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DR. D. C. SIRCAR, M.A., Ph. D., F. A.S., F. R. A. S., F. R. N. S.,
Government Epigraphist for India

(Parts I to VII)

&

DR. G. S. GAI, Ph. D.,
Government Epigraphist for India

(Part VIII)

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,, 22. *See under* Sircar, D. C. and Subrahman am, V. S., Ootacamund . . ... 

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA
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Page 265, lines 32-35.—Read Solapur (Lat. 20° 52’ & Long. 85° 21’ in the Bhadrak Sub-Division of Balasore District, Oрисi) on the bank of the Vaitarani, about 2 miles from Jāipur town, suggests itself as a possible representative of Salōnapura.

VOLUME XXXIV

Page 215, line 21.—For contemporaneously read contemporeously

,, 236, f.n. 13 (line 2).—For ved read engraved

,, 237, f.n. 6.—For erasure read erasure

,, 246, line 2.—Read about 3.4

VOLUME XXXV

Page 6, line 30.—For c. 275-345 A.D. read c. 265-335 A.D.

,, 16, line 18.—For āvesamaka read āivesamaka

,, 37, lines 9-10.—For fortimately read fortunately

,, 37, line 12.—For except read except for

,, 37, line 17.—For consonantt read consonants

,, 44, line 36.—For rammar read grammar.

,, 49, f.n. 2.—Read : ibid vol. XXXI, Plate etc.

,, 19, f.n. 11.—For vol. XXI, read vol. XXXI.

,, 51, line 21.—For Śnākāregade read Śnākāregođe

,, 51, line 32.—For governor of the Yādava king read governor under the Yādava king

,, 54, f.n. 2.—Read seems

,, 64, f.n. 3.—Correct into Read praveśaḥ = Chhandogya-Bhāradasāja

,, 66, line 23.—For general read generally

,, 66, f.n. 3 (line 2).—For palaeography read palaeography

,, 68, f.n. 3.—For Gṛihahastin read Grahahastin

,, 71, line 26.—For Sanskrit read Sanskrit

,, 73, line 7.—For it read It

,, 73, line 10.—For Sūtakarni read Sūtakarni-
Page 73, line 11.—For Maharash'trin read Maharāśṭrin

.. 73, line 12.—For Rāsh'trin read Rāśṭrin

.. 73, line 13.—For rāsh'trin read rāśṭrin

.. 73, line 14.—For Rāṣṭrakūṭa read Rāṣṭrakūṭa

.. 73, line 14.—For Rāṣṭra read Rāṣṭra

.. 73, line 14.—For Grāmakūṭa read Grāmakūṭa

.. 73, line 15.—For grāma read grāma

.. 73, f.n. 1 (line 9).—For Asoka read Aśoka

.. 73, f.n. 1 (line 13).—For Maharathi read Mahāraṭhi

.. 73, f.n. 1 (line 14).—For Śāṭikānām read Śāṭikānām

.. 73, f.n. 1 (line 15).—For Sāntika read Sāntika

.. 73, f.n. 2 (line 2).—For Rāśṭrika ...... Rathika read Rāśṭrika ...... Rathika

.. 74, line 4.—For made out read made out

.. 74, f.n. 4 (line 1).—For the read the

.. 77, line 21.—For Chṛṣṭikula'ya read Chṛṣṭikula'ya

.. 81, line 2.—For 2t read It

.. 81, line 4.—For Tikrama read Vikrama

.. 81, line 5.—For os read of

.. 81, line 6.—Read Bihar

.. 81, line 7.—For afer read refer

.. 81, line 17.—For te read the

.. 81, line 21.—For tae read the

.. 81, line 23.—For apparently read apparently

.. 81, line 23.—For wth read with

.. 81, line 25.—For Rithipati read Pithipati

.. 81, line 27.—For meditatsng read meditating

.. 81, line 33.—For works Pacharakshā, read work Pañcharakshā

.. 82, line 16.—For Pithipati read Āchārya

.. 87, lines 2-3.—For Indravēśin read Indrakēśin

.. 88, text line 8.—For *dereē read *deņeyam
Page 88, text line 11.—For idam=ali? read idan=ali?

90, line 13.—For to succeed read from succeeding

91, line 2.—For taken part read taken part

96, line 16.—For spellings read spelling

97, line 10.—For abov read above

99, line 7.—For saltughter read slaughter

99, f.n. 8 (line 1).—For bzlief read belief

100, line 8.—For aśbā-kapilika read aśbā-kapilikā

100, line 22.—For may have been read may have been

101, line 16.—For palaeography read palaeography

101, line 28.—For Gupta-Vallabhi read Gupta-Valabhi

102, last line.—For chatsu read Chatsu

106, line 37.—For line them read like them

107, f.n. 3 (line 1).—For or a temple as mentioned in the Chinchani read of a temple mentioned in the Chinchani.

110, line 23.—For relations read associations

111, f.n. 5.—For Ind. Ant. read Ind. Ant.

129, text line 10.—For =astu=bhavatāṁ read =astu bhavatāṁ

129, text line 16.—For [ārthṛc] read [ārthṛc]

131, the tabulated genealogy should be read as:

Malayakētu

Jayāditya I=Yogā

Dharmāditya=Chaudrā

Jayāditya II (issued grants, etc.)

Hēlavaraḥā

Hamsarāja

Sauryāditya
Page 139, f.n. 1 (line 1).—For better read before

140, line 23.—For ḫḫ read ḫḫ

148, f.n. 6 (line 1).—For sentence read sentence

151, line 35.—Add or in the middle of Malaya-rājya after Antarmalaya-rājya

152, line 7.—Add or Malaya-rājya after Antarmalaya-rājya

152, text line 10.—For plava[ṛṭ]ṛ read plava[ṛṭ]ṇi

154, line 18.—For (lines 11-12) ; read (lines 10-11);

154, line 41.—For Viśeśānāyaka read Viśeśānāyā
e

156, text line 10.—For avasthe[ḥ]rdṛ read āvastha(ḥ)rdṛ

157, text line 21.—For vitavādvā) read viruvādvā)

164, last line.—For twenty thousand read two thousand.

165, text line 22.—For ahuti read āhuti

166, text line 62.—For anayatāra read aṭčaḥ—āṇyaṭa

167, text line 75.—For ha-pati-stavyō read ha-pati-stavyō

167, text line 93.—For dēṇā read dēṇā

167, f.n. 2. —Delete the foot-note

170, line 17.—For allegiance read allegiance

175, text line 12.—For [अत्] read [अत्]

180, line 330.—For dislodged read dislodged

182, line 8.—For (Īśāna) read (Īśāna)

187, line 26.—For Bhairavābhīṣṭaprānapam read Bhairavābhīṣṭaprānapam

191, f.n. 3 (line 3).—For tha read that

203, line 7.—For hould read should

203, line 42.—Add verse 13 Ā epī after Sraddhārā

207, line 2.—For Vijayachandradēva read Vijayachandradēva

207, line 4.—For Jayachandradēva read Jayachandradēva

207, line 6.—For Hariśchandradēvō read Hariśchandradēvō

207, line 27.—For Gaurivita read Gaurivita

207, f.n. 1 (line 5).—For cha-mdraḥsō read chandraḥsō

211, f.n. 3 (line 3).—For praṭidattaḥ read praṭidattaḥ
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page 212, line 4. - For favour read favour

212, f.n. 4 (line 1). - For ədəkəjyəni read ədəkəjyəni

212, f.n. 4 (line 2). - For Haris read Hariś-

216, f.n. 3. - For redundant read redundant

218, line 31. - For Thakuma read Thakuma

221, line 21. - For Tāṇḍīvāda read Tāṇḍīvāda

221, line 21. - For 76 read 88

221, f.n. 3. - For difficult read difficult

223, text line 2. - For ॉत (ति) read ॉत

225, line 8. - For three-fourths read three-fourths

236, f.n. 2. - For Gaggula read Gaggula

237, line 2. - For acurring read accruing

237, line 6. - For Bhāhmagās read Brāhmagās

237, line 8. - For whosoever read whosoever

237, line 21. - For authorities read authorities

237, line 29. - For number read number

238, text line 15. - For Pajmuṭdamabhō read Pajmuṭdamabhō

238, Postscript, line 1. - For independent read independent

238, Postscript, line 3. - For years read years are

238, f.n. 3. - For Jā quote read Jā

239, line 11. - For as having brought read as having been brought

239, f.n. 2. - For No 5 read No. 55

242, f.n. 8. - For Sanskrit read Sanskrit

244, f.n. 3 (line 2). - For gātśhe-ədānīn is intended read gātśhe-ədānīn is intended

245, f.n. 2 (line 3). - For article read articles

248, line 5. - For respect read respect

248, line 20. - For Skāṭhakaya read Skāṭhakaya

248, f.n. 2 (line 3). - For Hāṭhakāya read Hāṭhakāya

251, f.n. 3. - For Unity read Unity

251, f.n. 4 (line 6). - For als read also

259, text line 25. - Read ma(māḥ)alika
Page 260, line 47.—*For Piṭṭu[ga]ma[ṇ] read Piṭṭu[ga]ma[ṇ]*

261, f.n. 5 (line 3).—*For king read king*

267, line 9.—*For former read latter*

268, line 1.—*For Veṅgai- read Veṅgai- and for Virarājendra’s read Virarājendra’s*

270, f.n. 3 (line 2).—*For 19-20 read 319-20*

271, line 4.—*For adhikārika read ādhikārika*

274, line 10.—*For was read were*

274, f.n. 7 (line 2).—*For Rāśṭrakūṭa read Rāśṭrakūṭa*

275, line 10.—*For inscriptions read inscription*

275, line 15.—*For of two rivers read by two rivers*

276, text line 8.—*For ṭopārijita read ṭopārjjita*

277, text line 25.—*For mah-ānubhāvō(vaḥ) prahata read mah-ānubhāvō praṅhata*

277, text line 27.—*For samudr-āntikāṃ read samudr-āntikā(ka)m*

278, text line 39.—*For *hāri read *hā(kā)ri*

278, f.n. 3.—*For reads read*

279, text line 53.—*For sad-āṃritamayatva-guṇi(ḥ-ḥ)-[daya]ś= cha read sad=āṃritamaya-tva-guṇi nayaś=cha.*

279, text line 65.—*For bhōjayataḥ read bhōjayataḥ*

281, f.n. 5 (line 3).—*For Kālavād read Kāṭāwād*

282, line 6.—*For its writer was Divirapati Haragaṇa read its writer was Divirapati Saṅkaragaṇa, son of Divirapati Haragaṇa.*

282, f.n. 5 (line 1).—*Add to after according*

283, f.n. 10.—*For *vikram-ḥ* read *vikramā=*

286, text line 42.—*For *dēya-saahitaḥ read *dēya-varjiṣṭaḥ*

286, f.n. 7.—*For full-stop is indicated read full-stop is indicated*

288, line 4.—*For Gjuṇarat read Gujarāt*

290, line 13.—*For ṛṇavahārika read ṛṇavahārika*

290, f.n. 13 (line 1).—*For *ānupureṣṭaḥ cha dēṣaṃ read *ānupūrṇam cha dēṣaṃ*

291, line 33.—*For Chinchini read Chinchani*

292, f.n. 6 (lines 1-2).—*For nagaravaruṃchhai read nagaṇavaṃchhai*
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOL. XXXV 1963-1964

No. 1—MORE INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA

(6 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACUMUND

(Received on 18.3.1960)

1. Two Ikshvāku Inscriptions dated in the Cyclic year Vijaya

A. Inscription of Virapurusadatta, 273 A.D.

This inscription, now preserved in the Nāgarjunikonda Museum, is indeed one of the most important among the Ikshvāku epigraphs so far discovered. It was edited by J. Ph. Vogel along with a large number of Nāgarjunikonda inscriptions published in Vols. XX and XXI of this journal. Unfortunately Vogel's transcript and translation of this particular record, which appears in Vol. XXI, pp. 63-64 (Pillar Inscription No. I), are both full of errors. His failure to read and interpret the inscription correctly seems to be largely due to the fact that its impressions examined by him were unsatisfactory. This may also be the reason why the then editor of the journal was unable to improve upon Vogel's reading to any considerable extent. The impressions of the inscription prepared under my supervision in February 1960, one of which is illustrated herewith, are better than its illustration in Vogel's paper in op. cit., Plate facing p. 63. The record contains thirteen lines of writing covering an area about 14½ inches in height and 13 inches in breadth. It is in a fairly satisfactory state of preservation. Its characters are similar to those of other epigraphs of the Ikshvākus and its language is Prakrit.

The most serious flaw in Vogel's treatment of the epigraph concerns its date. The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Ikshvāku king Virapurusadatta and, in lines 2-3, Vogel reads: raño Mādharpurita Ikhaṣvakam siri-Virapurusadattas vasaṣanaya saṅgachchara viśayam viṣa-pakham prathamam divasam bitiyam. The passage has been translated by him as: "In the twentieth year of the reign of Rājan Mādharputta siri-Virapurusadatta of [the house of] the Ikṣvaṇa... in the first fortnight of the rainy season, the second day." There are two glaring errors in the above reading of the passage. The first of these is vasaṣanaya which is quite meaningless and, it will be seen, has been actually left out in Vogel's translation. The correct reading is certainly vasa-satāya which occurs in some early inscriptions and, as we have explained above, stands for Sanskrit varsha-satāya. This seems to indicate that the pious work recorded in the inscription was performed with the desire that the reigning king might live for one hundred years. It is interesting to note that this expression as well as the similar varsha-sahasriya occurs in inscriptions between the name of the king and the date falling in his reign.

1 Macron over e and o has not been used in this article.
2 The same word has been read by Vogel elsewhere also as vasaṣanaya (above, Vol. XXI, p. 66, Pillar inscription M-3, text line 5). But the then editor of the journal suggested that it possibly reads vasaṣatāya (ibid., p. 71, note 1). Cf. ibid., Vol. XXIV, p. 280.
4 DGA/60
The other mistake is in Vogel's reading of viṃśayam after saṁvadhara, which has been translated as 'twentieth'. Apparently he has taken viṃśayam to stand for Sanskrit viṃśā. The reading of the two words is, however, clearly saṁvadhara[m] Vijaya[m]. I see no anusvāra sign for ṛ in the second of the two words and there cannot be any doubt about the reading of its second akṣhara as it is exactly the same as the second akṣhara in Vaiṣāpeya in the line immediately following (i.e. line 4). The word is therefore certainly Vijaya and not viṃśayam as read by Vogel.

It is clear that, unlike all other published inscriptions of the Ikshvākus which bear dates only in regnal years, the inscription under study mentions instead the name of the year according to Jupiter's sixty-year cycle as counted in South India. This is of exceptional importance for two reasons. In the first place, it offers the earliest instance of the use of the cyclic year in Indian inscriptions. We know that the use of the cyclic years was much more popular in South India than in the North, the instances of its use in Northern epigraphs being much rarer and later.² So far, however, the earliest instance of its use in the South was traced in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription³ of the Early Chāluksya king Maṅgaleśa, which is dated in the year Siddhārtha taken as corresponding to 602-03 A.D. according to the mean-sign system. But our inscription shows that the cyclic years were used in South Indian epigraphs as early as the third century A.D., i.e. several centuries earlier. Secondly, it is also well known that the Ikshvākus flourished in the Krishna-Guntur region after the decline of the Satavāhanas about the end of the first quarter of the third century A.D. and before the Pallava conquest of the said area in the fourth century A.D. and that the rule of the second Ikshvāku king Viraṇpurushadatta, who was the son and successor of Chāntamūla and the father and predecessor of Ehuvala Chāntamūla (whose latest date is his 24th regnal year), can be assigned to about the third quarter of the third century A.D.⁴ The only year falling in the period in question, which can be equated with the cyclic year Vijaya according to the South Indian system, is 273-74 A.D. The earlier and later years corresponding to Vijaya are 213-14 and 333-34 A.D., both of which appear to be wide off the mark. Thus the present inscription is the only record so far discovered, which proves that the rains in 273 A.D. fell in the reign of the Ikshvāku king Viraṇpurushadatta. This is a very important addition to our knowledge of the history of the Southern Ikshvākus in particular and of the early history of South India in general.

It may be argued that, since no other published Ikshvāku epigraph is known to be dated in a cyclic year, the passage saṁvadharaṁ Vijayaṁ should better be interpreted in a different way. But we find it difficult to agree with such a view. Firstly, the passage can hardly be explained in any other satisfactory way. Secondly, it has to be noted that, among the records of the early rulers of the Chāluksya house of Bādāmi, the cyclic year is mentioned only in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of Maṅgaleśa and that, even as late as the seventh century A.D., the mention of cyclic years was not a regular feature of the dates of South Indian documents. One justification for the mention of the year Vijaya alone in the Ikshvāku records may be that it was originally regarded as the first year of Jupiter's sixty-year cycle.⁵

The inscription begins with the word sidham (siddham) and introduces the date as the cyclic year Vijaya, the second day of the first fortnight of the rainy season (probably Śrāvanesa-badi), falling in the reign of Rājaṇ Māthāriputra Viraṇpurushadatta of the Ikshvāku family, who was the son of Mahārāja Chāntamūla, described in this context as the performer of the Aśvamedha

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¹ The earliest record dated in the V. S. and the cyclic year, as noticed in Bhandarkar's List, is the Gayā inscription of 1175 A. D. (No. 370).
³ Cf. my Successors of the Sātavāhanas, pp. 9, 18. In this work, Viraṇpurushadatta's rule was tentatively assigned to c. 240-65 A. D.
⁵ Cf. Select Inscriptions, p. 119, note 2; p. 134, note 6; p. 484.
and the bestower of many crores of gold [coins]. Then it states that the chhāyā-thabbo (chhāyā-
stambha, i.e. the memorial pillar on which the inscription is engraved) of the saga-gata (svarga-gata, i.e. deceased) Rījīn Vāsishṭhīputra Srīmīn Chāntamāla [was raised] by some ladies who were his sisters, mothers (i.e. mother and step-mothers or only step-mothers) and queens. As in some other records, Chāntamāla is described in this context as the performer of the Agnihotra, Agnishtoma, Vājapeya and Āsvamedha sacrifices, as the bestower of crores of gold [coins] and of lakhs of heads of cattle as well as of lakhs of kala measures of land and as one whose will was unimpeded in all matters. It may be pointed out that both Vogel and the then editor of this journal failed to read the expression chhāyā-thabbo in this record. The memorial pillar seems to have been raised many years after Chāntamāla’s death.

The list of the ladies responsible for raising the memorial pillar does not clearly indicate as to who were Chāntamāla’s sisters, his mothers and his queens. But there seems to be a punctuation mark in line 9 and another in line 11 and they may suggest that the said list was divided into three sections indicating respectively the sisters, mothers and queens of the dead king. If such was the case, the list of Chāntamāla’s sisters includes the names: Anantaśīri, Skandaśīri, Vindhyabodhīśīri, Mitrasīri, Samuśīri (Samudrāśīri), Nāgavaśūśīri, Maṅguśīri, Skandakoṭisīri, Mahisārasīri, Kundamaṭisīri, Mālasīri, Āryakotisīri and Mṛkaliśīri. The king’s mothers then were Nāgasaśīri, Kāmaśīri (or Rāmāśīri), Golaśīri, Khalisīri, Bodhīśīri, Skandaśīri, Satilasīri, Pēraṭisīri, Paṇḍitasīri, Śivanāgaśīri and Samudrāśīri. The names of the king’s queens likewise were: Bappīśīri, Nadiśīri or Nandiśīri, Āryasīri, Krishnasīri and Śivanāgaśīri. The word śī suffixed to all these names is no doubt an honorific. Some of these names were wrongly read by Vogel.

The above list of the ladies is followed by the names of two other women whose names are not endowed with the honorific word śī. They are Sarasikā and Kusumalāta described in the record as abhatarikā (Sanskrit ābhavatārikā), ‘an intimate female friend’, possibly used to indicate ‘a concubine’. The official designation ābhavatārikā is, however, often understood in the sense of ‘a guard of the harem’. Vogel read the word as sakkatarikā which he failed to interpret.

TEXT

2 sīri-Chāntamālasa putasa raṁno Mā[ḍha]ri-putasā Ikhākuna sīri-Virapurisadatasa[sa]
3 vasa-satāraya^2 savachhara[m] Vijaya[m]^3 vāsa-pakhaṁ prathamaraś 1 divasa
   bitiya[m] saga-gatasa
4 raṁno aģhoh-[a]gīth[o]ma-vājapeya-asamedha-yājisa hirana-k[o]i-go-satasaahasasas-
5 hala-satasaahasapadāyisa sav-athesu a[paj]hīhata-sārukapasa V[āśīth]ji-putasas
6 Ikhākusa sāmi-siśi-Cha[m]tamulasa saha(ho)darāhi matāhi ma[ha]d[e]vihi Anatasirya^1
7 Khanidasiriya Vijhab[ō]ṭhīsiriyā^2 Mita[śi]ri[y]a^4 Samusiriyā^7 Nāgavasusiriyā
8 Maṅgusiriyā^8 Khanidasokṭisiriyā Mahisarasiriyā Kondamatisiriyā^9 Mula[s]iriyā

^1 From impressions. Minor differences with Vogel’s transcript are not indicated here.
^2 Vogel reads vasaṣyuṣya which is meaningless.
^3 Vogel reads vimsēyanam and interprets the word as ‘twentieth’.
^4 Vogel: Suntīśiriyā(ī).
^5 Vogel: Vījāṭvīśiriyā.
^6 Vogel: Mitaśiriyā.
^7 The intended reading may be Samudaśiriyā as in line 11.
^8 Vogel: Nāgusiriyā.
^9 Vogel: Ṛkṣamati.
B. Inscription of Ehuvula Chāntamāla, 333 A. D.

This inscription is engraved lengthwise on a lime stone pillar found at the site named by the excavators as the Burning Ghāt. There are eight lines of writing, the last of them being a little less than six feet long and the others a little above four feet in length. The writing covers three sides of the pillar, lines 1-3 being incised on one side, lines 4-5 on the next side and lines 6-7 on the third side. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory, the letters in most parts being more or less rubbed off. A number of letters in each one of the lines cannot be read at all.

The characters of the inscription belong to the usual Ikshvāku alphabet and its language is Prakrit. The most important section of the record is its date. It refers itself to the reign of the Ikshvāku Rājān Ehuvula Chāntamāla, the son of Rājān Virapurushadatta and the grandson of Mahārāja Chāntamāla who is described, as in some other epigraphs, as the performer of the Āśvamedha and the bestower of many crores of gold [coins]. The date is quoted as the first day of the second fortnight of the summer season (probably Chaitra-sudi 1) in the year Vijaya falling in the reign of Ehuvula Chāntamāla. It is the second epigraph of the Ikshvākus, which is dated in the cyclic year instead of the usual regnal reckoning. Another inscription dated in the cyclic year Vijaya falling in the reign of Virapurushadatta has been edited above. As will be seen below, the date of the present inscription would correspond to 333 A. D. and is of great importance to the student of South Indian history.

The inscription begins with the auspicious word sīdkhām (siddham) and an adoration to a deity whose name is uncertain although it may be Bhagavat Nōdapiśvarasvāmin. The name of the same god occurs also in line 4. But the reading of the first three aksharas is doubtful in both the cases. The adoration to the deity is followed in lines 1-2 by the date, viz., the year Vijaya, the second fortnight of summer, the first day, falling in the reign of the Ikshvāku king Vaisishthiputra Ehuvula Chāntamāla, the son of king Virapurushadatta and the grandson of king Chāntamāla. The following sentence in lines 2 ff. states that certain persons made the devakula and thala (sthala) of Lord Nōdapiśvarasvāmin and created an akṣaya-nīṣīt (permanent endowment) apparently for the maintenance of the religious establishments in question. The word devakula means 'a shrine' while

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1. There seems to be a punctuation mark after this name.
2. *The reading may also be Rāma* as in Vogel's transcript.
5. Vogel: Satili.
7. There seems to be a punctuation mark after this name.
8. *Read Kauha*. Vogel reads Kauharia; but the correct reading was suggested in an editorial note.
9. Vogel reads subhatarikāhī which is meaningless.
10. Vogel reads iyam, while the editor seems to suggest āyam.
11. The punctuation is indicated by a slightly slanting horizontal line. The word thāpīto is to be understood (cf. No. 3, line 7, below).
MORE INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA—PLATE I
1A.—Inscription of Virapurushadatta, 273 A.D.

Scale: One-third
IB.—INSCRIPTION OF EUVULA CHANTAMULA, 333 A.D.

Left Half

Right Half

(from Photographs)
sthalā seems to indicate, in the present context, a cedi in a spacious area surrounded by a wall. The said pious acts are stated to have been performed for the victory and longevity of the king, i.e. the reigning monarch Ehuvula Chāntamūla. Unfortunately, the name of the main figure responsible for the deeds cannot be deciphered. Only a few names of the saha-mati of the said person can be read with certainty. These are the antahpura-mahattarikā Bhāgavatā and the śrēṣṭhī-bālīkā (daughter of a śrēṣṭhī or banker) Ratavaṇa (or Rativaṇa). Since they are ladies, it is possible that the main person responsible for the pious deed was also a lady. The word saha-mati seems to mean 'a person with the same intention', used here to indicate several persons who helped one in the performance of the pious deeds in question, i.e. contributed to the construction of the devakula and sthalā as well as to the creation of the akshaya-nivī. The list of these collaborators is introduced in our inscription by the word seyathā (Pali seyyathā, Sanskrit tad-yathā) meaning 'namely'. Antahpura-mahattarikā was apparently a female officer in charge of the harem of the Ikshvāku king.

In connection with the akshaya-nivī or permanent endowment, reference is made to the interest accruing to it month by month (akshaya-nivī cha kātyā maṉavavamikā vadhā= Sanskrit akshaya-nivīn cha kriyā mantamāśikāḥ vṛddhiḥ). But the details as to the utilisation of the amount are not clear. It appears from the partially decipherable writing in lines 4-5, that, for the purpose of creating the endowment, the sum of one hundred dināris was deposited in four different guilds, seventy dināris in one of them and ten dināris in each one of the others. The coin called dināri may be the same as dināri-mālaka known from other Nāgārjunikonda inscriptions or the coin of which the dināri-mālaka was the 1/10th part in weight or value.1 Dināri is derived from the Roman coin named denarius; but it is difficult to say whether it meant original Roman coins which are known to have been in circulation in the area or local imitations of the Roman coins. The fact that only ten dināris were deposited in the guilds in several cases suggests that it was probably a gold coin. Among the guilds, the name of two can be satisfactorily read. They are called purīka-senī and prīka-senī. The first of these may be Sanskrit pūrīka-senī, i.e., the guild of the sellers or growers of leaves (betel leaves), while the second is certainly Pali pūrīka-senī meaning 'the guild of confectioners'. The existence of several such guilds at the Ikshvāku capital or its neighbourhood is interesting to note.2

Very little can be made out of the writing in line 6 and the first half of line 7. The legible part of line 7 appears to begin with some personal names such as Paradika, Bhagaphala and Sāthapa. Whether the persons mentioned were witnesses or trustees cannot be determined. These names are followed by two sentences with which the inscription concludes. These state that the embellishment (chitrā= Sanskrit chitrāya), 4 apparently of the devakula and sthalā, should have to be done by the person responsible for the creation of the religious institutions and that, in case the said person could not do it, the council of the citizens headed by the śrēṣṭhī (śrēpi-pamakhānigama), probably meaning a board like the Paṇḍhāya, should get it done.

As we have seen, one of the inscriptions of Ehuvula Chāntamūla's father king Virapurushadatta, is also dated in the cyclic year Vijaya, apparently corresponding to 273-74 A.D. As the son must

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1 Cf. Tamil ott-ānai (literally, 'similar desire') meaning 'help'.
2 Select Inscriptions. p. 222; Successors of the Sātavāhanas, p. 27., note.
3 Cf. above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 211.
4 For chitrā in another Nāgārjunikonda inscription and in an inscription from Nasik, see above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 200.
5 Cf. the board of administrators consisting of the Nāgār-śrēṣṭhī, Sārīhāvīha, Prathama-kulīka and Prathama-Kāyastha, known from the early inscriptions of East India and the Chauhānā (Chaturjātaka) headed by the Nāgār-seth in Rajasthan. See above, Vol. XXXI, p. 60, note 2; Vol. XXXIII, p. 193; Vol. XXXIV, p. 142.
have ruled after the father, the year Vijaya when the present record was engraved must correspond to 333-34 A.D., since the seasons mentioned in the two records seem to preclude the possibility of the date of the record of the son’s time falling in the latter part of the year 273-74 A.D. As we have suggested above, the mention of the cyclic year Vijaya alone in the Ikshvāku epigraphs seems to be due to its importance as the first year of the cycle.

On the basis of the data available previously, we were formerly inclined to believe that the Ikshvāku dynasty was overthrown by the Pallavas in the first quarter of the fourth century A.D. The date of the inscription under study, however, shows that the Ikshvākus were not overthrown much earlier than the middle of that century. The latest known date of Virapurushadatta is his twentieth regnal year while those of his son Ehuvula Chāntamāla and grandson Rudrapurushadatta (Rūlapurushadatta) are respectively their twenty-fourth and eleventh regnal years. The long intervening period between Virapurushadatta’s record of 273 A.D. and Ehuvula Chāntamāla’s inscription of 333 A.D. would suggest that the year 333 A.D. fell near about the end of his reign and that Rudrapurushadatta probably ended his rule sometime before 350 A.D. Thus the Pallava conquest of the Krishna-Guntur region, evidenced by the Maṇḍhikallu inscription of Sinhavarman and the Mayidavolu plates of Śivaskandavarman, took place about the middle of the fourth century A.D. This would also suggest that Pallava Sinhavarman of the Maṇḍhikallu inscription and Śivaskandavarman of the Mayidavolu and Hirahadagalli plates ruled about the fourth and fifth decades of the fourth century A.D. This is no doubt a very important addition to our knowledge of the chronology of both the Ikshvākus and the Pallavas.

We also know that the Ābhīra king Vasuśenapa ruled over the Krishna-Guntur area for sometime in the last quarter of the third century or in the first half of the fourth. The date of Vasuśenapa’s inscription, viz. year 30, if referred to the era of 248 A.D., which is generally believed to be an Ābhīra institution, would yield 278-79 A.D. and, in that case, we may suggest that Virapurushadatta ruling in 273 A.D. was overthrown by the Ābhīra king. If such was the case, the reign of Virapurushadatta, covering about twenty years may be assigned to c. 255-75 A.D., the Ābhīra interregnum to c. 275-80 A.D., and the reign of Ehuvula Chāntamāla to c. 280-335 A.D. In case, however, it is believed that the Ābhīras and the Pallavas led a joint attack on the Ikshvākus who were overthrown as a result thereof, we may assign the reign of Virapurushadatta and his son and grandson to c. 275-345 A.D. In the former alternative, we have to think that the Ikshvākus succeeded in ousting the Ābhīras and re-established their hold on the Krishna-Guntur region within a few years. In the second alternative, we have possibly to suggest that the Ābhīras ruled over some parts of the erstwhile Ikshvāku kingdom after the overthrow of the Ikshvākus and that they were ousted by their erstwhile allies, viz. the Pallavas, a few years later.

TEXT

Śidhaṁ | 1

1 nāmo bhagavate(to) sava-loka-mahitasa [Nodāgī?] sarasāmisa [++] [mahā]rajasa [asamedha- yājisa aneka-hiraṇa-koṭi-pādāyisa siri-Chatamulasa putasa]…………… 7

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1 Above, Vol. XXI, p. 65.
2 See Ibid., Vol. XXXIV, pp. 20 ff.; below, No. 4.
3 Ibid., Vol. XXXII, pp. 87 ff.
4 Ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 86 ff.
5 Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 1 ff.
6 Ibid., Vol. XXXIV, pp. 207 ff.
7 From impressions.
8 The word is engraved in the left margin near the beginning of line 2.
9 The words raio and Mādhari putasa may have been engraved here.
3 saha-mātiṇa seyatha atepura-mahatarikāya Bhagava[tāya] seṭhi-bāhikāya Ra[tava]saya viḍayā...........................
[gināri] dasa 10
5 panika-senīye dināri dasa 10 puvika-senīye dināri dasa 10 [[*]] eva[ñi] senisu chatusu........dimari-sa[ta]...........................
6 ................................ sara chhaya ............ paraputa ........ ri ........................ vakāye sadha
7 .......................... thika ........ tarapa [Pa]radikā Bhagaphula Sathapa [[*]] apanā cha chitanaṁ katavān [[*]] eva cha akaraṁta seṭhi-pamakha nigam[o] kara-

yāṁti4 \5

2. Two Inscriptions of the time of Ehuvula Chāntamāla, Year 8

The first of these two epigraphs, hereinafter mentioned as A, is engraved on a broken pillar found in a Mahāpura in Site No. 9 (Longhurst’s Stūpa No. 9). The second record, hereinafter called B, is engraved on another broken pillar which, as the internal evidence suggests, was likewise found from the same site.6

Each of the two records, which are damaged and fragmentary, contains seventeen lines of writing. The writing in A covers an area about 29½ inches in height and 12½ inches in breadth while, in B, it covers a space about 28 inches high and 14 inches broad. The characters of the epigraphs belong to the usual Ikshvāku alphabet and the language is Prakrit. Like some Prakrit inscriptions of the time of Ehuvula Chāntamāla, reduplicated consonants are used in the inscriptions under study, though only in a few cases. Both the records bear the same date which is the fifteenth day of the fourth fortnight of the summer season (probably Vaiśākha-sudi 15) in the eighth regnal year of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvula Chāntamāla. The king is mentioned in A as the son of Virapurushadatta, but in B both as the son of Virapurushadatta and as the grandson of Chāntamāla.

Both the epigraphs record, in similar language, the pious activities of an upāsaka (lay follower of the Buddha) named Chadasiri (Chandraśīri) who was the dear brother of Nāgasiri (Nāgāśīri). He is further described as the bestower of many religious gifts at various localities such as cities, hills and market-towns in connection with the celebration of religious ceremonies or festivals in

1 The two damaged aksharas here are no doubt 9yak gi2.
2 The context suggests that 70 dināris were deposited in the śrēni in question.
3 The name of the guild here cannot be deciphered.
4 The word is used in the sense of Sanskrit karaṇayāṁ.
5 The punctuation seems to be indicated by a few vertical strokes.
6 An inaccurate notice of the first of these two records appears in A.R.Ep., 1938-39, pp. 57 (No. 482), 71.
honour of the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha (Buddha-Dharmo-Saṅgha-maṅgala-nagaravara-girivara-
neyamavara-bahv-deyadhamma-kāraka). The place where Chandraśīri performed the pious deeds
recorded in the inscriptions is described as the Seṭhivara-vaḍhamāna (Śreshṭhivara-vaḍhamāna)
in the Mahā-nikāya of the Aparamahāvīnāsiliyas at Vijayapura on the Śrīparvata. The word
nikāya in Mahā-nikāya seems to mean, in the present context, a dwelling rather than a fraternity.
The name of Śreshṭhiivara-vaḍhamāna reminds us of Mahārāja-vaḍhamāna at Vijayapura, which
is mentioned in another Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription edited below (No. 7, B II). The real meaning
of vaḍhamāna is difficult to determine. Since, however, this Śreshṭhiivara-vaḍhamāna was
situated within the Mahā-nikāya of the monks of the Aparamahāvīnāsiliya sect, it seems to mean
a religious institution probably maintained by the chief śresṭhī or banker.1

Inscription A states that Chandraśīri made a sela-maḍara (śaila-maṇḍapa), i.e., a pavilion made
of stone, and a bhara-sala for a particular Ārya-saṅgha (Ārya-saṅgha), i.e., a community of
Buddhist monks, with a view to attaining Nirvāṇa. The name of the Ārya-saṅgha is not readable
in either of the two inscriptions. The expression bhara-sala seems to be a mistake for bhumiraison-
sāla (Śanskrit bhumiśāvara-sāla) meaning ‘a store-room’. Line 13 refers to the above pious activities
of Chandraśīri as having been done for the longevity of the king (i.e., Fhuvula Chāntamūla). Lines
14–17, which are damaged and fragmentary, appear to suggest that Chandraśīri also built a sāla
(probably ‘a hall’) in the name of his parents with a prayer for attaining happiness (sukh-athanāya
=Śanskrit sukṛ-athanayā).

Inscription B records that the same Chandraśīri built a sāla for the Therās (senior Buddhist
monks) residing at the śaila-maṇḍapa of the Ārya-saṅgha mentioned in A. This act was also done
for the king’s longevity. Lines 14–17 contain some of the expressions in the concluding part of
A such as the reference to the honours of the parents and the prayer for attaining happiness.
But the nature of the pious work referred to in this section is not clear.

The geographical names Vijayapura and Śrīparvata, mentioned in both the records, are well
known.

TEXT2

A

1 ......3[1][i]-Virapurasa[Data]sa

2 ......raño Vāseṭhi-puta[sa] [I]kha

3 Ehuvaḷa-Chāntamūla sa vaśchhhra

4 [ma] gimha-pakha chavutha divasa pa

5 [pa]vate Vijayapura Aparama[ha]vana

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1 Ukhāsiri-vaḍhamāna (Skt. Rikṣhaśīr-vaḍhamāna, ‘a vaḍhamāna maintained by a person named Rikshaśīr’),
known from the Ghaṭṣāṭala inscriptions, was a similar institution at ancient Kṣaṭakaśala (modern Ghaṭṣāṭala),
although Vogel regarded it as the old name of Ghaṭṣāṭala itself (above, Vol. XXVII, p. 2).

2 From impressions.

3 The damaged akeharas appear to be avadhik raño.

4 The word lost at the end of line 1 and the beginning of line 2 is puttasa.

5 The lost akeharas are “kānaḥ sīru” as suggested by B.

6 The lost akeharas are “aḥa”, as suggested by B.

7 The lost akeharas are “daraśa Sīru” as suggested by B.

8 The lost akeharas are “sēti” as suggested by B.
MORE INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA—PLATE II

2. Two Inscriptions of the time of Ehuvula Chantamula. Year 8

(from Photograph)
6 yānā mahā-nigāye Sethivara-vaḍham[āne]..................
7 ...."sikasa Ariya-saṅgha[sa] se ....
9 v[cti Budha-Dhaṁma-Saṅgha-[ma]gala...
10 ...'vara-girivara-[ne] [gama]...
11 ...[h]alu-[de]yadhamakāra
12 [u]pha(pā)-ako Chājā[da]sirī cha [Nā]...
13 ...'piya-bhātuk[o] raño ā[yu] .......
14 ...apana mātā-pituno......
15 ...10riyake nimitta sālā ...... ...
16 ... pura[t][o] [kā]rāpitā ..........
17 ...[maṇe] sukh-athanīya ...........

B1

1 Sidha | mahārājasa asameṭha-yājī-
2 sa a[ne]ka-hiraṇa-ko[t]i-padē[risa] siri-Cham[tajmu-
3 lasa p[u]tasa mahārājasasiri-[Vi]ra[pu]-
4 risadattasa putasa raño Vāseṭht-putasa Ikhā-
5 [ku]jna siri-[E]havu[la]'-Chantamūlasa sava[chha]ra athama gi-
6 mha-pakha chavuthā divasa padarasa Siripavate
7 Viṣayapure Aparamahāvīnas[e]līyānam ma[ha]-
8 [vina]selīyānam12 mahā-nigāye Sethivara-vaḍhamāne
9 ..... ... kasa Ariya-sag¯ha sela-[maḍava]-

1 The damaged akṣaras at the beginning of the line look like Udīnī?.
2 The lost akṣaras are "la-ma".
3 The intended reading seems to be bhadāra* or bhavilāra?.
4 The lost akṣaras are "ya nītha".
5 The word lost at the end of line 9 and at the beginning of line 10 is nagara as suggested by B.
6 The word lost at the end of line 10 and the beginning of line 11 is vara as suggested by B.
7 The akṣaras lost at the end of line 12 and the beginning of line 13 are 'y asi as suggested by B.
8 The word lost here is vaṭhanike as suggested by B.
9 The word pāja (probably pājyē, 'for honouring') occurs here in B.
10 B suggests that the akṣara lost here is bha.
11 This is A. R. Ep., 1958 59, No. B 84.
12 The letter is written slightly above the line.
13 The akṣaras ma[ha]-vinaelīyānā is redundant.

2 DCA/80
3. Inscription of the time of Ehuval Chāntāmāla, Year 13

This inscription is engraved on a pillar found in an area to the north of the sixteen-pillared Maṇḍapa in Section IV of Site No. 61. There are 7 lines of writing covering an area about 7½ inches in height and 10½ inches in breadth. The preservation of the writing is not quite satisfactory in the upper three lines of the inscription.

The characters are the same as in many other epigraphs of the place, which can be assigned to dates about the third or fourth century A.D. The language of the inscription is Prakrit. It is dated the seventeenth day of the fifth fortnight of the summer season in the thirteenth regnal year of the Ikshvāku king Vāsiṣṭhiputra Ehuvala Chāntāmāla who flourished about the close of the third and the early part of the fourth century A.D.

The object of the inscription is to record that the pillar on which it is engraved was the chhaya-thānibha (chhāyā-thāmbha, i.e. a memorial pillar bearing the representation of the deceased person in whose memory it was raised) of Mahāsenāpati Kumāra Eli Ehuvaladāsamaṇaka. In this name, āṁśaka is a suffix and no part of the actual name while Ehuvala is the same as Ehuvala and its variants. Eli Ehuvaladāsa is stated to have been the son of Mahavalabhiṣka Yakhilinikā who was a mañjhi (i.e. queen) of the Ikshvāku king Māṭhari-putra Virapurushadatta. We know that king Virapurushadatta was the father and predecessor of Ehuvala Chāntāmāla probably born of Vāsiṣṭhi Bhiṣṭivedā, another queen of Virapurushadatta. Eli Ehuvaladāsa thus seems to have been a step-brother of king Ehuvala Chāntāmāla, during the thirteenth year of whose reign the memorial pillar bearing the inscription under study was raised.

Prince (Kumāra) Eli Ehuvaladāsa was a Mahāsenāpati (literally, 'the great commander of the forces') without doubt in the service of his step-brother, king Ehuvala Chāntāmāla. Opposite Nāgarjunikonda, there is a locality called Eleśvaram on the other bank of the Krishna in the Nalgonda District of Andhra Pradesh. This place has yielded antiquities of the Ikshvāku age and also of earlier and subsequent periods. The name of the locality is apparently that of a god called

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1 The intended word seems to be nīthāreṇi, 'completes'.
2 The word lost at the end of line 10 and the beginning of line 11 is Saṇgha (Sāngha) as suggested by A.
3 The word lost between deya and karaka is ḍhāmaṇa as suggested by A.
4 The expression partially lost at the end of line 12 and the beginning of line 13 is piṣa-bhātako as suggested by A.
5 It is difficult to say whether the intended expression is pāṭama-bhāgah.
Eleśvara probably installed by a person named Eli. Whether the name of Eleśvaram can thus be associated with Prince Eli Ekhuvaladāsa of the Ikshvāku family, known from the inscription under study, cannot of course be determined without further evidence. The word ḫelī, probably connected with Telugu ḫelī (from ḫelu, ‘to govern’) meaning ‘a ruler, king, master’, is also found in the name of Telavara Eliēri mentioned in a Nāgarjunikonda inscription of the eleventh regnal year of Eyavalasī (i.e. Ehuvala Chāntamūla).

The name of Eli Ehuvaladāsa’s mother, who was one of the queens of Virapurushadatta, is given in the inscription as Mahavalabhikā Yakhlinikā. In this, nikā (i.e. aṁnikā) is a suffix added to the personal name Yakhli.2 Mahavalabhikā seems to be an epithet derived from the name of the place whence the queen hailed. Unfortunately, we do not know any place called Mahāvalabhī although the name no doubt reminds us of Valabhī in Kathiawar, which was the capital of the Maitraka kings from the sixth century A.D.

TEXT2

1 Sidham | sāmisar rā[ňo] Ṛāṣṭrapūjitasam Ikhākusa

2 siri-Ehuvala-[Cha]tamūlasa savachhora ta(te)rasa[ma]

3 gjm[h]anārī pakha pāmchama 5 divasa satama 7 ra[nō]

4 [Mā]dhari-pūtasa Ikhākusa[ṇi] sa(s)ri-Virapūrusadatasa

5 mahisija(ya) Mahavalabhikāya4 Yakhlinikāya pu-

6 tasa mahāsenapatisa kum[a]rasa Eli-Ehuva[n]-

7 ladāsa[b]akasa cchaya-tha[m]b[o] thāpito .5

4. Inscription of the time of Ehuvala Chāntamūla. Year 26

The inscription under study was briefly noticed in the Indian Archaeology 1956-57 — A Review, p. 36, and the sculptured stone bearing it was also illustrated there in Plate LVII, A. The inscribed slab has been described as ‘a sculptured frieze in a Buddhist-chaitya’ and the inscription is stated to record ‘the installation of a Buddha image in the Chaitya by one Kumāranandin, a śrēṣṭhin (tradesman)’. There is, however, no mention of a Chaitya in the epigraph.

The frieze, 8 feet 6 inches in length, bears the representation of four principal incidents of the Buddha’s life in medallions in deep relief along with mithuna figures at five places in bas-relief so arranged that a figure of the Buddha is flanked by the mithuna in each case. The inscription is engraved in a single line in the lower part of the frieze, the letters being small (a little below ½ inch in height) and the line of writing nearly 8 feet in length. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory in some parts. A number of letters are broken here and there while recent marks on the inscription show that the writing was further damaged during the process of digging out the slab from the earth.

The characters of the inscription are the same as in the other records edited above. Its language is Sanskrit, though the orthography is somewhat influenced by Prakrit. The record

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1 Above, Vol. XXXIII. pp. 147 ff.
2 Cf. the male name Yakhla in a Barhat inscription (Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, p. 237, No. 129).
3 From impressions. This is A. R. Ep., 1958-59, No. B 79.
4 Probably we should not take it as mahisī-Jamāha”.
5 The punctuation is indicated by a curved stroke preceded by a virgo-like sign.
refers itself to the reign of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvula Chāntamūla and is dated the fifth day of the fourth fortnight of the rainy season (probably Bhādrapada-sudi) in the king's twenty-fourth regnal year. Year 24 is the latest known date of Ehuvula Chāntamūla's reign.

The inscription begins with the siddham symbol followed by the word siddham. This is rather unusual especially in an early inscription. The symbol and word are followed by the date referred to above. The object of the inscription is then recorded in a single sentence. It is stated that the stone image (śālamṣap śālmī) of the Bhagavat Buddha, i.e. the frieze bearing Lord Buddha's representations and the inscription under study, was installed by Kumāranandin at the Mahādevī-parivṛṣṭa at Vijayapuri on the Śrīparvata. We know that Vijayapuri was the name of the Ikshvāku capital situated in the Nāgarjunikonda valley while the Nāgarjunikonda hills form a part of the ancient Śrīparvata, i.e. the modern Nallamalai range. The word parivṛṣṭa means 'the cell or hut forming a monk's private chamber in a Buddhist monastery'. The name Mahādevī-parivṛṣṭa suggests that the inscribed frieze was fixed in the residence of a Buddhist monk in a local monastery and that the hut in question had been built by an Ikshvāku queen. The queen referred to may have been one of the wives of king Ehuvula Chāntamūla.

Besides the epithet Bhagavat, the Buddha has been endowed with three other epithets, viz., Sambhā-sambuddha (one who is perfectly enlightened), Sarva-śatr-ottama (one who is the best among all beings) and sarva-guṇa-pārami-prāpta (one who has attained perfection in all the virtues). The word pārami and pāramitā are used in Pali in the same sense.

Kumāranandin is described as a śreṣṭhīn (i.e. a banker) from the Syandaka-parvata apparently meaning a locality at the foot of the hill called Syandaka. Unfortunately no such hill is known to us. The śreṣṭhīn is stated to have performed the meritorious deed along with his wife the śreṣṭhīni, his son named Īśvarabhāṣṭi or bhāṣṭi, as well as his other kinsmen and relatives (śraja-saṃbandhī-varga). The purpose was the attainment of welfare and happiness for his own self and for all the beings. Kumāranandin is further described as the son of Īsvaradatta belonging to a sect, probably called Baranākiya, which belonged to a kula (clan), possibly called Irusaka.

An interesting feature of this Buddhist inscription is that it ends in a stanza of the nature of the Benedictory verses generally found at the end of copper-plate grants. It expresses the wish in the Mahāyāna style that the world might attain Nirvāṇa as a result of whatever merit was achieved as a consequence of Kumāranandin's donation of the degya-dharma, i.e. the gift of the slab bearing the representations of the Buddha, which had no doubt been installed for worship.

Of the geographical names in the record, mention has already been made of Vijayapuri, Śrīparvata and Syandaka-parvata. The epithet looking like Baraṅgaṇiya applied to the name of Īsvaradatta, father of Kumāranandin, also seems to contain a geographical name like Baraṅka, although its identification is uncertain.

**TEXT**


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1 For a similar feature, see, e.g., above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 191, text line 1.
2 From impressions.
3 Expressed by symbol. Note that the word siddham follows the symbol indicating the same word apparently due to the inadvertence of the scribe.
4 Sandhi has not been observed here.
5 Real sammattare chaturvviśaḥ cāṛha-paśkaḥ chaturṛthaḥ divasaḥ paṇḍhamāṇaḥ.
3. Inscription of the time of Ehavula Chantamula, Year 13

(from Photograph)
No. 1] MORE INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA


5. Another Inscription of the time of Ehuvala Chāntāmūla

This inscription is engraved on a memorial pillar said to be found near a Mandapa about 100 yards north-east of the Antiquity Section. The preservation of the writing is not satisfactory. The inscription in four lines is written in the usual kṣāryāṃk alphabet and in the Prakrit language. It is dated on the 10th of the Keśvara king Ehuvala Chāntāmūla, though the symbol or symbols indicating the month of the year cannot be read. The exact date is quoted as the tenth day of a certain month of the winter season (śraddha).

The inscription indicates that the pillar on which it is engraved was the evāvā-stambha of Koḍaraka who is described as a cīoṭa-labā (Sanskrit ārya-labā) and yati-samaṇa-khaṃbhikata (Sanskrit yati-samaṇa-khaṃbhikata). The first of these epithets may suggest that Koḍaraka was a religious personage, probably the head of a monastery. The other epithet, in which skandhikīrti literally means 'born on the shoulder', seems to mean that he was highly respected by the yatis (Brahmanical ascetics) and śramaṇas (Buddhist monks).

TEX.6

1 ... akṣ-siri-Ehuvala-Chāntamulas [a] ... 6
2 ... bema ... diva 10 araka-bhadrakasa ...
3 yati-samaṇa-khaṃbhikata Koḍa[ra]kasa
4 [mphā-yha-khaṃbhho ]

6. Inscriptions on Memorial Pillars

A

This inscription is engraved on a pillar discovered outside the eastern gate of the citadel in Site No. 36. There are five lines of writing covering an area about 14 inches in height and 14½ inches in breadth.

1 Read bhāggya śva-stambha.
2 Read Iṣvarabhārī or śva-stambha.
3 The punctuation is indicated by a slanting stroke.
4 This punctuation is also indicated by a slanting stroke.
5 The punctuation is indicated by two slanting strokes, the tops of which are joined by a curved line. The metre of the stanza is Anukta-pūtta.
6 From impressions.
7 The intended word may be arahā (Sanskrit arahā). Even if this is accepted, we can scarcely connect this epithet with the name of the Aśa family (c. above, Vol. XXXII, p. 85, note 3).
8 Apparently there was here something like sāman followed by numerical symbols indicating the year of the date when the inscription was engraved.
The characters are similar to those in the other records edited here; but their size is bigger, individual letters, excluding the conjuncts and those endowed with vowel-marks, etc., being nearly 1½ inches in height. The elongation of the letters is less prominent in this record than in others. The initial vowel o and the consonant l occur in the epigraph. No king is mentioned and there is no date. The language of the record is Prakrit.

The inscription begins with the word sidhan (siddham) and records that the pillar on which it is engraved was the chhāya-thabha (chhāya-stambha) of Chantapula of the Kułahaka family. It is not impossible that Chantapula is just a variant of the name Chāntamula, while the Kułahakas are certainly the same as the Kułahakas mentioned in some of the Nāgārjunikōṇḍa inscriptions.¹

Chantapula, in whose memory the pillar bearing the inscription was raised, is called a Mahāsenāpati, though which king he served in the capacity of a commander of the forces is not known. Three other epithets are also applied to his name, of which amita-janasa dapa-damana (Sanskrit amitra-janasya darpa-damana), 'the subduer of the arrogance of the enemyfolk', is easy to understand. The other two are khamdhāvārana okhamhakaka and olabaku-hathi-gāhaka which are both difficult to explain. In Sanskrit, the first of these two epithets may stand as skandhāvarānam=avaskandaka meaning 'one who attacked or subdued the camps [of the enemies’ forces].' The expression hathi-gāhaka (hasti-grāhaka) means ‘one who seizes the elephants [of the enemies] or catches elephants [from the forests], while we may also have here ku-hathi (a wicked elephant) instead of hathi. The expression olabaku/hathi-gāhaka may thus mean ‘one who seized the elephants of an enemy named Olabaku’, or ‘one who used to catch elephants in the forest called Olabaku’, or ‘one who captured an elephant named Olabaku’ or ‘one who captured a wicked elephant at or belonging to or in the shape of Olaba’.

TEXT¹

1. Sidhan [**] khamdhāvārana okhamdhakasa amita-
2. janasa dapa-damana olabaku-
3. hathi-gāhakasa mahāsenā-
4. patisa Kuñaikanam siri-Chānta-
5. puṣasa chhāya-thabho []

B

Several memorial pillars bearing small inscriptions in a few lines were discovered at Site No. 113. They are referred to in the records as chhāya-stambhas which are stated to have been raised each in the memory of a group of soldiers. The soldiers are described as padita (=pātita) apparently meaning ‘killed [in a battle]’. But their numbers are not indicated in any of the cases. The characters of the records are similar to the other inscriptions edited above and their language is Prakrit.

These inscriptions show that sometimes a single memorial pillar was raised for a number of dead persons.² Although the word chhāya-stambha suggests that the pillar bore the figures of the soldiers in whose memory it was raised it is doubtful whether it was possible to represent

² From impressions.
5. Another Inscription of the time of Ehuvula Chantamula

Size: One-fourth

6. Inscriptions on Memorial Pillars

Size: One-fourth
all the dead soldiers when their number was high. The inscriptions also suggest that a great battle was fought probably by the partisans of an Ikshvāku king against some enemies. Unfortunately, no king or date is mentioned in any of these records and little can be definitely said about the battle indirectly referred to. Whether the battle was fought at the site where the inscriptions have been found is uncertain. But it is interesting to note that the leaders of the soldiers, as mentioned in the different epigraphs, all hailed from a single locality called Magalarana (probably Maṅgalaraṇa). The location of this place is uncertain; but its importance is indicated by the fact that there were many leaders of forces stationed therein.

I

This is an inscription in three lines. The preservation of the writing is fairly satisfactory, though a few letters are damaged at the end of the second line.

The record states that the pillar on which it is engraved was the chhāyā-stambha of the dead soldiers who had enjoyed the favour of Rathika Bhata (probably Sanskrit Bhakta) who was an inhabitant of Magalarana. The word Rathika stands for Sanskrit rāṣṭrika meaning ‘the governor of a rāṣṭra (i.e., a small territorial unit of a kingdom)’. The Rāṣṭrika mentioned in our record was apparently the subordinate of an Ikshvāku king.

TEXT1

1 Maga[la]raṇa-vathavasa
2 rathikasa Bhata sa pā[sa] .......
3 bhaḍana[m] padita[na]in chhāyā-tha[bho] [||]

II

This is also an inscription in three lines. The preservation of the writing is not satisfactory. The language is similar to that of No. I above. But the leader of the dead soldiers in this case is called a Senāpati. The first letter of the name of this Senāpati is doubtful. But the name was possibly Rātapuṭa.

TEXT4

1 Magalarana-va[tha]va[sa] se[nā]pat[isa]
2 [Ra?]tapuṭasa pata[naṇu] bhāḍanaṃ pasa .......
3 .... [yā]-khaṇ[bho] [||]

III

This is an inscription in three lines like Nos. I-II. The preservation of the writing is not quite satisfactory. The leader of the forces mentioned in this record is called Karadaru-kumāra, ‘Prince Karadaru’, who was a Senāpati hailing from Magalarana. It is, however, difficult to determine whether he was an Ikshvāku prince stationed at Magalarana.

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1 See above Vol. XXXIV, p. 299.
2 From impressions. It is A. R. Ep., 1956-57, No B 34.
3 The intended word seems to be pradātānam (Sanskrit pradātānam).
4 From impressions.
5 The intended word seems to be pradātānam as in No. I above, though in the other records this word comes before bhadanaṃ.
6 The lost akṣara is apparently chhā.
TEXT

1 [Mava(ga)la]ra[ṇa-vathava[sa seṇāpati-
3 paditana[ti] chhaya-khaṇḍho [l[*]

IV

It is a record in four lines. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory. The leader of the soldiers in this case was a Raṭhika (Rāṣṭrika, ‘governor of a rāṣṭra’) whose name was probably Haraka.

TEXT

1 Magalarāṇa-vathavasa raṭhikasa
2 [Harakasa pasadatana paṭata]-
3 na[ti] ma(bha)da .......
4 chha[ya]-kha[bha] [l[*]

C

I

This inscription is engraved on a pillar discovered at Site No. 59. It is stated in it that the pillar in question was the cḥhāya-stambha of a person named Mūlabhūta (or c bhūti) who was an ārpaṇa haliya hailing from Pavaṇaṭa. The word āvesanik(a) meaning ‘the foreman of artisans’ occurs in early epigraphs such as the Śārachi inscription of the Śātavahana monarch Śātakarnī and the Jagṣṭṛyapeta inscriptions of the Ikṣvāku king Virapurushadatta. Mūlabhūta seems to have been an āvesanika in the service of the Ikṣvāku kings. It is difficult to explain the epithet raṇa by which applied to Mūlabhūta in the inscription. It may be the name of the family to which the person belonged. Otherwise we have to take it as another personal name and insert the word cha to indicate that the pillar was raised for both Tamanjyakara and Mūlabhūta.

TEXT

1 Pa[va]yatakasā
2 āvesanikasa
3 Tamanjyakaraṇa
4 M[ū]labhutasa
5 chhāya-ta[bha] [l[*]

II

This inscription is engraved on a memorial pillar bearing sculptured panels, which was found in Site No. 60 in Sector IV. According to the inscription, written in three lines, the pillar was the
MORE INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA—PLATE V
6. Inscriptions on Memorial Pillars

B, IV

C, I

Size: One-fourth

Size: One-fourth
No. 1] MORE INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA 17

chhāya-stambha of Mahāvenīpati Mahātalavara Ayabhūti (Āryabhūti). An epithet of this person seems to read Araka-Mahakṣaṇavaka, in which araka may stand for Sanskrit āryaka. But the meaning of Koṭiṣvaka is uncertain though Koṭiṣvī, to which the word mahat (big) has been prefixed, may be the name of a place whence Āryabhūti hailed.

TEXT 1

1. ...mahā[p]ita mahātala ......
2. [Araka-Ma]ja-Koṭiṣvaka Aya[ḥu]śa
3. chhaya-khabho |

7. Fragmentary Inscriptions

A

This inscription is engraved on a broken pillar excavated from a site of what is called a University by the excavators though the reason for the nomenclature is unknown. The extant portion represents the lower right hand section of the record. There are altogether five lines of writing in the inscription, the left half of all of them being almost totally lost. Each line originally contained 24 or more akṣaras, about 13 in a line being now found in the well-preserved section of the epigraph. As we shall see below, there is reason to believe that the whole inscription was originally written in twenty lines, of which only the right hand part of the last quarter at the bottom now remains. The inscribed area on the slab is 9 inches in height while the breadth of the space covered by the well-preserved section of the writing is 7½ inches.

The characters of the record are similar to the other inscriptions edited above. The language is Sanskrit and the epigraph seems to have been written entirely in verse. The extant portion of the inscription contains parts of three stanzas of which the first is composed in Paśčama-chānara or Īṭaka and the second and third are in the Vānīśastha metre. It is interesting to note that these three stanzas are numbered in the record as verses 8, 9 and 10. This fact shows that the inscription was originally composed in ten stanzas, with half of a verse engraved in each of the lines of writing. This kind of arrangement of the words of verses as well as the numbering of the stanzas is found in some early inscriptions.6 The extant part of our epigraph does not contain any date. It may, however, be pointed out that Sanskrit inscriptions from Nāgarjuna-konda, which are generally Brahmanical, belong to the post-Virapurushadatta age. The present inscription in Sanskrit is a Buddhist record.

The purpose of the inscription is not satisfactorily clear from the fragment at our disposal. The last quarter of verse 8 in line 1 mentions the principal cooks engaged in some establishment, while the second quarter of verse 9 in line 2 refers to a maṇḍapa having a hundred (or more than a hundred) pillars and belonging to the same establishment. The nature of the maṇḍapa is unknown. But if the cooks mentioned earlier were associated with it, as they appear to have been, the reference may really be to a sattva or free feeding establishment. The last quarter of the stanza in line 3 refers to a person as firm-minded (ākṛti-ātman) and self-subdued (jīv-ātman) probably as one who maintained the maṇḍapa attached to the religious establishment in question.

2 The damaged word here may be vāhan.
3 The lost akṣaras are no doubt 6 saras.
4 Better read Āraṇaḥ separately from the compound.
5 Cf. CII, Vol. III, p. 6, Plate 1.

2 DGA/60 3
The second quarter in verse 10 in line 4 speaks of a monastery (vihāra-mukhyā, literally, 'the chief monastery') either as the same as, or as containing in it, what has been called a vigatajvara. In the said expression, vigatajvara (literally, 'freed from mental distress', or 'exempt from decay') seems to indicate a Buddhist monk or the Buddha regarded as the best of monks. Thus the expression vigatajvarālaya in the sense of 'a residence of the Buddhist monks' may be regarded as an adjective qualifying vihāra-mukhyā, i.e., the monastery mentioned in the context, or the reference may be to a shrine (ālaya) of the Buddha that existed within the monastery in question. Some writers on Nāgārjunikonda are inclined to understand vigatajvarālaya in the sense of 'a hospital.' Of course, vigatajvara may also mean 'a person recovered from fever'. But vigatajvarālaya would then mean a sanatorium for the convalescence of such persons. It is difficult to believe in the existence of a sanatorium for housing only people recovered from fever even though there is enough evidence to prove the existence of hospitals called sālā, ātura-sālā, punya-sālā or ārogya-sālā.2

The last quarter of the said stanza (verse 10) says that a vihāra-bāhā, 'a wing of the monastery', was made in the monastic establishment mentioned in its second quarter. It seems to refer either to the mandapa mentioned in line 2 or to some institution associated with the mandapa. As already indicated above, from the reference to the cooks in line 1, the wing of the vihāra mentioned here may be supposed to have been a free feeding establishment. The person who made it is described as vipul-ārtha-kāmaka the expression being probably used in the sense of Pali ottakāma (Sanskrit artha-kāma), i.e., 'one who is interested in the welfare of others'. It is also possible to take the expression vipul-ārtha in the passage in the sense of 'salvation'.

TEXT

1. [Notes:]
2. [Notes:]
3. [Notes:]
4. [Notes:]
5. [Notes:]

Out of the numerous fragments of small inscriptions, some may be noticed here. The characters of these are the same as in the other inscriptions edited here. The language of the records is Prakrit. The word vijaya is written in one of the epigraphs (No. II) as vichaya.


2 See P. K. Gode in N. Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, Nos. 4-6, April-June 1946, pp. 76-79; cf. śalai and ātula-śalai in Tamil records (above Vol. XXIV, p. 94 and note).

3 From impressions.

4 The intended reading seems to be ukā-hvaya, though it is uncertain whether uka is the name of an object or a locality. The metre of the stanza is probably Paśchāchāma. It may also be Tūkā, though in the latter case the number of syllables in this line would be 20 while the other lines would have 24 only. There are, however, other instances of this kind. Cf. verses 1-8 in lines 1-16 of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta (CII, Vol. III, p. 6). If it is believed that there were only nine syllables in a foot, the metre may be Kāmaṇī as well, though such short stanzas (except Anuvahārak) are rarely known from inscriptions.

5 The metre of this stanza and the following one is Vaṃsāstha,
MORE INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA—PLATE VI

7. Fragmentary Inscriptions

**B, I**

Size: One-third

**B, II**

Size: One-third

**B, III**

Size: One-half
which reminds us of names like Rāchamalla (for Sanskrit Rājaśvalla) found in medieval South Indian inscriptions and of words like prājayati changed in Pali to pāchati.

I

This inscription is engraved on the pedestal of a broken image of the Buddha discovered at Site No. 9. It states that the image (paḍima—Sanskrit pratimā) in question was installed by a lady who was the wife of Koḍabudhi. The reading of the name of the lady is, however, doubtful.

TEXT

1 .... rikasa² Koḍabudhisā bhariyāya [Makā?]lāya....
2 ... ṭiṭṭhavilitan paḍima [i]*

II

This inscription in a single line is engraved on the lower part of a sculptured panel discovered at Site No. 23. A small piece of stone bearing the aksaraś (ti)ṭhavīta (i.e. patithavita, ‘set up’) is stated to have formed part of the above. The extant part of the epigraph begins with the word saha indicating that the person responsible for the pious deed recorded in the inscription performed it along with others.¹ The said deed, which seems to be the setting up of the sculptured stone bearing the inscription, was apparently performed at Maharaja-vardhamāna (Mahārājā-vardhamāna) within Vichayapura, no doubt the same as Vijayapura or Vijayapuri, the Iksahväku capital in the Nāgārjunikonda valley. Maharaja-vardhamāna reminds us of Sethivara-vaḍhamāna (Śrēṣṭhivara-vaḍhamāna) of two other Nāgārjunikonda inscriptions (No. 2, A-B) which was apparently a Buddhist religious establishment maintained by a śrēṣṭhīni or banker. Maharaja-vardhamāna of the present record may have been a similar religious establishment maintained by an Iksahväku king. The elongation of the letters is not marked in the record owing to the narrowness of the space.

TEXT

.... saha Vichayapure Maharaja-vaḍhamāne bha[tā]⁶....
.... [ti]ṭhavīta ⁷

III

This is the beginning of an inscription in one line. The inscribed stone was discovered from the site of Stūpa No. 9. It mentions a kumāra (prince) called Vira-arihba,..., the concluding letter or letters of the name having broken away. The prince’s name reminds us of that of Virapurushadatta of the Iksahväku family. The absence of sandhi joining vira and ari in the

¹ From impressions. This is A.R.Ep., 1928-59, No. B 77.
² The intended word was something like nāgarīṣa (i.e. belonging to the city of Vijayapuri) or prāvriṣka (Sanskrit prāśriṣka) which is found in some early inscriptions (above, Vol. XIX, pp. 66 (No. 1), 97). A prāvriṣka was probably the maker of prāvriṣas, i.e. cloaks used by monks.
³ The lost aksara is in doubt pu so that the intended word is patithavīlam.
⁴ It is also not altogether impossible that the pious deed referred to was performed along with some other pious deeds.
⁵ From impressions.
⁶ The intended word may be bhaṭṭaraka (Sanskrit bhaṭṭaraka).
⁷ The word is apparently patithavīta.
name of the prince makes it clear that vīra was essentially an epithet. Similarly, in the name Virapurushadatta, Purushadatta is the real personal name and vīra is an epithet even though it is treated as an integral part of the name.¹

TEXT

Si[dha]h [||*] kumarasa Vira-Ar[ibha].....

IV

There are four fragments of an inscription, which cannot be connected with one another. The first of these reads .... [Virap]uru[sa]dattasa sa ...., the last akṣhara being apparently the beginning of the word savachara. This shows that the inscription was engraved during the reign of the Ikshvaku king Virapurushadatta. The second fragment reads bhaga[ra] (Sanskrit bhagavat) which either formed part of a passage like nama bhagavatasa at the beginning of the record or referred to a deity whose installation may have been the object of the inscription. The third and fourth fragments respectively read: samuda and makuda[sa]. The letters samuda remind us of the female name Samudasi (Samudraśī) known from another Nāgarjunikonda inscription edited above (IA, line 11), while makudasa may stand for Sanskrit Mukundasya, Mukunda being a well-known personal name.

GLOSSARY

a-karaṇa (1B, 1.8)-Skt. a-kurvat, ‘[one] not having done [the work]’.
akṣaya-nīya (XXXIV, 19, 1.10). See akṣaya-nīya, etc.
akṣaya-nīya (XXXIV, 210, 1.6), akṣaya-nīya (XXXIV, 210, 1.7), akṣaya-nīya (1B, 1.4)-Skt.
akṣaya-nīya or ‘nīya’, ‘a permanent endowment’.
akṣaya-nīvikā (XXXIV, 210, 1.3)-Skt. akṣaya-nīvikā. Same as akṣaya-nīya, etc.
aghit-āgithoma-vājapey-asamedha-yājī (1A, 1.4)-Skt. agnihotra-agniṣṭoma-vājapey-āśvamedha-

yājīn, ‘performer of the Agnihotra, Vājapey and Āśvamedha sacrifices’, an epithet of the

Ikshvaku king Chāntāmula.
agniṣṭoma-vājave(y)āśvamedha-bahuvarṣaka-yājīn (XXXIV, 19, II. 2-3), ‘performer of the

Agniṣṭoma, Vājapeya, Āśvamedha and Bahuvarṣaka sacrifices’, an epithet of the Ikshvaku

king Chāntāmula.


² From impressions.
Achāntarāj-āchāriya (XXXIV, 211, ll. 5-6)=Skt. āchārya, 'a teacher of the Achantara School.'

āṭhama (XXXIV, 22, l.8, etc.)=Skt. asṭhama, 'eighth'.

Anikī (XXXIII, 149, l.4), personal name of a Senāpati.

Aṭāheya (XXXIV, 210, l.8)=Skt. āṭāheya, 'hospitalable'.

āṭibhakti (XXXIII, 149, l.3), 'intense devotion.'

Atepurama-hatari (1B, l.3)=Skt. antāhpura-mahatarikā, 'a female officer in charge of the harem'.

Anatasīrī (1A, l.6)=Skt. Anantaśrī, personal name of a lady, with the honorific sīri=Skt. sīri suffixed to it.

Anaka (XXXIII, 191, l.5, etc.)=annaka, a suffix often added to the names of males.

ānnikā (XXXIII, 191, l.6, etc.)=ānnikā, a suffix often added to the names of females.

Apano (XXVI, 125), apana (1B, l.2, 2A, l.14). apano (2B, l.14)=Skt. āṭamanāḥ, 'of one's own'.

Apanā (1B, l.8)=Skt. āṭamanā, 'by oneself'.

Aparamekāvināsekiya (2A, l.5; 2B, l.7; XXXIV, 210, l.5), name of a community of Buddhist monks.

Abhatarikā (1A, l.12)=Skt. ābhyaṭhatari, 'an intimate female friend', i.e. 'a concubine', or 'the female guard of the harem'.

Amātya (XXXIV, 203, l.6), official designation of a minister or administrative officer, applied to Tishyāśarman. Sometimes, amātya is explained as desādi-kārya-nirvāhaka while mantrin is interpreted as vyavahāra-drashṭri (Ind. Cult., Vol. VIII, p. 121).

Amita-janasada dapā-damanasa (6A, ll. 1-2)=Skt. amitra-janasya darpa-damanasya, 'of one who has subdued the pride of the enemy folk', used in the description of Mahāsenāpati Chaṭātpuḷa.

Ayakoṭusuri (1A, l.19), personal name of a lady, with the honorific sīri=Skt. sīri suffixed to it.

Ayabhuti (6C III, l.2)=Skt. Āryabhūti, personal name of a male.

Ayasiri (1A, l.12)=Skt. Āryasīrī, personal name of a lady, with the honorific sīri(=sīri) suffixed to it.

Ayu-vadhanika (1B, l.2; XXVI, 125—wrongly read)=Skt. āgyur-vadhanika, 'giving long life'.

Same as āgyur-vadhanika.

Ara (6C II, l.2)=Skt. ārya, honorific prefixed to the name of Mahāsenāpati Mahātalavara Ayabhuti (Āryabhūti) hailing from Maha-Koḍuva (the big Koḍuva). Cf. 5, l. 1, where the same honorific is possibly prefixed to the name of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvula Chaṭātpuḷa.

Araka-bhadaraka (5, l.2)=Skt. āryaka-bhāṭṭāraka, probably the epithet of a religious personage.

Ariyo-varṇas-pavenni-dhara (XXXIII, 250, l.2)=Skt. ārya-varṇa-pavenni-dhāra, 'one who knows the traditions of the [four] classes of [Buddhist] recluses by heart'.

Ariyo-saṅgha (2A, l.7; 2B, l.9)=Skt. ārya-saṅgha, 'a community of Buddhist monks'.

Ariyo-sāṅgha (2A, l.7; 2B, l.9)=Skt. ārya-sāṅgha, 'a community of Buddhist monks'.

Ariyo-sāṅgha (2A, l.7; 2B, l.9)=Skt. ārya-sāṅgha, 'a community of Buddhist monks'.

Ariyo-sāṅgha (2A, l.7; 2B, l.9)=Skt. ārya-sāṅgha, 'a community of Buddhist monks'.
a-vidhava (XXIX, 139) ‘a lady whose husband is living’.
Ashṭam(kṣabhu)jastraṁ (XXIVI, 203, 1.3), name of a deity identified with Vishṇu.
Asamedha-yaj (1A, l.1; 1B, l.1; 2B, l.1; 4; XXXIV, 22, l.1)=Skt. Ávamedha-yaj, ‘performer of the Ávamedha sacrifice’, an epithet of the Ikṣvāku king Chāntamāla.

ahan (XXXII, 149, l.2), ‘a day’.
āchārya (XXXIII, 250, l.1)=Skt. āchārya, ‘a teacher’.
Ābhira (XXXIV, 202, l.1), name of a people.
āyu-vadhānika (2A, l.13; B, l.13). See āyu-vadhānika.
Āvantiṣka (XXXIV, 203, l.3), correctly Āvantiṣka, ‘resident of Avanti (i.e. the city of Ujjayini)’, epithet of Śaka Rudradāman.
āvēsanika (6C I, l.2)=Skt. āvedanika, ‘a foreman of artisans’.
Ikṣvāku (4; XXXIV, 19, II.4, 5, 8), name of the family of king Ikṣvāku.
Ikṣākanumā (1A, l.2; 3, l.4; XXXIII, 191, l.2), Ikṣākanumā (XXXIV, 22, l.5)=Skt. Ikṣvāku-vām, ‘of the Ikṣvākus (i.e. of those belonging to the Ikṣvāku family)’.
Ikṣākusa (3, l.1)=Skt. Atikṣvāka, ‘of one belonging to the Ikṣvāku dynasty’.
Irusa (1) (4), name of a family.

Iśvaradatta (4), personal name of a male.
Iśvarabhārtinā (4), correctly ‘bhratā, ‘bhaṭṭinā, ‘together with Iśvarabhrata or Iśvarabhāṭṭi’.
Ukṣāyaye (7A, l.1), probably ‘ukṣāyaye, ‘in what is called Uka’.
Uta(tta)-maḥātalavara-bhāgīneyi (XXXIV, 19, l.7), ‘a daughter of the sister of Mahātalavara Uttara’, epithet of a queen of the Ikṣvāku king Euhuvula-Chāntamāla.
upāsaka (2A, l.12; 2B, l.12), ‘a lay follower of the Buddha’.
ulekhaja (XXXIV, 203, l.6)=Skt. ulekhaka, ‘engraver’.
ekāra (XXXIV, 22, l.7)=Skt. ekādaśa (XXXIII, 149, l.1), ‘eleventh’.
Eiti-Ehaviladāsamnaka (3, II.6-7), personal name of an Ikṣvāku prince, in which aṁnaka is a suffix.
Eitiśri (XXXIII, 149, l.6), personal name of a Tālavara with the honorific śrī suffixed to it.
evanā (XXXIII, 191, l.9), ‘thus’.
esā (XXXIV, 210, l.7), ‘this’.
Ehavala-Chāntamāla (5, l.1; XXIX, 139), ‘Chāntamāla (XXXIV, 19, II.2, 6-7; XXXIV, 22, l.4), ‘Chāntamāla (4), personal name of an Ikṣvāku king.
Ehavalaśri (XXXIII, 149, l.1), personal name of the Ikṣvāku king Euhuvula Chāntamāla, with the honorific śrī suffixed to it.
Ehavula-Chāntamāla (2B, l.5); ‘Chāntamāla (3, l.2), ‘Same as Ehavala-Chāntamāla.
Ehuvula-Chāntamāla (2A, l.3), ‘Same as Ehavala-Chāntamāla.
okhandhaka (6A, l.1)=Skt. avaskendaka, ‘one who subdues’.
Olabakuhati-gāhak (6A, II.2-3)=Skt. āhasti-grāhaka or kūhasti-grāhaka, epithet of Mahāsenāpati Chāntapuṣṭa.
Kakolurī (XXXIV, 210, l.4), probably the name of a village.

Kanākachaṇḍra (XXXIV, 20, l.12), personal name of a male.

Kanākaphala (XXXIV, 20, l.12), personal name of a male.

catavāni (1B, l.8)=Skt. kartavyam, ‘has to be done’.

catāna (1B, l.4)=Skt. krītvā, ‘having done’.

Kanhasirī (1A, l.12)=Skt. Krishṇaśrī, personal name of a lady, with the honorific sīrī=Skt. śrī suffixed to it.

Karadaru-kumāra (6B III, l.2), ‘Karadaru, the prince’, name of a prince (kumāra).

carayaṁti(tu) (1B, l.8)=Skt. kārayeyuh, ‘should be caused to be done’.

Kasmīra (XXXIII, 250, l.1)=Skt. Kaśmīra, modern Kashmir.

Kāmasirī (1A, l.9)=Skt. Kāmaśrī, personal name of a lady, with the honorific sīrī=Skt. śrī suffixed to it. The reading may also be Rāmasirī=Skt. Rāmaśrī.

kārāpītā (2A, l.16)=Skt. kāritā, ‘caused [something] to be done’.

Kārttikeya (XXXIII, 149, l.5), name of a god.

Kupasaśrī (XXXIV, 19, l.8), personal name of a queen of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvula-Chāntamūla, with the honorific śrī suffixed to it.

Kumāra (7B III)=Skt. Kumāra, title of a prince.

Kumāra (3, l.6; 6B III, l.2). See Kumāra.

Kumāra (XXXIII, 149, l.3), a name of the god Kārttikeya.

kulaputa (XXXIV, 209, II, l.1)=Skt. kulaputra, ‘born in a noble family’.

kula-prasūta (4), ‘born in the family [of]’.

kulika-pamukha (XXXIV, 210, l.7)=Skt. kulika-pramukha, ‘headed by the chief of the guild’, probably the epithet of a guild.

Kusumalatā (1A, l.13), personal name of a female.

Kulahaka (6A, l.4), name of a family.

Kōjabhṛti (7 BI, l.1), personal name of a male.

Kōdara (5, l.3), personal name of a male.

Kōduvaka (6C II, l.2). See Maha-Kōduvaka.

Kondamatisirī (1A, l.8)=Skt. Kundamatiśrī, personal name of a lady, with the honorific sīrī=Skt. śrī suffixed to it.

Kauśika-sagotra (XXXIV, 202, l.2) ‘one belonging to the Kauśika gotra’, epithet of Śivaśeṣa.

Khaṇḍūvula (XXIX, 139), personal name of a queen of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvula-Chāntamūla.

Khaḍasirī (1A, l.10)=Skt. Skandaśrī, personal name of a lady, with the honorific sīrī=Skt śrī suffixed to it. See Khaḍasirī.

Khaṇḍakotisirī (1A, l.8)=Skt. Skandakotiśrī, personal name of a lady, with the honorific sīrī=Skt. śrī suffixed to it.

Khaṇḍasirī (1A, l.7)=Skt. Skandaśrī. See Khaḍasirī.
Khaṇḍahāla (XXXIV, 19, 1.7), probably Skt. Skandahāla, personal name of a Mahātālavara.

Khaṇḍhikā (6A, 1.1)=Skt. khaṇḍhikā, ‘a camp’.

khaṇḍhikātā (5, 1.3)=Skt. khaṇḍhikātī, ‘borne on the shoulder’, i.e. ‘highly honoured’.

Khaḷisirī (1A, 1.10), personal name of a lady, with the honorific sīrī=Skt. śrī suffixed to it.

khaṇītā (XXXIV, 203, 1.4)=Skt. khaṇītā, ‘caused to be excavated’.

khetā (XXVI, 125)=Skt. khetā ‘[a plot of] land’.

khyāṭā-kṛiti (XXXIII, 149, 1.4), ‘one who has acquired wide renown’, epithet of Senāpati Anikiki.

Ganḍhāra (XXXIII, 250, 1.1)=Gandhāra, the region about the modern Rawalpindi and Peshawar Districts of West Pakistan.

Gahapati (XXXIII, 191, 1.4)=Skt. gahapati, ‘a householder’.

Gāṇḍī-puttra (XXXIII, 149, 1.5), ‘the son of Gāṇḍī, ’epithet of Eliśrī.

gīma-pāchaka (XXXIV, 210, 1.3)=Skt. grīma-paśchaka, ‘a group of five villages’.

Gī (XXVI, 125), Pkt. abbreviation of Skt. grīṣṭhama-pāchaka, ‘a fortnight of the summer season (Chaitra-badi 1 to Āśādha-sudi 15)’, grīṣṭhama being one of the three seasons in which the official year was divided in ancient India, the two others being varṣā and hemanta.

Gī-pā (XXXIV, 19, 1.2), abbreviation of Pkt. gīṃs-pākhā=Skt. grīṣṭhama-pākhā, ‘a fortnight of the summer season’.

Gīṃs-pākhā (2A, 1.4 ; 2B, 11.5-6) ; XXXIII, 191, 1.3 ; XXXIV, 211, 1.3)=Skt. grīṣṭhama-pākhā.

See Gī-pā.

Gīṃs-paṇḍita (3, 1.3)=Skt. grīṣṭhamaṇḍita, ‘of the summer season’.

Gyuṣa (XXXIV, 203, 1.5), ‘quality’.

Golasirī (1A, 1.9)=Skt. Golaśrī, personal name of a lady, with the honorific sīrī=Skt. śrī suffixed to it.

Goeritā (XXXIV, 203, 1.6), ‘a herd of cattle’.

Go-satasasahasra-kala-satasasahasra-pradātā (XXXIV, 19, 1.3), ‘one who distributed lakhs of cows and lakhs of bālaks (i.e. plough measures of land)’, epithet of the Ikṣvāku king Chāntamūla.

Chāṇḍa-kṛiti (XXXIII, 149, 1.3), ‘one wielding the terrible spear’, epithet of the god Kumāra or Kārttikeya.

Chaturvīśa (4), correctly chaturvimśa, ‘twentyfourth’.

Chadrajī (2A-B, 1.12)=Skt. Chandrājī, personal name of a male, with the honorific sīrī=Skt. śrī suffixed to it.

Chamātān (6A, 1.4-5), personal name of a male. Cf. Chāntamūla.

Chāntamūla (1A, 1.2, etc.; XXXIV, 19, 1.4 ; XXXIV, 22, 1.2)=Chāntamula, correctly Sāntamula, personal name of an Ikṣvāku king.

Chandainaka (XXXIII, 191, 1.7—incompletely read), personal name of a male, the real name being Chāndu (Skt. Chandra) and ainaka a suffix.

Chauṭha (2A, 1.4), chauṭhā (2B, 1.6)=Skt. chaturtha (4), ‘fourth’.

Chitana (1B, 1.8)=Skt. chitana, ‘decoration, embellishment’. 
chitāpita (XXXIV, 203, l.4)=Skt. chitrita, ‘caused [something] to be decorated ’.

Chula-Dhanimagiri (XXXIV, 211, l.5)=Skt. Kshudra-Dharmagiri, ‘the little Dharmagiri’, name of a hill in the Nagàrjunikonda area.

chhaya-khabha (6B IV, 1.4 ; 6C II, l.3), chhaya-khaṁbha (6B III, l.3 ; XXXIV, 22, l.8-9), chhāya-khaṁbha (5, l.4), chhāya-khaṁbha (6B II, l.3)=Skt. chhāya-stambha (really chhāya-skambha), ‘a memorial pillar bearing the figure of the person or persons in whose memory it is raised’.

chhāya-thabhā (6A, l.5 ; 6C I, l.5), chhāya-thambha (3, l.7), chhāya-thabhā (1A, l.13, etc.; 6B I, l.3), chhāya[ā]-thāṁ[bha] (XXXIV, 209, II, l.5), chhāya[ān][yā]-thambha (XXXIV, 209, I, l.11)=Skt. chhāya-stambha. See chhaya-khabha, etc.

jīvaputā (XXIX, 139)=Skt. jīvaputrā, ‘a lady with her son or sons living (or, all of whose children are living)’.

tadāga (XXXIV, 203, l.4), ‘a tank’.

Tamanuyakara (6C I, l.3), probably the name of a family or a person.

Tambaraṇṇi-dīpa (XXXIII, 250, l.1)=Skt. Tāmrarāṇṇi-dvīpa, modern Ceylon.

tala-vana (XXXIV, 203, l.4)=Skt. tala-vana or tala-vana, ‘a grove of palmyra trees’.

talavara-vara (XXXIII, 149, l.5), ‘a prominent Talavara’, epithet of Elīšrī. See Mahātalavara.

Tishyasāmma (XXXIV, 203, l.6), correctly šārman, personal name of an Amālīya.

tēthika (XXXIV, 210, No. 3, l.1)=Skt. taitthika, ‘an adherent of a religious faith other than one’s own’. Cf. para-samaya in sakasamaya-parasamaya.

terasama (3, l.2)=Skt. trayodaśa, ‘thirteenth’.

thala (1B, l.4)=Skt. sthala, probably used in the sense of a place of worship in the form of a vedikā surrounded by an enclosure (JBRS, Vol. XXXIX, Parts 1-2, 1953, p. 47).

thāpita (3, l.7)=Skt. sthāpita, ‘set up’.

Thera (2B, l.10)=Skt. Sthāvira, ‘an Elder among the Buddhist monks’.

Therīya (XXXIII, 250, l.1)=Skt. Sthāvirīya, ‘belonging to the Thera (Skt. Sthāvira, i.e. Sthāviravāda) School [of Buddhist monks]’.

data (XXXIV, 210, l.3)=Skt. datta (XXXIV, 20, l.11), ‘given’.

dupa-damana (6A, l.2)=Skt. darpa-damana, ‘a subduer of the pride [of]’.

dasa (1B, l.4-5)=Skt. daśa, ‘ten’.

dinārī (1B, l.4-5), name of a coin.

diva (1B, l.2 ; 5, l.2 ; XXVI, 12; ; XXXIV, 19, l.2), abbreviation of divasa, ‘a day’.

divadha (XXXIV, 210, l.6)=Pali diyadhā, divadāka, Skt. divardha, ‘one and a half’.

divasa (1A, l.3 ; 2A, l.4 ; 2B, l.6 ; 3, l.3 ; 4 ; XXXIII 191, l.3 ; XXXIV, 22, l.8 ; XXXIV, 202, l.2 ; 211, l.2), ‘the day [of the fortnight]’.
dināra-māsaka (XXXIV, 210, 1.6) = Skt. māṣaka, name of a coin elsewhere called dināri-māsaka (above, Vol. XX, p. 19).

deva-dharma (4), 'a religious gift'.

deva (XXXIII, 149, 1.3), 'a god', epithet of the god Kumāra or Kārttikeya.

devakula (1B, 1.4 ; XXXIV, 19, 1.10), 'a shrine'.

deva-parāma-deva (XXXIV, 202, 1.1), 'the supreme god among gods', epithet of the god Nārāyaṇa.

davhītri (XXXIV, 19, 1.7), 'granddaughter (daughter's daughter)'.

Dhānīkaṇṭha-vahana (XXXIII, 191, 1.3) = Skt. Dhānīkaṇṭha-vāstavīya, 'an inhabitant of Dhānīkaṇṭha (old name of modern Dharaṇīkūṭa near Amarāvati in the Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh)'.

Dhamāṇnikā (XXXIII, 191, 1.8), personal name of a female, the real name being Dhamā (Skt. Dharmā) and aṇnikā a suffix.

Dhamasamaka (XXXIV, 209, II, 1.3) = Skt. Dharmasamaka, personal name of a nobleman.

Dhamma-vāṇijyāsīniya (XXXIII, 191, 1.5) = Skt. Dharma-vāṇijyāsīniya, 'of Dharma-vāṇijyāśīni'.

dharmma-pkala (XXXIV, 19, 1.10), 'resulting from the piety [of]'.

dhāva-stanāhaka (bhā) (XXXIV, 19, 1.10), 'flag-staff'.

nātaka (XXXIII, 191, 1.4) = Skt. nāptrika, 'grandson (son's son)'.

Nādisirī (1A, 1.11) = Skt. Nādisirī or Nandisirī, personal name of a lady, with honorific siri=Skt. śri suffixed to it.

nāptri (XXXIV, 19, 1.6), 'a granddaughter (son's daughter)'.

navānga-Sathu-sasana-aṭha-vyajana-vinichhaya-visorada (XXXIII, 250, 1.2) = Skt. navānga-Sāstri-lāvan-ārthasa-vyajana-vinichhaya-visorāda, 'one who is an expert in the determination of the meaning and implication of the ninefold teachings of the Śāstri (i.e. the Buddha)', epithet of certain Buddhist monks.

Nāgaṇāsusirī (1A, 1.7) = Skt. Nāgaṇāsusirī, personal name of a lady, with the honorific siri=Skt. śrī suffixed to it. Cf. the female name Skandaṇāsu in an Ajanta inscription (above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 262, text line 1).

Nāgaṇāsmanikā (XXXIII, 191, 1.9), personal name of a female, the real name being Nāgaṇāsmanī (Skt. Nāgaṇāśmā) and aṇnikā a suffix.

Nāgasirī (1A, 1.9) = Skt. Nāgasirī, personal name of a lady, with the honorific siri=Skt. śrī suffixed to it.

Nāgasirī (2A, 1.12 ; B, 1.12) = Skt. Nāgasirī, personal name of a male, with the honorific siri=Skt. śrī suffixed to it.

Nāgulanakaka (XXXIII, 191, II.5, 8), personal name of the brother and of a son of Saṅghila, in which aṇakaka is a suffix.

Nārāyaṇa (XXXIV, 202, 1.1), a name of the god Vīṣṇu.

nagama (1B, 1.8) = Skt. naigama, 'administrative board pertaining to a city'.

nīḥhaveti (2A, II.8-9 ; 2B, 1.10) = Skt. nīḥhāpayati, 'completes'.


nirvāṇa (4). See nivāṇa, etc.


Nelāchavasa (XXXIV, 210, l.4), probably the name of a village.

naika-hiranya-kotī-pradātā (XXXIV, 19, l.3), ‘one who distributed many crores of gold [coins]’, epithet of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla.

[Nodagiṣa]rasaṇi (1B, ll.1, 4)=Skt. Ṛśvarasvāmin, name of a deity, with the word svāmin suffixed to it.

Nodukasiri (XXVI, 125)=Skt. Ṛśrīḥ (for Ṛśrīyā), personal name probably of a female. Note the nominative case used for instrumental. There are other cases of this type in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions. Cf. Chātisiri…………….kāṁbhām patihaṇṭam (above, Vol. XX, p. 16, C3, lines 10-12 ; cf. p. 19, B 5, line 4 ; C2, lines 6-8 ; etc.).

pa (1B, l.2), abbreviation of pakha=Skt. pakṣa, ‘a fortnight’.

pakha (3, l.3), See pa.

paṇchama (3, l.3), paṇchama (4), ‘fifth’.

patana (XXXIII, 191, l.10)=Skt. pāṭāna, ‘township’.

paḍī(di)ta (XXXIV, 209, II, l.5)=Skt. pāṭita. See paḍita.

paḍima (7B I, l.2)=Skt. prātimā, ‘an image’.

paḍhama (XXXIV, 211, l.3)=Skt. prathama, ‘first’.

Paṇḍitaṣiri (1A, l.11)=Skt. Paṇḍitaṣiri, personal name of a lady, with the honorific siri=Skt. śrī suffixed to it.

patata (6B II, l.2 ; 6B IV, l.2)=Skt. pāṭita. See paḍita.

paṭipādita (7B II), paṭipāṭita (7B I, l.2)=Skt. pratisaṭāpita, ‘set up’.

paṭiyā (XXIX, 139)=Pkt. paṭiyā=Skt. paṭiyā, ‘by [one’s] wife’. See paṭī.

paṭī (XXXIV, 22, l.5)=Skt. paṭī. See paṭīya.

paṭhama (XXXIV, 22, l.8)=Skt. prathama, ‘first’.

padarasa (2B, l.6)=Skt. paṇḍadāsa, ‘fifteenth’.

paḍiṭhapeti (2A, l.8)=Skt. pratisaṭāpoyati, ‘sets up’.

paḍita (6B I, l.3 ; 6B III, l.3)=Skt. pāṭita, ‘killed [in battle]’. See paḍī(di)ta, paṭata.

paṇika-seni (IB, l.5)=Skt. pāṇika-śreni, ‘the guild of the dealers in leaves (i.e. betel leaves)’.

Padaḍika (IB, l.8), personal name of a male.

parasamayā (XXXIV, 211, l.6). See sakasamaya-parasamaya.

parityaj; cf. praṇa[m-a*]pi na pari[y-a*]kṣ[y*]jati (XXXIV, 203, l.5), ‘would not spare even one’s life’.

parivēṇa (4), ‘a Buddhist monk’s private chamber in a monastery’. See Mahādevi-parivēṇa.

Pavayātaka (6C I, l.1), probably ‘a resident of Pavayātaka’.

paśadāta (6B IV, l.2), paśāḍita (6B I, l.2 ; 6B II, l.2 ; 6B III, l.2)=Skt. prasāḍita, ‘favoured’.

4a
pasādaka (XXXIII, 250, l.1) = Skt. praśādaka, literally ‘one who causes serenity or happiness [in the minds of the people]’, figuratively ‘one who converts [people] to the Buddhist faith’.

pasunā (XXXIV, 22, l.3) = Skt. praśūnā, ‘daughter-in-law’s daughter-in-law’, i.e. ‘grandson’s wife’.

pāchaka (7A, l.1), ‘a cook’.

pāda-saṅghāṭa (XXXIII, 250, l.3) = Skt. pāda-saṅghāṭa, ‘a pair of feet’, i.e. ‘foot-prints’.

pihya-bhātaka (2A-B, l.13) = Skt. priyā-bhrāṭi[ka], ‘dear brother’.

Puṇḍokaṭa (XXXIV, 19, l.10), name of a village.

pūta (1A, l.2, etc.) = Skt. putra, ‘a son’.

putra (XXXIV, 19, l.1, 6, 8), ‘a son’.

Puṣṇapuraṇa (XXXIV, 202, l.1), ‘the primeval male’, epithet of the god Nārāyaṇa.

puvā-disā-bhīge (XXXIV, 211, ll.4-5) = Skt. puvea-disā-bhīge, ‘in the eastern direction [of], to the east [of]’.

puvika-senī (1B, l.5) = Pali puvika-senī, Skt. āpūrika-ṛṇī, ‘a guild of confectioners’.

Pushpabhadravāmin (XXXIV, 19, ll.1, 10), name of a deity (otherwise called Mahādeva), with the word svāmin suffixed to it.

Pushyakandīya (XXXIV, 19, l.6), probably a mistake for Pushyakandiya, name of a family.

Perajatisiri (1A, l.10), personal name of a lady, with the honorific siri=Skt. śri suffixed to it.

Peramaṇi-bhāda (XXXIV, 209, I, l.1; II, l.4) = Skt. śṛṭha, ‘a soldier fighting under [the command of a general named] Peramaṇi’.

Peribīdeha (XXXIV, 202, l.2), name of a family or clan.

pautra (XXXIII, 149, l.4; XXXIV, 19, l.5), ‘grandson (son’s son)’.

pratimā (4), ‘an image’.

pratikṣhāpita (4; XXXIV, 19, l.10), ‘set up’.

prathama (1A, l.3), ‘first’.

prapautra (XXXIV, 19, l.4), ‘great-grandson (son of one’s son’s son)’.

prabhū (XXXIII, 149, l.1), ‘the master’, epithet of the Ikshvāku king Bhuvula-Chāntamūla.

Cf. sāmi and svāmin.

prākāra (XXXIV, 203, l.4), ‘a wall’.

prāśāda (XXXIII, 149, l.5), ‘a temple’.

Bājraṇaṭiṣaṅka (4), probably ‘a resident of Baraṇaṭa’.

Bhāphala-saṅgōtā (XXXIV, 22, ll.6-7) = Skt. Bhīphala-saṅgotā, ‘a lady belonging to the Bhīphala gotra’, epithet of Varmabhaṭṭā who was the daughter of a Mahākṣatrapa and a queen of the Ikṣvāku king Bhuvula-Chāntamūla.

Bāpsāiri (1A, l.11), personal name of a lady, with the honorific siri=Skt. śri suffixed to it.

bālaka (XXXIII, 191, l.7), ‘a son’.

bālikā (XXXIII, 191, l.8) — wrongly read, ‘a daughter’.
MORE INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA

bittiya (1A, L3; XXXIV, 211, L3)=Skt. deitiya, ‘second’.

Buddha (4), the great founder of Buddhism.

Buddha-Dhańma-Sańgha-magala-nagaravara-girivara-nigamavara-bahu-deyadharma-käraka (2A, ll. 9-11); ‘girivara-nigamavara-bahu-deyadharma-käraka’ (2B, ll.10-12)=Skt. Buddha-Dharma-Sańgha-mağala-nagaravara-girivara-nigamavara-bahu-deyadharma-käraka, ‘one who has bestowed many religious gifts at prominent cities and prominent townships as well as on prominent hills in connection with festivals celebrated in honour of the Buddhist Trinity, viz. the Buddha, Dharma and Sańgha’, epithet of a pious man named Chadasiiri (Chandraśri).

Budhanaṁikā (XXXIII, 191, L6), personal name of a female, in which the suffix aninikā is added to the name Budhā (Skt. Budhā).

Bodhisiri (1A, L10)=Skt. Bodhiśīri, personal name of a lady, with the honorific siri=Skt. śīrī suffixed to it.

Bhagaphula (1B, L7), personal name of a male.

bhaga[vu] (7B IV)=Skt. bhagavat, ‘the lord’, probably the epithet of a deity. See bhagavat.

bhagavach-chhaktiyā (XXXIV, 203, L6), ‘by dint of divine power’.

bhagavat, epithet of divinities, (XXXIV, 203, L3), of the god Ashtabhujaśvāmin: (XXXIV, 202, L1), of the god Nāraśaṅga; (1B, L1, 4), of the god [Nośga]śvarasvāmin: (XXXIV, 19, L1, 10), of the god Pushapabhadrāsvāmin; (4: XXXIII, 191, L1: 250, L3) of the Buddha; (XXVI, 125), of the god Halaṁpūraśvāmin. See bhagava.

Bhagavatā (1B, L3)=Skt. Bhagavatī or Bhagavatī, personal name of a lady.

bhagini (XXXIII, 191, L5)=Skt. bhaginī, ‘sister’ (correctly bhaginīnaṁ=Skt. bhaginībhagym).

bhat[tā]. (7B II), probably=Skt. bhatṭāraka.

bhaṭa (6B I, L3; 6B II, L2, 6B III, L2, 6B IV, L4)=Skt. bhaṭa, ‘a soldier’.

Bhata (6B I, L2)=Skt. Bhakta, personal name of a male.

Bhakdhaphula (XXXIV, 210, L2), probably the personal name of a male.

Bharadvāja-sagotra (XXXIV, 203, L6), ‘one belonging to the Bharadvāja gotra’, epithet of Amātya Tishyāśaraman.

bharasal (2A, L8), probably a mistake for bhogāra-sālā=Skt. bhogāra-sālā, ‘store-room’.

bhariyake (2A, L15), bhariyako (2B, L15), probably=Skt. bhāryako; but the meaning of the damaged passage is doubtful.

bhariyā (7B I, L1; XXXIII, 191, L6, 7)=Skt. bhāryā, ‘wife’.

bhariyya (4), correctly bhārya, ‘together with one’s wife’.

bhāgineyi (XXXIV, 19, L7), ‘one’s sister’s daughter’.

bhātuno (XXXIII, 191, L5)=Skt. bhātunā, ‘of one’s brother’.

bhatu-bhariyā (XXXIII, 191, L6-7)=Skt. bhātrī-bhāryā, ‘one’s brother’s wife’.

bhuktiyavasSense (XXXIV, 210, L3)=Skt bhuktiyavas, ‘to be enjoyed’.

bho (XXXIV, 20, L12), probably an abbreviation of bhogyika or bhajaka, possibly meaning ‘an ināmdār’.

[Makā?]lā (7B, I, L1), personal name of a female.

Makuda (7B IV), probably=Skt. Mukunda, personal name of a male.
Magalaraya-vathava (6B I, 1.1; 6B II, 1.1; 6B III, 1.1; 6B IV, 1.1; XXXIV, 209, II, 1.1) =Skt. Maṅgalāraṇya-vāṇṭava, ‘a resident of Maṅgalāraṇya’.

Maṅgustri (1A, 1.8), personal name of a lady, with the honorific sīri=Skt. śrī suffixed to it. maṅḍapa (7A, 1.2), probably ‘a hall’.

matā-pitru (2A-B, 1.14)=Skt. mātā-pitrī, ‘parents’.

matāya (XXXIII, 191, 1.5)=Skt. mātā, ‘of [one’s] mother’.

matāhi (1A, 1.6)=Skt. mātriḥ bhīṣhī, ‘by [one’s] mothers (i.e. mother and step-mothers)’. Cf. mātiya.

Madurisiri (1A, 1.9)=Skt. Mrdeviṣīrī, personal name of a lady, with the honorific sīri=Skt. śrī suffixed to it.

[Ma?r]abāya (XXXIV, 209, II, 1.2), probably=Skt. Marabānām, Maraba being the name of a family.

masanumāsika (1B, 1.4)=Skt. māsanumāsika, ‘acruing month by month’.

Maha-Koḻuraka (6C I, 2.2), literally ‘resident of the bigger Koḻuva’, the place probably being the home of a Mahāsenāpati-Mahālalavara.

Mahattarikā (1B, 1.3)=Skt. Mahattarikā, feminine form of Mahattaraka. See Atepura-mahattarikā.

mahādevīhi (1A, 1.6)=Skt. mahādevībhīṣhī, ‘by one’s queens’, used in respect of the queens of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamāla. See Mahādevī.

Maharaja-vāḍhamāna (7B II)=Skt. Maharāja-varādhamāna, a religious establishment maintained by a king. Cf. Śeṭhiva-ra-vāḍhamāna.

Mahāvalabhikā (3, 1.5), epithet of a queen of the Ikshvāku king Virapurushadatta, referring to the locality (Mahāvalabhi) whence she hailed.

Mahāvinaseliya (2B, 1.7.8). See Aparamahāvinaseliya.

Mahākhatopa-duhitu (XXXIV, 22, 1.6)=Skt. Mahākhatropa-duhitu, ‘of the daughter of the Mahākhatropa’, used in relation to a queen of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvala-Chāntamula.

Mahāgrāmikā (XXXIV, 202, 1.2), ‘the ruler of a Mahāgrāma (group of villages, a district)’ or ‘an inhabitant of a locality called Mahāgrāma’, epithet of Mahātalavara Mahādāvyānāyaka Śivaśeṇa.

Mahātalavara, official designation of several persons; (6C II, 1.1), of Mahāsenāpati Ayabhutī (Āryabhutī); (XXXIV, 19, 1.7), of Utaṭṭa-ra; (XXXIV, 19, 1.6), of Khaṇḍahāla and of Skandagopa; (XXXIV, 202, 1.2) of Śivaśeṇa; etc. In this designation, talavara means tuṣṭa-bhūpala-pradatta-paṭa-banda-vibhūṣita-rūpajātīniya (i.e. a viceroy or subordinate ruler) according to Vinayavijaya’s Subodhikā commentary on the Kalpasūtra (above, Vol. XX, p. 7, note 1), though talāra, no doubt the same as talavara, is explained in Hemachandra’s Deśināmanālā (V, 3), as nagara-rakṣaka while talāri, another modification of the same word, is described as a koṭvāl (i.e. prefect of the police of a town) in the Rāyavākamu and other works (Bhūr. Vid., Vol. XVII, Nos. 3-4, pp. 127 ff.). The word is found in Telugu-Kamada as talāri and in Tamil as talaiyar, ‘the village workman, one of the subordinate officers of a village’ (Wilson’s Glossary).

Mahādāvyānāyaka (XXXIV, 202, 1.2), ‘a chief leader of forces’, official designation of a military officer often employed as the governor of a district or province.

Mahādeva (XXXIV, 19, 1.1), same as the god Śiva.

Mahādevi, title applied to the queens of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvala-Chāntamula; (XXXIV, 19, 1.8-9), to Kupapaśri; (XXIX, 139), to Khaṇḍunvalī; (XXXIV, 22, 1.6), to Vaiṣṇabhaṭṭa. See Mahādevīhī.
Mahādevi-parivṛtta (4), 'the private chamber of a Buddhist monk, which has been built by a queen'

Mahānaṁdā (XXXIV, 203, l.4), name of a well.

mahā-nigāya (2A, l.6, 2B, l.8) = Skt. mahā-nikāya, probably the dwelling of Buddhist monks of a particular community.

Mahāraja, royal title applied to the Ikshvāku kings often also called Rājan; (4; XXIX, 139; XXXIV, 19, ll.1, 5, 9; 22, l.4), to Ehuvula-Chāntamūla; (1A, l.1; B, l.1; 2B, l.1; XXXIV, 22, l.1), to Chāntamūla; (XXVI, 125), to Rulapurushadatta (Rudrapurushadatta); (2B, l.3; XXXIII, 191, l.2; XXXIV, 19, l.4; 22, l.3), to Virapurushadatta.

Mahāraja-kumāra (XXXIV, 19, l.8), designation of the Ikshvāku prince Virapurushadatta, son of king Ehuvula-Chāntamūla.

Mahāvihāra-vāsin (XXXIII, 250, l.2), 'a dweller in the Mahāvihāra [at ancient Vijayapura in the Nāgarjunikonḍa valley]'; explained by some as the name of a community of Ceylonese monks.

Mahāsenapati, Mahāsenāpati, 'a chief commander of the forces', official designation of several persons; (6C II, l.1), of Ayahabuti (Āryabhūti); (3, l.6), of the Ikshvāku prince Eli-Ehavuladāsa-vanaka; (6A, ll.3-4), of Chaṇḍapula of the Kuṇahaka family; (XXXIV, 19, l.8), of the Ikshvāku prince Virapurushadatta.

Mahisarasiri (1A, l.8) = Skt. Mahiṣārasīri, personal name of a lady, with the honorific sīri = Skt. ēri suffixed to it.

mahisī (3, l.5) = Skt. mahiṣī (XXXIV, 19, l.8), 'queen'.

Māgha (XXXIII, 149, l.2), name of the eleventh lunar month.

Māṭharī-putra (XXXIV, 19, l.4), 'son of a lady born in a family belonging to the Māṭhara gotra', metronymic of the Ikshvāku king Virapurushadatta.

Māṭhara-putra (1A, l.2), Māṭhara-pūta (3, l.4), Māṭhara-putra (XXXIII, 191, l.2) = Skt. Māṭhara-putra, q.v.

mātūya (XXXIV, 22, l.6) = Skt. mātub, 'of [one's] mother (i.e. step-mother)'. Cf. matāhi.

Mitāsiri (1A, l.7) = Skt. Mitāsīri, personal name of a lady, with the honorific sīri = Skt. ēri suffixed to it.

mukhya-pāchakå (7A, l.1), 'the chief cook'.

Muṭerā (XXXIV, 203, l.4), name of a locality.

• Mulasiri (1A, l.8) = Skt. Mulasaṅī, personal name of a lady, with the honorific sīri = Skt. ēri suffixed to it.

Mulabhuta (6C I, l.4) = Skt. 'bhūta or 'bhūti, personal name of an āveśaṅika.

Yakṣikā (3, l.5), personal name of a queen of the Ikshvāku king Virapurushadatta, in which nikā (annikā) is a suffix.

yatī-samana-khaṇḍikāta (5, l.3) = Skt. yatī-sramana-śākandhikāta, 'highly honoured by the Brahmical ascetics and Buddhist monks', epithet of a religious personage.

Yavana (XXXIII, 250, l.1), probably the ancient Greek settlement in the Kābul valley in Afghanistan.

Yorājāhī (XXXIV, 202, l.2), probably a mistake for Yonarajabhī = Skt. Yavana-rājāhī, 'by the Yavana (i.e. Greek) rulers'.

raṇño (1A, l.2, etc.), raṇo (2A, l.2; 3, l.3; XXXIV, 22, l.5) = Skt. rāṇaḥ (XXXIII, 149, l.1), 'the king's'. See Rājan.
Epigraphia Indica

[Ratl]aputra (6B II, 1.2), personal name of a male.

Rāthika (6B I, 1.2; 6B IV, 1.1) = Skt. Rāṣṭrika, probably 'the governor of a territorial unit called rāṣṭra'.

Ratavasa (1B, 1.3) = Skt. Ratavasi or Rativasī, personal name of a female.

Rājan, royal title; (XXXIV, 202, 1.1), of the Ābhira king Vasusheya; (XXXIV, 19, 1.2, etc.), of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamāla; (XXXIV, 19, 1.7, etc.), of the Ikshvāku king Ēhuvula-Chāntamāla; (XXXIV, 22, II.5-6), of the Ikshvāku king Rudrapurushadatta; (1A, 1.2, etc.), of the Ikshvāku king Virapurushadatta. Cf. Mahārāja.

Rājāmisīri-kulaka (XXXIV, 209, II, 1.2), name of a family.

Rāmasiri. See Kāmasiri.

Rāmasīya = eva savita-jan-dhāhirāmasya (XXXIV, 19, 1.5) 'of one who is loved by all people like Rāma', used in the description of the Ikshvāku king Ēhuvula-Chāntamāla.

ruju (XXXIV, 203, I.5) = Skt. rju, ['one who is] straightforward'.

Rudrapurisādattā (XXXIV, 22, II.5-6) = Skt. Rudrapurushadatta, personal name of an Ikshvāku king. See Rudrapurisādattā.

Rudradāman (XXXIV, 203, I.3), personal name of a Śaka resident of Avanti.

ruṅbara-bhava (XXXIV, 203, I.3), probably = Skt. udumbara-bhava, 'born (i.e. made out) of udumbara wood', epithet of the god Ashtabhujaśvāmin.

Rudrapurisādattā (XXXVI, 125—wrongly read), the same as Skt. Rudrapurushadatta, personal name of an Ikshvāku king. See Rudrapurisādattā.

ropita (XXXIV, 203, I.5), 'caused to be planted'.

vasa-nyāsa-prema-nishtha (XXXIV, 203, II.5-6), 'one who is steadfast in his love for planting banyan trees'.

vādhamūna (2A, 1.6; 2B, 1.8; 7B II) = Skt. vārdhamāna, a kind of religious establishment.

vadhi (1B, 1.4) = Skt. vṛddhi, 'interest'.

Vanaṣa (XXXIII, 250, 1.1), the district round modern Banavasi in the North Kanara District of Mysore. See Vanaṣa.

Vamābhatā (XXXIV, 22, I.7) = Skt. Vamābhatā, personal name of a lady who was a daughter of a Mahākṣatrapa and a queen of the Ikshvāku king Ēhuvula-Chāntamāla.

Vardhamānaka (XXXIV, 203, I.6), personal name of a male.

vartaka (XXXIII, 149, 1.1), 'year'.

varṣa-pākṣa (4), 'a fortnight of the rainy season', the rainy season (Śrāvaṇa-badi 1 to Kārtika-sūdi 15) being one of the three seasons in which the official year was divided in ancient India and the two others being grīhitma and hemaṭa.

vasa-sata (1A, 1.3) = Skt. varsha-sata, literally 'one hundred years', used in the sense of 'long life'.

Vasiṃhī-putra (1B, 1.2) = Skt. Vasiṃhī putra, 'son of a lady born in a family belonging to the Vasiṃhīga gotra', metronymic of the Ikshvāku king Ēhuvula-Chāntamāla. See Vasiṃhī-putra, etc.

Vasusheya (XXXIV, 202, 1.1), personal name of an Ābhira king.

Vanaṣa (XXXIV, 203, I.3), 'resident of Vanavasi (modern Banavasi in the North Kanara District, Mysore)', epithet of Vineṣhurudraśivalānanda-Sātakarpī. See Vanaṣa.
vā-pā (XXXIV. 202 l.1), abbreviation of Pkt. vāsa-pākha=vassa-pakkha=Skt. varsha-paksha, 'a fortnight of the rainy season'. See vāsa-pakha, varsha-pakha.

evī (XXXIV, 203 l.1), 'a well'.
vāsa-pakha (1A. l.3), vāśa-pakha (XXXIV, 22. l.8)=Skt. varsha? or varsha-paksha 'a fortnight of the rainy season'. See vā-pā.

Vāsīṣṭhi-puta, Vāśīṣṭhi-putta, Vāśīṣṭhi-putra, Vāśīṣṭhi-putra, Vāśīṣṭhi-putra, Vā śīṣ(ī)ṣthi-putra =Skt. Vāśīṣṭhi-putra, 'son of a lady born in a family belonging to the Vāśīṣṭha gotra', metronymic of several rulers : (XXXIV, 202. l.1), of the Ābhira king Vasusheya; (2B, l.4; XXXIV, 19. l.1), of the I kshvāku king Ekhūvula-Chāntamāla; (1A, l.5; XXXIV, 19, l.2), of the I kshvāku king Chāntamāla; (XXXIV, 22, l.5), of the I kshvāku king Rudrapurusahadatta. See Vāśīṣṭhi-pūta.

vihata-jvar-ālaya (7A, l.4), probably 'the abode of recluses' or 'temple of the Recluse (Buddha)'.

Vijaya (7B II)=Skt. Vijayapura, q.v.

Vijaya (1A. l.3 : 1B, l.2), name of a year of the Jupiter's sixty-year cycle, which was the first year of the cycle originally.

Vijayapura (2A, l.5 : 2B, l.7), Vijayapūri (4; XXXIV, 211, l.4), name of the I kshvāku capital in the Nāgarjuni nkoṇḍa valley.

vijaya-vaiyajika (XXXIV, 19, l.9), better vaijeypa-vijayila, 'yielding victory after victory'.

Vijabodhisiri (1A, l.7)=Skt. Vindhyabodhisīrī, personal name of a lady, with the honorific sīrī=Skt. sīrī suffixed to it.

vipul-ārtha-kāṇkṣhin (7A, l.5), 'one who wishes for great welfare of all the beings', or 'one who wants salvation'.

Vibhajavāda (XXXIII, 250, l.1)=Pali Vibhajjavāda, Skt. Vibhajjavāda or Vibhajjavādin, 'belonging to the Vibhajjavāda (Vibhajjavāda) School [of Buddhist monks]'.

Vira-Aribha ... (7B, III), partially preserved name of a prince. Cf. the name Virapurushaḥatāta.

Virapurushadatta (1B, l.2), Virapurushadatta (7B IV), Virapuravacadata (2A, l.1), Virapuravacadata (XXXIII, 191, l.2; XXXIV, 22, l.3), Virapuravacadata (2B, l.3-4)=Skt. Virapurushadatta (really Vīra Purushadatta), personal name of an I kshvāku king.

Vishnurudrasūta-vadda-Sādvakarnyā (XXXIV, 203, l.3), personal name of a resident of Vansāva.

vihara (XXXIII, 250, l.3 ; XXXIV, 211, l.5), 'a Buddhist monastery'.

vihara-bhākā (7A, l.5), 'the wing of a [Buddhist] monastery'.

vihara-mukhya (7A, l.4), 'the principal monastery'.

Virapurushadatta (XXXIV, 19, l.4). See Virapuravacadata, etc.

Virapurushadatta (XXXIV, 19, l.9), personal name of an I kshvāku prince who was a son of king Ekhūvula-Chāntamāla and grand-son of king Virapurushadatta.

vijayika (1B, l.2)=Skt. vijayika, 'yielding victory'.

Vairodvijapāta (XXXIII, 191, l.4)=Skt. Vairodvijapāta, 'son of Vairod, the merchant', epithet of Saṅghili I, grand-son of Saṅghili I.

Vairodvarasiri (XXXIII, 191, l.7), personal name of a male, the name being Vairodvarasiri (Skt Vairodvārāśi), with the honorific sīrī=Skt. sīrī suffixed to it, and also naka (amāsaka), a suffix.

Sāka (XXXIV, 203, l.3), name of a people.

śatru-gayāvamardin (XXXIV 203, l.5), 'one who has subdued the hosts of one's enemies', epithet of an engraver.
Śivasēba (XXXIV, 202, l.2), correctly Śivasēpa, personal name of a male. Cf. the name Śunahśepa or Śunahśepha.

śukla-pakṣa (XXXIII, 149, l.2), ‘bright fortnight’.

śailamayi (4), ‘made of stone’.

śri (XXXIII, 149, l.1), honorific suffixed to the name of Ehavala, i.e. the Ikshvāku king Ehuvula-Chāntamāla. Cf. sīrī.

Śriparrvata (4), ancient name of the Nallamalai range.

śresṭhīṇīya (4), correctly sreshṭhīṇīyā, ‘together with the [sreshṭhīn’s] wife’.

saṅvā (XXXIV, 19, l.2), abbreviation of saṅvācchhara=Skt. saṅvatsara, ‘the [regnal] year’.

saṅvācchhara (XXXIII, 191, l.3; XXXIV, 22, l.7; XXXIV, 211, l.2)=Skt. saṅvatsara (4; XXXIV, 202, l.1), ‘the [regnal] year.’ See saṅvācchhara.

sakṣa-samaya-pasamaya (XXXIV, 211, l.6)=Skt. svatasa-samaya-pasasa-samaya, ‘one’s own doctrine and other rival doctrines’, not the Jain svā-samaya and para-samaya explained in Kundakundāchārya’s Samayasāra as respectively ‘the soul which is consecrated in right conduct, belief and knowledge and is self-absorbed’ and ‘the soul which stands in the condition determined by karma and is absorbed in non-self’ (above. Vol. XXXIV, p. 272).

sagā-gata (1A, l.3; XXXIV, 22, l.8)=Skt. svarga-gata, ‘one who has gone to heaven (i.e. died’).

Sāgara-Dīlīpa-Āmbarisha-Yudhishtīra-tulya-dharma-vijaya (XXXIV, 19, l.5), ‘one who has lawfully obtained victories like Sagara, Dilipa, Ambarisha and Yudhishtīra’, epithet of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvula-Chāntamāla.

sagōta (XXXIV, 22, l.6-7)=Skt. sagotra. See Bahopha-sagotī.

Saṅghanikā (XXXIII, 191, l.7), personal name of a female, the real name being Saṅghā and anīkā (ainīkā) a suffix.

Saṅghila (XXXIII, 191, l.4), personal name of a householder as well as of his grandson (son’s son).

Saṅjayapunīya (XXXIV, 202, l.2), ‘resident of Saṅjayapura (probably modern Saṅjan in the Thanha District of Bombay).’

Saṭhapa (1B, l.8; XXXIV, 210, l.2), personal name of males. Cf. the name Saṭhagopa popular in the Tamil-speaking area.

sata (XXVI, 125), mistake for sava, Pkt. abbreviation of Skt. saṅvatsara, ‘the [regnal] year’.

sata (XXXIV, 210, l.6)=Skt. ṣata, ‘a hundred’.

satama (3, l.3)=Skt. saptama, ‘seventh’.

Saṭi/sīrī (1A, l.10)=Skt. Satilāśrī, personal name of a lady, with the honorific sīrī=Skt. śrī suffixed to it.

satya-vrata (XXXIV, 203, l.5), ‘one who has taken a vow of truthfulness’.

sa-māti-mita-baṅdha[ra] (XXXIII, 191, l.9)=Skt. sa-jñāti-mitra-bāndhatau, ‘together with one’s kinsmen, friends and relations’.

Saṅmapalaka-vṛatavā (XXXIV, 210, l.2)=Skt. vṛstāvya, ‘resident of [a locality called] Saṅmāgandaka’.

saṁrā-vijaya (XXXIII, 149, l.4), ‘victor in (or, by means of) battles’, epithet of Saṁnāpati Anikī.

Samuda (7B IV)=Skt. Samudra, probably a personal name.

Samudāmānīkā (XXXIII, 191, l.6), personal name of a female, the real name being Samudā (Skt. Samudrī) and anīkā a suffix.

Samudāśrī (1A, l.11)=Skt. Samudraśrī, personal name of a lady, with the honorific sīrī=Skt. śrī suffixed to it.
Samusiri (1A, l.7), personal name of a lady, with the honorific sīrī=Skt. śrī suffixed to it; possibly a mistake for Samudrasiri=Skt. Samudraśrī.

saṃpadata (XXVI, 125)=Skt. sampradatta, ‘given’.

Saṅmūsāṃbudha (XXXIII, 191, l. 1)=Skt. Saṅyakṣamuddha, ‘the perfectly enlightened one’, i.e. the Buddha.

Saṅyakṣamuddha (4), epithet of the Buddha.

Sarasīkā (1A, l.13), personal name of a female.

sarva-guṇa-pārami(m)i-prāpta (4), ‘one who attained perfection in all the [good] qualities’, epithet of the Buddha.

Sarvacchedavādhiśā (XXXIII, 149, l.6), ‘abode of the god Sarva (i.e. Śiva)’, epithet of the prāśāda (temple) built by Talavara Eliśrī.


savacchara (1A, l.3; 2A, l.3; 7B IV: 2B, l.5; 3, l.2)=Skt. saṃvatsara ‘the year’. See saṃvachchara.

sav-atheva apatikata-saṅkopaśa (1A, l.5)=Skt. saṃ-ārthakeshī a pātikara-saṅkalpaśaya, ‘of one whose will was unchecked in all matters’, used in the description of the Ikshvāku king Chāntāmūla.

sav-loka-mahīta (1B, l.1)=Skt. sarva-loka-mahīta, ‘honoured by the whole world (or, all people)’, epithet of the god Nāgasīkāsārāmi (=īśvarasvāmin).

sava-sattva (XXXIII, 250, l.3)=Skt. sarva-sattvānām, ‘of all the beings’.

sava-sat-otama (XXXIII, 191, l.1)=Skt. sarva-satte-ottoma, ‘best among all the beings’, epithet of the Saṃyakṣambuddha (i.e. the Buddha).

sahomati (1B, l.3), literally ‘one who has the same mind or thought as another’, i.e. ‘an associate’.

sahodarākī (1A, l.6)=Skt. sahaḍarākīḥ, ‘by [one’s] sisters’.

Sāgarāśākī (XXXIII, 191, l.6), personal name of a female, the real name being Sāgarā and aṁnikā a suffix.

Sātakarṇi (XXIV, 203, l.3). See Vishnudrośīvalānanda-Sātakarṇī.

sāmī=Skt. svāmī, a royal title of foreign origin later adopted by some indigenous Indian kings including the Ikshvākus; (3, l.1), title of the Ikshvāku king Eluvula Chāntāmūla. See svāmin.

sālī (1B, ll. 1, 4: XXVI, 125)=Skt. svālin, suffixed to the name of a god. See svāmin.

sālī (2A, l. 15; 2B, l. 10)=Skt. sālī, probably ‘a hall’.

sūrī=Skt. śrī, honorific prefixed to the names of many persons, especially rulers; (1B, l.2; 2B, l.3; 5, l.2; 4; 5, l.1, etc.), of the Ikshvāku king Eluvula-Chāntāmūla; (6A, ll. 4-5), of Mahāśaṅkara Chāntāpura; (1A, l.2 etc.), of the Ikshvāku king Chāntāmūla; (1 A-B, l.2; 2A, l.1; 2B, ll. 3-4; 3, l.1), of the Ikshvāku king Viraṇu-hadatta.

sīrī (2A, l.12; 2B, l.12)=śrī, honorific suffixed to the names of males. Cf. Ekaṭavaśrī, and śrī.

sīrī (1A, ll. 6-12)=Skt. śrī, honorific suffixed to the names of ladies.

Siriparata (2B, l.6: XXIV, 211, ll. 3-4)=Skt. Śrīparatā, ancient name of the Nallamalai range Siravāgīsi (1A, ll. 11-12)=Skt. Śiravāgīśrī, personal name of a lady with the honorific sīrī=Skt. śrī suffixed to it.

Sisaba (XXIV, 209, II, ll. 3-4). personal name of a soldier.


sunhā (XXIV, 22, l.4)=Skt. sunshā, ‘daughter-in-law’.
supayuta (XXXIV, 210, 1, 7)＝Skt. suprayukta, ‘well-fixed (i.e. well-deposited in a guild)’.
sethi-pamakha (1B, 1, 7)＝Skt. śreṣṭhī-pramukha, ‘[a guild] headed by the banker’.
sethi-bālikā (1B, 1, 3)＝Skt. śreṣṭhī-bālikā, ‘daughter of a banker’.
Sethivara-valhamāna (2A, 1, 6, 2B, 1, 8)＝Skt. śreṣṭhivara-valhamāna, a religious institution maintained by a banker. Cf. Mahāraja-valhamāna.
Sela-giri (XXXIV, 203, 1, 1)＝Seta-giri, name of a hill bordering the Nāgārjunikondā valley, mentioned as Seta-giri in a Nāṣik inscription (Select Inscriptions, p. 197) in the description of the Sātavāhana king Gautamiputra Sātakarni.
Snaipati, ‘a leader of forces’, official designation of several persons; (XXXIII, 149, 1, 4), of Apikki; (6B III, 1, 1), of Kātaibhru-kumāra; (6B II, 1, 1), of Rātapata.
senī (1B, 1, 5)＝Skt. śeṇī, śeṇī, ‘a guild’.
Śeśā-la-Vardhamānaka (XXXIV, 203, 1, 6), ‘Vardhamānaka belonging to the Sembaka family or clan’.
Seyathā (1B, 1, 3)＝Pali sāyathā, Skt. tathā＝yathā, ‘namely’.
sethaka-maṇḍapa (2A, II, 7, 8; 2B, II, 9, 10)＝Skt. śeṣṭhaka-maṇḍapa, ‘a stone-built hall’.
Śrēṣṭhakārūtra (XXXIV, 19, 1, 7), probably a person named Nāgāruka of the Seseba family.
sukhita (XXXIV, 203, 1, 4)＝Skt. śukhiṭa, ‘cleansed (i.e. renovated)’.
Śrīkārapīṭha (XXXIV, 19, 1, 6)＝Śrīkārapīṭha, personal name of a Mahātavāra.
stamba (7A, 1, 2; XXXIV, 19, 1, 10), correctly stambha, ‘a pillar’.
Syandaka-parvata (4), name of a hill.
Svanta-para-vatara-śreṣṭhikā (1), ‘a banker residing at [a place at the foot of] the Syandaka-parvata’.
sva-virya-ārṣjita-vyagākhīti (XXXIV, 19, 1, 4), ‘one who achieved fame for victories obtained by his own prowess’, epithet of the Ikṣvāku king Chāntamūla.
svaṁśa, royal title of foreign origin adopted by indigenous Indian rulers; (XXXIV, 22, 1, 4), of the Ikṣvāku king Ekaḥvula-Chāntamūla (XXXIV, 22, 1, 2), of the Ikṣvāku king Chāntamūla; (XXXIV, 22, 1, 3), of the Ikṣvāku king Virapuruśadatta. See sāmī.
svaṁśa (XXXIV, 19, II, 1, 10), suffixed to the name of the god Pushpabhadra otherwise called Mahādeva. See sāmī.
Hauula (6B IV, 1, 2), personal name of a male.
Hauḷaṁpaṇa-simī (XXXIV, 127)＝Skt. svāṁśa, name of a diety.
Hāriṇapura (XXXIV, 19, 1, 8), ‘son of a lady born in a family belonging to the Hārīta gotra’, metonymy of the Ikṣvāku prince Virapuruśa-kattā, son of Ekaḥvula-Chāntamūla.
Hauḷapāta-saṁhita (XXXIII, 250, 1, 3)＝Skt. hauḷapāta-saṁhita, ‘with a prayer for the welfare and happiness [of]’.
Hauḷapāta-maṇḍapa (1A, II, 1, 5)＝Skt. hauḷapātaka-maṇḍapa, ‘one who bestowed crores of gold [coins], lakhs of cows and lakhs of plough measures of land’, epithet of the Ikṣvāku king Chāntamūla.
Hauḷapāta-saṁhita (XXXIII, 149, 1, 3), ‘son of the fire god’, epithet of the god Kumāra or Kārttikeya.
hauḷa (5, 1, 2), abbreviation of hauḷapāta, ‘the winter season (Mārga-ha-badi 1 to Phālguṇa-succi 15)’, one of the three seasons in which the official year was divided in ancient India, the two others being grīhsva and vāraḥ.
No. 2—KILARATTI INSCRIPTION OF CHALUKYA SOMESVARA I, SAKA 968

(1 Plate)

Srinivas RIT I, OOTACUMUND

(R.e. eivd on 6.4 1967)

In the course of my epigraphical survey of the Ling nagar Taluk in the Ratnagir Di trict, Mysore, in September 1959, I visited a village named Kilaratti. The inscription, which was discovered in that village, is in Kannada. The stone bearing the inscription is now fixed into the ceiling of the Hanumān temple outside the village. The record is engraved in twenty lines and covers a space about 3 feet 4 inches in length and 3 feet in breadth. The stone is split in the middle, but fortunately no letters are lost. The first three lines of the inscription are, however, difficult to copy owing to the presence of a big stone beam.

The characters of the epigraph are Kannada and its language is Kannada prose, except a verse in Sanskrit in lines 18-19. As regards palaeography, three different forms of the medial u sign are worth noticing: cf. ụ in 'dinda-futtamāre' (line 8), Ṽ in 'nedaṇḍanola' (line 9) and ụ in 'puna-sahāra' (line 15). The e sign has sometimes a peculiar form: cf. ē and ē in 'kētṣaṇa neḍaṇḍanola' (line 9). The letter ph is distinguished from p by a loop in the left arm of p; cf. phalam-akku (line 17). As regards orthography, notice may be made of the reduplication of certain consonants following r.

The date of the record is Saka 968, Vyaya, Pushya ba. 9, Wednesday, Uttarayana, Makara-saniṅkrānti. The details regularly correspond to December 24, 1045 A.D.

The epigraph begins with the usual prasasti of the Western Chalukya kings and refers itself to the reign of Trailakṣyamalla. Next is introduced the king's younger brother Soma ankalalla Kumāra Jayasirīha as administering the Karttunditti agahāra of Bannigola, situated in the division of Karadikan—300, from his headquarters at the fort of Pannāla. The purpose of the record is to register a grant of five mātrā of black-soil and five mātrā of red-soil land to the god Bhogēsvara. The grant was entrusted to Dēvasingha-hnakā. This portion is followed by imprecatory passages in Kannada and Sanskrit. The last line states that the record was written by Sēnavarē Bannamānāya.

The inscription introduces us to the Chalukya prince Jayasirīha who is described as the priyākṣva (the beloved younger brother) of the ruling king Trailakṣyamalla who is none else than Somēsvara I, the son of Jagadekamalla Jayasirīha II, since the date of the record, viz. 1016 A.D., falls in the reign of Somēsvara I Ālavarāla.

No inscription of a brother of Somēsvara I was so long known. That, however, Somēsvara I had a younger brother is hinted at in a newly discovered inscription from Vēnra in the Deccan

1 It is registered as No. B 394 of A. R. Ep., 1959-60.
2 Somēsvara I is known to have had two sisters, viz. Hamma or Avaladēvi married to the Śrīva prince Bhilama III (Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, Part ii, chart facing p 428), and Somaladēvi (Hyd. Arch. Ser. I, No. 18, Inscription No. 2).
3 This inscription was copied in October 1959 by my colleague Mr G. Bhattacharya. It is registered as No. B 210 of A. R. Ep., 1959-60.
Taluk of the Nanded District, while an inscription at Morigeri in the Hadagali Taluk of the Bellary District mentions the name of this brother as Jayasimha. The former, while giving a genealogical account of the family, describes Trailokyamalla (Somesvara I) as the agr-ātmajam, or the elder son of Jayasimha (i.e. Jayasimha II). Similarly the Morigeri inscription describes Somesvara I as Jayasimha-allesthāgura, thus indicating that he had a younger brother named Jayasimha. Again a Tamil inscription from Manimagalam, belonging to the reign of the Chola king Rajaendra, while describing the famous battle of Koppam which the Chola king fought against Somesvara I, mentions Jayasimha, a younger brother of the Chalukya king, among the heroes who fell in the battle. The editor of the Manimagalam record observed, ‘This prince is not mentioned in the Western Chalukyan inscriptions.’ About the same prince, Prof. Nilakanta Sastri remarked, ‘This could not have been the younger brother of Vikramaditya VI; he survived the battle of Koppam for many years.’ But there is no doubt now of the existence of Samaunikamalla Kinnara Jayasimha, the younger brother of Somesvara I. The reason for the absence of the name of this prince in the usual genealogy of the Chalukya family is apparently his untimely death at the battle of Koppam which is supposed to have taken place in 1053 A.D.

The present record states that, in 1046 A.D., prince Jayasimha was governing Bannigola from the fort of Pannele where his paternal aunt Akka Devi is known to have had her headquarters in 1050 A.D. Bannigola came to be administered by Ketaladevi, queen of Somesvara I, in 1055 A.D.

The geographical names mentioned in the inscription are Karadikal-300, Bannigola and Pannele. Karadikal, the headquarters of the division, is the present Karadikal about two miles away from Chhavani the headquarters of the Lingsugar Taluk. Bannigola is the modern Bannigol in the same Taluk. This village is described as a Kutumbaliti-agamara in the present record as well as the Bannigol inscription referred to above. It is difficult to make out the exact import of the expression kutumbaliti which also occurs as kutti murtiti in some other records. It may be suggested that this is a corrupt form of kutumbam-triti, i.e. a holding given for the maintenance of one’s family. I am unable to locate Pannele, which was apparently somewhere near Bannigol.

I am thankful to my colleague Mr. B. R. Gopal who kindly drew my attention to the Manimagalam record referred to above.

5 The Cilas, p. 278, note 76.
6 S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Ancient India, p. 112.
7 See SII, Vol. XI, Part I, No. 86.
9 The Silhara chetas of Karad were associated with a Pannala-durga or Panahula-durga which was identified by Fleet with Panahuli, twelve miles to the north-west of Kolhapur (Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, Part II, pp. 549, 549). An inscription from Sidi (above, Vol. XV, pp. 78 ff.), dated Saka 972, represents Akka Devi as governing the divisions of Kaukouta, Torugare 60 and Masarali 140, from the sel-āv of Pannālāya kote. In another inscription from Kolhali (SII, Vol. XI, Part I, No. 86) dated Saka 972, the same lady is stated to have been governing the same divisions with an additional one, viz., Bāgaage-70, from Parnārālaya-kote, which is apparently the same as Pannālāya kote of the Sidi record. Barnett, the editor of the latter record, followed Fleet in identifying Pannalāya-kote. I doubt if the Pannālāya kote mentioned in our record could be identified with Panahuli near Kolhapur, which is far away from Bannigol.
KILARATTI INSCRIPTION OF CHALUKYA SOMESVARA I, SAKA 968

Size: One-fifth
1 ............................................."1
2 .............................................[Chāluṣy-ābh]raṇaṁ śrīma[t*]-Traiṭikāyamalladēvara viṣa[ya]-
3 (rā)jyam-uttar-öttar-ābhivṛddhi(vṛiddhi)-pravardhamā[na]m=āchaṁdrāka-tāraṁbaram sa-
4 luttamire [[*] Ta[t*]-priy-ānujam svasti-śrīmat-Samaṁkamallādev. -nām-ā-
5 di-samasta-prasa(ṣa)sti-sahitaṁ śrīmat-Kumāram āgyasimha-
6 dēvar Karaṭikāl-mūn(ra)-oṣagaṇa kuttumbitti-agra-
7 hāraṁ Bannigolānaṁ tribhūg-ābhyaṅtara-su(si)dhiyim duhaṭa-ni-
8 graha-visª(ā)ṣhṭa-pratipāsanadhi-māluttamire Pannaţeyada kō-
9 ṭeya neleviṇoṇu Svasti Sa(Ṣa)ka-nṛpa-kālāṭa-sariva-
10 tsara-ṣatamga[ra] 968 neya Vyaya-samīvatsaram pravarttise tad-varṣa-ābhyaṁ-4
11 tarada Pushya bahuḷa 9 Buddhavāradmś-Uttarāyana-Makha(k)-
12 ra-saṁkrāṇṭi-nimittadim Doomāṃghabhjalāra[r*]gge dhārā-pūrṇvakaṁ geýdu
13 Bhogēva(ṣva)radēva[r*]gge ūrīṇāda mūḍaṇa dōṅkivoladalli biṭṭa kariya
14 nelam matta^ 5 kisukāḷu matta^ 5 aṅṭu mattaru 10 [[*] Ídhā5
15 Ùroḍeyar=aivarum purassahāragi dharmmavaṁ pratipāṭisuvaru [[*] I(I)dan-ā-
16 r=ōrvaru pratipāṭisidargge Bāṅgarāṣiye^=sāsira kavileyam brāhma-
17 nārggam tapōdhanarggam koṭṭa phalav=akku [[*] Ídan=āįdargg(e) kavileyum brāhma-
18 narum tapōdhanan^=alida paṅcha-mahā-pātakana(va)kku || Svadatta(ṭṭām) paradaṭṭa(ṭṭām) vā
19 yo harēta vaisuṇdharā[m [*] shashṭīr=vvarsha-sahasrāgi mi[vi]ṣṭā(ṣṭhā)lyēm jayaṭē kri-
20 Baredam Sēnabōvaṁ Bammaṇayya ||8

1 From impressions.
2 This portion has been covered by the stone beam on which the inscribed slab rests.
3 The anusvāra is a little towards the letter ṛkha.
4 Matta stands for Mattar.
5 Read Ídāṁ.
6 Read Vāraṇāsi (Sankrit Vāraṇaśī).
7 Read kavileyum brāhmaṇarumān tapōdhanarumān.
8 This line is engraved in smaller characters.
No. 3—FRAGMENTARY PILLAR INSCRIPTION FROM AMARAVATI

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACUMUND

(Received on 20.4.1960)

The Amaravati (Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh) inscriptions published in Burgess's Archaeological Survey of Southern India, Vol. I, were generally assigned to the second century A.D. But the characters of one of them, appearing as No. 4 on Plate LVI and recording the gift of a pillar by a general named Mudakatana, were rightly regarded as of the Mauryan type and it was observed on the strength of this evidence that 'though, in the second century, vast additions, if not almost entire reconstruction, were effected, the great Chaitya (i.e. the one at Amaravati) dates originally from perhaps about 200 B.C.' A number of such early inscriptions were unearthed in the course of later excavations at Amaravati along with some records of later dates and, while publishing them in the pages of this journal, Vol. XV, pp. 258 ff., R.P. Chanda thus observed on the palaeography of the earliest group of them: 'all the signs from the ancient Brāhmi epigraphs from Amaravati agree with the southern variety of the Aśoka alphabet.' Recently more such inscriptions, along with some of later dates, have been traced or dug up at Amaravati, and these are being noticed in the Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for the year 1959-60. The most important among these epigraphs is a fragmentary record on the side face of a sandstone slab apparently cut out from an inscribed pillar of the Aśokan type probably for the purpose of using it as a stepping stone. It is stated to have been a surface find and was traced in the house of an inhabitant of the area near the great Śāṭa at Amaravati. This inscription is edited in the following lines.

The inscribed side of the slab measures about 10 inches in length and 17 inches in height. The fragmentary inscription contains only seven lines of writing and the maximum number of letters in a line of the extant writing is seven in line 5. The first few letters of line 6 and all the letters in line 7 are damaged. A number of letters are apparently lost both at the beginning and at the end of each of the lines. There is some trace of the original 'Mauryan polish' on the inscribed face of the slab, none of the other sides representing the surface of the pillar on which the inscription was originally incised. The Brāhmi characters and Prakrit language, in which the record is written, resemble those of some of the inscriptions of Aśoka discovered in Western and Southern India, especially the rock edicts at Girnar. As regards palaeography, it may be observed that the letter r is not of the cork-screw but of the straight-vertical type while the right limb of bh is fashioned by a single vertical line and not by three strokes. The orthography of the inscription is characterized by the use of both r and l. Although the contents of the fragmentary inscription do not exactly tally with those of any of the known edicts of Aśoka, as will be seen below, the record certainly looks like an as yet unknown pillar edict of the Maurya king Aśoka (c. 269-232 B.C.). If its ascription to the Maurya king is justified, the record under study is the first pillar inscription of Aśoka so far discovered in South India.

1 Macaron over c and o has not been used in this paper.

(40)
It is generally believed that the Aśokan pillars were made at a quarry near Chunar in the Mirzapur District, U.P., and were transported to different places, some of them hundreds of miles away.¹ Historians have praised the ingenuity of the Mauryan engineers and craftsmen for the carriage of such unwieldy masses to great distances especially in view of the extreme difficulty of the conveyance of the Aśokan pillars from Topra in the Punjab and Meerut in U.P. to Delhi and their re-erection there, which is known to have been experienced by the engineers of Sultan Firuz Tughluq (1351-88 A.D.) of Delhi and is vividly described by Shams-i-Siraj.² The surprise of scholars would no doubt be even greater if Aśoka's artisans were really responsible for transporting one of the pillars from Chunar to Amarāvati, a distance of nearly a thousand miles across rivers, forests and mountains.³

In the first line of the inscription, we can read parattra acabh[ā] which is followed by a damaged word so that the second word may be acabhīṣa. Both these words, viz. parattra, 'in the future world', and acabhīṣa (Sanskrit acabhīṣka, 'anointing'), are often found in the inscriptions of Aśoka, although not both together in the same sentence. Since it is difficult to accommodate the ideas expressed by the two words in the same context, we may suggest a full-stop between them. The most important linguistic and paleographical feature of this line of writing is probably noticed in the word parattra in which tra appears to be written as rta. Both these features are found in the language and paleography of the Gimar edicts of Aśoka and have not yet been noticed elsewhere.⁴

The second line reads [dha] kha likhīte [me] in which dha seems to be the second letter of idha so that the words of the sentence stand for Sanskrit iha khala likhitam maya, 'indeed [it] has been written here by me'. The style of the sentence is no doubt clearly Aśokan and all the four words are found in Aśoka's edicts. It is also well known that the fact of writing down the edicts and getting them inscribed on stone (i.e. rock and pillars) is often referred to in the known edicts of Aśoka. The word kho (Sanskrit khala) is quite common in Aśoka's records,² but is rare in other Prakrit inscriptions. The word idha occurs several times in the Gimar Rock Edicts (e.g. I. line 2; VI. line 12; XIII. lines 8 and 9) and once in Rock Edict IV at Dhauli.

The third line has jaro bahūni, 'the people...many...', and both the words jano and bahu are found many times in the records of Aśoka. The form jano in mase. nom. sing. occurs in Gimar, VII, line 2; IX, lines 1 and 2; X, line 1: XIII, line 6; XIV, line 4: and also in Shahbazgarhi, VII, line 3; IX, line 18; XIII. line 6. The other word appears in the forms bahuni and bahūni in most versions of the edicts of Aśoka.

Line 4 has anuvayanti ca followed by a damaged letter which may probably be read as [ne]. Ti. is would stand in Sanskrit as anuvachante tat maya, 'They regret. Therefore...by me.' The verb an-su may also stand for Sanskrit anuvah, 'to hear repeatedly as from a sacred authority'. In that case, anuvahyante tat maya would mean [The texts are, therefore, heard

¹ D. R. Bhandarkar, Aśoka, 1922, pp. 214-15. As is well known, the pillar inscriptions of Aśoka have been found at the following places: (1) Delhi (originally from Topra in the Ambala District, East Punjab), (2) Delhi (originally from Meerut, U.P.), (3) Allahabad (originally from Kośam in the Allahabad District, U.P.), (4-6) Radhia (Lauria-Araria), Mathia (Lauria Navandgarh or Nandangarh) and Rampurua, all three in the Champaran District, North Bihar, (7-8) Rummendi and Nalimagor in the Nepalese Tarai. (9) Sarnath near Varanasi, U.P., and (10) Sanchi near Bhilsa, M.P.

² Cf. Elliot and Dowson, History of India as told by its own Historians, Vol. III, p. 350.

³ Mr. A. Ghosh, Director General of Archaeology in India, informs us that the pillar is of fine-grained quartzite (metamorphosed sandstone) of the Nallanmala range, and not Chunar sandstone.

⁴ See paratrichikaya in Gimar, X, line 3, which is found in Aśoka's other records as pālatikaya (Dhauli, Jaugada and Erragudi), pālatikaya (Kalsi) and paratrukaya (Shahbazgarhi and Manabha).⁵

⁵ Cf. Gimar, IX, lines 3 and 7; X, line 4; Kalsi, IX, line 25; X, line 28; XIII, line 14; Shahbazgarhi, VI, line 10; IX, line 18; X, line 22; XIII, line 11; Manasura, VII, line 32; IX, lines 3 and 4; X, line 11; Dhauli, IX, line 3; Jaugada, IX, lines 2, 3 and 5; Pillar Edicts (Topra), I, line 5; III, line 7; VII, line 30; Sarnath, line 3; Caiut-Kisat, line 3; Brahmagiri, lines 2 and 4; Siddhavura, lines 5, 6 and 9; Jatinga Ramesvara, line 4.

2 DGA/60
by me repeatedly.' If there is really any reference to religious texts, they may of course be the dharma paryāyas enumerated in the Calcutta-Bairat Minor Rock Edict.1 This would then show the inscription under study is almost certainly an Aśokan edict. Whatever, however, may be the interpretation of the passage, it is in perfect Aśokan style, though the word āvavāyāti is not found in the inscriptions of Aśoka so far discovered.

Line 5 has ra chhiṣṭi vijaye (Sanskrit... chhipaye vijaye), in which chhiṣṭi means 'is broken or cut or destroyed' and vijaye, 'in conquest', i.e. 'when one gets a victory [in a battle or war]. The word vijaye may also be regarded as standing for Sanskrit vijayāḥ masc. nom. sing. instead of masc. loc. sing. This word reminds us of the concluding part of Rock Edict XIII wherein Aśoka denounces the conquest of peoples by arms and applauds the conquest of their hearts through Dharma and wherein the word vijaya occurs several times. The word chhiṣṭi, however, is not noticed in the known inscriptions of Aśoka.

The extant aśkaras of line 6 are [pi cha] māme(ma) pi (Sanskrit api cha māma api, 'and then again of myself also'). The last three aśkaras may also be read as m(ā)ṭī api, 'me too'; but text is less likely since, in that sense, māti pi would probably be the proper expression in an inscription of Aśoka (cf. māti for Sanskrit mām in Pillar Edict VI). The first three letters of line 7 look like pi tata probably standing for Sanskrit api tatta, 'too... there'.

As already indicated above, the language of the inscription closely resembles that of the Girnar version of Aśoka's Rock Edicts. In this connection, we may note the retention of ra in para[r]ṣa[tra] without changing it to la and the form jano in masc. nom. sing. Vijaye, whether it is masc. nom. sing. or masc. loc. sing., would also suit the Girnar dialect. As regards me, the Girnar edicts have both māma and me as gen. sing. and māyā as ins. sing., though the Minor Rock Edicts in Mysore have both māyā and me as ins. sing. and me also as gen. sing. Considering the fragmentary nature of the line, it is not impossible to regard me in line 2 as gen. sing.

We have seen that the palaeography and language of the inscription under study do not go against its ascription to the Maurya emperor Aśoka and that, on the other hand, its style seems to be perfectly Aśokan while its contents remind us of those of some of the known edicts of Aśoka. The ideas suggested by the words of the inscription are similar to those peculiar to the records of Aśoka and have not yet been noticed in any other inscription. The use of the First Person singular is also rare in royal records excepting those of Aśoka. These facts, when considered along with others that the inscription was engraved on a sand stone pillar like those of Aśoka, that the pillar bore the so-called Mauryan polish and that the record has to be assigned to the Maurya age on grounds of palaeography, indeed make it very probable that the epigraph belongs to Aśoka who alone is known to have raised numerous inscribed pillars of the same type in various localities of his vast empire. The great Stūpa at Amarāvatī thus seems to have been built not about 200 B.C. as suggested by Burgess but by Aśoka about half a century earlier.

This is in consonance with the Buddhist tradition that the said Maurya emperor built no less than eighty-four thousand Stūpas throughout his empire.3 The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang, who travelled in India in the first seventh century A.D., says that he found a Stūpa built by Aśoka as far south as Kāśipura near Madras.4 Hiuen-tsang also visited the headquarters of the country called Te-na-ka-che-ka (i.e. Dhānyakataka, i.e. Dharaṇikuta near Amarāvatī) or Ta-An-to-lo (i.e. Great Anibha).4 He does not speak of any Aśoka Stūpa there, though he

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1 Cf., Vol. I., pp. 172 f.
2 Smith, Early History of India, 1924, p. 172.
4 Ibid., pp. 214, 216; Cunningham, Geography of Ancient India, p. 622. Hiuen-tsang places the Pūrva-saila and Aparākāla to the east and west of the capital of the country.
FRAGMENTARY PILLAR INSCRIPTION FROM AMARAVATI

Size: One-half
No. 3]  FRAGMENTARY PILLAR INSCRIPTION FROM AMARAVATI  43

ters to one Aśoka Stūpa at Ping-k'i-lo (probably Ping-k'i-pu-lo, i.e. Veṅgipura), the capital of the neighbouring An-to-lo or Andhra country, and another at the capital of the Cū-li-ya country, i.e. the territory of the Telugu-Chaḷas.¹ But the silence of the Chinese pilgrim regarding the existence of a Stūpa built by Aśoka at Dhānyaakataka or Amaravati cannot of course be regarded as definitely proving that none actually existed there. The present inscription seems to suggest that the Amaravati Stūpa was built by Aśoka about the middle of the third century B.C.

TEXT

1 para[r]ta[tra] [\*] abl [isa]²
2 [dha]³ kho likbite [mje
3 janο bahūnī⁴
4 anusuyamiti [\*] sa'
5 ra chhijiti vijaye⁴
6 [pi cha] mam[e]⁵ pi
7 [pi tata tā]

¹ Ibid., pp. 209, 224. The pilgrim saw an Aśoka Stūpa at the capital of Kalinga, probably at Kalinganagara, modern Mukhalingam near Śrīkālaṇam (ibid., p. 198), but may not have visited Sālihuṇḍām, in the Śrīkakulam District, where also there was probably a Stūpa built by Aśoka according to an early tradition (above, Vol. XXXI, p. 88, note 2).
² From impressions.
³ The intended word may be abhiśita.
⁴ The intended word may be idha.
⁵ Above this word, there are traces looking like the akeśaras here. It is difficult to say whether they were actually incised or are mere marks on the stone.
⁶ The akeśara after sa is unrecognisable.
⁷ The akeśara following sa, which was endowed with an e-mātrā, is unrecognisable, but may be me.
⁸ The akeśara following ye is unrecognisable.
⁹ Read māma. The reading of the last three akeśaras may also be m[ā]m-ops; but, as indicated above, that is less likely.

² DGA/60
No. 4—THREE EARLY MEDIEVAL INSCRIPTIONS

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR,OOTACUMUND

(Received on 4.1.1960)

1. Kabul Inscription of Shâhi Khingâla

In May 1956, the Government of India sent an Archaeological Delegation for exploration in Afghanistan. Cylcstyled copies of the Preliminary Report of the Delegation (with printed Plates), by Mr. T. N. Ramachandran and Dr. Y. D. Sharma, both officers of the Department of Archaeology, were distributed among the members of the Archaeological Advisory Board meeting at New Delhi in September 1956. This Report contains the notice of an interesting inscription.

The members of the Delegation learnt at Kabul that a marble image of Gaṅgâsa had been discovered some years ago somewhere at Gardãz (famous for its fortress called Bala Hissar) about 70 miles to the south of Kabul and that the image was later removed to Kabul where it was being worshipped by the Hindu residents of the city at Dargah Pir Ratan Nâth near the Pamir Cinema. At Gardãz, however, the local people could not confirm the story of the discovery of the image at that place. The image under worship at Dargah Pir Ratan Nâth measures 28 inches in height and 14 inches in breadth. There is an inscription in two lines on its base. A photograph of the inscribed image appears in the Report, Plate II, A. Unfortunately the Delegation did not bring any inked impression of the record. The image has also been recently illustrated by Prof. G. Tucci in his article entitled 'Preliminary Report on an Archaeological Survey in Swat' appearing in the East and West, Vol. 9, No. 4, December 1958, pp. 276-328, figure 40 (at p. 323). The Report of Ramachandran and Sharma contains a Roman transcript (without diacritical marks) and a translation of the epigraph. Tucci also quotes the epigraphic text, as read by him on the basis of a photograph of the image, in footnote 29 (at pp. 327-328) of his article. But neither of the published transcripts of the inscription is free from errors. We edit the epigraph in the following pages from the photograph in the Report of Ramachandran and Sharma.

The characters of the Kabul Gaṅgâsa image inscription belong to the North Indian (Siddha-mâtrikâ) alphabet of the sixth or seventh century A. D. That it is not much later than the middle of the seventh century is clear from the use of the tripartite form of the letter y. The latest occurrence of this form of the said letter has been noticed in Eastern India in such early seventh century inscriptions as the Pâtiakkela plate of Śambhuvasas, dated 602 A.D., and the Dubi plates of Bhâskaravarmar (c. 600-50 A.D.), while in the Rajasthan area of Western India it is also found rarely in the late seventh century epigraphs like the Dhulev plate of Bhâttti dated in the Harsha year 73 corresponding to 679 A.D. The number 13 has been written in the inscription with the symbols for 10 and 3. In some cases (cf. šâhi-pâdaî in line 2), the letter h looks like bh. The language of our record is Sanskrit although there are a few errors of grammar and orthography in the text.

1 Above, Vol. IX, Plate between pp. 286 and 287.
3 Ibid, Plate facing p. 4.

(44)
The inscription begins with a siddham symbol followed by a sentence, at the end of which there is a floral design indicating the completion of the writing. The sentence states that [an image of] Mahā-Vināyaka was installed by Paramabhaṅgū-aka Mahāvijñāhinīja Śahī Bhūgūla on the thirteenth of the bright half of the month of Jyeṣṭha in the year 8, apparently of the Śahī king's reign, when the constellation was Viśākha and the yoga Simha. In the passage saṃvatsarē aśkhaṁ saṁ 8 in line 1, Ramachandran and Sharma read mahā for saṁ 8. In the same line, the word tithau, read by them as well as by Tucci, looks on the photograph as tili (which has of course to be corrected to tithau) while the word read as riti(k)ṣhē looks on the photograph as jiti(k)ṣhē. The word at the end of line 1 and the beginning of line 2 has been read by Ramachandran and Sharma as chitra-[ka]na, of which Tucci reads only the first akṣara. But, in the photograph, the word looks more like chitra[ka]m. The passage idam Mahā-Vināyaka in line 2 requires to be corrected to idam Mahā-Vināyaka-bimbaṁ.

More important than all these is, however, the last passage containing the Śahī king's name which Ramachandran and Sharma read as Khingalaḥ bhyaṁ-shahī-putraḥ (with the addition of dia critic marks) and Tucci as Khingal-bhyāna-shāhī-putra[k]. In regard to his reading, Tucci observes, "I am not absolutely sure about the reading bhyāna; it could also be bhyaṁa or bhyaṇa . . . . . . . . . . . A good rubbing can settle the point. If the reading is confirmed, we have here the first mention of a king of Udīyāna, Udīyāna (i.e. the Swat valley)." The name of the king is, however, Khīngala and not Khīngala, while the vowel-mark with the letter l is clearly au and neither ai as read by Ramachandran and Sharma (who wrongly read a viṣṇa after la) nor o as read by Tucci. Outside this passage, the letter a occurs only once in Mahā-Vināyaka while t occurs several times. In both cases, both the left and right lower limbs are shorter than those of t. If this is a purposeful distinction made by the engraver, we should better read the two akṣaras following lāv as tāṭa, though the readings nāyana, nāya and tāṭa cannot be regarded as altogether impossible, since, as indicated above, the distinction between the letters bh and h is not clearly indicated by the engraver of the record. In any case, the readings khyāta, ḍyāna or ḍyāna are not supported by the photograph. As regards Tucci's suggestion that the king might have been a Śahī ruler of Udīyāna (Udīyāna-shahī), it is doubtful whether the Śahīs of Swat, if any Śahī house actually ruled there, can be regarded as in occupation of the Gardez region within the dominions of the Śahīs of Kapiṣā or Kabul, since, in the period in question, the latter were probably the strongest amongst the Śahī houses, although it may of course be conjectured that the image in question was carried to Gardez from the Swat valley.

In the second quarter of the seventh century A.D., when the Chinese pilgrim Huen-tsang was passing through Uttarāpatha or the north-western division of Bhāratavarsha, the emperor of Kapiṣā which then dominated over ten neighbouring States and comprised Lāmpāka (Laghman), Nagara or Nagarāhāra (Jalālābād), Gandhāra (the Peshawar region) and probably also Jāgudā (Southern Afghanistan with Ghazni as the chief city), had a residence (i.e. a secondary capital) at Udabhāṇḍa or Udabhāṇḍapura (modern Und near Attock). It appears that under the pressure of the Turks and Chinese from the north and the Arabs from the south and west, the Śahī kings of Kapiṣā left the western provinces of their empire in the hands of viceroy and gradually made Udabhāṇḍa their main seat. This is suggested by the Arabic work Ḥaḍīdāl-ʿAlam (982-83 A.D.) and Kalhaṇa’s Rājatarangini (c. 1150 A.D.) which mention the said city as the capital of the Śahī emperors. While Huen-tsang mentions Udabhāṇḍa as the residence of the king of Kapiṣā about

1 The Takhashālī region about the Rawalpindi District had been formerly subject to Kapiṣā but was at Huen-tsang's time a dependency of Kashmir (Watters, Yuan Choung's Travels in India, Vol. I, p. 249).
3 Proc. IHC, 1939, p. 670; Rājatar., V, 155.

2 DGA/80
the middle of the seventh century, Kalhaṇa speaks of it as the capital of the Shāhīs since the time of Lalliyā Shāhī (c. 875-90 A. D.). He further mentions Lalliyā's kingdom as lying between the lands of the Darads (i.e. Dardistan) and the Turushkas (Turk.)²

The name of Shāhī Khingāla reminds us of Khinghila (alias) Narāṇdrāditya mentioned as an ancient king of Kashmir and as a successor of Miharakula, apparently the Hūna king of that name who ruled in c. 510-35 A. D., in Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgī.³ There are some copper coins with the legend Khingila (the fuller form may have been Khinghila) while another coin is known to bear the legend Déwa-Shāhī-Khinghila.⁴ It is difficult to say whether Khinghila of our inscription is identical with Khinghila of the coins and Khinghila of the Kashmir chronicle. His identification with Khinghila Narāṇdrāditya would, however, suggest that, at the time of the ruler in question, Kashmir formed a part of the Shāhī empire.

The names of the following Shāhī kings have been recently revealed by the Gilgit manuscripts: (1) Paṭoladōva-compounded Vaṣrāditya Nandin; (2) Śrī-Dēva-Shāhī Surēndrāvikramāditya Nanda (Nandin) who seems to have had a queen named Šamidēvī Trailōkyaṭēvī; and (3) Shāhā-nāvasā Shāhī Paṭolā-Shāhī Śrī-nava-Surēndrāditya Nandīdeva who had a queen named Anaṅgadēvī and is apparently identical with Paramabhaṭṭaraka-Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Paṭolā-Shāhī Śrī-nava-Surēndrāditya Nandīdeva claiming descent from the Bhagadatta family and mentioned in the Hatun inscription.⁵ These Shāhīs, who probably ruled about the seventh century A. D., have been supposed to have ruled over the Darad country in the upper valley of the Kishenganga. Their names, in which several names have been clubbed together, are interesting in view of the double name of the king mentioned in our record. Ōṭyāṭa-Shāhī seems to be a second name of Shāhī Khingāla and is probably not connected with the territory over which he ruled.

The image of Gaṇḍā, called Mahā-Vināyaka in the inscription, represents the deity as standing in the ālīṭha pose. His limbs are muscular. The trunk, which was turned to the left, is broken. The tusk, indicated on the left, is also broken. He has a close-fitting coronet on the head and a close-fitting necklace on the neck. The ears look like foliage. There were four hands, all of which are broken. The god has a snake as his gajā-opāvita and his under garment is decorated with a lion's or tiger's head and claws apparently to satisfy the prescription that Vināyaka's cloth should be the tiger's skin.⁶ The image is characterised by the god's usual pot-belly (lamb-śūdrā) and also the ardha-mēgha. It is difficult to say whether the image represents a Brahmanical or a Buddhist deity.

The elephant-headed god Gaṇḍā or Vināyaka is a non-Aryan divinity adopted in the Brahmanical pantheon not much earlier than the third or fourth century A. D.⁷ The earliest images of the deity are supposed to be those found in the Sankisa mound (Etah District, U. P.) and Bhumārā (Satna District, Madhya Pradesh), both of about the fifth century A. D., while its representation on a terracotta bas-relief from Akra (Bannu District, West Pakistan) is also assigned to the same age.⁸ The discovery of the Akra bas-relief and the image bearing the inscription under study points to the popularity of the god in the Uttarāpatha division of Bhāratavāraśa not long after he was adopted in the Brahmanical pantheon.

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¹ Sirca, Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, p. 235.
² Rajatarāṅgī, V, 155.
⁵ Cunningham, Later Indo-Scythians, 1893, pp. 97, 110, Plate VII, No. 11.
2. Sitabhinji Inscription of Disabhanja

\[ A \]

(from Photograph)

\[ B \]

Eye copy
THREE EARLY MEDIEVAL INSCRIPTIONS

TEXT

1 [Sidrabham] [||[*]] Sa[r]vatsarē- ashtatamē sam 8 Jyēśhtha-māsa- śukla-paksha- tilau(thau) ttrayōdaśyāṁ śu-di 10 3 ji(ri)kṣhē Viśākhē śubhē Sīra[hē] chi[trakā]-

2 [m] mahat pratishṭhāpitam=idaṁ Mahā-Vināyakaś paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhīrāja- Śrī-Shāhī-Khiṅgāl-Āutyāta’-shāhī-pāda[(h)]

TRANSLATION

May it be well! In the eighth year—year 8, on the thirteenth tithi of the bright half of the month of Jyēśhtha—bright day 13, in the constellation Viṣākha (and) the auspicious Sīrṣha (loga), this lovely (and) big (image of) Mahā-Vināyaka has been installed by the illustrious Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhīrāja Śrī Shāhī Khiṅgāl (alias) Ītyāta—shāhī.

2. Sitābhīnī Inscription of Diśābhaṇja

Sometime ago an interesting tempera painting was found in a rock shelter called Rāvaṇa- chāyā in the village of Sitābhīnī in the Keonjhar District of Orissa. It depicts a king on the back of an elephant who is in a procession and is preceded by footmen, a horseman and a dancing woman and followed by a female attendant. There is a painted label in one line giving the name of the king as Diśābhaṇja. This painted record was published in the Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol. XIX, pp. 191 ff. and Plate, by Mr. T. N. Ramachandran who assigns its characters to about the 4th century A.D. * While writing on the Bhaṇjas of Khiṅjali-maṇḍala, we pointed out that the characters of the inscription belong to the Kaliṅga script (an admixture of the Northern and Southern alphabets) generally found in the copper-plate inscriptions of the Ganjam region, which are assignable to dates between the eighth and eleventh centuries A.D., and also raised the question whether Diśābhaṇja of the Sitābhīnī inscription could be identified with Diḥbhija alias Diśābhaṇja who was a son of Rajabhija ruling over Khiṅjali-maṇḍala from Dhrītipura and flourished about the third quarter of the tenth century A.D. †

Recently Dr. R. C. Majumdar has observed that the characters of the short record at Sitābhīnī can by no means be regarded as later than those of the charters of the early kings of Kaliṅga who have been unanimously referred to the fifth century A.D. and that ‘Diśābhaṇja of Sitābhīnī may justly be regarded as the earliest Bhaṇja king who flourished in the fourth or fifth century A.D.’ In our opinion, however, this view regarding the date of the Sitābhīnī

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1 From a photograph.
2 Expressed by symbol.
3 Read asRKanē.
4 The akṣara ka is broken away. The reading of the word as chiṭra-karna may not be impossible.
5 Read *yaka-bimbam.
6 As indicated above, the letters read as i may be a also.
7 There is a floral design after this.
8 Literally, 'by the feet of'. The word pāda is used in the original in an honorific sense.
9 See also JNIS, Vol. XIII, p. 69. For the painting, see Ramachandran's paper in Artibus Asiae, No. XIV, 1951, pp. 5-25.
11 The Age of Imperial Kusān, pp. 73-74.
inscription is based on a misunderstanding on the evidence of its palaeography which is certainly not much earlier than the eighth century A.D. Ramachandran and Majumdar have apparently influenced by the fact that the letters j and ś (one of the two types) as used in the record are found in North Indian inscriptions of the Gupta age. But it has unfortunately been overlooked that the same forms of the letters are also noticed in the inscriptions of the Kaliṅga area, which belong to the 7th century and later. It has also been overlooked that the palaeography of some of the letters and signs used in the record is decidedly later than the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.

The inscription reads: Mahārāja-bhī-Diśābhāṣa. The first word is not Mahārāja as read by Ramachandran. It may be pointed out at the outset that the word māhārāja is an Oriya corruption of Sanskrit mahārāja, which is not expected in an inscription of so early a date as the fourth or fifth century A.D.

The letter m in mā is of the Telugu-Kannada type. It has resemblance with the form of the letter sometimes occurring in mid-seventh-century records like the Nelkunda grant1 of Abhinava-vāditya and the Amudalapadu plates of Vikramaśiṇīya I. It may also be compared with the form of m in Dēvendrarvarman’s plates of the Gaṅga year 183 (c. 680 A.D.) and the Parlakimedi plates of Vajrahasta (tenth or eleventh century A.D.). The long curve of the ā-mātrā is not expected in records of the fourth or fifth century A.D. On the other hand, it is apparently later than the shorter form of the same sign in the mid-seventh-century records referred to above.

The right limb of ā in āḥā has a downward knot in the middle, its end being considerably curved below, although the left limb of the letter is straight. This form of the letter is not expected in any epigraph of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. but can be compared with ā in kāṭha in line 6, mahēṣvarō in line 13 and nāhi in line 33 of the Pattali grant of the year 313 (c. 810 A.D.). It may also be compared with the early Grantha ā as found in the Kuram plates of Pallava Paramēśvara-varman I (c. 670-700 A.D.) and the Kasakudi plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla (c. 731-96 A.D.).

The letter r in rā has an u-mātrā like curve attached to its lower end, which is not expected in Brāhmī inscriptions since its analogue is noticed only in the Siddhamātrikā stage of the northern alphabet. The lower part of r in the Sūtābbhīṣji epigraph reminds us of the corresponding part of the letter in records like the Morbi plates of 904 A.D.

As regards the English E type of j, which is found in early North Indian inscriptions, it has to be noticed that the same form of the letter also occurs in early medieval Southern records like the Andhavaram plates of the year 216 (c. 713 A.D.)., the Russelkonda plates of Nettabhaṇja

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1 See above, Vol. XXXII, Plate between pp. 216 and 217 (cf. pravardākaṇā in line 22; also nāma in line 29, māhārāja in line 20).
2 Ibid. Plate between pp. 182 and 183 (cf. mānasya and mātrī in line 3, mātrī in line 4, paramēśvara in line 23, etc.).
3 See Ojha, Bhāratīya Prabha Lipimālā, Plate LVII, c; Plate LXIX (the third one of the forms).
4 Above, Vol. XXXII, Plate between pages 204 and 205. Cf. also ā in hitā in line 2 of the Svalpavelura grant (ibid., Vol. XXXIV, Plate facing p. 135) which is not earlier than the ninth century.
5 Ojha, op. cit., Plate III, c; Plate LIII, b. See also ā in mahārāja in line 12 of the Galavalli Plates of 890 A.D. (above, Vol. XXXI, Plate opposite p. 190).
6 See Ojha, op. cit., Plate XXIV.
7 See above, Vol. XXXI, Plate facing p. 200 (jwala in line 6, jyāśika in line 12 and jala in line 21).
8 Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, Plate between pp. 262 and 263 (jāśika in line 4, rājaputra in line 18, etc.).
THREE EARLY MEDIEVAL INSCRIPTIONS

(eighth or ninth century A.D.), the Pattali grant\(^3\) of c. 810 A.D. and the Kalahandi plates of the year 383 (c. 880 A.D.).\(^7\) It is also noticed in the Svalpavelura grant\(^8\) which is not earlier than the ninth century A.D.

The letter ś in śrī has the peculiar Telugu-Känāḍa form not expected in records of the fourth or fifth century A.D. It resembles the form of the letter as found in the Pattali grant of c. 810 A.D.,\(^4\) the Galavalli plates of c. 890 A.D.,\(^4\) and the Parakramedi plates of the tenth or eleventh century A.D.\(^6\) The same type of ś also occurs in many other records such as the Gautamipati plates\(^7\) of Indravarman which have been assigned to the eighth century A.D.

\(D\) in di is of the North Indian (Siddhamārgikā) type endowed with a tail which is not found with the letter before the sixth century A.D. The longish \textit{i-mātrā} found with the letter is also too early for the fourth or fifth century A.D.

Ś in śā is found in early North Indian records like the Allahabad pillar inscription\(^8\) of Samudragupta (c. 340-75 A.D.). But it has to be noticed that it is found also in early medieval inscriptions of the east coast such as those of the Sāñjōdhava king Dharmarāja (close of the 7th century A.D.),\(^9\) the Russelkonda plates\(^10\) of the eighth or ninth century A.D. and the Parakramedi plates\(^11\) of the tenth or eleventh century. This form of ś may also be compared with that of the same letter in the Vishamagiri\(^12\) and Svalpavelura\(^13\) plates which are not earlier than the ninth century A.D.

\(Bh\) is of the wide-top type which is found in early medieval records of the Telugu-Känāḍa area like the Kalahandi plates of c. 880 A.D.\(^14\)

In the conjunct śj, the superscript ś, which is separated from the subscript j, is rather unusual. But it is certainly not expected in records of the fourth or fifth century A.D. since it is considerably removed from the original form of the letter. However, it reminds us of subscript ś in the records of the early medieval period such as the Neulpur plate\(^15\) of the close of the ninth century A.D., Madras Museum plates of the tenth century,\(^16\) Baud plates\(^17\) of the year 158 (989 A.D.) and later epigraphs.

I do not think that the Sīṭābhīṇji inscription can be assigned to a date much earlier than the Russelkonda plates of the eighth or ninth century A.D. King Diśāḥaṇa may have been

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\(^1\) See \textit{jantaka-jaya} in line 6 (ibid., Vol. XXXII, Plate between pp. 204 and 205).

\(^2\) See \textit{rājya} in line 22 (ibid., Plate facing p. 321).

\(^3\) Ibid., Vol. XXV, Plate facing p. 135 (cf. \textit{jātaka} in line 25).

\(^4\) Cf. \textit{kśa} in line 20, \textit{nāt-cha} in line 23 and \textit{diśā} in line 24 (above, Vol. XXXII, Plate between pp. 204 and 205).

\(^5\) Ibid., Vol. XXXI, Plate facing p. 190 (cf. \textit{sākhā} in line 2, \textit{yaś} in line 7).

\(^6\) Cf. śrī in line 13 (ibid., Vol. III, Plate facing p. 222).

\(^7\) Ibid., Vol. XXXIV, Plate facing p. 181.

\(^8\) Ojha, op. cit., Plate XVI.

\(^9\) See e.g., ibid., Vol. XXIX, Plate facing p. 49 (\textit{Sāñjōdhva} in line 8, etc.).

\(^10\) Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, Plate between pp. 262 and 263 (cf. \textit{sāla} in line 11, \textit{kara-arka} in line 15, etc.).

\(^11\) Ojha, op. cit., Plate LXIX (the second of the three forms).

\(^12\) Above, Vol. XIX, Plate between pp. 130 and 137 (cf. \textit{sākha} in line 3).

\(^13\) Ibid., Vol. XXXIV, Plate facing p. 135 (cf. \textit{karmaṇā} in line 16).

\(^14\) Above, Vol. XXI, Plate facing p. 321 (cf. \textit{bhaya} in line 13, etc.).

\(^15\) Ibid., Vol. XV, Plate between pp. 4 and 5 (cf. \textit{sāmājānapayati} in line 7).

\(^16\) Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, Plate between pp. 50 and 51 (cf. \textit{rājā} in line 29).

\(^17\) Ibid., Vol. XXIX, Plate between pp. 216 and 217 (cf. \textit{sāmājānapayati} in line 26).
connected with this Nṛṣṭabhaṇja. Whether he was identical with Diṣābhaṇja, son of Raṇa-
baṇja of Khiṅjali-ṃañḍala, cannot be determined definitely. But I do not consider it im-
possible since the Kaliṅga script was an artificial alphabet in which letters could retain their old
forms for a longer time.¹

King Nṛṣṭabhaṇja who issued the Russelkonda plates from Vārūḍa (modern Bārūḍa or
Bārūḍa near Russelkonda, now called Bhanjanagar, in the Ganjam District) also issued the Baud
plates² from Nav-Āṅgula-pattana which is the modern Angul in the Dhenkanal District near
the District of Keonjhar. Thus the dominions of this Nṛṣṭabhaṇja of the eighth or ninth century
A.D. appear to have comprised the Ganjam area in the south-west and the Dhenkanal-Keonjhar
region in the north-east and it is interesting in this connection to note that, in the tenth century
A.D., the earlier Bhaṇjas of Khiṅjali-ṃañḍala also ruled over the same area between the Ganjam
and Baudh-Keonjhar regions of Orissa.³ It is therefore likely that Nṛṣṭabhaṇja, who claimed
to have belonged to the dynasty of Drumarāja, was an earlier member of the Bhaṇja family of
Khiṅjali-ṃañḍala. He seems to have flourished after the fall of the Sailōḍhavas in the eighth
century and before the rise of the Bhauma-Karas of Jaipur about 831 A.D. His descendants,
viz. the Bhaṇjas of Khiṅjali-ṃañḍala who sometimes used the Bhauma-Kara era, were apparently
feudatories of the Bhauma-Kara kings. We have elsewhere shown that the early Bhaṇjas of
Khiṅjali-ṃañḍala ruled from Dhṛitipura in the Baudh-Keonjhar region till the time of Raṇabhaṇja
and that they were driven out of that region by the Sōmavānśī king Yāyāti Mahāśīvagūpta I
(c. 970-1000 A.D.) so that Raṇabhaṇja’s descendants beginning with his son Nṛṣṭabhaṇja
Kālyāṇakalasa ruled from Vaiţjulvaka in the Ganjam region.⁴ If Diṣābhaṇja of the Stābhīṇji
inscription can be identified with Diṅghaṇja-Diṣābhaṇja who was another son of Raṇabhaṇja,
he was probably the elder brother of Nṛṣṭabhaṇja Kālyāṇakalasa and the last Bhaṇja ruler of
Dhṛitipura. It has, however, to be pointed out that, among the records of this family, only the
Stābhīṇji epigraph of Diṣābhaṇja and the Russelkonda plates of Nṛṣṭabhaṇja are written in the
Kaliṅga script (the Northern element being more prominent in the latter) while all other records
issued from Dhṛitipura and Vaiţjulvaka are written in the North Indian (Siddhamātrikā and
Gaudīya) characters.

3. Nausāri Inscription of the time of Yādava Rāmādeva, V.S. 1359

Under cover of a letter dated the 27th November 1958, Dr. J. M. Unvala of Bombay was
kind enough to send me for examination one inked impression of a stone inscription. He gave
the following details about the whereabouts of the inscribed stone: “The inscription was found
on a laterite slab at Nausāri in the Surat District of Bombay under the gate (Gujarāṭi pāl)
of a private street. Above the inscription, the slab has the representation of a horseman over-
powering an enemy. Such stones, found in many places in Gujarat, are called pāḷiṇḍa paṭṭhār
in Gujarāṭi. The gate under which the inscribed slab was found is at least 350 years old.”

From Dr. Unvala’s description, it is quite clear that the slab bearing the inscription is what
is called a hero stone, i.e. a memorial raised in honour of a warrior who died in a battle fighting
for a good cause. There are altogether 12 lines of writing on the slab and they cover an area
about 19½ inches in height and 24 inches in breadth. The formation of the letters exhibits

³ Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 201.
⁴ Ibid., pp. 274, 276.
considerable carelessness on the part of the engraver while a layer of the stone has peeled off here and there damaging a number of letters. Moreover, the letters of the writing in a roundish space about the middle of the epigraph, with a diameter of about 10 inches and affecting lines 5-12 of the inscription, are more or less completely rubbed off probably as a result of the stone having been used for some time as a sharpening of axes, etc. The record is thus fragmentary.

The characters of the inscription are Nāgarī and its language is Sanskrit. It is written in prose and verse. The date of the epigraph is given in lines 1-3 as the expired Vikrama year 1359, Plavaṇga, Jyēṣṭha-bādi 6, Monday. These details indicate the 6th May 1303 A.D.

The inscription begins with a rather peculiar variety of the śiddhaṃ symbol followed by the word svasti and the date referred to above. It then refers to the reign of Mahārājaḥirāja Rāmadēva stationed at Dēvaṇa (lines 3-1). This ruler is none other than the well-known king Rāmadēva or Rāmachandra (1271-1311 A.D.) of the Yādava dynasty of Dēvaṇa which is the modern Daulatbāād in the Anarangabad District of Bombay. Line 5 introduces Rāmadēva’s subordinate whose territory included śrīman Nausārikā, i.e. the modern Nauśāri where the inscribed slab has been found, with the well-known expression tat-pūḍa-pudhā-prajjā. The following passage in lines 6-7 reads: Rāyaka . . . . . rāja-śār-Kaṇḍaṇav. Unfortunately about 12 letters after rāyaka in this passage are either indifferently formed or totally rubbed off. The few letters before rāja may be [j rādhā]au-māhā and it is possible that Karṇadēva enjoyed the titles Pradēhāna or Mahājandēhāna and Mahārāja. After Rāyaka, the following two letters may be svaha reminding us of the official designation Svahāvagāde (Karnāḍa) or Śvāvikāvagāka. Thus Karṇadēva, Yādava Rāmachandra’s subordinate ruling over the Nausārikā region, seems to have enjoyed the royal titles Rāyaka and Mahārāja side by side with certain official designations. The identity of this Karṇadēva, however, cannot be determined. Of course, about the time in question, Chaulukya-Viśhēlā Karṇa II was ruling over parts of Khandesh as a vassal of Yādava Rāmachandra after he had lost the kingdom of Gujarat to Sultan Alāud-din Khalji. It is difficult to believe that the Nausāri region formed a part of the territory ruled by him. A certain Krishnāḍēva is known to have served Yādava Rāmachandra in 1289 A.D. as the governor of the whole of the Koṅkan and, since the name Krishnā is sometimes known to have been re-sanskritised from Prakrit Kauṇāna as Koṅga, it is not impossible to regard Karṇadēva of our record as identical with the said Krishnāḍēva of the Koṅkan. Otherwise it will have to be supposed that our Karṇadēva was a governor of the Yādava king stationed at Nausāri itself.

The above section in prose is followed by three stanzas in which the record proper is written. Unfortunately the damaged nature of the writing stands in the way of a satisfactory interpretation of this part. There is no doubt, however, that it refers to the death of a hero in a battle. But the details cannot be made out satisfactorily. Lines 7-8 appear to mention Manḍana, Jansika and Śrīhāḍa probably as personal names.

The inscription is important from several points of view. In the first place, it is the only epigraphic record coming from the northernmost area of the Yādava empire and is one of the few such documents of the 14th century referring to the reign of the Yādava king Rāmadēva or Rāmachandra. Secondly, it points for the first time to the inclusion of Nausāri in the dominions of the Yādavas of Dēvaṇa about the beginning of the 14th century. Thirdly, it throws some light on the otherwise obscure history of the Lāṭa country during the early medieval age.

The latest date for Rāmachandra's reign supplied by epigraphic records falls in September 1310 A.D. when the Yādava king granted some land in Khandesh according to his Purushottampūrī plates. Muslim sources seem to suggest that he died shortly afterwards.

Muslim historians appear to indicate that the Narmadā was the northern boundary of Rāmachandra's kingdom. In 1294 A.D., 'Alāuddīn Khalji, nephew of Jalāluddīn Firūz Shāh the Khalji Sultān of Delhi, crossed the Narmadā and the Tāpti and reached Elichpur in Berar within Rāmachandra's territory and marched on to the Yādava capital Dēvagiri where Rāmachandra was defeated. The Yādava king was compelled to surrender Elichpur and its dependencies and agreed to remit the revenues of the said province to 'Alāuddīn annually. In 1306-07, 'Alāuddīn, who had in the meantime become the Sultān of Delhi and had conquered the kingdom of Gujarāt from the Chaulukya-Vāghēlā king Karnā II, noticed that the Yādava king failed to remit the revenues of the Elichpur province for the past three years and sent an army under Malik Kafur against Dēvagiri. He also ordered Alp Khān, governor of Gujarāt, to attack the Yādava kingdom at the same time. Malik Kafur occupied the Elichpur province and advanced against Dēvagiri while Alp Khān attacked Karnā II who was then ruling from Nanadurbar in Khandesh as a vassal of Rāmachandra. The Yādava king ignored his submission to Malik Kafur and agreed to rule his kingdom as a vassal of the Khalji Sultān. He went to Delhi where he was received by 'Alāuddīn with marks of favour and distinction. The Sultān is stated to have given him on this occasion the district of Nausāri in Gujarāt as a personal estate and a hundred thousand tankas to pay his expenses at home. Our inscription, however, shows that Nausāri originally formed a part of the Yādava kingdom. It thus appears to have been a portion of the northern areas of Rāmachandra's kingdom, which were recently annexed to the Sultān's empire by Alp Khān and Malik Kafur.

In the 13th century, the Lāṭa country comprising the Nausāri-Broach region was a small state on the confines of the kingdoms of the Chauleky-Vāghēlas of Gujarāt, the Paramāras of Malwa and the Yādavas of Dēvagiri. The Lāṭa kings were compelled to offer allegiance to one of their three greater neighbours as occasions demanded although they appear to have generally accepted the vassalage of the Paramāras. The Hammīrānamadārandana mentions Sīnuha, the king of Lāṭa, and his nephew named Sarīgrāmasimha or Sāṅkha, son of Simūrdūjā, while the same Sīnuha is mentioned in an inscription as the vanquisher of Yādava Sīnuha's forces apparently as a vassal of the Paramāra king Arjunavarman (known dates between 1211 and 1215 A.D.). According to the Vasantavilāsa, when Chauleky-Vāghēla Lavaṇaprāśāda and Paramāra Subhaṭavarman, the father and predecessor of Arjunavarman, were fighting each other and when the Yādavas took advantage of the situation and invaded Lāṭa, Sāṅkha defeated them on the bank of the Rāvā (Narmadā). The Hammīrānamadārandana also refers to Sāṅkha's victory over the army of Yādava Sīnuhasa.

While the Hammīrānamadārandana calls Sāṅkha a Mahāmāyādvālēśvara, i.e. feudatory, of Paramāra Dēvapāla (c. 1216-36 A.D.), Mērutuṅga mentions him as the Mahāsādhanika, i.e.

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1 Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 199 ff.
2 V. V. Mirashi gives the date of Rāmachandra's death as 1312 A.D. (ibid., p. 208). While R. G. Bhandarkar puts it as 1309 A.D. and J. F. Fleet as 1310 A.D. (Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, Part ii, pp. 281, 533), Wolseley Haig says that Rāmachandra died 'either late in 1309 or early in 1310' (CHL, Vol. III, p. 115). But the Purushottampūrī plates show that the king's death took place after September 1310 A.D.
5 Majumdar, op. cit., p. 164.
3. Nausari Inscription of the time of Yadava Ramadeva, V. S. 1359

Size: One-fourth
governor of Broach.\(^1\) In V.S. 1298 (1241 A.D.), however, Broach was under Chaulukya-Vāghēlā Visaladevā\(^2\) and this suggests that the northern part of Lāṭa was soon annexed to the Chaulukya-Vāghēlā kingdom. The inclusion of Nausāri in the Yādava kingdom in the present inscription seems to suggest that the southern part of Lāṭa was likewise annexed to the Yādava kingdom during the rule of Siṁhāpa (c. 1210-47 A.D.) on the overthrow or subjugation of the Lāṭa family. That Siṁhāpa’s army overran the country around Bharukachchha (Broach) is known from the Kirtikamūda.\(^3\) We know that Siṁhāpa invaded Gujarāt several times and that on one such occasion, his general Rāma, son of the celebrated Yādava general Khōlēśvara, lost his life while fighting on the Narmādā.\(^4\) Although the Yādavas and the Chaulukya-Vāghēlās were often fighting against each other, the overthrow or subjugation of the Lāṭa house and the division of the territory between the above two powers may have been the result of a joint successful adventure of theirs against the Paramāras of Malwa.

Another king of Lāṭa, apparently belonging to the same family represented by Siṁhā, Sīndhurāja and Sāṅgrāmasūnha or Śaṅkha, was Sāhajapāla who is sometimes identified with Siṁhā and believed to have ruled over South Lāṭa.\(^5\) Since Śaṅkha is once represented as a scion of the Chāhmāna family, the Lāṭa kings in question may be regarded as Chāhmānas.\(^5\) It is difficult to say whether Karradēva, who governed Nausāri in 1303 A.D. as a vassal of the Yādava king Rāmachandra, was a scion of the same dynasty.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, both Dēvagiri and Nausārikā are well known.

**TEXT**

1 Siddham' svasti [||\*] śrī-.Diala-Vikrama-kāḷ-āttīa-Plavāṅgi-ābhi-

2 dhāna-sarivatsārē Sarivat 135[9] varṣē Jyē[ṣṭha-ba]di 6 Sō-

3 mē-dyā-ha śrīmad-Dēvagirāv-adhīṣṭhita-mahārajādhi-

4 rājādhi'ī-rāja-śrī-Rāmadēva-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājyē

5 śrī[man-Nau]sārikāyēm [tat-pāda-padm-ō]pajīvi-garnyē\(^8\)

6 rāṇaka-sūnka. . . . . . . . . [pradhāna-mahā]rāja-[śrī]-

7 Karrṇa[dēvē] nṛipa. . . . . . . . . . Mānḍana-Jaṅjiśi-

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\(^1\) Ibid., pp. 154-55.
\(^2\) Loc. cit.
\(^3\) Ibid., p. 151.
\(^4\) Ibid., p. 154.
\(^5\) Ibid., p. 153.
\(^6\) From an impression.
\(^7\) Expressed by symbol.
\(^8\) The three akṣaras at the beginning of the line are redundant.
\(^9\) The intended reading may be 'jīvya-saṃpasyāt.'
8 ka-Sribada-trayē ....... naṁ cha .........
9 svapati ..............[s=cha] v[r]ddhayē gajā
10 ........ [va]ñśōjā tatō ..........ṛāya-[va]ñna-rā
11 ........ kundā gaja .......... dēvō harati | ghōra-pā
12 ........ [patīta]ḥ || 3 śubham bhaya(va)tu ||

1 Read śrayam.
2 The intended word seems to be pāchāra.

MGIPO—SI—2 DGA/69—22-9-82—750 B.K.
No 5—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM KALYANPUR

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR AND V. S. SUBRAHMANYAM, OOTACUMUND

(Received on 6.1.1960)

The village of Kalyânpur lies about 43 miles to the south of Udaipur. Near the village, there are extensive ruins of an ancient town. A copper-plate grant which was discovered sometime ago at Kalyânpur but was later found in the possession of a Brâhma resident of Dhulâv (also called Kishabhdâv) about four miles from the said village, has been published in the pages of this journal. The charter was issued by Mahârâja Bhêtti from Kishkindhâ, which was apparently his capital, in the year 73 of the Harsa era, corresponding to 679 A.D. It has been suggested that the ruins of the town near Kalyânpur represent the site of ancient Kishkindhâ. Two other copper-plate grants issued from Kishkindhipura, no doubt identical with Kishkindhâ, come from the former Dungarpur State lying to the south of the Kalyânpur region. These two records, the first of which was issued by Bhâvihita in the Harsa year 48 (654 A.D.) and the second by Bâhâta in the Harsa year 83 (689 A.D.) have also been published recently. Both these chiefs, who enjoyed feudatory titles, claim to have belonged to the Guhila or Guhilaputra dynasty. Bhâvihita seems to have succeeded the Guhila chief Dêvagaña who was his paternal uncle, while Bâhâta was probably a son of the said Dêvagaña. Since Bhêtti ruled from Kishkindhâ between Bhâvihita and Bâhâta, it is very probable that he also belonged to the Guhila family of Kishkindhâ or Kishkindhipura near Kalyânpur and was either an younger brother of Bhâvihita or an elder brother of Bâhâta. One Râjapatra Ghorâhatâsvânin is mentioned in Bâhâta’s record and he may have been a son of Bâhâta, although it is uncertain whether he ever ascended the throne.

The two stone inscriptions edited here were discovered at Kalyânpur and the inscribed slabs are now preserved in the Victoria Hall Museum at Udaipur. They were noticed in the Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, 1954-55, Nos. B 98-99. The earlier of the two has also been published in the Journal of Indian History, Vol. XXXV, Part I, pp. 73-74 (without illustration), although the name of the king mentioned in the record has wrongly read there. The notice of the second inscription in the Annual Report on the working of the Rajputana Museum for the year ending 31st March 1929, pp. 1-2, is likewise full of errors. The first of the records mentions a certain Mahârâja Paḍḍa, but has no date. The second of them mentions a chief named Kadachhi though it is fragmentary and it is difficult to say whether the portion containing the year of its incision is rubbed off. As, however, will be shown below, the inscription mentioning Paḍḍa and that of the time of Kadachhi can be assigned respectively to the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. on grounds of palaeography. The findspot and palaeography of our records thus suggest that these two chiefs also belonged to the Guhila house of Kishkindhâ or Kishkindhipura and ruled from the same city. We have elsewhere suggested that Paḍḍa was a predecessor of Dêvagaña and Kadachhi a successor of Bâhâta.

1 Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 1 ff., 5 ff.
2 Ibid., p. 4.
3 Ibid., Vol. XXXIV, pp. 107 ff.
4 Ibid., p. 170.
5 DGA/69 (35)
1. Inscription of the time of Mahārāja Paḍḍa

The inscription contains five lines of writing covering an area about nine inches in length and six inches in height. It is in an excellent state of preservation.

The characters of the inscription are of the ornamental type and belong to the North Indian (Siddhamārāki) alphabet of about the seventh century A.D. They are each about \( \frac{1}{2} \) inch in height. The most interesting palaeographical feature of the record is the use of the tripartite form of the letter \( y \). We know that the use of this form of \( y \) was discontinued in East India in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. Its latest use being noticed in East Indian records like the Patanjali plate\(^1\) of 602 A.D. and the Dubi plates\(^2\) of Bhāskaravarman (c. 600-50 A.D.). In Western India, however, its use lingered on for another half a century. Thus the earlier tripartite and the later bipartite forms of \( y \) are noticed side by side in records like the Dungarpur plates (654 A.D.) of Bhāviliha, referred to above, and the Kundesvar inscription\(^3\) of Guhila Aparajita of Mewar, dated 661 A.D., though the slightly later Dhulōv plate (679 A.D.) of Bhētī, mentioned above, uses only the earlier form of the letter. As already indicated, it is probable that Mahārāja Paḍḍa of our record was a predecessor of Dévagaṇa. He probably ruled sometime about the second quarter of the seventh century. The palaeography of the inscription under study is quite in keeping with this suggestion.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and it is written partly in verse and partly in prose. The plural in kara-charana-manās-tirōbhā is of grammatical interest since it should have been singular according to Pāṇini (II, 4,2). There is nothing remarkable in its orthography except that the word śāyujja has been spelt as sāyujja in line 4.

The inscription begins with the vidhānam symbol followed by the word evanti. Then follow a small passage in prose, a stanza in the Anuśṭubh metre and another small passage in prose, with which the epigraph ends. These three passages state that a person named Āmnāya built a temple of the god Śūlin (i.e. Śiva) in the rāju (i.e. during the rule or in the kingdom) of the illustrious Mahārāja Paḍḍa. Āmnāya is stated to have built the temple out of money earned by righteous means, for the attainment of Śiva-sāyujja after having bowed down to Śākara (Śiva) with his hands, feet, mind and head. The expression Śiva-sāyujja means communion with or absorption in the god Śiva.\(^4\) The work is further stated to have been done by Āmnāya in accordance with the śāmāya, i.e. the sacred texts handed down by tradition.

**TEXT:**

1. सिद्ध स्वस्तिः \( [1^{*}] \) प्रणय स्वरूप कर्तव्रपरमः (न)-
2. दिछेयंबिः \( \text{II} \) आम्बदेव यथार्थाय वि-
3. तुंदायण धर्माय: \( [1^{*}] \) कारितं शूलिनो
4. वेदक जिवसायो (\( \text{II} \) ज्ञविद्ये \( \text{II} \)
5. श्रीमहाराजपुरुराये \( \text{II} \)

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\( ^{1} \) Ibid., Vol. IX, Plate between pp. 256 and 257.
\( ^{2} \) Ibid., Vol. XXX, pp. 237 ff. and Plates.
\( ^{3} \) Ojha, Prāchān Bhāratiya Lipimālā, Plate XX.
\( ^{4} \) Cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 297-38.
\( ^{*} \) From impressions.
\( ^{+} \) Expressed by symbol.
\( ^{1} \) The metre of the stanza is Anuśṭubh.
\( ^{2} \) The full-stop is indicated by two dandas joined at the top by a horizontal stroke.
TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM KALYANPUR

1. Inscription of the time of Mahārāja Padda
2. Inscription of the time of Kadachhi
2. Inscription of the time of Kadachhi

There are altogether 14 lines of writing in this inscription. The letters are small in size. In average, they are each a little above 1/4 inch in height. The writing covers an area about 14 inches in length and about 9 inches in height. The preservation of the record is unsatisfactory. It seems that the inscribed surface of the slab was used for sharpening some tool like an axe. The tool was rubbed on the slab from the upper right side a little slanting towards the middle. As a result, a number of letters in lines 1-10 have been rubbed off, many of them completely. The internal evidence shows that the epigraph was originally set up in a Śiva temple, the construction of which is recorded in it.

The palaeography of the inscription is later than that of the inscription of the time of Pāḍḍa edited above. It uses throughout the later bipartite form of y. The letters have ornamental formation. The lower end of t curves towards the right. On grounds of palaeography, the record may be assigned to the eighth or ninth century A.D. But as we have suggested elsewhere, the chief Kadachhi mentioned in it, probably belonged to the Guhila house of Kishkindhā or Kishkindhāpurā and ruled after Guhila Bābhaya of the same family sometime in the eighth century A.D. and that the said house of the Guhilas was ousted by the Guhilas of Mewar sometime afterwards.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It is written in verse with a small passage in prose at the beginning. As regards orthography, mention may be made of the use of the class nasal in expressions like Gaṅgān-ḍhārāya in line 2. The words samāraṇa used for sanskarāṇa in verse 8 (line 11) and chintita for rachita in verse 13 (line 14) are of lexical interest.

The inscription begins with the saṃgha symbol followed by the passage namaḥ Śiva ya. Then follow three partially preserved stanzas (verses 1-3) in lines 1-5, all in adoration to the god Śiva. The next fragmentary stanza (verse 4) in lines 5-6 introduces a person named Kadachhi who seems to have been the chief, during whose rule the inscription was set up. The preserved portion of verse 5 in lines 6-8 refers to a lady who may have been a wife of Kadachhi. The following stanza (verse 6) in lines 8-9, only a few words of which can be deciphered, appear to have contained a reference to the construction of a Śiva temple by the same lady. This is not only suggested by its concluding words, viz. bhuvā maṇḍanam (i.e. an ornament of the earth) probably qualifying a word like maṇḍiram, but also by verses 11-12 below which quote the details of the date (without mentioning the year) when a temple of Śambhu (Śiva) was nīvikṣata, probably referring to its consecration ceremony, and also pray for the long life of the said temple. The details of the date quoted in this connection, in which the mention of the year only is missing, seem to suggest that the year was referred to in the damaged parts of verse 3.

Verse 7 (lines 9-10) which along with the following verses can fortunately be fully read, recounts the qualities of the lady named Vīṇā who was responsible for the construction of the temple, while the next stanza (verse 8) in lines 10-11 refers to a grant of forty dramaṇas (i.e. 40 coins of that name), no doubt made by the lady in question, for future necessities such as the carrying out of repairs to the breaks and damages apparently in the said temple of Śiva, for [the burning of] guggulu [before the deity in it] and for the sweeping no doubt of its floor and compound.

Verse 9 in lines 11-12 mentions a Śaiva teacher named Kuṭukk-śāchārya, who may have been the lady's preceptor, as one rendering help in the pious work, i.e. the construction of the temple of Śiva.

The following two stanzas (verses 10-11) in lines 12-13 state that the temple was consecrated (nivishṭa) on an auspicious yuga during the fifth tiśī of the bright fortnight of the month of Chaitra, when the moon was in conjunction with the Rōhiṇi nakṣatra. Verse 12 in lines 13-14 contains a prayer to the effect that the temple of Śambhu, white like the moon and beautiful like the snow-mountain, might last as long as the seas, the mountains, the Vēdas, the moon, the kings, the king of the serpents and the Rudras would endure. This is followed by the concluding stanza (verse 13 in line 14) which states that [the inscription] was composed (chintāṭā) by Jhanu, son of Bhaṭṭa Mamma, and that it was engraved by the hēmakāra (goldsmith) Nāgāditya.

TEXT1

[Metres: verses 1, 4, 8 Āryā; verses 2, 3, 6 Sārḍūlavikrīḍita; verse 5 Srardhaṛā; verses 7, 9-11, 13 Anuśṭubh; verse 12 Indravajrā.]

1 सिद्धम् [1]\* नमः विवाहः। सोमोपि निष्कल्क्रो द्वरोपि वरदः स्मृतः

2 यति \| [1]\* गजानिधायसिव भरस्मशुचिना मूङ्ग्न्या न नूकवः तव

3 ह नाथ विंतरे ब्रह्मचारिणी नयस्वाम मां गोविंदांवं गविणः विहस्य

4 दहला भृत्यार्चन दोयामय विक्रूडः भ्रमतीव वाहविध्वः[ल] — — — — — — — — — — —

5 ता देवायमः स्नाविनि मृत्युवो लीलाप्रसूते हरे \| [3]\* ...

6 देवः सकलवृणातिकः शुभः निलाय (त्यम्) [4]\* विज्ञायो]

7 भा कृतचिंत्रमुपातकः। आमूलोत्त्रज्वलः[ल] \| [5]\* वियुतां

8 ता श्रमश्रीलः \| [5]\* मत्ता वंचलः

9 मातापुरुषकल्याणः सदा स — — — [पुस्त — — —]

8 From impressions. Some letters, not clear on the impressions, can be seen on their backside.
9 Expressed by symbol.
10 The intended reading may be Kadachčhi which would suit the metre.
10 या दाक्षिण्य दाक्षिण्य ढिंगुजन(तम)। दीनानुप्रवन बोणा बिज[नाति]
शुभानना] II [७*] चतुर्विद्याद्वम्य दत्ता: कालात्मातेरयोगार्थ(चम्पु)।

11 संदर्भुसृतसमारणसमा(म्म)जर्जन[गुम्गु]जुनिनित(तम)। [८*] सहायो धरमं-
कार्योन्त(तन्म) शृंचि[नु]हो। जितेविय।। कुरुक्काचार्यनामाभूसेन(स्वरूप)वं-

12 सिद्धान्तकोविद: [II ९*] उत्तक्कलमिवकाजालमिनिनकुलम(वन)सुते।
'एलाक्स्लककक्कक्कमालमलक्ककक्कुले।[१०*] काले चौद्रय पंचम्यं चंद्रे [रो]हि-

13 विषुसू(श्री)के। शुक्लके शुभे योगे विविध धर्मम(म)निर्वर(रम)। [११*]¹
यावत्सुमुडळ्डमैंवर्दवेदबक्षंद्रो नरेन्द्रा मुज्जयन्ति:। वनाद्वनां तुहि:।

14 दिशों शंभोमुहु तिष्ठु नावद्वर। [१२*] भृतमय्य पुरुषण ञ(व)क्रुता
विचित्ता शुभा। उल्कोणो हेमकारण नागायिये धीमता। [१३*]²

¹ Verses 10-11 together form a yugmakṣa.
² A word like pradosit is understood in this stanza.
³ DGA/60
No. 6—BONDA PLATES OF MAHASIVAGUPTA, YEAR 22

(2 Plates)

V. V. Mirashi, Nagpur, and the late Pandit L. P. Pandey, Raigarh

(Received on 18.6.1960)

This set of three copper plates was discovered together with another set of plates of Tīvaradēva by one Gosai Ram Rawat while digging the foundation of a house on the 6th May 1959 at Bōndā, a village in the Sarangarh Tahsil of the Raigarh District in Madhya Pradesh. The village is a large one and is situated on the right bank of the Mahānadi, opposite the village of Bālpur. Both the sets of plates were taken to Pipardūla in the Baloda Bazar Tahsil of the Raipur District, from where Pandit Lochan Prasad Panjeya obtained them through the courtesy of Shri Birbal Prasad and Shiv Lal Prasad of that village. They were then sent to the Government Epigraphist for India. The grant is edited here from the original plates.

The three plates were held together by a ring, about 4" in thickness, which passed through a round hole (7" in diameter) in the middle of the left side of each plate, about 1" from the edge. The two ends of the ring were soldered below a circular seal, about 3-7" in diameter. The ring was not cut when the plates reached Pandit Pandeya. The seal is like those of the other plates of Mahā-Sivagupta. Its countersunk surface is divided into three parts, the upper part bearing in relief the figure of a couchant bull (Nandi), facing left, with a trīśūla in front and a maṅgala-kalāsa behind. Below this device and separated from it by two horizontal lines appears the metrical legend in two lines. Below the legend is a large full-blown lotus, flanked by a leaf on either side. The weight of the three plates is 135 tolas and that of the ring with the seal 81 tolas.

The record consists of twenty-nine lines, of which the first twenty-eight are equally divided among the four inscribed sides, viz., the inner side of the first plate, the two sides of the second plate and the inner side of the third plate, the last line containing only two letters and a numerical symbol being inscribed on the outer side of the third plate. The letters were neatly written and deeply engraved, some of them showing through on the back of the first and third plates. The edges of the plates were not raised; still the inscription is in a good state of preservation.

The characters are of the box-headed variety, resembling those of the Mallār,1 Bārdūla2 and Lōdhīa3 plates of Mahā-Sivagupta. As remarked before while editing the Mallār plates, they are somewhat more elongated and angular than those of the grants of the Vākāṭaka and Sarabhāpurīya kings. The following peculiarities may be noted. The letters a, a and ḥh have a redundant curve added to the vertical on the right, which is not noticed in the other grants of this king. See, e.g., api (line 19), agne (line 21), āchhātī (line 24) and sukham (line 16). On the other hand, a similar curve, though an essential part of subscript ṅ, is not engraved in the case of the conjunct ṅ in prayās in line 3. Initial ś is differentiated from ṛḥ by the absence of a box-head; see śīcāyāsī (line 18). A final consonant is shown either by the addition of a slanting stroke at the

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1 See, e.g., the seal of the Mallār plates (above, Vol. XXIII, Plate facing page 191) and of the Lōdhīa plates (ibid., Vol. XXVII, Plate facing page 325).
2 Ibid., Vol. XXIII, pp. 113 ff.
3 Ibid., Vol. XXVII, pp. 287 ff.
4 Ibid., pp. 318 ff.
bottom of its vertical or by a curve encircling it. For an instance of the former, see ḍadyūṭ (line 23) and for that of the latter, see sanībat (line 28). Numerical symbols for 2, 6 and 20 occur in lines 28 and 29. Punctuation is shown by means of two vertical strokes, the first of which is hooked.

The language is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses, the whole record is in prose. The legend on the seal is, of course, in verse as in the grants of the Vākaṭakas, Śrabhapuriyas and other Śomavāmśis. As regards orthography, we may notice the following. The consonant preceding and following r is reduplicated; see, e.g., sagātra (line 12) and śauriya (line 3) and that before r is also reduplicated, though wrongly, in Sanndhāṭṭṛ (line 8). B is used for v in several places; see Bhāṣ (line 20), sanībat (line 25), etc. Avastāvā before s and s is changed to the guttural nasal; see maśa (line 5), nyāṇāsā (lines 17-18), etc. The writer has generally written short medial i in place of the long one; see, e.g., mahī (line 17). Such mistakes as tāṃbra (line 13) and uchchhriṣṭa (line 20) were evidently due to wrong pronunciation.

The plates were issued by the illustrious Mahā-Śivagupta, the son of the illustrious Haraha-dēva, who was born in the Śomavāmśa (lunar race) and was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva). They record the grant of the village Sarkara-pāṭaka situated in the viśāya (district) of Lāyodakā, which the king made on the Pausha-saṅkranti. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Trivikramasvāmin of the Bhārāvāja gōtra and the Chhandōga (Śāmavēda). The charter is dated on the sixth tīthi of the first fortnight of Pausha in the twenty-second year of the king’s increasingly victorious reign. The date is recorded in both words and numerical symbols.

Mahā-Śivagupta belonged to a royal family which is called Pāṇḍu-vamśa in earlier grants and Śomā-vamśa in later ones. Several copper-plate and stone inscriptions of this family have been found in Chhattisgarh. Earlier scholars like Fleet and Kielhorn, who edited them, referred them to the eighth or ninth century A.D. Fleet, for instance, while editing the Rājim plates of Tivaradēva, the granduncle of Mahā-Śivagupta, remarked, “Tivaradēva cannot be allotted to an earlier date than roughly about A.D. 800.” Kielhorn, who edited the Sirpur stone inscription of Śivagupta (identical with Mahā-Śivagupta of the present grant), observed as follows: “The inscription is not dated, but it may, on palaeographic grounds, be referred to the eighth or ninth century A.D. And this, too, is the time to which, on the grounds of language and style, I would assign the copper-plate grants of Tivaradēva. I am, at any rate, convinced that neither inscription can be older than A.D. 700.” This view was contested by Prof. Mirashi who, while editing the Thākurdīya plates of Mahā-Pravararāja, showed that Tivaradēva flourished about the middle of the sixth century A.D. Further examination of the matter led him to fix tentatively the accession of Tivaradēva in 560 A.D. and the reign-period of his grand-nephew Mahā-Śivagupta alīs Bāḷārjuna as 590-650 A.D. We know from the Lōḍhi plates that the latter had a long reign of more than 57 years as he had come to the throne when quite young and was known as Bāḷārjuna on account of his skill in archery. He was probably the king of Kōṣala who submitted to Pulakēśin II as stated in the latter’s Aihole inscription. It was evidently to his court that Huien-tsans paid a visit during his itinerary.

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1 He is called Harahangupta in the legend on the seal.
2 See, e.g., the Bamhhi plates, line 1 (ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 140); Rājim (C.II, Vol. III, p. 296) and Balodā (above, Vol. VII, pp. 104-05) plates of Tivaradēva; etc.
3 See, e.g., the Mallār plates (ibid., Vol. XXIII, p. 129); Sirpur stone inscription (Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, p. 180), etc.
5 Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, p. 178. See also above, Vol. IV, p. 258.
6 Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 15 f.
8 DGAI/60
As the records of Sōmavānśi kings are singularly lacking in details necessary for computation, the period assigned above to Mahā-Sivagupta could not be verified till now. The present charter fortunately contains some particulars which, if properly utilised, may help us in its verification. The grant was made on the occasion of the Pausha-saṅkrānti, which is the same as the Makara-saṅkrānti. The tithi on which it occurred is not stated in connection with it: but it was probably identical with the date of the record, which is given at the end as the sixth tithi of the first fortnight of Pausha (or Pushya) in the twenty-second [regnal] year. In ancient times, grants were no doubt sometimes recorded several days or even months after they were made; but the mention of the month Pausha both in connection with the occasion of the gift and its recording makes it very likely that the two dates were identical. Besides, from two other grants of this king we know that his gifts were recorded on the same day on which they were made. Thus, the Bārdali plates show that his grant of the village Varṣapadrauka was made on the Kārttiḳa-sukla-duvādaśa and that it was recorded on the same day. Similarly, the grant mentioned in the Lōdhi plates was made and recorded on the same tithi, viz. Kārttiḳa-paūrṇamāśa. We may therefore conclude that the present grant also was made and recorded on the occasion of the Makara-saṅkrānti which occurred on the sixth tithi of the first fortnight of Pausha.

Usually, the fortnights of a lunar month are specified as śukla or krishna. In the present grant, however, the fortnight in which the grant was recorded is called prathama or first. As both the amanta and pārṇimānta schemes of lunar months were prevalent in ancient times, the mention of the fortnight as first makes it doubtful whether the śukla or the krishna paṭha is meant. The records of the Sarabhapuriya and Sōmavānśi kings do not generally mention the fortnight, but count the days or tithis from 1 to 30. This custom was prevalent both in the case of the pārṇimānta and amanta lunar months and therefore affords no clue to the solution of the present problem. The Lōdhi plates, however, indicate that the pārṇimānta scheme was in vogue in Chhattisgarh in the time of Mahā-Sivagupta. These plates mention the tithi first as Kārttiḳa-paūrṇamāśa and then as Kārttiḳa-duṇa 30,8 which clearly shows that it was cited according to the pārṇimānta scheme. If the same scheme was intended in the case of the present grant also, its date Pausha-prathama-paṭha-saṅkrānti would mean the sixth tithi of the dark fortnight of the pārṇimānta month Pausha. Now, the dark fortnight of the pārṇimānta Pausha is identical with the dark fortnight of the amanta Mārgaśira. So we shall have to suppose that the Makara-saṅkrānti occurred in the dark fortnight of the amanta Mārgaśira. This is impossible; for the saṅkrānti which occurs in amanta Mārgaśira must be Dhanu, not Makara. The mention of the Makara-saṅkrānti in the present grant clearly shows that the month Pausha in which it occurred must be taken to be amanta.9 The sixth

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1 See the dates of some Ganga grants discussed above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 171 f.
2 See lines 15 and 30 of the Bārdali plates (ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 291).
3 See lines 10-11 and 32 of the Lōdhi plates (ibid., pp. 323-25).
5 For its use in connection with the pārṇimānta scheme, see the date of the Maghagawya plates of Hastin (CII, Vol. III, pp. 107-08) and that of the Khōḥ plates of Śankhōhōha (ibid., pp. 114-15).
6 See, e.g., above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 173. (As the court of the same king could have scarcely been oblivious of the confusion that would result from the indiscriminate use of amanta and pārṇimānta months without proper indication, in the dating of royal records, we are not inclined to subscribe to these views.—Ed.)
tithi of the first fortnight of Pausha must, therefore, be taken to mean the sixth lunar day of the bright fortnight of that month.

As stated above, the reign period of Mahā-Sivagupta was tentatively fixed as 590-650 A.D.¹ Let us therefore see how far this period is corroborated by the date of the present plates. If Mahā-Sivagupta began to reign in c. 590 A.D., his twenty-second regnal year must be in the neighbourhood of 611 A.D. We have calculated the moment of the Makara-saṅkrānti and the duration of the tithi Pausha-śukla-shaśṭhi for all years in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D.² The only year in this period in which the saṅkrānti and the tithi came together is 616 A.D. In that year the Makara-saṅkrānti occurred at sunrise on the 20th December, while the tithi Pausha-śukla-shaśṭhi ended 2 hours and 50 minutes after mean sunrise on that day. The 20th of December 616 A.D. is therefore probably the date of the present grant. As it was made in the twenty-second year of Mahā-Sivagupta's reign, the king came to the throne in 595 A.D. This is perhaps the only instance in which it has been possible to determine the year of accession of a king whose records are dated only in regnal years. Its corroboration will have to be left to future discoveries.³

There are only two places mentioned in the present grant viz. the donated village Sārkara-pāṭaka⁴ and Lāyūḍḍaka, the headquarters of the district in which it was situated. The former cannot be traced in the vicinity of the village Bōṇḍā where the plates were found; the latter may be identical with the village Lārā which lies about 10 miles north by east of Bōṇḍā.

TEXT⁵

First Plate

1 सिद्धि [¹] स्वस्यशोषकश्च(किति)(तो)(श)विबयायस्वयेपासादित्वमहस्तीयिनीयन

2 यस्मेषस्यादित्वस्सविकलित(तो)पुरुषो गुणवत्तसमाश्रयः

3 प्रकृत्तेतरश्रीव्यवस्थामाहस्यमाभिविन्दूऽग्रामः कालिकः

4 यह इत्यवस्तसस्सो राज: श्री(श्री)हस्तीपवस्त्य सूतु[३] सोमः

5 वज्झासम्भवः परमहेश्वरो मानातिन्तुपदानुध्यातिशृः(श्री)महाशी(वि)वः

6 गुप्तराजः[५] कुशलि(तो) 11 लायोडुःवैपृविकवर्कारापाटकः ब्राः

7 हणां(शान) सूतु(पु)यव सप्रथानातः[५] श्रीवासिनो व्याकराणाध्याविनः[५]


² These dates have been calculated with the help of the Tables in Pillai's Indian Ephemeris, Vol. I, Part I.

³ [See above, p. 62, note 7. —Ed.]

⁴ This village is different from Sārkara-pāṭaka granted by the Sarahapuriya king Narēndra. The latter was situated in the territorial division Nandapura. See IHQ, Vol. XIX, p. 145.

⁵ From the original plates.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

⁷ Read सामिला.

⁸ For the form of the letter d see pidd in line 11.
8 समाहूस्तिश्रायात्(ः)प्रमुखान्यावःसम्यायोगीपणी(वः)नः[\*]
9 सर्वराजपुष्यात्माजायति [\*] विद्विमस्तु स्वतं यथा-
10 समाचारयास्राय: सन्धि: सौपनिचि: सद्याप्रार्थ: सर्वंक-
11 राजानमेषत: सर्वेष्ट(पी)हार्जजत: प्रतिपीढवल्मप्रेषे-
12 शो क्षाणोतमःरविजयगोरमहण्डु(ः)विक्रमसवामिने पौषसंक्रांत्या-
13 भुदापूर्वक मातापिदध्रुवमन्त्रण पुण्यमित्र(ः)ठये तामःअसेनन-\n14 चन्द्रक्षमकालोपाये व्रतिपादित इत्यवगत्यास्म विषे-

Second Plate, Second Side

15 यत्वा समपितं भोगमामादिकमपनयिनित्रेष्विन्दुः[\*] सुल्त प्रती(ति)-
16 वस्त्रवः(वः)मिति।। भावनाय भूमिपालनुपित्येदमन्िरच(वः)येते।।[\*] भूमि-
17 श्रद दिव ललित पतन्त मनं हृद्वा मद्ह(ही) नूपतयो नरके नृशक्षरा-
18 वः[\*] एतद् (दुः)भए परिकल्प चलावच लक्ष्म(क्ष)मायः[\*]वल्सा कुस्त य-
19 उज्ज्वलमिथि(भी)घण्टम्[\*] च च च [\*] रक्षापल्ल्यस्तावस्मलं सुपर्धित-
20 जुगति(ति) [\*] को नाम स्तंगमुच्छ(रस)व्य नरै[क]ा प्रतिपादये।।[\*]

21 ताइवाः स्तोत्रानुसारात् [\*] शब्दपत्यं प्रथम पुरथां

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1 Read सन्यासनीकरः.
2 The sense requires an expression like सन्-पाद-पृष्ट्यविना.
3 Read प्रत्येकेऽच्छन्दांगा.
4 Read शम्श्र.
5 This akṣara has a redundant curve attached to its vertical on the right. See its form in line 16 of the
   Mallār plates (above, Vol. XXIII, plate facing p. 129).
6 Read निरोधा.
7 The metre of the verse is Vasantatilaka.
8 The metre of the verse is Anushāhā.
BONDA PLATES OF MAHASIVAGUPTA, YEAR 22—PLATE II

Scale: Three-fifths

SEAL

(from Photograph)
22 मूर्खज्ञिक(वी) सुर्यचुनालिका गायः [१] दत्तार्थस्यस्तनं भवति लोका यथः।
23 क(का)वचनं गायव महिः(ही)स्वः दशातः [२] विनिर्निरस्तह्याणि स्वस्यं भो।
24 दति भूमिदः [१] आज्ञेता चातुरुत्तम च ताप्यो नरके वसेन् [२४] व।
25 हुमिनिवुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [१] यथया स्यया यदा भूमिदः।
26 तस्यस्य तस्य तदा फलस्य [२] स्वदत्तं परदत्तमाः यज्ञार्क युधिष्ठिर [१] महिः(ही)।
27 महिमत्ता अर्थस्व दानाभक्ष्ये(छे)्योग्यालनमिति। II प्रवर्धमानविजयवाचे।
28 सम्ब(संब)स्तरे द्वारिंद्रे(विगो) पोषप्रथमप्रकटङ्गाल्मक्के नापि सम्ब(संब)२० ॥

Third Plate, Second Side

29 दिन ६।

Seal

राजः[२] श्री[हर्ष]गुलस्य सुनोः[२] सद्गुणाविन्दः।[२]
शास्त्रं [शिव]गुणस्य सिद्धामभवनस्यते। II
No. 7—SALRI INSCRIPTION OF CHANDESVARAHASTIN

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR AND J. SUNDARAM, OTACAMUND

(Received on 15.6.1960)

The inscription under study was discovered at Sārī near Sālāṇū in the former Mandi State, now merged in Himachal Pradesh. It was noticed in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1907-08, p. 265, Plate 83, although it does not find a place in Bhandarkar’s List. In his Mathura Inscriptions (edited by K. L. Jainert), p. 143, Lüders commented on the form of the name of the king whose reign the epigraph was engraved.¹ The record is edited here from an impression preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The impression represents a stone inscription in three lines covering an area about 27½ inches long and about eight inches high. Single letters are each about one inch and a half in height. There is the representation of a long trident in the left margin of the epigraph with an axe joined to its shaft from the right and a goad from the left. It is not improbable that it was the emblem of the royal family to which the epigraph belongs. A combined trident and axe, closely resembling the symbol on our inscription with the goad omitted, is held by Lakulīśa, the great founder of the Lakulīśa sect of the Pāśupatās, in his left hand.² The symbol therefore was Śaivite in character. The Śaivite leanings of the kings mentioned in our record are also suggested by their names, viz., Īṣvara and Chaṇḍēśvara, both meaning the god Śiva.

The characters of the epigraph belong to the Late Brāhmī alphabet as prevalent in the western areas of Northern India about the earlier part of the fourth century A. D. The forms of the usual Northern type which are not found in the early epigraphs of the Southern and Western India, while letters like m, s and h are expected in the records belonging to the western regions of Northern India. Such letters as k and m as used in our inscription do not appear to be later than the fourth century A. D.,³ whereas the types of medial i sign used in trīśaṭha⁴ in line 1 and puvi in line 3 and the angularity of the right upper end of ś as in Īṣvara in line 1 are not general expected in records earlier than the said century. The early type of subscript ō used in nāḍ in line 2 of the epigraph under study reminds us of one of the two types of the same sign noticed in the Allahabad pillar inscription⁵ of Samudragupta (c. 340-76 A.D.), e.g. (1) in daṇḍa⁶ in line 14 and prachanda in line 23, wherein the lower limb of ō is a straight stroke slanting towards the lower right, and (2) in maruṇḍaṭha in line 23 and daṇḍa in line 32, in which the lower end of the letter is curved towards the left rather sharply in the first case and slightly in the second.

¹ Lüders’ suggestion that this name is Chaṇḍēśvara and not Chaṇḍēśvara does not appear to be quite satisfactory. See below, p. 67 and note 3.
² Cf. the Mandasor image of Lakulīśa in Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State, Vikrama 1982 (1925-26) Plate II, figure a; also M. B. Gard, Archaeology in Gwalior, Plate XXIX. Three of the attendants of Lakulīśa on the same stone bear the trident, axe and goad individually. The trident-axe symbol is noticed on a number of seals (cf., e.g., seals from Jhusi in the Allahabad Municipal Museum, Nos. JH 243, 244 and 283).
³ Similar forms are found in the Mathura inscription of 380 A.D. (above, Vol. XXI, Plate facing p. 15), though the paseography of that record gives the impression of a date earlier than that of the Allahabad pillar inscription (CII, Vol. III, Plate 1) of the middle of the fourth century A.D.
This limb of subscript 🤫 in our inscription is a straight vertical stroke earlier than the development of the letter noticed in the first of its two forms found in Samudragupta's epigraph referred to above. Although this kind of slanting lower limb of the letter ativity is found in the inscriptions of the Scythian and Kushāṇa rulers of the first and second centuries A.D., the palaeography of the inscription under study is of course considerably closer to that of Samudragupta's inscription than the records of the Early Scythians and Kushāṇa. Moreover, the early type of ativity found in our inscription seems to be also noticed on certain coins of Kumāragupta I (411-55 A.D.). An interesting palaeographical feature of our inscription is the outward curvature at the lower part of the left limb of 릭 and след as well as the serif with the subscripts in conjuncts. These two characteristics are sometimes noticed in the inscriptions of the ages of the Kushāṇa and the earlier Gupta. The Shorkot inscription of 102 A.D. exhibits both the features, the second of them rarely. But its palaeography is decidedly later than that of our epigraph.

The language of the inscription under study is Sanskrit. Sandhi has not been observed in mahārāja-Īśvara in line 1 while sita-暹-Chandēśvara has been written in lines 1-2 for ārī-Chandēśvara, this kind of avoidance of samāsa being sometimes found in some early inscriptions.

The inscription contains a single sentence stating that mahārāja Chandēśvaravahastin, who was the son of Mahārāja Īśvaravahastin and belonged to the Vāsā gōu, built a city in a locality called Śrīyak after having defeated a person named Rājila. The family represented by the two Mahārājas with names ending in -haṣṭa may probably be regarded as the Hastin dynasty. An akṣara in the name of the city built by Chandēśvaravahastin in Śrīyaka is damaged, though the name may have been Bhaṭāśālipūrī. It is difficult to say whether the word bhaṭa had anything to do with the soldiers who must have fought in the battle referred to. The reference may also be to the temple of a deity called Bhaṭāśālin.

It is clear from the contents of the record that the victory over the enemy was regarded by Mahārāja Chandēśvaravahastin as an achievement worthy enough to be commemorated by the construction of a city or temple probably on the site where the battle between himself and his adversary was fought.

The title Mahārāja assumed by the rulers mentioned in our record was first used in India by the Indo-Greek king Eucratides in the first half of the second century B.C., while, among indigenous Indian monarchs, it was first assumed by the Kaliṅga king Kharavēla who flourished about the close of the first century B.C. In the second and third centuries A.D., some Indian kings called themselves Rājasa and Mahārāja indiscriminately, although the former title was possibly somewhat more popular especially in South India. With the popularisation of the imperial title Mahārāja-Ādevaṇja by the Gupta from the fourth century A.D., Mahārāja generally became the title of smaller rulers and feudatories especially in North India. These facts do not

1 The akṣara ativity in the Mathurā inscription (380 A.D.) of Chandragupta II is of the same type; but the lower limb is only slightly slanting. Cf. above, Vol. XXI, Plate facing p. 8, text line 17 (lauāša).
2 See Altekar, Gupta Gold Coins of the Banaras Hoard, Plate XXXV, No. 36; Plate XXXVII, No. 63.
3 Above, Vol. XVI, Plate facing p. 15.
4 Cf., loc. cit., sit in sarvērati; also Ch, Vol. III, Plate XXXVI, 8 (ديث in ṣṭy-ṣṭi in line 2); etc.
6 Select Inscriptions, p. 232, note 3; The Age of Imperial Unity, p. 215. The Sāṅgī king Bhāṣāvata is supposed to be called a Mahārāja in the Brahmār inscription (Mem. A. S. I., No. 5, p. 152 and Plate XXVI; JBRAS, Vol. XXIII, 1914, p. 144). But the only akṣara readable on the stone after the king's name is ativity and it is difficult to say whether the intended word is Mahārāja or anything else.
7 Cf. the Sistavāhana and Īśavikā inscriptions, e.g., Select Inscriptions, p. 106, text line 1; p 198, text line 10; p. 222 (No. 3), text lines 2 and 6; etc.
8 Above, Vol. XXXXII, pp. 304-05.
clash with the ascription of our record to the beginning of the fourth century since, in the third and fourth centuries, the rulers of the western regions of North India often assumed the title Mahārāja.¹

As regards the names of the two kings mentioned in our record, both ending in the word Hastin, only a few such royal names are known to us from early records. Although king Hastin of the Parivṛṣṭaka family and rulers named Hastivarman in the Śālaśākāyana and Eastern Gaṅga dynasties are well known,² names of early Indian rulers ending in Hastin are no doubt rare. We know of one Raṇahastin who issued tiny silver coins bearing his name on the obverse and an elephant on the reverse apparently in reference to the second element in his name. A few such coins were found in Rajasthan and Kathiawar and at Kanauj. It is also known that Raṇahastin was another name of the celebrated Gurjara-Pratihāra king Vatsaraṇa (c. 775-805 A.D.) who may have been the issuer of the coins in question.³ The name Rājjīla reminds us of a chief of the same name mentioned in the Vasantgad (Sirohi District, Rajasthan) inscription of 625 A.D.⁴ and of the chief Rājjīla who was an ancestor of the Pratihāra chiefs of the Jodhpur region mentioned in the Jodhpur and Ghatiyala inscriptions, dated respectively in 837 and 861 A.D.⁵ The name Rājjīla borne by a royal officer mentioned in the Karitalai plates (493 A.D.)⁶ of the Uchchakalpa king Jayanātha seems to be a modification of the same name.

There are two geographical names in the inscription, viz. the locality called Śrēṇyaka and the city called Bha[tā?]sālipuri which may also have been the name of a temple. It is difficult to say if *sālipuri* in the name is the origin of the name Sāli where the inscription has been found. If such is the case, Śrēṇyaka would be the old name of the land around the said village.

**TEXT**

1 Śrī-mahārāja—*Īśavarahasti-satputrēpa mahārāja-ārā-Cha—¹

2 ṇāṅgāvarahastinā Rājjīlām . . .¹⁰ yuddhē jītvā Śrēṇyakē Bha—

3 [ṭa?]¹¹sālipuri kāritā Vātsa-sagōtrēṇa ||¹²

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¹ Cf. ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 62; CII, Vol. III, pp. 252, 283; etc.
² Cf. Bhandarkar’s List, No. 2909, pp. 398, 399; also see above, Vol. XXIV, p. 253, for a Hastin of the Man-kharī family.
³ See JNSI, Vol. XIII, pp. 193, ff.; Vol. XVI, pp. 282-83; Vol. XVIII, pp. 222-23. For the name Gṛhahastin, see Lüders’ List, No. 34.
⁴ Bhandarkar’s List, No. 11.
⁵ Ibid., Nos. 29 and 31.
⁶ Ibid., No. 1194.
⁷ From an impression.
⁸ Sāli has not been observed here.
⁹ Read Śrī-Cha”.
¹⁰ These two aṅkharas are lost. Traces of what may be a superscript t forming a part of the second aṅkara are visible.
¹¹ One aṅkara is damaged here. The traces do not help us in restoring it, although it may have been ṭa.
¹² The punctuation is indicated by a visarga-like sign followed by a horizontal stroke.
No. 8—ALLEGED COINS OF MAHISSHA KINGS

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 22.6.1960)

It is well known to the students of Indian numismatics that Prof. V. V. Mirashi has been trying for the past ten years to prove the existence of a Mahisha dynasty of Śaka nationality founded by a king named Māna and of certain other rulers of that family as also to show that these Mahisha kings ruled over the southern part of the former Hyderabad State. The theories are based on his reading and interpretation of the legends on certain coins mostly discovered in the said area. It may also be known to our numismatists that we have often expressed the opinion that Prof. Mirashi's readings of the coin legends are doubtful and that his interpretations of the legends are still more dubious. But it has sometimes been complained that we have only characterised the published readings of the coin legends and their interpretations as unsatisfactory without offering any reading and interpretation ourselves.¹

Our difficulty was that we were not prepared to commit without examining the coins and satisfying ourselves with the reading of the legends and their interpretation. Recently we had an opportunity of examining the plaster casts of some of the coins in the Hyderabad Museum including what Prof. Mirashi has published as those issued by the kings of the so-called Mahisha dynasty, and are now fortunately in a better position to express our opinion on them. The casts were prepared by Mr. A. N. Lahiri, Senior Epigraphical Assistant of our office, when he visited the Museum in 1959, and we are thankful to him for placing them at our disposal.

Prof. Mirashi has recently discussed, in the Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, Vol. XVIII, pp. 116-21, the history of his study of the coins of a ruler whom he calls the Śaka king Māna of the Mahisha dynasty. This story indicates the following stages in the development of his interesting theory about the kings of the Mahisha dynasty.

(1) In 1946, Prof. Mirashi received inked impressions of two coins in the possession of Mr. Humuz Kaus of Hyderabad and published them in the Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXII, pp. 34 ff. and Plate. The legend on the coin was read and translated by him as follows: Raṅgo Śaga-Māna-Mahasā[sa*] (Sanskrit Rājñāḥ Śaka-Māna-Mahishasya), 'This coin is] of the Śaka king Māna of the Mahisha dynasty.' From the illustration, however, it is quite clear that not only sa, put in brackets with an asterisk after mahasa, is untraceable on the coins and is admittedly an imaginary addition, but there is also absolutely no trace of the word raṅgo on them.² His interpretation of the legend was influenced by the Puranic passage Śakyanābhavād-rājā Mahishyān (v.l. Mahishyān) mahipatiḥ. It seems that he corrected Śakyanābhavād² to Śaka-Māna-bhavād² and Mahishyān or Mahishyān to Mahishyān. The territory over

¹ Cf. JNSI, Vol. XVIII, 1956, pp. 6 ff.; 116 ff.; 124 ff. Prof. Mirashi's articles on the coins in question are referred to below. Our comments on some of his theories based on these coins were offered earlier in op. cit., Vol. XII, pp. 30 ff.; IHQ, Vol. XXVII, pp. 174 ff.; Vol. XXIX, pp. 294 ff. Maclary over e and o has not been used in the present article.

² What has been read as raṅgo with the remarks, 'These two aksharas appear very thin and emaciated for want of space', is really a small symbol of six arches (i.e. a six-peaked hill), which is partly rubbed off.

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which the Śaka king ‘Māna the Mahisha’ ruled was located by him in the region around Māhi-
shmati, i.e. modern Māndhātā or Maheshvar on the Narmadā. As, however, will be seen below,
the letters mahasa constitute the first part of the word Mahāsenapatiya found on other coins of
the same person and therefore the existence of the Mahisha dynasty has no foundation at all.

(2) In 1949, Prof. Mirashi received photographs of two coins discovered in the course of
evacuations, the first at Kondapur and the second at Maśki, from Mr. Khwaja Muhammad Ahmed,
then Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad, and published them in the Journal of the Numismatic
Society of India, Vol. XI, pp. 1 ff. and Plate. He also published a note on the responsibility of
the Śaka kings of the Mahisha dynasty for the spread of the Śaka era in South India in the
Proceedings of the Indian Historical Congress, Cuttack Session, 1949, pp. 45 ff., as well as in the Indian
Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXVI, 1950, pp. 216 ff. The fragmentary legend on the said two coins
from Kondapur and Maśki, as he read it, ends with the letters mahasa which were taken to stand
for Sanskrit Mahisha and he ascribed the Kondapur coin to the same Śaka king Māna of the
Mahisha dynasty. The legend on the Maśki coin was read by Prof. Mirashi as yasa Mahasa[sa],
which suggested to him a Mahisha king with his name ending in the word yasa, supposed to have
been a later member of the family founded by the Mahisha-Śaka king Māna, though elsewhere
he applies the name Yaśa to this king. On the basis of the discovery of these coins at Kondapur
in the Medak District and Maśki in the Raichur District, he now suggested that the territory
ruled by the kings of the Mahisha-Śaka dynasty comprised the southern part of the former
Hyderabad state, which in his opinion was called Māhāshaka in ancient times. It was also
suggested that the said Mahā-Śaka house of Southern Hyderabad was an offshoot of the
Kahaharā-Śaka family of Western India. But, as has already been indicated above,
Mahasa... actually stands for Mahāsenapatiya. The dynastic and personal names of the issuer
of the coins, which have been misunderstood even though they are quite clear, are being discussed
below and it will be seen that they have nothing to do either with the Śakas or with any Mahisha
dynasty.

(3) Two notes were published by Prof. Mirashi in the Journal of the Numismatic Society of
India, Vol. XII, 1950, pp. 87-89 and pp. 90-91 with Plates. The subject of the first of the two
notes is a coin in the possession of Mr. Hurmuz Kaus, which bears the legend Saña-Māna-Chuṭuka-
ka, ‘(This coin is) of the Śaka Māna Chuṭuka’, as read and interpreted by Prof. Mirashi. It
was now suggested that this Śaka king named Māna-Chuṭuka belonged to the family founded
by the Śaka ruler Māna who himself as well as some of his successors (like... yasa or Yaśa
referred to above) assumed the dynastic name Mahasa-Sanskrit Mahisha. As will be seen below,
Prof. Mirashi later regarded Chuṭuka as a shortened form of Chuṭu-kula which is, according to
him, an epithet of Śaka Māna, and means ‘belonging to the Chuṭu family.’ But we have pointed
out elsewhere that the same Māna could have scarcely been described on some of his coins as
‘Māna the Mahisha’ and on others as ‘Māna the Chuṭuka (i.e. Chuṭu).’

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1 The article was reprinted in Numismatic Series, No. 3—Some Coins of the Mahisha Dynasty’, Hyderabad
Museum, 1950, with illustration of the Kondapur and Maśki coins as well as the two coins published in the Indian
Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXII.

2 Numismatic Series, No. 5:—Coins of King Sumahāgrāmaka from Kondapur Excavations’, Hyderabad
Museum, 1959, p. 2. In our opinion, the reading of what has been read as yasa is absolutely uncertain.

3 For our comments on the location of the Mahisha country in the southern part of the former Hyderabad

* The coins dealt with in the second note were also published in Numismatic Series, No. 8.—Some More

The subject of the second note of Prof. Mirashi is a number of coins on which the complete legend was read by him as Mahāsenapati Radajiputra Saga-Māna Chottakula, with the remarks that sometimes Senapati pūta and Chottaka occur in the legend instead of Mahāsenapati and Chottakula respectively. As a matter of fact, however, the seventh and eighth letters of what actually reads Mahasenapatīsa Bharadajiputasa (i.e. the letters sa bh) were wrongly read as pūta. But the word Chottaka has been rightly regarded by Prof. Mirashi as a shortened form of Chottakula, although his interpretation of the expression, as will be seen below, is wrong.

(4) In an article in the same journal, Vol. XV, 1953, pp. 115 ff. and Plate, Prof. Mirashi published another coin of the so-called Mahāsenapati Śaka Māna from Koundapur, which helped him to correct the reading Radajiputra of the legend on similar coins, published by him previously and referred to above, to Bharadajiputasa (Sanskrit Bharadējī-putasa). The legend is now read as Mahāsenāpati Śaka Māna Chottakula, (Sanskrit MahāSenāpati Bhara dējī-putasa Śaka-Māna-Chottakula) and translated as: 'This coin is of the MahāSenāpati Śaka Māna, the son of Bharadējī, who is of the Chottakula family.' It is also suggested that Śaka Māna had issued these coins earlier when he was a MahāSenāpati while his coins bearing the epithet ramāno were issued at a later date after his assumption of royal title. Prof. Mirashi further observes, 'In two other respects, these Koundapur coins differ from those found elsewhere. They mention his (i.e. Śaka Māna’s) family as Chottakula which is shortened to Chottaka in one case (see above, Vol. XII, Pl. VIII, Coin 8). On the other coins, he mentions instead the epithet Mahāasa (Sanskrit Mahīśa) derived from the country under his rule. He seems to have been very well known as the king of the Mahīśas.¹ But, as we have pointed out above, the word ramāno does not actually occur on the coins in question. Elsewhere,² we commented on the interpretation of Saga-Māna-Chottakula (Sanskrit Śaka-Māna-Chottakula) as of the Śaka Māna belonging to the Chottakula family: as quite unsatisfactory. If that was the meaning intended, the passage would have been worded as Chottakula Saga-Māna (Sanskrit Chottakula Śaka-Māna) or at least Chottaka Saga-Māna (Sanskrit Chottaka Śaka-Māna). There is no instance of the mention of a person and his dynasty in extremely awkward compound expressions like Saga-Māna-Chottakula, as Prof. Mirashi’s interpretation would involve.

There is another interesting fact to which attention of scholars should be drawn in this connection. The occurrence of the epithet Mahāsenāpati on these coins suggests quite clearly that the letters mahasa read on the same person’s other coins, published by Prof. Mirashi earlier, do not stand for Mahīśa (Sanskrit Mahīśaya), 'of the Mahīśa', but for Mahīśa (Sanskrit Mahīśapati) (Sanskrit MahāSenāpati), 'of the MahāSenāpati (i.e. great Senapati or commander of forces)'.

Considering, however, the arrangements of the words in the passage Saga-Māna Mahīśa (Sanskrit) on this group of coins as well as the size of both the coins of this group and of the letters in the legend, it appears to us that the full legend here may have been Sugasamata Mahasena putasa Chottakula (or Chottakula) and that the epithet Bharadajiputasa (Sanskrit Bhara dējī-putasa, 'of one who is the son of a lady born in a family belonging to the Bharadējī family') may have been added for the sake of space. In any case, it is clear that the flaws of these coins were considerably smaller than the die. As will be seen below, what Prof. Mirashi takes to be Saga-Māna (i.e. Śaka-Māna) we are inclined to take as Sagu-Māna (i.e. Sagu-Māna), 'of the Sagamas (i.e. belonging to the Sagama family).'

In our opinion, Coin No. 1, the inked rubbing of which has been published in Numismatic Series, No. 8, Plate 1, re. Bhara dējī and not Bharadējī and the legend fully preserved on Coin

¹ Op. cit., p. 117
No. 5 on the same Plate and incompletely on some others read Mahasena patis Bharada[ji]-putasa Samagama Chutukulasa. The natural inclination of any student of Sanskrit and Prakrit would be to take the passage to stand for Sanskrit Mahasenapateh Bhuradvaja-patra Samagama Chutukulasa and to translate it as 'This coin is of Mahasena pati Bhuradvaja-patra Chutukula of the Sagamas (i.e. belonging to the Sagama dynasty)'. Sagamana Chutukula may be compared to numerous such passages occurring in early South Indian inscriptions, e.g., Pallavaya Sivakhandavama (Sanskrit Pallavarana Sivashivakhandava), 'Sivashivakhandavaran of the Pallava family', occurring in the Hirahadagalli plates. Whether Sagama is a Dravidian name or stands for Sanskrit Saingama or Saingrama cannot be determined, although these are familiar personal names, easily applicable to families, and the medieval Saingama dynasty (1336-1485 A.D.) of Vijayanagara is well-known to us.

The language of the passage also shows beyond doubt that Chutukula here has to be taken as a personal name. There is certainly no other satisfactory explanation of the passage. To some of our readers, however, Chutukula as a personal name would appear rather awkward, since the word kula forming its second part means 'a family' in Sanskrit. Of course, Monier-Williams Sanskrit-English Dictionary recognizes Raja-kula-bhaṣṭa occurring in the Kathasaritsaṅgara as the personal name of a poet. But there is reason to believe that, just as Mihirakula was Sanskritised from Persian Mihiragul, Chutukula is likewise the Sanskritised form of a Dravidian personal name.

We have certain coins found in the Karwar region, some of which bear the legend Raño Chutukadaṉanda, 'This coin is of king Chutukadaṉanda', and others with the legend Raño Muḏāṉanda, 'This coin is of king Muḏāṉanda', although both the groups are exactly similar in type. There is absolutely no doubt that these were issued by two rulers (apparently related to each other) whose personal names were Chutukadaṉanda and Muḏāṉanda. There also cannot be any doubt that the personal name Chutukadaṉanda occurs in its Sanskrit garb as Chutukulāṇanda in the name of Hāritiputra Viphusa-Chutukulāṇanda Sātakarni of an inscription from Banavasi and of Hāritiputra Viphusa-Chutukulāṇanda-Sātakarni of another inscription from Malavalli. We have seen above that coins, wrongly attributed by Prof. Mirashi to king Māna of the Mahisha dynasty, represent the personal name of the issuer in some cases as Chutukula and in others in a shortened form as Chutuka which is the same as Chutu with the saṁbhikā suffix ka added to it. This fact would suggest that Chutukula, the Sanskritised form of Dravidian Chutukada, was another slightly shortened form of the personal name Chutukadaṉanda-Chutukulāṇanda. It is of course difficult to say whether āṇanda, the third element in the name, is also the Sanskritised form of a Dravidian word. But that personal names with this element were popular in certain areas of the Deccan, seems to be suggested by names like Muḏāṉanda found on the Karwar coins referred to above and Vīshnuvramaivalāṇa-Sātakarni of Vanaṉava (modern Banavasi in the North Kanara District, Mysore) mentioned in the Nagarjunakonda inscription of the time of the Ābhira king Vaṣuṣeṇa.
The above discussions will make it clear that whatever has been said during the past decade about the existence of kings of the Mahisha-Šaka dynasty and their rule over the southern part of the old Hyderabad State, on the basis of the erroneous reading and interpretation of the coin legends dealt with above, is entirely without any foundation.

Chuțukula, who issued the coins discussed above and enjoyed the official designation Mahâsenâpati, seems to have been the military governor of a district or its subdivision within the dominions of some king who cannot be identified in the present state of our knowledge. It appears that he flourished as a semi-independent ruler when the Sâtavâhana power was fast declining. The issue of coins by such subordinate rulers is illustrated by certain coins bearing the legend Sadakana-Kalalaya-mahârañhisa (Sanskrit Sâtaka-Kalalâya-mahârañhïsâh), \(^1\) [This coin is] of Sâtaka-kañhâ, the Mahârañhïśîn \(^1\). The official designation Mahârañhïśîn means the great Raśhtrïn or the ruler of a raśhtra', i.e. a chief of the Raśhtrïn', and raśhtra means a group of villages or the subdivision of a district. The word raśhtrïn reminds us of the designation Raśhtrakûta, 'head of a raśhtra', coined on the analogy of Gruñmakuta, 'head of a grama or village'. \(^2\) Another similar designation is Raśhramamahattara mentioned along with Grämamahattara. \(^3\)

In this connection reference may be made to certain other coins published by Prof. Mirashi in the Journal of the Numismatic Society of India. In a small note in Vol. XV, p. 120 and plate, he published a coin in the possession of Mr. Hurmuz Kaus of Hyderabad. In the fragmentary legend on the coin, Prof. Mirashi could not read anything besides the letters sîvalasa maha which induced him to attribute the issue to a Mahisha king named Śiva. We, however, consider the suggestion absolutely unwarranted. In the first place, he admits the existence of a letter like ka before si. Thus the name may have been one ending in śiva as in the case of Vishñudradra-śivalânda-Śatakârni of a Nagarjunîkonda inscription referred to above. Secondly, the two letters maha may suggest anything like Mahârañha, Mahâsenâpati, Mahârañhïśîn, Mahâgrâmika, Mahârâlañara, etc., and there is no reason to confine ourselves to Mahîśîna even if such an epithet was known from epigraphic and numismatic records. But, as we have shown above, Mahîśîna does not occur in the legend of any Indian coin so far discovered.

\(^1\) Rapson, op. cit., pp. 58-59. Rapson also offered the alternative suggestion that Sadakana stands for Sanskrit Śatakânâm from Śatâka and drew our attention to the personal names Sri-Sita and Skandana-Śatâka (op. cit., p. 838). The expression Śatakânâm means 'of the Śatakas', i.e. 'belonging to the Śatâka family or people'. It is interesting in this connection to note that, while most versions of Rock Edict II of Asoka speak of Satiya-pata or Satiya-pata, 'the king of the Satiyas or Satiyas' side by side with Kera-la-pata, 'the king of the Kerals' the Erragudi version has Satika-pata or Satiya-pata or Satiya-pata. It is well known that Kera-la-pata-Sanskrit Kera-la-pata, literally 'the son of Kera', occurs in the form Kerobhola in the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea as well as in the works of Ptolemy and Pliny to indicate 'the king of the Keras (Kerans)'. See my Maski Inscription of Asoka, p. 8, note 1. The original form of the name of the other people in question seems to have been Śitika or Sántika. The land of the king called Satiya-pata-Satiya-pata-Satika-pata is often located to the north of the territory of Kera-la-pata in the Malayalam-speaking area, not very far away from the Chitradurg region of Mysoor where the coins of Sadakana Kajaliya-mahârañhïsï were found. It is therefore not impossible that the Maharathi was a secon of the ancient race called Satiyas-Satiyas-Satika in the inscriptions of Asoka. Sadakana would in that case stand for Sâtikanâm or Sânkanâm, 'of the Sâtika or Sânka race'.

\(^2\) Raśhtrakûta is mentioned in records like the Ellora plates of Dantidurga (above, Vol. XXV, pp. 25 ff.). Raśhtrïn is the same as Raśhtrïka-Prakrit Rañhika of records like the Hirâbâjagalli plates (above, Vol. I, p. 1 ff.).


\(^4\) For coins issued by a Mahârâlañara or a Talacara whose name ended in saka (i.e. saka Sanskrit simha), see JNSI, Vol. XV, pp. 117 ff.
Another note on a few coins discovered at Kondapur was published by Prof. Mirashi in the same journal, Vol. XII, 1950, pp. 92-93 and Plate, as well as in *Numismatic Series*, No. 7—'Coins of King Sunahāgrāmaka from Kondapur Excavations', Hyderabad Museum, 1950, pp. 1-2 and Plate. The legend on these coins has been made out and interpreted by him as *Saṃmahāgrāmakasya maha...* (Sanskrit *Saṃmahāgrāmakasya maha...*), ‘[This coin is] of Sunahāgrāmaka Maha...’ We are indeed thankful to him that he was not inclined to regard the letters *maha* at the end of the legend to stand for *Mahasasa* (Sanskrit *Mahīshasya*) and Sunahāgrāmaka as another king of the so-called Mahisha dynasty of Southern Hyderabad.

On an examination of the plaster casts of these coins, we find that the correct reading of the legend is *Mahāgrāmakasya Maṭhari-patasa...sa* (Sanskrit *Mahāgrāmakasya Maṭhari-patasa...sa*), ‘[This coin is] of Mahāgrāmaka Maṭhari-patra...’ The personal name of the Mahāgrāmaka is unfortunately not preserved in any of the specimens. *Maṭhīgrāmaka* means ‘the great Grāmika (the headman of a village), i.e., a chief of the Grāmikas’, or ‘the head of a mahāgrāma’. The word *mahāgrāma* is known from South Indian records to mean a group of villages like the ṛāṣṭra.² Mahāgrāmaka was therefore an official designation similar to Ṛāṣṭrakūta Ṛāṣṭramahattīra, Ṛāṣṭrīṇa and Ṛāṣṭrikī. In the Nagarjunakonda inscription of the time of Abhirā Vasa-śeṇa, Kauśiki-patra Śivaśeṇa of the Peribideha family is endowed with the designations *Maṭhīgrāmika*, *Mahāṭalavara* and *Mahādāvāṭanāyaka*.³ The designation Mahāgrāmaka reminds us of the officer entitled Dāśagṛmika who was apparently a Grāmika having jurisdiction over ten villages.⁴ It appears that Mahāgrāma was a territorial unit like Dāṣagṛmā.

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¹ See ibid., Vol. XXII, pp. 186 ff.
² The *Successors of the Satavāhanas*, p. 305.
³ *Indian Archaeology*, 1958-59, p. 8; above, Vol. XXXIV, 7 p. 19, where Mahāgrāmika has been alternatively interpreted as ‘an inhabitant of Mahāgrāma’.
APPENDIX I

Coins wrongly assigned to the so-called Mahisha Kings

A. COINS OF MAHASENAPATI BHARADVAJIPUTRA CHUTUKA OR CHUTUKULA OF THE SAGAMA DYNASTY

Type I.—Elephant: Ujjayini Symbol; Copper

Obverse.—Elephant with uplifted trunk to right; Srastika above the back of the elephant; legend around in thick characters: Sagamāna Mahāsenapatiṣa. . . .

Reverse.—Ujjayini symbol with orbs having each a pellet in double circle; Srastika between each pair of orbs.

1. [Mr. Hurmuza Kaus, Hyderabad: HQ, Vol. XXII, p. 34, Plate at p. 35, figure A; Numismatic Series, No. 3, Plate II, figure b-2].

Size—squarish, 1"x.9"; weight—130 grains; Legend—. . . .gamana Mahā[se]. . . .

2. [Mr. Hurmuza Kaus, Hyderabad: HQ, Vol. XXII, p. 34, Plate at p. 35, figure B; Numismatic Series, No. 3, Plate II, figure b-1].

Size—rectangular, .95"x.75" (thick); Weight—180 grains; Legend—Sagamāna [Ma]. . . . There is a six-peaked hill symbol near the end of the elephant's tail.

Type II.—Srastika2: Thunderbolt and Arrow; Lead and Copper

Obverse.—Srastika and legend around: Mahāsenapatiṣa Bharadaja-putasa Sagamāna Chūtuṭasa (or Chūtuṭukulaṣa).

Reverse.—In pellet border, thunderbolt with arrow pointed downwards on right or left.

Variety A-1: Lead, Squarish

Class I: Issuer's name—Chuṭuṭa . . .

1. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations): JNSI, Vol. XII, p. 90, Plate VIII, No. 2; Numismatic Series, No. 8, p. 1, Plates I-III, No. 1].

Size—.9"x.8"; Weight—115 grains; Legend—. . . .[ha]nanapatiṣa Bharadaji-putasa Sagamāna Chūtuṭa . . . .; arrow to the left of the thunderbolt.

2. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations): JNSI, loc. cit., No. 4; Numismatic Series, loc. cit., No. 4].

Size—.8"x.75"; Weight—128 grains; Legend—. . . Bharadaja-putasa Sagamana . . . .; arrow probably to the left of the thunderbolt.

3. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations): JNSI, loc. cit., No. 5; Numismatic Series, loc. cit., No. 5].

Size—.75"x.75"; Weight—112 grains; Legend—. . . .tasa Bharadaja-putasa Sagamana . . . .; arrow to the right of the thunderbolt.

Class II: Issuer's name—Chuṭuṭuka

1 The Ujjayini symbol connects this type with Type III below.
2 This symbol has been wrongly regarded by Prof. Mirashi as the word ramīno.
3 The Srastika connects this type with Type III below.

(76)
4. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations): *JNSI*, loc. cit., No. 3; *Numismatic Series*, loc. cit., No. 2.]

Size—9" x 8½"; Weight—77 grains; Legend—*[Bh]ar[ada]ja-p[utasa] *Sagamana Chūtu[kasa]*; arrow to the right of the thunderbolt.

5. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations): *JNSI*, loc. cit., No. 8; *Numismatic Series*, loc. cit., No. 7.]

Size—7" x 7"; Weight—80 grains; Legend—*Maha[senap]ati[sa]*...*[pu]ta*[sa] *Sagamana Cha[takasa]*; arrow to the left of the thunderbolt.

**Variety B-1**: Lead. Round—big; Issuer’s name—Chūṭukula

1. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations): *JNSI*, loc. cit., No. 6; *Numismatic Series*, loc. cit., No. 5.]

Size—1⅞ in diameter; Weight—158 grains; Legend—*Maha[senap]ati[sa] *Bharada[ja]put[asa] *Sagamana Chūtu[kulasa]*; the arrow is obliterated.


Size—1⅞ in diameter; Weight—66½ grains; Legend—*Maha[senap]atisa *Bharada[ja]put[asa] *Sagamana Chūtu[kulasa]*.

**Variety B-2**: Copper, Round—small; Issuer’s name—lost.


Size—8 in diameter; Weight—80 grains; Legend—*[Bha]ra[da]ja-p[utasa] *So[ga]*...; arrow to the left of the thunderbolt.

**Type III**—Svastika: Ujjayini Symbol, Lead, Round


Reverse:—Ujjayini symbol as on Type 1, but with crescent above.

1. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations): *JNSI*, loc. cit., No. 7; *Numismatic Series*, loc. cit., No. 6.]

Size—7½" in diameter; Weight—115 grains.

**Type IV**—Lion: Ten-peaked Hill, Lead, Round

Obverse:—Lion to right with tail hanging down; Svastika above the back of the lion; a symbol looking like tree-in-railing to the left of Svastika; Legend—...*[Ma]kasa]*...*

Reverse:—In double-lined square, ten-peaked hill with a dot in each of the curves surmounted by a crescent which is flanked by what looks like ploughs.

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1. The size is quoted by Prof. Misra differently as "8½" x 8½" in *JNSI*, Vol. XII, p. 90. It is difficult to say which of the two quotations is correct.

2. The *Svastika* connects this type with Type II and the Ujjayini symbol with Type I above.

3. The lion connects this type with Type V while the ten-peaked hill reminds us of the six-peaked hill on the reverse of Type VI, although the issuers of Types V-VI cannot be regarded as members of the Sagama dynasty without further evidence.

4. Prof. Misrahi regards the animal as a horse.
APPENDIX

Size—1.05" in diameter; Weight—210 grains; Legend—Maha[sa].

B. COINS NOT ASSIGNABLE TO CHUTUKA-CHUTUKULA

Type V.— Lion² : Ujjayini Symbol; Lead, Roundish
Obverse :—Lion with upraised tail to left; legend above—Maharathea (?)....³
Reverse :—Ujjayini symbol with a pellet in each orb.

1. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations) : JNSI, Vol. XI, Plate II, p. 1; No. 9; Numismatic Series, No. 3, p. 1, Plate II, figure a-1.]
Size—.75" in diameter; Weight—72.5 grains.

Type VI.—Crescent : Six-peaked Hill; Lead, Roundish
Obverse :—Crescent. Legend (to be read from the outer side) around—Sivalasa⁴ maka. ⁵
Reverse :—Similar to the reverse device of Type IV; but the hill is six-peaked.

1. [Mr. Hurmuz Kaus, Hyderabad: JNSI, Vol. XV, p. 120, Plate VI, Nos. 6-7.]
Size—.85" in diameter; Weight—54 grains.

APPENDIX II

Coins of Mahārāṣṭraṇ Chutukula

Among the coins in the Hyderabad Museum, of which plaster casts were prepared by Mr. A. N. Lahiri, there is one bearing the standing lion on the obverse and the tree-in-railing and Ujjayini symbols on the reverse as well as the legend Mahāraṣṭraṇa Chutukulas (Sanskrit Mahārāṣṭraṇa Chutukulasya), ‘This coin is of Mahārāṣṭraṇ Chutukula’. From the specimen examined, it is not possible to say whether an expression like Sagamāna has been cut off before Mahāraṣṭraṇa. Therefore, in the present state of our knowledge, it is difficult to determine whether Mahāraṣṭraṇ Chutukula of this coin is identical with Mahāsenāpati Bhāradvājī-putra Chutuka or Chutukula of the Sagama dynasty, whose coins have been discussed above. The identification is, however, not totally precluded by the difference in the official designations Mahāraṣṭraṇ and Mahāsenāpati since the same person often enjoyed more than one such designation and, as we have seen above, a subordinate of the Ābhira king Vasuśena is known from a Nāgarjunikonda inscription to have enjoyed three official designations at a time, viz., Mahāgrāmika, Mahātalavara and Mahādanda-nāyaka. There are innumerable cases of this kind in later inscriptions.

Another coin of a similar type in the same collection bears the imperfect legend Mahāraṣṭraṇa...

⁴ Prof. Mirashi reads: s[i][r][i]...yastasa Mahasasa and assigns the coin to a person named...yasab or Yasa of the so-called Mahisha dynasty.
⁵ The lion connects this type with Type V while the ten-peaked hill reminds us of the six-peaked hill on the reverse of Type VI, although the issuers of Types V-VI cannot be regarded as members of the Sagama dynasty without further evidence.
⁶ Prof. Mirashi reads the legend as...na Mahara[sa] and assigns the coin to the so-called Mina Mahisha.
⁷ The name of the issuer of this coin is probably not Śīvala but ends in it.
⁸ It is difficult to say whether this stands for Mahāsenāpati, Mahāraṣṭraṇ or any other similar official designation beginning with mahā.
⁹ DGA/60
same collection bears the figure of a humped bull on the obverse and the representation of a six-peaked hill, a svastika and the Ujjayini symbol on the reverse. Only three aksharas of the legend on this coin are clear and they read... kalasa, probably the latter part of the expression Chūṭukulasa. It is, however, not possible to say from the specimen at our disposal whether the legend mentioned Chūṭukulasa as Mahāsenāpati or as Mahārāṣṭraṇ.

**Type I.**—Lion to left : Ujjayini Symbol etc.; Lead

*Obverse* :—In incised area, lion with upraised tail standing to left; circular legend—Mahāraṭhraṇa Chūṭukulasa.

*Reverse* :—In a square enclosure, symbols, of which only three are seen on the face, viz. a zig-zag line, above which on the left is an Ujjayini symbol with a dot in each orb and, on the right, a tree-in-tailing.

1. [Hyderabad Museum]

Size—Round, .8 inch in diameter; Legend—[Mahāraṭhraṇa Chūṭukulasa].

2. [Hyderabad Museum]

Size—Round, .9 inch in diameter; Weight—74 grains; Legend—Mahāraṭhraṇa.

The reverse is blurred.

**Type II.**—Bull to left : Ujjayini Symbol, etc.; Lead

*Obverse*  In an incised area, humped bull to right; Legend—... Chūṭukulasa.

*Reverse* :—In a square enclosure, six-peaked hill, to the left of which is a svastika and, to the right, portion of an Ujjayini symbol; above the svastika is a partially preserved undefinable symbol.

1. [Hyderabad Museum]

Size—Round, .95 inch in diameter; Weight—127-9 grains; Legend—(to the right)... kalasa.
No. 9—BHAIKSHUKI INSCRIPTION IN INDIAN MUSEUM

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 16.6.1930)

Only eight inscriptions written in the Bhaikshuki or arrow-head (sometimes, wedge-head) characters, prevalent among the Buddhist monks of the eastern regions of North India during the early medieval period, especially at Uddanapura (modern Biharsharif in the Patna District of Bihar), have so far been discovered. Out of them, the following six have already been edited with illustration: (1) Gayā (Bihar) image inscription published by C. Bendal in Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, pp. 77-78, and by R. D. Banerji in the Vaṣṭuṣṭa Sāhiya Parishat Patrika, Vol. XX, pp. 153 ff.; (2) the Kara (near Allahabad, U. P.) inscription published by N. P. Chakravarti in the pages of this journal, Vol. XXI, pp. 37-39; and (3-6) three image inscriptions from Uren (Monghyr District, Bihar) and one from the Malda (West Bengal) B. R. Sen Museum, published by me, above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 220-26. The seventh Bhaikshuki inscription, which was found at Uren and is extremely damaged, was also noticed by me while editing the four inscriptions referred to above. The eighth inscription in the Bhaikshuki script, which remains as yet unpublished, was found on the pedestal of an image of Jambhala belonging to the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The inscription, the findspot of which is not stated, was examined by both R. D. Banerji and N. P. Chakravarti although that did not lead to the publication of the record. When I edited the Bhaikshuki inscriptions from Uren and the Malda Museum, I was also eager to publish this epigraph. But my attempts to trace the image in the Indian Museum proved unsuccessful. Recently I found two impressions of the inscription in N. P. Chakravarti’s files preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. On an examination of these impressions, I realised the reason why this well-known epigraph, which is the biggest Bhaikshuki inscription ever discovered, has remained so far unpublished. The fact is that it is extremely difficult to read and interpret and the reading of some of the letters is doubtful. Since, however, the number of Bhaikshuki inscriptions as yet discovered and published is not too many, I considered it necessary to bring it to the notice of scholars especially in view of the fact that the image bearing the record is not easily traceable. I therefore venture to publish my views on the reading and interpretation of the inscription in the following pages for whatever they may be worth. Students of Indian epigraphy are welcome to improve upon my transcript and translation of the record.

The engraving of the inscription on the pedestal of the image of Jambhala is not carefully done and its preservation is also unsatisfactory in a few places. The record is engraved in three sections, the entire inscribed area being about 3½ inches in length and 3½ inches in height and individual letters each about ¼ inch high. There are altogether nine lines of writing in the inscription. Lines 1-2 and 6-9 run through all the three sections while lines 3-5, which are very small, are engraved in the third section only. This is because engraving was not possible in the space to the left of lines 3-5. For a similar reason, the gap between lines 1 and 2 is more than between

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Footnotes:
2 I had, p. 222.
3 The Superintendent of the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, informs me that the image, noticed and illustrated in Fouche’s Études sur l’Iconographie Bouddhique de l’Inde, p. 123 and figure 20 at p. 124, and in R. D. Banerji’s Eastern Indian School of Medical Sculpture, p. 39, Plate XVIII, was secured from Ghoshikund (near Kiul in the Monghyr District, Bihar).

5 DGA/60

(79)
any two other lines of writing in the epigraph. A small piece of stone appears to have broken away from the lower left end of the pedestal even before the incision of the record. This seems to be indicated by the last three lines of the inscription, each of which begins from a greater distance from the left margin than the previous line.

The characters of the record are similar to the Uren and Malda Museum inscriptions referred to above. But its palaeographical importance lies in the use of a few signs (e.g. ąż in line 8 and initial ī in line 9) not noticed in other epigraphs. The language of the major part of the record may be regarded as Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit, though a sentence in lines 7-8 is in fairly correct Sanskrit.

The object of the epigraph is to record the installation of the image on which it is engraved. It begins with a symbol for siddham. The first half of the inscription from the beginning of line 1 to the middle of line 5 offers the same two stanzas of the Buddhist formula that constitutes the text of the Uren inscriptions Nos. 2-3 and the main part of that of the Uren inscription No. 1, with negligible variations.1 It reads as follows after the corrections of scribal errors:

Bhaqavā āvīna2 paśichasamuvpāda-dhārināṁ deseti [*]
paśichasamuvpamūṁ ca dhārināṁ yo nirodha.
Ye dhārināḥ hetu-prabhavaḥ tesāṁ hetuṁ Tathāgato arṇava [*]
tesāṁ ca yo nirodho evaṁ-rūdi Mahāśāmano.

Although some letters here and there in this part are either damaged or badly formed, there is no difficulty about the reading and interpretation of this section. But most parts of the latter half of the epigraph are beset with difficulties.

After the two stanzas quoted above, there are three sections of writing in the inscription, each of which ends with a double daṇḍa and may be regarded as a sentence. The first of the sections seems to read: śrī-Saṅgha-sat(e)su)-mahārāja-śrī-Puruṣadūṭa-krama-kshā(ṃkṣā)-
dhāpati[ā*]. The illustrious Mahārāja Pūrṇavikrama, son of the illustrious Saṅgha, is the lord of the earth (i.e. the ruling king)1. This apparently refers to the ruler of the territory in which the image of Jambhala bearing the inscription under study was installed.

The second section seems to read: śrī-Simhanāga-śiṁaḥ(yāṁ) bhadanta-Jayasena-sya dēya-dharmo-
yām. This (i.e. the image bearing the inscription) is the religious gift of the Venerable Jayasena at Simhanāga.2 The word bhadanta was used as an epithet of Buddhist monks. This section refers to a Buddhist monk named Jayasena who set up the image at a place called Simhanāga no doubt for worship. It appears that there was a Buddhist monastery at Simhanāga and that the image was installed in the said monastery. It is not impossible that Simhanāga was the headquarters of Pūrṇavikrama’s territory.

The third section, which is even more difficult than the previous two sentences, seems to read: Kārttika-māsmi Gaṅgāraja-vṛtvinu samatva 70(1)-mam thātām, probably meaning, ‘(It is) installed in the month of Kārttika of the 70th year belonging to the new era of the Gauḍa king’. In this passage, the reading of the symbol looking like superscript dh joined to subscript t is doubtful, although it has some resemblance with the numerical symbol for 70 which was written in early epigraphs as ṭa and in medieval records often as vi, ch, th, etc. The word samatva, probably a scribal error for samanta or samatva, seems to be the same as Sanskrit saṁvat which is known to have been used in inscriptions in various corrupt forms such as saṁvat, samvata, samvatu, samvats, saṁvats, saṁvats, samanta, samanta, samanta, samanta, samanta, smat, etc.3 But we
have no other instance in which a year of the date of an inscription is qualified by a word like aristiya which is meaningless. It is possible to think that the intended reading is a-puricita, 'not of old', probably meaning that the year referred to was developed out of a recent regnal reckoning and not an old established era like the Tilrama-sainvata. I am sorry that I cannot offer any better reading and interpretation of the passage.

We know that some epigraphic and literary records of the Gayā region of Bihar belonging to the twelfth century A.D. refer to certain dates of the first few decades of the atta-rāja, gata-rāja or vinasha-rāja of Govindaśāpa while the years of the well-known Lakshmaṇasena sainvata, also originated in the same area, are usually referred to the atta-rāja of Lakshmaṇasena, sometimes mentioned with the title Gauḍesvara, 'the lord of Gauḍa.' It is not impossible that our inscription actually refers to the year 70 of the Lakshmaṇasena-sainvata which, as we have suggested elsewhere, seems to have been originally counted from the accession of the Sena king Lakshmaṇasena in c. 1179 A.D., although, apparently owing to some confusion, it came to be counted later in North Bihar from various dates between 1108 and 1119 A.D. Thus the inscription under study, probably dated in the year 70 may perhaps be assigned to c. 1219 A.D.

If our inscription is referred to a date in the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. and the image was secured by the Indian Museum from some locality in Bihar, king Pārvatikṛṣṇa was apparently a small ruler of the area in question since Bihar is claimed to have been conquered by the Turkish Musalmans about the end of the twelfth century. The existence of some such rulers in South Bihar during the thirteenth century is known to us. An inscription from Jānābigāh near Bodhgaya in the Gaya district of Bihar, dated in the Lakshmaṇasena year 83 (probably 1261 A.D.), mentions the king (bhūpati) Āchārya Jayasena, the lord of Pithī (Pithi-pati) and this Jayasena, was the son of Budhasena who is apparently identical with Āchārya Budhasena, the lord of Pithī, known from an undated inscription from Mahābodhi (Bodhgaya). There is little doubt that the word pithi, in the title Pithi-pati borne by these rulers, is the same as pithā and indicates the Vajra-sena at Bodhgaya, which is believed to have been the seat of the Buddha while he was meditating for the attainment of Nirvāna. The title Āchārya, additionally borne by the rulers, was an epithet of a teacher or monk and may indicate their sacerdotal character. It may suggest that the said two rulers were the heads of the great Buddhist monastery at Bodhgaya and the superintendents of its property like the later Mahāanta Mahārājī. But if they were monks, Jayasena could not have been a real son of Budhasena but was merely a disciple of the latter. There is, however, some difficulty in accepting the suggestion.

It should be pointed out that a manuscript of the Buddhist works Pacharakṣā is known to have been copied in Śaka 1211 (1289 A.D.) during the reign of a ruler named Madhusena who enjoyed the designations Paramāravāna, Paramasūrya, Paramanāthaśūlārāja and Gouḍesvara and, though not called Āchārya and Pithi-pati, may have been a descendant of Budhasena and Jayasena. It should, moreover, be noted that an earlier 'lord of Pithī' known from epigraphic and literary sources, was certainly not a genuine monk. The Sārnāth inscription of Kumāradevi,
queen of the Gahaḍavala king Govindachandra (c. 1114-55 A.D.), mentions her father Devarashtra of the Chikkora family of lunar race as the successor of the latter's father Vallabharaja as the lord of Pitthi (or Pitikhā) and her mother Šāṅkarādēvi as the daughter of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Mahana (Mathana or Aṣga (East Bihar), who is known to have been the maternal uncle and subordinate of the Pāla king Rāmapāla (c. 1195-1235 A.D.). The same Pithipati Devarashtra is mentioned in the commentary of Sandhyākarānandanda's Rāmacarita as vanquished by Mathana and the commentary explains the designation as Maṉagadēdhīpa, 'lord of Magadha'. The commentary on the Rāmacarita also equates Pithipati with Maṉagadēdhīpa elsewhere while describing Bhimayaśas as a feudatory of Rāmapāla (c. 1082-1125 A.D.) and helped his overlord in overthrowing the Kaḷivarta king Bhima of Varendra (North Bengal). This Bhimayaśas seems to be a later member of the family of Devarashtra. It also appears that these Pithipatis of the Chikkora-Chhind family were succeeded by the line represented by buddhasena and Jayasena. Thus Buddhasena and Jayasena who were apparently ruling over parts of Bihar with their headquarters at Bodhgaya and had some relations with the management of the Buddhist monastery therein cannot be regarded as Buddhist monks merely because they are called Pithipati.

As regards the title Āchārya, it may be pointed out that a fragmentary Bodhgaya inscription seems to represent one Jayasena as the Āchārya of a Chhind chief named Pūṇabhadra. If this Jayasena is identified with the homonymous son of Buddhasena, we may suggest that the members of his family were hereditary Āchāryas (i.e. teachers or preceptors) of the Chhind rulers who probably dedicated their territory to their Āchārya. This is not impossible in view of the well-known instance of the dedication of the kingdom of the Kalachuris of Tripuri in favour of their guru, the Saiva saint Vāmadeva or Vāmasambu. If such was the case, the epithet Āchārya borne by Buddhasena and Jayasena is probably explained. The manuscript of the Paṇḍharakshā may suggest that the use of this title was given up by the later members of the Sena family. The above suggestion further explains why the Chhind ruling family was not extinguished but was merely shadowed by the Sena Āchārya, just as the ministers of the kings of Nepal shadowed.

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1 The marriage between the house of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Mathana and Chikkora Devarashtra is interesting because both the families hailed from the Kannada country. Devarashtra is called Śrīdharsūrya in the commentary on the Rāmacarita. II, 8, and we know that the Kannada family name Chhind or Śrīka was often Sanskritised as Śrīkha and associated with the Sinhala or Sinhalese (The Struggle for Empire, p. 215). For the Sindas of South India who claimed both Naga and Sinhula origin, see B. M. O. Soc., Vol. I, Part ii, pp. 572 ff.; above, Vol. III, pp. 220 ff.; Sewell's List, pp. 392-3, etc., and for the Chhindas of Mahāva Pradeś who claimed only the Naga origin, see The Struggle for Empire, pp. 214 ff. The Chhindas of Ĉāy claimed the Sinhula origin and descent from the lunar race. The Mahāva Pradeś and Ĉāy branches of the family may have left Karnataka when the fabrication of the mythological genealogy was still in the formative stage. This suggestion is probably supported by the history of another Chhind family of North India known from the Dewal (Pilibhit District, U. P.) inscription of Lalla, son of Mahana from the latter's wife Anuhi of the Chuhāvāra (i.e. Chāluksa) family, probably a ruling house of Kannada origin. See Bhandarkar's List, No. 92; cf. in addition to the reference cited therein, Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 345 and note 15. The Dewal inscription, which also mentions Mahana's elder brother Bhāṣana and father Varman, is dated in Vikrama 1049 (902 A.D.). It is interesting to note that the Chhindas of Pilibhit claim descent from the Čāvula Oya, and do not refer to their Naga or Sinhula origin probably because they left their original home at a still earlier date.

2 II, verse 8; cf. Ray, Dh. VI, Vol. I, p. 338. The Śrīnāth inscription calls Mathana 'the venerable maternal uncle of kings' because his sister's son Rāmapāla was a king and the latter's two brothers, viz. Mahāpāla II and Śrīpāla II, also were his predecessors on the Pāla throne, although Mahāpāla II may have been his step-brother.

3 II, verse 6.


6 Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 46 ff.
their royal masters in the recent past.¹ A Bodhgāya inscription dated in the Buddhānirvāṇa year 1813 (1270 A.D.) mentions a contemporary Chhinda ruler of the Gaya region and points to the fact that the house continued to flourish considerably after the time of Buddhāsena since the Iśanābhiśa inscription of the latter's son Jayasena bears the date 1261 A.D. The fragmentary Bodhgāya inscription referred to above, which appears to mention Jayasena as the āchārya of the Chhinda ruler Pūrṇabhadra, mentions the following predecessors of the latter: Vālaḥārāja, born in the Chhinda family in the Sāmgha country; his son Deśarāja; his son Āyikācha (Āditya); his son; his son Saṅgha; ......his son Dharma; his son Sāmanta; and his son Pūrṇabhadra. The identification of this Vālaḥārāja with the eponymous father of Devarakštā as suggested by J. C. Ghosh² is not improbable since the former flourished about two centuries before 1270 A.D. while the son of the latter was a contemporary of Rāmapāla (c. 1082-1125 A.D.).

That, like Devarakṣita and Bhūmayaśas, Buddhāsena and Jayasena were also regarded as the kings of Magadha and not as mere pundits of the Bodhgāya monastery is suggested by Tibetan evidence which further indicates that the Pūrṇavijata Āchāryas of the Sena family had their capital at Bodhgāya. A Tibetan monk named Chos-rje-dpal or Dharmanavāmīn is known to have met Buddhāsena, described as the king of Magadha and as residing at (i.e. having his capital at) Vājranāsana (i.e. Bodhgāya), in the rainy season of 1234 A.D. According to this monk, Buddhāsena, who was a Buddhist, fled from his capital at the advent of the Muslim soldiers but returned from his forest retreat soon after the danger was over. When the king was coming in a procession of five hundred soldiers on an elephant and saw Dharmanavāmīn amongst the spectators, he got down to greet the latter with the words, “Salutations to the son of the Buddha.”³

Thus we see that Buddhāsena was ruling in 1234 A.D. while his son Jayasena, as seen above, flourished in 1261 A.D., apparently over considerable areas of South Bihar, when the Turkish Musulmans were already in occupation probably of the central regions of Bihar along the banks of the Ganges and were trying to subjugate the local rulers of the area. If our inscription is assigned to 1249 A.D. which falls between the dates of Buddhāsena and Jayasena, king Pūrṇavijata mentioned in it cannot be regarded as a secon of the family of the Pūrṇavijata Senas of Bodhgāya. He may, however, be the same as Pūrṇabhadra of the Chhinda family who is known to have been a contemporary of Jayasena, the latter probably being his own āchārya, as seen above. But, in that case, the doubtful name of his father has to be regarded as wrongly written. Bhadanta Jayasena of our inscription, who was a Buddhist monk, cannot possibly be identified with Buddhāsena’s son Jayasena who was the lord of Pūrṇabhadra.

If the rulers of the Chhinda family and the Pūrṇavijata Āchāryas of the Sena dynasty were flourishing side by side in parts of Bihar at the same time, as suggested above, we have to think of the relations that existed between them. It is, however, difficult to determine the exact position in the present state of insufficient information. But it may be that the Chhindas, who may have originally had their capital at Bodhgāya, repaired to Sāmgha when their Sena Āchāryas became Pūrṇavijata with their headquarters at Bodhgāya, and began to rule over a small territory around their new capital probably far away from Bodhgāya.

¹N. I. Majumdar regarded Buddhāsena as a member of the Chhinda family which, in his opinion, ousted the Chhikkara dynasty represented by Devarakštā (Iṣṇ. Antt., Vol. XLVIII, p. 40). But the suggestion seems to be wrong.
³JASB, N.S., Vol. XXIX, p. 25: Ghosh also suggested that Deśarāja may be a mistake for Deśorāja, i.e., Devarakštā. Can it be conjectured that Bhūmayaśas was his grandson whose name is lost?
⁴J. N. Banderjaa, Volume, pp. 111-12; G. Roerich, Biography of Dharmaniś, pp. 64-65, cf. also, p. 90.
⁵DGIA/089
The only geographical name mentioned in the inscription under study is Simhanāgā where the Buddhist monk Jayasena installed the Jambhala image during the rule of Pūrṇavikrama. It appears to be the early name of Ghoshikūḍī where the image bearing the epigraph was found. It is interesting in this connection to note that an inscription, recently discovered at Arma near Kajra, about 10 miles from Ghoshikūḍī, and dated in the fourteenth regnal year of Madanaṇḍa, (i.e. c. 1157 A.D.), refers to the rule of Pūrṇi-patī-Āchārya Devasena, apparently a predecessor of Buddhasena.

TEXT

2 [A] chchasamu[ppa]mānmā cha dhammānāṁ cha yo nirodho || [B] ye dhammā [C] hetu-pra-
   bhavā te-
3 [*] sāṁ hetum
4 [C] Tathāgato a-
5 [C] vachā [[[*]] te-
6 [A] sāṁ cha yo nirodho evam-vādi Mahāśamaṇo || [B] Śrī-Samyya-[C] satu(suta)-mahā-
   [rā]-
7 [A] ja-Śrī-Pūrṇadī(∀)krama-kshā(kshmā)dhipati[ʰ[*]] || Śrī-[B] Simhanāgā-[C] sāṁ(yāṁ) bhadanta-
8 [A] Jayasenasya deya-dharmo-yaṁ || Kārtīka-[B] māsaman Ga-[C] uṣa-rāja-a-
9 [A] [pu[*]rviṣam samatna(tta) 70'-marī thātāṁ ||

Postscript

Recently Mr. A. N. Lahiri copied a fragmentary Bhaikshuki inscription on the lower part of a sculptured stone slab under a pipal tree near the Kajra railway station. It is A. R. Ep., 1960-61, No. B 130. It is written in two lines reading as follows:

1 ...................... ti [[[*]] pa[tichcha]-samuppanānaṁ cha [dhammāgaṇī] yo
   nirodho [[][*]]
2 ...................... yo niro(dho ev)a[nā]vādī Mahāśamaṇo—|| o ||

2 From impressions.
3 Expressed by symbol.
4 Read dāsaśi as in the Uraṇ inscriptions.
This letter is redundant.
5 Lines 3-5, engraved in the third section, are very small.
6 The symbol looks somewhat like that of 70; but the value assigned to it is not certain.
BHAIKSHUKI INSCRIPTION IN INDIAN MUSEUM

Size: Actual
No. 10—SHIGGAON INSCRIPTION OF AMOGHAVARSHA I

(1 Plate)

G. S. GAI, OOTACUMUND

(Received on 26.2.60)

The inscription which is published here was copied by me during the year 1943-44 at Shiggaon, the headquarters of the Taluk of the same name in the Dharwar District of Mysore State. When I visited the place the inscribed slab was kept in the compound of the Mamlatdar’s Office. It has since been removed to the Museum of the Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar. The inscription has been published by Mr. R. S. Panhamukhi in the Karnatak Inscriptions, Vol. I, No. 14, without illustration.

The writing covers an area of about 26" by 20" and, except a few letters here and there, it is well-preserved. The characters are early Kannda of the 9th century A.D. Initial t is found in lines 9, 11 and 15 while final n is met with in line 9 and final r in line 3. No distinction has been made between e and ê or o and ô. Except the imprecatory verse in lines 12-13 which is in Sanskrit, the language of the record is Kannda and the text is composed in prose. In respect of orthography, it may be observed that the consonant following r is generally re-duplicated. The change of r to b is met with in bollabha (lines 1-2) and Bāraḍāśi (lines 9 and 11). Intervocal t is changed to d in kāḷavalla-dēre (line 8) and kīra-dēre (line 14). An epenthetic vowel is found in Amoghadvarsha (line 1) and varisha (line 13). Metathesis is met with in sāsika-ravile for sāsira-ravile (line 9).

The inscription, which is not dated, refers itself to the reign of Amoghavarsa and mentions the king’s chiefs Kuppeyarasa as governing Purigere—300, Manalera Gāḍiga as the Nādgāmunaḍa, Kallaman of (i.e. the son or a member of the family of) Kargāmunḍar as the Īrgāmunaḍa, and Pendaman as in charge of the Kāḷavalla taxes of the 300-division. The last mentioned officer, viz. Pendaman, is stated to have remitted, after obtaining the permission of Kuppeyarasa, the Kāḷavalla taxes of Siggāme to Kalnereti-bhatari, probably the goddess of that place. The inscription also registers the remission of all the minor taxes (kīra-dēre), apparently in favour of the same goddess at the same place, made by Kuppeyarasa. The recipient of the gifts was a certain Lōkākēshara-bhatārā.

Now who was Amoghavarsa mentioned in the record as the ruling king? Mr. N. Lakshminarasayn Rao thinks that he may be Amoghavarsa IV Kakśa (972-73 A.D.), the last ruler of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty, since, according to him, the characters of the inscription are definitely assignable to the 10th century A.D. But, in our opinion, the characters belong to the 9th century A.D. and consequently the record has to be ascribed to the reign of Amoghavarsa I who ruled in 814-78 A.D. The characters of our record generally resemble those of the Mantrāḍi and Mēvūḍi inscriptions of Amoghavarsa I. Particularly the letters k, t, bh, m, n, etc., are quite similar. On the other hand, these and other letters are certainly earlier than those of the Huligur inscription of

1 See A. R. Ep., 1943-44, No. F 42.
4 SII, Vol. XI, Part i, No. 11 and Plates.
Khoṭṭiga dated 972 A.D.¹ and the Guṇḍūṛ inscription of Amōghavarsha IV Kakka dated 973 A.D.² This would show that Mr. Rao’s view is not correct. Not only the considerations of palaeography but also the internal evidence of the inscription go against the identification suggested by him. We have seen above that Kuppyaras was governing Purigere-300 under Amōghavarsha. He is evidently identical with Kuppyan or Kuppyarasar mentioned as governing the same division in the Mantravāḍi inscription referred to above as well as in two records from Soraṭūr,³ all of them dated and belonging to the reign of Amōghavarsha I. The same chief is also mentioned in a damaged inscription of Amōghavarsha I from Mevūṇḍi, dated 865 A.D., apparently as a subordinate of the king.⁴ Therefore there can be little doubt that the present inscription belongs to the reign of Amōghavarsha I.⁵ And from the mention of the feudatory chief Kuppyaras who is also mentioned in other records of the king as shown above, we shall not be wrong in referring the present record to c. 865 A.D. We learn from the said records that this Kuppyaras belonged to the Yādava family.

Our inscription refers to Maṇalera Gādiḍa as Nāl-gāmunḍa, evidently of the Purigere division. For the reasons given above, the date 972 A.D. for this Maṇalera Gādiḍa given by Mr. Rao⁶ cannot be accepted. He should be placed about a century earlier, in c. 865 A.D., to which date the present inscription has been assigned by us. In Maṇalera Gādiḍa, the latter word stands for the proper name of the person while Maṇalera seems to indicate the name of the family to which he belonged, though the family name itself might have been derived from a person called Maṇale or Maṇalera. The family is also known as Sagara-kūla in some of the later records of the Rāṣṭrakūtas and the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. It may be worthwhile to review some of these records here and try to reconstruct the genealogy of the members of this family as far as possible. They are described as Sagara-mārtanda and Maṇalera-aditya and had the Sinha-lādhkana and Kēsari-kētu. They were governing, as feudatory chiefs, the district of Purigere-300 first as Nāl-gāmunḍas and later as Mahāsāmantas and Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras.

The earliest member of this family known so far is Maṇalera Gādiḍa mentioned in the inscription under study. The next reference is found in the Atakur inscription of Krishna III, dated 949 A.D.⁷ Therein a certain Maṇalera is mentioned as an officer under Būtuga, the Gaṅga feudatory of the king. This Maṇalera is stated to have belonged to the Sagara lineage and borne the epithet Vālabbhi-puravar-ādhikāra. In the Hulgr inscription of Khoṭṭiga⁸ dated 972 A.D., one Maṇalera Mārasiniḥa is mentioned as the Nāl-gāmunḍa of Purigere-300. This Mārasiniḥa may be the successor of Maṇalera of the Atakur record and may be identified with Mārasinahādeva mentioned as a predecessor of a certain Jayakēśin of the same family in an inscription of the Western Chālukya king Jayasiṃhah II, dated 1038 A.D.⁹ The Prince of Wales Museum inscription of Sōmēśvara I, dated 1060 A.D., mentions Jayakēśin I, his son Indrakēśin and the latter’s son Jayakēśin II.¹⁰ Jayakēśin I is apparently identical with Jayakēśin referred to above. An undated record from

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¹ Above, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 59 ff. and Plate.
⁴ SII, op. cit., No. 11.
⁵ Mr. Panchamukhi has also ascribed the inscription to the reign of Amōghavarsha I. Cf. Karn. Ins., Vol. I, No. 14.
⁷ Above, Vol. VI, p. 54.
⁸ Ibid., Vol. XXXIV, pp. 59 ff.
⁹ Ibid., Vol. XVI, p. 333.
Gadag belonging to the time of Vikramāditya VI (1076-1125 A.D.) gives the name of his subordinate of this family as Indrakēśīn II, son of Mārasimha and grandson of Indrakēśīn I. This Indrakēśīn I is identical with Indrakēśīn of the Prince of Wales Museum record. From this, it was previously surmised that Indrakēśīn I had two sons, Jayakēśīn II and Mārasimha, or these two persons were one and the same. But an epigraph of the time of Sōmāśvara II, dated 1074 A.D., mentions his feudatory Mahāśimanta Jayakēśīn as the eldest son of Indrakēśīn and the latter's wife Chaṇḍikābbē. This Indrakēśīn is evidently Indrakēśīn I so that Jayakēśīn II would be the second of that name. From this, it would appear that Jayakēśīn II was the eldest son of Indrakēśīn I and that Mārasimha of the Gadag record was his younger brother and had a son named Indrakēśīn II. The latest date for Jayakēśīn II is furnished by a record of the time of Vikramāditya VI, dated 1082 A.D.

Now a record of the reign of Bhūlōkamalla, dated 1138 A.D., mentions a Jayakēśīn of the Sagara family as the son of Vajradanta and his wife Māḍadalōvī of the Kadamba family and the grandson of Jayakēśīn. Vajradanta had an elder brother whose name is lost in the damaged portion of the record. His father Jayakēśīn may be identified with Jayakēśīn II mentioned above so that his son would be Jayakēśīn III. An earlier date for this Jayakēśīn III is supplied by an inscription of 1128 A.D. while the latest date by another record of 1153 A.D. In the light of the above discussion, the genealogy of these chiefs of the Sagara or Maṇalera lineage may be shown in a tabular form as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Maṇalera Gāḍiga, c. 865 A.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maṇalera, 949 A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mārasimha I, 972 A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayakēśīn I, 1038 A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indrakēśīn I, 1058 and 1060 A.D., md. Chaṇḍikābbē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayakēśīn II, 1060, 1074, 1077 and 1082 A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mārasimha II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indrakēśīn II</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

son

Vajradanta, md. Māḍadalōvī of the Kadamba family.

Jayakēśīn III, 1128, 1138, 1147 and 1153 A.D.

2 He may also be identified with Mahāśimanta Indrakēśīyarasa mentioned in another record of Sōmāśvara I, dated in 1058 A.D. Cf. A. R. Ep., 1938-39, No. E 91.
5 Ibid., No. 12. He is also mentioned in a record of the same king, dated in 1077 A.D. Cf. above, Vol. XVI, P. 329.
7 Ibid., No. 3.
8 Ibid., No. 46. A Lakshmīśvar inscription of the time of Jagadēkamalla II gives him a date in 1147 A.D. Cf. above, Vol. XVI, pp. 44 ff.
The inscription under study mentions a certain Kallaman of Kargāmunḍar as úrgāmunḍa or village-headman. Kallaman may have been either a son or a servant or belonged to the family of Kargāmunḍar. A certain Kargāmunḍar is known from a record belonging to the reign of Dhruva, the grandfather of Amoghavarsha I. But it is not certain whether he is identical with Kargāmunḍar of the present inscription. The name of the tax which was remitted in favour of Kalneretibhatari is given as Kallavalla, the meaning of which cannot be made out.

As to the two geographical names, Purigere-300 and Siggāme, Purigere has been identified with modern Lakshmēśvar in the Shirhatti Taluk of the Dharwar District. Siggāme is evidently the modern Shiggaon where the inscription was found and the record furnishes the earliest epigraphical reference to this place.

TEXT

1 ²Svasty=Amoghavarisha śrī-prithuvi¹-ba-
2 llabhamaḥārājādhirāja paramēsvara bhaṭā-
3 prithuvi¹-nājyaṁ geyye tat-prasādadindaṁ Puri-
4 geṛe mūnūṛṇa(ṛu)maṁ Kuppeyarasar=āle Maṇale-
5 ra Gāḍga nālga(m)guṇu geyye Karggāmunḍara Kallama-
7 ttam=īd[du] Kuppeyarasargge binna[ha]ṁ geydu Siggāme-
8 [ya] kallavaḷa-deṛe śrī-Kalnereti-bhāṭārīge ko-
9 ṭtan [¹*] Idanī kāḍātangē Bāraṇāsiyol=sāśikaravīle-
10 ya kolaguṁ kōḷumaṁ ponno=kaṭṭisi vēḍa-pāḷarargge
11 [koḷṭ]a phalam=akku idam=alidātangē Bāraṇā-siṇeljide
12 pāpam=akk[um] ²Sva-datta[ṇu] (ttāṭu) para-datta[ṇu] (ttāṭu) bā[v]ā yō harēt (ta)vasu-
13 ndharā[m] ṭshṛṣṭi-varisha-sahāsṛṇi ṭ vishṛṣṭ[ā] (thā)yāṁ jāyate krīmi[h] [¹*]
14 mata¹⁰ kiru-deṛe de(ṛ)lamah Kuppeyarasar-bīṭṭar¹¹
15 idam¹² Lūkākharah-bhāṭārār=paṭedōr [¹*]

2 From impressions.
3 There is an ornamental design at the beginning.
4 Read priṭhvi.
5 The intended reading appears to be mūnūṛṇa apparently standing for Purigere-mūnūṛṇa.
6 Read śrī-vāra-kavile.
7 Read vēḍa-pāḷarargge.
8 Read Bāraṇāsīyam-siṇida.
9 Read caṛṭhā asha[r]āṇi.
10 Read mattaṁ.
11 There is a spiral design at this place.
12 Final m is written below the line. Read idam.
No. 11—FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION FROM DHOLKA

D C. Sircar, Ootacamund, and M. R. Majmudar, Baroda

(Received on 30.3.1960)

The inscription under study was discovered by Dr. M. R. Majmudar in 1953 on the back side of a slab of black granite stone, the front side of which contains an image of the god Vishṇu in high relief. The deity is now worshipped under the name of Raṇḍhūdīji in a temple at Dhōlkā (known from medieval records as Dhāvalaka, Dhavalakka, Dhavallakka, Dhavallaka and Dhavālanka)\(^1\) in the Ahmedabad District of Gujarat. Some notes on the inscription were published in five articles by Pandit Lalachandra Gandhi of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, in the Gujarāṭī monthly journal entitled Śrī Jainaśastra-prakāśa, Vol. XIX, 1954, Nos. 6-10, on the basis of an impression supplied to him by Dr. Majmudar.

The inscribed space is about two feet in length and 11\(\frac{3}{4}\) inches in height. But the inscription is a fragment of a bigger one of which a little more than half from the left side is now preserved. Each line of writing originally contained more than eighty akṣaras, of which more than thirty are broken away from the right. It is clear that the inscribed slab was cut into two parts at a later date for utilising the left portion for making the Vishṇu image, referred to above, on the uninscribed back side of it. There is an inscription on the pedestal of the image in question, which gives the date of its installation as Sāmicat 1366 varṣhe Chaitra-[badi 1], i.e. the 4th tīthi of the dark fortnight of the month of Chaitra in Vikrama 1266 (1209 A.D.). Our inscription was therefore incised at an earlier date. The internal evidence shows that the record was engraved after the death of Śīlāhāra Mallikārjuna (c. 1156-60 A.D.) and before that of Chaulukya Kumārapāla (c. 1144-73 A.D.). The date of the inscription on the Vishṇu image falls in the reign of Chaulukya Bhīma II (c. 1178-1241 A.D.), son of Mālarāja II (c. 1176-78 A.D.) and grandson of Kumārapāla’s successor Ajayaśāla (c. 1173-76 A.D.). The utilisation of a Jain slab for making a Vishṇu image points to the genuineness of the tradition regarding the anti-Jain policy followed by the successors of Kumārapāla who is himself said to have been a devout Jain.\(^2\)

We have seen how the slab bearing the inscription represents the left half of the original stone. But even this original slab contained only one-third of the whole inscription apparently engraved on three such slabs or one much bigger slab. This is indicated by the fact that the stanzas of the record under study are consecutively numbered and these numbers show that verses 70-104 constituting the last 35 stanzas of a big praśasti were engraved on the slab in question, only about half of which is now available. The 69 stanzas forming the earlier part of the eulogy were apparently incised on two other stone slabs of about the same size or on the upper part of the same slab now broken away and lost. The preservation of the writing in the extant part of the inscription is fairly satisfactory, though two holes bored in the slab for the strings of Vishṇu’s robes to pass through have caused the loss of some letters and a letter is sometimes damaged at the beginning or the end of the lines.

The characters of the inscription are Dēvanāgarī of about the twelfth century A.D. The record, as indicated above, is written entirely in verse. Its orthography does not call for any special remarks. No date is traceable in the inscription as it is now available to us. But, as indicated

\(^2\) Ibid., pp. 1002-03.

(89)
above, the epigraph seems to have been engraved sometime between c.1160 and c.1173 A.D. The concluding stanza of the inscription states that it was a praisesi composed by the muni Rāma-
chandra who is described as prabandha-sata-nirmiti-prathita-kirti-kārṇy-oṣaya showing that he was
the author of a hundred works. This description shows beyond doubt that he is identical with the
Jain scholar Rāmachandra who was a pupil of the celebrated Jain polythym Hāmacandra-sūrī
and is known, from Mēruntuṅga’s Prabandhāchārtavāinam, to have been famous as ‘the author of
a hundred works’. Rāmacandra’s poem in 101 stanzas, about one-third of which is engraved
on the slab under review, is no doubt one of the many that were composed by him. Most of his
works were composed during the reigns of Jayasimha Siddharāja and Kumārapāla since, according
to Mēruntuṅga, Kumārapāla’s successor Ajayapāla (c. 1173-76 A.D.) caused the poet’s death by
seating him on a heated plate of copper in Vīrakāṇa 1230 (1174 A.D.). Jain tradition informs us
that Rāmacandra was involved in a plot of the Jain clergy to debar Ajayapāla, who was
antagonistic towards Jainism, to succeed to the throne of the heirless Kumārapāla. But Ajayapāla
was successful in getting the throne in spite of this opposition and took revenge on the Jains
on becoming king. Since, out of the thirtyfive stanzas of the record, the preservation of only four short verses
in the Anuśṭāyaka metre (verses 70, 81, 92, 94) is complete and the remaining 32 stanzas are preserved
only in parts, the contents of the inscription are unintelligible in many places. It is also difficult to connect one part of it with another.

Verses 70-71, of which the second is preserved in fragments, may be regarded as speaking of
a person named Mallikākṛjuna. In that case, Mallikākṛjuna is represented in verse 70 as devoted
to his master. Since, however, the name Mallikākṛjuna is used in verse 71 in the accusative along
with the expression nripātē pratāpāḥ (the king’s valour) in the nominative, indicating that a king’s
(probably Kumārapāla’s) valour did something to Mallikākṛjuna, it appears that this Mallikākṛjuna
was none other than the Śilāhāra ruler of the same name (known dates 1158 and 1169 A.D.) who
was the king of the Northern Konkan and is stated in Jain works to have been killed in a battle by
Chaulukya Kumārapāla’s forces. Indeed, no other Mallikākṛjuna is known to be associated with
the history of Gujarat during the period in question. It is interesting to note in this connection
that verse 76 below speaks of the defeat and death of the lord of Kunkana (Konkan) at the hands
of a hero whose name is not traceable anywhere in verses 70-76 probably describing the activities
of a servant of king Kumārapāla. If such was the case, we have to think that verse 70 speaks of this hero while the next stanza (verse 71) mentioning Mallikākṛjuna speaks of the hero’s activities
against the Śilāhāra king. There are several traditions in regard to Śilāhāra Mallikākṛjuna’s death.
While Mēruntuṅga states that Āmbaḍa or Āmbabhaja, the son of Udayana of the Śrīmāla commun-
ity of Baniṣa, who was the chief minister of Jayasimha Siddharāja, struck off Mallikākṛjuna’s
head, according to Hāmacandra, some Gurjara soldiers did this work and the Pritiśthāvīrajyajya
states that Sōmeśvara, the Chāhāmāna protégé at Kumārapāla’s court, did it. An inscription again
states that, when Paramāra Dhārāvarsha of Abu held his ground on the battlefield, the wives of

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1 See Tawney’s trans., pp. 152-53; L. B. Gandhi’s introduction to the Nalaudāna (G.O.S., No. XXIX, 1929),
pp. 22-23. Among the known works of Rāmacandra, mention may be made of the dramas Nalaudāna and Kau-
madārāvīnadana and the treatise on dramatic art called Nātyadarpāna composed in collaboration with Guna-
chandra-sūrī; another pupil of Hāmacandra-sūrī. Rāmacandra is said to have received the title Karnikājraya-
malī from Jayasimha Siddharāja (c. 1094-1144 A.D.), the predecessor of Kumārapāla.

2 Cf. Ray, op. cit., p. 1062; Majumdar, Chaulukyas of Gujarat, p. 129.

3 Cf. Ray, op. cit., pp. 109-12; Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 115 ff. Mohāmendalīkara Mallikākṛjuna was a feuda-
tory of the Later Chaulukyas of Kalyāṇa, though it is less likely that his overlord is referred to in verse 70 of our
record as will be seen below.

4 It is stated that the head of the king of Kunkana was cut off with arrows and that the inmates of his
harem entered fire. The word kārara used here means an arrow with a sharp horse-shoe-shaped head.
the lord of Kuṅkaṇa (Konkan) shed drops of tears. Indeed Āmbaḍa (Āmrabhāṣa), Sōmāśvara and Dhārāvārsha may have all taken parts in the campaign against Mallikārjuna, though none of the claimants for the achievement of beheading the latter may have actually killed him. Since, however, the main purpose of our inscription, as will be seen below, was to record the pious activity of another son of the above-mentioned Udayana, it is possible to conjecture that it was the valorous deeds of Āmbaḍa or Āmrabhāṣa which were the subject-matter of the description in the stanzas referred to above. This Āmbaḍa or Āmrabhāṣa is said to have risen in revolt against king Ajaya-pāla and, as a result, lost his life. 

Verse 77 states that the valour of the hero described in the previous stanzas was sung by the girls of Lāṭa, i.e. South Gujarāt lying immediately to the north of Kuṅkaṇa or the Northern Konkan. The description of the same person’s activities continues and verse 79 states that he built a Chaitya for the Tirthaṅkara Suvrata at Bṛhguṇakachchha, i.e. modern Broach. Verse 81 says that the same person made a silver image of the god Nābhajānaṇa (i.e. Ādinātha) at the Chaitya called Kumāra-vihāra which was situated at Śripattana. Since Śripattana seems to be no other than Asāhila-pattana (i.e. modern Pāṭan or Anhilwāḍā Pāṭan), the Kumāra-vihāra appears to be the monastery named after Kumārapāla, which the Chaulukya king frequently visited according to the Kumārapālapratītiḥa by Sōmaprabha.

Verses 82-89 describe certain heroic activities probably ascribable to the same hero. But verse 90 states that a person built a city after his own name in the Lāṭa country and the next stanza (verse 91) probably speaks of the construction of the Dhana-vihāra by him in the Avanti country (i.e. West Malwa), while verse 92 states that Dvāvala’s son was Vairisimha who built the Chaitya of the Tirthaṅkara Pārvanāṭha at Stambhatīrtha, i.e. modern Cambay. The language may of course suggest that the whole description in verse 70-91 has to be assigned to Dvāvala. The name of this person again reminds us of Dvāvala, after whom Dvāvalakkaka or Dolkā, where the inscription under study has been found, was apparently named. It is well known that Dvāvala of Bhimapalli was the husband of the sister of Kumārapāla’s mother and was the father of Arṇārāja (of Vyāghrapalli from which the family derived the name Vāghēla), the grandfather of Lāvanyaprasāda (of Dvāvalakkaka), the great-grandfather of Viśvamallaka or Vīsala (c. 1244-62 A.D.), the Chaulukya-Vāghelā king of Gujarāt. But it is doubtful whether the naming of Dolkā after Dvāvala is alluded to in verse 90 referring to a person building a city after his name in the Lāṭa country since Dolkā in Northern Gujarāt seems to be situated outside ancient Lāṭa indicating the Nausāri-Broach region of Southern Gujarāt. Dvāvala is also not associated with the story of Śilāhāra Mallikārjuna’s defeat and death in the hands of Kumārapāla’s forces. Moreover, although the introduction of Dvāvala as the ruler of the area in which the inscription was set up is intelligible, it is difficult to understand how the description of the pious deeds of this Dvāvala and his son Vairisimha (as yet unknown from any source) came in between that of the activities of the killer of Mallikārjuna in the earlier part of the inscription and of those of the latter’s relation in its concluding part. Under the circumstances, it is possibly better to suggest that Dvāvala mentioned in verse 92 of our inscription was a brother of the killer of Mallikārjuna. Thus the author seems to have introduced Dvāvala after completing the description of his brother who killed Mallikārjuna.

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3 Ray, op. cit., p. 994. Another Kumāra-vihāra containing an image of Pārvanāṭha was built by Paramākṣa Kumārapāla in the fort of Kāṇchana-giri at Jābālipura (modern Jalar in the Jodhpur Division of Rajasthan) at the request of Prabhā Hēmā-sūri in Vikrama 1221 (1164 A.D.). See ibid., pp. 982-83; above, Vol. XI, pp. 54-55.
Verse 96 speaks of a pious deed done with the permission of the learned Hēmачandra-sūri, no doubt the well-known Jain polymath of that name (1089-1172 A.D.). But whether it was performed by Vairisimīnha mentioned earlier in verse 92 or by the person mentioned later in the epigraph cannot be determined owing to the fragmentary nature of the record. Considering, however, the fact that the main purpose of the inscription was to record a pious deed of the latter, the second alternative seems to be more probable. This deed is mentioned in verse 101 which states that the Udayana-vihāra was built by the minister Vāgbhāta. The word ētam (this) qualifying Udayana-vihāram in this stanza shows that the inscription under study was originally set up in the Udayana-vihāra at Dholki. Under what circumstances it was removed from its original place for being utilised for the construction of an image of Vishnu cannot of course be determined without further light on the subject.

The Vihāra was apparently named after Udayana, the chief minister of Chaulukya Jayasiṁha Siddharīja and it was built by Udayana’s son Vāgbhāta (Bāhāda) who is known to have been a minister of the Chaulukya king Kumārapāla. It may have been built by the son after the death of his father. The date of Udayana’s death is difficult to determine. According to Mēruṭuṅga, he became mortally wounded in a battle with a king of Saurāṣṭra against whom he led an expedition under orders from his master Kumārapāla, while, according to Jayasiṁha-sūri and Jinamārga-Jana, he killed the Saurāṣṭra king and set up the latter’s son on the throne, though Prabhāchandra states that Udayana died while fighting against a Saurāṣṭra king during the reign of Kumārapāla’s predecessor Jayasiṁha Siddharīja (c. 1094-1144 A.D.). According to tradition, Udayana, whose son Bāhāda or Vāgbhāta is said to have been adopted as son by Jayasiṁha Siddharīja, gave shelter to Kumārapāla at Cambay against the wrath of Jayasiṁha.

It will be seen that the main purpose of the inscription was to record the construction of the Udayana-vihāra by Udayana’s son Vāgbhāta. It appears, however, that the original inscription on three slabs or a very big slab described the activities of Udayana and his sons Āmrabhāta (Āmbāda) and Vāgbhāta (Bāhāda) and also referred to those of Dhavala and Vairisimīnha who appear to have been respectively Udayana’s son and grandson. Verse 103 contains the prayer for the long life of the Vihāra and verse 104 with which the prasānti concludes, the name of Rāmachandramuni, the author of the eulogy, as already indicated above.

The geographical names contained in the inscription, such as Kuṅkaṇa, Bhriguakachchha, Avanti, Lāta and Stambhatīrtha are well known. We have identified Śripattana with the well-known Āpahilapattana.

TEXT

[Metres : verses 70, 78, 80-81, 90, 92, 94-96 Avuṣṭubh : verses 71-72, 74, 77, 79, 84-86, 97-98 Vasantarāṭaka ; verse 73 Māndakrānta ; verse 75 Drutāvilambita ; verses 76, 82, 89 Sārdula-viṅgkaṭa ; verses 83, 88, 91, 104 Priṅkri ; verse 87 Mālini ; verse 99 Pushpitāgṛā ; verses 93 (f), 100-102 Ārya ; verse 103 Sragdharā.]

1 [R]i[pau śaktih prabhaṃ bhaktis-tyāge rāgo nayē layāḥ | idāṃ chatushtayam yasminn-āśīsavam-akhanaḥtaṃ(tam) || 70 Taṃ Maḷaḷkā[r]junam-anarghyā-parākram-āṭajaḥka

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1 Majumdar, op. cit., p. 98.
2 Cf. ibid., p. 115.
3 Ray, op. cit., pp. 975-76.
4 From an impression received from Dr. Majumdar.
2 ॐ dhāṛipatēḥ pratāpaḥ \(\mid 71\) Yad-vikrama-smaraṇa-sambhrīta-sādhvās-ōttha-vyākam-pātāmāvaj-chal-āchala-pāṇayās=tē \(\mid \text{ady}=āpi bhāṃgi-vimukthāṁ dayītā-stanē\) — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
3 ॐ sh-ōmēśh-ōrjita-hutabhujō Jāmadaṅgnyasa tasya \(\mid \text{sthana}=ādbhuta-sāta-kītē kṣhu-mādatā \(\text{kanda}-vaṁ(bathā)dūdā=ṛāṇyāṁnāṁ parībhavā-ḥrītāṁ kāḥ kṛtō n-ōpākārāḥ } \(\mid 73\) — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — [\*]
4 ॐ hi-vijay-ōdyaṭasaya yasya=ānv-āhaṁ vīrītāṁ unmadda-vallabhēṇa \(\mid 74\) Samara-raṅga-bhuvāṁ sāra-pañjibhūṁ kīṁ=āpi tāṃḍavāṁ-ādadhatāṁ mūhūṁ \(\mid \text{yam}=abhūvīkṣh[?
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No. 12—EPIGRAPHIC NOTES

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACUMUND

(Received on 9.6.1960)

12. Śarabhaṅga—Śarabhaṅga—Śarabhaṅga

Some Magi priests of ancient Iran are known to have migrated to and settled in India and became known as Maṇga Brāhmaṇas also called Śakadviṣṭa, i.e. holding from Śakadvipa. This Śakadvipa can be roughly identified with modern Seistan in Eastern Iran, which was known respectively as Sakstān and Siṣṭān in the ancient and medieval periods. The said people and those who accompanied them to India introduced a few words in the Indian vocabulary, one of them being the well-known Sanskrit word mihira (i.e. the Sun or the Sun-god) which is the same as Persian mihr derived from Avestic mihr-Vedic mitra. On some coins of the Kushāṇa kings Kanishka and Huvishka, the Sun-god is represented on the reverse and the name of the deity is spelt in Greek characters as miio (also as miro and miaro), i.e. mihira, the Greek alphabet having no ʰ. The alternative spellings suggest that the word was also pronounced as mihura and mihara.

Similarly, the Scytho-Parthian rulers of the north-western regions of Bhāratavarsha and their Kushāṇa successors, who came to our country from the west, introduced certain official designations in the Indian administrative system, some of which became popular with the indigenous Indian kings of various parts of Northern India. A few such designations are (1) Gaṇjavara (cf. Gaṇjapati), (2) Dīvira or Divira (cf. Divirapati), and (3) Pīlupati (cf. Mahāpilupati).

The designation Gaṇjavara, occurring in a Mathura inscription of the Śaka chief Śūdāsa (c. 15-25 A.D.) and in Kalhaṇa’s Kashmirian Chronicle written about the middle of the twelfth century A.D., is the same as Persian Gānjvar meaning ‘a treasurer’, derived from ganj, ‘treasure’. The same designation occurs as Gaṇjapati in the Taleswar (Almora District, U.P.) plate of Dyuṭivarman who flourished about the sixth century A.D. About the middle of the tenth century A.D., Utpala, in his commentary on Varāhamihira’s Brihatasamhita (LII, 13), explains gaṇjakā as kṣābhavanam (i.e. treasury). The designation Dīvira or Divira, which is found in such an early record as the Khoṭ plate of king Jayaṃāttha of Uchchakalpa, dated 496 A.D., was explained by Bühler as ‘a clerk, writer or accountant’ on the authority of the Lokapralāsa ascribed to Kāśemendra. It is the same as Persian Dabir meaning ‘a writer, a secretary’. Divirapati also occurs in the Taleswar plate referred to above and often in the records of the Maṭrakas of Valabhi from the latter part of the sixth century A.D. In the designation Pīlupati or Mahāpilupati, which

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2 Cf. R. G. Bhandarkar, loc. cit.
3 See Select Inscriptions, p. 142; note 6; p. 153, note 5.
5 Rājatarāngini, V, 177.
7 Bhatṭa Utpala wrote his commentary on Varāhamihira’s Brihajjāta in 906 A.D.
9 Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 10.
10 Wilson’s Glossary, s.v. The Rājatarāngini (VIII, 131) makes a distinction between Divira and Kāpyasta probably because the Kashmirian Kāpyasta was primarily a tax-collector.
11 Cf. Bhandarkar’s List, No. 1328, dated 588 A.D.; etc.

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occur in such early records as the Abbona plates\(^1\) of the Kalachuri king Śaṅkaragaṇa, dated 595-96 A.D., and the Talsewar plate referred to above, as well as in a large number of copper-plate grants issued by North Indian kings of the early medieval period;\(^2\) the word pīlah is the same as Arabic-Persian ḥil meaning ‘an elephant’.\(^3\) An inscription of Kalachuri Śaṅkaragaṇa’s time spells the designation as Mahāpala\(^4\).

The official designation Sarabhaṅga=Sarabhaṅga=Sarabhaṅga often occurs in the list of subordinates and officers addressed by some of the kings of Northern India in respect of the grants of land recorded in their copper-plate charters. The difference in the spelling of the word is sometimes noticed even in the records of the same king. Thus, while the Nālanda plate\(^6\) of king Dēvapāla (c. 810-51 A.D.) of Bengal and Bihar has Sarabhaṅga, the Monghyr plate\(^8\) of the same king has Sarabhaṅga. A tenth century copper-plate inscription\(^7\) of king Vidadhā of Chamba in the Himalayas, on the other hand, spells the word as Sarabhaṅga. This confusion about the spelling seems to indicate that the word is of foreign origin.

The meaning of Sarabhaṅga=Sarabhaṅga=Sarabhaṅga has not been satisfactorily determined, though unsuccessful attempts have been made to explain it on the basis of Sanskrit śara meaning ‘an arrow’ probably regarding the spellings sara as a mere mistake for śara and ignoring sargas altogether. Thus it has sometimes been suggested that Sarabhaṅga means a superior military officer equipped with bows and arrows, although the word bhaṅga remains unexplained in this interpretation.\(^9\) While editing the Pandu kesvar (Garhwal District, U.P.) plates of about the tenth century A.D., we ourselves observed, “Sarabhaṅga literally means ‘wound and fracture’. He was probably the royal surgeon”.\(^9\) It has also been conjectured that Sarabhaṅga may have something to do with śarannyatra or śarannyatra, the latter being a title conferred in Mithila upon a very learned man who successfully faced an ordeal (called śarannyatra) of answering satisfactorily all questions on any śāstra put to him by learned āchāryas and common people.\(^10\) But, as indicated above, the spelling of the first part of the designation variously as śara, sara and saras seems to suggest that the writers of the epigraphic records were struggling to find out a suitable Sanskrit word for a foreign expression. Indeed it has also to be noticed that no word like Sarabhaṅga, Sarabhaṅga and Sarabhaṅga occurs in any of the Sanskrit lexicons in the sense of an official designation and that it is also not known from any epigraphic record of a South Indian monarch.

It now appears to us that Sarabhaṅga=Sarabhaṅga=Sarabhaṅga was introduced into India by the foreign rulers of North-Western Bharataravansha just as Gaṅjavara, Divira and Pihupati and that it is really an Indian modification of Perisan Sarhang meaning ‘a commander of forces’. Sarhang is derived from sar (Sanskrit śīna), ‘the head’, and old Persian hango (Sanskrit saṅgha), ‘a company’, in the sense of ‘the head of a contingent of troops’. The same expression is used as Sarāṅgha in the official designation Gīlitā-sarāṅgha, ‘the chief of the army at Gilgit’, occurring in the Hatun (Gilgit) inscription\(^11\) of the Shāhi king Pāñjāl deva who flourished about the seventh century A.D. The Sarāṅgha of the Hatun inscription may also have been a military

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\(^1\) Above, Vol. IX, p. 298.
\(^3\) Wilson’s Glossary, s.v.
\(^6\) Ibid., Vol. XVIII, p. 306, text line 32.
\(^11\) Above, Vol. XXX, p. 228.
governor. The same designation is still found in some of the Indian dialects in the form Serāṅg.¹ Wilson’s Glossary recognises Persian Sahrang-Indian Serang and explains the designation as follows: ‘a commander; but generally applied in India to the headman of a native crew whether on board a ship or boat; also to the headman of a gang of natives attached to artillery, dragging guns, or to the army in general, as tent-pitchers and the like, or to the head of gangs of a superior order of labourers employed in public or private works, in docks, buildings, etc.’²

13. Dēvadāśīs in Buddhist Temples

The Ratnagiri copper-plate inscription of the Sōmavasī king Karna, who flourished in Orissa about the beginning of the twelfth century A.D., has been edited by Mrs. D. Mitra in the pages of this journal³ and we also have published a note on the same epigraph above.⁴ The inscription records the grant of a village made by the Sōmavasī king in favour of Rāpi Karpūrasī, described in our opinion, as the daughter of Māhāri Mūhunadovī and the putrī (i.e. daughter of the putrī or daughter) of Udayamati. We have regarded Karpūrasī as a rāsi (literally, ‘queen’, but probably a concubine) of king Karna. Her description as the daughter and granddaughter of females instead of the mention of her father and grandfather was taken by us to suggest that she was born of a harlot. This suggestion was supported by us by taking her mother’s epithet māhāri as the same as Prakrit māhāri—Oriya mihāri meaning a Dēvadāśī (i.e. a dancing girl attached to temples, a harlot).

But a difficulty we felt then was that Karpūrasī is described in the inscription as Salōnapura-mahāvihāra-vinirgatī, which would normally mean ‘hailing from the great Buddhist monastery at Salōnapura’. Since, however, Dēvadāśīs are generally known to have been attached to Brahmanical temples and not to Buddhist monasteries, we were inclined to interpret the expression Salōnapura-mahāvihāra as a stereotyped geographical name of the area around the Buddhist monastery at Salōnapura just as that of the town of Bihār (Vihāra, Bihārsharif of the Muslims) in the Patna District of Bihar. We therefore suggested that Karpūrasī, a concubine of the Sōmavasī king Karna, hailed from the neighbourhood of the Salōnapura monastery but was not attached to it. Recently, however, we have found some proof to show that Dēvadāśīs were maintained in the early medieval period not only in the Brahmanical temples but also in the Buddhist shrines at least in Eastern India. There was thus no difference in this respect between the Brahmanical and Buddhist temples in the area and age to which the Ratnagiri plates belong. We therefore think now that Karpūrasī and probably also her mother, if not her maternal grandmother as well, had really been Dēvadāśīs attached to the Buddhist temple in the mahāvihāra at Salōnapura before she went to king Karna’s harem. She may have been purchased by the king from the authorities of the monastery.

Bhagavannda Indraji published an inscription embedded in the wall of a temple of the Sun-god on the western side of the tank called Daksha-mānas near the Vishnupāda at Gayā in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. X, 1881, pp. 341 ff. Dated in the Buddhāparinirvāṇa year 1883 (probably 1270 A.D.), this inscription records the construction of a Gandhakuti by Purushottamāsīna, the son of Kāmadhēvasūrya and grandson of king Jayatungasūrya of the Kāma country (probably Kamaun in the Himalayas or Kāmān in the Bharatpur District, Rajasthan). The expression gandhakuti originally meant the Buddha’s private chamber in a Buddhist establishment and later a shrine where the Buddha’s image was worshipped in a Buddhist monastery. The Buddhist temple in

¹ The Bengali spelling of the word is Sāring.
² See also Hobson-Jobson, s.v. Serang.
³ Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 263 ff.
⁴ Ibid., pp. 269 ff.
question is said to have been built for the merit of Māṇikyasinha, the deceased son of Purushottamasinha’s daughter Ratnasri, with the help of the local Cihinda king and of king Asākachalla of the Sapādalaksha country (the Siwalik hills or the land around Sākambhari or Sāmbhar in the Jaipur District, Rajasthan), both Purushottamasinha and Asākachalla probably being pilgrims to Gayā or leading retired lives at the holy place.

Verse 12 of the said inscription has been read and translated as follows:

Pūjaḥ puñyatamasava pañcama-gatair=vañgāiṣtrisandhyān sadā
Rāmbha-sannibha-bhāvinibhir=abhitōta=cheṣṭibhir=atyadbhutan(tam | )
nyitvanibhir=aṅgālaṅgina-gatair=ggī-ādi-raṅgair=imā
yasmā=saṁti hi āśeṣā bhagavataḥ satkāra-vishṛṣṭāḥ

"Since, in the religion of the Bhagavat, worship is here [offered] to the most worshipful, always three times a day, by means of instrumental music in the highest key (pañcama-gata) together with Rāmbha-like Bhāviniś and Chēṭi dancing round wonderfully with mirth in singing and so on, in a way appertaining to the unions of Ananga (Kāma)—[worship] increased by hospitable entertainments."

On the words bhāvinī and chēṭi, Indrajei observes as follows: "Bhāviniś are the dancing girls attached to temples. Chēṭi are maid-servants belonging to temples, who perform certain menial services as well as join with the Bhāviniś in singing............"

The word bhāvinī in the sense of ‘a wanton woman’ is interesting since this meaning may have developed from its use in expressions like Hari-bhāvinī, ‘devoted to Hari’, probably often applied to dancing girls attached to Vaishnava temples.

14. Dvārakātāka

While commenting above1 on some of Mr. R. K. Ghosal’s views on the Rākshaskhāli (Sundarban) plate of Śaka 1118, we pointed out that Dvārakātāka, where king Dōmm nanoparticles was staying at the time of making the grant recorded in the charter, was a locality near the Gaṅgāṣāgarasāṅgama (i.e. the holy junction of the Ganges or Bhāgiratī and the Bay of Bengal), that the king went there to meet his end in the waters of the Ganges according to a popular practice of those days and that the grant was made on the said occasion in accordance with the injunction of the Hindu scriptures. It was also pointed out that katāka, the second part of the name, is the same as Sanskrit kāṭaka and Bengali kāṭa, and means ‘a market place’. But we were not sure then whether dvāra, the first part of the name, means ‘a mouth’ of the Ganges, so that the name Dvārakātāka would literally mean ‘a market place on the mouth [of the Ganges]’. This was because the word dvāra in the sense of the mouth of a river is not generally found in the Sanskrit lexicons and the name Gaṅgā-dvāra, literally ‘the door of the Ganges’, is applied to modern Hardwar which is a locality where the Ganges enters into the plains from the Himalayas. But we have recently noticed that the word dvāra in the sense of the mouth of a river is not unknown.

The Lunsadi copper-plate inscription,2 issued by the Maitraka king Śilāditya II in the Guptan year 350 (668-69 A.D), records the gift of some land in a village situated at the Madhumati-dvāra which has been interpreted as ‘the mouth of the river Madhumati (i.e. the modern Nikol creek)’. The localities mentioned in the enumeration of the boundary of the gift land support

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1 Vol. XXX, pp. 42 ff.
2 Ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 74 ff.
the said interpretation of the word *dvāra*. Thus Dvārachāraka of the Rākshashkhāli (Sundarben) plate may have been actually situated on the mouth of the Bhāgirathī in the vicinity of Gaṅgāsāgarasana. It may be pointed out that, in Tamil, the expression *mukkā-dvāra* means the mouth of a river especially where it falls into the sea.

15. *Ambā-kiplikā=Ambā-kapilika=Ambā-kapilika*

*Ambā-kiplikā, ambā-kapilika or ambā-kapilika* is mentioned in the list of creatures occurring in Pillar Edict V of Aśoka, whose salughter was prohibited by the Maurya emperor. Of the two words joined in the compound expression, *ambā* means ‘mother’ in Sanskrit and the Prakrits (including Pāli) while *kapilika* is a well-known Pāli word meaning ‘an ant’. Bühler, therefore, interpreted *ambā-kiplikā=ambā-kapilika=ambā-kapilika* as ‘the queen ant’ and most later writers have accepted Bühler’s interpretation.

B. M. Barua, however, pointed out that, according to the commentary on the *Anguttara-nikāya*, the expression *ambaka-maddari* or *ambaka-pachchari* means *khuddaka-kukkutikā* (Sanskrit *kshudraka-kukkutikā*), ‘a small hen’, and therefore *ambaka* is a synonym of *khuddaka*, ‘small’. He took *ambā* in Pillar Edict V as the same as *ambaka=khuddaka* and, since he believed that the list in Pillar Edict V contains only the names of birds or bird-like creatures so that there is no possibility of ‘the ant’ being mentioned in it, he further suggested that *ambā-kiplikā=ambā-kapilika=ambā-kapilika* means a small bird.

P. C. Sen has recently pointed out that the list of creatures in Pillar Edict V really contains names other than those of birds. We agree with him on this point. But he accepts Barua’s interpretation of *ambā* as ‘small’ and suggests that *ambā-kiplikā=ambā-kapilika=ambā-kapilika* really means ‘a small ant’. In support of this interpretation, Sen has offered two arguments.

In the first place, our attention has been drawn to the following stanza occurring in some recensions of the *Mahābhārata*:

\[
\text{Amaṇḍān=mṛitikā ch=aiva tathā kshudra-pipilikāh} \\
\text{dēśhūtātās=tathā viprār=abhakṣyān visham=eva cha} \]

The verse mentions *kshudra-pipilikā* or ‘the small ant’ in the list of food which a Brāhmaṇa should not take and Sen suggests that this injunction proves the prevalence of the custom of eating ants amongst certain sections of the people.

Secondly, Sen refers to the practice of eating winged white-ants and also bigger red-ants which make big nests generally with leaves at the end of small branches of the mango trees, especially the eggs and the young of the latter both raw and cooked, as still prevalent among the aboriginal population of South Bihar. He therefore suggests that these are the creatures called *ambā-kiplikā=ambā-kapilika=ambā-kapilika* in Pillar Edict V of Aśoka.

It is, however, difficult to agree with these views. Firstly, the Pāli lexicons do not recognise ‘small’ as a meaning of the word *ambā* and even if *ambaka-maddari* or *ambaka-pachchari* means

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3 Vol. I, p. 188.
5 *Loc. cit.*
6 *Tihāsa* (Bengali), Vol. IX, pp. 1 ff.
7 See *Bālabcāt edition*, *Śanti-parvan*, Chapter XXXVI, verse 21.
8 In the western areas of North India, I am told, there is a belief that one’s eye-sight becomes sharp if red or grey ants are eaten.
Khuddaka-Kukkuṭikā, it is not certain that ambā means 'small'. Secondly, the winged white-ants and the red-ants living generally in mango trees are both very much bigger than the ordinary small ants and can therefore hardly be called kṣudra or 'small'. The consumption of 'big' ants is not prohibited by the Mahābhārata.

The word ambā occurs in the expression ambā-vaḍikā in Pillar Edict VII and in ambā-vaḍikā in the so-called Queen's Edict on the Allahabad-Kosam pillar, both the expressions standing for Sanskrit āmra-vāṭikā, 'a grove of mango trees'. Thus ambā stands for Sanskrit āmra in Abhākan vocabulary. It is thus very probable that ambā-kiḷiṭkā-ambā-kaḷiṭkā-ambā-kaḷiṭkā really stands for Sanskrit āmra-piḷiṭkā and means 'the mango-tree ant', i.e. the big red ant that generally lives on mango trees.

16. Date of the Abhākā Inscription

While editing the Mathurā fragmentary inscription (assigned on palaeographical grounds to the latter half of the seventh century A.D.) of the Maurya king Karka Diṇḍirāja in the pages of this journal, we had occasion to refer to the Abhākā (eight miles to the east of Udaipur, Rajasthan) inscription mentioning the Guhila chief Dhanika of Dhavangā (Dhōḍ in the Jajapur District of the Udaipur Division, Rajasthan) and the latter's overlord Paramabhatṭara Mahābhārata Paramēśvara Dhavalappa. The Abhākā inscription was noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar and a tentative transcript of it, based on an unsatisfactory impression, was published by R. R. Halder. In our discussion, reference was also made to Bhandarkar's identification of this Dhavalappa with the Maurya king Dhavalātman of the Kansawa inscription of 738 A.D. (V. S. 795) and it was pointed out that Dhavalātman may be a Sanskritised form of the South Indian (Kannaḍa) name Dhavalappu and that these Mauryas of the Rajasthan region may have been related to the Maurya house of the Southern Konkan. We further suggested that the Mauryas succeeded in extending their suzerainty over Rajasthan which had formerly been a part of the dominions of king Harsha (606-47 A.D.) of Kanaṇḍa. It was also suggested by us in some other connection that Siladitya of the Sāmoli (Bhomat District, Udaipur Division) inscription of V. S. 703 (646 A.D.) was either identical with Harsha of Kanaṇḍa or with a Guhila ruler who was named after the Kanaṇḍa king because the latter was his father's overlord as in some other cases known to the students of Indian history.

The date of the Abhākā inscription has been differently read. Bhandarkar had at first read it as the year 907 of the Vikrama Śaṅvata corresponding to 750 A.D., which he later corrected to 407 of the Gupta era corresponding to 726 A.D. But Halder reads the date as the year 207 of the Harsha era corresponding to 813 A.D. Recently I had an occasion to study some good impressions of the inscription and found that the date in question is very clearly the year 701 which must be referred to the Vikrama Śaṅvata so as to yield 644 A.D.

The date is written in three signs, the first of which is a sra (indicating 100) joined at the right with the sign of 7, so that the entire symbol can only be read as 700. The difference between this symbol for 700 and that illustrated by Ojha in his Bhāratiya Prāchīn Lipimālā, Plate LXXIV-b,  

1 CII, Vol. I, p. 130, text line 23.
2 Ibid., p. 158, text line 3.
4 Above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 207 ff.
5 Bhandarkar's List, No. 1371, PRAS, W. C. 1905-06, p. 61; above, Vol. XII, p. 12, note 1.
6 Above, Vol. XX, p. 222 ff. Dhanika is identified with his namesake of the Chatsu and Nangar inscriptions (Bhandarkar's List, No. 1537; Bhārata Kaumudi, Vol. I, pp. 267 ff.), but it is doubtful.
7 Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 67.
9 Ibid., Vol. XX, p. 97 ff.
DATE OF THE DABOK INSCRIPTION
as that 7 is not joined with 100 in the latter case, though 700 written by a joint symbol 100 and 7 is also illustrated by him elsewhere. The second of the three signs, with which the date of the Ďabok inscription is written, is a dot which is known to have been sometimes used to indicate the absence of the ten symbol between the signs of the unit and the hundred or that of both the ten and unit symbols. The third sign is certainly 1 and not 7 since its top is not sufficiently curved towards the left. Bhandarkar and Halder, who read 7 after the hundred symbol, apparently conjectured the second sign (i.e. the dot) to be joined with the top of the third (i.e. 1) probably because the rare use of the dot in numbers expressed in symbols, due to the growing influence of the decimal system, was not known to them. Their reading is justified neither by the facsimile published by Halder nor by the impressions examined by me. The palaeography of the Ďabok inscription does not go against its ascription to V.S. 701 (644 A.D.).

This date of the Ďabok inscription necessitates certain modifications in our views on the history of Rajasthan as indicated above. In the first place, Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājā Ďaṇḍirāja Paramēśvara Dhavalappā of this epigraph of 644 A.D. cannot be identified with the Maurya king Dhavalatman of the Kanasa inscription of 738 A.D., although the former may have been a predecessor (probably the grandfather) of the latter. Secondly, although the palaeography of our epigraph closely resembles that of the Mathurā fragmentary inscription of the Maurya king Karka Ğiṇṭhirāja, son of Āryarāja and grandson of Chandragupta, that ruler has to be assigned to a date about half a century later than Dhavalappā if the two kings belonged to the same house. This is because both the Ďabok and Mathurā inscriptions use the bipartite form of the letter y and it is difficult to assign the latter epigraph to a date much earlier than the middle of the seventh century A.D. Thirdly, if Dhavalappā, who assumed the imperial style Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājā Ďaṇḍirāja Paramēśvara by 644 A.D., was really a scion of the Maurya dynasty as he seems to have been, king Harsha of Kanauj must have lost his hold over many parts of Rajasthan before his death in 647 A.D., though the Mauryas of the Rajasthan region must have originally owed allegiance to him. In this connection, reference may be made to the assumption of imperial style by Maitraka Dharasena IV of Valabhi, whose father was a subordinate ally of Harsha, by the Gupta-Vallabhi year 326 (644-45 A. D.).

Among other points that may be noticed in this connection, we think it likely that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief Naṇṇappa, son of Bhāmāna, who is known from the Indragaṇḍi (near Bhānpurā in the Mandsaur District, Madhya Pradesh) inscription of Vikrama 767 (710 A.D.) was a feudatory of these Mauryas probably of Kannada origin, as indicated above, like the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Without further light on the history of these Mauryas, however, it can not be said that king Loka of the Narāgha (Tonk District, Rajasthan) inscription of Vikrama 1043 (987 A.D.) also owed allegiance to them since Rajasthan and Malwa appear to have been occupied by the Gurjara-Pratihāras before 783 A.D.

These Mauryas are mentioned in inscriptions found at Mathurā and at certain places in Rajasthan and Karka Ğiṇṭhirāja (about the close of the seventh century A.D.) of this family claimed to have burnt the city of Kanauj. But the inscriptions do not throw any light on the location of their capital. According to the bardic traditions of Mewar, Bappa, son of Guhila or Guhadatta who was the founder of the Guhila house, was in the service of his uncle, the Mūri (Maurya) ruler of Chitār and, after repulsing a barbarian invasion from Gajni, seized the crown of the latter. But it is difficult to determine whether Chitār was the Maurya capital or the headquarters of one of the

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1 See Plate LXXIV-a. In this case the 100 symbol resembles ๑ instead of ๑๐.
2 Of, above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 212 and p. 213, text line 22.
3 Of, Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1346-49.
4 Above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 112 ff.
5 Ibid., Vol. XXXIV, p. 79, note 2.
Maurya viceroy. The Jain tradition representing king Yaśōvarman (c. 728-53 A.D.) of Kanauj as a descendant of Chandragupta Maurya¹ may refer to Yaśōvarman’s relations with Karka Dīndirāja who was the grandson of a Maurya king named Chandragupta.² But we cannot say that the Mauryas transferred their capital to Kanauj sometime before the accession of Yaśōvarman since the Maurya king Dhavalātman (738 A.D.) was a contemporary of Yaśōvarman. It is, however, not impossible that the Mauryas conquered Kanauj and stationed there a scion of their family as a viceroy and that Yaśōvarman was a member of this viceregal family which had thrown off the yoke of the main branch of the dynasty.

Several branches of the Guhila family, all apparently owing allegiance originally to king Harsha of Kanauj and later to the Mauryas, were ruling in different parts of the Udaipur Division during the seventh century A.D. Guhila Dhanika of the Dabōk inscription had his headquarters at Dhavagartā while another branch of the family represented by Padda (c. 625 A.D.), Devagana (c. 640 A.D.), Bhāviha (654 A.D.), Bhēttī (679 A.D.), Bābhaṭa (689 A.D.) and Kadachhi (c. 700 A.D.) had its capital at Kishkindhā or Kishkindhipura near Kalyānpur in the Bhamat District.³ At the same time, a third branch of the family, to which Aparājīta of an inscription⁴ of Vikrama 718 (661 A.D.) in the Kuṇḍēśvar temple at Nāgdā near Udaipur belonged, was probably ruling from Nāghardā (Nāgdā). Śīlādītya of the Sāmoli inscription of 644 A.D., if he was really a Guhila, also belonged to the Nāgdā branch and was the predecessor of Aparājīta. Later records of this house begun the genealogy with the following names: (1) Bhōja (born in the family of Guhadatta belonging to a Brāhmaṇa family hailing from Ānandapura, i.e. modern Vaṇṇagār in Northern Gujarat), (2) his successor Mahendras, (3) his successor Nāga, (4) his successor Śīla (i.e. Śīlādītya, 644 A.D.), and (5) his successor Aparājīta (661 A.D.).⁵ Another branch of the family seems to be represented by the chatsu and Nagar inscriptions referred to above.

¹ Cf. Tripathi, History of Kanauj, p. 194.
³ See above, pp. 57ff.; Vol. XXXIV, pp. 166 ff.
⁴ Bhandarkar’s List, No. 13; above, Vol. IV, p. 31.
⁵ Bhandarkar’s List, No. 86; Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXIX, p. 191.

MGIPC—SI—5 DGA/80—21-5-83—750.
The material for this Part was sent to the Press by Dr. Sircar before his retirement in June 1962.

G. S. Gai,

Government Epigraphist for India.
SILVER COIN OF GOVINDACHANDRA OF KACHAR

Obverse

Enlarged

Reverse

Actual

(from Photographs)
No. 13—SILVER COIN OF GOVINDACHANDRA OF KACHAR, SAKA 1736

(A Plate)

A. N. LAHIRI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 11.11.1900)

While discussing the Koch and Jaintia coins in J.A.S.B. April 1910 (cf. p. 161, note 1; p. 168) H. E. Stapleton published a note of a coin: Gòvindachandra of Kāchār. The coin was then in the possession of a descendant of Gòvindachandra's Prime Minister. It is stated to have been "93 inch in diameter and 175.75 grains in weight. The reproduction shows that it was struck from a good die. Stapleton pointed out how the coin settled the question of whether Kāchār coins were ever struck. Since then, however, more Kāchār coins issued by earlier rulers have come to light.¹

The coin has four lines of writing on each side. The legend is in Bengali characters. Stapleton read it with the help of R. D. Banerji as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Śrī-Śrī-Gō-</td>
<td>1 Haidimbapu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 vindachandrasya</td>
<td>2 radhāma-śrī-Rāja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 rājñā</td>
<td>3 chandī-padā-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4 [bja]-jusha[h]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unfortunately the above reading of the legend is both inaccurate and incomplete. Moreover, what has been taken as the reverse by Stapleton is really the obverse of the coin. The portion of the legend on that side is an epithet of the king and the writing is continued on the other side.

On the obverse, the first expression reads Haidimbapūr-adhīsa(śa) and not Haidimbapura-thāma. Thus the complete legend on the obverse is: Haidimbapūr-adhīsa(śa)-śrī-Rājñā-pada-ajusha[h*]. The last six ākṣaras on the reverse, which Stapleton and Banerji could not read at all, are clearly: 'ṅga-try-adi-kau Sa(Śa)kā. They actually give the date of the coin in a chronogram. Since this fact was not realised, the coin was regarded as undated.²

The legend on both sides of the coin is a stanza in Ḫaṭṭhā, the obverse and reverse containing respectively the first and second halves of the verse.

**TEXT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obverse¹</th>
<th>Reverse²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Haidimbapū-</td>
<td>1 śrī-Śrī-Gō-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 r-adhīsa(śa)-śrī-Rāja-</td>
<td>2 vindachandrasya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 chandī-padā-</td>
<td>3 rājñā-ṅga-try-a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 jusha[h</td>
<td>4 d[r]i-kau Sa(Śa)kā [,.]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ For some coins of Yaśōnārgaya and Pratāpanārgaya, see B. K. N. R. Num. Suppl. XXII, Art. 120. pp. 556-57, and Plate XXVIII, Nos. 1-5, and for a coin of Tāmārdhāra, see J.A.S.B. 1910, p. 160, Plate XXIII, No. 10, with Num. Suppl., op. cit., p. 557. Dr. A. D. H. Bivar informs me that there are 60 coins of the three kings in the British Museum.


³ On this side, there are some floral designs to the left of the first line of writing and on both sides of the last.

⁴ There is a dotted line below the legend.

(103)

9 DGA/60
TRANSLATION

(This is the coin) of king śri-śri-Gówindachandra, the lord of Hājīmbapūr and devoted to the feet of śri-Raṇachanḍī, (struck) in the Śaka (year counted by) aṅga (i.e. 6), tri (i.e. 3), adri (i.e. 7) and ku (i.e. 1), (i.e. in Śaka 1736).

The importance of the coin lies in the fact that it gives the date in chronogram which is not generally noticed in the legetads on the coins of the medieval Hindu rulers. It is again one of the very few coins issued by the Hindu kings of medieval India to bear a versified legend.¹

Now, Ḥājīmbā is the old name of Kāchār, and Hājīmbapūr, 'the city (i.e. the capital) of Ḥājīmbā', is probably to be identified, as proposed by Stapleton, with Silberbain, near Ḥāsāpūr, in the Kāchār Plains, where, according to Gaits, the ruins of the palaces of the last three Kāchār kings are still to be found.²

Raṇachanḍī must have been the tutelary deity of the kings of Kāchār. She is apparently 'the Thakoorain of Kachar', who, according to Captain Fisher, is adored under the symbol of a sword religiously preserved in the Rajbarri, and to the possession of which the most inexplicable importance is attached.³

Gówindachandra succeeded his brother Kṛishṇachandra to the throne of Kāchār in 1813 A.D. Śaka 1736 (1814-15 A.D.), when the coin was struck, thus seems to be the date of his coronation. He was an unhappy ruler, beset with innumerable troubles. Soon after his assumption of power, a stable servant of his predecessor, by name Kohi Dās, led a rebellion which was continued, after the rebel's assassination by his son Tulārān. Not only this. Chaurajit Siūha, the exiled Manipuri king then a refugee in Kāchār, and his brother Gambhir Siūha, who was the Commander-in-Chief of the Kāchār Army, conspired against Gówindachandra and ousted him (about 1819) from his kingdom which was then divided amongst themselves and their brother Mārājīt Siūha who had been driven away from the Manipur throne by the Burmese.⁴ Gówindachandra took shelter in Sylhet and sought the help of the British without success. He was eventually removed to Dacca.⁵ After a long time, however, Gówindachandra's case was taken up by the British. He was restored to the Kāchār throne about 1828 under British protection and agreed to pay an annual tribute of 10,000 sicca rupees. The authorities of the East India Company, on their part, arranged to provide for the maintenance of the Manipuri princes who were persuaded to leave Kāchār and reside within British territory.⁶

But Gówindachandra's enemies never allowed him to rest in peace. According to a conspiracy planned by Gambhir Siūha, a band of Manipuris entered the royal palace with the help of the king's Manipuri bodyguard and hacked him to pieces on the night of the 24th April 1830.⁷ After his death, his kingdom was annexed to the British territories.⁸

¹ For the Indore Rupees of king Yāśovanta Rāo, dated Śaka 1728, bearing a versified legend, see C. J. Brown, The Coins of India, Plate XII, No. 7.
² JASB, 1910, p. 166.
³ "Memoir of Sylhet, Kachar and the Adjacent Districts" in JASB, 1840, pp. 332-33.
⁴ See Gaits, op. cit., p. 257.
⁶ Ibid., p. 46.
⁷ See ibid., p. 49.
⁸ Ibid., p. 130.
⁹ Ibid., p. 142.
No. 14—FRAGMENTARY RASHTRAKUTA INSCRIPTION FROM KANDHAR

(1 Plate)

D. C. Sircar and G. Bhattacharya, Ootacamund

(Received on 20.7.1960)

Kandhār (also spelt as Qandhār and Kandahār), the headquarters of the Taluk of that name, is 32 miles southwest of Nāndēḍ in the Nander District, formerly in Hyderabad State but now in Maharashtra. In February 1959, while Mr. Bhattacharya was camping at Nāndēḍ, Shri V. R. Mahiskar, Headmaster of the Kandhār Government High School, gave him information about the existence of the stone inscription under study and was kind enough to accompany him to Kandhār and to take him to the findspot of the epigraph. The inscribed stone slab lies near an old well called ‘the Khāṣ Bāg well’ in the locality called Bahādurpur nearly a mile from the present town of Kandhār. The place abounds in ruined structures and images and plinths of old buildings are still to be noticed around the well. The well also is old, its sides and steps being built of stone. Shri Mahiskar told Mr. Bhattacharya that, when the well dried up in the summer of 1957, the stone slab bearing the inscription was found in its bed and that it was taken out and kept at the spot where it is lying now.

The most notable existing structure at Kandhār is the Fort just outside the town. There is no doubt that the Fort was built before the advent of Muhammadans there. The present Dargah and the mosque inside the Fort have pillars of old Hindu temples. But there is no record of the Hindu rulers anywhere inside the Fort. The town of Kandhār also abounds in many ruined structures as well as Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina images. Still old images and Śivaliṅgas come out here and there while people dig for the foundation of a house. That the Muslim occupation of Kandhār led to the destruction of the temples is demonstrated by the mosque in the town, which is an old Hindu shrine turned into a Muslim religious establishment by means of superficial changes in the construction.

The lower part of the inscribed stone slab, which was originally a pillar, is broken. It is written on three sides of the stone; but the lower part of the writing is lost in all of them. The record is thus fragmentary and contains three fragments of what was originally a big pillar inscription. Of the inscription on the three sides, the writing on the third is better preserved while that on the second is badly damaged. There is the figure of Śivaliṅga on the Yoni-paṭṭā flanked by a devotee pouring water on the Yoni-paṭṭā on the left and a bull on the right above the writing on the first side. The slab, as it now is, measures about 27 inches in height while the width of the broad faces, one of them bearing the first part of the inscription, is about 15 inches, the breadth of the two side faces being 10-2 inches each. The lines of writing on the first face are thus slightly longer than those on the other two inscribed faces. Individual letters without vowel-marks, excluding conjuncts, are each a little above half an inch in height. The letters on the third side are slightly smaller in size than those on the other two sides. There are seventeen lines of writing on the first side together with traces of another line, while the second and third sides contain twenty-six lines each. The three inscribed faces of the pillar will hereinafter called as A, B and C.
The characters belong to the North Indian alphabet of the tenth century A.D. and closely resemble those of the Dōli (Śaka 892), Kolhāpur1 and Karhād2 plates of the Rāṣṭrakūta king Kṛishṇa III (939-67 A.D.) and the undated Chinchani plate3 belonging to the same king’s reign. But some of the conjuncts show a slightly more developed form than found in the other records (cf. ḍhmi in A., line 2, tīkā in A., line 1 and shva in A., line 16, etc.). The formation of the letter ḍ (A., line 16) is also later. From this fact it may be conjectured that the record under study is slightly later than those mentioned above. The initial vowels a (A., lines 8, 9, 11; B., line 8), i (A., lines 8, 13; C., lines 8, 14), u (A., line 11; C., line 13) and ē (A., lines 14, 15) occur in the inscription. The uṣṭhānīga appears in A., line 12 and final t in A., line 11: B., lines 6, 16: and C., line 20. The sign for v has been employed in indicating it, excepting labha in A., line 3. Like the Chinchani plate, the record begins with the Prāṇava symbolically represented.

The language is Sanskrit and the document is written in prose and verse. All the seven stanzas found in the extant introductory part of the inscription on the first face of the pillar are also found in the corresponding part of the Dōli, Kolhāpur and Karhād plates of Kṛishṇa III with negligible variations. In this part, the Dōli and Kolhāpur plates add two other stanzas while the Karhād plates add a third new verse along with those two. As regards orthography also, the present record resembles the same epigraphs. In one case Saumā has not been observed in a verse (A., line 6). Final ṣv has been changed to anusvāra wrongly in some cases. Some consonants have been reduced in conjunction with r.

The extant parts of the inscription bear no date. But, on grounds of palaeography and the fact that the introductory stanzas are also found in the Dōli, Kolhāpur and Karhād plates, the inscription may be referred to the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūta king Kṛishṇa III (939-67 A.D.), probably to its latter part.

There are seven stanzas in A. (lines 1-17) after the symbolic representation of the Prāṇava, the last of the verses being incomplete. The rest of the writing on the said face of the stone is lost. Verse 1 is in praise of the god Murāri (i.e. Viṣṇu) while verse 2 praises the god Tīrthropāvījāyin (i.e. Śiva). The next stanza (verse 3) introduces the Moon-god as one whose part is held on his head by the god Śāmbhu (Śiva). It is then stated in verse 4 how the Yau family sprang from the Moon-god. Verse 5 refers to the birth of the Primeval Male (i.e. Viṣṇu in the form of Kṛishṇa) in that family with the purpose of destroying the demons and to the kings of the said family, who, owing to their pre-eminent fame and valour, became known in the world as the Tuṅgas. Verse 6 informs us that, in that lineage which was known as the Rāṣṭrakūta-kula, was born Dantidurga while the following stanza (verse 7), the concluding part of which is lost, tells us how, after Dantidurga, his paternal uncle, king Kṛishṇarāja, became the ruler of the earth and constructed numerous temples of the god Viṣṇu (Śiva). The present epigraph does not refer to the eponymous Raṭṭa mentioned in the Karhād and Dōli plates as the predecessor of the Rāṣṭrakūta dynasty. But, line them, it refers to Tuṅga as another name of the Rāṣṭrakūtas, though the Dōli plates have Ś忘记了kṣa[va]va[raṭṭa]d found in the Karhād plates and the present record and refer to the Rāṣṭrakūta descent from the Śāyaki branch of the Yau family.

As indicated above, the latter part of the genealogy including the mention of Kṛishṇa III, to whom the epigraph apparently belongs, is lost. But, from the other records of the said Rāṣṭra-

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1 Above, Vol. V, pp. 188 ff. and Plate.
3 Above, Vol. IV, pp. 278 ff. and Plate.
4 Ibid., Vol. XXXII, pp. 55 ff. and Plate.
Fragmentary Rashtrakuta Inscription from Kandhar

Kāṭa king, we can restore the genealogy as follows: (1) Dantidurva (542-56 A.D.); (2) his paternal uncle Kṛishṇa I (576-75 A.D.); (3) his son Gōvinda II (775-80 A.D.); (4) his younger brother Nirupama Kalavallabha (Dhruva, 780-94 A.D.); (5) his son Jāgatūpata (Gōvinda III, 794-814 A.D.); (6) his son Nṛpatunga (Amōghavarsa I, 814-78 A.D.); (7) his son Akālavarsa Kṛishṇa II (873-915 A.D.); (8) his grandson Indra III (915-29 A.D.); (9) his son Amōghavarsa II (928-29 A.D.); (10) his younger brother Suvārṇavarsa Gōvinda IV (929-34 A.D.); (11) his paternal uncle Amōghavarsa III (934-39 A.D.); and (12) his son Kṛishṇa III (939-67 A.D.).

The text of the record in B starts with the menontious and munificent activities probably of Kṛishṇa III. In the first part (lines 1-8), it records what was apparently the first group of provisions made to various people by the ruler. The first reference is to the barda (maṇḍūka) who used to praise the noble qualities of one and received [each] two hundred Dronmas together with a pair of clothes probably per year. Next, provision of a hundred Dronmas and a pair of clothes is made for each of a group of persons whose duty was to recite sacred texts four times a day. The third provision of fifty Dronmas and a pair of clothes was made in favor of each of another group of reciters. These look like payments to be made to palace servants. But their inclusion is difficult to understand even if they were especially liberal and were introduced in a new palace or capital. It is, however, well known that the deities worshipped in temples are treated as kings and it may be that the reference is to certain categories of servants in a temple. It should, however, be admitted that the first sentence in this section seems to refer to a king and not to a deity.

The reference to the second group of pious deeds in the next section (lines 9-11) begins with a description of Kālāmēgha which was probably a secondary name of the donor. This section mentions the provision made for offering meals to the [Brāhmaṇas] numbering thirty, who were engaged in reciting the Vedas, in the satra-sālā (free feeding house) close to [the temple of] the god Kālapiyya. Next is mentioned the provision of two pṛasthas of oil and one pṛastha of salt daily in order to meet the requirements of the college (vidyāśāhāna), situated on the bank of the Nāndi in the Godāvari valley (Godāvari-taḍa-ārdhāśāhina Nāndi-taḍa) and belonging to the Brāhmaṇas engaged in studies. For this purpose, arrangements had to be made for the storing of nine khaṇḍikās of oil and four and a half khaṇḍikās of salt by purchasing the articles from the grāma-kṣataka (i.e., the villages and valleys around the town where the inscription was set up). For the bulk purchase of the articles, arrangements were made for the daily payment in a lump sum, of the price of oil and salt required per day.

The pious work described in C is of a nature different from that mentioned in B. The first deed referred to in this part is the construction of a mānḍapa (pavilion) named Sarvālōki-rāya near [the temple of] the well-known god Kṣetrapāla (probably a local deity or Śiva). Then follows the description of the setting up of five fountains for the distribution of water (jīvita), for the alleviation of the suffering of the people during summer, at five places, viz., (1) the mākara-tārāya (the gate-way with the makara-motif) in the royal palace (rīja-grīha), (2) the Yākṣa-grīha (another gate-way endowed with Yākṣa figures) adorned with [the image of the god] Maṇḍalasiddhi Vināyaka,1 (3) the front of the temple of Kāmādeva close to the area where the chief courtesans of the king lived (pradhāna-rīja-vilāsini-pātaka), (4) the courtyard of [the temple of] the god Kālapiyya, and (5) the above-mentioned pavilion named Sarvālōki-rāya. Similarly, fire-places (agni-ūkṣita) were constructed at five places for saving the poor people from suffering from cold during

1 A pṛastha is variously regarded as 6, 16 or 32 pāta, 1 pāta being equal to 4.56
2 Khaṇḍikā is the same as modern Candā, often regarded as equal to 500 pounds.
3 Of a goddess installed in the gate-way (probably in a pavilion) or a temple as mentioned in the Chōkṣhami plate of the time of Kṛishṇa III (above, Vol. XXXII, p. 56).
winter. These five places were: (1) the pavilion called Sarvalökārāya in the courtyard of Maṅdalasiddhi (probably the same as Maṅdalasiddhi-Vināyaka worshipped at the Yakhra-dvāra), (2-3) two places (pradēśa-dvāra) near [the temple of] Kālapriya, (4) the front of [the temple of the god] Sāgarvēvara situated (pratihātera) on the embankment (pāli) of [the tank called] Jāgattungasamudra; and (5) the vicinity of [the temple of the god] Baṅkēvara situated in the north (i.e. to the north of the Sāgarvēvara temple). The arrangements were made for the provision of two tankfuls of water (jala-dvēnya) and troughfuls of fodder for the cattle (gō-grāṣā) at five places, viz. (1) the market of the Gūjārasa (Gūjjar-āpasa), (2-4) the temples of the deities Vrānārāyaṇa, Śīkiśingēvara and Kaḥētrapāla, and (5) the much-frequented market place (khaṇḍa-hāṭṭikā). To meet the expenses of the above, the amount of fifty Dhrmmas was allotted per day. Then, for the pañchamārila ablution with pañchāpachāra,4 curds and milk and flower offerings for the temples of the gods Baṅkēvara, Chhālēvara, Gōjīgāsōmanātha, Tūmbēvara and Tuḍgēvara were provided for at the expense of 500 Dhrmmas per month. [The provision of] 1 ādhaka5 and 55 palas of candied sugar (khanaḍa) and 1104 palas of sandal (śīkhanaḍa) is next mentioned. The rest of the text is lost.

The importance of the epigraph lies in the fact that it helps us in locating the city of Kandhārapura sometimes mentioned in connection with Raṣṭaketraśrūa Kṛṣṇa III. This king is described as Kṛṣṇaṇa Kandhāra with the title Kandhāra-puravar-āḍhīśvara in the āṁrakīrī (Belgaum District, Mysore) stone inscription6 of the Raṭṭa chief Lakshmīdeva I (also called Lakṣhmapa or Lakṣmihara) of Saundatti, probably dated in 1209 A.D. As the existence of modern Kandhāra was unknown to Fleet, he observed, "Later records of the Raṭṭa chiefstains of Saundatti of the thirteenth century A.D. speak of him (i.e. Kṛṣṇa III) as Kṛṣṇaṇa-Kandhāra and Kṛṣṇaṇa-Kandhāra, with the title of Kandhāra-puravar-āḍhīśvara or 'supreme lord of Kandhārapura, the best of towns'—a place, however, which is otherwise unknown."7 He further says, "I do not know of any other mention of such a town in genuine documents. But at Hīrē-Kummi and Sattigeri in the Parasgāḍ tāḷūka, Belgaum District, and at Surkōḍ or Surkōr in the Rāmdurg State, there are spurious copper-plate charters, without dates, which purport to have been issued by the same king, who is called in them the Chakravartin Kanbara and Kṛṣṇa-Kanbara, and is styled Kandhāra-pur-āḍhīśvara; the Surkōḍ or Surkōr record also says that he was reigning at Kanharapura.8" He then concludes that 'the name (i.e. Kandhārapura) may possibly have been invented from an imaginary Kṛṣṇaṇa-pura derived from some passage similar to that in which the Eastern Chālkōya king Guṇaka Vijayaśītya III is said to have effected the burning of the city of Kṛṣṇa II.9 There is, however, really no such 'passage' referring to 'the burning of the city of Kṛṣṇa II'.

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1 This is the five kinds of divine food, viz. milk, curd, clarified butter, honey and sugar.
2 These five are articles of worship sometimes also regarded as 10, 16, 18 or 64 in number.
3 The āḍhaka is often regarded as equal to 16, 32 or 64 palas.
5 Bomb. Gaz., op. cit., p. 419.
6 Cf. ibid., p. 550, note 6.
7 Ibid., p. 384, note 4.
8 Bultsch (831, Vol. I, p. 38, note 3) and Fleet (Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 102, note 28) believed that Kiraṇapura, the city burnt by the Eastern Chālkōya king Guṇaka-Vijayaśītya III, was a mistake for Kṛṣṇapura, which Fleet indentified with the city of Mālkē, the capital of the Raṣṭaketraśrūa. But Kiraṇapura occurs in several records like the Pithāpura (cf. above, Vol. IV, p. 239) and Māljīpūṇḍi (ibid., Vol. IX, p. 211) palas. All scholars identify Kiraṇapura with Kiraṇpur in the Bagahat District of Madhya Pradesh (The Raṣṭaketraśrūa and their Times, p. 95). The Pithāpura palas mention Śaṇkula (Kalichuri Sankaragna) as stationed at Kiraṇapura in the company of Kṛṣṇa (line 42: yāḍhaka Nichols Chakravatī Kiraṇapura-pūtan Śaṇkula Kṛṣṇa-parāśāk).
The Sanskrit name Krishṇa appears in the Kannaḍa records as Kannara, Kannāra, Kanharā, Kanharā, Kandara, Kandāra, Kandhāra and Kandhāra. The mention of Krishṇa III as the lord of Kandhārapura in the epigraphs of the Raṭṭas no doubt proves the existence of a city called Kandhārapura named after a Raṣṭhakṛṣṭa ruler called Krishṇa (i.e. Kandhāra). The present Kandhār, where the Raṣṭhakṛṣṭa inscription under study has been discovered, is apparently the same as Kandhārapura which was very probably a secondary capital of Krishṇa III. Our record mentions a centre for the distribution of water (pradā) in the gate-way inside the rājagyṛha or royal palace pointing to the existence of a residence of Krishṇa III at Kandhāra. That the ruler stayed there is further indicated, if not by the presence of the bards, at least by the existence of the quarters of the king’s chief courtesans. It is therefore certain that Krishṇa III ruled from Kandhār, at least for sometime, probably in the latter part of his reign, and that his description as the lord of Kandhārapura in the epigraphs of the Raṭṭas of Saundatti is justified, even though in the earlier part of his rule he was reigning from Mānyakhēṭa or Mālkhēḍ whence his Deoli plates were issued in Śaka 862 (940 A.D.). A copper-plate grant from Sirūr in the Bagalkot Taluk of the Bijapur District was issued from Kandhārapura by Krishṇa-Kannaradēvā-chakravartin, who is called the son of Gōvinḍarāja and is described as Kandhāra-puravar-ādhīśvara. The characters of the record are Nāgarī of the 11th century and it is written in Marāthi and Kannaḍa. The genuineness of the charter is of course not beyond doubt. But it is not impossible that its donor was a member of a later branch of the Raṣṭhakṛṣṭa house ruling from Kandhār.

The question now is: who was Kandhār (Krishṇa) by whom Kandhārapura (Kandhār) was built and after whom it was named? Amir Hamza, author of the Tārikh-i-Qandhar-i-Dakhān (Urdu) states, on the authority of the Siyār-i-Hind and Tārikh-i-Khurshid Jāhī, that Kandhār (i.e. Kandhār) was built by and named after king Kanhar of the Pāṇḍava dynasty. Although the Pāṇḍava dynasty is mythical, this tradition at least shows that Kandhār was built by and named after a king called Kandhār. The name of the king and the absence of pre-Raṣṭhakṛṣṭa antiquities at Kandhār suggest that this Kandhār was a Raṣṭhakṛṣṭa king. But was he Krishṇa III or one of his two predecessors bearing the same name? Let us see what indication there is on these points in the inscription itself.

Some of the personal names, after which certain deities worshipped at the place and a structure and a tank existing there according to our inscription were named, are: (1) Kālapiṛiya, (2) Sarvālakāśara, (3) Jagattuṅgha, (4) Viranārāyaṇa, (5) Krishṇa, (6) Gōjija and (7) Tuḍiga. Of these the god Tuḍigēśvara was apparently named after Krishṇa III himself, since the name Tuḍiga (i.e. Tuḍiga) is applied to him in an inscription of the Raṭṭas of Saundatti. The name Sarvālakāśara also reminds us of the fact that the same Raṣṭhakṛṣṭa king was sometimes called Samastabhaṭṭa-nārāyaṇa which has exactly the same meaning. The names Kālapiṛiya and Krishṇēśvara likewise remind us of the fact that the Karehā plates were issued by Krishṇa III when he was camping at Mēlpaṭi (modern Mēlpaṭi in the Chittur Taluk and District), for the purpose of creating livings out of the provinces in the southern region for his dependents (dakshīna-dīn-manḍalāṁ bhrityābhīd).

1 Cf. JIH, Vol. XXXVII, p. 407; Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, Part i, p. 244; Part ii, pp. 334, 410 note 1, 465, 526, etc. The Prakrit name Kannara was also sometimes re-Sanskritized as Karaṇa. See The Raṣṭhakṛṣṭas and their Times, p. 122.
4 We are indebted for the reference to Khwaja Moinuddin, Inspector of Registration, Aurangabad District, who wrote a note that the Kandhar inscription was very interesting.
5 Bomb. Gaz., op. cit., p. 419.
6 Loc. cit.
jivanaṁ kartuṇaṁ), of taking possession of the whole property of the lords of provinces (maṇḍalēśvaras) and of erecting the temples of Kālapriya, Gaṇḍāmārtaṇḍita, Kṛishṇēśvara, etc., in respect of the grant of a village in the Karāhāta district to the head of a Saiva religious establishment at Karāhāta (modern Karāhāta). The Kolhapur plates also speak of the same deities, but add that, while the temple of Kālapriya was built in Kāčī Śiva, the Kṛishṇēśvara and Gaṇḍāmārtaṇḍita temples were built in Śēlakānī (i.e. the Śēlakānī area). These records and the present inscription thus suggest that Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III was fond of installing gods under the names Kālapriya and Kṛishṇēśvara, the second apparently after his own name.

As regards Kālapriya, it is well known that the dramas of Bhāvabhūti, who was an inhabitant of Padmapura within Vīṭarhā in Dakṣīṇa-pāṭha (probably modern Padampur in the Bhandara District of Madhya Pradesh) and was a court poet of king Yaśōvarman (c. 723-53 A.D.) of Kanaun, were staged before the god Kālapriyaṁāṇāhā and that, according to the Cambay plates of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Gōvinda IV (959-35 A.D.), his father Indra III (915-28 A.D.), while marching against Mahōdaya (Kanaun), camped for sometime in the temple of the god Kālapriya (i.e. Kālapriyanātha or the god worshipped at a place called Kālapriya) before crossing the Yamunā. There is little doubt that this Kālapriya, situated near the Yamunā and on the road from the south to Kanaun, is identical with modern Kālīpī on the Jumna in the Jaulān District of U.P.1 It is thus possible to think that Kṛishṇa III, in the course of his northern expedition suggested by the discovery of one of his inscriptions in the present Mahār Tāhsil of the Satna District of Madhya Pradesh,2 emulated his grandfather Indra III in camping in the temple of Kālapriya (Kālīpī) and became so much devoted to the god that he conceived the idea of installing deities of the same name in his own territory on his return. These facts and others already discussed above give no doubt point to the close relations of Kṛishṇa III with Kandhārapura (Kandhār). But they do not prove that the city was built by and named after himself and did not exist before his time.

We have seen above that there is really no mention of a city named Kṛishṇāpura (Kandhārapura) in relation to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa II. It is, however, interesting in this connection to note that the deity Gōjigavaṁāṇi, worshipped at Kandhār when our inscription was set up, was named after Gōjīpa which is the Kannada corruption of Gōvinda and is known to have been the popular name of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Gōvinda IV.3 It may also be pointed out that Vīranārāyaṇa, after whom a deity worshipped at Kandhār was named, was the secondary name of several Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings including Gōvinda IV.4 Thus it is not improbable that the city of Kandhārapura existed before the days of Kṛishṇa III. It may have been built by and named after an earlier Kṛishṇa of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, probably Kṛishṇa II.

1 Above, Vol. IV, p. 290.
2 The deity is usually but wrongly identified with Mahākāla of Ujjain. Cf. N. K. De, History of Sanskrit Literature, pp. 277 ff.; Sircar, Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, pp. 242 ff.
4 Cf. Sircar, op. cit., p. 244.
5 Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 287 ff. The northern expedition of Kṛishṇa III, especially against the Gurjara-Pratīhāra king of Kanaun, is also hinted at in a verse in his copper-plate grants, which states how his success in the south led to the hope about Kālanjara and Chitrakūṭa vanishing from the heart of the Gurjara (i.e the Gurjara-Pratīhāra king).
7 Ibid., p. 199 (Amūdāhavara 1), p. 410 (Gōvinda IV), p. 423 (Kākka II).
Jagattuṅga, after whom the tank called Jagattuṅga-samudra was named, may have been the younger brother of Kṛṣṇa III for whose merit the Rāṣṭrakūta king made the grant recorded in the Dē-li plates. If, however, the city existed before the days of Kṛṣṇa III, Jagattuṅga may also be the homonymous son of Kṛṣṇa II who died before his father. If again, as indicated above, our inscription really mentions Kālamegha as the donor, it may have been a secondary name of Kṛṣṇa III. Although this name of the Rāṣṭrakūta king is not known from any other source, it reminds us of Dantidurga's secondary name Vairamegha.

That the god Kālapriya was very famous in the locality is indicated by the passage: Kātipalē pi sakala-loka-pratyalasha-dīpya-saṅtari-bhagavatāḥ, 'of the god Kālapriya whose divine power is manifested to the whole world even in the Kali age.' Close to the tank in which the inscribed slab was found, there are traces of the plinth of some structure. That might have been the plinth of the temple of the god Kālapriya. Two out of the five Āś-es (āś-āśṭīkā), the construction of which at five different spots is an interesting fact recorded in our inscription, were built near the temple of Kālapriya. This may indicate that the place was frequented by many pilgrims.

In B. line 25, the king has been compared with the Kālipūri-bāpa (i.e., Kālpurīkṣa) for eradicating poverty of the people by various charitable measures. His sympathy was not confined to human beings, but was also shown towards cattle. We have seen that arrangement for the free supply of fodder and drinking water for the cattle was made at the cost of 50 Drammas per day at five different places probably on the occasion of festivities in the temples when large numbers of people visited the city, many of them in carts. One of these is stated to have been made near the shop of the Gūjaras, who may have been the people of that name settled in different parts of the western regions of India. Their presence at Kāndhār may be compared to that of the merchants of Bhilamāla (modern Bāmnāl in the Jodhpur Division of Rajasthan) at Sājān in the Thana District of Mahārāṣṭra as indicated by the Chīṣeṇhī tank of the time of Kṛṣṇa III himself.

As regards the Drammas currency referred to in the record, reference may be made to a Kanheri inscription of the time of Amṛagavatṛsha I, which mentions two types of Drammas, viz., gold and ordinary (silver). It is, however, difficult to say whether the coin mentioned in our inscription was of gold or silver. The provision for a pair of clothes in addition to the salary of the palace (or temple) servants reminds us of the Āharatīti, VII, 128, enjoining the payment of 1 Paṇa and 6 Paṇas per day respectively to a lower and higher grade servant together with a Drōga of paddy per month and a pair of clothes every six months.

A centre for the free distribution of water during summer is stated to have been made in front of the temple of Kānapāṇeya attached to the quarters of the chief royal courtseans. The existence of the temple of Kāma, the god of love, near the courtseans' quarters indirectly points to the popularity of the deity among the courtsean class and is interesting to note.

As regards geographical names mentioned in the record, a college of the Brāhmaṇas is stated to have been situated on the bank of the Nandi dominating the Gāḍāvati valley. Kāndhār stands on the Mānyad which falls in the Maṇjīṛa, a tributary of the Gāḍāvati, and it appears that the Nandi is identical with the modern Mānyad. The name of the Nandi is certainly associated

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1 Ibid., p. 420.
2 Ibid., p. 414. Rāṣṭrakūta Gōvinda III was also known as Jagattuṅga (ibid., p. 314).
3 Ibid., p. 333, note 5; p. 339, note 7.
4 Above, Vol. XXXII, p. 66.
5 Ind. Aot., Vol. XII, p. 133.
with that of ancient Nāndikaśa mentioned as Nāndikaśa in the Basim plates1 of Vākṣākṣa Vindhyāsaṭṭi II (middle of the fourth century A.D.). The word kāda is often found at the end of geographical names and Nāndikaśa seems to mean a locality on the bank or in the valley of the Nāndi. The name of modern Nāndēśa, about 33 miles from Kandhār, is no doubt derived from that of Nāndikaśa through the intermediate Prakrit form Nāndiaśa. Nāndēśa, however, stands on the Gōdāvāri at a distance from the course of the modern Mānyad although, to justify the name, we have probably to think that the Nāndi originally joined the Gōdāvāri, near it. If such was the case, the course of the Nāndi has changed considerably since Nāndikaśa was founded at least before the middle of the fourth century A.D.

TEXT

[Metres: verses 1-2 Pushpiṅgarā; verse 3 Sārdūlevikriḍita; verse 4 Mālinī; verses 5-7 Vasantatilaka.]

First side

1 || Oṃ * namaḥ Śivāya || Sa jayati jagad-utsava-pravāsa-prathama-parah
2 kara-pallava Murāreḥ [1*] lasad-ampita-payah-kapāṁka-Lakṣmī-stana-kala-
3 [ś]-ānana-labaḥa-sannivāsaḥ || [1*] Ja[ya]ti cha Girijā-kapōla-viśva(ba)-prapi-
4 [bhi]jta-patra-vichitrit-ānasa-bhüttah [1*] Tripuravijayinaḥ bhi priy-ōparō-
5 dhād-dhrita-Madhan-ābhyaya-duṇa-saśan-śeva || [2*] Śrīmān-āseti nabhaṣtal-aika-ti-
6 [la]kaḥ [trailokyā]-nētr-ōtsavaḥ dévo Manmatha-vāṁ(baṁ)dhaḥaḥ kumudinīnāthaḥ Sudhā-
7 [di]dhātiḥ || niḥśeṣaḥ-amara-tarpapaḥ-arppita-tanu-prakṛṣṭap-ālaṅkṛśer-ya-
8 sy-ānāśaḥ sī(ś)raṣā guṇa-priyatayā nūnaḥ dhṛitaḥ Śambhunā || [3*] [Abha]vad-amala-
9 [kāṃti-sa]jya vaṁśe maṇiṇṁ guṇa iva Yadvu-vaṁśo duṅghasāṁdhūyam[a]-
10 nē | adhiṇa-hari-nilalā-pṛollasana-nāyaka-śir-saṭhīla-guṇa-saṁgō
dhūśaḥ[a[n]u] yō bhuvō-bhū[t] || [4*] Udvrutta-daitya-kula-ka[t]dala-sāṃti-hētus+tatrā śvāṣṭra[m]-u-
12 dhāḥ[b]-Paruṣaḥ puraṇaḥ | tad-vathājaḥ jagati tuṁga-yaśaḥ-prabhāvās[t]-Turin-
13 [g]ā iti keśibhūjaḥ prathitā va(ba)ḥūvah || [5*] Tat-santatau samabhavād-bhuvana-
14 prasiddha-śri-Rāṣṭrakūṭakula-[n]āmani Darśhidurggah | 7 ēkaḥ chakāra chatur-a-
15 vdhvūn(bdhv-ū)aṣakkha-sīmā-kēḥtram ya ātad-asi-laṅgala-bhīna-duṅggarah || [6*] Tasmād- 

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1 Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 140.
2 From impressions. For a few suggestions we are indebted to Mr. S. Sankaranarayanan.
3 Expressed symbolically.
4 Read “keśiṣṭa”.
5 The other texts have “dunāram-askarlīt”.
6 The Deōlī text has Śrīyak-śrīnīvaḥbhājaḥ”.
7 This half of the stanza is found in the other grants as Tasmād-prati-sannīta-kucha-chāru-hara-nihūra-bhānar = udāpā-śīka Durṣhidurggah.
Second Side

1 [mm][i][n] puṣṭi-ānuvaṁ(bam)dham dhana-ṇaṇaṇi(r)-yaṣā-ṇaṇaṇa(bam).
2 dhana[i][n] [i] [eta]d-guṇa-stuti-niva(ba)ddhaṁ jati-vrīṭta-mālāṁ vi-
3 [cha]stra-manj-mālām-iヴァ kaṁ(kam)ntē kurvvatāṁ vāndi-ja-
4 [nā]nāṁ dramma-sata-dvayaṅ dra 200 vastra-yugam-ekāṁ(kam) || cha-
5 .lati's paḥataṁ dramma-satam-ekam || dra 100 vastra-yu-
6 [ga]m-ion. dra-pāṭha-pranayiṁ ni drammāḥ paṁchāṣat
7 dra 50 vastra-yugam-ekāṁ(kam) || māty-anurāga(?)-kṣē[m-ō]ddēśena [dī].
8 na-ṇaṇaṇiḥ | dvitiyās-cha [*] avirata-mad-āṅvatu(bu)-vrīṣṭhir-ddē[sahā].
9 kara-tapana-mapuḷāl-avaranaḥ praṣamita-para-va(ba)la-
10 dhāliḥ kalit-ōchita-Kālamēgh-ākhyāḥ | [tasy-ā]-
11 nēka-taś(a)ma-saṅkēṭa-maṣa(ya)-saṁniḥita-vījaya... ¹
12 samāgama-prasasta-bhūtasya śatru-kshaya-[parama]... ¹
13 [nā-ā]da-hastinō yasaḥ... dāna-sūṁhasya....
14 tathā hi śrī-Kalapaśrīyaṇaḥ bhagavataḥ samiparavarti-
15 nyāḥ [satra]-sālayāṁ vēd-āmrita-pāvitrī-mukkānāṁ [trim]-
16 [aa]t-saṁkhyānāṁ-āhāra-dānāḥ[naam] || tathā Gōḍāvari-ta-
17 [t-ā]dhyāsini? [Nāndī]-taṭō | nirvājyās-vidyā-arjana-
18 [ju]shāṇu dvijanmanāṁ saṁva(ba)ndhinō vidyās(a)sthānaśya snēha-
19 lāvena-saṁgaraṇā-sampādanāya [[i] dinam-prati tala-
20 [pa]sha-dvayaṁ laṇḍaṁya cha-aiṅaṁ prasthaṁ vidhāya va(ta)thā cha. ¹
21 ma-kataka-kriṇikēṇa dēyās-taṁsaṁ kha[ṇḍ]i. ²
22 [najva] | laṇḍasya khāṇḍikē-s-ārdhāṁ-cha[tasra] | Ta-
24 sya-vālambanān... ² | tad-evāṁ nīrakṛiti-daridra-

¹ The reading of the lost letters can be restored from the other grants as "dāna-sāla-nîcchēśa chīrāṁ cībāṁ.
² The original may have read cha-udhahāṣa.
³ The word lost here may have been ṣāṇēṁā.
⁴ The verb adhāyaḥ has been used here in the sense of 'to preside over, influence, rule,' so that Gōḍāvari-ta-
⁵ ṣaṁgaraṇin would mean 'dominating over the Gōḍāvari valley' or 'predominant in the Gōḍāvari valley'.
⁶ The sāndha is unnecessary.
⁷ The lost akṣara at the end of the line may have been prō.
⁸ The word is obviously khanjiṅka.
⁹ The two letters appear to stand for a word like kṛisma.
26 ................. prasara-niṣṭā[ṇ]tam | pr.........
27 .................

Third Side

1 Tathā prasiddha-Khētrapāla-sampē suvihita-prāvaraṇ-[ā]-
2 staran-ādi-parikaraḥ Sarvalōkārāya—nāmā maṁ[da]-
3 paḥ || tathā rājagriḥ-anāṭarvartti-makaratōrapē | Maṁ[da]-
4 [la]siddhināyaka-maṁḍita[ta]-yaksha-dvārē | pradhā[na]-
5 rājavilāsini-pāṭaka-sannihita-Kāmadēv-ā[ya]-
6 tana-purōbhagē | Kalikālē-pi sakala-lōka-pra-
7 [tya]ksha-divya-saktēr-bhagavataḥ śri-Kālapriyasya prāṇagaṇē |
8 [pra]jīte cha Sarvalōkārāya-maṁḍapē | iti paṁchasu sth[ā]-
9 [nē]shu grīhāna-saṁti-paṁsana-kṣamāḥ dharmma-narapati-
10 vilāsākayamāna-mahima-sprīṣeḥ paṁpāḥ | ta-
11 thē Maṁḍalasiddha-prāṇagaṇē Sarvalōkārāya-maṁḍapē |
12 Kālapriyapa-saṁpa-pradēśa-dvaye | Jagattuṇga-sama[dra]-
13 [ṣa]ya pāḷi-pratishṭhitā[ta]-Saṇa[ra]*jvēsvara-purōbhagē | udēcē
da-vartti-Vaṁ(Baṁ)kēsvara-sampē | iti paṁchasu sthānēṣu praś-
14 ya-mahāplavāyamāna-hēmaṇvita[ta]-kāla-pralāya-vilasi[te]-
16 [ḥv=as]nātha-jana-parirakṣaṇa-ārtham-agni-ṭhiti[kā[ḥ*] | tathā
17 [Gōjijjar-āpaṇa-Vīrāṇāyana-śri-Krīṣṇēsvara-Khētrap[a]-
18 la-kṣuṇḍha-haṭṭikāśu paṁchasu sthānēṣu gavāṇi svachchhāṣa[ṣa]-pā-
19 n-aḥāra-nimittaṁ ja[la]-drōṣyō(ṇyau) gō-ṛṣāsāḥ cha tat-pratikara-
20 nāya1 pratidināṁ dṛṣṭamāḥ paṁcāṣāt dra 50 tathā Vaṁ(Baṁ)kē-
21 śvara-Chchhallaśvāra-Gōjijgūmanātha-Tumvē(ṃbē)śvāra-Tuḍīgēsvarē-
22 [ehu] paṁcā-āyaṇanēṣu paṁcā-āyaṇa-sahitaṁ paṁcā-āyatita-sn[āṇ-ō]-
23 [pajyōgi-dadi-duḍhā-kusu-mārchana-nimittaṁ mās-[n]ānumāsam]
24 [cha] dṛmaṇā不合理 paṁcā-āṭāṇi dra 500 khaṇḍasya-aik-n[ḍhakaṇ]
25 palāni paṁcā-paṁcāṣāt pa 55 śrīkhaṇḍasya palāni [chatu]-
26 [r-adhikāṇi] āṭāṇya-ēkādāsa 1104 pratidinaṁ
27 ...............
No. 15—TWO EASTERN GANGLA INSCRIPTIONS
(1 Plate)

D. C. SHIRCIMT, OTACAMUND

(Received on 29.9.60)

1. Khilor Inscription of Anantavarman (Kāmāravā), Śaka 1075

About the beginning of 1956, I copied an inscription engraved on the door-jamb of the Śiva temple at Khilor (P. O. Aritis) near the Delang railway station in the Puri District of Orissa. The writing covers an area about three feet in length and ten inches and a half in height. There are six lines of writing, individual akṣaras, excluding consonants with vowel marks, being a little above one and a half inches high. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory since the right half of line 1 and most of the letters in the corresponding section of line 2 are lost. A few letters are also lost at the end of the other lines of writing.

The characters of the inscription belong to the Gauḍiya alphabet as found in the Orissan records of about the twelfth century A.D. Its language is Sanskrit. The date of the record as quoted in lines 1-2 is only partially preserved. After giving the Śaka year in figures as 10[75], the corresponding regnal or aṅka year in the regnal reckoning of a king must have been quoted together with other details of the date. But, of this section which mentions the secondary name of the king in question as Anantavarman, the king’s principal name and the year of his regnal reckoning are lost. The available details of the date being [Āṭhā][i]ja-sītā-trīgāyāṁ sa-[mnu]kha-vārē, i.e. Ashāḥdha-sūdi 3, Sammukhavāra. The use of the expression sammu-kha-cāra (literally, ‘the week-day in the forefront’) to indicate the day of the week is rather peculiar, although it seems to mean the first day of the week, i.e. Sunday. Unfortunately Ashāḥdha-sūdi 3 in Śaka 1075 fell on Friday, the 26th June 1153 A.D. The date may thus be regarded as irregular.

There is no doubt that the king, mentioned in connection with the date of the record referred to above, belonged to the imperial branch of the Eastern Ganga dynasty which extended its power over the Puri-Cuttack region of Orissa under king Anantavarman Chodaganga (1078-1147 A.D.) about the beginning of the twelfth century. In 1153 A.D., the Gangā throne was occupied by king Kāmāravā, the first of the four sons of Anantavarman Chodaganga, who are known to have succeeded their father one after another. Kāmāravā ascended the throne in Śaka 1069 (1147 A.D.) and ruled for ten years down to Śaka 1078 (1156 A.D.). We also know that most of the descendants of Anantavarman Chodaganga, if not all of them, assumed Anantavarman as a secondary name and that king Kāmāravā is actually called Anantavarman in a number of inscriptions of his reign. It is, however, difficult to be sure whether the name Kāmāravā was mentioned after Anantavarman[ma] in line 1 of our inscription. About fifteen akṣaras are lost in this section and the reading may have been either 6deva-vijaya[r]ya-samrata[a]... Ashā; or Kāmāravā-vadēva-rājya samrataa... Ashā.

1 This is No. B 258 of A.R. Ep., 1955-56, where the date has been wrongly read as Śaka 10[70] and the inscription has been assigned to Anantavarman Chodaganga.
3 Ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 20, note 2.

9 DGA/60
The object of the inscription is to record the installation of an *akhad̐a-dīpa* or perpetual lamp in the Śiva temple at Khiḷor where the inscription has been found. Lines 2-3 mention a person named Paḍālū Kāṭama who is described as a rich man of Kaliṅga-dēśa and as the son of Ponnāmā. This Ponnāmā is described as extremely religious and as attached to (*pratibuddha*, perhaps actually meaning 'hailing from') a place, the name of which ended in the *aksaracakā*.

Lines 3-5 state that Paḍālū Kāṭama purchased, at the cost of five *mād̐aś* (probably of gold), a piece of land called *Pōkhatalā* from the merchants (*śād̐hu-prajā*, literally, [the king's] merchant subjects) of Khellauldēśvara (i.e. modern Khiḷor) and installed a perpetual lamp for the god Khellauldēśvara (i.e. the god Śiva worshipped in the Śiva temple at Khiḷor), to last as long as the moon and sun would endure, for the *dharma* (virtue or religious merit) of his mother's mother (i.e. maternal grandmother). It appears that both the village of Khiḷor and the god Śiva worshipped there are called Khellauldēśvara in the inscription. The expression *Khellauldēśvara-sād̐hu-prajā* from whom the piece of land was purchased, does not appear to mean 'the honest tenants of the god Khellauldēśvara' as it is unlikely that the tenants of the temple were rich enough to be in a position to sell a plot of land worth five coins probably of gold. Moreover, the expression *sād̐hu-prajā* occurs in a similar context in some other records associating it with a locality and not with a deity. That the word *sād̐hu* in the expression *sād̐hu-prajā* means 'a merchant' seems to be suggested by the expression *sād̐hu-pradhāna* in the Bhubaneswar inscription of Rāghava.

The coin called *mād̐aś* in our record is usually spelt as *mād̐a* in Telugu inscriptions, as *mādha* or *mādhā* in Oriya records and as *mād̐aś* in Tamil epigraphs. The Telugu spelling in the inscription may have been due to the fact that the person responsible for it hailed from the present Telugu-speaking region. The word is derived from Sanskrit *māsha* or *māshā* through Tamil.

Lines 3-6 contain two sentences, the first of which prays for the maintenance of the gift by the *tapōdhan̄a* or *tapōdhan̄as* (apparently the Śiva ascetic or ascetics in charge of the temple of Khellauldēśvara) and the *sād̐hus* or merchants probably meaning the *sād̐hu-prajās* mentioned in lines 3-4. The second sentence states that the giver of a lamp (i.e. a perpetual lamp like the one installed by Paḍālū Kāṭama) does not commit the five great sins (i.e. becomes free from the sins owing to the merit resulting from the installation of the perpetual lamp). The record ends with the mention of the *sūtrādāra* or mason whose name is partially preserved, but may have been Trilōka or Trilōchana. He was probably responsible for engraving the inscription.

Of the two geographical names mentioned in our record, Khellauldēśvara is modern Khiḷor as indicated above. The other name is Kaliṅga-dēśa which seems, in the present context, to have been the district around the city of Kaliṅganagara (near modern Śrikākūla) which was the capital of the early rulers of the Eastern Gaṅga family including the earlier members of its imperial branch.

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1 The expression *Pōkhatala-dhami* may be compared with *Vāghamar-dhami* (i.e. the piece of land called Vāghamar) in line 23 of the Bhubaneswar inscription of Gaṅga Narasimha (probably, Narasimha IV) published above, Vol. XXXII, p. 234. Cf. also *Vāṅkīlāndā-dhami* in lines 8-9 of the Bhubaneswar inscription of Bhuḍalīva (ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 236, No. 1).

2 Cf. line 3 cf the inscription of the time of Rājarāja II, edited below.

3 Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 160 and 161 (No. 1, text line 5).

4 This sentence may be compared with *dīpa-dātā saraśā-dādē mahāyate* at the end of the Bhubaneswar inscription of Anantavarman Chōḍaganga (ibid., p. 32, No. 1, text line 9). For an alternative suggestion about this passage, see note on the epigraphic text below.
TEXT

1 Saka-samvatsārā 10[75] svasti [srī]mad-Anantavarm[ma].................

2 ḍhā-sīta-tritīyāyām sa[mmu]kha-vārā Kāliṅgadēsa[sa]-dhan[i]................

3 makṣaṇa-ratīvabha[dha]-dharmam-akapara-Pōnmanā-putra-Padhun-Καθαμα-ναμ(μ) Khēllauṭēva[śva][ra]².

4 dhu-prajā-bastāt pañcāma-mādēna Pōkhatalā-bhu(bhū)miṃ kriṭvā mātu[ś-cha] mātus- d̐harmam-arthē......


6 ripānānyāya(yam |) dipa-hā(dā)dī pañcchāna[ma]hāpātaki nō bhavati² [[*] su(sū)- tradhāra-[Trilō]......

2. Bhubaneswar Inscription of Rājarāja II, Śaka 1094, [A.D.] Year 4

Some of the inscriptions belonging to the time of Anantavarman Chōḍaṅgaṅa and his immediate successors found in the Līṅgaṛāja temple at Bhubaneswar in the Puri District of Orissa have already been published by us in the pages of this journal¹¹ and elsewhere.¹² Another such record is edited in the following pages from impressions belonging to the collection made by Hirananda Sastri in 1932 and preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund.

The inscription is engraved on the east wall inside the third entrance of the Līṅgaṛāja temple. The record occupies the space above an inscription of the time of Anantavarman Chōḍaṅgaṅa and two of the time of Rāghava.¹³ There are altogether nine lines of writing covering an area about twenty-eight inches in length and 17½ inches in height. Individual aksharas are between one inch and one and a half inches in height. The preservation of the writing is not satisfactory. All

¹ From impressions.
² Read Śaka-samvatsārā.
³ The right half of the line is lost. The last two aksharas of this part must have been śhā.
⁴ Of this lost part, only traces of a few aksharas are visible.
⁵ The akshara lost here was apparently rā.
⁶ The aksharas lost here appear to have been Khēllauṭē.
⁷ Read ā-čandrārkaḥ or čandrārka-paryantam.
⁸ The two aksharas lost here appear to have been bha pa.
⁹ The intended reading of this sentence may also be diparārak pañchānāhāpātakiniḥ bharatati.
¹⁰ The name of the sitradhāra or engraver seems to have been Trilōka or Trilōchanā.
¹³ The first of these inscriptions has been published above, Vol. XXX, pp. 21 ff. (No. 1) and the other two in the same volume, pp. 138 ff.
the letters of the last line, which contains only a few *aksharas* engraved below the concluding part of the previous line, are damaged, while about fourteen letters from the beginning of line 6 appear to have been purposely rubbed off. A few *aksharas* are also lost at the end of all the lines.

The characters belong to the Gaudiya alphabet, but exhibit, in some cases, the development of early Oriya characteristics; cf. *m* in *samasta* in line 6, *s* in *swarupa* in line 7, the representation of *p* and *y* by the same sign, etc. The language of the record is an admixture of Sanskrit and Oriya. Thus, while *pādaṇām* (line 3), *prajāṇām* (line 5) and *dīpam-ekām* (line 8) are in Sanskrit, *Rājarājadēvāra* (line 1) and *lītārēvadēvāra* (line 2) have the Oriya sixth case-ending.

The *date* of the inscription is quoted in lines 1-2 as the *Śaka year 1094*, corresponding to year 4 of king Rājarājadēva's reign, Dhanuṣ-krishṇa 4, Monday. The reading of the figure indicating the number of the *tīthi* is, however, not beyond doubt as it is considerably damaged. Rājarājadēva mentioned here is Rājarāja II, the third of the four sons of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.), who succeeded their father one after the other in the following order: (1) Kāmārṇava, 10 years—Śaka 1069-78=1147-56 A.D.; (2) Rāghava, 15 years—Śaka 1078-92=1156-70 A.D.; (3) Rājarāja II. 25 [aṅkā] years=21 years, Śaka 1092-1112=1170-90 A.D.; and (4) Anantaguhātita II, 10 [aṅkā] years=8 years, Śaka 1112-19=1190-97 A.D. The *aṅkā* reckoning is first used in the case of Rājarāja II in the enumeration of the length of the reign periods of these kings in the official Gaṅga records thus indicating that the popularity of the reckoning began from his rule. But counting of regnal dates in a modified system may have started from the reign of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga while the *aṅkā* system is known to have been used in the records of the time of his immediate successors Kāmārṇava and Rāghava. Since Rājarāja II began to rule in Śaka 1092, Śaka 1094 would be his third regnal year. It has been quoted in the present record as the fourth year of his reign apparently according to the *aṅkā* reckoning, since the *aṅkā* year 4 is the same as the actual regnal year 3. If, in *Śaka 1094, Dhanuṣ-krishṇa 4*, Dhanuṣ is regarded as a solar month, the date seems to be irregular, although the 4th *tīthi* of *pūrṇimānta* Mārgaśīraḥ fell on Monday, the 6th November 1172 A.D.

The inscription begins with a *siddham* symbol followed by the date discussed above. The object of the epigraph, as known from lines 7-8, is to record the installation of a perpetual lamp, to last as long as the moon and sun would endure, for the god Kṛttivāsā, i.e. Śiva worshipped in the Līgaraṇa temple at Bhubaneswar. It is stated in lines 2-5 to have been installed by Bālā-Kācchhōṭīka, described as an ascetic (tāpōdhaṇa), as Śaivaḥśārya and as the Rājaguru, for the salvation of tāpōdhaṇa Sančhārī-śūda who was probably a priest of the god Uttarēśvara. Bālā-Kācchhōṭīka seems to be called a *sūta* of the said Sāṅhārīn. Since both of them were ascetics, the word *sūta* may have been used to indicate ‘a disciple’ as in some other cases known to the students of Indian epigraphy. The title *Rājaguru* (i.e. the preceptor of the king), applied to Bālā-Kācchhōṭīka, seems to suggest that king Rājarāja II did not renounce the Śaiva leanings

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1 Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 242-43.
2 For the records of Rāghava's time, dated in the *aṅkā* years, see ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 159. Some of the regnal dates of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, quoted in inscriptions with corresponding Śaka dates, cannot be reconciled with the actual beginning of his reign and, although he is stated to have ruled for seventy years, a few records of his time bear later dates (cf. Ray, *DHN*, Vol. I, pp. 461-68; Subba Rao, *History of Kalinga*, offprint, pp. 145 ff.). Inscriptions bearing dates both in the regnal reckoning and the Śaka era and belonging to the reign of Kāmārṇava show that the regnal reckoning is really the *aṅkā* reckoning in most cases (cf. Ray, op. cit., pp. 472-73; Subba Rao, op. cit., pp. 155-66). Unfortunately in some cases the dates are either wrong or incorrectly read.
TWO EASTERN GANGA INSCRIPTIONS
1. Khilōr Inscription of Anantavarman (Kāmārṇava), Šaka 1075
of the family even though his father Anantavarman Chēḍagāna became a devotee of the god Purushottama-Jagannātha (i.e. Vishnu) of Puri after having conquered the Puri-Cuttack region.\(^1\)

To provide for the perpetual lamp, Bālā-Kāchchhōṭika appears to have deposited five maṁbas of gold with a section of the merchants belonging to Āchāpadā-grāma (lines 5-7). The names of some of these people were mentioned in the inscription in line 6; but they are now rubbed off, although it is not possible to say who was responsible for this.

Only one geographical name is mentioned in the inscription. It is Āchāpadā-grāma. I am not sure about the location of the village.

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1 Siddham\(^{2}\) [\(^{[*]}\) Śaka[vda]\(^{3\,\text{\(=\)}}\) 1094 śrūmad-Rājarājadēvara\(^{4}\) pravar[ddha]māna-v[jjaya-rāj[jy]]\(^{5}\).

2 samvata\(^{6}\) 4 Dhanu\(^{7}\)-krishṇa [4] Sōma-vārā śrī\(^{8}\) Uttarāva[ddha]vēra\(^{9}\) [pa\(^{10}\).

3 rāyati\(^{11}\) tapōdhana-Sā[ṇāhīri](ri)-pādānāṁ mōksh-[ṛth]ē\(^{12}\).

4 ta-tapōdhana-Śaiva[ḥu]-rājā(ja)guru-Vā(ṇ)lā-Kāchchhōṭīkō\(^{13}\).

5 kēna Āchāpadā-grāmiya-sāḍhu-prajānāṁ(nām) eka-[kāh]g[ē]\(^{14}\).

6 ..........\(^{15}\) di(di)nā sa[masta\(^{16}\).

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\(^{1}\) See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 240.
\(^{2}\) From impressions.
\(^{3}\) Expressed by symbol.
\(^{4}\) Sanskrit Śukādēhā.
\(^{5}\) Sanskrit dēvāya.
\(^{6}\) The portion of the akhōrā in brackets is broken away.
\(^{7}\) Sanskrit samat.
\(^{8}\) Sanskrit Dhanuk.
\(^{9}\) Sanskrit dhvaya.
\(^{10}\) Sanskrit dēvāya.
\(^{11}\) Only a small part of the letter remains, the rest being broken away.
\(^{12}\) It may be that purāyati was written to indicate Sanskrit purāhita.
\(^{13}\) Only the ē-mātri of riḥē remains, the major part of the akhōrā being broken away. The akhōrās broken away after this may have been tat-su.
\(^{14}\) The akhōrās broken away at the end of the line may be nām. The intended reading seems to have been *Kāchchhōṭā-śaṁpānamakēṁ. Bālā is derived from Sanskrit bālaka or valaya.
\(^{15}\) The intended reading seems to be bhājē with a few akhōrās broken away after this.
\(^{16}\) About 14 or 15 akhōrās appear to have been purposely rubbed off from this part of the line. This last section probably contained some personal names.
\(^{17}\) The word lost here appears to be something like dhūra.
7 grahaṇaḥ suvarṇa-paṇcha-mā[ḍhā]ḥ śri-Kṛ[ti]vāsaḥ...
8 ā-chandra-ārka-paryantaḥ akhaṇḍa-dīpana-śkṛṭaḥ da...*
9 ......**

* Sanskrit: suvarṇaḥ paṇcha māḍhāḥ or suvarṇaḥ paṇcha māḍhān.
* Read Kṛtiḥ.
* The lost akṣaras were apparently dēvasya or more probably dēvaḥ.
* Read ā-chandra-āṛkkam or chandra-āṛkka-paryantam.
* Read dīpaṇa-śiṃṣya-śrīthāḥ.
* The intended word seems to be dadān.
** These four or five damaged akṣaras are engraved below the concluding part of the previous line. The reference here may be to the person who was responsible for engraving the inscription.
No. 16—ALAMPUR INSCRIPTION OF CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA, SAKA 635 AND 636

(I Plate)

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 12.7.1960)

The inscription was copied by me in December 1959 at Alampur, the headquarters of the Taluk of the same name in the Mahbubnagar District of Andhra Pradesh. Alampur is situated on the western bank of the Tungabhadra which flows there northwards to join the Kshipra seven miles away. The place is very rich in epigraphical material and I succeeded in tracing about 99 inscriptions representing almost all the important ruling dynasties of Karnatak from the 7th to the 16th century A.D. The temples of the place are also of great interest from the architectural point of view.

The inscription edited below has two versions, called here A and B for the sake of convenience. Both the versions are engraved on the same slab, A being to the left side and B to the right. The inscribed slab is fixed into the fort-wall near the steps leading to the river in the place called Devadru. It is rectangular in shape and measures about 5' 10" by 1' 2". A portion of the slab is broken away and lost from the right, so that only about one-third of B is preserved while only a few letters in the first three lines of A are lost. The writing of A covers an area about 5' 3" by 1' 2" while that of the extant portion of B measures 1' 2" by 11". The space between A and B varies from half an inch to one inch. While A has 7 lines of writing, B consists of 8 lines.

The texts of both the versions are similar, though they are written in different scripts. The characters of A are early Telugu-Kannada while those of B are what are called Siddhamatrika or early Nagari. This reminds us of the undated Paṭṭadakal pillar inscription1 of Kritivarman II, which is also written in versions in these two scripts. Both the Telugu-Kannada and the Siddhamatrika characters of the present inscription closely resemble their counterparts of the Paṭṭadakal inscription. While editing the latter record, Fleet has compared the characters of the Nagari version with those of the Bōdhgaya inscription2 of Mahānāman and the Sāmangaṅ plates3 of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dantidurga. The characters of B and their counterpart in the Paṭṭadakal inscription may also be compared to those of the Pallava king Atirāṇaśaṅḍa’s epigraph4 at Sāluvaṅguppam, which is referred to the 8th century A.D. Fleet referred the Paṭṭadakal inscription to c. 754 A.D. and observed that the use of the Nagari characters in that record furnished the earliest instance in Southern India. Since the inscription under study is dated in 713 A.D., it would carry back the antiquity of the use of early Nagari or Siddhamatrika by 40 years at least.

1 The record has been registered as Nos. B 138-37 in A. R. Ep., 1959-60. A transcript of this record has recently appeared in Telengana Inscriptions, Vol. II (1960), p. 8. There are some errors in this published transcript.

2 Above, Vol. III, pp. 1 ff. and Plate.

3 CII, Vol. III, p. 278 and Plate XXI.


9 DGA/60 (121)
In respect of orthography, there is nothing special to remark except that, in \( B \), the sign for \( v \) is used to denote \( b \) in line 8. The language of both \( A \) and \( B \) is Sanskrit, except a sentence in line 7 of \( A \), which is written in Kannada. The composition of both the versions is prose, except the invocatory verse at the beginning.

A. Inscription of Śaka 636

This version begins with the symbol for Siddham followed by the verse in praise of the Varāha (Boar) incarnation of Vishnu, which is often found in the records of the Bādami Chalukyas. Then, after the usual praśasti introducing this dynasty in lines 1-3, the record mentions in lines 3-5, six kings of the family, viz., Pulakēśin I; his son Kirtivarman I; his son Satyārāya (i.e. Pulakēśin II); his son Vikramāditya I; his son Vinayāditya and the latter’s son Vijayāditya who was the ruling king. Lines 6-7 state that at the command of Vijayāditya, the teacher Isanācārya constructed the enclosure (prākāra-bandha). It is not stated for which temple or temples this enclosure was intended. It may, however, be observed that the fort, in which the slab bearing the inscription is fixed, itself serves as a sort of an enclosure to the group of temples called Navaliṅgēvara, the most important of which is the Bālabrahmēvara shrine. The record does not give any details about the teacher who was responsible for the construction of the enclosure.

The date of the record is given in line 6 as Śaka 636 (expressed in words), 18th regnal year, Vaiśākha śu. 13. Since Śaka 619 current was the first regnal year of the king,1 Śaka 636 current would be the 18th regnal year as stated in the record. The date cannot be verified as the week-day is not mentioned. But in the year in question, Vaiśākha śu. 13, fell on Friday, the 13th May, 713 A.D.

Line 7 contains a benedictory sentence wishing welfare to the cows, Brähmaṇas, the king and his subjects. This is followed by another sentence in the Kannada language which states that Isanācārya constructed the faultless enclosure (niravādy-a-prākāra). The record ends with the expressions ollittige and śivam-astu, one being the translation of the other.

TEXT

1 Siddham[*] Jayatī=āvishkritāṃ Vishnūr=vvārāham kshōbhātārṇavaṃ[ḥ](vam) [[*]]
   [dkshin-ōṇata-dāmśhr-āgra-visrānta-bhuvanaṃ vapaḥ] [[*]] Śrīmatāṁ sakala-bhuvana-
   saṃstāyāmāna-Mānaya-

2 mātri[h ś][bh]īr = abhīvardhītānāṃ Kārttiṅkēya-parirakṣaṇa-śrāpta-kalyāṇa-paramparānām bhag-
   gavan-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-saṃsādita-Varāha-............................. "sha-ma[h]ībhītām

3 Chalukyānāṁ kulam=alaṅkāreṇhīō(rishnū)r=Sāvamēdh-śavabhītātha-sānā-pavītrikrita-
   gātrasya śri-Pulakēśi(6i)-vallaḥba-mahārājasya priya-tanaya[h]........................

Footnotes:
2 From the impressions.
3 Expressed by symbol.
4 The damaged letters may be restored as: saṃgrāhāṁ Hērīi-purāṇāṁ  saptā-lēka-mākṛiḥbhavaṃsaptā.
5 The damaged letters may be restored as: lāṅkhan-lēka-lēkha-vaṣṭīkṛi-dē.
6 This akṣara is damaged.
7 The damaged letters may be restored as: Kīrtivarman-prākṣevasalabha.
ALAMPUR INSCRIPTION OF CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA, SAKA 635 AND 636

Left half
NO. 16] ALAMPUR INSCRIPTION OF CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA, SAKA 633 AND 636

4 dma(tma)jaḥ  Satyaśriva-Śripīrithu(thi)viśvallabhā-mahārāja-dhirāja-paramesvara=tasya
priya-tanayāḥ  Vikramadītaya-bhaṭṭārakas=tasyādman(tma)jaḥ  Vinayadītaya-
(Satyāśriva-Śripīrīthu(thi)viśvallabhā-mahārāja-

5 dhirāja-paramesvara-bhaṭṭārakasya priya-śūnna=samasta-pūrmaśīvya-vibhava-chiṁnasya
Vijayadītaya-Satyāśriva-Śripīrīthu(thi)viśvallabhā-mahārāja-dhirāja-paramesvara-

bhaṭṭāraka-

6 sy=ājñayā baṅgavad-Isānāchāryya-svāminā  sahaṭṭhimāsad-uttara-shat-chhatē Śaka-
varshē  pravarddhama(mā)na-vijaya-rāja-sarhvasalēsva-ashta(ṣṭā)daśē
varttamānē1  Vaiśākhā-sūkla-trayodasayām =ya[m]7  prākara-bauḍhu[h*]

7 kritam=iti4  4 1 Svaṣṭi go-brāhmaṇasya5 rājaḥ praṇāmaḥ cha  śivaṁ bhavatu || — Niravadya-
prākaraṇaṁ=Isānāchāryya=sasmi[dor=0]tt=āge || — Śivaṁ=astu [ ],5

B. Inscription of Śaka 635

As stated above, though only about one-third of this inscription is now preserved, a comparison of the extant portion would clearly show that it is a copy of Inscription A written in the Siddhamātrikā script. The chief interest of the record lies in its paleography which has been discussed above. The inscription is dated Śaka 635 instead of Śaka 636 as found in A, the details regarding the regnal year being lost. Since Śaka 636 of A has been shown to be a current year, Śaka 635 of this record may be considered as expired. The purpose of the inscription, as already indicated, is the same as that of A.

TEXT

1 Siddhānta4 svasti [ ]1  Jayatē=āvishkritam  Vīṣṇūṁ=vvārāhaṁ  [kshē]* ..........................................
.................................................................

2 Hārīti-puṭṭrāṇāṁ  satpa-lōka-mātrīk-bhi  satpa-mātrī[ḥhi]. .............................................................
.................................................................

3 prasāda-samāsādīta-Vaṇāha-lāṇchhan-[kṣaḥ] .............................................................
.................................................................

1 The subscripts of these damaged letters can be seen in the impression.
2 There is an unnecessary anuṣṭhāa like-mark above nē.
3 Read "m-ayam. The anuṣṭhāa mark is engraved above the next letter prā.
4 Read krita tīt.
5 Read "brahmaṇaṁbhāyaḥ.
6 These three letters are damaged.
7 From the impressions.
8 Expressed by symbol.
9 The lost portion in this and in the following lines may be restored with the help of A edited above.
4 sya śri-Pulakēśi-vallabha-mahārājasya priya-tana.

5 mēśvarab(ra)=tasya priya-tanaya(yū) Vikramāditya-bhaṭṭāra.

6 priya-sūnu[h*] samasta-pāramaiṣvarya(rya)-vibhava-chihnasya Vi(ja).

7 śānāchāryya-swāminā pāńcha-ttrīṁśad-uttara-shaṭchchha(t.chha)tē Śaka-va...

8 kṛtam=iti¹ || Svasti gō-brāhmaṇasya¹ rājā[ḥ] pra[jā].

¹ Read śṛiṣa iti.
² Read "brāhmaṇaḥ".
No. 17—COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM BIHAR

(4 Plates)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

(Received on 3.10.1960)

1. Grant of Jivagupta

Early in the year 1958, I was asked to give my opinion on the date of a copper-plate grant, a set of impressions of which was received by me, for examination and return, from Mr. S. V. Sohoni, Commissioner of the Patna Division of Bihar, Patna, through the Director General of Archaeology in India, New Delhi. In the month of December of the same year, I visited Patna and Mr. Sohoni was kind enough to allow me to take impressions of the inscription. The inscription was secured by Mr. Sohoni from Katra, headquarters of a Police Station of that name in the Muzaffarpur District of North Bihar.

The inscription is engraved on both sides of a single plate measuring 10\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches in height and 6\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches in breadth. There are altogether 22 lines of writing, 19 on the obverse and 3 on the reverse of the plate. The seal originally affixed to the top margin is now lost. A strip nearly 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches wide was cut off from the lower end of the plate apparently for testing the metal if it was gold. Of this strip, only a small piece (2\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches long) from the right-hand side is now available while the rest (a little less than 4 inches in length) is lost. This has resulted in the loss of more than half of the writing of lines 16-19, only the concluding portion of the lines being available on the small piece referred to above. In the left-hand side of the upper margin on the obverse of the plate, the akshara ra is found between two symbols. This letter seems to have been meant for insertion in a line from which it was omitted through oversight. But the omission cannot be satisfactorily located in the extant part of the epigraph.

The palaeography of the inscription is interesting. The characters belong to the Siddhamśīti (i.e. Northern) alphabet of the 7th or 8th century A.D. But they are carelessly and cursively formed. An interesting feature of the palaeography of the epigraph is that in some cases the same letters and signs exhibit both earlier and later forms while in some other cases the letters are either early or late. The characters may be compared with those of such East Indian records as the Bōdhgaya inscription (588 A.D.)\(^1\) of Mahānāman, Midnapur plates (c. 619 A.D.)\(^2\) of Śasānka, Apsaḍ inscription (c. 670 A.D.)\(^3\) of Ālītyasena, Mangraon inscription (c. 700 A.D.)\(^4\) of Vishagupta, Dēo-Baranārk inscription (c. 729 A.D.)\(^5\) of Jivagupta II, Nilandā inscription (c. 730 A.D.)\(^6\) of Yasōvarman and Khālimpur plate (c. 800 A.D.)\(^7\) of Dharmapāla. Such a comparison would show that the palaeography of our epigraph should have to be referred to a date later than the

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4 Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 241 ff. and Plate.
5 CII, Vol. III, pp. 213 ff. and Plate XXIX, B.
6 Above, Vol. XX, pp. 37 ff. and Plate.
7 JASB, Vol. LXIII, Part I, pp. 53 ff. and Plate.

9 DGA/60 (125) 7
beginning of the 7th century and earlier than the end of the 8th. The letters  and  are of the earlier type, the first of which is found in the Apshâd inscription and earlier records while the latter is noticed in a modified form in the Apshâd inscription and later records. But  of the same early type is sometimes found in such East Indian epigraphs of the second half of the 7th century as the Tippera plate of Lôkanâtha, dated 664 A.D.¹ The hooked form of  and the shape of  in the record under study remind us of the forms of the same letters in the Apshâd inscription and later epigraphs. On the other hand,  and  appear to resemble their forms in the records of the 8th century. In some cases, a curved stroke is attached to the lower left end of  (cf. Hari in line 7) and this is not usually found in records earlier than the Mangraon inscription of about the beginning of the 8th century.  has a cursive form resembling  of the contemporary North Indian epigraphs. The letter  in  (line 5) is more cursive than elsewhere in the record.  of the record under study is a cursive modification of the form of the letter as found in records like the Mangraon inscription referred to above. But, unlike the Mangraon epigraph, the upward opening of letters like  is in some cases closed in our record and this is a sign of lateness. The letter  sometimes resembles the closed type of  (cf.  in line 8 and  in line 14). While the medial sign of  is generally short as in the earlier records, medial  is written in several forms, one of which exhibits later development and differs little from the sign of medial  (cf.  and  in line 11).  has both the earlier form without the tail and the later one with the tail (cf.  in line 12).  has been written with the sign for  . It will thus be seen that some of the palaeographical features exhibited by the inscription under study suggest a date earlier than the 8th century while others suggest one later than the 7th century. We are therefore inclined to assign it to a date about the first half of the 8th century since it is difficult otherwise to explain the use of the later forms of some of the letters though the earlier forms of some of them may be regarded as having persisted with some people in certain areas of the country.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and it is written in a mixture of prose and verse. There is only one stanza in  in the king’s description in the introductory part and two of the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses occur at the end of the document. The orthography of the inscription resembles that of the contemporary epigraphs of Eastern India. The date of the record is given in line 19 as a day of the bright half of Chaitra in the king’s second regnal year.

The charter begins with the  symbol followed by the auspicious word  . Reference is first made to the issue of the grant from the donor’s camp or capital situated at a locality called Târâ. Lines 1-5 then introduce the reigning king Jîvaguptadéva who was the son of king Râmâguptadéva and queen Râmâ-bhaṭṭârikâ. Both Jîvagupta and his father are described as  (greatly devoted to Mahâśvara, i.e. the god Śiva) and are endowed with the imperial style  (Mahârâjâdhirâja-Paramâśvara). Râmagupta, the father of the reigning monarch, is described as born of queen Târâ-bhaṭṭârikâ although the name of his father is not mentioned. King Jîvagupta, donor of the charter, is called  , i.e. the younger. This probably suggests that his grandfather was another Jîvagupta who may have been known to the subjects as ‘the elder’ especially if Râmagupta’s reign was short so that the reigns of the grand- father and the grandson bearing the same name were close to each other. As indicated above, the present record was issued by ‘the younger’ Jîvagupta quite early in his reign. We have instances in which a king’s grandfather bearing his name was mentioned as ‘the elder so-and-so’.²

² Above, Vol. XXXIII. pp. 231-32
Lines 5-6 contain a stanz in the Anusṭubh metre describing the fame of king Jivagupta, the donor of the charter. Then comes the king’s order in respect of the grant which was addressed to a number of his officers and subordinates as well as to the inhabitants of the localities called Surabhākra, Yāmyā and Hari-grāmaka situated in the north-eastern part of Tisṭhala-pāṭaka in the Chāmuṇḍa terri to of Tira-bhūkta. The royal officers and subordinates mentioned among the addressers are Mahāśādhanagrabhāsa (minister for war and peace), Akṣapaṭalka (officer in charge of records and accounts), Sarvākhitāraka (chief administrator or minister), Pitarāyana (officer in charge of the defence of the gate of the royal palace or the capital city), Sēṇapati (commander of forces) and Mahāvāṃsaka (subordinate ruler). The following passage in lines 10-17, parts of which are lost, apparently states that the three localities in question were granted by the king, after having taken a bath on the occasion of the Vi-hayat (i.e. the Vishuvasaṅkranti), in favour of the temple of the goddess Chāmuṇḍā-bhūtārā for the merit and fame of his parents. Since the date of the charter falls in the lunar month of Chaitra, the Vishuva-stambha is clearly seen to be referred to the vernal equinox. The localities were granted as a permanent gift together with land and water, with the mango and madhava trees, with pits and barren lands, with the land up to their boundaries, with all their hamlets, with the metal and salt mines, with the udānga (probably, taxes on temporary tenants), with the space above the ground and with all the dues payable to the king (āngha-pratigādha). In this section, the word pratigādha has been used in the sense of pratigādha known from many records. A damaged passage in this section seems to state that the temple of the goddess Chāmuṇḍā-bhūtārā was in a place (the name of which is uncertain). A lady of the same locality, whose name may have been Surabhā, is mentioned in the same context.

The main problem raised by the inscription is the identity of king Jivagupta, his father Ramagupta and probably also his grandfather whose name may have been Jivagupta, as well as of the dynasty to which the kings belonged. The facts that their dominions included Tira-bhūkti or North Bihar and that the palaeography of the record suggests a date about the first half of the 8th century A.D. point to the possibility of these rulers belonging to the so-called Later Gupta dynasty. The Later Gupta—originally ruled in East Malwa and later became rulers of Bihar. The following members of the family are so far known from epigraphic and literary sources : (1) Krishnagupta, (2) his son Har-hagupta, (3) his son Jivatgupta I, (4) his son Kumāragupta I, (5) his son Dāmḍaragupta, (6) his son Mahāsēṇagupta, (7) his son Kumāragupta II, (8) his younger brother Madhavagupta, (9) his son Ādityaśena, (10) his son Dēvagupta, (11) his son Vishnuagupta and (12) his son Jivatgupta II. Of these, Kumāragupta I came into conflict with Mukhari Išvararman, one of whose known dates is Vikrama 611 (533-34 A.D.), while Dāmḍaragupta was killed in a battle apparently with the same Mukhari king. Mahāsēṇagupta claims to have fought with the Kāmarūpa king Sūrīvarman, father of Bāśkaravarman (c. 600-50 A.D.).3 Bāśa’s Harsha-charita mentions Kumāragupta II and Madhavagupta as the two sons of the king of Malava (Malava-rāja-pātra) who are stated to have taken shelter at the court of the Thanesar king Prabhākara-varartha, the father of Harsha-varartha (606-47 A.D.).4 That Bāśa’s Malava is East Malwa is quite clear from his Kādambari which associates the river Vītravati and the capital city of Vidiśā with Malava and places Ujjaini in the land of Avanti.

1 See Bhandarkar’s List, pp. 390-91.
4 See CII, op. cit., verse 14; JRASB, op. cit., p. 71, note 2.
(West Malwa).\textsuperscript{1} Bāṇa also says that Kumāra (i.e. Kumāragupta II) was installed on the throne by Harsha.\textsuperscript{2} This may suggest that Kumāragupta II was made the viceroy of Mālava after it had been conquered by Harsha. The Aphaṣaj inscription of Ādityasena mentions Mādhavagupta as a friend (i.e. feudatory) of Harsha\textsuperscript{3} who seems to have made the Later Gupta prince his viceroy in South Bihar after his conquest of that land. That Ādityasena whose known date is 672 A.D., ruled over South Bihar is known from the inscriptions of his time discovered in that area and by the fact that he is actually described as Magadh-ādhipa or 'lord of Magadha (South Bihar) in a Nepal inscription.\textsuperscript{4} Since Ādityasena ruled in the third quarter of the 7th century A.D., the rule of his great-grandson Jivitagupta II may be assigned to about the second quarter of the 8th century. It is sometimes believed that Vākpatirāja’s Gaḷavahā describes the killing of this Jivitagupta II by Yaśōvarman (c. 728-53 A.D.) of Kanauj, who was himself defeated by the Kashmir king Lalitāditya Muktādīya about 733 A.D.\textsuperscript{5} The suggestion is unwarranted in view of the fact that the king killed by Yaśōvarman was a Gauḍa while the Later Guptas, originally of Mālava or East Malwa and later of Magadha or South Bihar, were certainly not Gauḍas.\textsuperscript{6} The Harshacharita represents the king of Gauḍa (Śaśānaka, king of Karnaswarana, according to Hiuen-tsang) as an ally of the Mālava king probably mentioned as Dēvaugupta in the inscriptions of Harsha.\textsuperscript{7} That the Gaudas succeeded in annexing South Bihar, no doubt from the Maukharis, about the close of the 6th century A.D. is indicated by the Rohtāgarhi (Shahbad District) seal-matrix of Śaśānaka belonging to a date when he was a Mahāśānanta apparently under the contemporary ruler of Gauḍa.\textsuperscript{8} Thus it appears that the Maukharis were ousted from South Bihar by the Gaudas who were themselves ousted from that region by Harsha who gave the viceroyalty of the area to the Later Guptas. It also appears that the Gaudas regained the possession of South Bihar sometime after the death of Harsha and Bhāskaravarman, i.e. after the middle of the seventh century A.D. Jivitagupta II of the Later Gupta dynasty may thus have been ousted from South Bihar by the Gaudas. It may be that the descendants of Jivitagupta II were ruling in North Bihar when South Bihar was lost to them.

Whatever that may be, if the rulers mentioned in our inscription were descendants of Jivitagupta II, it may be conjectured that Jivagupta I, supposed to have been the father of Rāmagupta and grandfather of Jivagupta II, was identical with Jivitagupta II of the Later Gupta dynasty. The two kings mentioned in our record, in that case, flourished in North Bihar during the middle of the 8th century. But nothing definite can be said on the subject unless further evidence is forthcoming. It is quite possible that the kings mentioned in our inscription belonged to a local ruling family of North Bihar.\textsuperscript{9}

\textsuperscript{1} See Siddhāntavāgīśa’s ed., pp. 18-19 (maṇijan-Mālave-citāsini-Kaucha-tat-āśphālana-jarjarit-āriṇi-mālavya... Viṁavatā pariṣṭād Vīṭi-ābhidhānā nagni rājadhānyā-ṭṛī) ; p. 183 (r̥jīça-āmaraḷa-bhikaṛa-āvanti-kapicat-Dējavici-nāma nagnī). The circumstances compelling Kumāragupta II and Mādhavagupta to take shelter at the Thanesar court were probably the usurpation of Mahāśānagupta’s throne by Dēvaugupta and Prabhākara-varman having been a sister’s son of Mahāśānagupta. Harsha’s inscriptions mention Dēvaugupta as the chief enemy defeated by Bājyavardhana while the Harshaharita mentions Bājyavardhana’s enemy as the Mālaverāja.

\textsuperscript{2} Parab’s ed., p. 91.

\textsuperscript{3} Cf., Vol. III, pp. 203-04, verse 18.

\textsuperscript{4} Cf. Bhandarkar’s List, Nos. 1152-53. For the inscriptions of his successors in the same region, see ibid., No. 1554; above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 241 ff.; Vol. XXX, pp. 84-85. For his title ‘lord of Magadha’, see Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, pp. 178 ff.

\textsuperscript{5} See Tripathi, History of Kanauj, p. 198; for the date of Yaśōvarman, see ibid., pp. 194 ff., 204 f.

\textsuperscript{6} Cf. Raychaudhuri, PHAI, 1936, p. 517, note 2.

\textsuperscript{7} Ibid., p. 513.

\textsuperscript{8} See above, Vol. XXX, p. 296, note 1.

\textsuperscript{9} For a later inscription of the Guptas of North Bihar, see Bhandarkar’s List, No. 1555.
Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the name of Tīra-bhukta is preserved in that of the modern Tirhut Division of North Bihar. I am not sure about the location of the district of Chāmuṇḍā-vishaya, the subdivision of Tīrā-pātha, the gift village called Surabhākśa, Yāṃṣa and Hari-grāmaka and the locality called Tārā whence the charter was issued. It is possible that the name Chāmuṇḍā-vishaya was derived from the temple of the godless Chāmuṇḍā mentioned in the record.

**TEXT**

*Obverse*

1 Siddhan² svasti [[^*]] [T]ārā³-vāsita-śri-jayakand̄h[a]jya[r̄āt]-paramamūhāvārya srima-Tā- [rā]-
2 bhaṭṭārikāyām=utpannasya paramabhaṭṭāra-ka-mahārājā-dhira-ja-pa-
3 ramāsva-śri-Rāmaguptadēvasya putraḥ paramamūhā-va-raḥ Śrī-śrīnā-bha-
4 ūrārikāyām=utpannāḥ paramabhaṭṭāra-ka-mahārājā-dhira-ja-parama-ścara-śri-
6 saṣṭi [[^*]] sampūrṇamī samakāra=a-dhāhate lāya(jja)yē=cārya[jma[n]ā[v]j[na][u] [[^*]] Tīra-bhuktau [Ch]āmuṇḍā-[ā]-
7 vishayē pūrvvātta-Tīsh[ṭ]ihala-pātaka Surabhākṣī Yāṃś[y]yāṁ Hari-grāmakē [cha[^a]]
8 mahāsāṃhāvyāgraḥ-ākshapatali[ka]-sarvaśābdhikārika-pratihāra-
9 sēnāpati-mahā[ś]amanta-prabhūṭiṁ-nivāsaśāhe janapadānō[ṛ]bōjhihāya-
10 ti samājūpavayati [cha[^*]] viditam-astu-bhavatāṁ yathē-pārī[k]h[jā]pū.[[^a]][[^b]]
11 sa-jalo-sṭhala(lāḥ) sābura-madhūka(kāḥ) sa-gartvā(ṛtī-ū)-shara(rōḥ) svā-śa[j]pavyanta-
12 sa[sa]su(rva)]-palli(kāḥ) sa-lōha-lavuṣ-ākara(ṛḥ) s-ōḍhāra(ngāḥ) s-ōḍhāna(śāḥ) sanastā-
13 ja-pratvādāya-sanmātā [yāṣma[^*]]-āchandarēkka-kshiti-sama-kālām-savēdlamb[u][h] śa-
14 tvā Vīṣha[shu]vati pitrōḥ punya-yāśi-vivṛddhīhāyē Chāmuṇḍā-bhaṭṭārikē-
16 .......................... 16pūj[a]-sa[ñ][i]s[ak][śa][ś]a[ś]-[j)a[r]the]

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[^*] From impressions.
[^a] Expressed by symbol.
[^b] The reading of the name does not appear to be Nārā.
[^c] Read vimalamā vikṣhaya svakumbhavāya.
[^d] The akṣara ya is written below the line.
[^e] There is an unnecessary mark above sa.
[^f] The intended reading seems to be vīḍhāh.
[^g] The metre of the stanza is Aṣṭanāṭkṛta.
[^h] There are traces of some akṣaras here. But their reading is doubtful.
[^i] There are traces of a few akṣaras here at the beginning of the extant part of the plate. But their reading is doubtful, though they may be [ka]δa[s]a[p]a[kṣ]a.
[^j] The akṣara sa is written below the line.
2. Two Grants of Sauryāditya

The two copper-plate grants published in the following pages are lying in the possession of Mr. S. V. Sohoni, Commissioner of the Patna Division, Bihar, and were copied by me in August 1960. They were secured by Mr. Sohoni from some locality under the Bagaha Police Station in the Champaran District of North Bihar.

Both the charters were issued by a king named Sauryāditya who enjoyed the imperial style Paramabhaṭṭāvaka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara and the introductory stanzas, eleven in number, are common to both. The king was the son of Harīsvarāja and the grandson of Hālāvarāja and belonged to a branch of the solar race (Sāry-āvaya), of which the progenitor was a royal hero named Malayakētu. Both the grants are dated, the first in Vikrama 1077 (1020 A.D.) and the second in Vikrama 1033 (1023 A.D.).

King Sauryāditya and his father and grandfather are known for the first time from the inscriptions under study. But there is no doubt that these rulers were later members of the Malayakētu family known from the Gurmē (Gorakhpur District) and Gorakhpur platea, both issued from Vijayapura (the first of the two grants in Vikrama 927=870 A.D.) by P.M.P. Jayāditya II, the son of P.M.P. Dharmāditya and queen Chandrā and the grandson of P.M.P. Jayāditya I and queen Yogā. It appears that the rulers of the Malayakētu family were ruling over the north-eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh and the adjoining areas of North Bihar. They may have attained imperial status after the fall of Yaśōvarman (c. 728-53 A.D.) of Kanauj and appear to have been subdued by the Gurjara-Pratihāra of Kanauj about the close of the ninth century, either under king Bhōja I (c. 836-85 A.D.) or under his son Mahāndrapāla I (c. 885-908 A.D.). The present records of 1020 and 1026 A.D. appear to show that the Malayakētu kings remained subordinate to the Gurjara-Pratihāras for more than a century and again raised their head on the decline of Gurjara-Pratihāra power about the beginning of the eleventh century. This is an interesting example of the survival of an imperial family and its emergence after a long period of obscurity.

1 The intended expression is no doubt tāmra-śaasaṇatēma.
2 The intended expression seems to be tan-nirāśibhiṣaka pratiyādāyāh samāpanētaryāh
d3 The intended expression seems to have been sa-śaabs-iddēsh.
4 Read tāśākātā iva
5 This aśekha is written below the line.
6 The metre of this and the following stanza is Anuḥta.
7 Read dattāh vā.
8 Cf. Bhandaśgar's List, Nos. 34, 1704.
1. Grant of Jivagupta
With the help of the Gurmhs and Gorakhpur plates referred to above and of the records now under study, the genealogy of the Malayakatu family of the solar race may be tabulated as follows:

Malayakatu

Jayaditya I = Yogā

Dharmaditya = Chandrá

Jayaditya II (issued grants from Vijayapura, one of them in Vikrama 927 = 870 A.D.)

Hēkvarāha

Harṣasāraja

Saurāditya (issued grants in Vikrama 1077 = 1020 A.D. and Vikrama 1083 = 1026 A.D.)

A. Grant of Vikrama 1077

This is a single plate measuring 15½ inches in breadth and 15½ inches in height with a projection at the top (about 3½ inches broad and 4 inches high) having its top part rounded. The projection was meant for fixing the seal by means of two knobs, parts of which are still sticking in the two holes in the projection, which were made for receiving the knobs.

There are altogether 31 lines of writing engraved on the first side of the plate, the second side containing only two lines. The engraving is neat; but the preservation of the writing is not quite satisfactory in certain sections.

The characters are early Nāgari of about the eleventh century. Among palaeographical peculiarities, mention may be made of the use of both the Benzd and Nāgari types of anusvāra and the undistinguishable representation of c, y and v in some cases (cf., e.g., chandrā in line 31 and yāvat in line 22). The consonant n has been written in two ways (cf. n in chandrānanā in line 11 with the same letter in vajrath in line 8 and devapāṇ in line 15). The form of final n (e.g. in gatā in line 17 and purushā in line 20) is interesting. For final t, see gur, in line 25, and for the avagraha sign, cf. line 24. The language is Sanskrit and the record is written in a mixture of prose and verse. The orthography is characterised by wrong spellings exhibiting the influence of local pronunciation. Cf. vauṣe (line 2) for vaṃśa; kāṃsa (line 6) for kāmaṇa; yuṇaṛ (line 13) for jayinaḥ; khaṇṭ (line 15) for khaṇṭ; jau = majjanti (line 15) for maṇjanti; senapati (line 18) for senapati; śūdyā (line 18) for śūdaya; śimā (line 20) for śimā; khetra (line 22) for keśīṭra; jadā (line 25) for yadd; jaṭā (line 29) for ṣaṭaḍ; sahaśrāvi (line 27) or sahaśrāvi (lines 29-30) for sahāśrāvi; haraḥ for haraṇ (line 29); sātāṃ (line 30) for sāṭāṃ; etc. It will be seen that some of these characters are now more marked in the East Indian pronunciation. Reduplication of consonants after r is noticed in some cases; but we have generally rt and rv without reduplication.

The date of the grant is quoted in line 35 as Saṃvat 1077, Chaitra-śudi 14, Friday, while line 22 states that it was made on the Mahāchaitrī titi in the month of Chaitra, i.e., Chaitra pūrṇima. It would appear therefore that the record was kept ready on Chaitra-śudi 14; but the
ceremony of donation took place on Chaitra-sudi 15. In Vikrama 1077 (Karttikeya current), the end and beginning of Chaitra-sudi 14 and 15 fell on Friday the 11th March 1020 A.D.

The inscription begins with the Siddham symbol followed by śvasti. Verse 1 introduces the hero Malayākṣa as a great king of the solar race, while verse 2 mentions king Hēlavarāha born in Mauyāśū's family. The following two stanzas (verses 3-4) describe the achievements of Hēlavarāha in vague terms and verses 5-8 likewise describe the good qualities of Hēlavarāha's son Hānsarāja. The donor of the charter, king Sauryāditya, who was the son of Hānsarāja and grandson of Hēlavarāha, is then described in verses 9-11 being mentioned as Kuṇjaravarsha. The said introductory part in verse is followed in lines 16 ff. by a section in prose beginning with the mention of P. M. P. Sauryādityaśa as the donor of the grant in continuation of his description in verses 9-11. The king's order was addressed to the subordinates assembled at Vana-pallī-grāma situated in Vyālisi-vishaya within Daradagandika-mandala. While Daradagandika is apparently associated with the name of the river Gaḍak or Gaṇak, the name Vyālisi is derived from Sanskrit dvichatvāriniṣat (i.e. forty-two) and essentially means an administrative unit consisting of forty-two villages. It is interesting to note that Sauryāditya's other grant of Vikrama 1083 also mentions a vishaya called Dvichatvārinīśatikā which was, however, situated in Daradchaḷikā-mandala. It may be noted that a vishaya in these cases has been represented as the subdivision of a vana. Is Dardachakīḍa a mistake for Daradgandika?

The list of subordinates includes mahārāja, rājaka, thakura (i.e., thakura), amātya, purākīta, mahāmakāṭa, mahāsāndhivigrāhika, mahāparīthāra, mahākṣapati, mahāśīrṇapati, mahākṣatradhāyika, dveśasāndhibhūtika, dvajikā, dvajapāśika, śvarikā, gautikā, gaṅgāyukika, dānasaṃpravahikā, talavajikā, aṅgarakshikā, chāta (i.e. chāta), bhaśita (i.e. bhasta), etc. With the exception of a few, these are often met with in copper-plate grants. The separation of the official designations from one another by a dveṣa in the text seems to suggest that Dānasaṃpravahikā (officer in charge of the despatch of messengers) should better not be understood as Dāna and Prēvahikā as is often done. Taurangaikā is an official designation of rare occurrence and its meaning is uncertain. It may be the same as Talavajikā which is taken by some as the same as Gujarati T datti (a petty revenue officer) but may really be the officer looking after temple properties called talavāṭaka or talavāṭiti. Among the privileges of the donee, phalasarika, rājan, sahaṣṭāvaskara, jana-thana-sahita, sa-pallika and sakrishta are not among those which are commonly met with in inscriptions.

The donor made the present ceremonial bath and worshipping the gods Bhāskara (Sun-god) and Śiva (i.e. Śiva). The donee was a Brāhmaṇa of Usyā-grāma, whose family hailed from Chhēla. He is Bhāṣṭī Yaśāditya, who was the son of Vāṭhō and grandson of Adavi and belonged to the Savarya gōtra and the Bhārgava, Chyavana, Ārnavan, Aura and Jāmadagnya puduras.

The grant proper is followed by the quotation of ten beneficatory and imprecatory stanzas.

The following geographical names are mentioned in the inscription: (1) Vana-pallī-grāma, (2) Vyālisi-vishaya, (3) Daradagandika-mandala, (4) Chhēla, and (5) Usyā-grāma. I am not sure about their location. But as indicated above, the district of Daradagandika was apparently situated on the banks of the Gaḍak. This name is, however, applied now to no less than three rivers, viz. (1) Great Gaḍak running through the Gorakhpur, Champaran, Muzaffarpur, Saran and Patna Districts and joining the Ganges at Patna in lat. 25° 49' 53" and long. 85° 13' 45"; (2) Lesser Gaḍak running through the Gorakhpur and Saran Districts and falling into the Gogra in lat. 25° 41' and long. 85° 11' 30"; and (3) Little Gaḍak running through the Saran District and Tirhut and

joining the Bāghmatī in lat. 25° 45' and long. 86° 2'. The district of Daradgaṇḍakī is also mentioned in an inscription (Vikrama 1167) of king Kirtipāla of Saumyasindhu or Uttarasamudra. ¹

TEXT:

[Metres: Verses 1-2, 8 Varanatilaka; verses 3-7, 9-11 Sārdīlalavikrīḍita; verses 12-19, 21 Anushtubh; verse 20 Pushpitāgrāḥ.]

Obverse

1 Sīdham ² Ṣūrya-ānvayā prakāta-vikrama-bhūmir-aśīt(sīd) bhūpāla-mauli(li)r=iha bhūpatir-ādiḥhūtaḥ | īli-ālayō Malayā[kō]tūr=atulya-dhāmā ¹ suṣravī-ādhibhūta-va-satativir [r=ṛja].


6 mibhu[jāṁ] viḥ bhūṣaṇa-mañjīḥ putṛ ḍharitrīpatīḥ | ⁴ tasy-ōddanda-bhuja-pratāpa-taraṇīḥ ṣṛṭ-Hansa(Harīsa)raṇaḥ kṣitau [ⅻ] (dhāmnā jēyē)na dhrīpatīḥ sa(a)dakam = iha sābāraṁ punar-mma-


8 na-praravda(bhau)gōbbhīṛ-rataḥ [ⅻ] kāryē(yē-ā)mbhbōja-ras-āpalaṁ(la)mbha-madhupā gam-bhīṛīm-āmbhbōndhiḥ | ¹⁰ r-yasya-āyaṁ viṁ(vi)rataḥ kal-anukaraṇā kṣhīṁ-ōpasaṁkrit Ījanaḥ [ⅻ] Tīṣṭhaṇtaṁ (nī)jīvi-.

9 [tya] sarvva-jagato dōṣha-sprśā-sati(sat)īkāya pīṇḍābhūya sud-aiva vīnaya-bhuvaṁ-trāṇāya yasmin guṇah || (yasya-āśīta(sīt) paramaṁ-tu¹² dūṣhaṇa-kāṇāḥ sarvvaśya niśh-kāraṇāṁ

¹ Above, Vol. VII, p. 93. It is possible that Kirtipāla’s family ousted the Malayakūtas about the close of the 11th century to be themselves ousted by the Gihajavēlas shortly afterwards.

² From impressions.

³ Expressed by symbol.

⁴ The dūṣhaṇa is superficial.

⁵ These akhaṇa are restored with the help of the other inscription.

⁶ B has mantra.

⁷ B has rōgyēthu.

⁸ The dūṣhaṇa is superficial. Read paramaṁ-taṁ.

⁹ B has a different reading.

¹⁰ The dūṣhaṇa is unnecessary. Read nīḥāḥ.

¹¹ Read tīṣṭhaṇtaṁ svaṁ as in B.

¹² We may have it as paramaṁ-tu, but B has paramaṁ-tdra.
10 sarvvasya svam-as-ajharat-keila yasa(śo) digjō(śy)shhitāṁ varlabham || [7*] Saudhānī nish-
thuratyāśa kumudāni gandhāh-ducgāhām rasēna madhura-dhvanibhīcha hansāh(hamāh) ||
(jñāntāḥ katham(tha)chid-īha)

11 yasya yāsasya-śamudra-sanāplāvītā jāgati śitaruchi[r*]=mrjugāṅkāt || [8*] Sunnuḥ tasya
narendra ēka vijaya chandr-ānan bhūtalē dharmmah sampaṭri yasya kītti-

12 latikā vra(bra)hmāṇāṃ-ārōhi | yēn-ākāṇḍam-akhaṇḍa-dhairya-guruṇā lavdhā(bdh-ā)-
bhishēka-kriyā-mātrēṅ=siva ca vikramēṇa vijītā yuddhāṅgāpē vairīṇāḥ || [9*] Tyā-

13 gēn-āsa(ya) na varṇāna vijayāt Karṇāsya rūpa-śrīyā n=Ānaṅgasya na saṅgarēhu
ja(śya)jāṁah || sau(sau)ryēṇa śinghī-patēḥ ||[* ] gāmbhi(mbhi)ryēṇa na saṅgarasya vidu-
shāṁ gēśhīśu

14 Vāchaspatēḥ || līlābbhir=na Pura[n]dāra[∗]jaya nripatēḥ kō=nyāḥ prakarsha-kramaḥ || [10*]
Yuddhē Kuṇjaravarse ēka kim-iti śrutya=siva nāma dvīhō magnāḥ kēchāna pāda-pa-

15 ākāṇa-tala-ēchhāyā-nishhamāṅ(ha) kha(ka)ṣaṇāt || n=a[朝廷]-chitram-īdantu yasya
charitaṁ nistirnāṃ-dhārā-jalē ja(ya)n majjanti kiyaṭy=api kehitopatiṅ-matta-dvīpānāṁ
ghattāḥ(tāḥ) ||{(*)} [11*]

16 sa paramabhāṣāraka-mahārajaḥbhūja-paramēśvara-arimata-Sauryādityadēvaḥ kuṭalī ||
Daradgappāṭi-śa-ṃḍgalō Vyālsī-vishay-āntaspathāī-Vadapallī-

17 grāmē samupagatān aśeṣha-ra(rāj)apurushān mahārāja-nāpaka-ṭhaku(kku)r-ṣmaṭro(tye)-purō-
hita- ]10 mahāvaḥattaka-mahāśāntivigrāhīka-mahā-

18 pratiḥāra-mahā-akhet[aa1]pastalika= mahāṣārdhanika- mahāpilūpati- mahāśē(śe)nāpati-
 mahākāṣkāḍha(dh)kṣa(dha)-duṣṭatā(śa)-dhyāsdhanika- da(dā)pēḍika- āpāsi(sī)-
ka-

19 sau(sau)kika- | gauṃmika- | gamāgamika- | duṭasampreṣhanika- | talavarggīka-11 | saṅgara-
khaka- | chāṭya-bhatta-prabhrīṁ yathā-sthā[na]-niyuktāṁ[* ] rāja-pād-ōpajīvī-

20 na(nō) rājapurushān yathāharāṁ mānayati vō(bō)dhayati ōdīśati | viditam-asu bhavatāṁ |
yathā grāmē-yaṁ sa-jala-sthalaḥ ś-āmvr(mra)-madhur(ḥū)kāḥ sva-śī(śī)ma-

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1 Read hrit-agrasāram* as in B.
2 Read vaśdhaṃ.
3 Read yasūn*. 
4 Read Śūnu-baṣaṇya.
5 The danda is unnecessary.
6 Read sīhūn*. Possibly the word sīhūnpati (literally, ‘the husband of the lioness’) has been used to indicate 
a lion’. The ‘husband of Simhā (Simhikā)’ may also be understood in the sense of Siva among others.
7 The danda is unnecessary. Read 4patēśā-sīhūn*.
8 Read niśtrēṇa.
9 Read sīnūṭaṃ. The ṣā in ṣūṛa really stands for the upadāṃstya.
10 The danda here and elsewhere below in this line and the following lines is superfluous.
11 Read mahākēṭa.
12 Sandhi has not been observed here.
13 This is the same as chūṭa-bhūṣa of earlier inscriptions.
COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM BIHAR—Plate II

2. Two Grants of Sāmakṣeyya

A. Grant of Vikrama 1077

[Text in Devanagari script]
21 paryantaḥ phala-ratikā ramyaḥ s-ōṣharaḥ sa-gartt-āvaskaraḥ jana-dhana-sahitaḥ sa-pallikaḥ su-kṛṣṭaḥ mātā-pitrōr-ātmanas cha pū(ṣ)hya-yaśoḥ bhivṛiddhayē chandrā
d

22 rrka-kshti-kālāṃ yāvat | pūrvva-hūḥ(hu)jjyamaṇā-daṇva-vrā(brāḥ)maṇa-khe(kshē)tra-khandaḷakāṃ va[rja*]yītvā | Chaitrē māsi Mahāchaitrayāṁ vidhivata(vat) snātva bhagavantau Bhāskaṛ-Eśānā
d

23 v-abhyarchcha(rchya) tila-darbhō(rbbh-ō)dakṣa-pavitra-pūṇinā Chchēla-vinirṛgatā Usiyan-grāmiya-Sāvärṇaṇa-rṇya-sagōtrāya Bhāṛgava-Chyavana-Āpunaṇa-Aurver-Ya(Ja)-madagnī etē paṅcha
d

24 pravarāya Bhāṭṭa-ṣr[ī]-Yasādityāya Bhāṭṭa-Vaṭṭhō-sutāya Bhāṭṭa-Adavi-napṛtē tā mṛsāsānkrītya saṃpradattē-ṃśābhīḥ | bhavadbhir-anumantavyān nivāsibhiḥ cha ā-
d

25 jñā-śravaṇa-vidhēyibhūya yat kiṃcid-ṛṣa-pratvāy-ādikāṃ tad-asy-ōpanētyayān(vyam) | Samva(Saṇśva)t 1077 Chaitre-ṣūdi 14 Śukra-dīnō ēvaṁ(va)m-anēṇa vidhīnā grāma[ṃ]
d

26 datvā(ṛtvā) rāj-ēdam-abhiddhatē ||[4] || Va(Ba)bhubhīr-vvasuddhā(dhā) dattē rājābhi(hu) Sagar-ādvibhiḥ ||[4] yasya yasya ja(ya)da bhūmi[ṃ]*-tasya taṁ(ta)sya tadā phala[m*] || [12*] Bhūmiyaṃ[ṃ] pratigrihīnā(ḥū)jātī yaśech bhū-
d

27 mi[ṃ*] prayaḥcchhati || u[j]bhau tāu pū(ṣ)hya-karmmāṇau niyatām svargga-gāminau || [13*] Shasāh[iḥ(ṣt[i ]])-varsha-sahasrā(ṣrā)ṇi mōdatē divi bhūmi[ṃ]* āchchhēttā ch-anumantā cha tāny-sva narakām
d

28 [vrajē]t || [14*] Saṁ[Saṁ]khaṁ bhadrāsanam chchha(chha)traṁ var-āśvō vara-kuṇjāra-
ramaḥ | bhūmi-dānaṃa chihānā phalam-ṛttata Pranandā || [15*] Sva-datāṁ(ṛttāṁ) para-da[ṛtt]uvaḥ y o hara(rē)ja vasundhārān(rām ) sa vi-
d

29 sēṭhāyaṃ kṣirim-bhu(hū)ttvē pīṭibrī[ṃ]* saha pachyaḥ || [16*] Gām-evēkāṃ suvarṇpam-
ēkāṃ bhūmēr-apy-[e]kāṃ-aṅgulam(lam) ] haraṁ(ran) narakam-āyāti jā(yā)vad-āhūtā-
samplavaḥ(vam) || [17*] Taṭṭṭa(tā)kāṇi saha
d

30 śrā[ṛṛa*]ṇi avamēdā-sa-[śa]tāṇi cha [[*] gavaṁ kōṭi-pradāñēṇa Bhūmi-harttā na suddha-
(dhya)ti || [18*] Phalatkiṣṭhā mahāṃ datvā(ṛtvā) sa-vi(bi)jja(jāṁ) sasya-mālinīṃ[*] yāvat-sūrya-kṛṣṭi(tā)lokaḥ tāva-
d

31 t svargge mahiyatē || [19*]d

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1 Sannāḥ has not been observed here.
2 Read "dōga-śi".
3 The form of this personal name is not grammatically correct.
4 There is a symbol of two concentric circles between the double ḍandas.
5 Read Bhūmīyaṃ yāḥ.
6 Read "at Pranandārā.
7 Read datāṁ u.
8 Read Pādi-krīṣhām.
9 This small line begins after leaving the space for about four akṣaras.
Reverse

32 Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vindu-lōlām śiśyam-anuchinta(ntyá) manusha(shya)-jīvitām [cha*] | sakalam-idam-udāḥṣitaṁcha vu(bu)ddhā(ddhvā) na hi purushaḥ para-kṛttayō vilōpyāḥ || [20*]

33 [Ā]dityā Varuṇā Vishṇu Vrahmā1 Sōmā Hūṣa(sa)nā(nah) | Śūlapāṇi=a-cha bhagavān-anvabhi=ṇandanti bhūmidah(dam) || [21*]

B. Grant of Vikrama 1083

This single plate measures about 15½ inches in breadth and 14½ inches in height. There is a projection at the top, about 2½ inches high and 5½ inches broad. The upper part of the projection and the four corners of the plate are rounded. The figure of the Boar incarnation of Vishṇu, engraved on the projection, was meant to serve the purpose of the proper seal. The figure is of a boar-faced human form, having a crown and other ornaments and standing to right in the pratādiśa pose with the left elbow raised upwards.

There are 31 lines of writing in all on one side of the plate. In regard to palaeography, language and orthography, this inscription closely resembles A edited above. But lines 1-21 are more efficiently engraved than lines 22-31, the first part containing fewer orthographical errors than the latter part. Of the 11 stanzas of the introductory section, verses 3-11 have their respective numbers engraved after each of them. The ten imprecatory and benedictory stanzas at the end of the inscription are, however, not similarly numbered. The date of the record is quoted in lines 23-24 as Sārvat 1083, Chaitra-śudi 13, Saturday. If the year is regarded as current (Kārttikādi), the date would correspond to the 2nd April 1026 A.D.

The beginning of the inscription is similar to that of A. The 11 stanzas, occupying lines 1-11, have already been discussed in connection with A (lines 1-15). The following section in prose referring to the donor is also the same as in A; but the list of subordinates addressed by the king and that of the donee’s privileges, though similar to each other, are not exactly the same and the last land in the present case is Yamaṇipṛada-grāma situated in Dvichatvārīṁśatīkā-vishaya of Dardachandaṇḍa-mañḍala. The name of the vishaya is merely a Sanskritized form of that of the Vyāsī sub-district known from A; but, as already indicated above, the two do not appear to be identical since they were situated in different maṇḍalas or districts. Like the list of subordinates and the donee’s privileges, other details in lines 17-22 are similar to those in A. But the donee’s name is left out, though his pravaraś are enumerated as Bhārgava, Chyavana, Āpnuvāna, Jamadagni and Auvra without mentioning the name of the gotra which was apparently Sāvarṇya as in the case of the donee of A edited above. A few other details found in A are also similarly left out in this inscription. In this section, we have paṭṭi-li-tāṃrāśāsanikṛitya instead of tā rosāsanikṛitya in A and other records. As we have suggested elsewhere, the word paṭṭi means ‘a deed of purchase’. The nature of the present record thus seems to have been different from that of A.

But the most important feature of the record under study is the absence of the donee’s name. It is of course tempting to suggest that this was due to a mistake of the scribe or engraver.

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1 Read “ṣaṁcāḥ Brahmā.
2 Read “vṛṇ-abbhi”.
3 Cf. JAS, Vol. XX, p. 205. Cf. Tamil paṭṭalai in the same sense.
It is, however, interesting to note that there is the following endorsement at the end of the record in the last line (line 31): "etch=chhāsanam=uddēśa-mātrai-īti, "This grant is merely an illustration." This suggests that the present plate was not actually issued in favour of a donee, but was merely kept in the record office of the king as a sample draft for being consulted by the scribes to prepare similar other documents. The mention of the pravaras seems, however, to indicate that the original intention was to issue it in favour of a donee belonging to the Sāvārya gōtra, though it was discarded owing to mistakes creeping in the text.

The geographical names mentioned in the record are: (1) Yamaṇiṇḍa-grāma, (2) Dvīchvatārīṃśatīkā-viṣaya, and (3) Dardachāṅḍikā-maṇḍala. I am not sure about their location.

TEXT

1 Siddham² ō namāḥ(mah) [][*] Sūry-ānvayē prakāṭa-vikrama-bhūnir-āṣī(si)d=bhūpāla-mauli (li)=iha bhīpatir-ādibhūtāḥ | lī-lāyāo Ma[la]*yakētur=atulya-dhāmā sarṿ-ādbhut-aikāvasatir=jjagati prasiddhih(ddhah) || [1*] Tad-vansa(vaṃśa)jaṅha=kra-

2 ma-paramparayā pratāpō(pī) bhūpō vabh[u]vi² dāna-jala-pravāhāḥ | Hēḷāvarāha iha sāhasa-vāsă-bhūmireyat-kīrttayaas=tribhuvanāni pavitrayanī || [2*] Dhairyamā kārya-vidhāsum [yasya*] vilasatśau[t-sau]nda-

3 ryanvi(m=ō)ṇidīśāṇ(āṇi) gāmbhiryana=naya-mantra⁴-guptishu girām=audāryam=īry-ōchitaṁ-(tam) | tyāgō yasya cha mārggaṇapēhu vinayō vidvatsu kīrttir=ddisāṁ(āṇi) yasyāyāṁ charitārdhatām-upagataḥ sarvō guṇā-

4 nā[tu] gaṇaḥ || 3 || Hēḷā-nirjīta-vairi-kuṇjara-ghaṭaḥ sau(sau)īrya-va(ḥa)ddh-ādaraḥ |² shādgyuny-ōdadih-vu(bu)ddhi-mañthana-bhava-[śri]-ratna-lavdhō(bdh-ū)dayaḥ | kriñḍā nirbhara-bhavya-vārārama-

5 nī-līḷā-vilās-lāyō bhūpāḥ kiṁ=cha vichintya yasya charitaṁ rājyēṣu lajanty=amī || 4 || Bhūtō bhūmī-bhujāṃvi(jaṁ vi)bhūṣhaṇa-maṇiḥ putrō dharitripatis=tasya-ōddanda-bhūja-pratā-


7 nda-krīt-ōtava-rata² praudha-pratāp-ōditaḥ sad-vaidagdhya-vadhū-patirvru(r=bhu)ddha- jana-prāravdh(aḥ)da-gōṣṭhī-rataḥ | kāvy-āmbhōja-ras-ōpalambha-madhupō gambhirā- (ṛ)m-āmbōnidhir=yas=a-yā-

8 miṇ vi)rataḥ=kal-ānukaraṇē kṣiṇ-ōpasakī⁴ janaḥ || 6 || Tisṭhantī sma nivṛti(yṛ)tya sarva-jagatō dōśa-saṃsā-siṣ(śi)-sa(āṇi)kāyā pīṃḍiḥbhūya sad-aiva visaya-bhuvās-trāṇāya yasmi-

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1 From impressions.
2 Expressed by symbol.
3 Read bhīhūm bhūvi.
4 A read sortsma.
5 The daṇḍa is unnecessary.
6 Read "kṣiti" in A.
7 A has "ōch, pratidinaṁ. The intended reading in B may be "īṣau=vānavara".
8 Read "kaktir".
9 n=gunāḥ | yasyāṣīt=param=atra1 dūṣhāṇa-kaṇḍaḥ sarvvasya nishkarṣṣaḥ hrit-sarvvasau-(sva)n=ājharat=kila yasō(tō) dig-yōṣhitamvas'[n va]llabhau(bham) || 7 || Sādhāṇi nishṭha-(aḥthu)ratayā

10 kumudānā gandhāt(ndhād) dvīdhaṁ raṣēṇa madhura-dhvanibhis=cha hansā(hamsāḥ) j[fi]jātāḥ kathārīchid=āh yaṣya yaṣaḥ(śaḥ)-samudra-sa[m]p[l]āvīte jagati śitarūcīr= mṛgāṅgāt(nīkāt) || 8 || Śunus=ta-

11 sya narōntra(ndra) ēṣa vijayat chantrā(ndr-ā)naṇā(ṇo) bhū[ta*]lā dha[r*]jmah sampratī yaṣya kirtī-latikā vraptah(brahmā)pḍam=ārō[ha*]jīti | yēn=ākāṇḍam=akhaṇḍa-dhairya-gurunā laṅdhā(bdh-ā)bhīṣaka-kriyā-

12 mātreṣ=āva cha vikramēṇa vijītā yuddhā-āṅgaṇā vairiṇā || 9 || Tyāgēn=āva na varṇānā vijayatē Karṇaṣya rūpa-āryīnā n=Ānāṅgasya na saṁgarēhu ja-

13 yināḥ sau(ṇa)ṛyēṇa śīṅghini(sinī)-patēḥ | gāmbhiryēṇa na sāgarasya vidūṣhām gōaḥṭhiṣu Vāchaspatīr-līlābhīr=nnā Purandarasya nripatēḥ ko=nyāḥ praṇa-

14 rṣa-kramāḥ || 10 || Yuddhā Kuśjaravareḥa ēṣa kīm=iti śru(ṛu)tv=āva nāma dvīhō magnāḥ kēchana pāda-paśkajā-tala-chochhāyā-nishāṇaḥ khaṅgat | n=aitach=ohitam=idad=ta yasya

15 charitaṁ nistriśa(striśa)-dhārā-jalē yan=majjanti kīyaty=api keśītapat[er]=mma[tta-dvi]-pānā[ya]ēh ghastāḥ || 11 || Sa paramabhāṣṭaṁca-mahārājaḥdhirā-paramēśvara-

16 śrīmat-Sauryādityādēvaḥ kusa(śa)lli | Darḍdachandaṇḍikā-маṇḍa[la-]pratīva(ba)ddha-Dvī- cēbatvārīṇīsa(ṛīṇīsa)ikā-veṣhay-āntāḥpāti(tī) Yaṁapīṇḍa-戛rapidah | samuppa'ga-

17 t-sēṣha-rājapu)rushān rāḍaka-ṭhakṣur-āmāṭya-purōhitā-mahāśa(ṇdi)vaigrāhika-mahā- pratīthāramahā-kṣaṭpalīka-mahāsādhana-mahā-

18 plūpati-mahāṣeṇāpati-mahākatakādhyakṣa-dushtasādhyaśādhanika-da(dū)ḍika-dandipā-[śīka]4, sanika5- gaulmika-gāmāgikā-dūtasamto(mprē)ṣhanika-ta-

19 lavargik-āṅgarakṣhaka-chāta-bhata-prabhāyatīn yathā-sthāṇa-niy[u]k[t]-rāja-pā[d-ō]pajvī-[no] [rā]japurūṣhān | yathārham mañayati vō(bō)dhayati | ādiṁ-

1 A has paramamatu.
2 Read dvīpānām.
3 Read grāma-samanopāt.
4 Read dandaṭṭhikā.
5 Read sūlṭika.
6 Read prābhīrīṣa.
7 This danda and some others in the following section are superfluous.
COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM BIHAR

20 ti viditam astu bhavatān | yathā grāmam yatān sa-jala-sthala[h] atmā-paryantaḥ | s-āmra-madhūkāḥ | sa-gartā-śeṣaṁaḥ | sa-nidhi-nidhanāḥ | sa-jana-dhanāḥ | sa(au)-palli-

21 k-śpētaḥ | sukriṁtaḥ | mātā-pitrō-tātmanaḥ cha punya-yasō-bhivriddhayē | ohandr-ārkka-kēhiti-kālaṁ yāvat | pūrva-bhujaṁana-dēva-Vṛā(Bṛā)hmana-

22 kāhētra-khaṇḍalāṁ vīhāraḥ | gōtrāya Bhārgava-Cha(Cha)ya-vana[A]-āpnumā(yā)na-Ya(Ja)-madagui[A]-Aurvva-pravara(rā)yā paṭhō(ṭṭhō)litāmvr(a)śāsanikritya pradattō-śāmbhir- mma-

23 [tvā] bhavadbhīr-anana(nu)mantavyaṁ(vyam) | nīvāśiḥbiḥ-śc-ājījā-āravana-vidhōyibhūya yata(yat) kiṁchit rāja-pratyāda-ādikāṁ tad-asy-ōpāna(nu)tavan(vyam) | Samvat[४] 1083

24 Chaitra-āudī 13 Sa(Śa)nau | ēvaṁ āsminā vidhiṁ śramam-ēma[m] datvā(uttvā) rāj- ēdam-abhidhātā | Va(Ba)hubhi[r]tvāvvasudhā da[t]tā rājabhiḥ Saganā(r-ā)dibhiḥ | yasya yasya ya-


26 mōdātē dīvi bhūmīdaḥ | āchchhēttō(ṭṭhō) chā[nu]mantē cha tāṇy-ēva naraka[m] vṛal[ī]vē [14*] Saṁ(Śaṁ[kh]a[m] bhadrāsanaṁ chohha(cha)traṇaṁ vana(r-ā)vō vara-kun(u)jāraḥ | bhūmi-dānasya chihō(nā)ni phalāṁ sva-

27 rggas-tathā-siva cha | [15*] Bhūmin ya[ḥ] pratişrihṇātī ma(ya)ḥ-cha bhūmin thā-(pra)yachchhati [*] dra(u)bhau tau punya-karmānau [15*] mimāta[m] svargga-gāminau | [16*] Sva-dattā[ūn] para-dattātvā(ṭṭhō) vā

28 yō harēdvasundhāra[18*] [s] [sva]-pi(vi)ahāayān kr̥imīr-bhūtvā pitriḥbiḥ saha pachyate | [17*] Shashṭi-vara-sahasra[erā]ni ashāji-vraja-satām cha | gavūnā kōṭi-[pra]dānēna bhūmi-ha-

29 rtā na śūdhyati || [18*] Pha(Pha)-kriṣṭān mahāṁ dadvṛty(duṭṭti) sa-vi(bi)jam śarya-m[a]l[i]n[I]m * yāvata śuryakritō lōkastārata ārgga [11*] mahīyate || [19*] Iti kamala-dattā(l-ā)-

1 The following section is defective as the expected name of the donor is left out. The word left out before gōrya was Sāvarṇya.
2 Svadhi has not been observed here.
3 Read ōjāṭh.
4 Read Śravaṇa.
5 There is a symbol looking somewhat like an adorned of the Bengali type before the dānā.
6 Read dyāṭi.
7 The visarga-sign was first engraved, then penned through and afterwards endowed with a restoration mark.
8 The dānā is unnecessary.
9 Read niyataṁ.
10 Read karṇa naraḥārman.
11 Read yatvaśaśṛy[a]-kriṣṭa-ālākāḥ=Śravaṇa=svargya.
3. Grant of Bhulla, Vikrama 1381

This copper-plate grant was secured by Mr. S. V. Sohoni, Commissioner of the Patna Division, Bihar, and now lies in his possession. Mr. Sohoni kindly allowed me to take impressions of the inscription in August 1960. The plate is stated to have been secured from the village of Bagën under the Bihia Police Station of the Shahabad District of Bihar.

This is a single plate measuring about 13 inches in length and about 10½ inches in height. There is a small hole in the middle of the top margin of the plate. It was probably meant for hanging up the document from a nail in the wall. The corners of the plate are rounded off and there is no seal attached to it. There are 23 lines of writing only on one side of the plate, the last line being engraved vertically in the left margin. The engraving is neat and the writing is in a quite satisfactory state of preservation.

The characters of the record are Nāgari of about the fourteenth century A.D. The rare aksara jh occurs in line 3. B has been written by the sign of v. The language of the record is Sanskrit and it is written in verse with the exception of the siddham symbol and the word siddhi at the beginning and the date in figures, etc., quoted in the left margin. Orthographical errors are not too many. But y has been written for j in some cases according to the peculiarity of the pronunciation of initial y especially in the East Indian dialects and, as in many other records, final m has been wrongly changed to anustāra at the end of the halves of stanzas. kh has been written for dh under the influence of local pronunciation. There are again some cases of confusion between s and s.

The date of the epigraph is given in verse 9 as Sunday, the tenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Jyāśṭha in the Vikrama year counted by the words avani, naga, vahni and indu. Of these words avani, vahni and indu respectively mean 1, 3 and 1, while naga or 'mountain' normally means 7, although some later writers are known to have recognised the word also in the sense of 'eight'. Thus according to the vāma-gati principle, the year would be Vikrama 1371 or 1381. But the same date has been quoted in a prose passage incised on the left margin of the plate as Sama 1381 Jyāśṭha-śudhi 10 Raua. The Vikrama year was therefore really 1381 and not 1371.

The inscription begins with the siddham symbol followed by the maṅgaḷa : siddhi and a stanza (verse 1) in adoration of the god Hari. Verse 2 (lines 1-3) introduces a great warrior named Parāṇa who is stated to have belonged to Majhivāra (Majhivāra-śekhara-mana) and to the

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1 These dandas are superfluous.
2 Read buddha.
3 Read Vrahaḥm.-Brahmā.
4 Read ṛtak-cchāsaṇam-uddhita'.
5 Cf. Sewell, Eclipses of the Moon in India, p. 8.
Chērāvu race (Chēravu-vanaṅkā). The next stanza (verse 3 in lines 3-5) mentions Parāṇi's son Durlabha while verse 4 introduces the donor of the charter. This is king Bhilladēva who was the son of Durlabha and is described as the ruler (narapati) of Vihāpuri and as the receiver of favours from the Khalipha Mahamanda-sāhi. Bhilladēva is called Bhillēsvaṇa in verse 7 (line 10) and Bhūḷēśvaṇa in verse 19 (line 20), his actual name being Bhulla.

Thus Bhulla, who was the son of Durlabha and grandson of Parāṇi and belonged to Majhi-vāra and to the Chērāvu race, apparently owed allegiance to Khalipha Mahamanda-sāhi. The language of the record does not clearly indicate Bhulla's subordinate position, though it can be easily inferred from the otherwise inexplicable reference to the Muslim sovereign. The name Chērāvu is the same as Chērō and we know that chiefs belonging to the aboriginal tribes called Oran, Kharwar and Chērō flourished in the Shahabad-Palaman region during the medieval period. The reference to Mahamanda-sāhi, i.e. Muḥammad Shāh, and to his title Khalipha is very interesting. It appears that, by Khalipha Mahamanda-sāhi, the overlord of the Chērō ruler Bhulla, the contemporary Muslim Sultan of Delhi is meant. The designation Khalipha stands for Arabic Khalifa meaning 'the successor to sovereign power', the title being especially applied to the Prophet Muḥammad's successors who united the characters of the head of the State and of the Muḥammadan religion, while many of the Sultāns of Delhi are described as Khalifas in the legends on their coins as well as in the inscriptions of their times. Muḥammad Shāh, mentioned in our inscription, appears to be none other than Sultan Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh of the Tughluq dynasty of Delhi, whose reign period is generally assigned to the period 1325-51 A.D. It should be pointed out that Sultan Muḥammad is believed to have ascended the throne in February or March 1325 A.D., while our inscription bears the date: 3rd June 1324 A.D., suggesting that the Sultan actually ascended the throne before the middle of 1324 A.D., that is to say, more than six months earlier.

Verses 5-9 of our record speak of the donee of the grant and the donation he received from king Bhulla, the donor of the charter. Verse 5 mentions Vidyādhara belonging to the race of learned Brāhmaṇas (śrētiya) of Manerimagara, his family being known as Gaṇḍasvāmi-kula (i.e., the lineage of which the progenitor was Gaṇḍasvāmin). As we shall see below, this Brāhmaṇa family belonged to the Śāndilya gotra. Vidyādhara's son Chulheśvara is mentioned in verse 6 (lines 8-9) and the next stanza (lines 9-10) speaks of Saganē (or Gunē), the son of Chulheśvara and the donee of the charter. It is stated that Saganē obtained the post of Sīnāpatai and satisfied his master Chulheśvara by his services. From verse 8 we learn that Saganē was devoted both to the goddess Śīvā (i.e., Pārvati, wife of Śiva) and Kēśāva (i.e., Viṣṇu-Kṛishṇa) while verse 9 states that Bhulladēva dedicated the village of Vagēndi in favour of the said Saganē belonging to the Śāndilya gotra. Either the village was situated on the bank of the Ganges or the donor made the grant while he was standing or camping on the river bank.

1 Cf. above, Vol. IV, p. 311, note 10; Vol. XXXIV, p. 26, note 2. According to tradition, the Chērōs, who now work as cooks and wood-cutters and are reputed for being 'one of the hardest drinking castes', had formerly their own kings having one of their capitals at Bihaś. This place is said to have been occupied by the Rajputs settled at Manjha on the Ghogra in the Saran District, who subdued the Chērōs in a struggle lasting for several centuries. The names of some Chērō rulers are known from traditions. Muslim historians mention a Chērō king named Maharta whose activities closed the road from Bihar to Bengal and whom Shēr Shāh subdued with great difficulty. See Gazetteer of the Shahabad District, pp. 19, 21, 162, 160-67, 169-70.

2 Camb. Hist. Ind., Vol. III, p. 133. The year of his accession is given as A.H. 725 (from the 18th December 1324 A. D. to the 8th December 1325 A. D.). He is believed to have ascended the throne on his father's death about the beginning of that year. This is because the Bāthpāgh (Damoh District, Madhya Pradesh) inscription, now preserved in the Nagpur Museum and noticed in Hirat's Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar, 1932, p. 59 (No. 106), and A. R. Ep., 1932-33, pp. 19, 88 (No. 69), is reported to refer to the Hijri year 725 to the reign of Ghyāthuddin Tughluq Shāh, father of Muḥammad. See Ep. Ind.—A. P. Suppl., 1935-36, pp. 70, 112.
The above account is followed in lines 14-20 by some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas (verses 10-18). Verse 19 (lines 20-21) contains Bhūlēśa's prayer to other kings not to resume the grant made by him.

Verse 20 (lines 21-22) states that the grant was approved by (cf. anumāntri) Jáuṇa who was the chief scribe (kaṃṭha-pratīra) and the other sāchīvas (officers or ministers). It is difficult to say whether Jáuṇa was an officer of Bhulla or he was Muhammad Shāh's viceroy of the Shahabad region. But the facts that there are cases of a grant being anumāta by one of the donor's subordinates and that the second half of the verse speaks of the composition of the praśasti (i.e. the document under study), by a Brāhmaṇa poet named Dhyāna, who was probably the court Pandit of Bhulla, may suggest that Jáuṇa was one of Bhulla's officers. Verse 21 (line 22) says that the copper-plate grant (tāmraśāsana-pattāka) was written by Dhānū who was endowed with the qualities of the scribe (Kāyaśṭha-guṇa-saṃpanna). It appears that Dhānū had the qualifications of a scribe but did not belong to the Kāyaśṭha community and that he merely wrote the letters on the plate for facilitating the work of the engraver.

The geographical names mentioned in the epigraph are: (1) Vihīpūrī, the capital of the Chērō ruler Bhulla; (2) the village of Vagēndi granted by him in favour of his Brāhmaṇa general Saguṇē; (3) the river Ganges on the bank of which Vagēndi was situated or the donor was standing or camping while making the grant; and (4) Maṅērinagara whence the donee's family hailed. Of the above names, Maṅēr is no doubt modern Maner in the Dinapur Sub-Division of the Patna District while Vihī is the same as Bihiyā, a railway station in the Shahabad District a few miles to the west of Arah, the headquarters of the District. Vagēndi is modern Bagēn, the findspot of the charter. Majhivārā, mentioned in verse 2 (line 3) probably as the original home of Bhulla's family, may be modern Chandauli-Majhiwar, a railway station near Mogalsarai, in the Bhabua Sub-Division of the Shahabad District.

TEXT:

[Metres: Verse 1 Āryā; verses 2-5, 7-9 Śārdūlavikrīḍita; verses 6, 10-19, 21 Amushtub; verse 20 Upajāti.]

1 Siddhām3[[[1]]] siddhiḥ || Āliṅgita-Jaladhihbuvaḥ ruchir-ādhara-pāna-bhāvanā-rasikaṁ(kam) || vikasita-mukulitamaṇḍa-prahāsa-nayanana Hārinā vairīde || [1*] Virās-Čhēravu-  
2 varisā—bhūṣaṇatayā lavdhā(bdh-ū)ṭirēkāh purā || tikhyātā dharaṇītaḥ śrīpa-kul-ōtsāḍa-āpta-sau(śau)ry-ōdayāḥ ||[l] tan-mukhyāyo jvalan-ārka-duḥsahata-  
3 rah śastra-śikṣha-guruvirō= bhūn—Majhivārā—sēkha-raṇū-maṇiṣi-nāmā Parāv mataḥ || [2*] Tasmād—iṇḍur—iv—ōdadhēḥ paripatana-nārā-  
4 cha-chakra-kshata-kṣāpa-kṣatriya-gōtra-putra-nivahāḥ kṣhām—durlabhō Durillabhāḥ ||  
udbhūt-ōjva(jjva)la-kirtti—maṇḍita-mahiṣ-prishtho garishtho guṇair=ddān-ā.  
5 narāntar-vainī-vrinda-dharapīdēvāḥ prabhāv-ōjva(jjva)laḥ || [3*] Tat-sūnu-vVihiśpurī—  
narapatīḥ śrīmāṇ yaśō—bhūṣhaṇo bhagu-ānēka-nārēśa-rakhaṇa—parō

1 Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, p. 191.
2 From impressions.
3 Expressed by symbol.
4 An unnecessary anuvātra above bhā is deleted by the engraver.
5 This danda is unnecessary.
6 The danda is engraved above the line.
COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM BIHAR—PLATE IV

3. Grant of Bhulla, Vikrama 1381

Size: Three-fifths
6 ya(ja)jñē prataṇ-āvadhiḥ | yēn-āptō Mahamārindasāhī-śrī Bhulladēvāḥ
daatāḥ prasaḍāḥ paraḥ sau(sau)ry-āvajitā-bhūmipāla-nichayaḥ
7 sudhiḥ || [1*] Gāniḍavasāni-kulē mahā-makha-yuktaḥ(jus-haḥ) sach-chhroṭriyā yaj(ja)jñē
s-āchārā dvija-ehaṇ-sahāstra(sra)-sahitāḥ satya-vratāḥ sādhvaḥ | yat-samsargga-va-
8 śān=Manerinagaraham satsa(ch-chh)sa-ranaiḥ pāvanaṁ jātanā tat-kula-bhūshaṇaḥ sama-
havād-Vidyāhārō dharmma-dhiḥ || [5*] Tasmād-añjana dharmam-ātmā śrīmarch-Chu-
līhēśvā.-
9 raḥ kriṇaḥ mahāva(ba)lo dayā-dāna-dākshīny-āchārā-bhūshaṇaḥ || [6*] Tat-pudro dvija-
karma-dharmma-nirataḥ śūraḥ sukhi sajanā duoṭā śrī-pada-bhūshito-sti Śa-
10 guṇē-śāmī prasiddhiḥ kshithāḥ | sūṇapatiyam-avāpya yēnā sudhiyā kāryēśhu main-
trēśhu cha prauḍhīḥ sañjira-mastaṛk-śu mehitā Bhullēśvara-pritāye || [7*] Yē-
11 n-ājastra(sra)-Śivā-pad-āvja(bja)m-āmaṇaṁ saṁśāvyate sādaraṁ yach-cittaṁ mudam=
ēti Kēśava-kathē-pūjā-stutau nityāśaḥ | Yat-kuṇḍiśhū-samāna-kāṇṭi-yaśaṣa
12 stūmēna dig-bhīttaṁ dhaṭāṁ<ś-tasya mahatva(ttv)a=uttana-guṇaṁ kaś=ch-āsti vaktuṁ kohamaḥ || [8*] Ėtmasai sa hi Bhulladēva-nirātīḥ Šā(Śā)nīlīja-gōtramā cha grā-
13 maṁ grāma-guṇ-āśrayaṁ samuchitam nāṁma Vagēṃḍīti tam(tam) | varṣē Viṃkrama-
bhūḥbrajō-vanī-nagair=vvahn-indubhīḥ saṁyute Bhānau Jyēśṭhaśī(śi)tān=
tathāpya daśa
14 mīm Garīṅga-tatē dattaṁ śaṇa(vanān) || [9*] Bhūmīṁ yaḥ pratigṛhaṁ(hṛti) bhūmiṁ yaṁ=cha
prayachehhati | ubhau tu puṇya-karmmaṇaṁ nityaṁ svarga-gāmīnau || [10*] Va(Ba)-
hubhīḥ prthihi
15 vi datṭē rājabhīḥ Sagar-ādibhīḥ | yaaya yasya yadā bhūmiṁ=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) ||
[11*] Sva-dattaṁ para-dattaṁ vā yō harēdv a(ta)va=umdhūraṁ(rām) | sa visētha-
āṃ kri
16 mir=bhītvā pīṭṭibhīḥ saha pachyatē || [12*] Śaṅkhaṁ bhadrēśa(sa)nāṁ chheha(chha)-
traṁ var-āśva vara-vāraṇaḥ | bhūmī-danṣaya chihnaṁ phalam=ēt-tat-Purūndara || [13*] Hira-
17 nya-maṇi-muktāṇi vastraṇaḥ=ḥbhaṇaṇi cha | tēna sarvvaṁ=idan-dattaṁ yēna datta
vasu[m]*dhāraṁ || [14*] Suvarṇam= ḍakaṁ(gōṁ) gōṁ=ēkāṁ bhūmīṣ=apy=arddhaṁ=amgulaṁ-
(lam) | hara-
18 n=naṇakam=apōṭī yāvad=āhūta-saṁplavāṁ(vam) || [15*] Taḍāgānaṁ sahaśṛṣṭi=pa
aśvamēḍha-śatēna cha | gavāṁ koṭi-pradānēna bhūmi-hartē na sudhyati || [16*] Sha-

1 Or Sa Gunē.
2 A visarga sign with a cancellation mark was engraved here in order to cover a little space at the end of the line.
3 Sandhi has not been observed here.
19 śhti(shṭi)-varsha-sahastṛṇi svarggē vasati bhūmidaḥ | āchchhēttā ch-anumantā cha-tāny-eva
    narakē vasēta(sēt) || [17*] Vāri-hinēshv-aranēshv śushka-kōṭara-vā-

20 śinaḥ [*] krishṇasarppāḥ praṇāyantē dēva-vra(bra)hma-sva-hāraṁaḥ || [18*] Iti matvā na
    hārttavyā dviva-bhūmiḥ=nnarādhipāḥ | Bhūllēśō yāchatē rājā

21 kriṭvā sampuṣṭitau karau || [19*] Dān-anumantā karaṇa-pravīraḥ śrī-Jauṇa-sāṁjñāḥ śa(sa)-
    chivaḥ samētaḥ | praśastim-ētasya chakāra vipraḥ śrī-Dhyāna-nā-

22 mā sukaviḥ suṣīlah || [20*] Śrīmāṇa(māṇ) Dhānū līkhiḥ=ćdaṁ tāmra-sāsana1-paṭṭakam(kam) |
    Kāyastha2-guṇa-sāmpanniḥ vra(bra)hmaṇyaḥ sat-suvatsalaḥ || [21*] śubham=astu [*]

23 2Siddham1 ||[***] Sarī 1381 Jyaṣṭhā-sūdi 10 Ravaṇu ||

1 Read śāsana.
2 We may also read Kāyastha (śīh) and suggest that Dhānū belonged to the Kāyastha Community.
3 This is a vertically written line engraved in the left margin.
4 Expressed by symbol.
No. 18—PENUGONDA PLATES OF HASTIVARMAN

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 22.7.1960)

This inscription is engraved on a set of five plates, discovered at the village of Penugonda in the West Godavari District, Andhra Pradesh. It was secured by the late Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao of Rajahmundry, who sent it for examination to the office of the Government Epigraphist for India in February 1953. The inscription was noticed in the Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, 1952-53, as No. A 14.

The plates, which are thin, measure each about 9 inches in length and 1½ inches in height. They are held together by a ring (3 inch in thickness) passing through a hole (5 inch in diameter) in the left margin of the plates. The ring had not been cut when the inscription reached the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. The second, third and fourth plates bear their respective numbers in the left margin on the obverse. The joint of the ring is soldered to an elliptical seal which bears the figure of an animal facing proper right and a legend, both very much obliterated. The animal seems to be a bull and the legend apparently contained the name of the donor of the charter, viz., king Hastivarman, although, of the five aksharas in which it was written (probably śri-Hastivarmanā), only the two at the beginning can be read as śri-Ha. The first and fifth plates are written on the inner side while the other plates have writing on both the sides. The weight of the five plates together is 54 tolas and that of the ring with the seal 2½ tolas.

Excepting the second side of the fourth plate and the inner side of the fifth, which have each three lines of writing, the other inscribed faces of the plates have only two lines each. Thus there are altogether eighteen lines of writing in the whole inscription. Individual letters, excluding a, r, etc., as also the conjuncts and the consonants endowed with vowel marks, are generally a little less than half an inch in height.

The palaeography of the inscription under study generally resembles that of such records of about the middle of the fourth century A.D. as the Kānukollu (Krishna District, Andhra Pradesh) plates1 of the Śalākiṭṣyana king Nandivarman I and there are some expressions common to both the records, though the language and orthography of the present epigraph may suggest a date slightly later than that of the Kānukollu plates. As regards palaeography, the inscription uses the initial vowels a (lines 3, 5, 10, 17 and 18), ā (line 12) and e (line 6) as well as symbols for the numbers 2, 3 and 4. The mark of punctuation is indicated by a small vertical stroke in line 13 (cf. the somewhat bigger marks in the double danda in line 14) and by a small curved stroke opening towards the right in line 16.

As regards language, it may be pointed out that, while the Kānukollu plates are written partly in Prakrit and partly in Sanskrit, our epigraph is couched in Prakrit, Sanskrit and an admixture of both the languages. The Prakrit used in both these records is what may be called the

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1 Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 1 ff. and Plates. See also the Dhīrākṣāṭura grant (below, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 1 ff.).
2 Macron over ē and o has not been used in this article.
later inscriptional Prakrit characterised by the reduplication of consonants.\(^1\) But, while Sanskrit is used in the Kānuḷḷu plates only in the imprecatory and benedictory section containing a few stanzas at the end of the charter, our inscription not only has the corresponding section in Sanskrit verse but uses Sanskrit words elsewhere in the Prakrit section as well. By way of illustration, we may refer to the two expressions in the passage dhām-āyu-bala-vivaddhan-athām sarvāyanārthaḥ-cha in line 4, in which the first expression is in Prakrit and the second in Sanskrit. In nānā-gotra-charaya-tapa-sajjāya-homa-trata-niyama-rātānam in lines 6-7, gotra and trata are typical Sanskrit words in an otherwise Prakrit compound expression, while, in the passage yajama-yājan-ādhyaṇā-āḍhyaṇa-dāna-pratīgra-haṁ-satkarma-nirādānam in lines 9-10, nirada (Sanskrit nirata) is a typical Prakrit word in a Sanskrit compound. It will be seen that ta and ḍhyā of Sanskrit have been retained in rata and addhyāna-āṭhyaṇa respectively but have been modified respectively in nirada (Sanskrit nirata) and sajja (Sanskrit śāḍhyā). The above quotations will show that the influence of Sanskrit in the language and orthography of our epigraphy is more pronounced than on the language of records of the type of the Kānuḷḷu plates. The language of the present inscription thus represents the final stage of Prakrit in South Indian epigraphy before its complete supersession by Sanskrit about the close of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century A.D. Our inscription may be assigned to the latter half of the fourth century on the grounds of palaeography, language and orthography.

A few other points regarding the orthography and language of the inscription may also be mentioned here. Both y and n have been indiscriminately used in the inscription, and th has been reduplicated in conjunction with y in addhyāna-āḍhyaṇa in line 9. For what look like shashti in line 17 and guṇḍita in line 2, kshaṭi and guṇḍita (for Sanskrit guṇḍhita) were really intended, the second of the two words exhibiting the Dravidian tendency to non-aspiration. In caśa (Sanskrit vachanena) in line 3 and caśa (Sanskrit pravachana) in line 8, cha has been changed to ya by the process of the elision of the consonant and the substitution of the remaining a by ya. The letter k has been similarly changed to y in adhamiṣṭha (Sanskrit adhamiṣṭha) in line 13. But niradānām in line 10 exhibits the modification of a surd (t) to sonant (d). In ppaṃha (Sanskrit pramukha) in lines 5-6 and s-a-mukhā (Sanskrit sva-mukhā) in line 14, kh has been changed to h and, in pañcara (Sanskrit parivartha) in line 12, th has been modified to dh. The words niroga and chhandavichita (line 8) have been used in the senses of the medical and metrical sciences respectively.

The inscription is dated in the regnal reckoning of the donor. Unfortunately the word indicating the year of his reign in line 13 is rubbed off, though from the traces of the letters on the impressions it can probably be restored as dva, i.e. 2. The other details of the date are: the eighth of the dark fortnight of the month of Yveshtha (kāl-āṭhamiṣṭha-Sanskrit kālāśṭamikā-yām), Bhadrapada-nakshatra. Whether the nakshatra was Pūrva or Utara Bhadrapada is not specified in the record though the position of the nakshatra shows that the month was amānta. It is interesting to note that, even though the charter was issued probably in the king's second regnal year, he was then a hundred years old (cf. viva-sat-āyuka-Sanskrit varsha-kāt-āyushka in line 2). The circumstances leading to his accession to the throne at such an advanced age cannot, of course, be determined without further light on the subject.

The inscription begins with the stiddham symbol followed by the mention of the victorious [city of] Jayapura whence the charter was issued. Lines 1-3 state that it was issued in the words of Mahārāja Hastivarman who was a hundred years old and was devoted to Bhoçast Nārāyaṇa, while lines 3-6 show that the king's order in respect of the grant was addressed to the villagers

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\(^{1}\) Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 170-71.
(pāma-Sanskrit grāma, literally 'a village', used here in the sense of grāmeyaka) of Mulukul in the dāra (district) of Kāntra, headed by their muḍuḍa (muḍuḍa, no doubt meaning 'the village headman'), and that the grant was made for the increase of the virtue (dharma), longevity and strength of the king, for his passage to heaven (svar-nayana) and for his attainment of religious merit. The donees of the grant, described in lines 6-10, were sixty Brāhmaṇas whose names are not enumerated. They are, however, stated to have belonged to various gotras and charanās and to have been engaged in penance (tapas), recitation of sacred texts (svādhīśāya), offering of oblations to gods (homa), observance of vows (vrata) and religious austerities (niyama) as well as in the six duties enjoined on a Brāhmaṇa (śrāv-karman), viz. yajana (offering sacrifices), yajana (conducting sacrifices), adhyāyana (study), adhyāpana (teaching), dāna (charity) and uttigraha (receipt of gifts) and were also experts in the veda, vedāṅga, ṛikhā (tradition), purāṇa, niyoga (medical science), chhando-vīchāra (metrics) and pravachanam (exposition). The concluding part of the sentence in lines 10-11 states that the grant of the village was made to the said Brāhmaṇas as dakhina for what is called prathama-kalyāṇa that they must have performed for the king. The word kalyāṇa here no doubt means a ceremony to bring health or prosperity to the king while the adjective prathama suggests that it was the first of a series which the king contemplated to perform. Unfortunately the exact nature of the ceremony cannot be determined. It is, however, interesting to note that, although the increase of the donor's longevity was one of the objects of the grant, another object was his passage to heaven. This latter, when considered along with the fact that the donor was a hundred years old at the time of making the grant, suggests that the charter was issued when the king was afraid of death in the near future. The prayer for longevity, however, precludes the possibility of the case being exactly similar to that recorded in the Rākṣashakāli (Sundarban) plate of Dommānapāla.¹

The residents and the headman of the gift village were ordered to exempt the village with the customary exemptions of obstacles for the sake of the dōrā probably meaning the god Nārāyaṇa to whom the king was devoted (lines 11-12) while the donees were expected to enjoy the gift permanently (lines 12-13). It is possible to think from the reference to the god in this connection that the god Nārāyaṇa was worshipped in a temple at Jayapura which the king visited on pilgrimage and that the kalyāṇa ceremony, on the occasion of which the grant was made, was performed in the said temple. It further suggests that many of the donees were associated with the temple of Nārāyaṇa at Jayapura.

The date of the charter, already discussed above, is quoted in lines 13-14 where it is also stated that the grant was executed under orders of the king himself (sa-muh-āvati-Sanskrit sa-mukh-āvapti). This is followed in lines 14-18 by two of the usual imprecatory and benefictory stanzas. The document ends with the mention of Anālīya (probably, a minister) Jayavāmin who appears to have been its writer.

The inscription does not offer any indication regarding the dynasty to which king Hastivarman belonged. But, about the time in question, the Śālākāyanas of Vēngi (modern Pedda-Vegi near Elkuru in the West Godavari District) are known to have been ruling over the region between the lower courses of the Krihpā and Godavari rivers and it is possible to think of the identification of our Hastivarman with one of the two known Hastivarmans of the Śālākāya family, viz. (1) Hastivarman I who was probably a contemporary of the Gupta emperor Samudragupta (c. 340-76 A.D.) and flourished about the middle of the fourth century A.D., and (2) Hastivarman II who was a son (probably the eldest son) of Nandivarman I (the donor of the Kānukollā plate

¹ See above, Vol. XXX, pp. 42 ff.
and the grandson of Hastivarman I and is known from the Kānukollu copper-
plate inscription of his own son Skandavarman, which is written in the Sanskrit language. Since
the language of our inscription, as indicated above, stands midway between that of the Kānukollu
Prakrit plates of Nandivarman I and the Sanskrit plate of Skandavarman from the same place,
it is probably better to identify our Hastivarman with Śilāṅkāyana Hastivarman II.

In this connection, it may be pointed out that the known Śilāṅkāyana charters are all issued
from the city of Vēṅgi which was the capital of the Śilāṅkāyana kings and that these rulers are
generally represented in their records specifically as Śilāṅkāyana and also as devoted to Bhagavat
Chitrarathasvāmin. As regards the mention of the kings as Śilāṅkāyana and the reference to the
god Chitrarathasvāmin, it may be pointed out that the Kānukollu copper-plate inscription of
Nandivarman I, one of the earliest known Śilāṅkāyana charters, does not contain any such refer-
ence. The said elements thus appear to have been popularised in the records of the family at
a later date. Their absence in a charter of one who appears to have been the immediate successor
of Nandivarman I is thus not unintelligible. As regards the issue of our grant from Jayapura
instead of Vēṅgi, it has to be noticed that the charter may not have been issued from the capital
of the donor, but, as indicated above, on the occasion of his pilgrimage to the temple of Nārāyaṇa
at Jayapura.

The geographical names mentioned in the inscription are [the city of] Jayapura, the
district of Kānira and [the village of] Mulukuli. I am not sure about the exact location of any of
them. Mulukuli, however, reminds us of Mulakalapalle in the Nugur Taluk in the East Godavari
District.

TEXT:

First Plate
1 Siddham [1] Vijaya-Jayapurā bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-charaṇ-āravinda-
2 raja-vagāṇḍita-,śirassa vāsa-sat-āyuksaṃ mahāraja-siri-

Second Plate, First Side

Second Plate, Second Side

3 Ḥattihavam̐ massa vayaṇena Kānira-āhāre appano6
4 dhāmm-āyu-bala-vivaddhān-ātthaṇi svar-uṇayan-ārtthaḥ-ṣa

5 amba-punn-āpāyaṇa-nimtte Mulukuli-muduṇḍa-ppamu-
6 hā(ho) gāmo bhāṅgītavvo [1] etaiṃ g[ā]maṅī nānā-gotra-charaṇa-

1 Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 7 ff.
2 From impressions.
3 Expressed by symbol.
4 The intended reading is gṛṇīta for Sanskrit γṛṇήθα.
5 This is incised in the left margin to the left of the ring hole.
6 This passage from appana here to nimitte in line 5 should properly be read in the next sentence: beginning
with etai in line 6.
7 The reading may be ambaḥ also.
8 The word gāme seems to have been omitted here through the oversight of the scribe or engraver.
Cf. mahāraja-siri-ṇamhavamāṇa tachārṇa Pidiha-gāme mudaṇḍa-ppamuṇa gāmo, etc., in lines 2-4 of the
Kānukollu plates of Nandivarman I.
Third Plate, First Side

7 tapa-sajjhaya-homa-vrata-miyama-ratvam vedava-vedang-eti-
8 hasa-purana-niroga-chhandovichita-pavaya-parnagam

Third Plate, Second Side

9 yajana-yajan-uddhyayan-uddhyapana-dana-pratigrahaha-sahika-
10 rmma-niradapaam saathi-Bamha-papam amhehi prathama-

Fourth Plate, First Side

11 kalyana-dakshina-imittte samapa-dattaam {[*]} tam devat-attha(tthe)ga
12 savva-badhapa-pariherehi pariharadha {[*]} a-chanda-tarakam

Fourth Plate, Second Side

14 sa-muh-agatti Bhadrapada-naksha[tre] sampadattaam || Bahubhir=vasu-
15 dhata bahubhi=ch=[an]upali[t]a {[*]}

Fifth Plate

16 yasya yasya yada [bhuma]sita tasya tada phalam {[*]}
17 Shashdi(shti)-varsha-saha[s]r[an]i svaggi(paths) modati [bh]umdaah {[*]} apahartaa ch-anum-

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-6) Let there be success! From the victorious Jayapura, the villagers of Mulukuli
in the Kaniya district, headed by (their) maruja, should be addressed in the (following) words of
the illustrious Maharatya Hastivarman who is one hundred years old and whose head is covered.

1 This is engraved in the left margin on a level a little above that of the ring hole.
2 Originally mha had been incised; but the a-mti was rubbed off.
3 This is engraved in the left margin to the left of the ring hole.
4 These two aksharas are badly rubbed off.
5 This akshara has been incised to the left of the ring hole.
6 The intended expression seems to be 'anatita.
7 The metre of this stanza and the following one is Anushvah.
8 Read apaharti=arunamtha or apahartaa ch-anumantal for the sake of the metre.
9 This line begins from below the middle of the previous line.
10 The word kllhatam seems to have been omitted for want of space at the end of the line.

11 DGA 60
with the pollens of the lotus that is the feet of Lord Nārāyaṇa: "For the increase of our virtue, longevity and strength and for our passage to heaven, (and also) for our attainment of religious merit,—

(Lines 6-11) this village is granted by us, as the dakṣiṇa of the first kalyāṇa (ceremony), to the sixty Brāhmaṇas (i.e. the priests who performed the ceremony) who belong to various gotras and clārivas; who are engaged in penance, recitation of sacred texts, offering of oblations to gods, observance of vows and religious austerities: who are experts in the vedas, vedānga, tradition (itiḥāsa), purāṇa, medical science (nirūga), metrical science (chhando, uchita) and the exposition of texts (pravachana); and who are (also) engaged in the six duties (of the Brāhmaṇas, such as) study, teaching, offering sacrifices, conducting sacrifices, charity and receipt of gifts.

(Lines 11-14) Exempt the said (village), for the god's (i.e. Nārāyaṇa's) sake, with all exemptions from obstacles. Let (the donors enjoy it) as long as the moon and stars endure. (It is given by orders from our own mouth) on the dark eighth (i.e. the eighth of the dark fortnight) of the month of Jyeshṭha when the nakshatra is Bhādrapada and the (regnal) years are (to be counted as) two.''

(Lines 14-18) (Two of the usual imprecatory and beneficent stanzas.)

(Line 18) (Written) by Amātya Jayasvāmin.
No. 19—GRANT OF KADAMBA MRIGESAVARMAN, YEAR 2

(1 Plate)

G. S. GAL OOTACUMUNDI

(Recorded on 26.2.1909)

A set of photographs of the copper-plate inscription, which is edited below, was obtained by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra for the office of the Government Epigraphist for India about the end of 1937. The plates were found somewhere in the old Mysore State: but I have no information as to their findspot and the circumstances leading to their discovery. The set consists of three plates each measuring about 5 6" long and 2 5" broad. There is a hole on the left margin of each plate for the ring to pass through and a seal, oval in shape and measuring about 1 3" by 1", is attached to the ring. The counter-sunk surface of the seal contains the figure of an animal which cannot be made out from the photograph. The weight of the set is not recorded.

The first and third plates are engraved on one side only while the second plate has writing on both sides. The first plate and the two sides of the second plate have each 4 lines of writing while the third plate contains 5 lines. Thus there are 17 lines of writing in all. The letters are boldly and deeply cut and the writing is very well preserved.

The characters are the box-headed variety of the Southern type and closely resemble those of the Halsi1 and the Devagiri2 plates of king Mrigèsavarman who issued the present charter. Of the initial vowels, a occurs in lines 6, 8 and 11 while u is found in line 16. Medial i is indicated by a curve inside the loop. Final m occurs in lines 1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 14 and 17. The language is Sanskrit, and except an imprecatory verse at the end, the text is in prose. Of grammatical interest is the rare use of the Paranomosada form placénti in lines 9 and 10. In respect of orthography, it may be observed that the consonant following r is doubled.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Vijaya-Śiva-Mrigèsavarman of the Kadamba dynasty and registers gifts of some lands made by him to the Brāhmaṇas Rudrāya and Nandyāya of the Bhrāgya āvesta. The king has the usual epithets found in his other grants and there can be no doubt about his identity with Mrigèsavarman, the eldest son and successor of Śanti-varman and the grandson of Kukusthavarman. He is also called parṇaγrahī in our record.

The chief interest of the inscription lies in its date which is given as the tenth day of the fourth fortnight of Hēmanta in the king’s second regnal year. This is the earliest inscription of Mrigèsavarman discovered so far. Till now the Devagiri2 plates of his third year were regarded as the earliest record. I have shown elsewhere3 that Mrigèsavarman may be referred to the period 450-75 A.D.

The gift consisted of two plots of land: one within the limits of the village Kogulipōguya which was situated in Antarmalaya-rājya; and the other, within the limits of Vulpallī and Pottara which were also apparently included in the same territorial unit. The extent of both the

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1 Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, pp. 24-25 and Plate.
3 Ibid., pp. 35-37.

(151)
fields was as far as the water would flow. Probably there was a stream or a rivulet in both the places and the land irrigated by the water of the stream was granted. The field is called pukkollī kshētra in both the places. The expression pukkollī occurs in some other grants of this period and though its exact significance is not known, I have suggested that it may mean a ‘kind of field’.\(^1\) This suggestion is strengthened by the present inscription where the context in which the expression pukkollī occurs shows that it is a kind of cultivable wet land.

Antarmalaya-rājya as well as Kōgulipōguyapalli, Vēllali and Pōttara, which were situated in it, cannot be identified.

**Text**

*First Plate*

1 Siddham\(^2\) || Vijaya-Vaijayantīyām(ntyām) Svāmi-mahāsēna-mātri-gaṇ-ā-
2 nuddhyāt-ābhishiktasya\(^4\) Mānava-sagōtrasya Hārīti-
3 purtrasya pratikrīta-charchchā-pārasya Kadambānām(nām)
4 dharmma-mahārājasya śrī-Vijaya-Śiva-Mrigēśavarmmanah

*Second Plate, First Side*

5 vijaya-vaijayikāḥ samvva(va)tsaraḥ dvitiyāḥ Hēmanta-pakshaḥ
6 chaturttah tithi-dasāmān anay-ānupūrvyā brāhmaṇābhyām
7 Bhārgava-sagōtrābhhyāṃ(bhyāṃ) sv-āchāra-sampānābhyāṃ(bhyāṃ) Rudrāryya-
8 Nandyāryābhyāṃ Antarmalaya-rājye Kōgulipōguyā-pall [y]jii(lli)\(^1\)

*Second Plate, Second Side*

9 simni yāvad-āpaḥ plavat[ī]tāvat-pukkollī-kshētram(traṁ) Vēlpalli–
10 Pōttarayōḥ simni cha yāvad-āpaḥ plavat[ī]tāvat-ēvaṁ
11 pukkollī-kshētram anēka-jamantar-ōpārjjita-subba-sāṃkāra[h]
12 su-viśuddha-pitṛi-mātri-varṁśah n-aika-viṣṭha-pradāna-nityaḥ parama-brahmaṇya[h]

*Third Plate*

13 Dharmma-mahārājah Śrī-Mrigēśavarmma dattavān-ātma-śreyō-bhyudaya-
14 nimittam(ttam) sarvva-parihārēṇa brahmādēya-samayēṇa [*]
15 yō-bhirakshati sa tat-puṇya-phala-bhāg-bhavati yō harati sa
16 mahāpātaka-yuktō bhavati || uktan=cha [*] Bahubhir-vvasudhā bhuktā
17 rājabhis-Sāgar-ādibhiḥ [*] yasya yasya yaddha bhūmis-tasya tasya tada pha[lam]\(\|\)

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\(^1\) Above, Vol. XXXII, p. 218. For another suggestion regarding pukkollī see above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 54.\(^2\) From the photographs.\(^3\) This word is written about the beginning of the second line.\(^4\) There is an unnecessary hook-like mark after sya.\(^5\) [The reading is Kōgulī-Pōguyā-pallōk.—Ed.]
GRANT OF KADAMBA MRIGESAVARMAN. YEAR 2
SEAL

(from Photographs)
The material for this Part was sent to the Press by Dr. Shaw before his retirement in June 1982.

G. S. Gar

Govenor of Epigraphist for Iolos.
No. 20—SPURIOUS GRANT OF GAHADAVALA VIJAYACHANDRA, VIKRAMA 1223

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 25.1.1961)

The Tārāchandaṇḍi rock inscription\(^1\) of king Pratāpadhavala of Jāpila, dated Vikrama 1225, Jyēśṭha vadi 3, Wednesday (16th April 1169 A.D.), records the interesting fact that the Brāhmaṇas of Suvarṇahala or Svarṇahala secured a forged grant in respect of the two villages of Kalahaṇḍi and Badavilā by bribing Deū who was an officer of king Vijayachandra of Gādinagara or Kanyakubja, i.e. the Gāhadavāla king of that name who ruled in c. 1155-70 A.D. In this record, Pratāpadhavala advised his descendants not to recognise the spurious document but to collect revenues and tolls from the two villages as usual. Suvarṇahala or Svarṇahala (modern Sūnāhar), Kalahaṇḍi (modern Karvandilā) and Badavilā (modern Barailā) are localities near Tārāchandaṇḍi about three miles from Sasaram in the Shahabad District of Bihar. Thanks to the energy of Mr. S. V. Sohoni, Commissioner of the Patna Division, Bihar, the forged grant issued in the name of the Gāhadavāla king Vijayachandra to the Brāhmaṇas of Suvarṇahala (Svarṇahala) has been recently secured by him from the house of an inhabitant of Sūnāhar. In August 1960, Mr. Sohoni kindly allowed me to copy the inscription at his residence at Patna.

It is a single plate measuring 17 inches in length and 12.6 inches in height and having writing on both obverse and reverse. There are twenty-six lines of writing on the first side and only ten lines on the second. No seal is affixed to the plate, though we have a hole (6 inch in diameter) in the centre of its upper part disturbing the continuity of the writing of lines 1-2 on the obverse.

In respect of palaeography, language and style, the inscription closely resembles other Gāhadavāla charters including those of Vijayachandra himself.\(^2\) As regards orthography, it may be said that class nasals have been more often used than anusvāra.

The interesting fact about the writing of the grant under study is that the akṣharas in many cases have been inaccurately formed so that often the sign of one akṣhara looks like that of another or of no akṣhara at all. In this respect, the present inscription has a close similarity with the Varaṇasi plate\(^3\) of the Kalachuri king Karna (1041-71 A.D.). This peculiar feature of Karna's grant is explained by the fact that it was issued by the king when he was performing his father's annual śrāddha ceremony at Prayūga on the Vēṇi (Triveni near Allahabad). When the king was far away from his capital, no experienced engraver may have been available to him and he had probably to engage a local goldsmith who failed to read the draft of the record prepared by an officer of the king and shaped the akṣharas as he believed to have seen them in the draft. Similar seems to have been the case with the grant under study. Its draft, probably prepared by Deū known from the Tārāchandaṇḍi inscription to have been an officer of the Gāhadavāla king Vijayachandra and to have been bribed by the Brāhmaṇas of Suvarṇahala (Svarṇahala) for securing the forged

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\(^1\) Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 23 ff.

\(^2\) A grant of Gōvindachandra and another of Vijayachandra have been recently published in this journal. See Vol. XXXIII, pp. 176 ff. and Plate facing p. 159; Vol. XXXIV, pp. 223 ff. (without illustration). For two other copper-plate charters of Vijayachandra, see above, Vol. IV, p. 117; Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, p. 7.

\(^3\) Above, Vol. II, pp. 305 ff. and Plates.
charter, appears to have been given for engraving to an ordinary goldsmith having little experience in this kind of work and he shaped the akṣaras as he thought fit. The engravers in both these cases appear to have had very little education.

The peculiar nature of the writing discussed above renders it difficult to prepare an accurate transcript of the inscription, though the introductory and concluding parts of the record are similar to the corresponding sections of the other known charters of Vijayachandra, referred to above. As will be seen below, the date of the grant is quoted as Vikrama 1223, Bhādra sudi 9, Monday. This corresponds regularly to Monday, the 5th September 1166 A.D., the year being current and the month Nīla-Bhāḍrapada.

The inscription begins with what was meant to be a sīhṭam symbol followed by the auspicious expression ṣvasti. This is followed by twelve stanzas already known from the other records of Gāhādavāla Vijayachandra though they are engraved in an indifferent way as indicated above: (1) Ḡaṅgaṭṭha-Vaikṛṣṭha, etc. (line 1); (2) Ṭṣid=Aṣṭaluga Ṭṣid, etc. (lines 1-2); (3) Tat-ṣudā=Mahāchandra, etc. (lines 2-3); (4) Tasya-gīthottama=vaivikā, etc. (lines 3-4); (5) Tīrthāṅkara-Ksūkottama, etc. (lines 4-5); (6) Tasya-ṭhīkā=Madanapāla, etc. (line 5-6); (7) Tasya-gīthottama=vaivikā, etc. (lines 6-8); (8) Tasmād=vaivikā, etc. (lines 8-9); (9) Na kathāma=vaivikā, etc. (line 9); (10) Ajani Vijayachandra, etc. (lines 9-10); (11) Loka-trayakramayā-dhī, etc. (lines 11-12); and (12) Vasminā=vaivikā, etc. (line 12).

The above section in verse is followed by a passage in prose as known from the other charters of Vijayachandra, in which the reigning monarch is represented as the successor (cf. pūḍān-dhyāna) of Gōvindachandra who was himself the successor of Madanapāla, the successor of Chandra.1 Then follows the grant proper. The king’s order in respect of the grant is addressed to the inhabitants of Kirīhinḍi together with Bāḍalā and the Sāputrāra pattalā as well as to the heads of subordinate officers, whose list is similar to that generally found in the records of the Gāhādavālas. It will be seen that Bhaṭagālā and Kalahaṇḍī of Pratapādavala’s epigraph have been written here as Bāḍalā and Kirīhinḍī. The second name may be a mistake for Kalahaṇḍī, though the modern form of the name, viz. Kariṇḍi, would suggest that Kirīhinḍī or Kunahaṇḍī was an alternative form. The name of the pattalā or district of Sāputrāra is not known from any other source and it is difficult to say whether it has been correctly written.

The passage quoting the date of the grant in lines 21-22 reads as: sivāṣṭavaihṛya-vādana-satrasatvam-reṭhavālā bhatirā mābhī sita-pākśhe bharatī tīgha Bhōṣa-dite apkatā=pi saṁ 1223 Sāpra-sudi 9 Sōnē Śinghaṇṭē saṅkari. The intended reading for this was apparently: trayāśaṁṭalya-adhikas-tṛādāśa-sata samvatasarē Bhaṭagālā māsi sita-pākśhe nacayāṇāṁ tīgha Sōnē-dite apkatā=pi saṁ 1223 Bhaṭagālā-sudi 9 Sōnē Śiṃhaṇṭē saṅkari. The charter is thus purported to have been issued on Monday, the 9th tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhāḍrapada in the year [Vikrama] 1223 when the sun was in the Simha rāṣṭi. This date corresponds to the 5th September 1166 A.D. as indicated above.

The following passage in lines 22-25 states in the style of the Gāhādavāla charters that the grant was made by the king after having taken a bath in the waters of the Ganges at Vārānasī for the merit and fame of himself and his family. The donees of the grant are mentioned in line 25 in the passage: Sōnēhala-grāma-nīvāsī-paṇḍava-charaya-śaṅkṛēḥ bhūya nūtā-gotreḥ bhūya Vrāṭānapāja for which the intended reading is no doubt Sruvadahala-grāma-nīvāsī-nīvāsa-charaya-śāṅkṛēḥ bhūya nūtā-gotreḥ bhūya. Thus the grant is purported to have been made in favour of the

1 The inscriptions of the Gāhādavāla family generally quote his name as Chandrodāna, though his own records sometimes give it both as Chandrodāna and Chandrodānajata. See above, Vol. XIV, pp. 194 (text line 14) and 198 (text line 9); but cf. Vol. IX, p. 304 (text lines 4 and 7).
Brāhmaṇas of Svarṇahala, who belonged to various gātras, charayas and śākhās. The name Sōmahala, as found in our record, is a modification of Svarṇahala or Svarṇahala noticed in the Tārīchandī inscription. It is thus these Brāhmaṇas who were charged by king Pratāpadaivali of Jāpī with the possession of a forged document fabricated with the help of an officer of the Gāhadaivali king.

After advising the inhabitants of the gift villages to pay the royal dues to the donees (line 26), a number of the usual imperative and benedictory stanzas are quoted in lines 27-35. The language of this section also resembles that of the corresponding part of other Gāhadaivala charters. The last line of the record (line 36) reads: vikṣaṇām evaḥ samākṣaṇāt gurudvāraśīri-Srīpatikēvē =ītī no doubt standing for likhītām ch edmān vātra kṣaṇam mahākṣaṇaḥ ṛṣiSrīpatikēvē =ītī. Thus the charter is purported to have been written by the Mahākṣaṇaḥ Ṭhākkura Śrīpatikē. The same Mahākṣaṇaḥ Ṭhākkura Śrīpatikē is known from a number of inscriptions of Gōvindachandra (c. 1111-55 A.D.) and Jayachandra (c. 1170-93 A.D.), though his name does not occur in the published records of Vijayachandra himself who was the successor of the former and predecessor of the latter.²

It will be seen that the present grant was forged in September 1166 A.D. and Pratāpadaivala declared it to be spurious in April 1169 A.D. Apparently the Brāhmaṇas of Svarṇahala exposed themselves when they had presented the forged document to the officers who went to collect taxes for the villages of Bāḍāyālī or Bāḍājīl and Kālahaṇḍi or Kīrīhindī on behalf of Pratāpadaivala. It is of course not clear whether Pratāpadaivala was a subordinate of Vijayachandra or ousted Gāhadaivala rule from what is called Sāpurāṇa-pattāṇ, i.e., the modern Sauran Subdivision of the Shahabad District. We can see, however, that the exposure of the Brāhmaṇas' crime does not come soon after the winter (i.e., the harvesting season when taxes were generally collected) of the years 1167 and 1168 A.D. This may be explained by the supposition that the overthow of Gāhadaivala rule by Pratāpadaivala from the area in question took place after the winter of 1168 A.D. or that the Brāhmaṇas were hesitating for some time to put up their claim to the two villages on the authority of the forged document. It is also possible that the tax-collectors were originally deceived successfully by the culprits who were caught after sometime.

The geographical names occurring in the inscription have already been discussed above.

TEXT³

Ovverse

1 Siddhāṃ pahāti(svasti) || Akurṭā-ṛṣṭ[a] kanṭha-Vaiṅkuṭha-kanṭha-pitha-,yuluṣṭha[:katara[ | sa[ | riḥ|]rauḥ(mbhāḥ) surat-ārābhf(mbhēḥ) sa śripah(yah) bhūma(vṛṣya)śe =stu-stu rah(vah) [1*] Āśī = Asī(śīrapu dyutī-kaṅbha[vanāḥ] jāta-nmā(kshmā) pāla]-

2 māśu divam gatāsu | aśvīṣvā | kshāh = Vijayasphāra(svān = ityva bhūri-bhatanāvī(ḥāmmā)| nānām Yaśōvipa(grha) itpur(ṛty = u) yāra(ḥ) || [2*] Tat = sūṭī = bhā (bhā) n = Mahīta-(chāindrav[sa]| = chāindrā-dhāmā-nīsānā niṣajī(ḥ) ) | jām) || (j) yētā(ṃ = ā) pāra-

3 m = akūṭa(ra)-pārō vyāpārīyā sahā || [3*] Tasyāḥ = bhihū = tanayō nay−air(ka)−ta(ra)=sikhā krānta-īvishan-maṅgaṇḍā (ḥ) vidhāvast-ōdva(ddha)ta-virē(ṛ)−yōvi(ddha) timiva(ra)-

śri-Chandradēvō niraph | (j) yōn-ōdāratara-

¹ See, e.g., above Vol. IV, pp. 117, 121, 123, 124, 129.
² A grant of Vijayachandra written by the same person was recently copied by us in the Lucknow Museum. This epigraph is being published below along with some other Gāhadaivala charters.—See pp. 299 ff. for bow.
³ From impressions. In the Gāhadaivala inscriptions, subscript generally looks like subscript p. In the present transcript the sign has been read as p. The m-terms of the verses are not indicated since the stanzas are well known from other records.
⁴ Expressed by symbol.
4 pratapa-sa(ṣa)mt-śāśhīa-praj-ōpadravam śrīmad-Gāḍhipur-ōdhivīḍya(rājya)m = aasa(ra)ma = dōrdvi(r-v)kramēlā(ṇ = ā)jjitam | [4*] Tirthānī Kāsi(śī)-Kusi(śī)kā(k-ō)tavā(ra)-Kosal-Endrāṣṭhīnyakāni pariśāṣa-
5 layat = ābhīgasya(mya) | ām = ānasa-tu[l]ya[m = aisanasa]d = dada dāvijēyō(bbyō) śē(ōyō)n = ānēgh(ōri)tā [va]sumati sa(ṣa)taśas = tutābhih | [5*] Tasyā = ātmajā Madanapāla iti kshitindra-chādumāli(ṭi) -
6 ṛdrī(t = v)vijayatēni-gōtra-chandrab = yasyā = ābhīshēka-kalas-ōllasitaiḥ payōbhiḥ prakṣālītam kāti-rajā-[pa]talam dharityāḥ | [6*] Yasyā = śiśa(d) = vijaya-prayāya(na) -samaye tuṅg-ā-
7 chal-ōchchais = chalān = mādyat-kumbhi-pada-kraśā(m-ā)-sama-[bha]ra-bhāsyan-mahī-malu-(n-ā)dē | [1*] chūdā-ratna-vibhinna-tālu-galita-stīyō(m-ā)ṣjig-udud(ud) bāsitaḥ Śēśābh prē-(pē)sha-vasū(śād) = iva kṣaṇam = asāu krōdē 
8 vi[n]ill[n-ā]t(a)(n)ah | [7*] Tasmād = ajaratā ti(i)įyata-vā(ḥ)bha-vallī-vaddhaḥ(bandh-ā) varauddha-vai[na]dthaḥ(ra)yajgaṇoṣṣājndraḥ | sāndrā-āmṛta-dravam-vamvān(ḥān) ga(ra)bhavāvam vānī [Gōvu]vindava(chah)andra iti chandra i-
9 v = āgilhu(mbu)-[ra]jēbō(śēb) | [8*] Ra(Na) katham = appa(yy = al)pattā(bhanta) raṣa-kamāunīntki(shamāni) = ti[si]psudhi diku(kshu) grājate(ha = antha) Vajiṣji(ru) naḥ ka kūtasi(bbi)p tra(bhadra)mūr = Abbungamūrata(nava-bhaka) pakti(prati)-bhātī(ḥa[i])va yasya ghatā-
10 gajah | [9*] Pra(Ajani Rī(Vi))- 
11 ayara(chah)andrō tāta(nāma) tabhūtratē(rōsmā = narē)draḥ europātir = ira(va) bhūbhīt-pakas-
12 (ka)(shah)-vītīkēpapā-daunijah(dakshah) | tvas(bhu)vata(na)-[dala]ta(na) = ha(hēlja)-rāhmyā-
harmaya = Hānūvi(li)a-tā-tā(n)īs-patata(nayana)-[a][la] sa-dhārānē(dhau)ta-vūli(bhūlā-
13 ka-tāpah | [10*] Līō(Lō)- 
14 sā(ku)(k) t ray-ākramāla(na)-ka-lii-riṅgrā(viśūkha)lāri(i) praghō(ḍḍyō)sta-sīttī(kirtī)-vīrī(kavi)-
15 varṇa-ta-sa(vai)harālī(vāṇī) | yasva(ya) | [Trī]vīkrama-pada-krama-bhāōgi(ājī) bhānii-
16 (nī) prārana(prōjrimha)yaṇti Va(Ba)li-rīja-sa(bha)yaṁ yaśāmēśa(i) | [11*] 
17 Yasti(smiṃ)ṣā-čahala[py(ʊ)y]uddhī-ṭ(e)nī[mi](sa)(ma)hi-jay-ārga(ṛthaḥ) mādya-karindra-tu-
18 gu(n)ru-ḥārā-ṭ(e)nī[ji](p)ēdi-ṛva yāti Praṃ(Pr)ajāśa(ḥa)ṣ[ti]-padam (sa)(ara)rap(ā-ar)tinē bhūsva(sva=tva)ṣa(gahbhu(tu)ruṣa=nguṣa* nira(va)h-oṛtha(ṭha)-rajasra(ā-ccha)laṁta(na) | [12*] 
19 sō-yaṁ samasta-rāja-chakra-samēṣita(vita)-va(cha)rāṇāḥ paramaha[ba][ha]ttārāba(ka)-
20 mahāra(rājē)[hā]rā-jāma-[a]paramēva(śvara)-paramaṭa[pā]maḥśēva(ṛ)ra(ti)(ni)jatu(bhuj)-
21 ēōppājī(ṭ)rījita-[ṣ]ral-Katpa(nyā)nuiḥ(bj-ādbhipati(tya)-ṣr-Val[īh](Chandra)dēva-pā-
22 da-ābhūyāta-parana(ma)bhagha(tṭ)ra-ka[sa](ma)hātṝa(rājē)jāpi(bhī)ṛga(ṣa)-paramēbhyaḥ(ṣvah)-
23 [ra]-paramē[ṣ]ma(ma)ḥēma(śva)ra-tyō(rīl)matma(n-Ma)నanapālādēva(va)-pāp(d-ā)nu-
24 dhīyāta-paramahābhātṝa-mahāra[jhērā]ra-ja-
25 ramēśa(ṣva)ra-paramanō(ḥā)ḥēra(ṣva)r-āṭva(ṣva)paṭi-gajarpāta(patī)-naraṇapati-
26 rājāṭtā(jat)[ra]-yādbhāti-vividhā-rīgō(viṇḍā)-rirā(ṇi)(ṛhā)rā-chara(vāc)ṣa)pati-śrīmada-Gōvindava-
27 (cha)ndrapēdev(ā)va-pād-ābhūyāta-
28 paramahābhagha(tṭ)ra-kar-mahārājēhīra-paramēśa(ṣvā)ra-parammahētpē(ṣvā)r-ṣēyā-
29 (ṣvā)paṭi-gajapati-naraṇapati-rājāra(trā)-yādbhāti-vividhāvīhā(ṛdya)vīvā(h)ra[vā](hra)va(cha)-
30 spati-sri-
31 mad-Vijayava(chah)andrērō(vō) vijaya | | Saputra[ra]-pattalayāṃ Va(Ba)ḍail-saha-
32 Kirihumdi-grāma-nivāsino niśv(khi)la-jana[padrā(dā)]n-āp[agarān-api cha}
तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप नाना किंवा अनुसार तन्मयरूप

Size: One-half
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18 rājā(ja)-rājñī-yratā(varā)-ja-mari(ntri)-purūbhta-pratihāra-senāpati-bhāḥḍa-śukpē(ksha-pa)talika-vi(bhi)shakē(g-nai)mīvi(tji)c-āttah(nty)-pur(jj)a-dra(dū)-ta-kari - turaga-pattan-ākā(ka)ra-

19 bhvāra(sthāna)-gokul-ādhikācēru(kīri-pu)rushātmāra(n=aṁnā)pasha(ya)ti tāvavapōjibhāti1 yarthara(yathā) vidiu(tam=as(stu) bhanirati(bhavati)/) yavcoh(th=ō)pāralisirī(khi)ta-grānah(mah)- sa-jayala-la-śra(sthā)-laḥ sa-tō(lō)-

20 ha-luva(na)-ākaraḥ sa-tatbhyārāraḥ2 sa-gajōya(ṛtt-ōsha)raḥ sa-giri-gahana-ti(ni)dhāvah-(nah) sa-saṁ(ma)dhih-kāmva(mra)-vata(na)-sha(yā)ti[kā]-vīpā-tpa(tri)ṇattani(yūti)-gōda-

21 s-ōvāva(dhva-ādha)ś-chatur-āp(ghā)ṣa-visu(su)ddhaḥ sva-sīṁ-pavyata(nty)aḥ sīvīṁsatpa-

22 s-viru-2-va(dvā)daṇa(ṣa)-sa(ṣa)na-rsacha(saṁva)tsarē Bhāṭha(dra)padē mābhū(ṣi) sīte-pakṣē bha(na)vapāthi(myaṁ) tiṃhā(ṇa) Bhō(Sō)-

23 sa(ma)-dīte(nā) apka(ṣka)to-pī sāṁ 1223 Sāpra(Bhāḍa)-sudi 9 Sōmē || śiṃgahaṭṭa-

24 hasthe) savitari ayē(dyē)=daḥ śrīnad-viṣaya-Vāṭa(rā)nasa(ṣyām) Gaṅgāyāṁ snātvā vidhiavadē(d-dē)va-muni-

25 matu(nu)ja-tā(bhō)ta-pitri-gaṇā[m]̄s- tarppayittā(tvā) timira-पāṭala-पāṭana-pada(τu)-mahat-

26 taravārāvinisham̄ 2-upabhīpiya(rac)patiśarālayashara4 tvananyaraū 2 prit(tri-bhu)va-

27 ra(na)-(trā)jura-Vrāt̄u(su)duvasva(ṣya) pūṭāḥ(jān)aḥ vidhiyā prachurēra(ṅa)-pāvasat (ṣēna) Hāvī-

28 rahujaṁ (ōga)ṝ(hutvā) mātī-pitṛr-āla(tma)na-ṣa putya(nya)-yasāḥ(bā)-bhūvīndnaya-

29 (ddhayē) prashṭar(asi)māhāṁ) grā(ṅa)kasarāgur(aṁ-kusa)-laṅtī(tā)-raṣṭr(pā)-

30 ma(ta)-vā(ka)-ratal-॓daka-pva(pū)rvvāṁ(kaṁ) Sōnahala3-yā(ṛga)ma-nivāśi-payōvēścharu-

31 naḷēkēbhya2 nātā(nā)-gōtrēbhya[ḥ]hyō Vṛtēnana[ṛ] kayō 10 śravādṛjñā śrava[chchha]śanōgha-

32 tya10 pradā-

33 rtā(tō) matmā(tvā) yathādiyamāna-tā(bhō)ga-bhāga-vī(ka)ra-sapali-cāsa12-ra(ya) matti(li)-

34 kāva(mba)li-grapratī10-ti(ni)yata-ūti(ni)yata-samāsādā-sāttāpāti-[bhjy]yttama āsyaṃta11 |

Reverse

27 bhāraṃ(bhavanti) rūṭta(ch=ūtra) vō(ṣau)śrīvī(ka)-Avō(śō)kāḥ || Gū(Blh)mīṃ rah(yaḥ) pratigihvāḥ(bhā)ti yaś-ch[a bhūti(mni) prayattha[chchha]ti ubbaṅ tau punva[ṇya]-

36 karmālau(ṣau) niyataṁ sva(sva)rīgga-gāti(mni)au || [13*] Saṁ(Śa-v)kṣaṁ bhādra-

38 (dr-)āsanaṁ chchha[chchha]traṁ

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1 The intended reading is bōthayəty=ākīṣti.
2 Read s-as-a-matye-ākaraḥ.
3 The intended reading is trayōṁkṣaṭtya=adhika.
4 The dandaś are unnecessary.
5 Read mahamav=saṁmahākṣiṁham.
6 Read "uṣṭhāya=Asthādhipatikala-sēkham.
7 The intended reading is saṁmahāparchkṣa.
8 The name is Swarnahala or Svarnhala in the Tārāchand inscription.
9 The intended reading is nāma-vāṭa-charasa-sākābhīṣy.
10 Read Brāhmaṇēbhyaḥ.
11 Read a-chandr-ārukam yavac=ahōsanəkṛtya.
12 Read pravaktara.
13 Read prabhihī.
14 Read samast-ūdāyān=ājñā-vidhiyōbhya āsyaṁta-ūti.
15 DGA/80
28 var-āh̄yā(śvā) vara-vāra-laḥ(nāḥ) [\*] sūti(bhumī)-dānasya vi[a]t(ahhnā) phalan[ṇa]-(mē-ta) =Parṇamāra || [14*] Sarva-vāṇ-ētā =bhāvinaḥ pā[r]*hivendrān-bhūpō(yō) vūsō-(bhūyō) yācathā Rānara(machāuñ)draḥ | sānēṇpo(māṇyo) =yat

29 varma(dharma)-sēṭur-nuṃpi[pālā](nām) kālē kālē pālarnā(nīyō) bhavatbhiḥ(dbhīḥ) || [15*] Anēṭrasē(Aṣmiad-vamāśe) parikṣhīṇē yah kāśchinch(a(n=ari)pātir-bhānē(वेय) [\*] tasya =āhām kara-lagnē(ग्नो) =[s]mi sā(ās) samān na ppa(vya) tīkramē-

30 t || [16*] Ta(Ba)bhubir-vasudhā bhuktā rājabhī śagar-ād[i]bhiḥ [\*] yasā(sya) yasā(sya) yadā bhūmi bhas(ā=teṣya) tasya ra(ta)djā phalam(lam) || [17*] Gām =ēkām vēṁṇi(svarṇa)-m =ēkān va(chha) sū(bhū)mēr =apya =ēkām =aṅgulaṁ(lam ||)

31 haran-naranakāṭō(m=āpno)ti yavād-āhūva(ta)-saṃplavaṇi(vam) || [18*] Taḍāgānāṁ sahā-bhīnē(śrō)ṇa āpānē(āsvamē)dha phalē[na] va(chha) [\*] garvā(वार) kōṭi-pradānēṇa ta(bhū)mi-hartā na supya(ṣudhya)ti || [19*] Śva(Sva)-dattāṁ para-

39 datvāṁ(ttāṁ) vā yō harēd̄-vasuṇarēṁ(dharmā) sa vintā(shhū)yāṁ krimirūtyā-(r-bhūtvā) pitribhiḥ saha majjati || [20*] Shapnīṁ(shtīṁ) varsha-va(sa)haṭṭā(srōṇi) ṣaṅ-(avaja)ṛggē vasati bhūmīdaḥ [\*] āchchhētā(ttā) vānant(a(ch=ānumā)ntā) va(chha)

33 tā[ny=े]va narakē vasēta(sēt) || [21*] Vāvi(ṛ)iḥniḥśv- arrogu(vu(ṇy=ṣhu) sukna(suṣhka)-kōṭa-vāsitaḥ(naḥ) | krisma(sḥn)asṛppāḥ-e cha jāyantē ve(yē) va(chha) vahna(brahma)-sva-hārināḥ || [22*] Yā{(n=ṛha dattā[mi] pura na-

34 rēndraḥ-dānāṇi dharmā-ārtha-yaṭāka(ska)ṛaḷi(nī) [\*] nirmāṇya(la)-vāṭīṭa-pratīmiṇi tānī kō tā(nā)ma vātuḥ(sādhubh) vuo(pu)nār =ādavō(di)ta || [23*] Vāvāsra(t-āhṛa)-vī- bhramam=idaṁ rabhurāri(vasudh-ādhi)patya-

35 m-āpāta-mātro-madhuṟā vishay-ōpasō(bhō)gāḥ [\*] grātō(prānā)sa-trīṇ-āpa(gra)-jala-vi(bi)-ndu-samā ta(na)rāṇāṁ dharmah(ṛmūmah) sakāḥ parama(m=a)hō paralālōka-yāṁtē(nē) ||[24*]\]

36 likhitāṁ vēkshām(ch-ēdaṁ) tāpra(mra)kaṁ sa(ma)hākṣapata-lika-gku(thakku)rā-ārī- Śrīpatikēṁ (=)ti || ||
No. 21—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM NANDED DISTRICT

(1 Plate)

D. C. Sircar and G. Bhattacharya. Ootacamund

(Received on 24.1.1961)

We have referred above to our plan to make a search for inscriptions in the Telugu-, Kannada- and Marathi-speaking areas of the former Hyderabad State.¹ The results have been encouraging. Two inscriptions copied in the course of the said search, viz. (1) Warangal inscription of Raghudeva and (2) fragmentary Rāshtrakūta inscription from Kandhār, have already been edited above.² Two other inscriptions of the same collection are published in the following pages. Both these epigraphs come from the Nanded District, Bombay State.

1. Hoṭṭal Inscription of the time of Chālukya Sōmēśvara

The village of Hoṭṭal (or Hoṭṭul) is five miles from the headquarters of the Degur Taluk of the Nanded District. In the year 1959, we learnt from Shri Manohar Rao Deshmukh of the said village of the existence of a rectangular stone pillar with an inscription lying near a dilapidated temple at Hoṭṭal. The village abounds in ruined structures, two temples amongst them being specimens of beautiful architecture with sculptures of good workmanship, the parallel of which is not to be found elsewhere in the Nanded District. Unfortunately the temples are in a ruined condition, wild vegetation and lack of care contributing to their gradual destruction.

The inscribed pillar referred to above lies near one of the said temples. It measures approximately five feet eight inches in length, one foot five inches in breadth and one foot and a quarter inch in depth. Shri Manohar Rao informs us that the inscription was copied a few years back by Shri Thunnerkar of the Archaeological Department of the former Hyderabad State.

The record is incised on two sides of the pillar. Individual letters on the first side are bigger in size (about 8 inch) than those on the second (about 6 inch). As the first side of the inscription was exposed to the sun and rains, its writing is damaged in some places while, in three places about the middle, some letters are completely rubbed off. The writing on the second side is better preserved. There are altogether 125 lines of writing. Above the beginning of the inscription, the figures of the sun, the crescent, a recumbent bull, a cow with calf and a Śiva-liṅga are engraved in relief. This fact indicates the Śaivite character of the epigraph.

The characters of the record are Nāgari of the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. and its language is Sanskrit. Excepting the salutation to the god Śiva at the beginning and two passages in the last line, the whole text is written in verse. There are 43 stanzas in all and they are consecutively numbered. As regards orthography, it may be noted that some consonants have sometimes been reduplicated in the association of r. Final m at the end of a verse or half verse has invariably been changed wrongly to anuśāva; but it occurs in the last word of the record. There are a few cases of wrong sandhi.

The inscription is undated, though it mentions the Later Chālukya king Sōmēśvara as ruling at Kalyāna. There were, however, four Later Chālukya kings bearing that name, viz. Sōmēśvara I (1043-68 A.D.), Sōmēśvara II (1068-76 A.D.), Sōmēśvara III (1126-38 A.D.) and

¹ Above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 125.

11 DGA/50 (159) 3
Sömēśvara IV (1184-1200 A.D.). As will be seen below, it is difficult to say which of these Sömēśvara is mentioned in our record, though the possibility is that he was Sömēśvara I or Sömēśvara II. Thus the inscription may be assigned to the latter half of the eleventh century A.D. It is stated in verse 37 that the record was caused to be written out by a local ruler at midday in the month of Karttīka when the titthi was rākā (full-moon) and the nakṣatra Kṛttikā. But no year is mentioned.

The inscription opens with the expression ॐ nama[ḥ] Śivāya which is followed by a stanza (verse 1) in adoration of the god Śiva. Verses 2-3 describe Mount Kailāsa, which is in the Himalayas, while verse 4 mentions the hermitage of Agastya which was apparently situated in the valley of the Kailāsa and is stated to have been resounding with the chanting of the Vedic hymns by young ascetics at prescribed hours. Verse 5 mentions the austere penance of Agastya in that hermitage. Verses 6-11 describe the birth of a hero who was the progenitor of the fire family (kula of Pāvaka, Vāhni or Agni). We are told how Agastya’s Kāmadhenu (i.e. wish-fulfilling cow) was snatched away by certain rulers (verse 6) and how the sage offered in a great rage an oblation to the blazing fire without uttering a curse (verse 7). The result was the birth of a great hero from Agastya’s fire-pit (verse 8), who after having killed those rulers, brought back the kāma-dhānu to the sage as if it were the sage’s māna-siddhi (i.e. the restoration of prestige) incarnate (verse 9). By his prowess, the son of Fire became a powerful ruler after having conquered enemies in the three worlds and helped Indra by uprooting the demons (verse 10). According to verse 11, this hero became known as Munimānasiddhi (literally, the restorer of the sage’s prestige). The latter half of verse 11 and the following stanza (verse 12) introduce a ruler named Dhōrarāja (Dhruvarāja) as an ornament of the Fire family’ which is represented as the third dynasty, the celebrated solar and lunar races probably being the other two. The second half of verse 13 is damaged and its purport is difficult to determine, though reference is made in its first half to Muṇja and Tailōśvara who are no doubt the famous Vākpati Muṇja (973-96 A.D.) of the Paramāra dynasty and Taila or Tailapa II (973-97 A.D.) of the Western Chālukya family, and to the kātyaka (probably, ‘army’) of the said two chakravartins (i.e. imperial rulers). Dhōrarāja was thus a contemporary of the said kings who flourished about the last quarter of the tenth century. There was a long-drawn struggle between the Paramāra and Later Chālukya kings, which seems to be vaguely indicated in the singular used in the expression ēri-Muṇja-Tailōśvarē as in ahi-nakulam, though what part Dhōrarāja played in the struggle is not possible to guess from the incomplete nature of the stanza. The second half of the verse seems to mention one Gopāla whose relationship with Dhōrarāja is uncertainly from the damaged text. Verse 14 introduces another member of the Fire race, whose name was Uṭtarna. The language seems to suggest that he was the son of Dhōra, although it is difficult to be sure on this point because of the mention of Gopāla in the previous stanza. Verse 15 introduces Uttarna’s son Kalichōra (I) who was succeeded by his son Argadēva according to verse 16. The next eight stanzas (verse 17-24) describe Argadēva’s valour and his achievements on the battle-fields. Verse 21 says that, owing to the fame of the Kshatriya hero (i.e. Argadēva) spreading everywhere, the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Purāṇas, and the Akhyāyīkās were all forgotten.

Verse 24 is the last stanza on the first side. Verse 25 is engraved on the second side of the pillar, the first three lines of which are considerably damaged. Verses 25-26 appear to introduce Kalichōra (II), a devotee of Harī (Śiva). But whether Kalichōra was just another name of Argadēva cannot be determined from the damaged text of verse 25 which may have contained a word meaning ‘son’ so that Kalichōra II would be the son and successor of Arga. The description of the Fire family’ ends with verse 27 which continues to describe the glory of Kalichōra II. This stanza represents the chief as the ruler of twenty thousand villages.
Verse 28 introduces a Vaiśāya named Siddhugī who was a friend of the king, apparently meaning Kalichōra II of the ‘Fire race’. In the following stanzas (verses 29-32), Siddhugī is highly praised for his noble qualities. Verse 31 compares him to Nāgārjuna, Karṇa, Vikrama (i.e. king Vikramaditya), Śibi and Vairāchani (i.e. Bali). Verse 33 states that Siddhugī installed Lord Śrī Śiva at Kālīyāna which was the capital (purā) of king Sōmēśvara, the moon of the Chālukya family (Chālukya-chandra). Then the king is stated to have donated a nīshka and a draṃma from every village and town for the worship of the said god in the presence of the preceptor Chandrarāsi (verse 34). This seems to refer to the ratification, by the Chālukya monarch, of a grant actually made by one of his provincial rulers as indicated later in the record. The Śaiva ascetic Chandrarāsi, who was the preceptor of Sōmēśvara or of the provincial ruler, appears to have requested the Chālukya king for the ratification. Of course, the language may also be so interpreted as to suggest that it was the semi-independent local chief of the ‘Fire family’, who made the grant without reference to the Chālukya king. But the first alternative is more likely since that would easily explain why such a big grant was made for the maintenance of a temple at the capital of another king. That the chiefs of the ‘Fire race’ were the feudatories of the Later Chālukyas is known from the Kāraṇkhēl inscriptions referred to below.

Verse 35 states that, as long as the members of the ‘Fire family’ (Pārva-saṅsāra) and the god Siddhēśvara, made by Siddhugī, would flourish on this earth, for that length of time covering a thousand kalpas, the arrangement regarding a draṃma together with a nīshka from each of a thousand villages was made by king Raibhēya after creating the Śīlā, i.e. after causing the pralasti to be written on the stone. Verse 36 again speaks of the same arrangement made for the god Siddhēśvara by the ruler of the territory of Yerga (śrī-Yergadhātripati) in respect of a draṃma and a nīshka from every town, etc., in the district (vishaya, i.e. the Yerga district). If Kalichōra II is regarded as identical with Arga and not as the latter’s son, the expression Yerga-dhātripati may possibly also mean ‘king Yerga’ (i.e. Arga). But it appears better to take Yerga mentioned here as a geographical name because there is actually a locality called Yergi near Ĥottal. It has also to be noticed that the ‘Fire race’ chief’s territory consisted of twenty thousand villages and the gift concerned only one thousand villages probably comprised in one of the districts in his territory. It is thus expected that the name of the particular district should be mentioned in the record.

This section thus suggests that Raibhēya belonging to the ‘Fire race’ was the governor of the Yerga vishaya under the Chālukya king Sōmēśvara. There is also little doubt that Raibhēya (literally, ‘the son of Rēbha or Rēbhā’) was the same as Kalichōra II of the ‘Fire race’, who, as we have seen above, was either the son of Argađēva or Arga himself. If he was identical with Argađēva, we can assume that Rēbha was another name of Kalichōra I. In case, however, he was Argađēva’s son, his mother’s name may have been Rēbhā. It may be mentioned in this connection that Rēbhēśvara, referred to in verse 37 below, was apparently named after the same Rēbhā or Rēbhā. If the expression guru-maṭha in the verse referring to the Rēbhēśvara temple is understood in the sense of ‘one’s father’s temple,’ we can say that Rēbha was the name of Raibhēya’s father. But the expression may also suggest that the temple in question was built by the guru Chandrarāsi.

According to verse 37, the epigraph was caused to be made by the ruler (i.e. Raibhēya alias Kalichōra II) out of devotion to and for the worship of the god Siddhēśvara while he was listening to an auspicious tale narrated by a śrēśṭhin in [the temple of the god] Rēbhēśvara, which was the guru-maṭha, when the sun was in the meridian (i.e. at midday), the month was Kārttika, the titkī Purṇimā and the nakshatra Kṛittikā. It is not impossible that the śrēśṭhin referred to is no other than the Vaiśāya Siddhugī and the auspicious tale is the news of the ratification of Raibhēya’s grant by Sōmēśvara.
The above analysis would suggest that the grant of a nishka and a dramma out of the revenue income of each one of the one thousand villages in the Yerga district was made by Raibheya alias Kalichora II of the 'Fire race', who was ruling over the said territory, and that the gift was ratified by his overlord, the Chalukya king Somesvara. It also suggests that the Yerga visaya consisted of one thousand villages (that is to say that it was called Yerga-1000) and that the gift consisted of one thousand nishkas and one thousand drammas. Of these two coins, nishka was a gold coin sometimes also called gadyana, varaha, hons or ogoda, while dramma was a silver coin often called gadgaya (silver), etc., and was sometimes regarded as equal to one-sixteenth of a gold nishka.

Verse 38, which is composed in adoration of the god Siva, states that Narayana, Bana, Ravana and the old sages like Dadhicha are respected in the world because they were devoted to the Siva-sasana (mandates of Siva) while Nigalanakamalla was a great devotee of Chandisvara (i.e. Siva) in the Kali age. This verse suggests that Raibheya alias Kalichora II was also known by the name Nigalanakamalla. In the next stanza (verse 39), the name is given again as Raibheya instead of Nigalanakamalla and it is said that, having his hand, the wish-fulfilling jewel (chintamanini) nurtures the desire of removing the worries of the poor. Verse 40 says that the ten heads of Ravana are praiseworthy because they offered themselves to Siva; praiseworthy is also Hari because he adopted the form of Gauri (as Mohini); but king Nigalanakamalla is undoubtedly a third Siva besides the two (i.e. Ravana and Hari). The next stanza (verse 41) is one of the usual imprecatory verses. Verse 42 states that the dead kings live either through poetical works or through stories and, as such works are composed by poets, the poet is the friend of the king. Verse 43, which is the last stanza in the epigraph, expresses some pious wishes as in the case with the concluding stanza (Bharata-vakyam) in classical Samskrit dramas. The following passage in prose states that the epigraph was written by a scribe named Lakshmana.

The Bharata-vakyam-like stanza (verse 43) may be translated into English as follows: “Let the Brahmaas mark the earth with sacrificial posts on auspicious occasions; let the kings, steadfast in their own religious principles, protect all the world; let the cattle live happily; let the people be happy, [and] let there be no rise of the wicked; let the poets be honoured in the world [and also] the well-reputed courtesans who have acquired eminence in dancing.” The reference to the dancing girls in the concluding part of the stanza is interesting as it seems to allude to the Devadasis, a number of whom may have been dedicated to the temple in question. It is well known that the dancing girls (Devadasis) represented a permanent feature of the big Brahmamahal temples of the early medieval period. Recently we have noticed that the Buddha shrines in the Buddhist monastic establishments of the same age, at least in Eastern India, were also not free from the Devadasis.\footnote{See above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 272.}

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it reveals for the first time the existence of a ‘Fire family’ ruling in the eleventh century A.D. in the Nanded region apparently forming parts of the dominions of the Chalukyas of Kalyana. The origin of the family as given in the record was the fire-pit of the sage Agastyam on Mount Kailasa in the Himalayas. Munimanasiddhi, who was the progenitor of this family, sprang from the fire-pit as a result of an offering of oblation by the angry sage whose cow providing milk for his daily sacrifice had been stolen by certain rulers; he killed the robbers and brought back the cow to the sage. This story closely resembles that of the fire-pit origin of the Paramaras, which first occurs in their inscriptions about the middle of the eleventh century A.D.\footnote{Ray, DHNY, Vol. II, p. 841. Cf. Aiyangar, Ancient India, etc., Vol. II, 1941, pp. 861 ff.} In the Paramara epigraphs as also in the Navasahasankacharita.
by Padma Gupta, it is stated that, from the fire-pit of Vasishtha on Mount Arbuda (Abu), there sprang up a hero as the result of an offering of the angry sage whose "wish-granting cow" was carried away by king Visvamitra. The fire-born hero, who was the progenitor of the Paramara family, wrested the cow from Visvamitra and brought it back to Vasishtha who was highly pleased and, having given him the name Paramara (literally: "the slayer of enemies"), made him the paramount ruler of the earth. The basis of the Fire family's story in our record appears to have been the same as that of the origin of the Paramaras, though here the sage is Agastya in the place of Vasishtha and the place is not Mount Abu but the Kailasa. The author of the present prasasti thought it fit to connect the name of Agastya, famous in legends as one who first went to the South beyond the Vindhyas and settled there for the rest of his life, with the origin of a South Indian ruling family. But it is difficult to understand why Agastya's fire-pit has not been located in South India.

The 'Fire race' of our record is not known from published epigraphs. But two inscriptions of the same family were copied by us in 1595 from a pillar in the village of Karañkhel about 6 miles from Hoñtal, the findspot of the present record. Both these inscriptions are in Kannada and belong to the time of the Western Chalukya king Vikramaditya VI (1076-1126 A.D.). The first of them gives the genealogy of the Chalukya kings up to Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramaditya VI) and of the chiefs of the 'Fire race', who were apparently feudatories of the former, and mentions Karka of the said family as the builder of the temple of Someshvara at Karañkal (modern Karañkhel). The second record, dated December 1, 1079 A.D., mentions the same Karka as a Mahamandaleśvara granting land for the worship of several gods, viz. Śvayabhū Śomanaṭhadēva, Dōrēśvaradēva, Kalichōrēśvaradēva and Prasannabhairavadēva, for the repairs of the temples of the said gods and for feeding Brähmaṇa students. Karka himself is stated in the record to have built many temples. It is interesting to note that the gods Dōrēśvaradēva and Kalichōrēśvaradēva bear the names of the chiefs Dōra and Kalichoṛa of the 'Fire family', who were apparently the ancestors of Karka. In the genealogy given in our epigraph, Dōra appears as Dhōrāraja and Kalichoṛa (I) probably as his son; but Karka has not been mentioned at all. Thus the relations between Karka of the Karañkhel inscriptions and the members of the 'Fire race', responsible for setting up the Hoñtal prasasti, cannot be determined. But the Karañkhel inscriptions show that the chiefs of the 'Fire family' were the subordinates of the Later Chalukya kings of Kalyāṇa and that they were ruling over the territory including the area around modern Karañkhel and Hoñtal, probably called 'the Yeraga district' or 'Yeraga-1000' in our epigraph. The entire territory of the 'Fire race' chiefs, stated to have consisted of twenty thousand villages, probably contained several visīhagas like Yeraga.

As indicated above, the identification of the Later Chalukya king mentioned in our record is not easy. We have seen that the first ruler of the 'Fire race', viz., Dhōrā, was a contemporary of Tala II (973-97 A.D.) as well as of Paramara Muñja (973-96 A.D.), while the same king as well as Kalichoṛa I apparently flourished before 1079 A.D. as is evidenced by the Karañkhel inscriptions of the time of Vikramaditya VI. If Dhōrā was succeeded by his son Uttama and Uttama by his son Kalichoṛa I, this last king may have ruled about the middle of the eleventh century. If therefore Arga, son of Kalichoṛa I, was the same as Kalichoṛa II alias Raihēya Nigalaukamalla, who was responsible for setting up the Hoñtal inscription, he may be regarded as a contemporary of Somēśvara I (1043-68 A.D.) or Somēśvara II (1068-76 A.D.). If, however, Kalichoṛa II was the son and successor of Arga, he may at best be regarded as a contemporary of Somēśvara III (1126-36

A.D.). It is difficult to think of Sōmēśvara IV (1184-1200 A.D.) in this connection since he flourished long after 1079 A.D., the date of one of the Karakhēl inscriptions. It is also not easy to say whether Arga of our inscription is the same as Karka of the Karakhēl inscriptions.

A question that may be asked in this connection is that, if the god Śhânū (i.e. Śiva) called Siddhēśvara, was installed by Siddhūgī at Kalyāṇa, why was the pillar bearing the prāśasti recording a gift in honour of that god set up in the village of Hoṭṭal. The answer seems to be that, since the gift made by Kalichōra II alias Raibhēya alias Nigalaūkamalla, the ruler of the territory around the Yerga district, was a part of the revenue of the said district, the record could have been set up at the head quarters of that district, although another copy of the same inscription appears to have been set up in the temple itself at Kalyāṇa. If such was the case, Hoṭṭal or a city of which it formed a part or suburb was probably the head quarters of the Yerga visāya and the capital of the rulers of the “Fire family”. We have seen that the Vaiśyā Siddhūgī, the hero of our prāśasti who installed the god Siddhēśvara named after himself in a temple at Kalyāṇa, was a friend of Kalichōra II of the said family. Siddhūgī may have been an inhabitant of the Hoṭṭal area.

It is tempting to identify the hero of our prāśasti with Siddhūgī, also called Basuvarasa Siddayya, occurring in another epigraph dated the 9th December 1184 A.D., hauling from Lakṣṇur in the Gadag Taluk of the Dharwar District and belonging to the Western Chālukya king Sōmēśvara IV. If this identification is accepted, the Chālukya king Sōmēśvara mentioned in our inscription has no doubt to be identified with Sōmēśvara IV. But, as already indicated above, this is highly improbable.

Of the geographical names occurring in the inscription, Kalyāṇa is the same as modern Kalvan in the Bidar District of Mysore. Yerga seems to be the district around the village of Yergi, 3 miles from Hoṭṭal.

TEXT¹

[Metres: Verses 1-2, 4, 10, 12-13, 15-18, 21, 24, 26-27, 30-31, 33-40, 43 Śārdūlavikrīḍita; verses 3, 7-8, 19, 25 Sragdharā; verses 5, 22, 23, 32 Vasantarilakā; verses 6, 14 Mandākrāntā; verse 9 Sēgālā; verses 11, 23, 45 Indravajrā; verses 20, 29 Upajīti; verses 33-34, 41 Anuṣṭubh.]

First Side

1 || Ŭn namaḥ Śivāya || Tē vah pāṇitu Pinākinaḥ katipaye kruddhasya bhālastha-
2 Ij-janmānāh kiraḥ-āvah-stava(bajkit-ākāśāh kriśānoḥ kaṇāḥ || yē-
3 shām=ekatamaya tējasā jaga-jālaṁ jīgēho ripoh² samdhanē-pi pataṁ-
4 ga-patam-sapatat-Pushpāyudhaḥ s-āyudhaḥ || 1 || Kailāso=sti samasta-
5 parvata-patir-yah samārayaḥ śrēyasāṁ yaṁ dēvāḥ samupāsate Suragirir-yē-
6 n-ālpa-dhāraḥ kriṇaḥ || yasmai svasti vadaṃti siddha-munayaḥ siddhēr-ni-
7 dhānaṁ yataḥ simā yasya na vidyate krītadhiyāṁ yatra stavō vāsta-
8 vah || 2 || Śiṁgir=śiṁgir-īrkaḥ pravatīta-kaṭak-ākāṃśta-nā(nā)-dig-aṃtaḥ aō=sti

¹ B.K. No. 40 of 1926-27. We are indebted to Mr. S. H. Ritti for the reference.
² From impressions. We are indebted for some suggestions to Mr. S. Sankaranarayanan and Pandit V.S. Subrahmanyan.
³ Possibly jīgēḥo ripuḥ is intended.
No. 21] TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM NANCED DISTRICT

9 svēcchhā-nivasās=tridaśa-mūrgadhiśā[m*] Mīnakoṭīṣ=cha bhūmiḥ [m*] prāptuṁ ratnā- kāraṇdvāṁ

10 punara(r={i) va vilasad-ratnā-sarvasva-sārē sphārē yasyā=ōpakaṇṭhē luthati jala-

11 nidhiṁ={vranjarā]*-vyājam=ētya | 3 || Vi(B)bhṛapaṁsa tāpo-vibhūtim=asamā-

12 māētē hy=Agasty-ākhyāyā vikhyātasya mahāmuniḥ śamavatāṁ śāvyasya

13 ta[trājāramaḥ | yasmin=yāmikā-nādavān=muni-vātu-svādhyāya-pāṭha-duḥvaniḥ

14 prōdhāśī kāḷī-kāla-taskara-tīraskārāya sannayahāti | 4 || [Ta]smi- 

15 m=muḥā prahuta-pāvaka-dhūma-ṛiti-sphārībhavad-viṣṭi=palla ra-mēcchak-anghaḥ(ghē) | 

puṃyō-ōta-

16 j-āgra-ghaṭamāna-ṃūrga(gē)ṇaḥcit=tēpē tapāṃsati sa śam-aiṇa-dhana muniūndraḥ || 5 ||

17 Unmārgōpa prasaḥbham=avanivallabhāḥ paryāṇānto na prēkehaṁtē trūtad=api yaśaḥ svā-

chechha-

18 hāra-prakāraṁ(ram) |[*] yat=tasyā=āpi prachura-tapasām=āraganyasya puṃyāṁ pāp=āchē-

[rās]=vair-

19 tam=aḥarān=hōmadā[m*] Kāmadhēnuṁ(nu) | 6 || Aṁataḥ sanēchhinītya kirichit=tad-anu-

sa viratāḥ śā-

20 pa-dānāṁ-muniūndraḥ sāudrībhūtānā dādānaḥ sphurā-udhara-ruchā krōḍha-vānēr=iv=

ārechhiḥ |

21 pratyarthī-utpāta-kētu-pravībhava-vilasad-dhūma-dhūma-vina(va[ba]=dha-sphūrjij-jvālā-

kalā-

22 pē hutabhūja hutavān=ahutikō hūm-vimīrāṁ(ērām) | 7 || Bhāsvat-tējāḥ-kutāpraṁrē={ī}va


24 dyā sanāthah | vi(bi)bhrānah svarṇa=ṃū(tū)nā-yugalam=atha pumān kō=pi charūn=āgni-

25 kunḍāt=kōdamūn=uṇa[ja]-śi[njā]-rava-ja[ni]-jagad-bhītir=āvīrva(rha)bhūva | 8 || Patri-

26 bhīṣ sa bhuvana-traya-vīras=tā[m*] uṛipā[m*]=cha sakalāḥ[n=vinīhaya] |[*] hōma-gām= 

upānā

27 ya tatō=smai māṇa-siddhiḥ=i[va] mūrti[m]— | 3 || 9 || Dūr-ōtsārita-kāṛtā-

28 ka-vyātikārām=ekāṅgavīraḥ kramād-gē — — ūga-lilay=ai[va] sakalā-

29 mā-ārkamya lōka-trayūṇ(yīm) | sāṃkṛṣyaṁ vijaya — — bhuvanē khyētaḥ kri-

30 śānē sutaḥ Śakrasyā=āpi sahāyatāṁ prakātyānntpātya dēva-dvīshāḥ | 10 ||

31 [Satyaṁ] tatō=bhūd=īha tasya nāma-vīraṁā lōkē Munimānasiddhiḥ | tasmā[=t∗]=tṛitītyō= 

bha-

32 vād-cēha vatīō=va[ri]-prātē-śa[nala]-kāla=mēgaḥ | 11 || Vānēr=vvaināsam=alaṁchakāra śa-

33 taṣāḥ krūr-āśi-dhār-āhati-[kri]ē-dārita-vai[ri]-kuṇjara-tatiḥ sṛt-Dhōrārē-

34 jō nīpāḥ | yasyā=yā=āpi Hīmādri-Śāmkaragiri-Kṛhāśūv(bu)rāśi-echhalād=āṭo-īy-

35 g-valayēbhu punjiṭam=i[va] avatāṁsu-ga[raṁ] yaśāḥ | 12 || Yēn=āchchhiyā samasta-

36 pārthiva-kulaṁ prāṇādhiṁkār tad-yaśaḥ(ō) jagrāh=ōbaḥ[ya]cchārvartti-kaṭa]kē śṛt-

37 Munija-Tailēśvarē | yad-vā— o — o — rakṣitaḥ — — — — — shtyāś[aya]-

1 Possibly bandhūtā is intended.
2 The intended reading was probably kalāpaṁ*.
3 The intended reading may have been mārmanṭaṁ tāṁ.
4 Read yat=cōtā.
38 n Gopālaḥ kaṭākastra— Uttarāḥ Kehōpi-chakrāakra.-
39 maṇa-ṁupūḥ-odāṇaḥ-dūḥ-ṛddhaḥ—[1]bhagn-pratibhasta-nripa-prēyasi-kēli-
40 hāsaḥ kṣirāniḥ [bhoj]dhēra iva suvanasām-aśrayaḥ pārijītō jātas-tasmā-
41 d=Yama iva paraḥ-raḥ-kṣmabhṛtām—Uttarāḥ-ākhyāḥ 14 Tasmāḥ-chhrī-Kalichörā-ḥūpiṭāḥ abhūḏ iva [chṛīḥ]da-
42 kaḥṭhirava-kiṣāṭa-pāṭita-sūnuḥbara-gṛhaḥ kṣmāpāla-mūlaṃkashah | pīt-anēka-ja-
43 lāmaṃśa[y]ayāḥ pratikalamaḥ yat-sainya-pāṅc-sūtkarair-nniḥēśhah[*] kakubhō marat-sthalama-ḥvāṃ sa-ūṃ(bra)-
44 huḥāṭicṛitah || 15 || Mūrttō vīra-rasaḥ samāśrita iva kṣmāpāla-dāv-ānālaḥ sam-
45 jātaḥ prithu-dirgha-vā(b)aḥhu-parīgha-vyūḥbhōṛṅgadōṃ-vatāḥ | chkrē śatra-kavāṁ(baḥb)-
46 dādhamān-āchāryakaṃ jyāṇāda-prakāṭikrit-ōgra-paṭaha-ḍvāṃ(l)nairḥ=yadiyaṃ dbhān u-
47 || 16 || Yat-kha-
48 ṭgaḥ(ṛgaḥ) samar-anīgandī ripu-śirah-śrēṇīḥ samāsādayann=asti-grañthi-vībhēdaḥ kha-
49 nad-īti
50 dvāṛnēṇa nūnabh dvīṣh[m[*] ṣbh-lōkaṃ tyajata prayāta cha divaṃ śv-sāṃ-lōka-rāmā-janaiḥ saṃbhū-
51 gaṃ bhajataprayachchhatayaḥ sāyī vyābhāṣhat=ēti śrutau || 17 || Chakshur-mugdha-mārī-
52 cha(chi) vēṣa-vikṣaṃ
53 kāyō manō vyēṅkulaṁ bhṛṣyaṃti śrīmatāḥ śkhalaṃti cha girō naśyaṇṭi sarvā disaḥ | yasūṃ=v-
54 krama-bhājī rājani milat-sangrāmā-bhāmu bhṛīṣaṁ kva sthaityaṃ kva bhujau kva virya-
55 garīmā kva=v-
56 tmā punaḥ kṣmābhṛtām(tām) || 18 || Garjaj-jīṃēta-mūrtti-prabala-ṛipu-va(ba)j-ājan hi bhūṃya yē-
57 na māyā-nirmāṇa-karma-pratikriti-vikrit-ānēka-nēpathya-bhaṇji | vairi-prāṇa-pra-
58 yāṇa-pravaṇa-ṛipuṇayaḥ khaṅga-yashṭya śthitō-pī prēṭa-prōṭ-āṁtra-taṅtrakī-nīraya-vichari-
59 tāṇy=āṣu rakṣheṇsī yēṃna || 19 || Snigdhaṃ svākṣī jīnāṃ priya-bhāṣpaḥ ca manō-bhīrāmē
60 maṇi-kumādā la cha (*[] yēṃ-ātadā-āṣu dvīṣad-ātmanāṃ=sūgaḥraḥ śrētra-yugasya chakṛē
61 || 2. || Bhagā Bhārata-bhāvatā vigālītā Rāmāyaṇ-ōpakramāḥ śrīṇī jīrṇa-purā-
62 na-paddhatariṅtō nābhāṣyāyikānāṃ gatiḥ | praty-āṣaṁ pratimaṇḍutamas prati-purāṇaḥ praty-
63 āpaṇar
64 praty-agāṁn tasya kṣmrīyādīkānāṃ gatiḥ | praty-āṣaṁ pratimaṇḍutamas prati-purāṇaḥ praty-
65 āpaṇar
66 sya ṛipasey kamanīt(chiḍa) drasśṭīṃ vikrishta-hridayaḥ=eva kutūḥālēna | [1] kīrttīḥ para-
67 prathama-kētaka-rē-
68 ṛu-sūbrāḥ lōkara-trayaṃ bhramati saṁtataṃ=sātma=aiva || 22 || Yasyābhiḥaṃ=vyēkaraṇaṁ pramanānāṁ
69 ṛaṇyā praṇāraṇa-taṭpāraṇaḥ | chōrā-hvēnār-dārura-karaṇaḥ ananyatra chitrē yadi
70 vā pracyā.
63 [raḥ] v. 23 : Bhir bhīyēta surāhyapī satadā hīyēta dīryēta cha va(r)hadhmāṇiaḥ su- [me]-rū.
64 ru-agra-kirāṇaḥ suśkyeyur anibbhadhamḥ [vāk-sūtr] na hi jhōṃ jyasya puḥ - - - - - -

Second Side

66 Pūjyāṇam puḥ or ēśaḥ suhba-parishadālam(d)na arthaśāh [ka]ḥ - - - - - - - - masya
67 sūnḥ para-yuvatjanasya śrīta-vıtra(r)ajasya tathā ; sa - - - -yō-yaḥ Hara-
68 čaraṇa-raja-rāti-rajyac-ehāri[ā]ḥ [yō] jāt-ōśāha; vuc]kīth prāk-ham-āri-
69 va(ha)la(h)ča-aiča-vītra hina-hiti 25 Rājyam na[ḥ] śrī-kaṁta-kanaḥ pratibhataik
70 śoṇyōṣyāt[ō] čhatastō dīṣaḥ āmāraḥ sustha-sukhiḥ cha mudraḥ janāḥ nirdhanādva-hi-
71 revitaṁ(lam) [v] sarvasyāpi pari:v-stāna tad abhvačad rājyac prajā-camujaṁ bhū:th-
72 rtuḥ

72 Kalichorakasya sakalak-śhāmkaraḥ chūṭjīmaṇaḥ 26 Viśuḍh-grī-
73 na-sat-patih katham-ayam viṛ vihi-prakrmaṇaḥ satyō varṇaya-vi
74 tu[ḥ] praṇaṭa paṭhitair dvīte-kharaṁ mṛjiṣaṁ [v] dēvaḥ Padma-guhi-mahā-gi-
75 ha-patih tavyōṣṭa sūtra-kriyā pūrve-śhārya-dharaṁ vi(l)bhṛtti Bhagvaṇ ya-
76 dy ēsāḥ mṛhiyāmaḥ [v] 27 Vāmśi viṣāma viśāda-kārttimatuḥ vahuh śōla[na] śrī-
77 dhūgira-marapafāte-chā hasya muntakam [v] Kāmō Mādhōr ivā yathā jahalī-ccha ēhā-
78 draḥ vāyōḥ śīkhy-śa vi yathā śiṣhyān pāyōḍha 28 Nīcchā-
79 ptaṃ Anibbhaḥavāṇa bhaksyāyāḥ sarvasvam-asāmin iti tarkayīmi [v] kutō=
80 sya vā rāja-paranipar-yaum āstō nivishtā sadan-ōpakaṁāth 29 .
81 Svarloka-d api darnasākṣa-bhavanād ā-saṅta-sivadh-ūllasad-vicha-trata-ta-
82 rānagājītā dhī bhavanandasvinśya bhūmaṁḍalāt [v]iṣ-kīnaṁ guru-śhārma-sūra-char-
83 ritaṁ lōka-pravāc(d)hā-padāṇa Dhātri paṭram-śudāṁ vichitra-vibhāvaḥ(vaih) śrī-
84 Siddhugir-nirmataḥ 30 Kiṁ Nāgārjuna ēsā Karṇa-ānipatiḥ
85 kiṁ va-vatirmō bhūvi kiṁ vā Vaiκaṇa-bhūpatih Śiv(ā)ya-ayam
86 kiṁ v-ātitha Vairōchāniḥ [v] itīthāṁ bhbraṁ-svaya janaṣya janayana-na
87 jāyāti tōṣu kaḥ śrīmat-Siddhugir-īty-agāt-punar asau
88 khyātīṁ janā śauṇpratāt(m)atām 31 Śrī-Siddhugir hī yāsō vijī-
89 tō vi(l)bhṛtti kāhuṣyām īna-rāma-mūndur atāḥ sadāiva [v] jyō-
90 tsā-paṭēna pihumān śavam asau pēṣeyya rātan param pracharāt
91 trapayāv εvaphah 32 . Tēna samsthāpitaḥ Śtāṉaḥ Kalyāṇē guṇām
92 griheḥ [v] purē Chālukya-chaṇḍraseṣaḥ Sōmēśvara-mahīyatēḥ || 33 Ni-
93 shkaṁ draumaṁ cha bhūmiśo grāme grāmē purē purē [v] 34 daṇḍa tasaśa sa dēnā-
94 va Chaṇḍraseṣa-guṇō puraḥ 34 v Yavāt-Pāvaka-saṅkta-viṣayā-vas
95 ni dēvaḥ-cha Siddhēsvāro [v]jyāvat-Siddhugir-nirmītī vījavaṭe kā-
96 lōp(h)piṇā sahasraṁ kāhātu [v]avad-grāma-sahasraṁ-pi viḥīt draummaḥ sa-ni-
97 shkaṁ saḍā śrī-Raibhēya-mahībhūja muṟgaṇad-āmōḍēna kṛtīvā śi-
98 lāṃ(śām) || 35 Prthvi tirthan-pur-āgrahāra-nagara-grāmae-aśāny-oḍara[v yā-

1 Sandhi has not been observed here.
2 The intended reading may be śūṭyō².
11 DGA/60
2. Fragmentary Inscription from Ardhāpur

The inscription, published in the following pages, is engraved on a broken stone slab originally lying in the house of the Police Patel, Shri Ramachandra Rao, at Ardhāpur, headquarters of a circle of that name in the Nanded District, lying ten miles away from Nanded. Shri Rao informed us that the inscribed slab had been discovered from a nearby field while the cultivators were ploughing it. As the slab was broken into two halves, a frantic search for the other half was

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1 Sandhi has not been observed here. Better read ch-vâdy-âpi.
2 This is No. 197 of A.R. Ep., 1958-59.
3 Shri V. A. Kanoje, Honorary Secretary of the Godāil Historical and Literary Research Society at Nanded, has recently removed the inscribed slab to the Society's Museum.
made by the farmers, but in vain. There is an old Śiva temple and an old tank attached to it near the field where the slab was found. The figures of the sun, a Śiva-liṅga, a devotee and a cow with a calf are engraved above the writing of the record under study. These seem to indicate that the fragmentary inscription was meant to record some donation in favour of a temple of Śiva, probably the one at Ardhāpur, referred to above.

The surface of the broken slab bearing the inscription measures approximately one foot three inches by one foot nine and half inches. The record is incomplete, the lower part of the inscribed slab having broken away and lost. There are altogether ten lines of writing though a portion of the ninth line and more than half of line 10 have broken away. Each line contains about twenty-five aksharas. A verse in the Varasatatrīkatā metre, which begins about the end of line 8, suggests that it concluded about the end of line 11, no trace of which now remains. It is not possible to determine the number of lines lost after the extant part of the epigraph. The engraving is careless and the preservation of the writing is not satisfactory. It is thus difficult to read the inscription.

The characters of the inscription belong to the Southern Nāgarī alphabet of the twelfth or thirteenth century A. D. Its language is Sanskrit and the inscription is written entirely in verse. Of palaeographic interest is the letter i, in which the left limb is often not joined with the right vertical so that the akṣara looks as if it is endowed with an ā-mātra (cf. ṇāli in line 5; ṇpalaḥ in line 7; the last letter in Vallāha in line 8, etc.), though sometimes it has the usual Southern Nāgarī form (cf. sakala in line 2 and the first akṣara in Līlā in line 3, etc.). It is interesting to note that the second akṣara in Līlā in line 3 has been written in the former form so as to look like having two ā-mātras. Initial i has the usual form written with two dots having a curved stroke below (cf. line 6). H has been represented by v in some cases. As regards orthography, it may be pointed out that consonants after r have been occasionally doubled. The words bhūhhṛt and prthiśrī have been written respectively as bhūhhūtr (line 5) and prthīśrī (line 8).

Since the lower part of the inscription is lost, its object cannot be definitely determined. It stops in the middle of the description of a local branch of the Raṭṭa or Rāṣṭrakūṭa family and was probably meant for recording the donations of one of the Raṭṭa chiefs in favour of the Śiva temple at Ardhāpur.

Verses 1-2 of the inscription are in adoration of the god Śiva, though the following stanza (verse 3) extols the Boar incarnation of Vishṇu. Whether this means that the Raṭṭa family mentioned in the record adored both Śiva and Vishṇu, like the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas, cannot be determined, because the adoration to Śiva would also be suitable for an inscription which probably recorded a grant in favour of a Śiva temple. It is thus possible to think that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, to which the donor of the grant recorded in the inscription seems to have belonged, was specially devoted to the Boar form of Vishṇu. As, however, will be seen below, one of these Raṭṭa chiefs was devoted to Nāgāśa and, if the latter was a deity, he was Śiva.

Verse 4 extols the standard of the golden hull (suvarṇa-vrīshabha-dhvaja) which was apparently one of the royal insignia of the family. It is interesting to note in this connection that the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas had the pāli-dhvaja, oka-ketu and Garuḍa-lāṁḍha,2 while the Raṭṭas of Saundatti are known to have the suvarṇa-Garuḍa-dhvaja.3 Among the important ruling families of Kannada origin, the Kalachuris of Śāyāga, who eclipsed Later Chalukya power in the third quarter of the twelfth century, had the suvarṇa-vrīshabha-dhvaja4 as the Raṭṭas of our inscription. It is of course difficult to say whether the Raṭṭas of the Ardhāpur region borrowed the

2 Ibid., p. 387.
3 Ibid., p. 562.
4 Ibid., p. 409.
banner from the Kalachuris and ever acknowledged their supremacy, although that does not appear to be unlikely.

Verse 5 introduces a ruler named Harisapāla of the Raṭṭa family. His son was Vikramārka (i.e. Vikramaditya) whose valour is referred to in the next stanza (verse 6). Verse 7 introduces Ballāla, son of Vikramārka, as proud on account of the favour of Śrī-Nāgēśa. This Nāgēśa may have been Ballāla’s preceptor or the deity he worshipped. In the latter case, the deity may be the same as Šiva in the Ardhāpur temple, if, of course, it can be supposed that the Raṭṭa family in question had their headquarters at modern Ardhāpur or in its neighbourhood. Verse 7 describes the glory of king Ballāla in causing the destruction of his enemies and the prosperity of his friends. The following stanza (verse 8) is incompletely preserved and the record ends in its second foot in line 10.

The importance of the epigraph lies in the fact that it introduces for the first time a hitherto unknown Raṭṭa or Raṣṭrakūṭa family ruling over the area around Ardhāpur probably as subordinate of some imperial ruler. The lateness of the epigraph suggests that the present Raṭṭa family might have been the feudatories of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri, though there is no reference to that effect in the record itself. It is, however, not improbable that the Ardhāpur branch of the Raṣṭrakūṭas originally owed alligiance to the Kalachuris of Kalyāṇa as already indicated above.

No geographical name can be traced in the extant part of the inscription.

TEXT

[Metres: Verses 1, 3-8 Anushṭubh; verse 2 Āryā (?); verse 9 Vasantarātaka.]

1 [Siddham]\(^2\) [*] [Bhuvas-tara[m]gam-at[u[l]a\*m-avatu jagad-adhiṣṭaḥ \([\ast]\) Pārvatijivitē-[śva]raḥ praṇa[ta]-jana-jū[jo][shaṇaḥ \([\ast]\) \([\ast]\)

2 Sarvas-ta……………pahā ……………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………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\(^1\) From impressions.

\(^2\) Expressed by symbol.

\(^3\) Read prātiṣṭhā.

\(^4\) Read rūpāṇu.

\(^5\) The intended reading was something like Ballāla-bhūpati.
No. 22—Inscriptions from Maihar

(D 1 Plate)

D. C. Sircar and V. S. Subrahmanyam, Ootacamund

(Received on 24.1.1961)

The two inscriptions published here were copied by us in October 1959 at Maihar, headquarters of the former State which now forms a Tahsil of the Satna District of Madhya Pradesh.1 The records are marked as A and B for the sake of convenience. A is engraved on the pedestal of the goddess Sāradādevī whose temple stands on a hill, while B is incised on a slab of stone lying in the same temple. The four lines of writing in A cover an area about 15 inches in length and 3½ inches in height, while B contains 39 lines engraved on a well-dressed slab of stone having a raised border (about 3 inches wide) on all the four sides. The excavated bed within the borders, which is 34½ inches high and 31 inches broad, was originally meant for engraving the epigraph. Since the space was later found inadequate to incise the whole record, the first and last lines were engraved respectively on the upper and lower borders. The preservation of the writing in both the records is unsatisfactory. Many parts of the inscription here and there are rubbed off, though the number of passages, in which the letters are completely lost, are not too many.

Inscription B, which is a big praśasti, was noticed by J. D. Beglar, who visited Maihar (spelt by him as Mahiyār) in 1871-72, in Cunningham’s A. S. I. Reports, Vol. VII, p. 51, in the following words: “. . . . . to the right of the steps leading up to the chief statue [in the shrine of Dēvi Sāradā] is a large slab, now cracked, which contains an inscription perfectly illegible from the effects of weather . . . . . . ”. This description of the record with reference to the state of its preservation is not quite correct.

The characters of both the records belong to the Early Nāgarī alphabet of the tenth century A.D. They, with the top of letters like p, s and y generally closed, very closely resemble the alphabet of such epigraphs as the Pratagbah inscription2 of the Pratihāra king Mahendrapāla II, dated in V. S. 1003 (946 A. D.), though there is a notable difference between the alphabets of the Pratagbah and Maihar records in the form of the medial ĉ sign. While the former indicates medial ĉ by bending the left end of the top mātrā of the consonants downwards, the sign in the latter is much longer as in records like the Dharmapuri plates3 of the Paramāra king Vākpati Muṇja, dated in V. S. 1031 (974 A. D.). But such letters as ĉ in the Dharmapuri plates exhibit a decidedly later form than in the Maihar inscriptions. On palaeographical grounds, the epigraphs under study may be assigned to a date about the middle of the tenth century A.D.

The language of the inscriptions is Sanskrit and they are written in verse. In A, we have only one stanza while Inscription B contains a versified eulogy with a maṅgala in prose at the beginning, the expression api cha occurring twice in between the stanzas and two passages in prose referring to the writer and engraver at the end. In orthography and style also, our inscriptions resemble the Pratagbah inscription and other contemporary epigraphs. There is no date quoted anywhere in either of the inscriptions.

Inscription A contains a single stanza in Śāṅdīlavikrīdita following a few damaged akṣaras at the beginning. It is of course tempting to regard these letters as forming a maṅgala. But

1 Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra copied the inscriptions in 1949 and prepared their transcripts. We are indebted to him for the reading of some words.
2 Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 176, Plate facing p. 185.
the stanza mentions a great scholar who was the very Vyāsa of the Kali age in poetic skill and became an expert in sciences like veda, nyāya, sāṅkhya, niti and mīmāṃsā even when he was a boy and this seems to refer to the young Brāhmaṇa scholar Dāmōdara whose career is described in B at some length. The inscriptions on the pedestals of images generally speak of the installation or dedication of the deities in question. It is therefore strange that the present record merely refers to the person in whose memory the goddess Śaradā (Sarasvatī) was apparently installed in a temple, the construction of which by Dāmōdara's father Dēvadharā is mentioned in Inscription B. It is thus possible that the few damaged aksharas at the beginning of A represent the concluding part of another stanza. If such was the case, it has to be surmised that the beginning of this inscription, incised on the image elsewhere, escaped our notice while copying the record. As a matter of fact, the image of the goddess Śaradā is under worship and the priests allowed us to copy the epigraph on the front side of the pedestal of her image after considerable persuasion. Since, moreover, the stanza in Śandrulavirādā referred to above does not appear to be the concluding part of a record, it is possible to think that Inscription A, though it is followed by marks of punctuation indicating the end of a work or a section, was continued and concluded on the left side.

Inscription B begins with the maniṣgala: ॐ namaḥ Sarasvatīyai which is followed by a fairly big praśasti in fiftyone stanzas composed in various metres. Verses 1-2 of the praśasti describe the goddess [Sarasvatī] as identical with Brāhmaṇi, Kamalā and Gaurī and as installed ॐ on this peak [of the hill] and again refer to her abode on the hill. The reference is no doubt to the hill at Maihar, on which the inscribed slab has been found. The following stanza records the author's obeisance to the goddess Sarasvatī.

Verse 4 introduces a Brāhmaṇa named Śoṇabhadra whose son, the learned Vūpati, born in the Vatsa gṛha, is mentioned in verse 5. The name of the viśaya or district where the Brāhmaṇa family flourished is not clear, though it may be Gōvana. The following stanzas mention the descendants of the said Brāhmaṇa: (1) Bhūgudēva, son of Vūpati (verse 6); (2) Gāṅgadharā born in Vūpati's family (verse 7); (3) Śivanāvali-bhaṭṭa whose relationship with Gāṅgadharā is not stated though he may have been a younger brother of the latter (verse 8); (4) Trivikrama, son of Śivanāvali-bhaṭṭa (verse 9); and (5) Dēvaprasāda, son of Trivikrama (verses 11-12).

The description of the family in verses 13-19 is difficult to follow. Verse 13 either mentions the younger brother or the two sons of Dēvaprasāda, though no personal name is clear from the extant part of the damaged stanza. It is also difficult to understand whether the description in the following stanzas relates to the younger brother or the younger of the two sons of Dēvaprasāda or some other members of the family were introduced in the section. Verse 20 mentions Dāmōdara, whose description continues in verses 21-23, though it is not clear whether he was the same as the younger brother or son of Dēvaprasāda or was a descendant of either of the latter. But the latter part of the record shows that this Dāmōdara was the son of Dēvadharā whose name therefore must have occurred in the damaged section referred to above as the younger brother or as the younger son of Dēvaprasāda.

Verses 24-35 narrate a story relating to the antecedents of Dāmōdara. It is said that he was really the son of the goddess Sarasvatī and was living in Brahma-lokā along with the preceptor of the gods (Bṛhaspati) and that once there was a Śāstrīc dispute between the two, in which Bṛhaspati was defeated by the young boy (verses 24-26). Being angry at his defeat, the preceptor of the gods cursed the boy to be born on the earth (verse 27). The boy's mother Sarasvatī then appeased Bṛhaspati (verse 28) who consoled the daughter of Bṛhma (Sarasvatī) by predicting that her young son would be born in a family of pious Brāhmaṇas and would become a great
scholar (verses 29-31). The last stanza of this section (verse 35) puts the following words in Brihaspati’s mouth: “Verily, this child will again come back to you as a result of being drowned in [the waters of] the sea after having seen Purushottama in the Odra country.” The reference here is to the god Purushottama-Jagannatha of Puri in Orissa.

Verses 35-40 describe Dāmōdara’s career on the earth, the first two stanzas (verses 35-36) stating that, at the time Brihaspati was consoling Sarasvatī in heaven, Dāmōdara was born as the son of Dēvadāra on the earth. It is further stated that, as predicted by the preceptor of the gods, he stayed in his (i.e., his father’s) house till he became sixteen years old. The following two stanzas (verses 37-38) state how then Dāmōdara left his parents, friends and relations and, resolving to set out on pilgrimage, reached in due course the sea-shore where he saw the god Purushottama. Verse 40 states that Dāmōdara went back to the world of Brahman where he told the people the story about himself. As indicated by the prediction in verse 35, he must have lost his life while bathing in the waters of the Bay of Bengal near the temple of Purushottama-Jagannatha in Orissa. The next stanza (verse 41) says how his father became greatly mortified at the news of his son’s death.

Verses 42-43 introduce a banker named Madhusūdana who was a devotee of the god Madhusūdana (Vishnu-Kṛishṇa) and a friend of Dāmōdara’s father Dēvadāra. He is described as responsible for the building of many temples and other charitable institutions and as a poet and an incarnation of Vajradatta whose identity is uncertain, although he may have been the well-known author of the Lokēśvarastava.1 Verses 45-46 state how Dēvadāra built a temple for the goddess Sarasvatī in his son’s memory while the previous stanza (verse 41) seems to suggest that he received help in that connection from his friend Madhusūdana. The temple referred to is no doubt the one in which the goddess Śaradā of Maihar was originally installed on the hill. Verse 47 says how Dēvadāra left his home and went to the world of Vishnu (i.e. died). It seems that he went to a holy spot with a view to giving up his life.

Verse 48 introduces a Śaiva ascetic named Sāmbaśambhu whom the following stanza (verse 49) describes as a terror to the Čārvāka school of philosophers and as an adept in the Buddhist and Jain doctrines as well as in the āgamas of the Śaivas. From verse 50, we learn that this Sāmbaśambhu was the author of the prāṣasti under study. Verse 51, with which the eulogy ends, contains the prayer that the goddess (i.e. the image of Sarasvatī or Śaradā now worshipped on the hill at Maihar) may last for ever. The concluding section in line 39 states that the eulogy was written (i.e. written on the stone for facilitating the work of engraving) by Bāśva and that its engraver was Nāgādēva.

The inscription analysed above does not contain information of any importance to the student of the political history of ancient India. Still it is not devoid of interest to the student of Indian literature and cultural history. In the first place, it contains an as yet unknown work of a little known poet named Sāmbaśambhu, though the composition cannot be regarded as of a high order. Secondly, if Vajradatta mentioned in verse 42 is really identical with the author of the Lokēśvarastava, it offers one of the rare instances of the mention of an earlier poet in an epigraphic record. Thirdly, the inscription seems to indicate the popularity of the works of Bāṣṇa-bhāṭṭa. The story of Sarasvatī’s son having been cursed by Brihaspati in Brahma-lōka and born on the earth reminds us of a similar story told in the first chapter of Bāṣṇa’s Harshacharita how Sarasvatī herself was cursed by Durvāsas in Brahman-lōka and was compelled to live on the earth (the bank of the river Sōja) where she was married to a mortal and gave birth to a great scholar.

Amongst informations in the text which would interest the student of Indian mythology and religious history, attention may be drawn to the representation of the goddess Sarasvatī as identical with Brāhmī, Kamala and Gaurī and also as the daughter of the god Brahmā. We know that our goddess of learning is variously represented in Puranic literature as the daughter or wife of Brahmā (though Brahmā’s more well-known wife is Gāyatri or Sāvitrī) and sometimes also as identical with Durgā, the wife of Śiva, as the wife of Viṣṇu or Manu, and as the daughter of Dakṣa.

The reference to Dāmodara’s pilgrimage to Puri is very interesting. As we have seen above, there is evidence to show that the god Purushottama-Jagannātha of Puri in Orissa was a celebrated deity in the latter part of the eleventh century A.D. when Krishṇamīra wrote his Prabodha-chandrādaya at the court of the Chandella king Kirtivarman (c. 1070-1100 A.D.). It is now clear from the present record that the god was enjoying the same celebrity as early as the middle of the tenth century and probably even some time earlier.

Among the geographical names in the inscription, Odra has to be identified with the Puri-Cuttack region of Orissa.

TEXT

A

1 ॥ तौ ॥ बेदे वस्त्रुराननविक्रमद्रविक्रम(ब)स्ये परः
2 संस्कृत्यातिपु नृपपुरसनानीति च वाणसपति ॥ मी-
3 मांसामु विनय: परमहु वा(ब)यथि सववेत्ता मेनावा-
4 पि क्रिमुच्यते कलमुक्ष्यास: काविर्य [ग्र्यति]॥ ॥

B

[Metres: verses 1, 15, 22, 31, 50 Śārdulavikṛṣṭi. verses 2-8, 10, 11, 16-19, 21, 23-27, 29, 30, 32, 35-41, 43-47 Anushtubh; verses 9, 13, 14, 20, 28, 33 Vasantāyukā; verses 12, 14, 24, 49, 51 Sṛngāhā]

1 ॥ नम: सरस्वती ॥ या वा(ब)हि वक्त्वप्यर्थवस्त्रुराननरुवयवयं कमलं [विभिन्नव सक्षरयलं]
देशार्द गिरिशास्य विश्वविविहिता गोरी जगद्विभुवा ॥ प्रत्यावस्थित[सार्दविभ्यम्] ॥ ॥

2 सववस्मिनेिखरे गिरीभवं नित्य स्थिता चार्यां िल[५३८] िपव्वादित्विनासन

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1 See Manier-Williams’ Sans. Eng. Dict., s.v.
3 See Sircar, Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, pp. 134 ff.
4 From inked impressions.
5 The ekakāna here appear to represent the concluding part of a stanza.
6 Metre: Śārdulavikṛṣṭi.
3 दिने दौरवतिनिः। श्री(श्रीतकांशतुज्य)जोडूतो(ते) सरस्तति नमोस्यु ते। ||[३॥१२*]

4 देवदार्शनः। वत्सरामः पवित्रेभुम्भोक्ताशादिव पितामहः। ||[५॥१२*] तद्वशभूषण भद्रो

5 ये धीरो विधवस्ताशेषः। गंगाय इति ध्यात�। समभूतसमवर्तनः।

6 समा शुभतिरक्ततुमुर्तिमातुम्यस्वित्वः इति यथार्थो भूषैत।।

7 भरतस्याय सन्त्रकामाभिः। कुलशोभिष्टपेते स्वकलिते सुतरामः।

8 वारङ्गसमवर्तनः। ||[११॥१२*] अपि च।।

9 धर्मः सुवृत्तकुपलुमान्वदन्तनः। च चंद्रशार्येति चित्रपुष्पः। किमपरस्मयः

10 वेरमति – वत्पीरभारः। तथायोः। गुजन्तोल्लोकपूर्णचंद्रः। समभूतसमवर्ते।

11 - । गत्या बृहत् बृधिरतिनिश्चकु (श्री) रस्य रूपः। जिगाय सुभवस्यायस्मर्तिः।

12 परं प्रानवगम्या: स्वयम्। कर्ता चाहृतवस्तुवस्मयं चात्रां मूलस्यायनः

\[१\text{The damaged akṣara may be } १५.\]
13 [हृतेक्ष्यः कृत्यविवृतः] देवाराधायमास वितरणः सप्ततंतुमिः II[१६॥]*
संसारसारास्त्रा जाेता विद्वान् न घृति स्थितः।
सवर्णाचारीवनः[कृपणसरस्वति]
... ... II[१७॥]* ... 

14 तु मेर्देश ध्रुवप्रज्ञे निम्न्नम्। प्रसार यशसस्वय प्राप वचनः[चध]-
मृहस्तम् II[१८॥]*
तस्यायं स्त्यात्माप्यन्नम् जगत्याज्ञापानान्तु।
... ...

15 ... II[१९॥]* -- -- -- -- [निहव्यः रस्तयस्मांसि शामाशी]राहिलित्वुढ़ुंग -
दर्पस्यः। दामोदरो विजयतुरुज्जयकोपान्तः।
संसारः -- -- -- -- -- II[२०॥]* पूर्वजः।

16 न्यान्तरोपलसंकाराय उभ्रात। स बा(बा)ः एव पुष्करंम सवर्णार्थायप्रत्ये-
(इरु)ःयत् II[२१॥]* अर्घ च। प्रक्रिया: किमयः पुनः\ श्रीलितः प्राप्तः,
[स्वयं] कोशुकुस्तमूल्या श्रेष्ठः।

17 मूढः बारिवन्सुताकारौ ज्ञयतः किमयः। किमयः तारकाराको दयशाबेंक मूढः
लीला भावीयं [चतुर्वेद कीविलिभ्रमः] -- -- -- -- II[२२॥]* एकस्यः
रिथराग्रामः: सुः।

18 कविवर्दिताः वरः। पित्रोम्ब्रकोलुकक्तले शूती धर्मपर्वस्य सः। II[२३॥]*
सोऽयं सरस्वतीभुज(इरु)ःह्लोके कत्वःगुरः। देवानां गुणर्य सांह जगत्यायमास
सम्मतिः। II[२४॥]* ब्र(Scene)

19 परिष्ठित सवर्पां ब्र(.Scene)हर्यणां च पश्यतायः। विवाहः: सुमहानासीत्योन्निविभाव-
लिप्याः। II[२५॥]* सवर्णालितूकवृत्तावसंस्कृते। प्रभावः। सत्तमेह्नि
वा(वा)ःलेन विजितो

20 देवतागुहः। II[२६॥]* पराजयविलक्ष्य कोपेनाहस्तेश्तसा। शतः स बा(बा)ःलो
गुर्यस्य गच्छ तथं मयंमष्टवम् II[२७॥]* निशायत तत्स्य वचः: सरसवती
सुतस्य याप्यलितस्वतंत्रसा। ब्र-

21 भास्मशः क्रमंशेयाहोवास्तैः प्रसारयमास सुरूः। दिवोकायम् II[२८॥]* म तस्य
उपरोषने दयाद्रित्वमातनास। ब्र(.Scene)हस्तविवाचनः मा भंयोत्र्य(.Scene)ःगुणः: सुते
II[२९॥]* तवायं वा(बा)-
22 लक्ष्मी भग्नावशयः 

23 स्थानांतर्वे 

24 चार: कात्यायन इवारः 

25 विद्यानिष्ठ: 

26 ज्ञानकृत: 

27 तावत्तमुशुष्कत: 

28 न्यूदः 

29 गच्छता भूयः 

30 रयः 

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1 One akshara is missing here.
31 मन्त्राविधाप्रमाणे तर्का कान्यप्रभ(ब)-थे पुनरिव गुणवाच्यदत्तोद्विविषणे । 
[[४२]]* मधुसूदनभक्तो शिवमुदनसंजित । पुराण(इ)रत्नामास प्रवीण ।
32 इन श्रद्धेशु । [[४३]]* दामोदररिपताने मुहुई समसतामत्तू । समुद्रमुखुला योक्ताकुकलत्वय: । 
[[४४]]* मधुशंकरेन्द्र(ब)-थे तदाविषयां विनायक च । श्रीदेव- ।
33 वर्तनामामूं सरस्वत्या अकारंकुत्त्वू । [[४५]]* प्रारम्भ चिन्तये विश्वो यशो रूपमिति स्तितमसु । भवति तस्यं विश्वस्य विदुष: कुलवसुपुुं ।[[४६]]* सोपि देवरो धीरो निः:*मृत्यु विधिव- ।
34 दृष्टिव- मधुसू: कौशिकमंगक्षोत्तेष: पदमालारसु: [[४७]]* तस्मिनुरु पुराबि- 
दशनाराजाविन्दमाराम रथब(ब)पुराबो(बो)धनिरस्तव(व)थ: । कां समस्व(व)थय ।
[[४८]]* सुकं- - - - मुक्तजनुपणः।
35 पादांव(उ)ज: - - - - - - - सुवि सांव(ब)शंसु: [[४८]]* अर्थ च । साधारावानुभावी 
समुद्रभवनभवाधिना गमनमकंद्रश्चार्याविपक्तकदश: कृतमुगठत्वज्जेतिविज्ञानकेतु: । संसारान- ।
36 भोधमंजुजनन्तनाजना हस्तालवव- (ब)ः श्रीवामामामामामामामामी सर्व- 
शाक्तेव्विन्नः। [[४९]]* तेनेयं समकारिक कलममुया शास्ता प्रासितल्पस- 
तकायावानिजः- ।
37 तच्छतास्य विदुषा स्वोविविधमथ स्वयमु। तत्सृधुष्ठ पवित्रक्षेत्रितस्तातः 
शक्त्वतां सम्मते वत: सत: सजनक- शनेन महतो यस्माधुः विनविनवित ।[[५०]]* 
||१० || ।
38 वेदाहिनः चन्द्रमलि: कल्यति गिरिजा यावधोम । - - - - - स्यल्लयं विश्वमितिवहति 
प्रेमव(ब)कंपुसुपदः । - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
39 [चौ?] च यानतवेदावियमस्तां गिरिजाविररिधिपादविन्यासम । पृथिवियम्।[[५१]]* 
गितिता भावेन । उक्तीन्द्रां च नागदेवनेयं प्रशस्तिरित ॥१० ॥
No. 23—Inscription from Wari, Saka 1467

(2 Plates)

Debala Mitra, Calcutta

(Received on 29.11.1960)

During my visit to Mahla in May 1959, an inscribed stone slab (now in the Mahla Museum) was shown to me by Shri Shibendu Sekhar Roy, Pleader and Secretary of the Mahla Museum, who stated that it had been found in 1958 by Shri Raghunandan Saha, Block Development Officer, during the Test Relief operation near a mound by the side of a large tank called Ratangājā, at Wari, 10 miles north of the Harishchandrapur Police Station in the Mahla District.

The inscription, engraved on the finished side of an otherwise irregular slab of basalt with letters in relief as generally found in Arabic and Persian inscriptions, contains six lines of writing. The length and breadth of the finished oblong face of the slab are respectively 1 foot 4½ inches and 5½ inches. There is a socket on the back side, apparently for fixing it on the wall of the mandapa referred to in the inscription. The writing has a raised border on all the sides. The letters are uniform in size and carefully made.

The characters of the record are Bengali and resemble those in the epigraphs and manuscripts of the 15th or 16th century found in Bengal and Assam. In regard to palaeography, the following points call for attention. The upper part of medial i generally shows, instead of the curve above the top mātrā, an oblique stroke coming downward to the left from the right end of the top mātrā and attached to the top of the concerned letter, as in likhyamāni, muni, Mawbhārī and nirmānaya (line 1). This type of i is found in a few dedicatory inscriptions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in some of the temples of Vishāpur in the Bankura District. Medial n at the foot of consonants like n, p and s (e.g. Mawbhārī in line 1, pātrā and surai in line 3) is indicated by an angular attachment (resembling the tail of a fish), but has the modern Bengali form below such letters as m, r, s, h and d (e.g. muni in line 1, viṅga and Viṣṇu in line 2 and ṅupachitā in line 5). Medial ḷ in māttik (line 5) is denoted by an angular curve resembling the modern Bengali form of medial ķ. Anāravija is indicated by a dot near the top end of the right side of the letter and also by a dot put above a slanting dātā tipped by a dot placed at the right of the letter as in vidānā (line 5). Viṣṇa resembles the Bengali figure for 4 as in the copper-plate inscription of the time of king Vijayamānīkya of Tripura.1 The avagraha sign has the same form as h without the top mātrā. The sign of final m in Viṣvanātham (line 4) resembles somewhat the mark of interrogation placed obliquely. The tongue of ja in Viṣhvanājāna (line 3) does not come down as in the modern one but is finished with an upward curve as in the manuscript of the Śrīkrishnākirtitama.2 The letter ṭ is yet to achieve its final Bengali form, while v (e.g. in viṅgaṇu in line 2) shows an oblique  śl-like double curve attached to the left top of a vertical line. The letter r has the shape of r (which of course is undifferentiated from h) with a dot inside the triangle as in the earlier of the two Barakar inscriptions3 and in a stone inscription

1 JAS, Letters, Vol. XVII, 1951, pp. 73-82.
2 R. D. Banerji, The Origin of the Bengali Script, University of Calcutta, 1919, Plate VIII.

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of V.S. 1553 (1146 A.D.). The letter l exhibits a single oblique curve attached to the right vertical line. The upper portion of h looks like that of d.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and, except for the names of the two composers, it is in verse. The following orthographical points may be noted: (1) reduplication of m in Manubhir=menadapaia but not in sainir=muktyai (both in line 1); (2) the use of acragha in bhaktay=alhrita (lines 1 and 2) but not in Mahendr=tra (line 2) and (3) the absence of the mark of the final consonant with t in sakhita (line 2) but its presence with m in Visvanatham (line 4).

The inscription is dated in the Saka year 1467, given in the chronogram muni(7)-rasa(6)-Muni(14). The year corresponds to 1545-46 A.D.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a temple by a person named Mahendra with the image of Vishnu in the centre surrounded by Surya, Ganapati, Parvati and Visvanatha respectively in the south-east, south-west, north-west and north-east directions. Like a modern tolerant Smarta, Mahendra rose above sectarianism and engaged himself in paichripa.

The contents of this inscription made me curious about the structure itself. With a faint hope of getting some traces I visited the site from Maida on the 21st April 1960 and found the remains, scanty though they are, faithfully answering to the description.

The main edifice consists of a square structure with a low platform-like stone-paved upina around it. The brick walls of its outer periphery, about 4 feet thick, are veneered both internally and externally with smooth slabs of bluish basalt (sila=rita and nil=apala of the inscription). Internally the structure is compartmented by a network of brick walls, about 3 feet 6 inches wide, into nine chambers (see Plate). The largest is the central chamber about 11 feet square, and it is surrounded by eight others—four squarish small rooms at the corners and four oblong bigger ones, on the four sides of the central chamber. The latter, no doubt served as porches to the central and the corner rooms, utilized as seataries. The central chamber has three doors, one on the front and the others on the sides, leading to the porches, while each of the corner rooms has two doors communicating with the flanking porches, the latter having in addition doors leading outside, so that each have four doors, except the western one behind the central chamber which has three. The floors of all the rooms were originally paved with bluish basalt slabs, traces of which still linger at places. The frames of the doors were also of stone, the sills and jambs of which are extant in many cases.

The central object of worship, i.e. Vishnu of the inscription, is now missing. It no doubt stood against the doorless western wall of the central chamber. The dislodged pedestal of the image—now lies in the adjacent north porch. Paicha-ratha on plan and of bluish basalt, it is 5 feet 11 inches long and 2 feet 6 inches wide (at the maximum point), with a socket, 1 foot $\frac{1}{2}$ inch by 7 inches in the centre of its rear end.

The corner rooms doubtless housed the remaining deities mentioned in the inscription. There is, however, at present no trace of them except that the north-eastern room still has in situ a liiga of bluish basalt with a large arghyapatta. The inscription itself had been found loose, according

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1 Ibid., Vol. XIV, 1948, pp. 114 f.; Plate 1. This type of r also occurs on the dedicatory inscriptions on the Mallikav, Syamakav, Jod-bangal, Kalichand, Lalji, Radhavind, Muralimohan and Madan-Gopal temples (all of the seventeenth century) of Vishnupur.

2 My enquiries revealed that a large image of Vishnu, which may be regarded as the central deity of the shrine, had been removed by a local person who is said to have thrown it in the neighbouring tank following a mishap in his family.
SKETCH PLAN OF THE PAÑCHĀYATANA TEMPLE AT WARI

EAST

+ FINDSPOT OF THE INSCRIPTION

TANK
to Shri R. N. Saha, at whose initiative the site was cleared of its debris and who was kind enough to take me to the site, on the top of the extant wall in the south-eastern corner room, i.e. the chamber of Sūrya.

The facing brickwork of the partition-walls is fine and its mortar is lime, while lime and surki are used in the core. The filling in between the facing stones of the outer periphery is of brick courses alternating with layers of concrete consisting of lime and brick grits. The mortar is extremely strong even now.

The structure (mandapa or mota of the inscription) was therefore a paśchātana temple dedicated to the principal deities of the five recognized Brahmanical cults, namely, Vaiśnava, Sākta, Saiva, Saura and Gānapatiya, a remarkable combination under one roof. Although the spirit of rapprochement between the different rival Brahmanical creeds was at work from a fairly early period and syncretistic images, miniature temples with figures of different cult-deities on their faces and the paśchātana temples consisting of a central one dedicated to the chief object of worship with four subsidiary temples at the corners of the quadrangle grew up in response to it, it seems to have gathered momentum after the conquest of Muslim rulers. The instinct of self-preservation appears to have prompted the votaries of the different Brahmanical deities to combine before a common foe who had no respect for their faiths.

Twelve feet away from the back (i.e. western) wall of the structure are the ruins of a row of nine brick cells connected with each other by side doors. It is not known whether similar cells, laid after a quadrangular monastic plan, existed on the three other sides as well. But this is not unlikely as the north-west end of the western wall shows a turn towards the north. To the east of the structure is the Ratangāna tank which, according to local belief, is the repository of ratna (ratna, precious things).

In the office of the Block Development Officer exists a fragmentary stone sculpture which, 1 was told by Shri R. N. Saha, was found in the debris of the structure. It represents an eight- or ten-armed goddess seated in bīhit-āsana on a double-petalled lotus. All the forearms with the attributes, except a water-pot (preserved on the lap), are now missing. Though it is tempting to identify the figure with that of Śailaputri of the inscription, the image, as evident from the characters of the inscription on its pedestal, seems to be earlier than the temple-complex. 3

Not far from the complex is another large tank, on the banks of which are remains of some other brick structures.

TEXT

[Metres: Verse 1 Sragadhāra; verse 2 Vasantatilaka.]

1 Śāk-ābdē likhyamānē muni-rasa-Manubhir-mmaṇḍapaṁ śaila-sārāṁ-muktyai nirmāya bha-
2 ktyaṁ dhrita-viiv(u)bhiha-gaṇaṁ śṛī-Mahendrōstra sākshaṁ(k-hāṭ) maḥāvī Viṣṇuṁ Krṣāmōṛi-d̐di-
3 śi Divasakaraṁ maiṁi-tē Vighnārājaṁ vāyavvē Śailaputtīṁ Hara-hariti surair-ṃvaandī-
4 tain Viśvanātham [[[1]]] śṛī-Gāvindamiśrasya kś Nil-ōpalēṇa ghaṭītō maṭha ēsha ya-

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1 Shri Saha also mentioned a carved gate which he has kept beneath a huge stack of bricks.
2 [See below, pp. 183-84.—Ed.]
3 From the original.
4 Between the two daṇḍas, there is a floral motif within an oblong border.
In the Śaka year which is being written by muni (7), rasa (6) and Manu (14), the illustrious Mahendra, out of devotion (and) for salvation, built, with the best stones, (this) maṇḍapa, which holds several deities, (with) Vishnu in the centre, the maker of the day (Sūrya) in the direction of Krīṣṇa (agni), Vighnarāja (Gaṅgēśa) in that of Nrṣīti. the daughter of the mountain (Pārvati) in that of Vāyu, and Viśvanātha, worshipped by gods, in that of Hara (Īśāna). (This is the composition) of the illustrious Gōvindamīśra. Made of blue stones is this mātha, the blue form which is produced by burnishing. Alas! The (black) stain in the brightly-shining orb of the moon, which spreads the ill fame of the moon, (now) shines in vain (i.e. the lustre of the black stain pales into insignificance before the shiny black stone of the mātha).2 (This is the composition) of the illustrious Satāvadhāna.

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1 There is a floral motif here within an oblong border.
2 [See below, p. 183.—Ed.]
No. 24—NOTE ON INSCRIPTION FROM WARI

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

(Received on 18.1.1961)

The Wari inscription of Śaka 1467 (1545-46 A.D.) has been edited in the foregoing pages (pp. 179-82) by Mrs. D. Mitra. The second of the two stanzas contained in the inscription runs as follows:

Nil-apalena ghatiśa matha ēśha yasya
saṁghrasayanā tachitā kila nila-mūrtih |
ātasaśi vata vriśṭh-āvira kālaṅka-vādam
vimbē vīḍhār-vrimāla-bhāsi vīḍhāti rikkā ||

We are inclined to translate it into English in the following words: “This temple is built of blue stone, owing verily to the rubbing against which, the blue-coloured line developed in the spotlessly shining orb of the moon appears—oh wonder! spreading the story of a stain [in it] wrongly indeed.” The reference here is really to the great height of the temple and we have the same idea also elsewhere in the works of Sanskrit literature. One such stanza occurs in Ananta-bhaṭṭa’s Bhāratacakampū to which my attention was drawn by Mr. S. Sankaranarayanan. The verse reads:

Yasyāṃ=udagra-mipamāndira-chandra-cālā-
vāyāyanē gati-vasād-vapushi praśakām |
dīp-ūgra-dhūma-maṇḍāka śīśrāṇa-bimbē
mohāś=kuḍāṅga iti mudhā-janā vadanti ||1

Mrs. Mitra has referred to a damaged stone sculpture representing ‘an eight- or ten-armed goddess’ now lying in the office of the Block Development Officer at Wari about ten miles from the Harishchandraapur Police Station in the Malda District. She observes, “Though it is tempting to identify the figure with that of Śalaputri (i.e. Pārvatī) of the inscription [of 1545 A.D.], the image, as evident from the characters of the inscription on its pedestal, seems to be earlier than the temple-complex.” She is right. On an examination of an impression of the image inscription in question, I find that its characters are about six or seven centuries earlier than the epigraph of 1545 A.D. Moreover, the contents of the epigraph, as read by us, show that the image on which it is engraved is that of the goddess Sarasvati.

The Wari Sarasvati image inscription is written in two lines which cover an area about 6-7 inches in length and 1-1 inches in height. Its characters belong to the transitional stage when Gaūḍa was developing out of Siddhanāṭajīkā. It may be noticed that the top of the letters p, m, etc., is open in some cases (e.g. p in pākka and m in mūrtih in line 2) but closed in others (e.g. p in śrimat-Padmaḥ and m in nirmamatāmaḥ in line 1 and p in pākka and s in sa-sārē in line 2). We know that the top of such letters is only rarely open in the Pāla and Chandra inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries A. D. The inscription may thus be assigned on palaeographical


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grounds to a date before the close of the tenth century. The record, which is written in the Sanskrit language, contains a single stanza in the Anushtubh metre, the two halves of which are engraved in the two lines of writing. There are orthographical errors; cf. "girīna-aishā" for "girīna-aishā" in line 1 and "pakka" for "pakaka" in line 2. Of lexical interest is the expression "pakka-pura" in line 2, which appears to be the Sanskrit rendering of Bengali "pakā-bādi", 'a brick-built house'.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of an image of the goddess Sarasvati by a person named Padmagiri. The image is stated to have been made [for installation] in the brick-built house of Padmagiri's preceptor whose name is not mentioned in the epigraph. The "pakka-pura" or brick-built house seems actually to have been a temple built by the person in question. The special mention of the shrine as brick-built is due to the fact that, as is the case even now, many deities were worshiped in thatched houses in the area in question. Padmagiri's name ending with the word "giri" is interesting. Whether this indicates that he was an ascetic of a particular order cannot be definitely determined since personal names like Nandagiri and Mahendra-giri occur in very early inscriptions while we have no such early reference to ascetics bearing names ending in "giri". But Padmagiri's epithet "nirmama", 'one who has renounced all worldly ties', seems to support such a conjecture.

If Padmagiri was a Brahmanical ascetic, the goddess was the Brahmanical Sarasvati and not the Buddhist or Jain deity of that name. But it may be noted in this connection that the early medieval images of the goddess Sarasvati found in Bengal, whether Brahmanical or otherwise, are generally represented with two or four arms, and not with eight arms. Since the image in question is known to be that of Sarasvati from the inscription it bears, we get here a unique instance of the eight-armed Sarasvati, even though such a conception of the deity is sometimes met with in Puranic literature. The Durgānāpātātī, e.g. speaks of an aspect of Sarasvati with eight arms holding respectively arrow, pestle or club, trident or lance, discus, conch, bell, plough and bow. But what Mrs. Mitra describes as a water-pot on the lap of the deity seems to be the lower end of the lute which is one of the common attributes of several forms of the deity. If the image had really ten arms as alternatively suggested by Mrs. Mitra, the additional two arms may have held the lute.

TEXT
1 Śrimat-Padmagirināi(ṇ-ai)shā nirmamāne vi[nirmamāe] |
2 guruḥ pakka(kva)-purē mūr[tīh] sa-sārē cha [Sarasv]ati [][[]

TRANSLATION
This image—this Sarasvati—was constructed by the illustrious Padmagiri, who is free from connection with the outer world, (for installation) in the strong brick-built house (i.e. a temple) of (i.e. raised by) (his) preceptor.

1 The word bharāna, which is a synonym of pura, is sometimes used in the sense of 'a temple' (Lüders, List, No. 952).
2 The name Nandagiri occurs in two inscriptions from Barhut (cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 58) and king Mahendra-giri of Pashupura is known from the Allahabad pillar inscription (Sol. Ins., p. 236, text line 29, and p. 257, note).
4 Venkatāvara ed. 1916, p. 283, verses 14:15:
Gauri-dhāt-sambhūtā ya sutra-aiya-gun-ārayā |
akṣṭhā Sarasvati prātika Śambhāśura-sikākhāri |
Paddhān ch-ahsa-bhāya bāna-munāl śāla-chakra-bhūri |
hankham ghanśām lāngalum cha kārmukam manthāthiṣa
5 From an impression.
No. 25—THREE PARAMARA INSCRIPTIONS

(1 Plate)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

(Received on 28.8.1960)

1. Bhōjpur Fragmentary Inscription of the time of Bhōja I

This inscription is engraved on the pedestal of a colossal image of a Jain Tirthāṅkara in the old Jain temple at Bhōjpur in the Goharganj Tahsil of the Raisen District, Madhya Pradesh. The village lies about 16 miles from Bhopal. There are only two lines of writing in the epigraph, the first of which is bigger than the second and contains letters of a slightly bigger size. The akṣaras in line 1, which is about 21 inches long, are about \( \frac{1}{4} \) inch in height, while those of line 2 (about 3½ inches shorter than line 1) are a little less than \( \frac{1}{4} \) an inch high.

The inscription is fragmentary, the extant part containing about \( \frac{1}{4} \) of the original writing. About \( \frac{1}{4} \) of the inscription is broken away from the beginning. Several akṣaras have also broken away from a few other places in line 1.

The characters of the inscription are Nāgarī of about the eleventh century A.D. They resemble the alphabet of the records of the time of Paramāra Bhōja I (c. 1000-55 A.D.), to whose age the inscription under study also refers itself. \( t \) and \( w \) have been written alike. The ornamentation of the anuvṛtta in Chandrādhaṭa in line 1 is interesting. The language is Sanskrit and the record is written in two stanzas. The extant part of the record does not bear any date. But it can be referred to a date about the middle of the eleventh century A.D.

There is a verse in the Vasantatilaka metre in line 1. Its first half refers to Chandrādhamauli (i.e. the god Śiva) and the second half to [Kājadhi]rāja-Paramēśvara Bhōjadēva. The deity and the reigning monarch may have been introduced by a word like jayati; but no verb can be traced in the extant part of the stanza. The paleography and findspot of the inscription suggest that this Bhōjadēva is no other than Paramāra Bhōja I.

Line 2 contains another stanza in the Upajāti metre in the first half of which we can read the passages Śāgaramāṇḍi-nāmā, while the second half has sa Nēmichandaṅgā vidadhē pratisktān. . . . Sā[Śāh]itijinaṃsya mūl(a)ṣām. It is thus clear that the object of the inscription is to record the installation of an image of Śānti-jina, i.e. the Jain Tirthāṅkara Śāntinātha, on the pedestal of which it is engraved. The person responsible for its installation was apparently a Jain householder named Sāgaramāṇḍi, while the ceremony of installing the image was performed by a Jain monk named Nēmichandaṅgā. Although it is a Jain epigraph, the invocation of Chandrādhamauli or Śiva in verse 1 seems to suggest that the author of the two stanzas, in which the record was composed, was a Śaiva. The said god may have also been mentioned in connection with king Bhōja who is known to have been a devotee of Śiva.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it associates Paramāra Bhōja I with Bhōjpur or Bhōjapura, ‘the city of Bhōja’. It appears that Bhōjpur was named after the said Paramāra king. Recently the Government of Madhya Pradesh published a small book in Hindi on the antiquities of Bhōjpur. Its learned author, Muni Kāṭisāgaraj, had to satisfy himself with some speculation on the origin of the name of the village. This is because he does not appear to have succeeded in deciphering the inscription under study.
1 2. Bhōjpur Inscription of the time of Naravarman, Vikrama 1157

This small inscription is engraved on the pedestal of an image of the Jain Tirthaṅkara Pārāvānātha installed in the Jain temple at the village of Bhōjpur lying, as we have seen, in the Goharanj Tahsil of the Raisen District of Madhya Pradesh, which has yielded the inscription of the time of Paramāra Bhōja I, edited above. There are only four lines of writing in the present record, the space covered being about three inches in height. The length of the inscribed area is about ten inches at the top and about seven and a half inches at the bottom. Individual aksharas are about half an inch in height.

The characters of the inscription are Nāgarī of the eleventh or twelfth century. Its language is Sanskrit; but the orthography is full of errors. The record is written in prose and verse, there being only one stanza in the Avashtuḥk metre. The inscription refers itself to the reign of Naravarman, no doubt the Paramāra king of that name, whose known dates range between Vikrama 1151 (1094 A.D.) and 1190 (1133 A.D.). It is dated in Vikrama 1157 (1100-01 A.D.).

The inscription begins with the date, Sārivat 1157, without further details. Line 1 refers to the sāmrāja (i.e. the sovereignty or dominions) of Naravarman. Next is mentioned the Vēmak-ānvaya (i.e. the Vēmaka family) to which the person responsible for the epigraph belonged. This is followed by a stanza in Avashtuḥk, which records the object of the inscription. It is stated that two Jina (i.e. Tirthaṅkara) images were installed by a person named Chillaṇa who was the son of Śrēṣṭhīn Rāma and the grandson of Nēmichandra. Chillaṇa, who belonged to the mercantile community, was probably a resident of Bhōjpur.

There is no geographical name in the inscription.

TEXT

1 2. Sam[v]at 1157 4 [śr]-Naravarmma-svā(sā)mrājyē Vēma-

2 k-ānvaya(yē) | Nēmichā[ṇi]dhū(dra)-sa(su)taḥ srē(śrē)shṭhī Rām-ākhyaō nū-

3 ni-sutiyaḥ 4 [*] tat-putra-Chillaṇ-ākhyaṇa Jī[na]-

4 yugmaṁ pratis̄hṭitaṁ(tam) ||
THREE PARAMARA INSCRIPTIONS

1. Bhōjpur Fragmentary Inscription of the time of Bhōja I

2. Bhōjpur Inscription of the time of Naravarman, Vikrama 1157
3. Bhilsa Inscription of the time of Jayasimha, Vikrama 1320

Size: One-third
THREE PARAMARA INSCRIPTIONS

3. Bhilsā Inscription of the time of Jayasimha, Vikrama 1320

This small inscription engraved on a stone slab, bearing the representation of the donkey-and-woman motif, was copied by me in October 1928 in the Archaeological Museum at Bhilsā on the Central Railway. The name of this well-known place is now sought to be changed to Vidiśā, although Vidiśā is really modern Besnagar opposite Bhilsā, on the other side of the Betwa. Such wanton change of geographical names has been the fashion of the day, though in the present case the correction seems to be unwarranted since, not only was the heart of the ancient city of Vidiśā situated outside modern Bhilsā, the early name of Bhilsā was Bhaīlasvāmin or Bhailasvāmin which was really the name of the Sun-god worshipped at the place. This name, as we have seen elsewhere,¹ can be traced as early as the ninth century A.D. Of course, the name Vidiśā, capital of the ancient Ākara or Daśāga country, is much earlier.

The inscription contains ten lines of writing which covers an area about 19 inches in length and about 11 inches in height. But only the first two lines of the record have the full length, lines 3-10 being much shorter since they are engraved towards the right of the space (about 11 inches by 11 inches) occupied by the donkey-and-woman motif referred to above. Individual akṣaras are roughly about an inch in height. The engraving is careless and the preservation of the writing not quite satisfactory.

The characters of the record are Nāgarī of about the thirteenth century. The top of the double danda is joined in one case. The language is corrupt Sanskrit and its orthography full of errors. ḫ and ȳ have been represented by ẖ and ｊ respectively. The inscription refers itself to the reign of king Jayasimha apparently of the Paramara dynasty. It bears the date: Vikrama 1320, Vaisākhā-sudi 3, Thursday. The date corresponds regularly to the 12th April 1263 A.D. The year was Kārtikādi current.

The inscription begins with a Suṇyaṃ symbol which looks like the numeral 6 and is not usually found in inscriptions. Line 1 quotes the date referred to while line 2 speaks of the reign of Jayasimha as well as of Bhailasvāmindvapura (i.e. modern Bhilsā) where a pious act was performed by a lady. The object of the inscription is to record this pious deed. Lines 2-7 contain a sentence stating that Dēṅi Sānumati dedicated an object at Bhailasvāmindvapura for the śrīgas of Pāti Ṭha. (i.e. Pāvijit Ṭhakka-ca) Madanasimhadeva while lines 7-10 contain the garbhastha curse. The said Madanasimha seems to be called Puhbāni udgaha probably meaning 'the ruling chief of a territory called Puhbāni'. Dēṅi (i.e. queen) Sānumati was probably one of his wives. The queen appears to be described as Kuptakāśtha meaning, 'resident of a locality called Kuptakā'. The name of the object granted by Sānumati seems to read devāmēla which appears to be the name of a locality. The donee is not mentioned probably because it was a deity in whose temple the inscribed slab was set up. It is difficult to say whether this deity was the god Bhailasvāmin himself, though that is quite probable.

The importance of the inscription lies in its reference to Bhailasvāmindvapura in the dominions of king Jayasimha in 1263 A.D. since this king is undoubtedly the Paramara monarch Jayasimha-Jayavarman for whose reign we have records of Vikrama 1312 (1256 A.D.), 1314 (1258 A.D.), 1317 (1261 A.D.) and 1318 (1274 A.D.).² According to Muslim historians, Sultan Ilutmish (1212-36 A.D.) of Delhi captured the fort of Bhilsā in A.H. 632 (1233-34 A.D.) and demolished the temple of Bhailasvāmin while Jayasimha-Jayavarman's Māndhātā plate of Vikrama 1331 (1274 A.D.) state that his father Dēvapīla (known dates between Vikrama 1275 and 1389, i.e. 1218-32

¹ Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 216 ff.
² Ibid., Vol. XXXII, pp. 140, 146.
A.D.) killed an adhīpa of the Māchchhas (i.e. a chief of the Muhammadans) near the city of Bāillaśvaṁāmin. This Māchchha-ādhīpa was probably the Muslim governor in whose charge Bāillaś was placed by Sulṭān Iltutmish and the reconquest of Bāillaś by the Paramāra king Dēvapāla, whose rule seems to have ended in 1236 A.D., seems to have taken place shortly after its capture by the Muhammadans. The reconquest of Bāillaś by the Hindus is further suggested by the fact that the Khalji Sulṭāns of Delhi had again to conquer the city about half a century later. The present inscription shows that Bāillaś continued to be under the Paramāra kings for several decades after its re-conquest by Dēvapāla before his death about 1236 A.D. at least down to 1263 A.D.

The geographical names mentioned in the inscription, besides Bhaillaśvāmiddēvapura, are Pubhāni, Kuptakā and Dvōrmēla. I am not sure about their location.

TEXT

2 [ārī–Bhai]lasvāmiddēva–purē ārī Jayasimhadē(va*–rājyē Pubhā.
3 [ni]-nnā(nā)yaka-paṅ-ṭha-Madanasi(sirh)-
4 ha[dē*va]-ārēya(yō)-nimitta[n] Ku-
5 ptakā[sta]-dēvi Sānu-
6 mati* Dvōrmēla[ra]‘ pra-
7 dattam(ttam ) yō na da.*
8 dāti tasya mā-
9 tī* bardahbō ja-
10 bhāti* II

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1 ibid., p. 145.
3 From impression.
4 Expressed by symbol.
5 The reading of the numeral may be 2 also.
6 Read ārēyā Sānumatīyā.
7 This seems to be the name of a locality.
8 There is an unnecessary ānda after this akṣara.
9 Read matrān.
10 Read yabhati.
No. 26—MORE BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS

(? Plate.)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 27.1.1961)

1. Three Barhut Inscriptions in the Bharat Kalâ Bhavan, Vârânasî

Eight Barhut inscriptions have recently been published by us in the pages of this journal, one for the Bharat Kalâ Bhavan attached to the Hindu University, Vârânasî, and seven for the Allahabad Municipal Museum. When we visited the Bharat Kalâ Bhavan at Varanasi in the month of December 1960, we were glad to find there three more inscribed stone slabs from Barhut in addition to the one previously noticed by us.

The texts of the three inscriptions published in the following lines are already known to us from the works of Cunningham, Luders and Barua and Sinha. Hoernle and Hultzsch did not deal with these epigraphs in their articles on the Barhut inscriptions. As in the case with other inscriptions from Barhut, the characters of the epigraphs under study are Early Brahmi of about the second century B.C. and their language is Prakrit.

No. 1

This inscription in one line (8.7 inches long), having individual letters a little less than an inch in height, reads:

Paḍelakasa Pu[sa]kasa s[ui]chi dāna[m] *

"[This] rail-bar is the gift of Pusaka (Pushyaka), the Paḍelaka (inhabitant of Paḍela)."

No. 2

The inscription is written in a single line 9.7 inches in length. Individual letters have the same height as in No. 1. It reads:

[A]sitamasāya Valimitasā dāna[m] [ * ]

"[This is] the gift of Valimita (Valimitra) [hailing] from Asitamasa."

The personal name Valimita was read by Cunningham and others as Valamita. The geographical name Asitamasa seems to suggest that it was a locality situated near the confluence of two rivers called Asi and Tamasā, the latter being the modern Tous running about two miles from Barhut.

1 Above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 298.
2 Ibid., Vol. XXXIII, pp. 57 ff. and Plate.
3 Stûpa of Bharhut, p. 142, Nos. 61-63 and Plate LVI.
4 Luders' List, Nos. 876-78.
5 Barhut Inscriptions, p. 32, Nos. 60-62.
7 The akshara may be read as pi also.
8 Macron over c and ơ has not been used in this article.
9 The mark of punctuation is indicated by a "rasi" sign.

11 DGA/60
No. 3

The length of the single line in which this inscription has been written is 7½ inches and individual letters in it are of the same height as in Nos. 1-2. The line reads:

\[\text{Parakāṭikāyā Sirimāga dānam [\*]}\]

"[This is] the gift of Sirimā (Śrīmatī), the Parakaṭikā (inhabitant of Parakaṭa)."

The reading of the first akṣara is doubtful and it is uncertain whether there is another akṣara before what has been read as pa. Parakaṭikāyā may also mean 'hailing' from Parakaṭikā.

2. Dūrā Inscription of the time of Kanishka, Year 16

This small inscription is incised on a pillar which was discovered in the village of Dūrā in the Kiraḍi Tahsil of the Agra District, U. P., by an Exploration Assistant of the Archaeological Survey of India, attached to the Northern Circle, Agra. The inscribed pillar is now lying at the office of the Superintendent of the Department of Archaeology at Agra. The inscription was copied by me about the end of August 1960.

There are only seven lines of writing in the inscription, the inscribed space covering about 8½ inches in breadth and 7½ inches in height and individual akṣaras being a little above ½ inch high. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory, many letters being damaged especially in the lower half of the record.

The characters of the inscription belong to the Brāhmi alphabet of the middle stage. The initial vowel and the numerical symbols for 10 and 6 occur in line 2. The language is an admixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit as in many other inscriptions of the age of the Kushānas. The record is dated in the year 16 of the reign of Mahāraja Kanishka [1], the name of the king being spelt as Kāṇishka as in some other epigraphs.1 The date of our inscription is thus the year 16 of the Kanishka era, which is now generally identified with the Śaka-kāla of 78 A.D., and corresponds to 94-95 A.D. There are no other details of the date quoted in the record.

Lines 1-3 quote the year 16 of [the reign of] Mahāraja Kanishka. But the passage etagra pūcaye (etagraḥ pūrcayā) follows Mahārajarṣya Kāṇishkasya savachhare 16 (Mahārajarṣya Kāṇishkasya saniṃvatsare savaṭhaśe), without actually mentioning the tīthi to which it refers. Lines 3-5 speak of a lady named Vardhantikā belonging to a family of village-headmen of the Āti clan and the Rūṭiṣheṇa (Rūṭiṣheṇa) gotra (grāṃikanāṁ Ātināṁ Rūṭiṣheṇa-sagotrāṇa Vasudatta-pṛuttyā Vadvhatikāya, i.e. grāṃikāḥ-ātināḥ Rūṭiṣheṇa-sagotrāṇāh Vasudatta-pṛuttyā Vardhantikāya). Lines 6-7 state that the said lady dedicated a house in favour of a community the name of which cannot be read (...) tikahī grīhō datto. i.e. (...) tiḥebhyah grīham dattam). The record appears to conclude with a prayer to the effect that the meritorious deed might be for the welfare of the people (lokām śreyaseṣu).

TEXT

1 [Mahārajarṣya Kāṇishkasya [sarn]-
2 [vaj]chhare 10 6 et[ya p]-
3 [vaye grā]ṃikanāṁ Āti[nāṁ R]-
4 [ṛṭiṣheṇa-[saja]gotrāṇa

1 See Select Inscriptions, p. 134.
2 From impressions.
1. Three Barhut Inscriptions in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Vārānasī

Scale: One-half
2. Dura Inscription of the time of Kanishka, Year 16

Scale: One-half
5 [Vasudat]a-[puttryā Vadhaj]tikaya
6 . . . [tika[hi gri]-ho datto [lo]-
7 . . . [ñreyase-stu . ]

TRANSLATION

In the year 16 (of the reign) of Mahārāja Kāpishka—on this date, a house is dedicated in favour of the . . . tikas by Vardhantikā who is the daughter of Vasudatta and belongs to (the family of) village-headmen of the Āti (clan) and the Ārṣṭiṣṭeṇa gotra. May (this) be for the welfare of the people.

3. Gondal Fragmentary Inscription of the time of Rudrasena [III], [Śaka] 272

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab which was discovered sometime ago at Gondal, 20 miles from Rajkot, in Kathiawar, and is now preserved in the Rajkot Museum. I copied it in January 1960. The slab measures 22 inches in length, 10 inches in breadth and 6 inches in depth while the writing covers a space about seventeen inches in length and five and half inches in height on the face which is six inches wide. There are only three lines of writing, individual aṣṭharas being approximately half an inch in height. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory. A number of letters have broken away from the end of all the lines. The aṣṭharas thus lost appear to be about four in number. The slab was apparently fixed into a structure with the inscribed face exposed to view.

The characters belong to the Brāhmi alphabet of the middle stage as found in other inscriptions of the Śakas of Western India. The use of initial ṛ and the numerical symbols for 200, 70 and 2 is noticed in line 2. The language of the inscription is an admixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit. Its orthography exhibits more influence of Sanskrit than of Prakrit. The date of the inscription is the year 272, Pāñcāla suddi 2. This year should of course be referred to the Śaka era of 78 A.D. The year 272 would thus correspond to 350–51 A.D. This date is referred to (the reign of) a Rājan Mahākshatrapa, the aṣṭharas of whose name are very considerably damaged though the traces of their lower part suggest its restoration as Rudrasena. This king is no doubt Śaka Rudrasena III, the dates of whose coins issued as Mahākshatrapa range between Śaka 270 (318-49 A.D.) to Śaka 300 (378-79 A.D.). There is a break in the series of the coins of this ruler, no issues of the period Śaka 274-85 (352-53 A.D.) being known. This break has been attributed to a political disturbance during the period in question and it seems very likely that Rudrasena III was defeated by the Gupta emperor Samudragupta (c. 310-76 A.D.) and was compelled to accept the latter's vassalage for about thirteen years. It is only during Samudragupta's old age that he appears to have succeeded in reasserting his independence. The present inscription is the only epigraphic record of the time of Śaka Rudrasena III so far known.

The inscription begins with a damaged Siddham symbol followed by a reference to its date falling in the reign of Rājan Mahākshatrapa (Rudrasena). The year referred to is quoted in a passage (lines 1-2) reading dvi-savatara . . . satame in words and 200 70 [2] (i.e. 372) in numerical symbols. The year given in words was probably written as dvi-savatara-ādhikake dvi-satamte standing for Sanskrit dvi-saptatye-adhike dvi-satame. If such was the case, as it seems to be, Sanskrit saptati has been written in our record as savatara which is somewhat different from Pali sattati and Prakrit sattasi (found as satarī in inscriptions). The form savatara seems to be derived through the intermediate forms sapatati and savatari.

1 These two aṣṭharas are damaged beyond recognition.
2 The damaged word seems to be bokndm. 
3 See above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 205.
4 Cf. Select Inscriptions, p. 159 (text line 5); p. 222 (No. 2, text line 6).
After the year of the date discussed above, line 2 reads: [I]hira-[kas]i][bala-Sinhasena-pûtra-
Sya... in which kasibala stands for Sanskrit kṣirasāla meaning, 'a cultivator'. The mention of
the kṣiras farmer Sinhasena reminds us of the kṣiras general Bāpaka's son general Rudrabhūti
known from the Guṇḍa inscription1 (1st A.D.) of the reign of Śaka Rudramiśra 1. Unfortunately,
only the first akšara (Sya) of the name of Sinhasena's son, the recording of one of whose pious
deeds appears to have been the object of the inscription, is preserved and the latter part of it is
lost at the end of the line. If the said akšara (Sya) is taken to be the sixth case-ending attached to
the previous word (pûtra), the name of the person has to be regarded as totally lost.

Line 3 of our record reads: sarva-satva-hita-[s][khārttha] ve[di[i] [prati]shthāvita Phalgū[na]-
sudhe dvi[ti] standing for Sanskrit sarva-satva-hita-sukh-ārtham ve[di prati]shthāpita Phalguna-
suddhe de[ity [divine]. The ve[di or a raised platform was sometimes made in honour of a deity
a a place of worship.2 It thus appears that the son of Sinhasena raised the ve[di in question in
honour of some deity for the welfare and happiness of all creatures. Since expressions like sarva-
satva-hita-sukh-ārtham are generally found in Buddhist epigraphs, it is not impossible that the
person responsible for our record was a Buddhist.3 It should, however, be pointed out that, in case
the reading pûtra[ya] [amukṣya] is preferred at the end of line 2, the object of installation would
be the ve[di of the person in question. This may mean that a platform was raised in his memory
after his death or that his friends helped him in raising it (i.e. he raised it with the help of others),

There is no geographical name in the record.

TEXT

1 [Sūla]dhama[1] r[ā]no mah[ā]kṣhata[ra][ya] [Rudrasi][asya va[rshye] dvi-sava-
tara... .

2 satama 200 70 [2] [I]hira-[kas]i][bala-Sinhasena-pûtra-Sya... . . .

3 sarva-satva-hita-[s][khārttha[ti] ve[di] [prati]shthāvita Phalgū[na]-sudhe dvi[ti]
...... 13 [ * ].

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1 Ibid., p. 176
3 From impressions.
* Correctly, rarek
* The lost akšaras were probably "dhike dvi."
* Correctly pûtra.
* This was probably a name like Syandaka, so that the expression here was something like Syandakasena. The intended reading may also be pûtra[ya] [amukṣya].
* Correctly, satax.
* Correctly, Phalguna-suddhe.
* The intended word is no doubt de[ity which may have been followed by the word divine.
MORE BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS—PLATE II

3. Gondal Fragmentary Inscription of the time of Rudrasena [III], [Śaka] 272

Scale: One-half
No. 27—MEHUNABARE PLATES OF SENDRAKA VAIRADEVA, SAKA 624

(1 Plate)

G. S. GAL, OOTAM AMUND

(Received on 26.7.1960)

A set of impressions of the copper-plate inscription edited below was secured for the office of the Government Epigraphist for India by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra during the year 1957-58 from the Bārāt Itihas Sanvidhanak Maṇḍal, Poona. The plates are reported to have been discovered at Mehunabarā, a village in the Chalisgaon Taluk of the East Khandesh District, Bombay State. The set consists of two plates, each measuring about 12" by 6½" with a hole at the top middle portion of each plate through which passed a ring. The whereabouts of the ring and the seal, if any, as well as the weight of the set are not known to me. Both the plates are engraved on the inner sides only. Each plate contains 12 lines of writing so that there are 24 lines in all. The last but one line of the second plate occupies only half the space to the right side while the last line consists of only six letters which have been engraved towards the end of the line. The writing is well preserved.

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets and generally resemble those in the other Sdendra grants found in Khandesh and Gujarat. Of the initial vowels, a is found in lines 18 and 23; i in line 22; i in line 6 and a in line 23. While medial i is shown by a complete circle above the letter, medial i is indicated by a hook inside the circular stroke with the right limb left open. Medial i has generally a sort of a hook-like stroke. In the case of jā this hook-like stroke and the straight line attached to the middle of the prong and turned upwards have been used; cf. lines 2, 5 and 17. Subscript r has sometimes a flourish carrying it left and right over the letter and even circling it; cf. lines 3, 8, 9, etc. Sometimes subscripts r and r cannot be distinguished; cf. śr in line 2 and pṛthvirj in line 9. Class nasal has been generally employed. Punctuation is indicated by two dots generally followed by a single or double danda (cf. lines 1, 12, 17, 18 and 21). But where a swarpa is required the two dots serve that purpose and in such cases only the danda should be regarded as a punctuation mark (cf. lines 2, 6 and 10).

The language is Sanskrit and except two verses in lines 24 and two more beneficent and impetuous verses in lines 20-22, the remaining text of the record is composed in prose. The interesting form shāṭha, which is according to Pāṇini's rule dalk śīṅahat (VIII. 3. 29), occurs in line 23. Sāndhi rules have not been observed in some cases and there are some errors in the composition which have been corrected in the text below. In respect of orthography, it may be observed that the consonant following as well as preceding i is sometimes doubled.

The charter is dated (lines 15 and 23-24) Śaka 624 (expressed in words), Sṛvāṇa ba. II, sāṇkranti and vyātīpāta. In the absence of the mention of the week-day, the date is not verifiable. However, according to S. K. Pillai's Indian Ephemeris, the said tithi corresponded to Tuesday, 25th July 702 A.D. But the sāṇkranti occurred on the previous day, i.e. Monday, the 24th July 702 A.D. which seems to be the intended date of the record.

The inscription opens with the word Siddham expressed by a symbol and followed by the word evast. Then follows the preambles Māra-mahā-mahāhara, etc., which introduces the Sēndraka dynasty and is also found in the other Sēndraka records referred to above. Verse 1 in lines 2-4

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1 This is A. R. Ep., 1957-58, No. A 13.


(193)

11 DGA/60

10
introduces Rājan Dēvaśakti of this dynasty. His valour and other qualities are compared to those of Indra and Vishnu. His son Rājan Daṇḍirāja, whose strength is compared to that of Hari, Hara and Arjuna, is mentioned in verse 2 in lines 4-6. The following prose passage in lines 6-10 refers to Daṇḍirāja’s son Vairadēva, the donor of the present grant, who is called the ‘crest-jewel of the Nikumbha [family]’.

The charter was issued from Bahalāpuri (line 9) and records the gift, made by Vairadēva, of the village Dēvigrāma which is stated to have been situated at a distance of two gawyātas to the west of Bahalāpuri (lines 16-17). The donee was Nāgaśarman, son of ṣhaftaṇavat Nandisvāmin and grandson of chaturvēdīn Bhāttā-Rēvasvāmin who belonged to the Kāśyapa-gōtra and was a resident of Kāṇchipuri. The gift was for the performance of bali, charu, vaiśradēva and agniḥōtṛa for the increase of the religious merit and fame of his (i.e. Vairadēva’s) parents and himself in this as well as in other worlds (lines 11-15). Lines 17-18 refer to the privileges attached to the gift village. In lines 18-20. a request is made to the future kings of the family of the donor and others to endorse and protect the said gift and lines 20-22 quote some of the benedictory and imprecatory verses.

The charter was written by Mahāśīndhvīgrahādhikīṭā Sāuaka (lines 22-23) and the record ends with the mention of the date in lines 23-24, which has been discussed above.

The present record is important in that it introduces a hitherto unknown ruler of the Sēndraka-Nikumbha family in the person of Vairadēva who held sway in the Khandesh District about the beginning of the eighth century A.D. As we have seen, he was the son of Daṇḍirāja and grandson of Dēvaśakti. All the three rulers have been eulogised in general terms only and no historical information is given with regard to any of them. Except the epithet rājan in the case of Dēvaśakti and Daṇḍirāja, no other titles, imperial or feudatory, are associated with them. Since Vairadēva flourished in 702 A.D., his grandfather Dēvaśakti may be referred to the third quarter of the seventh century A.D. This period falls in the reign of Vikramāditya I (655-81 A.D.) of the Western Chāluksya dynasty of Bādāmi. From the Karnul plates1 dated in the tenth regnal year of Vikramāditya I corresponding to 664 A.D., we learn that the king made a gift at the request of a certain Dēvaśaktirāja of the Sēndraka family. It is not unlikely that this Dēvaśakti is identical with his namesake mentioned in the record under study. And since Vikramāditya’s grandson Vijayāditya (696-733 A.D.) was the imperial ruler in 702 A.D., the date of the present charter, Vairadēva appears to have been his feudatory, though this fact is not mentioned in the inscription.

From the existence of four copper-plate grants2 we know that a family of Sēndraka-Nikumbha chiefs was ruling in Southern Gujarat and Khandesh in the seventh century A.D. The records supply the following genealogy of the family:

Nikumbha or Bhānuśakti

| Ādityarāja or Ādityaśakti

Nikumbha Allashaṅk (known dates 653, 655 A.D.)

Nikumbha Jayashaṅk (known date 681 A.D.)

1 JBRAS, Vol. XVI, pp. 228 and 230.


3 The family name Nikumbha, besides Sēndraka, was apparently due to its being another name of Bhānuśakti who, in all probability, was the founder of this Sēndraka branch in Gujarat and Khandesh. That it was a family name and not a biruda as assumed by Prof. Mirashi (above, Vol. XXIX, p. 117) is made clear from the fact that Vairadēva, the donor of the charter under study, is called Nikumbha-bihāṃṣati, ‘a crest-jewel of the Nikumbha or Nikumbha family’.
No records of the first two rulers have been discovered so far. While the Bāgumrā, Nēgad and Kāśāre plates were issued by Alassakti, the Mundkhēle plates were issued by the last ruler Jayaṣakti. It has been suggested that Bānusakti, who may be referred to the first quarter of the seventh century A.D., was placed in charge of Gujarad and Khandesh by Pulakīśin II (630-42 A.D.) when the latter conquered this area from the Kalachuris. It has also been suggested that from about 670 A.D. onwards, the Sendraka rule was probably confined to Khandesh District only on account of the establishment of the Navsari branch of the Chālukya in Gujarat area. This seems to have taken place during the time of Nikumbha Alassakti who was the contemporary of Chālukya Vikramaditya I during whose reign the Navsari branch of the Chālukyas was founded. Alassakti may be referred to the period circa 650-675 A.D. and his son Jayaṣakti, who issued the only known Mundkhēle plates in 681 A.D., may be placed in circa 670-700 A.D. Other descendants of Jayaṣakti are known to us so far.

Now the discovery of the present charter dated in 702 A.D. issued by Vairadēva who also belonged to the Sendiraka-Nikumbha family shows that he was the immediate successor of Jayaṣakti as a ruler in the Khandesh District. The relation of this family to that of Bānusakti, though both belonged to the Sendraka-Nikumbha lineage, is not known to us. It is, therefore, difficult to understand the circumstances under which Vairadēva succeeded Jayaṣakti. It may be pointed out, in this connection, that Dēvasakti, who has been sought to be identified with his namesake mentioned in the Karnal plates of Vikramaditya I, was ruling in the Karnal area about 664 A.D. Probably his son Daṇḍirāja also continued to rule the territory of his father while his son Vairadēva was transferred to the Khandesh District. This might have been due to the fact that Jayaṣakti died without leaving any heir to succeed him. As for the relationship between the two families, it may be suggested that since Alassakti and Dēvasakti were contemporaries, both being feudatory chiefs of Vikramaditya I, they might have been brothers or cousins. And this relationship might have given Vairadēva a right to succeed Jayaṣakti who seems to belong to the elder branch of the family.

As indicated above, the present charter was issued from Bahalāpur which is no doubt modern Bāhāl which is situated on the bank of the Girm river at a distance of 6 miles to the north-east of Mehuṇadare, the findspot of the plates. It is stated that the chief Vairadēva was residing at Bahalāpur at the time of the gift. Recent excavations conducted at Bāhāl show that it was a flourishing town in ancient times. Its antiquities going back to the chalcolithic period. It has been suggested, on the evidence of these excavations, that Bāhāl was affected by severe floods about 100 A.D. and that the site was re-occupied after a long gap of 1200 years during the Yādava and Muslim times (1300-1700 A.D.). But the discovery of the present plates shows that Bahal was a flourishing town in the beginning of the eighth century A.D. and was probably the capital of the

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1 Above, Vol. XXIX, p. 118.
2 Ibid. This view of Prof. Mirashi is based on the dates of the Navsari plates (CIJ, Vol IV, pp. 123 ff., No. 27) of Sṛyārāya Silāditya dated in the Kalachuri year 421 (670-71 A.D. according to Mirashi) and the Manor plates (ibid., Vol. XXVIII, pp. 17 ff.) of Vinayāditya Mangalarasa dated Saka 613 or 691-92 A.D. corresponding to the twenty-first regnal year of the king. Both Mr. Krishna Dera, who has edited the Manor plates, and Prof. Mirashi take this regnal year as referring to Mangalarasa's father Dharmaraya-Jayajina who has led them to assume that the latter founded the Navsari branch in 669-70 or 670-71 A.D. But, as pointed out by Dr. D. C. Sircar (above, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 118-19), the twenty-first regnal year should be referred to Vinayāditya Mangalarasa's reign and not to that of his father. The recently discovered Mudgapada grant (loc. cit.) of Sṛyārāya Silāditya dated probably in the Kalachuri year 420 (668-69 A.D. according to Sircar) shows that the Navsari branch was holding sway in Gujarat as early as that year.

3 Indian Archaeology, A Review, 1956-57, p. 17
4 Ibid., p. 18.
Sêndraka ruler Vairadêva. It is also interesting to note that Bâhal was known as Bahalâpurî in early times.

Of the other geographical names mentioned in the record, Kânchipurî, which is mentioned as the place of residence of the donee’s grandfather is the well-known Kânchipuram near Madras. The donated village Devigâma is stated to have been situated at a distance of two gurangas to the west of Bâhalâpurî. It may be identified with modern Divgâon which is about six miles to the west of Bâhal and three miles to the north of Mênuabare.

TEXT

First Plate

1 Sîdhâma [ ] Svaṣṭi [ ] Mênc-mahâ-mahâhara-asikhara-sthira-ruchira-ssa(sa)munnatê [ ] vikasita-yaṣā-i mahati śrî-Sê-

2 ndraka-râjânam-anvaye [ * ] Râjâśid Dêvaṣaktih [ * ] Satamakha-sadri(dri)saḥ śrîmatâm-(tâm)–ekanâthâḥ satru-śrî-

3 kîšâ-pâsa-srogra[gra]hâpa-sukha-rasâsvâda-labda-pramâdaḥ | yênh(n=a)kêna prachanda-svabhâjna-la-


5 tuajû Hari-Har-Ârjuna-tulya-vîrîya[h]* | slâghya-svayâvâra-patil[h]* prathitaḥ prithivyân(vyâm) | rîjâ samastu-

6 vasûdh-âdhipat-i-varânâm śrî-Dançîrâja iti dançita-vairi-varggah [[2*] tasya sutas= tat-pâd-ãhûyâ-

7 têr nêka-chatûrdhamo-gaja-gañâ-ñâsura-mahâ-samara-sâhas-ãryâpta-nirmala-yasû(â)

8 maya-vinaya-tyaga-gââburbhîrya-dhairyya-parûkram-ôtsâha-ôsakti-satya[2]–sa(a)śapannô nijâ-

9 kula kuma=

10 la-van-bristaraśmi[h]* prathita[h]* prithivyân(vyâm)=asûdhâraça-guna-gañ-ôdayô Bahalâpurîyyâ[rya=]-


12 nàkñûkâni samanâdarsâyaty=astu vaḥ | saunâditam=asmâbbi[h]* Kâśyapa-sagotrâya

Second Plate

13 Nanda-vâmi-kañjâvanî-tûnâ= vargâ= sâng-çpanishada-vêda-vidô Nâga–


1 This shows how epigraphical evidence may sometimes modify the evidence of archaeological excavations.
2 One guranga is equal to two krishnas or 4000 dhanas. See Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, s.v.
3 From impressions.
4 Expresed by symbol.
5 This punctuation mark is unnecessary.
6 Read 'räjānam?'
7 Read 'sûtra'. There is an unnecessary 'sûtra'-like mark after 'va'.
8 Read 'prathita[h]*'.
Scale: Three-fourths
mehunabare plates of sendraka vairadeva, saka 624

15 shmika-punya-yāsō-bhiviri(vṛ)dhayē pravarttamāna-śrāvapa-bahulē(1-ai)kādasyē[rī] sarhkrāntau sa-vyatī-

16 pāṭāyāṁ bahalāpuryya[h*] paśchimasyāṁ ti diśi dvi-gavyūta-mātrakē bhū-bhāga-esa(sa)-
nnivēśē Dēvigrāmō

17 nāma grāma[h*] sa-sim-ōpētaḥ [2 s-ōdraṅga[h*] sa-parika[h*] sakala-rāj-ābhāvyak-
ā vítō [3 chāta-bhatṭa(ṛa)-pra(prā)vē-

18 śyō [2 bhūmi-chchhidra-nyāyēn=ā-chandrārēk-ārōṇava-kshiti-sthiti-sama-kālikō yathā-
vidhi(dhi) praddattāḥ | aīt=

19 smad-vartēyaṁ-anyair=vv=āgāmi-nri(pati-bhūmi-bhūgapatibhi[h*] śāmānyam bhūmi-
dānam-avagachchhadbhīr=ayam-asmad(ā-dā)yō=nu-

20 mantavyaṁ pratipaḷayaṁyāś=ch-ōktaṁ cha bhaga[va]*tā vēdavyāsēna vyāsēna [*]
Bahubhir-vvasuddhā(ḥā) bhuktā rāj bhī[ḥ*] ṣagar-ā-

21 dibhi[h*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalam(lam) [* 3*] Shashti-
(shti)-vārhi(ṛaḥ)-saḥsṛṇī avargē mōdati

22 bhūmido[h*] [4] āchchhētā ch-anumantā chcha(cha) tam(tă)nyēva narakaṁ vasād- 
itī [4*] likhitam-idāni mahāśāhēdhiavgrahāhādi-

23 kri[kri]tēna sāunēna [gatasya saka-kālasya saṭṭsu varsha-śatēṣha-śaṁdiś]

24 sa-chatur-vvi[rī]*śēshu |
No. 28—INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF ISLAM SHAH, A.H. 960, VIKRAMA 1610

(1 Plate)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

(Received on 30.11.1960)

This small inscription is engraved on a brick fixed into the masonry work of a well at the village of Ghoshikund near the Kiul railway station in the Western part of the Monghyr District, Bihar. There are five lines of writing in the inscription and they cover an area about 11 inches in length and 7½ inches in height. Individual aksharas are nearly two inches in height.

The characters belong to the Bengali-Maithili alphabet of the sixteenth century. They may be compared with those of the Patna District inscription of 1146 A.D. and the Barakar inscriptions of 1460 or 1461 A.D. The akshara śri has been written in a cursive fashion so as to look like a symbol. The medial vowel u in su (line 4) is written like subscript v as was usual in the late Gaudiya and early Bengali-Maithili alphabets. The language of the record may be regarded as the local dialect. The want of the third case-ending required for the subject of kritā (i.e. 'made') in the sentence in lines 4-5 is noteworthy in this connection. As for orthography, sh is represented by kh as is its pronunciation in Maithili and some other dialects of Bihar. The date of the record as quoted in line 1 is Sana 960 Sāmata 1610 in which San 960 undoubtedly refers to the Hijri year 960 while Sāmata (a modification of Sāṃkṣaḍ) 1610 refers to the year 1610 of the Vikrama era. The year in question corresponds to 1553 A.D. There are no other details of the date in the epigraph.

After the quotation of the date in line 1, Pātisaḥa śri-śri-Śalāma Sāha is mentioned in lines 2-3 and Mēhitā śri-Rupa-pa-khōjā in lines 3-4. Pātisaḥa (i.e. Pādshāh or Bādshāh, 'an emperor') Śalāma Sāha is no doubt the celebrated Afghan emperor Islām Shāh (1545-56 A.D.), son of Shēr Shāh of the Sūr dynasty. The designation Mēhitā seems to be the same as Mehitā derived from the official designation Mahattaka, Mahattara or Mahattawā found in earlier inscriptions. The words are often interpreted as 'the village headman' though in some cases they may also mean a member or the head of the village council. The inscription under study means to say that a deed was performed when the emperor of the country was Islām Shāh and the head of the village or the village council was Khwaja Rupap. But the names of the persons have been used in the passage without any verb. Although such statements are generally quite clear in the corresponding passages in early Sanskrit inscriptions, the medieval epigraphs in that language often mention the king and his subordinates in the same way as the Ghoshikund record under study. It is interesting to note that, while the honorific word śri occurs twice as the prefix to the name of Islām Shāh, a single śri has been prefixed to the name of Khwaja Rupap. As will be seen below, another personal name is mentioned in the record with a single śri.

1 Some impressions of the inscription were supplied to me by Mr. A. N. Lahiri of my office. Cf. A. R. Ep., 1959-60, No. C 413.
2 JRAI, Letters, Vol. XIV, pp. 114-16, and Plate; ibid., Vol. II, pp. 21 ff. and Plates; cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 241. It is now known that the Patna District inscription was discovered at Biharsharif and is housed at present in the Patna Museum.
3 Cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 52, note 1.
4 See, e.g. above, Vol. XV, p. 130, text lines 1 ff.; etc.; also Vol. XXXI, p. 331, No. 3, text lines 2.5; etc.

(198)
INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF ISLAM SHAH, A.H. 960, VIKRAMA 1610

Scale: One-half
The following sentence in lines 4-5 reads śrī Nasurūdhī vadhā kūpi kritā apparently meaning that a person named Nasurūdhī (i.e. Nāṣirud-din) made a kūpi (i.e. well) which was bandhā (i.e. endowed with masonry work). The kūpi or well referred to in the record must be the well in which the inscription has been found.

Another inscription of the time of Islām Shāh from Rajasthan was published by us in the pages of this journal, Vol. XXX, pp.190 ff. It is dated in Vikrama 1604, Śaka 1469, Mārgaśirā-badi 2, Thursday. The date was regarded by us as irregular, though the record was assigned to October-November 1547 A.D. This was because Pūrṇimānta Mārgaśirā-badi 2 in the said year corresponds to the 30th October, which was a Sunday. But in the Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, 1952-53, no. B 113. the month has been regarded as Amānta and the year as current, so that the date is given as regularly corresponding to Thursday, the 9th December 1546 A.D. It is, however, doubtful whether we should expect the Amānta calculation of the month in the inscription which comes from Rajasthan.

There is no geographical name in the Ghōsikundī inscription, although the name of the village where the well was excavated was expected to be mentioned.

**TEXT**

1. Sana 960 Sāmata 1610
2. Pātisāha śrī-śrī-Ēsa-
3. Ėma-sāha Méhitā śrī-
4. Rupapa-shō(khō)jā śrī-[Na]su-
5. rudhi va[n*]dhā [kupi] kritā [ *]

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1 From impressions.

2 What has been read as tā may be kta also. But that does not offer any sense.
No. 29—NOTE ON INSCRIPTION OF NRIPAMITRA

D. C. Sircar, Calcutta

(Received on 2.10.61)

The Mathurā fragmentary inscription of king Nripamitra, edited by me above, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 11-13, is engraved on the pedestal of a broken image in characters of about the fifth century A.D. It contains the concluding part of a praśasti in verse, which is followed by the sentence kriti=Divyasya, "[This is] the work of Dinna." The endorsement does not make it clear whether Dinna was the author of the praśasti or the sculptor of the image. There is, however, evidence to show that Dinna was a famous sculptor of the Mathurā school, who flourished about the fifth century A.D.

Two inscriptions from Kasiā in North-Eastern U.P., assigned to the fifth century A.D. on palaeographical grounds, were noticed by J. Ph. Vogel in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1906-07, the first at pp. 49 and 62 and the second at pp. 49-50. The second inscription had been previously edited by J. F. Fleet in the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III, pp. 272-73. But Fleet's transcript was not accurate.

The first record is engraved on the base of an image of the standing Buddha and reads: Dēya=dharmāya-[pi Śākalya-bhikshōk Bhadula-Suviraya [**] krit[=]=Dinna[asya [**], "This is the religious gift of the Buddhist monk, the Venerable Suvira. [This image] is the work of Dinna."

The second epigraph, engraved on the colossal image of the reclining Buddha of the Parinirvāṇa shrine at Kasiā, reads: Dēya=dharmāyaḥ Mahāvihāra-scāminā Hariyalasya [**] pratimā ch=guhaṁ ghāṭiti Dinna[ya Mahāviharyā [**], "This is the religious gift of Hariyal, the master of the Great Monastery. And this image is made by Dinna of Mathurā."

Dinna mentioned in the above records from Mathurā and Kasiā appears to be one and the same person. He was thus not a poet at king Nripamitra's court at Mathurā but was a master sculptor of the Mathurā school, who flourished during the age of the Imperial Guptas, regarded as the Golden Age in the history of Indian art. It is of course difficult to be sure whether the Kasiā images were made by Dinna at Kasiā or were made at Mathurā and transported to Kasiā.
The material for this Part was sent to the Press by Dr. Sircar before his retirement in June 1962.

G. S. GAI,
Government Epigraphist for India.
No. 30—SOME GAHADAVALA GRANTS

(4 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 3.2.1961)

It appears that, in the year 1948, the authorities of the Provincial Museum (now the Uttar Pradesh State Museum), Lucknow, purchased eight copper-plate charters of the Gāhāḍavāla kings from some dealers of Banaras (Vārānasī).\(^1\) Mr. M. M. Nagar, who was in charge of the Museum till recently, did not allow anyone to examine the inscriptions since he himself wanted to publish them. But, whatever may be the reason, he failed to edit the inscriptions. Sometime ago, we published in the pages of this journal\(^2\) an article by Mr. V. N. Srivastava on a copper-plate grant of the Gāhāḍavāla king Vijayachandra, which is one of the said inscriptions purchased for the Lucknow Museum in 1948.

In December 1960, I visited Lucknow and the present authorities of the Museum were kind enough to allow me to examine the unpublished Gāhāḍavāla copper-plate grants and to take their impressions. The remaining seven of the eight copper-plates (Nos. 2-8), purchased from the Banaras dealers in 1948, are published in the following pages together with one other charter of the family (No. 1). My thanks in this connection are due to Mr. M. Zaheer, Joint Secretary of the Cultural Affairs and Scientific Research Department, Government of U.P., and Mr. R. B. Mathur who is now in charge of the State Museum, Lucknow.

It is well known that the copper-plate grants of the Gāhāḍavāla kings begin with some stanzas describing the rulers of the family from Yaśovigraha, its founder, to the donor of a particular charter and that the said introductory section in verse is followed by the introduction of the donor, in a passage in prose, as vijayin (not as kuśālin as found in the charters of most other ruling families) and as the successor of his ancestors beginning from Chandra who was the first imperial ruler of the family. But, as is known to have been the custom with many other ruling families,\(^3\) a Gāhāḍavāla king merely copied the stanzas found in the charters of his predecessor and added a few verses describing himself, apparently composed by his own court poet. The earliest grants of the family belong to Chandra (c. 1090-1100 A.D.) who sometimes also called himself Chandruditya. He was succeeded on the Gāhāḍavāla throne respectively by his son Madanapāla (c. 1100-14 A.D.), grandson Gōvindachandra (c. 1114-55 A.D.), great-grandson Vijayachandra (c. 1155-70 A.D.), grandson’s grandson Jayachandra (c. 1170-93 A.D.) and grandson’s great-grandson Harihachandra (c. 1193-97 A.D.). Thus the introductory stanzas found in the grants of Chandra are copied in the charters of Madanapāla with the addition of a few new verses describing the latter king, and so on.

\(^1\) Above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 223, where the number of the copper-plates purchased has been mentioned as six.

\(^2\) Ibid., pp. 223-26.

\(^3\) Cf. ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 238; Vol. XXIX, pp. 2-3.

12 DGA/60
The following verses are found in the records of Chandra who is the first monarch of the family to have issued copper-plate charters:

Akuṇṭh-ōtkanṭha-Vaikuṇṭha-kaṇṭha-pīṭha-luṭhat-karaḥ |
saṁrambahāḥ surat-ārambhē sa Śrīyāḥ āryyasyē=stu vaḥ || 1
Āśīd=Āśūdadyuti-vairāc-jātā-
kshēmāḷa-mālāsu divaṁ gataśu |
sākṣhād=Vivasvān=iva bhūri-dhāmna
nāmna Yaśōvīgrahā ity-udāraḥ || 2
Tat-sutō=bhūn=Mahāchandraś=chandra-dhāma-nibham ni jam |
yēn=āpāram=akūpāra-pārē vyāpāritaśa yaśaḥ || 3
Tasya-ābhūt=tanayeś nay-aika-rasikaḥ krānta-dvishan-mandalo
vidhvast-ōttam-haitra-vīra-yōḍha-timāraḥ śrī-Chandradēvō nṛpah |
yēn=ōdārata-pratapē-śamit-āāē̄śha-praj-ōpadramāṃ
śrimad-Gādhipur-ādhirājyaṃ-asamaṁ dōr-vikramē=[ārjitaṃ || 4

Tirthāṇī Kāśi-Kuśik-ōttarakōsaś-Endra-
sthānīyakāṇī paripālayat=ābhigamya||
bēm=ātma-tulayaṃ=aniśam dadaṭā dvijēbhyo
yēn=āṅkitā vasumatī śataśa=stulābhii || 5

It was apparently the court poet of Gāhādvāla Chandra, who composed these verses which were copied in the later records of the family. But there is an interesting point to which attention may be drawn in this connection. The five stanzas quoted above are found in the two Chandravati plates4 of Chandra, dated respectively Vikrama 1148 and 1154, and were copied by his successors, though the two other Chandravati plates5 issued by the same monarch (therein also called Chandrāditya) respectively in Vikrama 1150 and 1156 contain only four of these five stanzas (verses 1, 3, 4 and 5) while the grant of Vikrama 1150 adds six new verses five of which are also found in the record of Vikrama 1156 in addition to the said four stanzas.6

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1 Sometimes found as dhīra.
2 Sometimes found as adhigamya.
3 The metres of these stanzas are: verses 1 and 3 Anuṣṭubh; verse 2 Indravajra; verse 4 Śrīdāvavīrtīśa; verse 5 Vasatiśākāśa.
4 See above, Vol. IX, p. 304; Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, p. 11
5 The stanzas were not read at all in the text published above, Vol. XIV, pp. 193-96, 197-200, while an inaccurate transcript of the verses appeared in IHQ, Vol. XXV, pp. 36-37.
6 The grant of Vikrama 1150 has the following verses:
Akuṇṭh-ōtkanṭha-Vaikuṇṭha5, etc. || 1
Āśīd=āśa-nara-nāma-kirita-kōṭi-
sāŋghatā-bhāṣṭita-lasa-manipāda-pīṭhaḥ |
śrī-Devapāla-ōripāṣi-stri-jagāt-pragita-
kund-ēndo-dhāma-hima-kairava-kānta-kīrtih || 3
There is no doubt that the grants of Vikrama 1148 and 1154 used an earlier draft which was utilised in the revised draft found in the grants issued in Vikrama 1150 and 1156, even though it was this earlier draft that was popular with the successors of Chandra. King Chandra himself also did not use the revised draft in his record of Vikrama 1154, though the said draft had been prepared several years earlier and used in his grant of Vikrama 1150. This shows beyond doubt that the mere use of the earlier draft of the introductory parts of the charters of a king after the introduction of a revised draft of the said part should not be regarded as proving the spuriousness of those documents as has often been wrongly contended by some scholars.¹

The charters of Madanapāla, son of Chandra, have the following two stanzas in addition to the five verses quoted above:

Tasya-ātmajō Madanapāla iti kshitiṃdrama-
chūḍāmanīr-vijyātē nīja-gōtra-chandraḥ
yasī=ābhishēka-kalasā-ōllaśitaḥ payōbbih
prakṣhālitām Kali-rajaḥ-paṭalāṃ dharitryāḥ \| 6
Yasya-āsid-vijyā-prayāṇa-samayē tuāg-āchal-ōchchhaiś-chalan-
chūḍā-rataṇa-vibhinna-tālu-galita-styān-āṣrig-udbhāṣitaḥ
Śēshaḥ pēsha-vaśād=iva kshāṇam=asaṃ krōḍē nilin-ānanaḥ \| 7^1

The copper-plate grants of Gōvindachandra add the following stanzas to the above-quoted seven verses:

Tasmād=aįyata-nįj-āyata-bāhu-vallī-
bandh-āavaruddha-nava-rājya-gajō narēndraḥ \| 1
sāndr-āmṛta-drava-muchāṁ prabhavō gavāṁ yō
Gōvindachandra iti chandra iv=āṃbu-rāśē \| 8
Na katham=apy=alabhanta raṇa-kshamāṁs-
tisrīṣhu dikṣu gajān=atha Vajriṇaḥ \|
kakubhi babhran=ur=Abhramuvallabha-
pratibhāta iva yasya ghaṭā-gaṇaḥ \| 9^2

The following stanzas are added to the above-quoted nine verses in the charters of Vijayachandra:

Ajani Vijayachandra nāma tasmān=narēndraḥ
Surapātir=iva bhūḥṛṣṭ-paksha-vechchhēda-dakṣaḥ \|

^1 See JUPHS, Vol. XIV, pp. 70-71. The metres of these stanzas are: verse 6 Pasantatilakā; verse 7 Śāradāvīkṛitiāغا

^2 See, e.g., above, Vol. IV, p. 100, text lines 8-11. The metres of these verses are: verse 8 Pasantatilakā; verse 9 Drugāvīkṛitiā. The Basahi (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, pp. 101 ff.) and Kamauli (above, Vol. II, pp. 358 ff.) plates, issued respectively in Vikrama 1101 and 1162 by Gōvindachandra during his father’s reign, have some new stanzas not found in the later records of Gōvindachandra or his successors. The Basahi plate has:

Tasmādyam sarva-dēvānāṃ Dāmōdāram=upāsmaḥē \|
tralōkyam yasya vaktē iva krōj=ānta-stham vali-trayaṃ \| 1
Vamē Gāhāvālākēhē babhēra viṣaṇy nriṣah \|
Mahīsā-sūtah śrīnāṃ Nala-Nābhāṇa-samābhah \| 2
Yēē śrī-Bhōja-bhūpē vibudha-vara-hūrṇā-ṣṭīrā-sātīśītataṃ
śrī-Karpē krtī-jēśaṃ gatavaṇi cha nriṣē kaha-mātyāyē jāyamānē ṣā
bhartaḥram yam dharitrī Tridivaviḥu-niḥham prīti-yogd=upētē
traṭē viśāśa-puṛcch samabhavad-da sa kahmaṇātā Gaṇeṣḍraṇaḥ \| 3
Dvishat-kahāṭhāraḥ sarvān=vīdhāya vīraśe=vaśē \|
Kanyākubējē-karōd-rājē rājadhāhitam=aninditēm \| 4
Tēn=Śājani dvishad-dālapati-danti-sīhbaḥ
kahōḍpeta-Madanapāla iti prasiddhaḥ \|
yēn=ākriyanta babuśah samara-prabandhaḥ
sannartita-prahat-satru-kabandha-bandhaḥ \| 5
SOME GAHADAVALA GRANTS

bhuvana-dalana-helā-harrmya-\textit{Hammīra-nāri}-
nayana-jalada-dhārī-śānta-bhūloka-tāpaḥ \(10\)
Lōka-tray-ākrāmanda-kēlī-viśrīṃkulāni
prakhyāta-kīrti-kavi-vargita-vaibhavāni
yasya Trivikrama-pada-krama-bhāṇji bhāṇti
prōjīrmbhayanti Bali-rāja-bhayam yaśāni \(11\)
Yasminē-chahaty=uddadh-nēmi-mahī-jayāya
mādyat-karindra-guru-bhāra-nipōḍīt-ēva
yāti Prajāpati-padaṁ saraṇ-ārthini bhūs=
tvaṅgat-turaṅga-nivah-ōthha-rajas-čhālēna \(12\)

\textit{Tasāmād-ajāyata-narēvra-vrinda-vandya}-
pād-āravinda-yugalō jvalita-prātpaḥ |
kshaṃpātindra-tākō ripu-ranga-bhangi
\textit{Gōvindaḥandra} iti vīrāṇa-rājaptuḥ \(6\)
The Kamulī plate, which has \textit{Tasāmād-bhārī} for \textit{Tēnājuni} in verse 3 and \textit{nāmavārī} for \textit{rājaputra} in verse 6, omits the fourth stanza but adds the following verse at the end so that the number of verses is six in this case also:

Tis̱ţhatō yasya dōb-stambhē matta-śaury-aika-dantināh |
dhanur-gūna-kīya-arōţi mada-rāj-ēvā lakṣhyatē \(7\)
The metres of these verses are: verses 1-2, 4 and 7 \textit{Auskṛtyā}; verse 3 \textit{Sūngkarā}; verses 5-6 \textit{Pavanī tīlakā}.

The Rahanī plate (\textit{Ind. Ant.}, Vol. XVIII, pp. 14 ff.) of Vikrama 1106, al-o issued by \textit{Gōvindaḥandra} during his father's reign, has again the following set of verses:

Akūṅgh-ōkānta-Valkūnhā, etc. \(1\)
Abhūn-rripō \textit{Gāhādavāla-ramē}
\textit{Mahīloṭ} nāma jīt āri-chakrah |
sthūtō dhārī-bhāram-raēhām-ēsāh
Śēhah sukū yasya bhūja niśhēya \(2\)
Prādhvastē Sōma-Sūry-ōdhava-vidata-mahāk-khatra-vanēa-dvāryām-sunīm-
utasamnopāya-vēča-dhvanī jagad-akhilam manyamānāh Svayambhūḥ
kritva āsēh-grahya pravānam-ēha manah Suddha-buddhih-dhyānīyām-
uddhārtam dharmam-mārgam prathitam-ēthā tathā kṣhatra-vamśa-dvayo ēma cha, \(3\)
Vamē tatra tathā sa ēsā samabhūd-chāṃpālā-ehūtāmannāb
prōdhvast-ōddhata-vairi-virā-timrāh \(śē\) \textit{Chandrāḍāvō} nripab,
\(yēn-ōdārata-prātpa-śamit-ōōh-si-praj-ōpadravam\)
śēnām-\textit{Gādhūpīrō} ādhirāyam-ūsānam dōr-vikramē-āṛṇatām \(4\)
Tīrthānī Kāśi-Kuśik-Uttarakoṣā-Endrasthānīyakini, etc. \(5\)
Tasya-ātmaśā Madanaṃpāla iti, etc. \(6\)
Yasya-sāśād-vijaya-prayāṇa-samāvē, etc. \(7\)
Jātaseṭṭātā rājanijānti vāmbu-rāśēn
\textit{Gōvindaḥandra} iti kānti-bhar-ābhīrāmāh
rāj-ātmājena bhavāta samuṣjatāni
Rāmēṇa Dāśarathēche-ēva yanāśū yēnā \(8\)
Dūrūra-sphāra-Gaṇḍā-dvīrada-vara-gaṅghāt-kāmīha-nībhēlla-bhīmō
\textit{Hammīraṁ} nyasta-vaṃram mūhara-śasama-raṇa-krīdāyā yō vidhātē |
śasvata-saṃhārī-vallag-turag-khura-put-ōḷēkha-mudrā-sañātha
kṣōṅ-gvīkāra-dalṣah sa īha vijayaṭe pṛthvina-kalpa-viśkāh \(9\)
The metres of the stanzas are: verse 1 \textit{Auskṛtyā}; verse 2 \textit{Upajīti}; verses 3 and 9 \textit{Sōngkarā}; verses 4-5 and 7 \textit{Śārīrakārīdīla}; verses 6 and 8 \textit{Pavanī tīlakā}. The fourth stanza is a modification of verse 4 quoted above.

\(1\) This stanza is not found in any of the records of Vijayachandra (cf. ibid., Vol. IV, p. 119).

\(2\) See, e.g., above Vol. XXXIV, pp. 224-25. The metres of these stanzas are: verse 10 \textit{Mālīnī}; verses 11-12 \textit{Pavanī tīlakā}. 
Jayachandra's copper-plate grants have the twelve stanzas quoted above and the following two verses in addition thereto:

Tasmād-adbhuta-vikramād-atha Jayachandrābhīdhānaḥ patir=
bhūpānām-avatīrṇa ēṣa bhuvan-ōddhārṣya Nārāyaṇaḥ |
dvaidhi-bhāvam-apāṣya vīgrha-ruchīṁ dhikṣītya sānt-āsāyāḥ
svēvantē yam-udagra-bandhana-bhaya-dvādase-arthināḥ pārthivāḥ || 13

Gachchhēn-mūrekhām-atuchchhām na yadi kavalayēt-kūrma-prisēth-ābhighāta-
pratīvṛttitaṁ śram-ārtō namad-akhila-phaṇa-śvāsa-vaṭyā-sahārasam |
udyōgē yasya dhāvad-dharaṇidhara-dhunī-nīrjhara-sphāra-dhāra-
bhrāyad-dāna-dvīp-ālī-bahala-bhara-galad-dhairya-mudraḥ Phanīḍraḥ || 14

The following verses are added to the above quoted fourteen stanzas in the Machhlishahr plate (Vikrama 1253=1197 A.D.) of Hariśchandra, son of Jayachandra and the latest known member of the Imperial Gāhaḍavāla house:

Tasmād-āśīd-asīma-tvara-turaga-khura-kshōda-vikshipta-dhūli-
vyaśta-kshāma-chakravāla-krama-kalita-nabhō-ruddha-sūra-prakāśaḥ |
sēnā-saṁbhāra-saṁpad-daravidalad-īlāṁ dōr-gatāṁ nyasya chaṇḍās=
chaṇḍ-ārka-brānti-dāyi-sphurad-asama-yaśāḥ śri-Hariśchandrāvah || 15

Yēna praṇāma-patita-kshitipāla-mauli-
ratna-prabhā-ruchira-chāru-pad-āṃbujeṇa |
uddaṇḍa-śītakara-maṇḍala-puṇḍartika-
dīpīḍra-piṇḍam-iva subhra-yaśō vitēnē || 16

The above versified section is followed by a stereotyped introduction of the donor in prose. To illustrate this, we may quote the passage in question from the Machhlishahr plate referred to above:

sōyatān samasta-rūja-chakra-saṁśeṣita-charaṇāḥ sa cha paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja-
dhirāja paramēśvara-paramamāhēśvara-nījha-bhuj-ōpārjita-śri-Kanyakubj-ādhipatiya-śri-
Chandrādeva-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-parama-
maḥēśvara-śri-Madana-pālādeva-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-
paramēśvara-paramamāhēśvar-āśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rūja-tray-ādhipati-vividhā-
vidyā-vichāra-Vāchaspati-ārīmād-Gōvinda-chandrādeva-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭā-

Sometimes we have pratīvṛttaṁ".
2See e.g. Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, pp. 130 ff. The metres of the stanzas are: verse 12 Śūrdāśāvīrtīdīta; verse 14 Sṛgālaḥ.
3Above, Vol. X. p. 97. Verse 15 was not properly deciphered.
4The metres of the stanzas are: verse 15 Sṛgālaḥ; verse 16 Vamakāhalīkā.
raka-mahārajādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamahēśvar-āvapati-gajapati-narapati-rājarāya
ādhipati-vividhā-vidyā-vichāra-Vāchaspati-śri-Vijayach-an-drādeva-pāda-ānudhyāta-par
mahāhāṭṭaraka-mahārajādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamahēśvar-āvapati-gajapati-narapati-
rājarāya-ādhipati-vividhā-vidyā-vichāra-Vāchaspati-śri-Jayach-an-drādeva-pāda-ānud-
hyāta-paramahāṭṭaraka-mahārajādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamahēśvar-āvapati-gajapati-
narapati-rājarāya-ādhipati-vividhā-vidyā-vichāra-Vāchaspati-śrīmad-Hari-ścandrādevo
vijayi.1

The list of subordinates and officers addressed by the king in respect of grants, the description
of the ceremonial offering of the gift land and the privileges of the donee as found in the Gāhādāvala
charters are couched in practically the same language. The imperative and beneficiary ve 1234
quoted about the end of the said records are also almost the same.

No. 1—Grant of Gō vindachandra, Vikrama 1196

This inscription was noticed in the Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, 1952-53, No. A 29. It is a single thick plate measuring nineteen inches in length and thirteen inches in height. There is a circular hole (about 2 cm. in diameter) about the centre of the top part, but no seal. The plate is engraved only on one side and there are in all 21 lines of writing. Its ends are raised for the protection of the writing. The weight of the plate is 465.6 gm.

The date of the grant is quoted in lines 15-16, both in words and figures as Vikrama 1195, Phālguna-vādi 15, Tuesday. This date corresponds to the 31st January 1139 A.D., the said tīhi having begun on that day and ended on the next.

The Gāhādāvala king Gō vindachandra is stated to have granted, on the date indicated above, the village called Vasēvā-grāma situated in the pattalā of Asamaka. A pattalā was a territorial unit of the type of the Pargana of today. The identification of the localities is uncertain. The gift was made by the king after having taken a bath in the waters of the Ganges at Vārānasi.

The donor was the Brāhmaṇa Rālḥanāraṇa who belonged to the Sāskritiya gōtra and the Sāskritiya, Āṅgirasa and Gauruvīta pravaras. He was the son of Vālhaṇa and grandson of Bhima. All the three persons are called Tīvādi which was apparently their family name derived from Sanskrit Tripāthā meaning ‘familiar with the three pāthas, (viz. saṁhitā, pāda and krama.’ The same family name is even now current among the Brāhmaṇas of U.P. The honorific śri is prefixed to the names of Rālḥanāraṇa and his father Vālhaṇa. Its absence with the name of Rālhaṇa’s grandfather Bhima probably suggests that he was dead at the time of the grant.

1 As indicated above (p. 202, note 8), like the versified introductory part, the prose section introducing the donor is different in the two Chandrāvati plates of Vikrama 1150 and 1196. The grant of Vikrama 1196 reads:

sōyam narapati-mukuta-makarikā-marakata-prabhā-patala-pallāvita-pāda-pīthā gajapati-gala-gajrjita-
praraya-paśchāناس-as-tėśkupati-kapata-pātana-kakaka-paśchā-as-paśchā-deva-chiṣṇa-chuṃbana-chap-
cha-nārāhāṣī giripati-pīchā-pīndaa-chāṇḍa-mārata hāvāli-kalā-kāpa-tēṣkī nirvāca-pāthika-
lōpaka-darsanah samadhigata-sakali-darsana-svara-sapēsā-jāṇa-sampa-vijita-muni-manoritterasa-
yeyasīmā-sākha sarva-vidyānāṁ-slayabh kalāhāṁ-dārāh svāmi-sambilāṃ paramahottākara-
mahārajādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamahēśvara-nīja-bhuj-dōpājita-śrī-Kanyakubhī-ādhipatya-śrīmachi-
Chandrāvati-dēvō vijayi.

The grant of Vikrama 1196, which omits four verses in the versified introduction as already noted above, has “krakaka-pātā nirvāsā” and “lōpaka-darsanaḥ paramahottākara” and thus omits a number of passages. This record exhibits an attempt to shorten the rather lengthy introduction in both the sections in verse and prose as found in the charter of Vikrama 1150.
The gift was permanent and the donee was entitled to enjoy all taxes including bhāga (share of crops), bhūga (periodical offerings), kara (taxes in general) and the special taxes known as pravanikara and turushkādāṇḍa, which have been variously explained. Of these two levies, pravanikara was probably a tax on foreign merchants and turushkādāṇḍa either a tax to meet the expenses of defence against the Turkish Musalmans or a levy from Muslim subjects or traders.

The charter was written by Thakkura Viśvarūpa who is already known from a large number of Gōvindachandra’s records.¹

TEXT²

12...........śrīmad-Gōvindachāndradēvō vijayā | Asamaka-pattalāyāṁ Vasēvā-grāma-
nivāsāṁ nikhila-janapadā-

13 n=upagat=ā=api cha rājā-rājñī-yuvarāja-maṅi-tri-pruṣhita-pratihāra-sēnāpati-bhāmājāgārik-ākṣhas-
patalika-bhishag-naimittik-āntah-purika-dūta-kari-turaga-patto-

14 n-ākaraṣṭhāna-gōkula-ādhikāri-puruṣhān=ājīnāpayatī vō(bō)dhayaty=ādiṣati cha [[*] yathā viḥitam-astu bhavatāṁ yathā-pari-likhitā-grāmāḥ sa-jala-sthalāḥ sa-lōha-lavaṇā-

15 karaḥ sa-matsy-ākaraḥ sa-gratt-ōsaraḥ sa-madhūk-āvra(mra)-vana-vāṭika-viṣapa-trīṇa-

16 daśa-sata-bhaṁi(sarī) vatsara-Phālgunō māśi kṛishṇa-pakṣe amāvāsyāyāṁ

tithau Bhaumā-dinē-āṅkē-pi samva(samva) 1195 Phālguna-vadi 15 Bhaumē śrīmad-Vāraṇāsyāṁ Gaṅgāyāṁ smātā vidhīva-

17 n=maṅitṛa(tra)-da(dē)va-muni-manuṣa-bhūta-piṭṭi-gañjāṁ-tarppayitvā timira-patāla-pātana-

18 sva pājāṁ vidhāya prachura-pāyabhē(śe)na ha[vishā] Havibhūn(rhbu)jaḥ huts[va] mātā-


20 praddaṭṭh matvā yathā-diyamāna-bhā[ga]-bhūga-kara-pravanikara-su(tu)ruṣha=kaḍa(ṇa)da-


² From inked impressions.
³ Verse 1-9 quoted in our introductory discussion, followed by a passage in prose also discussed there, are found in lines 1-12.
⁴ Saṅkṣā has not been observed here.
⁵ The correct form of the name is Gaurītita.
⁶ There is a floral design between the two dandaś.
⁷ The following imprecatory and benedictory verses occur in lines 20-24: Bhūṁīṁ yah pratīghāṇāṁ, etc. Śāmkhām bhāḍrāṣṭram, etc.; Sarvāṁ-śeṣōḥ bhūgaḥ, etc.; Nārāyana-śeṣōḥ gānita-kāṁ ca, etc.; Na viṁśaṁ viṁśaṁ aṣṭaṁ abhū, etc.; Yāṁ=ṣā vaṁ dattāṁ, etc.
SOME GAHADAVALA GRANTS—PLATE I
No. 1—Grant of Govindachandra, Vikrama 1196
No. 2—Grant of Vijayachandra, Vikrama 1217

This is a single plate¹ having writing only on one side. It measures 48 cm. in length and 38 cm. in height, though its weight is not recorded. There is a hole, disturbing the continuity of line 1, about the middle of the upper part of the plate near the top margin. But there is no seal, for the affixation of which the hole was no doubt made. There are only 30 lines of writing in the inscription.

The charter bears the date: Vikrama 1217, Chaitra-vadi 11, Wednesday, Mina-saṅkṛānti, both in words and figures (line 18). This date regularly corresponds to the 22nd February 1161 A. D.

The inscription records the grant of a village made by the Gāhādvāla king Vijayachandra on the date mentioned above. The king is stated to have made the grant after having taken his bath in the Ganges at its confluence with the Kālinadi at his camp-residence lying to the west of Khodā (Khodā-paśchima-samāvāsa). The Kāli-nadi joins the Ganges not far above Kanauj in the Farrukhabad District, U. P. The camp of the king was thus a place near Kanauj. The general belief that the name Kāli-nadi is modified from old Kālini by Persian writers² is disproved by the inscription under study.

The gift village was Kaṇḍini-grāma situated in the Umbarahāra pattāla (district). The village is stated to have been granted along with its pāṭakas. The word pāṭaka (modern pādā) means a group of houses in a village. The names of the pāṭakas or hamlets are given in the inscription as Kaśavall, Vanaśri(?), Ustari and Paursavall. I am not sure about the identification of the localities. The name of Umbarahāra-pattāla reminds us of Umbarāla-pattāla of an inscription of Gővindachandra.³

The donee of the grant was the Brāhmaṇa Thakkura Mālhaṇasarma who was the son of Thakkura Gaṅgādhara and grandson of Thakkura Lakshmīdāra and belonged to the Vatsa gōtra and the five pravartas, viz. Bhārgava, Chayavana, Āpnāvāna, Aurova and Jāmadagnya. The nature of the gift was permanent and the donee was entitled to all regular and irregular taxes like bhāga, bhōga, kara, pramanikara and yamalikāmbali. Of these, pramanikara is the same as or a mistake for pravāṇikara discussed above. Yamilikāmbali seems to be a corruption of yamala-kambali meaning the tax for the possession of a pair of choice bullocks and may be compared with the levy called vara-balivāra mentioned in certain contemporary inscriptions.⁴

The charter was written by Thakkura Śripati (Śripati) who is known from many inscriptions of Gővindachandra and Jayachandra as well as from a spurious grant⁵ of Vijayachandra himself. He is often endowed with the official designation Mahāśkapatalaka.

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² The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XIV, p. 309.
³ Cf. above, Vol. VIII, p. 159, text line 11.
⁴ See ibid., Vol. XXXIII, p. 267, text line 38.
⁵ See above, pp. 153 ff. All the six charters of Jayachandra edited below (Nos. 3-8) were written by the same person.

12 DGA/60
EPGRAPHIA INDICA

TEXT

14  śrímad-Vijayachandradévō vijayō || || Umva(mva)rahāra-pa-


nai

16 mittik-āntaphūrika-dūta-kari-turaga-pattan-ākaraṭhāna-gokul-ādhikāri-purushān-ājñāpayati vō(bō)dhayaty-ādiṣati cha yathā viditam-asti bhavatān yathā-ōpari-līkha-grāmaḥ Kaśāvalī

17 [Vanare?] Uṣtrai [Pau]jśavali etaiḥ saha sa-jala-sthalaḥ sa-lōha-lavan-ākaraḥ sa-matsya-karaḥ-

sa-garṭa-śabaraḥ sa-giri-gahana-nidhānaḥ sa-madhāk-āmra-vana-vātīka-viṭāpa-triṇa-yūti-

gōchāra-paryantaḥ a-orydha(rddhv-ā)diḥ-schatu-āghāta-

18 vis(a)uddhaḥ svā-śimā-paryantāḥ saptadasā(ā-ō)tara-dvādaśa(āa)-[aa]ta-
saṁvatsarē āśitra-māśa-krīṣṇa-pakeha ēkādasyānā(kyānā) tithau Vṛ(ṛ)-
dha-dina(na) anākat-pāpi saṁvata 1217 Āśitra-vadi 11 Vṛ(ṛ)diḥ mina-gate śa

savatari adva yeha Kṛhō-śeṣmā-samavāśē

19 Kāli-nadi-sa[mh]garmā Gaṅgāyāṁ snātvā vidhivam-mantra-dēva-muni-manuja-bhūta-
pitṛ-gaṇāṁś-śarīraryātā tvimara-pāṭa-pāṭana-pāṭu-mahāsam-Uṣpārochāh-sam-paśe-

(ya)jñāshadhi-paśakalaśē[ha]ādhikāra

20 sa[mh]bhār[ch]chāyā(bhyarchhya) tri-bhuvana-trāṭu[r]-Vvasūdevasaya pūjanām vidhāya prachura-
pāyasēna havisha Ṣhairbhujam huvā hiravainācha puṇya-yatē-puṅiyabhi-puṅyabhi-
yēre[ṃ]mābhīr-gāgrkṣa-ka[la]-pūta-kara-

21 tal-ōdaka-pūrvvakaṁ Vatsa-gōtrāya Bhārgaṭa-Chyavana-ā[ṇ]nāvāna-[Au][v]ya-Jāmada-
gna-prachara-pravarāya ṣhakkura-ṣrī-Lakshmīdhara-pauṭrāya ṣhakkura-ṣrī-Gaṅgādhara-pu-

ṛāya ṣhakkura-ṣrī-Mālaṇasa(āsa)ḥmaṇapē Vṛ[ṛ]-ābhāṃṣāya chand-ārkaṁ

22 yāvach-chhāsanikṛtya predatō matvā yathā-dīyamāna-bhāga-bhāga-kara-pramaṇikūkara-[ya]

mālikāṃv[ma]bhājī-ḥabhrī-niyat-āniyata-samast-ādāyān ājñā-viṁśayibhūya dāśyath-ēti ||

bhavastī(nti) [ch]-ētra

23 ālekhāh ........................... 5

30 ........................... [chha]  || [chha]  || chhāmahāt[ma] maṅgalatan mahā-śrīḥ ||

1 From inked impressions.
2 Verses 1-12 discussed in our introductory remarks, followed by a passage in prose also discussed there, are engraved in lines 1-14.
3 Sandhī has not been observed here.
4 This is generally found elsewhere as pravesīkura.
5 The following imprompto and beneficent verses are quoted in lines 23.30: Bhāmīṃ yāḥ pratigṛhati, etc.; Saṅkaḥmaḥ bhadravam, etc.; Saradā-tām-bhāīcīr, etc.; Aśmad-vahāḥ pārthīkṣe, etc.; Bakadbhīr-amu-

ghdhā bhūka, etc.; Gām-kām varunam-bhūkha, etc.; Tṛuḍgānām sarārāma, etc.; Su-dattaṁ pava-dattām u, etc.; Šaṅkṣīm vāraṣa-saraṣāra, etc.; Vṛṛ-śāhēravāryēka, etc.; Vṛṛ-ṛtha daśāni, etc.; Vṛṛ-ābhāva-vīhramāṇe-

idam, etc.
6 This is a symbol indicating the completion of a section of the composition.
No. 3—Grant of Jayachchandra, Vikrama 1232

This is a single plate1 measuring 62 cm. in length and 39 cm. in height and having writing on one side only. There is a hole (about 2.5 cm. in diameter) about the middle of the upper part of the plate near the top margin. This disturbs the continuity of the writing of lines 1-3. The weight of the plate has not been recorded. There are altogether 33 lines of writing in the inscription. The seal is missing.

The date of the charter is quoted in line 22 in both words and figures. It is Vikrama 1232, Ásvina-sudi 14, Monday. The year has to be regarded as current and the date apparently corresponds to Monday the 29th September 1175 A.D., though the tithi in question really fell on the following day. As will be seen below, several other charters were issued by the king on the same day in favour of the donees of the grant under study.

It is stated that the Gāhdāvāla king Jayachchandra granted a village on the above date on the occasion of the jāt-ōtsava of Mahārājāputra Hariścandrādēva. The gift village was Chandavaka, though the pattalā or Pargana in which it was situated is not mentioned. But reference has been made to certain pātakas or hamlets of the village. Their names appear to be Kēsavaka, Payaniyil, Rātu and Gudērāra. These places cannot be located with precision.

The donee of the grant was Mahāsāndhivigrāhika Bhāṇḍāgūrika Ravidhara of the Vatsa gōtra, who was the son of Mālidharaśarman and the grandson of Gaṅgādharasarmān.2 He was therefore an officer of the king in charge of foreign relations as well as of the royal treasury or storehouse. It will be seen below that all the grants of Jayachchandra edited here (Nos. 3-8) were made in favour of this person, though the records of the following year (V. S. 1233; cf. Nos. 5-8) call him Rāuta instead of Mahāsāndhivigrāhika Bhāṇḍāgūrika. The donee was entitled to collect all the regular and irregular taxes including bhāga, bhōga, kara, pravāṇikara and yamali. Of these, yamali is of course the same as yamālikāmbali explained above.

The charter was written by Mahākṣapaṭalika Ṭhakkura Śrīpati who was also the writer of No. 2 edited above, Nos. 4-7 edited below and a number of other Gāhdāvāla charters.

The importance of the inscription lies in the mention of the jāt-ōtsava of king Jayachchandra’s son Mahārājāputra Hariścandra, as the occasion of the grant. The expression jāt-ōtsava no doubt means the festival relating to the prince’s birth. This reminds us of two other grants made by Jayachchandra on the occasion of the jāta-karman (ceremony at birth) and nāma-karana (naming ceremony) of the same Hariścandra.

It is well known that the Kamāuli plate3 of Vikrama 1232, Bhādā-vadi 8, Sunday (the 10th August 1175 A.D.) records a grant made by Jayachchandra on the occasion of the jāta-karman of Rājāputra Hariścandrādēva after the donor had taken a bath in the waters of the Ganges at Kāśi (i.e. Vārānasi) in favour of Purūṣita Praharājaśarman who was apparently the priest

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1 It is No. A 91 of A. R. Ep., 1960-61.
2 This Gaṅgādhara seems to be identical with the Brāhmaṇa of the same name mentioned in No. 2.
3 Above, Vol. IV, p. 127, 20-24: Sāhāla 1232 Bhādā-vadi 8 ravas Kāṣayān rājāputra śrī-Hariścandrādēvā jāta-karmanā Gaṅgāyān naśvā. . . . . . . samābhāḥ purūṣita śrī-Praharājaśarmanām Brāhmaṇāya. . . . . . pradāttah. The expression ady-ēha seems to have been omitted from the context through oversight.
officiating in the prince's birth-rite. The Sihvar plate of Vikrama 1232, Bhādra-sūti 13, Sunday the 31st August 1175 A.D.), likewise records a grant on the occasion of the nāma-karaṇa of Rāja-
putra Hariśchandra made by the king after taking a bath in the waters of the Ganges at Vārāṇasī in avour of Mahāpāṇḍita Ṣrī-hṛṣīkēśa-kārman. Ḣrīṣīkēśa was no doubt a scholar patronised by the Gāhādavāla king and officiated in the naming ceremony and suggested the name of the prince.

It is generally believed, on the basis of these two records, that Hariśchandra was born on the 10th August 1175 A.D. and that his nāma-karaṇa or naming ceremony was performed after three weeks on the 31st August. Of course there is a good deal of discrepancy in the views of ancient Indian authorities as regards the time when the nāma-karaṇa should be performed. Some of them favour the date of the birth of a child for the purpose and some others prefer the 10th or 12th day after the birth or any auspicious day, tīthi or nakahatra thereafter, i.e. on a later date, while another group of writers prescribe for the nāma-karaṇa the 16th or 18th day after the birth though there are also views that it should be done after the passing of a hundred nights or a month or a year. Thus the performance of nāma-karaṇa on the 21st day after the birth of prince Hariśchandra is not unjustifiable. But the mention of the name Hariśchandra in the grant issued on the 10th August on the occasion of the jāta-karmaḥ or birth-ceremony seems to suggest that the nāma-karaṇa, on the occasion of which a charter was issued on the 31st August, was really performed on the date of the prince's birth on an earlier date. This seems to be supported by the present grant which has the passage: Sānavat 1232 Āśvina-sūti 14 Sōme adya-tha mahārājaputra-tha-śri Hariśchandra-dēva-jāt-ōtava . . . . . . . . . . . . . anābhīth . . . . . mahāśāndhvigrahika-bhāgārūka-śri Ravidharāya . . . . . . pradattah. Since the date falls on the 29th September 1175 A.D., i.e. 50 days after the 10th August and 29 days after the 31st August, it cannot be regarded as a celebration performed a month or several months or a year after the birth of Hariśchandra. Thus the jāt-ōtava seems to indicate the festival held on the occasion of the prince's birth, though the grant was made several weeks after the date. This makes it doubtful whether the prince's birth took place on the 10th August 1175 A.D. or on an earlier date.

It will be seen that while the grant on the occasion of the jāta-karmaḥ was made in favour of the Purāṇa (i.e. the priest of the king) and that in connection with the nāma-karaṇa to a Mahāpāṇḍita (learned Brāhmaṇa of the royal court), who no doubt officiated in the respective rites, the present grant was made in connection with the birth festival in favour of a royal officer who apparently did not take part in the jāta-karma and nāma-karaṇa rites. But, as will be seen below, No. 4 seems to suggest that Ravidhara, the donee of the present charter, presented three jewelled amulets to the newly born prince.

Ravidhara may have been a favourite of the king since all the six grants of Jayachandra published here (Nos. 3-8) were issued in his favour on two different dates, Nos. 3-4 on one date and Nos. 5-8 on another. It is, however, interesting to note that the jāt-ōtava of Hariśchandra is mentioned as the occasion of the grant only in the present record (No. 3) and not even in No. 4 though Nos. 3 and 4 were issued on the same date. Whether this means that the villages granted by means of some of these records were really purchased by Ravidhara from the Gāhādavāla monarch cannot be determined without further evidence.

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1 Another grant made by the king in a priest's favour is recorded in a Kamanī plate (above, Vol. IV, pp. 126-21), according to which he gave a village to Rājaguru Mahāpāṇḍita Prabhāsārmaṇ on the 21st June 1270 A.D. after performing maṇtra-nāma for his ahbhikēna at his camp at Vārāṇasī-grāma.


4 The expression śrimad-śrāddhāyēṇa śnātā seems to have been omitted through oversight. Cf. No. 4 (text line 23) issued in favour of the same donee on the same date, though it does not mention any occasion like Hariśchandra's jāt-ōtava as in the present grant.


18 ........................... 2śrimā-Jayachchandradāvō vijayi ||

19 || || [Kēśavaka-Payanyi-Rātu-Gudērā]a sa-pāṭaka-Chāndavaka-grāma
nīvāsinō nikhīna-janapadān-upagatān-api cha rājā-raja-yuvarāja-cumātri-purāhita-
prathāhārā-sena-pati-bhadrāgā.-

20 rīk-ākṣhapatali-kha-bhishag-naimittik-āntaḥ-purikā-dūta-kari-turaga-pattana-ākaraśhāna-
bhavatām yath-ōpāri-

21 likhita-grāmāh sa-jala-Īghalāh sa-lauha-lavap-ākaraḥ sama[t*]yakara[h] sā(sa)-gatēkhi
(rtt-gēha)raḥ sa-gi[ri]ga[ha]na-nīdāhān sa-ma[dhūk]-[ā]mra-vana-vātikā-viṣa[pa]-tiṣa-
yūti-gōchara-paryantah s-ōrddhā[rdhv-ā]dhī[sa*]-chatu-

22 [r-āghā]ta-visu(ṣu)dhiḥ sa va-sīmā-paryantah || dayastraivadadhika[4]-dvādāsa-[sa(ṣa)]-
ta-sa[ṛ*]vatsa[r]-ā śāvina-māśe sukha-palika-chatu[rdhayaṁ]ēyāṁ] tijthau
Sōma-dinś [ṁ]kē[pi] sarvat 1232 Āśvina-sudi 14 Sōmē ||

tra-dēva-muni-manu-[bhū]ta-pitṛ-gaṁśa[t]*[ppa]yivā t[i]ju[i]ra-pa[a]la-patana-
patu-mahasam-Ushara[shorrhōchhamahashama[m=upa[sa]]thāyāṁ(y=au)adhīpa-

24 [t]ākalaśa[pa][śōka]raṁ samabhyarchya tri-bhuva[na]-trātu[r]=Vābhu[su]dēvasya pūjā-
[ṇ*] vīdhāya prachura-pyāsaṁa havidhā Ifavirbhujāḥ hutvā mātā-pitrō-ātmanāḥ-cha
punya-yāśō-bhriddhāyē asambhrī-śgp[kar]ṇa-kūśa-la-

paurīya Mālādhārass[sa]rmman[a*] putrīya [mahā]śīndhīvagination-bhān[da]garika-
śīr-Rвиdharāya chaṇḍr-ārksa[n*] yāvach-chhāsahi[kritya]

26 pradattō matvā yathā-diya-māṇa-bhāga-bhōga-kara-pravāṇikara-ja[ya]mali-prabhṛti-niyati-
āṇyata-samastā-dāyān-ājān-vīdhvētībhāya dāṣyath-ēti || || bhavanti ch=
ātra ālokaḥ ||...-

33 ........................... likhitām ch-ōdāṁ tāmra-paṭṭakaṁ mahākṣa-patali-ṭhakkura-śīr-Śripati-bhīṅ

1 From inked impressions.
2 Verse 1-14 quoted in our introductory discussion, followed by a passage in prose also discussed there, are
found in lines 1-18.
3 These appear to be the names of the pāṭakas of Chandavaka-grāma. The intended reading was probably
śēr-alāya-pāṭaka[ha saha.
4 Read dūtrī argad-advika.
5 The mark of punctuation is redundant.
6 The impropriety and beneficent verses quoted in lines 26-33 are: Bhūmiṁ yaḥ pratigrihitvā, etc.; Sam-
ākṣaṁ bhud-āsarnam, etc.; Skhaṁhari vṛsha-thaṁvaraṇi, etc.; Bhaubhiravasādha bhuvāḥ, etc.; Cāmavām samavam-
ēri ca, etc.; Svadānta prama-dattāṁ vā, etc.; Tadāśānāṁ sarhṛṣṇaṁ, etc.; Šat-ahāra-vihrāmanam-ādān, etc.,
Suvraṁ-Sān-bhūvaṁ, etc.; Yau-da[ntāṁ, etc.
7 There is the figure of a conch-shell here.
8 A floral design is engraved here.
9 There is a lotus engraved at this place.
No. 4—Grant of Jayachchandra, Vikrama 1232

This is a single plate measuring 48 cm. in length and 39 cm. in height. It has writing only on one side. In general appearance, the plate looks like Nos. 1-3 edited above. There is no seal, though there is a hole (2.15 cm. in diameter) about the centre of the upper part near the top margin and it disturbs the continuity of the writing of lines 1-2. The inscription contains 34 lines of writing.

The date of the charter, quoted in both words and figures in lines 22-23, is the same as that of No. 3, viz. Vikrama 1232, Āśvina-sudi 14, Monday, corresponding to the 29th September 1175 A.D.

The grant is stated to have been made by the Gāṇḍāvāla king Jayachchandra after having taken a bath at a locality or in a tank called Edakupūḍi. The gift village, viz. Avālu-grāma, was given together with its pāṭakas though the pāṭatalā in which it was situated is not mentioned. I am not sure about the location of the village or the place whence the charter was issued.

The donee is the same as in No. 3, viz. Mahāśāndhīvigrāhika Bhāṇḍāgarika Ravidhara (written wrongly as Rēdhara) of the Vatsa gotra, who was the son of Mālādharaśarman and grandson of Gaṅgādharaśarman. The nature of the grant was permanent and the donee was entitled to realize such regular and irregular taxes as bhāga, bhāga, kara, pravaṇikara and yamali (i.e. yamalikāntalā explained above).

There is a passage in line 26, which seems to suggest that Ravidhara offered three mudris decked with diamonds and rubies and that the grant was made in his favour in that connection (i.e. in response to that act). The word mudri is apparently used in the sense of mudrikā or mudrā meaning 'signet ring', 'a coin', 'a medal', etc. It is not impossible that Ravidhara presented three amulets to the newly born prince Hariśchandra and received the village from the king in return.

The charter was written by Śrīpati already known from Nos. 2-3 above and a number of other records of Gāṇḍāvāla kings including Nos. 5-7 below.

TEXT

18 ................. śrīma Jayachchandradēvō vijayā || || sa cha [sa]-

19 [masta-mā]^{4} sa-pāṭaka biṇām āvālu-grāma-nivāsinō nihkhila-janapaddā(dā)n=upagatān =api cha rāja-rājēhi-yuvāja-māṁ(ma)ntri-purā(rō)hi[ta-pratihāra-sēnāpa-

20 ti-bhāṇḍāgarik-ākshapatīlah-bhishag-śaṁmitīk-āntaḥpurikā-d[u]taka-kari-tura-ga-pattan-ākara- sthāna-g[ō]jul-ādhikāri-purushān-ājāpayati vō(bō)dhayāt=āśāti cha vidi-


2 From inked impressions.
3 Lines 1-18 contain verse 1-14 followed by a passage in prose, both discussed in our introductory remarks.
4 These six redundant aksaras were wrongly inscribed. The intended expression here seems to be samasta- rāja-chakra-sanīcātra-charanāḥ.
5 The aksaras wrongly engraved here are completely rubbed off.
6 Sandhi has not been observed here.
No. 5—Grant of Jayachandra, Vikrama 1233

The inscription is written on one side of a single plate measuring 51 cm. in length and 41 cm. in height. There is a hole in the centre of the top part of the inscription near the upper margin, though there is no seal. The hole (28 cm. in diameter) has disturbed the continuity of writing in lines 1-2. There are altogether 34 lines of writing on the plate.

The date of the grant, quoted in words and figures in lines 24-25, is Vikrama 1233, Āśāda-vadi 15, Sunday. This date regularly corresponds to the 29th May 1177 A.D.

The Gāhādaḍvāla king Jayachandra is stated to have granted the village called Khavaḍayigrāma, situated in the Dirghodaya pattalī, together with its hamlets, on the date indicated above, after taking a bath in the waters of the Ganges at Vārāṇasi. The identification of both the district and the village is uncertain, though the name Dirghodaya reminds us of Dīghadaubali in the Saran District of Bihar.

The donee was the same as in Nos. 3-4, viz. Ravidhara who was the son of Ṭhakkura Mālādhara and grandson of Ṭhakkura Gangādhara and belonged to the Vatsa gotra and the five pravaras, viz. Bhārgava, Chyavana, Āpravāna, Aurva and Jāmadagnya. He was entitled to all the regular and irregular taxes such as bhāga, bhoga, kara and pravanikara.

1 Read dvātirmatā.
2 The punctuation mark here as well as elsewhere in this line and the following one is unnecessary.
3 Possibly the scribe intended to write Rāḍikārya for Śamkris Rādikārya.
4 The correct word is hirā meaning 'a diamond'. Cf. ḍhīrā in Hindi, etc.
5 The intended word is madhūrī used in the sense of madhūrī or madhūrā.
6 The word more suitable to the context here is daññi or dana.

1 Lines 27-34 contain the following benedictory and imprecatory verses: Bhāmīna puḥ pratirūpitaḥ, etc.; śamkīm bhadra-dānapaḥ, etc.; sākṣaṛṇa prasārakaḥ, etc.; bhāvbhāvabha-dhākṣaḥ, etc.; oṣhaścikīn smeṣṭīm-kacca cha, etc.; mṛdo-dānti para-dānti ca, etc.; Tāṣāṇām cakṣaḥ, etc.; Vṛdhaśri-vibhramamadādām, etc.; Saradā-tān-bhāmīm, etc.; Yānaka daññi, etc.
2 This is No. A. 93 of A. K. Bp., 1908-09.
It is interesting to note that the same Ravidhara is called Mahāśāndhīvīgrahika Bhāṇḍāgārika in Nos. 3-4, but a Rāuta in the present record as well as in Nos. 6-7. Rāuta is merely a title of nobility and it is not improbable that Ravidhara retired before the date of the present charter and was no longer an officer of the king.

Like most of the other charters of Jayachandra edited here, the present grant was written by Mahākṣhapatalika Ṭhakkura Śripati.

TEXT

20 ........................śrinam-Jayachandradēvō vijayī || || Dirghōdaya-pattalīyāṁ || sa-pāṭaka-Khavādayi-grāmā-nivāsinō

21 nikhila-janapadān-upagatām-api cha ṛāja-rājā-yuvarāja-mantrī-purūhita-pratihāra-sēnāpati-bhāṇḍāgārika-ākṣapatālika-bhishag-naimittik-āнтalypurikā-


dinē ankātō[pi] samvā(samva)1233 Āśā-

26 mahasam-Ushnārochishan-upasthāy-Ausadhipatiśakalasē(ē)kharāṃ samabhysarchchya tri-

27 bhuvana-trāttrū-bhagavatō Vāsudēvasya pūjāṁ vidhāya prachura-pāyāsēna havishā Havirbhu-

28 gun-eti-pa[n]cha-pravaraṇa ṭhakkura-śri-Gaṅgādhara-paurāṇa ṭhakkura-śri-Maḷādharā-

29 na-bhāgas bhūga-kara pravāṇikara prabhriti-niyat-ānijyata-samastādāyān-ājñā-

34 ........................ likhitam ch-ēdām tāma-paraṭṭakaṁ mahākṣhapatālika-ṭhakkura-śri-Śripatībhir-īti ||

1 From inked impressions.
3 Verses 1-14 discussed in our introductory remarks followed by the usual passage in prose occur in lines 1-20.
8 The danda is redundant.
12 The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
13 The word āṇaut is redundant.
14 The following introductory and benedictory stanzas are found in lines 29-34: Bhūmīn yoḥ prapryagrastā, etc.; śāṃkham bhūd-āśmam, etc.; śākṣhitā varahā-saharāsī, etc.; taṅkalabhi-vandādhi bhukti, etc.; ma₃-dānak parə-
dattāṁ va, etc.; Cām-kāhān svapnam-tām cha, etc.; Viṣṇu-kṣetra-aranyəli, etc.; Yān-iha datāni, etc.
No. 6—Grant of Jayachandra, Vikrama 1233

This is a single plate measuring 52 cm. in length and 41 cm. in height and bearing writing on one side only. There is no seal; but a hole (2.28 cm. in diameter) is there about the centre of the upper part near the top margin. The hole disturbs the continuity of the writing in lines 1-2. There are in all 34 lines of writing on the plate.

The date of the charter, quoted in words and figures in lines 22-23, is the same as in No. 5, viz. Vikrama 1233, Åśādha-vadi 15, Sunday, corresponding to the 29th May 1177 A.D.

The inscription records the grant of the village called Saratavāḍa-grāma, together with its hamlets such as Tētu and Āmi (or Tētuāmi), situated in the Dirghōdaya pattalā, already known from No. 5. The location of the village is uncertain.

It is stated that the Gāhadāvāla king Jayachandra made the grant after having taken a bath in the Ganges at Vāraṇaṇa, on the date indicated above, in favour of the donee of Nos. 3-5, viz. Rāuta Ravidhara who was the son of Ģhakura Mālādhara and grandson of Ģhakura Gaṅgādhara and belonged to the Vatsa gūtra and the Bhārgava, Chyavanā, Āpnavāna, Auruva and Jāmadagnya pravaras. As in No. 5, the donee was entitled to all the regular and irregular taxes including bhāga, bhogā, kara and praraṇikara.

As will be seen, Nos. 5 and 7-8 also record grants issued by Jayachandra in favour of the same donee on the same date. We know that often a king recorded the gift of several villages in favour of a particular person in a single charter. It is therefore difficult to explain why the donation of the three villages in favour of Rāuta Ravidhara was not registered in one copper-plate grant. It may, however, be conjectured that the gift of three villages was recorded in this case in three different plates as a mark of favour to the donee who could then send a charter separately to the gift village concerned for taking possession of it for the realisation of taxes, as otherwise he would have to take possession of the villages one after the other.

The grant was written by Mahākshapatalika Ģhakura Śripati as is the case with most of the other inscriptions published in this paper.

TEXT

18 śrīmaj-Jayachrandradvē

19 vijay! || || Dirghōdaya-pattalāyāṁ || rtē(Tē)tu-Āmi-prabhṛtī-pāṭakēh(kaih) saha? Saratavāḍa-grāma-nivāsinō nikhila-janapadān=upagatān=api cha rāja-rājñī-yuvarāja-mañtri-purō

20 hita-pratihāra-sēnāpati-bhāmādāgārik-ākshapatalika-bhishag-naimittik-āntahpurika - dūta-kari-turaga-pattan-ākarusthāna-gōkul-aḥākū[ṛ]-purushān=ājānāpayati vō(bō)duja[ya]*ty=ādiēa-


vātikā-

1 It is No. A 94 of A. R. Ṛp., 1900-01.
2 For grants made on different dates in favour of different persons but recorded in a single charter, cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 244-45.
3 From inked impressions.
4 Verses 1-14 quoted in our introductory discussion, followed by the usual passage in prose, are found in lines 1-18.
5 The doṣā is unnecessary.
6 There may also be a single name here, viz. Tēṭuāmi.
7 Read "pāja-pukta".

12 DGA/60 3
22 viṭāpa-triṇa-yūti-gocchra-parayanāṁ s-orddhā(ṛddhī-ā)dhaś-chatur-āghāṭa-visuddhāḥ svastimā-parayanāṁ | treyasa[etc]trīma[sā(a)d-adhikā-dvādaśa(sā)-āśa-samvam(samvā)-
tsarē Āśādē māśī krishya-pakṣāṁ āsāmāvāsya-yāṁ ti-

23 thau Ravi-dīnē aṅkātō-pī samvata(samvat) 1233 Āśādha-vādi 15 Ravaud adyā-eha śrīmad-vijaya-Varāpāyāṁ Gaṅgāyāṁ nātvā vidhivammanāṁ(ma)ntre-deva-muni-
manuvam-hūtri(pati)-pitrī-gaṅgāṁ tarpayitvā

24 timira-paṭala-paṭa-mahāsam-Usṣārochāhāṃ upasthāyā=Aushadhipatiśakalāśekha-rām samabhīryarchchya tri-bhuvana-trāṭu- bhagavatō Vāsudēvaya pujāṁ[ā]* vidhāya prachurā-pāyaśena ha-

25 vishā Havirbhujāṁ butvā mātē-pitrōr-ātmanaḥ-cha puṇya-yāśī-bhivriddhaya asmābhīr-
ggōkarnā-kuśa-latā-pūta-kaṭalā-oḍaka-pūrvvakāṁ Vatsagotrāyā Bhāṛgava-Chyavana-
Āṇavān-Āurvā-Yā(Jā)-

26 madagny-ēti-panchā-praṇaraẏa ṭhakkura-ṣrī-Ge[m]gāḍhara-pautṛyā ṭhakkura-ṣrī-Māḷa-
dhara-putraṇyā rūta-ṣrī-Ravidhāraya a- cha[n]dār-ārka[m] yāvach=chāsaniṅkṛtya pradattō-
matvā yathā-dīya-

27 māṇa-bhāga-bhōga-kara-pravaṇikara-prabhṛti-niyat-āniyata-samač-adāyān=ājñā-vidlēyī
dhūya dāṣyath-ēti || bhavanti chāṣtra ēlokāḥ || ........... 1

34 ........................ likhitam ch-adāṁ tāmra-paṭṭakaṁ mahākṣapatalikā-ṭhakkura-ṣrī-Sripati-
bhir-īti ||

No. 7—Grant of Jayachandra, Vikrama 1233

This is a single plate measuring 55 cm. in length and 41 cm. in height. The inscription is written on one side of the plate and there are only 34 lines of writing. There is no seal attached to the plate, though there is a hole in the central part of the upper section near the top margin. The hole (2-4 cm in diameter) disturbs the continuity of the writing in lines 1-3.

The date of the grant, as quoted in lines 22-23 in both words and figures, is the same as in Nos. 5-6. It is Vikrama 1233, Āśāḍha-vādi 15, Sunday, corresponding to the 29th May 1177 A.D. On the said date, the Gāḍhavāla king Jayachandra is stated to have made a grant after taking a bath in the waters of the Ganges at Vārāṇasi.

The gift village was Vādahōsa-grāma, Vada-Hōsa literally meaning 'the bigger Hōsa' which reminds us of Mañjhi-hōsa or 'the middle Hōsa' of No. 8. The village, which was given along with its pātakas, was situated in the Mañjihōsa pattalā. I am uncertain about the location of the village; but Mañjihōsa-pattalā may be the present Majhwa Taluk of the Mirzapur District, U. P.

The grant was made in favour of the donee of Nos. 3-6, viz. Rūta Ravidhara who was the son of Ṭhakkura Māḷadhara and grandson of Ṭhakkura Gaṅgadhara and belonged to the Vatsa gōtra and the Bhāṛgava, Chyavana, Āṇavāṇa, Ærva and Jāmadagnya pravaras. As in the other grants, he was entitled to enjoy all the fixed and unixed taxes including bhāga, bhōga, kara, pravaṇikara, etc.

The charter was written by Mahākṣapatalīka Ṭhakkura Śripati who was also the writer of Nos. 2-6 and many other Gāḍhavāla records.

1 The following śruti is unnecessary.
2 The following imprecatory and benedictory stanzas are quoted in lines 27-34: Bhūmiṁ yah pratipṛthikāṁ, etc.; Saṁkhārin bhadrāvamom, etc.; Saṁhitīḥ varṣa-saḥaśrārāṁ, etc.; Bhūrāṁ=viśuddhā bhuja, etc.; Saṁhitīṁ para-da-
tikā vē, etc.; Āṃś-dēkām evam-sārām-dēkā cha, etc.; Vārī-kriyāṁ=ārañjēkā, etc.; Na vikram vikramāntīkāṁ, etc.; Taṇḍāppāṁ sakāntā, etc.; Saṁhitīṁ vikramāntīkā, etc.; Viśuddhā-viśuddhāṁ-idaṁ, etc.
No. 30] SOME GAHADAVALA GRANTS 219

TEXT:

19. ................. śrīmāj-Jayachchandra-deva vijaya | || Mānīthōa-pattalāyāh
   | 2 sa-pāṣaka-Vaḍghōsa-grāma-nivāsānō nikhila-jaana-
20. padān-upagatān-api cha rāja-rājē-yuvarāja-maṁtri-prūhīta-pratthāra-aśnāpati-bhānū-
   dāgāri-kāshapālakī-bhisag-naimittik-āntāpurāka-dūta-kari-turaga-pattan-ākaraṇāḥ-
21. na-gōkul-ādhikāri-putrān-ājīnapayati vō(bōdha)ya*ṣtyādīsati cha viditam-astu bhavاتāṃ
   yathā-sāprī-likhita-grāmāḥ sa-jala-sthalāḥ sa-lōha-lavan-ākaraḥ sa-matsya-ākaraḥ sa-[gartt-
   3aha].
22. rāḥ sa-giri-gahana-nidhānāḥ sa-madhūk-āmra-vanā-vāti-kā-viṭapā-triṣā-yūti-gōhara-
   paryantaḥ s-aṅdhiv-ādaḥsāt-chatur-āgaṭha-viśuddhaḥ sva-simā-paryantaḥ | trayatisa-
   (strimāhā)adhiṇa-drā[da-ṇ-ṇa-sa-]
23. mva(rhva)teṣeṣe Ḍāśākhe māsi su(ṛu)kla-pakṣē amāvasāyāḥ(yāḥ) tithau Ravi-
   dīnē aṅkatō-si sarvāt 1233 Ṣāśākha(ṛa)-vadī 15 Ravau adyāḥ śrīmad-vijaya
   Vairāgaṣyām Ga[ṁgāj]āyān snūṭā [vihīva]-
24. m-maṁtra-dēva-muni-manuja-bhūta-pitri-gaṇāṇēs-tarpayitvā timira-patāla-pātana-puṭu-
   mahāsēma-ḥuṣṭaropaṭhāya-vaśrāḥ-patīṣakar-[kakā]m samabhya[r]chya
   tri-bhavan-trāṭ[ṛu]-[ḥ-bhagavatō]
25. Vāsudevāṣya pūjāṃ vidhāya prachura-pāyaṣeṇa havīḥ Havirbhujāṃ hūtvā mātā-
   pitrīr-āśāmaḥ-sa punya-yaśas-bhūvīddhaye amāḥhir-gga-karṇā-kusā-lātā-pūttā(ṭa)-
   karatal-ūdaka-pūrvvakaṃ Vatasa-
26. gōṭrāya Bhārgava-Cvayan-Āpnavara-Aurma-Yā(ja)madagny-ēti-paṅchha-pravartāya
   ṛhakkura-ṛṣi-Gaṅgāḥdra-prautāya ṛhakkura-ṛṣi-Mālādrha-prautāya rāutra-ṛṣi-Vairavahāra-
   ā-chandri-ārkak[ā]raññ evamūch-chhāsanikītya
27. [pradaṭṭo] matva yathā-diyanāma-bhāga-bhōga-kara-pravartika-prabhṛti-niyatā-ānijata-
   sasmat-ādāyān-ājī-[vīdhi]bhūya dāsav[aya] thēṭti || | bhavanti chātra
   ēlōkha || .
34. .................. likhitam chēḍam tāmra-paṭṭakaṃ mahākha[ṇa][ṭa][ja]-[ṭhakkura-ṛṣi]-
   Śrīpatihir-śiti || |

No. 8—Grant of Jayachandra, Vikrama 1233

This inscription1 is written on a single plate containing writing only on one side and measuring 54 cm. in length and 44 cm. in height. There is no seal, though there is a hole at the central region of the top part near the upper margin of the plate. The hole (2-15 cm. in diameter) disturbs the continuity of writing in lines 1-3. The number of lines in the inscription is 33.

The date of the grant is recorded, in both words and figures, in lines 23-24. It is the same as in Nos. 6-7, viz. Vikrama 1233, Asādh[a]-vadī 15, Sunday. As already indicated, it corresponds to the 29th May 1177 A.D.

On the above date, the Gahadavala king Jayachandra is stated to have granted the village called Maṇīthōa-grāma, Maṇīthōa-Hōsa literally meaning 'the middle Hösa', i.e. the middle one of the three villages called Hösa, the two others being 'the big' and 'the small'. The village was given along with its pāṭakas, one of which was called Rōhiṇī. It was situated in the pattalī|

1 From inked impressions.
2 Verses 1-14 followed by a prose passage, both discussed in our introductory remarks, occupy lines 1-19.
3 The danda is unnecessary.
4 The word gṛh is not necessary.
5 The imprecatory and benedictory verses quoted in lines 27-34 are: Bhūmīṁ yah pratigāyati, etc.; Śamkhaṁ bhād-dasmam, etc.; Saṅkaršaṁ varṣa-rādrānti, etc.; Bhaṅgari-karadabha bhūtā, etc.; Gām-ekāṁ sarvasme vākān, etc.; Vuṭuddham prasamadāṃ uṣa, etc.; Vuṭaṅkālam varṇamadāṃ uṣa, etc.; Vuṭaṅkālam varṇamadāṃ uṣa, etc.; Vuṭaṅkālam varṇamadāṃ uṣa, etc.; Vuṭaṅkālam varṇamadāṃ uṣa, etc.; Vuṭaṅkālam varṇamadāṃ uṣa, etc.; Vuṭaṅkālam varṇamadāṃ uṣa, etc.; Vuṭaṅkālam varṇamadāṃ uṣa, etc.; Vuṭaṅkālam varṇamadāṃ uṣa, etc.; Vuṭaṅkālam varṇamadāṃ uṣa, etc.; Vuṭaṅkālam varṇamadāṃ uṣa, etc.; Vuṭaṅkālam varṇamadāṃ uṣa, etc.; Vuṭaṅkālam varṇamadāṃ uṣa, etc.; Vuṭaṅkālam varṇamadāṃ uṣa, etc.; Vuṭaṅkālam varṇamadāṃ uṣa, etc.; Vuṭaṅkālam varṇamadāṃ uṣa, etc.; Vuṭaṅkālam varṇamadāṃ uṣa, etc.; Vuṭaṅkālam varṇamadāṃ uṣa, etc.; Vuṭaṅkālam varṇamadāṃ uṣa, etc.; Vuṭaṅkālam varṇamadāṃ uṣa, etc.; Vuṭaṅkālam varṇamadāṃ uṣa, etc.; Vuṭaṅkālam varṇamadāṃ uṣa, etc.; Vuṭaṅkālam varṇamadāṃ uṣa, etc.; Vuṭaṅkālam varṇamadāṃ uṣa, etc.; Vuṭaṅkālam varṇamadāṃ uṣa, etc.; Vuṭaṅkālam varṇamadāṃ uṣa, etc.; Vuṭaṅkālam varṇamadāṃ uṣa, etc.; Vuṭaṅkālam varṇamadāṃ uṣa, etc.; Vuṭaṅkālam varṇamadāṃ uṣa, etc.; Vuṭaṅkālam varṇamadāṃ uṣa, etc.; Vuṭaṅkālam varṇamadāṃ uṣa, etc.; Vuṭaṅkālam varṇamadāṃ uṣa, etc.; Vuṭaṅkālam varṇamadāṃ uṣa, etc.; Vuṭaṅkālam varṇamadāṃ uṣa, etc.; Vuṭaṅkālam varṇamadāṃ uṣa, etc.; Vuṭaṅkāla
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

of Jāruha. The location of the village and the district is unknown. It seems that Jāruha pattalā is the same as Jārutha or Jāruttha pattalā known from another record of Jayachandra. Vaḍa-
hōsa mentioned in No. 7 and Mañjhikōṣa of the present record may have been near about each other, even though they were situated in different pattalās.

The king made the grant after having taken a bath in the Ganges at Vārāṇasi in favour of the donee of Nos. 3-7, viz. Rāuta Ravidhara who was the son of Thakkura Mālādhara and grandson of Thakkura Gāngādha and belonged to the Vatsa gōtra and the Bhārgava, Chyavana, Ānapāna, Aurva and Jamadagnya pravara. As in the other cases, the donee enjoyed all the regular and irregular taxes such as bhāga, bhōga, kara and pravaniκaka.

The charter was no doubt written by Śrīpati, the writer of the other grants (cf. Nos. 5-7) issued on the same day in favour of the same donee. But his name is not mentioned in the inscription, even though there was no want of space.

TEXT

| 19 | . . . . . . śrīmā-Jyayachandradēvō vijayi || || Jāruha-pattalāy[āḥ] |
tāṃ yā.
| 22 | [pa]jyaṃtāḥ s-ordhav-ādahāṃ chatur-āghāṭa-viśuddhāḥ svā-sa[sa]māṃṣa-parya[n]tāḥ trya-
| 23 | [na]-trīṣa[śa]-adhika-dvādaśa-śata-samva[samva]s[sa]rā śāhāda-maśe-kṛishṇa-pakṣeṃ ṣamāvāsyāyaḥ tībhau [Ra]yvi-dīnē anākāṭo-pi sam-
| 25 | [na]-yātu-mahasam-ushnarachisham-upasthāyā Asahadhipatiśakalāśekharaṃ samahyav-
| 26 | [na]-ṛchayi tri-bhuvana-trātu[r]-bhagajñata vāsudēvasya pūjām vidhiyā prachura-pāya-
| 27 | [na]-rūṭa-vāṇyaṃ vāsudēyasvā ṣaṃbhir-viṣṇu-śva-
| 28 | bhōga-kara-pravaniκaka-prabhṛiti-niyat-āśīryata-sama[st-ā]dāya[ṃ]-aṅjñā-vidhiyībhyā dā-
| 29 | . . . . . . ści || bhavasti ch-ātā śēkāḥ . . . . . .

1 See Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, p. 141, text line 18 and note 4.
2 From impressions.
3 Lines 1-19 contain verses 1-14 quoted in our introductory discussion, which are followed by the usual passage in prose.
4 Read "pāṭaka-sahita".
5 The word guṇa is redundant.
6 Lines 28-32 contain the following inscriptions and beneficentary stanzas: Brāhmīṃ gah prati śuddhātī, etc.; Sāmakṣṣaṃ bhād-ātmanam, etc.; Shākṣīṃ varsha-saharānī, etc.; Bhaṅgbhaṃ upadāhā hākhā, etc.; Gāme-kīkān śrīprāmaṃ-kāmar, cha, etc.; Śvatātāṃ para-dātāṃ vā, etc.; Vēiśiṅkāśa vārṇaṅkā, etc.; Na rikhān viśān-śītāṃśā dā Kaśā, etc. The name of the writer is not mentioned.
No. 31—GOLLAVALLI GRANT OF PRITHIVI-MAHARAJA, YEAR 49

(1 Plate)

S. C. DE, BHUBANESWAR

(Received on 25.11.1959)

This set of copper plates¹ was received by me from the Principal, K. C. G. College, Parlakimedi, who is also the President of the District Regional Survey Committee, Ganjam. The find-spot of the set is not known. It was in the possession of Sri Balaram Patra who is now living at Parlakimedi, though he was a resident of Tekkali about 45 years ago. He had three sets of copper plates with him, two of which were made over to the late Raja Saheb Lakshminarayan Harichandan Jagadeb of Tekkali. The present set has recently been purchased by the Permanent Regional Survey Committee, Orissa.

The set consists of three plates, the first and third of which are engraved on the inner side only. The right half of the third plate is broken and missing. The plates measure 7½" by 2½" each. The engraved surfaces of the plates have slightly raised rims. They were held together by a ring which is now broken. A seal seems to have been attached to it originally, though there is no trace of it at present. The diameter of the ring-hole in the plates is ½".

The charter was issued by king Prithivi-mahārāja already known to us from his Taṇḍivāda grant² issued from Pīṣṭapura in his 46th regnal year. R. S. Panchamukhi, who edited the inscription, assigned it to the beginning of the 7th century A. D. and suggested that Prithivi-mahārāja was ousted from Pīṣṭapura by Pulakesīn II (610-42 A. D.). On palaeographical considerations, however, we are inclined to assign the charter under study as well as the Taṇḍivāda grant of the same king to the last quarter of the sixth century A.D.³ The characters of the inscription bear close resemblance to those of the Srungavaraṇapukota plates which were published above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 56 ff., and belong to another king of Pīṣṭapura named Anantavarman.⁴

The language of the record is Sanskrit with very few mistakes. The text of the grant is in prose excepting the three verses at the end (lines 16-20).

The grant was issued from the victorious camp at Virajō-nagara by king Prithivi-mahārāja who belonged to the Kāśyapa gōra¹ and was the dear son of Vikramendra and grandson of Mahārāja Raṇadurjaya. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Padmasaṁhan who was the son of Dāmādaśarman and grandson of Māṭiśarman of the Bṛṣigū gōra and was a student of the Taṭtiṭṭiya śākka. The gift village was Gollavalli situated in the Kudravati viśaya.⁵ He was well-versed in Veda, Vedāṅga, Purāṇa, Rāmāyaṇa and other scriptures, applied himself constantly to the shaṭ-karmaṇa and was engaged in gāmaṇa and niyama. The grant was made on the

¹ This is No. A 58 of A. R. Ep. 1955-56. It was published by Mr. S. N. Rajaguru in his Inscriptions of Orissa, Vol. I, Part ii, pp. 54-56 and Plates.—Ed.
² Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 55-56.
³ [We find it difficult to agree fully with this view.—Ed.]
⁴ [The name of the gōra appears to be Śrīrīma-Kāśyapa.—Ed.]
⁵ [See below, p. 223, note 3.—Ed.]

12 DGA/80 (221)
8th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Jyāśṭha in the 49th year of the king's reign (line 14). The ājñāpti of the grant was Lenthurāja.¹

Virajō-nagara, whence the grant was issued, may be identified with Virajō in Orissa, i.e. modern Jāipur in the Cuttack District. It is mentioned as Viraṇjā in the Sōrō plate² of Bhanudatta (7th century) and as Virajōs in the Dhauli cave inscription³ of the time of Sāntīkara of the Bhauma dynasty. In the Gaṇjam plate⁴ of the time of Unmaṭakāśarin, the same place is mentioned as Viraṇjās. It is now generally believed that the capital of the Bhauma kings of Orissa was situated at Jāipur known in early times as Viraṇjā, Virajōs or Viraṇjā.

As regards the long distance between Jāipur in Orissa and Pṣatapura (modern Pithapuram) in the East Godavari District, it may be pointed out that the Eastern Chāluksya king Vijayāditya IV of the latter region is known to have captured Virajōpuri which has been identified with Jāipur.⁵

The following historical facts pertaining to the period and region may be noted. Anantavarman of the Viśāl dynasty whose reign may be assigned to about the middle of the 6th century A.D. was ruling from Pṣatapura. Prithivīvīgraha was ruling in Kālīṅga in the year 250 of the Gupta era. Lōkavigraha of the Kanas plate⁶ of the Gupta year 280 was probably the successor of Prithivīvīgraha; but he does not mention Kālīṅga in his grant. He claims to be ruling in Daksihī-Tōsāli. Absence of any reference to his paternal kingdom is probably due to the fact that he had been dispossessed of it by 600 A.D. The Uttara and Daksīna Tōsāli were under Māna rule between the years 260 and 283 of what is assumed to be the Gupta era. Prithivī-mahāraja, who is assigned to the close of the 6th or the beginning of the 7th century A.D., was ruling at Pṣatapura in his 46th year and was at Viraṇjā in his 49th year. Evidently he led an expedition to Viraṇjā. In the light of the above facts, it can be assumed that Pṣatapura was conquered by Prithivī-mahāraja from Anantavarman or his successors and that he led an expedition to the north in his 49th year which may be towards the close of the 6th century or the beginning of the 7th century A.D. Since he had to pass through the Vīgraha kingdom on his way, he would have conquered it. That accounts for the absence of any mention of Kālīṅga in the Kanas plate of Lōkavigraha. As Prithivī-mahāraja is assumed to be a contemporary of Śambhuyāsas of the Māna dynasty who was the master of both the Tōsālis, he is quite likely to have come in conflict with him. It is probable, in view of any absence of further information about Prithivī-mahāraja or his descendants, that it ended disastrously for him. Māna rule in northern Orissa comprising the two Tōsālis probably continued till 605 A.D. when it was ended by the conquest of Orissa by Śaśānka of Gauḍa.⁷

I am not sure about the location of the village of Gōllavalli and the district in which it was situated.

¹ [The correct reading is Śrīrāmaṅkururāja.—Ed.]
² Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 209. [What N. G. Majumdar read as Virajō is really Viraṇjā.—Ed.]
³ Ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 264.
⁶ Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 328.
⁷ [The argument that Kālīṅga is not mentioned as the kingdom of Lōkavigraha of the Kanas plate of 599 A.D., even though it is mentioned as the territory of his predecessor Prithivīvīgraha in the Sumandala plates of 569 A.D., does not take into account a well-known fact of the history of Kālīṅga. It is that, from about 497 A.D., the Eastern Gaṅgas were ruling from Kalinganagara with the title Tīrakaliga-dēśāpati. This was apparently the reason underlying the change in the name of the Vīgraha kingdom from Kālīṅga to Tōsāli, the city of Tōsāli probably being their capital. Cf. Sircar, Sīr,c, Gēōg. Anc. Med. Ind., pp. 141 ff.—Ed.]}
No. 31] GOLLAVALLI GRANT OF PRITHVI-MAHARAJA, YEAR 49

TEXT

First Plate

1 स्वस्तिः [II*] श्रीवंडवनाराजाराजु विरजनपराराजाराजसंसारकलजादभवनसंमुद्रे—

2 तक्षितिः[ति]कादविननिकास्तमुखोऽद्वितिनिगंतरस्य महाराजारणुज्ञयस्य

3 सूत्रस्मतिशाश्चितस्रवक्षश्वेतविरहमेदः प्रयत्नः

4 यः प्रव्रेणमानप्राप्तीपोपनतमस्तसात्मनमंडलः निजः

5 भुजविजयोद्धायविरहत्विशेषवृत्तमूरणः श्रीरामः

Second Plate: First Side

6 काश्यप[समो]ः परमस्यन्या मातापितुपादनु[दातः] श्री[पृथिवि]ः

7 महाराजः कुदावतः 4 विषये मोहलावलीप्रामणविवस्तः सर्वसः

8 मवेलः[वा]कुदवमः समाजः[I*]पुयति यथा मातृश्चम्यः पौत्रः

9 य दामोदरश्चम्यः पुत्राय वेदवेद[I*]ज्ञय[I*]रगाय वर्णनतिरः

10 ताय यमनिविष्णवाय भुरापरामायणमम्मेशारः

Second Plate: Second Side

11 जनेकविज्ञापारसव(सि)ने भुपसोमाय तैतिरिः[री]व[सब्राह्मनिः]

12 पपश्चम्यः प्रामोद्वस्म्पतिपादग्नयोरिषयवशि‌भवद्‌

13 सर्वकर्पातिहारांग्राहारीऽत्यदः [I*] न कैशीवधपि बाधा कः

14 रण(पी)या [I*] प्रव्रेणमानज्ञवराजसः[स]तस्य नवाधिकव[स्वार]ः

15 जेत्त(व्येत्त)माससुक्ष्मप्रशस्मयां घर्म्मेदानवदेशायतः श्रीरामः[:]

1 From the original plates.
2 This word is engraved in the margin to the left of the ring hole near the beginning of the third line of the text.
3 [See above, p. 221, note 4.—Ed.]
4 The reading of the name may also be Kudvavati. [The correct reading is Kudvavati.—Ed.]
16 लेन्दुराजः [1] [११] अत्र व्यासगीता: र्त्वोऽकाः [११] [भृमिर्भंसुधा वत्ता बहु] [उ] ।
17 भिस्मानुयायिता [११] यस्य [यस्य यदा भृभज्ञस्य तस्य]
18 तदा फलं [२०] [२०] आस्फोटण्यम्न निः पितरो प्रवल्गिति पितामहः [२०]
19 भृमिज्ञान्तकात तु मुनि जातस्य नस्त्राताभ्यायतिः [२०] [२२] भृभज्ञस्यसहस्त्राणि स्वर्गे]
20 मोदित भृमिज्ञा: [२०] आशोत्जा चानुपर्स्य च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [२०] [२२]

1 [See above, p. 222, note 1.—Ed.]
2 The portion of the plate containing the words shown in brackets in lines 16-20 is broken away and lost.
No. 32—THREE PALA INSCRIPTIONS

(2 Plates)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

(Received on 7-2-1961)

1. Gayā Inscription of the time of Nārāyanapāla, Year 7

The stone slab bearing this epigraph is built into the wall of the Mahādēva shrine in the compound of the Vishnupāda temple at Gayā in Bihar.¹ There are only sixteen lines in the inscription, covering an area about two feet five and three-fourths inches in length and one foot three inches in height.

The record was briefly noticed by Cunningham in his Arch. Surv. Ind. Reports, Vol. III, pp. 120-21 (No. 6) with an eye-copy in Plate XXXVI. A rough transcript of it, with an inaccurate notice of its contents, appeared in R. D. Banerji’s Pillar of Bengal, published in the Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. V, No. 3 (pp. 60-61 and Plate XXIV). But the inscription was never properly edited.

The record refers itself to the reign of king Nārāyanapāla (c. 857-911 A. D.) of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihar and resembles other epigraphs of the same monarch as regards palaeography and orthography.² The language of the record is Sanskrit and, barring a passage in prose at the beginning, it is written entirely in verse. It contains a praśasti or eulogy composed in thirteen stanzas.

The inscription is dated the Vaisākhī-pūrṇimā day in the seventh regnal year of Nārāyanapāla (verse 13). The date falls somewhere about the seventh decade of the ninth century A.D.

The inscription begins with the siddham symbol followed by the passage Īśu namahi Purushottamaya namaḥ Īśu in prose. In this, Purushottamaya namaḥ (‘obeisance to Purushottama, i. e. Vishnū’) is preceded by Īśu namaḥ which is sometimes found at the beginning of inscriptions and may be translated as ‘obeisance to Īśu’.³

The first half of verse 1 is in adoration of the god Murāri (i. e. Visnū) while its second half adores the muni-jana or the community of saints or sages. Verse 2 is in adoration of the Nārasimha or man-lion form of Vishnū described as Lokaśīkhās. These two stanzas remind us of the first two verses of the Mallasūrul plate,⁴ which run as follows:

Jayati śīri-Lōkanāthō yath puṃsaṁ sukrita-karma-phala-hētuḥ |
satyā-tapō-maya-mūrtir-lōka-dvaya-sādhanō Dharmaḥ ||
Tad-anu jita-dambha-lōbha jayanti chīṛya para-hit-ārthāḥ |
nirmatsaṁ Sucharitaiḥ para-lōka-jīgānātva saṁtaḥ ||

¹ Bhandarkar’s List, No. 1616, wrongly speaks of Bōdhgaya as the findspot of the inscription.
³ Cf. ibid., Vol. XXXIV, pp. 81 and 85.
⁴ Ibid., Vol. XXIII, pp. 159 ff.; cf. Select Inscriptions, p. 360.
There is a controversy about the meaning of these stanzas. Some scholars think that these are in adoration of Lōkanātha (the Buddha), Dharma and santah (the monks forming the Saṅgha or Buddhist Church), while there is another view that the adoration here is to Lōkanātha (Vishṇu), dharma (law or piety) and the good folk. In favour of the first view explaining santah as the Buddhist Church, the following Buddhist maṅgala at the beginning of Purushottama's Trīkāṇḍa-śekha has been quoted: Jayanti santah kusalam praṇāṁ namō Muṇindraya surah amṛtiḥ atha, etc. The second interpretation has been supposed to be supported by the representation of the Chakrapurusha on the seal attached to the Mallasārul plate.

It will be seen that, while the Mallasārul plate adores Lōkanātha, Dharma and santah, our inscription praises Lōkaśānti Murāri and the muni-jana. The similarity is remarkable, although Dharma is not mentioned in the latter. Since, in the age of the Mallasārul plate which has been assigned to the sixth century A.D., the identification of the Buddha with Vishṇu as one of the latter's incarnations was fast taking shape, it is not impossible to trace a rapprochement of Buddhism and Vaishnavism in the maṅgala verses in that inscription. We may possibly also trace in the Chakrapurusha represented on the seal of the Mallasārul plate a sort of compromise between the concepts of the Dharme-chakra associated with the Buddha and the Sudarśana-chakra of Vishṇu.

Verse 3 of our inscription speaks of Bhaita Vāmādeva while the following stanza (verse 4) mentions his son Śhāhdeva and grandson Bappadēva. Verse 5 describes Vallabhādevī who was the wife of Bappadēva. Bhānūdeva, the son of Bappadēva from the said Vallabhadevi, is then introduced in verse 6. His description is continued in the next stanza (verse 7) while verse 8 states that Bhānūdeva dedicated a vāsa (house) at Gayā for the housing of jatis or ascetics and also refers to the house as an āśrama of the brahmachāriya (i.e., an abode of people committed to celibacy). Verse 9 contains a prayer of the sannātis (one who has taken a vow of silence) apparently meaning Bhānūdeva, in which people are requested to ask the well-being of the sivāsa or house. The real nature of this vāsa or nirāsa for housing ascetics, called an āśrama again in verse 11, is further indicated, as will be seen below, in the concluding verse of the pañasti which refers to it as a maṭha apparently to indicate a monastery.

Verse 10 is the oft-quoted Sarvān-etaṃ-bhā śrīmaḥ pārthivāṇāṃ, etc., generally found at the end of copper-plate grants among imprecatory and mendicant stanzas, though the word maṇi indicating Bhānūdeva is inserted in it in place of the name of Rāma. Verse 11 states that, as ordained by the evatschārins (persons engaged in religious observances or austerities), only ascetics (tapādana-jana) who are not deformed and are respectable should stay in the āśrama (abode of ascetics) and that the Brāhmaṇas of Gayā should see that there is no transgression of this rule.

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1 Loc. cit.
3 Ibid., p. 162, note 3.
4 The representation has been regarded as a human figure standing against the background of a wheel. It, however, really appears to show the upper part of the body come out of the central hole in the wheel with its legs behind the lower section of the wheel. The figure has its left hand on the left side of the waist and the right hand holding the upper left corner of the wheel. For a late representation of the Chakras-purusha on the central part of a wheel, see T. A. Copinatha Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol. I, Part I, Plate LXXXV-A facing p. 291.
5 A verse enumerating the ten avatāras of Vishṇu, including the Buddha, and found in a number of Perkṣās is quoted in an inscription of the eighth century A.D. The conception may be assigned to the Gupta age. See The Classical Age, ed. Majumdar, p. 416 and note 1
6 The Paṭiharāra text Aḥkirdhānursamitaḥ, assigned to a date about the eighth century A.D. (to the Gupta age by some), gives a long description of the Chakras-purusha, otherwise called Sudarśana Sudarśana-purusha and Chakravartipurusha, and regards him as a manifestation of Vishṇu and, not only as identical with Brahma, Vishnu and Śiva, but also as the Buddha of the Buddhas, the Tirthankara of the Jainas, the Yajñavalkya-purusha of the Yaśikas and Mimāṃsakas and the Purusha of the followers of Kapila. See JNSI, Vol. XVI, pp. 97 ff.
Verse 12 contains a prayer for the long life of the kārti or fame-producing work, of course, meaning the rūṣa or nīvāsa referred to above.

Verse 13, with which the pradasti ends, states that the pratishṭhā or installation of the mātha took place on the full-moon day of the month of Vaiśākha in the seventh year of the reign of king Nārāyaṇapālādeva.

It is interesting to note that what has been called a rūṣa in verse 8 and a nīvāsa in verse 9 is called an āśrama in verses 8 and 11 and a maḥa in verse 13. The house was apparently a monastery, and probably not a dharmaśālā, for the stā, of ascetics visiting Gayā. The inscribed stone slab must have been originally embedded in the wall of the building.

Text

[Metres: verse 1 Māṇi; verses 2, 9 Sragdhāra; verses 3-6 Vasantatilakā; verses 7-8 Mandakrīnī; verse 10 Śūlī; verses 11, 13 Śāradāvitrīdita; verse 12 Drutavilambita.]


2 d-amala-ganāyānā deva-śri-vattā śthir-ātma || [1*] Prādbhūt-ātīdarpapra-prava[ba]-a-na amā[śāṁ] trāṣa-hetu-svabhāvāva[na] || kṛtva-aṣṭa-Nārāyaṇāhauṁ (śimāhau) śphutā-vidikata-[sa] laṁ savam-ahalayam[dram] [1*] yē-

3 n-śūrīpaḥ prābhīyān khara-nakhe-kasir-bhūdītā Devīyā rājāḥ śrīmān-lōkākāvanābhūtā bhuvana-hita-vidhātā pātu yushmān-sa Vaiṣṇuḥ || [2*] Śrīmān-aśeṣa-svabhā-sambhrīta chāru-mū-


5 sīt(a)yaḥ Śhakāvamiti[12] va(ba)ndhu-jaōa jhaha[1*] tasya-ābhavati-sutavārā vara-dharmma-vidhīthī sanmā(mmā)ntī guru-jana-sīro-va Va(ba)papadevā || [4*] Sarvārthābhih-karaṇ-aikānānā-hūnā sau-

6 ndarya-garbha-rucir-āmala-rūpam-saṃpata(pat ||) patnā cha tasya Kamālāeva sadā prasastā khyātā bhavaj-jagatī Vallabhāhāvy-atishītā || [5*] Tābhīyāmalājñāyāmayāta[13] suṭā-malā-

7 dharma-viditti-vvāk-kāya-chitta-kr̥ta-sāmyamanē hi mānī || Vra(Brajma)-jñānej(g)ita-charitē(tō) vata-sangosta-śrīṭ-it śūnāḥ yo Bhāgū(ou)dēvā[11] iti pūrvvannāiha pratītaḥ ||[6*] Vidyulōkaḥ kṣaṇa-parinānāvin(bīr ||)

1 From impressions.
2 Expressed by symbol.
3 Read namāh.
4 The word jagati does not suit the metre.
5 Read āro or ekāhīm.
6 Better read guṇa-dhātyū.
7 The danda is redundant. The metre of this foot is defective. Better read ‘ānya-dvāpapra-prahā-saman-
aśīn.’
8 Read śāmakātā.
9 Read kīta-karaṇā for the sake of the metre.
10 There is a mistake here. We may suggest pravarōṣimāni.
11 The intended reading may be ‘ādima. Otherwise Ādīva has to be regarded as the name of the family to which the hero of the prakasī belonged.
12 Read ādīva itī.
13 Read Tābhīyām-saṁjñyāta or ‘ānya-saṁjñaka.
14 R. D. Banerji read the name as Bhāgodaevā.
2. Nimdighi Inscription mentioning Gopāla

The small stone slab bearing this inscription was originally found at Nimdighi (also called Jamalnagar), about ten miles north-west-west of Māndā in the Rajshahi District of East Pakistan and about 8 miles to the north-east of the Nachole railway station on the Godagari-Katihar line of the former Eastern Bengal Railway. It is about 50 miles south-east of Gaur. Māndā, locally known as Thākur Māndā, lies about thirty miles north of Rajshahi, chief town of the District of that name. It was once the headquarters of a Police Station which still retains its name. The inscribed slab was brought from Nimdighi to Māndā where A. K. Maitreya found it in 1911. Maitreya considered the inscription hopeless for the purposes of study and presented it to the Indian Museum, Calcutta, for preservation.

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1 The intended reading seems to be "amala jānaka-dā".
2 Read ērīmaṇ-ēkō or Gāyāyām-ēkō ērīmaṇ.
3 This is only one foot of a stanza to be read in line 13 before vṛṣya-dā. Read sarratātā.
4 The intended reading is yācādā but read bhūyāḥ prāṭhāyaḥ or bhūyāḥ yācādā chevāka.
5 Read here the first foot of the stanza misplaced in lines 11-12.
6 Read "adātā".
7 The dānāḥ is redundant.
8 Read pravatāḥ maṭhaḥ. The last five akṣaras of the line are written in smaller characters. They may have been incised by a different hand.
2. Nimdighi Inscription mentioning Gopala

Scale: One-half
The stone slab bearing the inscription measures a little above ten inches in length and slightly less than seven inches in height. There are in all eleven lines of writing, the last of which contains only three letters and is engraved below the concluding part of line 10. The inscribed area covers about 9 inches by 6 inches. The writing is neat and clear while the preservation of the inscription is satisfactory. But the engraving of the record was entrusted to one who could not follow the draft before him and therefore shaped the letters as he thought he saw them. The case is similar to that of such other inscriptions as the Sūnihar plate of Gāḍājavāla Vijayachandra, recently edited in the pages of this journal.¹ It was for this reason that Maitreya regarded the study of the inscription as futile and, up till now, no less than four scholars have tried to emend the faulty text of the record without complete success. But we do not agree with the belief that the epigraph was 'manifestly incorrectly drafted and incised'.² In our opinion, it is only the engraver (or the person who wrote the document on the stone for facilitating the work of engraving) who is to be blamed and not the person who composed the five stanzas in the inscription. If the author of the stanzas had poor knowledge of Sanskrit, as in the case of the Chhōṭi-Suddi inscription³ of Gauri, the text of the epigraph would not have been full of meaningless passages as it actually is. A composition containing mistakes of language, grammar and prosody is one thing and gibberish is another and the two can be easily separated.

The inscription was first published in 1913 by B. B. Vidyāvīnūḍ in the Yaṇḍiya Sāhitya Parishat Patrika, Vol. XIX, 1319 B.S., pp. 155 ff., and next by R. D. Banerji in his Pañcas of Bengal appearing in the Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. V, No. 3, 1915 (p. 109 and Plate XXX). These scholars totally failed to do any justice to the record. In 1916, R. G. Basak published an improved transcript of the inscription, together with a translation, in the Pratibha (Bengali journal of the Dacca Sāhitya Parishad), Vol. V, 1322 B.S., pp. 387 ff. The last to edit the epigraph is N. K. Bhattacharji whose article on the subject appeared in the Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XVII, 1941, pp. 207 ff. and Plate.⁴ We are, however, sorry to note that the emended transcript, published by this latest editor of the epigraphic record, very often ignores the rules of Sanskrit grammar and prosody and could hardly have been intended by the author of the verses. This may be illustrated by a few out of the many examples.

In the second foot of verse 2 in the Sragdhāra metre, Bhattacharji's emended text is: *pitr-ājñā-pratijnā niṣṭa-sara-sataiḥ pūra-Sena-satrūḥ s-āśhyaḥ* which has been translated as: "with fixed resolve to carry out his father's order . . . . with his eight associates, after having plied the enemy, namely the Sena, with a hundred sharp arrows". Apart from the fact that such nonsense is not expected from the pen of even a poor Sanskritist, it is impossible to think that even the poorest poet would insert such a foot in a stanza in Sragdhāra against the requirements of the metre. Bhattacharji interprets the expression *pūra-Sena-satrūḥ*, supposed to occur in the passage, as 'one who has filled or plied the enemy, viz. the Sena, with'. Any student of Sanskrit would at once notice the difficulty in arriving at this awkward meaning of the expression which moreover violates the metre horribly. The expression *pitr-ājñā-pratijnā* is equally unhappy and unsuitable to the metre. The author of the stanza must therefore have written something different. Such inaccuracies in Bhattacharji's translation as of *sara-sataiḥ* as 'with a hundred arrows' are of course negligible.

Bhattacharji's emended text of the first foot of verse 3, which is in the Ratuddhāśā metre, runs as follows: *svatattvato-vadhūya saṅgarāti*. We have doubts whether a poet of any worth could have written it in so flagrant a violation of the metrical rules. As regards the interpretation of the

¹ Above, pp. 153 ff.
³ Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 120 ff.
⁴ Bhattacharji also published an article on the inscription in the Bengali journal, Māsik Varman, 1349 B.S., Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 433 ff.
expression ārdha-tad-anuṣja, found in his emended transcript of the first foot of verse 4, as 'his half-brother', probably the less said the better.

The emendation of the faulty text of the Nemāgī inscription being a very difficult job and no satisfactory reconstruction of the text being available, we are inclined to place our text and interpretation of the epigraph for the comments of scholars.

On palaeographical grounds, the Nemāgī inscription has rightly been assigned to the time of Gopāla III of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihar. The rule of this king has been tentatively assigned to c. 1130 A.D.1 or c. 1125-40 A.D.2 Since, however, his successor Madanapāla ascended the throne about 1144 A.D.,3 that must be the time when Gopāla III ended his rule. The beginning of Gopāla's reign depends on his identification with the Pāla king of the same name known from the Ṛṣilpur Sadāśiva image inscription4 of the 14th regnal year, which some scholars are inclined to assign to Gopāla II (c. 935-92 A.D. or c. 910-60 A.D.).5 We are in favour of the identification.

The inscription begins with a Siddham symbol which is followed by five verses and an endorsement in prose giving the name of the writer of the record. Verse 1 is in adoration of the god Sambhu (Śiva). This is appropriate since the purpose of the inscription was probably to record the construction of a Śiva shrine.

Verse 2 contains two sentences the first of which states that Gopālādēva went to heaven after giving up his body at his own will. The second sentence says that the grateful Aijādēva also went to heaven consequently. Thinking that he was the prominent dust of Gopālādēva's feet (i.e. a prominent servant of Gopālādēva), Aijādēva died probably as a result of his body being pierced with hundreds of sharp arrows. Certain extremely corrupt passages appear to suggest that Aijādēva shook off the fear of his death, that he received his father's consent (in giving up his life in the cause of his master) and that he died on the back of his elephant which had fallen into a swoon.

This stanza suggests that, although Gopālādēva is stated to have embraced death at his own will, he lost his life in a battle and that his grateful subordinate Aijādēva died on the battle-field fighting for his master. In the case of Gopāla, the death at his own will probably means that he preferred to fight instead of leaving his forces on the battle-field to save his own life.

The second half of verse 3 says how the son of Subhadēva sported as a god in the company of the celestial damsels after having obtained fame and, according to a defective passage, probably having died on the battle-field while fighting. There is no doubt that this son of Subhadēva is the same as Aijādēva described in verse 2. As suggested above, the father of Aijādēva seems also to be referred to in that stanza as having permitted his son to die in the cause of the latter's master.

Verse 4 praises a person named Bhāvakadāsa who was responsible for setting up the inscription as can be gathered from the following stanza. The second half of verse 5 speaks of a kirti built by the said Bhāvakadāsa. The first half of the same stanza says that the kirti was built at a place where certain great men had been burnt or, according to our emendation, where Bhāvakadāsa's brother had been burnt. Of course, our emendation would give the expected relationship of Bhāvakadāsa with the person mentioned in verses 2-3. But it has to be admitted that Subhadēva and Aijādēva have names ending in dēva and may have belonged to a Dēva family while Bhāvakadāsa has a dāsa-ending name. Bhāvakadāsa, however, must have been related to Aijādēva and the relationship is expected to have been expressed somewhere in verses 4-5, probably in the latter. The difficulty indicated above is eliminated if the word bhṛityā in our emended text is taken in the sense of a cousin (a son of one's paternal aunt or maternal uncle).

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3 Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 142.
THREE PĀLA INSCRIPTIONS

Since the word kīrti means any fame-producing work, it is not easy to guess the nature of the object built by Bhāvakadāsa. But considering the fact that the stone slab bearing the present inscription was probably fixed in the wall of a temple, it may have been a Śaiva shrine that was built by Bhāvakadāsa in memory presumably of his relative Ajañdēva, though the faulty text may suggest that the kīrti was built to commemorate the death of many people including Ajañdēva and his master.

The last sentence of the inscription in lines 10-11 is in prose. It states that Rātōka was the writer. It appears that the word liṅkita, 'written', here refers not to the composition of the short prāsasti contained in the epigraph but to its writing on the stone for facilitating the work of the engraver.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it mentions the Pāla king Gōpāla III as having died while fighting some enemies near about the findspot of the record. We have seen how he was followed to the other world by his trusted officer Ajañdēva, son of Śubhādēva, and how another person named Bhāvakadāsa built a shrine at the place where the dead body of Ajañdēva (or, less probably, the bodies of the persons who died in a great battle) was burnt. It appears that, even though the Pāla king died on the battle-field, ultimately the Pāla army succeeded in driving out the enemy, since, if the land around the battle-field had passed to the victorious enemies, it would have been difficult for a Pāla partisan to set up a record in memory of a Pāla general (or less probably, a Pāla king and his military officers). The temple in memory of Ajañdēva (or certain deceased persons including Ajañdēva and his master) was apparently constructed shortly after the battle referred to in the inscription probably at a time when the area was free from the enemies.

The fact that Gōpāla III died in an attempt to repulse his enemies, as indicated by the Nimdighi inscription, seems to be supported by another evidence. Sandhyākaranandini’s Rāmacarita (IV, 12) has the following stanza in the description of Gōpāla III:

\[ Aṣṭi śatrughṇ-ṛpaśṛṇ-Gōpālaḥ svar-jaṇāma tat-sūnūḥ ]

\[ hantuḥ kumbhina-svāṭa-nayoḥ-ātasya sāmayaṁ-kam-ētaḥ ]

This has been translated as: "Even his (Kumārapāla’s) son, Gōpāla by name, met with his death as the result of his effort to exterminate enemies. The [death] of this ill-disciplined person, who was the killer of the chief of the elephant force, occurred under the influence of time." 1 It has also been suggested that "Gōpāla met with a premature death while encountering either an elephant or a crocodile." 2 The first of the two interpretations is of course preferable, though we are inclined to take āsta-naya as an adjective of Kumbhina which may be the same as Gajaṇpati probably meaning a contemporary ruler of Orissa. It has, however, to be admitted that the title Gajaṇpati appears to have become popular with the Gaṅgas of Orissa not long before the middle of the thirteenth century, 3 although that does not prove that the earlier Orissan rulers were not so called by their contemporaries. Whatever that may be, it is clear that the poet, in eulogising Gōpāla III, means to say that the royal hero, who even killed the powerful Kumbhina, devoid of good conduct and therefore a particularly formidable enemy, lost his life while fighting certain enemies on the battle-field and that such a death was quite proper (sāmayaṁ) for him since that led him directly to heaven.

1 Ed. Majumdar, Basak and Banerji, Rajahbi, p. 123.
2 Loc. cit., note 1.
3 Cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 43-44.
In this connection we may draw the attention of scholars to verse 17 of the Manahali plate of Madanapāla which has the following passage in the description of Gōpāla III: dhātri-pālana-frimbhamāna-mahimā karpūra-pāñē-śikara(i)r-dēvaḥ kirtimayo niṣan mīlantē yaḥ saīśevas kriṇītam. In this passage, the expression dhātri-pālana is generally interpreted as 'the state of being brought up by a nurse' and it has been suggested on the basis of this and the occurrence of the word saīśa in the same passage that the king died in his childhood. But the real meaning of the expression dhātri-pālana in this context is 'protection of the earth' so that, in our opinion, the stanza suggests that Gōpāla III ascended the throne or shouldered the burden of government even when he was a child.

**TEXT**

[Metres: verse 1 Māliṇī; verse 2 Sraddhārā; verse 3 Ratkhōḍhātā; verse 4 Pajjhatīkā; verse 5 Anushedbh.]

1 Siddham [[**] Surasarid-uru-vichh(chi)-śikara(raiḥ) kunda-gauru(rai)r-vvirachita-parabhāgō vā(bā)la-cha-

2 nr-atavatasaḥ(ta)is(tu) sa(‘i)lam-vam=ajaterasın(sraṁ) Śambhū(mbh)-kōṭira-bhāra-[h*] kalama-kanisa(śa)-rōchi-

3 rmmajāṁri,ijāṁristhaŚriśmad-Gōpāladēvas=tridil(di)vam=usharātaḥ sv-tycha(chchha)-

4 yā tyaktaka-kāsa(ya)=tas=tasya-āham pāda-dhūli[h*] pram(pra)thita iti mijanī niḥ[vuddhāma-sthita*] prē-

5 trājñāpratijñōni[m*]si(‘i)ta-sa(śa)ra-[śa]vai(ta)iḥ pūraśenasaktasāshthau nisyajādantirā-


7 chanda-kirāṇ-āmalaṁ yāsah [*] kriḍati tr(tri)daśa-sundari-vṛisō(tō) dēva ēva Śū(Sū)bhadēva-

8 naḥ || [3*] Artha(rthō) ta(sa)d-anuga-gīta-vilāsah(sō) dharmma(rmm)-dhvara-mastha(tsa)ra-

gala-vāsah[13] [*] dānāsāra sasa-

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1 A. K. Maitreyya, Gaudaekhamālo, p. 152.
3 From impressions.
4 Expressed by symbol.
5 Read “.r.mmanjāri-pinjarō vaḥ.
6 Read uṣpacah.
7 Read niṣan. It is an adjective of gūtram (cf. foot 10 below).
8 Read “.a.buddhāv=ḥittāh or “buddhau na bhitah. The viśvara-like sign followed by a danda has resemblance with the letter 4.
9 Read pitrājākapāñēsāni.
10 Read pālram-gūtramjau.
11 Read niṣanjād=dantrājāt. In this passage, ni was originally written as nni.
12 Read Svatvatva-vadhūya sadgarāt.
13 In Bengal, gala-esta (i.e. to have the utariya on the neck) indicates an attitude of submission.
9 namvāhitavēśāḥ sa yatayē śrīśambhāvakadāśāḥ || 4
10 Dādgāḥ yatra mahād-bhūtāḥ śara-ṣā-
11 lyēna pūritā || 5
12 yas(ta)tra Bhāvakadāśāṇa kriṭā kriṣṭa(virājatūḥ(tā) || 5

3. Gayā Inscription mentioning Gōvindapāla, Vikrama 1232

The stone slab bearing this inscription is embedded in the wall of a small shrine close to the Gādāhāra temple below the courtyard of the Viśṇupāda temple at Gayā in Bihar. There is the figure of a Śiva-liṅga above the writing and another figure of a female deity below the inscription. This second figure reminds us of similar representations in the Gayā records of certain South Indian pilgrims edited above, although we cannot be sure whether the persons responsible for setting up the present epigraph also hailed from the South. The incision of the Śiva-liṅga above the writing is interesting since the inscription was set up in the Viśṇupāda temple which is one of the most celebrated ViśnuVaśna shrines in the whole of India. The transaction recorded in the epigraph relates to the Gādāhāra (Viśnu) temple and it was conducted by people who appear to have been all devoted to the god Viśnu. The representation of the Śiva-liṅga in our inscription may suggest that the engraver of the record was a Śaiva.

The inscription under study is well known for the importance of its date which has been discussed by most writers on the later history of the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar, though the epigraph was never properly edited. A totally inaccurate account of the contents of the inscription given by Buchanan in his Eastern India, Vol. I, p. 61, was quoted in 1871-72 by Cunningham in his Arch. Surv. Ind. Reports, Vol. III, p. 125, No. 18. Cunningham also noticed the "particularly valuable" date of the epigraph and published an eye-copy of it in the same work (Plate XXXVIII). In 1915 a rough transcript of the inscription was published by R.D. Banerji in his Pālas of Bengal appearing in the Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. V, No. 3 (p. 109). A good facsimile of the record also appears in Banerji’s work (Plate XXVIII).

The importance of the date of the present inscription lies in the fact that it quotes Vikrama 1232 as corresponding to year 14 of the gata-rājya of Gōvindapāla. The dates of the records of the Pāla regime are generally quoted in the regnal years of individual kings without reference to any era. Of course, the recently published Valgudar inscription of Madanapāla, dated in his 18th regnal year and Śaka 1083, has offered us the most important date in Pāla records while only the Sārūnāth inscription mentioning Mahāpāla I was known, since the close of the eighteenth century, as bearing the date Vikrama 1083 without the corresponding regnal year. Thus, before the discovery of the Valgudar inscription of Madanapāla, the Gayā inscription offered a date which was unique among Pāla records though, as will be seen below, the expression gata-rājya used in connection with the date was generally misunderstood.

1 Read dāna-nara-kācha svakūta-veśāḥ. The word veśā seems to be original but does not satisfy the metrical requirement of anty-anuprāsa. It may, however, be remembered that ś is pronounced like sh in Bengal. Or, ś? sh?
2 Read āyatari.
3 The intended reading is ārîmad-Bhāvakadāṣah.
4 Read pūritāḥ or better ṣaṣṭayān-āpūritāḥ. Mahād-bhūtāḥ may mean "those who have become great", or we may have mahā-ḥūtāḥ. But the plural is not justified by the context since the reference seems to be to Ajaḍādvā alone unless, of course, it is believed to indicate pārśva. It is also not impossible to take it to refer to several people including Ajaḍādvā and the king. The intended reading seems, however, to be dāgāḥ yatara mahād-bhūtāḥ śara-lālaṭa-sa-pūritāḥ.
5 Cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 110, 113, and Plate between pp. 112 and 113.
6 Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 145, No. 3.
7 See Bhandarkar’s List, No. 114.
12 DGA/60
The inscription begins with the siddham symbol followed by the passages ś svasti and namō bhagavate Vasudēvaya (‘adoration to Lord Vasudeva’). Next comes the date given, against the background of eternity, as the Vikāra-saṁvatsara of Jupiter’s sixty-year cycle, corresponding to Samvat (i.e. Vikrama) 1232 and falling in the pūrea-sandhyā (dawn) of the Kali age in the twenty-eighth cycle of the Vaivasvata-manvantara in the kalpa of Varāha and the second parārādhā of the god Brahman (lines 1-3). The dating reminds us of the Warangal inscription of Raghu-deva, in which the year is similarly quoted as Pramādi-saṁvatsara corresponding to the Kaliyuga year 4561 falling in the first quarter of Kali in the twenty-eighth chatur-yuga of the Vaivasvata-manvantara in the Śvetavarāha-kalpa and the second parārādha of Brahman. But the date is given in the latter inscription as falling in the eternal sovereignty of the god Vishnu and the place of the record is there likewise located in the dominions of a Bahmani ruler in the western part of the Andhra country which is stated to have formed a part of Bharata-varsha lying in the Jambūdīvpa section of the earth. The idea of dating the Gayā inscription in the way indicated above may have occurred to the author of the epigraph because it records a transaction relating to the temple of Gadādhara or Vishnu, the lord of the three worlds. He may have also been a South Indian like the author of Raghu-deva’s record.

The above date, viz. Vikrama 1232 = Vikārīn, corresponding to 1175-76 A.D., is equated in lines 3-4 of the inscription with year 14 of the gata-rāja of Gōvindapāla. The inscription records, as we shall see below, the creation of an endowment for feeding Brāhmaṇas once in a year on Āśvinī-sudi 5. Associating these details with Vikrama 1232 = Vikārīn, Kiellhorn regarded the date to be Monday, the 22nd September 1175 A.D. We know that, besides this record, the rule of the same Pāla king is referred to in the colophon of seven manuscripts. There are thus altogether eight dates associated with Gōvindapāla. They are the following:

(1) śrīmad-Gōvindapālasya vijaya-rāja-saṁvatsarē 4 ;
(2) saṁvīr 1232 Vikārī-śaṁvatsarē śrī-Gōvindapāladēva-gata-rājyē chaturdāsa-saṁvatsarē

(3) śrīmad-Gōvindapāladēvaya =āśita-saṁvatsa 18 Kārttiika-dīnē 15 ;
(4) śrī-Gōvindapāliya-saṁvīr 24 Chaitra-sudi 8 ;
(5) Gōvindapāladēvānām saṁ 37 Śrāvaṇa-dīnē 11 ;
(6) śrīmad-Gōvindapāladēvānām vināshṭa-rājyē aṣṭa-trimśat-saṁvatsarē-śhhilikhyamānē Jyaishṭha-kriṣṇa-aṣṭamiyān tithun yatra saṁ 38 Jyaishṭha-dīnē 8 ;

(7) ‘the 38th year of Gōvindapāla’;

(8) śrīmad-Gōvindapāladēvānām saṁ 39 Bhādra-dīnē 14.3

It will be seen that out of these eight cases, the regnal years, 4, 24, 37, 38 and 39 are associated with Gōvindapāla’s rule in the usual way of referring to regnal reckonings as found in epigraphic and literary records, while the years 14, 18 and 38 are mentioned as falling in his gata, aśīta or vināśka rule or sovereignty. It is quite clear that all these years refer to the same reckoning and this is made absolutely certain by the fact that the same year in one (No. 6) of the eight cases cited above is quoted in both the ways as vināśka-rājyē aṣṭatriṃśat-saṁvatsarē and as saṁ 38, while another date (No. 7) also speaks of the 38th year of the

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1 Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 125 ff.
king without any specification. It has, however, to be noticed that the regnal year 4 has been associated with Gõvindapâla's victorious rule or sovereignty, while the later years have been related to himself (i.e. to his rule) or to his gata (past), aîta (past) or vinashta (destroyed) rule or sovereignty. Ordinarily, the ascription of a particular year to a king means that the year in question fell in the reign period of the said ruler. In the present case, however, the years 24, 37, 38 and 39, associated with king Gõvindapâla (i.e. his reign), fell after the 14th year which has been specifically stated to have fallen in his gata-râjya. These years therefore did not belong to Gõvindapâla's normal regnal reckoning as their citation may suggest and this probably explains the absence of the word râjya in these cases. It is thus certain that Gõvindapâla's rule or sovereignty was a thing of the past after the fourth year of his reign and before the fourteenth year counted from the year of his accession.

We know that the latest date of Gõvindapâla's predecessor Madanapâla is supplied by the Valgudar inscription of Śaka 1083 corresponding to his 18th regnal year.1 The actual date quoted in the inscription is Jyaisthā-dina 11 which corresponds to the 4th May 1161 A.D., the month being lunar and pûrṇimânta.2 Gõvindapâla must have ascended the throne after that date. On the other hand, a Bõdhgâyâ inscription3 of a date falling between 1183-84 and 1192-93 A.D. shows that the Gayâ region then formed a part of the dominions of the Gâhdaçâvâla king Jayachandra, though the Sihvar plate4 of the same ruler, dated 1175 A.D., seems to record the grant of a village in the Patna District and points to the Gâhdaçâvâla occupation of the Gayâ-Patna region of Bihar as early as that year. Thus Gõvindapâla must have lost his hold on the Gayâ area before 1175 A.D. which is also known to have fallen in the period of his 'lost sovereignty' from the evidence of the Gayâ inscription under study. Since a king named Palapâla, who seems to have been the successor of Gõvindapâla on the Pâla throne, ruled in the Monghyr District till the 35th year of his reign5 while the Turkish Musulmânas established their hold on Bihar about the close of the twelfth century A.D.,6 it appears that Gõvindapâla ended his rule about 1165 A.D. not long after his 4th regnal year. Thus the reign of Gõvindapâla, covering about four years, may be assigned to the period 1161-62 to 1165-66 A.D.

There is a controversy whether the dates related to Gõvindapâla's gata, aîta or vinashta sovereignty should be counted from his accession or from the time when he lost his kingdom. But the second alternative is impossible in view of the fact that a number of dates quoting years far exceeding the probable regnal period of Gõvindapâla are associated merely with his rule without indicating that it was gata, aîta or vinashta. It there were two reckonings relating to Gõvindapâla, viz. one associated with his râjya or vijaya-râjya counted from his accession and another connected with his past or lost sovereignty counted from the end of his actual rule, the two different systems of dating could not have been indiscriminately used as has actually been done. The people who used both the styles without discrimination had therefore no fear of a confusion which would have undoubtedly resuluted if there were two different reckonings, one starting after the expiry of the other.

2 Ibid., 142 and note 3.
3 Bhandarkar's List, No. 401.
5 See J.B.R.S, Vol. XLII, Part ii, pp. 143 ff. The discovery of an inscription of Ballâlasena's ninth regnal year (c. 1166 A.D.) near Bhagalpur (above, Vol. XXX, pp. 78 ff.), Lakshmanašena's claim to have obtained success against the king of Kâśî (cf. Vol. XXVI, p. 6, text line 19; Vol. XXIII, p. 318) and the early use of the peculiar Lakshmanašena era at Gayâ (IHQ, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 22 ff.) would suggest that Palapâla became a feudatory or subordinate ally of the Sénas.
A question that naturally arises in our mind is why the reign of Govindapāla was referred to when it had been actually ousted by the Gāḍaḍavālas. It cannot be argued, as is often done, that since Govindapāla was a Buddhist, when he was ousted from the Gayā region by the Brahmanical Gāḍaḍavālas, the Buddhists of Gayā continued to refer to his reign in preference to that of the Brahmanists whom they hated. Such a contention is disproved by the present inscription which is not a Buddhist record. There must have been some other reason for this peculiar phenomenon. The people, especially of the Gayā region if not of other parts of Bihar, apparently had a strong hatred for the Gāḍaḍavālas probably as a result of persecution. Similar must have been the reason underlying the rise of the Lakṣmamaṇḍana-saṅhata (La-San) in the same Gayā region apparently after the extirpation of Śāna rule in Bihar by the Turkish Musalmans. As is well known, the earliest use of the aśīrāga reckoning of Lakṣmamaṇḍana (c. 1179-1206 A.D.) is noticed in the Gayā inscriptions of the years 51, 74 and 83.1

The last word in the prose section of the inscription, discussed above is Gayāyām, 'at Gayā', in line 4, which has to be read with the versified part below. There are altogether six stanzas in this part of the epigraph called a prosaṁti in the concluding verse as we shall see below.

Verse 1 contains two sentences the first saying that there was [at Gayā] a Deviśāṇa Brāhmaṇa of the Vasūṣṭha gātra, by name Dalaṇa, whose son was the gugullin Vidyādhara.2 The word gugullin apparently means 'one who burns guggula (a particular fragrant gum resin)'. Vidyādhara was thus an incense-burner in a temple (probably, the Gadādhara temple) at Gayā. The verse further states that this Vidyādhara 'created some dhanā (literally 'money') at the temple (maṭṭha) of Gadādhara (Gadādhara) for the Brāhmaṇas. As the following verses indicate, Vidyādhara deposited some money for making provision for feeding Brāhmaṇas at the temple on Āśvin-sudi 5 every year.

The word bhakṣaṇ-ārthkāṁ (for the provision of food) in verse 2 should have to be read with dhanāṁ in verse 1. The rest of verse 2 states that there was an amount of sixteen kāraṁyāpanas to the credit of Vidyādhara as annual interest on the capital of fifty kārṣṭāpanas which must have been deposited by him one year earlier. The persons with whom the sum was deposited are indicated further below. Thus Vidyādhara created an endowment out of a deposit of fifty kārṣṭāpanas yielding an annual interest of sixteen kārṣṭāpanas at the rate of 32 per cent.3 The word kārṣṭāpana seems to have been used in the sense of a silver coin weighing 32 rātis, also known as purāṇa.4 But, in the age in question, the silver kārṣṭāpana or purāṇa was probably not in actual circulation, the transactions being generally conducted in cowrie-shells. As will be seen below, kapardakā or cowrie-shell is actually mentioned in an endorsement added to the record.

The same stanza (verse 2) also mentions two of the witnesses to the creation of the endowment. These are Padma and Viśvarūpa. In continuation of the list of witnesses, verse 3 mentions the following persons: Nṛsimha, Śrīdhara, Dēvadhara, Alli and Padmanābha. Of these, Alli and Padmanābha are stated to have been the servants of Vishnu probably because they were associated with the administration of the Gadādhara temple and the worship of Gadādhara. All these people were residents of the tapāṇa (literally 'a penance-grove') probably meaning a particular locality in Gayā.

Verse 4 mentions Rāghava, Śrīkara, Asūka, Dāmōdara, Hīdharā, Bhikha, Dēvanidhi and Dharmin who are stated to have been the protectors (pālakāriniḥ) apparently of the endowment created by Vidyādhara. It appears that it was these persons with whom the sum of fifty kār—

2 Probably we should not take Gugullin as the name of the person and Vidyadhara as his epithet.
3 For the high rate of interest in ancient India, see Sited Inscriptions, p. 158, note 3.
4 Cf. JNSI Vol. VII, p.54.
shāyana was deposited for making provision for feeding Brāhmaṇa in the Gadādhara temple on Ásvina-sudi 5 every year out of the annual interest of sixteen kārshāpasa according to it annually. Otherwise they were the trustees and the money was deposited in the temple treasury.

Verse 5 states that those who would maintain the dharma (i.e. Vidyādha’s pious deed) every year (i.e. those who would arrange for the feeding of the Brāhmaṇa out of the interest of the sum deposited by Vidyādha) would acquire the merit of the performance of the Áśtamēṣha sacrifice. The following stanza (verse 6) says that who-ever would stop the feeding of the Brāhmaṇa on Ásvina-sudi 5, he would be committing the five great sins.

The above six stanzas are followed in lines 13-14 by a passage in prose. It states that the eulogy (pusti) was composed (kṛita) by Muktendra and that it was written (likhitā) by the Kā (i.e. Kāyasthas or scribes) Jaśi (or Jaśi) and Jayakumāra.1 The word likhitā seems to mean here the writing of the record on the stone for facilitating the work of the engraver.

There is one line of writing in the left margin along the border of the inscription discussed above. That it is a separate endorsement is indicated by the fact that it begins with a siddha symbol. This line of writing contains a single verse. The second half of the stanza states that ‘these’ kauradaka (cowrie-shells) were given in the presence of the image of the god (i.e. Gadādhara), the first half of the same verse stating that Sūmeśvara and the Gayā Brāhmaṇa (i.e. Gayā Brāhmaṇa) Padmanābha were the witnesses in this matter (tib). The endorsement appears to mean that the annual interest of sixteen kārshāpasa accruing to the deposit made by Vidyādha after one year in Vikrama 1232 was handed over to the temple authorities by Kāghava and others for arranging for the feeding of Brāhmaṇa on Ásvina-sudi 5 and that this fact was entered in the margin of the original document a little later than it had been drawn up. The statement was engraved in the same position in the document when it was copied on stone. The Gayā Brāhmaṇa Padmanābha mentioned as a witness seems to be the same person known from verse 3 to have been a witness of the creation of the endowment.

It is interesting to note that the sum of sixteen kārshāpasa or purāṇa was paid in cowrie-shells. This reminds us of the kauradaka-purāṇa mentioned in the Śena inscriptions apparently in the sense of ‘a purāṇa counted in cowrie-shells’.2 The number of cowrie-shells going for one kārshāpasa, at least in the Bengal area, seems to have been 1280. It is stated that 1 cowrie-shells = 1 godā; 20 godās = 1 pūṣa (purāṇa); 16 pūṣas = 1 kāhōp (kārshāpasa).3 Thus 1280 kauradaka made 1 kārshāpasa.3

TEXT4

[Metres: verse 1 Upajīti; verse 2 Induvarjā; verses 3-7 Aushṭābh.]

1 Siddhān4 Ī śvasti [4] namō bhagavatō Vāsudēvāya. Vra(Bra)hmanayō dvitiya-paṭārthi- (rdhe)
2 Vārāha-kalpō Vaivaśva(n)ā-sa(Ja)taraśa sa-Jal-a-viniśatari(ta)nī yugō Kau(Ka)lau pūrvva-sa(J)ah(3a)-
3 ndhyāyām Samvata4 1232 Vikāri sammvva(va)tsare | āṭi-Govindapālātē-

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1 It is possible that one of them wrote the main document and the other only the endorsement.
4 From Impressions.
5 Expressed by symbol.
6 Read Sama
12 DGA/66.
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

1 va-gata-rājyō chaturādaśa-saṃmva(va)tsarē Gayāyāṁ ||
   Vaśi(s)hṛtha-gōtrō-

5 tigunō dīrvādah śrī-Dallanō-sūta² sutasā maḥānta[n]ī(utam) |
   Viṇyādharaṁ gu-

6 gu(ggu)lināṁ Gadābhṛṣṭi-mañā-thā-kārī dhanā(naṁ) dviṣānāṁ(nāṁ) ||
   [1*] Bhō(Bha)-
   kṣa-ārtha-avdha(m(līṇi) pra-

7 ti shōlaś-aiśa kārśāpāṇi(ṛ) viśeṇāta ēva ladhivāḥ(bhāh) |
   mūlāṁ-chha paḥcāṣa(śa)h-d-ī-

8 hāṣṭi sākṣi Padmō-ābhādhānō-tha cha Viśvāpaḥ ||
   [2*] Nṛṣiṇāhaḥ Śrīdharō Dēv-

9 dharō-ūl-Padmanā(h)a[k]a |
   Viśṇu-śēva(vā)-karaḥ ch-aiṭē
tapōvāna-nivāsānaḥ ||
   [3*] Rāghavāḥ

10 Śrīkara-sākō Dāmōdarakaḥ(ka)-Hīdharaṇō ||
   [4*] Bhākō Dēvāntiḥ-hā[r]mumī
c-h-aiṭē pālā-

11 na-kārṇāṁ ||
   [1*] Ā-khaṇḍ-ārkam-imāna dha[r]maṁ samānī pālayishyantī yē
devāh(kha) |
   praty-avdha(m(līṇi) tē=

12 śvamāṭhasaya ha(phha)laṁ pṛāṣa(pṣya)nī mānaṅaḥ \ [5*] Āśvinē śukla-pānchamēyāṁ
   bhō(bha)kshaṅ yē-

13 vārayā-śīlaṁ(dam) |
   labhatē-sūv-asamindīdhaṁ mahāpātaka-paḥcākaṁ(kam) ||
   [6*] pṛaśa-

14 r-iyāṁ krītā śrī-śakṣāntorē kākāvatā yē-jaśīṛ-jaśyakumā-rebhīyāṁ ||

15* Ṫ Ś[omēvāra]-tra sākṣha(kshya-aj)ōti Pajmō(dam) añhō Gayā-dvija[h [7*] dēva-
   rupasya[p]u(pu)ra(h) tattē[ś]ē-čh-aiṭē kupāḍa(kā[h*] ||
   [7*]

Postscript—Fresh light on the gata-rājya reckoning comes from a manuscript of Jīvādeva’s
Bhākitānātha (H. P. Shastri’s Catalogue, Vol. VII, No. 5317) copied on Sunday, Bhād-
sūti 11 in the 29th Aiśa (24th regnal year) of Mukundādeva (1559-68 A. D.), the last
independent Hindu King of Orissa. The details of the date show that it corre-
sponds to the 18th August 1583 A. D., though the king died 15 year earlier, and that the year has to
be counted from Mukundādeva’s accession and not from his death. See Indian studies—

¹ Read Gayāyām. The punctuation mark has been used to indicate the separation of the following section in
verse.
² The word is more suitable for the mother than father.
³ The intended reading may be either Dāmōdaraka-Mahīdharaṇa or Dāmōdaraka-Śrīdharaṇa.
⁴ Dharmī may also be regarded as an epithet of Dēvānti.
⁵ Kā is an abbreviation of the word kṛṣṇa. The following name may be read as jaśīṛḥ also.
⁶ This line is engraved in the left margin.
⁷ Expressed by symbol.
⁸ Dēvānapa may have also been the name of a person.
THREE PALA INSCRIPTIONS—PLATE II

3. Gayā Inscription mentioning Gövindapāla, Vikrama 1232
No. 33.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF DURGARAJA

(1 Plate)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

(Received on 6.2.1961)

The first of the two inscriptions edited in these pages now lies in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer (Museum No. 290). It was found at the well-known tīrtha of Pushkar near Ajmer and was presented to the Museum by the late Dewan Bahadur Har Bilas Sarda. The inscription was noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar in the Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, 1909-10, p. 59.1 We copied the epigraph some years ago and it was noticed in the Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, 1959-53, No. B 8.

Bhandarkar observes, “It really records two separate grants, one by Malhaṇa, son of Bhaṭṭa, and the other by a king named Durgarāja. The first grant consists of a portion of a field called Khāṭakāhētra within the precincts of the village Naḥdā-grāma on the west of Jyeśṭha-Pushkara . . . . . . . spoken of therein as having brought into existence by Brahmā and as Viṣṇu-dharma-purāṇa, i.e. old in [the practice of] the Vaiśhāvya religion . . . . . . Malhaṇa, the donor, is called Pushkarasāmānyya, i.e. belonging to the Pushkar community. Pushkara Brahmānās are at present known as Parāsaras. Malhaṇa was thus, in all likelihood, a Parāsara Brahmāṇa. The date of the second grant cannot be properly deciphered, but it is certainly Saṅvat 990 and something odd.2 It was made by Durgarāja to the same god, i.e. Puṇḍarikākṣha, on the occasion of a solar eclipse on the new moon day of Phalguna. But the nature of his grant is not clear from the inscription.”

We are sorry that it is difficult to agree with many of Bhandarkar’s suggestions. In the first place, Malhaṇa seems to us to have enjoyed the designation Bhaṭṭa-putra3 which need not be explained as ‘the son of [a person named] Bhaṭṭa’. Secondly, the gift land consisted of the entire Khāṭaka-hētra and not any portion of it. Thirdly, Jyeśṭha-Pushkara has not been called Viṣṇu-dharma-purāṇa. The reference in the epigraph is certainly to the well-known Purāṇa entitled Viṣṇudharma or Viṣṇudharmottara.4 Fourthly, Pushkara-sāmānyya may really mean ‘a resident of Pushkara’ as in cases like Ujjayini-vasīgata-Kuraṅgirikā-sāmānyya (i.e. hailing originally from Ujjain and now residing at Kuraṅgirikā) in the description of a Brāhmaṇa in an inscription from Rajasthan, dated 654 A.D.5 Fifthly, the year of Durgarāja’s grant is apparently Saṅvat 994. Sixthly, Durgarāja, who was not a king but a small local chief, really did not make any gift of his own in favour of Puṇḍarikākṣha but merely ratified Malhaṇa’s grant as the landlord of the Pushkara region. Besides these, there are also some other minor points on which we are inclined to disagree with Bhandarkar.

The second of the two inscriptions forming the subject of our paper was discovered by Mr. U. C. Bhattacharya, Curator of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, on a pillar in the Śiva temple at Thanwala or Thāṅvīḷa (near Pushkar) in the Nagaur District of the Jodhpur Division of

1 It is No. 61 of Bhandarkar’s List (see also No. 55); cf. Report on the Working of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, 1910-11, p. 2, Appendix B, No. 1.
2 Bhandarkar’s List, No. 5 refers to the year as V.S. 990 (!).
3 It may be noted that the community of learned Brahmāṇas is called Bhaṭṭa-loka in lines 19 and 30 of our record. For Bhaṭṭa and Bhaṭṭa-putra as common designations of Brahmāṇas, see above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 325, text lines 27-29; p. 327, text lines 10-12.
5 Above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 172, text line 12; cf. p. 176, text line 17.

12 DGA/60

The first inscription records certain gifts given in favour of the god Puṇḍarikākṣha (i.e. Viṣṇu) worshipped at Pushkara, by a Brāhmaṇa of Pushkara named Mahāpa in Vikrama 982 and the ratification of the gift by the chief Durgarāja of the Pushkar region in Vikrama 994. The second epigraph records certain gifts made by the same Durgarāja in favour of the god Rannāditya (i.e. the Sun-god) worshipped either at Thanwala or in its neighbourhood within the Pushkar region and refers to gifts made to the same deity by a number of people, which were added to those of Durgarāja in Vikrama 1013. It is clearly stated in the first record that whatever gifts were given by people at Pushkara became those of Durgarāja, called a bhūpa, apparently because he was the landlord of the district around the holy place or the person in charge of the tīrtha.¹ The most important information supplied by the second inscription is, however, the fact that Durgarāja is mentioned here as the Mahantaka of Mahāraja Jādhikīraja Sīṁharāja who was no doubt the Chāhamāna king of the same name.

The extension of Chāhamāna power in the Pushkar-Ajmer region in the days of Sīṁharāja is an important information supplied by the above record. But the real meaning of the designation Mahantaka, which is derived from Sanskrit maha, 'the great [man]', like the official designations Mahattaka, Mahattara and Mahattama of inscriptions and Mahāta, Mahētā and Mahanta of today, cannot be determined in the present context. Essentially, the word seems to mean the head of a village or the village council or a Pañchāyat board or of some administrative, social or religious institution or organisation.² It is difficult to say whether Durgarāja was the head of the religious institution at Pushkar like the Mahanta-Mahārājas of today, though his designation Bhūpa in the first inscription and Mahantaka in the second may point to that direction. That, however, he was not an ascetic is suggested by the mention of his father's name in the second inscription.

So long the earliest epigraph of the Chāhamāna house in question was the Haras inscription³ (Vikrama 1030 = 973 A.D.) of the reign of Sī̄mharāja's son Vigrāharāja. Now we have an epigraph of Sī̄ha's reign, dated Vikrama 1013 (956 A.D.). The Prithvirājvarījaya associates the Śākambhari or Sāmbhār lake, about 40 miles from Pushkar, with Vāsu-deva who was the founder of the Chāhamāna house and was favoured by the goddesses Śākambhari and Āśāpuri.⁴ Thus the original seat of the family seems to have been in the region of the said lake. A point to be considered is whether the present inscriptions help us in determining the date of the establishment of Chāhamāna power over the Ajmer-Pushkar region. Since the name of a Chāhamāna king is not found in the first inscription bearing the dates Vikrama 982 and 994 while Sī̄mharāja is mentioned in the second record of Vikrama 1013, it is possible to suggest that Chāhamāna power was established in the area shortly before Vikrama 1013. But the possibility of the omission of the name of the Chāhamāna king in the first epigraph through negligence in a private record of this kind is not precluded. That the Chāhamānas succeeded in extending their power over the Pushkar area earlier than the days of Sī̄mharāja of our inscription may be conjectured from certain traditions recorded in the Prithvirājvarījaya. Thus Rudraṇi or Atmaprabhā, the queen of Sī̄mharāja's grandfather Chandana, is stated in that work to have established one thousand Śiva-liṅgas on the banks of the Pushkara lake while Sī̄mharāja's father Vākpāti is said to have built a temple of Śiva at Pushkara.⁵

¹ According to a well-known convention, the ruler of the land had a share in the religious merit earned by the people.
² Mahantaka is used in the Lekhabadadvati in the sense of a clerk or accountant and is used in Gujarati as a term of respect among the Bāṇiyā. See also above, Vol. VIII, pp. 206-07; Bhandarkar's List No. 565.
⁵ Ray, op. cit., pp. 1063-64. The performance of meritorious deeds at holy places, however, does not conclusively prove the inclusion of the areas in the performer's dominions (above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 100-01).
TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF DURGAJÀ

About the time of the records edited here, the Chāhāmānas were apparently feudatories of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. Ġivaka (Ġivinda) I, Sinharāja's grandfather's great-grandfather, was a subordinate of king Nāgāvalokā, identified with Pratihāra Nāgabhāsa II (c. 863-33 A.D.), while Sinha himself owed allegiance to a Rāghukula-chakravarthi who must have been a successor of Nāgabhāsa II.1

1. Pushkar Inscription of Vikrama 982 and 994

This is a stone inscription containing 31 lines of writing in all. The inscription covers an area 61 cm. in length and 31 cm. in breadth. The preservation of the writing is not quite satisfactory.

The characters belong to the Siddhamātrikā alphabet of the tenth century A.D. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. But the text is full of grammatical and orthographical errors. Some of these are due to the fact that the engraver could not follow the draft before him at certain places, though there must have been defects even in the composition. The record is written in prose and verse.

There are two dates in the record quoted with reference to two different transactions, viz., (1) grant of some land to the god Vīṣṇu of Pushkara by a private person in Śaṅvat 982, Māgha-sudi 11, and (2) its ratification by the landlord in Śaṅvat 994, Phālguna-amāvāsyā, solar eclipse. The first date, quoted without mentioning the week-day, fell in the month of January 926 A.D. The second date corresponds to the 3rd February 938 A.D., when there was a solar eclipse on Phālguna-badi 15.

As we have said, Vikrama 982 (926 A.D.) relates to a grant made by a private person and Vikrama 994 (938 A.D.) to its ratification by his landlord. The long delay of more than a decade in the ratification, however, requires an explanation. It appears that the donor of the land continued to pay taxes on its account for some years after which the landlord agreed to make the grant rent-free. As we have elsewhere1 suggested, such a ratification may have required payment of a sum of money by the donor to the king or landlord.

The inscription begins with an adoration to the god Puṇḍarikākṣa (i.e. Vīṣṇu-Kṛiṣṇa) followed by the date Vikrama 982 Māgha-sudi 11 (lines 1-3). Reference is then made to a khaṭa-kṣētra within the Kajḍhāra-kṣētra lying in the area of Nandā-grāma to the west of Jyēśhṭha-Pushkara which is no doubt the modern Būḍhā Pushkara lake (lines 3-4). It is stated in the following passage that the said khaṭa-kṣētra was purchased from Savatuka and Pana, the sons of Mānāga (lines 4-5) while another passage in lines 5-6 says that one-third of the same khaṭa-kṣētra was purchased from Savatuka alone. The second piece of land was naturally within the boundary of the first and the entire land thus purchased was meant to be given in favour of the god Vīṣṇu at Pushkara with the exclusion of a portion which seems to have been the property of a deity in the possession of a person (probably a priest of the said deity) named Vāmana (lines 6-8). In this section of the record, the meanings of kajḍhāra-kṣētra and khaṭa-kṣētra are uncertain, though Kajḍhāra may be the name of the field (cf. many such cases in the Thanwala inscription edited below) and khaṭa-kṣētra may indicate that the land in question was recently cleared by digging up trees, etc.

The next section of the record in lines 8-11 describes the donor, Bhaṭṭa-suta Malhāna of Pushkara, while the following section in lines 12-13 mentions the penance-grove at Jyēśhṭha-Pushkara described as the great īrtha made by Padmayōṇi (Brahman)2, the father of the world, and situated

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1 See verses 13 and 19 of the Harṣa inscription (Ind. Ant., Vol. XLII, pp. 67 ff.).
2 Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 59 ff.
3 Cf. Pāḍma Purāṇa, V, 15.
on the pivot of the earth. Lines 13-16 mention the great god Puṇḍarikākṣha, one of whose epithets states that he granted his devotees the privilege of living in Śvēta-dvīpa, i.e. the world of Vishnu according to epic and Puranic traditions. The whole portion in lines 13-19 means to say that Bhāṭṭa-sūta Malāha heard at the penance-grove, on the date at the beginning of the charter, a vachana (saying) about the god Puṇḍarikākṣha in the Vīṣhṇudharmā Pūrāṇa apparently from some reciter and that, having heard that, he gave the said land to Sōmāditya for flowers, etc., for the god's (i.e. Puṇḍarikākṣha's) worship and for white-washing, etc., of his temple. Sōmāditya appears to have been the chief priest of the Puṇḍarikākṣha temple at Pushkara. This Sōmāditya seems to be mentioned in several inscriptions in the Śiva temple of Thanwala near Pushkara. The name of the same Malāha occurs as that of a donor in one of the Thanwala inscriptions. His name seems to appear as Malāha in the Thanwala inscription edited below.

Lines 19-21 contain a passage in prose stating that the gift was made by Malāha praying for the goodwill of the Bhāṭṭas. This is followed by a stanza in the Anushtubh metre, in which the donor, Bhāṭṭa-mandana Malāha, requests the people for the protection of his gift.

The second record begins in line 22 with the date: Vikrama 994 (in words only), Phalgunamāvāsyā, solar eclipse. The time is specified as when three fourths of the day were still to pass (i.e. at the end of the first quarter of the day) and when the sun's orb was divided into two sections (as a result of a part of it being eclipsed).

The date is followed by a verse in the Giti metre and another irregular stanza. The purport of this section is to say that whatever was given by the pilgrims visiting the Pushkara tirtha became the gift of Durgarāja himself when the bhūja (ruler) Durgarāja took a bath in the waters of the Pushkara lake and offered libations of water to gods, etc., and also kōma to the fire. The following passage in prose in lines 29-30 states that, for that reason, the gift was made in favour of the god Puṇḍarikākṣha. The record ends with a verse in the Anushtubh metre containing a request to the Bhāṭṭas for the protection of the grant. This is similar to Malāha's own prayer in the stanza quoted in lines 21-22.

Pushkara, Jyēṣṭhā-Pushkara and Nandā-grāma are the only geographical names in the inscription. Of these, Nanda-grāma has been identified with modern Nānd about six miles from Pushkar.

TEXT

1 Ōn=namāḥ [P]uṇḍarikākṣhaḥ | sa[r]na[vatsara]-[śa]tēshu

2 navasu dvā[dyā]ṣīty-adhikō[śhu samavat[u]vat(u) 982 Mā[na(gha)]-

3 [su]ddi(di) aikādasyam(śyām) Jyēṣṭhā(shṭha)-Pū(Pu)s[khara]sya paśchimā pūtṛāṁ

Nandā-[grā]-

4 [m]a[bhūmy[ā]ṛu [ka]d[hāra-kśētrā-gā(ṇta)rē kha[t]-kṣētram [[]] yat[ṛ] yat(u) Mānāgā-suta-

[Sa]-

5 [va[n]t[ujka-Pamayōr-hastārghha=t(kra)ṉ-gatakam(kam) | aparam=aπi asy=avia khā[t]-

1 See Mahābhārata, XII, 336, 25-55; above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 80 (p. 83, text line 30).
3 Ibid., No. 511.
4 From inked impressions.
5 This is followed by a symbol which may be a variety of the siddham symbol, though its proper place was at the beginning of the line.
6 Read "ṭāyām.
7 The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
8 The Sanskrit form of the name may be Mānāka.
TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF DURGARAJA

1. Pushkar Inscription of Vikrama 982 and 996

Scale: One-third
2. Thanwala Inscription of the time of Simharaja, Vikrama 1013
6 kshēttrasya śītīy-āmśaṁ\textsuperscript{t} Savatuka-hastā[t\textsuperscript{t}] kray-āgatakaṁ(kam) | 2 āka-sīmā-pra-

7 tivadhvaṁ(baddhata) | 2 [va(ba)hu-kālascha(n-cha) bha(bhu)jjamānaṁ | 2 ēti-Vāmanasya=
aya\textsuperscript{a}dēva-

8 diyamāna-bhō[ga]-varjala(kam) Pushkara-sāmānya-Bhaṭṭasuta-Malha-

9 nēna | 2 dēva-dvija-guru-[pūjlī-parāyaṇa\textsuperscript{t}| 3 bhūmi-dāna-taḍā-

10 g-ādi-pu(pū)[r\textsuperscript{t}]tta-dharma-niratēna | 2 martya-marana-svarṛga-patan-ānavara[ta]-


12 [Jyē]ṣhṭha-Pushkara-tapovanē prithivyām taksha<s>-sthite|2 tirthānāṁ prava-

13 [rajstrī]-bhuvana-guru-Padmayōni-nirmittē | 2 [ta]sminakya\textsuperscript{t} Pūriḍāri-

14 [klāksha[ya\textsuperscript{r}] anādi-[sa]nsīdha-dēvasya sakara-saṁ(saṁ)sārē | 2 puraṇa\textsuperscript{r}-[sa]-


16 maraṇa-varjītā-mōksha-s[th][ā]na-dayākasya{ā} mētat\textsuperscript{t} Vīṣṇudharmma-purā-

17 nē Pushkara-s[ā]mānyā{ā}-Bhaṭṭasuta-Malhanō[tyē]na vachanaṁ su(āru)tvā | 2 vu(pu)shpa-

18 pa-dīpa-dhava[la\textsuperscript{a}] lēpana-pavitu[tra]-karaṇa-sarv-vōyōṇa(ga)-sidhyarthama\textsuperscript{t}

19 [Sō]māditya[tyē]ya | 2 cha[pra]dattāḥ(ttam) | ēta[t\textsuperscript{t}] samasta[t\textsuperscript{t}] Bhaṭṭa-lōkasya dhārmika-

20 rasya dēva-Vrā( Braḥ)māṇa-parama-bhaktasya [pr]ṭti-śrā[r]-thanā-pūrvvakaṁ | 2 sama[ra]pi-

21 tama(tam) | Pradātā praṇīpatya-āyam Malhanō(ṇō) Bhaṭṭa-nāndanaḥ [t\textsuperscript{t}] lōkaṁ-a-

\textsuperscript{t} Read "ja-mitāk.
\textsuperscript{2} The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
\textsuperscript{3} The word āya seems to be used to indicate āya-pada (cf. above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 145
also p. 149, text lines 33, 34-35, 37, 39, 42),
\textsuperscript{4} Read parāyanaṁ.
\textsuperscript{5} The intended reading is "vyā aksha-sthīti.
\textsuperscript{6} Read "ti ēti."
\textsuperscript{7} Read tasmān-adya.
\textsuperscript{8} The intended reading may be pūrṇa or kāmanā-pūrṇa
\textsuperscript{9} The intended reading is dāyakāṣya.
\textsuperscript{10} Read ētā. The second akṣara is written above the line.
\textsuperscript{11} The word sāmānya has been used in the sense of sādasaṁya.
\textsuperscript{12} Read siddhā-arthan.
2. Thanwala Inscription of the time of Simharaja, Vikrama 1013

This epigraph, as stated above, is engraved on a pillar inside the Śiva temple at Thanwala. There are altogether twenty lines of writing covering an area 40 cm. in height and 33 cm. in breadth. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory especially in the lower part of the record. A large number of letters in lines 13-18 are more or less completely rubbed off while no letter is decipherable in the last two lines (lines 19-20).

The characters of the inscription are similar to those of No. 1 edited above. The language is Sanskrit and the record is written in prose and verse as is the case with the other inscription. There is, however, some influence of the local dialect on the language and orthography of the epigraph.

The inscription begins with a siddham symbol followed by the date: Vikrama 1013, Paushasudi 5, solar eclipse. The weekday is not quoted, while solar eclipse could have occurred only on an earlier new-moon day. The date falls in December 956 A.D., though there was no solar eclipse in the near past according to Swamikannu Pillai's Indian Ephemeris.

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1 Read ʻbharthēda.  
2 There is a floral design between the double danda. The metre of the verse is Anushṭubh.  
3 Read namō Viṣṇu.  
4 Read ʻnara.  
5 It is tempting to suggest here Guru dinē or Gura dinē, though Thursday does not suit the date in question. Probably gatiśe-iḍānām is intended.  
6 The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.  
7 Read ʻṣudāyan.  
8 Read ʻjan.  
9 The metre of the verse is Gīthi.  
10 Read ʻtilája.  
11 Read janaik. The akṣara nai was omitted through oversight.  
12 If the word Durgarājasya is taken out, we may have a stanza in the Āryā metre.  
13 Read ʻkāshāya.  
14 Read kriṃ or may-akāri.  
15 The metre of the verse is Anuakādh.  
16 Read ṣamāya.  
17 Read ʻṭiṇi.  
18 The metre of the verse is Anuakādh.
Lines 1-3 then introduce Durgarāja as devoted to the gods and Brāhmaṇas, as the son of Chaharaka and as the Mahantaka of Mahārājādhirāja Simharaṇa. We have already discussed the meaning of the designation Mahantaka. As also indicated above, Mahārājādhirāja Simharaṇa is no other than the Chāhāmāna king of that name, who was the father of Vigrāharaṇa of the Harasa inscription of 973 A. D.

Lines 3-4 state that Durgarāja issued a grant in respect of some land situated in Nandā-grāma in favour of the deity Rannādityadāva. As we have explained elsewhere,¹ Rannā is the name of the wife of the Sun-god according to the popular mythology of Western India. It is probably derived from the Sanskrit name Rājā, the name of a wife of the Sun-god according to the Purāṇas. Both the god and goddess may have been worshipped in the temple in question.

Lines 4-5 suggest that the said gift of land was intended to provide for a lamp (probably, a perpetual lamp) for the god as well as for the burning of incense before the deity, offering of food to him and whitewashing of the walls of his temple, etc.

After the above statement, the following gifts are specified in lines 5-11: (1) Kālinaka (probably the name of a field) given by Durgaraṇa himself. (2) Chaṇḍōka (possibly the name of another field) given by Mālhaṇa (probably the same as Mālhaṇa of the inscription edited above); a kēḍāraka (a marshy field) given by Śrīdhara; (4) a field called Chālukanāra given by Śila; (5) the paṭikā (meaning uncertain) called Uḍūbhā given by Mōchā; (6) a field (name uncertain) given by Yavuṛaka; (7) the āgama-kśetra (probably, field near the entrance to the temple of Rannāditya) given by Gugaka; (9) a kēḍāraka given by Sāva; (10) a paṭikā belonging to Āditya, given by Vāta; and (11) a field called Dāḍimakā given by Śila.

A passage in lines 11-12 states that all the above gifts were added by Durgarāja to his own gift. This reminds us of the ratification of Mālhaṇa’s grant by Durgarāja as recorded in the Pushkara inscription edited above.

A damaged passage in lines 12-13 apparently mentions a person who was the ‘maker’ no doubt of the inscription, i.e., the engraver of the record. His name is lost, but he was the son of Sāvaṭa and obviously an officer of Durgarāja.

Line 14 mentions Maru (i.e., the country of Marwar) and also Pushkara, while the next line (line 15) seems to have referred to the permanent nature of the grant. Lines 15-17 contain parts of the well-known stanza Bahubhir-varutdhā dattā, etc.

The geographical names mentioned in the inscription have been discussed above.

TEXT*

1 Siddhāṃ² ["s"] Sa[m]vatu[vat] 1013 Pausha-sudi 5 āditya-grahaṇē mahā[rā]-

2 jādhirāja[ja]-śrī-Simgha[ha]rāja[ja]-saṭka-mahānītakaḥ Durggarājaḥ

3 Chaharaka-sutaḥ dēva-Vrā[Brā]hmaṇa-raṭaḥ Narhṇḍā(dā)-grāma-bhūmau

4 śrī-Rannādityadāvasya śāsana[m] dādāti | dipō(pa) ē[ka][h*] | dhūpa[ha][pa]-nai-


¹ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 343.
² From inked impressions. In a recent note on this inscription by D. Sharma (Varadā, Vol. V, No. 2, pp. 2 ff.), it is said that it was first published by B. N. Reu and then by R. C. Agrawala (Varadā, Vol. V, No. 1). The articles of Reu and Agrawala are not available to me.
³ Expressed by symbol.
⁴ The name is also spelt as Rājana" or Rājana".
⁵ Better read eva-srīyō-rthōṇ dattā dēvaga.
6 Kāliṇaka[ṛṇ]* [tathā*] Mālhaṇa-datti[ḥ] Chaṇḍākaram | tathā Śridhara-[da]-

7 [ṭṭi][ḥ*] kēdārakam | tathā Sīla[ḥ*] dadāti Chālukaṃḍara-keśētra[ṛṇ] ta[ṭhā]


10 vi-keśētram | tathā Sāva[ḥ*] da[dāti kē]dārakam | tathā Vāta[ḥ da*]dāti [Ā]-

11 dītya-satka-paḍikā[ṛṇ*] | ta[ṭhā Śīla[ḥ*] [da*]dāti Dāḍimakāṇ(kām) ē-

12 tat-sarvvaṇa Durggarājēna [dānēṇa yu]ktēḥ(ktam) | atta k[ārā]-


14 Maruḥ Pushkara ..............

15 chaṇḍra-pu[ḥ]rvaḥ ................

16 hubhīḥ(bhi)[r=vasudhā] ................

17 [ta]ṣṭya tadā ..............

18 sā(sā)sanāṃ ................

19 .....................

20 .....................

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1 The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

2 One letter is lost here.

3 Correctly. kārakāh.

4 This is part of the passage Bakubhiṁvasudhā datti nājauḥ Saya-āṭiḥīḥ  

5 This is part of the passage yasya yasya yadd bhāmisaya tasya tadd phalam  

MGIPC—S1—12 DGA/60—22-11-63—750.
The material for this Part was sent to the Press by Dr. Sircar before his retirement in June 1982.

G. S. GAL,
Government Epigraphist for India.
No. 34—SILVER COIN OF VASISHTHI-PUTRA SATAKARNI

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OTACAMUND

(Received on 29.3.1961)

Two silver coins of the Śātavāhana king Vāsiṣṭhī-putra Śatakarni (second century A.D.), bearing his bust on the obverse, have so far been known. Like similar coins of Gautami-putra Yajña-Śatakarni, they were imitated from the silver issues of the Sakas of Western India and were apparently meant for circulation in the northernmost areas of the Śātavāhana dominions, which had been recently reconquered from the Sakas. The first of the two coins of Vāsiṣṭhī-putra Śatakarni was published by A.S. Altekar in JNISI, Vol. XI, pp. 39 ff., Plate II, Nos. 5-6, and the second by Dinkar Rao in the same journal, Vol. XIX, pp. 9-12, Plate I, No. 1, with Altekar’s comments at pp. 13-17.

The legends on the obverse and reverse of the first coin (size—round, 0.6"; weight—23 grains) were read by Altekar respectively as rañño Vasiṣṭhī-putasa [Śatakarni] and Asth[kasha Vasiṣṭhī-putasha hi]ra-Haratamiva though the reading is admittedly tentative and the illustrations of the coin do not enable us to check his reading of most of the letters. But, although Altekar thought otherwise, the legends and symbols, etc., on both the silver coins of Vāsiṣṭhī-putra Śatakarni appear to be identical.

The published illustration of the second coin, now in the possession of Mr. Rao of Hyderabad, is quite unsatisfactory. But recently Mr. A. N. Lahiri, Senior Epigraphical Assistant in my office, visited Hyderabad where he met Rao and prepared some good plaster casts of the coin, which he kindly placed at my disposal for examination. It is a matter of gratification to me that I am now in a position to point out the errors in the published readings of the legends on this coin and in their interpretations. Its reverse legend, which has not yet been correctly read and interpreted, is of great importance as it not only helps us in restoring a damaged word in the legend on the reverse of the similar coins of Yajña-Śatakarni but also throws new light on the Dravidian language and alphabet of about the second century A.D. Two eye-copies of this legend, one prepared by Rao and another by Altekar, have been published in JNISI, Vol. XXI, p. 13. Neither of them is true to the original, though Rao’s copy is closer to the original than Altekar’s.

The obverse of the coin exhibits the bust of the king to right and circular legend in normal Brāhmī characters of about the second century A.D., above the back of the head and to the front of the bust. This legend was read by Rao as sri-Sātakarni rañño Vasiṣṭhī-putasa. Although the arrangement of the words in the legend looks like the above, we are inclined to read the right

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1 This name is spelt as both Śatakarni and Sītakarni while the name of the family, to which the king bearing this name belonged, is spelt both as Śātavahana and as Śātavahana.

2 Probably sīrī has been omitted before the name by Altekar. Macrion over e and o has not been used in this article.

3 The legends on the obverse and reverse of Yajña-Śatakarni’s coins were read by Rapson as rañño Gotama-putasa sīrī-Yajña-Śatakarni and..............nasa Gotama-putasa hiru-Yajña-Haratamiva respectively Catalogue, p. 46).
half beginning from XII (rañ̄ Vāśiṭhī-putasā) before the left half ending at XII (siri-Sātakarṇīsā) since this is the case with the reverse legend. We therefore read rañ̄ Vāśiṭhī-putasā siri-Sātakarṇīsā (Sanskrit rījñāh Vāśiṣṭhī-putresya sīrī-Sātakarṇēk). [This is the coin] of the illustrious Sātakarṇī, the son of Vāśiṣṭhī (i.e., a lady belonging to a family of the Vāśiṣṭhīga gotra).’ This is also what Rapson has done in respect of the obverse and reverse legends of the silver coins of Yajñā-Sātakarṇī.¹

The reverse of the coin exhibits a number of symbols and circular legend in Southern Brāhmī characters along the border. This legend has been read by Rao as Arihaṇṇa vāla-dauḍa-dhā-Kaṇāsha turu-Hātakaṇīsha. He explains arihaṇṇa as ‘the killer of enemies’, vāla-dauḍa-dhā as ‘one who holds swords and sceptre’ and Kaṇā as standing for Krishna which, in his opinion, may have been a secondary name of the king in question or indicate ‘one who is like Krishna’. The difficulty in accepting Rao’s interpretation of vāla-dauḍa-dhā has been pointed out by Altekar. But the said reading of the passage is also impossible and Rao’s reading of interpretation of arihaṇṇa and his explanation of Kaṇā are equally unsatisfactory.

Altekar reads the legend on the reverse of the coin as Tiru-Hātakaṇīsha arahyaṇṇa Vāḥitha-Shathakarṇāsha explained as ‘[Coin of] the worshipful Vāḥitha (or Vāḥithī, i.e., Vāśiṣṭhīputra) Sātakarṇī of the respectable Sātakarṇī [dynasty]’. But this is as unsatisfactory as Rao’s reading and interpretation.

In the first place, it is impossible to believe that the same name has been written here once as Hātakaṇī and for a second time as Shāthakaṇī.

Secondly, it is not explained why, in Shathakarṇāsha, sh at the beginning has a form altogether different from that of the same letter at the end.

Thirdly, the name of the family, to which the issuer of the coin belonged, was Śatavāhana and not Śatakarṇī.

Fourthly, Altekar says, ‘The legend also shows the Tamilian practice of changing ta into tha in the word Shāthakarṇaśa’. But his reference to a Tamil practice in support of the change of t to th is due entirely to misunderstanding. The Tamil alphabet has only t for the four letters t, th, d and dh of the Sanskritic alphabet and likewise t for t, th, d and dh, though intervocal t and t are pronounced as d and dh respectively. The Tamil practice, which Altekar has misunderstood, is really that, when Tamil words or names are written in Roman characters, the sounds of t and d are reproduced respectively by th and dh only to distinguish them from those of t and d which are written in English by th and d respectively.²

Fifthly, in Altekar’s opinion, Vāḥitha or Vāḥithī is an abridged form of Vāśiṣṭhī-putra. Since, however, the words Vāśiṣṭhī or Vāśiṣṭhi (a man or woman belonging to the Vāśiṣṭhīga gotra) and Vāśiṣṭhī-putra (a man born of a lady belonging to a family of the Vāśiṣṭhīga gotra) have significantly different meanings, we have doubts whether a sensible and responsible mint-master could have used the former in the sense of the latter.

Sixthly, Altekar’s interpretation of arahyaṇṇa as arhaṇṇa, ‘the worshipful one’, does not appear to be happy, because arhaṇṇa really means ‘worship’ and not ‘worshipful’.

¹ Catalogue, p. 45.
² Altekar thinks that the mint-officer hailed from the Tamil country and that, after having spelt Sātakarṇīsā as Śāthakarṇāśa, ‘he then perhaps realised that this was not the pronunciation in his master’s dominions and so he spelt the word the second time as Hātakaṇīsā’ (op. cit., p. 15). Apart from the quite unconvincing nature of the conjecture, it may be pointed out that, in the legend as read by Altekar and quoted above, the word Hātakaṇīsā appears first and Śāthakarṇāśa later.
In our opinion, Rapson was perfectly right in thinking that the legends on the obverse and reverse of the similar coins of Yajña-Śatakarni differ only in script and phonology but are identical in contents while Altekar is certainly wrong in thinking that the legends of the present coin offer a phenomenon quite different from those of the coins of Yajña-Śatakarni and that the obverse legend on it 'is considerably different in contents from the legend on the reverse.'

The passage, which both Rao and Altekar have read wrongly, is quite clearly Vah[split]-māka-yascha and is certainly not viladandadahā-Kaṇyasa or Vahīṭha-Shakakarapāyasa which are both meaningless.

As we have seen, the obverse legend of the coin under study reads raño Vāsithi-putasa siri Śatakarni (Sanskrit rājāh Vāsishṭhi-putrasya sri-Śatakarniḥ). [This is the coin] of the illustrious king Śatakarni, son of Vāsishṭhi'. There is no doubt that this legend in Sanskritic Prakrit was translated into Dravidian Prakrit in the reverse legend which in our opinion clearly reads: arahaya Vahīṭhi-māka-yascha tiru-Hittakagisha. In this, śa is used for sa to indicate the sixth case-ending while arahaya and māka-yascha are derived from Dravidian words meaning 'king' and 'son' respectively. Rapson rightly conjectured that the word in five or six syllables on the reverse of Yajña-Śatakarni’s coins, which Bhagwanlal Indraji wrongly read as Chaturapayasa though he was himself sure only of its last two aksasas (viz. yasa), was probably equivalent to raño.3

As the first of the two words is equivalent to Tamil and Malayalam arach or arasā; Kannada arasa, arasu; Telugu arasu. In this word, viz. arahaya, ha represents the change of s or ś to h as in Śatakarni or Śatakarni modified to Hittakarni; cf. also the change of Sanskrit śrī-Prakrit siri to hiru on the coins of Yajña-Śatakarni. The second word stands for Tamil and Malayalam makan (magaṇ), maka (maga); Kannada magan, maga, magam: Telugu mage. It will be seen that the Dravidian words ending in a final consonant have been made to end in a as in cases like Tamil nir and miṇ adopted in Sanskrit as nīra and niṇa, the latter probably coming back to Tamil as niṇam (cf. Telugu nīru, nīrām; niṇu, niṇam). In māgaṇa, both mā and ya are intentional. It may be pointed out that the word arahaya is spelt with y also on the coins of Yajña-Śatakarni. But, even if a is regarded as due to a Prakrit convention, the length of the vowel in mā may be assigned to the original pronunciation of the word.4

Vahīṭhi is of course the same as Sanskrit Vāsishṭhi=Prakrit Vāhīṭhi with the absence of aspiration while tiru is the modification of Sanskrit śrī-Prakrit siri as used in modern Tamil. The word tiru, as we have seen, is written as hiru in the reverse legend of Yajña-Śatakarni’s coins. As regards śrī-siri-hiru, Rapson drew our attention to Śita=Śīa=Hīla and Śakti=Haku as known from literary and epigraphic records relating to the Śatakāhana family.

It is interesting to note that the originals of neither of the two words of Dravidian origin used in the legend, viz., arasā-arahaya and makan=māka-yascha, are now traceable in Telugu which appears to have been the mother-tongue of the Śatakāhana kings called Andhra in the Purāṇas. That the phonology and vocabulary of Telugu were much nearer Tamil in the second century A.D., seems also to be clear from the occurrence of the two words in the Prakrit legend on the coin

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1 Cf. Catalogue, pp. xc-xci.
3 Catalogue, p. xci.
4 A Dravidian palaeographical characteristic, indebted by the Bhattiprola inscriptions (above, Vol. II, p. 324), is the representation of the consonant with the inherent a by an a-māṭrē-like sign except when it was endowed with an anusṭhira. We do not think that this has any bearing on the length of mā especially in view of the occurrence of māka in a Brāhma inscription in the Undāṅkal cave in the Madurai District (Proc. Trans. 3rd Or. Conf., Madras, 1924, p. 299).
5 Cf., however, magaṇ used in the sense of 'son' in Telugu inscriptions (SII, Vol. X, Nos. 602, 632, etc.). As regards arasā, A. N. Narasimhia (A Grammar of the Old Keṭārac Inscriptions, p. 277) gives arasā as a Telugu word without quoting any reference.
under study. It is further clear, as already known, that Tamil has retained some of the characteristics of the original Dravidian language till the present time while greater impact of Sanskrit has caused their disappearance from Telugu.

The palaeography of the reverse legend exhibits close resemblance of the characters with those of the reverse legend on the similar coins of Yajña-Sātakarni. The letters that are written in forms different from those of normal Brāhmī are m, sh and h. The letter m as reproduced by Rapson from Yajña-Sātakarni's coins has a shorter and more angular form than the same letter on the present coin; but this longish form with the roundish lower limb is remarkably similar to the form of m as found in the Arittapatti and Arikamedu inscriptions. It is difficult to say whether the modified forms of the letters, at least of h and sh which did not exist in the Dravidian language, were used to indicate a modification in the sounds. We have seen that s in Prakrit sīrī has been represented by h and t while, in Prakrit Sātakarnisa, the first s is represented by h and the second by sh although the sound of neither existed in Dravidian. It is not impossible that the letter h represented a half aspirate and sh the Dravidian ch-s (a sound like ts).

But the more important palaeographical feature of the legend under study is the dot placed to the right of t in Vaṅgātī to indicate final t. This sign, called putṭi in Tamil and now universally used only in Tamil amongst the alphabets of the Dravidian group of languages, is indicated by a dot above the consonant. It is found in Tamil inscriptions only rarely from about the 7th century A.D. That the fashion of indicating the final consonant by a putṭi was known in Tamil writing in still earlier times is indicated by the Tolkāppiyam which does not appear to belong to a date later than the 5th century A.D. But the present coin not only shows that the fashion was known in the second century A.D. but also that it was originally used in writing other languages of the Dravidian group such as early Telugu. Although the putṭi is now put above a letter in Tamil writing, the dot is placed to the right of the consonant in the legend of our coin probably to distinguish this sign of a final consonant from the usual anusvāra mark. Thus the putṭi may have been put to the right of the consonant in the early centuries of the Christian era.

King Vāsishthi-putra Śatākarni who issued the coin under study is known from the Kanheri inscription of his queen who was a daughter of the Śaka Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman I (c. 130-30 A.D.). As we have suggested elsewhere, he was apparently a co-uterine brother of Vāsishthi-putra Puḷumāvi, son of Gautami-putra Śatākarni (c. 106-30 A.D.), and was not identical with Puḷumāvi as supposed by Rapson. Because his mention in the Puḷapās is not quite clear, we formerly supposed that he may have been a viceroy of his father-in-law Rudradāman I in Aparānta (Northern Konkan) or, if he ruled as a king, the said tract may have been conquered by him after Rudradāman's death. But the issue of the coins would suggest that he ruled as a king for some time. Since he appears to have succeeded in conquering the Aparānta area of the Śaka kingdom after the middle of the second century A.D., he must have been a successor of Puḷumāvi. Before the discovery of Vāsishthi-putra Śatākarni's silver coins, the Śāṭāvāhana conquest

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1 See Ancient India, No. 2, p. 110; cf. the shorter form of the letter with roundish bottom in the inscriptions from Madurai, Sittannavasal and various places in the Tirunelveli District other than Arittapatti.


3 See Sātra 15 stating that 'a pure consonant will have a dot added to it'; cf. T. N. Subramaniam, op. cit., p. 1508.

4 See Rapson, op. cit., p. lii, No. 17.

5 The Age of Imperial Unity, p. 205.

6 loc. cit.

7 If the name of Puḷumāvi has been correctly read on a silver coin of the same type as ours published in JNSI, Vol. XIV, pp. 1-3, Plate I, Nos. 1-2, it is possible to ascribe the reconquest of Aparānta to Puḷumāvi (c. 130-39 A.D.) himself about the end of his career. Vāsishthi-putra Śatākarni may be identical with Puḷumāvi's successor Śivaśi Śatākarni of the Puḷapās and Vāsishthi-putra Śivaśi Śatākarni of coins. Cf. Rapson, op. cit., pp. lxvi: (No. 25), 29.
SILVER COIN OF VASISHTHI-PUTRA Satakarni

Enlarged

(from Photograph)
EYE COPY OF REVERSE LEGEND

HISITOCGUTITXFSFIT
of Aparānta from the successors of Rudradāman I was ascribed to Yajña-Śatakarni who ruled about the close of the second century A.D. It should also be remembered that the Śaka-type silver coins of the successors of Gautami-putra Śatakarni may have been meant for circulation primarily in the Nasik-Poona region, which had been conquered by that king from the Kshaharāta-Śakas but was not reconquered by the Kārdamaka-Śakas, though Aparānta also very soon passed once again to the Later Śatavāhanas.

The use of the Dravidian script and the Dravidian Prakrit (resembling Tamil more than Telugu) in the legend of this and a few other Śatavāhana silver issues belonging to Yajña-Śatakarni is very interesting. As we have seen, the Śatavāhana kings were Andhras while wide areas of the present-day Telugu-speaking tract inhabited by the people called Andhras formed parts of their dominions. They may or may not have ruled over any part of the land where the Tamil language is now spoken. Apparently Telugu, which was in olden times closer to Tamil than it is now, was the mother tongue of the Śatavāhanas and they wanted to exhibit their Dravidian character by using an admixture of that language and Sanskritic Prakrit in the reverse legend on their coins meant for circulation in the northernmost provinces conquered from the Śakas. The real reason for their eagerness to exhibit their Dravidianism in the said area, where the coins of Śakas were in popular use, cannot be determined.

On the inadequate evidence of Yajña-Śatakarni’s silver coins, Rapson suggested that the occurrence of the ‘local Prakrit, perhaps containing Dravidian elements, peculiar to the Kistna District’, like that of the alphabet associated with it, on the coins of Śri-Yajña struck in Western India must, no doubt, be regarded as a reminiscence of the old home of the race in the Telugu country and may be compared to the use of Kharoṣṭhī on the coins of Bhūmaka, Nahapāṇa and Caśīṭhana.1 There are, however, some difficulties in accepting this view. Firstly, it does not explain why this dialect and alphabet are found only in a few issues of the Later Śatavāhanas, which were specially meant for circulation in a limited area in the northern part of their dominions. Secondly, there is little evidence that the original home of the Śatavāhana dynasty was in the Krishna District while there is some evidence to show that the Andhra people moved southwards to the present-day Telugu-speaking area from the Vindhyān region.2 The use of the Dravidian Prakrit and alphabet may have been more widely spread in the age in question. The show of Dravidianism only on the Śaka-type coinage of the Śatavāhanas is, however, difficult to explain without further light on the subject.

**Description**

(Silver ; round—6" diameter ; 28 grains)

**Obverse**: Bust of the king to right; his frizzled hair tied with a ribbon; crest-jewel, offering a side view and looking like a flower to front, above the forehead;1 legend in two parts above the back of the head and to the front of the bust; the right part beginning from XII reads: *raño Vāṣṭhiput[taso]*, and the left part beginning at VIII and ending at XII reads: *siri-Śatakanyasa*.  

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1 The Age of Imperial Unity, p. 206. For his inscriptions at Kanheri in Aparānta, cf. Rapson, op. cit., p. liii.  
3 The Age of Imperial Unity, p. 194.  
4 Rao thinks that the king’s frizzled curly hair is ‘tied in a knot by a decorative ribbon at the centre of his forehead in a peculiar style, so as to form a round bail resembling a flower bouquet’. But Altekar points out that the said object can also be a crest jewel. He also doubts whether ‘frizzled hair can be tied in a knot’, though Rao probably means a knot of the ribbon and not the hair. The object is, however, clearly a flower design and the flat position in which it is depicted shows that it offers only the side view of the decorative jewel above the king’s forehead. The same object is also found above the forehead of the king on the similar coins of Yajña-Śatakarni.

1 DGA/81
Reverse: Ujjaini symbol surmounted by a crescent to the left and six-peaked hill surmounted by a crescent to the right; wavy line below and rayed sun between the two crescents above; continuous circular legend around starting from and ending at XII: arhavasaka Vah[i]tti-mākṣasaka tiru-Hākṣapāśa.
No. 35—MALLESVARAM INSCRIPTION OF TRAILOKYAMALLA, SAKA 973

(1 Plate)

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 3.3.1961)

The inscription edited below was copied by me in December 1960 at Mallēsvaram in the Kollapur Taluk of Mahbubnagar District, Andhra Pradesh. The epigraph is engraved on three sides of a pillar set up in the compound of the Agastēvaram temple, situated about a mile from the village on the banks of the Kṛishṇā river. The temple is built in what is known as the Chāluksyan style of architecture. Besides the present record, there are other inscriptions in the temple belonging to the time of Chāluksya Jagadēkamalla (Jayasimha II, 1016-1044 A.D.) and Trībhuvanamalla (Vikramādiṭṭya VI, 1076-1126 A.D.) and the Kākatiya king Pratāparudra II (1290-1326 A.D.).

The first side of the pillar containing the inscription under study bears at the top the figure of a liṅga below which is a bull (Vandin) sitting and facing proper left. The record commences immediately below this figure of the bull. The first side contains 22 lines, the second 26 lines and the third 15 lines. Thus there are altogether 63 lines. The left end of the first side of the pillar has suffered some damage resulting in the loss of one letter at the beginning of each line in lines 1-18. Similarly, the right-hand edge of the second side has been damaged affecting one or two letters in each line. These letters can, however, be restored from the context without any difficulty.

The characters of the record belong to the Telugu-Kannadā alphabet and are quite regular for the period to which the epigraph purports to belong, viz., the middle of the eleventh century A.D. The language is Kannadā prose except the three beneficatory and imprecatory verses at the end which are in Sanskrit. The orthography does not call for any special remarks, except that Sanskrit ā is spelt as ō in words like kuṭa-tilakānaś (line 5), Trailōkyaś (line 7), mahānandadeśavaraś (lines 14, 31), Chāluksya (line 19), kāle kāle pāṭalaniyō (lines 54-55) which feature is quite common in Kannadā inscriptions.

The inscription is dated Saka 973, Khara, Kārttika ba. 7, Sunday. According to S. K. Pillai’s Indian Ephemeris, the week-day, i.e. Sunday, coincided with the tiḥi ba. 6 instead of ba. 7 and corresponded to 27th October 1051 A.D. The record belongs to the reign of Trailōkya-malladēva (Sōmeśvara I, 1044-68 A.D.) of the Western Chāluksya family of Kalyāṇa.

The object of the inscription is to register the gift, made on the date discussed above, by prince (kumāra) Vijeyādītya and Mallalādevī to the temple of god Agastēvaram. The temple is known by the same name even today. The gift was entrusted to Vīdhēvaram-paṇḍita and consisted of two villages the names of which appear to read Pinmānaś or Banmānaś and Pīṭṭugām or Baṭṭugām.¹ These villages are stated to have been situated in Ettapi-90 which was a kampōṣa or division of Vāḍḍavāṇi-500 in the Kandārr nāḷu or province. The gift is stated to have been made on the occasion of the bath (śuṇa) at Āṇāra-tirtha.

¹ The difference in the reading of the first letter is due to the fact that Pi and Ba look alike. It is possible to take these two donated villages as representing a single place-name. But since the donors are two, it is better to take them as two names, one donated by Vijeyādītya and the other by Mallalādevī.
Majaladēvi was one of the queens of Sōmēśvara I and some records style her as the chief queen (pirīyarasi). Prince (kumāra) Vijayādītya, who is mentioned as a donor in association with Majaladēvi, is introduced in lines 11-33 with a string of feudatory and other titles. Among the feudatory titles may be noted tat-pāda-padam-ōpajīrī, samadhi-gata-paśchamahāśābda, Mahā-mayāśāvara and Traiśoṇyamalladēva-pāda-pankaja-bhramara. It is a matter of common knowledge that the princes and other blood-relations of the ruling sovereign, appointed as governors of some territory, were endowed with such feudatory titles. We are, however, not told in the present record as to which territory prince Vijayādītya was governing as Mahāmañjāśāvara. The other epithets associated with this prince in the record are: Vira-Mahāśāvara, ayjana-siṅga, vikrīṇa-taṅga, vairī-mada-mardana, pratīpa-janārđana, acharita-vāyakara, Chālākya-māyaśī, vijayaśi-kīṛi-sadana, abhinava-Madana, vijaksha-kula-kāla-dvandana, vira-murti-dvandana, din-inīśa-chindāmaṇi, maṇḍalika-kāḍāmaṇi, arī-rāja-kumāra-hridaya-sellati and sāhasamallam.

The importance of the epigraph under study lies in the fact that it helps us in establishing the identity of Vijayādītya. The expressions kumāra, Chālākya-māyaśī, a ruby of the Chālākyas, and ayjana-siṅga, a lion or champion of his father, coupled with the fact that he made the grant in association with Majaladēvi, a queen of Sōmēśvara I, indicate that he was a son of Sōmēśvara I, probably born of that queen. We know that Sōmēśvara I had at least three sons, viz. Sōmēśvara II (1068-76 A.D.), Vijramādītya VI (1076-1126 A.D.) and Jayasimha IV (did not ascend the throne). But there is some controversy on the question whether Sōmēśvara I had a fourth son called Vijayādītya or Vishnuvardhana-Vijayādītya.

There are a number of inscriptions belonging to the reign of Sōmēśvara I which refer to a certain Vishnuvardhana-Vijayādītya-mahārāja as the son and feudatory of the ruling king. The terms used in giving his relationship to Sōmēśvara I are nandana, sūnu, putra and maga, all meaning ‘son’. This feudatory is endowed with the titles Sarvalokāśraya and Vēngimāyāśāvara. In 1891, when Fleet knew of only one such inscription, he was inclined to regard, on account of the titles Sarvalokāśraya and Vēngimāyāśāvara associated with the name Vishnuvardhana-Vijayādītya, that the latter must have been of Eastern Chālākya descent and that the term nandana, which was used through courtesy, need not be understood literally. He was, however, careful enough, even then, to observe that the fact that, in an inscription dated in 1064-65 A. D., Jayasimha IV is described as ‘born in the Pallava lineage’ and as having the title of ‘lord of Kāṭhā, the best of cities’, may be used as an argument that Vishnuvardhana-Vijayādītya was in reality a son of Sōmēśvara I. Later, in 1896-97, while editing the Jaṭāja-Rāmēśvara hill inscription of Vishnuvardhana-Vijayādītya dated in 1064 A. D., the same scholar observed, ‘The terms used to denote the relationship of Vishnuvardhana-Vijayādītya to Sōmēśvara I, are maga here and nandana in his Dāvanagere inscription’.

Elsewhere, and at a time when I knew of only the Dāvanagere record, I questioned the literal applications of them in this case (Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, pp. 57-58, 107).
pp. 277 f.)......... Facts have come to light, however, which show that certain titles which, one would imagine, would only go by line of descent, occasionally accompanied investiture with provincial authority. And, on mature consideration, I think that the terms *maha* and *mandana* should be accepted literally.\(^1\)

Thus, although Fleet himself revised, on mature consideration, his opinion regarding the identity of Vishnuvardhana-Vijayaditya, some scholars continued to hold the view that he was a member of the Eastern Chalukya house of Vēṅgi. In the *Annual Report for South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1924-25, pp. 75-76, it has been stated that Vishnuvardhana-Vijayaditya mentioned as the son and feudatory of Sōmēśvara I was an Eastern Chalukya prince who was a viceroy under the Western Chalukya monarch.

N. Venkataramanayya has dealt with this problem at great length in his book, *The Eastern Chalukyas of Vēṅgi* (1950), pp. 250 ff.\(^2\) Disagreeing with Fleet, he has arrived at the conclusion that Vishnuvardhana-Vijayaditya, mentioned as the son and feudatory of Sōmēśvara I, should be identified with the Eastern Chalukya king Vijayaditya VII of Vēṅgi.\(^3\) His arguments may be summed up as follows: (1) The titles such as *Sarcodākāśaya*, *Vēṅginayudhāvara*, *Chālukya-mānākya*, etc., borne by this prince (mentioned in the records of the time of Sōmēśvara I) distinctly point to his Eastern Chalukya origin. (2) The terms *patra*, *mandana*, *swār*, *naṃga*, etc., are very wide in their application and are employed to denote several kinds of relationship besides one's own male issue. Hence the evidence of these terms is not quite conclusive. (3) The contemporary inscriptions, other than those under reference, and Bilhana's *Vikramākhaṇḍelavācharita*, while enumerating the sons of Sōmēśvara I, omit the name of Vijayaditya. (4) Vēṅgi was in the hands of the Western Chalukyas from the beginning of the reign of Rājadhirāja I, i.e., 1044 A.D., down to 1067 A.D. On the death of the Eastern Chalukya prince Rājarāja I in 1061 A.D., Vijayaditya VII seized the Vēṅgi throne with the approval of Sōmēśvara I and remained, like his namesake described as the son of Sōmēśvara I, a vassal of the Western Chalukya monarch. (5) Both of them had the double name Vishnuvardhana-Vijayaditya. (6) No title indicative of the position of the *sāmanta* is associated with either of their names. While the *sāmanta*, the princes of the blood and even the heirs-presumptive are invariably styled *saṃdhigata-pāučha-nahāsābha*, this title is conspicuous by its absence in the *prasāstatī* of both the Vishnuvardhana-Vijayadityas. Both of them are called Mahārāja. Therefore the so-called son of Sōmēśvara was not a mere sāmanta but a subordinate ally, superior in status even to the princes of the blood.

It is not possible to agree either with the arguments or with the conclusion of Venkataramanayya. Let us consider the value of his arguments. But before doing so, we may point out that prince Vijayaditya of the epigraph under study is the same as Vishnuvardhana-Vijayaditya, described specifically as the son and feudatory of Sōmēśvara I in some records referred to above and only as a feudatory in others and as ruling over Nojamavāḍi or the adjoining territory.\(^4\) For almost all the fifteen epithets, associated with the prince in our record and listed above, are also found attributed to Vishnuvardhana-Vijayaditya, son of Sōmēśvara I.\(^5\)

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2. D. C. Ganguly does not discuss this question in his book, *The Eastern Chalukyas*, nor is there any reference to it in the chapter on Eastern Chalukyas in *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 204.
attaches too much importance to the titles Sarvalakāśraya and Vēṅgimāṇḍalēśvara. Both these titles are absent in our record. The former is only a general title like Samastabhavanāśraya while the title Vēṅgimāṇḍalēśvara appears to indicate only a formal investiture of provincial authority on the royal prince by Sōmēśvara I. It may be pointed out, in this connection, that Sōmēśvara II, the eldest son of Sōmēśvara I, was also endowed with the title Vēṅgipuraṇarēśvara in the records of the time of his father while his brother Jayasimha IV was called Kāchhipuraṇarēśvara. And what is more important is the fact that Vishnupurdhana-Vijayāditya himself bears the title Kāchhipuraṇarēśvara in one record, as will be shown below. Moreover, neither the title Vēṅgimāṇḍalēśvara or Vēṅgipuraṇarēśvara nor any of the epithets enumerated in the list given above is associated with the name of the Eastern Chāluṭya king Vijayāditya VII either in his own records or in any other inscriptions of his family. (2) The terms maṇḍana, sūnu, putra and moga used to indicate the relationship of Vijayāditya to Sōmēśvara I should prima facie be understood, as has been done by Fleet, in their real sense unless there is enough evidence to prove the contrary. (3) The omission of Vijayāditya's name in Bilhana's Vikramādityavcharita and in some epigraphical records is only an argumentum ex silentio and cannot exclude the possibility of Sōmēśvara I having a fourth son in the person of Vijayāditya. It may be observed in this connection that only a few records reveal the existence of a brother of Sōmēśvara I in the person of Jayasimha while the rest of them omit his name. The omission of Vijayāditya's name in some records may be due to the fact that he was born of queen Mahaladēvi while the remaining three brothers were born to another queen named Bāchalahēvi. (4-5) That the Eastern Chāluṭya ruler Vishnupurdhana-Vijayāditya secured the Vēṅgī throne in 1060-61 with the help of Sōmēśvara I and that he had the double name are no grounds for excluding the possibility of Sōmēśvara I having a son called Vishnupurdhana-Vijayāditya. (6) Some of the records consulted by Venkataramanayya himself use the expression tat-pāda-padm-ōpajīrī and tat-pāda-padm-ārādhaka and maṇḍalika-chuḍāmavī which clearly indicate as much a feudatory status as the expression samadhigata-paṇca-mahāśabda. Further, our inscription introduces Vijayāditya with both the titles tat-pāda-padm-ōpajīrī and samadhigata-paṇca-mahāśabda. And the title Mahārāja associated with this Vijayāditya indicates nothing. Some members of the Telugu-Chōḷa family, who were governing the Kurnool and Anantapur area as local chiefs under the Western Chāluṭya kings, also bore this epithet, e.g. Chiddapa-Chōḷa-mahārāja and Bijaṇa-Chōḷa-mahārāja.

A damaged inscription4 from Niralgi in the Dharwar District belonging to the reign of Sōmēśvara II and dated in 1074 A.D. seems to refer to his brothers Vikramāditya VI and Vishnupurdhana-Vijayāditya, the latter with the titles Kāchhipuraṇarēśvaro and Bhuvanakamalla-Pallava-Permāṇadī which are usually found associated with Jayasimha IV. The preserved portion of the name reads as Vi. . . . . . (ja)yāditya and the damaged portion has just enough space for the letters shuvuradhana-Vi. Although Fleet has drawn attention to the existence of this record,5 Venkataramanayya has ignored it probably because the date 1074 A.D. for Vijayāditya goes against the theory of his identification with the Eastern Chāluṭya king of the same name.

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1 SII, Vol. XI, Part i, Nos. 84 and 102.
2 Ibid., No. 110.
3 See above, Vol. XXV, p. 39.
Thus the above discussion would make it clear that prince Vijayaditya of the inscription under study as well as Vishnupadham-Vijayaditya mentioned in other Western Chalukya records is none other than a fourth son of Somesvara I and that he cannot be identified with the Eastern Chalukya king Vijayaditya VII. Incidentally our epigraph supplies the earliest known date for Vijayaditya, viz. 1051 A.D.

There is a difference of opinion amongst scholars regarding the identity of poet Kirtivarman, the author of the Kannada work Gobaydya. In this work as well as in another work called Samyaghaparakshaka by Brahmaśiva, Kirtivarman is called narēndra, jagavinātha and bhavanipati while his father is stated to have been king Trailokyamalla and elder brother Vikramāditanārāṇa. From this description R. Narasimhachar suggested that Kirtivarman must be identified either with Jayasūtīrtha IV or Vishnupadham-Vijayaditya who were the sons of Somesvara I. He also thought that the poet lived about 1100 A.D. On the ground that no son of Somesvara I named Kirtivarman is known from any other source, A. Venkatasubbiah disagreed with the above view and suggested that Kirtivarman might have been only a feudatory of Somesvara I and that the terms indicating his relationship to this Chalukya monarch as well as to Vikramāditya VI should not be understood in their literal sense. In this connection, N. L. Rao has drawn the attention of scholars to a verse occurring in an undated inscription of the time of Tribhuvanamalladēva or Vikramāditya VI. The verse reads as follows:

Manam-old-Āhavamalladēvavan dhāritirvallabham-Somēdevavan Pernamvadī-Vikramādityakana
Nalombōddhīvavan-Singidē-

vavan Bōgiṇipati-Vishnupadham-dharādhīsāvan-Kirtivarmanā rōjakk-abhidhiddhy-akke
subham-akk-ā-chantradārṣāvaram-

1. The career of this Vijayaditya VII as chalked out by Venkataramanayya is something as follows. On the death of his father Vimaladitya in 1019 A.D., he tried to seize the Vēṅgī throne from his half-brother Rājarāja I, but, failing in his attempt, went into exile in the Kalinga kingdom; later he took refuge in the Western Chalukya territory and seized the Vēṅgī throne in 1051 A.D. and was again dislodged within a short period. He then returned to the Western Chalukya kingdom where he was appointed, during the reign of Somesvara I, as the governor of the Nolambavāḍi province and assumed many titles like Chalukya-māvatī, Ayyana-tīga, etc., and described himself as the son of Somesvara I. On the death of Rājarāja I in 1061 A.D., he once again seized the Vēṅgī throne but appointed his son Śaktivarman II as the ruler of Vēṅgī, himself preferring to remain in the Western Chalukya kingdom. Though his son died after a rule of one year, he appointed his ministers to carry on the administration of the Vēṅgī kingdom and himself continued to be the governor of Nolambavāḍi under Somesvara I. He was finally permitted by Somesvara I to leave Nolambavāḍi and return to his country shortly after 1066 A.D. when the Chōḷa monarch Virarājendrār invaded Vēṅgī. He submitted to the Chōḷa king who bestowed on him the Vēṅgī kingdom in preference to his own nephew and heir-apparent Rājendrā, son of Rājarāja I. Soon after this, Vikramāditya VI, son of Somesvara I, marched through Vēṅgī and Vijayaditya VII repudiated his agreement with the Chōḷa king and joined the Western Chalukyas. The Chōḷa king reconquered Vēṅgī in 1067 A.D. and expelled Vijayaditya VII from the Vēṅgī kingdom for his act of treachery. This time Vijayaditya VII sought refuge at the court of the Kalinga king Rājarāja I Devendravarmā. He was, however, restored to the Vēṅgī throne sometime before 1072 A.D., when the then ruling king Rājendrā left Vēṅgī to become the Chōḷa monarch under the name of Kulottūṅga-Chōḷa. Shortly afterwards the Vēṅgī country was invaded by the Chōḷa and Eastern Ganga kings and Vijayaditya VII, at last, died in 1076 A.D.

Apart from the fact that the suggested identification of Vijayaditya VII with the homonymous son of Somesvara I has been shown to be wrong, such an unheard of career for a king can hardly convince any serious student of history. Besides, there are many discrepancies in the dates in the above account.

3 Kelvar Kannada Kaviyāḷa Jivanaṭāvānīkara, p. 206.
5 SII, Vol. IX, Part i, No. 220.
As pointed out by Rao, the verse refers to the four sons of Sömēṣvara I and shows clearly that not only Bēṇāpati Vishnuvardhana, elsewhere called Vijayāditya or Vishnuvardhana-Vijayāditya, was a fourth son of Sömēṣvara I but also that he was the same as the poet Kiritvarman who, as pointed out above, was endowed with royal epithets like narēndra and dhararipati.¹

As already stated, the epigraph containing the verse discussed above belongs to the reign of Vikramāditya VI but is not dated. It is not possible to say whether Vijayāditya was alive at the time of this record. Assuming that the record belongs to the early part of Vikramāditya’s reign and that Vijayāditya was then alive, Rao has roughly assigned the latter to the period 1060-80 A.D.² But we now know from the present inscription that Vijayāditya lived as early as 1051 A.D. Therefore we may assign him approximately to the period 1050 A.D. to 1080 A.D.

The geographical names mentioned in the inscription are the villages of Pinmanāni or Banmanāni and Piṭṭugamaṇi or Baṭṭugamaṇi, Ettaṇi-90 in which the donated villages were located, Vaḍḍavaṇi-500 of which Ettaṇi-90 was a kampaya or division, Kandur-nādu which comprised Vaḍḍavaṇi-500 division and Anāra-tirtha. Kandur-nādu may be identified with the area round about modern Kandur in Wanaparti Taluk of Mahbubnagar District, which is situated at a distance of about 35 miles north-north-east of Mallēśvaram, the full-spot of the record under review. Vaḍḍavaṇi-500 may be modern Waddemani, about 15 miles east-south-east of Kandur. Ettaṇi-90 is apparently the same as Yetham, about 15 miles to the north of Mallēśvaram. I am unable to identify the remaining places.³

**TEXT⁴**

**First side**

1 [Sva]sti [*] Samasta-bhuvan-[ā]-
2 [śra]ya-śrī-prithvī-vallabha-
3 [mahā]rajaḥhiraja-paramē-
4 [śvra]-paramabhaṭṭārakaṁ Sa-
5 [tya]rava-kula-tijakaṁ Ch[ā]-
6 [luk]hy-ābharaṇam śrama-
7 [t-Tralj]ökyamalladēvara vi-
8 [ja]yarājyam-uttar-ōtta-
9 [r-ā]bhivridhdhi-pravarhdha’mā[na]-

¹ For some unwarranted conjectures about this Kiritvarman, see Prabuddha Karṇaṇaka, Vol. 41, Part 3, pp. 91 ff.
² Loc. cit.
³ I am indebted to Shri G. Ramakrishna Sarma of Alampur for suggesting the identification of some place names.
⁴ From impressions.
⁵ Read prithri.
⁶ Read śvyādhi
⁷ Read vrīḍha.
10 m=ā-chanḍr-āṛkka-tāramba-
11 [raṁ] saluttam-ire [i] tat-pā-
12 [da]-padm-ōpajivi samadhi-
13 [gata]-pañcha-mā(ma)hāsabda
14 [mā(ma)]hāmaṇḍalēśvara[rū] [aṇi(āṇi)]-
15 [Vi]ramahēśvaran=asya[y]a-
16 [na]-siṅga[rū] vikrāṭa-tumga[rū] vai-
17 [ri]-mada-marddanan pratā-
18 [pa]-janārddanaśna-chajita-
19 vakyaṁ Chājukya-mā-
20 nīkaṁ vijaya-āṇi-
21 kēli-sadanan=abhinava-
22 Madanaṁ vipaksha-kula-ka(kā)-

Second Side

23 ṇadi(da)ṇḍaṁ vi(vi)ra-mārtta[ṇḍaṁ]
24 [di]n-ānātha-chirāttāma-
25 [ṇī] maṇḍalika-chūḍā[ma]-
26 [ṇī] ari-rāya-kumā[ra]-
27 [bhr]daya-sella[rū] sāha[sa]-
28 [ma]lla[rū] śrīma[t]-Trai|ō-
29 [kyaj]malladēva-pāda-{paṁ}-
30 kaja-pra(bhra)maraṁ śrī-
31 man-mahāmaṇḍalēśva[raṁ]
32 kumāra-Viṣayā[di]-
33 tyadēvarunṛ śrīma[n-Mai]-
34 ṭaladēviyarunṛ A[ga]-
35 stēśvarada cha(chha)trakke [Vi]-
36 dhīvara-paṇḍitargge Sa(Sa)[ka]
37 varsha 973 neya Kha[ra]-
38 samvatsarada Kārtti[ka]
39 ha 7 Ādityavāra[dam]-
40 du Āpāra[da] tīrttha-snā[na]-
41 nimmattadīnu sarvva-na[ma]-
42 śya(sya)dīn kāl-garehēhi dhārā[pū]-
43 rvvakadiṇī daye geydu ko[ṭṭa]-
44 r=Kkarṇḍūr-nnā]-o[agaṇa Va[ḍḍa]-
45 vani 500ṛaṛa kampana
46 Ettapi 90ṛa bal[ya]
47 bāḍa Pinmanar1 Piṭṭu[ga]ma[rn]
48 sarvva-bāḍhā-parihāra ārī [[*]

Third Side

49 Bahubhir=vasudā(dhū) datt[ā]
50 rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ []
51 yasya yasya yadā bhūmi[h]
52 tasya tasya tadā pa[pha][aṁ] ||
53 Sāmāyō=yaṁ dharmacā-ō-
54 tur-nṛpāṇāṁ{[a] kāḷē kāḷē
55 pālanīyō bhavabhiḥ！
56 sarvān=ātān=bhagināḥ pārtthi-
57 vēṃdrāṁ(dṛān) 2 bhūyō bhū-
58 yō yāchatē Rāmaḥā-
59 dra[h*] || Sva-dattaṁ(ttāṁ) para-dattaṁ(ttāṁ) [vā]
60 yō harēti(ta) vasu[m]dha-
61 rā[ṁ*] | shaśṭiṛ=vvrāba*-saḥsṛā-
62 ṇāṁ 2 vis'[hāyaṁ jāya-
63 tē krimiḥ [||*]

1 This name can also be read as Baśumaṇi.
2 This name can also be read as Baḥuṣumaṇi.
3 The danda is unnecessary.
4 Read shaśṭiṛ vṛsasa.
No. 36—NOTE ON MALLESVARAM INSCRIPTION OF TRAILOKYAMALLA

D. C. SIRCAB, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 14.1.1961)

While editing the Mallesvaram inscription above, pp. 253 ff., Dr. G. S. Gai has pointed out the weakness of the grounds on which some scholars have identified a ruling chief named Vishguvardhana Vijayāditya, known from a number of inscriptions found in various parts of the Western Chālukya empire, with the Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya VII. Dr. Gai has considered the problem from the view-point of Western Chālukya history and has only in passing referred to the doubtful reconstruction of the career of the said Eastern Chālukya king. Looking at the problem from the stand-point of the history of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty, I find that most of what has been so far said about king Vijayāditya VII is based partly on a misunderstanding of the evidence of Eastern Chālukya records and partly on an eagerness to get light on Eastern Chālukya history from the confused story of the struggle between the Chōlas and the Western Chālukyas.

Reference has been made to 'the deep-seated antagonism' between Vijayāditya VII and his step-brother Rājarāja I, and it has been suggested that Rājarāja I rarely enjoyed peace during his long reign of 41 years due 'mainly to the opposition of his younger brother Vijayāditya' or partly to 'the sinister designs of his half-brother (Vijayāditya VII) and partly to the conflicting ambitions of the rival imperial powers (i.e. the Chōlas and the Western Chālukyas). But, as will be seen below, the Eastern Chālukya inscriptions prove beyond doubt that Vijayāditya VII ousted his step-brother's authority from the latter's kingdom or a part of it during the first half of the latter's long reign but that he was loyal to Rājarāja I for many years after that short rule as a usurper.

Certain Chōla inscriptions, said to be of the 10th regnal year of Rājendra-chōla I (1016-44 A.D.), state that the Chōla general compelled the king of Vēṅgi to flee from his country, destroyed the family of Jayasiṅhā and defeated the Kaliṅgas, Teluṅgas and Oḷḷas. On this basis, it has been suggested that Vijayāditya VII succeeded in seizing the Vēṅgi kingdom after his father's death probably with the help of Western Chālukya Jayasiṅhā II and of the rulers of Kaliṅga and Orissa, that the Chōla army sent by Rājendra-chōla I to help his nephew Rājarāja I defeated Jayasiṅhā II at Mūsaṅgi in 1020-21 A.D. while Vijayāditya VII, disastrously defeated, fled to the court of his ally the king of Kaliṅga, and that the combined forces of his allies, viz. the Kaliṅgas, Oḷḷas and Teluṅgas, were defeated by the Chōla general in the 10th regnal year of the Chōla monarch counted from 1013 A.D. when he participated in his father's administration as the heir-apparent, i.e., in 1021 A.D. But, whatever may be the ingenuity of this reconstruction which appears to us to be dubious, there is some evidence to show that this could not have been the case.

1 N. Venkataramanayya, The Eastern Cālukyas of Vēṅgi, p. 217.
2 Ibid., pp. 226 and 239. For similar views, see also K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, A History of South India, pp. 175 ff.
3 Reference is made in this connection to A. R. Ep., 1917, Nos. 23, 24, 30, 31, 751, 752.
4 Venkataramanayya, op. cit., pp. 218 ff.
5 It is indeed difficult to prove that the undated Kaliṅdi grant (above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 57 ff.) of Rājarāja I and the undated Madakasira inscription (A. R. Ep., 1917, No. B 751) mentioning no king but stating that 'the king of Vēṅgi ran away on hearing that the Chōla [king] had ordered [his general] Śōliyavariśan to conquer that country' have any bearing on the period in question.
Some scholars believe that the Eastern Chālukya king Vimalāditya died in 1018 A.D., though the coronation of his son and successor Rājaraja I took place on the 16th August 1022 A.D., and that the hostility of his (i.e. Rājaraja’s) step-brother Vijayāditya probably delayed his coronation for four years. But others put the death of Vimalāditya and the accession of Rājaraja I in 1019 A.D. and speak of a delay of three years in the latter’s coronation. The possibility of ‘a war of succession’ between the two brothers or ‘the forcible occupation of the kingdom’ by Vijayāditya VII has also been suggested. But there is no support for this in the inscriptions of the family according to which, Rājaraja I succeeded his father and ruled for 41 years. It is expected that the genealogical section of the records of the family, which clearly notices a 27 years’ period of anarchy between 973 and 999 A.D., would have given us a hint if the coronation of Rājaraja I was really delayed for three or four years due to anarchy or to the occupation of the throne by Vijayāditya VII. The reason for the delay in Rājaraja’s coronation is unknown and various causes can be imagined. But there is hardly any justification for bringing in Vijayāditya’s hostility to account for it since the evidence at our disposal seems to tell a different tale.

As will be seen below, the 27th June 1031 A.D. fell after ‘twelve years’ rule’ of Rājaraja I and this would suggest that he ascended the throne sometime before the 26th June 1020 A.D. Since the reference seems to be to the twelfth year of his reign, he probably ascended the throne after the 26th June 1019 A.D. The following dates in both the regnal reckoning and the Śaka era are known for the reign of the king: (1) year 12 = Śaka 952 (1030-31 A.D.); (2) year 37 = Śaka 980 (1058-59 A.D.); and year 41 = Śaka 993 (1061-62 A.D.). These three dates would roughly equate his first regnal year respectively with Śaka 941 (1019-20 A.D.), Śaka 944 (1022-23 A.D.) and Śaka 943 (1021-22 A.D.). It thus appears that the first date counts the reign period from his accession while the second and third calculate it from his coronation. It has, however, to be noticed that the first date counting his reign from about 1019 A.D. is found in a record of Vijayāditya VII. If Vijayāditya would have been responsible for delaying Rājaraja’s coronation, not to speak of his forcible occupation of the throne for a few years, it is impossible to believe that Rājaraja’s reign would have been counted from c. 1019 A.D. in this record of Vijayāditya himself.

As we shall also see below, Śaktivarman II, son of Vijayāditya VII, succeeded Rājaraja I in Śaka 983, the date of his coronation being given as Thursday, month of Tula, sudī 2, Anurādhānākshatra and Kumbha-lagna (18th October 1061 A.D.). Rājaraja I seems to have died during his 41st regnal year sometime before that date.

The Pamulavaka plates issued in the second year of the reign of Vijayāditya VII have the following stanzas after the description of the 7 years’ rule of Mummadiyamahī (Vimalāditya):

Tasya Mummadikhīmasya sutaḥ kṛita-matir = mahān |
Rājarājā-hāvayō rājī dīdaśī = śālīn = dharīm = pāt ||
Tan Rājarāja-nripatiṇ hirahāya bhuvah prasahya Vijayādityah |
Vimalāditya-tanujāsya dvainātur = grahikā = yā = rājyam ||

1 The date is quoted in Rājaraja’s records as Śaka 944, month of Simha, badi 2, Thursday, Uttara-Bhadrapadasnākshatra. Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, p. 68, verse 16; JAHRS, Vol. V, p. 36.
2 D. C. Ganguly, The Eastern Chālukyas, p. 98.
3 Venkatarāmanasayya, op. cit., p. 218.
4 Cf. ibid., pp. 254 and 239.
5 Ganguly, op. cit., pp. 98-100.
6 JAHRS, Vol. V, pp. 49, 44.
Sūdhākārāṇa Śūdhākārāṇa  Karkaṭa karkaṭaṃ  
Karkaṭa karkaṭaṃ  
Śūdhākārāṇa Śūdhākārāṇa  
Śūdhākārāṇa Śūdhākārāṇa  

According to this, Vijayarāja I ousted Rājarāja I after the latter's rule of 13 years, occupied the kingdom of Vēṅgi by force, was anointed on Sunday, month of Karkaṭaka, sudi 5, Saka 952 (or 953), Kanyā-lagna, Sūrya-nakshatra and ruled at least up to his second regnal year when the charter was issued. The date of his coronation has been equated by some with the 9th July 1030 A.D. and by others with the 27th June 1031 A.D. The first date is certainly wrong. It has to be pointed out that, although the word dṛik normally means 'two', the date is irregular for Saka 952. But if dṛik is taken to mean Iṣa-dṛik or 'three', the date corresponds to the 27th June 1031 A.D.

The language of the stanzas quoted above would of course suggest that Vijayarāja VII became the master of the entire Vēṅgi kingdom. But often such claims are exaggerated. Thus when the Chōla and Western Chāḷukya inscriptions speak of the conquest of Vēṅgi or any other country, not the entire country is meant in many cases. Another point to be noticed in this connection is that the later records of both Vijayarāja VII and his son Śaktivarman II do not refer to any break in the 11 years' reign period of Rājarāja I: that is to say, they do not state that Rājarāja I ruled for 12 years, then Vijayarāja VII reigned for so many years and then again Rājarāja I ruled for so many years. It is thus not impossible that Vijayarāja VII succeeded in occupying only a part of his step-brother's kingdom. Another fact that has to be considered is that, about this time, the rulers of Vēṅgi were subordinate allies of the Chōlas while the Vēṅgi country was a bone of contention between the Chōlas and Western Chāḷukyas. It is thus not impossible that Vijayarāja occupied parts of the Vēṅgi kingdom with the help of the Western Chāḷukyas who regarded him as a subordinate ally and installed him as a rival king of Vēṅgi in the areas occupied by them.

As indicated above, the said period of Vijayarāja's rule, ostensibly resulting in a break in Rājarāja's reign, is not recognised in any later record of the family, even in those of Vijayarāja VII himself and of his son Śaktivarman II. This is a significant fact which, coupled with other evidences to be discussed below, shows that Vijayarāja soon atoned for his rebellion probably by handing over the territory to Rājarāja I, so that this lapse of his youth was later forgiven and totally forgotten. There are well-known cases of this kind, e.g. the rebellion of Stambha against his brother Gōvinda III and of Jayasimhā against his brother Vikramādiyā VI.
The Telugu Academy plates of Śaktivarman II and both the Ryali copper-plate grants of his father and successor Vijayāditya VII have the following stanzas after the description of Vimalāditya and before the introduction of Śaktivarman II:

Tasya śrīmānāḥdvēntajājī Rājārājī vajjeś-Chaṅḍra-vaiśāṅgaśagadvyaḥ |
śaṅkāṁ chaṭṭārāmśūtāṁ vatsarajīṁ kṣhobāṁ rakṣhā-dakṣhīṇaḥ rakṣhāti sma ||

Vimalādityaḥ-Chaṅḍra-vaiśāṅgaśagadvyaḥ cha Maṭhara-mahādevaḥ |
ajānā jyaśśrī-nityā Vījayādityaḥ narēśvara stutyaḥ ||

Parākṣhaḥ Rājārājaśasya bhavitaṇvātinā śatyaṇa gah |
pratyaṅgrahitaṁ māti-rājyaśriyāṁ vīra-srījā yutah ||

On the basis of the word parākṣha (literally, 'in one's absence') used in the last of these verses, some scholars have said, "In the year A.D. 1090, when Rājārāja was away from his capital, Vijayāditya seized his throne and declared himself king."² But this is certainly wrong. In the first place, if such was the case, Rājārāja I would not have been described in the eulogistic terms (vajjeś-tējas, Chaṅḍra-vaiśāṅgaśagadvya or rāja-vaiśāṅgaśagadvya and rakṣhā-dakṣhīṇa) used in the first stanza. Secondly, if there was enmity between the two brothers about 1090 A.D., Vijayāditya's rule over Vēṅga at least for more than one year from 1031 A.D. would not have been totally omitted from these records. As will be seen below, the respectful mention of Vijayāditya VII in the records of Rājārāja's grandsons also goes clearly against the theory of enmity between the two brothers.

Thirdly, the word parākṣha in the present context certainly means, 'when he was no more in this world'.¹ This is probably indicated by the verb pratyaṅgrehit which primarily means 'accepted or received [as a gift]' and suggests that Vijayāditya VII obtained the kingdom in a peaceful way. As we shall see below, the throne of the deceased Rājārāja I passed on to his son Kulōttunga I who was then living at the Chōla court waiting for gaining the Chōla throne and therefore bestowed it on his uncle.

The following three verses, the first quoted from the Telugu Academy plates of Śaktivarman II and the second and third from the Ryali copper-plate inscriptions of Vijayāditya VII, show that Vijayāditya was not inclined to rule the kingdom, even though he got it, but that he gave it to his son Śaktivarman II out of paternal affection:

Aṭṭihāva svakamādaraḥ-atiturāṁ-uttanagha-sikhāṣṭanaḥ |
pitā nirāja-sāvārajāḥ Vijayādityaḥitsṛavajāḥ |
putra-priyāra-saṁpuṣṭa-śanrājya-piṭhānaḥ bhuvō
yasmin-nyastam-śaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaṁsyaṣaं |

¹ The first syllable of the name should be short according to metrical requirements.
³ Ganguly, op. cit., p. 103.
⁴ Venkataramanaśayya (op. cit., pp. 39 and 238) accepts this interpretation; but, even then, he says, "The language of the inscriptions (i.e. Parākṣha, etc.) clearly indicates that it (i.e. Rājārāja’s death) was followed by a war" (op. cit., p. 230). This is due to misunderstanding.
⁵ JAHRS, Vol. V, p. 44.
⁶ Ibid., Vol. IX, Part i, p. 31.
If Vijayaditya was eager to obtain the throne of Vengi and was zealously fighting for it, we do not understand why he should have given the coveted object to his son when he actually got it after a bitter struggle. Of course, if he was to rule the kingdom on behalf of Kulottunga I, one understands why he entrusted the burden to his son. The graphic description of his dejection at his son’s death when he was prevailed upon by the officers to have reluctantly agreed to govern the kingdom for the establishment of law and order (dharma) scarcely suits one who was vigorously striving for the throne. Sakivarman’s comparison with Abhimanyu may be merely to indicate that he prematurely died as a young man before the death of his father. But, even if it is taken to indicate that he died like Abhimanyu in a fight with his relatives, these latter need not be necessarily identified with the partisans of Kulottunga I or the Cholas. The enemies may have as well been the Western Chalukyas or the Eastern Gaṅgas or somebody else. The Eastern Chalukyas were an offshoot of the Early Western Chalukya dynasty while the Imperial Eastern Gaṅgas and the Eastern Chalukyas were both matrimonially related to the Cholas.

The copper-plate grants of the sons of Kulottunga I, issued during Kulottunga’s reign, state that their brother Rājarāja-Muminadichiōla took up the burden of the kingdom of Vengi when their father addressed him in the following words after appointing the other brothers as rulers of different districts (vishayas):

Mayā Vengī-mahi-rājyaṃ Chōla-rājya-abhīkāshaḥ
mahati-patrye pūrṇa nyastuṁ Vijayaditya-bhūḥaṇaḥ
Sa cha paṁchāhāna-saṁ-abhāśaṁ paṁchāhāna-parākramaḥ
mahīn rakṣhona-mahāśivaṁ devaṁ dēv-āpano gataḥ.¹

The reason why Kulottunga I did not like to be the ruler of Vengi and bestowed the Vengi kingdom on his uncle is given here clearly as his ambition to get the Chōla throne. Apparently he was afraid of losing the Chōla crown, a much more coveted prize than the Vengi throne, in case he would be away from his supporters at the Chōla court, ruling over his paternal kingdom.² If the relations between Rājarāja I and Vijayaditya VII were better, such respectful reference to the latter would not have been put here in the mouth of the former’s son. Vijayaditya VII is not only called paṁchāhāna-parākrama, ‘a very lion (or Śiva) in valour’ but also dēv-āpana, ‘like a god’.

An inscription assigned to Rājarāja Muminadichiōla, who was a son of Kulottunga I and is supposed to have been anointed on the Vengi throne on the 27th July 1076 A.D., i.e. shortly after the death of Vijayaditya VII, records that a scion of the family of Kannamadēva who was the lord of the earth from the Himāchala to the Sētu (probably Rāshṭrakūta Krīṣṇa III), by name Mummadi Bhirama, was made the chief of one thousand villages in Vēṅgipura-visayha by the said ruler of Vengi.³ It is interesting to note that this Bhirama is described in the inscription as brought up by king Vijayaditya VII. If Vijayaditya was regarded as an enemy of Kulottunga I, it is doubtful if the former’s protégē would have received, so soon after the former’s death, favours from the latter’s son. Even if there was good reason for favouring the person, there was certainly no necessity for mentioning his relation with Vijayaditya VII in the record. This fact therefore suggests that Vijayaditya’s relations with Kulottunga I and the latter’s sons were not bitter.

² It has been supposed by some that Kulottunga I was in his teens at the time of his father’s death and that this necessitated the installation of Vijayaditya as the successor of Rājarāja I (above, Vol. XXII, p. 271). But the fact that Kulottunga I had a number of grown up sons capable of assuming viceregal responsibilities in territories including Vengi in the year 1076 A.D. seems to show that he was not quite in his teens in 1061 A.D.
It may be pointed out that Kulōttunga I claims to have got the kingship of Vēñgi on his father’s death about 1060-61 A.D. though he gave (cf. nyasta) that to his uncle Vijayāditya VII who also acknowledges its receipt (cf. pratiyagātī) even though it was at first given (nyasta) by him, in his turn, to his son Śaktivarman II. It thus appears that the reigns of both Śaktivarman II and Vijayāditya VII in Vēñgi were calculated to commence in 1060-61 A.D.

There are two stanzas in the above inscriptions of Kulōttunga’s sons, in the description of Kulōttunga I, which clearly state that the said king became at first the ruler of Vēñgi (prathaman Vēñgi-tāravatam-adyaṣya) and was later anointed to the Chōla kingdom (Chōla-rājya-bhishiktah). Later records of the family represent Kulōttunga I as the successor of his father Rājarāja I, but assigns to him a reign of 49 years (rarely 50 years) as the lord of the Chōla empire (śrī-paśccha-Dravidasaṁ-Indra-vishayana) apparently referring to the period 1070-1120 A.D. It is not stated here that he was the king of Vēñgi after the death of his father Rājarāja I and before his own accession to the Chōla throne. This has therefore to be understood as the recognition of the fact, on the part of his successors, that Kulōttunga I was not the de facto king of Vēñgi between 1061-70 A.D. even though he claimed to have been the de jure lord of that country then under the rule of his proxy, his uncle Vijayāditya VII. That, however, the reign of Kulōttunga I was sometimes counted from 1061 A.D. is known from one of his inscriptions dated Śaka 1017 (1095-96 A.D.) and the 55th year of his reign. The mention of Kulōttunga I as ‘Rājiga, the king of Vēñgi’, in Bilhana’s Vikramāditya-vikrama-viṣhvanāta also shows that he was regarded as the king of Vēñgi at the Chōla court. It may also be noted that, if Vijayāditya VII was a Western Chālukya partisan, his rival for the throne of Vēñgi would scarcely have been mentioned as the king of that country by the Western Chālukya court poet.

The contemporary eulogistic poetical work Kaliṅgaṇapaṇṇa, the hero of which is Kulōttunga I, says how the queen of Rājendra-choḷa I regarded her daughter’s son Kulōttunga I as worthy to be her [adopted] son and to increase the fame of the Solar race (i.e. the Chōla family), how King Virarājendra made him the Yuvāruṇa and how he, when still a Yuvāruṇu, conquered Chakrāṭa (i.e. the present Bastar District) and was a terror to Virutaraṇa (Chālukya Vikramāditya VI). This seems to be quite consistent with what has been said above on the basis of epigraphic evidence misunderstood by scholars. As regards Kulōttunga’s exploits in the Bastar region apparently against Chālukya Vikramāditya VI who was probably aiding the local Chīnula ruler, a subordinate ally of the Western Chālukyas, it is supported by an inscription of Kulōttunga I, dated in his fifth regnal year, which states that, at the time [when he was still] the heir-apparent (ṭilūgū), he conquered Sakkarakōṭṭam and seized a herd of elephants at Vayirāgarām (in the present Chanda District, Mahārāṣṭra). Under the circumstances, Sastrī’s theory that Kulōttunga I spent the best part of the period A.D. 1063-70 in the region of the modern Bastar State seems to be against all available evidence. A person who did not occupy the Vēñgi throne for fear of losing the Chōla crown would have scarcely liked to have spent such a long period in Bastar to the north of Vēñgi, even further away from the Chōla capital.

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3 Ibid., p. 235, verse 22 and note 14.
4 Kulōttunga’s accession in 1070-71 A.D. is also supported by his own inscriptions with both regnal and Śaka dates (Sastri, *The Cilas*, 2nd ed., p. 290).
5 Ancient Indra, No. 5, p. 56.
6 VI, 28.
7 Ganguly, op. cit., p. 110; Sastri, op. cit., p. 293.
Another significant fact is that Kulottunga I sent one of his sons as his viceroy in Vēṅgi immediately after the death of his uncle Vijayāditya VII. This shows that the installation of a son of Kulottunga I in Vēṅgi did not involve the conquest of an enemy's territory since, if Vijayāditya VII was hostile to Kulottunga I, the installation of Kulottunga's son on the Vēṅgi throne immediately after Vijayāditya's death could not have been possible without any struggle with the partisans of the Eastern Chālukya king. But there is no clear evidence of such a struggle. That Vijayāditya VII was not regarded as an enemy by Kulottunga I seems also to be evident from the fact that no attempt is definitely known to have been made by the former to occupy Vēṅgi during the period after his occupation of the Chōḷa throne and before Vijayāditya's death. It is thus clear that, even if parts of the Vēṅgi country may have been till then under the occupation of Western Chālukya forces, the area under Vijayāditya VII passed smoothly after his death to Kulottunga I.

What has been said above would suggest that there was no struggle between Vijayāditya VII and Kulottunga I for the throne of Vēṅgi. But certain copper-plate grants of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḷagaṅga of Kaliṅga state that when Vijayāditya, beginning to grow old, left [the country of] Vēṅgi, as if he were a sun leaving the sky, and was about to sink in the great ocean of the Chōḷas, he, Rājarāja (i.e. Chōḷagaṅga's father Rājarāja I Dēvendravarman, 1070-78 A.D.), the refuge of the distressed, caused him to enjoy prosperity for a long time in the western region (i.e. the region to the west of the Gaṅga kingdom of Kaliṅga). The Dirghasi inscription of Śaka 997 (1075 A.D.) refers to the victory of Gaṅga Rājarāja's Mahāprātiṅbha Vanapati over the Chōḷa king's army and other enemies including the king of Vēṅgi whom he claims to have often defeated. On the basis of these statements, it has been supposed that, after his accession to the Chōḷa throne, Kulottunga I was bent on conquering Vēṅgi from Vijayāditya VII who is supposed to have become helpless after the death of the Chōḷa king Virarājendrā (1063-70 A.D.). It is, however, not impossible that the reference is to a Chōḷa invasion of Vēṅgi about the close of Virarājendrā's reign, which drove Vijayāditya from Vēṅgi and compelled him to seek help from the Eastern Gaṅgas about 1070 A.D., and that he succeeded in returning to Vēṅgi after Virarājendrā's death when a struggle for the Chōḷa throne was going on between Kulottunga I and Virarājendrā's son Adhirājendrā. If Kulottunga was responsible for driving him out of Vēṅgi, it is difficult to understand why this success is not noticed in the records of his family, which assign to Vijayāditya a rule of 15 years between 1061 and 1076 A.D.

During Vijayāditya's reign, a good part of the Vēṅgi country must have once been occupied by the forces of Western Chālukya Vikramāditya VI who was then a general of his father Sōmeśvara I. The Karuvur inscription of the fourth regnal year of the Chōḷa king Virarājendrā states that he attacked and destroyed the powerful army that Vikkalan (i.e. Vikramāditya VI) had 'again'

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1 The theory of enmity between Kulottunga I and his uncle Vijayāditya VII was at first propounded by Hultzsch on inadequate evidence (SII, Vol. III, p. 128) and has since been followed by later writers on the subject. Cf. above, Vol. XXII, pp. 271-72; etc.
2 Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, p. 171. It is strange that Venkataramanayya (op. cit., pp. 221 and 271, note 1) thinks that Kaliṅga had no separate existence in the age in question and that it was a dependency of Vēṅgi. This is believed by him to be 'clearly brought out in the Charala plates (EL XXV, p. 262)'. He seems to attach undue importance to claims which should be taken with a grain of salt.
3 Above, Vol IV, p. 317.
4 Ganguly, op. cit., p. 115.
5 Because he was regarded as a traitor by the Chōḷas, he may have been afraid to surrender to the Chōḷa forces and therefore left the country to seek the help of the Eastern Gaṅga king who was his relative.
6 Note also the existence of an inscription (1057 A.D.) of the reign of Sōmeśvara I in the East Godavari District and the assumption of the title 'lord of Vēṅgi' by the said king's son and viceroy Sōmeśvara II (The Struggle for Empire, ed. Majumdar, p. 170). This title goes against the belief that Vijayāditya was a Western Chālukya partisan.
despatched to Veṅgi-nāḍu. The Manimangalam inscription of Virarājendra’s fifth regnal year also states that he ‘reconquered the good country of Veṅgi and bestowed it on Vijayāditya whose broad hand held weapons of war and who had taken refuge at his lotus-feet’. This shows that Vikramāditya VI had occupied parts of the Veṅgi kingdom and that Virarājendra helped Vijayāditya VII in regaining them. It appears that soon afterwards Vijayāditya VII was again defeated disastrously by the Western Chālukyas and was compelled to become a subordinate ally of the latter. This may have brought in the intervention of the Chōlas who probably defeated Vijayāditya and his allies and, as a consequence, the Eastern Chālukya king fled away and received help from the Gaṅga king of Kaliṅga. Since this possible anti-Chōla activity of Vijayāditya VII was thrust on him by circumstances, it was not difficult for the Chōla king to forgive his subordinate ally. Of course, if it happened during Virarājendra’s reign, it was easier for Kulottuṅga I to be favourably disposed towards his uncle whose help he might have later received in his struggle with the Western Chālukya forces still in occupation of parts of Veṅgi.

The following dates in the regnal reckoning and the Śaka era belong to the reign of Vijayāditya VII: (1) year 3-Śaka 986 (1064-65 A.D.); (2) year 8-Śaka 990 (1068-69 A.D.); (3) year 12-Śaka 994 (1072-73 A.D.); (4) year 13-Śaka 995 (1073-74 A.D.). They show that Vijayāditya’s reign was calculated as beginning from Śaka 983-1061-62 A.D. The Ryalī copper-plate grants were issued in his 12th regnal year, i.e. 1072-73 A.D. His 15th regnal year, in which he seems to have died, would correspond to 1075-76 A.D.

Besides the facts discussed above, these dates and a few others of his reign make it impossible to believe that Mahārājādhirāja Rājayamānāvara Paramabhadraśaka Vijayāditya VII of Veṅgi is identical with his namesake who was a subordinate chief and is mentioned in the records of the reign of Western Chālukya Sōṇavara I, especially when the said chief is supposed to have been the Western Chālukya governor of the province of Nolambavāḍī (i.e. parts of the Bellary, Anantapur, Kolar and Tumkur Districts) and the adjoining area from A.D. 1063 to 1066. The same person could scarcely have been the king of Veṅgi and the Western Chālukya viceroy of Nolambavāḍī at the same time.

We have indicated above a few solid facts of the reigns of the Eastern Chālukya kings Rājarāja I and Vijayāditya VII. The claims and counter-claims of the Chōlas and Western Chālukyas in respect of Veṅgi during the period in question should be viewed against the background of these facts.

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1 SII, Vol. III, p. 27.
2 Ibid., p. 69.
3 Ganguly, op. cit., pp. 106-08.
5 These titles are found in his Ryalī copper-plate inscriptions while the Pamulavaka plates, issued after he had been set up as a rival of his brother Rājarāja I, call him Mahārāja Rājadhirāja.
6 Venkataraman, op. cit., p. 250. The Western Chālukya viceroy is also known from an inscription of 1074 A.D. (J.R. Ep., 1946-47, No. B 237) and now also from another dated 1081 A.D. (above, pp. 253ff.)
No. 37—DEVALI PLATES OF GOVINDA, VALABHI 500

(2 Plates)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

(Received on 2.3.1961)

This set of three copper plates was in the possession of a cultivator of the village of Dēvali in the Talaja District of the former Bhavnagar State (now the Bhavnagar District of Gujarat). It was presented to the Maharājā Sēheb of Bhavnagar in 1911 and was preserved in the Barton Museum, Bhavnagar. A short note on the inscription was read by Dr. P. M. Modi at the Nagpur Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, 1944, while an unsatisfactory transcript of it was later published with a sketchy introductory note and plates by Dr. S. C. Upadhyay in the Journal of the U. P. Historical Society, Vols. XXIV-XXV, 1951-52, pp. 196 ff. The defect of Dr. Upadhyay’s transcript is that, besides containing numerous minor inaccuracies, the new stanzas occurring in the inscription have not been fully and correctly read (cf. especially verses 30, 31, 36 and 40) whereas the text of the verses previously known from other inscriptions has not generally been quoted exactly as they are worded in the present record. It should be remembered in this connection that, of the three known charters of the time of the donor of the present grant, viz. Sanvadhiyataścshamahāsabda Mahāśeṅwarāhipati Prabhūtaravarśa Gōvindarāja of the second feudatory Rāṣṭrakūṭa family of the Gujarāt region, the Torkhede plates (Śaka 735) were actually issued by his feudatory, Sanvadhiyataścshamahāsabda Mahāśeṅwarā Mahāśeṅvarasva, who was the son of Rājāditya and grandson of Maṅiṅāga of the Šalukika (c’hālukya) family and ruled over the Siharakhi-12 area, and have only a few stanzas in the introductory section. Similar is the case with Gōvinda’s Prince of Wales Museum plates (Śaka 732) having only 15 introductory verses. The Kavi plates (Śaka 719) of Gōvinda have of course a large number of verses in common with the present record. The inscription under study has a special importance because it not only offers us some new stanzas but also throws some new light on the history of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty in question and raises certain problems, which Dr. Upadhyay failed to realise.

Of the three plates of the set, the first and third measure each about one foot in length and nine inches in height while the second plate is about 4 inch higher than the other two. The plates have raised rims for the protection of the writing and their corners are rounded off. There are two ring holes (each about half inch in diameter) in the upper margin of the plates; but the rings that must have passed through them to hold the plates together and the seal expected to have been affixed to one of the rings are not available. The second plate has writing on both the sides while the other two plates are engraved only on the inner side. There are altogether 79 lines of writing in the following order: Plate I—20 lines. Plate Ib—23 lines. Plate IIb—22 lines and Plate III—14 lines. The preservation of the writing is not very satisfactory, some letters being rubbed off here and there.

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1 The copper-plate grants of this museum were recently transferred to the local institution called Gāndhī Smriti which I visited for copying the inscription about the close of January 1960.


3 Note that he is called a Mahāśeṅvarasva whereas his immediate liege-lord Gōvinda enjoyed the higher feudatory title Mahāśeṅvarāhipati.


The characters of the inscription belong to the West Indian variety of the Telugu-Kannada alphabet while the donor's signature copied in line 78 is in the Siddhamārākṣa characters of North India. We know that the charters of the family to which the donor belonged were written either in the Northern or in the Southern alphabet while the characters of the copy of the donor's signature are sometimes different from those employed in the records themselves. The initial vowels a (lines 61, 72, 76), ā (lines 11, 12, 62, 71), i (lines 6, 30, 38, 58, 76, 77), u (lines 38, 60) and ē (lines 38, 60) occur and also avagraha (line 60), final t (lines 12, 14, 30, 37, 49, 71) and final n (lines 28, 35, 44, 50, 52, 55). While final t has been written in two different ways (cf. lines 12 and 14), final n, in the cases cited above, has been written without superscribing it to the following consonant. The letter b has also been written in two ways (cf. balēna in line 11 and baudh in line 28).

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Its orthography is characterised by the general use of class nasals in preference to anusvāra which has, however, been generally used for final m at the end of the halfs of stanzas. There are many cases of the wrong use of anusvāra (as in samārīm-śra in line 4) and, in one case, sīṅha has been spelt as sīṅga (line 3).

The date of the record is quoted in words as the Valabhiya year 500 and the occasion of the grant is stated to have been a solar eclipse (lines 63-64). The era referred to is the Gupta-Valabhi Satuvat, the year 500 of which corresponds to Śaka 710 expired or 741 current = 818-19 A. D. The solar eclipse in question may have been the one on the 31st December in the year 818 A.D. or on the 26th June 819 A.D.

The introductory part of the record under study contains 41 stanzas (lines 1-54), of which verses 1-28 (lines 1-36) describing the genealogy of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty down to Gōvinda III (c. 794-814 A. D.) are the same as in the Kavi plates of Gōvindaśā ṣa他自己 as well as in many other epigrams of the family. The section begins with the siddham symbol followed by the well-known maṅgala verse Sa vē-vād-Vēkhasā dhāma, etc., while verse 2 introduces Rāṣṭrakūṭa Gōvinda I, the great-grandfather of Dantidurga (c. 740-57 A.D.) who established the imperial status of the family. The section concludes with the description of king Gōvinda III in verses 23-28 (lines 29-36).

Of the remaining 13 stanzas describing the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Amōghavarsha I (c. 814-78 A.D.) and his subordinate uncles Karka and Gōvinda, verses 29-30, 31, 36 and 39 are new stanzas, the other 8 stanzas being found either in the Kavi or P. W. Museum plates or in some other records of the family. These new verses, however, do not contain any important historical information.

The following section in prose in lines 54-70 records the grant proper. The charter was issued by Samadhi'tāśīnahanahāśabda Mahāśānāmandaśhipati Gōvindarāja, while he was staying at Pālītānaka (modern Pālītānā in Kathiawar), in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Sōma who was the son of Karka and a resident of Valabhi and was a member of the Chaturvēdīn community of that

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1 Cf. the P. W. Museum plates (above, Vol. XXVI, Plate facing p. 253).
2 Cf. the grant of Dhrusva, son of Gōvinda's elder brother Karka, which is illustrated above, Vol. XXII, Plates between pp. 74 and 75 and facing p. 78, the charter being written in Northern characters but the signature in the Southern alphabet (cf. also the Baroda plates of the same king illustrated in Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, Plates between pp. 200 and 201), though the record of Karka illustrated in Plates between pp. 82 and 85 of the same volume are written entirely in the Southern alphabet.
3 To get the equivalent Christian year, 318-19 requires to be added to the current Kārttikādā Valabhi year and 19-20 to the current Chaitrádā Gupta year according to some authorities (see Swamikannu Pillai, Indian Ephe-

5 Verses 31-32, 35, 37-38 and 41 are found among the 11 stanzas of the corresponding section in the Kavi plates. For verse 33, cf. Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 180.
The donees belonged to the Śānpāliya gōtra and was a student of the Vājasanēya-Mādhya-
ndina śākhā. The royal order in respect of the grant was addressed to all the officers who were
concerned with the gift land (yathāsambhādyamānaka) such as the rāshṭrapati, vishayapati, grāma-
kāla, āyukta, niyukta, adhikārika and mahattāra. The gift land consisted of a field (kṣhētra)
called Kōhala which was situated within the boundaries of a locality named Dēilliṅka. The said
land was bounded by the boundary of Kōlaka-grāma in the east, the Śatruṅjaya river in the
south, the boundary of Āllēsaka-grāma in the west, and the Jarat river (or a dried up river
bed) in the north. The grant was a permanent one and carried with it the usual privileges known
from many other records of the donor's family including his own Kavi plates.

The above section is followed by the donor's request to the future rulers for the protection
of his grant and a quotation of some of the usual imprecatory and beneficentary stanzas ascribed to
Vēda-vyāsa Vyāsa (lines 66-77). Line 78 contains the statement that the executor of the grant
was Bhaṭṭa Kumāra or Śrīkumāra. The donor's signature on the original document is copied in
the North Indian Siddhamātrikā characters in the second half of the same line. Line 79, with
which the document ends, states that it was written by Jajjulla who was the son of Kulaputra
(noblemman) Padmanābha. This writer is already known from the P. W. Museum plates.

The most interesting feature of the inscription under study is its date in the Valabhi
Sainvat 500. The Maitrakas of Valabhi (modern Valā in the Bhavnagar District, Kathiwar)
were originally feudatories of the Imperial Guptas and continued to use the Gupta era of 519 A.D.
(though the Valabhi year began a few months earlier than the Gupta year) even after the latter
had lost their hold on the Western provinces of their empire. The latest Maitraka record is
dated in the Gupta year 447 (765 A. D.). After the fall of the Maitrakas, the use of the Gupta
era was continued in the records of Kathiawar and it was often particularised as the Valabhi era,
the earliest such document so far known being the Una plate of Valabhi-sainvat 574. The present
epigraph thus pushes back the use of the name Valabhi in association with the era in question
by no less than 74 years.

It is interesting in this connection to note that no record of the early Kannadiga dynasties of
the Gujarāt region, so far published, expresses its date in the Valabhi era. The only answer to the
question why the present charter was dated in that particular era seems to be that it recorded
a grant of land in Kathiawar where the use of the said era was popular during the period in question.
This is also suggested by the fact that Gōvinda made the grant from Pālittāka, i.e. modern
Palitana to the south-west of Bhavnagar in Kathiawar. Thus the field called Kōhala, situated
within the boundaries of Dēilliṅka, would appear to have been situated in Kathiawar. Indeed,
this Dēilliṅka is no other than the village of Devali in the present Bhavnagar District, where the
inscription under study was found.

The territories, ruled by the feudatory Rāṣṭhakūṭa family, to which the donor of the present
charter belonged, is generally referred to as Lāta. This is because Indrarāja is described in the
inscriptions of the family as having obtained the Lāṭēśvara or Lāṭiyā maṇḍala from his brother,
the Rāṣṭhakūṭa emperor Gōvinda III, and also because Indrarāja's son Karkarāja is called Lāṭē-
śvara or 'lord of Lāta' in one of his charters. As we shall see below, Karka's capital was at Khā-
ṭaka (modern Kaira), though Fleet believed that Navasārīka (modern Nausārī in the Broach

1 It is difficult to say whether the word śimā in the expression Dēilliṅka-śimā-pratibaddha means a small
territorial unit like a Pargana. It is often used in this sense in the medieval inscriptions of South India.
2 Bhandarkar's List, No. 1375.
3 Ibid., Nos. 1379-84.
4 Ibid., No. 1379.
District) was the capital of this Lāha country which was originally bounded by the river Kim in the north, the Damangaṅgā in the south and the Western Ghāats in the east. The northern boundary of the land, however, being the Mahi during the age of these Rāṣṭrakūṭas.1 B. Bhattacharyya suggests that most of the charters of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa house in question record gifts of land in the former Baroda State and that all the villages granted by Suvarṇavarsha Karkarāja, elder brother of the donor of our charter, lay in that State.2 It will be seen that these Rāṣṭrakūṭas are thus supposed to have ruled over Central and Southern Gujarat. The present inscription, however, proves that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief Gōvindarāja was ruling over a territory including the southeastern areas of Kathiawar. This is an important addition to our knowledge of the history of Kathiawar in general and of the second feudatory family of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Gujarāt region in particular.

We know that Gōvindarāja mentions himself as the younger brother of Karkarāja who issued his Baroda,3 Nausari,4 Anasangi,5 Surat6 and Brāhmaṇapalii7 charters respectively in the Saka years 734, 738, 739, 743 and 746, while the grants of Gōvinda himself were issued in Saka 732, Valabhi 500-Saka 740 and Saka 749 and a grant of one of his feudatories bears a date in Saka 735. This fact shows that the two brothers were ruling at the same time, Karka at least from Saka 734 to 746 and Gōvinda at least from Saka 732 to 749. Earlier writers like Bühler and Hultzsch, who wrote when only Karka's record of Saka 731 and Gōvinda's charter of Saka 749 were known, besides a few of Karka's descendants, referred to the absence of Gōvinda's name in the records of the descendants of his elder brother Karka and suggested that this was because the younger brother was the usurper of the elder brother's territories.8 Since Gōvinda's record of Saka 749 does not mention the name of the contemporary Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Amoghavarsha I, it was also believed that he rebelled against the overlord whom his elder brother Karka is known to have seated on the throne. Fleet writing after the discovery of the Torkhede plates of Saka 735 belonging to Gōvindarāja's rule, which mention the contemporary Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Gōvinda III, suggested that Gōvindarāja may have first rebelled against his elder brother Karka and opposed the accession of Amoghavarsha I in the earlier part of his career, that he rebelled against the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor again about the end of his rule and that, as a result of the second rebellion on his part against Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭa authority, sometime after the issue of his Kavi plates in Saka 749, the administration of Lāha was taken out of his hands and was made over to his nephew Dhārāvarsha-Nirupama Dhrurāja, son of Karkarāja.9 Without any knowledge of Karka's later records, these scholars apparently believed that Gōvinda ruled over Lāha after his elder brother's death.

After the discovery of Karka's Nausari (Saka 738) and Surat (Saka 743) plates bearing dates later than that of Gōvinda's Torkhede plates (Saka 735), A. S. Altekar drew our attention to the respectful mention of Karka in the records of Gōvinda and concluded that the latter did not really revolt against Karka but was only 'a princely regent appointed by his brother'. Thus in Altekar's opinion, expressed when Gōvinda's P. W. Museum plates of Saka 732 and the present grant of Valabhi 500-Saka 740 were not known, Gōvinda was 'Karka's deputy governing

1 Bomb. Gaz., loc. cit.
2 Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 79-80.
3 Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, pp. 156 ff.
7 Ibid., Vol. XXII, pp. 77 ff.
8 Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 190; Vol. XIV, p. 197.
the Gujarat kingdom on behalf of his brother while he (i.e. Karka) was absent at Malkhed during Amoghavarsha's minority.1 About the same time, B. Bhattacharya also offered such a view as probable though he did not exclude other possibilities such as Gōvinda rebelling against his brother and being subdued by Karka with imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭa help.2 While editing the P.W. Museum plates issued by Gōvinda in Śaka 732, M. G. Dikshit suggested that both the brothers were ruling jointly or at least either of them had the full authority to make donation of land without each other's consent.3 But the evidence now at our disposal seems to suggest that these views are untenable.

In the first place, it has to be noticed that the records issued by Karkarāja and Gōvindarāja during the rule of their overlord Gōvinda III introduced their father Indrarāja as the brother of the overlord while their grants issued during the reign of Amoghavarsha I introduce Indrarāja as the uncle of the said Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor. The representation of Indra as the brother of Gōvinda III in the Kavi plates issued in Śaka 749 during the reign of Amoghavarsha I, however, follows the draft of the earlier records of Karka and Gōvinda apparently due to a clerical error. Altekar therefore seems to be right when he explains the non-mention of Amoghavarsha I in the Kavi plates as the result of a mistake.4

Secondly, we now know that the dates of the eight records of the time of the two brothers, Karka and Gōvinda, if they ruled over the same territory, do not suggest only two periods of rule for the two brothers, viz. the first for Karka and the second for Gōvinda. It will be seen that the brothers were ruling in the following years: Gōvinda in Śaka 732; Karka in Śaka 734; Gōvinda in Śaka 735; Karka in Śaka 738 and 739; Gōvinda in Valabhi 500=Śaka 740; Karka in Śaka 743 and 746; Gōvinda in Śaka 749. If therefore Gōvinda rebelled against Karka and occupied the latter's territories, he must have done that not merely once but for many times. This does not look like a possibility at all especially in view of the respectful mention of Karka in all of Gōvinda's records. The other suggestion that Gōvinda ruled Lāṭa during Karka's absence at Malkhed is equally wrong since we now know that Gōvinda was ruling in Śaka 732, i.e. before the death of Gōvinda III. The theory does not also explain how Gōvinda was ruling even before the earliest known date and after the latest known date of his elder brother.

Thirdly, both Karka and Gōvinda enjoyed the same official designation, viz. Samadhigataścshamaḥkāśabda Mahāsvaṃśvadhipati, and it is doubtful whether the regent would have enjoyed the same official status as the ruler he represented without indicating the difference in their official positions in any way.5 Fourthly, if Karka was the real ruler of the land and Gōvinda merely his regent, the subordinate Śalukika chief, Samadhigataścshamaḥkāśabda Mahāsvaṃśvadhipati, was probably the real ruler, possibly having mentioned Karka as his master and not Gōvinda as he does in the Torkhede plates. As regards Dikshit's suggestion, it is difficult to understand how two rulers could have exercised equal authority at the same time over the same land.

That Gōvindarāja was neither his brother's regent nor was he sharing the throne with his brother seems also to be proved by another piece of evidence. The Baroda (Śaka 734), Nausari (Śaka 738), Anastu (Śaka 739), Surat (Śaka 743) and Brāhmaṇapalli (Śaka 746) records of Karka are known to have been written respectively by the following officers of the king: (1) Nemiḍitya

1 Above, Vol. XXII, p. 68.
2 Ibid., pp. 78-79.
3 Ibid., Vol. XXI, p. 251.
4 Ibid., Vol. XXII, p. 68.
5 Aparimitavarsha Dantivarman, who was a younger son of Karka and issued a grant in Śaka 789 with the clear approval of the ruling chief, his elder brother Dhruva, enjoyed the title Mahāsvaṃśvadhipati, but is called Samadhigataścshamaḥkāśabda and not Samadhigataścshamaḥkāśabda (above, Vol. VI, pp. 235 ff).
son of Mahāśāṃdhīvīghrikha Kulaṇḍaka Durghabhāṣa; (2) Śanāthīvīghrikha Nāmāditya; (3) Nāmāditya, son of Kulaṇḍaka Durghabhāṣa; (4) Mahāśāṃdhīvīghrah-ādhirikīta Nārāyaṇa, son of Kulaṇḍaka Durghabhāṣa; and (5) Śanāthīvīghrikha Nārāyaṇa. It will be seen that all these charters were written by two officers belonging to the same family. It is also interesting to note that the same Nārāyaṇa (wrongly given as Kārīṇa), son of Durghabhāṣa, was also the writer of the Baroda plates1 of Karka’s son Dhuva, dated Śaka 757. If therefore Gōvinda really ruled over Karka’s territory as a regent during the latter’s stay elsewhere or if the two brothers ruled conjointly over the same territory, the same officers are expected to have served them. But it is quite significant that none of the four records of Gōvinda’s time was written by the persons responsible for writing Karka’s charters. The Torkhede plates (Śaka 735), issued by his subordinate Buddhavarasa, was written by Kṛṣṇa, son of Nanna, while the P.W. Museum (Śaka 732), Devali (Valabhi 500 = Śaka 740) and Kavi (Śaka 749) plates, issued by Gōvinda himself, were written respectively by (1) Jajjulla, son of Mahāśāṃdhīvīghrikha Padmanābha; (2) the same Jajjulla called the son of Kulaṇḍaka Padmanābha; and (3) Yōgāvara, son of Mahāśāṃdhīvīghrah-ādhirikīta Kulaṇḍaka Avalokīta. The name of apparently the said Avalokīta occurs in a grant (Śaka 806) of Dhuva, great-grandson of Karka, as that of the father of his writer Valabhi-vāstava-Mahāśāṃdhīvīghrah-ākshaṇa-patāl-ādhipati Dēnda.3

The above discussion would suggest that, like the three Lāta Chālukya chiefs Dharāśraya Jayasiniha and his sons Śryāśraya Sīlāditya and Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa ruling over different areas of Gujarat at the same time at an earlier date,2 the Rāṣṭrakūta chiefs Karka and his younger brother Gōvinda also must have been ruling over different parts of the Gujarāt region contemporaneously. The internal evidence of the Kavi plates points to Gōvinda’s hold over the Broach-Kavi region of the Broach District4 while Shīrakakhi mentioned in the Torkhede plates as the sīf of his subordinate Buddhavarasa has been supposed to be a place near Baroda.2 The place names mentioned in the P. W. Museum plates have been located near Vadaj in the former Baroda State.5 Thus the area ruled by Gōvinda lay very close to the land under his elder brother Karka and was apparently situated to the west of the territory under the latter. The present inscription shows that Gōvinda extended Rāṣṭrakūta rule as far as the Palitana-Bhavnagar region of South-Eastern Kathiawar. It may be conjectured that the territory under Gōvinda’s rule passed on his death to the descendants of his brother Karka. We have already referred to the fact that Dēnda, son of Gōvinda’s Mahāśāṃdhīvīghrah-ādhirikīta Avalokīta, was the Mahāśāṃdhīvīghrah-ākshaṇa-patāl-ādhipati under Karka’s great-grandson Dhuva.

Attention may be drawn to another point in this connection. Karka issued his charter from certain places including Khēṭaka (modern Kaira, headquarters of the District of that name in Gujarat), which is stated to have been his rājadhāni or capital in the Anustu plates.6 As indicated above, Gōvinda’s Kavi plates were issued from Broach and the Devali plates from Palitana, though we do not know where his headquarters lay. Another point of interest is that, while Gōvinda issued his Kavi plates in Śaka 749 from Bharukachchha, Karka’s Anustu plates of Śaka 739 record

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2 Cf. supra, Vol. XII, p. 76, text lines 70-71.
3 Ibid., Vol. XXXIV, pp. 118-19.
4 At the time of making the grant Gōvinda was stationed at Bharukachchha (Broach) and granted land in favour of a temple at Kōtipura in Kāpikā (modern Kavi to the south of the mouth of the Mahi). The land granted by the charter lay to the south of Kavi.
5 See, however, supra, Vol. XXXIV, p. 216.
6 Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 248.
7 Gadre, op. cit., p. 32, text line 42. Khēṭaka or Kaira was also the headquarters of the first feudatory Rāṣṭrakūta dynasty of the Gujarat region (cf. supra, Vol. XXXIV, p. 214).
the gift of a village in the Bharukaachchha rīshāja, i.e. the district of which Broach was the head-quarters. If the two brothers ruled over separate areas as suggested by us, this requires an explanation. It may be that, in Saka 749, Karka was no more and that Gōvinda was also ruling over the territory previously held by his brother. It may also be alternatively conjectured that the Broach area formed a part of Karka’s territory in Saka 739 but of Gōvinda’s ten years later owing to some adjustment of the two brothers’ jurisdictions. A third possibility is that Gōvinda visited Broach in his brother’s territory on pilgrimage and made the grant on that occasion. The fourth possibility would be that one part of Broach lay in Karka’s territory and the other part in Gōvinda’s as in the case of Jerusalem today, parts of which fall in Jordan and parts in Israel.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscriptions, the location of Lāṭa, Valabhi, Paḷitāṇaka and Dēillīkā has already been discussed. Dakshināpatha or the Deccan is mentioned in verse 33 which states that Indrarāja of Lāṭa saved the frightened circle of the feudatory rulers of the Deccan when they were being deprived of their wealth by the Vallabhaśvara (Rāšṭrakūṭa emperor) apparently by pleading on their behalf. The gift land is described as bounded by the villages called Kōlakagrama and Ālīsakagrama as well as of two rivers named Śatrūnjava and Jarat, though it is probable that jaran-ṇadi really means ‘a dried up river’. All these were near Devali, the findspot of the inscription under study, the Śatrūnjaya-ṇadi being no doubt the modern Šhetrunjee river. But I have not been able to trace the other names on the maps available to me.

**TEXT**

[Metres: verses 1, 22, 12-43, 45, 17 Anushtubh; verses 2-3, 5-6, 8-9, 15, 23, 25, 27, 29-30, 32, 33, 40 Vasuntailakā; verses 4, 19, 37-38 Upajī; verse 7 Giti; verses 10, 17, 20, 28, 33-34, 36, 39 Śardālavikṛṣṇita; verses 11-14, 24, 26, 41 Āryā; verses 16, 18 Sragdhvā; verses 21, 31, 44, 46 Indravajrā; verse 48 Pushptāgrā.]

**First Plate**

1 Siddham² \(\text{[\text{*}}\) Sa ˛v=xyād=Vidhāsa dhāma yan-nābhi-kamalaṁ=kṛitaṁ(tam) | Haraś=cha yasya känt-ēndu-kaḷaya kam=alāṁ(la) kṛitaṁ(tam) \(\text{[\text{1*}}\) Āśid=divishat-timiram=udya-

2 ta-maṇḍal-āgṛō dhavastiṁ nayasann=abhimukhō raṇa-śārvvarishu | bhūpah śuchir=vvidhur=iv= āsta(a)ṣṭa-diganta-kīrttir=Gōvindarāja iti rājā-

3 [su] rāja-siṅgah(siṁhah) \(\text{[\text{2*}}\) Driṣṭāvā chamūm=abhimuri(mu)khi[ri*] subhaṭ-śāṭahāśāṁ-(sā)m=unnaṁitaṁ sapadi yēna raṇōṣhu nityaṁ(tyam) | dashṭ-ādharīṇa dadha-

4 tā bhrukiṁ lalāṭe khadgam kulaṁ=cha hridayaṁ=cha niyāṁ=cha satvaṁ(ttvam) \(\text{[\text{3*}}\) Khadgam(dgāḥ) kar-āgrāṁ=mukhataṁ=cha śobhāṁ(bhā) ma(mā)nō [manastāḥ] semaṁ(ma)-ma=mva=yasya 

5 mah-āhavē nāma niśamya sadyas=trayaṁ ripūṇaṁ vigalaty=akāṇḍë \(\text{[\text{4*}}\) Tasy=ātmajaṁ jāgati viśrut-[su]hrā-kīrttir=ārtt-ārttī-hā-

6 ri-Hari-vikrama-dhāma-daṁ =i bhūpas=trivīśṭa-paṇī-āṅukṛitiḥ kṛitajñāḥ ārī-Karkkarāja iti gótra=maṇi=babhūva \(\text{[\text{5*}}\) [Tajaya prabhī-

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¹ From impressions.
² Expressed by symbol.
7 nna-karaṇa-chyuta-dāna-danti-danta-prahāra-rochir-ollkhitānsa(t-āmsa)-piṭhaḥ[*] kshmāpaḥ kehitau kshapita-śatrur-abhūt=tanūjaḥ [sud-Rāṣṭra]kṛtā-Kanakā-

8 drīr-iv-Endrārājaḥ || [6*] Tasya-ōpārijja-mabasa=tan[a]ya]ś=chatur-udadhi-valaya-[m]ālī-nyā[ḥ] [8*] bhokta bhuvah || 1 Satakratna-sa[dri]ṣaḥ śri-Da-

9 ṇtdurggarājo-bhūt || [7*] [Kāḷōcūsa-Kārāla-nartāhipa-Chōla-Pāṇḍya-śri-Haraha-Vajrata-vibhōda-vidhāna-dakshaṁ(ksham) | Karṇāṭakaṁ] balam=achintya-

10 ṇ=ajēyaṁ=anyair=bhrityaiḥ kiyadbhir=api yaḥ sahasā jīgāya || [8*] A-bhrū-vibhaṅgāṁ(āga)-m=aghiṭa-nisāta-śastrāṁ(ṣtra)m=āṣrīntam=apratī̄[hat]-ājñam=apē-

11 ta-yatnaṁ(tnam) | yō Vallabhaṁ sapadi daṇḍa-balena jitvā rājādhiraṇa-paramēs āraratāṁ-(tā)ṁ=avāpa || [9*] A sēṭv=viṭv-ōpal-āvala-la[sa*]||


13 vadhē=yaṁ=yaṁ jagati sva-vikrama-balēn-aīk-ātānpatrīkṣita || [10*] Tasmin=divaṁ prayāte Vallabhaṁ ṇe kṣhata-prajā-bādhaha [*] śri-Karkkarāja-

14 sūnur=mahipatiḥ Krishṇarājō-bhūt || [11*] Yasya sva-bhujva-parākrama-nīhēśh-ṉchchhā-(tsā)dit-āri-dik-chakraṁ(kram) | Krishṇasyēv=ākrishṇa-

15 cha[ritam śri-Krishṇarājasya] || [12*] Śubhatuṅga-tuṅga-turaga-pravriddha-rēṇ-ūrdhvam-ruddha-ravi-kiraṇaṁ(ṇam) | grāhmi=e pi nabhō nickiṁā praṇijaṁ-

16 [lāyatē] spacāṭan(ab̐t)am || [13*] Dīn-anātha-praṇayishu yathēśṭa-chēṣṭaṁ samihitam= ajastam(ṣram) | tat-kṣaṇaṁ-Akālavars̐hō varshati sarv-vā[ṛ*]tii-

17 nirv[śpa]l[a]naṁ(ṇaṁ) || [14*] Rāhappam=stma-bhujva-jātā-bal-avālepam=ājau vijjita nīśit-āsi-latam(tā)-prahāraṁ [*] pāli-dhavāî-[āvali-]subham=achirē-

18 na yō hi rājādhiraṇa-paramēsvaratāṁ tatāna || [15*] Krōdhād=utkāṭa-khadga-prasrita-r[uchh]-chayair=bhāsamānaṁ samantād=ājā-

19 v=udvrittva-vairi-prakata-gaja-ghat-āṭāpa-sankshōbha-dakaṁ(ksham) | saurya[m] tyaktv= āri-varggo bhaya-[chak]tva-vapuvah kyväpi driṣṭtv=ai-


* The mark of punctuation should be deleted.
* There is another partially beaten-in line of writing below this and that has to be read from the opposite side. The engraver began to incise the inscription from the this side, but gave it up in the first line.
No. 37] DEVALI PLATES OF GOVINDA, VALABHI 500

Second Plate, First Side

21 [rāññ]-ra[śa]-[ā]-laṅkāra-bhājō bhuvā[=tra]yyāś=ch=āpi kṛta-dvij-āmara-guru-prājy-ājya-pāj-ādaraḥ | dātā mānabhrīd-agra-

23 pīr=guṇavatām yō-sau śrīyō vallabhō bhōktum svargga-phalāni bhūri-tapasā sthānaṁ jagām= āmaraṁ(ram) || [17*] Yēna śvē-

23 t-ātapatra-praha-tavikara-vrātā-tāpāt=sa-līlāṁ jagmē nāśra-dhūli-dhavalita-sīrasā Vallabhā- ākhyāḥ sad=ājau | [śrīmān]-Gōvinda-

24 rājō jita-jagad=ahitaḥ(ta)-stryaśi(strai)-na-vidha-vya-dakshasa=asyāśit=sūnur=ēkaḥ kshāpa-raṇa-dalit-ārāti-mattē-āh-kumbhāḥ || [18*] Tasyātmajaḥ

25 āri-Dhruruvarāja-nāma(mā) mah-ānubhāvō(veh) prahasta-pratāpāḥ [1*] prasādhit-āsēsha-narē-
udra-chakrāh kramēṇa bāl-ārkā-vaṇur=bahbhūva || [19*] Jātē ya-

26 tra [cha Rājastrakūṭa-ilakā sad-bhūpa-chūdāmaṇaḥ guruvī tushṭir=ath=ākhilasya jagataḥ su-svāmini pratyaḥsate(ham) || satyaṁ satyam=iti pra[śā]-

27 sati sati keśmām-ā samudr-āntikām=āśid=ādharmma-parā guṇ-āṃrita-nilhau satyaṁ-vraṭ-ādhi-

28 ṛvvasvam-ānantīṣa-bandhau-varggaḥ | prādād=prarushṭo harati sma vēgāt=prānān Yamsya- āmi(pi) nitānta-viryaḥ || [20*] Rakṣ[a(tā yē)]na niḥśē[shaḥ] chaṭu-

29 r-ambhodhi-sahyutaṁ(tam) ] rājyaṁ dharmmēśa lōkānāṁ kṛtā tushṭiḥ para hṛidi || [32*] Tasyātmajaḥ jagati sat-prathit-ōru-kīrtti-Gōvindarāja iti

30 gōtra-lalāma-bhūtaḥ [1*] tyāgi parakrama-dhanaḥ prakaṭa-pratāpa-samṭāpit-āhita-janō jana-

31 tāṁ yasya=āparāṁ jagati nāma | yāś=cha [cha] turt-adadhi-sūmām=ēko vasudhāṁ vasē chakrē || [24*] Eko=py=āneka-rūpō yō dadriśē bhē-

32 da-vādibhir-iw=ātmā | para-bala-jaladhim=apāraṁ taran=sva-dōrbhyaṁ ranē ripubbhiḥ || [25*] Ekō nirhētīr=ahaṁ grihītā-sastra ime parē baha-

33 vaḥ | yō n=āivanvīdham=akarōch-chitāṁ svapnē=pi kim=ut=ājau || [26*] Rājy-ābhisē-

34 svā-pitrā | anyair=mahā-nripatibhir=bahubhiḥ samēṭya Stambhā-dibhir=bhuja balād-avala-

35 hitān vyastāṁ samā(ma)stān=api prōkthēt-āśi-latā-prahāra-vidhurān ba[a]*dhvā mahā-

36 [t-sa*]ch-chāmara-grāh[ī]ṇaṁ samād-d-guru-vipra-sajjana-suhṛd-bandh-āpabhāgyāṁ bhuvi || [28*] Tasmād=bahbhūva sāśi-subhra-yaśo-vitā-

1 DGA/sf
37 na-vibhājītā(ta)-tribhuvanō nna(na)ta-vairi-vargghaḥ [*] ātrimān=mahā-dhana-payōbhir= Amōghavārshāḥ nirvāṇa-ākha-jagad-ghaṣa(na)-tāpa-sampaṭ || [39*]

38 Pradyumna āsah kimu Yādava-vaṁsa(vanśa)-kētuḥ kim Kārttikeya uta śakti-nirāsta-satrūḥ [*] kī(m]* vai Jayanta iha saṅgata Indra-kōpāt | sam̐pasați-tām

39 bhavati viṣhna(ama)ya-hāri chīṭāḥ || [30*] Aṣya-ābhavad=ḥūmipatiḥ pri(pr)tiṛivyaḥ ātrimān=k[ṛsa]*jamāt=sa-n-matir-Indrarājaḥ | śāstā prabhūt-ādbhuta-kī-

40 rtti-sūtīḥ sarvasya Lāṭ-śevara-manḍalasya || [31*] Yasy=āṅga-māṭra-jayinaḥ priya-sāhasya kṣaṃpāla-vēṣa-phaṇa=eva babhūva

41 sañyan(āṃ) | muktvā cha sarvva-bhuvan-śvaran=ādi-dēvaiḥ nā-vandat=anāṃṣa =amarēśhv=api yō manasv || [32*] Yēn=aikēna cha Gūrijjar-ē-

42 śvara-patir-yyoṭdhami samabhavyudatāḥ | [v] sāuryya-prōdhhata-kandharō mṛiga iva khipram disō grāhitaḥ ||(()) bhīt-āsanāhata-Dakṣahīṇa-rodapayya

43 patha-mahā-āśamanta-chakrāṇi yātō rakṣāṃ=āpa viluṣṭyamāṇa-vibhavaḥ Śrīvallabhāṃ =ādarśa || [33*] Yēn=aikēna mahā-ā-

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44 havva-yaśananī ṅrīḍā-viḥār-ōdyama-prārambh[e] vihitē nītānta-niviḍa-dhvānta-pradōṣha sati [*] durvāraḥ samam=ēva saṁparipatau ba-

45 nīt-samūhaḥ kahanāt=tikhaṭ-phoḍyata-sastra-saṁhata-karaḥ paṃchatvam=āpādaḥ || [34*] Tasya-ātmaḥaḥ prathita-vikrama-vairi-vargga-lakshi-

46 haṭh-āharaṇa-santata-labhā-kirtti[ḥ] [*] śri-Karkkarāja iti samārīta-pūrit-āsāḥ śāstra-āṛtttha-bōdha-paḷiṭa-sarvva-lōkaḥ || [35*] Rā-

47 jyē yasya na taskarasya vasati[r*]=vyādēḥ prasūti[r*]=mṛitā durbhikṣaṇaḥ na cha vibhrasaṃya mahimā n=āv=āpasarg-ō(ddha)val ṛ nō [dōsh]-ō-

48 bhuyadaya=tathā ripu-janē n=āiva pramōd-lōdgati=ṇmo vidvat-paripanthiḥ prabhavati krūrā khalanām matiḥ || [36*] Saurāja-jalpē pattiḥ pra-

49 saṅgān=ndarānaṁ viśva-jaṇīna-samapat ||(()) rājyaḥ Balēḥ pūrvam=ahō babhūva kṣhita[v]= idānā-[t]ṛu nṛpasya yasya || [37*] Iohchh-ātirēkāṇa krisheha(va)-

50 [lānān] payō yathā muṇchati jātū mēghā [*] bhavēn=manas-tad-viratau va(t)ath=ābhubh yasmān dhanaiḥ varehā śvākānāṁ(na)m || [38*] Rāmasy=ēva dhīṭa-[dra]-ta-

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1 The punctuation mark is redundant.
2 The above letter appears to be illogical, perhaps a typographical error.
3 The P. W. Museum plate, written by the same person, reads the third foot differently.
51 say vinyla-sthairyya-sthirir-Lakhsmaṇaḥ Pārthasyā-eva Dhanaṅjaraya[ḥ*] kṣaṇa-jita-
pṛdvṛtta-vairī-vrajāḥ | Gōvindaḥ prathita[ḥ] kṣhitāṅ-iva gu-

52 naṁ Saṁkarshaṇasya-ātmavān yasyārādhana-nirmāna-sthira-mātraṣc-Gūvinda-rājō-nuṣaḥ ||
[39*] Antaḥṣthā-Saṁkara-sirāḥ-[sthira]-chandra-tēkhō-[sau]

53 tat-sudhā-raśa-vibhāvita-sarva-mūrti(ḥ [ h*] rllō(ō)kasya nirvṛtikaraḥ sprihaṇīya-janjī
dāḥ sad-āmrītabhayatva-guṇi(ṇ-ō)[dayajī]s-cha || [40*] Tēnē-śdama-ani-

54 la-vidyuchu-caṇḍalam-ālōkya jīvītāṃ-asāraḥ(ram |) kṣhiṭi-dānaṃ-cha paraṃ puṣyate\
pravitteś-yaḥ dharmma-dāyaḥ || [41*] sa cha samadhigataśe-

55 shabhaśabda-mahāśabda-mahāśaṁtanādhipati-Prabhūtavara-śa-Gūvinda-rajaḥ |
sarvān-eva yathā-sambadhyamānākān

56 rāṣṭrapati-vishayapati-grāmakū-ayuktā-niruvakād-dhikārika-mahattar-ādīn samanūb-\
dhayau-asti vah saṁviditaṁ yathā

57 mayā śīr-Pālīttāpan-āvasthitena mātā-pitṛ-ātmanāḥ=ch-aihik-āmushmika-phal-āvāypt-
artthāṁ dharmma-yāśō-bhīvridhayē śṛ- [Valabhi-vā.ta]-

58 vya-tach-chāturvydidya-saṁanya-Śaṇḍilya-sagōtra-vājiś-Śādyandina-sabrahmachāri-Brā-
hmaṇa-Sūmāya Karkka-sūnāvē Dāliika-

59 sīmā-pratibaddha-kaḥṭāraṃ Kōhal-ābhūdhānaṁ yasyā-āgāhātanāni pūrvvataḥ Kōlaka-grāma-
sīmu tathā dakhshaṇataḥ Śatruṇījya-na-

60 dī tathā a-parata Alāsaka-grāma-sīmā | uttaratō Jaran-naddi | evaṁ chatur-āgāhātan-ōpala-
kaṭiṁ sa-ōṭranaṁ sa-parākaraṇā sa-bhū-

61 ta-vātā-pratyzānaḥ sa-daṇḍa-daś-āparādham | 4 s-ōtpadyāmāna-viṣṭikāṁ sa-dhānya-hiraṇy-
ādēyaṁ(yam) | 4 a-chāta-bhta-prāvēyaṁ sarvā-rēja-

62 kīṣyāṁ(yājñāṁ-hasta-prakṛtepāpyaṁ(yam) ā-chand-āṛkā-āṛṇavā-kṣiṭi-sarit-parvata-
samakāllīnaṁ putra-pauṭr-ānvaya-bhūyayām tathā bhūmi-

63 chchhdra-nuṣṭīna pūrvvata-datta-dēva-brahma-dāya-rahitaṁ śṛ-[Valabhiya-saṁvatsara-
satēhu pāṇchasya mahā-parvvaṇi sū-

64 ryya-bhāṭāraka-grahāṇe snāty-ōdkā-ātisarggēṇa bali-charu-vaiśvadēv-āgnibōṛ-āṭithi-
pāṇcha-mahāyājña-krīyā-

65 tsarppan-āṛṭhāmaḥ pratipādaṁ yatateṣyāḥcitāyā brahmaṇā-ṣthityā bhūmijātō bhūjayataḥ

1 The P. W. Museum plates read the first foot differently.
2 For the sake of the metre, read kṣhti-dāna-parama-puṇyāḥ as in the other records (cf. above, Vol. XXII, p. 74, verse 31 : p. 84, verse 86).
3 This word is redundant.
4 The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
5 i.e. Vaiśjasāṇaḥ.
6 The expression is sometimes found in this form, though s-ōparikaraṁ is commonly used in inscriptions.
Third Plate

66 kriṣhataḥ karṣhayataḥ pratidīṣatō va na kēn-Śpī paripaṃthanā kāryaḥ | tathā-Śāgāmi-nripatibhir-asmad-vā-

67 ūnya-vaṃhayaṁ=anyair=vvā sāmānya[rū] bhūmi-dāna-phalam-avētya vidyul-lōlāṇy=anitya-śvārīyāṇi trip-ūgra-lagna-ja-

68 la-bindu-chaṅchenāḥ cha jīva-lōkam-āgalayya sva-dāya-nirvīśēḥ=ṣo-yam=asmad-dāyō= numantavyaḥ \| paripālaṇītavyaḥ=cha \| yās=ch-ā-

69 jāna-timira-paṭal-avṣita-mitar=ācchhi[njar]yād=ācchhiṣyaṃmanāḥ v-enūṃōdatē sa paṅcha- bhir=mmahā-pātakair=upapātakaiḥ=ḥa sarī-

70 yuktas=vyād-īty=uktaḥ=cha bhagavatā Vēdavyāṣēna Vyasēna || Shashtīvat=varahya-sahasrāṇi ś̹aśṭhīvat=vvareha-satāni cha \| svarggē tiṣṭhati

71 bhūmidaḥ \{[*]\} āchchhēṭtā ch-ṣenumatā cha tāṇyaē-ēva naraṅkē vasēt || [42*] Vindhyā-āṭavīṣv= a-tōyah suṣha-kōṭara-vāsinaḥ \{[*]\}

72 kṛishṇ-āhāyō hi jāyantē bhūmi-dāy-āpahāriṇaḥ || [43*] Agnīr=apatyāṁ prathamaṁ sva- rūṇaṁ bhuṛ=vvaiṣṭhaviśātūṛya-sūtā-

73 k=os cha āvāḥ \{[*]\} lōka-trayanē tēna bhavēd=diḥ dattaṁ yaḥ kāṇchanaṁ gāṇ=cha māhiṁ=cha rādāyō \| [44*] Bahubhir=vvāsudāḥ bhuktē rajaṁī Sa-

74 gara-dībhīḥ \| yasya yasya yaḥ bhūmē=tsaya tasya tadā phalam(lam) || [45*] Yē饮水= dattāni purā narēndraṁ=ddānāṁ dharmārthaya-yaśa-

75 sṛkaraḥ \{[*]\} nirṛmālya-vānta-pratīmāṁ tēni kō nāma sādhuḥ punar=ādāta || [46*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yatnāṁ=rakṣa

76 narādhipa \{[*]\} māhīṁ mahībhṛitaṁ śṛēṣṭha dānāṁ=ehṛēyō=mupālaṇaṁ(nam) || [47*] Itī kamala-dal-āśmā-bindu-lōlaṁ śriyaṁ-āsaṃchintya

77 manuṣhyā-jiṉitaṁ=cha \| ativiṃsama-manōbhinaṁ(vā)yātmāṇīnaṁ=enna hi purushāṁ para-ṛkṛttayō vilōpyaḥ \| 48* itī \{[*]\}

78 dūtaṁ-ṣe=ṣtra Ṣhaṭṭa-ṛśi-Kumāraḥ \* \| sva-hastaṁ=yaṁ=ḥ \* ṛśi-Gōvindarājasya[\*][\*]

79 likhiṣaṁ=ṣe=aitaṁ mayā kulaṃṭha-ṛśi-Padmanaḥ-sūnunā Jajjullēṁ=ēti || 8 ||

1 The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
2 The second half of this verse and one foot of the next stanza are omitted here through oversight. We may make one stanza by omitting śaśṭhīvat=vvareha-satāni cha.
3 The name may also be Śītukumāra.
4 After this (written in the Northern characters), there is a peculiar symbol which is also often found in some other records of the family (cf. above, Vol. XXII, Plate facing p. 76). The symbol is still used in South India in Kēḷaḷ (Rāparāḷī) decorations.
5 There is a spiral symbol between the double danda.
Two interesting copper-plate grants of the Maitraka dynasty of Valabhi came to our notice about the beginning of 1960. The first of them, the findspot of which is not known to us, now lies in the Girdharbhai Museum at Amreli, headquarters of the District of that name in Gujarat. It provides us with a date in the Gupta-Valabhi year 339 for Maitraka Dhruvasena II Bālāditya, the Nogawa plates of the year 321 being so far known to have been the latest record of the king. The second record was found in a locality near Amreli by a cultivator while ploughing a field and is now lying in the possession of Mr. R. N. Tekchandani, a Range Officer of the Forest Department stationed at Sarasīyā, about six miles from Dhari, headquarters of a Sub-Division of the Amreli District. 25 miles from Amreli. This inscription gives us the earliest date for Sīlāditya III. The preservation of the writing in both the records is unsatisfactory, letters here and there being unreadable owing to corrosion.

Mr. Tekchandani’s plate was issued by king Sīlāditya III in the Gupta-Valabhi year 368 (686 A.D.), Pausha-sudi 1, from his jaya-śakñhādevīra at Pīṭupatraṇa-vāṣaka. The importance of this record lies in the fact that, while the dates of the known charters of the king range between the year 372 (691 A.D.), Śrāvaṇa-bādi 9, and the year 382 (700 A.D.), Mṛgaśīrṣa-sūdi 6,1 the inscription under review pushes back the earlier limit of the reign of Sīlāditya III by about four years from 691 A.D. to 686 A.D.

The inscription records the gift of two plots of land, together measuring 125 pāḍīvārta, the first of which contained a step-well that covered an area of 25 pāḍīvārta lying in the northwestern section of Ajjakōṅha-grāma within the Kālāpaka1 pāthaṭa in Surāṣṭra and was known as the northern State-owned step-well.2 The second plot, situated in the western section of the

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1 When this article was ready for the press, H. G. Shastri’s paper on the same inscription appeared in Journ. Or. Inst., Vol. X, No. 2, pp. 123 ff. and Plates. According to Shastri, the plates were discovered at Malia in the Aramli District.
3 Following Fleet and Kielhorn (cf. Kielhorn’s Northern List, p. 68, note 5), Bhandarkar calls him Sīlāditya IV. This is because these scholars mention Sīlāditya, the elder brother of Kharagraha II, as Sīlāditya II, even though this Sīlāditya did not rule from Valabhi. But others regard Sīlāditya, the son of the said Sīlāditya (the elder brother of Kharagraha II) and the successor of Kharagraha II, as Sīlāditya II (cf. Bühler in Journ. Am. Acad., Vol. V, p. 295; K. J. Virji, Ancient History of Surāṣṭra, pp. 98 ff.). Thus Sīlāditya II to VI of this latter group of scholars followed by us have been shown as Sīlāditya III to VII in Bhandarkar’s List, p. 394.
4 Bhandarkar, G. V. Acharya and R. D. Banerji read the date of a charter assigned to this king as the year 387 (Bhandarkar’s List, No. 1368), though what was read as 387 is really 377 and the record belongs to Sīlāditya II (cf. above, Vol. XXII, p. 114). Virji, the recent writer on the subject, commits an error in quoting the wrong reading of the date in question without noticing the correction (op. cit., p. 92). Her statement that the earliest known date of Sīlāditya III is the year 375-694 A.D. is also wrong.
5 This name is engraved on an erasure. The same district is known from a large number of Maitraka records (cf. Virji, op. cit., pp. 294-98, 300, 302-09). Kālāpaka, the headquarters of the district, has been identified with Kālavād 26 miles south-east of Navānagar (op. cit., p. 303).
same village, consisted of 100 paddavartas of land under the cultivation of the farmers Saṅgaka and Sihaka. The donee of the grant was the Brahmaṇa Saṅkara known by the two names Utaraśvārasaṁ and Saṅkaraśaṁ, who was the son of Saṅkaraśaṁ of the Bhāradvāja gōtra and Bahvicaṇa śākha and belonged to the Chaturvedin community of Anandapura (Anandapura-vinirṛgata-tuc-Chāturveda-sūmānya). The executor of the charter was Rūjaputra Kharagraha while its writer was Divirvatī Haragaṇa.

The grant issued by Dhrusasaṇa II Bālāditya, edited in the following pages, resembles the published charters of the king in respect of general appearance, palaeography, language, orthography and style. It is a set of two plates having writing on the inner side and measuring roughly 11-9" by 9-5" each, with raised edges all round for the protection of the writing. There are two holes at the bottom side of the first and the top side of the second plate, which measure each about 3-5" in diameter. The hole in the left side in both the plates is broken and opened upwards while the right hole of the first plate seems to have been elongated due to wear and tear. A small piece in the right top corner of the first plate has left the letters in the last few letters of line 1 has been chipped off. There are respectively 26 and 23 lines of writing on the first and second plates. The bottom line on the first plate is much rubbed off. The latter half of the first six lines on the second plate are worn out and some letters in the next few lines are also indistinct.

The date of the grant is in the Gupta-Valabhi year 323 (642 A.D.), Āśāhaṇa-sudi 5. The dates of the known charters of Dhrusasaṇa II Bālāditya range between the year 310 (629 A.D.), Āśvayuja-badi 15, and the year 321 (640 A.D.), Chaitra-badi 3. His reign period was thus placed in 627-41 A.D. Our inscription, however, shows that this Maitraka king ended his rule later than the middle of Āśāhaṇa of the year 642 A.D. This narrows down the gap between the last known date of this king and the accession of his son Dharasaṇa IV who assumed the imperial style Paramabhāṭāraca Mahārājadhiraja Paramēśvara Chakrawartin for the first time in the Maitraka family by the year 326 (645 A.D.), the earliest date known from his records. Dharasaṇa IV thus ascended the throne not long before the death of Śilāditya Harshavarbhana of Kanauj in 647 A.D. It appears that Dhrusasaṇa II was a subordinate ally of Harsha but that Dharasaṇa IV assumed imperial status shortly before Harsha’s death when the latter was probably

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2 We know that Rūjaputra Kharagraha and Rūjaputra Dharasaṇa are mentioned as śākaka in the charters of Śilāditya III (Bhandarkar’s List, Nos. 1362-64 of the years 372, 375 and 376 and Nos. 1365-66 of the years 381 and 382). Divirvatī Haragaṇa, son of Bāḷadabhaśīrta Bhāgika Bappa, was the writer of some later records of the same king (ibid., Nos. 1362-63). His son Saṅkaraṇa is known for the first time from this epigraph whereas a Divirvatī, who was an adopted son (da[tak]a) of Haragaṇa, was the writer of a record issued by Śilāditya III in the year 381. The name of this officer was read as Adityāla by G. V. Acharya (JBBRAS, N.S., Vol. I, p. 75; Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat, Part I, p. 260), though Bhandarkar considered it doubtful (List, No. 1365). Virji mentions the name as Adityaśaṇa (op. cit., p. 93).

3 Bhandarkar’s List, Nos. 1341 and 1347.

4 Virji, op. cit., p. 71.

5 According to Himen-tsang’s accounts, he was present at Harsha’s sixth quinquennial celebration at Prayāga in the beginning of 643 A.D. (Tripathi, History of Kanauj, pp. 137 ff.; Watters, On Yuan Ch’ang’s Travels in India, Vol. II, p. 336).

6 Bhandarkar’s List, Nos. 1348-49. The dates fall in the months of Āśāhaṇa and Māgaḥ of the year 326. The reign of Dharasaṇa IV, son of Dhrusasaṇa II, is assigned by Virji to 641-50 A.D. (op. cit., p. 77).

7 It is interesting to note that Dharasaṇa IV calls himself in his records of the year 326 (when Harsha was still living) Śrī-tājaka-pāṇā-dvadhāṇa, wherein tājaka (i.e. grandfather or maternal grandfather) probably refers to Harsha (JBBRAS, Vol. X, p. 79, line 39), though in his later grants of the year 330 (when Harsha was no more) this epithet is conspicuous by its absence (Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 75, line 14; Vol. XV, p. 340, line 40).
not in a position, whatever be the reason, to exert full control over subordinate allies and feudatories in the outlying areas. It should be remembered that Pulakesin II, the powerful Chalukya emperor of the Deccan, died in 642 A.D., so that the Maitrakas now had no fear from the south also.

The charter was issued from Valabhi by king Dhruvasena (II) Balaeditya who is introduced in lines 1-34, in the style of his other records, as the younger brother of Dharasena (III), son of Kharagraha (I) who was the younger brother of Siladiyaya (I) Dharmaditya, son of Dharasena (II) who was the son of Guhasena, a descendant of Bhatarka of the Maitraka dynasty. The inscription registers the grant of 150 padavarttas of land (i.e. a plot of land measuring 150 feet square) in the northern border of the village called Machchhhotikā in the division (sthālī) called Utpinpa-Ijja in Surajbhidra in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Sāmbakumārman who was the son of Sāmbhakumārman and belonged to the Dōkaṇa gōtra and the Vajasaneya śīkhī (lines 34-36). The donee was a resident of Valabhi and belonged to the Chaturvedin community of that place; but his family hailed from Anartapura. The grant was a permanent one and carried with it the privileges usually attached to such gifts recorded in the copper-plate charters of the Maitrakas.

The gift land consisted of a single plot cultivated by Chārjyakya and Mahattara Gaura. Its boundaries are described as follows: to the east—a field belonging to Lagufjyaka (or Laghu Jiyaka, the younger Jyaka) and an adjoining field belonging to the Brāhmaṇa Hastaḍīva; to the south—a field known by the name Kapittha-kshētra (probably because there were some Kapittha trees in it); to the west—a field apparently belonging to Chāsiyānakka and another adjoining plot belonging to the Brāhmaṇa Karka; and to the north—a field belonging to the said Karka and lying on the borders of the village of Saranapadraka as also an adjoining plot of land belonging to a person named Kikkaka (lines 37-40).

The executor of the grant was Rājaputra Dharasena (line 50). He seems to have been the king's son who later ascended the Maitraka throne as Dharasena IV. This prince is not mentioned as the executor of any charter of Dhruvasena II so far published. His other grants being known to have been executed by Śāmantasa Siladiyaya1 and Rājaputra Kharagraha.2 The document was written by Divirapati Skandabhaṭa, son of Sandhiviradhidikita Divirapati Vatrabhaṭṭi (lines 50-51). Both the persons are known from many other Maitraka records3 though Vatrabhaṭṭi's name has often been wrongly quoted as Vatapahaṭṭi,4 Chandrabhaṭṭi,5 Vāsabhāṭṭi,6 and Chatrabhaṭṭi.7 The date of the record is quoted in the last line (line 51) as the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Ashādha in the year 323, which is followed by the endorsement, "[This is] my own signature", no doubt referring to the donor's signature on the original document later incised on the plates.

As regards the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Anartapura is identified by some with Dvārakā and by others with Anandapura (Vajnagar in the Mehsana District).8 Since, however, the name Anandapura occurs in no less than five inscriptions of the Maitraka family,9 Anartapura does not appear to have been an alternative spelling of that name and may

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1 Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1341-43.
2 Ibid., Nos. 1345-47.
3 Ibid., Nos. 1340, 1342, 1346 ff.
4 Ibid., No. 1337.
5 Ibid., No. 1338.
6 Ibid., No. 1341.
7 Ibid., Nos. 1349, 1351.
8 Ibid., No. 1345.
10 Virji, op. cit., p. 293; see also the plates of Siladiyaya III noticed above p. 282.
be regarded as a different locality. The village of Machchhöthikā in Uttinda-Ijja-sthali probably lay in the Amreli region. It is well known that Valabhi, the capital of the Maitraka kings whence the charter was issued, is modern Valā near Bhāvnagar.

**TEXT**

*First Plate*

1 Siddham² svasti [[*] Valabbhitâḥ prasabhâ-[p]raṇat-āmitrâ̄m Maitrakâ̄nâm-stula-bala-sa[m]panna-manḍal-ābhōga-sa[ṅ]sakta-prabhāra-saṭa-labdhā-pratāpāt-pra-

2 tāp-ōpanata-dāna-mān-ārjya-ōpārjya-ānurāgād-anurakta-maula-bhṛta-śr̥ṇi-bal-āvāpta-rā-

3 jya-śrīyaḥ paramamāhēsvaḥ(rāt) śrī-Bhāṭarikaḍ-payya-

4 vachchhinna-rāja-vanās(a)ra]tātmā[n=]mātā-pitri-charan-āravinda-praṇati-pravidhaut-āśesa-

5 kalmashaḥ śaśsavat-prabhṛti khadgu-dvītīya-bāhura-śeva samadā-pra]ga-ga[tha-āśphōtana-

6 prakāśita-satva(ttva)-nikasha[t-tat-prabhāva-praṇat-ārati-chūḍā-rajna-prabhā-saṃsakt-ārā]daka-

7 naka-raśmi-sa[ha]sa[ha]ti]sa=sakala-smṛti-praṇita-mārgga-sa(ṣa)nyak-paripālaṇa-

8 prajñā-ḥṛdaya-rajan-anvṛtt[a]kha-raja-sabdō rūpa-kānti-sthāryya-gāmbhīryya-buddhi-sam-


11 rthan-ādhik-ārththa-pradāna-ānandita-vi]dvat-suhṛt-praṇayi-

12 ḍhrdayaḥ-pāchār-iva sakala-bhuvana-manḍal-ābhōga-pramōdaḥ [para]mamāhēsvaḥ śrī-Guhṣēnas=
tasya sutas= tat-pāda-nakha-mayūkha-santāna-

13 viṣīta-Jānnavi injected-prakshālita-āśesa-kalmashaḥ praṇayi-sa[tha-sa]hrs-ōpajīvyaamāna-sam-

14 pad-rūpa-lōbhad-iv=āśitas=sa[r]a[jha]sam=ānī[bei]gī-


16 narapati-samati]śhṛtal[n[=m]na]m[a]s[n]palayitā dharmma-dīyaṇaṃ=āpā-


20 guṇa-samudayaḥ sthāgita-saṃgra-līlaṇaṇaḥ samara-sa[tha-v]ijaya-śobha-sanā[tha]-

21 manḍal-āgra-dyuti]bhāsarakāraṇa[r]sa(trūnis)pāṭh[ōdaha] guru-ma-

22 nāratha-mahābhārata sarvva]vipyāḥ par-śa]vā[ha]gī-ādhigama-vimala-matir=api sar-

23 rvatass=ubhāṣita-lavne=api suka]pā[vad]a(da)niya-parīt[tha][h]ṣa]

24 samagra-lōk-āgāthā-gāmbhīryya-ḥṛdayo-epi sucharit-ātikya-suṣyakta-parama-kālyāṇa-

25 svabhāvaḥ klihiḥāṭa-Kritā-yuga-[ṣripatib]atha-ścīdāha-


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¹ From impressions.
² Expressed by symbol.
No. 38] AMBERI MUSEUM PLATES OF DHURVASENA II BALADITYA, YEAR 323

17 saktaḥ para[m]-bhadra [i]va dhuryyas-tad-ājā-sampādan-aika-rasatay=ai[y=0]dvā-
[han=khē]da-su[kha]-[ra]t(b)yām=a[nā]jyāsi[ta-satva(ttv)a]-sampa[ti]h [*] prabhāva-
sampa[d-v]-

18 ākrita-nripati-saṭa-sirō-ratna-chchhā-pōpagu(gū)ṣha-pāda-pīthō=pi par-āvajn-ābhimāna-
ras-ānā[jigūta]-man-o-vṛttiḥ praṇatīn=ekā[n*] pratisya-

19 jya prakhyāta-paurush-ābhimānair=apy=aṛatibhir-anāsādita-pratikriy-upāyaḥ krīt-
nikhil-bhu[va]n-āmō[da]-vipula-guna-saṁha(saṁha)ti-pr[a-sabha]-

20 vigha[t]a-sakala-kali-vilasita-gati-nnircha-jan-ādirōhībhir=ātōshair=a-doṣhair=a[nāmī]-
shōd[īsty[nēnastha]-bṛnda[jyā]ḥ prakhyāṭi-pau[rush-āstra-kausal-ā]ti-

21 āśa-[gaṇa]titha-vi[paksha]-kṣitipati-lakṣhami-svayaṁgraha-prakāśita-pravira-purus-a-pra-

22 tanayas-[ta]-pād-anuddhyātasya-sakala-viddhyā[dy-ā]dhi[ga]ma-vihi[ta]-nikhila-vid-vaj-
jana-maṇaḥ-pa[rītōdh-ātiṣaya][h*] satva[tvva]-sa[m]padā tyāg-audāryyēṇa cha viga-

loka-charita-gahvara-vi[bhāgō]-pi para-

pātakā-harapa-pratyalō-ḥ(ṛ)-dagra-bāhu-

25 [pi-vidvanasi(dvau)si]ta-nikhila-pratipa[ksha-darpp-ōdayaḥ]………….1 paribhūt-
āstra-kausil-ābhimānā-sakala-nripati-manḍal-ā-

26 ……………… 2 [parama-mā]……………… 3 t-pād-anuddhyātaḥ sucharit-ātiṣayita……..4

Second Plate

27 rapati-rati-dussādhaṇām=api prasādhyitā vishayāpāḥ [mūr]ttimān=iva purushakā[ḷ]raḥ
par[ī]……………… 5………………

28 chinta(tta)-vṛttibhir=Mmanur-iva svaya=ma=abhy[u]papannah prakṛṭibhir=r-adhi…………6
[kal-ka]lāpāḥ kāntī……………… 7………………

29 kumudanātah prājya-pratāpa-sthagita-dig-anta[rā]-pra[ή]ḥvā[ṇa]ṣi(dvau)ni(s)-[dvau]nta-[rā]-rājēḥ…………8

30 vantam-atiṣahut[ī]ṣa-prayōjan-āṇubhandham=āga-[ma]-pa[ri]pṛūṇanah [vida]dvā[h]aḥ sandhi-
[vigra]ha-samāsa-nīṣcha[y]-ni[punāḥ] [sthā]…………9………………

31 dēsām vidhadad=guna-viddźhi-vidhā[ṇa]-janita-saṁśkāraḥ sa[ḍh]ānāṁ [rā]jya-[Śa]lāturiya-
ta[ntra]y[ō]r=ubha[jyōr]=ap[pi]……………… 10

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1 The lost letters are esa-ghanah-pabhares as known from other records.
2 As suggested by other epigraphs, this lacuna has to be filled up with the letters "śāmanīta-dōsanaḥ.
3 These lost letters are "Śāmanīta Dharakeshava-ἀνάγκανά.
4 The letters sakala-pūrva-no are lost here.
5 We have to restore the text as "ṛiṣidhā-gaṇa-āṣtrāṇa evacuate.
6 The two lost letters here are gata.
7 The lacuna has to be filled up with the letters "nām=iva-ṛitī-ketar a kalānak.
8 This gap has to be filled up with the letters satat-dāsita=evita prakṛtibhāya-parin pratyayamaṇita.
9 The lost letters are nām.arpamānā.
10 We have to read here niṣkṣāṭa prakṛṣṭa-vikramaṇā."
32 pi karunā-mridu-hridayataḥ śrutavān-sa=py-sagarvitaḥ kānto=pi praśami sthira-sau 
[nirasitā doṣhavatam=datu]daya . . . .
33 samupajanita-jan-āniegha-paripihita-bhuvana-samarthitaḥ(ta)-prathita-Bālāditya-dvitiya-
māṇī paramānāsheṣvarāḥ āri Dhrūva[śeṇa]-
34 ṭekūśālī sarvāvā-svā yathā-saṁbadhyamānakān samajñāpayaty=astu vas=sarvāviditam
yathā mayā mātā-pitrōḥ=puṇy-āpāyyaṁ=Anā-
35 rttapura-vinirggata-Valabhī-vaṣṭavya-Valabhī-chaṭturvidya-sāmānya-[Dō]kṣhna-sagotra-
Vājasanēya-sabrahmāhī-Brāhmaṇa-Śambha-
36 kumārasarma-patra-Brāhmaṇa-Śomasarma[mē] Surāshṭrēśh-[Uttī]ṇa-[I]ja-athaly-
antarggata-Machchhō[ti]kā-grāmē uttara-śimni Chū[rjī]yaka-
37 mahattara-Gaurābhyaḥ prakṛitisā[ṛu] sārdha-pādāvarta-sāta-pramāṇam-[ēka]-kaṁḍ-
āvasthi-kṣhētraṁ yasya=āgāhyatamāni pūrvṣ[ta]ḥ]
38 Lagujīyaka-satka-kṣhētraṁ tad-āsannam-ēva Brāhmaṇa-Hastadeva-satka-kṣhētraṁ
dakshinātah] Kapittha-kṣhētraṁ aparataḥ Chehāh(Chehā)siyā-
39 naka-kṣhētraṁ tad-āsannam-ēva Brāhmaṇa-Karka-kṣhētra[m] uttarataḥ Sarapapada-
grāma-
40 namēva Kikkaka-satka-kṣhētram-ēvam=ō[tah]c-chatur-āgāhyatamāν-svādham vāsāṅga-
āsāparikara-sa[ḥv]tavātā-praty[śvam] sa-dhānyā-hi-
41 rany-ā[ḍv]yāni sadaśāparādha-sūpaṇyamānaviśhtikāṁ sarvva-rājakyānāṁ=sahasta-pra-
khēpanīya[m] [pūrvva-pratta-dēva-brā-
42 hmādēya=sahittam bhūmi-chchhidra-nyāyēn=4-ehandr-ārk-ārṇavara-kṣhiti-sarit-parrvata-
śaṁkālāmaṁ puta-paur-trāṇavaya-bhōgyam(gyam)
43 udak-ātisarggōṇa brahmadēyō niśīṣhitaḥ yatō=ṣcitayā bhramadēya-sthītṛyā bhuv-
īyataḥ=krīṣhataḥ=karsayataḥ=pradīṣa-
44 tō vā na kaśchid=vyāsāḥ vartāvyayam-āgāmi-bhadra-nripatibhir=asamdvāṇḍa(d-varmā)-
jaṁ=aniyār=vvā aṁityyān=aiśvāyāyān=a-
45 sthiraṁ mānkṣhna[m] sāmānyā[m] cha bhūmi-dāna-phalam=avaγhchhadbhār=ayam=
asam-dāyō=nuẢntavyāya=pariāla-
46 yitavyāś=ch=ṣṭya=uktanā cha Bahubhira-vvasudhā bhukta rājabhis=Sagarādibhiḥ [[*]
yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tsaya
dharm-āyatanākṛtīṁ [*] nivruttaka-mālya-pratimānī tāñī kō nāma sādhuḥ=punar-
ādadiṭa [*] Shaśṭī(ḥēṭa)-varṣhā-
48 sahasrāṇi svarggō mōdati bhūmidah [[*] āchcchhētt[a] cha=annyaṁtā cha tāny=ēva
narakā vasū[t] Dūtāk=stra rājaputra-Dharmāsēna[m] [*] likhitam sandhivigra-
ghādhi-kṛitā-dvī-
49 rapati-Vattraḥutta-putra-divirapati-Skandabhaṭṭa śa sar[v 300 20 3 Aśāṣṭha 4u 5 sva-hastō
māma]][*]1

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1 The damaged letters are kṛdayād.  
2 The damaged word is samaya.  
3 Shaśtri reads Aukhaṇa and draws our attention to the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas of the Aukhaṇa pūtra.  
4 Sandhi has not been observed here.  
5 Shaśtri reads Machchhēṭikā.  
6 The intended name may be Lāghu-śramaṇa.  
7 The full-stops are indicated here by a design formed by a dot, three curved strokes and an underline.
No. 39—EPIGRAPHIC NOTES

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACUMUND

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17.—Meaning of ‘Upagata’, etc.

Different versions of Minor Rock Edict I of Asoka contain the Prakrit words corresponding to Sanskrit upagata, upayāta and upāta (respectively from upa-√gata, upa-√yā and upa-√tā) in the same sense1 which has been variously understood. Elsewhere we have suggested that upagata=upayāta=upāta in the context means saṅgata, ‘intimately associated’.2 In our opinion, the passages in question indicate Asoka’s intimate association with the Buddhist Saṅgha. The lexicos, however, do not bear out this meaning quite clearly. In this connection, a study of similar words, often used in copper-plate grants to indicate the relation of the subordinates and officers of a king with the gift land or the district in which it was situated may be of interest. These words are generally understood in the sense of ‘assembled’,3 though really some of them appear to support the above interpretation.

From the standpoint of the recording of grants of land, copper-plate charters can be primarily divided into two classes, viz. (1) those that merely announce that some land or a village was granted by the donor, and (2) those that contain an order of the donor in respect of the grant addressed to certain people. Among the records of the first category, mention may be made of a number of charters issued by the Imperial Gangas of Orissa.4 Copper-plate grants written in verse (e.g. many of the charters issued by the Vijayanagara kings)5 and those written mostly in verse generally fall in the same class. The passage sānumayai prāha bhūpatān occurring in the versified part of a charter6 from Orissa is one of the few exceptions.

The second category of copper-plate grants, in which the donor’s order is addressed to certain people, is important for our enquiry as it is some of these that contain the words in which we are interested. Such records can be broadly subdivided into five classes: (1) those in which the addressees are vaguely and generally indicated; (2) those in which the order is primarily addressed to the inhabitants of the gift village or the village wherein the gift land was situated or the district wherein the gift land or village was situated; (3) those in which the order is primarily addressed to the royal officers or agents including also the subordinate rulers, jagirdārs, etc., in some cases; (4) those in which both the inhabitants of the locality in question and the royal officers or agents, etc., are mentioned; and (5) those in which the donor addresses neither the inhabitants nor his officers but only the future kings.

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4 See above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 21, lines 181 ff., 260, lines 125-27; Vol. XXVIII, pp. 190, lines 179-81, 194, lines 179 ff., 256, lines 122-26. For such records belonging to other dynasties or kings, see ibid., Vol. XXXI, pp. 15, lines 8-16, 190, lines 14-16, 312, lines 6-9; Vol. XXX, pp. 140, lines 11-16, 187, line 17-18; Vol. XXVIII, pp. 75, lines 3-6, 210, verses 17-21, 266, lines 7-13, 291, lines 17 ff.; Vol. XXVII, p. 77, lines 17-22.
5 See ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 144. For such records belonging to other families, see ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 75; Vol. XXIX, pp. 103, 198; Vol. XXVIII, pp. 153-54.
6 Ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 32; Vol. XXX, p. 304.
7 Ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 225, text lines 15-16. In this article, we have quoted the epigraphic passages after removing scribal errors, etc.

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The first and last of these subdivisions are simple. The first of the two is illustrated by the charters of the Chālukyas of Badami, in which we have the passage sarvan-evam-ājīnāpayati. The other, which is rare, is likewise illustrated by the passage sarvan-eva bhāvī-bhūmipālān-śamatavedōdayati sometimes occurring in the grants of the Rāṣṭraśaṭas of the Gjurar region. The other cases are complicated.

The order addressed to the inhabitants of a locality is simpler in passages like the following:

(1) Śīr-Srandavarmavāyū vacanāna Kudrāhāra-Kompēr grāmēyakā vaktavyāh; (2) grāmē śarvasamavān-kutumbināḥ samajñāpayati; (3) Ṛothvāḍā-nivāsinaḥ kutumbinaḥ samajñāpayati; (4) Somkṣyām pratiśvināḥ samajñāpayati; (5) Prastaravatā-vāsīnaḥ śarva-samavētān-kutumbināḥ samajñāpayati; (6) Reyū-grāmē grāmēyakān-itiham-ājñāpayati; (7) Pṛerav-grāmē yathā-nivāsī-śanapādaṁ samajñāpayati; (8) Andorēppa-grāmē śarva-samavēgātān-kutumbinās-samajñāpayati; (9) Pratīṣṭhāpura-nivāsinaḥ śarva-samavētān-kutumbināḥ samajñāpayati; etc. But slight elaboration is noticed in such passages as follows:


In the first group of these passages, the inhabitants of a village (grāmēyaka, kutumbin, pratīvāsin, jānapada, etc.; cf. grāmā, jānapada, etc., in the second group) are referred to while, in the second group, they are mentioned along with their social or administrative leaders and with certain village officials in a few cases. Rarely, the villagers of a whole district are stated to have been ordered after having been summoned (samahūya). The word used in some cases in respect of the villagers is sarvasamavētā which may mean 'assembled from all sides'. This seems to be supported by the expression sarva-samavēga rarely used in place of sarva-samava. As will be seen below, the expression samapathāṁ is used in some cases in a similar context in respect of the villagers.

1 Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 118, note 2; p. 130, text line 54.
2 Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 203, text lines 29-30.
3 Ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 9, text line 9-9.
4 Ibid., p. 203, text lines 9-10; Vol. XXX, p. 27, text lines 13-14; p. 117, text line 5.
5 Ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 203, text lines 24-25.
6 Ibid., p. 315, text lines 4-5.
7 Ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 277, text lines 2-3 (on first plate, second side).
8 Ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 96, text lines 12-13.
9 Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 113, text lines 8-9.
10 Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 178, text lines 5-6.
11 Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 219, text lines 8-9.
12 Ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 92, text lines 5-6.
13 Ibid., p. 221, text lines 10-11.
14 Ibid., p. 265, text lines 3-4.
15 Ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 149, text line 18.
16 Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 16, text line 3.
17 Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 35, text lines 2-3.
18 Ibid., pp. 45-46, text lines 15-16.
19 Ibid., p. 142, text lines 35-36.
20 Ibid., p. 182, text lines 15-16.
and local officials. Sometimes sarva-samupāța is also found in place of sarva-samavēta. The reference may be to an announcement to the people summoned by the beat of drums in respect of the grant in the gift village or the village containing the gift land or at the headquarters of the district in which the gift land or village was situated.

There are some charters in which the order is addressed not to the villagers but to others such as the subordinate officials, officers and agents of the king often with reference to a district. Cf. (1) Śrī Kāpiśvarannāgō vachāmaṇa Śivapura-viṣhayē vartamāna-bhavishyad-bhōjak-āyuktaka-sthāyy-adayō vaktyāhā; (2) sarvēvā svām-āyuktaka-maḥattara-drāṅgiktā-chāṭa-bhāṭa-dhravasthānakāryāda- dāṇḍapāṭik-ādīn-anvānā-cha yathā-sambadhyamānākān-anvānārāyaṇī; (3) asmin-Śrīgōda mandalē ārāmānā mahālāvāvānā mahārājā-rājaputra-vāntaraṇa-dāṇḍapāṭik-āpikā-viṣhayapati-tadānyuktaka-vartamāna-bhavishya-ayavahārīṇāḥ sar-karaṇān-yathārāhā piṣayati mānyati cha; (4) sarvēvā-āyāmī vartamāna-nyāpari-sāmanta-viṣhayapati-bhōjika-rāṣṭrāgamakātā-daśīllaka-mahātār-ādikārikādīn-śamandurādyāyaṇī; (5) sarvēvā sarvapagata-viṣhayapati-rāṣṭrāgama-mahātār-ādikārikādīn-śamandurādyāyaṇī; (6) Uṭāmālāka-viṣhayē sarvapagata vartamāna-bhavishyamahāsāṃstaka-mahārāja-rājaputra-kumāraśītvā-āpikā-viṣhayapati-tadānyuktaka-ādikārikā-saṅkāntarikān-anvānā-cha chāṭa-bhāṭa-ādīn-adhikārayāṃcha piṣayati; (7) yato-smat-samināḥ sarvādhyakṣa-niyoga-niyuktā ājñāsaṇāchāri-kula-putra-ādikārītāḥ bhāṭāḥ-chhātraṁ-cha viṣayā- pūrvavā-ājñāvā-ājñā-patayāḥ, etc. In these, the expressions vartamāna-bhavishyat and yathā-sambadhyamānaka, used in several cases, show that the order was meant for the king’s officers, etc., who were associated with the administration of the area containing the gift village or land for the time being and also those who would be so associated in future. Sometimes the word samupagata has been used in relation to ‘the present and future’ subordinates and officers of the donor in the district containing the gift village (No. 6). It is difficult to take samupagata here in the sense of ‘assembled’ since the whole district seems to be too big a place for an assembly while it is not easy to understand how the ‘future’ subordinates and officers also assembled.

In a large number of copper-plate charters, the order regarding the grant is addressed to both the local people or people in general and the royal officers, etc. This is simply indicated in the records of some dynasties while the charters of some areas have it in a somewhat elaborate form. But it is the most elaborate in the records of some of the early medieval ruling families of Northern India, especially those of its eastern regions. The simple and semi-elaborate forms of indication are illustrated in the following quotations.

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1. Ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 233, text lines 1-3.
2. Ibid., p. 300, text lines 11-12; p. 303, text lines 16-18.
4. Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 21, text lines 15-17.
8. For sambadhyamānaka, see Lalitaparavā-sambadhyamānaka Tavād-grāhā (Ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 312, text line 8). In the charters of the Bhauma-Karas of Orissa, a distinction is generally made between the subordinates and officers of the district or province and those of a village or a group of villages; e.g. Dakshina-Tōṇāyōma vartamāna-bhavishya mahāsāṃstaka rājajina-rājaputra-kumāraśītvā-āpikā-viṣhayapati-tadānyuktaka-dāṇḍapāṭikā-sthāṇāntarikā-nāngānā puṣṭakapālā-kalōtes-adhyādikārayārī vatsaraṇām mānyati bhādyatā samūpāṣṭeyē cha (see ibid., Vol. XXIX, pp. 88-89, text lines 26-30; cf. p. 217, text lines 23-26; p. 219, lines 25-27; Vol. XXVIII, pp. 215-16, text lines 213-16). Here the local officers of the western subdivision of the Tumara district have been mentioned separately from the subordinates and officers associated with the province of South Tōṇā in which Tumara-viṣhayē was situated.
For simple indication, cf. (1) Pläki-vishaya vishaya-vridhah-adhikriyaḥ Kundara-grāma-
kutumbinā-cha samajñāpayati; (2) Kaliṅganarāgat śraddhā-pramukha-janapadaṁ-
samāhīya samajñāpayati; (3) sarvān cha svān-āryakta-viniyuktaka-ahāra-
bhāta-kutumbi-mahattarā-ārāhikānāḥ bhadrayati; (4) Ratana-vishaya-Parshiva-khaṇḍa yathā
nivāri sa-karava-sāmantha-bhogyā-ārāj-janapadān-yaṭhāraṁ mānayati bhadrayati samādhisai ca;
etc.

For semi-elaborate indication, see (1) Nātavāḍī-vishaya-nivāsinō rāṣṭra-kusa-pramukha-
kutumbinas samajñāya mantri-purūṣa-sānpati-yuvāraj-ādy-aṣṭāda-sīkṣāsādānāmśūmā
ājñāpayati; (2) Maṇīdeva-grām-śoḍhaṁ-Brāhmaṇaṁ-anāṁśa ca māṇyaṁ-adhikriyān-kuṭumbi-
kṣetra-yādva-vidyā mahattaran meda-chaṇḍaś-paryantā ca sarvān sambhāḍhayati samajñāpayati
cha; (3) grāmīyaṁ rājaputra-rājāpattaka-daṇḍanāyaṇa raṣṭra kosa dūnamātaś ca na paṭarāya
paricjakta-nivyuktādhaya-praśātri samāhāṛi-rāya-kāmiś ca ājñāpayati; (4) bhāmata maṛyaghaih
samaputthi-vishaya-karava-yavahāriksa-pramukha-janapadān-rāja-rājī-vāsak-adhikriyāṁ anāṁ
api rājanka-rājaputra-rājāvallabha-prābhūtaṁ yathā-kāla-bhūvinś ca sarvān mānana pūrvakam
samādhisai; (5) Jīva-dhā-nāvāsya bhāvishyaṁ yathā-kālaṁ bhūvinś ca rājyākāśaṁ-śrīrājputrāṁ-
Brāhmaṇaṁ-purūṣaṁ sāmantha-nivāsaṁ janapadaṁ adhikriyāḥ sa kartarāṁ anāṁśa ca ca vāca-bhāya-vallabha-
jaśīyān-rāja-pāda-śoḍhajinaṁ sarvān yathāraṁ mānayati bhadrayati kula ayatāḥ ādiṣṭa ca āṁśat; (6)
Vatapaṭraka Brāhmaṇaṁ samajñāya sa pradhanān pratiśināṁ yathā-kālādhyāsīnas samāhāṛi-
adhikriyān pramukham adhikriyān sa kartarāṁ anāṁśaṁ ca aṣmāt pāda-śoḍhajinaṁ sarvān rājaputra-
śām samajñāpayati; (7) Maṇīdeva-vishaya rāja-rājanaka-rājaputraṁ vishayapati-daṇḍapāṣikānāṁ
yathā-kāla dhyāsyina vavahāriksa Brāhmaṇaṁ karava-purūsaṁ nivāsa-janapadāṁ ca yathāraṁ
mānayati bhadrayati samādhisai ca sarvāṁ śivaṁ asmākaṁ anāṁśaṁ ca; etc.

In these instances, the word upagata has been used once in relation to the inhabitants and
local officials of the gift village (No. 2 of Group II). In one case (No. 4 of Group II), the local
people and officials are stated to have been samaputthi at the gift land while the subordinates,
etc., are separated from the said class by the epithet yathā-kāla-bhūvinś. The same distinction is
also made in another case (No. 5 of Group II) by using the expressions bhāvishyaṁ yathā-kāla-bhūvinś
and sāmantha-nivāsin. Similar use of the expressions pratiśināṁ and yathā-kālādhyāsīna are noticed
in one case (No. 6 of Group II) and yathā-kāla dhyāsyina and nivāsin in another (No. 7 of Group II).
This distinction is made clear in the Gāḍāḍavāla records in which, in the course of an elaborate
indication, we have grāma-nivāsinō nikhaṇa-janapadān-upagatān api cha rāja-rājī, etc. Here
the relation of the subordinates and officers of the king with the gift village is indicated by the
word upagata. Some charters indicate the same distinction by enumerating the two classes as
sarvān eva-amityān mantri-purūhi, etc., and tan-nivāsa Brāhmaṇa-ṛtarān, etc.13

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2 Ibid., p. 196, text lines 44-47; p. 308, text lines 40-41.
3 Ibid., Vol. XXV, p. 4, text lines 1.
5 Ibid., Vol. XXIV, p. 42, text lines 31-34.
6 Ibid., p. 72, text lines 7-9.
7 Ibid., p. 78, text lines 22-24.
8 Ibid., Vol. XXI, p. 207, text lines 20-22.
9 Ibid., Vol. XXIX, p. 188, text lines 27-29. Cf. Vol. XXVI, p. 79, text lines 24-27; also Vol. XXVII, p. 300, text lines 25-27 where we have yathā-kāλādhyāsīn for yathā-kāla-bhūvinś.
10 Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 290, text lines 6-9; cf. p. 323, text lines 6-8.
12 Ibid., Vol. XXI, p. 73, text lines 12-14.
13 Ibid., p. 202, text lines 28-30. A stanza ascribed to Vyāsa says Sthānāṁ rastō-anupurvi cha deśāṁ grāmam=
upagataṁ | Brāhmaṇāṁ cha tathā chāṁśuṁ-māṇyaṁ-adhikriyāṁ līkhit. ||
The word found in the Gāḍāvāla records as upagata is often found in the form samupagata or samupāgata in the same context in many other charters, especially in the elaborate indication in the grants of the Pālas and Sēnas of Eastern India. We have seen above how the ‘present’ and ‘future’ subordinates, etc., of a ruler are described as samupāgata with reference to a vishaya or district. The question now is what upagata, samupagata or samupāgata in this context really means. In our opinion, it means the same thing as sambadhyamānaka, yathā-kila-bhāvam and yathā-kāl-ādhyāsin as found in the same context in many records. This may be clear from the study of a few corresponding passages from the charters of the Gāḍāvālas, Pālas and Sēnas.

The Gāḍāvāla grant referred to above has: upagatān=api cha rōja-rājī—gvevarōja—mantri-purakā—pratihāra—sēnāpati—bhāgāgūrik—ākshapatālikā—bhishag—nāyakī—gaḍapuika dūta—karunakarastrākāraka—gukulikā—purukhān—ājñapayati bōdhayati adhikāri cha. It is difficult to believe that all the said kinds of subordinates and officers of the king would have assembled in a gift land or village whenever he made a grant especially in view of the fact that the Gāḍāvāla kings are known to have often issued such charters. The number of these classes of people is much higher in the Pāla and Sēna charters. It has also to be noticed that often the subject of the gift was a plot or several plots of land including tanks, etc., and the assemblage of subordinate rulers, their queens and sons and of all the officers (āsvāsā—rājapurukhān) therein becomes inconceivable. The list sometimes includes also, besides others, the mercenary soldiers of various nationalities such as Gauḍa, Māla, Khasa, Kušāka, Kāraṇa and Lāta and also people performing menial services such as Māda, Andhra and Chāṇḍāla. An assemblage seems to be physically impossible in such cases. It should also be noted that different plots of the land sometimes lay in different districts.


18.—Hānyamāna—Hānjamāna—Hānjamāṇa—Paṅcarayarā—Anjavarām

While editing the Chinchini (Thana District, Maharashtra) plates above, which contain the expression hānyamāna—pauna or hānyamāṇya—mukhya in the list of people addressed in respect of the grants in question, we pointed out that the evidence of one of them, mentioning Sanjān and Hānyamāna in the same passage, clearly disproves the view that Hānyamāna is just another form of the place name Sanjān, modern Sanjān in the Thana District of Maharashtra. We thought that those who trace the origin of hānyamāna sometimes also spelt as hānjamāna, to Avestic hānjamāna and Persian anjumān and understand the word

1 Ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 280, text lines 11-17; p. 287, text line 10; p. 294, text line 13.
2 Ibid., Vol. XXXI, pp. 7-8, text lines 31-41; pp. 11-12, text lines 29-38.
3 Ibid., Vol. XXXI, pp. 7-8, text lines 31-41. In the Sēna charters, the list of subordinates and offers is concluded with the passage: aniyākṣava sakala—rōja—pad—ōpajivinā bhaktacaka—prachār—ākāritis—ek—ākāritis chakṣa. Bhāṣa—jātiyān janaḍadānēn keśatra—kārēn—Brāhmaṇaṁ—Brāhmaṇaṁ—ottarān gathāraṇ mahāyati bōdhayati samādiṣati cha. Cf. ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 8, text lines 32-34.
5 The identification was controverted by Fret long ago on inadequate evidence even though he regarded Hānyamāna as a place name (ibid., Vol. XII, pp. 238-39).
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in the sense of a colony or settlement of the Parsees may be right. Further consideration has, however, made us doubtful about the correctness of the suggestion.

The expression is found in some of the records of the ruling families of Kannada origin, which flourished in the Northern Konkan. Besides the epigraphs cited above, we may refer to the Bhandup, Thana and Kharepantan plates containing the expression haṁyamana-nagara-paura-trivarga though the last named inscription has haṁyamana in place of haṁyamana. The difficulty is that, if it is the name of a place in the Northern Konkan but cannot be identified with Sanjān, we do not have any other geographical name with a similar sound in the area in question and cannot explain why this place name should be specially mentioned in a few records of the Kannadiga ruling families of the Northern Konkan. This would suggest that haṁyamana-haṁjādana may be a word of Kannada or South Indian origin, and, in that case, it would scarcely indicate a Parsee colony which is not known to have existed in the areas where the Dravidian languages are spoken.

A similar word is noticed in Kannada epigraphs discovered in places far away from the Northern Konkan. Thus an inscription from Kaikini in the North Kanara District, Mysore, dated 1427 A.D., refers to Ummaramarakāla, the mukhya of the Haṁjamānas of Honnāvura and to the molestation of the women of the said community at Kāsarakōḍu by Mahāpradhāna Timmanā Oḍeya ruling from Honnāvura. Another inscription of 1465 A.D. from the Mahālingēvara temple at Basrūr in the Coondapour Taluk of the South Kanara District, records that Paṇḍaridēva Oḍeya, the ruler of Bārakūra-rāja, made in favour of the local god Mahādeva a gift of the gold which the haṁjamāna people of Basrūr (Basarūr oḷajana haṁjamāna-aṇavu) were paying. Since there is little possibility of the references here being to Parsee settlements in the North and South Kanara Districts, it is very probable that haṁyamana-haṁjamana-haṁjādana should be understood in the sense of Kannada paṇcha-vayya of the lexicons, the same as Tamil āṉu-vaiṟṟai (Sanskrit paṇca-varṇa) understood in the sense of the five artisan classes, viz. the goldsmith, blacksmith, brassier, carpenter and stone-mason, who are also known in Tamil as Aṉu-panṭhaḷḷatṭar, Paṭṭaiḷar, Paṭṭaiḷḷatṭar and Paṇṭai kammaḷai.

Thus, of the expressions quoted above from the inscriptions, haṁyamana-paura or haṁjamana-paura would mean ‘the artisans and other citizens’ while haṁyamaniya-mukhya would indicate ‘the elders of the artisan communities’. The expression haṁjamana-nagara-paura-trivarga means ‘the three classes, viz. haṁjamana, nagara and paura’. Among these, nagara seems to mean ‘the merchant community’. The word is used in the said sense in Kannada inscriptions, often in the forms nakara and nakkara, cf. also nagaram of Tamil inscriptions explained as ‘a guild of merchants, a mercantile town’.

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2 R. S. Panchamukhi, Karnataka Inscriptions, Vol. I, pp. 110 ff. (No. 48). The length of the vowel in mā in this record and a few others may be due to the modification of the following conjunct to a simple consonant, although lengthening has been avoided in the other forms.
6 T. N. Subramaniam, op. cit., p. xii. Cf. also nāgarasamillār, nāgarasāmīn, nāgarasūr and nāgarasarvam. chēchi.

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**INDEX**

By B. R. Gopal, M.A., Ph.D.

(The figures refer to pages, a after a figure to foot-notes, and odd to additions. The following other abbreviations are also used: au. = author; ca. = capital; ch. = chief; chron. = Chronicle; ci. = city; co. = country; com. = composer; de. = deity; di. = district or division; do. = ditto; dy. = dynasty; E. = Eastern; engr. = engraver; ep. = epithet; f. = family; fr. = female; frud. = feudatory; gen. = general; gr. = grant, grants; hist. = historical; ins. = inscription, inscriptions; k. = king; l. = locality; l.m. = linear measure, land measure; m. = male; min. = minister; mo. = mountain; myth. = mythological; n. = name; N. = Northern; off. = office, officer; peo. = people; pl. = plate, plates; pr. = prince, princess; proc. = province; q. = queen; rel. = religious; ri. = river; S. = Southern; s.a. = same as; suv. = surname; te. = temple; Tel. = Telugu; t.d. = territorial division; tit. = title; tn. = town; tl. = taluk; vi. = village; W. = Western; wk. = work; w.t. = weight.)

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**Notes:**
- **U**: Initial vowel, medial, different forms.
- **V**: Changed to b, sign for indicating $b$, resembling closed type of p., undistinguishable from y and v.

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- Uden, vi.
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<td>37th do.</td>
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<td>4th sāka year, a. o. 3rd regnal year of E. Ganga Rājarāja II</td>
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<tr>
<td>2nd of Vījayaḍitya VII</td>
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<td>3rd do.</td>
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