephuṭam) | tat-prāchyaṁ tāla-paś[k*]tiṣ = cha 

tad-āgrō sthūla-

123 pipa(ppa)laḥ | 3* | Tat-adhvani vaṭa sthūla = tat-āṭau tāla-bhūrahāḥ | tadi(d-ai)śān-

yaṁ vanūś-ku-

124 niṣau tat-prāchyaṁ chirinriṇi-tarū | 4* | Ttōv(Tad-ai)śānyaṁ bahu-vṛikṣaḥ(s = ta) | Tat-prā-

chyaṁ chir[ṁ*]tiṇi-tarū |

125 palāsaṇu cha tadi(d-ai)śānyaṁ[mi(m = ni)]śānyaṁ | plaksha[kā] = ta(th)ū | 5* | Gō[diṇēni]-

ta[tā]kaṇ = cha tat-āṭau u-

1 The name requires one more syllable to suit the metre. It may have been Śrīgiri.
2 There is a floral design after this to indicate the separation of the foregoing list of donees from the following description of the boundaries of the gift village.
3 Expressed by symbol.
4 This letter had been originally omitted and was later incised in the small space between la and ni.
126 pápaḥ vaṭan | ṛāla-stambhata = tadi (dOi) mānyāhin | ṛāla-stambhaḥ = thā pārvataḥ [h*] [] 6*]
Tad = śrāvāhya mana-sētvāḥ prā-
127 chāyāṃ dakshīṇa-dhiṣṭsunah | [Sr] Jūlaḥ pāpa (pāpal)ōśas = sētvasthō Muśikāvā-mahā-taṭaḥ
[[] 7*] Tad-dakshīṇa-dīśi śrīpī-ka-
128 damba-dharaṇī(pU)-ruḥah | ajñā (gri) ṣiyāin madhubhūtāh | pāpā (pāpa) śrīhaṃ-stambhaḥ-sam-
gataḥ [[] 8*] Kēśavasya tāṭākō = pi
129 dakshipASYān diśi sthitah [[] 9*] Taṭākā-paśchāt[d*]-diśi vakra-mārggō Kēṭālapuṇtasya
śiśā-gaṇā-lakṣāmā | tatās = cha
130 tat = śāhviṃ ṛūha-ṭalo-vṛkṣā(h) [h*] prasidhāh (ddhaḥ) diśi ni[r*] jītōs = cha [[] 10*]
Prati(t)chāyāṃ diśi Muggulū-ṃa-
131 ṛgga(rggh) pūr(pūrp) pāra-yugamakaḥ | tata u(tta)ra[tah] sthūlaḥ pūrapa (pūrapa) ṣaṃkar-
ālayah [[] 11*] Tatput (t)jīsītha-bhāgam = ā-
132 rabhya prati(t)chāyāṃ diśi Gautami | Chūntalaśām-ālaya sthūla-palālo (Gautami-taṭaḥ-
[[] 12*]
133 Tat-pratyag-ṛtu-mārgghenā sukhamah-vāhā cha Gautami | pratyag-diśi tatō laṃkā sthū-
134 la-vāhā cha Gautami [[] 13*] Vāhāha(y)ōr = ubhāyōr = madhye yo = mātari(t) pās = tatō-
dvanaḥ [7*]
135 Gautanyā = ch = ṣṭtarō bhāgō ṛaghudevapurasasya hi [[] 14*][

Section IV

Grāmāni sī(ś)īm-āśṭā-chihna-
136 spṛt(sphuṭa-vijjā-dītā-lada)[t*] kṣhātra-ṇaḥ, ēvaṁ dvīj-aughaśīr-āki(ki)ṛṇaṁ (Gautamīyayīyai) =
āṁṣūṣa yoja-samā[h*] anā-
137 ma-pān-āśi-tolān(ham) | datvā (ttv = ā) sau śrī(śrī)-ma[ṛē]śindrō nikhiṇa-ṛṣipā-vaṇāṃ = bhāvinō
yācato avain (da)rmma-
138 m u[ṛē] paśyantum prakaśtanāṃ = iti chiraṇī prāṇijāliḥ brahma-kalpāni (pam) [[] 1*] Lakṣhmī-
vibhraṃa-laṃppañā(uṃ)
139 Ravi-kura-kṣhīrطبśōti-kuralpānum nāṇā-bhūpa-kirī(ṛ) ṛaṇājīptā-pudāḥ śrī(śrī)-vīra-Cha-
ṭēśvāraḥ | madhaḥ (d-dha)-
140 rm[ā[h*] pāpa (pāpa) itāpyātām = ayan = iti kahōpi(ṇ) surān = bhāvinō bhūyāḥ | ā prārdhāh-
(ṛtta) ratō tadi-
141 yya(ya)-charana-dvānadvapa-srīkā māulīṇā [[] 2*] Sāmānyā = yām dharmma-sētū(ṛ) = nri-
paṇāni kālē
gālē pālanīyō(yō) bhavadvibhiḥ | [ṛttya] jīr sarvān = bhāvinā[h*] pārdhāhṛtṛtṛhpī-vāṃdrāṅbū-
(n= bhūyō bhāyō

1 The figure 5 is not clear in the left margin.
2 The intended reading may be śṛṭī.
3 There is a floral design after this to indicate the separation of the foregoing description of the boundaries of the gift village from the concluding part of the inscription that follows.
4 The dasa is redundant.
2 Dörpālāṃ Grant of 1455–56 A.D.

This is a stray plate inscribed on both sides. It is 8½ inches in length and 5 inches in height and contains altogether 26 lines of writing, 14 lines on the obverse and 12 on the reverse. There is a hole (about ½ inch in diameter) nearly ½ inch inside from the left border of the plate. The hole was not meant for a ring bearing the seal of the donor of the grant in question, on which several inscribed plates including the one under study must have been strung. But the ring with the seal and the other plates of the set are now lost. The plate weighes 33½ tolas.

The inscription is fragmentary and represents only the central part of a charter. The whole record was probably incised on three plates. The last line on the reverse of the extant plate shows clearly that only a few lines more were required to complete the document which must therefore have ended on the inner side of the next plate. The writing on the obverse of the plate begins with a complete stanza introducing the father of the donor (Raghudēva) as the younger brother of one who must have been mentioned in one or more verses engraved in the lower part of the inner side of the previous plate. The stanza in question is also found in the Raghudēvapura grant of which it is the seventeenth verse. Considering the fact that the present plate contains about 7½ stanzas (engraved in 14 lines) on the obverse and 5½ stanzas (incised in 12 lines) on the reverse, the entire matter of the first sixteen stanzas of the Raghudēvapura grant (running up to a little more than 30 lines and almost entirely covering both the sides of plate I which is slightly bigger in size than the present plate) would have covered a little above two faces of one plate of the size of the plate under study. But it is interesting to note that the description of the donor in the present charter (verses 3–6, i.e. four stanzas only) is much shorter than in the other record (verses 18 ff. in lines 33 ff., more than ten stanzas). It therefore looks very probable that the number of stanzas in the introductory part was considerably smaller in this record than in the Raghudēvapura grant. In any case, only one plate, with the beginning of the document inscribed probably on the inner side, seems to be lost.

1 This is followed by three floral designs. There is also an ornamental design in the right hand part of the space below the writing. This was the symbolic representation of the donor’s signature on the original document later incised on the plates.
The inscription is written in Telugu characters and in the Sanskrit language, the composition being in verse throughout. As regards palaeography and orthography, the present epigraph closely resembles the Raghuvedapura grant although there are a few minor differences in the shape of some of the characters and signs. The medial signs for £ and 6 have been used for the corresponding short signs in the name of the village Dörāpālaṇī; cf. lines 18 (verse 10), 21 (verse 11) and 24 (verse 12). The date of the charter is quoted in verse 11 in lines 19-23 as the Saka year counted by rasa (i.e. 6), śāla (i.e. 7), rāma (i.e. 3) and āśin (i.e. 1), i.e. 1376, the year being Yuvan of Jupiter's 60 year cycle as prevalent in South India. There is no other detail of the date but that the grant was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. It may be pointed out that the year Yuvan of Jupiter's Southern Cycle actually corresponded not to Saka 1376 (i.e. 1455-56 A.D.) but to the expired Saka year 1377 (i.e. 1455-56 A.D.). There occurred two lunar eclipses in the year, one on the 1st May 1455 A.D. and the other on the 22nd March 1456 A.D. The charter seems to have been issued on either of the two dates.

Verse 1 on the plate, as already indicated above, introduces Pārasārāma Harichandana, the father of Raghuveda, as the younger brother of one whose name must have occurred on the lost first plate of the set. From the Raghuvedapura grant, we know that the immediate elder brother of Pārasārāma was the great Kapilēvara who occupied the Gaṅga empire in 1431-35 A.D. Verse 2 of our record speaks of Pārasārāma's younger brother whose name was Rāma. It may be noted that Rāma's name was omitted even in the fairly elaborate genealogy of the family found in the Raghuvedapura grant. The next two stanzas represent Raghuveda-narēndra, who enjoyed the title Pātra and acquired fame for conquering the quartees, as having been regarded, owing to his prowess, as one of his sons by Kapilēvara Dantirāja (i.e. Gajapati). Verse 5 states how, when Raghuveda-narēndra was ruling the earth like king Kārvirya of old, his enemies fled to the hills or made their resting place on the breasts of the celestial nymphs. To make one's resting place on the breasts of the celestial nymphs of course refers to one's death. The representation of the governor of a small territory as a ruler of the earth like Kārvirya is an interesting instance of the exaggeration to which the prastātiyās attached to medieval Indian courts were used. Verse 6 again refers vaguely to the military prowess of Raghuveda-narēndra.

Verses 7 ff. introduce the donor of the grant. The first of these stanzas mentions Sūri-bhaṭṭa who belonged to the Kaustika gōtra and resided at Bhimavara. His son Śiṅgaṇ-āchārya is mentioned in verse 8 and Śiṅgaṇ-āchārya's son Tirumala-bhaṭṭa in verse 9. Verse 10 states that the narēndra-bhūnātha (i.e. the ruler Raghuveda) made a grant of the village of Dörāpālaṇī in favour of the Paurāṇika (exponent of the Purāṇas) Tirumala-bhaṭṭa. The next stanza states that, in the Saka year 1376, called Yuvan, and on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, Raghuveda granted the village of Dörāpālaṇī situated on the bank of the Kaunṭēya-gaṅgā to the Brāhmaṇa Timmayya. Timmayya is a modification of Tirumala. The name Kaunṭēya-gaṅgā is no doubt applied to the Gōdāvari or one of its mouths. Although the association of the river with any of the sons of Kunti is not wellknown from Indian mythology, there may be a local tradition to this effect current in the area in question. Verse 12 states that, after having given Dörāpālaṇī to the learned Tirumala, Raghuveda-narēndra entreated the future kings for the protection of his Dharma, i.e. the gift made by him by means of the charter in question.

The last two lines of the record (lines 25-26) contain more than three-fourths of the well-known stanza. ātmanāhi yo'na dharma-sūtra, etc., generally found in the imprecatory and benedictory part about the conclusion of a charter.

The inscription mentions only three geographical names. They are the locality called Bhimavara where the donor's family resided, the village of Dörāpālaṇī which was granted by Raghuveda to the Brāhmaṇa Tirumala-bhaṭṭa or Timmayya, and the Kaunṭēya-gaṅgā on the bank of which the gift village was situated. There are several places called Bhimavaram in
TWO GRANTS OF RAGHUDEVA—PLATE III

1. Raghudevapura Grant of Saka 1378

Scale: One-Half
2. Dorapalem Grant of 1455-56 A.D.
the East and West Godavari Districts. Of these, Bhimayaram, the headquarters of a Taluk of that name in the West Godavari District, is the most important and may have been the place intended by the writer of the document. As already indicated above, the Kauntīya-gaṅgā is no other than the river Gōdāvari or one of its mouths. I am not sure about the location of the village of Dōрапālem. There is no such name in the list of villages in the East or West Godavari District, although there is one called Dōrachintalapālem in the Chadavaram Division of the West Godavari District.

TEXT

[Metres: verse 1 Vasantatilaka; verse 2 Upajit; verses 3-4, 9-10 Gū; verses 5-6 Mākabhārīṇī; verses 7-8 Anuṣṭubh; verse 11 Śārulavikṛṣṭa; verse 12 Āryā; verse 13 Śālini.]

First Side

1 Ṭasya=ānujaḥ Pāraśurāma iti prasidhāh(ḥ) nāṃnā padēna Haricharanda–
2 ma eva sākṣhāt | yaṁ prāpya yānti vibudhāḥ paripūṛṇa-kāmāḥ
3 sāṃprāttitāh-ārdaḥ(rha)-pa(phā)ladaṁ harid-anta-k[ṛ]ṛttīṁ(ṛttim) || 1*|| Ṭasya-ānujo Rāma iti
4 pratitō Rāma-trayaṁ yad=gupa[ṃ]-vaibhava[ḥ] svaiḥ || guṇaiḥ pratapaiḥ=cha ya–
5 tōbhir-uchcha[ḥ]ṃ smṛteḥ kāṭkashāṁ nayatē janānāṁ(nām) || 2*|| Abhavad-amalō
guṇ-au–
6 ghair=uditaḥ ki(ki)rtya cha Pāraśurāma-vibhūḥ || Uday-āchalād=iv-śendus-au–
7 dhaYa Raḥguḍēva-rāja-kula-tilakaḥ || 3*|| Putrikritō mahimnā Kapilē–
8 ēvara=daśṭirāja-sinhēna || dig-vijay-ārjita yaśasē Raḥguḍēva-narē–
9 mōdra-pātra-sinhē-yam(yam) || 4*|| Raḥguḍēva-narēndra-rāja-sinhē vipulaṁ śāsa–
10 ti Kārtarāya-kaṇḍē || girayāḥ paripāṇḍhi(thi)ṇām=abhūvann=uta sarv-āsasa(psa)rāsāṁ ku–
11 cha nivā[e]lē || 5*|| Raḥguḍēva-narēndra-bhūtālēndrē raṣpa-sannāha-vihiyī–
12 ni prā[ga]khmaṇ(ḥam) || śaraṇaṁ cha raṣg= tadhā(thā) bhajaṁte charaṇē vā maraṇēṁ ripu–
13 pra(v)īraḥ || 6*|| Asti Kauśika-vamāyānām=agraṣiḥ(ḥi) kula-sēkhaṇaḥ || khyātō Bhī–
14ḥ(Bhī)maṁvra-stā(ṭhā)–
15 ni Śūri-bhāṭṭa(ta)=sudhīvaṛaḥ || 7*|| Tat-putraḥ Śīṅgaṇa(p-a)chāryō vōda-vōḍ-ārttha18–
pā–

1 From impressions.
2 This is verse 17 of the Raḥguḍēvapura grant with slight change in the last foot.
3 Better read yō guṇa-.n.
4 Read emrītiḥ or śrītīḥ.
5 This stanza introducing a new name in the Gajapati genealogy is not found in the Raḥguḍēvapura grant.
6 This is verse 18 of the Raḥguḍēvapura grant, although there is some difference in the wording of the second half of the stana.
7 This is verse 20 of the Raḥguḍēvapura grant with some difference in the wording of the last foot.
8 This is verse 23 of the Raḥguḍēvapura grant.
9 This is verse 24 of the Raḥguḍēvapura grant with slight difference in the first foot.
10 Better read sāl-dāpa, although the reading sāl-dāka can also be supported.
15 ragāḥ | sva-dharma-nirataḥ śāntaḥ smṛiti-śāstra-purāṇa-vit \[18*\] Tasya-āpi
16 sūnur-abhavat-Tirumalu-bhaṭṭas-suddhiḥ\[h*\] śruti-smṛitiśhu | Kauśika-vam-
17 sa-vatānasō Vyaśa-vachas-sarāṇi-jāṅghika-śrēṣṭhaḥ \[19*\] Paurāṇikāya
18 ch-āsmai Tirumalu-bhaṭṭāya dharma-śāstra-vidē | Dūrapāle-saṃjñam-učita-
19 grāmaṁ vyatarām(ran)-naraṇḍra-bhūnāthāḥ \[10*\] Śāk-ābdē rasa-saṅgga-ram-aśa-gē
gāḥ
20 varṣā Yuv-ākhyā śubhai(bhē) vi(vi)ra-āṟī-Raghuḍēva-bhūpa-tilaka[h*] \[āṛī]-
21 [mā]n=naraṇḍrō vibhuḥ | grāmaṁ ārī-Dūrapāle-nāmakam-adā-
22 t-Kaunkāya-gāṇā-ṭaṭē viprīya prathitāya Tīṁmaya-suddhi-āṣa-
23 Ṛṣīya Sōma-grahē \[11*\] Śṛī-Raghuḍēva-narāṇḍras-Tirumala-vidūshē vi-
24 tirya Dūrapālama | iti nāthatē mahātmā bhāvi-nripāṇ pa(pra)raṣṭha-yā-
25 tāṁ dharmaḥ \[12*\] Śrīmāṇo[y]aṁ dharma-aśṭur-nripāṇāṁ kālē kālē pā-
26 lanṭō bhavadbhṝṅ | ittāṁ(tthāṁ) sarvāṁ bhāvinaḥ pārthīvīṇi-ṛṇdrāṁ bhūyōṅ
c

\[1\] The rest of the stanzas, viz., bhṛṅ gūḍha- Rāmahadraḥ \[13*\], must have been engraved on the next plate.
No. 2—TIPPASAMUDRAM INSCRIPTION OF KAMPA-VIKRAMAVARMAN, YEAR 17

(1 Plate)

J. Sundaram, Ootacamund

(Received on 9.1.1958)

The inscription1 edited below is engraved on a stone set up on the bund of the lake at Tippasamudram in the Vellore Taluk of the North Arcot District. The language of the record is Tamil and the characters used are Tamil and Grantha. The use of the archaic form of n in Viluppēraiyaiyan in line 13 is interesting.

This inscription is dated in the 17th regnal year of Kō-vīsā(ṣa)-ja-Kampavikramavarmāṇa. Its object is to commemorate the digging of a channel called Viluppēraiyaiyan from the river to the lake at Valivalakkaṅkālam by Prithīyaṅgaṇaraiyar (Prithīvaṅgaṇaraiyar), the chief of the (nāḍu i-māḍ-usāiyai), and his wife Ilaḍapunndēviyar for the merit of Ayyakkuṭṭu-adigai who may have been their daughter.

The chief interest of this inscription lies in the mention herein of a Prithīyaṅgaṇaraiyar in the 17th regnal year of Kampavarmāṇa, apparently as a Paṅgalā-ṇāḍu chief, since he is described as the chief of ‘this nāḍu’, i.e. Paṅgalā-ṇāḍu in which the findspot of the record is situated. The identity of Prithīyaṅgaṇaraiyar can be established with reasonable certainty. An inscription from Sōḷavaram,4 dated in the 8th regnal year of Kampavarmāṇa, mentions one Rājadittan Mahādēva, who is stated to have built a tomb (aṭṭiyagaram or paḷil-ppadai) and a Śiva temple at the place where his father Prithīvaṅgaṇaraiyar was buried. The name of this person implies that the son was called Mahādēva and his father Rājadittan.5 Probably Prithīvaṅgaṇaraiyar was Rājadittan’s surname.

The chief in our inscription also calls himself Prithīyaṅgaṇaraiyar and the interval between the Sōḷavaram inscription and the present record is very short. These facts appear to suggest that Mahādēva, who should have succeeded his father in the chieftship in the ordinary course, also assumed the title Prithīyaṅgaṇaraiyar. This assumption is supported by the occurrence of the same or a similar title along with the names of the later chiefs of this family.6

If the identification of the chief of the present record with Mahādēva and the supposition that the members of this family assumed the title Prithīyaṅgaṇaraiyar are correct, then we can say that some of the Prithīvaṅgaṇaraiyars occurring in inscriptions of about this period and region may have belonged to this family of chiefs who ruled over Paṅgalā-ṇāḍu.7

The above identification again helps us to fix the period to which this Prithīyaṅgaṇaraiyar and his overlord Kampavarmāṇa belonged. An inscription8 dated in the 26th regnal year of Rājadēvarāvarman, who on account of the high regnal year and the palaeography of the record has been identified with Chōḷa Āditya I, refers to one Mahādēva as the father of Gaṅgavaiṣṭaṣṭiṭṭāṇḍar aṭṭās Śembīyaṇ Prithīvaṅgaṇaraiyar. Again we hear of other sons of possibly the same Mahādēva in

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3 The son’s name was taken to be Rājaditya while Mahādēva in Rājadittan Mahādēva was interpreted to mean ‘the great king’ (op. cit.). But we have many other instances of a son prefixing his father’s name to his own, e.g., Nandi Campēvaras (ibid., p. 186), Āditya-Pirantakadēvar (A. R. Ep., 1920, No. 672), etc. The Sanskrit portion of the first of these inscriptions seems to support this view.
4 See A. R. Ep., 1939-40, No. 139; 1930-31, No. 177; SII, Vol. XIII, No. 319. It is not certain if Sēḷavāraṇaṇ, son of Amaṅgaṇaraiyar, figuring in an inscription dated in the 2nd year of Nandippōṛaraiyar (Nandi-Varman III) was an earlier member of the family (SII, Vol. XII, No. 46).

(23)
the reign of Parakṣarivarman.\(^1\) One Kāmadīgal, son of Mādēvar of Paṅgala-nāḍu, is mentioned in an inscription of this king’s 8th year.\(^2\) Another of the same person’s sons named Prithivigaśgaraiyar, figures in an inscription dated in the [11]th regnal year of that king.\(^3\) Probably he is identical with Alīvin Kaḷarai aluṣ Śembiyapraṇaśaṅgaraiyar figuring in another inscription\(^4\) of Parakṣarivarman. If it can be assumed that Mahādhēva, son of Rājāditya of the Sōḷavaṇam record, whom we have identified with the Prithivigaśgaraiyar of the present inscription, and Mahādhēva, mentioned as the father of the Paṅgala-nāḍu chiefs in the inscriptions of Āditya I and Parakṣarivarman, are identical, it will follow that Mahādhēva was at least a senior contemporary of Āditya I. The acceptance of the suzerainty of Āditya I by these chiefs goes to show that the Chōḷa king succeeded in consolidating his position in this part of the former Pallava dominion.\(^5\)

The channel which was dug for the merit of Ayyakkutti-ādigal was named Viḷupperaśaraiyan. This leads us to suppose that the title Viḷupperaśaraiyan was connected with the name of Ayyakkutti-ādigal. Two inscriptions\(^6\) dated in the 19th and 26th regnal years of Rājakṣarivarman (Āditya I) mention one Viḷupperaśaraiyan Ayyakkutti-ādigal and her mother Puḷaṅttumā-ādyārå. The former may be identified with the person of that name mentioned in our record. It is likely that Puḷaṅttumā-ādyārå (or adigal) was the real name of Iḷāddappurunāvē.\(^7\)

The above discussion would suggest that Kampavarman, who was the overlord of Mahādhēva, was a predecessor of Āditya I in this territory or at least their reigns were not far removed from each other in point of time.\(^8\)

Iḷāddappurunāvē, the title of the wife of Prithivigaśgaraiyar, could have been only a surname indicating that she was the daughter of a Lāṭa chief. These chiefs, who called themselves variously as Lāḍāraś or Lāḍappēraśaraiyar, and sometimes also as Viṇṭaśarā, find mention in a number of inscriptions of the time of the early Chōḷas.\(^9\) Many inscriptions refer to their matrimoniai connections with the families of local chiefstains and, in one instance, Chōḷa Rājāditya, son of Parāntaka I, is said to have had a wife who was the daughter of Iḷādaraiyar.\(^9\) They seem to have held sway over some parts of the Chittoor District and portions of the North and South Arcot Districts.

Two inscriptions\(^9\) of the reign of Pārthivendrādiḥpavivarman mention a member of this family named Āṇaiyampunna aluṣ Paramaṇḍaladittam. They state that the family of the Lāṭa chiefs belonged

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\(^1\) This king may be identified with Parāntaka I owing to the proximity of his reign with that of Rājakṣarivarman (Āditya I) mentioned above. The palaeography of the record seems to support this.


\(^3\) Ibid., 1928, No. 139. Parakṣarivarman of both the records must be identical.

\(^4\) Ibid., 1930-31, No. 177. The date portion of the inscription is damaged. Only the figure 1 as the second digit is discernible.

\(^5\) The chiefs of Paṅgala-nāḍu were used to the transference of their allegiance to new masters. They submitted to the Rāṣṭraśāstra during the occupation of this part of the Chōḷa territory by Kannaradēva (above, Vol. VII, pp. 195-96).

\(^6\) SIII, Vol. XIII, Nos. 286 and 317.

\(^7\) Cf. South Indian Temple Inscriptions, Vol. III, Part I, lxxxvi—lxxxix. The arguments for assigning Kampavarman’s rule to about the middle of the 10th century are not convincing. In the Madras Museum plates of Uttama-chōḷa (SIII, Vol. III, No. 128), the record of the previous transactions is confusing and it is difficult to take them in chronological order and deduce that Kampavarman flourished later than Parāntaka I. It is also not safe to identify Atvivarman of the Sōḷavaṇam record, who is merely mentioned as born in the line of Mādhiva (above, Vol. VII, p. 193), with Hastimalla, the son of Vajrī-Ādiyaṇ and founder of Kannaradēva (ibid., 195-96). As regards Nārāyanapuṇḍarikāya mentioned in an inscription of the 19th year of Kampavarman (SIII, Vol. XII, No. 100), Venkataśubba Ayia’s views appear to be reasonable (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 145, note).


\(^9\) A. R. Ep., 1906, Nos. 287 and 324. While in the former the chief is called Viṇṭaśarā in the Sanskrit portion and Iḷādaraiyar in the Tamil portion, in the latter he is simply called Viṇṭaśarā. Their identity is discussed in A. R. Ep., 1907, para. 65; see also Proc. IBC, 7th session, Madras, pp. 203 ff.; above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 287 ff.
to the solar race, in which Guṇaratnasindhu of the family of Sagara-Virāṭa was born. His son was Anigōpa, grandson Kampadigal, great-grandson Taṭṭālar and great-great-grandson Āṇaiyamman. We get a Śaka date, viz. [88]9, for this last chief in an inscription from Puṅgaṉur. With the help of the date in this inscription, we can assign Anigōpa and Kampadigal, the great-grandfather and grandfather of Āṇaiyamman, to the period of the inscription under study. An undated record attributable to the 9th century, mentions one Anigōvaṉ Orriyur-pirāṭṭi, daughter of Vilāḍarāyar and wife of Vaiyiramāga Vaiṇakovaraiyar. The first name Anigōvaṉ and her being the daughter of Vilāḍarāyar seem to indicate that she was the daughter of Anigōpa. Probably Ilāḍapperundēvi of our record was a daughter of one of these two chiefs.

Paṇgalā-nādu seems to have included portions of the present taluks of Polur and Velur in the North Arcot District. The villages of Tippasamudram appear to have been originally called Valivalakkamaṅgalam. An inscription belonging to the Vijayanagara period refers to the place as Valivilattimāṅgalam alias Tippasamudram. It is fairly certain that the name Valivilattimāṅgalam itself is a corruption of Valivalakkamaṅgalam. The modern name of Tippasamudram might have been derived from the lake referred to in the inscription.

**TEXT**

*First Side*

1 Svasti ārī [||]]) Kō-vaśiayi-Ka-

2 mpavikkramaparumarpku yā-

3 nū padiṅ-ślāvadu

4 i-nnāḍāiay Prithiu-

5 āgaraiyarum ivar-dē-

6 vīyār Ilāḍapperundē-

7 vīyārum tāṅga- maga[[]

8 Ayyakkutṭi-ājiga]ukku

*Second Side*

9 i-vvivruvarum ṣeyda

10 dha[r]jñamam Vaṉivalakkamaṅga-

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¹ Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 267 ff.
² The name Kampadigal may suggest that the chief had some connection with Kampavarmman.
³ A. R. Ep., 1934-35, No. 233; see plate facing page 75.
⁴ It is possible that this Vaiyiramāga Vaiṇakovaraiyar was identical with the homonymous person mentioned as the son of Perunagāsi alias Śāmi Akkaṇ in two inscriptions dated in the 8th regnal year of Aparājita (III, Vol. XII, Nos. 87 and 88).
⁶ From impressions.
11 lattu érikku-kkanda á-
12 rruk-kál [l*]i-kkál Vijú-
13 ppērarāya[ṇa]1 i-dha-
14 [rjmmam] [l*] idu irakhippān2-
15 [u-a]dī én-muṭi-mēl [l*]

1 Read párraśyam.
2 This letter is superfluous.
TIPPA SAMUDRAM INSCRIPTION OF KAMPA-VIKRAMAVARMAN, YEAR 17
First Side

Scale: One-Fourth
No. 3—DONGALASANI INSCRIPTION OF VANKEYA-CHOLA, YEAR 41

(I Plate)

K. H. V. Sarma, Ootacamund

(Received on 6.2.1938)

The subjoined inscription, edited with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, was copied in the year 1939-40 from Dongalasani, a hamlet of Kurunguntapalle in the Siddhavatam Taluk of the Cuddapah District. It is engraved on two faces of a large slab measuring about 3.25 feet in height and 1.25 feet in width and lying in front of the Anjaneya temple in the village. There are altogether thirty-five lines of writing.

The record is engraved in Telugu-Kannada characters of about the 9th century and its palaeography very closely resembles that of other records of the period and area in question. The letters bh and dh still retain their archaic forms while b occurs both in its archaic form (cf. varabhu in line 12) and its more developed open form (cf. sahrtvarabhub in lines 8 and 9). The cursive form of the letter y can be seen in the words yokoti (lines 9 and 10) and yella (line 18). The initial vowels a, i and u are used in the inscription. The use of the sign anuvāra above a letter and the archaic forms of r and j as found in early Telugu records is noteworthy.

The inscription is in Telugu prose and verse with an impercatory verse in Sanskrit at the end. The rules of sandhi are observed and the consonants associated with r are doubled. The number forty-one is indicated by navadvīda-yokoti, literally 'one preceded by forty.' The word pempuna (lines 10-11) is used in the sense of atisāya and gurusu (line 14) in the sense of 'boundary.' The expression ajsima-vigyu (lines 27-28) is similar to that of Tamil aitt-avu and Kannada ajsid-avan, for all of which the common root is a śmierci, 'to destroy'. The royal epithets Tenkalpaditya, Pusi-illadūtūman and Komaraya-Bhima appear to be of Kannada origin.

The inscription is dated in the forty-first regnal year of the king, Chiṭa (Chaitra) 641, Sunday (lines 9-12). But in the absence of the corresponding Śaka or cyclic year, it is difficult to fix the exact period of the record. The Madras Museum plates of Balliya-chōda, considered to be the earliest charter so far known of this branch, are assigned palaeographically to Śaka 850-90 (928-38 A. D.). The later forms of the letters b, j, s and k and the anuvāra in the form of a circle placed almost to the side of a letter in the above charter bear close resemblance to the Madras Museum plate of the Vaidumba king Bhuvana-trinētra, dated in Śaka 893. These palaeographical features are also noticed in other Vaidumba records from Uppardapalli and Animala in the Cuddapah District, which are dated in Śaka 894 and 898 respectively. On palaeographic grounds, the present inscription has to be assigned to a date in the proximity of that of the Madras Museum plates of Balliya-chōda, i.e., c. Śaka 850.

4 JABRES, Vol. XXIII, p. 50 ff.
5 A. R. Ep., 1935-36, Part II, para. 8. Dr. P. Sreenivasachar assigns the record to 1106-07 A. D. and identifies Balliya-chōda with Chōda Balliya-chōda of Konideha (JII, Vol. XV, pp. 48-49). Neither the date nor the identification is acceptable.
6 Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 67 ff.
The object of the record is to register a gift of a piece of land to the goddess Huruva-bhattacharikā by king Vaṅkeya-chōla-mahārāja in his forty-first regnal year. The eulogy Charaya-saroruha-viśkita-viśocharana, etc., with which the record commences, clearly indicates that the king belonged to the Telugu-Chōda lineage. This is the earliest of the known Telugu-Chōda records with the Charaya-saroruha eulogy and happens to be the only record mentioning Vaṅkeya-chōla-mahārāja.

Two inscriptions1 copied from Mannepalle in the Darsi Taluk of the Nellore District mention Veṅka-bhūpala, son of Pottapi Nanne-chōda, as the grandfather of Balli-chōda-mahārāja. They are dated in Saka 1067 and 1088 respectively. On the basis of these dates for Balli-chōda, we can assign Veṅka-bhūpala, the former’s grandfather mentioned in the records, to a period not earlier than Saka 1000. As has been discussed above, the record in question is paleographically earlier by at least two centuries than the approximate date of Veṅka-bhūpala of the Nellore epigraphs. Therefore Vaṅkeya-chōda of the Doṅgalasāmi inscription under study cannot be identified with king Veṅka-bhūpala of the Mannepalle records.2

Two more records3 from Boppūḷi and Konipena in the Narasaraopet Taluk of the Guntur District give the genealogy of the Telugu-Chōdas who ruled from Konipena. We gather from these that Daśavarman, the son of Mahimāna-chōda, conquered Pāka-rāṣṭrā and ruled over Rēṇaṇḍu from his capital at Pottapi (in Pullempet Taluk of the Cuddapah District). The Chōdas of Konipena, Nellore and Pottapi, all claim Daśavarman as their ancestor, but so far none of his records has come to light and little is known about him. The record from Boppūḷi mentions king Veṅka4 as the son of Daśavarman. It is tempting to identify the chief Vaṅkeya-chōla-mahārāja of the record under review with Veṅka, the son of Daśavarman. But his relationship with the later members of the family is not clear.

Teṅkayādītya occurs as one of the epithets of Vaṅkeya-chōla-mahārāja. Nanne-chōda, author of the Kutilamālamāramu (Telugu), also claims this title.5 He is assigned by scholars to about the end of the 11th century.6 The poet-king must have derived this epithet from his ancestor of the record under study.

The early Chōdas of Rēṇaṇḍu, whose territory appears to have extended over almost the whole of the Cuddapah and Kurnool Districts and parts of the Chittoor District, seem to have ruled undisturbed for more than two centuries from about the last quarter of the 6th century. Afterward their territory was subjected to the incursions of the Bāṇas and the Vaidumbas.7 By about the 9th century they appear to have been pushed northwards by the later and latter still we find records of a branch of this family as far east and north as Nellore and Guntur.8

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3 SII, Vol. VI, Nos. 651 and 628.
4 Ibid., No. 651: Tānāḥ tirayaṇāṁ Daśavarma-dāard-paṭaṁ rau-sūnyyaṇāṁ-atho Pāka-rāṣṭrām [*] ādamaṇya vira-prasūrā rāvaṁka labhāsamimāṁ Pottapi-rājdhānaṁ [*].
5 The published text (SII, Vol. VI, No. 651, text lines 33-34) gives the name as [Pāṇi]ka but a re-examination of the impressions shows that the correct reading is Īrāṇa.
7 JAHR, Vol. XXIII, p. 52 ff.
TEXT

Front Side

1 [Sva]eti [*] Chara[ṇa-saṟuru]-
2 [ha]-viha(hi)ta-vi[lochana-Tri]-
3 lōchana-pramukāki(kh=ākhi)la-[pri]-
4 thiviśvāra-kārita-Kāvē[ri-tī]-
5 ra-Karikāla-kula-ratna-pradi(di)p=ā-
6 hit-āṅkusa(ā) -Śrī-Vaṁkeya-chōla-
7 mahārājula paṭṭa[mbu] gatṭina
8 pravardda(ddha)māna-vijaya-rājya-[sam]-
9 vatsara(m)bula-nalvādy=ādī-yoko-
10 pṛti yagunēṇṭi [Chiṭṭa]-[su]jdi perh-
11 puna Dasa(ā)miyu [Ā]ditya-
12 va(vā)ra[mbu]nāṇḍu Kuruva-
13 bhaṭṭariki reṇḍu re[vu]lu
14 pola[m] garusgānu
15 paḍumaṭam goṇḍa[yu] ga-
16 rusgānu uttara[m]buna.
17 ku gūruva dāṅka lōpali [nā]-
18 la yella sarvva-parihāru[vu] ihoche [*]
19 Śrī-Vaṁkeya-chōla-mahā-
20 rāju [Tem]kaṇ-ādityunḍu Komara-
21 ra-Bhimunḍu pus[i]-illad-āṭma-
22 no dharmmuv=ā-chandr-ārka-tārakambu i*
23 .................

Back Side

24 idda ...........

25 vāṇḍu [Baranāsi] .......

\* From impressions.
\* The last four lines seem to be in verse.
26 navāṇḍu Śrīpa[r]bha(rvva)taṁbunā-
27 [m gāḷa] līṅgaṁbulan-ai[ai]-
28 [na] vāṇḍu [vēvura mu].
29 . . . . . gala]u i-sta(athā)-
30 [naṁbu]galavāru I[a]-
31 naśivulu ḫ Bahubhir-vvasu-
32 dā(ḍhā) dattā bahubhiś-ctaṁpūś-
33 lītal[ | *] a(ya)sya a(ya)sya
34 a(ya)dā bhūmī-ṭasya ta-
35 sya tādā phalaṁ(lam)[ ][*]

1 There is a floral design to indicate the end of the writing.
No. 4—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF GOPALA

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, COTACAMUND

(Received on 11.9.1937)

Both the inscriptions edited below are inscribed on stone slabs which are at present preserved in the Gwalior Museum. The first of them was found at Baraudi and the second at Narwargah, both in the Shivapuri District of the former Gwalior State. The first record was noticed by M. B. Garde in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of the Gwalior State, V. S. 1979, No. 26, and the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1922-23, p. 187. The notices of the record in D. R. Bhandarkar’s List of Inscriptions in Northern India, No. 597, and H. N. Dvivedi’s Gwalior Rājśaka Aḥbhulekha, No. 132, are based on Garde’s note. The second epigraph was noticed by Garde in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of the Gwalior State, V. S. 1971, No. 9, and in Ind. Ant., Vol. XLVII, p. 242. His views were similarly quoted by Bhandarkar, op. cit., No. 603, and Dvivedi, op. cit., No. 141. Unfortunately the published notices of both the inscriptions are based on incomplete and inaccurate transcripts. Some of the important details are omitted in the notices which contain several errors of omission and commission. They are edited here with the help of impressions prepared under my supervision about the end of 1952 when I visited Gwalior with a view to attending the Fifteenth Session of the Indian History Congress and examining the inscriptions preserved in the Gwalior Museum. Both the inscriptions, which were registered as Nos. 141 and 139 of the Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, 1952-53, Appendix B, belong to the reign of the Yajvapāla or Jajapēla king Gōpāla (known dates between 1279 and 1289 A. D.) of Nalapura. They contain each a prākāsti recording the excavation of a vihāra. The eulogies were composed by the poet Śivanābha belonging to a Māthura Kāyastha family hailing from Gwalior.

1. Baraudi Inscription of V. S. 1336

There are 29 lines of writing, which cover an area about 22 inches in length and about 18½ inches in height. The preservation of the writing is not quite satisfactory as a number of letters are damaged here and there. The characters belong to the DeVānāgarī alphabet of about the thirteenth century and closely resemble other contemporary inscriptions discovered in the area in question. The letter b has been indicated by the sign for v. The orthography of the inscription is also similar to that of other records of the age and area. Reduplication of a consonant after v is noticed only in a few cases. Anuvāra has been used for class nasals excepting some cases while it has taken the place of final m at the end of the first and second halves of stanzas in all cases. The language is Sanskrit and the whole composition, excepting a few passages at the beginning and end, is in verse. It is a prākāsti composed in 30 stanzas. The verses are numbered, although there is a mistake in the numbering. The twenty-fourth stanza is wrongly numbered as the twenty-third and the mistake is continued in numbering the following verses. The date of the record is quoted in the last line as V. S. 1336, Mārgaśīrṣa-vadi 6, Friday. It regularly corresponds to the 27th October 1279 A.D. The month was Pūrṇimānta.

The inscription begins with the symbol for Siddham followed by the passage Om namah Śivaya. Then follow the 30 stanzas of the prākāsti. The first two of them (verses 1-2) contain adoration to

the god Śambhu (Śiva) and to both Girīs (Śiva) and his consort Śailasūtā (Pārvatī). Verse 3 introduces the city of Nalapura (modern Narwar) which was the capital of the Yajvapāla kings, while verse 4 speaks of king Chāñaḍa of the Yajvapāla family. Verse 5 mentions king Nyīrvarman, son of Chāñaḍa. He is described as a devotee of Daivūdrāci, probably meaning here the god Śiva. Verse 6 mentions Asalladēva, son of Nyīrvarman, as well as his queen Lāvanyadēvi, while the next stanza (verse 7) continues Asalla’s description. Verses 8-9 describe the reigning monarch Gōpāla who was the son of Asalladēva apparently from the queen Lāvanyadēvi.

Verse 10 introduces a Kshatriya family, to which the hero of the pradasti belonged, as resembling a family of Brāhmaṇas and the next stanza (verse 11) gives its name as Gauḍaharā and states that it belonged to the Vates gōra. It is possible that Gauḍaharā is the same as what is now called the Gour-Rajput. Verse 12 says that the family of the Gauḍaharā Kshatriyas worshipped three forms of the Mother-goddess, viz. Chāmuṇḍā, the nine-formed (na aviḍhā) Dēvi and Gauḍaharā. The Nava-vidhā Dēvi is no doubt the same as Nava-Durgā or Durgā having nine forms, viz. Kumārīkā, Trimūrti, Kalyāṇī, Rōhiṇī, Kāli, Chaṇḍikā, Śambhavi, Durgā and Bhadrā. Of the three goddesses, Gauḍaharā was apparently the family deity of the Gauḍaharās.

Verse 13 says that Tribhuvanagiri was the capital of the Śrāseṇa king and that there lived one Dāmōdara. It appears that Dāmōdara was a Gauḍaharā Kshatriya and that the original home of the family in question was Tribhuvanagiri, capital of the Śrāseṇa. The ancient capital of the Śrāseṇa country was Mathurā; but our inscription appears to speak of a place where a Śrāseṇa family was ruling at the time when Dāmōdara flourished. The reference may be to a dynasty like the Śrāseṇa royal family known from the Kama (Bharatpur District, Rajasthan) inscription* of about the eight century A.D. The name Tribhuvanagiri suggests that it was a hill-fort named after a king called Tribhuvana. But it is difficult to identify it without further evidence.

Verse 14 speaks of Dāmōdara’s son Nāgadēva, who seems to have been the minister of an unnamed king, and the next stanza (verse 15) of the latter’s three sons, viz. Pithana, Jalhaṇa and Mālādhāra, while verse 16 describes Jalhaṇa who was the second of the three brothers. This importance accorded to Jalhaṇa is due to the fact that he was the most famous among the brothers. Verse 16 tells us that Jalhaṇa was reliable and commanded the confidence of the people and that, having learnt this fact, the Hammir, himself appointed him as one of his officers at Gōpāla (i.e. Gwalior). The word Hammir, derived from Arabic ‘amīr, was generally used in early medieval India to indicate a Turkish Muslim king, although it gradually came to be adopted sometimes by the Indians as a personal name. The stanza seems to refer to the conquest of Gwalior by Sulṭān Iltutmish of Delhi (1210-36 A.D.) about the beginning of 1233 A.D. It appears that, after the conquest of Gwalior, the Sulṭān appointed Jalhaṇa in order to create confidence in the minds of the recently subdued Hindus of the area. It was no doubt a wise step. But it is interesting to note that, even if Jalhaṇa was an officer at Gwalior under the Muslims, many members of his family appear to have migrated to the Yajvapāla kingdom and settled there.

Verse 17 again refers to Pithana, elder brother of Jalhaṇa, while the following stanza (verse 18) gives the name of his wife as Champa. Pithana is described as a devotee of the god Paṇḍupati (Śiva). Verse 19 mentions Dēvadhāra, son of Pithana and Champa, and verse 20 says that he was the Ādikārī-mukhyā (i.e. chief minister) of king Asalladēva. The known dates of the Yajvapāla

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1 Whitworth, Anglo-Indian Dictionary, s.v.
2 Bhandarkar’s List, No. 1849.
3 See above, Vol. XXX, p. 147.
king Āsalla, father of Gōpāla, range between 1254 and 1279 A.D. Verse 21 refers to Dēvadhara’s wife whose name is given as Nilā.

Verse 23 refers to the village of Vaṭapatra which is stated to have been formerly granted to the Brahmāṇḍas by a ruler named Nānīṅga. The village is no doubt the same as modern Baraudi (Buṛhi Baraudi) where the record was discovered; but no ruler named Nānīṅga is known from any record. He seems to have been a subordinate ruler of the district round Baraudi under the earlier Yazwapāla kings of Nalapura. Verse 24 speaks of the excavation of a vāpi or step-well by Dēvadhara, apparently in the said village of Vaṭapatra. The next stanza (verse 25) continues the description of the vāpi, while verse 26 contains a prayer to the effect that it might last for ever. Verse 27 speaks of the three sons apparently of the said Dēvadhara. They were Hariṛāja, Mahārāja and Śivarāja.

Verse 28 mentions the poet who composed the pradāsti. This stanza is found in several Yazwapāla records including the Narwar inscription of V.S. 1339 edited below. The poet was Śivanābhaṅka described as the son of Kūḍāṅgapa (treasurer) Lōhāta and the grandson of Dāmōdara of a Māthura Kāyaṣṭha family hailing from Gōpāḍaṛi (Gwalior). The king whom Lōhāta served as a treasurer is not mentioned. But it appears that the family migrated from Gwalior to the Yazwapāla kingdom on the fall of Gwalior in to the hands of the Muhammadanīs in the reign of Sulṭān Iltutmish of Delhi. Lōhāta was therefore an officer of the Hindu king either of Gwalior or of Narwar.1

The person who was responsible for writing the record on the stone for facilitating the work of the engraver was another member of the Māthura Kāyaṣṭha community. He was Vikrama, son of Bhīṅgaṅka (verse 29). Verse 30 mentions the engraver. He was Śūrakhaṇ (Śūraṛhā) Bhamadēva. The same stanza also states that a Kāśiṭiya named Sōmadēva was the superintendent of the whole work, probably meaning the excavation of the vāpi.

Of the geographic names mentioned in the inscription, Nalapura and Gōpāḍaṛi or Gōpāḍaḷa are well-known. The location of the village of Vaṭapatra where the vāpi was excavated has been indicated above. We are not sure about the location of Tribhuvanagiri which may, however, have been a hill-fort in the Gwalior region.

TEXT3

[Metres: verses 1, 8, 11, 18-19, 21 Upajāṭi; verses 2, 14, 25, 27-28 Śārdālavikriḍiṭa; verses 3-4, 20, 22, 26 Vasantanālaka; verses 5-7, 10, 13, 15-16 Mandākrānta; verses 9, 12, 23-24, 29-30 Anushtubh; verse 17 Mālīni.]

1 Siddham 1 Ōḥu nama[h] Śivāya || Vi[Bi]jāni kalyāṇa-lat-āṅkurāṅh dīpās—trilōki—timir-āvali- nāh(nām) || punyāṁ ṛṇam[kām] = api pavanāṁ jayaṁti Śāṁbhōḥ padayō

2 rajāṇh || 1 Draṣṭhuṁ manmatha-maṇḍhār-ekshaṇa-bhavās-tāśā vīlā[aj]as—kriyāḥ pāṭum ochādha—vinva(bhūmba)—janma—madhurāṁ puyāham—styaḍbhutam(tam | ) vasekhaṭ— pīṭha—vinaraddha—kharvviṭa—k[u]chajñīn la—

1 Cunningham read the latest date on the coins of Chāhāja and the earliest on those of his grandson Āsalla as V.S. 1311-1254 A.D. while R.D. Banerji speaks of the former’s coins of V.S. 1312 and 1316 and the latter’s issues of V.S. 1318 and suggests that, since their reigns overlapped, Āsalla’s father Nīvarman did not reign at all (Numismatic Supplement, No. XXXIII, pp. 80-83). The matter requires further examination.

2 No. 146 of A. R. Ep., 1902-33, App. B, seems to suggest that Lōhāta’s master was Yazwapāla Chāhāja of Nalapura. See below, pp. 68, 69 and note 9.

3 From imprecisions. This is No. 141 of A. R. Ep., 1902-33, App. B. I am indebted to Mr. P. B. Desai for some suggestions.

4 Expressed by symbol.
3 vdhum(bhuhuḥ) tad-ālīganaṁ kāy-aikṣṇa-pi Girīṣa-Śaila[su]ṭayōr-utkāna manaḥ pātu vah || 2 Saurāyā-bhāsura-man-ḥara-bhūti-pātram-āstē pūraṁ Nalapur-ākhyam-ananya-  
4 chāmu [yat-ādhvah-prachita-pāvaka-dhūma(bhū)ma tāparī ravēr-apī para(rā)yasa riti (tī)raḥchakāra || 3 Tasmin-ābhūt-sahaja-śaurya-nivāsa-bhūmiḥ śrī[śrī]-Chāhāḍāḥ kaḥti-pañī suṇi-  
5 t-ādhivāsaḥ dōr-daṅḍa-charaṅga-charitō vilasaṁ-nīśānta-tivra-pratāpa-aṅkhī-dagda-vipa-  
6 keṣa-gaṅgaḥ(kṣaḥ)[kṣaḥ] || 4 Tasmād-āslēd-ananvadhī-guṇaḥ śaucha-Gāṅgeva(ya)-vṛttō Dāiyā-rā.  
7 ti-praṇaṭi[n[rata]]ṛ ēṛī-ṛti[v]varṇa mahīśaḥ || Yena cchhūnnaip ripu-nripa-śīraḥ-paṁ-  
8 kajīr-archchit-śyan murtīs Śambhō ṛga-vasumati ta[n]vātā Śaiva-vṛttim(ttim)  
9 Tat-pṛtṛō-bhūc chchhikī-mi-  
10 ta[n]ripa-samāndhīlaḥ khoṣgināthāḥ śaurya-ōdāgra guṇa-gaṇa-nilīhī śrīma[d-ā]śalladēvaḥ ||  

Gaurī Śambhōri-viva Jalājīhā Kēśavasya śaiva śadhī nirvīśaj-sīk-apraṣaya-va.  
11 sati-vavya Lāvanayādevī || 6 Yana[n]ṣṭri[ṃ[stri]]n harita-majīthan maṃcham-āruhya  
12 tigmair-vairy-[r]līshān sva[śa]sita-pavanair-vrījvamāṇa jaya-ārīh | antaḥ-pāthōnīdhi-  
13 chadal-u  
14 rūlīla-samghaṭa-stirya(v)[y]ad-vimdu-uṛṇa-par[i]cha[ja]-milaj-jādyu-duḥkhaṁ jahīti || 7 Ta[ṃjāt-Sudhāṃśo]-viva Rauhīṇyāḥ Pīnākapāṇi-riva Kārttikīyayaḥ | nidhir-guṇanāḥ cha suṭējasāḥ cha  
15 Gōpāla-nāmā jayati kahiti[l]āḥ || 8 Tasmīn-avati bhūpālē dharām-[uda][ma[]-dhāma[n]][ni] avirānta-makh-ahūta-Puruhūta-kṛt-ālayāṁ(yāṁ) || 9 Yasya-ṭṛpati[h[*]] Śarasijā-[bh]vah-pāvanā-  
16 bhyām bhujābhyyaṁ dēvaṁ śākhād-ajani bhagavān-ādīmō ya[tra] Chāndraḥ | iṣṭha[īḥ]  
17 pū[ṛ]t[ari]-a[vaṭ]i jai[gaṭtiṁ] karmaḥ bhiṁ samta[mai] yaḥ kṣatṛo vaṁsaḥ sa jayati maḥi-  
18 dēva-samaḥraṇa-ārīḥ. || 10 Tatṛā-  
19 pi Vats-ākhya-mun-[n]dra-gōtra-vibhāṣaṇān Gaṇḍahar-ānvavāyaḥ | pāṭḥ-ādi-[kar[ma]-  
21 saktē-Devī nava-vi-  
22 dhā tathā [[*] puṇya Gaṇḍahar-ākhyāḥ cha tisrō=mūr=yaṭra dēva[tā]ḥ || 12 Asti khyātas=  
24 [[*]] puṇya-ārī.  
26 tasāya [ṣu]ntaḥ pātṛṇa vṛvahṛītīṣa dṛśī.  
28 tanu[ja]-[t]a[j]īya dharm-ārthā-  

[*] There is an unnecessary space at the end of the line.
No. 4] TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF GOPALA 35

16 käma iva mūrti-bhājaḥ | ārī-Pithanō Jāhana’kaś-cha dhmn-MLādharā-cha prathitā
guṣaiḥ svaiḥ || 15 Sarvāy-āṃbhodhīr-jagatī chaturī
nīti-sāstrēsh[v]-adhitī sad-vyā-
pāra-pragujita-matir-Ja-.

17 bhapaḥ puṣya-kṛtīḥ | Harinārāja svayam-adhikṛtī Gopa-sailē viditvā sarvāy-āṃbhu-
kaśaṃ-[pa]jīchayā viśyā-viśvaśa-[dāh]ma(mā) || 16 Āmita-guṣa-garishṭhaḥ Pitha-
nāśkhyo varishtḥaḥ Pasu(ṣu)pati-

18 pada-bhaktaḥ puṣya-charyāsu ṣa(sa)ketaḥ | sa jayati ātā-ṛtī[1*]-lochan-ānandī-mūrtiḥ
padētra-[pa]ra-[bh]iḥsah kahatra-vāṃś-āvataḥsah(saḥ) || 17 Chānp-ābhidhā tasya su-
dharma-patīṇa va(b)aḥūva sāma(n)yā-bhīṣa-pravṛddhaḥ[ḥ] [*]

19 Vīdēha-āśāya-nirāśrasyaḥ san-pati-[v]rata[sat-tat-pri]yastam-īśaya || 18 Tēn-ājane kahatriya-
yathā glan-āntena

krita-vit-krapaluh | Annālādēva-nri[a][ṣ]ē-ādhikāri-mukhyāḥ kasy-āṃtaram na haratē
sa guṣa[ir]-uddāraḥ || 20 Nil-ā.

21 bhidhā titṭhithati tasya kāntā sādhvi-śi(ā)ro-ṛtānam-sanamta-krītīḥ | vimuchya patyūs-
charaṇa-dvayaṁ yā na dhvam-s[n]yam khala manyatē-tra || 21 Tēn-āvalōkya pa[ṣa]-
āśa-gat-ōda-vīndu-lōlaṁ vayaṇa-[ṣa]

22 vasu ca-ṣaṇagha(na)ḥ va(ḥ)ā lōkē | dharmē kṛtā matir-sanamta-guṇē samastā-jaṅ-
t-ūpākāra-para-[y]ṛttā-bha[v]ē-na[vadyē] || 22 Āsti Nāmīha-bhūpēṇa dvijēḥyō dakhō-
(khai)kīrtaḥ | Vatapattrō-abhidhō grāmaḥ puṣya-

23 saṃpatī-ḥājaṇa(n)am(nam) || 23 Adhvaṇa-ḍrama-nāśaya sukṛt-ōpachāyā cha | karuṇ-
āṃbhodhinī tēna [vā]pl nirmāpita śubhaḥ || 23(24) Śan-mātra-iva su-sanmhitā su-kavit-ēv-
āti-prassam-tōja(jva)hā sad-vādi-pra-

yētān-ēva tāp-āpahā yasyās-tunga-silā-śivhaṅga-gaḥṣitā ramy-āḍri-vaṁ(ban)dhā-
sthitiḥ || 24(25) Yāvad-ṛiḥ(b)harti Giriṣī Gī-

25 rjavascript;īdham-āṃghaḥ yāvata-punātī bhuvanāni cha Jahnukāyaḥ | tēvat-payobhīr-amalair-
ījam-astu vāpī saṁtarpaṇāya bhavināṁ bhui bhīnaṁ-tāpā || 26(26) Dhanyāḥ pāvana-
kṛttayaḥ sukṛtinī nīḥśa[m]a-tat-tad-gu

26 ṇa-āṛṣṭhīḥr-guṇināṁ haranti hridayaṇ[a]ḥ tasya trayah sūnavaḥ | ādyah ārī-Harīrājakas-
tad-anu ca ārīmaṇ-Mahārājaks-tad-bhaktaḥ[h] Śivarāja ity-adhiguṇa viśva-bhārā-
ḥūśaṇah(nam) || 26(27) Gōp-[ā]-

27 drau Lipikrit-kulē samabhava-Dāmōdarō Māṭhuraḥ sūnu-satyas visu[ṣu]ddha-kṛtīr-
anaghatā kōś-adhipō Lōhataḥ | putra-satyas manjhe-mānasu-mudāṁ visērā-kētum
vyadhād-ānāṁ ārī-Śi-

There is a cancelled viserao sign after this letter.

There is a cancelled iva-ārā with this letter.

| The letters ṣaṇhī were incised and cancelled by the engraver after this. |
28 [va]nābhakṣ cirupamair-vṛttiḥ praśastin śubhāṁ(bhām) || 27(8) Mathur-ānvaya-
Kāyastha-Bhīṅgakasyāṁgasaṁbhavah | līlēkha Vikramā dhamān=satām=agrēsarō-
naghaḥ || 28(29) Utkrīppavān-i-

29 māṁ Bhimadēvahā śūtrabhṛhtām vaṛah | kahatriyaḥ Sōmadēvā=bhūd=adhyakṣaḥ sarvva-
karmmaṇi || 29(30) Sarivat 1336 Mārggastrāḥ-vadi 6 Śukra-dīnā ||":|| āṛt āṛt āṛt āṛt

2. Narwar Inscription of V.S. 1339

The inscribed space on the squarish stone slab measures about 22½ inches in length and 22 inches in height. There are in all 27 lines of writing in the inscription. The preservation of the epigraph is not quite satisfactory. A number of letters are damaged especially in the central part of the record. The characters belong to the Dévaṅga alphabet of about the thirteenth century and closely resemble those of the Baṣaudi inscription edited above. In several cases, the distinction between the forms of ch and t is not clear. The sign for avagraha is once used in line 14 in order to avoid the possibility of the personal name Ajayadēva being read as Jayadēva. As regards orthography also, the inscription resembles the Baṣaudi record. We have the use of anusvāra in the place of class nasals and of final m at the end of the halves of stanzas. Reduplication of a consonant after r is noticed only in the cases of t, d, and dā. There are some cases of the wrong use of s for ṣ and vice versa. The language is Sanskrit and, with the exception of a few passages at the beginning and end, the whole epigraph is written in verse. It is a praśasti composed in 27 stanzas in various metres. The verses are numbered consecutively. The date, quoted in the last line, is V. S. 1339, Pausha-vadi 10, Thursday. It regularly corresponds to the 26th November 1282 A. D. The month was Pūrṇimāṇa.

The inscription begins with the symbol for Siddham and the word siddhah, which are followed by the 27 stanzas of the eulogy. The first two stanzas (verses 1-2) contain adoration to the gods Śiva or Śadāśiva and Aychuta (Vishnum). Verse 3 introduces a hill or hill-fort called Ratnagiri, while verses 4-8 state that the goddess Mahārūḍā created there a hero named Jayapāla who became the progenitor of a family named after him, although it was pronounced as Jajapāla by the common people. Jayapāla was no doubt the mythical progenitor of the Jajapāla (often Sanskritised as Jajuvādā) dynasty of Narwar. But the interesting fact supplied by this description is that the original home of the Jajapālas was at Ratnagiri and that their family deity was Mahārūḍā, no doubt a form of the Mother-goddess worshipped originally at Ratnagiri and later possibly also at Nalagiri or Nalapura (Narwar) which the Jajapālas afterwards made their capital. Ratnagiri mentioned in this connection cannot be satisfactorily identified. But it may be the same as the modern town of Ratangarh Kūri (lat. 24° 49', long. 75° 13') in the former Gwalior State, situated on the route from Nimach to Bundi, 36 miles north-east of the former and 73 miles south-west of the latter.

Verse 6 introduces king Chāhada born in the Jajapāla dynasty. He is stated to have captured from his enemies a number of forts including Nalagiri (i.e. Nalapura, modern Narwargah). Chāhada thus seems to have transferred the Jajapāla capital to Narwar which he had conquered. The next stanza (verse 7) speaks of Chāhada's son Narvarman (called Nyirvarman in verse 18 and in several other records including the Baṣaudi inscription edited above) and verse 8 of king Āsalladēva, son of Narvarman. Verses 9-10 describe the reigning monarch Gōpāla who was the son of Āsalladēva. An interesting information in Gōpāla's description is that he defeated king Viravarman, lord of Jējābhukti in a battle fought on the bank of the river Sīkatā (Śīkatā-nimnagā-kachchha-bhāmat). King Viravarman seems also to be compared with the epic hero

1 There is a heart-shaped design between the double donās.
Lakshmana and described as 'the Chandra king of kings' (Chandra-kshitiadhara-pati), the name Chandra here indicating the Chandella family claiming descent from the Moon-god and often called Chandrārāya. The passage in question may, however, also suggest that, along with Chandella Virarvarman, Gopala also defeated king Lakshmana of the Chanda hill (Chandragiri). But, in such a case, it is difficult to identify the ruler, although Chandragiri may be the same as Chandleri in the Guna District of the former Gwalior State.¹

The word sikatā is a synonym of bālukā and the Sikatā river is no doubt the same as the Bālukā mentioned in the Bangla inscriptions, according to which the Chandella king Virarvarman of Jējābhuki or Jējāhuti was defeated by Gopala's forces on the bank of the said river in V.S. 1338 (current) or 1337 (expired), Chaitra saudi 7, Friday, corresponding to the 28th March 1281 A.D.¹ The river has been identified with the small stream of Barua which flows within a few miles from the fort of Narwar, the capital of Gopala. Since Chandella Virarvarman actually besieged the Jajapella capital, his repulse was no doubt a memorable event to the people of the Jajapella kingdom. The present inscription was inscribed within two years after the battle. It was therefore quite fresh in the people's memory. Moreover, as will be seen below, the hero of the eulogy under study himself took part in the said battle.

Verse 11 introduces the family to which the hero of the pradasti belonged. It is stated that one Anayassinha was born in a family of physicians and was famous for his exploits in many battles. He is further described as a devotee of the god Paśupati (Siva). The next two stanzas (verses 12-13) speak of his heroic son Vijayadēva who is credited with a victory over the armies of a king named Visvala in a battle fought at Hastinapura. The name Visvala is a variant of Visala. It is not impossible that Visvala mentioned in our record is the Chāhāmāna emperor of the same name, otherwise called Vigrararāja IV whose known dates range between 1153 and 1164 A.D. As Vijayadēva's grandson was the hero of the present record of 1282 A.D., he might well have been a later contemporary of the Chāhāmāna king. The only Hastinapura known to us is the old capital of the Kuru country, identified with a locality on the Ganges in the present Meerut District of U.P. This place was within the dominions of the Imperial Chāhāmānas of Ajmer and Delhi. It is, however, difficult to determine the circumstances that led to the battle of Hastinapura, in which Vijayadēva claims to have fought against the forces of the Chāhāmāna king. It has to be noticed that we do not know who Vijayadēva's master was. The problem is easily solved if he was an officer of a ruler like the contemporary Gāhājavāla monarch Vijayachandra (c. 1256-70 A.D.) who is reported to have come into conflict with the king of Delhi.*

Verses 14-15 mention Vijayadēva's son Ajayadēva and verse 16 the latter's wife Saubhāgīyadēvi. Ajayadēva is stated to have fought with the Mīschchhas army. The Mīschchhas referred to were no doubt the Turkish Muhammadans who are often referred to in the epigraphs of the contemporary Indian rulers. But under whom and what circumstances Ajayadēva fought with the Musalmans can scarcely be determined without further light on the subject. It should, however, be remembered that king Chāhāda, great-grandfather of Gopala, is known to have come into conflict with the Turks. According to Minākuddin's Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī, in 1234 A.D., Chāhar-i-Ajar (i.e. Chāhāda) is stated to have come into conflict with Nuruzzuddin Taysāṭ, general of Sultan Ilutmish of Delhi, on the banks of the river Sindh (Kalisindh) and in 1251 A.D. again with Ghiyāsuddin Balban,²

¹ An inscription of V. S. 1351 from Budhara in the Shivapuri District is said to mention Kritidurga (identified with the Chandleri fort) and Paramaśāyānaka Padmarāja (Drivedi's List, No. 173). The king mentioned in the record is, however, Ajayapāla Gaṇapati (cf. below, pp. 163 ff.).

² Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 328 ff.

general of Sulṭān Naṣiruddin. But it has to be pointed out that, if the father was a contemporary of Chāhamāna Visala or Vīgrahārāja IV (c. 1154-63 A.D.) and the son of Jaṇapāla Chāhāḍa (c. 1234-54 A.D.), both of them must have enjoyed very long lives.

Verses 17 ff. describe Gāṅgadeva, the son of Ajayadeva and Saubhāgyadēvi and the hero of the eulogy under study. An interesting information about him is that he claims to have been a sākhās (minister) of the son of Nīrvarman (i.e., of Gopāla), who defeated Vīravarman in the battle on the Saṅkata river. It is difficult to say whether the stanza uses the word jayanta in the sense of 'victorious' or as a secondary name of king Gopāla. Gāṅgadeva is stated to have himself taken part in the battle on the Saṅkata, apparently the same as the Sīkatā or Bālukā mentioned above. The Bangla inscriptions mention Gopāla’s partisans who died in the said battle with Chandellā Vīravarman. Here we have one who escaped death in that sanguinary conflict to enjoy the fruits of victory. Verse 19 states that Gāṅgadeva repaired the dilapidated temples in the Pāḍōnalaksha vihāra (district or territory), with the administration of which he was possibly associated. This district of Pāḍōnalaksha, probably forming the whole or part of Jaṇapāla Gopāla’s kingdom, reminds us of the two Sapādalaksha countries, one of which extended up to the valley of the Siwalik and the other lay in the present Karimnagar region of the former Hyderabad State. The expressions sa-pāḍa-laksha and pāḍ-ōna-laksha literally mean respectively ‘one lakh and a quarter’, and ‘one lakh minus a quarter’. The number in these geographical names refers to the traditional number of villages contained in the geographical units although it is generally exaggerated. Unfortunately the Pāḍōnalaksha territory mentioned in our record cannot be identified with precision.

Verses 21-23 state that Gāṅgadeva excavated a vāḍi or stepwell while verse 24 mentions an upasana or pleasure garden, full of fruit trees and flowering plants, which was also created by him apparently around or in the vicinity of the vāḍi. Verse 25 contains a prayer that the vāḍi might last for ever.

Verses 26-27 mention the author of the prākṣṭi and the person who wrote it on the stone for facilitating the work of the engraver. The poet responsible for the composition of the eulogy was Śivanābhaka born in a Māṭhura Kāyastha family hailing from Gopādri (Gwalior). He was the son of Kṣatāhipa (treasurer) Lōḥata and the grandson of Dāmōdata. The same stanza is found in some other prākṣṭis composed by Śivanābhaka, including the Baraudi inscription edited above. The person responsible for writing the letters of the epigraph on the stone was another member of the Māṭhura Kāyastha community. His name was Maharāja and his father was Sōmarāja. The name may not be a mistake for Mahārāja since the stanza mentioning the person is known from other inscriptions in which also it is spelt as Maharāja. But it is difficult to be definite in this matter as hā could have been changed to ḥa for the requirement of the metre.

The location of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription has been already discussed above. As we have indicated, some of them cannot be satisfactorily identified.

5 No. 146 of A. E. Ep., 1902-53, App. B, seems to suggest that Pāḍōnalaksha was the name of the district round Narwar. See below, p. 68. It may thus have been the name applied to the Jaṇapāla kingdom just as the name Sapādalaksha was used to indicate the dominions of the Chāhamānas of Sākambharti.
TWO INSRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF GOPALA

TEXT:

[Metres: verse 1 Upanātī (Vamsātaka, Indraṣṭrā and Upendravaṣṭrā); verses 2, 6-7, 19 Vasambalakas; verses 3, 5, 14-17 Upanātī; verses 4, 21, 23, 25, 27 Amsatraḥ; verses 8, 11-12 Mālinī; verse 9 Mandākranā; verse 10 Pākṣa; verse 13 Rahodidhā; verse 18 Arāyā; verses 20, 22, 26 Śārīvālasrīvadā; verse 24 Aupakṣeṇhāsaka.]

1 Siddhāṃ || Siddhiḥ || Na yatra rūp-ādi-vivēkita-grahā visvaśaya nirmāga-vidhan cha na śramaḥ || adhīśrītastām paramām-avasthān sadā Śivāvah śiva.4

2 ma-śātanōtū || 1 Drishtyātāsa samā-kma-kānti kāntam angang rahasya-pamala pratiti(vi)bhijita avam(avam) || Lakshmī-kalpā-phālak5 jana-sanmā.4

3 yā tad-uprocēchchhā(ḥ)ḥītānānāṁ dīsaṭa vah śivam- Açhyutasya || 2 Gamyō na vidvēshi-manoratha-syadam bhānumatō niruṣodhan || vāsaḥ satam-asti vi-

4 bhiṭti-pātram ramy-oḍayō Ratnagirir-gir-iṁdabā || 3 Tatra san(sau)rya-mayaḥ kaśchi[ṃ]* nirmi[t]ō Māhabhrinḍayā || Jaya[pa]lō bhavan-nāmā āvīśhānānārāṃ durukṣitāra


6 [bhavan]-nipatibhā-[agra]-tā-pāraḥ śri-Chāha[d][a] tribhuvana-prathamāna-kīrtītiḥ || dōraddam[da]-chansīdīma-bhārēṇa puraḥ parē[ḥ]bhāyau(bhīyō) yōn-ś[ḥ]jitā Nalagi-pramukhā gari-

7 στηθ(στήθ)ή] || 6 Tasmād-anēka-vidha-vikrama-lavdhab(bhda)-kīrtiḥ pun(υ)ya-śrutīḥ samabhavan=Naravarmadēvāḥ || bhūbyājy-vyuddā-paṭimā ripu-naṅga-dāṃti-dakshaḥ śriyā pari-


9 vakāśo nirupadhi-nidhir-[k]ḥ[ṃ]iśrutah arcyasaḥ yah || 8 [Śrr]-Gopālāḥ samajani tatō bhūmi-


1 From impressions. This is No. 189 of A. J. E. P., 1926-27, App. B. I owe a few suggestions to Mr. P. B.

2 Expressed by symbol.

3 An asterisk above this letter seems to be deleted.

4 We may also read Suddhāṅ.5

5 There is an unnecessary dauḍa with a cancellation mark at the end of the line. This was meant to cover a little vacant space.

6 It seems that maha has been made maha to have a short ūṣṭ syllable in the particular foot of the stanza. The name is found as Madrasa elsewhere (cf. No. 145 of A. J. E. P., 1926-27, App. B; above, Vol. XXII, p. 338).

7 There is an unnecessary dauḍa at the end of the line to cover a little space.
20 Dināṃsō-nīṣhayaṭ guṇaũ-prathavaḥ śrēyaḥ samācchinnavatḥ pāpara nirdahatō dhanaṃ vitaratō yaṃ-ānawadyam yaṣaḥ | pūrṇaḥ avya pūrṇaṃ hiṃ-kaṛaḥ [kā[+]k]rīṇāṃ mṛjnā-.  
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1 The word seems to be used in the sense of 'victorious'. Otherwise we have to suggest that Yajwapāla Gōpāla was also known by the name Jayanta.  
2 There is an unnece-sary dāṇḍa here with a cancellation mark.  
3 This indicates the end of the writing. Cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 218.
No. 5—KAPILAS INSCRIPTIONS OF NARASIMHHADEVA

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 11.3.1958)

The Śikharēvāra temple stands on the Kapilās hill at a distance of about sixteen miles from Dhenkanal, headquarters of a District of that name in Orissa. The name Kapilās or Kapilāsā is a local modification of Sanskrit Kālāsā.1 There is a stone kālāsā or vase now lying in the precincts of the temple. It must have originally adorned the top of an older temple, on the site of which the present temple of Śikharēvāra was built at a later date. On receipt of information that the said kālāsā bears some writings on it, I visited the temple on the Kapilās hill in November 1957 in order to examine and copy the inscriptions.

There are three small inscriptions engraved on the kālāsā which measures about 27 inches from the top to the bottom excluding the projection below (about 8½ inches long) meant for fixing it up in the base of a stone slab. The first of the three inscriptions is written in two lines incised around the side of the top of the vase. These lines are about 30 inches in length and the inscribed space is a little less than 2 inches in height. Individual aksaras are slightly less than one inch high. The second inscription in six lines is engraved around the belly of the vase. As the nature of the space would permit, the lines in the central part of the epigraph are longer than the preceding and following ones. Line 3 of this record contains the largest number of letters (40 in all) and is about 43 inches long. The height of individual aksaras is about one inch and that of the inscribed space a little above 7 inches. The last of the three inscriptions is written in two lines which are incised on the pedestal of the vase. Owing to the tapering nature of this part, the first line is about 28½ inches long and the second about 36½ inches. The height of the inscribed space is about 3 inches and that of individual aksaras a little above one inch. The beginning and end of the lines in the case of all the three inscriptions are separated by a vertical line.

The characters of the epigraphs belong to the Gauḍija alphabet as prevalent in Orissa in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries A.D. They resemble the letters of other Orissan epigraphs of the said period such as the Sonepur inscription of Bhāṇudēva published elsewhere in this journal.2 An interesting point of palaeography is offered by the form of I in the word lōka (Inscription No. 2, line 6) which looks like lōka and reminds us of the diacritically marked I of the Oriya alphabet. It is interesting to note that Oriya I resembles I of the other alphabets of the Gauḍija class while its I is distinguished from I by a diacritical mark. The use of this diacritically marked letter is noticed once in an inscription3 of Narasinha II (c. 1278-1305 A.D.); but it is used in a large number of cases in later records like the Bhubaneswar epigraph of the time of Narasinha IV (c. 1379-1402 A.D.). The rare use of the letter in the earlier epigraphs suggests the possibility of its standing for I. Otherwise we have to suppose that it was I which was very rarely employed and this seems to be very unlikely especially in view of the fact that the simpler form of the letter stands for I in the other cognate alphabets. It therefore appears to us that originally the diacritical mark was used as the distinguishing sign of I but that, at a later

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1 Cf. the personal name Kavilāsa occurring in the Nagpur Musuem plates of the Śānavatī king Mahābhāvagupta I Janamājīya, line 44 (above, Vol. VIII, p. 143 and Plate). Hultzsch read it as Kavilāsa and suggested the correction Kauilāsa. But the correct reading seems to be Kauilāsa.
3 Ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 127, text line 192.

(41)
date, it came to be generally applied to I instead of l through confusion. We shall therefore transcribe the letter as I in the present record as we have done in the case of the inscription of Narasimha II.

The language of Inscriptions Nos. 1 and 3 is Oriya as in the Sonepur inscription referred to above, but that of No. 2 is corrupt Sanskrit greatly influenced by the local dialect. Of grammatical interest seem to be the expressions Kailāsakharēśvara (Inscription No. 1, lines 1-2) and Kailāsakharēśvarai (No. 2, line 5). The affixes i and ai appear to be old dative-locative case-endings. But Inscription No. 3 uses the usual old Oriya dative suffix kai in Kailāsadēvkai (lines 1-2). Interesting from the orthographical and linguistic points of view are words like ja(jug)e (Sanskrit yug, Vaisākha (Sanskrit Vaisākha) and trādasi (Sanskrit trayōdasi fot trayōdāiyām) in No. 1, and māhā (Sanskrit mahā), Gajapti for Gajaśti (Sanskrit Gajapatī), Kailāsakharēśvara (Sanskrit Kailāsakharēśvara), jāgaja (Sanskrit svarga-lōka), jāti (Sanskrit yāti), Narasimha (Sanskrit Narasimha) and vījaya (Sanskrit vijaya) in No. 2. Inscription No. 1 uses the verbal form dālā (Past Tense). The expected spelling is dālā, although the said form also occurs in line 26 of the Bhubeswar inscription of Narasimha IV referred to above. The ordinary meaning of the word is ‘gave’; but it has been used in our record in the sense of ‘constructed’. The verb is used in this sense also in Bengali.

All the three inscriptions refer to the reign of king Narasimha who no doubt belonged to the imperial branch of the Gaṅga dynasty of Oriasa. As will be seen from our analysis of Inscription No. 2 below, the king is called in line 4 of that record the supporting pillar of the Gaṅga family. Inscription No. 2 does not bear any date; but Nos. 1 and 3 are dated. Inscription No. 1 is dated Monday, the 13th of the bright half of the month of Vaisākha in the year 10 of the reign of Narasimhadeva. No. 3 quotes only the year 18 of the same king’s reign without any astronomical detail. Considering the age of the records, the years have to be referred to the aṅka reckoning. But there were four Gaṅga kings named Narasimha who ruled in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and it is not easy to single out the king to whom our records belong. The Gaṅga kings Narasimha I, II, III and IV are supposed to have ascended the throne respectively about 1238, 1278, 1328 and 1379 A.D. The 10th aṅka year or 8th actual regnal year of these kings thus corresponded respectively to about 1245-46, 1285-86, 1335-36 and 1386-87 A.D. Among these years, the details of the date as given in our Inscription No. 1 suit only the 30th April 1246 A.D. and the king therefore may have been Narasimha I. Even though it is not possible to be definite on this point, this identification, as will be seen below, seems to be supported by the internal evidence of Inscription No. 2. Inscription No. 3 is dated in the 18th year of the same king’s reign apparently according to the aṅka reckoning and corresponding to his 15th actual regnal year.

Inscription No. 1 begins with the auspicious word svasti and states in lines 1-2 that Narasimhadeva constructed a temple (dēula) for the god Kailāsakharēśvara and that [it was a remarkable achievement] in all the four yugas, viz. Satya, Dvāpara, Trētā and Kali. In the order of enumeration of the four ages, Trētā should have properly preceded Dvāpara. Line 2 quotes the date when the temple was built (i.e. completed or consecrated) as Monday, the 13th of the bright half of Vaisākha in the year 10 when the illustrious Narasimhadeva was ruling. This date has already been discussed above. If this Narasimha was the same as Gaṅga Narasimha I, it may be pointed out that the record under study furnishes the second epigraphic reference to the building activities of that king. It is well known that a stanza quoted in the records of his successors credits him with the construction of a temple for the Sun-god at Kōpākōpa which is the modern Kōpākōkā in the Puri District of Oriasa.1 The god Śiva now worshipped in the Kapilās temple is called

1 See above, Vol. XXXI, p. 123, text lines 134-35.
Śikharēvara; but the earlier name of the deity was Kailāṣaśikharēvara according to Inscriptions Nos. 1-2 and Kailāsa, apparently a shortened form of the same name, according to Inscription No. 3.

Inscription No. 2 is the most interesting of the three records. Its style reminds us of that of the Kanchipuram inscription1 of Anaṅgabhima III (c. 1211-35 A.D.), father of Narasimha I, and this fact lends some colour to the identification of Narasimha of our records with Narasimha I. As a matter of fact, some of the passages are common to both the inscriptions which may have been drafted by the same person.2 Our inscription begins with the word stava and states in lines 1-2, in the style of the Kanchipuram inscription, that the king succeeded in subduing by the power of his arms the pride of his enemies in numerous battles at the command of the god Purushottama, the lord of the fourteen worlds. This god is no other than Purushottama-Jagannātha worshiped in the celebrated temple at Puri, to whom Anaṅgabhima III dedicated the Gaṅga kingdom and to whom that king and his successors owed theoretical allegiance.3

The above passage is followed in line 2 by the epithet Paramābhūtā (i.e. devout worshipper of the god Mahēvara or Śiva) and the imperial title Paramabhaṭṭaraka. It has to be noted that, although the king was a devotee of the god Purushottama-Jagannātha identified with Vishnu, he claims at the same time to be a worshipper of Śiva. The following two epithets of the king in lines 2-3 are still more interesting. In these he is described at the same time as the son of the goddess Durgā, called the true cause leading to the creation of the universe, and also as the son of the god Purushottama. It is clear from these statements that Narasimha I was devoted to Mahēvara and his consort Durgā as well as to Purushottama-Jagannātha (i.e. Vishnu). We know that the Gaṅgas were staunch Śivas till the earlier part of the reign of Anantavarman Chōdagaṅga (1073-1147 A.D.) who became a Vaishnav (i.e. a devotee of the god Purushottama-Jagannātha of Puri) after his conquest of the Puri-Cuttack region about the beginning of the twelfth century, and that, although for sometime he claimed to be devoted to both Mahēvara and Vishnu, in his later years he called himself a devotee of Vishnu alone.4 The devotion of the successors of Anantavarman Chōdagaṅga to the god Vishnu in the shape of the god Purushottama-Jagannātha of Puri received a great impetus at the dedication of the Gaṅga kingdom to that god by Anaṅgabhima III. It is therefore very interesting to note that our inscription represents Narasimha I as Paramābhūtā, Durgā-putra and Purushottama-putra and as the founder of the Śiva temple on the Kapilā hill. But it is not surprising in view of the fact that his father Anaṅgabhima III himself is also called Paramaraśraya and Paramābhūtā as well as Purushottama-putra, Rudra-putra and Durgā-putra at the same time in one of his inscriptions in the Śiva temple at Draksharama, which records the grants made by him in favour of the Śiva shrine in his 6th aśana or 6th regnal year.5 These facts point to the catholicity of the religious approach of the Gaṅga kings Anaṅgabhima III and Narasimha I.

The next epithet in line 3 compares Narasimha I with the Great Boar (i.e. Vishnu in his Boar incarnation) that raised up the Vedas and worlds from the ocean. This is followed in lines 3-4 by the imperial titles Mahārājāḥśriḥ and Paramābhūtā and an epithet representing the king as the pillar of support to the Gaṅga dynasty. The following passage in line 4 calls the ruler both Anantavarman and the victorious Vira-srī-Narasimhadēva and seems also to endow him with the title Gajapati. We know that the successors of Anantavarman Chōdagaṅga enjoyed the

1 See above, XXXI, pp. 94 ff.
2 This seems to suggest that the Kanchipuram inscription was drafted at the Gaṅga capital. Cf. p. 1
3 Vol. XXX, p. 22 and note 3.
5 Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 260.
secondary name Anantavarman. Our inscription seems to show that the title Gajapati which is known to have become a distinguishing epithet of the later rulers of the Ganga family, was enjoyed by Narasimha I about the middle of the 15th century.

The next sentence in line 5 contains the main purpose of Inscription No. 2. It records that the king granted the village of Naganā-Bhīmapura in favour of the god Kailāsaśikharāvāra. This is followed in lines 5-6 by the imprecatory and benedictory statements that a person acting against the king’s meritorious deed, no doubt meaning the grant of the village for the maintenance of the temple, would go to hell after death while one maintaining the grant would go to heaven. The last sentence of the inscription in line 6 again speaks of Vira-śri-Narasimhadeva as one who was always victorious. It seems that it was intended to write this sentence in the form of a prayer and that a word like bhavatu was left out through oversight.

Inscription No. 3 also begins with the word svasti and records the grant of the village of Rayi-grāma, demarcated by recognised boundaries on all the four directions, in favour of the god Kailāsaśēva, no doubt the same deity called Kailāsaśikharāvāra in Inscriptions Nos. 1-2. But this grant was not made by the king himself. Its donor was the Sēnāpati or general named Tulasi who was apparently an officer of the Ganga king Narasimha I. The grant was made in the year 18 of the reign of Narasimha I, which, referred to the aūka reckoning, would correspond to the king’s 15th actual regnal year and to 1252-53 A.D.

Inscriptions Nos. 2 and 3 speak of two geographical names, viz. the villages of Naganā-Bhīmapura and Rayi-grāma. There is a village called Naganā in the Dhenkanal District, which is well-known for the temple of Naganāthēvāra.

**TEXT**

**No. 1**

1 Svasti [*] Satyya-Dvāpara-Trīṭā-Kali-jagē Narasinghadēva dēula dhilā Kailāsasikharēvā–

2 ri[*] Vaśākha-sukla-traōdasi Chandra-vārē Sṛahi dasa 10 v[i]ra-śri-Narasimhadeva rājē[*]

**No. 2**

1 Svasti [*] Cha[t]rdaśa-bhuvan-ādhipati-ārmat-Purushottama-charan-ādēsata [śa(sa)] maramukh-ānēka.

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3 From the original and impressions.

4 Read Satya.

5 The word intended is jugē-jugē (Sanskrit jugātē). Better read Satya-Trīṭā-Dvāpara-Kali*.

6 Sankrit Narasinhe*.

7 For dēul dēu in Bengali, meaning ‘to construct a temple’, see J. M. Das, Bāguḷa Bhāṣār Abhidhān, s.v. dēul.

8 Sankrit Kailāsaśikharēvāya; Oriya *a ray. In old Oriya, the expected form was *rayai or *rakai. But cf. ‘taraś in line 5 of Inscription No. 2 below.

9 Sankrit Vaśākha-sukla-trādāvāya.

10 Sankrit Narasimhe*.

11 The intended expression may be ‘rājdē.

12 Read ‘ādēl. The name passage occurs at the beginning of the Kanchipuram inscription of Anaśabhima III.
2 ripu-darpa-mardana-bhuja\(^1\)-va(ba)-la-paräkrama\(^2\) paramamähävära\(^3\) para[ma\(^4\)]bhättä-raka\(^5\) jagni[ni\(^6\)]n-mûjla-karaña-sî(sri)-Du.

3 rgä-putra\(^7\) śi[śi]-Purushottama-putra\[^8\] trayi\(^9\)-vasundharä -samuddharaña-prachanda-dördanda-mâ[ma\(^{10}\)]hâvaräha\[^{11}\] mahâräjâ-dhiñ(dhi)-räja-

4 para[mjëvär[a\(^{12}\) Gär(Fa)ñg-ánvay-ávalama(mba)na-stambha\[^{13}\] śrimad-A[na\(^{14}\)] ntavarma-[Ga]jai\(^{15}\)-vira-sî-Narasîghadëva\(^{16}\) vijay[ī\(^{17}\)] [\(^{18}\)]

5 Kailâsaśikharâvara[\(^1\)] Nâganâ-Bhimapura mâyâ dat[\(^{19}\)] [\(^{20}\)] ētada-dharma-virôthâni narakam jät[\(^{21}\)] [\(^{22}\)] ē.

6 tada-dharma-pâlanâri sarga-lôkam gachchhati\(^{23}\) vira-sî-Narasîghadëva sadë vijai\(^{24}\) [\(^{25}\)]

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1 The akṣhara "ja" has been incised on another letter originally engraved.
2 The same passage also occurs in the Kanchipuram inscription of Anangabhima III; but there the following epithet is paramamähävära.
3 The Kanchipuram inscription has jagena-mûla-karaña-šri-Purushottama-putra.
4 The word trayi means the Veda.
5 The same passage also occurs in the Kanchipuram inscription of Anangabhima III.
6 This passage also occurs in the Kanchipuram inscription.
7 The intended reading seems to be Gajapti for Sanskrit Gajapati.
8 Read vira-śri-Narasimhadëva.
9 In the place of "śvarai", early Oriya inscriptions generally have "śivarai", "śivarâkai", etc. But cf. "śvar" in line 2 of Inscription No. 1.
10 In correct Sanskrit: Kailâsaśikharâvara Nâganâ-Bhimapura mâyâ dat[\(^{19}\)] ētada-dharma-virôthâni narakam gachchhati.
11 In correct Sanskrit: Itad-dharma-pâlanâri sarga-lôkam gachchhati.
12 In correct Sanskrit: vira-śri-Narasimhadëva sadë vijai\(^{24}\). The intention may have been to add a word like mahâraññu here.
13 Sanskrit chârâ-simâ-baddha.
No. 6—JALORE INSCRIPTION OF CHAHAMANA CHACHIGADEVA, V.S. 1331

G. S. GAI, OCTACAMUND

(Received on 27.3.1958)

The inscription which is published here for the first time was copied by me in December 1957 at Jalore, the head-quarters of the District of the same name in the Jodhpur Division of Rajasthan. It is engraved on a pillar in the building called Tōphkhanā or a shed for artillery. It is believed that this structure was originally a mosque built by 'Alā-ud-din Khaljī out of the materials from the local Hindu and Jain temples and that it was later converted into a Tōphkhanā by the Rāṭhōḍa. Three inscriptions found in this building were published by the late Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. The present inscription is engraved on one face of a rectangular pillar, the other three sides containing three records of Śāmantaśīnha who was the successor of Chāchigadeva.

The present inscription covers a space 5½" broad and 18" high and contains 31 lines of writing. It has suffered damage in some places, resulting in the loss or obliteration of several letters. The characters are Nāgārī. As regards orthography, it may be observed that b appears to have been distinguished from v by a minute dot inside the loop of the former (cf. ḍuddha in line 5). The language is Sanskrit. The abbreviated forms tha (lines 8, 12 and 21), dra (lines 17 and 21) and pū (line 12) are found in the record. For the first two, their full forms, ṭhakkura (line 7) and dranādh (line 20) are also met with. And pū appears to stand for putra. In the Bālli inscription of Aivāka dated V. S. 1200, we have pū Māhaṇasuta and Bhandarkar could not explain the contraction ṭa. It seems to stand for pājya which is used in our inscription in pājya Dhanēvārasū (lines 18-19). Of lexical interest is the use of the dēśi word vyāja (line 21). It is used in the sense of 'interest' on money and is the same as Marāthī vyāj and Hindi byāj.

The date is given at the beginning of the record as Sarnvat 1331, Āśvina śu [11]. The portion giving the tithi and the first akshara of the week-day is badly damaged. But the second akshara of the week-day can be read as rau so that the word can be restored as Guru. Apparently the same month, fortnight and tithi are mentioned again in lines 14-16 of the record, thereby supporting the reading of the tithi as II in line 1. Thus the date of the record would be V. S. 1331, Āśvina śu. 11, Thursday. According to S. K. Pillai’s Indian Ephemeris, this date would regularly correspond to the 13th September 1274 A.D.

The inscription refers itself to the victorious and blessed reign of the Mahārājakahā Sri-Chachigadeva ruling at Jāvālipura. This Chachigadeva is no doubt the king of the Jalore or Songira branch of the Chahamānas. Only a few records of this king have been discovered so far and the known dates for him are V. S. 1319, 1323, 1332, 1333 and 1334. Bhandarkar doubtfully ascribes the damaged Bhimmal inscription of V. S. 1330 to his reign. Another record, found in the same building as the present inscription and dated V. S. 1320, belongs to his period.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of 150 dramma coins to the god Mahāvīra in the Chauḍana-vihāra in the Jain monastery attached to the Nāpakiya-gachchha. Nāpakiya-gachchha, Chandana-vihāra and god Mahāvīra are mentioned in two of the inscriptions of the

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1 See Archaeological Reports, Western Circle, 1908-09, p. 55.
3 Ibid., pp. 32-33, No. V, text line 4.
4 Ibid., p. 57.
5 Bhandarkar’s List Nos. 561, 569, 566, 587 and 592.
6 Ibid., No. 581, p. 383, Table No. 13.
7 Ibid., No. 563. For another inscription of the king, dated V. S. 1328, see JBR, Vol. XL, pp. 311-42.

(46)
time of Chāchigadēva referred to above. The vihāra is called there Mahārāya-sri-Chandana-vihāra. This Jain gachchha Naṇakya is evidently called after the place Naṇaka or Naṇa in the Bāṭ District of the Jodhpur Division. An inscription from Naṇa, dated V.S. 1290 (1243 A.D.), gives the ancient name of the place as Naṇaka from which the name of the gachchha is derived. The Chandana-vihāra was apparently named after king Chandana of the Jalore branch of the Paramārak. This branch is known from the only record of Vīsala who was sixth in descent from Chandana. It is found at Jalore and is dated V.S. 1174. Chandana, the son of Vākipatīrāja, was the first prince of this branch.

The occasion for the grant was the Āshānhikā festival conducted on the 11th day of the bright fortnight of Āśvayujī. It is mentioned as Āshānhikapadī in the record of V.S. 1320 referred to above. This Jain festival is usually conducted in the months of Āśāṅga, Kārttika and Phālguṇa. But the present record shows that it was conducted in the month of Āśvina also. The last eight days of these months were observed as days of Āshānhikaparva when special worship was conducted in the Jain temples. Since the months were Purvimpīṁita, Āśvina 11 falls during the last eight days of the month.

The description of the donor and his relatives is given in lines 7-14. The name of the donor which occurs in line 11 cannot be read satisfactorily as the first letter is too much obliterated. It seems to consist of three letters, the second and third of which are va. The first letter appears to be Na or Naḥ so that the name may be Naṇavai. The same name seems to occur again at the beginning of line 22 where also, unfortunately, the first letter is damaged and lost. The inscription describes him as the son of Dēdō and the brother of Dhanasīha (Dhanasēnha) and as belonging to the Kāvastha lineage. By his charitable acts he became celebrated in his own family. He was accompanied by his brothers Vaiṣṇu, (Phūdā and Harichandana (Harichandra), his sons (Rajagāthī and Bhuvanasiha) and Bhuvanasiha (Bhuvanasiha) and his mother, made the above-mentioned grant. The money was entrusted to the Superintendent of the monastery (Māṭhapati) and the members of the assembly (gōṣṭhitikas) in the presence of Dhanasēvā-sūri. It is stipulated that the interest on the granted money amounting to 15 dramana coins should be spent on worship, offering and supervision. It may be noted that the interest works out to be 10 per cent of the principal. Apparently this interest was realised annually. The gift was made in order to promote the welfare of the donor. If the māṭhapati and the gōṣṭhitikas would not conduct the worship and failed to observe the ceremonies on the ekādaśi day, then they would incur the curse of Pārvatīnātha and Mahāvīra and would not obtain any merit as long as the moon and the sun would endure. The record ends with the words subhās bhavatu followed by chha written three times between double dāṇḍas indicating the end of the writing.
The place-name Jāvalipura mentioned as the seat of the royal residence is, of course, modern Jalore where the record is found.

TEXT:

1 Siddham [10] Sam'1331 varshé Aśviné [su 11]
2 [rau] ahy=éha śrī-Jāvalipuré
3 Mahārājakula-śrī-Chāchiga-
4 dēva-kalyāṇa-vijay-ṛ-ṛ[ṛṛṛyṛ]
5 śrī-Nāgakīya-gachchha-pratibaddha-
6 Jin-ślayē śrī-Chamdāna-vihā-
7 rē Kāyasth-ānvayē ṭhakkura Dēḍē-
8 putra-ṭha²-Dhaṇasīla-bhrātri(trā) sakala-
9 dharmm-ṛū[ṛū]-kuly-ūtulyēṇa. ⁹
10 ja-ku[la]-bhāstala-sasāmkēṇa
11 ṭha³-(Nām)va-nāmadhēyēna bhrātri-
12 [Vijayaj-{Phāj]-lām-Harichandra²-pu²-ṭha²-[Rai]-
13 vaś[ē]-vaḥv[na]-śīla-mātarē²-
14 pramukha-sājuna(sam)nvīṭēṇa Āṣauja¹⁰
15 [mā]/śe śūkla¹¹-pakshē ēkaḍaśi-ṭi-
16 [thau] Asatāurviku-madhōtsavē śrī-Ma-
17 ²Virāḍēvasya puṣj-yūraḥm dra 150 sa-
18 [tān] paṭiḥcha(ča)śad-adhipiṃ pradattaṃ(ttam) [*] pūjya-śrī-Dha-
19 [ṛjav]-vāra-sūrēṃ samakshā[k]a[h]aṃ maṭhāpati-
20 [gō]śṭhitākāna³̃ drāmmāḥ samarpitā-ḥa [1]⁴

¹ From impressions.
² Expressed by symbol.
³ Read ĀmA.
⁴ The number 11 appears to have been incised here.
⁵ The lost akehara may be restored as ōu.
⁶ The lost akehara may be restored as ni.
⁷ The reading of this letter is not certain.
⁸ The intended reading of the name may be Harichandra.
⁹ Read mitī.
¹⁰ Read Āṇayāja.
¹¹ It appears that the engraver first carved la and then added la.
¹² This akehara can be restored as lā.
¹³ Read goṣṭhikādhvē.
[e]śāḥ[ā]ṁ dramānāṁ vyājena dhā 15 tha
[Naṁ]vai-ārēy-ārtham pūjā-naivēdyā-prē
[kha]ṁ-ādiśaṁ(kam) ā-chaṇḍr-ārvkaṁ yāvat
kārāpanīyam(yam)ṁ yadi tē maṭhapa
ti-gōṣṭī(shṭi)kāḥ pūjāṁ na kurvvaṁti
ēkādasi-tithi-kārya-[ka]raṇā
[ni] lāpayamti tada śrī-Pārāvānā
[tha]-śrī-Mahāvīradēvayōr-dōshē
dā dashyam[tō] [chha]ṁ tōvād ā-chaṁ
[ta] subham bhavatu cha [chha] [chha]
No. 7—EPIGRAPHIC NOTES

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

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9. Creation of Rent-free Holdings

There are some copper-plate charters1 which record the sale of Government land to an applicant paying the usual price and the Government’s acceptance of his proposal to create a rent-free holding out of the purchased land in favour of Brāhmaṇas or religious institutions. In such a transaction, it was believed, according to an ancient Indian convention, that five-sixths of the religious merit for the creation of the revenue-free holding would go to the purchaser of the land and one-sixth of it to the king of the country, whose government alone could create such a holding.2

There is another kind of charters which, instead of speaking of the sale of the land that was created into a rent-free holding by the king in favour of Brāhmaṇas or religious institutions, merely state that the particular holding was created as the request of a certain officer or feudatory of the king or some other persons.3 In spite of the absence of any reference to sale in such records, some of them appear to be based on a transaction involving sale.4 Thus the Nālandā plate5 of Dēvapāla records a grant of five villages by the Pāla king to a Buddhist monastery at Nālandā at the request of Muhārāja Bālaputraḍēva who was the lord of Suvapravāpē (Sumatra) and was responsible for establishing the monastery. The five villages were apparently purchased by Bālaputraḍēva from Dēvapāla as otherwise the whole of the religious merit accruing to the pious act of endowing the monastery with a rent-free holding for its maintenance would go to Dēvapāla and nothing at all to Bālaputraḍēva.6 This was no doubt an undesirable position for the king of Sumatra. If he really purchased the villages, as he no doubt did, five-sixths of the merit would be his and only one-sixth would go to Dēvapāla according to the convention referred to above.

But as regards the land made a rent-free holding at the request of an officer or feudatory of the king, it was no doubt in many cases lying within his jāgṛt or fie or estate. In the case of land forming part of jāgṛt which royal officers of ancient India enjoyed temporarily,7 their occupants lost the rent of the land in question so long as they were in their possession. But the king's

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2 Cf. ibid., p. 344, text line 13; p. 348, text line 16; p. 352, text line 13; p. 362, text line 11. See also Monuments, VIII, 304: Viśvamitra, III, 13-14. The same idea is also referred to in other records like the Dūmdarpur plates, No. 3, line 7 (above, Vol. XV, p. 134), and No. 5, line 12 (op. cit., p. 143). The texts of most of the inscriptions have often been misunderstood. Cf. Select Inscriptions, p. 332, note 5.
3 Cf. Select Inscriptions, pp. 331, 375, 421, etc. It may be pointed out that the feudatory’s name was mentioned in royal charters in this fashion only when he was regarded as of some importance. When he grew more powerful, he issued charters himself with the permission of his master (cf. above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 139 ff.). With further growth in his power, his charters were issued without reference to his master’s permission but without concealing his subordinate position or indicating it somewhat vaguely (cf. ibid., Vol. XXVIII, pp. 201, 266, 332; Vol. XXX, p. 139; etc.). When still more powerful, he issued grants without any reference to his master and endowing himself with a combination of subordinate and imperial titles which could in some cases be so interpreted as to indicate either his subordinate position or independent status (cf. ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 329; Vol. XXVIII, pp. 109, 294; Vol. XXIX, p. 186). The next stage of course is represented by his charters issued as a full-fledged independent ruler.
4 The sale of land was generally represented in ancient India as a gift. See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 48, note 2.
5 Bālaputraḍēva’s List, No. 1613.
loss of revenue was greater as the land was rent-free even when the sef reverted to him or was subsequently allotted to some other officer. It therefore seems that the occupants of jāgirs had to compensate the king's loss at least partially for the creation of revenue-free holdings within their sefs, as otherwise they could scarcely expect the full religious merit accruing to the pious act. We have also cases where a king is found to ratify the rent-free holdings created in their jāgirs by members of the royal family.

But it appears to us that a number of grants of rent-free lands issued by the kings were really made on behalf of persons whose names are not mentioned in the documents. This seems to be suggested by the fact that, in a few cases, even though the grants are recorded in the king's name, an endorsement at the end of the documents says that they were made by others and in reality there is a contradiction between facts as stated in the charter proper and in the endorsement. An important document of this type is the Bunganon plate of Vigrahapāla, which purports to record the grant of a village by the Pāla king in favour of a Brāhmaṇa, although in an endorsement at the end it is summarily stated that the grant was made by an officer of the king named Ghaṇṭiṣa out of his own jāgīr.

Another interesting fact is that the indication of a particular grant being actually made by one of the king's officers or feudatories but represented as one made by the king is not clear in the documents though some of them appear to suggest the fact vaguely. There are many records which introduce a person without any ostensible relation with the charter stated to have been granted by the king. Such an introduction is often found at the end of the documents exactly in the position of the endorsement in the Bunganon plate of Vigrahapāla III. referred to above. In a few cases, such an enigmatic name is also met with in the body of the charter without any justification for its introduction. Since it is inexplicable why persons without anything to do with the grants should be mentioned in royal charters at all, we suspect that they might have been the real donors of the grants in question and the fact was intended to be rather vaguely indicated in the said way. It also appears that there was an amount of reluctance on the part of the Government to admit such a fact.

The Mēhār plate of Dāmōdara records a grant of lands in favour of a number of Brāhmaṇas. But at the end of the king's description in verse, there is one stanza introducing Gāngādhārādeva who was the officer in charge of the royal elephant force. The introduction of this person, as we have indicated elsewhere, cannot be explained unless it is supposed that he was the real donor of the grant although the king was not eager to mention the fact explicitly in the document.

The Andhavaram plates of the Eastern Gaṅga king Indravarman record the grant of a village as an agrahāra or rent free holding in favour of several Brāhmaṇas. The king is mentioned as the donor. But, at the end, the record is stated to have been written under orders of ārī-Lōkārṇava-deva who vanquished many foes. The editor of the inscription says, “These plates furnish us with a new Gaṅga name—Lōkārṇava.” But he admits that the identity of this person cannot be determined without further evidence.

The charter was issued in the Gaṅga year 133. But, instead of describing it as the pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsara or Gāṅgāya-vaisa-pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsara as we

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3 See the cases of such holdings created by Princes Sāryasena and Purushottamaśena and ratified by king Visvarupasena in his Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad plate (N. G. Majumdar, Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 147; JAS, Letters, Vol. XX, pp. 206-07).
4 Above, Vol. XXIX, p. 48 ff.
5 Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 182 ff.
6 Ibid., Vol. XXX, pp. 52-53.
7 Ibid., p. 37 ff.
find in other Gaṅga records, the inscription in question calls it Tumburu-vaṁśa-rājaśa-samāvatara. This reminds us of the Santa-Bommaḷi plate issued by a Kadamba feudatory of a Gaṅga king, which describe the Gaṅga era as Gaṅga-Kadamba-vaṁśa-pravardhamān-vijaya-rājaśa-samāvatara even though the Kadambas had nothing to do with the establishment of the era. It appears to as that the grant recorded in the Andhavaram plates of Gaṅga Indravarman was really made by his feudatory Lōkārṇava of the Tumburu dynasty. Unless such was the case, it is difficult to explain why he was introduced as ordering for the writing of the document and the Gaṅga era is described only in this record as associated with the Tumburu dynasty.²

There is a stanza about the end of a charter issued by the Śailōdhava king Sainyabhita Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa.³ The inscription was edited by N. G. Majumdar who believed that the date of the grant, viz., year 50, should be referred to the Harsha era so as to yield 656 A.D. There is, however, little doubt that the inscription is dated in the regnal reckoning of the Śailōdhava king. The stanza in question has been read by Majumdar as follows:

Jayati Jaganta-pratimah prosabha-samākriha-ripu-nripa-ārikah  
Śrīhara-pat(par)aripah kshitiḥ pūrṇapini-lōkāṇātha-sakhah  ||

Since another verse in the inscription states that king Mādhavavarman made the grant from his camp at Mādhavapura (probably named after himself), Majumdar suggests that the expression Śrīhara-paṇam refers to the king’s stay, at the time of making the grant, at Śrīhara-paṇam which is identical with Mādhavapura. He also says, “It further describes him (i.e. king Mādhavavarman) as a friend of the lōkāṇātha who was graciously disposed towards him. By the term lōkāṇātha we are probably to understand the paramount sovereign to whom Mādhavavarman owed allegiance.” We are sorry that we cannot agree either with Majumdar’s reading or with his interpretation. In the first place, what has been read as śrīhara-paṇam and corrected to śrīhara-paṇam has been read by S. N. Rajaguru, who has recently edited the inscription without noticing that it was previously published, as śrīmanvaṇṇah.⁴ In regard to the reading va for ṣaḥ. Rajaguru seems to be right since the akṣara has a clear top mātri which is expected in v and not in ṣaḥ. The other disputed akṣaras looks very like ṣaḥ or va than ṣaḥ. The reading of the expression thus seems to be śrī-vaṇṇaḥ or śrī-vaṇṇaṇaḥ. Secondly, the reference in the verse can hardly be to the Śailōdhava king as the feudatory of a certain lōkāṇātha, ‘a king’. He was no doubt a feudatory of king Śaṇkāla of Gauḍa in the Gupta year 300 (619 A.D.). But his later records including the said epigraph are dated in his regnal reckoning and most of them (including the inscription in question) describe him as the performer of the Āśvamedha sacrifice.⁵ There is thus little doubt that these charters were issued after Sainyabhita Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa had thrown off the yoke of the Gauḍa king. In our opinion, lōkāṇātha mentioned in the stanza quoted above is no other than the Śailōdhava king himself and the illustrious Varāṇaṇa or Varanara was his feudatory who was the real donor of the grant. The word vaṇṇaṇaḥ refers to the favour shown by the king to the feudatory by agreeing to the creation of the rent-free holding recorded in the inscription in no doubt at the feudatory’s request.

While re-editing the Balangir Museum plates of the 8th regnal year of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I, we did not fully realise the implication of the endorsement at the end of it referring to Prince

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¹ Bhandarkar’s List No. 2053.
Durgarāja, described as the son of Svabhāvatunga whom we identified with Mahāśīvagupta Yayūṭi I himself. The introduction of the prince is really inexplicable and it now appears to us that he was the real donor of the grant which was ratified by his father.

Similarly, the real implication of the enigmatic endorsement at the end of the Mahāśīvagupta Yaśogarā is quite meaningless. It appears to us now that Yaśogarā, who seems to be described in the endorsement as a ruling chief born in the family of the issuer of the charter, i.e., king Śomōparakṣaśvaravarman I, was the real donor of the grant which was ratified by the king. If this was not the case, the endorsement is quite meaningless.


The word khajjana, also spelt khajjana, khajjana and khajjana, occurs in several inscriptions of the western part of South India. In the Argā (Karwar District) plate 6 of Kāpālīvarman, which may be assigned to the sixth century A.D. on palaeographical grounds, the word khajjana is found in the following passage in lines 3-6: Śivapuraka-grāme Aditya-virahiti-Pukkollī-khajjana-datta. We have also the following three passages mentioning khajjana in the Bandora (Goa) plates 8 of Pithivāmalavarman who seems to have flourished in the seventh century A.D.: (1) ata grāmāniy Kopāti-khajjana-vairhiti Brāhmaṇayā...sampradattāni (lines 3-4); (2) kha-
jjana-madhyaśāstra-pi yūpakaḥ Brāhmaṇyā-siva datta iti (lines 7-8); (3) khajjana-parivaśāya (line 10). The word khajjana is tài rice used in the Panjim (Goa) plate 4 of king Jayakāsin I of the Kadamba family of Goa, dated Śaka 981 (1059 A.D.), in the following three passages: (1) Pāvara-khajjana (line 48); (2) Kalp-ākhyaya-khajjana (line 49); (3) Pratīva(b)a-khajjana (line 50). A copper-plate grant 4 of Tribhuvanamalla of the same dynasty, dated Śaka 1028 (1107 A.D.), uses the word khajjana in verse 31 in lines 31-32, which runs as follows:—

Nannaṇayānam=namasyām cha Hṛṣṭa-khajjayanam krayāt |
krītān Nāgēṇa taṃmāti=tat-krītāv phālāv=chhatāsva-trībhiv |

The word khajjana-khajjana-khajjana-khajjana-khajjana has not yet been satisfactorily understood. While editing the Argā plates, Mr. A. M. Annigeri admits that the expression Pukkollī-khajjana occurring in the record 8 cannot be explained 4, while Mr. P. B. Desai suggests in an editorial note that the word khajjana and its variants may denote ‘a specific area of cultivable land or locality’.

There is, however, no doubt that khajjana, et al., are the same as the Marāṭhī word spelt both as khajya and khajya. According to Wilson’s Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms, this word means ‘a salt-marsh or meadow; land lying along the shore of the sea or of inlets, and exposed to be flooded; ground recovered by embankment from sea’. The Mahāśīvaśa Śabakālī also explains the word as ‘the area [near the sea-shore] on which a thin layer of sand and mud accumulates after the ebb-tide coming through inlets; a rice field created out of such an area near a hillock by erecting embankments on the three other sides; a field created by reclamation of the river bed’. It will thus be seen that khajjana and its variants really mean a particular type of cultivable land or a plot of land of the said type. That it does not mean a specific area of land seems to be indicated by the mention of an object standing within a khajjana as found in the Bandora plates and of a khajjana called by the name Kaṇa in the Panjim plates, both quoted above.

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1 Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 283 ff.
2 Ibid., Vol. XXXI, pp. 233 ff.
3 See below, pp. 293 ff.
4 G. M. Morison, Kadambaśastra, p. 397; M. G. Dikshit, BISMQ, Vol XXXI, Part IV, pp. 27 ff.
5 Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 71 ff.
7 Ibid., p. 234, note 4.
8 This meaning is clearly supported by the Bandora plates speaking of laṇaṇa-jalāka etalānā nīrṇayya kalaḥrāmaṇa-vipadāya (lines 8-9).
It has to be seen that the word khajjana and its variants are often used together with another expression as in Pukkoli-khajjana, Kapoti-khajjana, Pavara-khajjana, Kalp-akhya-khajjana, Pratibala-khajjana and Hoddha-khajjana. The possibilities are that Pukkoli, Kapoti, Pavara, Pratibala and Hoddha are names of persons or localities or that the words in question indicate particular types of the land styled khajjana-khajjana=khajjana-khajjana. Of the three suggestions, however, the one that Pukkoli, Kapoti, Pavara, Pratibala and Hoddha are personal names appears to be better than the other two. Kalpa may have, of course, been the name of the field in question.

In line 15 of the Sisri (North Kanara District) plates of Kadamba Ravivarman (c. 490-538 A.D.), we have the expression Bandhu-Pukkoli-kshetra. Pukkoli may be a variant of Pukkoli of the Arga plates. Another variant of the same appears in the passage chatuvarvivikhutini-nivasattanam Pukkoli-kshetram in lines 4-5 of the Kuntagani plates of the same Kadamba king. The occurrence of the same expression in several records seems to suggest that it is not the name of a locality since that would indicate that there were too many different localities bearing the same peculiar name. If this is regarded as a particular type of khajjana land, Kapoti, Pavara, Pratibala and Hoddha should also have to be taken to mean similar other types. That would make too many types of the land indicated by the word khajjana and its variants. In the present state of our knowledge, therefore, it is better to suggest that Pukkoli, Pukkoli and Pukkoli are the variants of a personal name. In such a case, the expressions Adityasareshthi-Pukkoli-khajjana would indicate a plot of the khajjana type of land in the possession of two persons named Adityasareshthin and Pukkoli, while Bandhu-Pukkoli-kshetra would similarly mean a plot of land in the possession of two persons called Bandhu and Pukkoli. Since, in Adityasareshthi-Pukkoli, Adityasareshthin seems to be a complete personal name and Adityasareshthi-pukkoli does not appear to be a single name, Bandhu and Pukkoli in the passage Bandhu-Pukkoli-kshetra should better be taken to mean two personal names rather than Bandhu-pukkoli as one such name.

It seems that khajjana of the Arga plates is a wrong spelling of khajjana or khajjana.

11. Paunga-Paunga-Paunga

The earliest reference to the word paunga is found in the Hithahebbagilu plates of the Kadamba Dharmanamaharaja atri-vijaya-siva-Mrigeshavaran (c. 470-90 A.D.) of Vajayanti. In this case, a village was granted in favour of a Brhamana with a number of privileges, one of which is indicated by the expression parighita-paunga-bhota (lines 17-18). In a similar context, the expression sarvepaunga-parikhita is used as an epithet of the gift village in the Goa plates of Chalukya Satyasraya Dhiravaraja Indravarman, dated Saka 532 (610 A.D.). The passage Vaidh(e)Vainasa(v)ajakadesakakudakarpurvakam sarvapaunga-parikhita dattu occurs in lines 11-12 of the Kapoti (Belgaum District) plates of king Asaukitavaran of the Bhuja family, who seems to have flourished in the sixth or seventh century A.D. The same word occurs in the form pauga in the following passage in lines 26-27 of a copper-plate grant (Saka 1025-1107 A.D.) of Kadamba Tribhuvanamalla: datru-kritva dadou sarvam-eetat-paunga-dhitvarjitan. In a similar passage in line 42 of the Panjim plates (Saka 981-1059 A.D.) of Kadamba Jayakshini I, it is stated that the donee was to pay parga at a fixed rate every year for the village that was granted to him by the king.

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2 Ibid., p. 287, note 9.
3 Ibid., Vol. XXXII, pp. 217 ff.
4 Can pukkoli be derived from old Telugu pothamu, 'are-anita', in the sense of an arecanut plantation? Cf. above, Vol. XIII, p. 197, note 3.
8 Ibid., Vol. XXX, pp. 77 ff.
9 Cf. QIMS, Vol. XLV, p. 66.
The word *paigā-paigā* has not been properly interpreted. B. L. Rice while translating the Hitāhebbāgili plates admitted his inability to interpret the expression *paigā-ṛkāta*.\(^1\) K. T. Telang while editing the Goa plates of Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman read *sarvā-paigā-pankṣhta* and translated the expression as ‘free from all lame people’, although Kielhorn later pointed out that the correct reading is *paigā* and not *paigū*.\(^2\)

Mr. P. B. Desai offered several suggestions on the interpretation of this word. In a note published in the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, he explained *paigā* as ‘form’ or ‘shape’ and interpreted the passage Bhairavāḥ *paigā* Gadyāśaktā occurring in the Panjim plates as ‘Gadychakas (i.e. coins of that name) of the Bhairava type’, although an alternative suggestion offered was that *paigā* may be a mistake for *paigē* derived from *pon* meaning ‘gold’.\(^3\) But later he gave up the above interpretations of the word and offered the following suggestion: “The expression is not found in Sanskrit or Prakrit. It may, however, be connected with the Kannada *paigū* meaning ‘obligation’ or ‘indebtedness’. This suggestion is supported by the context which shows that the ground for the collection of *paigā* or fee was obligation. The word has passed into the Marāṭhi language and is used in expressions like *paigā phēdāyem* (to discharge the debt).”\(^4\)

The word *paigā-paigā* as found in the inscriptions referred to above is no doubt the same as Telugu *paigamamu* recognised in Brown’s Telugu-English Dictionary in the sense of ‘a tax in the shape of one-fourth of the produce collected in olden times by the government on lands in the possession of gods and Brahmans’ (deva-Brāhmaṇa-vṛttula mīda pūrvavu sarkānām pūṣikanē caḥatūr-āṇām-aginā koppamu). It may be connected with Tamil *paigū* and Malayalam *pañka* recognised in Wilson’s Glossary in the sense of ‘a share’. Dr. R. Narasimha Rao has drawn my attention to the use of the word in a large number of Telugu inscriptions of the medieval period.

Inscription No. 558 in the South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. VI, dated Śaka 1189 (1267 A.D.), contains the passage *āyā-suṅkamau paigāga lekunādānāṁ-istām, “we have made this grant with the exemption of āyā-śūlka and paigāga”. No. 257 of Vol. X of the same work, dated Śaka 1133 (1211 A.D.) has similarly *ṣvātikā paigānam ādūm, “there is no paigāga in respect of this gift land”. No. 406 (Śaka 1187-1265 A.D.), No. 422 (Śaka 1191-1269 A.D.), Nos. 449 and 450 (Śaka 1202-1280 A.D.), No. 484 (Śaka 1221-1299 A.D.), No. 492 (Śaka 1225-1303 A.D.), No. 499 (Śaka 1233-1311 A.D.), No. 520 (Śaka 1238-1316 A.D.), No. 527 (Śaka 1241-1319 A.D.), No. 539 (of the time of Kākatiya Rudra) and No. 540 (of the time of Kākatiya Pratapādudra) of the same volume have the following passages respectively: (1) *dunnurākikā paigamam lēdu (the cultivators of this land are exempted from paigāga), (2) *eravān dunnarānāmu paigāga-tappu paigāga-suṅkamau pañnu kānikā darisānamu ś-mārāvalāṁnaṁ ēnīto gūna-lēdu (paigāga-tappu, paigāga-śūlka, pañnu, kānikā and darisāna are not levied from the cultivators anywhere), (3) *paigamam sarvā-mānyagū (a free holding which is paigā, i.e., free from paigāga), (4) *paigūga (not paigūga as in the printed text) kānikā manināna ācānārā-ārjanamāṇam (we have permanently exempted it from paigāga and kānikā), (5) *īcēni paigāga-tappu-suṅkamam adīginā-targi śrīnī prabhurjakaṁ bāṇadur (the collector of paigāga-tappu-śūlka will be committing the five great sins), (6) *paigamam lekunādānā saṛca-mānyagū (no paigāga will be levied by us on the free-holding), (7) *ēcānārākikā upśkhitī paigamam puti mādālu kānikā darisānamu mānānāmāṇa (we exempt from upakshiti, paigāga, putti, māḍālu, kānikā and darisāna for ever), (8) *paigāga-saṛcā-mānyagū… whiri (made

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\(^1\) Ep. Carn., Vol. IV, translation, p. 95. We also failed to explain the expression while discussing the inscription in the Successors of the Shāhshana, p. 265.


\(^3\) QM, loc. cit.

\(^4\) Above, Vol. XXX, p. 75; cf. also ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 236, note 2.
the grant of a free-holding as paṅga, i.e., exempted from paṅga), (9) paṅga-mānyamu (a free-holding which is paṅga, i.e. free from paṅga), (10) paṅgamu veṭṭina paṇḍuppālai baḍu-vāru (the collectors of paṅga from the cultivators of this land will be committing all sins), and (11) paṅga-mānyamu mūgā vēiche (made the free-holding paṅga, i.e. free from paṅga). The passage paṇgamu ledu (exempted from paṅga) also occurs in Inscription No. 7 from Ongole in the Inscriptions of the Nellore District, Vol. II.

In these records paṅga or paṅgū, besides paṅga-tappu and paṅga-sulka, or paṅga-tappu-sulka in a single compound, is in some cases mentioned along with other levies called āya-sulka, paṇnu, kānika, dārāna, upakshiti, puṭṭi and māḍalu. In some cases, the word paṅga has been used as an adjective in the sense of 'free from paṅga'. The distinction between paṅga-tappu and paṅga-sulka is not clear. While paṅga-sulka may be the same as paṅga explained above, paṅga-tappu may indicate interest or fine on arrears of paṅga.

Of the seven other items mentioned in the records quoted above, dārāna is the same as Persian nāsrāna, originally a gift or present from an inferior to a superior, a holy man or a prince. Both āya and sulka mean 'toll, tax, customs,' etc., and the compound āya-sulka may have been used in the records in the sense of 'customs duties'. Wilson’s Glossary recognizes paṇnu as a Tamil word meaning 'tax, tribute, custom, rent'. It is also recognised in Brown’s Telugu-English Dictionary in the sense of 'a tax, rent, duties'. Kānika seems to be the same as Kannada kānike-kāya or kānike-kappa recognised by Wilson in the sense of 'a present from an inferior to a superior, a subscription, a donation'. Brown recognizes Telugu kānika or kānika in the same sense. Puṭṭi reminds us of Telugu puṭṭi-dūsilu recognised by Wilson in the sense of 'a fee of two handfuls from each puṭṭi of grain paid to the village servants'. Māḍalu similarly reminds us of what Wilson says under māḍa: ‘a half pagoda; whence it is applied to a rate of rent or payment of 50 per cent.’ I am not sure about the real meaning of upakshiti.

The Hitpahebbigilu plates of Kadamba Mīngēsamavaran uses the expression parikṛṣa-paṅga-ūkōṭa (exempted from paṅga and uṭkoṭa), in which uṭkōṭa is another allied fiscal term like paṅga. The Sanskrit form uṭkōṭa is not found in the lexicons; but its Prakrit form uṭkōṭa, as used in the Jain Vyasahūrasūtra, has been recognised by H. T. Seth in his Pāśupadādamahāyānārī in the sense of 'themselves to be offered to the rājakula (the king, royal officers and members of the royal family) and presents made to the king and others'. The same lexicographer uṭkōṭa, which appears to be a feminine form of the same word, as found in works like the Deśināmanālā, Praṇavāyakarasūtra and Vipākasūtra, in the allied sense of 'bribe'.

While the form paṅga may be a word derived from paṅgu in the same sense, paṅgū may be a wrong spelling of paṅga. The expression sara-paṅga-parikṛṣa (exempted from all the paṅgus) used in some cases would suggest that paṅga often indicated a levy in general and that there were various kinds of it. The use of expressions like paṅga-sulka and paṅga-tappu (ct. also paṅga-tappu-sulka) in the same context along with other taxes seems to suggest that paṅgu was sometimes also used to indicate a particular group of levies.
No. 8—BARHUT INSCRIPTIONS IN ALLAHABAD MUSEUM

(1 Plate)

D. C. Sircar, Otacamund

(Received on 31.1.1958)

Cunningham discovered the remains of the ancient Buddhist Stūpa at Barhut (also spelt Bharhut and Bharaut) in the former Nagaud State, of late merged in Madhya Pradesh, in 1873. The best and the most valuable of the sculptured remains were purchased by him for the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and are now exhibited in the Archaeological Section of that Museum. The inscriptions incised on the stones pertaining to the said collection were studied by Cunningham, Hoernle, Hultsch and Lűders as well as by Barua and Sinha. Some more relics of the same religious establishment, probably those rejected by Cunningham, were lying in a godown of the rulers of the Nagaud State. These were secured some years ago by Pandit Vrij Mohan Vyas for the Municipal Museum at Allahabad, Uttar Pradesh. There are altogether seven inscriptions in the Barhut collection of the Allahabad Museum. An unsatisfactory impression of one of these epigraphs reached me more than ten years ago and I published it in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters, Vol. XIV, 1948, pp. 113-14; but the impression was too flimsy for reproduction. About the end of 1957 I visited the Allahabad Museum and Dr. S. C. Kala, Curator of the Museum, kindly allowed me to copy all the inscriptions of the Barhut collection. The epigraphs are published in the following pages.

Like most of the published inscriptions from Barhut, the records under study are small epigraphs in one or two lines. The characters belong to the Brāhmī alphabet of about the second century B.C. The language of the inscriptions is Prakrit.

No. 1

The pillar bearing the inscription in one line near the representation of an acrobatic scene bears the Museum number Ac/2915. The line is 7¾ inches in length and individual akṣaras are about ½ inch high. The letters are smaller in size in the present epigraph than in any other in the Barhut collection in the Allahabad Museum. This inscription was published by me without illustration in the pages of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, referred to above. But, on a careful examination of the record, it is now found that there are some errors in the observations on the epigraph contained in my article.

I then read the inscription as follows:

Pusatalaye nāgarike sīkkhunye [sa]...........

It was suggested that the epigraph, supposed to be fragmentary, records the gift of a pillar or rail by the nun Pushyadattā of the city where the ancient Stūpa was situated. I also suggested that Pushyadvati of this inscription is identical with the nun of that name mentioned in another Barhut inscription read by Barua and Sinha as:

Pusatalaye nāgarike sīkkhunye Sakṣyā thabho dānaṃ.

1 See his Stupa of Bharhut, 1879.
5 Barhut Inscriptions, 1920.
7 Macron over e and o has not been used in the article.

5 DGA/58
The full text of our inscription was therefore restored as: *Puspadataye nāgarikāye bhikshuniye Sakāye sūchī (or thabho) dānaṁ* and translated as, "[A rail (or, pillar) which is the gift of the [Buddhist] nun Pushyadattā, an inhabitant of the city."

It is now seen that there is no trace of any letter after the word bhikshuniye and the epigraph is therefore not fragmentary. Of course a layer of the stone has peeled off about the end of the line; but, even if it may be supposed that there were some letters in this damaged part, they could not have been more than two in number since there is no space for more. At best therefore there word dānaṁ may have been engraved after bhikshuniye, although I feel that bhikshuniye is the last word of the record. Indeed *Puspadataye nāgarikāye bhikshuniye* (i.e. "[The gift of] Pushyadattā, the nun of the city") and *Sakāye thabho dānaṁ* (i.e. "The pillar [which is] the gift of Sakā") are two different records as read by Cunningham and do not make a single record as suggested by Barus and Sinha.

The word bhikshuni is found in the Barhut records in both the forms bhichhuni and bhikhuni.¹

**No. 2**

The cross-bar bearing this inscription in one line bears the number Ac/2972.² It is incised on the stone covering an area about 10½ inches in length. Individual aksharas are about 1/3 inch in height. The inscription reads as follows:

[Nāgarakhāsa chu mātū Chakamuchukaye dānaṁ. 
It may be translated as: "[This pillar is] the gift of Nāgarakhśita and [his] mother Chakrāmohikā." But the word chu seems to suggest that the present epigraph was the second of a set of two inscriptions, the first recording a gift of Nāgarakhśita, while the inscription under study only the gift of his mother. The gentleman and the lady mentioned in the record are not known from any other inscription from Barhut. A Buddhist monk of Pushkara, named Nāgarakhśita, is, however, known from an inscription³ of about the same period; but he appears to be different from the person of the same name mentioned in the record under study.

**No. 3**

The railing pillar on which this fragmentary inscription in one line is engraved bears the number Ac/2918.⁴ The writing covers a space measuring 5½ inches in length with individual aksharas slightly less than an inch in height. The epigraph reads . . . girino bhānakasa bhātu, after which there are traces of an akshara which may be pa or ha. The word bhānaka indicates 'a reciter [of sacred text]' and a number of such reciters are mentioned in the Barhut epigraphs.⁵ Our inscription apparently records the gift either of Ha (or Pa) . . . . . . . . . . . , the brother of a reciter whose name ended with the word girī, or of both the reciter and his brother.

This inscription reminds us of another Barhut epigraph⁶ which reads: Namadagirino bhānakasa Selapurakasa thabho dānam. "The pillar [which is] the gift of the reciter Namadagiri, an inhabitant of Šlālapura". It is not unlikely that the same reciter named Namadgiri is mentioned in the record under study. A person named Namadgiri is known from another Barhut inscription; but he was not a bhānaka.

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¹ Cf. Barua and Sinha, op. cit., p. 11, No. 19; pp. 17 f., No. 46 (1 and 3), etc.; and p. 12, No. 22; p. 13, No. 28; p. 18 (4); etc.
² S. C. Kalā, op. cit., p. 33, No. 19.
³ Lōders' List, No. 607.
⁵ Cf. Barua and Sinha, op. cit., p. 8, No. 15; p. 11, No. 20; p. 13, No. 27; etc.
⁶ Ibid., p. 16, No. 41.
⁷ Ibid., p. 37, No. 13.
No. 4

This inscription is engraved on a pillar bearing the number Ac.2914 as a label for the representation of a Nāga offering protection to the Buddha. It is in two lines which cover a space measuring 9 inches by 3 ½ inches. The letters in the first line are somewhat bigger than those of the second. Individual aksharas are between 1" and 2" in height in line 1 and a little less than one inch in line 2. The inscription reads:

1 M vāliko Nāgarāja [1*]
2 Tiṣṭayī Beśākā ṭika ni dānuṇo (na) [1*]

It may be translated as: 'This is the representation of Mahāliyā, the king of the Nāgas (i.e. dragons). [This is] the gift of Tishyā, an inhabitant of Benākatāka.' If it is believed that ṭika has been used in the plural number for Sanskrit dānuṇa, it has probably to be suggested that Tishyā's gift included more than one piece of stone.

The mention of Nāgarāja Mahāliyā reminds us of two other Barhat inscriptions speaking similarly of the Nāga-raja Erāpata (Sanskrit Airācata or Elāputra) and Chakrāvāka. According to Buddhist tradition, when there was a great shower of rain at Uruvelā where the Buddha was spending the third week after his Enlightenment, the Nāga king Mahāliyā sheltered him by winding his coils seven times round the Buddha's body and holding his head above the Buddha's head. The expression Benākatāka (Sanskrit Benākatskā) has been derived from Benākatāka in the sense of 'a female resident of Benākatāka'. The name Benākatāka seems to indicate a town (kataka) situated on the river Benā which may be a tributary of the Kṛishā bearing that name or the Waincanga which is a tributary of the Godāvarī. But one of the Nasik cave inscriptions appears to locate a place called Benākatāka in the district of Govardhana around modern Nasik.

No. 5

This inscription in one line is engraved on a rail stone bearing the number Ac.2967. The writing covers an area of 6½ inches in length and individual aksharas are between ½" and ¾" in height. The epigraph is both damaged and fragmentary. It reads . . . [ve Tālakījīsa thakho dānuṇa]. The last akshara seems to be the remnant of a word indicating a place name in the feminine gender and the fifth case-ending. We have other cases of this type among the Barhat inscriptions. Cf. Māgārīmbha Nāgāya bhikkhunīyā dānuṇa thakho. "This[es] pillar [is] the gift of the nun Nāgāī from Māgārīmbha."4

No. 6

The fragment of the coping stone on which this inscription in one line is incised bears the number Ac.2923. The writing covers an area measuring 2½ inches in length with individual aksharas about ¾ inch high. The record reads:


dhavāra jālābar.

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4 Of, Dr, Geographical Dictionary, s.r. Beśāk and Beśā.
5 Cf. Select Inscriptions, p. 191; Leder's List, No. 1125.
7 S. C. Kala, op. cit., pp. 28-29, No. 35.
This reminds us of the numerous scenes from the Jātakas on the Barhut sculptures often bearing inscriptions mentioning the names of particular Jātakas. There is actually another Barhut inscription reading Ḥanisā-jātaka. Among the Jātakas mentioned in the Barhut inscriptions, we have Maghādeniya-jātaka, Isimigo-jātaka, ... niya-jātaka, Secha-jātaka, Nāga-jātaka, Sujataguhuto-jātaka, Latunā-jātaka, Viḍalajatārakukūya-jātaka, Uda-jātaka, Kinnara-jātaka, Miga-jātaka, Bhisaharaniya-jātaka, Chhadanītiya-jātaka, Isisinjīciya-jātaka, Vitupunakiya-jātaka, Yavamajhakayamā-jātaka and Megapakiya-jātaka. It may be pointed out that the names of the Jātakas as quoted in these inscriptions are in some cases found in different forms in the Jātaka collections.

No. 7

The coping stone bearing this inscription has the number Ac/2910. The record is in two parts. The height of individual akṣharas in this epigraph is similar to that of the letters in No. 6. The first part of the inscription reads Gaṇā-jātaka Saso and the second jātaka which, however, seems to be followed by traces of the letters saso. The two parts jointly mention the Gaṇa-jātaka and the Śāsa-jātaka Although the Śāsa-jātaka is well known, it is difficult to identify the Gaṇa-jātaka. Among the Jātakas, we have stories in which both the gaṇa (i.e. elephant) and the śaṣa (i.e. rabbit) are known to have some part to play.

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1 Barua and Sinha, op. cit., p. 51; Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, p. 239, No. 158.
3 S. C. Kula, op. cit., pp. 32-33, No. 7.
4 See Jātaka No. 316.
5 Cf., e.g., Jātaka No. 322 (Doddakha-jātaka).
No. 9—TWO GRANTS OF BHOJA PRITHIVIMALLAVARMAN
(2 Plates)

G. S. GAI, OOTACUMUND

(Received on 23.4.1958)

Photographs of the two copper-plate inscriptions published here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India were obtained in his office during 1949-50. The plates were found somewhere in the Goa territory but the details about their discovery are not known. Both of these inscriptions, called here A and B, belong to the reign of the king Prithivimallavarmman of the Bhoja dynasty. The existence of this dynasty is known from a few copper-plate grants. In all, six inscriptions, including the two published here, have been discovered so far. Of these, the Sirola plates of Devaraja are the earliest as they are assignable, on palaeographical grounds, to about the 4th century A.D., while the others belong to the 6th or 7th century A.D. The six inscriptions disclose the names of five rulers, viz. Devaraja, Asanhita, Asinkitavarman, Kampilvarman and Prithivimallavarman. Unfortunately their relationship to one another cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. The records refer only to the ruling kings and do not mention any of their predecessors. For this reason, it is even difficult to say whether Asanhita of the Hirugutti plates is the same as Asinkitavarman mentioned in the Kampil plates. These Bhoja rulers seem to have held sway in the west coast area comprising the North Kanara District, Goa and portions of the Belgaum District. Among the charters of the family, the Sirola plates were issued from Chandrapura, the Arga plates from Panassakhejta, and the present records from Vrishabhiniji-khejta and Prithi-para-vata. Of these, only Chandrapura has been satisfactorily identified with modern Chandor near the city of Goa.

A

The set consists of two plates, each measuring approximately 6.5 by 2.2. In the middle of the left margin of each plate, there is a hole (about 1 inch in diameter) meant for the ring. The whereabouts of the ring and the seal are not known. The first plate is engraved on the inner side only while the second has writing on both sides. There are altogether eleven lines of writing, of which the first plate and the first side of the second plate have five lines each and the second side of the second plate only one line. Some letters in the third and fourth lines of the first plate are damaged. The rest of the writing is well preserved.

The characters belong to what is known as the southern class of alphabets. They generally resemble the characters of the early Kadamba grants and may also be compared with those of the Arga plates of Kampilvarman and the Kampil plates of Asinkitavarman. While these characters are box-headed, those of our record are what may be called hook-headed. They are definitely later than those of the Sirola plates of Devaraja and belong more or less to the same period as those of the other Bhoja grants referred to above. On palaeographical grounds, they may be assigned to the latter half of the sixth or the first half of the seventh century A.D. Initial a occurs

1 They have been registered as Nos. 8 and 10 of App. A., A.R. Ep., 1940-50, and briefly noticed above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 337-40. See also Summary of Papers, All-India Oriental Conference, Bombay, 1949, p. 99.
2 Though the Sirola plates of Devaraja were noticed as early as 1933 and published above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 143 ff., the record was assigned to the Bhoja dynasty at a later date. Cf. above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 337 ff.
3 The remaining four records are: (1) Sirola plates of Devaraja, referred to above; (2) Hirugutti plates of Asinkit, above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 70 ff.; (3) Arga plates of Kampilvarman, above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 222-34; and (4) Kampil plates of Asinkitavarman, ibid., pp. 234-36.

(81)
in lines 4, 5 and 10 while initial n is found in line 6. Final m is written in two ways: cf. the diminutive form of the letter in Dītham (line 1), pālines (line 2) and ṇēvan (line 6) and the form endowed with only a small hook in Bhōjānām (line 1). Final t is indicated by a diminutive form of the letter without the top mūral, e.g. khrētāt and jakhrētāt (line 1) and billēt (line 8). The early form of kh may be noted in khētā (line 1) and muhāh (line 10).

The language of the record is Sanskrit and the entire text is written in prose. In respect of orthography it may be observed that the consonant following r is invariably reduplicated.

The inscription opens with the word Dītham which, however, is written about the beginning of the second line. This expression stands for Sanskrit drīvāsam. The charter was issued from Vṛshabhinni-khētā by king Pṛthivimallavarman of the Bhōja dynasty. The king is not introduced with any titles, imperial or subordinate. But since the charter is addressed to subordinate officials like the Bhōjakas, Ajīkātas and Śīhōgas (lines 2-3), we may assume that Pṛthivimallavarman was an independent king.

The object of the inscription is to record the king’s grant of a field, probably surrounded by blue hills, in the village of Bhāgala-pallikā included in the Kupalapakāṭhāra-dēsa. It is stated (lines 3-4) that the grant was made for the merit of the king’s mother Chētaśādevī at the request of his brother Śatrudamana. These two personages, viz., Chētaśādevī and Śatrudamana, are not known from any other source. The donor was Mādhavārya (i.e., Mādhavārya) of the Agīvēya gūra.

The record is dated (line 9) in the first year of the king’s reign and the 13th day of the bright half of the month of Jyēṣṭha. The executor of the grant was the king himself. A statement in line 10 shows that the gift was actually made by Chētaśādevī who was the daughter of Nēllika. From this it appears that the gift land was purchased by the king’s brother Śatrudamana on behalf of his mother Chētaśādevī and that the formal donation was made by the king himself.

The charter was written by Dēvatām-āyāraya of Bhāradvāya-gūtra.

There are three places mentioned in the record, viz., Vṛshabhinni-khēta whence the grant was issued, and Kupalapakāṭhāra-dēsa in which the village of Bhāgalapallikā was situated. I am unable to identify them. Kupalapakāṭhāra-dēsa is, however, mentioned as Kupalakāṭa-dēsa in inscription B below.

TEXT

First Plate

1 Dītham* [+] Vijaya Vṛshabhinni-khētāt Bhōjānām Pṛthivimallavarmanmaṇḍap vachanat dēsṛ Kupalaka-

2 [pakṭāhāray gṛmē Bhāgala-pallikā] kārṇ varttama-bhāvishyad-bhōjakā-

3 yakṛjaka-dhāray-ālayā [vaṭtvaṇavh] [+] yathē āsmābhur-asmad-bhārataḥ Śatrudamanasya

4 [vījāṇyvyō[1] asmad-ambāyāḥ] Chētaśādevīvāḥ pany-ōchāy ārththam-asmiṇī Brīhma-

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* In the Sirola plates (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 145, text line 2), the passage containing the names of these officers has been read as bhōjak-āyuttaka-sūthāya-ādayā. But the correct reading there appears to be bhōjak-āyuttaka-sūthāyā-ādayā as in the present record.

† The expression used is nīla-dāma-tapakā. It may also stand for the name of the field granted.

‡ It has been inadvertently stated that Chētaśādevī was the queen of Pṛthivimallavarman (above, Vol. XXVI, p. 339).

§ See above, pp. 50 ff.

‖ From photographs. This is No. 8 of App. A of 1949-50.

* This word is engraved about the beginning of the second line. Read drītham.
TWO GRANTS OF BHOJA PRITHIVIMALAVARMAN—PLATE 1

Scale: Five-sixths
The set consists of two plates, each measuring about 8 2/4" by 2 2/4" and having a hole on the left margin (about 1" in diameter) for the ring to pass through. The ring and the seal are not found. The first plate is engraved on the inner side only while the second plate bears writing on both the sides. The first plate contains four lines of writing, the first side of the first plate five lines and the second side of the second plate three lines only. Thus there are in all twelve lines of writing. Some letters in lines 10 and 11 are damaged while the rest of the writing is well preserved. The characters are the same as those employed in inscription A above.

The record is dated in the year 25 (expressed in numerical figures), Sravana-sukla 15. The year apparently refers to the king’s regnal reckoning, thereby showing that Prithiviparvavata ruled for about 25 years at least. The charter was written by Buddhadvasa of the Kumbhoja gōtra while its executor was Nidhivara.

The boundaries of the gift land are mentioned in lines 10-11 as follows: in the east the rocks; in the south also the rocky path; in the west a locality called Vēsimikā; and in the north a river.
At the end (line 12), the inscription once again refers to the grant of the field made by the king in the village of Malāra.

Prithivī-parvata, whence the grant was issued, Kupalākaṭa-dēśa, which included the village where the gift land was situated, and the village of Malāra are the three localities mentioned in the record. It is not possible to identify them. Prithivī-parvata seems to have been named after king Prithivimallavarman. Kupalākaṭa-dēśa is apparently the same as Kupalapakaṭāhāra-dēśa mentioned in record A edited above. There is a place called Malowli in the Goa territory, though it is not possible to say whether it represents the village of Malāra mentioned in the record.

TEXT:

First Plate

1 Dīṣṭham (Dṛṣṭham) [*] Vijaya-Prithivī-parvvatāt Bhōjānām Prithivimallavarmanam vachana[t] dēśa

2 Kupalākāṭe grāmē Malārē su-grāmō vai varattamāna-bhavishyad-bhōjakā-ayuktaka-sthāyy-ā-

3 dayō vaktavyāḥ [*] yathā-āśūnāhīr =asmat-pu[ṇya-ō]pachayā-vivriddhy-śrattham ś=ātra grāmā-sī-

4 mē Kapōṭī-khajjanam =asmai Brāhmaṇāya Bharadvājā-sagōtray =Āgnivesyāya

Second Plate, First Side

5 Dāmāryyāy =ādakēna sampradattam [*] jñātvā =aivaṁ na kēnachīd =vyāṁsayitavayam yō v =ā[tra]

6 rāga-dvēsha-lōbhā-mada-ma(m)tsarvya-ādibhrī =abhībhūt-ātmā vyāṁsanāṁ kuryāt =sa paṁcha-

7 mahāpātak-ōpātaka-śaḿyukta[h*] ayād =iti [*] khajjana-maddhyasthō =pi [yū]paka[h]*

8 Brāhmaṇāy =aiva datta iti [*] dattam paṭrakāṁ sāṅvva 10 5 Śrāvana-śukla diva

9 likhitam =ētachi =cha Kambōṇa-sagōtrēṇa Buddhaddāsēn =ā[tra] ch =ājūṇāptir =

Nnīdhiवरa[h] [*]

Second Plate, Second Side

10 [khajjana-parimāṇaṁ sētavaś =cha [*] pūrvvata[h] [pāśā]pā[h] ] dakṣiṇatō =

pi [pāśāṇa-vithi]

11 aparato Vēśimikā uttaratō nadi ... kha[l]-sthā[na]-pari[maṇam]

12 avya[rū*]sit[ō] Malāra-sīmē =suḥbhi =sampradattēti [*]
No. 10—FragmEmEnTary YaJvpala InsCriPtion FroM NaRwar
(1 PlaTe)

D. C. Shircar, Gotacanund

(Received on 14.9.38)

The inscription, preserved in the Gwalior Museum, was copied by me when I visited Gwalior about the end of 1932 for attending the Sixteenth Session of the Indian History Congress. It was registered as No. 146 of the Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, 1932-33, Appendix B. The record, stated to have been found at Narwar in the Shivapuri District of the former Gwalior State, is as yet unpublished, but a short notice of it was published by M. B. Garde in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of the Gwalior State, V.S. 1982, No. 1. Garde's note was utilized by H. N. Dadvendi in his Gwalior Rajyakta Akhbār. No. 701. It has been supposed that the inscription was engraved during the reign of Asalladāva of the Yajvāpala dynasty of Narwar. Actually, however, the record belongs to the time of Asala's son Gopāla whose known dates range between 1279 and 1289 A.D.

The inscription is engraved on the excavated bed of a squarish stone slab, the four sides of which are raised. There are 18 lines of writing in the record, the inscribed area covering a space about 19½ inches long and about 14 inches high. The inscription is incomplete. The last line, which contains the concluding part of verse 22, ends with the first six syllables of a new stanza; but the rest of this verse was not engraved on the stone. It may be supposed that, as in the case of the Ajmer inscription edited above, the writing was continued on a separate slab. But there is some evidence to show that such was not the case. It is interesting to note that there is enough space on the stone below the last line of the record to accommodate several lines of writing. It is clear that the original idea was to engrave on the stone a complete pāñāstik of the type known from the other inscriptions of the Yajvāpala age, preserved in the Gwalior Museum and edited by us elsewhere in this journal, and that, for some reason unknown to us, the engraver gave up the writing after finishing about three-quarters of the work. The reason of course may have been a sudden calamity that befell the persons concerned.

The inscription is not only incomplete but also fragmentary. A layer of stone has peeled off from a considerable area of the surface of the slab. This has resulted in the effacement of a number of letters in the lines. The number of lost letters is the highest in lines 7-9. The record is a pāñāstik written in more than 22 stanzas in various metres. The verses are consecutively numbered. In the absence of the concluding part of the inscription, the purpose underlying the composition of the eulogy and its incision on the stone slab cannot be determined; but, considering the fact that the record closely resembles, in all respects, the four other pāñāstik of the Yajvāpala age recording the excavation of step-wells, it may be suggested that the present inscription was also designed to serve a similar purpose. Indeed it is possible to think that the author of the eulogy was the Mathura Kāyastha poet Śivamādhaka who is known to have composed several other pāñāstik of the reigns of the Yajvāpala kings Gopāla and Ganañāti. The known dates of these rulers range between 1279 and 1300 A.D. Verses 1-2 containing adoration to the gods Murāri (Vishnu) and Śambhu (Śiva) refer to the reflection of the former on the cheek of Lākṣmi and of the latter on the ear-ring of Śīvā (Kālī). The idea contained in the first of the two stanzas is actually found in verse 2 of a pāñāstik composed by Śivamādhaka during the reign of Yajvāpala Gopāla in V.S.

1 Vol. XXIX, pp. 178 ff.
2 See above, pp. 31 ff.; vol. XXIH, pp. 334 ff.
1339 (1283 A.D.). Then again the expression saurāja-bhūṣura occurs in the description of the city of Nalapura in verse 3 of another pradāsi composed by the same poet during the reign of the same monarch in V.S. 1336 (1281 A.D.). The word saurāja occurs in a similar context in verse 9 (line 9) in the present record also. These facts coupled with the other that the eulogy under study was composed during Gopāla’s reign seems to suggest that the same poet Śivanābhaka was responsible for its composition.

The characters of the inscription belong to the Dēvanāgarī alphabet of about the thirteenth century and closely resemble those of other Yajavālakā inscriptions. The letter 6 has been indicated by the sign for v. The orthography of the record is characterised by the occasional use of the class nasal and final m instead of naunāru, and reduplication of consonants after r. The language is Sanskrit and, with the exception of a few passages at the beginning, the whole record is written in verse.

The inscription begins with the Siddham symbol and the expression siddhīḥ and the passage Gaṇapati-prasiddhātīrī (dat). The above is followed by two stanzas in adoration of the gods Murāri (Vishnu) and Śambhu (Siva), which have already been referred to above.

Verses 3-9 describe the kings of the Yajavālakā dynasty of Nalapura from Chāhaḍa to Gopāla. (Verse 3 apparently introduces the hill-fort of Nalapura (Narwar) which was the capital of the Yajavālakās since the days of Chāhaḍa.) Unfortunately the passage containing the name is lost; but the reference to Naishadha-kaśiśiṇa, alluding to the epic King Nala of the Nishadhas, leaves us in no doubt about the author’s intention. The stanza also contained the name of the viṣaya (i.e., district or territory) of which the above fortress was the capital. The reference is to the Yajavālakā kingdom or the district round Narwar which seems to be mentioned as Pādona-laksha-viśaya in another epigraphic record. The restoration Pādona-laksha in the present epigraph suits the metre of the stanza in question.

The name of king Chāhaḍa in verse 4 is only partially preserved; but the name of his son Nīrvarman in the following stanza (verse 5) can be clearly read. An interesting information about Nīrvarman, which is known for the first time from the present record, is that he defeated the king of Dhārā and exacted tribute from him. Since the latest known date of Chāhaḍa and the earliest of his grandson Āśalla have both been read as V.S. 1311 = 1254-55 A.D., Nīrvarman, son of Chāhaḍa and father of Āśalla, may be supposed to have ruled for a few months in 1254-55 A.D. He thus appears to have been a contemporary of the Paramāra king Jaipūr (known dates between V.S. 1292-1236 A.D. and V.S. 1300-1243 A.D.) or his younger brother and successor Jayasiṃha-Jayavarman (known dates between V.S. 1311-1256 A.D. and V.S. 1331= 1274 A.D.) of Dhārā and Māṇḍū. There is a passage in verse 5, which seems to suggest that the Yajavālakā monarch was helped in his encounter with the king of Dhārā by three persons named Skanda, Chandra and Parita, who were possibly his generals.

Verse 6 introduces Nīrvarman’s son Āśalla although the name is not fully preserved. The stanza appears also to have contained the name of his queen who gave birth to his son and successor.

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1 See above, p. 30, text lines 2-3, verse 2.
2 See ibid., p. 34, text line 3.
3 See ibid., Vol. XXXI, pp. 323 ff. and Plates; Vol. XXXII, pp. 334 ff. and Plates; above, pp. 31 ff. and Plates.
5 R. D. Banerji speaks of Chāhaḍa’s coins of V.S. 1312 (1255 A.D.) and 1316 (1259 A.D.) and concludes, “Nīrvarman did not reign at all, because the reigns of Chāhaḍa and his grandson Āśala overlap” (Num. Suppl., No. XXXIII, p. 83). If this is correct, Nīrvarman’s achievement has to be referred to the reign of his father Chāhaḍa. The language of the inscriptions, however, seems to suggest that Nīrvarman ruled between Chāhaḍa and Āśala.
6 Bhandarkar’s List, p. 397; above, Vol. XXXII, p. 140.
Gōpāla. Her name is lost; but another inscription of the family gives it as Lāvavāyadāvi. The next stanza (verse 7) refers to the person who succeeded to Āsalla’s position as king (cf. lekhā teṣaṇa padam). The reference is undoubtedly to Gōpāla who was the son and successor of Āsalla. But the name cannot be traced in the extant parts of any of the three stanzas (verse 7-9) that describe the Yajyapāla monarch during whose rule the inscription was engraved.

Verse 10 introduces Gopagiri (Gwallor) where the family, to which the hero of the prāṣasti belonged, originally resided, while the next stanza (verse 11) speaks of a Matuha Kāyastha family hailing from that place and belonging to the Hārita gōtra. Verse 12 describes Śyāma of the family mentioned in the foregoing stanza. He is compared with Śyāma-vātra or the sacred banyan tree at Prayāga near Allahabad, U.P.1 The next stanza (verse 13) speaks of Bhuvanapāla who seems to have been the son of Śyāma, although no word indicating the relationship between Śyāma and Bhuvanapāla can be traced in the extant parts of verses 12-13. An interesting information about Bhuvanapāla is that he is stated to have been seated on half of the throne of king Bhōja of Dhārā. The expression nāntri-balat used in this context seems to suggest that he was a minister of that monarch. It is difficult to determine whether the word nukkha in a damaged passage of the stanza suggests that he was Bhōja’s chief minister. As will be seen below, Bhuvanapāla’s great-grandson was a contemporary of Yajyapāla Chāhāda (c. 1231-54 A.D.). Bhōja of Dhārā, contemporary of Bhuvanapāla, therefore cannot be identified with Paramāra Bhōja II who ruled about the close of the 13th century. He seems to be none other than Bhōja I (c. 1010-55 A.D.) of the Paramāra dynasty. But there is an interval of nearly two centuries between Paramāra Bhōja I and Yajyapāla Chāhāda. This seems to be too long a period to be covered by four generations only, even if it may not be altogether impossible.

Bhuvanapāla’s son was Vāsudēva (verse 11) whose son was Dāmōdara (verse 15). The name of Dāmōdara’s son is lost in verse 16; but he is stated to have been the Kākāṭha (treasurer) of king Chāhāda, apparently the Yajyapāla king of that name. Verse 17 states that Dāmōdara’s son visited Kāśī, Gayā and other holy places, while the next stanza (verse 18) mentions his wife named Dharma who was the daughter of Pithana. The lady Dharma is stated in verse 19 to have given birth to five sons. The first of these five brothers is described in verses 20-22. Unfortunately his name is lost; but he is described as a poet and an expert in Ṛgveda-vṛṣya (i.e., description of family)-. He is further stated to have been a servant of king Gōpāla, no doubt the Yajvapāla king Gōpāla who was the great-grandson of Chāhāda. It is interesting to note that, while the father was a contemporary of Chāhāda (c. 1231-54 A.D.), the son was serving under Gōpāla (c. 1279-89 A.D.).

The concluding part of the last line of the inscription, as already indicated above, gives us only the first six syllables of a stanza which was expected to be verse 23 of the eulogy under study. It was meant to introduce the younger brother of the eldest of Dharmā’s five sons.

It seems that one of the five sons of Dharmā was the hero of the prāṣasti under study. This is not only suggested by the fact that Dharmā’s sons were contemporaries of the reigning Yajyapāla king but probably also by the mention of their mother in the eulogy. In the prāṣasti composed during the reigns of Gōpāla and Garapati generally the mother of the hero is mentioned and not his grandmother or great-grandmother.2 But who the hero was cannot be determined. A guess may, however, be hazarded in this connection. We have seen that the eulogy was possibly composed by the poet Śivanābhakṣa who is described in a stanza found in several records as a member of a

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1 Above, p. 34, text line 8.
2 For the mention of Śyāma in literary works like the Rāmāyana (II, 55, 29), Kālidāsa’s Rājāpuruṣa (XIII, 63) and Bhavabhūti’s Uttarārāmaśāstra (Ānka I), see ABORI Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 87 ff.
3 There is only one case of the mention of the hero’s grandmother and none mentioning his great-grandmother.
Māthura Kāyastha family hailing from Gwalior and as the son of Kōḍādhīpa Lōhata and the grandson of Dāmōdara. The hero of the eulogy under study belonged likewise to a Māthura Kāyastha family hailing from Gwalior, and he was the son of a Kōḍādhīpa (name lost) of king Chāhāda and the grandson of Damōdara. It appears possible that the name of Chāhāda’s Kōḍādhīpa which is lost in our record was really Lōhata which suits the metre of the stanza in question. Thus it seems that the present eulogy was composed by Śivanābhaka in order to record a pious deed of one of his brothers or of his own self. We have seen how verses 20-22 describe the eldest of Dharma’s sons as a poet who was an expert in describing genealogies and as one engaged in the service of the Yajnapāla king Gōpāla, although the name of the poet is lost. It is, however, interesting to note that the description suits very well the poet Jayasūnīka, son of Lōhata and the author of a prāṣasti composed in V.S. 1350 (1293 A.D.) during the reign of Gōpāla’s son Gaṇapati.

Pithana, maternal grandfather of the hero of our prāṣasti, cannot be identified. The name, however, reminds us of Pithana of the Gaudāhara Kṣatriya community, who was the father of Dēvadāra, the chief minister of Asāla according to a prāṣasti of Gōpāla’s time, composed by Śivanābhaka in V.S. 1336 (1279 A.D.). The identification of the two Pithanas is possible if it can be believed that the Māthura Kāyasthas and the Gaudāhara Kṣatriyas intermarried between themselves.

Among geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Kāśi and Gaṇḍṣalmarti are famous holy places. As already indicated above, verse 3 seems to refer to the hill-fort of Narwar as the capital of the territory called Pādōnalaksha-vīhayā which may have been the name applied to the dominions of the Yajnapāla.

TEXT

[Metres: verse 1 Upajati; verses 2, 4, 6-7, 9-12, 15-20 Anushtubh; verses 3, 5 Vasantottakā; verses 8, 13-14, 21 Apya; verse 22 Gīti.]


2 [riz-u]—[ndara]m-vidōh || [1].|| tamaso vā(bhā)da[ma]i sphuranti sthitī-sālinī | kundala vas-tanur-vv-āpi Śivāya [dis(ā)]tānī [ṣīrva]ṃ(vam) || 2


1 Above, Vol. XXXII, p. 337, text lines 20-21, verse 22.
2 Above, p. 32.
3 From impressions. This is No. 146 of A.R.Ep., 1932-33, App. B.
4 Expressed by symbol.
5 There is an unnecessary donda here together with a cancellation mark intended to cover a little blank space at the end of the line.
6 The word lost here seems to be Sambhāri qualifying the word tasmī.
7 The name may possibly be restored as Pādōnalaksha.
8 There is an unnecessary mark above this letter.
9 The passage may be conjecturally restored as chaṭṭaḥ-Xal-ābhūd-ādīrīḥ.
10 The damaged passage may be restored as Chāhāṣṭa prābhā-kṛ̥ ṭaṭiḥ.
5 kṛtṛtiṇaḥ — — — hṛitāmbhaṃ —— Nyāvarma—vīnapatīḥ — — — [1*] (kṛtṛ) śka[m]ja—
Chaithra—Parītāḥ yena Dhār—ādhipād—api karū jagrihī—tīdritāt || 5

6 Taṭō—bhūḥ—ehā—||Jaḥ || sināla—sānha[lara]|| [1*]—[palvitra—āhūṭi—yaśya kṛttira—iva
prīyā || 6 Lesḥeva tasaṃ padām kṛttira—pūta—niḥśe.

7 sha... h || ...........[7*]... jal—ā[ṛ]dra—kar—āgraḥ pratihata—vigunah(ghna) sad—ōdita
āhila—si.

8 ddhiḥ || asti..............[8*]... Hitu niti—saippamānā sa—vanam—avan—oja[ḥ]va]lām
alamkurva(vrva)āhī.

9 sauraśya..............[9*]...[mē]...[sa]rrvamaṅgalaḥ || asti Gopagirir—nāma durggō
durgāpātir—yathā || 10

10 Vaniśō dhar—āvatāla[f]... ... maṇa[cha] tēḥātuṛ Hari[ta]—gōtṛāla[f] Māthurāpānā
yaśō—rthinān(nām) || 11 Guṇaḥ Suchir api sīyāmī nāmnā Śyā.

11 mō vato yathā || [rō]...[yō] bhrī—tāpō—rthinām albhūt || 12 Adhyāstā Bhuvanapālō Dhar—
ādhīsya Bhōja—bhūpasya || simhāsanam—apy a.*

12 rddhaḥ maṁ[ṛ]ya—va[(ba)]lān mukh[ṛ]ya... || 13 Va(Ba)lavān—udhrīta—gōtṛaḥ [pa]ra

13 sudēvō—bhūt || 14 [Kṛi]... prīrir—gōt—ānāni tṛṣa—sthitaḥ || Dāmōdāra—bhavat—tasmāde
aipūrvvō—mita—vīkramāḥ || 15 Tātā—Caḥaṇḍa—bhūpāla.

14 koś—ādhyakṣō viṣu... || [1*]...[tā]—tājasyāḥ jajīṅe kutuṅiva[(ba)]—bhara—sāsahī || 16 Kāṭī—
Gay—ādi—tirtithēḥu sāna—piṇiṇ—ōdaka—kriyāḥ || kṛtva—ātma(tma)

putrikā || upayēṃe kutuṅvā(ḥ)—āṛthi—dvī—ānāhīd—parā prīyā || 18

16 Tasyāṁ samāna—śī...[tē]—rthinān(nām) || upadāتراḥ sutāḥ prajñāḥ paśi[cha Parīt]
chēsāhāṃ samāḥ || 19 Tēḥaṃ—ādyāḥ kṛt—ābhīṣaḥ vidyāsa saka.

* The damaged passage may be restored as *Armanā—ivālaḥ*.
* The name of the queen is lost. But No. 141 of A.R. Ep., 1932.33. App. B., gives it as Švavayuddā Ṛ (cf. above, p. 34, text line 8). There is, however, no space for five syllables here. The passage may be conjecturally restored as *Lavanyadevī—paśūra—vā*

* The intended reading may be dīk—mukbaḥ.
* The word lost here may be dāna.
* There is an unnecessary mark above this letter.
* There is an unnecessary double dānā here together with a cancellation mark.
* The expression appears to be dhar—āvalāma. The passage may be conjecturally restored as *odbhīṣa
tna kuṇa cha dhanena cha*.
* There is an unnecessary dānā here with a cancellation mark.
* The expression may be conjecturally restored as *jādeha—dītē*.
* The name is lost here. It may be Lōhāṇa.
* The damaged word may be restored as *Hīyānā*. 
17 āśvāpi āśyā. . . . . . . . [.āgraṇṭḥ] || 20 Māṇita-mārggana-ṛṣi[ṇa]ḥ kavir-asmin vaiśā- 
vārajñāṇē nipunaḥ || śūdraṁ-iva pravahm(bam)dharṇi-

18 rdēhaṁ-yo yad[a-tēṁ] || 21]. . . . . . . kāryeṣu Gōpa-bhūpasya || sāstrē sāstrē nipunaḥ 
ā[chiṣe-anu[kūla]ḥ priyamvadō dātā || 22 Tad-avasaṁ jhṛi

¹ The rest of the prosaist was not engraved although there is space for several lines after this. The sixteenth 'ekāhaka' of the line (i.e. Ari) may have begun a personal name like Hrishikēśa, Hridayēśa, etc. The metre of this stanza cannot be determined.
No. 11 NOTE ON KALYANA INSCRIPTION OF SAKA 1248

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

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The inscription under study has originally been found in the locality called Yellanagar in Kalyana, the ancient capital of the Chalukyas and Kalachuris in the Gularga District of the former Hyderabad State. It is now preserved in the Husaini Barga in the fort at Kalyana. The inscription has been edited, once by Mr. R. M. Joshi in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of His Exalted Highness the Nizam’s Dominions, 1936-37, pp. 43-45, and again by Mr. P. B. Desai in the pages of this journal, above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 165-70 and Plate. Unfortunately the writing and engraving of the inscription are both very careless and some of the letters are damaged. There are moreover numerous errors in the language. The text is thus very difficult to decipher and interpret. It is therefore no wonder that both the published transcripts of the epigraph are full of errors and consequently the text has not been properly understood. The readings of the verses in the second half of the record are particularly unsatisfactory in the published transcripts and the editors have disregarded both the metre and the sense.

The characters of the record are Nagari; but the letter kh has been written in line 30 in its early Southern form. It seems that b has been indicated by the sign for v.

The inscription is written in both prose and verse. Lines 1-14 contain a document in a few sentences in prose, and verses 1-4 in the Śārvatūvaśītimātrī metre in lines 14-29 record the main object of the epigraph. This part is in continuation of the prose section referred to above. There is also a fifth stanza in Anuṣṭubha in lines 29-30 mentioning a new fact. The last two lines of the record (lines 31-32) are damaged.

The introductory part in lines 1-8 gives the date: Śaka 1248, Kashaya (called Akshaya in verse 2), Kṛttika-śuddha 15, Monday (November 10, 1328 A.D.), when Mahārājaśīrastra Suratāna Mahamada (Muḥammad ibn Tughluq Shāh of Delhi, called Suratāna Mahamada in verse 1) was the reigning monarch, his Mahāpradāna Mallika Kāmadina (Mallik Qivamuddin Qutlugh Khān) was the viceroy of Mahārājaśīrastra-māṇḍala and the latter’s subordinate Khōja Ahamada (Khwāja Ahmad) surnamed Jān❣amdālantara was the Śyāramaltika (Persian Sār Malik, Collector of Taxes) at Kalyana-pura. The office of the viceroy is indicated by saying that the Mahāpradāna was conducting the affairs associated with the imperial seal (or, carrying the imperial seal, according to verse 1).

The purpose of the inscription is introduced in the following sentences. It is stated, that, during the troubled days associated with [the rebellion of] Vahavadinnu (Bahāuddin Gūrahāsp, son of the Sultan’s father’s sister), the people of Karpata discontinued the worship of the god Madhukāvāra, installed in a temple at the city of Kalyana as indicated more clearly in verse 1 below. The reason behind this discontinuation of the god’s worship is not stated in the record. It may have been due to the priests and devotees of the deity having fled from the city in trouble. It is difficult to ascribe it to the desecration of the god by the Muslims as in that case the Śivaliṅga would have most probably been broken to pieces. The language of the record seems to suggest that the old Śivaliṅga was re-installed for worship which had been stopped. Obviously when

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1 We are assured as Joshi’s remark that 'the language is grammatically correct'.

2 If the expression svanā-pratisthāḥ, used in this connection, may be taken to mean installation of another Śivaliṅga in the place of an old one, the passage acbhāsapa-vipakṣam ... Sambhāk in verse 1 may suggest that the old Liṅga called Madhukāvāra had been broken and that the attempt was for its replacement by a new one. But the statement of fact in the passage sājanam badākṣarām (cf. lines 9-10) merely speaks of the stoppage of worship and not of any damage to the Liṅga.
better days returned to the Kalyāṇa area after the revolution, there was a controversy among the citizens on the restoration of the god’s worship. Some of them (probably the local Hindus) argued that the god should be purified at his place [for the re-introduction of his worship]. But there was another group of citizens (probably Muslims) who were opposed to the re-installation of the deity. Then Ṭhakkura Mālā (Malla), son of Ṭhakkura Naiṇapālā, went to the Khōjā (i.e. Ahamada) and represented the case. The Khōjā granted his request saying that the worship of the deity was the religious obligation of the supplicant and the members of his community (kula-dharma) and that therefore the deity could be re-installed. Mālā, son of Naiṇapālā, is mentioned in the versified part of the record as Malla, son of Naiṇaśiṁha. The word naiṇa in the name Naiṇapālā or Naiṇaśiṁha stands for Sanskrit nayana while Mālā is the same as Sanskrit Malla or Mallaka.

The interpretation of the above section of the record offered by us here requires some elaboration since both Mr. Joshi and Mr. Desai have read and interpreted the text differently. Some of their views are quoted in the following analysis while their readings have been quoted generally in the foot-notes to our transcript of the inscription.

As regards the latter part of the above section of the inscription, Joshi’s transcript contains several errors while his faulty translation runs as follows: "When at Kalyāṇa, Khwaja Ahmad... (Shahābuddin, etc.) appointed by him (i.e. Kāmadina), in Karṇāṭaka, during the rebellion, the vicinity of the god Madhukēśvara was awaiting consecration. Efforts were being made (?) ; desires as to why the deity should not be installed were whispered (?)". What he has understood from the text is given elsewhere in the following words: "Due to a mutiny, the local temple was defiled. Attempts were made to find out the image and re-install it in the former place. Nīṇapal, the son of Ṭhakur Malapo, perhaps out of hesitation consulted the local Qāzi who spoke as follows: ‘That is your religious and family duty and you should act up to it...” . These statements are not all correct. Desai’s interpretation of this part of the record is equally erroneous. Thus he says, “It seems that, in connection with the revolution (viparitā) caused by Bāhābuddin, the officer of Kalyāṇa, along with Jaṇḍamala, went to Śyāra Mallika. This gave room for confusion which was taken advantage of by the unruly elements who seem to have caused serious damage to the temple of Madhukēśvara and even broken the Śivalinga. Soon after this, some devotees of the god from the Karṇāṭaka section of the population appear to have made a premature offer to embellish the temple. The text of the relevant passage after correction stands as Kāndā-Śikhā anjana-buddhiḥ kṛṣṇa. But this move was not encouraged by the trustees of the temple. After sometime when the governor of the town returned, a representation was made to him in the matter of re-installing the deity and resumption of ceremonial worship as usual. By Ṭhakkura Malla (Mālā), son of Vaiṇaśiṁha or Vaiṇapālā, who was in charge of the management of the temple. The request was granted by the governor in consultation with his sāvērata (named Jaṇḍaśāna, probably the same as Jaṇḍamala).” Most of these statements appear to be unsupported by the language of the record as read by us.

In the first place, lines 7-8 appear to read Kalyāṇapurā tvāna-(wan) nīṇaḥ-pīta-Śikhā- Āhamada-Jaṇḍamalantara Śyāramallika[tejōmi gata(tē), ‘when Ahamada-Jaṇḍamalantaḥ, appointed by him (i.e. Kāmadina), was the Śyāramallika at Kalyāṇapura.’ Jaṇḍamalantara seems to be the surname or designation of Khwaja Ahmad, while Śyāramallika seems to be derived from the Persian words sūr, ‘tax’ and mālik, ‘a master’ in the sense of ‘Collector of Taxes’. Thus there seems to be no reference to Ahmada having gone to Śyāra Mallika in the company of Jaṇḍamala. Secondly,

1 It is not altogether impossible that the controversy was between the local Śaivas and the members of some other Hindu community such as the Vaishnavas. But normally a Hindu community is not expected to object to the re-introduction of the worship of a deity by another Hindu community.
the next sentence in lines 8-10 reads: Fāho ca[di]anu-viparayāḥ Madhukēśvaradēva-saṁ (saṁ)-
addhyā (or saṁiddhau) Kārnācā-lakṣa[kā]h an[jana[n] sudhikṛitaṁ. Desai's emendation of the
first portion as an[jana-buddhī kṛtā, 'made a premature offer to embellish [the temple]', is unsatis-
factory in view of the passage Madhukēśvaradēva-saṁaddhī (or *saṁiddhau), 'before Madhukē-
śvaradēva (i.e. the god Madhukēśvara)', occurring in the same context, although he reads it wrongly.
In our opinion, the intended reading for sudhikṛitaṁ is badhikṛitaṁ in which badha means
'stopped'. The root saṁ means 'to celebrate', 'to honour', and an[jana may indicate 'cele-
bration', 'worship'. It therefore seems to us that all celebrations in the presence of the god
Madhukēśvara were stopped by the people during the troubled days of Bahūddin's rebellion.
This necessitated the purification and re-installation of the god in his old temple and that is exactly
what is referred to again not only in the following section of the prose part but also in the versified
section that follows.

The third sentence reads: jālpanta: dēva[a*] [a]dha[niya[a*] tatra kim: na hi. In this,
aitānta is apparently a mistake for jālpani, '[the people] are talking'. This means to say that
there was a talk or controversy among the people. The conflicting views in the controversy
were: dēvaḥ sādha[niya] tatra kim? na hi, 'Should the deity be purified [for re-installation] there
[in his temple]?' 'Certainly not.' As already indicated above, it is possible to think that in
this controversy, the Hindu citizens of Kalyānāpurā were in favour of the re-installation of
the god while the Muslims of the place were opposed to the idea. This state of affairs, apparently
referring to the time after the viparayāḥ, led to the efforts of Mall or Mālā, son of Nāipāpalā or
Nāipasimhā, for the re-installation of the god.

The following section of the prose part reads: tatra tasmin [ni*]ja-sthā-nā pu[nar-ap]i dēva-sthā-
pana-pājana-vidhaye (or 'vāhaye) saṁ(saṁ)-thakukku-ṣvata-thākura-Malā(ṣvaktura-
Mallān) Shō(ā)jō-sāmkha[samaka]h udāyaḥ [kri[ta[a*] Kō[hō][na*] prasādāṇi da[tam-
(ta)[a]b] | ymukā[ka]n kula-dharmo vartate | ta[k]a[ra]niy[am] (yan) |. The meaning of the section is
quite clear. Mālā (Malla) appeared before the Kō[hō] and made an effort in regard to the re-install-
lation of the god in his old temple and the re-introduction of his worship. The Kō[hō] favoured
him with his permission. In case the controversy was really between the local Hindus and Mus-
ulmans, the Kō[hō] was on the side of justice and fairplay in giving this permission against the feeling
of the local Musulmans. Praise is certainly due to him for this act of courage in those days of
bigotry and religious fanaticism.

As regards the contents of the versified portion following the prose part discussed above, Joshi
says, '... Kalyānā, with its increasing glory, had the chariot of Śambhu moving freely. Naipas-
imha's son, the best of the Kāyasthas, who was perhaps a worshipper of Viṣṇu, did not like the
idea. In 1248 Śaka, cyclic year Kaḥaya, on the full-moon day in Kārttika, when at Śesāḥchala
god Thākur is generally worshipped, Madhukēśvara was installed.' These statements are based
mostly on wrong readings of the text. Desai on the other hand thinks that verses 1-2 summarise
the main facts stated in the prose part. This is also based on misunderstanding.

The first four of the five stanzas in the second half of the inscription repeat only a part of
what we have in the prose section analysed above and record the result of the Kō[hō]'s permission
accorded to Mālā (Malla) in respect of the re-installation of the god Madhukēśvara and the re-
installation of his worship in his old temple. But the Kō[hō] is not mentioned and there is only an
indirect reference to the stoppage of Madhukēśvara's worship. Verses 1-2 state that, in the night
of the day of the moon (i.e. Monday) which was the full-moon day of Kārttika in the cyclic year
Akhaya (the same as Kaḥaya mentioned in the prose part), when the naksatru was Rōhiṇī, in the
Śaka year counted by 8, the 4 aṣas, the 2 ayanas and 1 (i.e. 1248), when Suraṭṭāṣa Mahāma-
da (the same as Suraṭṭāṣa Mahamāda of the prose part) was ruling the earth and
Kāmadin was his viceroy, the god Madhukēśvara was re-installed at Kalyāṇanagara by Kāyastha.
Naipasasinha’s son Malla who had become ashamed at the [possible] calamity of Šambhu (i.e. the Śivalīga called Madhukāśvara) being broken away [in the state of neglect from which he was then suffering]. It may be pointed out that it was not the intention of the author to repeat in this part anything from the prose section excepting the date and that the mention of the reigning monarch and his viceroy is in the same connection. The installation ceremony took place at night, which fact is of course not mentioned in the date of the record given in the prose part. The verses give the additional information that the maṅkṣhatra on the date in question was Rōhiṃ.  

Verse 3 is in praise of the god Mahēśvara (i.e. Śiva in the form of Madhukāśvara) who received re-installation. There is no mention of king Mahāmada or Mahamada in this stanza as suggested by Mr. Desai. The next stanza (verse 4) prays for Madhukāśvara’s favour in granting the desires of Malla’s heart. Verse 5 speaks of a dāvana or grant (probably of land) which was made in favour of Madhukāśvara by a person named Vajjāḍitya and states that this grant was honoured by certain rulers including one named Usyatasasinha who was probably a local chief. Mr. Desai considers this stanza to be a passage in prose and speaks of Vajjāḍitya ‘who wrote (i.e. drafted) the charter’ and was ‘respected by Syra Sihāḍārāja’. He further identifies Syra Sihāḍārāja with Syra Mallika of line 8.  

The last two lines of the inscription, which are damaged, appear to contain some personal names. These persons may have been witnesses to the grant made by Vajjāḍitya in favour of the deity.

**TEXT**

1 Siddham\^1 || svasti śrī-Śa[k]e 1248 Kahaya-sarīvatsaraḥ || Kṛttikē

2 sūdi 15 Sōmē || adya-ēha samasta-rāj-āvali-māl-ālaṃ.

3 kṛita-virājita-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-suratāga-Maha-

4 madaḥ(dā)-rājyē tat-pāḍa-padmapajjīvīrtasarnī3-bhāra-[ni)rū]

5 pita-mahāpradhāna-Mallika-Kāmadina(nē) Mahārāṣṭra-mañ-

6 dāl samasta-mudrā-vyāpā[rā]n paripaññhayati [[*]tyā-ēvam kā-

7 lē varttamānē Kā[ka]la[puré] tānini[pi]ta4-Shō(Khōjjā)-Aham-

8 da-Jamālaalūtārē Syāramallika[tva]ṃ gata(tē)5 || Vā(Bā)ha[vā]śinu.7

9 viparyayē Madhukāśvarādēva-sah(sām)nidyē5 Kārṇa-lōkē(kaih) anēja-

10 na[ṇu] vudhikriti[ṇa] || jalpaṇtha6 dēva[h]6 [s]ōdhānleya[h]7 tatra kīma na hi11 || ta-

\^1 From impressions.  
\^2 Expressed by symbol.  
\^3 Read padm-ōpajīvīra-sūru.  
\^4 Read tān-ūrīptā.  
\^5 Sandhi has been avoided here.  
\^6 Joshi: Khāja Ahamadā Jondā [Mabhatarē] Sṛṭe Malikataṛiṇagā; Desai: Ahamada[ha] Jandamala(īk) tā[ha](kā) [Sṛṭe]-Malikataṛa(h)[kārtham or k-amarkami] pat(īma). The errors in Joshi’s transcript have not been noticed in all cases. His readings have often been quoted after removing misprints and inserting discritical marks. Some minor differences with Desai’s transcript also have been left unnoted.  
\^7 Joshi: Syāna Badīnas; Desai: Bokhobādīnas. I have doubts whether the letter 6 has been used in the name. The mark inside the loop of the letter preceding 6 may be a flaw in the stone.  
\^8 The reading may also be samānīkōru.  
\^10 Read jalpaṇi.  
NOTE ON KALYANA INSCRIPTION OE SAKA 1498

11 tra tammi [ni†]ga-thana[†] punar-api dêva-thâpana-pûjana-vidhaya[†] |
12 sah(sat)-thakkura(ra)-Naïnapâla-suta-[th]jâkura-Mâlâ[†] Shô(Khôjâ)jñâ-samkha(samaksham) udâyâ.
13 sah [kri†ja[†] prasâdan(â) da[†]thâttah[†] yusmâka[†] kula- dharmâ vartattatâ |
14 tat-karašya[r][yan][†] chha[†] Prithvis(a[†]hipatau Mahîmâda-sura[râ-] ġe mahlîn sâ[†]jat-sat prasûbrîjgur(du)gu-ka Kâmadina[†] sa-vivî(hipîm). |
16 mudraîn dahânê tâda[†] Kalyânâ nagara-vabhanîgâ-vipada[†] jahîva[drišhta]vâ[†] |
18 punar-llajî[ta]b[†] 1 Sâhtarâ[†]kî-ãî[†]v[†]dhîyâ[†]bhîya-syan-aika-nâmni[†] vishamâ(mâ) |
19 Samvat[sa]pē ch[â]thahdasyâ m[a][†]kârtîkîa-sainjhakâ Vidhu-yute-st-pan- |
20 rpan[a]mâ[s]ya[†] [†] richâu Râhînîya[†]n[†] nišî vipra-maîntra-vibhita[†]v[†] ā- |
21 vâ-châ-tha[†]ya[†] [†]kern[†] [†]vâ[†]ts[†] Mål[†] [†] tâ[†] Madhukâ[†]saya vîdadhâ dha- |
22 nayâ[†] [†] pratisîthâ[†] panah[†] 2 Yâ[†] (Yâ)n-nêtrî-ãa[†]la-tâja[†] samabhavat Kânî(â)mô- |
23 pa[†]y[†]-nângâ-sapda[†] yat-kâñsth-âbharâ[†]jîs[†] jaga[†] [†] (d-gâ)ti-hara[†]jî[†] ta[†] Kâ[†] ãa-kâ[†]la[†]nî[†] vishajîm[†] [†] |
24 [ya]d[†]mênê[†] purâ Pura-trayam-âpi prâpîta kathâ-ôâsthum[†] sô-yam mahây- |
25 Malâvâro[†] dhâkûrâtâ vatah[†] pratisîthâ[†] padam(â) [†] 3 Vâ[†] (Yâ)n-nêtrî(h-tr-â)chala-al-

2 Desai: tâma prasthâna. 
3 Desai: mâyâ. 
5 The reading may be vishajîkâ also. The following danda is redundant. 
6 Keval: thâkuraMâlî. 
7 Joshi: saînapâla. Yasnapâla-suta thâkura Mâlîyâ (†) saînapâla (†) udâ sâna[†]kî (†) Desai: saînapâla†. 
8 Joshi: sânhî. Samhî patih, translated as 'the chariot of Samhî'. 
9 Desai: Vânapâla: but the first consonant is clearly n. Nâïnasînha is no doubt the same as Naïnapâla of line 12 where, however, the letter may be confused with n. 
10 Desai: saî-râthâ[†]a[†] Vânapâla[†]. 
11 The word nâmâ is not happy in this context. 
12 Desai: pan[†]pîrmâ[†]dâ[†] (pîrmî). 
14 Desai: kâ[†]jî[†] kî[†]jînâ[†] a[†]jîpâta[†]. Joshi: pratiâdâ[†]tâja[†] samabhavata Kânî[†]jî[†] (†) Desai: yâmanâ râna- yâîc[†] (yaj) samabhavata kânî patangyâ[†]padâ. The reading of the verb is clearly samabhavat and no remanence as read by both Joshi and Desai. 
15 Joshi: yâmaga[†] bharâ[†] lâ[†]ati karatâ kâlakâjî vihî[†] Desai: pakhî[†] bharatâ jaga[†]dattâ karatâ kâlakâjî vihî[†] (with two syllables of the following foot of the stanzas). 
16 The intended reading may be yâd-maîvîn[†]. 
17 Josi: madriti[†] ... purâ trupamapa ... kâ[†]jî[†]nâ[†] Desai: madriti[†] ilâ[†] pura[†] trupamaap[†] (pîî) vînâ[†] kâ[†]jî[†]nâ. 
18 The intended reading may be mîdâ or better mîdâ. 
19 Josi: kîyâ[†]n[†] pada mahâ[†]vârma[†] kûrât[†] chîl[†]a pratisîthâ[†]padâ[†] Desai: kîyâ[†]nâ[†] Mâhâ Mahîvârâ- dhîkarât[†] (chîl[†]a pratisîthâ[†]padâ).
dāśvā[drīṣṭvā] pratishtā[m]s[abthāṁ]ri niṣā[m] dēva[ḥ] ārī-Madhukēśvarō vītanṭāṁ-Ma-
llasya chitai(t-ni)shapāṁ[ḥ](dam) [sūrīma[n]-U]sṛyā-si[m]bādā(ḍyā)-rāja-pūjita-dai-
va[vava(vat)] [Vaijādityasya likhita[m] śāsanāṁ Ma(Ma)dhuśekavat[m] || chha ||

[1] Joshi: ... savay pratipadaṁ labhaṁ chiram chāhita; Desai: samātṛ tṛṣaṁ mukha tathā pratipadaṁ labhaṁ ca
chiram chāhitaṁ.

tumādā dēva labha[m]e padai.

[3] Joshi: ... savay pratishṭāṁ niṣā; Desai: mahaṁ dhūtā pratishtā[m] niṣā[m].


[6] The intended reading may be dauvitaṁ. Joshi: śāmata samarasaṁ rāja-prajita dē (?). oṣ.; Desai:

[7] The word śaśana here seems to mean a gift of land. This gift was made by Vaijāditya. The intended word
for likhitā may be vihitām. In any case, the writer of the document does not appear to be mentioned in the stanza.
If the word śaśana is taken in the sense of the present document, its epithet in the first half of the verse would
be unsuitable.

[8] Joshi: Vaijādityasya likhitā śrāman Madhukēśvara; Desai: Vaijādityasya likhitā[ḥ]a tārā-śrāman Madhu-
ekēśaṁ. "likhitā[m]", the letter bh is of the early Southern type.

[9] Joshi: ... kvardā ... Madhukēśvara; Desai: ... thakura rākṣasa Viśvarapu Madhukēśvara ...

[10] Joshi: ... pramarpa ...; Desai: ... [sthāna] ...
No. 12—NOTE ON MADAKASIRA INSCRIPTION OF DILIPARASA, SAKA 870

K. V. RAMESH, OOTACUMUND

(Received on 6.2.1958)

The slab which bears this inscription was found in the Chōlaraja temple at Madakasira in the Taluk of the same name in the Anantapur District, Andhra Pradesh. The text of the inscription was first published in the Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. XII, Si. No. 35, and again in the South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 25.

The inscription contains 9 lines of writing occupying an area about 6 feet 10 inches in length and between 2 feet 3 inches and 1 foot 7 inches in height. There is a rectangular space in the centre measuring about 2 feet in length and 1 foot and 3 inches in height, which contains a sculpture in relief depicting a warrior being attended upon by two damsels bearing chorries. The inscription is written in Kannada characters and language.

The date of the record is quoted as Śaka 570 (written in words), Kilaaka-sahvatsara which corresponds to 948-49 A.D. It refers itself to the reiga of the Nolambha-Pallava ruler Diliparasra.

The inscription opens with the word vasant followed by the date-mentioned above. It records the death of Ponnayya, a servant of Ballaha, in the battle of Ipiḷi, in which he is said to have fought with great bravery against Gaṇākyūsā-Chōla. The scene in the rectangular space obviously suggests that, on his death, he was welcomed by celestial damsels in heaven. The epigraph further states that Ponnayya was the son of Chikkayya and Śālibha and the younger brother of Śivaya and Bikjyaṇḍa. Śivaya is eulogised as the foremost archer in the 32000 country, no doubt meaning Nolambhavādi. It is also stated that the Nolambha-Pallava chief Diliparasra joined the army of Ponnayya when it was on the march.

Diliparasra has been called samadhipravāya-mahābāhu, Pithivir-mahābhara, Pallaaka-kula-tikaka, Ivrava-nojāmbha, etc., like the other rulers of his family. The title Pallavā-Rāma attributed to the chief in this record is interesting in that it is not known to have been assumed by any other Nolambha-Pallava ruler. The title Rākūya was enjoyed both by Diliparasra’s father Ayyappa and by Ivrava-Nojāmbha Nollipayya.

Ivrava-Nojāmbha Diliparasra was the younger son of Bira-Nojāmbha Ayyappa and ascended the throne on the death of his brother Ayyiga. The exact date of Diliparasra’s accession is not known. On the strength of the Deoli copper-plate inscription of Rākūtra Krishna III, dated Śaka 862 (910 A.D.), which is the last known inscription to refer to Ayyiga and in which Ayyiga is said to have been defeated and reduced to a miserable plight by the Rākūtra king, and the Hemavati inscription of Diliparasra dated 912-13 A.D., which is his earliest known inscription, we can only say that Diliparasra occupied the throne sometime between 940 and 942-43 A.D. He was apparently a feudatory of Krishna III, mentioned as Ballaha in the inscription under study.

A point of interest in the inscription is the mention of a certain Gaṇākyūsā-Chōla against whom the battle of Ipiḷi was fought. The epigraph itself does not help us to identify this person. Basing their arguments on the fact that Krishna III led a expedition against the Chōla country about the time our inscription was set up, scholars have asserted that Gaṇākyūsā-Chōla may have been the Chōla king Parāntaka’s eldest son Rājāditya. We know that this Chōla prince was killed in the

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1 A. R. Ep., 1910, No. 728.
2 According to some scholars (cf. Kacarada Arot-mamotanagolu, pp. 217-18), Nollipayya was the son of Diliparasra. Mr. N. L. Rao, however, suggests that Diliparasra and Nollipayya were one and the same chief (QJMS, Vol. XVIII, 1937-38, p. 36).
3 Cf. QJMS, op. cit., p. 33.
4 SII, Vol. VI, p. 199.
5 A. R. Ep., 1917, Parts II, p. 196; Kacarada Arot-mamotanagolu, p. 217
famous battle of Takkōlam by Gaṅga Būtuga in the year 949 A.D.,¹ that is to say, within a few months after the issue of the record under discussion, which seems to have been engraved soon after the battle of Iplī. The battle of Iplī must have been fought at a place to the north of the Gaṅga territory,² possibly in the present District of Anantapur. It is thus possible that the modern Ippēru in the Anantapur Taluk was known in early times as Iplī.³ There is no reason to believe that Raṇjaditya was at this time camping anywhere near Anantapur. On the other hand, we learn from inscriptions⁴ that he was stationed with a huge army for a number of years at Tirunāmanallūr in Tirunagaiappāṇūr, situated in the present District of South Arcot, obviously with a view to protecting the kingdom from the Gaṅgas.

Following in the footsteps of his enterprising father Āditya I, the Chōḷa king Parāntaka I extended his dominions up to Neilore. But the death of Gaṅga Prithvirāj II, his strongest ally in the north, started a series of troubles from which the Chōḷa kingdom suffered throughout Parāntaka's reign. The foremost among the difficulties was created by the usurpation of the Gaṅga throne by Būtuga of the main Gaṅga line. As a result of this, Parāntaka not only lost his hold on the Gaṅgas but had to count them among his enemies.² The Vaidumbas, Bānas and Nolambas-Pallavas were no doubt already in the enemy's camp. But the Gaṅgas were the nearest among Parāntaka's enemies and their king Būtuga was closely related to the powerful Rāṇāsrāṇiya-monarch Kṛṣṇa III. It is therefore no wonder that Raṇjaditya was given the task of safeguarding the north-eastern boundaries of the kingdom against the Gaṅgas. It is also apparent from this that Raṇjaditya could not have been in the Nolambas-Pallava kingdom unmindful of the more powerful neighbour, Gaṅga Būtuga, who had no reason to be friendly with the expanding power of the Chōḷas.

Who then was this Gajāṅkūṣa-chōḷa, if he was not of the family of the Imperial Chōḷas? It is not possible to say anything definite regarding his identity without further light on the subject. But a suggestion may be offered.

The name Gajāṅkūṣa seems to indicate that this Chōḷa chief belonged to the family of the Telugu-Chōḷas, probably of the Rāṇāndu branch. In the Velurpālāyam plate⁴ of the Pallava king Nandivarmar III, mention is made of Chōḷa-mahārāja Kumaṇāṅkūṣa. It has been said that this Kumaṇāṅkūṣa belonged to the family of the Rāṇāndu Chōḷas.⁵ Bālliyachōḷa, the Telugu-Chōḷa chief of Rāṇāndu who flourished in the ninth century, also enjoyed the title Kumaṇāṅkūṣa,⁶ and this seems to strengthen the suggestion that Kumaṇāṅkūṣa of Pallava Nandivarmar's epigraph belonged to the family of the Rāṇāndu Chōḷas. If this is accepted, we may further conclude that names ending in akāṇa were popular in the family of the Chōḷas of Rāṇāndu. On this basis, Gajāṅkūṣa-chōḷa may be said to have belonged to the same family. The attack on him led by Nolamba Dīlāparasa and the army of Kṛṣṇa III seems to have been part of the Rāṇāsrāṇiya offensive against the Imperial Chōḷas.

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² There was an intervening stretch of Gaṅga territory between the kingdom of the Chōḷas and that of the Nolambas-Pallavas. If the battle was fought further in the south, probably the Gaṅgas and not the Nolambas-Pallavas would have been involved in the conflict.
³ This village is situated to the north-east of Chōḷasamudram and was within the territory of the Rāṇāndu Chōḷas. It may be that the invading army hurriedly retreated after an indecisive encounter and that, on reaching Madakassara within the Nolambas-Pallava kingdom, a hero stone commemorating the death of Ponnaya was erected.
⁴ Nilakanta Sastri, op. cit., pp. 184-85.
⁵ No doubt the descendant of Prithvirāj II continued to be loyal to Parāntaka I and his successors. But with the bulk of the territory, which Prithvirāj II had been ruling, now under the control of Būtuga of the main Gaṅga line, their power declined and they counted for nothing in the long period of trouble during which the very foundations of the newly-bulb Chōḷa empire were so rudely shaken.
⁷ Ibid., Vol. XII, p. 20.
No. 13—BHAIRAVAKONDA INSCRIPTION OF VIKRAMADITYA

(1 Plate)

H. K. NARASIMHASWAMI, OOTACUMUND

(Received on 17.3.1955)

Bhairavakonda is a hill in the Eastern Nallamalai, which extends over a part of the Cumbum Taluk of the Kurnool District, Andhra Pradesh. Its highest point is about 3000 feet above sea level. At a level about 400 feet down from this point, amidst thick jungle, is an unpretentious temple enshrining a small linga called Bhairava. The nearest village from which the temple could be reached is Mohidnapuram, a hamlet of Bōgōlu, and the temple is situated at a distance of about 5 miles from it. There is a small pond in front of the shrine and, close to it, a much weather-worn image of Ganapāsa. Another sculpture by the side of this depicts a seated figure with four hands, holding a staff in one of its right hands. Among the other sculptures lying scattered near the temple and mutilated beyond recognition may be mentioned a stone tablet about 2' long and 6' broad depicting labelled images, in relief, of the Seven Mothers (Saptamātikās) with their characteristic vāhanas. The epigraph published here is on a slab near these images.

The inscription, occupying a rectangular area about 11 inches by 23 inches, is engraved on the dressed surface of the slab. The letters are neatly incised and the entire inscription runs to just 10 lines.

The language of the record is Telugu and it is written in archaic characters which may be assigned to the middle of the eighth century. Medial i is formed by a circular loop attached to the top of the letter. For this loop formed by an anticioclockwise flourish, cf. ʻiũ (line 2) in which the left end of the loop has not been fully extended so as to join the main letter; see also ndi (line 4) in which the flourish starts from the top of the shaft over ń and, after sweeping over it in a circle, descends on the other side of it a little further down than where it started, and ńũ (line 6) in which the sign commences almost with an upright stem over which the loop is formed. A further sharp inward bend of the left end of this loop marks the sign of medial i. The vowels ă and e occur in the words ʻaḥorlu (line 8) and ʻEyuva] (line 7). Attention may be drawn to the archaic forms of b in bōj showing the tendency to the formation of the open b, of r formed by a horizontal stroke inside a flattened loop, and of kā indicated by an elongated upright curve with its ends opening towards the left and its lower end bent inside. Among orthographic peculiarities may be mentioned the use of s for s in the names Nandīsvara and Daṇḍīsvara (lines 4-5) and the use of r in place of r in the expression ʻaḥorlu (line 8).

The inscription records the setting up of the images of Gaṇapati, Nandīsvara and Daṇḍīsvara by Kallī-bōj. It mentions [Mujnasanga, the son of Eyyuva-ʻaḥorlu, probably as the sculptor, and ends, with a short sentence in Sanskrit attributing [the engraving of] the document to the same person.

The main interest of the epigraph lies in establishing the identity of the ruler Vikramaditya and the deity Daṇḍīsvara mentioned in it. In the absence of any prakāshati and distinguishing titles or epithets in the epigraph, it is difficult to identify the king. But the internal evidence of the inscription offers some help.

The first sentence of the record states that during the reign of Vikramaditya, Kallī-bōj had the [images of] Gaṇapati, Nandīsvara and Daṇḍīsvara made. In the name of Kallī-bōj, the


2 The Turinella inscription of Vikramaditya I also ends with a sentence in Sanskrit although the main part of the record is in Telugu. See above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 160 f.
suffix bōḷ, is the honorific plural of bōya and it is found both as bōḷ as in the record under review, and as bōyaj or bōyar. Generally, in the formation of such names, the prefix indicates a place name, e.g., in Atakuru-bōya, Kumunur-bōya, etc., and the expression as such is construed to stand for the person who held the office of the bōya of the place. Sometimes such names are followed by the names of the persons themselves, e.g., Nañukuri-bōya Sarvasarman, Kanpur-bōya Manḍāsarman, etc. It may therefore be suggested that in the expression Kalli-bōḷ, the word Kalli stands for the name of the village of which Gaṇapati was the bōya or bōḷ. If the were so, a person named Gaṇapati may have caused the images of Nandiśvara and Daṇḍīśvara to be made. But it has to be noticed that there is actually an image of the god Gaṇapati near the inscribed slab. It is therefore more probable that this is one of the images mentioned in the record and that Kalli-bōḷ himself was the author of this and the other two.

Lines 7-9 of the text mention a person named [Mū]nasaṅga as the son of Eu[j]va-ācāraḥ. This statement is followed by the last sentence of the record, in Sanskrit, attributing the writing (or the engraving of the epigraph) to this individual. That this person himself was the sculptor of the images is not ruled out, since his father is referred to by the epithet ācāraḥ (i.e., ācāryaḥ) which is indicative of the artisan class to which he belonged. The term ācāri is the common designation of an artisan, either a carpenter or a mason.

All the three images mentioned in the inscription, viz., Gaṇapati, Nandiśvara and Daṇḍīśvara are lying near the inscribed slab and two amongst them have already been referred to above. About a foot high, in the usual seated posture, with the māsakaḥ as his characteristic vāhana, is a much worn image of Gaṇapati. The image of the aforementioned image, there is an equally worn image of the bull Nandin, which is invariably associated with any temple of Śiva. This is indeed the Nandiśvara referred to in the record. The third image, viz., that of Daṇḍīśvara, is a seated figure with four hands, holding a danda or staff in one of its right hands, the objects held in the other three hands being too worn out to be recognised. However, the seated posture of the image and the unmistakable danda are enough indications for identifying the image as of Daṇḍīśvara referred to in the inscription. It may be recalled that the Mālēpatu and Domnara-Nandyāla plates of the Telugu-Chōḍa chief Puṣya Kumāra quote an invocatory verse in praise of Laktuḷaṇī (Lakulīśa). Laktuṭa or lǫjukta being a synonym of danda, the identity of Laktuḷaṇī with Daṇḍiśvara is obvious. As Lakulīśa appears to have been the family deity of a branch of the Telugu-Chōḍa family, it is evident that the record purports to belong to Bālaṇḍa, in all probability, a member of this branch of the family. It has been shown that there was a branch of this family, the members of which bore names ending in āditya, such as Vikramādiṭṭya, Utamaṭṭya, Satyādiṭṭya, etc. Among them are two kings who bore the name Vikramādiṭṭya and were related to each other probably as grandfather and grandson. Judging from the similarity of the names and the provenance and palaeography of the records, it is very likely that Vikramādiṭṭya of the record under review is identical with either of these two rulers (more probably the second of the two) of this branch of the Telugu-Chōḍa family in relation to which the main branch is, however, still unknown.

If the identification suggested above is accepted, the present epigraph adds one more to the known lithic records of Vikramādiṭṭya. The sculpture of Daṇḍīśvara, identified with Lakulīśa, appears to be the earliest known representation of the deity in South India.
1 Svasti śrī-Vikrama
2 dityug-śa Kali-
3 bōj-Gaṅapati
4 Nandi(ndi)sva(śva)ru Daṇḍi(yuḍi)-
5 sva(śva)ru pāṇi(ni)sē-
6 yiñchinavāru [*]
7 Svasti śrī-Eyu(va)-
8 āchar̥la koduku [Mu]-
9 nasaṅgā [†] Tasyā(sya) li-
10 khita[ni] [*]
No. 14—THREE INSCRIPTIONS IN BARIPADA MUSEUM

(1 Plate)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

(Received on 30.8.1937)

There is a small stone pillar preserved in the Museum at Baripada in the Mayurbhanj District of Orissa. The pillar is four-sided and measures about 14\frac{1}{2} inches in length, 5 inches in breadth and 3\frac{1}{2} inches in thickness. Three of its faces bear each an inscription in three lines. Sometime before the year 1915, the inscribed stone was brought to Baripada by Mr. Kamakhya Prasad Basu, then an officer of the former Mayurbhanj State, from the village of Pejagadhi in the Udales subdivision of Mayurbhanj, lying about 4 miles from Udales. There is a temple of the goddess Bhima or Bhimevari in the forest adjoining the village and the internal evidence of the records would suggest that the stone was secured from the area of the said shrine.

The inscriptions were recently published by Pandit Satyanarayana Rajaguru in The Orissa Historical Research Journal, Vol. I, No. 2, July 1932, pp. 178-79, with Plates. While going through Pandit Rajaguru’s article, I felt that most of his views on the inscriptions, including their reading and interpretation, are unacceptable. Thus, in the first place, he assigns the three inscriptions on paleographical grounds to different periods ranging from the ninth to the eleventh century and apparently considers the record mentioning Dhruvaraja to be the latest amongst the three. I, on the other hand, have no doubt that Dhruvaraja’s epigraph is the earliest of the three records and that they may be assigned on paleographical grounds to the 10th century A.D. The three sides of the slab bear votive records of three different rulers; but the king who was responsible for fashioning the stone into a pillar for the definite purpose of incising his record on it, is expected to have used one of the two broader faces (3 inches wide) of the pillar and not one of the narrower side faces (3\frac{1}{2} inches wide). It has to be noticed that Dhruvaraja’s inscription occupies a broader face of the pillar, the opposite side at its back remaining blank and the left and right faces bearing the two other inscriptions. It appears that the stone was so placed originally in the temple of a goddess that only the three inscribed faces were visible to the visitors and that at first there was inscription only on its front face, the two side faces being inscribed at later dates. This is also suggested by the fact that, of the three records, Dhruvaraja’s inscription is the most neatly and carefully engraved apparently because, as already indicated above, the stone was dressed for the special purpose of engraving his record. Its characters also appear to be somewhat earlier than those of the other two epigraphs. Secondly, according to Pandit Rajaguru, the two other records speak of Kumara Dharmaraja alias Durgaraya and Satrubhanja respectively. In my opinion, what has been read as Kumara-Dharmarajana is very clearly Kumara-ravana-varma-rja, so that the person referred to is a king named Kumara-ravanman and not a prince named Dharmaraja. Moreover, I do not find the name Durgaraya in this record nor the name Satrubhanja in the other. Thirdly, I do not agree with Pandit Rajaguru’s reading and interpretation of the purport of any of the three epigraphs, even though it has to be admitted that, excepting Dhruvaraja’s record, the two other inscriptions are very carefully engraved and are therefore extremely difficult to read and interpret especially because both of them are damaged, a few letters being lost at the end of the lines.

Such being the case, I requested Mr. P. Acharya, Superintendent of Archaeology, Government of Orissa, to be so good as to send me a few inked impressions of the inscriptions for study. Although Mr. Acharya could not send me the impressions required by me, he was very kind to place

the inscribed stone at my disposal for examination when I visited the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar in January 1956. The stone was brought from Baripada to Bhubaneswar for me and I am extremely thankful to Mr. Acharya for his kindness.

The characters of the records belong to the East Indian alphabet of the tenth or eleventh century and resemble those in the early inscriptions of the Bhaumās of Khijjiga-kōṭa (modern Khiching in the Mayurbhanj District at 21°55' N., 85° 50' E.) who call themselves Ādi-Bhaumā and are known to have ruled in the eleventh century. The language is only seemingly Sanskrit. It is extremely corrupt in all the three records. But their object is fairly clear and it is to record certain gifts of land made in favour of a deity, called by the name Durgā in inscription No. 3. She seems to be none other than the goddess Bhūmā now worshipped at Pėdāgādhi, findspot of the inscribed stone. No date is quoted in any of the epigraphs.

The first of the three inscriptions covers an area about 13½ inches in length and 4 inches in height. There is no doubt about its reading and interpretation even though a few letters are broken away from the end of the lines and the first letter in both lines 2 and 3 is damaged. The inscription records the grant of the localities called Vanagrāma, Aranapada and Bharadhi made by Dhrurvarāja as an agrahāra (i.e. rent-free holding) for the bali and nivedāya (nivedāya) apparently of a deity whose name, however, is not mentioned no doubt because the inscription was exhibited in the shrine of the said deity. As indicated above, the deity seems to be no other than the goddess Bhūmā of Pėdāgādhi. Pandit Rajaguru, who could not decipher some of the letters and read some of them wrongly, translates the record as follows: "(It is a grant made) by Śrī Dhrurvarajaśāvä for the purpose of bali and nivedāya of (the goddess) Bharađi of Arachhpāda". But he admits that the letters hāra in line 3 are unintelligible to him. Unfortunately he does not make it clear as to what the object granted by the king was and apparently fails to realise the absurdity of his interpretation of the record. As it stands, his translation would suggest that it was the inscribed stone which was granted by Dhrurvarāja in favour of a deity for bali and nivedāya. Since the stone has no cash value at all, the interpretation is absolutely unwarranted, even if Pandit Rajaguru's reading is accepted as correct. The goddess Bharadhi of Arachhpāda is no doubt imaginary.

The second inscription records a grant made by Kumāravarmarājā. The facts that the epigraph is carelessly engraved and that a few letters are lost at the end of line 1 and 2 make it difficult to read and interpret the record. But it apparently records a grant of land just as Inscription No. 1 noticed above. Possibly it mentions two gift villages as Dusākhi situated in Dāga .. rayēa and Dētiā lying in Lūshhājya .. rya. Pandit Rajaguru translates the record, as he has read it, as follows: "(It is) a grant made by Kumāra Dharmarājā (who is also called) Durgarāya in favour of Pinākipati, for the fulfilment of his desires." But his reading of many of the aksaras in the passage Kumāra-Dharmarājāna Durgarājāna Pinākipatē abhishṭajavai is imaginary. I do not find any mention of Durgarāya and Pinākipati in the record. His interpretation of pinākipatē as Śiva, called Pīnāki or Pīnākin, is not happy while abhishṭajavai is meaningless. Moreover, in this case also, Pandit Rajaguru fails to realise that his interpretation of the record involves the absurd suggestion that the donor re-granted the same stone previously granted by Dhrurvarāja. Of course he seems to place Dhrurvarāja's inscription in the eleventh century and the present epigraph in the ninth century. But the inherent impossibility of a king making the grant of a stone and a later ruler granting it once again still remains.

The third inscription records the grant of a king whose name ends with the word bhaṇja. It was a grant of land made in favour of the goddess Durgā who, as suggested above, may be the same as the modern Bhūmā of Pėdāgādhi. The gift land seems to have consisted of three localities called Telēpā, Bhūjā and Rai .. which were all situated in Némigrāma in the Madhā vishaya (district). The grant was made to last as long as the sun and the moon would exist. The passage

1 See e.g. above, Vol. XXV, Plate facing p. 160; N. N. Vasa, op. cit., Plates 79 ff., etc.
containing the name of the donor at the beginning of line 2 seems to read "Todhabhanja". If it may be believed that the letters Šrimā are broken away from the end of the previous line, wrongly suggest Šrimat-Todhabhanja and in that case the name of the donor may be Todhabhanja even if it sounds rather peculiar. But it is equally possible that one or two of the letters broken at the end of the previous line actually formed a part of the donor’s name. Strangely enough Pandit Rajaguru finds a stanza in the Anuśaktiṇī metre in the inscription, the first half of which is read as Madjarā-vishaye titititī Sā(Satrubhanja) dasa(jita)taḥ [?], while the third foot is supposed to read Līśabhadra Durgāyaj, the first five syllables at the end of line 2 and the remaining three at the beginning of line 3. His translation of the record runs as follows: “This grant is made on the border of the Madjarā vishaya by Satrubhanja in favour of Līśabhadra Durgā (in perpetuity) as long as the sun and the moon exist.” Unfortunately both the reading and the interpretation are in most part imaginary and unwarranted. It is impossible to read the names Satrubhanja and Līśabhadra in the inscription, while the emendation dattarratī is quite meaningless in the context. The translation ‘on the border of the Madjarā vishaya’ of what has been wrongly read as Madjarā-vishi-
shayē titititī is equally unsound. Moreover, it would involve the impossible suggestion that the inscription stone, raised on the border of a district, was granted in favour of a goddess. In case a plot of land on the border of the district was meant to be the object of the grant, it is impossible to believe that the record gives only its location without any other details. Indeed there is scarcely any such instance in the whole range of Indian epigraphy. Pandit Rajaguru fails to notice that a few letters are lost at the end of lines 1 and 2 and that the record is in prose. The fact that his interpretation leaves it uncertain as to what the gift really was renders both his reading and translation of the inscription unacceptable.

The importance of the inscriptions lies in the fact that they mention three rulers, apparently petty chiefs of the Mayurbhanj region, who flourished about the 10th century A.D. The same area was under the rule of the Ādi-Bhanjas of Khijigā-kọtţa from about the beginning of the eleventh century. Some of the earliest records of this family, which originally owed allegiance to the Imperial Bhauma-Karas of Orissa, bear dates in the Bhauma-Kara era. This era seems to have started from 331 A.D. The dates in this era found in the inscriptions of the Ādi-Bhanjas have been read as the years 298 and 293; but, as we have tried to show elsewhere, the intended reading of the symbol taken to be 200 is really 100. Thus these dates actually stand for 188 and 193 respectively and therefore they appear to correspond to 1019 and 1024 A.D. The three rulers mentioned in the records under study appear to have flourished sometime before these dates apparently as feudatories of the Bhauma-Karas.

It seems that the Bhaṇja ruler mentioned in No. 3 of our inscriptions belonged to a branch of the Bhaṇja family of Khijigā-kọtţa; since, however, his name is not mentioned in the records of the family among its earlier rulers, we may suggest that the branch represented by the Bhaṇja ruler of our inscription was overthrown by the Ādi-Bhaṇja dynasty known from inscriptions. That the Bhaṇjas of Khijigā-kọtţa called themselves Ādi-Bhaṇja or ‘Original Bhaṇja’ would suggest that there was at least another (probably, earlier) Bhaṇja ruling family in the area, which was regarded by them as of a more recent origin than their own dynasty and may have been overthrown by them. It also seems that kings Dhruvaraja and Kumāravarnaraja belonged to a dynasty that flourished in the region before the rise of the Bhaṇjas. This dynasty appears to have been overthrown by the Bhaṇja family represented by the Bhaṇja ruler mentioned in No. 3 of our inscriptions.

No. 14] THREE INSCRIPTIONS IN BARIPADA MUSEUM 85

Whether the rulers mentioned in the records under study had their capital at Khijjiṅga-kōṭṭa, i.e. modern Khiching in Mayurbhanj, cannot be determined. Considering, however, the facts that there is no other site in the area, which can be compared with Khiching in regard to antiquity and that some of the sculptures found at the place are earlier than the eleventh century when the Ādi-Bhaṇjas flourished, it seems very likely that the pre-Ādi-Bhaṇja rulers of the region had also their capital at Khijjiṅga-kōṭṭa. Indeed it is possible that Khiching was originally the centre of a big kingdom comprising the northern part of Mayurbhanj and the adjoining areas of Manbhum and Singbhum. But whether the Mānas, possibly of ṛṣa origin, also ruled from here in the sixth century cannot be decided without further evidence. But it is not altogether impossible.

The geographical names mentioned in Inscription No. 1 are Vanagrāma, Aranapadā and Bharāḍīhu. Nos. 2 and 3 also mention several localities; but the reading of the names is not beyond doubt in all cases. I am not sure about the location of any of them, although they appear to have been situated in the present District of Mayurbhanj in Orissa.

TEXT

No. 1

1 Siddham†  [[*] Śr̥t-Ddbhṛjya|juvarāja|dēv[ś]na Va[na].†

2 [grā]jama-Arana[na]padā-Bharāḍī[hu]...†

3 [grā]hāra va[bh]āl-nivēdyā sa[ma]. †

No. 2

1 Siddham†  [[*] Kumāravarmarājāṇa Dūga...†

2 ray[śe]10 Duṭṭhāku Ṯaṭṭhā Lōḥ[ṭha]ja...†

3 "Fṛṣṭī" data11  [[*]}

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1 For an account of the architectural monuments and sculptures of Khiching, see R. P. Chanda's notes in the Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1922-23, pp. 124 ff., Plates XLI-XLII; 1923-24, pp. 85 ff., Plates XXXII-XXXIV; 1924-25, pp. 111 ff., Plate XXXV. I do not agree with Chanda's view that the earliest antiquities from Khiching should be assigned to the eleventh century and to the age of the Ādi-Bhaṇjas. In his Development of Hindu Iconography, 2nd ed., J. N. Banerjea assigns some of the sculptures roughly to the tenth century (pp. 378, 440) and some others vaguely to the early medieval period (pp. 290, 481). At least the following illustrations in Banerjea's work appear to me to be earlier than the Ādi-Bhaṇja age: frontispiece; Plate XX, figures 1-2; Plate XXX, figures 2-3; Plate XXXV, figure 3.


3 From impressions.

4 Expressed by symbol.

5 The intended reading may also have been śr̥t-mad-Dhravarāja.

6 It is difficult to determine if a letter is broken away after the damaged sa which may possibly also be read as śa.

7 But Vanagrāma makes a good name for a village and many localities of this name are known in Eastern India.

8 The traces of this lost letter at the end of the line suggest sa, so that the expression is śr̥takṣaṇamānḍakāra.

9 The intended word was apparently samarpā. In correct Sanskrit, we should have Vanagrama-krasapada-Bharāḍīhu-nāma-grāmād aprakārāteśu bāl-nivēdyā-arthaṃ samarpitāḥ.

10 There were two letters here, which are now damaged beyond recognition.

11 Of the triangle forming the left limb of t, only the base can be seen now.

12 The letter t resembles its form in Dūga in line 1. The akṣara may also be read as ṛṭ. It does not appear to be pru.

13 The 3-mātra-like part of the vowel is not quite clear on the impressions.

14 At least one letter is lost here.

15 The three letters of this line are engraved about the middle of the space.

16 The intended word is data; but, in correct Sanskrit, we should have [śr̥tan grāmā] data.
1 [Siddham]...Maññāhā-ūshay[ē] [Nē]mi-[grāmē]...
2 ṭ-Tō[ṛ]dhajbhaṅjēna data[h]...Tōlē[rj]ā[ṛ]-[ṛg]-Bh[ṛ]jā-Rai...6
3 Du[r]gāyā yāvata chandr-ārka varttati7 []

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1 Expressed by symbol.
2 There are traces of two damaged letters here. Probably the word is reasti followed by a double danda.
3 The aksaraṃ grāmē are considerably rubbed off. Two or three letters have broken away after this word. They may be conjecturally restored as śrīna.
4 The word intended is datta, although in correct Sanskrit we should have dottā.
5 The letter a seems to be imperfectly formed. The aksaras may possibly be read as ā.
6 About two letters are lost after raī.
7 In correct Sanskrit, we should have Durgāyā yāvat chandr-ārka varttati.
THREE INSCRIPTIONS IN BARIPADA MUSEUM

No. 1

No. 2

No. 3

Scale: Two-fifths
No. 15—DAVANGERE PLATES OF RAVIVARMAN, YEAR 34

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 10.4.1938)

A set of three copper plates strung on a ring bearing a seal was received by the Director of Archaeological Researches in Mysore, quarter of a century ago, from Mr. Nadiga Basappa who was a lawyer of Davangere in the Chitaldurg District of Mysore State. It was edited with illustration in the Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the Year 1933, pp. 109-16, Plate XXII. Unfortunately there are numerous errors in the published transcript and translation of the record. The most serious defect in the treatment of the inscription is that the grant portion has been wrongly read and translated and consequently the very name applied to the record, viz. ‘Kōramaṅga grant of ... Ravivarman,’ seems to be a misnomer.

The editor of the inscription says, “The lands granted are said to be situated near Kōramaṅga, Saṃaṇa and Asandi. Kōramaṅga is probably the same as Kōramaṅgala, a village situated about eight miles from Hassan and about 40 miles from Asandi. Asandi is a village in the Kadur Taluk of Kadur District near Ajjampur, and Asandi or Asandi-nāḍu or the province of Asandi is often referred to in inscriptions. The extent of the lands granted seems to be three nivartanas...” There are several mistakes in this statement. In the first place, of the four plots of land granted by the charter, three were situated around a sētu or embankment in the southern part of Asandi and the fourth in a locality called Vēdirkōda apparently within Asandi or in its neighbourhood. Secondly, what has been read as Kōramaṅga (line 17) seems to us to be Kōramāḍa which was moreover a locality where the above-mentioned embankment was situated. It was therefore a part of Asandi and does not appear to be a place 40 miles away. Its identification with Kōramaṅgala is thus extremely doubtful. Thirdly, what has been read as Samayē (line 19) appears to us to be samaye and the passage samaye sētu-bandhasya means ‘at the extremity of the embankment’. The inscription therefore does not refer to a village called Samana. Fourthly, as our analysis below will show, the area of the four plots of the gift land, excluding the site of the embankment, was six nivartanas and not three nivartanas only. Besides these, there are numerous other errors in the published transcript and translation of the inscription. Under the circumstances, no apology is needed for re-editing the inscription in the following pages.

The three plates measure each 17 inches by 3 inches. The seal fixed to the ring on which they are strung does not show any representation. The characters closely resemble those of other Early Kadamba charters, especially those issued by King Ravivarman (c. 490-538 A.D.) of Vaijyantí (modern Banavasi in the North Kanara District). The record also resembles other Early Kadamba epigraphs in respect of language and orthography. The language is Sanskrit and the inscription, with the exception of the auspicious word Siddham at the beginning, is written entirely in verse. The orthography is characterised by the reduplication of some consonants following r and the use of both the anusvāra and the class nasal without discrimination. Final m has been invariably employed at the end of the halves of stanzas. The jihāmūliya has been used once in line 3.

The date of the grant is quoted in line 15 (verse 14). It is the 34th regnal year of the Early Kadamba king Ravivarman, the day referred to being one in the bright half of the month of Madhu (Chitra) when the nakṣatra was Rōhini. We know that Ravivarman began to reign about 490 A.D. His 34th regnal year thus fell about 521 A.D. The exact date of the charter, however, cannot be calculated as neither the tithi nor the week-day is mentioned.

The inscription begins with the auspicious word sūdham and a stanza (verse 1) in adoration of the Sarva-vījñā Savalokanātha. Since both Sarva-vījñā and Lōkānātha are well-known names of the Buddha, we prefer to identify the deity referred to in the stanza with the founder of Buddhism, even though the editor of the inscription was inclined to associate the verse with Jainism. As will be seen from our discussion below, the objects of the grant were the maintenance of worship in the Śuddhāyata, and the increase of the Śangha. The editor of the epigraph regarded these as Jain institutions. But Śangha is well-known in the sense of the Buddhist church. As will be shown below, a Śuddhāyata is also known to have been associated with the worship of the Buddha. We know that the Early Kadambas were Brahmanical Hindus. Although they had Jain leanings and many of their charters contain Jain adorations and were issued in favour of Jain or Jain institutions, they claimed to be devotees of the god Mahāvīra and the Mothers. This claim is found in the records of Ravivarman, one of which proudly mentions the Kadamba family as having performed the typical Brahmanical sacrifice known as the Asvamedha.1 If it is believed that the charter under study was really issued in favour of Buddhist religious institutions, it shows that, in spite of their Brahmanical faith, the Early Kadambas not only favoured the Jains but also the Buddhists. This points to the catholicity of their religious policy.

Verses 2-4 speak of the following four Kadamba kings: (1) Raghu, (2) Kākustha (correctly Kākutthu), the younger brother of Raghu, (3) Sāntivarman, the son of Kākustha, (4) Mrigēśa, the son of Sāntivarman and (5) Ravi whose relationship with Mrigēśa is not specified, although from other records we know that king Mrigēśa or Mrigēśavarman was the father and predecessor of Ravi or Ravivarman. The description of the predecessors of Ravi is short, but that of the reigning monarch Ravi continues in the following eight stanzas. Verse 8 speaks of the city of Vaiśajyantī indirectly as the capital of Ravi's kingdom.

An interesting point in Ravi's description is offered by verse 7 which states that the land as far as the Narmadā (i.e. the people of that region) sought refuge in the Kadamba king and rejoiced. This no doubt refers to Ravi's claim of a sort of suzerainty over the whole of South India as far as the Narmadā in the north. The claim is of course conventional and merely means that Ravi was an independent or imperial ruler. As we have shown elsewhere, powerful monarchs of ancient and medieval India generally claimed to be rulers or conquerors of the whole of India which was regarded as the conventional chakravarti-kśētra or sphere of influence of an emperor; but sometimes a South Indian monarch speaks of similar possession of the land between the Vindhyas and Cape Comorin and a North Indian emperor of that between the Vindhyas and the Himalayas.2 It may be pointed out here that the editor of the record read Narmadānā tām māhī instead of Narmadānānā māhī and thereby missed an early and interesting reference to the southern chakravarti-kśētra.

Among other conventional claims of the Kadamba king, reference may be made to verses 10-11. The first of these stanzas states that the whole earth wanted Ravi to be its lord while the second says that his coronation ceremony was performed by the goddess Lakṣmī herself. But

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verse 12, the meaning of which is rather obscure, seems to refer to a historical fact. It states that a hillock or hill-fortress called Kundo resisted (sādhārayat) the missile (ill) let down upon it by Raghu but that it submissively obeyed Ravi’s command. This appears to mean that the Early Kadamba king Raghu failed but his descendant Ravi succeeded in capturing a hill-fort called Kundo-giri. This incident is not mentioned in any other record of the family. The identification of Kundo-giri is also uncertain unless it is Kudgere in the Shimoga District.

Verse 13, with which the grant portion of the record begins, states that a certain Hariyatta made a request to the king (in respect of the grant to be recorded in the charter) with a view to obtaining religious merit and that the king was pleased to reply to it (i.e. complied with it). This fact suggests that the real donor of the grant was Hariyatta.1

Verses 14-18 record the grant proper. The first of these stanzas gives the date of the grant which has already been discussed above. The other four stanzas state that the following plots of land were granted by the king at Āsandi for the maintenance of worship at the Siddhāgatana and the extension or prosperity of the Saṅgha: (1) a piece of land (mahī) covered by the stone of an embankment (i.e. by an embankment made of stone) at Kēravēga together with an additional area measuring one nivartana; (2) a plot of land measuring one nivartana according to the royal measure in the area under water (kēḍāra) near the said embankment, which lay in the southern part of Āsandi; (3) one nivartana of land at the extremity of the said embankment; and (4) a plot of three nivarthanas according to the royal measure, which was situated at Vēdirkōda. The first three plots of the gift land are mentioned in connection with the embankment apparently in the southern part of Āsandi. It is not quite certain that Vēdirkōda was also situated within Āsandi; but it is not improbable that it was a locality within Āsandi like Kēravēga where the embankment was situated. The expression Siddhāgatana seems to indicate a Buddhist temple associated with the name of a Siddha like Nāgārjuna. It reminds us of the mention of the Pura-Siddhāgatana associated with the worship of the lord Pitāmaha Samyaksambuddha (i.e. Buddha) in an early inscription from Kosai.2 The exact area of a nivartana of land is unknown since it was not the same in all parts of the country and all ages of history.3

Verse 19 states that the plots of land were granted by the king in the presence of all the sāmarāṅgas together with the samādhi or samādhis and that they should have to be exempted from uchha and other dues. It is difficult to say whether the word sāmanta here means a feudatory of the king or an inhabitant of the neighbourhood of the gift land. The mention of uchha in this context reminds us of the passage uchha-kara-bhar-ādi-viśvarjita used as an epithet of the gift land in the Halsi plates4 of Ravivarman. It possibly meant a sort of tolls. The word samādhi means ‘storing of grains’ and may indicate in the present context ‘a granary’. The lands thus appear to have been granted together with the royal granaries in it.

Of the last four stanzas of the record, three are the ordinary imprecatory and beneficent verses often found in copper-plate grants. The first of these is, however, a new stanza.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the river Narmadā and the city of Vaijayantī are well-known. Āsandi has been identified with a village in the Kadur District of Mysore. The hillock called Kundo-giri, as indicated above, cannot be identified.

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1 Cf. above, pp. 50 ff.
2 Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 146 ff.
3 Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 245, note.
First Plate

1 Siddhām [ ] Sārya-anśa-dyuti-parishikta-paṅka-adāmānāṁ ēśbhāṁ yād-vahati sad-gāṇa pāda-padmanām [ ]

2 dēvānāṁ-makuṭa-mañ̃-prabhā-bhāshihktaṁ Sarvavajñās-sa jayati(t) sarvva-lōka-nāthabā || [ ]

3 Kirtīyā dig-antara-vyāpi Raghurāṣṭhā-prādhīpaḥ [ ] Kākustha-tulyaḥ-Kākusthō yaivyā nīs-taysa bhūpatiḥ [ ] [2*]

4 Taṣyāḥ-bhūṭa-tanayāḥ-āśīmāḥ-Sāntivarmanā-mahiḥpātiḥ [ ] Mrigēsas-taysa tanayō mrigēvara-paramukramāḥ || [3*]


6 Nṛpā-chchhalēna kīṁ Vīshāṅveddāśyājishpur-aryām svayam [ ] hiraṇmaya-chan-mālaṁ tyaktaḥ chakrāṁ vibhāvita[m]a || [5*]

7 Sāmārjyē varttamanāḥ-pi[n] na mādyati paranātapaḥ [ ] Śrīr-ēśhā madayaty-anpyaṇ=atiplī-ēva vāruṇiḥ . [ ] [6*]

Second Plate, First Side


9 Rav-r-vadhiyant-fyaṁ Surēndranagarāṁ Śrīyā [ ] Vaijayantī chalach-chitra-vaijayantī virajatā || [8*]


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1 From the illustration in A.R. Mātr. Arch. Surv., 1933.
2 In the left margin near the beginning of line 2.
3 Read "āśūma" which is the reading in A.R.
4 A.R. reads tulyam-Kākusthō and suggests the correction tulyaḥ Kākusthō. The correct form of the name Kākustha is Kākastha.
5 A.R. reads "corma".
6 A.R. reads vaṁ-āḍērāḥ maṇa".
7 A.R. reads makuṭa-ṭpā and suggests the correction makuṭa-ṭpā. There is a metrical defect here.
8 A.R. reads nripāk-chhalanaḥ and suggests the correction nripāk-chhalanakō which is meaningless in the context.
9 A.R. reads vibhāvitaḥ which does not suit the context.
10 A.R. reads nandaṃkō-pā.
11 A.R. reads nāmmadahāṁ tom.
12 A.R. reads bhuj-āṅga-dāśrīrā.
13 Read "ābhārōti which is A.R.'s reading.
11 Viśvā vasumati nāthān-nāthaṭē naya-kōvidam (*4) dyauṇ-iv-Endramūjvalad vajra-diptikōrakit-aṅgadam || [10*]


iva mahādharāḥ || [12*]

14 Dharmam-ārtham Hari(dā)ttēṇa sū-dyām vijñāpitō uṇīpah (*4) smita-jyōtān-ābhīśiktēṇa
vachasā prayabhāṣata || [13*]

Second Plate, Second Side

15 [Chatu]strīmā]śattamī śrīmad rājya-vṛddhi samā samā (*4) Madhur-ṃmāsā=
āsithīḥ punyaḥ [ś]ukla-paksha-cha Rōhīṇī || [14*]

parivṛddhayē || [15*]

dattavāṁ =
tām = arindamah || [16*]

18 Āsandī-dakshinēsyāmāṭha sētoḥ kēdāram-āśīram (*4) rāja-mānēna mānēna keśēram-ēka
-nivarttanam || [17*]

19 Sama[v]ē [sētu-ba]ṃdahasya keśāram =ēka-nivarttanam (*4) tach =āpi rāja-mānēna
Vēdikōḍōʾ tri-nivarttanam || [18*]

20 Uśchh-ādī-parivarttyē [vya]samādi-sahitaι bi tam (*4) dattavāṁ =rīmaha[r]āja = sarvva-
śamanta-saṃnidhu || [19*]

1 Jñātva cha puṇyaṃ =abhīṣikayitum =vviśālām tad-bhaṅga-[k]ārana-mitasya cha jōshavattām
(*4)

Third Plate

pramāṇam || [20*]

23 Bahubhir =vvasudhā bhuktē rāja[bbhi]-Sagar-ādibhi (*4) yasya yasya yada bhūmīs-tasya
ta[sya] tadā phalām || [21*]

1 A.R. reads Lakṣmīni.
2 Better read Uām. A.R. reads mili and suggests the correction maubā.
3 An unnecessary subscript ı is noticed with ıa.
4 A.R. reads ‘tamā.
5 A.R. reads Kāra[m]amī.
6 A.R. reads adhiṣkā-parvarttan-anūēṇā which is grammatically wrong and meaningless.
7 A.R. reads dattavām vāmā.
8 A.R. reads daksīṣayē.
9 A.R. reads Sama[vē.
10 A.R. reads Vēdikōḍē and takes it to be a word of doubtful import. There is a metrica defect here.
11 Anā does not read the first two adāharas and reads the following letters as ‘rōma-suklagā. 
24 Adbhūr-dattāṁ tribhū[r-bhuj]ktāṁ sadbhūt cha paripālita[m] [।।] ētāṁ na nivarttattē pūrvvarā[j]a-k[ri]jāñi cha || [33*]

25 Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yē harēta va[su]m[dharā[m] [।।] abhāśām vara-sahasrāṇi narakē pachyatē tu saḥ || [33*]
No. 16—GYARASPUR INSCRIPTION OF MAHAKUMARA TRAILÓKYAVARMADÉVA

K. G. KRISHNAN, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 3.4.1956)

Gyaraspur, a town in the former Gwalior State, lies at a distance of 24 miles from Bhilsa on the road from Bhilsa to Sagar. Cunningham gave an account of the antiquities of the place in his Reports.1 He noticed two fragmentary inscriptions engraved on a plain pillar built into a platform near what is known as the Hilmola Toran.2 The first of these records is dated V. S. 936. The second inscription, which is of a much later date, forms the subject of this article. It is published here with the kind permission of the GovernmentEpigraphist for India.

The language of the inscription, which is fragmentary, is Sanskrit and the characters employed are Nāgāri of about the 12th century. There are only four lines of writing, the concluding part of all of which is broken away and lost. The inscription refers to the consecration of an image of the god Chāmunjaśvāmiḍēva and records the grant of a village, excluding the lands already in the enjoyment of gods and Brāhmaṇas, with a view to provide for the god’s worship. The donor’s name is given as Mahākumāra Trailókyavarmadēva who made the grant from his camp at Harshapura. The passage containing the other royal epithets enjoyed by the ruler is insufficiently preserved. In connection with the date, the tithi navami is mentioned in the extant part. But the other details of the date and the grant are lost due to the fragmentary nature of the inscription.

The record is important inasmuch as it is the only stone inscription of Mahākumāra Trailókyavarmadēva who no doubt belonged to the Paramāra dynasty of Malwa. The Bhopal plates of the Paramāra Mahākumāra Hariśchandradēva (Hariśchandradēva) published in this journal3 revealed to us for the first time that the said Paramāra ruler acquired sovereignty through the favour of Mahākumāra Trailókyavarmadēva who had obtained the privilege of the five great sounds. It is also stated in that record that Trailókyavarmadēva, the well-known Paramāra king of that name. The late Dr. N. P. Chakravarti suggested that Trailókyavarmadēva, if he was not identical with Hariśchandra’s father Lakshmivarmadēva, may have been a son, or more probably a brother, of Lakshmivarmadēva4 and that he was possibly ruling as a regent during the minority of Hariśchandra with the full power of a chief. Though the present record does not throw any light on the position of Trailókyavarmadēva in the genealogy of the Paramāras, it confirms the fact that he ruled for sometime as a Mahākumāra.

The Bhopal plates, dated in V. S. 1214 Kārttika su. 15, lunar eclipse, corresponding to Saturday, the 19th October, 1157 A.D., were issued when Hariśchandra was ruling. He seems to have ascended the throne sometime before that date. Thus Trailókyavarmadēva, the donor of our record, ruled as a Mahākumāra about the middle of the 12th century. The grant under study is stated to have been made by Trailókyavarmadēva when he was encamping at Harshapura which is no doubt the same as Harsaudā, mentioned as Harshapura in an inscription5 of Paramāra Dēvapāladeva, dated V. S. 1270. Harsaudā is a village in the Nimar District of Madhya Pradesh. This suggests that the tract over which Trailókyavarmadēva ruled extended from the Gyaraspur region in the

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2 A. E. Ep., 1922-33, App. B, No. 191. The stone bearing these inscriptions is now deposited in the Gwalior Museum.
4 Ibid., p. 228.
5 Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, pp. 310 ff.
Bhiloa District to the District of Nimar. Lakhmi-varman, father of Harischandra and the earliest known Paramara Mahakumara, claims to have appropriated a portion of Malwa sometime before V.S. 1200, the date of his Ujjain plates. It seems that, after Lakhmi-varman, Trailokyavarman and Harischandra ruled successively over the tract referred to above, while members of the main line of the Paramara dynasty were ruling over the territory around Dhara.

The only place mentioned in the record is Harshapura, the location of which has been indicated above.

TEXT

1 Siddham* [*] Svasti || sri(r*)-jay-o-bhyudaya-o-cha || ady-o-cha sri-Ha[r*][sha]pura-sthitena samasta-najä . . . .

2 ta-samasta-prakriya-virajamana-mahakumara-sri-Trailokyavarmmaddeväna . . . .


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* From impressions.
* Expressed by symbol.
* There is a letter afterJet; but its reading is doubtful. The rest of the line as of the other lines is broken away.
* The language here is faulty though the sense is clear.
No. 17—COPPER COIN OF HARIGUPTA

(1 Plate)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

(Received on 6.2.1958)

A copper coin of a king named Harigupta, stated to have been found at Ahichchhatra (modern Ramnagar in the Bareilly District, U. P.), was published by Cunningham in his Coins of Medieval India.1 Its weight is given as 41 grains and size .6 inch. The obverse of the coin contains the representation of a pūrṇa-kumbha2 on a pedestal while the legend in two lines on the reverse was read as [ātri]-mahārāja]-[Hari]guptasya. Allan who entered the coin in his Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties,3 however, observed that the reading of the legend is very uncertain, guptasya alone being clear. But, as regards the reading, we are inclined to agree with Cunningham. Elsewhere in the same work,4 Allan admits his inability to offer any suggestion regarding the identity of the king who issued the coin, but observes5 that the palaeography of the legend suggests a date in the fifth century A.D.

Assuming the correctness of the reading of the name Harigupta in the legend, we have to see what relations the ruler might have with the Imperial Gupta dynasty of Magadha. It has to be pointed out that the Ahichchhatra coin of Harigupta is not without resemblance with the copper coinage of the Imperial Guptas in type and style. One type of copper coins issued by the Gupta emperor Chandragupta II (circa 375-414 A.D.) shows a pūrṇa-kumbha (with flowers or leaves hanging down its sides) within a dotted border on the obverse and the legend Chandra beneath a crescent within a similar border on the reverse.6 Elsewhere Allan suggests that, this type was probably struck in Malwa in imitation of the Mālava tribal issues just as Chandragupta II imitated the coins of the Śaka rulers in his silver coinage meant for circulation in Western India conquered from the Śakas.7 The vase within a dotted border is a well-known feature of the coins of the Mālava.8 It has to be admitted that the weight of the seven coins of this type of Chandragupta II in the British Museum cabinet varies between 3.3 and 18.0 grains, while the weight of the Ahichchhatra coin of Harigupta is 41.0 grains. But a number of copper issues of the Gupta monarch are known to weigh between 40.5 and 49.5 or more grains9 Now we have to determine whether Harigupta imitated the copper coinage of Chandragupta II or whether he ruled over a tract near about the Malwa region and imitated the tribal issues of the Mālavas.

In this connection we have also to see whether Harigupta of the Ahichchhatra coin was related to another ruler of the Malwa region who bore a name ending with the word gupta and some of whose coins have been discovered in East Malwa. Some years ago, six copper coins of a ruler named Rāmagupta were discovered in a locality near Bhilsa (near the capital of the ancient Ākara or Daśārṣa country comprising East Malwa) and were published in the Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.10 Their obverse exhibits, within a dotted border, a lion sitting, facing left, with its tail raised and curled, while their reverse shows the legend Rāmaguta or Rāmagupta beneath

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1 See p. 19, Plate II, No. 6.
2 This is often described as a flower-vase.
3 Cf. p. 162, No. 619; Plate XXIV, No. 16.
4 See p. lxi.
5 Cf. p. cv.
6 Ibid., p. 60; Plate XI, Nos. 21-26. Allan describes the pūrṇa-kumbha as a flower-vase.
7 Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India, p. cvl.
10 Vol. XII, pp. 103 ff.
a crescent within a similar border. The weight of these coins varies between 2.5 and 3.5 grains. It may be pointed out that lion is a familiar device on the Mālava coins, although generally they exhibit the animal in a standing posture. The paleography of the legend on Rāmagupta's coins suggests that they were issued sometime in the fourth or fifth century A.D. Another group of four copper coins, similar to the above six, also found at Bhilsa, have been published in the same journal.

There has been a controversy whether Rāmagupta of the Bhilsa coins was a local ruler of the Bhilsa region or should be identified with the Gupta king of the same name who, according to literary traditions, succeeded the Gupta emperor Samudragupta (circa 340-76 A.D.) but was ousted by his younger brother Chandragupta II. It is difficult to be definite on this point without further evidence, although the Prakritic form of the name Rāmagupta found on some of the coins would suggest a date earlier than the time of Samudragupta who is the first Gupta monarch to have extended his supremacy in the Malwa region. Another point which can scarcely be ignored in this connection is that, if Rāmagupta really belonged to the Imperial Gupta dynasty and ruled as an emperor even for a short period, we would have by now discovered at least a few of his gold coins, since the largest number of Gupta coins so far found are gold issues, the Gupta silver and copper coinage being by far less copious. The genuineness of the literary tradition regarding the existence of a Gupta emperor named Rāmagupta has not yet been proved by any other evidence. The problem to be solved now is: if Rāmagupta is regarded as a local ruler of the Malwa region unconnected with the Imperial Gupta house and assigned to a date somewhat earlier than the expansion of Gupta supremacy in the said area about the middle of the fourth century A.D., should Harigupta of the Ahichchhatra coin, on which the reading of the name has been doubted by Allan, be regarded as a son of Rāmagupta's family or of any other local ruling house and as flourishing before the middle of the fourth century? The problem of this ruler is, however, rendered more complicated by two factors. In the first place, a newly discovered copper coin of the king not only gives the name quite clearly as Harigupta but is also a very clear imitation of a type of the copper coinage of Chandragupta II. Secondly, we have an inscription testifying to the fact that a king named Hari-rāja, who claimed to have been a son of the Gupta dynasty, ruled over the region comprising the present Banda District of U. P. sometime in the fifth century and it is very probable that he is identical with the issuer of the Ahichchhatra coin.

A copper coin, now exhibited in the Allahabad Municipal Museum, was examined by me when I visited Allahabad in December 1957. Dr. S. C. Kala, Curator of the Museum, was kind enough to allow me to take a plaster cast of the coin. There can be no doubt that the prototype from which this coin was imitated is the second variety of the second type of the copper coinage of Chandragupta II described and illustrated by Allan in his Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties. The prototype may be described as follows:

Obverse: King standing to left (three-quarter length), apparently casting incense on altar with uplifted right hand (as on similar gold coins of the Chahtra type); left hand behind on hip; behind the king a dwarf attendant holding the parasol over him.

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1 Smith, op. cit., p. 172.
3 See ibid., Vol. XIII, pp. 103 ff.
4 One of Samudragupta's inscriptions has been found engraved on a pillar at Eras in the Saugor District of Madhya Pradesh (i.e. in East Malwa) and his Allahabad pillar inscription refers to his success against the Aryan king Rudradiva who is apparently the Saka ruler Rudradama III of Western India. See Select Inscriptions, pp. 267, 268 ff.; Proc. IHC, Madras 1944, pp. 78 ff.
5 See p. 53, Nos. 144-47; Plate XI, No. 4.
COPPER COIN OF HARI GUPTA

(from Photographs)
No. 17] COPPER COIN OF HARIGUPTA

Reverse: The bird Garuḍa (the emblem of the Guptas) standing, facing, with outspread wings (without human arms with bracelets as seen on the first variety of these copper coins); legend below the above reading Mahārāja-śri-Chandrarguptaḥ in one line.

The size of the coins is about three quarters of an inch and weight between 36.5 and 101.5 grains. On the coin under study, the obverse does not clearly show the parasol in the hands of the attendant and the proper right side of the bird on the reverse is blurred, while the legend beneath the bird reads Mahārāja-śri-Hariguptasya in two lines in characters similar to those of the legend on the Ahichchatra coin. The size of our coin is 85 inch and its weight 40 grains, although its exact findspot seems to be unknown. We have no doubt that the same Mahārāja Harigupta also issued the Ahichchatra coin, even though Allan doubted the reading of the name on it.

An inscription on a bronze image found in the ruins of Dhaneswar Kherā in the village of Ichchhāwar or Nichchāwar in the Banda District, U. P., was published by Smith and Hoey as early as 1895, although they could not decipher the record satisfactorily. The correct reading of this record in two lines is as follows:—

1 Dēya-dharmmō-ya[ṅ*] Guptā-vanśo(varnō-ō)dita-śri-Harirājasya ra(rū)jēr-Mahādēvyā[h]
   [(*) yad-attra puṇya[ṅ*] tad-bhavatu

2 sa[rvva]-sa[rvvā](tvāv)nā[ṅ*] mār(tā)-pitri-pū[rvvā]ngama(mē)na anuttara-pada jñāna(na)-
   vāptayē [(*)]

It seems that the ruins of Dhanesar Kherā referred to above represent the site of the headquarters of Harirāja mentioned in the inscription. We know that, about the fifth century A.D., the title Mahārāja was enjoyed by the subordinates and feudatories of the Gupta Mahārājāḥhirājas. Our Harirāja, called Mahārāja in the legend on his coins, thus appears to have been a subordinate of the contemporary Gupta emperor. The first question now is: if Harirāja belonged to the Imperial Gupta family, why was he called Harirāja and not Harigupta? We know that from the assumption of imperial status by Chandragupta I about 320 A.D., his descendants assumed names ending in the word gupta. But we also know that the second name of Chandragupta II is sometimes quoted as both Dēva-gupta and Dēvarāja. Thus mere mention of the ruler’s name as Harirāja instead of Harigupta does not prove anything. The second question to be answered then is: if Harirāja-Harigupta was a scion of the Imperial Gupta family even from his mother’s side, why is his family relationship with the contemporary Gupta emperor not specified in the inscription? The answer to this seems to be that the relationship was not a very close one.

Thus, even if the problem of the Ichchhāwar inscription can be solved, the Ahichchatra and Allahabad Museum coins offer yet another difficult problem. The king enjoyed the feudatory title Mahārāja and there is no doubt that he imitated a type of the copper coins of Chandragupta II. The question now is whether a subordinate ruler was allowed by his Gupta suzerain to issue coins of his own. This seems to be extremely doubtful in the present state of our knowledge. As we have already seen, Mahārāja Harigupta of the Ahichchatra and Allahabad Museum coins cannot be assigned to an age earlier than the expansion of Gupta supremacy in Malwa and Central India since he certainly imitated one of the types of the copper coins issued by Chandragupta II, the obverse design of which was itself a copy of the well-known Chhatra type of the same monarch’s

1 JASB, Vol. LXIV, 1895, Part I, pp. 159 ff. and Plate.  
3 See IBQ, Vol. XXII, pp. 64-65.  
4 Select Inscriptions, pp. 273, 420.
gold coinage. But when did Harirāja-Harigupta issue his copper coin of the same type? The answer to this question may be that Harigupta issued the coins on the decline of Gupta power about the last quarter of the fifth century A.D. He seems to have selected some of the popular types of Imperial Gupta coinage prevalent in the area over which he ruled. Considering the problem of local conservatism in ancient Indian numismatics, it does not appear necessary to think that Harirāja-Harigupta's coins were issued shortly after the issue of their prototypes.
No. 18—BRICK INSCRIPTION OF DAMAMITRA

(1 Plate)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

(Received on 20.1.1958)

Dr. A. S. Altekar has recently published, in the pages of this journal, a brick inscription in Brāhmī characters of about the first century B.C. or the first century A.D. Its language is Prakrit which is, however, considerably influenced by Sanskrit. It is a fragmentary record in one line referring to the performance of the horse-sacrifice by Āśvavātāyanaputra Devamitra. Dr. Altekar has wrongly taken the name of the performer of the sacrifice to be Devamitra. This inscription was discovered in a mound near the village of Musānagar in the Kanpur District, U.P.

In December 1957 I visited the Lucknow Museum where I noticed another brick inscription of the type of the Musānagar epigraph published by Dr. Altekar. It is also a fragmentary record, the left portion of the brick (11½" × 7½" × 4") being broken away exactly as in the case of the other inscription. The two records may have been originally of the same length; but the extent part of the present inscription, engraved in one line on a side face of the brick and covering an area of about 7½" in length, is smaller than that of the Musānagar epigraph. Individual akṣaras in our epigraph are between ½" and 1½" in height. Dr. Altekar suggests that the inscribed brick originally formed a part of the platform built round a sacrificial post or pillar.

The resemblance between the two inscriptions is striking. In the first place, both the present epigraph and the Musānagar inscription are incised on a narrow side face of the bricks in question and not on a broad face of them. Secondly, our record refers to a horse-sacrifice performed by Dānamitra, a name ending in the word mitra as in the case of Devamitra of Musānagar inscription. Thirdly, the size, style, characters and language of the two epigraphs are similar. Fourthly, both the records end with a symbol standing midway between a cross and the so-called Ujjayini symbol found on early Indian coins. Fifthly, although the exact find-spot of our inscription is unknown, the inscribed brick is stated to have been presented to the Lucknow Museum by Mr. F. S. Fantolome, when he was Additional District Magistrate of Kanpur and thus appears to have been discovered in a locality in the Kanpur District if not at Musānagar itself. There is an old mound at Musānagar and ancient coins have occasionally been found there after the rainy season. It is therefore not impossible that both Devamitra and Dānamitra belonged to the same family of rulers having their capital at Musānagar or its neighbourhood.

As already indicated above, the characters of our record closely resemble those of the Musānagar inscription. But there are some indications which appear to suggest that our epigraph belongs to a slightly later date. In the first place, the triangularity of the lower part of m and of v is more pronounced in the record under study. Secondly, the i-mātrā in mi is a prolongation of the right upper limb of m while the other inscription exhibits the said vowel-mark as a distinct addition to the consonant. Thirdly, while both the left and right limbs of the lower part of t are of the same size in the Musānagar epigraph, the right stroke is considerably elongated in the present record.

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1 See Vol. XXX, pp. 118 ff. and Plate.
2 Macron over e and o has not been used in the article.
3 A photograph of the inscription was published in Archaeology—A Review, 1955-56, Plate I.XIX, C.
4 Cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 118.
On palaeographical considerations, the inscription of Devimitra may be assigned to the close of the first century B.C. or the beginning of the first century A.D. and that of Dāmamitra to a date in the first half of the first century A.D.

The Language of the record is Prakrit; but the influence of Sanskrit is indicated by the use of āva (for sa-asa) in the word aśvamedhē. It may be pointed out here that, in the Mūsānagar inscription, Dr. Altekar read this word as aśvamerdhā while we suggested the reading aśvamedhe or aśvamedhan. The present record makes it clear that the intended reading of the word in the Mūsānagar inscription is neither aśvamerdhā nor aśvamedhan but aśvamedhe.

Our inscription begins with the aks̄hara sa which is, however, not fully preserved. Since this is followed by the expression Dāmamitasa (Sanskrit Dāmamitrasya), it may be regarded as the remnant of a metronymic like Aśvāvādīyaniputasa (Sanskrit Aśvāvādīyaniputrasya) qualifying Devimitasa (Sanskrit Devimitrasya) in the Mūsānagar record. The last word of the inscription is aśvamedhe (Sanskrit aśvamedhaḥ). This is followed by the symbol referred to above, which indicates the end of the writing. Although no regal epithet is applied to Dāmamitra’s name, the attribution of the performance of the Aśvamedha to him suggests that he was a ruler of importance.

The two early rulers of the Kanpur region of U.P., viz. Devimitra and Dāmamitra known from their brick inscriptions, do not appear to be known from any other source, although coins of many kings with names ending in the word mitra have so far been discovered from various sites in that State. Their relations with other known rulers of the said region, especially with the Mitra kings of Kauśāmbi and Ahichchhatra, can scarcely be determined in the present state of our knowledge. But our inscription adds one more name to the list of the performers of Aśvamedha, who flourished in the ancient and medieval periods of Indian history. The name Devimitra points to the influence of the cult of the Mother-goddess on the royal family in question.

TEXT:

.. [sa] D[ā]mamitasa aśvamedhe [\textsuperscript{1}]

TRANSLATION:

The horse-sacrifice of (i.e., celebrated by) Dāmamitra, the....

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\textsuperscript{1} Cf. Sundaram Pillai, Com., Vol., pp. 93 ff
\textsuperscript{2} From impressions.
\textsuperscript{3} This is apparently the last aks̄hara of an epithet of Dāmamitra in the sixth case-ending. This stop is indicated by a symbol.
BRICK INSCRIPTION OF DAMAMITRA

Scale: Actual Size
No. 19—NOTE ON ANDHAVARAM PLATES OF INDRARVAMAN III

V. V. Mirashi, Nagpur

(Received on 19.7.1957)

Some time ago I examined the dates of the Gaṅga era, which contain details necessary for calculation, and showed that the epoch which suits them all is Śaka 419 (497-98 A.D.) for a current year and Śaka 420 (498-99 A.D.) for an expired year.¹ Later I examined two more dates of the era, which were discovered subsequently.² I have shown that both of them corroborate the epoch which I had fixed and that none of the other epochs suggested by other scholars is applicable in their case. Recently we have another date of this era, viz., Gns. 133, furnished by the Andhavaram plates of the Gaṅga king Indrarvamana III.³ It provides me with another opportunity of testing the epoch fixed by me.

The plates record a grant made by the king on the occasion of a solar eclipse which occurred on the amāṇḍyä of the month of Śrāvaṇa. Further, in lines 19-20, the plates record the date in the following words: śrī-pravardhamāna-Tumunu(bu)-ra-vani(sva)-rājya-samāna(na)-sārāntā śaiva trīśāntey śaiva(śaiva) adhikē saiva(saiva) sāraḥ 100 30 3 Śrāvaṇa-māsa-amāṇḍyā-dvānāt ca, i.e., in the augmenting dominion of the Tumuru family, in the year hundred increased by thirty ——-133— on the new-moon day of the month of Śrāvaṇa. It will thus be seen that the date given in words does not agree with that expressed in numerical symbols. In the indifferent facsimile of the inscription published previously in JAHRS, Vol. XX, the unit symbol appeared to denote 2, as it consisted of two curved horizontal strokes with a dot between them which appeared accidental. Taking the date as expressed in numerical symbols to be correct, I showed, in an article published in the Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXX, pp. 271 ff., that according to my epoch, the date Gns. 132 (as I read it then) was quite regular. The new-moon day in amāṇḍa Śrāvaṇa in the expired Gaṅga year 132 corresponds to the 13th August 630 A.D., on which day there was a solar eclipse as stated in the Andhavaram plates. The excellent facsimile published in this journal, however, shows that the unit symbol of the date denotes 3 and not 2. The date as expressed in numerical symbols must, therefore, be read as 133 and not 132. It does not agree with that expressed in words; but it has been suggested that the engraver seems to have omitted trīṣaṅ in trīśānt through carelessness.

Dr. Subrahmanyanam appears to accept the epoch of the Gaṅga era fixed by me. Says he, 'The grant is said to have been made on the occasion of a solar eclipse on the new-moon day of Śrāvaṇa. Calculating from the starting point fixed by Prof. Mirashi, i.e., Śaka 420 plus 132 expired years of the era, we get Śaka 552 (630 A.D.) as the date of the grant. According to Swamikannu Pillai's Indian Ephemeris, on the 13th August of that year there was a solar eclipse; but this was in the month Bhāḍrapada.'⁴ Dr. Subrahmanyanam's words appear to imply either that the date is irregular according to my epoch, or that the epoch does not suit it exactly. I propose to show that neither of these suppositions is correct.

In the detailed ephemeris given by Pillai in Vol. I, Part II, and the subsequent Volumes of his great work, the lunar months are shown according to the amāṇḍa scheme; but while giving the

¹ Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 236 ff.
² Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 192; Vol. XXVIII, pp. 171 ff.
³ Ibid., Vol. XXX, pp. 37 ff. In his article on the Andhavaram plates, Dr. R. Subrahmanyan has not numbered this Indrarvamana though there were several kings of this name. Indrarvamana I was ruling in Gns. 29 and Indrarvamana II ruled at least from Gns. 87 to Gns. 97. So this king must be named Indrarvamana III, for whom we have dates ranging from Gns. 123 to Gns. 154.
⁴ Ibid., p. 40. 

(101)
New Moons and Eclipses in Vol. I, Part I, Pillai has adopted the pūrṇimāṇa scheme of lunar months. This has misled Dr. Subrahmanyam. Table II gives the solar eclipse on the 13th August 630 A.D. under Bhādrapada. As stated before, this month was pūrṇimāṇa. The same eclipse may, therefore, be said to have occurred on the new-moon day of amānta Śrāvaṇa, as stated in the Andhavaram plates. The date is thus perfectly regular. It further corroborates the epoch of the Gaṅga era fixed by me. It may, again, be noted that this is one of the few dates of the era in a current year and that the scheme of lunar months here is amānta as in several other records of the Gaṅga era as shown already:  

Let us next see if the date would be regular according to any of the other epochs suggested by other scholars. Leaving aside such epochs as 349-50 A.D., 741 A.D., 772 A.D., and 877-78 A.D. which, on the face of them, appear to be impossible, I shall examine those that approximate to the one fixed by me. They are as follows: 494 A.D. proposed by Mr. Subba Rao, 496 A.D. by the late Mr. J. C. Ghosh, 497-98 A.D. by the late Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao and 504-05 A.D. by Mr. Somasekhara Sarma. Mr. Krishna Rao was previously of the opinion that the Gaṅga era began on amānta Bhādrapada-su. 13; but he now says that it began on pūrṇimāṇa Kārttika-ba. 1 in the expired Śaka year 419 (28th September 497 A.D.). From the equivalents of some dates given in his recent article, he seems to take the epoch of the Gaṅga era as 497-98 A.D. As the Gaṅga year, according to him, began in Kārttika, we shall get the Christian year corresponding to Gn. 133, for the month of Śrāvaṇa, by adding 498 to 133. The years of the Christian era corresponding to Gn. 133, according to these epochs, would thus be as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proposed Epoch of the Gaṅga Era.</th>
<th>Corresponding year of the Christian Era.</th>
<th>Was there a solar eclipse on this tithi?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>494 A.D.</td>
<td>627 A.D.</td>
<td>No solar eclipse in pūrṇimāṇa or amānta Śrāvaṇa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>496 A.D.</td>
<td>629 A.D.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>497-98 A.D.</td>
<td>631 A.D.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>504-05 A.D.</td>
<td>637 A.D.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dr. R. C. Majumdar as recently suggested that the Gaṅga era started some time between 540 and 556 A.D. As he has not, however, stated the exact epoch of the era as well as the beginning of the Gaṅga year and the scheme of its lunar months, it is not possible to test its correctness by means of this date.

The Andhavaram plates of the Gaṅga king Indravarman III thus prove the correctness of my view that the Gaṅga era commenced on amānta Chaitra-su. di. 1 in the expired Śaka year 420 (the 14th March 498 A.D.). Thus the epoch of the era for a current year is 497-98 A.D. and for an expired year 498-99 A.D.

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2 JBRs, Vol. XLII, Part I. Curiously enough, he regards all these years of the era as current. For an examination of his view, see ibid., pp. 308 ff.
3 [This should be 498-30 A.D. according to Mr. Krishna Rao who regards the years of the Gaṅga era to be current —Ed.]
4 Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 40 ff.
No. 20—INSCRIPTIONS FROM GAYA
(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR and K. H. V. SARMA, OOTACAMUND

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We have elsewhere suggested that inscriptions set up at well-known tirthas by visiting pilgrims sometimes mention kings of distant lands not because the holy places in question formed parts of their dominions but merely because the pilgrims were their subjects or subordinates and that pious people including kings often sought to secure the merit of visiting tirthas of their choice by sending others to those localities at their own cost as their proxies. The four inscriptions edited in the following pages come from Gayā which is one of the most celebrated tirthas of India and they throw welcome light on the said question. The holiest shrine at Gayā is the VishnuPāda temple and all the records are found within the precincts of that temple.

Gayā is regarded as the most suitable place for the celebration of the post-funeral ceremony called śraddha for the salvation of the spirits of dead ancestors. Gayā-śraddha (i.e. the performance of śraddha at Gayā) can be celebrated by anybody for any deceased person at any time of the year, although the fortnight ending with the Maḥāśānta-Amāśaṇa (i.e. the new-moon day in amāśa Bhāḍrapada or pārśvanātha Āśvina) is regarded as the best time for it and lakhs of pilgrims from all parts of India visit the holy place on that occasion.

1. Inscription of the time of Kākatya Pratīparudra I

The inscription is engraved on a black slab of stone fixed into the eastern wall (right side) of the shrine of Śiva in front of the VishnuPāda temple. There are in all 31 lines of writing. The preservation on the whole is satisfactory, though some letters are damaged here and there. The inscribed space measures 31 inches in height and 11 inches in breadth. Beneath the writing, there are the representations of the Chakra (discus) and Śankha (conch-shell), the latter on a pedestal, and below these there is K. 1848 incised in English. The English writing apparently refers to the employment of the stone slab some time in 1848 A.D.; but it has nothing to do with the inscription. The Chakra and Śankha are the well-known emblems of the god Vishnu and appear to point to the Vishnu-Pāda leavings of the person who set up the record under study.

The characters are Nandi-Nāgarī of the twelfth or thirteenth century. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and it is written in verse with the exception of a passage in prose at the end. There are altogether 12 stanzas, the metre employed being Amuḥṣṭabh in all cases. The author's command over the language was, however, not quite satisfactory. The orthography of the record is characterised by the use of anusvāra in the place of final m and class nasals. The

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1 See above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 100-101.
2 For the importance of Gayā as a holy place especially for the performance of śraddha, see the Vāyu Purāṇa, chapters 100 ff.; Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. IV, pp. 843-70. For the antiquity of Gayā, see JIH, Vol. XXXII, pp. 283 ff.
3 This is No. 132 of A. R. Ep., 1937-56, App. B.
4 The name Nandi-Nāgarī is usually associated with the Nāgarī alphabet used in the South Indian records of the Vijayanagara period (cf. Ojha, Palaeography of India, p. 58; Renou et Filiozat, L'Inde Classique, Tome II, p. 682). But the development of the Nandi-Nāgarī alphabet can be traced to earlier times. We have applied this name to the characters of Inscriptions Nos. 1-2 edited in the following pages because they exhibit the Nandi-Nāgarī forms of some letters. Cf. in both the records and initial in Inscription No. 2, line 18.
name Mallikārjuna (lines 11 and 19) has been spelt with kā instead of k as in Telugu inscriptions. The inscription bears no date.

Verses 1-4 in lines 1-9 describe a king named Pratāparudra. The first of these stanzas speak of him as vikāra-bhāpā-ruṣa-raśa-laśat-pada and rāja-sirī-maṇi which may indicate that he was an independent or imperial ruler. The suggestion seems to be supported by verse 3 which represents the king as bearing the burden of the entire earth. Verse 2 refers to his capital as excelling Amarāvatī, the city of the gods, but does not mention its name. This reference to the capital, which has no direct relation with the purpose of the inscription, seems to indicate that king Pratāparudra was ruling from the unnamed city when the inscription was incised.

The following five stanzas (verses 5-9) in lines 9-20 describe the preceptor of Pratāparudra. Verse 5 states that the name of the king’s preceptor was Mallikārjuna who enjoyed the title Triḥuṣṭumivīdyāchakravarītan. He is also called sirī in the same stanza and kōvīda in verse 9 and was apparently famous for his learning. The name of Mallikārjuna is repeated in verse 9, while verse 7 represents him as a great devotee of the god Śiva as it says that Induśekhara (Śiva) liked his stay in Mallikārjuna’s mind better than his residence on Mount Kailāsa. Verses 8-9 state that a locality called Mantrakūta lying on the southern border of the Vindhya mountain range (Vindhyādī-dakshīṇa-prāndī) and on the bank of the river Gautami (Gautami-tīrṇa) was studded with numerous lingas and that the city called Simhādri-nagara, situated in the said locality, was beautified by Mallikārjuna with many buildings. Gautami is another name of the river Gōdāvarī, while Mantrakūta appears to be the same as Manthani (also called Mantenna), the headquarters of a Taluk of the same name in the Karimnagar District in the former Hyderabad State but now in Andhra Pradesh. A chief named Guṇḍa is described as the lord of Mantrakūta-nagara in the Hānumakonda inscription (Śaka 1084-1162 A.D.) of Kākatiya Pratāparudra I, while the same chief is called Manthanya-Guṇḍa in the Palampet inscription of Śaka 1135 (1213 A.D.), and Mantenna-Guṇḍa in the Gangesvaram inscription (Śaka 1153-1231 A.D.) of the Kākatiya king Gāpapati. Thus the same place is called Mantrakūta-nagara, Manthani and Mantenna. A Śiva temple built at the same place, called Mantrakūtapura, by Gagādhara, a general of Kākatiya Pratāparudra I, is mentioned in the Karimnagar inscription of Śaka 1092 (1170 A.D.).

Verse 10 in lines 21-23 states that Mallikārjuna’s wife was Gaurī who caused to perform the Gayā-śrāddha, apparently of her husband Mallikārjuna, even though the husband’s death is not clearly referred to in the inscription. As already indicated above, śrāddha performed in honour of the departed spirits of dead relatives at Gayā is regarded as specially efficacious especially during the dark half of the amānta month of Bhādrapada or the pūrṇimānta month of Āsvina. Verse 11 in lines 23-26 speaks of Gaurī’s daily entry through the gate of Gayā and to her securing the salvation of the foremost of her relations (i.e. her husband). Apparently she was performing what is called niṣṭā-śrāddha for the emancipation of her husband Mallikārjuna.

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1 Cf., e.g., P. Sreenivasachar, A Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telengana Districts, Part III, 1968, p. 71.
2 Mallikārjuna’s title Triḥuṣṭumivīdyāchakravarītan reminds us of the title Śakala-vīdyā-chakravarītan enjoyed by several scholars at the court of the kings of the Hoysala dynasty of Dōranadra. It has been suggested that the title was conferred on the court pandita by the Hoysala kings (see above, Vol. XXXI, p. 227). It is thus not impossible that the title Triḥuṣṭumivīdyāchakravarītan was conferred on Mallikārjuna by his royal disciple Pratāparudra.
3 P. Sreenivasachar, op. cit., Part II, p. 10, text line 34.
6 P. Sreenivasachar, op. cit., p. 173, text line 142.
7 *Gayā-dvaram-adhānta diné-diné seems to refer to Gaurī’s daily visit to the Gayā temple.
8 The expression purāṇakṣetra cha bandhānāṃ has been used to indicate ‘the husband.’
Verse 12 in lines 26-29 gives some interesting information about Gauri, wife of Mallikārjuna. It is stated that formerly she had been passing her days playfully at the feet of the god Gopinātha described as the lord of the Kandammati family, but that at the time being her residence was Manikarpikā. As regards her later residence, the place appears to be the same as the famous Manikarpikā Gaṇī at Banaras. But the location of the deity Gopinātha worshipped by the members of the Kandammati family is difficult to determine, although Kandammati seems to be the name of a locality from which the family derived its name. Gauri's relationship with the said family is not stated in the inscription. We may conjecture that she was born in the Kandammati family. It is, however, very interesting to note Gauri's devotion to the god Gopinātha, undoubtedly a form of Viṣṇu. Thus she was a Viṣṇuvaśī, while her husband Mallikārjuna was a staunch devotee of the god Śiva. The document ends with an adoration of the god Gopījanavallabha, the same as Gopinātha. But, while the latter is described as the lord of the Kandammati family, the former is called Mantrakīrtī-Gopījanavallabha, apparently meaning 'Gopījanavallabha of Mantrakīrtī', even if the two appear to be one and the same deity. It is possible to think that the Kandammati family, which originally hailed from the village of Kandammati and to which Gauri seems to have belonged, was at a later date living at the locality called Mantrakīrtī. In that case, Kandammati-kulādiśa Gopinātha may of course be safely identified with Mantrakīrtī-Gopījanavallabha.

There is no obvious clue in the inscription to help us in identifying king Prataparudra and his preceptor Tridhāvatī-sidāra-chakravartin Mallikārjuna. As regards the king, who appears to have been an imperial ruler, we can only think of Prataparudra I (generally called Rudra) and Prataparudra II of the Kākṭiya dynasty, who flourished respectively in the periods 1139-95 A.D. and 1291-1339 A.D., and the king of the same name who belonged to the Śyāvanta-Gajapati family of Orissa and ruled in the period 1496-1539 A.D. Of these three rulers, Gajapati Prataparudra of Orissa was a great devotee of the god Purushottama-Jagannātha of Puri and was therefore a devout Viṣṇuvaśī. It is thus extremely doubtful if he could have had a staunch Śaiva teacher like Mallikārjuna of our inscription as his preceptor. On the other hand, we know the Śaiva leanings of most of the Kākṭiya rulers who are described as paramamahādevara in the records of their time and some of whom are known to have received initiation from Śaiva religious teachers. This fact leads us to the suggestion that king Prataparudra mentioned in the inscription under review may be identical with either of the Kākṭiya monarchs bearing that name. Of the two Kākṭiya kings of the same name, viz. Prataparudra I and Prataparudra II, the former is described in several records as paramamahādevara and svaṁhā-pāda-padhāvaka and there can be no doubt that he was a devout Śaiva. Kākṭiya Prataparudra II has not, however, been called a paramamahādevara in any of the numerous records of his time and does not appear to have been

1 For the importance of Banaras as a holy place, see the Matya Purāṇa, chapters 181-85; Kane, op. cit., pp. 618 ff. Mallikārjuna is one of the five holiest spots at Banaras, the others being Daśāvamīda, Lōdārka, Kāva and Bumandāvha (Matya Purāṇa, Chapter 185, verses 62-66).
2 Kṣita II and probably also his grand-son Prāla II claimed Rāmeśvara-pujita of the Mallikārjuna-matā on the Srīśaila as their dīkṣāguru (Hyde, Arch. Ser., No. 13, p. 25, Ins. No. 7; p. 55, Ins. No. 12; cf. Bhārati, Vol. XVIII, Part II, p. 194). Mahādīvā is known to have learnt the Śaiva sidhāntas from his preceptor Dhrusvīśa-paramānya (Hyde, Arch. Ser., No. 13, p. 62, Ins. No. 15) while his son Gajapati was a disciple of a celebrated Śaiva teacher named Varāhamahīśa who was also revered by his daughter Rudrāmbā (SII, Vol. X, No. 395, p. 297; JAHES, Vol. IV, pp. 147 ff.).
3 The Kākṭiya queen Rudrāmbā was often mentioned as Rudradēva in the masculine; but she was not called Prataparudra.
5 Cf. Telugu inscriptions, Nos. 45 ff. SII, Vol. X, No. 519 (p. 281) apparently belongs to the reign of Prataparudra I.
a staunch devotee of Śiva. The possibility therefore is that king Pratāparudra of our inscription is identical with the Kākatiya monarch Pratāparudra I.¹

There is a tradition² that the great Śiva teacher Mallikārjuna-paṇḍīṭarādhya was the preceptor of the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati (1199-1260 A.D.) who was the brother’s son of Pratāparudra I. This, however, is clearly wrong since the Malkapuram inscription³ represents the great Śiva teacher Viśvēśvarasamān, hailing from Pūrvagrāma in the Rājba division of Gaṇḍa, as the di-kēhā-guru of king Gaṇapati. But, confused even if it is, the above tradition seems to be based on the fact that a Kākatiya monarch was amongst the disciples of the great Paṇḍītarrādhya. If such was the case, the Kākatiya disciple of Mallikārjuna-paṇḍīṭarādhya was probably none other than Pratāparudra I since the contemporaneity of the Śiva teacher and the Kākatiya king has been admitted by scholars.⁴ Under the circumstances, it may not be unreasonable to identify Pratāparudra and Mallikārjuna, mentioned in the inscription under study, respectively with the Kākatiya king Pratāparudra I and the Śiva teacher Mallikārjuna-paṇḍīṭarādhya at least tentatively for the present till further light is thrown on the subject by new discoveries.

A number of legends grew around the celebrated name of Mallikārjuna-paṇḍīṭarādhya, the details of some of which may not have any foundation in facts. But, as indicated above, the traditions representing him as a contemporary of Kākatiya Pratāparudra I appear to be genuine. Dr. P. Sreenivasachar identifies the Paṇḍītarrādhya with the Śiva teacher Mallikārjuna mentioned in an inscription⁵ of Saka 1109 (1187 A.D.) from Kudavel-Saṅgamēsvaram about 10 miles from Alampur in the Mahabubnagar District of Andhrā Pradesh. Two inscriptions⁶ from the Kurnool District of the same State, dated respectively in Saka 1154 (1232 A.D.) and 1157 (1235 A.D.), speak of a disciple of Mallikārjuna who may be no other than Mallikārjuna-paṇḍīṭarādhya. The language of our inscription seems to suggest that the royal disciple Pratāparudra was still on the throne when his preceptor Mallikārjuna died. This may suggest that Mallikārjuna-paṇḍīṭarādhya died before 1195 A.D.⁷

In spite of the mention of king Pratāparudra I of the Kākatiya dynasty of Warangal in the inscription under study, there is certainly no reason to believe that the Gayā region in South Bihar formed any part of his dominions. We know that South Bihar lay in the empire of the Pālas of Bengal and Bihār from the eighth to the twelfth century and in the dominions of the Mūsalmans from the end of the twelfth century till the British conquest in the eighteenth century. Even in the absence of any reference in the present inscription to the ruler whose dominions comprised Gayā, king Pratāparudra mentioned in it cannot be regarded as having ruled over the Gayā region.

¹ After the preparation of this paper, we have examined an inscription of about Saka 1121 (1199 A.D.) from Manthani (ancient Mantrakūṭa), which states that Mallikārjuna’s son Gōpāla received a big plot of land at Mantrakūṭa from Kākatiya Rudiśāva (i.e. Pratāparudra I) and that the township called Siśhāgiri-pūra (the same as Siśhādri-nagar of the Gayā inscription) was built by him on the said plot. This epigraph settles the identity of Pratāparudra of the Gayā inscription beyond doubt. The Manthani inscription is being published in the pages of this journal.

² See a poem entitled ‘Kākati Prāḷārājādu la prāśana’ in the Kākatiyanaśīkha, ed. by M. Rama Rao, p. 140.


⁴ Cf. Kākatiyanaśīkha, pp. 26, 34, 212.


⁶ Rangachar’s List, Nos. Kl. 14 and 19; A. R. Ep., 1925-26, para. 52 (pp. 116-17).

⁷ The death of Mallikārjuna-paṇḍīṭarādhya has been assigned to 1189-90 A.D. (Kākatiyanaśīkha, p. 212, on insufficient and doubtful grounds.)
Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the holy tirthas of Gayā and Mañikeśvarī (called Mañikeśvarī in the record) at Bānapās, the mountain range Vindhyā and the river Gaṅgā (Gōdāvarī) are well-known. Kandāmmā cannot be satisfactorily identified. The location of Maṇtrakūṭa has been discussed above.

TEXT

1 Śrīmaṁ(man)-nikhila-bhūpāla-mauli-ratna-lasa.
2 t-padaḥ | asti Pratāparudr-ākhyā rājā rāja-.
3 śirōmaṇiḥ ||| 1* Yat-[pujri] turag-ākārṇa maha-.
4 t-kari-gaṭ-ākulā | paṇya-sta(stri)-muktā-vyajēna hasa-
5 nt=iv=Āmarāvatī(tim) ||| 2* Yad-bhujā-nihit-āśeṣa-ratna-
6 garbhā-mahā-bhu(bha)raḥ | śīlilika(ku)rutē nūnams Pha-.
7 n[ī]ndrō=pi phaṇa-kulān(lam) ||| 3* Guṇ-ālavāla-niya-
8 tā bahu-māna-phaḷ-ānkitā | vyajēta yat-kṛtti-
9 [la]tikā ṣegana-sthala-maṇḍapati(pam) ||| 4* Tasya tribhu-
10 vanvidyāchakra-vartta=iti viśrutāḥ | guravah saṁ-
11 tī lōkē-smin=Mallikā(kā)ṛjuna-sūrayaḥ ||| 5* Ya-
12 d-yaśāmaś ēraḥ-chaṇḍra-vimalāni va(vi)tanvatē |||
13 niyataṁ diṁ-mṛgākṣeṁaṁ, dukūla-vasana-āri-
14 yaṁ(yam) ||| 6* Eśaṁ mānasam=adhyāsavya bhagavān=Indu-
15 sē(ā)haraḥ | na Kailāśa-mahāśaila-sukhā-
16 [vās]m(ap)kṣhatē ||| 7* Vi[r]dhya-ādri-dakshιṇa-praṁ-
17 tē vilasad=Gautami-taṭe | Maṇtrakūṭa[ṛṇ*] sahasr-
18 [ṇ]aṁ limingāmāṁ sthānam=uttamaṁ(mam) ||| 8* Tatra Simhādri-na-
19 garima Mallikā(kā)ṛjuna-kōvidaḥ | vidvaj-janēṇu-
20 dra-mil(n)raiṁdhṛāṁ ramya-harmyāṁ=aṭikarat ||| 9*
21 Gaurī guṇavatī tasya vidvaj-jana-vi-
22 [nō]dinaḥ | dharmapati Gāyā-śrā-
23 ddhaṁ vi[t-a]=vi[chechha(glha)]m=akārayat ||| 10* Atha
24 Gaurī Gāyā-dvāram=āvīśaṁti dinē
25 dinē | purōḍha[ā(sau)] cha] barudhunāṁ muktam=Ś.
2. Inscription of the time of Hoysala Narasimha III

This inscription is engraved on the left door jamb of the doorway leading into a Mahādeva shrine under a peepal tree in the compound of the Vishnuśaṇḍa temple. The writing occupies a space of about 26 1/2 inches in height and 4 inches in width, there being altogether 25 lines and each line containing about four akṣaras. Immediately below the above record, there is a second inscription which contains 21 lines covering a space equal in area as the first epigraph. It seems that the available space was divided into two halves for the two inscriptions which were very probably engraved at the same time.

The record is written in Nandi-Nāgarī characters of about the 12th or 13th century A.D. with the exception of the last line which is in the Kānṣaṇa script. The characters resemble those of the Gaya inscription of Pratāpurudra's time, edited above. The form of rva in rvajana in lines 11-12 is interesting to note. The language is Kānṣaṇa and the inscription is written in prose. As regards orthographical peculiarities, the word śiṅka has been spelt as śiṅgu (lines 3-4), while rva has been spelt as rvā thrice in lines 14-16.

The record bears no date, although it refers in lines 2-5, to a ruler named Hōṣaṇa Vira-Narasimhadēva. Hōṣaṇa is the same as Hoysaṇa, a well-known variant of the dynastic name Hoysaḷa, and there is no doubt that Vira-Narasimha of our record belonged to the Hoysaḷa ruling family of Dōrasamudra (modern Halebidu in Mysore Štate). In this connection, it is interesting to note that the second inscription on the same stone referred to above, which is written in the Kānṣaṇa language and script, reads in lines 1-16: śrī-Vīra-Narasīḷaḥ jhadevaravara karnatakade jākāṇāgarā magari[1]* [Chā]ṇḍīrāṇa K(a)ra-sahāvatsara K(a)ra-Bhūṭastrapada[*-]la 30 Sō [Gaya] pratirōmakṣaṁ mādy... This record, the concluding part of which is damaged, speaks of a person named Chandicarṇa, who was son of Jākana, an employee in the mint of Vira-Narasimhadēva, and of his visit to Gayā on pilgrimage. It will be seen that both the inscriptions apparently refer to the same Hoysaḷa king named Narasimha or Vira-Narasimha. But, while the first record which is the subject of our study in these lines does not bear any date, the second epigraph was dated in the cyclic year Khaṭa, Bhāḍrapaḍa-ba. 30, Monday, i.e. the day of the Mahā-ṛṣi Amāvasya and, as indicated above, the most suitable time for the performance of the śīdhaṇa of relatives at Gayā. Unfortunately there were no less than three kings named Narasimha in the Hoysaḷa dynasty of Dōrasamudra, all of whom flourished in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The reign of Narasimha I, son of Vishnuvardhana, is now assigned to c. 1141-73 A.D., while his grandson Narasimha II and the latter's grandson Narasimha III are supposed to have ruled respectively in c. 1220-35 A.D. and c. 1254-91 A.D. There is, however, a clue in the second of the two

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1 The akṣara looking like thō is redundant.
2 Sansū has been avoided here for the sake of the metre. Better read chō ādāniṁ.
3 There is a synonym here at the end of the writing.
4 This is registered as No. 126 of J. R. Ep., 1857-58, Appendix B.
1. Inscription of the time of Kakatiya Prataparudra
2. Inscriptions of the time of Hoysala Narasimha III

Scale: One-fourth
inscriptions as regards the identification of Vira-Narasimha. The cyclic year Khara of the Jupiter’s sixty-year cycle as counted in South India can be associated with the reign of each one of the three kings, viz. Khara=1171-72 A.D. falling in the reign of Narasimha I, Khara=1231-52 A.D. in that Narasimha II and Khara=1291-92 A.D. about the end of that of Narasimha III. But since the week-day is given as Monday, the details quoted in the epigraph would suit only the year 1291 A.D. The date corresponds to the 24th September 1291 A.D. and the king mentioned in our epigraph is thus no doubt Hoysala Narasimha III.

The inscription under study begins with the auspicious word svasti which is followed by a passage in lines 1-11 mentioning a person named Apana as the son of Aeka Padmanabha-bhaṣṭopādhyāya of the dēhā of Hōsana (Hoysala) śri Vira-Narasimhadēva. The word dēhā is derived from Sanskrit dēvarīkaka, ‘a temple’, through Apanabha-bhāṣṭopādhyāya was apparently the priest of a temple built by the Hoysala king Narasimha probably at his capital Dērasamudra. Padmanabha’s son Apana is stated in lines 11-18 to have caused to be constructed what is called a Gayā-vrajaṇa-mātha and to have discharged thereby his debts to the gods, to his forefathers and to other human beings. The expression Gayā-vrajaṇa-mātha appears to indicate a sort of Dharma-sāla which was meant for the pilgrims who visited Gayā probably from the Kāṭā country to which Apana belonged. Lines 18-23 mention the names of three persons called Rudrapada, Vishaṇyada and Gaṇḍābha who are stated to have been the witnesses in the matter apparently of the construction of the Mātha. It is not clear whether these three persons, who appear to have been local people, were made trustees for the Mātha in question by Apana. Lines 23-24 contain the expression śrī-śrī forming a maṅgala and indicating the end of the document. This is followed in the last line (line 25) by the personal name Dēvarasa written in Kannada characters. Dēvarasa was possibly responsible for the engraving of the inscription analysed above as well as of the other record incised in the lower half of the surface of the stone.

It appears that Apana of the present record and Chandiraṇa of the second inscription visited Gayā at the same time. There is little doubt that they were accompanied by many other pilgrims from the area of Kāṭākala, to which they belonged, one of them apparently being Dēvarasa.

It is not clear from the inscription whether Apana, the son of the priest of Hoysala Narasimha’s temple, visited Gayā and constructed the Mātha at the holy place for the pilgrims probably from Kāṭākala on his own behalf or at the expense and on behalf of the Hoysala king. But, in spite of the non-mention of the ruler whose kingdom included the Gayā region in the inscription under study, Hoysala Narasimha mentioned in it had obviously nothing to do with South Bihar.

TEXT

1 Svasti [1*] Śrī-
2 Hōsana-
3 Śrī-Vira-Nā-
4 rasimhadē-
5 vana dēhā-
6 rada achā-
7 vya-Padmanā-

1 It is also possible to think that the reference is to three local deities.
2 From impressions. We are indebted to Dr. G. S. Gai and Mr. B. R. Gopad for some help in reading and interpreting this inscription.
3. Inscription of Kṛishnadhāra-rāya, Śaka 1444

The inscription⁴ is engraved on a sculptured stone slab built into the right wall of the Gadādhara Ghat (in front of the Gadādhara shrine in the compound of the Vishnupāda temple) leading to the river Phalgu. The slab measures about 2.5 feet in height and 1.5 feet in width. There are altogether 21 lines of writing. An eight-armed female deity is engraved in low relief in an excavated bed in the central part of the lower half of the inscribed face of the stone. The details of the figure are not clear on the impressions. But the representation seems to be that of the goddess Mahishāsuramardini. Lines 12-16 of the inscription are engraved to the left and lines 17-21 to the right of the excavated bed containing the figure.

The record is in Telugu characters of about the 16th century A.D. The letter k is written in its modern Telugu form in Kṛishna (line 7) and gamadhānkkā (lines 15-16). The letter j almost resembles the form of modern Telugu k. No distinction has been made between the medial signs for i and i. Initial i is used for yi in vēiṃchīna (line 8 ;cf. yi for i in line 17). The consonant following anusvāra is reduplicated in some cases.

The language of the record is Telugu and it is written in prose with a single verse in the middle. It is dated in Śaka 1444 (current), Vṛisha, Ashadhā-ba. 13, Tuesday, regularly corresponding to July 2, 1521 A.D.

Read kajedanu.

This is a symbol here.

This name is written in Kannada characters unlike lines 1-14 in Nāgari. This is followed by a different inscription in Kannada language and alphabet, to which reference has been made.

It has been registered as No. 124 of A. R. Ep., 1957-58, Appendix B.
The inscription begins with the auspicious word srasti which is followed by the date in lines 1-4. Next comes a sentence in prose in lines 5-9, which states that the vijaya-sāsana (apparently referring to the record under study) was set up by the illustrious Rājadhīnī Rājaparamēśvara Virapratīpa-Vīra Kṛṣṇadēva-mahārāja. The above is followed by a verse in the Kandamā metre, which is in praise of the king. He is represented in the stanzas as the husband of Tirumala- đēvi and as the son of king Īvāra-Narasā (i.e. Narasa-nāyaka, son of Īvāra). It is interesting to note that this verse occurs in the celebrated Telugu work entitled Pārijātpaharanamu by the well-known poet Nandi-Timmana (also called Muku-Timmana) who was an ornament of the court of king Kṛṣṇadēva-rāya (1509-29 A.D.) of the Tuluva dynasty of Vijayanagara. The stanzas is followed by another sentence in prose in lines 17-21 stating that the sāsana (i.e. the vijaya-sāsana mentioned in lines 8-9) was composed by Muku-Timmana i.e. Muku-Timmana referred to above.

The inscription is interesting for several reasons. In the first place, it is a lithic record of the Vijayanagara king Kṛṣṇadēva-rāya set up far away from the territory under his rule. Secondly, it is a composition of Kṛṣṇadēva-rāya's famous court poet Nandi-Timmana, who is mentioned in no other epigraphic record so far discovered. Thirdly, it quotes a stanza from the poet's celebrated work Pārijātpaharanamu and quotations from such works are rare in inscriptions.

The inscription refers to itself as the vijaya-sāsana (literally 'a document relating to victory') of king Kṛṣṇadēva-rāya, set up by the king himself, as if Gayā, where it was set up, formed an integral part of his empire. But we know that in Śaka 1441 (1521 A.D.) when the epigraph was engraved, the region was a part of the dominions of the Muḥammalāns. The said region, moreover, lay far away from the borders of the Vijayanagara empire in the extreme south of India and the sphere of Kṛṣṇadēva's influence, with a number of independent states lying between the two areas, and it is impossible to believe in the present state of our knowledge that the Vijayanagara monarch had any thing to do with South Bihar. Thus the poet Nandi-Timmana seems to have himself visited Gayā as a proxy of his patron. The prevalence of such a practice is well-known from medieval inscriptions. Thus a record from Bothpur in the Mahbubnagar District, of Andhra Pradesh, states how a chief named Viṭṭaya sent two persons named Bāchaya and Boppa to Vāṇḍī (i.e. Vāṇḍī or Banaras) 'in the name of his grandmother' and gave them two Maḷtās of land for their labour. Another inscription of Śaka 1194 (1272 A.D.) from the same place seems to state how another chief named Māḷyāla Gaṇḍa gave some lands to several people for making pilgrimages on his behalf to Tīṭhas like Sētu (Setubandha-Rāmēsvara), Śrīparvata, and Alampāru on the Tīngahhadhrā.

Thus in spite of the mention of the record as Kṛṣṇadēva's vijaya-sāsana set up by himself and of the absence of any reference to the king whose dominions comprised the Gayā region, the Vijayanagara monarch cannot in any way be associated with the area where the inscription was set up by his court poet in his name. As indicated above, Muku-Timmana probably made the pilgrimage to the holy place on behalf of his patron and there is no reason to believe that Kṛṣṇadēva himself visited Gayā.

It may be pointed out here that the expression vijaya-sāsana is not quite suitable in the present context. The record should have properly been called a dharmasāsana (i.e. a document relating to religious merit), as found in a similar context in the record of Āchuta-rāya's time, edited below, since it was really associated with the king's endeavour to acquire religious merit by performing pilgrimage to Gayā through a proxy. Of course it may be regarded as a dharmas-vijaya-sāsana.

1 About the period in question, the Bihar region was a bone of contention among the Suijāns of Delhi. Bengal and Jaunpur.
2 P. Sneevivasachar, Corpus, Part II, p. 142.
3 Ibid., n. 152 (p. 147, text lines 135 ff.).
The great Telugu poet Nandi-Timmana, who composed the record, is known to have belonged to the Āruvēḷa sect of the Niyōgi-Bhrāhmaṇas and to the Kauśika guṇa and Āpastamba śūtra. He was the son of Nandi-Singhana and Timmaṃbha and the nephew of a certain Malayamārūta-kavi. He was popularly called Mukku-Timmana and the record under study refers to him by this name.

Krishnadeva-rāya’s services to Telugu literature are well-known. His court was adorned by eight eminent poets called the āśṭa-dīpīka, among whom Allasāni-Peddana and Nandi-Timmana were the most famous. Allasāni-Peddana is mentioned in a number of epigraphs found at Anjyōr (South Arcot District). Kōkātana (Cuddapah District) and Mēlpādi (Chittoor District) in different parts of the Vijayanāgara kingdom corroborating the statement of a Chādu verse attributed to him. Mukku-Timmana, who is mentioned only in the inscription under study, also claims in his Pārijātāparaharamaṇu⁴ to have received a number of big villages from the king. Unfortunately we do not have epigraphs to confirm this statement. The present inscription does not mention what he received for the pilgrimage he apparently undertook on the king’s behalf.

A record from Tippalluru in the Cuddapah District states that the village was once granted to the āśṭa-dīpīka-śāstra vas by king Krishnadeva-rāya. But it does not enumerate the names of the eight poets, although it is almost certain that Peddana and Timmana had their shares in it.

Of the two jewels of Krishnadeva’s court, while Peddana was a Saiva with Vaiṣṇava leanings and was a disciple of Saṭhakōṇa yati, Mukku-Timmana was a staunch Saiva and was a disciple of Aghorāśiv-āchārya, probably mentioned in a Pushpandana (Cuddapah District) record dated Saka 1423 (1501 A.D.). The representation of the goddess Mahishamardini on the stone slab bearing Timmana’s inscription is in consonance with his religious faith.

The importance of the inscription to the student of Telugu literature lies in the quotation from the Pārijātāparaharamaṇu. The work was apparently composed by Timmana sometime before the date of our record, viz. 1521 A.D.

TEXT ⁹

1 Svasti | Śrī-jay-ākhyū-bhava-Śā-
2 livāhana-Śaka-varṣhaṃbima
3 1444 agu nēnti Vṛśa-sam-
4 vatsara āśhāda(qha)-babula 13 Ma ¹¹
5 śrīman-mahārājādhirāja-r-
6 paramēvāra-vīra-pratāpa-vīra-

¹ A.R. Ep., No. 623 of 1915. This record mentions him as the governor of the entire Karivāchi-rama.
² Ibid., Nos. 715 and 716 of 1929.
³ Ibid., No. 105 of 1921.
⁵ Pārijātāparaharamaṇu, Canto V, verse 108: Kṛṣṇadeva-śemita-krvāna-marubhāga-ghana-chetumadhi-ga
⁷ Manucharāmaṇa, Canto I (introduction), verse 6. This Šathakōṇa-yati seems to be mentioned in two inscriptions at Little Kālpuram (A.R. Ep., Nos. 474 and 533 of 1919).
⁸ Pārijātāparaharamaṇa, Canto V, verse 108.
¹⁰ From impressions.
¹¹ This is a contraction of Māngalavā, ‘Tuesday’. 
INSCRIPTIONS FROM GAYA  PLATE II

3. Inscription of Krishnadeva-rayya, Saka 1444

Scale: One-fourth
4. Inscription of Achyutaraya, V. S. 1588

Scale: One-fourth
INSCRIPTIONS FROM GAYA

7 Krishnadēva-mahārāyalu
8 vēṁchina vijaya-sāsana-
9 mu || Tirumaladēvi-vallabhaka\(^2\) ka-
10 ruṇāmaya-hridaya rāja-kaṁ-
11 ṭhṛava Ṛvara-Narasa-bhūpurāṇḍara-
12 vara-nāmndana
13 bāsa-da-
14 ppuvara
15 gaṁḍḍāṁ-
16 kkā [\([^\ast]\)]\(^3\)
17 yi(t)-sā-
18 sanamu
19 Mukku-
20 Timmaya
21 vrāsenu\(^4\) [\([^\ast]\)]

4.—Inscription of Achyutarāya, V.S. 1588

This inscription\(^1\) is engraved on a sculptured stone slab kept in the Mahādēva shrine to the right of the Vishnupūḍa temple in the compound of the latter. The inscribed surface measures about 20 inches in height and 12 inches in width. There are altogether 21 lines of writing. An image of the goddess Durgā is cut in relief in the central part of the lower half of the inscribed face of the stone. Lines 1-11 of the record are engraved above the figure of the goddess while lines 12 and 18-21 are engraved to its right and lines 13-17 to its left. Line 12 should have properly been incised to the left of the image above lines 13-17.

The inscription is written in Telugu characters of about the 16th century and the letters very closely resemble those of the record of Krishnadēva-rāya’s time, edited above. The letter ch is written in two different forms (cf. stūpan-āchāryya in line 7 and Achchutta in line 10), while t resembles the modern Telugu k. B has been used for v in Vīkāri (line 3). The language is Telugu and the record is written in prose. The wrong spelling of the words Īrēvara for Īvara (lines 8-9), Achchutta for Achyuta (line 10), āyāsanaṁ for ṣāsanaṁ (line 11), ēśenu for ēśēnu (lines 20-21), etc., exhibits the poor knowledge of the composer especially when compared with the composition of the record of Krishnadēva-rāya’s time.

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\(^1\) Read ṭājīṁō\(^2\).
\(^2\) Read vallabhaka.
\(^3\) This stanza is from the Pūrjstōpaharasamu, Canto 2, verse 105. Lines 12-16, as indicated above, are engraved to the left of an excavated bed containing the figure of a deity in relief.
\(^4\) Lines 17-21 are incised to the right of the said excavated bed.
\(^5\) It has been registered as No. 122 of J.R.E.P., 1957-58, Appendix B.
The date of the inscription is very interesting. It is quoted in lines 1-4 as Śālīvāhana-
Śaka 1588, Vikārīn, Mārgasīra-ba. 30, Friday. But the year 1588 really belongs to the
Vikrama Sārvat and not to the Śaka era. This is clearly suggested by several indications.
In the first place, Śaka 1588 was far removed from the cyclic year Vikārīn of both the North Indian
and South Indian calendars and the details of the date are irregular for the said Śaka
year. Secondly, the cyclic year Vikārīn of the northern calendar corresponded to V.S. 1588 and
the Vikrama and northern cyclic years are sometimes found side by side in the records discovered
at Gayā.1 Thirdly, the details of the date are regular only in the case of the year V.S. 1588
corresponding to Vikārīn of the North Indian calendar and this date tallies with the internal
evidence of the record stated to have been set up during the reign of king Achyutarāya of the
Tuluva dynasty of Vijayanagara, who was the step-brother and successor of Kṛiṣṇapāda-rāya
and ruled in the period 1539-46 A.D. On the other hand, Śaka 1588 (1666 A.D.) would fall more
than a century after the period of Achyutarāya of Vijayanagara. The details of the date, viz.
V.S. 1588, Vikārīn, Mārgasīra-ba. 30, Friday, regularly correspond to the 8th December
1531 A.D.

The date of the inscription discussed above is followed by a passage in lines 5-11 stating that
the dharma-śāsana belonged to king sīr-vira-Achyutarāya-mahārāya, the son of Nārasinhas,
grandson of Īvara and great-grandson of Timmaya. The expression dharma-śāsana means
'a document relating to religious merit' and undoubtedly refers to the inscription under study.
It is quite appropriately employed in the present context since the record was apparently set up
by a person who made a pilgrimage to Gayā on the king's behalf. King Achyutarāya is endowed
in the inscription with the epithets Rājādhirāya, Rājaparamēvara and Vīnaprakāpa as well as
Hindu-rājya-sthāpan-āchārya (i.e. one who can teach how to establish the sovereignty of the Hindus)
and Yadu-kula-tilaka (i.e. an ornament of the Yadu family). Lines 12 ff. state that a certain
Timmaṇṇa made the occupants of the Vijayanagara throne Gayā-mukta. The passage Vijaya-
nagararām(ru)-sūṁhāsana-kara[la] in lines 13-17 apparently refers to the departed ancestors of king
Achyutarāya mentioned in the record. The expression Gayā-mukta (literally, 'emancipated at
Gayā') no doubt means that Timmaṇṇa performed the Śrāddha of Achyutarāya's ancestors
on the king's behalf at Gayā and thereby led their spirits to emancipation. Timmaṇṇa was
probably a priest of the Vijayanagara king.

The inscription gives the genealogy of king Achyutarāya from his great-grandfather Timmaya
who is the earliest historical figure in the Tuluva dynasty of Vijayanagara and is mentioned only
in a few copper-plate grants2 of his descendants and in literary works like the Manucharitramu3 and
Āmukta-pāda4. He has been identified with the chief named Tirumalaiḍēva mentioned in two
inscriptions from Taṅjavur5 and Śrīraṅgam.6 The earlier of the two records is dated in Śaka 1377
(1455 A.D.) and refers to the chief as Mahāmāyavaiḍēva Mediniśaragaya Gaṭhāraśaśva Sāluva-
Tirumalaiḍēva-mahārāja. His mention in a stone inscription of Achyutarāya is striking and
seems to be explained by the fact that he was one of Achyutarāya's ancestors whose Śrāddha was
performed by Timmaṇṇa at Gayā. Timmaṇṇa was apparently sent to Gayā by Achyutarāya
in order to perform the pilgrimage on his behalf and at his cost as well as to celebrate the Śrāddha
ceremony of his departed ancestors. It is impossible to believe that king Achyutarāya himself
visited Gayā or had anything to do with South Bihar.

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1 See, e.g., Bhandarkar's List, No. 370 which comes from Gayā and is dated V.S. 1232 and Vikārīn.
2 Above, Vol. I, pp. 363, etc.
4 Āmukta-pāda, Canto I (introduction), verses 24-25.
6 A. R. Ep., No. 59 of 1892.
The well-known city of Vijayanagara (modern Hampi in the Bellary District of Mysore State) is the only geographical name mentioned in the inscription besides Gayā.

TEXT:

1. 1Śrī-vijay-ādbu(bhyu)da-
2. 1līvāhana-āata-vaṃsham-
3. 1588 Bī(Ī)kāri-nāma-saṃ-
4. ātsara Mārggaśira-ba 30 Śu'
5. man-mahā[rājādhirāja].
6. [j]a-paramēvara | śrī-virapratāpa | Hīn-
7. [du]-rājya-stāsthāpan-āchāryya | Ya-
8. [du]-kula-tilaka | Tiṁ(Ti)mmya I-
9. rēvara | Nārasirñhya(ha) | mahījāe-
10. 12śrī-vīra-ACHHUTA[rāya]-ma-
11. 1yala | dh[ār]mmā-āyā(ṭā)sanam | Tiṁ-
12. manāmna
13. 1[Vījaya]-
14. [na]garaṁ(ra)-
15. sinḥa-
16. saṅka-

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1 From impressions.
2 The two akhāras lost here may be restored as vasi.
3 The two akhāras lost here may be restored as ya-Sa.
4 The word intended is apparently Śaka. But, as indicated above, we have to read Viṅkra-saṁcata-rasaṁ
for Śālidhāna-Śaka-varaśam.
5 The two akhāras lost here may be restored as bulu.
6 The akhāra lost here may be restored as va.
7 This is a contraction of Śakrā-vāra, 'Friday'.
8 The akhāra lost here may be restored as śrī.
9 This dāpto and others in this and the following lines are redundant.
10 The akhāra lost here may be restored as ra.
11 Read Sīvara.
12 The two akhāras lost here may be restored as śara.
13 Read Achayata. Sandā has not been observed.
14 The lost akshara may be restored as ṣaṅgā.
15 This line was incised by the engraver to the right of the image of Durgā above lines 18-21 through oversight.
16 Lines 13-17 are engraved to the left of the image.
17 rta[l]a
18 'Gayā-
19 mukta-
20 ni sē(chē)se-
21 nu [1*]

1 Lines 18-21 are engraved to the right of the image of Durgā below line 12.
No. 21—VERAVAL INSCRIPTION OF CHAULUKYA BHIMA II

(1 Plate)

V. P. JOSHIAPURKAR, NAGPUR

(Received on 24.4.1953)

This inscription\(^1\) was found near the Police Station at Prabhās Pātaṇ (Vērāval) and is now deposited at the Junagadh Museum. I am editing the inscription from an excellent inked impression received from the Government Epigraphist for India.

The inscription is engraved on a stone slab measuring 18"\(\times\)16". The left half of the slab is lost. The inscription originally contained 25 lines with 64 letters in each. Approximately 28 letters from each line are now lost with the left half of the slab. The writing is well executed and it is in a good state of preservation except in the fifteenth line. The language is Sanskrit and the characters are Nāgari of the 11th or 12th century A.D.

The inscription opens with two invocatory verses; but the name of the deity invoked is lost. The next three stanzas describe the capital city of [Anahillajpāṭa],. Verses 6-7 mention Mulāraja described as respected by all kings and as the uprooter of all enemies. The following two verses refer to the kings who succeeded Mulāraja. Verses 10-12 refer to the ruling king Bhima. Then comes a description of Achaśya Kundakunda of Nandi-śaṅgha in three verses. Verses 16-18 refer to a line of teachers that started from Kundakunda. The next two verses describe Śrīkirti as a prominent pontiff of the line. Verses 21-23 appear to refer to Śrīkirti’s pilgrimage from Chitrakūṭa to ‘the holy place of Nemiṇāthā’, i.e., Girnar, to the welcome he received at Anahillapura and to the title Maṇḍalācārya that was conferred on him by the king. Verse 24 refers to the Mulásatikā temple of Anahillapura.\(^2\) The next few verses describe the teachers who succeeded Śrīkirti. These names include Ajitachandra, Chāruṅkirti, Yaśāṅkirti and Kāśemakirti. Their interrelation is not clear due to the fragmentary nature of the inscription. Verses 34-41 describe the restoration of a shrine which is probably the temple of Chandraprabha referred to in verse 42. The restoration was made probably at the instance of Maṇḍalāgaṇin Lalitakirti referred to in verse 40. Verse 42 refers to a miracle connected with the image of Chandraprabha. It is stated that the water used for its bath cured leprosy. Verse 44 gives the date of the restoration of the temple and verse 45 mentions the name of the author of the inscription, viz., Pravarakirti.

As noted above, the inscription belongs to the reign of Bhima who has to be identified with king Bhima II of the Chaulukya dynasty of Gujarāt. Numerous inscriptions of his time have come to light, ranging from 1178 to 1239 A.D.\(^3\) Bhima was a minor when he succeeded his brother Mulāraja II and he was supported by Vaghēlā Arṇorāja and his son Lavaṇaprasāda in the difficulties that he faced in the earlier part of his reign. Line 3 of our inscription seems to refer to this fact. Bhima had to face the invasions of the Yādava kings Bhillama and Jaitugi, Paramara Subhyaṣavarman and the Muslims under the leadership of Qutbuddin. In 1197 A.D. his capital Anahilla-pāṭaka was plundered by the Muhammadans. In the latter part of his reign, Bhima secured the assistance of Vīradha-vāla, son of Lavaṇaprasāda, and his ministers Vāstupāla and Tejāḥpāla. He was succeeded by Tribhuvanapāla whose earliest known date is 1242 A.D.

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\(^1\) It is registered as No. 403 of Appendix B in A. H. E. Ep., 1950-51.

\(^2\) [The temple seems to have been named after Mulāraja I.—Ed.]

\(^3\) The Struggle for Empire, p. 78-81.
The date of this inscription is recorded in both words and figures; but unfortunately they are not fully preserved. The incomplete passage šrimad-Vikramabhūpasya varshānīm dovitā is in line 24 shows that the year falls in the thirteenth century of the Vikrama era. The third figure after Sana in line 25, from the part that is preserved, seems to be either 4 or 5. It may be compared with the figure 4 occurring in lines 23-25 and 5 in lines 3, 8 and 25. The date may therefore be somewhere between V.S. 1240 and 1259, i.e., between 1183-84 and 1202-03 A.D.

As already indicated above, the inscription records the restoration of the temple of Chandra-prabha, the eighth Jain Tirthankara, at Prabhāsa 'on the shore of the western ocean' (line 23). It is interesting to note that verse 42 referring to the miracle associated with the image of Chandra-prabha is found in Madanakirti's Śāsanachatuḥstrīṃśikā which is a Sanskrit work in 54 verses in praise of various Jain holy places. Madanakirti is considered to be a contemporary of Pāṇḍita Ādīdhara whose known dates range from 1226 to 1243 A.D. 1

The inscription refers to Kundakunda of Nandi-saṅgha (line 7). The name of this illustrious Jain teacher is associated with numerous sects of Digambara Jain teachers. Kundakunda Padmanandin was the author of many Prakrit works on Jain philosophy. Though his traditional date falls in the first century B.C., some scholars put him after Pushpadanta and Būtabali, the authors of the Sāvattvadīgama, in the second century A.D., 2 while others place him after Sarvanandin, the author of the Lākavībhāga (458 A.D.). 3 The second of these two views appears to be nearer the truth. The domicile, from which Kundakunda's name was derived, was Kupākunda, now identified with Konkanḍala in the Anantapur District, Andhra Pradesh. 4

Early epigraphical records of the Jain sect called Kundakund-ānvaya are found in Mysore State and date from 797 A.D. 5 They refer to several subdivisions of the line, viz. Desiga-gaṇa, 6 Kṛṣṇa-gaṇa, 7 Mēṣha-pāpāṇa-gaṇa, 8 etc. The inscription under study is probably the earliest epigraphical record of this line in Northern India.

Śrīkirti referred to in this inscription seems to be identical with the teacher of this name mentioned in Śrīchandra's Kṛttikākha. 9 In the prakāṣṭi portion of this work, Śrutakrti, the disciple of Śrīkirti, is said to have been honoured by kings Bhōja and Gāngēya. 10 He was succeeded

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1 Published by the Virasva Mandir, Daryaganj, Delhi, 1950, and also in the Āndākāra, Vol. IX, p. 410.
2 In its complete form the verse runs as follows: Yeva saṁā-paṁā-mulotpam-akhiṃ sam DAYAM sāmām kūrva-ām dawkātva-nirtitaṁ nārāyanaṁ kēhānamparam viṁsthānam | keshānānām śūkhalo mā Chandra-prabhāh prabhavasyē tathāgataṁ jñānādānām ātmanam ||
3 Nathuram Premi, Jain Śāhīya aur Itikā, p. 346.
5 Jain Śāhīya aur Itikā, p. 6.
6 QJM, Vol. XLVI, pp. 1 ff.
7 Of the Manne inscription in Ep. Card., Vol. IX, Nelsangala No. 60. The Murrenc plates of Avinasa, dated Saka 388, referring to six teachers of the Kupākund-ānvaya are considered to be spurious. 8
9 Ibid., Vol. VIII, Sorab No. 262 (Saka 997).
10 Ibid., Vol. VII, Shimoga No. 10 (Saka 1001).
by Sahasrakirti whose disciple Viryachandra was the teacher of Śrīchandra, author of the Kāthā-kōṣa. The patrons of Śrīchandra were the grandsons of one Sajjana who was the Dharmaśāhā-gosāhkika of king Mūrḍhara of Aṇakhillapura.

Little is known about other teachers mentioned in the inscription. The Nandimāṅgha Paṭṭāvati names one Chārakirti in V. S. 1262-64. His identification with the teacher of that name mentioned here remains uncertain.

The inscription testifies to the flourishing condition of Jainism in Gujarat in the reign of Bhima II, even after a setback received under the rule of Ajayapāla and Mūrḍhara II. It also goes to prove that the Digambara sect of the Jains continued to flourish in Gujarat even under the overwhelming influence of the great Śvetāmbara teacher Hēmachandra who is probably referred to in line 15 of our inscription.

TEXT

[Metres: Verses 1-23, 25-28, 33-38 Anusṭubh; verses 24, 31, 39-40, 44-45 Āryā; verse 41 Indravajra; verse 42 Śādiśvanrūṭīta; verse 43 Mālinī.]

1 'वक्रप्रश्नितिन्तियमदाः वारिष्ठोः [[1*]] मूर्ददभोज्यसंसिधेयै च……'
2 'पार्वायां पत्तं तवद्राज्ञ्यं [[II.1]] मध्ये बेस्या विभा वेददेशविश्रास्यः: पुरीक्राणः(शयः)॥ (I) [क]……'
3 '[[सु]] पुर्णं ज्ञातं ज्ञातं लक्षणी: स्मरिक्लीता || ॥ ॥ तदयाच्योपायमासिन्धुसःपादानं:……'
4 'सरी नूप:। तेनासत्तां पुढ़दुःः मूर्दराजः स उचिते || ॥ एकशार्ककि मूर्दपालः सम्।'
5 '[[मात्रिकं]] ज्ञानबहिर्हस्तेत(तम)। भृतुप्रभुण्डा: मुर्दस्थिरित्वाभ्रमस्तिजन्तु: || ॥ ॥ पौषभेन्
6 'प्रताविन्योः पुष्येयं। स्ववैभवमपूर्तिः वेदीं मार्गोः करोत्यम(यस)॥ ॥ ॥ भाल्लक-राज्यन्यानां यो बेमं भ-'
7 'अंदिस्थे गवेश्वरसः। वेभुरूः कुडुक्कुरायः साक्षाक्षुक्त्रजमयः: || ॥ ॥ येशामा-
8 'कालागामिन्तं त्या।' तस्यकामुकुस्व(उस्स)्वः(सयः)। रचिविवाहाः जर्जति वेद्यविलिमपूवेण्यं(कम्)॥ ॥ ॥ कालेसरिमृ: भारतेत्स्यो चेष्ये नाता।'
9 '[[चुरुः]] ज्ञातविय(त्र) कर्मण:। तेषां चारित्रिण्या वंशे सल्लेक: सूर्योदेशवन्तु।|| ॥ ॥ सदैवा त्रिक निग्रेण: सकलक श्रक洱।'
10 'भागव्यायोऽद्विते: नतु:। स्वच्छोति प्राप्त: सक्रोति सूरीर: सूरीगुण तत: || ॥ ॥ यदीवं
11 'देशानावरं समायद्वितं:। [[श्रीमोनिनाधीनोकर्तिकानामस्मिन्त:]] || ॥ ॥ अदेहि-

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, p. 77.
2 From an impression.
12 ... [मु]मीनाभ्रम ददर नुप:। बृहद मंडलाचर्य: सचन्त ससुलासां (नम)। ॥२१
श्रीमूलवसिकाय जनभवन ततः

13 ... सजयव यत्वसर:। उष्णताजितचर्यर यस्ततोमूसमणिवर्ष:। ॥२५ चार्कीर्ति-न
यश:कोषी । थ

14 ... मुखो ये रस्त्रयवानपि। यथव्यवहिताद्यौभृस्मकोपितस्तलो गणी। ॥२७ उदेति
स्म लस्तुम्यो ( उत्सो)ति-

15 ... तोपि बासित हेमसूरिणा। बलायवरणया ...[२९]...[तां स्व]

16 ... कीर्तिपेक्षोत्पर्यम्बाक मरित(री)नित। बिभुवनरा'वासुकिन्यपराचिततःकनपथा। ॥३१ ते
17 ... ति। ॥३२ समुद्रसमुद्रमूर्तिभण्डारीणजीणालय:। म: कृताभमन्नविहासमुसाहिरियो।

18 ... चर्यर्ग्नायने। ॥३४ विभिन्नो यस्तद्वनिसंग्रहेयं विविधः। कृतैते विमममोका: कलक-।
19 ... द तीर्थमुननालिक(क्रम)। ॥३६ सीताया: स्नापना यत्स सोमेश: पश्चात्तकत्तु।
वाणिज्य

20 ... तद्युत्ते तेन जातोदारमनेकः। ॥३८ चतुर्ग्निवध्मूमिति निःस्रुमृदृत्य सक-।

21 ... खों में मंडलमणिलिन्तकसतकिति:। चतुर्ग्निवधविशतिलसवंद्वषुप्रभुस्त्व

22 ... - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
मेंविद्य सद्गोविधानानामपि गल्लकाना(नम)। ॥४१ वस्य
स्नानपरमुलक्तप्तसिंह कुट्ठ ददा।

23 ... - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
म: चत्रप्रभ: स प्रभुस्तीरे परिचमसागरस्य
जयताहिवाससाह शासन(नम)। ॥४२ जिनपतिबीह-।

24 ... - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
चार्यवियो वडवप्ररमेवे: शिवय-वर्गीव सार्व(देश)। ॥४३ श्रीविविनतमूर्तिस्य वर्णणः ग्राम[श]

25 ... कीर्तिलवृंचुः। च क्रे प्रकृष्टसिंहनामा* ... प्रवरकीर्तिरिवा(माम)। ॥४५ स: १२ ...
No. 22—UNCHAHRA FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION OF V. S. 1294

(1 Plate)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

(Received on 15.5.1958)

The inscribed slab was secured for the Allahabad Municipal Museum from the village of Unchahra in the former Nagod State, now merged in Madhya Pradesh. The fragmentary inscription was noticed in the Journal of the U. P. Historical Society, Vol. VIII, pp. 21 ff., and published above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 186 ff., without illustration. It is re-edited here since our views do not entirely agree with those of the previous writers on the inscription.

The inscribed area on the stone slab measures about 17 inches in height and about 12 inches in breadth. There are altogether 21 lines of writing, the first of which is only partially preserved. But it appears that the first line of the inscription is completely broken away along with the upper part of the stone, so that the first line of the extant part of the record is really line 2 of the inscription. A few letters are broken away and lost at the end of several of the lines. The aksharas are about three quarters of an inch in height.

The characters of the inscription belong to the Devanāgarī alphabet of about the thirteenth century. The language of the record is Sanskrit and it is written in both prose and verse. There are five stanzas in the first half of the epigraph in lines 1-13, the rest of it in lines 13-22 being in prose. The paleography and orthography of the inscription closely resemble those of the later records of the Gāḍāvāla kings, although it is a few decades later than the latest known Gāḍāvāla epigraph. The use of final m at the end of the second and fourth feet of verses and of the class nasal instead of anusvāra in some cases are interesting orthographical features of the inscription under study.

The date of the record is given in the prose part in lines 18-20 as the Damanaka-chaturdāśī tithi in the year 1294 (in words) apparently of the Vikrama Samvat. Unfortunately the name of the week-day is lost. The month is not mentioned by the scribe no doubt because the name of the tithi gives a clear indication. We know that Damanaka-chaturdāśī is the name of the 14th tithi of the bright half of the month of Chaitra. V. S. 1294, Chaitra-su. 14, seems to correspond to Tuesday, March 30, 1238 A.D.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction and consecration of a temple of the god Śiva styled Vindhyēvara by a lady whose name appears to be Uddaladēvi. The name occurs in the prose part in line 17. It was apparently also mentioned in verse 1; but the passage containing the letters appears to have broken away. Where exactly the temple was built is not specified; but probably it was built near the village of Unchahra where the inscribed stone slab has been found. Verse 2 suggests that the temple stood on a hillock pertaining to the Vindhyēyan range and the suggestion seems to be supported by the name Vindhyēvara applied to the deity installed in it. A hillock actually stands near the village.

Verse 1 of the inscription apparently introduces the lady who was responsible for the construction of the temple in question, although the passage containing her name, as already noted above, seems to have broken away. There is a prayer in this stanza for the continuity and continuous rule probably of the royal family to which she belonged. Verse 2 speaks of Rājakarikāvarvartin Laksanamāni alias Dharmadēva who was related to the mother (mātri-pakeha) of the said lady. The introduction of this ruler, who was probably the maternal grandfather or uncle of the lady, is

1 See also ARAS, 1935-36, pp. 95-96.

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difficult to explain unless it is supposed that he was a ruler of the Unchahra area where the temple was built by her. The following two stanzas (verses 3-4) state how the lady caused a temple of the god Śālīn or Dhūrjaṭī (i.e. Śiva) styled Vindhyēśvara to be built apparently on the Vindhyas. The purpose behind the construction of the temple is stated to have been the lady’s desire to obtain wealth including sons and grandsons as well as the salvation of her dead ancestors. The last stanza (verse 5) states that the eulogy was composed by Pāṇḍita Sukhākara.

The second half of the inscription in prose repeats parts of what is already stated in the versified section discussed above. But, although it does not mention Rāṇakachakravartin Lakha-maṇḍa alias Dharmadeva, it gives some interesting details not found in the verses. Here the lady Uddalladevi is stated to have caused the temple of Vindhyēśvara to be built and consecrated on the Damanaka-chaturḍaśa in V.S. 1234 for obtaining wealth including children and grand children as well as for her own beatitude and the salvation of the twentyone past generations of her family. It is possible to think that reference is here to seven generations of each one of the three families to which she was related, viz. the families to which her father, mother and husband belonged. A damaged passage in line 20 seems to suggest that she performed the pious deed as a result of the god Vindhyēśvaradeva having ordered her to do so in a dream. The lady is further described as born in the Kanyakubja country and to have been the daughter of Mahāsāmantarāja Bharahadeva of the Rāṣṭra family. Rāṣṭra here is apparently a mistake for Rāṣṭrakūṭa. This shows that the lady was a scion of the Rāṣṭrakūta ruling family of Kanyakubja, i.e. Kanjoj. She is stated to have been the pāṭa-raja or chief queen of a chief named Mahammadadeva who is described as a sāmanta or feudatory of a ruler of the Gādaḍavāla dynasty, whose name appears to be Aṇḍakakamalla. A person named Pāṇḍita Sasyakara is mentioned at the end of the inscription in line 22 apparently as the writer indicating that he wrote the document on the stone for facilitating the work of engraving.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it mentions no less than four rulers who flourished in the early decades of the thirteenth century in different parts of U. P. when that region is generally believed to have formed an integral part of the dominions of the Muhammadans. These four rulers, who are not known from any other source, are: (1) Rāṇakachakravartin Lakha-maṇḍa-Dharmadeva of the Unchhara region; (2) Mahāsāmantarāja Bharahadeva of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty of Kanjoj; (3) Sāmanta Mahammadadeva, a feudatory of the Gādaḍavāla king; and (4) king Aṇḍakakamalla of the Gādaḍavāla family. Of these, the first three were feudatories. But, while Mahammadadeva, whose name seems to exhibit an influence of the Arabic name Muḥammad, was a subordinate of the Gādaḍavāla king, the overlords of Lakha-maṇḍa-Dharmadeva and Bharahadeva are not known. Whether they acknowledged the supremacy of the Muhammadans is not clear, although that is not improbable even if the fact has not been indicated in the inscription. The real status of Gādaḍavāla Aṇḍakakamalla is also difficult to determine. He had no doubt some feudatories under him; but neither subordinate nor imperial epithets have been used with his name.

The Set-Mahet inscription1 of 1119-20 A.D. speaks of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Gōpāla, king of Gāḍhipura (i.e. Kanjoj), and king Madana. This Madana has been identified with Madana-pāla mentioned as the son of Gōpāla in the Budaun stone inscription2 of the time of Lakhaṇapāla who represented the fourth generation after Madana-pāla and may have flourished about a century later in the beginning of the thirteenth century. Bharahadeva of our inscription may have belonged to a branch of the same house. Lakhaṇapāla of the Budaun inscription may be identified with Lakha-maṇḍa-Dharmadeva of our record if it is believed that marriage was allowed between different

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1 Bhandarkar’s List, No. 204
2 Ibid., No. 1670.
branches of the Rāshtrakūta family. These Rāshtrakūtas appear to have owed allegiance to the Gāhādadavāla emperors and, after the overthrow of the Gāhādadavāla, to the Muhammadans.

It is well known that in A.H. 590 (1193 A.D.), Muhammad Ghūrī, while he was advancing against Kanoj and Banāras, encountered Jai Chand, the Rāja of Banāras (i.e., the Gāhādadavāla king Jayachandra) in the vicinity of Chandwāt or Chandrawar near the Janam in the Etawah District of U.P. Jai Chand was killed and his capital Banāras was occupied by the Muhammadans. That, however, the Gāhādadavāla suzerainty was not completely destroyed in 1193 A.D., is indicated by the Machhlishahr plate issued by king Harīchandra, son of Jayachandra, on Sunday, Pausha-śū 15, V.S. 1253 (January 6, 1197 A.D.), and the Bēlkharā pillar inscription of Tuesday, Vaisākhā-śū 11, V.S. 1253 (April 29, 1197 A.D.) when the feudatory chief Vijayakarṇa ruling over a part of the Mīrzapur District acknowledged the suzerainty of an unnamed imperial ruler of Kanyakubja. The Bēlkharā inscription shows that Vijayakarṇa was not subdued by the Muhammadans before April 1197 A.D. although he was doubtfully whether he could still refer to Gāhādadavāla Harīchandra as his overlord. The present inscription referring to a Gāhādadavāla king named Arājakākamalla as the overlord of Sāmanu Mahamandā in V.S. 1294 (1238 A.D.) suggests that the rule of the Gāhādadavāla dynasty did not end with the death of Harīchandra. But it is difficult to determine whether Arājakākamalla was ruling as a subordinate of the Muhammadans or as an independent monarch in the regions still unsubdued by the Musalmāns. The Tabagaṭa-Nāḍī, which attributes the conquest of Budāun, Banāras, Kīnnaur-i-Shergarh (Kanoj) and Tirhoot to Ilūtūmish, also speaks of an independent Hindu king named Bṛtū. Britū or Pṛthu who is stated to have held sway in the territory of Awadh (Ayodhya) and to have been killed by the Muhammadans soon after A.H. 623 (1226 A.D.). The continuity of Gāhādadavāla rule probably to a still later date, as suggested by the inscription under study, may indicate that king Pṛthu was a scion of the Gāhādadavāla dynasty. His name, however, does not sound like the names of the later Gāhādadavālas ending with the word chanda. Nor does the name of Arājakākamalla sound like that of a later Gāhādadavāla. Whether this means that they belonged to a branch line of the family cannot be determined without further light on the subject. But, if Arājakākamalla ruled as an independent monarch, it has to be admitted that even as late as the second quarter of the thirteenth century the Muslims were in occupation only of the important cities and strongholds while the countryside of the Gāhādadavāla empire still continued to be under Hindu domination.

Only two geographical names are mentioned in the inscription. They are the well-known Kanyakubja (i.e., the territory around the city of Kanoj) and the Vindhyā mountain range.

TEXT:

[Metres: verses 1, 3 Śōdābhasūkṣita; verse 2 Vasamānāsaka; verses 4-5 Amuṣhtabh.]

1. . . . 6 — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

2 [dīpta-sa]ya surṇendra-muṇḍala-mu — — — — — — — — — — — [[*]] — — — —

3 na gunāṇa bhānti bhuvanē sīrve vītā nyākṣīt[a-s-t] — — — — [bhava]

1 In that case, the Rāshtrakūtas settled in the Unchahra area after their dislodgment from Budāun by the Muhammadans. According to a tradition current about the southern borders of the Allahabad District, the Gāhādadavālas settled in the northern region of Vaghelkhand after the Muslim conquest of Kanauj and Banaras.

2 Ibid., No. 433.

3 Ibid., No. 434.


[*] From impressions.

[*] Probably the Siddham symbol followed by the word svaṭti stood at the beginning of the line.
4 tv-avichalaṁ rājyaṁ praśāstv-adbhutam || [1*] Sāmantarāja-tilakaḥ prathitaḥ, p[th]j
5 vyāṁ śrī Lekṣmāṇo ǀ ǀ ǀ 1 Lekṣmāṇa-tulya-lūttalī, ǀ yan-māṭī-pakṣa ha mū[ī]sa tū[ī]ya-
6 ka-chakravatī yathārthyaṁ khalu tathā su cha Dharmmadēvaḥ || [2*] Śrī[ī] Vindhyē-
7 āvara-sūlino-dibhutataḥ stambb-āvali-śo[bhi]tal praśātō-[ya[m]a]ṁ-
8 [ka-bha]dra-[pa]yitō nānā-patāk-ānvitaḥ | yach-chhṛingēṇa divaṁ śṛ[ī]s[an]-ga-
9 tī-harō Vindhyō ravaḥ-uttīḥī vyaśād-yad-dhva[ja]-paṁkī-pāṭī[ti]-kati-
10 ṛbbhī(ṛ-bbī) gurūṛ-vvākya[vat]aḥ || [3*] Praśādō-yaṁ tay-i[kāri śrī-Vindhyēva-
12 Praśasti-rachanāṁ chakrē pāṇḍitaḥ śrī-Sukhākaraḥ | sujan-āśūri-sarōja-
13 nama-rajō-raṇjita-mūrdhīhaḥ ||[5*] iti śrī Kanyakuvja[bha]-dēś-śobhīta[yā] Rāśṭra.-
14 kula-bāṃśa-pradīpa-mahīśāmantarāja-śrī-Bharahādeva-suta[yā] śrīma-
15 d-Gahadavāla-kula-kamala-vikāśana-sahasrāniṁ-śrī.-A[ra]dakkanalla-
16 sāmanta-śaraṇagatajra[j]apījara-śrīṇu[ṁ]-Mahamandadēva-pa[t]ra[r][a]-
17 jāyā śrī-1 Uddalladēvyā sva[k]-aikavimśati-purusba-santaraṇ-ārtham-āt[ma].
18 [pa]rama-niharēya-prāṇīyai putra-pauru-aṭi-sampattiyai saṁva[t]6
19 . . dvādaśa-śaṭēśu chaturnnavaty-adhikēśu Damanaka-chaturd[daṣyā]-
20 rā . . 7 .
21 vārē śrī-Vindhyēvā[ra]jē[va]svapaṇ-ā . . . 8
22 sādō-yaṁ kārītāḥ pratisṭhāhāpitaśa cha || vā . . . 9
23 riṇā pāṇḍita-śrī-Sāyaśakarēṇa10 praśa[ṭ]jī . . . 11

1 Three syllables were omitted here by the scribe or engraver through oversight. A word like jayaḥ would suit the metre.
2 The intended name is apparently Rāṣṭrākūṭa.
3 Sandhi has not been observed here.
4 Sandhi has not been observed here. Above dda which is the second akṣara in the name, there are what may be traces of a sign of medial ā. The queen's name may, therefore, possibly be Uddalladēvi (for Uddalladēvi ?) also.
5 The lost akṣara at the end of the line may be restored as nā.
6 The space at the end of this line and the beginning of the next suggests the restoration sanvatsarāśu.
7 The lost name of the week-day may be conjecturally restored as Kṛṣṇa.
8 The few akṣaras lost at the end of the line may be conjecturally restored as ādēśā-tu ṃat-prā.
9 About five akṣaras are lost here. What has been read as vā may also be read as vī.
10 Read Śayākaraṇa. The letters riṇā may be a part of the epithet sāriṇā.
11 The akṣaras lost here may be conjecturally restored as rādikītā.
No. 23—WARANGAL INSCRIPTION OF RAGHUEVA, KALI YEAR 4561

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACUMUND

(Received on 12.5.1958)

Many of the imperial ruling families of the Deccan had their capitals in the former Hyderabad State now merged in the Mysore, Andhra Pradesh and Bombay States. Thus Mänya-käta of the Räṣṭrakätaś, Kälyäna of the Later Chälukyas and Kalachuris, Däva-giri of the Yädavas and Anumäkonda and Väranägallu of the Käkätiyas were all situated in different parts of the former State of Hyderabad. It was therefore expected that the area, if properly explored, would yield a large number of interesting inscriptions and some time ago a band of my colleagues and assistants were sent to various parts of the region to begin the work. In the course of the exploration of a very small part of the area in 1957-58, Mr. K. H. V. Sarma and Pandit V. S. Subrahmaniam, both Epigraphical Assistants in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, visited Warangal and copied some inscriptions that were found at the place. One of these inscriptions from Warangal is edited in the following pages. I am thankful to Mr. Sarma and Pandit Subrahmaniam for the assistance they have rendered me in the preparation of this article.

About 150 years ago, MacKenzie’s Pandits copied the inscription and their tentative transcript finds a place in the Mackenzie Manuscripts, 15-4-5, p. 106 (cf. Bhäcäti, Vol. XII, Part i, pp. 426 ff.). Unfortunately the Pandits could not read the epigraph satisfactorily.

The inscription is divided into two parts, the first engraved on the right wall of the gate of the Warangal fort while the second part is incised on the left wall of the same structure. The first part contains ten lines of writing covering an area about five feet in length and two feet and one inch in height. There are only eight lines in the second part which covers a space about six feet and six inches long and one foot and eight inches high. The epigraph is continued from the first to the second part. The preservation of the writing is not satisfactory as the letters are rubbed off in many parts of the record.

The characters of the inscription are Telugu. Initial a has a rather peculiar form resembling modern Telugu iy in shape. But the language is Oriya which is, however, considerably influenced by Sanskrit. There are many errors in the language and orthography of the record. The date, quoted in lines 2-3, is Saturday (Briha-rävarä), Mrigäśirä-nakshatra, Mäghä-sû. 10, in the year Prämäthin which is mentioned as corresponding to the Kali year indicated by the defective passage yëkasätäd-adhika-pañcha-bät-tattu-ra-chatu[8*]-sahasra-parimitä. The expression paniça-

The proposed emendation of yëkasätäd-adhika as 

1 For Briha-rävar meaning Saturday, see above, Vol. XXXI, p. 100, note 1.

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of Rajahmundry under Gajapati Kapilësvara of Orissa, in connection with the Oriya conquest of the fortress of Võruñgalu in the land (rajya) of Varañgallu, i.e. the Warangal fort. The occupation of Warangal by the Oriyas is mentioned in another inscription1 in the fort, referring to its conquest by Kapilësvara’s son Hämbrā and bearing the date Pramāthin, Māgha-su. 10, Va (i.e. Vaḍḍa-vāra, Saturday) which is exactly the same as the date of the record under study. There is no doubt that both the inscriptions refer to the same event, viz. the conquest of the Warangal fort by the generals of Gajapati Kapilësvara. It may be that Hämbrā was the chief commander of the Gajapati forces and that Raghudēva was the second in command. It is interesting to note that Hämbrā’s inscription is found on the eastern gate of the Warangal fort while Raghudēva’s record is incised on its western gate, locally known as the fifth gate. This appears to show that the two leaders of the Gajapati forces led the attack on the Warangal fort from two different sides. Raghudēva, the Oriya governor of Rajahmundry, is also known from several of his inscriptions bearing dates in the sixth decade of the fifteenth century.3

The object of the inscription is recorded in two sentences in the last two lines (lines 17-18). The concluding part of the first of these sentences is very much damaged. But it seems to read as Võruñgaiṇiti-durgā-patikuru saḍhīlā in which saḍhīla (past tense of the Oriya verb saḍhita) has no doubt been used in the sense of ‘subdued’ or ‘defeated’. It is therefore stated here that Raghudēva-narāṇḍra subdues the lord of the Võruñgaṇ[i]-durgā (i.e. the Warangal fort). The second sentence says that he spared the lives of the governor of the fort and the latter’s followers (yihara sasainya-sahīya jīva-dāna dīlā). The conquest of Warangal by the generals of Kapilësvara is one of the events in the struggle between the Bahmanis of Gulbarga and the Gajapatis of Orissa.

The inscription is interesting from several points of view. In the first place, it represents the god Viṣṇu as the imperial ruler of the earth and apparently as the overlord of the emperor Kapilësvara of the Sûryavanshi Gajapati family of Orissa. The date of the record has been put against the background of eternity as it is represented as falling in the eternal reign period of the said god. This is because of the fact, as we have shown elsewhere,3 that Gaṅga Anaṅgabhūma III (c. 1211-38 A.D.) dedicated his kingdom in favour of the god Purushottama-Jagannātha of Puri, who is regarded as a form of Viṣṇu, and that the Gaṅga king’s successors as well as the later imperial rulers of Orissa including their theoretical successors, the present Mahārājas of Puri, regarded themselves as the viceroy of the deity who was considered the real lord of the country. This conception is noticed in several inscriptions of the Gaṅga dynasty. The present epigraph is the only record outside the Gaṅga family, which echoes the same idea. There is, however, a slight difference in the conception as found in the inscription under review. The god is not represented here as the lord of the kingdom of Orissa with the king of Orissa as his viceroy. The idea expressed in our record is that the god was the lord of the earth while Kapilësvara, endowed with imperial style, was the king of the Utkaṇa country under him. This mode of introducing a king is possibly the only case of the kind in the whole range of Indian epigraphy.

The second point of interest in the record is its style which exhibits an influence of certain inscriptions of the Gaṅgas. Some of the passages in Kapilësvara’s description in the present inscription are copied from records like the Drākhārāma,1 Bhubaneswar2 and Kāṇchipuram3 inscriptions of Anaṅgabhūma III and one of the Kapilä inscriptions4 of Narasiṁha I (c 1238-64 A.D.).

2 Above, pp. 1-2.
4 SII, Vol. IV, p. 467, No. 1320.
5 Above, Vol. XXX, p. 234.
6 Ibid., Vol. XXXI, pp. 94 ff.
7 See above, pp. 41 ff.
most interesting among these epithets are those which speak of the king as Mahēvara-putra, Purushottama-putra and Durgā-putra. In the similar representation of Anangabhima III and his son Narasinha I, one may notice the fact that these kings, in spite of their staunch devotion to the god Vishnu in the shape of Purushottama-Jagannātha of Puri, could not possibly dissociate themselves totally from the Śaiva leanings of their ancestors. Since, however, the hold of Vaishnavism became gradually stronger and stronger on the kings of Orissa, it is rather strange that the same epithets were applied to Kapilēśvara who flourished two centuries later. But this may be explained by the suggestion that the Sūryavaniśis were also Śaivas originally. It has, however, to be noticed that a similar description of Kapilēśvara is not noticed in any other inscription of the Sūryavanśi Gajapati family. Are we then to suppose that the reason underlying the above description of Kapilēśvara was the Śaiva leanings of Raghudēva? It will be seen from our analysis below that Raghudēva calls himself śrī-Durgā-vara-putra as well as śrī-Jagannāthadēva-[labela*]-vara-prasāda. He also bore the typical Śaivite name Virabhadra. This prince as well as his father and grandfather are further represented as devotees of the god Mallinātha and the goddess Gaṇa-maṅgalachandī or Maṅgalachandī. These two deities are probably to be identified respectively with Śiva and Pārvatī since the name Mallinātha is known to be often applied to a Śiva-linga1 and Maṅgalachandī are both well-known names of the said goddess. As Raghudēva’s grandfather was Kapilēśvara’s father, it is possible to think that the family was originally Śaiva and that Kapilēśvara was the first of its members, who was devoted to the god Purushottama-Jagannātha. Kapilēśvara may have become a devotee of the said deity after his accession to the throne of Gajapati Bāhuṇa IV, since theoretically the Ganga throne belonged to the god.

The first section of the inscription in lines 1-5 gives the date, viz., Saturday, Māgha-su. 10, Mṛgaśīrṇa-nakṣattra in the year 4561 current (in words) in the first quarter of Kali which is one of the four ages, the name of the year being Pramāthin. This year is mentioned with reference to the victorious reign of the illustrious god Vishnu just as is done in the case of dates falling in the reigns of particular kings. In consonance with this interesting reference, the date is stated to have fallen in the second Parāṅda of the god Brahman, in the Śvetavāraṇa śatā Paṅka and the twenty-eighth Chatur-yuga of the Vaivasvata Manvantara. Lines 6-8 likewise mention the locality, where the inscription was put up, in an equally grand setting. The concluding part of this passage cannot be fully deciphered. But it seems to speak of the tract of Varanagali (Warangal) within the dominions of Umaiṇuśahā (śāha) described as the Suratāṇa of Kababara, i.e. the Bahmani Sultan Mumāyūn Shāh (1458-61 A.D.) of Gulbarga. This land is stated to have been situated in the western tract of the Andhra country which formed a part of Bhāratavarsha lying in the Jambudvīpa section of the earth. This is in consonance with the old conception according to which Jambu-dvīpa was one of the four or seven dvīpas constituting the earth. The representation of a locality in a similar setting, is however, not unknown in South Indian inscriptions. Thus an inscription2 of 1077 A.D. gives the situation of the capital of the Kadambas of Banavasi in the following words: “Among the fourteen worlds is the middle world, one rājju in extent. In the centre of that middle world is the Golden Mountain, to the south of which is the Bhārata land, in which lie the curls of the lady earth shines the Kuntala country, to which an ornament [with various natural beauties] is Banavasi.”

The next passage in lines 7-17 introduces Raghudēva-narāṇḍra who was responsible for the setting up of the record. First is mentioned in lines 7-8 Jāgēśvaradēva-māhārāya described as a devotee of the god Mallinātha and the goddess Gaṇa-maṅgalachandī. Next is described Jāgēśvara’s son Pratāpa-Kapilēśvaradēva-māhārāya in lines 8-14. Kapilēśvara is stated to have

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1 Cf. P. Sreenivasachar, A Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telangana Districts, Part III, 1956, Nos. No. 18-26 (pp. 49 ff.).
become a lord of the Utkala country at the command of the illustrious Purushottama described as the lord of the fourteen worlds, i.e. the god Purushottama-Jagannatha of Puri. Next he is described as 'the son of Mahesvara (Siva)' , 'the son of Purushottama (Visnu)' and 'the son of Durga'. As already indicated above, these epithets and some others in the description of Kapilasvara appear to have been borrowed from certain records of the Gaiga-king Anangabhima III and his son and successor Narasimha I. In the inscription under study, Kapilasvara is endowed with the imperial title Maharajadhira-Paramesvara and is described as belonging to the solar race. He is further called tri-vira-Gajapati (the Gajapati who is an illustrious hero), Gauḍēvara (lord of Gauḍa) and vijita-navakoti-Karnājīśvara (lord of the Karnaṇa-nine-crore country conquered by him). It is interesting to note that Kalavarag-śvara (i.e. the lord of Gulgara) is not added here to Kapilasvara's epithets as in other records. This is probably because the inscription was set up in an area belonging to the dominions of the Bahmani Sultan of Gulgarga and the local people were expected to sneer at the hollowness of the claim.

Kapilasvara was the first independent imperial ruler of the family and Raghudeva is known to have been his younger brothers' son and his viceroy at Rajahmundry. The mention of Jagēşvara as a māhārāja (i.e. mahāraja) shows that he was also a ruling chief. This is supported by the evidence of the Raghudevavpura grant. Lines 14-15 of our inscription mention Parasurāmadēva as the younger brother of Kapilasvara and as a devotee of Mallināthadēva and Maṅgalanachand (elsewhere called Ganaṅgalanachand) Parasurāmadēva-ṛṣya's son Raghudeva is mentioned in the following lines. He is called Virabhadra Raghudeva-nārāṇḍra and is described as a devotee of the god Mallināthadēva and the goddess Ganaṅgalanachandī and also as having been a favourite son of the goddess Durga and as favoured by Jagannāthadēva, i.e. the god Purushottama-Jagannāthais of Puri. It is further stated that Raghudeva was the ruler of Rājamaṅgaldararvāra, i.e. Rajaṁgaṅgadrapura, which is the modern Rajahmundry. As already indicated above, the object of the inscription is recorded in the last two lines (lines 17-18) which state that Raghudeva subdued the governor of the Warangal fort but that he spared the lives of the said Bahmani officer and his soldiers.

The god Mallināthais seems to have been the family deity of the ancestors of Kapilasvara. Since Mallinātha as the name of a deity is very popular in the Telugu speaking areas and not in Orissa, the original home of the Sūryavarṇa Gajapati family may have been in the Andhra country. As we have elsewhere suggested, the mother of Kapilasvara was probably born in the Velama community of Andhra.

The genealogy of the Sūryavarṇa Gajapati of Orissa supplied by the present inscription represents Kapilasvara and Parasurāma as the sons of Jagēşvara, and Raghudeva, governor of Rajahmundry, as the son of Parasurāma. This information is already available from the Raghudevavpura and Dūrap+lém grants of Raghudeva edited above. But Raghudeva's secondary name Virabhadra is known only from the present record.

The geographical names mentioned in the inscription have already been discussed above.

TEXT

Part I

1 Śri-Viṣṇu-ṛṣya-pravardhamānasaśaṭ adya [Brahmaṇḍ] dvityya(ya)-parārddhē | Śvē-(Śvē) tavrāha-karpē |
2 Vaivasvata-manavāhita[ta]rā | ashtī-lūhī-śatitara | chaturyayāṅgana[ta] Kalā(lau) | prathama-
pāḍa | yēka-asatād-a 1

3 dhika- | pancha-sat-ottara- | chatu[h]-sahasra- | parimit ś | avadhāya | Pramādi-
samhatsara | Uttar-ā.

4 yapē | śīśi-rutau 2 | Māgha-māsō | śukla-paśhē | daśamvām | tithau | Bṛha-
vāsara | Mṛgasi śīśi-rā.

5 nakshatraś | iha pritiyāvā | Jambū-dvīpē Bha[Bhā]rata-varshē | Andhra-dēś-ānte-

6 rājas-a Bhū-gata [pa]chīma

7 śri-MLlinēthadēva-Gaṇamaṅglakacauhidi-chara[ṇa]-saraṇa | śri-Jaśē[v]aradēva-māhā-

8 [rāya]ṃ[kara] putra | śri-chaturddasa-bhuan-ūdhapa [ṣīmatu] | śri-[Puru]jēttamasya 'a-

9 dēśa-Utka] ādhīśa | kriṣṭa-samara-mukl-āneka-ripu-darppa-mardāna | bhūja-baja-par-

krama | 10 . . . pūjya-sattamaś | Mahāvāra-[putra char-āchāra-jajan-ūla-kāraṇa | śri-Puru-

Part II


12 jādhirāja-paramēśvara | Vaivasvata-[kula]-pra[s]ūta rakhō-daksha . . . | stama[ṃhīta] | । । । । śri-Rāma-guṇa 2

13 alaṅkṛita | śri-Sūrya-vanā-āvalōkana-stāmbha | śri-Vīra-Gajapati-Gavūdēśvara | vijtā- 

nava-koti-Karmnāt-dēśvara | Pratē-

14 pa-Kapilēśvara- | dēva-mahārājanikara | tasya anuja | śri-Malinēthe | dēva-Maṅgaḷa-

chadī-charana-saraṇa | śri-Para-

15 śrīrāmādevām[van]kara putra | śri-Malinēthadēva-Gaṇamaiṅglagacakauhidi-charana- sara-

nu | śri-Jaga[mahadēva]-[labha 3]

16 vara-prasāda | śri-Durgā-vara-putra | ripu-[darppa]-māna-mardāna | yēka-arka | śri-

Rāja[mahānrāja].

1 Read "cimādānaa".
2 Read "r-yuṣyaṣa".
3 Read "śikādāśītā".
4 Read abhā.
5 Read abhā.
6 Read abhā.
7 Šaṃbha has not been observed here.
8 The word is redundant.
9 Read marēdāma-āsī.
17 varā-rājya(ja) | sṛ-Purāṇa-rāmadēva-rāya-taṇḍaya | sṛ-Vīra-bhajendra-Raghudēva-nārāyān-dra | Vana-sūkṣma
18 [patimku] sādhilā | yihara sa-sainya-sahityaḥ jiva-dāna dilā [||**]

1 Read Puraśa. The expression sṛ-Purāṇa-rāma-nārāyaṇa-taṇḍaya is, however, redundant since the same relationship between Purāṇa and Raghudēva is already indicated in the passage sṛ-Purāṇa-nārāyaṇa (p. 13).
2 The intended word is sahita which is redundant.
No. 24—CHIKKERUR INSCRIPTION OF AHAVAMALLA, SAKA 917

(I Plate)

B. R. GOPAL, OOTACUMUND

(Received on 10.4.1958)

In December 1957, while touring in the Hirekerur Taluk of the Dharwar District in the present Mysore State in search of inscriptions, I had the opportunity of copying about 21 inscriptions at Chikkerur about six miles from Hirekerur, the headquarters of the Taluk. The earliest inscription so far found at Chikkerur is edited here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The inscription is engraved on a stone set up in front of the temple of Banadavva. Long ago Burgess referred apparently to the same inscription as lying in front of the temple of Banasamkari that is the same as Banadavva. According to him, the date of that record is Saka 975. It will be seen, however, that the date is Saka 917 and not Saka 975.

The stone is dressed only on the surface where the inscription is engraved. There are 17 lines of writing. The engraver seems to have marked out on the stone the space necessary for inscribing the inscription by a line both at the top and the bottom. But as that space was not enough, he had to continue the writing below the line at the bottom. Above the line at the top, there are the figures of the sun and the moon. The record is written in Kannada characters of about the tenth century A.D. Barring the imprecatory verse at the end which is in Sanskrit, the language of the epigraph is Kannada and it is written in prose.

The engraver has done his job in a very indifferent way and the record contains many mistakes; cf. samastara (lines 1-2) for samatsara, Paralika (lines 3-4) for Phalika. The form of m is mostly cursive. The aksara bhas in line 2 has a peculiar form. Similarly noteworthy is the form of n in Uppalana and naṭa (line 9), nījābbe (line 11), nāta (line 12) and nārk (line 15). In pramane (line 4) the subscript is  y and not n as is usually found in the inscriptions of that period.

The record is dated Saka 917 (expressed partly in words and partly in figures), Jaya, Phalguna Punnapame (i.e. śū. 15). Saturday, Uttarā-nakshatra. The date, which is irregular, seems to be the 18th February 996 A.D.

The record opens with the word vasiśti followed by the date. Then it states that, when Mahāmanḍalikāvār Āhavmalladēva proceeded against Uppalā (Utpala) in the course of his northern dig-vijaya after having subdued his adversaries in the south and when Bhimayya was governing Banavāse-nādu and Nāgārjunā was the Nāgārjuna, Palliga, son of Koṇāvanigara Jōgayya and Nījābbe, and his wife Arasakka, had the image of the goddess Bhaḷari installed. They also made a gift of land, obviously in favour of the deity.

The record does not give the name of the ruling king, but refers to a Mahāmanḍalikāvar named Āhavamalla. We know that the region in question was a part of the kingdom of the Western Chālukya king Tailapa II Āhavamalla (973-97 A.D.). But it is difficult to identify Āhavamalla of our record with Taila II since the former is referred to as samadhiyata-prākramakānāsūtha-mahā-

maṇḍalikāvar while the latter's records give him the usual sovereign titles borne by the Western Chālukya kings. Āhavamalla of our record may be identified with Ipivahedaṅga Satyārāya, the

1 This has been registered as No. 255 of A.R. Ep., 1957-58, App. B.
2 Antiquarian Remains of Bombay Presidency, p. 12.

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son of Taila II. A record from Lakkunḍi clearly suggests that this prince was known as Āhavamalla. The inscription thus offers evidence in support of the statement of Ranna that Satyārāya assisted his father in his military affairs.\footnote{SI, Vol. XI, Part I, No. 52.}

As indicated above, the record refers to a time when Mahāmaṇḍakāvara Āhavamalla proceeded against Utpala in the course of his northern dig-vijaya after he had put down his adversaries in the south. This indicates that Taila II had to face troubles in the south. The moment the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were defeated by him, the feudatories of the former declared their independence. Gāṅgā Mārasimha went so far as to support the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Idras IV in the latter's claim for the throne. It is well known, however, that Taila II succeeded in subduing them. But he had to face the Chōlas who were the hereditary enemies of the Chālukyas as they had been of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas previously. The contemporary Chōla king Rājarāja I conquered Gāṅgavāḍi, Nolambavāḍi and Taiḍaiyappāḍi,\footnote{K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, The Cholas, 2nd ed., pp. 174-75.} taking opportunity of the chaos that existed for some time after the disappearance of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Taila II took action in repulsing the Chōla advance as is evidenced by an inscription\footnote{SI, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 76.} found at Kōgāli in the Hadeḍgalī Taluk of the Bellary District, according to which king Āhavamalla (i.e. Taila II) was ruling from Rōḍda (identified with Rodam in the Anantapur District) after having defeated the Chōlas and seized 150 elephants from the enemy, on Friday, the 23rd December 992 A.D. It is quite possible that, after the battle referred to in this record, Taila II appointed his own son as the governor of that territory.

Three years later, in 995 A.D., our record shows that Satyārāya moved from the place and proceeded against Utpala in the north. This Utpala may be identified with Paramāra Muṅja.\footnote{SI, Vol. XI, Part I, No. 76.} The fact that Satyārāya proceeded against Utpala, i.e., Paramāra Vākpati Muṅja, is known for the first time from our record. The date of Muṅja's death has been placed between V.S. 1000 (993-94 A.D.), when Anitageti compiled his Subhaśitaratnasvadōka during Muṅja's reign, and 997 A.D. when Taila II died.\footnote{Cl. Ganguly, History of the Paramāra Dynasty, p. 47.} Our record minimises this gap. If by February 995 A.D., Satyārāya was on his way against Utpala, the latter's death must have taken place after that date.

It is difficult to say whether Satyārāya was directly responsible for the capture of Muṅja which led to the latter's death. Mahāśākumanta Bhīllama claims in his Sangamner copper-plate grant,\footnote{Ray, DHNI, Vol. II, pp. 837-38.} dated 1000 A.D., that he crushed the military force of the great king Muṅja and made the goddess of fortune observe the vow of a chaste woman in the house of the illustrious Raṇarāgabhīma. He might have helped Satyārāya, whose identification with Raṇarāga-Bhīma is suggested by Ranna's Godīyuddha,\footnote{Above, Vol. II, pp. 212 ff.} very considerably in the latter's battle against Utpala referred to in our record.

Bhīmayya, it is seen from our record, was ruling over Banavāṣī. Several inscriptions from Yasa-śleśa\footnote{For the names Bhīma, Śhīsā-Bhīma, Raṇaya-Rāma-Bhīma, etc., applied to Satyārāya, cf. Ávāma, verses 22, 52-53, 64, Ávāma, verses 3, 47.} speak of Kadamba Chattayyaḍēva governing over Banavāṣī in 993 A.D. Bhīmayya must have begun the government of the division some time after that date. Nāgarjuna, who is said to have been a Nāgārjuna, may perhaps be identified with his namesake who is stated in an inscription from Hūrīchauṛi in the Śhīnogā District\footnote{A. R. Ep., 1939-40, R. K. Nos, 90, 91 and 92.} to have been a Nāgarāvūḍu.
Scale: One-fourth
Banavasi-nadu was the district round Banavasi, the ancient capital of the Kadambas in the North Kanara District of the Mysore State.

TEXT

1 Svasti Šaka-nripa-kāl-ātī(t)a-saṁ-
2 vāstara'-satarīga'-oru[bhā]nū
3 ra 17 [mē] Jaya-sarivastara'da Paregu-
4 ṇa'-ma(ma)sada punname Śanivāram-tutta[ra]-
5 nakṣatram[1*] svasti samadhigata[pa]-
6 āchamahāśabda-mahāmaṁ[ma]ṇḍal[a]śva-
7 ra śrīmat Āhavamalladēvaṁ da-
8 kṣīna-dīg-bhāga(bhā)gaṇaṁ niṣa(rā)kulaṁ māḍi=y=u-
9 tara-dīg-vijāṁ* geyd-Uppala[na] mele na[de]d-a-
10 nū Bhū(Bhū)mayaṁ Banavasi-nāḍan-āle Nāgaṛjunaṁ [Nā]-
11 [gā]ga[n]mudu geyye Kom(Ko)ṇḍavāṇigara Jōgayyaṁ Nījāhe-
12 ya magaṁ Paḷjugan(ga)n-ātana peṅ(pe)ṇḍatiy-[A]rasakk-a-
13 nēka-sañṭugam-ṇuḍu Bhalarīyaṁ pratibhē geyi-
14 *sidā* matta[la] keyya[nugge]t koṭṭaṁ[12 ma[m]g[ga]aṁ [[] Dēva-drabain(ya)m]
15 tilaiṁ vapa yavadvahakshaintī[11] yē(yō) naṛaḥ [1*] tāvat-
16 vad-varisha-sahareraṇa viśṭhayam[12] jāya-
17 tē kṛmih[12] [1*]

1 From impressions.
2 There is a symbol here at the beginning of the writing.
3 Read samaratara.
4 The month referred to is Pūṣāgua.
5 An awaredha sign seems to be engraved above mu.
6 Read iṛjyaṁ.
7 Thus and the next line are engraved in smaller characters.
8 Read getyaiṇa.
9 The reading and interpretation of these letters are doubtful.
10 Read koṭṭaṁ.
11 The intended reading may be some paṇḍu-patadvahakshaiṁ.
12 Read tāvat-taraḥ-sahareraṇa viṣṭhayam.
13 There is a symbol here at the end of the writing.
No. 25—DHULLA PLATE OF SRICHANDRA

(1 Plate)

D. C. Sircar, Cuttak

(Received on 10. 4. 1925)

Five copper-plate grants of king Śrīchandra, who ruled over the south-eastern part of Bengal about the second half of the tenth century A.D., have so far been discovered. Three of these, which have already been edited, are the Rāmpāl,1 Kēdārput2 and Madanpur3 plates. The copper-plate grants of Śrīchandra discovered at Idilpur and Dhullā have not yet been edited, although the contents of both the inscriptions have been published. The Idilpur plate was noticed in the pages of this journal.4 The Dhullā plate was discovered in 1925 by the late Dr. N. K. Bhattasali of the Dacca Museum, whose transcript of the record was utilised by the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar in noticing the epigraph in his Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III.5 On an examination of the impressions of the epigraph preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, it is found that the preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory. A number of letters on both the obverse and reverse of the plate are rubbed off and consequently their reading is doubtful. Bhattasali seems to have waited for the preparation of a complete and more satisfactory transcript than the one supplied to Majumdar and this may be the reason why he could not publish the inscription till his sad demise about the beginning of 1947.

It is a single plate measuring 8½ inches in length, 7½ inches in breadth and 4 inch in thickness. The length quoted is that of the sides, the plate being slightly longer in the middle. The well-known Dharmačakrav seal of the Buddhist dynasty of the Chandraś is fixed at the top of the plate. It is 3 inches in length and its lower part (2½ inches wide) disturbs the continuity of the writing of the first line on the obverse of the plate. The circular surface of the seal is 2½ inches in diameter. This surface closely resembles that of the seals fixed on the known copper-plate grants of Śrīchandra.6 There are altogether 47 lines of writing, 23 on the obverse and 24 on the reverse. The preservation of the writing, as already indicated above, is unsatisfactory.

The characters resemble those of the other inscriptions of king Śrīchandra who issued the charter. Medial ś is of both the prakṛti-mātrā and śīra-mātrā types. B has been indicated by the sign for v. The apanāra has been used in lines 28 and 37. The language is Sanskrit and the record is written in both prose and verse in a style similar to that in the other charters of the king. As a matter of fact, all the nine verses forming the introductory part of the record are also found in one or other of the same king’s records. The change of anvarya before ś to ś and before v to m exhibits some of the orthographical peculiarities. It is also often changed to class nasals. Mistakes like yatiya for jatiya (line 28) and trīya for trīya (line 30) are interesting to note. The date in line 46 is difficult to read; but the reading of the portion may be Samvat(sinih) c A (A)jina-dine 18. This is of course not enough to determine the actual date of the record. But we know from other evidences, as already indicated above, that the Buddhist king Śrīchandra, who belonged to the Chandra dynasty and ruled over South-East Bengal, flourished about the second half of the tenth century A.D.

2 Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 185 ff. and Plate; Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 10 ff. and Plate.
6 Cf., e.g., above, Vol. XXVIII, Plate facing p. 56.
No. 25  
DHULLA PLATE OF SRICHANDRA  

Of the 9 stanzas in the introductory part of the document, verse 1, found in all the known records of the king, is in adoration of the Jina (i.e., Buddha), the Dharma and the Bhikshu-saṅgha (i.e., the Buddhist Church), the holy trinity of the Buddhists. Verses 2-8 are found in the Rāmpāl and Madanpūr plates in the same order while verse 9 is the same as the seventh and last stanza of the introductory part of the Kēdārpūr plate.

Verse 2 introduces a ruler named Pūrṇachandra as born in the family of the Chandras ruling over Rōhitāgiri. The following two stanzas (verses 3-4) describe Pūrṇachandra’s son Suvarṇachandra who became a Buddhist. Verse 5 speaks of Suvarṇachandra’s son Trailōkyaścandra who is compared to Dilīpa and is stated not only to have become the mainstay of the royal fortune of the king of the Harikēla country but also to have made himself the lord of Chandradvīpa. Pūrṇachandra and Suvarṇachandra may or may not have been rulers of Rōhitāgiri; but Trailōkyaścandra was apparently the ruler of Chandradvīpa as a feodatory of the Harikēla king. If Rōhitāgiri is identified with Rohtasgarh in the Shahabad District of Bihar, it has to be suggested that Trailōkyaścandra or one of his ancestors migrated to South-East Bengal where Trailōkya succeeded in becoming the subordinate ruler of Chandradvīpa within the dominions of the king of Harikēla. It appears that the Chandras of Rōhitāgiri were originally the feudatories of the Pāla kings of Bengal and Bihar, and that one of the Chandras presented himself to Bengal in connection with his services under the Pāla master. But Trailōkyaścandra seems to have transferred his allegiance to the king of Harikēla and was rewarded by the viceroyalty of Chandradvīpa. As we have elsewhere suggested, Chandradvīpa was the old name of part of the Buckergunge District and Harikēla was originally the name of the area round the Sylhet District, both now in East Pakistan, although at a later date Harikēla (also spelt Harikēla and Harikēla) came to be used to indicate the tract called Vaṅga apparently as a result of the expansion of the dominions of the Harikēla rulers over wide areas of South-East Bengal.

About the end of the ninth century, the Gurjara-Pratihāra king Mahendrāpāla I (c. 885-907 A.D.) conquered considerable areas of Bihar and North Bengal from the Pālas and the fortune of the latter was at a low ebb. Since the Dacca-Tippura region appears to have formed part of the empire of Dharmapāla (c. 770-810 A.D.) and Dēvapāla (c. 810-50 A.D.), this may have been the time when the rulers of the Dēva Dynasty, as known from the copper-plate grant of Bhavadeva, were ruling as independent monarchs from the city of Dēvaparvata near modern Comilla in the Tippur District of East Pakistan. Shortly after Bhavadeva, the third known ruler of the Dēva family, a king named Kāntidēva was ruling over the tract called Harikēla as we know from his Chittagong plate. It seems that the dominions of the Dēvas of Dēvaparvata soon passed to the hands of the ruling family of Harikēla represented by Kāntidēva and that the Harikēla kings thus came to be in the possession of wide areas of South-East Bengal including the Buckergunge region. Trailōkyaścandra appears to have ruled over Chandradvīpa as a feodatory of the dynasty of Harikēla kings, represented by Kāntidēva, about the second quarter of the tenth century.

2 For Mahendrāpāla’s stone inscriptions in these areas, dated in his regnal years ranging between the years 2 and 19 (or 9), see Bhandarkar’s List, Nos. 1641-47. Recently I had an opportunity of examining one of these records, viz. the Rām-Gayā inscription (ibid., No. 1645) which R. D. Banerji (Mem. A. S. B., Vol. V, p. 64) read and interpreted as follows: (1) Om Samrat 8 | śri-Mahindrapāla | rajabhakti. (2) ka | Saudī-rishi-patra-Sahadēvana, “Om, the year 8 (from) the coronation of Mahendrāpāla. (The gift) of Sahadēva, the son of the Rishi Saivī.” The correct reading of the inscription is however: (1) Siddham symbol. Samanta 8 || Mahindrapāla- | rajabhakti. (2) ka || Saudīrasi 8 p[ī]l[a]-taka dēt[dharma]. (The gift of the image was made by a person named Saudīrasi and his five sons whose names are not mentioned.
4 Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 318 ff.
Verse 6 introduces Trailokyachandra’s queen Kāñcana or Śrikañcana, and the next stanza (verse 7) speaks of Śrichandra, son of Trailokyachandra and his queen. Verse 8 states that Śrichandra brought the earth under his sole umbrella and this conventional description apparently suggests that he was the first independent or imperial ruler of the family. Verse 9 describes him as a digvijayin in the conventional way and this also supports the above suggestion. As will be seen below, there is another indication in favour of the same conclusion.

The prose passage (lines 17 ff.) following the above introductory part in verse reintroduces king Śrichandra as in good health, i.e. as fit for making a grant. As in his other grants, the king is described as enjoying the imperial titles Paramēsvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraja and Mahārājādhīraja, as meditating on (or favoured by) the feet of the Paramasugata (i.e. one devoted to the Sugata or Buddha) Mahārājādhīraja Trailokyachandradēva and as issuing the charter from his jayaśakdhāra (meaning ‘capital’ in this case) at Vikramapura. It has to be noticed that, while Trailokyachandra is endowed with the title Mahārājādhīraja only, Śrichandra is called Paramēsvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraja-Mahārājādhīraja. This supports the suggestion that the father was a feudatory and the son an independent and imperial ruler. It seems that Śrichandra threw off the allegiance to the king of Harikēla, conquered a considerable part of the latter’s territories in South-East Bengal and transferred his capital from Chandradvipa to Vikramapura in the Dacca District. The rise of Śrichandra may have been a result of the struggle between the Pālas and the kings of Harikēla for the Dacca-Tippera region. The Mandhuk (Tippera District) inscription1 of the first regnal year of Gōpūla II (c. 938-942 A.D.) shows that the Pālas succeeded in ousting Harikēla rule from Tippera before the middle of the tenth century. But shortly afterwards, Śrichandra conquered the Dacca-Tippera region originally perhaps on behalf of the Harikēla king.

Śrichandra must have flourished earlier than Gōvindachandra (c. 1015-40 A.D.) who apparently belonged to the same family and is described in Chōla records2 as the lord of Vangāla-dēsa (originally the same as Chandradvipa but later the name of the Chandra empire in South-East Bengal). The armies of the Chōla king Rājendra I had an encounter with Gōvindachandra before 1023 A.D. For some time between the reign of Śrichandra and that of Gōvindachandra, the Dacca-Tippera region seems to have been in the possession of a king Mahipāla I (c. 992-1040 A.D.). This is suggested by the Bāghāura and Nārāyanpur inscriptions dated respectively in the 3rd and 4th regnal years of the said Pāla monarch, both discovered in the Tippera District.3 Thus Śrichandra seems to have ruled for at least about 46 years (cf. the issue of the Mudanpur plate in the 46th year of his reign) about the second half of the tenth century between the earlier years of Gōpūla II and those of Mahipāla I.4

All the geographical names mentioned in connection with the details of the plots of land granted as given in lines 20-23 cannot be fully deciphered from the impressions, even though Bhattasali offered readings for all of them. There were altogether five plots of land. The first of these was situated in a village called Durvāpatra and situated in Vallimundā-mandāla according to

1 IHQ., Vol. XXVIII, pp. 51 ff.
4 Pāla rule appears to have been ousted from the Dacca-Tippera region by the successors of Śrichandra. Two copper-plate grants of Lādāchanda and one of Gōvindachandra have been recently discovered at Mainamati in the Tippera District of East Pakistan. These charters, issued from Vikramapura, show that Śrichandra was followed on the Chandra throne by his son Kalyāṇachanda, grandson Lādāchanda and great-grandson Gōvindachandra. Another charter, discovered along with the above, was issued by Vindharādēva in his 15th regnal year. He appears to have belonged to the Déva dynasty and flourished about the 13th century. For a note on these inscriptions, see F.A. Khan’s report on ‘Excavations on Mainamati Hills near Comilla’ in Further Excavations in East Pakistan—Mainamati, pp. 22-26.
Bhattasali) in the Khādiravillī viśaya within Paunḍra-bhūkti and measured 4 ḫalas. The second plot, apparently in the same area, measured 3 ḫalas and was situated in a locality the name of which appears to be Nōndiyājō-Jayastara, although it was read by Bhattasali as Lōṇiyājōpārasara. The third plot of land also measured 3 ḫalas and was situated in the village of Tīvadavillī no doubt in the same region. The fourth plot measured 2 ḫalas and 6 drāgas and was situated in a village (called Parkāsianandā and situated in Ikkadasi-viṣhaya according to Bhattasali) in the Yūla māndala. The fifth plot measured 7 ḫalas and was situated in a village (the name of which is read by Bhattasali doubtfully as Mūlapatā) apparently in the same neighbourhood. As stated in line 23, the five plots together measured 19 ḫalas and 6 drāgas. The exact areas of the land measures called ḫala and drāga (drāgapāra of earlier records) are unknown.

The list of officers and others to whom the royal order in respect of the grant was issued is found in lines 23 ff. It is similar to the lists found in other charters of Śrīchandra, although its resemblance is closer to the one in the Rāmpāl plate than that in the Mānupur plate. The privileges to be enjoyed by the donor as enumerated in lines 30 ff. are all similar to those in the list found in the other records of the king.

The description of the donor is found in lines 33 ff. He was the Brahmāna Vyāsa-gaṅgāśarman who belonged to the Vārṇhakausika gōtra, the pravara 21st the three viṣhīs and the Kaṇya Śākha and was the son of Viḍvagāṅga, grand-son of Nannagāṅga (or Nandagāṅga) and great-grandson of Jayagāṅga. He is described as the Śānte-rīka, or performer of propitiatory rites, exactly as Pitavāsaguptaśarman, the donor of Śrīchandra's Rāmpāl plate. But, while Pitavāsa received a grant for performing a ceremony called Kaṭhājana, Vyāsa-gaṅga received the lands mentioned in the present record for performing four krama in connection with a rite called adhikuta-dānti. In the expression adhikuta-dānti which is well-known to the student of the Parāja and Śrījita literature,1 adhikuta is a synonym of viṭa and means any portentous or unusual phenomenon foreboding calamity to a king or a private individual or the population of a land. and dānti is a propitiatory rite performed with a view to averting such an evil.

The grant was made by the king in the name of Lord Buddha for the merit of his parents and himself. The charter is stated to have been authenticated by the Dheranakambra seal as in the case of the king's other grants. The gift lands were made a rent-free holding according to the well-known principle of bhīmabhīmAḥbhīmaṅga (i.e. the free enjoyment of land by one who first brought it under cultivation).

Lines 40 ff. contain some of the usual imperatival and benedictory stanzas also known from the king's other records. The date which has already been referred to above, is quoted in lines 46-47. This is followed by the contractions nābā-dānti, nābākshara-ni, two damaged letters between the two groups of letters probably reading nām. The contraction nā has been regarded as standing for nībuddha or nīrikshita, i.e. registered or examined.2 The contractions nābāsā and nābākshara apparently stand respectively for the official designations Mahāśākāra-pāra and Mahākāśapa-tālika. It appears that the record was first examined by the Mohāśādha-pāra and then by the Mahākāśa-pārya.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the location of Harikāla, Chandradviḍa and Vikramapura has been discussed above. The Paunḍra-bhūkti was the territorial division, the headquarters of which were originally at the city of Paundravishālana identified with modern Mahāṭhān in the Bogra District of North Bengal. During the age of the Pāla, this bhūkti or province included considerable parts of South-Eastern Bengal. Although the

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1 See the Adhikuta-dānti section of the Mānupusrāṇa, chapter 2:8-38; cf. also the quotations from a number of authorities in the Sādhuśāsana (Parisīs-ṛṣa), s.v. adhikuta.
2 Cf. JAS, Vol. XX, pp. 210-17.
Chandra empire does not appear to have included any portion of North Bengal, the name of the old administrative unit was continued in use during the rule of the Chandras. The villages mentioned in connection with the gift-lands cannot be satisfactorily identified. But the district called Yëśā-mędalā is also known from the Madanpur plate and has been located in the Manikganj subdivision of the Dacca District. The different plots of land were probably situated in two districts, the two groups being not far from each other.

TEXT*

[Metres: verses 1, 3 Vasantaritaka; verses 2, 5, 9 Śāradāvikriṣṭa; verses 4, 7-8 Upajāti; verse 6 Indravajrā; verses 10-13, 15 Anushṭubh; verse 14 Pushpitagrā.]

Obverse

1 Siddham³ svasti | Vandyō Jinas=sa bhagavān karun-āika-pātr[ra]ṁ [Dharmam]ō=py=asau
4 [bhuvi pūrṇa]-chandra-sadṛṣaḥ ātri-Pūrṇachandrō-bhavat | archchānā[m]-pada-pīṭhi-[kāsu] pa[ṭhitaḥ sancā]-
5 ninām-āgratash-ṭaṅk-ōṭṭhīrṇa-nava-prāṣastīhū jaya-stambhēhū tāmṛēhū cha || [2*] Vu-(Bu)d[ha]ya[ḥ] śaśaka-[jā]-
8 chandra-vimvan[i] | suvarṇa-chandrēga hi toṣhit-ēti [Suvarṇachandraṁ samu]dāharanti ||
9 [4*] Putra[t]aṣa[pavīt]r-[t]-
11 ndrō guṇāḥ[ḥ Ṛ]
14 Hari-[r]va Śrīḥ] ta[saya pri]-
16 mūhō[r]ītī [mau]-

¹ This may be the reason why the name Puṇḍravardhana-bhūti (or Puṇḍravardhana?) was changed to Puṃḍrā-bhūti.
² From impressions.
³ Expressed by symbol.
⁴ Read bhuvaṅkṛṣṭaḥ.
⁵ Read "śrīnāh."
⁶ Read vimśam or bimśam.
⁷ The Bāmpāl plate has "śraya".
⁸ Read "śrīchakāhī." The queen's name was either Kāṭchānā or Śrīkāṭchānā.
DHULLA PLATE OF SRICHANDRA

Obverse

Scale: Seven-ninth
No. 25] DHULLA PLATE OF SRICTHANDRA


15 [śa]h-sugandhaḥ .CONNECT Cách-mukhāṇi ॥ ॥ [st] Sprisṛṭaḥ pātṛṣṭhiva-pākhaṇ-dōha-rasasa-slaghā-

16 [trāṇāj-māṇi]ma-ḥaladh parah puttō dṛṇāya vṛndārakaiḥ | kṛṣṇa-vana-nārasiś-apārvva-palita-

17 [ṣamā]mr̥jpayan santāḥ rajā-ḥū rajāśu jal[ṛṇāḥ yasya yuvav-mārgaṇ-gatāḥ || ॥ ॥ se khalu śri-Viś[r̥]ma-pura-ṣamāl-]

18 vāsita-[ṣ]j[ma]jaya[s]kandha[jāvā] at parama-sugatō mahātājājānīrūjaḥ śīmaṁ Śrī-

19 va-pād-ānudhyātāḥ para[māṇās]jajraḥ para[mā]hājāstāḍiṇāḥ jajraḥdirūjaḥ śīmaṁ Śrī-


23 ...[grām]ē ca [hala]-ṣā[pak[am *] [a]tra shad-dṛṇa-ādhika-hana-viṇāḷ[ṣ]ti-ha-ha-hṣma-

samputaṇī̮kābhāḥ ||

Reference

24 [ja]-rāj̥i-rāṣṭaka-rājaputra-rājāmytva-mahācyuḥapati-mahālakṣapi-mahāsāndhivāgra-

25 hika-mahāśēnapati-mahāśēnapati-vyābhichāratitā mahārā[ṭhā]ra-kōṭpā-

26 la-du[a][s]adhaśādhiḥkha-chaurīdhajaṇiṇa-naubha(b)hahasttyavāgaravāḥjīlāṣa-vikādīgvyāpri-

27 gauṃkī-saulīkā-dāṇḍapāpa(s)ka-dāṇḍanayaka-vishayāya(ya)ty-ūlānanyānē-cha sakal-

28 rāja-pād-ōpājivina-hala-khal[p]-āchār-dōktān-_localeā[k]ttān [a]ṭha-hasta-yājā-hyān ja-

* The Kesarpur plate has phana which has been corrected to ghanam.
* Bhartasali reads Vali. ॥
* There are five damaged letters here - Bhartasali reads Vallīva-va-va-va-va. I have doubts about this reading.
* There are four damaged letters before ṣaṭ which Bhartasali reads as ta. He reads the last three of the damaged letters as Dvamva and the first probably as -na (i.e. nambudhaka). I have doubts about this reading.
* Bhartasali reads Lōṣa-dōdhrat (ṣ)va. ॥
* Bhartasali reads "vaṭi. ॥
* Bhartasali apparently reads deepames.
* The name of the village is read by Bhartasali as Ikkaḍīl which seems to be extremely doubtful.
* The damaged akṛti here is read by Bhartasali as eka and the following letter as dī. ॥
* Bhartasali doubtfully reads the name of the village as Mahapatra.
* Read adhi-dvamvam. ॥
* The intended reading of these letters is dvapura-śrīchandra. ॥
* The mark of punctuation here and in the lines below (e.g. lines 31 and 32) is unnecessary. The expression aṣṭraṇākara means 'modification about the heads of departments'.

proakāra means 'notation about the heads of departments'.
29 navadān keśhētrakāraṇē-cha [Vṛ(Brā)hmaṇa-ottaraṇa [yath-āram-ham-mā]naya[ṃ] vō(bo)cbhayati samādhiśati

30 cha = mata[mastu bha]jaya[tāṇi(tām)] | yath-ōpari-līkhitā-bhūmī-īyaṃ svā-sim-āvachchhinnā tri(trî)pa-[pūti-gō]-

31 chara-paryantā | sa-tāla [s-oḍdēsā s-ā[mra]-panasā sa-guṅka-nāl[ī]kērā sa-laṇaḥ | sa-jala-

32 śīṭhā la-sa-ga[ṛtt-ōsārā | sa-tāla'-aparādēḥ | sa-charūdīḥṛtaṇā | pariḥṛt[ta]-sarvva-pāḍā | a-chāṭa-bha[ṭa].


34 āga[ṛ]japaurūrya | Na[n]a[ga][ga] | jauṭraya | Vībhū[bhu]gaṇḍa-purtṛya | Vairdhamakaurī-

35 rasa-pravārya | Kaṇya-śākh-idhyāyinī [sāntivārika]-āsī-[Vyāsaja[ga]-sārmanāṃ(de)([sva]-kri)-[h]-

36 ma-[chatvahṣ]ayē | ad[bhu]-cā-śanti-nimit(tī) ... ta[va]ti² [puṣyē]-hāni | vidhīvad-udaka-pūrvvakam [kri*]-[tvā]

37 bhagavantam-Vuddhaḥ-bhataḥkr̥tam-uddiśya māṭā-pitrōt-ātmanaḥ [cha*] puṣya-yāśo-'bhi-

38 [sa][n*]-kāmā yāvat bhūm-čeṛhīdra-nyāyena śrīmad-Dharmma-chakra-[mu]dra]yā | tā-


40 [nē] mahā-naraka-pāta-bhavich-cha | dānaud-idam-anumōdy-ānupāṇāntam [i*] nīvāsibhiḥ keśhētrakaraśi-cha ājñā-

41 śrāvav-vidhēyibhūya | ya[th-ō]chī[ta-pratvā]-ypanaḥ yārya iti [i*] bhavanti ch-śatra dharmm-ānuśaṃśaḥ ślokaḥ [i*] Bhūmiṇī

42 vaḥ pratigṛḥātī ya-sūḥ bhūmim-prayachchhati | ubhau tān puṣya-karmāṇau niyataḥ svarga-gāmimau || [10*] Shāshṭri-nav(a)raḥ-sahasrā-

43 ni svarggō māḍati bhūmidaḥ | ākṣhēpta ch-ānumantā cha tāny-eva narakam (kē) vasēt ||

44 [11*] śva-dattāṃ-para-dattāṃvē yō hariṭa vasundhā-

45 rāṁ[ṛam] | sa viṣṭhāyām kṛmir-ḥūtvā pitribhīva saha pachyaṭē || [12*] Va(Be)hubhir-vvasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Śagar-adibhiḥ [i*] yasya yasya ya-

46 dā bhūmīs-tasya tātā phalam || [13*] Iti kamala-dāl-āmvu(mbu)-vindu-lōlām āriyam- annucintya manuṣya-jīvitaḥ-cha | sakala-

47 ni [anu | ] mahākṣaṇa-ni —

1 The subscript of the conjunct is not clear. Bhattachari reads Nanda*.
2 The reading may be lād-gatavāt.
3 Read "comus=Buddha*.
4 Read "dātāṃ vē.
5 Read Bhuddātā.
No 26—CHIKKALAVALASA PLATES OF VAJRHASTA III, SAKA 982

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACUMUND

(Received on 16.9.1957)

The copper-plate inscription under study was dug up more than three decades ago by a farmer of the village of Chikkālāvalasa while tilling a field. The village lies between Urlām and Kambakāya in the Taluk and District of Srikakulam, Andhra Pradesh. It is stated that the plates were found in a field near the border of the village of Kuddānu in the same neighbourhood. The inscription was secured from the farmer by Bhaiari Appalaswami Naidu of Chikkālāvalasa, who sent them to Pandit Somasekhara Sarma for study and publication. Pandit Sarma published the inscription in the Bhārati (Telugu), Vol. II, 1925, Part I, pp. 138 ff., with illustrations. The text of the epigraph was also quoted by R. Subba Rao in the Kājingadēscharitamu (Telugu), Appendix, pp. 50 ff. The record was noticed in the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, 1924-25, C.P. No. 5. I edit the inscription in the following pages from a set of excellent estampages preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.

The set consists of five plates, the first of which is inscribed only on the inner side while the next three have writing on both the sides. The fifth plate bears no writing and was apparently used for the protection of the writing on the reverse of the fourth plate. The plates were strung on a ring bearing the Gaṅga seal with the bull and other emblems on its counter-sunk surface. The charter together with its seal resembles other such records of the early Imperial Gaṅgas, especially those of Vajrhastra III Anantavarman (1038-70 A.D.) to whom it belongs. The plates are rectangular in shape; but their length is less in the sides (8.4 inches) than in the middle (8.7 inches) while their breadth is more in the sides (3.7 inches) than in the middle (3.3 inches).

The characters belong to the Gaudiya or East Indian alphabet and the language of the record is Sanskrit. As regards palaeography, orthography and style, the inscription closely resembles other copper-plate grants of Vajrhastra III, several of which have been published in this journal, some of them very recently.1 The introductory part of the charter in lines 1-41 is a copy of other such grants issued by the king. The major part of this section (i.e. lines 1-35) is also copied in the copper-plate records of Rājarāja I Dēvendravarman (1070-78 A.D.), son and successor of Vajrhastra III, and we had occasion to discuss the section in our paper on the Galavalli plates (cf. lines 1-35) of the said monarch, which have been recently published in the pages of this journal.2 Remarks on the palaeography and orthography of the Galavalli plates also apply to the present record.

The date of the charter is quoted in lines 41-15 as the Saka year, counted by the words kara (i.e. 2), vasa (i.e. 8) and vijñi (i.e. 9), i.e. 982. The tithi is stated to have been the third of the first fortnight of the month of Kāṛtika. The week-day is given apparently as Monday. The date reminds us of that of another charter of the same king, which was issued on Monday, the 7th of the first fortnight of Āśādha in Saka 991.3 This date was equated with the 9th of

3 Ibid., Vol. XXIII, p. 69.
June 1068 A.D. taking the year to be current and the month Amānta. If, in the case of the date of the inscription under study, the year is similarly regarded as current and the month as Amānta, Saka 982, Kārttika-prathama-paksha 3, Monday would correspond to the 11th October, 1059 A.D. On that date, the tītyā tīthi began at 5:55 of the day.\textsuperscript{1}

Lines 38-41 state that Parambhābhaṭṭāraха Mahārājādhirāja Ananta-varman Vajrahastadēva (i.e. Vajrahasta III), who was the lord of Trikaliṅga and a devout worshipper of the god Mahēśvara (Śiva), issued his order relating to the grant in question to the people of the country-side together with his officers. The gift village was Kuddam (line 42; called Kudda in line 55) which was situated in the vishaya or district of Kōluvartani. It was given for the perpetual enjoyment of the donee, without any trouble, for the merit of the king himself and of his parents. But it is interesting to note that the village is not stated to have been a rent-free gift. The expression saruya-pidā-vivarjijitam in line 43 shows that the donee enjoyed certain privileges which, however, did not include freedom from the payment of rent. We know that, in charters recording the creation of a rent-free holding in favour of the donee, the exemption from the payment of rent is specified in clear terms. As will be clear from our discussion of the details of the grant below, the nature of the document under study is that of a kara-sāsana or rent-paying grant.\textsuperscript{2}

Lines 45-49 describe the donee who obtained the village of Kuddam or Kudda from the king probably by purchase. It is stated that there was a family belonging to the Vaiśya community and the Datta (wrong for Danta according to Pandit Somasekhara Sarma) gārha, in which a person named Mādhava was born. Mādhava’s son was Sūmana-srēṣṭhīn, whose wife was Erayapā. Sūmana’s son from Erayapā was Mallaya-srēṣṭhīn to whom the Gaṅga king Vajrahasta III gave the village in question with libation of water by means of the copper-plate charter under study. The king requests the future rulers of the area to be so good as to approve of this gift and protect it. But the Vaiśya Mallaya-srēṣṭhīn obtained the village from the king for the purpose of giving away the major part of it as an agrahāra in favour of a large number of Brāhmaṇas. This is made clear by the concluding part of the record in lines 49-56.\textsuperscript{3} Another instance of this kind is offered by the Kailan (Kailain) plate\textsuperscript{4} of Śrīdhāra-nārāyaṇa, according to which an officer of the king obtained a big plot of land from his master probably by purchase and retained a small part of it for himself after having allotted the rest in favour of a number of Brāhmaṇas and a Buddhist religious establishment.\textsuperscript{5}

It is stated in lines 49 ff. that, after having obtained the charter from the king, the donee Mallaya-srēṣṭhīn kept a part of the village for himself and made over the rest to three hundred Brāhmaṇas. His share consisted of a house-site, a garden-site and an area of cultivable land.

\textsuperscript{1} In the Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy, 1924-25, p. 64, the date of the inscription under review has been equated with the 30th October 1060 A.D. taking the year as expired. But that day falls in Amānta Mārgaśīrṣa and not in Kārttika, either Amānta or Pūrṇimānta.

\textsuperscript{2} For a number of such records, see JRAS, 1952, pp. 4 ff.

\textsuperscript{3} In the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, 1924-25, p. 78, it is stated, “The donee reserved a portion of the village for himself and granted the rest to the Brahman Māpa-nāyaka and fixed the rate of taxes to be paid annually to the king from the village. The granting of villages as agrahāras to people of communities other than Brahman is peculiar. In the copper-charters of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty cases in which villages were granted as agrahāras to Vaiṣyas have been noticed already (Copper Plate No. 5 of 1918-19).” The name of the Brāhmaṇa was, however, Māpava-nāyaka and not Māpa-nāyaka and he was one of the many Brāhmaṇas in whose favour the agrahāra was granted. The language of the epigraph does not suggest the creation of a Vaiṣya-āgrahāra. Mallaya-srēṣṭhīn reserved for himself only a small part of the village and agreed to pay annual rent in both cash and grains. The Vaiṣya-āgrahāra mentioned in C. P. No. 5 of 1918-19 seems to have been created on the condition that rent should be paid at the rate of 150 silver coins per year.

\textsuperscript{4} IJRQ, Vol. XXIII, pp. 234-36.

\textsuperscript{5} Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, p. 51.
producing one hundred Murās of paddy (or grain) [per year]. The meritorious act of creating an agrahāra of the rest of the village in favour of Brāhmaṇas was performed by Mallaya-ārēśāththi on the auspicious occasion of the Uttarāyana-saṅkrānti. The saṅkrānti, however, took place sometime later in the month of December, though the charter was issued in October. The three hundred Brāhmaṇas who received the major part of the village as an agrahāra were headed by Māpaya-nāyaka who was the son of Karapamba-nāyaka from his wife Rēkapā and the grandson of Pillisarman. This Brāhmaṇa family belonged to the Bahyrica sākhā and Aupamanya gōra and hailed from the village of Jalambūr. The names of the other recipients of the grant are not mentioned in the charter.

The last sentence of the record in lines 55-56 states that the rent for the village payable to the king had to be paid at the rate of one hundred Murās of paddy (or grain) and eight Mādas (coins of gold or silver) apparently per annum. It was no doubt Mallaya-ārēśāththi who was responsible for the payment of the rent to the king. But whether he realised a part or the whole of the rent in cash and grains from the Brāhmaṇas is not clear from the language of the inscription. We have shown elsewhere that the old custom in many parts of Andhra and Oriissa was generally to pay to the king for an agrahāra, even when, as was declared as rent-free, an amount of money annually.

The amounts mentioned in some records in this connection are 200 Pānas [probably of cowries], 10 Māhakas [probably of silver], between 2 and 9 Pālas of silver, etc. This was apparently much less than the usual annual rent for a village. The determination of the concessional rates must have depended on such factors as the size and revenue-income of a village, the degree of the king’s willingness to suffer loss of revenue in lieu of religious merit, the amount of purchase money received by the king for the creation of an agrahāra from the donees or a third party eager to perform a meritorious deed, etc. In the present case, a pious member of the mercantile community seems to have purchased the village for the Brāhmaṇas and the king appears to have fixed the annual rent at the concessional rate of 8 coins and 100 Murās of grain. The exact quantity of a Murā of grain cannot be determined. Māda is generally spelt Mādhâ in Orissan records. It was regarded as a coin weighing 40 Ratis or half of a Tolā.

Among the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the village of Kudda or Kuddam has been identified by Pandit Somasekhara Sarma with modern Kuddāmu near Chikkālavala near the Kollūvarthani viśāhāya, mentioned also in some other records of the area, was therefore the district round the said village Jalambūr, where the donee’s family lived, has been identified with modern Jalamūru about six miles from Kuddāmu.

TEXT*

[Metres: verses 1, 4, 12 Saṃśastra; verse 2 Āryā; verses 3, 7, 13 Anuṣṭubh; verse 5 Vaiṣṇava; verses 6, 10 Mālīni; verses 8-9 Gītā; verse 11 Vasantaśakā.]

First Plate

1 Siddhānti svasti [**] ārṇmatām-akhila-bhuvana-vinuta-naya-vinaya-dayā-dāna-dākshīṇya-sa-
2 tya-saucha-sauryya-dhairyya-[d]i-guṇa-ratna-pavitrakāñṇām-Ātrēya-gōtrāṇāṁ vi-
3 mala-vichār-āchāra-puṇya-śa[sa]līa-prakṣhīyā(kahā)līta-Kali-kālā-kalpamsha-ma-
4 śhīṃśám Mahā-Mahāndra-śāhala-[s]ikhara-pratishṭhātasya sa-char-āchara-gurū-

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* From impressions.
* Expressed by symbol.
5 ṭa sakala-bhuvana-nirṃāṇa-aika-sūtrakārasya saśānka-chṛ(ṭ)a dukeṣa- 
6 ṇbbha(ṛ-bbha)gavatō Gōkārṇasavāminah prasādāḥ=saṃsārīdit-aika-saṅka-bhī- 
7 ri-paṇcha-mahāśāvāda(bda)-dhavala-chchhatra-hēma-chāmaraka-vara-vrīshabha-laṅkhana-sāmū- 
8 jva(jjva)la-samasta-sāmājīya-mahīnām=anēka-samara-saṅghaṭa-saṃu-

Second Plate, First Side

9 palavda(bda)-vijaya-lakṣmi-samālīgīt-ō(t*?)tuṇga-bhūja-daṇḍa-manḍītanāṁ 
10 Trikālaṇga-mahībhujāṁ Gaṅgānāṁ-anavyam=alaṅkarīshnōr=Vishnōr=iva 
11 viśram-akrānta-dhara-māṇḍalasya Gaṅgāmahārṇava-mahārājasya putraḥ || 0 || Pū- 
12 rvaṅ bhūpatibhir-vvibhayā vaśudhā yā paṇchabhīṅ paṇchadhā bhuktā bhūri-parā- 
13 kramō bhūva(ba)cakī=eka ēva svayaṁ(yam) || ēkīkṛtya vijītya sa(sa)trunāvah[ā]- 
14 na(n) āri-Vaṣrakastō=chatusṣ-chatvārīṁśatam-ātyudāra-charitaḥ sarvāṃ=araṇḍhit=saṃ[ā]- 
15 ṭ || [1*] tasya tanayō Gaṅḍamaṅgājā(jō) varsha-trayam-apālayata mahīṁ(hlm) || tad-anuṣaṇ 

K[ā]- 

16 mārṇapadēvaḥ paṇcha-trimśatam=avda(bda)kām || [2*] Tasya-ānuyā Vinayāditya[ḥ*] samā- 

Second Plate, Second Side

17 s=stisra[ḥ*] || Taṭalā Kāmārṇavāj-jātō jaṅgati-kalpabhūruhaḥ || yō-rājad-rājitaḥ(ta)-chchhā- 
18 yō Vaṣrakastō=vaṇipatiḥ || [3*] Prazhyōda(ta)n-māda-gandha-luvda(bdha)-madhupa-
19 jānā(n-a)rhiti[ḥy]aḥ samadāt-sahasram=atulō yas-tayginvā(nā)m=agrap[ḥ*] saḥ(sa) āṣī-

mān-Aniyaṅka- 

20 bhīma-nripatir-Gaṅga-ānvaṭ-yō(t*)taṁśa(sa)kaḥ paṇcha-trimśatam=avda(bda)kān=sa-
21 mabhunakṣi(k-pri)th-vitū stutah pārthivaih || [4*] Tad-agra-sūnuḥ Surārīja-srī(sū)nunā 
22 [sa*]mas-saṁstāṁ sa(sa)m-atī-maṁ(ma)nḍaṅ[ā]ah [1*] smā pāti Kāmārṇava-bhūpati 
23 māman(a-n)-ddha-saṁśāṁ samu[j*]jvalah || [5*] Tad-anu tad-anujanmō(nā)mā Chittajamāṇ-ōpa-

[mājno guna- 
24 nidhir-anavadyō Gaṇḍam-ākhyō mahīsaḥ(saḥ) || sakalam=idad=araṇkhi(kehi)triṣpi 

varēbā- 

Third Plate, First Side

25 ni dhātri-valayam=alaghu-tējō-nirjīt-ārāti-chakrāḥ || [6*] Tatō dv[jai)māturas-tasya Ma-
26 dhukāṁ[ṛ]ṇaṇaḥ niṇpaḥ ||( ) avati sm-śaṇāṁ=ētāṁ=avda(bd̐a)n=ēkārṇa(n-na)-vināśatiṁ-

(tim) || o ||[1] [7*] 
27 Atha Vaṣrakastō-nripatār=agra-sutād=akhila-guṇi-jan-āgranayaḥ[ḥ*] Kāmārṇavāt-kav-1dra- 

1 An unnecessary ०-मृद्र was incised after this letter and cancelled by the engraver. 
2 An unnecessary ०-मृद्र with this letter was cancelled by the engraver. 
3 The letter ० was originally written for ०. 

No 26] CHIKKALAVA LASA PLATES OF VAJRAHASTA III, SAKA 982

28 pragyamān-āvadāta-śubha-kīrtīḥ [ || 8*] Śriya iva Vaidumvā(m-b-ā)nava-śaya-payaḥ-pa-1
29 yōnidhi-samudbhavāyās-acha [ || ] yaḥ samajani Vinaya-mahādēvyāḥ śrī-Vajrahasta
30 iti tanayaḥ [ || 9*] Viyad-ritu-nidhi-sarinkhāyānī yātī Śāk-āvda(bda)-saṅghē di-
31 nakriti Vṛisabha-sthē Rōhiśī-bhē su-lagnē [ || ] Dhanushī cha sita-pakshē Śrī(Sū)raya-
32 tīyāṁ yuji sakala-dhāritrīṁ rakshituṁ yō-bhishiktaḥ [ || 10*] Nyāyē(yyē)na yatra
33 samam-ā-
34 charitum tri-varṛggu(ṛggaṁ) mārggēṇa rakshati mahim mahita-pratāpē [ || ] nirvyādha-

Third Plate, Second Side

34 yaśecha niraṅghās-chā nirāpadāsa-cha āśvat-prajā bhuvi bhavanti vibhūtimattyaḥ [ || 11*] 
Vyāptē Gaṅga-
35 kul-ōtamasaya yaśasa(sa) dik-chakravālē āśi-pradyōt-āmalinēṇa yasaya bhuvana-
36 prahlādē-1
37 punas-ccha haritām-ādhirnapā vāraṇāṇī || 12* Anurāgēṇa guṇinō yasaya va-
38 kshō-mukh-āvjay(bja)yōḥ | āśi(at)ē Śrī-Sarasvatyāv-anukūlē virājatā[h*] ||9 || 13* Kā-
39 tāgana[ga]*rāṭ=paramamāḥē śvar-paramabhaṅgāvaka-mahātājādhiraja-Tri-
40 kālīng-ādhipati-śrīmad-Anantavarmmā Vajrahastadevāh kusāli samast-ānātya-
41 pramukha-janapadān-samāhāya samājāpayati [ || ] viditam-astu bhavatāṁ(tām) ||
42 Kōluvarntani-viṣhayē || Kuddam-ākhyā-grāmaḥ chatuḥ-sim-āvachchhunai, sa-ja-

Fourth Plate, First Side

43 la-sthalaḥ sarvva-pidā-vivarjita[ma-ā] chandār-ārka-kshiti-sama-kālam yōvam mātā-putrō-
44 ra-ātmanāḥ [cha*] punya-yaśoḥ-hīvṛiddhayē || kara-vasu-nidhi-Śāk-āvda(bdē) ||
45 Kārtikā-māsa-pratha-
46 ma-pakaḥ-triti[ya]*yaṁ Sō[ma*]va(vā)rē || Datta-gotra-ya Vaisya(ya)-kula-
47 ṭībhaḥ || Madhav-ākhyāḥ
48 tasya putraḥ Sōmana-sreṣṭhāḥ || tasya bhāryyaḥ Īrayapā tāvōr-jiyāva
49 Mallaya-sreṣṭhāya* udaka-pūrvaṁ tāmvar(a)-āśanaṁ kṛtvā praattama(ttaḥ a)-

1 Originally y was written in the place of p.
2 An unnecessary ā-mātri with this letter has been cancelled by the engraver.
3 Originally medial i was incised in the place of medial ā.
4 The punctuation mark is unnecessary.
5 Read śrāddhā.
6 Read śrāddhāda.
48  rbbbhā(r=bbhā)vibhirbhbhū(r=bbhū)mipālairma(r=a)numō[dyā*] dharmmā(twma)-
gauravāt=paripāla'niyam=i-
ti || rājatah śāsanaṃ laviḥvā(bdvā) punar=ayaṁ grāmaḥ || griha-sthānam=udyāna-
sthānam cha || sa(sa)ta-murā-dhāny-ōtpanna-bhūmischa(ñ=oha) sva-sva[ṁ*] śēṣhayitvā ||
Jala-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

51  mvū(mbū)r-akhyā-grāma-nivāst || Vabhya-sākha-Upamanya-gōtrasya* || dvij-ōttamaḥ ||
Pi-

52  lisaminaḥ* | tasya putraḥ Karanṭama-nāyakaḥ | tasya bhāryāḥ Rēkapā | tayō-
53  r=jjāttēna Māpaya-nāyakēna saha tri-sa(sa)tēbhyaḥ || Vṛā(Bṛā)hmapēbhyaḥ agrahā-
raṁ krītēvā Uttarāyanna-ūmittē(tē) || Mallaya-srē(Ē)rē)sthēnā(ñā) dhārā-purvva-
kaṁ || Kudd-ākhya-grāmaṁ pradattam-iti || asya grāmasya utpanna-
54  karaih rājūṁ dēyām sa(sa)ta-mura(rā)-dhānyair= ashta-māḍais=cha ||

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1 An unnecessary a-mārdā with this letter was cancelled by the engraver.
2 The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
3 Read Bhavīrīča-kākha-Upamanyava-gōtrasya.
4 Read sarmādā.
5 Read grāmaḥ pradattā iti.
No. 27—Nagarjunakonda Inscription of Ehavalasri's Time, Year 11

(1 Plate)

B. Ch. Chhabra, New Delhi

(Received on 5-6 1958)

The subjoined stone inscription1 was copied and examined by me in July 1957 at Nagarjunakonda in the course of my epigraphical tour. It is peculiar in several respects: it is one of the comparatively few Sanskrit inscriptions that have been discovered at this site, most of them being in Prakrit; it is Brahmanistic in nature, the Prakrit ones being all Buddhist; it is found in six or seven versions, all broken fragments, not a single version having been found in its entirety. It took me some hours to dovetail the fragments till then discovered and kept in the site museum at Nagarjunakonda. Many of the fragments are still missing. I was, however, able to restore the complete text by deciphering the extant parts on the various fragments. The facsimile on Plate A shows the greater part of one of the versions, while those on Plate B represent parts of two more versions. The fragments, of the other versions, so far discovered, are too few and are hence not illustrated here.

The ancient site of Nagarjunakonda is situated on the right bank of the Krishnä river in the Guntur District of Andhra Pradesh, and is famous for the Buddhist relics it has yielded in abundance. Of late, the site has been rendered more famous by the Nandikonda Dam Project; for this hydro-electric scheme, when complete, will have submerged the entire site, as the water so dammed will rise 60 to 70 feet over the vast area now dotted with the excavated antiquarian remains. The Union Department of Archaeology is thus discharging a very special and emergent responsibility of disembowelling, as fast as can be, the buried ruins and salvaging as many of them as it can possibly do before the threatened deluge takes place.

It may be remarked that the recent digging operations at Nagarjunakonda have laid bare many Brahmanistic antiquities, whereas those formerly unearthed there almost all belong to the Buddhist faith.

The size of the inscribed bits of stone under study is indicated by the scale given in the photographs reproduced here. The inscription consists of six lines in each version. Though the duct of writing is markedly different in each version, the script in all of them is the same Brāhma of about the 3rd or 4th century A.D. It resembles that of the Prakrit inscriptions discovered at the same place,2 and shares with it the characteristic feature of long and curved top and bottom strokes of the letters. The engraving is neatly and elegantly done.

As noticed above, the language of the inscription is Sanskrit. The composition is remarkably free from errors. Except for the auspicious formula siddham at the beginning, the record is in verse, comprising two stanzas, the first in the Anushṭubh metre and the second in Srṣaḍharm. These are logically arranged; the first, being a small one, is divided into halves, each half occupying one line; and the second, being a lengthy one, is divided into quarters, each quarter occupying one line.

There is not much that calls for special notice in the script. The mute consonants are shown by the smaller size of the letter concerned: cf. ʍ in lines 1 and 6, and ʍ in line 5. Besides, they occur

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1 This is No. 5 of J.R.R., 1957-58, App. B.
2 Cf. above, Vol. XX, pp. 1 ff.
a little below the line. Further, the mute t is bereft of its top. There is very little difference between the forms of the letters t and n, both being unlooped. The form of the upadāmāṇīya (line 1) consists of a circle with a cross in the centre, or a four-spoked wheel, so to say, while that of the jhāvādimāṇīya (lines 4 and 5) is identical with that of the letter m. In point of orthography, the consonant before or after r is in most cases reduplicated. The reduplication of the one before r, in pprasādāt in line 5, is noteworthy. The change of visarga into s or ś before these letters (lines 4, 5 and 6) is another peculiarity worth noticing.

As for the object of the inscription, it records the erection of a temple (prāsāda), described as the dwelling place for Śiva (Survedēv-ādhivāsa), by one Eliśrī, on the 11th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Māgha during the 11th regnal year of king Eñhavalarī. Eliśrī, the builder of the temple, is described as a Tālaṇavara-vara (apparently the same as Mahātālavara found in many other inscriptions from Nāgarjunakōṇḍa) in the service of king Eñhavalarī. He is further described to be a grandson of the Śeṇāpatī Añikki and a son of Gāndi. It is significant that our donor’s father does not bear any title, while his grandfather is mentioned to be a Śeṇāpatī or commander of armies, who had won victories in battle fields and acquired great fame. His own title shows that he too was a high dignitary.

The most prominent thing in the description of Eliśrī is that he was a devout worshipper of the god Kārttikēya or Kumāra, the wielder of the terrible spear, so much so that he ascribes the erection of the Śiva temple in question to the grace and favour of Kārttikēya.

The names of the donor, his father and his grandfather as well as that of the king are all non-Sanskritic. They are presumably of Dravidian origin. It has been suggested to me that the word Eli or eli in the name Eliśrī may be connected with the Tamil word vel, equivalent to Sanskrit sakti, ‘spear’ (weapon of the god Kārttikēya). Anyway, this name as well as the others in this inscription require further elucidation.

The king Eñhavalarī is known from some other inscriptions from the same place, the name being sometimes spelt as Eñhvala. King Eñhvala (Chātamūla is mentioned as the son of the Ikshvaku king Virapurisadata and Mahādevi Bhaṣṭidēvā. One of this king’s records, it is interesting to know, is dated in the very 11th year of his reign as in the case with our inscription. His father and he himself bear the metronymies Maḍharmputa and Vaṣṭhiputpa respectively, indicating thereby that the mother of the former belonged to the Mādhara gōra while the mother of the latter belonged to the Vāsishṭha gōra. Eñhvala or Eñhvala had a sister whose name was Kodabalisirī, queen of Vānavaśaka-mahārāja.

A much longer and well-preserved Sanskrit inscription engraved on a stone pillar of the time of the same king Eñhvalasirī has likewise been recently discovered at Nāgarjunakōṇḍa.

It is not possible to equate the regnal year given in the inscription with the corresponding Christian year. Yet, as indicated above, the inscription can palaeographically be placed in the 3rd or 4th century A.D.

The text of the present inscription given below is based on my reading of the original fragments of the inscription.

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1 I take Sarra here as a well-known synonym of Śiva: Sarraḥ Śravaḥ Śivaḥ Śīvaḥ Śīvakā.
2 For Tālaṇavara and Mahātālavara, see above, Vol. XX, pp. 6 and 7, note 1.
3 [The Telugu word elika (from the verb elu, ‘to govern’) means ‘a ruler, king, master’.—Ed.]
5 Loc. cit., Inscription H.
6 This is No. 4 of A.R.Ep., 1937-38, App. B.
NAGARJUNAKONDA INSCRIPTION OF EHAVAĻASRI'S TIME, YEAR 11

(from a Photograph)
(from Photographs)
TEXT

[Metres: verse 1 Anu-ṣṭubh; verse 2 Srugāḥkarā.]

1 Śādham | Vaśṣha śādāśe | Ṛṇaḥ-prabhōr. | Ehavalasriyaḥ | [*]
2 śukla-pakṣhasya | Māghasya | puṇya śādāśe | hani [][*]
3 Dēvē yasya-āṭibhāktir. | Hutaśha-tanayē | chaṃḍa-śaktau | Kumārē
d4 pautras-sēnāpatēr-yyasa-samara-viṣayinaḥ | kkhyāta-kīrttēr. | Anikēh | [*]
5 prāśādaṁ-Gaṇḍi-puttras-sa taḷavara varah | Kārṭtikeya-pprasādāt
6 Eśīrē-śrī-vasālam | śubha-matri-śakarōt. | Sarvadēv-vādhivāsam | [[ 2*]

TRANSLATION

Luck!

(Verse 1) On the auspicious eleventh day of the bright fortnight of (the month of) Māgha, during the eleventh year of the king, the Lord Ehavalasrī.

(Verse 2) Eśīrī of pure intellect, the chief Taḷavara, who is intensely devoted to (the god) Kumāra, son of Fire,2 wielder of the terrible spear, Eśīrī, grandson of the army-chief Anikkī who had won victories in battlefields and acquired wide renown,—Eśīrī, son of Gaṇḍi, with the grace of (the god) Kārṭtikeya (same as Kumāra), built (this) supremely glorious temple, an abode of Sarvadēva (i.e., the god Śiva).
No. 28—BHATURIYA INSCRIPTION OF RAJYAPALA

(1 Plate)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

(Received on 31.5.1956)

The stone slab bearing the inscription under study was recovered from the mosque at Bhāturiyā, about 20 miles from Rajshahi, headquarters of the District of that name in East Pakistan, by Mirza Mokhtaruddin Ahmad, Superintendent of Police, Rajshahi. It was presented to the Museum of the Varendra Research Society at Rajshahi in August 1954. The inscription was published by Mr. Siva Prasanna Lahiri in the Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXXI, No. 3 (September 1955), pp. 215-31, without any illustration. Recently I received a photograph of the epigraph from the authorities of the Varendra Research Society. On an examination of the record, it was found that there are many errors in Mr. Lahiri’s transcript and translation of the document while his conclusions in regard to its historical importance are in several cases mere unwarranted speculations.

The inscribed slab is stated to measure between 19 and 19½ inches in length and between 11¾ and 11½ inches in height. The space occupied by the writing is about 18¾ inches long and 10½ inches high. Individual aksharas are about 3 inch in height. There are altogether 20 lines in the record. The last line, which is nearly 13 inches long and is thus shorter than the other lines, has been incised in a central position leaving a space of a little above 2½ inches at the beginning of the line and about 3½ inches at its end. The letters are carefully and beautifully engraved and the preservation of the writing is satisfactory, though some letters are slightly rubbed off in the central area of the left half of the inscribed surface.

The characters belong to the Gaudiya or East Indian alphabet of about the tenth century A.D. and closely resemble those of the contemporary records of the Pāla kings of Bengal and Bihar. Of initial vowels, a (lines 2, 14, 16, 18), ò (line 13), o (lines 6, 20) and è (line 19) occur in the inscription. The sign for ã has been used to indicate ā. The letter t has three forms, viz. endowed with the ámdār-like sign (cf. mukha in line 2), with a short stroke in the place of the said sign (cf. ḍha in line 2, Karna in line 11) and without the sign in question (kapiṭh in line 10, Lāṭīṣ in line 11, patti in line 20). There is no appreciable difference between p and y and between the subscript forms of dh and r. The sign for half nasal called candraśveta or anuvāsa is used in line 11. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and it is written in verse with the exception of the word swaṣṭi preceded by the Siddham symbol at the beginning in line 1. It is a praśasti or eulogy in 15 stanzas composed in various metres. The author’s style is simple. As regards orthographical peculiarities, there are some cases of the use of class nasals in the place of anuśāra and a few cases of visarga-sandhi as in ājñākś-āśvādaḥ (lines 11-12) and ārūpād-Śankaraḥ (line 16). Anuśāra instead of final m has been used at the end of the halves of stanzas while final m has not been changed to anuśāra before r. Some consonants have been reduplicated in conjunction with the preceding r. In line 18, the word jīta has been wrongly written as yātu.

The inscription bears no date. But it records a grant of king Rājiyapāla no doubt belonging to the celebrated Pāla dynasty of Eastern India. The Pāla king Rājiyapāla ruled in the first half of the tenth century and his reign period may be roughly assigned to c. 911-35 A.D.

The inscription begins with a stanza (verse 1) in lines 1-2, which is in adoration of the god Śambhu (Śiva). Verse 2 (lines 2-3) introduces a locality called Āṭṭamūla which was the home of (160)
the Dása family or clan. The said place is described as Brihadhaśa-viniqata probably meaning that Āṭṭamūla originally formed a part of Brihadhaśa. Lahiri reads the two geographical names wrongly as Āṭṭamūla and Brihadhaśa. Verse 3 in lines 3-4 states that a person named Mahadāsa was born in the said family of the Dāsas of Āṭṭamūla and that Sūradāsa was the son of Mahadāsa, and Saṅghadāsa the son of Sūradāsa. Saṅghadāsa has been described as munificent to the suppliants just as Mount Rōhana which is the same as the 'modern Adam's Peak in Ceylon. Verse 4 in line 5 states that the said Saṅghadāsa married Sarasvatī, the daughter of Śrīvakunḍa and Uurvāyī. Lahiri reads the stanza wrongly and fails to notice the name of Sarasvatī, wife of Saṅghadāsa, mentioned in it. Verse 5 (lines 5-7) introduces Yaśodāsa, the son of Saṅghadāsa and Sarasvatī and the hero of the praise under study. It is stated that Yaśodāsa was made a Mantri or minister by king Rājayapāla. Yaśodāsa has been compared here to 'the lord of speech', i.e. Brihaspati, the priest and counsellor of the lord of the gods. This of course does not suggest that Yaśodāsa was a Brāhmaṇa by caste. As will be seen below, Lahiri regards him as a member of the Chāshi Kaivarta community of Bengal on inconclusive grounds. The Kaivartas are fishermen and those amongst them who gave up their ancestral profession and adopted agriculture are the Chāshi Kaivarta or Mahīshya. Yaśodāsa may or may not have been a Kaivarta.

The following five stanzas (verses 6-10) describe the achievements of Yaśodāsa. Verse 6 in lines 7-8 states that Yaśodāsa received the designation of Sācika (i.e. a minister or counsellor) from the king while the next stanza (verse 7 in lines 8-10) says that the king made Yaśodāsa his Tatrādhiṅkāri. The official designation Tatrādhiṅkāri, which literally means 'an officer in charge of administration', appears to be the same as Tatrāpāla, Tatrājapati and Tatrādhiṅkasika of epigraphic and literary records and an early commentator is known to explain the designation Brihatatantrapata as Bharadhiṅkāri or a judge. The language of our inscription seems to make a distinction among Mantri, Sācika and Tatrādhiṅkāri and to show how Yaśodāsa was raised by Rājayapāla from a lower post to a higher one on two occasions. Both these stanzas (verses 6-7) mention the king as Rāmaparākrama. The repetition of the expression in two consecutive stanzas seems to suggest that it was a sort of secondary name of the Pāla king Rājayapāla and not merely an epithet meaning 'one who is equal to Rāma in prowess'.

Lahiri understands the passage aśūtasain-bhūmijāh occurring in verse 7 to mean 'on the score of the broad-chested Bhūmijas' and the Bhūmijas have been understood by him in the sense of the Chāshi Kaivartas. In his view, the verse mentions the Pāla king as having aspired for the status of Indra on the score of his elephants, Bhūmijas, land and gold and the worship of gods and Brāhmaṇas. This has led him to a good deal of speculating regarding Yaśodāsa having been the chief of the Chāshi Kaivarta community, the great help Rājayapāla may have received from this community, Yaśodāsa having been appointed his Prime Minister as a reward for such help, the well-known Kaivarta chief Divya (who snatched away North Bengal from the hands of Mahipāla II about the end of the eleventh century) having been a distant descendant of Yaśodāsa, etc. But there is nothing of all these in the stanza which may be translated as follows: "who (Yaśodāsa) was made the Tatrādhiṅkāri by the victorious [and] illustrious Rāmaparākrama who was aspiring, as it were, for the status of lord of the gods by honouring gods and Brāhmaṇas with [the presents of] haughty elephants in rut, principal horses (aśūtasaśa) [and] men (bhūmijā) that had surrendered [to him] (tupaṇataḥ) [as well as] land covered with crops [and] many heaps of gold which were acquired [by him]." The verse merely refers to the fact that Rājayapāla obtained the possession of a large number of elephants, horses and infantry men (i.e. prisoners to be made slaves) as well as land and gold, all belonging to his enemies, as a result of his victories over the latter, and that he made presents of them all to the gods and Brāhmaṇas. There is no reference here to the Chāshi Kaivartas.

Lahiry's contention that Dāsa (which is Yaśodāsa's name-ending or family designation) should have to be taken to indicate the Chāshi Kaivarta community and that Kuṇḍa (the name-ending or family designation of his maternal grandfather Sūryakanjda) should have to be taken to be the same as Kuṇḍa which is now a family name among the Chāshi Kaivartas of Bengal is equally unsatisfactory. Both Dāsa and Kuṇḍa are at present known to be the cognomina among various non-Brahmana communities of Bengal including the Kāyastha and Vaidya and there is evidence to show that even the Brahmanas of Eastern India bore the said name-endings or cognomina in early times.¹

Verse 8 in lines 10-12 states that, when Yaśodāsa was occupying the post of the Tantrādikārīn of Rājyapāla, his master's (i.e. the Pāla king's) command was obeyed by the Mīśchchhas, Aṅgas, Kāliṅgas, Vaṅgas, Odras, Pāṇḍyas, Kāṃṭhas, Lāṭas, Suḥmas, Gurjaras, Kritas and Chinās. Besides some errors in Lahiry's readings of the stanza, his acceptance of Rājyapāla's claim to have been obeyed by all the above peoples as a historical fact is unsound. There is little doubt that it is a conventional claim which is not quite reliable from the historian's point of view in regard to most of the peoples mentioned, even if a few of them may have been actually subdued by the Pāla king.

The Mīśchchhas mentioned in the list appear to have been the Arab Muslims who were in occupation of the lower Indus valley since the first quarter of the eighth century, although the Pāla king had little chance of having come into conflict with them. The Aṅgas lived in the Monghyr-Bhagalpur region forming a part of the Pāla dominions in Rājyapāla's time. The Kāliṅgas may be identified with the Eastern Gangas then ruling from the city of Kaliṅganagara in the Srikakulam District of Andhra Pradesh. The Vaṅgas lived in South-Easter Bengal and the Odras of Oriya were then under the rule of the Bhau&mashcha Karas of Gauravarapāta (modern Jājpur in the Cuttack District). The Pāṇḍyas ruled from Madurai over the southernmost Districts of India while the Kāṃṭhas may be identified with the Rāṣṭrakūta of Mānyakhēṭa (modern Mālkhed in the former Hyderabad State). The Lāṭas lived in the Naurī-Broach region of Gujarāt and the Suḥmas in South-West Bengal. The Gurjaras were of course the Gurjara-Prathāhrs of Kanauj.

The most interesting in the above list of peoples is the mention of the Kritas and Chinās since neither of them generally finds a place in the conventional list of adversaries or subdued peoples found in the records of Indian monarchs. It may be suggested that the Sino-Tibetans are indicated by the name China. But the identification of the Krita people is difficult, since they are not mentioned in the list of peoples found in the Indian epic, Puranic and geographical literature. It is of course tempting to suggest that Krita is a modification of Kṛita which is the name of a well-known Himalayan people. But there is no evidence in Indian literary works in favour of such a modification. Monier-Williams' Sanskrit-English Dictionary recognises the word Kṛita as the name of the people of a despised caste on the authority of Wilson, while a tradition recorded by Huen-tsang suggests that certain foreign rulers of the Kashmir region were known as Kṛita or 'the Bought'.² This reminds us of the name Kṛita (Krita) or Kṛita applied in India originally to the Scytho-Parthian era of East Iranian origin, which later came to be known as the Vikrama Śāriṅvat.³

Verse 9-10 (lines 12-14) state how Yaśodāsa was famous for his munificence in the cause of public welfare. Verse 11 (lines 14-16), which along with the next verse (verse 12 in lines 16-17) records the main purpose of the prāśasti, says that Yaśodāsa built a huge temple surrounded by eight other shrines and established the god Śāṅkara (Śiva) in his Liṅga form (i.e. a Śivalīṅga in it). Verse 12 records that the king (i.e. Rājyapāla) dedicated the village of Madhusrava in favour of the god Vrjashabhadhāva (Śiva) installed by Yaśodāsa after having fixed the nīkara at one hundred

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¹ Cf. e.g., the list of the Brāhmaṇas donees in the Nīdhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman, which contain seven names ending in kuṇḍa and two names ending in dāsa (Bhattacharya, Rājamādhavan, pp. 33 ff.). The cognomen Dāsa is popular among the Brāhmaṇas of Oriya.

² Watters, On Yuan Chauk's Travels in India, Vol. 1, p. 266.

³ Cf. Select Inscriptions, p. 258 note; The Age of Imperial Unity, p. 126, note.
Purāṇas apparently per annum. The coin called Purāṇa is well known while the word niśkara is recognised in Sanskrit lexicons in the sense of 'a suitable gift' and in Bengali, by an extension of that meaning, in that of 'an amount which is legitimately payable'. As we have shown elsewhere, when a small amount of rent was fixed for gift lands, it was often designated by some other name than kara, such as triṣūlaka, agraḥāra-pradēyāmaka, etc. The word niśkara has been used in the present record in a similar sense. The inscription thus records a kara-dāsana. Many documents of this kind have been discovered in Orissa and Andhra Pradesh. But the Bhāturiyā inscription seems to be the only one of the type so far found in Bengal. It may be pointed out here that Lahiry fails to understand this interesting nature of the record since he suggests that the word niśkara should be corrected to niṣkara, 'rent-free'. But the emendation is unwarranted in view of the fact that niṣkara does not suit the metre of the stanza.

In connection, it may also be pointed out that there is nothing unusual in the Buddhist king Rājyapāla making a grant in favour of the Brahmanical god Śiva. Most of the grants of the Buddhist kings of the Pāla and other dynasties of Eastern India are known to have been made in favour of Brāhmaṇas or Brahmanical deities or religious establishments. It appears, however, that Yaśōdāsa had to pay an amount of money to the royal treasury in order to get the partially 'rent-free' holding created in favour of the deity installed by him.

Verses 13-14 in lines 17-19 are of a benedictory nature, while verse 15 (line 20), which is the last stanza in the pradāsti, states that the eulogy was engraved on the stone slab by the artisan Śrīnīdāna. The name of the engraver has been taken by Lahiry to be Niḍānā. The author of the pradāsti is not mentioned in it. It might have been composed by Yaśōdāsa himself.

The inscription does not state where exactly Yaśōdāsa built the temple of Śiva. But probably it was built at Atāṭumāla in or near Bhiadadhāṭa. These places cannot be identified. It is, however, possible to think that the site of Yaśōdāsa's temple lies within Bhāturiyā where the inscribed slab has been found. The gift village of Mauhiusrava was also probably in the same region.

**TEXT**

[Metres: verses 1, 8, 13 Sarasvarā; verses 2, 4, 15 Amardhobha; verses 3, 7, 11 Śrīdānavikrīdita; verses 5, 9 Māndākūṭā; verse 6 Harih; verses 10, 14 Vivasvatādaka; verse 12 Uprajāt.]

4 nilayā śrī-Śūrāparate kṛiti | tatt-sūnā-scha | samasta-mandita-subhit-samāmāt-abhyāgatāb | sēvyā Rōṣaṇgh-bhūdharā-pratisamaña śrī-Saṅghadāś-tthinān(n)ām | [3**]
5 Upayēmē sūtaṁ sō-pi Dūrvāyīr-Sāryakupāyaṁ | Sarassvatīm-umāṁ Śambhur-Mēnā-
Himvatōr-iva || [†4] Jatatābhyam jagati mahīṁ janma-bhūḥ mām-guṇānāṁ
6 khyātaṁ kīrtiṁ dīśi dīśi Yaśōdāśa ity-uddhata-srīḥ | dēvāḥ prīthvī-vaśya-tilakō jīvaṁ
pārthivānāṁ chakre vāchāṁ adhipaśa-iva yāṁ
7 mantrapunām Rājasyālaṁ || [†5] Lavaye-paadhi-śyām-opāntāṁ dīśi-mūla-śoḍhāra-vaśrīrtha-
chakṣā-kehōṇīpūla-pratiśiṁā-nidānaṁ | sachiya-padaṁ
8 yaśmin-śāsāyṁ aśkaṁdiśa-sāsānī vyaśhita vasūdhāṁ ekāḥ chchhattrāṁ sa Rāmaparā-
9 t-urvṛyā sasya samṛddhyāe va(ba)huṁṭhāra-bēmaṁ n-chayāya-arjitaṁ | sampājyaṁ dvijya-
dēvātaṁ Surapatṛ-sūṭsūṁ ṣv-āspadaṁ yāḥ śrī-Rāmaparākramēṇa
10 jayīnī tatuṛ-ādhikāri kīrtiṁ || [†7] Mīṣchchhaṁr-vaścchhanna-kalpaṁ pariyaṁ-ni(vi)kalaiṁ-
Aṅga-Kālinga-Vaṣagār-ōdṝnaṁ vehāna-jivair-āpagaṁ-kapantaṁ
11 Pāṇḍya-Kaṭaṁkata-Lāītaṁ | Subhamaṁ s-ūpapraddhānāṁ asī-bhaya-vaśkātīṁ-Gurjara-
Kṛta-Chingār || yamaṁ tatuṛ-ādhikāraṁ vidhātāḥ | dadhiṁ bhūtar-aśīnaṁ
12 ś-śīrōbhīh || [†8] Tāy-ādhāraṁ amptaśiśārīrāṁ yāyaṁ dhārō-śiṇiḍhrāṁ agnya-śagīraṁ upaḥitaṁ-
svadhaṁ-yājvanām-mandaṁchaḥ | vidyā-sattrāṁ ghanam-aśī[ṛ]-śūraṁ ṛtvijya
13 gēhāṁ mmāṭhār-vaṁ n-nikāvārā dīśi dīśi guṇaṁ-yasya jāgārtaṁ kīrttaṁ || [†9] Ārāma-
śa[ṛ]-maṁha-māṇḍapagam-śattrā-śūnaḥ-prāśāda-saṅkrāma-jalāsya-
14 sannīvēṣaṁ || tair-āhēr-arātam hitrat-ōkti-padaṁ prāṣastāṁ yah svijn prāṣasti-prithām-
phīṁḥ ṛtvij-śrat-āvṛttvij ṛtvijvij || [†10] Asṁbhīṁ sura-maṁdīrīṁ paṁvīrtām
15 prāśaḥ-āmbhaṁ-lihaṁ sampādy-ēndu-maricaḷi-jāla-ḥavali-siippam[ṭaṁ] svadhā-karḍmaṁ[
16 tēn-āyaṁ naya-sālinā sūcī-śīlā-vaṇyāsvaṁ-līṅg-ākśritav-bhaktāya
17 dharmav-prāyaṁnaṁ bhagavān-āṛtippataṁ-Saṅkarāṁ || [†11] AsmaYaśōdāsaś-nivēṣītyaṁ śrī-
Rājasyālaḥ Vṛihabhadvijaye | sataṁ purāṇāṁ-nikaraṇāṁ niyama
18 Madhuesvaraṁ grāmam-adāt-kaṁśītaḥ || [†12] Pāṇḍu-Prachīnav(a)bhir-Bharata-Deśasrath-
Ekaśvānu-Rāmaṅ-āṃśīmaṁ kīrttaṁ-paḷāṇāya kṣiṁtiṣṭi-paλakaṁ prārthi-
19 taṁ yatra bhūyaḥ | tatra vṛu(varu)mō na tāvad-vaśyam-asī-laghaṁ yājjuṁ kaṁ prārthaṁ-
sharma-vaśmād-śīv-āṅgkarāna-prapāhita-maṇaṁ mūlaṁ pālayantya eva santāṁ || [†13] Asyaṅ-ādam-aṁ-
19 yatanāṁ-aṁśīmaṁ kṣiṁtiṣṭi-paλakaṁ-siiddham-iva nirmiṁtam-Indumālēḥ | ētāt-/Grid-tāv-
va|mūlaṁ-tiḥśhātva śīla-sindhu-saṁśhīna-sutham-avanṭhāalām-atśi vāṣat || [†14]
20a Indrāṇīla-manja-śiṅgādhi śīlā-ṇāṭṭi-tinarāla | prāṣastī-yāman utkriṇṇā Śrīnīvāsa
14 śūpiṁ || [†15]

1 Lahiri reads Dūrvāyī. The comma after kṣuṇāyāḥ in the place of dānḍa in Lahiry’s transcript seems to be a misprint.
2 Lahiri reads Sarassvatī-pratiśtha.
3 Lahiri reads yamaṁ-śūṣṭyāṁ. The idea in the second half of the stanza is that Yaśōdāsa was made a
Sachchha as he was running the administration of the whole earth on behalf of his master.
4 Lahiri reads vyaśhita-vaśhāṭha.
5 Read sampaṇḍa. Lahiri reads sampaṇḍha or sampaṇja.
6 Lahiri reads sīvalaṁ.
7 Lahiri reads cāpeir or viryaṁ.
8 Read kāraṁ vādbhāti.
9 Lahiri wrongly suggests, “Read either yaśiṣṭvaṁ-maṁdaṁsiṁhā-sa or yaśaṁnō-maṁdaṁsiṅhā? The former
reading is preferable.”
10 Lahiry reads kṣaṭ and observes, “Reading kṣaṭ is doubtful. The metre also does not permit it. Read pūrṇas
for kṣaṭa.”
11 Lahiri reads ṣaṭa and observes, “Reading ṣaṭa is doubtful. The metre also does not permit it. Read pūrṇas
for ṣaṭa.”
12 Lahiri reads ṣaṭa.
13 Lahiri suggests the correction nīkṣkapāṁ without noticing that the emendation does not suit the metre.
14 He understands the previous word as paṁśukam and fails to grasp the real import of the stanza.
14 Lahiry retains ṣaṭu.
15 The line is smaller than the other lines and has been engraved in a central position and not from
the beginning of the space.
16 Lahiry prefers śrī-Nīdhānaṁ.
BHATURIYA INSCRIPTION OF RAJYAPALA

(from a Photograph)
No. 29—MALLAR PLATES OF JAYARAJA, YEAR 5

(1 Plate)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

(Received on 10.5.1958)

A set of three copper plates was recently discovered at the village of Mallar in the Bilaspur District of Madhya Pradesh. The inscription was secured by Mr. Anarnath Sao of Bilaspur, who showed it to Pandit L. P. Pandeya Sarma of Raigarh, Raipur District, Madhya Pradesh. Pandit Pandeya advised Mr. Sao to send the plates for examination to the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. Mr. Sao was kind enough to agree with the request and the plates were received in my office about the end of April 1958.

The three plates, which have rounded corners, measure each about 5 4/ inches in length and 2.95 inches in height. The thickness of the central plate is about 1/8 inch, the other two plates being thinner (about 1/16 inch thick). The plates are strung on a ring 1/4 inch in thickness and 2 1/4 inches in diameter. But the seal, originally affixed to the ring, is now lost. There are in all 23 lines of writing, six lines each on the inner side of the first plate and the obverse and reverse of the second plate and only five lines on the inner side of the third plate. The weight of the three plates together is $32\frac{1}{2}$ tolas and that of the ring only $3\frac{1}{4}$ tolas.

The charter is written in 'box-headed' characters and its language is Sanskrit. As regards palaeography, language, orthography and style, the inscription resembles very closely the Arāṅg plates1 of the donor of the present grant, which is the only other record of the king so far discovered. The sign for medial $i$ is made by inserting a dot in the circular sign indicating medial $i$. The upadhāniya and jihāniya have been used respectively in lines 3 and 13 and lines 8 and 18. The numerical symbol 5 occurs twice in line 23. A horizontal stroke with a dot both above and below has often been used as a mark of punctuation (cf. lines 12, 16, 22). In some cases, a pair of horizontal strokes, one above the other, has been employed to indicate either the mark of punctuation (cf. lines 10, 16 and 17) or the sign for visarga (cf. lines 3 and 11). The normal sign of visarga made of two dots placed one above the other, which is also used in the inscription (cf. bhūmidā in line 19), has been once used to indicate a mark of punctuation in line 3. The orthography of the record is characterised by the use of double nasal and the reduplication of $t$ after a nasal. Some consonants have often been reduplicated before and after $r$. The word simha has been written singha as in the Arāṅg plates of Jayarendra and some other records of the kings of Sarabhapura.

The record is not dated in any era. It registers a charter of king Jayarāja (Mahā-Jayarāja) issued from Sarabhapura which seems to have been situated near modern Sirpur in the Raipur District. The charter was issued on the fifth day of the month of Kārttika in the fifth year of the reign of Jayarāja who very probably flourished about the middle of the sixth century A. D., although his exact reign period cannot be determined.

The inscription begins with the auspicious word svasti and a sentence in lines 1-5 referring to the order of Mahā-Jayarāja, described as a paramabhāgavata, issued from Sarabhapura to the agriculturist house-holders of Kadambapadrullaka in Antaranaḷaka. The name of the gift village Kadambapadrullaka seems to be a combination of the names of two contiguous localities called Kadambapadra and Ullaka. The next sentence in lines 5-10 quotes the text of the order which is to the effect that the said village was granted by the king in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Ka-
pardisvāmin of the Kauta gōtra. The village was granted as a permanent rent-free holding on the


(155)
occasion of a lunar eclipse, for the merit of the king himself and of his parents, by means of a copper-plate charter. The following sentence in lines 10-12 advises the house-holders of Kadamba padullaka to be obedient to the donee and to pay him the usual bhoga (periodical offerings) and bhaga (the king’s share in the produces of the fields).

Lines 12 ff. contain the donor’s request to the future rulers of the land for the protection of his grant. This is followed in lines 16 ff. by some of the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses represented as the sayings of Vyasa. The concluding part of the document in lines 22-23 states that the executor of the grant was the king himself (cf. svamukh-ajita...) and that the charter was engraved by Achalasinha who was also the engraver of Jayaraja’s Araang plates. The last passage contains the date of the grant, which, as already indicated above, was the fifth day of Kartaika in the king’s fifth regnal year.

The Araang plates of Jayaraja were issued on the 25th day of the month of Maṅgara in the 5th year of his reign. It will thus be seen that the present grant was issued a few weeks earlier than the Araang plates. The seal of Jayaraja attached to the Araang plates, like the seals of other copper-plate grants of the family to whom he belonged, bears the representation of Gajalakshmi above the legend which is a stanza in Anushthubh arranged in two lines. The legend on the seal of the Araang plates was read by Fleet as follows:

Prasanna-hridayasya-vikram-ākṛta[m]a-vidvishabha[***]
śrimatō Jayarajasya śāsana[m] ripu-śāsana[n] [[**]]

On the seal of the Raipur plates of Sudēvaraja (Mahā-Sudēvaraja), son of Jayaraja’s brother, Mānamatra Durgrāja, the first and third feet of the stanza were read by the same scholar as Prasanna-hridayasya-aiva and Ārimat Śudēvarajasya, though Pandit L. P. Pandeya read them respectively as Prasanna-tanayasya-ēdam and Śri-Māhā-Jayarajasya suggesting that Jayaraja’s seal was attached to the charter of Sudēvaraja. The reading of the first foot of the stanza on both these seals is apparently Prasanna- tanayasya-ēdam, but that of the third foot appears to be śrimatō Jayarajasya in both the cases. Jayaraja’s seal attached to the recently published Sirpur plates of Sudēvaraja, which seems to offer the same reading as the seals of the Araang plates of Jayaraja and the Raipur plates of Sudēvaraja, reads:

Prasanna-tanayasya-ēdam vikram-ākhāta-vidvisha[h [***]
śrimatō Jayarajasya śāsana[n] ripu-śāsana[n] (nam []]]]

Jayaraja was the son of Prasanna or Prasannamātra who ruled sometime after Śarabha, founder of the city of Śarabhapura, and the latter’s son Nerendra, known from his Pipardula and Kurud plates. Since Śarabha’s daughter’s son Goparaja is known from the Era inscription to have died in 510 A.D., Śarabha and Nerendra appear to have flourished respectively about the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century. Prasannamātra and his son Jayaraja, who issued the charter under study, may therefore be tentatively assigned approximately to about the first and second quarters of the sixth century respectively.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the location of Śarabhapura, the earlier capital of the family to which Jayaraja belonged, has already been indicated above. The other two geographical names are: (1) the gift village of Kadambapadullaka, and (2) the district of Antaranālaka in which the village was situated. I am not sure about their exact location.

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5 Bhandarkar’s List, No. 1290.
MALLAR PLATES OF JAYARAJA, YEAR 5

TEXT

First Plate

1 Svasti [*] Śarabhapurāt dvi(vi)kram-ōpanata-sāmanīttata(ta)-chūḍā-mañi-prabhā-pra-
sek-āṃbu-

2 bhir=dha[ua]ta-pāḍa-yugalō ripu-vilāsinī-simattō(nt-ō)dharana-hētur-vvasu-vasudhā-

3 gō-pradaḥ-paramabhāgavatō mātā-pitri(tri)-pāḍ-āṇuddhyētaḥ[ā] śri-Mahā-Jayarājāḥ

4 Aj[um]ttata(ta)ranālia[k]ya-Kadāṁ(dā)mbapadrullakā pratīvāsī-k[u]jumbīnas=āṃ-

5 jāāpayati [*] viditam-astu vō yath-āsnābhīr-ayaṁ grāmas=Tridāyapa[m]t-

6 sadana-sukha-pratishēthā-kāro yāvad=ravi-sāsi-tā[r]ā-kīraṇa-pratihata-

Second Plate, First Side

7 gōr-āḍāha(nīha)kāra[nt-*] jagad-avatisēhatē tāvad=upabhējiya(gyah) sa-nidhis=s-ōpa-
nidhi-

8 r-a-chāta-bhāta-prāva(vē)śya[ht-*] sarvva-kara-visarjītah=K[au]sas-sagōtra-Brāhmaṇa-

Kapa-

9 rd[d]jivāminas=sām-ōparāgē mātā-pitrōr-ātmanas=cha puṇy-ābhivra(vr)ddha-

10 ye udaka-purīvva[nt] tāmbra(mra)-sāsanēn=āt[s]riṣṭiṣṭas=ṛtī yēyam=ēvam-upal-

11 bhya-[s]ly=ājñā-śravanā-vidhēya bhūtvā yath-ōchita-bhōga-bhāgam=upanayaṇīttah(taḥ)

sukham

12 pratīv[a]yayath[*] bhavisyataśe=cha bhūmipāṇī-ānudāriyati [*] Dānā[d]-viṣṭhēta-

Second Plate, Second Side


[*]

14 tasā[m]d[*]-dvijāya suviśuddha-kula-śrutaḥ dattāṁ bhuvāṁ bhavatu vō mati-

15 r-śva gōptum(ptum [*]) bhavadi(dhē)prapya-ēhā dattir-anupāla-

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1 From the original plates and their impressions.
2 The viśarga is indicated by two horizontal strokes instead of the usual dot.
3 The punctuation mark is indicated by a viśarga sign.
4 Originally dāḥ was engraved.
5 Correctly *nāmiṣā. But the sixth case-ending may have been used for the Brāhmaṇa having paid some money for the purchase of the village.
6 There is here an unnecessary sign made of two horizontal strokes placed one above the other. This may be regarded as a redundant viśarga rather than a mark of punctuation.
7 We should better have ī instead of ī in such contexts.
8 Viśarga is written here with two horizontal strokes.
9 The punctuation is indicated by a horizontal stroke with one dot above and another below.
10 Read purāṇa.
11 Read dharmma. There appear to be an anuvātra sign above rma and the faint trace of a final m to its right.
12 The letter maṭīr=īru gōptum had been engraved here originally for a second time and were afterwards rubbed off.
16 itavyā 1 Vyāsa-gītāṁsaḥ-cūtra ślokaṁ-udāharaṇītīḥ 2 Agnīr-apaṭṭi
17 prathamaṁ suvarṇam 2 bhūr-vvaishnavi sūrya-sutāḥ-cha gāvah 4 3 dattās-traya-
18 s-teṇa bhavānītīḥ lokaḥ yah-kānchanaṁ gāṁ(gā)ṁ-cha mahīṁ-cha dadyā[t]a 4 5

Third Plate

19 Shāṁ(Sha)ṣṭi-varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmidāḥ 3 jāchchhētā cha-ānumam-
20 tā(tā) cha tāṁ(tā)ny-ēva narake vasē 4 5 Bahubhīr-vvasudhā dattā rājaḥbbbhī(ḥ)ḥ)bhiṣ=
21 gar-ādibhiḥ 5 yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā
22 phalam(la)m-iti 5 sva-mukh-ājñayā 1 uktī(tki)ṛṇam Achalasiṁghēna 4 5
23 pravarddhāna-vaṃṭaya-saṁvatsaraḥ pāṃ(paḥ)chā 5 Kārttiṣa-dīsā 5 5 5
No. 30—SRIRANGAM INSCRIPTION OF RAJARAJA II, YEAR 11

K. G. Krishnan, Ootacamund

(Received on 4.3.1958)

The subjoined inscription is engraved to the right of the Svarganāśal on the south wall of the fourth prīkāra in the Rāganāthasvāmin temple at Srirangam, Tiruchirappalli District, Madras State. The language as well as the script of the inscription is Tamil and it is engraved in characters of the 12th century A.D.

The record registers the gift of a golden lamp-stand with a ruby set in it to the god Rāganātha and a sum of 683/4 achchu for lighting the lamp on all the days of the year. The gift was made by Kōdaya Ravipānman, 'one of the Vēṇāṭṭadīgal' of Malainādu in the 11th year of the reign of Kō-Parakēsarivarman alias Tribhuvanaachakravarti-gal Rājarājādeva. The record begins with the Meykkirtti: Pī-thūrumārti tirumādtum, etc., and hence the ruler is to be identified with the second king of the said name in the Chōla dynasty. The details of the date, viz., 11th year, Mirichchika (Vriśchika) śu. 5, Monday, Tiruvōnam, regularly correspond to November 19, 1156 A.D. The text of the inscription is drafted in the form of an undertaking given by the representatives of the administrative bodies of the temple such as Srivaiṣṭya-vārayum, Śrībhagavāryum, Pāg-papoḍīgal, Kaṅgāviśayum (supervisors) and the temple accountant. It is stated that, having taken charge of the lamp and having deposited the money in the temple treasury (Śrībhagavāram), they would arrange for lighting the lamp on all the 365 days of the year with the interest accruing to the money deposited.

The inscription is important because it gives an earlier date for the donor, Kōdaya Ravivarman, who was a king of Vēṇādu and is known from some inscriptions from the Travancore region. The date of our inscription would be equivalent to year 332 of the Kollam era, in which the Travancore records are usually dated. There is, however, no dated record from Travancore mentioning the reigning king between Kollam 325 and 336 thus leaving a gap of about 12 years in the history of Vēṇādu. On the former date the reigning king was Kōdaya Kēralavarman and it seems to be the latest date available for him. On the latter date, Vira Ravivarman Tiruvadi is stated to have been ruling Vēṇādu. Of the name Vira Ravivarman Tiruvadi, Vira Ravivarman is the name and Tiruvadi a well-known designation adopted by the kings of Vēṇādu. The expression Vēṇāṭṭadīgal used in our record enables us to identify the donor Kōdaya Ravivarman with Vira Ravivarman Tiruvadi of Vēṇādu due to the proximity of the dates. The locative suffix i in the expression Vēṇāṭṭadīgiḍi can only indicate that there was at least one other member of the family with a title to the throne. On the date of this record, Kōdaya Ravivarman was perhaps the crown-prince while Kōdaya Kēralavarman or another person not known to us was the ruling king. The institution of the office of the crown-prince is indicated in the inscriptions of Travancore as viṇīḍu rājumavuṭuṇgiṇer. The name Kōdaya Ravivarman suggests that he may have been related to Kōdaya Kēralavarman. It is likely that Vira-Ravivarman Tiruvadi identified with Kōdaya Ravivarman.

2 See note 3 below.
3 PAS, Vol. IV, p. 21, No. 6.
4 Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 7, No. 4. The opposite year to Kollam 336 is a mistake and hence the correct date would be Kollam 330. The corresponding date as pointed out by Mr. A. S. Ramasathya Ayyar would be Saturday, April 29, 1161 A.D.
5 Ibid., Vol. V, p. 78, text line 1. Could it be that the titles Vira and Tiruvadi were not applied to Kōdaya Ravivarman because he was only a crown-prince and that the record under publication pertains to a grant made to a temple lying in the territories of the Chōlas?
varman of our record came to the throne sometime after Kollam 332, the date of the present record, and continued to rule till at least Kollam 340, the latest date assigned to him.1

In connection with the question of the relationship between the king of Vēṇāḍu and the Chola monarch, reference may be made to an inscription of this period from Puravaśeri2 near Nāgarkōl in Vēṇāḍu. It states that, in Kollam 340, some members of the Chola military establishment stationed at Kōṭṭāru, which is also near Nāgarkōl in the same territory,3 in association with some members of two other Chola regiments made certain endowments to the god at Puravari-chaturvēdīmaṅgalam, the approximate date of the foundation of the colony being Kollam 336.4 It is evident that the military cantonments at many places including Kōṭṭāru established by Kulottunga I continued to have their presence felt for all practical purposes.5

During the period of Chola suzerainty from the time of Kulottunga I, the kings of Vēṇāḍu appear to have been in close alliance with the contemporary Pāṇḍya kings. A Tirunēlvēli inscription6 of Māravarman Sundara-pāṇḍya II, whose date of accession is 1238 A.D., refers to the newly formed village of Iravivarman-chaturvēdīmaṅgalam stated to have been named after the [king’s]7 appāṭar (i.e., father’s grandfather). It is not unlikely that the reference here is to Ravivarman of the present record, though the relationship cannot be exactly worked out at present. The contemporaneity of a Ravivarman of Vēṇāḍu with Māravarman Śrīvallabha is, however, established on the basis of a few records from Puravaśeri in the Kanyakumari District of Madras State.8 The identity of Ravivarman of Vēṇāḍu mentioned in the inscription of Māravarman Sundara-pāṇḍya II with his namesake who is considered to be the contemporary of Māravarman Śrīvallabha, a predecessor of Māravarman Sundara-pāṇḍya II, implies a matrimonial connection between the Pāṇḍyas and the Tiruvāḍis of Vēṇāḍu.9

The word varakkōṭṭiṇa (line 8) in this inscription seems to indicate that the king of Vēṇāḍu was not himself present at Śrīrangam but was represented by Uḻiruppu Kaṇṭan Iravi10 who was entrusted with the lamp and the money. Uḻiruppu11 seems to mean here the secretary for the internal affairs of the king. Kōdiṉ Ravivarman like most of the kings of Travancore seems to have had a strong leaning towards Vaishnavism since he had also made a gift of lands to Puravari-Viṅgaṉar-āḻvār at Puravari-chaturvēdīmaṅgalam.

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1 TĀ, Vol. VII, No. 7. Though Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar’s suggestion assigning this record to Vīra Ravi-
varman Tiruvāḍi is not directly borne out by the record as pointed out by Mr. Velu Pillai (Travancore State
Mon., Vol. II, p. 78, n. 3), it may be accepted till we get some definite date for Ravivarman’s successor.
2 Ibid., Vol. VII, No. 7. Mr. Velu Pillai (loc. cit.) has ignored the second of the two documents which is
closely connected with the first.
3 Nāgarkōl, Puravaśeri and Kōṭṭāru are situated within a territory called Nāṭji-nāḍu in contemporary
Vēṇāḍu inscriptions. This proves that Kōṭṭāru, the military centre, formed part of the territory directly ruled
by the king of Vēṇāḍu.
4 Ibid., No. 1; cf. also No. 4. It may be noted that Siṅgaṉ Araṅgai, the founder of the Puravari-chaturvēdi-
maṅgalam colony figures in another record from the same place (ibid., No. 2) which is dated in the reign of Māra-
varman Śrīvallabha.
5 The general position of the rulers of Vēṇāḍu and the contemporary Pāṇḍya kings in relation to the Cholas,
the main suzerain power, has been correctly indicated by Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar (ibid., Vol. VI, p. 7).
7 cf. above, Vol. XXV, p. 72, where a different construction has been adopted.
8 A.R. Ep., 1896, p. 5, para. 15. See also above, Vol. XXV, p. 84; supra, n. 4.
9 Māravarman Sundara-pāṇḍya II was possibly the grandson of Jaṭāvarman Kulasēkhara stated to be a son of
Māravarman Śrīvallabha, whose inscriptions commence with the introduction of the Pāṭalomedan, and the
great-grandson of Ravivarman of Vēṇāḍu.
10 One Kaṇṭan Iravi of Māḷaṅcēri is mentioned in the Kiḷimāṭṭu record of Kollam 343 (TĀ, Vol. V, p. 84).
11 Ibid., Vol. IV, No. 3. Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar has interpreted the term as the name of an office connected
with the tax department, while Mr. Sundaram Pillai takes it as the name of a place (ibid., page 17 and note 4).
The endowment at Śrīraṅgam providing for the lighting of the lamp with ghee and camphor was made in achchuk, the coinage of the Travancore territory. The corresponding coinage of the Chola country being the kāsru, the rate of exchange is enumerated to be 92 kāsru for one achchuk. But, while the capital invested, i.e., 682 kāsru, would yield at this rate only less than 632 kāsru, the amount required as capital is stated to be 653 kāsru. The total money required in a year for both ghee and camphor comes to 118 kāsru and hence the rate of interest works out to slightly more than 18 per cent. per annum. The money was deposited into the treasury since it was felt that, if it was invested on lands, the endowment might suffer in case the lands fail to yield.

TEXT


1 From impression.
2 Several texts of this prakāsti have been published in the South Indian Inscription Series. Important variations from this text are indicated in the foot-notes.
3 A dorā has been introduced in lines 1-3 at the end of each metrical line.
4 Cf. SII, Vol. III, No. 35, where we have aṇaṭtun arvun-āmami-ṇaṇa vajaiippa in a different metre.
5 Loc. cit.: kuranppalī-ppajjīyi; SII, Vol. IV. No. 822: Kurunppalī paṇi|mālīk|hēchheṅgōl turappa. The use of the word kōl in the next phrase supports the former and paṭṭi has accordingly been translated as 'a stray bull' and not 'a prostitute' (ibid., Vol. III, p. 81).
7 Cf. puli in Inscriptions of Pudukkottai State, No. 136, and vali=ttu in SII, loc. cit.
8 SII, loc. cit. Telaṅgar.
9 Loc. cit.: madaliyar which yields a better sense.
10 Loc. cit.: karp which is better.
11 Read puvanai - cf. Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State, No. 136: purandu which is better.
12 Read "ṣuṣṭapālīnum.
13 Read Tiruvaṅkaṭṭu vālālī.
14 Read "vaiṣīṭāraṇa".
15 This gap may be restored as "yāra-vāh."
No. 31—Budhera Pillar Inscription of V. S. 1351, Saka 1216

(1 Plate)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

(Received on 19.2.1958)

About the beginning of 1955, I visited the small village of Budhera, about four miles to the south-east of Gudar in the Fichhore Fargana formerly belonging to the Narwar District of the Gwalior State but now to the Shivapuri District of Madhya Pradesh, in order to copy an inscription. Within the limits of the village there stands a hillock close to the north-eastern end of the Jhaloni tank and a roughly dressed pillar of stone, about eighteen feet high above the ground and 15 inches in breadth and 11½ inches in thickness, stands on the hillock. The inscription in seven lines of indifferently engraved and badly preserved writing was found on the said pillar.

The inscription was previously noticed in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State, Sahyvat 1986 (1929-30 A. D.), pp. 22 and 59-60 (No. 23), and in H. N. Dwivedi's Gwalior Rājyaśekh Abhilekhā, p. 26, No. 170. The Report gives the name of the village both as Budera and Budhera and says at p. 22, "It (i.e. the pillar) bears a crudely engraved inscription dated V. S. 1351, which refers to Chanderi and its Bundela rulers. As the inscription is not fully legible, the exact purpose of the erection of the pillar is not clear." Elsewhere at pp. 59-60 it speaks of the inscription as written in the Hindi language and dated in V. S. 1351 and Śaka 1216 during the reign of king Padmärāja and further says, "Refers to Kirti-durga and mentions Padmarāja who is endowed with the royal title samastaraññavali-samalakrīta-paramabhātāraka. Other names which can be read are Uḍaisinha and his son [Harijaṭa, etc. Being badly written and partially damaged, its object is not clear." Dwivedi's work quotes the same views; but he spells the name of the village both as Budhērā and as Budhērā.

It is not quite clear from the published notices of the inscription, referred to above, whether Kirti-durga has been regarded as identical with the Chanderi fort and king Padmarāja has been taken to be a Bundela ruler. The authors of the notices have also not made it clear whether there is any possibility of Bundela rule at Chanderi so early as the end of the thirteenth century when the inscription was incised. Another important point they should not have ignored to discuss is that how an imperial ruler named Padmarāja was ruling at Budhera near Narwar and Chanderi at lat. 24° 42' and long. 79° 11' in V. S. 1351 and Śaka 1216 when the Yajvāpīla monarch Gaṇapati (known dates between V. S. 1348 and 1357, i.e. 1292-1300 A. D.) is known to have been ruling over the same region in the same period from his capital at Nalapura or Narwar at lat. 25° 39' 2" and long. 77° 56' 57". As a matter of fact, we have found on a careful examination of the impressions of the record that there is no mention in it of a king named Padmarāja or of Chanderi and the Bundelas, while it clearly speaks of an officer of Gaṇapati (line 3) apparently as stationed at Kirti-durga. This Gaṇapati is undoubtedly the Yajvāpīla king of that name. There are also a few other errors of omission and commission in the published notices of the inscription.

Owing to careless engraving and unsatisfactory preservation, it is no doubt difficult to read the whole record. A number of letters are damaged here and there, though the damage is greater in the second half of the epigraph than in the first. But the purport of the record is quite clear. The pillar is a hero stone raised in the memory of two persons who are described in the inscription as kara or killed apparently in a contest with certain unspecified enemies.
The inscription is written in the Dēvanāgarī characters of the medieval period. Its language is not Hindi but corrupt Sanskrit. The date is quoted as V. S. 1351 and Śaka 1216 without any other detail. The year corresponds to 1294-95 A. D. The inscription seems to have been incised towards the close of 1294 A. D. or about the beginning of the following year.

The record begins with the date: Sa[m]cātu 1351 Śake I[2?]6 ||. This is followed in lines 1-4 by the auspicious word svasti and the passage śrī-Kṛttī-durgṛ(ṛg) samasta-rāja-svāti-sandala-nkṛta-parnamahattāraka(parñamahattāraka) . . . . . māтраja- śrī- Gaṇapati-mahāpradhāna-Dēva . . . . . . vyāpara-[ṛ] [kṣa]rōti. The two damaged akṣaras before maraja may be padi, so that the reading of this expression, which is clearly an epithet of śrī-Gaṇapati, may be padimara(rāja). The authors of the notices of the inscription, discussed above, apparently failed to read the name śrī-Gaṇapati and regarded padmarāja(corrected from padimara) as the personal name of the Paramahattāraka. This cannot be the case, since, of the name śrī-Gaṇapati immediately following, the three akṣaras napatī are quite clear while traces of the two akṣaras śrī-Ga can also be easily recognised. What is then the meaning of the epithet that looks like padimara? In our opinion, it is a mistake for paramarāja which is found in a Bangla inscription among the epithets of king Gopāla (known dates between V. S. 1336 and 1345, i.e. 1279-89 A. D.) of the Yajnapāla family, who was the father and predecessor of Gaṇapati. This epithet occurs in the following passage; paramahattāraḥ paramāntāraḥ paramaguruḥ paramarājaḥ.

The name of Gaṇapati's Mahāpradhāna is difficult to determine. It may be Dēva or Dēva. This officer was apparently stationed at Kṛttī-durgā. A Mahāpradhāna named Dējai, Dējai or Dējā is known from the Bangla inscriptions to have served Gaṇapati's father Gopāla. He was probably stationed at Narwar-durgā or the Narwar fort which was the capital of the Yajnapāla. The Bangla inscriptions appear to state that Mahāpradhāna Dējai, Dējai or Dējā was conducting the gadanī (or madanī)-vyāpara. Unfortunately the meaning of the expression is not clear to us. Another difficulty is that the two akṣaras before the word vyāpara in the inscription under study are damaged and the word does not look like gadanī or madanī. Apparently, however, Mahā-pradhāna Dēva or Dēva was the governor of the district round Kṛttī-durgā and the modern village of Buhera formed a part of that district. Some medieval documents use the expression mudrā-vyāparaḥ paripanahatyi in connection with a high administrative officer like the viceroy and the intended reading in both the present record and the Bangla inscriptions may be mudrā-vyāparaḥ.

This raises the problem of the identification of the fort called Kṛttī-durgā. The Chanderi inscription of a Pratihāra ruler named Jaitarvarman, who flourished in the eleventh and twelfth century A. D., states that his grandfather's great-grandfather Kṛtipāla built a fort named after himself as Kṛttī-durgā; but Chanderi itself is mentioned in the inscription as Chandrapura. It is therefore uncertain whether the Chanderi fort is referred to as Kṛttidurgā in the inscription in question. Another inscription of V. S. 1154 (1098 A. D.), from Deogar in the Lalitpur Subdivision of the Jhansi District, U. P., states that Mahābara, chief minister of the Chandella king Kṛtivarman, built the fort of Kṛttigiri or Deogar, apparently named after his master

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1 Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 331, No. 3, text line 1-3.
2 Ibid., pp. 331 (Nos. 2-4), 332 (No. 6), 334 (No. 9), 335 (No. 10), 336 (No. 15).
3 Ibid., pp. 331 (No. 4, line 6), 332 (No. 5, line 6), 334 (No. 9, lines 3-4), 335 (No. 10, lines 4-5) 336 (No. 15, line 4).
4 Cf. above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 152, note 2; 169, text line 6.
5 Drividi's List, No. 638; Patil, The Cultural Heritage of Madhya Bharat, p. 94.
Kirtivarman. But in any case, Budhera near Narwar seems to be far away from both Chanderi and Deogarh. It is interesting to note in this connection that an inscription of the Yajnapala king Ganapati represents him as having captured Kirti-dugra.

The second half of the inscription in lines 4-7 seems to read: Jauhari-pradhana-Ravija-patni-Di... na-suta-Mudhaisinha-putra-[Hari]raj-Jairaju [dau] hatau [**] laghu-putra-Tridhau... ndi-su[pu]stre[na] [Ja]maragaya ndi[red]ez[yanu] **. Although there are several lacunae in this section, the purport of the record is clear. In correct Sanskrit the passage would stand as follows: Jatuhaṭṭya-pradhana-Ravija-patni-Di... na-suta-Mudhaisinha-putra-Hariraja-Jayarajau devu hatau | Laghu-putra-Tridhau... ndi-suputra[ja] Yamarajena nirehid[ya]am **. It states that Hari-rāja and Jayarāja, sons of Mudhaisinha and grandsons of the Pradhana Ravija of Jatuhaṭṭya, were both killed [in the hands of certain enemies] and that Yamarāja son of the younger son [of Mudhaisinha] performed the work of raising the pillar in honour apparently of the two persons who had lost their lives. This part should better have been preceded by a passage like st[=]astim kālē. The name of Ravija’s wife who was the mother of Mudhaisinha cannot be fully deciphered. The same is the case with the names of the parents of Yamarāja. The word used to indicate the erection of the pillar seems to be nirehid[ā] (to go with a word like krey directed) without specifically indicating the nature of the work done. The same word appears to be employed in a similar sense in an early inscription.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Kirti-dugra, as already indicated above, cannot be satisfactorily identified. Jauhaṭṭya or Jatuhaṭṭya was probably a locality near Budhera where the pillar stands.

**TEXT**

1 Sa[hr]vatu 1351 Sākā 1[21]6 || svasti śrī-KI-

2 ratti-durgrē samasta-rāja(j-ä)vali-samalaḥkṛita-par[ma]ji-

3 [bhaj]ārka-[padi]maraja-[śrī-Ga]napati-mahāpradhān-

4 Dēṣuva... vyāpāra[m] karōti [**] Jauhaṭṭya-pradhāna-

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1 Bhandarkar’s List, No. 163.
3 Of the Bangla inscriptions, Nos. 1, 3-5 (above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 330-33).
4 Of above, Vol. XXXII, p. 86.
5 From impressions.
6 Read durgē.
7 Read parama.
8 Read bhaṭṭaraṇa.
9 Read paramāraṇa.
10 The two akehoraś lost here are difficult to restore. The intended reading may be mudra-vyapārema.
12 Sanskrit Jatuhaṭṭya.
5 Ravija-[pa]tui-Di...na\-suta-Mudhai\-siha\-pu-

6 [tra]-Ha[ri]\-raja-Jair\-ja[\#] [dau]\* hatau [\#*] laghu-putra-Tri\-[\#d][\#hau]-

7 ...ndi\*-[supu]\-tr\-[\#ra] [Ja]mar\-ya\-[\#a] ni[v\-d]hê\-[\#d]\-ya\-[\#m]-

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1 This name of Ravija's wife should have a feminine ending.
2 Sanskrit *vinaka.
3 Read Jayarjyam.
4 Read dravu.
5 It is not clear as to whose laghu-patra (i.e. younger or youngest son) the person in question was. But he seems to have been the youngest son of Mudhai\-siha and a younger brother of Hari\-raja and Jayar\-ja.
6 This seems to be the last a\-\-hara of the name of the wife of the person who was the youngest son of Mudhai\-siha and whose name was either Tridhau or began with those two a\-\-hara. The female name intended may have been something like Anandí.
7 I.e. Jayarjyama (Sanskrit Yamarjyama).
8 Read a\-\-rā\-\-dya\-\-am.
Bhumara Pillar Inscription of Hastin

Scale: One-half
No. 32—Note on Bhumara Pillar Inscription of Hastin

(2 Plates)

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(Received on 4. 6. 1953)

The stone pillar bearing this inscription was discovered at Bhumara in the former Nagaudh State in Central India by Cunningham who noticed the epigraph in his Arch. Surv. Ind. Rep., Vol. IX, 1879, p. 16, No. 9, with a translation and an illustration (Plate IV, No. 9). The text of the inscription as read by Fleet in the Crop. Ins. Ind., Vol. III, p. 111, runs as follows:

1 Svasti ['] Mahādēva-pād-[ā]-
2 naddhyatōta-mahārāja-Hastī-
3 rājyē Āmbīdē mahārāja-
4 Sarvvanātha-bhōgē Indanē-
5 naptē Vāsu-grāmika-puttra-
6 Śivādēśena vala-ya-
7 stī[r*-]uchsēritāḥ ['] Mahī-Māghē
8 sambha(sarhva)tasrē Kārttika-māsā-
9 divasā 10 9 [']

As regards the reading of the text, it may be pointed out that the name at the end of line 4 is clearly Indanē and not Indana, while the numerical figure at the end of line 9 is 8 and not 9. The name Sarvanātha is spelt generally as Sarvanātha in the records of the king in question.

The date of the record is quoted in lines 7-9 as the 18th day of the month of Kārttika in the Mahā-Māgha year of Jupiter's twelve-year cycle. This year has been variously taken as corresponding to the Gupta years 165 (484 A.D.), 189 (508 A.D.) and 201 (520 A.D.). The object of the inscription is to record the setting up of what is called a vahgāt (no doubt the stone pillar bearing the inscription) on the date referred to above in Mahāraja-Sarvanātha-bhōgē in Āmbālōda in Mahāraja-Hastī-rājya by Śivādēśa who was the son of the grāmika Vāsu and the grandson of Indanē. The word grāmika seems to have been used here in the sense of 'the headman of a village.'

Cunningham read the word gātih in lines 6-7 of the inscription, which he took to mean 'a sacrificial pillar.' But at the same time he observed, 'I suppose the pillar may have been set up as a boundary-mark between the territories of the two Rājās (i.e. Hastin and Sarvanātha).'' Fleet believed that the expression vahgāt is a mistake for vahgātā which he understood in the sense of 'a boundary-staff or pillar.' His translation of the principal sentence of the record in lines 1-7 runs as follows: 'In [the boundary of] the kingdom of the Mahāraja Hastin who meditates on the feet of [the god] Mahādēva; at [the village of] Āmbālōda; [and] in [the boundary of] the bhōgā of the Mahāraja Sarvanātha; --[this] boundary-pillar has been set up.' Like Cunningham, Fleet also suggests that the object of the inscription is to record the erection, at Āmbālōda, of a boundary-pillar between the territories of the two Mahārajas.'

The two kings mentioned in the inscription are Hastin of the Parivrājaka family and Sarvanātha of Uchchakalpa. Besides the present record, the Parivrājaka king Hastin is known from his charters issued in the Gupta years 166 (475 A.D.), 163 (482 A.D.), 170 (489 A.D.) and 191

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1 See Bhandarkar's List, No. 1661.
(510 A.D.) while the known dates of his son and successor Sanakhobha are the Gupta years 199 (518 A.D.) and 209 (528 A.D.). Similarly, the known dates of the Uchchakalpa king Sarvanatha are the Gupta years 191 (510 A.D.), 193 (512 A.D.), 197 (516 A.D.) and 214 (533 A.D.) and those of his father and predecessor Jayanatha are the Gupta years 174 (493 A.D.) and 177 (496 A.D.). Roughly speaking therefore Hastin was the contemporary of the father of Sarvanatha who was the contemporary of Hastin's son. Some scholars wrongly refer the dates in the Uchchakalpa records to the Kalachuri era of 248 A.D. instead of the Gupta era of 319 A.D. This is improbable in view of the fact that there is hardly any possibility of the spread of the Kalachuri era in the Uchchakalpa area in the age in question. On the other hand, the prevalence of the Gupta era in the same area during the age of the Uchchakalpa kings is indicated by the Parivrajaka inscriptions.

The suggestion that the Bhumara pillar bearing the inscription under study was set up for demarcating the boundary between the kingdoms of the two kings Hastin and Sarvanatha is highly improbable in view of the following facts. In the first place, as will be seen below, the expression bala-yashthi is found in a similar context in another inscription of the same age and area and this clearly shows that there is no justification for correcting valaya-yashthi to valaya-yashthi. It is clear from the record referred to that the intended reading for valaya-yashthi in the Bhumara inscription is bala-yashthi. We know that the records of the Parivrajaka king Hastin as well as others of the age and area in question often use v for b even though they employ b correctly or wrongly in some cases. Secondly, even if the emendation is regarded as justifiable, valaya-yashthi would scarcely mean 'a boundary-pillar' since the word valaya does not really mean 'a boundary'. Thirdly, it is difficult to believe that an ordinary villager without any authority would think of taking upon himself the responsibility of fixing the boundary between the dominions of two neighbouring kings. Fourthly, the language of the record shows that the locality where the pillar was set up lay in both Hastin's dominions and Sarvanatha's bhoga and this hardly suits a line of demarcation between the kingdoms of the two rulers. Fifthly, Fleet's interpretations of the passages Maharaja-Hasti-rayya and Maharaaja-Sarvanatha-bhoga respectively as 'in the boundary of the kingdom of Maharaaja Hastin' and 'in the boundary of the bhoga of Maharaaja Sarvanatha' are no doubt arbitrary, while the suggestion that they refer to the boundary between two kingdoms is quite unconvincing since it is unintelligible why Hastin's kingdom should be called a rayya and Sarvanatha's dominions a bhoga. Sixthly, the word bhoga does not really mean 'a kingdom'. Seventhly, the language of the epigraph suggests that Maharaaja-Sarvanathabhoga lay within the dominions of Hastin.

The expression Maharaaja-Hasti-rayya in such a context would normally mean 'during the reign of Maharaaja Hastin', even though t.l. meaning 'in the kingdom of Maharaaja Hastin' may not be altogether impossible in a particular case. But whether the word rayya in our record is taken to mean 'sovereignty' or 'kingdom', the sentence in question makes it clear, as already suggested above, that what has been called Maharaaja-Sarvanatha-bhoga lay within the dominions of Hastin whose reign (less probably, kingdom) is specifically mentioned in relation to the setting up of the pillar bearing the inscription. What can be the meaning of the word bhoga in such a context?

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1 Bhandarkar's List, p. 399; above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 264 ff.
3 Ibid., loc. cit.; also Nos. 1194-98, 1200, 1702.
4 For an inscription of the Imperial Guptas in the same area, cf. p. 172, note 1, below.
5 See, e.g., Vrahmana in line 5 and Drakshayabhoga in line 9 of the Majhawans plates of Hastin (Corp. Ins. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 108 ff.). Cf. also somabata (for somastava) in line 2 of this epigraph as well as in line 8 of the Bhumara pillar inscription.
Flect says, “Bhōga, lit. ‘enjoyment, possession, government’, is a technical territorial term, probably of much the same purport as the bhukti of other inscriptions.” It is true that, like bhakti, ‘province’, the word bhōga is often used to indicate a district of a kingdom. In many copper-plate grants, the gift village is stated to have been situated in a particular territorial unit styled bhōga. Mention may be made, e.g., of Kumārivaśa near Bihannārikā in Gārajjā-bhōga within Bharukachchha-vishaya in the Sarsavani plates (lines 19-20) of Kalachuri Buddhaśrāja; Kōṇiyānā near Bhatajirākā in Vatānagara-bhōga in the Vadner plates (line 19) of the same king; Vira-grāma in Sāṁjilā-bhōga in Paḷayaṭṭhāna-vishaya in the Jejuri plates (lines 25-27) of the Chālukya king Vinayāditya; Jijjika-grāma attached to Vōṅkhāra-bhōga in the Jirjinge plates (line 11) of the Eastern Gaṅga king Indraravman; Vanikā-grāma in Āvaraka-bhōga within Hōṇa- maṇḍala in the Gaonri plates (B, lines 7-8) of the Paramāra king Vākpati Maṇja; Kailāsa-pura-grāma belonging to Tāraṇjamakā-bhōga in the Mallar plates (lines 5-6) of the Pāṇḍuvamśi king Mahā-Sīvaṇgupta Bālārjuna, etc. It will be seen from some of these instances from inscriptions found in different parts of the country that bhōga was a smaller territorial unit than a district called vishaya or maṇḍala. It is also interesting to note that the same territorial unit is called Edevoṭal-bhōga in the Sorab plates of Chālukya Vinayāditya and Edevoṭal-vishaya in the Harīhar plates of the same king. But, if the word bhōga in the Bhumara inscription is supposed to be used in the sense of a territorial unit like a district or its subdivision, we can hardly escape the conclusion that Mahārāja-Sarvanātha-bhōga was a small district of the kingdom of Hastin, even though its name was associated with that of Mahārāja Sarvanātha, apparently the contemporary Uchchakalpa king of that name. This does not appear to support the suggestion that the pillar in question was set up in order to demarcate the boundary between the kingdoms of Hastin and Sarvanātha.

Monier-Williams’ Sanskrit-English Dictionary recognises the word bhōga in the senses of ‘possession, property, wealth, revenue,’ besides others. Wilson’s Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms mentions two kinds of bhōga or possession, viz. sa-vādha (with obstruction) and nir-vādha (unobstructed, undisputed). He also recognises the following expressions containing the same word: (1) bhōga-lātha, usufruct in lieu of interest; (2) bhōgōtara, a grant of revenue for the enjoyment of a person or deity; and (3) bhōga-bandhaka, a kind of mortgage in which the articles mortgaged may be converted to use and the profits are to be appropriated by the mortgagee in lieu of interest. We have also inscriptions speaking of a vātik (i.e. a shop or stall in a market) as bhōga-ādhiṅaṁ tishṭhati and bhōga-ādhiṅaṁ gṛihīta with reference to its lying in the possession or being brought under the possession of an individual. From the sense of ‘possession’ the word bhōga came to be used in the sense of ‘the property under one’s possession.’ The word is used in this sense, e.g., in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parahād plate of Viśvarūpaśena. The use of bhōga (and also of bhūkti) in the sense of a territorial unit seems to be due to a further expansion of this meaning of the word.

Inscriptions often mention the expressions bhōgika and bhōga-pati. Since bhōga-pati is sometimes mentioned in association with nṛ-pati (i.e. king) and vishaya-pati (i.e. governor of a district).
it may be understood in the sense of ‘an officer in charge of a territorial unit called bhōga’, although the meaning ‘one in the possession of a bhōga, i.e. land or jāgir’ is also not impossible in such cases. But the word bhōga seems to be often used in the sense of a jāgirdār. Thus the donors of the Sruṇgavarapukota plates (lines 9-10) of Anantavarman is called Achaṇṭapura-bhōga Māṭriśarman. It appears that Māṭriśarman was the jāgirdār of the village of Achaṇṭapura and not the governor or resident of Achaṇṭapura-bhōga.

We have also other instances of the word bhōga being affixed to a personal name in a compound exactly as in Mahārāja-Sarvanātha-bhōga in the Bhumā inscription. A stone inscription, from Kosam (?) now preserved in the Allahabad Municipal Museum, reads as follows:

2 hānl-Bha(Bh)mēna kīrttan-śyām kārāpitā || bhaṭṭaraka-Lāha-
3 dēṇa* || Sarīvat

Mahāsāmantāhipati Śrīdharā’s bhōga mentioned in this record, which is no doubt similar to Mahārāja Sarvanātha’s bhōga known from the Bhumā pillar inscription, appears to indicate the jāgir or fief in the possession of Śrīdharā and not the district governed by him. Since it is impossible to believe that Mahārāja Sarvanātha was the governor of a territorial unit in the kingdom of Hastin, the sense of ‘a jāgir’ is certainly more suitable to the word bhōga in the context of the Bhumā inscription. It may be argued that a district originally named after Sarvanātha was later included in Hastin’s kingdom. This is improbable in view of the fact that Sarvanātha was a later contemporary of Hastin.

As regards Mahārāja-Sarvanātha-bhōga lying in or comprising Ṛmālāda within Hastin’s dominions, there is nothing improbable, in our opinion, in Mahārāja Sarvanātha enjoying a jāgir within his neighbour’s kingdom. This possibility is suggested by the well-known story of the locality called Kāśi-grāma or Kāśi-nigama which lay within the dominions of the king of Kōsala but was for a considerable period of time in the possession of the king of Magadhā. The said locality yielding a revenue of one lakh coins was given by Mahākōsala, king of Kōsala, to his daughter Kōsaladēvi for her bath and perfume money when she married king Bimbisāra of Magadhā and, as a result, became a part of the Magadhā kingdom. After Bimbisāra’s death, Praśānajit, son and successor of Mahākōsala, withdrew the gift from Ajāṭhaśatrū, son and successor of Bimbisāra. This led to a protracted war between Magadhā and Kōsala. Ultimately Praśānajit gave his daughter Vajrā in marriage to Ajāṭhaśatrū and the locality was given back as part of her dowry. It is not impossible that the village or territorial unit called Ṛmbālāda lay in or comprised a bhōga under the enjoyment or possession of Mahārāja Sarvanātha even though the area formed a part

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1 The word bhōga is often used in the same sense. Cf. Sāra. Śāk., pp. 44 ff., etc.
2 Above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 60.
3 This is No. 519 of 1907-08, Appendix B. See ASIAR, 1935-36, p. 95.
4 Expressed by symbol.
5 For Śakānī, cf. above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 141-42. The designation Duṣñiddhānī seems to be the same as Duṣñiddhānī, Duṣñiddhānī, Duṣñiddhānī, Duṣñiddhānī mentioned in many records (cf. Majumdar, Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 185).
6 The word Kirttaka is the same as kirtana or kirti often used to indicate an image, a temple, a grant, etc., calculated to render famous the name of the person responsible for it. Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 184.
7 Read Kārtia.
8 The intended reading may be Lāhbādya since the object of the inscription seems to be to record the construction of a shrine for a deity named Lāhbādya.
9 See Malalā-keras, Dictionary of Pali Proper Names., s.v., Kangawa-Kātinigama, Kōmaladhā, Ajāṭhaśatrū and Pāthādi.
of the dominions of Mahārāja Hastin, just as Kāśīgāma or Kāśī-nigama in the kingdom of Kosala was in the possession of the king of Magadhā when Mahākāśa and Prabhājita were on the throne of the Kosala country, although it is difficult to say whether matrimonial relations existed between Hastin and Sarvanātha.

We have now to determine the purpose behind the setting up of the stone pillar at Bhumarā since it does not appear to be the demarcation of the boundary between the kingdoms of Hastin and Sarvanātha. Inscribed and uninscribed pillars of stone, found in different parts of India, are innumerable. They were raised for various purposes in all the ages of Indian history. Amongst the inscribed pillars, the earliest belong to the days of the Maurya emperor Asoka (c. 269-232 B.C.). These are called stambha (Prakrit sthaba, thaṭhaba, thaṭabha, thaṭhabha or śiḷā-stambha or epigraphs they bear. There are some pillars which may be classified as divyā-stambha (often standing before a temple and bearing inscriptions in some cases), jagū-stambha (often bearing the eulogy of a conqueror) and kirtti-stambha (often bearing the eulogy of a person who performed a pious deed calculated to make him famous). Certain memorial pillars known as hero stones (often with inscriptions recording the deaths of warriors while fighting against enemies) and sati stones (often bearing inscriptions which record the deaths of widows burning themselves in fire) are found in large numbers in the southern and western regions of India, though they are as well known from other parts of the country. Besides these, we have also other kinds of inscribed pillars bearing small inscriptions on the stone pillar at Bhumarā. Some of these are votive pillars set up in religious establishments by pious men, especially pilgrims, for acquiring religious merit. They are generally referred to as stambha in Sanskrit and sthaba, thaṭhaba, thaṭabha, thaṭhabha or thaṭhabha in Prakrit in the inscriptions incised on them. Instances of such votive pillars are numerous in the inscriptions discovered in the ruins of old Buddhist Stūpas like those at Barhat, Sanchi, and Nagarjunakonda. There is another class of memorial pillars similar to the hero and sati stones. The erection of such pillars in honour of one's dead relatives is referred to in early records like the Satavahana inscriptions dated in the 11th regnal year of the Kushāṇa emperor Kanishka I and the Andhā inscription of the year 52 apparently referable to the Saka era and corresponding to 130 A.D. Such pillars are generally mentioned in the inscriptions incised on them as gaceta (Prakrit gaceta, laska). The use of the word gaceta in the expression bhuja-gaceta occurring in our inscription may suggest that the Bhumarā pillar was a memorial raised in honour of a dead relative of Sāttavā. This relative was possibly his grandfather or grandmother Indian's, although it is not clearly stated in the inscription.  

1 See Corp. Ind., vol. I, pp. 56 ff.
2 Cf., e.g., the Ava pillar inscription of the year 165 (ibid., vol. III, pp. 88 ff.).
3 The Erand Madhyand pillars bearing the inscriptions respectively of Samudragupta and Yasovarman fall in this category. Cf. Select Inscriptions, p. 350 ff. 383 ff. A daya-stambha could sometimes be also regarded as a kirtti-stambha.
4 The Talagunda pillar bears a pra-nāma of the Kṣatrapa king Anu-ktharman who excavated a tank near a Śiva temple belongs to this class. Cf. ibid., pp. 470 ff.
6 See, e.g., Hiralal's List, p. 46 (No. 78), p. 53 (No. 93), etc. In many cases, the inscription on the pillar record both the death of a hero and the self-mutilation of his widow. Cf., e.g., the Erand inscription of the Gupta year 191 (510 A.D.) in the same work, p. 49 (No. 83).
8 Select Inscriptions, pp. 167 ff. For some pillars called gaceta, see ibid., pp. 92-93.
10 We have other pillar inscriptions without indication as regards the object of setting up the pillars in question, especially when they were set up in a religious establishment. See JASB, Letters, Vol. XV, pp. 5 ff.
It is interesting in this connection to note that another stone pillar inscription of the middle of the fifth century A.D., discovered in the Bhumara region of Central India, refers to the setting up of a bala-yashṭi in the following words: svu-puṣy-āpyaṃ-ārtham yāṣṭiḥ-kirti-pravardhamāna-gōtra-śālikā bala-yashṭiḥ([*) pratīh kāpiṭā Varga-grāmakāna. This was a memorial pillar apparently raised in honour of several dead relations of a grāmikā (headman of a village) named Varga and that is why the bala-yashṭi appears to be described as a gōtra-śālikā, 'a family stone'. There is absolutely no indication in the inscription that it could have been a boundary-pillar of any kind.

The meaning of the expression bala-yashṭi is not clear. The Mādinikāka recognises the word bala in the adjectival sense of bala-yukta, 'strong, stout', and this is suitable in the present context. Bala-yashṭi may thus indicate a strong or stout (i.e. everlasting) pillar. Even if bala is taken in its ordinary sense of strength, bala-yashṭi would offer the same meaning in a compound expression. It is difficult to say whether such memorial pillars were popularly and conventionally known to have been 'Balarāma's yashṭi or pillar' just as Aśoka’s Delhi-Swalik pillar is called 'Bhūmāśāna’s āṭṭh or āṭṭh (from yashṭi or tashṭi meaning 'a pillar')'.

In this connection, reference may be made to a late pillar inscription from the former Rewa State, now preserved in the Allahabad Municipal Museum. It reads as follows:


This inscription refers to a memorial pillar raised by some persons in the memory of a dead man named Mahārāja whose two wives appear to have committed Sati, on Wednesday, Jyāṣaṭ-vadi 13, V.S. 1417 (May 13, 1360 A.D.) during the rājya or reign of Mahārājādhirāja Vallāladēva, as a gōtra. The word gōtra (occurring twice in the record in lines 5 and 7) in the sense of 'a pillar' is unintelligible. It, however, appears to be a mistake or modification of the word gōtra which may be a contraction of what is called gōtra-śālikā in the Rewa inscription of the Gupta period, to which reference has been made above. The pillar in question may be regarded as 'a family stone' since it was raised in memory of three persons (i.e. the husband and his two wives) of a particular family. It is interesting to note that the use of gōtra-śālikā and gōtra in the sense of a memorial pillar has so far been found only in the said records of the Rewa region.

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1 Cf. ibid., p. 6. This is the Supia (former Rewa State) pillar inscription of the reign of Skandagupta (425-47 A.D.), dated in the Gupta year 141 (460 A.D.). Cf. CII., Vol. IV, p. 607 and note 7, to which my attention was drawn when the present note was going through the press.

2 This is No. 528 of 1937-38, Appendix B. See ASIAR, 1935-36, p. 96.

3 Expressed by symbol.

4 Read Jyāṣaṭaḥ.

5 Read Šuddaṭ.

6 A word like āṭṭh would suit the context.

7 Better read Bhāmiṣa-Sōmaka-Chol-Sahadēva.
No. 33—STRAY PLATE IN MADRAS MUSEUM

(1 Plate)

P. R. SRINIVASAN, MADRAS

(Received on 6.2.1958)

This is a single plate bearing inscription on both sides, which was purchased by the Government Museum, Madras, in 1955, from a person who is stated to have got it from Tirupparan Kongam, a suburb of Madurai. Obviously it belonged to a set of which the other plates are missing. I am editing it here with the kind permission of Dr. A. Aiyappan, Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras.

The plate measures $10''\times 3\cdot 4''\times 0\cdot 075''$. There are ten lines of writing on each side. The preservation of the writing is satisfactory excepting some letters at the beginning of a few lines on both the obverse and reverse of the plate. Though the inscription is fragmentary it is interesting in more respects than one.

The characters of the inscription are Tamil and the record may be assigned to circa 10th century A.D. on palaeographical grounds. If the information about the provenance of the plate is correct, it may suggest that the charter was issued from the Pandy kingdom. This is to some extent borne out by the use of certain expressions in the record. Cf. aṟṟittu (lines 1-2), Podurupa (line 6), Ṛmaṇ (line 18), etc. The introduction of the Chola variety of the Tamil script in the Pandy kingdom, where Vaṭṭeḷuttu was formerly in general use, was largely due to the Chola kings who began to establish their sway over the Pandy region in the tenth century.

The expressions rotar (each member), orōtār (each member) and orōkūḍi (each family) are interesting. They are characteristic of the region where the record is stated to have been found. The use of paḍu in ponsaṭunilam is interesting because it refers to a period earlier than the stage of its use solely as a passive participle. The epigraph uses the marks of puṭi or virama, though not uniformly.

The passage that is preserved in this stray plate seems to record the settlement of one family each of the classes of shepherds, oilmengers, potters, goldsmiths, carpenters, blacksmiths, washermen, Ijavas, Pārambas and Pāriyas in a village. Some of them were assigned lands belonging to a god with whom they were required to share the produce. Unfortunately other details are lost.

The term aṟṟittukkōṇam and niḷakkōṇam mentioned in the record require a word of explanation. The former stands for some kind of a tax levied from the people of the particular colony referred to in the inscription for the specific purpose of the festival of bathing the images of gods and goddesses in river water. The second term means 'the remittance both in kind and cash according to the land holdings that are leased out to them and enjoyed (upbudu) by the various classes of people settled in a colony'. The word kombu occurs twice in the inscription in two different contexts. In the first instance it is associated with nel or paddy (line 4) and this paddy is said to be divided [into shares] and received as wage individually [by the labourers]. Here the term kombu indicates the quality of the paddy. In the villages, especially in the District of Ramanathapuram, the mekkittu-aṭṭ, i.e. the man or woman employed on daily wages basis, is usually paid in kind and gets a quantity of paddy of the first quality. In the second instance, it finds a place in the passage kombi kaiḷ-magāniliyum (line 8) as well as in the passage ponsaṭunilai rotatiṟkku kai cheYYum kombi rotartiṟkku magāniliyum in lines 9-10. The word kombu is associated with kaiḷ-magāniliyum in the first expression and with magāniliyum in the next. It,
therefore, seems to indicate a variety of land. The Manrāda were thus granted two varieties of land. *Poppaduniam* is one variety and the other variety is qualified by the term *kombu*. While the former refers to the most fertile class of land usually situated near the residential site or central belt of fields in a village, the latter may refer to land situated in the outlying parts of the village. This meaning seems to be quite in accord with the context.

The term *poppadumilam* means ‘golden land’, i.e., the most fertile land. It may be mentioned here that in every village, the lands are classified into several categories according to their fertility. By specifying the land as *poppadumilam* it is presumable that the place referred to in this inscription should also have other categories of less fertile lands and that the practice of classifying the land is an ancient one. Such expressions as *ūttapayan, meykkattu* and *mēḷekuttam* are equally interesting. Of these, the term *meykkattu*, as indicated above, is in vogue even today. The adjectives preceding the names of individual Manrāda such as *panjiyyan* seem to stand for the names of various classes among them. Of these adjectives *mallan* continues to be in vogue to this day.

The locality called Panjiyyār was probably situated in the ancient Pāṇḍyan kingdom, though it is not possible to identify it.

**TEXT**

First Side

1 1 peruv[a*du] [*] ārāṭṭu-[k*]kāgam samūhaṭṭil panniraydū ūltta-payan kūri-
2 ṭtu koḷḷum mudalum ūṭta-krūravum ārāṭṭu-p[p*]nāiyam-āga kolvadu [*] A-
3 ṭṭil-pañjārā paḷikku-uryār ārāḍu-nāḷ rotta[*] kala nel peruvadu [*] Pa-
4 ni urāruṇ-kāḷāruṇa pāṭṭam āḷavum taliy-āḷavum pēḷ [k*] kombin nel
5 ulḷār mey-kkāṭṭināl kūrā vilay-āga kāḷattilē kūr-iṭṭu kolvadu [*] i-ochēri-
6 [kku] Manrādagal Panjiyyayan Vatṭam Poduvanum Pūsāl Kāvañ-chellanu-
7 m [cherl]ppan Nīlān-kāvanum Māḷaṇ Kāvama[rail][yān Kūṛraṇ Kōdaṇ Araiyanu-
8 m Māḷaṇ Śatṭam Vatṭanum [*] Śatṭam Vatṭanukku kombil kāḷē-māgāiyum ma-
9 [r]al Manrādīgalukku pōn-pādu-nilattu orottarkku kāl cheyyum kombil ro-
10 tta[rkku] mā[ṅgāiyum uluḷu Dēvarroḍum* pādi iṭṭ-umpadu [*] nilakkāṇ māṛ-chey-

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*This explanation is not convincing. The meanings given by the author for the word *kombu* in the two contexts are contradictory. In the first instance also it may mean ‘paddy grown in the *kombu* variety of land’.

The *Tamil Lexicon* explains the word as ‘the farthest end of a tank bund’.—Ed."

* From the original plate.
* Its head has been effaced due to corrosion of the plate; so it looks like pa.
* The word *samūka* is in Grantha.
* This expression which has its variant *ortilar* in line 9, is in vogue in the Ramanathapuram, Madurai and Tirunelveli Districts as well as in Kerala.
* This *n* is a mistake for *m*.
* There is a dot over this letter.
* In the Ramanathapuram District, a chey is a measure of land, also called māṇ, comprising sixteen mandāri, which is approximately equal to 1/3 of a sēri or 2½ acres. [M3 was one-twentieth of a sēri in those days.—Ed.]
* Read Dēvarroḍu. The letter *s* is incised below the letter *pa*.
No. 33] STRAY PLATE IN MADRAS MUSEUM

Second Side

11 yāll-[raia]-kkālānjju pōṅ iruppadu [*] Melleļutanum Taḷ[pa]riyum rottā
12 r pōṅ-paḍu-nilattu kāḷe-araikkāl nilam² Dēvarroḍu² pādi iṭṭu upbadu [*]
13 [nīla]-kkāṇam rottar padiṅ-ār-araik-kkāṇam poṇṇ-iru[p*]padu [*] Melleļutan-
14 [num Taḷpa]riyum aṭṭ-oruvar pāni āeyavadu [*] kāḷārum⁴ [Ma*]rādisālum kuḍiyi-
15 [I]-mūṭṭān pāni āeyavadu [*] i-chchēri kuḍiga] kāl cheyyāl araik-kkālajju pōṅ
16 [nīla]-kkāṇum kalav-ariśiyum nāli neyyum iṛuttu Dēvar nilam uḷudu
17 pādi iṭṭ-uṇbadu [*] Vaṇigaṇum Kuśavaṇum Kāvidiyum Taṭṭānu[m*] Tacheṇum Kol-
18 laṇum Vaṇṇaṇum Ījavaṇum Pāṃbaṇum Paraiyaṇum orōkiḍi irup-
19 paḍu [*] Dēva-varaṇaṇukku kāl cheyyāl oru padugaiyum kāla-ppērum ān-
20 ḍuvaṛai pann-iru kāl nēlu pēruvaḍu [*] i-chchēri kuḍiga] [vāḻgaṭṭham⁶]

¹ Read "pōṅ-araikāl".
² Nilam preceded by kāḷe-araikkāl (i.e. §) seems to suggest that here it is a synonym of čhey. [The language seems to suggest that čhey was different from kāḷe-araikkāl.—Ed.]
³ Read Dēvaṛuḍu.
⁴ Read kāḷārum.
⁵ Read "pōṅ-araikāl".
⁶ The letters "pōṅ-araikāl" are in Grantha.
No. 34—ALLAHABAD MUSEUM PLATE OF GOVINDACHANDRA, V. S. 1171

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACUMUND

(Received on 13.2.1958)

When I visited the Municipal Museum at Allahabad in December 1957, Dr. S. C. Kala, Curator of the Museum, kindly allowed me to examine and copy two copper-plate grants in his custody. On examination it was found that both the charters belong to the Gāḍāvāla dynasty of Banaras. Both the inscriptions are engraved on single plates. The first of the two charters, written on both sides of the plate, was issued by the Gāḍāvāla king Madanapāla (circa 1100-14 A.D.) and the second, written only on one side, by his son Gōvindachandra (circa 1114-55 A.D.).

Madanapāla’s document was issued on the occasion of the Akṣa-haya-trāṣṭi on Thursday, the 3rd of the bright half of Vaiśākha in V. S. 1164, corresponding to the 16th April 1108 A.D. The seal attached through a hole in the plate has the figure of flying Gṛuḍa above, the legend śrī-Madanapāladevaḥ in the middle and the representation of a conch-shell below. The charter records the grant of the village of Sajā in the Chaturāsikā (i.e., Chaurāsi or a Pargana consisting of 84 villages) of Māniḥapura in the Aṣṭāvāsa pattāla (district) in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Gaṇḍharasumman of the Bāhavajā gaṭa. The name of apparently the same pattāla is also found in the Fyzabad plate (1) of Gāḍāvāla Jayachandra (circa 1170-93 A.D.), dated V. S. 1233 (1187 A.D.), and it may be the same as the region around Arror, the older name of Partabgarh. The inscription was discovered at Bādhrā in the Kunda Tashil of the Partabgarh District, U. P. The gift village of Sajā lies at a distance of seven miles from Bādhrā which is only two miles from Māniḥpur (Māniḥapura of the inscription) near the Ghutti railway station on the branch line between Allahabad and Raibarely. This inscription was published by K. C. Sinha and K. Chattopadhyaya in the Journal of the U. P. Historical Society, Vol. XIV, Part I, pp. 70 ff. The other charter issued by the Gāḍāvāla king Gōvindachandra is edited below.

As indicated above, this is a single plate inscribed on one side only. The ring bearing the seal passes through a hole measuring 8” in diameter about the middle of the first line of writing. The plate measures 17 inches in length, 13-5 inches in height and 1-15 inch in thickness. But the corners of the plate are rounded off and its length and breadth are slightly less at the sides. The seal bears, besides the usual Gṛuḍa and conch-shell emblems, the legend śrīmad-Gōvindachandra-ndīdaredaṇ (not read). There are altogether 23 lines of writing on the plate. The findspot of the record is not known to me.

The inscription resembles the numerous other charters of Gāḍāvāla Gōvindachandra in palaeography, orthography and style. The vowel mark of ś is written both as śrī-mātrā and prabhā-mātrā. E is written like p and rṣ like ṛḷ and dh sometimes like v. There is no difference between th and dhv. The use of v for b (except in ṅambu in line 9), s for ś and the class nasal for the anusvāra is noticed in many cases. The date of the grant is quoted as Monday, the full-moon tithi of the month of Kārttikeya in V. S. 1171. We have another charter issued by the

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1 This tīkha was the occasion for the grant of several Gāḍāvāla charters. Cf. the Kamsauli plate of V. S. 1172 (above, Vol. IV, pp. 103-04). Pali plate of V. S. 1189 (ibid., Vol. V, pp. 113-15). Lār plate of V. S. 1202 (ibid., Vol. VII, pp. 98-100), etc.


3 Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, pp. 10 ff. No facsimile of the inscription was published. The name has been read as Asrējā.

(178)
same monarch exactly on the same day. It is the Kamsuli plate published above.\textsuperscript{1} But in spite of the occurrence of the same date in two different documents, it has to be admitted that it is irregular since Kārttika-śu. 15 was not a Monday in V. S. 1171 (1114-15 A.D.).

The record begins with the symbol for Siddham and the word saṣṭi. These are followed in lines 1-10 by nine stanzas which are already well known from the published Gāhajavāla charters.\textsuperscript{2} The first of these verses contains an adoration of the goddess Śrī (Lakṣmī) while the next (verse 2) introduces Yaśōvīgraha who is stated to have flourished after the rulers of the solar race (i.e. the Gūrjara-Pratihāra emperors of Kanauj) had passed away. Verse 3 introduces Yaśōvīgraha's son Mahichandra and the next two stanzas (verses 4-5) Mahichandra's son Chandra who is stated to have obtained by his valour the empire (ādirajya, i.e. sāmrājya) of Gādhipura (Kānyakubja or Kanauj, i.e. the erstwhile Gūrjara-Pratihāra empire), and protected the holy places in the Kāśi, Kuśāka (Kuśākapura or Gādhipura, i.e. Kānyakubja). Uttarakūsala (land around the city of Ayodhyā and Śrāvasti) and Indraprastha (Indraprastha or Delhi) regions. It is also stated that king Chandra eradicated all affictions of the subjects of the Gādhipura empire (or, less probably, suppressed their rebellion). Chandra's son Madanapāla is described in the next two stanzas (verses 6-7) and Gōvindachandra, who was the son and successor of Madanapāla and issued the charter under review, in verses 8-9. A passage in prose in lines 10-13, also known from the king's other charters, then re-introduces Gōvindachandra, described as Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārajaśādhīrāja Paramāśvara anī Paramanāśhīvara and as meditating on (or favoured by) the feet of Madanapāla who himself meditated on (or was favoured by) the feet of Chandra. Here also king Chandra is described as having obtained the possession of Kānyakubja (i.e. Kanyakubja or Kanauj). The claim seems to refer to the fact that the Gāhajavālas considered themselves successors of the Gūrjara-Pratihāra emperors. It is often supposed that the reference is to the occupation of the city of Kanauj which is again believed to have been another capital of the Gāhajavāla monarchs besides Vārānasi or Banaras. But the language of verse 4 does not appear to support this interpretation and there is also no evidence to show that Kanauj was a secondary capital of the Gāhajavālas of Banaras. The representation of the rulers of this dynasty as 'the Gāhajavālas of Vārānasi and Kānyakubja' thus appears to be inaccurate.\textsuperscript{3} Yaśōvīgraha, founder of the Gāhajavāla house, seems to have been ruling in the Banaras region as a subordinate of the latest rulers of the Gūrjara-Pratihāra dynasty, although there is no doubt that, before his grandson Chandra established his imperial status in the last quarter of the eleventh century, the Kalachuris of Tripuri had succeeded in extending their power over the said area. Bhaiqaq speaks of a Muslim invasion of Banaras about 1034 A.D. when the city belonged to the territory of Gang (i.e., Kalachuri Gaṅgēya, circa 1015-41 A.D.) while the rule of Karṇa (circa 1041-71 A.D.), son of Gaṅgēya, in that region is proved by epigraphic evidence.\textsuperscript{4} The Basahi plate, referred to above, also assigns Chandra's rise to the period after the death of the kings named Bhōja and Karṇa (i.e., the Kalachuri king of that name).

Lines 13 ff. record the details of the grant made by the king on the date discussed above after having taken a bath in the Ganges at Vārānasi and having paid respects to the Sun-god and worshipped the gods Śiva and Vishnu. The privileges to be enjoyed by the donee of the grant and the officers and others addressed by the king are the same as in the other Gāhajavāla charters.

\textsuperscript{1} Vol. IV, pp. 102 f.
\textsuperscript{2} See ibid., pp. 100, etc.
\textsuperscript{3} Cf. Ray, DHNI, Vol. I, 507. The Basahi plate (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 103, text line 3) describes Chandra as having 'established his capital at Kanyākubja'. But the statement seems to indicate that, after having established his suzerainty over the former Kanauj empire, Chandra stayed at the city of Kanauj for sometime. A subordinate ruling family of the Rāṣṭrakūtas had its headquarters at that city under the Gāhajavālas. See Bhadarkar's List, Nos. 204, 1670.
The epigraph under study records the grant of the village of Vaḍhavali in the pottalā or district of Kanabbhavaṇa in favour of Paṇḍita Gōvarīhārāsaranm who was a Sāmavēdin Brāhmaṇa claiming the Sārkavaya or Sārkaṇa gūṭra and the Āḷigrasa, Amabhica and Aruksha praviras and was the son of Agniḥētrin Kēsava and the grandson of Paṇḍita Mālhana. It may be pointed out that the Sārkavaya or Sārkaṇa gūṭra is not mentioned in any early work, and it has no doubt been wrongly spelt in the inscription. But the mention of Āḷigrasa among the three praviras helps us in determining the correct reading of the names of the other two praviras which have also been wrongly spelt. There is no doubt that the three praviras are Āḷigrasa, Amahavya (or, Amahiyava, etc.) and Arukshaya which are assigned in early works to the gūtras of the Kapi group. Unfortunately none of the gūtras of this group sounds like Sārkavaya or Sārkaṇa. Some authorities include a gūtra called Sārkaravaya in this group and Sārkavaya or Sārkaṇa may be a wrong reading for Sārkaravaya.

The document was written by Karaṇika-Thakkura Sahadeva who is already known from the Kamauli and Don Buzurg plates both issued by king Gōvindaḥandra in V. S. 1176 (1120 A.D.). The record ends with the passage maṇgalaṁ maḥē-śrīḥ and the akshara chha written twice between double daṇḍas. The said akshara is an indication of the end of the writing. It is interesting to note that the akshara occurs singly at the end of the grant proper in line 21. Its duplication thus indicates the end of the whole document while its single occurrence earlier means the end of a section only.

Besides the Tīrthas in certain areas in the modern U. P. as well as Gādhipura or Kanyakubja (i.e., Kanauj) mentioned in the description of king Chandra, only two other geographical names are mentioned in the inscription. They are the district of Kanabbhavaṇa and the village of Vaḍhavali. I am not sure about their location. If Vaḍhavali may be identified with one of the villages named Badhauli in the Districts of U. P., we may possibly suggest the one at lat. 28° and long. 86° 15', since there is at lat. 28° 25' and long. 77° 30' a village called Kāsna which is the first part of the name of the pottalā mentioned in the inscription. The second part of this name may possibly refer to Bhawan Bahadunnagar at lat. 28° 35' and long. 77° 55'. In that case it has to be suggested that the name of the district was coined by joining the names of two prominent localities in it.

TEXT

[Metres : verses 1, 3, 10-11 Anuṣṭubh; verse 2 Indravadā; verses 4, 7 Sārulavikriḍita; verses 5-6, 8 Vasantaśilaka; verse 9 Dvavatilāka.]

1 Siddhāṅtā stavit || Akuṇṭh-ōtkaṇṭha-Vaikuṇṭha-kaṇṭha-plṭha-luṭhat-karaḥ || saṃrāmbhaḥ surat-ārambhaḥ sa Sṛiyāḥ śrēya-śēsti vah \[[1\]]\ Āṣid-Āṣid Śaddhutvāṃ saṃvit-vanasa(vanśa)-jāṭa-

2 [khaṃ]pāla-mālāṃ divaḥ-gatānu || sākhā-vās-Vāvasvān-iva bhuṣ-ḥhmmā nāmnā [yasa(śa)-vīgrāha ity-udakrah || \[[2\]]\ Tat-sūtō-bhuṃ-MAHICANDRAḥ-chandra-dhāma-nihānā ni-

3 janh(jam) || yēn-apāram-asūpāḷa pātē vyāpāritah yasaḥ(āh) || \[[3\]]\ Tasya-śhūṭa-tanayō naśa-sīka-rasikaḥ krānta-dvibhān-maṇḍalō vidhva[te-ōjhdha-tiḥ][ra]yō-vada(dha)-timiraḥ

śri-Candra

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1 See Gōvindaprasaṇnavandakadambas, pp. 43, 48, 50, etc.
2 Ibid., p. 41.
4 Ibid., Vol. XVIII, pp. 218 ff.
5 Cf. ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 218.
6 From impressions.
7 Expressed by symbol.
8 As was originally incised.
9 Some records read vīva.
ALLAHABAD MUSEUM PLATE OF GOVINDACHANDRA, V.S. 1171

Scale : One-third

SEAL

Scale : Actual
dēvō niṣaṇḥ | yēñ=ōdārata-ra-pratāpa-sa(sa)mīt-āśō(ā)ha-praṇ-ōpāravān uṣmadd-Gāḍhīpur-
āḍhājīyam-āsamaṇaḥ dīr-ōvīraṁṇaṁ-ārjītān(tan) || [♀* || Tīrthānā Kāśī(śī)ī-Kūśī(śī)īk-ō-
TTarākūśal-Endrasthānīyākānī  | aripālayat-nī-bhīgamaṁ | hīn-ōtma-tulyam-an-śaṁ-
(śaṁ) dādētē dvīr̥iḥ-ḥyō yēñ=ōnūkītē vasumati sa(sa)na-sa(sa)-tulāḥbhīḥ || [♀ || Va(Ta)-
sy-ātmajō Maḍanapāla iti kṣitīdha-chōḍā-śaṁcēs vijayatē nīja-gōṭra-čandrāḥ | yasya- 
ābhishēka-kalasōlasiataḥ payōbbhi prakshāłitām Kāli-raja[Ma]* sa-
kalāni 6 dhrirtrīyāḥ || [♀] Yasya-śūḍ-vijaya-prayaṇa-saṁaṇyō tūṅg-ōchāl-ōchāci-śaṁcēs 
chalan- 
māya-t-kumbhi-pada-kram-ōsama-bhara-hrāja-sya(ma)p-śaṁcēs | chōḍā-śaṁcēs 
viṁbhaṁ-tā-
lu-galita-styān-ōṭa-sūgā(ā)hī-śaṁcēs Nē(śe)śaṁ naḥ pēsā-vāsā(mā)a-dīvā kṣaṇāmaḥ-
ōsaḥ krōḍē 
nīlā-ānanaḥ || [♀] Tu-arāddhājīyata mēj-āvāta-vāḥ(ba)hu-vallī-vani(ba)naḥ dīvā dhāvā-di
evā(ṇa)-
nava-rājya-gajō naṇḍeraḥ | sūnd[r]-āṃjīta-dravamuchāni prabhavō gavām yō Gōvinda-
chadra(ntra) iti chaṇātra-iv-amūbhumūśēḥ(śeḥ) || [♀] Ma(Na) kathana-āpy-yalābhante 
raṇa-kṣaṁāṇaṁ-ṭiṣ[Ma]*di-
[kṣuḥ gajān-adhātha] Vajānīḥ(ṇaḥ) | kakubhi va(ba)bhru(bhia)nuṛ-Abhramuvalettahāḥ-
(ba)ḥa-śaṁcēsāvaḥ iva yasva bhāṭa-gaṇāḥ || [♀] sō-yān samasta-raja-śaṁcēs 
chātra-saṁśevita-chara-
naḥ sa cha parama-
bhaṭṭāraka-mahārajaḥīraga-paramēsavaḥ(sva)ru-paraṇamahēsava(sva)ra-na-bhujō-śaṁcēsī-
śri-Kaṇaṅkuvāj(ā)-dhipatyā-śri-Chāmḍrāsiva-ūd-nuḍhyāta-paramabhaṣṭāra- 
kaṇāḥ-
rajaḥīraga-paramēsavaḥ(sva)ru-ra-śri-Maḍanapāḷa-devā-ūd-nuḍyāta- 
paramabhaṣṭāra - mahārajaḥīraga- paramēsavaḥ(sva)ra - paraṇamahēsava(sva)ra-śiṁmao-
Gōvindachandrāṇ-
vō vijayaḥ || Kasaṅjabhiva(bhia)vāpa-pattalāyaṁ Vadhavāli-grāma-nīvāṁśi ni-vhakha-ja-
padān-upagatān-āpi cha rāja-rāja-ś-rajīt-yuvarāja-mantri-puṛhīta-prathā-
ra-senāpati-bhanḍāgarik-ākṣapathaṇika-bhishaka(shag)-naimittik-āntahpurika-ū(d)uta-kari-
turaga-pattan-ākṣarathāna-gōkūl-ādikāri-purusha(shā)u samajñāyaṭi vō(bō)-
dhawatī-ādiṣa(śa)ti cha || yathā viditaṁ-asti bhavatāṁ(tām) | yathā-śopari-liṅkha-grāmaḥ sa-
jala-stalaḥ sa-lōha-lavaya-śaṅkarāḥ sa-madhika-chōta-[Ma]-vā-vatiṣa-śaṁcēs-yūti-gō-
chā-πa-
ryantaḥ s-ōrdv-āva(ḥ) sa-gartt-ōha-ra-śaṭhārā-śaṭhārā-viṣu(ṣu)uddhaḥ s’vja-śāla-pa-
[r]jya(n)ntāḥ ṣaṃcēsā-śaṁcēs(a)-ṣa(mā)sarvā(v)ā sarō Kārōttik-
puṇṛmamāyaṁ aṅkataḥ Sarvīva(v)at(1171) Kārōttika-su-
di 15 Sōmā śri-Vārāṇasī Gānḍāyaṁ snātā vidhīva-ma[n]tra-dēva muni ma-
ju-bhūta-piṭṭi-gaṇāṁśi tarpayitvā timira-paṭala-paṭaṇa-paṭu-māhāsanan-Uṣhārośči-
upasthā-
va-Aush[a]haṭipatiśaṅkṣeṇaṁ samabhaṣtarcheyā tribhuvana-trātra-Vṛṣṇudevasya pējāṁ 
vidyāya [pra]chura-paṣaṇeṇā havīśa Havīrhujaṇaḥ huvā mātā-pitro-śtmanas-cha 
punya-yaśō(ḥ)-bhivṛddha-

1 Some records read *ādhipatyma.
2 Some records read pālaLaṁ.
3 There is a redundant superscript r above sa.
4 Sometimes the correction sāṅkṣa (cf. Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, p. 12, Note 97) is suggested unnecessarily. The word sāṅkṣa need not be taken here to indicate uṣprāṣkā.
5 This word is redundant although the intended expression may be rājasya or rājyamaka.
6 Read *aṅkṣaLaśkārān.
20 śri-Govardhanāyasarmmanī2 Va(rā)hmanāya gōkarṇa-kus(as)a-latā-pūta-kara-śajaka-pūrvam-ā Padmasadmanō Hūhūk-āntam yāvach-chhāsanikṛitya pradatta iti matvā yathā-dīyamāna-bhā-
21 ga-bhūga-kara-praṇāgikara-Turuchkadaṃḍa-kūdī4-śabhrīti-samta4-rāja-pratyādāyaṇ dāsyathā || chha || bhavanti ch-ātra ślokāḥ4 Bhūmī[ā]ḥ yaḥ pratigribhā(hū)ti ya-sta bhūmīḥ prayachchhati u-
22 bhuṣu tuṇ puṇya-karmāṇau niyatau(taṇ) sva[r]ga-gānīnau || [[10]] Va(Ba)hubhir-vasuḥbhā bhukti rājaabhīḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ || yasya yasya yadā bhūmī[sa]-tājya tasya tādā phalam(lam) [[[[11]]] likhi-
23 taṇ karapīka-Tākkura-śrī-Sahādēvēṇa || maṅgalaṁ mahā-ētī || chha || chha ||

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1 The name is not found in the list of gōtras found in early Indian literature. The intended reading may be Sārkavara-saṃśāra or Sārkavara-gōraṇa.
2 The name has not been observed in this passage. Read Āgīraca-Ākha (or Ākha-yā, etc.)-Āruksa-yā.
3 Read Govardhanāyakarmam or Govardhanāyakarmam.
4 This seems to be the same as kusaka of some inscriptions.
5 Read samasta.
6 Better read bhavaitāḥ-aṣṭa ślokāḥ.
7 This line is engraved below the second half of the previous line.
No. 35—PURI INSCRIPTION OF CHODAGANGA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACUMUND

(Received on 9.5.1958)

Some time ago I was informed that the removal of a coating of plaster from the walls of the temple of Śiva called Mārkandēśvara at the well-known city of Puri in Orissa revealed the existence of a number of inscriptions which had previously been hidden from the eye. In November 1957 I visited the temple and copied the inscriptions on its walls.

Out of the inscriptions copied by me from the walls of the Mārkandēśvara temple at Puri, three were found to belong to the reigns of three kings of the imperial branch of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty. All the epigraphs record the installation of perpetual lamps in the temple of the god Mārkandēśvara. The earliest of these records is engraved on the right wall of the second gate and belongs to the time of the great Anantavarman Chodaganga (1078-1147 A.D.) who conquered the Puri-Cuttack region from the Sōmavānśis about the beginning of the twelfth century. The writing of the record is fairly well preserved. This inscription is edited in the following pages.

The preservation of the other two Gaṅga epigraphs in the Mārkandēśvara temple is unsatisfactory. The earlier of these two inscriptions is engraved on the same wall as the record of Chodaganga and is dated in the third year of the regnal reckoning of Rāghava who was a son of Chodaganga and ruled in the period c. 1156-70 A.D. The passage containing the date at the beginning of the record in line 1, which is in Sanskrit, reads: [svasti] śrīmat (mad)-Rāghuvadēvasya vijaya-rāja-samvata (svaiva). No other details of the date have been quoted in the inscription. Since the Aṅka system of calculating regnal years may have been introduced during the reign of Rāghava's elder brother and predecessor Kāmārṇava (c. 1147-56 A.D.), the year 3 may be an Aṅka year actually referring to the second year of Rāghava's reign. The next passage of the inscription in Oriya in lines 1-2 reads: śrī-Mārkandēśvarajādēvara ··········· kavacī-paṇa tīnī akhaṇḍa-dīpa vārahā. It apparently refers to the investment of three Papas of cowries for the installation of twelve perpetual lamps in the temple of Mārkandēśvaradēva. The third inscription, engraved on the right wall of the doorway, is fragmentary, its lower part being damaged. Its date portion in lines 1-2 reads after the Śuddham symbol followed by the word svasti: śrī-vira-Bhānuḍēva-jaya pravardhamāna-vijaya-rāja-samata 14 srāhē. The record was therefore incised in the fourteenth year of the reign of one of the four Gaṅga kings named Bhānu. The characters employed in the inscription are Gaṇḍiva and not Oriya and this fact may suggest that the king has to be identified with Bhānu I or II rather than with Bhānu III or IV. The year seems to refer to the Aṅka reckoning and to the twelfth actual year of the reign of the king in question. The next passage in lines 2-4 of this inscription reads: Ḫara-prityā dēvi Umānkara data śrī-Mārkakanḍēvaradēvako [sthirā] ē-divasa ā-chandalārakai akhaṇḍa-dispakai ···········. This clearly shows that a queen named Umā probably one of king Bhānu's wives, created a permanent endowment (sthirā) for a perpetual lamp

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1 This is No. 408 of 1957-58, App. B. There is another inscription (No. 403 of the same App.) written partly in Telugu and partly in Sanskrit in Gaṇḍiva characters. It records that Atyāṣṭi's son Gaṅga-nārāyaṇa Vēlāṣi alias Chodagangana deposited 8 Mākos for the provision of oil for a perpetual lamp in the Mārkandēśvara temple on Thursday, Tulā-4u. 12, Saka 1051 (possibly September 27, 1129 A.D.). The inscription, however, does not refer to the reign of Anantavarman Chodaganga.

2 These are ibid., Nos. 404 and 407.

for the god Mārkaṇḍēśvara. The name of queen Umā, however, seems to suggest that the king mentioned in the record is really Bhānu III (c.1352-78 A.D.). Visvanāthakaviśāja, who wrote his Chandrakalā-nāhitā during the reign of Gajapati Nīharika-Bhānu (i.e. Gaṅga Bhānu IV reigning up to 1434-35 A.D.).¹ quotes in his Sāhityadarpana,² composed some time afterwards,³ a stanza referring to Umādevi’s husband Bhānu, as a contemporary ruler, from a work of his own father Chandraśekhara-sandhivigrahin. Apparently the same Umādevi is mentioned in the Bhubaneswar Pārvati temple inscription⁴ of the 13th Aṅk year of the king named Bhānu and in the Simhachalam inscription⁵ of Śaka 1301, Mārgāśīrṣha ba. 1, Friday (25th November 1379 A.D.) falling in the reign of Narasimha IV (c. 1378-1402 A.D.). It thus appears that Umādevi’s husband Bhānu should be identified with Bhānu III, the father of Narasimha IV and grandfather of Bhānu IV, as suggested by Rajaguru and Das.⁶

The inscription of Chōḍajāngā, which forms the main subject of this article, contains nine lines of writing. The inscribed area covers a space about 13½ inches in height and 32 inches in length. Individual akṣaras are about 1½ inches in height. The characters of the record are Gaudiyā and its language is Sanskrit. But it exhibits considerable influence of the local language and is full of grammatical and orthographical errors. In some of the sentences, the language is actually a mixture of Sanskrit and Oriya and often the meaning has to be conjectured. The date in line 1, given in the king’s regnal reckoning, also offers some difficulty. The regnal year is written in two figures, the second of which is clearly 7. The first figure is exactly the same as found in the same date occurring in the Bhubaneswar inscription of Anantavarman Chōḍajāngā, which has been published in the pages of this journal.⁷ This doubtful figure has some resemblance with the shape of 5, so that the date in both the Bhubaneswar epigraph and the present inscription would appear to be the regnal year 57. But the Bhubaneswar inscription shows that the same year of Chōḍajāngā’s reign corresponded to the Śaka year indicated by the chronogram ritu-Rāma-khēndu, i.e. Śaka 1036-1114-15 A.D. Since the said Śaka year corresponded to the thirty-seventh and not fiftyseventh regnal year of Chōḍajāngā who ascended the throne in 1078 A.D., the first figure in the number in question had to be read as 3. In view of this, Chōḍajāngā’s regnal year quoted in the inscription under study should also have to be read as 37. Thus the epigraph appears to have been engraved in 1114-15 A.D.

The inscription begins with the Siddham symbol and the date referred to above. The first sentence in lines 1-4 apparently means to say that, in the year 37 during the reign of the illustrious Chōḍajāngadēva, Śādhu Bhāmadēva, a resident of Nirlā-grāma called Anīga-bhōga of the god Purushottama, as well as Ruda (Rudra?) and Hari (both probably of the same place) accepted some amount or coins of gold for one chhāyā-dīpa meant to be a perpetual lamp to be burnt before the god Mārkaṇḍēśvara. The epithet śādhu applied to Bhāmadēva shows that he belonged to the mercantile community. Possibly Ruda and Hari were also members of the same community. The expression anīga-bhōga often occurs in Telugu and Kannada inscriptions in association with raṅga-bhōga and anīga-raṅga-bhōga is sometimes translated as ‘decorations and illuminations of a god’.⁸ In the present case, the epithet anīga-bhōga is applied to a village, the income from which appears to have been utilised for the anīga-bhōga or decoration of the deity in question.

¹ See JOHR, Vol. VI, Appendix, pp. i ff.
³ Verses from the Chandrakalā-nāhitā are quoted in the Sāhityadarpana.
⁴ Cf. JOHR, Vol. III, p. 49. Umādevi is here wrongly taken to be the name of goddess Pārvati.
⁵ Cf. JOHR, Vol. VI, No. 730. Umādevi’s relation with king Narasimha is not stated in the inscription.
⁶ JOHR, Vol. VI, Appendix, pp. v-vi. Another known queen of Bhānu III was Hīrādevi.
⁷ Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 29 ff. (No. 1), and Plate facing p. 32.
Thus the village of Niralô seems to have been a rent-free holding in the possession of the god Purushôttama-Jagannâtha of Puri. The expression chhâya-dîpa means a lamp held in the hand of an image generally of the donor. The word chhâya, 'image', is known from other inscriptions also. A Srikurmam inscription of Saka 1275, belonging to the reign of Gaûga Bhûna III, speaks of the dedication of the chhâyâs of the king's father Narasînha III and the latter's wife Gaûgâmbiâ, which were represented as holding lamps for offering light to the god in the Srikurmam temple. The responsibility of Bhûmadëva and his two colleagues was no doubt to supply oil for the lamp in lieu of the interest of the gold deposited with them.

The next sentence in line 4 states: "Now Bhûmadëva's son Nâna arranged for the discharge [of his obligation]." This shows that, probably after Bhûmadëva's death, his son Nâna refunded the deposit and thereby freed himself from the obligation of supplying oil for the perpetual lamp. That the responsibility fell upon the son of Bhûmadëva alone may further suggest that Ruda and Hari were his own brothers or sons. From the above two sentences we learn that formerly an endowment had been created by depositing some amount or coins of gold with Bhûmadëva and others and that, in the 37th regnal year of the Gaûga king Anantavarman Chôdáganga, Bhûmadëva's son Nâna freed himself from the responsibility. But who created the endowment that was terminated by Nâna is not mentioned in these sentences. The names of the persons responsible for the creation of the endowment are, however, possibly known from the following sentences which describe the creation of a new endowment in the place of the terminated one.

The next sentence in lines 4-6 mentions three persons and refers to an image representing all the three of them. The following sentence in line 6 states that Jîvanta-ârêšthîhin accepted the gold for the lamp. This apparently means that the said three persons had originally created an endowment for the supply of oil for a perpetual lamp held in the hands of their own images in the temple of Mârkañçévara and that, on the termination of the old endowment, they created another endowment by depositing the same gold with another person named Jîvanta-ârêšthîhin. The condition binding Jîvanta-ârêšthîhin is found in the following sentence in lines 6-7, which states that, in respect of the said perpetual lamp, god Mârkañçévara would receive two hundred measures of oil every month. The name of the measure is not given in the record. In a similar context in the Bhûbaneswar inscription of Anantavarman Chôdáganga, referred to above, mention is made of the kâranâka, i.e. a small pot usually made out of coconut-shell and used in measuring oil.2 The same kâranâka measure may be referred to in the present case as well. The names of the three persons who created the endowment are given as: (1) Hari, the Pûjâhâri of the god Mârkañçévara, (2) Vandau (probably another Pûjâhâri of the same god), and (3) Vâsî, the Pûjâhâri of another god whose name appears to be Kôhrinévara. Pûjâhâri is the same as Pûjârî meaning 'a priest'.

Lines 7-9 at the end of the record mention the names of the persons who were witnesses to the above transaction. These were: (1) Mûdrôhâsta Dëvadhara; (2) Nicakamânda (possibly another Mûdrôhâsta); (3) Pasâpâlaka Śridhara; (4) Narâyâna (possibly another Pasâpâlaka); (5) Sâmmanavîjî Mahâdeva; (6) Dëvamândhi (possibly another Sâmmanavîjî); and (7) Śikaraña Hari. Mûdrôhâsta (Oriya Mûdrivâtha) is now the designation of a class of servants of the god Purushôttama-Jagannâtha of Puri. Dëvadhara may have been a similar servant of the god Mârkañçévara. Pasâpâlaka may be the same official designation found in inscriptions in the forms of Pásyûla, Pasâlî or Pasâyati.3 Sâmmanavîjî may be a mistake for Sâmâyîjî. Śikaraña is the designation of a scribe. These people appear to have been temple officials.

3 Cf. ibid., Vol. XXIX, p. 107 and note 3.
The inscription is interesting from several points of view. It is the only inscription of Anantavarman Chōdagaṅga so far discovered at Puri where the Gaṅga king is known to have built the great temple of Purushottama-Jagannātha after its annexation to the Gaṅga empire and the transference of his allegiance from Śaivism to Vaishnavism in the early years of the twelfth century. It is not possible to determine when exactly and by whom the Māraṇḍēśvara temple was built. But it is not unlikely that this temple had been in existence when Chōdagaṅga built the temple for Purushottama-Jagannātha. We do not know whether the Purushottama-Jagannātha temple was built by Chōdagaṅga before or after the 37th year of his reign, though the absence of any reference to the achievement in any of his own records may probably suggest that the construction was undertaken in the later years of his life. We also do not know as to who was responsible for granting the village of Niralō in favour of the god Purushottama-Jagannātha, although it is clear that this deity was already enjoying considerable influence when the inscription under study was engraved. The suggestion is supported by the reference to sāgara-tīra-sannītvā Purushottama-kalbiṭam dēv-śyataṃ in Krishnadeva’s Prabodhachandrodāya which was staged in the presence of the Chandella king Kirtivarman (c. 1070-1100 A.D.).

The name of the god Kūhripēśvara, worshipped at Puri as suggested by the record under review, is interesting. I am not sure whether it is really Kō-Rinēśvara suggesting its installation at Puri by the Tamil residents of the area like Kāmāṇḍi of the Alagum inscription. I have heard of no such deity now worshipped there. The name appears to have been applied to a Śiva-liṅga.

Only one geographical name is mentioned in the inscription. It is the village of Niralō. I am not sure about its location.

**TEXT**


[1] It is difficult to say whether the suggestion is further supported by the fact that the Anupapāpāras of Murarimīra (ninth or tenth century according to some, but c. 1050-1135 A.D. according to others) was staged on the occasion of the yātra of the god Purushottama of Puri since the epithet lāva-na-gāna-śam-iṭ-kāma-līla-tara-handaṇa, applied to the deity, does not refer to his worship on the sea-shore and since Vishnu’s name Purushottama was not unknown elsewhere (cf. No. 504 of 1956-57, Appendix B). For the date of Murarī, see De, *Hist. Sana. Uti.*, p. 449; Kieth, *Sanskrit Drama* p. 225; *ABORI*, Vol XXXVIII, p. 88; etc. It has to be noticed that Murarī’s drama gives a rapid description of well-known places like Ujjayini, Vārṇaṇa, Kaḷiṣa, Prayaṅga, Tāmraparīṇa on the sea, Champā in Gaṅda, Paṇḍavat, Kuṇḍina in Mahāraṇa, Kaṇāḥ in Drāvīḍa and Maḥāśmatī in Chēdī-manḍaya, but not of Purushottamapuri or Puri. The other references pertaining to dates earlier than the eleventh century, cited in *Or. Hist. Res. Jours.*, Vol. III, pp. 6 ff., are even more dubious.

[8] Read yāvatsa.
[12] Read Harīḥ iti śiśā.
Scale: two-thirds

Pithi inscription of Chopaiana
4 gribhitam[*] idāniḥ[snun] sa dhī(dhu)-Bhi(Bh)madēvasya pūta[sn] Naśena v[sn]udhyas kri-
(kriyata[*] Mārkandēsva(āvāvra) va[dē]-
Mārkandēsva(āvāvā)rājāvasaṁ[ṇ] prati-māṁ dīva-
ēva[ṃ[*] Nī(Nī)lakam[u]-
8 ṇā[ḥ][ṣ] pasāpālaka-Sri(Sri)dhar evaṁ Nārāyaṇa[ḥ] Sāṁmavājī[ṣ]-Mahādeva[ḥ] Dēvamēndi-
[ḥ][ṣ] śīkara-
9 ṇa-Hari[ḥ][ṣ]

1 Read gribhitam.
2 Read ṇaṇa.
3 Read viśuddī.
4 Read Vārū Śī.
5 The intended reading is triḥī; but read ṇupajāgī.
6 The intended reading is janaṇāṁ.
7 Read ērākṣhīnā.
8 Read dī-pā-sūvaram or dīp-ārtham sūvaram.
9 Better read dēvasya.
10 Read "mātaḥ dīp-āsāyōṭ.
11 The idea seems to be dē-tī-kata-karaṇaka-parimāsīm.
12 Read ētad-arthī.
13 Read mūdrāhartā.
14 An unnecessary anusvāra above ṇa seems to have been cancelled.
15 The intended reading may be Śūmayāṁī."
No. 36—KALACHURI INSCRIPTION FROM KARITALAI

(1 Plate)

BAL CHANDRA JAIN, RAIPUR.

(Received on 13.7.1957)

The stone slab bearing the present inscription was dug out by Sri Kanchhedi Lalji Patel in 1953 while he was ploughing his field in the village of Karitalai in the Murwara Tahsil of the Jabalpur District, Madhya Pradesh. In April 1955, I visited the place and examined the inscription. The inscribed stone was later removed by me to the Raipur Museum.

The slab measures 2' 7½" in length and 1' 3½" in height. The inscription contains 13 lines of writing. A piece of stone has broken away from the top left corner of the slab causing loss of four letters in line 1 and of two letters in line 2. The middle and lower parts of the record are also damaged.

The record is well written and neatly engraved. The characters are Nagari of about the 10th century A.D. and resemble those of the stone inscriptions of the early Kalachuri rulers.

The language of the record is Sanskrit, except the words ubhān and mer-galai at the end, it is metrically composed throughout. There are in all 12 verses. As regards orthography, the consonant following r is often reduplicated. V is always written for b. The sign for upadhaäya has been used thrice in lines 1, 2 and 10. The inscription is not dated.

Verse 4 of the record mentions the Kalachuri king Yuvarājadēva (I), son of Mugdhatunga. The damaged portion in verse 6 seems to have contained the name of his son Lakshmana Rāja II whose minister Śomēvara is mentioned in verse 10.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a kāpa (well) in the heart of the city of Śomēvarānippura (obviously Karitalai) by Śomēvara who was a minister of Kalachuri Lakshmana Rāja II and is known from another record to have erected a temple of Vishnu at Karitalai. His father Bhākaśīra (Bhāmīsta of the present inscription) was one of the two ministers of king Yuvarājadēva I.

Verse 1 seems to praise Vishnu and Lakshmi. Verse 2 praises the moon, while verse 3 refers to the kings of the lunar race. The poet has compared the qualities of the lunar race with those of the moon in phrases having two meanings. In verse 4, we are told that Yuvarājadēva (I), son of Mugdhatunga, was born in the said family. Verse 5 describes the exploits of the former and states that his elephants had pressed the Gaudas, punished the Kōsālas, beaten the kings of the south and conquered the Gūrjaras. Thus, unlike the Bihari inscription, the present record which is definitely earlier than the former, claims for Yuvarājadēva I alias Kēyūravarsa, the victories

1 The village is 36 miles north-east of Katni, headquarters of the Murwara subdivision. The following inscriptions were discovered at or near Karitalai: (1) copper plate of Jayanath, Gupta year 174 (CII, Vol. III, pp. 117 ff.); (2) inscription of Lakshmana Rāja I, Kalachuri year 583 (above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 256 ff.; CII, Vol. IV, No. 37); (3) inscription of the time of Lakshmana Rāja II, which records the erection of a temple of 'the Enemy of the Demons' (i.e. Vishnu) by his minister Śomēvara (above, Vol. II, pp. 174 ff.; CII, Vol. IV, No. 42); (4) sati record of the time of Vyasa Gādāva, Vikrama Samvat 1412 (ASSE, Vol. IX, p. 113; Hirialal's List, No. 48). See also Hirialal, op. cit., No. 74.

"CII, Vol. IV, No. 42.

4 Bhākaśīra and Goliaka alias Gauḍa, son of Bhāna, were the two ministers of Yuvarājadēva I (cf. ibid., pp. lxxiv.


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over the Gaudas, Kosalas, the South Indian kings and the Gaurjaras only. The views of scholars, who doubt the statement of the Bilharp inscription that Yuvrajadeda I had even conquered Kasmira and the Himalayan countries, find support from the present inscription. On the other hand, it adds two new victories to the list, i.e. those over the Kosalas and the Gaurjaras.

Verse 6, which is fragmentary, possibly contained the name of Lakshmana Prasadeda whose merits are described in verses 7-9 Somsvara and his father are referred to in verses 10 and 11 respectively. Verse 12 records the object of the inscription which, as indicated above, was the excavation of a well by Somsvara in the city of Somsavamipura.

The city of Somsavamipura (verse 12) may have been named after the shrine of Somaavmin, which seems to be identical with the temple of 'the Enemy of the Demons' built by Somsava and mentioned in Lakshma Prasadeda's inscription from Karitalai referred to above.

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1 The Age of Imperial Kanauj, p. 89.
2 From the original stone and impressions.
3 The lost letters may be restored as Srivatta-la.—Ed.
4 The reading is gir = Dhotri.—Ed.
5 The missing letters may be restored as iyagra or iyska.—Ed.
6 Read padnam.—Ed.
7 Read 'l-dena(ni)tri.—Ed.
8 Read suddhahubh.—Ed.
9 Somsa has not been observed here.—Ed.
10 The reading seems to be Buda-d = vibudhastim = Allat = kalakalitam.—Ed.


9 विलिवतचतवारिणा(नामू)।। श्रीहो सुमहद्रुपं चचन्मद्रुपं तोज्ञांतार्न न देव विनिवेशित हुदि कामप्रसंगादिपि ॥८॥ नेन्रद्वानिविष्टवारिविवरक्षेत्रकेशोलक-

10 रेषस्तल्लालहिष्ठमाहारामिलनत्सत्तम्(स्वे) रणभास्येण। वर्षासुन्ततिभाजि मेलपटने पुष्कराणाशीलहोःश्री वेणू वर्णवाचलवर्षरभरविषय(पिण्डार्थ)य-

11 कूटः विमातं(तमु)॥ [९*] पदनवर्हो नियुष: प्रमाणे वाक्ये विपक्वः श्रुति पारस्य- 

12 काब्यग्रंथोऽपि शुद्रूः दमोतोऽपि ताबकः(दशमू)।। यस्तस्मालक्षमकरार्जेवनुपति: श्रीमान्मुस्मा- 

13 [लता] — — — काव्यपुस्तं पावं(नमु)। विनिमागमप्रणालकर्ममेधुः — कड़ 

[१२*] [सुमु(मु)।]॥ मण्यम्(मु)॥

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1 [The reading may be *विरायत(=मु)]— Ed.]
2 [The reading in प्रतिथि विलक्षणम्— Ed.]
3 [Read [ददिळ]— ददिप— Ed.]
4 [The reading is defective and doubtful and does not suit the metre.— Ed.]
No. 37—UPPUGUNDUR INSCRIPTION OF VIRAPURISADATA’S TIME, YEAR 19

(1 Plate)

B. Ch. Chhava, New Delhi

(Received on 17. 6. 1958)

A fairly extensive site with remains of a Buddhist chaitya has recently been brought to light on the west bank of the Buckingham Canal, somewhere between the railway stations of Chinna Ganjam and Uppugundur, the railway line lying about half a mile south-east of the site. There is a lake, called Rumperu, beyond the railway bridge at that point. The lake is connected with the sea, about 5 miles from there. In ancient times, the sea might have been nearer the site, as it abounds in shells as well as in brickbats, stone pieces and potsherds, lying about or stuck in the ruined structure of the stūpa which appears to be of a large size.

The nearest village, Uppugundur, in the Ongole Taluk of the Guntur District, is about 2 miles west of the site. The land within which it is situated belongs to one Sri Gogineni Nagiah. The site was accidently exposed by the landlord’s men while digging a deep channel for draining out excess rain-water from the paddy fields nearby. The antiquities laid bare included broken stone statues, sculptured pillars, slabs, etc. Some of these have been removed to Uppugundur where they are kept in an enclosure, close to the Village Munsi’s Office, for safe custody. Among the exposed antiquities was a marble pillar which had some figures and designs carved on the top and a Prakrit inscription incised on its lower part.

On receipt of information regarding the discovery of the inscription, I visited the site on January 21, 1958, in the company of Sri Pallela Pulla Reddi, the acting Village Munsi of Uppugundur. On arrival there, to our great surprise and disappointment, we found that the inscribed part of the pillar had been broken away and missing. The chisel marks on the remainder of the pillar as well as a quantity of unsoiled chippings strewn thereabout were proclaiming, so to say, that the act of vandalism had been perpetrated freshly. I was told that, at the time of the removal of a damaged Buddha statue and some sculptured pieces to the village of Uppugundur, the inscribed pillar had been allowed to be left in situ, the landlord having taken it upon himself to take care of that. It is a pity that this pillar was not removed to a place of safety along with the rest of the finds. Luckily, the Superintendent, Nagarjunakonda Excavation Project, had already secured an estamange or two of the inscription, a photograph of which is reproduced here.

As may be seen from the photograph, the inscription has undergone some damage at its lower end. The extant portion shows 10 lines of writing, the first six being complete and the remaining ones progressively damaged. Unfortunately, the most important part of the record, in which its object was mentioned, has been lost to us in the portion already broken away. The tenth line, the extant portion of which reads [ya?] patane mahā, obviously mentioned the name of the place (patana, Skt. patana), followed by what might have been mahāchētiyāni, the erection of which must have been the object of the record.

The script of the inscription is Brāhmī of about the 3rd century A. D., akin to the one used in many a similar stone inscription from Nagarjunakonda and places round about. The ornamental treatment of the top and bottom strokes of various aksharas is its chief characteristic.

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1 Macron over e and o has not been used in this article.
2 Above, Vol. XX, pp. 1 ff. Amaravatī, Jagannapeta and Ghaptaśāla are some of the other places that have yielded similar inscriptions.

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The language is Prakrit as is the case with the majority of the inscriptions just referred to from the same region.

As for its contents, it begins with the auspicious formula *sidhānī*, followed by a symbol which ordinarily stands for *Om*. Thereafter comes adoration to the Buddha. Then comes the date, the details of which we shall presently notice. After the mention of the date comes the record proper. It states that one Sanighala, son of a merchant (*vāniya*, Skt. *vārij* or *vāja*), called Vaira (*Skt. Vajra*), and grand-son of a householder (*gahapati*, Skt. *grihapati*), called Sanighila, performed a meritorious deed, the details of which are lost in the missing part of the inscription. It may be observed that the donor is named after his grandfather in accordance with a well-known custom in ancient India. The inscription further informs us that the donor’s grandfather hailed from Dharanikāda. This place is mentioned also in some Prakrit inscriptions from Amaravati under the variant readings like Dharmaṅkāda and Dhanakāda (both from Skt. Dīnayakāṭaka). The Mayadavoli plates of Pallava Śivakandavarnman, however, mention the place-name exactly as it occurs in our inscription. It is generally identified with Dīnārakota.

An indication as to the nature of the pious deed performed by Sanighila is afforded by the few surviving letters, that read *gā[n]patāvo nakhā*, in line 10. Possibly he erected a *mahākhetiya* (*Skt. mahākhetiya*) at a place the name of which ended in *patāva*. This must refer to a sea-port or a flourishing coastal town which must have existed on the site of the present ruined *stūpa*. Future discoveries will throw more light as to the identity and the history of the place.

Sanighila allowed a number of his near relations to be associated with himself in the merit of the pious act, who are specifically mentioned. They are his mother Dhaninavānīki, his brother Nāgārimakā, his sisters Bulaṭānīki and Sāmadhanīki, his wife Sūgadhanīki, his brother’s wife Sanighanikā, and children. Some more names are mentioned further on, but their relationship with the donor is not clear owing to the damaged condition of the inscription. They are Vairāsimakā, Nāgārimakā, Dhaninākara and Nāgacārīnākā as well as those damaged. There is a mention of children again after the name of Nāgārimakā in line 8. They possibly refer to the children of Nāgārimakā who is most probably identical with Sanighila’s brother mentioned earlier in line 5.

The inscription is dated the 13th day of the 4th fortnight of the Summer season (*gimha*, Skt. *grishama*) of the 19th year *nī[r] the reign of the Ikhāku king Māḍhariputa Sīri-Virapurisadāta*. The highest known regnal year of this king is 20 which is cited in the Jaggayapeta inscriptions already referred to above. On this score, thus, our inscription does not add much to our knowledge. However, by its location, it throws some fresh light on the extent of this king’s dominions.

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1 Its occurrence in a Buddhist record is odd, but instances are met with. Inscriptions F and H of Nagārimakakā have it; but it has been left unred. The same is the case with one of the Jaggayapeta inscriptions. See Plate LXIII in *The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayapeta* by J. Burgess. London, 1887, pp. 110 f. Compare also Fleet’s * Gupta Inscriptions* (II, Vol. III) p. 46, note 3, and the Nāhanda stone inscription of the reign of Yasa-vardhana, above, Vol. XX, p. 43 and note 2.

2 See above, Vol. XX, p. 6 and note 2.

3 Ibid. Vol. VI, pp. 84 ff.

4 The latter part of the name is the feminine of *rāma*. It is also possible that her proper name has not been mentioned here. She is only respectfully referred to here as *Dama rāmānīki*, i.e. ‘the pious lady, consort of the merchant [Vajra].’

5 These children may refer to those of the donor himself, for those of his brother are mentioned separately further on.
No. 37] UPPUGUNDUR INSCRIPTION OF VIRAPURISADATA'S TIME, YEAR 19

My reading of the inscription is based on the photograph which I owe to the courtesy of the Superintendent, Nagarjunakonda Excavations Project.

EXT

1 Siddha Um1 [*] namo bhagavato sava-at-otamasa Sarinmasanihushetis [*]

2 maharajasa Madhariputasa Ichakunarsh sirivirapurisadatasa

3 samvancnham 10 9 gimbha-pakham 4 dayasam 10 3 Dharmakadavathavasa

4 Saghna-gahapatisa natukena Vaira-vaniya-putena Samghihilena

5 mataya Dharmavaniyinya bhuhtuna cha Nagilarinakasa bhagini

6 Budharinikaya Samudarinnikaya bhariyaya Sagaranikaya bhuta-bha-

7 riyaya Saghghanikaya bhalakana ch. Vairaahirnakasa Chaanda ... m. m.

8 kasa Nagilarinakasabhalakana cha Dhamarinnikaya patu .... ... ...

9 kaya Nagasarinnikaya cha evam sa-nati-mita-barnaha .... ...

10 ... ... ... ... ... **ya* paatane mah ... ... ... ... ... ... **

1 Expressed by a symbol.
2 The form of the akshara meant to be maha is not regular.
3 Two medial signs are seen here over the damaged letters.
4 Only the right side of the letter is visible.
5 [For the symbol in line 1, which is a variant of one found in Nasikya inscriptions, see Select Inscriptions, p. 150, note 3. In line 8, the word is bhalikana which is preceded by the list of Sanghala's sons (cf. bhalakana in line 7) and followed by that of his daughters. It is better to read bhagini [ma?*] in line 5.—Ed.]
No. 38—MODASA PLATE OF THE TIME OF PARAMARA BHOJA, V. S. 1067

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 12. 6. 1958)

A set of photographs of the inscription published here was received from Pandit Purani Utsavalal of Mōjāsā, the headquarters of a Taluk of that name in the Sabarkantha District in the Gujarat area of the Bombay State, through Dr. M. R. Mazumdar of Baroda. The locality was formerly in the Prantij Taluk of the Ahmedabad District. The Pandit’s interest was aroused by the mention of the geographical names Mōhadādevaśaka and Sāyanaśī in the record since he could easily identify them respectively with the present Mōjāsā and the village of Sinvāda in the Mōjāsā Taluk. Unfortunately the original plates were not available for examination in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, though the inscription is decipherable from the set of photographs referred to above. Considering the welcome light the record throws on the history of the Paramāras of Malwa, it is edited in the following pages.

The inscription is stated to be incised on both sides of a single plate measuring about 9 inches in length and about 6 inches in height. There is a hole in its upper margin; but no ring or seal was available. There are in all 21 lines of writing in the inscription, 15 on the first side and 6 on the second. The preservation of the writing is satisfactory. The weight of the plate is not known.

The inscription is written in Nāgari characters of about the eleventh century A. D. They are rather carelessly engraved and cannot be compared with the beautifully incised letters of the inscriptions of the Paramāras such as the Gāonri plates of Muṇja, dated V. S. 1038 and 1043. They may, however, be compared with those of Bhōja’s Beṇṭī plates of V. S. 1076, the characters of which are not as beautiful as those of the Gāonri plates but are nevertheless much more carefully engraved than those of our epigraph. It may be remembered in this connection that the present charter is not an Imperial Paramāra record.

An interesting feature of the palaeography of our epigraph is the incomplete formation of the letter ā (without its vertical right limb) in a large number of cases (cf. ādi in line 2, vāsaka (for vāsaka) in line 6, śrutā (for śrutā) in line 7, Sāyana in lines 8 and 9, sū (for sū) in lines 12 and 14, etc. Medial ā has been written both as prishtha-mātrā and as sīrō-mātrā. In some cases, the sīrō-mātrā type of medial ā has its top curved towards the right; cf. paramēśvara (for parameśvara) in line 3, maṅḍale in line 6, etc. See also the medial signs of ai and a in iha-vaiva Valla in line 7. B has been written by the sign for v. The letter jh, rarely found in early inscriptions, is once used in a personal name in line 15.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. There are many grammatical and orthographical errors in the text. The record is entirely written in prose, there being not even the usual impressory verses. Its orthography is characterised by a confusion between ā and s (cf. paramēśvara for parameśvara four times in lines 3-6 and śuta for sutta in lines 12, 14, 18 and 20) besides other errors of spelling. There are many cases of the redundant use of a dvaḥ, while sometimes it is placed quite close to a letter so as to look like an a-mātrā.


3 Ibid., Vol. XVIII, pp. 320 ff., and Plates.

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The date of the charter is quoted in lines 1-2, both in words and in figures, as Sunday, the first of the bright half of the month of Jyśṣaṭha in the year 1067 [of the V. S. which was Kārttikādī]. This date corresponds regularly to the 6th May, 1011 A.D.

The inscription begins with a Siddham symbol followed by the text discussed above. Then it introduces (lines 2-6) the rāja of the illustrious Paramabhaṭṭaṇaka Mahārājādhīrāja Paramāścro Bhūjādēva who mediated on the feet of (or, was succeeded by) P. M. P. Sindhrurājādeva. King Sindhrurāja is similarly stated to have succeeded P. M. P. Vākpatiraṭādēva who is likewise described as the successor of P. M. P. Siyakdēva. It is difficult to say whether the expression Bhūjādēvā-rājā in the text means ‘under the sovereignty of Bhūjādēva’ or ‘in the kingdom of Bhūjādēva’; since both interpretations would suit the context. But the word rājā is generally used in the sense of ‘sovereign’ in such contexts in epigraphic records. Lines 6-7 introduce a subordinate ruler named Vatsarāja who was apparently ruling over Mōhādāvāsaka or the Arddhābhātmaṇa manḍala in it and is described as bhūtikāramaḥārājaputra. In the signature of the ruler copied in line 20, his name is written as Vachchhārāja. There is no doubt about Mōhādāvāsaka mentioned in our inscription is identical with the Mōhādāvāsaka viṣaya known from the Harṣalā plates of Paramāra Siyaka, dated V. S. 1005.

The expression bhūtikāramaḥārājaputra may be a mistake for bhūktri-mahārājaputra. In that case, Vatsarāja is called Mahārājaputra probably because he was an yet unknown son of the Paramāra king Bhūjā, although the possibility of Vatsarāja having been the son of some other ruling chief is not precluded. The word bhūktri would suggest that Mōhādāvāsaka or a part of it lay within the fief under Vatsarāja’s possession. This interpretation is quite probable in view of the passage Kēlhapadeva-rajāy varbambhāva(pl) śrī-Kirittejñādeva-putṛa,āya[ks] Siñjyavara-bhūktā-(kti)-rajaputra-Lashā(śahma)pālh(la)-rajaputra-Aitr-Aībhayavāl(la;i) occurring in a record of the Chāhamānas of Naḍāla.2 Otherwise the passage bhūtikāramaḥārājaputra would have to be taken to mean that Paramāra Bhūjā’s feudatory Vatsarāja ruling over the whole or a part of the Mōhādāvāsaka district was the son of a chief named Bhūtkāra-mahārāja. But this is less likely.

Lines 7 ff. record the grant of two āhāra measures of land in Sayanapāṭa-grāma made by Vatsarāja probably in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named Dēddāka who is described as Vallōṭakaṇya and Chauṭurjātakiṇya. Sayanapāṭa-grāma was situated in Aṛdhābhātmaṇḍala lying within the Mōhādāvāsaka district, mentioned above. Lines 11-12 give the Brāhmaṇa’s name as Dēddāka who seems to be further described as belonging to a family pertaining to the Upānasya gōra and hailing from Harṣapura and as the son of Gōpāditya. The Upānasya gōra is not found in early Indian literature and it is difficult to determine whether it is a mistake for Aṇaṭpanaṇya. The expression Vallōṭakiṇya in the Brāhmaṇa’s description suggests that he was either the inhabitant of a locality called Vallōṭaka or belonged to a community of Brāhmaṇas known as Vallōṭaka. The same word also occurs in line 13 as an epithet of certain other Brāhmaṇas. The epithet Chauṭurjātakiṇya (lines 7 and 12) applied to the donee apparently means a member of the Chauṭurjātaka of the Cintura praṇasti,3 which was no doubt an administrative board of four like the Chauthā of Rajasthan (cf. Paṇḍhakula or Paṇḍhāya which was a similar board of five administrators).

The language of the grant portion of the record discussed above is defective and may also indicate that it was the Brāhmaṇa Dēddā or Dēddāka who was the donor of the grant and that Vatsarāja merely ratified the transaction. If such was the case, the donee was the son of Gōpāditya; but his personal name is not mentioned.

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2 Above, Vol. XI, p. 49, text lines 3-5; cf. ibid., p.3, text lines 2-3, where the same princes are described as Sayanapāṭa-mudraya.
Lines 9-10 describe the gift land as producing such crops as kōdrava (a species of grain eaten by the poor people), tila (sesame), mauja (a kind of pulse), triki (paddy) and kusākā (cummin seed) while lines 10-11 state that the land was given together with a house, a threshing floor, and a quantity of paddy apparently stored there, no doubt in the village of Sayanapāṭa.

Lines 13-15 give the names of the pārśvaikas [of the gift land]. By the word pārśvaikā was apparently meant persons owning lands in the neighbourhood of the two hala measures granted to the donor in the village of Sayanapāṭa. The list of the pārśvaikas includes the names of the following persons: Rājādhyaksha (probably, 'a judge') Vidita; the Brāhmaṇa Tāta, Nāṭa and Pāhīya who were residents of Vallōtaka or members of the Vallōtaka community; the Brāhmaṇa Gōvardhāna as also Kēlāditya; Ṭhakura Rāṇaka, son of Dantivarman; and the Paṭṭakila (i.e. Paṭēl) Jhambāka as well as Lallākā and Gōgaka.

A similar list of witnesses is found in lines 16-19 and it is stated that the charter was engraved in their presence. This list includes the following names: Ṭhakura Kēśavāditya described as the 'lord of the Sānikāsakas'; Tampālīka and the Mihara (village headman) Vallabhārāja; the Šīchākhi Jauḍi and Bhabha, both sons of Kapasha; Vīvašu (Vivasvata), Gūḍhārati and Sāṅgēmā (possibly Sāṅgama); and Ṭhakura Chandrikā, son of Kili or Killa. The real meaning of Sānikāsaka used in this section is difficult to determine. Possibly it is the name of a tribe or community and does not stand for sānikārshaka, meaning 'an agriculturist', since 'a lord of the cultivators' is difficult to think of.

Lines 19-20 state that the document was written by the scribe Chaijādāka who was the son of Aumaka. A copy of the donor's signature on the original document later engraved on the plates under study is found in line 20. But, as already indicated above, the name is given here in the Prakrit form of Vaṃbharrāja instead of Vatsarāja as found in line 7. The document ends with a maṅgala in line 21.

The inscription is interesting for several reasons. In the first place, Vatsarāja mentioned in it is not known from any other source. Secondly, it is the earliest inscription referring to the reign of the great Paramāra king Bhōja. Thirdly, it speaks of Bhōja's rule over parts of the Sabarkantha-Ahmadabad region, not far from Anahilapāṭaka, the capital of the contemporary kings of the Chaulukya or Solaiūdi dynasty of Gujarat.

The tradition recorded by Mēruthūgā and others that Paramāra Vākpati Muṅja, also called Utpala, was succeeded not by his younger brother Sindhurāja but by the latter's son Bhōja is contradicted by Padnamūptā's Vasasbhasūkharāja as well as by epigraphic evidence. Like the records of the Imperial Paramāras, our inscription, issued by a subordinate ruler, applies imperial titles to Sindhurāja and represents him as the successor of Vākpati and the predecessor of Bhōja. According to Mēruthūgā, Vākpati Muṅja, while he was leading an expedition against the Chālukyas, was defeated in a battle and captured by the Chaulukya king Taila II who put him to death at a later date. The Chikkerur (Dharwar District) inscription of Mahāmayalakṣara Āhamalla (i.e. Satyāśaya, son of Taila II), dated Saka 917, Jaya, Phālguna-sudi 15, Saturday (possibly February 18, 959 A.D.), states that he was just then moving towards the north for fighting against Utpala (i.e. Paramāra Vākpati Muṅja). This not only shows that the Paramāra king was captured sometime after February 959 A.D. but seems also to suggest that he was already in the Chaulukya territory in the course of his fatal expedition. It appears that the Chaulukya crown-prince's movement from

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1 Probandhāśāntāvati, Tawney's trans., pp. 31-32, 36.
2 XI, 98.
4 Above, pp. 131 ff. The inscription of course states that Āhamalla proceeded against Utpala in connection with his northern dig-qiṣia after having subdued his enemies in the south. But the fact cannot be ignored that its date is too near that of the Paramāra king's southern expedition. The inscription shows that Āhamalla Satyāśaya was then his father's governor in the Dharwar region and that he was under orders of transfer.
the southern part of his father’s empire towards the north was part of a scheme of general mobilisation of the fighting strength and resources of Taila II for the defence of the northern regions of his dominions which had been invaded by the Paramāra monarch. Since Muṇja was killed some time before the death of Taila II in 997 A.D., it further appears that, from the date of his departure on his last expedition against the territory of the Chālukya king about the beginning of 995 A.D., Sindhurāja was ruling the Paramāra kingdom, first as his brother’s representative and then (after Muṇja’s capture or death) as the latter’s successor. The beginning of Sindhurāja’s rule may thus be assigned to about the commencement of 995 A.D.

The duration of the rule of Sindhurāja and the date of the accession of his son Bhōja cannot be determined. Some scholars have suggested that Bhōja ascended the throne about 1005 A.D., while others have placed his accession to about 1010 A.D.1 But there is a definite tradition in the Prabandhachintāmāni and the Bhōjarapabandha recording the duration of Bhōja’s reign and there is hardly any reason why it should not be accepted as genuine. According to this tradition, Bhōja ruled for 55 years, 7 months and 3 days.2 While the earliest known date of Bhōja’s son and successor Jayasimha is V. S. 1112, Āshīḍha-vadi 13 (probably the 13th June, 1056 A.D.) when his Mandhata plates3 were issued, the Chināmanisāraṇīka, composed by Daśabala at Bhōja’s court apparently in Śaka 977 (1055-56 A.D.),4 seems to offer the latest date for the reign of Bhōja. Thus Bhōja seems to have ruled from the middle of 1000 A.D. to the end of 1055 A.D. His father Sindhurāja therefore ruled for about five years between 995 and 1000 A.D. The fantastic stories of Sindhurāja’s exploits given in the Narasāhhasārikarita (the date of the composition of which is doubtful although it is sometimes believed to be 1005 A.D.) can scarcely be regarded as an evidence in favour of assigning a longer reign to Sindhurāja.5

No inscription of Paramāra Sindhurāja has as yet been discovered; but we have a number of dates for the reign of his son and successor Bhōja. Besides the Chināmanisāraṇīka composed at Bhōja’s court in Śaka 977 (1055-56 A.D.) and referred to above, the Rājunirājakakaraṇa, ascribed to Bhōja, was composed in Śaka 984 (1042-43 A.D.).6 Bhōja’s copper-plate grants discovered so far offer the following dates: (1) Bāvawāra plates7 issued on Māgha-sudi 5, V. S. 1076 (probably January 3, 1020 A.D.); (2) Beṭmā plates8 issued on Bhāḍrapada-sudi 15, V. S. 1076 (probably September 4, 1020 A.D.); (3) Ujjain plates9 granted on Sunday, Māgha-vadi 3, V. S. 1078 (probably 24th December, 1021 A.D.) and issued on Chaitra-sudi 14 of the same year (probably March 19, 1022 A.D.); and (4) Deśālpur plates10 issued on Chaitra-sudi 14, V. S. 1079 (probably March 9, 1023 A.D.). Besides these, there are (1) the British Museum Sarasvatī image inscription11 of the reign of Bhōja, dated V. S. 1091 (1034-35 A.D.); (2) the Tilakwāḍa plates12 issued by Bhōja’s feudatory Yāsośāra of Saṅgama-khetā-mandala on the occasion of the Śoma-parvan on Monday in the

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3 Above, Vol. II, p. 48; Bhandarkar’s List, No. 132. Bühler assigned Bhōja’s death to a date after 1002 A.D., on inadequate evidence.
7 Ibid., Vol. XI, pp. 181 ff.
8 Ibid., Vol. XVIII, pp. 329 ff.
11 Bhandarkar’s List, No. 129.
12 Ibid., No. 128.
month of Mārga, V. S. 1103 (possibly November 17, 1046 A.D.); and (3) the Kalvan plate{1} issued by another of the Paramāra king’s feudatories, named Yaśōvarman, on the occasion of a solar eclipse on Chaitra-vadi 15 (March 17, 1048 A.D.). It will be seen that the earliest date for Bhōja supplied by these records is Māgha-sudi 5, V. S. 1076—January 3, 1020 A.D., although we know that he ascended the throne earlier since Chālukya Jayasiṅha II claims to have defeated him by Śaka 941 (1019-20 A.D.).{2} The present epigraph issued on Sunday, Jyēśṭha-sudi 1, V. S. 1067—May 6, 1011 A.D., is nearly nine years earlier than the earliest of Bhōja’s inscriptions so far published.

The inclusion of the Sabarkantha-Ahmadabad region in the dominions of Paramāra Bhōja (c. 1000-55 A.D.) is an interesting information supplied by the record under study. So far the said area was known to have formed a part of the kingdom of Bhōja’s grandfather Siyaka (c.948-74 A.D.). Our inscription suggests that, in spite of the foundation of the Chaukuka power at Anhilapāṭaka by Mūlarāja (c. 961-96 A.D.), the region continued to be under the rule of Siyaka’s successors. It is interesting to note in this connection that the inscriptions of Mūlarāja and his immediate successors do not mention any place to the east of the upper course of the Sabarmati river, which was probably the eastern boundary of the Chaukuka kingdom during the period in question.{3}

The geographical names mentioned in the inscription are: (1) the district of Mōhāda[vāsaka]; (2) the sub-division of Ardhaśālma-maṇḍala (literally, ‘the sub-division of 74 [villages]’) in the above district; (3) Śayanapāṭa-grāma in the above maṇḍala; and (4) Harahapura. Whether Vallaṭaka was the name of a locality near Śayanapāṭa cannot be determined. Of these, the location of Mōhāda[vāsaka] and Śayanapāṭa-grāma has been indicated above. The identification of Harahapura, whence the doner’s family hailed, is uncertain. It may be modern Harsolā in the Prantij Taluk formerly of the Ahmadabad District but now of the Sabarkantha District, though the name also reminds us of the place of the same name mentioned in the Harsaudā (old Harahapura in the Hoshangabad District of Madhya Pradesh) inscription{4} of Paramāra Dēvapāla, dated V. S. 1275 (1218 A.D.).

TEXTs

Obverse

1 Siddham{5} | Sarhatsara-satēṣhu daśasvau(su) saptashāṭhya(shy-a)dhikēpna(shu) Jyēśṭha-sukla-paṭka(kha)-pratipa–

2 dāyüm Sarhvat 1067 Jyēśṭha(shy-a)-[su]di 1 Ravāv-adya-ēha samasta-vṛti(bri)had-rāj-āvali–

3 pva(pū)rvvani(rvva)-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēsava(āva)ra-ārī-Siyakadēva- padanudhyata{6}–pa–

4 ramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēsava(āva)ra-ārī-Vākpatira(rā)jadēva-pāl-ānudhyya- (dhyā)ta-paramabhaṭṭā–

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{1} Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 69 ff. R.D. Banerji’s views (ibid., p. 70) that the issue of the grant by a feudatory indicates the decline of Paramāra power and that the charter was issued during the troubled days after Bhōja’s death are unsound.


{3} Cf. A. K. Majumdar, Chaukukya of Gujurut, p. 32.

{4} Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, pp. 310 ff.

{5} From a set of photographs.

{6} Expressed by symbol. The following mark of punctuation is indicated by a curved stroke.

{7} Read pād-ānudhyya.
Reverse

ལོ་གོང་གི་བི་བོམ་བོད་པར་བཟོད། སོག་ཚུལ་གཞིས་དང་པོ་བཟོད། དག་མི་སྐོ་མི་བཟོད།
སོག་ཚུལ་སཱ་ཆེན་པོ་བཟོད། མི་གནོད་བཟོད། དག་མི་སྐོ་མི་བཟོད།
མི་གནོད་བཟོད། ཐོབ་པའི་བཟོད། དག་མི་སྐོ་མི་བཟོད།
བོད་པའི་བཟོད། དག་མི་སྐོ་མི་བཟོད།

16 18 20
5 rata maṇḍuṇa(yā)ja(ja)dhūrājaḥ-paramāṇa-Va(śa)-rāśi Simdhūrajadēva p(aḥ)-dhūnadhya(śyā)ta-paramabhaṭṭaraṇaka-ma-

6 ha(hā)raṇa(ja)dhūrājaparamēṣva(śa)-rāśi-Bhājakadēvā-rājyē śrī Mōhaḍavā[śa(sa)]k-
Arddhaśṭama-mahāśaūla

7 bhūka-rāṇa-mahāraṇaputra-rāṇi Vatsarājo(ja) ih aiva Vallōtaikiya-chaturjātakīya[ś]rūtaṇḍhy-a-

8 yana-sa[ṁ]aṇa(numa)-pravara-Vṛ(ṛ)ā(hmaṇa)-Dēḍḍasaṇya[ś] Śalīyanapāṭa-grāmē pradattad-hala-dva-

9 ya-dhūmi-sa(śa)sama-prayacchhaya vesam yatā h | [Śalīyanapāṭa-grāmē kēdravati-la-]* mādhya[ś]a-[*]

10 ṛhīh[ṛ]-[ṛ] kanti(ṇi)kādi[ksha]ṭtra-bhūmi sva-chaturāghatamayaniyatē tathā grāmam-
maṇḍhyē gīhā khala-

11 dhūnya-samūhā asya Vṛ(ṛ)ā(hmaṇa)sasya Harṣapura-vinirggtāya 1 pāmaṇa-yā*-saṅgṭrāya [ś]

12 Gōpadītya-sa(su)ṣṭhāya [ś] chaturjātakīya-viśṭjān-Lēḍḍaka-ya dharmā(ma) bētvē sā(sa)man-āṅka(kā)roṇa prada-


14 tā(tat)āḥ [ḥ] Pāṇīya[ḥ]* | Vṛ(ṛ)ā(hmaṇa)-Gōvārdhāna[ḥ]* | Kēla(l)īḍīya[ḥ]* | Daṁ-

15 tivara[m]-śh(su)ṭṣa- [ṭṭhakura- [ṛ]nākak[ḥ]*] part[ṭa]-


17 tathā Tampālīka[ḥ]* | mēhara-Vallōtabhājah | Kapasholi(shti)-sūṭa-sṛṣṭhī(shthī)-Lāndī[ḥ]*

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* The akṣara ja is written below the line.
* As indicated above, this may be either a mistake for bhūkṣṭra or, less probably, the personal name of Vatsarāja's father.
* Cf. the expression chaturjātakīya-viṣṭra in line 12 below.
* Read Dēḍḍāya; but, as indicated above, it is difficult to determine whether Dēḍḍā was the donor or the real donor of the grant which was ratified by Vatsarāja probably with Bhāja's permission. The name of the Brāhmaṇa is written as Dēḍḍaka in line 12 below.
* Read prayachchhitā.*
* The danda is redundant.
* Read *aghāta-saṁyuktī.
* This may be a mistake for Aśyapanaṇaṃya.
* Read Dēḍḍāya; but, as indicated above, it is difficult to say whether Dēḍḍaka was the donor or the donor of the grant in favour of the son of Gōpadītya. The name of the Brāhmaṇa is written as Dēḍḍā in line 8 above.
* Read pārśvikā.
* Read līkhyāntē.
* Read *ādhāraṇī pārśvikāntē.
* Better read yatā.
18 Kapashdi(shti)-ṣu(su)ta-Bhabha[h*] | tāthā Vēiva[ś]u[h*]1 Gu(Gū)dhayati[h*] Samgēmā2
Kīl[l]ā-ṣu(su)ta-[t]4 śhaku-
19 ra- [r] Chaṁd[r]ik-ūli*-samasta-jana-pratyaksṛha[m*] śāsranaṁ samukkirtitaṁ* || likhitam
20 čhetata7 likhya(lēkha)ka- | 9 Amnaka-ṣu(su)ta-Chchhadḍakēna || iti || śrī-Cha(Va)chchha-(tsa)rājana10 [*]
21 maṁgalam mahā-śrī[h*] ||11 ||

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1 It is difficult to say whether the intended name is Vaivasvata. The intended reading may also be Vēra-śvata.

2 The intended reading may be Samgāmā.

3 The intended reading may be Kīlla followed by an unnecessary danda.

4 The danda is superfluous.

5 Read Chandrika ity-ādi*.

6 Read samukkṛṣṇam.

7 Read chaṁsiat.

8 The danda is redundant. Sandhī has not been observed here.

9 The dandas are superfluous.

10 This represents the donor's signature on the original document later engraved on the plates. Note that the name of the donor is written as Vaṁśarīja in line 7 above.

11 There are two spiral symbols here between the double dandas.
No. 39—KANCHIPURAM INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF ACHYUTARAYA,
SAKA 1453

K. G. Krishnan and V. S. Subrahmanyam, Ootacamund

(Received on 7. 12. 1937)

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the east wall of the old Sabhānāyaka shrine in the Ekāmrānātha temple at Kānchipuram in the Chingleput District, Madras. The inscription contains two parts, one in Sanskrit engraved in Grantha characters and the other, which is incomplete, in Tamil in the Tamil script mixed with Grantha. The Sanskrit portion is couched in verses in Anushṭubh intercepted by a prose passage which has also been numbered along with the rest. There is nothing particular to note regarding palaeography or orthography. The inscription is important from the point of view of literary history as it throws light on the authorship and date of four literary compositions in Sanskrit.

The epigraph is dated in the reign of Achyutarāya of the Tuluva dynasty of Vijayanagara and the details of the date, viz., Śaka 1453,1 Khara, Kumbha 4u. 3, Révati, Friday, correspond to 1532 A.D., February 9, the nakṣatra being current till 34 of the following day.

The epigraph commences with two stanzas invoking respectively the gods Vighnēśvara and Śiva. Then it introduces king Achyuta of the Tuluva dynasty, whose greatness is described at length and who is described as the son of Narasa. The king’s commander-in-chief Saḷaka Tirumalai is described next as the lord of Śrīvaiṣṇava-manḍala. It is stated that he defeated the Pāṇḍya and Kārāla kings and acquired sovereignty over them. This Tirumala is then stated to have installed Bhōgarāja, son of Timmarāja of the solar race, as governor at Kānchi. Then the record proceeds to narrate an important event that happened during the governorship of Bhōgarāja at Kānchi. Bhōgarāja worshipped Lord Ekāmrānātha and summoned an assembly of learned Śiva-Brāhmaṇas, Māhātvaśaras and temple officials before the god Ekāmrāvāra. Two other persons, one described as Rāmapandit’s brother and the other as Nārāyaṇa, were also present. On that occasion, the assembly listened to four literary works in Sanskrit composed by Śrinivāsa, viz., Śīvabhaktivilāsa (stated to have been an account of the lives of the 63 Śaiva devotees), Charanādīstava, Bhōgarāli and Nāmāli. Śrinivāsa, the author of these works, is represented as the son of Sītārāma of the Bharadvāja gotra and as a resident of Chēyārur. He is also stated to have been well-versed in Śāṅkara and to have performed the Vājāpēya sacrifice acquiring thereby the singular privilege of carrying the white umbrella.2 In appreciation of the compositions mentioned above, the sabhā is said to have made presents of ornaments and clothes to the poet and to have also arranged for the poet’s permanent residence at Kānchi by purchasing a house for him. The house stood on a site, 40‘ wide,3 in the northern part of the east row of houses in Nallakampa-vithi to the south of the outer prekāra of the Ekāmrānātha temple. The poet also received a śīvamīna of rice daily and five bhāras of grains and five pānas per month, to be enjoyed hereditarily. It was further enjoined upon the members of the sabhā to see that this gift continues uninterruptedly. The Tamil portion, which is unfinished, refers to the above four works, to the assembly and to Bhōgayadhēva-mahārāja, the kartiar of the place.

2 The Śaka year is obtained from the chronogram Śakāmāt-bhāgya which is apparently a mistake for Lākshkāmāt-bhāgya because the latter form, besides being more sensible, agrees with the cyclic year Khara which corresponds to Śaka 1453. The chronogram is based on the Kaṭapayādi system.
3 That the persons who performed the Vājāpēya sacrifice were entitled to hold the white umbrella as an honour is indicated by the Rāmāyana, Ayodhyā Kāpū, Canto 45, verses 22-23, and Gīvindaṁ’s commentary thereon.
4 The length of the site is stated to have been the same as that of the adjoining house.

(199)
Sālaka's son Tirumala, described in the record as Achyuta's commandar-in-chief, is the well-known brother-in-law of the king. Tirumala is described as the lord of Ōndāṇa-maṇḍala. Ōndāṇa is unknown to us as the name of a territory. But, among the numerous inscriptions referring to this chief, two, one from Gudūr in the Nellore District and the other from Vēmulūrapūṇḍu in the Guntur District, mention Ōndāṇemaṇḍalikaragaṇḍa as one of his titles, meaning perhaps the chief of the maṇḍalikas each of whom had an elephant. It does not seem to refer to any maṇḍala Ōndāṇa by name, as our epigraph would make us believe. It is possible that the composer of our record arrived at this form in his attempt to transliterate this biruda of Sālaka Tirumala without knowing its significance. But there is no doubt that this Tirumala is identical with Pēdda Tirumala whose genealogy, as gathered from the Vēmulūrapuṇḍu inscription and some other inscriptions, from Śrīraṅgam, may be recorded here.

Sālaka
  Lakkaraju
  Śiṅgaraju
  Sālakaraju=Ānāntamman

Akkōchich-āmman= Timmaraju, son of Peddayādēvā-nēṭrārājū

Pēdda Tirumala= Periyā Kōṇamman

Pīna Tirumala= Chikka Tirumala= Tippanāndam

Varadāmbā= Achiyuta

Kopādamman

Bhōgaraja, installed as kaiṭṭar at Kāṇchi, is called Bhōgayadēva-mahārāja in the Tamil section of the record. Some inscriptions5 from the North Arcot and South Arcot Districts mention a Bhōgayadēva-mahārāja always in association with Sālakarāja Tirumala. One of them6 from Tiruppaṅgāḍu states that, when Tirumalaiyadēva-mahārāja was camping at Kāṇchi in the month of Makara in Śaka 1453, Khara, after having captured Vīrā-Narasimharāya-n̄ayākka, Bhōgayadēva-mahārāja enquired at his instance into a complaint lodged by the authorities of the temple at Tiruppaṅgāḍu against the misappropriation of 50 poṇ of jōdi by the captured chief. The amount is stated to have been formerly remitted by Kṛishṇadēvarāya. Narasimharāya-nāyākka withheld the amount even after a reminder from Śāluva Tīmmayar. Bhōgayadēva

7 Ibid., 1938-39, No. 70.
8 Ibid., 1950-51, No. 318; cf. also Nos. 223-24.
10 Ibid., 1924, No. 170.
11 Ibid., 1906, Nos. 174, 175 and 223; 1921, No. 356; 1939-40, No. 266.
12 Ibid., 1907, Part ii, para. 60.
recovered this amount. In another inscription⁴ from Elavanāsūr, a Bhōgaiyadeva is referred to as the son of Tippayadeva-mahārāja who is described as Olōja-kula-tulaka and Uṣaiyir puvar-āḍhīśvara and stated to have served Tirumalaiyadeva-mahārāja. Bhōgaiyadeva is mentioned in our record as the son of Timmarāja and as having belonged to the Sūrya-vahīśa. If Timma and Tippa can be regarded as variants of the same name, Bhōgaiyadeva-mahārāja of the present record would be identical with his namesake mentioned in the Tiruppaṇaṅgādu and Elavanāsūr inscriptions.

The theme of Śrīnivāsa's Śivabhaktiśilāsa, stated to be a kāvyā dealing with the lives of the 63 devotees of Śiva, is the same as that of the fine Tamil poetical work entitled Periyapurāṇam also known as Tiruttutuyai purāṇam composed by Śekkiliṟ in the first half of the 12th century. Śivabhaktiśilāsa has been noticed in Aufrecht’s Catalogus Catalogorum,¹ Charayāḍistava, called Pāḍādikāṭavā in the Tamil portion, is evidently the same as Ekāmaranāṭastava noticed in the Catalogus Catalogorum.² The works are assigned by Aufrecht to Śrīnivāsa-liṅgākha who is without doubt identical with Śrīnivāsa-yajvan of our record, the titles yajvan and dikṣita being synonymous. Charayāḍistava was no doubt a description of the god commencing from his sacred feet and ending with the glory of his crown or the head. It is sometimes composed also in the reverse order. It appears that both the types were chosen to describe a god while the latter was employed only to describe a man. The other two works Bhōgavāli⁴ and Vāmavāli are evidently names of two types of compositions. Apparently they too were compositions on Ekāmarā. The munificence of the gifts made to the poet is sufficient indication of the patronage that men of letters enjoyed during the period in question.

Cheyarūr, the native place of the poet, cannot be identified due to want of further details.

TEXT⁵

1 Šubham-astu [||] Vām-anik-ārūḍha-vāmākši-vakshōj-āsakta-pu-
2 shkaram | vārayaṁ vighna-tama-āṅī Vāraṁyam-uṇā-mahōḥ [1[*] Kāmā- 
3 kshī-turīga-vakshōja-kanika-āṅkita-vakshasam | šilayē sthi- 
4 tam-Ekāmra-mūlē Bālendu-ēkhaṛam | [2[*] Yasy ajñāṁ sarvva- 
5 bhūpālā vahantā nija-mūrddhabhīḥ | nirajyanti kोṭīra-ratna-di-
6 pahi pad-ā[ni*]hajam | [3*] Na[t]a-mūrddha-pad-āṅgueshta-nakha-āgra-kṛita-randhrataḥ | 
7 jvāla-jālair uṭ-sarasābhīr mmuḷḥḥ | 4 Brahmāṅgāma makhā-nikshipta-nava[va*]-sain- 
8 hatēḥ | suvraṇa-pūrṇa-kumbhāsya vibhramāṁ vahati sputam | [5[*] Na]- 

¹ Ibid. 1906, No. 174.
² See p. 670.
³ Loc. cit.
⁴ For the nature of this composition, see Pratyaparudrīga (Bombay Sankarit and Prakrit Series No LXV), Kavyaprakāraṇa, p. 98.
⁵ From the original and inked impressions.
⁶ Cf. Mākopaṇiṣaṭī, Aryādakam, verse 15.
⁷ Tamil r is used here.
9ja-Nabhaga-Nahuja-Nriga-Rama-mukhau nirpan | atisete pavitrpasa charitetreasa

10nijena ya | 6 | Asau Narasa-bhupala-tanayoi visnuy-9ja(jja)la| Achyutendra-

11maharaya-namba sma su-vartmanam | 7 | Yadhu jena Bhogendra-bhoga-ka-

12lepna sat-prabhu | vahayati-saista-vasudha-valayaui valayaui yathau | 8 | Tada tasua chamun-

13jya-dhur-vahau | Onnda-mandala-adhisas-Salaka-kshama-bhur-abhut | 9 | Ya Bhagya-

14jitya tatak karn | karantat-prithvirajya-lakshmyi iva tad-aghrhit | 10 | Asau Tirumala-

15syaptam praapita-tijasa | Suryya-varuna-abdhiraasana Sureshram-samavikramam | 11 | Ti-

16[vajm Bhogadasi Kachchyan-nyayacayat | sa tatra kaaraan pujam-Ekamreasa bhuyasa | 12 |

17Sakshambhagyi Sakasyaabda Khar-abdab Kumbha-ga Ravau | sita-pahche-

18Rvatyi m vasaare Bhraghe | 13 | Prajamyy-Aikamaramanam-tasya-agre samupaviat |

19machandranujamnr Nara-lyaperti cha | 14 | Gautamasa-cha Bharadvaja|h | Kausika|a |

20styasa-cha mahannma(tama)-siva-dvija-kul-ottama | 15 | Kule shile sad-achare tyage bhogesh-

21kicheda(chha) kuhalas sakalasu kalasu cha | 16 | Mahaivarasa-cha mahitah | karaapa-cha
gupa-alayab | * | ala-

22[y]-Aikamaramasay puratas-tridasa iva | 17 | Tada tata(ta) Bharadvaja-Sita(ta)rama-
sutas-sudhii | Vajapey-ajjita-svetas-

23ja(chchaha)tra-mandala-mandita | 18 | Pada-vakya-pra[ma]peshu Bharat-adikalasu cha |

prathitas-Chyavar-grama-vasi

1 See p. 199, note 2.
2 After "jasma" we have to read cha irman to suit the metre.
3 The letters tava are written below the line.
4 The number 13 was originally engraved and later it appears to have been corrected into 16.
5 This dana was wrongly engraved here instead of at the end of this hemistic.
6 The sign for medial as is engraved at the end of the previous line.
25 mam | [20] Śivabhā[kti]vīrāgākhyam-āṣrayad-imāṁ sabhām | Chā[rajā]gādīstavam Bhōga- 
valīn Nāmāvalīṃ api | [21] Etā-
26 n prabhānā-ākarṣya santuṣṭās-[tē] sabhāsadarāḥ | prasannam Śivam ālaṅkhyā lakṣaḥmā- 
bhiḥ pūrvva-saṁ[saṁ] sitaḥ | [22] 
27 Praśa-y-aśtaṁ kavim bhūshā-vastrādyaiḥ pratipūjya cha | kṛ(ka)payanti sma chāvāsaṁ 
Kāśyāṃ-ōvāṣa santatam | [23] | ā
28 Īkāmṛtaḥ-bāhyā-prākāraḥ-dakṣiṇatō Nallakamba-vīdhī(ṇi)-śrēṣṭhi-rathī-āryā-pūrva- 
śrīy[duṭtarā-prānta-stūḥ] 
29 ta[ṁ]*| dakṣiṇ-ōttarataś-chatvārinīṇat-pada-vistārtam prati-vēśa-griha-prācharayāmaś[saṁ- 
āyām] Īkāmṛtō 
30 śena ka(ka)ya-labdhau nīṁ[āl]y-ādy-āśṭa-bhōga-sahitam-ōka-nikētanaḥ chāśmē(śmai) 
Śrīnivāsa

31 yajvān dattavantaḥ | [26] Īkāmṛtē-ālayat prāpyam saṁmunā [ka]vin āhnāḥ | ā
32 Śiva-mānasā-rūṣhita śūli-tapāduṇāḥ-cha saṁchayam | [27] Maśe māśa tataḥ 
prāpya,[ṁ]* 
33 vīhīgām bhūra-paṇḍhikakam | paṇānāṁ paṇḍhakamam āpir prasādam Pārvatīpatēḥ | 
[28] [ ] ā
34 Ėtāt-sarvvaṇ-dvījasya[ā]*ṣya bhōjyam putrādikair āpir yathā-ēśṭa-viniyōg-āram-ā- 
kālpānām-ākalpā ā
35 yau | [29] Śrīnivāsāna vidudha prāptam Ėkāmrān[ā] yakat | prasannād ātad-akhilam pala- 
nīyanāna-
36 rādhāpiḥ | [30] Māhōṣvarair Mmāhādēva-divyā-ājñā-para-paśakaiḥ | sthānakaiḥ ca Śiva-
kiṅkarān-nījān | avyā-
38 d-avājya-kārṣyā-kallōla-dṛg-aṁchahāḥ | [32] Subhāṃ†

† Below it there is another unnecessary letter looking like ṭhi.
* The word 'Nāmāvati' is written below the line.
* The letter 'a' is written below the line.
* The passage running from this up to 'dattavantaḥ' in line 31 is in prose; yet it is enumerated as though it is 
  equal to three verses, thus carrying the number to 26.
* Read prachā-āpañna. The vertical line of 'ca' appears to have been projected downwards.
* Read paśchākaś-ā-āpi.

There is a punctuation mark here consisting of two symbols resembling the Tamil figure 10 flanking a sign 
resembling the letter 'n'.
39 Tiruvëkambam-udëaiya Naiyin Arûpatti(ttu)mûvar-purânam Saûskrita-bâ(bhâ)shaiyir(yi)=

40 da Şivabhaktavilasattaïyum¹ tammulaiya Bhôgâvalli(liyai)yum¹ Nâmâvalli(liyai)yum¹

Pâtâ(dâ)dikëštavamum²

41 uguanu tiru[ch*]chevi-ch'châtti azuluga(gai)yil i-kiyil Tâpattârum Mûhëşvararum

santöshî-

42 ttu sthalattukku kattur(rittar)‐äna Bhôgayadëva-mahârâjâ⁴

¹ The letter yum is indicated by a symbol.
² Read staraṭaiyum.
³ The letter ch is redundant.
⁴ The writing stops here abruptly.
No. 40—Note on Mandasor Inscription of Gauri
D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund
(Received on 11. 7. 1958)

The fragmentary inscription of a ruler named Gauri belonging to the Manavāyani family was discovered at Mandasör in Madhya Pradesh while another record of the same ruler, dated V.S. 547 (491 A.D.), was found in a temple in the vicinity of Chhōrl Sādri near Neemuch about 32 miles from Mandasör. Both the records were edited by me above, Vol. XXX, pp. 120-32, with Plates. A king named Ādityavardhana is mentioned about the beginning of the Mandasör epigraph of Gauri, apparently as ruling from Daśāpura (Mandasör). The Chhōrl Sādri inscription does not mention this ruler. One of the several possibilities suggested by me regarding Ādityavardhana’s identification was that he may have been Gauri’s overlord and a later member of the Aulikara family of Daśāpura.

In an interesting paper entitled “New Light on the Ancient History of Malwa”, which has appeared in the Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXXIII, No. 4, December 1957, pp. 314-20, Prof. V. V. Mirasi has tried to show that king Ādityavardhana mentioned in the Mandasör inscription of his feudatory Gauri whose known date is V.S. 547 (491 A.D.) and king Dravyavardhana mentioned in the Bṛihatsamhitā (LXXXVI, 2) of Varāhamihira who flourished in the sixth century A.D. were later members of the Aulikara ruling family of Western Malwa just as king Yaśōdharman Vishnuvardhana, one of whose Mandasör inscriptions is dated V.S. 559 (532 A.D.), and that all these three Aulikara kings had their capital not at Daśāpura (modern Mandasör) but at Ujjayini. As regards the second of the two suggestions, Prof. Mirasi observes, “Dr. Sircar seems to think that Daśāpura was the capital of Ādityavardhana ... There is no basis for this conjecture.” I am afraid, Prof. Mirasi has not been successful in proving his point.

We have two pillars of the nature of jaya-stambhas raised by Yaśōdharman Vishnuvardhana at Daśāpura (Mandasör) and it is generally believed that he was ruling from the said city. This is quite possible since the early kings of the Aulikara family very probably had their capital at Daśāpura where most of their lithe records have been found. The suggestion is supported by one of the Mandasör inscriptions of this family, which clearly states that, in V.S. 493 (496 A.D.), Aulikara Bandhuvarman was the ruler of Daśāpura while the Gupta monarch Kumāragupta was ruling over the earth. This shows that the Aulikara king Bandhuvarman, who was a feudatory of Kumāragupta and flourished in the second quarter of the fifth century, had his capital at Daśāpura. But Prof. Mirasi says, “The pillars commemorate the memorable victory which Yaśōdharman obtained over the Hūpa king Miharakula. The battle appears to have been fought at Daśāpura, about 75 miles north by west of Ujjayini. Hence the memorable pillars were erected at Daśāpura, the site of the battle, and not at Ujjayini, the capital of Yaśōdharman.” The theory, however, does not appear to be quite convincing in view of the facts that most of the stone inscriptions of the Aulikara kings, as indicated above, have been found at Daśāpura and none at all at

1 Cf. ibid., p. xi.
3 Cf. Raychandhuri, PH.AI, 1934, p. 504.
4 See Bhandarkar’s List, Nos. 3, 6-7; above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 12 ff. For early Aulikara records found elsewhere (not far away from Mandasör), cf. Bhandarkar’s List, No. 4; above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 130 ff. The two inscriptions of Yaśōdharman Vishnuvardhana, a later member of the family, were both found at Mandasör (Bhandarkar’s List, Nos. 9, 170).

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Ujjayini and that one of these records mentions an early Aulikara king as having his capital at Daśapura, while, on the other hand, there is absolutely no evidence to show that the Aulikaras—earlier or later—had anything to do with Ujjayini.

Verse 2 of the fragmentary Mandaśor inscription of Gauri reads as follows:

Jīvaṁ ripa-balam samkhe(khy)ey ramyaṁ pura[m*] daś-ādi. [[*]]

...[najra-vyāghre narēndr-Ādityavarṇdhanē ||

In my opinion, the damaged aksara at the end of the first half of this stanza is certainly kām while the word lost at the beginning of its second half, as I have suggested, may be restored as pālayati or prakāśati. The above restoration is supported by the style of epigraphic records including the Mandaśor inscription of Bandhuvarman (verse 29) referred to above. There can be little doubt that the stanza represents Ādityavardhana, probably an Aulikara, as the ruler of Daśapura; that is to say that he had his capital at Daśapura. Prof. Mirashi, it is interesting to note, admits that ‘the name Daśapura appears [in the verse quoted above] in a fragmentary form’, that Ādityavardhana is said to have ‘done something to a town whose name contained the word daśa (probably Daśapura)’, that ‘as the name of Ādityavardhana is used in the locative case, the intended meaning seems to be that he was ruling at the time’, and that the kings Ādityavardhana and Yaśōdharmar Vaihupvardhana were connected in some way or other with Daśapura (Mandaśor). In spite of all these admissions, however, he, strangely enough, comes to the conclusion that the said stanza ‘gives no clear indication’ as regards Ādityavardhana’s relations with Daśapura. But, if it is admitted that the name of Daśapura occurs in the verse in the accusative along with that of Ādityavardhana in the nominative absolute, I do not see how Prof. Mirashi can easily escape, without resorting to unwarranted conjectures, from the natural conclusion that the king was ruling at the city in question.

It will be seen that, while in our opinion verse 2 of the fragmentary Mandaśor inscription of Gauri apparently speaks of Daśapura as the capital of Ādityavardhana, it offers no indication on the point to Prof. Mirashi. It is, therefore, natural to expect that he has stronger grounds to show that Ujjayini, and not Daśapura, was the capital of Ādityavardhana as well as of Dravyavardhana and Yaśōdharmar Vaihupvardhana, all the three kings probably belonging to the same family. Unfortunately the two points Prof. Mirashi has raised as evidence in support of his theory do not appear to be convincing at all as both of them are based on misunderstanding.

The first point raised by Prof. Mirashi in this connection is based on the mention of Mahārajādhiraśa Dravyavardhana as an Āvantika or Āvantika-ṛipā, i.e. ‘the king of Avanti’, in the following stanza of Varāhamihira’s Brhatasthamitā, to which reference has been made:

Bhāradvajā-matām dṛishṭva yuv-cā śrī-Dravyavardhanāḥ ||

Āvantikaḥ prāha ṛipā mahārajādhiraśaḥ ||

Prof. Mirashi takes the name Avanti occurring in the expression Āvantika, to indicate the city of Ujjayini. But unfortunately he forgets that Avanti was primarily the name of a people or their country (identical with West Malwa) and only secondarily the name of the chief city of the said people or country. Of course it is well-known that, during certain periods of the history of the Avanti country, Ujjayini was its chief city. The expression Āvantika thus means both ‘the lord of the Avanti people or country’ and ‘the lord of the city of Avanti (identified with Ujjayini)’. One has to note that the Paramāra kings like Bhōja are called ‘king of Avanti’ even though they had their capital at Dhārā and not at Ujjayini. It will, therefore, be seen that the epithet Āvantika applied to Dravyavardhana does not prove that his capital was at Ujjayini and not at Daśapura.

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1 I do not find any justification for Prof. Mirashi’s remark, “The metre appears defective.”
Prof. Mirashi’s contention that the aforesaid passage from the *Prihata-samhitā* thus suggests that the later Aulikara kings Ādityavardhana, Dravyavardhana and Vishṇuvardhana (Yaśōdharman) ruled from Ujjayini therefore stands on a shaky foundation.

Prof. Mirashi’s other argument in support of his theory is based on the *Mandasor* inscription of V.S. 589 belonging to the reign of Yaśōdharman Vishṇuvardhana. He says, “It (i.e. the *Mandasor* inscription of V.S. 589) tells us that the country between the Vindhya and Pārīyātra (Aravali) mountains was being governed by one Nirdōsha who was a Rājasthāniya appointed by Yaśōdharman and had his headquarters at Daśapura. This clearly indicates that Yaśōdharman himself was ruling not from Daśapura but from some other place like Ujjayini.” He refers us to the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, p. 154, with the following remark: “The name of the viceroy was Nirdōsha and not Daksha as shown by Kielhorn.” We are sorry to note that there are not only several errors in these statements but also that the inscription does not prove Prof. Mirashi’s theory at least to our satisfaction.

In the first place, the inscription does not really mention any ‘country between the Vindhya and Pārīyātra mountains’. Verse 19 of the record actually speaks of the land bounded by the Vindhya, the Pārīyātra and the Sea (Arabian Sea) apparently meaning the region lying to the west of the Vindhya and the Pārīyātra and to the east of the Arabian Sea. There is nothing in the record to show that the city of Daśapura was situated in this land. As a matter of fact, the area indicated seems to have been situated to the west of the city in question. Secondly, the person represented in the stanza as the Rājasthāniya, i.e. viceroy or governor, of the said region is not Nirdōsha but his father’s elder brother Abhayadatta. Verses 20-21 suggest that, on the death of Abhayadatta, the viceroyalty of the above land fell on Dharmadōsha who was a son of the former’s brother Dōshakumbha. Thirdly, it is uncertain whether Abhayadatta was a contemporary and a viceroy of Yaśōdharman Vishṇuvardhana, although Dharmadōsha was in office in V.S. 589 when his younger brother Nirdōsha excavated a well apparently at Daśapura in the name of his deceased uncle Abhayadatta. Verse 21 of course seems to suggest that Dharmadōsha was a viceroy of Yaśōdharman; but he may have been mentioned by Nirdōsha merely to indicate his own importance as the brother of an important personage like the governor of a district. Fourthly, for similar reasons, Nirdōsha’s mention of his relations with Abhayadatta and Dharmadōsha scarcely proves that Daśapura, where he excavated the well, lay within the territory under the viceroyalty of his elder brother and paternal uncle, even if both of them were viceroyes under the Aulikara king Yaśōdharman Vishṇuvardhana. Fifthly, the inscription does not mention Daśapura as the headquarters of Abhayadatta and Dharmadōsha, not to speak of Nirdōsha who is not stated to have been a ruler. Sixthly, the mention of the two names together in two different stanzas shows that Daksha was the second name of Nirdōsha. Seventhly, even if Yaśōdharman Vishṇuvardhana had his capital at Daśapura, Abhayadatta and Dharmadōsha could have acted as governors of the metropolitan district of the Aulikara empire with their headquarters at the capital city.

The points raised above will make it clear that the *Mandasor* inscription scarcely proves the location of Yaśōdharman’s capital at Ujjayini. Prof. Mirashi’s statement that ‘all these kings (viz. Ādityavardhana, Dravyavardhana and Yaśōdharman Vishṇuvardhana) were ruling from Ujjayini’ is thus an unwarranted conjecture, especially in view of the discovery of most of the *Aulikara* inscriptions at Daśapura and of the fact that verse 2 of the *Mandasor* inscription of Gaur

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2 *Select Inscriptions*, p. 392, note 3.
3 It may be noted that, when Mahārāja Brahmadatta or Mahārāja Jayadatta was ruling over Pundravardhana-bhukti with headquarters apparently at the city of Pundravardhana, there was also the office of an Ayukta (no doubt the governor of the district round the city) at the same city. See above, Vol. XV, pp. 135 ff., pp. 138 ff.; Vol. XX, pp. 61 ff.
apparently represents Daśapura as the capital of Ādityavardhana just as the earlier Aulikara king Bandhuvarman is mentioned as the ruler of the same city in another Mandasor inscription.

Prof. Mirashi thinks that Mahārāja Gauri had his capital at Daśapura. But this view seems to go clearly against the evidence of verse 2 of his Mandasor Inscription, unless of course Gauri is identified with Ādityavardhana. As indicated above, we have only the following two inscriptions of Gauri: (1) the Chhōtī Sadri epigraph, and (2) the Mandasor inscription recording the excavation of a tank by him in the suburbs of Daśapura for the merit of his deceased mother. Of course Gauri's activities recorded in these inscriptions do not prove that he had his capital at either of the two places where his records have been found or at a third place, since a ruling chief could build a temple or excavate a tank at his capital or elsewhere in or outside his own territory. Thus according to an inscription1 of Śaka 983 (1060 A.D.) from Barner in the Bastar District of Madhya Pradesh, a Telugu-Chōda Mahāmallaśvāra named Chandrāditya-mahārāja, who had his headquarters at Ammagrāma, is known to have built a temple of Śiva called Chandrādityśēvāra and excavated a tank called Candrādityasarśāvara at Bārāsūr which was the capital of his Chhindaka overlord, Mahārāja Jagadēkabhūshāna.

Another fact that cannot be ignored in this connection is that Daśapura was in early times one of the celebrated holy places in Western India2 and that a death at a place of pilgrimage was considered by the people as highly meritorious.3 Gauri's mother may, therefore, have visited Daśapura on pilgrimage with a view to meet her end at the holy place. The excavation of wells at Daśapura by both Nirdēśha and Gauri in the name of their dead relatives in such a case becomes clear.4

Moreover, as already incited above, verse 2 of the Mandasor fragmentary inscription of Gauri suggests that Daśapura was the capital of his overlord Ādityavardhana probably of the Aulikara dynasty. It is, therefore, impossible to believe in the present state of our knowledge that Gauri of the Mānavāyani family, who was a feudatory chief and not a governor, had also his capital at the same city of Daśapura.

We also find it difficult to agree with Prof. Mirashi's view regarding the date of Dravyavarṣadhana who is mentioned in the Brihatasamhitā and may be supposed to have belonged to the Aulikara family. The date of the composition of this work is uncertain, although it may have been written some time about the first quarter of the sixth century A.D.5 It is, therefore, impossible, without further evidence, to prove whether Dravyavarṣadhana ruled in the fifth or sixth century A.D. or whether he was a predecessor or successor of Ādityavardhana. Prof. Mirashi conjectures that Dravyavarṣadhana was a successor of Ādityavardhana and a predecessor of Yāśōdharmar Vishnupavardhana and says, "Mahārāja Dravyavarṣadhana of Avanti mentioned by Varāhamihira (c. first half of the sixth century A.D.) must, therefore, be placed in the period V. 552 to 589. He may have ruled from c. V. 552 to 572 (A.D. 495-515). He was thus a predecessor of Yāśōdharmar and might have been his father." He lays special emphasis upon the last sentence by putting it in italics. Unfortunately, however, all these statements appear to us to be nothing more than guesses unsupported by any evidence worth the name.

1 See Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, 1908-09, pp. 111 ff.; Hirala's Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar, pp. 158-59; The Classical Age, pp. 216, 220. For another similar inscription, see Hirala, op. cit., p. 159.

2 Cf. Select Inscriptions, p. 161, text line 2.

3 See above, Vol. XXX, pp. 43 ff.


5 Varāhamihira probably composed his Paschasaṅdhamiśā in Śaka 427 (505 A.D.) since in that work the said Śaka year has been taken as the basis of calculation. The Brihatasamhitā appears to have been composed at a later date. The tradition that Varāhamihira died in Śaka 509 (587 A.D.) is now generally regarded as of dubious value. Cf. The Classical Age, p. 322.
No. 41—MALGA PLATES OF SAMANTA INDRARAJA

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR AND S. SANKARANARAYANAN, OOTACUMUND

(Received on 18.7.1958)

About the middle of the year 1957, Pandit L. P. Pandeya of Raigarh, Madhya Pradesh, informed the Government Epigraphist for India of the existence of a copper plate inscription lying in the possession of Shri Badri Prasad Rai of Dhorahar in the Bilaspur District of the same State. Under his instructions, Shri Rai was good enough to send the inscription on loan to the Government Epigraphist for India in July 1957, and it was soon returned to him after examination. The owner of the plates was stated to be Thakur Ratansinghji of Malga, P. O. Kotma, District Shahdol, Madhya Pradesh.

The inscription is written on a set of three plates which measure about 9½ inches by 4 inches each and are strung on a ring measuring about 2½ inches in diameter and about ½ inch in thickness. The ring passes through a hole about the middle of the upper side of the plates. The first plate has writing only on the inner side while the other two plates are inscribed on both the sides. The record contains 30 lines of writing, 7 lines each on the inner sides of plates I and III and only 2 lines on the outer side of plate III. The rectangular seal soldered to the joint of the ring contains only the legend śrī-Indrarājaḥ (correctly er-Indrarājaḥ) in embossed characters. The three plates together with the ring and seal weigh 119 tolas.

The characters belong to a variety of the Siddhamatrīkā alphabet and are assignable to a date roughly between the Bodhgaya inscription1 (c. 585 A. D.) of Mahānāman and the Apsahd inscription2 (c. 670 A. D.) of Ādityaśena, that is to say, about the first half of the seventh century. The letters are, however, more angular in shape and their top is formed by a hollow triangle of a bigger size than the solid triangle at the top of the letters of the Bodhgaya and Apsahd epigraphs. Letters with a hollow triangle forming the top are sometimes met with in early inscriptions, e.g., in the recently discovered Mallar (Bilaspur District, Madhya Pradesh) plates3 of Vyāghrarāja, written in Southern characters assignable to the 6th century A. D.

Among initial vowels, a occurs in line 29; ā with length indicated by a curve in lines 1 and 8 and by an angular sign in lines 13, 16, 21 and 24; i in lines 6, 8, 26 and 28; u in line 28 and 29; and ɐ in line 29. The medial signs of ą and ā (cf. also medial ɵ) are sometimes a śrītā and sometimes a pratiḥṭācā. Medial u is written with a downward vertical stroke (cf. tā ṭhūḷa in line 2), or a curve attached to the lower end of the letter (cf. tuṅga in line 3). The sign has been written differently in ṭuṅga in guruvai-u in line 1 and chāru in line 2. Medial ɵ is indicated by a downward curve added to the left of the vertical stroke of a medial u (cf. māṛitṛ in line 4), or a curved stroke added to the right side of the u sign (cf. ṭṿaḥūṭ in line 16). The sign for medial ɵ in bhūga in line 23 is of a different type. The subscripta ch and v are not clearly distinguished (cf. svasti in line 1 and ṭc̣hāru in line 4). The letter m is written with a straight stroke or a globular mark added to the lower left corner of p (cf. śrīmā and mati in line 6). The form of subscript y is angular and the top of the letter is flat. In the ligature ṭy (cf. paryanta in lines 5 and 13),

2 Ibid., pp. 200 ff. and Plate.

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r looks different from the form of superscript r added to other consonants. Visarga is represented either by two dots (cf. samāh in line 1) or by two slightly curved strokes placed one above the other (cf. sūdraṅgaḥ sa-parikaraḥ in line 11).

The orthography of the record shows a considerable amount of carelessness on the part of the scribe and the engraver. Words like arahati for arhāti (line 24) exhibit the influence of local pronunciation. Though a separate sign for r was not unknown (cf. the erased word Buday-
gakē in line 9), the letter has been represented by s throughout as is generally done in the contemporary inscriptions of North India. Occasionally consonants are doubled in conjunction with r (cf. mūrttī in line 4 and pitrō in line 13). Sometimes the signs for anusvāra and visarga have been either omitted (e.g. in ya[ṁ*] īrī[ś*] in line 2), while often one of these is written for the other (e.g. in paksahā for paksahā in line 5, and vāsīnām for vāsīnakī in line 1)). In some cases, visarga is unnecessarily added (e.g. in ghatānaḥ in line 4). Class nasals have been generally used instead of anusvāra (cf. Indra in line 1; paṇḍita in lines 3-3; tvāga in line 3). Anusvāra is once wrongly changed to ṅ in tvāga for vānsā in line 17. While it is wrongly used for final m in paksahā in lines 20 and 26, it is wrongly retained in dattāmeśa in line 22 and samva* in line 30.

The language of the record is Sanskrit, and the composition is a mixture of prose and verse. For instances of grammatical errors, see Śaṅkendrārāja for rājā in line 3, nījīṣṭa for nījitīya in line 5, Indrarāja for rājā in lines 6-7, svāmmaiya1 for svāmīrśa in line 15, rōjānā for rajabhīṣa in line 19, etc.

The record belongs to the time of Sāmanta Indrarāja and is dated in his regnal reckoning without mentioning any era. The details of the date are given as the eleventh day of the first fortnight of the month of Jyēṣṭha of the first (or, eleventh) year apparently of Indrarāja's reign, the week-day being Tuesday and the nakshatra Uttarabhadrapada. The month was no doubt Pūrṇimānta. The details are, however, not sufficient to determine the exact date of the record. As indicated above, the palaeography of the inscription suggests a date about the first half of the 7th century A.D.

The document starts with a Śuddham symbol followed by the auspicious word evastī. The first verse that follows introduces Sāmanta Indrarāja's father whose name was probably Kaḥtiṭa. The next verse describes the donor of the grant, viz. Indrarāja, as a great factor. A long passage in prose in lines 7-17 records Sāmanta Indrarāja's declaration from his residence at Māṇḍaka to his officers including the grāmakāra (village-headman) and the chief persons and residents of Śilagrāmamantamaraka (or Śilagrāmamantaramaka) within Gula-
gramaka which was situated in Akāś-rāṣṭra forming a part of the Cchāṣaṇaparānga viśaya. The village was granted as a tax-free holding to Bhavavāmin, son of Nāgasvāmīrama of the Śāḍiyā gōtra and the Vajasanēya-Mādhavyandina śākhā. The order regarding the execution of the grant was passed by Indrarāja himself. The above section is followed by Indra-
raja's request in lines 17-19 to the future kings to protect the grant. After seven imprecatory verses, some of which are not usually met with, the document is said in lines 27-28 to have been written by Rājaputra Deva and engraved by Drastīka, son of the goldsmith śīvara. The date of the charter, quoted at the end of the record in lines 28-30, has been already discussed.

The inscription under review is interesting in that Sāmanta Indrarāja and his father are known for the first time from it. Unfortunately we have no clue to determine the dynasty to which they belonged. Indrarāja was a Sāmanta, i.e. a feudatory ruler. But there is no mention of his overlord. The issue of the charter, dated apparently in his own regnal reckoning, without any reference to the overlord, suggests that Indrarāja was a semi-independent chief, although

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1 Cf. svāmniya in the Umachal rock inscription (above, Vol. XXXI, p. 67).
2 Cf. rōjānā in one of the Pandukēvar plates (ibid., p. 209.)
be seems to have been the ruler of a small territory in the Shahdol region in the former Rewa State. The area was under the kings of Kausambi in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. and later came under the possession of the Imperial Guptas. In the 6th century, the Maukharis of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, whose dominions are known to have comprised the neighbouring Kalañjara region of Bundelkhand, may have extended their power over the Rewa area. It is, therefore, not impossible that Indraraja originally owed allegiance to the Maukharis and ruled semi-independently for sometime between the death of Maukhari Grahavarman about 605 A.D. and the establishment of Harshavarman's power over the former, Maukhari empire shortly afterwards. The semi-independent period of Indraraja's rule may possibly also be assigned to a date following Harsha's death in 647 A.D. In such cases, the record under study may be assigned roughly to the second decade or the middle of the 7th century.

Among the geographical names mentioned in the record, Mañjaka whence the grant was issued seems to have been the capital of Sāmanata Indrarāja. It is difficult to say whether the name of Malgā, the findspot of the inscription, is a modification of that of ancient Mañjaka. The gift village is called Sālagramamantamaraaka or Sālagramaamantamaraaka which is apparently made out of the names of two localities, viz. Sālagrama and Amantamaraaka or Mantamaraaka. These two localities forming one unit were a part of the village called Gula-grāma which was situated in a rāṣṭra or subdivision called Ākāśa within the vishaya or district called Chhēṇaparāṇa. None of these can be identified.

TEXT

[Metres: verse 1 Śārīlāvikrīḍita; verse 2 Śragdharā; verses 3-9 Anushṭubh.]

First Plate

1 Siddham svasti [†][*] Āsī(śi)d=Indra-samaḥ kahitau Kāhita(t)pāt[ī|h*] ṭaktyā ktri(kri)-yāḥhir-guṇāṁ-u-

2 tphull-āmala-chāru-vimva(mba)-vadana ya[m*] Śrī|h*] sadā sāvatē | yō dēva-dvija-sādhun-[pa]-

3 ṇ̄diṭa-janasya-ādhātra-bhṛtō ha vā śiddh-[ā]dhỹāśita-hēma-tuṅga-śikharah Śailai(lē)ndra-

rājā(īj) yathā [†][*]

4 Jāta[ś=ta*]syātma(jā)[j]o=pi prakaṭa-gha(ga)ja-ghaṭa(tā) ghaṭṭanah(ā)ṣ=ch[a]ru-mūrtti-
[r*]=nitya[m*] dāt=ābhimā-

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3 An inscription of kanda-gupta has been found in the former Rewa State, while Gupta supremacy was acknowledged in Chattisgarh. See ibid., pp. 267-68; below, pp. 306 ff.
5 From photographs and impressions.
6 Expressed by symbol.
7 The letter dā is written above the line.
8 Better read 'bhādebhāven.
nī raśa-chapala-paśuḥḥ bhūnta-paryanta-[k]ṛtiḥḥ [++] nirjītvā(ty=ṛ)ṛti-pakṣah(kṣahḥ) prasabham=a paḥiḥṛṣi).

tō(tā) yēcha(na) lakshmi viśālā sa śrīmā[ḥ]++ śrī-nikṛtaḥ prati-mati-suchitraḥ Indra-++.  
raja(jo) narēndraḥ [++] 2+ Maṇḍakāt=para[ma]māhēśvarā(ṛ) mātā-pitrī-pād-ānudhyātāḥ ārī-.

Second Plate, First Side

sāmā(ma)nta Indrarājaḥ Chhē[Chhē]daparāngā-viṣhaya-prativaddhaḥ Akāṣa-rāṣṭrē Gula-.

grāmaḥḥ++ Fāsalagram mantamarakhṛ grāmaku(kū)ta-drōṅgākika-.

ganḍakānāyaka-++dēvavērika(kā)n[++] sarvāvēma(nē)ḥ pramukhā[n++] yathā-prativāsinām-
(nah) samājñā-.

payati viditam=astu bhavatā[ḥ++] yathā-āṁśābhīr=aya[m++] grāma[ḥ++] s-ōdraṅgāḥ sa-parikaraḥ

a-chēṭa-bhaṭa-pravēṣa' sa-nidā ś-ōpanidhiḥ[dhi]=chōra-danḍa-yalitaḥ chatuḥ-ā(ṭi)-

mā-ḍhāna-paryanta a-chandr-[ā]jṛka-kshiti-tērakā-nirōdēnā++ mātā-pitrīr-ātmanē=cha
punyā(ny)-ā-.

bhūrīḍdhayē ṇa(Sa)lōḍīlya-gōtra-Vājasanēya-Māḍhyandina-Nāgasvēmi-puva(tr)-

Second Plate, Second Side

Bhavasvāminṣaya++ prati-pādiitēṭy=a++]vagamya [++] yathō-ōchita-bhōga=ma[++]upana-

yanta[ḥ++]++] ājīrā-śravaṇa-viḥṛyaḥ=bhūtvā sukham prativā(va)stavyam-iti svayam-ā-

jāṛaparā | yē chāśmad-vaṃśē++ samū(mu)tpadya(tsya)ntē rājānāḥ(na)ḥ=tairapanīya++
dattīr-anu-.

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1 Read paṭur++. Originally dā may have been engraved in the place of ā. The reading of the word may possibly be "manāḥ also.

2 Read rocarai=chē-Endra++

3 Read "uddhē.

4 The punctuation mark is unnecessary.

5 The letters lagrāma are engraved where ṭīlōṛṛa were originally written and afterwards erased. Between "marākā and grāmākā, the four letters kṣēṛaḥ, originally written, have been erased. If the sign of mā is regarded as the part of an erased letter the reading may be Sālagrama-Mantamarakā.

6 These two expressions are not known from any other record. It is difficult to say whether they are mistakes for drōṅgaḥ and daṇḍānayaḥ.

7 Read pravēṣa++. There is an unnecessary slanting stroke after ṭē.

8 Read kṣēṛaḥ.

9 Read niṇḍham.

10 Read "śāmnē.

11 Read prati-pādiitēṭy=a++

12 Read "yaddhiḥ.

13 Read "ānē.

14 Read *=ṣē=īṣaḥ.
MALGA PLATES OF SAMANTA INDRARAJA

Scale: Three-fifths
No. 41] MALGA PLATES OF SAMANTA INDIRAJA

18 pálanv=atu(nu)módaniyá cha [yaś=ch=ćmō(māṁ) datt[īṁ]/*] vilōpam=āpādayīyat sa

19 pañcchabalhín-mahājātakālā saha samyuktam(ktāh) sya(syā)[t] [*] [Ba*]hubhir=vasudhā bhūtvā rājāne\(^i\).

20 Sagar-ājī(di)bhuḥ [*] yaśya yaśya yada bhūni[s*]-tasya tasya tadā phala[m]lam) [*] [ 3*]
Shashṭi-

21 varisha\(^a\)-sahasrāḥi svargi mūdati bhūmidaḥ [1] āchhe(ćchhe)ttā cha-ānumaṇtā

Third Plate, First Side

22 cha ttā(tā)ny=eva nara\(^a\)kē vaś[t || 4*] ēva-dattām para-dattāmva\(^s\) yō harēti(ta) vasundharā [m [*] kapilā-sata-ghā.

23 tinām=ēnas pratipadyāte [|| 5*] Khila-bhugnā\(^3\) tu yā bhu(bhū)mīr[*]=yā cha bhukta daś-āparē\(^*\) [1*] sa[ta]ui[*] yā-

24 [vajnūtu(tu)] yā bhukta na rājī hantum=arasatī [|| 6*] Āśphōjāyunti pitaralb[*] pra-valganta(nti) pitāmahūl[ī][*]

25 tvam=ēkī=smi(sma)t-kuḷā jātā(tah) sa mattrā bhaviṃyati\(^*\) [|| 7*] Prāpyasām vīpīla[m]*
bhōg[ī[n*] pūrvva-dattē(tta)sya tat-phā-

26 lam(lam) [*] punar-ṛdc=iti dūnabhṭi(d=hi) punar-bhōgī bhavishyasi [ || 8*] lha tōka-
kr̥taṁ karma tat=p[a][ra]*tṛṭ=ōpi(pa).

27 bhujyata(tē) tala-sktasya vṛikṣasya phalam tākhāsu ārāhyut[ē] [|| 9*] likhitam=cha rāja-putta(ṭṭha)-Dvē[na*]

28 utkṛñna[n*] suvākṣākara-śvāra\(^1\)-putrā\(^1\) Drēgākā[ṇa samāptampacha(ṛ=ch=ō)da[m] sāsana-
[n,]*] Jyāṣī[nt]\(^2\)-partha\(^1\)

\(^1\) Read bhukti rājābhāh.
\(^2\) Read varaka for the sake of the meter, though the form varīṣa is also recognized.
\(^3\) The letter ra is written below ra.
\(^4\) Read "dattām vā.
\(^5\) The word intended is bhūmā which has been used in the sense of bhūmā. Cf. Apto, Pract. Sans.-Eng. Dict., s.v.
\(^6\) Read "parā. Originally pu was written.
\(^7\) Read kariṃsa-arhāti. The stanza seems to refer to the right of persons who bring fallow land under cultivation for the first time or enjoy the possession of a plot of cultivated land for a period between 10 and 100 years. Many authorities, however, speak of 20 years' possession of land and 10 years' possession of movable property as leading to proprietary right. Cf. Mīdēśharah under Yājñapākhyatānti, II, verses 24 and 27.
\(^8\) Read as (or tām) nāsārīśa bhaviṃyati (or'ē).
\(^9\) Read drśyayut.
\(^10\) Read "kār-śīvarā.
\(^11\) The letter ra is engraved below the line.
\(^12\) Read Jyāṣī[nt]hā.
\(^13\) The letter da is engraved below ra, the third letter of the line.
Third Plate, Second Side

29 ma-paksha Urattara\textsuperscript{1}bhādrapada(dī) |\textsuperscript{2} Aṅgarā(ṛa)-vāra(ṛ) ddi(di)vasa ekādaśa(ṛə) |
prava[r\textsuperscript{3}]ddhamāna-

30 vijaya-rājya-samvatparaḥ\textsuperscript{4} 1 |\textsuperscript{4}

\textsuperscript{1} Read Uṭṭara\textsuperscript{\textdagger}.
\textsuperscript{2} The punctuation mark is unnecessary.
\textsuperscript{3} Read saṃśītāraḥ.
\textsuperscript{4} The reading may possibly also be II.
No. 42—MAHUDI PLATES OF PARAMARA BHOJA, V. S. 1074

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 4. 7. 1958)

This is a set of two copper plates, lying in the possession of Shri Ratansinghji Saindhwara of the village of Mahudi in the Jabar Tahsil of the Shehere District of Madhya Pradesh. One set each of unsatisfactory impressions and pencil-rubblings of the inscription was received for examination at the office of the Government Epigraphist for India from Mr. V. S. Wakankar of Ujjain. An attempt to secure the original plates on loan failed. The inscription is, therefore, edited in the following pages on the basis of the above material.

The plates measure each about 13.75 inches in length, about 9 inches in height and 2 inch in thickness. They bear writing only on the inner sides. The two holes, separated by an intervening space of 5 inches and meant for the rings on which the plates were strung, are found in the lower margin below the writing on the first plate and in the upper margin above the writing on the second. There are in all 29 lines of writing in the inscription, 15 lines on the first plate and 14 on the other. The preservation of the writing appears to be satisfactory. The last 8 lines of the record (lines 22-29) on the inner side of the second plate are shorter than the other lines by 4 inches as a rectangular area at the left lower end of the surface, about 4 inches in length and 5 inches in height, is occupied by the engraved figure of Guruḍa which was the emblem of the Paramāra rulers and is generally found on their copper-plate grants.

The inscription is written in Nāgarī characters of the eleventh century A.D., which closely resemble those of the charters of the Paramāra king Bhōja (c. 1000-55 A.D.) who was also the donor of the grant under study. The letters may be compared with those of Bhōja’s Banswara plates and Betma plates of V. S. 1076 (1020 A.D.) as well as of his Ujjain plates of V. S. 1078 (1021-22 A.D.) and Depalpur plates of V. S. 1079 (1023 A.D.). The inscription uses the avagraha once in line 29 and the initial vowels a in lines 15, 21 and 22, i in lines 16, 25 and 27 and ai in line 1. The letter b has been indicated by the sign for v. The orthography of the record also resembles that of the epigraphs referred to above. Both anusvāra and the class nasals have been employed. Although final m has been used correctly in some cases, it has often been wrongly changed to anusvāra at the end of a sentence or of the second and fourth feet of stanzas. The change of final m to anusvāra before v has been wrongly avoided. No stop has been indicated at the end of the second foot of stanzas and the last word of this foot is sometimes joined in sandhi with the first word of the next foot. Consonants like g, ṣ, bh, m and v have been reduplicated when they follow r. But rbb has been written wrongly for rbb. As regards visarga-sandhi, we have both chatting-saptapā (line 7) and chanting-simā (line 12). The word “śurmanḍuḥya” in line 15 is one of the grammatical errors in the composition of the record.

The charter bears two dates. The grant is stated in lines 1-8 to have been made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on Thursday, the full-moon day of the month of Śrāvaṇa.
in the year 1074 [of the V.S.]. But line 28 quotes the date of the charter as Sarvat (i.e. V.S.) 1074, Āśvina-sudi 5. There is no indication that the grant was actually made on the first date, though the document which was later incised on the plates under study was prepared on the second date quoted in the record. The year was no doubt Kārttīkā.1 The details of the first date are, however, irregular. V.S. 1074, Śrāvaṇa-sudi 15, corresponds to the 30th July 1018 A.D. But the week-day was Wednesday and not Thursday as given in the inscription, while there was no lunar eclipse on that date according to Swāmikanna Pillai’s Indian Ephemeris. V.S. 1074, Āśvina-sudi 5, seems to correspond to the 17th September 1018 A.D. The present charter is the second of the copper-plate grants issued during the reign of Paramāra Bhōja, the earliest date of his time being offered by the plates of his son or feudatory Vatsarāja, dated V.S. 1067 (1011 A.D.).

The introductory part of the inscription beginning with the Siddham symbol followed by two stanzas in adoration of the god Śiva and introducing the donor as Paramāḥaṭṭārakā Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Bhōjadēva, who was preceded on the throne successively by P. M. P. Sindurajadeva, P. M. P. Vākpatirājadeva and P. M. P. Syyakadēva, is similar to that of the other charters of Bhōja. Lines 5 ff. record, in the usual style, the grant of the village called Dugāryagrama, situated in the territorial unit called Bhūmigriha-paśchima-dviparānchāasti, in favour of a Brāhmaṇa by the king when he was stationed at Dhārā. The name of the district seems to indicate an area consisting of 52 villages and lying to the west of a locality called Bhūmigriha while Dhārā was the capital of the Paramāra king. The name Bhūmigriha-paśchima-dviparānchāasti reminds us of such districts as Nāgadrāha-paśchima-pathaka and Ujjayinī-paśchima-pathaka mentioned respectively in the Ujjain and Depalpur plates referred to above. Similarly, the word devaparānchāasti in the name reminds us of such names as Nyāyapādra-saptadāsaka mentioned in the Betma plates. The donor of the grant was Mārkaṇḍāśarman who was the son of Bhāṣṭa Śripati and grandson of Bhāṣṭa Gōkaraṇa and belonged to a Brāhmaṇa family hailing from a locality called Śravaṇabhadra in Gaṇda-dēśa (modern West Bengal). The village was granted as usual with the right to receive all the ādāyas or imposts such as hiraṇya (taxes in cash), bhāga (share of the crops produced), bhāga (periodical offerings) and sāparikara (additional cess or tax on temporary tenants). This part of the record is in the same style as in the king’s other grants. It ends with some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas.

The letter chhā thrice repeated in line 27 indicates the end of the document proper. This is followed in the next line (line 28) by the date (V.S. 1074, Āśvina-sudi 5) when the document was prepared. In the same line, which ends with a usual maṅgala, we have also the statement that the king himself was the ājñā, which seems to mean that the announcement of the gift was made by the king himself. The passage svasa-hastō-vahā mahārājā-śri-Bhōjadēvasya in the next line (line 29) represents the king’s signature on the original document later engraved on the plates. The charter ends with the statement that Jāśata was the dāpaka. The word dāpaka means ‘one who causes another to give’. It is thus not impossible that Jāśata was the real donor of the village of Dugāryi in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Mārkaṇḍāśarman and that king Bhōja merely ratified the creation of the rent-free holding.2 The word dāpaka, however, occurs in many other grants especially of the Paramāra kings and is generally understood in the sense of dēṇa or dūraka, i.e. the executor of a grant.3

The Banswara plates of Bhōja were issued in V.S. 1076, Māgha-sudi 5 (probably the 3rd January, 1020 A.D.) on the occasion of what is called Kōṅkāṇa-vijaya-prakāra, while his Betma

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2 See above, pp. 192 ff.
3 Cf. above, pp. 50 ff.
plates were issued in V.S. 1076, Bhādrapada-sudi 15 (probably the 4th September, 1020 A.D.) on the occasion of Kōṅkaṇa-grahana-vijaya-parvam. Hultsch interpreted the expression occurring in the Banswara plates as ‘the anniversary of the conquest of Kōṅkaṇa,’ while D. B. Bhandarkar suggested ‘the festival day in consequence of the conquest of Kōṅkaṇa’. D. B. Daskar thinks that the Banswara plates refer to Bhōja’s conquest of Kōṅkaṇa, and the Betnas plates to his occupation of the country. It, however, appears to us that both the expressions mean the same event, viz., Bhōja’s conquest of Kōṅkaṇa. The silence of the present record on this achievement of the Paramār king may suggest that Kōṅkaṇa was conquered by Bhōja sometime after the dates of the present grant, probably in 1019-20 A.D.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the record, Dhāra, the capital of Bhōja, is the modern Dhar in the District of the same name in Madhya Pradesh. The location of the gifts village of Dugāryi and the district called Bhūmigirha-pāchāma-dvīpaśchāta as well as of the locality called Śravapabhādra in the Gauda country is uncertain.

TEXT

[Metres: verses 1-2-4-5 Anuṣṭubha; verses 3, 7 Vasantaśilaka; verse 6 Indravajra; verse 8 Śālīni; verse 9 Pushpitāgrāhā.]

First Plate

1 Siddhamś [\(^{[\ast]}\) Jayati Vyāmakāśa-sau yaḥ sarggaśa vi(bi)bhartti tāṁ (tām | ) sīndivīm śirasā lekhāṁ jagadvid(ī)di-aṅkur-āśritim [\(^{[\ast]}\) \(^{[\ast]}\) ] Tanvantu vai
2 Śmarārāteḥ kalyaṇam-anīṣā(m) jaṭāḥ [\(^{[\ast]}\) kalp-ānta-samay-ōḍāma-taḍid-valaya-piṅgalāḥ [\(^{[\ast]}\) \(^{[\ast]}\) ] paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārām-
3 jādhīrāja-paramēśvara-ārī-Siyakadēva-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājājādīrāja-paramāsāvara-ārī
4 Vākapratājādēva-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājājādīrāja-paramāsāvara-ārī-Sirhadrājadeva-pād-ā-
5 nuddhyāta-paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājājādīrāja-paramēśvara-ārī-Bhōjadēva kuśāli | Bhūmigirha-pāchīma-dvīpaśchā-
6 āthā-thalpati-Dugāryi-grāmā śamupagatām-samasta-rājapurushān-Vrā(n) Brāhmaṇ-ōttarān pratiniśā-paṭjakila-jā-
7 napad-ādinaḥ cha samādiśaty-astu vai sahviditām yathā | āñmad-Dhār-āvasthitai-samābhiḥ-chatuḥmpatīy-ādhikā(ka)-daśa-śa-
8 ta-samavatsarī Śravana-sudi-paurṇamāsāyām Gurau saṁjāta-sūma-grahana-parvapi niśṭāvā char-āchare-gurum-bhāgavanta-
9 ma-Bhavānīpatyāḥ(tiṁ) samabhārychsya samāśraya-āsāratān jāñṭvā tathā hi | Vāt-ābhra-vibhramam-idaṁ vasudḥ-ādhipatyaṁ-āpā-

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, p. 201.
3 A stanza in the Tilakwada plates has been read as Tat-pāda-kumāri-ādhāta Kanyakabha-sūna[\(^{[\ast]}\)jīri(ṛjī)taḥ | omaha Śravapabhādraśrī Durvāśīḥ nārī(-3-) śramāh || (Proceedings and Transactions of the First All-India Oriental Conference, p. 324). It is possible to think that the Śravapabhādras mentioned in the verse originally lived at the village of Śravapabhādra mentioned in the Mahuḍi plates as situated in West Bengal.
4 From impressions and pencil-rubbings.
5 Expressed by symbol.
6 Read astro".

11 ka-yānē [[[[ 3*] BhumaLit-sat śār cakrā-āgra-dhūr-ādhārāṃ-imāṃ āryaṃ(yam {})) prāpya yē na dadus-teeśām paścāt-tāpaḥ paraṁ phalam-iti [[lam || 4 iti]]

12 jagatō vinšāva{sva}ra-sва[ṛ]pam-ākalayy-ōpari-liṅkita-grāmaś-chaṭus-simā-gōcharam-yūti-paryantabh sa-hira-

13 nya-bhāga-bhōgāḥ s-ōpārikaḥ sarv-ādāyā-samētaḥ śī-Gauḍa-ṃśa-āntāhpaṭī-Sravaṇpa-bhadrāḥ-sthāna-virīγa

14 ta-Vāṣya-gōtra-paṁcal-paśvāra-Vājasanēya-sākh-ādhyāyīnē Bhaṭṭā-Gōkarṇa-pautra- Bhaṭṭa-Śrīpati-suta-paṁṣiṇa


Second Plate

16 [va]kṣita-sama-kālaṁ yuvat-paryā bhaktya śāsanēn-ōdaka-pūrvaḥ pratyaptē iti matvā tan-nīvarī-pa

17 [ṭa]kila-janapad-ādhāry-svā-ādyaṃ-ānā-āgra-bhāga-kara-āhāryā-ādikam-ājñē-āṭavāya vidbāyaṁ-bhūbhūt(=bhūṭ)tvē sa-

18 rvam-asaṁ: samapāṭehena(yāṃ) | sāmānyam cha-sitaḥ-punyā-phalaḥ vudhvā aṣṭam-dvāsa-jair-ānāyā-ṣapi bhāvinśāh-bhūbhūt(=bhūṭ)ktivē sa-

19 smat-pravṛṣṭa-dharmaṃ(rmma)dyē-yam-anumaṭtava(yaḥ) | pālanīya-ṣa cha | uktam cha | Va(Ba)bhūbhūt-vvasudhā bhūtā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādi-

20 bhīrya(bhiḥ | yaja-yasaya yadṛ bhūmīṃ-ṭasya taṛ phalam [[[5*] Yān=tha dattāni purā narēndraḥ-ṛddhāni dharmā-ṛthā-

21 ya[sa]skaṛāpi [[*] nirmanāya-vānta-pratimāni tāni kō nāma sādhuḥḥ punar-ādātipa [[[6*] Asmat-kula-kramam=udā-

22 ram=udāṛaṛaḥ-bhūraḥ- トラṣyā=ca dānaṃ=īdām=abhyanumōdaniyaḥ(yam {} | lakṣmī(=kṣmyā)=taitī-sa[la]-

23 ya-vuḍvuda=ča-mahalāyā dānaḥ phalaḥ para-yasāḥ-paripālanaḥ cha [[[7*] Sarvīaṇ- stāṭ=bhūvi-

24 naḥ pārthivēndrān=bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabhadrāḥ [[*] sāmānyō-yaṃ dharmma-sētū

25 r-nirjapaṅgas kālē kālē pālaṇyō bhavadbhiḥ [[[8*] Iti kamal-dal-Śambha(mbu)-viṁdu-lō-

26 lāṁ śrīyō=anuṣṭhāya manuṣya-jīvitām cha [[*] sakalam=īdām=udāṛitaṁ cha vudhvā na

27 ni purushaiḥ para-kṛttatyā vilōpyā iti(pṛthya [[ 9 iti ]] chha || chha || chha ||

28 śrama[nt] 1074 A(A)śvina-sudi 5 [[[*] svayam-ājñāḥ || mahālaṁ mahā-ṛīḥ [[*]

29 sva-hastō=yaṁ maḥāraśa-Śrī-Bhōjadēvasya || dāpakō=tra śrī-Jātaḥh] [[*] ||
No. 43—PENTAPADU GRANT OF CHODA BHAKTIRAJA, SAKA 1265

(3 Plates)

H. K. NARASIMHASWAMI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 7.3.1955)

The set of plates was received for examination by the Government Epigraphist for India in the year 1946-47 from the late Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, then Assistant Commissioner, Hindu Religious and Endowments Board, Madras. The set consists of 10 thick plates each measuring 5-23" x 9-5", except the last one which is slightly smaller than the rest. The plates have a round hole in the left margin for a ring to pass through, though the ring was missing when the plates were received for examination. Of the ten plates, the first eight are inscribed on both the sides. They are numbered consecutively on their reverse. The ninth and tenth plates are each inscribed on only one of their sides. The tenth plate, as will be seen below, contains a post-script to the document and is also slightly smaller than the rest of the plates. The ninth plate contains a human figure, standing astride, with its head formed by two heads of birds facing opposite directions. It holds two elephants by their trunks, one in each hand. An explanatory passage engraved on the left of this figure says that the donor Bhaktiraja enjoyed the title Gajabherunga, thereby indicating that the figure depicted was that of the mythical bird Gajabherunga. This bird is usually depicted as a double-headed eagle holding elephants in its beaks or claws. In mythology, however, two more fabulous creatures which are said to be the incarnations of Vishnu and Siva respectively, intervene between the elephant and the mythical eagle. They are the lion, more powerful than the elephant, and the eight-legged Sarabha stronger even than the lion. Although the representation of the Gajabherunga on our record does not conform to its traditional form, it is represented in the same shape in epigraphs like the Tripurantakam (Kurnool District) inscription (Saka 1310) of Annadova, the son and successor of Bhaktiraja, and the Vinukonda (Guntur District) inscription (Saka 1377) of the sage chief Gannama-Nayaka. The same emblem is embossed in relief on each of the four granite pillars of an imposing gopura at Srirangam. Perhaps the plate bearing the emblem of the mythical bird served the purpose of the seal of the charter under review and was a later addition like the one bearing the post-script. The seal of the Madras Museum plates of Bhaktiraja depicts the same figure in a very crude form. An earlier charter showing an excellent representation of this figure on its seal is the Edavalli plates of the Kosta chief Kosta III.

2 Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao has explained the significance of these mythological figures sculptured in a frieze depiciting 'the chain of destruction' in the Bhojeshvara temple at Korkangal in Mysore and has cited examples of different kinds of representation of the Gajabherunga in the Kannada and Telugu areas. See IQQ, Vol. XX, pp. 341 ff.
4 Ibid., No. 528 of 1913.
5 Ibid., 1936-37, p. 77, para. 42.
7 Mr. T. N. Ramachandran describes the figure as that of a man. The two heads of the mythical bird are here depicted so indifferently that they give the appearance more of a grotesque human head or that of an owl rather than that of two birds. But a closer examination clears this illusion. It must be noted, however, that the elephant usually associated with this bird is absent in the crude motif on the seal rendering its identification somewhat difficult.

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bhēruṇḍa occurs as a title of Satyarasa, a feudatory of Chāluka Jayasimha, while some of the later rulers adopted titles like Gaṇabhēruṇḍa, Rāyagajagajabhbēruṇḍa, Gaṇaḥghaṇgabhbēruṇḍa, Arirajajagajabhbēruṇḍa, etc. The soldiers of a Hoyala regiment are referred to as bhēruṇḍas in inscriptions.

The record is throughout in Sanskrit verse engraved in Telugu characters. It is more neatly executed than the Madras Museum plates of the donor and its composition resembles that of other charters of the period such as the Vilasa grant of Prōlaya-nāyaka and the Rajahmundry Museum plates of Anadēva-Chōda. The medial signs of ō and au and the akṣaras bi and ċhi are written alike.

The date of the charter is quoted in verses 44-46 (lines 79-81) as Thursday, the full-moon day of the month of Kārttika, Śaka 1265 (bhīta-tarka-arvi), when there was a lunar eclipse. The date is irregular as there was no lunar eclipse in Śaka 1265, either expired or current.

The first few verses of the charter praise the primordial couple (Śiva and Pārvati), the elephant-faced god (Gaṇēśa), the Primeval Boar (i.e. Viśṇu), the Sun and Moon, and Brahman. The mythical lineage from Brahman down to king Dēvānika through Marichi, Kāṣyapa, Bhānu (Sun), Vaiṣvānauta-Manu, Kīrvāku, Kagastha, Dālīpa, Raṇghu, Aja, Daśaratha, Kāma, Kuśa, Atithi, Nāshadh, Nala, Nabhās, Paṇḍharika and Kaṃnadhavan is delineated in the next few stanzas (verses 7-13). Verses 13-17 speak of Nalla-Bhīma, born in Dēvānika’s lineage, and his wife Kāma; their son Dāma and his wife Sōma; their son Pōta and his wife Anyamā; their son Bhīma and his wife Pōṭā; their son Dāma and his wife Lakṣmī; their son Sōma and his wife Sūrāmā; and their son Gaṅga. When Gaṅga came of age, his father Sōma of the solar lineage contemplated the marriage of his son with a bride of the Lunar race (verse 18).

Verses 19-23 mention the following members of the Lunar family: Kumāra and his wife Gaṅgamā; their son Chandra and his wife Gaurī; their son Brahman and his wife Sūrāmā; their son Dēva and his wife Abhidēvi; their son Kāma and his wife Lakṣmīyaṁbā; their three daughters and two sons respectively named Irugāṁbā, Dēvāṁbā, Abbidēvi, Veṅga and Tamma; and Veṅga’s three wives named Mahādēvi, Anyamāṁbā and Chennamāṁbā.

According to verses 24-28, Gaṅga of the solar or Kāṣyapa lineage married Irugāṁbā of the lunar race (Mānava-saṅku), who gave birth to Kāma named after his maternal grand-father and also called Bhakta. The following two stanzas (verses 28-29) speak of the accession of Bhakta or Bhaktirāja and the overrunning of the Āndhra country by the Yavanas (Muhammadans).

The Musunūri family, to which Bhaktirāja owed allegiance, is described in verses 30-33 as follows: Pōchi-nāyaka of Veṅga-viṣhayā; his son Prōlaya-nāyaka who left Veṅga and repaired to a fort in a forest (vana-duṇa) surrounded by hills. Prōlaya-nāyaka and Veṅga are stated to have together subdued the pride of the Turushka horses and reconquered the Āndhra country. The four following stanzas (verses 34-37) describe how, on Veṅga’s death, the son of Pōchi-nāyaka (i.e. Prōlaya) installed [in his uncle’s estate] (i.e. Veṅga’s) sister’s son Bhaktirāja and how the young king defeated the infantry and cavalry forces of the Yavana lords. According to verses 38-42, Anyamā, Anyamā and Lakṣmī were the three wives of Bhaktirāja who enjoyed the title Rājajavīyabhaṅga and was ruling over Chintapāṅta, Veṅga, Chintalapūrip and Gōṅṭāru. Verses 43-44 state that, on Prōlaya’s death, his cousin (pūrīya-suta) Kāpya-nāyaka, installed Prōlaya’s son Vōchi-nāyaka on the throne.
According to verses 45-48, on the date already discussed above, Bhaktiraja, having obtained Vochi-nayaka’s approval, granted to Brahmanas well-versed in the Vedas and Sutras the village of Pentapada which was clubbed together with the villages of Enarlagoddu, Mulakala and Jalapalli in Vengi-vishaya and named Gangadharpura after Gaanga-bhupati.

Verse 49 prays for the success of Bhakti-shinta who enjoyed the title Gaangarasveda and Gangadharpura. This is followed by twenty-eight verses in various metres enumerating the names of the seventy-six donees together with the share or shares allotted to each of them as well as their godas and sakhas. There were, among the donees, persons learned in the Vedas, Vidyangas, Vedanta, Tarka, Dharmasatra, Jyotisha, Pufa, Padakrama, Purusa, Samudrikastra, etc. Four among them received two shares each and one only a share and a half, while the rest of the donees were assigned either a single share or half a share each. One of the major shareholders was the priest of Bhaktiraja. A learned man named Bharati is mentioned in the post-script. Whether he was the composer of the charter is not known.

It is noteworthy that the majority of the donees bear the title or epithet Ghatasina. This term occurs in inscriptions and literature in several forms such as Ghatosii, Ghatisus, Ghatisasi, and Ghatosisi. To these may be added the form Ghatiisi or Ghatiss in Kannada inscriptions.

The rest of the document, with the exception of the last four beneficary stanzas, enumerate the boundaries of the village granted and mentions among others, the places Daraparitu, Mudunuru, Vippuru, Kunnana, Kataparu, Nakkakunta, etc.

### List of donees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Gouda and Sakha</th>
<th>Shares</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Rishabha-rayan (teacher of Nama and Vagre) vaid in Vidanga)</td>
<td>Hastra, Yajurveda</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Vavala-rayan (versed in Varjya; priest of Bhakti-ya)</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Gangadhastra-ghata-sinn</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Rudhayadhatta</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Pratigatasa-sinn</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Deva-ghata-sinn</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Sura-bhatta (versed in Ici. and Icdana)</td>
<td>Hastra, Rigveda</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Gangadhastra-ghata-sinn</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Malaya-ghata-sinn</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Taityangata-sinn</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Gangadhastra-gatasa-sinn (versed in Vaika)</td>
<td>Kaupinyaa, Rigveda</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Keppanath-bhatta</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Nama (versed in Vidanga)</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Pota-gatasa-sinn (versed in Dhamanastra)</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Surya (Jyotisha-sinn)</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. A. B. Eps., No. 208 of 1933-34.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Götä and Sākhā</th>
<th>Shares</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10. Krishṇa-ghaṭāsāsin (Jyotiś-śastrin)</td>
<td>Kaupānya, Yajurveda</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Nūnikana-ghaṭāsāsin</td>
<td>Kanśika, Yajurveda</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Dāsana-bhaṭṭa (versed in Dharmakāstra)</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Nārāyaṇa (versed in Pada)</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Pūtī-ghaṭāsāsin</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Pūtāya-ghaṭāsāsin</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Mārya (Pada-bramāṣṭa)</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Maḷlaya (versed in Rigveda)</td>
<td>Kāśyapa, Rigveda</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Pūtī-ghaṭāsāsin (Do.)</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Kāmayā-ghaṭāsāsin</td>
<td>Kāśyapa, Yajurveda</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Vonṇa-bhaṭṭa (versed in Tarka)</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Anṇa (versed in Jyotiś-śatra)</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Pūtī-ghaṭāsāsin</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Rudrāya (versed in Vyākaraṇa)</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Gopila-bhaṭṭa (do.)</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Parṇavaṃśī (versed in Riks)</td>
<td>Parṣāvāra, Rigveda</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Ananta-bhaṭṭa (versed in Purāṇa)</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Vaḷabha-bhaṭṭa (versed in Pada)</td>
<td>Parṣāvāra, Yajurveda</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Kunda (Chaturveda)</td>
<td>Bhṛadvāja, Yajurveda</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Maḷlaya (Samudrikaśastrin)</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. Bhilaya-ghaṭāsāsin</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. Agastya (Yayan)</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. Pṛūli-bhaṭṭa (Vedāśtra)</td>
<td>Bhṛadvāja, Rigveda</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. Maḷlaya-ghaṭāsāsin</td>
<td>Śrīvatsa, Yajurveda</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. Maḷli-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. Bhilaya-ghaṭāsāsin</td>
<td>Ātrēya, Yajurveda</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. Maḷlaya-ghaṭāsāsin</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. Vaḷabha-ghaṭāsāsin</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. Ananta-ghaṭāsāsin</td>
<td>Gārgya, Yajurveda</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45. Vaḷabha-ghaṭāsāsin</td>
<td>Ābhadravman, Yajurveda</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46. Oḥāla-ghaṭāsāsin</td>
<td>Haṛta, Yajurveda</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47. Kūcena-ghaṭāsāsin</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48. Vaḷabha-ghaṭāsāsin</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49. Bhadraya-ghaṭāsāsin</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The record supplies some new information about some of the earlier members of the donor’s family as also of the chiefs of Musunuru. The Muslim inroads into Telengana that followed the downfall of the Kākatiyas and the attempts of the Nāyakas of the coastal region to stem the tide of the enemy hordes are well known and it has been shown how the chiefs of the various families such as the Paṇḍa-Rēdžis, the Uṇḍīrājas, the Rēcharla chiefs, etc., numbering altogether seventy-five according to the Kaluvachēru grant,1 rallied round their leaders, the chiefs Prolīya-nāyaka and Kāpaya-nāyaka of Musunuru and offered stiff resistance to the Muslims. The more prominent

among these chiefs were inter-related by ties of matrimony. Of them, the Chōdas of Eruva appear to have been a powerful ruling family of which Bhaktirāja was the most eminent member. In tracing the descent of this chief who was also called Kāma, the charter furnishes his ancestry for seven generations on the paternal side and six generations on the maternal. A comparison of the details of the families as indicated below, with those furnished by the Madras Museum and Rajahmundry Museum plates reveals some new facts.

Solar and Lunar families

Solar

Brahman

Kālēmādhavan

Dēvanīka

Nalla-Bhīma m. Kāmā

Dāma m. Sōmā

Pōta m. Anyamā

Bhīma m. Pōta

Dāma m. Lakshmi

Sōmā m. Sūrāmā

Gaṅga m. Irugāmbā

Kāma alias Bhaktirāja m.

(1) Anyamā, (2) Anyamā and (3) Lakshmi

Lunar

Kumāra m. Gangamā

Chandra m. Gaurī

Brahma m. Sūrāmā

Dēvanīja m. Abbīdēvi

Kāma m. Lakshmyamālā

Dēvāmbā

Abbīdēvi

Vēṅga m. Tamma

Mahādēvi, Anyamā and Chennamā

1. will be seen from the above pedigrees that Dāma who married Lakshmi was proceeded by four generations, viz., Bhīma, Pōta, Dāma and Nalla-Bhīma. The Madras Museum plates mention Nalla-Bhīma merely as a predecessor of Dāma, omitting the three intervening generations, and Karikāla as the latter’s distant forebear, while according to the Rajahmundry Museum plates, Dāma’s predecessor was Eruva-Bhīma. This Eruva-Bhīma or merely Bhīma as he is called in our record, is obviously the same person who took the name of his great-grandfather. The name of Bhīma’s father, viz., Pōta, is not mentioned in the Madras Museum plates and his name and those of his predecessors supplied by this record are lost in the Rajahmundry Museum plates. Pōta’s wife’s name occurs as Annemāmbā in the Rajahmundry Museum plates and as Anyamā in the present inscription. The pedigree on the donor’s maternal side refers to five generations backwards from Irugāmbā, mother of Bhaktirāja. Irugāmbā’s brothers were Vēṅga and Tamma, of whom the former is mentioned in our record as an intimate associate of Prōlaya-nāyaka. We have seen that Prōlaya repaired along with Vēṅga to a fort in a forest when the Andhra country was overtaken by the Yavanas (Muhammadans). This place has been identified with Rēkapalle, mentioned in the Vilasa grant as Mount Mālyavanta and as the capital of Prōlaya-nāyaka. In the course of the struggle leading to the reconquest of the country by Prōlaya and

2 Above, Vol. XXXII, p. 204.
Vēṅga, the latter lost his life. It seems as though Vēṅga died without any issue, for, on his death, his overlord Prōlaya-nāyaka installed Vēṅga's nephew Bhaktirāja to his estate (verse 35). We do not know whether Bhaktirāja held his ancestral principality of Edava in addition to this newly acquired territory round about Vēṅga, although that seems to have been the case, nor are we told what became of Vēṅga's brother Tamma who must have, in the natural course, succeeded to his late brother's estate had he survived him. On the death of Prōlaya-nāyaka, his son Pōchi(or Vōchi)-nāyaka ascended the throne with the help of his uncle Kāpayā-nāyaka. Bhaktirāja now owed allegiance to Pōchi-nāyaka and obtained the latter's permission to make a gift of certain villages.

It will be seen that the donees who numbered 7 held 65 shares altogether. The post-script adds the name of Bhārati as a holder of two shares given to him by the donees at the instance of the donor. This brings the total number of shares distributed among the donees to 65. But the post-script specifies the number of shares contained in the gift land as 66 and says further that Bhaktirāja added Uttanapāṇī to the gift land. This Uttanapāṇī was thus a piece of land which constituted the remaining share out of the total of 66 that the gift land comprised.

The post-script referred to above calls for some remarks. It is dated Ānanda, Pausha, Kṛishṇa-vāsadi, when the sun was in Makara. The Cyclic year Ānanda after the date of the main grant, viz., Śaka 1265 (1342 A.D.), corresponds to Śaka 1296 (1574 A.D.) and thus the interval between the two dates comes to about 32 years. Bhaktirāja's reign probably continued beyond Śaka 1296, Śaka 1310 (1388 A.D.) being the earliest available date for his son and successor Annadēva. The present grant gives the earliest date so far known for Bhaktirāja, earlier nearly by a decade and a half than his Madras Museum plates, the interval between this and the earliest date cited above for Annadēva being 45 years. Bhaktirāja's success against the Yavana forces referred to in verses 36-37 shows that he associated himself with his uncle or uncles (Vēṅga and Tamma) against the Muhammadans. The events that followed, viz., the death of Vēṅga and perhaps also of Tamma in these battles, made Prōlaya-nāyaka confer on the young Bhaktirāja the chiefship of his uncle's estate. The defeat of Boggara, Āḍārū-Khān and other Muhammadan warriors in the neighbourhood of Gulapūṇī and Pedakonṭa by Bhaktirāja while he was yet a youth, as referred to in the Rajahmundry Museum plates of Annadēva, evidently refers to the same achievement. Bhaktirāja's success was at the latest contemporaneous with the date of our charter, viz., Śaka 1265 (1342 A.D.).

As regards the localities mentioned in the record, Chintapāṭa, Chintalaṇḍūpi, Vēṅgī and Gom-ṭūru, over which Bhaktirāja is stated to have ruled and which perhaps formed the central part of Vēṅga's territory to which his nephew succeeded, may be identical with Chinnampēṭa, Chintalaṇḍūpi, Pedavēṭi and Gunṭṭūru respectively. Of the places clubbed with Peṇṭapāṭu, viz., Ėnarāgōḍu, Mulkala and Jaliṭalu, the first is possibly the same as Yānalarapatlu, about a mile and a half due south-west of Peṇṭapāṭu, the other two being insignificant hamlets of the same village. Of the villages of Padaṇārūru, Padumara-Vippaṁra and Kommarra, the first is about a mile due east of Peṇṭapāṭu (or Peṇṭapāṭu-agrahāraṇam as it is now called) in the Taleigandudem Taluk of the West Godavari District, the second about 4 miles south-west and the third also about 4 miles due south-south-west of the same. The stream called Vēyōṛu runs from west to east about a mile and a half south of Peṇṭapāṭu. Mudunūru, another village mentioned among the

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1 The name of this chief was wrongly read in A. R. Ep., 1916-17, App. A, No. 3, as Vēbin-nāyaka.
2 A. R. Ep., No. 254 of 1903. This date is expressed by the chronogram dain-i-nisā-bhājī Vībhaṁ thāppī Sākāśu-grāhaṁ. The chronogram yields the Śaka year 1310 corresponding to the cyclic year Vībhava and the occasion indicated is a lunar eclipse in Mārga. The above details correspond to the 14th November, 1388 A.D.
boundaries, still retains the same name and is about 2 miles due south-east of Peñapadú. Tallarrijukuta and other such names ending in kunja probably indicate certain ponds. I am unable to identify the other names.

I express my thanks to Messrs. K. H. V. Sarma and V. S. Subrahmanyan for having carefully checked the text of the inscription and offered many useful suggestions.

TEXT 1

[Metres: verses 1, 11 Mālinī; verses 2, 5, 7-21, 23-33, 42-47, 78-80, 83-84, 86-91, 93-97, 99-103, 105-109 Avashtūbh; verse 3 Udghi; verses 4, 40 Rāthoddhata; verses 6, 22, 34-36, 38-39, 41-61, 60-77, 81, 83, 98, Giti; verses 37, 65, 82 Argha; verse 92 Indravajra; verse 104 Śālī.]

First Plate, First Side

1 ōni Jayatī nathunam-adhyātī játarūp-āru-
2 ṃābhaṁ ravi-ta-sikha-nētraṁ rāja-rēkha-vatam-saṁ(sam) [1*]
3 charaṇa-kamala-characcha-charāchā-charik-śaṁ
4 śarāṇaṁ upar-vatānāṁ śāvat-ānmanda-dāyī [1*]
5 Pratyāha-timira-vratam-parakrama-pa-
6 mūrtiṁ (tam) | Bhav-āchār-ūditam nityam bhaj Gaja-
7 mukhaṁ mahāḥ | [2*] Astu mūde Vārāham vapu-
8 r amiśam vasumati ya-yā | viśud dainśhā-sikha-
9 rē vilasati bhujin igna kītaki-mukulē | [3*]

First Plate, Second Side

19 Kairav-ātkara-kavāta-kumārikā paśchātha-bāṇa-nigama-prapai-
16 chikā | rājātī viyati rāja-rēkhaṁ pāṁtha-lōka-paribhā-
12 va-rēkhaṁ [1*] Prabhūhit-ābja-kumudē bhāseṭhām bhāṣit-
13 kīlē | nayanē Nagajābhurtar-nisā-divasayoh ppa(pa)ṭī || [3*] Nā-
14 rāyaṭ-a-nābhī-saras-saṁjātum satatam-avatu vō nali-
15a nāmam | yatra madhuvratā-nīkār yanmihir-avvēd-arśtham-
16 vālambam-atunē || [8*] Tatas-samudabhūd=Brahmā Marichir=Brahmaṇā-
17 maṭah | Kaśyapah Kaśyapād-Bhānur-Bhānura=Vvaiśvasvāto Manuḥ || [7*]
18 Ikshvākura-asmiu=sanātēnē dikshvā-rūta-mahā-yāśāḥ | Kakutsthāḥ Kā-
19 śayānsthās=tat-kulē taraṇ-prabhā || [3*] Dilapabhūpas-tad-vānayō
20 Raghu-rāṣṭrāya nābhandah | Ajas-tad-ātmajas-tasya dātā Da-
Scale: One-fourth
PENTAPADU GRANT OF CHODA BHAKTIRAJA, SAKA 1265

Second Plate, First Side

21 sarathas=sutaḥ || [9*] Tad-ātma-sambhavō Rāmō rājanya-kula-śekharā-  
22 h | Kuṣaḥ kuṣeṣay-ābh-ākhas=tanayas=tasya bhūpatēḥ || [10*] Kuṇasyā-Ātithi-  
23 r=utpaṭhinō(ṇṇō) Nipa(sh)ādhi=tithi=samabhavaḥ ||(l) Nālo Nishadha-bhūpasya sūnus=  
24 sūnita-bhā-  
25 śaṇaḥ || [11*] Nabha Nala-tanū-jātaḥ Puṇḍarikō Nabhas-sutaḥ | Puṇḍarikāsya  
26 putrō=  
27 bhūt=Kāhōmadhanvā keshamāpatiḥ || [12*] Dēvānīkō dharāpālas=samabhūtaḥ Kṣāṭ-  
28 madhanvanaḥ | tad-anvāyē samutpaṭhinō(ṇṇō) Nallabhima-narādhipaḥ || [13*] Tasya kāṁta-  
29 tar-ākārā Kām-ākhyā kāminī satī | tayōr-Dāma-dharāpālō  
30 jejē Sōma tad-anjanā || [14*] Tayōr Pōta-dharānāthaḥ putras=tasya=Aṇya-  
31 mā priyā | Bhūma-bhūmipatir-jātasa=rayōr Pōt=aśya vallabhā || [15*]  
32 Tāyōr=Dāma-nripō jātō Lakṣmīs=tasya manōrāmā | anayōs=Sōma-nrip-  
33 patis=tanayō mūryā-ānvitaḥ || [16*] Mahishī Sūram-śmushya mahānīya-  
34 tar-ākritiḥ | tayōr-Ganaga-mahīpālō gabhira-hridayās=sutaḥ || [17*] Bhū-  
35 mi-bhāra-kehamā-bhujē tasminn=āruḍha-yauvanē | Sōmēśa=aśya vivāh-ārha-  

Second Plate, Second Side

34 m Sōma-vanśāṃ=amanyāta || [18*] Kumāro nāma nripatirvvidyate Vidhu-va-  
35 māṣaḥ | ētasaḥ Gaṅgāmā dāvi Gaṅgā vāriniḥ=viva || [19*] Tāyōs=Chāndra-maḥi-  
36 pālō jātō Gaurs tad-anjanā | Brahma-bhūpas=tad-uditas=Sūramā ta-  
37 sya suṁdarī || [20*] Tāyōr=Dēeva-nripas=sūnur=Abbidēvy=aśya vallabhā | Kāmakaśīttas=  
38 ta=  
39 t-putrō Lakṣmīyaṁbhā tat-priyā satī || [21*] Jātāḥ Kāma-maḥīśāt-kanyāś-tisras-su-  
39 tāv=ubhau čh-āsyaṁ(yama) | Irugāṁbhā Dēvānīb-āpar-Abbidēvy cā Veśān-  
40 g-Tamma-nripaù || [22*] Viṃga-kehamāpatē=tiṣṭō dēvyō dīvy-āṅgan-ō-  
41 pamāḥ | Mahādēvy=Anyamāṁbhā cha Chēnnaṁāṁb-ābhīdhi-āparā || [23*] [Ka]-  
42 āyap-ānvyā-sambhūtō Gaṅga-keśhitālēsvārāḥ | Māṇavya-sakul-ōttānaśa-  
43 m mānīm=Iruṅ-āhvyāṁ(yam) || [24*] Kanyāṁ kāṁtatar-ūkā[rā]*m=upāyānta-  
44 yathā-viḥō | sā tapō garbhām=ādha[rta]* bhuvan-āvane-kārṇaṁ(pam) || [25*] Asū-  
45 ta putraṁ puṇye-śnī puṇyaṁ mūrttam satāṁ-iva | udīte tanayē  
46 tasminn-ubhavam viṣṇu-ūcasaṁ=yam || [26*] Nirīti vasudhā-chakram hav[a-su]-  

2 The numeral 2 is engraved against this line.  
3 This half verse completes the sense of the previous stanzas.  
26 DGA/58
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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

Third Plate, First Side

47 ahaṁ trivishṭapāṁ(pam)1 | nāmnā Kāma-nripālasya pitam satam ayōja-

48 yat [27*] Śaiśāvē-'pi Śīvē bhaktēy Bhakta ity aparēṣa cha [28*] tatō Garīga-mahīpā-

49 lē trātun yātē- 'mar-ālayaṁ(yam) [28*] Bālo-'pi Bhakti-bhūpālas sa-

50 dbhis samtanavach chrītaḥ | Yavanir avani chakram Ārīdhram astrānītaē

51 hṛtaṁ(tam) [29*] Adharma-karma niratā ātāē-Śa[r*]vē janaś-tataē | vikramī

52 Vēmgi-vishayē vidyaṭē Pōchi-nāyakaḥ [29*] Tasya dharmaratō vi-

53 raḥ putraḥ Prōlaya-nāyakaḥ | visṛjya Vēmgi-vasudhāṁ Vēin-

54 ga-bhūmibhūjā saha [31*] Agād aga-śat ākraṃtaṁ vana-durggaṁ vi-

55 chakhaṇaļī | samarē samit-āśēṣha-Turushka-turag-ētkaru [32*] Puna-

56 rāharatāṁ ēṭāv Ārīdhram maṁdalam arddhataḥ | bhujāvī-

57 va Varāhasya bhuvāṁ pralaya-[vā]rīdheḥ [33*] Vēmgi-kshtitala[nā]-

58 [thō] viḥat-ākkha-Yavana-vāhinī-nāthāḥ | sāhāyakam iva

Third Plate, Second Side

59 kartum samarēśhū Śacippatēr-agā[27*] trividāṁ(vam) [34*] Tad-rājyē tadbhaginī-ta-

60 nayaṁ Bhakti-kshitiśam apī bālaṁ(lam) | asthāpaya特质 ari-jayināṁ Ku-

61 māraṁ-iva Pōchi-nāyakasya sutāḥ [35*] Patūṭara-bhuja-bala-śā-

62 lī Bhakti-kshitiśpālaṁ- 'thā bālo- 'pi | saṃgrāma-tamga-saṃhṛta-

63 Yavan-ādhipa-subhātā-ghōṣṭak-āṭōpaḥ [36*] Tēna samarēśhū sā-

64 rddhaṁ saṃgharshāṁ sōḍhum akshamaḥ kv āpi | hata-śaṅkā hṛita-bha-

65 *vanā javanā Yavanāḥ palāyaṁta [37*] Mahaniyya(niya)-

66 vaṁsa-jāta maṅgālata-vṛttē-śīla-śālinyaḥ | Bhakti-kumārasya-a

67 san-[d]ēvyaṁ tirō-nyam Ānyamā Lakṣmīṁ [38*] Bharata-Bhagiratha-mukhyaś-cīra-

68 m-upabhuk-āpi pūrvva bhūpālaṁ | rajyati ananyā pūrvvā rama-

69 nē ramanīva vasmattā tasaṁ [39*] Tasya dharmagūṣa visṛutaṁ āru-

1 This half verse completes the sense of the previous stanza.

2 The numeral 3 is engraved against this line.
PENTAPADU GRANT OF CHODA BHAKTIURA, SAKA 1265

Fourth Plate, First Side

71. 65(1au) dṛśau vaiṅa-rāja-mukūṭapadaṁ padam(dam) || [40*] Vitarāṇa-suradhiṣnu-

72. 75-vidvād-anāḥkōṭa-bhānu-sasā jayati Śiva-līṅga-dhyāna-sakt-āntaraṁgaḥ ||

73. 85-bala-vibhava-Śūrināḥrādhī Bhaktī-bhūpāla-chandrāīraṇa-kīta-ripu-bhagāō rā-

74. 95-vēśyā-bhujamgāḥ || [41*] Chintapārṇa-sthalaṁ Vēṅgīm-api Chintalapunigā-

rāgām || Gomūrtu-vṛttim-api=ē[sha] śāsti Bhakti-mahāpātiḥ || [42*] Kālōna tridivaṁ

76. 105-yātē tataḥ Prōlaya-nāyaśe || tat-pitrivya-sutas-tasya rāgyo Kāpaya-

nāyake || [43*] Tad-ātmajam vira-Vēchī-nāyakanāya naya-kōvidhaḥ ||

77. 115-abhyashchayad-ātmīya-prathā(hā)narpurushair-yutah || [44*] Athānuma-

78. 125-tim-asādyas tasya Bhakti-mahāpātiḥ || Śāk-ābhē bhūta-tarkkārkkā-ga-

79. 135-ritrī Kārttikē || [45*] Purūnīyaṁ Gurōr-vārē grahanē śitarū-

80. 145-chishaḥ || vitatē Vēṅgī-vishayō sarva-sasya-rddhi-sālini || [46*] Purūnta(ta)pā-

81. 155-dur-sīti khyātā grāmāḥ kaičhana vidyaṁ || Ennirvgodgū-Mulkāla-[Ja].

Fourth Plate, Second Side

82. 165-lēppalibhir-anvitaḥ || [47*] Vidvadbhyo vīprēbhyo vidita-khiḷa-vēda-sāstra-

83. 175-tatvē(śvē)bhīyaḥ || Gaṅgādhara-pura-saṁjñatām taṁ prāddē-Gaṅga-bhūpa-

84. 185-tēr-nāmnā || [48*] Gaṅgāda(da)-ragabhūṛdo(jo) Bhakti-kṣhẹpatīr-Ārīrāyaga

85. 195-mādhiḥrūndaḥ || sukrītēna tēmā ītvād-a-śīnakaram-api cha mādhiṁ

86. 205-pāyit || [49*] Rishtāvra Richchana-yajyā Hārītas-Sāma-Yaju-

87. 215-rupādhyāyaḥ || bhīga-dvayu-bhāg-asmin-adhigata-nīgam-āṅgiga

88. 225-nikara-nilshāṭah || [50*] Bhaktiṣāya purōdhā Vallabhaya-jayā Vaisisṭhā i-

89. 235 va sakhāṭ | Rāmaṣya Yajushi nipaṅgo Ḫa(Ḥi)rīṭō bhāgā-yugā-

90. 245-lavān-asmin || [51*] Gaṅgādhara-gṛhaṭaśāsi Rudraya-gṛhaṭaśe cha Prōli-gṛhaṭaś-

91. 255 sī | Dēvaya-gṛhaṭaśāsi syur-Hārīṭa bhāgrün-tri yājushkāḥ || [52*] Ri-

92. 265 chi nipaṅgo Vēdāntī Hārītas-Sūri bhāṭa ēkāṁśi || Gaṅgādhara-gṛhaṭaśa-

1 The two verses together form a游艇a.
2 The four verses ending with this one form a Kalāpaka.
3 The figure 4 is engraved against this line near the ring hode.
94 ai Hāritō bhāgavāṁśa-cha Rigvedi \[[53^\*]\] Tad-gōtras-\[t\]-vēdī Mallaya-ghaṭasāsi-nā-
95 makō-'mutra \[\()\] Rīgvedi Kö(Kau)mojnī\[y\]ō bhāgī Nārāyaṇ-ākhyā-ghaṭasāsi \[\[54^\*]\]

Fifth Plate, First Side

95 Gaṅgādhara-ghaṭasāsi tarkka-jñāha Koppanātha-bhaṭṭa-cha | Sōm-ākhyō Vēdā-
97 mī dharma-vid=anyō-′pi Pōti-ghaṭasāsi \[\[55^\*\]\] Jyōtiḥ-sāstrī [Śū]raya-
98 nāma Kṛṣṇ-āhavaya-cha Ghaṭasāsi | Kö(Kau)mōjinya yāju[shkhā]=sarvē pra
99 tyēka-bhāginō-′mutra \[\[56^\*\]\] Nūmikana-ghaṭasāsy-abhidhō Dāsana-bhaṭṭa-
100 śa dharma-sāstra-jñāha \[\((\)\] Nārāyaṇa-nāmā=′nyah pada-vēttē cha=a-
101 'tha Pōti-ghaṭasāsi \[\[57^\*\]\] Pōtya-ghaṭasāsy=anyō Māraya-nā-
102 mā pada-krama-jñō=′pi \[\(()\)\] pratyēka-bhāginō=′smin=āyushkāḥ
103 Kö(Kau)sīk-ānvaya-ōdbhūtāḥ \[\[58^\*\]\] Rīgveda-vidau Mallaya-ghaṭasāsy=anyō′pi
104 Pōti-ghaṭasāsi | Kāmaya-ghaṭasāsy=anyō Vennaya-bhaṭṭa-cha tarkka-sā-
105 stra-jñāha \[\[59^\*\]\] Annaya-nāmā Jyōtiś-sāstrā-jñō=′nyah-cha Pōti-ghaṭasāsi | Vyākara-
106 qa-jñāv=anyau Rudraya-Gōpāla-bhaṭṭa-nāmānu \[\[60^\*\]\] Kāśyapa-gōtrās-sa-
107 rvvē yājushkā bhāgaśālinō=mushmin | Annaya-nāmā jyō-

Fifth Plate, Second Side

103 tiś-sā[stra]-jñō bhāga-yugalavān-śhu \[\[61^\*\]\] Richi Puṇyamū-
109 rttir=ā\[dh\]yō=′py-Aananta-bhaṭṭaḥ purāṇa-pāragatāḥ | Yāju-
110 akhaḥ pada-vēttā Vallabha-bhaṭṭaḥ Parāśar-ānvayinaḥ \[\[62^\*\]\] Pratyēka-
111 bhāgavanītai-taṇaḥ param Kuṇḍayaś-chaturvē[di] | Mallaya-sā-
112 'mudrikiō-[pi\*] Bhīmaya-ghaṭasāsy=Agasti-yajvā cha \[\[63^\*\]\]
113 Bāradvāj-ānvayina Yājushkā bhāgaśālinas=sarvve |
114 ītēshu s-ārdha-bhāgī Kuṇḍaya-nām-ānkitaḥ-chaturvēdi \[\[64^\*\]\] Rīgved-
115 dī tad-gōtri vēdāntī Prōli-bhaṭṭa ek-āṃśi | Mallaya-ghaṭasāsy=anyas=tata-
116 ḫ paraṁ Malli-bhaṭṭ-ākhyāḥ \[\[65^\*\]\] Śrīvatsa-gōtra-jātāu Yājushkau bhāgaśālinā-
117 v=stra | Bhīmaya-Mallaya-Vallabha-ghaṭasāsy-abhidhā Yajur-vidas=sarvve \[\[66^\*\]\]
118 Āṭrēya-gōtra-jātasi-tatra pratyēka-bhāga-bhājas=tē | Gār[\*]gya-kū[ō]=nāṁt-ā=
119 khyō Ghaṭasāsi bhāgavān=Yajurvēdi \[\[67^\*\]\] Vallabha-ghaṭasāsy=āṃśi [Yā]-

1 Between this and the next line the numeral 5 is engraved against the ring-hole.
No. 45] PENTAPADU GRANT OF CHODA BHAKTIRAJA, SAKA 1265  231

Sixth Plate, First Side

120  jushkāḥ-pyābharadvāsār-vvarṇāyaḥ || (1) Ōbhala-Kūchena-Vallabba-Bhadraya-

121  ghaṭāsāsin=vrddha-bhāg-ārṣṭā | [70*] Hāritā yājushkāḥ-tad-gotrāv-a-

122  vṛddha-bhāgīnaṁ=anyau | Apapa-Vallabha-ghaṭāśasya-abhidhānau dvāv=adhita-

123  Rīgveda ω [70*] Kō(Kē)jana-Lingaṇa-Dommana-Mallaya-ghaṭāśāsinaṁ=cha yā-

124  jushkāḥ | Kānva-ādhitā Sōmaya-ghaṭāśasya=Allādir=api cha ω Rīgvedā-

125  di ω [70*] Kaunṣīnā-gōtra-jatās=sarvāv bhāg-ārddha-sālinas=tatra | Ā-

126  trēyāv=ardh-āṁśāv=Ellaya-Rāŋgau cha Rīg-Yajur-ववेदो(dau) ω [71*]

127  Dōchaya-Sōmaya-ghaṭāśasya-abhidhānau Kāṣyapa-ānvaṁ-śdbhū-

128  tau | Śām-Yajur-vivēda-jau kramēṇa bhāg-ārdha-sālināv=atra ω [72*] Varada-

129  ya-Gaṇapaya-Chāmmana-ghaṭāśasya-abhidhās=trayō Yajur-vivēdaḥ [1*]

130  Maudgalya-Pūṭimā[sha]ṇa-Kapi-gōtraḥ=ch-ārdha-bhāgīnāḥ kramāsah || [73*] Mai-

131  lāra-Kēśav-Āppana-ghaṭāśāsya-ākhyā Yajur-vvidas=tatra | bhāg-ārdha-bhā-

132  ja etē Bhāradvāj-ānvaṁ samudbhūtāḥ || [74*] Śripati-Narahari-bhaṭṭau Kā-

Sixth Plate, Second Side

133  maya-bhaṭṭośa=pi Pinnapākhyāṣa=cha | Śrīvatsa-ānvaya-jātā yāju-

134  sākṣaḥ=ch=ārddhā-bhāgīnas=sarvē || [75*] Rīgvedī tad-gōṭī Maraya-ghaṭāśāsi-nā

135  makoḥ=ṛddh-āṁśāḥ | Kauśika-gōṭī(rah) Komyana-ghaṭāśasya-abhidhō Yajur-vvi-

136  dau tadvat || [76*] Rīgvedī Maitreyō Lakṣmaṇa-ghaṭāśāsi-nāmakōḥ=ṛddh āṁśāḥ |

137  Lōhita-gōṭaḥ Pōṭaya-ghaṭāśāy-ārdhd-āṁśa-bhāg=Yajur-vvēdi || [77*]

138  *Śīmā prāchāyām Bṛṇuguṇṭas=tasya daksinātōśa=pi

139  cha | Tall-ākhyā-reṇḍigunṭōśa=Sya prāchāyām śīmā

140  babhūva saḥ || [78*] Godīṇdhubbhē-Devīsaparṇō=madhyē mā-

141  rgō mahān hi yaḥ | Kumārasvaṁinō

142  guṇṭas=tasya-āgnīvyām=amunhya cha || [79*] Prāchāyām=mā-

1  Read *vidasapi.

2 The numeral 6 is engraved near the ring-hole.
Seventh Plate, First Side

143 ṛṛgṛm mahaṁ-śāṁśaṁ tatra sa eva yaḥ | Godṛumballēr-Dbataparpo-  
144 r=Madunurē-cha saṁdhī-gaḥ || [80*] Dakṣinatō=muṣṭi-śaṁ-saṁcchēna-pallē-cha  
145 Godṛumballē-cha | Madunurē-api cha-aśīman grāme-tra-va-śaṁ-dhaḥya-  
146 gō mṛggaḥ || [81*] Tat-paśchimatas-siṁa Muchchanapallē-cha Godṛu[m*]ballē-cha [[*]]  
147 Uttanapūṅśa-anāhāv-api rachito mya(mṛ)ttikā-rāśiḥ || [82*] Tad-vā-  
148 yaviya-kakubhi mṛd-rāśi-sīma-lakṣaṇaṁ(ṣam) | tasya-ōttarasyā-  
149 m=apya-śaṁ=Nattō-kulya-śāntima-sthālī || [83*] Tad-vāyaviya(vtya)-kakubha(bhi)  
150 Māra-bhāṭṭasya Kopāṇaḥ | kṣētraṁ ila(la)kṣaṇam-ètāya pratichyāṁ  
151 Kaṃdiguṇṭakaḥ || [84*] Mārapacherṅga-kṣētraṁ tan-nairityāṁ-amu-  
152 shya daśkṣaṇataḥ | Śiṅgi-śeṭṭhi-Malla-kṣētraṁ tat-prācūyaṁ munaṁ(mṛṇma)yō  
153 rāśiḥ || [85*] Tasya daśkṣaṇatas-siṁa Veyyēr-atha dasiṇaḥ [[*]]

Seventh Plate, Second Side

154 āgnīyāṁ diṣam-ārabhyāṁ siṁa sādhun pradarśyatā || [86*] Āgnē-  
155 yyāṁ-api Veyyēr-saṭasya paśchimatō-pi cha | Mōdu-kṣē-  
156 trasya nairityāṁ Paṛṛumballiya-kulyakā || [87*] Tasyā u-  
157 diḥchēṁ sāmā tu Mōdōr-vāyasya ūśarāḥ | tasya paśchi-  
158 matas-siṁa daśkṣaṇas-sēṭur-śāhyatā || [88*] Ertuma[1*]jya-ākhya-  
159 gūṃṭasya tasya paśchimatō-pi cha | Paṛṛumballē-cha Vi-  
160 pa(ppe)rōr=Ggangādharapurasya cha || [89*] Saṁdhaṁ mṛggas-sīma-saṁdhī-śabhu-  
161 d=ī Nakakumāṭataḥ | Nakakumṭ-ōttar-ōttumgā-sthālī tatra tu la-  
162 kshaṇam(ṇam) || [90*] Tasyāḥ prācūyaṁ Nāgadeva-kṣētra-sēṭv-annusrātaḥ || [91*] Tā-  
163 sy-ōttarasyāṁ khaḷu Kāṭaparṛr-Ggangādhar-ākhyasya

Eighth Plate, First Side

164 purasya sāṁni | sēṭur-kī sīmā tadaṇu prasārāṇ-mṛit-saṁḍha[ya]-  
165 ṛ paśchima-dig-vibhāgō || [92*] Sēṭuḥ Kāṭa-taṭaṣaṇya prācūyō=ṣye-ōttarato-  
166 ṛpi cha | Penδlightuṃṭo-sāya cha-ōḍichyaṁ mṛd-rāśi-sīma-lakṣaṇam sa cha || [93*] Kāṭaparṛrō-
167 ताकसय त्राच्यसेतृसमुष्मचया च दक्षिणाद्वर्तिन गदिश्याम दरापरसी-।
168 तं मार्गासम्हाट्यां नृद्धां स्वायां याच या। च [100*] आचाम्बर्कांभाविपरी—।
169 गणधर्मनिपुलसुभांभा (भाम) | पुत्र-पुत्रात्रपुत्रात्र-अतिःसरित-।
170 त्यस्मृत्यांमूलवमवदिमधिरा [101*] भानु-वण्हस्य-प्रदिपास्या भक्तिभुत-।
171 पाया शासनमणि प्रायदै-। चांद्राभार्कांभाविपरी।
172 भुमावुद्धाःसिनां [102*] सारसतितवार्डहांस्यसा सतान।
173 सात्तर्क्र्व-कारिनि पालयत्वाक्ष्यास्प्रिध्विं चतुर्भक्त-।
174 वामेक्षालांलमि [103*] सामायोंयात्मां धार्मसेतुरप्रिपांथां काले।
175 काले पालाणियोंवें (वें) भववधाभी | सर्वां-अन भविनाश पर्वमवत्रां।
176 भूयो भूयो याचाये रामचांद्राः [104*]।

Eighth Plate, Second Side

Ninth Plate*
191 Anantḥ-Abdē Pausha-kriṣṇa-dvādasāyām Makar-āyane | Gaṅgā-
192 dharaṇa pūrvvam dāpayitvā dvij-ōttamaiḥ || 105*|| Dvau bhāgau Bhāra-
193 tī-nāṃnē vidushē Bhakti-bhūpatiḥ | sa paśchād-Uttanaṃpū-
194 nīm grāma-grāśaya dattavān || 106*|| Gaṅgādharaṇa bhā-
195 gāsh=ṣaṭ-ṣaṇḍiśa-cha tatē= bhavan | Gaṅgādharaṇa bhā-
196 ga-yugmī Bhārati-kōvidaḥ || 107*|| Bāmbhaṛi(hvṛi)cha= sarvva-sāstra-jañāḥ
197 Ko(Kau)ndinīyās=sudhiyām varāḥ | daśaṁśaṁ=ath=ājñā(ṇe)yyā-
198 m prāchyaṁ ch=aiṇa yathā-kramaṁ(mam) || 108*|| Veyyēpur=Jammi-guḍīa-
199 ś=cha Kāśekumātam=cha āsma-bhūḥ || 109*"

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1 This forms the post-script to the grant.
2 This is a half verse.
No. 44—Paliad Pla tes of Bhimadeva I, V.S. 1112

(1 Plate)

A. L. Basham, London

(Received on 30. 8. 1868)

This set of plates was discovered at Paliad, a village in Eastern Saurashtra, just off the main road from Wadhwan to Bhavnagar, about ten miles north-west of Botad and about the same distance south-west of Ranpur. The plates, deposited in the Rajkot Museum, were sent in 1955 to the Government Epigraphist for India, Cuttack, for examination. The inscription is edited below from inked impressions and photographs received from the Government Epigraphist for India.

The set consists of two plates, each measuring 9" long, 5-4" broad and 1" thick. They are held together by a ring (about 1-75" in diameter) passing through holes (about 3" in diameter) made about the centre of the lower margin of the first plate and the upper margin of the second. No seal is attached to the plates which, together with the ring, weigh 133 tolas. The plates are engraved on the inner sides only and the writing is fairly well preserved.

The characters are Nagari of the eleventh century A.D. and generally resemble those of records like the Pananpur plates of Bhimadeva I and the Kadi plates of Mulraj. No special remarks are called for in respect of orthography.

The date of the inscription (line 1) is given as V.S. 1112, Chaitra 15. It is further stated in line 4 that there was a lunar eclipse on the said date. These details correspond to the 2nd April, 1056 A.D.

The grant was issued when Maharatadatradar Bhimadeva was residing at Karshapana (lines 1-2). Bhimadeva is evidently the first king of that name of the Haubukya family of Gujarat, who ruled in c. 1024-1066 A.D. The present record does not add any new information of historical or chronological importance.

The grant is addressed (lines 2-4) to the king's officials, the Brahmanas and the people of the 116 villages attached to the city of Vayaña. Its object (lines 4-b) is to record a grant made by the king in favour of the Jain monastery situated at the said city. The grant consisted of a piece of land measuring two kolas and belonging to a merchant named Sādaka, together with another plot measuring two Kalasikāvāpas, which was attached to the said land of Sādaka and was separated from the border of Gujubul by a chari (pasture land).

The position of the merchant Sādaka in the transaction is not altogether clear. Since the peasants are told that they must now pay their dues direct to the monastery, it seems that he was not the occupant of the land, but, until the issue of the grant, was the landlord and intermediary between the cultivators and the king. Evidently he was now deprived of his rights over the land in question; but the grant gives no evidence of the means whereby this was done. Possibly Sādaka died without leaving heirs; or he may have had his land confiscated for an offence

1 The plates are registered in A. R. Ep., 1954-55, No. A 15, and are briefly noticed ibid., pp. 11-12.
4 Kalasika-dvapara-vana = Kalasika-dvapara means a plot of land sufficient for sowing two Kalasikas of seed. Kalasikas is mentioned in the study of Dr. Satya in many records.
5 The word chari in this sense is not found in standard Sanskrit Dictionaries, but is common in this sense in India.

(235)
of some sort: or the land was resumed by the king and transferred to the temple with the payment of compensation to the merchant. We are inclined to support the last suggestion, since the transfer takes place on the occasion of an eclipse. At such a time the king, anxious to ward off evil influences by a work of piety, might well have commandeered part of Sadāka's estate in return for compensation. Moreover, if Sadāka were dead or had forfeited his property on account of a crime, this we might expect, would have been mentioned in the grant.

Lines 8-12 give the boundaries of the gift land as follows: in the east—the field belonging to Kālyāpāla Kāsirān; in the south—the royal pasture land; in the west—the field belonging to the merchant Bhādhala; and in the north—the road leading to the village of Pālavāda. Lines 11-15 state that the grant made in favour of the Jain monastery should be protected by the descendants of the king and others. This is followed (lines 15-16) by an imprecatory verse.

The writer of the grant was Vatsēvara who was the son of Kāyaśtha Kānchana (lines 16-17). This Vatsēvara, son of Kānchana, was also the writer of a copper-plate grant of Bhimadēva, dated in the year 93 of the Śaka era, corresponding to V. S. 1093. The dātaka was the Mahāśāṇdhikā Bhōgāṣṭita who is also known from the Palanpur plates referred to above. The record ends with the sign-manual of Bhimadēva.

As regards the localities mentioned in the inscription, Ākaśikā-grāma, whence the grant was issued, and Gudhāhulā mentioned in connection with the gift land, cannot be identified. Vāyaḍa may be the same as modern Botad referred to above. Pālavāda is evidently modern Paliad where the plates were discovered.

TEXT

First Plate

1 Siddham2 Vikrama-samvat 1112 Chaitra-sudi 15 ady-cha Ākaśikā-grām-āvāśe samasta-
2 rāj-avali-vaśita-mahāraja-dhirāja-śri-Bhimadēvah // Vāyaḍ-ādhishṭhāna-prati-
3 va(b)a-ddha-vō(∫b)ā-dāś-ottara-grāma-sat-āṅtāla-pāti-samasta-rājapurushān vrā(ḥrā)[hma]
   n-ōṭta[rān] ja-
4 napadāṁce-cha vō(hō)dhayaty-astu vaḥ saṁviditam yathā adya Soṁa-graṁapa-parvāni
   char-āchara-
5 guru(ṁ) Sarvaivyam abhiyarchya Vāyaḍ-ādhisthānāya-vasatiya vastraiva Vāyaḍ-ādhñi-
   sbhāne
6 [cha]r-kṣetra-āṁtaritayā Gudhulā-pāli-samagnayā vauika(ṇik)-Sadāka-bhūmi-sain[va(ba)-
   dhyā]-
7 mānayā kalasikā-dvaya-vāpa-bhuvā saṁ-asya-siva Sadākasya satkāt hala-dvayaṁ 2
8 bhūḥ śāsana(mē)n-ōdaka-pūrvam-asamāhāḥ pradattāŚyāśa-cha bhūmeṇ pūrvasyāṁ dīśi
   Kalya-
9 pāla-Kāsir- satkān keśetraṁ dakshinayāṁ cha rājaklyā chaṁ | paśchimā-

2 From impressions and photographs.
3 Expressed by symbol.
4 There is an unnecessary arograśa sign after this.
Second Plate

10 yāṁ cha vāṇīya(ja)-Bhābaliyaṁ kahētram-uttarasyāṁ cha Pālavāga-grama-maṁ
11 ṛgga iti chatur-āghāt-ōpalaṅkhitaṁ bhuvam-ētāṁ avagamyā ētaṁ nibāśi-janapadaṁ
12 r-yatha-dīyaṁmaṁ-bhāga-bhūga-kara-hiraṁy-ādi sarvam-ājāṁ-śravaṇa-vidhiyai
13 r-bhūtvā-Ś'eyai vasatiṁkayai samupanētvatvam śāmānyaṁ cha-saitat-puṇya-phalaṁ matvā
14 d-varṇājāir-anayaṁ-api bhaṅi-bhūktribhir-asmat-pradatta-dharma-dāyāṁ-yaṁ-anumaṁśtavyaṁ
15 pālanīyaṁ-cha || uktam cha || bhagavatā Vyāsēna | Shashtīr-varaṁ-sahasraṁ svarggā
16 bhumīdaḥ | śoḥohēṭṭā cha-śnumatīnta cha tāny-ēva narakāṁ(kē) vasēt || ikhitam-idaṁ
17 Kāṇchana-suta-Vaṭēvarēṇa | Dūtakōṁ-tra mahāśāṁdhvighraṁhika-Śri-Bhūgaṁditya i[ti] [ || ""]
18 Śri-Bhīmadēvāṣvaṁya ||

1 The desena are unnecessary.
No. 45—STRAY PLATE FROM NANAPA

(I Plate)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

(Received on 5. 9. 1938)

Sometime ago I received for examination an old photograph of the inscribed face of a copper plate from the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer. There are marks of two ring holes on the photograph and it appears that the inscription was originally engraved on the inner side of two copper plates strung on two rings as is the case with the copper-plate grants of many of the West Indian ruling families. The plate is stated to have been found at the village of Nānāpā about three miles from the Bhagwanpura station on the Western Railway. Bhagwanpura is 27 miles from Marwar Junction. The inscription was noticed in the Annual Report on the Working of the Rajputana Museum for the year ending 31st March 1937, pp. 3, 9 (No. 6). There are, however, some minor errors and inaccuracies in the notices.

In July 1958, Dr. Dasbarat Sharma of the Delhi University was good enough to send me a copy of his article on the same inscription published without illustration in the Hindi periodical Marubharati, Vol. VI, No. 2, July 1958, pp. 2-4. This aroused my interest in the record and I checked Dr. Sharma's transcript with the photograph of the epigraph in my possession. It was found that, while the preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory and some letters here and there are indecipherable on the photograph, there are some palpable errors in Dr. Sharma's transcript and that most of the many lacunae in it could be filled up with confidence. A number of errors were also noticed by me in the introductory part of Dr. Sharma's paper. Dr. Sharma takes the document to be a charter issued by Chāhamāna Ālhaṇa of Nāḍol in V. S. 1206. But this belief is absolutely unwarranted since, as a matter of fact, the epigraph contains a large number of small documents only one of which records a gift of the said ruler. Dr. Sharma reads vyūsānīka-lohāḍyā in line 1 and dramaka in line 9 and regards the three words as the names of particular coins, the first to be identified in his opinion with Pāris (equal to 5 cowrie shells), the second with Lōhāḍyā (equal to 20 Pāris) and the third with the well-known Dramma (equal to 20 Lōhāḍyā) also mentioned elsewhere in the record under study. But the first of the two passages in question clearly reads tathā varamālaṅkāra-Lōhāḍyāka, 'and the flute-player [named] Lōhāḍyāka'. The word read as dramaka is again certainly stama[bh]a meaning 'a bunch of flowers'. Dr. Sharma also thinks of the possibility of the word pada in lines 1 and 3 signifying a class of coins. The suggestion is, however, impossible in view of the adjectives śhādaśama (i.e. sixteenth) and saptaśadaśama (i.e. seventeenth) qualifying the word respectively in lines 1 and 3. It may be pointed out that, though Dr. Sharma failed to read saptaśadaśama in line 3, he has read śhādaśama correctly in line 2. Among other errors of omission and commission in Dr. Sharma's reading and interpretation of the record, mention may also be made of his reference to the Kumaraudraṇa of wheat belonging to Sōhāki as occurring in line 15 of the record and the suggestion that Kumara-draṇa may have been a bigger measure of capacity than Drāṇa. As will be seen below, this is all imaginary and unwarranted.

The fragmentary inscription is written in Nāgarī characters of the twelfth century. But it is not engraved by a single person. There are many records of different dates, which were

1 For three other copper-plate grants from Nānāpā, see ibid., pp. 3-4, 9, Nos. 7-8; cf. A. R. Ep., 1956-57, No. A 79.
apparently engraved in groups by several persons on different occasions. The various documents engraved on the plate record donations made by both royal and private personages in favour of a religious institution apparently situated at Nāḍōl (cf. adī=ōha śrī-Naṇḍā in lines 19-20). Among the donors of non-monarchical rank, some were no doubt members of the Chāhamāna royal family of Nāḍōl. As our analysis of the different documents would show, it was probably the authorities of the said religious institution that were responsible for the preparation of the document. Since Aḥaṇadēva was the donor of only one of the many grants recorded in our epigraph, it is impossible to assign the entire charter to him. The nature of the epigraph somewhat resembles that of the well-known Siromkhurd (Siyādūrg) inscription.¹

The god Tripurashadēva or his temple is often mentioned in the inscription as the recipient of favour. Among other benefactions, mention is also made of the god Chandalēvara, whose temple seems to have stood near that of Tripurashadēva, and of the goddess Gauri whose shrine lay within the Chandalēvara temple. The deities Tripurashadēva, Chandalēvara and Gauri are also known from another Naṇṇā copper-plate inscription² dated V. S. 1220, Aśāpa-sūdi 11, Thursday (July 2, 1164 A.D.). This record speaks of the restoration of the village of Naṇḍāna (modern Naṇṇā) in V. S. 1219 and the grant of the village of Chetvedi by the Nāḍōl Chāhamāna ruler Aḥaṇa in favour of the temple of Tripurasadāna as well as of the same ruler’s grant of Bhīṭalavātaka (Bhīṭalavātaka) to the temple of Chandalēvara and of four Dvāmraṣṭā per month to the shrine of Gauri built inside the Chandalēvara temple by his queen Sankāradvē. The god Tripurashadēva is also known from the Naṇṇā copper-plate inscription³ of V. S. 1212, śrāvaṇa-sūdi 5, Monday (July 24, 1156 A.D.) referring to the shrine of Lāhānvarā built inside the temple of Tripurashadēva by Lāhānaḍēvī, daughter of Chāhamāna Kunapāla, probably a member of the Nāḍōl branch of the Chāhamāna family. The localities called Naṇḍāna and Bhīṭalavātaka are also mentioned in the inscription under study.

The language of the record is Sanskrit, its orthography and vocabulary being considerably influenced by Prakrit or the local dialect. The language is extremely corrupt in some of the records. The nature of Prakrit influence can be guessed from the use of words like mētrē, i.e. ‘a songstress’, in lines 1-7, etc.; vēriṣa (once written correctly as vēriṣa in line 4), i.e. ‘a temple superintendent ’, in lines 5, 6, etc.; sūμdāvāla (probably, ‘one who sets songs or musical instruments to tune ’) and pāṇavika (i.e. ‘a drum-player’) in line 7; dōyara (i.e. ‘the singer who repeats part of a song after it has been once sung’) in lines 7-8, etc. We have also spellings like Javāyavālēna for Yaṇāyavālēna and trāṇyāyā in for trāṇyāyā in line 9 and forms like m(a)nēkāri used as Third Person instrumental singular from the word mēkāri (recognised as mēkāri in Prakrit) in the feminine.

There are several dates in the document, although many of the transactions recorded are undated. The first of the dates, occurring in line 9, is V. S. 1173, Kārttika–vādi 3, and the second is quoted in lines 12-13 as V. S. 1171, Pausha–vādi 10. On both these dates Mahārajā-śrīrāja Aḍhārāja of the Nāḍōl branch of the Chāhamāna family made certain grants in favour of a religious institution at Nāḍōl, to which reference has been made above. Line 19 quotes the date V. S. 1122, Kārttika–vādi 5, Saturday, when Mahārajaputra Kumāra Sāhaṇapāla made a grant. Line 23 mentions V. S. 1205, Bhādra–vādi 5, Friday, as the date of a grant made by Chāhamāna Aḥaṇadēva of Nāḍōl. The importance of these dates will be discussed in the analysis of the contents of the various records in the epigraph. Besides the above dated records relating to grants made by kings and princes, there are several other grants of royal and private personages, which are undated.

From the ductus of the writing, the inscription can be divided into different sections engraved on different dates. In most of the cases, a section contains more than one transaction. Some of these transactions relate to arrangements (sthiti) and not gifts actually. The sections are analysed below one by one.

Section I (lines 1-2). There are three transactions recorded in this section.

(a) The first sentence states that the sixteenth pada was allotted to the vilāśini Vījalā, the daughter of Padmāvatī, with the stipulation that she would enjoy it together with some other unnamed vilāśinīs (aparādhik samartha). The word pada here seems to mean 'a share' or 'a quarter of the standard land measure'. An account of 15 other padas appears to be lost with the earlier part of the record on the missing first plate. The word vilāśini is also used in line 4 apparently in the sense of a Dēvadāsi. Probably the word gaṇikā (line 2) and mēhari (lines 1, 7, etc.) are also used in a similar sense. The name of the deity to whom Vījalā was attached seems to have been mentioned in the missing first plate of the set. It may have been the god Tripurusha mentioned in the following sentence. The name of the donor of the pada to Vījalā is not known from the extant part of the record.

(b) The next sentence states that, in the same way (tathā), the flute-player named Lhaudiyākā (i.e. Lhaudiya) was allotted to Tripurusha which was the name of the deity. The expression tri-purusha has been used here and in many other places in the record in the plural. But, in line 21, the same deity is mentioned as Tripurushadēva in the singular. It was therefore the name of a single deity, probably a combined image of the Trimūrti of Brahman, Vishnu and Śiva.1

(c) The last sentence of the section speaks of the arrangement, according to which a mēhari, whose name cannot be fully deciphered, was to receive annually five Dronas of wheat out of the collections made on behalf of the deity (dēvakiya-āśa-madhāyā) from the Nandāna-grāmya-bhoga, no doubt a free-holding comprising a part or the whole of the village of Nandāna (modern Nānānā) under the enjoyment of the deity. This deity seems to be no other than Tripurusha mentioned in the previous sentence. We have already noted that the word mēhari, literally 'a songstress', seems to have been used to indicate a Dēvadāsi.

Section II (lines 2-8). There are four transactions referred to in this section.

(a) The first sentence records the allotment of the seventeenth pada to a gaṇikā's daughter with the stipulation that she would enjoy it together with some other gaṇikās. As indicated above, the word gaṇikā, like vilāśini and mēhari in Section I, probably means 'a Dēvadāsi'. The gaṇikā's name was Gōchhiṇi, though her daughter's name cannot be deciphered.

(b) The second sentence records the grant of the village of Bhiṅṭalavāḍa. The village is stated to have been given to Tripurusha, though it was actually meant for the deity Chandalēśvara. This probably suggests that the shrine of Chandalēśvara lay in the neighbourhood of the Tripurusha temple. The expression aṭṭa-sīva used in connection with Bhiṅṭalavāḍa seems to suggest that the village lay in the vicinity of the temple situated at Nājōl. The following sentence further states that the income or produce of the said village should have to be collected by the Vārikas attached to the god Tripurusha as a part of their own collections and that the expenses for the training, food, etc., of the vilāśinis attached to the god Chandalēśvara as well as any other expenditure made for the said god should have to be met from the collections or income of the god Tripurusha. It is clear that the management of the affairs of the god Chandalēśvara was entrusted to the Vārikas of Tripurusha. As we have elsewhere seen, the Vārikas were the superintendents of a temple like the

1 For the deity or deities called 'the Tripurushas', see also the Karimnagar inscription of Prataparudra I (Sreenivasachar, Corpus, Vol. II, p. 175). For a Tripurusha temple at Anhilwada, see Tawney's Prabhādāsa-sūtrānta, pp. 25, etc. In the composite Trimūrti images of Gujarāt, Sūrya-nārāyaṇa was often represented in Vishnu's place (Majumdar, Chaulukyas of Gujarāt, pp. 300, 381).
Pāṇḍās of today. The last sentence of this subsection seems to say that the king and the Vārikas should have to look after the permanent one-fourth share belonging to Tripurusha.

(c) The next transaction in lines 6-8 records that an araghaṭṭa or a machine for drawing water from a well, called Nārāvaṭṭaka and situated in the village of Dēvanditā, which was under the possession of the chief priest of the temple (maṭha-pati) of Tripurusha, was granted for the maintenance of the worship of Chandalavāra. It appears that two persons named Šilapati and Šripāła, who were probably engaged in working the araghaṭṭa at Dēvanditā-grāma, were allotted the said god along with a number of persons living probably at the locality where the temple stood (i.e. Nāṇā). These were the songstresses Viṅgaṭṭā, Šitaṭṭi, Prēmālī, Ratanī, Śriyādevī and Āśādevī; the Śuravāla (a person responsible for setting songs or musical instruments to tune) Jasarā; the drum-player (Pūrvaṭā) Šripāla; the Dūgaraka (a singer who had to repeat parts of a song after they had been sung) Vāḍīyāka (i.e. Vāḍīyā); the Mridanga-player Mahipatiyaka (i.e. Mahipatiyā) and the flute-player Risiyāka (i.e. Risiyā), the son of Gōvinda.

(d) The last sentence of the subsection states that a mēhari, whose name is not mentioned, was allotted five Dōṇas [of wheat] out of Kumara’s Dōṇas [of wheat] at the araghaṭṭa at Bhiṅṭalavāḍa-grāma. It appears that Kumara was the lessee of the araghaṭṭa, who used to pay the annual rent for it to the temple in wheat. This transaction is also referred to in Section IV (b) in lines 15-16 below, where the name of the mēhari is given as Šōbhikā.

From the grant of the village of Bhiṅṭalavāḍa, it appears that most of the transactions recorded above were made by the contemporary Chāhamāna ruler of Nāṇā. The name of this ruler seems to be lost with the first plate of the set. But he may have been Āśārāja mentioned below. The god-Chandalavāra was apparently installed by the queen Chandadalēvī mentioned below in line 10 which also mentions Āśārāja. It is not improbable that Chandadalēvī was a queen of Āśārāja.

It should, however, be noted that the Nāṇā copper-plate inscription of 1164 A.D., referred to above, speaks of the grant of Bhiṅṭalavāṭaka by kingĀlhaṇa to the Chandalavāra temple. It is not impossible that Bhiṅṭalavāḍa or Bhiṅṭalavāṭaka was originally granted to the temple by Āśārāja but the grant was later renewed by his son Ālhaṇa.

Section III (lines 9-10). There are two transactions recorded in this section.

(a) The first sentence states that one Yāśōdhavala made a gift of one load of lotuses and one hundred bunches of flowers at a place called Āhumāla. It is difficult to determine whether the transaction refers to a daily supply of the flowers and whether Āhumāla is a modification of Āharav-malla, a well-known personal name which occurs in Section VI, b. The identity of the donor is uncertain, though he may have been a member of the Chāhamāna royal family of Nāṇā. The deity who received the grant is not mentioned, but may probably be Chandalavāra.

(b) The second sentence of this section states that, in V.S. 1173, Kārttika-vadi 3, Mahārājādhirāja Āśārāja made certain gifts (the names of which cannot be fully deciphered but may be those of a few localities) in favour of the maṭha. This maṭha may refer to the shrine of Chandalavāra, which is mentioned in line 10 below (Section IV, a).

The date may correspond to the 11th September 1116 A.D. The only other date for Āśārāja’s reign so far known is V.S. 1167, Chaitra-sudi 1, corresponding to the 12th March 1111 A.D.1 Another date for Āśārāja’s reign is found in Section IV (b) below.

Section IV (lines 10-16). This section also speaks of two transactions.

(a) The sentence constituting this sub-section is difficult to understand owing to certain errors of the scribe and the engraver. The first part refers to the 100 leaves allowed out of each load of

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2 Bhandarkar’s List, No. 182.
leaves by the royal officials (probably the customs officials of Nāḍōl; cf. Section VI, (b) to be enjoyed by the goddess Gaurī installed in the shrine (maṭha) of Chandulēvara caused to be made by Mahārajā Chandulēvī. A passage in line 11 immediately after this reference is unintelligible. After this there is reference to six persons who are stated to have paid annually 100 Drammas, i.e. the coins of that name. The concluding part seems to say that the merchants, who were willing to give, would have to divide the third share of the leaves and wheat probably received as collections on behalf of the Chandulēvara or Tripurusha temple. It appears that either Chandulēvara would have to receive one-third of the collection of leaves and wheat made on behalf of the Tripurusha temple or Gaurī would have to receive a similar share out of the collection of the Chandulēvara shrine (cf. Section V below).

We have seen above, that the Nāṅgā copper-plate inscription of 1164 A.D. refers to the installation of the goddess Gaurī in the Chandulēvara temple by Śaṅkaradēvī who was a queen of Āhāna, son of Āśārāja. If the present transaction has to be referred to Āśārāja's reign, we have to suggest that the goddess was installed by Śaṅkaradēvī during her father-in-law's rule.

(b) This subsection records a regular grant of Mahārajādhirājā Āśārāja made in V.S. 1171, Pausha-vadi 10, in favour of the mēhārī Śobhikā on the occasion of the king's visit to her house. The gift consisted of the village of Piśchchhavallī which was granted in its entirety as far as its ascertained boundaries. It is stated that no one was allowed to disturb the mēhārī's possession of the land as long as the earth and the mountains would endure. It is further stipulated that, so long as the mēhārī Śobhikā would be allowed to enjoy the gift village, the five Drōgas allotted to her previously out of Kumara's Drōgas of wheat (cf. Section II, (d) should be enjoyed by the god Tripurusha and, in case there was nobody to protect (the mēhārī's enjoyment of) the village, the allotment of Kumara's Drōgas to her should again revert to her.

The date V.S. 1171, Pausha-vadi 10, may correspond to the 23rd November 1114 A.D. This is the third known date for Āśārāja's reign. The two others in V.S. 1157 and 1173 have been referred to above (cf. Section III, (b)).

Section V (line 17-18). There is only one transaction recorded in this section.

The first sentence states that the village of Sālayi was allotted to the maṭha together with its entire income. The passage upari-bhāsana-madhyō used in this connection connects this grant with the one recorded above (Section IV, (b)). It appears that Piśchchhavallī-grāma, allotted to Śobhikā, belonged to the maṭha and that therefore the latter had to be compensated by making the gift of another village in its favour. The following sentence seems to suggest that the maṭha referred to was the shrine of Chandulēvara since it is stated here that two-thirds of the village would be enjoyed by the maṭha (apparently of the god Chandulēvara) and one-third by the god Tripurusha. The third and last sentence of the section states that the Bhāṭāraka, i.e. the king, should act in accordance with the said arrangement.

Section VI (lines 18-19). There are two transactions in this section.

(a) The first sentence states that Mahārajādhirāja Ratnapāla (Ratnapāla) gave away one Nōriyā together with his relations. To which god the persons, who were probably to work as temple servants, were allotted is not stated. There is no date mentioned in connection with this grant. But we know that V. S. 1176, Jyēśṭha-vadi 8, Thursday (22nd April 1130 A.D.) fell within Ratnapāla's reign.1 Between Āśārāja and Ratnapāla who was the son of an elder brother and predecessor of Āśārāja, we have two inscriptions of Āśārāja's son Mahārajādhirāja Kaṭudēva or Kaṭukarāja, one of which is dated in V.S. 1127 (1115-16 A.D.).2

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1 Bhandarkar's List, No. 200.
2 See ibid., Nos. 189 and 1460. The date of the second inscription has been read as Satyrat 31 which Bhandarkar refers to the Sinhā-saṃvat of V.S. 1170=1113 A.D. and equates with V.S. 1200=1143 A.D. (above, Vol. XI, p. 34). But Kaṭukarāja could not have ruled in 1143 A.D. Moreover the Sinhā-saṃvat is not known to have been used outside Kathiawar (cf. Ojha, Bhāratisya Piśchhavallī, pp. 181-82).
(b) The second sentence records the monthly grant of 6 Drāgas probably of wheat by one Āhavamalla at the maṇḍapīkā (customs office) at Nāḍīlā (Nāḍīl). The identity of Āhavamalla is unknown though he may have been the lessee of the maṇḍapīkā. The deity, in whose favour the grant was made, is also not mentioned.

Section VII (lines 19-22). Only one transaction is recorded in this section.

The section records the grant of two kuṭumbikas (agriculturist householders) named Sūliya and Āśāchā, formerly living at the village of Nandānā (modern Nāndānā), together with their sons and grandsons so long as they lived. The gift was made at Nāḍīlā (Nāḍīl), according to the arrangement based on a charter, in favour of the god Tripurusha by Mahārāja Sumāra Sāhānapālā in V.S. 1192, Kārttika-vadi 5, Saturday (28th September, 1135 A.D.). The passage adyā-viśa śrī- Nāḍīlē seems to suggest that the temple of Tripurusha stood at Nāḍīl. This Sāhānapālā was probably a co-uterine brother of Sahajapālā who was the son of Ratnapālā's successor Rāyapālā (known dates between V. S. 1189=1132 A.D. and V.S. 1200=1143 A.D.) from the queen Padmaladevi and is known from an undated inscription. Three deities named after the mother and her two sons are mentioned in line 22 (Section VIII, c). The second sentence states that the arrangement should not be nullified by anybody.

Section VIII (lines 22-24). There are four transactions recorded in this section.

(a) It is stated in the first sentence that Tripurusha's car could be always utilised by the deities Padmalēvāra, Sāhānapālēvāra, Sahajapālēvāra and others. Padmalēvāra was apparently named after Padmaladevi, queen of Rāyapālā, and Sāhānapālēvāra and Sahajapālēvāra after her two sons. They appear to have been installed in shrines within or near the Tripurusha temple.

(b) This subsection records the grant of the kuṭum (i.e. kuṭumbikas) Kikāū, Madanapālā and Mahāpāla (i.e. Mathanasinīha) who were formerly living in the village of Nandapālā. The gift was made in favour of Tripurusha by a charter by Mahārāja Ālhañadhāvā in V.S. 1205, Bhādrā-vadi 5, Friday (6th August 1148 A.D. taking the year to be current). Ālhañ or Alhañ, the son of Āśāraja and successor of Rāyapālā, is known from two records of his reign, one dated in V.S. 1209, Māgha-vadi 14, Saturday (24th January, 1153 A.D.) and the other in V.S. 1218, Śrāvana-vadi 14, Sunday (12th August, 1162 A.D.). The next sentence states that the arrangement should not be nullified by anybody.

(c) Some passages in the next sentence cannot be deciphered. But it seems to mention the grant of one or more persons by the same king Ālhañadhāvā (tathā-nānā). The grant was probably made in favour of the same god Tripurusha.

(d) This sentence, the last of the epigraph under study, states that one Saḍa made a gift of two persons named Gōśa and Lōbha. The grant seems to have been made in favour of Tripurusha.

The above analysis of the contents of the inscription under study exhibits some interesting information about certain customs relating to religious institutions, which were prevalent in Rajasthan during the early medieval period. The gift of persons (apparently as slaves) in favour of temples is one such custom.

The geographical names mentioned in the record are Nāḍīlā, i.e. modern Nāḍīl in the Jodhpur region of Rajasthan, and such villages as Nandānā or Nandānā-grāma, Bhiṣṭalavādī-grāma, Devanandī-grāma, Āhumala, Piśchēhavallī-grāma and Śīlayī-grāma. Of these, Nandānā or Nandānā-grāma is certainly the modern village of Nandānā where the plate was found. The other localities appear to have been situated in the neighbourhood of Nāḍīl or Nāṇāpālā.

1 See Bhandarkar's List, p. 382.
2 Ibid., No. 1905, p. 382, note 7.
3 Ibid., No. 297.
4 Ibid., No. 311.
1 vilāśinī(ṇyāḥ) Pa[dmjāvatī(t)t]-ṣutā(ṇyāḥ)∗ Vijālaṇā-‘parābhīṣa samaḥ śoḍaśamaṃ padam praḍatta(m)t(tam) | tathā vai(n)(vāṁ)ika-Lhaudiyākasa-Trīṣipurasākapā(m) praḍattaḥ || mēhari- Śi. . .∗


3 nṛṣa aparābhīṣa saptaḍarā(ṣa)maṃ padam praḍattaḥ || tathā atr-aiva Bhirīṭalavāḍā-‘grāmāḥ ārī-Chaṇḍālaśvarādev-āṭhā(ṛtha)m Triṣipurasākapāṃ praḍattaḥ ||

4 asman-‘grāmād-ūtpattāś-Tripurasākapāṃ satka-vārikaḥ samādaṃ svīy-ādānasya-aika[t]vē-(tvam) [cha]∗ vidhāya ārī-Cha(m)daśaavyāvya-vi[I]jasini[nav]m vidyā-[viha]-

5 cha(ya)-bhaktak-ādikām(kam) aparam- api yat-kiṃchid-ādvasya kriyate bhaṭṭāraka-puruṣa-vārīgai(ṣa)ia-Tripurasākapāṃ sa(sva)kiy-ādānena [cha] kārayātavyas-Triṣipurasākapāṃ cha(turtha)∗

6 sṛṇāyī bhaṭṭārakēna varīgai(ṣa)ia-ḥa sarvadā dṛṣṭavasyaḥ || tathā ārī-Chaṇḍālaśvarāpa- pūjan-ārthāṃ Tripurasākapāṃ satka-māṭha-patēḥ Dēvanāzhidita-‘grāmē Nāravaṭṭaka- nāma(mā)

7 araghaṭṭas-tatra . . . pāti-Śripāla-samanvita[ḥ]∗ praḍattaḥ || atra mēhari-Virīgāḍa | Sitaṭī | Prēmāṭi | Ratanī | Śriyādēvi | Āsa(sā)dēvi(vi) | sū(a)ravāla-Jasarā | pāṇavika-Śripālaḥ [dō]-


10 jēna ka . . . lōliyā∗ maṭhasya praḍattaḥ || mahārājāi-ārī-Chaṇḍālaśvāy Śrī- Caṇḍālaśvaramadhyāy kārītā∗ Gō(Gau)ryāḥ rājakulēna bharakaṃ prati dāpita-patrā-

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1 From a photograph.
2 Read: Vījālaṇā‘parābhīṣa or Vījālaṇā aparābhīṣa.
3 The name of the mēhari cannot be fully deciphered.
4 The name is elsewhere spelt many times as Naṇḍāṇā.
5 The intended reading seems to have been amukāyaḥ samam.
6 This letter may be a mistake for mām for samam. Sandhi has not been observed here.
7 Read Kārayāvayam Triṣṭha.
8 Chaturtha seems to mean chaturthamāna.
9 The reading of the two damaged akṣaras here may be Śīla.
10 This danda and some others in this line and in the next are unnecessary.
11 Better read mēhari-Śōbhiyāc. Cf. lines 13-16.
12 Better read pambaḥ dṛ & in which dṛ is a contraction of dṛōpāḥ.
13 Read Yaśōt.
14 Read stabakaḥ or stabaka-śatam-ekam.
15 Sandhi has not been observed here.
16 The objects granted, mentioned here, are difficult to determine. They may, however, have been localities.
17 Read Chaṇḍālaśvāyā kārītā Chaṇḍālaśvarā-ṃakī.
STRAIGHT PLATE FROM NANA (from a Photograph)
11 pām śatāṃ 1 śatāṃ-ekāṁ(kam) || gumdakūrvāyāyatavaḍhatāmottamāvahattaga1 || Tulyā- || tāhakālahā- || Vālaḥā-ra- || Vāsa- || Vāsa-ādi(hkhyaih) sādhiḥ janaīḥ sarvādā varṣhām prati dra[mā]-

12 pām śatāṃ-ekāṁ dadadbhir-smaktā dra2 100 satā(tam) tat-patra-gōdhūnā(mā)nāṁ tri(tṛ)-tīya-bhīgaṁ(gaḥ) vānabhīr2-dātuśkāmaḥ karttaavyaḥ || anyadā Sarvat 1171 Pausha-vadi 10 daśa- ||

13 mṛśm mahārājādhiraśa-ārtī1Āśa(ā)śājanē(ṇa) ma(mē)hari-Sōbhikāyāḥ satka-grihā- nirikhaṇyā paddēn-śayāḥ Pīrchchhavallī-grāmāḥ svā-simā-.

14 paryantō vijñāta-maryādāḥ pā[s]ādikrītō-"śayāḥ vun(hum)jayaṁtyāḥ ru(hbu)njaṁpyāntyāḥ kēn-āpi kshiti-kshirdhara-kālāṁ yāvat pariparnthānā na kā[ṛyā]2 ||

15 aparām-agrē mēhari-Sō(Sō)bhhikāyāḥ diyāmāna-Kumara-dṛōgīya-gōdhūtā(mā)nāṁ paucha dṛōgīḥ yāvad-śāhāṁ grāmāṁ bhūmajayāti tāva[tī] Tripurushai-.

16 r=bhōktavyāḥ[ḥ]2[*] atha kādā[chi]*kāva-vāsād-grāmam-ēnas kō-pi na pālayati tada bhūyō-gi yuyāmāna-kumara-dṛōgīḥ mahariṇī2 bhē(ḥo)ktavyāḥ[ḥ]2[*] ||

17 upari-āsana-[ma]джhyē sarv-ādāya-sahitaḥ Sālayī-grāmō mathasya-āyattaḥ kītas-tan-madhyāst dvau bhūgō(gau) mathasya ṭīṭīy-āmśas=Tripurushāpāṁ pradattō(ttaḥ) || anayā sthēn(sti)yā

18 bhaṭṭārakēṇa "varttaniyā(ṇa) || [puna][r1]-mahārājādhiraśa-ārtī-Ratana[pa]ḷēna [Nṛ]-riyā[kaḥ]2 sa-kūṭumha[h] pradattakṛ(ṛ)ḥ || śrī-Naṅguły-yam-māṃdāpik(ā)yāṁ śrī[r1]-[ḥava]-

19 mallēna . . . . .11māsān prati drō12 6 shaṭ yāvatayām12 || amāśān pariparnthānā kv=āpi na kāṛyā || Sarvat 1192 Kārttika-vadi 5 Śanv-ady-ēḥa śrī-Naṅgu-

20 lē mahārājaputra-kumyara-12śrī-Sāhanapalādevaḥ śāsanaṁ prayachcha(chchha)ḥi yathā || agrē Namḍānē-grāmē vasāmān-āśīna-11ku-


22 ttaḥ(ttau) [*] kēn-āpi na lōpaniyāḥ || śrī-Tripuruṣhīya-rathaḥ śrī-Padmalēśvara- Sāhanapalēśvara-Sāhanapalēśvarā-ādi-dēvānāṁ sādhyāḥ sarvādā ||

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1 The meaning of this passage is doubtful. Possibly it ends with a personal name. The following dasas and others occurring later in the line are wrongly incised.
2 This is an abbreviation of the word drōṣṭa.
3 The intended reading is sādhiḥ.
4 These dasas are unnecessary.
5 Sandhi has not been observed here.
6 Better read bhējanyāḥ.
7 Read bhējanyā
dēvāya.
8 Read Rāma
dēvāya.
9 Read Nāgu

dēvāya.
10 Sandhi has not been observed here.
11 The word gōdhūtāṁ would suit the context; but the traces of the letters do not support this reading.
12 This is an abbreviation of the word drōṣṭa.
13 Read dēvāya
dēvāya.
14 Read Jñāna
dēvāya.
15 Better read vasāmān.
23 Samvana\(^1\) 1205 Bhādra-vadi 5 Sudrāḥ(krē) || mahārāja-srī-Ālhaṇadēvēna [pr]āk-
(prāṇa)-Nāmānā-[gr]āmīya-kutum.-\(^3\) | Kikāu-Madana-pāla- | ‘ Mahāpāsihāt\(^6\) adya-sa[va]
srī-Tri(Tri)puruṣahāṁ śāsanēna pra- \(^1\)

24 dattau(ttāh) | kēn-āpi kā[d]āchit na lōpanīyō(yāḥ) || tathā-ā’nēna Sālizapatra . . . ‘ Simdā-
sutāḥ [pra]data(ttāh) | tathā Gōsā-Lōbhau Sādēnā [pra]dattau [\(\)\*] [kēn-āpi na lōpanīya]m= iti || tha”

\(^1\) Read Sāman.
\(^2\) Sandhi has not been observed here.
\(^3\) This is a contraction of kūtumākīya and the following danda is an indication of the abbreviation.
\(^4\) The danda is unnecessary.
\(^6\) Better read “sitākāh.”
\(^6\) The names of the persons cannot be definitely determined.
\(^7\) This letter is an indication of the completion of the document.
No. 46—FOOTPRINT SLAB INSCRIPTION FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA

(I Plate)

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(Received on 21.11.1958)

In the course of the excavations conducted by the Department of Archaeology at the well-known Buddhist site of Nagarjunikonda, a monastic establishment with a four-winged monastery, a Stūpa and a Chaitya-griha was completely exposed in the year 1955-56 at the site marked V-6. The discovery was briefly noticed in the Indian Archaeology, 1955-56—A Review, p. 24. In this connection, reference was made to the discovery of a stone slab, bearing the representation of the Buddha’s feet and a small inscription engraved on it, near the entrance of the Stūpa. According to the said notice, the inscription records that ‘the sacred feet were of Buddha and were designed and consecrated by or for the Mahāvihāravāsinīs of the Theravāda-Vibhajjavāda school of Ceylon in a Vibhāra described as Dharaṇa-vihāra situated on the Praṇeni’. It is further observed that the Mahāvihāravāsinīs are described as adepts in reading the marks on the human body and fixing horoscopes which constitute the eighth śāsana (abhidharma) of the naraśaṅga promulgated by Buddha.’ Unfortunately the statements regarding the contents of the epigraph are full of errors. They are apparently based on a defective transcript of the record. There is really no mention in the inscription of a Buddhist monastery called Dharaṇa-vihāra, no description of the Mahāvihāravāsinīs of the Theravāda-Vibhajjavāda school of Ceylon as experts in reading the marks on human bodies and preparing horoscopes and no reference to the eighth śāsana of the Buddha.

Similar footprint slabs, sometimes uninscribed and sometimes bearing inscriptions, have been discovered at various early Buddhist sites including those of Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda. It is well known that, in early Buddhist art, the Buddha was generally represented by symbols and one of the most popular symbols was his feet. A Nagarjunakonda slab of this kind is called a patipadā ( pratipadā) in the inscription it bears, while the expressions by which it is indicated in the Amaravati inscriptions are padukat (patuka)-pañ(t)a (padukā-pañ(t)a) and patuka (padukā). The Nagarjunakonda slab under study bears the representation of the two soles of two feet placed side by side with that of the Bodhi tree in railing, flanked by two human figures, on one side. The most prominent symbol engraved on each of the soles is the chakra. Behind this are an añkūs, a Nāga symbol, a triratna on chakra and a pair of fish with a śākka nearby, while in front of it are two Nāga symbols, a svastika, a śrivatsa and a pūrṇa-gaha with a śākka near it. The five toes in front of the above bear respectively a stambha, an añkūs, another indeterminable symbol, a pair of fish and a triratna on chakra. The inscription under study is engraved in a rectangular space touching the toes of the feet.

1 See op. cit., Plate XXXIX, C.
2 Macr on over e and o to indicate the length of the vowels has not been used in this article.
3 Coomaraswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian Art, p. 31.
4 See above, Vol. XX, p. 37.
5 Cf. Monier-Williams, Buddhaisms, pp. 510 ff., 520 ff.; Burgess, Buddhist Stūpas of Amaravati, pp. 97 ff. and Plates XLIII, 14; LIII, 6 and 8; LIII, 1; MASJ, No. 54, Plate XIIXs; Marshall, Sālsū, Plates LXXVIII, 22b, 73b; LXXXVII, 69a; LXXXII, 42b; Allan, Catalogue of Coins (Ancient India), pp. o, ci, cf, 131, 158-69, 273, etc. (247)
There are only three lines of writing covering an area about 13½ inches in length and about 2 inches in height. The first line is slightly bigger than the second owing to the incision of the auspicios word sidha in the left margin, while the third line is smaller than the second. The letters, excepting conjuncts as well as ă, k and r and the letters with vowel-marks added to the top or the bottom, are less than half an inch in height. The characters are similar to those of the epigraphs incised during the reign of the Iksvaku king Virapurushadatta and may be assigned on palaeographical grounds to a date about the middle of the third century A.D. Among the few points of palaeographical interest noticed in the record, mention may be made of the fact that the medial i is of the ordinary short type and not of the elongated ornamental form generally found in the Iksvaku records. This was apparently due to the narrow space available for engraving the epigraph. In the passage Tamba-pamini-dipa-pasadakana in line 1, the second n is of the usual type but the first one exhibits a somewhat earlier form. The language of the inscription is Prakrit and its orthography resembles that of the inscriptions of Virapurushadatta's time. The modification of the surd to the sonant is noticed in the word saṅghāḍa or saṅghāṭa (saṅghāṭa or saṅghāṭa) in line 3. Medial i and n have been generally used in the record for medial i and n.

The inscription begins with the auspicious word sidha which is followed by the only sentence in which the record is written. The object of the epigraph is to record the installation of the pair of the Lord's (i.e., Buddha's) feet in the Vishara or Buddhist monastery which has now been exposed by the excavations at Site V-6 at Nagarjunakonda. The language of the passage is vīhare bhagavato pāda-saṅghāḍa nipatiṭhāpito (line 3). The intended reading apparently being pāda-saṅghāḍa nipatiṭhāpito or pāda-saṅghāḍa nipatiṭhāpito. The expression used to indicate the feet of the Lord is pāda-saṅghāḍa or pāda-saṅghāḍa which reminds us of Pali attī-saṅghāṭa, used in the sense of 'the joint (i.e., bone-coupling)' according to scholars. The word is the same as Sanskrit saṁghāṭa, meaning 'a pair, a couple'. Thus pāda-saṅghāṭa means 'the pair of feet' obviously referring to the representation of the feet near which the epigraph is incised. The participle nipatiṭhāpita has been used in the sense of patiṭhāpita (pratiṭhāpita, installed). The purpose behind the installation of the Lord's feet in the monastery is stated to have been the prayer (athanā, arthanā) for the welfare and happiness of all beings (sava-satānaṁ hita-sukh-athanāya). But the person responsible for the installation is not mentioned in the record.

The Vishara or monastery in which the Lord's feet were installed is stated to have belonged to certain Achariyas or Buddhist teachers who are endowed with a number of interesting epigraphs. These epigraphs are Theriyas, Vihara-vaḍa, Kasмир-Ganadha-Ravana-Vanavāsa-Tamba-pamini-dipa-pasadaka, Mahāvihara-vaisin, Naraviṇa-Sathu-sassana-atha-raja-vijnana-vinichchaya-visarada and Ariyavaram-pavani-dhara. Among these epigraphs, the third stating that the said teachers converted to the Buddhist faith is the most interesting since it reminds us of the passage . . . . tarāy-āchariyānuma Kasimir-Ganadha-China-Chaila-Tosali-Avarati-Vaniga-Vanavasi-Yavana-Damila-Palura-Tambyuva-maṇḍapa-pasadakānām Theriyānum Tamba-pamini-kānān uparigake Siripavate Vijayapuriya puccha-diśabhāga vīhare Chula-Dharmagiriṣu Chetiya-gharan sa-pata-sañtakaran sa-chetiya-nāma sava-nīyutam kiśīkaṁ vedisikāya Bodhisatva occurring in another inscription from Nagarjunakonda. The passage states how an upāsikā (female lay worshipper of the Buddha) named Bodhārī was responsible

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1 See Childers' Pali Dictionary, s.v. saṅghāṭa. The intended reading does not appear to be saṅghāḍa.

2 The word pādaśaka means literally 'causing serenity or happiness' and figuratively 'converting to the Buddhist faith'. The Mañjuśrī uses the expression dīpa-pādaśaka theri to indicate 'the monk who converted the Island (Ceylon)'. See Childers, op. cit., s.v.

3 Vogel suggests the restoration bhadanta-rājā-āchariyānam here. But the intended reading appears to be Achantarājā-āchariyānam occurring in a similar context, in another Nagarjunakonda inscription (Nagarjunakonda Soresmir, ed. Rama Rao, pp. 44-45) and probably meaning 'the teachers of the Achantaraja school'.

4 Above, Vol. XX, p. 22.
for the construction of a Chaitiya-griha in the monastery on the Little Dharmagiri in the Śrīparvata range to the east of the city of Vijayapuri for the acceptance of certain Āchāryyas or Buddhist teachers who are stated inter alia to have belonged to the Tāmrapaṇa or Tāmrapaṇi country, i.e. Ceylon (Tambapānna), and converted to the Buddhist faith the peoples of Kaśmira, Gandhāra, Chāna, Kīrāta, Tosali, Aparānta, Vaṅga, Vanavāsi, Yavana, Damila, Pulura and Tāmrapaṇi-dvīpa. Although the list of countries in the present epigraph contain only five out of the twelve names of the other inscription probably due to the shortage of space, the teachers mentioned in the two records may be the same. In that case, the Buddhist teachers referred to in our inscription were of Ceylonese origin.

The epithet theriyānām applied to āchariyānām in both the inscriptions is interesting. The word theriya in the masculine plural used in the Mahāvihāra has been taken to mean ‘the fraternities of the Theravādins’.¹ Vogel, who edited the other Nagarjunikonda inscription referred to above, derived the word theriya from therā, ‘a monk, an elder’. According to him, theriya is primarily an adjective meaning ‘belonging to the theras or monks’ from which comes the substantive sense of ‘a fraternity or community [of monks],’² while N. Dutt commenting on Vogel’s views was inclined to interpret the word theriyānām as ‘of the nuns’ and took all the epithets in the feminine gender.³ But the epithet Mahāvihāra-vāsīnān (of those dwelling in the Mahāvihāra or Great Monastery) used in our record is in the masculine and shows that Dutt’s interpretation is wrong. This Mahāvihāra seems to be identical with the Buddhist monastery of that name mentioned in several other Nagarjunikonda inscriptions⁴ referring to ‘the Mahāchāitya in the Mahāvihāra’ and indicating the location of the monastery in the Nagarjunikonda valley. As it is difficult to believe that the Great Monastery at the Ikshvāku capital accommodated nuns, this fact also appears to go against Dutt’s suggestion.

The epithet Viḥhajā-vāda (Viḥhajā-vāda) indicates that the teachers in question belonged to the Viḥhajā-vāda school. Viḥhajā-vāda is the doctrine of analysis or the religion of logic or reason and is identical with the Theravāda or doctrine of the Elders, which was the original teaching of the Buddhist Church.⁵ Thus our inscription mentions the teachers both as Theriya (i.e. Thera-vādin) and as Viḥhajā-vāda (i.e. Viḥhajā-vādin).

The remaining two epithets refer to the learning of the Buddhist teachers. One of them says that they were experts in determining the meaning and implication of the nine-fold teachings of the Śāstra, i.e., the Buddha (navaṁ-Śaṭṭha-sasana-atha-yañjana-vinīchaya-vicarada-navaṁ-aṅga-Śāstra-sasana-atha-yañjana-vinīchaya-vicarada)). Pali Saṭṭha-sasana (Sankrit Saṅkrāti śāstra) is often used in literature to indicate Budhaka-sasana, i.e., the doctrine or teachings of the Buddha, one of the Lord’s popular names being Saṭṭha (Sankrit Saṅkrāti). The nine divisions of the Buddhist scripture are Saṅgha (sermons in prose), Geśga (sermons in prose and verse), Veṣṭi (explanation or commentary), Gūṭhā (scriptures in stanzas), Udāna (pithy sayings), Ittītukka (short speeches of the Buddha), Jātaka (stories of the Buddha’s former births), Aṭṭhakutā (stories of miracles)

¹ Cf. Childers, op. cit., s.v.
² Above, Vol. XX, pp. 23, 29. He took the Āchariya as different from ‘the fraternities [of monks] of Tambapāna (Ceylon)’.
⁴ Cf. Above, Vol. XX, p. 19 (Āyaka pillar inscription B5, line 5), p. 22 (second apsidal temple inscription F, line 3); Vol. XXI, p. 66 (pillar inscription M 2, line 3). It is doubtful if the Mahāvihāra-vāsins mentioned in our record can be regarded as a subject of the Theravādin-Viḥhajavādin community (cf. MA SI, No. 71, p. 36).
⁵ See P.T.S. Pali Dictionary, s.v.
and Vedaśa (teachings in the form of questions and answers). The other epithet says that the teachers knew the traditions of the different classes of Buddhist recluses by heart (ariya-vamśa-paveni-dhara-ārya-vamśa-praveti-dhara). The expression praveti-dhara may be compared with dhamma-dhara, vinaya-dhara, mātikā-dhara, etc., of the Pali literature as well as vinaya-dhara and mahā-vinaya-dhara of the Anaravati inscriptions and Dīgha-Majjhima-nikāya-dhara in a Nagarjunikonda inscription. According to Buddhist scripture, there are four classes of recluses (ariya-vamśa, literally 'noble family'), viz. those who are contented with the robes presented to them, those who are contented with the food presented to them, those who are contented with the bedding presented to them, and those who delight in meditation.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Kaśmira is still known by its ancient name. Gandhāra (the Rawalpindi-Peshawar region), Vanavāsa (the district round Banavasi in the North Kanara District) and Tāmrarpāṇḍ-pīva or the Isle of Tāmrarpāṇi (Ceylon) are well-known. By Yavana, possibly the old Greek settlement in the Kabul valley was meant.

TEXT

2 Mahā-vibhajā-vāsinaṃ navaśī ṣaṣthu-sasana-atha-vyajana-vinichhaya-visaradanaṃ ariya-vāṣṭa-pavemih-dharamaṃ
3 vihāre Bhagavato pāda-samdhādā nipatiṭhāpitō sava-satānām hita-sukh-athanāya ti |

TRANSLATION

Let there be success! The pair of feet of the Lord (i.e. the Buddha) has been installed, with the prayer for the welfare and happiness of all beings, in the monastery of the teachers who are Theriyas (i.e. Thera-vādins) (and) Vibhajja-vādas (i.e. Vibhajja-vādins) who caused delight to (i.e. converted to the Buddhist doctrine) the people of Kaśmira, Gandhāra, Yavana, Vanavāsa and Tāmrarpāṇḍ-pīva; who are the residents of the Great Monastery; who are experts in the determination of the meaning and implication of the nine-fold teachings of the Śāstṛ (i.e. the Buddha); (and) who know the traditions of the (four) classes of (Buddhist) recluses by heart.

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1 Cf. ibid., s.v.
2 Burgess, op. cit., p. 37, No. 8 ; p. 102, No. 25.
3 Above, Vol. XX, pp. 17, 29.
4 See Successors of the Śāavakas, p. 31.
5 From impressions.
6 The intended reading is either samghādā nipatiṭhāpito or samghādā nipatiṭhāpito.
7 The punctuation is indicated by a horizontal line.
FOOTPRINT SLAB INSCRIPTION FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA

A

Scale: Two-thirds
No. 47—NOTES ON SENAKAPAT INSCRIPTION

No. 1

V. V. Mirashi, Nagpur

(Received on 22.11.1951)

Drs. M. G. Dikshit and D. C. Sircar have edited the Senakapat inscription of the time of Śivagupta Bālārjuna in this journal, Vol. XXXI, pp. 31 ff. This inscription records the construction of a Śiva temple and some grants of land in favour of the god installed therein and some Śaiva ascetics connected therewith, by Durgarakshita, son of Dēvarakshita, who was a minister of the Pāṇḍuvanāi king Nannaraja, the great-grandfather of Śivagupta Bālārjuna. In the course of the description of Dēvarakshita there occurs a stanza (verse 7) which the editors have read as follows:

Yō Vindhya-dhūrdhāri(r-dhāra)vatōma Varadā-taṣa-pariḥatā(ta)m cha samprāpya |
| samprāptavān-sa[a] Yaśōbhāṣaṇḍāgar-ākhyaya[ā] khyātān[tim] ||

The editors have taken this verse to mean that Dēvarakshita obtained (apparently from king Nannaraja) the governorship of the Vindhyan territory (Vindhya-dhūr-dharaṇa) as far as the banks of the river Varadā (Varadā-taṣa-pariḥata) and that he became well-known as Yaśōbhāṣaṇḍāgar (literally, 'a store-house of fame').

The editors' reading and interpretation of this verse are open to several objections. I have in my possession two excellent impressions of this record which Dr. M. G. Dikshit placed at my disposal when he consulted me about the reading and interpretation of this verse. On referring to them I find that the reading Varadā-taṣa-pariḥata[ṁ] adopted by the editors is very doubtful. Varadā is indeed fairly clear, but the next two aksharas are indistinct, the second being mutilated in the crack which has divided the stone into two parts. Still, in view of the mention of the Varadā, it is not unlikely that the following two aksharas were intended to be taṣa (or rather, kaṭa). The next four aksharas, however, are certainly not pariḥatā. The first has a clear curve at the top of its vertical and must be read as pṭa. The second akshara can hardly be read as ri. It is clearly ī; see the form of ī in "ōṭapalā" in line 1. The reading is, therefore, Varadā-taṣa(or, rather kaṭa)-phalihatāṁ. This, however, does not yield a good sense. The writer or the engraver has evidently committed some mistake here as in some other places in this record. Perhaps, the intended reading is Varadā-taṣa-phalihatāṁ cha samprāpya. Dikshit and Sircar, who read Varadā-taṣa-pariḥata[ṁ], had to change it into Varadā-taṣa-pariḥata[ṁ] to make it qualify Vindhya-dhūr-dharaṇa. But the use of cha after this word clearly shows that Dēvarakshita had not one, but two attainments, which made him well-known as Yaśōbhāṣaṇḍāgar (a store-house of fame). Besides, mere appointment to the Vindhyā region, even though it may have extended to the banks of the Varadā, would not make a man 'a store-house of fame'. I think, therefore, that the intended reading of this verse is as follows:

Yō Vindhya-durṣṭharaṇa Varadā-taṣa-phalihatāṁ cha samprāpya |
| samprāptavān-ī[a] Yaśōbhāṣaṇḍāgar-ākhyaya[ā] khyātān ||

1 Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 32.
3 [See below, p. 255.—Ed.]
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

Having become irresistible like the Vindhyā mountain and having exterminated a Nāga [king] (Phāyin) of Varadāśa, [Dēvarakṣita] became well-known as a store-house of fame.¹

From the mention of the river Varadā in the description of Dēvarakṣita, who was a minister of the Pāṇḍuvaṇī king Nannarājā, the editors have conjectured that Nannarājā’s dominions included the area about the Chanda District. They further say that this inference is supported by the inscription from Bhāndak situated on the bank of the Wardhā in the Chanda District, which describes Bhavadeva Rānakēṣarin as having restored a derelict Buddhist temple originally built by Sūryaguhō, an ancient king of that area.² This conjecture also is equally baseless. There is not an iota of evidence to show that the Pāṇḍuvaṇī kings were ever ruling over the Chanda District, or, for the matter of that, over any part of Vidarbha. The inscription of Bhavadeva Rānakēṣarin did not originally belong to Bhāndak. Cunningham, who had noticed the inscription in the Nagpur Museum, conjectured that it must have come from Bhāndak, because he was told at Bhāndak that an inscription on a long red slab had been taken to Nagpur during the time of the Rājā about 40 or 50 years previously by Wilkinson Sahēb.³ As the inscription of Bhavadeva Rānakēṣarin records the restoration of a Buddhist temple and as there are extensive Buddhist remains at Bhāndak, Cunningham conjectured that the inscription must have been brought from that place. The Nagpur Museum has no accurate information about the provenance of several stone records which were brought there from time to time from various places in the former Central Provinces and Berar. There was evidently no mention of Bhāndak as the provenance of the inscription in the records of the Museum; for Kielhorn, who has edited it in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, was informed that it had been brought there from Ratanpur.⁴ I discussed this question in detail in my article on the Mallā plates of Śivagupta and showed that the inscription must have been found somewhere in Chhattisgarh.⁵ My conjecture later received confirmation from a statement of Vinayakarao Aurangabadkar, who was deputed by Jenkins, Resident at Nagpur, to search for and report on the inscriptions in Chhattisgarh. In my article on the Sōmavānī kings of Southern Kosala published in this journal several years ago, I drew attention to the statements in Aurangabadkar’s report,⁶ an extract of which had been supplied to me by my friend Dr. Y. K. Deshpande who found it deposited in the India Office Library, London. As I pointed out at the time, Aurangabadkar states that ‘the slab containing the inscription of Bhavadeva was affixed to a large temple at Āraṅg. He gives a transcript and a short description of the contents of this record which leave no doubt about its identity’. Dikshit and Sircar are not inclined to believe the testimony of Aurangabadkar. They say, ‘Unfortunately, even if an inscription of the Pāṇḍuvaṇī existed at Āraṅg, its identification with the Bhāndak epigraph cannot be established. It is doubtful if any importance can at all be attached to the alleged testimony of Aurangabadkar especially when the evidence of Cunningham and Stevenson seems to point to Bhāndak as the provenance of the record’. As this matter is of considerable importance for the history of the Pāṇḍuvaṇī dynasty, I propose to examine this criticism in some detail.

At the instance of Jenkins, Aurangabadkar visited several places in Chhattisgarh and submitted a report in Mōḍī characters which is still preserved in the India Office Library (MSS., Marathi D,

¹ Besides, the next stanza (verse 8) states that Dēvarakṣita obtained from king Nannarājā a number of vīyaṅgas or districts. Verse 7 is, therefore, probably devoted to the description of his exploits.
² Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 34.
⁴ JRAS, 1905, p. 618.
⁵ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 116 f.
About the inscription in question he says, 'I give below a copy of the Sanskrit writing on a slab attached to a great temple at Arang (i.e., Aranag). [Here follows a transcript of the inscription.] The inscription states that there was a king named Suryaghosha... One of his relatives died of a fall from an upper storey. As a result of grief consequent on this, he became indifferent to worldly matters and built a large structure for a sage. Thereafter flourished Udayana, who was said to have belonged to the Padvava family... His fourth son Bhavadva was, like him, meritorious, brave and righteous. He built a Jain temple. He belonged to the Jaina faith.'

The relevant extracts from Aurangabadkar's report given above leave no doubt that the record whose contents he summarised therein was identical with the inscription of Bhavadva Ranga-kesharin. This record is incised in acute-angled characters. It is creditable to Aurangabadkar that he could grasp the contents of it fairly correctly, though from the mention of Jina in verses 1 and 37 he was misled into supposing that it was a Jaina record.

The foregoing account of Aurangabadkar's report would show that the doubts about the importance of his testimony are wholly unjustified and that there was no "speculation" on my part when I stated, on the authority of his report, that Bhavadva Ranga-kesharin's epigraph originally came from Arang. Aurangabadkar was an employee of Richard Jenkins who was Resident at Nagpur from 1807 to 1826. He, therefore, saw the inscription in question in situ at Arang more than fifty years before Cunningham noticed it deposited in the Nagpur Museum. Aurangabadkar's statement is thus much more reliable than Cunningham's conjecture. In fact it clinches the issue and proves incontrovertibly that the record came from Arang. As for Stevenson's evidence, it comes to nothing. He merely states that the inscription was found at Nagpur. He does not connect it with Bhandak or any other place.

Apart from the testimony of Aurangabadkar, there are other reasons why the record could not have belonged to Bhandak. Bhavadva Ranga-kesharin, who restored the dilapidated temple of the Buddha, was a cousin of the great-grandfather of Sivagupta Balarjuha, who flourished in the first half of the seventh century A.D. He, therefore, cannot be referred to a period later than the beginning of the sixth century A.D. Suryaghosha, who originally built the temple of

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1 Through the good offices of Dr. H. N. Randle, who was then in charge of the India Office Library, I obtained several years ago photostat copies of some portion of this report relating to some inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur. See C.III., Vol. IV., p. 501, note 1. Jenkins sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal a report about these inscriptions which was published in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV.

2 See the actual words of Aurangabadkar:

"... ya atitvaye mahaveeravathy bhagavad sanskrit uttar likhita Yavatik... Yavatik karshe ap aat mahaveerakhand purna melam. Yavatik yagata lanka vijaya anagha anuvah samudra samuh mahajana rajya saambhavi sahajat hote... Yavatik karshe puna shravat samag samajat hote... Yavatik karshe vishrutha purna samag samagat hote... Yavatik karshe vishrutha purna samag samagat hote..."

3 [See below, p. 256.—Ed.]

4 Cunningham noticed the inscription in the Nagpur Museum sometime before 1873. See his ASR, Vol. IX., p. 127.


6 See the genealogical table in my "Three Ancient Dynasties of Mahakalesa" (Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Vol. VIII., pp. 47 f.).
the Buddha, is said to have flourished long before Udayana, the grandfather of Bhavadeva. He cannot therefore be later than the beginning of the fifth century A.D. In this period, the Chanda District and the surrounding territory were included in the dominions of the Vakatakas. Several inscriptions of the Vakataka king Paravarasena II, who flourished in this period, have been found in this region. No king named Suryaghoshä could have ruled over this territory in the beginning of the fifth century A.D. There was, however, another king of this name ruling in Chhatangarh in this period, viz., Sura, whose descendant Bhimasena II's copper plate inscription dated in G. 182 (501-02 A.D.) was discovered at Arañg itself. Sura (often written as Sûra) and Surya are synonyms in Sanskrit, both meaning 'the sun'. This also proves the correctness of Aurangabadkar's statement that the inscription of Bhavadeva Rañakesarin was originally at Arañg.

The question still remains: What was that record which, as Cunningham's informante told him, was removed from Bhândak to Nagpur? In the absence of reliable information on the point, I previously conjectured that it may have been the Nagpur Museum prasasti of the rulers of Malwa. Here also Aurangabadkar comes to our aid. He has given elsewhere a transcript of the so-called Sîthâlalji inscription of the time of Vikramâditya VI, edited by Kielhorn in this journal, Vol. III, pp. 391 f. Cunningham found this record at Sîthâlalji, a suburb of Nagpur; but it did not evidently belong to that place originally; for Sîthâlalji or Nagpur was not in existence in the time of Vikramâditya VI of the Later Chalukya dynasty. About four years ago, Dr. Deshpande showed me the transcript of an inscription which Aurangabadkar had found near the old caves at Bhândak and asked me if it had been published anywhere. I at once identified it with the aforementioned inscription of Vikramâditya VI. This is, therefore, the inscription which, as Cunningham was told at Bhândak, had been removed by Major Wilkinson from the Wijason Caves of Bhândak to Nagpur.

The foregoing discussion must have made it plain that Bhavadeva Rañakesarin's epigraph originally belonged to Arañg. Dêvârakshita, the minister of Nannaraja, may have raided the country up to the bank of the Wañhâ, but that does not prove that the Pándudvânis were ruling over the region round Chândâ.

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8 [See below, p. 236.—Ed.]
9 This has already been pointed out in my aforementioned article on the three ancient dynasties of Mahâkshala.
0 Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 117.
No. 2
D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund
(Received on 1.2.1953)

Prof. V. V. Mirashi has offered above, pp. 251 ff., his views on the reading and interpretation of verse 7 of the Śenakapāṭ inscription with reference to his theories that no portion of the Marāthi-speaking area formed a part of the dominions of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśis of Kōsāla and that the Bhāndak inscription was brought to the Nagpur Museum not from Bhāndak in the Chanda District but from Arang in the Raipur District. We do not think that he has succeeded in proving the point to the satisfaction of scholars.

He suggests the reading Vindhyā-dhūrddhri(dur-dhā)ratvān and Varadā-tat(a) or kata) Phaṣi-hatām in the stanza which was read by us as follows:—

Yo Vindhyā-dhūrddhri(dur-dhā)ratvān Varadā-ta(ta)-parhaftāṃ(uṃ) cha samprāpya |

samprāptavān cha Yasōbhāṇḍī-gār-ākhyaya Śyaṃūm(tim) ||

Both his readings and emendations appear to us doubtful and unacceptable. But his arguments in favour of the suggestions are more dubious. He thinks that Dēvarakakita, whose exploits are described in the stanza, performed two feats according to its first half as indicated by the word cha therein, viz., irresistibility like the Vindhyas and the extermination of the Phaṇī and Nāga king of the Varadā valley, and that the said two achievements led to his celebrity as Yāsōbhāṇḍī-gārā, 'the store-house of fame'. Not only are Prof. Mirashi's reading, emendation and interpretation of Vindhyā-durddharatvān and Varadā-ta(ta)-Phaṣi-hatām farfetched and unsatisfactory, his objections against our interpretation of the stanza appear to be based on misunderstanding. We understood the stanza as follows: Yaḥ Varadā-ta(ta)-parhaftāṃ Vindhyā-dhūr-dharatvāṃ samprāpya, cha Yāsōbhāṇḍī-gārā-ākhyaya khyātīm cha samprāptavān in which cha does not offer any difficulty at all. There is also no difficulty if his achievement recorded in the first half of the verse is regarded as the cause of Dēvarakakita's celebrity as 'the store-house of fame', since the implication is that he conquered the Vindhyā region as far as the banks of the Varadā on behalf of his master who made him the governor of that newly annexed territory and conferred on him the title of Yāsōbhāṇḍī-gārā. We do not find any difficulty if, according to verse 8 of the record, Dēvarakakita received from his master a few other visāhās either for governing or as feasts, although the visāhās referred to in these stanzas may have been actually comprised in the Vindhyā tract mentioned in verse 7. In any case, even according to Prof. Mirashi's suggestion, Dēvarakakita, a general of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī king Nāgaṇa, became famous after having killed a Nāga king of the Varadā valley. He, therefore, admits Pāṇḍuvaṁśī association with the valley of the Varadā. But in his opinion, Dēvarakakita merely raided the country up to the banks of the Varadā and this fact does not prove that the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs were ruling over the region around Chāndā. That the reference is only to a raid and not to the occupation of the Varadā valley by the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī general is, however, purely a matter of opinion. Even if, therefore, Prof. Mirashi's doubtful reading, emendation and interpretation of verse 7 of the Śenakapāṭ inscription are accepted, they do not prove that the Varadā valley lay outside the dominions of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs.

In this connection, Prof. Mirashi has offered a number of suggestions such as that the Vākṣtakas were in occupation of the Chāndā region in the beginning of the fifth century, that Sūryabhūṣha
mentioned in the Bhāndak inscription ruled in that very period, that this Sūryaṅgōṣha has to be identified with Sūra, the ancestor of Bhūmaśēna II of the Āraṅg copper-plate inscription, and that the said inscription of Bhūmaśēna is dated in the Gupta year 182 (501-02 A.D.). All these suggestions are mere speculations and are, therefore, absolutely unwarranted. There is no clear evidence of Vākāṭaka rule in the Chándā region in the beginning of the fifth century. If one suggests that the Vākāṭakas conquered the area from Sūryaṅgōṣha, it would be at least as good a conjecture as any of Prof. Mirashi's. The exact period when Sūryaṅgōṣha of the Bhāndak inscription flourished is impossible to determine with the evidence at our disposal. The identification of Sūryaṅgōṣha with Sūra is no better than fantastic. The date of the Āraṅg inscription of Bhūmaśēna II is very clearly and certainly the Gupta year 282 (601-02 A.D.).

The main object of Prof. Mirashi's note is to reiterate his contention that the Bhāndak inscription of Bhavādeva Raṇakēśarīna, now in the Nagpur Museum, was really brought to the Museum from Āraṅg and not from Bhāndak, a theory associated with another conjecture that no Marāṭhi-speaking territory formed a part of the dominions of the Pāṇdu-vānīya. This he has tried to prove on the basis of the evidence of Aurangabadkar, who is supposed to have noticed the same inscription in a temple at Āraṅg. It has, however, been forgotten that, in the Mahāmāyī temple at Āraṅg, there is an inscription of the same Bhavādeva Raṇakēśarīna, which has been noticed by Hiralal's List, 2nd edition, p. 110, No. 183. This Āraṅg inscription is damaged and has not been fully deciphered. But it is interesting to note that the name of Raṇakēśarīna occurs in line 13 of both the Bhāndak inscription in the Nagpur Museum and the Āraṅg Mahāmāyī temple inscription. This shows that the two inscriptions had similar, if not exactly the same, contents. Aurangabadkar, therefore, must have noticed this inscription at Āraṅg. It appears that the old king named Sūryaṅgōṣha built one temple at Bhāndak and another at Āraṅg and that both of them were repaired by Bhavādeva Raṇakēśarīna. Bhavādeva's interest in the temples built by Sūryaṅgōṣha can be easily explained if the latter was an ancestor of the former's mother.

Prof. Mirashi is eager to show, in support of his theories, that some other inscription brought to the Nagpur Museum by Wilkinson is confused by Cunningham with Bhavādeva Raṇakēśarīna's record. Formerly he suggested that it was the Nagpur Museum prāśasti of the Paramāras that was brought from Bhāndak. But now he says that this suggestion was offered in the absence of reliable information. Now, on the authority of Aurangabadkar, he suggests that it was the Śītābāldi inscription of Vikramadītiya VI, and not the Bhāndak inscription of Bhavādeva Raṇakēśarīna, that was brought from Bhāndak to the Nagpur Museum. But this is as clearly unwarranted as the older suggestion. According to local information available to Cunningham at Bhāndak, which Prof. Mirashi has himself quoted, the inscribed stone taken away by Wilkinson was a long red slab.

This description suits the Bhāndak inscription of Raṇakēśarīna in the Nagpur Museum very well and not the Śītābāldi inscription of Vikramadītiya VI even in the least. Bhavādeva Raṇakēśarīna's Bhāndak inscription measures four feet and ten inches in length and one foot and eleven inches in height, although the number of missing syllables at the end of the lines show beyond doubt that the original length of the slab was not less than six feet and a half. On the other hand, the Śītābāldi inscription of Vikramadītiya VI is engraved on an elaborately sculptured pillar and the writing covers an area about two feet in length and eleven inches in height. It is impossible to believe that the villagers of Bhāndak could have referred to this pillar inscription as an epigraph on a long red slab of stone.

It is difficult to believe that Śītābāldi did not exist before Vikramadītiya VI. Even if Vikramadītiya VI's epigraph was brought there from Bhāndak, Bhavādeva Raṇakēśarīna's inscription could also have been brought to the Nagpur Museum from the same place.
No. 48—INSCRIPTION FROM HOMBIL

(1 Plote)

G. S. GAI, OOTAAGAMUND

(Received on 10.9.1956)

The subjoined inscription1 was copied by me on the 24th December 1946 at Hombil, a village in the Hangal Taluk of the Dharwar District, Mysore State. The village is situated at a distance of about 10 miles to the north east of Hangal, the headquarters of the Taluk. The inscribed slab is lying in a field called Kall Hakkala (Survey No. 19).

The inscription is written in two sections, called here A and B, which are engraved side by side on the same slab and occupy a rectangular space measuring 2'10" by 11'5" with a small gap of 2'5" between them. Section A is enclosed by three straight lines, only the left side having no such line, while section B is enclosed by such lines on all the four sides. The writing of A covers an area about 1'4'5" by 10" while that of B about 1'2" by 10". There are only 5 lines of writing in either of the sections, so that the whole inscription is written in 10 lines. A piece of stone has been chipped off from Section B resulting in the loss of a few letters in lines 6-8. But the preservation of the writing on A is quite satisfactory.

As will be seen below, both the sections of the inscription record the death of a hero in a fight and as such the slab may be called a hero-stone (viragal). But it does not contain any sculptures depicting a fighting scene and the death of the hero, which are usually found on such inscribed slabs.

The characters of the record are Kannada-Telugu of the 8th century A. D. The letters are neatly and deeply engraved. Initial s occurs in lines 1, 7 and 8. No distinction is made between e and o which are found in lines 3 and 5 respectively. Final i is met with in lines 3 and 8 and final n in lines 5 and 10. As regards orthography, it may be observed that the reduplication of a consonant following r is found only in some cases.

The language of the inscription is Kannada and the text is written in prose. The dative suffix 'akke in lines 5 and 10, the conjunctive suffix 'i in lines 2 and 9, and the verbal form 'ayu in lines 4 and 5 and 'iyan in lines 5 and 10 are some of the early features of the Kannada language.

Section A records the death of Bādugilītigamūnda (i.e. son or servant of) Karramunda after having killed and won [the fight] against Madamana of Nareyaṅa when Mārakke-arasa was governing Banavasi Twelve thousand. The object of section B is to record the death of Animeṇti, son of Priyamēṇti of Karramunda in a fight which is apparently the same as referred to in Section A.

The record is not dated nor is the reigning king to whom it should be referred mentioned. But the mention of Mārakke-arasa as the governor of Banavasi 12,000 throws some light on the question. Now a record from Naregula, about 24 miles from Hombil, refers itself to the reign of a king named Dora and mentions a certain Mārakka-arasa as governing the Banavasi 12,000 province, evidently as a feudatory of the king.2 This Dora has been identified with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dhruva who was the son of Krishna I and ruled from 780-94 A.D.3 The characters of this Naregal inscription are exactly similar to those of our record. And the object of that inscription is also to record the death of a person named Dommarakādava[m] on the occasion of a cattle-raid.

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1 It is noticed in A. B. Æp., 1946-47, App. B, Nos. 221 and 222.
2 The expression mēṇti in Kannada means 'chief or headman'. But it appears to have been affixed to the proper name here. In the case of his father Priyameṇti, it may be taken as a proper name or to mean 'a dear or beloved chief' and, in the latter case, he might be identified with Bādugilītigamūnda of Section A.
4 Ibid., p. 163. Frew's statement that he was the successor of Krishna I has to be modified in as much as Gōvinda II, older brother of Dhruva, also ruled for a few years (775-780 A. D.).

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There can be no doubt that Mārakke-arasa of our record is identical with the Mārakka-arasa of the Naregal inscription. It is possible that the same light is referred to in both the inscriptions. The same Mārakka-arasa figures in an inscription from Siśenur in the Hirekerur Taluk of the Dharwar District. In this record also he is stated to have been governing the Banavasi-nādu as a subordinate of Dhōraparasa, i.e. Dhruva. In yet another record from Kachāvī in the Hirekerur Taluk, belonging to the reign of Dhōra-Dhārāvarsha, i.e. Dhruva, a certain Māra is introduced as administering the Banavasi 12,000 province. He is apparently the same as Mārakka-arasa. Therefore the inscription under study may be assigned to the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūta king Dhruva. In this connection, two records from Nūlgīrī in the Harekerur Taluk may be noticed. One of them refers itself to the reign of a king Gōndra under whom a certain Mārake-arasa was governing Banavasi 12,000. Gōndra may be the Rāṣṭrakūta king Gōvinda II or III. The other record belongs to the time of Kannara, possibly Kṛishṇa I, and mentions his feudatory Mārakera as administering the nādu which may be taken to represent Banavasi-nādu. Mārakera may be the same as Mārakka-arasa. Unfortunately the records are not illustrated. If, however, the identification of the kings mentioned in them with Kṛishṇa I and Gōvinda II is accepted, it follows that the Mārakka-arasa was the governor of the Banavasi province from their time onwards. And, so far as I know, Mārakka-arasa is the earliest known governor of the Banavasi 12,000 province under the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūta kings. The Kachāvī record informs us that he had a son named Kattyara from his senior queen Appa-Vineti and the Siśenur inscription apparently refers to the same queen as Binaṭṭi-Abbe who is stated to have been administering the village (i.e. Siśenur).

Only one geographical name occurs in the record, viz. Nareyaṅgāl which is the modern Naregal situated about 2½ miles from Hombi, the findspot of the inscription. Nareyaṅgāl is also mentioned in the Naregal inscription referred to above.

TEXT

Section A

1 Svasti śri-Mārakke-arasa-Banavā
2 si-pannirchēh(rchēh)siranum-āje Nareyaṅgān.
3 Ila Mādamaṇna eda(di)rto Kargā-
4 munḍara Bāduḍiti-gāmundjam=÷-
5 ridu geldu sa(sva)rṛgāla[ya]*kk=ērīdan [*]

Section B

6 Śri Kargāmundo[ra] [Priya]māṅgīti-
7 ya* maga[n] Animēnīti . 10 le-
8 gado atavita 11 kōl[a] . 11 la-
9 m=ēle kondu tānnum sa(sva)-
10 rṛgāla[ya*]kk=ērīdan [*]

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1 The slight difference in the spelling of the name may be attributed to scribal error. Its form in the Naregal record seems to be correct.
4 Ibid., p. 35.
5 Prabhāvatara Gōvindarasa under whom one Rājādityarasa was governing Banavāsi-Mandala according to an inscription at Māṭhi in the Sorab Taluk of the Shimoga District (Ep. Curr., Vol. VIII, Sb. 10) has been identified with Gōvinda III (704-814 A. D.), son and successor of Dhruva. Cf. above, Vol. IX, p. 16. Similarly Prabhāvatara Gōvindarasa under whom one Eriyammarasa was the governor of Banavasi-nādu as stated in another record from the same place (Ep. Curr., Vol. VIII, Sb. 9) may be identified with Gōvinda III.
6 From the impressions.
7 Read Nareyaṅgā.
8 There is some trace of a subscript of r of this lost akharā which may be restored as pri.
9 See above, p. 257, note 2.
10 Two akharas lost here may be suggested to be a ā from the context.
11 This expression may mean 'here and there'.
12 One akharā is lost here, which may be restored as ha from the context.
No. 49—INSCRIPTION IN CAVE IV AT AJANTA

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 15.11.1958)

An inscription was recently discovered on the pedestal of the huge Buddha image in the shrine inside Cave IV at Ajañṭā in the Aurangabad District of Bombay State. Before the discovery of this record, it was generally believed that the cave bears no epigraphic records and therefore its age was a subject of speculation.

The inscription is a votive record written in two lines only. The writing covers an area about 5 feet 6 inches long and about 4½ inches high. Individual letters are about 1 inch in height although conjuncts and consonants with vowel-marks are bigger in size. The preservation of the writing is not satisfactory. Some of the letters are damaged here and there, while six letters are totally lost about the middle of line 2.

The characters of the inscription closely resemble those of the epigraph1 of the time of the Vākāṭaka king Harishēṇa in Cave XVI at Ajañṭā and of the Ghaṭotkacha cave inscription2 at the village of Jaṅglā about fifteen miles from Fardapur near Ajañṭā, which mentions king Dēvasēṇa of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. It has, however, to be pointed out that our inscription exhibits a form of th which is slightly later than that of the letter as found in the Vākāṭaka inscriptions. While in the Vākāṭaka records, a separate curve is attached to the inner side of the bottom, the present inscription exhibits a loop instead of the separate curve as in records like the Pipardula plates3 of king Narēndra of Śarabhupura, who ruled about the beginning of the sixth century A. D.4 Since the Vākāṭaka kings Dēvasēṇa and Harishēṇa flourished about the second half of the fifth century A. D., our inscription, which is slightly later than their records, may be assigned to the first half of the sixth century.

It may be pointed out, in connection with the date of the record, that the earlier writers on the history of the Vākāṭakas entertained a wrong view in regard to the chronology of that dynasty. Some of these writers assigned the reigns of king Dēvasēṇa and his son and successor Harishēṇa to c. 475-500 A. D. and c. 500-20 A. D. respectively.5 But they mixed up the Nāndīvardhana-Pravarapura and Vatsagulma branches of the family and wrongly made Dēvasēṇa and Harishēṇa

2 *ASWI*, op. cit. pp. 138 ff. and Plate IX.
3 Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. IX, Plate facing p. 145, text line 8; cf. his Kurud plates above, Vol. XXXI, Plate facing p. 294, text line 13, and Maitraka Drāṣṭāśinha’s Bhamodra Mohota plates of 502 A.D. (above, Vol. XVI, Plate facing p. 18, text-line 2). It may be noticed in this connection that the Siroda plates of Dēvarāja, which use the same type of looped th (cf. lines 2, 6), have been assigned on palaeographical grounds to the 4th century A.D. (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 144; Vol. XXVI, p. 339; *The Classical Age*, p. 191). I have no doubt, however, that the palaeography of the record is not earlier than the beginning of the 6th century.
4 See above, Vol. XXXI, p. 287.
5 *ASWI*, op. cit. p. 129.
of the Vatsagulma branch the successors of their contemporaries of the Nāṇḍivardhana-Pravara-
pura branch. Another group of scholars assigned Pravaraśena II of the Nāṇḍivardhana-Pravara-
pura branch, who was supposed to have been a predecessor of Dēvasēna and Harishēṇa, to the eighth
century A.D. on the basis of the identification of his maternal grandfather Dēvagupta with Ādityaśena’s son of that name ruling over Magadha about 680-700 A.D.¹ It is, however, now known
that the two branches of the royal family sprang from Vindyaśakti’s son Pravaraśena I, the end of
whose reign is referred to in the historical section of the Purāṇas, which was compiled when the
Gupta empire was confined to Bihar and Eastern U. P., i.e. about the second quarter of the fourth
century A.D. We now also know that the maternal grandfather of Pravaraśena II of Nāṇḍivard-
hana-Pravarapura was not Dēvagupta of the so-called Later Gupta dynasty but the Imperial
Gupta monarch Chandragupta II who ruled in the period 376-413 A.D. In the Vatsagulma branch,
Pravaraśena I was followed by: (1) his son Sarvasēna; (2-3) his sons Vindyaśakti II and Prīthivī-
shēṇa; (4) Pravaraśena II, son of Prīthivīshēṇa; (5) his son whose name is lost; (6) his son Dēvasēna;
and (7) Dēvasēna’s son Harishēṇa. In the other house, Pravaraśena I was followed on the throne
by: (1) his grandson Rudrasēna I, son of Gautamiputra; (2) his son Prīthivīshēṇa I; (3) his son
Rudrasēna II; (4-6) his queen Prabhāvatīguptā, daughter of Chandragupta II, and sons Dāmōḍarasēna and Pravaraśena II; (7) Pravaraśena’s son Nārāyānrasēna; and (8) his son Prīthivīshēṇa II.²

Since Sarvasēna began to rule about the second quarter of the fourth century, it is difficult
to believe that the reign of his grandson’s great-grandson Harishēṇa extended beyond 500 A.D.
Harishēṇa’s father Dēvasēna again was the sixth in descent from Pravaraśena I exactly as Pravara-
sēna II of the other branch, who was the daughter’s son of Chandragupta II (376-413 A.D.) and
could not have ended his reign much later than the middle of the fifth century A.D. Since, however,
Gautamiputra of the other branch apparently predeceased his father and did not rule,
Nārāyānrasēna, son and successor of Pravaraśena II of that branch, may be regarded as a contem-
porary of Dēvasēna of Vatsagulma. Even then the rule of Dēvasēna and Harishēṇa should have
to be attributed to a period before the close of the fifth century.³

The inscription is written in Sanskrit and its orthography resembles that of the contem-
porary Vāṣṭāvaka inscriptions. Consonants following r have often been reduplicated. There are
some orthographical errors. The object of the inscription is to record that the image, on the
pedestal of which is engraved, was the gift of a person who was ‘the owner of the monastery’,
i.e. who built Cave IV at Ajañṭā.

The epigraph begins with a damaged Siddham symbol and this is followed by the two sentences
in which the record is written. The first sentence states that the object on which the inscription
is incised (i.e. the Buddha image) was the dēya-dharma or gift of a person named Māthūra who was
the son of Abhayānandin and Skandavasu and belonged to the Kārvaṭiya gōtra. Apparently
Abhayānandin was the name of Māthūra’s father and Skandavasu that of his mother, although
female names like Skandavasu are not often met with.⁴ The Kārvaṭiya gōtra is not known from
ancient Indian literature. Māthūra is further described as the Vihāravāsin or ‘the owner of the
monastery’. The monastery referred to is undoubtedly Cave IV at Ajañṭā, in which the
image of the Buddha bearing the inscription under study is enshrined.

The second sentence, with which the inscription ends, states, in the usual Mahāyāna style,
that the merit accruing to the pious act of Māthūra was meant for the attainment of the supreme
knowledge by all beings including his parents and others.

² For the dates of these Vāṣṭāvaka kings, see The Classical Age, pp. 177 ff.
³ It does not appear to be a single name reading Abhayānandiskandavasu. It is also doubtful whether we
   can suggest Abhayānandin alias Skandavasu.
The passage indicating the persons for whose supreme knowledge the pious act is stated to have been made reads: madā-pitrōn tāt-āmbāyāśeṣa-gr-āṇvarāya-su-...sara-sa-tva(lītva)jñā-...chā-nuttara-jñāṇin-ājāpyate. The expression tāt-āmbāy in the singular may of course mean ‘the ambā (i.e. mother) of [one’s] tāta (i.e. father)’, that is to say, ‘one’s father’s mother’. There are, however, words of common use in Sanskrit to indicate one’s father’s mother and tāt-āmbā is not such an expression. It is, therefore, not improbable that the expression has been used in the inscription to convey a special meaning such as that of one’s father’s step-mother or aunt. The expression agr-āṇvarāya-su is incomplete as about six akṣaras of the line are lost after su. We may possibly suggest agr-āṇvarāya-suvarā, ‘of the prominent friends of the family [of Māthura, the donor of the image]’. There is space for another word between su[hirīdā] and ‘suvarās’ and we are inclined to restore the damaged section as ‘su[hirīdā]s-ch-ātmanas-sa[svarā]’, the word ātmanāḥ meaning ‘of one’s own’. Thus Māthura seems to have installed the Buddha image in the Vihāra or Buddhist monastery (i.e. Cave IV at Ajañṭā), which he caused to be built, for the attainment of supreme knowledge, leading to Nirvāṇa, by all beings including his parents, his father’s mother, step-mother or aunt, the prominent friends of his family and his own self.

The importance of the inscription lies in the welcome light it throws on the controversy about the age of Cave IV at Ajañṭā. The difference of opinion amongst scholars is due to the fact that, in the absence of any inscription in the said Cave, they had so long to depend entirely on the less specific evidence such as that of architectural and sculptural style. Besides the absence of inscriptions in many of the caves, another fact contributing to the confusion regarding the dates of the Ajañṭā caves is the wrong date assigned by earlier writers to kings Divāsaṇa and Harishēṇa of the Vākāṭaka family, during whose rule respectively the Ghāṭotkacha Cave and Cave XVI at Ajañṭā were excavated. This point has already been discussed above.

A number of writers on the subject are inclined to assign Cave IV at Ajañṭā to a date between the sixth and eighth centuries A. D. They divide twenty-nine caves at Ajañṭā into two broad groups, the first of which is called Early or Hīnayāna and Caves VIII-XIII are included in it by some scholars. This group of caves is assigned to the period between the second century B.C. and the second or third century A. D. The second group, called Later or Mahāyāna and supposed to be removed from the other by a considerable period of time, is subdivided into two sub-groups. To the first of these two are assigned Caves XIV-XX believed to have been excavated in the sixth century due to Cave XVI bearing an inscription mentioning Vākāṭaka Harishēṇa whose reign was assigned to the age in question, while Caves VI-VII of the same class are attributed to a date between 450 and 550 A. D. Caves I-V and XXI-XXIX, constituting the second sub-group of the Later or Mahāyāna group and assigned to the period between 500 and 650 A. D. or between the sixth or seventh and the seventh or eighth centuries A.D., are called ‘the latest Caves at Ajañṭā’ and ‘the most ornate group of the whole series’. According to these scholars, therefore, Cave IV, the largest Vihāra at Ajañṭā, belongs to the latest group of Ajañṭā Caves which may be as late as the seventh or eighth century A. D. There is, however, another view, according to which Cave IV is the earliest Mahāyāna Vihāra at Ajañṭā and ‘was probably excavated in the third century A.D. or still earlier’ though ‘the decorative work may have been done at a later date’. But the inscription under study now shows that the cave was excavated about the first half of the sixth century A. D.

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1 J. Fergusson and J. Burgess, The Cave Temples of India, 1880, pp. 86 ff.; J. Burgess, ASWI, Vol. IV (Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples and their Inscriptions, 1856-79), pp. 43 ff.; J. Fergusson, History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, 2nd ed., pp. 188 ff.; A. Coomaraswamy, History of India as i Indianian Art, pp. 28, 76 96; etc. There is difference among scholars as regards the date of individual caves.

1 [Siddham] [||"] dēya-dharmāṇyam vibhāra-swāminā-bhayānandip-kandava-putraisyā Mahā-
thuraisyā Kārvaṭiyā-sagotrasa [&&"] yad-atra puṇyaṁ

2 tad-bhavantu mātā-pitrāśe tāṁAmbayāśe chāgr-ānva[vā]ya-su ....... ā sarvā-sarvā-
(tāḥ)nāṁechā[nu]ḥ brāmā(m-n-ā)vāptaye t[)]iti ||
No. 50—RATNAGIRI PLATES OF SOMAVAMSI KARNA

(2 Plates)

DEBALA MITRA, CALCUTTA

(Received on 14.10.1958)

In 1958, while camping at Ratnagiri (lat. 20° 38' 30"; long. 86° 21') in the Cuttack District, Orissa, in connection with the excavation of the Buddhist remains at the hill-top, I came to know that a copper plate lying with a villager had been removed to Puri by a Police Officer. An enquiry revealed that the plate is now in the possession of Pandit Sadasiva Ratha Sarma of Puri. Though it has not yet been possible for me to examine this plate in original, it appears almost certain that it is none other than the one already published by Narayana Tripathi in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XVI, 1930, pp. 206-210 and Plate.¹

In the hope that the remaining two plates (the Somavamshi charters being triphali-tantratārasanas) might still be available at Ratnagiri itself, I proceeded to make enquiries of the local people and succeeded in locating one of the plates (the third of the complete set) with Shri Raghunath Jena, ex-zamindar of the village. A further search brought to light the second plate in the series, which was lying in the possession of a local gentleman named Dasu Mallik. These two plates, together with the one previously published, complete the charter. It was reported to me that all the three plates, originally strung together on a ring (now lost), had been found in an earthen pot by the late Shri Sanatana Mallik, father of the above-mentioned Dasu Mallik, about fifty years back in the south-eastern part of a mound, locally known asRaṇipukhuri (literally 'the queen's tank'), situated at the top of the hill at Ratnagiri.²

Both the plates edited here are well-preserved and measure 14 inches in length, the widths of the second and third plates being respectively 8½ and 8½ inches. They have a ring-hole, 8 inch in diameter, at the centre of the left margin. A portion was cut off from both the plates evidently for testing the metal. The second plate (i.e. the first of the set available to me), weighing 3 seers and 13 tolas, is inscribed on both the sides, while the third, which weighs 2 seers and 56½ tolas and has a raised rim, is engraved only on one side. The second plate contains eighteen lines of writing on the obverse as well as on the reverse and the third only fourteen lines, the average number of letters per line being thirtythree. The letters are nicely and boldly engraved and have the average height of 4 inch.

The palaeography of the charter resembles that of the Orissan inscriptions of about the twelfth century. The top horizontal line of the letters has a triangular hook below on the left side. The consonants p and y are often undistinguishable; so also are ḍ and r. The medial sign of n closely resembles that of subscript v.

The language is Sanskrit and the record is written partly in verse and partly in prose, though the influence of the local language is noticed in the word āṭṭhārīsa for Aṣṭhāvīnika (line 33) as well as in the words indicating taxes, viz. chittola, andhārā, pratyanabhārā, antarāvadī, rinta-kāvadi and vasāvaki (lines 38 and 39).

As regards orthography, apart from obvious scribal mistakes, the following features may be mentioned: the use of sh for s in Kōsha (line 19) and Tōshali (line 33), of s for sh in satā (line

¹ [See below, pp. 269-70.—Ed.]
² The excavations at this mound revealed two full-fledged monasteries.

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of ér for ɪ in Kāṣyapa (line 42), of ɪ for final ṁ in valiyam (line 30), ongulaḥ (line 58), etc.,
and of the avagraha sign in some cases as yathāśemāḥ (line 36) and Sūnśirōśrīkāvum (line 62);
the reduplication of the consonant following the répha in some cases as in kirtti (lines 22, 30 and
61); etc.

The charter was issued from Yayātinagara by Paramamāhāvīra Paramabhāṣṭāraka
Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Somaśakatilaka Trikaśtigādhipati Karnaḍēva alias Mahāśīva-
gupta on the twelfth fortnight of the month of Áśvina in his sixth regnal year. Its object was to record the grant of the village of Kōṇa which was within the
Brahmā-Āṭṭhāvīsa khaṇḍa (sub-division) of Uttara-Tōsaḷī to Rājī Karpūraṇī who was the
dughter of the son of Udayamatī and the daughter of Mahārāma-Hupadēva1 and who belonged to
the Kāṣyapa gōtra having three pravaras. The mention of the names of her mother and
grandmother instead of her father and grandfather is rather unusual. She hailed from the
Mahāvīra of Salōgavara in Utkalā-dēśa, which seems to have been a Buddhist monastery. In
that case, she was a Buddhist, though she claimed a Brahmanical gōtra. Her title Rājī is equally
enigmatic. It is not clear addressed as the wife of some Rāṇaka or was one of the secondary queens.2

The list of persons regarding the grant is identical with that of the Narasinghpur
(Balijhari) plates3 of Udyōtakāśarin and comprises officials and dignitaries like samāvartī (collect-
tor of taxes), saṃnakāra (receiver of stolen goods or an officer who introduces people of court),
miyuktaśāhīraka, dāṇḍapāśika (police officer), pīṇāsavērika (one who canes the wicked), avvādhi-
jana (inmates of the seraglio), rājā (chief queen), rāṇaka (subordinate chief), rājputra (prince),
rājāvalabha (persons enjoying royal favour) and bhōjajana (village-headman), besides the rural
folk.

The privileges to be enjoyed by the donee, over and above the common ones found in most
grants, were hasti-danda, varabhīlāvada, chittāla, andhāruṇa, pratvandharuṇa, adatta, padātijaya,
antaravāḍi, vintakāvadā, vasāvakī, vishayāli, āhī-danda, hala-danda, bandha-danda, vandāpanā
and viṣayavandāpanā. Most of these occur in the Narasinghpur plates of Udyōtakāśarin and the
Kēla plates,4 though the exact significance of these still remains to be determined. Hasti-danda,
varabhīlāvada and halā-danda may mean taxes on the maintenance of elephants, superior bulls
and ploughs. The āhī-danda might have been a tax imposed on snake-charmers who earned their
livelihood by the exhibition of snakes. Padātijaya, vandāpanā and viṣayavandāpanā may respectively
indicate subsistence for the infantry, tribute to the king and such tribute paid after the king
obtained a victory.

Karnaḍēva’s minister for peace and war (sandhiṣṭigraha) was Kṛishṇaṇḍēva who apparently
superseded the members of the Datta family who had held that post up to the reign of Udyōtakā-
śarin. Mahākēshapātīn (chief accounts-officer) Chittaśaladēva was responsible for getting the charter
written and it was engraved on the plates by Sāṅkhuca.

The inscription throws considerable new light on the history of the later Somaśakatīs. It
furnishes for the first time the names of the three immediate successors of Udyōtakāśarin, namely,
Janamējaya, his son Purāṇējaya, and his brother Karna. Of these, Karna is no doubt the same
as the Utkalēsā Karpākāśarin mentioned in the commentary on the Rāmacarita, though the suffix
kāśarin is absent in his own record.5 In verse 45 of the third Parichchheda of this work, we are

1 See p. 267, note 3. The name is not a pure Sanskrit one. This may be due to her Hūna origin.
2 [See below, pp. 272-73.—Ed.]
4 Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 221 ff.
5 The evidence of the Rāmacarita commentary and the Mahālā Pāṇī shows that the name-ending āśarin
became associated with the later Somaśakatīs following Udyōtakāśarin, though their own official records do not
show this.
told that Rāmapāla (c. 1077-1120 A.D.) favoured the vanquished king of Utkala, who belonged to the lineage of Bhāva's ornament (i.e. the dynasty of the moon or the Soma-varṣa), and rescued the world from the terror of Kalīnga after having killed those robbers of that place,¹ most probably led by the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍaṅga.² Rāmapāla accomplished this towards the later part of his reign following the consolidation of his empire after his victory over the Kaiśara king Bhitame, most probably about the beginning of the twelfth century. The commentary on verse 5 of the second Parichchheda supplies the name of this Utkalēsa as Karṇakēsarins who was defeated by Jayasimha, the feudatory ruler of Daṇḍabhukti under Rāmapāla.³

King Janamejaya, son of Udyotakēsarins, succeeded his father. In verse 13 he is stated to have threatened or surpassed the Nāga king in bearing the weight of the earth. If this verse has any political significance, the Nāga king must have been the Chhindaka-Nāga Sōmēvara I (c. 1069-1097 A.D.) of Bastar, who is known to have come into conflict with the king of Udra.⁴

Puraṅjaya, son of Janamejaya and grandson of Udyotakēsarins, is praised in the inscription in high-sounding words. We are told that even the kings of Gauḍa, Dāhalā, Kalīnga and Vaṅga were afraid of his prowess. This is a vague eulogy. The contemporary ruler of Gauḍa was Rāmapāla and the contemporary Kalachuri king of Dāhalā most probably Yaśākarka. The ruler of Kalīnga was either Ājīrāja I (1070-78 A.D.) or his son Chōḍaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.). The king of Vaṅga was no doubt the Yādava king Herivaran man.

Karṇadēva, brother of Puraṅjaya and another grandson of Udyotakēsarins, succeeded his brother. Like other members of his family, he was a devout worshipper of the god Mahēśvara. His virūda Mahāśivagupta proves that the alternate assumption of the names Mahāśivagupta and Mahāśivagupta was a regular feature in the dynasty. That the prabhottisthi praises him only in vague terms shows that he was not a powerful ruler, though he was maintaining his independent existence in Utkala till his sixth regnal year, as his assumption of imperial titles like Parama-bhaṭṭāraha Mahārāja-bhūrīja and Tridhān-gādhipati and also the grant of land in Uttarā-Tōsail testify.

Among the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Kōṅga and Brahmā-Aṭṭhāvīsins are not readily identifiable.² Uttarā-Tōsail roughly corresponded to the modern Balasore District with parts of the Cuttack and Midnapur Districts. Yavāṅgāvarins, whence the order conveying the gift was issued, is modern Jājur, the capital of Utkala under the later Sōmavarsins. Salōnapurins, evidently identical with Salōnapur-Aṭṭhāvīsins in Uttarā-Tōsail mentioned in the Nūlpur plate of the Bhauma king Subhākara, may be the modern Solampur (lat. 23° 52'; long. 86° 21') on the bank of the Vaitarani, about 2 miles from Jājur, a town in the Bhadrak Sub-Division of the Balasore District. The village has yielded a rich crop of Buddhist images of the Mahāyāna-Vajra-yāna pantheon, such as Lōkēvīrins, Jambhāla and Vajrasattvinc.

² This refers to the earlier invasion of Chōḍaṅga before his permanent conquest of Utkala.
⁵ It may be mentioned that about 3 miles from Ratnagiri there is a village called Anikōṅga which is reminiscent of Kōṅga. The village Brahmapur, 1½ miles north-east of Ratnagiri, recalls the first part of the name Brahmā-Aṭṭhāvīsins.
⁶ Above, Vol. XV, pp. 2 f.
Second Plate, First Side

19a Bhāṣair-aṣaśaṭaḥdaḥ(bṛhma)m-idaṃ narēndraī rāṣṭrādaṃ amānāṃ-ukṣaḥ-cha | a-kaṃtakaṃ sādhayataḥ samantādbhūḥ(ī)-bhujja-dva-
20 yāṃ yasya kṛtārtham-āśit || [9*] Tasya tataḥ sukrīta-phalaṃ saphalikrit-lōka-lōchanas=-
tanayāḥ | sama-
21 jani guṇ-sika-sīmā ārīman=U[d]*dyōtakśaṁr nripatiḥ || [10*] Bhakti-du(d)ṛa-nata-kuntala-
22 ekhaḷan-mallikā-kusu-
23 ma-dāna-rājayaḥ | ḍhaukayanta iva īr tṛiti(titi)-santaṅr-yam-prapēmur-abhitō mahī-
bhujāḥ || [11*] Tanaysa-tasya na-
24 maṣyan-narēndra-maul-Indraṇla-mapi-madhupaiḥ [*] śrīgārīta-peda-padmaḥ samajani
25 Janamājyō nripatiḥ || [12*] ḍrīṣṭaṃ-śāstraṃ-yam-ṛṣi-bhūpāla-kāntaṃ-ma(m)ganābbhi-paṅkhaḥ | vasun-
dharā-bhāra-mahī-bhūrer(vai)-na-dāh-kaṃḍa-
26 nirbhā[r]*tsita-Nāgarājāḥ || [13*] Tatas-tanu(nu)jō manus-ōttamō-bhavat Purāṇjyō
vaiρ-puraṇa-jayō nripaiḥ [*] namat-kahi-
27 tiṣ-ārchchita-pāda-paṅkajaḥ | sprhorat-Sunāṣra-samāna-vikramaḥ || [14*] Gauḍa-Dhāla-
28 Čarıṅga-Vaṅga-jā bhūbhu-
29 jō bhuj-aṅvīrt-aṛayaḥ | tē-pi yasi bhujja-sāra-śaṅkayā kampānaṃ-anisam-manō
28 dadhu-
29 h || [15*] Tasyānūjō nija-bhuj-ārjīta-śaurya-sūrya-praṇaḥ-prabhā-sāmita-satru-yāsaḥ-
30 śaṅkēka-
31 h | śṛ-Karṇaṇḍa-vma-nripatiḥ kṣhitipāla-mauli-sāmilana-ratna-chaya-chumvi(mbijta-pāda-
pithaḥ || [16*] Tri-bhūva-
32 na-kutra-patālē sarpaiḥ nijakō-kiṛti-valli(ī)-yam(yam) | yasya samunnati-bhājaṃ
33 bhujya-yuṣaṃ(vi)-ṣi[v]-
34 kāḥ śrītvā || [17*] svasti | śṛ-Yayātinaṅgarāṭa(rāṭ) | paramamaḥśvara-paramabhāṭṭā-
raka-mahārājādhi-
35 rāja-paramaśvara-Sōma-kula-tilaka-Tri-Kaliṅgādhipati-śṛ-Mahāśivaguptarāja-
36 dēvaḥ
37 kuṣalī | Uṭṭara-Tēṣha(sa)liya-Vṛ(Brāh)mō(hmē?) | Aṭṭhāvīsa-†-khaṇḍa-śaṁ-
38 Kōṣā-ṛamah | Atastati-†-khaṇḍiya-Vṛ(Brāh)hma.

1 From the original plates and their impressions. [See below, pp. 269-70.—Ed.]
2 The numberings of the lines and verses are respectively in continuation of those of the first plate. While
that plate ends with the name of the king Yaśā, the second plate begins with the eulogy of that ruler and continues
the genealogy down to his son Udyōtakaśarin in verses identical with the corresponding ones occurring in the
Narasimha plate of the latter (JBO, Vol. XVII. pp. 1 ff.).
3 The reference is probably to both Vasuki and a king of the Nāga dynasty.
4 Correctly Āshātrīka. [See below, p. 273.—Ed.]
5 Sans is a contraction of samindaka.
6 [See below, p. 273.—Ed.]
Second Plate, Second Side

34ām=āp(u)p(j)ya | samāhartri-samidhātri- | niyuktādhiñkārika- | dāṇḍapāśika- | pāuna- | vētrik-āvaroḍha-
35[ja]na- | rājāḥ- | rāṇaka- | rājaputra- | rājavallabha- | bhūgi-jana-pramukha-nivāsi-samasta- | janapadān-ā-.
36[nunyayati vō(lō)dhayati] samājñāpayati viditam-astu bhavatāṁ(tāṁ) | yathā=āsāmbhir- | ayaṁ| grāmaḥ

Salōṇapura-mahāvihāra-vinirṛgatāya | Kāṣaṇa(e)ya-pa-sagōṭrāya | try-ārtha-pravara- | yai | Udayamaa- |
37 sa-jala-sthalaḥ | sa-gartt-ōsharaḥ | s-āmara-madhūka-prabhṛti-nānā- | vrikshāḥ | sa-nidhiḥ | s-ōpañidhi-
38ḥ | hastidāḍha- | vara-(va)līvandda- | chittōla- | andhārua- | pratyaṅhaua- | adattā- | padāṭi-jivyā- | a-
39ntaraṇḍi- | rintakāvaṭḍi- | vasāvakī- | vishayaṅī- | āhi-dāṇḍa- | hala-dāṇḍa- | va-(va)ndha-dāṇḍa- | vandāpanā-
40vijaya-vandāpana-prabhṛti-nānā-mārggaṇi-sametā-bhavishyat-kara-sahitaḥ | sa-khaḍa | pāliyaḥ |
41sarvva-vādhā- | sarvva-ōparikara-dāna-sahitaḥ | chaṭṭaḥ-sūn- | əvaścchhinnaḥ | Utkaladeśiya-| śrī-
42tī-nānnyaḥ | putravai | Mahātīma- | Hūnadēvi(vt)-nānyaḥ | putrapai | rājī-śri-Karppūraērī-
43la-dārā-parassara(m) | ā- | chand[r]ājṛka-kashita-samā-kāl-ōpabhōg-ārtham | māta- | pittōr=ātmana- | əca pu-
45nya-yāśō- | bhivriddiḥyō | tāmra-śasaṇeṇ- | ākārikrtya | sampradatta ity- | əvagayya | samuch-
46ta-kara-bhāga-bhūgam-upanayadbhū[r]bhavadbhiḥ sukhenā prativastavayaṁ- | iti | bhāviḥbiṣa-cha bhūpati-
47bhūdr-dattī- | iyam= | samadīya | dharmma-gauravād- | asmad- | anuvōvā(dh)cha | cha | sva-dattir-
48ch-ōktaṇ-| dharmmaśākṣetṛ | || Va(Ba)hubhi[r]ya=va- | udha | dattā jrauṇṇ | Sagar-ōdibhiḥ. | yasya yasya yadā bhū-
49mīḥ ta(s-ta)ṣya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) || [18*] Mā bhūḍ- | a-phala- | ṣaṅkā vaḥ | para-datt | pṛthivīḥ | sva-dattāt phala-
50mānantiḥ paraδa[t] anupālanē | [19*] Sahaṣṭaṁ varṣa-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdai | bhūmidāḥ | əkṣeptā-
51ch-anumānta cha dvau tāu naraka-gāminau | [20*] Avnīr- | apatyaṁ prathamam suṣa- | vṛpaṇoḥ bhūr= | Vaiṣṇavī | Śrīr- | s(u)va-

1 The danda here and in most of the cases in this line and the lines below is superfluous.
2 The first akṣara in lines 35-36 is cut off.
3 The name may also be read Muddhalad. [See below, p. 272.—Eds]
Third Plate

55 Tadgānāṁ sahaerena vājapya-statena cha | gavāṁ kōti-pradānena bhūmi-harttā na su-
56 dhvati || [24*] Harati hārayād-ya-yu mandavu(bu)ddhis-tamō-vritaḥ | su-va(ba)ddhō
dārupaiḥ pāśais-triya(tiryag)yōnīm
57 sa gachchhati || [25*] Sva-dattām-para-dattāṁvāttāṁ vā yō hārēta(t-tu) vasundharā[m*] |
sa viṁśhṭhāyāṁ krimi[r*]-bhūtyāḥ[tvā] pitribhīḥ saha
58 pachyata || [26*] Gāṁ-ekā[ṛ*]ṁ svapam-ekāḥ cha bhūmēr-apy[a*]ddham-anugulam(ām) | haran [na*]rakām-āpnoti yavadd-ahū- 
59 ta-a[ṛ*]ṁ [plavah(vam)] || [27*] Sāmānyo-yaṁ dharmma-setu[r*]-nniripā[pā]gāṁ kāle kāle
pāṇiṇyō bhavabhiḥ | sa[r*]vān-ūtāna(tan)
60 bhāvinaḥ pāṭhiv-āṇḍ[r*]jan bhūya bhūyō yāchate Rāmahadraḥ || [28*] Iti kamala-dal-
āṁvu(mbu)-vindul-lōlā[n*]
61 śṛiyan-amanchintya manusya-jivitaṇ-cha [[*] sakalam-idam-uḍahiratān-cha vu(bu)ddhvā
na hi puroshaiḥ para-kā[r]ṭtāyō
62 vilīpyaḥ ||[1*] [29*] Pahṛiṇḍa-mapda-algrēṇa khapḍitaśrḥ-ahitaśrḥ-yaṃ(ām) | Sunāsirō-
'thavān putthyā pätre ya-
63 tra vasundharā ||[30*] Yasya vu(bu)ddhi-va(ba)lāl=Lakshmīr-ekā-patnā-sama tarṣhi(t-sthi)tā
[*] sa ārmānā Krishpadēvā-bhūi[d*]-bhūpa-
64 tāḥ sandhivigrahi || [31*] Mahākshapataḥ armānā(mān) vīraś-Chittalladēvakaḥ  | 
s-llkhāt
65 khal-śānda-nādana-tāmra-śāsanam(nam) || [32*] paramamahēvāram-parambhaṭṭāraka-
mahāṛājādhi- 
66 rāja-paramēvāra-śrīmat-Karmāṇaṛaṇadēvāsvyāya pravarddhāṇa-vijaya-śājuḥ | saṭa
(sahastha)-samva(sarva)taṣrār | A-
67 ś[व्य]jīna- śūdi-dvādaśyaṁ[ṛ]j(iyāṁ) | aṅkē samvata(sahravat) 60 Ātvina-śūdi 12
'Svārpa-vṛthi-pratīva(ba)dha-su'nnahī-vijā(?ni-
68 Saṅkuṅkēna tāmra-śāsanam-idam-unāśāppam-iti [/*]
In her article on this inscription published above, pp. 263 ff., Mrs. Mitra has correctly surmised that the first plate of the set of the Ratnagiri plates of the Sōmapavamsi king Karna, which was published by Narayana Tripathi in JBORS, Vol. XVI, pp. 296 ff. and Plate, was secured by Pandit Sadasiva Rath Sarma of Puri. Sometime ago, I received the plate, stated to have been lying in the possession of one Panchanana Sandi of Ratnagiri, from Pandit Rath Sarma for examination. The writing, as expected, is only on the inner side of the plate. The eight stanzas constituting the epigraphic text are the same as verses 1-8 of the Balijhari (Narsingpur) plates of Udyotakarini: published by Binayak Misra in JBORS, Vol. XVII, pp. 1 ff. and Plates. Unfortunately they have not been quite correctly read and interpreted either by Tripathi or by Misra. I am therefore, re-editing the said part of the inscription below.

TEXT

Metres: verses 1, 3-7 Śaṅḍālavikrīḍita; verses 2, 8 Vasantarālaka.

2 ḍha-vasatiḥ pṛyūsha-dhāra-grīham(ham) | Tār-āntāḥ-pura-nāyakā Rati-patēḥ śastra-aika-sā(ā)g-ḍpālāḥ Kahi.
3 rōd-ārṇava-nandaṇō virja(ja)yate dēvaḥ Sudhādīdhitih || [1*] Aey-ānvayē mahati sāndra-tamaḥ-kalaṅkā-va.
4 chēchhāya-dig-valaya-mārijjana-kūrchchakasya | utpēdirē sakala-sad-ghuṣa-janma-kandāḥ kund-āvadatavya-
5 ēsāō jarga(ga)tibhujastē / [2*] Rāj-ābhum-Janamējāyō tē the nṛpatir-śiśūtō Yayātis-tataḥ ērīmā-
6 n=Bhimarathō=bhavat-stad-anu cha kṣhā-maṇ-rahakṣa-maṇḍih | ashtāsvēva dig-antarēśhu vijaya-stambhā-āva.

1 Pandit Rath Sarma wanted that, in case the inscription was unpublished, I should write a paper on the epigraph and insert his name in it as that of the joint author as had been often done by me previously in his case and in the case of others who made new inscriptions available to me. It was, however, found to be a published record.
2 The correct form of the name is Uḍḍyōtakārini.
3 From the original plate and impressions.
4 Expressed by symbol.

(269)
The first of the eight stanzas introduces the Moon-god, the mythical progenitor of the Soma-vanished. Verse 2 refers to the kings born in the family of the said god and the next stanza (verse 3) mentions three early Soma-vanished kings, viz. Janamsjayas (i.e. Mahâbhâgavata I Janâmâjaya I), his son Yayâti (i.e. Mahâśvâgavata I Yayâti I) and his successor Bhimaratha (alias Mahâbhâgavata II). In this enumeration, the regular succession of the kings has been indicated since the second ruler was the son and successor of the first and the third the son and successor of the second. We know that Mahâbhâgavata I Janâmâjaya I was the first imperial ruler of the family, very little being known about his father Śivagupta and nothing at all about the latter's ancestors. Verse 4 speaks of king Dharmaratha (Mahâśvâgavata II), son and successor of Bhimaratha, while verse 5 refers to his conventional dig-vijaya with reference to the chakravarti-kshetra bounded by the Sêtu (i.e. Sêtubandha Râmaśvara) in the south, the Himavat in the north, the Eastern Sea (Bay of Bengal) in the east and the Western Mountain (i.e. the mythical Sun-set Mountain) in the west. Verses 6-7 vaguely describe the exploits of Dharmaratha's [younger] brother and
successor Naghusa (Nahuasha, probably called Mahabhavagupta III). Verse 8 mentions Yayati (i.e. Chaudhara Yayati III Mahahivagupta III) as the venuja of Naghusa (Nahuasha), the word venuja being used here in the sense of a younger cousin, since the Brahmavaras temple (Bhubaneswar) inscription represents Chaudhara as the son of Abhimanyu, grandson of Vichitravirya and great-grandson of Janamejaya I Mahabhavagupta I.

The following stanza (verse 9) on the obverse of the second plate of the set suggests that this Yayati, who was the father of Udyotakesarin, established his rule over both the Kosalas and Utkalas countries, although his predecessors were very probably rulers of Kosalas only. When the early Somaavanishis were ruling over Kosalas, Utkalas was under the rule of the Bhaumakaras. The Bhaumakara queen Dandi-mahadevi was ruling over Utkala at least down to the year 187 of the Bhaumakara era, probably corresponding to 1018 A.D., and she is known to have been succeeded on the throne by two other rulers, viz. her step-mother Vakula-mahadevi and her aunt Dharma-mahadevi. One of the predecessors of Dandi-mahadevi was Prithvi-mahadevi who was the daughter of the Somaavanish king Svabhavatunga of Kosalas (i.e. Yayati I Mahahavagupta I) and was ruling in the Bhaumakara year 158 corresponding probably to 989 A.D. Another fact of chronological importance is that Naghusa (Nahuasha or Mahabhavagupta III) seems to be the same as the ruler named Indrarahta defeated by Paramara Bhaja (c. 1010-55 A.D.) as well as the king of the same name who belonged to the family of the Moon and was captured by the generals of Rajendra-chola I at Adinagara (i.e. Yayatinagara) sometime before 1023 A.D. It is not impossible that verse 9 of the inscription really refers to the subjugation of the Kosalas and Utkalas countries by the Chola army among others and to their reconquest by Yayati III. It seems that, while Naghusa (Nahuasha) was struggling with the Chola occupants of Kosalas, Yayati III, who was probably related to the Bhaumakaras either through his mother or by marriage and may have been passing his days at the Bhaumakara court, was fighting with the Cholas in Utkala and that ultimately Yayati III succeeded in consolidating his position in both the countries, his cousin Naghusa (Nahuasha) having died (or killed by the Cholas) in the meantime. Yayati III thus ruled over the second quarter of the eleventh century A.D. (c. 1025-55 A.D.).

Besides the importance of the Ratnagiri plates discussed by Mrs. Mitra, there are a few points requiring elucidation. Udyotakesarin, son and successor of Yayati III, ruled about the third quarter of the eleventh century (c. 1055-90 A.D.). The Kelga plates suggest that he made over Kosalas to a prince named Abhimanyu and was himself ruling over Utkala, while the inscriptions of the Telugu-Chodhas indicate that the successors of Udyotakesarin in Utkala had nothing to do with Kosalas which passed into the possession of the rulers of the Telugu-Chodha dynasty. Karpa or Karatakesarin, grandson of Udyotakesarin, seems to have ended his rule over Utkala before the conquest of that country by the Gaunga king Antavarman Chodagaunga probably before 1112 A.D. The issue of the present charter from Yayatinagara is thus interesting. The city of Yayatinagara (modern Binka in the former Sonepur State in ancient Kosalas), built by and named after Yayati I, was originally the capital of the Somaavanishis of Kosalas. It appears that, after the expansion of Somaavanish power over Utkala, their capital in Utkala was also given the name

1 Cf. JRASB, Letters, Vol. XIII, p. 69, text lines 7-8 (verse 7).
2 See The Struggle for Empire, pp. 209 ff.
3 Cf. verse 7 of the Brahmavaras temple inscription which refers to a Somaavanish prince who was staying away from the country when Dharmaratha died without leaving an issue.
5 Cf. ibid., pp. 286 ff.
6 Cf. The Struggle for Empire, p. 212.
Yayātinagara or Yayātipura, probably after Yayāti III who seems to have been the first Sōma-
vānasī king of Utkala. This new 'city of Yayāti' seems to be the modern Jāpur (possibly a corrup-
tion of Yayātipura) which was previously the capital of the Bhauma-Karas, the predecessors of the
Sōmavānasīs in Utkala.1

Another interesting fact is that the lady Karpūrasī, the donee of the grant, is described as
a Rāsi or queen and as the daughter of a woman and the granddaughter of another woman. I
am inclined to take the word pastrī in this context in the sense of 'the daughter's daughter'.
The absence of any reference to Karpūrasī's father and grandfather and her representation as the
dughter and granddaughter of females appear to suggest that she was born of a harlot. There
are other instances of similar representation of a harlot in inscriptions. Thus the Mahākūtāvāra
(Badami) temple inscription2 of the time of Chālukya Vijayāditya records the donations of the
harlot Vinā-poṭi described as the daughter of Kuchi-poṭī and granddaughter of Revamañečal
and the heart's darling (prāṇa-vallabhe) of king Vijayāditya Satyāsrya. Similarly, an inscription3
of the time of Rāṣṭrakūtaa Dhruva in the Virupāksha temple at Paṭadakal records the donation
of Bādī-poḍī described as the daughter of Gōyinda-poḍī who was a harlot (i.e. Dēvadāsī) of the
temple of the queen Lōka-mahādevī. These inscriptions are in the Kannaḍa language in which
the word poṭī, poḍī or poḍī means 'a harlot'.4

If Karpūrasī, apparently one of the secondary queens or concubines of the Sōmavānasī king
Karna, was a harlot's daughter, there are a few points to be explained. The first of these is that
whether the word dēvī suffixed to her mother's name should have to be taken to indicate the latter's
status as a queen. We have, however, inscriptions mentioning harlots with names ending in
dēvī.5 Even if Karpūrasī's mother was the secondary queen or concubine of some ruler, we may
think that she was originally a harlot but was later married to or associated with a king while Kar-
pūrasī had been born before her mother was associated with the ruler. I read the name of Kar-
pūrasī's mother as Māhārī Māhūṇadēvi, the epithet māhārī being undoubtedly the same as Oriya
māhārī (Prakrit mēhari) meaning a songstress or dancing girl or a Dēvadāsī or harlot. She had,
therefore, nothing to do with the Hūcā people as suggested by Mrs. Mitra. Secondly, Karpūrasī
is described as Salōṣapura-mahāvihāra-vinirgata, i.e. hailing from Salōṣapura-mahāvihāra. The
Dēvadāsīs are, however, associated with Brahmanical temples and not with Buddhist monasteries.
It is thus impossible to believe that the harlots in question were residents of the monastery at
Salōṣapura. We are, therefore, inclined to believe that Salōṣapura-mahāvihāra has been used in
the inscription as the name of the locality where the harlots lived. Probably the entire area under
the possession of the Salōṣapura monastery or the village or township around it was known under
the name of Salōṣapura-mahāvihāra. This is not improbable in view of the fact that the names of
the town of Bihār (i.e. Bihār-ṣaharī) and the Bihar State are both essentially derived from the
word vihāra meaning a Buddhist monastery originally standing at the site or in the vicinity of the
modern town of Bihār called Bihār-ṣaharī by the Muhamadans. It is of course uncertain whether
the harlots in question were attached to any temple situated in the said locality. The third point
to be noticed in this connection is that Karpūrasī is stated to have belonged to the Kāśyapa gōtra.
This appears to have been the gōtra of one of her direct female ancestors, who first took to the
profession of a harlot.6

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1 JIH, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 273 ff. The city seems to be called Abhinava-Yayātinagara in the Mādaḷa Pāṇjī.
3 Ibid., Vol. XI, p. 125.
4 A Telugu inscription from Vēlpūra in the Sattēnapalli Taluk of the Guntur District, dated Šaka 1131,
mentions Kasada Sūramadēvi, concubine (bhōga-ṣtri) of the Kōta chief Kētarāja, and her mother Amara-sāni
who was a harlot (SII, Vol. X, No. 249).
5 See above, p. 244, text line 7.
6 According to a Bengali saying, one having no gōtra can claim the Kāśyapa gōtra. Cf. also Brough,
Gōtrapravartanaśabda, p. 171.
King Karṇa’s *Sandhivigrahin* Krīṣṇapāda, who was probably the dūtaka of the charter, has been described in the following two stanzas (verse 30-31):

Yajñaśād-dādāya-maṇḍal-āgrēṣa khāṇḍitair-ahitair-ayam(yam) ||

Sa(Su)nāśīra=‘rthāvān puthvi(prthvīḥ) pāṛē ya(ch=ē)tra vasantārā ||

Yasya vṛ(buddhi-var)ālā-Lakṣakār-ēka-patnī-vā(vra)jā-ṛthi(sthi)Īśā ["]

sa śrīmān Krishṇapādēvō=bhū[d=]*=bhūpadē śandhivigrahi ||

The meaning of the first of the two stanzas, as it is found in the record, is rather obscure. But the author’s idea seems to be that king Karṇa was made the lord of the earth in the real sense by the various kings killed by his minister Krīṣṇapāda and that the earth, including the territories of those rulers, came into the possession of a better master.

Vāhēru and Mānākāra, who engraved the Balijhari (Narsingpur) plates, are described in that record as *Suvarṇa-vīthi-vijñānī*, i.e., an artisan who lived in a locality called Suvarṇāvīthī, probably meaning ‘the goldsmith’s quarters’ literally. But, in the present inscription, the engraver Śaṅkhuaka is called *Suvarṇa-vīthi-Suṇnahī* (or *Suṇnahī*)-vijñānī. It is not improbable that Suṇnahi or Suṇnahi was the name of an area in Suvarṇāvīthī or Suvarṇāvīthī.

The passage referring to the gift village in lines 33-34 may be read as *Uttara Tīṣha(a)-Rāga-vrajmēthic. rājē?* Aṭṭhāvaśa-thāṇḍa-sam[badha]*-Kośā-grāmaḥ | Aṭṭatāti-thāṇḍiya-

Vṛā(Brāhmanā-āśūrya, etc. It is difficult to understand why, when the gift village was situated in one khāṇḍa or subdivision, the Brāhmaṇas honoured in connection with its grant should be represented as living in another khāṇḍa. I think it possible that the intended reading for *Aṭṭatāti-khāṇḍiya* is *ata-t-khāṇḍiya*.

In this connection, reference may be made to another inscription of king Karṇa of the Sōma-vaṇās of Orissa, which I had an opportunity of examining recently. Among the epigraphs copied by me at the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, in December 1937, there is a fragmentary inscription engraved on the back of an image of the Sun-god.¹ The characters of the record resemble those of the Ratnagiri plates and its language is Sanskrit. Mr. P. Acharya informed me that the inscribed image had been secured from the village of Gandhībedha in the Balasore District of Orissa. The left half of the inscription is broken away and lost while the letters of the extant part of the writing have been deliberately rubbed off by means of chiselling. In spite, however, of this attempt to cancel the writing, the first two lines of the extant part of the record can be read as follows:

1. dhirāja-paramēvāra-Sōmakulatilaka-Tri(Tri)

2. śrī-Karṇarājādāvaya pravardhāmāna-vi

Before "dhirāja at the beginning of line 1, the *Siddham* symbol followed by the letters *paramahastaraka-mahārīḍa* must have broken off. The letters lost at the beginning of the second line, following *Tri(Tri)*⁰ at the end of line 1, must have been *kalingādhipati, Trikalingādhipati* being a well-known title of the Sōma-vaṇās kings. The number of lost letters in line 1 suggests that there was another expression between *kalingādhipati* in the lost part and *śrī-Karṇa* in the extant portion of line 2. This lost word seems to be *paramahāśivāra, an epithet of king Karṇa found in line 31 of the Ratnagiri plates, in which, however, the said epithet occurs before *paramahastaraka*. But, if it is supposed to have been engraved in the same position in the lost part of line 1 of the Gandhībedha inscription, the gap between the lost *kalingādhipati* and the extant *śrī-Karṇa⁰ in line 2 becomes bigger. Although the Ratnagiri

¹ This is No. B 394 of *A.R.Ep.,* 1937-38.
plates show that king Kṛṣṇa's second name was Mahāśivagupta and presumably he was also called Yayāti, it is doubtful if we can bring in these names to fill up the big gap created in the lost part of line 2 as a result of paramamālāśavas being read in the lost part of line 1.

After vi at the end of line 2, "jaya-ṛṣi-śanva(sanva)-śarē, etc., or "jaya-ṛṣi-śanva(sanva)-śarē...must have been engraved at the beginning of line 3, which is now lost. Owing to the fragmentary nature of the inscription, the year of king Kṛṣṇa's reign, that must have been mentioned here, cannot be determined.
No. 52—VELIGALANI GRANT OF KAPILESVARA, SAKA 1380

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR and K. H. V. SARMA, OTACAMUND

(Received on 13. 12. 1958)

This is an incomplete set\(^1\) of ten plates which were obtained for examination nearly quarter of a century ago from an advocate of Bapatla in the Guntur District. The first plate of the set, which apparently contained about ten lines of writing on the inner side of it, is lost. It is stated that the advocate secured the plates from one of his clients. But the original provenance of the inscription is not known. The record was published by the late Raja Saheb L. H. Jagadeb of Tekkali in the *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, Vol. VI, pp. 94 ff. (without illustration). But his treatment of the subject is quite unsatisfactory.

The plates measure about 14 inches in length and 7 inches in height (except the eighth plate which is only 6 inches high). They have raised rims and their borders are about \(\frac{1}{4}\) inch thick. There is a ring-hole (about 1 inch in diameter) in the plates at a distance of 1\(\frac{3}{4}\) inches from the left margin. The ring, which held the plates together originally, and the seal that may have been affixed to it are both lost. The total weight of the ten plates is 1567 tolas.

The plates bear writing on both the sides. But the record is a palimpsest, being engraved on an earlier grant which, with the exception of the concluding lines in Sanskrit verse, was almost completely beaten in. The names of certain donees of this earlier charter together with their goptras can be read with some confidence. The numbers of the plates in the original document, which were incised in the left margin on their obverse, were not beaten in. The concluding lines of the original grant show that it was also a record of Kapileśvara, the donor of the record that was later incised on the plates. The circumstances leading to the cancellation of the earlier document cannot, however, be determined.

The plates are numbered in the Telugu-Kannada numerals. But the numbers refer to the position of the plates in the original document as already indicated above. The figure 4, e.g., occurs in the left margin on the obverse of the first of the plates available. This is really the second plate of the present set and was apparently the fourth plate of the original document. There are 10 lines of writing on most of the inscribed faces. On the reverse of the last plate, there is the conventional representation of a dagger which is generally found at the end of the charters of the Śrīyavanśa Gajapatis of Orissa. This was meant to represent the king's signature on the original document later inscribed on copper plates. To the right of the representation of the sword, the figure of a standing elephant, the emblem of the Gajapati (literally, 'the lords of elephants'), is engraved. We know that the figure of an elephant is affixed to the seal of the Rajahmundry plates\(^2\) of Raghudēva, the nephew and viceroy of Gajapati Kapileśvara. Beyond the elephant on the last plate, there are the representations of the crescent moon and the sun, both of which are often found in medieval epigraphs as an indication of the permanency of the grants recorded therein. There are also representations of the sun and a lotus beneath the above figures of the moon and the sun. A lotus is also seen engraved on the obverse of the same plate, in the left margin near the ring-hole.

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\(^1\) A. R. Ep., 1934-35, C. P. No. 17.


(275)
The inscription is written in Telugu characters except the last plate where there are eleven lines in the Oriya script. The palaeography of the Telugu section closely resembles that of the two grants of Rabgudéva, referred to above. No distinction is made between the medial signs of s and š and e and o and ñ. Ri is used in the word Rígedi (lines 29, 30, 31, etc.); but, unlike the modern form of the letter, it exhibits the top mātrā. The letter t differs from its modern form in that it has no loop at the left end. It is difficult to distinguish between d and ñ and between bh and ch. The sign of aspiration is indicated by a vertical stroke placed below the letters dh, bh and chh. Th and dh are distinguished; cf. Jagannātha (lines 95, 123, 127), Bhūtanāthani (line 87) and Bahuññāya (line 13). Amuna is invariably used for final m and the class nasals. There are some instances of the use of the final forms of n and t.

The characters of the Oriya section are of a cursive variety not noticed in the epigraphs discovered in Orissa proper. As in the records written in the later Kaliṅga script, often the same letter has different shapes and different letters the same shape. For instance, in the passage Jāgēsarapura-sāsana (line 186), the letters g and p are almost similar. The letter bh has been written in several different forms in the words bhūgama (line 181), garabha-bhirē (line 182), bhūmi (lines 183 and 188) and bhākē (line 187). Similar is the case with t in ātīt (lines 180-81), gūta (line 183) and tūla (line 188); v in purṇa (line 182) and Brāhmaṇa (lines 183-84); and h in śrīharasta (line 181), māhārāja (line 185) and hūlā (line 188). The similar forms of the letters k and i in Karṇa-Kalavaraśara (lines 184-85) and hūlā (line 188), etc., are also noteworthy. Letters like k, j and h have often extremely cursive forms. Conjunctions and letters with vowel-marks are likewise often written in a cursive way, e.g., ṛ in khāṇḍē and ti in ātī (line 180), sī in śrīharasta (line 181), etc. The letters l and î have been distinguished as in the modern Oriya alphabet. The letter c of has been written by the sign for kṣ; but the form of the letter is usually different in chhatasi and chhādi both in line 189. B has been indicated by the sign for v. As is well known, v (even in Sanskrit words) is always pronounced as b in Oriya as in other East Indian languages.

The record is trilingual having four sections, the first and fourth in Sanskrit verse (written in Telugu characters), the second in Telugu prose and the third in Oriya prose. The Telugu section describing the boundaries of the gift-village calls for some remarks. The words būrve (silk cotton), udvīnula (Alangium Lamarckii), māhāduga (bastard teak), tīgī-mrōndag (Butea superba), tumga (coarse grass or Rottleria tinctoria), rāvi (Ficus religiosa), marri (banyan tree) and tādi (palm), all denote the names of trees. In the expression dāṁitta-tāḍi (line 147), i.e. a pair of palm trees, the word dāṁitta is used for modern jainṭa, 'a pair, a couple'. In the compound words yeram-butṛa (lines 150, etc.) and nallam-butṛa (lines 174, etc.), the word putṛa, 'an ant-hill', is distinguished by the qualifying adjectives yerā, 'red', and nalla, 'black', both referring to the colour of the soil. The words kara (line 156) and dariye (i.e. dari, line 156) are used almost in the same sense of 'the bank or shore'. In the expression bṛṛa-nakka-viriki (line 155), bṛṛa (i.e. bṛṛa or boriḍa) means 'a hole or burrow' such as is made by animals, while nakka is 'a jackal' and viriki means 'ground with many cracks'. The meaning of the expression may thus be a plot of dry land with many fissures and burrows made by jackals. The word kanama (lines 161-62) or kanuma means 'a gap' or 'a mountainous pass'. The form inichika (lines 164-65 and 172), 'a little', is used instead of the modern form inichka. In the compound avyagū-vagū (line 171), the word kāḍu means 'a bed of bulrushes, a marsh', and avyagū is a kind of grass. Due to saral-ādāska, k is changed to g in this expression exactly as p has been changed to b in nallam-butṛa and yeram-butṛa. The word chaupā-nūmā (line 178) is interesting. It means a well with a parapet around. The word chaupā is not found in the lexicons but is now in common use.

1 The same expression is also found in the Vilasa grant of Prálaya-náyaka, where it has been read as amrū-bādē. Cf. above, Vol. XXXII. p. 267, text lines 150-51.
In the Oriya portion of the record, s has been generally used for ś and contractions are noticed in words like smaś for somayā (line 183) and Gaśajpati(ś) for Gaśajpati (line 184). The change of Sanskrit gau to gaś, madhya to madhi, mārya to māṛya, etc., has also to be noted.

The date of the charter is quoted in verse 11 (lines 13-17) as the Šaka year 1380 (expressed by the chronogram vyaṃ-ibha-vahī-इndu), Bahudhānya, Vaiśākhī (i.e. the full-moon day of the lunar month of Vaiśākha). The Oriya part of the inscription seems to supply the name of the week-day Bṛhaspati, i.e. Thursday. The details suggest 1458 A.D., April 27, Thursday, f.d.t. 77.1

The first section in Sanskrit verse records the grant. The first half of this section is missing, and thus some information particularly about the ancestry of the donor seems to have been lost. Only five syllables, with which the verse marked as the sixth ended, are found at the beginning of the extant part of the inscription. Verses 1-5 of the record and the major part of the sixth stanza were, therefore, incised on the inner side of the lost first plate of the set. The first verse of the extant part (lines 1-4), marked as the seventh, speaks of Vira-srī Kapilēndra's military prowess. It is stated that the noise of his battle-drums filled the whole universe and that, as a result, Hampā trembled. Dhārā was pressed hard, the horses fled from Kalubarīgā and Dhīlī was filled with savage women. Verses 8-10 (lines 4-13) describe the glory of Kapilēvāra in vague terms. He was an unrivalled ruler who destroyed his enemies and distributed their wealth among learned men. Verse 11 (lines 13-17) states that, while camping on the bank of the river Gōdāvāri on the full-moon day in the month of Vaiśākha of the year Bahudhānyā corresponding to Šaka 1380, Kapilēvāra made the grant of the village of Veligalani, situated in Harīgūkā-Mōḍī-ītman and renamed it after his father or parents (vra-pitr-ākhyaś), in favour of 120 Brāhmaṇas. The next stanza (verse 12 in lines 17-20) records the grant of a locality named after Vijaya-Pratīpār-Kapilēndra himself in favour of 120 Brāhmaṇas. The locality is stated to have been situated to the east of the joint streams of the Kṛishṇā and Vēŋṇā. From the language of the above two verses it may appear that two localities were granted in favour of two groups of 120 Brāhmaṇas each, one of the localities being named after the king himself and the other after his father or parents. But, as will be seen from our analysis of the Telugu and Oriya sections below, this was not the case.2 Verse 13 (lines 21-23), with which the first section in Sanskrit closes, refers to the enumeration of the donees in the following section in Telugu.

The Telugu portion begins in line 23, with the māgala: Subham-astu which is immediately followed by the passage: Veligalani Kapilēvārapurāṇāv. This may indicate that two villages called Veligalani and Kapilēvārapurā were granted in favour of the donees whose names are enumerated in the following lines. The list shows the names of 120 Brāhmaṇas only. We have seen above that verses 11 and 12 of the Sanskrit section may appear to speak of the grant of the two localities in favour of two groups of 120 Brāhmaṇas each. The present section, however, makes it clear that there was only one group of Brāhmaṇas numbering 120, who received the gift.

The list of the 120 Brāhmaṇas, receiving equal shares in the gift land, are enumerated in the Telugu section in the following order (lines 23 ff.):

I. Northern part of Jāgēsvarapura, beginning from the west—20 Brāhmaṇas.

II. Southern part of the same—20 Brāhmaṇas;

III. Northern part of Vellamāmbāpura, beginning from the west—20 Brāhmaṇas;

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2 The Oriya section suggests that the village of Veligalani was divided into three Aṇānas named after Jāgēsvara, Velmā (Vellamāmbē) and Kapilēvāra and this information can be reconciled with the Sanskrit section under review if the expression sv. pitr-ākhyāś in verse 11 is taken to mean 'named' after himself and his parents'.
IV. Southern part of the same—20 Brāhmaṇas;
V. Northern part of Kapiliśvarapura, beginning from the west—20 Brāhmaṇas; and
VI. Southern part of the same—20 Brāhmaṇas.

It may appear from the above enumeration that the village of Veligalani was divided into
two parts, one of which was named Jāgēśvarapura and the other Vellamāmbāpura. But, as will
be seen below, the Oriya section of the charter seems to suggest that the above village was divided
into three dāsanās, viz. Jāgēśvarapura, Vēlāmapura (i.e. Vellamāmbāpura of the Telugu section)
and Pratāpa-Kapiliśvarapura, and this may be regarded as supported by the Sanskrit part at the
beginning if, as stated above, the expression auspītākhyā in verse 11 is taken to refer to the names
of the donor and his parents. It is, therefore, better to take Veligalani-Kapiliśvarapurānaka as
referring to the gift village as Veligalani alias Kapiliśvarapura. In any case, it is clear that the
word pitru in the verse means not merely 'father' but 'both father and mother ' and that the name
of Kapilendra's father was Jāgēśvara and that of his mother Vellamāmbā or Vēlamā.

The third section in Oriya (lines 180-90) gives a short summary of the whole transaction which
is already indicated in the Sanskrit and Telugu parts. The epithets Vīrā-Śri-Gajapati-Gauḍēśvara
and Navakāti-Karpēṭa-Kalavarga-ēśvara referring to Kapiliśvara's victories over the countries
called Gauḍa, Karpēṭa and Kalavarga (i.e. the dominions of the Sultāns of Bengal, of the
Karpēṭa kings of Vijayagāra and of the Bhanianis of Gulbarga) are found for the first time in
this record. The same titles were also assumed not only by his successors but also by the later
rulers of Oriissa, who considered themselves successors of the Imperial Gajapatis, till quite recent
times.

The charter ends with a few verses in Sanskrit. One of these verses is in adoration of the
Varāha incarnation of Vishnū (lines 191-93). There are two other stanzas (lines 194-99) which, as
stated above, belonged to the charter originally incised on the plates. One of these speaks of the
creation of a sarva-māṇḍya (i.e. rent-free holding) by Kapiliśvara after having renounced the thirty-
six ākṣams or taxes while the other is one of the usual imprecatory and beneficent verses. The
word ākṣamsāna (ākṣamāna of the Oriya section, line 189), used in the sense of ' a tax ', is of lexical
interest. The word sāṭṭramāṇa, literally ' thirty-six ', has been used here in the sense of ' many '.

This is the only copper-plate charter of the great Kapiliśvara, who was the founder of the
Śrīyavanśi Gajapati family of Oriissa and ascended the throne in 1434-35 A.D., so far discovered.
Two copper-plate grants of prince Raghudēva, the nephew and viceroy of king Kapiliśvara, were
recently discovered at Rajahmundry and they have thrown a flood of light on the ancestry and
ey early career of the Gajapati monarch. His grandfather, bearing the same name, is stated to have been a Nāyaka (a ruling chief) who was one among the rulers of the solar and lunar races, while his
own father Jāgēśvara, who possessed a large number of elephants, and his elder brother Balarāma
lost their lives in a battle against their enemies. The Warangal inscription of prince Raghudēva
mentions Jāgēśvara, the father of Kapiliśvara, as a Māhārāja (Sanskrit Mahārāja). The record
under study speaks of Jāgēśvarapura named after the father of Kapilendra or Kapiliśvara.

During the last years of the reign of the Gaṅga king Bāhula IV, his feudatories like Pratāpa
Gaṅga-gāru of the Śilāvarṇi family of Nandāpur and Saubhāgyarāju of Viradhaṭṭāṁ became semi-
independent. The Rājput chiefs Vēma and Virabhadr, sons of Allāda, conquered the southern

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1 Cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 115. For an elaborate analysis of the Oriya section of the inscription under study,
see JAS, Letters and Science, Vol. XXIII, pp. 1-17 ff.
2 Above, pp. 1 ff. The family is stated to have belonged to the Kāśyapā pūrṇa in the Nanadēmpāḍi
plates of Pratāparudra (C. P. No. 5 of 1948-49).
3 A. R. Ep., 1957-58, No. 55; above, pp. 1-17 ff.
5 Ibid., Vol. VI, No. 1101. Viradhaṭṭāṁ is in the Palakonda Tahuk of the Srikakulam District.
part of the Gaṅga kingdom, as is borne out by two inscriptions at Simhachalām. The record of Vēmā¹, dated Śaka 1356 (1434 A.D.), registers the remission of taxes on the lands belonging to the gods and Brāhmaṇas in the villages of Kauvalapalli, Oḍḍadā, Poṇāru and others, which were acquired by the strength of his own arms. There can be no doubt that the said places were conquered by the Redjuśi from the Gaṅga king Bhānu IV. Virabhodra’s inscription² is undated; but it praises him as a great conqueror. The Mudabidrura inscription,³ dated Śaka 1351 (1429 A.D.), however, refers to the success of the Vijayanagara monarch Dēvarāya II against the Gajapati king and describes the former as the lion in destroying the rear of elephants to the lord of elephants (Gajapati), and the very Kalaśodhava (Agastya) to the ocean of the army of the Andhra king (or, kings)⁴. The Simhachalām inscription of Teluṅgaṇārāya,⁵ a sub-dimate of the Vijayanagara king, also corroborates this fact. The success of the Redjuśis against the Gaṅga king thus appears to have been due to the help they received from the Vijayanagara monarch to whom they owed allegiance. The latest record of Gajapati Bhānu IV at Simhachalām is dated Śaka 1352 (1430 A.D.).⁶

Kapilēsvara made an attempt to subdue the semi-independent chiefs like Pratīpa Gaṅgarāju and Sāubhabīgarkarāju and to reconquer the southern part of the erstwhile Gaṅga kingdom from the subordinates of the Vijayanagara monarch. The chiefs of Nandāpur and Viraghaṭam were subdued and with their help the Gajapati king attacked the Redjuśi kingdom of Rajahmundry. A Draksharana inscription⁷ (dated Śaka 1366-1444 A.D.) of the Vijayanagara king Dēvarāya II suggests that he came to the rescue of the Redjuśis against the attack of the Gajapati. As a result of the conflict between the Gajapati and the Vijayanagara king, the Redjuśis lost the Rājamahēndra-rajaṇa which became a part of the Gajapati empire. An inscription at Penugonda⁸ (Tanuku Taluk, West Godavari District), dated Śaka 1370 (1448 A.D.), Vibhava, alludes to the rule of the Gajapati-koṭhōśi, i.e. Kapilēsvara. With the help of the Redjuśis of Rajahmundry, who were the enemies of their kinmen ruling from Kondavīḍu, Kapilēsvara marched against Kondavīḍu and other important forts in the south, captured them all and finally annexed them to the Gajapati kingdom.

Kapilēsvara appointed his own relatives to govern the southern tracts conquered by him. His nephew Raghudēva was ruling from Rajahmundry⁹ and one of his kinmen named Gaṅgadēva from Kondavīḍu,¹⁰ while his own son Kumāramahāśiṭra Hambira was in charge of the whole Telugu and Tamil areas annexed to the Gajapati empire.¹¹ Hambira’s son Dakṣiṇa-Kapilēsvara was also a governor in the Tamil areas.¹²

¹ Ibīd., Vol. VI, No. 1168.
² Ibīd., No. 1169.
⁴ Ibīd., Vol. VI, No. 905.
⁵ Ibīd., No. 784.
⁶ A. R. Ep., 1933, Nq. 393.
⁷ SII, Vol. IV, No. 1375.
Vibhava-ubhē ca Tapaśya mātṛ māt̥i mātṛi dhīmān-guṇa-rājān-vikāsādha,
Penugonda-ubhē prāya-śrīmahā Gajapati-dāmān-śrīdīna-śrīdīnapattam. Vibhava-ubhē ca does not suit the metre.
⁹ Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 1 ff.
¹⁰ Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, pp. 290-93; A. R. Ep., 1917, No. 70.
¹² Cf ibīd., 1919, Nos. 51 and 92; 1937-38, No. 87.
As already indicated above, verse 7 of the present charter refers to the success of Kapilésvara against Hampā, Dhārā, Kalabarigā (Gulbarga) and Dhill (Delhi). The same verse is found in the Chiruvoli grant of his son Hambira. Verse 6 of the Gopinathpur inscription also refers to the same achievements of Kapilésvara. We have also seen that the Oriya part of the record under study mentions the king as the lord of Gauḍā, Karnāṭa and Kalavaraga. Kapilésvara’s claim of success against the kings of Hampā (Vijayanagara, capital of Karnāṭa), Dhārā (capital of Mālava), Gulbarga, Delhi and Gauḍā may thus refer to a date before 1458 A.D. when the charter under study was issued, although the nature and degree of the success cannot be determined in all the cases.

Hampā was the capital of the Vijayanagara king Mallikārjuna who succeeded his father Dēvarāya II in 1446 A.D. The Gaṅgādēṣapratāpavilāsamu states that both the Gajapati of Orissa and the Sultān of Gulbarga attacked the city of Vijayanagara, but that Mallikārjuna rallied forth from his capital and routed the besieging forces. This no doubt admits that Kapilésvara besieged Vijayanagara. The Anantavaram grant also states that Kapilésvara captured the city of Vijayanagara, the seat of the ruler of Karnāṭa, and received tribute. Dhārā was the secondary capital of the Sultāns of Mālava and Sultān Mahmud I (1436-69 A.D.) of the Khaljī dynasty was the contemporary of Kapilésvara. Muhammadan historians refer to the defeat of the Mālava king at the battle of Muhura by the Bahmani Sultān Alāūdīn Ahmed (1436-68 A.D.). The Gajapati monarch was an ally of the Bahmani Sultān and seems to have helped the latter at the said battle. It is interesting to note that Muhura is mentioned in the list of places subdued by Kapilésvara.

Kalabarigā or Kalavaraga (Gulbarga) in the present Mysore State was the capital of the Bahmani Sultāns. According to the Gaṅgādēṣapratāpavilāsamu, the Bahmani Sultāns were allies of the Gajapati king and their joint victory over the Sultān of Mālava at Muhura seems to support the statement. But the position was changed with the accession of Humāyūn Shāh (1458-61 A.D.), the eldest son of Alāūdīn Ahmed Shāh. Humāyūn besieged the fort of Dēvarakonda with a large army and the chief of the fort appealed for help to the king of Orissa who readily dispatched a force.

"The infidel’s forces being more numerous than that of Islam the latter were routed, and the whole of their baggage, elephants and horses looted." This is also supported by a chāṭṭu verse which recounts the victories of Gajārāvū Tippa who is stated to have defeated the Yavanas (Musulmans) on the plain outside the town of Kambhammetta in the presence of Ambarāya, i.e. Hambira, son of Kapilésvara. Two inscriptions in the Warangal fort, one of Hambira and another of Raghudēva10 refer to the capture of the fort on the 2nd February 1460 A.D. and to the victory of the

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1 Bhārati, Vol. XVIII, Part II, pp. 515 ff.
2 JASB, Vol. LIXI, pp. 173 ff.:
   Karnaṭa-dīgha-nimah Kalarava-gajya Mālava-dharmasālā-jamghālo
   Gauḍa-marli Bharamaravara-nripā dvauṣa-Dhill-indra-perraḥ.
3 Kalpingadēṣcharitra, p. 380.
4 Of the Anantavaram grant in the Andhra Patrika Annual, 1928-29, Kalpingadēṣcharitra, Appendix, p. 97:
   Prasāsyā Karnaṭa-mahipātē purīṁ
   nirudhāya Vidyānaparinā njāīr-balaih |
   samunnaṁ mānām-vinochhārayan karun
   samadādē karkata-chakra-vikramaḥ ||
6 Meck. Mss., No. 15-4-3:
   Vīra-pampavatukā vējālu mādecū
   manīkī vihāramu Muhurambu.
7 Ind. Ant., Vol. XXVIII, p. 244.
8 Chāṭṭapaddhyāmanīmanjari, Vol. II, p. 65:
   Tavamula geyaṁ Tambahadalu chūḍa-
   m-eśāna Kambhammetta bāla.|
10 Ibid., No. B 85; above, pp. 125 ff.
Gajapati generals over Humâyûn Shâh, though the date of the record under study is earlier than that of the capture of Warangal by Hambira and Raghadêva. Dhillis (Delhi) was the capital of Bahul Lodi (1451-89 A.D.), though nothing has come to light so far about the conflict between Kapilêsvâra and the Lodi Sultân. Like Muhura, Dhillis also finds mention in the list of places subdued by the former.\(^1\)

The information about the donees of the charter, as found in the Telugu section, is appended below in a tabular form. Their family names may be mainly divided into two categories: (1) villages whence their families originally hailed, e.g. Bejavâda, Addâda, Komâdapalli, Lolla, Râjû-kônja, Yejâvali, Akunâri, etc.; and (2) titles indicating their proficiency in particular branches of learning, e.g. Shâdârâsanam, Sâmavêda, Vêdânâm, Bhågavatulâ, Purågâm, etc. Most of the family names mentioned in the list are still in existence in Andhra. The list of donees includes one called Nârâyana-drivêdin whose family name is Sâmavêdin but who calls himself a Yajurvêdin. His title dvidêdin would suggest that he was a student of both the Sâmavêda and the Yajurvêda.

I. (a) Northern half of Jâgâsvarapura

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name of the Donee</th>
<th>Name of the family</th>
<th>Gûtra</th>
<th>Vêda or Sakhâ</th>
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\(^{1}\) *Macca. M. No. 15-4-3: Gaja-guddhâkula pâju Komâdi Kambu-kambu-pattanambu garulâ-palle Dhillis.*
**I. (b) Southern half of Jāgāvarāparuṇa**

<table>
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<th>No.</th>
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<th>Name of thefamily</th>
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**II. (a) Northern half of Vellamūmbāparuṇa**

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<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Naraṃbh-ojhalu</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Maitrēya</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Dēvarē-bhaṭṭalu</td>
<td>Oḍḍe</td>
<td>Bhāravēja</td>
<td>Rīgveda</td>
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<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Aḥbhāla-bhaṭṭalu</td>
<td>Oḍḍali</td>
<td>Hārita</td>
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</table>

II. (b) *Southern half of Veḷḷamāṁbāpura*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name of the Donee</th>
<th>Name of the family</th>
<th>Gōtra</th>
<th>Vēda or Sākhā</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Pēṭu-bhaṭṭalu</td>
<td>Chērana-peddē</td>
<td>Hārita</td>
<td>Yajurvēda</td>
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<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Dēvarē-bhaṭṭalu</td>
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<td>Kuta</td>
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<td>63</td>
<td>Pēddō-bhaṭṭalu</td>
<td>Anangēri</td>
<td>Bhāravēja</td>
<td>Rīgveda</td>
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<td>64</td>
<td>Saumitr-bhaṭṭalu</td>
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<td>Vaiśav-bhaṭṭalu</td>
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<td>Kauśika</td>
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<td>66</td>
<td>Āḍitya-bhaṭṭalu</td>
<td>Kaḍali</td>
<td>Kaṃḍinīya</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Gāṃgēdhara-bhaṭṭalu</td>
<td>Tāḍēpalli</td>
<td>Hārita</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Viśvēvar-ḍhāryalu</td>
<td>Kauṅja-viśvē</td>
<td>Bhāravēja</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Anant-ojhalu</td>
<td>Muddēli</td>
<td>Maudgalya</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Pedē-bhaṭṭalu</td>
<td>Dāṃḍēra</td>
<td>Kauśika</td>
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<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Narahari-bhaṭṭalu</td>
<td>Challa</td>
<td>Kaṃḍinīya</td>
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<td>72</td>
<td>Tirumāla-bhaṭṭalu</td>
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<td>Kapi</td>
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<td>Nāgē-dvīvēduḷu</td>
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<td>Hārita</td>
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<td>Yarē-ojhalu</td>
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<td>76</td>
<td>Bhāravā-bhaṭṭalu</td>
<td>Bhūṭanāṭhāni</td>
<td>Gautama</td>
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<td>77</td>
<td>Māru-bhaṭṭalu</td>
<td>Poṇyala</td>
<td>Mulgalī</td>
<td>Yajurvēda</td>
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<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>Malā-ojhalu</td>
<td>Ānandulē</td>
<td>Hārita</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Śingē-bhaṭṭalu</td>
<td>Jagarapūṇḍī</td>
<td>Bhāravēja</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>Gangādhara-bhaṭṭalu</td>
<td>Divākara-bhaṭṭalu</td>
<td>Kāyapa</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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</table>
### III. (a) Northern half of Kapilēśvarapura

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name of the Duneś</th>
<th>Name of the family</th>
<th>Gōtra</th>
<th>Vēla or Śākhā</th>
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<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>Gaṅgādhara-bhaṭṭu</td>
<td>Nārāyaṇa-drivēḍula</td>
<td>Bhāradvāja</td>
<td>Yajurvēda</td>
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<td>82</td>
<td>Narasimha-bhaṭṭu</td>
<td>Tōṁa-śōmayājula</td>
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<td>Kāśīvara-bhaṭṭu</td>
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<td>84</td>
<td>Jagannātha-bhaṭṭu</td>
<td>Yaśōjana-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Kuṇḍinya</td>
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<td>Saṃcā-bhaṭṭu</td>
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<td>Kaśuvā-ojhalu</td>
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<td>Gautama</td>
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<td>Sōmā-bhaṭṭu</td>
<td>Māṅgaṃṭi</td>
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<td>Yaraōḍa-bhaṭṭu</td>
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<td>89</td>
<td>Peddi-bhaṭṭu</td>
<td>Satyāśāḥgha</td>
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<td>Sōmayājulu or -sōmayājulu</td>
<td>Aṃdūvīḷa</td>
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<td>92</td>
<td>Pina-Kāmā-bhaṭṭu</td>
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<td>Rudra-bhaṭṭu</td>
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<td>Narasimha-sōmayājulu</td>
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<td>Rāmā-bhaṭṭu</td>
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<td>Prōū-bhaṭṭu</td>
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<td>Mulakaṭi</td>
<td>Kuṇḍinya</td>
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<td>99</td>
<td>Gōpāla-bhaṭṭu</td>
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<td>Śatakūṭī</td>
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### III. (b) Southern half of Kapilēśvarapura

<table>
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<tr>
<th>No.</th>
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<th>Name of the family</th>
<th>Gōtra</th>
<th>Vēla or Śākhā</th>
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<td>101</td>
<td>Lākhmaṇa-sōmayājulu</td>
<td>Aṃdūvīḷa</td>
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<td>102</td>
<td>Līṅgā-ojhalu</td>
<td>Tēḷapōṭi</td>
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<td>103</td>
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<td>Bhāvanākṛṣyaṇa-ojhalu</td>
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<td>Tīrūmala-bhaṭṭu</td>
<td>Purṇaṃ</td>
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<td>108</td>
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<td>Kāṇva-śākhā</td>
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<td>111</td>
<td>Māḍha-ojhalu</td>
<td>Mūkkolani</td>
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<td>Yajurvēda</td>
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</table>
### No. 52] VELIGALANI GRANT OF KAPILÉSVARA, SAKA 1380

#### III. (b) Southern half of Kapilāśvarapura—contd.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name of the Donor</th>
<th>Name of the family</th>
<th>Gōra</th>
<th>Vēda or Sākhē</th>
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<td>112</td>
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<td>113</td>
<td>Jagannātha-bhaṭṭu</td>
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<td>Kaṇḍinya</td>
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<td>Appāya-daṁvēdula</td>
<td>Śāndiya</td>
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<tr>
<td>115</td>
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<td>Madvarampu</td>
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<td>Rīgvēda</td>
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<td>116</td>
<td>Kāmaḍevā-bhaṭṭu</td>
<td>Āvārōmula</td>
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<td>Yajurveda</td>
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<tr>
<td>117</td>
<td>Aubbha-bhaṭṭu</td>
<td>Kāsaṅgaṇḍa</td>
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<td>119</td>
<td>Appalē-bhaṭṭu</td>
<td>Dōṛvēsula</td>
<td>Śrīvatsa</td>
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<td>120</td>
<td>Śtṛu-bhaṭṭu</td>
<td>Chēṭakūrī</td>
<td>Kaṇḍapa</td>
<td>Rīgvēda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of the geographical names mentioned in the record have been discussed above. The gift village of Veligalani is stated to have been situated in Harigukā-Meḍūrī-sīman. Mention is also made of the rivers Gōḍāvarī and Krīṣṇā-Vēṇṇā (Krīṣṇā). While describing the boundaries of the gift land, the rivers Bhāmarathī and the villages of Peṇichikalapāḍu, Penamāṅgūru, Garagaparti, Mōrāmṭāda, Kanumūru, Mūṇḍlapūṇḍī and Mirtī are mentioned. Amongst the other places mentioned, Delhi is referred to only in a few South Indian epigraphs.\(^1\) Bhāmarathī of our record may be identical with the stream of that name mentioned in the Gavaparapu grant\(^2\) of Kākatiya Ganaḍapati, which is now called Bhima-nadī, though the famous Bhāmarathī is the modern Bhāmā, the well-known tributary of the Krīṣṇā. Harigukā-Meḍūrī-sīman, or Meḍūra-thala as it is called in the Oriya section, is identical with modern Meḍūrū in the Gudivada Taluk of the Krishna District. Kapilāśvarapura of our record is no doubt the present Kapilāśvarapura in the same Taluk, which is only a few miles from Meḍūrū. The old name Veligalani and the new names Jāgēśvarapura and Vellamāṅghāpurā or Velamapura applied to two parts of Veligalani appear to have gone out of use while the name Kapilāśvarapura, which was originally applied to a third part of old Veligalani after the name of the donor, came to be applied to the entire village. The village of Mūṇḍlapūṇḍī is apparently the present Mūḷlapūḍi while Kanumūru is the village of the same name near Kapilāśvarapura. Penamāṅgūru is modern Penamakūru. The other localities mentioned in connection with the boundaries of the gift village cannot be satisfactorily identified.

**TEXT**

*Second Plate, First Side*

[Sanskrit]

1. pi tōḷāyate | 6 | Vira-śri-Kapilēśvara tāvaka-chamū-dhāṭhabhun(ahu) bhēri-
2. dhvanau bhār-āḥhuga-bhujanga-puṅgava-paṅgav-ākrānta-rōḍ-ōnta-

---

\(^1\) Cf. Panchadharla pillar inscription (Saka 1325) of the Kōna king Chōḍa III (above, Vol. XIX, p. 156) and the Vīṣṇu grant of Prōlaya-māyaka (ibid., Vol. XXXII, p. 287, text line 150-51).

\(^2\) Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 360.

\(^3\) From impressions.

\(^4\) The Telugu numeral 4 is inscribed in the left margin showing that this was the fourth plate of the original grant later utilized for drawing up a new charter. The first plate of the new charter, which was engraved apparently on the inner side only, is lost.

\(^5\) Metro: Śāntḍalavirānta(?)
ro | Harṣaṃ kampam-agat tadā(tō)-dhikadha(ta)ra Dwā(Dhā)rā cha dhār-ātura-

dvāra Kulubarigā™ vimukta-turagā Dhilli cha Bhillit-vṛtā [?]2 Tulya-

ś ched-rajatena śukti-rajatam hēma-ārakūtāna samaṃśa syā-

ch-chēt-kācha-maṇiś sarēṣṭāra-maṇīṇa sādṛāyaṁ-abhyēti chēt | naksha-

tram graha-nāyakēna tulanāñ viṁśeṭa chēt-tējasā viṁa-āri Kapi-

lośvarēpa samatām-anuvanta janēśe vrajēt || 8 || Dānē yaśasi sauryē

cha Kapilēṇḍra-mahīkshēti [\*] u-ānyé samās-samās[\*]-syus tē chatvāraḥ shōḍaṣa tra-

yah || 9 || Nīṣēśhaṁ niḥatāḥ parā vasumatī nītā tadiyyā(yā) vasaṁ ta-

Second Plate, Second Side

d-vitta-pratipādanāna sakalā vidvaj-janāḥ pōshitaḥ | vikhyātir-jagadē-

ta-vir[r]a\™ iti cha vyākhyaśita tōḍatō Rāmēṣa eva dharā dharātridaśa-

sāt-kāryā ēti buddhīṁ vaban || 10 || "Śāk-ābdē Bahudhāṇya-nāmni ga-

ṇītō vyōm-ēha-vah-nindubhir Vaisākhyāṁ Kapilēśvarō Harīgukā-Mē-

dūri-simmi sthitāṁ(tam) | viṁśatīyai viḍushāṁ śatāya cha vasaṇ Gō-

dāvarī-saikatē niḥśeshaṁ Vēligalanī-nāmakam aśād grāmaṁ

sva-pitr-ākhyaṅ 11 (\* Kṛishṇā-dakshiṇā-vēhīṅ(nī) vijayaṅ Vēṇā(ṇṇā)-

nadi-saṅgataḥ tat-prāchyaṅ Vijaya-pratāpa-Kapilēṇḍra-ākhyaṁ ma-

hā-śasanam(nam) | tatr-ābhūnta śatāṁ cha viṁśati-parāṁ viprā Vasishṭh-ō-

pamā ta(ta)d-dātā Vijaya-pratāpa Kapilēṇḍrō bhāti dharm-ōttaraḥ || 12 ||

Third Plate, First Side

Maṇiśḥa-anārghyōṣuḥ parikṣitēṣu viva dvijēṣṭhāra-ratnaḥ su nakshyatē kra-

mah | tathēpi bhūmiṣṣurarāja-mālīkā vilikkṛṣiḥ rāja-viliṣṭa-

na-kramāt || 13 ||

1 Read Kalharīta for the sake of the metre.
2 Metre : Śāṅsivalkaṇīya.
3 Metre : Aṣaṇhēka. Of the 4, 10 and 3 persons famous respectively for their liberality, fame and valour, the second group refers to the ancient imperial rulers of the Śōkāśa-rājakya section of the Mahābhārata (Drōṇaparvan, chapters 53 ff.). It is difficult to say whether the first group refers to Karṇa, Śibi Uṣṇara, Bali and Dādhī-

2 The letter ra is written below the line.
3 The metre requires Vēligalāni.
4 The Telugu numeral 5 is found in the left margin, indicating thereby that the plate was the fifth of the original set.
5 Metre : Vaṅgavata.
VELIGALANI GRANT OF KAPILESVAPA. SAKA 1380

[Telugu]

Subham-astu | Veligalani-Kapilešvarapurāṇaku | Jāgā-

śvārapurāpu viḍhiki uttara-srōni paśchim-ādi Gaḍavartti-śatavā-bhaṭṭu Kā-
śyapa-gōtram Rū(Rįgvedi) | Ojūla Nāgā-bhaṭṭālu Aṅgirasa-Bhāradvā-
ja-gōtraṁ Rū(Rįgvedi) | Kurti Rāmā-bhaṭṭalu [Maṇḍayā-gōtraṁ Yau-
jurvedi | Mulunna(na)ṇiṇi Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭalu Bhāradvāja-gōtraṁ Rį-
gvedi | Yemāpelāla Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭalu Bhāradvāja-gōtraṁ Yaju-
rvedi | Jaṇnunna(na)sāni Aṇunna(na)m-bhaṭṭalu Śrivatsa-gōtraṁ Rįgvedi | Ākunā-
ri Mukti-bhaṭṭalu Kāśyapa-gōtraṁ Rįgvedi | Yenamaniḷa Sōmā-bha-

Third Plate, Second Side

31 ūlua Kauśika-gōtraṁ Rįgvedi | Upadrashṭa Yağöṣṭha(n)iṣṭa-v[ra]*-sōmayayulu
32 Kaunāḍīnaya-gōtraṁ Rįgvedi | Yēṭūri Vallaḷa-bhaṭṭalu Bhāradvāja-gō-
-traṁ Yajurvedi | Gotti(rrtti) Narasīṇīhaya(ha)-bhaṭṭalu Śrivatsa-gōtraṁ Yajur-
vedi | Hari Malla-bhaṭṭalu Vādhula-gōtraṁ Yajurvedi | Śvā Pavaḷa-bhaṭṭalu
35 Hārīta-gōtraṁ Yajurvedi | Yaḍavalle Rāmā-bhaṭṭalu Śrivatsa-gō-
-traṁ Yajurvedi | Mālyāla Nāgā-bhaṭṭalu Kauśika-gōtraṁ Yajurvedi |
37 Kūnapu(j)iḷi Vennā-ecḥalu Bhāradvāja-gōtraṁ Rįgvedi | Kṛṣhpaṇa-
bhaṭṭalu Kauṇāḍīnayulu Gārgya-gōtraṁ Rįgvedi | Puvye Yatu-bhaṭṭulu
39 Āṭrēya-gōtraṁ Yajurvedi | Bhaṇḍāraṇu Sōmā-bhaṭṭalu Gautama-
40 gōtraṁ Yajurvedī | Maṇḍapapu Gōpāla-bhaṭṭalu Kauśika-gōtraṁ

Fourth Plate, First Side

41 Ru(Rįgvedi) || 20 || Dakṣiṇā-arēṇī paśchim-ādi Rājukonḍa Mallu-bhaṭṭalu Hā-
42 rita-gōtraṁ Yajurvedi | Upalārī Prōlo-bhaṭṭalu Kāṣya(ś)yapa-gōtraṁ
43 Yajurvedi || Pūrimeṭṭa Trivikrama-bhaṭṭalu Kāśyapa-gōtraṁ Ru(Rįgvedi) | Ko
44 nāḍapalli Mallu-sōmayāyulu Gautama-gōtraṁ Yajurvedi ||
45 Puvye Bhṛmēśvara-bhaṭṭalu Āṭrēya-gōtraṁ Yajurvedi || Golla-
46 pāṇḍi Peddi-bhaṭṭalu Kā(Kau)nāḍīnaya-gōtraṁ Yajurvedi | Maḷugūri
47 Šōmā-bhaṭṭalu Hārīta-gōtraṁ Rįgvedi | Upadrashṭa Vīcēśvara-bhaṭṭalu Kau-
nāḍīnaya-gōtraṁ Rįgvedi | Māṇijēṭṭi Durgā-bhaṭṭalu Bhāradvāja-gōtraṁ
49 Yaju[rvedi] | Kūchi Mall-śavadhānu Bhāradvāja-gōtraṁ Yajurvedi ]
50 Lolla Vallaḷa-bhaṭṭalu Hārīta-gōtraṁ Yajurvedi | Pūrimeṭṭa Āḍitva-

1 The Telugu numeral 6 is engraved near the ring hole showing that this was the sixth plate of the original set.
bhaṭṭu Kāṇya(ṛ)a-pa-gōtraṁ Rigvēdi | Dūrvāsula Vallava-bhaṭṭu Śrīvatsa-gōtraṁ
52 Yajurvēdi | Kē[ñ]a[ñ]a[n]chi Komman-ojhalu Gārgya-gōtraṁ Rigvēdi | Nāgava-
54 śīkā-gōtraṁ Yajurvēdi | Shaddarṣanān Janādana-bhaṭṭu Bhāradvāja-gōtraṁ
55 Rigvēdi | Kāṁ[ḍ]ūrī Rāma-bhaṭṭu Hārita-gōtraṁ Yajurvēdi | Būta-
56 na-bhaṭṭu Narahari-bhaṭṭu Kauśika-gōtraṁ Yajurvēdi | Yēṭūrī Dēchi-bha-
57 ṭlu Āṭṛēya-gōtraṁ Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || 20 || Vellamāṁbāpura-vidhiki uttara-ārē-
58 ni paśchim-āḍī | Mahākāli-bhaṭṭu Kūtas-gōtraṁ Yajurvēdi | Dūrvāsū-
59 la Rāma-bhaṭṭu Śrīvatsa-gōtraṁ Yajurvēdi | Aḍḍāja Tippā-bhaṭṭu Hā-
60 rita-gōtraṁ Yajurvēdi | Yempalela Peda-Kāṁ-bhaṭṭu Bhāradvāja-gōtraṁ

Fifth Plate, First Side

61 Yajurvēdi | Iṅgū Vallava-bhaṭṭu Šaunaka-gōtraṁ Yajurvēdi | Vaḍdi Pō-
62 t-āvadhānulau Kauśika-gōtraṁ [Ya]jurvēdi | Penuṁ[ba]ṛi Gaṅgādhara-
63 bhaṭṭu Kauṁḍinīya-gōtraṁ Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Kuppa Sarvā-bhaṭṭu Kauṁḍinīya-
64 gōtraṁ Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Śādhu Peddi-bhaṭṭu Śrī[va]*jala-gōtraṁ Ye(Ya)jurvēdi |
65 Sāmakvēdu Nārāyana-divvēdu Kauṁḍinīya-gōtraṁ Ye(Ya)ju-
66 rvēdi || Nāli Mallu-bhaṭṭu Bhāradvāja-gōtraṁ Ye(Ya)jurvēdi |
67 Vēdāntaṁ Prōlu-bhaṭṭu Hārita-gōtraṁ Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Rāmakrishna-
68 m-bhaṭṭa(ṭ)a Annam-bhaṭṭu Vādhūla-gōtraṁ Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Śīlāli Yetu-
69 sōmayājulu Āṅgi[rasa]*- Bhāradvāja-gōtraṁ Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Kā-
70 Ṉēva(ṛ)a Chittā-ōjhalu Maitreyā-gōtraṁ Kāṇḍva(Kāṇva)-sākha | Kāṇḍva(Kāṇva) Maṅ-

Fifth Plate, Second Side

71 chi-bhaṭṭu Kauśika-gōtraṁ Kāṇḍava(Kāṇva)sākha | Kāṇḍva(Kāṇva) Peddi-bhaṭṭu Kauśika-
72 gōtraṁ Kāṇḍva(ṛ)a-sākha | Kāṇḍva(Kāṇva)-Narasinh[ṛ]o-h-ojhalu Maitreyā-gō-
73 traṁ Kāṇḍva(Kāṇva)-sākha | Oḍḍe Dēvarē-bhaṭṭu Bhāradvāja-gōtraṁ Rigvē-
74 di | Oḍdal Audhala-bhaṭṭu Hārita-gōtraṁ Rigvēdi || 20 || Dakṣipana-
75 śṛṇi paśchim-āḍī | Chēvanapaddi Pōtu-bhaṭṭu Hārita-gōtraṁ
76 Yajurvēdi | Bhāsakarā[r]a Ḍēvarē-bhaṭṭu Kutas-gōtraṁ Ya-
77 jurvēdi | Annaṅgērī Peddi-bhaṭṭu Bhāradvāja-gōtraṁ Rigvēdi | Pe-
78 rumāḍī Saumitri-bhaṭṭu Bhāradvāja-gōtraṁ Yajurvēdi | Mu-
79 kkolani Vallava-bhaṭṭu Kauśika-gōtraṁ Yajurvēdi | Kaḍali Āditya-bha-
80 ṭlu Kauṁḍinīya-gōtraṁ Yajurvēdi | Tāḍēpallī Gaṅgādhara-bhaṭṭu Hā-

* Engraved in the left margin.
* The Telugu numeral 7 is engraved near the ring hole.
* Originally ya had been written and was corrected to ya.
Sixth Plate, First Side

81 rita-gōtraṁ Yajurvedi | Kauṇḍāve(va)lli Viśvēva-ra-āchāryulu Bhāradvāja-gōtraṁ
82 Ye(Ya)jurvedi | Maddali Anant-ojhalu Maundgalya-gōtraṁ Yajurvedi |
83 Dāmādara Peddi-bhaṭṭulu Kauṣika-gōtraṁ Ye(Ya)jurvedi | Challa Narahari-bhaṭṭulu Kau-
84 niṅinya-gōtraṁ Ye(Ya)jurvedi | Bhāgavatula Tīrumala-bhaṭṭulu Kapi-gōtraṁ Ya-
85 jurvediobby Nārī Nāga-dvivēduḷu Ye(Ya)jurvedi Ṣaṅkta-gōtraṁ | Tā-
86 dépalli Yaṭṭha-ojhalu Āṭrēya-gōtraṁ Ye(Ya)jurvedi | Taḍḍāpu-
87 di Narasiṁhyā(h)-āṇavāḍhanu Ye(Ya)jurvedi | Bhūtānāthi Bhairava-bhaṭṭulu Gantama-
88 gōtraṁ Ru(Ri)gvedi | Peyyala Māru-bhaṭṭulu Muddga gōtraṁ Ye(Ya)jurved-
89 di | Ānandula Malli-ojhalu Ṣaṅkta-gōtraṁ Ru(Ri)gvedi | Jagalla(ha)pū-
90 ūḍi Śiṅgā-bhaṭṭulu Bhāradvāja-gōtraṁ Ru(Ri)gvedi | Divākara-bhaṭṭala Gāṅgā-

Sixth Plate, Second Side

91 dhara-bhaṭṭulu Kāśyapa-gōtraṁ Ru(Ri)gvedi o[i][k] Kauṭilēṣvārapuruṣapu vidhi[k]
92 uttara-ṛṣeṇa paśeṣam-ādi | Nārāyaṇa-dvivēduḷa Gaiśgadhara-bhaṭṭulu Bhā-
93 radvāja-gōṛ aṇi Yajurvedi | Tōṁka-sōmayājula Narasiṁhyā(ha)-bhaṭṭulu
94 Kauṇḍīnīya-gōtraṁ Ru(Ri)gvedi | Yajurvedi Jagarapūṇiḍi Kāśīvara-bhaṭṭulu Bhāradvāja-
95 gōtraṁ Ru(Ri)gvedi | Ye(ya)jñanam-bhaṭṭalu Jagannātha-bhaṭṭulu Kauṇḍiniya-gōtraṁ Ru(Ri)-
96 gvedi
97 Appali-bhaṭṭulu Sarvā-bhaṭṭulu Śiṅgāyya-gōtraṁ Yajurvedi | Śaṭkara Ka-
98 suvā-ojhalu Gautama-gōtraṁ Ye(Ya)jurvedi | Māṇageṇi Sōma-
99 bhaṭṭulu Kāśyapa-gōtraṁ Ye(Ya)jurvedi | Chīrātalapaṭi Yarpōta-bhaṭṭulu Ṣaṅk-
100 ta-gōtraṁ Ye(Ya)jurvedi | Satyāśūdha Peddi-bhaṭṭulu Śaṭhama[ra]*shaṇa-gōtraṁ Ya-
101 jurvedi | Sōlasa Peddi-ojhalu Bhāradvāja-gōtraṁ Ye(Ya)jurvedi | Anīdu-
102 villā Sōmayājulu Kāśya(sya)pa-gōtraṁ Ye(Ya)jurvedi | Yāṇīparēla Pīṇa-Kā-

Seventh Plate, First Side

102 mā-bhaṭṭulu Bhāradvāja-gōtraṁ Ye(Ya)jurvedi | Bētana-bhaṭṭala Rudrā-
103 buṭṭulu Kauṣika-gōtraṁ Ye(Ya)jurvedi o Utīrāṣvārapu Naraśiṁhyā(ha)-
104 sōmayājulu Kāśya(sya)pa-gōtraṁ Ye(Ya)jurvedi | Cēnigola-
105 ni Rāmā-bhaṭṭulu Kauṣika-gōtraṁ Ye(Ya)jurvedi | Kauṇḍīvē(va)lli Prōlu-
106 bhaṭṭulu Bhāradvāja-gōtraṁ Ye(Ya)jurvedi | Jōnalagāḍḍha Pōtu-
107 bhaṭṭulu Gautama-gōtraṁ Ru(Ri)gvedi | Mulukalu Tāllu-bha-
108 tlu Kauṇḍinīya-gōtraṁ Ru(Ri)gvedi | Kōndāpalli Gōpāla-bhaṭṭulu Kauṇ-
109 ḍinya-gōtraṁ Ye(Ya)jurvedi | Śatakūrī Pūrṇa-bhaṭṭulu Kāśya(sya)pa-gō-
110 train Ru(Ri)gvedi o Dēkṣmaṇa-ṛṣeṇa paśeṣam o Śiḍi [o] Anīduvēla Lakshmanā-
111 sōmayājulu Kāśya(sya)pa-gōtraṁ Ye(Ya)jurvedi | Tēlapōdi Lī-

1 The Telugu numeral 8 is engraved to the left of the ring hole.
2 The engraver has omitted the name of his gōtra.
3 The Telugu numeral 9 is engraved in the left margin.
ÉPIGRAPHIA INDICA

Seventh Plate, Second Side

112 thgā-ojhalu Bhāradvāja-gōtraṁ Ye(Yajjurvēdī) || Maṅḍaḍapu
113 Abhaḷa-ōjhalu Kauśika-gōtraṁ Ye(Yajjurvēdī) || Bejavāḍa Śingaṁ-ōjhalu Kauśika-gōtraṁ Ye(Yajjurvēdī) || Maṅchi-ḥatla Kāmā-ḥatla Maitrēya-gōtraṁ Ye(Yajjurvēdī) || Būruvu(vu)gaḍḍa Bhāva-nārāyaṇ-ōjhalu Hārita-gōtraṁ Ye(Yajjurvēdī) || Purā-ṇaṁ Tirumala-ḥatla Śaṅkiliya-gōtraṁ Ye(Yajjurvēdī) || Bī-
118 ūṭaṁ Muḍa-ōjhalu Śaṅkiliya-gōtraṁ Kāṇḍaṇa(Kāṣva)-śākha ||
119 Kuṇḍetī Māḷā-ōjhalū Bhāradvāja-gōtraṁ Kuṇḍaṇa(Kāṣva)-śākha ||
120 Rōmalla Bhimā-ōjhalu Kāṣyapa-gōtraṁ Kāṇḍaṇa(Kāṣva)-śākha || Mu-
121 kkōlanti Muḍa-ōjhalu Hārita-gōtraṁ Ye(Yajjurvēdī) ||

Eighth Plate, First Side

122 Pulya Prōlu-ḥatla Ṭrēyya-gōtraṁ Ye(Yajjurvēdī) || Ālamā-
123 ri Jagannātha-ḥatla Kuṇḍilīkya-gōtraṁ Ye(Yajjurvēdī) || Appāya-dvi-
124 vēḍula Tālulu-ḥatla Chān(Śaṁ)jīliya-gōtraṁ Ye(Yajjurvēdī) [***] Mailavarapu Te-
125 luṅgari-ḥatla Bhāradvāja-gōtraṁ Ru(Ri)gvēḍī || [APśaromula Kā-
126 maḍēva-ḥatla Kauśika-gōtraṁ Ye(Yajjurvēdī) || Kāṭanagadeḍa Abhaḷa-ḥat-
127 la Ṭrēyya-gōtraṁ Ye(Yajjurvēdī) || Metakku Jagannātha-ḥatla Kuṇḍil-
128 nya-gōtraṁ Ye(Yajjurvēdī) || Dūrvāsula Appalē-ḥatla Śrīvatasa-gōtra-
129 m Ye(Yajjurvēdī) || [Che]ṭakūri Sūru-ḥatla Kāṣya(śya)pa-gōtraṁ Ru(Ri)gvēḍī

Eighth Plate, Second Side

130 || 20 || Verasi 120[***]

Ninth Plate, First Side

140 dri padaṁata-mukhamai mōta-rāviki velli ṛduḍu-guṭṭa mō-
141 chi v[u]ttaraṁ-mukhamai Bīmaraṭi(thi)-dhari prāṇata-puṭṭa mōchenu [***] Aṁ-
142 dun-udīṇḍa padaṁata-mukhamai būruvu velli ā-padaṁati-
143 Kuṇḍaḍuṭṭuṭṭu tirigī nēla-puṭṭan-umḍi v[u]ttaraṁ-mukhamai pōi(yi)-
144 lōkuṇingāṁ-dirigī uttaraṁ-mukhamai pōi dēvarā-chēnī-
145 padaṁati-nallau-buṭṭan-umḍi(dī) padaṁati-mukhamai pōi-
146 mōta-rāviki velli ā-padaṁati-pēdda-puṭṭan-umḍi kāsaka(kshi)ṇaṁ-mu-
147 khamai pōi daṇṭha-tāḍi-puṭṭan-umḍi paṭumat-mukhamai pō-
148 yi ṛduḍu-guṭṭa-puṭṭan-umḍi uttaraṁ-mukhamai nēla-kūntā mōchi pa-
149 daṇḍat-mukhamai pōi pēdda-puṭṭan-umḍi uttaraṁ-mukhamai(yi)(mai)

1 The Telugu numeral 1 and a floral design are faintly seen at the margin.
2 The number 10 in Telugu numerals is engraved near the ring hole. This plate is only 6 inches height.
3 The letter 'l' seems to have been corrected to a.
4 The old writing on the rest of the plate is beaten in. Some letters belonging to the earlier grant are visible here and there.
5 The writing on this plate referring to the boundaries of the gift land begins abruptly in the middle of a word which may be amdaṇa-umā.
Ninth Plate, Second Side

150 māṇchi-nil[a]-kuṇṭṭa-ājñā(ṅe)yaṁ-mūla yarṇam-buṭṭa môchenu [1*]
151 Aṃdent-unḍi dahṣa(kshi)ṇaṁ-mukhamai pōyi Peṇchikelapāḍu mô-
152 chi paḍumaṭi-mukhamai pōyi pāḍu tirigī dahṣa(kshi)ṇa-mukhamai
153 pōyi praṇṭṭa-mōṇḍugu-puṭṭan-unḍi tūrpū-mukhamai
154 pōyi yarṇam-buṭṭan-unḍi dahṣa(kshi)ṇa-mukhamai pōyi po-
155 dda-puṭṭa môči paḍamaṭi-mukhamai pōyi borra-nakka-viriki veli-
156 kara-venṭṭanē pōyi Bāmaratitthī dāṇṭṭi dariy-(ya)-dahṣa(kshi)ṇaṁ-mukha-
157 mai pōyi vāṅgu vu(u)ttarapu-praṇṭṭa-puṭṭa môči paḍamaṭi-mu-
158 khamai tge-mōṇḍumukku veli Paṇḍi-kakkula-rāvula-dōṇkkka
159 môči vu(u)ttaram-mukhamai pōyi dōṅka tirigī pedda-puṭṭan-u-

Tenth Plate, First Side

160 [d-iṁ*]chika-mērā vōyi paḍamaṭi mukhamai Bāmaratī môchenu [1*] Aṃdentun-
161 niḍi Bāmaratitthī venṭṭanē uttaram-mukhamai pōyi Mallamarāju-kana-
162 man-unḍi paḍumaṭi-mukhamai pōyi Penamaṁgūri polamēra-
163 mūṇḍi pedda-puṭṭan-unḍi uttaram-mukhamai Saṁbanr-kunṭṭa paḍamaṭa-
164 gāṁ-bōyi Ṛagamayya-puṭṭa môči paḍamaṭi-mukhamai i-
165 nichika-mēra pōyi uttaram-mukhamai pōyi Gārapaparti po-
166 lamēra mūṇḍi nēla-puṭṭa môči tūrpū-mukhamai pōyi tuṁ-
167 gā-kunṭṭa môchenu [1*] Aṃdent-unḍi uttaram-mukhamai pōyi graddal-
168 marṭi-kunṭṭa tirigī tūrpū-mukhamai pōyi nēla-kunṭṭa môči u-
169 ttarām-mukhamai pōyi Mōraṁtāḍa polamēra-mūṇḍi Garapapu-

Tenth Plate, Second Side^{a}

170 polamēra nirnna(rpa)yamu | T[I]śāny-aḍi Kanumūri vōḍḍuṁ-jēruruv dakhṣa(kshi)ṇaṇu-tū
171 munan-unḍi(di) dahṣa(kshi)ṇaṇu-mukhamai pōyi avuruṇu-gōḍu dāṇṭṭi
172 inichika-mēra pōyi paḍumaṭi-mukhamai pōyi dahṣa(kshi)ṇaṇu-mu-
173 khamai pōyi apatiṁnni(m) paḍumaṭi-mukhamai pōyi dahṣa(kshi)ṇa-
174 mukhamai pōyi nallāṁ-buṭṭan-unḍi tūrpū-mu-
175 khamai pōyi praṇṭṭa-puṭṭan-unḍi dahṣa(kshi)ṇa-mukhamai
176 pōyi Dōḍḍanēni-vāri-tōṇṭa paḍamaṭi Pōṭurāju vam-
177 kka-tāḍi-puṭṭan-unḍi tūrpū-mukhamai pōyi Muniḍlap[ū]-
178 niḍi māṇchi-nil[a]-kunṭṭa paḍamaṭi-chauṭa-nuṇṭan-unḍi(di) dakhṣa(kshi)ṇa
179 mukhamai pōyi Mīṛṭi-pedda-puṭṭan-unḍi tūrpū-mukhamai pōyi ā^{a}

^{1} The letter ra is engraved above the line.
^{2} The Telugu numerals 1 and 2 are written vertically at the side of the ring hole.
^{3} The writing stops here abruptly.
Mėdura-thala-madhya Vēlāigaili Keshty-ratna-rāma-nāmā khauchi āti-
tō Bhogiya-dance-pata mula-kōtha-desarī phēdi Īrharsta-sta-
santake Gaūtami-nadī-gara[h]a-bhūta[r]ē Śiṅga Vṛhalapati Purū-
kāli(ka)-smaē Īrhhastā pāni chhājīlā bhūmi dāna nāna-gōta Vṛ(ṇā)-
hmaṭaṅku Vira-srī-Gajapati-Gaūtēsara rṛṣṇa va-kōṭī-Karṇaṭa-
Kalavara-ṛṣara Pratāpa-Kapilāradēva-mahārājā-
ākara data Jāgēsarapura-sēsana Vēlāmapura-sēsana Pratāpa-Ka-
pilēsarapura-sēsana tī tīnī sēsana bhā[ga]* bō lēkhhā bāgā 120 [*] [?] =
vādī-tōlī-jala-bhūmi madhikari dī hīlā [*] ē gāara bhūmi-
pāa | aihmē sarva-mārīṇa chhatisī āvadanā madhikari chhāḍī bhākē[ga]-[bhō]-
Eleventh Plate, Second Side

ga karāivā [***]

[Sanskrit]

Kalyāṇam-aklayataṁ Kamalādhināthaḥ Kōlākrītir-jala-nidhē-
asamudravamānā || (l) darśena yasya kanak-āchala-kargikā
bhūr-vyākche-kōkanada-kōraka-kāṁtir-āśit || Śr[īj] ||
Āvēdanāni śatāśrīṁnāt-tyaktā śrī-Kapilēśvarah [*] grāma-
grās-ānvitāṁ grāmaṁ sarva-mānyam sad-ākarōt [(*)] Sā-
māny-[lojan-dhā]rmā-setur-nipānāṁ kāle kāle pāla-
nū[yyō(yō)] bhavadvībhīḥ itthāṁ sarvān bhāvināḥ pā-
rtthī[veṇudrāṇ]n bhūyō bhūyō yā[cha]tē [Rā*jma-
chaṁ]dra[ḥ] [***]

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1 A floral design is engraved near the ring hole.

2 The various designs engraved after this have already been discussed above, p. 275.

3 Metro: Vasantatilaka.

4 The following six lines, apparently belonging to the original charter, have to be read from the bottom side of the plate. They exhibit marks of being partially beaten in and appear to have been engraved by a different hand. These lines were probably not completely beaten in because they are not unsuitable to the context of the new record.

5 Metro: Amukṭaḥ.

6 Metro: Śūntak.
No. 53—Bandora Plates of Maurya Anirjitaavarman, Year 29

(I Plate)

G. S. Gai, Ootacamund

(Received on 13.11.1958)

This copper-plate inscription is edited here, with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, from a set of photographs obtained in his office during the year 1949-50. The plates are reported to have been found at a place called Bandora in the Goa territory, along with the two grants of Bhūja Prīthivimalavarmān and another two of the Kadamba kings Tribhuvanamalladeva and Shastiḥadeva II respectively.

The set consists of two plates, each measuring about 6·6" by 2·6". In the left margin of each plate, there is a hole about :25" in diameter, through which passed a ring. A small piece of copper is chipped off in the right-hand corner of the first plate; but only three or four letters have been lost thereby, which, however, can be restored without difficulty. Otherwise, the writing is well-preserved.

The characters of the record closely resemble those of the two grants of the Bhūja king Prīthivimalavarmān referred to above though they are box-headed (of a peculiar type) in our inscription instead of what has been called hook-headed in the other records. So on grounds of palaeography, the present inscription may be referred to about the 6th or 7th century A.D. Each plate is engraved on the inner side only and there are eleven lines of writing, the first plate containing five lines while the second plate six. The orthography of the record does not call for any special remarks. The language is Sanskrit and the entire text is in prose. In point of style also the record bears close similarity to the two Bhūja grants mentioned above.

The inscription opens with the word dātham. The charter is issued from the victorious Kumara-dvīpa and refers itself to the reign of the Maurya Mahārāja Anirjitaavarman (line 1). It is addressed, in the words of the king, to the inhabitants of the Twelve-village dēśa as well as the present and future officials such as the bhūjakas, āyuktas and stāhīyins (lines 2-3). The object of the record in lines 3-8 seems to register the king's grant of one hala of khajana land as well as a piece of land, including a house-site, a garden and a tank belonging to an unnamed Rāshtra-kītā. In addition to this, some land to be reclaimed by clearing the forest (maraya-karshana) by employing four batches of workers (prāksha-kula) was also granted. The gift was made for securing the welfare and final beatitude of the king as well as of Nāgapadda, Malladatta and Achala. The donee was Hastyārya of the Hārita gūra, who is called uktā-nigōga and grihiṭa-sāhasra. The expression uktā-nigōga seems to have been used in the sense of 'a specified or appointed person, while grihiṭa-sāhasra appears to denote 'a person learned in the Śāma-Veda [which is supposed to have a thousand branches]'. The gift was exempted from all taxes (pārīga).

2 Above, pp. 61 ff.
3 Ibid., Vol. XXX, pp. 71 ff.
5 For pārīga meaning a kind of tax, see above, pp. 54 ff.

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Lines 8-9 state that the Brāhmaṇa, i.e. the donee Hastyārya, who would enjoy the produce of the land by putting up a bund to prevent the salt water [from entering the field on the sea-shore] should not be disturbed in his enjoyment by anybody. This is followed by another imprecatory sentence in lines 9-11.

The executor (āśāpāta) of the grant was the king himself (line 11). The charter ends with the date (line 11) which is given as the tenth day of the seventh fortnight of Hēma, i.e. Hēmantra, in the twentyninth year apparently of the king's reign. This year 29 is expressed by the numerical symbols for 20 and 9.

The inscription is important as it introduces a hitherto unknown king of the Maurya dynasty, viz. Anirjitavarman who seems to have held sway somewhere in the western coast about the Goa territory about the 6th or 7th century A.D. Though it is difficult to identify Kumāra-dvīpa whence the charter was issued, it appears to have been located somewhere in this region. In this connection, we may notice another copper-plate inscription which is also reported to have been discovered in Goa and which belongs to the reign of a king named Chandravarman.1 It is dated in the second regnal year of the king, Chaitra (?) ba-di 10. On palaeographical grounds, this record may be referred to a date slightly earlier than that of the inscription under study. Its object is to record the donation of some land to the Mahā-vihaṇa at Śivapura which is identified with the modern village of the same name near Chandor in Goa. This shows that Chandravarman was ruling over some part of the Goa territory. Unfortunately the first line of the record which apparently contained the name of the dynasty to which Chandravarman belonged is very badly damaged and effaced. Dr. M.G. Dikshit read two letters in this line as nāṟṟiya and suggested that the king might have belonged to the early Kadamba dynasty. In a note on this inscription,2 Dr. D. C. Sircar suggested the reading of the word Maurya as an alternative to nāṟṟiya and observed that Chandra-varman of Goa might have had some relations with the Mauryas of the Koṅkan. A close examination of the printed facsimile of the record would show that the reading of the word Maurya in line 1 is almost certain and this no doubt refers to the dynasty to which Chandravarman belonged. Thus we get one Chandravarman of the Maurya dynasty who was also ruling somewhere in the west coast in the Goa territory near about the period of the inscription under study. Except Chandra-varman and Anirjitavarman, no other king of this dynasty ruling in the said region at this period is known. But from the Siroda plates of Dēvarāja3 and from the recent discovery of a few copper-plate grants of the kings of the Bhōja dynasty, we learn that these Bhōja kings also held sway somewhere in the Goa territory on the west coast from the fourth to the sixth century A.D. The relations between the two Maurya kings Anirjitavarman and Chandravarman with the Bhōja kings cannot be determined without further light on the subject. It may, however, be noted that, in the celebrated Aihol inscription of Pulakēśin II dated in 634 A.D.,4 the king's father Kirtivarman I is described as a night of death to the Mauryas, Nágas and Kadambas5 of whom the Mauryas were ruling in the Koṅkan as stated later in the record. Maṅgalēśa and Pulakēśin II also are credited with success against these Mauryas.6 The events took place during the latter half of the sixth century and the first half of the seventh century A.D. It is not impossible that the Mauryas defeated by the early Chālukya kings belonged to the same branch as that of Anirjitavarman and Chandravarman. Since the early Western Chālukya records do not refer to the defeat of the Bhōjas but

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1 New Ind. Ant., Vol. IV, pp. 181-84 and Plate.
5 This event is also referred to in the later records like the Kauṭhēṃ grant (Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, pp. 13 ff.)
6 Above, Vol. VI, pp. 4 ff., text lines 8 and 10.
BANDORA PLATES OF MAURYA ANIRJITAVARMAN, YEAR 29

(from Photographs)
only to that of the Mauryas, it appears that the latter ousted the Bhoja kings in the west coast about the sixth century A.D. and that they, in their turn, were defeated by the early Chalukyas of Badami.

As stated before, the gift was made for the merit of the king as well as that of three other persons named Naga Padda, Malladatta and Achala. The relationship of these three persons with the king is not mentioned. It is possible that they were the real donors of the gift, and the land, including the house-site, garden and tank belonging to the Rastra Kutas, appears to have been purchased by them for the purpose of the gift. The expression khajana occurs in some other records of this region and it has been shown to be the same word as the modern Marathi (and also Konkani) khajana meaning a rice-field created out of the nullah on a sea-shore by putting embankments after the ebb-tide.

It is interesting to note that this meaning is supported by our inscription which states that the donee would cultivate the land by putting up an embankment to prevent the salt water (lavanaja-laini setunavivyarakhetram-uptadyaquha).

Kumara-dvipa is the only geographical name mentioned in the record and it has been discussed above.

TEXT

First Plate

1 [Dj]htham (Drishtam) [**] Vijaya-Kumara-dvipam = Maurya-maharahasya srimad-Anirjita-varmanmano vacha[nat]^4

2 deśe Dvadarsagamyā gramo(ma)-paurakāḥ varttamāna-bhavishyad-bhōjak-ayuktaka-sthā-[yy-ā]^4

3 dayas-cha vaktavyah yat=āstā grama-simē=smābhiḥ Naga Padda-Malladattā-Achalanāṁ(n)ām

4 ātmanas-cha ih-amutrika-ni[h*]jēryas-ārttham khajjanam(na)-halam-ērakam*ēkaṭgaḥ ēkataś-cha

5 rāṣṭra-kūṭa-tatāka-vāṭaka-grīha-sthāna-bhu(bhū)miḥ chatu[r*]bhīṣ-cha pṛsīhva-kulair= yyad-āstra simē

Second Plate

6 Brahmaṇaḥ aranyaka-kaśyapaṃ(gaṁ) karāpayati 7 tēna sārddha[ṃ](rdham) uktā(kta)-niyogaya gṛhi[t][a]-

7 sāh(ha)ṣārya Ḥārīta-sagṛthāya Hastīyārayā sarvva-paṅga-parihṛta-par[ri]hāram

8 udekhaṇa sampadattam [*] jūtav-sivam Brahmaṇaḥ lavana-jala[ṃ] setunā nivāryya keśēram

9 upṭādaḥ ch-ōpabhumjamānaḥ na kēnachid-vyanasayitavyah [*] yō=smat-kul-ābhyantarō-

nyō vā rāga-

^ See above, pp. 50 ff.
* Ibid., pp. 53-54 and 63.
^ From photographs.
* The portion in brackets has been chipped off.
* Read "grūpyā.
* Read "dham*.
* Read kēroṣaṛa.

11 papātaka-saṁyukta[ḥṣṭ] syād-iti [ṇ] atr-ājñaptiḥ svayaṁ mahārajaḥ || sāvva(saṁve) 20 9 || Hēma 7 diva 10 [n]
No. 54—CHANDIL STONE INSCRIPTION

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 23.3.1955)

In November 1957 I received an impression of a stone inscription for examination from Mr. A. C. Banerji of the Mid-Eastern Circle of the Department of Archaeology, Patna. The inscribed stone was found by the Circle officers at the village of Chandil in the Singhbhum District of Bihar. The stone slab was originally the lintel in the doorway of an old temple destroyed long ago. A new temple was later constructed on the foundation of the old one.

The inscription is written in three lines; but the third line is very small. The beginning of the second line is ahead of the first while line 3 begins ahead of line 2. The incision of the letters is deep and most of them can be seen clearly from the back of the impression. But the impression itself suffers from indifferent inking. The space covered by the writing is about 25⅓ inches in length and about 3½ inches in height.

The characters of the record resemble those in the epigraphs of the age of the early Pālas and may be assigned to a date in the eighth or ninth century A.D. on palaeographical grounds. Both the Dēvanāgarī and Bengali types of the anusvāra are used in the epigraph.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit; but it is very corrupt there being a number of grammatical and orthographical errors. An interesting orthographical feature is the indiscriminate use of ś and s in the words ṣatata (Sanskrit satata), ṣata (Sanskrit sata) and śira (either Sanskrit śiras or a mistake for Śiva).

The inscription, written in three sentences, bears neither any date nor the name of the ruler of the country. Its subject is to record the construction of a devakula or temple, apparently at Chandil in the Singhbhum District where the inscribed stone has been found, by a person named Dāmappa who was the son of Bhogulla. This is indicated by the last sentence of the record which reads: Bhogullasa ṣuta-Dāmappēna devakula śhāpiṭam (i.e. Bhogullasya suṣeṣa Dāmappēna devakulam śhāpiṭam). The name Dāmappa seems to be of Kannada origin and the original home of the family to which the person belonged may have been in the southern part of India. The name of the deity for whom Dāmappa built the shrine is not clear from the context. But the person is introduced in the first sentence of the record as a devotee of a deity called Bhagavati Trailokyavijayā and it is apparently this goddess whose shrine was built. This sentence reads: śrī-bhagavatīyāṁ Trailokyavijayāyāṁ Dāmappa ṣatataṁ bhakti-bhāvēṇa tiṣṭhati (i.e. śrī-bhagavatīyāṁ Trailokyavijayāyāṁ Dāmappāḥ ṣatataṁ bhakti-bhāvēṇa tiṣṭhati).

The second sentence of the inscription is very much corrupt. It reads: nāma-smaranāṁ pratyakshaḥ jñāṇa-śāī-hāniṣṭa śīrāśa yujjā pata[m] praṇāmāmi. It will be seen that, while the first sentence uses the name of the individual responsible for the construction of the shrine in the Third Person, the second is apparently represented as his speech in the First Person. Moreover the too many grammatical errors in the sentence make it very difficult to understand its real import. But we may possibly suggest that the main part of the sentence in correct Sanskrit should be nāma-smaranāṁ pratyakshaḥ kriyāyāṁ śāī-hāniṣṭa śīrāśa yujjā paṭaṇ prāṇāmāmi. In that case, śīrāśa yujjā, 'one worthy of being placed on the head', together with nāma-smaranāṁ pratyakshaḥ, 'one who becomes visible to a person as soon as the latter remembers her name', has to be regarded as an epithet of the goddess Trailokyavijayā. The sentence would then mean: 'I bow down, with all my eight limbs and with folded palms, to the goddess who becomes visible to a person as soon as he remembers her name and who is worthy of being placed on the head, after having fallen flat on the ground.'
Or, should we think that the intended word is Śiva-sāญjyāya? Śiva-sāญjyā is of course 'communication with the god Śiva', or 'absorption into Śiva'. Sāญjyā is the last of the four grades or states of mukti or beatitude, the three others being nālōkya (being in the same world as the god to whom one is devoted), sāmīpya (nearness to the object of devotion), and sārāpya (assimilation to or conformity with the deity), to which some authorities add sārṣṭī (equality in rank or condition or power with the deity). If this emendation is accepted, Dānappa no doubt believed that his devotion to the goddess Trailōkya-vājīyā would lead to his communion with Śiva. The association of Trailōkya-vājīyā and Śiva again would suggest that the goddess was conceived as the Śakti of the god.

There is no goddess named Trailōkya-vājīyā in the Hindu or Buddhist pantheon. In the lexicons, the expression trailōkya-vājīyā in the feminine is recognised only in the sense of 'a sort of hemp from which an intoxicating infusion is prepared'. But the name of the goddess reminds us of the Buddhist god Trailōkya-vājīyā whose conception is associated with the Buddhist attempt to humidulate the Hindu deities Śiva and Pārvati. This god is represented as blue-coloured, four-faced and eight-armed and as exhibiting the Vajra-hunākara-mudrā (i.e. with the wrists of the principal hands crossing at the breast, an attitude indicating intensity) with the hands holding the bell and thunderbolt, as carrying in the three other right hands the khaṇḍa (a staff with a skull at the top), goad and arrow and in the three other left hands the bow, noose and thunderbolt, as standing in the pustālkīṭha attitude (i.e. with the left foot advanced and the right drawn back) with garments of various colours, and as trampling on the head of Śiva with his left foot and the breasts of Gauri or Pārvati with the right. Trailōkya-vājīyā was probably conceived by the Buddhists as the Śakti of the god Trailōkya-vājīyā even though she may not have enjoyed wide popularity.

But our inscription may also suggest that in the early medieval period the goddess was already identified with Gauri or Pārvati, the consort of Śiva. The case may thus be similar to such other Buddhist deities as Tārā. The inscription would then, along with others like the Narāyappu Vināyaka image inscription3 of the fourth regnal year of the Pāla king Mahipāla (probably Mahipāla I, c. 992-1010 A.D.), give an indication as to how the Buddhist masses were gradually absorbed into the Brahmanical society. The Narāyappu inscription records the installation of a Brahmanical deity by a follower of the Buddhist faith. Whether the nature of our inscription is Buddhist, or semi-Buddhist, the region around Chandil appears to have come once under the influence of Buddhism.

TEXT

   ([*]) nā[ma]-sāra[ja][ūni]
   śu(su)jatā Dāmappēnā
3 dēvakula[ri[*]] sthāpita[am] (tam; )

1 Cf. Śodaka-paṭrāma, s. v. sāignjyām.
3 Ind. Coll., Vol. 1X, pp. 121 ff.
4 From an impression.
5 Read śi[ṃ]ja[ṃ].
6 Read śa[ṃ]ra[ṃ].
7 Better read bhāra[ṃ].
9 The nīkha[ra dha][ha] is written below the line. Read kriṣṭ-ad[ā]jan[am] s-aṣṭha[nga].
10 The intended reading may be śīrṣa[""] yōj[ā]ś (or nājy[ā]ya) or Śrī-nājy[ā]ya.
11 Read pā[ṃ].
12 The punctuation mark is indicated by a rīpa[ng]a-like sign.
13 Better Bhōgullasya[⊥] or Bhōgullasya[⊥] but nā[ka]-sāra[ṃ] are quite common in the epigraphic literature of India. See Select Inscript[ions], p. 175, note 6; p. 179; p. 278, note 3, etc.
CANDIL STONE INSCRIPTION

Scale: One-third
No. 55—INSCRIPTION FROM BANTVALA

B. R. Gopal, Ootacamund, and R. Sathyanarayana, Mysore

(Received on 6 3.1958)

The inscription,\(^1\) edited here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, is engraved on a stone tablet fixed into a platform in front of the Venkataramaprasvāmin temple at Bantvāla in the Mangalore Taluk of the South Kanara District.

The epigraph is engraved in Kannāḍa script excepting the last two lines which are in Nāgarī characters. Its language, however, is Kannāḍa all through. As regards the palaeography of this late record, it is interesting to note that it uses the sign for indicating the length for ē and {o, which is placed to the right side of the letter.

The record registers the death of Śvāmī Bhuvanēndra-tirtha Śripāda of the Kāśi mātha and the erection of a lamp-post by Śrīnivāsa Bāliga, the fīfth son of Venkāṭēśa Bāliga of Baṇṭvāla, in commemoraton of the event. The inscription contains two dates, one relating to the death of the Śvāmī and the other to the erection of the lamp-post. The first date is Śaka 1808, Vyaya, Mārgaṇaḷa-śu. 1, Friday, corresponding to the 26th November 1886 A.D. The same date is referred to in the concluding section in Nāgarī characters (lines 20-21), where reference is made to Friday the twelfth day of the month of Vṛṣṇiḥika in the year Vyaya. The details agree with the 26th November 1886 A.D. The date of the erection of the lamp-post is given as Māgha śu. 15, Tuesday, regularly corresponding the 8th February 1887 A. D., and this English date also is specified in the record in line 19.

Śrīnivāsa Bāliga, the donor of the lamp-post, was a Brāhmaṇa of the Gauḍa-Śārasvata community belonging to the Kāśi mātha. It is said that the Śārasvatīs originally belonged to the Punjab where they dwelt on the banks of the river Sarasvati. Some of them are believed to have migrated to Bihar and settled in Tīrāghata, whence they moved westwards and settled in Goā in the South Konkan.\(^2\) About 1554 A.D. when the Portuguese, who were by then masters of Goā, began their religious persecution, the Śārasvatīs fled from Goā and settled in the neighbouring Sonda State, the North and South Kanara Districts and the Cochin and Travancore States. In the earliest Kadatas (old account books) and palm-leaf documents available in the South Kanara District, they are known as Konkaṇa-tīrtha or, as we find in our inscription, Konkaṇa-tīrtha-Gauḍa-Śārasvata.

Till the advent of Madhvāchārya, the founder of the dualistic philosophy, the Śārasvatīs belonged to the Kavale mātha (Kaivalyapura or Quela in Goā). But later many of them became followers of Madhvāchārya and set up their own spiritual heads. Thus there are two other māthas of the Gauḍa-Śārasvata community besides the Kavale mātha, viz., the Kāśi mātha and the Gāṅga mātha, both being Viśeśaṇa institutions of the dualistic school of philosophy. A mātha at Baṇṭvāla was established by Śvāmī Dēvēndra-tīrthā of the Kāśi mātha about the middle of the 18th century. Śvāmī Bhuvanēndra-tīrthā, whose death our record registers, was the disciple of Śvāmī Suyātindra-tīrthā and is said to have possessed mantra-tīkṣṭi as well as vaidya-tīkṣṭi. He attained samādhi at Baṇṭvāla in 1886 A.D. on the date given above.

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\(^2\) According to a note received by us from the authorities of the Kāśi mātha, Śrīnivāsa Bāliga was the second son of Venkāṭēśa Bāliga. But, according to the genealogical chart received from Shri B. Vaikunta Bāliga, the former was the fifth son of the latter and this is supported by the record under study.

\(^3\) For further details about the Gauḍa-Śārasvatas, see Chavan, *Viśeśaṇa Dharma of the Gauḍa-Śārasvatas*.  

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The donor of our record was a member of the Bālīga family that was among those that fled from Goa and after various vicissitudes at last settled at Baṇṭvāla and had a temple constructed there. A celebrated member of this family is the late Bāb Bālīga, in whose memory a peepal tree was planted and a high stone platform was built for its protection. Our inscription is engraved on one of the stones fixed into this platform.\(^1\) In the present inscription, Baṇṭvāla, described as the abode of the guru, is referred to as Vaṭapura.

The main interest in the record lies in the fact that it contains a song in praise of the guru. The song is, as the record itself mentions, in the Kāpi-rāga and aṭṭa-tāla (ashta-tāla). Kāpi is a dēṣya (imported) rāga, borrowed from Hindustani music and assimilated into the Kāṅṣa system. It is a bhāṣāṅga-janya-rāga belonging to the Kharaharapriya mēla, omitting ga and dha in the ascent, with curvature about dha in the descent, and employing Kakali nishāda as an accidental in the ascent. It bears a general structural resemblance with its North Indian namesake and is in wide usage in South India, especially since the advent of the Trinity of Kāṅṣa music, viz. Tyāgarāja, Dikshitar and Śāmā Śāstri. Aṭṭa-tāla is one of the seven sūndi tāṇas of ancient origin popular in Kāṅṣa, especially in the devotional songs of the Haridasas.

The song in our record consists of a pallaṇi, an anupallaṇi and two chaṭanās, and is in the literary style of the Haridasas. The pallaṇi and anupallaṇi are of equal length, each consisting of two lines of eleven and thirteen syllables respectively. Each of the two chaṭanās is of approximately the same size and consists of four lines. Inasmuch as the anupallaṇi of the present composition is of the same size as the pallaṇi, the general rule in musical composition that the anupallaṇi should be twice the length (i.e. twice the number of lines of the same size as in the pallaṇi) is not observed. It may, however, be noted that it is one of the numerous exceptions where this rule is not followed. The composition conforms, in any case, to the rule so far as the chaṭana is concerned as it is twice in length of the anupallaṇi. The two chaṭanās are also in general agreement with the compositional style of the Haridasas in the simple, almost prosaic, form of the language, the subject matter, the length of each line and the mention of the author in the last line of the last chaṭana.

The metre of the composition cannot be classified under mātrā-gāya or aṁśa-gāya. The accent and caesura are nowhere uniform. At best, it is an approximate Anāśartani-vṛtta and as such suits melodic rendering. The approximately uniform syllabic quantity in the lines of the verse is an advantage to the composition which is nibaddha (i.e., set to time) in view of the possibility of equitable syllabic distribution over the tāla cycle. The syllabic quantity in the lines is suited to the aṭṭa-tāla cycle of fourteen mātras, as there would be the minimum crowding or gap. Moreover there is abundance of the metrical units trisra, dactyl and anapaest in the composition. The absence of complex consonantal combinations is a feature of the song. Despite all these, the composition lacks force of expression and elegance.

The literary theme of the song is consistent with Mādhyav philosophy which places considerable importance on the status of the guru and marks out a gradation of the jīvas in the cosmic world in which the guru-traya head the list. The theme of the song is suitable since Bhuvaṇendra-tīrtha was probably the guru of the author.

The song may be translated freely as follows:

Pallavi: There is no god greater than the Preceptor. Emancipation cannot be obtained without [the guidance of] a good Preceptor.

\(^1\) We are indebted to the manager of the Kāśī mātā for giving us information about the Gaṇja-Sāravata community and the Kāśī mātā and some other details.
INSCRIPTION FROM BANTVALA

Anuyayam: The foot of the lord, the Preceptor, which has created the world, is without beginning, middle or end. It is beyond nāda and śruti. It is to be seen and understood through sādhanā.

Chakrās: The mortals made of the three guṇas (viz., sattva, rajas and tamas) contemplate the foot of the Preceptor which is free from these constant attributes. Countless great saints contemplate the foot of the Preceptor in their hearts. All the living world as represented by the celestial, human, reptilian, aerial and animal beings as well as the movable and immovable (i.e., animate and inanimate) are but the light [reflected] from the dust on the Preceptor’s foot. The noble Vāṭapura is the abode of the Preceptor.

The name of the composer of the song occurs in line 7 as Śrīvāsakrishña. Enquiries reveal that the donor was a pious man who was an ardent lover of poetry and music. It may be surmised that he himself composed the song. The text, however, refers to the composer as hailing from Śrīvala which we are unable to identify.

TEXT

1 Ōṁ [*] Rāga kāpi ashtatāla [varasa][*] Guruviṇād-adhika daivavilla sad-guru vināhā
2 mukti doregoṇubūdh-illā āvī pallāvi ādī-madhya-anita-rāhatavu ājagad-ādī-
3 nirmita guruṇāthāna ṭaḍaṇavu nād-ādī-sruti-gāčhāravu bhā(ba)u sābdhānī ti-
4 jīda-no(nō)dīro guru-ṭaḍaṇavu guṇa[ṛ]t[t]īti-ātma mūrtiyaru niya-guṇa-virahī-
5 ta guru-ṭaḍaṇa-dhyāniparu gananey iḷlada yōg[ī]śvara[ru] bhṛday-āṅgagāḍalī guru-ṭa-
6 da-dhyāniparu || Sa(Su)ra-nār-śraga-khaga-mūrgavu | char-āchara jagat guru-ṭaḍaṇa-reṇu-
7 teja- ||
8 [sa]yu | Vara-Vāṭapura guru-yiravu Śrī(Śri)vāsakrishṇana sa[d-gu]ru[vu] ||
9 yama-nīya-
10 māṇya-ashtāṅga-yōga-sāmpannar-aḍa Koriṅkaṇa-dēśī(ḻ)ya Gauḍa-Śārasvata Brāhmaṇa-
11 [ū]-
13 mala-saṁjata Śrimad Bhuvanemūndra-tīrtha Śripādaṁgalaḷavara ashtāṅga-yōga ba-
14 lāḍiṁ saha-ānanda samādhijīrṇa paṭedu sthit-prajñar-āgī prārabdh-ānusāra bhōga-
15 vaṁ tīrīṣi adya Śālivāhana Śaka varuṣaha 1808 nē Vyaya sarśī | rada Mārgi(ṛ)ga-
16 śrīrāṇa sū-
17 kla pratipade Bhṛgu-vāra mā(ma)dhyānna(hna) abhiju[ji]nu-muhūrttakke iba prakrit[ṛ]-ānusāra dēhavaṇi tore-
18 du āṭm-ānanda chidābhā nāma aikya nirupādhiκa punarāvartti-raḥita śāśvi[śva]ta mōkṣh-
19 ānanda-vā-
21 reṇugajhāna

1 From impressions.
2 The reading is doubtful and the meaning not clear.
3 The reading is doubtful.
4 Could the reading be jō in the sense of caste?
5 Read pārāmparya.
6 The aṭhara saṁ is the abbreviated form of maṇḍalena the last letter (m) of which, however, is also inscribed.
16 alamkru(kṛ)tam-āda śira[s-sarōj]-chā(jā)(ta || Supravara Kāsya(ta)pa-göttraja ghana-
vanśā(ta)sthār-āda Bāṅṭavāla

17 Veṅkaṭēśa Bāli-gara aidane maga Śrīñivāsa Bāli-gaṇu Śrīmad Bhuvanēndra-tīrtha Śrīpā-
dan-galavara yaśassu chāra-kāla ujjvalante i di(dī)pa-stanbhavu sthāpisidd-āg-iruttade [1*]

19 Māgha śukla paunpami Kuja-vāra tā² 8 nē Phesravari 1887 nē isavi [1*]

20 Śrīmad Bhuvanēndra-tīrtha Śrīpāda芻galavaru Vyaya nama saṁvatsaraśa Vyāchī-

21 ka-māsa dina 12 nē Bhrigu-vāra dēhavan tōra(re)du mōkshavan-aïda(ru) [1*]

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1 The letter rō looks like lā.
2 The letter tā is the abbreviated form of tāśrīṃa meaning date.
3 This and the next line are engraved in Nāgari characters.
No. 56—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF GUPTA AGE

(1 Plate)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

(Received on 9.5.1959)

1. Kalāchhalā Fragmentary Grant of Iśvararāta

The inscription was discovered by Prof. A. V. Pandya of Sardar Vallabhbhai University at the village of Kalāchhalā near Karālī, about 10 miles to the west of Chhota Udaipur in Kathiawar. It is stated to have been lying with one Gambhirasingsh Adesingh Parmar of the said village. Prof. Pandya deciphered the text of the inscription with the help of Prof. V. V. Mirashi and Dr. M. G. Dikshit and has published his transcript in the Vallabā Vidyānagar Research Bulletin, Vol. I, No. 2, International Language Section, pp. 2 and 28, with a photograph (Plate II A facing p. 4) and an eye-copy (p. 28).1 Prof. V.V. Mirashi has also edited the inscription in CII, Vol. IV, pp.603-04, Plate XCVII.

This is the first plate of a set, which is inscribed only on the inner side. The concluding part of the record, probably engraved on two other plates (i.e. on both sides of the second and the inner side of the third), is lost. There is a hole in the lower margin of the writing. But the ring which must have passed through it to hold the plates together and the seal of the donor of the charter which may have been affixed to it are both lost. The plate measures about 8 inches in length and about 3 inches in height. Its weight has not been recorded.

There are only four lines of writing on the plate. The characters belong to the West Indian variety of the South Indian alphabet of about the second half of the 4th century A.D. Letters like n and medial u exhibit an angle at the lower end. The initial vowel i occurs in line 1. The language of the record is Sanskrit. Of orthographical interest is the fact that consonants are rarely reduplicated in conjunction with r.

Prof. Pandya assigns the record approximately to the fourth century A.D.4 and further says, "Shri Mirashi supports the writer's dating of this plate (4th century A.D.), for its characters and wording bear close resemblance to those of the grants of the Mahārājas Svāmidāsa, Bhuluḍā and Rudradāsa. He suggests further that Iśvararāta's suzerain was some king of the Ābhira dynasty."4 In his own work referred to above, Prof. Mirashi says that Iśvararāta ruled in the 4th century A.D. over a fairly extensive territory including Central Gujarāt and parts of the Khandesh District as a feudatory of the Ābhiras and that his family continued to hold Central Gujarāt until it was ousted by Śrava-bhaṭṭāraka who rose to power about 400 A.D. as indicated by his coins imitated from those of the Western Kshatrapas.4 We are sorry that it is not possible to agree with these views entirely. About the period in question, Kathiawar and the adjoining regions formed a part of the dominions first of the Śakas of Western India and then of the Imperial Guptas. No Ābhira emperor is known to have ruled in the 4th century over wide areas of Western India.

The paleography of the epigraph closely resembles that of the Sanchi inscriptions5 of Chandragupta II (376-413 A.D.), which is dated in the Gupta year 93 (412 A.D.). It is considerably earlier

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1 An inaccurate transcript and a faulty interpretation of the record were originally published by Prof. Pandya in a brochure entitled New Dynasties of Gujarāt History, 1950, p. 12, together with the same photograph and eye-copy.
2 Ibid., p. 2.
3 Ibid., p. 28.
4 Op. cit., p. xxxvii. Prof. Mirashi's views that the records of Svāmidāsa, Bhuluḍā and Rudradāsa (Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1259, 1266 and 1861) are dated in the Tralikṣṭaka-Kalchuri-Chedi era and that they were feudatories of an unknown Ābhira ruler (cf. ABR, Vol. XXV, pp. 199 ff.; CII, Vol. IV, pp. 5 ff.) are absolutely untenable. See IHR, Vol. XXII, pp. 66-65; Vol. XXIV, pp. 73-77.
5 Cf. CII, Vol. III, No. 5, Plate III B; Böhlé's Table VII.

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than the Mandasor inscription (473 A.D.) written in the same alphabet. Among the copper-plate grants of Svāmīdāsa, Bhulunḍa and Rudradāsa, the paleography of Svāmīdāsa’s grant of the Gupta year 87 (395 A.D.) resembles that of our record while the characters of Bhulunḍa and Rudradāsa, dated respectively in the Gupta years 107 (426 A.D.) and 117 (436 A.D.), are decidedly later. The characters of our epigraph, however, appear to be slightly earlier than the inscriptions of Chandragupta II and Svāmīdāsa, referred to above. A date in the second half or about the last quarter of the fourth century A.D. appears therefore to suit the inscription under study.

The chart or begins with a symbol for Siddhā which is followed by a single sentence forming the introductory part of the grant. It introduces a subordinate ruler named Īśvararāta, who is described as paramabhaṭṭāraka-pādānudhyāya, i.e. meditating on (or favoured by) the feet of a Paramabhaṭṭāraka who was an imperial ruler and apparently Īśvararāta’s overlord. The order of the chief Īśvararāta, in regard to the grant to be recorded in the document, was issued from Prachakāśa to the Brahmānas and other villagers of Vēdhya-kūpi-kā-grāma situated in Vaṅkikā-paṭṭa and to all his officers such as the Āyuṭas and Viniyuktas as well as the Kumārāmātyas, Uparikas, Dāṇḍikas, Dāṇḍapāśikas, Hastiyavajana-vyāprītas, Chātas and Bhaṭas who were associated with the said village. This shows that Īśvararāta granted either the village called Vēdhya-kūpi-kā-grāma or a portion of it to some done whose name must have occurred in the latter part of the document engraved on the other plates of the set, which are now lost. The word paṭṭa in the name Vaṅkikā-paṭṭa reminds us of its use in the sense of a district in records like a copper-plate grant of king Hastin of the Pārvivājaka family. Āyuṭas seems to have been an administrative officer appointed by the king and Viniyukta a subordinate officer under the Āyuṭa, who was probably appointed by the latter. Kumārāmātya was an administrative officer enjoying the status of a prince and Uparika a vicerey. Dāṇḍika and Dāṇḍapāśika, generally occurring in the list of royal officials in the copper-plate grants, are often understood in the sense of a judge of criminal cases and a police officer respectively. Hastiyavajana-vyāprītas were apparently military officers in charge of the elephant force, cavalry and infantry. The Chātas and Bhaṭas appearing in numerous records seem to have been policemen and Pāiks.

The title Paramabhaṭṭāraka, applied to Īśvararāta’s overlord who is not mentioned by name, was not assumed by Indian monarchs before the rise of the Guptas in the fourth century A.D. The official designations Kumārāmātya, Uparika and Viniyukta are similarly unknown in the records of the pre-Gupta age. There also appears to be Gupta influence on the official designation Hastiyavajana-vyāprīta. Under the circumstances, it is impossible to believe that Īśvararāta flourished before the Gupta occupation of Western India.

It is well known that the imperial style Paramabhaṭṭāraka, together with Mahārājādhirāja and Paramādhirāja, was popularised by the Gupta emperors whose feudatories enjoyed the title Mahārāja. This is clearly indicated by epigraphic records like the Udayagiri inscription of 401 A.D. mentioning a Sanakānīka Mahārāja as meditating on (or favoured by) the feet of

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1 CII, Vol. III, No. 19, Plate XI.
2 Above, Vol. XV, Plate facing p. 289; CII, Vol. IV, Plate II, A-C.
5 This first occurs in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta (Select Inscriptions, p. 260).
6 One of the earliest occurrences of this designation is found in the Damodarpur inscription of 444 A.D. (ibid., p. 254).
7 This seems to be the same as Viniyukta, Tadaviniyukta and Tadāvukta. See ibid., pp. 284, 351, 360, etc.; CII, Vol. III, p. 169 and note.
9 Ibld., p. 271. Cf. also the evidence of the Damodarpur plates (ibid., pp. 242-26, 292-301) mentioning the Mahārāja Brahmadatta and Jayadatta as favoured by Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Indragupta.
TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF GUPTA AGE

Paramabhatāraka Chandragupta II. That the Gupta suzerain was sometimes mentioned only as Bhattāraka or Paramabhatāraka without specifying the name is clearly indicated by inscriptions like the Bajram plate\(^1\) of 448 A.D., and the Paharpur plate\(^2\) of 479 A.D. There is little doubt that, about the beginning of the 6th century A.D., king Narēndra of Sarabhapura mentions a Gupta emperor in his Kurud plates\(^3\) merely as the Paramabhatāraka and that Mahārāja Satrādama (first half of the 5th century A.D.) in his Pedadugam plates\(^4\) and Maitraka Drūga-simha in his Bhamдра Mohota plates\(^5\) (302 A.D.) call themselves respectively Bhattāraka-pād-ānudhyāta and Paramabhatāraka-pād-ānudhyāta with reference to a Gupta emperor. There can also be no reasonable doubt that the Mahārājaś Svāmidaśa, Bhulaśa and Rudradāsa issued their charters in the Gupta years 67 (386 A.D.), 107 (426 A.D.) and 117 (436 A.D.) respectively and called themselves Paramabhatāraka-pād-ānudhyāta with reference to their Gupta suzerains.

The Gupta emperor Samudragupta (c. 335-76 A.D.) claims to have defeated the Āryavarta ruler Rudrādēva who seems to be none other than the Śaka Mahākṣatriya Rudrasēna III ruling over the Malwa-Rajasthan-Kathiawar region in the period between 348 and 378 A.D. The absence of Rudrasēna's coins for the period between 351 and 364 A.D. was rightly regarded by Rapson as 'marked by some political disturbance during which the coinage ceased.'\(^6\) As we have suggested elsewhere,\(^7\) this was probably due to his defeat at the hands of Samudragupta and acceptance of the latter's allegiance. But Rudrasēna III appears to have assumed independence about fifteen years after his subjugation by the Gupta monarch. This necessitated the reconquest of the Śaka dominions by Samudragupta's son Chandragupta II (378-413 A.D.). The latest date on the coins of the Śaka Mahākṣatriya Rudrasēna III falls between 383 and 397 A.D. while the presence of Chandragupta in East Malwa, in connection with a military expedition, is indicated by his Udayagiri inscriptions, one of which is dated in the Gupta year 82 (401 A.D.).\(^8\) The Śaka dominions in Western India thus appear to have been permanently annexed to the Gupta empire about the close of the 4th century A.D.\(^9\) Īśvarārāja of Kathiawar, acknowledging the supremacy of a Gupta emperor, may thus have issued his grant either about 360 A.D. when Kathiawar appears to have formed a part of the Samudragupta's empire or shortly after the overthrow of Śaka Rudrasēna III by Chandragupta II. It may be questioned whether he would have been allowed to issue a charter in his own name in the above fashion when Gupta power was fully established in the erstwhile Śaka kingdom. But, as already indicated above, we have instances of some other feudatories of the Gupta emperors issuing similar grants apparently with the permission or acquiescence of their overlords.

The importance of the inscription under study lies in the fact that it is the earliest extant copper-plate charter of the usual type so far discovered in the northern part of India. It appears to be earlier than the Bhanadāsha plate\(^10\) (dated the Gupta year 113-432 A.D.) of the time of Kumāragupta I, which was so long regarded as the earliest such genuine record.

I am not sure about the location of Prachakāśa nor of the district called Vānikikā-paṭṭa and the village called Vēdhvakūpika-grāma. But Vānikikā-paṭṭa may be modern Wankaner in Kathiawar. Prachakāśa cannot be indetified with Prakasha in the West Khandesh District, since the chieftain of Īśvarārāja does not appear to have extended beyond Kathiawar.

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1. Ibid., pp. 342 ff. (cf. Bhattāraka-pād-ānudhyāta in line 1 and Bhattāraka-pād-ānudhyāta in line 13).
4. Ibid., pp. 89 ff.
5. Select Inscriptions, pp. 403 ff.
10. Select Inscriptions, pp. 290 ff.
TEXT

1 Siddham[*] svasti [*] Prachakāśāyāḥ parama-bhūtaḥści(rāka-pād-ānudhyāte
śvararātaḥ) kusālī
2 Vaukikā-paṭṭi Vodhayuṅgika-grāma-samupagatāsa(n-sa)rvāṇ-eve śasmd-ānyantai-
vini-
3 yuktān-kumārāmāṭi-śāparika-dāṇḍika-dāṇḍapāśika-hastyaśvajanaśvāya[prita]-chāta-
4 bhaṭ-śādibrā(n=Brāhmaṇ-ōttarāṁḥ=s=cha grāma-prativāṣ[na]ḥ) kusālān-anuvārya-
bodhaya⁷

No. 2. Supia Pillar Inscription of the time of Skandagupta, Gupta Year 141.

The stone pillar bearing the old inscription under study was discovered in the village of Supiā in the former Rewa State now merged in Madhya Pradesh. The pillar was utilised at a much later date to incise another inscription recording a performance of the Sāti rite. This second epigraph on the back side of the pillar is much damaged; but its purport is clear from the sculptural representation above the lines of writing. The older inscription recording the purpose for which the pillar was originally raised is written in seventeen lines covering an area about 8 inches in breadth and 2½ inches in height.

Impressions of the inscription and photographs of the pillar were received in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India for examination about fifteen years ago. A small paper on the inscription was read at the Archaeological Section of the Banaras Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, 1943-44. It was published in the Proceedings of the Session, Vol. III, 1948, pp. 587-89. Unfortunately, the note was based on an inaccurate transcript of the epigraph. It is stated that ‘the object of the inscription is to record the consecration of an image of the goddess Shashṭi by one Chhandaka.’ But what was read as Shashtii is clearly yashtii(na) meaning ‘a pillar’ and undoubtedly referring to the stone pillar on which the inscription is engraved. It was moreover not Chhandaka but his brother Varga whose pious activity is described in the record. About ten years ago, I received an impression of the inscription from the late Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar through Dr. R. C. Majumdar and noticed it briefly in the Journal of the Asiatic Society, Letters, Vol. XV, 1949, p. 6.

The characters are the same as in the contemporary inscriptions of the central part of India such as the earlier records of the kings of the Parivarajas and Uchchakalpa dynasties. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, although there are some errors of grammar and orthography. As regards orthography, it may be noted that, like many contemporary inscriptions, our epigraph exhibits the reduplication of some consonants preceding or following r. A point of orthographical interest is offered by the words vanīs (for vanīśa) and chatuvānsī (for chatuvāniśa).

The date of the record is quoted in lines 8-9 in words as the year 141 of the reign of Skandagupta. The year has of course not to be referred to the regnal reckoning of the monarch, as the language may literally suggest, but to the Gupta era. Thus our inscription was engraved in the year 460-61 A.D. The specific day of the year, when the epigraph was incised, is indicated at the end of the record in lines 16-17, although the passage asyaṃ divasa-pūrvatāṁ follows the mention of the year in lines 9-10 as if the day has been already indicated in the preceding section. The exact date of the record is given as the second ūṭiḥ of the bright half of the month of Jyestha.

² Expressed by symbol.
³ The last letter of the expression boddhayaḥ was apparently engraved on another plate which is now lost.
⁴ Cf. CIT, Vol. IV, p. 607 and note, to which my attention was drawn when this paper was going through the press.
⁵ Cf. ibid., Vol. III, pp. 93 ff., Nos. 21 ff.
TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF GUPTA AGE

1. Kalachhala Fragmentary Grant of Isvararata

(from a Photograph)
2. SUPIA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF SKANDAGUPTA. GUPIA YEAR 141

Scale: One-Third
TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF GUPTA AGE

Lines 1-8 introduce the reigning monarch, during whose rule the pillar was raised by one of his subjects. Mention is first made of Ghatotkacha, and Mahârâja Samudragupta is then stated to have belonged to the former’s family. Samudragupta was actually the son of Chandragupta I and the grandson of Ghatotkacha. The inscription then mentions Vikramâditya, the son of Samudragupta, and Vikramâditya’s son Mahârâja Mahândrâditya. There is no reference to the qualities or achievements of any of these rulers, and Ghatotkacha and Vikramâditya are mentioned even without the epithet Mahârâja. It may be mentioned in this connection that the genealogy of the Gupta in the records of the family generally begins with Mahârâja Gupta, father of Mahârâja Ghatotkacha. But the mention of Ghatotkacha as the head of the Gupta genealogy is found in the copper-plate grants of the Vâkâjaka queen Prabhâvatiguptâ, daughter of Chandragupta II Vikramâditya, which represent Ghatotkacha as the first king of the Gupta family. Another interesting feature of this part of the record under study is that Chandragupta II, son of Samudragupta, and the former’s son Kumâragupta I have been mentioned in it by their titles as Vikramâditya and Mahândrâditya respectively. These titles are found in the legends of some of the coins issued by these monarchs and not in the inscriptions of the family. We have also to note that the Gupta records generally mention Gupta and his son Ghatotkacha with the title Mahârâja, while Ghatotkacha’s son Chandragupta I and the latter’s successors are endowed with the more dignified title Mahârâjâdhirâja. But inaccuracy in such details is not unexpected in a private record like the one under study.

Lines 4-8 describe the reigning monarch Skandagupta, also called a Mahârâja rather inaccurately. He is stated to have been equal to the Chakravartins in prowess and valour, to Râma (probably meaning Râma, son of Daśaratha) in righteousness and to Yudhishthira in the matter of speaking the truth as well as of good conduct and modesty. These are of course vague praises which do not offer any historical information.

The next three lines (lines 10-12) introduce the person who was responsible for erecting the pillar. First is mentioned a śrâdhâthin or banker named Kaivarti-śrâdhâthin. Kaivarti-śrâdhâthin’s son is stated to have been Hari-śrâdhâthin whose son was Śrîdatta. This Śrîdatta seems to be described as a kutumbika, i.e. a husbandman, residing at the locality called Avâqâra. The language of the section may also be taken to mean that it was Kaivarti-śrâdhâthin who was a kutumbika of Avâqâra. But it is doubtful whether the same person should have been called both a śrâdhâthin and a kutumbika.

Next Varga is introduced as the brother of Śrîdatta and Chhandaka as the brother of Varga. Thus Hari-śrâdhâthin had three sons, viz. Śrîdatta, Varga and Chhandaka, of whom Śrîdatta seems to have been the eldest and Chhandaka the youngest. It is interesting to note that, while the father and grandfather were śrâdhâthins or bankers by profession, none of the three brothers is called a śrâdhâthin. On the other hand, as already indicated above, the elder brother appears to be described as a kutumbika or husbandman while the second brother Varga is called a grâmika or village headman in the latter part of the document. This probably suggests that the cognomen was not yet stereotyped in the family.

Lines 13-15, recording the object of the inscription, state that Varga-grâmika, for the purpose of acquiring merit for himself, erected the bala-yâshti which was a gôtra-śuilikâ meant for the

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1 Cf. Select Inscriptions, p. 412, note 3.
2 See, e.g., the Maṅkawar image inscription mentioning Kumâragupta I as a Mahârâja (ibid., p. 288, note 2).
3 Twelve ancient imperial rulers of Indian tradition, beginning with Bharata, are specially called Chakravartins.
4 Cf. Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, s.v.
5 The words śrâdhâthin and kutumbika as found in inscriptions have been generally understood in the above sense. See Eddes’ Lit., Nos. 976, etc.; Nos. 94, etc. Cf. R. Fick, The Social Organisation in North-East India, Eng. trans., pp. 288-57.
increase of yasāḥ and kīrti. It will be seen that Varga, who was the elder brother of Chhandaka, younger brother of Śridatta, son of Hari-śrīśāthī and grandson of Kaivarti-śrīśāthī, has been mentioned here as Varga-grāmāka. The word grāmāka affixed to Varga’s name suggests that he was the headman of a village which seems to be no other than Avaḍara. The synonymous words yasāḥ and kīrti, when used together, are often understood in the sense of glory in this life and fame after death.

There is no doubt that the stone pillar, which bears the inscription and was erected by Varga, is called a bala-yashṭi. The use of the word yashṭi in the sense of a pillar raised in memory of the dead is known from the Sui-Vihār and Andhau inscriptions. It therefore appears that Varga raised the pillar bearing the inscription in memory of his grandfather Kaivarti-śrīśāthī, his father Hari-śrīśāthī, his elder brother Śridatta and his younger brother Chhandaka who were apparently all dead. The memorial pillar is also called a gōtra-śaśālikā or ‘family [pillar of] stone’ apparently because it was raised in the memory of several members of the family. We know that the word gōtra, apparently a mistake for gōtra which is a contraction of gōtra-śaśālikā, was used to indicate a memorial pillar in the expression bala-yashṭi seems to have been used in the sense of ‘strong or stout’. Otherwise we have probably to suggest that, somehow in some regions, such memorial pillars were called ‘Bala’s (i.e. Bala)'s Club' just as the pillars bearing Aōka’s inscriptions are known in certain places as ‘Bhimasena’s Club’. But this is less likely.

The only geographical name mentioned in the inscription is Avaḍara which appears to have been a locality near modern Supiśi, the findspot of the epigraph.

TEXT

2 [nō] mahārā[ṛa]-a[rī]-Samu[dragu]pt[aḥ] [ḥ [*] taṣt-pu]-
3 [tra[ḥ]k[ṛa]-Vīkṣa[mā]-ditya[ḥ] [ḥ [*] ta[ḥ]putra[ḥ] m[ṛa]-[ja]-
4 [a[rī]-Mahā[nd-rāditya][ḥ [*] taṣa [pu]tra[ḥ] Chakka[va]-
5 [ṛtt]-tu[lyo] [mahā]-bala-vikṣra[mā]ja Rāma]-
7 nacārava[naya]- mahārāja-Śrī-Ska[nda]-
8 gupta[ya] Rājya-[samvya]trava[ḥ] [ḥ [*] sat Śka-
9 chatvā[rī]-[samvya]trak[ṛa] [ḥ [*] ṣayān] divasa-pī-
10 rva[yān] (yām) Avaḍara-vāstava-kuṭumb[kaḥ [*]
11 Kaivarti-śrīśāth-śant[ṛa](tā) Hari-śrīśāthi-pu[tra] [ḥ [*] Śrīda-
12 [ta][ḥ] [ḥ [*] tad-bhrāṛi(tā) Varga[ḥ] [ḥ [*] tad-bhṛa[ṛa](tā) Chchha[Chha]-nda[ka]-
13 sva-puny-Śpyāyan-ārtham yasaḥ-kt-
14 [ṛtt]-[pravardha[ya]] māna-gōtra-śaśālīka bala-ya-
15 ashṭhi(śṭhiḥ) pratishtāḥpita Varga-grāmikena
16 Jē(Jyē)ṣhṭha-māsa śukla-pakṣa[ya] dvīti-
17 [yaṭyaṛi] t[ītha]u [ḥ [*] ]
The inscription which comes from Didgur in the Haveri Taluk of the Dharwar District, Mysore State, was published by Fleet in the pages of this journal, Vol. VI, pp. 251-53. It refers itself to the reign of a king named Kattiyara under whom a certain Dosi was governing the Banavasi twelve-thousand province. The record is not dated but Fleet assigned it, on palaeographical grounds, to about 800 A.D. As regards the king and the governor, he wrote, "The names of the king and of the local governor are not known as yet from any other records. It seems impossible to explain the existence of this record in the Rashtra-kuṭa territory and in the period to which it must be referred, except on the supposition that Kattiyara was one of the twelve confederate kings and princes, headed by Stambha-Kambayya, who shortly after A.D. 794 sought to dispute the sovereignty of the Rashtra-kuṭa king Goviṇda III. And, in my opinion, that is certainly the explanation of the matter." Further, from the emblem of boar found at the top of the record, he suggested that Kattiyara was a Chālukya, descended from the Chālukya house of Bādami, and that he might be the same Kattiyaradēva mentioned as an ancestor of the later Chālukyas of Kalyaṇa in the Manogoli inscription of 1161 A.D. Thus, according to Fleet, Kattiyara of the Didgur inscription was a Chālukya chief of the Bādami house, who flourished about 800 A.D. during the time of the Imperial Rashtra-kuṭas.

Now palaeography is only an approximate test and, as will be shown below, we shall not be wrong even if we refer the Didgur inscription to about the middle of the 8th century A.D. Then the question arises whether there was any king named Kattiyara at this time and in this region who, as stated in the record, was ‘ruling the earth’ indicating thereby his sovereign status. And the only supreme king about this period was Kirtivarman II (714-15 to 757 A.D.), the last ruler of the Chalukya dynasty of Bādami. One is therefore led to identify the Kattiyara of the Didgur inscription with Kirtivarman II and it is not difficult to see that the name Kattiyara is only a colloquial form of Kirtivarman. This identification is supported by the fact that Kirtivarman I (566-96 A.D.) who was the sixth king in ascent from Kirtivarman II was also called Kattiarasa as revealed by his Godachi plates. Just as the imperial Rashtra-kuṭa kings Dhuva, Kishya and Goviṇda were also called Dhūra or Dhūrappara, Kannara and Gojīca or Gojigadēva respectively, Kirtivarman I as well as Kirtivarman II were called Katti-arasa or Kattiyara. The palaeography of the Didgur inscription does not militate against this identification. The characters of the record resemble those of the Ādika and Patyālakā stone inscriptions as well as the Vakkaleri and Kendur plates of Kirtivarman II. We may, for example, compare the letters queryString, queryString, queryString, queryString, etc.

1 Above, Vol. VI, p. 252.
2 Ibid., Vol. V, pp. 15 ff.
3 Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, pp. 55 ff.
4 The name Kattiyara is only the shorter form of Kattiyarasa.
5 Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, p. 68.
7 Ibid., Vol. V, pp. 200 ff.
Now Kattiyaradēva mentioned in the Managoḷi inscription referred to above as an ancestor of the later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa is, in my opinion, none other than the same Kirtivarman II, though Fleet was not inclined to accept this identification. The record expressly states that this Kattiyaradēva was of the Chālukya family and that his hereditary capital was at Kisuvojāl, i.e. modern Paṭṭadakal. It is not clear why Fleet says¹ that Kirtivarman II did not stand in the relationship with Ayyaṇa I of the later Chālukyas as asserted in the Managoḷi record. For, the inscription clearly states (text lines 5-6) that Ayyaṇa belonged to the Chālukya lineage descended from the younger brother of Kirtivarman’s father, i.e. Bhima I who was the younger brother of Vikramāditya II and uncle of Kirtivarman II. And exactly this is the relationship which is mentioned in the Kauṭheṭi plates of Vikramāditya V and the Nilgund plates² of Vikramāditya VI and is accepted by Fleet.⁴

In view of the identification of Kattiyara of the Dīḍgur inscription suggested above, let us now see whether Dōṣi who is mentioned therein as the governor of Banavāsī-12000 could also be identified. From the Vakkalēri plates of Kirtivarman II, we learn that certain villages included in Pānuṅgal-vishaya were granted by the king at the request of one Dōsirāja. This would suggest that Dōsirāja was a subordinate of the king, probably in charge of the Pānuṅgal-vishaya which was included in the larger territorial division of Banavāsī-12000 and comprised the area round about modern Hāṅgal in the Dharwar District. As the provenance of the Dīḍgur inscription is not far from Hāṅgal, it is tempting to identify Dōsī of the Dīḍgur record with Dōsirāja of the Vakkalēri plates. Incidentally, it may be observed that the Dīḍgur inscription provides the earliest reference known so far to the Banavāsī province as a twelve-thousand division in the records of the Chālukya of Bādāmi.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, pp. 15 ff.
³ Above, Vol. XLI, pp. 142 ff.
No. 58—MAYALUR PLATES OF CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA, SAKA 622

(2 Plates)

G. S. GAJ, Ootacamund

(Received on 13.11.1938)

During the year 1941-42, a set of copper-plates was obtained in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India from one Shri Venkata Reddi who was then a Branch Post Master at Nossam in the Koilkuntla Taluk of the Kurnool District, through Shri M. Somasekhara Sarma.¹ The plates are reported to have been found at Māyalur, a village in the same Taluk. The inscription is edited below with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India from a set of impressions preserved in his office.

This is a set of three rectangular plates with slightly raised rims all round to protect the writing. Each plate measures 9 1/2" by 4 25⁄32" approximately and has a hole (about 6" in diameter) at the left margin, through which passes a ring with a diameter of about 4 5⁄8". The ends of the ring are soldered to the brackets at the base of a circular seal about 1.36" in diameter, which contains on its counter-sunk surface the figure of a standing boar facing the proper right. The plates, with the ring and the seal, weigh 132 tolas.

The plates have suffered some damage, specially the second and the third, and hence the writing is not in a good state of preservation. Moreover, the engraving on the third plate is rather careless. The first plate is engraved on one side (inner) only while the remaining two plates bear writing on both the sides, the second side of the third plate having only four lines of writing. There are altogether 43 lines of writing, the first plate and the two sides of the second plate having 10 lines each and first side of the third plate 9 lines and its second side 4 lines.

The characters are early Kannada-Telugu and closely resemble those of the other grants of the same king.² The palaeography and orthography do not call for special remarks. The language is Sanskrit and except the invocatory and imprecatory verses, the text of the entire record is in prose.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Western Chālukya king Vijayāditya who ruled from 696 to 733 A.D. The introductory portion (lines 1-31) giving the genealogy of the family from Pulakēśin I to the ruling king Vijayāditya is identical with that found in the other known grants of this king.

The record is dated in Śaka 622 (expressed in words) and the fourth regnal year, Vaisākha Paurāṇamāṣṭi. Since Śrāvaṇa of the Śaka year 618 expired was the first month of the first year of this king,³ Vaisākha of Śaka 622 expired would fall in his fourth year as stated in the record. The date is not verifiable in the absence of further details. However, according to S. K. Pillai’s Indian Ephemeris, Vaisākha Paurāṇam of Śaka 622 expired corresponded to Thursday, the 8th April 700 A.D.

The inscription records that on the above-mentioned date, when the king was camping at Poṭṭalakkanagara in the Bāvihāra district, he made a grant of the village of Yuktroñḍe to the west of Viṁchihichēḍi in the Peñḍakal district as an āka-bhūga gift to a person named Mārāśitarman of the Vatsa gōtra and to other Brāhmaṇas well-versed in the Vēdas.


(311)
The record is important in that it is one of the few inscriptions belonging to the early part of the king's reign and is the earliest copper plate grant of the king discovered so far in the Telugu country. We have two more records dated in the fourth regnal year of this king. One is the Kōṭṭāru stone inscription¹ which does not supply any more details of the date except the mention of the regnal year. The other is the Nerur copper-plate inscription² dated in Šaka 622 (expired), Āśādha Purṇimā. In this year, the month of Āśādha was intercalary so that the date of the inscription under study is two or three months earlier than that of the Nerur plates. The Nerur plates were issued from Rāṣānānagara which is identified with modern Rāsin in the Ahmednagar District of the Bombay State. And Poṭṭalikānagara in Bāvihāra-vishaya from where the present plates are issued may be the same as Poṭṭalaṅke or Poṭṭalakeṅe which was the capital of the Western Chāluṅya king Jagadeśamalla Jayasimha II (1018-42 A.D.) and is also spelt as Hoṭṭalakeṅe in the Kannada records, the change of p to h being a regular feature in that language. If this identification is accepted, then our inscription provides the earliest reference to the place known so far. Poṭṭalakeṅe was identified by Fleet with modern Daṇḍayakankere in the Bellary District on insufficient grounds;³ but later researches have shown that the place can be identified with modern Paṭaṅcheru which is situated at a distance of about 18 miles north-west of Hyderabad.⁴ And so Bāvihāra-vishaya seems to have comprised the area round about this place. As shown above, the Nerur plates were issued two or three months later than our grant and, during this intervening period, the royal camp was shifted from Paṭaṅcheru to Rāsin which is about 250 miles north-west of Paṭaṅcheru.

The writer of the grant was Mahāśāndhiṇivrahika (minister for peace and war) Rāma Puṇyavallabha. He lived almost conterminously with Vinaśāditya and wrote almost all his grants while the same position was enjoyed by Niravadya Puṇyavallabha, who was possibly his son, during the reign of Vijayāditya. Rāma Puṇyavallabha was last mentioned as the composer of the Harivar plates of Vinaśāditya dated Šaka 616,⁴ and Niravadya Puṇyavallabha appears for the first time in the Rāyagad plates of Vijayāditya dated Šaka 625.⁴ Therefore, the inscription under study is interesting in that it shows that Rāma Puṇyavallabha lived also for some time during the reign of Vijayāditya and seems to have died sometime between Šaka 622 and Šaka 625. Puṇyavallabha was possibly the name of the family.⁷

Besides Poṭṭalikānagara and Bāvihāra-vishaya discussed above, other geographical names mentioned in the record are: Pejkēkal-vishaya, the gift village Yūkrōmbē included in it and Viṇēchihichēḍī to the west of which the gift village was situated. Pejkēkal-vishaya is mentioned in an earlier copper-plate inscription of the king's father and predecessor Vinaśāditya also secured from the same village Māyalur.⁸ It also figures as Pejkēkali-vishaya in the Togarchēḍu plates of the same king Vinaśāditya.⁹ This tract is identified with the Pejakanti-smā of the later Vijayananagara records, which comprised a part of the modern Kurnool District.¹⁰ I am not sure about the identification of Yūkrōmbē and Viṇēchihichēḍī.

¹ Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 69 ff.
⁴ Sarana Sāhita (Kannada), Vol. IX, pp. 456-57 and 521-25.
⁶ Above, Vol. X, pp. 14 ff. The last two or three lines of the Nerur plates of Vijaśāditya dated in Šaka 622 and referred to above, which are lost, possibly contained the name of the writer of that grant.
⁹ JBRAAS, Vol. XVI, pp. 231.
Scale: Two-thirds
TEXT

First Plate

1 Svasti [*] Jayaḥ śvāṃskṛtaṁ Vishṇe-vaṁśaḥ[ṁ] kṣhobhit-ārpaṇa-vac[ṁ](a) [vam] [*] dakshināṇāt-dakshināṇāt-

2 bhuvana[ṁ] vajraḥ [*] Śrīmatāṁ saha-kakasa-bhuvana-sat[ṁ]yamāna-Mānava-sagātrāṇāṁ Há- 

3 riti-putrāṇāṁ sapta-lōka-maṭribhis-sapta-maṭribhir-abhivarddhānāṁ Kārttikeya-parishrākaṁ-

4 ṛṣa-prajñā-kalyaka-parāśāṁ Bhagavan-Nārāyana-prasāda-samāśādita-Varāha-lā- 

5 ahaḥ-ñōka-kusha-sahasra-vādikṣīt-āśeśa-mahībhiratāṁ Chālukya-nāṁ kulam-alaukikādi- 

6 śbṛ-vaśama-pradhāna-āvaiñāha-rītha-sāhāna-pavitiṣṭhāta-gātrasya śri-Pulakēśīvallabha-mahā- 

7 rājasya sūnaḥ parāśām-kriyā-śrīvaṇavasyā-ādi-paripati-manḍala-prajīvadhē-viśuddha- 

8 kṣatvā śri-Śrītivarmma-śri-thīvīvallabha-mahārāja-tasaḥ-samāma-samāsamaka-[kta- 

9 saka]-1-Ōttarā- 

10 pathēśvara-śri-Harshavaridhdha-parāja[y-ōpalabha]-Paramēśvara-śabda-sya [Satya]-Śrīpi- 

Second Plate, First Side

11 sya kṣadga-maṭrītra-saḥ jāya ya Chitra-kṛṣṇāḥ śabdhēdāna-pravara-śravanīmahē-āikēn-eśvō [tas]- 


13 prabhāva-kulisa-dalita-Pāṇḍya-śreṣṭha-Kalāḥra-Kaṇṭha[Kaṭṭhu]-rahata mahībhṛt [da]labhra- 

14 maṣyā-āṇa[y-āvanata-Śrīcāhipati-makuta-kuṭaba-kālīvaṁvā[ṛ]-mahē-vikramāditya-Śatyaśārāya- 

15 Śrīprīthivīvallabha-mahārāja-kalpatā-vāra[. . . śrīyam-āmā] 

16 pitur-ājñāya Bāllidēduṣākhjāra Tākṣaṅgārī etc de [vanaol] uṣa-vinaye[. . .]- śēshagac- śēshagac- 

17 rājya-Śrīcāhipati[. . .] balam-avastahbhāya karadiḥkrīta-Karmēśa-Pārasikā-Sirīha-Śrīdēv-dhipayāsas 

18 saha-Ōttarā-patha-nātha-mathan-ōpajīrjīt-ōpajīrt-Pīlī-śaṇaka-samasta-pyramāśvāryya- 

19 chihna-sya Viṣṇyāditya-Śatyaśārāya-Śrīprīthivīvallabha-mahārāja-dānī-śa-pra[,]paramēśvara- 

20 ra-bhaṭṭārakasaḥ priya-ātmajas-saiva eva-ādhagat-āśeṣ-āstra-aśtre dakshin-āśe-vijayini

From impressions

* The portion in brackets is lost due to a hole in the plate.
* The portion in brackets is indistinct.
23 pāṇa-dhārasamagragrahīgṛṣatas-asan-sā[hasa]-rasikaḥ-parāṃmu(rānumu)khīkta-
  [śatru-māṇḍa]-
24 [īṛ] Gārhgā-Yamunā-pāli-dhava-pa[da]-dhaṅkā-mahāśabda-çīhṇaka-māṇikya-matāṅgaj-
  āḍī[m=pi]-
25 trīśātkurvan-paraiḥ-palāyamānair-asādya katham-api vidhivasād-apānītō-pi pra-
26 tāpād-ēva viha[ya]-prakōpama-arājakam-utesārayan-Vatsarāja īv-ānapēkshit-[a-
27] para-sāhāyaka[s=tad-a]vagrahān-nirggatya sva-bhuj-āvastambha-prasādhit-[āśa]-vī-
28 śvambharah=prabhum-akṣapāda-sakti-trayatvātchha(ch=chha)tru-mada-bhājjanatvā[ḍ=]
  udāra[ṇvā-niravadyatvā-
29 [ḍ-yas=sama]sta-bhuvan-āśrayas-sakala-pāramāsvārya-vyakti-bētu-[pāli-dhav-ādy-ujja-
  (jjva)]la-
30 prājya-rājyō Vijayāditya-Satyaśraya-Śripntha[vivallabha]-mahārājādhirāja-pa-

Third Plate, First Side
31 ramēśvara-bhaṭṭaraka=sarvān=ēvaṃ=ājñāpayati [*] viditam-astu vē=smā-
32 bhūr-dvāvināṣṭy-uttara-shachchha[t-chha]tāsthū Śaka-[varṣhēḥ]hv=stītēṣu
  pravardhamā-
33 na-vi[ja]ya-rājya-sarvātsarā chaturthē vartamāṇē Bāvihāra-viha-
34 [yē] Poṭṭalikā-nagaram-adhivasati vijaya-skandhāvāre Vaiśā-
35 [ka]-Paurnāmāśyām Agnikārya-nimittaṁ Pe[de]kal-vishayē Viśch[hi]-
37 Mārasārmāṃśāṁ[rammaṇ] ēka-bhōgarī Brāhmaṇeḥḥyī vēda-pārā[ra]gēbhyaḥ=sā-bhō-
  gas=sarvā-bādhā-parihār-ōpēṭō dattam(ttaḥ) ] Yasya yasya yadā-bhūmi-
39 [s-tasya ta]jaya tadā phalam [[*] Svāṁ[Svaṁ] [dātum] sumahatōa[ch-chha]kyā[m] duḥkha-
  [m]]-

Third Plate, Second Side
40 m=anyatcha(sya)pālana[m [*] dānam vā pālana[m [*] v-ēti dānēṭri[ch-chhrē]yō-nupā-
  lanā[m [*]]
41 Svadottta(ttaṁ) preratā(ttaṁ) vā yyō(yōḥ) harēt(ṭa) vasundhā[nda]ṛ[m [*] chasṭi[m]
  varsha-sa[sa]ḥ[ha]sṛa-
43 labhā[bhē]na likhitam=īdāṁ sāsā[sa]na[m ]

1 This is the second half of a well-known -tāma.
2 This final m is unnecessary.
No. 59—MADANAPĀDA PLATE OF VISVARUPASENA

(2 Plates)
D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACUMUND

(Received on 30.3.1889)

The inscription was first published by N. N. Vasu in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXV, 1886, Part I, pp. 6-15 and Plates. He recorded its discovery as follows: "In the village of Madanapāda, Post Office Piśjāri, Pargana Koṭālipāda of the Fardāpur District, a peasant whilst digging his field found a copper plate and made it over to the landlord who kept it in his house. This plate was made over to me by Paṇḍita Lakshmi Chandra Sāṅkhyaṭūrtha in 1899." The inscription was subsequently acquired by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, though later it could not be traced in the Society's collection. N. G. Majumdar re-edited the inscription in his Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, 1929, pp. 133-39, from the facsimile published by Vasu, which was, however, not quite satisfactory and reliable. Neither Vasu nor Majumdar could read and interpret the grant portion of the record correctly and the latter remarked, "This portion of the text being extremely corrupt and full of scribal mistakes, it is difficult to say what is actually intended."

In 1952, I had an opportunity of examining the plate in the Dacca Museum where it is now preserved and was also allowed by the authorities of the Museum to take impressions of the inscription. On an examination of the epigraph, it was found that the said grant portion of the charter is fairly free from scribal errors while its meaning is quite clear. Consequently I published my reading and interpretation of parts of the record in the Journal of the Asiatic Society, Letters, Vol. XX, 1954, pp. 209-17 and Plates. Since the inscription throws considerable light on the history of the Śena of Bengal, some of the readers of my paper have requested me to re-edit the Madanapāda plate in the Epigraphia Indica with a full-size illustration.

The inscription is engraved on both sides of a single plate measuring 12½ inches in length and 10 inches in height. The Śena seal representing the god Śadāśiva is affixed at the top of the plate and it is referred to as the Sadāśiva-mudrā in line 50 of the inscription. As regards palaeography and orthography, the inscription closely resembles other Bengal epigraphs of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and nothing calls for remarks in these respects. The language of the record is Sanskrit and it is written in both prose and verse. After the Śrīdhām symbol followed by the manīgala O namō Nārāyanāya at the beginning, there are 20 stanzas in lines 1-31. All these verses are also found in the Idilpur plate often ascribed to Kēśavaśēna who is supposed to have been a brother of Visvarūpaśēna. The Idilpur plate, however, contains four additional stanzas which are also found in the Vaṅgīya Śahrīya Parishad plate of Visvarūpaśēna. The versified introduction referred to above is followed by the grant portion in prose in lines 31-53. Then come seven of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas and a verse mentioning the dūṣṭa in lines 53-59. Lines 59-60 contain certain endorsements in prose and the date of the charter in the regnal year 14.

The most interesting feature of the inscription is that a large number of passages in it are re-engraved on erasures. As will be seen from our discussion below and the notes on the text of the inscription, the original donor of the charter was another king of the Śena family, whose name was erased to re-engrave the name Visvarūpa at a later date.

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3 See N. G. Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 118 ff.
4 Ibid., pp. 140 ff, and Plates.
Verse 1 contains an adoration to the Sun-god, to whom the Paramasaura donor of the charter was specially devoted, while verse 2 introduces the Moon-god whom the Sēna kings claimed as the progenitor of their family. The next stanza (verse 3) refers to the kings of the lunar race and verse 4 introduces king Vijayasēna (c. 1095-1158 A.D.) as one of them. The following two stanzas (verses 5-6) describe Vijayasēna's might in vague terms. Verse 7 speaks of Ballālasēna (c. 1158-79 A.D.), son of Vijayasēna, while Lakshmaṇasēna (c. 1179-1206 A.D.), son of Ballālasēna, is introduced in the following stanza (verse 8). Verses 9-10 continue the description of king Lakshmaṇasēna. The second of these two stanzas may be translated as follows: "In hundreds of previous births, that king (i.e. Lakshmaṇasēna), leaving aside all care for his liberation, surely propitiated Ḩara (i.e. the god Śiva), on the banks of the Suradhunt (i.e. the Ganges), being desirous of having a son. For this reason (stasmāti), the illustrious Viśvarūpa, who was the head of (i.e. the foremost among) the celebrated kings and was determined to cause the widowhood of his enemies' wives, was born to him. Otherwise how could it be possible?" If the word stasmāti used in the stanza is taken to mean 'from this [king, i.e. Lakshmaṇasēna]', we may have the following in place of the last two sentences of our translation: "Otherwise, how could be born to this [king] the illustrious Viśvarūpa who was the head of the celebrated kings and was determined to cause the widowhood of his enemies' wives?" Thus king Viśvarūpasēna is introduced in this stanza as the son of Lakshmaṇasēna and the verses immediately following must naturally be regarded as describing his achievements and not of his father Lakshmaṇasēna.

The second of the two verses 11-12 in the following description of Viśvarūpasēna state that the king planted sacrificial posts as well as pillars of his victories in battles at the following places:

1. The coast of the Southern Ocean where there is the altar on which Musaladhara (Balērāma-Sākārāna) and Gādāpā (Viśṇu-Kriṇa) dwell;
2. the site of Viśvēvara near the junction of the Asī, Vareṇa, and Ganges; and
3. the banks of the Triveṇi. The three places referred to are: no doubt Puri in Orissa, Varanasi (Banaras) and Prayāga (Allahābād).

Verse 13 mentions the queen of the same Viśvarūpasēna. But the original name in three akharas ( svensk) following śri was erased and a new name in four akharas was re-engraved in the space, the re-engraving also affecting the medial sign of śri. The third and fourth of the four akharas read dvi; but the first and second of them cannot be deciphered because neither the original writing was fully erased nor were the re-engraved akharas clearly incised and properly shaped. There is no doubt that originally the name of Viśvarūpasēna's queen was engraved in the verse. But whose name was re-engraved after having erased the original writing? The answer to this question is clearly supplied by the next stanza (verse 14) in which the donor of the charter is introduced as born of the king and his queen mentioned in the previous stanza. It is interesting to note that the akharas ūdi ūdūra are quite obviously re-engraved before śāndeva in this verse in the space where originally only two akharas were engraved. It is also to be noticed that the second of these two akharas of the original name had a superscript r above it and that this sign was not erased apparently through oversight. Owing to the incision of four akharas in the space of only two and to the presence of the superscript r above the second of the two akharas originally engraved, the donor's name looks more like Viśvarūpa than Viśvarūpasēna. The two corrections in the names of the donor and his mother in the original writing of the introductory part of the Madanapāḍa plate show beyond doubt that the grant was originally made by the son of Viśvarūpasēna and that Viśvarūpasēna's name was subsequently inserted in the place of his son's. As a result of these corrections arbitrarily made at a later date in the original composition, the reader is compelled to regard verses 11-12 as describing Lakshmaṇasēna even though this is quite against the trend of the composition and its original and real meaning. As we shall see below, there is further evidence in the grant

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1 The son's name was in two akharas and the metre of the stanza was originally Ārya. With the introduction of the bigger name of the father, the metre became Giti.
portion of the document to show that the original charter was issued by the son of King Viśvarūpaśena.

Verses 15-20 describe the donor of the original grant, i.e. the son of Viśvarūpaśena, although the corrections in verses 13-14 lead to the description being referred to Viśvarūpaśena himself. Verse 15 states that the king in question had a thirst for military pursuits ever since his youth. Verse 16 refers to his liberality vaguely while the next stanza (verse 17) represents him as the death to the Garga-Yavanas no doubt meaning the Turkish Muhammadans, whatever the significance of the word garpa in this context may be. Of verses 18-20, the first and second speak of his scholarship and physical charm respectively and the third states that he granted many villages in favour of the Brahmānas.

Lines 31 ff. introduce the donor as having issued the charter from his victorious camp at Phasphagrāna, the name of which has been wrongly read as Phalugrāma. In this section, śrīmat-Viśvarūpaśenaśādhāraṇa, supposed to be described as Āraṇā-vaishabhānaka-śaṅkara, is mentioned as the son of Arirāja-madana-kaṅkara-śrīmat-Valakhanapāśenaśādhāraṇa, the grandson of Arirāja-vaishabhānaka-kaṅkara-śrīmad-Vaṭalasādhāraṇa and the great-grandson of Arirāja-vaishabhānaka-śaṅkara-śrīmad-Vijayasādhāraṇa. It is, however, interesting to note that, as in verse 14 in the introductory part discussed above, the four aśkaras of Viśvarūpa in the king's name (line 38) have been re-engraved on an erasure offering space only for two aśkaras which were originally engraved and the second of which had a superscript ṛ above it. In this case also, the sign of superscript ṛ was not erased apparently through oversight. Equally interesting is the fact that, in his title written as Arirāja-vaishabhānaka-kaṅkara, the aśkaras vaishabhā appear to have been re-engraved after having erased the aśkaras nīka, so that the title of the original donor of the grant was Arirāja-vaishabhānaka-kaṅkara. But more interesting is another fact. It is that, in the names and titles of the donor's father, grandfather and great-grandfather, the aśkaras between śrīma (or śrīmad) and nāṇḍēva in the former and between arirāja and kaṅkara in the latter are re-engraved on erasures. In many of these cases, the traces of the original writing are clear and these show beyond doubt that the original donor was represented as the son of Viśvarūpaśena, the grandson of Vaṭalakhanapāśena and the great-grandson of Vaṭalasādhāraṇa. That such was the case is also suggested by the description of the father of the donor of the charter, i.e. Lakshmanapāśena after the correction but Viśvarūpaśena in the original writing, as Paramaśauṛa. In his own records, Lakshmanapāśena is called either Paramaśauṛa or Paramaśauṛaśīnka while his son Viśvarūpaśena was the first Paramaśauṛa in the Sena family. This shows that the person, who was responsible for the erasure and re-engraving and changed the name of Viśvarūpaśena to that of Lakshmanapāśena, forgot to correct the former's epithet Paramaśauṛa to the latter's Paramaśauṛa or Paramaśauṛaśīnka. It has also to be noticed that the final t in śrīmat has been joined in sandhi with the first letter of the kings' names in this section in all the cases excepting that of Viśvarūpaśena. This fact suggests that the first letter of the original royal name in the stanza did not require any modification of t in Sandhi. It may have thus been a letter like s.

All the five kings including the donor are called Gauḍēvara. But the donor and his father are endowed with certain additional epithets such as those indicating their descent from the Sena family and the lunar race. They have also the imperial titles Paramaśauṛa, Paramabhatāra and Mahārājaśīrāja. Their title Śaraṇāgata-vajra-parījata was originally used by the subordinate rulers of the Kannada-speaking area which was the original home of the Senas. The title Aṭrṇapati-vaṇapati-maraṇapati-rāga-tray-āṭhipati appears to have been assumed by the later Senas after a

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1 N. G. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 86, 95, 101, 111.
2 In their own records, Vijayasena and Ballalasena claim to have been Paramamahābata (ibid., pp. 62, 73). Ballalasena seems to have become a Vaishnava in the later years of his life since he is described as Paramaraśīnka in one of his son's records (ibid., p. 90).
successful encounter with the Gāḍāḍavālas of U. P., who are known to have enjoyed the title. It has to be pointed out that verse 12 of our inscription refers to the victories of Viśvarūpāsena (Lakṣmaṇarājakumāra after the correction) at Banāras and Allahābād which formed parts of the dominions of the Gāḍāḍavālas before their overthrow by the Turkish Muhammadans. Since Viśvarūpāsena’s reign of about fourteen years has to be assigned to c. 1206-20 A. D., i.e. after the Turkish conquest of Eastern India, his exploits at Banāras and Allahābād have to be assigned to the period when his father Lakṣmaṇašāna was ruling. The Mādhavānagar plate represents Lakṣmaṇašāna as having conquered the king of Kāsi (Banāras), i.e. the Gāḍāḍavāla king, and having obtained success in Kāliṅga and other countries. Viśvarūpāsena must have commanded the Sēnas forces against the Gāḍāḍavālas as his father’s general.

The list of subordinates and officers, whom the donor addressed in respect of the grant, is quoted in lines 38-41. This is similar to such lists quoted in other Sēnas charters. The said list of addresses is followed in lines 41 ff. by the declaration regarding the grant. Lines 41-43 state that the gift land was situated in a village in the Vikramapura bhāga (division) of Vaṅga forming a part of the bhūkti (province) of Puḍdravardhana and that it was bounded in the east by an embankment and a plot of land belonging to the village of Aṭhāyāga-grāma (or Aṭhapāga-grāma), in the south by a piece of land belonging to Vāryapāda-grāma, in the west by a plot of land belonging to Uṣchōkāṭṭa-grāma and in the north by an embankment belonging to the locality called Virakāṭṭi. The expression vāryapāda in the name of one of the boundary villages is interesting as it means ‘the habitation of the Bārayis (betelvine-growers)’.

The actual description of the gift land in lines 43-46 is entirely written on an erasure, clear traces of the original writing being visible under many of the aksaras. The gift land is stated to have been situated in the village called Piṅjōkāṣṭhi or Piṅjōṭhiya which is the modern Piṅjāri near Madanapurā, the findspot of the record. A portion of the village yielding an annual income of 132 Purāṇas or Chūrūṣis was excluded and the remainder yielding 500 [Purāṇas or Chūrūṣis] per annum was made the subject of the grant. In this connection, the contraction sāṁ stands for sāṁvastarika ‘annual’, and sāṁ-bhū-hi for sāṁvastarika-bhūma-hiranya, ‘annual revenue of the land in cash’, while bhū has been used to indicate ‘excluded’. The smaller part of the village, yielding 132 Purāṇas per year, was called Padāti-Sāpāmārka apparently after a Paśī named Sāpāmārka, and belonged to the āśrama of Kandarpasāṅkara probably a deity named after Arirāja-madana-śāṅkara Lakṣmaṇašēna, the expressions kandarpa-śāṅkara and madana-śāṅkara being synonymous.

It is further stated that the donee also received another plot of land yielding 127 Purāṇas or Chūrūṣis annually (sāṁ-bhū-hi-sāṁvastarika-hiranya) and situated in the village of Nāraṇḍapa-grāma belonging to the share of the said āśrama of Kandarpasāṅkara. It was the property of a dependant of the king (suṣṭha-pāta-sva), that is to say, it formed part of a jīgir in the possession of one of the king’s dependants. The two plots of gift land is now mentioned as Piṅjōṭhiya-grāma. It appears that, in the original grant, the whole village of Piṅjōkāṣṭhi was granted in favour of the donee of the charter and that, sometime later when it was brought to the notice of the authorities that a part of the village belonged to the Kandarpasāṅkara āśrama, the necessity of making a readjustment was felt. The donee’s loss of 132 Purāṇas or Chūrūṣis per year was then compensated by the gift of another piece of land yielding 127 Purāṇas or Chūrūṣis. The two plots of gift land were situated in the villages of Piṅjōkāṣṭhi and Nāraṇḍapa, apparently abutting on each other; but they were now made one unit under the name Piṅjōṭhiya which appears to be a modified form of Piṅjōkāṣṭhi. The donee’s privileges enumerated in lines 45-46 are similar to those found in the other charters of the Sēnas.

1 Ibid., p. 111.
No. 59] MADANAPADA PLATE OF VISVARUPASENA 319

Lines 46 ff. describe the donee who was the Brāhmaṇa Visvarūpādevasarmaṇ of the Vata
gōra and the Bhāgrava, Chyavana, Āpnuvat, Arvura and Jāmadagnya pāvaras. He was the son of
Vanaśālī, grandson of Garbhēśvara and great-grandson of Parāśara. The donee is called a
ādṛut-pāṭhaka, i.e., a reciter of the Vedic texts, and the grant is stated to have been made
according to the principle of bhūma-āchārāra for acquiring the merits as described in the Śiva
Purāṇa. An interesting passage in this section states that the grant was made in the month of
Bhādra (probably on the 9th day) in the year 14. But, in the expression chatvārādāyādī(β)īya,
chatvārādā is clearly re-engraved after having erased the aksharas dviti, so that the passage read
dviti-ādī(β)īya in the original writing. Thus the original grant was made by the son of
Visvarūpāsena in his second regnal year while the corrections were carried out in the charter in
the 14th year of Visvarūpāsena’s reign.

The above section is followed in lines 52 ff. by the donor’s request to future kings for the
prosecution of the grant, seven imprecatory and benedictory verses being quoted in this connection.
The concluding section contains a verse (lines 58-59) stating that Kōpivishnu, the Mahāśāṇḍhivgra-
hikā (minister of foreign affairs) of Gauḍa, was the dāta or executor of the grant. This is followed
by three endorsements: (1) śrīman-mahāśaṇḍhivgra-hikā-ka-rāga-ni (i.e., śrīman-mahāśaṇḍhivgra-hikā-
ka-rāga-nikha); examined and approved by the office or clerk of the minister of foreign affairs;
(2) śrī-mahāmāhāttaka-karaṇa-ni, i.e., examined and approved by the office or clerk of the Mahā-
mahāttaka (probably the head of the group of villages including the gift land); and (3) śrīmat-
karaṇa-ni, i.e., examined by the king’s personal office or by his personal clerk. The date of the
issue of the charter, viz., the 1st of Āśvin in the year 14, comes at the end. It is interesting to
note that this date is not re-engraved on an erasure, although it certainly refers to the reign of
Visvarūpāsena and not of the original donor of the charter. This is clear from the fact that while
the original grant was made in the second year of the reign of Visvarūpāsena’s son, the corrections
were inserted in the 14th regnal year of Visvarūpāsena himself. It seems that this space was
blank in the original grant, the date of which in the donor’s second regnal year was quoted in line 51.

What has been stated above regarding the nature of the grant, viz., its original issue by the
son of Visvarūpāsena and the later insertion of Visvarūpāsena’s name in the place of that of the
original donor, seems to admit of no doubt. But it involves a number of problems most of which
cannot be settled without further light being thrown on the subject by new discoveries. We have
seen that the name of the original donor of the Madanapāda plate, who was the son of king Visva-
rūpāsena and whose name was erased in verse 14 and line 28, was written in two aksharas before
śeno, that the second of these two aksharas was endowed with a sign of superscript r and that the
first of them was a letter like s which did not necessitate the change of the preceding t in Sandās.

The word in two aksharas that suggests itself to us for filling up this lacuna is śūrya since Kumāra
Śūryaśena is known from the Vangītya Sāhiya Parishad plate of Visvarūpāsena and he is generally
regarded as a son of the latter. But the name of his mother who was the queen of Visvarūpāsena,
that was erased in verse 13, cannot be restored. Even the re-engraved name of Visvarūpāsena’s
mother, who was the queen of Lakṣmaṇaśena, cannot be read in our inscription. It has been
read as Tādādēvi or Tāntrādēvi. But they do not suit the metre. In this connection, it may be
pointed out that the lidāpura plate, ascribed to Kēsavaśena, exhibits the erasure of the old
writing of the name of the donor’s mother in verse 14 (verse 13 of our record) and that of the donor
in verse 15 (verse 14 of our record) as well as in line 43 (just as in line 38 of our record). The
queen-mother’s name in this case has been read as Chāntrādēvi which also violates the metre.

1 The contraction ni may also stand for nibaddha or registered (cf., above, Vol. XIX, p. 18, text
line 16). We have ḍṛṣṭha, which is the same as niṣṭha, ‘seen’, on the copper plates of such dynasties as
The akṣaras read as "dēvi svagatasya in this record are, however, clearly "dēvi-amushya which is also the reading in the same verse as found in the Vāngiya Sāhitya Parishad plate. In the Madanapāḍā plate, the intention of the person responsible for the corrections was probably to correct tad-asya after "dēvi to tasya in accordance with the requirement of the metre, though he forgot to effect the change. The Vāngiya Sāhitya Parishad plate of Viśvarūpasena quotes the name of his mother, in our opinion, as Ahvaṇadevi. It thus appears that the intended correction in the Madanapāḍā plate was śrī-Ahvaṇadevi tasya and in the Idilpur plate śrī-Ahvaṇadevi-amushya, even though the akṣaras heṃga are not recognisable in either of the cases. I do not think it possible that the queen’s name was quoted differently in the three inscriptions.

Another problem relates to the name of the donor of the Idilpur plate which exhibits similar re-engravings on erasures as the Madanapāḍā plate and was issued from Phaspaghrama whence the Madanapāḍā plate was also issued. In our opinion, the reading kēśava in verse 15 and line 43 of this inscription is a mistake for viśvarūpa engraved after having erased sūryya exactly as in the Madanapāḍā plate. Indeed the suggestion that kēśava is a wrong reading for viśvarūpa in the Idilpur plate was already offered by some scholars, although it has been generally ignored by writers on the history of the Śenās. It is, however, difficult to ignore it since it appears to be supported not only by the re-engraved names but also by the fact that the so-called Kēśavāśena’s title in the Idilpur plate, which was wrongly read as Arirāja-asahya-sāṅkara by previous writers, reads Arirāja-nāshhabha-sāṅkara, in which shabha is clearly written on an erasure. It appears that what now looks like nāshhabha is the result of an attempt to re-engrave viśhabha after having erased niḥśanka just as in the Madanapāḍā plate. Viśvarūpasena’s title appears really to have been Arirāja-viśhabha-sāṅkara as in the case of his great-grandfather Vijayasena just as his son assumed the title Arirāja-niḥśanka-sāṅkara in imitation of his own great-grandfather Ballālasena. We have seen how, in the Madanapāḍā plate, viśhabha is re-engraved after having erased niḥāk so that the epithet reads there as Arirāja-viśhabhaṇka-sāṅkara which is meaningless.

Now we come to the most important of the problem relating to this enquiry. It is that the Vāngiya Sāhitya Parishad plate, which does not exhibit clear signs of re-engraving the names of Viśvarūpasena and his mother on erasures, has all the stanzas of the Madanapāḍā plate in the same order with a few additional stanzas that are also found in the Idilpur plate and that Viśvarūpasena’s title there reads Arirāja-viśhabhaṇka-sāṅkara. In our analysis of the introductory stanzas of the Madanapāḍā plate, we have seen that verses 11 ff. should have to be regarded as referring to Viśvarūpasena and verses 14 ff. to his son and that, by the arbitrary insertion of Viśvarūpasena’s name in the place of his son’s, we have not only Viśvarūpasena twice introduced in this part, the second introduction being quite unnecessary and even unnatural, but have also to regard verses 11 ff. as continuing the description of Lakshmaṇasena and verses 14 ff. as describing Viśvarūpasena, even though this is plainly against the trend of the composition. How then could this modified composition be quoted in a genuine charter of Viśvarūpasena himself? The only answer to this question that suggests itself to us is that the introductory part of the Vāngiya Sāhitya Parishad plate of Viśvarūpasena is merely a copy of the modified draft of the introductory section of his son’s records and is not a fresh and independent composition. This seems to be supported by his title Arirāja-Viśhabhaṇka-sāṅkara as found in Vāngiya Sāhitya Parishad plate. Viśhabhaṇkā in this expression is quite meaningless and the emendation viśhabh-ākka does

1 Cf. JAS. Letters, Vol. XX, pp. 201-02.
3 See Bhandarkar’s List, No. 1693 and notes; JAS. Letters, Vol. XX, p. 211.
4 The explanation I suggested in JAS. Letters, Vol. XX, p. 212, seems to be wrong.
not improve the position since the title would not still offer any satisfactory sense. The copy must have been made from a modified draft like that of the Madanapāda plate which, as we have seen, reads viśabhānaka since viśabhāsa was re-engraved on niśāna of niśānakā without erasing aṅka. That aṅka was left out through oversight is suggested by the correction effected in the same title in the Idilpur plate in which sāhka is re-engraved after having erased aṅka.

The circumstances under which Viśvarūpasaṇa’s son ruled during the lifetime of his father cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. The case does not look like that of Paṅgu Nirjītavarman succeeding his son Pārtha on the throne of Kashmir.1 It appears that the 14th regnal year of Viśvarūpaṇa, when the corrections were effected in the Madanapāda plate, fell not long after the 2nd regnal year of his son when it was originally issued. Thus it looks as if the son was raised to the throne when the father was already a king for several years. Whether this was the result of the son’s revolt and temporary success against the father or the father being temporarily incapacitated by the attack of some disease from which his recovery was not expected or by his captivity for a few years in the hands of his enemies is more than what we can say at present. In the Idilpur plate, originally issued by Viśvarūpaṇa’s son like the Madanapāda plate, the son seems to refer to his father reverentially as bṛhāṇa-vipaṭi-charaṇāḥ while the son, if he is identical with Sūryasena as he seems to us to be, is mentioned in the Vāgīśva Sāhitya Parishad plate as having created a jāgīv which was ratified by Viśvarūpasaṇa.4 These facts probably suggest that the second of the two alternatives, viz. the son ascending the throne during a period when the father was somehow incapable of holding the reins of government, is preferable. Whether the issue of Sūryasena’s grants from Phaspha-grāma suggests the temporary loss of Vikramapura to some enemy is more than what we can say at present. He ruled at least for about three years since the Idilpur plate was issued in his 3rd regnal year. The period of the son’s rule seems to have corresponded roughly to the years 11-13 of the father’s reign.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, we have already spoken of the reference to Puri, Banāras and Allahābād. The gift village was situated in the province of Pundravardhanas which included wide areas of Northern and South-Eastern Bengal in the age in question. Its division called Vaṅga must have comprised the Dacca-Paridpur region while the Sub-Division of Vikramapura no doubt included the Munshiganj Sub-Division of the Dacca District and the Madariapur Sub-Division of the Faridpur District. The Madariapur region, now separated from the Pargana of Vikramapura in Munshiganj by the river Padmā, is still called Dākshāṇa-Vikramapura, ‘South Vikramapura’, and it seems that the old Vikramapura division was divided into two halves by the changing course of the Padmā at a date later than the Sēna age. As already indicated above, the gift village called Piṅjōkāśāṭhi or Piṅjōṣṭhiya is the modern Piṅjōri in the Kotālīpāḍa Pargana of the Faridpur District. The other localities mentioned in the inscription including the description of the boundaries of the gift village have not been identified.

**TEXT**

Verse 1 Vesantatilaka; verses 2-3, 5, 7-10, 13, 15-16, 20 Sārālaviṇīśiṣṭa; verses 4, 17 Prithvī; verses 6, 12 Sraṅgārā; verses 11, 26 Pushpitāgrā; verse 14 Gīti; verses 18, 21-25 Anuṣṭubh; verse 19 Mandakrāṇā; verse 27 Āryā.

**Obverse**

1 Siddham* Ō namō Nārāyānaya || Vandā-śravinda-vana-vā(bā)ndhavam-andhakāra-kārā-niva-
(b)e)dha-bhuvana-traya-mukti-hētum | paryāya-viśrītā-si-

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1 Arīraṇa-viśabhāsā-sākara means ‘the god Śiva to the bull that was the enemy kings’, the bull being Śiva’.sākara. The expression viśabhāsā-sākara has no sense suitable to the context.


3 N. G. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 125, text line 49.

4 Ibid., p. 147, text line 64; p. 150, text line 66.

5 From impressions.

6 Expressed by symbol.
2 t-āsita-pakṣa-{yugmam-uḍya} |
| tam-adhūta-khagāṁ nīgama-drusmaya || [1*] Paryāśa-spha- |
| tik-āchālaṁ varṣamati visva(shva)g-vimudrībhavan-mukta-kuṭamalaṃ avdhūḥ(bdhī)m-a- |
| mva(nbajra-nad)u-vany-śvaṇaddham nabhaḥ | udbhina-amita-maṅjarī-parīchitā dh-kāminh | kalpayan pratnyaṇalatu Puspaśrahya-yāśo jām-āntaram |

4 Chandramāḥ || [2*] Ėṭasmāṭ kathiti-bhāra-nīśasa-śrō-ḍuṁ(da)rvīkara-graṇapī-viśrām-śvavā- |
| dāna-dīkṣita-bhubaś-tē bhubhūcaḥ jājūrī | yētēhām-apra- |

5 timallava-vikrama-kathā-śvavīda(bdha)-pravah(ba)dh-ādhūta-vyākhyāṇa-adhāśa-vinindra-sāndra- |
| pulakaṃ-vyāptāḥ sadasyair-dīsāḥ || [3*] Avāṭarad-ast-ānvāvya mahati tatra dēvah |

6 svayama Śuddhāśramaśekharā Vijayāsena ity-śkhayaḥ | yad-śaṅghri-nakha-dhāraṇi-sphurita- |
| maḷaṇaḥ bhubhūcaḥ Daśayya-nati-vibhramaḥ vīda- |

7 dhīrē kil-aiṣaṅkasaḥ(ab) || [4*] Nil-āṃbhūrana-aṅdārō-ḥi dalaṇyam-marmamāṇi kādamvini(m)bhā- |
| kāntō-ḥi jvalayam-maṅmasi madhupal-sūngdhōḥ-hi tenvan bha- |

8 yam || (()) nīrṇik-tāśaṇa-saṃbhōḥ-hi janaṇam-nātra-klaṃmaḥ vaiśrayam yasyā-śāśa-jān- |
| ādēbhutaya samarē kuksam-yākaḥ khelati || [5*] Ishan-nistirāśa-ṇi- |

9 drā-viraha-vilāstair-vvairī-bhūpāla-vamāyān-uchchhīṣyāḥ-ōcchhīṣyā mūl-āvadhi bhuvam | akhilamā sātrōḥ yasya rājīyaḥ | āṣītējō-jīgaḥ saha diva-
| |

10 sakarē-śiva-dōṅhās-tulābhub-dharṭrāś-aśēvishāṇam-ajani dig-adhīpam-śva unmā- |
| vīvādaḥ || [6*] Kēlīt-khaḍga-laṭ-śpamāṛjana-hrīta-pratyarthi-

11 darppa-jvara-ṭasāmd-apratimallā-κkiṭṭī-ahhavāya Va(d-Ba)cca-ścēṇē nripaḥ | yasyāyō- |
| dhana-(s)ūmi śiṣita-saṃjñānaḥ prajñānaḥ katiḥ sathaka-dvīpa- |

12 danta-dāṇḍa-śivikām-ārōpya vairo-śriyāh || [7*] Śrī-kāntō-ḥi na māyaṃ Va(Ba)ju-jayī Vāg- |
| tāvarō-py-aksharaṃ vaktun na-śtya-śapuḥ kalā-nidhir-śpi- |

13 prōṃmukta-dōṅgbrahmāḥ | Bhūg-Indrō-ḥi na jihmagaḥ parivṛtta-sāvīkṛyā-rēkha-ādēbhutae- |
| tasmāŁ-Lakṣheṣmāpasena-bhūpatis-śvēbhd-ḥūloka-kalpa-ṭrumah || [8*] |

14 [Pratyāyeḥ āṃḍā-svaṇairiṇyamita-parayarthi-bhūṁbhujaṁ maddhyānāḥ jala-pāṇa- |
| mukta-rata-prēṃkohāḥ-gaṇṭha-ravaḥ | sāyaṃ vēṣa-vilāśini-ja- |

15 na-raṇa-raṇa-śrimpārjan-śvairiṇa-yēn-ākśri vēbhinna-savda(bda)ghaṭaṇ-āvandhyam tri-sa- |
| ndhyam nabhaḥ || [9*] Pūrvvah janna-sātēśu bhūmipatīna santajaya mukta-gra- |

16 ham nūnām tēna sut-āṭṭhīna Sadhunī-ṭtṛē Harṣaṃ pṛītaḥ | ēṭasmāṭ-kathamaṃ asyathā riṇa- |
| vadhū-vaśīhaya-va(ba)dhābra-dvātī vikhyāta-kāhitaśa-pala- mau- |

17 lir-ahhavaḥ2 śrī-Viśvāṛuṇāḥ nripaḥ || [10*] Na gagan-taḷa śva aṭṭa-śarīrmś-ṇnāv Kaṅakā-bhū- |
| dhāna eva kalpa-śkīḥ | na vibh(bna)dha-pura śva Dēvarījō |

18 vīlasati yatra dhā-vāyah-ṛṣhī || [11*] Viśaṅgau Dākshīṇ-āvadhō(bdhē)ṃvulasadhara- |
| Gaddapī-sadvāsā-vēyāḥ kṣhāṭrē Viśvēvārasaya s baru-Asī-Va- |

19 u-sūlaṁa-Gaṅgā-ṭhāṁ-ṛṣhī || tē-ṛṣhāṅgō Trīvēṇyaḥ Kamalabhava-maṅkā-śrāmbha- |
| nīrvyāja-pūtē yēn-ōcchhīr-jaya-yōpāḥ saha samara-jaya-sta- |

20 mbha-mālā nyadhāyaḥ || [12*] Yām nīrmāya pavitra-pāṁgār-ahhavād-Vēdhōḥ satīnāḥ śikhā- |
| ratnāṁ yā kīm-śpi sva-rūpa-charitā-vvīśaṁ yasya-saṅkyatam |
21 Lakshmī= Bhūt = api vāsūchitāni vidadhē yasyāḥ sapataṇyaḥ\(^1\) mahāśāju ārv[ī... đevi\(^2\) tad- asya\(^2\) mahāśaḥ eśābhū- tri-varga-ōchita || [13*] Etābhyāit śaśiśkha- 
22 ra-Girjhābyām=iva va(bha)bhūva Śaktiśhaharāḥ || ārv-[Viśva]rāpa\(^3\)śaśaṇadvāḥ prathibaṭha- bhūpālā-mukuta-maṇiḥ || [14*] Ā-kaumāram= spāra-saṅgara-bhara-vyāpā- 
23 ra-triśhā=vaśe- sv-āntasya=alya niśāmanya viṣa-parishad-vandyasa dōr- vīvikramam | n=ēdam n=ēdam=idaḥ=cha n=ēti cakitaier-durggaṇa praviśya drutaḥ nirgacchha- 
24 dhbir-ardita-bhūpa-nivarha- bhāmāydhbir=ev-āyataś || [15*] Kalpa-khaṃkha-kuṇānapati Kanaka-khaṃkha- bhīd-viṣaṃ- niḥśiṃ ratnānām pulin-āntarāpi cha pari- 
25 bhramya prayās-ālasat || tat-pāda-pāyōhara-praṇayini cōhīhāyā-vītān-āśichālō viṣā- myantī satām=aniṣa-viṣada-ōbhrāntō manō-vṛttayāḥ || [16*] 
26 Kim=ētad-itī vismaya-ākula- lōkapāl-āvalī- vīśvīkata-pradhana-jaitra-jā(ā)yāt ē-bharaḥ\(^*\) | saśaśa prithivim=imām prathita-vīra-ra- 
27 rgg-āgraṇāt sa Garga- Yavan-ānavya-pralaya-kāla-Rudrā nripaḥ || [17*] Padma-ālaya=ēti kya khyāśīr- Lakṣmīya ēva jagat-trasī | Sarasvati= api tām lēbhē yad-ānana- 
28 kṛit-ālaya || [18*] Ārubhyā-ābhrāmīha-grīha-dīkham=asa saumandyaṛ-kēkāḥ paśyantībhīḥ purī vṛtaraṭaḥ pauma-ṣaṃtantībhīḥ | vānt-ākūtair=ra-naya- 
29 na-vaлитar=viṣvaṃśamāv darśayantyō dṛjśatāḥ sakhyāḥ khaṇa=viṣhāṭita-prāma-rukhaḥ kaṭā- khaantiago || [19*] Ėkēn-śunāta-vēsma-sahitya-bhuvaḥ rōtāsvati- 
30 saikata-krīḍa-lōla-marāśa-kōmala-kala[ā*] kvāya-praṇit-ōtsavāḥ | vipṛbhyyō dādirē mahī- magha[vajā]tā nāka-pratisahā-bhrīrtaḥ pākṣa-pra- 

Reverse 

31 kramāśa-liśa-śavala-khaṭār-ōkataḥ karvataḥ || [20*] iba khalu Phasphagṛma\(^4\)samā- 
vāṣita-śrīma-jaivakandhāvārāt sama- 
32 stṣ[a] prástaṭyupātā. Arirāja[vyishahba]śaṅkara-Gauḍēvāra-ārāma[ē] [Vijaya]-10 
śaṇāvā-pād-ānudhyāta-śamāprasṭyupātā Arirāja- 

\(^1\) For sapataṇyaṃ makāḥ\(^*\), better read sapati-donēyam or sapataṇyār-donēyam as in the Vaṅgīya Śaktīya Parishad plate. The language of the stanza as found in the Madanapāḍa and Itīdpur plates is faulty because the use of sapataṇyā in the dual renders the verb vīdātē in the singular unsuitable. 
\(^2\) The four akskharas giving the name of the queen are written on the erasure which originally accommodated only three akskharas after ārd. The t sign of ārd has been affected by the erasure and it looks like ērd. Of the two damaged letters before ērd, neither can be satisfactorily read because the original akskharas were not carefully and fully erased and the new akskharas clearly shaped. The name has been read as ārd-Tānērutēntō or ārd- khārēntō both of which violate the metre and could not have been the intended reading. See above, pp. 319-20. 
\(^3\) Here the four akskharas viṣvaroṣa have been re-engraved in the space for only two akskharas that had been originally incised. The name viśvaṃśa cannot be easily recognised and looks somewhat like viṣvām. The superscript r above the second of the two akskharas in which the original name was written has not been affected by the erasure. The two original akskharas may have been orūrga. See line 38 below. 
\(^4\) The reading is bhaćaḥ and not bhasaḥ. 
\(^5\) This has been wrongly read as vārī-dātīrāt\(^*\). 
\(^6\) The name of the locality has been read by previous writers as Phalagrāmā. 
\(^7\) The akskha looks more like saō, though in the Gauḍīya alphabet often there is no difference between the medial sign for u and subscript v. In any case, the intended reading is saō. 
\(^8\) Saōdhē has not been observed here. 
\(^9\) These three akskharas were re-engraved after having erased the akskharas. The original a was changed to e by re-touching its loop. The viṣvām and medial t signs of the original a are still visible. 
\(^10\) Although the traces are not clear, these were no doubt re-engraved after having erased d Vāllumā.
33. [nihānaka]śānkara-Gaudēvara-śrimat[?]-Va(Ba)lāla]śāndēva-pād-ānudhyāta-
samastasupraastutyapēṭa-āśvapatigajapatinarapatirājatrayādhi-
pati-SēnakulakaMālāvıkābhaskāra-Sōmavānasapradeṣa-pratipanna-Karṇa-satya\-varta-
Gāṅgēya-sārṇañojya\-vajrapaṇa-\-paramēśva-
34. n-paramabhājāraka-paramasurā\-mahārājādhirāja\-Arirāja[madana]\-śānkara-
Gaudēvara-śrimat[?]-Lakṣmana\]-śāndēva-pād-ānudhyāya-
ta-āśvapatigajapatinarapatirājatrayā\-dhipati-SēnakulakaMālāvıkābhaskāra-Sōmavānasapradeṣa-
-pratipanna-Karṇa-satya\-varta-
35. ta-Gāṅgēya-sārṇañojya\-vajrapaṇa-\-pramē\-svara-paramabhājāraka-paramasurā\-mahārājā-
dhirāja\-Arirāja\-vṛishabhā\-śakṣaṇkara-
36. Gaudēvara-śrimat[?]-Viśvarūpa\]-śāndēva-pādā \-vijaya\-na \-samupag-\-āsēśa\-rāja-
rājanāya\-rāju\-rājaka-rājaputra-rājśāmāya-ma-
hāpurōhita-mahādharmādhyakha-mahāśaṅkha-dauhśādhika-
chaurōddha\-nauvā-ba)laha\-sattya\-vagōma-
hīshā\-vīśī\-vīṣīpī\-gau\-mīka-danda\-pāśika-danda\-nāya\-vaishya\-pāty-ādīn=anyān\-sa-
sakala-rāja-pād-āpatīnī\-dhyakha-
37. pravara\-cha\-ṭa\-bhāṣṣa\-10-jī\-tyāṇ-Brahmaṇa-Brahmaṇ-\-tattarāmī\-cha \-yathāra\-bhū\-mānaya-
vō(b)\-yantī samā\-śa\-nītī cha [\-] viditam=sa\-tu bhavata\-nī ya-
38. thā Paunḍravardhanna-bhukti-antabpāti-Vaṅgī vilkampura-bāgē pūrve Athaya-\-grāma\-jaugṛhala-bhūḥ simā dakṣiṇe Vāraṇipādā-grāma-bhūḥ si-
39. nā padeśma Ucchḍōkaṭṭa-grāma-bhūḥ simā uttarē Viśakṣṭṭi-jaugṛhala[\-] simā ittham
chaitu\-dīmāvачchhin\-nāma)-Pīḍa\-kā\-ṣṭhī\-11-grāma-mādyāt Kandarpasanta\-kara-

1 These three akharas are clearly re-engraved on an erasure. Originally madana must have been engraved at this place.
2 These akharas are re-engraved on an erasure. Originally l-Lakṣmanā must have been engraved. The first akharas still looks more like ita.
3 See above, p. 223, note 7.
4 Sandhi has not been observed here.
5 The person responsible for the erasure and re-engraving forgot to change this epigraph of Viśvarūpa to Paramarvāhāra or Paramarvārēśinaka which was the correct epigraph of Lakṣmanāsēna.
6 These three akharas must have been re-engraved after having erased the akharas vṛishabhā, although the traces are not clear.
7 These akharas are clearly re-engraved on an erasure. That originally d-Viśvarūpa was engraved is proved by the traces of pa underneath ita and of the medial i sign of déi. The space also suggests that four akharas and not three were originally engraved here.
8 These three akharas were apparently re-engraved after having erased nihāa of nihānaka, the last akhara of the original word in three akharas being left out through oversight. The intended reading seems to be arirāja-vṛishabhā-śakṣaṇa and not arirāja-vṛishabhāsakṣaṇa-śakṣaṇa.
9 These four akharas were clearly re-engraved after having erased a name in two akharas. The second akharas of this original name had a superscript v which was not erased. The re-engraved name looks more like Viśvarūpa than Viśvarūpa. Note that t of śrimat has not been modified in sandhi as in the other cases in this section. The original name engraved here seems to have been Surya. See line 22 above.
10 This is the same as chāta-bhāta of early inscriptions.
11 The name may also be read as Aṭkaśā-pāma-grāma.
12 The name has been read as Viśakṣṭṭi.
13 The name has been read as Pīḍa\-kā\-ṣṭhī. From this word down to Pīḍa\-kā\-ṣṭhī in line 46, the letters are all re-engraved on erasure. From the beginning of this re-engraved section down to trināya at the end of line 45, the akharas are small in shape and pressed against each other. This was due to the fear that all the akharas might not find space enough to be accommodated in the blank created by the erasure. But when the work of re-engraving had reached the beginning of line 46, it was found that the remaining akharas were not enough to fill up the available space in that line. Thus the akharas re-engraved on the erasure in line 46 are bigger in size, and have more space between any two of them than in the original part of the writing.
šarmiya-padāṭi-Śāṣāmūrka-sām-vāq(vāq)vāṭiśat-purāṇ-ōttara-chūpṛṣi-sat-nika° 132 va(ba)-
hī sām-bhū-hī° 500 tathā Kandarpasunakar-āmha°-bhūmāu Nārāṇḍapa-grāme svakiya-
pāly-svan-sāju° 4°.

hi [1]27 dvābhyaṁ sapta[y]māsati-purāṇ-ādhika-sām-chūpṛṣi(ṛṣi)?-shaṭ-satik-ōṭpattika-
Piṇḍōkāśhthi°-grāmaḥ sa-jala-sūhalaḥ sa-jhāṭa-viṭapaḥ s-ōcharaḥ° sa-guvāka-nānikāla-
|m| tripa-yū° 4°.

ti-paryyanta upari-liṅkita-chatuṇ-si(a)m-īvačchhinnaḥ Piṇḍōthiya°-grāme-yatī Śiva-
purāṇ-ōkta-bhūmi-dāṇa-pha-

la-prāpti-kāmanavyā Vatsa-sagōtṛasya Bhārgava-Chyavana-Āṇuvata-Aurva°-Jāmadgny-
pravaraśya Parāsi(s)a)rādaśaṃmaṇaḥ prapaṭṛaya Va-

tsa-sagōtṛasya Bhārgava-Chyavana-Āṇuvata-Aurva°-Jāmadgnya-pravaraśya Garbhṛ-
(rbbhē)varadēśasāmmanaḥ pautṛaya Vatsa-sagōtṛasya Bhārgava-

Chyavana-Āṇuvata-Aurva°-Jāmadgny-pravaraśya Vanamāli-dēśaśaṃmaṇaḥ putṛāya

Vatsa-sagōtṛya Bhārgava-Chyavana-Āṇuvata-

Aurva°-Jāmadgny-pravaraśya śrutī-pāṭhakāya° śrī-Visvā-pādaśaṃmaṇaḥ: Brāhmaṇā-
|ya vihindava-uṣṭipraya Sādāśiva-mudraya m-

drayitvā bhū-čchhitraṇa-vīryena [chaturdāsāly-āvdi(bdi)yā°-Bhādra-dīnā° tāmraś-
|anākhyita pradattē-āmabhīḥ | yatra chatuṇ-sim-āvačchhit-

nne-sām-sāsana-bhū-hī° 112 627 tad-bhavaddhīḥ sarvavārāvē-sānumantaṇāḥ bhāvibhib-sapi

mipati-bhibhī apaharaṇē naraṇa-pātā-bha-

yē pālāṇē dharmma-gauravāt pālāṇyāṃ | bhavanti chāṭa dharmmānāsaṃnah śōkāḥ |

Āśphōṭyantī pitarā vaṅgaya-

nti° pitāmāḥ | bhūmīdvī-aṁat-kūlē jītāḥ sa nasṛtāt bhavishyati || [21°] Bhūmīya yaḥ

pratigīghati: yaśe cha bhūmita pravachchhati | ubhau

tau puṇya-karmāṇau nīyataṃ svarga-gāminau || [22°] Va(Ba)hubhir-vvasudhā dattā

rājabhibhī Sagar-āḍibilhī | yaśa yaśa yaḍa bhūmiś-ṛtasya

1 This was read as Kandarpasunakara-grāmiya.
2 This was read as ājāhāmārka. Śān is a contraction of sāṃnātīrthika.
3 This was read as trāṭākha.
4 This was read as sahkī sa bhāki. Bhāki (Bengali bāt) is the same as bhārōkāla (i.e. excluded) as found in some
records (cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 190, text line 155, etc.). Sām-bhū-hī stands for sāṃnātīrthika-bhūmi-hīrasya.
5 This was read as "āvāt".
6 The last seven akharas were not read.
7 This was read as svačchiṭṭā.
8 The akharam was read as śhṭi.
9 The visarṣa was omitted.
10 This akharam may also be read as pō.
11 The re-inclusion on erasure in this part ends with the akhara ya.
12 Read Chyavana-Āṇuvad-Duvrē.
13 This was read as bhūmīdāśāraḥ.
14 The intended reading is chatudāsāśāra. The four akharas chatudāsa are re-engraved after having erased two akharas. The medial l and l signs attached respectively to the first and second of the letters are still visible.

There is no doubt that the expression dviṭīy-ādibilhī was originally engraved and that chatudāsa was re-engraved after having erased dviṭī.

15 The intended reading may have been dinā ṭ. 16 Sām-sāsana-bhū-hī (sāṃnātīrthika-sāsana-bhūmi-hīrasya), 'the annual revenue of the gift land in cash', is the same as sāsana-sām-bhū-hī (sāsana-sāṃnātīrthika-bhūmi-hīrasya) of line 68 of the Vānḍya Śāhīya Parishad plate (N. G. Majumdar, Jā. Bīṃg., Vol. III, p. 148).
17 Read vaṅganyā cha or ṭravarganyā.
56 tasya tadā phalam || [23*] Shashti-varsha-sahasraṇi svarggē tīhṭhati bhūmīdaḥ | ākhaṅktā cha ānumantā cha tāṇy=śva narakā vasēt || [24*] Śva-da-

57 ttāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasundharām | sa visākṣṭhāyāṁ kṛimir-bhūtvā pitribhiḥ saha pachyatē || [25*] Iti kamala-dal-āmva(mbu)-vindu-lō-

58 lāṁ śrīyam-anuchintya manushya-āsvitaḥ-cha | sakalam-idad-udāṛitaḥ-cha vu(bu)ddhā na hi purushāḥ para-kirttayō vilōpyāḥ || [26*] Sachiva-

59 śata-mauli-lalita-pad-āmva(mbu)jasyānusāsanā dūtaḥ | śrī-Kōpīvishnapur-ābhavad-Gaṇḍa-mahāśāndhivigrabhikāḥ || [27*] śrīmaṇ-mahā-

60 sāṁ-karaṇa-ni || śrī-mahāmahattaka-karaṇa-ni || śrīmaṇ-karaṇa-ni || sarī 14 Āśvina-dīni 1 ||
No. 60—BRITISH MUSEUM PLATES OF GOVINDA III, SAKA 726

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 31.7.1959)

The inscription was published by Fleet in Indian Antiquary, Vol. XI, pp. 125—27 and Plates. The findspot of the plates is unknown. They appear to have been deposited in the British Museum along with the other epigraphical collections bequeathed by Fleet.

The set consists of three plates, each measuring about 5-75" long and 2-5" broad. The ring attached to the plates is ‘25' in thickness and 2-5" in diameter. The circular seal fixed to the ring is about 1-5" in diameter and has, in relief on a counter sunk surface, a much worn representation of Garuda, sitting cross-legged on a lotus and facing full front. The first and the last plate are engraved on one side only while the second plate has writing on both sides. Though the plates are corroded here and there, the writing is very well preserved. The first plate and the second side of the second plate have each 6 lines of writing whereas the first side of the second plate and the third plate have 4 and 3 lines respectively. Thus there are 19 lines altogether.

The characters are early Kannada-Telugu and are regular for the period to which the record belongs. Of the initial vowels a occurs in line 16, i in lines 12 and 13 and e in lines 2, 9 and 11. Dravidian r is found in lines 1, 10 and 18 and l in lines 1, 7 and 9. Final n is met with in line 15 and final l in lines 5 and 6. L is written either with a curve inside the letter as in lines 4, 8, 10, etc., or with a curve outside as in lines 9 and 19. B is of the box type (cf. lines 3, 5, 8, 9, etc.) and bh of the cursive variety (cf. lines 2 and 19). There is no distinction between medial e and e or o and o. As regards orthography, the consonant following r is generally doubled (cf. lines 1, 6, 9, etc.). There are certain orthographical errors like s used for G (line 2), bh for b (line 2), b for v (line 14), etc.

The language is Kannada prose except the imperatory verses and a sentence at the end referring to the composition of the record, which are in Sanskrit.

The inscription is interesting in more than one respects. It is the shortest of the copper-plate inscriptions of Gōvinda III discovered so far. Besides being the only copper-plate grant of the Rāṣṭrakūta dynasty which is written in the Kannada language, it is one of the earliest copper-plate inscriptions in that language. The form of the record resembles rather that of the stone inscriptions of the dynasty than that of the copper-plate grants. There is no invocatory verse at the beginning and the inscription straightway begins with the date-portion as in the case of the stone inscriptions. Neither the genealogical account of the ruling king is given nor is the grant addressed to the feudatory officials as is generally found in the case of the copper-plate grants.

The present inscription is the only record mentioning the name of the Pallava adversary of Gōvinda III as Danṭigā, i.e., Dantivarman (761-812 A.D.).

1 Prof. V. V. Mirashi's view (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 206 and note 4) that the absence of the genealogical section in these plates is due to the fact that they were not issued from the capital of the king is not convincing. There are numerous instances of copper-plate grants which were issued from places other than the capital and yet contain the genealogical section. Cf. the copper-plate grants issued by Cānukya Vijayāditya (696-733 A.D.) from the following places away from his capital at Bāḍalī: Rājaṭranga (Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, pp. 127 ff.), Karakāṭranga (above, Vol. X, pp. 146 ff.), Elāphura (Ind. Hist. Quart., Vol. IV, pp. 425 ff.) and Kuhunḍranga (A. R. Fp., 1934-35, App. A, No. 22). The Rāṣṭrakūta king Gōvinda III himself was encamped at a place called Sugastun at the time of issuing the Nēgarikā grant (below, Vol. XXXIV, Part III.)
The inscription commences with the word svasti and proceeds to give, as indicated above, the date which is expressed in words as Śaka 726 (expired), Subhānu, Vaiśākha vadi 5, Thursday. According to the Southern cycle, the expired Śaka year 726 corresponded to Tāraṇa and Subhānu fell in the previous year, viz., Śaka 725 expired. In the latter year, the given tithi was not Thursday as mentioned in the record while, in the Śaka year 726 expired, it regularly corresponds to Thursday, the 4th April 804 A.D. This, therefore, appears to be the intended date of the record.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Gōvinda, the Kannada form of the name Gōvinda, who, from his distinguishing epithet Prabhāvāvarāha as well as the date of the record, is none else than Gōvinda III. He also bears the usual epithets Prabhāvīśālābha-mahārājāśāhīnāya-varamēśvara-bhaṭāra. We are informed in lines 5-6 that his queen (mahādevī) was Gāmunjābbe who is not known from any other source. It is not clear in what connection she is mentioned in the record. It may, however, be suggested that the king made the grant specified in the sequel at the request of his queen, though it is not so stated.

Lines 7-12, refer to the conflict of the king with the Pallava ruler and the object of the record. They have been translated by Fleet as follows: "when (the king), having conquered Dantiga who ruled over Kaṅchi, had come to levy tribute, and when his encampments were on the bank of the river Tungabhādra, and when having at (his) first (visit) approved of the tirtha called Rāmēśvara, he came (there again) to spear the boars that had been preserved (for his sport)—having seen that the tirtha was an excellent one, he allotted to the Gorava named Śivadhārī, . . . . the grant of king Kirttivarnā ṭhu (the god) Rāmēśvara."

Fleet read the words in line 7 as Dantiganaṃ geda and translated them as 'having conquered Dantiga.' But the word geda does not give any sense in Kannada unless one assumes that it is a mistake for geda, the verb gel meaning 'to conquer.' Moreover, the emphatic e in Dantiganaṃ does not suit the context. We propose to read the two words as Dantiganaṃ mēy-geda which means 'having marched against Dantiga.' Thus the sentence has to be understood in the sense that the king was on his march to Kaṅchi against the Pallava king Dantiga in order to levy tribute from him and that on his way he had fixed his encampments on the bank of the river Tungabhādra. This shows that the conquest of the Pallava king by Gōvinda III was not complete on the date of this record but was subsequent to it. In view of this conclusion, it would be necessary to modify the opinion of the scholars who have written on the chronology of the conquests of Gōvinda III and who following Fleet's translation, have understood that the conquest of the Pallava king was complete when the present plates were issued in 804 A.D.1

Fleet translated the sentence Rāmēśvara emba tirthadhā modaloj=mepp=ikki (lines 9-10) as 'having at (his) first (visit) approved of the tirtha called Rāmēśvara.' He understood modaloj in the sense of 'at first' and thought that it referred to the first visit of the king to the place. This led him to suppose that the king came there again to spear the boars referred to in the next sentence (line 9) porada pandigal=ipiyal=bandalli. He also took mepp=ikki in the sense of 'having approved'. Now the word meppu is not found in Kittel's Kannada-English Dictionary and the meaning given by Fleet does not suit the context. We feel that meppu may be connected with meppu meaning 'grazing, pastureage' derived from the root mē or mēy 'to graze' and mepp=ikki has to be taken as qualifying the following words porada pandigal. The word modaloj in the sense of 'first or first visiting' does not suit the preceding word tirthadhā which is in the genitive case.

1 Altekar (The Rājahrājas and their Times, p. 63) thought that Gōvinda III was returning from his expedition against the Pallava king when the present plates were issued. Cf. also above, Vol. XXIII, p. 210; Vol. XXXII, p. 159.

2 Meppu is used in this sense in the Kannada work Pampa-Bhārata (Chapt. V, section in prose after verse 43) in the description of the hunting expedition of Arjuna.
So it has to be understood in the sense of ‘in front of’ or ‘opposite to’. The whole sentence appears to mean that there was a sort of a game-sanctuary located on the opposite side of Rāmeśvara-tirtha (i.e. on the other side of the river) where boars were grazed and preserved for hunting purposes. Thus the words modalol and bandallī do not support the view that the king had visited the same place on two occasions, as supposed by Fleet. But this does not preclude the possibility of an earlier invasion of the Pallava capital by Gōvinda III. The fact that the king was on his march in order to levy tribute from the Pallava king may possibly suggest that the latter had failed to pay the tribute levied on a previous occasion. This view may gain support from the statement, that from Śrībhavana, Gōvinda III went to the banks of Tungabhadrā with his forces and captured the fortune of the Pallavas, though it was already in his hands.

The object of the inscription (lines 11-12) is to register the renewal of a grant, by the king, to the priest (gopa) Śivadhārī. It is stated that the former grant was made by Kṛtivarman ājā-paramēśvara who was most probably Kṛtivarman II (744-45-757), the last imperial Chāluksya ruler of Bālamī. The meaning of the expression mudāmbeyamanama-untu used in this connection is not clear but it appears to refer to the name of a locality or to the former privileges attached to the grant which was renewed by Gōvinda III.

Thus lines 7-12 of the inscription may be rendered as: “When (Gōvinda III) was on his march, in order to levy tribute, against Dañtiga who was ruling over Kāśchī, and when he had fixed his encampments on the bank of the river Tungabhadrā, and when he had come to spear the boars that had been grazed and preserved (for his sport) on the opposite side of the tirtha called Rāmeśvara (i.e. on the other side of the river), seeing the beauty of the tirtha, he (i.e. the king) gave to the priest named Śivadhārī the grant of Mudāmbeyama which was (formerly) given by Kṛtivarman ājā-paramēśvara.” Lines 13-17 contain an imprecatory portion and a sentence in lines 17-18 refers to a stream called Kundu or Kundu as lying on the boundary of the gift land. This is followed in lines 18-19 by the mention of Mahāsāndhīvigrhaḥ Śrīdhara as the writer of the grant. This officer is not known from the other grants of Gōvinda III.

The chronology of the campaigns of Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III has been discussed by many scholars. As pointed out by Prof. Mirashi, the copper-plate charters of Gōvinda III fall into two groups. The first one gives the draft of the introductory part which mostly follows that of the earlier charters of the Rāshtrakūṭa family. To this group belong the Paśāṇa plates (Saka 716), Aḥjanaṇavatī plates (Saka 723) and the Jharikā grant (Saka 725). To the second group, which gives a new draft describing the victories of Gōvinda III, belong all his other charters including the Mappe plates (first set) of Saka 724 and the Badaneguppe plates of Saka 730 which were issued by the king’s brother Stambha. Prof. Mirashi has tried to show that all the important victories of Gōvinda III (including the submission of Dharmaṇā and Chakrāyudha) were attained before

1 It may, however, be pointed out that though Fleet seems to have rectified this mistake later (Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part ii p. 397; above, Vol. XXXII, p. 199 and note 5), other scholars have followed it. Cf. above, Vol. XXIII, p. 216 and note 7.
2 Cf. above, Vol. VI, p. 244, verse 18: om-kara-sthitām api punarvatsathāṃ tathā vibhrante......Pallavabhāṣa
3 Cf. also, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 216 and K.V.S. Aiyar, Three Lectures, p. 82.
4 Fleet takes Paramēśvara as the name of the god to whom Kṛtivarman made the grant previously. But it
5 seems better to take it as an epithet of Kṛtivarmanārāja.
6 For other meanings suggested by Fleet, see Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, p. 127 and note 20.
8 Ibid., Vol. XXIII, pp. 8 ff.
9 Ibid., Vol. XXXII, pp. 107 ff.
Saka 724, the date of the Manne plates (first set). But from the recent discovery of the Jharākā grant of Saka 725 using the earlier draft, it has been shown that the Manne plates which are dated one year earlier (i.e. Saka 724) and in which the later draft is used should be regarded as spurious. Therefore, the earliest record to use this new draft is the Nēsarikā grant of Saka 727. It follows that Gōvinda finished his campaigns in the north as well as south before Saka 727, the date of the Nēsarikā grant, if we follow the usual criterion of ascertaining the chronology of his campaigns by the appearance of the earlier and later drafts. From the well-known verse nīvā Śrībhavaṇe, etc., found in this later draft, we learn that, from Śrībhavana (identified with modern Sarbhn in Broach District) where he had spent the rainy season, Gōvinda III marched with his forces to the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrā and, staying there, captured the fortune of the Pallavas. This shows that Gōvinda conducted his southern campaign from the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrā. This is corroborated by the fact that when the Jharākā grant was issued, the royal camp was on the bank of the river Tuṅgabhadrā near Alampur, and that the inscription under review also states that the king had fixed his encampment on the bank of the same river. Evidently all the above-mentioned three references to the royal encampment on the bank of the river Tuṅgabhadrā point to the same event in Gōvinda's southern campaign. It appears that this expedition commenced from the date of the Jharākā grant (November 803 A.D.) and was not yet complete on the date of the present inscription (April, 804 A.D.). However, it must have been completed soon after the date of the present record, since the Nēsarikā grant, dated 21st December 805 A.D., was issued when the king was apparently on his way back to his capital.

The chronology of the southern campaign detailed above would show that Gōvinda's northern conquests were completed before November 803 A.D., the date of the Jharākā grant. As indicated above, Gōvinda III marched quickly from Śrībhavana to the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrā as if to suppress some sort of revolt from the south. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the Aśjanavatī plates, dated in June 800 A.D. (Saka 722), were issued from Gōvinda's capital at Mayūrakhaṇḍi and, as already indicated, use the earlier draft. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that the northern campaign of the king must have been conducted between June 800 A.D., the date of the Aśjanavatī plates, and November 803, the date of the Jharākā grant. One may, however, ask why this northern expedition is not referred to in the Jharākā grant. But, as already stated, the king was still engaged in his southern expedition on the date of this grant and even some time thereafter as proved by the inscription under study and he could only prepare the new draft incorporating his exploits in the north as well as in the south sometime before issuing the Nēsarikā grant in December 805 A.D.

The village or locality called Mudumbe cannot be identified.

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2 Ibid., Vol. XXXII, p. 169. [The reason cited cannot be regarded as enough for characterising the Manne plates as spurious. For a case of this kind among the records of the Eastern Gaṅga monarch Anantavarman Chōḍaqaṅga, see above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 259, where I suggested an unnecessary correction.—Ed.]

3 Below, Vol. XXXIV, Part III. [The Nēsarikā grant or any other record of Gōvinda III does not mention Chakrārādha, though according to the Sanjan plates of Amogha-varsha I he surrendered to Gōvinda III along with his ally Dharmāśāla. Some of the conclusions of Mirashi and others thus appear to be based on argumentum ex silencio.—Ed.]

4 Cf. above, Vol. VI, p. 244, verse 18.

5 [The absence of reference to the northern campaign in the Jharākā grant of 803 A.D., before which it must have been completed as indicated by the issue of the charters of the period between 802 and 805 A.D. from the southern camps, makes Dr. Ga’s explanation rather doubtful. Gōvinda III was not actually fighting with the Pallavas on the Tuṅgabhadrā and the officers with him could have drawn up the new draft in any of his camps if he so desired.—Ed.]
1 Svasti [ | ] Śaka-nipana-kājśīta sarvatsarangal=ajñūṛi(r-t)rpaṭārane-
2 yā Subhānū embhā(mba) varshadā Vaisā(śa)kha-māsā-krīsha-pa-
3 kāha-paṁchane(mni)-Bṛhaspati(ti)vāram-āgi [*] Svasti(sti) Prabhū-
4 tavarsha-śrī-Prithuvi(thv)vaḷlabha-mahārājādhirāja pa[r]a*]mē-
5 āvra Gōyindara-bhaṭṭārāṁ GāmunḍABBEGAL mahābē-
6 viyār-āgi[ga] rājyā(jya)-pra[v]aṛddhamāna kālado|

Second Plate, First Side

7 Kañchıyan=ālv(lva) Dantigana mēg=eldu* kappam-gola-
8 l=bandalli Tumgabhadreyā taḍỹol=tāpa-biḍuga-
9 ]=eldu Rāmēvara emba tirthadā modalol=mepp=i-
10 kki porada pandīgala(jan)=iriya=bandall(i)li) tirththad ol]pa-
11 m=kapdu* Śivadhāri emba goravrgge Mudumbeya-
12 m=untu Kithi(rtti)vaṭṭam(ro)mmma)rāṣṭ-paramēvara-dattamān=vijṭ[r][t]i*] i*

Second Plate, Second Side

13 idah keḍisidaroḷa(i=ā)=r-appoḍe int-appāt(ppār) [*]
14 Sva-dattā[rn*] para-dattamā yō harṭi(ta) vasa-
15 nāḥarān(rām | ) shaḥṭhi(abḥi)-vaṛaha-sahasrāṇi(pi) viṣṭhā-
16 yān jāyatē kṛmi[ḥ ][*] Āpi vaṛaha-sahasrāṇi

*From the Plates in Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, between pp. 126 and 127.
* The two letters goj were first omitted and then inserted below the following letter ma.
* The akṣara rā is written below the line between yā and gi.
* Fleet reads Dantipanama gojdu.
* Fleet reads Bṛhad=olpan=kapdu.
* These two letters were first omitted and then inserted below the line between mē and the following letter pa.
* Fleet reads=viṭṭa[*].
* This akṣara is redundant.
* Read paradaṭṭaṁ va.
17 tēna mē n-sānyatō bhayaṁ(yam ||)¹ pūrvva-sthiti Ku-
18 nē-semba tōe mēre [!*] Mahāsandhivigrā(gra)hāt-dhi-
19 kāra(r-a)dhi(dhil)pat[kʰ*] Śrīdhārasya likhitah² sya[![*]³

¹ This is only a half verse.
² This letter ḷ is written below the following letter dhi.
³ Read likālam.
⁴ This letter is unnecessary.

While this article was going through the press, I visited Alampur in the Mahbubnagar District, Andhra Pradesh. It was at this place, situated on the bank of the Tungabhadrā, that Gōvinda III was camping as shown above. About a mile to the north of Alampur, there is, on the river-bank, a locality called Rāmāvara which is evidently the same as Rāmāvara-strīha mentioned in our record. I noticed here the remains of one or two old temples. But what is more interesting is that, on the other bank of the river opposite Rāmāvara, there is still a small jungle and I was informed that it is infested with boars even today. I was also told that a stone inscription of the reign of Gōvinda III, which is now kept in the museum at Alampur, was originally found at this Rāmāvara. These facts go to confirm the interpretation of the text (lines 9-10) offered at pp. 328-29 above.
A rock inscription of the Maurya emperor Asoka (c. 269-232 B.C.) was recently discovered in a locality called Shar-i-Kuna near Kandahar in Southern Afghanistan, that is to say, in the vicinity of the site of the ancient city of Alexandria founded by Alexander the Great in Arachosia. It is a bilingual record, one of its two versions being in Greek and the other in Aramaic. Both the versions of the inscription have been published in Italian by U. Serrato, G. P. Tucci, G. P. Carra de V. and G. L. della Vida in a small book entitled *Un edito bilingue greco-aramico di Asoka—La prima iscrizione greca scoperta in Afghanistan*, Rome, 1958, and in French by D. Schlumberger, L. Robert, A. Dupont-Sommer and E. Benveniste in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1958, No. 1, pp. 1 ff. A paper on the same inscription received by us from Prof. J. Filliozat is appearing in the pages of this journal, below, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 1 ff.

The Shar-i-Kuna inscription is an edict referring to the results of Asoka’s propagation of what he called his Dharma and we know that such results are referred to in some of his other edicts, especially in Minor Rock Edicts I-III and Rock Edict IV. The two versions of the Shar-i-Kuna inscription are really independent free translations of an edict (or two versions of an edict) that may have been drawn up in Prakrit at Asoka’s Record Office at Pataliputra and sent to his Viceroy and the Mahānāmas at Alexandria in Arachosia for being translated into Greek and Aramaic. The Aramaic version as well as the Greek are doubt for respectively the local Greek (Yavana) and Kāmbōja subjects of the Maurya emperor, who are referred to in Rock Edicts V and XIII. The Aramaic text refers to a fact recorded in Rock Edict I that formerly numerous birds and animals used to be killed daily at Asoka’s kitchen for the preparation of curries, but that, at the time of the issue of Rock Edict I, only three living beings were being killed for the same purpose. The Aramaic version also mentions the Maurya king clearly as the lord of the people and officers of the Kandahar region where the edict was engraved. No clear allusion to these is found in the Greek text. Likewise there is mention of the king’s hunters only in the Greek text and not in the Aramaic version. We may regard the Shar-i-Kuna inscription as Minor Rock Edict IV.

The Greek version of the Shar-i-Kuna edict has been satisfactorily deciphered and interpreted, though there are some doubtful passages in the Aramaic version. The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it not only proves the inclusion of Afghanistan, apparently the home of the Yavanas and Kāmbōjas, in Asoka’s empire but also quotes the date when the emperor became a zealous propagator of Dharma.

The Greek version of the Shar-i-Kuna edict has been translated into French as follows:

- **A** Dix ans étant révolus, le roi Piodassē a montré aux hommes la Pieté. (Ten years having passed, king Priyadarśin has shown Piety to the people.)
- **B** Et depuis lors il a rendu les hommes plus pieux, et tout prospère sur toute la terre. (And, since then, he has rendered the people more pious, and all prosper on the whole earth.)

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1 Asoka could not have issued such an edict to the subjects of a foreign ruler.
2 The Brahm-Bāhar inscription may be regarded as Minor Rock Edict III. See my *Inscriptions of Asoka*, Delhi, 1957, pp. 27, 38-39.
3 There is some difference between the views of the Italian and French scholars. We have followed the latter.
4 A study of the Aramaic version by F. Allseim and R. Stiehl has since appeared in *East and West*, September 1959, pp. 192 ff.
5 The use of Past Tense is required here since the following sentence makes it clear that the reference is to an earlier event.

(333)
Et le roi s'abstient des êtres vivants, et les autres hommes et tous les chasseurs et pêcheurs du roi ont cessé de chasser. (And the king abstains from [the eating or slaughter of] living beings, and other people and all the king's hunters and fishermen have given up hunting.)

Et ceux qui n'étaient pas maîtres d'eux-mêmes ont cessé, dans la mesure de leurs forces, de ne pas se maîtriser. (And those who could not control themselves have ceased not to control themselves as far as they could.)

Et ils sont devenus obéissants à père et mère et aux gens âgés, à l'inverse de ce qui était le cas précédemment. (And they have become obedient to [their] father and mother and to the old people contrary to what was the case previously.)

Et désormais, en agissant ainsi, ils vivront de façon meilleure et plus profitable en tout. (And henceforth, by so acting, they will live in an altogether better and more profitable way.)

It may be translated roughly into Prakrit, as used in Asoka's inscriptions in general and, in particular, his edicts at Sáhabázgarhi in the Peshawar District (as also Mansehra in the Hazara District) of West Pakistan, as follows:

A) daśa-vaśh-abhisêta rāña Priyadarśinā janaspî dhrama-anusâsti pravâṭita |
   (daśa-vaśh-abhīśhiktenā rājā Priyadarśinā janē dharmā-anusāsthit pravartitā |

B) tata chu tena munisa baḍhataraṁ dhrama-yuta kaṭa praṇa cha vaḍhita hita-sukhena savra-puṭhavyām | (tataḥ cha tu tēna manushyāḥ baḍhataṁ dhrama-yutāḥ kṛtiḥ praṇāḥ cha vardhitāḥ hita-sukhena sarva-pritiḥvivyām |

C) raṇa cha praṇ-arunabho parijjita savrehi cha manuśehi luḍhakehi cha savrehi kevaṭeḥi cha raṇo paṭijjita vihimaśa bhutanaṁ | (rājā cha tu praṇ-ālambhaḥ parījātaḥ sarvaiḥ cha manushyaiḥ luhdakaiḥ cha sarvaiḥ kaivartaḥ cha rājāḥ paripravakta vihimaś bhūtānām |

D) yeshāṁ cha n-asi saṁyama to pi cha saṁyata bhuta yatha tena tena sakaṁ | (yēṣhāṁ cha tu na āṣṭi saṁyamaḥ tē api cha saṁyataḥ bhūtāḥ yathā tēna tēna sākyaṁ |)

E) te pi cha mata-pituṣhu vuḍhēshu cha suṣrūṣamti yadiśām no bhuta-pruvaṁ | (tē api cha maṭa-pitiṣhū vṛiddhēṣu cha suṣruśantā yādriśām no bhūta-pūrvaṁ |

F) evam cha karamina te pacha hita-sukhâṇāti vaḍhânti cha vaḍhâṇāti || (eśvāṁ cha kuruvaṣāḥ tē paśchaḥ hita-sukhēṇa vardhisyahantē bāḍhaṁ cha vardhisyahantē ||)

The Aramaic text has been translated into French as follows:

A) Dix ans étant révolus (?), il advint (?) que notre seigneur Priyadarśi le roi se fit l'instaurateur de la Vérité. (Ten years having passed (?), it so happened (?) that our lord, king Priyadarśin, became the instigator of Truth.)

B) Depuis lors le mal a diminué pour tous les hommes, et toutes les misfortunes (?), il les a fait disparaître ; et sur toute la terre [il y a] paix [et] joie. (Since then, evil became diminished among all men and all misfortunes (?) he caused to disappear ; and [there are] peace [and] joy on the whole earth.)

C) Et, en outre, [il y a] ceci en ce qui concerne la nourriture : pour notre seigneur le roi on [ne] tue [que] peu [d’animaux] ; en voyant cela, tous les hommes ont cessé [de tuer des animaux] ; même(?) ceux qui prennent les poissons (=les pêcheurs), ces hommes-là sont l’objet d’une interdiction. (And, moreover, [there is] this in regard to food : for our lord, the king [only] a few [animals] are killed ; having seen this, all men have given up [the slaughter of animals] : even (?) those men who catch fish (i.e. fishermen) are subject to prohibition.)
(D) Pareillement, ceux qui étaient sans frein, ceux-là ont cessé d'être sans frein. (Similarly, those who were without restraint have ceased to be without restraint.)

(E) Et [regne] l'obéissance à sa mère et à son père et aux gens âgés conformément aux obligations qu'a imposées à chacun le sort. (And obedience to mother and to father and to old men [reign] in conformity with the obligations imposed by fate on each [person].)

(F) Et il n'y a pas de Jugement pour tous les hommes pieux. (And there is no Judgement for all the pious men.)

(G) Cela (=la pratique de la Loi) a été profitable pour tous les hommes et sera encore profitable. (This [i.e. the practice of Law] has been profitable to all men and will be more profitable [in future].)

The text may be roughly translated into the same Prakrit as follows:

(A) dakṣa-varṣh-ābhijitena raśṭ Priyadrāśīna spamikena no tada dhram-anuśasti praśātita | (dakṣa-varṣh-ābhijitena rājā Priyadarśinā svāmikena naḥ taddāh dharm-anuśastiḥ pravartītāḥ)

(B) tata apayasa hini jata savaspi tena duprāṭibhāga nivaśita | asti pi saṃti cha priti cha savra-puṭhavyam | (tataḥ apāyasya hānīḥ jātā sarvasmin cha janē tēṇā duspratibhāgāḥ nivartītāḥ | asti api śāntiḥ cha pritiḥ cha sarva-prithivyām)

(C) eta cha pi bhutaḥ | sup-āṭhaya chu raśṭo no spamiṃsā lagukanār arabhiyati | tasa cha draśāna savra manuśa na arabhratī | evaṃ pi ye cha kevāta te pi cha niyamena saṃyataḥ | (etāt cha api bhūtam | sūp-āṭthāya cha rājāḥ naḥ svāmikasya laghumahāśābhītāḥ | tasya cha darśanāt sarvā manuḥyāḥ na śalbhatī | evaṃ api yē cha kaivartāḥ tē api cha niyamēna saṃyātāḥ)

(D) evaṃ pi yeśām cha n-asai saṃyamato te pi cha saṃyata bhuta | (evaṃ api yēśām cha na āśat saṃyamahī tē api cha saṃyātāḥ bhūtāḥ)

(E) savre cha mata-pitruḥ suśrasmahī vuḍheṣu cha suśrasmahī yadīśām tasa tasa kāṭavam aropitām | (sarvā cha mātā-pitrāḥ suśrasmahī vṛddheṣu cha suśrasmahī yadīśām tasya tasya kartavyah ārōpitam)

(F) Dharma-yuṭānīm cha kho paratra n-astī vičaraṇa | (dharma-yuṭānīm cha tu khalu paratra na asti vičāraṇā)

(G) sarve cha manusā dhrama-chaṇḍena abhumīnata cha abhumīnāmihīnti cha-eva || sarvā cha manuṣyāḥ dhrama-chaṇḍena abhumīnātāḥ cha abhumīnāmihīnty cha eva ||

The first sentence in both the versions suggests that Aśoka became a zealous propagator of Dharma ten years after his coronation, i.e., in the eleventh year of his reign. The same date is also suggested by the evidence of some of his other records.

It is usually believed that Aśoka’s coronation took place about 269 B.C. and that he became a Buddhist after he had been greatly moved by the horrors of the campaigns in Kaliṅga which was conquered by him, according to Rock Edict XIII, eight years after his coronation, i.e., in his ninth regnal year.
Asoka's Minor Rock Edicts I-II were issued earlier than his Fourteen Rock Edicts. They were promulgated when Asoka had passed the 256th night of a long tour undertaken for the propagation of Dharma. Minor Rock Edict I states that, at the time of its issue, Asoka had already been an upasaka (i.e., a lay follower of the Buddha) for a little over two years and a half and that, out of this period of a little over two years and a half, he had not been zealous in respect of Dharma for one year at the beginning, but that, as a result of his close contact with the Sangha or Buddhist church, he became a zealous propagator of Dharma thereafter for a little over one year. To this period of zealous activity must be assigned the emperor's pilgrimage to Sambodhi (i.e., Mahabodhi or Boddhagaya) undertaken, according to Rock Edict VIII, in the tenth year after his coronation (i.e., in the eleventh regnal year), and the creation of the posts of the Dharma-Mahamatas in the thirteenth year after coronation (i.e., in the fourteenth regnal year), which is referred to in Rock Edict V. The pilgrimage to Sambodhi, the holiest of the Buddhist tirthas where the Buddha attained enlightenment, may be regarded as one of the earliest acts of the active period of Asoka's religious life, to which Minor Rock Edict I pointedly refers. Pillar Edict VI, issued in the twenty-sixth year after Asoka's coronation (i.e., in the twenty-seventh regnal year), states that he issued (i.e., first issued or began to issue) Dharma-lipis, i.e., edicts relating to the Dharma he preached, in the twelfth year after his coronation (i.e., in the thirteenth regnal year). Rock Edict III contains an order of Asoka asking certain classes of his officers to set out on tour once in every five years for the propagation of his Dharma in addition to their normal duties, and this order was promulgated in the twelfth year after coronation, i.e., in the thirteenth regnal year. Rock Edict VI is stated to have been caused to be written down in the same year. These activities of the thirteenth regnal year of Asoka must likewise be attributed to the period when he was a zealous propagator of Dharma.

On the basis of these facts, we suggested elsewhere (1) that Asoka became a Buddhist in the second half of his tenth regnal year (i.e., nine years after his coronation, c. 260-259 B.C.), (2) that he came into close contact with the Buddhist Church, became a zealous worker in the cause of Dharma and undertook a pilgrimage to Sambodhi, in the second half of the eleventh regnal year (i.e., ten years after coronation, c. 259-258 B.C.), (3) that he set out on a tour for the propagation of Dharma about the middle of his twelfth regnal year (i.e., eleven years after coronation, c. 258-257 B.C.), and (4) that Minor Rock Edicts I-II were issued in the course of that tour in the first half of his thirteenth regnal year (i.e., twelve years after coronation, c. 257-256 B.C.).

The Shar-i-Kuna edict now corroborates the suggestion that Asoka became an active propagator of Dharma ten years after his coronation, i.e., in his eleventh regnal year, and sets at rest certain unwarranted speculations about the duration of Asoka's upasakata when Minor Rock Edict I was issued. The nature of the Shar-i-Kuna edict is similar to that of Minor Rock Edicts I-II and both the former and the latter appear to have been issued in the same year and may be counted among the earliest edicts issued by Asoka.

As indicated above, the imperial order contained in Rock Edict III was issued and Rock Edict IV was caused to be written down in the thirteenth regnal year of Asoka. But Rock Edict V, belonging to the set of the Fourteen Rock Edicts including Rock Edicts III and IV, contains a reference to the creation of the posts of Dharma-Mahamatas in the following year.

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1 Cf. Ancient India, No. 4, pp. 18-19; my Maspri Inscriptio of Asoka, p. 23, note 1; above, Vol. XXXII, p. 3.  
3 For the meaning of the words upakata, upakata and upakata used in indicating Asoka's relation with the Sangha, see ibid., p. 24; above, Vol. XXXII, p. 9, note 1.  
4 This is quite obvious from the language of the different versions of Minor Rock Edict I (see Maspri Inscriptio of Asoka, pp. 23-23) and is now corroborated by the evidence of the Shar-i-Kuna edict.  
5 Ibid., p. 25.  
6 Ibid., pp. 23 ff., 29-30.
The set of the Fourteen Rock Edicts could therefore have been engraved in Ashoka’s fourteenth regnal year at the earliest. Amongst the Six Pillar Edicts forming another set, it is known from Pillar Edicts I, IV, V and VI that the set was issued twenty-six years after Ashoka’s coronation, i.e., in the twenty-seventh regnal year. Pillar Edict VII added to the above set of six on the Delhi-Toprā pillar was caused to be written down in the following year and this particular set of Seven Pillar Edicts could not therefore have been engraved before Ashoka’s twenty-eighth regnal year. There is a fairly long and rather inexplicable interval of more than a decade between the issue of Minor Rock Edicts I-II (thirteenth regnal year) and the set of the Rock Edicts (thirteenth and fourteenth regnal years) on the one hand and that of the Pillar Edicts (twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth regnal years) on the other. During this interval, Ashoka may have been busy with his tours of pilgrimage and with the schism in the Buddhist Church, both referred to in some of his records.

The Shar-i-Kuna edict (very probably, of the thirteenth regnal year) suggests that the hunters and fishermen in Ashoka’s service, who had originally been responsible for supplying animals and fish to the royal kitchen for the preparation of curries, gave up the practice of catching animals and fish under the king’s orders. This reminds us of the fact that, according to Pillar Edict V, the emperor banned the slaughter of certain species of animals and fish totally and of all kinds of them on particular days of the month, in his twenty-seventh regnal year (i.e., twenty-six years after coronation). The general prohibition therefore came after many years of intensive propaganda, even though Pillar Edict VII says that, in the matter of the propagation of Dharma, Ashoka considered propaganda by far more effective than prohibition.
INDEX
By Shrinivas Ritti, M.A.

[The figures refer to pages, n. after a figure to footnotes, and add. to additions. The following other abbreviations are also used: au. = author; ca. = capital; ch. = chief; 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. = fendatory; gen. = general; gr. = grant; grants; ins. = inscription, inscriptions; k. = king; l. = locality; l.m. = linear measure, land measure; m. = male; min. = minister; mo. = mountain; myth. = mythological; n. = name; N. = Northern; off. = office, officer; pco. = people; pl. = plate, plates; pr. = prince, princess; q. = queen; ri. = river; S. = Southern; s.a. = same as; ta. = temple; t.d. = territorial division; Tel. = Telugu; tit. = title; in. = town; tk. = taluk; vi. = village; W. = Western; wk. = work; wt. = weight.]

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